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# Sweet Femininities: Women and the Confectionery Trade in Eighteenth-Century Barcelona

Marta Manzanares Mileo 

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## ABSTRACT

This article examines the intersections between sweetness, femininity and the confectionery trade in eighteenth-century Barcelona, at a time of growing consumption of sugar and slavery. Drawing on a range of underexplored archival material, this study traces the stories of women of different social groups, namely, elite housewives, nuns and tradeswomen who engaged with the production and trade of sweets in ingenious ways. This article argues that in the period when women were culturally diminished through their portrayals as 'sweet' and barred by guild structures, many women exercised social and economic agency in the confectionery trade in Barcelona.

In 1695, Nicolas II de Larmessin illustrated *La confiseuse* (The Female Confectioner) as part of *Les costumes grotesques et métiers*, a series of satires representing the trades of Paris. *La confiseuse* portrays a woman in a costume composed of the utensils and ingredients of her trade: she wears a dress ornamented with boxes of sugared almonds, candied fruits and fruit preserves and her bodice is made of buckets of marzipan and Savoy biscuits (Figure 1). The woman stands next to a steaming copper confectionery pan surrounded by shelves with various confectionery boxes.<sup>1</sup> With a female body, Larmessin represented certain trades and crafts traditionally ascribed to women, including the baker, the fishmonger, the butter seller, the fruit seller and the florist. Despite women's work being restricted in most guilds in Paris, as elsewhere in Europe, these female portrayals remind us that women were not only identified with the production of these goods in popular imagery, but were, in fact, heavily engaged in these flourishing commercial activities.

Following the seminal work of Sidney Mintz, scholars have demonstrated that the increased production of sugar in large plantations in the Americas and the Atlantic slave trade not only prompted a dramatic rise in the consumption of sugar and changing consumer habits, but also shaped intertwined ideas of gender and race in some parts of seventeenth and eighteenth-century Europe.<sup>2</sup> As Kim Hall argues, in this era of expanding colonialism, global trade and consumption of foreign commodities, sugar provides a compelling lens through which to explore new juxtapositions of white



**Figure 1:** Nicolas II de Larmessin, 'La Confiseuse', c.1695.

femininity and Black masculinity. Sugar was 'associated with both white women and African slavery' in seventeenth-century England, with elite women creating sophisticated confections that displayed their culinary skill, creativity and social identity while also contributing to the national economy and colonial expansion.<sup>3</sup> More recently, Amanda Herbert has pointed out that women's exchange of home-made sweets in eighteenth-century Britain strengthened both domestic female alliances and bonds between Britain and its Atlantic colonies.<sup>4</sup> These studies remind us of the need to incorporate gender analysis, alongside race and class, in the early modern history of sugar.

Scholars have extensively discussed women's role in shaping consumer practices and tastes; and yet women's agency in the marketing of sugar-based products remains poorly understood.<sup>5</sup> In an effort to address this gap, the present article prioritises gender in its analysis of female confectionary activities, particularly the sweet foods trade, in early modern Spain. Unlike their European counterparts in the Atlantic world, the Spaniards depended on sugar imports from colonial possessions other than their own until the emergence of sugar plantations in Cuba and Puerto Rico in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.<sup>6</sup> Early modern Spain thus may lack the kind of primary sources that would enable close study of the relationship between colonial plantation slavery, sugar, race and gender. How the important questions raised by Hall's work might apply to early modern Spain remains a subject for further research.

This article examines the intersections between sweetness, femininity and the confectionery trade in eighteenth-century Spain, with a particular focus on Barcelona. Early modern Spanish imagery pervasively depicted devoted housewives, diligent 'sweets-makers' nuns and dishonest street vendors of cakes, showing the various ways in which femininity was connected to sweet food in the period.<sup>7</sup> However, little is known about how women themselves responded to the tropes of sweetness and femininity or the extent to which women contributed to shaping local sugar economies at a time of enslavement and growing consumption of sugar. This study traces the stories of women of various social groups, namely elite housewives, Catholic nuns and tradeswomen, who engaged with and gave meaning to the production of sweets in different ways. To date, scholars of the early modern confectionery trade have mainly focused on male confectioners serving aristocratic households and as part of artisanal guilds.<sup>8</sup> Over the past two decades, historians of women and gender have vigorously debated the exclusion of women from guilds as well as women's roles in the economy beyond household production, highlighting the local social, economic and political conditions that affected women's work differently across Europe.<sup>9</sup> Building on these works, this study explores how elite and non-elite women leveraged the legal apparatus and available resources to gain social and economic agency in Barcelona, a commercial city with a complex male-dominated guild system.

By the turn of the eighteenth century, Barcelona experienced significant economic and demographic growth, major political reforms and the expansion of global trade; the city was – after the colonial trade port of Cadiz – one of the most important commercial centres in Spain. Increasing quantities of sugar arrived at the port of Barcelona, mainly coming from large enslaved plantations in Brazil and the Caribbean through a complex trade network.<sup>10</sup> The rising consumption of foreign commodities became central to the self-fashioning of the city's upwardly and plural elites, formed of the old nobility, *ciutadans honrats* (honoured citizens), merchants and *artistes* (liberal

professionals).<sup>11</sup> New domestic social rituals, namely gatherings over *refrescos*, or refreshments of chocolate, cakes and confectionery goods, were introduced, transforming eating practices and forms of sociability in eighteenth-century Spain. Sugar constituted a fundamental ingredient in *refrescos* which epitomised luxury, taste and social distinction among the elites and, gradually, across a broader social spectrum.<sup>12</sup>

The sugar consumption craze transformed the very nature of the guild system in Barcelona, and gave new opportunities to emerging food traders, in particular to grocer–confectioners. Created in 1562, the Col·legi d'adroguers confiters (The College of Grocer–Confectioners) dominated the market of sugars, confectionery, spices, drugs and other foreign commodities in Barcelona. Grocer–confectioners, both as wholesalers and retailers, controlled the entire process of the confectionery trade, from the supply of raw sugars to the production and sale of confectionery goods. Some wealthy grocer–confectioners accumulated capital and established international partnerships to meet the growing demands for foreign commodities, mainly sugar, tobacco and cocoa.<sup>13</sup> Their successful commercial enterprises, as well as their political and social connections, allowed them to move up the social hierarchy to become merchants and *ciutadans honrats* (honoured citizens).<sup>14</sup> With a prominent social and political position in the city, grocer–confectioners exerted control over the profitable trading of luxury food commodities, and barred non-guild members, including many women, from working independently within and outside guild structures. Despite social and legal restrictions, this article argues that some entrepreneurial women still wielded considerable influence in the burgeoning sweets market in eighteenth-century Barcelona.

First, this article examines how associations between women and sweetness projected, on the one hand, ideals of feminine sensibility, sensuality and domesticity, and on the other, critiques of women's consumerism and excessive attraction to luxury commodities. As this study shows, the multiple links between sweetness and femininity might reflect complex Enlightenment discourses in which the definition of women's nature and roles was crucial to reform society and modernise the nation.<sup>15</sup> Second, this study moves from symbolic associations to female production of sweets within and outside the household, showing the ways in which women shaped consumer practices and tastes at all levels of society in eighteenth-century Barcelona. Overall, this article aims to challenge dominant narratives of gender and labour while expanding our understanding of women's position in flourishing urban commerce in early modern Europe. It provides a counterpoint to the studies on the gendered dimension of sugar in early modern Europe by shifting the focus from women's role as consumers to their place in food trades in a distinct context. Ultimately, it offers a new reading of *sweetness* and *power*, which aims to complement and broaden the important historiography on plantation economies and the Atlantic slave trade.<sup>16</sup> Building on this scholarship, this article invites us to further consider women's participation in local sugar-related economies within a broader context of emerging globalisation, capitalism and empire.

### Embodying sweetness

Historically, sweetness, in the form of honey and sugar, has been associated with affection, happiness and sexuality in European languages and imagery. In *Sweetness and Power*, Sydney Mintz asserts that the increased production of sugar in slavery-based

plantations transformed consumer behaviour and moulded the place of sugar in popular mentalities, replacing honey as the epitome of sweetness in early modern Europe.<sup>17</sup> While Mintz focuses on the English literature, a parallel process can be found in Spanish dictionaries. One of the earliest examples of the prevalence of sugar imagery can be found in the *Diccionario de Autoridades* (Dictionary of Authorities) (1726–1739), the first modern Spanish dictionary. The *Diccionario* contains the phrase ‘*Es [como] un azúcar*’ (‘Something is sugary or like sugar’) referring to ‘one thing that is sweet and pleasant to the palate’ and it was used to ‘extol the tender, pleasant, docile and soft condition, character and nature of one person’.<sup>18</sup>

Not surprisingly, the language of sweetness has been pervasively applied to definitions of female virtuosity.<sup>19</sup> In the influential book *La perfecta casada* (The Perfect Wife), first published in 1583 and reprinted several times in the eighteenth century, Fray Luis de León portrayed the docile demeanour of the ideal housewife with expressions such as *mujer dulce* (sweet woman) and *dulce en su hablar* (with genteel speaking).<sup>20</sup> Likewise, the 1769 Spanish translation of Fénelon’s *Tratado de la educación de las hijas* (Treatise on the Education of Daughters) reminds the reader that the perfect housewife must be a ‘diligent, industrious and strong woman in charge of the household’, and ‘her tongue constantly spills piety and sweetness’.<sup>21</sup> Mothers and wives would, therefore, *be* sweet by displaying care and love towards their husbands, children and servants in the household. Representations of sweet femininity illustrate shifting ideas about gender in the eighteenth century, in which the soft, sensible and sexually passive woman contrasted with previous stereotypes of the ‘dangerous’ woman, as Ulinka Rublack argues.<sup>22</sup> Enlightenment reformers widely promoted these models of redefined femininity as being pivotal to ensure morality and social order in the household and, in turn, the society. With heightened moral values and sensibility, women were predominantly associated with nature and, in particular with natural gustatory taste. In the best-selling sentimental novel *Julie, ou la nouvelle Héloïse* (1761), Jean-Jacques Rousseau proposed gendered differences of taste as follows:

Milk products and sugar are one of the [fair] sex’s natural tastes and as it were the symbol of the innocence and sweetness that constitute its most endearing ornament. Men, on the contrary, usually seek strong flavours and spirits, foods more suited to the active and laborious life that nature requires of them.<sup>23</sup>

For Rousseau, and many of his contemporaries, only children and young women preserved the natural human taste for sweetness, in contrast to the corrupted artificial taste of men for strong and savoury flavours.<sup>24</sup> The unspoiled taste for sugar of the heroine *Julie* reveals her ‘innocent’ and ‘sweet’ qualities, which were her ‘most endearing ornament’, according to Rousseau. More importantly, *Julie* acknowledges ‘not allowing herself to be governed by her fancies’.<sup>25</sup> *Julie*’s self-governance in eating was, therefore, fundamental to maintain her moral virtue and health in the period when gustatory pleasure was still seen as being dangerously close to bodily pleasure.<sup>26</sup>

When sugar became more widely consumed from the seventeenth century onwards, sugar was increasingly seen as unessential pleasure food, rather than a medical substance, as it had been considered in earlier centuries.<sup>27</sup> The changing status of sugar is evidenced by the idea of *golosina* (a sweet treat). In the 1611 *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* (Treasure of the Spanish or Castilian Language), the lexicographer and chaplain Sebastián de Covarrubias defined *golosina* as ‘the small fruit

or sweet thing that one eats for the sake of *gusto* (pleasure) rather than for nourishment' and, by extension, this idea defined the unruly appetite for eating things of little nourishment.<sup>28</sup> Interestingly, Covarrubias described *golosmear* (to eat sweet treats) as 'something [of the domain] of women and children, who eat *golosinas* and lick their dishes clean', suggesting that women and children shared an excessive appetite for frivolous sweet treats.<sup>29</sup> Influenced by Aristotelian views on gender, pre-modern philosophy claimed that women's natural attraction to sensual pleasures and frivolities resulted from their physical weakness and poor rationality.<sup>30</sup>

Moral and medical treatises such as Paul Dubé's *El médico y cirujano de los pobres* (The Doctor and Surgeon of the Poor), translated into Spanish in 1755, also condemned women's enthusiasm for sugar. In the chapter 'Of the necessity of temperance, especially of the poor', the physician warned elite women 'who promptly obey their appetites' that the worst enemies for their health were seasonal fruits, confectionery and all sorts of biscuits made with sugar.<sup>31</sup> Dubé observed that elite women 'made their tombs themselves with their own teeth' and urged them to stop eating confectionery and all things made with sugar because these foodstuffs were 'useless, harmful and expensive'.<sup>32</sup> Eighteenth-century critiques of luxury accused women of promoting economic and moral harm with their avid interest in frivolous consumer goods, in particular those consumed in the new domestic social rituals such as tea-parties and *refrescos* (chocolate-drinking gatherings).<sup>33</sup> In the 1767 newspaper *El Pensador*, the journalist José Clavijo y Fajardo exhorted *damas* (ladies) to refrain from eating sweets, claiming that Spaniards' dental decay was probably caused by 'their frequent consumption of sweets'.<sup>34</sup> The author extensively criticised the domestic social ritual of *refrescos* which were said to encourage overindulgence, idleness and consumerism, particularly among women. According to Clavijo y Fajardo, the cost of these luxury refreshments of chocolate and sweet cakes 'adds up to the same amount as that needed to support the family' and they caused 'households [to be] consumed and destroyed' and 'turned into confectionery shops'.<sup>35</sup> Like many of his contemporaries, Clavijo y Fajardo accused women of competing to offer the most exquisite and abundant *refresco* only to 'nurture their vanity', thus contributing to the economic ruin of their families.<sup>36</sup> Luxury-centred critiques of female consumerism, therefore, intertwined and paralleled those of sugar consumption at the heart of the Enlightenment discussions of consumption, morality and social order.

## Sweet domesticity

In the 1787 manuscript recipe book *Llibre de l'art de quynar* (Book on the Art of Cooking), the Capuchin Fra Sever d'Olot attributed each recipe to a particular social group according to its presumed character and eating habits. The author claimed that *bunyols* (sweet fritters) were *menjar de damas* (food for ladies) and '*un plat de ous ab llet y cossas dolsas*' ('a dish of eggs and milk with sweet things'), a type of sweet custard, was '*plat de mares monjas y de misañosas*' ('a meal for nun mothers and gentlewomen'), reminding readers that these sweet dishes were not only preferred but prepared by elite women.<sup>37</sup>

In early modern Spain, as in the rest of Europe, women's expertise in the making of sweets was well known, as acknowledged by Juan Vallés (c. 1496–1563), notary and royal treasurer of the kingdom of Navarre. In his *Regalo y policía de la vida*

*humana* (Delight and Policy of Human Life), an extensive compilation of culinary, medicinal and confectionery recipes, the author praised the prowess of ‘*señoras delicadas y diestras en conservar frutas*’ (‘delicate and skilled gentlewomen in preserving fruits’). Vallés also stressed their abilities for clarifying sugar as being ‘as excellent as those of professional apothecaries’.<sup>38</sup> In the 1623 *Entretenimientos y juegos honestos, y recreaciones christianas* (Entertainments and Honest Games, and Christian Recreations), the Mercedarian Fray Alonso Remón stated that making scents for the Church and fruit preserves for the sick were ‘noble and honest entertainments’ for noblewomen.<sup>39</sup> Although the author warned that these activities might be regarded as *sobrado* (superfluous) and *vicioso* (vicious), he considered the preparation of fruit preserves honest as long as this activity was intended for medicinal purposes rather than for pleasure.<sup>40</sup>

Women’s own writings give us evidence of a growing interest in confectionery making among elite women in early modern Barcelona. The inventories of Catalan noblewomen Maria Blanes (1675) and Teresa de Clariana i Gualbes (1724) show that they owned specialised utensils for making confectionery including copper confectionery pans, strainers for confectionery, wooden boxes and glass jars to preserve confections, ‘large pots with an iron handle to make blancmange’ and ‘copper cake moulds to make *gabolets*’ (pies of meat and fruit preserve).<sup>41</sup> In addition, the early seventeenth century account book of Isabel de Seix, the wife of the lawyer Bernat Sala, contains a dozen confectionery recipes for candied cherries, red quince jelly, *neules* (rolled wafers) as well as preserves of hawthorn berries, roses and other aromatic flowers.<sup>42</sup>

Women’s personal collections of recipes for making sweets, beauty secrets and home remedies also confirm that Spanish elite women engaged with these domestic activities.<sup>43</sup> A case in point is the sixteenth and seventeenth century manuscript recipe collection *Recetas y memorias para guisados, confituras, olores, aguas, afeites, adobos de guantes, unguentos y medicinas para muchas enfermedades* (Recipes and notes for stews, confectionery, scents, waters, oils, scents for gloves, unguents and medicines for many illnesses) written by different hands.<sup>44</sup> This bound volume contains an additional treatise on confectionery with more than fifty recipes for preserves, comfits, biscuits and cakes, probably added later in the seventeenth century.<sup>45</sup>

Another manuscript recipe collection entitled *Receptas experimentadas para diversas cosas* (Proven Recipes for Different Things), also written in multiple hands in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, clearly points to the experience of its prospective readers in the making of sweets. For instance, a recipe for candied walnuts instructs the reader to ‘add mashed cloves and cinnamon in the amount that you would know is needed according to one’s taste’.<sup>46</sup> The author also explains that ‘the quantity of honey and walnuts are not specified here because these confections are better eye balled’, assuming the reader would already be familiar with preserving processes.<sup>47</sup> Interestingly, a recipe for *mermelada* (quince jam) comments: ‘this is the recipe which was given to us. Some warnings must be made now because otherwise I feel that you will not get it right’.<sup>48</sup> The compiler suggests, therefore, keeping the sugar stage ‘very high’ and adding sugar to the quince paste in small amounts. Such remarks would reveal that recipe compilers mastered the art of confectionery and exchanged their expertise across social and family networks. Indeed, some recipes of this manuscript collection are attributed to particular noblewomen, such as a recipe for marzipans entitled ‘On

how to make pastries as [those made] in the Countess of Oropesa's household' and the recipe 'On how to make orange preserve as in the Countess of Modica's household'.<sup>49</sup> Not only did these recipes' titles give evidence of active social networks of recipe-exchange, but they also show a remarkable shift from oral to written transmission of culinary knowledge among Spanish noblewomen.

## Heavenly sweets

In recent years, scholarship on female monasteries has highlighted that nuns were actively involved in the production of sweets across the early modern Catholic world.<sup>50</sup> Nuns offered convent-made sweets to welcome royal visitors, clerical officials and benefactors, and to obtain privileges and services. In addition, the sale of sweets often provided nunneries with a source of extra income in periods of hardship, although this practice was regarded with suspicion by religious moralists at that time. In *La religiosa instruída* (1717), the Franciscan Antonio Arbiol condemned 'the improper occupation of [making] sweets and confectionery' when it was intended for sale.<sup>51</sup> He stated that this activity leads young nuns to spend their time making sweets instead of praying and 'makes them dislike the retreat of their cells'.<sup>52</sup> Moreover, he claimed that the production of confectionery goods transformed 'the sacred convent' into a '*casa de negociación*' (business house) as a result of the bustling activity in the *torno*, a small window with a revolving tray used to exchange goods with no physical contact in cloistered convents.<sup>53</sup>

Despite moralists' critiques, nunneries in Barcelona, as in the rest of the Catholic world, produced sweets for sale especially on feast days. Consumers praised and gave special social meanings to the sweet goods nuns made. As Sharon T. Strocchia argued, nuns gave gifts of food and devotional objects valued for their symbolical meanings rather than for their price.<sup>54</sup> In 1757, municipal authorities of Barcelona defended nuns' commercial activity in the face of confectioners' aspirations to control the sale of *melindros* (sponge biscuits). Municipal magistrates rejected confectioners' petition for a royal privilege to sell *melindros* and 'any other pastry made with sugar and without yeast', arguing that this prerogative 'would affect the rights of *botilleros* and *cafeteros* (café owners) and *conventos de religiosas* (female convents) who put a lot of effort into making these popular *pastas con azúcar* (sugared pastries) on various feast days'.<sup>55</sup> Indeed, nunneries of Barcelona may have been well known for the excellence of their sweet specialties. In his personal diary, the nobleman Rafael d' Amat i de Cortada, known as the Baron of Maldà, mentioned a number of convent-made desserts such as *mató de monja* (nuns' fresh cheese), a type of blancmange made of almond or rice flour, sugar and cinnamon. In Barcelona, the Royal Monastery of Santa Maria de Pedralbes and the Convent of Discalced Carmelites gained wide recognition for their *mató de monja* specifically made on Saint Joseph's Day.<sup>56</sup>

In addition, the Benedictines of Sant Pere de les Puel·les might have been well known for their sponge biscuits. Located in the commercial neighbourhood of La Ribera, Sant Pere actively participated in the economic urban landscape by renting out their several properties.<sup>57</sup> This female religious community produced sweet baked goods for the special social events of the Catalan nobility in the eighteenth century. In 1767, for instance, the Magarola family served a substantial *refresco* of sponge biscuits, cakes, bread rolls along with hot chocolate, *horchata* (tigernut milk), lemonade

and other fashionable beverages in the occasion of their daughter's wedding. Furthermore, *coques* (flat cakes) and sponge biscuits were purchased in the monastery of Sant Pere for that important event.<sup>58</sup> Likewise, in 1769, the nuns of Sant Pere made a large amount of sponge biscuits, *coques*, egg biscuits and sugared-coated biscuits for the *visita de novia* (Bride's visit) of the noblewoman Ribes i Centelles, which eighty women and 200 men guests attended, including the Captain General of Catalonia. The family account books explicitly indicate that nuns produced these goods '[after] giving them the materials'.<sup>59</sup>

The Sans, another wealthy noble family, also ordered sponge biscuits on the occasion of the profession of Maria Teresa Sans and Ignacia de Fivaller in Sant Pere in 1733.<sup>60</sup> When nuns took their vows, especially nuns from elite families, a large social gathering was held in which a splendid *refresco* of chocolate, confectionery and sweet baked goods was served. For that major event, the prioress of Sant Pere asked the Sans to cover part of the cost of refreshments in a letter. On its reverse, it reads, 'What is required for the [making of] egg biscuits' listing ten dozen eggs, eight pounds of 'good sugar', two pounds of extra-fine starch and one pound of 'very good flour'.<sup>61</sup> As in the case of the Ribes i Centelles' wedding, the Sans family probably purchased the ingredients in advance so that the nuns could make the biscuits for the noblewomen's profession. These special requests to the nuns of Sant Pere might point to family and social connections between the monastery and the urban elites as, in fact, four abbesses of Sant Pere were members of the Magarola and the Sans families in the second half of the eighteenth century.<sup>62</sup> And, perhaps more importantly, this fact may suggest a widespread symbolic value of nunnery-made sweets, among other crafts, while acknowledging their expertise in baking and confectionery making.

## Women in business

Despite facing barriers imposed by guilds, some female entrepreneurs managed to maintain their economic activities with ingenuity, transforming consumer tastes and eating practices in early modern Barcelona. Female tradeswomen, namely masters' widows and retailers, played a crucial role in making sweet foods more widely accessible beyond urban elites. Grocer-confectioners strove to prevent women's activities within and outside guild structures by claiming their authority through distinctions based on skill, experience, gender and social status. The College of Grocer-Confectioners' ordinances stated that only 'Christian men with three years of formal apprenticeship' were entitled to establish a confectionery shop and sell sugar, spices and sweets in the city, thus barring women from this trade.<sup>63</sup> Further guild regulations ordered that masters' widows with no sons must close their shops down after the first year of widowhood; otherwise, they had to pay a fine of ten *lliures* (pounds) for each day that they still ran their businesses.<sup>64</sup>

As scholars of gender and labour have pointed out, married women and daughters possessed the required skills to carry on the businesses after the master's decease, as they worked together with their husbands and fathers.<sup>65</sup> To maintain their business, masters' widows could remarry a master or journeyman of the same guild. Nevertheless, some widows negotiated with journeymen to covertly manage their shops on their own, as did Caterina Vila, or Vidal, widow of the grocer-confectioner Rafael Vila, or Vidal. In November 1675, guild officials ordered Caterina to close down her

shop located in Carrer Ample. Caterina refused to pay and petitioned the municipal magistrates to revoke the fine imposed by guild officials. Caterina was granted with a licence to keep the shop open only for a short period of time. However, a few months later Caterina's store still remained open and when the officials went there to close the shop, they only found a confectioner journeyman: Caterina was not there.<sup>66</sup> Then guild officials appealed to the Real Audiencia, the highest royal tribunal and an appellate court in Catalonia, against Josep Nicolau, the journeyman working in Caterina's shop, accusing him of having an illicit partnership with the widow. As determined by guild regulations, only guildsmen with equal shares and benefits were entitled to establish a legal partnership.<sup>67</sup> However, like Caterina, masters' widows established informal partnerships with journeymen, in which widows still obtained the trading benefits while journeymen operated the shops for them. In this case, Josep Nicolau confessed that he worked and lived in Caterina's shop in order to keep the store open after her husband's death, but she was still the owner of the shop. The court convicted Nicolau in 1679, although he claimed that he had no funds to establish his own business.<sup>68</sup> That was probably the case as Josep left his wife, Maria Nicolau i Margarit, penniless when he died. In 1689, Maria Nicolau pleaded with guild officials for charity, stating that her husband and father had not bequeathed her enough money to live, and her poor health prevented her from surviving from her own work.<sup>69</sup> In response to their petitions, guild officials usually gave widows a donation, but they were inflexible in their refusal to allow widows to run their husbands' businesses for longer periods of time.

Despite confectioners' efforts to restrict women's activities, some *revedores*, or female food retailers, contributed to expanding and diversifying the sweets market beyond prestigious confectionery shops. *Revedores* resold a wide range of foodstuffs at their shop doors and in market stalls in El Born, the main commercial area of Barcelona in which most grocers-confectioners lived and worked.<sup>70</sup> In Barcelona, as in other European cities, female street vendors were often prosecuted because street vending was strictly prohibited by municipal and guild privileges. In addition, female sweet vendors were often accused of promoting gluttony, thus causing moral and economic harm in the cities.<sup>71</sup> For instance, in 1627 the chronicler Jeroni Pujades claimed that the city of Barcelona was increasingly corrupted by the sin of gluttony, and proclaimed: 'Where are those old Barcelona citizens who would order a hundred lashes to a Valencian woman who sold *casquetas* and *bunyols* (sweet fritters) for indulging and corrupting the good customs of the youth?'.<sup>72</sup> Grocer-confectioners often accused *revedores* of encroaching on their privileges as in the case of Eulàlia Cuyàs, *revedora* and chocolate maker's widow, who was fined for selling sugar and chocolate to the convent of Santa Elisabet in 1767.<sup>73</sup> According to guild documents, *revedores* also sold cooked pears, apples, quinces and other fruits, probably sweetened with honey or sugar, as was customary in the period. These documents indicate that they went with their *cassuelas* (cooking pots) to the bakers' ovens in order to cook fruits for sale.<sup>74</sup> As many households lacked an oven in the period, housewives and servants baked bread, stews and other foodstuff in neighbourhood ovens.<sup>75</sup> Not surprisingly, bakers' ovens came to be targets of suspicion for guild officials because, as reported by some witnesses, both guild and non-guild members produced and sold sponge biscuits and other confectionery goods there against guild privileges.<sup>76</sup> By selling on the streets, from bakers' ovens and at market stalls, female retailers played a

key role in the provision of small ‘food luxuries’ such as sugary food in a range of non-elite urban spaces.<sup>77</sup>

## Conclusion

Under Charles III of Spain (1759–1788), new economic policies began to facilitate the expansion of commercial activities against guild monopolies. Enlightenment Spanish reformists overtly condemned guild privileges and began to promote women’s access to the labour system. In his treatise on the education of artisans, the economist Pedro Rodríguez Campomanes argued that women must work in ‘acceptable activities for their sex’ and avoid idleness at home and thus, contribute to the economic growth of the nation.<sup>78</sup> In particular, Campomanes criticised the fact that bakers, confectioners and pastry cooks prevented women from working in those occupations in which women were particularly skilled.<sup>79</sup> In this context, the royal government increasingly granted women *regalías*, or individual royal privileges to sell goods without guild membership, as in the case of Gertrudis Gaudeans, widow of the baker Francisco Gaudeans, who obtained a royal privilege to produce and sell sponge biscuits in 1749.<sup>80</sup> Magistrates of Barcelona often justified these particular licences by arguing that food must be sold ‘in great abundance’ and not ‘by a sole guild’, as a way to encourage commercialism and stimulate local economy.<sup>81</sup> Ultimately, the 1779 and 1784 decrees gave women access to apprenticeship and work in the occupations ‘compatible with the decorum and strength of their sex’.<sup>82</sup>

It is not clear how these new regulations affected female confectioners in Barcelona. However, it is worth mentioning that the 1784 tax payment list of the College of Grocer–Confectioners names five ‘widows owning shops’ and twenty-four ‘masters owning workshops’, representing a remarkably high number.<sup>83</sup> Although the situation of the widows who made up this high percentage is unclear, this evidence points to the changing attitudes to guild monopolies and the decline of guild power in the second half of the eighteenth century.<sup>84</sup> Finally, in 1790, another decree entitled masters’ widows to manage their businesses after the death of their husbands, even if they remarried a non-guild member.<sup>85</sup> We know, for instance, that by the turn of the nineteenth century, Madrona Costa, pastry cook, became one of the main provisioners of sweet baked goods of the urban elites of Barcelona, including the wealthy bourgeois Erasme de Gònima, owner of one of the most important calico factories in the city.<sup>86</sup> Costa also catered for the *refrescos* of weddings, christenings and other important family events of the Catalan nobility such as Antoni de Magarola. The bills for these purchases were signed by Miguel Cabáñez and Pau Pujol, her nephew, alleging that Madrona Costa ‘does not know how to sign’, which suggests that she had a low level of education and social status.<sup>87</sup> Still, Costa’s low social status and illiteracy did not stop her from managing a flourishing business and gaining considerable commercial success and social prestige in the city. The changing political position on commerce would have given women more room to manoeuvre their independent businesses, even though they still faced social and educational barriers.

New economic policies would have paved the way for women’s formal participation in food trades at the end of the eighteenth century, although, as this article has shown, some women found ingenious ways of entering the sweet market long before the economic reforms were introduced and guilds lost control over their commercial

monopolies. In response to the growing sugar craze, female retailers, masters' widows and nuns made use of the changing legislation, their own expertise and social networks to establish their commercial activities in Barcelona. Confectioners' widows used their ingenuity and craft knowledge to run their shops, while nuns offered 'heavenly' desserts across the religious calendar and female retailers sold their sweet treats on the streets of the city, expanding and transforming consumers' tastes and the urban sweets market. In a period when symbolic sweet femininities permeated popular imagery, women of various social groups worked independently in the confectionery trade beyond the limits prescribed by social and institutional norms. The stories of these entrepreneurial women, in particular of nuns, offer an important counterpart to the existing historiography on gender and food labour, one that complicates and broadens general assumptions of the marginalisation and limitation of women in urban economies. This local case study provides further evidence of broader shifting (usually complex and paradoxical) gender ideologies and labour in eighteenth-century Europe: despite being culturally diminished through their portrayals as 'sweet', and despite being barred by guild structures, women exercised social and economic agency through the production of sweets in early modern Spain.

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### Notes

1. In this article, I interchangeably use the terms *dulces* (sweets) and *confitura* (confectionery), both early modern terms referring to a wide range of food products made with sugar and, more occasionally, honey, including candied fruits, comfits, fruit preserves and biscuits, among others. All translations are my own, if not indicated.
2. Among an extensive literature, see Sidney W. Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Penguin Books, 1985); J. H. Galloway, *The Sugar Cane Industry* (Cambridge: Penguin Books, 1986); Elizabeth Abbot, *Sugar: A Bittersweet History* (London: Duckworth Overlook, 2008); Kim F. Hall, *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996); Gitanjali Shahani, *Tasting Difference: Food, Race, and Cultural Encounters in Early Modern Literature* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2020), ch. 2.
3. Kim F. Hall, 'Culinary Spaces, Colonial Spaces: The Gendering of Sugar in the Seventeenth Century', in Valerie Traub, M. Lindsay Kaplan, and Dymna Callaghan (eds), *Feminist Readings of Early Modern Culture: Emerging Subjects* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp.168–90. See also: Sara Pennell, 'Perfecting Practice? Women, Manuscript Recipes and Knowledge in Early Modern England', in Victoria E. Burke and Jonathan Gibson (eds), *Early Modern Women's Manuscript Writing* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 237–55, especially p. 239; Hall, *Things of Darkness*, intro; Anne C. Wilson, '*Banquetting Stuff*': *The Fare and Social Background of the Tudor and Stuart Banquet* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991).
4. Amanda E. Herbert, *Female Alliances: Gender, Identity, and Friendship in Early Modern Britain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), ch. 2; Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), ch. 9.
5. Among a vast literature on gender and consumption, see Ellen Furlough and Victoria De Grazia (eds), *The Sex of Things: Gender and Consumption in Historical Perspective* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2019), intro; Amanda Vickery, 'Women and the World of Goods: A Lancashire Consumer

- and Her Possessions, 1751–1781’, in John Brewer and Roy Porter (eds), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 274–301; Deborah Simonton, Marjo Kaartinen and Anne Montenach (eds), *Luxury and Gender in European Towns, 1700–1914* (London: Routledge, 2015).
6. See, among a vast literature: Manuel Moreno Fraginals, *The Sugarmill: The Socioeconomic Complex of Sugar in Cuba, 1760–1860* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1976); Alejandro de la Fuente, ‘Sugar and Slavery in Early Colonial Cuba’, in Stuart B. Schwartz (ed.), *Tropical Babylons: Sugar and the Making of the Atlantic World, 1450–1680* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), pp. 125–62; Francisco A. Scarano, *Sugar and Slavery in Puerto Rico the Plantation Economy of Ponce, 1800–1850* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1984).
  7. Although visual arts and literature often racially constructed these female ‘sweet-makers’ as white, the lack of evidence in the primary sources consulted does not allow incorporating an intersectional analysis foregrounding race in this case study.
  8. See, among others, Barbara Ketcham Wheaton, *Savouring the Past: The French Kitchen and Table from 1300 to 1789* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1983); June Di Schino, *Arte Dolciaria Barocca: I segreti del credenziera di Alessandro VII: intorno a un manoscritto inedito* (Roma: Gangemi Editore, 2015). On guild confectioners, see Isabel Mendes Drumond Braga, ‘Confeiteiros na época moderna: Cultura material, produção e conflituosidade’, in Carmen Soares and Irene Coutinho (eds), *Ensaio sobre património alimentar luso-brasileiro* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2014), pp. 165–92; Marta Manzanares Mileo, ‘Sweet Debates in Seventeenth-Century Barcelona’, *The Historical Journal* 64 (2021), pp. 515–32.
  9. Examples from a vast literature based on case studies across Europe include: Natalie Zemon Davis, *Women on the Margins: Three Seventeenth-Century Lives* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997); Deborah Simonton, *A History of European Women’s Work: 1700 to the Present* (London: Routledge, 1998); Sheilagh C. Ogilvie, *A Bitter Living: Women, Markets, and Social Capital in Early Modern Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Danielle Van Den Heuvel, *Women and Entrepreneurship: Female Traders in the Northern Netherlands, c. 1580–1815* (Amsterdam: Aksant, 2007); Deborah Simonton and Anne Montenach (eds), *Female Agency in the Urban Economy Gender in European Towns, 1640–1830* (London: Routledge, 2013).
  10. Note that Barcelona also received sugar from small sugar mills located in the coast of Granada (Motril). For an account of the provisioning of sugar in early modern Barcelona, see Albert Garcia i Espuche, ‘Una ciutat d’adroguers’, in Albert Garcia i Espuche et al. (eds), *Drogues, dolços i tabac: Barcelona 1700* (Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2010), pp. 18–108.
  11. See James S. Amelang, *Honored Citizens of Barcelona: Patrician Culture and Class Relations, 1490–1714* (Princeton; Guildford: Princeton University Press, c.1986).
  12. María Ángeles Pérez Samper, ‘Enlightened Meals: Literary Perspectives on Food in Eighteenth-Century Spain’, in Rafael Climent-Espino and Ana M. Gomez-Bravo (eds), *Food, Texts, and Cultures in Latin America and Spain* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2020), pp. 150–77; Irene Fattacciu, *Empire, Political Economy, and the Diffusion of Chocolate in the Atlantic World* (New York: Routledge, 2020); Marcy Norton, ‘Tasting Empire: Chocolate and the European Internalization of Mesoamerican Aesthetics’, *The American Historical Review* 111 (2006), pp. 660–91.
  13. Garcia i Espuche, ‘Una ciutat d’adroguers’; Marta Manzanares Mileo, *Dolços i confiters a la Catalunya moderna* (Vic: Eumo editorial, 2021).
  14. Pere Molas Ribalta, *Comerç i estructura social a Catalunya i València als segles XVII i XVIII* (Barcelona: Curial, 1977), especially p. 93; Albert Garcia i Espuche, *Barcelona entre dues guerres: Economia i vida quotidiana (1652–1714)* (Vic: Eumo, 2005), pp. 275–85.
  15. Dorinda Outram, *The Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019, 4<sup>th</sup> ed), ch. 7. On the Spanish Enlightenment, see Mónica Boler Peruga, *Mujeres e Ilustración: La construcción de la feminidad en la Ilustración Española* (València: Institució Alfons el Magnànim, 1998); Catherine Marie Jaffe and Elizabeth Franklin Lewis (eds), *Eve’s Enlightenment: Women’s Experience in Spain and Spanish America, 1726–1839* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2009); Theresa Ann Smith, *The Emerging Female Citizen: Gender and Enlightenment in Spain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, c.2006).
  16. Referring to Sydney Mintz’s work *Sweetness and Power*. See also: Judith Carney, ‘Reconsidering Sweetness and Power Through a Gendered Lens’, *Food and Foodways* 16 (2008), pp. 127–34.
  17. Mintz, *Sweetness and Power*, pp. 17 and 155.
  18. *Diccionario de Autoridades*, (5 vols, Madrid, 1726–1739), vol. I (1726), entry: *azúcar*.
  19. On the rhetorical use of sweetness, see Mary Carruthers, ‘Sweetness’, *Speculum* 81 (2006), pp. 999–1013; Elizabeth L. Swann, *Taste and Knowledge in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), ch. 5. For a linguistic approach to modern metaphors of women as desserts, see Caitlin Hines,

- 'Rebaking the Pie: The Woman as Dessert Metaphor', in Mary Bucholtz, A. C. Liang and Laurel A. Sutton (eds), *Reinventing Identities: The Gendered Self in Discourse* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 160–77.
20. Fray Luis de León, *La perfecta casada* (Salamanca, 1583).
  21. Francisco de Salignac de la Motte Fénelon, *Tratado de la educación de las hijas* (Madrid, 1769), p. 202.
  22. Ulinka Rublack, *The Crimes of Women in Early Modern Germany* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), intro. See also note 15.
  23. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Julie, ou la nouvelle Héloïse* (Amsterdam, 1761), cited in S. K. Wertz, 'Taste and Food in Rousseau's Julie, or the New Heloise', *The Journal of Aesthetic Education* 47 (2013), pp. 24–35, especially 26. Although Rousseau's work was censored by the Spanish Inquisition, his work widely circulated in the form of translations and adaptations shaping new models of femininity in the Spanish Enlightenment. See Bolufer Peruga, *Mujeres e Ilustración*.
  24. In *Encyclopédie*, Louis de Jaucourt argued that sweet food pleases children while adults find it tasteless, as they like savoury, acrid, spirituous, strong and seasoned stews. See *Goût*, in Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert (eds), *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers* (Paris, 1751–1777), pp. 7–760. In: University of Chicago: ARTFL Encyclopédie Project (Autumn 2017 Edition).
  25. Cited in Wertz, 'Taste and Food in Rousseau's Julie', p. 26.
  26. For an account of the relation between sugar, female taste and sexual pleasure, see Rolande Bonnain, 'La femme, l'amour et le sucre', *Papilles* 8 (1995), pp. 15–23; Florent Quellier, *Gourmandise, histoire d'un péché capital* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2010), pp. 163–87; Claude Fischler, *L'Homnivore: le goût, la cuisine et le corps* (Paris: Éditions Odile Jacob, 2001), ch. 10; Swann, *Taste and Knowledge*.
  27. On changing attitudes towards sugar in early modern Europe, see Ken Albala, *Eating Right in the Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), p. 180; Fischler, *L'Homnivore*, ch. 10.
  28. Sebastián de Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* (Madrid, 1611), pp. 33–34. The same definition appeared in eighteenth-century Spanish dictionaries, including the *Diccionario de Autoridades*.
  29. Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*, p. 46. On the infantilisation of women in relation to sugar consumption in the nineteenth century, see Quellier, *La Gourmandise*, especially p. 170; Wendy A. Woloson, *Refined Tastes: Sugar, Confectionery, and Consumers in Nineteenth-Century America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), ch. 4.
  30. Carolyn Korsmeyer, *Making Sense of Taste: Food and Philosophy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014) ch. 1; Quellier, *Gourmandise*, pp. 163–87.
  31. Paul Dubé, *El médico y cirujano de los pobres* (Madrid, 1755) [Paris: 1669], p. 257.
  32. Dubé, *El médico y cirujano de los pobres*, p. 255.
  33. Among an extensive literature on the place of women in eighteenth-century luxury critiques, see Kaartinen, Monténach and Simonton (eds), *Luxury and Gender in European Towns*; Maxine Berg and Elizabeth Eger (eds), *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2003). For Spain, see Bolufer Peruga, *Mujeres e Ilustración*, ch. 4.
  34. José Clavijo y Fajardo, *El Pensador*, vol. 5 (Madrid, 1767), p. 248.
  35. Clavijo y Fajardo, *El Pensador*, p. 243.
  36. Clavijo y Fajardo, *El Pensador*, p. 247.
  37. Fra Sever d'Olot, *Llibre de l'art de quynar. Primera edició d'un manuscrit gironí de l'any 1787* (Perelada: Edicions de la Biblioteca del Palau de Perelada, 1982), p. 39.
  38. Juan Vallés, *Regalo de la vida humana*, in Fernando Serrano Larráyo (ed.) (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra; Wien: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 2008), vol. 1, p. 443.
  39. Alonso Remón, *Entretenimientos y juegos honestos, y recreaciones christianas* (Madrid, 1623), p. 90.
  40. Sugar was said to have medicinal properties and was consumed to prevent and treat a range of ailments. See, among others, Albala, *Eating Right in the Renaissance*, ch. 3; Mintz, *Sweetness and Power*, pp. 96–108.
  41. Arxiu Històric de Protocols de Barcelona (hereafter AHPB), Pere Màrtir Lluell, 719/87, n.f.; and AHPB; Antoni Cassani, 930/34, fol. 148.
  42. This account book was handed down to Agnès Safont, the lawyer's second wife a few years later. Archivo de la Corona de Aragón (hereafter ACA), Monacaes Hacienda, Volúmenes, 3401, pp. 1–5.
  43. Among a substantial historiography on broader contexts, see Elaine Leong, *Recipes and Everyday Knowledge: Medicine, Science, and the Household in Early Modern England* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2018); Michelle DiMeo and Sara Pennell (eds), *Reading and Writing Recipe Books, 1550–1800* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013). On Spain, see María de los Angeles Pérez Samper, 'Los recetarios de mujeres y para mujeres. Sobre la conservación y transmisión de los saberes domésticos en la época moderna', *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna* 19 (1997), pp. 121–54; María del Carmen Simón

- Palmer, 'La dulcería en la Biblioteca Nacional de España', in *La cocina en su tinta* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional de España, 2010), pp. 63–81.
44. Biblioteca Nacional de España (hereafter BNE), *Recetas y memorias para guisados, confituras, olores, aguas, afeites, adobes de guantes, ungüentos y medicinas para muchas enfermedades*, MS.6058
  45. Catalan terms in these recipes suggest a possible Catalan origin of some of its compilers and owners. See Pérez Samper, 'Los recetarios de mujeres y para mujeres', p. 137.
  46. BNE, *Receptas experimentadas para diversas cosas*, MS.2019, fol. 11v.
  47. BNE, *Receptas experimentadas para diversas cosas*, MS.2019, fol. 11v.
  48. BNE, *Receptas experimentadas para diversas cosas*, MS.2019, fol. 39r.
  49. BNE, *Receptas experimentadas para diversas cosas*, MS.2019, fol. 102r and 221r.
  50. See, for instance: Ernesto Mapelli López, 'Ora et labora: la dulcería monacal de las monjas', in Francisco Javier Campos and Fernández de Sevilla (eds), *La clausura femenina en España* (San Lorenzo del Escorial: R.C.U. Escorial-M<sup>a</sup> Cristina, Servicio de Publicaciones, 2004), vol. 1, pp. 181–200; Kathryn Burns, *Colonial Habits: Convents and the Spiritual Economy of Cuzco, Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), especially p. 166; Asunción Lavrín, *Brides of Christ: Conventual Life in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008), pp. 154–55; Dina Fernanda Ferreira de Sousa, *Arte Doceira de Coimbra. Conventos e Tradições*, (Sintra: Colares Editora, 2013).
  51. Antonio Arbiol, *La religiosa instruída* (Madrid, 1776) [1717], p. 246.
  52. Arbiol, *La religiosa instruída*, p. 246.
  53. Arbiol, *La religiosa instruída*, p. 598.
  54. Sharon T. Strocchia, *Nuns and Nunneries in Renaissance Florence* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, c2009), p. 92.
  55. Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona (hereafter AHCB), Gremi Municipal, caixa 9, Adroguers i sucres, n.f.
  56. Rafael d'Amat i de Cortada, *Calaix de sastre*, Ramon Boixareu (ed.) (Barcelona: Institut Municipal d'Història: Curial, 1990), vol. VI, 19 March 1802, and vol. VII, 19 March 1807.
  57. Coloma Boada and Irene Brugués, *Monestirs urbans en temps de guerra: Sant Pere de les Puel·les i Santa Clara de Barcelona, 1691–1718* (Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona, Institut de Cultura, 2014).
  58. Biblioteca de Catalunya (hereafter BC), Magarola 46/4.
  59. BC, Magarola 46/4.
  60. This profession is also cited in Rosa Maria Creixell, 'La Barcelona monàstica. La dona en la clausura', in Albert Garcia i Espuche (eds), *Les Dones: Barcelona 1700* (Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2013), pp. 200–32.
  61. BC, Saud. 8<sup>o</sup> 133 III–25.
  62. Teresa de Sans (1753–1781), Maria Antònia de Magarola (1782–1786) and Maria Josepa de Magarola (1786), Maria Francesca de Sans (1788–1799). See Ernesto Zaragoza Pascual, *Catàleg dels monestirs catalans* (Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1997), p. 181.
  63. AHCB, 1B.IV-18, fol. 136r.
  64. ACA, Diversos, Colegio de Drogueros y Confiteros de Barcelona, num. 54.
  65. Danielle Van Den Heuvel, 'Partners in Marriage and Business? Guilds and the Family Economy in Urban Food Markets in the Dutch Republic', *Continuity and Change* 23 (2008), pp. 217–36; Zemon Davis, *Women on the Margins*.
  66. ACA, Diversos, Colegio de Drogueros y Confiteros de Barcelona, num. 7, fols. 177, 187.
  67. ACA, Diversos, Colegio de Drogueros y Confiteros de Barcelona, num. 54.
  68. ACA, Diversos, Colegio de Drogueros y Confiteros de Barcelona, num. 51, doc. 29.
  69. ACA, Diversos, Colegio de Drogueros y Confiteros de Barcelona, num. 7, fol. 530.
  70. Albert Garcia i Espuche, *La Ciutat del Born: Economia i vida quotidiana a Barcelona (Segles XIV a XVIII)* (Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona: Museu d'Història de Barcelona, 2009), p. 50. For an account of *revedores*' activities in early modern Barcelona, see Marta Vicente, 'Images and Realities of Work: Women and Guilds in Early Modern Barcelona', in Alain Saint-Saëns and Magdalena Sánchez (eds), *Spanish Women in the Golden Age: Images and Realities* (London: Greenwood, 1996), pp. 127–39.
  71. See, for instance, Anne Montenach, 'Legal Trades and Black Markets: Women Involved in The Sale of Food in Lyon in the Late 17th and Early 18th centuries', in Simonton and Montenach (eds), *Female Agency in the Urban Economy*, pp. 17–34; Jodi Campbell, *At the First Table: Food and Social Identity in Early Modern Spain* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2017), pp. 173–4. In seventeenth-century Lisbon, confectioners denounced 200 women of 'bad reputation' who sold sweets in the streets, see Drumond Braga, 'Confeiteiros na época moderna', p. 167.

72. Jeroni Pujades, 'Dietari sisè. Any 1627', *Memorias de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, 18 (1976), p. 109.
73. ACA, Diversos, Colegios de Drogueros y Confiteros de Barcelona, num. 50.
74. AHCB, Gremi Especiales, 2B, 51, doc. 6.
75. Note that bread provision and the management of neighbourhood ovens were widely accepted female skills in some early modern European cities. In Santiago de Compostela (Spain), women clearly dominated most bakeries, see Serrana Rial García, *Las mujeres en la economía urbana del antiguo régimen: Santiago durante el siglo XVIII* (Sada: Edición do Castro, 1995), p. 79.
76. ACA, Diversos, Colegio de Drogueros y Confiteros de Barcelona, num. 10, fol. 199r.
77. For an account of food luxuries sold on the streets of early modern Rome, see Melissa Calaresu, 'Street "Luxuries" in Early Modern Rome', in Sarah Carter and Ivan Gaskell (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of History and Material Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020).
78. Pedro Rodríguez Campomanes, *Discurso sobre la educación popular de los artesanos y su fomento* (Madrid, 1775), p. 358.
79. Rodríguez Campomanes, *Discurso sobre la educación*, p. 381.
80. ACA, Diversos, Colegio de Drogueros y Confiteros de Barcelona, num. 13, fol.5r.
81. AHCB, Polític i representacions, 1D.IV-5.
82. *Novísima recopilación de las leyes de España* (Madrid, 1805), lib. XVIII tít. 23, laws: XIV and XV.
83. ACA, Diversos, Colegio de Drogueros y Confiteros de Barcelona, num. 16, fol. 214r.
84. The College of Grocer–Confectioners went into gradual decline from 1720 onwards, according to the decreasing number of masterships granted. See Jordi Doncel i Cabot, 'Els adroguers i sucrers de Barcelona 1700-1820. Un exemple d'élite gremial', *Pedralbes* 5 (1985), pp. 229–36.
85. *Novísima recopilación*, lib. XVIII tít 23, law: XIII.
86. BC, Gónima/Janer, 1.2.7.4.
87. BC, Magarola 46/4.

**Marta Manzaneres Mileo** holds a Marie Skłodowska Curie Individual Fellowship at the Faculty of History, University of Cambridge (UK). Her research interests include the cultural and social history of food, in particular sugar and sweets, gender history and material culture in early modern Spain.