



I Sección

Historia: Rutas comerciales en la época moderna

Asian Goods Markets in Early Modern Europe: Chinese silk fabrics in Seville, 1733 – 1750

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Resumen: Desde la segunda mitad del siglo XVI bienes de origen chino penetraron en los mercados del Imperio Español, incluyendo aquellos de sus territorios europeos. Para las primeras décadas del siglo XVIII la oferta de estos bienes creció en toda Europa por el establecimiento de compañías comerciales en el Lejano Oriente. Este artículo busca conocer los mercados específicos de sedas chinas que se formaron en Sevilla en la primera mitad del siglo XVIII a través del análisis del consumo con fuentes notariales tales como los inventarios de difuntos y las cartas de dote.

Palabras clave: Seda china; consumo; Sevilla; mercados; cultura material.

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Mercados de productos asiáticos en la Europa de la temprana Edad Moderna: telas de seda china en Sevilla, 1733-1750

Abstract: From the second half of sixteenth century, Chinese silk goods entered into the markets of the Spanish Empire, including its European territories. By the early eighteenth century, the supply of this Asian good increased across Europe because of the rise of trade companies settled in the Far East. This article aims to know the specific silk markets where Chinese silk goods penetrated in Sevilla in the first half of eighteenth century by analyzing consumption with notarial sources as probate inventories and dowry letters.

Keywords: Chinese silk; consumption; Sevilla; markets; material culture.

1. INTRODUCTION

From 1573, it was opened up in Philippines a new trade route to supply with Asian goods Spanish Empire worldwide domains. Every year, Spanish galleons made the route from Manila to Acapulco in New Spain, carrying a wide range of products from various origins. Chinese silk was among the most valued and diffused of these goods. Hundreds of Chinese silk fabrics flooded American markets as early as seventeenth century. Notarial documents from New Spain show the variety of colors and silk fabric type combinations that were dressed and used in Mexico City: purple velvet, blue and yellow damask, blue velvet, green damask, litmus taffetas, etc¹. From New Spain these goods were distributed to many Spanish territories, including the European ones, where they arrived to the single authorized port: Sevilla.

By seventeenth century, European states that had been outside Asian trade built spaces to participate in these markets through the establishment of monopolistic trade companies as the East India Company and the Dutch East India Company. Supply of Asian goods, including Chinese silk, increased across Europe throughout seventeenth century and part of the next because of the products that these companies traded².



The importance of this flow of goods in Western Europe Economy has been interpreted from different positions. On the one hand, scholars as Immanuel Wallerstein deny this trade as a determinant for economic development in Western Europe. Wallerstein minimizes the impact of this trade because the contribution of Asian luxury goods to European capitalist accumulation is limited. In Early Modern era, Far East is considered a marginal periphery, since it contributes little to the development of the world capitalism³.

On the other hand, some scholars have interpreted this trade as positive for some specific economic industries in eighteenth century Western Europe as crockery in England and the Dutch republic, cotton textiles in England and silk fabrics in France. This goods traded to Europe had an economic transition from importation products to products directly fabricated in Europe or in its overseas territories. Europeans controlled total or partially the supply chain of these goods displacing Indian calicos, Chinese porcelain and Chinese Silk fabrics creating European substitutes adapted to local tastes⁴.

There are many examples of this transition process. Among these examples one very interesting is that of silk products. According to Jan de Vries, by the second half of the eighteenth Century European importations of raw Chinese silk were more than the Chinese silk fabrics because of the reaction of European silk industry⁵. As oppose to the other imported Asian goods, Europe had a local silk industry that could reply to Chinese fabrics in design and quality.

In the advance of European reaction was Lyon. Since the late seventeenth century the silk industry in that city started to make innovations in its fabrics. This innovation was in the production process and in the design of the fabrics⁶. Before eighteenth century, the designs in European silk fabrics were symmetric and stylized flowers⁷. By the first decades of eighteenth century the designs started to change to a style that Peter Thornton named Bizarre Silks. This style is in transition to the naturalistic designs that appeared later. Oriental forms inspired clearly this style and among the forms more recurrent were Chinese pavilions, animals and human figures





of the same origin⁸. By 1730 decade the Naturalism in silk designs was overwhelming. The naturalistic designs were a combination of Oriental forms, most of them chinoiserie, and the Rococo style⁹.

The new French fabrics with these designs were called *façonnées*. These fabrics became fashionable and valued for the quality of the design more than the quality of the fabric. Every year new designs appeared, restarting the *façonnées* fashion cycle. The *façonnées* gained the markets of France and other parts of Europe that could not compete with these designs. The other European manufacturers had to decide among the imitation of French designs or continue in the traditional market silk fabrics¹⁰.

Lyon silk manufacturers were able to make innovations although they were organized in a guild. Lyon silk guild, *La Grande Fabrique*, and the municipality of the city created economic incentives to improve weaving technology for the designs¹¹.

In addition to this assistance from the municipalities, European monarchies also protected its local industries with the objective of a positive balance of trade. One of the most common measures in this economic policy was the prohibition of foreign products, especially the Asian goods. In Spain was prohibited the entrance in 1718 of Asian silk fabrics together with Asian cotton textiles. These measures benefited some local silk industries as Valencia¹².

In Spain, silk production traditionally concentrated in some Andalusian centers such as Granada, Cordoba, Sevilla and Jaen, as well as other regions such as Murcia, Toledo and Valencia. In the first half of the eighteenth century the situation of each of these centers was different. The majority was in decadence. The exception was Valencia¹³.

Silk producers in Andalusia had their peak in the sixteenth century as they sold part of their production in the colonial territories and in parts of Europe. In the last third of this century began its decline by competition from other European production centers and especially Chinese silk. Chinese silk mostly gained its American colonial markets¹⁴.



The competition of the Chinese silk not only displaced the Spanish production in America, but also ended the incipient production of silk in New Spain. According to Gasch, most of the textiles that were traded from Manila to Acapulco in the period 1600 - 1640 were Chinese silks, in particular manufactured products, which were 59% and raw silk which was 39% of all textiles imported¹⁵.

On the other hand, the Chinese silk sent from Veracruz to Seville was almost entirely silk raw, 96%. This means that the Chinese silk manufactured products rarely arrived in Seville coming from America¹⁶.

Gasch also argues with an econometrical analysis that uses probate inventories that the way in which Asian goods circulated to Seville from the late sixteenth century until the beginning of the seventeenth century at least, was not only through commercial circuits but also in circuits such as gifts and commissions. The relations and contacts that could have in Seville with New Spain were as important as the wealth in the spread of Asian goods, of which Chinese silk was the most important¹⁷.

The trade of Asian goods through the Manila-Acapulco Galleon was a business where the merchants of New Spain kept most of the profits¹⁸. It was until the second half of the 18th century that Spanish merchants were able to open a new direct route, without the intermediation of New Spain¹⁹.

In this context of decline of the Andalusian silk industry in general, the problem is to know if the local offer was sufficient to satisfy the demand for silk fabrics in Seville during the study period. There are signs that make us think that it could be of Chinese origin, as is the increase in the supply of silk fabrics from China brought by commercial companies from other European countries and the trade and circulation of these goods that came from New Spain. On the other hand, there are signs that warn us otherwise, such as the substitution of Chinese silk fabrics for those manufactured in centers such as Lyon and Valencia, which were clearly inspired by the Far East, especially for their naturalistic and often clearly Chinese motives, the prohibition for the introduction of Asian textiles in Spain and that most of the silk that





entered at least until the seventeenth century was non-woven. In addition, as already mentioned direct trade from Asia to Spain, where probably more silk fabrics entered China was opened until the second half of the century.

This article investigates the case of Chinese silk fabrics markets in Seville in the 1733–1750 period. This city was linked to China through commercial routes other than the Cape of Good Hope, mainly the route of the Manila - Acapulco Galleon. Seville was at economic decline due to the loss of the commercial monopoly, but did not completely lose its power to redistribute goods at regional and national level. It is wanted to know if the Chinese silk fabrics were important to satisfy the demand of Seville in the period.

This article approaches the problem through consumption and analyzes this variable through notarial sources. This kind of sources has been used from 1980s in various works about consumption in Early Modern Europe. They were used in studies of the rural world and the history of consumption since it was a source that allows the possibility of doing series and quantitative analysis²⁰.

This source has been widely used in studies on consumption since it allows knowing the products that a household maintained at a certain moment. It is a source that also enables to do comparisons because of their detailed character by localities. Furthermore it can done classification of consumption patterns, lifestyles, material culture in terms of wealth or social status²¹.

In this article are used exclusively two kind of notarial records: probate inventories and dowry letters. The former were notarial documents where it was registered the goods that one person inherited in accordance with its testament. The latter were notarial documents where it was registered the goods that the bride contributed to the marriage. In both types of documents were presented as a list where it was registered the goods with some details like value, color and other characteristics.

Notarial records have some problems. The first problem is of representativeness since there is a bias in the samples taken at random in favor of





medium and high stock inventories and a shortage of them for the social base²². Moreover, there are more inventories for the elderly and for families that are close to disappearing, which had fewer goods²³. And finally, there is also the problem that sometimes inventories sample size is not appropriate to do total population inferences²⁴. About these problems, although social base have less representation, documents of this social group are a well indicator of its consumption. Concerning to the question of the families that were disappearing, the argument it could be valid for probate inventories, although in those that it was used in this article they are the minority. On the other hand, dowry letters have not this problem since they represent families that are being formed.

Can these notarial sources represent consumption? Economic theory defines consumption in a market economy as the flow of expense that the households do in goods and services of final use in market prices²⁵. This definition of consumption is for a market capitalist economy and could be inadequate to analyze consumption in an Early Modern economy, where a big part of consumption and production did not pass through the market. Nevertheless, it is useful for the article purpose, since the consumption that is analyzed is necessarily market oriented. Now, information that is both in dowries and probate inventories does not represent a flow of expense, but a stock of goods accumulated through time. This does not disqualify notarial records as a measurement of consumption since although it cannot be known the value that it was consumed in one point, it is possible to know what it was being consumed. For this article objective, that is to know if it was being consumed certain good in the long term, it is adequate.

2. CHINESE SILK GOODS IN SEVILLE, 1733 –1750

In this article, the information is from notarial records of Archivo Histórico Provincial de Sevilla. In this archive are notarial documents of the twenty-four oficios that existed in Seville. It was checked dowry letters and probate inventories from one



different oficio for every year in the 1733 – 1750 period. In table 1 there is a summary of the number of documents per year.

TABLE 1. Probate Inventories and dowries per year, 1733 – 1750.

Oficio	Year	Probate		Total
		inventories	Dowries	
18	1733	2	3	5
17	1734	2	3	5
16	1735	1	1	2
15	1736	2	0	2
14	1737	2	2	4
13	1738	5	2	7
12	1739	1	3	4
11	1740	4	0	4
10	1741	0	0	0
9	1742	6	6	12
8	1743	3	0	3
7	1744	2	1	3
6	1745	2	2	4
5	1746	1	2	3
4	1747	4	2	6
3	1748	0	0	0
2	1749	2	2	4
1	1750	7	4	11
Total		46	33	79

Sources: Based on probate inventories and dowries sampled from Archivo Histórico Provincial de Sevilla.

In all the oficios it was found 79 documents, of which almost one third are probate inventories. Years that have the highest number of documents are 1742 and 1750, with 11 and 12 respectively. There are two years that do not have probate nor dowry letters: 1741 and 1748. The rest of the years have 4 documents in average.



It was decided to check documents of various oficios so that the research does not concentrate in only certain social sectors or few Seville collaciones.

The interest of the article is to find, first, goods that are made of silk. In order to identify them it is necessary to know how silk fabrics and other products made with silk were named in the research period, the 18th century first half. It was chosen printed works of the period where it is mentioned silk goods.

The first printed source is *Diccionario de la lengua castellana*, published between 1726 and 1739 by Real Academia de la Lengua and well known as *Diccionario de Autoridades*. The most common silk fabrics as damasco (damask), raso (satin) and tafetán (taffeta). These names are easily identifiable in probate inventories and dowries as silk fabrics, however there are fabrics found in *Diccionario de Autoridades* that is not so simple to recognize in the documents as made of silk. These are fabrics as felpa, gorgorán, persiana and tercianela.

According to *Diccionario de Autoridades*, damasco (damask) was a silk fabric between taffeta and satin of different colors, always with design. It was used for women or men clothes and for beds²⁶. It was originated in the city of Damascus, nowadays in Syria and had as characteristic that the design appeared in one side of the fabric with a bright effect and in the other side with the opposite effect²⁷. Raso (satin) was a silk fabric between taffeta and velvet. It had as the most important characteristic to be a very bright fabric. Tafetán (taffeta) is also defined as a silk fabric by *Diccionario de Autoridades*. This term is used nowadays to name not a silk fabric but a type of textile weave. In the documents, tafetán goods are always treated as silk goods.

According to *Diccionario de Autoridades* Felpa was a silk fabric with some yarn in fur shape. Gorgorán was a silk fabric with cordoncillo. Persiana was a silk fabric with flowers as designs. Finally, tercianela was a silk fabric similar to taffeta but brighter than this one and with double cover.

In *Diccionario de Autoridades* it can be found the name of clothes that were often manufactured with silk fabrics. Among them there are some common for the



time as capas, calzas, chupas, casacas, guantes and medias. All these were clothes exclusively for men, except casaca that was for both genders. In addition there are other clothes less known but that appeared in the notarial records as manguitos, which was a cloth to cover the hands in winter season.

In *Diccionario de Autoridades* it can be also be found some names of furniture that was lined with some silk fabric as biombo, colcha, cortina, tapiz, etc .

A second printed source of the time where it can be found names for silk goods are the books of instructions to manufacture clothes. In eighteenth century Europe Silk clothes were manufactured by roperos and sastres guilds. The book that has been used is *Geometría y trazas pertenecientes al oficio de sastres donde se contiene el modo y orden de cortar todo género de vestidos españoles y algunos extranjeros sacándolos de qualquier ancharia de tela, por la vara de Aragón, y explicada la de esta con todas las de estos reynos, y las medidas que usan en otras provincias extranjeras* by Juan de Albayzeta, edited in Zaragoza in 1720.

In this book there are some terms that are also in *Diccionario de Autoridades* as capa, casaca and chupa. It was also found some clothes that were not in *Diccionario de Autoridades* like bestido, calzón and basquiña. All these clothes appear many times in probate inventories and dowry letters. Basquiña was a cloth exclusively for women and calzón for men. The word bestido or vestido was used to denote an outfit made of the same fabric. A bestido could be for women or for men. For women the outfit was basquiña and casaca and for men the outfit was casaca, chupa and calzón.

A final printed source to identify silk goods are the silk guilds rules, named in Spain ordenanzas. It was used *Ordenanzas modernas del gremio del arte mayor de la seda de Sevilla*. These ordenanzas are from 1683, but they were in force during 18th century. This was the guild for Seville silk weavers. In the ordenanzas were the production rules for the guild, so that is precise to know fabrics that it manufactured. There are almost the same terms that it was found in the other two works. However in the ordenanzas there is the term terciopelo (velvet), a kind of silk fabric frequently



used at the time and that is found many times in probate inventories and dowries. Terciopelo was similar to felpa but with longer fur.

Once it was identified types of silk fabrics and clothes made with Silk in the first half of eighteenth century Seville, the next aim is to know if the silk goods identify in probate inventories and dowries came from China. In this article it is proposed that silk goods that expressly said that are from China, came from that place indeed. In addition, it is proposed as hypothesis that other goods with identical or similar characteristics likely have the same Chinese origin.

Chinese silk goods which expressly is said to be of that origin is summarized in table 2. Except for capotito (a kind of cape), all the other goods are to be used in bed: colgaduras, colchas (bedcovers), rodapiés (an extension for bedcover), batas (dressing-gowns) and toallas (a piece of fabric for the bed). The only silk fabric found is raso (satin) and the colour more repeated is blue. Other features of these goods are silver, silk and cotton embroidery, golón de oro guarniciones and olandilla lining.

TABLE 2. Chinese silk goods, Seville 1733 – 1750.

Chinese silk goods			
Good	Fabric	Colour	Features
Colgadura	Raso	Various	Golón de oro
Colgadura	Raso	Verde	Golón de oro
Colgadura	Raso	Azul	
Colcha	Raso	Bordado de plata y seda	Forrado de olandilla



Colcha	Azul	Bordado de algodón	
Colcha	Celeste	Bordado	
Rodapiés	Raso	Bordado de plata y seda	Forrado de olandilla
Bata			
Toalla	Pajizo, encarnado		
Capotito		Bordado	

Sources: Based on probate inventories and dowries sampled from Archivo Histórico Provincial de Sevilla.

These goods may indicate two things about the markets that probably Chinese silk penetrated in Seville. First, that it is probable that some Chinese silk fabrics were very appreciated in Seville to make various kinds of clothes for the bed and other clothes. Second, that it probable that clothes for the bed were made in China an exported to Seville. Also it is possible that both situations happened at the same time. Three different markets for Chinese silk goods in Seville are suggested here. Silk fabrics, specifically satin, clothes for the bed made with silk and silk clothes, specifically cloth to use at home.

According to the combination of some of the characteristics of Chinese silk goods it is suggested that other goods in the notarial records are of this origin. Two combinations of color and fabric and one of fabric and a kind of cloth are used to find probable Chinese silk goods. These combinations are blue satin, green satin and satin cloth for bed. In table 3 these probable Chinese silk are summarized. Once again, it is found some clothes for bed, but also, clothes as corpiños, monillos, mantillas and vestidos (dresses). All these clothes are for women, thus it is suggested that maybe Chinese silk fabrics also were appreciated in Seville to made women clothes, expanding Chinese silk fabrics market in the city.



TABLE 3. Probable Chinese silk goods, Seville 1733 – 1750.

Probable Chinese silk goods				
Good	Fabric	Colour	Features	
Colgadura		Verde	Forrado	
Colcha	Raso	Verde		
Colcha	Raso	Blanca	Forrado en tafetán	Bordado
Guardapiés	Raso	Verde		
Guardapiés	Raso	Verde		
Corpiño	Raso	Verde		
Monillo	Raso	Verde		
Vestido	Raso	Verde		
Guardapiés	Raso	Verde		
Mantilla	Raso	Verde		
Guardapiés	Raso	Verde		
Mantilla	Raso	Verde		

Sources: Based on probate inventories and dowries sampled from Archivo Histórico Provincial de Sevilla.

Now, what is the frequency in the documents that contain Chinese silk goods and probable Chinese silk goods? In table 4 this is summarized. For some years there are no documents with this kind of goods. However, for other years they are on quarter, one third or one half of the total. The percentage of documents with Chinese silk goods and probable Chinese goods is 13.9%. Almost one of six households had this kind of goods.

TABLE 4. Frequency of Chinese and probable Chinese silk goods, Seville 1733 – 1750.

Oficio	Year	Probate		Total	Percentage
		inventories	Dowries		
18	1733	1	0	1	20%



17	1734	0	0	0	0
16	1735	1	1	2	100%
15	1736	0	0	0	0
14	1737	0	0	0	0
13	1738	1	1	2	28.6%
12	1739	0	2	2	50%
11	1740	0	0	0	0
10	1741	-	-	-	-
9	1742	1	0	1	8.33%
8	1743	1	0	1	33.33%
7	1744	0	0	0	0
6	1745	0	0	0	0
5	1746	1	0	1	33.3%
4	1747	0	0	0	0
3	1748	-	-	-	-
2	1749	1	0	1	25%
1	1750	1	0	1	9,10%
Total		8	4	12	13,90%

Sources: Based on probate inventories and dowries sampled from Archivo Histórico Provincial de Sevilla, Signaturas.

3. CONSUMPTION OF CHINESE SILK GOODS IN TWO SEVILLIAN FAMILIES

In this section, some of the documents consulted are analyzed in more detail. They are two probate inventories that have been chosen because they have characteristics that allow us to make a comparison analysis with other consumed silk goods, that is, non-Chinese, as well as knowing what other goods of Chinese





origin were consumed together with the silk fabrics that came from this same place. The first document is the probate inventory that was made after the death of Don Luis Havet, a French merchant whose house was in the street of Pajaritos in the San Isidro collación. His widow, Doña Teresa Maestre, was his executor when he died in 1749. Among the many goods that this merchant left there are many silk and some of Chinese origin. This inventory is useful for two reasons. On the one hand it is a young family, which was not only composed by Luis Havet and his wife Mrs. Teresa Maestre, but also several children. If this is added to the fact that it was a wealthy family, it caused many new and few used ones to appear on the list of goods. This puts close to convert this stock of goods into something closer to consumer demand. In addition, this is the probate inventory that lists the most goods of all those consulted.

The analysis focuses on silk goods taking two perspectives. The first one is by type of good and the second one is by type of fabric. In this probate inventory there are 177 silk goods. A summary of the goods of this type found in this document is in table 5 and a summary for the silk goods fabrics is in the table 6. From the point of view of goods, they can be classified into women's clothing, men's clothing, and furniture and accessories. Women's clothing totals 76 goods, which is almost half of the total silk goods contained in the inventory. The garment that is most repeated is casaca with 26, followed by sayas with 17 and guardapiés with 17. Casaca was a garment was a jacket that was used to cover the trunk. Doña Teresa Maestre had some of different silk fabrics. One of black grodetu, one of black taffetas and another of black velvet. It is interesting to note that this garments were of the same color, in this case black. Likely it was part of her mourning clothes. The other interesting thing here is the variety of silk fabrics for the same type of garment. Her daughters had also casacas made by silk. Like Teresa Maestre they had casacas made by different types of silk fabrics like grodetú, velvet and taffetas. Just like her, these casacas were black, but they had also different ones like white satin casacas. About the origin of women's casacas there is no information in the document that allow to know if the





Chinese silk fabrics were used to make women's clothes. There is information about other origins like Valence, Seville and Italy. Seven casacas were made with silk fabrics came from that places.

This family had among their goods silk saya. Saya was a garment used to cover the legs. In the probate inventory they are found many times in the same record together with casaca as an ensemble. Doña Teresa had sayas made by taffetas and tercianela and, as same as the casacas, always in black. Her daughters had sayas but not as many as his mother. Nor did they have them from other fabrics or other colors than black. The majority of the sayas have an unknown origin, except for three that are said to be from Seville. Neither here you can know if its origin is Chinese.

The other important feminine silk garment that appears in this probate inventory is the guard. This garment covered the entire body. It could be equivalent to what is now called dress. In the guardapiés there is more variety of colors than in casacas and sayas. Doña Teresa had one of white satin and two of green taffeta with a gold tip. Daughters also had several guardapiés with the same variety of colors and fabrics. Most of the guardapiés did not have a place of origin, except three that are said to come from Valence.

Other feminine silk garments that are in the inventory of Don Luis Havet are delantales, cotillas and paletinas. In these other garments there are different fabrics and a greater variety of colors. Such is the case of cotillas. Cotilla was a garment to be used underneath the casaca. All cotillas found in this probate inventory was made by damask. Their colors were sky blue and red. There is no information about the origin of these garments. Delantales and paletinas were garments to be worn over the casaca. These two types of garments were made always by taffetas in red or white. In the same way that guardapiés this type of clothes wore several ornaments such as gold or silver embroidery. There is no information on these three types of garments about where they came from.



In men's clothing, there were 31 garments in total. Among them there were medias, chupas calzones and casacas. The stockings were clothes to cover the legs from the foot to the knees. In this probate inventory the children of the Havet family as well as the late Don Luis had several made of silk. Among them the black ones stood out, although there were other colors. On the other hand nothing is said about the type of silk cloth from which they were made or their origin.

TABLE 5. Silk goods from Luis Havet probate inventory 1749.

Good	Origin	Number	Total
Almohadilla	nd	1	1
Calzones	nd	12	12
Casaca man	nd	10	10
	nd	18	
	Italy	1	
	Seville	4	
Casaca woman	Valence	3	26
Chupa	nd	14	14
Colcha	nd	6	6
Colgadera	nd	1	1
Colgadura de	nd	2	
cama	China	2	4
Corte	France	3	3
Cotilla	nd	5	5
Delantal	nd	10	10
Fundas de			
almohada	nd	18	18
	nd	9	
Guardapiés	Italy	1	13





	Valence	3	
Manto	Seville	10	10
Medias	nd	17	17
Paletina	nd	5	5
Pañuelo	nd	1	1
	nd	1	
Rodapiés	China	1	2
	nd	14	
Saya	Seville	3	17
Sirial	nd	1	1
Toalla	China	1	1
			177

Sources: Based on probate inventory sampled from Archivo Histórico Provincial de Sevilla.

Chupas were clothes to cover the trunk. This type of clothing did not have sleeves. It is what today is called a vest. The calzones were garments that men used to cover the legs from the waist to the knees. Like those wore women, men's coats were garments that covered the trunk. It was common that chupas, calzones and casacas were made from the same piece of fabric, so they appeared in the probate inventions in a single record. The set of these three garments was called vestido. Among the clothes of this type that belonged to Don Luis Havet were two dresses of brown tercianela, which were lined with taffeta. It is usual to find that casacas were lined with this type of fabric. This was not only for garments made of some silk fabric but also for clothes of other fabrics such as linen. For example, Luis Havet also left among his goods a coat of cloth, that is wool, which was lined with sky blue taffeta. Also in the probate inventory there is a chupa and a pair of black velvet calzones that belonged to Don Luis. Chupa was lined in white taffeta. From the clothes of the children are cloth dresses lined in white taffeta some and others of black taffeta. Also



among the children's clothes are colorful vestidos that are not among those of Don Luis, such is the case of one made of silver-colored taffeta. Another peculiar garment that belonged to the children of Don Luis Havet was a blue velvet chupa. Among the male silk garments there is no one that knows its origin. Therefore, you cannot know directly if they came from China or not.

TABLE 6. Silk fabrics from Luis Havet probate inventory 1749.

Fabric	Origin	Number	Total
Damask	n/d	19	19
	n/d	21	
n/d	China	1	22
	China	3	
	Italy	1	
	n/d	8	
Satin	Valence	6	18
	n/d	62	
Taffetas	Seville	12	74
	n/d	9	
Tercianela	Italy	1	10
Velvet	n/d	34	34
			177

Sources: Based on probate inventory sampled from Archivo Histórico Provincial de Sevilla.

Although in this family there was one more female member, it is noteworthy that women wear more silk garments. Men, in addition to silk fabrics, also used others, especially wools. In other documents that have been consulted, this tendency of women towards silk clothes and men to other fabrics is observed.

Of the rest of the silk goods of Luis Havet's probate inventory, the goods directly used for rest are of more interest. Among these goods are colchas, rodapiés, colgaduras de cama and a toalla. These pieces were used to decorate the bed, in





the case of rodapiés, colgadura and toalla, or to protect from the cold in the case of colcha. Colchas, rodapiés and colgaduras used to appear together in the records, indicating that they have the same origin, are made of the same fabric and have the same color and decoration. About origin only 4 of this type of goods have one and all of them came from China. One colgadura and rodapiés made by satin of various colors, which is decorated with gold. One colgadura of green satin, which is also decorated with gold. The toalla is of color pajizo and red and the type of silk of which it is made is not mentioned. Except the latter good, the rest have a careful decoration. All the bedding of which its origin is not said to be made of damask, all are crimson and all are also well decorated. It is clear that green and satin is Chinese and red and damask is from another origin, probably European.

The source gives another type of important information that is not directly related to silk goods, although it does relate to those of Chinese origin. It is important to know about these goods, since it indicates that there is a consumption of certain goods of Chinese origin that is occurring simultaneously. This can serve as a clue in those documents in which these goods appear to determine if the silk goods are of Chinese origin when they do not have a specific origin.

In Luis Havet's probate inventory there are several goods specified as of Chinese origin. Among them there are furniture and porcelain. The only piece of furniture in the probate inventory is a mother-of-pearl and red chest. It's a piece of lacquerware. The furniture made with this technique whose origin is in East Asia was coated with a substance called lacquer that gave them a bright appearance.

Don Luis Havet's family had a large quantity and variety of Chinese porcelain. They had plates of different sizes. 33 small plates, 4 medium plates and one large plate. They also had 12 small cups, 2 medium cups and 3 large cups. They also had one jar and 30 pocillos of different colors and shapes.

The other document is the probate inventory of the goods left in 1746 by Doña Juana Josepha Fernández de Aseijas, deceased whose widower Don Francisco Joseph de Aponte was his executor. Don Francisco Joseph de Aponte was a



merchant from Seville. They lived in Santa Maria Magdalena collación. Unlike Luis Havet and Teresa Maestre, Juana Josepha Fernández de Aseijas and Francisco Joseph de Aponte were an older couple and had no children. Similar to Luis Havet's, this is one of the probate inventories that contain more goods. Among the goods it contains is many silk and others of Chinese origin. Here also the analysis of silk goods will take two aspects. The first one is by type of good and the second is by type of fabric. A summary of the goods of this type found in this document is in table 7 and a summary for the silk goods fabrics is in the table 8.

In this probate inventory in the clothes that belonged to doña Juana Josepha Fernández de Aseijas there is a great variety of garments, colors and silk fabrics. Most of the garments were part of ensembles, that is, they were registered as dresses made of the same piece of fabric. To Juana belonged almost half of the silk goods that were registered in her probate inventory. In this we see something similar to what happened with the family of Don Luis Havet. Women more than men preferred silk clothes. Juana Fernández belonged garments such as basquiñas, casacas, cotillas, delantales, gloves, guardapiés and petos. There is not much information about the origin of these clothes. Only a few are said to have come from Toledo. The most used silk fabrics in their clothes were velvet, tercianela, satin and taffeta. Although the latter served rather as a lining in paño garments, as happened with some clothes of the Havet family.

TABLE 7. Silk goods from Juana Josepha Fernández de Aseijas probate inventory 1746.

Good	Origin	Number	Total
Basquiña	n/d	2	2
Calzones	n/d	7	7
Camoncillo	n/d	12	12
Capotito	China	1	1
	Valencia	1	
Casaca man	n/d	2	3



Casaca	Toledo	1	
woman	n/d	6	7
Chupa	n/d	3	3
Colcha	n/d	2	2
Cotilla	n/d	1	1
	Toledo	1	
Delantal	n/d	5	6
Guantes	n/d	1	1
	Toledo	1	
Guardapiés	n/d	4	5
Medias	n/d	3	3
Pañuelo	n/d	1	1
	Toledo	1	
Peto	n/d	3	4
	n/d	1	
Rodapiés	China	1	2
			60

Sources: Based on probate inventory sampled from Archivo Histórico Provincial de Sevilla.

Don Francisco Joseph de Aponte was the owner of some silk garments that appeared on the list of assets of his late wife. He belonged to some ensembles of chupas, casacas and calzones of different fabrics and colors. Like his wife, her dresses were made of fabrics such as velvet, tercianela and taffeta. The latter was rather used to be used as wool lining. Only one of the widower's vestidos has a specific origin determined in the probate inventory. This origin is Valencia, one of the most important fabric manufacturing centers in Spain in the 18th century. None of the fabrics with which his clothes were made have a declared Chinese origin, except one, which was a capotito, a kind of cap that was embroidered.



TABLE 8. Silk fabrics from Juana Josepha Fernández de Aseijas probate inventory 1746.

Fabric	Origin	Number	Total
Damask	n/d	20	20
Lama	n/d	2	2
	n/d	3	
n/d	China	1	4
	Toledo	4	
Satin	n/d	1	5
Taffetas	Valencia	2	
	n/d	14	16
Tercianela	n/d	5	5
Velvet	n/d	8	8
			60

Sources: Based on probate inventory sampled from Archivo Histórico Provincial de Sevilla, Signatura, 3785.

The deceased's family owned some silk goods for the bed. One of them was an ensemble of bedspread and rodapiés of crimson damask of which no origin is mentioned. The other was a set of Chinese embroidered bedspread and rodapiés in silver and with a lining of olandilla. As happened with the Havet family, the family of Doña Juana and Don Francisco presents this duality in colors and fabrics for silk goods for bedding. The crimson damask that has no place of origin, and the satin that is from China.

In the same way as the Havet family, this marriage had other goods of Chinese origin. The probate inventory tells us about some pieces of Chinese porcelain that belonged to the family. They had 24 posillos, 18 small plates, one inkwell and one salvadera.

4. CONCLUSION



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The notarial sources that have been used in this paper give some clues about the markets that probably Chinese silk fabrics had penetrated in Seville in the first half of the 18th century. First, it is noted that Chinese silk goods appear almost exclusively for the use of the bed. Such is the case of toallas, bedspreads, guardapiés and colgaduras. However, other goods of this type appear that have no place of origin. These are usually from another fabric, damask, compared to the Chinese that are almost always satin. On the other hand, the colors of which is of Chinese origin dominates the green or blue.

It is also significant that many of the silk goods in the probate inventories and dowries have no place of origin specified. This allows to raise the possibility that these goods are of Chinese origin. However, the documents of the notarial Archive of Seville, only allow posing it as a hypothesis. To advance the resolution of this proposal, other sources can be used. First, it can be used other notarial resources of the Hispanic world. Especially those of the American domains. Notarial sources such as those of New Spain possess greater wealth in the description of Chinese silk goods. The determination of certain typologies and the confirmation of those that have already been established for Seville would be a significant advance.

Second, tax sources can also be very helpful. Records of taxes collected on goods crossing Spanish ports may contain descriptions of Chinese silk fabrics. Once again, what is sought is to find coincidences that help discriminate typologies and determine which ones were of Chinese origin.

Regarding the objective that was raised, to know if the Chinese silk fabrics covered the demand for this good in Seville the answer is that it is not very likely that they were very important since many Chinese silk goods were not found in relative numbers. However, the study has served to consider what kind of Chinese silk goods were consumed in Seville.



Notes.

1. We can find these and more example in probate inventories. Archivo General de Notarías de la Ciudad de México, Notaría 497, vol. 3359; Notaría 497, vol. 3360.
2. de Vries, 2015, pp.17-25.
3. Wallerstein, 1974.
4. See Berg (2005); Riello (2013); Poni (1998, pp. 593-605) and Perez-García (2013, pp. 123-162).
5. de Vries, 2015, p.30.
6. Poni, 1998, pp. 593-605.
7. Thornton, 1965, pp. 85-94.
8. Thornton, 1965, p. 100.
9. Thornton, 1965, p. 121.
10. Sewell, 2010, pp. 89-97.
11. There is a debate on whether guilds were a brake or not for innovation and technological change. Sheilagh Ogilvie is in the first position, while Stephan R. Epstein and Valentina Fava are in the latter. See. Ogilvie (2014, pp. 169-192), Epstein and Fava (2009, pp. 717-746). About innovation in Lyon silk industry see Pérez (2008, pp.232-263).
12. Franch Benavent, 2014, p. 53.
13. Franch Benavent et al, 2016, pp. 21 – 34.
14. García Gámez, 2017, p. 88.
15. Gasch, 2019, pp. 132 – 133.
16. Gasch, 2014, pp. 204 – 211.
17. Gasch, 2019, pp. 134 – 135.
18. Bonialian, 2017, pp. 8-16.
19. Martínez Shaw, 2016, pp. 54 – 59.
20. Van der Woude and Schuurman, 1980.
21. Yun Casalilla, 1999, pp. 30-31.



22. de Vries, 1994, p. 99.
23. Yun Casalilla, 1999, pp. 33-34.
24. de Vries, 2015, p. 105.
25. Mankiw, 2009, p. 21.
26. See *Diccionario de Autoridades*, Real Academia Española, [website], <http://web.frl.es/DA.html>, (accessed 29 Jun. 2018).
27. See Glossaire approfondi du musée des Tissus, Musée des tissus. Musée des arts décoratifs de Lyon, [website], <http://www.mtmad.fr/Lists/Ressources/Scolaire/Ressources/glossaire-textile-eleves.pdf>, (accessed 21 Sept. 2017).

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