

Eberhard Crailsheim

The Spanish Connection

French and Flemish

Merchant Networks in

Seville (1570–1650)



Wirtschafts- und Sozialhistorische Studien

Herausgegeben von

Stuart Jenks, Michael North und Rolf Walter

Band 19

Eberhard Crailsheim

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2016

BÖHLAU VERLAG KÖLN WEIMAR WIEN

Published with the support from the Austrian Science
Fund (FWF): PUB 222-V18

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Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek:
Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der
Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind
im Internet über <http://dnb.d-nb.de> abrufbar.

Umschlagabbildung:
Ausschnitt aus *Vista de Sevilla*, Alonso Sánchez Coello zugeschrieben
(Ende 16. Jahrhundert). Öl auf Leinwand (150 x 300 cm).
Mit freundlicher Genehmigung des Museo de América, Madrid.

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Ursulaplatz 1, D-50668 Köln, www.boehlau-verlag.com

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Lektorat: Janice Horton, Paphos (Zypern)
Gesamtherstellung: WBD Wissenschaftlicher Bücherdienst, Köln
Gedruckt auf chlor- und säurefreiem Papier
Printed in the EU

ISBN 978-3-412-22536-0

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Acknowledgements

I have received assistance and support while researching and writing this book from more people than I can possibly thank here. I would like to express my gratitude to the Austrian Science Fund (FWF, P16748-G08) for the funding which enabled me to perform the core of my research in Spain and France. To the staff of the *Archivo General de Indias* and the *Archivo de Protocolos de Sevilla* I also owe a debt of gratitude for many forms of assistance. R. Pieper, who had developed the research project “Zwischen Mittelmeer und Atlantik: Sevilla (1550–1650)”, provided invaluable advice and encouragement at many crucial moments. Others, from whose advice and support I benefited include E. Vila Vilar, M. Herrero Sánchez, P. Teibenbacher, N. Reisinger, Ph. Lesiak, S. Dorsch, J.-Ph. Priotti, B. Oberdorfer, M. Gaal and H. Crailsheim. Any mistakes in this book are, of course, mine. Finally, I would like to give special thanks to my wife M. Crailsheim and to my parents for their love, support and patience. This book is dedicated to my late grandfather Johann Walter Heger.

Introduction

At the transition from medieval to modern times, the European economy experienced a strong growth. One of the cities which benefited most from that development was Seville. From a regional capital, it evolved into Spain's largest city, which was observed eagerly by Europe's merchants. The reason for the city's prosperity was the royal monopoly that Seville had received for all trade to and from the New World: America was the great trigger for European trade.¹ With the arrival of precious metals from America, the wheels of commerce began to turn faster and commercial networks spread all over the world.² These networks were formed by merchants who were willing to leave home and seek their fortune abroad. Many of them took up residence in Seville, where they maintained their old business connections and established new ones. Positioning itself at the crossing of the commercial history of Europe and the history of the so-called Indies trade, this book explores these networks and re-examines the situation of Seville in the Atlantic history as the central hub between two continents.

Besides the Indies trade, between Spain and its American territories, it was Seville's commercial relations to the European Atlantic coast that were especially vital for the trade of the city. During the peak of the Indies trade, two foreign groups controlled a large share of that trade, the Flemish and the French. What was the role of these two communities in the commerce of Seville? This book will outline the Flemish³ and French merchant communities in Seville from 1570 to 1650 and reconstruct their private and business networks. Thereby, their collective and individual strategies on a social and commercial level will be at the center of analysis.⁴ French and Flemings both constitute special cases in the commercial history of Seville. The Flemings were subjects of the Spanish kings and, thereby, found it easier than other European merchants to settle in Spain.⁵ The French, on the other hand, traditionally had strong ties to the

1 Domínguez Ortiz, *Orto y ocaso de Sevilla*, pp. 21-30.

2 Cf. Subrahmanyam, *Merchant Networks*; Elliott, *Die Neue in der Alten Welt*; Schnurmann, *Europa trifft Amerika*.

3 The historical term "Flemish" will be used throughout this book to describe individuals from the Southern Netherlands.

4 Thereby, individual strategies are generally understood here as deliberate and collective ones as unconscious.

5 For convenience, the term "Spain" will be used subsequently for the approximate geographical extension of today's Spain, even though no such political entity existed in the investigated time (cf. below on p. 73).

Spanish north coast, and in the course of the 16th century, also reached for Seville and for the riches from the Indies.

In the period between 1588 and 1650, historiography certified, Spain had its apogee and started its decline, especially in politics and commerce. By choosing the years 1570 to 1650 as time frame of the investigation, it enters the debate about the “European Crisis”, the “Spanish Decadence”, and the “Decline of Seville” which are indicative of the discourse about that time.⁶ Within that context, the interrelation between commerce and politics, which is essential for changes in merchant networks, gains special interest. Moreover, the reconstruction of merchants networks in Seville offers the chance to provide new insights into the social and economic lives of foreign colonies in politically troubled times.

This book places itself in the academic field of Atlantic history,⁷ focusing on the interactions between Seville and other Atlantic port towns.⁸ From Seville and its region,⁹ the most important European links via the Atlantic lead to cities like Amsterdam, Antwerp, Hamburg, Lisbon, London, Nantes, Rouen, and Venice. These cities were entrepôts for the international¹⁰ trade and connect-

6 The concepts of “crisis” are discussed more thoroughly below, at the beginning of the first chapter.

7 Bailyn, *Atlantic History*, pp. 3-56; cf. also Meinig, *Atlantic America*; Pietschmann, “Introduction: Atlantic History”; Canny, “Atlantic History”; idem, “Atlantic History and Global History”; O’Reilly, “The Atlantic World and Germany”; Geyer and Bright, “World History in a Global Age”, mainly pp. 1047 ff; recent anthologies: Bailyn and Denault, *Soundings in Atlantic History*; Green and Morgan, *Atlantic History*; Canny and Morgan, *The Atlantic World*.

8 Within such a wide scope, it positions itself essentially in the field D. Armitage called cis-Atlantic history. This branch studies particular places within an Atlantic world and seeks to define their unique nature as a result of the interaction between different places and within a wider web of connections and comparisons (Armitage, “Three Concepts of Atlantic History”, pp. 23, 25). The investigated subjects can but do not necessarily have to be states. Instead, port towns and cities are most suited for such analysis, which is where the commercial activities were centered and the intensification of early modern Europe’s economy started. Cf. for example Hohenberg and Hollen Lees, *The Making of Urban Europe*, pp. 4-6, 55-69.

9 Here, the economic region of Seville refers to the whole of Lower Andalusia (*Baja Andalucía*) or *Andalucía Occidental*, which is the western part of Andalusia, comprising the old kingdoms of Sevilla, Córdoba, Granada, and Jaén.

10 The term “international” will be applied in this book to designate the interplay of more than one region/city (e.g. Andalusia, Normandy, or Antwerp) of different political macro entities (e.g. Castile, France, or Flanders).

ed among each other through different axes of commerce.¹¹ They were part of a network system because they were gateways for the long distance trade, reaching most of Europe.¹² In contrast to the approach of P. Hohenberg and L. Hollen Lees, this book does not take cities as protagonists in the history of early modern Europe's commerce, instead it goes more into detail. It was the merchant who advanced and established the links between the different regions of Europe. It is his agency which connected the different cities and he is the subject of this work.

The phenomenon of a European or even world wide economy did not just emerge in the early modern period.¹³ Medieval European merchants were already involved in trade with goods from Asia, Africa, and all parts of Europe.¹⁴ Until the 15th century, in spite of the different risks which voyagers encountered on the roads,¹⁵ traveling merchants had the opportunity to gain high profits. It was recognized early on that the far distance trade was the true essence of the medieval town.¹⁶ Yet, with the development of the territorial states, the liberty, or at least the advantage, for the merchants of the big independent cities like Venice or Lübeck, diminished. The emerging states were eager to consolidate themselves and to keep their economy within their borders.¹⁷ New taxes, laws, and duties changed the European economy.¹⁸

11 Landa, *A Thousand Years of Nonlinear History*, pp. 38-40, 126-128; cf. Cowan, "Nodes, Networks and Hinterlands"; Scott, "Defining an Economic Region"; Lesger, "Regions, Urban Systems and Historical Central Place Analysis".

12 Hohenberg and Hollen Lees, *The Making of Urban Europe*, p. 161.

13 Cf. Rörig, "Mittelalterliche Weltwirtschaft". For the application of World System theories in the Middle Ages, cf. Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony*.

14 Rörig, "Mittelalterliche Weltwirtschaft", pp. 360-362, 364; cf. also Le Goff, *Marchands et banquiers du Moyen Âge*.

15 Favier, *De l'or et des épices*, pp. 19-24.

16 "Der eigentliche Lebensnerv der gesunden Mittelalterlichen Stadt von Rang ist aber der Fernhandel, sein Betätigungsfeld nicht die nähere Umgebung der Stadt, sondern die Welt, der in ihm rege Geist, nicht Kirchturmpolitik, sondern Denken in weiten Räumen." Rörig, "Mittelalterliche Weltwirtschaft", p. 375.

17 However, P. Hohenberg and L. Hollen Lees state that along the central trade routes between the North Sea and the Mediterranean, some free cities were strong enough to block the attempt of the princes to master them. Hohenberg and Hollen Lees, *The Making of Urban Europe*, p. 169.

18 "Die wirkliche Stadtwirtschaft des Mittelalters war zugleich auch immer Weltwirtschaft; Als sich Volkswirtschaften bildeten, war es mit der Weltwirtschaft zunächst einmal vorbei." Rörig, "Mittelalterliche Weltwirtschaft", p. 381; cf. Heckscher, *Der Merkantilismus*, vol. 1, pp. 109-112.

European politics became relevant, even for the small merchants who wanted to cross the newly established borders. Military and political conflicts started to be more significant to individual business calculations as “comprehensive” embargoes and trade prohibitions obstructed the merchant’s strategies. On the other hand, the consolidated territorial units also offered economic advantages. The arbitrariness of the local dominions made place for more regulated legislations, road tolls were adjusted, and the dangers of the long trade routes decreased.¹⁹ The ways of communication and transportation improved, new opportunities arose for the merchants, and a worldwide division of labor emerged.²⁰

Within this new economic system, Seville played a crucial role because it was the entrepôt for the riches from the Indies. A. Attman makes a point when he says: “It was the precious metals from America which facilitated the expansion of Western Europe’s trade with the Baltic area, the Levant and Asia.”²¹ In the decade of the 1540s the rich silver mines of New Spain, Zacatecas and Guanajuato, and in Peru, Potosí, were discovered, followed by many more. Thus, in a period of relative scarcity of silver in Europe, Spain gained access to immense deposits abroad.²² The official bullion shipments from America entered the European market via Seville. It goes without saying that a certain amount of bullion arrived in Europe unnoticed by the harbor authorities, by avoiding the official ports of Lower Andalusia (*Baja Andalucía*).²³ Still, Seville constituted a huge commercial gateway, and due to its monopoly for the American trade, it was the center of the Atlantic economy:

19 Cf. Gelderblom, *The Resolution of Commercial Conflict in Bruges, Antwerp, and Amsterdam, 1250–1650*.

20 Cf. for example the first two volumes of I. Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System* or a different approach by Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence*; cf. also Zanden, *The Long Road to the Industrial Revolution*.

21 Attman, *The Bullion Flow*, p. 68. A. Attman quantifies the influx of precious metals to Spain in 1550 at 3 Mio. rix-dollars per year and the flow of bullion from Europe to the East with 2-3 Mio.; in 1600 10 Mio. vs. 4.4 Mio.; and in 1650 8-9 Mio. vs. 5.8 Mio. (one rix-dollar equaled about one peso). Flynn and Giráldez, “China and the Manila Galleons”, p. 72; cf. also Barrett, “The Rise of Merchant Empires”.

22 Nef, “Silver Production in Central Europe”, pp. 16-17; cf. Castillo Martos and Lang, *Metales preciosos*.

23 For the literature and more details on contraband, cf. below on p. 59.

[...] in the first century of colonization and more, it was Spain's commercial economy, empowered by the production and distribution of precious metals, that was the key to the development of the Atlantic system.²⁴

One of the results of Seville's new position in the Atlantic commerce was the increasing number of foreign merchants. The most eloquent proof of their presence is to be found in the Spanish baroque literature. Authors such as Francisco de Quevedo, Pedro Calderón de la Barca, Lope de Vega, and Miguel de Cervantes described the character of American merchants in Seville and mentioned the numerous foreigners in Andalusia.²⁵

Modern studies on the society of Seville confirm the high density of foreigners in Seville,²⁶ and it became the subject of various investigations. The detailed works of E. Otte about the city shed a light on the situation from before the American discoveries in the late Middle Ages until 1580.²⁷ The essays collected by H. Kellenbenz about the foreigners in Spain focus largely on the situation in Seville,²⁸ which is also true of the papers gathered by M.B. Villa García and P. Pezzi Cristóbal.²⁹ Further great classicist of the history of Seville and its foreign colonies are A. Domínguez Ortiz and A. Girard, with their essays about foreigners in Spain,³⁰ and E. Vila Vilar with her studies on foreign colonies in Seville.³¹ Most recently articles were published accordingly in Spain by J.M. Olivar Melgar, J. García Bernal, and M. Gamero Rojas;³² and in Germany, by R. Walter.³³ Finally, a study by L. García Fuentes on a hundred families of Seville in the Indies trade reveals the presence of many non-Spanish merchants in the city.³⁴

24 Bailyn, *Atlantic History*, p. 87.

25 For example: Calderón de la Barca, *El gran teatro del mundo*, Quevedo, *Sueños*, Lope de Vega, *El arenal de Sevilla*, Cervantes, *Novelas exemplares*.

26 Moret, *Aspects de la société marchande*, p. 34-58; Pike, *Aristocrats and Traders*, p. 17.

27 Otte Sander, "El comercio exterior andaluz a fines de la edad media"; idem, *Sevilla y sus mercaderes*; idem, *Sevilla, siglo XVI*.

28 Kellenbenz, *Fremde Kaufleute auf der Iberischen Halbinsel*.

29 Villar García and Pezzi Cristóbal, *Los extranjeros en la España Moderna*.

30 Domínguez Ortiz, *Los extranjeros en la vida española durante el siglo XVII y otros artículos*, especially, Domínguez Ortiz, "Los extranjeros en la vida española"; Girard, "Les étrangers dans la vie économique de l'Espagne".

31 Most notably: Vila Vilar, "Los europeos en el comercio americano"; idem, "Colonias extranjeras en Sevilla".

32 Oliva Melgar, "Naturales y Extranjeros"; García Bernal and Gamero Rojas, "Las corporaciones de nación en la Sevilla moderna".

33 Walter, "Fremde Kaufleute in Sevilla im 16. Jahrhundert".

34 García Fuentes, "Cien familias sevillanas".

In addition to review works on foreigners in Seville, other studies focus on certain “nationalities” in the city. The vague and dynamic contemporary concepts of “home country” or “nation” give a clue of the possible problems in the classifications of “nationalities”.³⁵ Thereby, home country could apply to cities, regions, or even kingdoms, whereas nations were corporative mercantile organizations of foreigners from a certain geographical region.³⁶ People from abroad but from within the kingdom of Castile, for example from Andalusia or Burgos,³⁷ were no foreigners with regard to commercial rights. The Basques (until 1515/1530) or the Catalans, on the other hand, were considered foreigners in Seville.³⁸ The people from these territories together may be called Spaniards, i.e. all people from the Iberian Peninsula besides the Portuguese.

The Portuguese constituted another nation. In Madrid, the involvement of the Portuguese in Spanish finances is well researched,³⁹ yet in Seville, where their merchant colony was considerable, their trade has not been studied as much. Notable exceptions are J. Aguado de los Reyes and P. Collado Villalta.⁴⁰ Talking about the Portuguese in Spain, one also has to consider the history of the *conversos*, the converted Jewish community of Spain and Portugal. Even though religious affiliation is not in the scope of this analysis, it has to be taken into consideration.⁴¹

The foreigners in Seville that were probably investigated the most were the Italians (i.e. from the Italian Peninsula).⁴² Traces of Italian presence in Lower

35 For these concepts see for example, Gil Pujol, “Un rey, una fe, muchas naciones”. The concept of “nations” is discussed more thoroughly below on p. 77.

36 Crespo Solana, *Mercaderes atlánticos*, pp. 134–135.

37 E. Otte, for example, has found a lists of merchants from the city of Burgos in the early trade with New Spain. Otte Sander, “Mercaderes Burgaleses”.

38 Cf. idem, *Mercaderes vascos en Tierra Firme*; García Fuentes, “Factores vascos en los galeones de Tierra Firme”.

39 Díaz Blanco, “La Corona y los Cargadores”; Boyajian, *Portuguese Bankers at the Court of Spain*. For a more generic insight into the foreign financiers of the Spanish Court, cf. Carande y Thovar, *Carlos V y sus banqueros*; Ulloa, *La Hacienda Real*; Domínguez Ortiz, *Política y hacienda de Felipe IV*, pp. 103-150; Lapeyre, *Simon Ruiz*.

40 Aguado de los Reyes, “Lisboa, Sevilla, Amberes”; idem, “El apogeo de los judíos portugueses”; Collado Villalta, “El embargo de bienes”; cf. also Domínguez Ortiz, “Marcos Fernández de Monsanto”.

41 For the *conversos*, cf. p. 75.

42 To be accurate, no Italian nation *sensu stricto* existed in Seville, as the different political entities represented themselves separately. However, the Italian nation will be applied to indicate all merchants originating from the Italian Peninsula. For Italian activities in Spain, cf. Melis, *Mercaderes italianos*.

Andalusia have been analyzed since the 1980s, with investigations on Seville in the Middle Ages⁴³ and in early modern times.⁴⁴ Thus it was above all the Florentines⁴⁵ and even more the Genoese who were strongly involved in the commerce of the city.⁴⁶ In this regard, the study of E. Vila Vilar on the Italian families Corzo and Mañara in Seville has to be especially pointed out for its elaborate character.⁴⁷ The German⁴⁸ nation in Seville was rather in the shadow of the investments of the eminent Fugger family in other parts of Spain.⁴⁹ Yet, also in Seville the Fugger maintained factors (agents/representatives).⁵⁰ H. Kellenbenz and R. Walter published a collection of source material containing references to Germans in the notarial records of the cities of Seville and Cádiz,⁵¹ but besides those collections little has been written.⁵² Even less material exists

43 Boscolo and Torres, *Presenza italiana nell'Andalusia*.

44 Torres Ramírez and Hernández Palomo, *Presencia italiana en Andalucía*; Hernández Palomo, *Presencia italiana en Andalucía*.

45 Núñez Roldán, "Tres familias florentinas"; Melis, "Il commercio transatlantico".

46 Pike, *Enterprise and Adventure*; Otte Sander, "Sevilla y las ferias genovesas"; Collado Vilalta, "La nación genovesa en la Sevilla"; Vila Vilar, "Participación de capitales italianos"; Collantes de Terán Sánchez, "Mercaderes genoveses"; in Cádiz: Sánchez de Sopranis, "Las naciones extranjeras en Cádiz", pp. 661-691. For an overview about the Genoese presence in Spain, cf. Ruiz Martín, "Los hombres de negocios genoveses"; Braudel, "Endet das 'Jahrhundert der Genuesen' im Jahre 1627"; Heers, "Las empresas genovesas en el Atlántico"; Kirk, "A Little Country in a World of Empires"; Dadson, *La Casa Bocangelina*; Grendi, *I Balbi*. For the financial operations of the Genoese in Spain, cf. for example Álvarez Nogal, "Las compañías bancarias genovesas"; Herrero Sánchez, "La quiebra del sistema hispano-genovés"; Kirk, "The apogee of the hispano-genoesse Bond"; Pacini, "Grandes estrategias y pequeñas intrigas"; Sanz Ayán, "Presencia y fortuna".

47 Vila Vilar, *Los Corzo y los Mañara*.

48 In the early modern period, a definition of Germans may be derived rather from language or cultural factors than from political entities. A definition might be: a subject of the German empire whose mother tongue was (a version of) the German language.

49 Kellenbenz, *Die Fugger in Spanien und Portugal*.

50 Idem, "Sevilla en el imperio de Carlos V".

51 Kellenbenz and Walter, *Oberdeutsche Kaufleute in Sevilla und Cadiz*.

52 Some studies exist about the German Iberian trade (Kellenbenz, *Unternehmerkräfte im Hamburger Portugal- und Spanienhandel*; Richter, "Ein Schlag Englands"; Gómez-Centurión Jiménez, "Las relaciones hispano-hanseáticas"), about the German presence in the Mediterranean (Beutin, *Der deutsche Seehandel im Mittelmeergebiet*, revisited by Zunkel, "Frischer Wind in alte Segel"), and about the German European Atlantic trade (Paravicini, "Jenseits von Brügge"; Weber, *Deutsche Kaufleute im Atlantikhandel*), which includes connections to Seville and the Indies trade.

about the English merchants in Seville,⁵³ even though in middle of the 16th century, they were the largest foreign merchant colony in Seville.⁵⁴

Two more nations remain to be presented with regard to the foreign commerce in Seville, which are the colonies in the center of this investigation: the nation from the Southern Netherlands and from France. As during the early modern times, the Northern and Southern Netherlands were frequently referred to as Holland and Flanders, this classification will also be applied here. The merchants from Flanders were investigated above all by E. Stols, E. Vila Vilar, and J.P. Berthe.⁵⁵ Also the surveys of A. Crespo Solana and J. Everaert, even though focusing on later years, provide valuable insights.⁵⁶ For the Frenchmen in Seville, very little research has been done, most of which dates from the first half of the 20th century. A. Girard stands out in this regard with his analysis of the French commerce in Seville and Cádiz.⁵⁷ Newer studies come from Á. Alloza Aparicio and J.-Ph. Priotti.⁵⁸ Investigations on Frenchmen in other cities were published recently by M. Bustos Rodríguez and M.D. Ramos Medina.⁵⁹

53 Carmen Lario de Oñate, *La colonia mercantil británica e irlandesa*; about the English trade in Andalusia, cf. Pulido Bueno, *Almojarifazgos y comercio exterior*, pp. 38-53; and more generic: Taylor, "English Merchants and Spanish Prices". For Swedish commerce in Spain, cf. Mörner, "El comercio y la navegación de Suecia".

54 Otte Sander, *Sevilla, siglo XVI*, p. 276.

55 Stols, "La colonia flamenca"; Berthe, "Les Flamands à Séville"; Vidal Ortega and Vila Vilar, "El comercio lanero"; cf. also Crailsheim, "Behind the Atlantic Expansion". Especially useful because of much complementary information is Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*.

56 Everaert, *De internationale en koloniale Handel*; Crespo Solana, *Mercaderes atlánticos*; idem, *Entre Cádiz y los Países Bajos*; Fernández Chaves and Gamero Rojas, "Flamencos en la Sevilla del siglo XVIII". For Flemings in Spain, cf. Verlinden, "Quelques types de marchands"; Herrero Sánchez and Crespo Solana, *España y las 17 provincias*; Fagel, "En busca de fortuna"; Sanz Ayán and García García, *Banca, crédito y capital*. For Flemish merchants communities in the Mediterranean, cf. also Engels, *Merchants, Interlopers, Seamen and Corsairs*.

57 Girard, *Le commerce français*; idem, "La saisie de biens des français".

58 Alloza Aparicio, "El comercio francés"; Priotti, "Plata Americana"; cf. also Crailsheim, "Les marchands français à Séville".

59 Ramos Medina, "El origen de una élite negociante"; idem, "Algunas compañías mercantiles francesas"; idem, "La 'intermediación de compañías' en el comercio internacional"; Bustos Rodríguez, "Les associations de commerce". Cf. also Mauro, "Les marchands du Midi de la France"; Amalric, "Franceses en tierras de España"; Gouic, "Des négociants français aux portes des Indes".

Despite all of these investigations, the connecting function of the foreign merchants in Seville for the European market has not been looked at thoroughly – in particular compared to the Indies trade. Neither has it been attempted to understand the nature of these connections nor were the collective strategies analyzed that were visible in the commercial networks. Among the studies on the two investigated communities, the Flemings and the French, neither highlights the central position they had for the European Atlantic trade or focuses on their commercial connections in Seville and with their home country. Therefore, and by analyzing the networks of these two nations, it is the aim of this book to fill this lacuna and to contribute to a better understanding of the early modern European commerce.

A rich sources of data on foreigners who participated in the Indies trade is the *Archivo General de Indias* (AGI) in Seville. The AGI is the most important archive dedicated to Spanish overseas activities. It holds the largest share of archival material regarding the Spanish possessions in America and the Philippines. It also contains most documentation regarding Seville's Indies trade and various activities of the Indies merchants.⁶⁰ The files of the AGI are, therefore, essential for this investigation. As only Spaniards were permitted into the promising trade with America, foreigners had to become naturalized before they could participate. Even though J.B. Ruiz Rivera and M.C. García Bernal reason that the foreign merchants did not need any certificate or letter of naturalizations for their commerce,⁶¹ these were very useful tools and offered the best opportunity to access the rich Indies trade directly. It was difficult to obtain a naturalization because it required social integration and the possession of large resources, at least on an official basis. In addition, it frequently implied generous donations to the Spanish Crown. It was the king alone who had the power to grant the favor of the naturalization and the requirements were changing constantly. After 1561, it was a necessary prerequisite for the solicitor to have lived for 10 years in a house in Spain, which he owned. In addition, he had to be the owner of a certain amount of property and married to a Spanish woman. These conditions changed slightly in 1568, 1592, 1608, and 1616.⁶² From 1608 on, the soliciting person had to be present for over 20 years, and after 1618, he had to prove before the Indies Council (*Consejo de*

60 <http://www.mecd.gob.es/cultura-mecd/areas-cultura/archivos/mc/archivos/agi/presentacion.html> (3.8.2015).

61 Cf. Rivera and Bernal, *Cargadores a Indias*, p. 213.

62 AGI Contratación 50B, s.f. Cf. *Recopilación de las Leyes de Indias*, ley 31-32, título 27, libro 9.

Indias) to own over 4,000 ducats.⁶³ Moreover, the merchant was not allowed to trade on credit.⁶⁴ Hence, the Spanish king did not grant the privilege of a naturalization easily.⁶⁵

For such a letter of naturalization, the merchants from abroad had to bring in documents like certificates of marriage or baptism and lists of property⁶⁶ and other documents, like petitions, letters of confirmation, sales contracts, etc. These files were collected in the AGI and contain information about the family of the applying merchant himself, of his wife, and other persons he was in contact with, such as local witnesses for his good reputation.⁶⁷ Therefore, the data of the AGI is a reasonable starting point to investigate the wealth of the merchants and their private networks in Seville.⁶⁸ From that data, a list was drawn of 409 merchants who were interested in the Indies trade. 313 of them applied for naturalization between 1570 and 1650. Some of their files only contain the most basic information, not providing enough data for a network,

63 On account of uniformity and comparability, ducats have been selected as the standard currency in this book. If another currency was chosen in the files, it was converted. The Spanish ducat was a golden coin of about 3.5 grams that was issued at first in 1497. Even though in the second half of the 16th century, Spanish ducats were no longer minted, they remained a standard agreement currency, which was used most frequently in the notary records of the time of investigation. Amalric et al., *Léxico Histórico de España*, pp. 149-151; Martínez Ruiz, *Diccionario de historia moderna*, pp. 265-266. For the equivalent of one ducat, one could for example purchase in 1600 one fanega (55.5 liters) of wheat (APS 9984, ff. 409-410, 431v-432); and in 1620, the rent for a house (probably of better quality) for one year was about 100 ducats (APS 3607, f. 956).

64 Domínguez Ortiz, “La concesión de naturaleza”, pp. 227-228; cf. Morales Alvarez, *Extranjeros con Carta de Naturaleza de las Indias*, pp. 17-106.

65 Girard, *Le commerce français*, pp. 573-574; Stols, “La colonia flamenca”, pp. 373-375; cf. also Herzog, *Defining Nations*.

66 The tedious process of the application for naturalization of the Frenchman Manuel Bues in 1587, or his compatriot Lanfran David in 1645, may serve as examples for the struggles which the merchants frequently had with the institution of the *Casa de la Contratación* (House of Trade) and the accountancy of the Indies Council (cf. below on pp. 158 and 171).

67 Cf. Domínguez Ortiz, “Los extranjeros en la vida española”; idem, “La concesión de naturaleza”.

68 The applications for naturalizations which were related to the commerce with America are archived under the name *Naturalezas para Extranjeros*. They are located in the section *Contratación*, legajos (bundles) 50A, 50B, 51A, 596A, and 596B. The file 51B contains information about different nations in Seville, but mainly after 1650.

whereas others compass plenty of material for the reconstruction of private networks.⁶⁹

Many of these naturalized merchants in Seville reappear in the notarial archive of Seville, the *Archivo de Protocolos de Sevilla* (APS). The APS is a very substantial part of the *Archivo Histórico Provincial de Sevilla*, which was founded mainly to collect, preserve, and make public historical administrative records produced in Seville. The respective section, *Fondos notariales de Sevilla* (part of *Fondos públicos/De la Fe Pública*), contains 23,189 boxes of notarial sources for the history of Seville from the period between 1441 and 1927.⁷⁰ Yet, those foreigners whose name did not appear previously in the AGI are difficult to identify in the notarial records. Sometimes the files indicate places of origin, but more often, they do not. Additionally, the affiliation of merchants changes sometimes: at times, some were referred to as Flemings and at others as Frenchmen or Germans.⁷¹ Thereby, it is not hard to imagine the advantage of a Dutchman declaring to be a Fleming during the Eighty Years' War. A systematic identification and classification of foreigners, therefore, is only possible through the comparison with complementary sources, such as the files of naturalization or tax lists.⁷² It can be argued that not all business was documented with the help of notaries and much trade was done informally without leaving traces.⁷³ Still, one can suppose that the majority of the larger deals appears in the notarial archives. L. García Fuentes shows that in regard of the credit business of Basques in Seville, deals below 50 ducats were not usually taken to

69 Much work has been done examining the archives by A. Heredia Herrera, a specialist of the history of early modern Andalusia, as for example Heredia Herrera, "Historia de un depósito documental"; idem, "Los fondos del Consulado de Cargadores a Indias"; cf. also Díaz Blanco, "La Corona y los Cargadores".

70 Ravina Martín, Rodríguez Mateos, and Simó Rodríguez (Eds.), *Guía de los archivos históricos provinciales*; <http://www.juntadeandalucia.es/culturaydeporte/archivos> (3.8.2015).

71 Language also could play a role in the identification of a merchant. An ominous file was found (APS 16869, ff. 326r-327r), for example, with Spanish and Flemish participation, which was written, for no specific reason, in French. That fact could be seen as an indication of the mother tongue of one of the participants.

72 Helpful secondary sources for the identification of foreigners are for example: Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, Baetens, *De nazomer van Antwerpens welvaart*, Collado Villalta, "El embargo de bienes", or Otte Sander, *Sevilla, siglo XVI*.

73 According to J.-Ph. Priotti, this was the case for most of the trade with Brittany (Priotti, "Plata americana").

a notary's office; however, it was common practice that deals above this level had to be signed by a notary.⁷⁴

Between 1580 and 1650, 24 notarial offices, *escribanías*, existed permanently in Seville,⁷⁵ whose files are collected in the APS. Each year, one to 14 volumes, or *legajos*, with about a thousand folios, were written and stored in every notarial office. Because of such abundant material, it was necessary to focus the investigation on particular years and offices. To cover the investigated period consistently, four years were chosen with an interval of 20 years: 1580, 1600, 1620, and 1640. For each year, two to three months (between January and July)⁷⁶ were checked in two or three different offices. The attention was given to the offices V, XII, XVI, and XXIV which hold much data about foreigners;⁷⁷ which was also the main criterion for the selection of the files. Considering the richness of the material in the APS, such an approximation by cluster sampling – years and offices – is the most appropriate way to obtain sound data and to be able to analyze the change through time. The investigated years allow a continuous scrutiny of the critical phase of the Spanish Golden Age, the *Siglo de Oro*.⁷⁸ The documents of the APS provide much information about the connections between the international trading communities in Seville. A total of 1,696 documents was found for the purpose of the investigation – including separate documents from other years than the four selected years for

74 García Fuentes, “El crédito comercial en la Carrera de Indias”, p. 137.

75 Pike, *Aristocrats and Traders*, pp. 93-99. For a reasonable edition of notarial records of the city of Cádiz, cf. Rojas Vaca, *El documento marítimo-mercantil*.

76 The Indies fleets were supposed to leave Seville between April and August of each year and it was hoped to include relevant data on the Indies trade by selecting these months for the investigation.

77 For 1580: office number V (legajo 3494) and XXIV (16714, 16715); for 1600: XII (7421), XVI (9983, 9984), and XXIV (16766); for 1620: V (3607), XVI (10060), and XXIV (16869 and 16870); and for 1640: XII (7497) and XXIV (16979). The information provided by E. Vila Vilar proved especially useful. Besides the selected years, some additional files of the APS were included, yet, not systematically, namely APS 1607, 2607, 3697, 6979, 7420, 7496, 9390, 10996, 16867, 16969, 18484.

78 The number of legajos (of all notary offices) might be seen as an indicator of the peak of Seville's commerce. Taking a closer look at the offices (1550–1660), only between 1603–1634, the number of legajos reached over 100 per year, and between 1612 and 1624 it was constantly between 111 and 122 (numbers elaborated by Anna-Lena Glesinski based on http://www.juntadeandalucia.es/culturaydeporte/archivos/web_es/contenido?id=24833b48-274a-11e3-a3a2-000ae4865a5f&idActivo=&idContArch=ca2c9154-fd8c-11dd-9776-00e000a6f9bf&idArchivo=d9f0f1ac-58a4-11dd-b44b-31450f5b9dd5 (23.11.2015)).

complementary details. The documents belong to many different types, and sometimes one document must even be put in more than one category. Contracts of obligation, for example, could contain informations about proxies or invoices. In spite of that, a classification of the 1,696 documents was done with the following result: 551 obligations, 425 invoices, 266 proxies, 115 cessations, 94 bills of exchange, 43 inquiries/testimonies, 40 contracts of purchase, 26 substitutions, 21 insurances, 19 charters, 17 last wills, four letters of credit, four dowries, two inventories, one case was about a naturalization, one was a letter of good character, and 67 other cases could not be specified.⁷⁹ Working with notarial records, one has to be aware that they are particularly sensible in nature. Because of their official character, they “reacted”, for example, to changes in politics: In times of trade prohibitions, for instance, less details of a deal were put to paper when merchandise from enemy territory were included in the transaction.

The data of these two archives constitute the basis of this investigation, but additional material is used from the *Archivo General de Simancas* (AGS).⁸⁰ The information obtained there concentrates on the French contraband after 1635, a valuable source for the nature of commerce between Spain and its neighbor during the Thirty Years’ War. Good accessibility to the archives of Spain via the Internet made it possible to complete some networks with additional data.⁸¹ Thereby, the *Archivo Histórico Nacional* (AHN) in Madrid,⁸² the *Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Valladolid* (ACV),⁸³ and again the AGI were investigated – mainly the sections *Contratación* and *Escribanía*.⁸⁴ Finally, the cooperation with Philipp Lesiak and Eva-Maria Wiedenbauer, in the project “Sevilla: Zwischen Mittelmeer und Atlantik (1550–1650)”, enabled access to data from the *Archivo di Stato di Venezia* (ASV).⁸⁵

79 For the means of the early modern European and colonial commerce, cf. Carrasco González, *Los instrumentos del comercio colonial*.

80 AGS C.S. 168; AGS Estado 174 and 177; AGS Colección Cervantes-227.

81 The archives are accessible through the *Portal de Archivos Españoles* on <http://pares.mcu.es>, marked with PARES after the citation.

82 AHN Diversos-Colecciones 31, N. 79 and 39, N. 17; AHN OM-Caballeros Santiago, E. 1086 and 7750.

83 ACV PL Civiles. Pérez Alonso (F). Caja 3821.0001.

84 A detailed list can be found in the source list at the end of this volume.

85 ASV G.P., Notarile, Atti, b. 10 789 and 803. The project was financed by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF), project number P16748: “Sevilla: Zwischen Mittelmeer und Atlantik (1550–1650)”, supervised by Prof. R. Pieper. The electronic database of the project, set up by all three members of the project, contains 2,108 documents and 7,786

Quantitative and qualitative research are combined within this investigation. The quantitative scrutiny enables an in-depth analysis of the composition of the foreign merchants in Seville, and of the structures of their networks. Network analysis tools help to identify the most central merchants and to see their strongest partners and structures of their trade. The qualitative observations, on the other hand, provide details on the merchants' lives, families, and social standings. A balanced combination of both results may contribute to a clearer picture of the social and commercial patterns of the Flemish and French merchant colonies.⁸⁶ Thereby, this book draws from insights of the recent discussion about the comparative approach in history, based on M. Bloch and brought forth recently by H.-G. Haupt, H. Kaelble, and J. Kocka,⁸⁷ because the two merchant communities are discussed and compared systematically within a broader context and with respect to their similarities and differences. Being aware of the advantages⁸⁸ and weaknesses⁸⁹ of comparative history, the

different names. The irrelevant files for this study were purged, leaving 1,823 documents and 6,142 names.

86 Cf. Emirbayer and Goodwin, "Network Analysis".

87 Bloch, "Pour une histoire comparée des sociétés européennes"; Haupt and Kocka, "Comparative History"; idem, *Comparative and Transnational History*; Kaelble, "Die interdisziplinäre Debatte über Vergleich und Transfer". The mentioned authors stress the mutual reinforcement of the older concept of the comparative history and the recent concepts of cultural history such as "transfer history", "entangled history" or the *histoire croisée*: Espagne, "Sur les limites du comparatisme"; Werner and Zimmermann, "Beyond Comparison"; cf. Osterhammel, *Geschichtswissenschaften jenseits des Nationalstaats*; Green, "Forms of Comparison" in Cohen and O'Connor, *Comparison and History*.

88 The premises of the comparison "[...] are adapted and adjusted to the empirical results and submitted to a constant process of criticism and reformulation. [...] By this mechanism, comparisons help to better interpret empirical material and to discuss theoretical assumptions on a broader empirical basis." Haupt, "Comparative History", pp. 707-709.

89 Two essential points of critique were raised, mainly from the field of cultural history: first, that a comparative approach breaks continuities and entanglements in the analysis of societies; and second, that it includes the necessity to select a large number of small variables for the comparison instead of comparing the whole picture (cf. Kocka, "Comparison and Beyond"). Another issue is the question about the unit. Mostly it is nation states which define the unit of comparison, but other, smaller, units may be suited even better (cf. Haupt, "Comparative History"). In return, one can say with the words of J. Kocka, that "[...] comparative approaches only emphasize and make particularly manifest what is implicit in any kind of historical work: a strong selective and constructive component." Kocka, "Comparison and Beyond", p. 43.

use of variables of comparison between the two merchant groups enables additional insight into their social and commercial structures and processes.

With a data basis that contains a large number of individuals and connections between them, it is possible to reconstruct and investigate social networks. Being an established concept in the social sciences,⁹⁰ networks have only recently become an attractive paradigm in humanities,⁹¹ and also in the various fields of history, it could gain momentum.⁹² In economic history, network analysis is frequently used to assess the commercial connection between different entities, such as cities.⁹³ In contrast, D.J. Harreld stresses the importance of action on the part of the individuals to understand complex human behavior, taking into consideration their different economical and political

90 Cf. Schüttelpelz, "Ein absoluter Begriff". Neither the concept of B. Latour (Actor-Network-Theory) nor the ideas of M. Castells (Network Society) will be considered in this book, as they concern slightly diverging visions of networks. Kaufmann, "Einleitung", pp. 12-15.

91 Cf. for example Halling and Fangerau, "Netzwerke", especially pp. 267-269; Gießmann, *Netze und Netzwerke*. Today, network analysis has found its place in the cultural sciences. As networks have the potential to help to understand spatial structures, the network paradigm can be seen as part of the "spatial turn". Within this approach toward a new understanding of space, networks offer a way to understand and analyze complex correlations between different spheres, be it historical, geographical, or sociological. Thereby, it is essential to leave behind the concept of space as a container and to perceive spaces as relational areas where human interactions take place. Cf. Bachmann-Medick, *Cultural Turns*, especially pp. 295-297, 313; Schlögel, *Im Raume lesen wir die Zeit*. Such a dynamic perception of space enhances the epistemological value of social relations, whose structures can be displayed and calculated through graphical network analysis methods. An approximation to network analysis principles is Wellman, "Network Analysis"; for the necessity to synthesize social network structures and cultural analysis, cf. Emirbayer and Goodwin, "Network Analysis".

92 Much has changes since the network paradigm found its way the first time into the German historical community (W. Reinhard's concept of "Verflechtung" may be seen as a first step, in Reinhard, *Freunde und Kreaturen* and idem, "Verflechtung", pp. 236-243). The ÖZG (Österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaften) 23.1 (2012), fort example, has dedicated the entire volume to the historical network analysis: "Historische Netzwerkanalysen". Moreover, the platform "Historical Network Research", which is based in Germany, has emerged most recently, exploring the various dimensions of network analysis in the Humanities. Key points of a definition for social networks in early modern times were published recently by E. van Young: Young, "Social Networks", pp. 306-307. Cf. Düring and Eumann, "Historische Netzwerkforschung".

93 Cf. Christaller, *Central Places in Southern Germany*; Hohenberg and Hollen Lees, *The Making of Urban Europe*.

backgrounds.⁹⁴ Recent scholars have preferred this individual-based network approach in their surveys on early modern Atlantic history, such as J.-Ph. Priotti, S. Selzer, and U.Ch. Ewert.⁹⁵ Also the many contributions to the collections of N. Böttcher, B. Hausberger, A. Ibarra, and G. del Valle Pavón belong to that category.⁹⁶

An appealing approach to commercial networks was taken by the group around D. Ramada Curto and A. Molho,⁹⁷ who compared the work of F. Braudel⁹⁸ with the investigations of his successors, published in the publication series “Affaires et gens d'affaires” and “Ports, routes, trafics”, and tested both for compatibility with the cultural anthropology and the linguistic and cultural turn, finding the non-teleological view of Braudel most fitting: “there is no simple linear history in the development of markets”.⁹⁹ Also, they found the idea of networks at the very heart of Braudel's work, when he stated that it was foremost the connections of the merchants that linked the numerous zones of the Mediterranean world. One of the outstanding results of the workshop was the importance of considering the cultural foundation of all commercial networks, as well as the great meaning of the concept of reputation between merchants.¹⁰⁰

In this regard, the exploration of networks between merchants can be linked to the concept of “social capital”,¹⁰¹ defined as “resource that actors may access through social ties”.¹⁰² Within this concept, the analysis of

94 Harred, *Merchants and International Trade Networks*.

95 Priotti, “Réseaux sociaux, commerce international et pouvoir”; Selzer and Ewert, “Verhandeln und Verkaufen”.

96 Ibarra and Valle Pavón, *Redes sociales*; Böttcher, Hausberger, and Ibarra, *Redes y negocios globales*.

97 Molho and Ramada Curto, *Commercial Networks in the Early Modern World* (working paper); later published in French translation in the *Annales – Histoire, Sciences sociales*, 58,3 (2003).

98 Especially Braudel, *La Méditerranée* (quoted here in the German translation: Braudel, *Das Mittelmeer*).

99 In the introduction to the working paper of the workshop Molho and Ramada Curto, *Commercial Networks in the Early Modern World*, p. 5 (published in Molho and Ramada Curto, “Les réseaux marchands à l'époque moderne”).

100 Ibidem, pp. 5, 9-10; cf. Fusaro, “Les Anglais et les Grecs”; Hancock, “L'émergence d'une économie de réseau”; Studnicki-Gizbert, “La 'nation' portugaise”; Trivellato, “Juifs de Livourne”.

101 Cf. Bourdieu, “The Forms of Capital”; Bourdieu and Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, especially p. 119; Coleman, “Social Capital”; Burt, *Structural Holes*.

102 Frank and Yasumoto, “Linking Action to Social Structure”, p. 645.

merchant networks can be seen in relation to the rising interest in the social mechanism of “trust” in economics.¹⁰³ It is, in particular, the New Institutional Economics that stresses the value of trust alongside other soft factors in economics such as informal transactions.¹⁰⁴ Trust emerges from the validity of mutual commitment of trading partners and is a prerequisite for stable market relations. N. Luhmann defines trust as a mechanism to reduce social complexity: to trust someone means to act as if the future was certain.¹⁰⁵ F. Fukuyama bases his study on the classification of the modern world in high and low-trust environments.¹⁰⁶ In situations where institutional processes of regimentation are not strong enough to create a sound legal protection (low-trust environments), other, informal mechanisms have to fill in to create trust and thereby enable extended trading connections. With that, a new relational system is created with the power to self-coordination and self-commitment. Consequently, informal trading relations emerge, which are based on shared mental models, such as group specific moral beliefs, customs, expectations, etc. Such shared mental models exist within groups with a common origin, the same ethnic affiliation,¹⁰⁷ the same religious denomination,¹⁰⁸ and above all within members of one family.¹⁰⁹ The economic goal of the created informalism is a reduced anonymity of the market and a shift

103 Cf. Fukuyama, *Trust*; Guinnane, “Trust: A Concept Too Many”. For a historical approach, cf. Ogilvie, “The Use and Abuse of Trust”; Schmidt, “Crédit vient de credere”; Haggerty, *Merely for the Money?*; and especially Lamikiz, *Trade and Trust*.

104 It is also the New Institutional Economics which has contributed most to enhance the classical social network analysis by including aspects of the cultural turn. Kaufmann, “Einleitung”, pp. 10-11.

105 Luhmann, *Vertrauen*, p. 9; cf. Berghoff, “Die Zähmung des entfesselten Prometheus”, pp. 144-145.

106 Fukuyama, *Trust*.

107 Historiography has used these factors to study foreign colonies abroad, cf. for example Goris, *Étude sur les colonies marchandes méridionales*; Stols, “La colonia flamenca”; Verlinden, “Quelques types de marchands”; Demeulenaere-Douyère, “La colonie espagnole de Rouen”; Brunelle, “Immigration, Assimilation and Success”; Vila Vilar, “Colonias extranjeras en Sevilla”; Carmen Lario de Oñate, *La colonia mercantil británica e irlandesa*; Crespo Solana, *Comunidades transnacionales*.

108 The surveys on the Sephardi diaspora are numerous (cf. p. 75 of this book). The analysis of B. López Belinchón, is especially interesting, defining the levels of a business company in core family, extended family, and others (same origin or home country, distant kinship, or friendship), which he equates with the levels of trust the patriarch showed toward his associates. López Belinchón, “Familia, religión y negocio”, pp. 351-352.

109 Thereby, the kinship relations can be more or less extended, from the core family to very distant cousins. In this regard marriage behavior of merchants can be seen as an

of transactions into a more familiar sphere with other than market stabilizers. The real strength of contracts between members of such groups was above all not the legal but the social force to bind.¹¹⁰ Such contracts were not open to anybody, only to people who were trusted and who had a good reputation; and they were not enforced by law but by social mechanisms. The results of doing business within groups of mutual trust are: first, the gain of security through business in networks within familiar spheres, instead of an insecure and anonymous market; and second, a higher profit because doing business by handshake (or one instead of three contracts) reduces transaction costs.¹¹¹ Andalusia in early modern times can be classified as a low-trust environment because the trust in legal protection was low and merchants believed rather in the alternative mechanisms to guarantee businesses. Hence, for a merchant in Andalusia, it was most vital to be a member of at least one of such trust groups.¹¹² The quality of his commercial network depended on the trust he had in his partners and vice versa. It was kinship as well as religious, ethnic, and regional solidarity that gave economic networks a sociocultural basis and created trust.¹¹³ However, even these networks which were based on socially binding mechanisms had their defects, which is documented by the high number of crooks and fraudsters.¹¹⁴

extension of strategic economic planning. The same holds true for the parent-children relations, which can be understood as deferred reciprocity, because it takes decades to convert one's children into business partners, "marriage material" or to entrust them with one's "pension". Cf. Baud, "Families and Migration"; López Belinchón, "Familia, religión y negocio", p. 358.

110 Schulte-Beerbühl and Vögele, "Räumliche Konstruktion und soziale Normen", pp. 93-94.

111 Berghoff, "Die Zähmung des entfesselten Prometheus", p. 149; cf. McCusker, "Information and Transaction Costs".

112 Cf. Hausberger, "La red social del alavés Tomás Ruiz de Apodaca".

113 Berghoff, "Die Zähmung des entfesselten Prometheus", pp. 149-151. M. Granovetter addresses the issue as "embeddedness" of economic behavior in social structure: "The embeddedness argument stresses [...] the role of concrete personal relations and structures (or 'networks') of such [economic] relations in generating trust and discouraging malfeasance." Granovetter, "Economic Action and Social Structure", p. 490; cf. also Elwert, "Sanktionen, Ehre und Grabenökonomie".

114 Cf. Häberlein, *Brüder, Freunde und Betrüger*.

The networks paradigm offers a powerful tool for a better understanding of societies: the “Social Network Analysis” (SNA).¹¹⁵ SNA methods and theories emerged early in the 20th century from a variety of disciplines, such as sociology, anthropology, mathematics, and physics.¹¹⁶ The common basis of SNA is the aim to explain social phenomena with the relations between and the positions of social actors (individuals or organizations) within social networks.¹¹⁷ One of the first scholars to work with network terms was G. Simmel as early as 1908.¹¹⁸ In the second half of the 20th century, social networks were used and developed more systematically.¹¹⁹ In the USA, the school of H. White formed in Harvard, with scholars like M. Granovetter and J. Padgett, as well as S. Milgram, who became famous for his concept of “Six Degrees of Separation”.¹²⁰ Apart from the Harvard group, much research has been done by L. Freeman, A.-L. Barabási, R. Albert, D.J. Watts and S. Strogatz.¹²¹ Moreover, in 1978, B. Wellman founded the International Network for SNA in Delaware, as an association for researchers interested in SNA (INSNA). While scholars in the USA have been quite active in the development of SNA, in Europe, things developed slower and only recently SNA finds its way into research.¹²²

115 Cf. Jansen, *Einführung in die Netzwerkanalyse*; Knoke and Kuklinski, “Network Analysis”; Scott, *Social Network Analysis*. Recent approaches are displayed in Carrington, Scott, and Wasserman, *Models and Methods*; cf. also Ethier, *Current Research in Social Network Theory*.

116 Stegbauer, “Netzwerkanalyse und Netzwerktheorie”.

117 Kaufmann, “Einleitung”, p. 9.

118 Simmel, *Soziologie*.

119 For a comprehensive history of SNA, cf. Freeman, *The Development of Social Network Analysis*.

120 White, *Identity and Control*; Granovetter, “The Strength of Weak Ties”; Padgett and Ansell, “Robust Action”; Milgram, “The Small World Problem”.

121 Barabási and Albert, “Emergence of scaling in random networks”; Barabási, “Network-Theory”; Watts and Strogatz, “Collective dynamics of ‘small-world’ networks”; cf. also Buchanan, *Small Worlds*.

122 For the development in Germany, cf. Stegbauer, “Netzwerkanalyse und Netzwerktheorie”; Haas and Müttel, “Netzwerkanalyse und Netzwerktheorie in Deutschland”; Fangerau and Halling, *Netzwerke*; Gamper, Reschke, and Düring, “Das Millennium der Netzwerkforschung?”; Gramsch, *Das Reich als Netzwerk der Fürsten*. A tentative approach to network analysis in the early modern commerce of Seville (*conversos* from Burgos) is Cachero Vinuesa, “Redes mercantiles”; for European commercial expansion in Asia cf. Kalus, *Pfeffer – Kupfer – Nachrichten* and his interactive project www.histcross.org; and for the transatlantic relations (power structures in Mexico), cf. Rosenmüller, “The Power of Transatlantic Ties”.

A social network can be defined as a social structure composed by nodes and ties. Every individual (actor) is represented by a node (vertex), and every tie between two nodes by a line (edge). The combination of nodes and ties defines the network.¹²³ A precise scrutiny of the performance of merchants by means of their networks displays the structure of their actions and relations. Throughout this book, the SNA is used for the private connections (family and friendship) drawn mainly from the AGI, as well as for the business connections of the APS.¹²⁴ Each of the four chosen years enables the reconstruction of one big network. In the course of this book, four different levels of business-networks will emerge for each of these years. The networks comprising all nodes of one year are called “total networks” (1580, 1600, 1620, or 1640). The networks of single nations (French or Flemish) of a certain year are the “main networks”, which are the second largest ones. The extensions of main networks are limited: they consist only of the nodes and ties which appear in the files that contain information about the respective nation. For example, the Flemish main network of 1600 consists of all the nodes and connections found in the APS-files of that year with Flemish participation. Within the main networks, sub-groups emerge which define “subnetworks” embracing a smaller number of merchants. Some of these subnetworks are interrelated, others are not. The limits of extension of the subnetworks depend on the respective points of interest which can be one or more merchants, a special business, family constellations, etc. Finally, the “ego-networks” of some merchants, which represent the smallest type of networks, will also be displayed. Ego-networks show one investigated actor surrounded by his directly connected actors.

Within both network types, private (data from the AGI) and business (data from the APS), the “betweenness” of the protagonists will be calculated and the hierarchy within them will be established. Betweenness refers to a centrality measure of a node within a graph; more exactly, it is called the “node-based betweenness-centrality”. Nodes that occur on many shortest paths between other nodes have a higher betweenness than those that do not. It is a useful indicator of the potential of each node’s control of communication.¹²⁵ Between-

123 Alternatively, a network can be displayed by a matrix, which will not be applied here for reason of clearness. For the visualization of networks, cf. Freeman, “Visualizing Social Networks”.

124 The program used here was *Ucinet 6 for Windows: Software for Social Network Analysis*. It was developed by S.P. Borgatti, M.G. Everett and L.C. Freeman in Harvard in 2002 (MA: Analytic Technologies). The programs which were used for the visualization of the networks are *NetDraw 1.0* (2002) and *Inkscape 0.43* (2005).

125 Freeman, “Centrality in Social Networks”, p. 224.

ness refers to a type of network centrality which is based on the monopolization of information and resources. Thus, the most central merchants calculated by that method have the most influence in the distribution of information and resources.¹²⁶ Thereby, the size of the scrutinized network does not matter, whether it is over 1,200 nodes (total network of the year 1620) or just some 65 nodes (French main network of the year 1600).

The connections between the different protagonists can be categorized in strong and weak ties, which depends on the intensity, closeness, and frequency of the links. The closer, more intense, and more frequent a connection is, the stronger the tie.¹²⁷ The family networks, established by the AGI data, therefore, are composed of strong ties, while most business connections of the APS can be identified as weak ties.¹²⁸ Individuals who are related via strong ties can be put together in cliques.¹²⁹ Mostly, members of such groups have something in common, such as similar origins or home countries (the above mentioned shared mental models). Other groups emerge because of the creation of companies for commercial enterprises, but few exist also without apparent common element. On the one hand, it is the structure and dynamic of these groups that will be of special interest within each network. On the other, the actors who bridge between groups are compelling objects of analysis too, as they have access to unique resources and information that makes them powerful brokers within a system.¹³⁰ In addition, overlap in affiliations to groups and the comparison between their structures¹³¹ will also provide useful insights.

126 Jansen, *Einführung in die Netzwerkanalyse*, pp. 134-135, 141: “Das auf Betweenness basierende Maß der Netzwerkzentralisierung gilt als ein Maß der Monopolisierung der Informations- und Ressourcenkontrolle durch herausragend zentrale Akteure.” Ibidem, p. 141. The other two most applied types of centrality are the Degree Centrality (number of direct links) and the Closeness Centrality (the shorter the geodesic distances of a vertex to other vertices within a graph, the higher is the Closeness Centrality).

127 Ibidem, pp. 100, 106-107, 187-192; Granovetter, “The Strength of Weak Ties”; Granovetter, “The Strength of Weak Ties: Revisited”; Grabher, “The Weakness of Strong Ties”. Also, directions can be attributed to the lines, which is not the case in this book.

128 For another approach to family networks, cf. Baud, “Families and Migration”.

129 Jansen, *Einführung in die Netzwerkanalyse*, pp. 193-198.

130 Frank and Yasumoto, “Linking Action to Social Structure”, p. 644; cf. Burt, *Structural Holes*.

131 Selzer and Ewert, “Verhandeln und Verkaufen”, p. 147.

Due to the research questions and the nature of the sources, the topic will be displayed in three parts. Thereby, the question about the role of the Flemings and Frenchmen in the commerce of Seville will run through all of them. The first part will be the most general one, focusing on the overall structure and the groups involved in the commerce of Seville. It will then highlight the position of Flemish and French merchants in Seville, and discuss their strategies of trade and assimilation. The second and third part go much more into detail and outline the private (second part) and commercial networks (third part) of Flemish and French merchants in Seville. The third part is the most elaborate one because it contains most data for the analysis of the nature of the connections, including the commercial activities of the two groups and the individual strategies of the merchants.

The first part consists of two chapters. The first one scrutinizes the situation of Seville within the context of European politics and commerce. It displays the general conditions in Seville before the merchants enter the scene in the following chapters. The role of the city as *entrepôt* for Europe and America made it necessary for everyone to adapt. Bureaucracy and institutions had to change, and the merchants reacted to the new situations. Naturalizations, contraband, corruption, and the character of the different “nations” will be addressed. Thereupon, the situation of foreigners in Seville is in the center of the analysis. After defining and classifying different terms such as “foreigners” and “nations”, a quantitative analysis of the sources (AGI and APS) will allow an approximation of the merchants’ composition in Seville. The quantitative differences between the nations will be illustrated, in comparison to each other and to the number of the “native” Spanish merchants (chapter 1).

The second chapter presents the Flemish and the French nations in Seville and displays the results of the overall analysis. Thus, private and commercial aspects will be considered. It starts with the social aspects of the colonies in Seville, the orientation of the private networks, and the companies and family businesses. Then, the trade volume, the influence of politics on commerce, the merchandise, and financial activities will be scrutinized. Finally, the interest of the merchants in the American trade, and the general orientation of the commercial networks will be outlined (chapter 2).

In part two and three, the characteristics of the Flemish and French colonies in Seville will be revealed more comprehensively. The second part concentrates on the private connections. Based on the files of the AGI, the private networks will be reconstructed by nation, first the French (chapter 3) and then the Flemish (chapter 4). Their behavior will be analyzed and their networks compared. The third part deals with the nature of the trade of the foreign merchants.

The data obtained from the APS will be structured, and the four selected years will be analyzed separately (chapter 5-8). Various business networks will be reconstructed and compared. Thereby, the centrality of the actors will serve as indicator for their capacity to do business and to channel communication. Finally, in a conclusion the results will be wrapped up and an outlook will be provided for future research.

I. The Merchants of Seville

1. Between the *Siglo de Oro* and the *Decadencia*

During the time of Spanish splendor, at the peak of the Spanish Indies trade, the position of the rich merchants in Seville was remarkably strong. They resided at the hub between the European and the American economy and the commercial opportunities seemed endless. Based on recent literature and abundant source material, this chapter gives a survey of the economic and social structure of the city of Seville, which serves to set the scene for the commercial networks of the following chapters. The analysis is focusing on the power groups which were involved in the commerce of the city. Special attention is given to the political context and the legal and illegal practices of the merchants, with emphasis on the various conflicts in the course of the Eighty Years' War (1568–1648). These considerations will serve in particular to give us a better picture of the early modern merchants' practices in Seville. The position of all foreign merchants will also be compared on a quantitative level to roughly assess the situation of the Flemish and French merchants of the city.

1.1 Spain and Seville between 1570 and 1650

1.1.1 A North-Western European Perspective

The period between 1570 and 1650 was often described as a time of crisis in Europe. Much has been written about this topic since the middle of the 20th century. It was the English historiography which has dedicated copious studies to it.¹ Most of the theories assemble many different types of crises, such as demographical, economical, social, or political – or they talk about a general crisis. Spain constituted a special case: the 16th century is generally classified as one of grandeur, the *Siglo de Oro*,² while the early 17th century is associated with the beginning descent of Spain, the *Decadencia*.³ The reasons for the

1 Cf. Aston, *Crisis in Europe, 1560–1660*; Parker and Smith, *The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century*; Clark, *The European Crisis of the 1590s*; Parker, *Europe in Crisis, 1598–1648*; Rabb, *The Struggle for Stability in Early Modern Europe*; Vries, *The Economy of Europe in an Age of Crisis*.

2 Cf. Bennassar, *La España del Siglo de Oro*.

3 Cf. Cánovas del Castillo, *Historia de la decadencia de España*; Stradling, *Europe and the Decline of Spain*; Cooper, *The Decline of Spain and the Thirty Years War*; Hamilton, "The Decline of Spain"; among the contributions of J.H. Elliott to the subject of the *Decaden-*

decline have been seen in various facts, such as the failure of the military,⁴ misarranged financial strategies,⁵ or the diminishing silver flow from America.⁶ The change from a time of glamor to one of demise did not come about suddenly, it is generally believed that the turning point was in the transitional period between the late 16th and the beginning 17th century.⁷ During these crucial years, Spain, at first, rose to become Europe's greatest power, but then it started losing much of its political and economical influence. Gradually, a new balance of power emerged. With the military defeats in the second phase of the Eighty Years' War (1621–1648) and the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), the political Spanish dominance in Europe slowly came to an end, meaning the end of the political *Siglo de Oro español*.⁸

cia, cf. for example, "Self-perception and Decline in Early Seventeenth-Century Spain", "La decadencia española"; cf. also the discussions in the review *Past and Present*, especially: Kamen, "The Decline of Spain. A Historical Myth?"; Israel, "The Decline of Spain. A Historical Myth?"; García-Baquero González, "Andalucía and the Crisis of the Indies Trade"; Yun Casalilla, "Spain and the Seventeenth-Century Crisis in Europe"; for a more recent approach, cf. Álvarez Nogal and Prados de la Escosura, "The Decline of Spain (1500–1850)".

4 Cf. Alcalá-Zamorra y Queipo de Llano, *España, Flandes y el Mar del Norte*; Gómez-Centurión Jiménez, *Felipe II, la empresa de Inglaterra*; Parker, *The Grand Strategy*.

5 Cf. Chaunu and Gascon, *Histoire économique et sociale*.

6 Between 1580 and 1630, most bullion came to Seville (Hamilton, *American Treasure and the Price Revolution*, pp. 34-35), and most ships undertook the voyage between Spain and the Indies (Chaunu, *Séville et l'Amérique*, pp. 247-256, 298-299); also around that time (1585–1621), the rent of the *almojarifazgo de Indias* (customs duty of the American trade) was highest (Pulido Bueno, *Almojarifazgos y comercio exterior*, pp. 125-127). Contrary to the rather acute and permanent reduction of bullion arrivals in Spain, detected by these historians after 1630, M. Morineau reasons that no decline in the bullion arrivals took place in Europe. Based on the analysis of Dutch newspapers, he states that, after the drop in the 1630s, the situation quickly got back to normal and continued on an even higher level during the second half of the 17th century (Morineau, *Incroyables gazettes et fabuleux métaux*, especially p. 250) – which indicates an increase in bullion that bypassed the Spanish registration. Cf. also idem, "Revoir Séville"; Oliva Melgar, "Realidad y ficción en el monopolio de Indias", in particular pp. 330-331; Pohl, *Die Wirtschaft Hispanoamerikas*, pp. 63-64. The usefulness of Morineau's data, however, has been questioned lately, as for example by R. Pieper (Pieper, *Die Vermittlung einer Neuen Welt*, pp. 214, 242).

7 Cf. the various contributions to Thompson and Yun Casalilla, *The Castilian Crisis*.

8 Bennassar, *La España del Siglo de Oro*, pp. 9-16. It is to point out that the peak of politics does not necessarily correspond to the climax of culture or economics. The literary *Siglo de Oro* for example can be defined as to have lasted until 1681, the year of the death of Pedro Calderón de la Barca.

The Eighty Years' War was the biggest military challenge for Spain, and the most urgent political matter during the time of consideration.⁹ The conflict emerged in the Netherlands, whose 17 provinces had been unified only under Emperor Charles V. He established a governor-general in Brussels, who was subject to directives from Madrid.¹⁰ The economic development was very positive and soon a specialization of the region could be perceived. The southern part, especially the provinces Flanders and Brabant, became a center of production and redistribution of merchandise, while the Northern Provinces specialized in transportation.¹¹ Early in the 16th century it was Bruges, which was in the center of the commercial relations to the Iberian Peninsula, but the city was replaced by Antwerp in the middle of the century. Antwerp was going to be the heart of the Netherlands' international trade and one of the strongest entrepôts for the following decades, attracting a large number of Spanish and other foreign merchants.¹² The more the century advanced, the more important Spain became for Antwerp, as the connections to Seville grew stronger thanks to the dynamics of the Indies trade.¹³ In the second half of the century, Antwerp became the most central entrepôt for the trade circuit between the Baltic regions and the Indies trade, while the passage was carried out on ships from the Northern Netherlands. These transported 80 percent of the Iberian trade toward the North and about 70 percent of the Baltic trade the other

9 Braudel, *Aufbruch zur Weltwirtschaft*, p. 177; cf. Parker, *Spain and the Netherlands*; Alcalá-Zamorra y Queipo de Llano, *España, Flandes y el Mar del Norte*; Gómez-Centurión Jiménez, *Felipe II, la empresa de Inglaterra*. The observations of Chaunu, "Séville et la Belgique" are remarkable, which put the war in direct relation with the arriving bullion from America.

10 Lynch, *Spain under the Habsburgs*, vol. 1, p. 272; Vries and Woude, *The First Modern Economy*, p. 9.

11 Echevarría Bacigalupe, *Flandes y la monarquía hispánica*, p. 42; Grafe, *Der spanische Seehandel mit Nordwesteuropa*, p. 41; Blockmans, "Regionale Identität und staatliche Integration", pp. 137-140.

12 Israel, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade*, p. 41; Grafe, *Der spanische Seehandel mit Nordwesteuropa*, pp. 5, 13, 41-48; cf. Vázquez de Prada, *Lettres marchandes*; Coornaert, *Les Français et le commerce international à Anvers*; Goris, *Étude sur les colonies marchandes méridionales*; Pohl, "Zur Bedeutung Antwerpens als Kreditplatz"; idem, *Die Portugiesen in Antwerpen*; Baetens, *De nazomer van Antwerpens welvaart*; Thijs, "Les textiles au marché anversois". The size of Antwerp rose from 42,000 inhabitants in 1526 to 90,000 in 1560 (Echevarría Bacigalupe, *Flandes y la monarquía hispánica*, pp. 42, 46-47). Cf. Wee, *The Growth of the Antwerp Market*; for the international movement of payments in Antwerp, cf. Denzel, *La Practica della cambiatura*, pp. 354-360.

13 Echevarría Bacigalupe, *Flandes y la monarquía hispánica*, p. 54; Lynch, *Spain under the Habsburgs*, vol. 1, p. 272.

way around.¹⁴ The economic relation between the Iberian Peninsula and the Netherlands was very tight. On the one hand, a large share of the imports to the Netherlands came from the Iberian Peninsula, and on the other hand, two thirds of the Netherlands' export went to the Iberian Peninsula.¹⁵ Another indication of the good relations between the Netherlands and the Iberian Peninsula was the size of the merchant colony in Antwerp. In 1560, 300 Iberian merchants were to be found there, by which it constituted the biggest of all foreign groups.¹⁶ Moreover, the Netherlands had special tax arrangements facilitating the trade between the two regions.¹⁷

With the ascent of Philip II to the throne of Spain in 1556, the situation in the Netherlands came to a religious and political crisis, which culminated in the insurrection of 1566 and the Eighty Years' War. At first, the trade was not altered much, but in 1577, the protestant provinces broke off all trade with Spain, and the Spanish interdiction followed in 1585.¹⁸ From this point on, the differentiation of Flemings and Dutchmen was essential for the trade with Spain. When Philip II sent the duke of Alba to settle the situation, it became even worse. In 1579, the 10 provinces of the South, loyal to Spain, founded the Union of Arras, and in return, the seven Northern Provinces also allied. Until the 1580s, Antwerp could maintain its status as entrepôt between the Baltic and the Iberian regions, as well as its strong position for German and Flemish textiles,¹⁹ but then the commerce became more difficult. Antwerp lost its central trading function, as the mouth of the Schelde River was blocked permanently and the productive Flemish regions became a battlefield for the Dutch and Spanish armies.²⁰ Antwerp's descent began with the "Spanish Fury",

14 Braudel, *Aufbruch zur Weltwirtschaft*, pp. 224-226; Echevarría Bacigalupe, *Flandes y la monarquía hispánica*, pp. 45, 55, 88.

15 Goris, *Étude sur les colonies marchandes méridionales*, pp. 251, 325. For wool, cf. Grafe, *Der spanische Seehandel mit Nordwesteuropa*, p. 40; Echevarría Bacigalupe, *Flandes y la monarquía hispánica*, p. 54; Lynch, *Spain under the Habsburgs*, vol. 1, p. 272.

16 Ibidem; Echevarría Bacigalupe, *Flandes y la monarquía hispánica*, p. 46; Goris, *Étude sur les colonies marchandes méridionales*, pp. 249-250; Stols, "La colonia flamenca", p. 365.

17 Grafe, *Der spanische Seehandel mit Nordwesteuropa*, p. 35.

18 Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique*, vol. 3, pp. 166-167; Echevarría Bacigalupe, *Flandes y la monarquía hispánica*, p. 81, 115-119; cf. Israel, "España, los embargos españoles", pp. 93-94; Kellenbenz, "Spanien, die nördlichen Niederlande", p. 321.

19 Vázquez de Prada, *Lettres marchandes*, p. 74.

20 A recovery of the Flemish production centers did only take place after 1609. Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique*, vol. 3, pp. 177, 182-188; Wee, *The Growth of the Antwerp Market*, p. 222; cf. Erbe, *Belgien, Niederlande, Luxemburg*, pp. 160-161.

the raid of the city by Spanish mercenaries in 1576, and it continued with the siege and conquest of the city by Spanish troops in 1585. Finally, under Spanish control, it had to suffer the blockade of the States-General (the provinces of the Northern Netherlands) and, gradually, it lost its position to its great competitor Amsterdam.²¹

England supported the States-General from 1569 to 1574. Then, Queen Elisabeth I signed the treaty of Bristol with Spain and agreed on not granting further licenses to English privateers. Yet, the threatening Spanish position in Europe, the war against the States-General, and the Spanish take-over of Portugal, made it necessary for England to declare war again, which lasted from 1585 to 1604. The competition for the dominance over the sea, however, could not be decided in that war.²²

France was internally struggling with the Wars of Religion during the second half of the 16th century. Thereby, its foreign affairs were slightly disregarded, while Spain assisted the French Catholics during the conflict. It was only in 1595 that France tried to stop Spanish intervention in the Religious Wars by openly declaring war. In 1598 peace was settled in Vervins, but it was not before some years that it was truly implemented. Since about 1604, less armed incidents took place between the two countries.²³

The years of the Truce (1609–1621) during the the Eighty Years' War were a great chance for the Dutch, as they could gather their forces and unite a network of non-Catholic allies. When the fighting started again between Spain and the Northern Netherlands, it was the latter who had the advantage – in Europe and in the colonies. The English once again helped the States-General in open war against Spain between 1625 and 1630. Also the French entered the military struggle of the Thirty Years' War. They declared war against Spain in 1635, a war which lasted until 1659 when it finally was settled in the treaty of the Pyrenees. In 1648, with the treaty of Westphalia, the Eighty Years' War

21 For Amsterdam's position in global trade, cf. Ufer, *Welthandelszentrum Amsterdam*; and for the Flemish *diaspora* to Amsterdam, cf. Gelderblom, *Zuid-Nederlandse kooplieden*.

22 Grafe, *Der spanische Seehandel mit Nordwesteuropa*, p. 24; cf. also Andrews, *Elisabethan Privateering*; Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement* and the different contributions to Adams and Rodríguez Salgado, *England, Spain and the Grand Armada*.

23 Girard, *Le commerce français*, pp. 54–57; Bercé, *La naissance dramatique*, pp. 11–47. Cf. also Melchior-Bonnet, *Les Guerres de Religion*; Garrisson, *Guerre civile et compromis*.

ended and the States-General gained independence, testifying the end of the Spanish dominance in Europe.²⁴

1.1.2 City and Port of Seville

The Commercial Development of Seville

For many centuries during the Middle Ages, Seville was the capital of the Moorish Almoravide dynasty. In the year 1248, it was taken by the Catholic Castilians and the Moorish inhabitants were driven away. For the following centuries, due to the nearby raging war, the *Hinterland* was populated only very scarcely. Still, the city rose to be the capital for the Castilian kings for a while.²⁵ It became an important stopover for the long-distance trade between the Mediterranean and the North Sea, as well as an export harbor for Andalusian products such as wine, fish, grain, and above all olive oil.²⁶ The city developed commercially and became a center of European trade. Long before the discovery of America, it attracted numerous foreign merchants from northern Spain, Italy, and Central and Northern Europe.²⁷

Even if Seville was a great regional center and an important European entrepôt before 1492, it was the discovery of America that made the rise of the city in the course of the 16th century possible. That can be seen, for example, in the number of merchants before and after the discoveries. The number of people who called themselves “merchants” by 1485 was 26, while in 1533, their number reached 353.²⁸ Seville could profit so much from the Indies trade because it was chosen the sole staple market for the rich trade with America.²⁹

24 Parker, “The Dutch Revolt”, p. 68; Grafe, *Der spanische Seehandel mit Nordwesteuropa*, p. 24; Bercé, *La naissance dramatique*, pp. 198-200; Israel, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade*, p. 160.

25 Hillgarth, *The Spanish Kingdoms 1250–1516*, vol. 1, pp. 10, 17.

26 An indication for the importance of olive oil in the agriculture of Lower Andalusia (*Baja Andalucía*) is the first trade privilege which the Genoese received in Seville, namely the one for the trade with olive oil. Otte Sander, *Sevilla, siglo XVI*, pp. 129-130.

27 Idem, “El comercio exterior andaluz a fines de la edad media”, pp. 193-240; cf. also idem, *Sevilla y sus mercaderes*; Ladero Quesada, *La ciudad medieval*; Greene, “Beyond the Northern Invasion”.

28 Mauro, “Merchant Communities”, p. 280.

29 For the time under consideration all ships from America had to come to the estuary of the Guadalquivir, the river that led to Seville. Same is true for the traffic to America which had to start there since the year 1573. Trueba, *Sevilla marítima*, pp. 19-41; cf. Kellenbenz, “Die Einwohnerschaft der Stadt Cadiz”, p. 80.

According to the mercantile principles of the time, it was not unusual to select a single port for such a monopoly. Consequently, the Spanish Crown could stay in control of the traffic more easily.³⁰

The motive for the selection of Seville for the monopoly were discussed vividly by modern historiography.³¹ In the words of R. Carande, Seville united the advantages of “a fortress and a market”.³² The most outstanding reasons were geographical, human, and commercial. First, there is the navigable Guadalquivir River, which enables an easy transportation of travelers between upstream Córdoba and downstream Sanlúcar de Barrameda, at the Atlantic coast. The Guadalquivir was never an ideal river for navigation, but the people adapted to its possibilities, and it served them as means of transportation, particularly for local agrarian products.³³ Seville is situated about 80 kilometers inland, which on the one hand complicated the transportation of goods, but on the other hand, it made Seville a secure inland port, which was easier to protect than cities with direct access to the sea.³⁴ Second, Seville had the necessary human structure for a transatlantic port, which can be seen in various points. The coast between Sanlúcar and Lagos, in Portugal, was inhabited by hundreds of sailor-fishermen, who had already participated in the Atlantic explorations to the Canary and Madeira Islands in the 15th century, and who would become the sailors for the Indies fleets. Also, Seville was a trading city in the Middle Ages and accommodated many merchants who were experienced in the organization of long distance trade. In addition, the local nobility did not represent a strong opposition to royal interests. Third, the existence of a rich agricultural *Hinterland* in combination with the city’s function as trading center, made it the economical capital of the region. Finally, on a larger scale, Seville was located at a commercial and communications crossroad between

30 Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World*, pp. 109-111, 113-114; Comellas, *Sevilla, Cádiz y América*, pp. 49-50; cf. also the work of the contemporary T. de Mercado, who described the commercial principles and practices of the middle of the 16th century: Mercado, *Suma de tratos y contratos*.

31 Cf. for example Domínguez Ortiz, *Historia de Sevilla*, pp. 35-66; Morales Padrón, *Historia de Sevilla*, pp. 29-33; Oliva Melgar, “Sevilla, siglo XVI”; Cervera de la Chica, “El puerto de Sevilla”.

32 Carande y Thovar, *Sevilla, fortaleza y mercado*.

33 Otte Sander, *Sevilla, siglo XVI*, pp. 129-130. As the ships became larger and the river sanded up, the Guadalquivir became more and more a problem and contributed to the eventual relocation of the Indies trade to Cádiz.

34 Cf. Navarro García, “El puerto de Sevilla”.

England, the Gulf of Guinea, Lisbon, and the Italian republics of Genoa and Venice.³⁵

The ascent of Seville is exemplified clearly by the growth of its population, displayed in table 1.1.³⁶ From 1533 to 1565 the population almost doubled and rose further up to reach over 120,000 at the end of the century.³⁷ During that time, Seville constituted, until 1630, the largest city of Spain. In Europe only London, Paris, and Naples counted more people, and Venice and Antwerp were about the same size.³⁸ The extraordinary population growth of Seville in the 16th century was the result of a high birth rate and of massive national and international immigration.³⁹ The rise of Seville is even more striking, considering that Andalusia was the province which contributed the most to the peopling of America.⁴⁰ Even after the arrival of the plague, between 1599 and 1601, the population diminished only slightly. It was not before 1649, when the plague struck again, that the city lost half of its inhabitants.⁴¹ After that, Seville did not recover, and by the middle of the 17th century, Seville had lost

Table 1.1: Population of Seville (1533–1655)

Year	Population
1533	57,500
1565	109,015
1588	123,667
1597	121,505
1655	53,172

Source: Morales Padrón, *Historia de Sevilla*, p. 65, and Domínguez Ortiz, “La población de Sevilla”, p. 253

35 Pérez-Mallaína, “Auge y decadencia del puerto de Sevilla”, pp. 18-21; Stein and Stein, *Silver, Trade, and War*, p. 11; Chaunu and Chaunu, *Séville et l’Atlantique*, vol. 8, 1-1, pp. 275-311.

36 The numbers provided by Morales Padrón, *Historia de Sevilla*, p. 65, are taken from different census for neighbors and multiplied by five.

37 Domínguez Ortiz, *Orto y ocaso de Sevilla*, p. 72, even calculates 150,000 inhabitants for that time.

38 Idem, *Historia de Sevilla*, p. 79.

39 Domínguez Ortiz, *Orto y ocaso de Sevilla*, pp. 72-73; Pike, *Aristocrats and Traders*, p. 20.

40 Nadal Oller, *La población española*, pp. 75-77; cf. also Bernal Rodríguez, Collantes de Terrán Sánchez, and García-Baquero González, “Sevilla”, pp. 11-12.

41 Domínguez Ortiz, “Una descripción de la peste de 1649 en Sevilla”, p. 265; cf. also idem, “La población de Sevilla a mediados del siglo XVII”; idem, “Los extranjeros en la vida española”.

its unique position in the world economy, and Cádiz had de facto taken over many of its functions.⁴²

The Port, the Convoy System, and the Charging

In the second half of the century, the commerce of Seville was very dynamic and experienced a considerable growth. Complaints about a diminishing trade volume and a declining position of the city only started after 1600, when the competition of Cádiz and Málaga became more evident.⁴³ The ascent of Andalusia in the 16th century can be illustrated in the increase of the trade volume. Based on the customs duties (the so called *almojarifazgo mayor*), I. Pulido Bueno estimates the annually value of the taxed merchandise (without the Indies trade) to have risen from about 2.8 million ducats (1,042,023,438 maravedis) in the 1560s to about 3.9 million ducats (1,477,384,101 maravedis) in the 1590s.⁴⁴ During that time, naturally, Seville was the dominant port in Andalusia and at the end of the 16th century, about three quarters of the *almojarifazgo mayor* of Andalusia was paid there.⁴⁵ An even clearer indication of the rise of Seville is the change that occurred in the Indies trade, which increased from about 1.2 million ducats (447,141,413 maravedis) in the 1560s to about 2.3 million ducats (852,439,581 maravedis) in the 1590s (not counting the import of bullion).⁴⁶

42 Cf. Stein and Stein, *Silver, Trade, and War*, pp. 73-75; Bustos Rodríguez, *Cádiz en el sistema atlántico*, pp. 48-60; Comellas, *Sevilla, Cádiz y América*, pp. 241-251; Girard, *La rivalité commerciale*; Kuethe, "Traslado del Consulado de Sevilla a Cádiz"; García-Baquero González, *Cádiz y el Atlántico*. Visible markers of that shift were for example the designation of Cádiz as head of the Indies fleet in 1680 and, as the final step, the transfer of the *Casa de la Contratación* in 1717. Iglesias Rodríguez, "Extranjeros en la bahía de Cádiz", p. 17. In spite of that, Cádiz did not reach Seville's demographic size, as it had only about 21,000 inhabitants in 1650, 41,000 in 1700, and 77,500 in 1791. Bustos Rodríguez, *Cádiz en el sistema atlántico*, p. 37.

43 Ulloa, *La Hacienda Real*, p. 283; Hamilton, *American Treasure and the Price Revolution*, p. 35; Pulido Bueno, *Almojarifazgos y comercio exterior*, pp. 145, 151, 156-157. In about 1610, for example, Málaga was important as a harbor for much of the English trade. *Ibidem*, p. 166.

44 Pulido Bueno, *Almojarifazgos y comercio exterior*, pp. 142-145.

45 Ulloa, *La Hacienda Real*, p. 265.

46 Pulido Bueno, *Almojarifazgos y comercio exterior*, p. 143. M. Ulloa shows that in the 1590s, about 90 percent of the tax on the Indies trade (*almojarifazgo de Indias*) was paid in Seville; the remaining 10 percent belonged to Cádiz and two Portuguese ports. But generally, Seville's share was even higher in the reign of Philip II. The majority of

In the 16th century, several hundred ships entered and left the port of Seville each year, connecting it to places in Europe and the Indies.⁴⁷ After 1520, most of the Andalusian ships – basically the fleet from Seville and Triana⁴⁸ – were deployed in the Indies trade. The European trade during the following 60 years was taken over, according to findings of E. Otte (investigating the years 1519–1580), especially by fleets from Galicia (20 departures), the Basques Country (43), and above all from Portugal (81). He identified the principal destinations of these voyages as Lisbon (63 departures), Flanders (62), the Canary Islands ex aequo with Galicia (27 departures each), and the Mediterranean (23).⁴⁹ The ships from Seville which went to the Flemish region, to the harbors in Sluis, Arnemuiden, Middelburg, and Antwerp, originated in different regions: 35 ships were from the Basque Country, 17 were Portuguese, four from England, three from Flanders, two Hanseatic ones from Hamburg and Gdansk, and one from Scotland. During the same time, only five ships left Seville for France: two went to Rouen, one French and one Galician one; a Basque one went to Marseille; and two Portuguese to a location called Albegracia.⁵⁰ These numbers can be understood as a rough assessment of the role which the Flemish and French trade played in Seville shortly before the time of investigation.

The most common ships arriving in Seville from the Atlantic were the *naos* – a name given to different types of ships (like the generic denomination *navio*, which was probably for a smaller vessel than the *nao*). Generally, it referred to a carrack with 100 to 500 tons (cargo capacity) that had between one and three masts. While in the 16th century, the Mediterranean was mainly frequented by galleys, the carracks and the smaller caravels were used in the European Atlantic commerce, alongside the older *urca* (hulk) from Flanders with a large hold,

the income from the *almojarifazgo de Indias* derived from exports to the Indies, because large parts of the imports consisted of precious metals, which did not have to pay that duty. Ulloa, *La Hacienda Real*, pp. 286-287.

47 Usher, “Spanish Ships and Shipping”, pp. 210-213; Ruiz Martín, “La etapa marítima de las guerras de religión”, p. 190; Pulido Bueno, *Almojarifazgos y comercio exterior*, pp. 150-151; cf. Chaunu and Chaunu, *Séville et l’Atlantique*.

48 Triana was the village opposite of Seville, across the Guadalquivir River, inhabited mostly by sailors, artisans, and construction workers. Today it is a district of Seville. A huge part of the shipyard of Seville were located there; in Spain, the ship production of that complex was second in output only to the Basque shipyards. Domínguez Ortiz, *Orto y ocaso de Sevilla*, p. 34.

49 The following destinations (between six and 16 departures) are England (16), the Azores (15), Funchal (13), Africa (nine), the Spanish Levant (eight), and Barcelona (six).

50 Otte Sander, *Sevilla, siglo XVI*, pp. 173-175.

and smaller ships, such as the galleon-type *felibote* (fluyt) and the galley-type *saetia/saltia*. Since the late 16th century, the carracks were gradually replaced by the larger galleons.⁵¹

When the Indies trade took off, the passage between Seville and America was navigated by single ships, which had a royal permission, the *registros sueltos*. These were the common means of transport until the middle of the 16th century and still were in use afterward for specific destinations.⁵² Since the very first moment, the connection between Seville and America was prone to pirate activities, especially from Frenchmen. Consequently, the Spanish Crown issued orders for the protection of the ships. In royal decrees between 1561 and 1566, it settled the way in which the Indies trade was handled during the following century. Protected annual fleets were to sail twice a year in convoy from the region Seville/Sanlúcar de Barrameda/Cádiz to America. The first one was to leave at the beginning of April toward New Spain (Nueva España), including the ports of Veracruz, Honduras, and the Antilles – in 1585 the date was changed to May. The second fleet was to set sail in August, going to Tierra Firme,⁵³ above all to the isthmus of Panama, Cartagena, and Santa Marta. Both fleets should be composed of at least six to 10 ships, and the protection should be carried out by at least two heavily armed warships, *navios* of over 300 tons, with a crew of 200 soldiers and sailors – the so called *Capitana* and *Almiranta*.⁵⁴ Both fleets wintered in America and united early the next year in

51 Usher, “Spanish Ships and Shipping”, p. 72; Vogel, “Beiträge zur Statistik der deutschen Seeschiffahrt”, pp. 110-152, Vogel, “Zur Größe der europäischen Handelsflotten”, pp. 268-333; Hagedorn, *Die Entwicklung der wichtigsten Schiffstypen*. Additional information was taken from Molinar, *Diccionario del Uso del Español*. Among 44 ships that were sold in Seville between 1516 and 1574 (in the notarial office number XV), E. Otte identified one as *barco*, five as *carabelas*, eight as *navios*, 27 as *naos* and four as *galeon*. Otte Sander, *Sevilla, siglo XVI*, p. 134.

52 Between 1550 and 1650, these ships represented about 20 percent of the total ships crossing the Atlantic. García-Baquero González, *La Carrera de Indias*, pp. 104-105.

53 The name Tierra Firme was given to the coastal regions of South America. In the Spanish documents it was, moreover, broadly used to cover all of Spanish America that was not New Spain (Mexico and Central America), i.e. the territory of the Viceroyalty of Peru.

54 Moreover, a fleets of Spanish warships patrolled the route between Cabo de San Vicente, in Portugal, and the Azores. The funding of the warships and their equipment was financed with the help of the banks of Seville, mainly by Genoese bankers, who had a contract with the king. As shipowners, they had the right to name the general of the war fleet and of the ships protecting the merchant fleets. This position gave them the opportunity to gain additional profits (cf. below on p. 59). Klaveren, *Europäische Wirtschaftsgeschichte Spaniens*, pp. 106-107.

Havana. From there, they returned to Spain together, departing at latest early in March. The dates of the different departures were set to use the best possible weather and current conditions of the year, which were calculated by the experts of the *Casa de la Contratación* (House of Trade). The ships of the two fleets became known by the names *Flotas*, the fleet sailing to New Spain, and *Galeones*, referring to the ships to Tierra Firme. Under severe penalties, all traffic of the *Carrera de Indias* had to be performed within this convoy system.⁵⁵ The only legal exceptions were the above-mentioned *registros sueltos*, messenger ships (*avisos*), and urgent transports of mercury (*navios de azogue*), which was used for the extraction of silver in America.⁵⁶

Contrary to these royal decrees, the reality was different in several aspects. First, only about 14 percent of the departures happened on time and only 22 percent of the return voyages were done jointly by both fleets. Second, the annual fleets to Tierra Firme became rather biannual in 1565, and to New Spain in about 1620. Third, the envisaged level of protection was never reached. The fleet was always short of soldiers, weapons, and ammunition. And fourth, the prohibition to transport merchandise on warships was mostly ignored. Large amounts of merchandise were loaded illegally on the ships, frequently preventing an effective use of weaponry. Hence, the *cédulas reales* can be understood as a description of an ideal rather than of a real situation.⁵⁷

The size of the forthcoming fleet and its tonnage (*buque*) was proposed by the merchants of Seville and confirmed by the *Casa de la Contratación* (and at some point, by the Indies Council). Officially, the ships had to be constructed in Spain and owned by Spanish shipowners. While most ships actually appear to have been in Spanish possession during the reign of Philipp II, most of them were constructed in foreign shipyards because Spanish ships were not available in large enough numbers.⁵⁸ The sizes of the fleets varied strongly, but overall they tended to grow during the 16th century. Around 1550, about 87 ships left Seville each year for the Indies, with an average tonnage of about 153. About

55 Veitia de Linaje, *Norte de la Contratación de las Indias Occidentales*, vol. II, 6, 2; García-Baquero González, *La Carrera de Indias*, pp. 88-93; cf. also Chaunu, *Séville et l'Amérique*, especially pp. 222-239. For permission to proceed in the convoy, in the late 17th century, between 3,000 and 4,000 ducats had to be paid for each merchant vessel Stein and Stein, *Silver, Trade, and War*, p. 80.

56 García-Baquero González, *La Carrera de Indias*, pp. 108-110, 113-114; cf. Lang, *El monopolio estatal del mercurio*; Castillo Martos and Lang, *Metales preciosos*; Crailsheim and Wiedenbauer, "Central Europe and the Atlantic World".

57 García-Baquero González, *La Carrera de Indias*, pp. 95-99.

58 Haring, *Trade and Navigation*, pp. 258-260, 281-282.

50 years later, the average number of outgoing ships was 107 (in one or two convoys and some separate ships), with a tonnage of 223.⁵⁹ Two thirds of the *buque* were usually allotted to the Seville merchants and one third to the ones from Cádiz. Within both shares, two thirds were for optional business of the merchants, while the last third was for the *cosecheros*, who exported the fruits of the land, that was primarily olive oil, wine, and brandy. Evidently, the two institutions in Seville responsible for the distribution of the *buque*, the *Casa de la Contratación* and the *Consulado de Cargadores a Indias*, were in a very powerful position.⁶⁰

1.1.3 Institutions in Seville

Providing Seville with a monopoly for the American trade was just a first step toward a comprehensive governmental control of the American commerce.⁶¹ The second step was the establishment of a strong administrative body in charge of this control, the *Casa de la Contratación*.⁶² This house of trade was founded in 1503, following the example of the Portuguese *Casa da India*.⁶³ It was chiefly designed as a royal institution of American commerce and had to organize, control, register, and manage the jurisdiction of the trade. It did not trade itself,⁶⁴ but all commerce with America was only permitted according

59 Between 1546 and 1555, P. and H. Chaunu found a maximum of 133 and a minimum of 23 ships leaving for the Indies each year, with a tonnage per ship between 98 and 188. Between 1596 and 1605, the maximum was 151, and the minimum 63 ships, averaging between 170 and 308 tons each. The largest number of outgoing ships and most tonnage in the investigated period seemed to have been reached in 1608 with 202 ships and 45,078 tons, averaging 223 tons per ship. Chaunu and Chaunu, *Séville et l'Atlantique*, vol. 6,1, pp. 328-330. Because of the many losses at sea (many storms and some pirates), the return numbers were always lower than that. Idem, *Séville et l'Amérique*, pp. 326-331.

60 García-Baquero González, *La Carrera de Indias*, p. 94.

61 Regarding the different institutions in Seville, cf. Moret, *Aspects de la société marchande*, pp. 29-32; Artífano y de Galdácano, *Historia del comercio de las Indias*, pp. 51-73; Larraz, *La época del mercantilismo*, pp. 17-70.

62 Comellas, *Sevilla, Cádiz y América*, pp. 57-61; cf. the great collection in Acosta Rodríguez, González Rodríguez, and Vila Vilar, *La Casa de la Contratación*.

63 Álvarez Nogal, "Instituciones y desarrollo económico", p. 26; Veitia de Linaje, *Norte de la Contratación de las Indias Occidentales*, vol. I, 1, 1; Girard, *Le commerce français*, pp. 10-11; cf. also the catalog Alcázar and Provincia, *España y América*.

64 Originally, it was founded to serve as a trading company, but soon it was realized that only private initiative could carry out the Indies trade. Stein and Stein, *Silver, Trade, and War*, p. 12.

to its rules and conditions and filtered by its officials.⁶⁵ In time, the number of officials increased and the bureaucratic apparatus grew, as its function as a clearing house became more important.⁶⁶ Additionally, it had other responsibilities, such as the accommodation of a nautical school of pilots for the *Carrera de Indias*,⁶⁷ the drawing of nautical maps, and the writing and collection of scientific books in areas such as geography, mining, astronomy, mathematics, biology, or medicine.⁶⁸

Probably the second most important institution for the Indies trade was the powerful merchant guild, the Consulate of Indies merchants or *Consulado de Cargadores a Indias*.⁶⁹ It was created in 1543, as an association of the *Cargadores a Indias*, the merchants who traded with America, following the model of the consulate in Burgos. The elected priors and consuls defended the interests of the members, and these collided often with the royal interest of the *Casa de la Contratación* – particularly when the Crown was in need of money.⁷⁰ However, as some *Cargadores a Indias* occupied positions in the *Casa de la Contratación*, the conflicts could get rather complicated.⁷¹ Gradually, the Consulate took over some of the tasks of the *Casa de la Contratación*. With a separate juridical tribunal, it resolved law cases between their members relating to the American commerce. Additionally, the Consulate had to construct, load, and guard the fleet – the determination of the size (*buque*) of the fleet was done in accordance with the Indies Council in Madrid. The Consulate controlled much of the transport and the insurances (the so called *seguros marítimos*) and decided who would get the key positions on the fleet.⁷² Moreover, in return for extended

65 Comellas, *Sevilla, Cádiz y América*, p. 58.

66 Haring, *Trade and Navigation*, pp. 22, 32; Corrales Elizondo, “El ordenamiento y la actividad mercantil marítima”, pp. 63-64; cf. also Schäfer, “La Casa de la Contratación”.

67 Cf. Martín-Merás, “Las enseñanzas nauticas en la Casa de la Contratación”.

68 Comellas, *Sevilla, Cádiz y América*, pp. 61-63; Castillo Martos, “De mano e imprenta”.

69 Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, pp. 168-177; Heredia Herrera, “Apuntes para la historia del Consulado de la Universidad de Cargadores”, pp. 219-222; Collado Vilalta, “El Consulado de Sevilla”; Morales Padrón, *Historia de Sevilla*, pp. 170-171; Corrales Elizondo, “El ordenamiento y la actividad mercantil marítima”, pp. 63-64; Comellas, *Sevilla, Cádiz y América*, pp. 57-64; Smith, *The Spanish Guild Merchant*, pp. 91-111.

70 Heredia Herrera, “Casa de la Contratación y Consulado de Cargadores”; cf. Bernal Rodríguez, “El lobby de los mercaderes”.

71 Vila Vilar, “El tesorero Andrés de Munibe”.

72 Cf. Bernal Rodríguez, *La financiación de la Carrera de Indias*, pp. 107-109, 279-292, 469-474.

financial favors to the Spanish king, the Consulate received the privilege of collecting most of the royal taxes on the Indies trade, particularly the *avería* (an ad valorem duty on goods carried to and from the Indies of seven percent and a head tax of 20 ducats per person), which was for the safety of the Indies trade.⁷³ The merchants of the Consulate had the *asiento* (royal lease contract) for the *avería* for at least 36 years between 1591 and 1642. Their authority over several categories of tariffs on the Indies trade and their position as tax farmers made the Consulate a strong financial institution as well as an important fiscal agent of the Crown. To protect their privileges, the merchants supplied the king in different ways with even more funds,⁷⁴ becoming one of its financial pillars.⁷⁵ It was a rich and powerful organization, serving both the commercial interest of its members (the *Cargadores a Indias*) and the fiscal interests of the Court in Madrid.⁷⁶

In spite of the constant demand for cash money in Seville, the number of banks was very low during the reign of Philip II. During the third quarter of the 16th century, Castilian and Viscayan bankers (either *cambiadores banqueros* or *mercaderes banqueros*/merchant banker), who had acquired royal licenses, took over much of the financial business in Seville, which led to some sort of bank oligopoly.⁷⁷ At the end of the 16th century, the Spanish Crown tried to establish a bank monopoly, and in 1595, after a series of failures, it assigned the

73 “En el comercio entre España e Indias se entendió por avería la cantidad que se cobraba proporcionalmente para todos los artículos de tráfico embarcados para América o procedentes de ella, y que se destina a sufragar los gastos ocasionados por los buques de escolta y armas que se crearon para proteger dicha navegación contra los agresiones de piratas o corsarios franceses, ingleses, holandeses y hasta africanos.” Céspedes del Castillo, *La avería*, pp. 3-4, 48. The revenues were highest in 1600, 1609 and 1610, when they passed the 533,333 ducats (200,000,000 maravedis). Cf. also Smith, *The Spanish Guild Merchant*, pp. 96-97; Martín Acosta, “Estado de cuestión sobre la avería”; Gil, “Arquetipos notariales”, p. 316.

74 These could take the form of bonds (*juros*), gifts (*donativos*), reparations (e.g. *balbas*), or loans for troops (*infantes*).

75 Smith, *The Spanish Guild Merchant*, pp. 98, 105; Stein and Stein, *Silver, Trade, and War*, p. 14.

76 Cf. Rodríguez Vicente, “Los Cargadores a Indias”; Vila Vilar, “El poder del Consulado”.

77 Tinoco Rubiales, “Banca privada y poder municipal”, pp. 1056–1058, 1077. These merchant bankers belonged to the group, A. Domínguez Ortiz called the *hombres de negocios*, who used their assets for financial speculations (Domínguez Ortiz, “Los extranjeros en la vida española”, pp. 23-36).

Spaniard Adan Vivaldo⁷⁸ to run that bank.⁷⁹ The powerful man behind him was Juan Castellanos de Espinosa⁸⁰ with his associate Pedro de la Torre. Later on, the bank was called “Pedro de la Torre y compañía”, and in 1600, after the death of Pedro de la Torre, his widow ceded his part to the brothers Jacome Mortedo and Juan de Aguirre who ran the bank under the name “Jacome Mortedo y compañía y consortes”.⁸¹ All of these bankers were really different enterprises, many of which were of Hispano-Genoese origin, and strongly related to the Italian *hombres de negocios* in Seville.⁸² Among these, it is the group of Genoese which was dominant,⁸³ but also the Florentines had considerable financial influence.⁸⁴ The idea of a bank monopoly (a “public bank”) was abandoned one year later, in 1601, when all of these enterprises, that is “Jacome Mortedo y compañía”, “Pedro de la Torre Espinosa y compañía”, and “Juan Castellanos de Espinosa (y Francisco Castellanos, su hijo)” went bankrupt,⁸⁵ leaving enormous debts behind.⁸⁶ That same year, the number of bankruptcies in Europe was high in general, which was attributed by V. Vázquez de Prada to the preceding bankruptcy of the Spanish Crown.⁸⁷ A. Domínguez Ortiz, in addition, denounced the moral depravity amongst the bankers in Seville. Juan Castellanos de Espinosa, for example, was in charge of the *bienes de difuntos*, the goods of the deceased from America, and misused their deposits to get his finances back on their feet. In the end, he failed, and numerous merchants

78 For the family Vivaldo and their banking business since the early 16th century, cf. Otte Sander, *Sevilla, siglo XVI*, pp. 250-266. Adan Vivaldo was still in Seville at least until 1600 (APS 16766, f. 355v).

79 For that purpose, Philip II signed an *asiento* contract (cf. below on p. 87) with Adan Vivaldo for 10 years. Tinoco Rubiales, “Banca privada y poder municipal”, p. 1080.

80 Juan Castellanos de Espinosa was a very eminent individual in the total network of the year 1600.

81 Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, pp. 164-167; Domínguez Ortiz, *Orto y ocaso de Sevilla*, pp. 65-67; Pike, *Enterprise and Adventure*, p. 97. The distinction between the old and the new bank became apparent in the file APS 9984, f. 196. For some of the activities of Jacome Mortedo, cf. below on pp. 245, 258 and in the appendix on p. 400.

82 Tinoco Rubiales, “Banca privada y poder municipal”, pp. 1058, 161, 1079–1080.

83 Vila Vilar, “Colonias extranjeras en Sevilla”, p. 35-39.

84 Cf. Núñez Roldán, “Tres familias florentinas”, and below on p. 90 (footnote).

85 AGI Contratación 334A, N. 1, R. 12, ff. 1r-11v [PARES]. Vázquez de Prada, *Lettres marchandes*, vol. 1, p. 177.

86 Depending on the different estimations of the sources cited above, the amount of the debt varies between 300,000 and 1,200,000 ducats for Juan Castellanos de Espinosa, and 80,000 and 800,000 ducats for Jacome Mortedo.

87 Vázquez de Prada, *Lettres marchandes*, vol. 1, pp. 176-177.

became victims of his maladministration.⁸⁸ The bankruptcy of Juan Castellanos de Espinosa and Jacome Mortedo constitute two of 38 known bankruptcies in the first half of the 17th century – over half of them took place in the 1630s.⁸⁹

As the banking scene of Seville was in turmoil for many years and the possibility to obtain minted money was limited, another institution in Seville became even more relevant: the *Casa de la Moneda*, the body which was in charge of minting gold and silver.⁹⁰ Individuals in possession of unminted precious metals had to mint them in the *Casa de la Moneda*. To avoid bureaucratic difficulties, they were able to employ private companies, the so-called *compradores de oro y plata*,⁹¹ to mint their precious metals for a certain fee, or they simply sold them their precious metals.⁹² This happened quite frequently. Usually, there were about eight such companies in Seville, making large profits. Beside the minting business, the *compradores de oro y plata* gave credits to the Indies merchants, while these waited for the return of their American bullion – after the arrival of the silver fleet, the bullion had to be deposited in the *Casa de la Contratación*, and only after some time, the owner received access to his riches. When the merchants could not wait to get the money, they sought the credit of the *compradores de oro y plata*.⁹³ The merchant bankers Juan Castellanos de Espinosa and Jacome Mortedo were both *compradores de oro y plata* too.⁹⁴

88 AGI Contratación 334A, N. 1, R. 12, f. 8 [PARES]; Domínguez Ortiz, *Orto y ocaso de Sevilla*, p. 67.

89 A.-M. Bernal and A. García-Baquero divide the time between 1598 and 1709 into three periods with different annual percentages, that is 1598–1615: 0.61 bankruptcies/year, 1627–1648: 1.30 bankruptcies/year, and 1670–1709: 0.20 bankruptcies/year. There were no bankruptcies in the years in between these periods in Seville. The authors refer strictly to cases linked to the Indies trade; almost half of the merchants concerned were *Cargadores a Indias*. Bernal Rodríguez and García-Baquero González, *Tres siglos del comercio sevillano*, pp. 134–135; Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, p. 178.

90 Pérez Sindreu, *La Casa de la Moneda de Sevilla*; Domínguez Ortiz, “La Casa de la Moneda en Sevilla”.

91 Comellas, *Sevilla, Cádiz y América*, pp. 64–65; Álvarez Nogal, *Sevilla y la Monarquía Hispánica*, pp. 39–41; Haring, *Trade and Navigation*, pp. 175–179.

92 Also the royal treasury used the service of the *compradores de oro y plata*. In the second half of the 17th century, however, the foreign merchants of Cádiz usually ignored the injunction to turn the silver over in order to save the six percent duty. Stein and Stein, *Silver, Trade, and War*, p. 84.

93 Álvarez Nogal, “Un comprador de oro”, pp. 85–92.

94 Tinoco Rubiales, “Banca privada y poder municipal”, p. 1058.

Finally, the *Universidad de corredores de lonja* should also be mentioned because its members were essential for the commerce of Seville. The office of the *corredor de lonja* (translated in the following chapters as “stockbrokers”) existed in Seville since the High Middle Ages, but first statutes were only found from the year 1478. Until 1637, the office was in the hands of the city, while afterward it became the property of the respective *corredor de lonja* himself – meaning it became hereditary. The *corredores* were the official brokers of the city, who, for a commission, became active in the intermediation of trade, from petty to wholesale.⁹⁵ While some *corredores* were mediating in the trade of livestock, wine, or fish, the *corredores de lonja* were responsible for textiles (wool, silk, linen, and fustian), dyestuff (indigo and pastel), property (vineyards, etc.), and slaves. With the intensification of the Indies trade, their activities diversified even more and some tasks became central, such as the expedition of policies for the insurances (*seguros marítimos*).⁹⁶ In the 16th century, to become one of the 60 accredited *corredores de lonja*, one had to be a native Old Christian (“cristiano viejo”) of the city (not naturalized), of good reputation, and over 25 years old, with the ability to read, write, and calculate, and not to have been doing handicraft. Several citizens had to testify to the applicants reputation. Moreover, it required the payment (some sort of guarantee) to the other *corredores de lonja*, which in 1511 was set at 11 ducats (4,000 maravedis). It seems that it was originally a job for impoverished citizens (“venidos de riqueza en pobreza”) with some education and knowledge of the trade. Once in office, they could only participate a little in trade themselves, and were prohibited from the trade that they were mediating. The *Universidad de corredores de lonja*, directed by two of them who acted as *alcaldes*, was their guild and the representative organ, which defended their interests. One of the most repeated norms for the office was that foreigners must not be accepted. However, already in the 15th century, the Genoese were represented by two *corredores de lonja* and, also later,

95 “En su presencia se hacían todas las transacciones comerciales: ventas, cambios, descuentos, pólizas, seguros, etc., sin que para ellas fuera necesaria la intervención del escribano público. Sus certificaciones juradas tenían la misma fe que una escritura pública en juicio y fuera de él. Habían de llevar un libro registro donde diariamente apuntaban las negociaciones en las que intervinieren, con expresión del tipo de contrato, materia del mismo, personas contratantes, etc. Misión suya era también la justipreciación de los productos, confeccionando para ello, periódicamente, listas de precios, por las que habían de regirse las operaciones mercantiles, fijados de acuerdo con las alteraciones del comercio.” Heredia Herrera, “Los corredores de lonja”, p. 185.

96 “Los seguros marítimos estuvieron fiscalizados por el Consulado, aunque fueron los corredores quienes hicieron las pólizas. [...] En definitiva, ningún corredor podía hacer ninguna póliza sin tener la aprobación del Consulado.” *Ibidem*, p. 190.

foreigners filled their ranks, as will become evident in the second part of this book.⁹⁷

1.1.4 Different Parties of the Indies Trade

The relations between the different institutions were complex and often competitive as all of them struggled to gain power and influence. Within the heterogeneous landscape of the commerce of Seville, it is a challenge to keep the players apart, yet some interest groups can be defined. One was the royal party, represented mainly by the Indies Council, which influenced the events in Seville from Madrid.⁹⁸ Its corporate interest was the control of the American trade, while at the same time, the courtiers sought to enrich themselves in many ways.

The local authorities can be seen as a separate party. These include on the one hand, the independent cities of Seville and Cádiz, which negotiated the rent of the *almojarifazgos*, the customs duties of the European and the Indies trade, with the Crown. A steady return of the Indies fleet and a liberal trade with the European trading centers were their basic interest. On the other hand, it was the powerful local aristocracy, for example the Marquis of Alamonte and above all the Dukes of Medinaceli and Medina Sidonia, which used their position to make profitable arrangements with the merchants in Puerto de Santa María, in the bay of Cádiz, and Sanlúcar de Barrameda, the city at the estuary of the Guadalquivir River.⁹⁹

The most essential group of the Indies trade was of course the *Cargadores a Indias* in Seville, composed of several hundred Indies merchants. The organ of this group was the above mentioned Consulate, which was dominated by a handful of very rich *Cargadores*.¹⁰⁰ This group wanted to be as independent of restrictions as possible, but, on the other hand, it needed the Crown and its legislation for protection against competitors. Apart from the dominant

97 Aznar Vallejo, “Los corredores de lonja”.

98 Klaveren, *Europäische Wirtschaftsgeschichte Spaniens*, p. 100. Additionally, the courtiers of the *Consejo de Hacienda* and the *Consejo de Guerra* were involved, as they were concerned in matters of taxes and war vessels. Both agencies offered opportunities for bribe money, as taxes were sold and war vessels transported clandestine merchandise.

99 Gómez-Centurión Jiménez, *Felipe II, la empresa de Inglaterra*, pp. 272-280, 288, 300; Domínguez Ortiz, “Los extranjeros en la vida española”, pp. 40-41; Morales Padrón, *Historia de Sevilla*, pp. 67-71, 211-245.

100 Vila Vilar, “El poder del Consulado”, p. 7; Álvarez Nogal, “Mercados o redes de mercaderes”, pp. 58-61; cf. Lorenzo Sanz, “Esplendor y quiebra”.

group, most of these merchants had not enough capital to purchase merchandise directly from the European trading centers in large quantities. Consequently, they tended to act as fronts for the wealthier foreign merchant in Seville. These so called *prestanombres* handled the imported goods of the local foreigners for commissions and sold them through their traveling agents or employees (*factores, encomenderos, comisionistas*) to American partners. It was thus in their interest that the foreigners remained banned from direct access to the Indies trade.¹⁰¹ Between the Crown and the Consulate, there was the already mentioned *Casa de la Contratación*, eager to suppress the merchants and to gain power from the Court. But over the years, its officials permanently lost influence and business to the Council and the Consulate.¹⁰²

A further group of interest were the *peruleros*, which were (Spanish or American) employees or agents of merchants from Peru, who came to Seville for business. As subjects of the Castilian Crown, the *peruleros* were entitled to freight merchandise on the fleets going to the Indies, which made them the ideal broker in the commercial axis Lima-Seville. Already in the late 16th century, they started to break the traditional mercantile system, which had given the Seville merchants the monopoly position between Europe and America.¹⁰³ They represented a direct competition for the latter and as their number grew, the *Cargadores a Indias* saw their monopoly position endangered.¹⁰⁴ Similar to the bulk of the *Cargadores*, the *peruleros* were also identified by some as fronts for the powerful foreign merchants in Seville, while others conceded them vast economic power. Most of the *peruleros* traveled between one and four times across the Atlantic and then settled down in Seville.¹⁰⁵ In the 1620s, their intermediation had become a fundamental element of the transatlantic trade

101 Stein and Stein, *Silver, Trade, and War*, pp. 15-16.

102 Cf. Heredia Herrera, "Casa de la Contratación y Consulado de Cargadores"; Oliva Melgar, "Pacto fiscal y eclipse de la contratación en el siglo XVII".

103 García Fuentes, *Los peruleros y el comercio de Sevilla*, pp. 15-17; Álvarez Nogal, "Mercados o redes de mercaderes", pp. 61-64; Vila Vilar, "Las ferias de Portobelo", pp. 295-302.

104 Moreover, *peruleros* had the reputation to almost professionally evade official fees (Vila Vilar, "Las ferias de Portobelo", pp. 25-27). Also some merchants in the Indies were against the traveling *peruleros*, because they threatened their good position in the Portobelo fairs.

105 It can be assumed that many later *Cargadores* had been *peruleros* before they settled down in Seville (Álvarez Nogal, "Mercados o redes de mercaderes", p. 81). The Genoese Tomas de Mañara may be mentioned as one such example. Vila Vilar, "Las ferias de Portobelo", p. 297.

with Peru. Their basic interest was to load as much merchandise as possible on their way between the continents, to maximize their profits.¹⁰⁶

The *peruleros* were a welcome partner for the following interest group in Seville: the foreign merchants. For these, the *peruleros* represented an opportunity to sell their products directly to the Indies market, by-passing the *Cargadores* – at least their presence and competition reduced the commission prices for the *Cargadores*' services.¹⁰⁷ The group of the foreign merchants in the city were key to the commercial system of Seville: they provided almost all of the external supplies and bought large quantities of the American imports. In 1612, the administrator of the *Almojarifazgo Mayor* of Seville, Domingo de Zavala even stated that the Indies trade of Seville was in the hands of 20 to 30 foreign merchants who controlled it together with six to eight *peruleros*.¹⁰⁸ Their interest was primarily to reduce the trade barriers against their nations and to participate as much as possible in the Indies trade. The essential role of foreigners and *peruleros* was expressed in a memorial from the *Casa de la Contratación* to the king, stating that the Indies trade could not continue without their participation.¹⁰⁹

These specified groups must not be understood as homogeneous groups. They can be seen as fluctuating and dynamic units, where mixing and the affiliation to more than one group were perfectly possible and common. Nevertheless, this classification allows an understanding of the agencies that were at work in the commerce of Seville.

1.1.5 Practices of Trade and Contraband

Most economic experts of the 17th century (*arbitristas*), who investigated the Spanish commercial defects, came to the conclusion that one of the main rea-

106 Vila Vilar, "Las ferias de Portobelo", pp. 298-299; Álvarez Nogal, "Mercados o redes de mercaderes", p. 61; Klavereen, *Europäische Wirtschaftsgeschichte Spaniens*, pp. 123-124. It seems quite possible that many of the *peruleros* were converted descendants of Portuguese Jews (for the *conversos*, cf. p. 75).

107 Most of the investigated files do not make clear if a merchant going to the Indies with goods from foreigners was an agent of merchants in Lima (a *perulero*), of foreigners in Seville, or one of the independent *Cargadores a Indias*. Still, some estimates are possible and it can be assumed that the following merchants were trading with *peruleros* in 1620: the Frenchmen Pedro de la Farxa and Niculas Blondel (pp. 278, 290, 295) and the Flemings Niculas Antonio and Juan Perez Enriquez (alias Juan Clut) (pp. 302, 335).

108 Chaunu and Chaunu, *Séville et l'Atlantique*, vol. 4, p. 396.

109 Suárez, *Comercio y fraude*, p. 96.

sons for the “decline” of Spain was the abundance of illegal commercial practices. Also modern historians have stressed the significance of contraband and fraud for the Spanish “decadence”.¹¹⁰ However, commercial fraud must be seen in its historical context and its role must be assessed with care.

One way or the other, all interest groups tried to get a large share of the regular Indies trade, as well as of the riches that were generated from illegal practices. An effective governmental control of all the regulations was not possible,¹¹¹ and several chances existed for the merchants and officials to enrich themselves through illicit means. Instead of speaking of a time of mercantilism, J. van Klaveren goes so far as to calling it a “time of corruption”, E. Vila Vilar identifies it as an “institutionalized fraud”, and S.J. and B.H. Stein speaks of a “parallel economy of smuggling and generalized illegal commercial activity” which complemented the legal Indies trade.¹¹² During that time, illegal practices were inherent in the system – for the Indies as well as for the European trade. The numerous and diverse measures that were adopted by the Seville merchants will give additional insights into their world.

The Transatlantic Trade

In the transatlantic trade, during the heyday of the Seville Monopoly (1570–1650), fraud was an omnipresent phenomenon,¹¹³ which included many diverse activities. Loading more than was registered, not paying the *almojarifazgo*, bypassing official points of exit and entry,¹¹⁴ bribing the officials, or making wrong declarations of cheaper merchandise¹¹⁵ were some of the most used methods. Also the diversity of the people involved was great, including all kind of officials, Castilian and foreign merchants, soldiers (even generals), friars, and clergymen (even bishops).

However, the issue of contraband has to be understood from a different viewpoint than today.¹¹⁶ In addition to the merchants from the Consulate, the officials of the *Casa de la Contratación* and Indies Council were also aware that

110 For example Klaveren, *Europäische Wirtschaftsgeschichte Spaniens*.

111 García-Baquero González, *La Carrera de Indias*, pp. 37–40, 119.

112 Klaveren, *Europäische Wirtschaftsgeschichte Spaniens*, p. 97; Vila Vilar, “Las ferias de Portobelo”, p. 336; Stein and Stein, *Silver, Trade, and War*, p. 18.

113 Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World*, pp. 226–229.

114 The minimum fees for exporting to the Indies was 27 percent.

115 The officials were not allowed to open the bales.

116 One has to be particularly careful not to measure terms such as “illegal practices” and “corruption” by today’s standards.

the transatlantic monopoly system with all its restrictions would not function without the supplement of an “informal” economy, i.e. fraud and contraband. In spite of its knowledge of the immense share of smuggled goods, unregistered bullion, and lost taxes, the Crown had, on the one hand, no means to prevent any of it thoroughly and, on the other, no desire to do so for the sake of the general commerce and the provision of its American territories.¹¹⁷ Still, driving pervasive commercial politics, it managed to seize a part of the lost riches from the Indies by appropriation of ships and load, irregular control of the fleets, and withdrawal of bullion.¹¹⁸

Among the many products from the Indies that arrived in Europe, silver bullion stands out by far.¹¹⁹ Bullion ending up in foreign hands happened in many ways, which can be classified in two groups. Either they got it along the way from the American mines to the Spanish mainland, or they obtained it in Seville.¹²⁰ The first group includes pirate activities (robbery) as well as systematic trade from foreign bases – later colonies – in the Indies, from the Atlantic Islands, or even the southern Iberian coastline (smuggling). Operating in such a way were above all the French, the Dutch, and the English, who escalated their actions in the second half of the 17th century.¹²¹ The other way for foreigners to obtain bullion, dominant in the first half of the century, was to sell their products in Seville to the *Cargadores a Indias* (re-export).¹²² In that field it was the Portuguese, the Flemings, the Genoese, and again the French, who were engaging the most, as will be shown in the next section. As long as foreign merchandise was permitted, that trade was legal, though

117 In 1624, for example, both the Consulate and the Indies Council stressed the huge inconveniences that would arise if an investigation of the Indies trade was carried out in Seville, which would lead to the ruin of the city's commerce. Vila Vilar, “Las ferias de Portobelo”, pp. 326-329; cf. Smith, *The Spanish Guild Merchant*, p. 108.

118 Ibidem, pp. 306-308, 326-327, 331. For the sequestrations, cf. 93.

119 For contraband in the sector of the transatlantic slave trade, cf. for example Böttcher, *Aufstieg und Fall eines atlantischen Handelsimperiums*, pp. 154-167.

120 The flow of royal silver from Seville to foreign bankers, *asentistas*, etc. will not be discussed here (cf. Stein and Stein, *Silver, Trade, and War*, pp. 40-46), neither the bullion flow from New Spain to Manila. Cf. for example Flynn, Giráldez, and Sobredo, *European Entry into the Pacific*.

121 Stein and Stein, *Silver, Trade, and War*, pp. 5, 34-40; cf. Kamen, *Empire*, p. 292; Vila Vilar, “Las ferias de Portobelo”, p. 293.

122 Operating at the same time, the foreign interlopers in the Caribbean hampered not only the Spanish trade, but they also interfered with the business of their compatriots, which were based in Seville, relying on their Spanish partners. Stein and Stein, *Silver, Trade, and War*, p. 18; Kamen, *Empire*, p. 432.

under certain conditions. But when the trade with foreigners was forbidden, camouflage techniques had to be applied (smuggling).

One can differentiate at least three different types of bullion influx to Spain: for privates through legal and illegal trade, for the Crown through taxes, and for the officials through the huge amount of bribe money which they demanded for their services.¹²³ The latter was closely linked to the contraband of foreign merchants in Seville. Many of their transatlantic activities depended on the authorization of officials, be it port, city, or Crown officials. They enhanced their poor salaries regularly either by embezzlement (defrauding the Crown) or by charging unofficial extra fees for their services (at the expense of the merchants). When illegal goods were involved, the initiative frequently came from the merchants themselves. Instead of paying the regular taxes or penalties, they bribed the officials, which was beneficial for both parties, leaving nothing for the treasury.¹²⁴ The financial situation of the officials deteriorated when the Spanish Crown tried to consolidate its finances. One of its measures was the issuance of *juros*, royal Spanish bonds, instead of the payment of salaries to the officials.¹²⁵ Lacking cash money, they consequently became even more susceptible for corruption.¹²⁶ Also in the military, corruption was common. Flag officers of the Indies fleets had to advance enormous sums to buy their offices. Many of them thus became indebted to the rich merchants in Seville, granting them repeatedly favors in the loading and unloading of merchandise.¹²⁷

123 Klaveren, *Europäische Wirtschaftsgeschichte Spaniens*, p. 97; cf. Fukuyama, *Origins of Political Order*, p. 358: "Corruption was rife because venal officeholders completely eroded the distinction between public and private". The conduct of the accountant Cristobal de Balbas in 1624 displays perfectly the mechanisms of bribery in the Indies trade. Vila Vilar, "Las ferias de Portobelo", pp. 315-319.

124 In that regard, the merchants often delayed the clearing of the port by obstructing the loading of the ships. Thereby, they avoided a thorough inspection of their cargo, as well as the payment of extraordinary taxes or bribery money (*ibidem*, p. 101; García-Baquero González, *La Carrera de Indias*, p. 95). Additionally, they intended to delay the unloading of the returning fleet's ships, which gave them more time to secretly offload their illegally imported goods. Stein and Stein, *Silver, Trade, and War*, pp. 78-80.

125 A *juro* was a title which allowed the owner to collect a certain rent. They were issued by the Spanish king for certain services, basically credits. Amalric et al., *Léxico Histórico de España*, pp. 52, 128-129.

126 Álvarez Nogal, *Sevilla y la Monarquía Hispánica*, pp. 64-65.

127 Stein and Stein, *Silver, Trade, and War*, pp. 80-81; Bustos Rodríguez, *Cádiz en el sistema atlántico*, p. 401. Even violence of soldiers against Crown officials seemed to have been an suitable means to evade paying taxes. Vila Vilar, "Las ferias de Portobelo", p. 305.

One of the places, where fraud was practised most, was the fair of Portobelo, at the the Isthmus of Panama. At this fair – which rather resembled a swift exchange of goods than bargaining – European merchandise was unloaded from the arriving *Galeones* for further transport to Panama and Lima, and bullion and other wares from the Viceroyalty of Peru were loaded.¹²⁸ As that was done in a hasty way, a thorough inspection of the transactions was sheer impossible. Additionally, the commanders, captains, and the *maestres de plata* (the persons officially in charge of transporting the bullion)¹²⁹ intentionally interfered with the work of the tax officials to secretly load merchandise and unregistered bullion. Officials estimated at the beginning of the 17th century that only about one quarter of the value of the European merchandise which arrived was registered in Portobelo.¹³⁰ Back in Europe, to unload their unregistered bullion, the merchants bribed the officials of the *Casa de la Contratación* and used small ships to get it off the galleons at night. During the reign of Philip IV, the so called *metedores* procured the secret unloading already off the coast of Portugal, while later it was done directly in the Bay of Cádiz.¹³¹

The Indies merchants found themselves in a vicious circle of trade in smuggled goods, because of three practices. First, there was the obligation to pay the *avería*, the ad valorem tax for the Spanish defense system.¹³² This fee was based on the proportional value of the stored merchandise,¹³³ which meant, the more bullion a merchant registered the more he paid. It also meant the more people shared the fee, the less everyone had to pay. Hence, the more Indies merchants started to bypass the tax, the more expensive it became for the remaining law-abiding merchants and for the Crown, which paid for the transportation and security of its share of the bullion, the royal quint. The situation culminated

128 For the trade and contraband of the fairs of Portobelo (Puerto Bello/Porto Belo), which were initiated in 1598, cf. Loosly, “The Puerto Bello Fairs”; Vila Vilar, “Las ferias de Portobelo”; Álvarez Nogal, “Mercados o redes de mercaderes”. The counterpart of this Tierra Firme fair was the fair of Veracruz in New Spain, cf. for example Studnicki-Gizbert, “From Agents to Consulate”, and García de León, *Tierra adentro*.

129 Vila Vilar, “Los maestros de plata”.

130 Idem, “Las ferias de Portobelo”, pp. 302-304.

131 Bustos Rodríguez, *Cádiz en el sistema atlántico*, p. 401; Klaveren, *Europäische Wirtschaftsgeschichte Spaniens*, pp. 102-103; Pearce, *British Trade with Spanish America*, p. 5; Stein and Stein, *Silver, Trade, and War*, p. 25, 84. Often, the *metedores* also organized the distribution of the load to vessels of foreign trading partners on the spot.

132 For the *avería*, cf. above on p. 53.

133 The tax was based the first time on the value of the cargo to America, calculated before the start, and the second time on the value of the cargo from America, after the ships had returned to Spain.

in the Crown paying almost all of the *avería*. Consequently, the payment of a fixed amount for all merchants was introduced in 1660, regardless of the value of the merchandise.¹³⁴ A second stimulus for trade in smuggled goods was the delay in receiving the registered bullion. It could take several months until the *Casa de la Contratación*, which collected all of the imported bullion, allowed its withdrawal.¹³⁵ Finally, the third reason for the merchants to smuggle was that non-registered bullion could not be sequestered easily by the Crown for the consolidation of its treasury, which happened quite frequently in the 16th and 17th centuries.¹³⁶ Therefore, to maintain their profits, some merchants were almost forced to adopt contraband.

The Crown reacted to the growing amount of illicit trade and chose a combination of pervasive and consensual politics. It arranged irregular controls among the merchants in Seville and, consequently, got hold of illegal trade. The merchants accused of contraband were defended by their guild representatives of the Consulate, which also carried out the payment negotiations with the Council, when the sentence was negotiated. What followed mostly was an agreement between the Consulate and the Crown that the alleged culprits should pay a fee (*servicio*) to the king in exchange for an amnesty (*indulto* and “perpetuo silencio”), and could then continue their business. This “pact” between the Consulate and the Crown was valid for most of the 17th century. One of these deals took place for example in 1625. The case started, when the Crown was informed that almost 86 percent of the Indies fleet of 1624 to Portobelo was chartered illegally. Instead of investigating the case thoroughly, the king accepted a payment of 206,000 ducats in silver, which was offered by the Consulate.¹³⁷

Estimates on the total volume of contraband diverge greatly. While the contraband of imported merchandise in the Indies seems to have been enor-

134 Klaveren, *Europäische Wirtschaftsgeschichte Spaniens*, pp. 103-106; Girard, *Le commerce français*, pp. 26-28; cf. Zumalacarregui, “Contribución al estudio de la avería”; Álvarez Nogal, “Mercados o redes de mercaderes”; Vila Vilar, “Los maestros de plata”; García Fuentes, “El crédito comercial en la Carrera de Indias”.

135 Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, pp. 131-133.

136 Haring, *Trade and Navigation*, pp. 169-174; Klaveren, *Europäische Wirtschaftsgeschichte Spaniens*, pp. 103-106.

137 At first only 150,000 ducats were offered. The money was paid (advanced) by the so called *prestamista de Balbas*, who were analyzed thoroughly by E. Vila Vilar: Vila Vilar, “Una amplia nómina”; idem, “Los gravámenes en la Carrera de Indias”; idem, “Las ferias de Portobelo”, pp. 312, 320-321, 328-330, 333; cf. Álvarez Nogal, *Sevilla y la Monarquía Hispánica*, pp. 51-53. Some later sequestrations are displayed and analyzed below on pp. 93ff.

mous, the bullion import in Spain was evaluated differently. During the reign of Philip II, E. Lorenzo Sanz calculates that only about 10 percent of the bullion which arrived in Europe was not registered.¹³⁸ Based on comparison of older calculations, S.J. and B.H. Stein reckon that between 1571 and 1595 the difference between silver production and registered bullion was 17.6 percent, rising to 34 percent between 1611 and 1635, and 69 percent between 1636 and 1660.¹³⁹ Recent studies confirm that large scale contraband in Andalusia only started in the second half of the 17th century.¹⁴⁰ Overall during the period of consideration, most bullion seems to have arrived through official channels in the monopoly port Seville.

In any case, contraband with the Indies played an important role in everyday life of the merchants of Seville. Considering the many constraints, the incomplete controls, the large profits in contraband, and the number of persons contributing to the *servicios*, the number of merchants not involved in illegal practices must have been relatively small.

The European Trade

As the Indies trade was prone to fraud, so was the long distance trade with Europe. As the wars in Europe continued, the commercial regulations and restrictions became very complex. Changing political relations between the different European regions often obstructed the trade relations of the merchants in Seville. Frequently, it was prohibited to import foreign goods or to conduct business with individuals from territories of the enemy. The only remaining option for the merchant being cut off from his supplying partners was the trade in smuggled goods. In time, the laws became more prohibitive as contraband became one of the greatest economic concerns of the Spanish king.¹⁴¹

138 Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, pp. 145-146.

139 Stein and Stein, *Silver, Trade, and War*, pp. 24-25. For differing estimates cf. García-Baquero González, *La Carrera de Indias*, pp. 147-148; Morineau, *Incroyables gazettes et fabuleux métaux*; Moutoukias, "Una forma de oposición"; Collado Villalta, "Un repartimiento por contrabando".

140 Pulido Bueno, *Almojarifazgos y comercio exterior*, pp. 105, 111; cf. García-Baquero González, *La Carrera de Indias*, p. 98.

141 Alloza Aparicio, "Guerra económica y comercio europeo en España"; idem, *Europa en el mercado español*, pp. 1-147; Herrero Sánchez, *El acercamiento hispano-neerlandés*, pp. 99-107; Stols, "La colonia flamenca", pp. 369-370; García-Baquero González, *Andalucía y la Carrera de Indias*, pp. 42-43; idem, *La Carrera de Indias*, pp. 140-150.

A constantly unresolved issue for the Spanish Crown was the export of bullion from Spain which, according to mercantilistic principles, was forbidden: imports of European merchandise were only allowed when the seller bought Spanish or American products with the same value within one year.¹⁴² These so-called *sacas de plata* were a consequence of the nature of Seville's trade, because the massive demand for foreign goods could only be balanced with bullion exports. In other words, the counterpart of the foreign goods that were purchased by the *Cargadores a Indias* or the *peruleros* in Seville were silver coins or bars, which were then re-exported by the foreign merchants.¹⁴³ Even the royal commissaries were not certain about how to avoid these *sacas de plata* without reducing the volume of the urgently needed imported goods from Europe.¹⁴⁴ Legal exceptions were made only for the Genoese (since 1566) and the Hanseatic League (1607–1647).¹⁴⁵ Investigating the situation during an embargo in 1595, the royal commissary found out that the center of contraband was in Sanlúcar at the mouth of the Guadalquivir River. The culprits were identified: it was mostly the Flemings of Andalusia, sending their profits home.¹⁴⁶

In the course of the Eighty Years' War, the Spanish Crown adopted economic measures against their enemies, mainly against the States-General. In 1585, Philip II prohibited the import of Dutch merchandise in Spain.¹⁴⁷ Spain's measures of economic warfare represented an effective hindrance for the Dutch commerce.¹⁴⁸ Even though the Dutchmen employed Spaniards, Flemings, and other neutral traders to secretly transport their goods,¹⁴⁹ the Spanish attempts

142 “[...] frutos de la tierra, y no oro ni plata”; Domínguez Ortiz, “Los extranjeros en la vida española”, p. 43, quoting an AGI sources from 1628, but the law goes as far back as 1503.

143 Stein and Stein, *Silver, Trade, and War*, p. 83.

144 Only with the Bourbon regime in the 18th century, did the government become aware that “the silver had to work outside the country, otherwise it would have been useless.” Kamen, *Empire*, pp. 436–437.

145 Stein and Stein, *Silver, Trade, and War*, p. 286; Berthe, “Les Flamands à Séville”, p. 241; Girard, *Le commerce français*, p. 104.

146 Gómez-Centurión Jiménez, *Felipe II, la empresa de Inglaterra*, pp. 299–300; J.-Ph. Priotti argues that also the French merchants from northern Brittany used Sanlúcar on a massive scale for their contraband. Priotti, “Plata americana”.

147 Israel, “España, los embargos españoles”, pp. 93–94; Kellenbenz, “Spanien, die nördlichen Niederlande”, p. 321.

148 That can be seen by analyzing the Danish Sund passage: Israel, “España, los embargos españoles”, pp. 93–98; cf. Schäfer, “Una estadística de 1597”, pp. 259–260.

149 Berthe, “Les Flamands à Séville”, p. 245.

to cut back the role of the Dutch in their commerce can be considered largely successful.¹⁵⁰ However, these measures were also an obstacle for the merchants of Seville. Some of the sanctions represented a heavy burden for the Spanish commerce which was impossible to bear: the prohibition of bullion exports from Spain was an unrealistic undertaking right from the start; the exclusion of enemy ships for transportation was a logistic problem because of the small size of Spain's own merchant fleet in European waters; and the prohibition of merchandise of the enemy made it impossible to cover the basic needs in America.¹⁵¹ To maintain their businesses and the commerce of the city as such – including the Indies trade – in spite of these restrictions, the merchants had to pass over the new regulations.

In the 1590s, when all trade was forbidden with England, France, and Holland, the contraband reached its peak.¹⁵² The dimensions of the trade in smuggled goods became evident in 1595, when Philip II aggravated his embargo against the Dutch¹⁵³ and searched all ships in Andalusia with the exception of those of the Hanseatic League.¹⁵⁴ Protests were voiced by the city of Seville, the local nobility, and the merchants, which led to the lifting of the embargo. Yet, the papers, which were seized during its duration, give evidence of the situation in these years. One observation is that Dutch ports were secretly used on a large scale. In the wake of the Dutch-Spanish war, Flemish harbors, like Antwerp, Gravelines, Dunkirk, and Nieuwpoort, could not be called on because of the

150 Israel, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade*, p. 56.

151 In fact, the embargo was less of a nuisance for the Dutch import of goods, which arrived in other ways, than for the export of Andalusian and American goods, which were now sold at lower prices. The city of Seville stopped renting the customs duty, the *almojarifazgo*, because of the lower volumes of trade. Moreover, the controls were harmful for ships of friendly nations, as controls hampered the regular trade. Consequently, in 1593, the Crown authorized some official and other rather unofficial exceptions to the embargo. Gómez-Centurión Jiménez, *Felipe II, la empresa de Inglaterra*, pp. 272-280.

152 Gómez-Centurión Jiménez, *Felipe II, la empresa de Inglaterra*, p. 260. "A lo largo de la última década y media del siglo XVI las comunidades mercantiles, las autoridades locales y la justicia se vieron comprometidas en una tupida red de fraudes y complicidades que protegía al comercio ilegal en Andalucía contra casi cualquier decisión de arradicarlo." *Ibidem*, p. 191.

153 The embargo and the consequences are described comprehensively in Berthe, "Les Flamands à Séville", and Gómez-Centurión Jiménez, *Felipe II, la empresa de Inglaterra*, pp. 280-298.

154 Philip II was eager to get his hands on all illegal Dutch traffic, which according to his sources was going to be immense, because the return fleet of 1594 had to winter in Havana. Gómez-Centurión Jiménez, *Felipe II, la empresa de Inglaterra*, pp. 280-283.

Dutch blockades, and the best alternative for the Flemish-Spanish trade was the usage of Dutch ports. Frequently, also Frenchmen loaded their products in these ports to export them to Spain; some Spanish traders even loaded their French merchandise in Dutch ports. Another observation was that the northern trade was dependent on Dutch ships. Only these were large enough and had enough defensive power against the corsairs in the Atlantic. Hence, much of the French and Flemish merchandise, as well as Baltic naval material arrived in Seville on Dutch ships and via Dutch ports – in spite of the embargo.

After the end of the embargo, Philip II clarified three points, which seem to show his understanding of the economic needs of the Spanish empire.¹⁵⁵ First, Flemish and Spanish merchants who used Dutch ships and harbors for the sake of a safe voyage (against protestant pirates), were not to be impeached. Second, Dutch merchandise had to be confiscated, but Dutchmen would be treated with respect. And third, contraband with the English enemy was punished according to law. English contraband was not as strong as the Dutch one but still an inconvenient issue for the Spanish Crown. English cloth entered Spain illegally via the Huelva region, which was close to the less guarded coastline of Portugal. The transport was done mostly on English ships, which sailed for the Mediterranean, but also on Irish and Scottish ones, which were not affected by the embargo.¹⁵⁶ In short, at the end of the 16th century, contraband was a widespread phenomenon among the merchants of the port cities of Lower Andalusia.

A firm governmental measure toward a reduction of the Dutch contraband was adopted by Philip III when he issued the decree Gauna in 1603, named after the initiator Juan de Gauna. It included a system of taxes, controls, licenses, and a mandatory deposit of 30 percent of the value of the exported goods. Yet, the decree seems to have turned out eventually as unsuccessful, the same as the embargo of 1595, and the costs of the extra administrative procedures pushed merchants from neutral countries to start smuggling too.¹⁵⁷

Accordingly, historiography has declared the Spanish efforts against Dutch contraband mostly as ineffective or even futile. Their assumptions are usually based on Spanish sources. In contrast, scrutinizing the passage of the Danish Sound, J.I. Israel reasons that this belief is one of the most “monumen-

155 For the term “Spanish empire”, which emerged in the second half of the 16th century, cf. Kamen, *Empire*, p. 307.

156 Gómez-Centurión Jiménez, *Felipe II, la empresa de Inglaterra*, pp. 288-301.

157 Echevarría Bacigalupe, “Un notable episodio”.

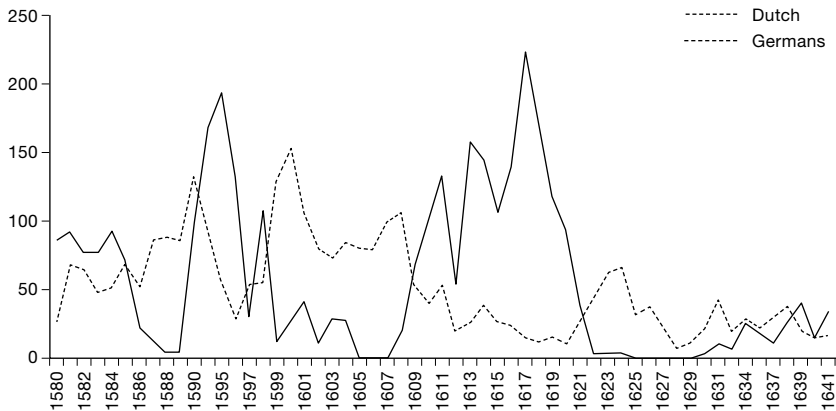


Figure 1.1: Number of Passages from the Iberian Peninsula through the Danish Sound, 1580–1641 (Total: 6,076)

tal errors of history”.¹⁵⁸ He found huge differences in the Dutch transportation activity between the Iberian Peninsula and the Baltic regions. Figure 1.1 shows the complementarity of the transportation of Dutchmen and Germans, mostly from the Hanseatic League and East Friesland.¹⁵⁹ The periods of less Dutch transportation are congruent with the times of intense economic warfare against Spain. The transportation decreased as soon as Philip II started the embargo, rose during the time of increased contraband of the 1590s and fell again after the events of 1595 and when the decree Gauna was issued. German transportations developed correlatively. During the time of the Truce (1609–1621), the Dutch transport rose again to impressive numbers, reaching 125 passages per year, while German shippings decreased. After the recommencement of the Eighty Years’ War, Dutch transportation slumped again, while the German’s increased once more.¹⁶⁰

The continuously low transportation activity of the Dutch after the resumption of the hostilities is probably due to the most powerful institution against the trade with Holland that the Spanish Crown released, the

158 Israel, “España, los embargos españoles”, pp. 102–104. In his calculations, the Dutch transportation and insurance costs were enormously effected by the embargoes.

159 Figure 1.1 is calculated based on Israel, “España, los embargos españoles”, who got the numbers from Ellinger Bang, *Tabeller over skibsfart*.

160 Israel, “Spanish Wool Exports and the European Economy”, pp. 197, 202; idem, *The Politics of International Trade Rivalry*, p. 517; idem, *España, los embargos españoles*, pp. 99–102.

Almirantazgo de los países septentrionales.¹⁶¹ Founded in 1624, it consisted of an armada (ca. 24 armed merchantmen), a junta, a tribunal, and a council, which were seated in Madrid and Seville, and several officials (*veedores del contrabando*), who controlled the harbors. The *Almirantazgo* was created with the only objective to fight the Dutch enemy on an economic base. In particular, it dealt with the illegal introduction of Dutch merchandise, goods from Dutch ports on Flemish or German ships, and transportation on neutral vessels that were really Dutch ones. Another one of its objectives was to interrupt the deep-rooted network of illegal trade between the *conversos* or “marranos” (the crypto-Jewish community) in Spain and the Jews in Holland (Sephardi). Along the nodes of this network, Andalusian products were sold via Bayonne to Holland and textiles the other way round.¹⁶² Yet, as A. Alloza Aparicio puts it, it was not the intention of the *Almirantazgo* to eliminate the Dutch trade – the necessity of their mercantile and logistic services were well known – but to control it. For that purpose special licenses were introduced to legalize exceptions. The *Almirantazgo* judges were often influential Flemings in Seville. They had full juridical power over cases of the Spanish trade with Northern and Western Europe. Because of that, it was attractive for merchants from these regions in Seville to become members of the *Almirantazgo*. Among its founders were the rich Flemish merchants Niculas Antonio, Francisco de Smidt, Guillermo Bequer, Guillen Clou, and Pedro Francois, who will be presented in the following part. The controls were strictly directed against contraband, but a nuisance for neutral trading partners, especially for Frenchmen. After the outbreak of the Spanish-French war in 1635, the *Almirantazgo* also included direct measures against the French.¹⁶³

Summing up, in the commercial system of Seville, with ample commercial monopolies, regulations, and prohibitions on the one hand, and insufficient

161 Cf. Alcalá-Zamorra y Queipo de Llano, *España, Flandes y el Mar del Norte*; Israel, “The Politics of International Trade Rivalry”; Alloza Aparicio, “La junta del Almirantazgo”. For complementary Spanish measures to disturb the Dutch trade in the North (also in the Baltic Sea), cf. Ródenas Vilar, “Un gran proyecto anti-holandés”; Baetens, “The Organisation and Effects of Flemish Privateering”.

162 López Belinchón, “Familia, religión y negocio”, p. 350; Israel, “El comercio de los judíos sefardíes”, p. 371. For more information on the *conversos*, cf. p. 75.

163 Alloza Aparicio, *Europa en el mercado español*, pp. 145-146; Domínguez Ortiz, “Guerra económica y comercio extranjero”, p. 79; Castillo Pintado, “El gran comercio”, pp. 351-352; Stols, “La colonia flamenca”, p. 373; Vila Vilar, “Los europeos en el comercio americano”, p. 294.

means to enforce them on the other, contraband became common practice. It can be assumed that most merchants and officials in the Indies trade were to some extent involved in contraband or corruption – at least, what we would call corruption today. It cannot be denied that since about 1566 a considerable share of the wealth of the Indies went through illicit channels. Yet, not all sectors were affected at the same level and in regard of bullion imports in Spain, it seems that until the middle of the 17th century, the larger part was carried out as legal trade. Regarding the European commerce of Andalusia, the institution of the *Almirantazgo* prevented some of the contraband. The considerable success of this institution was reflected above all by the analysis of the Sound Passages.¹⁶⁴ Overall, one has to accept the omnipresence of contraband but with caution not to exaggerate its quantity.

1.2 Foreigners in Seville between 1570 and 1650

1.2.1 General Considerations

The access to the American market was reserved for subjects of the Castilian Crown; and nobody else was officially permitted to enter.¹⁶⁵ Still, the Indies trade in Seville attracted a large number of foreigners. The soldier Ortiz from Lope de Vega's play *El Arenal de Sevilla* (1618) gets to the heart of it when he says that Seville is a rich and open port for all nations. Spain, Italy, and France live from Seville's port because it is the "general place" of all trade and gain:

Esta es una puerta indiana
que pare tantos millones,
puerto de varias naciones,
puerta para todos llana.
Toda España, Italia y Francia
vive por este arenal,
porque es plaza general
de todo trato y ganancia.¹⁶⁶

164 The study of I. Pulido Bueno on the *almojarifazgo* (customs duty) of Andalusia provides another confirmation of the effectiveness of the measures: Pulido Bueno, *Almojarifazgos y comercio exterior*, pp. 34-36 cf. also Herrero Sánchez and Poggio Ghilarducci, "El impacto de la Tregua".

165 *Recopilación de las Leyes de Indias*, ley 31, título 27, libro 9.

166 Lope de Vega y Carpio, *El Arenal de Sevilla*, lines 425-433.

Another character of his play, Laura, is very keen on the abundance of merchandise that arrives in Seville from the most diverse places. The French bring knives, haberdashery, and *ruanes* (linen textiles) and take olive oil with them. The Germans provide other textiles like linen and fustian and take away wine from Alanís. The Basques sell iron, timber, artillery, and pine trees and the Indies merchants deliver ambergris, pearls, gold, silver, dyewood, and hides.

Lo que es más razón que alabes
 es ver salir destas naves
 tanta diversa nación;
 las cosas que desembarcan,
 el salir y entrar en ellas
 y el volver después a ellas
 con otras muchas que embarcan.
 Por cuchillos, el francés,
 mercerías y ruán,
 lleva aceite; el alemán
 trae lienzo, fustán, llantés...,
 carga vino de Alanís;
 hierro trae el vizcaíno,
 el cuartón, el tiro, el pino;
 el indiano, el ámbar gris,
 la perla, el oro, la plata,
 palo de Campeche, cueros...;
 toda esta arena es dineros.¹⁶⁷

In these lines, Lope de Vega lets his characters comment positively on the opportunities in the city, finding enthusiastic words for the riches from abroad. Other contemporaries saw things differently. In 1619, Sancho de Moncada, one of the *arbitristas* (economic analysts)¹⁶⁸ of the era of Philip III, commented very critically on the contributions of the foreigners, calling their products junk and their trade baneful:

[The foreigners] treat us like Indios, getting large sums from selling trinkets and toys, which are of great detriment because they are superfluous, and against all laws of good governing and commerce. The commerce was introduced to bring essentials and to take

167 Ibidem, lines 22-39.

168 For the *arbitristas*, cf. Martínez de Salinas Alonso, "Contribución al estudio sobre los arbitristas"; Domínguez Ortiz, "El siglo XVII español"; Lluch Martín, "Cómo quitar de España toda ociosidad"; Martín Rodríguez, "Subdesarrollo y desarrollo económico"; idem, "Población y análisis económico"; Blas, "El florecimiento de la economía aplicada en España".

away superfluous goods but in Spain, it is the opposite, as they obtain useful things and bullion and bring rubbish.¹⁶⁹

As for the share of the foreigners in the Indies trade, he reckoned that only a tiny share was left for the Spaniards:

[...] the foreigners negotiate [...] nine out of 10 parts of the Indies trade: in such a way that the Indies are for them and only the title for His Majesty, indeed, the whole fleet arrives appropriated to them.¹⁷⁰

With regard to the ambivalent appreciation of the foreigners in Seville,¹⁷¹ several questions emerge. Which were the relevant contemporary political entities (states, countries, regions, etc.)? Who defines a foreigner in Spain? And how strong were the foreigners that were trading in Seville economically speaking compared to the Spaniards? Before assessing their presence in the city, the term foreigner has to be defined and the general conditions of their lives in Seville and the Indies trade will be outlined.

Various different concepts of homeland and nation existed at the same time, which created confusion in legal terms.¹⁷² In the period of investigation, most states of Europe were “composite monarchies”. With that concept, J.H. Elliott defines certain European (and overseas) territories, which were united under one ruler. The Spanish empire, under the Spanish branch of the Habsburg family, was such a composite monarchy, composed of the realms of the Iberian Peninsula (Castile, Aragon, Portugal), European cities and countries (Sicily, Milan, Franche-Comté, Flanders, etc.), and oversea territories (above all the Viceroyalties New Spain and Peru).¹⁷³ This clarification is essential for the Indies trade because it was officially allowed only for Castilians. The Crown of Castilia encompassed most of today’s Spanish territory, except for the Crown of Aragon (also including Catalonia and Valencia). Yet, while the Aragonese

169 “[...] nos tratan como a Indios, sacando grandes sumas de fruslerías, y juguetes, que son de gran perjuicio por superfluas, y contra toda ley de buen gobierno, y de buen comercio, pues el comercio se introdujo para traer cosas necesarias, y llevar las superfluas, y en España se hace al revés, que sacan materiales, y plata, y traen fruslerías.” Moncada, *Restauración política de España*, Cap. XII, f. 8v. Translation by the author.

170 “[...] los Extranjeros negocian [...] en las Indias de diez partes, las nueve: de modo que las Indias son para ellos, y el título de V. Majestad, pues las flotas enteras les vienen consignadas.” *Ibidem*, Cap. XII, ff. 8v-9r. Translation by the author.

171 For the different attitudes of the cities, the aristocracy, and the state toward foreigners in Spain, cf. Domínguez Ortiz, “Los extranjeros en la vida española”, pp. 39-42.

172 Cf. Gil Pujol, “Un rey, una fe, muchas naciones”.

173 Elliott, “A Europe of Composite Monarchies”, pp. 50-53.

were tolerated in the Indies trade, it was forbidden for other inhabitants of the “Spanish composite monarchy”, such as Portuguese, Flemings, and Sicilians.

A first step towards an analysis of foreigners in Seville is to define, who was a foreigner.¹⁷⁴ In the early modern times, an overall classification of people as natives and foreigners in Spain¹⁷⁵ is difficult. Theoretically, all individuals not born on Spanish soil were declared foreigners, while all those born in Spain were Spaniards.¹⁷⁶ This means that the *ius solis* dominated over the *ius sanguinis*, implying that children of Spaniards born abroad were considered foreigners once the family returned to Spain.¹⁷⁷ On the contrary, T. Herzog points out that during the early modern times, a certain “law of domicile” was stronger than the law of birth. In other words, if the local public opinion at one point considered immigrants as citizens, they became citizens. All that was needed to become a member of a Spanish village or city was the acceptance of the community, and usually, the community valued in particular the level of integration in the local society. The majority of naturalizations during that time happened in that way. Such a practice was not without ambiguity and drawing a line between foreigners and natives in the 17th century is almost impossible, because in between the category “foreigner” and “native”, there existed several intermediary stages.¹⁷⁸ However, in certain cases, a special status and a clear approval were necessary.¹⁷⁹ The participation in the Indies trade was such a case. In this regard, a foreigner was a person who was not born in Spain, and only with a letter of naturalization could he become a Spaniard, which will become evident in the next parts of this volume.¹⁸⁰ For the purpose of this investigation and focusing on the origin of the merchants, however, also naturalized merchants (with equal rights as Castilians) are considered foreigners. Moreover, foreigners in Seville could be classified as *vecinos*, *residentes y transeúntes*. A “citizen” (*vecino*) was someone who had received citizenship from the municipality and hence clearly defined rights and (financial) obliga-

174 Cf. Recio Morales, “Los extranjeros y la historiografía modernista”.

175 The term “Spain” will be used here for the approximate geographical extension of today’s Spain, even though no such territorial entity existed in the investigated period. However, the early modern political concept of “Spain” can be seen as an attempt to revive the old idea of a united *Hispania* and to foster loyalty to the composite monarchy in Castile and Aragon. *Ibidem*, p. 57.

176 *Recopilación de las Leyes de Indias*, ley 27, título 27, libro 9.

177 Herzog, *Defining Nations*, p. 11.

178 Herzog, “Naturales y extranjeros”.

179 *Ibidem*, pp. 5, 92-93, 201-208.

180 Cf. for example the families García del Castillo, Carrillo, and Jaen on p. 163.

tions. A “resident” (residente), on the other hand, also had a permanent residence in the city but did not have the citizenship (naturaleza de vecindad) with the respective rights and obligations. Foreigners who did not have a permanent residence in Seville, finally, were “transients” (transeúntes).¹⁸¹

Religion, one could maintain, was no issue in the countries of the Spanish Crown because everybody had to be a Catholic. Spain was the Catholic Monarchy par excellence and its missionaries were the torchbearers of Catholicism in the New World. The two religious minorities of the 15th century, the Jews and the Muslims, were forced to convert or expelled from Spain in 1492 and 1502. Hence, the religious unity was established, at least on the surface.¹⁸² The group of converted Jews formed the so-called New Christians or *conversos*, which were especially numerous in Seville.¹⁸³ J. Gil published a list of *conversos* in Seville around 1500 which contains names such as Aleman, Almonte, Cifuentes, Ecija, Espinosa, Fuentes, Jaen, or Jimenez, many of which also appear in this investigation. He states that the vast majority of the merchants of Seville in the time after 1500 were *conversos*;¹⁸⁴ they constituted even the “cornerstone of the commercial gear of Seville”.¹⁸⁵ As they showed a general trend toward adjustment and abandoning the commercial sector, it is not certain to what degree it can be assumed that these New Christians still dominated the commerce of Seville at the time of investigation. Moreover, one has to ask how many generations a *converso* family can be considered as such. A new factor came into play in 1580, when Portugal and Spain were united in the Iberian Union and the Jews were expelled from Portugal too. Various members of those Jewish families who had originally fled from Spain either

181 Crespo Solana, *Mercaderes atlánticos*, p. 133.

182 Bernecker and Pietschmann, *Geschichte Spaniens*, pp. 61-63.

183 For Spain, cf. Domínguez Ortiz, *Los conversos de origen judío*; and idem, *Los judeoconversos en la España moderna*; for Seville, cf. Pike, *Linajudos and Conversos in Seville*; Gil, *Los conversos y la Inquisición sevillana*; Perez, “Des marchands conversos sévillans”. A list of the numerous works on *conversos* and Sephardi can be found in Contreras, García García, and Pulido Serrano, *Familia, religión y negocio*, pp. 423-457.

184 Gil, *Los conversos y la Inquisición sevillana*, vol. 3, p. 134-154. They were involved in the credit and rental business, but above all they were veritable masters in the acquisition. Among the agricultural products, the local olive oil was at the top. Also the leather trade, the dyestuff, and especially the silk business was in their hands. In the Atlantic trade, moreover, they dominated the silver and the slave trade. The nature of their business activities can best be described by diversification of products, disposition to travel, and a reliance on family networks – all of which can also found in the Seville merchants a century later.

185 Ibidem, p. 153.

continued their escape, going to cities like Amsterdam or Hamburg,¹⁸⁶ or they found a way to return to Seville, where they formed a new group of Portuguese *conversos*. Hence, between 1580 and 1640, probably side by side with some older Spanish *converso* families (in a broad sense), at least since 1595, many Portuguese *conversos* entered the Seville market place and participated in the commerce of the city.¹⁸⁷ A restriction against the *conversos* was implemented in Spain with the statute of the *limpieza de sangre* (purity of blood), which prevented them from obtaining certain offices. However, it was no obstacle for their participation in the Indies trade of Seville.¹⁸⁸ *Conversos* did not have the right to travel to the New World, but already since 1509, exceptions were just a matter of price.¹⁸⁹ Business developed well between the *conversos* and their relatives in Northern Europe, who had left the Iberian Peninsula (Sephardi). Such connections were one of their advantages in the Indies trade of Seville. Yet, the past (or secret) religious affiliation of a merchant is even more difficult to identify than his origin, especially when the investigation is based on commercial documents. That is why the *conversos* are not analyzed as a separate group, even though they certainly were important also for the trade of the Flemings and Frenchmen in this book.¹⁹⁰

Finally, one has to ask how to classify the *jenizaros*, the children of foreigners, who were born in Spain. In theory, they were regarded as natives of the place they were born (royal resolution from 1505: *ius solis*), at least the ones whose parents had settled down. Their status, however, was never undisputed and only in 1620, was it confirmed by Philip III in a *real cédula* that all children of foreigners born in Spain were Spaniards.¹⁹¹ Nevertheless, in the commercial

186 Cf. Israel, "El comercio de los judíos sefardíes"; Huerga Criado, "Familia, religión y negocio"; López Belinchón, *Honra, libertad y hacienda*; Kellenbenz, *Sephardim an der unteren Elbe*; Vance Roitman, "Us and Them"; Böttcher, "Beziehungen zwischen Conversos in Spanien und spanischen Juden in Amsterdam".

187 Domínguez Ortiz, *Los conversos de origen judío*, pp. 81-84. The relations between the former Spanish and the arriving Portuguese converts were not always good.

188 Cf. Pike, *Aristocrats and Traders*.

189 Haring, *Trade and Navigation*, pp. 104-105. Moreover, an objective differentiation between an "Old" and a "New Christian" was often not clear. Domínguez Ortiz, *Los conversos de origen judío*, pp. 193-194.

190 A general reason not to include religion as a category of analysis is the flexibility merchants had in that regard, switching their confession depending on the situation, cf. Siebenhüner, "Glaubenswechsel in der Frühen Neuzeit".

191 García Mauriño Mundi, *La pugna entre el Consulado de Cádiz y los jenizaros por las exportaciones a Indias (1720 - 1765)*, pp. 43-44. Later it was included in the

life of the time, the *jenízaros* frequently had to face the same hindrances as their fathers.¹⁹² Considering that most sons of foreign merchants continued using their fathers' commercial network, the *jenízaros* will be counted as foreigners throughout this investigation.

Among the first foreigners to come to Seville were German, Flemish, and Genoese merchants. In addition, Portuguese, French, English (including Irish and Scottish), Polish, as well as Italians from other cities than Genoa, also came to Andalusia for their business.¹⁹³ These merchants, who were classified by A. Domínguez Ortiz as *mercaderes gruesos*,¹⁹⁴ carried out most of the international commerce, while the *hombres de negocios* wound up most of the financing of the *Carrera de Indias*.¹⁹⁵ As in other European port cities, the rich foreign merchants (*mercaderes gruesos* and *hombres de negocios*) of Seville formed groups, which were based on the above-mentioned shared mental models.¹⁹⁶ One of these models was common origin, and in early modern times, such corporative mercantile organizations were called "nations". Often, these nations¹⁹⁷ assigned a consul to protect their

Recopilación de las Leyes de Indias, ley 27, título 27, libro 9: "qualquiera hijo de Estranjero, nacido en España, es verdaderamente originario, y natural de ella."

- 192 Díaz Blanco and Maillard Álvarez, "¿Una intimidación supeditada a la ley?", p. 4; Domínguez Ortiz, "La concesión de naturaleza", p. 227; Collado Villalta, "El embargo de bienes", pp. 183-187. The naturalization of Juan Hesse is one such example (cf. p. 313).
- 193 Cf. Walter, "Fremde Kaufleute in Sevilla im 16. Jahrhundert". For details about the housing and accommodation of foreign merchants in Andalusia, cf. Moret, *Aspects de la société marchande*, p. 51.
- 194 Domínguez Ortiz, "Los extranjeros en la vida española", p. 42.
- 195 Ibidem, pp. 23-36. Fresh capital was always welcome in Seville, and merchant-bankers from various European regions came to Seville to compete with the Castilian ones (cf. above on p. 53) For the Genoese merchant bankers, cf. Girard, *Le commerce français*, pp. 37-42 and Pike, *Enterprise and Adventure* Even though historiography likes to focus on the financial activities of the Genoese colony in Seville, it can be pointed out that they also participated in the Indies trade. Domínguez Ortiz, "Los extranjeros en la vida española", pp. 103-107; Pike, "The Genoese in Seville", pp. 355-359; Klavere, *Europäische Wirtschaftsgeschichte Spaniens*, pp. 110-113.
- 196 For the concept of shared mental models of individuals with a common origin, cf. above on p. 29.
- 197 Cf. García Bernal and Gamero Rojas, "Las corporaciones de nación en la Sevilla moderna"; Crespo Solana, "El concepto de ciudadanía y la idea de nación".

rights.¹⁹⁸ N. Steensgaard describes the function of the consul of a nation as follows:

Although political tasks were to a certain extent imposed on the consuls by the home authorities [...] the consuls' primary task was commercial. They were leaders and representatives of a society of merchants of common origin, the so-called "nations". The consul's *raison d'être* was the need on the part of the nation for protection and internal jurisdiction [...] The consul had no absolute power.¹⁹⁹

Already in the 13th century, the Genoese obtained the right to elect consuls, be it citizens of Seville or Genoa, who were in charge of lawsuits between the members of their nation.²⁰⁰ Later on, other nations also elected their consuls in Seville, Cádiz, or Sanlúcar. Among the first ones were the English consul in Sanlúcar in 1532, and the French consul Manuel de Bues in Seville in 1578. Later, also the Scots, the Irish, and the Germans, mostly in union with the Flemings, appointed their consuls in Andalusia.

The rules of nomination of the consuls were not consistent. Sometimes they were elected by the foreign nation and ratified by the Spanish king, sometimes, they were assigned by the foreign sovereign and again ratified, and sometimes the first step was omitted and they were only assigned by the Spanish king. On other occasions, the former consul could choose his successor, selling his title or transmitting it to his heir. Moreover, the consul did not even have to be from the respective nation. It also happened that it was a Spaniard who assumed the functions of a foreign consul. The functions of a consul in Seville did not remain unchanged. His original function consisted of protecting the nation from the grasp of local authorities but it became more and more important to be a judge for lawsuits between the members of the nation, including

198 Mauro, "Merchant Communities", pp. 262-263; cf. Engels, *Merchants, Interlopers, Seamen and Corsairs*, especially pp. 126-152; Sánchez de Sopranis, "Las naciones extranjeras en Cádiz", pp. 649-650. While the "nation" was a proper elitist corporative mercantile organization of Flemish and Dutch merchants, who were residents and citizens of Seville, the consulate was an administrative institution that rather supervised and supported the activities of transient Flemings (and Germans) in the city. Crespo Solana, *Mercaderes atlánticos*, pp. 134-135. Cf. also idem, "El concepto de ciudadanía y la idea de nación", p. 391, and "Elementos de transnacionalidad".

199 Steensgaard, "Consuls and Nations", pp. 180-181.

200 Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, p. 55.

merchants, ship captains, and sailors – rights that were confirmed in 1613, by the powerful duke of Medina Sidonia.²⁰¹

When the trade with Spain became more attractive, the foreign nations strove to receive special privileges for their members. In 1580, the Hanseatic League received the status as most favored nation by the Spanish Crown, and also the English nation received certain privileges for their commerce since the early 17th century. Among these were the exemption from or the reduction of custom duties, less inspections of the vessels, less restrictions in the direct trade with Spain, more freedom in the means of transportation, and a certain freedom to exercise their religion. Moreover, some nations had a *juez conservador*, a judge who settled lawsuits between members of the nation against Spaniards or other foreigners – a mechanism which accelerated the lawsuits and made them less expensive.²⁰² As specified above, even the right to export bullion, the *sacas de plata*, was among the privileges for some groups: the Genoese in 1566²⁰³ and the Hanseatic League between 1607 and 1647.²⁰⁴ Still, a direct access to the Indies was not among these privileges.

As foreigners in Seville could not participate directly in the Indies trade, they basically had two alternatives: first, by receiving a letter of naturalization and a license for the Indies trade or, second, by operating with a Spanish intermediary.²⁰⁵ As already mentioned, letters of naturalizations were difficult to obtain, and hence the second option was used more often. The majority of foreigners who participated legally in the Indies trade acceded indirectly through Spanish intermediaries. The most convenient mercantile operation for the foreigners to enter the American market was the *venta fiada*, or “fiadas debajo de titulo de venta”.²⁰⁶ Thereby, a foreign merchant supplied merchandise to a *Cargador a Indias* in Seville in exchange for a letter of obligation, which pledged

201 Girard, *Le commerce français*, pp. 90-94; cf. Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, p. 73; Moret, *Aspects de la société marchande*, pp. 54-58; Sánchez de Sopranis, “Las naciones extranjeras en Cádiz”, pp. 650-652.

202 This office only became common in the middle of the 17th century.

203 Berthe, “Les Flamands à Séville”, p. 241; cf. Ruiz Martín, “Los hombres de negocios genoveses”.

204 Girard, *Le commerce français*, pp. 94-102; Domínguez Ortiz, “Los extranjeros en la vida española”, pp. 43-45.

205 A third option, especially in the early years of the Indies trade, was to negotiate separate licenses for different deals with the king.

206 García Fuentes, *Los peruleros y el comercio de Sevilla*, pp. 61-63, 68, 210; Stein and Stein, *Silver, Trade, and War*, pp. 82-83; Klaveren, *Europäische Wirtschaftsgeschichte Spaniens*, pp. 111, 114. In spite of being prohibited (*Recopilación de las Leyes de Indias*, ley 29, título 27, libro 9) and severe opposition against them in the 1610s, these con-

the latter to pay the agreed price as soon as the return fleet from the Indies had arrived. Frequently, in these contracts, the *Cargador* was really only an agent for the foreigners, either with little or with no risk at all. In that system, the *Cargadores* were in a very good position, as the foreigners did not have many alternative options – except for contraband and the naturalization. Yet, the arrival of the above mentioned *peruleros* changed that situation at the turn of the century. These merchants from America represented the fiercest competitors of the *Cargadores* as trading partners of the European merchants, and gave the latter better opportunities to sell their merchandise.²⁰⁷ Hence at the beginning of the 17th century, the foreign merchants in Seville were in a good situation.

1.2.2 Measuring Foreign Presence

In the following subsections, an assessment of the proportions of foreigners in Seville will be presented.²⁰⁸ The analysis will be done in three steps. First, the period between 1570 and 1650 is considered as a whole to differentiate the foreigners from the different European regions (subsection 1.2.2). Second, the scrutiny of the selected years (1580, 1600, 1620, and 1640) gives information of the changes that occurred during the time of consideration (subsections 1.2.3 and 1.2.4). And third, the study of tax lists offers a picture of the proportions between Spaniards and foreigners in the American and European commerce of the city (subsection 1.2.5).

A clear differentiation between the merchants based on their origin is a difficult task and it is hard to tell a Dutchmen from a Fleming if he deliberately stated to be from Flanders – something that was very frequent during the Eighty Years' War.²⁰⁹ Therefore, the identification of the different places of origin of the foreigners is based, first, on the indication in the respective notary

tracts (also called “Veracruz contracts”) were used often since at least 1570, and even more frequently after 1660. A second important means for foreign merchants to participate indirectly in the Indies trade, according to J.G. Everaert, were specific insurances, more precisely, a kind of *prestamo a la gruesa ventura* (cf. p. 138). Everaert, “Infracción au monopole”, p. 762.

207 Stein and Stein, *Silver, Trade, and War*, pp. 15-16, 82; Klaveren, *Europäische Wirtschaftsgeschichte Spaniens*, pp. 110-124.

208 The results are based on the investigation of three different sets of sources: notarial records (APS data), naturalization dossiers (AGI data) and tax lists (secondary sources). The charts represent updated versions of the data published in Crailsheim, “Mercaderes extranjeros”, “Mercaderes extranjeros”.

209 Crespo Solana, *Mercaderes atlánticos*, pp. 136–137.

files, second, on the data in the naturalization files, and third, on additional information from secondary sources.²¹⁰ As mentioned above, also foreigners who have received citizenship or letters of naturalization are considered foreigners, as well as children of foreigners.

Foreigners in the Notarial Records

The analysis of the different foreigners that appear in the notarial records offers a first answer to the question, who the foreigners were that came to Seville. Focusing on foreigners in Seville, almost 10 percent of notarial activities were examined in the four selected years (two to three months per year).²¹¹ Figure 1.2 shows the result of 1,685 scrutinized notarial records,²¹² with a total of 835 names of foreign individuals.²¹³ In this figure, the group of Dutchmen and Flemings takes the lead with 37 percent, or 305 individuals. Of these, 284 came from Flanders and 21 from Holland. The second biggest group of foreigners was the Portuguese one, with 22 percent, or 187 individuals. Then came the Genoese with 18 percent (151) and the Frenchmen with 10 percent (82), followed by the Englishmen (including Scots and Irish) with six percent (51), the Italians (except Genoa) with four percent (35), and the Germans with three percent (24).

Naturalized Foreigners

To verify these numbers from the notary archive, the number of foreigners in the naturalization files of the AGI will be taken as point of comparison. Between 1570 and 1650, 313 merchants applied for naturalization,²¹⁴ which means an average of 3.9 naturalizations per year.²¹⁵ These merchants constitute

210 Cf. above on p. 23.

211 Two or three offices were scrutinized for each year.

212 An additional 11 documents were included in the overall analysis, coming from others than the selected years (total 1,696).

213 Three individuals, each from Macedonia, Ragusa (today Dubrovnik), and Poland, were excluded for reasons of coherence. Therefore, the total number of foreigners from the 1,685 documents in the selected years is really 838, not counting the individuals from the Indies or from the Crown of Aragon.

214 For information of the process of naturalizations, cf. the introduction on p. 21.

215 AGI Contratación 50A, 50B, 51A, 51B, 596A, 596B, s.f.; in these documents, the total number of merchants applying was 409.

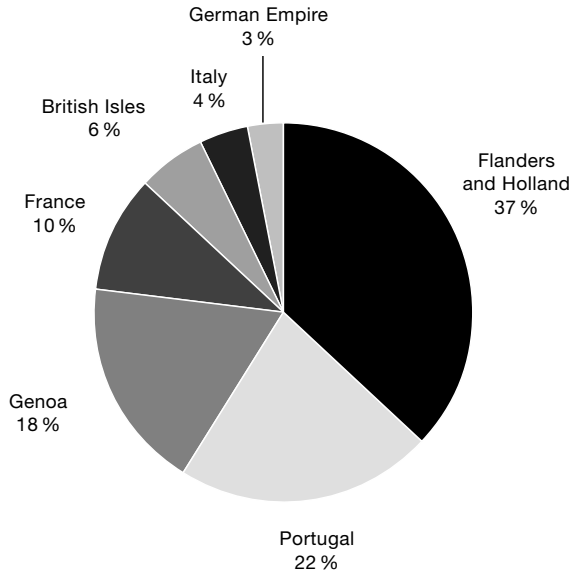


Figure 1.2: Percentage of the Different Origins of Foreigners in Seville, 1580–1640 (Sample Total: 835)

a group of immigrants, which was of a small scale but of “high quality”²¹⁶ (i.e. with fortune). Figure 1.3 shows where they came from.²¹⁷ Most of the applications for naturalization were made by Portuguese with 38 percent, or 116 applications. Then came the Flemings and Dutchmen with 28 percent (76 Flemings and 10 Dutchmen), followed by merchants from Genoa with 14 percent (44), France with eight percent (25), Germany with five percent (16) and finally Italy, and the British Isles (including Englishmen, Scots, and Irishmen) with three percent (nine each).²¹⁸

216 In the words of A. Domínguez Ortiz, it was “una inmigración de alta calidad, pero de escaso volumen”. Domínguez Ortiz, “Los extranjeros en la vida española”, p. 47.

217 The data for the figure comes from AGI Contratación 50A, 50B, 51A, 51B, 596A, 596B. The total number of the figure is 305; eight actors from Savoy (3), America (2), Macedonia and two unidentified ones were omitted for the calculations; total appears as 99 percent because of approximation.

218 The interpretation of the same set of data by A. Domínguez Ortiz (Domínguez Ortiz, “Los extranjeros en la vida española”, pp. 137-165) has slight differences but shows the same overall picture: 267 naturalized foreigners between 1570 and 1650: 38 percent Portuguese, 31 percent Flemings, 11 percent Genoese, eight percent Frenchmen, six percent Germans, four percent Italians (excluding Genoa) and two percent Englishmen.

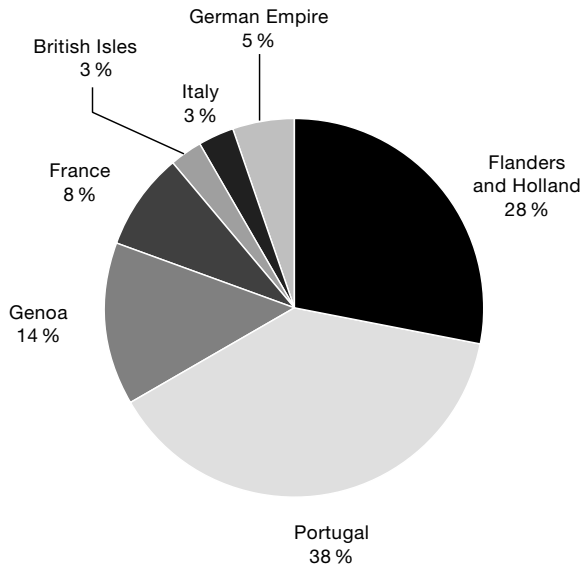


Figure 1.3: Percentage of the Letters of Naturalization by Place of Origin, 1570–1650 (Total: 305)

Both figures confirm the prevalence of the same seven nations of foreigners in Seville. They show that Flemings and Portuguese were the most present foreigners in the city of Seville (and the region of Lower Andalusia). Next were the Genoese and the Frenchmen. Together, these four nations comprised in both charts 88 percent of the foreign presence in Seville between 1570 and 1650. Then came the Italians excluding those from Genoa, the Germans, and the English, which constituted smaller groups in the commerce of the city. The main difference in the two figures is the change in the lead. The share of Flemings in the actual commerce of Seville seems higher, whereas more Portuguese applied for naturalization.²¹⁹

219 It has to be taken into consideration that in the search for foreign names in the APS only about 10 percent of the files were scrutinized, moreover that Portuguese names are more difficult to detect than names of other foreigners, as they often resemble those of the Spaniards.

1.2.3 Fluctuation of the Foreign Presence

The Time-Line of Naturalizations

More light can be shed upon the dynamic of the presence of foreigners in Seville by tracing them through the course of time. A. Domínguez Ortiz scrutinized the exact dates when the executive letters for the naturalizations were issued, which can be seen in figure 1.4.²²⁰ Disregarding the small number of letters that were issued in the 16th century,²²¹ figure 1.4 points to periods of varying intensity in the issuances of letters of naturalization in the 17th century. During the reign of Philip III (1598–1621), a peak is visible in the years 1608–1609, with 20 issuances, which comes from the high number of naturalized Portuguese (10) and Flemings (six). During the reign of Philip IV (1621–1665), the period of most issuances takes place between the years 1629 and 1643. With 149 naturalizations (58 percent of the total) and an average of almost 11 issuances per year, it can be called the most prolific period in regard of naturalizations. The proportions during these years remain the same as in the whole of the period: there were 39 percent Portuguese, that is 55 merchants, 31 percent Flemings (43), 14 percent Genoese (19), seven percent Frenchmen

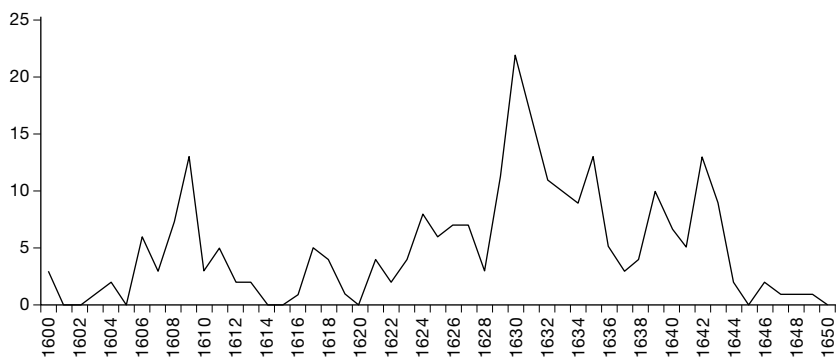


Figure 1.4: Number of Issuances of Letters of Naturalization in Seville, 1600–1650 (Total: 255)

²²⁰ Figure 1.4 is based on the calculations of Domínguez Ortiz, “Los extranjeros en la vida española”.

²²¹ The inventories of the 16th century do not seem as complete as the ones of the 17th century.

and Germans each (10), and one percent Englishmen and Italians (excluding Genoa) each (two).²²²

The Evolution in the Notarial Records

The trend in the naturalizations can be verified with the changes of the notarial records. The overall foreign presence in the records during the selected years is displayed in table 1.2. Out of 1,685 notarial documents of the four years,²²³ 1,059 exhibit foreign participation in the trade of Seville, reaching a percentage of 63 percent (including people and/or products from abroad).²²⁴ The year 1580 shows the lowest density of foreigners, and the documents exhibit little information about products from abroad. Only 82 documents with foreign participation were found, which is 36 percent. The increase during the next 20 years is considerable: doubling the rate, foreigners appear in 70 percent of the documents. During the following years, this ratio remains stable, decreasing slightly to 67 percent in 1620 and 65 percent in 1640.

Table 1.2: Foreign Participation in the Commerce of Seville

Year	Documents	Foreign Participation	Percentage
1580	229	82	36%
1600	321	225	70%
1620	838	560	67%
1640	297	192	65%
TOTAL	1,685	1,059	63%

222 The remaining eight naturalizations were from other nations. The biggest discrepancies occur among the smaller nations: the share of Italians (not Genoa) diminishes from 5.2 to 1.4 percent, while more Germans received a letter of naturalization in this period (7.1 instead of 4.9 percent).

223 The total number of investigated APS files, which was indicated above, is 1,696, but 11 of these documents were not issued in any of the selected years and are removed from the calculations.

224 In this analysis, the calculation of the percentage of foreign participation was given preference over the total number. That is because the number of the scrutinized files in the four selected years is difficult to compare. The most relevant files were copied (1,685 documents), regardless of the selected year; and as the year 1620 contained the highest number of relevant ones, total numbers would not be suitable for analysis. Moreover, as the analysis was focused on foreigners, conclusions from a Spaniards-foreigners ratio must be interpreted carefully.

In comparison, no significant relations can be seen between the trends in the issuance of letters of naturalization and the ratio of foreigners in Seville. The rise of naturalizations in the 1630s does not appear with any significant changes in the foreigners' ratio in the notarial records of 1640. On the contrary, the data of the notarial records rather indicates a strong growth between 1580 and 1600, and a high but constant presence of foreigners between 1600 and 1640.

1.2.4 Fluctuation of the Different Nations

The Applications for Naturalization

How numerous were the seven foreign nations in Seville at different moments in time? Starting with the naturalized foreigners, figure 1.5 shows four aggregated periods of 20 years: from 1571 to 1590, from 1591 to 1610, from 1611 to 1630, and from 1631 to 1650 (to make them comparable to the four selected years of the notarial records).²²⁵ The periods contained 17 (1571–1590), 49 (1591–1610), 134 (1611–1630), and 105 (1631–1650) foreigners applying for naturalization, adding up to 305. As could already be seen in figure 1.4, the third period contains most applications for naturalization. Also, the large number of Portuguese (51), visible in figure 1.3, is apparent. Interestingly, the Flemings applied most in the last period (36), when their applications even surpassed the number of the Portuguese ones (35).

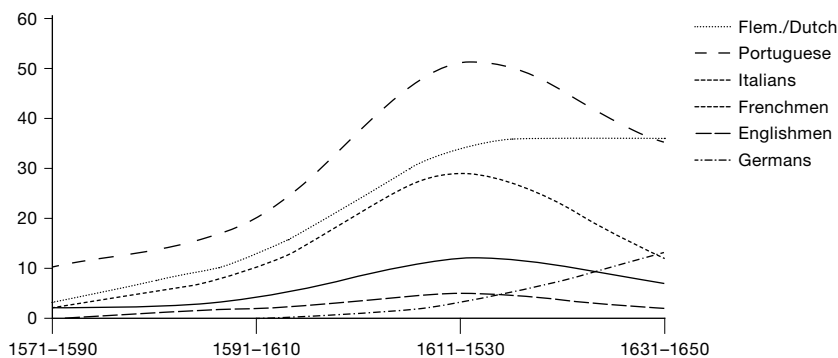


Figure 1.5: Number of Applications for Naturalizations, 1571–1650 (Total: 305)

²²⁵ The figure is drawn from AGI Contratación 50A, 50B, 51A, 51B, 596A, 596B. Except for eight individuals from other origins than the indicated ones: from Savoy (3), America (2), Macedonia and two unidentified ones.

This trend was similar to the number of German applications, whose number rose constantly between 1571 and 1650: they reached a peak in the last period (13), surpassing even the number of French applications (seven). The French had their peak in the third period with 12 applications, as did the Englishmen with a small peak of five. During the third period, the number of Italian applications is noteworthy, when 29 applications were brought forward – more than in the other 60 years together and almost the same as the Flemings (34).

But the most outstanding trend of figure 1.5 is the rise of Portuguese naturalizations in the third period, which requires extra consideration. Not all of the letters of naturalization were issued following the prescribed procedures, by “way of justice” (*via jurídica*).²²⁶ Some were given by-passing the rules and regulations, which was called “way of grace” (*via de gracia*).²²⁷ The latter were issued by the king for outstanding individuals in exchange for granted favors. Frequently, such a naturalization by way of grace was included in a contract between an independent merchant and the king, the so-called *asiento*. In the course of such an *asiento*, the independent merchant paid an agreed price and received royal favors in return, such as tax rents, trade monopolies, mining rights, or naturalization. The largest foreign group that acquired naturalizations by grace is known: it was the Portuguese. They were the favored nation of the powerful count-duke of Olivares in Madrid.²²⁸ Since the first bankruptcy of Philip IV in 1627, the established *asentistas* from Genoa had gradually

226 The details of this “normal” type are explained above on p. 21.

227 In regard to the division of these two types of naturalization, it is difficult to thoroughly tell them apart. In their article about marriage strategies, J.M. Díaz Blanco and N. Maillard Álvarez are of the opinion that the majority was sold (*via de gracia*) and only few candidates fulfilled the requirements. As proof, they argue that more than half of the preserved dossiers about letters of naturalization contain only the executive letter, without any further information. That would become an issue later, when several of the letters of naturalization were revoked. Díaz Blanco and Maillard Álvarez, “¿Una intimidación supeditada a la ley?”, pp. 6-8; cf. Díaz Blanco, “La Corona y los Cargadores”, p. 97; Collado Villalta, “El embargo de bienes”, p. 176.

228 Díaz Blanco, “La Corona y los Cargadores”, pp. 99-101; For the king’s favorite, the count-duke of Olivares, cf. Elliott, *The Count-Duke of Olivares*. In 1627, *asientos* were made with the following Portuguese merchants: Nuño Díaz Mendez Brito, Juan Nuñez Saravia, Simon Pereyra, Lorenzo Pereyra, Pais Rodriguez, Duarte Fernandez de Acosta, Simon Suarez and Manuel de Paz. Later on, more Portuguese appeared like Duarte Brandon Suarez, Garcia Illan, Fernando Tinoco, Duarte Díaz de Olivares, Manuel Cortizos de Villasanti, Marcos Fernandez Monsanto, Jorge de Paz de Silvera, and Juan de Silva de Lisboa.

been leaving the Spanish Court, making place for rich merchants from Lisbon.²²⁹ Between 1627 and 1643, a golden age for the Portuguese was taking place on the Iberian Peninsula.²³⁰ They established an urban triangle between Lisbon, Madrid, and Seville, with extensions to Antwerp, Asia, and America.²³¹ Among the 51 Portuguese who applied for a naturalization in the third period, P. Collado Villalta identified nine who received such letters by way of grace.²³² Compared to the merchants who applied by way of justice, it cannot be assumed that the Portuguese *asentistas* had resided in Seville for 20 years – they rather had lived in Madrid. Hence, such an application by way of grace does not indicate an integration in the commercial or social life of the city. If we want to continue seeing the applications as indicators of the foreign presence in Seville (of the years prior to the issuances), these naturalizations by way of grace should therefore be removed from the calculations. As a result, the apparent dominance of the Portuguese (based on the naturalization files) becomes less pronounced.²³³ In any case, being aware of the frailty of the letters of naturalization as a source for the presence of foreigners in Seville, the notarial records will provide more reliable information in that regard.

229 Cf. Boyajian, *Portuguese Bankers at the Court of Spain*; for Flemish bankers in Madrid since 1636, cf. Esteban Estríngana, “La participation des négociants”.

230 It can be presumed that the estrangement with Portugal, in 1640, did not immediately entail negative consequences for the *asentistas* at the Court in Madrid nor their partners in Seville. The Portuguese in Spain remained very active until at least 1643, when Olivares left the Court. Díaz Blanco, “La Corona y los Cargadores”, pp. 102-103.

231 Aguado de los Reyes, “Lisboa, Sevilla, Amberes”, pp. 100-103, Domínguez Ortiz, “Los extranjeros en la vida española”, pp. 26-28; idem, *Política y hacienda de Felipe IV*, pp. 87, 98, 121-133; Collado Villalta, “El embargo de bienes”, pp. 169-207.

232 Collado Villalta, “El embargo de bienes”, pp. 176-177, 190. The total number of Portuguese that were naturalized by way of grace between 1629 and 1639 was 13. The correct date of the applications (not issuance) was found in AGI Contratación 50B, s.f.

233 Even though, is not known how many of such letters were issued to Flemings or members of other nations, it can be assumed that Flemings were rather inclined to reside in Seville because it was the Portuguese that dominated the Court of Madrid at that time (and Germans and Genoese before that). The Flemish bankers that came to Madrid as *asentistas* since 1636 were barely connected to the Flemings in Seville, as pointed out by Esteban Estríngana, “La participation des négociants”. Two exceptions could be found for the Clarisse family, cf. below on pp. 208 and 307. An example of a French merchant who granted a “service” to the Spanish king was Pedro de Alogue, one of the most important figures in the French networks, who resided in Seville in the first half of the 17th century (AGI Contratación 51A, s.f.).

Participation in the Commerce of Seville

Figure 1.6 displays the share of foreigners among all the documents with foreign participation of the respective selected year.²³⁴ In 1580, Flemings, Portuguese, and Englishmen appear in 20 percent of the contracts, while Italians only reach 7.3 percent and Frenchmen 3.7 percent. Twenty years later, in 1600, the Italians show by far the highest participation with 56 percent, which means that Italians had their hands in more than every other document with foreign participation. The Portuguese share in the contracts has grown to 30 percent, and the Flemish to 22 percent, while the English one has shrunk to 3.6 percent. In 1620, the Flemings are dominant with 36 percent, followed by the Portuguese with 30 percent, the Italians with 24 percent, and the Frenchmen with 15 percent. Only in the last year, in 1640, the Portuguese have the highest share in the notarial records, surpassing the Flemings with 41 percent to 39 percent. Then come the Italians with 19 percent and the Frenchmen with 12 percent.

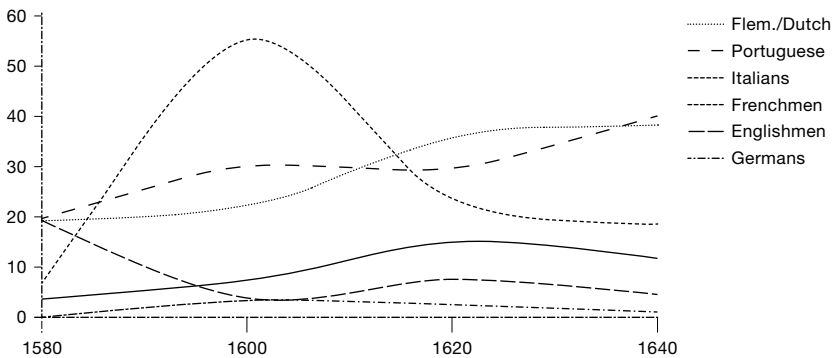


Figure 1.6: Percentage of the Notarial Records with Foreign Participation (Total Number of Documents: 1,059)

²³⁴ The total number of contracts (i.e. the 100 percent value) per year is 82-225-560-192 (in this form of representation, each number indicates the value of a selected year (1580–1600–1620–1640), which will be used subsequently as a concise way to display the cross-temporal dimension of foreign colonies). In figure 1.6, the share of all foreigners per year does not add up to 100 percent: it was less in 1580 because not all foreign participation could be associated with a specific foreign group; and because several foreigners appear in the same contracts, it is more in all other years.

The peak in the number of contracts with Italian participation in 1600 is most impressive. It can be explained by the financial function that the Italians had during that time in Seville.²³⁵ It is especially the Genoese, who emerge in the files²³⁶ but also Florentines.²³⁷ The most outstanding figure was the Genoese banker Jacome Mortedo, who was present in over 10 percent of the investigated files and played an essential role in the financial sector of the city's economy.²³⁸ The other foreign nations in Seville were generally more active in the commercial than in the financial sphere. The French presence in the documents reached its peak in 1620, when they appeared in more than 15 percent of the documents. English participation is high in 1580 but less in the subsequent years, never playing a central role in the investigated time,²³⁹ and the Germans were even less present than the English.²⁴⁰ The almost permanent dominance of the Portuguese, which was visible in the number of naturalizations, finds no confirmation in the files of the commerce of Seville. One can rather see the picture emerge that Portuguese and Flemings share the leadership through the years – between 1600 and 1640, both nations appear constantly in 15 to 26 percent of the documents – with a short but distinct interlude of the Italian nation in 1600.

235 For the banks of Seville, cf. above on p. 53.

236 Frequent Genoese names are: Juan Francisco Bibiano, Geronimo Buron, Nicolao Casteleto, Lorenzo Cota, Andres Escoto, Juan Bautista Escuarzafigo, Baltasar Espinola, Sinibaldo Fresco, Juan Francisco Fontana, Juan Bautista Justiniano, Lorenzo Morcho, Jacome Mortedo, Jacome Mucio, Bautista Serra, Juan Angelo, Rafael and Juan Esteban Tacio. Cf. the historiography in the footnote on p. 19.

237 Active Florentines were Atanacio de Aberoni in company with the *Cargador* Cesar Baroncini, Juan Felipe Bartoli in company with Alexandre del Nero, and finally Luis Federigui. Cf. Núñez Roldán, "Tres familias florentinas". From the remaining Italian places of origin it is only Milan which stands out with the merchant Niculao Lambertengo. E. Stols keeps him in his records, as a Fleming (Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, p. 42). All of the mentioned actors showed up at least three times in the documents of the APS.

238 For the activities of Jacome Mortedo in Seville, cf. pp. 53, 245, 258 and 400.

239 In the middle of the 16th century, the English nation in Seville was the strongest among all foreign nations. E. Otte even speaks of an "invasion" of English merchants during the 1540s (Otte Sander, *Sevilla, siglo XVI*, pp. 276-284, here p. 276). In the investigated period of time, however, except for the first year of 1580, the English nation only played a minor role in the commerce of the city.

240 For evidence of the presence of the the German nation in Cádiz in earlier times, cf. Kellenbenz and Walter, *Oberdeutsche Kaufleute in Sevilla und Cadiz*.

The Composition of the Foreign Nations

The trends of figure 1.6 can be compared with a calculation of actors instead of documents. Figure 1.7 shows the composition of all foreigners in the commerce of the city. Hence, while the former figure showed how often foreigners and their commodities appear in the documents, this one gives a picture of the proportions of foreign individuals in the commerce of the city. The 835 foreigners which were encountered in the records constitute the total, and every individual is counted only once every year.²⁴¹ Thereby, it can be avoided that a banker like Jacome Mortedo, who appeared 23 times in the contracts, has too much influence on the calculations.²⁴² Figure 1.7 is different from figure 1.6 in several regards. The share of the Flemings starts with 30 percent in 1580 but falls to 27 percent in 1600, rises to 42 in 1620, and falls again slightly to 40 percent.²⁴³ They are always at the top, except for the year 1600, when the group of Italians has a share of 40 percent. Also in this figure, the Italian nation is dominant in 1600, but this time it is less pronounced. The Portuguese presence in the commerce of Seville rises from 17 percent in 1580 to 21 percent in 1620, stays constant until 1620 with 20 percent, and rises steeply to 34 percent in 1640.²⁴⁴ That means that the number of Portuguese individuals was permanently below the Flemish number.

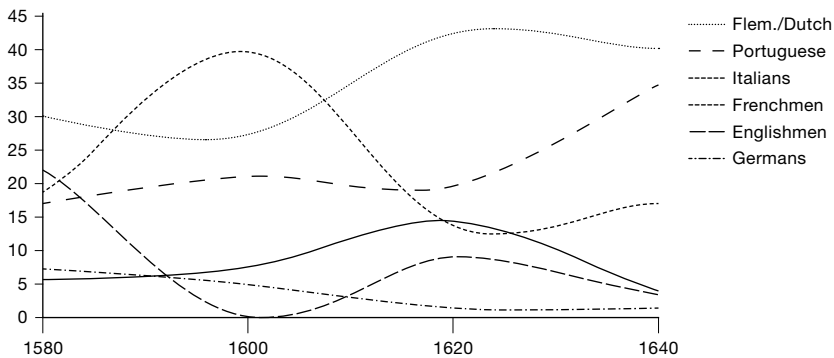


Figure 1.7: Percentage of Foreign Nations amongst the Total of All Foreigners (Total Number of Foreigners: 835)

241 The number of foreigners in the four years is 54-244-386-151.

242 This type of calculation was also used to design figure 1.2, which includes additional documentation from other years.

243 Including the Dutch share of 0-1-4-1 percent.

244 This upsurge in the number of Portuguese in Seville between 1620 and 1640 correlates with the height of the Portuguese commercial activities in Spain.

These discrepancies between figures 1.7 and 1.6 can be interpreted as the degree of participation of each foreign group in the commerce of Seville. Italians, for example, represent 19 percent of the foreign merchants in 1580, but only appear in seven percent of the contracts. Hence, in spite of a large number of Italians, they only appeared in a few contracts. In 1620, on the contrary, Italians represented 14 percent of the merchants, but these appeared in 24 percent of the contracts. This indicates that relatively few merchants actively had their hands in many business contracts of the city.²⁴⁵

The share of French among all foreigners (figure 1.7) rises from six percent in 1580 to seven percent in 1600, and it doubles in 1620 to even 14 percent. In 1640 only four percent of all foreigners in Seville were Frenchmen, which was the lowest number of all the years (6-7-14-4). Yet, the French participation in the notarial records shows a different trend (figure 1.6): it rises from four percent in 1580 to eight percent in 1600 and 15 percent in 1620. In 1640, it still reaches a considerable 12 percent (4-8-15-12).²⁴⁶ This means that in 1640, the French, whose group was only four percent among all foreigners, appeared in 12 percent of the records. This proportion indicates a very high level of participation for the average Frenchman in the commerce of the city.²⁴⁷

The Portuguese's share among the foreigners of Seville (17-21-20-34) was always below that of their share in the contracts (20-30-30-41), which means that relatively few Portuguese were very active in the commerce of the city. The situation was totally converse for the Flemings. Their share among the foreigners (30-27-42-40) was always above their share in the contracts (20-22-36-39), which shows that compared to others, their average activity was not so profound. This explains why in figure 1.6 the Portuguese are always close to the Flemish nation, but in figure 1.7, they clearly lag behind. The investigated files suggest that there were more Flemings in the commercial life of Seville, but the average Portuguese appeared in more records than the average Fleming. Overall, Flemings were more numerous between 1580 and 1640, but Flemings and Portuguese were about equally represented in the documented commercial activities of Seville.

245 Share of Italian participation in the contracts: 7-56-24-19 (figure 1.6); share of Italians among all foreigners: 19-40-14-17 (figure 1.7); Genoese alone: 15-30-12-16 percent.

246 This result contradicts the statement of Stein and Stein, *Silver, Trade, and War*, p. 76, that the French group experienced a growth between 1620 and 1640.

247 For the French and Flemish nations, more detailed calculations on proportions, especially in regard to their networks, will be produced later on p. 145.

1.2.5 Spaniards vs. Foreigners

Another source that can be used to assess the presence and importance of foreigners in Seville are lists of tax contributions. Irregular duties are of special interest. In times of financial distress, the Spanish kings fell back on sequestrations of private capital, so-called *sacas*. The rich merchants of Seville were among the most affected individuals in that regard.²⁴⁸ One of these sequestrations took place in 1640. Four million ducats were necessary, and over half of them should have been taken from the rich merchants of the *ciudad hispalense*, Seville. J. Gil-Bermejo published a list of 670 merchants who had to contribute to this duty, capturing a comprehensive picture of the commerce of Seville, “el comercio universal”.²⁴⁹ The merchants were forced to exchange their silver into copper money, *vellón*,²⁵⁰ with a value of about 30 percent less.²⁵¹ Hence, they had a double disadvantage by the forced exchange of that year: first, they had to wait until the exchange of the money took place, and second, they received money of less value.²⁵² The merchants were put into different categories, depending on their share of the commerce of the city. Only a few merchants belonged to the higher categories. In the lowest section, 300 of the chosen 670 individuals had to contribute 1,231 ducats,

248 Cf. Lorenzo Sanz, “La requisición de la remesas de oro y plata”; Vila Vilar, “El poder del Consulado”. C.H. Haring found the first sequestration already in 1523 (Haring, *Trade and Navigation*, pp. 170).

249 Gil-Bermejo García, “Mercaderes sevillanos II”, pp. 26, 31.

250 The massive appearance of reales de vellón, a composition of copper and silver, was a peculiarity of the era of Philip IV. In the 1620s, he ordered “vellón” to be minted in large quantities, while the reales de plata, made of pure silver, remained also in use (Amalric et al., *Léxico Histórico de España*, pp. 149-151). The way the Spanish Crown maintained its monetary policy was disadvantageous for the merchants of Seville (Álvarez Nogal, *Sevilla y la Monarquía Hispánica*, pp. 74-89; Álvarez Nogal, *El crédito de la monarquía hispánica*, pp. 83-86). Also the lower strata of the society suffered: in 1652, the masses of Seville started an uprising because of the continued inflation of the money (the share of copper and silver in the composition of the reales de vellón changed over time). By the end of the 17th century, reales de vellón had lost half of their value: a real de plata was then worth two reales de vellón. The *Real Hacienda* used inflation and deflation of the reales de vellón very carelessly for its short-term advantage. Therefore, reales de plata were highly esteemed, while reales de vellón were scorned.

251 In the year 1640, J. Gil-Bermejo calculates the value of a real de vellón to be about 70 percent of a real de plata. This percentage will be applied in further calculations. Gil-Bermejo García, “Mercaderes sevillanos II”, p. 30.

252 Sometimes, part of the loss was refunded.

amounting to a total of 393,300 ducats. In the middle sections, 329 merchants had to pay between 2,319 and 6,671 ducats, making a total of 1,131,998 ducats. The 41 merchants who contributed the most to the royal treasure chests are displayed in table 1.3, with contributions between 8,847 ducats and 17,551 ducats. These merchants had to exchange almost half a million ducats, which means that six percent of the individuals had to bear 25 percent of the costs.²⁵³

Such contributions by different merchants of Seville to the king's treasury took place several times during the 17th century. The Indies Council used to ask for donations from the *Casa de la Contratación* and from the Consulate, but sometimes, it took the necessary money by force. These sequestrations are well suited to examine the composition of the merchants of the city. Even though the share of merchants who successfully avoided such payments is unknown, the recurrence of certain names in the investigated notarial files and their reiteration on lists of sequestrations underline the value of such sources. Other sequestrations took place for example in the years 1632,²⁵⁴ 1637, 1640,²⁵⁵ 1641, and 1651.²⁵⁶ The reiteration of different names makes it possible to determine continuities and rifts. Column one, two, and four of table 1.3 refer to these different contributions of the merchants of Seville to the *Real Hacienda*, the royal treasury.

Column "1632" in figure 1.3 refers to a donation of 30,000 ducats made by 72 *hombres de negocio* of Seville in that year. In fact it was 28,134 ducats (309,470 reales), and it was not the royal officials who collected the money. The Spanish king ceded this privilege to the Portuguese *asentistas* Jorge de Paz Silveyra and Alfonso and Gaspar Rodríguez Pasariño because they had granted

253 Five merchants of this "elite" appear again in the list of the 20 most central actors of the networks of the year 1640 (cf. p. 352). Another 12 of these 20 also contributed to the forced exchange, but with less money. Only three of the central merchants of 1640 did not appear at all among the contributors of the forced exchange of bullion. Thus, the most central merchants of 1640 (collected data from the notarial archive) and the contributors to the forced exchange of bullion coincide largely. This reveals that even though the chosen data in this investigation contains only information about a part of the society, it can be considered representative of the whole.

254 Cf. Aguado de los Reyes, "Lisboa, Sevilla, Amberes".

255 Cf. Gil-Bermejo García, "Mercaderes sevillanos (una nómina de 1637)"; idem, "Mercaderes sevillanos II"; Chaunu and Chaunu, *Séville et l'Atlantique*, vol. 5, p. 367.

256 Cf. Collado Villalta, "Un repartimiento por contrabando"; idem, "El embargo de bienes". The latter refers mainly to the Portuguese nation.

Table 1.3: The Merchant Elite of Seville of 1640 – Different Contributions to the Spanish King between 1632 and 1651

1632	1637	1640	1651	Name
300	√/√	17,551	50/150	Pedro Lopez del Puerto/Juan de Soto (captain)
—	—	17,551	—	Susana Diaz (her son in law Pedro de Villa Vicencio)
—	√	15,375	—	Miguel de Neve**
—	—	15,375	—	Miguel de Neve with brother in law and nephews**
490	√	15,375	200 (heirs)	Guillermo Bequer**
—	—	15,375	—	Magdalene Clut Enriquez (widow of Jaques Bibien)**
—	—	15,375	—	Ricardo Suit (Engl.)
—	√	15,375	—	Thomas de Mañara (Genoese)
—	√	15,375	200	<i>Juan Cervino</i> (Genoese)
—	—	15,375	—	Gaspar de Biedma
—	—	13,199	—	Pedro Jalon**
500	√	13,199	300	Simon Rodriguez Bueno (Port.)
—	—	13,199	25	Pedro de Pedrosa (captain)
364	√	13,199	—	<i>Lope de Ulloque</i> (comprador de oro y plata)
—	√	11,375	—	Gaspar Rodriguez Pasariño (Port.)
—	√	11,023	—	Niculas Antonio (his heirs)**
—	√	11,023	—	Francisco de Conique**
1,120	√	11,023	unknown	Gonzalo Nuñez de Sepulveda (Port.)
—	—	11,023	—	Ruy Diaz Angel (Port.)
—	√	11,023	—	Diego de Payba (Port)
600	—	11,023	—	Nicolao de Vega (Port.)
—	√	11,023	—	Jaques Bules*
700	—	11,023	300 (widow)	<i>Pedro de la Farxa</i> (his heirs)*
350	√	11,023	—	<i>Pedro de Alogue*</i>
350	√	11,023	1,500	Lanfran David*
—	—	11,023	—	Juan de Mañara (Genoese)
—	√	11,023	500	<i>Bernardo de Valdes</i> (comprador de oro y plata)
—	√	11,023	200	<i>Juan de Olarte</i> (comprador de oro y plata)
—	√	11,023	—	Juan de Tapia y Vargas (<i>cosechero</i> and cleric)
—	√	11,023	—	Ruy Lopez de Silva (O. of Santiago)
1,000	√	11,023	—	<i>Francisco Lopez de Talavan</i> (chaplain)
—	√	11,023	—	Nicolas de Guadalupe (captain)
—	√	11,023	—	Pedro de Villa Vicencio (O. of Calatrava)
500	√	11,023	—	<i>Francisco de Ortega Saria</i>
—	—	11,023	—	Pedro Fernandez de Santamaria
—	—	10,558	—	Lope de la Vega (his heirs)
1,000/-	-/√	10,023	565 (family)	<i>Diego Diaz/Francisco Baez</i> (bros.) (Port.)
—	√	8,847	—	Fernando de Almonte (alderman)
—	—	8,847	—	Miguel Lopez de la Barra
—	—	8,847	—	Pedro de las Muñecas
—	√	8,847	—	Martin de Sanartu (Zeñartu, captain)
7,274 d	—	498,702 d	3,990 p	TOTAL

Explanation: Ordered by the list of 1640; bold means appeared in all four lists, italic means appeared in three lists; * is French, ** is Flemish

Source: Gil-Bermejo García, “Mercaderes sevillanos (una nómina de 1637)”; idem, “Mercaderes sevillanos II”; Collado Villalta, “Un repartimiento por contrabando”; Aguado de los Reyes, “Lisboa, Sevilla, Amberes”, pp. 101-125; Vila Vilar, “Una amplia nómina”

him a credit for his armies in Flanders.²⁵⁷ The highest contributions can be found in the appendix (p. 398).

“1637” refers to a similar case, when the *Real Hacienda* was in need of 800,000 ducats. The Spanish Crown received the money in exchange for various privileges. The most outstanding of these was the maintenance of the *Impuesto de los Infantes*, a customs duty of one percent on the trade of Seville and Cádiz. That duty had come into being as a temporally limited duty some years before to ease the cost of the European wars for the Spanish king. For a donation of 800,000 ducats, he changed the duty from temporal to perpetual and ceded the right to collect it to the merchants of Seville; 188 merchants took part in this deal.²⁵⁸

In “1651”, the Consulate of Seville had to face grave allegations of contraband. The king demanded compensation and after intense negotiations the prior and consuls of the Consulate, as chief negotiators of the accused merchants, agreed to pay 101,547 ducats (140,000 pesos de a ocho). A total of about 500 merchants contributed to that donation, 135 of them were foreigners. Those who in 1651 paid the highest amounts are listed in the appendix (p. 399).²⁵⁹

The 41 actors in table 1.3 may be seen as a considerable fraction of the merchant elite of Seville in the time around 1640. They contributed about one quarter to the exchange, which might be comparable to the share they had of the commerce of Seville and the official Indies trade. With regard to their origin, the group of merchants with assumable Spanish origin was largest with 19 names. However, over half of the elite, 22 merchants that is, was of foreign origin. The list contains seven Flemings and an equal number of Portuguese, four Frenchmen, three Genoese, and one Englishman.

Figure 1.8 shows the share of the exact contributions of the different nations to the forced exchange of bullion in 1640. Foreigners paid 276,674 ducats, or 55 percent, while Spaniards only contributed with 222,028 ducats, or 45 percent. This confirms that a major share of the commerce of Seville was

257 Aguado de los Reyes, “Lisboa, Sevilla, Amberes”.

258 Gil-Bermejo García, “Mercaderes sevillanos (una nómina de 1637)”. The various shares of the merchants are not listed.

259 Collado Villalta, “Un repartimiento por contrabando”, pp. 3-11. The largest share came from Seville, while only 26,117 ducats (36,000 pesos) were contributed by merchants from Cádiz. This proportion can be seen as a sign of the still strong position of the Andalusian capital in relation to the port city of Cádiz which would become more important as the century proceeded. Cf. Girard, *La rivalité commerciale*; Bordejé Morencos, *Tráfico de Indias y política oceánica*, pp. 35-41.

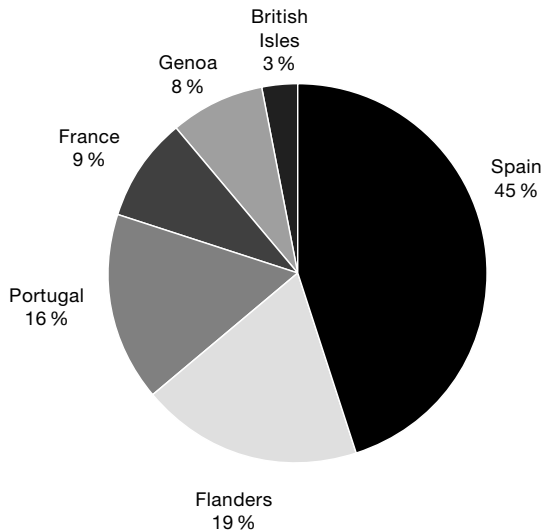


Figure 1.8: Contributions of the Elite to the Forced Exchange of Bullion in 1640 (by Place of Origin)

in the hands of foreigners. Among these, the Flemings held again the first place, being ahead of the Portuguese with 19 percent against 16 percent, or 96,745 against 78,689 ducats. Then came the Frenchmen (44,092 ducats), the Genoese (41,773 ducats), and one Englishman (15,375 ducats).

Most foreign merchants were forced to participate in more than one of the displayed *sacas*. Moreover, all but three of them were among the *Cargadores a Indias*.²⁶⁰ And most of them were naturalized or *jenízaros*, who were also integrated in the social life of Seville. This indicates that the richest foreign merchants resided and traded continuously in Seville, and did not simply come for a short stay. The ones that showed up only for singular business were probably not the ones vital for the legal Indies trade.²⁶¹ If, however, the local foreigners were independent merchants or if they really were only agents for principal

260 Of the 41 merchants, only five were not on the list of Vila Vilar, “Una amplia nómina”. These were Gaspar de Biedma, Ruy Diaz Angel, Juan de Mañara, Ruy Lopez de Silva and Magdalena Clut Enriques. In spite of that, they were most probably involved in the Indies trade as well.

261 One cannot discard the possibility that a considerable amount of bullion arrived in Seville for other foreigners too, without the *Real Hacienda* being able to seize it in 1640. It is unlikely however, that it would have equaled the share of the registered ones (cf. p. 65).

merchant-houses abroad²⁶² cannot be answered completely here. Most commercial activities of those who appeared in the notarial records do not show their attachment to any merchant house from abroad. Moreover, the growth of some foreign merchant houses in Seville over the years, their evident commercial strength in 1620, and their financial power in 1640 suggest a certain autonomy, which does not fit the picture of an agent from merchant houses from abroad. Still, some merchants have fulfilled also the function of agents for foreigners, such as the Flemish families Bequer, Canis, and De Haze, and above all, Cornelio de Groote.²⁶³

To conclude, the table of the merchant elite of 1640 reveals the strong position of the foreign residents of the city, altogether surpassing even the Spanish merchants. It confirms, moreover, the results of the scrutinized notarial records: the dominant foreign group in the commerce of Seville were the Flemings, followed by the Portuguese.

1.3 Conclusions

In a period which contains both the greatest glory and the beginning decline of Spain, the city of Seville was in the center of the Atlantic commerce. While European conflicts slowed the international trade down and hampered the development of many regions, Lower Andalusia boomed and became a hub for the European Atlantic trade. As monopoly port for the Indies trade, Seville experienced the acceleration of commercial activities and the emergence of important institutions, such as the *Casa de la Contratación* or the *Consulado de Cargadores a Indias*. Several interest groups positioned themselves in the commercial system of the city and participated in the market, in which corruption and contraband functioned alongside the legal forms of trade.

Among these groups, the rich foreign merchants who established themselves in the city played a vital role, as they provided capital and merchandise. In 1580, the investigated sources show that the foreign participation in the commerce of Seville was still at a low level but it increased enormously in the following 20 years. Until 1600, it had doubled and from then on, it remained

262 Stein and Stein, *Silver, Trade, and War*, p. 76; cf. Kamen, *Empire*, p. 298.

263 For the families Bequer, Canis, and De Haze, cf. p. 221; and for Cornelio de Groote, cf. p. 332. Other Flemish merchants that showed signs of being commercial agents were Godofredo van Hueften, Juan Ysac, and Bartolome de Vides (working for Pedro Arnao (pp. 235, 244)), the family Andres (p. 239), and the linen merchants Cornelio Adriansen and Geronimo Raparte (p. 324).

relatively stable until at least 1640. During that time, the share of foreigners among the rich merchants of Seville can be estimated to be over 50 percent.

The major part of the foreigners in Seville was composed of six nations: Portuguese, Flemings (and Dutch), Genoese (and other Italians), French, Germans, and English. Among them, it was Flemings and Portuguese that dominated, and Frenchmen and Genoese that followed, while Germans and Englishmen were not so dominant. Their shares changed over time: In 1580, when foreign participation was still lower than in the following years, no clear dominance of a nation could be detected. In 1600, the Italians were especially numerous and active. In 1620, Flemings were in front, and in 1640, the Portuguese nation was very strong. This display of the panorama of foreign merchants in Seville represented the first step to assess the role of the Flemings and Frenchmen in the commerce of Seville. The next chapters will provide more details of their commercial and social strategies.

2. French and Flemish Merchants in Seville

Among the foreign merchants in Seville, it was the Flemings and French that played the major role in the connection with the European Atlantic between 1580 and 1640. This chapter will present the overall insights of this investigation regarding the situation of these two foreign merchant colonies in Seville between 1570 and 1650. Their commerce will be outlined as well as their social position and the influence of politics on their trade. Also, the rough structures and changes of their networks and the centrality of the merchants will be presented. Finally, their collective strategies of trade and assimilation will be discussed.¹ The details of the networks as well as the precise source references can be found in the following chapters. By way of introduction, the assumption will be quoted that the typical merchant of early modern times showed four specific features: an inclination to family business, a diversification of operations, a cooperations with compatriots, and a certain zeal for social recognition.²

2.1 Social Aspect of the Foreign Nations

2.1.1 Changing Patterns of the French Colony

The character of the trade between France and Seville changed in the course of the 16th century. At the beginning, it was the Spanish traders who came to France (mainly from Burgos),³ but later during that century, it was the Frenchmen who organized the trade, and arrived in large numbers in Lower Andalusia. From a mere stopover of the Mediterranean trade, Seville became the most important Spanish market place for French merchants.⁴ Even though

1 In this regard I do not fully agree with C. Lemerrier that network analysis does not help to visualize conscious network strategies of individuals. Within the collective (unconscious) network strategies of groups, I believe that some individuals might very well have realized these patterns and adapted their deliberate strategy accordingly. Cf. Lemerrier, "Formale Methoden der Netzwerkanalyse", p. 20.

2 Ramos Medina, "El origen de una élite negociante", p. 373; idem, "Algunas sagas comerciales francesas", p. 225.

3 Otte Sander, *Sevilla, siglo XVI*, p. 192: "Dueños casi absolutos de los lienzos nor-europeos (Rouen y Flandes) eran los burgaleses" (between 1517 and 1565).

4 Domínguez Ortiz, "Los extranjeros en la vida española", p. 75 cf. Priotti, „Plata americana“, p. 104.

some individual French merchants can be found in Seville during the late Middle Ages, no permanent settlement was detected for this period.⁵ In the 16th century, the number of French merchants who resided in Seville and Sanlúcar grew permanently.⁶ In the whole of Spain, the French immigration of average merchants, craftsmen, menial worker, and beggars was higher than that of any other foreign group. Moreover, even though A. Domínguez Ortiz states that during the 17th century, almost no Frenchmen of high degree, “de rango” (i.e. rich businessmen), came to Spain with the intention of settling down,⁷ many French merchants in Seville acquired enormous riches. Most of them came from Brittany (Vitré and Saint-Malo), Bayonne, Rouen, Bordeaux, and Nantes.⁸

The analysis of the notary records above has shown that the proportion of Frenchmen among all the foreigners was low at first. In 1580, it started off with six percent and in 1600, it was seven percent. By 1620, it had risen to 14 percent, and in 1640 it was at four percent.⁹ Hence, it seems that the year 1620 represents the peak for the French nation. But what was the number of French merchants in Seville in the time of consideration? In 1580, the investigated notarial records only provide three French names in Seville. Yet, in Sanlúcar, 27 French merchants were detected.¹⁰ In documents from 1589, some Frenchmen from Vitré and Bayonne were found, the latter were living in Seville for at least eight years.¹¹ In 1600, the notary files contain the names of 18 Frenchmen in the city. In 1620, 65 members of the French nation in Seville signed a letter to the king of Spain,¹² and 56 appeared in the commerce of Seville in that year. Five years later, petitions to the French ambassador were signed by 11 merchants from Seville and 12 from Cadiz. In 1629/30, six French merchants from Vitré had lived for several years in Lower Andalusia and were mar-

5 Otte Sander, *Sevilla y sus mercaderes*, p. 194; Girard, *Le commerce français*, p. 45. Spanish colonies at ports of the French Atlantic, on the other hand, were strong during the late Middle Ages (ibidem).

6 Girard, *Le commerce français*, pp. 50, 538, 547; Kellenbenz, “Fremde Kaufleute auf der Iberischen Halbinsel”, p. 299.

7 Domínguez Ortiz, “Los extranjeros en la vida española”, pp. 75-76.

8 Girard, *Le commerce français*, pp. 44-45, 547; Mauro, “Les marchands du Midi de la France”, p. 129; for Vitré, cf. Lapeyre, *Une famille de marchands*, p. 395.

9 Cf. figure 1.7 on p. 91.

10 Their merchandise was confiscated. Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, p. 89.

11 Girard, *Le commerce français*, pp. 44-45, 547.

12 Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, pp. 91-92.

ried to Spaniards, and notary files revealed the activities of 10 Frenchmen in Seville in 1640.¹³ In 1673, after the war, only five French merchants were living in Seville and none in Sanlúcar. In Cádiz, on the other hand, a letter from 1670 contains 21 names of French merchants, and 12 years later another letter contains 12 names. Hence, in the course of the 17th century, a displacement of the colony took place, in accordance with the general shift of commercial activities from Seville and Sanlúcar to Cádiz and Puerto de Santa María.¹⁴

The first French consul in Seville, Manuel de Bues, was appointed in 1578.¹⁵ The consuls were mostly assigned by the French king, and thus, played a more political role than consuls of other nations. They were considered to be the political speakers of the local French nation, represented the Frenchmen of Seville before the Spanish authorities, and acted as judges in controversies between Frenchmen.¹⁶

In Spain, as in Seville, the rich merchants were politically and economically the strongest group within the French community in Spain, yet, they did not form the largest group in number. Small traders, workers, and seamen from France were far more numerous. The French in Spain were a large heterogeneous group which, in 1626, amounted to about 200,000 individuals.¹⁷ For the accommodation of their compatriots, the French nation owned 15 hostels in Sanlúcar at the beginning of the 17th century, which was more than the Flemish or English nation had at that time. Moreover, the French nation had

13 Frenchmen in the notary records: 3-18-56-10; cf. table 2.2 on p. 144.

14 Girard, *Le commerce français*, pp. 538, 545-549, 566; Kellenbenz, "Fremde Kaufleute auf der Iberischen Halbinsel", p. 299; Domínguez Ortiz, "Los extranjeros en la vida española", p. 77. In the 18th century, the French colony was the largest among the foreign nations in Cádiz. Gouic, "Des négociants français aux portes des Indes", p. 315; cf. Bustos Rodríguez, *Cádiz en el sistema atlántico*, p. 140.

15 In Cadiz, a consulate was also founded during that time, in 1575 or 1581. Girard, *Le commerce français*, p. 51.

16 Steensgaard, "Consuls and Nations", pp. 180-181; Girard, *Le commerce français*, pp. 90-91, 579-589; Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, p. 89. In 1604, the French even tried to establish a general consul for the whole of Andalusia (Moret, *Aspects de la société marchande*, pp. 57-58). At the end of the 17th century, A. Girard states that the French consuls lived the lavish life of noblemen ("vivait sur le même pied que la noblesse") and was on an equal footing with the *alcalde mayor* of Cádiz. Girard, *Le commerce français*, p. 579.

17 The French ambassador did calculations about the wealth of Frenchmen in Spain: his estimation was four million ducats for the year 1628 – half of it only in Andalusia. Girard, *Le commerce français*, pp. 558-572.

the right to levy a special tax on French ships to maintain their own charitable foundation, the brotherhood of Saint Louis.¹⁸

Some of the Frenchmen that showed up in the notary files did not live or even reside in the city. Among those who were present, some had sought their fortune there, stayed, and integrated into the local society; others resided just a short while within the city walls and moved on; others again settled down in Seville but left many years later, without having integrated. The sources do not allow a thorough analysis of the assimilation process, but one gets a general idea.¹⁹

In 1580, the three Frenchmen who were found in Seville settled down and stayed in Seville. One of them, the consul of the French nation Manuel de Bues, even received a letter of naturalization. In 1600, five of the 18 Frenchmen were *vecinos*, i.e. citizens,²⁰ of Seville.²¹ Two declared themselves to be residents, which indicates a stay for a prolonged period of time, and four stayed in Seville only temporarily. The remaining seven Frenchmen lived in France, even though some of them also stayed in Seville several times.²² Hence, in 1600, little more than one third of the Frenchmen permanently settled down in Seville: these seven Frenchmen (the citizens and the residents) presumably integrated in the city, especially Jaques Soming, who received a letter of naturalization some years later.

In 1620, two Frenchmen from 1600 reappeared – those obviously were integrated in the society. Of the other 54 Frenchmen, who were in the dossiers for the first time, more than half lived in Lower Andalusia permanently: 25 in Seville, three in Sanlúcar, and one in Puerto de Santa María. Five lived in Lisbon and seven in France: three in Rouen, two in Paris, and one each in Marseilles and Lyon. Considering only the most central 16 Frenchmen, nine were citizens of Seville, one was a resident, and one lived in Sanlúcar. Of the remaining five, four lived in France and one in Madrid. Hence, of the numerous Frenchmen who appeared in the dossiers of Seville in 1620 more than

18 Moret, *Aspects de la société marchande*, pp. 49, 54; for the French interest in the Andalusian port cities, cf. Priotti, “Plata americana”, p. 106.

19 The notarial records often indicate the citizenship or the place of (permanent) residency of the individuals. While the place of origin is often missing, the specified place of residence appears in the majority of the cases.

20 For a detailed definition of the concept of citizen/*vecino*, cf. Herzog, *Defining Nations*, pp. 6-7, 17-42.

21 One of them, Guillermo Layne, was the consul of the French nation.

22 One lived in Seville and in Sanlúcar for a certain period of time, and another was the captain of a ship without indicating a place of origin.

half lived permanently in Seville. Two of the more active French citizens of Seville, however, did not appear frequently in the city, in spite of their numerous activities, these were Guillermo Reynarte and Pedro Calloer. These two might have been citizens only by name (or pretended to be) because their files do not indicate any involvement in the local society.

In 1640, five years after the outbreak of war, only 10 Frenchmen could be found. Three of them already appeared before 1640, namely Lanfran David, Pedro de la Farxa, and Jaques Bules. Eight lived in Seville, one in Cádiz, and one lived in France, in Saint-Malo. Only two Frenchmen did not belong to a family with a naturalized merchant. Thus, in 1640, the Frenchmen which had remained in Seville were firmly integrated in the society.

To conclude, the analysis of the notarial records shows that a large share of the French merchants in Seville only stayed temporarily and did not settle down. So far, this seems to confirm the assumption of A. Domínguez Ortiz, who stated that only few rich French merchants intended to settled down in Seville.²³ Yet, a percentage of at least 39 percent of the French merchants who did have their home in the city is not insignificant. The years with the highest number of Frenchmen in the city (1600 and 1620), show a large number of fluctuating merchants, which came from abroad to conduct individual business and to leave afterward. However, in 1640, a smaller number of firmly settled Frenchmen were active in the commerce of the city – in spite of the war (which will be discussed below). This points to a development which one generation later was to take place in Madrid also: the integration and ascent of a hand full of rich French merchants' families in the commerce and the politics of the Spanish society.²⁴

2.1.2 Successful Integration of the Flemish Colony

In the middle of the 16th century, between six and 10 Flemish merchants lived and had their business in Seville.²⁵ In 1580 – when the Genoese dominance in the trade of the city had diminished (after 1566)²⁶ – the investigated notary records reveal the names of 13 Flemings. A thrust of Flemings arrived after

23 Cf. Domínguez Ortiz, "Los extranjeros en la vida española", p. 75.

24 Ramos Medina, "Algunas sagas comerciales francesas"; idem, "El origen de una élite negociante".

25 Otte Sander, *Sevilla, siglo XVI*, p. 284.

26 Berthe, "Les Flamands à Séville", p. 241.

the conquest of Antwerp in 1585, when the misfortune of the city brought some of them to join their relatives in Seville. E. Stols confirms that the fall of Antwerp did not only benefit its “successors” Amsterdam and London, but also increased the Flemish colony in Seville. In the 1590s, its size had risen to 200 merchants and by 1600 to 300 or even 400.²⁷ Notarial evidence shows the activities of 65 of them in the selected year 1600. This number rose to 171 in 1620 and returned to 65 in 1640.²⁸ The proportion among the foreign nations in Seville was already displayed above: the Flemish share among the foreign merchants was 30 percent in 1580, 27 percent in 1600, 42 percent in 1620, and 40 percent in 1640. These numbers and percentages illustrate the strong position of the Flemish nation in Seville. Such a large number of Flemish individuals in the city gave the long distance trading merchants in the Southern Netherlands the opportunity to choose between many potentially trustworthy contacts. Hence, the relations between Antwerp and Seville remained flexible and the Flemish nation in Seville retained its vitality for several decades.²⁹

The majority of the Flemish merchants in Lower Andalusia stated as being from Antwerp, which was followed by other big cities like Lille,³⁰ Bruges, and Ghent. Other merchants came from Tournay, Ath, and Valenciennes, while the South of Brabant was less represented. From the Northern Netherlands, only three merchants were found in Seville before the Truce.³¹

Since the 1570s, Antwerp’s rich merchant families was sending their relatives, sons, younger brothers, or cousins, to Seville to learn the business and subsequently become representatives and junior partners of the family business. In the 17th century, that practice became a custom and a necessity which was considered essential for the social promotion of the procreation. By the 1630s, the demand for a place in a Flemish trading house in the Seville region

27 Stols, “La colonia flamenca”, pp. 364-365, 380; Idem, “Les marchands flamands dans la Péninsule Ibérique”, p. 226. E. Otte questions this enormous increase in their numbers (Otte Sander, *Sevilla, siglo XVI*, p. 284) but the investigated sources confirm the numbers supplied by E. Stols.

28 Flemings in the notary records: 13-65-171-65; cf. table 2.2 on p. 144.

29 Jiménez Montes, “La comunidad flamenca en Sevilla”.

30 The city of Lille (Rijsel) and other Flemish cities bordering France became French only in the treaty of Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle) in 1668. Lottin, *Deux mille ans de Nord-Pas-de-Calais*, p. 167.

31 Stols, “La colonia flamenca”, pp. 364-366, 380. The merchants from the different regions showed preferences for certain Andalusian locations and business branches. Those from Bruges and Ypres, for example, settled down in Sanlúcar and Cádiz.

was such that enormous sums, reaching 1,000 ducats, were paid for a relative to be accepted as apprentice.³²

Because of the many similarities between the Flemings (subjects of the Spanish king) and the Dutchmen (his enemies), one would suspect strong feelings of mistrust and maybe even aggression of Spaniards toward the Flemings. Quite the contrary seems to be the case, and only little animosity is reported. One explanation can be found in the “gentle” way in which the Flemings blended into the Spanish society. According to E. Stols, they changed their colorful clothes for black ones in the Spanish fashion soon upon their arrival, and through their kitchen, the Spanish recipes even found their way all the way back to Antwerp. In their correspondence they quickly started to use the Spanish language. Moreover, they avoided living in separate quarters, but preferred instead to mingle with locals, living in all parts of the city. As servants, they did not only employ compatriots, but Spaniards as well, and they also adopted the custom of buying slaves, which was not common in the Netherlands. They invested parts of their fortune in the city and its vicinity, building houses, vineyards, olive groves, and pastures; and for the transmission of their heritage they adopted the Spanish institution of the *mayorazgo*, i.e. the primogeniture, especially for the conservation of real estate.³³

A delicate aspect of the Flemish immigrants was their faith. In the 1560s, several of them were persecuted by the Inquisition for their absence of religious services and their overall lack of religiosity. A generation later, the Flemings in Seville were known for their catholic zeal, which they demonstrated in the revival of the old *cofradía* (brotherhood) of San Andrés. The chapel was extended, the altarpiece renewed, and charitable foundations were created, such as the hospital of San Andrés, all of which were maintained through an extra tax on their trade that they collected.³⁴ A hospice and an asylum were created and the nation had its own archive and a *mayorazgo*. The common property of the Flemish nation, including considerable real estate in Andalusia, was managed in some sort of trust (patronato) by a mayordomo, who was elected from among the most eminent members of the Flemish community. It was one of

32 Ibidem, pp. 365-366; idem, “Les marchands flamands dans la Péninsule Ibérique”, pp. 236-237. In 1608, the Flemish nation had 12 pensions and hostels in Sanlúcar for the merchants from Flanders and for the accommodations of foreigners in Seville in general. Moret, *Aspects de la société marchande*, pp. 49, 51.

33 Stols, “La colonia flamenca”, p. 367.

34 Ibidem, pp. 367-368. In 1611, the 97 richest German and Flemish merchants signed a document for the aid of charitable foundations. Moret, *Aspects de la société marchande*, p. 54.

the aims of the Flemish nation to retain its right (*fuero*) to have this patronage and the brotherhood.³⁵ The social function of the religious foundations of the Flemish communities in the Spanish cities must be emphasized. A. Crespo Solana described them as semi-laical and semi-ecclesiastic mechanisms for the integration in the Spanish societies and as a tool for mutual social, spiritual, and financial assistance amongst the group.³⁶ The Flemish funerals in Seville became ostentatious, compared to the less sumptuous ones in Flanders, donations were given to the local clergy, and requiem masses were organized. The richest merchants even founded chapels, and many Flemings gave their children to the convents and the Church of Seville.³⁷

Besides the Church, also the Crown took notion of the loyalty of the Flemings. They paid for parts of the equipment and material of the Spanish army and even drafted their own military formation (a company).³⁸ Several sons of merchants became captains of the Spanish army, such as Francisco Helman, Diego Sirman, and the brothers De Smidt.³⁹ In general, the second generation of Flemings distinguished itself by a strong ambition to collect titles and offices like alderman of Seville, member of the Holy Inquisition (*familiar del Santo Oficio*), knight of the order of Santiago or Calatrava, or simply nobleman (*hidalgo*),⁴⁰ as for example Don Luis Clut and Don Diego Sirman Enriquez.⁴¹ The wealth of the merchants did not bring about automatically the prestige and

35 Crespo Solana, "Elementos de transnacionalidad", pp. 63–64; idem, "El concepto de ciudadanía y la idea de nación", p. 405.

36 Crespo Solana, "Nación extranjera"; Recio Morales, "Los espacios físicos de representatividad", p. 16. "[...] los comerciantes integraban auténticas microsociedades, comunidades corporativas que servían no solo para las defensas de sus intereses sino para desarrollar diferentes mecanismos de integración que iban más allá del marco familiar. [...] la colonia formada por flamencos y holandeses en el Cádiz de los siglos XVII y XVIII [... era ...], en sentido estricto, una colonia corporativa que defendía los bienes comunales de la comunidad, la reputación de los miembros con más riqueza y tenían un concepto de ciudadanía basada en los fueros de grupo, leales, católicos y dedicados al comercio." Crespo Solana, "Elementos de transnacionalidad", p. 63, 75.

37 Regarding the different occupations of the Flemings in Seville, cf. Abadía Flores, "Los flamencos en Sevilla", pp. 36–56.

38 Stols, "La colonia flamenca", pp. 367–368. Also in Cádiz they had a company of militiamen, which included other foreigners as well, e.g. Frenchmen who did not have such a company there at the end of the 16th century. Sánchez de Sopranis, "Las naciones extranjeras en Cádiz", pp. 647, 654.

39 For details, cf. the respective chapters in part II.

40 Stols, "La colonia flamenca", pp. 367–368.

41 Idem, "Les marchands flamands dans la Péninsule Ibérique", pp. 231–232.

honor to which they aspired so much. R. Pike even states that “the merchant class became an intermediary stage in the social hierarchy to be abandoned as soon as possible.”⁴² The ultimate goal was nobility with all its social and commercial advantages, especially social privileges, power, and tax exemption.⁴³ Such a conduct was not exceptional among the second generation of foreigners in general in Spain. In addition, some of them, like for example Nicolas Antonio Nicolas, were remembered because they were patrons of art and culture. E. Vila Vilar points it out very vividly by saying that “often, the great men of the Indies trade were eclipsed by glamor of their descendants.”⁴⁴ And already in 1613, M. de Cervantes wrote that “is is the custom of the Seville merchants to show their wealth and authority in their children rather than in themselves.”⁴⁵ In other words, posterity remembers the men who spent money on enduring works, charitable institutions, and art, rather than the men who earned the money and thereby enabled their sons to be creative, powerful or generous.

From the brotherhood of San Andrés emerged the consulate of the Flemish nation.⁴⁶ In 1611, the royal Spanish representative in Seville, the *asistente*,⁴⁷ appointed the first official consul of the Flemish and German nations, whose name was Servas Coomas.⁴⁸ It is an interesting detail that Flemings and Germans were united in one institutional body and elected common representa-

42 Pike, *Aristocrats and Traders*, p. 100.

43 Also its capacity to clear one of all “impure” background was of value in a society dominated by the doctrine of the *limpieza de sangre*. Ibidem, pp. 99-100.

44 “Ocurre, con alguna frecuencia, a los grandes hombres del comercio americano quedar eclipsado por el brillo de sus descendientes.” Vila Vilar, “Los europeos en el comercio americano”, p. 294. Translation by the author.

45 “[...] es costumbre y condición de los mercaderes de Sevilla [...] mostrar su autoridad y riqueza, no en sus personas, sino en las de sus hijos; porque los mercaderes son mayores en su sombra que en sí mismos.” Cervantes Saavedra, *El coloquio de los perros*, f. 248r. Translation by the author.

46 The States-General (Holland) also had consuls in the Mediterranean countries in the 16th century but not in Spain. Israel, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade*, p. 98.

47 Morales Padrón, *Historia de Sevilla*, pp. 215-216.

48 An example for Flemish consuls in the exercise of his duties can be found in APS 7497, f. 312: In 1640, the acting consuls of the Flemish and German nation, Simon Canis and Jaques Filter, both citizens of Seville, addressed the *Casa de la Contratación* and the Indies Council, in the name of the members of the consulate, and raised protest against several inconveniences. J. García Bernal and M. Gamero Rojas, however, detected traces of the German and Flemish consulate already in the 1570s. García Bernal and Gamero Rojas, “Las corporaciones de nación en la Sevilla moderna”, pp. 359–360.

tives.⁴⁹ Servas Coomas received 400 ducats annually from the Spanish Crown. When a new consul had to be appointed a few years later, no German candidate was to be found. The four merchants, who were chosen for the election by the Spanish king, were all Flemings: Francisco de Conique, Francisco de Peralta, Pedro Francois, and Roberto Marcellis.⁵⁰

The strong integration of the Flemings in the society of Seville is also reflected in the four selected years. Of the Flemings who appeared in 1580, about one third was living in Antwerp. Pedro Arnao, for example, did not conduct his business from Seville but from Flanders.⁵¹ Yet, his son Roberto Arnao could be found twenty years later in Seville trading with his father back home.⁵² Also Geronimo Andres was one who stayed for over twenty years in Seville but, eventually, went back to Antwerp. The remaining two thirds of the merchants (nine out of 13) lived in Seville and stayed there. Some received naturalization, others paved the way for the naturalization of their children. Some of their sons or sons-in-law were eminent merchants in the following selected years, like Niculas Antonio and Francisco de Conique. Hence, it can be stated that already in 1580 the Flemish merchants in Seville were likely to have their permanent dwelling in the city.

Of the 65 Flemings of the year 1600, 26 were citizens and 11 residents of Seville. Moreover, two lived in Cádiz and three in Sanlúcar. Thus, 42 of 65 Flemings lived permanently in Lower Andalusia. Five others lived in Flanders, two of them in Antwerp and Bruges, and one in Ghent. Of the remaining 23, one lived in Toledo, three in São Tomé, the others were of unknown residence. Among the most central Flemings of that year,⁵³ almost all lived permanently in Seville: seven as citizens and four as residents. Four of the citizens even received a letter of naturalization. Hence, with about two thirds of the total, the percentage of Flemings who settled down in Seville was relatively high in 1600.

49 A. Crespo Solana reasons that this was the case because Flanders and parts of the German territories together belonged to the geographical entity Germania inferior. Crespo Solana, "El concepto de ciudadanía y la idea de nación", p. 403.

50 Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 1, pp. 80-93; Moret, *Aspects de la société marchande*, pp. 53-58; Crespo Solana, *Entre Cádiz y los Países Bajos*, pp. 177-179; cf. also idem, "Nación extranjera"; idem, "Las comunidades mercantiles".

51 In the 1550s, however, Pedro Arnao had been doing business in Seville himself. Jiménez Montes, "La comunidad flamenca en Sevilla", p. 49.

52 Cf. on pp. 234 and 262.

53 In part three of this volume, the most central Flemings of the years 1600, 1620, and 1640 are scrutinized (pp. 254, 298, 366). Of the 13 Flemings of 1580, all are investigated (pp. 233ff).

26 of the 171 Flemings of the year 1620 had appeared already in 1600 and can therefore be considered integrated members of the society. Of the remaining 145 Flemings, 86 lived in Seville and two in Sanlúcar, which represents two thirds. The second place of residence was Flanders, with 49 individuals, which is 29 percent: 21 lived in Dunkirk, 18 in Antwerp, four in Bruges, four in Valenciennes, and one each in Ghent and Lille. Of the most central and active 16 Flemings, all lived in Seville. Six of them were naturalized and also the others were well integrated in the local society. Hence, two thirds of the Flemings of the year 1620 lived in Lower Andalusia while one third came from abroad. The large number of Flemings who had appeared in both 1600 and 1620 are an indication of a certain continuity between these years.

Of the 65 Flemings who appeared in 1640, seven had already been there for 20 years, 40 new ones lived in Seville and two in Sanlúcar, adding up to over 75 percent. 10 declared to be living in Antwerp. Of the most central 10 Flemings, all lived in Lower Andalusia permanently, and seven received their letter of naturalization. The share of the integrated Flemings of 1640 was the largest of all selected years and only one quarter of the Flemings did not reside in Seville.

Also, Dutchmen from the insurgent Netherlands appeared in the city of Seville. Between 1600 and 1640, a total of 24 was found – the number of Dutchmen who remained hidden due to the restrictions was probably much higher. In any case, three were detected in 1600, two of which were citizens of Seville – one was the important merchant Jaques Nicolas. In 1620, when the Truce was in force, 18 Dutchmen appeared in the notarial offices of Seville. Only two of them lived permanently in the city, namely Juan Hesse and Francisco Nicolas, the son of Jaques Nicolas; both received a letter of naturalization. In 1640, two Dutchmen were found in the records, namely the brothers Rolando and Juan Esteban Gandulfo. The first also received a letter of naturalization. Thus, concluding from the notarial evidence, the number of Dutchmen who traded in Seville was small. Few Dutch merchants were in Seville during the time of war, while their number was much higher during the Twelve Years' Truce.

It can be concluded for the whole period that the percentage of Flemings who permanently lived in Lower Andalusia was much higher than that of the Frenchmen. The French group had a rather erratic character and many of them only came to Seville for few business transactions. This holds true for all of the French merchants as well as for the group of the most central ones,

which will be analyzed below in more detail. Among the selected years, only 1640 represents an exception to that situation. In that year, the percentage of the Frenchmen who permanently lived in Seville was higher than that of the Flemings. Ironic as it may seem, this can be explained by the war between Spain and France which had broken out in 1635. During its course, most of the less integrated Frenchmen were driven away, leaving behind only a few but well integrated ones; hence the larger share of Frenchmen who permanently lived in Seville compared to the not integrated ones. Except for this special case, Flemings were the more constant element in the society of Seville, with a large share of merchants who had settled down. Thus, besides the fact that the sheer number of Flemings in the city was higher than that of the Frenchmen, Flemings were also more likely to be living permanently in Andalusia, and to be a part of the local society.

2.2 Orientation of the Private Networks

Private networks are composed of family and friendship ties. Yet, because of the character of the sources, another category will be included with a hybrid character, namely the semi-private connections. These are made of ties between the merchants who sought naturalization and their witnesses in the process of naturalization. The *Casa de la Constratación* called upon these witnesses to gain additional information about the applying foreigner. The type of connection between the merchant and his witnesses ranges probably from friendship to business partnerships. The reconstructed private networks in this section, thus, cover the really private as well as the semi-private connections, displaying relatively simple networks, like ego-networks. At the center of interest are the traits of the connected nodes, especially if they include compatriots or foreigners from other nations. While this section highlights some basic elements of these private networks, focusing on the wives and the witnesses, the subsequent chapters display more details about the merchants and their commercial connections.

Within the private connections, marriage is one of the strongest ties. To receive a letter of naturalization, French and Flemish merchants had to incorporate into the Andalusian society, and one of the prerequisites was to be married to a Spanish woman. Several of the wives of the naturalized merchants were born in Spain but daughters of immigrants, the so called *jenízaras*. As the *jenízaras* were officially considered Spaniards, these types of wedding were con-

sidered valid for the process of naturalization.⁵⁴ The majority of the Frenchmen and Flemings tied the knots with women of Spanish ancestry, but those who were married to *jenízaras* were almost on par with them: among the Flemings, 54 percent were married to Spanish women, while all of the remaining 46 percent wed *jenízaras* of Flemish descent. Thereby, one of the assumed features of the foreign merchants in Spain can be confirmed, their inclination toward compatriots. The French situation was slightly different: first, a larger share, namely 64 percent, married Spanish women; and second, for the remaining 36 percent, the most “popular” nationalities were not only French *jenízaras*,⁵⁵ but, on an equal level, *jenízaras* of Flemish origin. Hence, while the Flemish grooms in Seville socialized through marriage with Spaniards and compatriots, the French added additional ties with the large group of the Flemish community.

The latter observation is emphasized by the scrutiny of the semi-private connections. Looking at the origin of the witnesses who had to be presented for the naturalizations, the following can be seen: the Flemings appealed mostly to their compatriots as witnesses. French merchants, on the other hand, had often Flemish witnesses, while their compatriots only came second.⁵⁶ Further witnesses were above all Spaniards, while Portuguese, Italians, Englishmen and Germans did not appear often, neither in the French nor in the Flemish semi-private networks.

The fact that foreign nations in Seville showed a strong cohesion between each other, has been frequently pointed out by historians.⁵⁷ Yet, they often fail to notice that there was also a certain cohesion between members of different foreign nations. Thus, it has to be considered that the number of Flemings in Seville was always much higher than that of Frenchmen – and three times as many Flemings applied for a naturalization. A larger number of compatriots made it easier to establish strong ties among each other, and less necessary to seek contact with other nations. Many of the Flemish private connections added up to large networks, while the private networks of the smaller French colony remain often separate and rather tiny. It can be assumed that the French

54 Díaz Blanco and Maillard Álvarez, “¿Una intimidación supeditada a la ley?”, pp. 4, 8.

55 The most illustrious example of a French endogamy is the one of the family Antiañaque (on p. 167, cf. also Crailsheim, “Les marchands français à Séville”). Only the wife of the French consul Manuel de Bues had Portuguese and Genoese ancestors.

56 In this regard, the fact that the Flemings were part of Spanish composite monarchy, and hence subjects of the Spanish king (while the French were not), should not be forgotten, as their testimony was possibly rated higher.

57 For example Bustos Rodríguez, *Cádiz en el sistema atlántico*, p. 116.

merchants in Seville had to be much more open to the contact with other nations if they wanted to succeed or survive in the city. Thus, one reason for their approach to Flemings, on a private level, was to access the larger Flemish networks and to benefit from them.

2.3 Companies and Family Businesses

Several merchants in Seville worked together in different kinds of cooperation within the commercial networks.⁵⁸ A. García-Baquero defines three groups of shared enterprises: *commenda*, *compañía*, and *compañía de cargazón*. He estimates that half of the business associations belonged to the *commenda* type. The basic characteristics of a *commenda* contract, originally a medieval Genoese agreement, are the shared responsibility and risks of an undertaking. A traveling merchant (*comendatario*) commits himself to sell the merchandise of a merchant who remains at home (*comendante*) in the Indies. Thereby, the *comendante* contributes the merchandise and the *comendatario* his workforce. The *comendatario* receives an agreed remuneration, while the risk is always taken by the *comendante*. Mostly such agreements were done for one operation/travel only.⁵⁹ The second type, the *compañía*, is merely defined by a shared inversion, risk, and benefit between *compañeros* (partners). They last for more than one business and it is within this type of company that most family cooperation can be found. Finally, the *compañía de cargazón*, is a mixture between the first two, insofar as they were created for one business only but with shared investment of various partners. Still, after having classified the companies in Seville, A. García-Baquero comes to the conclusion that a climate of improvisation prevailed where all types of combinations seemed possible – without getting to larger or more durable and solid associations.⁶⁰

Working with the notarial records, a different classification seems more useful. At the center of interest are markers of a more intense cooperation between merchants. Hence, a simple business, like selling or buying from each other, is not denominated as a company here. Instead, elements of continuity and

58 All the details of the quoted French and Flemish merchants can be found in the chapter on commercial networks.

59 García-Baquero González, *La Carrera de Indias*, pp. 241-244. Variations of the *commenda* were the *comisión*, the *consignación*, the *encomienda*, or the *factoría*; cf. Martínez Gijón, “La comenda en el derecho español”.

60 García-Baquero González, *La Carrera de Indias*, pp. 239-245; for attempts so implement larger companies in Seville, cf. Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, pp. 136-139.

stability are necessary to make a business which cooperation a company. To define the term, three features were chosen: either, the term *compañía* was applied in the records, or the outcome of a joint business took several months or even years (not just the payback of an obligation), or merchants were selling or buying jointly on several occasions.⁶¹ In most investigated cases, company associations or agreements were limited to one single but extended business operation, like shared shipping space in the cases of Francisco de Conique (La Magdalena) or Niculas Antonio (Nuestra Señora del Socorro).⁶² These operations could take very complex forms and, due to the character of long distance trade, several years to be accomplished. One of the above established features of the early modern merchant was the inclination toward family business,⁶³ but even family companies did not necessarily involve a cooperation for more than one single business. For the Flemish community, E. Stols even states that no permanent family businesses between Flanders and Seville developed at all: most cooperation lasted for one (extended) transaction only and did not contain, for example, deliveries over periods of several years. Thereby, the Flemish nation in Seville remained flexible and open for newcomers, and the connection to Antwerp stayed dynamic.⁶⁴ For the French nation, the situation was quite similar. Some exceptions to this pattern existed, which concern above all the cooperation between father and son. This special type of “core-family” business appeared in several cases during the time of consideration.

The majority of the companies can be considered single nation companies as only members of one nation participated. Most of them, namely 26, can be found among the Flemish merchants. Yet, also Frenchmen, Genoese, Florentines, and Spaniards formed such companies.⁶⁵ Besides these single nation companies, also mixed nation ones existed. At least one merchant of the

61 With regard to the used data, which is based on assorted samples, separated by 20 years time, detecting continuity is difficult. Still, one of the three features is always present, when the term company is mentioned below.

62 For companies in the Indies trade, cf. Sayous, “Partnerships in the Trade between Spain and America”; Bernal Rodríguez, *La financiación de la Carrera de Indias*, especially pp. 209-292.

63 For a specific analysis of family companies in Seville, cf. for example Vila Vilar and Lohmann Villena, *Familia, linajes y negocios*; Vila Vilar, *Los Corzo y los Mañara*; López Belinchón, *Honra, libertad y hacienda*; Pike, “Partnership Companies”.

64 Stols, “La colonia flamenca”, p. 365.

65 Genoese examples: Bartolome Dongo and Thomas de Mañara; Juan Pablo Visconte and Antonio and Jacome Ayrolo; Jacome Cota and brothers. Florentines: Atanacio de Aberoni and Cesar Baroncini. Spaniards: Roque Canal and Jacome Calisano; Geronimo and Juan Martinez and the other cooperation involved in the indigo business; Diego de

Flemish fraction “participated in almost each of them”. The Genoese-Flemish cooperation between Juan Jacome Merelo and Nicolas Parmenter was such a mixed nation company. Sometimes, even more than two nations took part in a business, which was the case of the sugar-consortium “de Torro”, in which, alongside six Spanish merchants, a Portuguese and the Fleming Pedro de Jalon participated.⁶⁶

Frenchmen did not establish many companies among themselves. Only six single nation companies could be found in Seville, whereby the dominance of family businesses is evident.⁶⁷ In 1580, not a single one could be detected. Two French single nation companies existed in 1600, including family business, namely the brothers Jorge and Carlos de Bues, and the cousins Jaques and Pedro Soming. In 1620, one family company was detected, comprised of the brothers Antonio and Francisco de Sandier. In 1640, the brothers Niculas and Alonso Magon had a business partnership, representing the only French company of that year. Their compatriot Alberto Juan Treguarte appears together with his sister, but he was rather taking care of her affairs than engaging in a family business.

In 1600, a mixed nation Spanish-French case involved the Spanish families Tolosa and Ruiz and the French family Bruguiera. The relation between the families was a long-standing one, as the younger members of the families finished a business the older members had started. Another mixed nation company of Frenchmen is the one of Guillermo Guillu with the Flemings Miguel Galle and Juan Tolinque. In the 1620s, this company traded indigo⁶⁸ and ginger,⁶⁹ and it lasted for at least seven years. In the same year, the book company Jaques Cardon in France was in contact with the Flemish family of the Quelbergio in Seville. The family business of the Cardon was seated in Lyon and in regular contact with the Frenchmen Pedro de Alogue in Seville,

la Puente and Juan de Avila; Gregorio Martin de Stacia and Andres Fernandez; Pedro Sanchez and Don Juan de Cla; and the Basque company Pedro Martinez de Arbulu and Pedro Cubiaur. An English example was the company called Andres Quin, and in respect of Portuguese, some hints were found but no evidence.

66 Cf. p. 374.

67 French family enterprises: 4 (0-2-1-1), other single nation company: 2 (0-0-2-0).

68 For the blue dye indigo in the Indies trade, cf. Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, pp. 589-597; Stoetzer, “Der mittelamerikanische Indigo”.

69 For ginger in the Indies trade, cf. Chaunu and Gascon, *Histoire économique et sociale*, pp. 254-256; Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, pp. 606-608.

who was either part of that company, or one of their agents. In 1640, Pedro de Alogue was still active in Seville, and may have had another mixed nation company. By then he had become a very rich merchant banker and bills of exchange ran frequently between him and the Flemish family De Haze in Antwerp.

Flemings were the foreign nation which most often worked in companies in Seville, the number of single nation companies was 26.⁷⁰ In 1580, there were still only few of them. In that year, Pedro Arnao controlled his business from Antwerp and maintained employees and agents in Seville. One of his contacts, though, can be considered to have been more than just an agent: Bartolome de Vides was a true business companion. Twenty years later, in 1600, Pedro Arnao introduced his son into the orbit of his trade, thereby enlarging the spheres of his business house. Another Flemish family company was founded by Geronimo Andres who moved from Seville to Rouen after 1580. There, he maintained business with his son who remained in Seville. The largest and most active company in 1600 consisted of the three Flemish textile traders Gaspar Carlier, Justo de Biet, and Fernando de Peralta in Seville, trading for example with French textiles. Another company was formed by the Fleming Federico Esquinquel and the Dutchman Jaques Nicolas. Also in 1600, the Flemish family Corbete from Antwerp can be considered a family enterprise (from father to sons and between brothers).

The year 1620 was the most prolific one. Some companies of that year were based exclusively on the commerce with certain products, such as indigo or ginger.⁷¹ Three of them were specialized on the import of linen textiles, namely Pedro Giles and Antonio Bennet, Geronimo Joansen and Nicolas de Sibert, and Cornelio Adriansen and Geronimo Raparte. Two of their joint business partners were the family enterprises Reynier and Giles Carlier, from Dunkirk, and Jaques and Roberto de Ledesme, from Valenciennes. Within this business, the family Bibien even seemed to have been connected through family links between Flanders and Seville. In any case, the linen business united the greatest number of companies.

70 Flemish family enterprises: 18 (0-3-11-4), other single nation companies: 8 (1-2-3-2).

71 See below on p. 288 for the multi-nation companies of the Frenchman Guillermo Guillu and the Flemings Juan Tolinque and Miguel Galle. Moreover, also a certain Fleming called Vicente Galle had a company with his compatriot Victor Carlier.

Another renowned family enterprise with connections to Seville, seated in Brussels (Luis and Rogier Clarisse⁷²) and Antwerp (Pedro and Carlos de Labiastrata), was connected to Seville via its bills of exchange.⁷³ Of great relevance to the commerce of Seville in that same year, 1620, was the Flemish family enterprise Monel, namely Pedro, Francisco, and Niculas Monel. These three, who were well settled in Seville and engaged in American commerce, were put in charge for do the Indies trade for three rich French merchants, namely Pedro de la Farxa, Niculas Blondel, and Antonio de Sandier, who still had problems with directly accessing the Indies trade. Also, fraternal bonds could provide the basis for family businesses, which becomes evident in particular between the Flemish brothers De Neve, Sirman, and Clut. Lastly, the transmission of business from father to son was traditional practice, which happened in the cases of the families of Niculas Antonio and Francisco de Conique. The two latter merchants were also brothers-in-law, and together with a third brother-in-law, the Dutchman Francisco Nicolas, they owned a ship of the *Carrera de Indias*.

In 1640, finally, the Flemings were more hesitant about forming companies. Three Flemish and one Dutch family enterprise could be found: in Antwerp, the family De Haze; and in Seville Simon and Justo Canis junior, again the De Neve family, and the Dutch brothers Rolando and Juan Esteban Gandulfo. The brothers Miguel junior and Juan of the De Neve family, active in Seville in 1620, were still operating in Seville in 1640, showing a continuity of over 20 years. Besides the family companies, two more companies existed in that year. The first one was based on sugar production, including the Fleming Pedro Jalon, and the second one was the partnership of Jaques Filter and Diego Scuda, who were engaged in financial matters.

To conclude the section of companies and family business, one can say that both nations founded longer-lasting business companies. However, the Frenchmen were rather reluctant in all the selected years. The number of French companies was always small and the number of mixed nation ones was even smaller. The nature of their companies was mostly that of a family enterprise.

72 The Clarisse family was originally from the French part of Flanders. They moved to Amsterdam and from there, they started their international business company. In the 17th century, they became more and more involved in financial transfers between Brussels and Spain. For a thorough analysis of the family of the Clarisse, cf. Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 1, pp. 227-237, and *ibidem*, vol. 2, *Stamboom 2*; cf. also Baetens, *De nazomer van Antwerpens welvaart*, especially vol. 1, pp. 141, 245-248.

73 For the family Labiastrata, cf. Baetens, *De nazomer van Antwerpens welvaart*, vol. 1, pp. 194-199.

Flemings, on the other hand, were the most active nation in Seville. They appeared in almost all of the mixed nation companies. Very small in 1580, the number of companies peaked in 1620. Also among Flemings, the preferred type of company was the family enterprise. Some of the economically dominant companies, though, were non-family companies.⁷⁴

Women in Commerce

The role of women in the commerce of Seville must also be taken into account.⁷⁵ They became especially important in two areas. First as wives, when marriage politics were applied and they linked merchants and their families.⁷⁶ This can be observed in the analysis of private networks. The Frenchman Pedro de Antiñaque, for example, wed three of his daughters to rich foreign merchants of the city, two of which were compatriots. Thereby, he could strengthen the bonds between the respective families. A Flemish example of such practice was Antonio de Venduylla, whose daughters married Flemings.

The second case in which women became important was when they continued business after the death of their husbands, as widows. This situation gave women a more active role in Seville. Such cases were encountered in private as well as in business networks. Thus, it happened a few times that the widow remarried a compatriot and possible business partner of the deceased husband, as in the case of Sarah Monel, who married Roberto Marcelis after the death of her Flemish husband Daniel Adriansen. Also Margarita de Abrego, the widow of Lamberto Beruben, remarried a Fleming, namely Juan de Tolinque. Moreover, she continued the American trade of her deceased husband. The widow of Henrique van Belle Laynes, Juana de Aguilar, also stayed in business after his death, to complete some unfinished business. These cases were drawn from the naturalization files of the AGI. In business networks, even more women appeared in the economy of the city. These were mostly women who simply received or paid debts from their deceased husbands. More interesting were those who stayed in business for some time, such as for example the widow of the Fleming Guillermo de Haze and the widow Ana Bolcer, both

74 Cf. Weber, *Deutsche Kaufleute im Atlantikhandel*, pp. 260-275, especially p. 275.

75 E. Otte, for example, found several women in notarial office XV, who owned ships which were sold in Seville between 1516 and 1574. Otte Sander, *Sevilla, siglo XVI*, p. 135.

76 Cf. López Belinchón, *Honra, libertad y hacienda*, p. 358; Díaz Blanco and Maillard Álvarez, "¿Una intimidad supeditada a la ley?"; Vila Vilar and Lohmann Villena, *Familia, linajes y negocios*.

residents of Antwerp. Furthermore, Maria Vermeren also continued the business of her murdered husband Pedro Sirman. In 1640, the two most eminent women appeared: Antonia de Antiñaque and Madalena Clut Enriquez. The first one was the widow of the French businessman Pedro de la Farxa, as she continued his financial transactions after his death. The second was the widow of the Fleming Jaques Bibien. Even 16 years after the death of her husband, she continued to be active and participated in the commerce of the city.

2.4 Ascertainable Trade Volume

To measure the performance and volume of the investigated French and Flemish trade, a special indicator will be introduced, the “ascertainable trade volume”. Based on all files with tangible financial transactions (i.e. whereby an amount of money was mentioned), it represents the sum of registered expenses and revenues from a merchant or a group, be it trade with merchandise or purely financial business.⁷⁷ Revenues, expenses and the ascertainable trade volume can be seen in table 2.1.⁷⁸

The total sum of revenues and expenses of both nations in all of the selected years amounts to 330,364 ducats.⁷⁹ It rose from some meagre 11,397 ducats in 1580 to 29,176 ducats in 1600 to reach the respectable sum of 185,414 ducats in 1620. In 1640, it dropped again but still remained at the high level of 104,382 ducats. This tendency holds also true for the ascertainable trade volumes of both nations separately.⁸⁰

77 Because some goods were mentioned without disclosing a value, an accurate calculation is difficult.

78 The distinction in revenues and expenses is always a vague one, because the transactions were often entangled and incorporated with several other obligations, which is why all these calculations can only be given approximatively.

79 In consideration of the total trade volume of France, cf. Chaunu and Gascon, *Histoire économique et sociale*, pp. 267-271; Coornaert, *Les Français et le commerce international à Anvers*; Tanguy, *Le Commerce du Port de Nantes*; for the Netherlands, cf. Brulez, “The Balance of Trade of the Netherlands” (compares three different contemporary sources); Goris, *Étude sur les colonies marchandes méridionales*; Vázquez de Prada, *Letras marchandes*.

80 In the investigated sample of 1,685 contracts, the share of the expenses (198,106 ducats) for purchases, credits, etc. was 65,848 ducats higher than the revenues (132,258 ducats) from sales, paybacks, etc., which means that overall the “trade balance” of the investigated merchants of both nations was negative. This “trade balance”, however, has to be regarded with caution because it covers only about 10 percent of the recorded business

Table 2.1: Revenues and Expenses of the French and Flemish Nations in the Selected Years (in Ducats)

Years		French	Flemish	TOTAL
1580	Revenues	6	7,274	7,280
	Expenses	250	3,862	4,112
	Rev. and Exp.	256	11,136	11,392
1600	Revenues	4,539	13,111	17,650
	Expenses	1,640	9,886	11,526
	Rev. and Exp.	6,179	22,997	29,176
1620	Revenues	25,787	57,835	83,622
	Expenses	26,383	75,409	101,792
	Rev. and Exp.	52,170	133,244	185,414
1640	Revenues	6,685	17,021	23,706
	Expenses	36,074	44,602	80,676
	Rev. and Exp.	42,759	61,623	104,382
1580–1640	Total Rev.	37,017	95,241	132,258
	Total Exp.	64,347	133,759	198,106
	TOTAL	101,364	229,000	330,364

The total ascertainable French trade volume was 101,364 ducats, while the Flemish one was more than double, amounting to 229,000 ducats.⁸¹ Looking at each year separately, it becomes evident that both nations had their peak in 1620 and experienced a reduction in 1640. Yet, the differences between the nations were not constant, especially because the decrease in 1640 was much more severe for the Flemings.⁸² In 1580, French trade was only two percent of the Flemish one. In 1600 it already was 21 percent, in 1620 it amounted to

transactions in Seville. Considering the years separately, in 1580 and 1600 the revenues were higher, while in the latter two selected years, the expenses had risen. Especially the year 1640 shows a strong dominance of expenses (80,678 ducats) over revenues (23,706 ducats). In that regard, one must take into consideration that both nations switched from a merchandise-based commerce in 1620 to more financial businesses in 1640, including several forms of granting credits. For financial activities, cf. section 2.7.

81 Flemings accounted for 72 percent of the combined revenues and 67.5 percent of the combined expenses. French revenues: 37,017 ducats; expenses: 64,347 ducats. Flemish revenues: 95,241 ducats; expenses: 133,759 ducats.

82 The percentage of the ascertainable national trade volume for each selected year (all four years of one nation add up to 100 percent) was: French: 0.3-6.1-51.4-42.2; Flemish: 4.9-10-58.2-26.9.

28 percent, and in 1640, it was even 41 percent. That means that the French trade volume successively gained ground compared to the Flemish one. The fluctuations of the ascertainable trade volume find their explanation in a variety of reasons. While some of them concern the merchants on an individual basis, others are caused by outside factors, which will be seen in the next section.

2.5 Implications of Political Changes for the Merchants

The ascertainable trade volume and commerce in general was sensitive to the political situation of the mother country of the merchants of Seville and its relation to Spain. Overall, trade relations were better when the respective nation was at peace with Spain.⁸³ This section focuses on the changing political context, and the implications for the merchants who stayed in Seville.

Besides open hostilities that obstructed the trade of the foreigners in Seville at times, a more constant problem was the king's need of funding for the wars. That urge turned into an obstacle for the international commerce in Seville, as the Crown confiscated bullion from the merchants or forced them to disadvantageous money exchanges (*sacas*). As mentioned previously, foreign merchants were heavily affected by these confiscations.⁸⁴ That can also be seen in a letter from the Flemish and German nations, dating from 1640, which was addressed to the king and his judges. It contains complaints about these practices with regard to the course of trade, in which the merchants expressed their annoyance.⁸⁵ Additionally, the process of naturalization – besides being a matter of slow bureaucracy and corruption – was affected by the political setting too. The changes in requirements and the revocation of naturalizations

83 The influence of politics on the number of merchants in the city is already indicated in previous sections (on pp. 100ff.) The mutual interference between politics and commerce was analyzed most commendably by P. Chaunu, who stresses the importance of commerce in politics, by relating the bullion import of the Spanish Crown to the evolution on the battlefield in the Netherlands. Chaunu, "Séville et la Belgique".

84 Cf. subsection 1.2.5 on p. 93.

85 It was signed by 22 members: The two consul were Simon Canis and Jaques Filter. Member were Juan Bernardo, Adrian Jacome, Pedro Miquelsen, Arnao Wouters, Thobias Oberreyter, Conrado Moller, Nicolas Sebastiaensen, Gilberto de Rosas, Jaques Chauvin, Baltasar Hohuy Sinz, Henri Gilbert, Pedro Anderbeyer, Pedro Marinos, Laurens Cornelis, Gunter Lashery Virentigalles, Samuel Roquistas, Pedro de Schuss, David Bartoli, Alberto Anequelman and Jaques Schenaertz (APS 7497, f. 312). This list is not necessarily complete, others like Pablos Codde Pedro van Gorle and Baltasar Coenrade may well also have figured among them.

disturbed the course of foreign trade. Moreover, the validity of naturalization became especially crucial in times of armed conflicts. The estrangement which occurred because of the outbreak of war between France and Spain in 1635 was the most outstanding example.

2.5.1 The French Nation – The Rough Way

In the 16th century, during the wars between the two monarchies, the French merchants had to rely on English and Dutch intermediaries to trade with Seville. Only after the peace of Cateau-Cambrésis in 1559, was an open trade possible,⁸⁶ but still, the French colony in Seville was often victim of hostile behavior. As French merchants were often found illegally exporting American bullion,⁸⁷ mistrust prevailed. Moreover, after 1568, the charge of collaboration with the Dutch enemy, and later with the English, was raised frequently. The situation became worse when Spain entered the French Wars of Religion in the 1590s, and legal trade became almost impossible. After the treaty of Vervins in 1598, the French merchants recovered,⁸⁸ and in spite of individual hostile actions, the trade with Seville could finally develop more peacefully. The French participation in the commerce of Seville augmented from 1600 and reached a high in 1620.⁸⁹ In that year, the French network was large and the number of French nodes was high.⁹⁰ Thanks to a customs agreement between the two monarchies, trade in smuggled goods could be limited and a period of prosperous trade took place until 1623, especially with Rouen.⁹¹ At times, French ships even dominated the ports of Sanlúcar, Puerto de Santa María, and Seville, in particular between 1604 and 1606.⁹²

In the wake of the Thirty Years' War and the resumption of the Eighty Years' War in 1621, the Spanish customs policy became more aggressive, which culminated in the prohibition of the import of certain merchandise (major excep-

86 Priotti, "Conflits marchands et intégration économique".

87 Girard, *Le commerce français*, p. 52.

88 The fast recovery opens speculations about an active contraband trade during the times of war, because the methods of the trade in smuggled goods were probably easily to resume after the peace treaty. Even after the treaty, contraband prospered until at least 1606, especially in La Rochelle.

89 Cf. pp. 89ff.

90 Cf. table 2.2 on pp. 144.

91 Girard, *Le commerce français*, pp. 43-57.

92 Moret, *Aspects de la société marchande*, pp. 34-35. In January 1606, for example, 27 of 44 ships in Seville were French, and in February it was eight out of 22.

tions were cordage, linen, and haberdashery), and the founding of the institution of the *Almirantazgo*. The latter made it very hard for French merchants to maintain their position as providers of forbidden Dutch merchandise in Seville, as well as to carry Spanish goods to Holland. But also the legal trade with Flanders became more difficult. Moreover, the French commission traders in Seville saw themselves in an unfortunate positions, as all trade from the North had to be organized by officials of the *Almirantazgo*, most of which were Flemings. The inspections of the *Almirantazgo* occurred not only in ports, they could also take place offshore. The suspicion of possession of forbidden goods, illegal export of bullion, or usage of Dutch transporters were reason enough for assaults and confiscations of the *Almirantazgo*.⁹³ A. Girard describes the situation of French merchants in Seville distinctly by saying that Spaniards could trade in France peacefully, Englishmen were respected in Spain, but Frenchmen in Spain were harassed in all possible ways.⁹⁴ The lack of respect also seems visible in the way the Spanish king obliged French men and ships in times of scarcity to serve in the *Carrera de Indias* under Spanish command. Also, at the Court in Paris, Frenchmen complained about being discriminated against compared to Spanish merchants.⁹⁵ Since 1624, the political tensions aggravated the economic situation after the incident in the Veltlin, where Habsburg and Bourbon interests collided.⁹⁶ A. Girard found three different texts from the time around 1626, complaining about Spanish treatment of French merchants. The complaints contained the following 12 abuses:

1. Spanish ships inspected French ships offshore at will.
2. Spanish officials (of the *Almirantazgo* and others) scrutinized every corner of French ships, arrested people, seized papers, and opened packages.
3. French ships were confiscated by the *Almirantazgo* when Dutch merchandise was found.
4. When Frenchmen were caught exporting illegal merchandise, the punishment went against their person and private possessions as well.

93 Girard, *Le commerce français*, pp. 57-62; for the illegal trade between Andalusia and Brittany, cf. Priotti, "Plata americana", pp. 102-107.

94 For the privileges of the English nation and of the Hanseatic League, cf. Girard, *Le commerce français*, pp. 94-110; Gómez-Centurión Jiménez, "Las relaciones hispano-hanseáticas"; Gómez-Centurión Jiménez, *Felipe II, la empresa de Inglaterra*.

95 Girard, *Le commerce français*, pp. 47-48, 62-66.

96 The political tensions were not only perceived in Madrid, reported by the French ambassador Pény, but also in Seville, where confiscations against French merchants took place, e.g. in 1632. Girard, *Le commerce français*, pp. 67-71. Cf. Alloza Aparicio, *Europa en el mercado español*, pp. 57-67, 133-139, 141.

5. Frenchmen were not allowed to enter Dutch ships.
6. French ships had to pay a deposit when they left Spain, to make sure that they did not trade with the enemy.
7. The Spanish king confiscated French ships, naval material, foodstuff, and merchandise as he pleased.
8. Anyone could make accusations against Frenchmen in Spain, and not be punished accordingly in case of error.
9. Only a small suspicion was enough for a Spanish judge to inspect the house of a Frenchman, arrest him, seize his goods, and take away his papers.
10. Frenchmen had to write their books and letters in Spanish.
11. Frenchmen in Spain had to register all imported goods and invest all proceeds (calculated on prices from the previous year) within one year from "fruits of the land" (no bullion export).
12. Lawsuits against Frenchmen in the Council of Castile, the War Council, and the council of the *Almirantazgo* took a very long time.

Among the remedies, which the authors of the texts suggested, was the creation of a special French judge, more consulates in Andalusian port cities, a strong restriction of the power of the *Almirantazgo*, and the abolishment of most of the obligations for Frenchmen.⁹⁷ Yet, these ideas were not realized, quite the contrary happened. With the declaration of war in 1635, the situation got worse for the Frenchmen in Spain. All French possessions on Spanish ground were confiscated and all trade with the enemy was forbidden. Yet, as French linen, wheat, and cordage were essential to the *Carrera de Indias*, the Spanish king granted licenses for exceptions, especially in the trade to Seville and Sanlúcar. Thus it seems that, in spite of the war, the import of French merchandise to Spain continued at a considerable level, as, for example, in 1638, the profit from these licenses only amounted to 255,460 ducats.⁹⁸

The naturalizations of French merchants in Seville were, at first, not valid protection. Only after fierce negotiations and a huge donation to the Spanish king, a handful of naturalized French merchants was allowed to maintain their regular trade and to retain their seized merchandise.⁹⁹ In 1640, also in the notarial documents, the number of Frenchmen had diminished significantly,¹⁰⁰ displaying the impact of the Spanish-French war. The percentage of

97 Girard, *Le commerce français*, pp. 111-115.

98 Ibidem, pp. 75-79, 508; Alloza Aparicio, *Europa en el mercado español*, pp. 77-108; Domínguez Ortiz, "Los extranjeros en la vida española", pp. 78-79.

99 Alloza Aparicio, "El comercio francés"; Crailsheim, "Les marchands français à Séville".

100 Cf. subsection 1.2.4 on p. 89 and table 2.2 on p. 144.

Frenchmen among the foreign nations shrunk from 14 to four percent between 1620 and 1640. The majority of the French merchants in Spain fled from the reprisal and confiscations and returned with their movable possessions back to France – only few remained in Spain.¹⁰¹

After the end of the Eighty Years' War in 1648, Spain could once again rely on Dutch merchants to provide the necessary goods for the *Carrera de Indias*. Hence, the remaining Spanish-French trade decreased even more, and only after the Treaty of the Pyrenees, in 1659, it grew again, and France could impose practically all its economic wishes on Spain. Yet until then, French merchants relied largely on contraband to access the Andalusian and American markets. Thus, they pretended to be Portuguese or Dutchmen and used the port of Cádiz and Puerto de Santa María, which were less controlled than Seville or Sanlúcar. The merchants also tried to hide their merchandise on neutral Portuguese, Genoese, or German ships. Moreover, the Canary Island became intrinsic for the French Indies contraband. Among the French ports, it was now Saint-Malo which bloomed during the times of increased smuggle activities, also being a harbor for French pirate ships.¹⁰²

2.5.2 The Flemish Nation – A Special Situation

The Eighty Years' War between Spain and the insurgent provinces of the Northern Netherlands (1568–1648) was the omnipresent political scheme in the background, which formed the framework for the relations between Spaniards and Flemings. People of the Netherlands were subjects of the Spanish king and trade between the two regions was intense, but the revolt clouded the good relations. While mutual trade between Spain and Holland was stopped at last in 1585, Flemings from the “obedient” part of the Netherlands, could continue to participate in the trade. But as mentioned above, a clear-cut distinction between Dutchmen and Flemings was often not possible, and fraud occurred habitually.¹⁰³

101 Ramos Medina, “El origen de una élite negociante”, p. 357.

102 Girard, *Le commerce français*, pp. 82-83, 130, 473, 508-531; cf. Israel, “El comercio de los judíos sefardíes”; for Saint-Malo, cf. Lespagnol, *Messieurs de Saint-Malo*; Botin, “Réflexions sur un modèle de croissance commerciale”; for the Canary Islands, cf. Morales Padrón, *El comercio canario-americano*, pp. 279ff.; Brito Ganzález, “Los extranjeros en las Canarias orientales”, pp. 100-107.

103 Israel, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade*, p. ix; idem, “Spanish Wool Exports and the European Economy”, pp. 206-207; Echevarría Bacigalupe, “Un notable episodio”,

With their main harbor blocked by Dutch ships and Dutch trade restrictions (and over many years also English and French ones), the Flemish merchants were in an isolated position which gave Spain even more weight as a trading partner, especially in the textile business.¹⁰⁴ Without any large port at hand, the Flemish merchants had to become innovative for their vital trade to Spain. On a legal basis, French, English, German, or even Italian ports were used for that purpose. Small ships were chartered to transport the merchandise for example to Dover or Calais, where the re-export was carried out by ships from England or Hamburg. An alternative was the land route to Dieppe, Rouen, Le Havre, or Saint-Malo, sometimes even as far as Nantes, Bordeaux, or Bayonne, where the goods continued their way to Spain by ship. In times of war with France, the port of Genoa was also used for export to Spain.¹⁰⁵ Yet, side by side with this legal Flemish-Spanish trade, plenty was also transported illegally via Dutch ports and on Dutch or other prohibited ships.

During the time of the embargo, between 1585 and 1609, the situation of Seville was a paradox. On the one hand, it was forbidden to import prohibited goods and utilize enemy ships. On the other hand, the merchandise which came from Dutch ports was imperative for the Spanish market and the Indies trade, and the Dutch transport capacity was the only one able to meet the Spanish demands (especially all for shipbuilding material and wheat).¹⁰⁶ Therefore, a series of official and also some rather unofficial exceptions were made for the trade with the Dutch enemy.¹⁰⁷ Yet, their reliability was low, and in spite of them, ships were searched frequently, papers seized, and merchandise confiscated. The promoters of the trade between the (Northern and Southern) Netherlands and Seville were essentially the Flemings of Seville, who were also involved in this commerce: when, for example, in 1595, several ships were searched, the rich Flemish merchants in Seville Juan Leclerque and Francisco de Conique (and the Dutchman Jaques Nicolas) were found to be collaborat-

pp. 57-97; Kellenbenz, "Spanien, die nördlichen Niederlande", pp. 309-314; Stols, "La colonia flamenca", pp. 369-372.

104 Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique*, vol. 3, p. 188.

105 Stols, "La colonia flamenca", p. 382.

106 In the network of early modern trade and finances, also the Dutch merchants and bankers were aware of the great importance of the huge Spanish/American market for their business. In that situation, A. Attman coined the phrase "mutual economic dependence". In a certain way, that was also true for France and the other European powers, especially in the late 17th century. Kamen, *Empire*, pp. 431-434.

107 Gómez-Centurión Jiménez, *Felipe II, la empresa de Inglaterra*, pp. 279, 294-295. The economic embargo of Spain against England was far more consistent than against the Dutch.

ing with Dutch companies.¹⁰⁸ As long as the merchandise did not belong to Dutchmen, the business was often tolerated, which is why the habit to ship Dutch merchandise in the name of Flemings, Germans, or even Spaniards was common practice.¹⁰⁹ In the following years, the situation for the Flemings did not change much, not even when Philip III initiated the decree Gauna in 1603 to eliminate the Dutch imports. In 1607, the control system was even mitigated, and the decree Gauna was practically withdrawn.¹¹⁰

During the 12 years of the Truce, the communication between the coast of Flanders and Seville improved. Yet, the Schelde River was never fully unblocked and Antwerp could not re-establish the entire volume of the former commerce with Andalusia. The trade with Seville was left to other ports such as Oostende, Nieupoort, or Dunkirk. During that time of peace, some Flemings left Seville. That may be related to the different opportunities of trade during war and peace. Possibly, war had facilitated some Flemings great profits, and when peace came, their services were no longer needed or profitable.¹¹¹ Nevertheless, the intense Flemish merchant activity of the selected year 1620 indicates good times for the Flemings during the time of the Truce.

After the resumption of the Dutch-Spanish war in 1621, the new restrictions and controls imposed by the *Almirantazgo* were a strong hindrance to the flow of merchandise, both legal and illegal. The rising expenses for the numerous certifications the merchants had to bring obstructed the business. In 1628, new restrictions were issued against Flemish products suspected of being from Holland,¹¹² and effectively, the contraband decreased thanks to these measures, which remained active until the end of the Eighty Years' War in 1648.¹¹³ Some of the promoters of these restrictions came from the linen and cloth production centers of Tournay, Ghent, and the South of Flanders, which thereby managed to improve their position and even become dominant on the

108 Further names which were listed are Elias Sirman, Juan Banerpo, Rodrigo Nicolas, Guillermo Coninsen, Jaques Godin, Nicolas Blanco. Gómez-Centurión Jiménez, *Felipe II, la empresa de Inglaterra*, p. 293; cf. Moret, *Aspects de la société marchande*, p. 47.

109 Gómez-Centurión Jiménez, *Felipe II, la empresa de Inglaterra*, p. 287; Berthe, "Les Flamands à Séville", p. 245; Moret, *Aspects de la société marchande*, p. 47.

110 Moret, *Aspects de la société marchande*, pp. 39, 43-47. The lack of grain between 1605 and 1608 can be considered one of the reasons for the loosening of the controls, as Dutchmen had access to grain and sufficient transport capacities for this bulk commodity. For the decree Gauna, cf. p. 68.

111 Stols, "La colonia flamenca", pp. 365-366, 370-371.

112 Ibidem, p. 373.

113 Alloza Aparicio, *Europa en el mercado español*, pp. 145-147.

Iberian market, displacing some of their Dutch competitors.¹¹⁴ The changes in the Spanish economic warfare in the second phase of the war were to the detriment of Dutch contraband and gave rise to the success of new emerging regions in the Southern Netherlands. Hence, already strong in the time of the Truce, the position of the Flemish nation in Seville remained solid also after the recommencement of the Eighty Years' War.

2.6 Commerce – The Merchandise

The indicator “ascertainable trade volume”, which was introduced above, consists of the expenses and revenues of trade with merchandise as well as the purely financial business. The share of those who traded merchandise vary between the years and the nations. It was 78 percent of the French transactions in 1580, 62 percent in 1600, 44 percent in 1620, and in 1640 it was zero, because no merchandise was mentioned at all (with an indicated price). Thus, the percentage clearly diminished. The Flemish proportions started off similarly with 75 percent in 1580, and 59 percent in 1600. In 1620, the share of merchandise in the Flemish transactions experienced an impressive peak with 91 percent. In 1640, their proportion had gone to zero, again in line with the French development. Two things become apparent: first, in 1640, merchandise played a minor role for both nations, leaving place for pure financial transactions; and second, in the time of the Truce, merchandise trade was clearly dominant in the investigated commerce of the Flemings. Besides the economic reasons for this development, the political changes mentioned above can be seen as a conductor of this situation.¹¹⁵ This section analyzes the merchandise, while pure financial transactions¹¹⁶ will be looked at in the following one.

2.6.1 *Sacas de Plata* and the Trade Balance

The year 1620 is especially well documented with regard to the density of merchandise. About 44 percent of the French ascertainable trade volume of that

114 Stols, “La colonia flamenca”, p. 373.

115 On an analytic level, one has to be aware that the notarial records, as source, were particularly sensitive to changes of economic politics because of their official character: when no embargo existed, as in 1620, the obligation, for example, contained more detailed information because there was no need to cover banned merchandise.

116 E.g. credits, payments with bills of exchange, insurance payments and business with real estate.

year was related to sales or purchases of merchandise, that is about 23,000 ducats (the remaining 56 percent were related to financial activities). Of these 23,000 ducats, about one third (34 percent) belongs to purchases (i.e. expenses) and the remaining two thirds (66 percent) to sales (i.e. revenues). These numbers indicate that in 1620, the investigated Frenchmen in Seville sold more merchandise than they bought.¹¹⁷ To make up for the difference, they were probably paid in cash or even bullion, which was against the law of the Spanish Crown.¹¹⁸ That is also confirmed by A. Girard, who states that the illegal export of bullion (*sacas de plata*) by Frenchmen was common.¹¹⁹

With 91 percent, the Flemings' share of assessments in merchandise was more than double the French one in 1620, reaching about 120,000 ducats. Also, their allocation performance varied significantly from the investigated French one: In contrast to them, the investigated Flemings bought more merchandise (expenses 54 percent) than they sold (revenues 46 percent).¹²⁰ This means that in the investigated months of the year 1620, the expenses in merchandise were eight percent higher than the revenues from sold goods. Even if these numbers do not even represent one percent of the total foreign trade in Seville,¹²¹ they may serve to reconsider some of the estimates of the Andalusian trade deficit. Statements regarding a 100 percent excess of imports from the Netherlands to Spain¹²² should therefore be regarded with

117 Only about 29 percent of the total French expenses of 1620 was related to merchandise. Of the total revenues, on the other hand, 59 percent were returns on sales of merchandise.

118 For the *sacas de plata*, cf. above on p. 66.

119 Cf. Girard, *Le commerce français*, pp. 52-53. In the middle of the 16th century, precious metals constituted about 50 percent among the Spanish exports to France. Cf. Lapeyre, *Une famille de marchands*, pp. 391-395; Chaunu and Gascon, *Histoire économique et sociale*, p. 268.

120 About 84 percent of the total Flemish expenses of 1620 was allocated in merchandise, while, of the total revenues, 94 percent were returns on sales of merchandise.

121 J. Lynch found a Consulate's assessments of the value of the 1628 foreign re-export trade of about 6,000,000 ducats. Based on that amount, and assuming that all sold merchandise was re-exported to the Indies, the sales of the investigated Frenchmen represent about 0.24 percent of all foreign re-exports, and those of the investigated Flemings about 0.92 percent. Lynch, *The Hispanic World*, p. 248 (quoted in Pearce, *British Trade with Spanish America*, p. 5).

122 Cf. Domínguez Ortiz, "Los extranjeros en la vida española", p. 43; in 1558, the *arbitrista* Luis Ortiz even considered the Spanish imports from Europe to be eight to 10 times higher than the respective exports (quoted in Larraz, *La época del mercantilismo*, pp. 105-110).

care, while other, more reasonable estimates of a trade deficit of 10 to 15 percent (between Andalusia and the Netherlands)¹²³ should receive more serious consideration.¹²⁴

Already in 1550, the French seemed to have exported more bullion than the Flemings in terms of proportions. Data provided by E. Lorenzo Sanz confirms that the French share of the exports of bullion from Spain was 30 percent, and the Flemish one only 20 percent.¹²⁵ In the year 1620, the picture is similar, which means, that the investigated Flemings purchased more Spanish and American merchandise (not bullion) than the Frenchmen (in absolute and proportional numbers). In the following, the details of the French and Flemish trade will be presented.

2.6.2 French Trade

In 1580, the investigated Frenchmen engaged only once in trade with merchandise, which was to purchase woolen Spanish drapery for 200 ducats: 34 varas¹²⁶ of black *veintedoseño de Segovia*, 34 varas of *raja negra de Avila*, eight varas of *veinticuatreño morisca*, and eight varas of *veintecuatreño fraileasca*.¹²⁷ As neither wool nor woolen drapery was a common import product from Spain to France, it is likely that it was exported to America.¹²⁸ In 1600, Frenchmen in Seville sold wheat, which was worth 2,964 ducats. Even though France had a long tradition in exporting grains to Spain,¹²⁹ in this case, it was wheat from Sicily which was traded. However, it never reached its destination, as it was

123 Cf. Pulido Bueno, *Almojarifazgos y comercio exterior*, pp. 185-186.

124 For the trade volume of France, cf. Chaunu and Gascon, *Histoire économique et sociale*, pp. 267-271; Coornaert, *Les Français et le commerce international à Anvers*; Tanguy, *Le Commerce du Port de Nantes*; for the Netherlands, cf. Brulez, "The Balance of Trade of the Netherlands", pp. 20-48; Goris, *Étude sur les colonies marchandes méridionales*, pp. 263, 295; Vázquez de Prada, *Lettres marchandes*, p. 67.

125 Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 2, pp. 156-157, 261; cf. Israel, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade*, pp. 232, 318; García-Baquero González, *La Carrera de Indias*, pp. 213, 225-229.

126 For the different units, cf. p. 392. A vara is a cubit, measuring around 0.84 meters.

127 APS 3494, s.f.

128 Cf. Lapeyre, *Une famille de marchands*, pp. 234, 391-395, 580-581; Chaunu and Gascon, *Histoire économique et sociale*, p. 289; Girard, *Le commerce français*, pp. 461-462.

129 Chaunu and Gascon, *Histoire économique et sociale*, pp. 256-260; Girard, *Le commerce français*, pp. 386-388; Lapeyre, *Une famille de marchands*, pp. 531-540; Vogel, "Zur Größe der europäischen Handelsflotten", p. 327.

destroyed on the way.¹³⁰ Moreover, certain types of haberdashery, which were sent by Andres Ruiz from Nantes, were sold in Seville by Frenchmen for 897 ducats. Finally, a Frenchman received a silver disk from Tierra Firme in 1600, but no price was mentioned.

The precise value of the merchandise which was traded by Frenchmen in 1620 was 22,871 ducats, whereby different types of metalware dominated the line-up. It was mentioned 18 times, followed by thread and ribbons, which were mentioned seven times (without much value). In order of their value, the different commodities can be seen in figure 2.1. Cochineal¹³¹ (2,783 ducats) and ginger (2,148 ducats) came from the Spanish oversea territories, but most of the remaining products can be considered French. Among the metalware (5,913.4 ducats), the vast majority consisted of French knives. The textiles (4,658.7 ducats) contains principally French linen, only seven percent referred to Spanish wool. The French linen comprised: *melinges* (31 percent), *pacages*, *cotenses* (11 percent each), *vitree* (10 percent), *ruanes*, *brines* (10 percent each),

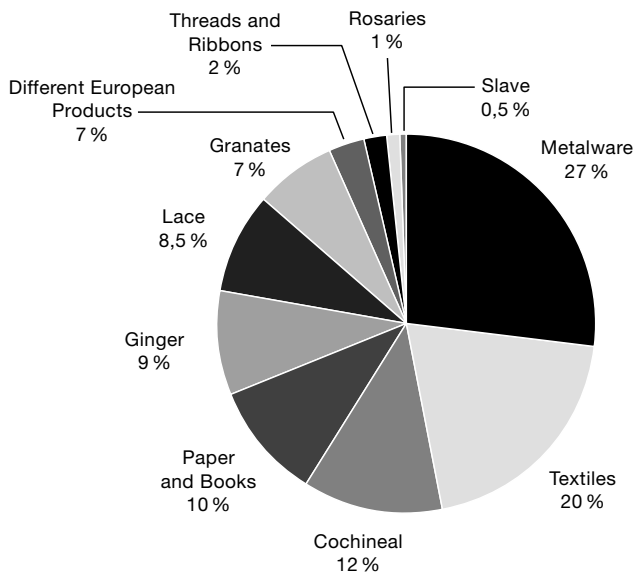


Figure 2.1: Assortment of Merchandise Traded by Frenchmen in 1620, by Value

130 APS 9983, ff. 1134–1135.

131 Cochineal is a red dye that was produced mainly in New Spain from an insect living on cacti. Cf. for example Río y Dueñas, *Grana fina cochinitilla*; for its Indies trade: Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, pp. 548–586; and for its history in Europe: Lee, “American Cochineal in European Commerce”.

donflon (six percent), and *bacimone* (four percent). In 1640, no goods with prices were mentioned, but a Frenchman acquired American leather skins, and another one sold *ruanes*.

2.6.3 Flemish Trade

The Flemings traded more often with merchandise than the Frenchmen. In 1580, textiles from England were prominent (6,292 ducats), well ahead of Flemish ones (1,254 ducats) or olive oil from Spain (528 ducats).¹³² Twenty years later, in 1600, the product line-up was bigger, including Spanish olive oil (3,314 ducats), French wheat (3,182 ducats), Flemish wax (2,352 ducats), tarred rig (795 ducats), and kermes (no price given). Yet, it was again textiles which dominated, amounting to 3,872 ducats: 2,275 ducats for Flemish woolens (*anascotes*), 681 ducats for Flemish linen (*holandas*), and 916 ducats for French linen (*ruanes*) – the latter can be considered one of the most important European export products for the American market in the second half of the 16th century.¹³³ All in all, in 1600, Flemish merchandise (5,308 ducats) was ahead of French merchandise (4,098 ducats) and Spanish olive oil (3,314 ducats). Compared to 1580, English textiles had vanished completely, while Flemish textiles and Spanish olive oil remained important.

In 1620, the Flemings' merchandise value was 121,311 ducats which is 91 percent of the ascertainable Flemish trade volume of that year¹³⁴ – leaving only 9 percent for purely financial transactions. Table 2.2 shows the assortment of

132 Cf. table 5.1 on p. 243. E. Otte has pointed out that for most of the 16th century, Flanders was the second most important export destination for Andalusian olive oil (16 voyages identified between 1517 and 1564), after Galicia (18 voyages) and ahead of Portugal (7 voyages). Otte Sander, *Sevilla, siglo XVI*, pp. 141-146.

133 *Ruanes* are fine linen textiles that received their name from their principal port of export, Rouen in Normandy. They were produced mainly in the environment of that city (Neubourg, Beaumont-le-Roger, and Louviers). Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, pp. 445, 447-452; cf. also Lapeyre, *Une famille de marchands*, p. 508; Bottin, "La production des toiles en Normandie"; idem, "Les toiles de l'Ouest français"; Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 1, pp. 155-159; Priotti, "Logiques commerciales d'une globalisation?"; Pulido Bueno, *Almojarifazgos y comercio exterior*, pp. 159-160, 172.

134 For some of the calculations, rough valuations have to be applied. The copper purchases of Francisco Ballesteros and Pedro Giles will not be included in these calculations (nor were they included in the calculation of the ascertainable trade volume) because they were part of a special contract with the Spanish king. However, the deliveries for these *asentistas* were taken into account.

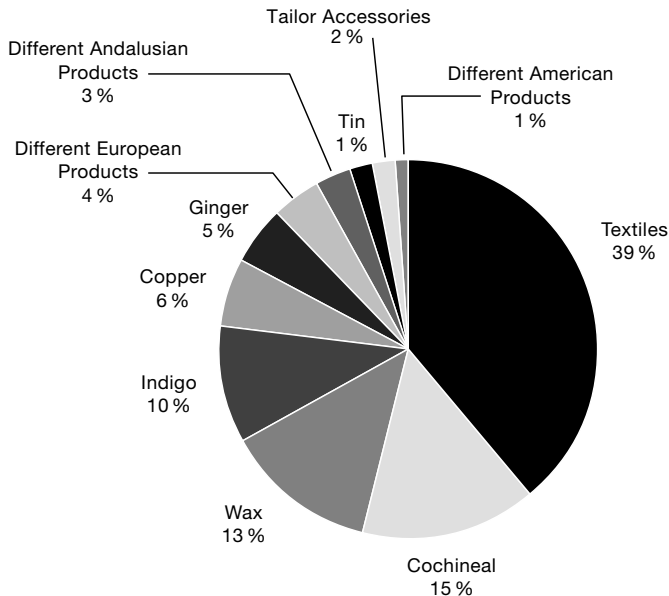


Figure 2.2: Assortment of Merchandise Traded by Flemings in 1620, by Value

the different commodities. With a share of 39 percent, textiles constituted the most valuable merchandise (46,886 ducats), which also appeared most often in the merchants' product line-ups, namely 22 times. Different types of sewing accessories came second with regard to their appearance: 10 different entries could be recorded, including such products as ribbons, lace, thread, cords, tassels, and stockings. However, their value was only two percent of the total (2,575 ducats). American products such as cochineal (17,739 ducats),¹³⁵ indigo (11,656 ducats), and ginger (6,520 ducats) played a more central role, as their value was much higher. Together with dyestuff, leather, tobacco, and medical plants, they accounted for 31 percent (37,299 ducats) of the total. Yellow and white wax from Flanders had a share of 13 percent (16,258 ducats) and copper and tin, which were sold by Flemings to the royal *asentistas* of the Spanish Crown, amounted to eight percent (9,636 ducats). Different European products, including Flemish tapestry, Genoese paper, and French knives had four percent (5,260 ducats), and olive oil and wineskins from Andalusia three percent (3,397 ducats).

135 Deliveries of Mexican cochineal from Andalusia to Flanders (and Genoa) could already be established in the middle of the 16th century, executed by the Seville merchant family of the Affaitati. Otte Sander, *Sevilla, siglo XVI*, p. 171.

The French *ruanes* were mentioned most often, with seven entries, well ahead of the Flemish *holandas* with just four. Still, the total value of the latter was higher, amounting to 17,492 ducats which is 37 percent of all textiles. *Holandas* were linen textiles of a good quality which came from different locations in Flanders. Also *brabantes* (1,400 ducats) and *gantes* (672 ducats) belong to the group of *holandas*.¹³⁶ Together they had a share of 42 percent of the textiles, which can be seen in figure 2.3, where the value of the different types of textiles in the Flemish product line-up is displayed. Second came *cambrais*, of better (*claro*, 7,013 ducats) and worse quality (*batist*, 4,986 ducats) amounting to almost 26 percent.¹³⁷ Cambric or *cambrai* was a mixture of linen and

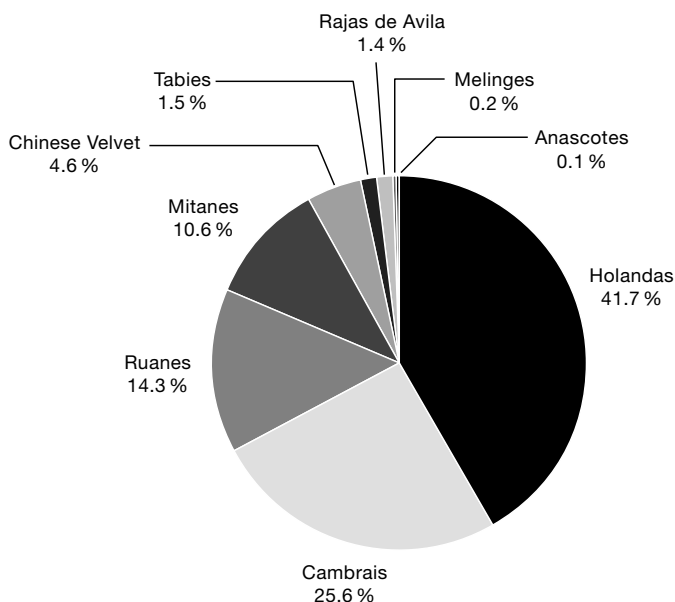


Figure 2.3: Assortment of Textiles Traded by Flemings in 1620, by Value

136 Frequently, the different types of *holandas* were named after their origin, like *gantes* (Ghent) or *brabantes* (Brabant). For the Flemish textile business, cf. Echevarría Bacigalupe, “L’industrie textile belge”; Thijs, “Les textiles au marché anversois”; Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 1, pp. 143-148; Vázquez de Prada, *Lettres marchandes*, vol. 1, pp. 74-79.

137 For the calculation, the 9,973 ducats which Cornelio de Groote sent back to his companions were split between *estopillas de cambrai* and *mitanes*. However, the line-up might as well have included other products.

cotton, and in high demand for the export to America.¹³⁸ The French *ruanes* only came third with 14.3 percent (6,682 ducats), followed by a type of coarse Flemish linen, the *mitanes* with 10.6 percent (4,986 ducats). The remaining 7.8 percent contained Chinese velvet, *tabies* (Italian silk), *rajas de Avila* (Spanish wool), *melinges* (French linen), and *anascotes* (Flemish wool). Thus, at least 78 percent of the drapery which was traded by Flemings had come from Flanders and only 14.5 percent from France.

In 1640, the Flemish trade with merchandise was at its lowest, even though the total ascertainable trade volume was still much higher than in 1600. Only two goods were mentioned, yet without accurate prices: sugar and indigo – the amount of the investment in the sugar business of Pedro de Jalon was not mentioned, and Miguel de Neve junior appears to be a mere transporter of indigo.

The following conclusions can be drawn from the analysis of the French and Flemish commerce: In 1580 and 1600 the French ascertainable trade volume was comparatively small. Even so, the ratio of the trade with merchandise was large. In 1620, the French ascertainable trade volume was at its highest, yet, less than half of it was used to buy or sell merchandise. In 1640, the ascertainable trade volume was not much smaller than in 1620, but no investment in merchandise took place. Only the year 1620 gives viable information about the trade performance of the Frenchmen: metalware came before textiles and cochineal. Listed according to the place of origin, about two thirds of the merchandise came from France, and about 21 percent from the Spanish colonies.

The analysis shows a different outcome for the Flemings. They also had their peak of the ascertainable trade volume in 1620, but additionally, it was also the peak of their commerce with merchandise (91 percent of the ascertainable trade volume). During the time under consideration, textiles were the most important merchandise of the Flemish commerce. In 1580, most of the textiles came from England,¹³⁹ while later, Flemings preferred to trade with woolens and linen from their homeland. In the first two selected years, Spanish olive

138 Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 1, pp. 147-148.

139 English textiles did not seem to have played a big role in the commerce of Seville during the 16th century. Moreover, the trade was even declining by the end of the century (Ulloa, “Unas notas sobre el comercio”, p. 199; Pulido Bueno, *Almojarifazgos y comercio exterior*, p. 162). Their discovered presence in the lists of the Flemish merchants in the year 1580, might be related to that fact that in 1580 the Spanish merchants from Burgos were still strong in the textile market of Rouen and Flanders and did not allow any competition. Cf. Otte Sander, *Sevilla, siglo XVI*, p. 191.

oil was an important product too. Generally, English goods were dominant in 1580, and French ones in 1600. In the most prolific year, in 1620, neither Spanish nor English or French products appeared to a greater extent. Instead, Flemish products held about 50 percent, and American commodities became important with 31 percent.

From these conclusions, two stand out: first, for the foreign merchants in Seville the respective home country proved to be an important supplier of goods. Second, until 1600, American products did not seem to have played a big role for the foreign merchants in Seville.

2.7 Financial Activities – Systems of Credit

Complementary to the trade with merchandise, the ascertainable trade volume is composed of the financial activities of the merchants. These comprise bills of exchange, various forms of credit and insurances, and the real estate sector. In the early modern period, bills of exchange were the cashless means of payments par excellence.¹⁴⁰ In the investigated files, they appear in 94 of the 1,696 investigated documents, representing 5.5 percent of all files.¹⁴¹ In 1580, no bills of exchange were found, but they peaked in 1600, when they were used 51 times. Curiously, Frenchmen only used them three and Flemings four times, while Italians and Portuguese more often resorted to this method of payment. In 1620, the picture was inverse because in the 28 references to bills of exchange that were found, Frenchmen appeared in six and Flemings actually in 19 of them. In 1640, only 15 bills were found, but again Flemings dominated with eight bills; Frenchmen appeared only twice.¹⁴² For both

140 “When a merchant sold a commodity to a buyer, he drew a bill on the buyer which stipulated the payment due (including an interest rate) and the due date. The buyer signed the bill, indicating his acceptance; the creditor then held the bill until it matured, when he expected payment, most likely from the buyer’s correspondent in the creditor’s city.” Vries, *The Economy of Europe in an Age of Crisis*, pp. 226-227. For a general view, cf. Denzel, *Das System des bargeldlosen Zahlungsverkehrs*; idem, *La Pratica della cambiatura*.

141 This number covers rejected and accepted bills of exchange.

142 Regarding the investigated, most important merchants of the selected years, Flemings clearly confirmed the trend because they had their peak in 1620, when seven of the investigated 15 were involved in such bills (0-1-7-3). The scrutinized Frenchmen, on the other hand, were not so exemplary, as only one of them appeared in a bill of exchange (0-3-1-0).

nations, Antwerp played an important role in the trade with bills of exchange, underlining the central financial function of that city.¹⁴³

With regard to credits, A.-M. Bernal states that all participants in the *Carrera de Indias* were creditors as well as debtors.¹⁴⁴ Only one of the investigated documents about Frenchmen and Flemings refers explicitly to a credit transaction,¹⁴⁵ but this does not mean that neither of the two nations gave credit. E. Lorenzo Sanz shows, for example, that already in 1567, a Flemish group had given a credit of 34,667 ducats (13,000,000 maravedis) to a Spanish company of the Indies trade.¹⁴⁶ The fact that almost no clear-but credit contract could be detected can be explained by the Catholic prohibition of usury in the canon law and the subsequent concealment of all kinds of credits.¹⁴⁷ Consequently, credit business was frequently included in or concealed as another kind of transaction, and the difference between “ordinary” obligations for delivered merchandise and pure financial credits is often hard to tell. E. Otte even states that all commercial operations with a notary included some sort of credit.¹⁴⁸ The above-mentioned bills of exchange were well-suited for hiding credits: they included a delay of payment and a change in the currency (with interest rates). The type of contracts called obligations were also well-suited to include credits,¹⁴⁹ and they were much more used in Seville (94 bills of exchange compared to 551 obligations in the investigated files, i.e. about one third of all documents). Most of these obligations were part of *ventas fiadas*,¹⁵⁰ in which the foreign merchants exchanged their merchandise for a letter of obligation from the *Cargador* in Seville.¹⁵¹ The payment was to take place later, normally, as soon as the return fleet from the Indies had arrived. The interest rate of this

143 Cf. Stols, “Les marchands flamands dans la Péninsule Ibérique”, p. 237; cf. Pohl, “Zur Bedeutung Antwerpens als Kreditplatz”.

144 Bernal Rodríguez, *La financiación de la Carrera de Indias*, pp. 142-172; Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, p. 182. For a general approach on the early modern credit system cf. for example Jeannin, “La profession de négociant”, especially p. 293.

145 That was done by the De Haze family (APS 16979, f. 370).

146 Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, pp. 302-304.

147 Cruz Barney, *El riesgo en el comercio hispano-indiano*, pp. 65-98, 141.

148 Otte Sander, *Sevilla, siglo XVI*, p. 225; cf. Vries, *The Economy of Europe in an Age of Crisis*, p. 226.

149 García Fuentes, “El crédito comercial en la Carrera de Indias”, p. 37.

150 They were discussed in detail above on p. 79.

151 Idem, *Los peruleros y el comercio de Sevilla*, pp. 61-63, 68, 210; Stein and Stein, *Silber, Trade, and War*, pp. 82-83; Klaveren, *Europäische Wirtschaftsgeschichte Spaniens*, pp. 111, 114.

kind of credit was probably hidden in the difference between the value of the merchandise and the sum which was agreed upon. The number of such obligations in Seville may serve as an indicator of the credit system. Among a total of 551 obligations which were investigated in Seville (95-47-364-45),¹⁵² 98 contain Flemings (8-12-63-15) and 48 Frenchmen (1-4-37-6).¹⁵³ The selected year 1620 stands out again: 63 Flemish and 37 French obligations were issued in that year. Hence, the concealed credits of both Flemings and French, given and received, had their peak in 1620, followed by the year 1640.

Another means of credit was the so called *riesgo marítimo*,¹⁵⁴ which was a variation of the Italian *prestito marítimo* and the French *prêt à la grosse aventure*. Originally, it was meant to mitigate the financial risks through shipwrecks: a credit with fixed interest rates for dangerous voyages. In Seville, the *riesgo marítimo* functioned as a credit for merchants going to the Indies which became due (or instead the merchandise agreed upon), with high interest rates, on the safe return of the ship (or the merchandise). The risk was born completely by the creditor, and the debtor (the traveling merchant) was free of debt in case of shipwreck. Hence, the *riesgo marítimo* had the double function as a credit and an insurance.¹⁵⁵ J.G. Everaert states that, besides the *ventas fiadas*, insurances were the most important means of foreign merchants to participate indirectly in the Indies trade.¹⁵⁶ Both mechanisms offered the opportunity to bypass the prohibitions of usury and to participate in the Indies trade.

Even though no *riesgo marítimo* was detected among investigated files, another type of insurance appeared: the *seguro marítimo*.¹⁵⁷ It can be understood as an insurance in today's sense: An *asegurado* pays a certain sum to another merchant or more regularly a consortium (*asegurador (colectivo)*), which consequently assumes part of the risk of accidents and the loss of the merchandise

152 This display of the selected years is explained in the footnote on p. 89.

153 Additionally, 16 more documents could be found including credits: seven with Frenchmen (0-0-3-4) and nine with Flemings (2-0-4-3).

154 Cf. Cruz Barney, *El riesgo en el comercio hispano-indiano*.

155 García-Baquero González, *La Carrera de Indias*, pp. 252-256. The Dominican theologians and contemporary analyst of the 16th century commerce of Seville T. de Mercado despised this instrument and even called it a horrible chimera, a mixture between a bill of exchange, an insurance, and usury. Mercado, *Suma de tratos y contratos*, p. 395 (chapter XIII of book IV).

156 Everaert, "Infraction au monopole", p. 762.

157 For the difference between these two types, cf. García-Baquero González, *La Carrera de Indias*, p. 255, and Pino Toscano, "El préstamo a la gruesa ventura", especially p. 202; cf. also Cruz Barney, *El riesgo en el comercio hispano-indiano*.

or the whole ship.¹⁵⁸ The insurance rate was officially fixed at five percent of the insured sum, but it could also reach 25 percent.¹⁵⁹ According to E. Otte, all (long distance) trading ships had an insurance.¹⁶⁰ Yet, not many traces could be discovered in the investigated files either. For all four selected years, only 21 files were classified as insurances (i.e. the insurance is the main content of the file: 0-7-3-11).¹⁶¹ Out of these, eight contain French (0-1-1-1) or Flemish (0-1-2-2)¹⁶² participation.

The only French involvement in insurances in 1600, was the supposed French ship captain Estevan Even whose *nao* was taken by Dutch and English ships. In 1620, the Frenchman Guillermo Guillu was part of a consortium of Flemings that insured a ship heading to America, contributing 300 ducats. And in 1640, his compatriot Alberto Juan Treguarte insured the ship of a Spanish slave trader (with a share of 181 ducats) that was seized by Dutchmen. Hence, none of the investigated French merchants was found to have insured their own merchandise or ships neither to America nor any place else.

In 1600, the observed Flemish involvement in the insurance business concerns also the ship of captain Estevan Even: the goods of the Fleming Jaques Speeca were insured with a Genoese consortium and after their loss, he received 59 percent of the value, i.e. 472 ducats. In 1620, documentation on the Sirman family indicates that they insured their merchandise on a ship from Amsterdam which was lost because of enemy ships. The second Flemish insurance of that year was related to the French case mentioned above, when a Flemish consortium insured a ship of the *Carrera de Indias*. In 1640, the rich Fleming Simon Canis paid 455 ducats, because an insurance had become due regarding a ship from Lisbon. And finally, another very distinguished merchant from Flanders, Pablos Code had to pay 182 ducats to a Portuguese slave trader, whose ship had been taken by Dutch enemies. Hence, six out of eight insurances were issued by the French and Flemish merchants, while only

158 Only two thirds of the ship were covered, excluding the cost of the freight, armament and rigging. If the merchandise was insured, everything was covered. García-Baquero González, *La Carrera de Indias*, pp. 265-266.

159 Ibidem, pp. 261-264, 266.

160 Otte Sander, *Sevilla, siglo XVI*, pp. 233-238, especially p. 233; cf. García-Baquero González, *La Carrera de Indias*, p. 262; Céspedes del Castillo, “Seguros marítimos”.

161 These insurances could almost only be encountered when the insured case became due, which probably explains their low number.

162 Two more documents with Flemish participation mention insurances (0-1-1-0), but were classified as different types of documents, namely: AGI Contratación 9984, ff. 433v-436v and 16869, f. 143.

two of them, possibly, insured their own merchandise, namely the Flemings Jaques Speeca and the Flemish family Sirman.

The possession of real estate was essential in the process of the naturalization. The applying merchant was supposed to have lived in his own house for several years before a naturalization (by way of justice) was possible.¹⁶³ Thus, most merchants were eager to underline that fact and, whenever it was relevant, they also mentioned additional property. However, only some of the merchants produced estimates regarding the value of the houses. The French merchants who mentioned their property were Manuel de Bues: six houses; Remon Martin: some bigger houses and a country house (value 15,000 ducats), and a house in Triana (21,000 ducats) and vineyards; Nicolas de los Reyes: real estate in Cartagena de Indias; Guillermo de la Grua: his house in Cádiz (value 4,500 ducats); Pedro de la Farxa: some principal houses in Seville; Pedro de Alogue: two principal houses (both 14,000 ducats), a house in C/Tintes, and another house with garden. As regards Flemish real estate, the naturalized merchants recorded Gil Muneris: vineyards of good quality, houses in the district of Chipiona, close to Sanlúcar, and houses and stores in Sanlúcar; Alberto Juan Treguarte: houses, vineyards, and censos (rents) in Camas (in Seville, over 5,455 ducats); Jaques Bransen: real estate (over 12,000 ducats); Marcos de Lannoy: two houses in the C/Francos; Francisco de Conique: houses in Seville at the Puerta de Jerez and others in front of the Casa Lonja, the center of the American commerce in Seville; Juan Leclerque: real estate, houses, juros, and other property; Elias Sirman: enough real estate (for naturalization); Juan Florido: three houses and various vineyards in Tomares, neighboring Seville; Roberto Marcelis: lived in his own house and possessed enough real estate; Nicolas de Suarte: possessed enough real estate; Guillen Clou: possessed a house and a vineyard; Albertos Martin owned the house in which he lived with his family and another one inhabited by a judge of the Indies (each about 28,000 ducats).¹⁶⁴ These lists confirm the presumed wealth and the apparent residence of the foreign merchants who were applying for a letter of naturalization.

In the notary records, declarations of real estate were not so common. Sometimes houses served as guarantees or mortgages, as for the Fleming Geronimo Joansen in 1600 and for the Frenchman Pedro de la Farxa in 1620. Also in 1620, the French merchant Lanfran David appeared as the landlord of a stockbroker, and the Fleming Juan Bautista Sirman possessed real estate in Cuba.

163 AGI Contratación 50B, s.f.; cf. Domínguez Ortiz, "La concesión de naturaleza", pp. 227-228.

164 Details taken from AGI Contratación 50, 51, and 596.

In 1624, the Fleming Pedro Giles owned a wool laundry (4,000 ducats)¹⁶⁵ and a house with a garden (3,200 ducats); six years later, he claimed to possess 12,000 ducats in real estate. In 1640, the Frenchmen Alonso Magon and Alberto Juan Treguarte, and the Dutchmen Rolando Gandulfo are mentioned as owners of real estate.¹⁶⁶ Yet, indications of value are rare and a meaningful quantitative analysis is not possible.

To sum up, financial transactions of Frenchmen and Flemings with bills of exchange and other credit business increased in 1620. The same happened with the system of the *venta fiada*, which, as combination of purchase and credit, can be positioned between financial and mercantile activities. Comparing the share of the purely financial transactions with the mercantile ones, it was not until 1640 that the purely financial transactions became dominant and, at least partially, replaced the commerce with merchandise. By 1640, both nations focused on the financial sector, the Frenchmen even more than the Flemings. Thereby, they became *hombres de negocios* who preferred to live off their assets than to venture their fortune in risky trade.¹⁶⁷

2.8 America and the *Cargadores a Indias*

America was the big center of attraction for the foreign merchants and most international commerce in Seville went for the Indies market.¹⁶⁸ The main question in this section is whether or not foreigners were in direct contact with the Spanish colonies. The number of Frenchmen who participated directly because of their letter of naturalization in the selected years was seven, one in 1600 and six in 1640 (0-1-0-6). Additionally, one merchant of 1580 and four of 1620 were going to receive their letters some years later (1-1-4-6), which indicates that they were already by then interested or even involved in the Indies trade. Also, the naturalized Flemings increased their number from 1580 to 1640: 0-2-4-7. Including the ones who received the naturalization after the respective year, it would be 2-4-6-7. These numbers show that 1640 was the

165 For the wool laundries in Écija, cf. p. 312.

166 Alonso Magon had his own house; Alberto Juan Treguarte purchased real estate in Andalusia; Rolando Gandulfo sold several houses in the C/Francos in Seville.

167 Cf. Domínguez Ortiz, "Los extranjeros en la vida española", pp. 23-36.

168 I. Pulido Bueno assesses the share of foreign merchandise (mostly from Northern Europe) in the ports of Andalusia between 60 and 65 percent. Pulido Bueno, *Almojarifazgos y comercio exterior*, pp. 160-162; cf. Lynch, *Spain under the Habsburgs*, vol. 1, 143.

year in which most merchants of both nations had the option to access the American market directly.

Besides the naturalization, the membership in the *Consulado de Cargadores a Indias* was another signal for participation in the American trade.¹⁶⁹ Respective data was available for the last two selected years:¹⁷⁰ in 1620, no French merchants were among the *Cargadores a Indias*, but five of them (from that selected year) became members later on. In 1640, five French merchants were members of the Consulate. Among the Flemish merchants in 1620, only one was a *Cargador*, two more entered their ranks in the following years. In 1640, the number of Flemish members had grown to seven.

The low direct participation in the American trade in the first two selected years was visible above, when the merchandise was analyzed: no American commodities appeared (except for silver in coins).¹⁷¹ In 1620, conversely, Flemings and Frenchmen traded with several American goods. They had a share of 21 percent for the Frenchmen, and 31 percent for the Flemings. Cochineal was on top of the list, followed by ginger and indigo. Also in 1640, among the four products which are mentioned, three referred to American products: leather, sugar, and indigo.

Hence, between the years 1600 and 1620, the Indies trade became accessible to French and Flemish merchants. Still, in spite of the presence of American products on the lists, the number of direct links to America was small. That holds true especially for the Frenchmen. They mostly continued to rely on intermediaries for their Indies trade. In 1620, only one of the French merchants can be found with a direct connection to America, namely Antonio de Sandier. Flemings also often relied on intermediaries. The indigo company of Juan Tolinque and Miguel Galle, for example, purchased their main product from the American market only through Spanish intermediaries.¹⁷² These results confirm the essential function of the Spanish *Cargadores a Indias* (and the *peruleros*) as intermediaries in the Indies trade, as well as the special character of the entrepôt Seville.¹⁷³

169 Cf. Heredia Herrera, "Casa de la Contratación y Consulado de Cargadores"; Bernal Rodríguez, "El lobby de los mercaderes".

170 Vila Vilar, "Una amplia nómina".

171 In spite of this, some were indirectly connected to America. Moreover, in 1600, the Frenchmen Jaques Soming received a silver disk from America, but no price was recorded (cf. p. 247).

172 Both received their letter of naturalization 10 years later, in 1630.

173 Cf. Stein and Stein, *Silver, Trade, and War*, pp. 82-83.

Overall, Flemings had more direct links to the Indies than Frenchmen. Apart from the four naturalized Flemish merchants in 1620,¹⁷⁴ three more were found to trade directly with the Spanish colonies.¹⁷⁵ In 1640, finally, when most of the investigated merchants were in possession of naturalization, just one Frenchman and two Flemings were in direct contact with the Indies.¹⁷⁶ Even though this sounds quite remarkable, it corresponds to the change in the nature of their business, which was outlined above: the remaining Flemings and Frenchmen in Seville shifted to financial transactions, leaving the American commodity trade to others.

To sum up, two results of the analysis of the Indies trade can be regarded as most outstanding: first, the trade was most intense in the year 1620; and second, in 1640, when, thanks to the naturalization, many foreign merchants were permitted to trade to the Indies, their American trade was much smaller. This evokes again the question about the importance and function of the letters of naturalization because a correlation between naturalized merchants and Indies trade is not visible. It seems, however, that most merchants who stayed in Seville and became integrated did find it useful to apply for naturalization, even though it was a costly process.

2.9 Commercial Networks and their Orientation

2.9.1 Structural Considerations

This section gets back to the network analysis and presents the results of the examinations of the commercial networks of Frenchmen and Flemings in Seville.¹⁷⁷ In each selected year, a “total network” contains all individuals (nodes) of the respective year. Within these total networks, a French and a Flemish “main network” exist. The French main network contains all individuals (French or not) that appear in files with French participation. In the same way, the Flemish main network only includes individuals that are mentioned in documents with Flemish participation. The sizes of the total and main networks (i.e. the number of nodes) can be seen in table 2.2. In the second column, it shows that the year 1620 has the largest total network, with 1,438

174 Niculas Antonio, the Sirman brothers, and Francisco de Conique.

175 The brothers De Neve and Luis Clut junior.

176 Niculas Magon, Pedro de Jalon, and Miguel de Neve junior, the latter without apparent naturalization.

177 For additional details and specific network data, see the appendix on p. 402.

Table 2.2: Number of Nodes of the Total and Main Networks and Number of French and Flemish Nodes

Year	Total Network	French Main Network	French Nodes	Flemish Main Network	Flemish Nodes
1580	503	7	3	47	13
1600	895	65	18	229	65
1620	1,438	215	56	443	171
1640	652	62	10	224	65
TOTAL	3,488	349	87	943	314

nodes, followed by the year 1600 (895 nodes), 1640 (652 nodes) and 1580 (503 nodes).¹⁷⁸ The table reveals additional information: first, the size of the main networks in each year – including individuals of all nationalities –, and second the number of French and Flemish individuals (nodes) of every year.¹⁷⁹

The nodes of the French main network in relation to the total network grew until 1620:¹⁸⁰ Expressed in percent, it was only 1.4 of the total network in 1580, but in the following years it reached 7.3 in 1600, and even 15 percent in 1620. In 1640, it fell again to 9.5 percent. The most interesting finding in this aspect is that, in 1640, a comparatively small number of Frenchmen (10 nodes) maintained a rather large main network (62 nodes), which represents 9.5 percent of the total network. In 1600, to the contrary, a larger number (18 nodes) maintained a main network of a similar size (65 nodes), but accounting only for 7.3 percent of the total network. This means that by 1640, the capacity of few established merchants to maintain a large business network in the city was higher than 40 years earlier.

The changes in the proportions of the Flemish main network to the total network were similar but not as pronounced. The main difference is that it grew with every year, and did not shrink in 1640. Its share grew from 9.3 percent in 1580, to 26 percent in 1600, 31 percent in 1620, and in 1640 to even 34 percent. This means that the Flemish network in the last years covered roughly one third of the total network.

178 These ultimate numbers correspond in trend roughly to the number of the investigated documents per year (cf. the respective figures above on pp. 85ff.). The analysis becomes meaningful only through a detailed comparison with the other figures.

179 An example may clarify these numbers: In 1600, 895 nodes were counted in all of the files. 18 of these nodes were Frenchmen. In the files where these 18 Frenchmen appeared, additional individuals were mentioned, totalling 65. Therefore, the size of the French main network is 65.

180 Cf. figure D.1 on p. 402 in the appendix.

Another revealing indicator is the ratio of the size of the total network to the number of nodes of one nation – leaving the main network out of the calculations.¹⁸¹ The result is displayed in figure 2.4. It shows that the share of the two nations in the total network rises from 1580 to 1620, and falls from 1620 to 1640. Hence, the year 1620 can be identified as a peak of both nations' presence in the commerce of Seville, when four out of 100 nodes were French and 12 were Flemish. Besides, the French setback of 1640 reflects the results of the French-Spanish war, which was mentioned above.

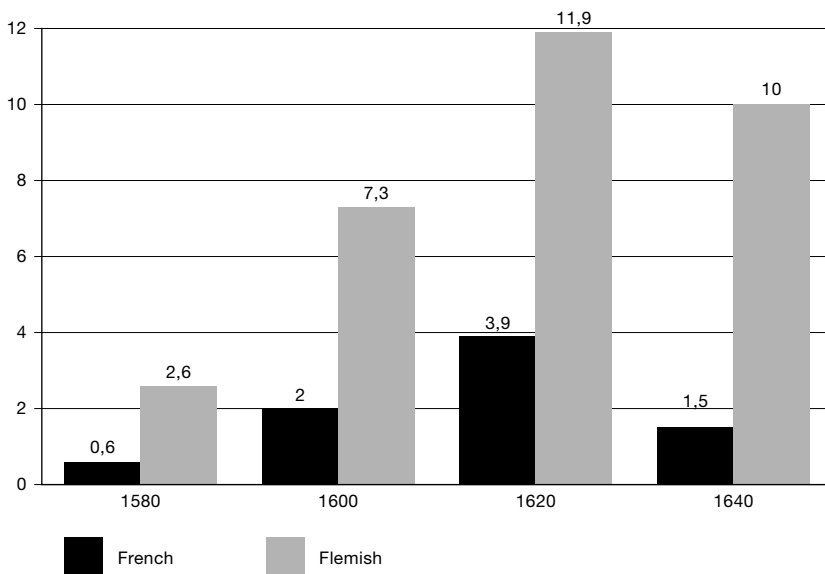


Figure 2.4: Share of French and Flemish Nodes in the Total Networks (Percentage)

2.9.2 The Orientation of the Commercial Networks

The commercial networks presented here have to be seen in relation to the private networks, presented in section 2.2, because many of the earlier results will be confirmed here. The analysis of commercial networks comprises another dimension of analysis because the investigated material is far larger than the one for private networks. Cooperation with compatriots was one of the

181 Thereby, the problem of the varying size of the database for each year is no more a factor in the calculation of nodes. That means that the values of selected years are comparable even if the number of nodes in the total networks differs largely.

above mentioned features, which are assumed to be indicative of the early merchants' ways. Network analyst B. Wellman confirms this statement: "[...] many migrants continued to maintain ties to their ancestral villages as well as to form new urban entities."¹⁸² Additionally, he adds the element of power when he says that "*cosmopolitans* [...] have influence within communities because of their direct access to outside recourses."¹⁸³

In 1580, only one of the Frenchmen was recorded to have business contact with foreigners, namely Manuel de Bues with presumably an Italian merchant. In 1600, many more connections to foreigners existed, and also the merchants from the Italian Peninsula were present again: two Genoese individuals and one Florentine company. Further nations that were in direct contact with Frenchmen were Germans, Portuguese, and an Irishman. Yet, it was the Flemings who dominated the foreign business contacts of the Frenchmen in 1600, as they even outnumbered the French in the French main network of that year. Curiously, only in 1620 were Frenchmen the most frequent foreign group in their own main network.¹⁸⁴ Flemings came second, followed by the Portuguese and the Genoese. In 1640, Flemings were again the most numerous foreign group in the French network, well ahead of Frenchmen and Portuguese. Hence, it was only in the year 1620, after a long period of peace between France and Spain, when Frenchmen became dominant in the French networks. This intensification of connections within the French nation may be explained partly by the fact that with 56 nodes in this year, it reached its largest proportion.¹⁸⁵

The varying presence of compatriots within the French main networks is illustrated in figure 2.5. The ratio shows the relation between French nodes and the number of nodes in the respective main network.¹⁸⁶ It displays that for every Frenchman in the French business cycles of 1580 there were 2.33 non-French individuals. In 1600, the number was 3.61, in 1620, 3.84, and in 1640, 6.2 non-French nodes appeared for each Frenchman. The irregularly low ratio

182 Wellman, "Network Analysis", p. 158.

183 Ibidem, p. 176.

184 Also, all of the seven scrutinized merchants were in contact with compatriots but, only five of them with Flemings.

185 Cf. table 2.2 on p. 144.

186 The French main network of 1620, for example, contains 215 nodes, and 56 French nodes existed in that year. Dividing 215 by 56 makes 3.84 which means that for every French node in the French main network there existed 3.84 non-French nodes. When the ratio was higher, more non-French nodes were in the respective main network and less French nodes.

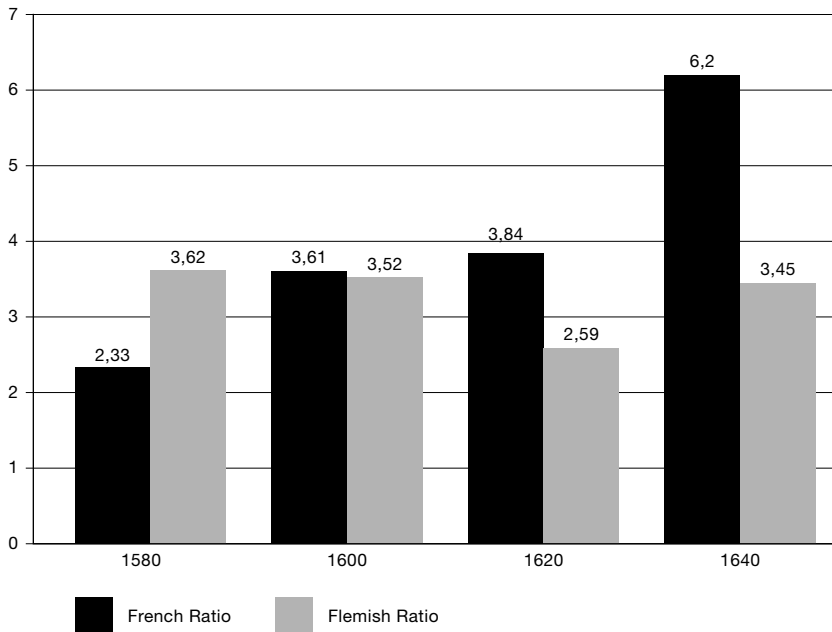


Figure 2.5: Relation of French and Flemish Nodes to Non-French or Non-Flemish Nodes in the Respective Main Network

of 1580¹⁸⁷ may not be very meaningful because of the very small size of the respective main network,¹⁸⁸ but the exceptionally high ratio of 1640 does show much significance. It shows that there were very few Frenchmen in the French network (cf. also table 2.2). An explanation for that phenomenon is certainly the war between France and Spain, which forced many French merchants to leave the city and to abandon trade with Spain. As a result, the ones who stayed had to continue their business with an elevated number of non-compatriots. Essentially, they returned to rely above all on Flemish merchants.

In contrast to the French, the Flemings always possessed a strong commercial network of compatriots. Already in 1580, they were most often in contact

187 Mostly, the ratios of figure 2.5 are constant, ranging between the factor 3.4 and 3.9. That means that for every member of the respective colony, between 3.4 and 3.9 non-members existed in the main network. This ratio is significantly different on only three occasions.

188 There were only seven nodes in the French main network and three French nodes in 1580.

with fellow Flemings, followed by the Portuguese and Italians. Also Englishmen (and English products) appeared often in 1580 whereas in later years they played a minor role. In 1580, however, not a single Frenchman was recorded in the Flemish business circuits.

In 1600, the supremacy of compatriots in the Flemish main network grew, and all of the investigated Flemings were in contact with compatriots.¹⁸⁹ The second foreign nation was the Italian one, which was due to the key position of some Genoese and Florentine merchant-bankers, like Jacome Mortedo. Third came the Portuguese, and then Frenchmen and their products. This has to be pointed out because the Flemings, on several occasions, traded French wheat and linen without any contact to French merchants mentioned in the notarial files. Effectively, in 1600, French products seemed to have been more important than active French participation in the trade with the Flemings in Seville.¹⁹⁰

In 1620, when the number of Flemings was highest, again, all of the investigated Flemish merchants were linked to compatriots. Figure 2.5 shows a ratio of 2.59, which means that for every Fleming in the Flemish main network, there existed only 2.59 non-Flemings. That is a higher-than-average number of Flemings in the Flemish main network of 1620. That proves that this main network was the most homogeneous one and that the Flemish merchants did more business with compatriots in 1620 than in any other selected year. The second strongest nation in the Flemish main network were, for the first time, the Frenchmen followed by the Portuguese. The Italians came in fourth place and also some Dutchmen were located who took advantage of the Truce with Spain. Twenty years later, in 1640, the Dutch had vanished to a large extent from the Flemish networks¹⁹¹ and the other nations were involved with the Flemings on an equal footing: contacts with compatriots and Portuguese took place only slightly more often than to Genoese and Frenchmen.

In summary, the statements can be confirmed from the start for the Flemings: they had much contact with their compatriots and with other foreigners ("outside recourses"). For the Frenchmen, the first point is only partially true, but the second one can be fully confirmed. Being the largest colony in Seville the Flemings had the best opportunity to establish a network of compatriots. In all

189 The Dutchman Jaques Nicolas was included because, in spite of the war, he mingled freely with other Flemings in Seville as if he was one of them.

190 Which means either an indirect contact through intermediaries or a conclusion of the business transaction in other places than the notary offices of Seville.

191 The most eminent exception is the family Gandulfo.

of the four selected years, they were most inclined to contact fellow Flemings, ahead of all other foreign colonies. The second position was alternatively held by Englishmen (1580), Genoese (1600), Frenchmen (1620), and Portuguese (1640). Frenchmen became more and more important within the Flemish network between 1580 and 1620. Also in 1640, when only a few Frenchmen remained in Seville, they played a major role for the Flemings. The Flemings, on the other hand, were even more essential to the French. They were the most significant foreign group in the French main network for most of the period; all other foreign nations, like the Portuguese and Genoese, were secondary. Only in 1620, did the Frenchmen establish a large network of their own and transferred the Flemish nation to second place – exactly at the moment in which their merchants had become very important to the Flemish network.

The observations of this section confirm the trends that were visible in the private and semi-private networks of the section 2.2 above. In the first half of the 17th century, Flemings played an important role, first, in the Flemish and, second, in the French networks. Only in 1620, did a high number of compatriots in Seville make it possible for the Frenchmen to create a large main network, which enabled them to become the most important foreign nation in it. Yet, once the interference of war reduced the number of their compatriots, Frenchmen resorted to the Flemish networks again.

The essential characteristics of the Flemish and French business networks of the four selected years can be outlined as follows:

- In 1580, the networks are the smallest, and the number of French and Flemish nodes is low.
- By 1600, a strong growth had taken place, as the number of foreigners had increased greatly.
- The year 1620 contains most nodes (in the total and the two main networks), as well as the highest share of French and Flemish nodes.
- In 1620, the proportional differences between Frenchmen and Flemings are the smallest (only three times as many Flemings as Frenchmen in the total network).
- In 1620, the number of Flemings in the Flemish main network widely surpasses the average.
- In 1640, a small number of Frenchmen maintains a relatively large main network.

2.10 Conclusions

Concluding the first part of this volume, a short synopsis will briefly summarize some insights on French and Flemish merchants in Seville – a more comprehensive conclusion will be presented at the end. The preliminary assumptions were that foreign merchant colonies tended to:

1. operate family business,
2. diversify their operations,
3. cooperate with compatriots, and
4. have an eagerness for social recognition.

The first point can be confirmed. Family affiliation had an influence on the commercial conduct of French and Flemish merchants. In almost all of the selected years, Frenchmen and Flemings relied on one or more occasions on relatives for their business. These cooperations existed between father and son, brothers, cousins, or even more distant relatives. They could be permanent but mostly they existed for single business transactions. Another aspect of the importance of family affiliation is the local support of the father-in-law to the foreign merchant, which will become visible in part two.

Also, on a general level, the diversification of the commodity list of the two nations could be clearly recognized. Even though each nation traded with different core products, like metalware for the French, and textiles for the Flemish merchants, both bought and sold many different products. Thereby, they diversified their operations and minimized the risk. The specific strategies of the merchants will become evident in part three.

In respect of the third point, Flemings and Frenchmen both cooperated with compatriots. Links to merchants in Seville who came from the same place of origin, as well as connections to merchants in their home country, were essential to both nations. This pattern proved to be especially valid for the Flemings in 1620, when more than one out of four business partners was a compatriot. As for the Frenchmen, it can be considered a key finding that they, although in touch with compatriots, predominantly were in contact with another foreign nation, namely the Flemings. However, their commodity list suggests that for their purchases, compatriots did play a crucial role too.

Finally, a strong eagerness for social recognition could not be determined without ambiguity regarding the investigated merchants. In the case of most Frenchmen, they did not remain long enough to integrate, let alone aim for social recognition. Flemings, on the other hand, did stay, and some of them obtained offices and titles. Most of these, however, were related to commerce, and hence do not indicate an explicit zeal for social recognition. Nevertheless,

the second generation of Flemings did aspire to and obtain accredited positions in the local bureaucracy or the military, titles of nobility, or in the Church. The following part will show the social status of some of these merchants in more detail.

II. Private Connections

This part of the book focuses on the social lives and the private networks of French and Flemish merchants. Some of the merchants who applied for naturalization in Seville left abundant information about their families, friends, and business associates. The connections which were found during the naturalization process will facilitate the reconstruction of their private networks (including the semi-private connections through the witnesses of naturalization). The French merchants will be addressed first, then the Flemish. The overlapping networks of merchants within one nation create larger private networks. These large networks within each nation will be the major point of interest. Differences and similarities between the Flemish and French nation will emerge. The analysis of the private networks will show a variety of strategies as to how the foreign merchants integrated in the local Andalusian society. Furthermore, it will provide insight into the preferred links of each nation's merchants. The contacts with compatriots will be of particular interest as well as the direct links to the home country of the merchants.

3. The French Colony

Attracted by the Indies trade, the French merchants settled down in Seville, Sanlúcar, Puerto de Santa María, and Cádiz.¹ The size of the colony of French merchants in Lower Andalusia changed, and reached its peak in around 1620, with at least 65 merchants in Seville.² The attraction of the city for French merchants can be seen in their interest to become naturalized there. The documents of the AGI reveal the names of 35 Frenchman who applied for a letter of naturalization, 25 of them in the time between 1580 and 1650.³

Table 3.1 displays the names, dates of applications for naturalization, places of residence, origin, and if the merchant was a member of the *Consulado de Cargadores a Indias*. Amongst these 25 merchants, 14 are highlighted because their dossiers are more ample than others and give permission to display their social conduct and part of their social networks in Andalusia. Subsequently, the most important characteristics of these 14 Frenchman concerning their private social life will be outlined. Many choices in their social lives, like the selection of spouses, godfathers and -mothers, and witnesses for good behavior and possessions, have the capacity to establish new links or to strengthen old ones in an already established social network. Some of these connections persist through the course of many decades. While some individuals are rather isolated and some only reveal their connective value in the following chapters (in combination with the business networks), others show a very elaborate network with compatriots, Spaniards, and other foreigners.

3.1 Disconnected Frenchmen

The first six Frenchmen whose private networks will be displayed in table 3.2 were not connected. This group had no common network and the only thing they seem to have in common was their social inclination toward Spaniards.

1 Cf. Girard, *Le commerce français*, p. 50.

2 Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, pp. 89-92.

3 Domínguez Ortiz, "Los extranjeros en la vida española" (his data varies in some points); Girard, *Le commerce français*, pp. 71, 574-577. The number of French merchants in Seville and Sanlúcar went down in the second half of the 17th century, while those in Cádiz and Puerto de Santa María rose. Girard, *Le commerce français*, pp. 545-566.

Table 3.1: Applications for Naturalization of Frenchman in Andalusia (1580–1650)

Year	Name	Citizenship	Origin	Consulate
1587	Manuel de Bues	Seville	Rouen	—
1588	Remon Martin	Pt. de Santa María	Bordeaux	—
1594	Jaques Soming	Seville	—	—
1606	Pedro Morel	Pt. de Santa María	—	—
1608	Alonso Garcia del Castillo	Seville	—	—
1610	Gil Muneris	Sanlúcar	—	—
1611	Nicolas Grane	Seville/Sanlúcar	Saint-Malo	—
1621	Nicolas de los Reyes	Seville/New Granada	—	1627
1623	Pedro de la Farxa^c	Seville	Salers	1635–1639
1624	Nicolas Blondel	Seville	Rouen	1640
1624	Guillermo de la Grua	Cádiz	Rouen	—
1624	Alberto Juan Treguarte^c	Seville	Saint-Malo	—
1630	Pedro de Alogue	Seville	Salers	1637
1630	Jorge Bernal	Sanlúcar	—	—
1630	Alonso Magon	Cádiz	Saint-Malo	—
1631	Jaques Bules	Seville	—	1635–1640
1631	Lanfran David^c	Seville	Rouen	1635–1648
1631	Pedro Gamon	Seville	Rouen	—
1631	Adrian Leborne	Sanlúcar	—	—
1632	Martin Duarte	Seville	—	—
1633	Diego Guillu (Guillen)	Seville	—	—
1633	Esteban Trublet	Seville	—	—
1634	Pedro de Fuentes	Seville	—	—
1634	Sebastian Treguarte	Seville	—	—
1642	Pedro Reniel (Reyner)	Seville	—	—

Explanation: The column “Consulate” refers to the membership in the *Consulado de Cargadores a Indias*; “c” marks a person who was a member of the French consulate in 1620; persons written boldly have an ample dossier

Source: AGI Contratación 50A, 50B, 596A, 596B, s.f.; Concerning the membership in the Consulate and some information about the origin of the merchants, Vila Vilar, “Una amplia nómina”, and Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, pp. 91-92

Only the very first Frenchman is an exception to that. Manuel de Bues, who became naturalized in 1587, had some ties with other nations and can be considered a rather international merchant. All the other Frenchmen of this group rather stayed among Spaniards.

Table 3.2: The Disconnected Frenchmen (Year of Naturalization and Membership in the Consulate)

Year	Name	Citizenship	Origin	Consulate
1587	Manuel de Bues	Seville	Rouen	—
1588	Remon Martin	Pt. de Santa María	Bordeaux	—
1594	Jaques Soming	Seville	—	—
1608	Alonso Garcia del Castillo	Seville	—	—
1621	Nicolas de los Reyes	Seville/New Granada	—	1627
1624	Guillermo de la Grua	Cádiz	Rouen	—

3.1.1 Manuel de Bues (1587)

The first French merchant applying for naturalization is Manuel de Bues, in the year 1587. He was the legitimate son of Adam and Violeta de Bues from Rouen. At the age of 14, he came to Seville and served as a page to Ortega de Melgosa, an accountant of the *Casa de la Contratación*. After that, he worked in the house of Sancho de Quintanadueñas, a Spanish family with strong connections to Rouen.⁴ Since 1559, Manuel de Bues had been living in Seville permanently, in the parish of Iglesia Mayor (Santa María), where he owned six houses, a fortune of over 6,000 ducats and some merchandise (“mi tienda de todo genero de mercancias”). He even became consul of the French nation in Seville. In 1587, he and his attorney Manuel Carrillo pointed out, that Manuel de Bues had already gained citizenship in Seville and received naturalization in Spain. By applying again, he probably intended to restore his merchandise, which had been confiscated. Manuel de Bues married Elvira Coronel from Seville, the daughter of Juan Giraldo and Ana Coronel, residents of Seville. Elvira Coronel was baptized in Seville on the 15th of February 1552. Her godfathers were Juan de Malinas, Pedro Suas, Custiano Naruto, and Maria de Malinas. Manuel de Bues and Elvira Coronel had five sons, of whom one already died in 1587.⁵

4 Brunelle, *The New World Merchants of Rouen*, pp. 46-47; idem, “Immigration, Assimilation and Success”, pp. 204-205; Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, p. 92. Maybe, E. Lorenzo Sanz meant “Samson” Quintanadueñas instead of “Sancho”, as G. Brunelle found a “Samson” as brother and Spanish contact of Fernandes de Quintanadueñas in Rouen. At first, Samson Quintanadueñas was in Rouen too, but then he came to Seville to establish his business there.

5 AGI Contratación 50B, s.f. Girard, *Le commerce français*, p. 91; Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, p. 92.

Antonio Carrillo presented the witnesses on behalf of Manuel de Bues, concerning the presence of the latter in Seville for more than 10 years, and the identity of the parents of Maria Coronel. They came to testify between the 17th and the 24th of February 1587:

- Cristiano Noirot, Flemish, resident in Seville, parish of San Antonio, C/Santa Ana, ca. 54 years,
- Julio de Negron, Genoese merchant, resident of Seville, Iglesia Mayor, between 40 and 49 years,
- Cristian Nyungo de Bice, merchant, resident of Seville, Santa Catalina, 56 years,
- Luis Rosso, resident of Seville, 40 years,
- Gaspar de los Reyes, judge of the *almojarifazgo mayor*, resident of Seville, Santa María, and
- Diego Pulido, *jurado*,⁶ resident of Seville, Madalena, 45 years old.

The social connections of Manuel de Bues are, thus, manifold. Concentrating on the links to foreigners, his wife is already of a certain interest. While the Giraldo family of her father was Genoese, established in Seville since 1567,⁷ the Coronel family of her mother may very well have been Portuguese.⁸ Moreover, it is not surprising that one of the first places Manuel de Bues found work was in the house of the Quintanadueñas family. Many members of that family had settled down in Rouen and traded with Seville and America, under the name Quintanadoines.⁹ Thus, the cohesion between Frenchmen of the same origin living abroad becomes evident and proves the importance of common roots for the establishment of a network – in private and in business.

Amongst the witnesses of Manuel de Bues, merchants and important persons in the social life of Seville can be found, a judge and a *jurado*. Hence, in 1587, when Manuel de Bues (again) applied for naturalization, he must have already had a good reputation within the economic and political life of the city. In addition to the international character of his private life, the Flemish origin of the witnesses sheds light upon the internationality of his business.

6 The post of a *jurado* was similar to the one of a *veinticuatro* (alderman). Yet, while the latter was hereditary and purchasable, the *jurado* had to be elected. He supervised the activities of the municipal council and was in charge of defending the interests of the community. Amalric et al., *Léxico Histórico de España*, pp. 128, 186; Morales Padrón, *Historia de Sevilla*, p. 218.

7 Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, p. 67.

8 Cf. for example APS 3607, f. 284 or APS 16869, f. 934.

9 Cf. Brunelle, *The New World Merchants of Rouen*.

Christiano Noirot was Flemish, and the surname of Julio Negron is Genoese – the family Negron was very active in the Indies trade during the middle of the 16th century.¹⁰

3.1.2 Remon Martin (1588)

In 1588, Remon Martin,¹¹ a resident of Puerto de Santa María, applied for naturalization. He had come from Bordeaux in the year 1563. In January 1566, he was in Seville and married Francisca Jimenez, a resident of the neighboring village of Triana,¹² the legitimate daughter of Pedro Lopez, a tanner, and Ana Jimenez, both from Spain and already deceased by 1588. As witness to the ceremony, Francisco San Myento was present with his wife Maria Alvarez del Grob, residents of Triana. Remon Martin and Francisca Jimenez had two daughters, Ana Jimenez and Bernarda Martin.

Between the 6th and 9th of November 1588, Mathias de Ribera presented the following witnesses on behalf of Remon Martin:

- Agustin Guzon, pilot of the *Carrera de Indias*, resident in Seville, Triana, 35 years,
- Juan de Velatasa, sword maker, resident of Seville, Iglesia Mayor, 33 years,
- Juan Andres Jimenez,
- Sanchez Jimenez, shoemaker, resident of Seville, San Andres, 50 years,
- Pedro de Salamanca, resident of Seville, San Andres, 50 years, and
- Luis Albarado, writer of insurances, resident of Seville.

Remon Martin owned some bigger houses (*casas principales*), which he had built himself, worth 19,000 to 20,000 ducats. He annually received payments and a certain amount of wine from Barbeyna, a region of Puerto de Santa María. He owned a country house with its facilities worth 15,000 ducats and a house in Triana, worth 21,000 ducats. His vineyards brought in 700 to 800 wineskins each year plus 400 skins extra. He had revenues from the timber trade and *vuelas*,¹³ and he made large profit from royal rents.¹⁴

Remon Martin integrated very well into the Spanish society. The witnesses on his behalf were socially not so eminent as those of Manuel de Bues. Yet, his witnesses, as well as his marriage, show that he had established multiple links to locals from Seville. Remon Martin was one of few foreign merchants in Seville

10 Pike, *Enterprise and Adventure*, pp. 4, 64, 73, 78, 81.

11 AGI Contratación 50B, s.f.

12 For details about Triana, cf. the footnote on p. 48.

13 *Vuelas* either refers to candles or canvas.

14 AGI Contratación 50B, s.f.; cf. Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, p. 93.

who did not maintain relations with his home country. Still, his economic activity as wine trader might be seen as “heritage” of his origin, as he had come from Bordeaux, which produces excellent wines until today.¹⁵

3.1.3 Jaques Soming (1594)

In 1594, the French merchant Jaques Soming,¹⁶ a resident of Seville, applied for naturalization. By then, he had lived in Spain for more than 14 years, three of them married to Maria de los Rios, a resident of Seville. She was the daughter of Alvaro de los Rios, a stockbroker of Seville, and Marta Roque who had come from Burgos,¹⁷ and had been a citizen of Seville for over 14 years.¹⁸ Together with his cousin, named Pedro Soming, Jaques Soming was an active merchant of Seville.¹⁹ On the 3rd of June 1594, Mathias de Ribera, in the name of Jaques Soming, applied for the admission of the witnesses on behalf of Jaques Soming, all residents of Seville:

- Juan Lopez de Ayala, parish of Madalena, about 50 years old,
- Gonzalo Carrillo, parish of Santa Cruz,
- Pedro de Arasuz, merchant, parish of Iglesia Mayor, older than 60 years,
- Juan de Agurto Carabajal, stockbroker, parish of Santa María la Mayor,
- Cristobal Gutierrez, stockbroker, parish of Santa María la Mayor, and
- Diego Garcia, stockbroker, parish of Iglesia Mayor, C/Cuba, older than 46 years.

Again, as could be seen above in the case of Remon Martin, no French links can be spotted, but the importance of family ties in Early Modern commerce is documented through the cooperation between the cousins Pedro and Jaques Soming. Additionally, at least half of the witnesses on behalf of Jaques Soming are stockbrokers, just as his father-in-law. A certain network of friendship and patronage, evidently, came into force here. Thereby, it can be seen that a well chosen marriage was crucial. The social and economic position of the family into which the foreigner married was important and helped to integrate faster into the local society.

15 Chaunu and Gascon, *Histoire économique et sociale*, pp. 260-263; Bachelier, *Histoire du commerce de Bordeaux*, pp. 72-89; cf. also Lespagnol, “Bordeaux et la Bretagne”.

16 AGI Contratación 50B, s.f.

17 For merchants from Burgos in the Indies trade, Otte Sander, “Mercaderes Burgaleses”, pp. 108-144.

18 AGI Contratación 50B, s.f.; cf. Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, p. 93.

19 APS 16766, f. 156v.

3.1.4 Alonso Garcia del Castillo (1608)

In 1608, Alonso Garcia del Castillo,²⁰ a resident of Seville, applied for naturalization. He was the legitimate son of Pedro Garcia del Castillo and Ines de Palma, residents and natives of Córdoba. The reason why Alonso Garcia del Castillo had to apply for naturalization, even though he was the son of Spaniards, was that he was born abroad. His parents lived in Flanders and France, and Pedro Garcia del Castillo was probably the Spanish consul in France for some time. The family intended to return to Spain before the birth of their son, but Pedro Garcia del Castillo died unexpectedly and his wife remained in France for a few more years. Alonso Garcia del Castillo was, thus, born in France and only came to Spain when he was 10 years old. That is why he had to apply for naturalization even though he was the son of native Spaniards.

Alonso Garcia del Castillo married Beatriz de Herrera, the daughter of the stockbroker Diego de Baeza and Leonor de Ramirez, residents of Málaga. The witnesses with regard to the identity of the parents of Alonso Garcia del Castillo presented themselves before Juan de la Palma and Alonso de Bolanos, *teniente del asistente*,²¹ between the 12th of October and the 13th of November 1605. All of them were residents of Seville:

- Gonzalo Carrillo, merchant, parish of Santa María la Mayor, 47 years,
- Fernando Carrillo, stockbroker, parish of San Bartolomé, 50 years,
- Pedro de Jaen, parish of San Bartolomé, about 46 years,
- Juan de la Barrera, parish of San Bartolomé, 60 years, and
- Salvador Fernandez, merchant, parish of Santa María la Mayor, 57 years.

Three years later, between the 28th and the 29th of November 1608, the witnesses were called upon regarding the same matter. Astonishingly, the data about the residence of two of the witnesses had changed within this three years. Thus, either they had resettled or the data given was incorrect. In any case, the inaccuracy of the declared age indicates the sloppy way of informing the notary about different details, as for example Fernando Carrillo was recorded as the same age as three years previously.

- Gonzalo Carrillo, parish of San Nicolás, older than 50 years,
- Fernando Carrillo, stockbroker, parish of San Bartolomé, 50 years,

20 AGI Contratación 50B, s.f.

21 The Spanish *corregidores* were the representatives of the king in the big cities. In Seville, they were called *asistentes* and had the right to assign two *tenientes* for special tasks, especially for the jurisdiction. Morales Padrón, *Historia de Sevilla*, pp. 215-216; Amalric et al., *Léxico Histórico de España*, p. 64.

- Pedro de Jaen, merchant, parish of San Nicolás, ca. 48 years,
- Juan Rodrigo Martinez, stockbroker, parish of Santa Cruz, older than 55 years, and
- Juan de Herrera, doctor, presbyter, parish of San Juan de la Palma, ca. 38 years.

The father-in-law of Alonso Garcia del Castillo, Diego de Baeza, played an important role. Some of the witnesses of Alonso Garcia del Castillo were stockbrokers, as was Diego de Baeza. Thus, the business connections of his father-in-law helped Alonso Garcia del Castillo to have reputable witnesses for his naturalization.

Beside the important role of the family, another feature is evident: Alonso Garcia del Castillo showed an inclination toward Flemings. Even though the brothers Gonzalo and Fernando Carrillo were sons of Spaniards from Andalusia in the 1550s, they were born in Antwerp. By 1605, both were merchants and stockbrokers in Seville. The case of the merchant Pedro de Jaen was similar. He too was born in the 1550s in Antwerp as a son of Spaniards.²² Hence, regarding the history of the three Spanish families, Garcia de Castillo, Carrillo and Jaen, a common practice emerges. All of them had gone to France or Flanders in the first half of the 16th century and returned in the second. Their sons were all born abroad but they managed to reintegrate into the Spanish society and become stockbrokers in Seville. The fact that three of such returning Spaniards witnessed for Alonso Garcia del Castillo indicates a certain solidarity between them.

Another witness, the merchant Salvador Fernandez, linked Alonso Garcia del Castillo with Portugal because he was originally from Lisbon. Salvador Fernandez was born there in 1548 and arrived in Seville at the age of 35. In 1604, he gained citizenship in the city of Seville and two years later he applied for naturalization.²³ In conclusion, it can be said that the network of Alonso Garcia del Castillo comprised Seville, Antwerp, Lisbon, and a city in France, where he was born (probably Paris).

22 Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, pp. 15, 40.

23 Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, p. 96.

3.1.5 Nicolas de los Reyes (1621)

Nicolas de los Reyes applied for naturalization in 1620 and received it in 1621.²⁴ His origin is uncertain.²⁵ He had resided in Spain and the Indies since 1596, and since at least 1610 with his family (*casa poblada*). He was married to Luisa de la Estrella, from the city of Remedios in New Granada (in today's Colombia). Since about that time, he was in possession of real estate in Cartagena da Indias. He was an outstanding member of the *Consulado de Cargadores a Indias*,²⁶ and was strongly involved in the Indies trade. In 1624, he was the biggest *cargador* of the Indies galleons of that year, and tried to take unregistered merchandise to Peru, amounting to the impressive sum of 431,813 ducats (595,330 pesos and six reales). Apparently, he was also leading the party of merchants when it came to bribing royal officials in Portobelo.²⁷ His attorney was Pedro de Toro.

3.1.6 Guillermo de la Grua (1624)

In 1624, Guillermo de la Grua,²⁸ a merchant from Rouen, applied for naturalization in Spain. He had been living at least since 1598 in Cádiz, and became a citizen of the city in 1602. He was married for 10 years to Luisa Gimelo from Cádiz. His houses were worth about 4,500 ducats and he received an annual rent of 727 ducats (8,000 reales). Some of his documents and *titulos* were lost when the English raided Cádiz 20 years before. His

24 AGI Contratación 596B, s.f.

25 Domínguez Ortiz, "Los extranjeros en la vida española", p. 142. E. Vila Vilar believes him to be Portuguese (Vila Vilar, "Las ferias de Portobelo", pp. 315, 324). However, I assume a French origin, based on his own statement (APS 3607, ff. 59) and his affiliation to the French Morel family (AGI Contratación 5388, N. 8, f. 1): Nicolas de los Reyes was the uncle of the younger Buenaventura Morel, with whom he went to Tierra Firme in 1624 (with his wife, two children, another nephew Miguel Alvarez, two servants, and four slaves). Consequently, one could assume that Nicolas de los Reyes' parents were Roberto Corbete and Isabel Alvarez, citizens of Seville, and his sister Garbola Corbete was married to Pedro Morel, the father of Buenaventura Morel. Pedro Morel applied for naturalization in 1606 and belongs to the following section.

26 Vila Vilar, "Una amplia nómina", p. 175; idem, "Los gravámenes de la Carrera de Indias".

27 Vila Vilar, "Las ferias de Portobelo", pp. 313, 315, 338. In that regard, cf. the *prestamistas de Balbas* on p. 64.

28 AGI Contratación 596B, s.f.; cf. Domínguez Ortiz, "Los extranjeros en la vida española", p. 143.

attorney was Esteban Tofino, who was frequently appointed by French and also Flemish merchants in the 1620s.

Guillermo de la Grua is the last one of the disconnected Frenchmen and, thereby, concludes this section. The six investigated merchants who were not related displayed very different conduct patterns. One of the few common features was the importance of family for the integration of the merchants. The fathers-in-law, who belonged to the local society, offered support to find connections and integrate. Another common feature was the tendency toward Spaniards (or at least sons of Spaniards) and, for most, the small number of foreign contacts. In this respect, the following section will show another behavior of the French merchants in Seville.

3.2 The Network Antiñaque

The second section in the chapter of French naturalizations contains eight French merchants in Andalusia, listed on table 3.3, who formed one big network. It is the most significant private network within the French colony in Seville and emanates from one merchant, Pedro de Antiñaque, and his descendants.²⁹ Being of French origin himself, Pedro de Antiñaque had come to Seville in 1569. Some time before 1599, he married Beatris de Castro, most likely a Spaniard, and lived with her in Seville. They had five children. Pedro de Antiñaque was a member of the Holy Inquisition and appeared in 1620 in a list of members of the French consulate.³⁰ Most probably, he became naturalized after having lived over 10 years in Seville, by which he escaped the preserved documentation of the AGI.³¹

By 1631, Pedro de Antiñaque was already deceased. Three of his daughters married eminent merchants of Seville:

- Before 1619, Antonia de Antiñaque married the Frenchman Pedro de la Farxa,
- before 1621, Maria de Antiñaque married the Genoese Jacome Ayrolo, and
- in 1631, Beatris de Castro de Antiñaque married the Frenchman Pedro de Alogue.

29 Cf. Girard, *Le commerce français*, p. 548; Crailsheim, “Les marchands français à Séville”.

30 Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, p. 91.

31 The preserved documentation of the AGI starts in 1575 but the data of the 16th century cannot be considered complete.

Table 3.3: The Frenchmen of the Network Antiñaque (Year of Naturalization and Membership in the Consulate)

Year	Name	Citizenship	Origin	Consulate
1623	Pedro de la Farxa	Seville	Salers	1635–1639
1630	Pedro de Alogue	Seville	Salers	1637
1631	Lanfran David	Seville	Rouen	1635–1648
1606	Pedro Morel	Pt. de Santa María	—	—
1610	Gil Muneris	Sanlúcar	—	—
1611	Nicolas Grane	Seville/Sanlúcar	Saint-Malo	—
1624	Nicolas Blondel	Seville	Rouen	1640
1624	Alberto Juan Treguarre	Seville	Saint-Malo	—

It is most striking that at least three of his five children were married to foreigners, two of them to Frenchmen. Unfortunately, we disregard the fate of the other two children, and we lack more basic information about Pedro de Antiñaque. Still, it may be supposed that he had come from Salers, in the bishopric Clermont, province of Auvergne, because of the same origin of both of his French sons-in-law.

Already in the 15th century the Auvergne contributed a large number of emigrants to Spanish society.³² Generally, they fled the harsh life of the mountains and came to work in Spain, chiefly in Aragon. Even though the Auvergne did not have many mineral resources, a considerable amount of braziers were trained there. For centuries, many from them left their home and worked abroad. Since 1600, the number of emigrants augmented significantly. The braziers from the Auvergne generally traveled, worked, and lived in homogeneous groups. The tendency toward endogamy is emphasized by their marriages which often took place within the extended family or at least with someone from the same or similar place of origin. Family connection and contact to former neighbors played an important role in the life of an emigrant from France and especially the Auvergne. Many Frenchmen did not emigrate for good, but those who married abroad often did,³³ which was the case for Pedro de Antiñaque, Pedro de la Farxa, and Pedro de Alogue.

32 Domínguez Ortiz, “Los extranjeros en la vida española”, p. 76.

33 Gimeno, “Las redes emigratorias auvernesas”, pp. 246, 261-267. E.B. Gimeno focuses on the networks of braziers who emigrated from the Auvergne. The companies of these braziers, found in the 18th century Aragon, were based on family cohesion of people from the same region of the Auvergne. Cf. Priotti, *Bilbao et ses marchands*, pp. 185-188.

Figure 3.1 displays the family network which was established by the daughters of Pedro de Antiñaque. Between the three brothers-in-law, a network existed which contains further Frenchmen and other foreigners, some of them also *naturalizados*. The links between them are family and friendship ties, even though some of them were, most likely, also business ties. A further aspect of these connections can be seen below, where Pedro de la Farxa, Pedro de Alogue, Lanfran David, Alberto Juan Treguarte, and Jaques Bules appear together, affected by a Spanish embargo against Frenchmen (on p. 353). In the following, all naturalized French merchants who were part of the network Antiñaque are scrutinized.

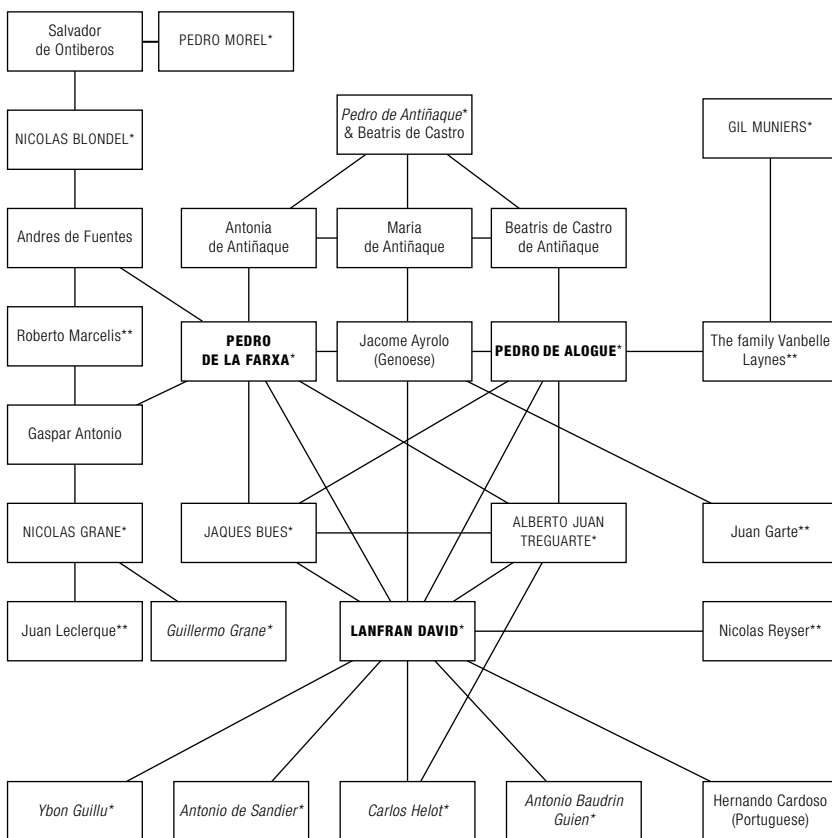


Figure 3.1: The Network of Pedro de Antiñaque and his Daughters

Explanation: The figure focuses on French actors. Besides, it also contains certain non-French nodes. Capital letters mean naturalized Frenchmen; italic means other Frenchmen; bold means most eminent Frenchmen by 1635

3.2.1 Pedro de la Farxa (1623)

In 1619, the merchant Pedro de la Farxa, from Salers (Auvergne), a resident of Seville, Iglesia Mayor, applied for naturalization in Spain.³⁴ The same Esteban Tofino was his attorney, who worked for Guillermo de la Grua. Pedro de la Farxa arrived in Seville before 1593 and lived there since at least 1599. He was very active in business, having connections to Spain, France, and Flanders. Pedro de la Farxa was considered by some witnesses to be very rich, owing officially over 88,000 ducats. He was elected *diputado mayor* of the *alcabala* (transaction tax) of linen, an office which was only granted to the most honorable and rich merchants of the linen business. Pedro de la Farxa was married to Antonia de Antiñaque, who was born in Seville, and they had three children. In early 1622, he bought some principal houses in Seville, which meant that from then on he still had to wait for 10 years until he could become naturalized or receive the license for the Indies trade. Notwithstanding, in 1623 he received permission to trade as if he would be in possession of such a license.³⁵ Pedro de la Farxa died in 1640 or shortly before.³⁶ In 1619, five witnesses came to testify on behalf of Pedro de la Farxa, all were residents of Seville:

- Andres de Fuentes, parish of Iglesia Mayor, ca. 55 years,
- Joan de Yurte, merchant, parish of San Salvador, ca. 48 years,
- Alonso Fernandez, silk trader, in C/Francos, older than 52 years,
- Gaspar Antonio, merchant of haberdashery, parish of Santa María la Mayor, C/Francos, 54 years, and
- Sebastian de Aviles, merchant, parish of Santa María la Mayor, C/Francos, ca. 38 years.

No stockbroker was among these witnesses, most of them were merchants, and two of them are of special interest: Andres de Fuentes was an accountant who had come from Caravaca, in Murcia. In Seville, he was in contact with Flemings, as he was acting as witness for merchants like Roberto Marcellis, Josefe Francisco de Peralta, and Guillermo Bequer. Andres de Fuentes, therefore, is a central node or hub in the network because he linked five different foreign merchants who became naturalized.³⁷

34 AGI Contratación 50B, s.f. In French maybe “Pierre de la Farge”.

35 For the *asientos* and special services for the Spanish king, cf. p. 87.

36 In 1646, a certain Luis de la Farxa appeared as member of the *Consulado de Cargadores a Indias*. He may have been a relative. Vila Vilar, “Una amplia nómina”, p. 156.

37 His position within the French network is displayed in figure 3.1. Yet, not all of the foreign merchants with whom he was in contact appear in the figure for graphical reasons.

Gaspar Antonio, another witness, also had a hub-like position in the private French network. Apart from Pedro de la Farxa, he acted as witness for the Frenchman Nicolas Grane and for the Fleming Roberto Marcelis. The products Gaspar Antonio sold in 1620 were, most probably, from France or from Flanders: knives, nails, scissors, blades, and files.³⁸ No direct connection to the eminent Flemish merchant family of Antonio (cf. p. 197) could be found, still, it is possible that Gaspar Antonio was a member of that family, and thus Flemish too. In any case, and just like Andres de Fuentes, he was an essential hub for different naturalized merchants.

3.2.2 Pedro de Alogue (1630)

On the 9th of December 1630, a royal letter shows evidence that Pedro de Alogue,³⁹ from Salers (Auvergne), became naturalized, or at least, received the license for the Indies trade. He was a citizen of Seville in possession of over 6,000 ducats. However, because of a revocation of his naturalization in 1644, Pedro de Alogue had to apply again.⁴⁰ In 1645, Manuel de Robles was his attorney – the same one as for the Flemish families Beruben and Sirman and for Manuel de Viera from Portugal.⁴¹ Since 1608, Pedro de Alogue was living in Seville. On the 27th of February 1631, he married Beatris de Castro de Antiñaque, the daughter of Pedro de Antiñaque. Witnesses of the marriage were Pedro de la Farxa and his wife Antonia de Antiñaque, their brother- and sister-in-law. Pedro de Alogue and Beatris de Castro de Antiñaque had two sons and three daughters.

Alonso Rodriguez Muñoz, a public notary of Seville, stated on the 10th of May 1640 that Lanfran David, Jaques Bules, Pedro de Alogue, Alberto Juan Treguarte, and Antonio de Antiñaque (by then already deceased) were the tutors of the children of Pedro de la Farxa. On the 4th of April 1640, the same notary declared that in 1636, Pedro de Alogue possessed *juros de millones* (rents) worth 14,000 ducats.⁴²

38 APS 10060, ff. 65r-67v, 96r-98r, 99r-101r, 117r-119v, 369r-372r, 288r-289v.

39 AGI Contratación 50B, s.f. In French maybe “Pierre de la Ogue”.

40 The reason for a new application was probably the Spanish-French war (1635–1659), cf. below on p. 353. But maybe the revocation was also directly linked to his bankruptcy one year earlier. Bernal Rodríguez and García-Baquero González, *Tres siglos del comercio sevillano*, pp. 140, 249.

41 For the latter cf. AGI Contratación 50A, s.f.

42 In addition, he had an income of 46 ducats (17,250 maravedis) in contributions (*en millon reputados a 20.000 de millar*). The *millones* represent extra services to the king,

Nine years later, it was asserted that Pedro de Alogue owned two principal houses in C/Baranjo, San Bartolomé. One of them was not finished in 1644, in the other one he lived himself. Both were worth over 14,000 ducats. He possessed about 20,000 ducats in cash and 2,727 ducats (30,000 reales) in rents (*juros*) of “luxury”, of León and Galicia. Additionally, he had houses in C/Tintes that brought about 198 ducats (74,428 maravedis) in rent each year. The witnesses on his behalf came in July and August of 1645, all of them were residents of Seville: Francisco Rotas, the *jurado* Clemente Vinegas y Anteaage, Rodrigo Mathias, the merchant Juan Galan de Moya, Francisco Montero de Espinosa, and Nicolas de la Piña, member of the Holy Inquisition.⁴³

Pedro de Alogue was in business contact with the Fleming Henrique van Belle Laynes.⁴⁴ After the death of the latter, his widow, Juana de Aguilar, finished some of the transactions, mutually with her brother Thomas de Aguilar. In her last will, Juana de Aguilar declared that Pedro de Alogue should receive some outstanding debts instead of her heirs – which were her children Josefe, Maria, Henrique, Francisco, Juan, Antonio, and Juana. The money Pedro de Alogue was to receive amounted to 390 ducats: 160 ducats from Diego Rodriguez de Aguilar, resident in Castilleja de la Cueva, 80 ducats from Fernando de las Cuebas, 70 ducats from Pedro Garcia, and 80 ducats from Gregorio Lopez. This case should apply to the business networks in the next part of the book. Yet, it was mentioned in the naturalization files, as the investigating officials found it important for the evaluation of the wealth of Pedro de Alogue. The same holds true for the following case which concerns the sale of land.

In 1634, the notary Alonso Rodriguez Muñoz testified that Thomas de Aguilar, in the name of his sister, sold a rural property with houses, garden and a well to Pedro de Alogue. The property was located in Seville, San Bartolomé. On the territory, there was a path with a duty on it. That duty brought in an annual rent of 40 ducats (14,960 maravedis). A further contract was related to that purchase. It was an obligation of Pedro de Alogue to pay four ducats (1,500 maravedis) on behalf of Doña Maria Perez Yañez as tribute to the Holy Inquisition of Seville. Among the witnesses to the obligation, there appeared a certain Maria de Alogue and Maria Antonio. Probably, the first was a member

like credits, which were covered by the tax on products such as vinegar, olive oil, meat, coal, or tallow candles. Amalric et al., *Léxico Histórico de España*, p. 145; Martínez Ruiz, *Diccionario de historia moderna*, pp. 257-258.

43 No information about the age or the parish of the witnesses was available.

44 Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, p. 7.

of the Alogue and the second a member of the Flemish Antonio family.⁴⁵ Thus, even in Pedro de Alogue's transactions which concerned real estate, family members could be found, as well as other foreign participation.

The third son-in-law of Pedro de Antiñaque was the Genoese Jacome Ayrolo. The Ayroli were an eminent Genoese merchant family in early modern times. Jacome Ayrolo was a citizen of Seville, Santa María la Mayor, C/Abades, and a member of the *Consulado de Cargadores a Indias* between 1635 and 1643. He was the son of Antonio Ayrolo and Doña Pelegrina Ayrolo who had both come from Genoa in 1604, when he was a child. In 1626, Jacome Ayrolo had three children himself, with Maria de Antiñaque: Antonio, born in 1621, and two daughters, born in 1623 and 1625. He was a very important merchant in the year 1620. Jacome Ayrolo became naturalized in 1626. One of the witnesses on his behalf was the Flemish merchant Juan Acharte.⁴⁶

In conclusion, it can be said that all three sons-in-law of Antonio de Antiñaque, were promising young foreigners. All of them integrated into the Spanish society, raising at least 11 grandchildren in the case of Antonio de Antiñaque. Both of the Frenchmen invested in land in Andalusia. All three became outstanding merchants of Seville and remained in business contact with each other. One of the things that this case manifests is that the line between business and personal life was rarely straight.

3.2.3 Lanfran David (1628)

The first application of the Frenchman Lanfran David from Rouen was made in 1623, but it was turned down.⁴⁷ In 1628, he had received naturalization, but with the provision that he may not trade with the Indies. In 1629, he applied separately for that privilege. In 1631, he became eventually naturalized without restrictions. Still, in 1645, he had to apply again, just like Pedro de Alogue.

Lanfran David was the son of Juan David and Ana Juana Bigat, both deceased in 1629. Lanfran David came to Spain before 1609. On 26th of December 1618, Juan de Galeras, priest of San Isidro, celebrated the marriage between Lanfran David and Margarita Nancarro, who was born and grew up

45 AGI Contratación 50B, s.f.

46 AGI Contratación 51A and 596B, s.f.; cf. Vila Vilar, "Una amplia nómina", p. 148; Collado Villalta, "La nación genovesa en la Sevilla", p. 101.

47 AGI Contratación 50B and 596B, s.f.

in Seville. She was the daughter of Nicolas Nancarro, a native of Sanlúcar, and Maria Freda, a native of Seville. On 29th of July 1596, the priest Pedro Cristobal de Mesa baptized Margarita Nancarro: her godfather was Antonio Baudrin Guien, a Walloon,⁴⁸ resident of Seville, Iglesia Mayor. Witnesses to the marriage of Lanfran David were the Licenciado Juan Montero,⁴⁹ Francisco Coni, and Doctor Juan de Salinas. Lanfran David and his wife had four children who were said to have served the Spanish king well. The priest Francisco Maldonado baptized the sons of Lanfran David and Margarita Nancarro. The selection of godfathers gives an impression of the cohesion of Frenchmen in Seville:

- 11th of December 1620, Juan Andre David, godfather Antonio de Sandier, member of the French consulate,
- 27th of January 1622, Nicolas David, godfather Ybon Guillu, member of the French consulate,⁵⁰ and
- 9th of August 1623, Juan David, godfather Carlos Helot, a French merchant.⁵¹

In 1620, Lanfran David gave a proxy to Claudio Bauduyn to receive a certain amount of money in Rouen. Additionally, he should represent him there in a lawsuit which concerned the last will of his parents. It also was about the last will of his nephew Juan David, the son of his brother Juan David.⁵²

According to the official Sebastian Lopez de Albarran, on the 8th of July 1645, Lanfran David received revenues from the following taxes (*juros*):⁵³

- 497 ducats (186,500 maravedis) annually from the *almojarifazgo mayor* of Seville,
- 465 ducats (174,461 maravedis) annually from the *servicio de millones* of the kingdom of Leon, and
- 343 ducats (128,792 maravedis) annually from the *servicio de millones* of the kingdom Galicia.

48 His origin is revealed in APS 9983, ff. 1199–1200v.

49 *Licenciado* is a university title.

50 Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, p. 91.

51 Girard, *Le commerce français*, p. 548.

52 APS 3607, ff. 467r-468r. Maybe Claudio Bauduyn stands for Claudio “Baudrin Guillen”. Then he would possibly be a relative of the Walloon godfather of Margarita Nancarro mentioned above.

53 Which means that he had the right to collect these taxes. The system of *juros* was a credit system for the Spanish king. The possession of such bonds means that Lanfran David had given large credits to the Spanish king.

His services for the Spanish king contained presents, credits, *asientos*, and the exchange of money (silver for copper):

[...] donativos en prestidos [...] [mil] cientos truques de plata y las demas cosas que se han oferido de su real servicio siempre con toda puntualidad he sido el primero que las ha hecho en todo que obedesido sin nunca poner escusa a ninguna cosa [...] ⁵⁴

In August and September of 1645, the following witnesses presented themselves before Don Luis Fernandez de Cordoba y Moscosso, all of which were residents of Seville:

- Jacome Ayrolo, Genoese, older than 54 years,
- Capitan Pedro Chacon, 55 years,
- Nicolas Reyser, Flemish, 62 years,
- Hernando Cardoso, older than 50 years,
- Jorge de Quadros, parish of Iglesia Mayor, ca. 55 years,
- Manuel Sanchez Gallardo, of the Holy Inquisition, parish of Iglesia Mayor, ca. 67 years, and
- Niculas Nancarro, born in Sanlúcar, father-in-law of Lanfran David.

Once more, family ties played a special role, as his father-in-law was amongst his witnesses. The selection of godfathers for his children indicates the cohesion to the French merchants in Seville, while the list of witnesses shows the international character of Lanfran David: Jacome Ayrolo was Genoese, Hernando Cardoso was presumably of Portuguese descent and Nicolas Reyser was a Fleming, a member of the Consulate of the Indies traders.⁵⁵ Hence, the importance of family support and the existence of an international network is displayed in the case of Lanfran David. Moreover, his example shows the difficulty to obtain a *carta de naturaleza* and the services which were necessary to keep the Spanish king well-disposed.

3.2.4 Pedro Morel (1606)

Pedro Morel,⁵⁶ a resident of Seville in Santa María, applied for naturalization in 1606. His attorney was Francisco Rodriguez. Pedro Morel had already received citizenship in the city of Seville around 1586. His parents, namely Buenaventura Morel and Juana Garten, were residents in France. In his first marriage, on the 4th of August 1596, he married Garbola Corbete, who was born and

⁵⁴ Contratación 50B, s.f. (Seville, 2nd of August 1645).

⁵⁵ Vila Vilar, “Una amplia nómina”, p. 175; Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, p. 56.

⁵⁶ AGI Contratación 50B, s.f.; cf. Domínguez Ortiz, “Los extranjeros en la vida española”, p. 138.

grew up in Seville, San Isidro. She was the daughter of Roberto Corbete and Isabel Alvarez, residents of Seville, San Isidro.⁵⁷

Among the witnesses to the marriage were the Licenciado Gabriel Alvarez, a presbyter, and Luis de Troya, a *jurado*. His second marriage was to Maria de Cambray, who was born in Sanlúcar. Her parents had been citizens of Sanlúcar for over 40 years. In December 1606, the witnesses on behalf of Pedro Morel presented themselves before Alonso de Cibico, a public notary of Seville:

- Guillermo Cambray, the father-in-law of Pedro Morel, age 55,
- Juan de Tordesillas, resident and native of Seville, Iglesia Mayor, older than 40 years,
- Francisco Albadan, resident and native of Seville, older than 44 years, and
- Salvador de Ontiberos, resident in C/Francos in Seville, older than 70 years.

Roberto Corbete, his first father-in-law, had originally come from Flanders. By 1606, he was an alderman of Seville, went on voyages to the Indies and drew maritime insurance.⁵⁸ His second father-in-law, the merchant Guillermo de Cambray, was also a Fleming. One of the children of Pedro Morel was named after his paternal grandfather: the younger Buenaventura Morel went several times to Tierra Firme. In 1621, for example, he applied for the return voyage to Peru as cashier of the rich merchant Francisco Monel who was of Flemish origin.⁵⁹ Thus, a strong affiliation of the family Morel to Flemish merchants in Seville can be observed. On the other hand, Pedro Morel also exhibits a connection to his home country, although only indirectly. One of his witnesses was Salvador de Ontiberos, who was the father-in-law of another naturalized French merchant, Nicolas Blondel from Rouen.

3.2.5 Gil Muneris (1610)

In 1610, the merchant Gil Muneris, a resident of Sanlúcar, applied for his naturalization.⁶⁰ He had come to Seville before 1585 when he was still very young. His way of living was described as very reverential to God. He was

57 E. Otte confirms that the Fleming Roberto Corbete was a citizen of Seville, but in the parish of Santa María. Otte Sander, *Sevilla, siglo XVI*, p. 287.

58 Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, p. 19; Bernal Rodríguez, *La financiación de la Carrera de Indias*, p. 581.

59 AGI Contratación 5378, N. 13, ff. 1r-4v [PARES]; cf. p. 235; Vila Vilar, “Las ferias de Portobelo”, p. 338. Apparently, Buenaventura Morel traveled together with his uncle Nicolas de los Reyes, who applied for naturalization in 1621 (AGI Contratación 5388, N. 8, f. 1).

60 AGI Contratación 50B, s.f.

married to Catalina Malaparte, from Sanlúcar, the legitimate daughter of Carlos Malaparte and Magdalena van Belle, of Flemish descent,⁶¹ residents and citizens of Seville and of Sanlúcar. Since at least 1598, Gil Muneris owned real estate, vineyards of good quality, and houses in the district of Chipiona, close to Sanlúcar. Additionally, he owned houses and stores in Sanlúcar.

Gabriel Pardo de Moscoso, a solicitor of the public prosecutor in the name of the royal treasury and prior and consul of the Consulate, permitted the witnesses Juan de la Calcada, Jacome Fernandez, and Bartolome Megon from Seville. However, on 12th of March 1610, the following different witnesses presented themselves:

- Antonio Layne, doctor, priest and presbyter, and ecclesiastic administrator (*racionero*) of and from Seville,
- Magdalena, ca. 34 years,
- Tomas de Cardona, captain, resident of Seville, San Bartolomé, from Valencia, older than 40 years,
- Juan van Belle, of Flemish origin, resident and born in Seville, San Salvador, older than 50 years, brother of Magdalena van Belle,
- Pedro Jimenez de Encisso, captain, resident and born in Seville, San Bartolomé, older than 50 years,
- Augustin de Paz, captain, resident and born in Seville, San Vicente, older than 40 years,
- Gabriel Maldonado, captain, resident and born in Seville, ca. 45 years, and
- Andrea del Poggio, merchant from Venice, resident of Seville, Iglesia Mayor, knew Gil Muneris for over 26 years, older than 56 years.

The international character of the witnesses of Gil Muneris is obvious. Even though he was not in contact with compatriots, there was a link to Juan van Belle, a Fleming, and Andrea del Poggio from Venice. Additionally, Thomas de Cardona was born in Genoa (naturalization in 1609).⁶² The testimony of the priest Doctor Antonio Layne may be a reference to the religious character of Gil Muneris. Besides, Doctor Layne had also acted as witness on behalf of the naturalization of Tomas de Cardona, another witness of Gil Muneris. That could be an indication of a firm connection between these two foreigners in Seville.

61 Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, p. 88; Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, p. 7.

62 AGI Contratación 51A, s.f.

The witness captain Pedro Jimenez de Encisso was a member of the *Consulado de Cargadores a Indias* between 1610 and 1637, an alderman of Seville, and a knight of the order of Santiago. Moreover, he was an administrator of the *almojarifazgo de Indias*, royal judge of contraband, and *alcalde mayor de sacas* (town magistrate).⁶³ With the addition of captain Gabriel Maldonado, who was a royal inspector of the American navy and fleet, the persons who acted as witnesses for Gil Muneris were quite influential.

3.2.6 Nicolas Grane (1611)

In 1611, Nicolas Grane,⁶⁴ a resident of Seville, Santa María, applied for naturalization at the age of 29. His parents, Pedro Grane and Juana de Berardo, both residents of Seville, had come from Saint-Malo to Sanlúcar. They had arrived before 1566 and gained citizenship in the city of Sanlúcar at least in 1596. They had also lived in Seville since at the latest 1583. Pedro Grane, was naturalized in about 1581, before the birth of Nicolas Grane who was baptized in Sanlúcar on the 4th of March 1582. Pedro Grane himself had no business and declared not to be an agent or factor of Frenchmen or other foreigners. In addition, he declared himself to be poor and that his children had to support him. Conversely, Nicolas Grane, with the permission of the *Casa de la Contratación*, went many times to the Indies with the annual fleet (“en conserva de la flota”) with his own merchandise acquired or made by himself, as noted in the register, “as it was the habit of the *Cargadores*”. Additionally, Nicolas Grane declared not to have been trading with foreigners:

[...] se le han admitido los registros que ha hecho de las mercaderías que ha cargado para las dichas indias las cuales fueron de las que se hacen y labran en estos Reinos y de que se acostumbran cargar en ellos para las indias como parece por los dichos registros a que se remiten los testigos. [...] trató con su misma hacienda sin tratar ni contratar hacienda ninguna de extranjeros [...]⁶⁵

These lines are a clear reference to the *venta fiada* (cf. p. 79) which was much frowned upon and where foreigners relied on Spanish or naturalized Indies traders to sell their goods in America. With such statements, Nicolas Grane apparently wanted to distance himself from such practices. The witnesses on behalf of the Spanish origin of the merchandise Nicolas Grane sent to the

63 Vila Vilar, “Una amplia nómina”, p. 162; Morales Padrón, *Historia de Sevilla*, p. 216.

64 AGI Contratación 50B, s.f.; cf. Domínguez Ortiz, “Los extranjeros en la vida española”, p. 140.

65 AGI Contratación 50B, s.f. (Seville, 3rd of August 1611).

Indies, presented themselves between the 9th and the 14th of September 1611, all were residents of Seville:

- Gaspar Antonio, merchant, C/Francos, 50 years,
- Pedro Lopez de Lara, parish of Santa María la Mayor, C/Ana, ca. 40 years,
- Diego de Quives, merchant, C/Bal, older than 60 years,
- Alonso Martinez de Molina, stockbroker, parish of San Isidro, ca. 50 years old,
- Fernando de Santiago, canvas trader, C/Cibas, older than 48 years,
- Francisco de Soto, medical doctor, lived close to the *Casa de la Contratación*, ca. 63 years,
- Alonso de Ballador de Yañez, parish of Madalena, and
- Benito de Mesa, merchant, parish of Santa María la Mayor, C/Bal, ca. 50 years.

Two of these witnesses attract attention. The first is Gaspar Antonio who already acted as witness in favor of Pedro de la Farxa. The second is Benito de Mesa, a merchant from Córdoba, who had arrived in Seville in about 1574. He testified for the naturalizations of two Flemings, Juan Leclerque and Roberto Marcellis,⁶⁶ and two Portuguese, Manuel Enrique de Noroña and Simon Lopez de Noroña. The latter even called him *compadre* (godfather, friend, or protector).⁶⁷ Thus, Nicolas Grane exhibited no contacts to Frenchmen – as he stated in the lawsuit – but indirectly, i.e. through others, he was linked with some.

Two years later, Nicolas Grane had to present more witnesses:

- Gaspar Alvarez, pilot of the *Carrera de Indias*, parish of San Pedro, ca. 51 years,
- Pedro de Leon de Araz, merchant, parish of San Salvador, ca. 33 years,
- Lupericio de la Riz, pilot of the *Carrera de Indias*, parish of San Vicente, 42 years,
- Antonio Guerra, wine trader, ca. 54 years,
- Diego Jimenez Ramos, solicitor of the *Real Audiencia* (royal court) of Seville, C/Borrmás, older than 34 years,⁶⁸ and again
- Alonso de Ballador de Yañez, parish of Madalena, older than 50 years.

Concerning the lawsuit of his naturalization, Nicolas Grane gave a proxy to the Fleming Juan Leclerque and to Guillermo Grane, his brother and resident of Seville. On the 3rd of January 1613 Guillermo Grane introduced himself as pilot and general of the *Carrera de Indias*, who had served the king on many

66 AGI Contratación 50B, s.f.

67 AGI Contratación 50A, s.f.

68 Uncertain first name, it may well also be Juan Jimenez Ramos.

occasions, and demanded the witnesses and evidence (from Santo Domingo and Puerto Rico) for his own good character to be accepted.⁶⁹ On the 24th of January 1610, Doctor Rodrigo Zamorano Asinograso, professor and major pilot, presented the document which held the information about the examination of Guillermo Grane as pilot, and on the 14th January 1613, Guillermo Grane was paid tribute for defending the fleet against five hostile ships.⁷⁰ Hence, Nicolas Grane even had a war hero in his family and as sponsor of his naturalization.

3.2.7 Niculas Blondel (1624)

In 1624, the French merchant Niculas Blondel from Rouen, a resident of Seville, Iglesia Mayor, applied for naturalization.⁷¹ He had been living since at least 1604 in Spain and married, before 1614, Juana de Ontiberos, from Seville. She was the daughter of Salvador de Ontiberos and Maria de Valencia, both residents of Seville – Salvador de Ontiberos was also a witness for Pedro Morel above. Juana de Ontiberos was baptized on 25th of April 1582, her godfather was Diego Martale. Niculas Blondel and Juana de Ontiberos had three children. His possession amounted to over 4,000 ducats. On 15th of March 1624 the following persons acted as witnesses on his behalf, all were residents of Seville:

- Andres de Fuentes, parish of San Salvador, C/Francos, ca. 55 years,
- Juan de Miranda, trader of canvas and trimmings, parish of Iglesia Mayor, C/Francos, 55 years,
- Pedro de Alarcon, trader of jewelry, parish of Iglesia Mayor, C/Francos, 64 years,⁷²

69 “[...] soy piloto examinado de la carrera de indias y como tal yo las cursado y hizo muchos servicios al rey mi señor y así he sido nombrado por general y cabo de navíos y capitán como se contiene en estas cuatro testificaciones que presento firmado y autorizados por el gobernador y gobernadores capitanes generales y presidentes de Santo Domingo y Puerto Rico de las indias en los cuales se comprueba la quinta pregunta del interrogatorio de mi parte [...]” AGI Contratación 50B, s.f. (Seville, 3rd of January 1613).

70 Statement by Don Diego Gomez de Sandobal: “[...] de la boca del rey, capitán [...] gobernador y capitán [...] certifico [que ...] Guillermo Grane, capitán del navío San Juan Bautista [...] en el cumillocio en la repliegue que tuvo con cinco navios de enemigos sobre el puerto de Guanabes [...]” AGI Contratación 50B, s.f. (Seville, 14th of January 1613).

71 AGI Contratación 50B, s.f.

72 Also in 1624, Pedro de Alarcon shipped merchandise to Peru amounting to 129,690 ducats (178,801 pesos), 104,655 ducats (144,286 pesos) without registration. Vila Vilar, “Las ferias de Portobelo”, p. 340.

- Alonso de Grajeda, glove maker, parish of San Salvador, 68 years,
- Bernardo Lopez, haberdashery trader, parish of San Salvador, C/Francos, older than 70 years, and
- Gabriel Ramirez, glove maker, parish of San Salvador, C/Francos, 60 years.

Considering his wife and witnesses, one can see that Niculas Blondel was very integrated into the economic life to the city. The first witness, Andres de Fuentes, was already testifying for Pedro de la Farxa. The rest of the list was composed of traders and craftspeople.⁷³ Gloves, canvas, trimmings, haberdashery, and even jewelry is mentioned. This variety is a clue the business activities of Niculas Blondel in the year 1620 (cf. p. 290).

3.2.8 Alberto Juan Treguarte (1624)

In 1624 Alberto Juan Treguarte,⁷⁴ a citizen of Seville who had come from San Pedro, close to Saint-Malo, applied for the second time for naturalization (first time in 1622). His attorney was Esteban Tofino. He had been living in Seville since 1602. For 14 years, he was married to Maria de la Concepcion, citizen of Seville, born in the city of Zalamea de la Serna. Her parents Juan Cavallero and Juana Perez were from there too. Since at least 1614, Alberto Juan Treguarte owned real estate in Camas, in the district of Seville, namely houses, vineyards and *censos* (rents), amounting to over 5,455 ducats (60,000 reales).⁷⁵ In 1626, he acted as witness on behalf of Guillen Clou and in 1632 for Josefe Francisco de Peralta, both Flemings in Seville.⁷⁶ Thus, the analysis of the private network of Alberto Juan Treguarte shows again international connections, and indicates, thereby, the eminent role he was going to have in the commerce of 1640 (cf. p. 353).

73 Just as in the case of Remon Martin in 1588.

74 AGI Contratación 596B, s.f.; cf. Domínguez Ortiz, “Los extranjeros en la vida española”, p. 143.

75 *Censos* can be considered similar to *juros* (cf. the footnote on p. 62). In exchange for an immediate payment, a beneficiary receives the right to collect an annual rent for an agreed period. Amalric et al., *Léxico Histórico de España*, pp. 51-52.

76 AGI Contratación 50B, s.f.

3.3 Conclusion of the Private French Networks

The two investigated groups of naturalized Frenchmen, the disconnected ones and the network Antiñaque, display a different network behavior. The six Frenchmen in the first section did not show any relationship with other naturalized Frenchmen. Still, they proved something else, namely that social integration came along with marriage. None of the encountered marriages of the disconnected Frenchmen took place with a French woman. Among the mentioned wives, four were Spanish, one from the Indies and one was half Portuguese, half Genoese. The corresponding father-in-law probably assisted the French merchant in finding a place in the local society and in the commerce of the city. That is underlined by the fact that some of the witnesses to the naturalizations were colleagues of the father-in-law. The occupations of the witnesses ranged from high municipal officials and rich merchants, to little traders and craftsmen. While most of these French merchants completely integrated into the local society, at least Manuel Bues maintained strong relations to his home country. Moreover, only he and Alonso Garcia del Castillo, had contacts to Flemings, Portuguese, and Genoese – yet, in the case of Alonso Garcia del Castillo it was just with sons of Spaniards who were born abroad. Thus, it is another interesting characteristic of the first group of French merchants in Seville that most of them sought the company of Spaniards, while contact to foreigners was not so frequent.

The eight Frenchmen of the second section were all interrelated and formed a network based on family and friendship bonds (strong ties), the network Antiñaque. Figure 3.1 showed how closely this group of French merchants was connected. Contrary to the first section, there were many links to Frenchmen and also to Flemings. Even though one cannot speak of endogamy of the French merchants in Seville, in the case of the three Frenchmen Pedro de Antiñaque, Pedro de la Farxa and Pedro de Alogue, very strong family bonds existed. By marrying the daughter of a naturalized Frenchman in Spain, the recently arriving Pedro de la Farxa, and Pedro de Alogue had the advantage to strengthen bonds with compatriots, to find a person in the Spanish society, who was already settled in Seville, and to fulfill the obligations of the *Casa de la Contratación* to receive the license for the American trade. Other French merchants married daughters of Flemings, namely Gil Muneris and Pedro Morel; the latter married daughters of Flemings at both of his weddings. The wife of Lanfran David was connected to Flemings as well, namely through her godfather. Also among the witnesses of naturalization, Flemings dominated. Six French merchants of the network Antiñaque had direct contact to Flemings,

four to Italians (Genoa and Venice), and two to Portuguese. The witnesses were pilots, priests, medical doctors, and military captains, but, chiefly, they were merchants and traders.⁷⁷

All of the 14 investigated merchants from both groups integrated into the society of Seville. None of them married a woman who was not born in Spain, eight wed Spanish women, one was too young to marry, two wed half Flemings, and two half-French women, and one last Frenchman married a woman of Genoese-Portuguese descent. Besides the connections through marriage, also within the other private connections, the participation of foreigners was similar, as two were in contact with Flemings and two with Frenchmen.⁷⁸ Considering the witnesses for the naturalizations (semi-private contacts), more foreigners appear. No compatriots showed up at all, but seven of the naturalized merchants were in contact with Flemings. Moreover, three had links to Genoese, one to a Venetian and one to a Portuguese. Thus, the semi-private network had a higher share of foreigners than the purely private ones. Four naturalized Frenchmen had no contact to foreigners at all, and mixed only with Spanish families. An essential role in the integration of the merchant in the city had his local father-in-law in Seville. That was especially the case, with regard to the example of Alonso Garcia del Castillo. Moreover, it should be pointed out that Flemings were the most frequent witnesses for Frenchmen, well ahead even of compatriots. Thus, it can be assumed that, by approaching the Flemings, the French merchants tried to access the larger Flemish trade networks which will be evident in the following chapters.

77 The election of an attorney in the case of naturalization catches one's eye. Frequently, Esteban Tofino was chosen by the French merchants to take on the lawsuits. He also worked for Flemings, like Guillermo Bequer.

78 Not counting the contacts from Jaques Bules to his Spanish-French employee, nor the one of Jaques Soming to his cousin.

4. The Colony of the Netherlands

The Flemish colony in Seville was by far more numerous than the French one. A total of 86 merchants from the Netherlands was found in the AGI, which are listed in the appendix (table C.1 on p. 395). The vast majority of them, namely 76, came from the *paises obedientes*, the Southern Netherlands, mostly from Antwerp.¹

Because of the greater number of nodes, which appear in the Flemish networks, the distinction between the types of relations in private and semi-private becomes even more substantial than in the French networks. Family and godfathers/-mothers were included in the first group, as well as witnesses to marriages. These private networks are displayed in figure 4.1, manifesting several small networks of the naturalized Flemings in Seville, and no high degree of interrelation amongst each other. The authorities concerned with the admission to the American trade were very interested in the origin of the wife of the person to be naturalized. Her Spanish family background was, at least theoretically, an indispensable prerogative for the naturalization – just the same as it was in the cases of the French naturalizations. It is the information about the wives and their families that is the backbone of the private networks of the Flemings. Therefore, it is no wonder that the most central nodes within the private networks are women like Ana de Venduylla and her mother Beatriz Nuñez, Catalina de Figueroa, and Catalina Jacome Brecarte. These women were the wives of the Flemings Marcos de Lannoy, Salomon Paradis, and Albertos Martin.

The second type of networks, the semi-private ones, are assembled by the attorneys and witnesses of the naturalized Flemings. These networks are visible in figure 4.2. They represent a grey area between the private networks and the business networks which will be scrutinized in the next part. The picture of the semi-private connections of the Flemish merchants in Seville is different from the one of the private connections. Figure 4.2 shows the merchants as focal

1 One has to bear in mind that possibly many Flemings were really Dutchmen, pretending to be from Flanders. Crespo Solana, “Las comunidades mercantiles”, pp. 451, 458-459. Yet, in general accordance with the numbers in this book, M. Moret detected only four Dutchmen, who, in spite of all prohibitions, lived in Seville in 1605. He describes them as almost integrated in the city (“pratiquement assimilés à la population indigène”). Moret, *Aspects de la société marchande*, p. 52.

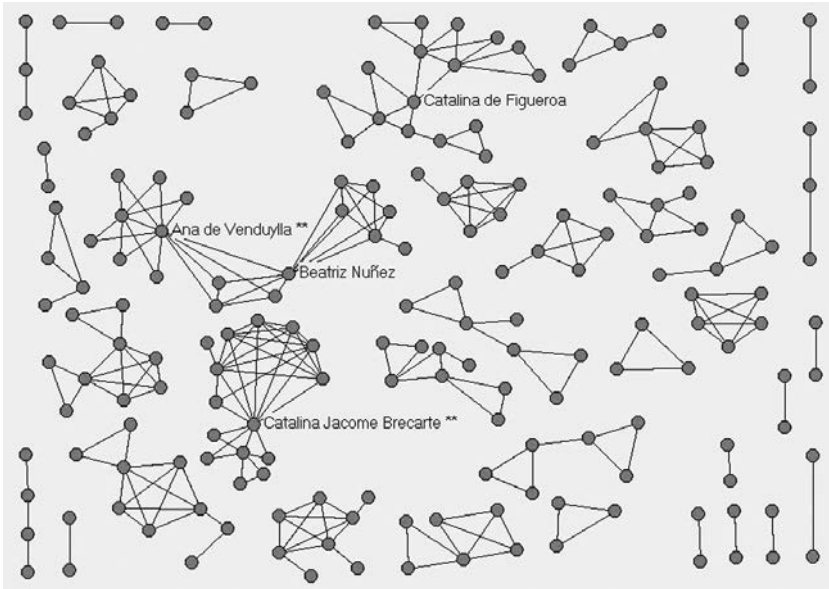


Figure 4.1: The Private Flemish Network (1580–1650)

points, surrounded by their witnesses and attorneys. Some of the lines also connect them with stockbrokers and notaries, which, like relays, constitute links to other merchants. In a city the size of Seville, it can be assumed that merchants of the same origin who shared one attorney or witness knew each other. In some cases, the merchants were even directly connected with each other.

Analyzing the semi-private networks, two different clusters, or circles, emerge. These constitute subnetworks which are defined by a high degree of cross-linking. Only two bridges, or bottlenecks, exist between one circle and the other. The nodes which constitute such bridges are the merchants Juan Leclerque from Lille² (cf. p. 201) and Roberto Marcelis from Antwerp (cf. p. 212). Their function as a bridge between the two circles is clearly visible in figure 4.2. The bridge function is also underlined by calculating the centrality of the Flemish semi-private network: Roberto Marcelis is the most

2 The city of Lille belonged to the Southern Netherlands until the treaty of Aachen in 1668. Cf. Lottin, *Deux mille ans de 'Nord-Pas-de-Calais'*, p. 167.

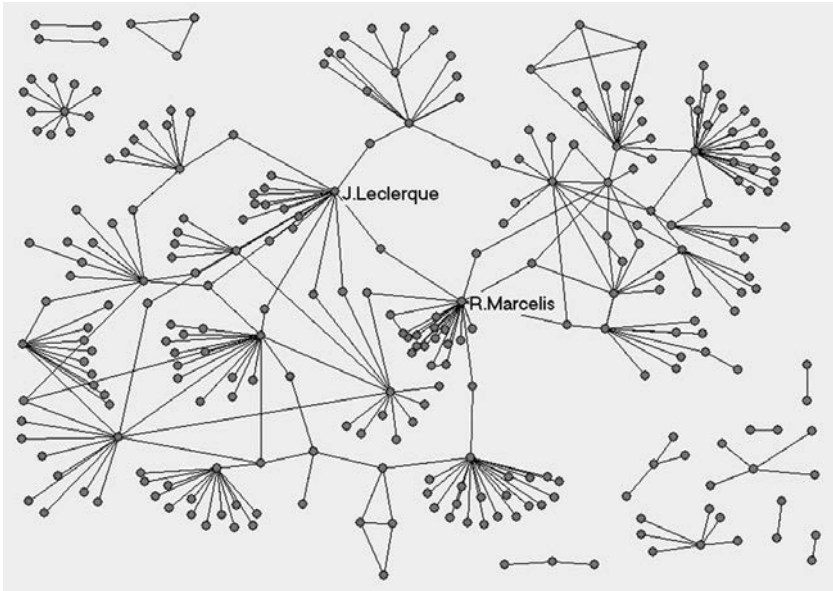


Figure 4.2: The Semi-Private Flemish Network (1580–1650)

central actor followed by Juan Leclerque.³ Subsequently, the two circles will be scrutinized one after the other.

4.1 The First Network Circle of the Naturalized Flemings – The Antwerp Connection

The first circle consists of 15 naturalized Flemish merchants, predominantly from Antwerp, listed in table 4.1.

³ The semi-private networks constructed upon the data of the naturalization dossiers of the AGI contain 279 nodes. The most central actors after Roberto Marcelis and Juan Leclerque in order of their centrality were (in parentheses the circle which the node belonged to) Francisco de Conique (I), Guillen Clou (II), Josefe Francisco de Peralta (II), Salomon Paradis (I), Francisco de Smidt (II), Juan Andres (I), Albertos Martin (II) and Jaques Bransen (I). All of them were naturalized Flemish merchants. The method of ranking the merchants by their centrality will not be applied to the investigation of the semi-private networks. The results would be too obvious due to the character of the sources, which always puts the naturalized merchant in the center. This method will be used for the analysis of the business networks in the following part (APS-data).

Table 4.1: Circle I – Applications for Naturalization of Flemings/Dutch in Andalusia (1580–1650)

Year	Name	Citizenship	Origin	Consulate
1584	Andres Plamont	Seville	Ath	—
1589	Marcos de Lannoy	Seville	Antwerp	—
1604	Francisco Helman	Seville	Antwerp	—
1600	Jaques Bransen	Seville / Cádiz	Antwerp	—
1600	Francisco de Conique	Seville	Antwerp	1618–1649
1607	Salomon Paradis	Seville	Antwerp	—
1607	Elias Sirman	Seville	Antwerp	—
1608	Juan Andres	Seville / Lima	Antwerp	—
1609	Lamberto Beruben	Seville	Antwerp	—
1610	Juan Leclerque	Seville	Lille	—
1611	Juan Florido	Seville	Bruges	—
1613	Pedro Juanes	Seville	—	—
1617	Juan Bautista Sirman	America	Antwerp	—
1617	Pedro Sirman	Seville	Antwerp	—
1626	Enrique Peligrón	Seville	Antwerp	—

Explanation: The merchant Roberto Marcelis from Antwerp (in figure 4.3, and 4.9 on p. 211) appears in both circles, and will be discussed in the next section

Source: AGI Contratación 50A, 50B, 596A, 596B, s.f.; complementary information is drawn from Vila Vilar, “Una amplia nómina”, Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, pp. 2-71; Domínguez Ortiz, “Los extranjeros en la vida española”, pp. 137-158

Only those were chosen, whose records allow a thorough analysis. These Flemings belonged to a network which forms a circle, discernible in figure 4.3. The figure shows that various connections exist among these merchants. At least indirectly, everyone is linked to everyone else. The subsequent analysis will show that some of the merchants are linked directly, while others are interconnected through further merchants or stockbrokers.

The majority within this first circle was strongly interrelated – on a private and semi-private level. Only a minority of four merchants was a little outside: Andres Plamont, Marcos de Lannoy,⁴ Lamberto Beruben, and Jaques Bransen. As they received their letters of naturalization relatively early (1584–1609), they are referred to as “earlier generation”, whereas the others belonged to the

⁴ Marcos de Lannoy is not displayed in figure 4.3 because no semi-private connections could be found in his dossiers of the AGI.

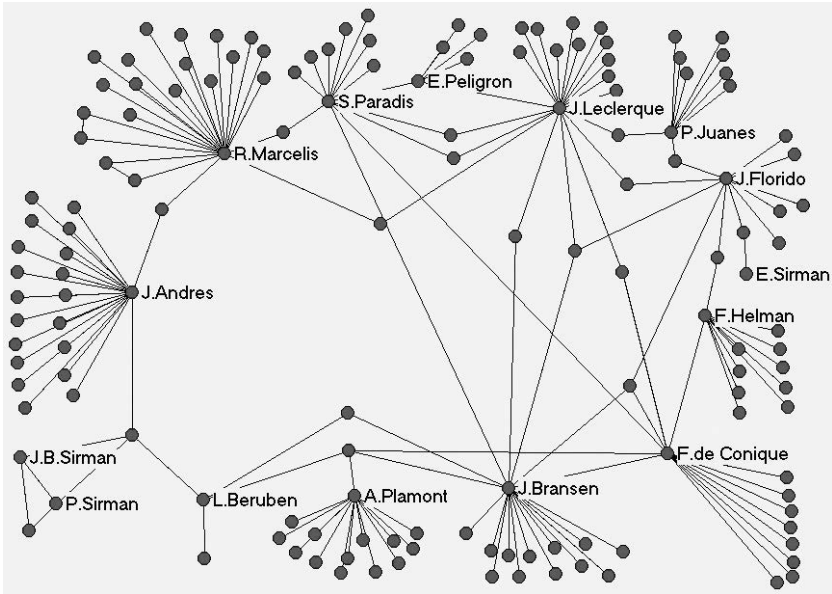


Figure 4.3: The First Circle of the Semi-Private Flemish Network

“later generation”. The private and semi-private networks of the “earlier generation” will be displayed first, in the following three subsections.

4.1.1 Andres Plamont (1584), Marcos de Lannoy (1589), and the Families Van der Linden De Venduylla, and De Neve

Two naturalized Flemings of the “earlier generation”, Andres Plamont and Marcos de Lannoy, formed a subnetwork with their compatriots, the Families Van der Linden, De Venduylla and De Neve. This network can be seen in figure 4.4. The family Van der Linden was from Herenthout, a region close to Antwerp. Pedro de Linden was an active merchant of Écija, a small town close to Seville well-known for its wool production, and married Isabel Bacque, the daughter of other Flemings, Matheo Bacque (in Seville since 1600) and Francisca de Venduylla. They had at least six children, two of them married the Flemish merchants Ricardo Oguen and Adriano Jacome. The former was the son of Niculasa Guilherme and the soldier Juan Oguen from Bruges, who went to Sanlúcar and fought for the Spanish king. Their son Ricardo was born in Bruges, and in 1641, he had to apply for naturalization. He became a sergeant and majordomo of the Flemish colony in Cádiz. Moreover, on behalf of the

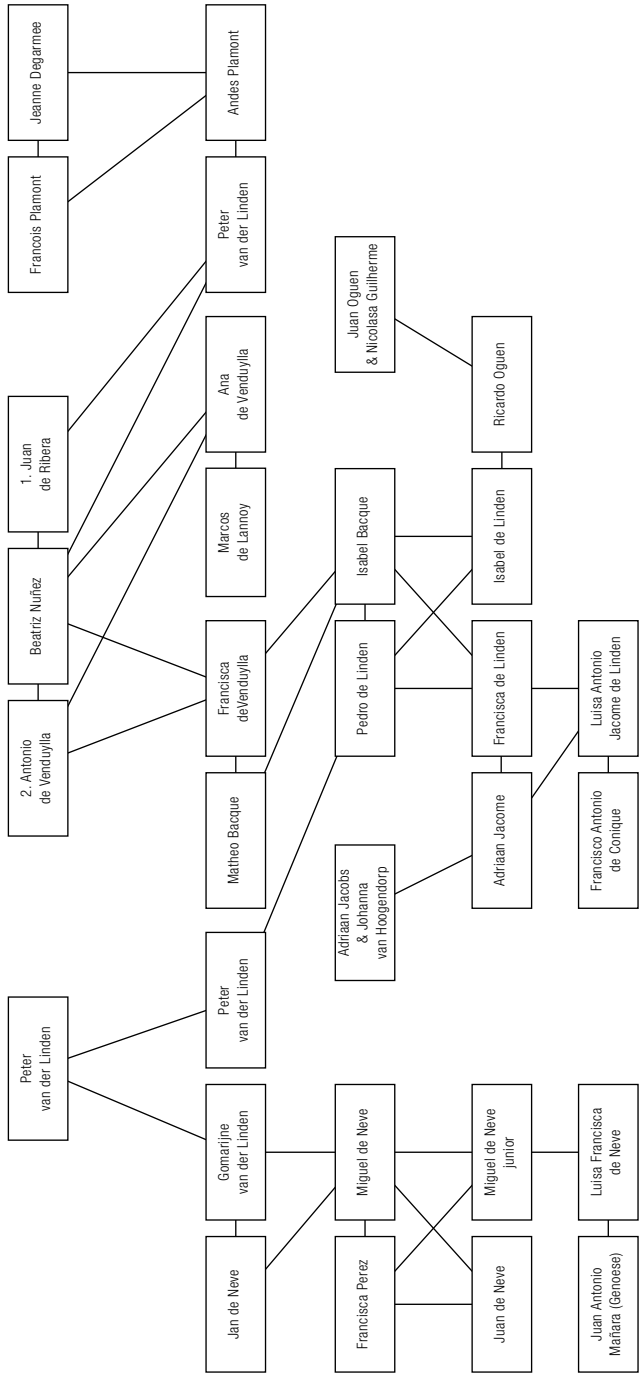


Figure 4.4: The Connections between the Families Van der Linden, De Neve, Plamont, and De Lannoy
Explanation: The numbers in front of some of the names indicate the first or second marriage

colony, Ricardo Oguen received an enormous donation of over 100,000 ducats (mostly real estate) which became the financial basis of the Flemish nation of Cádiz for subsequent decades.⁵ The other son-in-law of Pedro de Linden was Adrian Jacome, the son of Adiaan Jacobs and Johanna van Hoogendorp, both also from Bruges. Adrian Jacome resided in Seville between 1613 and 1658 and owned a wool laundry (*lavadero*) in Écija. One of his daughters married a member of the Flemish De Conique family.⁶

The aunt of Pedro de Linden, Gomarijne van der Linden, married the Flemish nobleman Jan de Neve. He was from Herenthout like the family Van der Linden. His son, Miguel de Neve (ca. 1550–1635), had come to Seville in the 1570s. There he married Francisca Perez, and they had two children Juan and Miguel. In 1596, Juan de Neve went to New Spain (Mexico and Central America) at the age of 18.⁷ In the 1620s, he was back from America and very active in the commercial life of Seville (cf. below on p. 339). In 1620, his brother Miguel junior still was in the Indies. Both brothers were among the most active American merchants of their time. Between 1620 and 1640 they owned the company which received most silver from the Indies, amounting to 1,671,173 ducats (2,304,007 pesos).⁸ Various evidence can be found relating to their American business: Miguel de Neve junior was the proprietor of the *navio* San Juan, of 150 tons, constructed in La Havana, whose master was Juan de la Peña. Within the fleet of the year 1628, the *navio* was to go to Cumaná in Venezuela. Yet, it was wrecked before leaving the river of Seville.⁹ Also in 1628, Juan de Neve was the guarantor¹⁰ for Martin de Yrazabal, the master of the *nao* Santa Ana Maria from Biscaya with 550 tons,¹¹ going to New Spain with

5 Crespo Solana, "Nación extranjera", pp. 182-183; Domínguez Ortiz, "Los extranjeros en la vida española", pp. 153-154; Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, p. 50.

6 AGI Contratación 50B, 596A, s.f.; cf. Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, pp. 4, 39-40, 44, 50 and Stambloom 11. Combining figure 4.4 with the figure 4.6, including the De Conique family (cf. below on p. 194), would create an enormous network between numerous Flemish families. Thus, on a private basis, a connection can be drawn between the Flemings of the "earlier" and the "later generation" but on a semi-private basis, they were further apart.

7 APS 9984, ff. 458-459.

8 Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, p. 49 and Stambloom 11; Vila Vilar, "Fortuna y mentalidad nobiliaria", pp. 110-113; idem, "Los mercaderes sevillanos", p. 87.

9 Chaunu, *Séville et l'Amérique*, pp. 152-153.

10 Being guarantor for another merchant, on the one hand, offered benefits but, on the other, it also could be a very risky undertaking. Cf. Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, p. 186.

11 For the different types of ships, cf. above on p. 48.

309.5 quintales of mercury.¹² Juan de Neve was a member of the *Consulado de Cargadores a Indias* between 1621 and 1629, he was a consultant (*conciliario*), consul, *prestamistas de Balbas*, and *comprador de oro y plata*. His brother Miguel de Neve, was in the Consulate between 1624 and 1646, he too was *conciliario*, consul (1630–1635), and *prestamistas de Balbas*, and in addition, he was *jurado* and administrator of the *avería*.¹³ One of the daughters of Miguel de Neve married the first-born of the eminent Genoese merchant Miguel de Mañara.¹⁴ Another link lead to Venice: in 1633, Miguel de Neve junior maintained three agents, namely Stefano van Neste, and Adolfo and Francesco van Axele. These assigned a certain Nivello Bonis to take care of the trade with Genesio Balbi, a Genoese merchant in Venice¹⁵ and member of the famous merchant dynasty of the Balbi.¹⁶ Thus, the brothers Juan and Miguel de Neve can be considered two of the richest Indies merchants of their time.

The mother-in-law of Pedro de Linden was Francisca de Venduylla, the daughter of the Flemish merchant Antonio de Venduylla, who had come in 1570 from Hainaut to Seville. Ana de Venduylla, a sister of Francisca, was baptized in about 1567. Her godparents were Roberto de Acre and Doña Ana de Fallas, both from Seville. In 1583, she married Marcos de Lannoy (Delanoy/De la Noy), a citizen of Seville and native of Antwerp, who had come to Seville before 1574. He became naturalized in 1589 and stayed in Seville until his death in 1610. At that time he possessed merchandise amounting to 20,000 ducats, various royal rents and two houses in the C/Francos, with an annual rent of 391 ducats (4,300 reales). Witnesses to their wedding were the *jurado* Juan de Pereira, and Pedro and Lope de Tapia; best men were again the *jurado* Juan de Pereira, Francisco de Castro, Roque Perez and Doña Catalina de Cabrera was matron of honor.

The mother of Francisca and Ana de Venduylla was Beatriz Nuñez, the daughter of a Spanish carpenter. She was married at first to a certain Juan de Ribera, which whom she had another daughter, Maria de Ribera de Venduylla. When Maria was baptized in 1558, her godparents were all Spaniards from Seville: Gaspar Juarez, Diego Caro, and Juana la Morena. In 1574, Maria married the Flemish merchant Andres Plamont. In 1565, at the age of 25, Andres

12 Chaunu, *Séville et l'Amérique*, pp. 152-153.

13 Vila Vilar, "Una amplia nómina", p. 169; Heredia Herrera, "Los dirigentes oficiales", p. 225.

14 Idem, *Los Corzo y los Mañara*, pp. 200-201.

15 ASV G.P., Notarile, Atti, b. 10 789, f. 484v.

16 Cf. Grendi, *I Balbi*. Today, the Balbi family maintains an accurate website with interesting details of their history, cf. Oliver Balbi, *The Balbi Family*.

Plamont had moved to Seville, where he became naturalized in 1584. He was born in Ath, Hainaut, as son of Francois Plamont and Jeanne Degermee.¹⁷ On his arrival in Spain, he lived in a house of the merchant Juan Cambier in the C/Francos. The origin of that family can be presumed to be Antwerp. Juan Cambier was also his first employer. In 1584, when Andres Plamont requested naturalization, he was already considered to be a very important merchant with business contacts to compatriots. In 1613, he resided in Antwerp and negotiated with Jean Lenvier and his brother-in-law, Thomas del Castillo.¹⁸

Whereas Marcos de Lannoy provides no semi-private data in his naturalization files, Andres Plamont was connected to Jacome Fernandez, presumably a professional attorney or notary of Seville: he had already appeared as witness for the Frenchman Gil Muneris and, in addition, he was involved in the naturalization cases of four more Flemings, namely the previously mentioned Andres Plamont, Jaques Bransen, Francisco de Conique, and Lamberto Beruben. All witnesses on behalf of Andres Plamont were Spaniards and citizens of Seville. These included the merchants Roque Perez, a processor of silk, Fanotino de Megariño, Andres and Miguel de Herrera, Gaspar Hernandez de Nasis, and Mateo Geronimo. Furthermore, there were two stockbrokers, Baltazar de Torres and Juan de Herrera, an administrator of the tax on cards.¹⁹ The silk processor Roque Perez had appeared already some years earlier as a witness to the wedding of the Fleming Marcos de Lannoy – which underlines, one more time, the overlapping between private and semi-private networks.

4.1.2 Lamberto Beruben (1609) and the Families Tolinque and De Molinar

Lamberto Beruben (Deruben/Veruben/Verhoeven) was the son of Jan Verhoeven and Elisabeth Camberleyn from Antwerp. Just like his brother Cornelio, he became a citizen of Seville, where he married Margarita de Abrego. Some of their nine children went to New Spain. In 1609, the year of the death of Lamberto Beruben, his naturalization was confirmed. That same year, his widow

17 The city of Ath, situated just in the middle between Lille and Brussels, was famous for its production of silk in the 15th century. Jeannin, “Informations et calculs”, p. 369.

18 AGI Contratación 50B, s.f.; cf. Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, pp. 14, 42, 53, 67 and Stambloom 11.

19 AGI Contratación 50B, s.f.; APS 16715, f. 585r; cf. Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, pp. 14, 42, 53. Further witnesses witnesses: Juan Baptista Valderon, Doctor Ortiz de Gaypal, Francisco Fernandez (porter), Gonzalo de Leon (attorney), and Hernando Xaramillo.

demanded permission from the *Casas de la Contratación* to continue the American business of her deceased husband. It seems that her request was granted. Their family tree can be seen in figure 4.5. In 1614, Margarita de Abrego married again. Once again, it was a Flemish merchant, Juan de Tolinque from s'Hertogenbosch, who had come to Seville in 1607.²⁰ He was the son of Pedro Tolinque and Federica Art. In 1620, he appears as indigo trader in Seville (cf. p. 341), and in 1630, he received his letter of naturalization and a license to go to New Spain for three years.²¹ In 1633 he went again,²² one year later, he died in New Spain.²³

One of the daughters of Margarita de Abrego and Lamberto Beruben, Beatriz Beruben, was baptized in 1599 in the presence of an Italian godfather, called Serrini. In 1629, she married Daniel de Leon, a citizen of Seville, originally from Hamburg. One of their daughters, Feliciana Margarita de Leon, baptized in 1630, married Francisco Paninque, also from Hamburg, in 1644. Francisco Paninque had been living in Seville since 1630 and became consul of the Flemish and German nations in Seville. One of the witnesses for his naturalization was the Fleming Jaques Filter.

Isabel Beruben, another daughter of Margarita de Abrego and Lamberto Beruben, married Antonio de Molinar, a Flemish merchant. Antonio de Molinar came to Seville in 1600 and started working for the family Andres, where some years earlier, Juan Leclerque also had started his career in Seville. One of the brothers of Antonio de Molinar lived in Madrid, another one in Bilbao. To demonstrate, the international character of the businessman Antonio de Molinar, some examples can be demonstrated: in 1603, he consigned 70 bales of wool to a Flemish merchant in Venice.²⁴ In 1620, he delivered tin to the Spanish Crown (cf. p. 320) and was involved in different financial transactions with merchants from Málaga, whereby he received 455 ducats (5,000 reales),²⁵ and Amsterdam/Antwerp, where he had to pay 705 ducats.²⁶ His main business sector, however, seemed to have been wool, as he exported huge quantities of

20 AGI Contratación 50B and 596A, s.f.

21 AGI Pasajeros, L. 11, E. 2025 [PARES]. The document AGI Contratación 5407, N. 49, ff. 1r-11v [PARES], even contains a large list of merchandise of Juan de Tolinque from the year 1630.

22 AGI Pasajeros, L. 11, E. 2673 [PARES], and AGI Contratación 5414, N. 58, ff. 1r-8r [PARES].

23 AGI Contratación 50B and 596A, s.f.

24 Brulez, *Marchands flamands à Venise (1568–1605)*, p. 459.

25 APS 10060, ff. 320v-321r.

26 APS 10060, f. 425v.

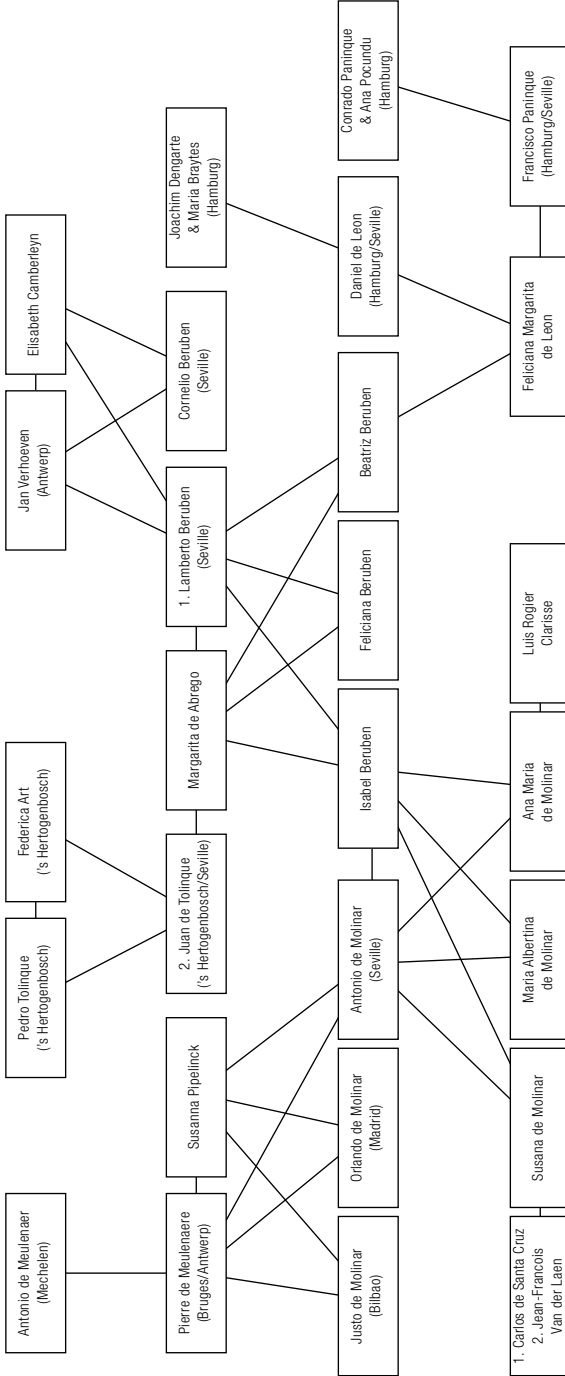


Figure 4.5: The Connections between the Families Beruben, De Molinar, and Tolinque
 Explanation: The numbers in front of some of the names indicate the first or second marriage

Spanish wool in that year (cf. table 7.8 on p. 313). In 1630, he became godfather to Feliciana Margarita de Leon, and in 1636, he was already back in Antwerp, doing business with Spain. His daughters Anna Maria and Susana (Suzanna) made good matches, as the first one married into the rich Flemish Clarisse family, and the second one became engaged to a member of the Van der Laen family from Antwerp.²⁷

The attorney of the family Beruben was Juan de Robles. The confirmation of the naturalization of Lanberto Beruben was testified by the above mentioned Jacome Fernandez and by the notary Pedro de Espinosa who were also working for the Fleming Jaques Bransen.²⁸

4.1.3 Jaques Bransen (1600)

Jaques Bransen came to Seville in 1579. About four years later he married Adriana Enriquez from Cádiz, the daughter of Jaques Enriquez and Juana de Vaberod.²⁹ He possessed real estate worth over 12,000 ducats and received the letter of naturalization in 1600; however, he had to apply again in 1609. In 1643, he died in Seville. Three Flemings could be found acting as witnesses on his behalf, Salomon Paradis, Antonio de Ambelot, and Geronimo de Vies, a stockbroker, native of Antwerp.³⁰ Juan Florido is another Fleming who was connected indirectly (via a stockbroker) to Jaques Bransen. A direct connection (another witness) leads to Hernando de Andrada, a Portuguese merchant and stockbroker, who was working also for Juan de Conique and Juan Florido.³¹

27 For the Van der Laen family, cf. Baetens, *De nazomer van Antwerpens welvaart*, vol. 1, pp. 122, 204.

28 AGI Contratación 596A, 596B and 51A s.f.; cf. Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, pp. 47-48, 65, 67 and Stamboom 9. A third witness was a certain Blas de Casas.

29 AGI Contratación 50B and 596A, s.f. According to E. Otte, Jaques Enriquez was a Fleming himself. Otte Sander, *Sevilla, siglo XVI*, p. 287.

30 Further witnesses of Jaques Bransen (from Seville if not indicated otherwise): Francisco de Orozco, Licenciado Baltasar Magallon (citizen of Seville, coming from Extremadura), Gaspar de Briones, Alonso Hernandez (business solicitor in Cádiz), Doctor Juarez de Castilla (attorney of the Real Audiencia), Juan de Valverde/Galavalen (master and medic), Antonio Quiros de Perea (stockbroker), Antonio Adolfo Rodriguez (merchant), Pedro Quadro Espinosa, Antonio Hernandez, Andres de Escobers, and Joan de Vina.

31 For the Flemings Jaques Bransen, Antonio de Ambelot and Francisco de Conique, cf. Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, pp. 74-88.

With Jaques Bransen, the analysis of the “earlier generation” ends. The scrutiny of various family connections amongst them have shown that Flemings were inclined to a certain endogamy. Thus, different regions of Flanders and Spain were involved. The following subsections will display the behavior of the “later generation”, which was a larger group.

4.1.4 Francisco de Conique (1600)

Based on data of the public record office of Antwerp, figure 4.6 is a reconstruction of a short but strongly interrelated genealogy of different families of Flemish/Dutch origin in Seville: the families De Conique, Nicolas, Antonio, Peligron and Francois.³²

The figure shows that the families of five merchants who became naturalized in Seville were affiliated on a private level. These merchants were:

- Francisco de Conique (naturalized in 1600), from Antwerp, first semi-private Flemish circle,
- Enrique Peligron (1626), from Antwerp, first circle,
- Pedro Francois (1627), from Tielt, second circle,
- Niculas Antonio senior (1613), from Breda, not included in any of the two circles³³, and
- Francisco Nicolas (1611),³⁴ Dutch origin, from Utrecht, not included in any of the two circles.

In this section, the families De Conique, Antonio, Nicolas, and Peligron will be scrutinized. The family Francois will be addressed in the next sections of the second semi-private circle (on p. 219).

Francisco de Conique³⁵ came from Antwerp at some point before the year 1580 to settle in Seville, in the parish of Santa María. In 1597, being about 32 years of age, he received citizenship in Seville. Francisco de Conique married Mariana Antonio, native of Seville and daughter of the Fleming Niculas Antonio senior and Ana de Gomar. E. Lorenzo Sanz estimates his credit to be as high as 100,000 ducats³⁶ and E. Vila Vilar describes him as typical foreign mer-

32 Figure 4.6 is an adaptation of a figure in Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, Stamboom 12.

33 No naturalization witnesses or other semi-private connections were mentioned in his files.

34 For Francisco Nicolas, cf. AGI Contratación 596A, s.f. No naturalization witnesses or other semi-private connections were mentioned in his files either.

35 AGI Contratación 50B and 596A, s.f.

36 Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, pp. 84-85.

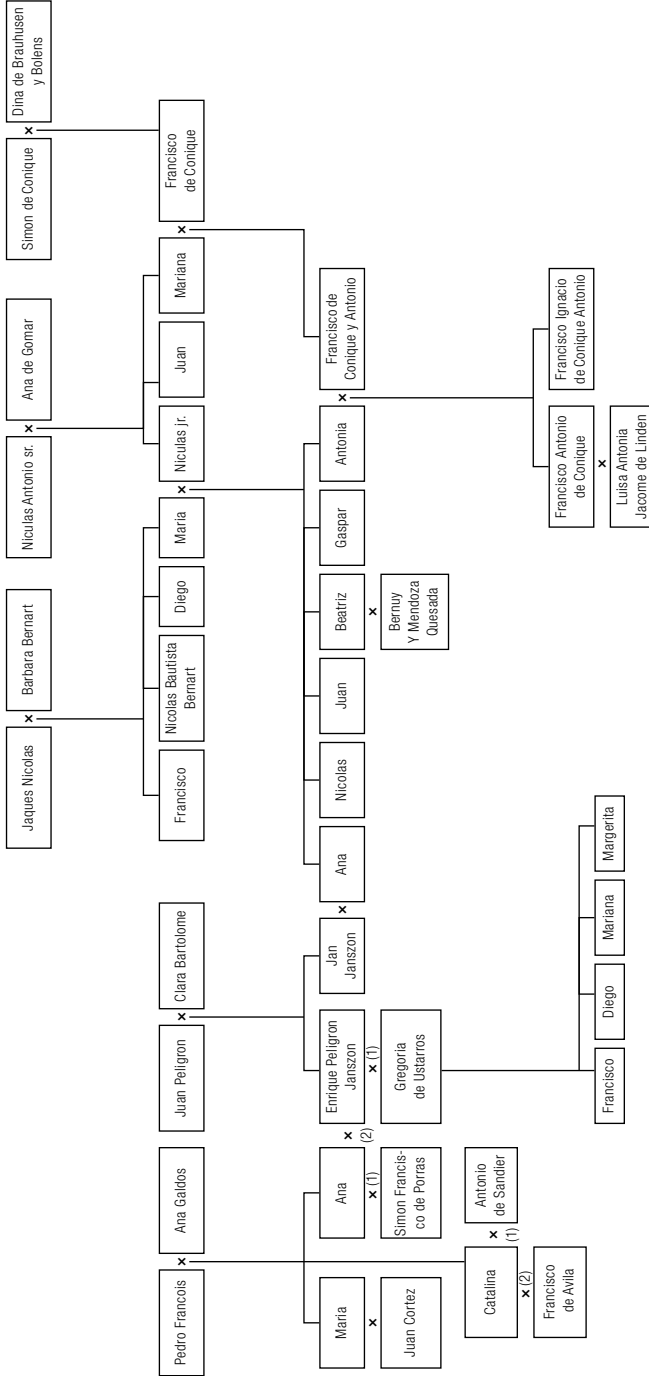


Figure 4.6: The Connections between the Families Nicolaes, Antonio, De Conique, Peligrón, and Frantz
 Explanation: The numbers in front of some of the names indicate the first or second marriage
 Source: Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, Stamboom 12; completed with data from the AGI Contratación 50B and 596A, s.f.

chant in Seville, having “el perfil clásico del comerciante extranjero radicado en Sevilla en esta época”.³⁷ During the prohibitive laws – when the commerce with the northern countries was very restricted – he was still able to send olive oil, wine, figs, and cochineal to England, Holland, and Zealand, and to receive cloth in return. Yet, by investigating his correspondence, in 1596, the authorities found out about his fraudulent trade and confiscated all of his possessions. Nonetheless, in 1600, he received his letter of naturalization. He was characterized as a very active merchant: “ha tratado y contratado en muchos generos de mercadería y en grandes cantidades como mercader notorio”. Francisco de Conique owned houses in Seville at the Puerta de Jerez and others in front of the Casa Lonja. Together with his other possessions, they were worth about 40,000 ducats. Thus, it is to be questioned, if the confiscation was carried out, or, more likely, if he had found alternative arrangements with the respective officials. Francisco de Conique was the owner of a considerable amount of land, knight of the order of Santiago, and alderman of Seville. Hence, he was playing an important role in the political and social life of the city.

The Indies represented a field of activity for Francisco de Conique, as he was involved in the American trade. Even though he had received a letter of naturalization in 1600, he additionally received a royal permission in 1609 to trade with the Indies.³⁸ Between 1618 and 1649, he appeared amongst the *Cargadores a Indias*.³⁹ Concerning his European business activities, it should be pointed out that already in 1595, Francisco de Conique had founded a company together with the Fleming Pedro Lemaire. They had business associates in different places: Isaac Lemaire in Holland, Abraham Lemaire in Zealand, David Lemaire in London, and Juan Ans in Sanlúcar. The latter was Flemish too, and also in charge of the business affairs of other Flemings, like Elias Sirman. This company is another illustrative example of the importance of compatriots and kinsmen in business.

Simon de Conique, the son of Francisco,⁴⁰ was involved in the textile market of Écija in 1620 (cf. p. 312). He too had come from Antwerp and became naturalized in 1635. Father and son were in direct business contact with each other,⁴¹ and it is very likely that they were working closely together because

37 Vila Vilar, “Los europeos en el comercio americano”, p. 291.

38 AGI Indiferente 428, L. 33, ff. 108-109 [PARES].

39 He was one of the most important creditors for the *Carrera de Indias*. Bernal Rodríguez, *La financiación de la Carrera de Indias*, pp. 246, 249.

40 Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, p. 18.

41 APS 10060, f. 178r-182v.

Francisco had well established connections within the European textile market.⁴²

Besides the mentioned Portuguese stockbroker Hernando de Andrada, among the witnesses of Francisco de Conique, there was also the attorney Jacome Fernandez, the Dutchman Jaques Nicolas, and the Flemings Jaques Brausen, Justo Canis, and three members of the family De Palma Carrillo from Antwerp (originally from Rouen):⁴³ Juan, Pedro (a stockbroker), and Gonzalo.⁴⁴ Francisco de Conique on his part acted as witness to the naturalizations of the Flemish merchants Francisco Helmann (in 1594) and Salomon Paradis (in 1607).⁴⁵ Regarding purely private links, a connection to the German Andres Labermeyr also existed, for whom Francisco de Conique acted as best man at the wedding in 1611.⁴⁶

4.1.5 The Flemish Family Niculas Antonio Senior and Junior (1613) and the Dutch Family Jaques and Francisco Nicolas (1611)

Mariana Antonio, the wife of Francisco de Conique, was the daughter of of Niculas Antonio senior, a nobleman and merchant from Breda, in Brabant. Niculas Antonio senior had arrived at the age of 16 in Seville and became a prominent member of the Flemish colony. His son, Niculas Antonio junior,⁴⁷ was thus the brother-in-law of Francisco de Conique. He was even more important than his father, and is described by E. Vila Vilar as an outstanding figure of the colony: “la figura que aparece destacada y destacable entre toda la colonia flamenca en esta época”.⁴⁸ He became naturalized in 1613,⁴⁹ and was consul of the Flemish nation in Seville in about 1615. He was the first admiral of the *Almirantazgo*, from 1624 until his death in 1637. In Europe, his net-

42 Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, pp. 84-85; Vila Vilar, “Una amplia nómina”, p. 153; Vidal Ortega and Vila Vilar, “El comercio lanero”, pp. 58, 64; for the general entanglement between family and business, cf. Brachel, “Italian Merchant Organization”; Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, p. 18.

43 Cf. Demeulenaere-Douyère, “La colonie espagnole de Rouen”, pp. 30, 40; Vázquez de Prada, *Lettres marchandes*, vol. 1, p. 226.

44 Further witnesses: Luis Braud, attorney “de causa” and Pedro del Pinosalmis Pinelo.

45 AGI Contratación 50B, s.f.

46 AGI Contratación 51B, s.f.

47 AGI Contratación 50B, s.f.

48 Vila Vilar, “Los europeos en el comercio americano”, p. 294.

49 No witness was mentioned.

work spread from Seville to Venice, Flanders, and France. During the 1630s, he appeared as member of the *Cargadores a Indias* and traded with Mexico, Santo Domingo, and Caracas. Niculas Antonio junior belonged to the six merchants who received most silver from the Indies between 1620 and 1645, more precisely 558,759 ducats (770,348 pesos). The variety of products with which he traded was enormous and will be revealed in the next part (cf. p. 298).

Niculas Antonio junior married Maria Nicolas Bernart, the daughter of Barbara Bernart from Seville and the Dutchman Jaques Nicolas. Niculas Antonio junior and Maria Nicolas had eight children. One of them, Antonia Antonio, married her first cousin Francisco de Conique y Antonio. Another, Nicolas Antonio Nicolas, became a famous bibliophile.⁵⁰

The father-in-law of Niculas Antonio junior, the Dutchman Jaques Nicolas (Cornielson), also became influential in Seville, and an important merchant in the Flemish network. His parents were Nicolas Willem Gijzen and Gertruda Copens. Around 1570, at the age of 16, he came from Utrecht to Seville.⁵¹ There, he worked as factor for Pedro Conique, a “rebel” from Holland⁵² – a kinship to Francisco de Conique is possible. The ship of that rebel, San Pedro, with 150 tons, was seized in the harbor of Cádiz in 1595. In 1600, Jaques Nicolas was one of the most central merchants of Seville (cf. p. 264). He married Barbara Bernart,⁵³ who was baptized in Seville. Her parents Alonso Bernart and Dorothea Jacome were from Bruges. In 1601, Jaques Nicolas, in spite of having come from the “disobedient” Netherlands, was among the witnesses for the letter of naturalization of Francisco de Conique. Five years later, he testified on behalf of another Fleming, Juan Leclerque.⁵⁴ Thus, on a private and semi-private basis, Jaques Nicolas blends perfectly into the group with the naturalized Flemings of the first semi-private circle.

In 1611, one of the sons of Jaques Nicolas, Francisco Nicolas, applied for naturalization, stating that his parents had already gained that privilege before-

50 AGI Contratación 50B, s.f. Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, p. 86; Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, p. 3; Gómez-Centurión Jiménez, *Felipe II, la empresa de Inglaterra*, p. 285; Vila Vilar, “Los europeos en el comercio americano”, pp. 294-296; idem, “Una amplia nómina”, p. 157; idem, “Fortuna y mentalidad nobiliaria”, pp. 110-111; idem, “Plata y poder”, p. 127. For the aspirations of the rich merchants for their sons, cf. p. 107.

51 AGI Contratación 596A, s.f.

52 Bernal Rodríguez, *La financiación de la Carrera de Indias*, p. 249; Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, p. 86 and Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, p. 49.

53 Vila Vilar, “Los europeos en el comercio americano”, pp. 294-296.

54 Both in AGI Contratación 50B, s.f.

hand.⁵⁵ However, the public prosecutor claimed that the merchandise from Francisco Nicolas actually belonged to his father and other foreigners from Holland and Zealand, which was illegal. Furthermore, the prosecutor declared that the young Francisco Nicolas did not have citizenship in Seville nor houses, possessions, real estate, or licenses to trade to the Indies. Hence, Francisco Nicolas was accused of being a mere front man for his father. Despite all that, he was naturalized in 1611⁵⁶ – by the 1610s, the influence of the Nicolas family was obviously strong enough to surpass bureaucratic setbacks. In 1635, Francisco Nicolas fully took part in the Indies trade, being the owner of a big *nao* of 550 tons which sailed to New Spain that same year.⁵⁷

4.1.6 Enrique Peligron (1626)

Enrique Peligron (Hendrik Pelgrom Janszoon) is the next Fleming and the last one appearing in the genealogy of figure 4.6 who will be presented in this section.⁵⁸ He arrived in the early 1600s in Seville, settled down in about 1610, and applied for naturalization in 1626.⁵⁹ Both of his parents, Juan Peligron and Clara Bartolome, were citizens of Antwerp.

He married Gregora de Ustarros (de Soria), daughter of Ana de Silva and Diego Garcia from Seville, and they had at least four children Mariana, Margarita, Francisco, and Diego Peligron de Ustarros. The latter became a merchant and went to Tierra Firme in 1652,⁶⁰ while his brother Francisco Peligron went back to Antwerp and returned only in 1642 to Seville. In 1620, Enrique Peligron was involved in a business in Coria, close to Seville,⁶¹ where he possessed vineyards and planted olives.

The father-in-law of Enrique Peligron, Diego Garcia, seemed to be involved in French affairs because in 1594, he testified on behalf of the Frenchman Jaques Soming (cf. above on p. 161). Enrique Peligron had a brother called Jan Janszoon, they had arrived in Seville together. Jan Janszoon married Ana Antonio Nicolas, the daughter of Niculas Antonio junior and Maria Nicolas. Thereby, he established the direct family link between the families of Peligron and Antonio Nicolas.

55 The AGI files could not confirm that statement.

56 AGI Contratación 596B, s.f. No witnesses were indicated.

57 Chaunu and Chaunu, *Séville et l'Atlantique*, vol. 5, pp. 264-265.

58 The family Francois will be presented in the next section.

59 AGI Contratación 50B, s.f.

60 AGI Pasajeros, L. 12, E. 997 [PARES].

61 APS 9390, ff. 37, 46.

Amongst the persons, who witnessed on behalf of the naturalization of Enrique Peligrón, only Flemish merchants could be found, most of them citizens of Seville: Francisco de Rudder, Henrique Ceribas, Giraldo van Gasse, Roberto Arnao, Juan Leclerque, and Salomon Paradis. In addition, Enrique Peligrón was a companion of the Fleming Felipe de la Flye. The semi-private connections of Enrique Peligrón, therefore, do not indicate one single link to a Spaniard – an extreme example of Flemish restraint in Seville. Yet, this observation must be reconsidered due to the marriage of Enrique Peligrón with a woman of Spanish descent.⁶²

4.1.7 Salomon Paradis (1607)

One of the witnesses of Enrique Peligrón was Salomon Paradis from Antwerp. Salomon Paradis was the son of Reynaldo Paradis and Susana de los Santos, born in 1567. In 1585, he came to Seville and married Catalina de Figueroa from Málaga. She was the daughter of Fernando de Figueroa and Violante de Montedoro, who had married in the year 1569. It is likely that Salomon Paradis traveled a lot in the 11 years after his first arrival, yet, since 1596, he had lived permanently in Seville, and by 1607, he had three children.

The two witnesses to the ceremony were the Spanish silk trader Alonso Nuñez de Arbolea and the Fleming Francisco de Conique. The connection between Salomon Paradis and Francisco de Conique did not only take place on a private level, as best man, but also on a semi-private one. Francisco de Conique was also a witness on behalf of Salomon Paradis in matters concerning his naturalization in 1607. Salomon Paradis for his part was witness on behalf of Jaques Bransen. Further witnesses for the naturalizations of Salomon Paradis were the Flemings such as Guillermo de Haze senior and Juan de la Barcena, and the stockbrokers Diego Sutre (also a Fleming) and Santiago Ramiro.⁶³ The latter two were also linked to the following Flemish merchant, Juan Leclerque.⁶⁴

62 AGI Contratación 50B, s.f.; cf. Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, pp. 29, 51-52.

63 Further witnesses before the attorney Mateo Natera were: Jhoan de Velasco, Jaques Estorque, Jhoan Ponce de Mendoca, and the stockbrokers Yleaurro de Gutierrez and Lorenzo de Caltereanon (the names of the latter are almost indecipherable).

64 AGI Contratación 50B and 596A, s.f.; cf. Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, p. 51; Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, p. 86.

4.1.8 Juan Leclerque (1610)

Juan Leclerque was another eminent merchant in Seville and, during the early 17th century,⁶⁵ was quite eminent. Even though his family network is not documented very comprehensively, the witnesses on his behalf and in favor of his wife are numerous. He had many semi-private connections, and together with Roberto Marcelis they constituted the bridge to the second circle in figure 4.2 (p. 184).

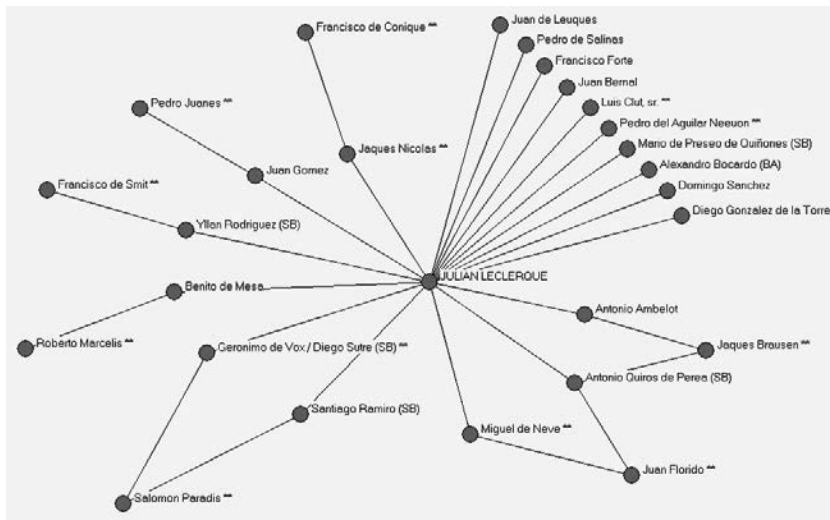


Figure 4.7: The Semi-Private Network of Juan Leclerque (SB means stockbroker)

Juan Leclerque came from Lille, Flanders.⁶⁶ He was born in 1567 and came to Seville between 1574 and 1581, still at a very young age. He first served the Fleming Geronimo Andres as cashier, who had strong business connections to

65 AGI Contratación 50B and 596A, s.f.; cf. Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, pp. 43. Sometimes he also appears as “Julian de Leclerque”.

66 Lille, which belonged to Flanders until 1668, had developed in the 15th century a prosperous wool industry, embracing *draperie*, *sayetterie* and *bourgeterie*. Cf. Saint-Léger, *Histoire de Lille*, p. 208. Even though the number of craftsmen and small traders was high, the number of big merchants was never elevated. Cf. Lottin, *Chavatte, ourrier lillois*, pp. 55-56. However, until at least the 1620s, the woolen industry of Lille was prosperous. Cf. idem, “Être et croire à Lille”; Guignet, *Vivre à Lille sous l’Ancien Régime*; Trénard, “La chronique d’un modeste lillois”; idem, “Capital des Pays-Bas méridionaux”; cf. also the contributions of A. Lottin in Trénard et al., *Histoire de Lille*, on pp. 41-68, 50-59, 151-196 and 197-220.

Antwerp and Rouen (cf. p. 239).⁶⁷ Juan Leclerque married Francisca de Suti who was baptized in 1567 in Seville, Santa María. They had six children. His parents-in-law were Francisco de Suti and María Gomar. The surname of his mother-in-law is the same as the one of Ana Gomar, the wife of the Fleming Niculas Antonio.⁶⁸ However, an explicit family affiliation could not be verified.

In 1594, a curiosity is revealed: because of a money order, Juan Leclerque had to pay 364 ducats (4,000 reales de plata) to the writer Miguel de Cervantes.⁶⁹ In 1609, he started a lawsuit against the Spanish king because he was having issues with the collection of the *sisal*, a consumption tax of victuals. More precisely, it was a tax on wine and olive oil, which Juan Leclerque had rented.⁷⁰ And in 1610, he possessed real estate, houses, *juros*, and other property.

The witnesses on behalf of he and his wife can be seen in figure 4.7. The figure is expanded through some links, that indirectly connect Juan Leclerque with further Flemings, like Jaques Bransen, Juan Florido, and Salomon Paradis.⁷¹ Moreover, Juan Leclerque acted on behalf of the Fleming Niculas de Grane (cf. p. 176) in matters concerning his naturalization, in 1613.⁷² In 1609, Juan Leclerque figured among the witnesses on behalf of the naturalization of Angelo de Acosta, a Genoese merchant who had settled in Cádiz.⁷³ In addition to showing the various links of Juan Leclerque, Figure 4.7 indicates the unifying function of stockbrokers and shows the central position of Juan Leclerque. This focal position already alludes to the position he will have in the subsequent part, when Juan Leclerque is the most important Flemish merchant of the business network of the year 1600 (cf. p. 257).

4.1.9 Pedro Juanes (1613)

Juan Leclerque was linked to the Flemish merchant Pedro Juanes via captain Juan Gomez, with whom both of the Flemings were in contact. Pedro Juanes⁷⁴

67 Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, pp. 2-3, 43.

68 Cf. p. 197 and figure 4.6.

69 AGS Colección Cervantes-227: 1594-12-15.

70 AHN Consejos 25443, Exp. 5 [PARES].

71 Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, p. 86. The Flemish stockbroker Diego Sutre (Suti), alias Geronimo de Vox, may well have been a relative of Francisca de Suti.

72 AGI Contratación 50B, s.f.

73 AGI Contratación 51A, s.f.

74 AGI Contratación 51A, s.f.

was the son of Andres Juanes and Catalina Guillen from Sanlúcar.⁷⁵ Both of his parents died early, so that in 1613, a guardian had to submit the application for his naturalization before the *Casa de la Contratación*. Four Flemish merchants were among his witnesses: Adolfo Rodriguez and Francisco Caballarte from Puerto de Santa María, and Guillermo de Cambri and Juan van Belle, a *jurado*, from Seville. The latter had already been a witness to the naturalization of the French merchant Gil Muneris in 1610. Also a Dutchman appeared, who did not mention his origin during testimony, namely Tobias Buque.⁷⁶ He was mentioned in an official letter of the city of Seville to the Spanish king, wherein he was called a very important “Flemish” merchant who was essential to the economy of the city.⁷⁷ Pedro Juanes probably moved to Seville, and later, he traveled to the Indies.

4.1.10 Juan Florido (1611)

Three of the already mentioned naturalized merchants, Pedro Juanes, Juan Leclerque, and Jaques Bransen, were connected to the Fleming Juan Florido – at least indirectly. In about 1577, Juan Florido entered the service of Hendrik Helman in the *C/Abades*. Juan Florido had come from Bruges and applied for naturalization in 1611. By then, he had already been living in Spain for over 37 years. In 1586, he married Juana de Lobayna from Segovia, the daughter of the Flemings Erasmo de Lobayna and Maria de Lobayna who had been living in Spain since at least 1591. Since 1596, the possession of Juan Florido contained three houses and various vineyards in Tomares, neighboring Seville.

As witnesses on his behalf, a very illustrious circle appeared. Five stock-brokers were amongst them, one was the Portuguese Hernando de Andrada, who also was in contact with Jaques Bransen and Francisco de Conique, and another was Antonio Quiros de Perea, who was a witness for Juan Leclerque.⁷⁸ The attorney working for Juan Florido was Gaspar de la Esquina, who was employed by the Fleming Elias Sirman too. In addition, there was Cristobal

75 The name Guillen reminds much of that of a Frenchman in Seville, yet, no connections could be detected.

76 Further witnesses from Seville were captain Juan Gomez, Juan de Burgos (alcalde “de la mar”), the sailor Cristobal Gonzalez, and Francisco Suarez.

77 Cf. Moret, *Aspects de la société marchande*, p. 47; Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, p. 13. M. Moret names three more distinguished Flemings, namely Jaques Nicolas (another Dutchmen), Juan van Hooren (possibly English), and a certain Jean Henri.

78 The others were Hernan Gomez de Salazar, Andres Sanchez Faxardo, and Juan de Cavallon.

Gonzalez Tinajero, a pilot of the *Carrera de Indias*, Melchor de Marchena, an attorney “de numero” and three foreign merchants, namely: the Flemings Melchor de los Reyes and Miguel de Neve, and the Italian Andrea del Poggio, from Venice, a citizen of Seville. The latter linked Juan Florido with Francisco Helman.⁷⁹

4.1.11 Francisco Helman (1604)

Francisco Helman was one of the richest merchants of the city. He traded with merchandise amounting to 100,000 ducats at a time.⁸⁰ His parents lived in Antwerp but the second generation dispersed and founded new trading posts in Venice and Seville. Three of his brothers, Guillermo, Carlo, and Antonio Helman, were sent to Venice.⁸¹ Francisco and his other brother Pedro, on the other hand, settled down in Seville in about 1574. Around the turn of the century, the Helman clan controlled a great deal of the triangular trade between Seville, Antwerp and Venice. Additionally, they had connections to Goa, in India, be it via the Levant or Lisbon, where João du Bois was their permanent representative. The following generations of Helmans, both in Spain and in the Netherlands, entered the aristocracy.⁸²

Francisco Helman tried to become naturalized for the first time in 1594, but he failed because he was not married to a Spanish woman. Being aware of that missing prerequisite, he tried to stress his other qualities, such as his very catholic character, his assiduousness in paying taxes, his rich possessions, and his citizenship in Seville. In addition, he mentioned his intention to marry soon. Yet, in spite of all of this, it was not until 10 years later that he received his *carta de naturaleza*.

Francisco Helman had two children with his wife Clara de Quiros, namely Catalina, who was born in 1589, and Francisco, born in 1591. Two stockbro-

79 AGI Contratación 50B, 596A and 596B, s.f; cf. Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, p. 29. The direct relationship between Hendrik Helman and Francisco Helman could not be established.

80 AGI Contratación 50B, s.f.

81 For Carlo Helman, cf. Brulez, *Marchands flamands à Venise (1568–1605)*, pp. 340-343. In 1600, he was involved in commerce with sugar, connecting Venice, Lisbon, and London, and he had connections with the Indies. For a Helman family tree in Antwerp, cf. Baetens, *De nazomer van Antwerpens welvaart*, vol. 1, pp. 176-183.

82 Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, p. 35.

kers,⁸³ a captain⁸⁴ and a *jurado*⁸⁵ were amongst his witnesses. In addition, five merchants attended: the Fleming Francisco de Conique, Nicolao Lanbertengo from Milan, Andrea Poggio from Venice, and Spaniards Juan de Torres, a silversmith, and Luis de Aldaz.⁸⁶

4.1.12 The Families Sirman (1607 and 1617), Clut, Bibien, and Vermeren

The last merchants who are included in the first circle of the semi-private network, are members of the family Sirman.⁸⁷ The merchant Elias Sirman from Antwerp, a citizen of Seville, applied for naturalization in 1600. By then, he had already lived in Spain for over 20 years and possessed enough real estate for the application. The application was passed despite the objection that both of his wives were of foreign descent. This certainly was true, because the families Ysac and Clut were originally Flemish.⁸⁸ Figure 4.8 shows the linkage of the three families. Thereby it denotes again the strong endogamy of Flemish families in Seville.

By 1600, both parents-in-law of Elias Sirman, on one side, Luis Clut senior and Maria Hendriks (Enriquez), and on the other, Juan Ysac with his wife Martina Enriquez, were all living in Seville. With his first wife Maria Ysac, Elias Sirman had at least four sons and a daughter. One of his sons Pedro Sirman, a *jurado* of Seville, married Maria Vermeren, the daughter of Juan Vermeiren, an Indies merchant from Antwerp, who became naturalized in 1604.⁸⁹ After the death of their father Elias, Pedro Sirman and his brothers Luis and Juan Bautista continued the business of their father. Therefore, they had to apply for naturalization again in 1617. Yet, already in 1615 Juan Bautista Sirman traveled regularly between New Spain and Antwerp. By then, the three brothers

83 Gaspar de Ribero and Juan de Pasalon.

84 Pedro Martinez de Anate.

85 Geronimo de Velasco.

86 AGI Contratación 50B, s.f.; cf. Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, p. 85; Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, p. 35 and Stambloom 14; Domínguez Ortiz, “Los extranjeros en la vida española”, p. 138. One further witness was Alonso de Velasco.

87 AGI Contratación 50B and 596A, s.f.; cf. Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, pp. 16, 61, 69 and Stambloom 13.

88 For the latter there exist numerous entries in Vidal Ortega and Vila Vilar, “El comercio lanero”.

89 Domínguez Ortiz, “Los extranjeros en la vida española”, p. 138.

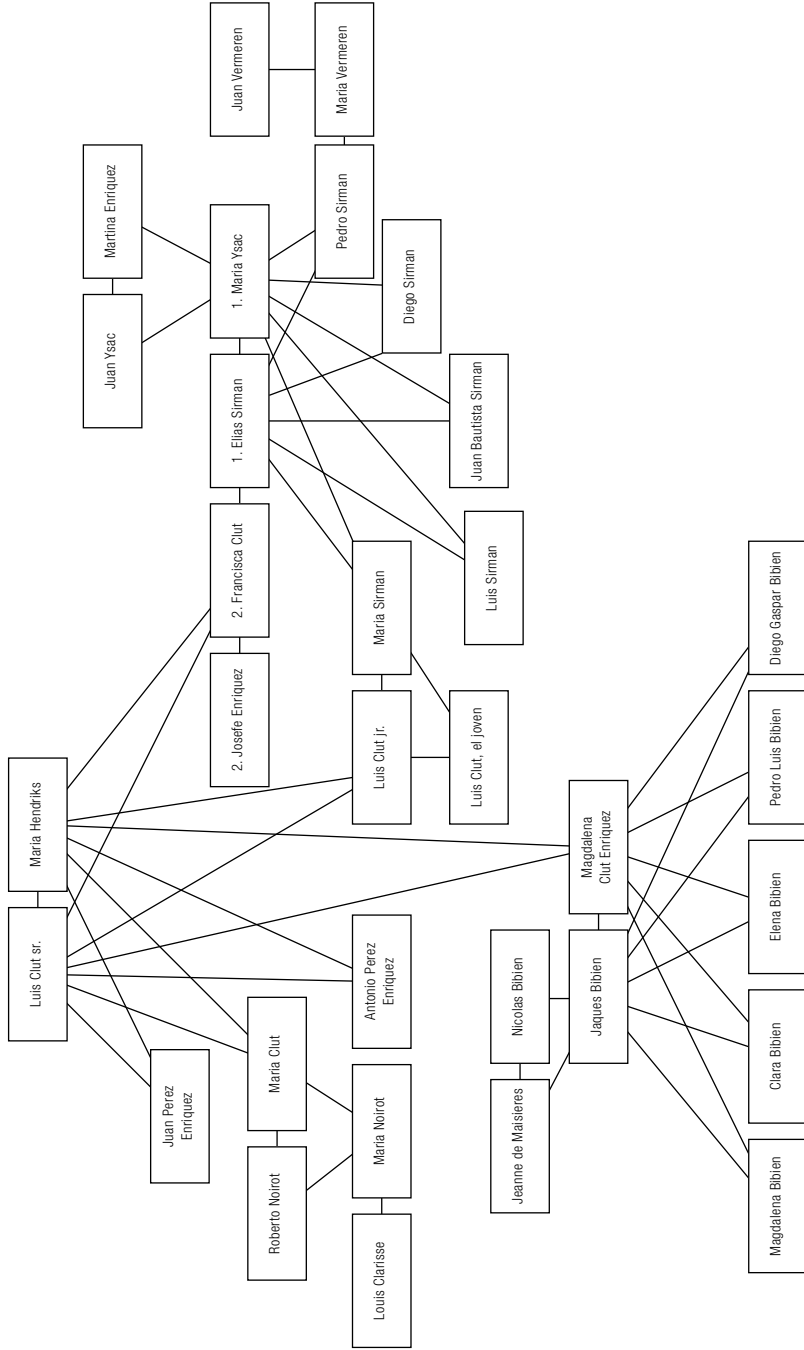


Figure 4.8: The Families of Elias Sirman and Luis Clut
Explanation: The numbers in front of some of the names indicate the first or second marriage

were accused of committing illicit commerce. Moreover, the products are of interest, because they were reported to have imported 337 pieces of leather and four fardos of silk from China. The latter was, most probably, part of a shipment of the Manila-Galleon from the Philippines⁹⁰ – also in 1620, Chinese goods would have been of interest to the Sirman family (cf. 309). In any case, the result of the lawsuit is unknown. In 1620, Pedro Sirman moved to the Indies, where he was murdered.⁹¹ Another brother, Diego Sirman, who was born in 1599, became a canon of the church of Seville, captain of the infantry and member of the Spanish *Consejo Supremo*.⁹²

After the death of his first wife, Elias Sirman married Francisca Clut. The couple had no children together. Francisca Clut was the daughter of Luis Clut senior and Maria Hendriks, both from Gits, Western Flanders, who had come to settle down in Seville in about 1600. After 1609, when Elias Sirman had died,⁹³ Francisca Clut married Josefe Enriquez. They had no children either. Her parents, on the other hand, were very prolific. They had at least six children. One of them was the merchant Luis Clut junior who was born in Bruges in 1577.⁹⁴ At the age of 25, he applied for a voyage to the Indies.⁹⁵ He married his niece Maria Sirman, the daughter of Elias Sirman.⁹⁶ Together they had a

90 For the Manila Galleon, cf. for example Flynn and Giráldez, “Born With a ‘Silver Spoon’”, pp. 259-279; Hang-Sheng, “Trade between China, the Philippines and the Americas”, pp. 281-285; and for the involvement of the family Sirman, cf. Gil, *La India y el Lejano Oriente*, p. 201.

91 Cf. AGI Contratación 342B, N. 1, R. 19: Bienes de difuntos: Pedro Sirman [PARES].

92 E. Stols does not make it clear whether he refers to the *Consejo de la Suprema y General Inquisición* (the highest court of cases concerning the inquisition) or the *Consejo de Estado* which was formerly called *Consejo Supremo*. Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, p. 61; Ulloa, *La Hacienda Real*, pp. 50-67; Amalric et al., *Léxico Histórico de España*, pp. 59-61.

93 AGI Contratación 334A, N. 1, R. 1, Bienes de difuntos: Elias Sirman [PARES]. E. Stols, on the other hand, calculates that the death of Elias Sirman did not take place before 1618. Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, p. 61. Also M. Moret believes that Elias Sirman was still in business in 1610 and was penalized for illicit traffic. Cf. Moret, *Aspects de la société marchande*, pp. 73-74.

94 Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, Stamboom 13.

95 AGI Contratación 5276B, N. 79, ff. 1r-16r [PARES]. One of the witnesses on his behalf was the Flemish merchant Juan van Belle. AGI Contratación 5276B, N. 79, f. 14 [PARES].

96 Cf. AGI Contratación 5396, N. 79 [PARES].

son called Luis Clut *el joven* who applied for a voyage to Peru about 24 years after his father had done so.⁹⁷

Two brothers of Luis Clut junior who called themselves Antonio and Juan Perez Enriquez, were both merchants too. While Antonio lived in Peru⁹⁸ at least from 1616 on,⁹⁹ Juan was a very active member of the *Consulado de Car-gadores a Indias* in Seville in the years between 1624 and 1644.¹⁰⁰ He also traveled to the Indies.¹⁰¹

The remaining two children of Luis Clut senior were Maria and Magdalena. Maria Clut married the merchant Roberto Noiroot from Antwerp. Their daughter, who was born in Seville, married a descendant of the Flemish Clarisse family,¹⁰² a banking dynasty from Antwerp. The sister of Maria, Magdalena Clut Enriquez, married the Flemish merchant Jaques Bibien. The latter was one of the most distinguished merchants of the year 1620 and one of the most important wool merchants of Écija.¹⁰³ His father was Nicolas Bibien (Vivien), the lord of Beybines and Usel, and governor of the city of Valenciennes, a big center of textile production in Western Flanders.¹⁰⁴ As can be seen in figure 4.8, Magdalena Clut Enriquez and Jaques Bibien had many children.¹⁰⁵ In 1624, Jaques Bibien died a very rich man, he left an enormous fortune of 211,636 ducats (79,363,507 maravedis).¹⁰⁶ After the death of her husband, Magdalena Clut Enriquez continued to run the business of her deceased husband and was

97 AGI Contratación 5396, N. 79, ff. 1r-6r [PARES].

98 APS 3607, f. 182.

99 In 1617, he was and applied for a return voyage with two slaves. AGI Contratación 5358, N. 35, ff. 1r-3r [PARES] and AGI Pasajeros, L. 10, E. 556 [PARES].

100 Vila Vilar, "Una amplia nómina", p. 173.

101 AGI Indiferente 2106, N. 41 bis. [PARES]. A list of merchandise can be found, that he exported to Peru. Beside, in this document, Juan Perez Enriquez is sometimes referred to as Juan Clut. AGI Contratación 5340, N. 35, ff. 1r-22r [PARES].

102 Details on the Clarisse family in the footnote on p. 117.

103 Cf. p. 312; Vidal Ortega and Vila Vilar, "El comercio lanero", pp. 64-67; Vila Vilar, "Los europeos en el comercio americano", pp. 292-294.

104 Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, p. 69; Guignet, *Nouvelle histoire de Valenciennes*, pp. 71-73.

105 One of them, Pedro Luis Bibien y Clut, became knight of the order of Santiago (AHN OM-Caballeros Santiago, E. 1086 [PARES]).

106 Aguado de los Reyes, *Riqueza y sociedad*, p. 162.

active until at least 1640. She even expanded his business and started to export to America.¹⁰⁷

No witnesses were mentioned in the naturalization files of Elias or Pedro Sirman. But other connective nodes exist: Elias Sirman shared the same attorney, Gaspar de Lesquina with Juan Florido. Roberto Marcelis, another Flemish merchant, also was his client when he applied for naturalization. And in the case of Pedro and Juan Bautista Sirman, it is the attorney Juan de Robles who linked them to the Flemings Lamberto Beruben and Juan Andres.¹⁰⁸

4.1.13 Juan Andres (1608)

The merchant Juan Andres came from Antwerp to Spain in 1580.¹⁰⁹ His parents were Joan Andres and Maria de Molina – probably a relative of the Flemish De Molinar family presented above. In 1583, Juan Andres went to Ciudad de los Reyes (Lima), where he married in 1594. The name of his wife was Mariana Andero, a free mulatto of the city of Trujillo, in Peru, the daughter of Francisco Andero and Francisca de Ulloa. In 1601, Juan Andres went back to Spain to settle down in Seville. After the death of his wife in about 1605, he married again, namely Beatriz de Titsa. After his first, probably illegal, stay in America, he applied for naturalization in Spain. It was denied in 1604, but in 1609, he applied again and succeeded. At least 13 witnesses testified on his behalf between 1605 and 1609. Many of them originated from very diverse places, like Córdoba, Medina del Campo, Triana, Guipuzcoa, and Toledo. One of them, Diego Alvares Gaylon from Medina del Campo, even held the office as prior of the *Consulado de Cargadores a Indias*. The only Fleming who attended was the merchant and stockbroker Diego de Valdovinos.¹¹⁰ He acted as witness about two years later also for

107 APS 7497, f. 933; cf. Vidal Ortega and Vila Vilar, “El comercio lanero”, p. 67; Vila Vilar, “Los europeos en el comercio americano”, pp. 292-294.

108 AGI Contratación 50B and 596A, s.f.; APS 3607, f. 182; APS 16870, f. 1r-5r; cf. Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, p. 86.

109 He was also referred to as coming from Ghent.

110 Diego de Valdovinos came around 1580 to Seville, went to Antwerp, but returned. In 1609, he became *jurado* and translator for the Holy Inquisition. Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol 2, p. 66.

the Flemish merchant Roberto Marcelis, who forms the bridge to the second circle.¹¹¹

With Juan Andres, the first network-circle of the naturalized Flemish merchants in Seville is closed. The “earlier” and the “later generation” were analyzed and, even though there were only few connections between them, they showed a similar pattern. Both groups of the first circle had two important consolidating elements. First, most of them were from the same part of Flanders, namely Antwerp. Second, not only were they connected through the semi-private ties of witnesses (friends and business partners), but also through the strong ties of the private networks (family: marriages and godparents). In the following section, the second network-circle of the Flemings will be scrutinized and compared to the first one.

4.2 The Second Network Circle of the Naturalized Flemings

The second circle of the Flemish semi-private network, visible in figure 4.9, is again defined by a strong internal attachment. On average, the letters of naturalization were issued later for the merchants of the second circle than for those of the first one – the year 1626 almost marks a boundary. It can be pointed out as a characteristic of the second group that it contained more members of the *Consulado de Cargadores a Indias*. Moreover, many of them played an active role in Spanish politics, as they were members of the *Almirantazgo*. The 10 naturalized merchants of the second circle are listed in table 4.2.¹¹² The first Fleming to be presented is Roberto Marcelis, who forms the bridge between the two circles.

111 AGI Contratación 50B, s.f; cf. Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol 2, p. 3. The other witnesses were Pedro Almide y Apadilla (a citizen of Seville), Sebastian Arostegui (a merchant of Seville and native of Guipuzcoa), Diego Felipe de Guadaloupe (a merchant of Seville from Toledo), Pedro de Castro de Casaus (a citizen of Seville from Córdoba), Andrea García (a citizen of Seville from Triana), Pedro Rodriguez de Padilla (a citizen of Seville and native of a place he called Basse de Loza en la Montaña), Alonso Gomez, Andres Perez (a citizen of Triana), Pedro Duarte, Rodrigo de Sadillo (or Santillana, a citizen of Seville), and Juan de Legarda (or Legarra, a citizen of Seville).

112 Together with the Flemings described above (cf. p. 185), they constitute all of the naturalized Flemish merchants in the time 1580 to 1650 for whom there exists sufficient biographical data in the AGI. A list of all naturalized Flemings is found in the appendix, on p. 395.

Table 4.2: Circle II – Applications for Naturalization of Flemings/Dutch in Andalusia (1580–1650)

Year	Name	Citizenship	Origin	Consulate
1594	Justo Canis	Seville	Ghent	—
1610	Roberto Marcellis	Seville	Antwerp	—
1623	Francisco de Smidt	Seville	Antwerp	—
1626	Guillermo Bequer	Seville	—	1624–1643
1626	Guillen Clou	Seville	Nieuwpoort	1630–1651
1626	Pedro Francois	Seville	Tielt	—
1630	Simon Canis	Seville	Ghent/Antwerp	1635–1642
1632	Josefe Francisco de Peralta	Seville	Brussels	—
1633	Jaques Filter	Seville	s’Hertogenbosch	1640–1642
1635	Albertos Martin	Cádiz	Harlinguen	—

Source: AGI Contratación 50A, 50B, 596A, 596B, s.f. Complementary information is drawn from Vila Vilar, “Una amplia nómina”; Domínguez Ortiz, “Los extranjeros en la vida española”, pp. 137-158

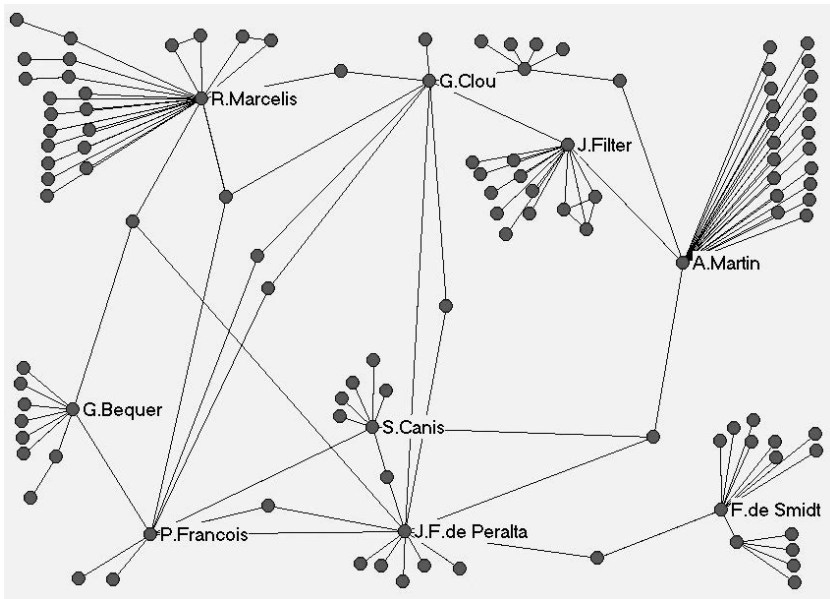


Figure 4.9: The Second Circle of the Semi-Private Flemish Network

4.2.1 Roberto Marcelis (1610)

In 1588, Roberto Marcelis came to Seville and settled permanently as of 1590. He owned “sufficient” real estate to become naturalized in 1610. By then, he was married to Sarah Monel from Antwerp, the widow of the Fleming Daniel Adriaensen.¹¹³ She resided for over 30 years in Seville and, by the time Roberto Marcelis received his naturalization, she had already received a naturalization herself. Together they lived with their children in their own house. In 1611, Roberto Marcelis became best man to the Bavarian Andres Labermeyr, another important merchant of Seville.¹¹⁴ One of his daughters married the Frenchman Francisco de Sandiers who was a rich, “half-mulatto” creole¹¹⁵ and even became an alderman of Seville in the 1630s.¹¹⁶ In 1615, Roberto Marcelis was a consul of the Flemish nation in Seville, together with Niculas Antonio. Even before his naturalization, Roberto Marcelis traded – illicitly – with America and sent some *xarcía* (rigging) to Portobelo and Cartagena de Indias. One of the buyers and owners of one of the transporting ships was Josefe Enriquez, the husband of Francisca Clut.¹¹⁷

Roberto Marcelis is the most central person in the whole semi-private Flemish network.¹¹⁸ There are two reasons for that. First, a large number of persons acted as witness for his naturalization. Second, and which is by far more important to the centrality, Roberto Marcelis unites the two network circles.¹¹⁹ Even though he does not represent the only conjunction in the semi-private network, he is the most important liaison. Roberto Marcelis is linked with each of the two circles via three nodes, visible in figure 4.10. These six direct connections are the basic reasons for his key position.

The three individuals who lead to the first circle are all merchants. Those three merchants were Benito de Mesa, Juan de la Barcena, and Diego de Valdovinos: In 1574, at the age of 14 years, Benito de Mesa, a Spaniard, came

113 Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, p. 2.

114 AGI Contratación 50B and 51B, s.f.

115 Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol 1, p. 376.

116 AGI Contratación 959, N. 13 [PARES].

117 AGI Contratación 50B and 51B, s.f.; cf. Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol 2, pp. 46. This connection (cf. p. 207) would open a further circle, but it will not be taken into consideration, for it would compound too many private and business connections. However, it was important to show the connection to obtain a more complete picture of Roberto Marcelis.

118 Referring to the centrality of the AGI data from 1580 to 1650.

119 Cf. figure 4.2 on p. 184.

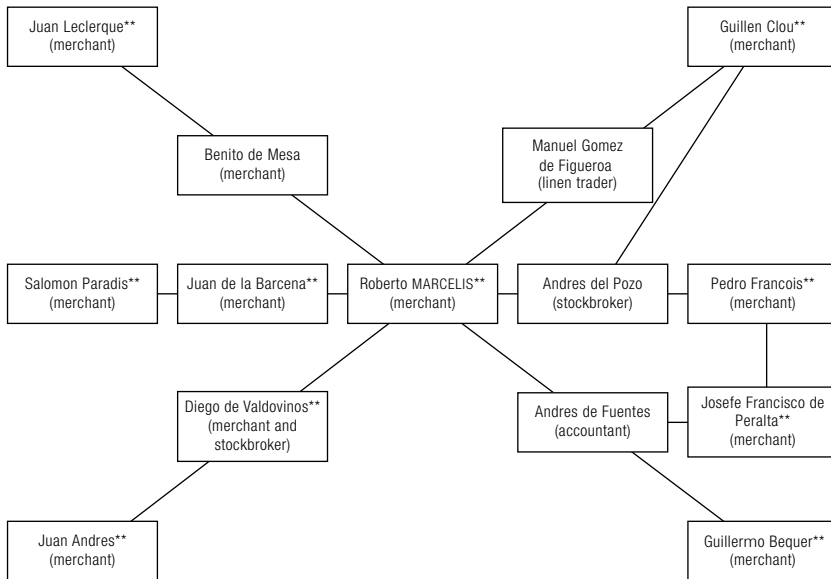


Figure 4.10: The Central Position of Roberto Marcelis within the Semi-Private Flemish Networks

to Seville from a city near Córdoba. It is known, that he was related to Portuguese.¹²⁰ In 1609, he acted as witness on behalf of the naturalization of the Fleming Juan Leclerque and for Roberto Marcelis in 1610.¹²¹ The next connection was Juan (Jan) de la Barcena. He was the son of the Spaniard Juan de la Barcena from Laredo, Cantabria, and Catharina Adriaensen. His father settled down in Antwerp and died before 1606. Hence, Juan de la Barcena (junior) can be considered Flemish. At least between 1610 and 1613, he dwelt in Seville and was referred to as a citizen of Seville, Santa María. In 1607, he testified on behalf of the Fleming Salomon Paradis and in 1610 for Roberto Marcelis.¹²² Finally, the Fleming Diego de Valdovinos was the third connection to the first circle. He was a stockbroker and wax trader, and *jurado* of Seville. Two years before he had acted as witness on behalf of Roberto Marcelis, he had already

120 He became godfather of the Portuguese Simon Lopez de Noroña, who was born in 1580, and became a merchant of Seville (cf. p. 177).

121 AGI Contratación 50B, s.f.

122 AGI Contratación 50B, s.f.; APS 9984, ff. 226-227; cf. Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, p. 5.

acted as witness for Juan Andres.¹²³ These three merchants linked Roberto Marcelis to the first circle, as they were connected to three other Flemish merchants, Juan Leclerque, Salomon Paradis, and Juan Andres, discussed in the section above. On the following pages, the second circle of the semi-private network will be further analyzed, following the three other links of Roberto Marcelis: Manuel Gomez de Figueroa, a linen trader, Andres del Pozo, a stockbroker, and Andres de Fuentes, an accountant. The latter linked Roberto Marcelis to Josefe Francisco de Peralta.¹²⁴

4.2.2 Josefe Francisco de Peralta (1632)

The Fleming Josefe Francisco de Peralta applied for naturalization in 1632.¹²⁵ Even though at that time he does not seem to have been much older than 17 years, he is the most central node in the second circle. His ancestors were Spaniards, as his paternal grandfather Juan de Peralta came from Navarra and his grandmother Ana de Carrion from Burgos. The grandfather worked in Bruges in the service of the Spanish king at least till 1575. Therefore, his father Francisco de Peralta was born in Bruges in 1565. He came back to Spain where he married Marta Blanca from Cádiz. Whether their son Josefe Francisco de Peralta was born in Bruges, Seville, or Burgos is not certain, only his baptism in Burgos in 1615 is registered. The Fleming Miguel de Bequer was his godfather. Other foreign contacts were found, for example in 1637, when Josefe Francisco de Peralta was a witness to the wedding of Niculas van Resbique, the consul of the German nation. In 1640, Josefe Francisco de Peralta was in contact with the Licenciado Jaques Roberto, a canon of the chapter of Lille, residing in Seville, who was active in the credit business and maintained contacts to New

123 AGI Contratación 50B, s.f.; APS 9984, ff. 353-354; Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, p. 66.

124 A further 11 witnesses (probably all citizens of Seville) of Roberto Marcelis were: Juan Hidalgo (stockbroker), Antonio de Terosta/Soripe (stockbroker), Fernandez de Acosta (merchant), Gaspar de Lovrueno, Pedro Diego de Herrera, Martin Navarete de Navarete (Indies trader), Henrique Galeano, Juan Mendez del Castro (factor of the German Fugger family in Seville), Antonio Altaries/Cleserisso (stockbroker), Juan Hidalgo (stockbroker, from Catilia La Mancha), and Gaspar Antonio (a merchant of possible French or Flemish origin who declared himself to be a “native of Seville”; he had also acted as witness also for the Frenchmen Pedro de la Farxa and Nicolas Grane).

125 AGI Contratación 50B, s.f.; cf. Domínguez Ortiz, “Los extranjeros en la vida española”, p. 149; Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, pp. 5-6, 52.

Spain.¹²⁶ Amongst the witnesses for his naturalization, there was the Frenchman Alberto Juan and the Flemish merchants Nicolas Reyser, Guillen Clou and Pedro Franco, citizens of Seville. A further witness was the accountant Andres de Fuentes who established the connection with Roberto Marcelis.¹²⁷ Andres de Fuentes was also a link to the Fleming Guillermo Bequer, the son of his godfather (cf. p. 221). Andres de Fuentes had acted as witness for his naturalization in 1624. Besides, he was also a witness for the Frenchmen Pedro de la Farxa and Niculas Blondel.¹²⁸ These connections of Josefe Francisco de Peralta contribute to his central position. Yet, they may rather contribute to the centrality of his father Francisco de Peralta because most of the witnesses for the young man were probably business partners of his father or his uncle – the business activities of his uncle, namely Fernando de Peralta will be scrutinized below (cf. p. 259). Be that as it may, these connections show the variety of contacts which the family Peralta maintained with Flemings and Frenchmen, directly and indirectly, and on a private and semi-private level. The last witness of Josefe Francisco de Peralta was the Dutch merchant Diego Nicolas,¹²⁹ who 22 years earlier had witnessed on behalf of Francisco de Smidt, another eminent Flemish merchant.

4.2.3 Francisco de Smidt (1623)

Francisco de Smidt was born in 1576 to an old Antwerp family, as son of Joseph de Smidt and Gertruda van de Cruyce. The family network is shown in figure 4.11. In 1592, Francisco de Smidt moved to Seville where he maintained

126 In 1640, Jaques Roberto gave credit to a clergyman of Seville (APS 7497, f. 951v). He also received 2,545 ducats (28,000 reales de plata doble) from Augustin de Soberanis, a citizen of Seville and knight of the order of Santiago, for a bill of exchange. The payees by rights were the aforesaid Josefe Francisco de Peralta and a certain Juan Bautista Miquelsen, probably also of Flemish origin. These two had passed claim for the payment to Jaques Roberto (APS 16979, f. 23v). In a further document, Jaques Roberto issued a proxy for the collection of 3,621 ducats (39,834 reales de plata doble) in the city of Mexico (APS 7497, f. 150v).

127 Two more witnesses of Josefe Francisco de Peralta were Simon de Casaverde (*escuchero*) and Francisco Gomez Cazaro.

128 Cf. above on pp. 168 and 178.

129 Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, p. 49. Diego Nicolas, who lived in Seville, went bankrupt in 1615. Bernal Rodríguez and García-Baquero González, *Tres siglos del comercio sevillano*, p. 247.

business relations with his cousin Jan van Immerseel in Antwerp.¹³⁰ In 1608, his brother Vicente de Smidt, a resident of Naples, came to visit him and then decided to stay in Seville. Since then, their business correspondence was signed by both brothers. In about 1610, Francisco married Augustina van der Maten (or Bendemart) Enriquez and applied for the first time for naturalization. By then, he already possessed riches and a vineyard in Paseo de Saudín yet the application was declined.

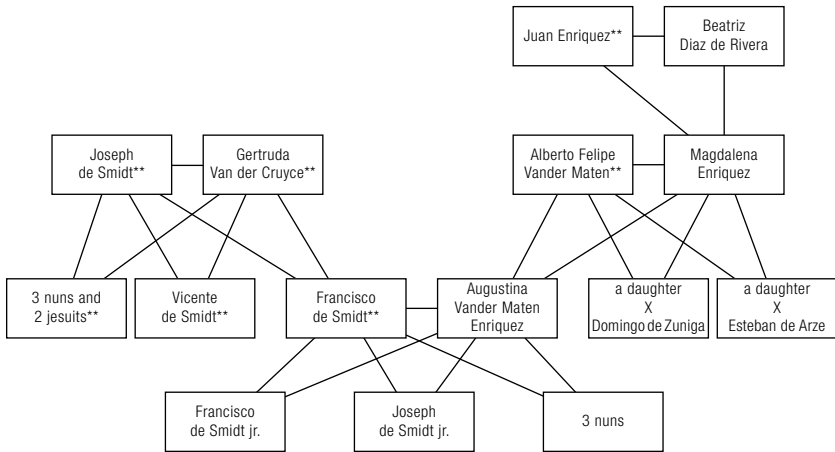


Figure 4.11: The Family De Smidt

His father-in-law was the Flemish nobleman and merchant Alberto Felipe van der Maten, who had maintained business relations with Seville since 1580. It can be assumed that Alberto Felipe van der Maten was a business partner of Francisco de Smidt. Thus, the wedding offered two advantages for Francisco de Smidt. On the one hand, the marriage strengthened direct economic connections – it transformed rather weak ties into strong ones. On the other hand, Francisco de Smidt might also have benefited from the network of his mother-in-law: (Maria) Magdalena Enriquez, a member of the eminent *Cargadores*-family of the Enriquez. Her father, Juan Enriquez, was from the Netherlands. He was born in Haarlem in 1534. At a very young age, Juan Enriquez accompanied his uncle to Santo Domingo, Hispaniola, where he stayed for 18 years. During one of his voyages to Seville he met his future wife Beatriz Diaz de

¹³⁰ Francisco de Smidt happens to be a cousin of Crisostomo van Immerseel, one of the protagonists in E. Stols' study. Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, pp. 47, 72.

Rivera, a Spaniard. Their daughter Magdalena Enriquez was born and raised in Santo Domingo. Later, they moved to Seville.¹³¹

Two of the sisters of Augustina van der Maten Enriquez married Spanish merchants who were involved in the Indies trade: Esteban de Arze and Domingo de Zuñiga. Together, they were the owners of a ship of the *Carrera de Indias* and as *maestres de plata*, they were responsible for the discharge of the bullion from the galleons.¹³² A scandal was caused when Esteban de Arze stole the entrusted silver. During the subsequent investigations, Francisco de Smidt was under suspicion of complicity, which is why he instructed his cousin Crisostomo van Immerseel in Antwerp to keep his name free from detrimental rumors.¹³³ The outcome of the case is not known, but Francisco de Smidt remained active in Seville.

In 1618, Francisco de Smidt was a member of the Flemish nation in Seville and passed through the *cursus honorum* of the Flemish consulate; he even became a judge and superintendent of the *Almirantazgo*. After the death of his brother, which had occurred in 1620, he lost interest in his established trade. However, in 1623 he became naturalized. One year later he sent his sons Francisco, by then 13 years old, and Joseph to Brabant for apprenticeship. He wanted to establish a new business network, but he died shortly before 1630. After his death, one of his relatives, Baltasar de Smidt, continued the Spanish trade of the family De Smidt.¹³⁴

Among the nine witnesses who testified in 1610 on behalf of Francisco de Smidt (all citizens of Seville), there were merchants, stockbrokers, a business solicitor of the *Real Audiencia* and a linen trader. Two of them, the brothers Gonzalo and Fernando Carrillo, descended from a Spanish family which had moved from Andalusia to Antwerp. By 1610, both, in their fifties, had returned to Seville, gained citizenship, traded, and worked as stockbrokers. Their relationship to the French merchants Jaques Soming and Alosno Garcia del Castillo is already shown above (cf. p. 163).¹³⁵ Further witnesses were the

131 Ibidem, p. 26.

132 For the role of the *maestres de plata* in the Indies commerce, cf. Álvarez Nogal, “Un comprador de oro”; Vila Vilar, *Los Corzo y los Mañara*, p. 118; idem, “Los maestros de plata”; Moret, *Aspects de la société marchande*, p. 32.

133 E. Stols is not explicit about the date of that scandal. Probably, it took place sometime between 1610 and 1623. Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, p. 62.

134 AGI Contratación 50B and 596B, s.f.; cf. Domínguez Ortiz, “Los extranjeros en la vida española”, pp. 140, 143; Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, pp. 47, 62.

135 AGI Contratación 50B, s.f.

Flemish merchants Niculas Antonio (cf. p. 197)¹³⁶ and Pedro de Jaen. The latter was born as a son of Spanish parents in Antwerp, but by 1610, he was a citizen of Seville. Another important contact of Francisco de Smidt was Yllan Rodriguez. He was a stockbroker of Seville, and in touch with Juan Leclerque from the first semi-private network-circle.¹³⁷ Thus, the chain from Francisco de Smidt via Yllan Rodriguez to Juan Leclerque is the second bridge between the two circles, after Roberto Marcellis.¹³⁸

In 1624, Francisco de Smidt himself testified for the application of naturalization on behalf of the Fleming Nicolas de Suarte. This merchant had come from Brabant and married a certain Clara de Medina, from Medina, a daughter of Spaniards. His application for naturalization was accepted, even though he had not stayed in Spain for over 10 years – he possessed enough riches and real estate. Niculas de Suarte traveled to New Spain, and in 1632, he went bankrupt.¹³⁹ Interesting to note, both cousins Francisco de Smidt and Chrisostomo van Immerseel testified on his behalf.¹⁴⁰ Thereby, the proximity of the semi-private (witnesses) and the private networks (cousins) of the Flemings in Seville becomes evident again.¹⁴¹

4.2.4 Guillen Clou (1626)

Guillen Clou was the son of Jaques Clou and Rosiane vande Kerchove from Nieuwpoort, on the Flemish coast. While one of his brothers stayed in Flanders for the business with Spain, Guillen Clou moved to Seville at the beginning of the century. Together with a certain Esteban Carbonel, he insured a ship coming from New Spain to Seville in 1612. The ship's cargo consisted of cochineal, amounting to 1,209 ducats.¹⁴² In 1616, he married Maria Florido, a descendant of Flemish immigrants, and 10 years later he gained naturalization. Juana

136 Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, p. 15; Vila Vilar, "Una amplia nómina", p. 147.

137 Cf. figure 4.7 on p. 201. The remaining witnesses for Francisco de Smidt were the linen trader Diego de Esquiver, the merchant Juan Bautista Sanz from Burgos, and Cristobal Ortiz, a solicitor of the Real Audiencia.

138 Cf. figure 4.2 on p. 184.

139 Bernal Rodríguez and García-Baquero González, *Tres siglos del comercio sevillano*, p. 248.

140 Further witnesses from Seville: Gaspar Guerra de Cañamos, Don Juan de Guiñones y Escobar, and Simon Francisco de Pornese/Gorresa (stockbroker).

141 AGI Contratación 50B and 596A, s.f.; cf. Domínguez Ortiz, "Los extranjeros en la vida española", p. 146; Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, p. 64.

142 Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, pp. 160-161.

Clou (Clut), one of his daughters, was baptized in 1620. Her godfather was Erasmo Florido, a captain of the *Carrera de Indias*.¹⁴³ In 1637, Juana Clou married Niculas van Resbiquen, the consul of the Flemish and German nation of Seville. Guillen Clou possessed a house and a vineyard and was one of the founding members, judge, and administrator of the *Almirantazgo*. For these efforts he was granted nobility in city of Brussels. By 1640, he was still active in commerce with bills of exchange.

Amongst the six witnesses on Guillen Clou's behalf were the merchant Manuel Gomez de Figueroa and Andres del Pozo, who were the links to Roberto Marcelis. Other links connected him with the Frenchman Alberto Juan and with the Flemish merchants José Francisco de Peralta and Juan Enriquez.¹⁴⁴ The connections to the Fleming in the following section, Pedro Francois, were the witnesses Pedro Ortiz de Bricuña, a merchant and stockbroker, Sebastian Diaz de Cavallos, a linen trader of Seville, and again Andres del Pozo.¹⁴⁵

4.2.5 Pedro Francois (1627)

Pedro Francois was born in Tielt, a western part of Flanders, in about 1567. At the age of 20, he came to Seville and married Ana Galdos, probably a Spaniard. By 1627, he was a well established merchant of the city and obtained naturalization. Pedro Francois was judge of the *Almirantazgo* where he invested 10,000 ducats. Three of his daughters married rich merchants of Seville:

- Catalina Francois married the Frenchman Antonio de Sandier,¹⁴⁶
- Maria Francois married the Dutchman or Fleming Juan Cortes,¹⁴⁷ and
- Ana Francois married Simon Francisco de Porras.

143 Cf. p. 326.

144 AGI Contratación 50B and 51B, s.f.; cf. Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, pp. 17, 26. The latter was not the grandfather of Augustina van der Maten Enriquez (cf. p. 215), with whom he shared the same name. He came from another family which originated in Dunkirk. In 1638, Juan Enriquez too applied for naturalization, and one of his witnesses was Fernando de Almonte. AGI Contratación 50B, s.f. For the Almonte family, cf. Vila Vilar and Lohmann Villena, *Familia, linajes y negocios*.

145 The last witness of Guillen Clou was the Flemish merchant Arnao Cristianson de Piretranen.

146 Vila Vilar, "Una amplia nómina", p. 178; Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, p. 91.

147 He was naturalized in 1630 (maybe from Amsterdam) and became a nobleman of Brussels in 1633 (AGI Contratación 50B and 596B, s.f.; cf. Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, p. 21). In 1624, Juan Cortes and Juan Fernandez Madrid shipped merchandise to Peru amounting to 18,569 ducats (25,600 pesos), of which over half were not registered. Vila Vilar, "Las ferias de Portobelo", p. 340.

As their spouses had probably passed away by 1640, two of them were already married to other men: Catalina Francois had become the wife of the alderman Francisco de Avila and Ana Francois had married Enrique Peligron – thereby establishing a private connection to the first semi-private circle (cf. p. 199 and figure 4.6 on p. 195).¹⁴⁸

Also Pedro Francois had passed away by 1640. On the 17th of March 1640, a business was settled between his heirs on the one side, and the Gatica family on the other. The heirs of Pedro Francois were Ana Francois, represented by her husband Enrique Peligron, Maria Francois, represented by the Fleming Cornelio Jansen de Vistoben,¹⁴⁹ and Catalina Francois. The latter had a proxy¹⁵⁰ namely her husband Francisco de Avila and, thus, did not need any representation before the notary other than herself. The correlatives to these three women were Don Juan Ortiz de Gatica and his father Leandro de Gatica, who had received a license to travel to New Spain and to stay there between 1633 and 1636.¹⁵¹ These two merchants were working together with Andres de Soto Lopez and the Fleming Guillen Clou.¹⁵² The heirs, Enrique Peligron, Cornelio Jansen de Vistoben and Catalina Francois received 801 ducats (9,689 reales) from Andres de Soto Lopez and Guillen Clou,¹⁵³ but they demanded another 2,797 ducats (3,845 pesos and four tomines) from Leandro de Gatica. During his stay in México, Leandro de Gatica had received 43 quintales and 18 pounds of steel which Pedro Francois had sent to him.¹⁵⁴ Thus, the lawsuits after the death of Pedro Francois reveals his function as supplier of European steel to the Indies commerce.¹⁵⁵

The witnesses on behalf of Pedro Francois, include the stockbrokers Andres del Pozo and Pedro de Ortiz Bricuña from Brussels, as well as the canvas traders Francisco de Ferrera, Sebastian Diaz (de) Carvallos, and Francisco Gomez Cazaro. The latter two were the connection to Josefe Francisco de Peralta and

148 APS 7497, f. 233.

149 He was naturalized in 1630. AGI Contratación 50B and 596A, s.f.; cf. Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, pp. 41, 70.

150 APS 7497, f. 239.

151 AGI Pasajeros, L. 11, E. 2569 [PARES]. In 1638 he was in prison (AHN Diversos- Colecciones 31, N. 79 [PARES]).

152 Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, p. 16; Vidal Ortega and Vila Vilar, “El comercio lanero”, p. 66; García Fuentes, “Exportación y exportadores sevillanos”, p. 39.

153 APS 7497, ff. 238.

154 APS 7497, ff. 215v-216, 233. In addition, cf. APS 7497, f. 241.

155 It is not known how the lawsuit continued.

again, Guillen Clou. The last witness was the Flemish stockbroker Diego de Soto (Pores). One more private connection has to be pointed out: the Fleming Guillermo Bequer was Pedro Francois' best man at his wedding.¹⁵⁶

4.2.6 Guillermo Bequer (1624)

Two brothers of the Bequer family, Miguel and Adam, settled down in Seville around 1588. Both worked as agents for the Antwerp family Boussemart, and both married Spanish women. Miguel Bequer, who would become an outstanding wool exporter in 1620 (cf. table 7.8 on p. 313), married Catalina de Arcos, and two years later she gave birth to their son Guillermo. His brother, Adam Bequer, married Margarita de Cierbo. Their daughter Isabela Bequer was then married to her cousin Guillermo. Together with Guillen Clou, Guillermo Bequer was one of the founders of the *Almirantazgo*. He became judge, major accountant, and member of the gentry of Brussels. In 1625, he received his letter of naturalization, and in 1645 he died. By then, his assets amounted to 172,764 ducats (64,786,555 maravedis).¹⁵⁷ Some members of his family lived as merchants in Antwerp, Amsterdam, and Madrid. Finally, Guillermo Bequer was connected, on a semi-private basis, to the most central node of the whole network, that is Roberto Marcelis, through the accountant Andres de Fuentes.¹⁵⁸

4.2.7 Justo and Simon Canis (1594 and 1630) and the Family De Haze

Justo Canis was born in Ghent. He arrived in Seville in about 1577, where he married Catalina de Haze seven years later. She was born in Triana, the daughter of Melchor de Haze and Catalina Aparte. When he applied for nat-

156 AGI Contratación 50B, s.f.

157 Aguado de los Reyes, *Riqueza y sociedad*, p. 162. J. Aguado de los Reyes has also published a list of different goods for the private use of Guillermo Bequer, amounting to 195 ducats (73,123 maravedis). Ibidem, pp. 199-200.

158 AGI Contratación 50B, s.f.; cf. Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, pp. 5-6; Domínguez Ortiz, "Los extranjeros en la vida española", p. 144; Baetens, *De nazomer van Antwerpens uelvaart*, vol. 1, p. 151; Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, p. 84; Vila Vilar, "Los europeos en el comercio americano", pp. 290-291. The other witnesses were Francisco de (la) Vega (stockbroker), Francisco de Aguilar de la Milma, Don Rodrigo de Caldibar, Francisco de Barrentos (Barzentos) (stockbroker), Antonio de Zeturices/Perovics (stockbroker), Don Alonso de la Serna (presbyter).

uralization in 1594, he was a well known merchant with incomes from royal rents.¹⁵⁹ In the process of the naturalization, the royal prosecutor objected that Justo Canis was absent from Spain many times, owned neither houses nor real estate, and that one of the parents of his spouse was not of Spanish origin: the De Haze family was in fact Flemish.¹⁶⁰ Regardless, he became naturalized. In about 1608, Justo Canis returned to Antwerp, where his daughter Johanna married Jacques van Eycke, a merchant with well-established connections to Spain. In 1620, the wealth of Justo Canis amounted to roughly 64,000 ducats (20,000 Flemish pounds).

Two of the sons of Justo Canis ran the business between Flanders and Spain. While Justo Canis junior remained in Antwerp, Simon Canis had his footing in Seville. The latter was born in Seville, but he had only lived permanently in the city since 1603 – he received his education abroad, most likely in Antwerp. In 1604, Simon Canis was baptized in the church of San Isidro (raising the question about his religion before that date). His godfather was a certain Guillermo de Haze.¹⁶¹ In 1613, Simon Canis married a Spanish woman and, in 1630, he applied for naturalization. Three Flemings figured among his witnesses: Pedro Francois, Niculas Reyser, and captain Melchor de Haze, an uncle of Simon Canis, being by then already 70 years of age.¹⁶² However, the royal prosecutor stated that Simon Canis was already involved illegally in the import of bullion on the galleons together with the Frenchman Pedro de Alogue. Anyway, he received his letter of naturalization, from which it can be deduced that he was a member of the *Cargadores a Indias*, at least between 1635 and 1642. In 1644, he had to declare himself bankrupt but one year later he was back in business. The Antwerp merchant Jacques van Eyck send him a load of lace, and he returned a shipment of wool. His two sons Jacob and Joseph attended school in Antwerp.

To sum up, the Canis family was closely linked with the De Haze family. Both were from Antwerp and had a strong affinity to Seville. First, the marriage between Justo Canis senior and Catalina de Haze, then the baptism of Simon Canis with his godfather Guillermo de Haze and finally, the testimony

159 No witnesses were mentioned for his naturalization.

160 For the De Haze family, cf. Baetens, *De nazomer van Antwerpens welvaart*, vol. 1, pp. 151-154.

161 The relation between Melchor and Guillermo de Haze is not clear, but they certainly were relatives.

162 Further witnesses were Pedro Gomez (tailor), Gabriel Barragon (notary of the king), and Cristobal de Sosa (solicitor).

of Melchor de Haze on behalf of Simon Canis. In addition, it is interesting that not only Simon Canis, but also the De Haze family was in business with the Frenchman Pedro de Alogue (cf. p. 361). Similarly to the older Justo Canis, Guillermo de Haze senior returned to Antwerp in 1613, from where he maintained the business with his two sons Guillermo de Haze junior and Pedro de Haze. Even though no member of the De Haze family ever applied for naturalization, some of them lived for many years in Seville and were involved in the trade between Zealand, Spain and the Azores.¹⁶³

4.2.8 Jaques Filter (1633)

One of the most important Flemish merchants of the second quarter of the 17th century was Jaques Filter who was born in s'Hertogenbosch (Spanish Bel-duque) in 1596. At the age of 10, he came to Seville to stay permanently. He became consul of the Flemish and German nations, was naturalized in 1633 and, at least in 1640 and 1642, he was a member of the *Consulado de Cargadores a Indias*. In 1633, Jaques Filter married the Spanish woman Marian de Escuda who had at least some 8,000 ducats as dowry.¹⁶⁴ The data about his fortune varies, but there seems to be a rapid increase between 1633 and 1645.¹⁶⁵

Jaques Filter was associated with the Fleming Niculas Rodriguez Bangliot who received a naturalization (or at least a license for the Indies trade) for five years together with the Portuguese brothers Diego and Alonso Cardoso. They formed a company which supplied the Spanish navy with necessary equipment.¹⁶⁶ While there was only one official witness for the volume of his fortune, namely Guillen Clou, Jaques Filter himself figured frequently as witness for others, like Albertos Martin (application in 1646), Francisco Paninque

163 AGI Contratación 50B and 51A, s.f.; cf. Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, pp. 14, 34-35; Domínguez Ortiz, "Los extranjeros en la vida española", p. 144; Vila Vilar, "Una amplia nómina", p. 151; Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, pp. 84, 88; Baetens, *De nazomer van Antwerpens welvaart*, vol. 1, pp. 141, 151-153, 175-176.

164 AGI Contratación 596B, s.f.

165 All assessments are very high: about 100,000 ducats, including money and real estate. In 1650, he was still in Seville and owed the Spanish Crown 608 ducats (227,970 maravedis). Aguado de los Reyes, *Riqueza y sociedad*, p. 307.

166 AGI Contratación 596A and 596B, s.f.; cf. Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, p. 28; Domínguez Ortiz, "Los extranjeros en la vida española", p. 150; Vila Vilar, "Una amplia nómina", p. 157.

(1654), Adrian Stoarte¹⁶⁷ (1658) and Niculas van Resbique (1659). All of these merchants were consuls of the Flemish and German nation and applied for naturalization. For Niculas van Resbique, he was moreover witness to the marriage with Juana Clut in 1637.¹⁶⁸ The mutual assistance between the members or at least the consuls of the Flemish German nation in Seville, therefore, can be considered to be very strong.

4.2.9 Albertos Martin (1646)

The “Fleming” Albertos Martin played a major role in the economic and social life of Cádiz. He was the son of Martin Olarte and Raynalda Albertos, and was born in Harlingen, East Friesland, which means that he came from the Northern Netherlands. In spite of this, he is included in this section, and in Andalusia, he was mostly considered as a Fleming. It was during the time of the Truce between Spain and the Northern Netherlands that Albertos Martin came to Cádiz to settled down, between 1611 and 1618. He gained citizenship of the city and in 1646 he received his letter of naturalization (he applied from about 1635). Yet, there was the extra clause that he must not trade with foreigners and if he did so he would lose his naturalization.¹⁶⁹ He owned the house in which he lived with his family plus another one, where Pedro Fernandez de Orozco

167 Just before Adrian Stoarte received his letter of naturalization, he handed in his very elaborate inventory, including the following items: “unas casas principales en que vivo con su jardin y agua de pie, otras casas principales asesorias, un juro de 500 ducados de plata de principal en el derecho de toneladas, otro juro de 200 ducados de principal en [...] de la ciudad, 100 cuadros de diferentes pinturas, 3 alfombras, 12 almoadas de terciopelo carmesi, 12 almoadas de damasco carmesi, 3 colgaduras de paños de [...] de Flandes de diferentes historias, una colgadura de brocateles de Napoles, una colgadura de damascos carmesi, 6 escritorios de ebano y caray hechos en Flandes, una cama de granadillo con su colgadura de damasco carmesi, otros dos camas de granadillo, 24 colchones, 4 docenas de sabanas, 24 sillas de vaqueta de moscobia, 6 taburetes de terciopelo, 6 bufetes de caoba, 4 espejos grandes y 2 pequeños, 12 docenas de servilletas y una docena de manteles, 4 mulas de coche, un coche, 2 caballos, un esclavo cochero, 2 esclavas negras, un mulatillo esclavo, 600 varas de hierro, 7 [esclavas] con sus crios, mi estante con 200 libros de diferentes historias” (transcription done by Philipp Lesiak).

168 AGI Contratación 51B and 596B, s.f.

169 This clause is a clear result of the reality the Spanish Crown had to face through the years between 1635 and 1648. Illicit trade with the enemy happened frequently.

lived, who was a judge of the Indies and a rich merchant.¹⁷⁰ Each of them was worth about 28,000 ducats. The administrators of the *avería* owed him 12,000 ducats and the debts of some citizens of Seville on his behalf amounted to 8,000 ducats. He was an alderman of Cádiz and an ensign of the *Compañía de la nación flamenca*. In about 1624, Albertos Martin married Catalina Jacome Brecarte, who was born and raised in Cádiz; together they had six children.

The parents-in-law of Albertos Martin were Rodrigo Jacome and Doña Elena Brecarte. Both were of Flemish descent, and the godmother of Catalina Jacome Brecarte, Henanes van Gessel, was from Flanders too. His father-in-law Rodrigo Jacome descended from a merchant family from Bruges. Rodrigo Jacome had come from Amsterdam to Cádiz, where he became the consul of the Flemish and German nations. He stayed in office until his death in 1639, when Albertos Martin succeeded him. Concerning the testament of his father-in-law, Albertos Martin came in touch with Ricardo Oguen whose family was from Bruges too. Amongst the witnesses on behalf of Albertos Martin, Jaques Filter stands out, as he was the only Fleming, who moreover testified twice for his compatriot.¹⁷¹ In addition, the his attorney Bartolome de Celada connected him with Simon Canis and Josefe Francisco de Peralta.¹⁷² Thus, once more, the semi-private network connects different Flemish merchants, including one who came from the Northern Netherlands, and sheds light on their social networks in Andalusia.

170 Pedro Fernandez (de) Orozco was prior and consul of the Consulate for three years each and knight of the order of Santiago (Heredia Herrera, "Los dirigentes oficiales", pp. 221, 235). In 1624, in company with his brother Juan, he was among the largest Indies traders, and smuggled merchandise worth 359,784 ducats (496,025 pesos and four reales) to Peru. Later, they were given titles of nobility and they became members of military orders. Vila Vilar, "Las ferias de Portobelo", p. 297, 323, 338.

171 The other witnesses from Seville were Juan de Susuaga, captain Sebastian Francisco de Zauingen, Juan de Espinosa del Campo, captain Juan de Miranda Balderama, Sebastian de Guereña (*pagador de las armadas y flotas*), and Martin Sanchez Teria (royal prosecutor of the *Factoría de la Casa*), Francisco de la Puente Berategui.

172 AGI Contratación 50B and 596A, s.f.; cf. Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, pp. 12, 31, 39-40, 46, 50; Domínguez Ortiz, "Los extranjeros en la vida española", p. 155.

4.3 Conclusion of the Private and Semi-Private Flemish Networks

A total of 26 naturalized Flemish merchants was scrutinized in this part. Marriage, friendship, and juridical testimony connected Flemish families and created private and semi-private networks. 12 of them married descendants of Flemings. Just as the Frenchmen, correspondingly, the Flemings followed the rules of procedure to obtaining a naturalization. They did not marry compatriots, but they mingled with the second generation, who were born in Spain.¹⁷³ Of the remaining 14, 10 married Spanish women, one came from Lima and three revealed no detailed information. Besides marriages, additional private connections with Flemings and other foreigners in Seville could be found. Half of the merchants were in connection with compatriots, namely 13, while three were in contact with Germans and one with an Italian and a Frenchman each. Compatriots also dominated the semi-private connections: 18 naturalized merchants were in contact with them, three times Frenchmen and Italians appeared, twice Portuguese and once a German and an Englishman.

Based on their semi-private networks, the 26 different naturalized merchants of the Flemish nation in Seville could be divided into two circles. Thereby, the “earlier generation” of the first circle already shows an impressive endogamous behavior: on a private level, Flemings sought contact with Flemings. That was exemplified by the families of the Van der Linden, De Venduylla, Plamont, De Lannoy, and De Neve, and by the families Beruben, De Molinar and Tolinque.¹⁷⁴ The “later generation” of the first circle displays even more the strong endogamy which is visible in the different figures concerning the families De Conique, Antonio, Peligron, Nicolas, and Francois, as well the families Sirman, Clut, Bibien, Vermeren, Ysac, and Enriquez. Moreover, the history of the family Helman shows the importance of family members regarding international trade: Close relatives in Venice and Antwerp enabled the establishment of a triangular trade with Seville, which turned out to be very lucrative for the family.

Things were similar for the merchants of the second semi-private circle. They also showed a strong cohesion among each other, such as the De Smidt family with the Van Immersel, or the Canis family with the De Haze. Thus, all investigated groups of Flemish merchants maintained intense relations with compatriots in the same city, as well as at home, or in other locations where

173 Only Roberto Marcellis married a compatriot, but his wife had gained naturalization beforehand.

174 Their close relations are visible in figures 4.4 (p. 187) and 4.5 (p. 192).

members of the respective families dwelt. Two of the Flemings, could even be found married to first cousins, namely Francisco de Conique y Antonio and Guillermo Bequer.

Comparative Observations

What catches the eye in the first place is the evidence already shown by the statistical data of the first part: The number of Flemings is higher than that of the Frenchmen in Seville – over three times as high.¹⁷⁵ Moreover, most of the files of Flemings were more detailed and better suited for an analysis, so that only 14 Frenchmen (out of 25) but 26 Flemings (of 86) could be scrutinized more thoroughly.¹⁷⁶

The analysis of the Flemish merchants' networks has given a clear reflection of the strong ties which existed between many of the Flemish families in Seville. Many of the Flemish merchant families show a strong inclination to compatriots in matters concerning private and semi-private affairs. A veritably large colony of Flemings enabled marriages, friendships, and favors among compatriots, as well as making it easy to find witnesses for naturalization. Moreover, Flemings did not need to seek the contact to other foreign nations because the number of available actors within the Flemish community was large enough to build a Spanish-Flemish network. That was true for the first as well as for the second semi-private circle, and for the whole time between 1580 and 1640. The combination of the private and semi-private networks shows one large Flemish network which interlinked all of them.¹⁷⁷

Such an affinity to compatriots was only partially visible in the chapter about Frenchmen, namely in the private network of the families of the De Antíaque, De Alogue and, De la Farxa. On a semi-private basis, no links to compatriots existed. The matter was even clearer for the group of the disconnected Frenchmen. They had almost no documented contacts with foreigners at all, neither private nor semi-private. One of the reasons for the less endogamous behavior of the Frenchmen on a private and semi-private basis was that there simply were not as many compatriots as in the case of the Flemings. Thus, Frenchmen had to connect themselves more to an "outer world", as their num-

175 Referring to the naturalization data of the AGI.

176 The dossiers of the Frenchmen, on the other hand, showed more details concerning the identity of the witnesses.

177 Many of these connections were indirect, often via stockbrokers, business agents, attorneys, or captains of the *Carrera de Indias*. These acted as links between the Flemish nodes.

ber was smaller. The result was that they had, on the one hand, an increased contact to local Spaniards but also, to a great extent, to Flemings in Seville. At least since 1610, the Frenchmen approached Flemings in Seville trying to benefit from their larger network. This characteristic will be further scrutinized in the following part which focuses on the commercial aspects of the French and Flemish societies in Seville.

III. Business Connections

Keeping the private and semi-private networks from the previous part in mind, in this part, the commercial networks of the merchants will be scrutinized. It is divided into four chapters, one for each of the selected years. Each chapter is further divided into a French and a Flemish section and a conclusion. For each of the four chapters, a “total network” will be reconstructed, covering all nodes of the respective year. The French and Flemish merchants had their own, smaller networks which will be called “main networks”. Eight of such subnetworks exist, one for each nation and year.¹

It is the purpose of this part to show the characteristics of these French and Flemish commercial networks. The varying geographic orientation as well as the differences in the economic behavior and the commerce will be outlined. The importance of the Indies trade and the access of the merchants to the American and the different European markets will be analyzed. The presence and dominance of the two nations in the different markets and in the different branches of trade will be outlined in the four years, starting with 1580.

1 The different networks are defined by the connections found in the respective files. For example, for the French main network of 1600, all files of that year were included, in which members of the French nation appeared. Connections such as, for example, those of two Spanish contacts of a Frenchmen among each other were included in the main network if they occurred in a file with French participation. If the contact between these two Spaniards took place in another file (without French participation), the connection was not included into the French main network.

5. Commercial Networks of 1580

Scrutinizing the notaries number V and XXIV, 229 documents of interest could be found. The investigated bundles contain data from March to July of 1580. The most notable merchants in Seville were Spaniards. No Flemish or French merchants figure among the most central actors of the network of the year 1580. The first foreigner who appears is a Portuguese, on place 14.¹

5.1 French Networks in 1580

Just three Frenchman can be found in different documents of 1580. One of them is the master carpenter Julian Daxa who received six ducats (68 reales) for his work on a bridge over the Guadalquivir.² The second Frenchman was Francisco Martin from Brittany. He bought a 40-year-old slave for 50 ducats from a *esparto*-worker, a cords-maker, from Seville.³ Twenty years later, in 1600, he is among the most central French merchants in Seville and involved in the case of the German *urca* Profeta David (cf. p. 251).⁴ That case involves Spanish, French, and German merchants. In 1596, he was the best man for Bernaldo Perez from Hamburg, who applied for naturalization in Seville in 1632.⁵ Thus, two things can be said about Francisco Martin: he was in Seville for a long time, and he was related to German merchants.

The last Frenchman who appeared in 1580 was Manuel de Bues, from Rouen. He received a letter of naturalization in 1587 and, thereby, belongs to the first documented foreigners in Seville with a naturalization. In 1580, he was the guarantor of a certain Niculas Villania, a citizen of Seville, in a business transaction. Niculas Villani committed himself to pay about 200 ducats (75,208 maravedis) to the merchant Francisco de Torres from Seville. The obligation concerned the transaction costs of Spanish drapery: 34 varas of black *veintidoseño de Segovia*, 34 varas of *raja negra de Avila*, eight varas of *veintic-*

1 The most central five nodes are Pedro Martinez de Arbulu (Basque), Andres Felipe, Lorenzo de Vallejo, Francisco Bautista de Veyntin and Pedro de Cubiaur (Basque). For Basques in the *Carrera de Indias*, cf. García Fuentes, "Factores vascos en los galeones de Tierra Firma".

2 APS 16715, f. 169.

3 APS 16714, registro 41, ff. 1045r-1046r.

4 An *urca* is a hulk, cf. p. 48.

5 AGI Contratación 51B, s.f.

uatreño morisca, and eight varas of *veintecuatreño frailesca*.⁶ Considering the surname of Niculas Villani it can be assumed that he was an Italian merchant. This can be supported because Manuel de Bues' father-in-law was Genoese, and Manuel de Bues himself maintained contacts with Italian merchants.⁷ Even though he only became naturalized in 1587, it is very likely that the Spanish drapery was meant for the American market.

Concluding the analysis of the French commerce in Seville from the year 1580, one sees that French activity is very scarce. It can be presumed that all of them lived permanently in the city. The two merchants lived in Seville for many years and were internationally connected: Francisco Martin was in contact with Germans and Manuel de Bues with Italians. Furthermore, the latter probably participated in the Indies trade, at least indirectly.

5.2 Flemish Networks in 1580

Sixteen documents were found in the respective sections of the APS containing Flemish actors; that is in about seven percent of the dossiers.⁸ The number of Flemish actors was 13 (marked with an asterisk in figure 5.1),⁹ nine of which resided in Seville.¹⁰ Two of them became naturalized: Juan Andres who had lived for some years in Lima received a letter of naturalization in 1608, and Andres Plamont received his in 1584. Contemplating the interrela-

6 APS 3494, s.f.

7 For his naturalization and his Italian connections, cf. p. 158.

8 Eight of these were obligations and five invoices.

9 E. Otte found 84 Flemish merchants between 1519 and 1581, including 6 of the 13 mentioned above. These were Jerónimo Andrés (parish of Santa María, 1579–1580), Niculás Antonio (Santa María, 1572, 1575), Pedro Arnao (citizen of Antwerp, 1555, 1559–1560, 1565), Juan Isaac (1576), Pedro Monel (resident of Seville, 1571), and Bartolomé Villes (resident of Seville, 1579). Otte Sander, *Sevilla, siglo XVI*, pp. 286–289.

10 There is a 14th Fleming who could be included: It is Juan de la Cruz who appeared as beneficiary in a lawsuit concerning his wounded right hand as a result of a dispute, whereby “ambos hecharon manos a las espadas”. Juan de la Cruz received 2 ducats (APS 16715, ff. 452v–453r). He was not included because it is not certain whether he really was the Fleming Jean Vander Cruyce who was identified by E. Stols. Cf. Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, pp. 22–23.

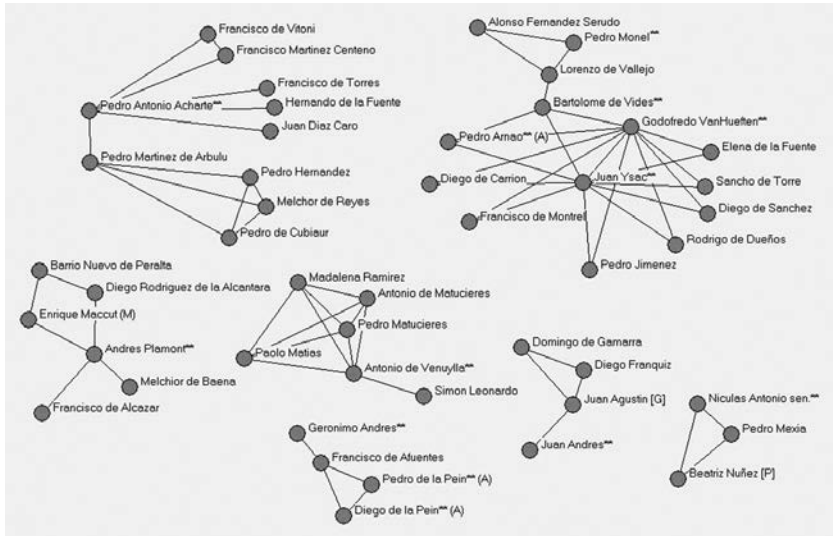


Figure 5.1: The Flemish Network of the Year 1580 (G=Genoese, P=Portuguese, A=in Antwerp, M=in Madrid)

tions between the nodes, seven minor networks of different complexity emerge, shown in figure 5.1.¹¹

These networks will be scrutinized on the following pages, starting with the biggest one of Pedro Anrao and Bartolome de Vides.

5.2.1 Pedro Anrao and Bartolome de Vides

On the 4th of May 1580, Godofredo van Hueften, a Flemish merchant, presented himself before a notary in Seville. He was equipped with a proxy from Pedro Anrao, drawn in Antwerp. On his behalf, he received about 1,254 ducats (470,186 maravedis) from Juan Ysac, a resident of Seville and a Flemish merchant too. The money came from nine different canvas traders of Seville for the consignment of bales and chests of different Flemish textiles.¹² The mer-

11 Giles van dem Bosche, a public notary from Antwerp, appeared only because he drew a document for Godofredo van Hueften (APS 16715, ff. 12r-13r). He was not included into the figure because no notaries were included into the UCINET database – the Spanish notaries especially would distort the results of the network calculations. Cf. Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, pp. 10.

12 Among other goods, there were four fardeles of *gantes*, two camas of tapestry and three cofres of *holandas*.

chandise, which was worth originally 1,356 ducats (508,652 maravedis), was addressed to the Fleming Bartolome de Vides, a citizen of Seville.¹³ Pedro Arnao was a citizen of Antwerp and traded textiles and tapestry from at least 1559. Between 1565 y 1568, he was in Seville and participated in a large Flemish business cooperation with a capital of 120,000 ducats.¹⁴ In 1580, he had returned to Antwerp and entrusted the Andalusian business to local Flemish factors. All of his partners were Flemings. Yet, while Godofredo van Hueften probably was only an employee of Pedro Arnao, Juan Ysac and Bartolome de Vides were either his agents or business partners.

The Fleming Bartolome de Vides was a large-scale merchant and lived in Seville. He is the most central person in the Flemish network of 1580.¹⁵ A certain Lorenzo de Vallejo was in debt to Bartolome de Vides for 1,078 ducats (403,337 maravedis).¹⁶ In the course of this transaction, the first authorized another Fleming, namely Pedro Monel¹⁷ and his guarantor Alonso Fernandez Serudo to take care of the debt. On the 13th of April 1580, Bartolome de Vides wrote off the obligation, and Lorenzo de Vallejo declared Pedro Monel and Alonso Fernandez Serudo free of his demands.¹⁸

Lorenzo de Vallejo was an outstanding merchant in the year 1580, the third most central node of the total network of the year 1580.¹⁹ He is an important node in the first subnetwork, as he connected the different Flemings, Pedro Arnao, Juan Ysac, Godofredo van Hueften, and Bartolome de Vides with the most central merchants of the total network, the Basque Pedro Martinez de Arbulu and his companion Pedro Cubiaur.²⁰ Because of his key position for these Flemings, Lorenzo de Vallejo shall be scrutinized more thoroughly. He paid taxes amounting to 196 ducats (73,402 maravedis)²¹ and purchased olive

13 APS 16715, ff. 12r-13r.

14 Otte Sander, *Sevilla, siglo XVI*, pp. 284-285; cf. Jiménez Montes, 'La comunidad flamenca en Sevilla?'. 48-55.

15 In about 1564, a certain Alonso Vides from Flanders bought some linen from the Ruiz family, a famous merchant family from Medina del Campo (cf. p. 248), owing them 698 ducats (261,563 maravedis). No direct connection could be found. Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, p. 409.

16 APS 16714, f. 837.

17 Pedro Monel is not identical with the French merchant Pedro Morel who became naturalized in 1606 (cf. p. 173).

18 The connection between Bartolome de Vides and Pedro Monel is not drawn in figure 5.1 because its circumstances are not fully clear.

19 He appears eight times in the documents.

20 These indirect connections are not included in figure 5.1.

21 APS 16715, ff. 69v-72r.

oil from Pedro Martinez de Arbulu and Pedro Cubiaur, worth 2,320 ducats (25,515 reales). During the 1580s, he worked as captain on different ships of the American fleet, while in the 1590s, he stayed in Seville, owning ships going to Tierra Firma.²² Thus, Lorenzo Vallejos was active in the Indies trade.²³ In March of the year 1580, he bought a young female slave from Santo Domingo for 114 ducats (1,250 reales).²⁴ Lorenzo de Vallejos was also in close business contact with two of the most central foreign merchants 1580, the brothers Juan and Tomas Berte from England.²⁵ Moreover, he traded with Spanish and English textiles: black *bayetas* and white *pañó veinticuatreño*.²⁶ His business partner, Pedro Cubiaur, was also connected to the Fleming Pedro Antonio Acharte, whose subnetwork will be analyzed next.

5.2.2 Pedro Antonio Acharte and the Basque Merchant Pedro Martinez de Arbulu

Pedro Antonio Acharte was a Flemish cloth trader who lived in Seville, in the parish of San Salvador. Just one of his commercial transactions could be identified but it reveals much about his business methods. On the 26th of April 1580, he received English textiles from Pedro Martinez de Arbulu. The cargo consisted of 174 pieces of drapery: 152 *bayetas sencillas* and 22 pieces of *bayetas dobles*. Two weeks later, on the 10th of May, Pedro Antonio Acharte received four obligations from different traders (*maestros traperos*) of the city, having their business in the parishes of Santa María and San Salvador, because he had provided them with those textiles. The four textile traders committed themselves to pay 3,292 ducats (1,234,574 maravedis) at the end of October 1580.²⁷ The following day, Pedro Martinez de Arbulu received 3,000 ducats (1,125,002 maravedis) from Pedro Antonio Acharte as payment for the sup-

22 Chaunu and Chaunu, *Séville et l'Atlantique*, vol. 3, pp. 300-301.

23 APS 16715, ff. 91v-92v.

24 APS 16714, ff. 1043r-1044r. For the American slave trade from Seville, cf. García Fuentes, "La introducción de esclavos".

25 They were number 45 and 55 out of 503 nodes of the network of 1580. APS 16715, ff. 146v, 311. The transaction amounted to 240 ducats (2,642 reales).

26 They contained 174 varas of black *bayetas* from Córdoba for 190 ducats (2,088 reales), 140 varas of black *bayetas* from England for 83 ducats (910 reales), and 33.75 varas of white *pañó veinticuatreño* from Toledo for 64 ducats (708.75 reales). Cf. also Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, p. 407.

27 APS 16715, ff. 76-79.

plied *bayetas*.²⁸ Thereupon, Pedro Martinez de Arbulu made an assurance to Pedro Antonio Acharte, whereby he committed himself to pay 3,292 ducats himself if the four textile traders were not able to pay in time.²⁹ Thus, the Basque provisioner guaranteed that the Flemish trader would receive his payment in time. Otherwise, he would have virtually re-bought his own *bayetas*.³⁰

The focal position of Pedro Martinez de Arbulu must be mentioned, as he stands out within the total network of 1580: He is the most central actor and appears 30 times. Almost half of these documents are obligations and 90 percent concern the trade with merchandise. Frequently, he worked with Pedro Cubiaur,³¹ who was on fifth place in the network of 1580; together they appear 19 times. Both were active as retailers of Andalusian olive oil and foreign products, mostly of Flemish, French, and English origin (*holandas*, *ruanes*, and tin, to mention but a few).³² Pedro Martinez de Arbulu sold 455 kegs of Spanish olive oil for about 15,077 ducats (165,848 reales), while foreign merchandise was worth 7,504 ducats (2,814,151 maravedis) – 39 percent was cochineal. Among the European products, textiles were predominant.³³ Apart from Pedro Antonio Acharte, the foreign connections of Pedro Martinez de Arbulu include the Englishmen Juan Guates, Hieronimo Hall, and Hugo Hobar.³⁴ None of the other 12 Flemings in Seville had direct contact with Pedro Martinez de Arbulu nor with Pedro Cubiaur. After the loss of several ships between Spain and the Netherlands, Martinez de Arbulu and Cubiaur went bankrupt in 1582, with an accumulated debt of 80,000 ducats.³⁵

28 APS 16715, f. 81.

29 APS 16715, ff. 82-83.

30 The likelihood that this was some type of clandestine credit system between the two merchants is substantial.

31 Pedro Cubiaur was active in the Indies trade. Cf. Chaunu and Chaunu, *Séville et l'Atlantique*, vol. 5, and should even have become general of a fleet. Both merchants had good contacts with England.

32 APS 16715, ff. 106r-107r, 460, to mention but one source for each product.

33 Three documents concerning similar goods did not become actual; they would have amounted to an additional 2,152 ducats (806,975 maravedis).

34 APS 16715, ff. 140, 276v-277r; APS 16714, f. 1136.

35 Vázquez de Prada, *Lettres marchandes*, vol. 1, pp. 171, 231. Erroneously, E. Lorenzo Sanz contributed the reason for their bankruptcy to one of their business associates Gaspar de Añastro from Antwerp (Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, pp. 376-377). Yet, it was the Spanish company which first went bankrupt. For an example of the debt (merchandise owed by them), cf. AHN Diversos-Colecciones 39, N. 17, ff. 77r-85 [PARES].

5.2.3 Andres Plamont

The merchant Andres Plamont applied for naturalization in 1580. Hence, no direct trading with America was allowed for him until that year. He appears two times in the scrutinized dossiers of the notary Luis de Porrás (office XXIV).³⁶ The documents shed light on the purchase of 61.5 cuartos of *aceituna gordal* (olives) for 492 ducats (5,412 reales), and 46 arrobas of olive oil amounting to 36 ducats (13,294 maravedis). Andres Plamont purchased these products from a local farmer, which indicates a focus on Spanish products.

The documents also show that Andres Plamont conducted his business using bills of exchange. In March 1580, he accepted a bill of exchange from Melchor de Baena, and in July, he received 1,000 ducats from the friar Diego Rodriguez de Alcantara, who was in the service of *señor* Pedro de Santa Aulan, a stockbroker from Seville and textile merchant, who traded with goods from Segovia and Baeza.³⁷ The trail of the bill of exchange also included a certain Enrique de Maccut, whose name (Henry MacCut) indicates that he may have come from the British Isles.

5.2.4 Niculas Antonio Senior

The merchant Niculas Antonio senior appeared as creditor of 150 ducats for Pedro Mexia and Beatriz Nuñez, two citizens of Seville.³⁸ This business constitutes a link to a Portuguese, as Beatriz Nuñez was born in Lisbon. She was living in Seville in 1621 when, by then already a widow, she testified on behalf of a compatriot, the Portuguese merchant and *asentista* Duarte Rodriguez de Leon.³⁹ Pedro Mexia too was a merchant and involved in the Indies trade. He was in contact with local merchants of Trujillo (in Peru) and Managua (in Central America); his son Fernando even perished in the Indies.⁴⁰

Niculas Antonio senior was also involved in the trade with Northern Europe, as he was trading with England.⁴¹ Thus, he can be considered to be a

36 APS 16714, f. 731, and APS 16715, f. 397r.

37 APS 3494, ff. 86r-88r, 1295r-1296r; APS 16715, f. 129.

38 APS 16715, ff. 358v-360v.

39 It should be pointed out, that – even though having the same name – she is not identical to the mother-in-law of Marcos de Lannoy and Andres Plamont (cf. p. 186). AGI Contratación 50A, s.f.

40 APS 16715, f. 348.

41 Gómez-Centurión Jiménez, *Felipe II, la empresa de Inglaterra*, p. 194.

merchant of the European commerce, who was at least in contact with Indies traders. However, it was not he but his son who became one of the most important merchants of Seville.⁴²

5.2.5 Juan Andres

Juan Andres was the third and last naturalized Fleming who appeared in the notary archives of 1580.⁴³ He received his letter of naturalization in 1608, but already 28 years earlier, he was closely connected to the Indies trade. He acted as guarantor for Juan Agustin, a citizen of Seville, master of the *Carrera de Indias*, and owner of the *nao* La Maria. It is very likely that Juan Agustin was of Italian origin and applied for naturalization in 1631, at a very senior age.⁴⁴ Juan Agustin shared the ship with the merchant Diego Franquiz, who was involved in the Indies trade with sugar and hides,⁴⁵ traded with Italian textiles,⁴⁶ and maintained contact with the Canary Islands.⁴⁷ The cooperation with the Italian shipmaster, therefore indicates the interest of Juan Andres in the Indies trade.

5.2.6 Geronimo Andres

The Flemish merchant Geronimo Andres (or Andrea) is the first one who exhibits a direct connection to his place of origin.⁴⁸ Being in Seville, he received money from Antwerp via a bill of exchange: On the 16th of May 1580, the Flemings Diego and Pedro de la Pein drew a bill of exchange in Antwerp on Francisco de Afuentes, a citizen of Seville. About two months later Francisco de Afuentes paid the agreed 500 ducats to Geronimo Andres.⁴⁹

42 Cf. Vila Vilar, "Los europeos en el comercio americano", pp. 294-296; cf. also p. 197 for the family and p. 298 for the commerce of his son.

43 APS 16714, ff. 1033r-1034r.

44 AGI Contratación 596B, s.f.

45 APS 16714, f. 1109.

46 APS 16714, ff. 997r-998v, 999r-1001r.

47 APS 16714, f. 1110.

48 APS 16715, f. 287r. Only one suggestion can be found that indicates a connection between Geronimo Andres and the above-mentioned Juan Andres: The mother of Juan Andres was probably of the Flemish family De Molinar and, on the other hand, a young employee of Geronimo Andres was Antonio de Molinar, of the same family.

49 E. Otte supplies additional data on Geronimo Andres, related to the New Spain territories: In 1580, he purchased about 50 arrobas of cochineal for about 3,500 ducats. Otte Sander, *Sevilla, siglo XVI*, p. 285.

Francisco de Afuentes was a central actor in the network of 1580 (rank 15).⁵⁰ He delivered olive oil⁵¹ and collected taxes (*alcabala*).⁵² In addition, a document, which did not become effective, shows Francisco de Afuentes as supplier of French and Flemish linen. These consisted of 16 pieces of white *holandas* and 14 different pieces of *holandas* for about 860 ducats (230 pounds 12 sueldos, nine dineros in Flemish currency), four *fardeles* of *ruanes* for 535 ducats (200,497 maravedis), and a chest of *ruanes* of better quality for 507 ducats (190,115 maravedis).⁵³ Possibly, Geronimo Andres had delivered some of this merchandise to the Spanish merchant.

During his presence in Seville, Geronimo Andres employed his compatriot, the young Juan Leclerque, as cashier (cf. p. 201), and also the young Antonio de Molinar started in Seville under the wings of the family Andres (cf. p. 193).⁵⁴ By 1600, however, Geronimo Andres returned to Antwerp, and in 1605 he moved to Rouen. His son Baltasar, who was born in 1577 in Seville, carried on the business in Antwerp. Both maintained relations with Spain and Italy until the bankruptcy of Baltasar Andres in 1625.⁵⁵

5.2.7 Antonio de Venduylla

The last Flemish merchant of 1580 to be analyzed is Antonio de Venduylla. Two of his daughters and one stepdaughter married Flemings (cf. figure 4.4 on p. 187), two of which were the naturalized merchants Andres Plamont and Marcos de Lannoy, who would become important Indies merchants. Supposedly the daughters of Antonio de Venduylla were born in Spain, which means they were *jenizaras*.⁵⁶ A marriage with *jenizaras* was considered a valid prerequisite for the acquisition of a naturalization, which means, they were sufficiently “Castilian” for the authorities.

50 He was also referred to as Francisco de Cifuentes.

51 APS 16715, ff. 325v-326v.

52 APS 16715, ff. 327, 327v-328r.

53 APS 16715, ff. 494v-495r.

54 Brulez, *Marchands flamands à Venise (1568–1605)*, p. 459, n. 1413: On the 5th of July 1603, Giacomo Vancastre, a Flemish merchant, for himself and on behalf of Giovanni de Cordes, a commissioner of Gieronimo d’Andrea from Antwerp, declared having received 35 bales of wool sent from Seville by Antonio de Mulaner on the vessel San Francesco de Paula, addressed to Gieronimo d’Andrea, as well as 35 bales of fine wool on the vessel La Nontiata, addressed to Francesco Vrins or the commissioner of Gieronimo d’Andrea. Vancastre received them on orders of Gieronimo d’Andrea.

55 Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, pp. 2-3.

56 For *jenizaras* and *jenizaros*, cf. pp. 76 and 111.

In 1580, Antonio Venduylla appeared as a standard merchant. He purchased, for example, blades, sandglasses, and a painted chest, worth 210 ducats (2,308 reales), from a citizen of Seville.⁵⁷ He probably also bought goods from the merchant Pablo Matias, amounting to 124 ducats. The latter traded in *ruanes* and other textiles and bought goods made of silver and gold from a Portuguese trader, amounting to 150 ducats.⁵⁸ When he died, it was Antonio de Venduylla who supported his sister-in-law and son with a payment of 20 ducats.⁵⁹

5.2.8 The Case of “Historia de las Coronicas de Estos Reynos”

One last case is incorporated in the analysis of the Flemings of 1580. Even though no Flemings were involved, it contributes to the understanding of Spanish-Flemish commerce. The case was about various issues of the book “Historia de las Coronicas de Estos Reynos”, which took place in Seville, Antwerp and Bilbao. Three Spanish merchants were involved. In Antwerp, Juan de Narria, a citizen of Seville, borrowed money from the Basque Martin de Ysunza, from Vitoria, and from Gaspar de Añastro, a citizen of Antwerp of probable Spanish origin. As a pledge, Juan de Narria handed them out several volumes of the book “Historia de las Coronicas de Estos Reynos”.⁶⁰ Because of the insurgency taking place in the Netherlands during that time, the merchants decided to take the books to Bilbao, and that is where the lawsuits started.

Juan de Narria accused his creditors of having exported the books illegally and wanted them back at once. In addition, he complained about the lack of proof for his debt. On the contrary, Martin de Ysunza demanded his money back, including interests and transaction costs.⁶¹ Five days later in Seville, it was confirmed that, at the end of 1578, Martin de Ysunza had lent 410 ducats to Juan de Narria. The witness on behalf of Martin de Ysunza was the merchant Francisco de Afuentes (cf. p. 240).⁶² Thereby, the proof for the debt of Juan de Narria was established. Yet, the outcome of the lawsuit is unknown.

57 APS 3494, f. 90.

58 The goods consisted of “2 jvas de plata medianos, 1 taza, 1 salero, 1 pimentero de plata dorado” and other golden jewelry. APS 16715, ff. 485r-489r.

59 The brother of the deceased merchant, Antonio de Matucieres, was the beneficiary to whom Antonio de Venduylla had to pay a remaining debt of 124 ducats. Deducting the 20 ducats, a debt of 104 ducats remained to be paid.

60 A certain Esteban de Garriba y de Zamalloa was mentioned as author of the book.

61 APS 16714, ff. 1041v-1042r.

62 APS 16714, f. 819v.

To resume, the exposed facts evoke the picture of a merchant from Seville who borrowed money from a Basque financier and invested in books which were produced in Antwerp. During that time, Antwerp was a center of publishing, and many books were printed in Spanish and other languages.⁶³ At that time, the political problems in the Netherlands seemed to have obstructed his business so that his creditors became anxious. What is most conspicuous about the whole case is that it was basically Spanish merchants who conducted the business and not Flemish ones – although one of them was at least living a number of years in Antwerp. However, the dominance of Spanish merchants in this business can be seen as a sign that, at least by 1580, northern merchants were not yet completely dominating the European Atlantic trade.

5.3 Conclusions of the 1580 Trade

While the French presence in Seville in the year 1580 was very limited – only two merchants could be found – Flemings constituted the largest foreign colony in the city.⁶⁴ Still, compared to the subsequent years, their number was very small. To a certain extent, table 5.1 can be considered an economic résumé of the section about Flemings, as it summarizes their trade.⁶⁵ In its second and third column, the revenues and expenses are shown, which together amounted to 11,136 ducats. This can be considered an indicator of the trade volume of the scrutinized merchants, which was introduced above as “ascertainable trade volume”.⁶⁶ This Flemish trade volume was not particularly high, especially vis-à-vis merchants like Pedro Martinez de Arbulu, Pedro Cubiaur, or Lorenzo de Vallejo: the profit of the Basque merchant Pedro Martinez de Arbulu from sales of olive oil alone doubled the profits of all Flemings.

The merchandise which dominated the Flemish trade in Seville was textiles. They came from England, Flanders, and also from Spain. American products, on the other hand, are absent. The lack of naturalizations or licenses for the American trade may explain that fact – Andres Plamont, who was the first among them, received his letter of naturalization in 1584. Among the international contacts, links to compatriots dominated. Furthermore, there existed

63 Moll, “Amberes y el mundo hispano del libro”, pp. 117-118; Pulido Bueno, *Almojari-fazgos y comercio exterior*, p. 181; cf. Griffin, *Los Cramberger*.

64 Cf. figure 1.7 on p. 91.

65 Over 60 percent of the investigated documents included merchandise.

66 Cf. p. 119.

Table 5.1: Revenues and Expenses of the Flemings in 1580 (in Ducats)

Name	Revenues	Expenses	Merchandise	Contacts
Pedro Antonio Acharte	3,292	3,000	English textiles	<i>England</i>
Pedro Arnao	1,254	—	Flemish textiles	Flanders
Bartolome de Vides	1,078	—	Credit/Textiles	Fl./France/Indies
Andres Plamont	1,000	528	Olives, oil/Bill of ex.	<i>England</i>
Geronimo Andres	500	—	Bill of exchange	Flanders
Niculas Antonio sr.	150	—	Credit	Indies/Portugal
Antonio de Venduylla	—	334	Haberdashery	<i>Indies/Portugal</i>
Juan Andres	—	—	—	Indies/Italy
TOTAL	7,274	3,862	—	—

Explanation: Assumptions in italic

contacts to Italians, Englishmen, and Indies merchants. The latter constituted the only access for the Flemings to the riches of the New World.⁶⁷

Regarding the products, it is peculiar that English goods were dominant. The value of their textiles was highest. England was an important business partner for Flemings in 1580, and also for central merchants like Lorenzo de Vallejo, Pedro Martinez de Arbulu, and Pedro Cubiaur. This observation is emphasized by the fact that Englishmen appeared in the notarial documents as often as Flemings.⁶⁸ Yet, in the subsequent years, Englishmen were going to lose ground.

The French trade volume, on the other hand, did not surpass 250 ducats (expenses). The dominant product of French merchants was Spanish textiles. Their foreign contacts consisted of Germans and Italians. Even though the number of Frenchmen is too small for a coherent conclusion, at least one can see that both nations predominantly traded with textiles.

The example of the “Historia de las Coronicas de Estos Reynos” shows a small network of Spanish merchants between Seville, Bilbao, and Antwerp. The fact that it was Spaniards who were deployed and not northern merchants, indicates that in 1580, the Mediterranean merchant had still not lost all ground

67 For American products in Europe, cf. for example Pieper, “Raw Materials from Overseas and their Impact on European Economies and Societies”; Fischer, “American Products Imported into Europe”; Ewald, “Pflanzen Iberoamerikas und ihre Bedeutung für Europa”.

68 Cf. figure 1.6 on p. 89.

to the northern nations.⁶⁹ The contact between Antwerp and Seville was, thus, established by both sides, and it was not only northern merchants who sought their fortune in Seville. Nonetheless, because Seville is at the center of this book, more Flemish commercial activity was found in Spain, than Spanish in Antwerp. The most representative opposite example for Flemings in Spain was the Arnao family: Pedro Arnao conducted his business from Antwerp and relied on his different agents in Seville to carry out his instructions. Compared to the Spanish actors of the “*Historia de las Coronicas de Estos Reynos*”, the agents of Pedro Arnao were all Flemings. The volume of his trade shows that the Arnao family ran a rather large-scale business, exporting northern products to Seville. This system was successful for the Arnao family, and it was maintained at least until 1600 (cf. p. 262). In the forthcoming years, Flemish and French commercial activities in Seville were increasing.

69 Since 1570, northern merchants swarmed southwards in large numbers, and according to F. Braudel they reduced the Spaniards in Seville to commissioners. The example of the “*Historia de las Coronicas de Estos Reynos*”, on the contrary, shows that they were still active in 1580. Cf. Braudel, *Das Mittelmeer*, vol. 2, pp. 373-386, 411-414; Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System I*, especially the the first chapter; Jeannin, “La configuration du commerce international au XVIIe siècle”; Israel, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade*; idem, “The Phases of the Dutch *Straatvaart*”.

6. Commercial Networks of 1600

The corpus of the sources of the year 1600 consists of 321 documents of major interest which were found in the offices XVI and XXIV.¹ The order of centrality of the year is clearly dominated by one person, or rather by one bank, the Genoese Jacome Mortedo (cf. p. 258). Second and third come the merchant bankers Cesar Baroncini, from Florence, and Baltasar Espinola, from Genoa. The fourth place is taken by the Portuguese slave trader Simon Freyre de Lima who had gone bankrupt some years earlier, and fifth is the Genoese *hombre de negocios* Juan Francisco Bibiano.² Among the twenty most central actors in 1600, eight were Italian merchants – seven from Genoa – and five Portuguese. Hence, these two nations were especially dominant in 1600 (cf. figure 1.6 on p. 89).³ However, the French and Flemish nations also had increased their activities in Seville.

6.1 French Networks in 1600

Far more Frenchmen appeared in 1600 than in 1580. This evidence from the notary archives is backed up by the high number of French ships in the harbors of Seville, Sanlúcar, and Puerto de Santa María at the beginning of the 17th century. In addition, it is an interesting detail that the number of French hospices and guest houses in Sanlúcar was the highest of all foreign nations.⁴ Still, French merchants were not dominant amongst the foreigners in Seville. Only about six percent of the documents 1600 contain French names, that is to say 17 files. In these, 18 different names of Frenchmen can be found, which are displayed in table 6.1 in order of their centrality within the total network of the year. The complexity of their networks is shown in figure 6.1. Thus, two larger subnetworks emerged, which developed around the families Soming and Bruguiera.

1 The notaries investigated are number XVI (legajo 9983 and 9984) and XXIV (legajo 16766), both range mainly from March to May; some interesting files from office number XII (legajo 7421) were included too, containing later months of the year.

2 For the application of the terminus “hombre de negocio”, cf. Domínguez Ortiz, “Los extranjeros en la vida española”, p. 23: “no era el rico mercader, sino el hombre de caudal y crédito que se dedicaba a especulaciones dinerarias”.

3 For the preponderance of the Italians in 1600, cf. above on p. 90.

4 Moret, *Aspects de la société marchande*, pp. 35, 49.

Table 6.1: The 18 Frenchmen of the Year 1600

Name	Residence	Origin	Nat.
Jaques Soming	Seville, citizen	—	1594
Pedro Soming	Seville, resident	—	—
Guillermo Bruguiera	Nantes	Nantes	—
Jorge de Bues	Seville, citizen	—	—
Andres Ruiz ⁵	Nantes	Nantes	—
Pierre Gravier	Seville, at the time	Arles	—
Francisco Martin	Seville/Pt. de Santa María	Brittany	—
Carlos de Bues	Seville, resident	—	—
Guillermo Layne	Seville, citizen	—	—
Velota Barze	Nantes	Nantes	—
Anrique Flor	Seville, at the time	Rosco, Brittany	—
Antonio Bruguiera	Nantes	Nantes	—
Francisco Scorrit	Seville, at the time	Rosco, Brittany	—
Esteban Even	—	—	—
Guillermo Beladier	Seville, citizen	—	—
Juan de Moguen	Crucique	—	—
Anet Bruguiera	Nantes	Nantes	—
Juan de Canoa	Seville, at the time	—	—

Explanation: “Nat.” means the date of naturalization of the merchant

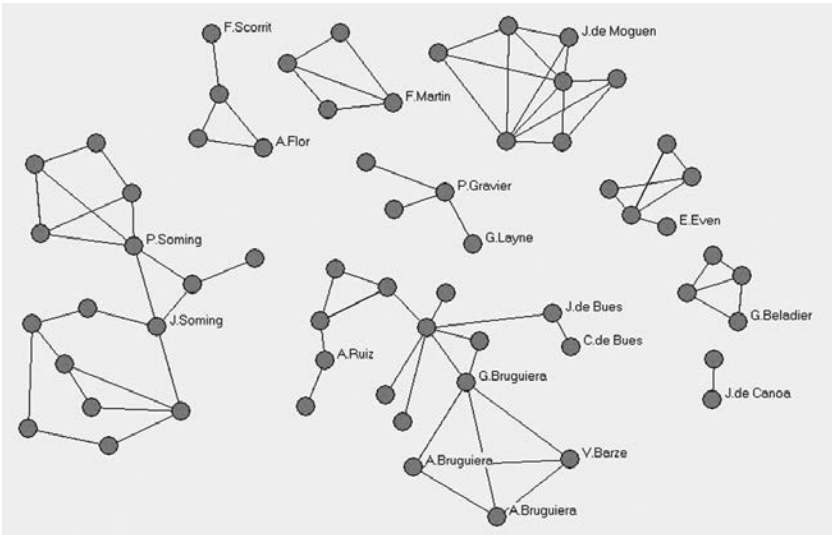


Figure 6.1: The French Network of the Year 1600

⁵ Even though Andres Ruiz was born in Castille, by 1600, he had been living in Nantes for several decades and is hence classified here as Frenchmen.

6.1.1 The Soming Family

In 1594, Jaques Soming was naturalized, which is why he was permitted to trade with the Indies in 1600. Together with his cousin Pedro Soming, they ran a company which comprised a variety of activities. In 1599, Jaques Soming gave a proxy to his cousin which he needed to receive a silver disk on the 24th of April 1600. The disk, with a weight of 129 marcos and five ounces, had come from Tierra Firme. Originally, it was assigned to Martin de Tirapu, a *comprador de oro y plata* and a very influential merchant of Seville.⁶ E. Vila Vilar classifies Martin de Tirapu as one of the most outstanding merchants in the first half of the 17th century.⁷

Furthermore, Jaques and Pedro Soming honored bills of exchange in Seville. Jaques Soming was obliged to pay 1,000 ducats (11,000 reales de plata) to Juan Francisco de Fontana, maybe a Genoese merchant, for a bill of exchange issued in Valencia. Juan Francisco de Fontana was acting with a cession of the payee Francisco Coloma, a general of the galleons to Tierra Firme.⁸ Another bill involved the participation of Portuguese merchants and the trading center Antwerp. Pedro Soming, along with the merchant Jaques Veor, a resident of Seville, paid 640 ducats to Antonio Miguel Sierra, who was acting on behalf of his brother Lanzarote de Sierra, both Portuguese. The transaction was done according to a bill of exchange drawn by Diego Carrillo de Palma in Antwerp two months earlier.⁹

Concluding the evidence of 1600, one can see that the cousins Jaques and Pedro Soming had their business connections spread between Tierra Firme, Valencia, and Antwerp. Thereby, they were acting with partners from Genoa, Antwerp, and Portugal. France was missing in the list, which is interesting because amongst the private connections of the Soming family, Frenchmen were also missing (cf. p. 161).

Additional evidence for the activities of Pedro Soming dates from the years 1610, 1614, and 1615. In 1610, he was fined because he was involved in illegal traffic.¹⁰ Some years later, he appeared again having a load worth 8,000 ducats, which he sent from Ayamonte, in Andalusia, to Zealand. The captain of the ship, with the name De Hoop, was Jacob Adrianssen Swart. Pedro Soming insured the cargo in Seville, paying five percent of the value to Fernando Catry,

6 APS 16766, f. 156v.

7 Vila Vilar, "Una amplia nómina", p. 180.

8 APS 16766, f. 248.

9 APS 16766, f. 536v.

10 Moret, *Aspects de la société marchande*, p. 74.

a local insurance company.¹¹ The following year, a certain Francisco Soming, most likely another relative of Jaques and Pedro, paid 400 ducats in Seville for the insurance of the ship Santa Maria of Tibaut Janssen, going from Dunkerque to Sanlúcar, and the ship El Lansmann from Arias Janssen, going in the reverse direction.¹² Thus, the family Soming, obviously, preferred the commerce with the Southern and Northern Netherlands to business with France.

6.1.2 The Families Bruguiera and De Bues and their Connection to Nantes and the Ruiz Family

Guillermo Bruguiera, a citizen of Nantes, was in Seville on the 8th of April 1600. His aim was to finish a business his father Antonio Bruguiera had started. He acted as his heir and on behalf of his mother, Velota Barze, and of his sister, Anet Bruguiera. Guillermo Bruguiera received 897 ducats (336,232 maravedís) from Antonio de Aguirre, an agent of a certain Gaspar de Tolosa. The father of the latter was Pedro de Tolosa, a very active merchant who had died shortly before. After the death of the head of the family therefore, Gaspar de Tolosa and his mother Isabel de Zurita had to settle his remaining affairs. One of these was the above-mentioned payment of 897 ducats, which were for the delivery of 14 bales of haberdashery and other merchandise from Nantes. The goods were sent to Seville by Andres Ruiz, the brother of the famous merchant Simon Ruiz in Medina del Campo.¹³

The payment was only accomplished after the criminal court of Seville had pronounced a final judgment in this case. The original transaction did not go as expected, and it is very likely that a complex business which had been started by an older generation had to be finished by a younger one. More precisely, the fathers of Guillermo Bruguiera and Gaspar de Tolosa, both deceased in 1600, had a commercial agreement between Nantes and Seville. When, in 1600, it came to the payment of the transmitted goods, the heir of Pedro de Tolosa refused to pay, and Guillermo Bruguiera had to come to Seville to solve the problem. The money was paid out, finally, by Gaspar de Quintanadueñas, a citizen of Seville, whose family was involved in the trade with the Ruiz

11 Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, pp. 160-161.

12 Ibidem, pp. 162-163.

13 APS 9983, ff. 1144–1145v. For further information on the Ruiz family, cf. Lapeyre, *Simon Ruiz*; Lapeyre, *Une famille de marchands*; Ruiz Martín, *Letres marchandes*; Priotti, *Bilbao et ses marchands*; Lucas Villanueva, *El Cantabrico y el espacio económico atlántico en el siglo XVI*.

family.¹⁴ Furthermore, the Ruiz family also experienced a switch of generations, as Simon Ruiz, the *grand homme* of the Ruiz family in Medina del Campo, had died in 1597.¹⁵ The investigated evidence, thus, demonstrates that the three families Tolosa (Seville), Ruiz (Medina del Campo and Nantes) and Bruguiera (Nantes) had established a triangle of international trade. Whether or not the following generation continued the cooperation is uncertain, but because of the intervention of a court of justice in this case, it seems rather unlikely.

One of the witnesses to the payment was Jorge de Bues, a French citizen of Seville, whose kinship to his naturalized compatriot Manuel de Bues can be assumed. A proxy may serve as example for the business activities of Jorge de Bues. As such, he authorized his brother Carlos de Bues to receive merchandise on his behalf from France and elsewhere.¹⁶ Thus, in contrast to the Bruguiera family, the De Bues family had taken its residence permanently in Seville; and in contrast to the Soming family, the De Bues family did maintain contacts with France and with Frenchmen.

6.1.3 Particular Cases of Frenchmen in Seville in 1600

This section summarizes the remaining activities of the French merchants from the year 1600 and demonstrates their international character. They belonged only in very small subnetwork and appeared rather isolated. Guillermo de Beladier was a French merchant and citizen of Seville, living in the C/Francos. Amongst his customers was, for example, the wife of an alderman of the city.¹⁷ The case of Guillermo de Beladier was the only one without any foreign participation. In general, the activities of the French merchants were very international in 1600, as they frequently concerned compatriots or other foreigners. That can be seen in the following cases:

- Anrrique Flor from Rosco, Brittany, received 357 ducats (3,928 reales) from a citizen of Seville, for a bill of exchange from a town magistrate from Huel-

14 The Quintanadueñas family settled down in Nantes and Rouen and maintained its international business. Cf. Demeulenaere-Douyère, “Le commerce espagnol à Rouen”; Demeulenaere-Douyère, “La colonie espagnole de Rouen”; Mollat, *Le commerce maritime normand à la fin du Moyen Âge*, pp. 507-522; Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, pp. 271-273.

15 Lapeyre, *Une famille de marchands*, p. 7.

16 APS 16766, ff. 378-380v.

17 APS 9984, f. 279.

- va. Thereby, a compatriot of Anrrique Flor, Francisco Scorrit, acted as witness on his behalf.¹⁸
- Juan de Canoa, a French merchant, gave a proxy to the Fleming Antonio de Baudrin Guien.¹⁹ In 1596, the latter had become the godfather of Margarita Nancarro, the future wife of the Frenchman Lanfran David (cf. p. 171).²⁰
 - Estevan Even is considered to be French because he was the master of the carrack San Pedro. This *nao* sailed from Marseilles to Calais and was seized by Dutch and English ships. Thereupon, the Fleming Jaques Speeca, received 472 ducats (177,000 maravedis) from the heir of the insurers Lorenzo Cota and Juan Francisco Bibiano, both Genoese. The sum comprised 59 percent of the value of the cargo (cf. p. 265).²¹
 - The last case may serve as paradigm of internationality. It concerns a bill of exchange which was drawn in Lisbon. The Florentine company Cesar Baroncini and Atanacio de Aberoni had to pay the requested amount to the Irishman Juan Roche. The payment was done on the 20th of April 1600, witnessed by the Frenchman Juan de Moguer.²²

Mediterranean Wheat

An important issue for French merchants was Seville's need for food. The grain shortage of the city was a well known problem of Seville during the time of investigation,²³ and imports of wheat were often necessary.²⁴ In 1600, two

18 APS 16766, f. 571.

19 APS 9983, ff. 1199–1200v.

20 AGI Contratación 50B, s.f.

21 APS 9984, ff. 2-3.

22 APS 16766, f. 338.

23 Cf. p. 263 below and Morales Padrón, *Historia de Sevilla*, p. 134; Domínguez Ortiz, *Orto y ocase de Sevilla*, pp. 43-44; Moret, *Aspects de la société marchande*, pp. 78-79.

24 Cf. Braudel, *Das Mittelmeer*, vol. 2, pp. 344-351, 364-372, 380, 401-418; idem, *Aufbruch zur Weltwirtschaft*, p. 226; Henning, "Spanien in der Weltwirtschaft des 16. Jahrhunderts", pp. 31-32; Israel, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade*, pp. 12-37, 53-60; Kellenbenz, "Spanien, die nördlichen Niederlande", p. 299; Echevarría Bacigalupe, *Flandes y la monarquía hispánica*, pp. 55, 88; Vázquez de Prada, *Letras marchandes*, pp. 71-74; Goris, *Étude sur les colonies marchandes méridionales*, p. 287. See also Beutin, *Der deutsche Seehandel im Mittelmeergebiet* and Malowist, "Les produits des pays de la Baltique". During much of the 16th century, the Genoese occupied a dominant position in the supply of wheat for Seville (Otte Sander, *Sevilla, siglo XVI*, p. 182).

such imports of Mediterranean wheat were carried out by Frenchmen.²⁵ Pierre Gravier from Arles, patron of the *saltia* San Luis Buene Aventura,²⁶ had loaded 800 fanegas of wheat in Arles and transported it to Seville. On the 26th of April 1600, he received 321 ducats (3,536 reales) from Baltasar Espinola, a Genoese resident of Seville. Baltasar Espinola ranked third in the centrality of the network of the year 1600 and was one of the most active merchants of 1600²⁷ – and not only once he was involved in the grain trade of the city.²⁸ The payment of the 321 ducats was for the rest of the charter and *avería*, granted to the transporter Pierre Gravier according to a Spanish judgment. The Frenchman Guillermo Layne, a resident of Seville, and the Catalan Juan Fuentes witnessed the execution of the payment.²⁹ Guillermo Layne was the consul of the French nation, who had succeeded Manuel de Bues in this office.³⁰

Another case which gives evidence of the lack of wheat in Seville was the one of the German *urca* Profeta David, shown in figure 6.2. Captain Francisco Martin, from Brittany, on behalf of captain Julian Junje, a citizen and alderman of Cartagena de Levante,³¹ demanded from Martin Jongle, a German master

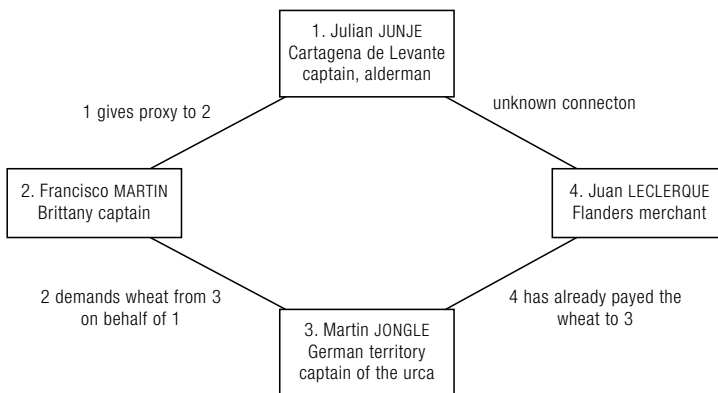


Figure 6.2: The Case of the Urca Profeta David

25 Two more documents about French wheat were discovered in the APS but no involvement of French merchants could be found. APS 9984, ff. 409-410, 431v-432. For the transformation of the Andalusian agriculture and the general grain shortage, cf. Phillips, "Time and Duration", pp. 542-545.

26 The *saltia* was a small type of ship, cf. p. 48.

27 He appears in 16 documents.

28 APS 9984, f. 393.

29 APS 16766, f. 361v.

30 Girard, *Le commerce français*, p. 91.

and owner of the mentioned *urca*, that he fulfilled his obligations to deliver a prearranged amount of wheat from Sicily. For that delivery Martin Jongle had already received 2,964 ducats (32,600 reales) from the Flemish merchant Juan Leclerque (cf. p. 201). However, the agreed amount was not delivered, 80 fanegas were missing, and 468 fanegas were in bad condition, so that the *alhóndiga*, the grain storage of Seville, would not accept it.³² Further evidence is not available for that case, but this encounter of different nations confirms the eminent position of Seville as international entrepôt. One could say that the united force of an alderman of the Spanish Mediterranean coast, a German skipper, a French intermediary, and a Flemish financier were needed to obtain Italian wheat to meet the grain shortage of Seville.

On the 18th of March 1600, a different case took place with almost the same participants. Julian Junje appears as owner of the two carracks La Esperanza, of 550 tons, and Santa Ana, of 350 tons. Both ships had served the Spanish king in the navy since the 28th of March 1599 – the navy would return from Tierra Firme on the 13th of May 1600. The agent of Julian Junje in Seville, again Francisco Martin, presented a letter to the German captain Martin Jongle. Thereby, the latter was asked to pay the rent for the two carracks. Yet neither detailed information of the financial circumstances, nor the outcome of that case, could be found.³³ It is, however, interesting to see that the cooperation of these merchants of different origin went beyond the grain trade, stressing once more the international character of Seville in 1600.

6.1.4 Synopsis

In 1600, the number of Frenchmen was much higher than in 1580. It could be observed that their trade had a very international dimension. It involved France, Italy, Flanders, Portugal, America, and different Spanish locations, as well as various international participants from these places and one German merchant. The French merchants in Seville of 1600 were in close contact with some of the most eminent merchants of the time, like Martin de Tirapu and Andres Ruiz. The Frenchmen in Seville constituted a colony which had neither a special inclination toward Spanish merchants nor toward compatriots from

31 For the history of Cartagena de Levante, cf. Valasco Hernández, “Al auge económico de Cartagena”.

32 APS 9983, ff. 1134–1135.

33 APS 9983, ff. 1129v–1133. The *nao* Santa Ana, 250 tons, master Bartolome Bernal, and Nuestra Señora de la Esperanza, 250 tons, master Gaspar Martin, are maybe the carracks referred to. Cf. Chaunu and Chaunu, *Séville et l'Atlantique*, vol. 4, pp. 104–105.

France. It formed a small but dynamic element in the commerce of Seville with manifold international liaisons.

Some of the French merchants' took permanent residence in Seville and integrated in the local society, like the De Bues family. Others, like the Bruguiera, preferred to stay only temporarily. The function of family bonds was underlined in two different ways. First, the examples of the Soming cousins and the De Bues brothers showed the importance of family bonds at a given time, and second, the case of the Bruguiera family displayed the consistency of families throughout generations when the heirs of three merchants' families finished the business of their predecessors.

The variety of goods traded by Frenchmen was greater than in 1580. It ranged from American silverware to French haberdashery and Italian wheat. The only ones who were linked to the Indies were the Soming cousins who had a respective license, none of the other Frenchmen traded with America. Moreover, the lack of textile imports to Seville is an interesting detail. The means of commerce included the use of bills of exchange. All French expenses added up to 1,640 ducats (only bills of exchange from the Soming family) and the revenues to 4,539 ducats (the biggest share was for the delivery of wheat). The ascertainable trade volume of 6,179 was, thus, higher than twenty years before.

6.2 Flemish Networks in 1600

In 1600, the number of documents containing Flemish participants is again to a considerable degree higher than that of the Frenchmen. It amounts to 50,³⁴ which means that almost 16 percent of the 321 investigated documents include Flemish participation. Compared to the other nations in Seville, the Flemings held the second position after the Italians (cf. table 1.7 on p. 91).

65 different Flemish actors appeared in the documents, another three were of Dutch origin. Even though trade with Dutch merchants or goods was forbidden, they frequently found their way to the Spanish market.³⁵ In 1601, Philip III repeated his father's embargo on the Dutch enemy to eliminate their

34 It was mainly the notary's offices number XVI and XXIV which were scrutinized (APS office number XVI, legajos 9983, 9984, and office number XXIV, legajo 16766), and three documents from number XII (legajos 7420, 7421, and 7429).

35 Domínguez Ortiz, "Guerra económica y comercio extranjero", p. 72; Echevarría Bacigalupe, "Un notable episodio", pp. 57-62; Israel, "España, los embargos españoles", p. 98; cf. Sluiter, "Dutch-Spanish Rivalry in the Caribbean Area, 1594-1609".

Table 6.2: The 20 Most Central Nodes of the Flemish Network of the Year 1600

Name	Residence	Origin	Nat.
Simon Freyre de Lima	Seville	Portugal	—
Jaques Nicolas	Seville	Holland (Utrecht)	—
Juan Leclerque	Seville	Flanders (Lille)	1610
Jacome Mortedo	Seville, res.	Genoa	—
Juan Francisco Bibiano	Seville, res.	Genoa	—
Jaques Speeca	Seville, res.	Flanders	—
Justo Canis senior	Seville	Flanders (Antwerp)	1594
Francisco de Conique	Seville	Flanders (Antwerp)	1600
Justo de Biet	Seville, res.	Flanders	—
Geronimo Joansen	Seville	Flanders	—
Rodrigo de Salazar	Seville	—	—
Domingo Perez	Seville	—	—
Juan Pardo	Bruges	Flanders (Frémicourt)	—
Gaspar Carlier	Seville, res.	Flanders	—
Adam Bequer	Seville	Flanders	—
Antonio Hernandez	—	—	—
Cornieles Lanberto	Seville	—	—
Elias Sirman	Seville	Flanders (Antwerp)	1607
Arnao de Crabe	Seville, res.	Flanders	—
Antonio de Armijo	Seville	Mexico	—

Explanation: “Nat.” means the date of naturalization of the merchant

Iberian trade. A large number of merchants petitioned against it, including the names of 93 merchants, mostly of Flemish origin. The majority of them also appears in the network of the year 1600.³⁶ The most central merchants of the Flemish network are listed in table 6.2. The most predominant node is not a Fleming, but a Portuguese, namely the slave trader Simon Freyre de Lima. He has such a key position because of a spectacular lawsuit which concerned over 60 persons. Two Genoese, Jacome Mortedo and Juan Francisco Bibiano, are also very important in the Flemish network, which can be explained by their profession as merchant bankers. Their payouts connect them to many Flemish merchants.³⁷ The Dutchman Jaques Nicolas owes his central position, essentially, to the fact that he links the Portuguese slave trader with one of the Genoese merchant bankers. Among the remaining 16 nodes, 11 are Flemings. Five of them received a letter of naturalization. These were Justo Canis senior,

36 Gómez-Centurión Jiménez, *Felipe II, la empresa de Inglaterra*, pp. 329-330.

37 The function of the Genoese as bankers is the reason why it is Italians who most often appear in the documents of the year 1600 (cf. figures 1.6 and 1.7 on pp. 89 and 91).

Francisco de Conique, Elias Sirman, and Juan Leclerque, who are listed in the table, and Niculas Antonio junior, whose degree of centrality was too low to be placed in the table (letter of naturalization received in 1613). Except for Francisco de Conique, none of the most central 20 merchants figured amongst the *Cargadores a Indias*.³⁸

The Flemish main network is shown in figure 6.3. It contains a large subnetwork, which incorporates most of the nodes of the main network.³⁹ In other words, most of the Flemish individuals were directly or indirectly interconnected. The large subnetwork is centered around a circle of 11 nodes, which are mostly of Flemish origin. This circle is displayed in figure 6.4.

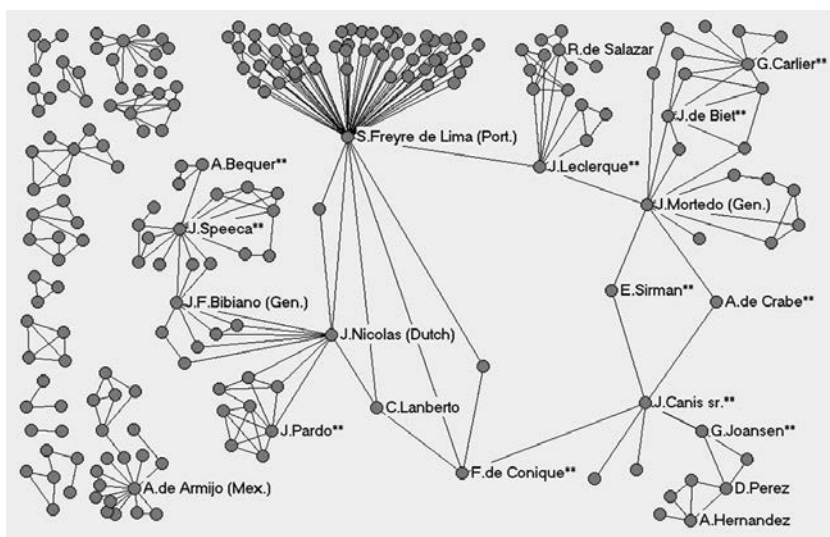


Figure 6.3: The Flemish Main Network of the Year 1600

Nine of the 11 merchants figure among the 20 most central nodes of the Flemish network. Five of them were Flemings, one Dutch, Portuguese, Genoese, and one of unknown origin.

While the former networks (of the year 1580 and the French main network of 1600) had a size which allowed the scrutiny of all of the individuals of one nation, the Flemish network of 1600 is too big for such a detailed analysis, as

38 Vila Vilar, "Una amplia nómina", p. 153; Francisco de Conique appeared between 1618 and 1649 in the Consulate. However, the data of E. Vila Vilar is quite incomprehensive for the early years of the 17th century.

39 The 13 smaller subnetworks at the left margin are no part of it.

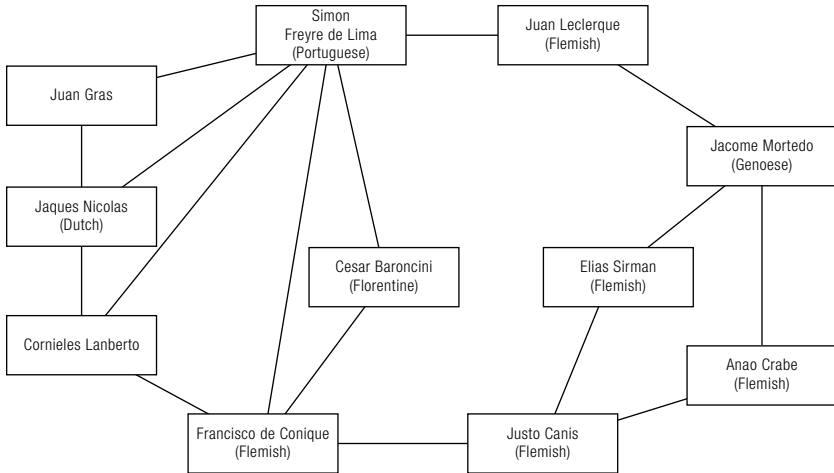


Figure 6.4: The Circle of the Flemish Network of the Year 1600

will be the subsequent networks of the following years. As a consequence, this section will focus only on the large subnetwork and analyze the connections within the circle of the 11 merchants. The starting point is the case of the most central node of the network, Simon Freyre de Lima.

6.2.1 The Case of Simon Freyre de Lima

The Portuguese merchant Simon Freyre de Lima is the most central node of the Flemish network of 1600. The reason for that is his bankruptcy some years earlier, which caused many business partners to enter claims against him.⁴⁰ Simon Freyre de Lima launched his activities in Seville in the mid 1580s and soon became involved in the African slave trade. As such, he also participated in the trade with various parts of America. Since 1590, he was deeply integrated in the society of Seville and married a Spanish woman. The financial background for his transactions were accrued from his kinship networks, connecting him with Lisbon and Antwerp, where one of his relatives, Diego Lopez Sueiro,⁴¹ worked as his agent. In the long run, his economic strategies were not

40 For the respective lawsuit, cf. Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, pp. 98-99, referring to Orte Sander and Ruiz-Barruecos, “Los Portugueses en la trata de esclavos”, pp. 3-31.

41 He appeared in Seville in 1620 on behalf of the bishop of Seville. APS 9390, f. 90v.

successful, and, in the mid-1590s, he declared bankruptcy. He depended too much on credit, and when the Indies fleets returned with delay, he struggled. Eventually, in 1595, his goods were confiscated to pay out his creditors, while he fled the city.⁴² Still, he must have gone to prison because five years later many of his creditors signed a petition to release him, so that he would be able to raise some of the money he owed them.⁴³ A list of about 60 creditors serves as the source for the business network of Simon Freyre de Lima – and is the reason for his key position. Yet, the total debt is unknown. Among the creditors were the two Flemings, Juan Leclerque and Francisco de Conique and the Dutchmen Jaques Nicolas. The latter two handed in another demand in the name of a certain Cornieles Lanberto, and in addition Jaques Nicolas represented the demands of the merchant Juan Gras. All of which belong to the large circle of the Flemish main network.

6.2.2 Juan Leclerque and the Genoese Banker Jacome Mortedo

The Fleming Juan Leclerque is the most central node within the Flemish main network of 1600.⁴⁴ In 1595, he was already involved in the trade with Northern Europe. It was not before 1610 that he received his letter of naturalization, hence, he should have abstained from American affairs in 1600. That was not the case, as he participated in the Indies trade at least indirectly. Besides, he was involved in the financing of the European trade, especially the business with wool, linen, and wheat.⁴⁵

The entanglement of Juan Leclerque in the grain trade of the city was already mentioned above, analyzing the case of the German ship *Profeta David* (cf. p. 251). Thereby, Juan Leclerque paid 2,964 ducats on behalf of the alderman Julian Junje from Cartagena de Levante for the delivery of wheat from Sicily. The provider was a German, who was not able to deliver the grain in time. The litigator on behalf of the alderman was the French captain Francisco Martin.⁴⁶

42 Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, pp. 98–99, 134.

43 APS 9983, ff. 1074–1083. The monastery of Santa Justa and Rufina was one of the biggest creditors and did not sign the petition. We do not know the further events of the case.

44 In 1600, he appeared five times in the APS. However, he is only on the 21st place in the ranking of the total network of the year.

45 Gómez-Centurión Jiménez, *Felipe II, la empresa de Inglaterra*, p. 194.

46 APS 9983, ff. 1134–1135.

Between the 31st of May and the 8th of June, Juan Leclerque appeared as guarantor for Juan de Salaya, the owner of the carrack Nuestra Señora de la Esperanza. Together, Juan Leclerque and Juan de Salaya purchased tarred rig from Flanders from the general Juan de Oribe Cipallua and Domingo de Leagui, a very important merchant and shipowner of Seville.⁴⁷ Juan Leclerque and Juan de Salaya had to pay 795 ducats (298,112 maravedis), of which 580 ducats were for tarred rig (80 quintales, 37 pounds), and the remaining 215 ducats for the insurance, *avería*, and other costs.⁴⁸ They also bought 100 pieces of Flemish *anascotes* (woolen textiles)⁴⁹ from Rodrigo de Salazar, a citizen of Seville.⁵⁰ The value of the *anascotes* amounted to 2,275 ducats (25,025 reales). The carrack Nuestra Señora de la Esperanza was sailing from Sanlúcar to Honduras, and the payment was to be made on the arrival of the textiles.⁵¹ Thus, this cooperation with Juan de Salaya was a viable arrangement for a merchant not naturalized to participate in the Indies trade, at least indirectly and only as guarantor.

Juan Leclerque, Arnao Crabe, and Elias Sirman were in charge of the transaction tax (*alcabala*) on linen in Seville. The Genoese banker Jacome Mortedo elected to pay them the sum of 21,333 ducats (8,000,000 maravedis) for affairs concerning that *alcabala*.⁵² All persons involved in this obligation were part of the large circle of the main network. As mentioned previously, Jacome Mortedo is by far the most central person of the total network of 1600. Within the main network of the Flemings, he ranks fourth. This high ranking can be explained by the fact that he was working as a “public” bank,⁵³ forming a giant hub for the network. The bank of Jacome Mortedo paid out various money orders from different merchants all over Europe. He appears in 24 documents, and only one of them did not include such a financial transaction.⁵⁴ His function can be classified as being similar to that of a notary. Both

47 Within the network of the year 1600, Domingo de Leagui ranked sixth place. Cf. Chaunu and Chaunu, *Séville et l'Atlantique*, vol. 4, pp. 114-115.

48 APS 9984, ff. 433v-436.

49 Girard, *Le commerce français*, pp. 359-360, and more general Goris, *Étude sur les colonies marchandes méridionales*, pp. 276-277; Vázquez de Prada, *Letras marchandes*, vol. 1, pp. 75-76; Schäfer, “Spaniens koloniale Warenausfuhr”, p. 317; cf. Stabel, *Les draperies urbaines en Flandre*.

50 APS 9984, ff. 448-455v.

51 Rodrigo de Salazar employed two agents to receive the money. APS 9984, ff. 460-461.

52 APS 7421, ff. 71-73.

53 For the banking landscape of Seville, cf. p. 53.

54 APS 9983, ff. 1232v-1233.

a notary and a bank are hubs in the network, linking together a huge number of merchants.⁵⁵ The total of all of his bills of exchange and payment orders, which are listed in the appendix (p. 400), amount to 51,893 ducats – Juan Leclerque, the most active Flemish merchant of that year, spent at the same time only 6,034 ducats. In 1601, Jacome Mortedo went bankrupt, leaving a debt of about 800,000 ducats.⁵⁶

6.2.3 The Flemish Connections of Gaspar Carlier, Justo de Biet, and Fernando de Peralta: Antwerp-Seville-Rouen

One of the customers of the bank of Jacome Mortedo was the Flemish merchant Gaspar Carlier.⁵⁷ By 1600, Gaspar Carlier was already deceased, the reading of the will had taken place in Seville on the 14th of May 1599. Two Flemish merchants were appointed as executors of his will, Justo Biet, a resident of Seville, and Fernando de Peralta.⁵⁸ By settling the last business affairs of Gaspar Carlier, Justo Biet received 1,642 ducats (615,638 maravedis) from the bank of Jacome Mortedo.⁵⁹ The total of all outstanding debts, which Justo Biet collected in the name of Gaspar Carlier, amounts to 4,245 ducats (1,591,734 maravedis).⁶⁰ In addition, the executors Justo Biet and Fernando de Peralta had to pay 300 ducats on behalf of Gaspar Carlier.⁶¹ For those transactions, both executors relied on the help of another Fleming, the merchant Adolfo Breydel.⁶²

The business partners of Gaspar Carlier were Spaniards and Flemings. The Fleming Roberto Corbete was one of them and had to pay him 726 ducats

55 While the notaries were excluded from the calculation of the total network, Jacome Mortedo was not. Even though a bank, like a notary, links individuals, which do not necessarily have any further commercial contacts, they cannot be put on the same level. While it is the function of a notary to certify, a bank has a financial function. Thus, a bank fits better into a business network than a notary.

56 Bernal Rodríguez and García-Baquero González, *Tres siglos del comercio sevillano*, p. 174, and Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, p. 177.

57 APS 9983, ff. 1089v-1090, 1232; cf. Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, p. 88; Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, p. 15.

58 He was the uncle of the naturalized merchant Josefe Francisco de Peralta. Cf. p. 214; Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, p. 52.

59 APS 9983, f. 1232; APS 9984, f. 75.

60 APS 9983, ff. 1116–1117, 1232, 1256; APS 9984, f. 75.

61 APS 9983, ff. 1090–1091.

62 APS 9983, ff. 1089v-1090, 1256; APS 9984, f. 75. Cf. Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, p. 88.

(171,068 maravedis).⁶³ Roberto Corbete was the son of Gerald Corbet from Antwerp, who had come to Seville in about 1560. There, he and his brother managed their business with textile traders from Rouen.⁶⁴ Considering this link between Antwerp, Seville, and Rouen, another business of Gaspar Carlier matches. Gaspar Carlier supplied Spanish traders of Seville with 1,010.5 varas of French textiles, the much demanded *ruanes*. This business was done by all three of them together: Gaspar Carlier, Justo Biet, and Fernando de Peralta. The proceeds were 916 ducats (343,570 maravedis), which was split between three.⁶⁵ In 1606, Justo Biet died in Seville. The close and enduring relationship between the four above-mentioned merchants was confirmed by the fact that Fernando de Peralta and the aforesaid Adolfo Breydel were the executors of his will – a third executor was the Dutchman Jaques Nicolas.⁶⁶

Besides French textiles, it was wax which was of interest for Gaspar Carlier. Thereby, a further one of his agents emerged, the Fleming Jaques Sesbaute.⁶⁷ He and Justo Biet established a connection to the Flemish merchant Enrique Hoens, who had to pay them 2,352 ducats (881,848 maravedis). The payment consisted of two parts: The first one was carried out according to a ruling of the *Real Audiencia* concerning the delivery of merchandise. The second one was the payment for 43.5 quintales of wax of different quality and 82 *bocares* (hammers).⁶⁸ It is very probable that the origin of the wax was Antwerp.⁶⁹

To conclude, it can be said that the merchant Gaspar Carlier gathered around him a large number of Flemish merchants. Some of them were his

63 APS 9984, f. 75.

64 Also his son was called Roberto Corbete. He would become alderman of Seville and travel frequently to the Indies (Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, p. 19). Roberto Corbete senior was also active in the business of maritime credits. Bernal Rodríguez, *La financiación de la Carrera de Indias*, p. 581.

65 APS 9983, f. 1232. The price of merchandise is relatively very high. Therefore, it can be assumed that the payment included other things too. Schäfer, “Spaniens koloniale Warenausfuhr”, pp. 313-332.

66 The latter connections, deriving from AGI Contratación 938B, N. 29, Bienes de Difuntos: Justo de Vic, ff. 1r-27v [PARES], was not included in the network calculation.

67 Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, p. 88; Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, p. 59.

68 Probably, “bocares” refers to “bocarte” which is a hammer, similar to a chisel. *Gran Diccionario de la Lengua Espanola*, p. 187.

69 For the commerce of wax, cf. Vázquez de Prada, *Lettres marchandes*, pp. 69-70, 246-247; Chaunu and Gascon, *Histoire économique et sociale*, pp. 398-399; Pieper, “Die Exportstruktur des spanischen Außenhandels”, pp. 74-75.

agents, others were companions and others business partners. Gaspar Carlier traded with French textiles and wax, which probably came from Flanders. Referring to his payment methods, he relied on the Genoese merchant banker Jacome Mortedo. Furthermore, it can be assumed that the merchandise he imported to Seville were re-exported to America. No direct connection could be found, but one of the merchants who purchased the *ruanes* from Gaspar Carlier and company was Pedro Lopez de Lara, who figured among the *Caradores a Indias*,⁷⁰ and *ruanes* were always demanded in America.⁷¹

6.2.4 Justo Canis Senior and his Connections: Elias Sirman, Arnao Crabe, Geronimo Joansen, and the Family Arnao

The large circle continues with the two Flemish merchants Elias Sirman and Arnao Crabe. It is just one single document which constitutes the key to its further course. Thereby, six Flemish merchants of Seville confirmed that together they had received a cession from Justo Canis senior, himself a Flemish merchant, who had received his letter of naturalization in 1594.⁷² From the six merchants, it was Elias Sirman and Arnao Crabe who formed the connection to Jacome Mortedo. The third merchant was Francisco de Conique, who will continue the circle. The remaining three Flemish beneficiaries of the cession were Andres de Barysel, Niculas Antonio junior, naturalized in 1617, and Geronimo Joansen.

Elias Sirman became naturalized in 1607, and his children 10 years later.⁷³ They would later become very active in the Indies trade in the 1620s. During the reign of Philip II, Elias Sirman worked as an agent for the Fleming Juan Niquet.⁷⁴ As early as 1587, he was trading with England,⁷⁵ and in the early years of the 17th century, he was an eminent merchant of the European trade. That can be exemplified in the year 1606, when he sent seven bags of the red

70 Pedro Lopez de Lara appeared in the lists as late as 1638. Cf. Vila Vilar, "Una amplia nómina", p. 164.

71 Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, pp. 447-442; cf. Torre Revello, "Merchandise brought to America by the Spaniards"; Pieper, "Die Exportstruktur des spanischen Außenhandels".

72 APS 7421, ff. 773-775.

73 AGI Contratación 596A, s.f.

74 Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, p. 86.

75 Gómez-Centurión Jiménez, *Felipe II, la empresa de Inglaterra*, p. 194.

dye kermes⁷⁶ from Seville to Venice to a certain Giovanni van der Goes.⁷⁷ Moreover, Elias Sirman was an administrator of the transaction tax (*alcabala*) of linen, together with Juan Leclerque and the Flemish merchant Arnao Crabe.

Arnao Crabe was another beneficiary of the cession of Justo Canis senior. Only one more fact about him is known: Arnao Crabe was closely related to the Flemish family of the Arnao from Antwerp. In a special cession from the 27th of October 1600, he and Roberto Arnao, one of the sons of the textile merchant Pedro Arnao (cf. p. 234), took care of the younger sons of Pedro Arnao.⁷⁸ It can be assumed that Pedro Arnao had passed away in the autumn of 1600. Thus, Roberto Arnao as the eldest son, had to take care of his minor siblings. Both Arnao Crabe and Roberto Arnao delegated this responsibility to a certain Pedro Segers, a citizen of Ghent.⁷⁹

By 1600, Roberto Arnao was about 35 old and worked in Seville in the service of his father.⁸⁰ About half a year before the above mentioned cession, Roberto Arnao sent his father 100 kegs of olive oil on eight different ships, with the destination Calais.⁸¹ The value can be estimated 3,314 ducats.⁸² By taking a glance at the private networks, a further connection to Flemings emerges: Roberto Arnao and Juan Leclerque were both witnesses for the naturalization of the Fleming Enrique Peligrón.⁸³

Geronimo Joansen is the last beneficiary of the cession of Justo Canis senior, who will be discussed here. He will be far more active in the year 1620, as holds also true for the above mentioned Niculas Antonio junior.⁸⁴ In 1600, Geron-

76 Girard, *Le commerce français*, pp. 460-461; Lapeyre, *Une famille de marchands*, pp. 585-586.

77 Brulez and Davos, *Marchands flamands à Venise (1606-1621)*, pp. 19-20.

78 Maybe Arnao Crabe figured as witness to the cession.

79 AGI 7420, f. 1172. It is possible that Roberto Arnao was the brother in law of Pedro Segers (Pietr Seghers), who had been working as a factor for Pedro Arnao in Seville. Moreover, Arnao Crabe married a certain Catherina Arnao. Jiménez Montes, "La comunidad flamenca en Sevilla", p. 52.

80 Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, p. 4.

81 APS 9984, ff. 1054v-1055v. The document was drawn on the 29th of March 1600.

82 Each keg contains 40.5 arrobas, which is worth about nine reales (calculated from the bills of another merchant, Pedro Martínez de Arbulu, cf. p. 237), of that same year. Only half of the profit belonged to Pedro Arnao, for he was obliged to deliver half of it to a certain Mateo Don.

83 The integration of private data of the family of Justo Canis would also open new connections for the network (cf. p. 221). Yet, these were taking place about 40 years later (cf. p. 368).

84 Cf. pp. 326 and 298.

imo Joansen was involved in the grain trade of Seville. Apart from imports of wheat from Sicily (cf. p. 250), also French grain was purchased, which is a further indication of the wheat shortage of Seville in 1600. In June of that year, Geronimo Joansen sold 100 fanegas of wheat to a local baker (*atajonero*) and his wife. The price was one ducat per fanega. A couple of houses with three *asientos de atajonero* in Seville served as guarantee or mortgage. The wheat came from France “across the sea” and should be paid within three months.⁸⁵

6.2.5 Francisco de Conique, Jaques Speeca, the Dutchman Jaques Nicolas, and the Genoese Juan Francisco Bibiano

The Fleming Francisco de Conique was also one of the beneficiaries of the above-mentioned Justo Canis senior, and he continues the large circle. He received naturalization in 1600 and will be one of the most central actors of the year 1620. In 1600, Francisco de Conique appeared just once more: He was one of the creditors who claimed that the slave trader Simon Freyre de Lima owed him money. Not only did he claim it for himself but also for the Florentine merchant banker Cesar Baroncini⁸⁶ and for Cornieles Lanberto.⁸⁷ The latter, Cornieles Lanberto, had a second intermediary who also presented the claim on his behalf: the Dutchman Jaques Nicolas. This Dutchman united three different claims against Simon Freyre de Lima: the one of Cornieles Lanberto, his own claim, and he also represented a certain Juan Gras. Hence,

85 APS 9984, ff. 409-410, 431v-432. It is uncertain where the wheat came from, be it the Mediterranean or the Atlantic coast of France. Maybe, it was even Baltic grain which had come via France, which would also explain why somebody from the Netherlands sold it. However, under Henry IV of France, grain constituted the second highest export product of France to Spain, making France the most important provider for Spain (Girard, *Le commerce français*, pp. 386-388). Another example regarding the import of French wheat was the purchase of 200 fanegas of wheat by the baker Antonio Hernandez and the Flemish merchant Albaro Martin (maybe identical with the Flemish Albertos Martin, naturalized in 1646) as his guarantor. The wheat came again “across the sea” from France and was worth 218 ducats (2,400 reales). Interestingly, the grain was sold by a man who can be called a banker rather than a merchant, the Genoese Baltasar Espinola. Witnesses to the obligation were the merchant Juan Martin, citizen of Seville, and the baker Domingo Perez (APS 9984, f. 393).

86 The linen trader and merchant banker Cesar Baroncini appeared 16 times in the scrutinized documents (in company with Atanacio de Aberoni) and ranks second in the centrality of 1600.

87 No complementary information is available about the type of relationship those three had.

all of the remaining participants of the large Flemish circle of 1600 are joined together by the document which contains the declaration of the creditors of Simon Freyre de Lima, and thus the circle closes.

The last part of the Flemish main network, which will be scrutinized, is the one that starts with the Dutchman Jaques Nicolas, including his own network and the extension via the Genoese Juan Francisco Bibiano to the Fleming Jaques Speeca.⁸⁸ Jaques Nicolas had come from Utrecht and had strong private ties to the families De Conique and Antonio (cf. p. 198). He is the third most central actor within the Flemish network of 1600 and was very active in Seville, at least between 1587⁸⁹ and 1610.⁹⁰ In 1607, the city of Seville even directed a letter to the king of Spain, informing him of the importance of the “Flemish” merchant Jaques Nicolas for the economy of the whole city.⁹¹

In 1600, Jaques Nicolas appears just two times, excluding from the case of Simon Freyre de Lima. The first case shows him as textile trader. In this case, he was cooperating with Juan Pardo, lord of Frémicourt.⁹² Together they sold linen textiles to Garcia and Francisco Peso from Seville, worth 112 ducats (41,922 maravedis).⁹³ The last documented activity of Jaques Nicolas in 1600 connects him to Italian merchants. The Genoese company Jacome Cota and brothers maintained a business with the Flemish company Jaques Nicolas and Federico Esquinquel. The Genoese Juan Francisco Bibiano, a citizen of Seville, was the agent of the Cota family and, as account executive, he kept the contact between the Genoese and the Flemish companies in Andalusia.⁹⁴ Juan Francisco Bibiano was a well-known person in 1600. The Genoese ranked fifth in the network of 1600 (the total and the Flemish main network). He appeared as representative for the Cota family and as executor of the will of the Genoese Lorenzo Cota, a citizen of

88 These connections are also displayed in figure 6.3 on p. 255.

89 In 1587, he was reported to have contact with England. Gómez-Centurión Jiménez, *Felipe II, la empresa de Inglaterra*, p. 194.

90 The indices of the notary's office XV (APS 18484) frequently list his name.

91 Moret, *Aspects de la société marchande*, p. 47. Cf. also the section of the naturalization of Pedro Juanes on p. 202.

92 Frémicourt was part of the Southern Netherlands, today the French department of Pas-de-Calais.

93 APS 16766, ff. 587-589. The document also concerns a settlement of about 3,080 ducats (1,145,943 maravedis) between Juan Pardo and Jaques Nicolas.

94 APS 9984, ff. 105-106. In this case it was a bill of exchange of 238 ducats (89,300 maravedis), drawn in Genoa by the Cota company on the Fleming Federico Esquinquel in Seville. Juan Francisco Bibiano passed it on to Jaques Nicolas.

Seville.⁹⁵ Lorenzo Cota had died before 1600, but his name still appeared in the notarial records of that year.⁹⁶ According to the documents drawn after his death, he was part of a vast network of Genoese business relations, which included Italian families such as the Ansaldo, Amigoni, Casteleto, and Espinola.⁹⁷

One of the activities of Lorenzo Cota was the insurance business. Twice, the family Cota had to pay obligations because ships were lost.⁹⁸ One of these ships was loaded by the Fleming Jaques Speeca (Espeque), a merchant who specialized in *holandas*. The ship San Pedro el Chico was sailing under captain Estevan Even (cf. p. 250) from Marseilles to Calais. Midway, it was seized by English and Dutch pirates and the cargo was taken. The insurance, which Jaques Speeca had taken out beforehand with Lorenzo Cota, obliged the executor Juan Francisco Bibiano to pay out the sum of 472 ducats (177,000 maravedis) to the claimant Jaques Speeca. That equaled 59 percent of the value of the merchandise (800 ducats) Jaques Speeca had loaded.⁹⁹

Jaques Speeca was involved in two more cases during the months of May and June of 1600. In one of them, he appeared as supplier of *holandas* worth 681 ducats (255,200 maravedis). The cargo was delivered to captain Tomas Espinola, a citizen of Seville.¹⁰⁰ By May 1600, Jaques Speeca had already received half of the payment. The remaining 341 ducats were ceded to captain Fernando Barbosa, another citizen of Seville.¹⁰¹

The second business with *holandas* involved German merchants. Jaques Speecer acted in Seville on behalf of the German family Comelin: Melchor Hoces de Ribera, a citizen of Seville, received a load of *holandas* from Niculas Comelin, a citizen of Emden.¹⁰² Niculas Comelin died before the payment

95 APS 16766, f. 301. Juan Francisco Bibiano became an executor of the last will after all three brothers, Livio, Enzo and Lorenzo were deceased.

96 APS 16766, ff. 78, 79, 164, 249, 265, 301, 305v, 356v, 359-361, 455, 495, 641; APS 9984, ff. 2-3, 387.

97 For Italians families in Seville, cf. Pike, *Enterprise and Adventure*.

98 APS 9984, f. 387.

99 APS 9984, ff. 2-3. The total value of the goods insured by Lorenzo Cota amounted to 2,000 ducats.

100 Tomas Espinola sold smuggled merchandise in Portobelo in 1624, amounting to 35,940 ducats (49,550 pesos) Vila Vilar, "Las ferias de Portobelo", p. 340.

101 APS 9984, ff. 410v, 411v, 486-487v.

102 Due to the geographical location of Emden, close to the border with the Netherlands, their inhabitants lived in a golden age at the early stage of the Eighty Years' War as many Dutch merchants sought a safe harbor for their business. However, in the beginning of the 17th century, at the latest, the advantages of merchants of Emden ended when Spaniards treated them as rebels. Moret, *Aspects de la société marchande*, p. 37.

was made, and Juan Comelin and Francisco de Jardin, both residents of Seville, were appointed tutors of his small sons. To charge the outstanding money from Melchor Hoces de Ribera, they authorized Jaques Speeca. Yet, problems with the payment emerged and an official, an *alcalde del crimen*, in the *Real Audiencia* of Seville had to intervene. Eventually, however, on the 27th of May, Jaques Speeca received the claimed 384 ducats (143,881 maravedis).¹⁰³ One month later, Jaques Speeca passed the proxy of Juan Comelin and Francisco de Jardin on to another Fleming, Adam Bequer, the brother of the naturalized Guillermo Bequer.¹⁰⁴ To sum up, Jaques Speeca was an international merchant. He maintained business with Spaniards and Germans, had connections with Flemings, financial agreements with Italians and his cargoes were also found in French harbors.

6.2.6 Synopsis

In 1600, the total number of Flemings in Seville was high compared to the year 1580. Most of them were living permanently in the city. Some eminent Flemings who appeared for the first time in 1600 would even become more active twenty years later, such as Francisco de Conique, Niculas Antonio, or Geronimo Joansen. By comparing the private and semi-private connections with the business ones, it could be perceived that both types of links correspond to each other, many of them run parallel.¹⁰⁵ Thus, the results of the analysis of the large circle of the Flemish main network of 1600 were confirmed: the strong ties of friendship and the weaker ties of business resembled each other. The contacts to compatriots dominated, followed by those to Genoese and Portuguese. Only sporadically did the key Flemish merchants have contact with French, English, or Germans.

The conduct of the family Arnao, which already served as an example in the conclusion of 1580, shows one more thing: Pedro Arnao inducted his son into his business circuit between Antwerp and Seville. Having his son as agent in Seville, he had a man he trusted on whom he could rely for many years. That was a clear sign of the typical behavior of foreign merchants acting without a strong legal framework. Other merchants relied on bonds of common origin

103 APS 9984, ff. 239-240v, 290.

104 APS 9984, f. 674; cf. Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, p. 84; Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, p. 6.

105 By adding private connections of Juan Leclerque to the network, a direct link to Jaques Nicolas and an indirect one to Francisco de Conique emerge for example. AGI Contratación 50B, s.f., cf. figure 4.7, p. 201.

and of friendship, as in the cases of the network of Gaspar Carlier, while Pedro Arnao relied on bonds of kinship for his business, presumably the strongest bond of all. The fact that the Arnao family was in business for over 20 years indicates that these bonds of trust proved to be successful over a longer period.¹⁰⁶

The textile business was the dominant economic branch in Seville in 1600.¹⁰⁷ Two facts lead to that conclusion. First, three of the mentioned Flemish merchants, Juan Leclerque, Elias Sirman, and Arnao Crabe, were administrators of the transaction tax (*alcabala*) of linen of Seville – an office which indicates a strong inclination toward that commerce. Second, textiles dominated among traded goods. They included Flemish wool (*anascotes*), Flemish linen (*holandas*), and French linen (*ruanes*).¹⁰⁸ Besides textiles, wheat (France), wax, tarred rig (Flanders), kermes and olive oil (Andalusia) were also part of the merchandise. Flanders was the most frequent origin of the products. No American goods were found. Some of the European merchandise, such as textiles and rig, most probably were shipped to the Indies but no direct connection to America could be found, not even for Justo Canis senior, who was naturalized. The revenues of the Flemish merchants amounted to 13,111 ducats. They consisted, basically, of a repaid debt and the income of taxes. The biggest share which came from sold merchandise was 2,353 ducats from wax. The expenses added up to 9,886 ducats. Thereby, the purchases of Juan Leclerque of wheat and *anascotes* had a share of 53 percent. Expenses and revenues together (the ascertainable trade volume) amounted to 22,997 ducats.

6.3 Conclusions of the 1600 Trade

In the selected year 1600, Flemings were far more numerous than Frenchmen. While the French networks only added up to 65 nodes (with 18 Frenchmen), the Flemish network counted 219 (with 65 Flemings). 131 nodes of the Flem-

106 Studnicki-Gizbert, “La ’nation’ portugaise”, pp. 627-633; Fusaro, “Les Anglais et les Grecs”, pp. 607-610; Trivellato, “Juifs de Livourne”, pp. 583-588; Weber, *Deutsche Kaufleute im Atlantikhandel*, pp. 260-274; and cf. the discussion above on “trust” on p. 29.

107 In that regard historiography shows a remarkable unanimity, cf. for example cite Girard:1932, pp. 338; Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, p. 427; Stein and Stein, *Silver, Trade, and War*, p. 77.

108 Girard, *Le commerce français*, pp. 340, 360; Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, p. 458.

ish network (63 percent) formed one important subnetwork which contained the most central Flemish merchants. No large network could be found regarding the Frenchmen in Seville. The French community in Seville was a group of very international acting merchants, but they did not show an inclination toward compatriots or any other foreign community. Flemings, on the other hand, even though they also had various international connections, preferably traded with compatriots. Moreover, no French merchant was linked to the powerful Genoese bankers, while they were essential business partners for the Flemings.

The difference in the ascertainable trade volume was also large. The Flemings had an ascertainable trade volume that was almost four times higher than the French one: 22,997 ducats versus 6,179 ducats. For both nations, in 1600, the grain trade was an important branch of their economy. Thus, it is interesting that Frenchmen traded with wheat from Sicily, while it was the Flemish transporters who imported the French grain to Seville. Both nations were eager to make a profit by supplying the starving Andalusia. However, the most important product for the Flemish community was textiles. Some Flemish merchants were involved in the administration of the linen tax of Seville and they bought and sold different types of woolen and linen textiles. The origin of these was Flanders and, again, France. Thus, the role of the Flemings as international traders and transporters in the Atlantic European commerce can be emphasized. The investigated Frenchmen, on the other hand, were not connected to the commerce of textiles in 1600. Besides wheat, only haberdashery without any further specification was purchased. As regards the American trade, only the French family Soming had direct contact. Considering that almost no merchant was naturalized before 1600, that means that without naturalization the foreign merchants did not establish links to the Indies – at least they did not leave any traces in the notary archives.

7. Commercial Networks of 1620

The data of the year 1620 provides the most information and enables the reconstruction of the largest of all total networks (cf. table 1.2 on 85). A total of 838 documents from three notaries (V, XVI and XXIV) was included, the result was a network of 1,483 nodes. The most central nodes are shown in figure 7.1. They include seven Portuguese (four of them naturalized), three Flemings (two), two Genoese (two), two Peruvians, one Florentine (one) and one Frenchman (one). At least eight of them were *Cargadores a Indias* and, except for one, all resided in Seville. Thus, the most central merchants of 1620 had come from Portugal. At the Spanish Court, the Portuguese bankers become important between 1627 and 1640 (cf. p. 93), but in Seville, they were already strong before that date. This is confirmed by the data of the AGI which shows the Portuguese as the nation which most frequently applied for naturalization between 1611 and 1630 (cf. figure 1.5 on p. 86). However, the Flemings came second, and the French also played an important role in the year 1620.

Table 7.1: The 20 Most Central Nodes of the Network of the Year 1620

Name	Residence	Origin	Nat.	Cargador
Miguel Fernandez Pereyra	Seville	Portugal	—	—
Antonio Martinez Dorta	Seville	Portugal	—	—
Lorenzo Bernal	Seville	—	—	—
Agustin Perez	Seville	Portugal	1624	—
Niculas Antonio	Seville	Flanders	1613	1635-37
Juan Bautista Sirman	Seville	Flanders	1617	—
Pedro de la Farxa	Seville	French	1623	1635-39
Tomas de Mañara	Seville	Genoa	1607	1611-48
Simon Lopez de Granada	Seville	Portugal	1587	—
Simon Fernandez de la Fuente	Seville	—	—	—
Enrique de Andrada	Seville	Portugal	1618	1627-48
Gaspar de Rojas	Seville	Peru	—	—
Francisco de Herrera Hurtado	Toledo	—	—	1623-28
Paolo Geronimo Semino	Seville	Genoa	—	—
Manuel Gomez de Acosta	Seville	Portugal	1641	1637-59
Luis Lopez de Molina	Seville	Portugal	—	—
Juan Lozano	Seville	Peru	—	—
Fernando Carrillo	Seville	Flanders	—	—
Antonio Maria Bucarelli	Seville	Florence	1616	1629-38
Francisco Lopez Talavan	Seville	—	—	1635-37

Explanation: “Nat.” means the date of naturalization of the merchant and “Cargador” means the mentioning as *Cargador de Indias* in Vila Vilar, “Una amplia nómina”

7.1 French Networks in 1620

Of the 838 documents, 80 could be found with French participation. The respective French network consists of 215 nodes, including 56 different Frenchmen. The most central ones, who appeared at least twice in the APS, are displayed in table 7.2 in order of their centrality.

Table 7.2: The 16 Most Central Frenchmen of the Year 1620

Name	Residence	Origin	Nat.	Fr. Cons.	Cargador
Pedro de la Farxa	Seville	Salers	1623	✓	1635–39
Guillermo Reynarte	Seville	—	—	—	—
Antonio de Sandier	Seville	—	—	✓	1627–32
Lanfran David	Seville	Rouen	1631	✓	1635–48
Pedro Calloer	Seville	Rouen	—	—	—
Niculas Blondel	Seville	Rouen	1624	—	1640
Carlos de Vigna	Seville, res.	—	—	✓	—
Guillermo Guillu	Seville	—	—	—	1651
Pedro de Corbiera	Marseilles	—	—	—	—
Geronimo Beaulin	Sanlúcar	—	—	—	—
Luis Frarin	Paris	—	—	—	—
Juan Monicx	Paris	—	—	—	—
Claudio Renelle	Madrid	—	—	—	—
Jaques Cardon	Lyon	—	—	—	—
Pedro Gaumont	Seville	Rouen	1631	✓	—
Niculas Auger	Seville	Rouen	—	✓	—

Explanation: “Nat.” means the date of naturalization of the merchant; “Fr. Cons.” means that the surname appeared amongst the members of the French consulate in 1620 (Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, pp. 91-92) and “Cargador” means the first mentioning as *Cargador de Indias* (Vila Vilar, “Una amplia nómina”)

At least half of these 16 merchants were member of the French consulate and/or of the *Consulado de Cargadores a Indias*. Thus, they, actually lived in Seville. Four of them even received a letter of naturalization (all after 1620). Two dwelt elsewhere in Spain, and four lived in France. Their predominant origin was Rouen. Two more naturalized merchants were amongst the less central Frenchmen in 1620: Pedro de Fuentes (naturalized in 1634) and Nicolas de los Reyes (naturalized in 1621 and member of the *Consulado de Cargadores a Indias* in 1627).

One special feature marks the Flemish network of 1620 (figure 7.1). Its Network Centralization Index¹ is very high. The percentage shows over 50 percent

¹ For an explanation of the Network Centralization Index, cf. table D.2 in the appendix on p. 404.

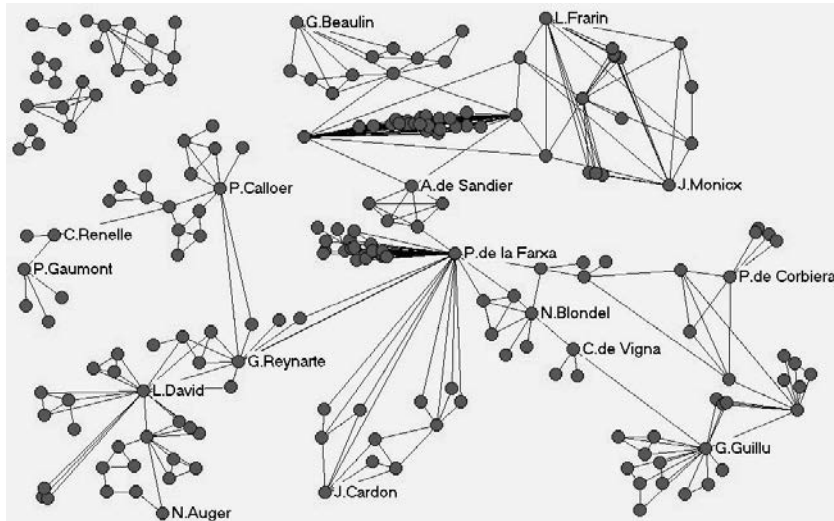


Figure 7.1: The French Network of the Year 1620

which is, by far, the highest among the networks under consideration. The reason for that is the enormous share of one large subnetwork (covering 88 percent of the French main network (i.e. 190 of 215 nodes)) and the extremely central position of one French actor, Pedro de la Farxa. Seven of the most central French merchants of that network will be discussed in this section.

7.1.1 Pedro de la Farxa

Pedro de la Farxa is the most central Frenchman in 1620.² By 1620, he had already lived permanently in Seville for 22 to 27 years, and was considered a very rich merchant. In 1623, he received his letter of naturalization. Within the total network of 1620, he is number seven regarding the centrality; no other Spaniard was found amongst the most central 40 nodes. Amongst the non-Spaniards whom he was in contact with, Frenchmen dominate ahead of Flemings. Yet, in over 60 percent, there is no contact with foreigners at all.

Half the time, Pedro de la Farxa appears as supplier of merchandise. Table 7.3 shows the products he provided, amounting to 8,395 ducats (92,588

² Concerning his person, 21 documents were found in the APS, 12 obligations, two cessions, two proxies, one contract of purchase, and three other documents.

Table 7.3: Sales of Pedro de la Farxa between the 27th of March and the 30th June 1620

Amount	Merchandise	Explication	Value
1,100 pieces	Papeles de habas	paper	1,097 d
8 bundles	Libros	books	1,000 d
250 pounds	Ojuela (de loza) falsa	metal thread	961.1 d
800 dozen	Cuchillos romanos	roman knives	888.5 d
300 suma	Clavos de hierro surtidos	iron nails	816 d
851 dozen	Cuchillos de 9 clavos	knives of 9 nails	771.6 d
230 dozen	Alfileres de a 15	brooches	589.3 d
150 pounds	Ojuela de plata de tocas	metal thread	544 d
800 dozen	Cuchillos de Bragueta	pocket knives	435.2 d
250 dozen	Cuchillos de Belduque	Belduque knives	362.7 d
200 pairs	Candelabros	candelabra	272 d
600 varas	Bacimone	textiles	163.2 d
200 pounds	Hilo azul	blue yarn	136 d
140 dozen	Rosarios de numero 6	rosaries	92.3 d
100 pounds	Cintas blancas y de colores	ribbons	90.7 d
1 person	Esclava negra	black slave	90.7 d
12 pieces	Espejos grandes dorados	big golden mirrors	58.8 d
2 millares	Granates finos	garnets	25.4 d
TOTAL	—	—	8,394.5 d

Source: APS 3607, ff. 38v-39r, 59, 71, 94, 679, 683r-684v, 699r-700r, 708r-709r, 919v-920v, 978

reales).³ There is a difference between the estimated value of the merchandise, and the proceeds that Pedro de la Farxa received. More precisely, the sum which the different purchasers committed themselves to pay to Pedro de la Farxa exceeds the indicated value of the merchandise by about 190 ducats (2,098 reales). That equals a share of about 2.3 percent, which may have been the interest rate for some of the transactions.

The most valuable assignment on the list consists of metalware, with 3,460 ducats (38,158 reales), which represents 41 percent of the total value of the merchandise. This is followed by paper and books with 2,097 ducats (23,132 reales), 25 percent, and different types of metal thread, *hojuelas*, with 1,505 ducats (16,600 reales), 18 percent. Together these three groups represent 84 percent of the total value of the sold goods.

3 Just one of them, the one about the slave, is a contract of purchase, the other nine are obligations. From a today's point of view, the classification of human beings as merchandise is, of course, unacceptable, yet it was common during early modern times.

According to the generally maintained export lists of another famous contemporary merchant, Andres Ruiz in Nantes, linen was the most important French export product to Spain, followed by paper and books and haberdashery goods.⁴ The lack of a greater amount of textiles among the export goods of Pedro de la Farxa is, hence, quite surprising.⁵ Nonetheless, the existence of haberdashery goods in the list of the Frenchman, such as yarn and ribbons, corresponds to the fact that, during the 17th century, these products predominantly came from France to the Spanish market.⁶ Yarn and especially the above mentioned blue yarn constitutes a specialty of French exports.⁷

One of the most frequent entries on the list of metalware was knives. Throughout modern times, the Auvergne constituted the greatest French center of knife production – regardless of the lack of greater metal deposits in France.⁸ As Pedro de la Farxa was born in the Auvergne village of Salers, he originated from a region from where knives were traditionally exported.⁹ Which is why that province of France may be considered the origin of the knives imported by Pedro de la Farxa. The craftsmen of the Auvergne region were also known for their fine gold work. Perhaps the 12 golden mirrors in the assortment belonging to Pedro de la Farxa also came from there. From this, a first conclusion can be drawn, that the French merchant in Seville, Pedro de la Farxa, used the connection to his place of origin to obtain metalware for the Indies trade.

Indies Trade

All sales of Pedro de la Farxa were related to the rhythm of the Indies fleet, which indicates that the goods were destined to go to America. Nine times, he sold his merchandise on credit, and the drawer committed to pay at the end of December 1620 (some in 1621), or earlier if the silver fleet was to

4 Lapeyre, *Une famille de marchands*, pp. 573-575.

5 Girard, *Le commerce français*, pp. 411-412. A. Girard calculated for 1686 that French exports of metalware to Spain represent only 10 percent of the exports of linen.

6 Ibidem, pp. 379-382.

7 Lapeyre, *Une famille de marchands*, p. 574. Even though the origin of the commodities is not indicated, it can be identified.

8 Chaunu and Gascon, *Histoire économique et sociale*, pp. 405-406.

9 The most important town in this respect was Thiers, about 175 kilometers north-east of Salers. And the city of Laguiole, which today is still known for its knives, is located about 120 kilometers south of Salers.

arrive before that date.¹⁰ The practice to sell merchandise on credit (usually at about three percent of the interest rate) to Spanish Indies traders was common among the rich foreign merchants in Seville.¹¹ Effectively, the traders to whom Pedro de la Farxa sold the merchandise were mainly Spaniards on their way to America. None of the purchasers was amongst the members of the *Consulado de Cargadores a Indias*.¹² Therefore, they can be considered average retailers for the Indies trade. This type of business was discussed already earlier under then name of *venta fiada* (cf. p. 79).

The majority of the sales of Pedro de la Farxa continued their way to New Spain (i.e. the northern Spanish viceroyalty in America, including today's Mexico and most of Central America). On the 20th of May 1620, one of his customers, Juan Garcia de Bilbao, declared he was going to Campeche on the peninsula Yucatán. The respective fleet departed from Sanlúcar about one month later.¹³ For the purchase of knives, brooches, and ribbons, worth 273 ducats (3,008 reales), he and his wife Maria de Oxeda even took a mortgage on their houses in Seville.¹⁴ Two other Spanish purchasers of different products from Pedro de la Farxa were going to New Spain on that same fleet and committed themselves to pay a total of 1,433 ducats (15,759 reales).¹⁵ The last purchasers, who were going to New Spain were Eugenio de Saravia and his father Diego de Saravia, both citizens of Seville, presumably of Portuguese origin.¹⁶ They committed themselves to pay 2,663 ducats (29,293 reales) on the arrival of the silver fleet in 1621, for haberdashery worth 2,745 ducats (30,200 reales) – iron nails were the biggest entry.¹⁷ Overall, merchandise

10 APS 3607, ff. 38v-39r, 59, 71, 94, 679, 683r-684v, 699r-700r, 708r-709r, 919v-920v, 978. The *Armada de la Guardia* left Sanlúcar with the Spanish Fleet to Tierra Firme on the 25th of March and Cádiz on the 18th of April 1620. It returned the same year on the 14th of October to Sanlúcar. The navy and the fleet, sailing to New Spain, left Sanlúcar on the 18th or 19th of June and Cádiz on the 8th July 1620. The fleet arrived again in Sanlúcar on the 30th and 1st of October of the following year. Cf. Chaunu and Chaunu, *Séville et l'Atlantique*, vol. 4, pp. 556, 558, 586 and vol. 5, p. 18.

11 Moret, *Aspects de la société marchande*, p. 67.

12 Cf. Vila Vilar, "Una amplia nómina".

13 Chaunu and Chaunu, *Séville et l'Atlantique*, vol. 4, p. 558.

14 APS 3607, ff. 693r-684v.

15 APS 3607, ff. 699r-700r, 708r-709r.

16 Aguado de los Reyes, "Lisboa, Sevilla, Amberes", p. 106.

17 APS 3607, ff. 919v-920v. Diego de Saravia was in contact with Flemish merchants too.

worth 3,905 ducats (42,959 reales) was sent to New Spain, representing over 46 percent of the wares sold by Pedro de Farxa.¹⁸

The products which made their way to Tierra Firme (i.e. the southern Spanish viceroyalty in America, including most of today's South America) resembled the goods going to New Spain. On the 27th of March 1620, the merchant Juan Mendez from Seville bought knives, for 1,164 ducats (12,800 reales) and paper for 300 ducats (3,300 reales) from Pedro de la Farxa.¹⁹ About three weeks later, on the 18th April, Juan Mendez left Cádiz for Tierra Firme.²⁰ Also on the 27th of March, two French merchants, Guillermo Reynarte and Nicolas de los Reyes, committed themselves to pay 109 ducats (1,200 reales) to Pedro de la Farxa for 100 dozen of knives, namely *cuchillos romanos*. Nicolas de los Reyes, who was living in New Granada, was preparing himself for the return voyage to Tierra Firme.²¹ One year later, in 1621, he would become naturalized. Just three days later, two further citizens of Seville bought knives and paper as well. It can be assumed that they sent their goods to Tierra Firme too.²² Jointly, the merchandise going to Tierra Firme yielded 3,418 ducats (37,598 reales), that is 41 percent of the sales of Pedro de la Farxa. Only one item of the list cannot be related either to Tierra Firme, nor to New Spain, i.e. the load of books for about 1,000 ducats (11,032 reales).²³ To sum it up, it can be said that almost all of the merchandise sold by the French merchant Pedro de la Farxa were re-exported to New Spain and Tierra Firme.

In view of the large sales Pedro de la Farxa made and the relatively small amount of merchandise each Spanish trader brought with him to America, the question arises, who was the more important merchant? Seemingly, the European supplier was more indispensable to the American trade than the Spanish intermediary who exported the products. That can be confirmed by the development that took place with the advent of the *peruleros*, which put the position of the Spanish intermediaries at risk (cf. p. 58). However, one must not forget that the situation of Pedro de la Farxa was a unique one, due to his important position in the commerce of Seville.

18 One more entry of 3,000 reales was not included in the list 7.3 because the name of the product was illegible.

19 APS 3607, ff. 38v-39r.

20 Chaunu and Chaunu, *Séville et l'Atlantique*, vol. 4, p. 556.

21 APS 3607, f. 59.

22 APS 3607, ff. 71, 94.

23 APS 3607, f. 978.

Paper and Books

Paper and books constituted an even more important French export product than haberdashery. In the 16th century, paper mills were widespread in France. The most important export harbor was Nantes and the production centers were located in the Champagne and the Auvergne.²⁴ Considering that Pedro de la Farxa had come from the Auvergne, the provision of paper must have been an easy task for him. It can be assumed that he took advantage of connections to his place of origin. In Seville, Pedro de la Farxa sold paper worth 1,100 ducats (12,100 reales) – his most valuable entry – to three different purchasers; its final destination was Tierra Firme.²⁵

Due to the high price of paper, the Spanish printing offices did not produce many books. Thus, a big share of the books sold in Spain was produced in France; the export was tax-free. The biggest export harbor was Nantes, the most important production center was located in Lyon. Most of the books destined to Seville arrived via Bilbao. Many of the French book retailers had their agents in Spanish cities, often relatives who received and sold the batches.²⁶ Pedro de la Farxa was involved in the book commerce of Seville. He distributed books for the French company Jaques Cardon (cf. figure 7.2). The latter was a citizen of Lyon who himself had lived in Seville for some time. On the 30th of June 1620, Antonio de Toro, a book retailer of Seville, committed himself to pay about 1,000 ducats (11,032 reales) to Pedro de la Farxa for the delivery of eight bales. Pedro de la Farxa supplied four of them on behalf of Jaques Cardon and Pedro Cabellat and the other four in the name of Oracio Cardon.²⁷

Pedro de la Farxa was not only in charge of the retail business of Jaques Cardon but also represented the Cardon Family in court. In 1620, he had to defend their interests against the Flemish family Quelbergio, more precisely Juan, Pedro, and Justo, three brothers from Antwerp. All of these used to live in Seville and buy and sell books in 1619 from and to Jaques Cardon. On the 3rd of April 1620, Pedro de la Farxa declared that the Quelbergio fami-

24 Girard, *Le commerce français*, pp. 382-385; Lapeyre, *Une famille de marchands*, pp. 563-566, 573-575.

25 APS 3607, ff. 38v-39r, 71, 94.

26 Girard, *Le commerce français*, pp. 385-386; Lapeyre, *Une famille de marchands*, pp. 566-567, 572; Chaunu and Gascon, *Histoire économique et sociale*, p. 266; for a general point of view, cf. González Sánchez and Maillard Álvarez, *Orbe tipográfico*. For book printing in Spain and Seville before 1550, cf. Griffin, *Los Cromberger*, pp. 25-47.

27 APS 3607, f. 978.

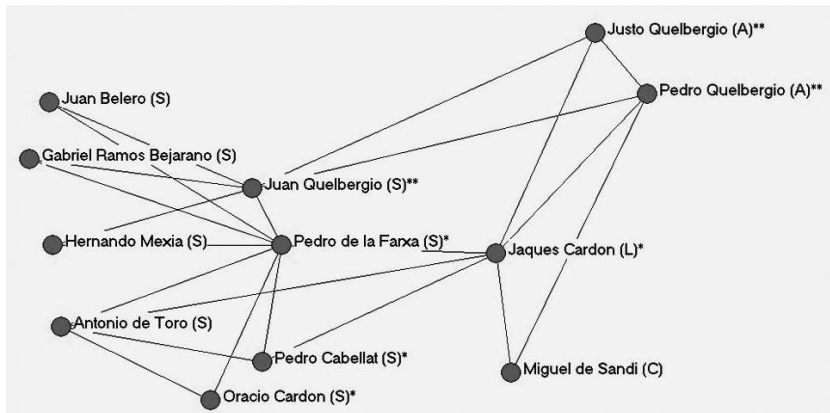


Figure 7.2: The Book Business Network of Pedro de la Farxa (S=Seville, A=Antwerp, L=Lyon, C=Córdoba)

ly had outstanding debts with Jaques Cardon. That day, only Juan Quelbergio was present in Seville and negotiated with Pedro de la Farxa. After having called upon three witnesses from Seville, namely the book retailers Juan Belero, Hernando Mexia, and Gabriel Ramos Bejarano, the two parties came to an agreement. A payment of 293 ducats (3,223 reales) to Pedro de la Farxa was arranged, and an ostensible payment to a certain Miguel de Sandi in Córdoba was clarified.²⁸

Connection to the Mediterranean

On the 28th of March 1620, Pedro de la Farxa appears as guarantor for Pedro Fornes, a citizen of Seville. Together, they committed themselves to pay 301 ducats (3,320 reales) to the company of Juan Pablo Visconte and Jacome Ayrolo, as well as to Antonio Ayrolo (naturalized in 1626), son of the latter, all of them Genoese. The merchandise which they received in exchange is shown in Table 7.4.²⁹ The Italian origin of some of the products may be assumed. The value of the goods remains much below the merchandise sold by Pedro de la Farxa, but the transaction indicates the connections he maintained with the Mediterranean world. As seen above (cf. p. 171), one year after this transaction, his Genoese partner, Jacome Ayrolo, would become the

28 APS 3607, ff. 168r-172r, 186r-187r, 191v-192r.

29 For the Jews' harp, cf. Argüelles, *La trompa*.

Table 7.4: Purchases of Pedro de la Farxa (as Guarantor) on the 28th March 1620

Amount	Merchandise	Explication	Value
6 bundles	Papel de a 24 resmas	paper, 24 reams each	149.6 d
112 bundles	Trompas de Paris	Jews' harps	81.2 d
100 bundles	Abalorio	glass beads	54.4 d
21.75 ounces	Listones de Genova	silk ribbons from Genoa	15.8 d
TOTAL	—	—	301 d

Source: APS 3607, f. 73

brother-in-law of Pedro de la Farxa.³⁰ Thus, the relation between the French and the Genoese merchant was, on the one hand, economic and, on the other, private.³¹

The remaining activities of Pedro de la Farxa concern an agreement with a collector of the *avería* from Granada,³² two proxies employed to collect debts in Zafra (Badajoz) and Portobelo (from a Fleming called Pedro Monel),³³ a cession by him to a citizen of Seville,³⁴ and another cession for him to receive money in Tierra Firme.³⁵ Finally, he was also a creditor for a citizen of Ciudad de los Reyes (Lima) on his way back to Tierra Firme (a *perulero*).³⁶ For most of these transactions the amount of money is not known. Still, the evidence shows Pedro de la Farxa as one who had enough assets to give credit on a rather large scale. Besides, the last document confirms his inclination toward America, which was shown above.

The evidence regarding Pedro de la Farxa, who was the most important participant in the French commerce in 1620, shows that he was an active merchant, who even had enough fortune to act as creditor. He used the network which connected him with his home country to obtain commodities and sell them to Spanish American traders. Moreover, he had contact with at least one merchant from America, a *perulero*. Hence, he indirectly profited from the American commerce. It can be supposed that he stuck to that strategy at least until 1623, when he received the license to trade with America. Furthermore,

30 For the naturalization data about Jacome Ayrolo and the connections to his brother-in-law Pedro de la Farxa, cf. above pp. 168 and 171.

31 APS 3607, f. 73.

32 APS 3607, f. 634.

33 APS 3607, ff. 141r-142r, 317r-318r.

34 APS 3607, f. 624.

35 APS 3607, f. 347.

36 APS 3607, ff. 68r-70r.

the connection to the Genoese Jacome Ayrolo indicates that Pedro de la Farxa was not only interested in the trade with the North but that he also conducted business with southern merchants. Thus, Pedro de la Farxa is a perfect example of an internationally acting rich merchant in Seville, who had his network spread in every direction.

7.1.2 Lanfran David

In 1620, the Frenchmen Lanfran David, who had come from Rouen, is the fourth most central node within the French main network. Lanfran David settled down in Seville in about 1608 and became naturalized in 1631.³⁷ Like Pedro de la Farxa, Lanfran David was also a central node in the private network of Pedro de Antiñaque (cf. above p. 167). An initial contact with another foreigner is documented by a leasing contract. In this case, Lanfran David appears as a tenant of a stockbroker's house, and subleases that house for one year to Reymundo van Hoben, most likely a Flemish citizen of Seville, for an annual rent of 100 ducats.³⁸

On the 25th of May 1620, the brothers Cristobal and Blas Rodriguez de Cespedes, two olive oil traders from Seville, declared that Lanfran David had paid 100 ducats (1,100 reales) on their behalf to a local linen trader. The payment was due on the return of the next silver fleet. Thus, on a relatively small scale, Lanfran David acted as creditor for traders who had contact with America.³⁹ On that same day, two other Frenchmen in Seville, Guillermo Reynarte and Niculas Grenon – who had already appeared above as business partners of Pedro de la Farxa – transferred an obligation of 694 ducats (7,651.5 reales) to Lanfran David. In exchange, he provided Guillermo Reynarte with 3,825.5 millares of garnets.⁴⁰

Apart from the above transaction, it was French lace, *puntas de Francia*, which dominated the economic activities of Lanfran David. He supplied the

37 Nine documents concerning his person were found in the APS of 1620 – two more documents mention him 20 years later. Five are obligations, two are cessions, and the remaining two concern a proxy and a leasing contract. The proxy was already discussed above, on p. 171; it was for the arrangement of matters concerning his heritage in Rouen.

38 APS 3607, f. 956.

39 APS 3607, f. 811.

40 APS 3607, ff. 852r-854r. One millar is 1,000 pieces. For Spanish units cf. pp. 392ff.

Portuguese merchant Juan Fernandez, a resident of Seville for 33 years,⁴¹ with 11,691 varas of French lace, amounting to 1,092 ducats (35 mvd/vara).⁴² One of the suppliers for Lanfran David was Niculas Auger, a citizen of Seville, who had delivered 4,759.5 varas of French lace (68 mvd/vara), worth 865 ducats (9,519 reales). That price was about double what Lanfran David charged Juan Fernandez; it was probably lace of a better quality. In any case, Lanfran David committed to pay 142 ducats (1,563 reales) in cash, and the remaining 743 ducats by ceding three obligations to Niculas Auger. One of them was an obligation of Juan Fernandez of 364 ducats (3,989 reales).⁴³ About two weeks later, in June 1620, Niculas Auger himself provided Juan Fernandez with 2,706.75 varas of French lace (60 mvd/vara), worth 433 ducats (162,405 maravedis).⁴⁴ Hence, the three merchants were repeatedly intertwined with each other.

Because of the fact that Niculas Auger was the only known supplier of lace to Lanfran David, it is quite revealing to learn that he was of French origin too⁴⁵ and a member of the French consulate.⁴⁶ Niculas Auger was involved in a lawsuit which took place on the 7th of April 1620, in which he acted as acceptor (drawee) for his cousin in Rouen, who was also called Niculas Auger. It concerned two bills of exchange, worth 1,355 ducats (1,300 escudos à 391 maravedis). Three weeks after they were drawn by his cousin in Rouen, a supplement was added in Antwerp. Thereby, all persons mentioned in the bill of exchange were replaced by other persons, except the acceptor Niculas Auger in Seville. The bills were presented in Seville by the Fleming Rodrigo Honbraque, a citizen of that city.⁴⁷ However, the acceptor Niculas Auger refused

41 A certain Juan Fernandez Madrid, in company with the Dutchman/Fleming Juan Cortes, shipped merchandise to Peru amounting to 18,569 ducats (25,600 pesos) in 1624, over half of it without registration (Vila Vilar, "Las ferias de Portobelo", p. 340). Possibly it was the same merchant.

42 APS 3607, ff. 372, 379v-380r, 714bis.

43 APS 3607, 659r-660v, 661.

44 The transaction took place in another notary's office: APS 16870, f. 617.

45 Girard, *Le commerce français*, p. 548.

46 Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, p. 91.

47 Rodrigo Honbraque was living in Lisbon before moving to Seville in 1609, cf. Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, p. 37. In 1614, he sent some merchandise amounting to 5,000 ducats from Seville to Amsterdam (Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, pp. 160-161). In 1620, he was a very notable merchant (cf. table 7.7 on p. 298), trading with wool (APS 3607, ff. 300v-301v), textiles, haberdashery (APS 10060, ff. 134r-135r) and thread (APS 10060, ff. 135v-136v). Moreover, he accepted a bill of exchange from Antwerp (APS 16869, f. 781).

to pay because he had not received anything from the drawer – he probably meant the new drawer in Antwerp and not his cousin in Rouen.⁴⁸ Thus, Niculas Auger represents another example of a French merchant in Seville with family contact to his hometown. In addition, he was connected to Flemings in Antwerp.

To sum up the case of Lanfran David, it can be said that he was involved in many different businesses, stretching from real estate to the financing of trade with linens, garnets and olive oil. Yet, it was French lace which dominated his commercial activities in 1620. Thereby, he was in close relation with a Portuguese textile merchant and a compatriot from Rouen. Thus, just like Pedro de la Farxa, Lanfran David returned to merchants from his hometown to obtain merchandise and to gain profits.

7.1.3 Guillermo Reynarte

Only one node links Pedro de la Farxa with Lanfran David: the merchant Guillermo Reynarte. He was a citizen of Seville, and married the Spaniard Catalina Munis.⁴⁹ Surprisingly, he was neither a member of the French consulate nor of the *Cargadores a Indias*, and he never applied for naturalization. Contemplating figure 7.3, which shows his personal network, it catches one's eye that Guillermo Reynarte entertained many bonds with Frenchmen but none with other foreigners. Thus, it may be that Guillermo Reynarte, even though called citizen of the city, never really became part of the society of the

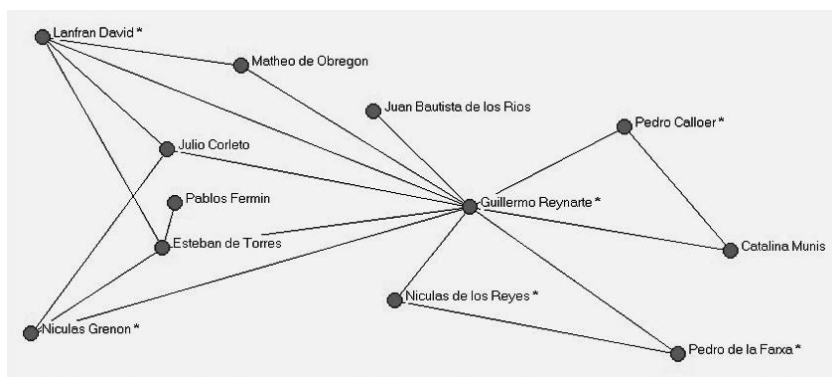


Figure 7.3: The Commercial Network of Guillermo Reynarte in Seville

48 APS 10060, ff. 249, 250.

49 APS 3607, ff. 819r-820r.

Table 7.5: Purchases of Guillermo Reynarte

Amount	Merchandise	Explication	Value
3,825.5 millares	Granates finos	garnets	693.7 d
1 partida	Cuchillos, granates, rosarios	knives, garnets, rosaries	308.3 d
100 dozen	Cuchillos romanos	roman knives	108.8 d
300 millares	Granates de colores	garnets	61.2 d
100 dozen	Rosarios de palo numero 4	rosaries	40.8 d
38 dozen	Cuchillos de 9 clavos	knives of 9 nails	31 d
30 dozen	Cuchillos romanos	roman knives	29.9 d
2 dozen	Estuches de 8 piezas	caskets	12 d
12 dozen	Rosarios de juegos sobre tocas	rosaries	9.8 d
2.25 dozen	Estuches de 5 piezas de tornillo	caskets	9.4 d
1.3 dozen	Estuches de a 12 piezas	caskets	9.2 d
6 dozen	Alfileres	brooches	6.5 d
12 dozen	Rosarios numero 5	rosaries	6 d
1.3 dozen	Estuches de 5 piezas de nombre	caskets	4.1 d
6 dozen	Rosarios numero 2	rosaries	1.6 d
TOTAL	—	—	1,332.3 d

Source: APS 3607, ff. 59, 229, 819r-820r, 852r-854r

city. Nonetheless, he was very present in the local commerce in 1620, when he purchased merchandise amounting to 1,332 ducats (14,694 reales), which can be seen in table 7.5.

The links to Pedro de la Farxa and Lanfran David were already mentioned above. Guillermo Reynarte purchased 100 dozens of roman knives from Pedro de la Farxa and 3,825.5 millares of garnets from Lanfran David. All the other merchandise in table 7.5 – including a not further specified “partida” – were supplied by Pedro Calloer, a merchant of Seville, who was a Frenchman as well. Therefore, all the commodities bought by Guillermo Reynarte came from French suppliers. All of these bargains were brought about by Guillermo Reynarte together with his wife Catalina de Munis.

The acquisition of knives from Pedro de la Farxa was accomplished together with the Frenchman Nicolas de los Reyes. One year later Nicolas de los Reyes would receive his letter of naturalization. In 1620, he was preparing his departure to Tierra Firme. The date of the payment depended on the return of the fleet.⁵⁰ Hence, Guillermo Reynarte was doing business with a soon-to-become naturalized Frenchman, who was already taking part in the American commerce.

⁵⁰ APS 3607, f. 59.

He was also involved in a complex business activity together with his partner Niculas Grenon, another member of the French consulate.⁵¹ Both purchased the 3,825.5 millares of garnets for 694 ducats (7,651.5 reales) from the Frenchman Lanfran David, mentioned above.⁵² The payment was brought about by giving Lanfran David three parts of three different payment obligations. In the first one, Esteban de Torres, who had gone to New Spain in 1619, and Pablo Fermin, his guarantor, committed to pay 373 ducats (4,117 reales) to Guillermo Reynarte and Niculas Grenon. The second one was an obligation from Julio Corleto of 207 ducats (2,279 reales).⁵³ The third obligation was drawn by a certain Matheo de Obregon. The debt amounted to 300 ducats (3,314 reales). Even though the total debt to Guillermo Reynarte and Niculas Grenon amounted to 880 ducats, only the outstanding sum of 694 ducats was ceded to Lanfran David.

Only in the case of the obligation of Matheo de Obregon, the merchandise which Guillermo Reynarte had provided, is documented. Over two weeks before the business with Lanfran David, Matheo de Obregon had bought commodities from Guillermo Reynarte which included: paper, earrings from Seville, gilded brushes, combs, padlocks, scissors, hourglasses, false pearls, caskets, quills, and ribbons.⁵⁴ Adding these products to the ones in table 7.5, the enormous variety of the business of Guillermo Reynarte becomes evident. The payment of Matheo de Obregon depended on the return of the fleet from Tierra Firme, which indicates that at least part of the cargo, eventually, went to the Indies.

On three different occasions, the involvement of Guillermo Reynarte in the American trade of Seville becomes evident: He granted a credit to Esteban de Torres, going to the city of Mexico, he bought commodities together with the American trader Nicolas de los Reyes on his way to Tierra Firme, and he sold merchandise to Matheo de Obregon who very likely sold them in America. The suppliers of Guillermo Reynarte were all Frenchmen: Pedro de la Farxa, Lanfran David and Pedro Calloer. Concerning his position in Seville, it is revealing that Guillermo Reynarte received 91 ducats (1,000 reales) from Juan Bautista de los Rios, a citizen of Seville, for safekeeping.⁵⁵ The reputation

51 APS 3607, f. 302; cf. Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, p. 91.

52 APS 3607, ff. 852r-854r.

53 APS 3607, f. 229.

54 APS 3607, ff. 559v-560r: "papeles de color, predias de barbero, zarcillería de Sevilla surtida, capillos dorados, peynes, candados, tixerias, relojes de arena, perlas falsas, estuches de todas suertes, cañones de escribir, cintas de resplandor".

55 APS 2607, f. 183.

of the Frenchman in Seville, therefore, seems to have been good and his diversified business flourished. Still, his integration in the society of Seville remains questionable.

7.1.4 Pedro Calloer

Like Guillermo Reynarte, Pedro Calloer also does not appear to be very integrated in the society of Seville. Pedro de Calloer was described as a citizen of Seville, who lived opposite the *Horno de las Brujas*.⁵⁶ Yet, he seems to have been residing in the French city of Rouen too.⁵⁷ Pedro Calloer's name was not found in the AGI data, neither was he present among the members of the French consulate nor of the *Cargadores a Indias*. Probably, he was just temporarily located in Seville.

Apart from the merchandise sold to his compatriot Guillermo Reynarte, worth 545 ducats (6,000 reales), Pedro Calloer intended to sell goods to Francisco Perez, worth 124 ducats (1,367 pesos and reales). Francisco Perez was an Indies merchant of Seville, who lived in the C/Francos.⁵⁸ However, the transaction did not take place and Pedro Calloer had to find another purchaser for the 256 glass chains (sales value 70 ducats), 716 varas of glass trimmings (32 ducats) and 69 ribbons (22 ducats).⁵⁹

With his purchases, Pedro Calloer also had difficulties. Domingo Harlate, a resident of Paris, sent him 460 marcos of silver thread,⁶⁰ but when the consignment arrived, part of it was missing. Therefore, Pedro Calloer demanded that Giles and Diego Bennard, two French merchants in Seville who were present during the packing, and the master of the transporting *nao*, Juan de la Bort, should prove the validity of its weight. All three of them testified that 276 ounces were missing. Another misfortune took place in a business with Rouen. Pedro Calloer arranged a consignment of three fardos of *ruanes* (500 aunes each) to an alderman and to an inquisitor of Seville. Unfortunately, the master of the ship which transported the *ruanes*, Pedro de Febre (cf. p. 321), had handed over the consignment to an unauthorized person in

56 APS 3607, f. 844.

57 APS 10060, ff. 372v-373r.

58 APS 3697, ff. 512r-513v, 516v, 580, 782v-785r, 800v-801r. Francisco Perez sold smuggled merchandise in Portobelo in 1624, amounting to 2,345 ducats (3,238 pesos). Vila Vilar, "Las ferias de Portobelo", p. 338.

59 APS 3607, ff. 798v-799r.

60 APS 3607, f. 844: "Marcos falsos de plata de tres suertes hilado, briscado y filete".

Sanlúcar. Consequently, the master was called to account.⁶¹ Hence, besides the fact that almost none of the documented trade of Pedro Calloer went as intended, it can be concluded that he was an active merchant in the economic scene of Seville, and that his commercial partners were mainly French.

7.1.5 Antonio de Sandier

The Frenchman Antonio de Sandier is the third most key Frenchman of the French main network of 1620. He was a rich and important merchant, an alderman of the city, and a captain of infantry. He was a member of the French consulate and of the *Consulado de Cargadores a Indias*.⁶² He married the daughter of the Fleming Pedro Francois (naturalized in 1627), Catalina Francois, and in 1620, he became the godfather of Juan Andre David, one of the sons of Lanfran David.⁶³ In 1620, Antonio de Sandier was doing business with his brother Francisco, who was a half-mulatto creole.⁶⁴

Antonio de Sandier was linked to the most central node in the French main network of 1620, Pedro de la Farxa, via the Spaniard Simon Fernandez de la Fuente. He was a Spanish *maestre de plata*, who was on the tenth place of centrality of the year 1620. Pedro de la Farxa gave him a proxy to obtain money in Tierra Firme (cf. p. 278).⁶⁵ Also, Antonio de Sandier, acting in association with his brother, received a certain amount of money from Simon Fernandez de la Fuente.⁶⁶ In both transactions, members of the Flemish family Monel were involved (cf. p. 295), which indicates that the two transactions were somehow related.

Two further connections are apparent for Antonio de Sandier, leading to Miguel Fernandez Pereyra, a Portuguese merchant, and captain Lorenzo Bernal, a *maestre de plata* of the fleet from New Spain in 1619. These two are number one and three of the most central merchants of the year 1620 (total network, cf. table 7.1). In his position as *maestre de plata*, Lorenzo Bernal had the responsibility of managing the unloading of bullion in Seville. When it came to pay out the money to the owners, Lorenzo Bernal delayed the payment,

61 APS 10060, f. 425v.

62 Nevertheless, he did not figure among the naturalized merchants.

63 AGI Contratación 50B, s.f.; cf. Vila Vilar, "Una amplia nómina", p. 179; Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, p. 91.

64 Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol 1, p. 376.

65 APS 3607, ff. 141r-142r.

66 APS 16869, ff. 404r-405v.

and 24 merchants started a lawsuit against him.⁶⁷ The Portuguese Miguel Fernandez Pereyra was one of his creditors. Moreover, he was authorized by the Frenchman Antonio de Sandier to collect his share. Among the creditors, there were also some Flemish merchants such as Niculas Antonio and Francisco de Conique.⁶⁸ The outcome of that case is not known but about four months later, Antonio de Sandier, on behalf of a cochineal trader of Seville, receives 463 ducats (173.768 maravedis) from Miguel Fernandez Pereyra on behalf of Lorenzo Bernal.⁶⁹

The rich French merchant Antonio de Sandier was, thus, directly in contact with a renowned Portuguese merchant and indirectly with some French and Flemish merchants. In addition, he was strongly integrated in the commerce of Seville and participated in the American trade.

7.1.6 Guillermo Guillu

The Frenchman Guillermo Guillu is the perfect example of what one would expect from a French merchant in Seville: he bought Andalusian and colonial goods and sold French textiles.⁷⁰ In the course of one of his consignments, he sold three fardos of *mélinges* for about 375 ducats (133,798 maravedis) to Gabriel Jimenez de Arriba, an agent of the brothers Luis, Diego, and Francisco Vazquez de Dueñas. The three brothers were textile traders from Toledo with connections to America.⁷¹ The French province of Maine was often the origin of this type of linen made of hemp.⁷²

Another business of Guillermo Guillu also concerns the supply of linen textiles, amounting to 2,862 ducats (1,073,172 mar).⁷³ Again, the purchasers were directly linked to the American trade: Fernando de Zuleta, a member of the

67 Figure 7.5 on p. 299 (right side) gives a good impression of the function of this lawsuit regarding the network.

68 APS 16869, ff. 569r-572v.

69 APS 16870, f. 192.

70 11 documents between the 10th of April and the 12th of June concern the commercial activities of Guillermo Guillu in Seville.

71 APS 3607, ff. 294v-295v, cf. also APS 3607, ff. 200r-202r, 619, 732r-733r, 903v-904r and APS 10060, ff. 496r-398r.

72 Lapeyre, *Une famille de marchands*, pp. 505-506.

73 APS 16870, ff. 548r-549r. The textiles consisted of six fardos of *mélinges florete* (5,111 varas 3 cuartos; 80m/v); four fardos of *cotense* (1,922 varas; 96m/v); six fardos of *vitree* (2,520 varas; 72m/v); six fardos of *pacages* (2,400 varas; 80m/v); four fardos of *donflon* (1,560 varas; 68m/v).

Consulado de Cargadores a Indias,⁷⁴ did the transaction on behalf of his brother Cristobal de Zuleta, a citizen of the city of Mexico. The two brothers possessed a considerable fortune⁷⁵ and had commercial relations with Genoese and Flemish merchants. On the one hand, they obtained much of their merchandise from the Genoese company Bartolome Dongo and Tomas de Mañara,⁷⁶ and on the other, they were indebted by 5,631 ducats (2,224,226 maravedis) to the Fleming Jaques Bibien (cf. p. 336).⁷⁷ As an observation, it can be pointed out that both of the customers of Guillermo Guillu were family businesses.

On the 25th of May 1620, the brothers Fernando and Christobal de Zuleta bought wax from another Frenchman called Ybon Guillu, a member of the French consulate.⁷⁸ The delivery was worth 987 ducats (370,260 mar).⁷⁹ Ybon Guillu was also in direct contact with Guillermo Guillu. They settled their accounts on the 10th of April 1620, whereby the first had to pay the sum of 2,334 ducats (25,670 reales).⁸⁰ Both Guillermo and Ybon Guillu were members of the French consulate in 1620.⁸¹ A kinship between the two merchants is possible, but definite evidence was not found.⁸²

The purchases of Guillermo Guillu include wool, cochineal, and ginger. He bought 200 arrobas of wool (“lana mayor que sea blanca y fina merina”) from a citizen of Guadalcanal,⁸³ amounting to 327 ducats (3,600 reales).⁸⁴ For 2,783 ducats (1,043,625 maravedis), Guillermo Guillu purchased 27 arrobas and 20.75 pounds of the American cochineal.⁸⁵ The suppliers were Pedro de

74 Vila Vilar, “Una amplia nómina”, p. 185.

75 APS 16869, ff. 434r-439r, 566r-568r, 602v-608r, 639r-641r, 790v-792r.

76 APS 16870, ff. 526r-527v.

77 Vidal Ortega and Vila Vilar, “El comercio lanero”, p. 65.

78 Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, p. 91.

79 APS 16870, ff. 417r-418r.

80 APS 3607, f. 225v. Because of a cession, he had to pay to the Fleming Cornelio de Groote instead of Guillermo Guillu (cf. p. 332).

81 Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, p. 91.

82 There was a third person called Guillu, Alvaro Guillu, who was in the Consulate too. Two more merchants appeared with the surname Guillu/Guillen: Bartolome Guillen was the owner and master of the *nao* Nuestra Señora de la Anunciación with 650 tons, leaving Cádiz with the fleet on the 8th of July 1620 toward New Spain (cf. Chaunu and Chaunu, *Séville et l'Atlantique*, vol. 4, pp. 558-559), and a Frenchman called Diego Guillu applied for naturalization in 1630/1633 (AGI Contratación 50B and 596B, s.f.).

83 The locality of Guadalcanal is about 100 kilometers north of Seville.

84 APS 10060, ff. 430r-432r; about wool, cf. Phillips and Phillips, *Spain's Golden Fleece*, pp. 231-248.

85 APS 16870, f. 30.

Espinosa Vergara, of the Holy Inquisition, who in the year 1600 had been to Tierra Firme,⁸⁶ and Antolin Vazquez, a wax trader, both from Seville.⁸⁷

On the 12th of June, the mentioned Antolin Vazquez received a cession from Guillermo Guillu to collect 1,040 ducats (11,445 reales) from the alderman Antonio de Armijo, a citizen of Seville.⁸⁸ The precise type of connection between Guillermo Guillu and the alderman is not documented. Antonio de Armijo, though, emerges as an interesting person who was born in the city of Mexico.⁸⁹ Already in 1600, he ranked amongst the most central nodes of the Flemish network.⁹⁰ In that year, he was indebted by 535 ducats (5,880 reales) to the Florentine Cesar Baroncini,⁹¹ and underwent a lawsuit concerning the origin of an Asian slave he had bought; the witnesses for that case came from Portugal, Flanders, and Goa.⁹² In 1620, Antonio de Armijo owed another Florentine, Antonio Maria Bucarelli, the sum of 1,600 ducats for the delivery of 50 quintales of wax.⁹³ Thus, the business partner of Guillermo Guillu maintained widespread commercial activities in Seville in which the wax business dominated.

The last merchandise that was purchased by Guillermo Guillu was ginger. In association with the Flemings Juan Tolinque and Miguel Galle, both indigo merchants of Seville (cf. p. 341), he purchased 957 quintales and 21 pounds of ginger from Puerto Rico, worth 6,444 ducats (70,881 reales), from captain Fernando Bueno.⁹⁴ Together with this two partners, Guillermo Guillu was also involved himself in the indigo business in 1627.⁹⁵

86 APS 16766, f. 262.

87 APS 16870, ff. 66r-67v, 298v-301r.

88 APS 16870, ff. 307r-308v.

89 AGI Contratación 50A, s.f.

90 Cf. table 6.2 on p. 254.

91 APS 9984, ff. 122v-123.

92 APS 16766, ff. 515-534.

93 APS 16870, ff. 208, 217v-218v. For information about the Florentine family of the Bucarelli, cf. Núñez Roldán, "Tres familias florentinas". Antonio Maria Bucarelli could be identified as a commissioner for the Idria mercury trade (Crailsheim and Wiedenbauer, "Central Europe and the Atlantic World", p. 318). Moreover, he was involved in the Spanish wool export of 1620. He was the only Italian (though naturalized in 1616) among plenty of Flemings in that business sector (cf. table 7.8 on p. 313).

94 APS 16869, ff. 995r-996r; a similar document without signatures: APS 16869, ff. 940r-941r.

95 AGI Contratación 816, Autos entre partes: N. 17 [PARES] (lawsuit against the treasurer of the *Casa de la Contratación* about 1,814 ducats (680,340 maravedis)).

Captain Fernando Bueno and Guillermo Guillu were also connected through an insurance.⁹⁶ The *nao* San Antonio de Padova, weighing 150 tons, sailed from Santo Domingo to Seville⁹⁷ and was insured with 2,400 ducats. The insurers were captain Fernando Bueno and his brother captain Pedro Enriquez de Almeyda, a citizen of Seville, who resided in Santo Domingo.⁹⁸ The list of merchants, who would have been responsible in the case of the insured event, includes two Spaniards, five Flemings, and the Frenchman Guillermo Guillu. Of the 2,400 ducats, the share which Guillermo Guillu would have had to pay was 300 ducats. But the ship arrived safely,⁹⁹ and the insured event did not take place.

Clearly, Guillermo Guillu was frequently involved in the insurance business. In 1614, he had already paid 273 ducats (3,000 reales) to Fernando Catry for an insurance in Seville. The ship San Miguel, owned by Jaques Le Bloys, went from Sanlúcar to Rouen.¹⁰⁰

One more connection to America was revealed. Guillermo Guillu drew a cession in favor of Juan de Robles, a clerk (*escribano propietario*) from the *Casa de la Contratación*, which permitted him to collect 1,007 ducats (377,496 maravedis) from captain Francisco Diaz Pimienta.¹⁰¹ The latter was involved in commercial activities between San Cristobal de la Havana, San Miguel de la Palma and Seville, including contacts with Flemings.¹⁰²

Summarizing the facts about the merchant Guillermo Guillu, one can resume that he was an assiduous trader of French textiles in Seville. Even though there is no evidence about the exact conveyance of the merchandise, it can be assumed that it was sold to American customers.¹⁰³ On the other hand, he purchased wool in Andalusia, and spice and dyestuff in America. His involvement in the American market is asserted by the fact that in 1651

96 APS 16867, f. 516.

97 Chaunu and Chaunu, *Séville et l'Atlantique*, vol. 4, pp. 584-585.

98 APS 16869, f. 483. The respective source was a cession of the insurance from Fernando Bueno to his brother, drawn two weeks before the fleet returned.

99 Chaunu and Chaunu, *Séville et l'Atlantique*, vol. 4, p. 588.

100 Among all the insurances which E. Stols lists, it is one of few, which was noted in the currency of reales and the only one which was as high as 20 percent. The value of the load, hence, was 1,364 ducats (15,000 reales). Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, pp. 160-161.

101 APS 16870, ff. 89v-80v.

102 APS 7420, f. 419; APS 16869, ff. 888v-889v.

103 That statement is underlined by the fact that in 1648 he had to return 249 ducats (93,352 maravedis) to the royal judges of Seville because he had imported too much bullion from the Indies (AGS C.S. 168, s.f; cf. also p. 353).

Guillermo Guillu figured amongst the *Cargadores a Indias*.¹⁰⁴ Most probably, the final destination for the Spanish and American merchandise obtained by him was France. Apart from his direct commercial activities, Guillermo Guillu was involved in the insurance business. Most of the business partners of Guillermo Guillu were Spaniards, but he worked also with Flemings. Besides, the Spaniards with whom he was in contact with were often connected with Flemish and Italian merchants.

7.1.7 Niculas Blondel

Niculas Blondel came from Rouen and was naturalized in 1624. In 1640, he ranked amongst the *Cargadores a Indias*.¹⁰⁵ He was directly connected to Guillermo Guillu, as he acted once as witness on his behalf: On the 4th of April 1620, a Frenchman called Carlos de la Vigna went to the notary to testify for Niculas Blondel. The notarial act was witnessed by two compatriots, Abraham Coches and Guillermo Guillu.¹⁰⁶

Nicolas Blondel had enough liquid assets to grant credit. One credit of 396 ducats (4,360 reales) was provided for example to a presbyter. The repayment was conditional to the return of the fleet,¹⁰⁷ which leads to the conclusion that the presbyter was involved in American trade.

Another transaction of Niculas Blondel shows that he was interested in American commerce himself. He gave a proxy to two citizens of Ciudad de los Reyes (Lima) to collect 1,429 ducats (535,743 maravedís) from Geronimo de Cabrera. The latter was an Indies merchant on his way to Tierra Firme¹⁰⁸ and stocked up on various merchandise: he bought white wax,¹⁰⁹ steel, white paper,¹¹⁰ drapery (*pañós finos*) from Segovia and coarse fabric (*jerguetas*) from Toledo,¹¹¹ amounting to 8,149 ducats (89,880 reales). Geronimo de Cabrera was probably one of the merchants that could be called *perulero*, whose mediation in the commerce of Seville between foreigners and the Indies trade was feared by the members of the Consulate.¹¹² Yet, it cannot be determined

104 Vila Vilar, "Una amplia nómina", p. 160.

105 Ibidem, p. 150.

106 APS 10060, ff. 400v-401v.

107 APS 3607, f. 398.

108 APS 10060, ff. 315r-316r; cf. AGI Contratación 5371, N. 70, ff. 1-16 [PARES].

109 APS 16869, ff. 600r-602r.

110 APS 10060, ff. 416r-419v.

111 APS 16869, ff. 338r-340v.

112 Cf. p. 58.

whether Niculas Blondel financed part of Geronimo de Cabrera's American business or if Geronimo de Cabrera himself was only an agent of the Lima merchants. In this respect it is remarkable to note that the two citizens of Ciudad de los Reyes, who were in charge of returning the debt of Geronimo de Cabrera, were the Flemish brothers Francisco and Pedro Monel. Thus, Niculas Blondel had his connections spread well into the American continent. In addition, Niculas Blondel is indirectly linked to Pedro de la Farxa because Francisco and Pedro Monel had a direct contact with this French merchant too. Both became in the Indies business partners of Pedro de la Farxa in April 1620.¹¹³ In other words, a group of (Flemish) merchants in America were doing business with several Frenchmen in Seville, by sending agents (the *peruleros*) to Spain.

Some documentation regarding the sales of Niculas Blondel was conserved, as can be seen in table 7.6. Despite the variety of products, the total value of all products amounts only to about 1,644 ducats (17,970.3 reales). The most valuable product sold by Niculas Blondel consisted of French linen textiles, which amounted to about about 932 ducats (348,385 maravedis).¹¹⁴ *Brines* refers to canvas made of hemp which came from Ferté-Bernard, Maine, whereas the finer *ruanes* were produced mostly in the surrounding area of Rouen.¹¹⁵ Obviously, it cannot be a coincidence that the most valuable part of the sales of

Table 7.6: Sales of Niculas Blondel

Amount	Merchandise	Explication	Value
1,583.66 varas	Ruanes	linen textiles	465.8 d
2,903 varas	Brines	linen textiles	465.7 d
50 dozens	Cepillos	brushes	150 d
152 pounds	Cintas de Belduque	Belduque ribbons	145.1 d
108.5 pounds	Hilera numero 7-24	thread number 7-24	108.5 d
50 dozens	Cuchillos de Belduque	Belduque knives	68.2 d
50 dozens	Cuchillos pasaromanos	pasaromanos knives	68.2 d
50 dozens	Cuchillos romanos	roman knives	52.3 d
50 dozens	Cuchillos de 9 clavos	knives of 9 nails	45.5 d
100 tenths	Cuchillos carniceros	butcher's knives	38.5 d
50 pounds	Hilo de cartas	thread	35.9 d
TOTAL	—	—	1643.7 d

Source: APS 10060, ff. 42r-44r, 161r-162v

113 APS 3607, ff. 141r-142r.

114 APS 10060, ff. 42r-44r.

115 Lapeyre, *Une famille de marchands*, pp. 508-512; Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, pp. 445-457.

Niculas Blondel came from his hometown, Rouen, or the surrounding region. Whether the metalware, on the other hand, came from the Auvergne or rather via the North Sea is not so clear.

Niculas Blondel sold his textiles to two different buyers. One of them was Juan de Guevara, who was preparing his crossing to Tierra Firme at that time. He was a well-known American merchant, who also bought textiles from Segovia and Toledo,¹¹⁶ and haberdashery from Gaspar Antonio, who was probably of Flemish origin.¹¹⁷ The second buyers of the textiles were Pascual Cascaño, a citizen of Seville who was heading for New Spain, and Ambrosio Mucio, a Genoese and a stockbroker for the Genoese nation in Seville.¹¹⁸ These two were stocking up merchandise, purchasing thread, ribbons, brushes, and especially knives, amounting to 702 ducats (7,721.5 reales). The origin of these goods is uncertain, but it may allude to the region of Thiers again.¹¹⁹ However, the fact that the purchasers were preparing their voyages to the Indies indicates that the wares were, finally, sold on the American market.

One more fact reveals Nicolas Blondel's interest in the Atlantic commerce. In 1614, Niculas Blondel paid 400 ducats as insurance at 11 percent for a load from Cádiz to the Azores (Ihla da Terceira) and back again. The ship, Leon Dorado, belonged to Juan Prizant, while the insurance was made by a certain Fernando Catry. The value of the insured merchandise amounted to 3,636 ducats, but no details of the cargo are known.¹²⁰

To conclude, Niculas Blondel perfectly fits the image of a French merchant in Seville. He purchased his wares in France, at least partly from his hometown Rouen, and sold them to Indies traders. His business connections are, thus, chiefly with Spaniards, but he is also linked, directly and indirectly, with other French merchants in Seville and in the city of Mexico. It is likely that he changed his business conduct when he received his letter of naturalization some years later.

Another Frenchman named Blondel can be found in the files of the APS, Pedro Blondel. No family connection can be detected between Pedro and Niculas Blondel, yet some kind of kinship is likely. Pedro Blondel, a citizen of

116 APS 16869, ff. 291r-293v.

117 APS 10060, ff. 96r-101r.

118 Concerning the privileges of the Genoese nation in Seville, cf. Heredia Herrera, "Los corredores de lonja"; Collado Villalta, "La nación genovesa en la Sevilla", especially p. 65-67.

119 For Thiers, cf. p. 273.

120 Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, pp. 160-161.

Seville, living in C/Francos, was a member of the French consulate in 1620.¹²¹ He is mentioned just once: On the 31st of March 1620, he sold gloves, leather, and fur amounting to 1,852 ducats (20,375 reales) to Gaspar de Roxas, who was on his way to Peru.¹²² Gaspar de Roxas was a renowned merchant, who bought different merchandise – textiles, wax, trimmings, etc. – from various merchants coming from Italian regions, Flanders, France or Segovia.¹²³ Even though Pedro Blondel does not figure among the *Cargadores a Indias*,¹²⁴ he seemed to have been a supplier for American traders too.

7.1.8 Synopsis

The French community of Seville in the year 1620 is the largest one encountered in this analysis. Over 10 percent of the 838 documents contain data about Frenchmen or French merchandise. 56 Frenchmen were found in the total network, which is considerable, compared to three and the 18 in the years 1580 and 1600. Moreover, the French network of 1620 had almost 15 percent of the size of the total network (215 of 1438 nodes). In short, 1620 was the year with the strongest French participation in the commerce of Seville.¹²⁵ The network was partitioned into six subnetworks, of which one was by far the biggest. Of that network, seven French merchants were scrutinized more thoroughly. The most notable figure was Pedro de la Farxa, who was also the seventh most central node in the total network of 1620.

In 1620, unlike twenty years before, there existed no more banks in Seville, yet, some merchants were found to grant huge credits. Also among the seven main French merchants scrutinized in this section, three were giving such credits to other merchants, indicating a high level of liquid assets. Just one, Lanfran David, was involved in transactions with bills of exchange, coming from Antwerp. In addition, one Frenchman rented real estate and another one was active in the insurance business.¹²⁶ However, it was the business with merchan-

121 Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, p. 91.

122 APS 10060, ff. 150r-152v.

123 APS 3607, ff. 62v-63v; 10060, ff. 127r-128r, 143r-145r, 146r-147v, 148r-149v, 150r-152v, 153r-155r, 223r-229r, 279r-281v, 282r-283r, 284r-287v, 288r-289v, 290r-291r; 16869, ff. 163r-165r, 219r-221r, 384r-385r, 394r-395v, 463r-464r, 545r-547r, 548r-549v, 550r-551r.

124 Cf. Vila Vilar, “Una amplia nómina”.

125 Cf. figure 1.6 on p. 89.

126 Guillermo Guillu was the only Frenchmen offering insurances, while Niculas Blondel simply obtained an insurance for his freight.

dise from France which was dominant in 1620. The average of the revenues (25,787 ducats) and expenses (26,383 ducats) for each of the seven Frenchmen surpassed 3,600 ducats each.

The variety of products was great in 1620. The Frenchmen in Seville sold many different types of metalware, haberdashery, paper, books, and linen textiles. Some of these products were traded between themselves. Guillermo Reynarte, for example, was such an intermediary, who bought from other Frenchmen. Eventually, most of their products were sold on the American market. France can be assumed to be the origin of most of these wares, which leads to the conclusion that connections to the home country were fully used for commercial profit. Other goods, such as garnets, devotional objects, and even a black slave, whose origins are unknown, were also sold in Seville. The composition of the purchases of the Frenchmen, on the other hand, are not so clear – except for the case of the intermediary of French wares, Guillero Reynarte. Pedro de la Farxa bought Mediterranean goods while Guillermo Guillu purchased Andalusian wool, American cochineal, and ginger – the latter was bought from Flemings who had perhaps obtained the product from the Dutch colonies. Yet, most French expenses concern obligations, which do not exhibit many details about their business.

Concerning the American trade, it can be said that all of the investigated merchants had a visible commercial interest in America. At least three of them received letters of naturalization, and five were members of the *Consulado de Cargadores a Indias* – all, though, after 1620. Therefore, not even one of them was found to be trading directly with America in 1620. Nonetheless, all of them had close business relations to Indies merchants or even sold their merchandise directly to them. An exception is Antonio de Sandier who seemed to have somehow received a license for the Indies trade before 1620. He was the only one who directly received bullion from America. In 1617, he and his brother Francisco were already reported to have brought goods from the Indies.¹²⁷

However, the investigated merchants relied on Spaniards for their American business. In this respect, a very interesting detail catches one's eye. Three French merchants employed the Flemish family Monel to carry out a part of their Indies trade; these were Pedro de la Farxa (cf. p. 278), Niculas Blondel (cf. p. 291), and Antonio de Sandier (cf. p. 285). On a private basis, the family Monel was affiliated with the French family De Sandier and the Flemish families of Marcelis. During the 1610s and 1620s, the three brothers Pedro, Niculas, and Francisco Monel traveled various times between Seville and Tierra

127 AGI Contratación 166, Autos fiscales de 1617, N. 3, R. 5 [PARES].

Firme.¹²⁸ In 1620, Pedro operated with Francisco between Seville, Portobelo,¹²⁹ and Ciudad de los Reyes.¹³⁰ By 1624, Pedro Monel was found among the members of the *Consulado de Cargadores a Indias*,¹³¹ even though, his activities indicate that he was one of them before that date.¹³² Also in that year, Francisco Monel was caught smuggling merchandise amounting to 445,517 ducats (614,223 pesos and three reales) to Peru, which was the highest unregistered cargo of all merchants, discovered in the annual fleet (about 7.7 percent of the total).¹³³ The brothers Monel were, thus, active Indies merchants and in addition agents for French merchants on the American market. The fact that several French merchants were in contact with the same Flemish business house in the Indies indicates the proximity between French merchants of Seville. Moreover, it adds another aspect to the discussion about the *peruleros*¹³⁴ in Seville: it shows the possibility that *peruleros*, like perhaps Geronimo de Cabrera, were not only working for “Spanish” merchants in the Indies but sometimes also for foreign merchants living in America.

128 Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, p. 2. Already in 1580, the merchant Pedro Monel was in charge of the American business of the Fleming Bartolome Vides (cf. p. 235). Pedro Monel was the son of the Flemings Daniel Adriansen and Sarah Monel from Antwerp. He should not be confused with the French merchant Pedro Morel, who became naturalized in 1606 (cf. p. 173). Sarah Monel had been living in Seville since 1580, and after the death of her husband in 1610, she became the wife of another Fleming, Roberto Marcelis (cf. p. 212). In addition, the Frenchman Francisco de Sandier, the brother of Antonio de Sandier, married the daughter of Roberto Marcelis. Thus, the three families became affiliated on a private basis. Together with his brother Nicolas, Pedro Monel applied for a voyage to Peru in 1610 (AGI Contratación 5318, N. 1, R. 42, ff. 1r-33r [PARES]). In 1614, Nicolas applied alone (AGI Contratación 5340, N. 13, ff. 1r-3v [PARES]) and in 1617, they again applied together, this time also with their younger brother Francisco (AGI Contratación 5358, N. 32, ff. 1r-33r [PARES]).

129 APS 3607, ff. 141r-142r.

130 APS 10060, ff. 315r-316r. In 1621, Francisco Monel went alone to Peru but he took the young French cashier Buenaventura Morel with him, the son of the naturalized Frenchman Pedro Morel (cf. p. 173). AGI Contratación 5378, N. 13, ff. 1r-4v [PARES].

131 Vila Vilar, “Una amplia nómina”, p. 168.

132 In 1617, Pedro Monel acted as witness on behalf of another Flemish merchant, namely Antonio Perez Enriquez to return to Peru (cf. p. 205). AGI Contratación 5358, N. 35, ff. 1r-3r [PARES].

133 The contraband volume of all 69 merchants was 5,770,117 ducats (7,955,124 pesos and one real). Vila Vilar, “Las ferias de Portobelo”, p. 338.

134 Cf. p. 58.

All seven Frenchmen had contact with compatriots in 1620. Moreover, five were in contact with Flemings, two with Portuguese and one with a Genoese business company. The scant links to Portuguese actors may come as a surprise regarding their large number among the most central nodes of the year. However, Frenchmen did not contact them often. The opposite was true regarding contacts to Flemings, the only two Frenchmen not connected to Flemings were Guillermo Reynarte and Pedro Calloer. These two were also the only ones who were neither in the French consulate, nor in the *Consulado de Cargadores a Indias*, nor did they become naturalized. Therefore, it stands to reason that they did not integrate in the society of Seville at all. The remaining merchants, on the other hand, were involved in the local society, on a commercial as well as on a private basis. Thus, it is revealing to see that the private and commercial networks of Pedro de la Farxa, Lanfran David, and Antonio de Sandier have various overlaps.¹³⁵

7.2 Flemish Networks in 1620

In the scrutinized data of 1620, Flemish and Dutch participation can be found in 198 documents, which is one quarter of the total. In these, 171 different actors can be identified from the Southern and Northern Netherlands – 18 belong to the insurgent provinces. 22 of the Flemings received letters of naturalization – some of them after 1620, though. The complexity of the Flemish main network of 1620 can be seen in figure 7.4. It contains 443 nodes and is the biggest of the scrutinized main networks. It contains almost one third of the total network and is double the size of the French network of that year. The most central and significant merchants are labeled. Figure 7.4 gives a visual impression of the different connections between the Flemings of 1620. Some of them are directly interlinked while others have indirect links. All of the most central actors are part of one big subnetwork, containing 378 of the 443 nodes of the main network.¹³⁶

The 22 most central actors include 16 Flemings, two Portuguese, and four Spaniards, displayed in table 7.7. Even though Flemings were clearly dominant

135 For the private networks of Pedro de la Farxa and Lanfran David, cf. their naturalization data in the previous part. For the private connections of Antonio de Sandier, cf. the sections of Pedro Francois and Lanfran David.

136 15 smaller subnetworks remain which are divided as follows: 6x2 nodes (12), 2x3 nodes (6) 2x5 nodes (10), 2x6 nodes (12), 1x7 nodes (7) and 2x9 nodes (18).

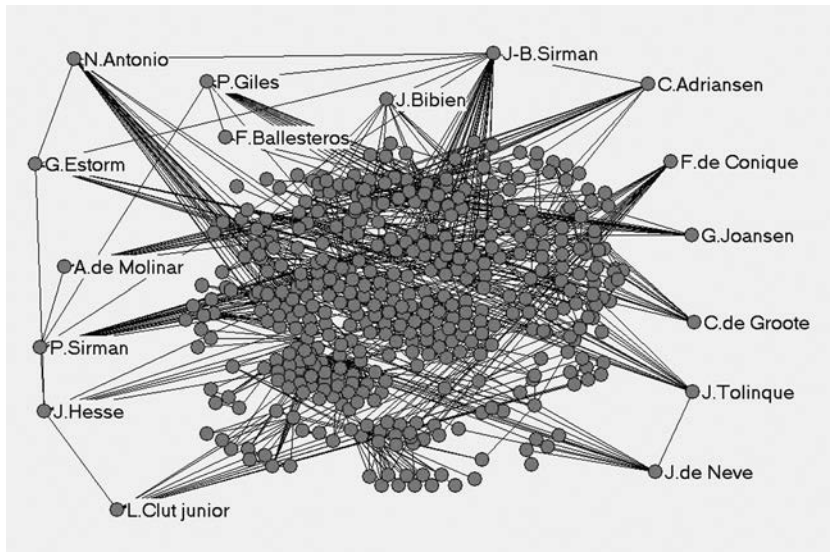


Figure 7.4: The Flemish Network of the Year 1620

in number, other foreigners were also important: The three most important merchants of the total network also ranked high in the Flemish main network of 1620: Number one (of the total network on p. 269), the Portuguese Miguel Fernandez Pereyra, and number three, Lorenzo Bernal, who united many Flemings because of a delivery of a huge amount of bullion. The second most central node of the total network of the year, the Portuguese Antonio Martinez Dorta, interestingly, did not play an important role in the Flemish business relations, even though he ranked fifth in the Flemish network of that year. Another non-Fleming was captain Fernando Bueno, who loaded merchandise for different Flemish merchants. Finally, the Spanish company Roque Canal and Jacome Calisano became relatively important because of its commerce with various French and Flemish merchants.

The most predominant Flemings, Niculas Antonio and the brothers Sirman, received letters of naturalization, as did three more Flemings, adding up to six of the investigated 15 merchants. The Dutchman Juan Hesse, who was also scrutinized, would be the seventh one – one must not forget that amongst the selected years, 1620 was the only one when the Northern Netherlands were at truce with Spain, whereby Dutchmen could participate freely in the commerce with Seville. In the *Consulado de Cargadores a Indias* just three Flemings of table 7.7 were found: Niculas Antonio, Juan de Neve, and Francisco de Conique (only the latter was in the Consulate by 1620).

Table 7.7: The 22 Most Central Nodes of the Flemish Network of the Year 1620

Name	Residence	Origin	Nat.	Cargador
Niculas Antonio	Seville	Flanders (Breda)	1613	1635–1637
Juan Bautista Sirman	Seville	Flanders (Antwerp)	1617	—
Miguel Fernandez Pereyra	Seville	Portugal	—	—
Lorenzo Bernal	Seville	—	—	—
Antonio Martinez Dorta	Seville	Portugal	—	—
Pedro Sirman	Seville	Flanders (Antwerp)	1617	—
Francisco de Conique	Seville	Flanders (Antwerp)	1600	1618–1649
Fernando Bueno	Seville	—	—	—
Cornelio Adriansen	Seville	Flanders	—	—
Fernando Carrillo	Seville	Flanders (Antwerp)	—	—
Rodrigo Honbraque	Seville	Flanders	—	—
Juan Tolinque	Seville	Fl. (s-Hertogenbosch)	1630	—
Juan de Neve	Seville/Mexiko	Flanders	—	1621–1629
Pedro Giles	Seville/Sanlúcar	Flanders	1630	—
Guillen Estorm	Seville	Flanders	—	—
Antonio de Molinar	Seville	Flanders (Antwerp)	—	—
Jaques Bibien	Seville	F. (Valenciennes)	—	—
Roque Canal	Seville	—	—	—
Jacome Calisano	Seville	—	—	—
Cornelio de Grootte	Seville	Flanders	—	—
Geronimo Joansen	Seville	Flanders	—	—
Luis Clut junior	Seville	Flanders	—	—

Explanation: “Nat.” means the date of naturalization of the merchant, and “Cargador” means the first mentioning as *Cargador de Indias* (Vila Vilar, “Una amplia nómina”)

In the following sections, the most eminent merchants and illustrative examples of Flemish conduct in Seville will be outlined and scrutinized, starting with the most central actor in that network which is Niculas Antonio. The order of the investigated merchants does not necessarily follow lines of connection, as in the preceding chapters. The character of some of the subsequent cases embraces topics such as the Flemish involvement the Spanish wool production or their participation in the acquisition of canons for the Spanish king and are, therefore, classified rather by topic. Still, the connections between the participants will be pointed out again.

7.2.1 Niculas Antonio

Niculas Antonio, the son of Niculas Antonio senior (cf. p. 238), became naturalized in 1613. His name already appeared in 1600 and he will still be present

in 1640. E. Vila Vilar describes him as the most outstanding figure of the Flemish colony in Seville,¹³⁷ and effectively, he is by far the most central actor of the Flemish main network in 1620. He is also the fifth most central node in the total network of that year. His impressive business network is visible in figure 7.5.¹³⁸

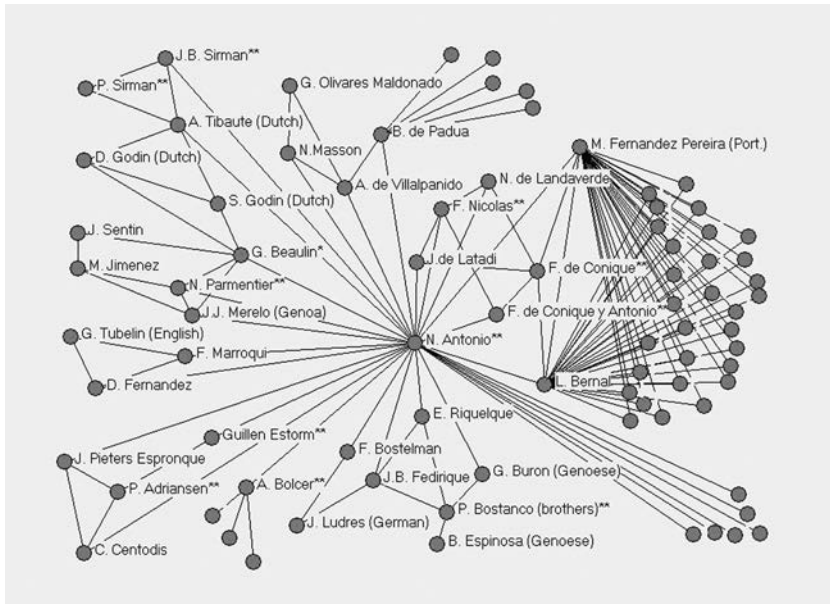


Figure 7.5: The Network of Niculas Antonio

The American Trade of Niculas Antonio

In 1620, Niculas Antonio was involved in the Indies trade. He owned ships from the *Carrera de Indias* and received American merchandise and bullion. In February 1620, difficulties emerged with his bullion delivery from the Indies fleet. In fact, Niculas Antonio faced problems with the respective *maestre de plata*. He was not the only one in Seville, who was affected by the delay of

137 Vila Vilar, “Los europeos en el comercio americano”, p. 294.

138 Niculas Antonio appears 20 times in the APS. Two of the 20 documents never came into force. Of the remaining 18, nine concern bills of exchange, and the rest is divided in sessions, invoices, and proxies. The dates range from the 11th of February to the 30th of June 1620. Frenchmen appear in five documents, Portuguese in two and Italians and a merchant from the British Isles in one.

payment, 23 companions shared his misfortune. Together they emphasized their need for the bullion and put the Portuguese Miguel Fernandez Pereyra in charge of collecting their silver from the *maestre de plata*, captain Lorenzo Bernal.¹³⁹ Besides Niculas Antonio, also the Portuguese *converso* Ruy Fernandez de Pereyra figured among the 24 affected merchants – probably a relative of the aforesaid Miguel Fernandez Pereyra. Ruy Fernandez de Pereyra was an eminent slave trader, who received his naturalization in 1583, and was a *Cargador de Indias* in 1627.¹⁴⁰ Moreover, there was the Frenchman Antonio de Sandier¹⁴¹ and the Fleming Francisco de Conique.¹⁴² The variety of different foreign merchants shows the international attraction of the American bullion. In May 1620, Niculas Antonio received 1,087 ducats (11,960 reales) as part of the outstanding debt from the Portuguese assignee Miguel Fernandez Pereyra. Of these, 542 ducats (5,960 reales) were in cash and the remaining 545 ducats (6,000 reales) in the form of a payment obligation, to be paid on the arrival of the next silver fleet (which would take place on the 14th of October of the same year).¹⁴³

A direct contact between Niculas Antonio and the Flemish *Cargadores* Francisco de Conique was established in March 1620. It sheds light on the overlap of family and business networks, and shows Niculas Antonio as owner of at least a part of a ship of the *Carrera de Indias*. Francisco de Conique, holding a proxy from his son, and Niculas Antonio each owned one third of a galleon which headed for Tierra Firme. The last third belonged to Francisco Nicolas, the son of the eminent merchant Jaques Nicolas of 1600.¹⁴⁴ All three shipowners were naturalized merchants from the *países obedientes*, the Southern Netherlands. The business constellation gets more interesting by contemplating figure 4.6 (on p. 195): Francisco de Conique married Mariana, the sister of

139 In figure 7.5 the situation can be clearly distinguished because of the large number of connected nodes on the right side. However tight the situation for Lorenzo Bernal became in 1620, in 1625 he was back in business. At that time, he owned the *nao* San Antonio (500 tons), built in the Canary Islands, going to New Spain. His guarantors were captain Pedro de Cepada, Baltasar de Espinosa, Juan de Aviola, and master Bartolome Guillen. Cf. Chaunu and Chaunu, *Séville et l'Atlantique*, vol. 5, pp. 98-99.

140 Vila Vilar, “Una amplia nómina”, p. 157; cf. Vila Vilar, “Las ferias de Portobelo”, p. 297.

141 Cf. p. 286.

142 APS 16869, ff. 569r-572v.

143 APS 16869, ff. 129v-130r. For the schedule of the fleet, cf. above on p. 274 (footnote).

144 APS 16869, f. 242. Niculas Antonio and Francisco de Conique gave their proxy to a captain and a *maestre de plata* to collect certain debts on behalf of the three owners of the ship.

Niculas Antonio, who married Maria, the sister of Francisco Nicolas. Thus, all three Flemings were brothers-in-law and they each invested in one third of the enterprise. The combination of private and commercial matters strengthened the bonds between these families.

The disaster of another ship, the *navío* Nuestra Señora de Socorro, gives further evidence of the Atlantic orientation of Niculas Antonio. In 1620, the ship, with a weight of 120 tons, left Puerto Rico. Yet, it never arrived in Seville because it was shipwrecked in Pontevedra, Galicia. The master of the ship, Antonio de la Peña, arrived in Seville at the end of April 1620 to declare that a certain amount of money had been saved.¹⁴⁵ Anxious about the saved cargo, Niculas Antonio and five other investors put another merchant in charge to collect what was left of their riches from Antonio de la Peña.¹⁴⁶ No information on the outcome of the case is known, but again, Niculas Antonio is taking part in the Atlantic commerce.

Other ships did make it back to Seville. Early in 1620, some *registros sueltos*¹⁴⁷ arrived from the Indies, and for Niculas Antonio two charters had to be settled because he received goods from Santo Domingo. First, he paid 143 ducats (1,576 reales) to Diego Barva de Balcassar, the master and proprietor of the *nao* Santa Ana Maria (200 tons), for the charter of all of the merchandise he had loaded on that ship.¹⁴⁸ Second, he paid 182 ducats (2,000 reales) to master Diego Fernandez for the charter of the merchandise on the *navío* Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria (150 tons).¹⁴⁹ The payment was made together with the English merchant Guillermo Tubelbin and Francisco Marroqui, a citizen of Seville, who paid 55 ducats (600 reales) 168 ducats (2,047 reales) respectively. The load which they received consisted mainly of tobacco (2,765 reales) and ginger (1,862 reales), the rest was *palo de Campeche* (dyewood, 280 reales) and *caña fistula* (medical plant, 66 reales).¹⁵⁰ Hence, even though no data is

145 Chaunu and Chaunu, *Séville et l'Atlantique*, vol. 4, pp. 552-553.

146 APS 16870, ff. 109r-110v.

147 *Registros sueltos* were ships that did not sail with the fleets to the Indies. García-Baquero González, *La Carrera de Indias*, pp. 104-108.

148 APS 16869, f. 848r. The ship arrived in March 1620. Cf. Chaunu and Chaunu, *Séville et l'Atlantique*, vol. 4, pp. 584-585.

149 For the different types of ships, cf. p. 48.

150 For some damage to the tobacco and the *caña fistula* a certain amount was subtracted from the charter price (APS 16870, f. 47). The ship arrived in February (cf. Chaunu and Chaunu, *Séville et l'Atlantique*, vol. 4, pp. 584-585). For the products, cf. Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, pp. 600-601, 604-617.

available for the exact origin or the further whereabouts of the wares, it can be confirmed that Niculas Antonio was dealing with American products.

The importance of Niculas Antonio regarding the exports to America can also be seen because he sold French textiles to an Indies merchant. That was one fardo of *ruan fino* and 174.5 varas of *ruan basto* which amounted to 929 ducats (about 348,359 reales).¹⁵¹ The purchaser was Pedro de Melgar, a merchant of Seville, who originated from Bruges and in 1619 had returned from Peru.¹⁵²

During the later 1620s, Niculas Antonio became an even more arduous Indies merchant. He owned the whole galleon San Francisco y la Natividad, of 600 tons, which sailed three times to Tierra Firme.¹⁵³ In 1627, two boxes of Chinese cloth were found on the ship. Obviously, Niculas Antonio tried to smuggle Asian products via America to Europe.¹⁵⁴ Yet, they were confiscated in the harbor of Guayaquil.¹⁵⁵

Niculas Antonio also took care of *juros* of the Indies trade for two women in Antwerp. At the end of May, he received 100 ducats (37,624 maravedis) for a third of a *juro* of the *almojarifazgo de Indias* from the accountant Juan Diaz de Ochoa, a treasurer of the *almojarifazgo mayor*. He received the money on behalf of Ana Bolcer, the widow of Niculas Osmaridi and daughter of Cornelio Bolcer, and Maria de San Millan, both of them residents in Antwerp.¹⁵⁶ Hence, also a direct connection to Antwerp existed, which will be confirmed during the course of his financial affairs.

151 APS 16869, ff. 349v-350r. The fardo of *ruan fino* consisted of 1,033 varas, for 320 maravedis each vara; each vara of *ruan basto* was worth 102 maravedis.

152 APS 16869, f. 95r; cf. Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, p. 47.

153 In 1626, Don Alonso Ynalan, captain of the infantry, was the master of the galleon. That year, the ship did not bring back silver from the Indies (cf. Chaunu and Chaunu, *Séville et l'Atlantique*, vol. 5, pp. 116-117, 126-127). In 1627, the master was the *maestre de plata* Cristobal Balero (Chaunu and Chaunu, *Séville et l'Atlantique*, vol. 5, pp. 134-135, 146-147). In 1628, the master was Augustin de Bibaldo and the galleon left Seville with a cargo of 586 quintales of mercury for the silver mines of Potosí. It did not return until the next year. Cf. Chaunu and Chaunu, *Séville et l'Atlantique*, vol. 5, pp. 152-153, 178-179; for the mercury trade to the Indies, cf. Crailsheim and Wiedenbauer, "Central Europe and the Atlantic World".

154 Already in the preceding decade, Niculas Antonio seemed to have been importing Chinese silk to Seville. Cf. Gil, *La India y el Lejano Oriente*, pp. 201-202.

155 Chaunu and Chaunu, *Séville et l'Atlantique*, vol. 5, pp. 134-135, 146-147.

156 APS 16869, f. 872.

Niculas Antonio's Involvement in Bills of Exchange

Most of the financial transactions of Niculas Antonio were related to Antwerp, two to Amsterdam and two to the Canary Islands.¹⁵⁷ In one of the Canary Island bills of exchange, Niculas Antonio received 133 ducats (1,467 reales) from La Palma. Antonio de Villalpando, a citizen of Seville, was the acceptor, who had already appeared above with Niculas Antonio on the list of the *interesados* of the lost ship *Nuestra Señora de Socorro*.¹⁵⁸ Through another bill, from the island of Tenerife, Niculas Antonio received 350 ducats (3,850 reales) from Jorge de Reynoso. The bill was drawn by Conrado Brier, a Fleming, who by 1620 had already lived for 20 years on Tenerife and who would become naturalized in 1631.¹⁵⁹ Hence, also the Canary Islands, the outpost for the American trade, were cross-linked in the Flemish network.¹⁶⁰

Niculas Antonio's bills of exchange from Antwerp can be divided into three cases: In the first, Niculas Antonio received 116 ducats (and 16 sueldos and four dineros) from the Genoese Geronimo Buron, an alderman of Seville. In exchange, he gave him a cession for another bill of exchange for the same amount. Originally, the bill was drawn in Antwerp by the brothers Pablo and Pablo Bostranzo, remitters were Enrique Riquelque and Juan Bautista Fedirique, and the acceptor was the Genoese merchant banker Baltasar Espinola. Eventually, the presenter (payee) Niculas Antonio could not cash the bill and sold it to Geronimo Buron.¹⁶¹

One week later, one of the remitters, Juan Bautista Fedirique, appeared again and gave a cession on behalf of Niculas Antonio to a certain Francisco Bostelmann to collect 500 ducats from the German Juan de Ludres.¹⁶² However, the middlemen Juan Bautista Fedirique and Francisco Bostelmann

157 APS 16870, ff. 488v-489r.

158 APS 16870, f. 69.

159 APS 16870, f. 113v; cf. Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, p. 120.

160 Cf. Carmen Viña Brito, "Los flamencos en Canarias"; Morales Padrón, *El comercio canario-americano*; Brito González, "Los extranjeros en las Canarias orientales".

161 APS 16869, ff. 14-15r.

162 Juan de Ludres, probably of Fleming origin, received a royal *asiento* in 1649 for the provision of English tin and Hungarian copper. He should have worked for 10 years for another Fleming, Enrique Havett, the *asentista* of the cannon production of Seville (cf. p. 316). Thereby, he was the successor of Francisco Ballesteros. However, he died before the *asiento* started. Serrano Mangas, "La producción de la fundición", pp. 40-41.

seemed to have been of minor importance in this business because at the end, Niculas Antonio received the money from the German merchant himself.¹⁶³

The second case concerns the refusal of Guillen Estorm, another Flemish merchant in Seville, to cash a bill of exchange from Antwerp. The bill was drawn on the 9th of April 1620, it was worth 374 ducats. Niculas Antonio came to present the bill twice, on the 6th of May¹⁶⁴ and on the 13th of June. Yet, Guillen Estorm refused to pay each time because the Antwerp drawer, Pedro Adriansen,¹⁶⁵ had no credit.¹⁶⁶

The last Antwerp case was similar. It involved two bills of exchange, which both were identical in content but different in date.¹⁶⁷ Both times, it was the Portuguese Manuel Jimenez, a resident of Antwerp, who drew a bill of exchange, worth 1,500 ducats.¹⁶⁸ The remitter was Juan Sentin, and the money was to be paid to Geronimo Beaulin, a Frenchman and citizen of Sanlúcar.¹⁶⁹ In both cases, it was Niculas Antonio who presented the bill on behalf of the Frenchman. The acceptor was the company of Juan Jacome Merelo, a Genoese, and Niculas Parmenter, a Fleming, who refused to pay for there was no money from Manuel Jimenez.¹⁷⁰

The connection between Niculas Antonio and the French merchant Geronimo Beaulin continues in the case of a bill of exchange from Amsterdam. It is again the Fleming who, on behalf of the Frenchman, presented the bill, worth 500 ducats, to the acceptor. The bill was drawn in March 1620 in Amsterdam by Adrian Tibaute. The Dutchman Samuel and Daniel Godin acted as remit-

163 APS 16869, ff. 231v-232r.

164 APS 16869, f. 774.

165 Peter Adrianszoon van Breusegem, a relative of the De Haze family had been working in Seville since 1602, as commissioner for several merchants from Antwerp, Hamburg, and Augsburg. Moreover, a few weeks before his death, he sent 13 tons cochineal to a merchant in Rouen. Baetens, *De nazomer van Antwerpens welvaart*, vol. 1, p. 152.

166 APS 16870, f. 401.

167 The first one was drawn in Antwerp on the 24th of February, and the payment was contested on the 27th of March in Seville (APS 16869, f. 269). The second bill was drawn early on the 2nd of February, but it was not before the 2nd of May that it was contested (APS 16869, f. 707).

168 For the eminent Portuguese family of Jimenez, especially Manuel Jimenez, cf. Vázquez de Prada, *Lettres marchandes*, vol. 1, p. 205; Pohl, *Die Portugiesen in Antwerpen*, pp. 80-81.

169 Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, p. 91.

170 The case was investigated more profoundly by Pieper and Lesiak, "Redes mercantiles". The article investigates this network of Genoese-Flemish cooperation, which ran between Seville and Antwerp.

ters,¹⁷¹ who passed it on to Geronimo Beaulin. In his name, Niculas Antonio presented the bill on the 14th of April before the notary, to be accepted by the widow and heirs of the naturalized Fleming Pedro Sirman. However, Adrian Tibaute did not have credit in Seville, and the bill was not cashed.¹⁷² On the 22nd of May, the situation had not changed but for the honor of the debtor (“sobre protesto por honor de la letra”), Juan Bautista Sirman, the brother of Pedro Sirman, who paid 500 ducats in cash to Niculas Antonio.¹⁷³

Concluding the case of Niculas Antonio, one can see the international dimension of his activities. His bills of exchange show that merchants of different nations cooperated (as well as all the problems that such cooperations entailed). Many connections lead home to Antwerp and some even to Amsterdam, enabled through the Truce between Dutch and Spaniards. Niculas Antonio was in contact with the Atlantic Islands, America, and China. He was linked with compatriots, Frenchmen, an Englishman, many Italians, and Portuguese slave traders. He was involved in trade with merchandise but even more in financial transactions with bills of exchange. His income amounted to 7,113 ducats, and his expenses were 1,107 ducats, adding up to an ascertainable trade volume of 8,220 ducats. Besides, it has to be especially pointed out that his activities combined private and business networks because he was investing together with his brothers-in-law in the American commerce. Also for the next key merchant, Juan Bautista Sirman, family played an important role.

7.2.2 Juan Bautista Sirman

Juan Bautista Sirman is the second most central merchant of the Flemish main network of 1620. He was the son of Elias Sirman, who was in business in Seville during the 1600s, and received his letter of naturalization in 1617.¹⁷⁴ The ample network of Juan Bautista Sirman is demonstrated in figure 7.6. One can clearly distinguish two hubs which emerged because Juan Bautista Sirman

171 The names suggest the affiliation to Sephardic Jews. A certain Jacques Godin is the agent in Seville of Luis Malaparte, a rebel from Holland. Cf. Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, p. 85; Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, p. 32.

172 APS 16869, f. 308.

173 In exchange he received the bill of exchange and cession from Niculas Antonio in order to receive 500 ducats from Adrian Tibaute (APS 16969, ff. 873r-874r).

174 Cf. pp. 205, 261. Juan Bautista Sirman appears 23 times in the scrutinized files of 1620 – between the 26th of March and the 9th of June. There were three bills of exchange, one was mentioned above, and one was not signed.

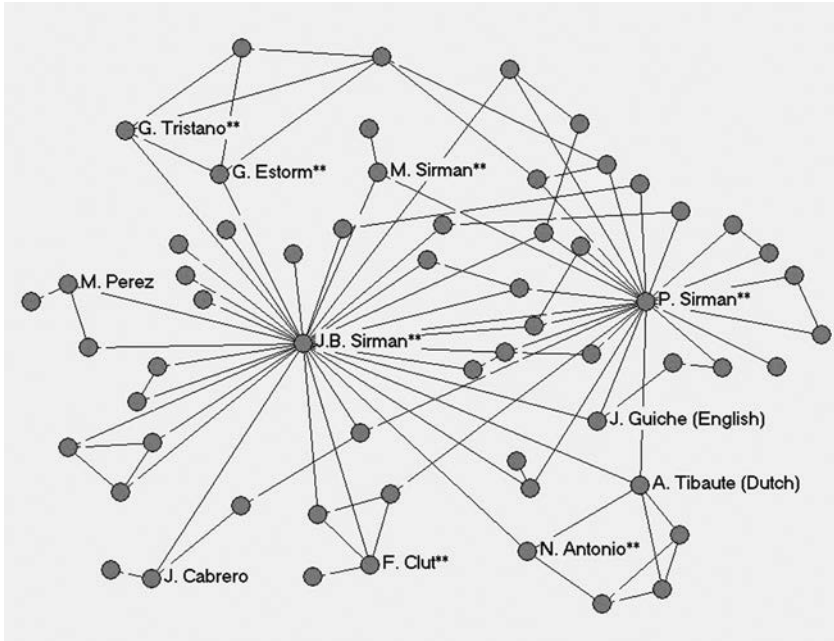


Figure 7.6: The Network of the Sirman Family

acted at various times on behalf of his deceased brother Pedro Sirman.¹⁷⁵ Pedro Sirman was assassinated in New Spain in 1620 under unclear circumstances.¹⁷⁶ The actions which Juan Bautista Sirman took on behalf of his brother contain the drawing of proxies to arrange business¹⁷⁷ and settlements of family affairs.¹⁷⁸ Both Sirman brothers had a strong international commercial network which was already indicated previously when they appeared in the case of a bill of exchange from Amsterdam, doing business with Dutch and Frenchmen (cf. p. 305).

Another Dutch link can be seen on the 14th of April, when Juan Bautista Sirman gave a proxy to the Dutchman Bartolome Munter to negotiate business in Amsterdam with a certain Enrique Tibaute.¹⁷⁹ As agent of Pedro Sirman in

175 It was 15 times that Juan Bautista Sirman acted on behalf of his brother.

176 Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, pp. 61, 68.

177 APS 16869, ff. 780, 853.

178 APS 16869, f. 393; APS 16870, ff. 22v-23v.

179 APS 16869, ff. 358v-359v.

Amsterdam, Bartolome Munter was also responsible for taking out insurance policies.¹⁸⁰

The link to the Southern Netherlands, on the other hand, can be established by two bills of exchange from Flanders. The first came from Bruges via Segovia to Seville. The drawer was Francisco de Aranda¹⁸¹ who would become mayor of Bruges in 1641.¹⁸² Juan Bautista Sirman was the acceptor, and with his payment of 300 ducats the business finished. The second bill of exchange from Flanders came from Antwerp. The drawer was a certain Antonio Behaghel, but the bill was on the account of Giles Vermolen.¹⁸³ In Seville, Juan Bautista Sirman presented the bill to the Flemings Guillen Estorm and Gutierrez Tristano and received 500 ducats in return.¹⁸⁴ The remitters were the merchant bankers Luis and Rogier Claris (Clarisse), from Brussels.¹⁸⁵ Incorporating a family detail in this business, the proximity of private and business life becomes apparent again. Figure 4.8 (on p. 206) reveals that Maria Noirot, of the Clut family, had married a member of the Clarisse family, namely Louis Clarisse, at some time before 1612. The same figure also displays the affiliation of the Clut with the Sirman family. More precisely, the remitters and the presenter Juan Bautista Sirman were probably distant cousins. Hence, in this financial transfer, family might have played a role too.

A further link of Juan Bautista Sirman leads to the British Isles. A royal order was given to seize the goods of three English merchants on a ship in the harbor of Cádiz. The confiscated cargo was given over to different local merchants. Some of the merchandise was handed to the Fleming Juan Arnesto, and Pedro Sirman was his guarantor. More specifically, they received four fardos of *ruan*, six fardos of *brabante*, and other merchandise from the load of the English merchant Guillermo Guiche, worth 2,817 ducats (30,986 reales). On the 9th of April 1620, Juan Bautista Sirman settled the affair by paying the price of the merchandise to Jorge Guiche, who was the son of the by then deceased Guillermo Guiche. Subtracting the cost of the process and the value

180 APS 16870, f. 108. Juan Bautista Sirman declared on the 2nd of June 1620 that a *nao* was taken by enemies in 1619, and that the respective documents were to be found in Amsterdam and not in Seville.

181 APS 16869, f. 537r.

182 Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, p. 3.

183 Ibidem, p. 68.

184 APS 16869, f. 821r.

185 For the Clarisse family, cf. above on p. 117 (footnote). It cannot be said for certain if Luis and Rogier Clarisse were father and son or cousins.

of missing cloth from London, 2,555 ducats (28,106 reales) remained to be paid.¹⁸⁶ One of the reasons why Pedro Sirman received the seized linen was maybe that he was a leading merchant in that branch. His eminent position concerning linen is revealed by the custom duty of linen of the year 1619, when Pedro Sirman had to pay 3,120 ducats (1,170,149 maravedis). Interestingly, the receptor of the linen tax (*alcabalas de la entrada mayor de los lienzos de Sevilla*) was the Fleming Juan van Hooren,¹⁸⁷ giving evidence of the central role of the Flemings in Seville in respect of linen.¹⁸⁸ The case of the English textiles is a perfect example of how politics influenced the course of commerce. On that occasion, the English were victims of the embargo while the Fleming seemed to have been on the lucky side. In the end, the goods were probably sent to America because the Sirman family was very active in the American trade.

The Indies Trade of the Family Sirman

Even though the list of E. Vila Vilar does not name a member of the Sirman family as *Cargador de Indias*,¹⁸⁹ the involvement of that Flemish family in the *Carrera de Indias* is evident. To settle the American business of his brother, for example, Juan Bautista Sirman instructed a resident of Havana to collect unpaid debts in Cuba and to sell real estate.¹⁹⁰ A much more complicated incident illustrates an interesting line of commerce between Europe, America, and China. On the 29th of April 1620, Carlos de Campo, a resident of the city of Mexico, who may be of Flemish origin,¹⁹¹ was present in Seville. He was there

186 APS 16869, ff. 232v-237v.

187 Juan Van Hooren was alternately called Flemish or English. E. Lorenzo Sanz describes him as Fleming and as such he will be qualified here (Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, p. 88); cf. also the section of the naturalization of Pedro Juanes on p. 202.

188 APS 16869, f. 206. 1,000 ducats (11,000 reales) were paid to Pedro Sirman by the Flemish merchant Cornelio Adriansen (cf. p. 328), and some 167 ducats (62,500 maravedis) were settled through a *juro*. For the textile business in Andalusia, cf. Vidal Ortega and Vila Vilar, "El comercio lanero".

189 Cf. Vila Vilar, "Una amplia nómina".

190 APS 16869, ff. 888v-889v.

191 The Flemish origin can be assumed, because of the strong involvement in the Flemish network in this document, and because of the existence of a naturalized Flemish family with the same name, mentioned in Domínguez Ortiz, "Los extranjeros en la vida española", p. 151; Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, p. 14.

to settle business with the heirs of Pedro Sirman, amounting to 7,154 ducats (2,682,601 maravedis). The total debt of the family Sirman was made up of three different parts:

1. 1,239 varas of Chinese velvet and a certain amount of *grana* (cochineal), which Pedro Sirman had sold in Seville on behalf of Carlos de Campo, amounting to 4,262 ducats,
2. 353 ducats (132,000 maravedis) from the Flemish merchant and wool exporter Antonio de Molinar (cf. p. 190) in respect of the insurance of 800 ducats he took out with the merchant Rodrigo Madera,¹⁹² and
3. an obligation concerning the payment of 2,539 ducats (3,500 pesos) from Juan Perez Enriquez, the uncle of Juan Bautista Sirman.¹⁹³

Altogether, the total amounted to the aforesaid debt of 7,154 ducats. To settle the business, the Sirman family had sent in return eight fardos of *ruan* (726,187 maravedis), 475.5 varas of linen textiles, *melinges* (35,187 maravedis), a tapestry (259,629 maravedis) and various other merchandise (1,191,642 maravedis), amounting to 5,900 ducats (2,212,645 maravedis).¹⁹⁴ The remaining debt of 1,254 ducats was paid by Juan Bautista Sirman in cash, and thus, the settlement was completed.¹⁹⁵ The load of cochineal from New Spain and, in particular, the velvet from China (via the Philippines) are perfect examples of how the Flemish network connected much more than simply Andalusia with the Netherlands. Thereby, the Sirman family seems to have been especially involved in the trade with Chinese goods. Already in 1614, Pedro Sirman had imported 619 pounds of silk,¹⁹⁶ and in 1615, they imported 337 pieces of leather and also four fardos of silk.¹⁹⁷ Thus, both Niculas Anto-

192 Rodrigo Madera went bankrupt in 1627. Bernal Rodríguez and García-Baquero González, *Tres siglos del comercio sevillano*, p. 247.

193 Cf. the family connections in figure 4.8 on p. 206.

194 Furthermore, the transaction and other costs had to be paid, as well as the charter, and part of the insurance (together 73,662 maravedis); besides, different payments from Juan Bautista Sirman (263,340 maravedis) and the debt of Juan Perez Enriquez. The *melinges* were French linen which mostly came from Brittany via the port of Nantes. Cf. Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, pp. 445, 456.

195 APS 16870, ff. 1r-5r.

196 Cf. Gil, *La India y el Lejano Oriente*, pp. 202-203. Among the foreigners of that assignment of Chinese silk, Pedro Sirman only ranked third. Ahead of him were the Flemings Juan de Neve (1,210 pounds) and Luis Clut (855 pounds).

197 Cf. above on p. 207.

nio and the family Sirman did not only access the American but the Chinese market to meet the demand in Seville.¹⁹⁸

Notwithstanding the urgent need to arrange the affairs for his deceased brother, Juan Bautista Sirman also acted for himself in 1620. Also in these affairs, he was mainly America-focused, as for example in a proxy he gave to the Portuguese Agustin Perez and to captain Simon Fernandez de la Fuente, a knight of the order of Santiago, both *maestres de plata*, going to Tierra Firme to collect some of his outstanding debts.¹⁹⁹ On the 8th of May, Juan Bautista Sirman received 2,182 ducats (24,000 reales) from captain Juan Vergara for an unpaid debt, probably related to his American trade.²⁰⁰

Besides the trade in linen, one of the most outstanding functions of the Sirman family was its role as distributor of American cochineal. Twice, Juan Bautista Sirman delivered loads of American cochineal to Spanish merchants: On the 11th of April, the merchant Ascanio Guacon from Seville committed himself to pay 1,106 ducats (414,640 maravedis) to Juan Bautista Sirman for the delivery of eight arrobas and 21 pounds of *grana guaxaca* (cochineal).²⁰¹

Four days later, two merchants (probably of Italian origin), Camilo Poletti²⁰² and Alexandre Tasca, both citizens of Seville, gave a cession to Juan Bautista Sirman to collect 1,172 ducats from Diego Enriquez Escot,²⁰³ a resident of Seville, who at that time was in America. In exchange, Juan Bautista Sirman provided them with two sacs of *grana guaxaca*, containing a total of nine arrobas and five pounds.²⁰⁴ The value of the cochineal was about 511 ducats (191,564 maravedis) higher; the difference was paid in cash.²⁰⁵

198 Besides the family Sirman and Niculas Antonio, the Flemings Miguel and Juan de Neve, Luis Clut, Cornelio de Groote, a certain Pedro Corbete (Gil, *La India y el Lejano Oriente*, p. 201), and Pedro de Tamese (cf. p. 345) also traded with Chinese textiles in Seville in the early years of the 17th century.

199 APS 16869, ff. 47r-48r.

200 APS 16869, ff. 688v-689v.

201 APS 16869, f. 877. "Neta de todas taras, mermas y refaciones"; 125 ducats each arroba.

202 ASV G.P., Notarile, Atti, b. 10 803, f. 510r: Antonio Albricci, a merchant in Venice, gave a proxy to Alessandro and Francesco Mora from Lisbon to trade rice with Camillo Poletti. Besides, Camillo Poletti was a *Cargador a Indias* (Vila Vilar, "Una amplia nómina", p. 173), and between 1632 and 1634, he was a commissioner for the Genoese Balbi family, for whom he delivered mercury to the Spanish *astentista*. Crailsheim and Wiedenbauer, "Central Europe and the Atlantic World", p. 318.

203 Diego Enriquez (or Rodriguez) Escot imported Chinese textiles in Seville in 1614. Gil, *La India y el Lejano Oriente*, p. 203.

204 130 ducats each arroba, "neta de todas taras, mermas y refaciones".

205 APS 16870, ff. 280v-282r.

In respect of the European exports to America, a list of products could be found in the AGI: In 1615, Juan Bautista Sirman loaded a great variety of European goods on two different ships, which sailed to New Spain. The load consisted mainly of metalware, haberdashery, and linen textiles. For most of these products the origin is assumed to be Flemish or French.²⁰⁶ One of the entries was knives. These were also sold by Juan Bautista Sirman in Seville, as in 1620, he received a cession worth 269 ducats (2,963 reales) for the consignment of 247.5 dozen and three boxes of Belduque knives (16 reales each dozen), maybe from the Auvergne.²⁰⁷

Thus, the behavior of the Flemish merchant Juan Bautista Sirman is exemplary. Even though he scarcely appeared in the historiography of the commerce of Seville, he was one of the most important and central merchants of the city. The passing away of his brother Pedro Sirman offers the opportunity of recognizing the strong commercial bonds between them. Their economic success, certainly, was based on the cooperation between them. Besides, he also used private connections for economic purposes, as will be shown in the section regarding his brother-in-law Luis Clut junior. The merchandise Juan Bautista Sirman traded with cannot be restricted to a special branch, as he sold and purchased a great variety of products. Yet, he seemed to have been especially interested in French linen and American cochineal. In both cases, he acted as a hub, distributing the two products to various other traders. His business

206 In 1615, Juan Bautista Sirman loaded the following commodities on the *nao* San Salvador, master Pedro de Saloguen: “cuchillos carniceros, espejos, hilo blanco de Flandes, hilo de cartas, granates de Francia falsos, alfiler, medias curtines, medias de Inglaterra, tablas de manteles, telillas de Flandes, hilo azul de Flandes, alguzenia, jerguetas, donflon, vitree, melinge, perpetuanes, alforjas, lienzo vian forte, ruan, bayetas, esterlines negros, hilo galludero, lienzo crudo vitree”, amounting to 1,067 ducats (400.000 maravedis). Interestingly, P. Chaunu lists Pedro de Saloguen in 1615 as master of another ship, the *nao* Santa Ana Maria (400 tons). The same captain Pedro de Saloguen was also frequently transporting goods for the Fleming Enrique Juan (cf. p. 342). Another list of Juan Bautista Sirman was found, chartering the Basque *nao* San Nicolas y Nuestra Señora de Loreto, master Juan Nuñez, owner Martin del Mono. He loaded “cascaroles falion, rocalla, descubillas paia, hilo de Flandes, cascabeles falsos, granates falsos, estampas de Francia, cartones de Francia, medias de lana Inglaterra, tablas de manteles, forguetas, donflon, jerguetas, lienzos crudos de vitree, melinge, perpeuanes, bayeta, ruan, vian forte, hilo galludero, esterlines negros” amounting to 1,280 ducats (480,000 maravedis). AGI Contratación 5346, N. 30, ff. 1r-11r [PARES]; Chaunu and Chaunu, *Séville et l'Atlantique*, vol. 4, pp. 432-435.

207 APS 16869, ff. 125r-127v. For knives, cf. section Pedro de la Farxa on p. 271.

connections included the Indies, both Netherlands, France, England, Portugal, and he also was in contact with Italians. In addition, he received textiles from China – a commodity which was also attractive to other Flemings, such as Niculas Antonio, mentioned above. Finally, one must take a look at the Spanish business: Juan Bautista Sirman had also contacts in Madrid and Ávila, because he gave a proxy to Enrique Maccut from Madrid (cf. p. 238) to buy Spanish woolens (*rajás de Avila y de aguas*).²⁰⁸ His interest in the Spanish textile market is also documented by his involvement in the processing of wool in Écija, which will be discussed next.

7.2.3 The *Lavaderos* of Écija: Juan Hesse and Pedro Giles

Once again, Juan Bautista Sirman appeared on behalf of Pedro Sirman and his wife. At the end of March 1620, he sold half of the *Lavadero de Cuellares*, a wool laundry in Écija, together with Juan Hesse, who owned the other half. The buyers were Pedro Giles and Antonio Bennet. The sale had already been initiated by Pedro Sirman, who had received 3,273 ducats (36,000 reales) from a certain Francisco Merbeli at the end of 1619.²⁰⁹ Thereby, it was mentioned that Pedro Sirman and Juan Hesse bought another *lavadero* from the Fleming Gerardo Tibaut.²¹⁰

The *lavaderos de lana* (wool laundries) of Écija constituted a special factor in the economic history of Andalusia. In direct competition with Córdoba, Écija became the most important wool processing center of the time. The wool was delivered to the *lavaderos*, where it was washed and processed, and continued its way to Seville. The development of the wool industry of Andalusia has to be seen in the context of the Spanish and European economy, because it was an export-orientated sector. In the 16th century, Spanish wool export was directed primarily to the Southern Netherlands.²¹¹ This situation was badly affected by the Eighty Years' War, since 1568, and Italy became the main export region. During the reign of Philip III (1598–1621), Andalusia increased its wool production and Italy remained the main buyer, above all Venice. The industry of Andalusian wool was, by then, almost entirely in the hands of Flemish merchants, which can be seen in table 7.8. Consequently, it is not surprising to

208 APS 16869, f. 398r.

209 APS 16869, ff. 489r-499v.

210 Concerning Gerardo Tibaut, cf. Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, p. 65. Maybe a relative of Enrique Tibaut, cf. above on p. 306.

211 Israel, "Spanish Wool Exports and the European Economy", pp. 194-195; cf. also Phillips, "Spanish Wool Trade", Phillips and Phillips, *Spain's Golden Fleece*.

Table 7.8: The Leading Wool Exporters of Andalusia in 1620

Merchant	Origin	Quantity (arrobas)
Antonio de Molinar (Meulenaer)	Mechelen	15,242
Jaques Bibien (Vivien)	Valenciennes	12,442
Guillermo Calvarte (Goyvaertsen)	Antwerp	11,396
Pedro Giles	Bruges	9,738
Miguel Bequer (Becker)	Flanders	9,355
Victor Carlier	Walloon, born in Seville	4,520
Antonio Maria Bucarelli	Florence	2,821
Pedro Francois	Tielt	2,162
Cornelio Adriansen	Flanders	1,351

Explanation: The total quantity of 69,027 arrobas accounts for two-thirds of wool exports from the Andalusian ports in 1620, which was one of the best years this sector had seen for decades.

Source: Israel, “Spanish Wool Exports and the European Economy”, p. 198 (writing and origins slightly adapted and supplemented)

find plenty of the Flemish merchants of the main network of 1620 involved in that business. Pedro Sirman,²¹² Juan Hesse, and especially Pedro Giles were part of that Flemish wool community of 1620.²¹³ In the following, the relevant participants in the above mentioned sale will be analyzed.

Juan Hesse

Juan Hesse may have been of Dutch or German origin. In any case, he was born in Seville and received naturalization in about 1618.²¹⁴ In 1620, he was preparing his voyage to Tierra Firme²¹⁵ – the respective fleet left Sanlúcar on the 25th of March and Cádiz on the 18th of April.²¹⁶ At the end of March he purchased textiles and haberdashery worth 2,910 ducats (32,014 reales)

212. Already the connection between the Sirman family and Antonio Molinar, in the course of the Indies trade of the Sirman family suggests a complex business relation between two wool traders.

213. Vidal Ortega and Vila Vilar, “El comercio lanero”, p. 59.

214. Domínguez Ortiz, “Los extranjeros en la vida española”, p. 141. Juan Hesse shows that in spite of their place of birth, some *jentizaros* (cf. p. 76), still had to apply for a naturalization.

215. AGI Contratación 5372, N. 8 [PARES].

216. For the departure of the fleet, cf. above on p. 274 (footnote).

from Niculas Lagullon,²¹⁷ Guillen Estorm, and Gutierrez Tristan, all Flemish merchants and residents of that city,²¹⁸ and Vicente Sion, a citizen of Seville.²¹⁹ The payment of the merchandise was due at the end of 1620, or earlier if the fleet arrived before that date.

Like the above-mentioned most central Flemish merchants, also Juan Hesse combined family with a business network. The connection between the families Sirman, Vermeren, Bibien, Ysac, Clut, and Perez Enriquez can be seen in figure 4.8 (on p. 206). The business with the family Sirman about the *lavadero* was such a family business contact, another one took place with Luis Clut junior: The Fleming Luis Clut junior instructed Juan Hesse to register 472 ducats (5,197 reales) for him in Cartagena or Portobelo. The respective obligation was signed on the 2nd of April 1620.²²⁰ To ensure a positive outcome of this American business, one day later, Luis Clut junior gave proxies to his brother Antonio Perez Enriquez (both distant kinsmen of Juan Bautista Sirman), captain Simon Fernandez de la Fuente (who was already employed by Juan Bautista Sirman, cf. p. 310) and Niculas de Landaverde. The last two were *maestres de plata* of the galleons. They were to supervise the actions of Juan Hesse, which leads to the conclusion that Luis Clut junior did not fully trust him.

Pedro Giles and Antonio Bennet

The purchasers of the *lavadero* from Juan Bautista Sirman and Juan Hesse were Antonio Bennet and Pedro Giles.²²¹ The latter came from Bruges and had lived permanently in Seville and Sanlúcar since 1602. Around 1617, Pedro Giles married Catalina Blanco from Cádiz, the daughter of the Fleming Niculas Blanco.²²² After her death, he married for the second time Isabel de Carrion,

217 APS 10060, ff. 399r-400r: 12,378.5 reales for 183 pounds of white ribbons and colored ribbons of *holandas* (28 r/l), 67.75 pounds white ribbons of *holandas* (15.5 r/l), 16 pieces of white *sanantonios* (44 r/p) and 50 alcabucejos of fine *holandas* (110 r/p).

218 APS 10060, ff. 399r-400r: 8,766 reales 20 maravedis for 32 pieces of white tassels from Brussels (48 r/p), 31 fine sleeves from *holandas* (112 r/p) and 1 fardo of *gantes* [784 varas] (163 mvd/v).

219 APS 3607, ff. 68v-69r: 10,869 reales for 34 pieces of *cambrai* (16 d/p), 200 gross of silk buttons (5.5 r/g) and 1 fardo of *menaxe* [1,102 anas y tres cuartas, that is 893 varas] (137 mvd/v).

220 APS 3607, f. 182.

221 Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, p. 31.

222 Ibidem, p. 9.

from Bruges, whose parents were from the kingdom of Navarra. In 1624, he declared himself the owner of a wool laundry (probably the one bought in 1620), worth 4,000 ducats, and of a house with garden, worth 3,200 ducats. Six years later, he announced his ownership of 12,000 ducats in real estate and 20,000 ducats in merchandise, plus certain rents (*derechos y rentas*). It seems that in 1624, he received a license to trade with America, and in 1630, he received his letter of naturalization.²²³ After his bankruptcy in 1634, he kept on living in Seville till at least 1645.²²⁴

The position of Pedro Giles in business of Spanish wool became evident in table 7.8 (cf. p. 313), when he exported 9,738 arrobas, and paid 3,117 ducats (1,169,000 maravedis) in taxes (*derecho antiguo*).²²⁵ That means, he was the fourth largest exporter of Andalusian wool of that year. His function as wool trader in Andalusia is underlined by a document in which he gave a proxy, together with Antonio Bennet, to Marcos de Torres, a *jurado* from Córdoba. On behalf of them both, the *jurado* was to receive the amount of wool which was agreed on one year later. In addition, the *jurado* should urge late suppliers from Córdoba to deliver their wool to Pedro Giles and Antonio Bennet.²²⁶

The origin of Antonio Bennet is unknown, but, lacking further information, he shall be classified as Spaniard. However, he was the companion of Pedro Giles, and they almost always appeared together – except for the case concerning the delivery of copper, described in the next subsection, where Pedro Giles is working with Francisco Ballesteros. Their connection with Holland can be explained by two bills of exchange: The company Antonio Bennet and Pedro Giles presented two bills of exchange from Amsterdam, over 100 ducats each, both dating from the 14th of April 1620. The Dutch drawer was both times Cornelio Billensen, and the remitter was Juan van Peene. The first bill was presented in public because the acceptor Jaques Semin could not be found.²²⁷ In the second case, it was the Fleming Isaque Fermin²²⁸ who was not

223 AGI Contratación 50B and 596B, s.f. Cf. Domínguez Ortiz, “Los extranjeros en la vida española”, p. 146: found him already naturalized in 1627.

224 Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, p. 31.

225 Israel, “Spanish Wool Exports and the European Economy”, p. 198. The *derecho nuevo* was 3896 ducats (1,461,000 maravedis).

226 APS 16869, f. 825.

227 APS 16869, f. 749. The bill was presented before the notary in Flemish language; a translation was attached. Maybe “Jaques Semin” referred to the French merchant Jaques Soming (cf. p. 247).

228 Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, p. 28.

in a position to encash the bill.²²⁹ Further data about Pedro Giles and Antonio Bennet will be shown below (on p. 322) when the axis Dunkirk-Seville will be analyzed.

7.2.4 Hungarian Copper and English Tin for the Bronze Cannons of the Spanish Armadas: Pedro Giles and Francisco Ballesteros

In addition to their involvement in the Spanish wool production, Flemings also participated in the Spanish war industry. Among them was once again Pedro Giles. The different warships, like the big galleons of the *Armada de las Indias* and the *Armada del Mar Océano*, needed cannons to protect the Spanish ships and the treasures they carried.²³⁰ Iron cannons were not suited to withstand the harsh conditions the Spanish ships were exposed to, which is why it was proposed to obtain bronze cannons, even though they were more expensive.²³¹ In the notarial archives, two examples could be found for the provision of the Spanish ships with bronze cannons in the years 1580 and 1620.²³²

Basically, the Spanish empire had two possibilities to acquire bronze cannons. First, from Central Europe via Flemish ports,²³³ and second, by producing them in Spain itself. Focusing on the second possibility, it should be pointed out that by 1650, Seville was the only place in Spain where bronze cannons were made. Yet, the raw products tin and copper were not easily attained, and the Spanish Crown put an *asentista* in charge to produce cannons in Seville. For the first half of the 17th century, that was the Fleming Francisco Ballesteros²³⁴

Tin was purchased from the British Isles and from the German empire, while copper originated from Cuba and Hungary. The metal from Hungary

229 APS 16870, f. 484.

230 Cf. Serrano Mangas, *Los galeones de la Carrera de Indias*, pp. 187-200. For circumstantial information about the accounts of the founders of artillery in Seville between 1609 and 1649, cf. AGI Contratación 3893-3896, var. [PARES]. The deliveries for the respective years are listed. Here, only the four documents relevant for the network are scrutinized.

231 Kellenbenz, "Europäisches Kupfer", p. 329.

232 APS 16714, ff. 972r-973v; APS 16869, ff. 138r-139v. Part of that case was published in Lesiak, "Kanonen für den König".

233 Goris, *Étude sur les colonies marchandes méridionales*, p. 275; Vázquez de Prada, *Letres marchandes*, vol. 1, pp. 79-81; Kellenbenz, "Spanien, die nördlichen Niederlande", pp. 325-331.

234 Serrano Mangas, "La producción de la fundición", pp. 39-41. Francisco Ballesteros was succeeded by the Flemish *asentista* Enrique Havett (cf. p. 303).

was preferred because it was of better quality. Hungarian copper was purchased from different merchants and consuls of the “Flemish and German Nations”.²³⁵ In addition, discarded copper and bronze were recycled and cast to bronze cannons.

Together with Francisco Ballesteros, it was the above-mentioned Fleming Pedro Giles who was in charge of receiving the metal on behalf of the Spanish king. Both were referred to as founders of the artillery (*fundidores de artillería*). In April 1621, Juan van Belle, the son of Pedro Giles, succeeded his father as *asentista*. Generally, an official was in charge of the delivery of the metals, a so called *mayordomo de artillería*. At least between 1610 and 1647, that was Pedro de Cangas.²³⁶ Yet, the preservation of metals was not the only task of Pedro de Cangas, he also received muskets, arquebuses, and lead from the Fleming Juan de Molina for the equipping of the *Capitana* and *Almiranta*, the two galleons which were responsible for the protection of the Indies fleets.²³⁷ He also received some batches of metal from the *asentista* Pedro Giles himself,²³⁸ which makes him the provider and the receiver of the metal of the *mayordomo* Pedro de Cangas. Hence, it can be assumed that the *asentistas* themselves aimed to amplify their assets by using their business contacts for the high-yield trade with metals.²³⁹

Tables 7.9 and 7.10, show that the service of Pedro de Cangas were not required often. He only appears once as middleman between the *asentista* and the supplier. Table 7.9 displays different deliveries of copper, which the founders of the artillery received between 1608 and 1622.²⁴⁰

235 Ibidem, pp. 40-41; idem, “Los galeones de la Carrera de Indias”, p. 191; Werner, “Das Kupferhüttenwerk”, p. 464; Henning, “Spanien in der Weltwirtschaft des 16. Jahrhunderts”, p. 33. Four of the investigated files of the APS and the AGI confirmed these statements.

236 AGI Contratación 3856–3858 and 3862–3866, var.

237 AGI Contratación 3856, Cuentas de mayordomo de artillería, 13.6.1610; cf. Moret, *Aspects de la société marchande*, pp. 62-63.

238 AGI Contratación 3856, Cuentas de mayordomo de artillería, 17.3.1610 and 20.4.1611.

239 Cf. Serrano Mangas, “La producción de la fundición”, pp. 45.

240 AGI Contratación 3893, ff. 12r-15v; AGI Recaudos 1618, ff. 29r-31v.

Copper

The output of the Hungarian mines was much higher than that of Cuba.²⁴¹ Still, for the Spanish empire, Cuba constituted an important supplier, as can be seen in table 7.9.²⁴²

Most Hungarian copper was produced in Neusohl, today Slovakia. It was transported to Seville either via the North (Antwerp, Hamburg, or Amsterdam) or the South (Venice or Genoa).²⁴³

241 Werner, "Das Kupferhüttenwerk", p. 290.

242 It is a compelling detail that it was the German family of Tetzl, from Nuremberg, who started to exploit the mines on Cuba. Werner, "Das Kupferhüttenwerk", pp. 289-328, 444-502.

243 For Europe, Hungarian copper became important when the company of Thurzo-Fugger invested in the development of the mines in the late 15th century. Until the middle of the 16th century, it was sold mainly in Venice, Upper Germany and Antwerp. Between 1494 and 1546, the biggest share, almost half of the production, was sold in Antwerp (Vlachović, "Die Kupfererzeugung", pp. 148-149, 154-155) which for some time became Europe's most important copper market (Kellenbenz, "Europäisches Kupfer", p. 335). In addition, much of the copper, processed in Upper Germany, was exported and stockpiled in Antwerp (Pohl, "Kupfergewinnung, Kupferverarbeitung und Kupferhandel", p. 237). From there, it continued its way to Portugal and its Asian colonies. Lisbon became the most important entrepôt of copper. Seville became an eminent purchaser too, but because of the emergence of the copper from Cuba, it never imported as much as Lisbon. In 1546, the Fuggers abandoned the Neusohl copper mines, fearing the disturbances of war between the Austrian and the Ottoman empire (Kellenbenz, "Europäisches Kupfer", pp. 313, 337). Thereupon, the production decreased, but the Iberian Peninsula still bought much of the Neusohl copper. The trading company which was responsible for the trade with the Neusohl copper for the first decades of the 17th century – in the wake of the Thurzo-Fugger – was Wolfgang and Lazar Henckel (Vlachović, "Die Kupfererzeugung", pp. 155, 170) and since 1569, the family Paller – at least till the early 1600s. During that time, the export center of copper and weapons shifted from Antwerp to Hamburg and Amsterdam. By analyzing a sunken ship in the Elbe River near Hamburg, E. Westerman discovers Hungarian copper. Yet, he mentions the difficulty of the transport methods to the North of Europe and points out that the copper was often sent from Neusohl via Vienna to Venice or Genoa to be loaded on ships to Spain (Westermann, "Kupferhalbfabrikate vor dem Tor zur Welt", pp. 85-90). The connections between the region of Hamburg, Nuremberg, Graz, and Venice, thus, become evident (cf. Roth, "Händler am Grazer Hof"; Valentinitich, "Nürnberger Waffenhändler und Heereslieferanten"). Still, no direct link can be established from Hungary to the supplier of the founders of the Spanish artillery in Seville, neither from the northern ports of Antwerp, Hamburg, Amsterdam, nor from the southern ports of Genoa and Venice.

Table 7.9: Deliveries of Copper to the *Fundidores de Artillería*

Date	Amount	Origin	Value	Purveyor
18.3.1608	194 q, 19 l	Hungary	5,243.1 d	Francisco de Conique**
6. and 23.7.1608	1,770 q, 84 l	Havana	47,812.7 d	Gabriel de Con Gonzalo de los Reyes
2.9.1618	4 q, 1 l	Hungary	110.7 d	Pedro Cangas
28.2.1622	41 q, 37 l	Hungary	1,115.1 d	Juan Jacome Merelo Niculas Parmentier**
March 1622	6 q, 6 l	Hungary	178.2 d	Francisco Aleman
4.3.1622	43 q, 51 l	Hungary	1,174.8 d	Jaques Berbot**
TOTAL	2,060 q 61 l	—	55,634.6 d	—

Explanation: Value in ducats; the highlighted values refer to an estimation (27d/q)

Source: AGI Contratación 3893, ff. 12r-15v; AGI Recaudos 1618, ff. 29r-31v

Three Flemings were amongst the copper suppliers of Francisco Ballesteros and Pedro Giles in 1620, one of them was Jaques Berbot. He came from Antwerp, and by 1639, he received a letter of naturalization.²⁴⁴ The second Fleming was Niculas Permentier, who had a company together with Juan Jacome Merelo, from Genoa. These merchant bankers appeared several times in the year 1620, most of the time they had to pay out bills of exchange.²⁴⁵ Besides copper, they provided the royal *asentista* in Seville with mercury between 1623 and 1624.²⁴⁶ Table 7.9 shows their delivery of copper to the Spanish king. The third Flemish supplier was Francisco de Conique, whose network of the year 1620 will be analyzed below.

One last aspect of the copper business of Seville shall be addressed: No Swedish copper appears in the list of the *asentistas*, even though H. Kellenbenz claims that the deliveries of copper from Sweden were essential for Spain between 1599 and 1626. Also V. Vázquez de Prada states that the main part of the copper which was exported from the Baltic Sea after 1580 derived from Sweden and Norway.²⁴⁷ Yet, neither in the delivery lists between 1608 and 1622, nor in the notary archive in 1620, were any traces of Swedish copper found.

244 Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, p. 5.

245 APS 16869, ff. 269, 309, 707r, 711r-712r, APS 3607, f. 147, and APS, ff. 84v-85v.

246 Crailsheim and Wiedenbauer, "Central Europe and the Atlantic World", p. 318.

247 Vázquez de Prada, *Lettres marchandes*, vol. 1, pp. 79-81; Kellenbenz, "Spanien, die nördlichen Niederlande", pp. 325-331; idem, *Unternehmerkräfte im Hamburger Portugal- und Spanienhandel*, (pp. 69ff.).

Tin

The investigated deliveries of tin in table 7.10 were exclusively carried out by foreigners. During the *asentista* period of Pedro Giles, Flemings supplied the English tin, namely Antonio de Molinar (cf. p. 190) and Juan de Monina. In the first years of the service of Juan van Belle, it was the Englishman Jorge Guiche and again a Fleming, Juan van Hooren, who delivered tin. The Guiche family was also involved in the business with textiles from Brittany, as was Juan van Hooren who held the position as *receptor de las alcabalas de la entrada mayor de los lienzos de Sevilla* (cf. p. 308).²⁴⁸

Table 7.10: Deliveries of Tin to the *Fundidores de Artillería*

Date	Amount	Origin	Value	Purveyor
6.3.1608	84 q, 92 l	England	1,868 d	Antonio de Molinar**
23.7.1608	10 q	—	160.9 d	Juan de Molina**
17.9.1609	5 q	England	113.6 d	Juan de Molina**
27.11.1621	36 q, 19 l	England	868.6 d	Jorge Guiche (English)
5.2.1622	32 q, 90 l	England	789.6 d	Jorge Guiche (English)
21.2.1622	22 q, 50 l	England	517.5 d	Juan van Hooren**
TOTAL	191 q 51 l	—	4,318.2 d	—

Explanation: Value in ducats; the highlighted value refers to an estimation (22d/q)

Source: AGI Contratación 3893, ff. 12r-15v; AGI Recaudos 1618, ff. 29r-31v

Recycling

The third type of metal which was sold to Francisco Ballesteros, Pedro Giles, and Juan van Belle was used bronze and copper. One example is the delivery of Pedro Cangas in table 7.9, which consists only of old copper spoons. Another one is the consignment of Gabriel de Con and Gonzalo de los Reyes, from April 1608, which includes 79 quintales and 38 pounds of already cast bronze.²⁴⁹ Yet, discarded metal was mainly disregarded by the *asentistas* because it did not leave a large profit margin.²⁵⁰

248 APS 16869, f. 206. In the AGI date, he is referred to as English merchant, yet most other sources come to the conclusion that he was Flemish. Cf. Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, p. 88.

249 AGI Contratación 3893, ff. 12r-15v.

250 Serrano Mangas, “La producción de la fundición”, p. 45.

Artillery

An indication of the delivery of pieces of artillery to the *asentistas* was found on the 12th of June 1620. That day, Bartolome Lopez de Nogal, in charge of the rent of iron and metal of 1618, confirmed that the Flemish merchant Arnao Cristianes, as tutor of the heirs of Cornelio Juanes,²⁵¹ had paid the tax (*alcabala*), amounting to 36 ducats (400 reales) for four old pieces of bronze artillery. Cornelio Juanes had imported them, to sell them to Pedro Giles and Francisco Ballesteros for 2,067 ducats (22,732 reales).²⁵² Again it was a Fleming who delivered the necessary product for the Spanish artillery.

The provision of private vessels with cannons, on the other hand, was of course done on a private basis, as can be seen in a document dating from the 26th of March 1620. The shipmaster Fernando Marquina departed with the fleet to Tierra Firme and agreed to pay 312 ducats (3,432 reales) to Domingo de Zuñiga for two pieces of bronze artillery – the cannons were handed out before the journey.²⁵³

An interesting case happened to Pedro de Febre, the master of the *navio* La Castaflor, which were both probably of French origin. In spring of 1620, he was in Amsterdam, which is documented by a bill of exchange he drew in Amsterdam on the 11th of April.²⁵⁴ Some weeks later, Pedro de Febre arrived in Sanlúcar with some fardos of *ruan*, which were meant for the Frenchman Pedro Calloer (cf. p. 284) When master Pedro de Febre arrived in Seville, he was instructed several times to sail to Puerto de Santa María to receive four bronze cannons from Francisco Gornel, the consul of the local French nation. By order of the French king, he should have brought them to Le Havre.²⁵⁵ However, two days later, Pedro de Febre answered that the ship was already

251 The Fleming Cornelio Juanes was the father of Juana Bollarte, the later wife of the Fleming Hernando Tilman, who himself received a letter of naturalization in 1621. Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, p. 65.

252 APS 3607, ff. 925v-926r.

253 APS 16869, ff. 138r-139v.

254 APS 10060, f. 425v. The bill, by the way, was to be accepted by the Fleming Antonio de Molinar in Seville (cf. p. 190 and table 7.10 which shows that Antonio de Molinar delivered tin to the *asentistas*).

255 The case was specified on the 18th of May by Pedro Gaumont, the consul of the French nation in Seville, who was acting on behalf of Claudio Renelle, the secretary of the Royal French Chamber and of the French embassy in Madrid. Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, p. 92.

chartered to transport merchandise to Dunkirk and Middelburg.²⁵⁶ Thus it seems that following his personal economic interest, the merchant Pedro de Febre disobeyed an explicit order of his king.

To conclude, the displayed evidence indicates that the armament of the Spanish navy was to a great extent in the hands of Flemings. On the one hand, cannons were exported from Flemish ports, and on the other, Flemish merchants were, to some extent, responsible for the delivery of raw materials for the casting of bronze in Seville. In addition, the acquisition of raw materials on behalf of the Spanish king, was also carried out by Flemish *asentistas*, such as Pedro Giles, whose diverse commercial activities went even further.

7.2.5 The Axis Dunkirk-Seville: Pedro Giles, Geronimo Joansen, and Cornelio Adriansen

The harbor of Dunkirk represented a major export center for many textile-producing cities of Western Flanders,²⁵⁷ such as Lille,²⁵⁸ Valenciennes,²⁵⁹ and Cambrai.²⁶⁰ The trade connection with Seville was strong. In this special case, the axis Dunkirk-Seville relates to three Flemish companies in Seville, which imported Flemish textiles on 10 vessels from 11 textile traders of Dunkirk. One of these companies consisted of the above-mentioned Pedro Giles and Antonio Bennet. Hence, the variety of economic activities, especially of Pedro Giles, is indeed considerable, embracing Spanish wool, bronze artillery and Flemish linen – and in all of these branches he played a key role.

The source for the axis between Dunkirk and Seville consists of different declarations of the three companies concerning their imports for the customs duty of Seville. Two witnesses for each company had to be present during the declaration which took place before a notary between April and June 1620.

256 APS 10060, ff. 235r-236r.

257 Cf. Lemaire, *Histoire de Dunkerque*, pp. 110-171.

258 Cf. Guignet, *Vivre à Lille sous l'Ancien Régime*; Lottin and Deyon, "Évolution de la production textile"; Lottin, "Le conflit entre Lille et Roubaix-Tourcoing".

259 Cf. Guignet, *Nouvelle histoire de Valenciennes*.

260 Cf. Trénard, "La cité de Martin-Martine", mainly pp. 136-137; Vardi, *The Land and the Loom*; Neveux and Roy Laudurie, *Vie et déclin d'une structure économique*. For the textile production in Douai and Tournai, cf. DuPlessis, "The Light Woolens of Tournai" and Howell, "Sources for the Study of Society and Economy in Douai". For the production of new drapery (*draperies légères*), cf. Chorley, "The 'Draperies Légères'"; Stabel, *Les draperies urbaines en Flandre*; Lottin, "De Charles Quint à la Révolution française", pp. 44-52, 143-146.

All of the witnesses were Flemish merchants with residence in Seville – one of them was the naturalized merchant Salomon Paradis. The companies and their witnesses were:

1. Pedro Giles and Antonio Bennet loaded 316 pieces of *holandas*;
witnesses: Francisco Vanders and Luis Vanthertsberghe
2. Geronimo Joansen and Niculas de Sibeert loaded 425 pieces of *cambrai*;
witnesses: Gil Battaille and Nicolas Fourmestranex
3. Cornelio Adriansen and Geronimo Raparte loaded 758 pieces of *holandas*;
witnesses: Servas Molans and Salomon Paradis.

The details of the axis can be seen in figure 7.7, which displays the direct connections between the suppliers and the purchaser (figure C.1 on p. 401 in the appendix also includes the ships and their masters). It should be pointed out that each supplier, except for Paolo Mersier, supplied just one company. For the transport, on the other hand, the case was different: Most traders chartered more than one ship and split their merchandise into several cargoes. The reasons for that may lay in the higher security of that practice and in the fact that not all of the textiles would have arrived at the same time.

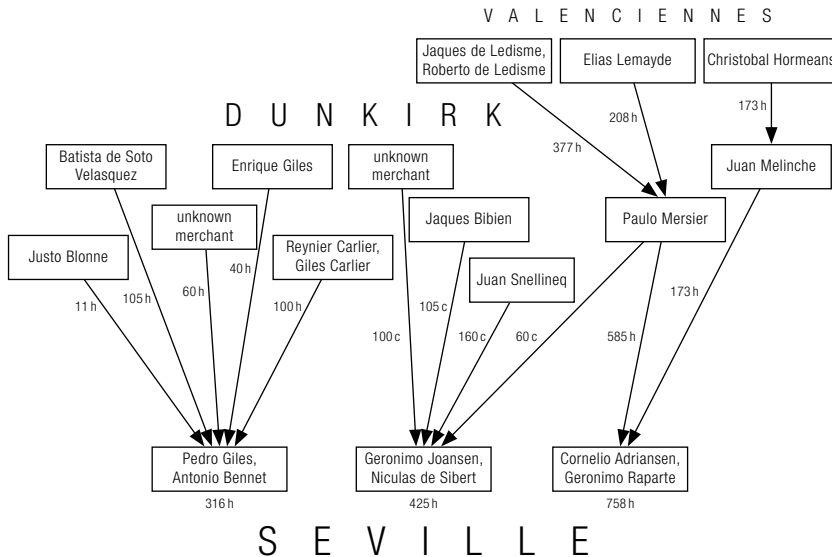


Figure 7.7: The Axis Dunkirk-Seville

Explanation: “h” stands for *holandas*, “c” for *cambrai*

Source: APS 3607, ff. 267r-270v, 822v-825r; APS 16869, ff. 935r-938v; APS 16870, ff. 183r-185v

Two types of drapery were bought, *holandas* and *cambrais*. The company of Pedro Giles and Antonio Bennet only bought *holandas*. The traders of Dunkirk, from whom they purchased the merchandise, were Justo Blonne, Giles and Reynier Carlier, Bautista de Soto Velasquez, Enrique Giles, and an unknown merchant. The company purchased 316 pieces of *holandas* which were loaded in 12 crates on five different ships.²⁶¹

The company Geronimo Joansen and Niculas de Sibeert, on the other hand, loaded only *cambrais*, a mixture of linen and cotton. Juan Snellineq, Jaques Bibien, Paulo Mersier, and an unknown merchant provided them with these textiles. Geronimo Joansen and Niculas de Sibeert bought 425 pieces of *cambrai*, packed in nine crates and loaded on five different ships. In 1614, Geronimo Joansen had already traded between the two cities, when he had sent a ship from Seville to Dunkirk, loaded with merchandise amounting to 5,000 ducats.²⁶² One of the merchants from Dunkirk who consigned the textiles in 1620 to Geronimo Joansen and Niculas de Sibeert was called Jaques Bibien. He shipped a box of *cambrais* on the *nao* of the *maestre* Juan de Bibien.²⁶³ Both were probably members of the eminent Flemish family of the Bibien (Vivien). The merchant Jaques Bibien, who was already mentioned above,²⁶⁴ had moved to Seville in 1600 and became a big merchant by 1620. Their affiliation to one family is very likely.

The last company, Cornelio Adriansen and Geronimo Raparte only loaded *holandas*. They were supplied by Juan Melinche and again Paulo Mersier and received 758 pieces of *holandas* in 13 boxes from eight different *naos*. In this last case, a further connection exists. Cornelio Adriansen and Geronimo Raparte were the ones who received the textiles, yet it was not them who paid. The *holandas* were purchased by different merchants from Valenciennes. Cristobal Hormeans sent 173 pieces, Elias Lemayde 208 pieces and the company Jaques and Roberto de Ledisme 377 pieces. While the first load of 173 *holandas* was forwarded by Juan Melinche, the rest of 585 *holandas* was remitted by Paulo Mersier.²⁶⁵ Considering that Paulo Mersier sent another 60 pieces of *holandas* to the company Geronimo Joansen and Niculas de Sibeert, he emerges as

261 APS 16869, ff. 935r-938v. The different ships, their masters and the respective cargo are shown on table C.2 in the appendix on p. 398. For one of the ships, La Esperanza, additional information was found. The *felibote* of Ysbrant Adriansen (270 tons) went to Madeira in 1623.

262 Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, pp. 160-161.

263 APS 3607, ff. 267r-270v; cf. table C.2 on p. 398.

264 Cf. pp. 208 and 336.

265 APS 1607, ff. 822v-825r.

being the most important merchant of Dunkirk in the Dunkirk-Seville network. Within the Flemish main network of 1620, Paolo Mersier even ranked amongst the most central 25 actors.

In Andalusia, the way of the *holandas* continued. One week after the declaration for the customs duty by Cornelio Adriansen and Geronimo Raparte, they sold some of the linen in Seville to a certain Blas Rodriguez de Cespedes. In 1620, this merchant frequently appeared in Seville together with his brother Cristobal, both known as olive oil traders and Indies merchants. Blas Rodriguez de Cespedes was found to be doing business with illustrious merchants like the German Andres Labermeyer,²⁶⁶ the Frenchman Lanfran David,²⁶⁷ and the Fleming Nicolas de Clerque.²⁶⁸ In this instance, Cornelio Adriansen and Geronimo Raparte sold Blas Rodriguez de Cespedes 20 pieces of *holandas claros* for 16 ducats each and 10 pieces of *holandas batistas* for 15 ducats each, together amounting to 470 ducats (the final price was 175,780 maravedis).²⁶⁹ Thus, presuming a price of 15.5 ducats per piece of *holanda*, the value of the whole 1,074 pieces which were introduced in Seville (by Cornelio Adriansen and Geronimo Raparte, and Pedro Giles and Antonio Bennet) can be estimated to be 16,647 ducats. A considerable sales volume for two Flemish companies in Seville, just selling linen. The unit price of the *cambrais*, on the other hand, can be estimated at 16.5 ducats each.²⁷⁰ The company Geronimo Joansen and Niculas de Sibeert imported 425 pieces of *cambrai* to Seville, which added up to 7,013 ducats. The total market value of the textiles in the Dunkirk case amounts, thus, to 23,660 ducats.

The axis Dunkirk-Seville, established upon the activities of these three Flemish companies in Seville, demonstrates vividly the strong connections between Flemings of Seville and their textile-producing homeland. The displayed data suggests emphatically that by 1620 the trade with linen and cotton cloth, which were strongly demanded by the American customers, was in the hands of northern merchants. Having already shown above the economic performance of Pedro Giles and Antonio Bennet, the members of the other two Flemish companies remain to be analyzed.

266 APS 3607, ff. 3r-5v,99; cf. p. 378.

267 APS 3607, f. 811; cf. p. 279.

268 APS 16869, ff. 555v-557r.

269 APS 3607, f. 827.

270 The price was calculated according to an obligation from Juan Hesse (APS 3607, ff. 68v-69r).

Geronimo Joansen and Niculas de Sibeert

Geronimo Joansen is number 21 in the list of the most central nodes of the Flemish network of 1620. He already appeared in 1600 when he was engaged in the trade with wheat (cf. p. 262). Together with his companion Niculas de Sibeert, he appeared two more times in 1620. On the 28th of March, they sold 400 arrobas of olive oil (20 reales/arroba) to captain Francisco de Abriego, the master of the *navio* San Buenaventura, a slave ship of 100 tons, departing to Angola and Cartagena de Indias, and captain Erasmo (de) Florido, owner of the ship, maybe of Flemish origin.²⁷¹ The price of the olive oil amounted to 733 ducats (8,068 reales).²⁷²

Geronimo Joansen was also in direct contact with an English merchant. Thomas Oton, from the British Isles and resident in Seville, granted a cession to Geronimo Joansen to collect 1,075 ducats (11,822 reales) from Juan de Ocaña, a very active merchant in Seville. In exchange, Geronimo Joansen delivered 440 quintales of *palo de Campeche* (dyewood, 23 reales/quintal) to the Englishman. The remaining 155 ducats (1,702 reales) were paid in cash.²⁷³ Thus, the variety of products sold by Geronimo Joansen was extensive: he sold cotton textiles from Flanders, olive oil from Andalusia, and dyewood from America.

Geronimo Joansen was also involved in purely financial transactions. From the widow of the merchant Juan Bautista de Medinilla, he received 215 ducats (2,366 reales) as the rest of a debt of 324 ducats (3,566 reales). The latter had also been in contact with the naturalized Portuguese Diego Anriquez²⁷⁴ and another Fleming called Cornelio de Groote.²⁷⁵

In the middle of April 1620, Geronimo Joansen, again with Niculas de Sibeert, received 500 ducats for of a bill of exchange. The bill was drawn in Antwerp, in February 1620 by a certain Cornelio Cornelisen, and it was paid out by the naturalized Flemish merchant Enrique Peligron.²⁷⁶ Thus, it was a purely Flemish transaction.

271 Captain Erasmo Florido was the godfather of Guillen Clou's daughter Juana in 1620 (cf. p. 218). In 1616, he had gone to Campeche as master of the *nao* La Candelaria (300 tons). Chaunu and Chaunu, *Séville et l'Atlantique*, vol. 4, pp. 472-473, 562-563.

272 APS 10060, ff. 200r-201r.

273 APS 10060, ff. 107v-109r. *Palo de Capeche* is used to dye textiles red.

274 AGI Contratación 51A, s.f.

275 APS 3607, f. 243v. For Cornelio de Groote, cf. p. 332ff.

276 APS 3607, s.f. Enrique Peligron appeared again as supplier of knives and blades, amounting to 209 ducats (2,295 reales), cf. APS 10060, ff. 385r-386r.

Another case was much more complicated. Figure 7.8 shows the combination of different bills of exchanges and payment orders between Seville, San Sebastian, and Amsterdam. On the 9th of April, Geronimo Joansen received 1,440 ducats (15,839 reales) from the Flemish merchant Juan Vermolen (cf. p. 307).²⁷⁷ The payment of the bill of exchange was made because the acceptor Juan Vermolen had received the relevant money and two payment orders. One order came from Gaspar Grebenrat and Juan Olassen from Amsterdam, the drawers of the bill. The second order came from the Spaniard Fernando Perez de Beyngolea. The payment of the second order was made because Fernando Perez de Beyngolea had received the relevant instructions from Amsterdam. In addition, he had received another payment order from an unknown merchant from San Sebastián (“villa del pasaje”) in favor of Giles Vermolen, the brother of Juan Vermolen.²⁷⁸ The complexity of the example illustrates the complicated routes bills of exchange could take on their way between Amsterdam and Seville.²⁷⁹

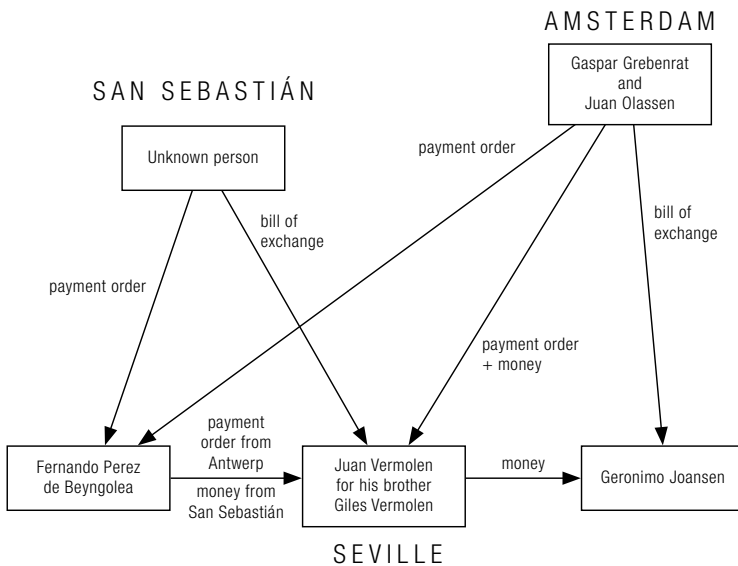


Figure 7.8: Bills of Exchange between Seville, San Sebastián, and Amsterdam

277 Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, p. 68. Juan Vermolen was also involved in a bill of exchange from Antwerp, which was paid out to Juan Bautista Sirman.

278 APS 16869, f. 304v.

279 Cf. Vries, *The Economy of Europe in an Age of Crisis*, pp. 226-232.

In summary, Geronimo Joansen was a leading Flemish merchant who stayed in Seville. He was in contact with compatriots and Englishmen, and traded with Andalusian olive oil, American dyewood, and Flemish textiles. The latter branch was clearly dominant and showed how Geronimo Joansen relied on links to his origins. Besides, he used his liquid assets to grant credits, and he was involved in the complex international payment transactions between Amsterdam and Seville.

Cornelio Adriansen and Geronimo Raparte

Geronimo Raparte was born in 1582, in a family of medical doctors from Bruges. Together with his brother Felipe, he moved to Seville in 1609, and when his brother went back home, he founded a company with Cornelio Adriansen, who was involved in the wool industry of Andalusia (cf. table 7.8 on p. 313).²⁸⁰

Together, they appeared in an insurance policy of 1620, which was already shown above (cf. p. 289). Thereby, they insured the *nao* San Antonio de Padova, which sailed between Seville and Santo Domingo with 300 ducats.²⁸¹ Further insurers of that ship were their compatriots Cornelio de Groote (300 ducats), Guillen Clou (300 ducats), and Jacome de Somere (200 ducats), the Spaniards Juan Jacome Calisano and Roque Canal (1,000 ducats), and the Frenchman Guillermo Guillu (300 ducats). The high centrality of some of these merchants, including the captain of the ship Fernando Bueno (cf. table 7.7 on p. 298), insinuates that this was an association of strong and active merchants in Seville.

Cornelio Adriansen and Geronimo Raparte accentuated their role as textile traders of Seville by delivering two loads of tapestry for 223 ducats (83,640 maravedis).²⁸² Also, Cornelio Adriansen, this time on his own, paid 545 ducats (6,000 reales) on behalf of the Fleming Juan Bautista Sirman to the Flemish collector of the linen tax, Juan van Hooren.²⁸³

A final example will be revealed, which shows the textile business of Cornelio Adriansen. At the end of April 1620, he sold Flemish textiles, worth 766 ducats (287,272 maravedis) to the *alguacil* (bailiff) of the *Real Audiencia* of Seville Francisco Diaz Fajardo. He delivered one fardo of *gante*, three pieces

280 Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, p. 55. No private data is available for Cornelio Adriansen.

281 APS 16869, f. 516.

282 APS 3607, f. 828.

283 APS 16869, f. 206. The document was already displayed above on p. 308.

of white *anascotes* (Flemish woolens) and 25 medium-sized pieces of *holandas batistas*. It is quite possible that these goods came directly from Dunkirk too.²⁸⁴

To conclude, the case of Dunkirk clearly shows that Flemings had an important share of the northern textile trade. Only one of the six participating merchants of Seville was not of definite Flemish origin, namely Antonio Bennet. Except for him, only Flemings were found to be taking part in the trade of *holandas* and *cambrais* from Flanders to Seville. Considering that the linen and cotton textiles from Flanders counted among the most essential export products from Seville to the Indies, it is interesting to learn about the detailed origin of the textiles. It is especially impressive that the trade was mostly in the hands of Flemish companies which had their business seat in Seville.²⁸⁵

7.2.6 Francisco de Conique

In 1620, the Flemish merchant Francisco de Conique was the fourth most central Fleming, after Niculas Antonio and the brothers Juan Bautista and Pedro Sirman. He did not reveal many direct connections to the other significant Flemish merchants of 1620, but he still was a very central node in the network. In 1600, Francisco de Conique had already received his letter of naturalization, and he appeared frequently in the commercial documents of that year (cf. pp. 261 and 264). He was even part of the large circle of 1600 (cf. figure 6.4 on p. 256). In 1605, Francisco de Conique received 80 barrels of tar on a Flemish ship from the Hanseatic city of Gdansk.²⁸⁶ It was three years later that he supplied the royal *asentistas* Pedro Giles with Hungarian copper (cf. table 7.9 on p. 319), and in 1614 he sent merchandise from Seville to New Spain, amounting to 4,545 ducats.²⁸⁷ Some years later, he gave credits (“prés-

284 One fardo of *gante* (1,468.5 varas) for 140 mvd/v makes 548 ducats (205,590 maravedis); three pieces of white *anascotes* for 16 d/p makes 48 ducats; 25 medium-sized pieces of *holandas batistas* for 14 d/p makes 350 ducats. The total amount added up to 946 ducats. Thereby, Cornelio Adriansen made a discount because some of the *gantes* were blurry. APS 3607, f. 408.

285 It would be of great interest to know what happened after 1630, when Pedro Giles received his letter of naturalization and, thereby, the license to trade with America himself. However, no such data was available for the analysis. The only Flemish merchants in Seville who might have been working as commissioned agents is the company of Cornelio Adriansen and Geronimo Raparte, while the others seem to be more independent.

286 Moret, *Aspects de la société marchande*, p. 77.

287 Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, pp. 160-161.

tamo y cambio marítimo”) to Indies traders, amounting to 2,175 ducats in 1619 and to 1,976 ducats (19,090 and 2,650 reales de plata) in 1624.²⁸⁸

In 1620, Francisco de Conique invested 4,151 ducats (45,665 reales de plata) in credits and insurances of the Indies trade.²⁸⁹ As a naturalized merchant (since 1600) and member of the Consulate of the *Cargadores a Indias* (since at least 1618), he had access to the American market, and effectively, all of his transactions were related to America. The connection to Niculas Antonio in 1620 was already shown previously (cf. p. 300), as for example, they shared a galleon going to Tierra Firme. That case continued, and on the 3rd of April, Francisco de Conique, as owner of one third of the galleon, gave a proxy to the Flemish captain Francisco Nicolas, owner of the last third, who was traveling to Tierra Firme himself, to collect outstanding debts.²⁹⁰

A similar proxy was given to the two Spaniards Francisco Diaz and Pablo Rodrigo, who were on their way to the Laguna of Maracaibo in New Spain, today's Venezuela. These two had been given the order to send bullion to Spain.²⁹¹ On that same day, the 2nd of April 1620, Francisco de Conique gave a proxy to three citizens of the Indies, in Maracaibo, Merida, and Barinas (all in today's Venezuela), to collect money from Francisco Diaz and Pablo Rodrigo. The money, which originated from the sale of 16 pieces of merchandise, was meant to be invested in tobacco which was destined for Seville.²⁹² Also on the same day, Francisco de Conique sold 46 quintales and 21 pounds of yellow wax for 1,696 ducats (18,655 reales) to two residents of Seville, who were on their way to Maracaibo. Simon, the son of Francisco de Conique, acted as witness for this transaction.²⁹³ One more business refers to Maracaibo. On the 21st of March, Francisco de Conique sold 2,170 varas of *ruan* for 789 ducats (8,680 reales). The purchaser was a citizen of Sanlúcar, who was on the Indies fleet going to Maracaibo.²⁹⁴

At about the same time, Francisco de Conique was cooperating with captain Amador Perez, a citizen of Cartagena de Indias,²⁹⁵ who had already appeared in the sources of 1600 as a sailor from Triana.²⁹⁶ Together, they sold 1,400 varas

288 Bernal Rodríguez, *La financiación de la Carrera de Indias*, p. 578.

289 Ibidem, p. 246.

290 APS 10060, ff. 207r-208v.

291 APS 10060, ff. 305r-306v.

292 APS 10060, ff. 307r-308r.

293 APS 10060, ff. 178r-182v.

294 APS 10060, ff. 197r-199r.

295 APS 10060, ff. 231r-232r.

296 APS 9984, f. 49.

of *ruanes*, worth 509 ducats (5,600 reales), to a citizen of Motril, on the Eastern Andalusian coastline, and to one of Cartagena de Indias. Both were heading for their home port.

The last incident regarding Francisco de Conique is a collective proxy by citizens or residents of Seville, who had invested in the voyage of the ship *La Magdalena de Sevilla*.²⁹⁷ In 1617, the ship had come from Puerto Rico and was intercepted by pirates close to the *Ihla da Terceira*, on the Azores. The captain of the corsairs was Nicolas Legrand Casado. The master of the *La Magdalena de Sevilla* and some of the crew were killed. The involved merchants in Seville gave proxies to Juan Monicx and Luis Frarin, both citizens of Paris. They were to confiscate the lost ship, its goods, the remaining money, and the turnover coming from its eventual sale. In addition, they were to represent the party concerned before the court in France. Beside Francisco de Conique, the investors of the ship and cargo include Gabriel Angel de Yepes, a citizen of Seville and busy trader of Spanish textiles (mainly *paños de Segovia*),²⁹⁸ the Portuguese Agustin Perez, who was the fourth most central node of the total network of 1620, and Geronimo de Orozco, a rich alderman of Seville and administrator of the *asiento de la avería*.

In view of the above facts, the picture E. Vila Vilar depicts of Francisco de Conique can be confirmed (“the perfect profile of a foreign merchant in Seville”²⁹⁹): Francisco de Conique was one of the most key Flemish merchants of 1620, a significant financier who was completely integrated into the American trade – above all in the trade with today’s Venezuela and Colombia. In that year, his preferred merchandise was wax, which usually came from Antwerp,³⁰⁰ and French *ruanes*. He was in contact with Frenchmen and Portuguese, and with his compatriot Niculas Antonio he had a business as well as a private connection. Francisco de Conique was present in Seville in 1600, 1620, and also in 1640.³⁰¹ Thus, he certainly contributed with his activities to mark the economic history of Seville of the first half of the 17th century.

297 APS 10060, ff. 310r-314v.

298 APS 16869, ff. 168r-171r, 291r-293v, 338r-340v, 679r-682r; APS 16870, ff. 135r-137r; APS 10060, ff. 143r-145r, 146r-147v.

299 Vila Vilar, “Los europeos en el comercio americano”, pp. 291-292; cf. p. 194.

300 Vázquez de Prada, *Lettres marchandes*, vol. 1, pp. 73-74.

301 In 1640, he appeared once as owner of the *nao* Nuestra Señora de la Natividad y San Francisco, of 550 tons, going to New Spain. Chaunu and Chaunu, *Séville et l’Atlantique*, vol. 5, pp. 362-363.

7.2.7 Cornelio de Grootte

Similar to Francisco de Conique, Cornelio de Grootte³⁰² also did not have many direct links to the other important Flemish participants in the network of 1620. Yet, he was indirectly connected to two of them. Both were part of the axis Seville-Dunkirk. The first one was Geronimo Joansen, together with whom he received 35 ducats (387 reales) from the widow of the merchant Juan Bautista de Medinilla for the settlement of their accounts.³⁰³ The second connection was to Cornelio Adriansen. Together, they were among the insurers of the *nao* San Antonio de Padova (cf. above and on p. 289). Another associate in this case was the Frenchman Guillermo Guillu, from whom, on another occasion, Cornelio de Grootte received 2,334 ducats (25,670 reales) by cession (cf. p. 287).

The Fleming Jacome de Somere was a further associate of the insurance of the *nao* San Antonio de Padova, and it was he who connected Cornelio de Grootte with Northern Europe. This connection sheds light upon the central position of Cornelio de Grootte.³⁰⁴ He worked as factor for different merchants and consortia which were based in Ghent, Antwerp, Amsterdam, and Hamburg, a job that gave him a central distribution function. He received their merchandise which consisted mainly of linen textiles and sold them in Seville, most likely to Indies traders. Cornelio de Grootte, however, was not able to sell all the cloth before the Indies fleet left Cádiz for Tierra Firma on the 18th of April 1620. When his partners in Northwestern Europe were unwilling to wait for the departure of the fleet to New Spain several weeks later,³⁰⁵ De Grootte had to return the merchandise he was unable to sell. At the beginning of May, he sent them back, together with the sales revenues. The transfer of the

302 Both volumes of Baetens, *De nazomer van Antwerpens welvaart*, are dedicated to the merchant house of the De Grootte and its diaspora between 1600 and 1650. However, Cornelio de Grootte does not appear in the index.

303 APS 3697, f. 243v. In Cologne, which was an important city for the family of the De Grote (cf. Baetens, *De nazomer van Antwerpens welvaart*, vol. 2, p. 23), a merchant named Nikolaus de Grootte was found. One of his agents in Seville was called Hieronimus Jansson (Thimme, “Der Handel Kölns am Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts”, p. 450). Maybe the concordance of the names Grootte and Joansen indicates a bigger family network between Amsterdam, the base of the De Grootte family, Cologne, and Seville. However, no further clues could be found for that.

304 APS 3607, ff. 413, 414-415, 420, 421r-422r, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441r-442r, 443, 444r-445r.

305 The *Armada de la Guardia* left Sanlúcar with the Spanish fleet for Tierra Firme on the 25th of March, and cleared Cádiz on the 18th of April. It returned to Sanlúcar on the 14th of October of the same year. The navy and the fleet, sailing for New Spain, left

goods and the money was entrusted to the Fleming Jacome de Somere.³⁰⁶ The details can be seen in figure 7.9. Cornelio de Groote handed out 9,973 ducats (109,700 reales) to Jacome de Somere who then gave it to the respective merchants. The linen, which Cornelio de Groote returned, contained 200 pieces of *estopilla* of coarse *cambrai* and 645 pieces of *mitanes*.³⁰⁷ Two more facts can be seen in this figure. First, the cooperation of a trading house in Amsterdam with one in Hamburg (Van Peene and Behaudt), and second, the importance of the family in business affairs. First, in Amsterdam, Samuel van Peene took over the business of his father, and second, a member of the Somere family was each established in Seville, Antwerp, and Hamburg, swapping goods and money.

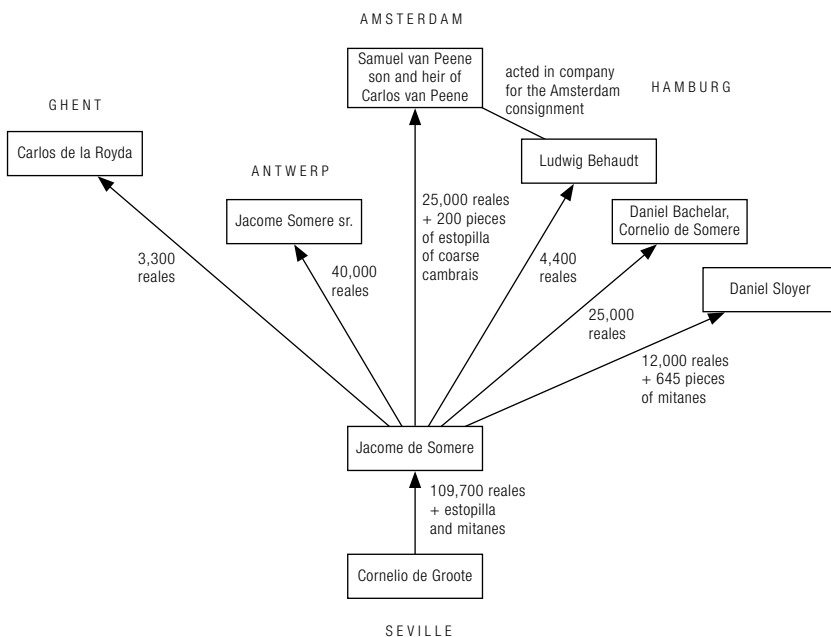


Figure 7.9: Consignments from Cornelio de Groote

Sanlúcar on the 18th of 19th of June, and Cádiz on the 8th of July. The fleet arrived again in Sanlúcar on the 30th of September and 1st of October of the following year. Chaunu and Chaunu, *Seville et l'Atlantique*, vol. 4, pp. 556, 558, 586; vol. 5, p. 18.

306 Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, p. 63.

307 *Estopilla* of *cambrai* were a coarse type of the fine *cambrai* linen. *Mitanes* also were of a lower quality and related to the *holandas*.

A further connection of Cornelio de Groote to Antwerp was detected. Niculas Monel, a citizen of Seville of Flemish origin (cf. p. 295), presented a bill of exchange to Cornelio de Groote. Yet, the latter did not pay the demanded 450 ducats because the two drawers from Antwerp had not remitted the money.³⁰⁸

To conclude the case of Cornelio de Groote, it should be pointed out that his role as an agent for various northern enterprises is most remarkable. Moreover, he was in contact with compatriots and a Frenchman, doing insurance business and commerce via bills of exchange. No direct trade on his own account could be detected, only financial transactions instead, so maybe he just administrated the selling of the textiles.³⁰⁹ At any rate, the business volume he managed was considerable.

7.2.8 Luis Clut Junior

Luis Clut junior and Jaques Bibien, the next Flemings to be discussed, were linked to the Sirman family. These connections existed not only on a private basis, displayed in figure 4.8 (p. 206) but also on an economic one. As was already mentioned earlier (cf. p. 314), Luis Clut junior empowered his brother Antonio Perez Enriquez, captain Simon Fernandez de la Fuente, and Niculas de Landaverde to take care of an American business, in connection with the Dutchman Juan Hesse. Interestingly, no one of the Clut family was found to have been naturalized in Seville before 1626,³¹⁰ nevertheless, Luis Clut participated in the Indies trade. His brother even ranked among the *Cargadores a Indias*.³¹¹ Two lists prove the involvement of Luis Clut in the Indies trade: In 1603 and 1614, he and his brother Juan Clut, alias Juan Perez Enriquez, transported different merchandise to Peru.³¹² In addition, Juan Perez Enriquez was put in charge of delivering silken and woolen textiles, jewelry, and other merchandise from Peru to Seville, up to an amount of 1,000 ducats. It was

308 APS 10060, ff. 192v-193r.

309 Cornelio de Groote was also involved in the import of Chinese textiles in Seville in 1614. Gil, *La India y el Lejano Oriente*, p. 201.

310 In that year Guillen Clou received his letter of naturalization (AGI Contratación 50B and 596A, s.f.); yet, the family affiliation between “Clut” and “Clou” is not certain; cf. Vila Vilar, “Una amplia nómina”, p. 153.

311 Vila Vilar, “Una amplia nómina”, p. 173.

312 For 1603: AGI Contratación 5276B, N. 79, ff. 1r-16v, especially f. 5r [PARES] and Chaunu and Chaunu, *Séville et l'Atlantique*, vol. 5, pp. 154-155. For 1614: AGI Contratación 5340, N. 35, ff. 1r-22r [PARES].

an alderman of Lima, captain Sebastian de Setina, departing for Tierra Firme, who authorized the Fleming to do the respective purchases and imports.³¹³

In 1620, Luis Clut provides a perfect example of a Flemish merchant who was integrated in the commerce of Spanish woolens, such as *rajas de Avila*. He purchased these fine textiles from different suppliers of Ávila. On the 16th of May, he agreed to pay:

- 217 ducats (2,392 reales) to the company Diego de la Puente and Juan de Avila from Ávila³¹⁴ for 151 varas, 11 dozabos³¹⁵ de *rajas de Avila* of different colors and
- 446 ducats (4,903 reales) to the company of Gregorio Martin de Stacia and Andres Fernandez from Ávila³¹⁶ for 311 varas, four dozabos of *rajas de Avila* of different colors.

The *rajas*, worth 15.75 reales per vara, were delivered at the fair of Guadajoz, in Andalusia.³¹⁷ Nonetheless, one has to admit that the interest of foreign merchants in these Spanish textiles seems limited. Within 11 deliveries done by these two companies from Ávila, Luis Clut was the only foreigner who bought from them.

Mediterranean textiles, on the contrary, were always highly demanded. Together with the goldsmith Rodrigo Arrias, Luis Clut bought Italian silk (*tabies*, 706 ducats), silk stockings from Naples (660 ducats), Genoese paper (416 ducats), silk ribbons from Naples (245 ducats), cord from Rome (181 ducats), sheets from Milan (178 ducats) and silk from Granada (73 ducats).³¹⁸ These luxury goods were purchased from the Genoese company of Juan Pablo Visconte, Antonio and Jacome Ayrolo.³¹⁹ The payment of

313 APS 3607, ff. 115v-116r.

314 APS 3607, ff. 564v-565r, 569v, 570, 576.

315 A dozabo is a sub-unit of length, less than the vara, which measures ca. 0.84 meters.

316 APS 3607, ff. 565v-566r, 578, 577, 607, 677.

317 APS 3607, ff. 638v-639r and 652.

318 More exactly, the position contained: 457.75 varas of black and colored *tabies* smooth and processed (17 r/v), 160 pairs of silk stockings from Naples (45.5 r/p), 16 *balones* of white writing paper of Genoa, three resmas each *balón* (26 d/balón), 297 ounces of silk ribbons from Naples (8r/o), 100 fine masos of *biguelas* cord from Rome (20r/maso), 262.25 varas of *colgados* of Milan (7.5 r/v) and 200 pieces of *bocadillos* of silk from Granada (4r/p). The total amounted to 2,459 ducats, yet, the final payment was only 2,313 ducats. For the Spanish silk, cf. Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, pp. 440-443.

319 For 12 more deliveries of the Genoese company between March and June of 1620, cf. APS 3607, ff. 12r-13r, 73, 276v-277r, 491, 587v-588r, 631, 654v-655v, 850, 907, 912; APS 10060, ff. 105v-106v, 317v-318v.

2,313 ducats (25,438 reales) was to be completed by the end of 1621 or on the arrival of the silver fleet. The Genoese Jacome Ayrolo already appeared above, as son-in-law of the Frenchman Pedro de Antíaque (cf. figure 3.1 on p. 167). The associate Antonio Ayrolo most likely was his father.

Thus, the Fleming Luis Clut junior was a trader of textiles and luxury goods from Spain and Italy. The final destination of all the merchandise he purchased was probably Tierra Firme. Thereby, he benefited from the fact that his brother, obviously, had a license for the Indies trade. Besides all that, in 1614, he had been also been trading in Chinese textiles.³²⁰ In addition to the private and business contacts with compatriots, he also maintained connections to Italian and Spanish companies. The absolute lack of Flemish and other northern products is surprising.

7.2.9 Jaques Bibien

The commercial connection between Luis Clut junior and Jaques Bibien is only indirect and confines itself to one case in which Jaques Bibien had a connection with the Sirman family. Therein, he acted as tutor of the younger children and heirs of Elias Sirman,³²¹ and received 370 ducats (138,846 maravedis) from Juan Bautista Sirman.³²² Further connections between Jaques Bibien and the family Sirman, as well as with Juan Hesse and Pedro Giles, could be found investigating the wool laundries of Écija.³²³ Jaques Bibien was one of the most outstanding figures of the wool trade of Andalusia.³²⁴ Having come from the linen-producing city of Valenciennes in Western Flanders,³²⁵ Jaques Bibien became a very important merchant between Écija and Seville. He maintained his connections to the North and established others to Venice.

320 Gil, *La India y el Lejano Oriente*, p. 201.

321 APS 16870, ff. 22v-23v, 970v-971r.

322 APS 16869, f. 393.

323 Cf. p. 312 and table 7.8 on p. 313.

324 Vidal Ortega and Vila Vilar, "El comercio lanero", pp. 59-67; cf. also Vila Vilar, "Los europeos en el comercio americano", pp. 292-294. Besides, the Écija-connection included also names of other Flemish families like Bequer and Francois, as well as the French family of De Sandier.

325 For his family history, cf. p. 208.

The Connection to the North

In 1620, Jaques Bibien was linked directly with Antwerp through two bills of exchange. The remitter was the same in both cases, a company from Antwerp: Pedro and Carlos de Labistrata. In the first case, the acceptor was the Portuguese Manuel Jimenez, who was already entangled in bills of exchange with Niculas Antonio (cf. p. 304). Manuel Jimenez passed the obligation on to the Spanish merchants Jacome Calisano and Roque Canal.³²⁶ Yet, when Jaques Bibien demanded the 800 ducats they had agreed upon, Jacome Calisano and Roque Canal refused to pay, as they had no money from the drawer.³²⁷ On the 14th of April, Jaques Bibien presented another bill of exchange from Antwerp (written in French) of over 300 ducats to the notary, to be presented to Francisco Pibot. Yet, the acceptor only agreed to pay 164 ducats (1,800 reales) because he had only received that amount of money from the drawer in Antwerp.³²⁸ A month and a half later, Jaques Bibien accepted the diminished payment and received the 164 ducats.³²⁹

A further channel of commerce was found concerning the textile trade of the North. In April 1620, Jaques Bibien sold merchandise worth about 1,772 ducats. A first delivery consisted of 30 pieces of a textile of uncertain kind (probably Flemish), which were sold by Jaques Bibien for 315 ducats (3,465 reales).³³⁰ Another one comprised 4,986.75 varas of *ruan ordinario* amounting to 1,457 ducats (546,562 maravedis).³³¹ In addition to his French and Flemish connection, another one was found for Cologne but its character was not specified.³³²

The Connection to Venice

Jaques Bibien did not only sell Flemish and French products to Spanish merchants, but also Spanish and American products to the Mediterranean. The following cases, between 1609 and 1616, display the connection between Jaques Bibien in Seville and the Flemish merchant Daniel Nys in Venice, which was at that time the main import place of Spanish woolens. The first link consists of a

326 For these two merchants, cf. p. 328 and table 7.7 on p. 298.

327 APS 16869, ff. 44v-45v.

328 APS 16869, ff. 326r-327r.

329 APS 16870, f. 206.

330 APS 16869, f. 743.

331 APS 16869, f. 1012.

332 Gramulla, *Handelsbeziehungen Kölner Kaufleute*, p. 367.

bill of exchange, dating from the year 1607. Piero Oriente from Murcia received 91 ducats (1,000 reales) from Daniel Nys with the clear order to remit the money to Jaques Bibien. Beforehand, it was collected by a certain Gasparo Avellati in Alicante from Juan Bautista Palavecín, a member of a Genoese merchant family.³³³ The final connection of that case, between Juan Bautista Palavecín and Jaques Bibien, is missing.

Over two years later, Jaques Bibien sent a *nao* with 1,259 American hides to Venice. They were received by Daniel Nys for himself and on behalf of Giacomo and Pietro Gabri. Both sold the hides to two cordovan traders, Giovanni Battista Maffei and Prospero Marenzi: Daniel Nys sold 840 hides, worth 3,332 ducats, and Giacomo and Pietro Gabri 420 hides for 1,539 ducats, amounting together to 4,871 ducats.³³⁴

The last case took place between December 1615 and March 1616. It gives evidence of Jaques Bibien's activity as a wool merchant of Écija,³³⁵ more specifically, it shows how it continued. Jaques Bibien sent a ship under the command of Adrian Pietersen Hoskens, presumably a ship from the Netherlands, loaded with 52 bales of wool to Venice where Daniel Nys and a certain Falconieri were to receive it. However, the ship was wrecked in the waters of Ceuta, and even though the cargo was recovered, most of it was moist and in a bad condition. Just seven bales were in good state and could be sold for a normal price, that is for 1,861 ducats. In the end, Daniel Nys was able to sell the remaining bales, for all of them were recovered, for 4,556 ducats – 7,985 ducats under the estimated price for the merchandise in good condition.³³⁶

Concluding the case of Jaques Bibien, he can be described as a very busy merchant with links to Andalusia, Flanders, France, Cologne, and Venice. He traded with Spanish woolens, French linen, and American leather, and he was engaged in financial business with Antwerp. Thus, he was in contact with Portuguese merchants and, beyond anything else, with compatriots whom he found in Écija and even in Venice. They stayed in business contact for many years. An interesting detail was found, concerning the affairs of Jaques Bibien after his demise. In 1640, some 16 years after his death, his widow, Madalena

333 Brulez and Davos, *Marchands flamands à Venise (1606–1621)*, pp. 72 f., n. 1989. The latter was going to live in Madrid in 1640, having business with Pedro Maria Ayolo, his compatriot (APS 7497, f. 189).

334 Brulez and Davos, *Marchands flamands à Venise (1606–1621)*, p. 247, n. 2476.

335 Vidal Ortega and Vila Vilar, "El comercio lanero", p. 62-67.

336 Brulez and Davos, *Marchands flamands à Venise (1606–1621)*, p. 510, n. 3286, and p. 521, n. 3322.

Clut Enriquez, still appeared in the notarial records and actively played a role in the commercial life of the city.³³⁷

7.2.10 Juan de Neve

The Flemish family of De Neve is one which shows well the integration and the ascent of a foreign family in American trade. Juan de Neve was encountered in the *Consulado de Cargadores a Indias* between 1621 and 1629.³³⁸ The private network with the Flemish families of Van der Linden, Venduylla, and Plamont was already discussed previously (cf. p. 188). In the business network of the Flemings of the year 1620, Juan de Neve was one of the most predominant merchants. His brother Miguel de Neve, on the other hand, appeared only once. The reason why Miguel de Neve did not appear more often is probably that he remained much of that year in America. Thereby, he was in contact with the French merchant Beltran Castran, a citizen of Seville, and sold him 24 arrobas and 17 pounds of *grana silvestre*, cochineal, worth 432 ducats (162,000 maravedis).³³⁹

The other brother, Juan de Neve, was very evident in the city of Seville during that year. The importance of his insurance business, in which also the Fleming Juan Tolinque was involved (cf. next subsection), is revealed by A.-M. Bernal who lists him with an investment of 3,682 ducats (40,500 reales de plata) in credits and insurances of the Indies trade.³⁴⁰

In addition, Juan de Neve was also interested in Andalusian products. Like Jaques Bibien, Juan de Neve was also taking part in the profitable commerce of Spanish wool from Écija.³⁴¹ He also purchased olive oil, amounting to 2,500 ducats (27,500 reales), together with the Fleming Melchor de Haze.³⁴² They bought the olive oil from Ines de Jerez, the widow of Juan de Vergara Gaviria.

The sales of Juan de Neve contained both wares from Europe and America, as can be seen in table 7.11. Their volume exceeds by far that of any other investigated Flemings. For the wax, Antwerp may be considered the origin,

337 APS 7497, f. 933. She received 2,133 ducats (33,515.25 reales en vellón) for an obligation.

338 Vila Vilar, "Una amplia nómina", p. 169.

339 APS 16869, f. 685.

340 Bernal Rodríguez, *La financiación de la Carrera de Indias*, p. 246.

341 Vidal Ortega and Vila Vilar, "El comercio lanero", pp. 61, 66.

342 Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, p. 88; Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, pp. 34-35. For the private data on the De Haze family, cf. above on p. 221.

Table 7.11: Sales of Juan de Neve

Merchandise	Value	Purchaser
Cochineal (Oaxaca)	12,739 d	Sebastian de Casaos (Spain) and Bernaldo Perez (Hamburg)
White wax	11,962 d	Bernaldo Perez (Hamburg)
White wax	2,600 d	Pedro de Cepada
Cochineal	663 d	Simon Lopez de Granada (Portugal)
Cochineal	593 d	Beltran Castran (France)
Leather	182 d	Luis de la Fuente (Jaén)
Wineskins	164 d	Pedro de Cepada
TOTAL	28,903 d	—

Source: APS 16869, ff. 299v-300r, 402r-403v, 628, 632, 686, 733v-734r, 735, 1011

while the leather and the dyestuff had come from America.³⁴³ His clients are as interesting as the merchandise: Simon Lopez de Granada was one of the most distinctive merchants of the total network of 1620, he was Portuguese and became naturalized in 1587. Luis de la Fuente was from Jaén, and captain Pedro de Cepada departed in 1620 to New Spain.³⁴⁴ Beltran Castran was the same Frenchman, to whom his brother Miguel de Neve sent the cochineal, and Sebastian de Casaos was a representative of the major *alguacil* of Seville. Finally, Bernaldo Perez had come from Hamburg in about 1582, and received his letter of naturalization in 1632.³⁴⁵

Thus, Juan de Neve exercised a very distributing function in Seville and showed widespread contacts among the mercantile community of Seville and beyond. He united the New with the Old World, trading American, Spanish,

343 The list contained in correct order: “cochinilla guaxaca (5@, 4.5l), cueros de pelo de deshecho (100 piezas), botijas de vino (1,800 piezas), cera blanca en pan (71q), grana tabrala (6@, 2l), grana de guaxaca (86@, 23l, 12o), grana xcala (13@, 1l, 4o), cera blanca en pan (329 q, 79l)”.

344 Pedro de Cepada was master of the Basque *nao* Nuestra Señora de Buenaventura (525 tons), on its second voyage, having loadad 474 quintales of mercury (Chaunu and Chaunu, *Séville et l'Atlantique*, vol. 4, pp. 558-559). In 1624, he was caught smuggling merchandise worth 1,877 ducats (2,588 pesos) to Panama. Vila Vilar, “Las ferias de Portobelo”, p. 339.

345 AGI Contratación 51B, s.f. The private information in the files about his person and his contacts is abundant. It contains Flemings, German, Frenchmen, and Portuguese.

and Flemish products – and in 1614, he also imported Chinese textiles.³⁴⁶ He definitely was one of the biggest merchants of his time.

7.2.11 The Indigo Business: Juan Tolinque and Miguel Galle

Juan Tolinque was an Antwerp merchant who became naturalized in 1630. He had various contacts with Flemings in Seville, and a connection to Juan de Neve could also be established. Already in 1615, both had insured a galleon coming from Havana. The ship was lost at sea and the insurance became due. Thereby, the insurant Antonio Turises received 600 ducats from Juan de Tolinque (25 percent), Juan de Neve (50 percent) and another Fleming called Cornelio Ylliberbe (25 percent). 52 ducats were deducted for the costs of the lawsuit.³⁴⁷ The case represents the first sign of the disposition of Juan Tolinque toward New Spain.

Table 7.12: Indigo Purchases of Miguel Galle and Juan Tolinque

Supplier	Obligation by	Amount	Value
Francisco de Herrera Hurtado & Pedro de Herrera y Moncada	Antonio del Castillo & Francisco de Torres	1,289l, 10o	1,376 d
Francisco de Herrera Hurtado & Pedro de Herrera y Moncada	Diego Enriquez Escot & Enrique Juan	1,794l, 6o	543 d +1,372 d
Juan & Geronimo Martinez	Esteban & Eugenio Delgado	1,780l	1,937 d
Juan & Geronimo Martinez	—	749l	815 d
TOTAL	—	5,613l	6,043 d

Explanation: Units are pounds (l) and ounces (o), and value is indicated in ducats (d)

Source: APS 10060, ff. 102r-103r, 263r-264v; APS 16869, ff. 423r-424r, 424r-426r

Considering the private connection between the Flemish merchant Juan Tolinque and the two families Beruben and De Molinar from Antwerp, as well as the families Leon and Paninque from Hamburg, as shown in figure 4.5 (on p. 192), it is rather surprising that no direct business links were found between any of these families. However, Juan Tolinque was working closely together

³⁴⁶ Gil, *La India y el Lejano Oriente*, pp. 201-203.

³⁴⁷ APS 16869, f. 143.

with Miguel Galle, another Flemish merchant of Seville.³⁴⁸ Both were indigo merchants and in 1620, they bought large amounts of that dyestuff. The different batches of indigo can be seen in table 7.12. The total amount was 5,613 pounds, for which they paid 6,043 ducats. Most of the transactions were done by Juan Tolinque and Miguel Galle together. The indigo was purchased from two different companies, the first one was composed of Francisco de Herrera Hurtado and Pedro de Herrera y Moncada. Both were from Toledo and received 0.937 ducats per pound, making a total of 3,291 ducats. The second company was the family company of Juan Martinez and his son Geronimo,³⁴⁹ whose goods were worth 0.919 ducats per pound, adding up to 2,752 ducats.

Juan Tolinque and Miguel Galle did not pay in cash for the indigo, they handed over obligations which they owned, amounting to the respective sums. Thereby, it is interesting to learn who was obliged to pay for the indigo, meaning, who was responsible for fulfilling the obligations which Juan Tolinque and Miguel Galle exchanged for the dyestuff. Their debtors are visible in table 7.12: Antonio del Castillo and Francisco Torres, both citizens of Seville;³⁵⁰ Diego Enriquez Escot and the Fleming Enrique Juan (naturalized in 1618), both citizen of Seville;³⁵¹ and two brothers from Seville, Eugenio Delgado, a treasurer of the archdiocese of Seville (*Santa Cruzada*), and captain Esteban Delgado.³⁵² All of the involved persons were in contact with New Spain. Antonio del Castillo and Francisco Torres, even though they were citizens of Seville, were also residents in New Spain.³⁵³ Diego Enriquez Escot already appeared earlier (cf. p. 310), when he was involved in a business with cochineal for the Sirman family. More information became available about Enrique Juan: He was born in Sanlúcar being the son of Juan Enriquez from Flanders and Constanza

348 Also a Flemish company existed, named Vicente Galle and Victor Carlier. The latter became naturalized in 1594, and exported considerable amounts of Spanish wool in 1620 (cf. table 7.8 on p. 313). The company Galle/Carlier sold white wax to Gaspar de Roxas, a merchant from Lima (APS 16869, ff. 384r-385r, 463r-464r) and was involved in a bill of exchange between the Flemish families De Conique and Iquelman. Justo Galle, the brother of Vicente Galle was in association with them, being himself in Oostende (Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, p. 87; Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, pp. 15, 30). Yet, a direct connection could not be detected between that family and Miguel Galle.

349 In 1620, Juan Martinez was treasurer of the *Casa de la Moneda* of Sevilla.

350 APS 16869, ff. 423r-424r.

351 APS 16869, ff. 424r-426r, AGI Contratación 596A, s.f.; Domínguez Ortiz, "Los extranjeros en la vida española", p. 142; Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, p. 41.

352 APS 10060, ff. 263r-264v.

353 APS 16869, ff. 423r-424r.

Aduanza from Italy. When he was subjected to Spanish embargoes, because of his parents, he declared that his father was already naturalized and he too had received a letter of naturalization in 1618 or 1619. The lawsuit showed that he had been trading frequently with New Spain, selling a variety of European products, e.g. from France and Flanders. As return cargo, he registered five chests of sugar, some leather and eight chests of indigo.³⁵⁴

The last merchant was also in contact with New Spain: Esteban Delgado went there in 1619. He was the captain of the *nao* Nuestra Señora del Pilar (400 tons) which was loaded with 151 quintales of mercury. One year later he returned to Seville.³⁵⁵

It was these six persons who paid with their debts for most of the indigo purchased by Miguel Galle and Juan Tolinque. Even though the reason for the debts is unknown, the fact that Enrique Juan himself was also a trader of indigo indicates that the whole group of merchants was involved in the indigo trade between New Spain and Seville. Certainly, within the transatlantic indigo-business, Miguel Galle and Juan Tolinque had taken the role of European distributors of the dyestuff. Most likely, they sold it to the textile producers of Flanders and Northern France. An indication of the French connection can be

354 Frequently, Enrique Juan worked together with captain Pedro de Saloguen who was already mentioned transporting merchandise from Juan Bautista Sirman (cf. the footnote on p. 311). In 1613, Enrique Juan loaded a variety of merchandise on a ship to New Spain. A list of the merchandise exists, which, on different ships, was brought to New Spain by Enrique Juan in 1613 (AGI Pasajeros, L. 9, E. 3238 [PARES] and AGI Contratación 5334, N. 2, R. 16, ff. 1r-27r [PARES]). Part of the cargo was loaded on the Basque *nao* San Pedro (450 tons, built in 1613, charged 331 quintales of mercury) going to New Spain, the captain was Pedro de Saloguen, the owner was Firmin de Inurrica. The load consisted of 88 varas of linen, *gante fino*, for 1,455 ducats (16,000 reales), together with a minor cargo of butcher's knives, *esterlines* of color, certain *tablas*, and ribbons from Belduque. (For the total of 2,818 ducats (31.000 reales) he paid 9,000 mvd for the *almojarifazgo de Indias*, 1,800 mvd for the *avería*, 450 mvd for the *lonja* and 600 mvd for the Consulate. AGI Contratación 5334, N. 2, R. 16, ff. 6r-6v [PARES]). The ship came back in 1614, the master was Firmin de Inurrica junior. Captain Pedro de Saloguen did not come back till 1616, on the *nao* San Lucar (400 tons) from New Spain. It was then, that he provided Enrique Juan with the chests of indigo mentioned in the lawsuit. In 1619, Pedro de Saloguen went to Tierra Firme as master of his own ship now, the Basque *nao* San Salvador (350 tons), on its second voyage. AGI Contratación 596A, s.f.; cf. Chaunu and Chaunu, *Séville et l'Atlantique*, vol. 4, pp. 386-387, 470-471, 526-527.

355 The ship was built in 1610 in Havana to become one of the galleons of the *Armada de la Guardia*. In 1619, it was sold, most likely to captain Esteban Delgado himself. Chaunu and Chaunu, *Séville et l'Atlantique*, vol. 4, pp. 528-529, 584-545.

found in 1627. In that year, Miguel Galle and Juan Tolinque had trouble with the payment of 1,814 ducats (680.340 maravedies) from the royal treasurer of the *Casa de la Contratación*, Melchor Maldonado. The money was for a load of indigo, delivered by Miguel Galle, Juan Tolinque and the Frenchman Guillermo Guillu.³⁵⁶ The association between these three merchants was already established in 1620 (cf. p. 288) when they bought 957 quintales and 21 pounds of ginger, worth 6,444 ducats (70,881 reales). The ginger was shipped by captain Fernando Bueno³⁵⁷ who brought it from Puerto Rico.³⁵⁸

The variety of products Miguel Galle and Juan Tolinque traded can even be expanded upon. In March 1620, Diego de la Rosa, a soldier of the *Carrera de Indias* departing for Tierra Firme, bought different merchandise from Juan Tolinque, amounting to 55 ducats (600 reales). They comprised 56 pounds of card thread, 10 dozen hooks, two engravings with the images of *San Salvador* and *Nuestra Señora*, four maps of four parts of the world, five city maps and 50 reales in cash.³⁵⁹ Moreover, a connection to Madrid is shown, when Miguel Galle and Juan Tolinque encashed a bill of exchange from Madrid, drawn by Juan van Burlen, worth 255 ducats (2,800 reales).³⁶⁰

On the whole, the Flemings Juan Tolinque and Miguel Galle formed a Seville-based enterprise which bought and sold American and European products. Their main branch was indigo which was purchased from Spanish Indies traders. Thereby, they were in contact with compatriots and a Frenchman in Seville.

7.2.12 Guillen Estorm

Most of the outstanding Flemings of the year 1620 have been scrutinized, just four are lacking (cf. table 7.7 on p. 298). Rodrigo de Honbraque, number 11 in terms of centrality, has already been analyzed in connection with Lanfran David (p. 280). Antonio de Molinar only appeared together with the family Sirman and as supplier of tin (pp. 309 and 321; for private data p. 190). Fernando Carrillo (cf. p. 298) was notable too but just because of his role as

356 AGI Contratación 816, Autos entre partes, N. 17 [PARES].

357 Cf. centrality of 1620 on table 7.7 on p. 298.

358 APS 16869, ff. 995r-996r; a similar document without signatures is APS 16869, ff. 940r-941r. Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, pp. 606-608.

359 APS 3607, ff. 20v-21r.

360 APS 3607, f. 514.

stockbroker of Seville. He only appeared quoting the exchange rates between Seville and Amsterdam.³⁶¹

The fourth and last of the most notable merchants of 1620 to be analyzed is Guillen Estorm. His connecting function must not be forgotten. Frequently, Guillen Estorm operated in company with another Flemish merchant called Gutierrez Tristan. Guillen Estorm has been mentioned before, when he was the acceptor of bills of exchange from Antwerp for Niculas Antonio and Juan Bautista Sirman, amounting to 874 ducats (cf. pp. 304 and 307), and when he delivered linen and cotton textiles and tailor accessories to Juan Hesse (cf. p. 314). Thus, he had contact with central Flemish merchants and an important Dutchman of that year. With the exception of Juan Hesse, Guillen Estorm and Gutierrez Tristan only supplied medium-scale traders of Seville. The goods and their origins display a great variety,³⁶² as can be seen in table 7.13. Yet, their value did not equal those of a merchant such as Juan de Neve.

Table 7.13: Sales of Guillen Estorm

Amount	Merchandise	Value
416 ounces 15 adarmes	Golden thread	378 d
1 fardo (784 varas)	<i>Gantes</i>	341 d
31 pieces	Sleeves from Holland	316 d
524 varas 3 cuartas	Flemish lace	221 d
21 dozen	English stockings of different colors	183 d
32 pieces	White tassels from Brussels	140 d
TOTAL	—	1,579 d

Source: APS 10060, ff. 124, 166r-167v, 211v-212r, 399r-400r

Guillen Estorm mediated in a conflict between Flemings and a Portuguese: On behalf of the Fleming Ysayas Blomarte,³⁶³ he engineered a settlement with the Fleming Pedro de Tamese³⁶⁴ and the Portuguese Diego de Saravia.³⁶⁵ To conclude the settlement, Pedro de Tamese had to hand over a variety of Amer-

361 He also was the eighteenth most central node of the total network of 1620.

362 For more details of the merchandise, cf. the footnote on p. 314.

363 Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, p. 9.

364 Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, p. 87.

365 AGI 16870, ff. 129r-130r. For the Portuguese, cf. Aguado de los Reyes, “Lisboa, Sevilla, Amberes”, p. 106.

ican and Asian products, mainly cochineal, indigo, and silk, which amounted to 638 ducats (7,020 reales).³⁶⁶

Hence, Guillen Estorm was no large scale merchant, but the list of his products is respectable. He was in close financial contact with eminent Flemish merchants like Niculas Antonio and Juan Bautista Sirman, and sold merchandise to a Dutchman. He cooperated with different Flemings and a Portuguese in various businesses and sold merchandise to local Spanish traders. He thus had a hub-like function for the network and used his connections perfectly to increase his profit.

7.2.13 Synopsis

In 1620 the Flemish were most active in Seville. They appeared in almost one quarter of the entire 838 documents of 1620. 171 different Flemish actors could be found in 1620, which means that almost 12 percent of the nodes of the total network of the year (1,438 nodes) and 40 percent of the Flemish main network (443 nodes) were of Flemish origin. The network was divided into 16 subnetworks, whereby only the biggest one, which comprised over 85 percent of the nodes, was analyzed. The most dominant and remarkable Flemings have been scrutinized more thoroughly, 15 in number.³⁶⁷ The size of the network of the year 1620 enabled the identification of three major centers of Flemish activities. The involvement of Flemings in the commerce with linen and cotton textiles from the Flemish homeland (via Dunkirk) is not surprising, while the dominance of Flemings in the copper and tin acquisition for the royal Spanish fleets is. Moreover, historiographical perception of the hegemony of Flemings in the wool industry and trade of Andalusia were able to be confirmed.³⁶⁸ In all of these fields, the Fleming Pedro Giles played an extraordinary role. He participated in all of them, in the Dunkirk and Écija affairs together with his Spanish companion Antonio Bennet, and in the bronze business, he was even a royal *asentista*, together with his compatriot Francisco Ballesteros.

366 APS 16870, ff. 328v-330r. The merchandise comprised eight arrobas of *grana silvestre*, 125 pounds of indigo, 50 varas of *gasa de seda*, six *sayas bordadas* from China, 20 pounds of *tela falsa* and a bond worth 2,180 reales.

367 These are the 15 most central ones on table 7.7 (on p. 298), except for the stockbroker Fernando Carrillo. Juan Hesse who is of Dutch or German origin is not included nor is Francisco Ballesteros.

368 Cf. Vidal Ortega and Vila Vilar, "El comercio lanero"; Israel, "Spanish Wool Exports and the European Economy".

Nonetheless, it is not Pedro Giles who emerges as the most central merchant of his time but Niculas Antonio. Thereby, the description of E. Vila Vilar is confirmed, which states that he was the most outstanding Flemish merchant in Seville at that time.³⁶⁹ The next most important Flemings were Juan Bautista Sirman and his brother Pedro Sirman who have not found so much attention in historiography. Yet, their commercial spectrum was wide and they linked many other foreigners in Seville.

All of the investigated Flemings had contact to each other within the big subnetwork of that year, at least indirectly. Besides, every one of them was in contact with compatriots, eight with Frenchmen, seven with Portuguese, four with Englishmen, four with merchants from the Italian Peninsula, at least three with Dutchmen and one had a contact with a German. The most frequently mentioned locations for the commercial activities of the Flemings were Antwerp and Amsterdam, followed by Dunkirk and Écija. Cities like Bruges, Ghent, Cologne, Hamburg, Genoa, or Venice also transpired. Spanish cities such as Madrid, Ávila, San Sebastian, and Jerez were contacted too and also present-day Venezuela, Puerto Rico, Mexico, the Canary Islands, and even China played a role in the trade and commerce of the Flemings.

Family connections were essential for the Flemish merchants of Seville. In six cases, family was intertwined with commerce. That was true for Niculas Antonio, Francisco de Conique, the Sirman brothers, Jaques Bibien, and Luis Clut junior. The examples of Francisco de Conique and Francisco Nicolas furthermore show transmission of business from father to son. The families Sirman, Clut, and De Neve, moreover, reveal the successful cooperation between brothers.

Another characteristic of the year 1620 was that many of the Flemish merchants united and worked together temporarily in companies, which could be analyzed well, regarding the case of the axis Seville-Dunkirk or the indigo company of Juan Tolinque. Some of these companies worked together for many years.

Six of the 15 investigated Flemings were in possession of a letter of naturalization. Yet, not all of them were found in the *Consulado de Cargadores a Indias*, only Niculas Antonio, Juan de Neve, and Francisco de Conique. Apart from them, also the Sirman brothers, Geronimo Joansen, and Juan Tolinque were in touch with America, at least indirectly. That makes a percentage of about 40 percent of the leading Flemings who were connected to the Indies trade.

369 Vila Vilar, "Los europeos en el comercio americano", p. 294.

Moreover, most of the Flemings were strongly involved in the inner-European commerce.

In respect of the type of business the Flemings were doing, the year 1620 showed an elevated share of trade with merchandise. Not surprisingly, as in the preceding selected years, textiles were the dominant branch. Rodrigo de Honbraques was the only one who could not be related to any kind of textile business, all the other Flemings traded linen, cotton, or woolen textiles or, at least, as in the case of Cornelio de Groote, they sold them on behalf of others. The two major fields of activity of the Flemings were the commerce with linen (especially via Dunkirk) and wool (especially via Écija). Of the textiles from Northern Europe, the majority presumably came from Flanders and France, mainly *ruanes*. The remaining European products derived, on the one hand, from Spain itself (wineskins, olive oil) and, on the other, from – or at least via – Flanders (wax, haberdashery). Only Luis Clut junior received goods from Italy. The American goods included dyewood, tobacco, *cañafistula* (a medical plant), and above all indigo and cochineal.³⁷⁰

Besides the above-mentioned sectors of wool, bronze, and linen, Flemings also gained a special role as distributors of other products within the commerce of Seville, which made them hubs of the commercial network of the city. Juan Bautista Sirman and the brothers De Neve became, for example, central hubs for cochineal, Cornelio de Groote for northern textiles, and the company of Juan Tolinque and Miguel Galle for indigo. These facts confirm the impression that a small group of Flemish merchants dominated certain sectors of the trade of Seville.³⁷¹

Seven of the 15 merchants were found to be involved in the commerce with bills of exchange, which were almost all drawn in Antwerp. Interestingly, even more Flemings, namely eight, were active in the insurance business of Seville. Four of them gave credits. None of them was involved in affairs concerning real estate.³⁷² The trade volume of the Flemings was considerable in 1620: The revenues were 57,835 ducats and the expenses 75,409 ducats, adding up to an ascertainable trade volume of 133,244 ducats.³⁷³

370 Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, pp. 606-617.

371 Thus, the thesis must be challenged that the foreigners in Seville were merely commissioned agents of the larger commercial houses abroad (cf. for example, Stein and Stein, *Silver, Trade, and War*, p. 76; cf. Kamen, *Empire*, p. 298). Some of them probably were, but our data suggests that many others were not (cf. p. 98).

372 Except for the purchase of the *lavadería* of Écija.

373 The highest revenues, by far, were reached by the De Neve brothers with 28,903 ducats, followed by Niculas Antonio with 7,113 ducats. The brothers Sirman had the most

7.3 Conclusions of the 1620 Trade

The total network of the year 1620 was the biggest one, as it had most nodes by far. The most outstanding participants of the network were of Portuguese origin,³⁷⁴ but Flemings appeared more often in the scrutinized documents.³⁷⁵ In 1620, the highest number of Flemings were found.³⁷⁶ Including the Northern Netherlands, which were at truce with Spain at that time, their combined number amounted to 171. The French community presents itself as comparatively limited, with just 56 participants. Still, for them as well, the year 1620 marks the highest participation in the commerce of Seville between 1580 and 1640.

All investigated Flemings and Frenchmen in Seville had contact with compatriots. The most active (and central) merchants of the main network of each nation were connected directly or indirectly within large subnetworks. Besides the contact to compatriots and Spaniards, Frenchmen most frequently had connections to Flemings, and, conversely, Flemings to Frenchmen (accordingly with Portuguese). Thus, the scrutinized data shows a strong tendency within both groups, first, to establish or maintain contact with compatriots, and second, to seek economic alliances with the other group. Links to the Italian and the English nations were rather rare for Flemings and for Frenchmen in 1620.

All of the analyzed merchants were citizens of Seville. However, two of the seven investigated Frenchmen were not very integrated into the society of Andalusia. Among the Flemish nation, on the other hand, all of the 15 scrutinized merchants were part of the local society. Plenty of evidence can be found, as various Flemings founded cooperations with local merchants or held important local offices. Additional hints are the letters of naturalization. Such letters were given to six Frenchmen (three investigated) and 22 Flemings (six investigated). Concluding, it can be considered that Flemish merchants in 1620 showed a higher interest to settle down than Frenchmen.

The interest of both nations in the American trade is certain. Yet, little proof could be found in the notarial records. The reason for that may be that few of the naturalized merchant already possessed that letter in 1620, which was a prerequisite for the Indies trade. Just four of them were naturalized before 1620,

expenses with 13,891 ducats, followed by Juan Tolinque and company with 12,892 ducats and Cornelio Adriansen and company with 12,294 ducats.

374 Cf. table 7.1 on p. 269.

375 Cf. the figures 1.6 and 1.7 on pp. 89 and 91.

376 The percentage of Flemings within the total network, on the other hand, was still increasing until 1640.

namely Nicolas Antonio, the two brothers Pedro and Juan Bautista Sirman, and Francisco de Conique, all of them Flemings. Moreover, only Francisco de Conique figured amongst the *Cargadores a Indias* in the year 1620. Interestingly, within the next years, five of the Frenchmen became members of the *Consulado de Cargadores a Indias*, while the number of Flemings only rose to three. In 1620, however, it was rather Flemings than Frenchmen who traded directly to America, according to notarial records.

While the direct traffic to the Indies was rare in 1620, Flemings and Frenchmen were frequently in contact with some of the major gateway cities of Europe. Venice was still important with regard to the import of Spanish woollens. However, Italian merchants did not have the strong position which they held in 1600, and the wool export trade to Italy was controlled largely by Flemings. Also, Italian goods only appeared sporadically in the lists of the investigated merchants of Seville. It was rather the ports of Northwestern Europe which stood out regarding the foreign trade of French and Flemish merchants of Seville. The merchants were inclined to obtain linen from their compatriots. For example, *melinges* and *brines* from Brittany were only purchased by Frenchmen, while *holandas*, *gantes*, *mitanes* and *cambrais* from the Netherlands were only bought by Flemings. *Ruanes*, the most demanded item of European textiles in the Indies, were the only linen textiles that were purchased by merchants of both nations. It can also be presumed that merchandise with uncertain origin, like metalware or haberdashery, were bought in places close to the home region of the merchant. The final destination for most of the products was the American market.

Some basic differences between the commerce of two nations in Seville can be found. The Flemings displayed three focal points of their commerce: the trade with linen (flow of trade from Dunkirk), with copper and tin (with an *asentista* contract), and the involvement in the wool trade of Andalusia (especially in Écija). Thereby, Flemish merchants frequently acted in cooperation with Spaniards or compatriots, sometimes including close relatives. In two cases, Flemings were in the position of acting as hubs for the market of Seville, concerning the distribution of the American products indigo and cochineal. Frenchmen, on the other hand, did not play such a central role for the commerce of the city. They did not have such focal fields of activity either. Also, associations were not so frequent as for Flemings.

Besides the commerce with merchandise, pure financial transactions also took place. One of the Frenchmen and seven of the Flemish merchants were involved in transactions regarding bills of exchange, mostly drawn in Antwerp. Nine merchants invested in the insurance business, one of them was a French-

man. Three French merchants and four Flemish ones gave credits to other merchants.

The ascertainable trade volume is higher for Flemings than for Frenchmen. The French volume amounted to 52,170 ducats, while the Flemish was 133,244 ducats. Taking the number of the investigated merchants into account, the average revenues amount to 3,684 ducats (for an average French merchant) 3,856 ducats (average Flemish merchant) respectively, and the expenses to 3,769 ducats (French) 5,027 ducats (Flemish) respectively.³⁷⁷ The immense volume of merchandise which was traded, the emergence of a stronger financial market,³⁷⁸ and the very high ascertainable trade volume exemplify the year 1620. These facts correspond to the theory that the time around 1620 was the peak of the bullion imports of America.³⁷⁹

377 The highest yields from Flemish merchants surpassed by far the ascertainable trade volume of the Frenchmen.

378 The number of bills of exchange in 1620 was higher than in the years before, yet, they were not dominant, considering the large ascertainable trade volume. That relates to the theory that a higher amount of bullion in the European commerce reduced transactions with bills and bypassed old centers of trade like fairs. Cf. Priotti, "Metales preciosos".

379 Cf. p. 40.

8. Commercial Networks of 1640

In the notarial documents of 1640 (office number XII and XXIV), 297 documents were scrutinized more thoroughly. The most central actors are shown in table 8.1. Beside eight individuals of probable Spanish origin, six Portuguese appear on the list, which underlines their dominant position during the reign of Philip IV.¹ It stands out that the Italian community was also large with

Table 8.1: The 20 Most Central Nodes of the Network of the Year 1640

Name	Origin	Nat.	Cargador	Contrib.
Francisco Fernandez de Solis	Portugal	1633	1637-43	6,671
Simon Canis	Flanders	1630	1635-42	4,495
Luis Davila	<i>Portugal</i>	—	1638	2,319
Bartolome Dongo	Genoa	1626	1635-44	6,671
Ruy Lopez de Silva	<i>Portugal</i>	—	—	11,023
Tomas de Mañara	Genoa	1607	1611-48	15,375
Manuel Rodriguez de Andrada	<i>Portugal</i>	—	—	6,671
Juan de Olarte y Seron	—	—	1640-70	11,023
Pedro de Alogue	France	1630	1637	11,023
Pedro Sanchez	—	—	1638	1,231
Julio Sinori	Genoa	—	1637-40	3,407
Simon Suarez Perez	Portugal	1639	1639-43	6,671
Bartolome de la Mesqueta	—	—	1637-51	—
Fernando Cortes	—	—	—	—
Martin de Arregui	—	—	1635-37	3,407
Antonio Maria Bucarelli	Florence	1616	1629-38	6,671
Pablos Codde	Flanders	1635	1637	2,319
Sebastian Sanchez Barba	—	—	—	—
Alonso Aleman	—	—	1637	2,319
Alfonso Rodriguez Pasariño	Portugal	1632	1637-42	11,375

Explanation: “Nat.” means the date of naturalization of the merchant, and “Cargador” means the first mentioning as *Cargador de Indias*; italic written names indicate an estimated Portuguese origin; for the contributions (“Contrib.”) cf. p. 93

Source: Besides the cited locations in the chapter, APS 7497, f. 312, AGI Contratación 50B and 596B, s.f.; Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, pp. 1-82; Vila Vilar, “Una amplia nómina”, pp. 145-185; Domínguez Ortiz, “Los extranjeros en la vida española”, pp. 137-162; Pohl, *Die Portugiesen in Antwerpen*, pp. 2, 71, 85

1 Regarding the Portuguese dominance, cf. p. 93.

four important merchants. Two participants came from Flanders and one was a Frenchman, which is similar to the proportions of 1620.² The contribution in the last column of figure 8.1 refers to the forced exchange of bullion into vellón, which was explained above.³ Everyone who was subjected to the forced exchange was, almost certainly, an Indies merchant, and the amount they had to contribute can be considered more or less equivalent to the volume of their American business. Among all merchants of the selected year, the Genoese Tomas de Mañara⁴ contributed most to the forced exchange (15,375 ducats); and among the second largest contributors was already the Frenchman Pedro de la Alogue (11,032 ducats).

8.1 French Networks in 1640 and the Inference of the Embargo since 1635

For Frenchmen in Spain, a big disruption of their private and professional life took place between 1620 and 1640: the outbreak of the war between the Spanish and the French monarchy. After Luis XIII declared war on Spain in May 1635, Philip VI reacted by proclaiming an embargo on subjects of the French king.⁵ Merchandise belonging to Frenchmen was seized, amounting to 1,466,813 ducats, of which 681,572 ducats were taken in Seville alone.⁶ The income gained through this embargo was so high that it surpassed the king's share from American bullion in that year.⁷ The French trade volume – and their possessions in Spain – were considerably high, at least till 1635.⁸ The merchants who lost the most were from Seville and are shown in table 8.2. Three of them had already appeared in 1620. The total value of the confiscated merchandise of the five Frenchmen amounts to 631,947 ducats. That is almost the same amount which was seized in the whole city of Seville. Most other French merchants had left the city beforehand, as they were warned of

2 Omitting the French stockbroker Fernando Carrillo in 1620, the proportions were equal.

3 Cf. p. 93 and table 1.3 on p. 95.

4 For information of the family De Mañara, cf. Vila Vilar, *Los Corzo y los Mañara*.

5 Cf. Alloza Aparicio, "El comercio francés"; Bercé, *La naissance dramatique*, pp. 143-164.

6 AGS C.S. 154, s.f.

7 The yearly average of bullion arriving for the Spanish king between 1621 and 1639 was 1,255,722 ducats (Dominguez Ortiz, *Política y hacienda de Felipe IV*, p. 318), and between 1630 and 1635, it was only 1,136,118 ducats. Hamilton, *American Treasure and the Price Revolution*, p. 34.

8 For a list of the seized goods, cf. AGS, C.S. 149-1.

Table 8.2: The Merchants Most Affected by the Embargo of the Year 1635

Name	Origin	Nat.	Cargador	Ducats
Pedro de la Farxa	Salers	1623	1635-39	218,128
Pedro de Alogue	Salers	1630	1637	175,509
Lanfran David	Rouen	1631	1635-48	102,142
Alberto Juan Treguarte	Saint-Malo	1624	—	84,945
Jaques Bules	—	1631	1635-40	51,223
TOTAL	—	—	—	631,947

Explanation: “Nat.” means the date of naturalization of the merchant and “Cargador” means the first mention of *Cargador de Indias*

Source: AGS C.S. 168, s.f.; AGI Contratación 50B, 596B, s.f.; Vila Vilar, “Una amplia nómina”

the impending conflict. Pedro de la Farxa, Pedro de Alogue, Lanfran David, Alberto Juan Treguarte, and Jaques Bules had received letters of naturalization several years before 1635. Probably, they misleadingly believed themselves to be safe from Philip’s IV embargo and stayed in Seville. All the same, he confiscated their goods. As a response, they sent petitions to the king to acknowledge their licenses and naturalizations. In October 1636, Philip IV answered. In exchange for a donation of 140,000 ducats, he would return the confiscated merchandise, acknowledge their naturalizations and permit them to retain their trade in Seville.⁹ The lawsuits about the recognition of the naturalizations of the five merchants continued, though, for many more years.¹⁰

After the declaration of war, the situation for French merchants in Seville changed. This is not only noticeable in the reduced number of Frenchmen in the city but also in their changed behavior. By comparing the commerce of the two merchants who already appeared in 1620, Pedro de la Farxa and Lanfran David, a big disparity to 1640 becomes evident. While in 1620, they were dealing with merchandise from all over Europe and America, their activities later on were far more limited to financial transactions. On the one hand, this

9 AGI Contratación 50B, s.f.; Alloza Aparicio, “El comercio francés”, p. 144, states that it was already in 1635 that Philip IV was merciful, and Collado Villalta, “El embargo de bienes”, pp. 171-173, found the royal bond drawn in 1638.

10 That could be seen in the renewed applications of *naturalaleza* of Lanfran David and Pedro de Alogue (AGI Contratación 50B, s.f.); for Lanfran David the lawsuit lasted even until 1648. AGS C.S. 168, s.f. A similar situation occurred when another embargo against the French was declared in 1673 and, in spite of his naturalization, the Frenchman Antonio Balmier’s goods were confiscated. Herrero Sánchez, “La política de embargos y el contrabando”, p. 190.

was probably the natural result of an evolution of their businesses. On the other, it was certainly also the effect of the limited space left by the Spanish authorities for Frenchmen and the commerce with French commodities. The French network of 1640 displays clearly the results of the outbreak of the war: No French goods and only few French merchants appeared. The most eminent ones were in possession of a letter of naturalization, which means that – after the turbulences of the first years of war – they probably could have carried out their Indies trade in spite of the restrictions against Frenchmen. In any case, the war was a grave hindrance for the commercial relations between the two monarchies.

The Frenchmen of the French network of 1640 can be seen in table 8.3 in order of their centrality. Of the 297 documents more thoroughly investigated,¹¹ only 21 were found to contain data about Frenchmen, 10 different names were identified. Seven of them took part in the forced exchange of bullion, four of them were in the group that paid 11,023 ducats each, i.e. Jaques Bules, Pedro de Alogue, Lanfran David, and Pedro de la Farxa. Alberto Juan Treguarte also contributed, with a considerable 6,671 ducats. One can consider that the share of the contributions reflects the investment in the Indies

Table 8.3: The 10 Frenchmen of the Year 1640

Name	Residence	Origin	Nat.	Cargador	Contrib.
Jaques Bules	Seville	—	1631	1635-40	11,023
Pedro de Alogue	Seville	Salers	1630	1637	11,023
Alberto Juan Treguarte	Seville	Saint-Malo	1624	—	6,671
<i>Isabel Treguarte</i>	Seville	—	—	—	—
Lanfran Davidc	Seville	Rouen	1631	1635-48	11,023
Pedro de la Farxac(+)	Seville	Salers	1623	1635-39	11,023
Nicolas Magon	Saint-Malo	Saint-Malo	—	—	—
Alonso Magon	Cádiz	Saint-Malo	1630	—	—
<i>Juan de Sandier</i>	Seville	—	—	1636-42	4,495
Arnao de Faoc	Seville	Bayonne	—	—	2,319

Explanation: Italic refers to assumptions; c means member of the French consulate in 1620; “Nat.” means the date of naturalization of the merchant and “Cargador” means the mention of *Cargador de Indias*. Pedro de la Farxa was already deceased (+) by 1640, it is his widow Antonia de Antiaque who continued his business. For the contributions (“Contrib.”) cf. p. 93

Source: Additional data taken from Gil-Bermejo García, “Mercaderes sevillanos II”; Vila Vilar, “Una amplia nómina”; Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, pp. 91-92

11 Notaries number XII (legajo 7496 and 7497), mainly April and May, and XXIV (legajo 16979), especially March and April.

trade. Thus, the five merchants who were most affected by the embargo clearly remained in the Indies commerce. Yet, regarding the scrutinized data of the year 1640, just one French merchant figured amongst the most central 20, namely Pedro de Alogue.

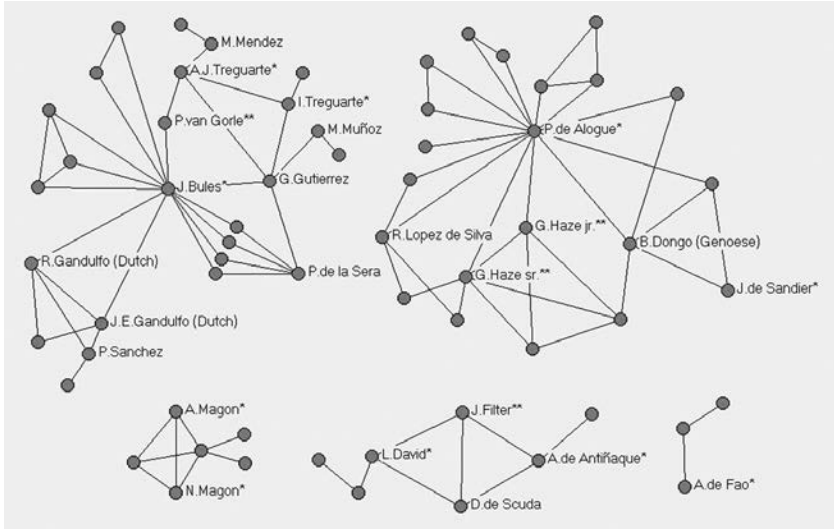


Figure 8.1: The French Networks of the Year 1640

As displayed in figure 8.1, five networks of different complexity emerge. The largest of them is the one around Jaques Bules and Alberto Juan Treguarte, followed by the one of Pedro de Alogue. The third network emerged around Lanfran David and Pedro de la Farxa. The latter was already deceased by 1640 but his wife Antonia de Antiñaque stayed in business. All three of these networks are separate from each other, yet they would be interrelated by taking into account the private connections established in the preceding part. A smaller network belonged to the Flemish brothers Magon, and another one to Arnao de Fao. Subsequently, the French subnetworks will be analyzed, starting with the largest one.

8.1.1 The Bules-Treguarte Network

Alberto Juan Treguarte¹² and Jaques Bules were already naturalized by 1640. For Alberto Juan Treguarte, some private details are available, which show that

¹² Sometimes, he is referred to only as Alberto Juan.

he had come from Saint-Malo, which was on the rise in the course of the 17th century,¹³ and that he had purchased real estate in Andalusia (cf. p. 179).¹⁴ For Jaques Bules, on the other hand, no private information was found, even though he was an important merchant of the city.¹⁵

Alberto Juan Treguarte

The commercial activities of Alberto Juan Treguarte can be demonstrated by different lawsuits. Two of them took place before the outbreak of war in 1635, and one after 1645, when his naturalization was ultimately recognized. In 1629, Alberto Juan Treguarte expected merchandise from Havana which was transported by master Fernando Farfan. The vessel was shipwrecked, and, presumably, not all of the cargo could be saved.¹⁶ In 1630, Alberto Juan Treguarte purchased Andalusian products from Ana de Cueva, the widow and heir of Fernando Romo de Velasco: pipes of wine and casks of olives.¹⁷ After the settlement of the embargo affairs with the Spanish authorities in the second half of the 1640s, Alberto Juan Treguarte received indigo from the Indies, which was brought by the *maestre de plata* Alejandro de Rivera.¹⁸ In the year 1640, however, his activities did not include any trade with merchandise.

On the 16th of January 1640, Alberto Juan Treguarte acted on behalf of Isabel Treguarte, who might have been his sister. She was the widow of a captain named Del Foso and active in the commercial life of Seville, at least until 1645, when she did business with Miguel de Estrella, who in 1635 had been the owner of the *Capitana* and *Almiranta*.¹⁹ On behalf of his supposed sister, Alberto Juan Treguarte received 114 ducats (1,258 reales de plata doble)

13 Cf. Lespagnol, *Messieurs de Saint-Malo*; Bottin, "Réflexions sur un modèle de croissance commerciale".

14 A French merchant named Sebastian Treguarte became naturalized in 1634, but no direct link to Alberto Juan Treguarte could be found.

15 From the eight investigated documents, five are about Jaques Bules (one proxy, invoice, substitution and two obligations) and three about Alberto Juan Treguarte (one obligation and two invoices).

16 AGI Escribanía 1081B, Pleitos de la Casa de la Contratación [PARES]. Cf. Chaunu and Chaunu, *Séville et l'Atlantique*, vol. 5, pp. 178-179.

17 AGI Contratación 820, Autos entre partes, N. 4 [PARES].

18 AGI Contratación 841, Autos entre partes, N. 1, R. 8 [PARES].

19 AGI Escribanía 957, Sentencias del consejo [PARES]; AGI Contratación 826A [PARES]; cf. Chaunu and Chaunu, *Séville et l'Atlantique*, vol. 5, pp. 264-265.

as the rest of 998 ducats (10,968 reales de plata doble) which captain Gaspar Gutierrez owed Isabel Treguarte.²⁰

A connection to Africa was established on the 30th of March 1640. Melchor Mendez, a citizen of Sanlúcar, received about 181 ducats (2,000 reales de plata doble) from Alberto Juan Treguarte for a ship insurance. The insured *nao* crossed the Atlantic from Loanda, Angola, to Cartagena de Indias, where it was seized by Dutchmen. The load consisted of African slaves who belonged to Melchor Mendez. Due to the fact that the slave trade of that time and in that region was dominated by Portuguese traders,²¹ it can be presumed that Melchor Mendez was of Portuguese origin.²²

Finally, a connection to a Fleming was also found. On the 7th of February, Pedro van Gorle agreed to pay about 5,227 ducats (57,500 reales de plata doble) to Alberto Juan Treguarte at the end of the year, or earlier if the galleons from Tierra Firme arrived before that date.²³ Pedro van Gorle was a Flemish citizen from Seville who had been naturalized since 1634.²⁴ To sum up, Alberto Juan Treguarte took care of business for his supposed sister, insured a Portuguese slave trader and financed the American business of a Flemish merchant. Hence, in 1640, the French merchant Alberto Juan Treguarte had become a financier who participated in the market with his liquid assets instead of trading merchandise.²⁵

Jaques Bules

The connection between Alberto Juan Treguarte and Jaques Bules was established via Pedro van Gorle. On the 30th of January 1640, Pedro van Gorle agreed to pay 3,711 ducats (40,817 reales de plata doble) to Jaques Bules, as partial reimbursement for the 4,620 ducats (50,815 reales de plata doble) he had received as a credit. The payment was due at the end of 1640 or earlier if the

20 APS 16979, f. 34.

21 Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, p. 524; Klein, *The Atlantic Slave Trade*, pp. 74-102; Mauro, *Le Portugal et l'Atlantique*; Böttcher, *Aufstieg und Fall eines atlantischen Handelsimperiums*, p. 140-146.

22 APS 16979, f. 411v. Additionally, there is a Portuguese named Melchor Mendez de Acosta, citizen of Seville, who became naturalized in 1631 (AGI Contratación 50B, s.f. and 596B). They could be the same person.

23 APS 7496, f. 438.

24 Cf. p. 382; AGI Contratación 596A, s.f.

25 More information on the family Treguarte can be found in Priotti, "Plata americana", pp. 116-125.

galleons from Tenerife arrived before that date.²⁶ Thus, both French merchants financed the overseas business of Pedro van Gorle with credits amounting to almost 10,000 ducats. Thus, the question arises whether the Fleming was an independent business partner or rather an agent for the French merchants.

Three more times, Jaques Bules appeared as drawer of credits. The first credit leads to Cádiz. On the 31st of May 1640, Jaques Bules received the reimbursement of a credit of 45 ducats (700 reales de vellón) originally drawn by an alderman of Cádiz concerning the equipment of the navy of 1639.²⁷ Thus, Jaques Bules had helped the alderman to finance his American business. The second credit also leads to the Indies. On the 14th of May, Jaques Bules gave a credit of 4,533 ducats (71,240 reales de vellón) to three citizens of Seville who were preparing their voyages to America. The remuneration was to be done on their return.²⁸

The third credit leads to the Netherlands and also connects to America. It was drawn on the 27th of March 1640. The brothers Rolando and Esteban Gandulfo (cf. p. 380), of Dutch origin, both citizens of Seville, passed an obligation of about 1,860 ducats (20,456 reales de plata doble) in their favor to Jaques Bules. With this cession, they paid off their debts. The Dutch brothers had given a credit to captain Pedro Sanchez, obviously for the trade with America, and eventually they conceded the obligation to their French creditor Jaques Bules.²⁹

Finally, a link in the subnetwork leads back to Alberto Juan Treguarte. Already in August 1638, Fernando de Palma Carrillo, a resident of Antwerp,³⁰ gave a general proxy to Jaques Bules. Two years later, Jaques Bules passed the proxy to captain Gaspar Gutierrez – who had already been in contact with Alberto Juan Treguarte above – and three other citizens of Seville on their way to the Indies. Once they arrived, they were to collect the debts that Pedro de la Sera, a resident of New Spain, had with Fernando de Palma Carrillo. Thus, Jaques Bules acted as a local agent in Seville for Fernando de Palma Carrillo from Antwerp.

26 APS 7496, f. 439.

27 APS 7497, f. 973v. By 1640, the competition between Cádiz and Seville had become stronger. Cf. Girard, *La rivalité commerciale*.

28 APS 7497, f. 929.

29 APS 7497, f. 5.

30 The Spanish family De Palma Carrillo was involved in business with Rouen and maintained their connections over generations. Demeulenaere-Douyère, “La colonie espagnole de Rouen”, pp. 30, 40; Vázquez de Prada, *Letres marchandes*, vol. 1, p. 226.

Concluding this subnetwork, it can be said that, according to the definition of A. Domínguez Ortiz,³¹ Alberto Juan Treguarte and Jaques Bules were not only rich merchants but *hombres de negocios*. This means that they dedicated themselves rather to financial speculations than to commercial adventures. They pulled the strings behind the scenes and had others do the risky business.

8.1.2 Pedro de Alogue

The Frenchman Pedro de Alogue was a citizen of Seville who became naturalized in 1630. He too can be considered an *hombre de negocios*, and by 1640, he was extremely rich. In 1638, he drew a maritime credit (*riesgo marítimo*) of 4,775 ducats (52,520 reales de plata) for business with New Spain.³² His network is displayed in figure 8.2.

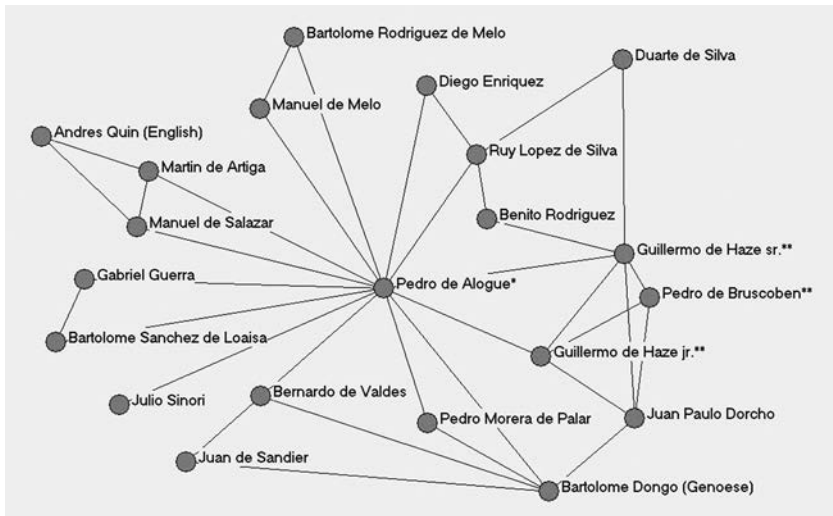


Figure 8.2: The Network of Pedro de Alogue

Pedro de Alogue was involved in transactions with bills of exchange. Twice, his bills came back from Antwerp, contested and unpaid: On the 4th of January 1640, Pedro de Alogue paid 2,615 ducats (28,762.25 reales de plata doble) to the Genoese Bartolome Dongo, a citizen of Seville. Bartolome Dongo had received his letter of naturalization in 1626, he figured among the *Cargadores*

31 Domínguez Ortiz, "Los extranjeros en la vida española", p. 23.

32 Bernal Rodríguez, *La financiación de la Carrera de Indias*, pp. 580-581: the debtors were A. and P. Escoto, possibly of Genoese origin.

a Indias and was the fourth most central node of the year 1640. The money should have been paid in Antwerp by the widow of the Fleming Guillermo de Haze and company (cf. p. 382) to Juan Paolo Dorcho, a business partner of Bartolome Dongo maybe of Genoese origin himself. The bill was presented to Guillermo de Haze junior, as partner of the company, but on the 7th of November 1639 he refused to accept it. Consequently, Pedro de Alogue had to pay the bill in Seville himself. The payment was carried out about two month later by Pedro Morera de Palar.³³

A similar case took place on the 3rd of April 1640, when Pedro de Alogue had to pay about 1,020 ducats to Ruy Lopez de Silva. A certain Duarte de Silva appeared as payee in Antwerp. The widow of Guillermo de Haze senior, again, should have realized the payment as acceptor of the bill. Yet on the 9th of January 1640, the widow refused to pay because the commission was missing.³⁴ Therefore, Pedro de Alogue, again, had to realize the payment himself. In the first case, his partner in Seville was a Genoese merchant with a companion in Antwerp. In the second case his partner was Ruy Lopez de Silva, who was the fifth most central node in the network of 1640. He was a citizen of Seville and knight of the order of Santiago, a Portuguese origin may be suspected.³⁵ His partner in Antwerp was Duarte de Silva, possibly a relative of Ruy Lopez de Silva. Figure 8.2 also shows the different connections within these two bills of exchange.

Another connection to the Genoese Indies merchant Bartolome Dongo was encountered, when, on the 17th of March 1640, Pedro de Alogue and the alderman Juan de Sandier³⁶ paid him 2,091 ducats (23,000 reales de plata doble). The payment was made according to an obligation which had become due at the end of July 1639. It was linked to the arrival of seven silver galleons from Tierra Firme which, in fact, had already arrived in Cádiz on the 17th of July 1639.³⁷ However, the obligation was redeemed exactly eight months later. The amount of 1,000 ducats (11,000 reales de plata) was paid by Pedro de Alogue, 727 ducats (8,000 reales de plata) by Juan de Sandier on behalf of Pedro de Alogue, and the remaining 364 ducats (4,000 reales de plata) by

33 APS 16979, f. 5.

34 APS 16979, f. 422.

35 Collado Villalta, "El embargo de bienes", p. 175; Aguado de los Reyes, "El apogeo de los judíos portugueses", p. 153. Ruy Lopez de Silva's Portuguese origin was not incorporated into the calculations of the networks nor the merchant elite because it was detected only after the computation was finished.

36 Vila Vilar, "Una amplia nómina", p. 179.

37 Chaunu and Chaunu, *Séville et l'Atlantique*, vol. 5, p. 350.

Juan de Sandier on behalf of Bernardo de Valdes and company, a *comprador de oro y plata* of Seville. Juan de Sandier was probably affiliated to the French De Sandier (Tisandier) family which, in 1620, had two members, Antonio and Francisco, in the French consulate of Seville (cf. p. 285).³⁸ The credit of 2,091 ducats, which was given to the French merchants by Bartolome Dongo, suggests that the French merchants were in need of money for their American trade. Thus, Pedro de Alogue did not only act as drawer of bills of exchange but also as creditor and as investor in the trade with Tierra Firme – he was a member of the *Consulado de Cargadores a Indias*, since at least 1637.³⁹

A direct contact with Italy was established, when Pedro de Alogue paid 1,400 ducats (22,000 reales de vellón) to the Genoese Julio Sinori for his obligation from the 29th of November 1639.⁴⁰ Julio Sinori was a central Indies trader who participated in the forced exchange of bullions (cf. table 8.1 on p. 352). Another remuneration took place on the 28th of March, when Pedro de Alogue paid 1,765 ducats (27,732 reales de vellón) to Gabriel de Guerra, a citizen of Seville, as two thirds of another obligation.

Pedro de Alogue was also connected to an Englishman, at least indirectly. Andres Quin, an English resident of Seville, passed an obligation of about 375 ducats (5,896 reales de vellón) to Manuel de Salazar, a citizen of Seville. The money was to be charged from Martin de Artiga as the rest of about 750 ducats (11,792 reales de vellón). Pedro de Alogue and Manuel de Salazar himself had acted as guarantors for Martin de Artiga.⁴¹ Thus, when the Englishman handed over the cession to Pedro de Alogue, the business ended.

Pedro de Alogue was also involved in the African slave trade, financing a slave ship going to Angola. On the 17th of April 1637, Manuel de Melo, on his way to Angola, had received a credit from Pedro de Alogue, amounting to 1,200 ducats (13,196 reales). The guarantor of Manuel de Melo was Bartolome Rodriguez de Melo, a treasurer of the *Reales Alcázares* of Seville. Three years later, on the 18th of April 1640, Pedro de Alogue ceded this payment obligation to Bartolome Rodriguez de Melo. Thus, by handing back the obligation to the guarantor, the business seems to have ended – without revealing any details. Considering the fact that voyages to Angola very likely had to do with the Portuguese slave trade, it can be assumed that both debtor and guar-

38 Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, p. 91.

39 Vila Vilar, “Una amplia nómina”, p. 146.

40 APS 7497, f. 99. For the Genoese origin of Julio Sinori (Sibori y Gueci), cf. AHN OM-Caballeros Santiago, Exp. 7750 [PARES].

41 APS 16979, f. 284v.

antor were Portuguese.⁴² Keeping in mind that the second surname is decisive for Portuguese families, the kinship of Bartolome and Manuel is likely. Therefore, it can be interpreted that in 1637 the Frenchman Pedro de Alogue had given a credit to a Portuguese slave trader, and that three years later the debt was redeemed by the guarantor who was also a relative of this slave trader. By ceding the obligation back to the debtors, their business relationship ended.⁴³

To sum up, Pedro de Alogue was a very rich and active merchant of Seville – his expenses amounted to a considerable 9,727 ducats. He was the central node of a network which involved Genoese, Flemish, and English partners and most probably also Portuguese and other Frenchmen. Pedro de Alogue acted as drawer of bills of exchange going to Antwerp, as creditor for the African slave trade, and as investor in the American trade.

8.1.3 Lanfran David and Pedro de la Farxa

Lanfran David was a central figure of the trade of 1620 and became naturalized in 1631. In 1640, he only appeared sporadically. He redeemed, for example, an obligation, paying 600 ducats to Isabel Sosillo, the widow of the Fleming Lorenzo de Espinosa, a citizen of Seville. The transaction took place due to an obligation agreed on in September 1638.⁴⁴ One further connection to the Flemish nation in Seville was found. Lanfran David gave a credit of 3,273 ducats (36,000 reales de plata doble) to the consul of the Flemish and German nations Jaques Filter and his guarantor Diego de Scuda. The reimbursement, including the transaction costs, was supposed to take place at the end of the year.

The French merchant Pedro de la Farxa, eminent in 1620, was already deceased by 1640. Yet his widow, Doña Antonia de Antiñaque, continued his business (for the family network of the Antiñaque, cf. p. 165). Simultaneously with Lanfran David, she also gave a credit to Jaques Filter, amounting to the same sum.⁴⁵ Hence, the Flemish consul was in urgent need of money, and both Lanfran David, well advanced in years, and Pedro de la Farxa, at the evening of his life, seemed to have considerable amounts of liquid assets for credits.

42 Cf. Mauro, *Le Portugal et l'Atlantique*; Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, vol. 1, pp. 524-527. Additionally, P. Collado Villalta identified a person named Bartolome Rui de Melo as Portuguese merchant in 1641. Collado Villalta, "El embargo de bienes", pp. 175, 202.

43 APS 16979, f. 469v.

44 APS 16979, f. 510.

45 Both on APS 7497, f. 925.

8.1.4 Alonso and Niculas Magon

The Frenchman Alonso Magon, a citizen of Seville, had come from Saint-Malo and became naturalized in 1630.⁴⁶ In 1640, he encountered problems because of his French origin, which is why he had to present two bonds. Those were drawn in Madrid in 1630 and 1632 and confirmed his naturalization: After having lived with his family in his house in Seville for over 15 years, he became naturalized for his services. His license for the trade with America was valid for his agents too. Moreover, the bonds stated explicitly that the embargo against Frenchmen must not apply to him; for this immunity Alonso Magon had paid 100 ducats.⁴⁷ Thus, the case of the naturalization of Alonso Magon represents further evidence of the problems Frenchmen had in Seville between 1635 and 1645.

The family Magon was active in the Indies trade, which can be seen analyzing a case which began three years before the embargo. In 1632, Alonso and his brother Nicolas Magon ran a business together with Juan de Lara Pardo, a citizen of Seville and resident of New Spain. It was a “quid pro quo” deal on a barter basis. Niculas Magon received 410 leather skins from Havana and returned six fardos of *ruanes*. A difference of 563 ducats (6,195 reales de plata) remained, which had to be paid by Juan de Lara Pardo. Yet, he refused to pay, and by 1639 the debt had risen to 955 ducats (10,510 reales de plata). In 1640, the brothers Antonio and Nicolas Magon came to an agreement with the guarantor of Juan de Lara Pardo, Francisco de Ocaña, a member of the Holy Inquisition. Finally, the debt was paid on the 10th of March 1640, and Francisco de Ocaña issued a proxy to two agents going to New Spain, to charge the money from his old partner.⁴⁸

8.1.5 Synopsis

In 1640, the small number of French connections did not allow the construction of a large network. Still, some trends could be detected, as for example the inclination to do business with Flemish merchants. One thing was most characteristic in 1640. All of the above-mentioned activities of Frenchmen illustrate perfectly the effectiveness of the Spanish embargo during the French and Spanish war: No merchandise was traded by French merchants in 1640. The

46 AGI Contratación 50B, s.f.

47 APS 7497, ff. 61-63.

48 APS 7497, ff. 145 and 146; more information on the family Magon can be found in Priotti, “Plata americana”, pp. 116-125.

strong impact of the economic embargo for the French merchants in Seville is evident. Just a small number of them were still present in Seville, and the most active ones possessed letters of naturalization. But in spite of their small size and the fact that their commercial activities were reduced to financial transactions, Frenchmen still played an important role in the commerce of Seville.

Most of the business activities of the Frenchmen concerned credit operations. Only Pedro de Alogue was involved in transactions with bills of exchange. The expenses of the investigated merchants, Alberto Juan Treguarte (10,028 ducats), Jaques Bules (9,173 ducats), Pedro de Alogue (9,727 ducats), Lanfran David (3,875 ducats), and the widow of Pedro de la Farxa (3,273 ducats), amount to 36,074 ducats. That means that a handful of credits and bills of exchange in 1640 amounted to a sum which was 10,000 ducats higher than all the expenses in merchandise of Frenchmen twenty years before.⁴⁹ Furthermore, the American market also played a role for the French merchants, even though a direct trade could only be detected with the brothers Magon. For the others, the connection to the Indies was indicated by their naturalizations, by their memberships in the *Consulado de Cargadores a Indias*, and by their participation in the forced exchange of bullion.⁵⁰

The economic importance of the five big *hombres de negocios*, of table 8.2 was already documented, but others too played their role in the society of Seville. The Frenchman Arnao de Fao, who only appeared once, held the office as a *pagador* of the artillery,⁵¹ and Juan de Sandier was an alderman of Seville.

French family business was detected when Alberto Juan Treguarte acted on behalf of his supposed sister, and when the widow of Pedro de la Farxa finished his business. Yet, it is the cooperation between the brothers Niculas and Alonso Magon, which shows best the importance of family bonds in French business in 1640.⁵² The family links and the bonds of friendship between the families De la Farxa, De Alogue, David, Treguarte, and Bules were already established above (cf. figure 3.1 on p. 167). Regarding the business connections to foreigners, it should be pointed out that except for the brothers Magon, all were linked

49 The expenses in 1620 were 26,383 ducats (cf. p. 294).

50 Most of the investigated French merchants were shown to be investing in the Indies trade. Moreover, Alberto Juan Treguarte and Pedro de Alogue were involved in the financing of the Portuguese slave trade.

51 The only document of Arnao de Fao shows how he put someone in charge to represent him in Cádiz and to procure the dispatch of the Indies fleet (APS 7497, f. 99v).

52 Interestingly, the business partners of the Frenchmen in 1640 were also often families, namely the Dutch brothers Gandulfo, the Flemish De Haze family, and the family De Silva, of probable Portuguese origin.

to Flemings. Other connections such as to Portuguese, Genoese, Dutch and Englishmen and even to compatriots were not as common.

8.2 Flemish Networks in 1640

The total network of 1640 contains the names of 65 Flemings and two Dutchmen. They were found in 79 of 297 scrutinized documents. The most central 20 nodes of the Flemish main network are shown in table 8.4, in order of centrality. It contains 10 Flemings, three (presumed) Portuguese, two Dutchmen, two Frenchmen, and a Genoese. Almost all of these foreigners had received a

Table 8.4: The 20 Most Central Nodes of the Flemish Network of the Year 1640

Name	Residence	Origin	Nat.	Cargador	Contrib.
Simon Canis ⁿ	Seville	Flanders (Ghent)	1630	1635–42	4,495
Pablos Codde	Seville	Flanders (Ghent)	1635	1637	2,319
Jaques Bules	Seville	France	1631	1635–40	11,023
Julio Sinori	Seville	Genoa	—	1637–40	3,407
Luis Davila	Seville	<i>Portugal</i>	—	1638	2,319
Pedro van Gorle	Seville	Flanders (Antwerp)	1634	1640–42	2,319
Ruy Lopez de Silva	Seville	<i>Portugal</i>	—	—	11,023
Alonso Aleman	Seville	—	—	1637	2,319
Miguel de Neve junior	Seville	Fl. (Herentouth)	—	1624–46	15,375 (x2)
Jaques Filter ⁿ	Seville	Fl. (s'Hertogenbosch)	1633	1640–42	2,319
Juan Esteban Gandulfo	Seville	Holland	—	—	2,319
Rolando Gandulfo	Seville	Holland	1639	—	2,319
Baltasar Coenrado	Seville	Flanders (Antwerp)	1636	1640–43	1,231
Adrian Jacome ⁿ	S./Écija	Flanders (Bruges)	—	1662	—
Pedro de Jalon	S./Cádiz	Flanders (Antwerp)	1628	1630–40	13,199
Francisco Fernandez de Solis	Seville	Portugal	1633	1637–43	6,671
Juan Bernardo ⁿ	Seville	Flanders (Antwerp)	1635	—	1,231
Pedro de Alogue	Seville	France	1630	1637	11,023
Juan Rodrigo Clut	Sanlúcar	Flanders (Gits)	—	1642	—
Pedro de Castro y Reytia	Madrid	—	—	—	—

Explanation: Assumptions are in italic; “Nat.” means the date of naturalization, “Cargador” means the mention of *Cargador de Indias* and ⁿ means member of the Flemish and German nations of Seville. For the contributions (“Contrib.”) cf. p. 93

Source: The cited locations in the chapter, and additionally APS 7497, f. 312, AGI Contratación 50B and 596B, s.f., and Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, pp. 1-82, Vila Vilar, “Una amplia nómina”, pp. 145-185; Domínguez Ortiz, “Los extranjeros en la vida española”; pp. 137-162; Gil-Bermejo García, “Mercaderes sevillanos II”, p. 33-52

letter of naturalization by 1640, and most participants were members of the *Consulado de Cargadores a Indias*.⁵³ At least four of the Flemings were members of the Flemish and German nations of Seville, and Simon Canis and Jaques Filter acted as consuls. Except for three, all merchants on the list were subjected to the forced exchange of bullion.⁵⁴

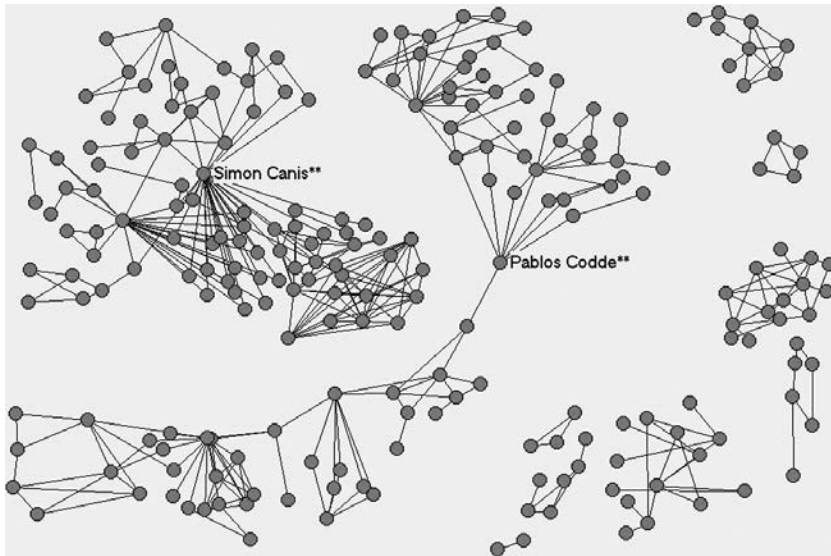


Figure 8.3: The Flemish Networks of the Year 1640

The Flemish network of 1640 forms eight smaller subnetworks, and two larger ones, which can be seen in figure 8.3. According to their most central nodes, the two large Flemish networks will be called the Canis- and the Codde-network. In the following, the most eminent structures of these two networks will be scrutinized, starting with the network of Simon Canis.

8.2.1 The Canis-Network: Simon Canis, Jaques Filter, and Pedro de Jalon

The Canis-network, visible in figure 8.4, covers about 39 percent of the total Flemish network of the year 1640. It is basically composed of the personal networks of three Flemish merchants. These were Simon Canis, Jaques Filter,

⁵³ Vila Vilar, “Una amplia nómina”, pp. 145-185.

⁵⁴ In the year 1640, a letter was addressed by the Flemish and German nations to protest against the obstruction of trade by the king. Cf. above on p. 121.

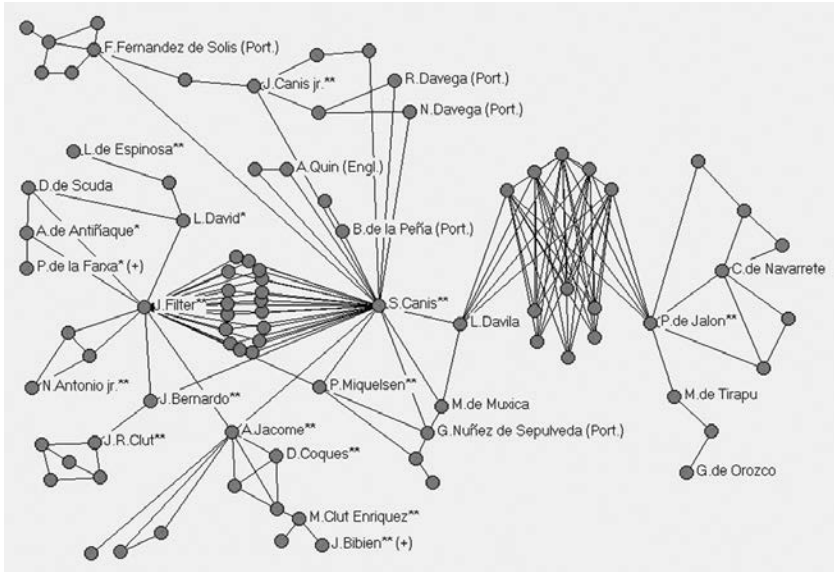


Figure 8.4: The Canis-Network

both consuls of the Flemish and German nations, and Pedro de Jalon. Each of them was a member of the *Consulado de Cargadores a Indias*. All of them can be classified as financiers rather than as traders because they more often drew and received credits than traded with merchandise. Contacts to foreigners were frequent, and while for Jaques Filter the contacts to French merchants were predominant, for Simon Canis and Pedro de Jalon links to the Portuguese nation prevailed.

Simon Canis and the Portuguese

Some 36 years after the naturalization of his father, Simon Canis also received his letter in 1630. While Justo Canis senior had already been an active merchant at the beginning of the 17th century, his son became the most significant Flemish merchant in 1640. Simon Canis contributed to the forced exchange of bullion with 4,495 ducats.⁵⁵ Moreover, he is the second most central node of the total network of 1640. Since 1635, Simon Canis was among the *Cargadores a Indias*, yet, he acted more like a leading financier than an Indies trader. Table 8.5 shows the payments he realized in 1640. The total value paid out by

⁵⁵ Gil-Bermejo García, “Mercaderes sevillanos II”, p. 35.

Table 8.5: Payments of Simon Canis

Transaction Type	Amount	Receptor
5 Obligations	7,879 d	Andres Quin (Engl.) and company
Bill of ex.	3,039 d	Diego de Payba (Port.)
2 Bills of ex.	2,543 d	Nicolao da Vega (Port.)
Obligation	2,091 d	Gonzalo Nuñez de Sepuveda (Port.)
Invoice	1,187 d	Arnao Wouters**
Bill of ex.	1,000 d	Francisco Fernandez de Solis (Port.)
Insurance	455 d	Plas de la Peña (Port.)
Invoice	384 d	Luis Davila (Port.)
TOTAL	18,578 d	—

Source: APS 16979, ff. 19v, 48, 51v, 58r, 58v, 290, 511 and APS 7497, f. 855

Simon Canis amounted to 18,578 ducats. The merchants who received the money belonged to various nations. 455 ducats (5,000 reales de plata) were paid to captain Blas de la Peña, a Portuguese. The money was due because the *nao* Nuestra Señora de la Concepción was lost on its way from Lisbon to Seville, and Simon Canis was one of the insurers.⁵⁶ A bundle of five obligations paid to the company of Andres Quin, an English merchant of Seville, and Juan Blandel constituted the highest sum paid by Simon Canis, namely 7,879 ducats (123,820 reales de vellón).⁵⁷

2,091 ducats (23,000 reales) were paid to the Portuguese captain Gonzalo Nuñez de Sepulveda. The captain was an alderman of Seville, a knight of the order of Santiago, and in 1630, he applied for his naturalization.⁵⁸ The payment was carried out by Simon Canis in company with Martin de Muxica, a citizen of Seville. Another payment of 384 ducats (6,037 reales reales de vellón) was also made by the company Simon Canis and Martin Muxica. The receiver was Don Luis Davila, the third most central node in the total network of 1640.⁵⁹ His Portuguese origin may be presumed.⁶⁰ Finally, there also was a Fleming who received a payment from Simon Canis, amounting to

56 APS 16979, f. 511.

57 APS 16979, f. 48.

58 AGI Contratación 50B and 596B, s.f.

59 APS 16979, f. 58.

60 Pohl, *Die Portugiesen in Antwerpen*, p. 71. Luis Davila's Portuguese origin was not incorporated into the network calculations, as it was detected only after the computation was finished.

1,187 ducats (18,648 reales de vellón). He was called Arnao Wouters and was a member of the Flemish and German nations of Seville.⁶¹

Another 6,582 ducats were paid out due to disputed bills of exchange. Four of those bills were drawn between March and September of 1639. Simon Canis figured as drawer. The bills should have been paid out in Antwerp by his brother Justo Canis junior. Yet, all bills came back disputed so that Simon Canis had to pay them himself in Seville. Every time, it was the remitter of the transaction, who received the payment from Simon Canis. A similarity to the bills of Pedro de Alogue is unmistakable (cf. p. 360). No further information was available concerning the refusal of the payment. However, the connection between the two brothers in Seville and Antwerp demonstrates perfectly the importance of family connections and the bonds with the home country for a foreign merchant.

In each of the four cases, the demanding party was Portuguese. The bills show the cooperation of Flemings and Portuguese in Seville, and how they handled financial transactions between Antwerp and Seville. All three of the remitters, who in the end received the payment, were of Portuguese origin and part of the rich merchant elite of Seville of 1640. In the early 1630s, they gained naturalization and figured amongst the *Cargadores a Indias* later on. Besides, they contributed considerable sums to the forced exchange of bullion (cf. table 1.3 on p. 95):

- Diego de Payba, naturalized in 1630, *Cargador* between 1664 and 1667, contribution 11,023 ducats,⁶²
- Francisco Fernandez de Solis, naturalized in 1630, *Cargador* between 1637 and 1643, contribution 6,671 ducats, the most central node of 1640,⁶³ and
- Nicolao da Vega, naturalized in 1631, *Cargador* between 1637 and 1642, contribution 11,023 ducats.⁶⁴

Reconsidering the connections of Simon Canis on table 8.5, one can easily perceive his strong tendency toward financial business with Portuguese. More-

61 APS 7497, f. 312.

62 AGI Contratación 50A and 596B, s.f.; APS 16979, f. 19v; Vila Vilar, “Una amplia nómina”, p. 172.

63 AGI Contratación 596B, s.f.; APS 16979, f. 290; Vila Vilar, “Una amplia nómina”, p. 157.

64 AGI Contratación 596B, s.f.; APS 7497, f. 855; cf. Vila Vilar, “Una amplia nómina”, p. 182. The stockbroker concerned with the last case in Antwerp was Manuel Mendez de Avilar, a Portuguese himself (Pohl, *Die Portugiesen in Antwerpen*, p. 71). The remitters were Nicolao and Rodrigo da Vega, Portuguese from Seville, father and son, both naturalized in 1631. AGI Contratación 596B, s.f.

over, he traded with an Englishman and compatriots, including his brother in Antwerp. Large scale insurances, credits (probably some or most of the invoices and obligations in table 8.5), and bills of exchange dominate his undertakings. Regarding the character of his business and the fact that he did only reimbursements (amounting to an impressive 18,578 ducats), the question arises if he, *de facto*, had assumed the function of some sort of a bank.

Jaques Filter and the French

The connection between the Flemings Simon Canis and Jaques Filter is obvious, as both were consuls of the Flemish and German nations at the same time. On the 28th of April 1640, for example, they composed a document on behalf of their nations in which they raised protest against bureaucratic barriers to their trade. It was addressed to the *Casa de la Contratación* and the *Consejo Real de Indias*.⁶⁵ No outcome of the case was documented.

Just like Simon Canis, Jaques Filter too was a naturalized Flemish merchant and among the *Cargadores a Indias*.⁶⁶ He had to contribute 2,319 ducats to the forced exchange of the Spanish Crown.⁶⁷ In contrast to Simon Canis, Jaques Filter preferred to work with Frenchmen. On the 21st of May 1640, Jaques Filter and his companion Diego de Scuda received a credit from two French merchants of Seville, Lanfran David and Antonia de Antiñaque, acting in the name of her deceased husband Pedro de la Farxa. Both credits amounted to 3,273 ducats (36,000 reales de plata doble) each.⁶⁸

Two days earlier, Jaques Filter appeared as guarantor for passengers to *Tierre Firma*. These had received together a credit of 2,200 ducats to prepare their voyage. It was the Fleming Niculas Antonio who granted the credit.⁶⁹ Thus, the creditors of Jaques Filter belonged to an older generation: Pedro de la Farxa, Lanfran David and Niculas Antonio were already reputable merchants in 1620.

65 APS 7497, f. 312. Of the 20 members of the Flemish and German nations, only two reveal further information. Juan Bernardo had a proxy from another Fleming, Juan Rodrigo Clut. On his behalf, he received 40 ducats (436 reales) from Sebastian de Greña, a treasurer of the fleet, for the equipment of the Spanish navy, the *Armada de la Guardia de las Indias* (APS 16979, f. 974v). That is at least a hint to the Indies trade. The second merchant was Pedro Miquelsen who was indirectly in contact with Gonzalo Nuñez de Sepulveda, a Portuguese mentioned above (APS 16979, f. 448v).

66 Vila Vilar, "Una amplia nómina", p. 157.

67 Gil-Bermejo García, "Mercaderes sevillanos II", p. 38.

68 APS 7497, f. 925.

69 APS 7497, f. 928.

Twenty years later, these *hombres de negocios* were in the financial business and used their assets to give generous credits.

To sum up, Jaques Filter received credits which amounted to a considerable 8,745 ducats. Various details indicate an interest in the American trade: His transactions involved passengers to America, he was naturalized, a member of the *Consulado de Cargadores a Indias*, and contributed to the forced exchange for the Indies traders. However, no direct connection of Jaques Filter to the Indies trade could be found, nor was there any trace of European merchandise. Thus, just like Simon Canis, he too was a *hombre de negocios* whose financial transactions did not exhibit a direct involvement in American commerce.

Pedro de Jalon and the *Consulado de Cargadores a Indias*

At the age of 15, the father of Pedro de Jalon, who bore the same name, moved from Antwerp to Cádiz. He married Catalina de Palma Carrillo and received a license to trade with the Indies. While the father moved to Palencia later on,⁷⁰ his son stayed in Andalusia and received a letter of naturalization in 1628.⁷¹ In Cádiz, Pedro de Jalon (junior) married Elvira de Baeza, presumably of Portuguese origin.⁷² When Pedro de Jalon died between 1640 and 1645,⁷³ he left a fortune of 286,837 ducats (107,563,820 maravedis).⁷⁴ Moreover, he contributed 13,199 ducats to the forced exchange of bullion. Thus, he was one of the richest merchants of his time and belonged to the supreme merchant elite of the city.⁷⁵

70 ACV PL Civiles, Pérez Alonso (F), caja 3821.0001. In 1635/6 "Ejecución en bienes de Pedro de Jalón por 135,000 maravedíes [360 ducats] debidos a Juan Gómez de la Serna, clérigo, por cierta escritura de obligación" [PARES].

71 AGI Contratación 596A, s.f. Amongst the witnesses on his behalf in 1628, there were many official: Gaspar de Bargal Machuca y Palomares, knight of the order of Santiago, *alguacil mayor* of the *Casa de la Contratación*; Doctor Don Rodrigo Serrano y Trillo, royal prosecutor of the *Real Audiencia*; Rodrigo Peret de Ribera, Josephe de Vaillanueva, Alonso de Cepeda Abendano, Benito Ruiz Davila, Juan de Sandoval, Bartolome de Breña, all clerks and *propietarios* of the *Casa de la Contratación*; Blas Perez and Marcos de Cosio, both *alguaciles* of the *Casa de la Contratación*.

72 The name Baeza is frequently an indication of a Portuguese origin. Cf. AGI Contratación 51B, s.f.; Collado Villalta, "El embargo de bienes".

73 AGI Contratación 839, Autos entre partes, N. 11 [PARES].

74 Aguado de los Reyes, *Riqueza y sociedad*, p. 162.

75 Gil-Bermejo García, "Mercaderes sevillanos II", p. 40; Aguado de los Reyes, *Riqueza y sociedad*, p. 229.

In 1640, Pedro de Jalon was a *Cargador a Indias* and did most of his business with other Indies traders who were in the Consulate.⁷⁶ He received, for example, a cession from Martin de Tirapu to collect 2,236 ducats (28,000 reales de vellón and 5,000 reales de plata doble) from the widow of Geronimo de Orozco.⁷⁷ Martin de Tirapu was a citizen of Seville and *Cargador* between 1611 and 1640. A.-M. Bernal lists him as having an investment of 1,616 ducats (17,780 reales de plata) with different credits and insurances in the Indies trade.⁷⁸ In addition, Martin de Tirapu was consultant in the Consulate, *prestamista de Balbas*,⁷⁹ administrator of the *avería*, and *comprador de oro y plata*. He contributed to the forced exchange to the king with 6,671 ducats.⁸⁰ Geronimo de Orozco was also in the Consulate, between 1610 and 1632. He held the same positions as Martin de Tirapu, was consul and prior of the Consulate and alderman of Seville. E. Vila Vilar describes them both as two of the most important merchants and financiers of the first half of the 17th century.⁸¹ The connection between them and Pedro de Jalon stresses the eminent position the Fleming had in the society and commerce of Seville.

After the passing of another member of the Consulate, Cosme de Navarrete (member between 1629 and 1638), Pedro de Jalon became the executor of his will.⁸² In this function, he paid out 500 ducats (5,500 reales de plata) to Juan de Navarrete, the son of the deceased.⁸³ Moreover, he received 4,361 ducats (6,013 pesos) for some outstanding business with a certain Francisco de Flores in Portobelo.⁸⁴ This, finally, can be considered a direct link to America.

Furthermore, Pedro de Jalon was part of a group of Indies traders who shared an investment in the production of sugar,⁸⁵ called “de Torros” (cf. table 8.6).⁸⁶ The group was represented by Don Duarte Fernandez de Acosta, of the order of Santiago, a royal *asentista* of Portuguese origin. During the

76 Vila Vilar, “Una amplia nómina”, p. 161.

77 APS 16979, f. 444v.

78 Bernal Rodríguez, *La financiación de la Carrera de Indias*, p. 246.

79 Cf. p. 64.

80 Gil-Bermejo García, “Mercaderes sevillanos II”, p. 49.

81 Vila Vilar, “Una amplia nómina”, pp. 170, 180; Heredia Herrera, “Los dirigentes oficiales”, p. 225.

82 Ibidem, p. 169.

83 APS 16979, f. 392v.

84 APS 16979, ff. 458v-459.

85 For the sugar business in the South Atlantic during the time of the Dutch occupation of Brazil, cf. Lenk, “Empire-Building and the Sugar Business”.

86 APS 6979, ff. 51, 71v.

early 1630s, he was a citizen of Seville,⁸⁷ but in the 1640s he was referred to as citizen of Madrid.⁸⁸ For certain legal proceedings, he passed the proxy of the sugar group on to different attorneys of the *Real Audiencia* of Seville⁸⁹ and to an attorney in the royal chancery of Granada.⁹⁰ Even though no details of the course of the sugar business are known, the composition of the different shareholders is interesting. All of the eight participants were related to the Indies trade, as can be seen in table 8.6. Either they were in the Consulate or they contributed to the forced exchange of bullion or both. Some additional information about the merchants was available: Captain Lorenzo Gomez was of Portuguese origin. He arrived in Seville around 1610, at the age of 10. Also Luis Davila most probably was of Portuguese origin. Esteban de Riberola was a *jurado* of Seville. He married Mariana Labermeyr, the daughter of Andres Labermeyr who was a naturalized merchant from the German empire (cf. p. 378).⁹¹ Martin de Iraola was a significant merchant of the year 1640, who was involved in many different affairs. He was the administrator of a company of iron traders⁹² and he sold olive oil to the Spanish king.⁹³

Table 8.6: The Eight Shareholders in the “De Torros” Sugar Business

Shareholder	Origin	Nat.	Cargador	Contrib.
Pedro de Jalon	Flanders	1628	1630–1640	13,199
Francisco Rodriguez Ballarces	—	—	—	6,671
Juan Muñoz de Dueñas	—	—	—	4,495
Domingo Correa	—	—	<i>1637</i>	—
Luis Davila	<i>Portugal</i>	—	1938	2,319
Lorenzo Gomez	Portugal	1630	1635–1639	—
Esteban de Riberola	—	—	1637–1642	2,319
Martin de Iraola	—	—	1637–1641	—

Explanation: Assumptions are in italic; For the contributions (“Contrib.”) cf. p. 93

Source: APS 6979, ff. 51, 71v; AGI Contratación 596A, s.f.; Gil-Bermejo García, “Mercaderes sevillanos II”; Vila Vilar, “Una amplia nómina”

87 AGI Contratación 824A, Autos entre partes, N. 12 [PARES].

88 AGI Inquisición 1636, E. 9, Pleito entre partes [PARES].

89 APS 16979, f. 51.

90 APS 6979, f. 71v.

91 AGI Contratación 51B, s.f.

92 APS 7497, f. 177v.

93 APS 7497, f. 155.

Subsuming, it can be said about Pedro de Jalon that he was very integrated in the society of the *Consulado de Cargadores a Indias*. His partners were basically all Indies traders, including many Portuguese merchants. The Canis-network, in general, can be qualified as a business network of three Flemish merchants who were large scale financiers with a certain connection to the Indies. Each of the three merchants exhibited a different focus: the first one centered on business with the Portuguese, the second one with the French, and the third one mainly with Indies traders.

8.2.2 The Codde-Network 1: Pablos Codde, Baltasar Coenrado and Miguel de Neve Junior

The Codde-network covers 37 percent of the Flemish network of the year 1640. It can be divided in two sectors which will be analyzed separately: Figure 8.5 shows two bottlenecks, one between Pablos Codde (Flemish) and Julio Sinori (Genoese), and another one between Jaques Bules (French) and Juan van Gorle (Flemish). Being vertices of these bottlenecks, these four individuals had a central position within the network. The sector starting with Julio Sinori (left part of figure 8.5) has special features in respect of foreign connections, which

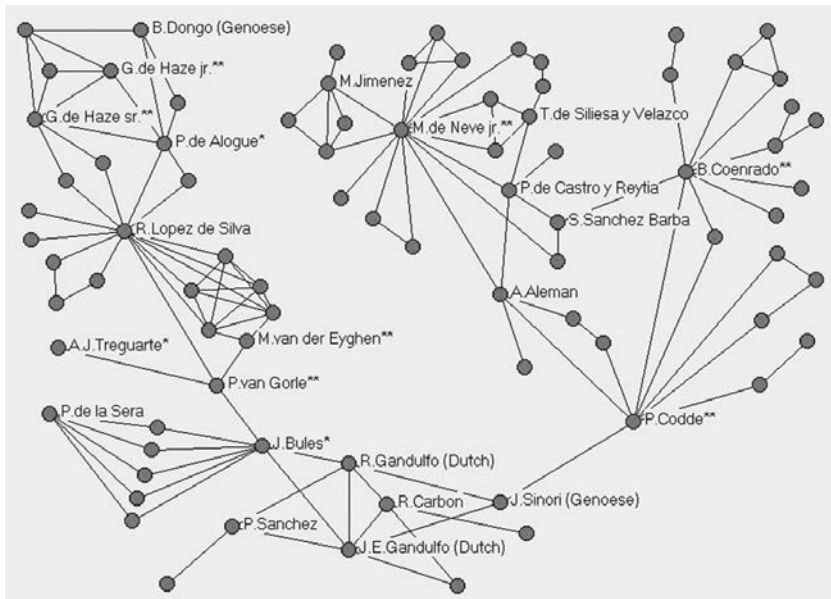


Figure 8.5: The Codde-Network

is why the first first bottleneck serves to subclassify the Codde-network. The first sector of the Codde-network (right part of figure 8.5) is principally reconstructed upon the activities of three Flemish merchants, namely Pablos Codde, Baltasar Coenrado, and Miguel de Neve junior. Subsequently, their networks will be analyzed, starting with the most central node which is Pablos Codde.

Pablos Codde

Pablos Codde was naturalized in 1635⁹⁴ and contributed with 2,319 ducats to the forced exchange of bullion.⁹⁵ He was in the insurance business and had to pay 182 ducats (2,000 reales de plata doble) when a *nao* from Fernando Mexia Castellanos was captured by Dutch “enemies” on its way from Angola to Cartagena. The settlement was effected to the Portuguese slave trader Melchor Mendez from Sanlúcar.⁹⁶

While most bills of exchange in 1640 came from or were directed to Amsterdam, Pablos Codde received two payment orders from Madrid. Both were effected early in 1640. One of them was drawn by Bartolome Sebo and remitted by Jorge de Caceres. Pablos Codde had to pay 415 ducats (4,562 reales de plata) to the presenter Manuel Nuñez Malo. However, he refused to pay because he claimed not to have received the respective order.⁹⁷ The second one was drawn by Guillermo Lobayna, and remitted by the Genoese Juan Lucas Pallavicino, an *asentista* of the court of the Spanish king.⁹⁸

Another file documents that Pablos Codde paid 1,118 ducats (12,300 reales de plata doble) to the merchant Alonso Aleman.⁹⁹ The latter was one of the most central nodes of the network of 1640, number 19 of the total and number eight of the Flemish main network. Alonso Aleman contributed 2,319 ducats to the forced exchange of bullion,¹⁰⁰ was a member of the *Consulado de Cargadores a Indias*,¹⁰¹ and a receiver of the *avería* of Seville.¹⁰²

One of the bottlenecks of the network, the link between Pablos Codde and the Genoese Julian Sinori, concerned a payment of over 1,545 (17,000 reales

94 AGI Contratación 596A, s.f.

95 Gil-Bermejo García, “Mercaderes sevillanos II”, p. 36.

96 APS 16979, f. 412.

97 APS 16979, f. 302v.

98 Domínguez Ortiz, *Política y hacienda de Felipe IV*, p. 108.

99 APS 7497, f. 156.

100 Gil-Bermejo García, “Mercaderes sevillanos II”, p. 33.

101 Vila Vilar, “Una amplia nómina”, p. 145.

102 AGI Indiferente 436, L. 12, ff. 352v-353v [PARES].

de plata doble) from the Fleming to Julian Sinori.¹⁰³ The Genoese merchant was already mentioned earlier in contact with Pedro de Alogue (cf. p. 362). He was a central merchant of the total network of 1640 and also of the Flemish network of that year. Moreover, he was an Indies trader who was in the Consulate and contributed to the forced exchange of bullions.

The link to Baltasar Coenrado, the next Fleming to be analyzed, was also established by a credit. Baltasar Coenrado committed himself to pay about 1,000 ducats (10,990 reales de plata doble) to Pablos Codde.¹⁰⁴ The business relationship did not last for long. Already on the same day, the obligation was ceded to a certain Antonio de Medina Sanchez.¹⁰⁵ Concluding the data about Pablos Codde, one can see that he was an Indies merchant who was involved in financial transactions, including insurances, bills of exchange, and credits. His contacts were Flemings, Genoese, and a Portuguese slave trader.

Baltasar Coenrado

Baltasar Coenrado, naturalized in 1636,¹⁰⁶ was a member of the *Consulado de Cargadores a Indias*,¹⁰⁷ and contributed 1,231 ducats to the forced exchange of bullion. He was known to be a winemaker (*cosechero*) with contacts to America.¹⁰⁸ In 1643, he was a consul of the Flemish and German nations. In 1645, he went bankrupt¹⁰⁹ and together with the Genoese Indies merchant Bartolome Dongo, a citizen of Seville, he had to appear before the Consulate.¹¹⁰

In 1640, Baltasar Coenrado was responsible for the estates of the deceased Francisco de Alamo and Pedro de los Reyes. For Francisco de Alamo, Baltasar Coenrado paid six ducats (100 reales de vellón) to Andres Alvarez.¹¹¹ On behalf of the Flemish wife of Pedro de los Reyes, Catalina Bolcer, he received

103 APS 7497, f. 98.

104 APS 7497, f. 934v.

105 APS 7497, f. 948.

106 AGI Contratación 596A, s.f.

107 Vila Vilar, "Una amplia nómina", p. 153; AGI Escribanía 1026B, Pleitos del Consejo [PARES].

108 Gil-Bermejo García, "Mercaderes sevillanos II", p. 36.

109 Bernal Rodríguez and García-Baquero González, *Tres siglos del comercio sevillano*, pp. 140, 249.

110 AGI Escribanía 1025A, Pleitos del Consejo [PARES].

111 APS 7497, f. 59v; for the voyage of Andres Alvarez to Peru, cf. AGI Contratación 5420, N. 9 [PARES].

496 ducats (7,800 reales de vellón). This reimbursement came from Andres de Arriola, a *comprador de oro y plata*, on behalf of the Spanish king, to whom Pedro de los Reyes had given a credit in 1639.¹¹² Among the financial activities of Baltasar Coenrado was also a credit of 314 ducats (34,547 reales de plata doble) to the Indies merchant Juan de Aravio.¹¹³

A link to the North of Europe was found when Baltasar Coenrado was authorized by Francisco Tolinque, a citizen of Antwerp,¹¹⁴ to take care of his business in Seville.¹¹⁵ Baltasar Coenrado, on his part, gave proxies to two other merchants to look after his business in New Spain. These were Andres Labermeyr and Sebastian Sanchez Barba, two citizens of Seville who were going to New Spain.¹¹⁶ Andres Labermeyr was a German merchant from Berchtesgaden.¹¹⁷ He had arrived in Seville in 1603, and in 1611, he married Ana Roca who had probably Italian, Flemish and German (Hamburg) ancestors.¹¹⁸ In 1627, Andres Labermeyr was a treasurer of the archdiocese of Seville (*Santa Cruzada*) and received his letter of naturalization.¹¹⁹ The link to Sebastian Sanchez Barba leads to the second Flemish merchant of this part of the Codde-network, namely Miguel de Neve junior.

Miguel de Neve junior

The history of the De Neve family had already been reported earlier because they were related to other Flemish families (cf. p. 188). Moreover, Juan de Neve was an influential and central Indies merchant in 1620. His brother, Miguel de Neve junior resided in the Indies in 1620, but twenty years later, he was in Seville too and had become an important merchant himself. With regard to the forced exchange of bullion, it seems that Miguel de Neve junior contributed the

112 APS 7497, f. 177.

113 AGI 7497, f. 309.

114 Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, p. 65.

115 APS 7497, f. 546.

116 APS 7497, f. 47v; for a license of Sebastian Sanchez Barba, cf. AGI Contratación 5420, N. 9, ff. 1r-9v [PARES].

117 Berchtesgaden is in Bavaria; Andres Labermeyr had appeared already previously, cf. pp. 325 and 374.

118 Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, p. 56.

119 The files concerning his application for naturalization exhibit an exceptional example of internationality, including various services he had provided to the Spanish king (AGI Contratación 51B, s.f.).

highest share of all merchants (over 30,000 ducats).¹²⁰ He was in the Consulate between 1624 and 1646, had the positions of consultant, consul, and *jurado*, and was an administrator of the *avería*.¹²¹ He had to renounce the last position in 1640 when his brother Juan died, and he had to take care of his family.¹²²

The connections from Miguel de Neve junior to Pablos Codde and Baltasar Coenrado are indirect, via Alonso Aleman, and Sebastian Sanchez Barba respectively. These two merchants were executors of the will of a certain Tomas de Siliesa y Velazco. The latter had emigrated to the city of Mexico as a servant in 1606,¹²³ established his own business, and then moved to Guatemala.¹²⁴ Miguel de Neve junior had been in business contact with this Tomas de Siliesa y Velazco, and had paid him 364 ducats (4,000 reales de plata doble)¹²⁵ and, on another occasion, 605 ducats (9,500 reales de vellón).¹²⁶

A further connection to the Indies is even more illustrative because it offers one of the few opportunities of monitoring the delivery of merchandise in the year 1640.¹²⁷ Miguel de Neve junior received 117 boxes of indigo from captain Juan de Otorola, on the Basque galleon El Carmen (600 tons) of Marcos Antonio Ysasti, coming from Tierra Firme. The circumstances of this case are contradictory. Officially, El Carmen was sailing in a convoy with the *Armada de la Guardia* and arrived in Cádiz on the 17th of July 1639. Yet, the data of the notaries indicate that the galleon did not leave Caracas in time.¹²⁸ In any case, Miguel de Neve junior must have received the indigo¹²⁹ because on the 18th of May 1640 he handed over the boxes to the final receivers. These were two *maestres de plata*, namely captain Pedro de Olabarria, the master of the

120 Miguel de Neve junior was mentioned twice, paying a contribution of 15,375 ducats in the list of the forced exchange of bullion (cf. table 8.4 on p. 366). Once for himself and the second time for himself and his brother-in-law and nephews. Gil-Bermejo García, “Mercaderes sevillanos II”, p. 44.

121 Vila Vilar, “Una amplia nómina”, p. 169.

122 Idem, “Los mercaderes sevillanos”, p. 87.

123 AGI Contratación 5293, N. 51, ff. 1r-29r [PARES].

124 Other executors were Don Pedro de Castro y Reyta, a resident of Madrid, prior and canon of León, honorific chaplain of the king, and captain Juan de Ugarte.

125 APS 16979, f. 493.

126 APS 7497, f. 916v.

127 APS 7497, f. 908. In the course of the business, Miguel de Neve junior was addressed as citizen of San Cristóbal (de la Havana) – one must not forget that he had lived in America for many years.

128 Moreover, the captain died on the return voyage.

129 Maybe Miguel de Neve junior had already received the boxes of indigo in the Caribbean and transported them to Seville himself.

galleon San Genaro (620 tons), and captain Juan de Yturaya, the master of the galleon Santiago (500 tons).¹³⁰ For the service of the delivery, Miguel de Neve junior was allowed to keep 10 of the boxes for the price of 273 ducats (3,000 reales). The eminent position of Miguel de Neve junior as connecting node for the America trade becomes evident.

Recapitulating the first part of the Codde-network, including the Indies merchants Pablos Codde, Baltasar Coenrado, and Miguel de Neve junior, no specific similarities could be found in 1640 as to their commercial behavior. Besides, they were from different places in Flanders and had no direct family affiliation. Hence, nothing seems to indicate a continuous cooperation within the boundaries of that network.

8.2.3 The Codde-Network 2: The French Connections of Pedro van Gorle, the Brothers Gandulfo, and the Family De Haze

The second part of the Codde-network principally consists of the networks of Pedro van Gorle and two families, the Flemish De Haze and the Dutch Gandulfo. All of them had direct contact with reputable French merchants in 1620 and 1640, namely Jaques Bules, Alberto Juan Treguarte, and Pedro de Alogue.

Rolando Gandulfo

In spite of the war between Spain and the Northern Netherlands, the Dutch family of Gandulfo managed to stay in Spain long enough to become naturalized. Rolando Gandulfo received his letter of naturalization in 1639.¹³¹ With his wife, Francisca de Yrunso, he had a son called Juan de Yrunso.¹³²

The family seemed to be closely related to Genoese, as for example in 1634, Rolando Gandulfo and his wife sold several houses in the C/Francos in Seville to the naturalized Genoese Indies trader Juan Cesar Arpe.¹³³ In 1640, Rolando

130 *Capitana* and *Almiranta* of the fleet from Tierra Firme. The respective *Armada de Galleones de Plata* arrived in Cádiz on the 23rd of December 1639. Chaunu and Chaunu, *Séville et l'Atlantique*, vol. 5, pp. 350-355.

131 AGI Contratación 51A, s.f. In 1620, a merchant called Juan Bautista Gandulfo appeared often together with an English merchant (APS 3607, ff. 244, 926v-927r, 943v-944r, 944v-945r, 945v-946r). An affiliation is possible.

132 AGI Contratación 411, N. 3, ff. 2r, 8r [PARES].

133 APS 10996, f. 326; AGI Contratación 596B, s.f.; Vila Vilar, "Una amplia nómina", p. 152. The houses were inhabited by three merchants from the city.

Gandulfo and his brother Juan Esteban Gandulfo¹³⁴ were connected to Pablos Codde via the Genoese Julio Sinori. The three of them had to pay him 1,018 ducats (16,000 reales de vellón) for an obligation.¹³⁵ In another case, Juan Esteban Gandulfo, together with Rafael Carbon and Juan Maria Guillardengo, agreed to pay 364 ducats (4,000 reales de plata doble) to Juan Jacome Espinola, presumably of Genoese origin.¹³⁶

Together, Rolando and Juan Esteban Gandulfo drew a credit of 1,860 ducats (20,456 reales de plata doble) to the company of captain Pedro Sanchez and Don Juan de Cla.¹³⁷ Pedro Sanchez was the master of the *urca* Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria (300 tons) which in March 1640 sailed to San Martín in New Spain.¹³⁸ The company of Pedro Sanchez and Juan de Cla worked on a very international basis because, in addition to contact with Dutchmen, they were also in contact with Portuguese¹³⁹ and Florentine merchants.¹⁴⁰ Moreover, a Frenchman also became involved in this credit because Rolando and Juan Esteban Gandulfo passed the right to collect the debt on to the French merchant Jaques Bules (cf. p. 359).

In respect of the American trade, no direct link could be found for the Gandulfo family in 1640. Still, the naturalization of Rolando Gandulfo, the fact that he died in the Indies and that both brothers contributed to the forced exchange of bullions are clear signs of their America orientation. Besides, when Rolando Gandulfo died in 1644, his heirs put the Portuguese Enrique de Andrada, one of the most central nodes of 1620, in charge of receiving six bullions and 283 pesos from the *Casa de la Contratación*. The bullion had been sent to Seville from the Indies by Rolando Gandulfo himself before his death.¹⁴¹

134 AGI Contratación 569A, s.f. In this document, a Flemish merchant appears, who is called Juan Esteban. He received his letter of naturalization in 1639, the same as Rolando Gandulfo – who did not mention his origin in his letter. The fact that the brother of Rolando was called Juan Esteban Gandulfo indicates, thus, that the “Juan Esteban” of the file referred to the brother of Rolando Gandulfo.

135 APS 7497, f. 934.

136 APS 7497, f. 285. Originally, the name Juan Francisco Tacon was recorded in the document instead of Juan Jacome Espinola. The merchant Juan Francisco Tacon was married to Catalina Briñola. Their son Juan Francisco Tacon was born in Cartagena de Indias (AGI Contratación 5426, N. 14 [PARES]).

137 APS 16979, f. 336.

138 Chaunu and Chaunu, *Séville et l'Atlantique*, vol. 5, pp. 360-361.

139 APS 16979, f. 336.

140 APS 7497, f. 72.

141 AGI Contratación 411, N. 3, ff. 1r-24v, especially 2r and 8r [PARES].

Pedro van Gorle and the De Haze Family

The naturalized Flemish Indies trader Pedro van Gorle represents the connection between the Gandulfo and the De Haze families. He was already mentioned above, when he owed 5,227 ducats to Alberto Juan Treguarte and 4,620 ducats to Jaques Bules, both naturalized Frenchmen in Seville (cf. p. 356). The latter linked Pedro van Gorle to the brothers Rolando and Juan Esteban Gandulfo while the connection to the De Haze family was established by Ruy Lopez de Silva. On the one hand, Ruy Lopez de Silva, one of the most eminent and wealthy merchants of the year 1640 (probably Portuguese),¹⁴² received 182 ducats (2,000 reales) from Pedro van Gorle. The payment was made because of a bill of exchange which was drawn in Málaga by Martin van der Eyghen (probably Flemish) and remitted by the Portuguese *asentista* Manuel de Paz.¹⁴³ The link to the De Haze family, on the other hand, came about through another bill of exchange. The members of the family De Haze stayed in Antwerp, and from there, they conducted their business. The relations which they organized with merchants of Seville consisted chiefly of bills of exchange.¹⁴⁴ When the Frenchman Pedro de Alogue drew a bill, the acceptor in Antwerp, the widow of Guillermo de Haze, refused to pay the payee Duarte de Silva. Therefore, Pedro de Alogue had to pay the debt himself, and Ruy Lopez de Silva, who was the remitter of the bill, received 1,020 ducats.¹⁴⁵ In a further case, the heirs of Guillermo de Haze in Antwerp again refused to pay a bill of exchange from Pedro de Alogue. This time, the business partners of Pedro de Alogue (French, drawer) and Guillermo de Haze (Flemish, acceptor) were Genoese. The remitter was Bartolome Dongo and his partner in Antwerp was Juan Paolo Dorcho (presenter). Eventually, Pedro de Alogue paid 2,615 ducats to Bartolome Dongo.

One more detail of the De Haze family can be added. Pedro de Haze, a son of Guillermo de Haze, lived in Madrid and intended to send money to his nephew in Valencia. Therefore, he instructed the above-mentioned Ruy Lopez de Silva to pay 114 ducats (1,799 reales de vellón) to a silversmith from Seville who received the money on behalf of the nephew.¹⁴⁶ The operations of the

142 Cf. table 8.1 on p. 352. For the origin of Ruy Lopez de Silva, cf. the footnote on p. 361.

143 APS 16979, f. 40.

144 Cf. p. 360 for more details.

145 APS 16979, f. 422.

146 The nephew of Pedro de Haze was Francisco de Herrero Ramos, and the money was for him and some friends (“amigos de Valencia que van con el obispo de Puebla de los Angeles”). APS 16979, f. 370; cf. Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders*, vol. 2, pp. 34-35.

family De Haze have, thus, a very international character. They embrace transactions between Seville, Madrid, Valencia, and Antwerp, and involve a Frenchman, a Portuguese, a Flemish family, and Spaniards. Furthermore, their activities underline the function of Antwerp as a center of financial transactions.¹⁴⁷

8.2.4 Synopsis

The Flemish network of 1640 was divided into eight minor and two major subnetworks. The Flemish nation was analyzed by means of these structures and nine Flemings were scrutinized more thoroughly. These merchants were sorted into a network dominated by the merchant Simon Canis and a network where Pablos Codde was the most central node.

The two subnetworks, though, are not completely separate from each other. Just by looking at some French nodes, several indirect connections become evident: Pedro de la Farxa and Lanfran David appear in the Canis-network while Pedro de Alogue, Alberto Juan Treguarte, and Jaques Bules are part of the Codde-network. The connections between all of them have already been revealed in the preceding chapters. Hence, taking these links into consideration, the two large subnetworks would merge. Moreover, at least one Flemish family connection would also connect the two subnetworks, namely that of the family De Haze: The mother of Simon Canis (Canis-network) was a member of the De Haze family (cf. p. 221) which was part of the Codde-network. However, no private links seems to have influenced the commerce of the merchants, as no respective business connections could be detected.

The Flemish presence in the notary archives of 1640 shows similarities to the French activities of that year: merchandise was barely mentioned, while financial operations dominated, such as bills of exchange, credits, and insurances. Of the nine investigated Flemings, only two dealt with American goods: Pedro de Jalon invested in the commerce with sugar, and Miguel de Neve junior in the trade with indigo. Moreover, among their compatriots, these two contributed by far the most to the forced exchange of bullion (72 percent). They were also among the four Flemings who had direct contact to the Indies. Nonetheless, except for the family De Haze which dwelt in Antwerp, all investigated Flemings can be considered Indies merchants. That is because their memberships in the *Consulade de Cargadores a Indias*, their naturaliza-

147 Cf. Coornaert, *Les Français et le commerce international à Anvers*; Goris, *Étude sur les colonies marchandes méridionales*; Pohl, "Zur Bedeutung Antwerpens als Kreditplatz"; Wee, *The Growth of the Antwerp Market*.

tions, and their contributions to the forced exchange are clear indications of an involvement in this trade.

Antwerp dominated the international connections, and within Spain, Madrid, Málaga, and Valencia were recorded. Only five of the nine Flemings were in contact with other Flemings. Moreover, five had contact with Portuguese, four with Frenchmen and Genoese, two with Germans, and one with an Englishman. The total revenues of all merchants added up to 17,021 ducats (average 1,891 ducats per Fleming),¹⁴⁸ while the expenses amounted to 44,602 ducats (average 4,956 ducats per Fleming).¹⁴⁹

8.3 Conclusions of the 1640 Trade

In 1640, only 10 Frenchmen could be found and 65 Flemings (and two Dutchmen).¹⁵⁰ This low number (compared to 1620) is conspicuous, especially for the Frenchmen. In 1640, there are less foreign merchants in Seville, less merchandise is sold, and less trade volume is reached.¹⁵¹ Also the networks are less comprehensive than twenty years ago.

The year 1640 saw a specialization in financial transactions and fewer merchants were found directly involved in commerce. Concerning the Indies trade, all of the 15 investigated merchants, six Frenchmen and nine Flemings (including the two Dutchmen), were Indies traders, but only few exhibited a direct connection to America. Concerning the bills of exchange, it was mostly Antwerp which was linked to the bills. Within both nations, connections to Flemings dominated among the foreign contacts, followed by Portuguese. Four times brothers conducted a business together, namely the French Magon family, the Flemish Canis and De Neve families, and the Dutch family Gandulfo. Besides, the Flemish De Haze and the French De la Farxa family were cases in which the widows continued the business. Only one cooperation was found among the merchants, which lasted for some time, namely the “sugar business” of Pedro de Jalon.

For the analyses of the commercial behavior of the two nations, table 8.7 gives an overview. Given the fact that nine Flemings and six Frenchmen were investigated, the contribution to the forced exchange, the expenses and the

148 Jaques Filter (8,746 ducats) and Pedro de Jalon (6,597 ducats) had most revenues.

149 Simon Canis spent most money by far, amounting to 25,615 ducats.

150 Frenchmen were found in 21 different documents, out of a total of 297, and Flemings in 79.

151 Referring to the ascertainable trade volume.

Table 8.7: Expenses, Revenues, and the Contribution of 1640 (in Ducats)

Types	French Total	Each	Flemings Total	Each
Contribution	50,763	8,461	61,270	6,808
Expenses	36,074	6,012	44,602	4,956
Revenues	6,685	1,114	17,021	1,891
TOTAL	93,522	15,587	122,893	13,655

revenues were divided by the number of merchants to gain an average. The result of this calculation is that the Frenchmen had a higher ascertainable trade volume per capita than the Flemings. Moreover, their commercial actions were more balanced than those of the Flemings. Meaning that the economic performances of the various Frenchmen were all on a similar level, while they were unequal among the Flemings. Simon Canis, for example, accounted for half of the expenses, or Miguel de Neve junior for half of the contribution. To conclude, besides the many similarities which could be encountered between Frenchmen and Flemings in 1640, also some differences were identified. Frenchmen were economically stronger but their number was very reduced in 1640. The Flemings, on the other hand, were six times as many but their average economic performance was not as high.

Conclusion

At the beginning of the Atlantic history, Seville was the most central of all European cities. The ascent of the European economy in early modern times would have been different without Seville. The city played an extraordinary role in the early Atlantic commerce, as it linked the Old World with the New. Thereby, Seville attracted a large number of foreign merchants. These merchants used their contacts to their home countries, and created new relations throughout Europe and America. The connective function of these networks in an initial stage of globalization was fundamental. Crossing the borders of the emerging states, the merchants of Seville were connected to family members, friends, and business partners in Europe and America. All these connections were essential for the efficiency of the Atlantic economy.

The main question that was addressed in this book concerns the role of the Flemish and French merchants in the commerce of Seville. Both represented a powerful commercial factor in the city and dominated a considerable share of the trade between Seville and the European Atlantic coast. The Flemings were a large and economically strong group, taking into account the period under investigation: Their share among all the foreigners was about one third. With about eight percent, the French share was notably lower. Nevertheless, they also had an important position in the commerce of the city, particularly in the years 1620 and 1640.

Between 1570 and 1650, the Portuguese and the Flemings were the dominant nations¹⁵² among the colonies of foreign merchants in Seville, followed by the Genoese and the French. These four groups comprised about three quarters of all foreigners. In time, the size and the composition of the mercantile communities in Seville changed. During the 16th century, the number of foreigners was still comparatively modest in Seville. A strong presence of Englishmen has to be pointed out as a characteristic of the year 1580. However, it was only after 1580 that the number of foreigners grew, and in 1600, they appeared already twice as often as in 1580. By 1600, the Genoese had become the strongest foreign colony in Seville. In 1620, it was the Flemings and in 1640, Flemings and Portuguese were about equally present. Overall, the participation of foreigners in the commerce of Seville was constantly high in 1600, 1620, and 1640.

To visualize the structures of the Flemish and French nations and to discern their collective strategies, Social Network Analysis (SNA) methods were applied.

152 The term “nation” was used throughout this book in the early modern sense (cf. p. 77).

The numerous connections of the merchants were collected and reassembled to reconstruct their networks. These had different features in each selected year. In 1580, the French and the Flemish main networks were the smallest, both nations had only few actors. In 1600, more French and Flemish actors appeared, and their main networks were larger. The largest number of participants of both nations corresponds to 1620, and the main networks reached their maximum development. Moreover, the difference in numbers between Flemings and Frenchmen was smallest (the Frenchmen were one third of the Flemings). Another feature of 1620 is the high density of Flemings in the Flemish main network (39 percent), meaning that their compatriots were extremely important for them. In 1640, the number of participants and the sizes of the main networks had decreased. The difference between Flemings and Frenchmen was highest (French were only one seventh of the Flemings), and the density of the Frenchmen in the French main network was particularly low (16 percent). That means that a small number of French merchants were able to maintain a business network (still considerable in size) without major support of fellow Frenchmen. The small number of French participants can be explained by the state of war between France and Spain in 1640, and by the setbacks that Frenchmen had to face in Seville. Without their compatriots and the advantage of the commercial connections to France, the only possibility for the few remaining Frenchmen to keep their business running was thus to intensify their non-French connections.

Many of the French and Flemish merchants settled down in Lower Andalusia and integrated in the local society. As regards Flemings, a rather large majority stayed in Seville and integrated in the Andalusian society between 1580 and 1640. In the second generation, a certain zeal for social recognition could be detected, visible in titles and offices. Frenchmen, on the other hand, were less likely to settle down than Flemish merchants: Between 1580 and 1620, the share of French participants who had permanent residence in Seville was lower. Only in 1640, the small number of Frenchmen that stayed in Seville in spite of the war, had a higher share of permanent residents in the city. That is to say, French merchants who had settled down, integrated in Seville and obtained a naturalization were allowed to stay, while it was made very difficult for all others. Moreover, no specific enthusiasm for social recognition could be encountered among Frenchmen in Seville.¹⁵³

153 Later in the 17th and 18th century, French families in Cádiz would be in a different situation and show an altered social conduct: they were a larger group, which was more integrated and exhibited stronger signs of internal cohesion. Bustos Rodríguez, *Cádiz en el sistema atlántico*, pp. 116-119, 142-148; Comellas, *Sevilla, Cádiz y América*, pp. 255-258; Iglesias Rodríguez, "Extranjeros en la bahía de Cádiz", p. 43.

The private networks of the French and Flemish nations show a different orientation. Flemings turned to compatriots when it came to marriages or when they chose godfathers or witnesses. Frenchmen, on the other hand, were less frequently connected to compatriots and more often to Spaniards and Flemings. Hence, a large network of compatriots made it easier to establish strong ties among each other, and less necessary to seek contact with other nations. The Frenchmen, who were always a smaller colony, had to be much more amenable to contact with other nations if they wanted to succeed in the city. The reason for their approach to the Flemings on a private level, therefore, was to access the larger Flemish networks and to benefit from them.

The commercial networks of the merchants confirm this conclusion. Flemings were the dominant contacts in the French networks in most of the selected years. Only in 1620, that was not the case. In this year, the French main network was large enough on its own, and it was less necessary for Frenchmen to seek contact to other nations: Compatriots became the largest group among their foreign business contacts. In 1640, the Spanish-French war reduced the number of compatriots, and Frenchmen resorted to other foreign contacts again. Besides Flemings, they were mostly linked to Portuguese and Genoese. The Flemish commercial networks, on the other hand, were always compatriot-orientated. Flemings were dominant in all of the selected years. Hence, they were inclined to a certain endogamy on a private as well as on a commercial level. After compatriots, the foreigners they were most often in contact with were Englishmen (1580), Genoese (1600), Frenchmen (1620), and Portuguese (1640). For both French and Flemings it could be observed that the Genoese appeared more frequently in the earlier years, while the Portuguese became more significant in the later years.

Frenchmen and Flemings were doing business in all kinds of companies. Frenchmen were rather reluctant in this respect and only founded companies after 1580. They were more likely to stay among themselves, and mostly, the companies were family enterprises. Flemings, on the other hand, were the most active nation in Seville and took part in many companies, also with other foreigners. In 1620, the maximum was reached, with 14 Flemish companies; 11 of those were family enterprises, which was also the preferred type of cooperation among Flemings. However, some of the economically dominant companies were non-family cooperations. For the merchants of both nations, the position of the respective father-in-law offered the chance to access local networks of commerce and power. Particularly, the Flemings took advantage of these extended family connections. Additionally, it could be pointed out, that also women could achieve a certain standing in the commerce of Seville.

To measure the business of French and Flemish merchants in Seville, an indicator of the volume of trade was calculated, the “ascertainable trade volume”. This indicator experienced a similar development in the case of both nations: It grew about 400 percent between 1580 and 1600, about 600 percent between 1600 and 1620, and lost about 44 percent between 1620 and 1640. That means that the increase was spectacular until 1620, while the subsequent decline was rather slow. In 1640, the trade volume of both nations was still at a high level. Considering the whole period, the share of the Flemings was more than double the French one. Interestingly, the downturn of the French trade volume after 1620 was much less pronounced than the Flemish one; in such a way that in 1640, the Flemings were only nine percent ahead of the Frenchmen. The small French colony of 1640 was, apparently, better capable of maintaining a high trade volume than the much larger number of Flemings: The French decrease was only 18 percent, while the Flemish one was about 55 percent.

The ties to their places of origin were essential for Frenchmen and Flemings: Both nations acquired merchandise from their home regions. This conclusion can be drawn from the analysis of their trade commodities. About two thirds of the goods of French merchants in Seville were from France, above all metalware, textiles, paper, and books. For Flemings it was similar, as over half of their merchandise was Flemish, mainly textiles and wax. Right after these domestic products, it was American goods, like cochineal and indigo, which appeared in their lists. One of the suppositions about early modern merchants is that they diversified their trade to minimize their risk and to maximize their profits. This could be confirmed for both Flemish and French commerce in most of the selected years:¹⁵⁴ Rarely was a merchant exclusively active in one commercial segment, instead, they invested in several different types of merchandise. Also when only purely financial transactions were made, they frequently involved a certain diversification.

Among all the selected years, it was 1620 which provided the most details about the trade with merchandise: The share of traded merchandise in the revenues and expenses of the merchants (the ascertainable trade volume) was 44 percent for the Frenchmen and in fact 91 percent for the Flemings. In 1640, on the other hand, purely financial transactions dominated, especially the credit business, while the share of the merchandise trade had plummeted to zero in the case of both nations. Considering that the ascertainable trade volume did not decrease dramatically from 1620 to 1640, the high volume of

154 In 1580, there was not enough data to confirm this for the French nation.

the financial transactions of 1640 becomes evident. That was especially true for the small group of Frenchmen who, by 1640, had developed into very rich businessmen.

No American products turned up in the merchandise list before 1620. As America was the great incentive for the foreign merchants to come to Seville, that seems surprising. In 1620, eventually, almost one third of the goods from Flemings came from the Indies, 21 percent of the merchandise from Frenchmen. Yet, even in that year only a few direct connections could be found to America. Instead, the merchants of both nations rather relied on Spanish intermediaries. Among the Frenchmen, it was only one who was in direct contact with the Indies, and just a handful of Flemings. One reason for that was the small number of naturalized merchants who participated in this trade (no Frenchman and only four Flemings). Yet, in spite of the few direct connections, other evidence, as for example the traded American products, indicate that most of the merchants were very interested in the Indies trade.

During the Truce of the Eighty Years' War (1609–1621), Dutchmen also had access to Seville and the American riches. Their absence in the other years is a strong indication that the economic warfare of the Spanish kings was at least partially successful. Another example of the interference of war in commerce was the rupture between France and Spain in 1635. The various reprisals against subjects of the French Crown in Seville and the effectiveness of the Spanish embargo were demonstrated with the French main network of 1640. Their effect was mainly a drastic reduction of the size of the French colony in the city and a disappearance of French commodities. Furthermore, the naturalized merchants who decided to stay in Seville had to give an enormous donation to remain in business and to retain their seized goods.

The significance of Seville to the Spanish Peninsula and of Flemings and Frenchmen to Seville, gives the described development a certain relevance as indicator for the crisis of Spain and Seville: Between 1580 and 1640, the character of the mercantile communities in Seville changed profoundly. Taking the French and Flemish as an example, the shift becomes evident. While the number of foreigners in 1580 was still small and their activities limited, they had spread by 1600, and established larger networks of commerce. Still, they had not grown to their full potential by then. That happened in 1620, when all indications point to the conclusion that the peak of foreign commercial activities took place. In 1640, the climax was over, but Seville remained an important center of commerce and finance.

Reconsidering the subject of the golden age, the presented evidence suggests a commercial peak around the year 1620. Regarding the *decadencia*, the decline

of the Spanish empire and economy, the year 1635 must be taken into consideration for the French nation. Even though the merchants who remained in Seville during the Spanish-French war performed well, the setbacks for them and their compatriots disturbed the trade. The Flemings, on the other hand, experienced their economic peak in the time of the Truce between Spain and their northern “compatriots”, the Dutchmen. After the resumption of war, one can legitimately ask if their trade continued to prosper on the same level. One final factor has to be taken into account: The large number and the economic strength of the Portuguese nation in Seville became evident throughout this investigation. The rupture with the Portuguese in 1640, therefore, must be considered another setback for the commerce of Seville. All these factors must be considered when the city could neither recover demographically nor commercially from the plague which occurred in 1649. By 1655, Seville was still below half of its size of the 1640s and Cádiz had taken over many of its functions.

Although by the middle of the 17th century the golden age for the merchants in Seville was over, in the decades preceding, they had experienced an extraordinarily prolific time. Compared to the numerous investigations about the Indies traders, the *Cargadores a Indias*, only a few scholars have focused on the foreign merchants and their European trade. Even fewer have tried to systematically understand the nature of these connections or the collective strategies that were visible in their commercial networks. It was the aim of this book to enter this new field of investigation with the SNA methods, comparing the two dominating nations of the European Atlantic trade of Seville. It remains to be seen whether this investigation inspires others to further explore early modern commercial networks, which offer the opportunity to discern the superficial from the substantial. The larger such networks, the stronger their explanatory potential for the phenomenon of early globalization – which generates the hope that the commercial networks in this book may be connected to other historical networks in the future.¹⁵⁵

155 A possible first step could be to complete the picture of the commerce of Seville with a network analysis of the Spanish and the Portuguese merchants, as well as a scrutiny of the Mediterranean connections of the Seville merchants (cf. the ongoing doctoral thesis of Philipp Lesiak at the University of Graz). As a second step, it would be most intriguing to link the investigated networks with the corresponding ones in America (the networks of the Mexican port city of Veracruz, for example, have been scrutinized by García de León, “La malla inconclusa” and idem, *Tierra adentro*) or even Asia (Kalus, *Pfeffer – Kupfer – Nachrichten*).

A. Abbreviations, Units, and Spelling

The abbreviations and symbols used in this book are listed below, starting with the ones referring to the primary sources. For some of the measurements in the list, rough conversions to the metrical system were added. Yet, as there have already been difficulties regarding conversion in the 16th century, the established numbers may vary in some cases. Furthermore, the following units, which do not appear in the list, may be of interest: fanega (about 55.5 liters), marco (0.23 kilograms/8 onzas), tomín (0.0006 kilograms), and millar (1,000 pieces). The information about “fardos/fardeles” (always for textiles) remains vague when it refers to a measure of length; in any case it was some hundred meters. The conversions were calculated from various locations in the primary sources; some were taken additionally from Schäfer, “Spaniens koloniale Warenausfuhr”, and Everaert, *De internationale en koloniale Handel*.

Throughout the work, all first and second names are written basically in Spanish because most of the mentioned persons were Spaniards or lived in Spain. No accent marks were used because they were missing in most original versions of the names. The names of the different locations in Spain and the Indies are written in Spanish (except for Seville), all other locations in English. Moreover, many cross references to other pages appear in the text, which are put in parenthesis. These refer to pages within this book. The sources for the tables which appear in the text are directly indicated below them. When no source is indicated, the table is drawn from the sources mentioned in the respective section. The same holds true for figures.

ACV	Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Valladolid
AGI	Archivo General de Indias
AGS	Archivo General de Simancas
AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional
APS	Archivo de Protocolos de Sevilla
ASV	Archivio di Stato di Venezia
PARES	Portal de Archivos Españoles (http://pares.mcu.es/)
Doc.	document
No./N.	number
R/r	recto
V/v	verso
L./leg.	legajo (file/bundle)
E.	encuadernación (bound volume)
s.f.	sin foliación (without numbering)

@	arroba (11.5 kilograms/12.6 liters)
g	gruesa (gross, 144 pieces)
l	libra (pound, 0.46 kilograms/16 onzas)
p	pieza (piece)
o	onza (ounce, 0.029 kilograms/16 adarmas)
q	quintal (46 kilograms/100 libras)
v	vara (0.84 meters)
d/duc	ducats (11 reales/375 maravedis)
m/mvd	maravedis
p	pesos (272 maravedis)
r	reales (34 maravedis)
rv	reales de vellón
rp	reales de plata
Ex.	exchange
Exp.	expenses
Rev.	revenues
Engl.	England/English
Fl.	Flanders/Flemish
Fr.	France/French
Port./P	Portuguese
G	Genoese
A	Antwerp
C	Córdoba
L	Lyon
M	Madrid
S	Seville
bros.	brothers
C/	calle (street)
Cons.	consulate
jr.	junior
Nat.	naturalized
O.	order
Pt.	puerto (harbor)
Res.	resident
SB	stockbroker
SN	subnetwork
sr.	senior
*	Frenchman
**	Fleming
+	deceased
X/&	married

B. Glossary

The purpose of this glossary is to support the reading of this book by providing explanations for the Spanish terms most frequently used. In addition to the explanation in the list below, the words are also defined when first mentioned in the text.

Alcabala	Tax (indirect)
Alcalde	Town magistrate
Alguacil	Bailiff
Almirantazgo	Institution for the trade with Northern Europe
Almojarifazgo de Indias	Customs duty for the American trade
Almojarifazgo Mayor	Customs duty
Armada (de la Guardia)	The Spanish navy with the main purpose of protecting the American fleet
Asistente	Representative of the Spanish king in Seville
Avería	Tax collected from the Indies traders for their safety
Casa de la Contratación	Royal institution for the control of the American commerce (House of Trade)
Casa de la Moneda	Institution in charge of minting of precious metals
Capitana y Almiranta	Galleons responsible for the protection of the Indies fleet
Carrera de Indias	Colonial Spanish Convoy System
Censo	Title which allowed the owner to collect a certain rent
Compradores de Oro y Plata	Company of rich merchants who organized the minting of bullion for individuals; also in the credit business
Consulado de Cargadores a Indias	The Consulate; organization (guild) of Indies merchants with juridical, fiscal, and representational rights and functions
Hombre de Negocios	Very rich merchant, involved in the financial business
Jurado	Alderman, elected municipal office
Juro	Title which allowed the owner to collect a certain rent
Licenciado	University degree
Maestres de Plata	Rich merchants, responsible for the discharge of the bullion from the galleons
Nación	Union of foreigners of common origin abroad
Real Audiencia	Royal Court
Real Hacienda	Royal Treasury
Tierra Firme	Term used to define basically all of South America (in contrast to Central America and Mexico)

C. Tables and Figures

Table C.1.: Naturalized Flemings and Dutchmen (1570–1650)

Year	First Name	Surname	Citizen	Origin
1584	Andres	PLAMONT	—	Flemish
1589	Marcos	DELANOY	—	Flemish
1589	Mana	ENRIQUES	—	Flemish
1594	Justo	CANIS	—	Flemish
1594	Franco	HELMAN	—	Flemish
1600	Jaques	BRAUSEN	Seville	Flemish
1600	Franco de	CONIQUE	—	Flemish
1605	Lorenzo de	ESPINOSA	Seville	Flemish
1606	Arnaldo	CRABE	—	Flemish
1607	Salomon	PARADIS	—	Flemish
1607	Elias	SIRMAN	—	Flemish
1608	Juan	ANDRES	—	Flemish
1609	Lamberto	BERUBEN	—	Flemish
1610	Juan (de)	LEC[=QU]LE[R]QUE	Seville	Flemish
1610	Roberto	MARCELIS	—	Flemish
1610	Franco de	SMIT	—	Flemish
1611	Juan	FLORIDA[=O]	Seville	Flemish
1611	Francisco	NICOLAS	Seville	Dutch
1613	Niculas	ANTONIO	Seville	Flemish
1613	Pedro	JUANES	Sanlúcar	Flemish
1617	Juan Bautista	SIRMAN	—	Flemish
1617	Luis	SIRMAN	—	Flemish
1617	Pedro	SIRMAN	—	Flemish
1618	Juan de	TORRES	Seville	Flemish
1619	Guillermo de	FLORES	—	Flemish
1619	Joan	HESSE	Seville	Dutch
1621	Hernando	TILMAN	Seville	Flemish
1623	Lorenzo	HERNANDEZ	—	Dutch
1624	Guillermo	BEQUER (BECKER)	Seville	Flemish
1624	Nicolas (de)	SUARTE	—	Flemish
1626	Guillen	CLOU	—	Flemish
1626	Lucian	ESPINEL	Cádiz	Dutch
1626	Enrique	PELIGRON	—	Flemish
1626	Diego de	SOTO PORES	—	Flemish
1627	Pedro	FRANCOY[S]	Seville	Flemish

Table C.1.: Naturalized Flemings and Dutchmen (1570–1650)

Year	First Name	Surname	Citizen	Origin
1627	Diego de	VILLON	—	Flemish
1628	Pedro de	JALON	—	Flemish
1630	Antonio (de)	BEQUER	—	Flemish
1630	Pedro	BLOIS	Seville	Flemish (Antwerp)
1630	Simon	CANIS	Seville	Flemish
1630	Juan	CORTES	Seville	Dutch (Amsterdam)
1630	Pedro	FLORES	—	Flemish
1630	Pedro	GILES (XILES)	Seville	Flemish
1630	Juan	HENESTE	Seville/Cádiz	Flemish
1630	Juan	INAMENDE [JUA-] VITOREN [OBENE]	— —	Flemish (Antwerp)
1630	Jusepe	MAGUIER	—	Flemish
1630	Dionisio	POTEO[DO] (POTEAU)	—	Flemish
1630	Juan	TOLINQUE	Seville/Cádiz	Flemish (Brabant)
1630	Chrisostomo	VANIMERSEL	Seville	Flemish
1630	Cornelio	YANCEN DE VITOBEN[E]	Seville	Flemish (Brabant)
1632	Josefe Franco de	PERALTA	—	Flemish
1633	Jaques	FILTER	Seville	Flemish
1633	Josefe	MARQUEY[=Z]	—	Flemish
1633	Pedro	MARTINEZ DE ORTA	Cádiz	Flemish
1634	Tomas	CRIOLES	Cádiz	Flemish
1634	Juan Babtista	TERMIN	Seville	Flemish
1634	Pedro	VANGORLE	Seville	Flemish
1635	Juan	BERNARDO	—	Flemish
1635	Carlos (de)	BONTE	Seville	Flemish
1635	Gaspar de	CAYNOGUES (QUINTOGHEN)	Sanlúcar	Flemish
1635	Pablos	CODDE	Seville	Flemish
1635	Simon de	CONIQUE	Seville	Flemish
1635	Albertos	MARTIN	Cádiz	Flemish
1635	Daniel de	RIET	Seville	Flemish
1635	Nicolas	RODRIGUEZ BANGLIOT	—	Flemish
1635	Alexandro	SELLES[-LACH]	Seville	Flemish

Table C.1.: Naturalized Flemings and Dutchmen (1570–1650)

Year	First Name	Surname	Citizen	Origin
1636	Baltasar	CONRADO	Seville	Flemish
1636	Mathias	PEREZ	Seville	Flemish
1638	Gregorio del	CASTILLO	—	Dutch
1638	Carlos	GREGORIO	Seville	Dutch
1638	Franco	GREGORIO	—	Dutch
1638	Juan	ENRIQUEZ	—	Flemish
1638	Enrique	YANSENTOS DE PENECHAVER	Seville	Flemish
1639	Jaques	BORBOT	Seville	Flemish
1639	Nicolas Antonio	CLERQUE	Truxillo	Flemish
1639	Juan	ESTEBAN	Cádiz	Flemish
1639	Rolando	GANDOLFO	Seville	Dutch
1639	Jorxe Duarte	PULTRES HONEB	Seville	Flemish
1640	Enrique (de)	BRUIN	Sanlúcar	Flemish
1640	Adrian	SCHILDERS (SEHILDRES)	Seville	Dutch (Amsterdam)
1641	Ricardo	IOGUEN	Cádiz	Flemish
1642	Miguel	VANDEBERGUE	Cádiz	Flemish
1643	Giraldo	ANIF	—	Flemish
1643	Pedro	BOYNER	—	Flemish
1643	Pedro	ENRIQUEZ	—	Flemish
1644	Alberto de	COLARTE	Cádiz	Flemish

Source: AGI Contratación 50A, 50B, 51A, 51B, 596A, 596B, s.f.

Explanation: The exhibited data may vary slightly from other lists (mainly spelling) because it derives directly from the AGI sources (no update from additional sources)

Table C.2: Ships From Dunkirk and Their Load (1620)

Ships	Masters	Chests
El Bacallao	Felipe Gersen	6 <i>holandas</i> , 2 <i>cambrais</i>
La Esperanza	Ysbrant Adriansen	5 <i>holandas</i> , 1 <i>cambrais</i>
El Galgo	Carlos Reni	4 <i>holandas</i>
Santa Ana	Niculas Bordel	4 <i>cambrais</i>
El Ave Fenis	Enrique Sehers	3 <i>holandas</i>
Santa Maria	Juan Pabilorias	2 <i>holandas</i> , 1 <i>cambrais</i>
San Juan Baptista	Juan Bannber	2 <i>holandas</i>
San Pedro	Jacob Cornelissen	1 <i>holandas</i>
San Alberto	Lucas Cacosen	1 <i>holandas</i>
San Juan	Juan de Bibien	1 <i>cambrais</i>

Source: APS 3607, ff.267r-270v, 822v-825r; APS 16869, ff.935r-938v; APS 16870, ff.183r-185v

Table C.3: The 12 Merchants in Seville, who Contributed Most to the Donation of 30,000 Ducats to the *Real Hacienda* in 1632 (of a Total of 71 Individuals) – Different Contributions to the Spanish King between 1632 and 1651

1632	1637	1640	1651	Name
1,400 d	—	2,319 d	—	Diego Lorenzo de Paz
1,120 d	✓	11,023 d	unknown	Gonzalo Nuñez de Sepulveda (Port.)
1,100 d	—	4,495 d	100 p	<i>Juan Bautista Navarro</i>
1,000 d	✓	11,023 d	—	<i>Francisco Lopez Talavan</i>
1,000 d	—	—	—	Pedro Francois**
1,000 d	—	10,023 d (/2)	565 p(family)	<i>Diego Diaz</i> (Port.)
700 d	—	11,023 d	300 p (widow)	<i>Pedro de la Farxa*</i>
700 d	✓	2,319 d	—	<i>Jorge Antunez</i> (Port.)
700 d	—	—	—	Luis de Lemnos
700 d	-/✓	1,231/6,671 d	-/100 p	Augustin Paz/ Enrique de Andrada (Port.)
700 d	—	1,231 d	—	Garcia de Lucena (Port.)
700 d	✓	2,319 d	400 p	Antonio Nuñez Gramajo
10,820 d	—	63,677 d	1,465 p	TOTAL

Explanation: bold means appeared in all lists, italic means appeared in three lists

Source: Gil-Bermejo García, “Mercaderes sevillanos (una nómina de 1637)”;

idem, “Mercaderes sevillanos II”;

Collado Villalta, “Un repartimiento por contrabando”;

Aguado de los Reyes, “Lisboa, Sevilla, Amberes”, pp. 101-125;

Vila Vilar, “Una amplia nómina”

Table C.4: The 21 Highest Contributions of Merchants in Seville, who Compensated the King in 1651 with 140,000 Pesos for Losses Caused by Previous Contraband (of a Total of 500 Individuals) – Different Contributions to the Spanish King between 1632 and 1651

1632	1637	1640	1651	Name
—	✓	2,319 d	4,000 p	<i>Esteban de Rivarola</i>
—	—	—	4,000 p	Niculas Gruvel
—	—	—	3,000 p	The English nation of Seville
—	—	—	2,000 p	Pedro Caramur
—	—	—	1,850 p	Carlos de Vies/Hernaldo Cant
—	—	—	1,700 p	Guillermo Guillen*
—	—	11,023 d	1,500 p	Lanfran David*
191 d	✓	6,671 d	1,500 p	Francisco Fernandez de Solis and son (Port.)
—	—	—	1,500 p	Manuel Gomez de Acosta (Port.)
—	—	—	1,490 p	Claudio Briante
—	✓	2,319 d	1,400 p	<i>Josefe Francisco de Peralta **</i>
—	—	—	1,300 p	Juan Agustin Guerra
—	—	—	1,300 p	Nicolas Prato
—	—	—	1,250 p	Juan Bonome
—	✓	4,495 d	1,200 p	<i>Fernando Lopez de Bolaños</i>
—	—	—	1,000 p	Jose de Grumendi
—	—	—	1,000 p	Roberto Jacome
—	✓	—	1,000 p	Juan Cesar Arpe (Genoese)
—	—	—	1,000 p	Pedro Michelsen*
—	—	—	1,000 p	Conrado Moller**
—	—	—	1,000 p	Martin de Estrada
191 d	—	26,827 d	34,990 p	TOTAL

Explanation: bold means appeared in all lists, italic means appeared in three lists

Source: Gil-Bermejo García, “Mercaderes sevillanos (una nómina de 1637)”; idem, “Mercaderes sevillanos II”; Collado Villalta, “Un repartimiento por contrabando”; Aguado de los Reyes, “Lisboa, Sevilla, Amberes”, pp. 101-125; Vila Vilar, “Una amplia nómina”

Table C.5: The Payments of Jacome Mortedo (1600)

Document (APS)	Amount and Currency	Ducats
16766, s.f.	5,500 reales	500
16766, f. 74v	4,482 reales	407
16766, f. 104	888,000 maravedis	2,368
16766, f. 181r	518 ducats, 8 sueldos	519
16766, ff. 183-185	1,078 ducats, 2 sueldos, 6 dineros	1,078
16766, f. 339	677,500 maravedis	1,807
16766, f. 314	5,463,200 maravedis	14,569
16766, ff. 397-399	169,427 maravedis	452
16766, f. 406r	1,000 reales	91
16766, ff. 419-420	1,000 reales	91
16766, f. 536	4,000 reales	364
16766, ff. 616, 930	375,000 maravedis	1,000
16766, f. 617v	3,000 reales	273
16766, f. 618	2,000 reales	182
16766, f. 618v	425,000 maravedis	1,133
16766, f. 625	7,534 reales	685
9984, ff. 221v-223v	275 pesos	199
9984, f. 75	272,069 maravedis	726
9983, f. 1232	343,570 maravedis	916
9984, f. 77	100 ducats	100
9984, f. 389v	100 ducats	100
9984, f. 196	3,000 ducats	3,000
7421, ff. 71-73	8,000.000 maravedis	21,333
TOTAL	—	51,893

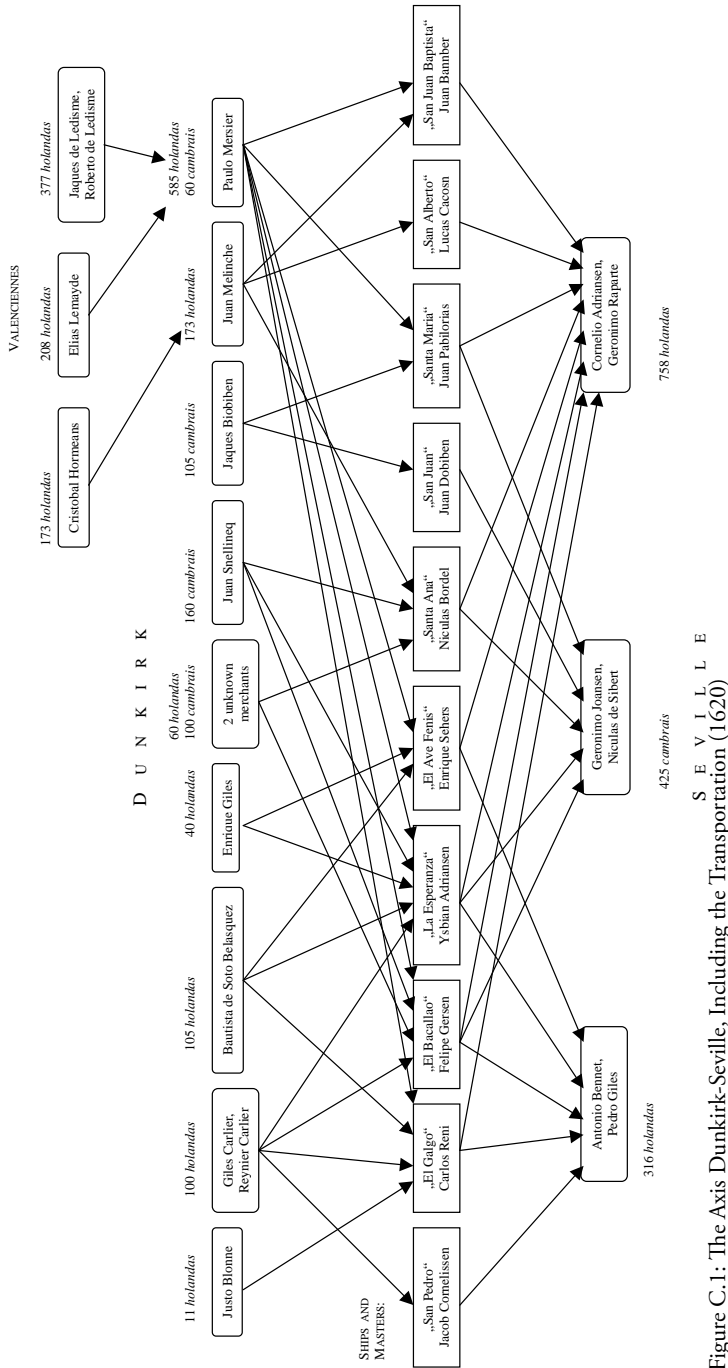


Figure C.1: The Axis Dunkirk-Seville, Including the Transportation (1620)
 Source: The figure was drawn by Philipp Lesiak, based on the sources from APS, 3607, ff. 267r-270v, 822v-825r; APS, 16869, ff. 935r-938v; APS, 16870, ff. 183r-185v

D. Network Data

French-Flemish Ratios

To conclude the appendix, first, two more relations between French and Flemish nodes in the selected years can be shown before, second, further calculations of the subnetwork are presented. The first relationship between Frenchmen and Flemings compares the number of all nodes in the two main networks of each year: 6.7-3.5-2.1-3.6 (each number represents the value of one of the years: 1580–1600–1620–1640). Graphically, this ratio is visible in figure D.1. Hence, it is highest in 1580 and lowest in 1620, when the Flemish network is only double the size of the French network.

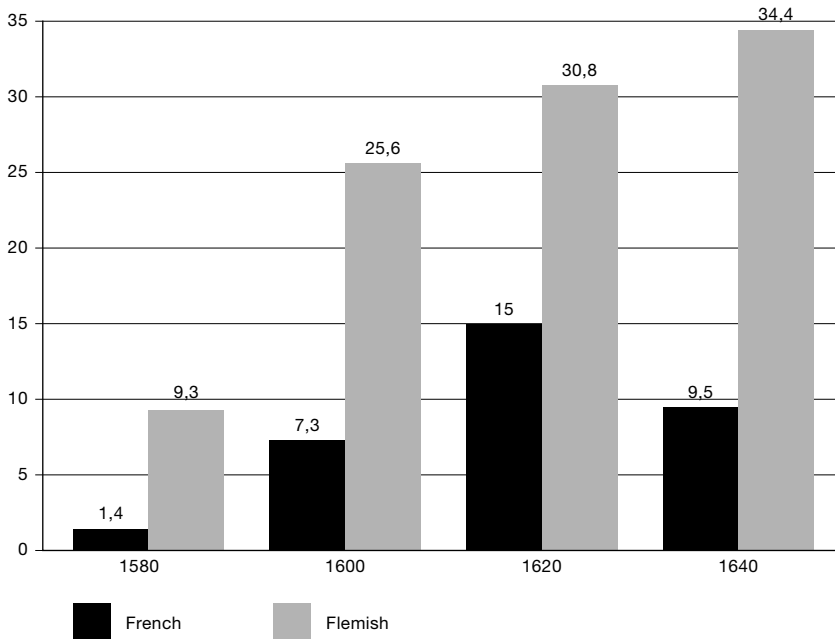


Figure D.1: Nodes in the French and Flemish Networks (Percentage of the Number of Nodes in the Total Networks)

Comparing the number of participants of each year, another ratio appears: 4.3-3.6-3.1-6.5, shown above in the columns of figure 2.4 (p. 145). Again, the difference between the two nations was smallest in 1620, when only three times

as many Flemings as Frenchmen were found in Seville.¹ In this case, the largest difference between the two nations is in 1640: Six times as many Flemings were found as Frenchmen.

Network Specific Technical Data – UCINET 6.29

All the French and Flemish main networks contain between three and 16 sub-networks (SN), which are not connected with each other. One or two of them are always much larger than the others. Those are the dominant subnetworks which hold between 43 percent and 88 percent of the main network; when there are two of them they have between 21 percent and 44 percent each. The details can be seen in table D.1 The largest subnetwork is the French one from the year 1620, covering 88 percent of the main network. Then comes the Flemish one of the same year, with 85 percent. The prolific data of the year 1620 is surely one reason why the subnetwork of that year is so large.

Table D.1: Characteristics of the Networks: Nodes of the Network, Number of Subnetworks (SN) and Percentage of the Dominant One or Two Subnetworks

Year	Fr. Network			Fl. Network		
	Nodes	SN	Dominant	Nodes	SN	Dominant
1580	7	3	1 (43%)	47	7	2 (30+21%)
1600	65	9	2 (25+23%)	229	14	1 (63%)
1620	215	6	1 (88%)	443	16	1 (85%)
1640	62	5	2 (44+34%)	224	10	2 (39+37%)

The year 1620 can be considered the one with the most commercial activity – and with the most connections between the merchants. Then come the years 1600, 1640 and finally 1580. There is a positive correlation between the number of nodes and the number of documents found in the APS (cf. table 1.2 on p. 85). Table D.2 shows the Network Centralization Index of the different total and the main networks. It displays the betweenness-based centrality of the network, compared to the network centrality of a perfect star network. A star network would have a network centrality of 100 percent. Thereby, one individual would exist who is connected to all others without any other links in the network.² The percentage of over 50 of the French network in 1620 is by far the highest among the networks under investigation. The reason for that high

1 It is also confirmed by the analysis of the number of documents in the figures 1.6 (p. 89) and 1.7 (p. 91).

2 Hanneman, *Introduction to Social Network Methods*, pp. 66-68.

Table D.2: Network Centralization Index

Year	Total	French	Flemish
1580	16.29%	6.67%	2.59%
1600	29.85%	3.89%	32.86%
1620	14.17%	56.50%	27.27%
1640	20.83%	10.26%	8.36%

index lies in the key position of one French actor who was Pedro de la Farxa. The low index of the Flemish network of the year 1580, on the other hand, is due to a strong fragmentation of a small network into several subnetworks (cf. figure 5.1 on p. 234).

The distance-based structural cohesion of the networks is evident in figure D.3. It is the degree to which nodes are connected directly to each other by cohesive bonds. It is calculated by counting the minimum number of actors who, if removed from the group, would disconnect the group. Which means, that “a group is cohesive to the extent that it is robust to disruption”.³ It is interesting to observe first, that there is obviously not much relation between the cohesion and the number of nodes of the network, and second, the data is not negatively congruent to the Network Centralization Index: While the French network of 1620 is the one with the highest index, and removing its most central actor would split the biggest network into different parts, its cohesion is not the smallest.

Table D.3: Structural Cohesion

Year	Total	French	Flemish
1580	0.083	0.214	0.104
1600	0.044	0.079	0.134
1620	0.172	0.171	0.170
1640	0.159	0.142	0.081

Finally, table D.4 calculates the overall density of a network by dividing the existing connections (edges) by all possible connections. Thereby, a negative correlation exists between the number of nodes and the density of the network. That means that more nodes imply a lower density. The Flemish main network of 1620 is the largest one and it has the lowest density. The French main network of 1580, on the other hand, is the smallest and has the highest

3 Moody and White, “Structural Cohesion and Embeddedness”, p. 109.

Table D.4: Density

Year	Total	French	Flemish
1580	0.0067	0.1905	0.0597
1600	0.085	0.0413	0.0141
1620	0.0034	0.0178	0.0113
1640	0.0061	0.0518	0.0166

density. Exceptions exist, as for example the total density of the years 1600 and 1640 do not correspond to that pattern, as the total network of the year 1600 has more nodes than the one of 1640, but shows a higher density.

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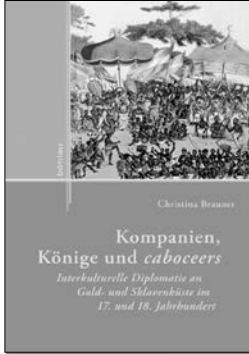
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CHRISTINA BRAUNER

**KOMPANIEN, KÖNIGE
UND CABOCEERS**INTERKULTURELLE DIPLOMATIE
AN GOLD- UND SKLAVENKÜSTE
IM 17. UND 18. JAHRHUNDERT

EXTERNA, BAND 8

Die Küste Westafrikas war eine der wichtigsten Kontaktzonen der Frühen Neuzeit. Zahlreiche europäische Handelskompanien konkurrierten hier um Gold und Sklaven, Handelsrechte und Stützpunkte. Die Autorin fragt, wie diese Kompanien untereinander und gegenüber westafrikanischen Herrschern als Akteure der Außenbeziehungen auftraten, und wertet dazu die Archive der niederländischen, englischen und französischen Afrika- und Westindien-Kompanien aus. Wie interkulturelle Diplomatie funktionierte, wird anhand von Zeremoniell, Geschenkverkehr und Völkerrecht analysiert. Die Studie kommt zu dem Ergebnis, dass sich eine lokale diplomatische Praxis entwickelte, die Elemente europäischen und afrikanischen Ursprungs verknüpfte.

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DIE HANSE IM ZEICHEN DER KRISE

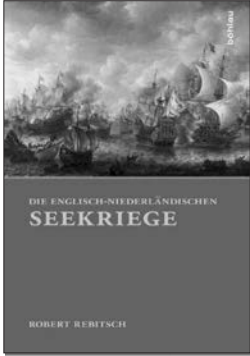
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POLITISCHEN KOMMUNIKATION IM
WANDEL (1550–1620)

(QUELLEN UND DARSTELLUNGEN ZUR
HANSISCHEN GESCHICHTE, BAND 61)

War die Hanse eine ökonomische Interessengemeinschaft oder eher ein politisches Bündnis? Diese klassische Frage der Hanseforschung wird im vorliegenden Buch für den Zeitraum von etwa 1550 bis 1620 mit Hilfe eines kommunikationsgeschichtlichen Ansatzes diskutiert. Dabei werden »hansische Interessen« auf städtischer Ebene dingfest gemacht, so dass einzelne Hansestädte als individuelle Akteure betrachtet werden können. Je nach Interessenlage beteiligten sie sich unterschiedlich stark an den hansischen Angelegenheiten, interagierten miteinander und veränderten dadurch ihre politischen Handlungsspielräume. Letzteres führte zu Reformen und insgesamt zu einer institutionellen Verdichtung des Städteverbandes. Das Buch vermittelt eine differenzierte Sicht auf die Spätzeit der Hanse als eine Zeit im Zeichen der Krise.

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ROBERT REBITSCH

**DIE ENGLISCH-NIEDERLÄNDISCHEN
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Die Englisch-Niederländischen Seekriege waren Konfrontationen zwischen der aufstrebenden Seemacht England und der etablierten Seemacht der Niederlande. Die großen Schlachten ereigneten sich im Ärmelkanal und in der Nordsee, die Nebenschauplätze des Krieges sind im Mittelmeer, an der Westküste Afrikas, in der Karibik und in Südostasien zu finden. Diese Seekriege wurden in der deutschsprachigen Geschichtswissenschaft bisher kaum behandelt. Es gibt keine moderne deutschsprachige Monographie zu dieser Thematik und sie finden in Handbüchern zur europäischen Geschichte des 17. Jahrhunderts kaum Erwähnung. Es ist das Ziel des vorliegenden Werkes die Kontrahenten der Kriege vorzustellen, die politischen, ökonomischen sowie konfessionell-ideologischen Rahmenbedingungen darzulegen, die einzelnen Ursachen und Motive für die Kriege aufzuzeigen, militärische Kapazitäten sowie Strategie und Taktik der Seekriegsführung zu erläutern, den Verlauf der Kriege zu beschreiben und ebenso auf die Auswirkungen und Konsequenzen der bewaffneten Konflikte einzugehen.

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In early modern times, Seville was the most important hub of the transatlantic economy. It attracted a large number of foreign merchants who connected the American with the European markets. While the transatlantic axis of this trade has drawn much attention in historiography, the connection between Seville and the European Atlantic coast has largely been ignored. This book analyzes the activities of the Flemish and French merchants of Seville along this trade route. Their commercial activities as well as their private and business networks in Seville illustrate fundamental structures and processes of the European and transatlantic economy.

Eberhard Crailsheim, PhD, is “Marie Skłodowska-Curie” research fellow at the Institute of History of the Spanish National Research Council (CSIC), Centre for Human and Social Sciences in Madrid.

