#### A Dissimulated Trade

## The Atlantic World

EUROPE, AFRICA AND THE AMERICAS, 1500-1830

#### Series Editors

Wim Klooster (*Clark University*)
Benjamin Schmidt (*University of Washington*)

#### Editorial Board

Juliana Barr (Duck University)
Christopher Brown (Columbia University)
Trevor Burnard (University of Melbourne)
Cécile Fromont (University of Chicago)
Michiel van Groesen (Leiden University)
Jane Landers (Vanderbilt University)
Ricardo Padrón (University of Virginia)
Gabriel Paquette (Johns Hopkins University)

**VOLUME 40** 

The titles published in this series are listed at brill.com/aw

# A Dissimulated Trade

Northern European Timber Merchants in Seville (1574–1598)

Ву

Germán Jiménez-Montes



LEIDEN | BOSTON

Cover illustration: Alonso Sánchez Coello (attributed), View of Seville, ca. 1570, oil on canvas, Courtesy Museo de América, Madrid.
The Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available online at https://catalog.loc.gov
Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.
ISSN 1570-0542 ISBN 978-90-04-46018-8 (hardback)
ISBN 978-90-04-50411-0 (e-book)
Copyright 2022 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.  Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Hotei, Brill Schöningh, Brill Fink, Brill mentis, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Böhlau and V&R unipress.  All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher. Requests for re-use and/or translations must be addressed to Koninklijke Brill NV via brill.com or copyright.com.
This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

## **Contents**

3

Abb List Note	nowledgements IX reviation of Archives and Digital Sources X of Illustrations, Figures and Tables XI e on Terminology XIII oduction 1						
War	and Trade in Andalusia 27						
1	Philip II's Embargoes: More than Commercial War 28						
2	Subversion of the Market 31						
	2.1 Claiming for Compensations 35						
	2.2 The Seville-Sanlúcar Axis 39						
3	State's Collaboration with the Market 41						
	3.1 Royal Licence to Nicolás de Melemburque 44						
4	Seville's Opposition to the Embargoes 46						
	4.1 The Embargoes of 1585 and 1595 49						
	4.2 Enemies of the Monarchy? Foreigners as Well as Natives 5						
5	Conclusion 58						
Atar	razanas Merchants						
Mig	ration and Social Capital 60						
1	Flemish Migration to Seville 62						
	1.1 Migration before the War 63						
	1.2 Migration During the War 67						
2	Collaboration with Seville and Social Capital 73						
	2.1 Control and Conversion of the <i>Reales Atarazanas</i> 73						
	2.2 The Encabezamiento 80						
	2.3 The Nation 84						
3	Conclusion 87						
Casa	ay Servicio 90						
1	Marriage Practices 91						
	1.1 Flemish Women in the <i>Atarazanas</i> 95						
2	Cooperation between In-laws 97						
	2.1 Dowry Promises 98						

VICONTENTS

3	Servicio 104
	3.1 Domestic Workers 104
	3.2 Workers of the Firm 109
4	Conclusion 115
Coc	peration in Long-Distance Trade 116
1	Partnerships 117
	I Farity Dartnershine 110

- 4
  - Equity Partnerships 1.1
  - Silent Equity Partnerships 1.2 126
  - Commission Partnerships 1.3
  - Notarisation of Partnerships 134
  - Agency 136
    - A Financial Tool 140
    - A Global Tool 144
  - Conclusion 146 3

#### **Timber Trade and Andalusian Exports**

- Access to Supply Markets 149
  - The Amsterdam-Seville Connection
  - Two Shipping Networks 162
- The Andalusian Port System and the North-European Shipping Networks 164
- Andalusian Salt, Other Exports and Imported Grain 3
  - Other Exports 3.1
  - Wheat from the Sea 3.2
- Conclusion 175 4

#### 6 Supply to the Carrera de Indias and to the Royal Navy 177

- Regulation of the Carrera de Indias 179 1
  - Preparation of the American fleets 1.1
  - 1.2 Access to American Silver 185
  - Demand of Imported Naval Provisions 190
- Supply to the Royal Navy 194 2
  - Demand of Imported Naval Provisions
  - An Incipient Naval Bureaucracy in Andalusia
- Conclusion 207 3

#### Conclusion

CONTENTS VII

#### Annexes 217

- A List of Atarazanas Merchants 217
- B Glossary of Timber Products and Other Naval Provisions 219
- C Units 220
- D Archival References of Testaments 220
- E Archival References of Dowry Promises 221
- F Archival References of Partnership Contracts 222
- G Archival References of Finiquitos 222
- H Archival References of Slave Sales 223

Digital Resources 222 Bibliography 225 Index 248

## Acknowledgements

This book is the result of the doctoral research I conducted at the University of Groningen. I want to express my gratitude to my supervisors, Raingard Esser and Jan Willem Veluwenkamp, for their confidence, patience and guidance. The support of Ana Crespo Solana was essential, too. As coordinator of ForSeaDiscovery, she gave me the opportunity of participating in an ambitious scientific project with a fantastic group of colleagues. The funding of the Marie-Curie Action: Initial Training Networks (PITN-GA 2013-607545) made this research possible. In 2018, I joined the ANDATLAN II project (HAR2017-85305-P), coordinated by Juan José Iglesias Rodríguez and Jaime García Bernal. I owe a lot to them and to the rest of the members of the chair of Early Modern History in the Universidad de Seville, who inspired me as a student. To complete this PhD project, I received financial support from the Faculty of Arts in Groningen, where I also had the opportunity to teach. I am grateful to my students. Their enthusiasm made me a better historian.

Many people have read earlier versions of the manuscript and have helped significantly improve the final version. In spite of this, the work is far from perfect and I alone am to blame for that. Mike Brown, Nathan Gallagher and Juan Montes Adán proofread different versions of the manuscript. They taught me how to make my ideas sharper in English, although my Mediterranean love for long sentences dies hard. Senior colleagues took time to read my work, improving it with their comments: Oscar Gelderblom, Cátia Antunes, Maarten Duijvendak, Regina Grafe, Manuel Herrero Sánchez, Raymond Fagel, Yolanda Rodríguez Pérez, José Manuel Díaz Blanco, Mercedes Gamero Rojas, Pepijn Brandon and José Luis Gasch Tomás. Their generosity inspires me. I am particularly indebted to Manuel Fernández Chaves and Daniel Gallardo Albarrán for their good counsel.

I also want to thank the staff of the archives I have visited, especially the one working at the *Archivo Histórico Provincial de Sevilla*. My friends Juanma Castillo Rubio, Nacho González Espinosa, Fran García Domínguez, Miguel Royano Cabrera and Sara Jarana Vidal were a great help there. I am especially grateful to Juanma, who also helped me with the illustrations. I would like to thank Brill's editors for their support with the preparation of the manuscript, as well as the anonymous reviewers who contributed to improve it with very valuable comments.

Finally, I want to dedicate this book to my parents and Ana for their care.

## **Abbreviation of Archives and Digital Sources**

AHPSe Archivo Histórico Provincial de Sevilla
AGI Archivo General de Indias

AGS Archivo General de Simancas
AMS Archivo Municipal de Sevilla

APSC Archivo de la Parroquia del Sagrario de la Catedral de Sevilla

ARAS Archivo del Real Alcázar de Sevilla

GAA Notarial collection of Stadsarchief Amsterdam, as appearing in Cátia

Antunes' database.

STRO Sound Toll Registers Online (http://dietrich.soundtoll.nl)

## Illustrations, Figures and Tables

#### Illustrations

0.1	Map of	the I	berian I	Peninsul	la 8
-----	--------	-------	----------	----------	------

- 1.1 Gulf of Cadiz and mouth of Guadalquivir River 40
- 2.1 Reconstruction of the Atarazanas by the 1580s 76
- 2.2 Section of the first map of Seville 77

#### **Figures**

- 4.1 Financial POAs participated in by Atarazanas merchants 143
- 5.1 Comparison of passages through the Sound Strait from Spanish and Portuguese ports (1574–1599) 164
- 5.2 Ports of destination of shipments of timber contracted in Amsterdam to Spain (1594–1599) 166
- 5.3 Spanish ports of departure registered in the Sound Toll (1574–1599) 166
- 5.4 Sales of grain according to promissory notes granted to *Atarazanas* merchants 172
- 6.1 Owners and officials paying naval provisions for the preparation of ships 184
- 6.2 Places of payment for sales of naval provisions (1580–1598) 186
- 6.3 Evolution of POAs granted to agents in the Americas, in comparison to promissory notes (1580–1598) 189

#### **Tables**

- o.1 Types of notarial deeds 23
- 1.1 Powers of attorney granted by north European shipmasters to Flemish andGerman merchants residing in Seville (summer of 1575) 38
- 2.1 Merchants participating in the  $\it encabezamiento$  of the timber  $\it alcabala$  (1597, 1598, 1599) 83
- 3.1 Marriages of Atarazanas merchants and relatives 93
- 3.2 Dowries participated in by Atarazanas merchants and relatives 100
- 3.3 Sales of slaves participated in by *Atarazanas* merchants 107
- 3.4 Employees of Atarazanas merchants 111
- 4.1 Equity partnerships of Atarazanas merchants 120
- 4.2 Silent partnerships of Atarazanas merchants 127

- 4.3 Commission partnerships of Atarazanas merchants 131
- 4.4 Partnerships of Atarazanas merchants formalised ex ante 135
- 4.5 Typology of POAs according to the agency principals transferred to agents 137
- 5.1 Merchants contracting a shipment of timber to Andalusia in Amsterdam (1594–1599) 155
- 5.2 Routes of the shipments of timber contracted in Amsterdam to Andalusia (1594–1599) 161
- 5.3 Ports from where timber was obtained for the shipments to Andalusia contracted in Amsterdam (1594–1599) 162
- 6.1 Profiles of granter parties in promissory notes of naval provisions 183
- 6.2 Provisions for ships of the Carrera de Indias 192
- 6.3 Atlantic warships constructed for the service of Philip II 197
- 6.4 Naval provisions for the royal navy 199

## **Note on Terminology**

I have tried to remain as close as possible to the word usage of the Spanish primary sources. Because of this, the word Flemish (flamencos) is often used to refer to the community of north European migrants as a whole, regardless of their actual origin. At the end of the sixteenth century, the identification as flamenco was still widely used when speaking of an individual coming from any provinces of the Low Countries, including the ones that formed the Dutch Republic. The identification as German (alemán) was used for migrants from the Holy Roman Empire, and frequently for those coming from Scandinavian and Baltic coastal towns, too. However, the presence of alemanes was very small in comparison to those coming from the Low Countries. Consequently, German migrants were sometimes considered Flemish in notarial deeds. Spanish contemporary sources used the term nation to refer to a community of migrants from a same origin; in this book, the Flemish and German nation corresponds to the community of migrants from northern Europe residing in western Andalusia. The geographical reference "western Andalusia" corresponds to the Kingdom of Seville, a territorial jurisdiction that roughly covered today's provinces of Huelva, Cádiz and Seville. Names of locations have been translated into English. Names of Spaniards and foreigners have been standardised according to their most frequent spelling in the notarial deeds. All translations of Spanish primary sources into English are my own.