Silk, porcelain and lacquer : China and Japan and their trade with Western Europe and the New World, 1500-1644. A survey of documentary and material evidence

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[Chapter II]

Trade in Chinese Silk to Western Europe and the New World

1500–1644

This chapter relies mainly on primary and secondary printed sources, which contain valuable information relating to the silk trade as well as to the varied types and quantities of Chinese silks[1] (raw silks, woven silk cloths, and finished silk products) imported into Western Europe and the New World via the Atlantic and Pacific sea trade routes in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. China was renowned for its high quality silks first brought to Europe overland via the trade route that came to be known in the late nineteenth century as the Silk Road, the finest being produced in the eastern coastal provinces of Jiangsu and Zhejiang.[2] Silk, which was among the earliest of the global trade goods,[3] remained China's major export throughout the Ming dynasty. This was probably due to both the introduction of improved varieties of mulberry (of smaller size that could be planted closer together and harvested sooner) and the unprecedented number of imperial silk weaving workshops established in regions with a developed silk industry. The workshop in the capital, Beijing, manufactured satins and tabbies for imperial and palace use. Those in Nanjing, the former capital during the early Ming, manufactured silks for officials and official gifts.[4] Silks were also sent to the court from official silk workshops outside the capital, located at Suzhou in Jiangsu and at Hangzhou in Zhejiang, the latter renowned for its twills, brocades, and satins, as well as for local types of gauzes and weaves.[5] Exported from the eastern ports of Canton and Amoy,[6] silk was a much coveted trade good because it was high in value, light in weight and easy to pack, store and transport.[7]

Letters, accounts, chronicles and treatises written by Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, Dutch and English merchants, explorers and clerics who either travelled themselves to Asia and the New World or based their writings on reports from others who visited these distant places during the period of this study, provide detailed descriptions and personal comments concerning the material qualities, rich colour schemes and decorative patterns, and sometimes even of the purchase or sell price of the various types of silks that were shipped to Europe and the New World as merchandise, private consignments or gifts. Other textual sources such as ships registers, probate inventories, wills, dowry letters, and notarial records, allow us to better understand the functioning of this intercontinental silk exchange in the early modern period, particularly the commercial networks through which these imported silks circulated, and the different ways in which they were acquired, used and appreciated within the Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch and English societies in Western Europe as well as the multi-ethnic societies of the Spanish colonies in the New World. Moreover, they show how these silks, despite the existence of sumptuary laws imposed by governing authorities against luxurious dress and ornamentation in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries,[8] were inextricably linked to the construction of an individual's identity, serving as visible social indices, as well as of the Catholic ecclesiastical institutions, serving both as material testimonies of the Iberian expansion to Asia and the missionary work carried out in this distant region of the world.

Although visual sources depicting silks of the late Ming dynasty are exceedingly rare, a small number of surviving woven and embroidered silk cloths, and finished silk products housed in public and private collections in China and the rest of the world help us visualize the types of silks traded by the Europeans and more importantly, those that were made as special orders for the Iberian market for both religious and secular use during the early period of European trade with China, in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

1 Unless otherwise specified, Chinese silks will be referred to as silks throughout this doctoral dissertation.

2 Vainker, 2004, p. 58; and Rui D'Ávila Lourido, 'The Impact of the Macao-Manila Silk Trade from the Beginnings to 1640', in Vadime Elisseff (ed.), *The Silk Roads. Highways of Culture and Commerce*, New York and Oxford, 2000, p. 226.

3 Regular commerce in silk began when the Han emperor Wu (r. 141–187 BC) sent Zhang Qian in 138 BC to seek allies in Central Asia. Although Zhang failed to attract support, his embassy attracted interest in the trade of silk and other Chinese products among the peoples of Central Asia, and later Persia and the Roman Empire. The Silk Road stretched from China to Antioch on the Mediterranean Sea, and onwards by sea to Rome. Vainker, 2004, pp. 58–60; and Morris Rossabi, 'The Silk Trade in China and Central Asia', in Watt and Wardwell, 1997, p. 7.

4 Vainker, 2004, pp. 144–145.

5 There were a total of twenty-two official workshops established across eight provinces. In Jiangsu, workshops were also located in Zhenjiang and Songjiang. In Zhejiang, besides Hangzhou, they were located in Shaoxing, Yanzhou, Jinhua, Quzhou, Taizhou, Wenzhou, Ningbo, Huzhou and Jiaxing. In Fujian workshops were located at Fuzhou and Quanzhou; in Anhui at Huizhou, Ningguo and Guangde; and in Shandong at Jinan. There were also minor silk workshops in Jiangxi, Sichuan and Henan. Ibid., p. 145. The various types of silks produced will be discussed in the following pages of this Chapter.

6 Pearson, 2007, p. 93.

7 Ma, 2005, p. 21.

8 Sumptuary legislation was passed intermediately in Europe during the Middle Ages and early modern period to regulate the consumption of goods. Sumptuary laws not only constituted a legal instrument of economic and social control, but also served to intervene on politics. They focused mostly on items of apparel, either limiting or prohibiting certain social groups from wearing certain types of clothing and accessories, and the containment of excessive expending and luxury. For more information on this subject, see Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli, 'Reconciling the privilege of a Few with the Common Good: Sumptuary laws in Medieval and Early Modern Europe', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, Vol. 39, No. 3, Fall 2009, pp. 597–617; and Saúl Martínez Bermejo, 'Beyond Luxury: Sumptuary Legislation in 17th Century Castile', in Günther Lottes, Eero Medijainen and Jón Viðar Sigurðsson, *Making, Using and Resisting the Law in European History*, Pisa, 2008, pp. 93–108. For a detailed study of the cultural and monetary value of silk in Europe, especially in Italy, from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, see Lisa Monnas, *Merchants, Princes and Painters: Silk Fabrics in Italian and Northern Paintings, 1300–1550*, New Haven, 2008.

Silk Trade to the Iberian Peninsula, the Southern Netherlands and the Spanish Colonies in the New World [2.1]

Trade to Portugal [2.1.1]

The earliest documentary reference to the presence of silk in Portugal dates to 1501. On returning from India that year, the Portuguese explorer Pedro Álvares Cabral presented to Manuel I many exotic goods, including porcelain and 'golden coffers full of pieces of damasks and satins from China', which he had acquired from the captain of a ship from Cambay.[9] As discussed in Chapter I, after securing trading posts in Goa in 1509, Malacca in 1511, and Hormuz in 1515, the Portuguese gained access to a variety of Chinese luxury goods that were much sought after in Europe, particularly silk and porcelain.

Evidence of silk in Portugal before the settlement of Macao in 1557

The Portuguese saw an unprecedented opportunity of economic profit in a large-scale trade of raw silk,[10] woven silk cloths and finished silk products[11] by sea via Canton and Malacca. Tomé Pires in his *Suma Oriental*, written in Malacca between 1512 and 1515, informs us of the exchanges made at anchorages off Canton.[12] He notes that '…the chief merchandise from China is raw white silk in large quantities, and loose coloured silks, many in quantity, satins of all colours, damask chequered *enrolados* in all colours, taffetas and other thin silk cloths called *xaas*, and many other kinds of all colours…'.[13] A letter written in Cochin by the Florentine explorer Andrea Corsali (1487–?), then working in the service of the Portuguese, to the Grand Duke Giuliano di Lorenzo de' Medici of Florence (1479–1516) on 6 January, 1516, mentions that 'The merchants of the land of China also make voyages to Malacca across the Great Gulf to get cargoes of spices, and bring from their own country musk, rhubarb, pearls,

9 Gaspar Correia, *Lendas da Índia (c.1563–1583)*, Lisbon, 1858, Vol. I, p. 141. Cited in Pinto de Matos, 2011, p. 124.

10 Raw silk refers to silk retaining its natural gum or sericin. Scott, 1993, p. 239.

11 Finished silk products include both clothing and furnishings for the household, church, and interior/exterior spaces.

12 Rui Manuel Loureiro, 'Chinese commodities on the India route in the late 16th-early 17th century', *Bulletin of Portuguese – Japanese Studies*, Vol. 20, 2010, p. 83.

13 Cited in Armando Cortesano (ed.), *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires. An Account of the East, From the Red Sea to China, Written in Malacca and India in 1512–1515, and The Book of Francisco Rodrigues. Pilot-Major of the Armada that Discovered Banda and the Moluccas*, Vol. I, London, 1944, p. 125. The text of this citation from volume I was translated by Cortesano from the Portuguese MS in the Bibliothèque de la Chambre des Deputés, Paris (ff. 106–7).

14 Quoted in Chang Tien Tse, *Sino-Portuguese Trade from 1514 to 1644: A Synthesis of Portuguese and Chinese Sources*, Leyden, 1934, p. 36. The author used Yule's translation as given in Henry Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thiter*, Vol. I, London, 1913, p. 180. According to Longworth Dames the date of this letter should be corrected to one year later, that is to January 6th 1516, because it alludes to the death of Albuquerque that occurred after his arrival from Hormuz at Goa on December 16th, 1515. Mansel Longworth Dames (trans. and ed.), *The Book of Duarte Barbosa: an account of the countries bordering on the Indian Ocean and their inhabitants/written by Duarte Barbosa and completed about the year 1518 A.D.*, Vol. II, New Delhi, second reprint 2002, p. 211, note. 1.

15 Mentioned in Maria João Pacheco Ferreira, 'Chinese Textiles for Portuguese Tastes', in Amelia Peck (ed.), *Interwoven Globe. The Worldwide Textile Trade, 1500–1800*, exhibition catalogue, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 2013, p. 47.

16 Cited in Cortesano (ed.), Vol. I, 1944, p. xlii. The author notes that the Portuguese humanist and historian, João de Barros (1496–1579), gives a slightly different list of goods confiscated and states that the goods were taken from Pires. Thus, it is unclear whether the confiscated goods belonged to Pires and his companions or exclusively to Pires.

17 The painting *Nandu Fanhui Tu* (Roaring Gathering in the Southern Capital), bearing a spurious signature of Chiu Ying (c.1510–1551), depicts a busy street and market in and outside Nanking city. Published in Hsu Wen-Chin, 'Social and Economic Factors in the Chinese Porcelain Industry in Jingdezhen During the Late Ming and Early Qing Period', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland*, Vol. 120, Issue 1, 1988, p. 136, note 1, and p. 155, pl. I.

18 Margarete Braun-Ronsdorf, *The History of the Handkerchief*, Leigh-on-Sea, 1967, pp. 11–24.

19 Damião de Góis, *Chronica de Felicissimo Rei Dom Emanuel composta per Damiam de Goes diudida em quarto partes …- Em Lisboa: em casa de Francisco Correa*, 1566–1567, pt. 4, chap. 25, fol. 31. Digital copy from Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (res-22-a). Mentioned in Pacheco Ferreira, 2013, p. 48.

20 Ibid.

21 Archaeological excavations in China indicate thus far that *kesi* tapestry, based on ancient Near East weaving techniques, developed during the Tang dynasty. The *kesi* weave is composed of a single colour warp thread and weft threads of various colours, which instead of passing from selvage to selvage are carried back and forth, interweaving with only the part of the warp that is required for a particular area of the design. *Kesi* tapestries of the Ming dynasty usually include sparkling gold threads and peacock feathers. In the early Ming, *kesi* silk tapestry weaving was used only to make relatively small articles. Large articles began to be made during the reign of Emperor Xuande (1426–1435) after the establishment of an imperial silk tapestry workshop, which included decorative hangings copying paintings and calligraphic works as well as men's and women's clothing (robes, stockings) and household furnishings (bedding, screens, curtains, wall hangings, table skirts, and chair covers). Dieter Kuhn (ed.), *Chinese Silks*, New Heaven and London, 2012, p. 236, pp. 404–405 and p. 524. For *kesi* examples dating to the Ming dynasty, see Ibid., p. 405, figs. 8.47 and 8.48, and Pacheco Ferreira, 2013, p. 48, fig. 45.

22 A detail of this *kesi* tapestry is published in Kuhn, 2012, p. 405, fig. 8.47.

23 Anselmo Braamcamp Freire, 'Inventário da guarda-ropa de D. Manuel', *Archivo histórico portuguez, vol. 2, London, 1904*, p. 388. Mentioned in Ferreira, 2013, p. 48.

24 During the Ming dynasty there were mainly two types of gauze: *luo* and *sha*. Sumptuary laws published in

tin, porcelain, and silk and wrought stuffs of all kinds, such as damasks, satins, and brocades of extraordinary richness…'.[14] We learn from these accounts that besides white raw silk, a variety of woven silk cloths were available for sale in many different colours in Canton as well as in Malacca.

The giant Portuguese merchant ships of the *Carreira da Índia* transported large quantities of silk and other Asian luxury goods from India to Western Europe at the time. In 1518, for instance, over two and a half tons of silk and other Chinese cloths were shipped from Cochin to Lisbon.[15] The earliest textual evidence of woven silk and silk clothing items traded in quantities by Portuguese private individuals can be found in Pires's *Suma Oriental*. Pires states that when he and his companions were imprisoned in Canton in 1522, the goods confiscated from them included '…one thousand five hundred or six hundred rich pieces of silk, a matter of four thousand silk handkerchiefs which the Chinese call *sheu-pa* [*xopas*, or shoupai in pinyin] of Nanking'.[16] Silk handkerchiefs imported from Nanking (Nanjing), a city with a thriving commercial and handicraft industry in the late Ming,[17] would have been much appreciated at that time in Europe, where locally made embroidered or lace-trimmed handkerchiefs were regularly used at the courts in Spain, Italy, France and England.[18]

Portuguese textual references on the presence of silk in the royal court of Lisbon after direct trade with China was established in 1513, or the subsequent years of clandestine trade (1522–1544), are scarce. The earliest known reference appears in the 1566–1567 *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei Dom Emanuel* written by the Portuguese humanist and scholar Damião de Góis (1502–1574). In Chapter XXV of the fourth part of the chronicle, he describes the Chinese cloth Fernão Peres de Andrade handed to Manuel I at the royal palace in Évora in 1520 as being painted with landscapes, orchards, and figures of Chinese deities.[19] Pacheco Ferreira has suggested that De Góis may have been referring to an extremely fine type of silk tapestry weaving known as *kesi* (cut silk or carved silk),[20] which flourished during the Ming dynasty, especially in the imperial silk tapestry weaving workshops of Beijing and Nanjing and the private silk workshop of Suzhou (Fig. 2.1.1.1).[21] The Chinese cloth depicting deities handed to Manuel I may have been of a type similar to the *kesi* silk tapestry copying the scroll *Celebration at Jasper Lake* (*Yaochi jiqing*) in the Palace Museum, Beijing.[22] A brocade liturgical vestment is listed in the inventory of Manuel I's wardrobe, drawn up after his death in 1522, which according to Pacheco Ferreira may have been made entirely from or incorporated pieces of Chinese cloth.[23] Only two years earlier, in 1520, the royal monopoly over trade had been extended to silk, pepper, cloves, ginger, cinnamon, mace, nutmeg, sealing wax, shellac, and borax, as well as gold, silver, copper and coral. Woven silk cloths are also mentioned among the possessions of his son and successor, King John III (hereafter John III). The inventory drawn up in 1534 lists more than 100 yards of gauze[24] and over 4 yards of satin[25] from China, as well as pieces made of silk cloth, including one set of three flags, one in damask[26] bearing the Portuguese coat of arms and two in white taffeta[27] bearing the cross of the Order of Christ.[28] It is not known whether these latter pieces and the liturgical vestment listed in Manuel I's inventory were made to order in China or were cut and sewn up in Portugal by tailors or embroiderers of the royal household, for use in court ritual occasions.[29] An inventory drawn up in 1528 of the possessions of King John's wife and maternal first cousin, Catherine of Austria (1507–1578), lists 53 *covads*[30] of white silk used for various clothing.[31] Catherine was the youngest daughter of Philip I of Castile (r. June–Sept. 1506), the first Habsburg ruler of Castile and Joanna of Castile (1479–1555),

Fig. 2.1.1.1 *Kesi* slit tapestry weaving
Silk and metallic thread
China, Ming dynasty
Dimensions: 224.2cm x 180.3cm
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Seymour Fund, 1960 (acc. no. 60.1)

the *History of the Ming Dynasty* (*Ming shi*) indicate that complex *luo* gauze, a type of mid-weight silk fabric woven with crossing ends, was used to make ceremonial costumes and ordinary clothing of the emperor and empresses, the court dress of the prince, and the audience uniforms of the bulwark-commandant of the state, the seventh highest of eight ranks of imperial nobility. *Sha* gauze, a type of thin silk woven fabric in which one set of crossing (doup) ends and one set of fixed ends are crossed the same way after each shuttle movement. The little holes of this type of gauze make it lightweight and breathable, thus appropriate for hot and humid weather. For a discussion on these gauzes and their various decorative techniques, as well as images of surviving Ming examples, see Kuhn, 2012, pp. 387–393, figs. 8.23–8.35, and pp. 526–527.

25 Silk satin (*duan*) is a fabric with a lustrous surface, a smooth appearance, and a soft feel. During the Ming dynasty there were four main varieties of satin: monochrome patterned satin damask (*anhua duan*), satin woven with gold (*zhijin duan*), plain satin (*suduan*), and brocaded satin (*zhuanghua duan*). From the fourteenth century onwards, the most common silk satin was a monochrome five-end damask weave (*wumei duan*) consisting of a five-end warp satin ground and a five-pick weft satin pattern. For a discussion on Ming satin weaves and surviving examples, see Kuhn, 2012, pp. 375–384, figs. 8.4–8.17.

26 Twill damask (*ling*) is a silk fabric formed by a warp-faced and a weft-faced binding. By the Ming dynasty, figured *ling* damask was produced as a fine, lustrous, sleek fabric with a twill pattern on a twill ground, which used untwisted raw silk for both warp and weft. After weaving, the damask fabric was processed and dyed. The finest types of figured *ling* damask were used for embroidery and for underwear. For a discussion on Ming twill damasks and a surviving example, see Kuhn, 2012, p. 402, fig. 8.43, and pp. 524–525.

27 A fine, plain silk fabric formed by interweaving a warp and a weft yarn in a simple way. Taffeta fabrics are usually shiny. Scott, 1993, p. 241,

28 Anselmo Braamcamp Freire, 'Inventário da casa de D. João III em 1534', *Archivo histórico portuguez*, vol. 8, Lisbon, 1910, pp. 276–277. Mentioned in Ferreira, 2013, p. 48.

29 According to Guimarães Sá any account book or inventory of members of the royal family dating to the fifteenth century documents that there were several tailors dedicated to make liturgical vestments, such as altar fronts, chasubles, dalmatics, altarpiece curtains, and coffin covers, as well as others that made clothes for profane use, including bed attire, canopies, hanging cloths, or horse and mule dressings. Isabel dos Guimarães Sá, 'Dressed to impress; clothing, jewels and weapons in court rituals in Portugal (1450–1650)', paper presented at the Conference Clothing and the Culture of Appearances in Early Modern Europe. Research perspectives, Madrid, Fundación Carlos Amberes, Museo del Traje, 3–4 February 2012, p. 7.

30 *Covado* is a measure used in Portugal that was equivalent to ¾ of a yard, or a Flemish ell. Annemarie Jordan, *The Development of Catherine of Austria's collection in the Queen's household: its character and cost*, unpublished doctoral dissertation, Brown University, Providence, 1994, p. 435.

31 Archivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (Hereafter cited as ANTT), Lisbon, Núcleo Antigo, no. 790, 'Catalina de Austria, Inventario de joyas y guardarropa, 15 de Mayo de 1528', fol. 93v. Mentioned in Jordan, 1994, p. 384; Annemarie Jordan, 'Catherine of Austria: A Portuguese Queen in the Shadow of the Habsburg Court?', *Portuguese Studies Review*, Vol. 13, Nos. 1 and 2, Fall-Winter 2005 (Publ. 2007), p. 184; and Pacheco Ferreira, 2013, p. 48. A full transcription

who was also heiress to the Crown of Aragón. As both the Queen of Portugal and the youngest sister of Emperor Charles V (r. 1519–1556), Catherine led a privileged life. As will be shown in the following Chapters, Catherine acquired quantities of luxury goods from Asia for the decoration of the Lisbon royal palace as well as for her personal use, which served as emblems of her power.[32] Her collection became the first *kunstkammer* on the Iberian Peninsula.[33]

From the documents discussed thus far it is possible to conclude that relatively large quantities of raw silk and various woven silk cloths began to reach Lisbon in the early years of direct Portuguese trade relations with China, even when trade was prohibited from 1522 to 1554. These imported silks appear to have been much appreciated by the royal courts of Manuel I, and his successor, John III. One can also observe that despite the royal monopoly of trade in silk imposed in 1520, some Portuguese private individuals were trading not only woven silk cloths, but also finished silk products, such as silk stockings.

Evidence of silk in Portugal after the settlement of Macao in 1557

After settling in Macao in 1557, the Portuguese merchants gained regular access to the bi-annual fair of Canton. This enabled them to establish a direct triangular trade route of relatively short distances between Canton, Macao and Japan. Raw silk, together with Japanese and New World silver, became the main commodity traded by the Portuguese in Macao. At this point it is important to note that, as discussed in Chapter I, the vast majority of silk traded by the Portuguese was not destined to Europe. It was used for their inter-Asian trade, distributed mainly to India, Japan (by both Portuguese merchants and Jesuits until 1639) and Manila (after 1571) in exchange for silver and gold.[34]

The Portuguese used the Macao-Malacca/Goa-Lisbon trade route to supply silk and other Asian luxury goods to India, Portugal and the rest of Europe.[35] In the period 1581 to 1586, the years following the union of Spain and Portugal, the Crown allowed freedom of trade, but continued to reserve for itself the profitable trade in pepper, silk and cinnamon.[36] In late Ming China, meanwhile, silk production began to shift after 1581 from rural areas to suburban villages in the Lower Yangtze.[37] Taxes in kind were abolished that year, which meant that the state no longer provided any direct demand for silk tabbies even in traditional silk weaving regions.[38] A small amount of silk tabbies continued to be produced in Zhili and Jiangxi for sale in central markets, such as Hangzhou; as well as in Sichuan, Guangdong and Fujian, but these latter regions mostly exported raw silk to the Lower Yangzi.

Textual sources contain valuable data to identify the various types and prices of silks purchased at Canton, and estimate the volumes shipped to Goa. Among the earliest is the three-volume book *Itinerário* of 1596 written by the Dutch merchant and explorer Jan Huygen van Linschoten (1563–1611), who observes that 'only from the town of Canton there is yearly carried into India above three thousand quintals of silk, which are sold by weight, besides the silks that are yearly carried to the Islands of Japan, Luzon, of Philippines, and to the land of Sian…'.[39] The Florentine merchant and traveller Francesco Carletti (1573–1636) in the account of his travels around the world which began that same year, notes that the merchandise acquired twice a year at the Canton fair to be taken to India in the months of April and May was 'chiefly raw silk, of which they transport on each voyage 70,000 to 80,000 pounds of twenty ounces to the pound, which they call *catti*. They also carry quantities of diverse cloths…'.[40]

António Bocarro, writing in 1635, doubles the estimate of the volume given by van Linschoten in 1596. Because, according to him, the quantity of silk exported yearly from Macao to Goa was about 6,000 piculs.[41] Silk, however, represented only about 5–6 per cent of all the Asian textiles imported into Europe.[42]

As noted by Borschberg, the purchase price of silks in Canton varied at the time.[43] In his *Itinerário* Linschoten gives a detailed description of the types of silks available and their purchase prices, and states that 'it is to be understood that in China there are three sorts of Silks, that is, one sort called Lankijn which is esteemed for the best. The second called Fuscan, which is good also. The third and worst Silk is called Lankam, besides these there are other sorts of Silk, as Silk spun, called raw Silk, and Silk that is spun and made in threads, which the Portuguese call Retres. The white spun Silk of Lankijn is worth the Pico (which is a certain weight) which hereafter I will show you, about 145 or 150. Ryals of eight, or Bikes Dollors accounted after the rate of that money. The white spun Silk of Fuscan is worth the Pico, 140. or 145. Ryals of eight, the spun Silk of Lankam, is worth the Pico, 75. or 80. Ryals of eight, the Retres white Silk of Lankijn is worth the Pico 150. or 170. Ryals of eight, the Retres white, and other Silke of Fuscam and Susuam, is worth the Pico 130. or 135. Ryals of-eight, the Retres white of Canton is worth the Pico 50. or 55. Ryals of eight, the wrought Silk of all colours at the same price, the spun Canton Silk in colours is worth the Pico 50. or 60. Ryals of eight, white Lamparden Silk of 14. And the piece are commonly worth one year with the other, 50. or 55. Ryalls of eight. … for that with the [Silks] aforesaid is the Portuguese trade, and the principal riches, that are brought out of China to the countries bordering about it'.[44] Carletti noted that he bought raw silk for his 'own account at ninety *tael* the *picco*, which would be like saying at ninety golden scudos in money, and in silver weight one hundred pounds of twenty ounces to the pound. But it was dear, as it usually was valued at seventy *tael* the *picco*', and he also bought 'another kind of silk twisted into thread for sewing, and the other variety, soft and beaten, that serves for needlework, all white, at 150 *tael* the *picco*, likewise very much higher than usual'.[45]

English textual sources also give some indication of the types, quality and price of the silks traded by the Portuguese. In a letter written aboard the *Hector* in March 1614 by Edward Holmden to Sir Thomas Smythe, he advises the price that silk should be sold at. He says 'For your silk of China worth ru. 240 per maund at 16 pice the sere'.[46] In December 1615, Richard Cocks, the chief factor in Japan, writing from Firando (present-day Hirado) to John Gourney at Siam, gave a detailed account of the price and good quality of the silks sold that year. He says 'Since I wrote you my last the Portingales of the great ship of Amacan have sold all their Canton silk for 165 tais the picull, but Lankin silk is sold for 230 and 233 taies the picull, and both Portingales and Chinas have sold all their stuffs very well this year, as velvets, both wrought and plain, at 20, 21 [2] 2 and 2 [3] taies the piece, and tafettas that are good, both black and colors, at 29 mas 3 taies per piece; but such stuffs as are sold at this rate are exceedingly good and may in some sort be compared to them made in Naples and other parts of Christendom, and such I think as you have hardly seen in these parts of the world'.[47] The 'velvets' mentioned by Cocks may have been of one or more of the several different varieties produced during the Ming dynasty, such as *Zhang* velvet (*Zhangrong*) from Zhangzhou in Fujian province, swan's down velvet (*tian'e rong*), sculpted velvet (*jianrong*), one-sided swan's-down velvet (danmian tian'e rong), two-sided swan's-down velvet (*shuangmian tian'e rong*), plastered

of Catherine of Austria's 1528 inventory made by Annemarie Jordan Gschwend is published in Fernando Checa Cremades (ed.), *Los Inventarios de Carlos V y la Familia Imperial*, Madrid, 2010, Vol. 3, pp. 3091–3166. Jordan Gschwend discusses the silks listed in Catherine's inventory in an article in the same publication. Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, 'Verdadero padre y señor: Catherine of Austria, Queen of Portugal', in Checa Cremades, 2010, Vol. 3, pp. 3015–3044.

32 Jordan, 2007, p. 185; and Jordan, 2010, p. 3018.

33 Jordan Gschwend, 1996, p. 85.

34 Flynn and Giraldez, 2005, p. 35. The Portuguese trade in silk to Manila will be discussed in section 2.1.2 of this Chapter.

35 D'Ávila Lourido, 2000, pp. 210–211.

36 Sanjay Subrahmanyan and Luís Filipe F. R. Thomaz, 'Evolution of Empire: The Portuguese in the Indian Ocean During the Sixteenth Century', in James D. Tracy (ed.), *The Political Economy of Merchant Empires. State, Power and World Trade 1350–1750*, paperback edition, 1997, p. 311; and Patricia Seed, *American Pentimento: The Invention of Indians and the Pursuit of Riches*, Minneapolis, 2001, p. 261, note 5.

37 Silk was under competition from cotton, which was cultivated all over China and worn by everyone because it was much less expensive than silk. Francesca Bray, *Technology and Gender. Fabrics of Power in Late Imperial China*, Berkeley, 1997, pp. 226–236; and Gunn, 2011, p. 141.

38 Tabby is a thin silk of a simple plain weave. Francesca Bray, 'Towards a critical history of non-Western technology', in Timothy Brook and Gregory Blue (eds.), *China and Historical Capitalism: Genealogies of Sinological Knowledge (Studies in Modern Capitalism)*, New York, 1999, p. 186.

39 Jan van Linschoten lived between 1583 and 1588 in Goa, working as secretary to archbishop D. João Vicente da Fonseca. On his return to the Northern Netherlands, Van Linschoten sold his book to the Amsterdam publisher Cornelis Claesz who published it in 1596 under the title *Itinerario: Voyage ofte schipvaert van Jan Huyghen van Linschoten naar Oost ofte Portugaels Indien …1579–1592*. Editions were published in German and English in 1598, an edition in Latin in 1599, and several editions in French in 1610, 1619 and 1638. Citations throughout this doctoral dissertation are taken from the digitalized English edition of the Universidad Complutense Madrid. See, *Iohn Huigen van Lischoten, His discours of voyages into ye Easte West Indies: deuided into foure bookes*, London, 1598, Book I, Chapter 23, p. 38.

40 Francesco Carletti, *My Voyage Around the World. A 16th Century Florentine Merchant*, translated from the Italian by Herbert Weinstock, London, 1965, p. 139. According to a contemporary source, a *catti* or *cate* 'es libra de 20 honças', which is 20 ounces to the pound. Patronato 46, 31 f. 1r. Cited in Juan Gil, *Los Chinos en Manila (Siglos XVI y XVII)*, Lisbon, 2011, p. 778. The author Kato indicates that 100 *catties* equal 1 *picul*. Eiichi Kato, 'Unification and Adaptation, The Early Shogunate and Dutch Trade Policies', in L. Blussé and F. Gaastra (eds), *Companies and Trade. Essays on Overseas Trading Companies during the Ancien Régime*, The Hague, 1981, p. 223, Table 1.

41 The estimate given by Bocarro, as convincingly argued by Boxer, was most probably exaggerated. Boxer, 1963, p. 6, note 13.

42 Loureiro, 2010, pp. 91–94.

43 Peter Borschberg, 'The seizure of the Sta. Catarina Revisited: The Portuguese Empire in Asia, VOC Politics and the Origins of the Dutch-Johor Alliance (1602–c.1616)', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 33, No. 1 (February 2002), p. 39.

44 Linschoten, 1598, Book I, Chapter 25, pp. 43–44.

45 Carletti, 1965, pp. 144–145.

46 Frederick Charles Danvers and William Foster, *Letters received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East. Transcribed from the 'Original Correspondence' series of the India Office records*, London, 1899, Vol. III, p. 41.

47 Cocks gives similar prices in another letter sent that month to President Jourdain at Bantam. Ibid., p. 247 and pp. 255–256, respectively.

48 Velvet (*rong*) is a warp-pile weave that uses a secondary warp to produce a pile, made of loops (*rongquan*) or cut loops (*lirong*) that can be high or low, on top of a foundation fabric. Chen Juanjuan and Huang Nengfu, 'Silk Fabrics of the Ming Dynasty', in Kuhn, 2012, pp. 399 and 401.

49 The original Portuguese text reads: 'criasse nela [China] muita seda & muy fina de que fazem muytos damascos, cetins, veludos, tafetás, borcados & borcadilhos'. Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, *Os livros qvarto e qvinto da historia do descobrimento & conquista da India pelos portugueses*, Lisbon, 1833, Book IV, chapter xxvii, p. 56. Cited in Harold B. Burnham, 'Chinese Velvets. A Technical Study', *Occasional Paper 2*, Art and Archaeology Division, Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, 1959, p. 9.

50 Niels Steensgaard, 'The Return Cargoes of the Carreira in the 16th and Early 17th Century', in Teotónio R. de Souza (ed.), *Indo-Portuguese History: Old Issues, New Questions*, New Delhi, 1985, p. 13.

51 Filipe Castro, Nuno Fonseca and Audrey Wells, 'Outfitting the Pepper Wreck', *Historical Archaeology*, 2010, 44 (2), p. 28.

52 *Fazendas* also included other items, such as slaves. Ibid., p. 28; and Vieira de Castro, 2005, p. 16. The silks traded by the Portuguese were from China, India and Persia. The trade in Indian and Persian silk lie outside the scope of this study. For information on the Portuguese trade in Persian silk, see Maria João Pacheco Ferreira, 'Os Portugueses e o negócio da seda persa: A participação lusitana no comércio da seda no início do século XVII', in Rui Manuel Loureiro and Vasco Resende (cord.), *Estudos sobre Don García de Silva y Figueroa e os seus "Cometarios" da embaixada à Pérsia (1614–1624)*, Vol. 4, Lisbon, 2011, pp. 451–484.

53 Citations are taken from the text translated from the version given in Diogo do Couto's *Década VII*, Lisbon, 1616, which is published in C. R. Boxer (ed.), *Further Selections from the Tragic History of the Sea 1559–1565*, Cambridge, 1968, pp. 26–54.

54 Cited in Ibid., p. 31.

55 The original text in Portuguese reads: 'huma almofada de camilha de seda da China', 'hum treuiseyro da mesma seda de huma parte', 'huum frontal da dita catifa e doutra seda da China pera Nosa Senhora da Esperança', 'huma cayxinha da China com froles de seda pera as jrmãa de Francisco d Araujo', and 'huum lio comrido d esteyras .ss. duas de Borneo e duas de Melinde e huma de Bengala e as duas da China pera janellas bordadas de seda'. IANTT, Cartório Jesuítico, Maço 80, Doc. 42. This text and all other Portuguese texts included in this section of Chapter II have been translated by Straker Translations. The cargo included many silk cloths, garments and furnishings, but their country of origin is not specified. Besides silks from China, there were also silks from Bengal and Cambay. For this document, see Pedro Pinto, 'Um olhar sobre a decoração e o efémero no Oriente: a relação dos bens embarcados em Goa em 1559 para o Reino, o inventário dos bens do Vice-rei D. Martim Afonso de Castro, falecido em Malaca, em 1607, e a relação da entrada do Vice-rei Jerónimo de Azevedo em Goa, em 1612', *Revista de Artes Decorativas*, No. 2, Oporto, 2008, pp. 237–254.

velvet (*morong*), and brocaded velvet (*zhuanghua rong*).[48] The earliest Portuguese textual reference to velvet appears in the chronicle *Historia do descobrimento e conquista da India pelos portugueses* written by Fernão Lopes de Castanheda (d. 1559), who went to India in 1528. When describing China he notes that there was '… much silk and very fine from which it is made many 'damasks, satins, velvets, taffetas, brocades…'.[49]

It is well known that the majority of bills of lading, invoices and cargo manifests of Portuguese ships that made the inbound voyage from India to Lisbon have not survived.[50] Thus one must rely on fragmentary information provided by a small number of manifests that have been preserved, inventories, contemporary accounts of voyages and of shipwrecks, as well as on visual sources to identify fairly accurately the various types of silks and estimate the volumes imported into Lisbon. The large and diverse cargo loaded onto the ships was divided into four major categories for custom duties: *drogas*, *fazendas*, *miudezas*, and *pedraria*.[51] Bales of cotton cloth, silk and thread were all listed under the designation *fazendas*.[52] A number of these scattered sources will be discussed in the following pages to get an overall idea of the Portuguese trade in silk.

The Portuguese soldier and chronicler, Diogo do Couto (1542/43–1616) in his *Narrative of the Voyage and Vicissitudes which befell the Great Ships Aguia and Garça* of 1559, informs us that the galleon '*Aguia* (which was also called *Patifa*)' left Goa laden with a number of government officials and a cargo that included silk.[53] He states that the ship's commander, Francisco Barreto, who was returning to Portugal after serving as Governor of Portuguese India (1555–1558), 'ordered many of the merchants' goods to be thrown overboard', including 'some chests of silks, and many valuable and rare Chinese goods', after the ship was badly damaged during a storm near the Cape of Good Hope.[54] Silk was also among the cargo brought by private individuals in the 1000-ton *nau*, the *Garça*, which left Goa together with the *Aguia* and five other ships. We learn from an unknown author who made a list of his personal belongings as part of the cargo of the sinking *Garça* was being transhipped to the *Aguia*, that he was bringing to Lisbon 'one Chinese silk settee cushion', 'one pillow made of the same silk on one side', 'one antependium [altar frontal] of said fabric and of another silk from China for Our Lady of Hope', 'one small Chinese box with silk flowers for Francisco d Araujo's sisters', and 'one long bundle of matting .ss. two from Borneo and two from Melinde and one from Bengala and the two from China for windows embroidered with silk'.[55] This text clearly shows that a small quantity of finished silk products, including furnishings for both secular and religious use, were imported into Lisbon as private consignments or as gifts to relatives.

The official summary of the manifest of the *São Salvador*, one of four ships of the fleet that left India in 1587, states that among the cargo were 141 chests of Chinese silk and 188 bundles of various textiles.[56] The *São Salvador* was damaged off the East coast of Africa, but it safely reached Hormuz after part of its cargo had been thrown overboard.[57] An account published this same year by the Italian merchants Cesare Federici and Gasparo Balbi, who watched the unloading of the remaining cargo in Hormuz, mentions only 40 chests of silk and 80 small chests of textiles.[58] In all probability part of the silk and other textiles, most likely packed in privately owned chests, bales and packs stowed on the upper decks, were easily accessible and therefore thrown overboard.[59]

Richard Hakluyt (1522–1616) in his work *The Principal Navigations*, informs us that when the 1600-ton carrack *Madre de Dios* was captured on her inbound journey

Fig. 2.1.1.2a *Namban* six-panel folding screen (one of a pair) attributed to Kanō Dōmi
Japan, Momoyama period, *c.*1593–1600
Dimensions: 172cm x 380.8cm
Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon
(inv. no. 1638 Mov)

Figs. 2.1.1.2b and c Details of Fig. 2.1.1.2a

56 Archivo General de Simancas, Secretarias Provinciales, libro 1551, ff. 213–215. Published in Niels Steensgaard, *The Asian Trade Revolution of the Seventeenth Century*, Chicago, 1974, p. 166.

57 Only two ships of the original fleet arrived to Lisbon. The *Relíquias* capsized after leaving Cochin. The *São Thomé* and the *Conceicão* reached Lisbon in August 1587. Steensgaard, 1985, pp. 16–17.

58 Olga Pinto (ed.), *Viaggio di C. Federici e G. Balbi alle Indie Orientali*, Istituto poligrafico dello Stato, Rome, 1962, p. 220. Mentioned in Steensgaard, 1985, p. 18.

59 Ibid., pp. 19–20.

60 The islands of the Archipelago of the Azores played an important role as ports of call on a new trans-Atlantic trade route established before the end of the first quarter of the sixteenth century for Portuguese and Spanish ships returning to Europe from Asia. In this new route, the so-called *volta da Guiné ou da Mina* (the Guinea or Mina turn), the ships left the West African coast to circumvent the Northeast trade winds and thus passed by or called at the Azores. For more information, see José Bettencourt, Patrícia Carvalho and Cristóvão Fonseca, 'The PIAS Project (Terceira Island, Azores, Portugal). Preliminary results of a historical-archaeological study of a transatlantic port of call', *Skyllis*, 9. Jahrgang 2009, Heft 1, pp. 62–64.

61 Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, Vol. 3, London, 1599, pp. 7–8. Quoted in Loureiro, 2010, p. 88.

62 Loureiro gives a slightly different translation of Linschoten's text, saying that it was 'woven and twisted silk which the Portuguese call *retrós*'. Rui Manuel Loureiro, 'Navios, Mercadorias e Embalagens na Rota Macau-Nagasáqui', *Revista de Cultura/ Review of Culture*, Macao, No. 24, 2007, pp. 40–41; and Loureiro, 2011, p. 92.

63 Archivo de Indias, Sevilla 1.-2.-1/13.-R. 31. Published in Boxer, 1963, p. 179. In note 1, Boxer mentions that he tentatively ascribed this memorandum to Pedro de Baeza, *c.*1600.

64 This detail was first published in Loureiro, 2007, p. 41, fig. 6.

65 Ibid., p. 40; and Loureiro, 2010, p. 92.

66 First published in Loureiro, 2007, p. 40, fig. 5. Another screen in a private collection in New York illustrates three Japanese customers examining a roll of patterned cloth, while a member of the crew holds another in his hands. For an image of this latter six-panel folding screen, see Jackson, 2004, pp. 202–203, plate 16.1.

67 Alvaro Semedo travelled to Goa in 1608, where he completed his studies. He was then sent to Nanking in 1613. As a result of the Jesuit persecution that took place in 1616, Semedo was imprisoned and later exiled to Macao. He returned to China in 1620, where he stayed until he was sent back to Rome in 1636 as Procurator of the so-called vice-province of China. Semedo completed his account two years later, in 1638, while in Goa on his return trip. It was originally published in Portuguese. It was then translated into Spanish and rearranged by Manuel de Faria e Sousa before being published by Juan Sanchez in Madrid the following year, in 1642. The text was subsequently translated into Italian in 1643, into French in 1645, and finally into English in 1655 with the title *The History of that Great and Renowned Monarchy of China: Wherein All the Particular Provinces Are Accurately Described, as also the Dispositions, Manners, Learning, Lawes, Militia, Government, and Religion of the People, Together with the Traffick and Commodities of that Countrey*, which was published by John Crook in London. The latter text is used throughout this dissertation. For a discussion on Semedo's work, see Laura Hostetler, 'A Mirror for the Monarch: A Literary

near the Azores islands[60] by the Englishman Sir John Burgh (or Burrowes) in 1592, the cargo carried by the ship was as follows: 'The principal wares after the jewels … consisted of spices, drugs, silks, calicos, qilts, carpets and colours, &c. … the silks, damasks, tafettas, sarcenets, *altobassos*, that is, counterfeit cloth of gold, unwrought China silk, sleeved silk, white twisted silk, curled cypress'.[61] The 'white twisted silk' is probably the same as the white 'Silk that is spun and made in threads, which the Portuguese call Retres' cited earlier from Linschoten's *Itinerario*,[62] and the white 'silk twisted into thread' cited from Carletti's account. Textual and visual sources attest to the Portuguese trade in twisted silks. A 'Lading of *retros* of all colours totalling 400 or 500 piculs' is listed in a *Memorandum of the merchandise which the Great Ships of the Portuguese usually take from China to Japan* of *c.*1600.[63] Loureiro has noted that some of the bales depicted in extant *Namban* folding screens showing the arrival of the Black Ship in Japan can be identified as twisted silks. Such bales are clearly seen in the six-panel folding screen, one of a pair, housed in the Museu Nacional de Antiga (Figs. 2.1.1.2a and b).[64] He also argues convincingly that the rolls of patterned cloth depicted in some screens, whether on board the anchored ship or being unloaded by the crew, probably represent silks of the best quality.[65] These patterned silk cloths could have been woven, embroidered or painted. The aforementioned screen also serves to illustrate a pile of such rolls and two others carried onshore by a member of the crew (Figs. 2.1.1.2c and b).[66] These valuable silk goods, as Loureiro has remarked, would have been packed in chests, bales or boxes to protect them from both rain and sea water, like those seen in all shapes and sizes in the screens.

Textual evidence concerning the method of packing silk in chests for shipping in all sea trade routes is provided by the Portuguese Jesuit Alvaro Semedo (1585–1658) in his account *Imperio de la China*, which was published in 1641 under the title *Relaçao de pragaçao da fé no reyno da China e outros adjacentes.*[67] Semedo, while writing about the Portuguese trade from Macao, noted that '…all sorts of merchandise is brought thither, as well as by natives as strangers: only that which the Portuguese take in for India, Japan and Manila, cometh one year with another to five thousand three hundred chests of several silk stuffs; each chest including 100 pieces of the most substantial silks, as velvet damask and satin, of the lighter stuffs, as half-damasks, painted and fingle tafettas… besides small pearle, sugar, porcellane dishes, China wood …and many things of less importance'.[68] The 'velvet damask and satin' mentioned by Semedo may refer to a type of silk velvet with gold thread with an alternating diaper pattern formed by four pommel-scroll motifs similar to that that was cut and sewn in Portugal into a compass cloak, lined with red silk satin and trimmed with metallic bouclé, now housed in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (Fig. 2.1.1.3). The pommel-scroll motif was frequently used on Chinese luxury goods that were presented as diplomatic gifts. Thus the silk velvet of this cloak, dating to the sixteenth century, may have been a diplomatic gift taken to Portugal where it was cut and sewn into this popular style of cape. [69]

Of particular interest to this study are the inventories drawn up by officers of the *Casa da Índia* between December 1615 and February 1616 of the goods salvaged from the wreck of the *nau Nossa Senhora da Luz*, which sank in 1615 at Faial Island (also known as Fayal), Azores.[70] We learn from these inventories that Portuguese traders, sailors and private individuals were returning to Lisbon with a small amount of Asian luxury goods that included various types of woven silk cloths. Some of these traders were New Christians (Christians with Jewish ancestors), who belonged to

Fig. 2.1.1.3 Compass Cloack
Velvet, cut and voided, silk, with silk satin lining and metallic trim
China, Ming dynasty, sixteenth century
Diameter: 81.3cm
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan
(acc. no. 1906 06.941)

the Portuguese mercantile elite in Lisbon. One of them was Manuel de Paz, who established a business with his half-brothers and uncles to trade in diamonds, pearls, silk, cotton, porcelain, and spices.[71] Manuel, who survived the wreck, was returning to Lisbon with a large shipment of valuable goods. As noted by Bettencourt, the large quantity of textiles identified in the ship's documentation included 923 items of silk, but these only represented 3,57 percent of the total of all the textile cargo. There were also 95 items of taffeta, 38 or more of damask, 19 of velvet and 9 of satin.[72] The list of the goods found on the nearby beaches or turned in by survivors informs us of the silks salvaged from the shipwreck as well of their packing: 'Jeronimo Camello delivered according to Manuel Nunez's inventory / six small rolls of white silk […] and thus another two small rolls of white silk'; 'Shoemaker Gaspar da Silva delivered according to Pero Fernadez Cohelo and Melchior da Fonseqa'a inventory / thirteen fathoms[73] of striped silk making one bolt […] And thus delivered eight raw white silk skeins that were not included in the inventory'; 'The same [Antonio Periz] further delivered to said inventory by Pero de Faria […] four barcazes of white silk'; 'Manuel Duarte delivered according to Estacio Machado's inventory […] thirty-two small rolls of white

Portrait of China in Eighteenth-Century France', *Asia Major*, 3rd Series, 19, nos. 1–2 (2006), pp. 357–360.

68 Semedo, 1655, Chapter 2, pp. 8–9.

69 Published and discussed by Stewart in Peck, 2013, p. 180, cat. no. 32.

70 *Inventários de Manuel Pacheco de Lima e João Correia de Mesquita de pedraria e fazendas salvadas do naufrágio Nossa Senhora da Luz, 1616*. Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (hereafter cited as AHU), Azores, Caixa 1, Doc. 12. For a list of the goods recovered from the *Nossa Senhora da Luz*, see José Antonio Bettencourt, *A Nau Nossa Senhora da Luz (1615) no Contexto da Carreira da Índia e da Escala dos Açores: Uma Abordagem Histórico – Arqueológica*, unpublished PhD thesis, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2008, Appendix 1, pp. 177–195.

71 Manuel de Paz, the eldest son of Diogo Fernades, was born in Brazil around 1581. He grew up in Lisbon with his younger half-brother Fernando Tinoco. Manuel lived and traded in Goa during the first two decades of the seventeenth century. Later in the 1630s and 1640s, Manuel and Fernando moved to Madrid and served as financiers to the Spanish monarchy, along with about a dozen of New Christians and Genovese merchants. They had a network of relatives living in Antwerp, Rouen, Paris, Amsterdam, Hamburg and Venice, as well as associates in Seville and Lisbon. For more information on his trading activities and investments in the *Carreira da India*, see Boyajian, 1993, pp. 119–120, 133–134, 163–164; Paolo Bernardini and Norman Fiering (eds.), *The Jews and the Expansion of Europe to the West, 1450–1800, European Expansion & Global Interaction*, Vol. 2, New York and Oxford, 2001, pp. 478–479; and Silvia Carvalho Ricardo, *As Redes Marcantis no final do Século XVI e a figura do Mercador João Nunes Correia*, unpublished PhD thesis, Universidade de São Paulo, 2006, p. 81.

72 Bettencourt, 2008, pp. 177–195.

73 A fathom usually refers to the Portuguese *braça*, which is supposed to be equivalent to 2.22 meters. Rui Manuel Loureiro, 'Historical Notes on the Portuguese Fortress of Malacca (1511–1641)', *Revista de Cultura*, No. 27, 2008, p. 95, note 11.

74 The original Portuguese text reads: 'Entregou Jeronimo Camello no inventario de Manuel Nunez / seis manojos de seda branqa […] e assi mais dous manoios de seda branqa'; 'Entregou Gaspar da Silva sapateiro no inventario de pero Fernandez Coelho e de Melchior da Fonseqa / treze brasas de seda listrada que era uma peça […] E assi entregou outo meadas de seda branqa em rama que não estavão no inventario'; 'Entrego mais of ditto [Antonio Periz] no mesmo inventario de Pero de Faria […] quarto barcazes de seda branqa'; 'Entregou Manuel Duarte no inventario de Estacio Machado […] trinta e dous manojos de seda branqa […] tres manojos de retros branco […] e dous mais de seda'; 'Entregou Antonio Gomez no inventario de Antonio Nunez […] e seis coxins de damasquilho rojo […] e huma peça de taffeta branco / e outra d azul / e oura de damasquilho rozado / e outra de tafisira de seda branca vermelho'. AHU, Azores, Caixa 1, Doc. 12. Published in Arquivo dos Açores, 1999, pp. 45–152; and Paulo Monteiro, *O naufrágio da Nossa Senhora da Luz, 1615, Faial, Açores (IV)*, The nautical archaeology of the Azores, 2003. World Wide Web, URL, http://nautarch.tamu.edu/shiplab/, nautical Archaeology Program, Texas A&M University. According to the documentation of the shipwreck, *taficira* refers to a type of calico made in China, Sinde or Persia. Mentioned in Bettencourt, 2008, p. 194.

75 Ibid., p. 100.

76 The original Portuguese texts read: 'cobertor de seda da China', 'cobertor da China de azul forrado de taffeta amarello', 'tafeta azul da China', 'tafetas e taficjras de cores da China', 'pauilhães com seus capellos de seda da China', 'tafeta da China', 'tafeta laurado da China', and 'retros brancos da China'. AHU, Azores, Caixa 1, Doc. 12. For a list of the recovered goods identified as originating from China, see Bettencourt, 2008, pp. 96, 182, 192 and 194.

77 For these sumptuary laws, *Ordenaçam da defesa dos veludos e sedas* (3–VI–1535) and *Ley sobre of vestidos de seda, & feitios delles, E das pessoas que os podem trazer* (25–VI–1560), see BNP, Secção de Reservados, Impressos, Reservados, RES. 83//2 A, and RES. 1539//1 V, respectively. Mentioned in Hugo Miguel Crespo, 'Trajar as aparências, vestir para ser: O Testemunho da Pragmática de 1609', in Gonçalo de Vasconcelos e Sousa (ed.), *O Luxo na região do Porto ao tempo de Filipe II de Portugal (1610)*, Oporto, 2012, p. 105, notes 69–70.

78 António Caetano de Sousa, *História Genealógica da Casa Real Portuguesa*, vol. 3, pt. I, Coimbra, 1948, p. 521. Mentioned in Pacheco Ferreira, 2013, p. 54.

79 Ibid.

80 Regina Krahl, 'The Portuguese Presence in the Arts and Crafts of China', in Jay A. Levenson (ed.),

silk […] three small rolls of white twisted silk […] and another two of silk'; 'Antonio Gomez delivered according to Antonio Nunez's inventory […] and six cushions of purple damask like fabric […] and one bolt of white taffeta / and another of blue / and another of pink damask like fabric / and another of white red silk tafisira'.[74] It is not known whether these woven silk cloths originated solely from China, or if they were also from Persia or Turkey.[75] In this list, however, one finds some specific references to woven silk cloths and finished silk products from China. These include a 'silk bedspread from China', 'blue bedspread lined of yellow taffeta from China', 'blue taffeta from China', 'Coloured taffetas and calicoes from China', 'tabernacle curtains with their silk cocoons from China', 'taffeta from China', 'embroidered taffeta from China', and 'white twisted silk from China'.[76] The presence of 'white twisted silk' in the cargo demonstrates that such silks were imported into Portugal for over two decades, at least from 1592 (*Madre de Deus*) to 1615.

The limited quantities of woven silk cloths and silk finished products that arrived to Lisbon in the early sixteenth century appear to have been almost exclusively for the personal use of members of the royal court, clergy and high-ranking nobility. This was probably due to their high purchase price, and the sumptuary laws against luxury dress and ornamentation passed at the time, first by John III in Evora in 1535, and then by the young King Sebastian I (r. 1557–1578) (hereafter Sebastian I) in Lisbon in 1560.[77] The novelty and scarcity of the silks imported from China meant that they were held in high esteem, and thus eagerly sought after for use in both secular and religious contexts. Textual sources show that various types of woven silk cloths and finished silk products served political as well as social purposes. Finished silk products, for example, were used as gifts in diplomatic exchanges. After the defeat and death of Sebastian I during the battle of Alcácer Quibir in North Africa in 1578, Cardinal Henry (r. 1578–1580) after succeeding to the Portuguese throne sent a white taffeta canopy from China, embroidered in gold thread and multicoloured silk with birds, branches and flowers to Abu Marwan Abd al-Malik, the Saadi sultan of Morocco, as ransom for Portuguese noblemen imprisoned there.[78] As can be cautiously inferred from this luxurious gift, silks played a crucial role in Portugal's diplomatic relations and served as tangible images of the power of its seaborne empire at the time.[79]

Embroidered, painted or colourful woven silks were used as basic material to make Catholic liturgical vestments. The exotic and colourful Chinese motifs of such elaborately patterned silks must have been so desirable that they were adopted for use even though they did not conform to Christian iconography.[80] Silk cloths and finished silk products were also sawn into garments or used as furnishings to decorate ecclesiastic interior spaces. From the *Tratado em que se cõtam muito por esteso as cousas da China* written by the Dominican Friar Gaspar da Cruz (c.1520–1570) in 1569 we learn that many rank badges, the woven or embroidered insignia worn by Chinese civil and military officials on the front and back of their robes,[81] were imported into Portugal and subsequently used as liturgical ornaments for the churches.[82] A square badge for a sixth-rank civil official dating to the sixteenth century, probably made in southern China, that once formed part of a group of similarly embroidered rank badges sewn together into a hanging or curtain housed at the Palazzo Corsini in Florence serves to illustrate the type of rank badge that may have arrived to Portugal at the time, most likely through Macao (Fig. 2.1.1.4).[83]

Recent research by Ferreira has shown that by the end of the sixteenth century a variety of silk cloths were integrated regularly in sumptuous festivities of sacred-

Fig. 2.1.1.4 Square rank badge for a six rank official
Embroidered in floss silks and gold thread
China, Ming dynasty, sixteenth century
Dimensions: 36.8cm x 38.1cm
Provenance: Palazzo Corsini, Florence
© Jacqueline Simcox Ltd.

Encompassing the Globe: Portugal and the World in the 16th and 17th century. Essays, Lisbon, 2009, p. 315.

81 Rank badges were worn during most of the Ming dynasty. The iconography of the badges for all ranks became more complex in the late Ming, depicting miniature landscapes inhabited by animals or birds and an increase use of gold thread as the dominant background colour. For a discussion on Ming and Qing rank badges, see John E. Vollmer and Jacqueline Simcox, *Emblems of Empire. Selections from the Mactaggart Art Collection*, Edmonton, 2009, pp. 82–85; and Mary M. Dusenbury, *Flowers, Dragons, & Pine Trees. Asian Textiles in the Spencer Museum of Art*, New York and Manchester, 2004, pp. 127–128.

82 Fr. Gaspar da Cruz, *Tratado em que se cõtam muito por esteso as cousas da China cõ suas particularidades, assi do reino d'Ormuz, cõposto por el. R. padre frei Gaspar da Cruz da ordê de sam Domingos* [Ms. 1569], in Raffaella D'Intino (ed.), *Programa nacional de edições comemorativas dos descobrimentos portugueses*, Lisbon, 1989, p. 210. For a citation of the original text in Portuguese, see Maria João Pacheco Ferreira, *Os Têxteis Chineses em Portugal nas Opções Decorativas Sacras de Aparato (séculos XVI–XVIII)*, unpublished PhD thesis, Universidade do Porto, 2011, Vol. I, p. 189.

83 The rank badges were sewn together at the corners and down the sides of a hanging or curtain. They were sold at auction and now found in private collections around the world. I am grateful to Jacqueline Simcox for providing me information and images of two examples of the rank badges from the Palazzo Corsini, dating to the sixteenth century. The egret rank badge illustrated here was first published in Jacqueline Simcox, 'Chinese Textiles', exhibition catalogue, London 2010, pp. 8–9, no. 5.

84 Pacheco Ferreira, 2011, pp. 348–351; and Maria João Pacheco Ferreira, 'Political Intentions of Chinese Textiles in Portuguese Sacred, Solemn, Celebratory Events of the 16th-18th Centuries', in *Textiles and Politics: Textile Society of America 13th Biennial Symposium Proceedings*, Washington, D.C., 2012, pp. 2 and 5.

85 Ibid., p. 2.

86 The original Portuguese text reads: 'de seda da China laurada de passarinhos de cores varias, & tão vivos, como naqüellas partes of ha'. *RELAÇAM do Solenne recebimento das Santas Reliquias, que forão leuadas da See de Coeimbra ao Real Mosteyro de Santa Cruz*. Coimbra: casa de Antonio Mariz, 1596, fl. 48v. Cited in Pacheco Ferreira, 2011, Vol. I, pp. 279–296. Pacheco Ferreira suggests that the terms 'laurada de passarinhos' indicate that the birds were embroidered.

87 The original Portuguese text reads: '… os balustrades, & pilaretes do Coro vestia seda branca da China tecida, & semeada de passarinhos varios nas cores & nas feições pedurados de ramos verdes'. Luís de Cacegas and Luís de Sousa, *Vida de Dom Frei Bertolomev dos Martyres da Orde dos Pregadores Arcebispo e Senhor de Braga Primas das Espanhas repartida en seis liuros com a solenidade de sua tresladação*. Viana do Castelo: Niculao Carualho, 1619, fl. 256. Mentioned in Pacheco Ferreira, 2011, Vol. I, p. 279 and Vol. II, p. 178.

88 The original Portuguese text reads: 'Cobriao suas paredes, & vestiao seus pilares, & arcos'. Father Belchior de Santa Anna, *Chronica de Carmelitas Descalços, Particvlar do Reyno de Portugal e Provincia e Sam Felippe*, Lisboa: Off. De Henrique Valente de Oliueira, 1657, p. 601. Cited in Pacheco Ferreira, Vol. I, 2011, p. 283.

89 Pacheco Ferreira, 2012, p. 5.

90 This theatrical piece was written by Father António de Sousa and entitled *Royal Tragicomedy of King*

profane context throughout Portugal.[84] Embroidered or painted silks as well as variously coloured woven silk cloths were used to make garments worn by participants of the festivities (robes, skirts, shawls and tunics), as well as liturgical ornaments (altar frontals, wall hangings, curtains, valances, canopies, pavilions, etc.), which adorned the interior or exterior spaces where the ceremonies and processions took place, and the streets of the cities.[85] The earliest known reference dates to 1595, when some relics where transferred from the cathedral of Coimbra to the Augustinian monastery of the Holy Cross in the same city. A written account of the arrival of the relics mentions that the clothes worn in the procession organized for this event were made of 'silk from China embroidered with birds of various colours, & …'. [86] The next reference dates to fourteen years later, in 1609, when the body of Fray Batolomeu dos Mártires was transferred to the new Dominican convent of the Holy Cross in Viana do Castelo. During this sacred festivity, the balustrades and pillars of the church's choir were 'dressed in white silk from China'.[87] White silk continued to be used to adorn ecclesiastic spaces for several decades. Father Belchior de Santa Anna, writing in 1657, informs us that during the celebrations of the canonization of St. Teresa de Avila in the cloister of the Carmelite convent of Lisbon held in 1622, white silks from China 'covered its walls, & dressed its pillars, & arches'.[88]

The silk cloths used in Jesuit festivities, as Pacheco Ferreira has remarked, not only served as material testimonies of the Portuguese expansion to China and the Jesuit missionary activity there, but also had cultural, economic and political symbolic meanings.[89] The account of Father João Sardinha Mimoso describing a theatrical performance offered by the students of the Jesuit college of Saint Anthony for King Philip III of Spain/II of Portugal (r. 1598–1621) (hereafter Philip III) during his visit to Lisbon in 1619, informs us that the thirteen angels that appeared on the prologue of the performance were dressed in 'rich clothes [of] various colours of cloth, embroidered brocades from China'.[90] Mimoso also notes that a common space annexed to the stage where the King and members of the royal family attended the event was 'hung with silks of various colours from China fresh, and perfumed'.[91] Two accounts concerning the Jesuit festivities held in 1620 and 1622 respectively, the beatification and then the canonization of Saint Ignatius of Loyola and Saint Francis Xavier, refer to participants of the processions wearing contemporary clothing items made of various silk cloths. Father Diogo Marques Salgueiro, for instance, notes that the figure representing Faith wore a robe of white silk from China, and that of Ternate wore 'very long over sleeves of white silk from China, embroidered with many birds, & flowers of gold'.[92] The anonymous author of the other account notes that the windows of the streets of Lisbon were adorned with 'many rich embroideries from China, & with glossy silks', and that during the procession held in Oporto the figure parading as an allegory of China was 'dressed in several silks, & colours, all of which came from that Kingdom to Portugal'.[93] From the information provided by the textual sources discussed above it seems clear that the Jesuits and other religious orders possessed considerable quantities of various types of silk cloths, especially of colourfully embroidered silks, which they used for public displays. These were most probably given to them as royal gifts or were acquired through the Jesuits in Japan who participated actively in the silk trade from 1578 until their expulsion in 1639.

Documentary evidence shows that by the early seventeenth century woven silk cloths and finished silk products, imported from China and after about 1614 also from Persia, had become more widely available to people from different social groups.[94]

This was particularly true in Oporto, a port city in northern Portugal that saw a great commercial expansion during the previous century, which allowed a large number of its inhabitants to accumulate considerable wealth. In 1609, Philip III passed sumptuary laws in the city regulating the use of certain luxury goods. The following year, the sumptuary laws were enforced and all luxury goods had to be registered in the Book of Registers (*Livro dos Registros*) indicating the name, address and pieces possessed by each individual.[95] This document reveals sumptuous civilian male and female dress practices in relation to national fashions, and offers insights on the role of silk cloths and finished silk products in the daily life of this urban society. Fifteen references to Chinese textiles are found in this document, listing both clothing and furnishing items. Five of them list richly embroidered 'mantillas', including a 'mantilla from China embroidered with gold on white satin lined of blue taffeta' owned by the licensee Rodrigo da Câmara; a 'silk mantilla from China embroidered with gold and silk' declared by a Supreme Court judge named Manuel Mendes de Vasconcelos; and a baptism mantilla 'worked with gold and silk' owned by doctor Amador Ribeiro.[96] There is also listed a *saio* (long doublet) of white taffeta from China with cords of white silk of the wife of Domingos Ribeiro de Vila Nova de Gaia.[97] Among the furnishing items are listed 'one blue bedspread from China worked with gold and silk on white in the middle beads on embroidery and two cushions and four carpets of the same work from China' owned by Pantaleão de Seabra; 'twelve lengths of yellow and blue satin embroidered with gold and silver from China' that Governor Luís da Silva had left in the house in Lisbon; and 'one silk curtain from China manually crafted with coloured birds owned by Maria da Fonseca'.[98] It is clear that such silks were much appreciated by both men and women who incorporated them not only into clothing for daily use and religious festivities, but also into their households.

Silk continued to be shipped yearly to Lisbon in the 1650s, as suggested by the Jesuit Martinus Martini (1614–1661), who notes in his *Novus Atlas Sinensis* published in Amsterdam in 1655, that 'Each year, 1300 boxes of silk from China would be transported to Europe by the Portuguese'.[99]

From the information provided by the textual sources discussed thus far it is possible to conclude that soon after direct Portuguese trade relations with China began, the Crown recognized the unprecedented opportunity of economic profit in a large-scale trade of silk, and thus extended the royal monopoly over trade to silk. Profits must have been so high that Portuguese private individuals traded not only woven silk cloths but also finished silk products, in defiance of the royal monopoly. After settling in Macao and gaining regular access to the biannual fair of Canton, the main commodities traded by the Portuguese were raw silk, and Japanese and New World silver. Silks were sold by weight in Canton, and their purchase price varied not only according to the different qualities of each type but also according to their demand. The vast majority of the silks traded by the Portuguese were used for their inter-Asian trade.

Textual sources have shown that silk represented only about 5–6 percent of all the Asian textiles imported into Europe, via Goa. The types of silks shipped from Goa, listed under the designation *fazendas*, included raw silk, woven silk cloths and finished silk products. These valuable silk goods were packed in chests, bales or boxes to protect them from both rain and sea water, which were stowed on the upper decks. Raw silk included white twisted silk, which was imported for over two decades, at least from 1592 to 1615. The most common woven silk cloths imported were taffetas, damasks, velvets and satins. Although white silk is commonly mentioned in textual sources, there are also many references to coloured silks. Some of the silks were woven, embroidered in gold thread and colourful silk, or painted with traditional Chinese motifs of flowers, birds, animals and deities. Finished silk products included clothing items for personal use, as well as furnishing items for both secular and religious use.

The limited quantities of these woven silk cloths and finished silk products that began to reach Lisbon in the early sixteenth century appear to have been almost exclusively for the use of the royal court, clergy and high-ranking nobility, most probably due to their high purchase price and the sumptuary laws against luxury dress and ornamentation passed by successive kings. Only a small quantity of them was imported as private consignments or as gifts to relatives. The novelty of the decorative motifs and scarcity of these imported silks meant that they were held in high esteem, and thus eagerly sought after. They served as symbols of both political authority and social status. The court used finished silk products as diplomatic gifts and as tangible images of the power of its seaborne empire. Catholic ecclesiastic institutions, the Society of Jesus in particular, used colourful embroidered, painted and woven silks as basic material to make liturgical vestments or furnishings to decorate the churches. Even some finished silk products intended for the Chinese domestic market, such as rank badges, were imported and subsequently used as liturgical ornaments for the churches. By the end of the century such woven, embroidered, or painted silk cloths had been integrated regularly in sumptuous festivities of sacred-profane context throughout Portugal. It appears that the Jesuits and other religious orders possessed considerable quantities of woven silk cloths, especially colourfully embroidered silks, which they used for public displays. They would most probably have acquired them as royal gifts or through the Jesuits in Japan who participated actively in the silk trade from 1578 until their expulsion in 1639.

It was not until the early seventeenth century that woven silk cloths and finished silk products were more widely available to people from different social groups in Lisbon and other cities where many inhabitants had accumulated considerable wealth through trade. In Oporto, as has been shown, silk clothing and furnishing items were much appreciated by both men and women who incorporated them into their daily life and religious festivities. Silk continued to the imported yearly into Lisbon, apparently in increasingly larger quantities, in the second half of the century.

Trade to Spain [2.1.2]

In 1573, only eight years after Legazpi conquered Cebú and established the first Spanish colony in the Philippines, and Urdañeta discovered a return route to Acapulco across the Pacific, Chinese silk began to be exported to the New World and a small quantity of it was subsequently re-exported via the port of Veracruz to the motherland, Spain.[100] The production and consumption of silk was not unknown to the Spaniards, as sericulture and silk weaving spread via the Arab conquest to Andalusia in southern Spain in the first half of the eighth century.[101] Textual sources indicate that silks from China were already being used in Spain in the mid-fifteenth century.[102] For instance,

Manuel: Conqueror of the East. The account discussed here is Father Juan Sardina Mimoso, *Relacion de la Real Tragicomedia con qve los padres de la Compania de Iesvs en su Colegio de S. Anton de Lisboa recibieron a la magestad Catolica de Felipe II.de Portugal, y de su entrada en este Reino, cõ lo que se hizo en las Villas, y Ciudades en que entrò*. Lisboa: Of. De Iorge Rodriguez, 1620, fls. 3, 5v and 14–14v. The original text reads as follows 'ricas ropas [de] varios colores de tela, brocado bordados de la China'. For this citation and further bibliographical references in relation to the King's visit to Portugal in 1616, see Pacheco Ferreira, Vol. I, 2011, p. 279, note 7. It is interesting to note that before arriving to Lisbon, Philip III was welcomed solemnly in the city of Montemor-o-Novo, where he was received near the entrance of the shrine of Nossa Senhora da Luz adorned with a beautiful arch covered with fabrics and silks; and that the procession guided by the Chamber of Attorneys (*Procuradores da Câmara*) of Lisbon to celebrate the King's first solemn entrance into the capital, was followed by diverse groups of dancers of which stood out women dressed in silk and adorned with jewels and gold cords. It is not known, however, what was the country of origin of these silk clothing items. See, Francisco Ribeiro da Silva, 'A Viajem de Filipe III a Portugal: itinerários e problemática', in *Quinhentos/Oitocentos (Ensaios de História)*, Facultade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, Oporto, 1987, pp. 285 and 290, respectively.

91 The original Portuguese text reads: 'colgado de sedas de varios colores de la China fresco, y oloroso'. Mimoso, 1620, fl. 4. Cited in Pacheco Ferreira, Vol. I, 2011, p. 280.

92 The original Portuguese text reads: 'sobremangas muito largas de seda branca da China, broslada con muitos passarinhos, & flores d'ouro'. Father Diogo Marques Salgueiro, *Relaçam das festas que a Religiam sa Companhia de IESV fez em a Cidade de Lisboa, na Beatificaçam do Beato P. Francisco Xauier, Segundo Padroeiro da mesma Companhia, & Primeiro Apostolo dos Reynos de iapão, em Dezẽbro de 1620, Lisboa: Ioão Rodriguez, 1621*, fls. 33v and 16v, respectively. Cited in Pacheco Ferreira, Vol. I, 2011, p. 281.

93 The original Portuguese text reads: 'muitos ricos bordados da China, & com lustrosas sedas' and 'A China vestia varias sedas, & cores, todas das que daquelle Reyno vem a Portugal'. *Relações das Sumptuosas Festas com que a Companhia de Jesus da Provincia de Portugal Celebrou a Canonização de S. Ignacio de Loyola, e S. Francisco Xavier*, Lisbon: s.n., 1623, fls. 15 and 180, respectively. The citations are taken from Pacheco Ferreira, 2012, p. 8; and Pacheco Ferreira, 2011, Vol. I, p. 283 and Vol. II, p. 187.

94 For the Portuguese trade in silk from Persia, see Pacheco Ferreira, 2011, pp. 451–485.

95 The original document is published in José Justino de Andrade Silva, *Collecção Chronologica da Legislação Portuguesa (compilada e anotada)*, Vol. I (1603–1612), Lisbon, 1854, pp. 275–278. For a discussion on the 1609 sumptuary laws, see Andreia Durães, 'Luxo e vida privada: o exemplo da Pragmática de 1609', *Boletim Informativo do Núcleo de Estudos de População e Sociedade*, No. 1, July 2007, pp. 19–40; and Crespo, 2012, pp. 104–145.

96 The original Portuguese texts read: 'mantilha da China borlada de ouro sobre cetim branquo forado de taffeta asur', 'mantilla de seda da China borlada d'ouro e seda', and 'llavrada d'ouro e seda'. *Livro dos Registros*, 1610, fls. 35v., 81 and 230v., respectively. Cited in Crespo, 2012, p. 126.

97 *Livro dos Registros*, 1610, fls. 138v–139. Mentioned in Crespo, 2012, p. 134.

98 The original Portuguese texts read: 'hũa colcha da China azul lavrada de ouro e seda sobre branco no mejo contas sobre bordaduras e dous traviceiros e qoatro alfombras da misma obra da China'; 'doze panos de setim amarello e asul bordados d'ouro e prata da China'; and 'hum encortinado de seda da China debuxado a lauor e pasaros de cores de Maria da Fonseca'. *Livro dos Registros*, 1610, fls. 23, 42v.–43, and 93, respectively. Cited in Crespo, 2012, p. 125–126, note 149.

99 Cited in Zhang Xiping, *Following the Steps of Matteo Ricci to China*, Beijing, 2006, p. 167.

100 The trans-Pacific silk trade to the New World will be discussed in section 2.1.4 of this Chapter.

101 Robin Netherton and Gale R. Owen-Crocker (eds.), *Medieval Clothing and Textiles*, Woodbridge, 2014, pp. 70–71.

102 A silk and gold dalmatic from Central Asia brought back to Seville by the Galician nobleman Don Payo Gómez de Sotomayor, one of the first Spanish ambassadors sent to the Timurid court at Samarkand (1403-1406), is housed in the Museum of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela. Published in Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 20, fig. 2.

Iñigo López de Mendoza, I Marqués de Santillana (1398–1458), gave to the church of the hospital he built in his villa of Buitrago a 'chasuble …. of aseytuní [cloth of fine silk from China]…' that belonged to his wife, Catalina de Figueroa. By the sixteenth century, imported woven silk cloths were still considered a luxury and available only to the royalty, nobility and wealthy merchant classes.

According to an account written in 1570 by an unknown author, *Relation of the voyage to Luzon*, when the Spaniards captured two Chinese junks off Mindoro they found many valuable goods including 'silk, both woven and in skeins; gold thread, musk, … and other curious articles'.[103] A regular trade in silk between the Chinese and Spanish empires began the following year, when Legazpi moved the colonial capital northwards to Luzon, where Manila was founded. This trade, based on the exchange of Chinese silk for New World silver, is described in a brief narrative written by Legazpi's notary Hernando Riquel and others, of the events of the Philippines between 1570 and 1573. It states that in 1571 '…there came to the port of this city three ships from China, and to the neighboring islands five more. Those which came here brought merchandise such as is used among the Chinese, and such as they bring here ordinarily. The distance from this island is not great, the voyage lasting about eight days. … For the chiefs, they brought a few pieces of silk and fine porcelains; but these goods are not especially out of the common. For the Spaniards they brought some fine ware and other articles, which they readily sold, since we who are here have plenty of money, and the Chinese need it. They are so delighted that they will surely return in six or seven months, and will bring a great abundance of many rare articles. They brought specimens of many kinds peculiar to their country, in order to arrange the price at which they can be sold – such as quicksilver, powder, … silks in textiles of many kinds and in skeins'.[104] A text described as a 'Relation of what was brought by the two ships from the islands of the West' written at the end of this narrative, which appears to have been added by the officials in Mexico, lists '712 pieces of all kinds of silks' among a variety of goods brought by two ships that came from Manila in 1573. More importantly, it informs the King that 'For their Majesties individually, are sent from those provinces many jewels and crowns of gold, with silks, porcelains, rich and large earthen jars, and other very excellent things which are sent by the chiefs in token of their allegiance'.[105] This is the earliest textual reference of silks and porcelains being re-exported to Spain via the New World for members of the royal court in Madrid.

Spanish textual sources provide information on the varied decorative styles of the woven silk cloths brought to the Philippines for trade at this time. Captain Diego the Artieda in his *Relation of the Western Islands Called Filipinas* of 1573, when referring to the Chinese, writes 'They make gold into threads as is done in Milan, and weave raised designs of it on damasks and other silken fabrics'.[106] Silk decorated with gold is also mentioned in a letter written by the royal treasurer in the Philippines, Guido de Lavezaris and others, to the Augustinian Friar Martin de Rada the following year, in 1574. This letter states that the native inhabitants 'have a great deal of cloth with which to clothe themselves; many silken fabrics worked with gold, greatly esteemed and of high value; many porcelains and fine earthenware jars; … The Chinese bring them many silks, porcelains, and perfumes; with iron and other articles, from which they make great profits'.[107] In all probability, the aforementioned silks are the same types as those mentioned earlier in Portuguese textual sources as being 'embroidered with gold' or 'worked with gold'.

We learn from a letter from Captain Juan Pacheco Maldonado to Philip II, probably written in 1575, that patterned silks were also traded but at low prices. Maldonado notes that 'Twelve or fifteen ships from the mainland of China come each year to the city of Manila, laden with merchandise: figured silks of all sorts; … The prices of everything so moderate, that they are to be had almost for nothing'.[108] Remarks on the quality and low sell price of silks continued to appear in Spanish documents in the following decade. For instance, the Augustinian Juan González de Mendoza (1540–1617) in his two-volume work *History of the Great and Mighty Kingdom of China and the situation thereof*, first published in Spanish in 1585, notes that 'They do make great store of silk, and excellent good, and give it very perfect colours, which does exceed very much the silk of Granada, and is one of the greatest trades that is in all that kingdom'. He also remarks on the price of silk cloths and the way in which they are sold, saying that 'The velvets, damask, satins, and other sorts of webs, which is there made, is of so small price, that it is a wonder to speak it, in special unto them that do know how their prices be in Spain and Italy. They do sell none of their silks there by the yard, neither any other kind of websterie, though it be linen; but by the weight, wherein there is least deceit'.[109] Mendoza, who had never visited China, based his observations on second-hand accounts compiled over many years.[110] A letter written by the Bishop of the Philippines, Fray Domingo de Salazar, to Fray Sánchez, dated June 2, 1588, mentions similar silk cloths that were regularly available in Manila. Salazar writes: 'They bring hither silks – figured satins, black and coloured damasks, brocades and other fabrics – which are now very commonly seen'.[111]

Textual sources show that the great demand for silks and other Chinese luxury goods, together with Spanish Crown mercantile policies on Chinese merchants, began to affect the selling prices of such goods only a decade after the Spaniards had established themselves in Manila, in 1571. From a letter written by Captain Juan Pacheco Maldonado to Philip II, probably in 1575, we learn about the low prices of Chinese goods sold in Manila. He states that 'The prices of everything are so moderate, that they are to be had almost for nothing'.[112] These favorable trade conditions for the Spaniards, however, would not last for long. The Bishop Fray Domingo de Salazar, in a memorial regarding affairs in the islands written in Manila in 1583, informs the king and his royal Council of the Indias that as a consequence of the taxes levied upon the Chinese in Manila and the fact that they were compelled to sell their goods much below their value resulted in such goods almost disappearing from the market, and that the few available were sold at exorbitant prices.[113] Regarding the price increases, Salazar notes that 'Although twenty ships have come from China – and so many have never before been seen in this space of time – nothing of all that comes from China has been visible this year. On the contrary, Chinese goods have risen to such excessive prices that a piece of satin formerly worth ten or twelve tostóns[114] here, has been sold at forty or forty-five, and yet could not be found, even for the church, which is so needy that it has not been able to obtain silk to make a single ornament. The same is true of all other Chinese goods, which were formerly hawked in vain through the streets'.[115] This reference to the church is important as it attests to the use of silks to make liturgical ornaments for the churches in Manila.

The rise in prices in Manila does not appear to have affected the profitable trade of Chinese luxury goods shipped to the New World, where they continued to be considered much less expensive than those imported from Spain during the next decade or so. In 1594, the Viceroy of Peru informed the authorities in Madrid that 'Chinese merchandise is so cheap and Spanish goods so dear that I believe it impossible

103 MSS in the Archivo General de Indias, Seville. Cited in Blair and Robertson, 1903, Vol. III: 1569–1576, pp. 59–60.

104 Ibid., p. 219.

105 Ibid., p. 223.

106 MS. In the Museo-Biblioteca de Ultramar, Madrid, collated with another copy at Sevilla. Cited in Blair and Roberston, 1903, Vol. III: 1569–1576, p. 183.

107 Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla. Cited in Blair and Roberston, 1903, Vol. III: 1569–1576, pp. 243–244.

108 MSS in the Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla. Cited in Blair and Roberston, 1903, Vol. III: 1569–1576, p. 272.

109 In 1583, Pope Gregory XIII asked Mendoza to compose a 'history of the things that are known in China'. Two years later, Mendoza's book *Historia de las cosas más notables, ritos y costubres del gran Reyno de la China* was published in Rome. A revised edition was published in Madrid in 1586. The latter was translated into English at the suggestion of Richard Hakluyt and published in London in 1588. The citations are from *History of the Great and mighty Kingdome of China and the Situation Thereof Compiled by the Padre Juan González de Mendoza and now reprinted from the early translation of R. Parke*, London, reprint 2010, Vol. 1, pp. 14–15.

110 Zhang, 2006, p. 157.

111 Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson (eds.), *The Philippine Islands. 1493–1898*, Cleveland, 1903, Vol. VII: 1588–1591, p. 29.

112 Letter from Juan Pacheco Maldonado to Felipe II [1575?], Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla. An English translation by Arthur B. Myrick is published in Blair and Robertson, 1903, Vol. III: 1569–1576, p. 269–277.

113 Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson (eds.), *The Philippine Islands. 1493–1898*, Cleveland, 1903, Volume V: 1582–1583, pp. 9–10.

114 The denomination 'tostón' was used in Spain and in the New World to refer to the four-real silver coin. In 1563, the council of the Audiencia of Mexico City informed Philip II that the mint had produced two million examples of this coin. Mentioned in Luis Weckmann, *The Medieval Heritage of Mexico*, New York, 1992, p. 421.

115 Blair and Robertson, 1903, Volume V: 1582–1583, pp. 226–227.

to choke off trade to such extent that no Chinese wares will be consumed in this realm, since a man can clothe his wife in Chinese silks for 200 reales [25 pesos], whereas he could not provide her with clothing of Spanish silks with 200 pesos'.[116] This may have been an exaggeration of the Viceroy, but it serves to illustrate the high price differential between these imported silks. In a memorial written in *c.*1602 by Fray Martin Ignacio de Loyola, Bishop of Rio de la Plata, he declares that 'The trading in, and consignment of silver to, the Filipinas by the inhabitants of Mexico causes great detriment to the inhabitants of the islands; for, because of the Mexicans sending so much silver, the price of Chinese silks and merchandise has risen, so that, while for twenty years, when only the inhabitants of the islands were permitted to trade, they were wont to gain one thousand percent, now they do not gain one hundred, whence results much resentment in the Filipinas'.[117]

The Spanish historian and politician António de Morga (1559–1636), first lieutenant-governor of the Philippines (1595–1598) and later senior judge of its *Audiencia* (1598–1603),[118] in his *Sucesos de las Filipinas* published in Mexico in 1609, gives a more detailed description of the types and quality of silks and other textiles brought to Manila in the following decade or shortly after. He observes that 'The goods which they usually bring, and sell to the Spaniards, are raw silk, in bundles, of the fineness of two strands, and other silk of inferior quality; fine untwisted silks, white and of all colors, in small skeins; quantities of smooth velvets, and velvet embroidered in all sorts of patterns, colours and fashions; and others, with the ground of gold and embroidered with the same; woven cloths and brocades of gold and silver upon silk of various colors and patterns, quantities of gold and silver thread in skein, upon thread and upon silk, but all the spangles of gold and silver are false and upon paper; damasks, satins, taffetas, and gorvarans, picotes, and other cloths of all colors, some finer and better than others; quantity of linen made of grass, which they call *lençesuelo*, and white cotton tablecloths of different kinds and sorts, for all sort of uses'.[119] The raw silk, mostly from Zhejiang, as well as the various silk cloths mentioned by Morga, would most probably had been shipped by Chinese merchants from Canton or Zhangzhou.[120]

Relations written by Spanish Jesuits in the early seventeenth century for the promotion of the Jesuit missionary work in Asia provide evidence of the silk-for-silver trade in Manila. For instance, Pedro Chirino (1557–1635) in his book *Relación de las islas Filipinas* published in Rome in 1604, gives a detailed account of the Jesuit activities in the Philippines from 1581 until his departure in 1602[121] and reports that 'From China they not only began to ship their riches in silks and glazed earthenware, as soon as they learned of our wealth of four and eight real pieces'.[122] In 1603, only a year after his departure, the Chinese in Manila revolted and the authorities had to control and placate them. Another Jesuit, Adriano de las Cortes (1578–1629) in the account of his journey to China of 1626, where he spent eleven months in captivity after the galley that sailed from Manila wrecked on the coast of Guangdong while en route to Macao, describes the '*mercadurías*' (merchandising).[123] He mentions that 'Accounts made often and taken from the royal books … reach its revenue each year to one hundred fifty and even sixty millions in gold, silver, musk, rice, silks and several other things'.[124] From a pamphlet published in 1627 by Doctor Juan Oñes, who vigorously defended the participation of the clergy of Manila in the galleon trade, we learn that clerics participated directly in the silk trade but only on a small scale.[125] Oñes stated that the clerics purchased a small quantity of silk, usually eight cases of

116 Cited in Woodrow Wilson Borah, *Early Colonial Trade and Navigation Between Mexico and Peru*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1954, p. 122.

117 Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson (eds.), *The Philippine Islands. 1493–1898*, Cleveland, 1905, Volume XII: 1601–1604, p. 60.

118 Lach and Van Kley, 1993, p. 1492.

119 The citation is a translation from the original Spanish text published in Antonio de Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, Madrid, 1997, p. 312. It is slightly different than the English translation published in Antonio de Morga, *The Philippine Islands, Moluccas, Siam, Cambodia, Japan, and China, at the close of the Sixteenth Century by Antonio de Morga*, printed for the Hakluyt Society, Bedford, Massachusetts, reprint 2009, pp. 337–338; and Timothy Brook, *The Confusions of Pleasure. Commerce and Culture in Ming China*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1998, p. 205.

120 Lillian M. Li, *China's Silk Trade: Traditional Industry in the Modern World, 1842–1937*, Council on East Asian Studies Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, 1981, p. 64.

121 Chirino left the Philippines to return to Rome as procurator of the vice-province. Shortly after he returned to Spain and then went back to the Philippines to continue his work as a missionary, educator, and writer. Lach and Van Kley, 1993, p. 319.

122 Pedro Chirino, S. I., *Relación de las Islas Filipinas i de lo que en ellas han trabajado los padres de la Compañía de Jesús*, Rome, 1604. Published in Blair and Roberston, 1905, Vol. XII: 1601–1604, p. 191. Cited in Slack, 2010, p. 23.

123 Adriano de las Cortes, *Relación del viage, naufragio y captiverio que, con otras personas, padeció en Chaucao, reino de la gran China, con lo demás que vió en lo que della anduvó*, 1625. An incomplete copy of the original text is found in the British Library, Collection of Manuscripts in the Spanish Language, mss. Sloane 1005. Mentioned in Beatriz Moncó, 'The China of the Jesuits: Travels and Experiences of Diego de Pantoja and Adriano de las Cortes', *Culture & History Digital Journal*, 1(2), 2012. Accessed 3/7/2014, http://dx.doi.org/10.3989/chdj.m.101.

124 Cited in Carmelo Lisón Tolosana, 'Un Aragones en China (1625)', *Revista Española de Antropología Americana*, No. 7 (1), 1972, p. 213.

125 The Jesuits in Japan, as noted in Chapter I, were compelled to seek papal permission to participate in the trade in silk between Nagasaki and Macao out of necessity and this was granted by Pope Gregory XIII in 1582.

cloth a time, from Chinese merchants who brought the silk to their homes and that it was subsequently packed by servants without the cleric's laying hands on it. He argued that because of the manner in which the purchases were done, without the clerics putting foot in the Chinese market (*Parián*), and because only a few cases were sent to New Spain, there was no corruption as some alleged on the ecclesiastical law forbidding trade to clerics, and that this trade was done out of necessity.[126]

As Gil has shown, the silk-for-silver trade in Manila was so important for the Chinese merchants that some of them smuggled part of the silk they brought for sale to avoid paying the custom taxes: the royal tax of 3 percent of the goods, the *almojarifazgo*, and the municipal taxes. Fines registered in the *penas de cámara* (camera section sentences) attest to smuggling activities over several decades. For example, on 13 May 1595, a merchant named Quingo was denounced by Francisco Guillén, and forced to pay the royal Caja the amount of 30 pesos for not having paid the rights for a *petaca* (chest)[127] of silk.[128] In 1608, a merchant that arrived from China in the ship *Chinto* failed to register 12 cates of twisted silk, at 20 reales each, and 26 pieces of coloured taffeta, at 12 reales a piece.[129] In October of 1612, the merchant Higuan from the ship of captain Liansan, condemned for not having registered a *petaca* of twisted white silk, a bedspread and two blankets, paid a fine of 6 pesos 7 tomín.[130] In 1649, when captain Sisia arrived in his ship *Pangasinán*, he tried to smuggle 1.463 pieces of blankets and one piece of raw silk. A total of 1.100 pesos were admitted in the royal Caja after these pieces were confiscated and sold at auction.[131]

The supply of silk to Manila also came by way of Portuguese merchants from Macao. Textual sources attest to the existence of a regular trade between Macao and Manila after Philip II's accession to the Portuguese throne in 1580. From that very year, the Portuguese country traders profiting from friendlier relations with Spain, went to Manila laden with silk and other Chinese goods to trade and obtain in exchange the much sought after New World silver.[132] For instance, an letter written in 1586 by Santiago de Vera, the sixth Spanish Governor of the Philippines (1584–1590), to Philip II, states that '…Two vessels have also come to this city from the Portuguese Macan, laden with curious merchandise, whence they have drawn great gain. The Chinese, on this account, have been very envious, and jealous, and fearful lest the Portuguese should work them an injury. …These with what they themselves bring, would render it quite unnecessary for the Portuguese to come here…. As above marked, two vessels came this year from the islands of Macan, whence the Portuguese brought provisions, a quantity of raw silk, taffetas, damasks and other merchandise. I showed them much hospitality and friendship, for which they were very grateful; and they desired to come here again, because they had derived much profit, and the voyage, in fair weather, can be accomplished in two weeks'.[133] From a memorial of the royal *Audiencia* of Manila, which was primarily a judicial tribunal, we learn that Spaniards sometimes went to acquire silk in Macao. The *oidores* (associate justices) at Manila informed the court that Pedro Unamanú, the successor to Captain Gali, diverted his voyage and went to China and Macao, supposedly to acquire a cargo of silk intended for private trade.[134]

After the Crown forbade the merchants from Manila to travel to Macao in 1593, the Portuguese took advantage of their middlemen position to extract higher prices from the Spanish than the Chinese junk traders had customarily charged.[135] A few Portuguese New Christian merchants residing in Manila, who invested in Asian country trading, even competed with the Spanish in the trans-Pacific silk trade to the New World. One of them was a merchant from Oporto, Diogo Fernandes Vitória

126 This pamphlet was summarized by the Jesuit Diego de Bobadilla (1590–1648), a professor of moral theology at the College of St. Ignatius in Manila, in a public lecture in Manila. For a discussion on Bobadilla's lecture dealing with the moral aspects of the involvement in trading by clerics in Holy Orders, see Nicholas P. Cushner, 'Merchants and Missionaries: A Theologian's View of Clerical Involvement in the Galleon Trade', *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 47, No. 3 (Aug. 1967), pp. 363–369.

127 A large Spanish colonial chest covered in leather used for storage and transport of fragile clothing and cloth. Most were made after rectangular European models, but some were based on the Mexican *petaca*, which in turn copied the Aztec *petlacalli*, a chest made of woven cane. By the mid-sixteenth century the term *petaca* was used all over the New World for any leather chest used for general transport. An example, dating to the late seventeenth century, is published in Joseph J. Rishel and Suzanne Stratton-Pruit (eds.), *The Arts in Latin America, 1492–1820*, New Haven, London and Philadelphia, 2006, p. 130, no. 1-21.

128 Contaduría 1202, f. 255v, Archivo General de Indias, Seville. Cited in Gil, 2011, p. 71.

129 Contaduría 1207, f. 325r, Archivo General de Indias, Seville. Cited in Gil, 2011, p. 71.

130 Contaduría 1209, f. 660r, Archivo General de Indias, Seville. Cited in Gil, 2011, p. 72.

131 Contaduría 1229, f. 139r, Archivo General de Indias, Seville. Cited in Gil, 2011, p. 72.

132 Two ships registered from Macao arrived in 1580, two other ships in 1588, five ships in 1604, two ships in 1605 and another in 1606. The situation changed when Japan closed its borders and trade to foreigners in 1639, and when Portugal gained its independence from Spain in 1640.

133 Published in Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson (eds.), *The Philippine Islands. 1493–1898*, Cleveland, 1903, Vol. VI: 1583–1588, p. 303. Also cited in Miyata Rodrigues, 2009, pp. 40 and 42.

134 A system for the administration of justice in the Philippines was already established before the *Audiencia* of Manila was inaugurated in 1584. Charles Henry Cunningham, *The Audiencia in the Spanish Colonies. As illustrated by the Audiencia of Manila (1583–1800)*, Berkeley, 1919, p. 62.

135 Lach and Van Kley, 1993, p. 35.

(*c.*1530–?), who after living in Brazil and New Spain established himself in Manila in 1580 to trade in silk, porcelain, musk oil, spices and some Indian cottons, diamonds and other gems for the markets in New Spain, Peru and the Caribbean. Diogo, who was council of the *Audiencia* in Manila, was linked to the network of family businesses of his relatives in Lisbon, Porto, Goa and Brazil.[136]

But beginning in 1608, the Crown granted the Manila government permission to send one vessel to Macao to purchase supplies. As the civil wars progressed in China after 1620, and Chinese junks began coming to Manila in fewer numbers, the Spanish became increasingly dependent upon Macao to supply the annual Manila Galleons with cargoes for the New World. For instance, a document regarding 'News from the Province of Filipinas', dated 1621, informs us that three galliots arrived from Macao in February 'laden with a rich cargo of silks and other merchandise' and that 'At this same time the king's ship arrived which had carried to Macan artillery for the defense of that city, and it brought back a cargo of silks'.[137]

In 1636, trade between Macao and Manila was officially severed by a royal decree. Portuguese ships, however, continued to make regular trips to Manila clandestinely until 1640, when Macao regained its independence from Spain and began a war with Manila.[138] This is confirmed by the Jesuit Diego de Bobadilla, who in his *Relation of the Filipinas Islands*, written in 1640, reports 'We trade also with the Portuguese of Macao, who come to the Manilas every year with two or three ships, and bring here silks, musk, precious stones, …'. Bobadilla next gives a detailed description of the Chinese trade in silk and other valuable trade goods to Manila, stating that 'The inhabitants of the Manilas also go to Macao sometimes, to carry their merchandise there; but their chief trade is with the Chinese, who come annually, at the end of the month of December and the beginning of January, with twenty or thirty vessels, laden with products and valuable merchandise. They usually sail from Ocho and Chincheo, ports of Anay, a province of China that faces the Filipinas….They also bring all sorts of cloth stuffs, and some of these are as fine as those which come from France and the Low Countries; and many black stuffs of which the Indians make their clothes. They bring silk, plain and twisted, of all colours; damasks, velvets, tabbies, and double tafettas; cloths of gold and silver, galoons, and laces; coverlets, and cushions; and porcelain – although not the finest variety, as the trade in that is prohibited … Among all the silk stuffs brought by the Chinese, none is more esteemed than the white – the snow is not whiter; and there is no silk in Europe that can approach it'.[139] It is clear that Francisco de Sande (1540–1627), Governor and Captain-General of the Philippines from 1575–1580, was misinformed at the time he wrote his report *Relation of the Filipinas Islands* to Philip II in June 1576. He stated that when he asked the Chinese interlocutors 'what Castilian products were lacking in their country, they replied, "None whatever, unless it be velvet;" and they say that they do not have this, because they do not know how to make it, but if they could see the manufacture, they would learn it'.[140]

The sumptuary laws passed repeatedly by the kings of Spain/Portugal in relation to luxury and external appearance may have affected the importation of silks from China into Spain, first via Lisbon and after 1571 via New Spain. As Martínez Bermejo has noted, Philip II issued sumptuary laws eight times between 1563 and 1594. His son and successor, Philip III, not only passed four sumptuary laws during his reign but also set a royal example to his subjects in expressing sobriety on special occasions. For instance, when the King and his wife Margaret of Austria (1584–1611) attended festivities to celebrate the wedding of the marquises of La Bañeza in December 1601,

136 He was related to the wealthy and powerful merchants Francisco and Fernando Tinoco in Lisbon, António Dias in Porto and the Fernades d'Aires family in Goa. His relatives in Brazil included the brothers Diogo and Duarte Fernandes, and Simão Rodrigues. Boyajian, 1993, p. 76; and Carvalho Ricardo, 2006, p. 81.

137 Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson (eds.), *The Philippine Islands. 1493–1898*, Cleveland, 1905, Volume XX: 1621–1624, p. 33.

138 Portuguese ships from Macao did not return to Manila again until 1670, or until after the civil wars had ended both in China and in the Iberian Peninsula.

139 Scholars believe that the author of this unsigned and undated relation was the Jesuit Diego de Bobadilla, who wrote it in 1640 and was later translated by Melquisedec Thevenot. *Relation of the Filipinas Islands. By a religious who lived there for eighteen years*, translated from a Spanish manuscript in the library of Don Carlo del Pezzo and published Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson (eds.), *The Philippine Islands. 1493–1898*, Cleveland, 1905, Vol. XXIX: 1638–1640, p. 306, note 90.

140 *Relation of the Filipinas Islands.* Francisco de Sande; Manila, June 7, 1576. Mss. in the Archivo de Indias, Seville. A translation by Rachel King is published in Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson (eds.), *The Philippine Islands. 1493–1898*, Cleveland, 1903, Vol. IV: 1576–1582, p. 52. Archaeological excavations at tomb 1 at Mawangdui in Hunan province demonstrate that loop pile polychrome *jin* fabric (*rongquan jin*) was produced in China as early as the 2nd century BC. A sculpted velvet hat dating to the Ming dynasty was found at the tomb of Wang Xijue (1543–1630) in Suzhou. Chen and Huang, 2012, pp. 399 and 401.

they 'dressed *a la pragmática* [in the fashion of the royal decrees], without brocades, ornaments, or any other piece of gold, although many of the ladies and gentlemen who attended the wedding wore many gold brocades and ornaments'.[141] A year earlier the King had passed a sumptuary law, which forced many plebeians to declare the silks and other luxury goods they owned before a notary. In Seville, for example, the artisan Hernando de Oviedo declared 'A male black satin doublet with small belt from China'; the doctor Alonso Núnez declared 'A small damask mantilla with a golden, blue and crimson braid, lined with pink taffeta, all from China'; and Baltazar de Valdés declared 'An iridescent green yellow taffeta cloth from China with golden braids'.[142]

In 1623, only two years after his accession to the throne, King Philip IV (r. 1621–1665) passed a series of sumptuary laws, which addressed issues of proper apparel, public offices, state administration, and the judiciary.[143] The regulation issued on 1st March, restricted ornamentation in clothing, and also prohibited the use of gold and silver in the decoration of a wide range of other items, including coaches, banners, and furniture. On 22nd March, however, a proclamation was issued suspending the implementation of the law in Madrid until the end of the period of the visit of Charles Stuart, Prince of Wales (1600–1649), the second son of King James I of England and Ireland, and VI of Scotland (r. 1567–1625). His lengthy visit, which lasted eight months, was an attempt to marry princess Maria Ana. Thus Philip IV aimed to show him 'the greatest demonstrations of solemnity and gratitude' by allowing the capital, Madrid, to display the great wealth and status of the Spanish monarchy.[144] As will become apparent in the following pages, the sumptuary laws issued in the Spanish colonies in the New World were not as strictly enforced as in Spain.

Spanish textual sources indicate that despite the aforementioned sumptuary laws a small quantity of silk, along with porcelain and other Asian goods, was re-exported from New Spain to Seville in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[145] Documentation reveals that some silks were sent especially for Philip II and other members of the royal court in the early 1570s, and that woven silks were sent as private consignments ordered by individuals working for the court in the early 1590s. In 1591, for example, Don Juan de Zapata, *caballerizo* (groom) of Philip II, placed a personal order of Chinese goods that included some pieces of damask and satin to Don Antonio Maldonado, *oidor* (judge) in the *Chancillería* (Court of Justice) of Mexico City.[146]

The inventory of the cargo recovered from the shipwreck *Nuestra Señora del Rosário*, which sank two years earlier, in 1589, while en route to Spain, included 'five pieces of little damask from china of different colours that have thirty-eight Varas'.[147] Six years later, in 1595, 'Two boxes with silk from China' were sent on another ship named *Nuestra Señora del Rosario*, whose master was Cristobal Coello.[148] That same year, the ship *Nuestra Señora de la Esperanza*, with Miguel Geronimo Navarro as master, carried among its cargo 'One hundred and twenty pounds of twisted white silk from China, one hundred and thirty pounds of twisted raw silk of *rapillero* from China, and one hundred and twenty pounds of raw silk from China'.[149] The following year, 'four hundred and twenty pounds of raw silk from China' were sent in the ship *Santa Buenaventura* (master: Juan de Morales); and 'Four pieces of damask from China of half an *arroba*', 'A piece of blue satin from China' and 'Three pieces of damask from China' were sent in the ship *San Francisco de Paula* (master: Isidro Hernandez).[150]

The inward registers of merchandise coming to Seville from New Spain for the years between 1600 to 1640 recently studied by Gasch-Tomás indicate that 96 percent

141 L. Cabrera de Córdoba, *Relaciones de las Cosas Sucedidas en la Corte de España desde 1599 hasta 1614*, Madrid, 1897, p. 129. Cited in Martínez Bermejo, 2008, p. 97.

142 AHPS, Protocolos, Leg. 5437, p. 603; AHPS, Protocolos, Leg. 5437, p. 619; respectively. Cited in Gasch-Tomás, 2012, p. 309.

143 Martínez Bermejo, 2008, p. 94.

144 Letter from the King to the highest nobility of the kingdom, dated Madrid, 30th March 1623. Published in Gil González Dávila, *Teatro de las Grandezas de la Villa de Madrid Corte de los Reyes Católicos de España*, Madrid, 1623, p. 198. Cited in Martínez Bermejo, 2008, p. 95.

145 The Chinese porcelain and Japanese lacquer re-exported at this time will be discussed in sections 3.1.2 of Chapter III and 4.1.1.3 of Chapter IV, respectively.

146 AGI, Contratación, 1795, pp. 319–322. Gasch-Tomás, 2012, pp. 57–58, note 149.

147 AGI, Contratación, 5109, Lisboa, 07/02/1590, Relação de Esteban de Ybarra dos papéis e documentos recuperados do naufrágio da Nuestra Señora del Rosario, 2 fólios. The Portuguese transcription of the text reads: 'yten otros cinco pedaços de damasquillo de la china de diferentes colores que tienen/ treynta e ocho Varas'. See, Paulo Alexandre Monteiro and Sérgio Pinhaiero, 'O naufrágio da nau da prata Nuestra Señora del Rosário (Tróia, 1589)', *Relatório de pesquisa apresentado à DANS*, Lisbon, January 2010, pp. 49–54. The silk from China is listed in p. 53.

148 AGI, Contratación, 1797. 1595. Published in Krahe, 2014, Vol. II, Appendix 3, Document 18, p. 265.

149 AGI, Contratación, 1798. 1595. Published in Krahe, 2014, Vol. II, Appendix 3, Document 19, pp. 265–266.

150 AGI, Contratación, 1798. 1596. Published in Krahe, 2014, Vol. II, Appendix 3, Document 20, pp. 266–267.

of all the Asian textiles imported into Seville was raw silk from China. Various types of raw silk were imported, including thrown silk, bundled silk, floss silk, and long-haired silk. Woven silk cloths only amounted 4 percent and finished silk clothing was completely absent.[151] The author notes that the fact that not even one of a number of probate inventories of Seville retailers of this period includes Chinese silks among their supplies, suggests that they were not being retailed in this city of Andalusia, which as mentioned earlier, was one of most important commercial ports of Iberia, along with Lisbon, and the only Spanish port that had a monopoly of trade with the Spanish colonies in the New World.[152] However, textual sources indicate that Chinese raw silk was imported from New Spain into Granada as early as the late 1580s. In 1589, for example, the merchant Mateo Santa Ana sent 190 *cates* of raw silk from China, to his sisters Francisca and María de Santa Ana living in Granada. Two years later, Mateo Santa Ana shipped 120 *cates* of raw silk from China to Francisco Núñez, from Granada. Raw silk was also imported from Manila, via Mexico City, as shown by the example of Pedro de Torrijos, who received 113 *cates* of raw silk through these cities, in 1607.[153] The Chinese raw silk imported from New Spain into Granada and other silk production centres, as argued by Gasch-Tomás, may have delayed the crisis of the silk industries that took place during the seventeenth century in Spain due to the introduction of European manufactured textiles and cloth.[154] Gasch-Tomás suggests that the reasons for the greater importation of raw silk than woven silk in Seville were that the elites in Spain were less willing to purchase woven silks from China because their strong colours and Asian motifs were not attuned to their tastes and fashions, and that raw silk was more easily acceptable because it had neither Asian motifs nor in some cases dye.[155]

Thus it is likely that the various silks registered as cargo on the late sixteenth century ships discussed above were sent as gifts or private consignments to members of the nobility, and/or to relatives and acquaintances of Europeans and Creoles living in New Spain. A few documented examples help to illustrate how silks were transferred from New Spain to Spain in the early seventeenth century, not only through the participation of the nobility but also of the new middle class elites.[156] For instance in 1603, a resident of Jalapa, named Lucio Gutiérrez, sent several pieces of silk, damask and silk circlets to his sisters in Spain.[157] The following year, Alonso Diaz de la Barrera, *correo mayor* (postman in chief) of New Spain, sent to Pedro Contreras, the secretary of the Royal Treasury in Madrid, a consignment that included 60 pounds of raw silk and 1 piece of white satin for him and a crimson velvet canopy with golden silk laces to be given to Juan Bravo de Acuña, president of the *Consejo de Hacienda* (Treasury Council).[158] In 1611, Alonso de Meneses, master of the ship *Nuestra Señora de la Cinta*, registered '15 crates containing silk and pottery from China that belong to Gonzalo Sanchez de Herrera, resident of Mexico, to be delivered to Alonso de Herrera Torres in Seville'.[159] That same year, Alonso de Vado sent from Mexico City a personal order of the secretary Antonio Jiménez in Madrid that included 2 *cates* of blue-and-green silk, 1 *cate* of white silk from Chaguey, 2 *cates* of blue-and-green thrown silk, 4 fabrics from Macan, 6 pieces of varied colours satins from Canton, among many other Asian goods.[160] In 1618, Juan Chena, canon of the Cathedral of Seville received as gifts some pieces of satins, taffetas, and damasks from China.[161] Most gifts of silk sent from New Spain to ecclesiastical institutions such as churches and chapels in Spain, however, were in the form of alms.[162]

151 AGI, Contratación, 1793 to 1929B. See Gasch-Tomás, 2012, p. 221, figure 5.3.

152 The Gasch-Tomás studied a total of 131 probate inventories of Seville in the *Archivo Histórico Provincial de Sevilla* (AHPS). Some retailers listed imported textiles, such as Italian silks, among their supplies. This indicates that the elites of Seville would have had enough purchasing power to buy Asian textiles, even if they were scarce and expensive. Gasch-Tomás, 2012, pp. 75 and 221; and José L. Gasch-Tomás, 'Globalisation, Market Formation and Commoditisation in the Spanish Empire. Consumer Demand for Asian Goods in Mexico City and Seville, c. 1571–1630', *Revista de Historia Económica*, Vol. 32, Issue 2, September 2014, pp. 208–209.

153 AGI, Contratación, 1793, pp. 164–166; AGI, Contratación, 1795, pp. 7–8; and AGI, Contratación, 1806, pp. 285-286; respectively. Mentioned in Gasch-Tomás, 2012, p. 225, note 536.

154 Ibid., p. 225.

155 Ibid., p. 226.

156 Silks were also sent from Manila, through New Spain, as private commissions to Spain. The example of the archbishop of Manila, who sent silk consignments in 1615 and 1616, will be discussed in section 2.4.1 of this Chapter.

157 AGI, Contratación, 1804, pp. 33–35. Mentioned in Gasch-Tomás, 2012, p. 63; and Gasch-Tomás, 2014, p. 209.

158 AGI, Contratación, 1805, pp. 49–52. Mentioned in Gasch-Tomás, 2012, p. 58, note 149.

159 AGI, Contratación, 1811, libro primero, Fols. 54–60. Veracruz. 1611. Published in Krahe, 2014, Vol. II, Appendix 3, Document 37, p. 276.

160 AGI, Contratación, 1809, pp. 313–317. Mentioned in Gasch-Tomás, 2012, p. 59, note 149.

161 AGI, Contratación, 1851, pp. 257–261. Mentioned in Gasch-Tomás, 2012, p. 67.

162 A few examples of silks received as alms to chapels and churches include an ornament of silk from China received by Our lady of Belén in Burgos in 1594; two silk ornaments received by the chapel Our Lady of Las Fuentes in Palencia in 1604; several pieces of satin received by Our lady of La Caridad in Toledo that same year; two pieces of satin and another two of taffeta received specifically for the Virgin's dress by Our lady of Los Remedios in Badajoz in 1611; 86 pounds of Chinese silk and several pieces of woven silk received by Our lady of La Pena in Burgos in 1615; and a piece of damask received by Our Lady of El Valle in Valladolid in 1621. AGI, Contratación, 1798, pp. 6–7; AGI, Contratación, 1805, pp. 52–53; AGI, Contratación, 1805, pp. 58–62; AGI, Contratación, 1808, pp. 77–79; AGI, Contratación, 1808, pp. 232–233; AGI, Contratación, 1831, pp. 196–199; and AGI, Contratación, 1871, pp. 567–573. Mentioned in Gasch-Tomás, 2012, pp. 67–68, note 190.

163 Tira 1, México 351, Translated by John de Bry. Cited in Michael C. Krivor, John de Bry, Nicholas J. Linville and Debra J. Wells, *Archival Investigations for Potential Colonial-Era Shipwrecks in Ultra-Deepwater within the Gulf of Mexico*, U.S. Dept. of the Interior, Bureau of Ocean Energy Management, Regulation and Enforcement, Gulf of Mexico OCS Region, New Orleans, LA. OCS Study BOEMRE 2011–004, p. 271.

164 The Dutch West Indies Company (hereafter cited as WIC) was founded in 1621 as a joint-stock freebooting venture to compete with the Spanish trade. Its objectives were both commerce and privateering raids. Anne Pétorin-Dumon, 'The Pirate and the Emperor: Power and the Law on the Seas, 1450–1850', in Tracy, 1997, p. 209.

165 Kamen, 2002, p. 328.

166 For a few examples of private consignments and gifts of silk and other Asian goods sent in the 1620s, see AGI, Contratación, 1876, pp. 2396–2404; AGI, Contratación, 1882, pp. 660–663; AGI, Contratación, 1890, pp. 2051–2053. Mentioned in Gasch-Tomás, 2012, p. 59, note 149, and p. 101.

167 AGI, Contratación, 4408 to 4477. See, Gasch-Tomás, 2012, p. 100, figure 3.2; and José L. Gasch-Tomás, 'Southeast Asia and New Spain in the Making of World History. The Manila Galleons and the Circulation of Asian Goods in the Hispanic Empire, c. 1565–1650', unpublished paper presented for *Encounters, Circulations and Conflicts*, Fourth European Congress on World and Global History, Paris, September 2014. I am grateful to Gasch-Tomás for providing me a copy of his paper for the congress.

168 AHPS, Protocolos, Leg. 2519, pp. 653–715. Mentioned in Gasch-Tomás, 2012, p. 65.

169 The original text in Spanish reads: 'Una sobremesa de china blanca bordadas de seda y oro forrada en carmesí en treinta ducados y otra sobremesa de china embutida de sedas de colores y oro en veinte ducados'. AHP, Leg. 10155, Fols. 624–984. 18 May 1637. Seville. Petición de los bienes de Fernando López Ramírez, vecino de la collación de San Bartolomé, marido de María de Arellano. 1625: *mercaduríias reales y ducados, pesos, barras de oro y plata, perlas y qualesquier otras cosas que a mí me ayan benido y binieren en flota o galeones o otras naos de qualesquier partes y probinssias y puertos de las yndia*. Cited in Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 142, and note 604.

170 AHPS, Sección Portocolos 3, vol. 2, Leg. 1811, fols. 1369–1601v. For an English translation of the original inventory listing the silk items, see Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 143, note 608.

171 AGI, Contratación, 1876, pp. 1616–1620. Mentioned in Gasch-Tomás, 2012, p. 66.

172 Hang-sheng Chuan, 'The Chinese Silk Trade with Spanish-America from the Late Ming to the Mid-Ch'ing Period', in Dennis O. Flynn, Arturo Giráldez and James Sobredo (eds.), *European Entry into the Pacific. Spain and the Acapulco-Manila Galleons, The Pacific World. Lands, Peoples and History of the Pacific, 1500–1900*, London, 2001, Vol. 4, p. 256.

173 AGI, Contratación, 1892, pp. 619–621. Mentioned in Gasch-Tomás, 2012, p. 66.

174 On the receipt of goods of the chapel (founded in 1567) given in 1646 by the sacristan Alonso García Muñoz de Vergara to Juan de Flores, new chaplain and predecessor in the sacristy, it was still preserved and he used this set of silks to give masses for the soul of the founder. Archivo Histórico Provincial de Córdoba, leg. 11.767–P, fols. 274r–279v. Mentioned in Antonio J. Díaz Rodruiguez, 'Sotanas a la morisca y casullas a la chinesa: el gusto por lo exótico entre los eclesiásticos cordobeses (1556–1621)', *Investigaciones Históricas 30* (2010), p. 42, and note 45.

The re-exportation of silk from New Spain to Spain, however, was not always a private enterprise. For instance, in July 1628, when the flagship *Santiago* ran aground off Veracruz while en route to Spain, the treasurer Diego de Valle Alvarado and the official notary public were sent on board to take and save the silver and coins belonging to both the King and private individuals, and the cochineal, silk and indigo to be remitted to the *Royal Contaduría* (Crown Accounting Office).[163] Two months later, the privateer and captain Piet Heyn (1577–1629) of the Dutch West Indies Company (*West-Indische Compagnie* or WIC)[164] seized the entire Spanish Treasure fleet under the command of Admiral Juan de Benavides, which was anchored at Matanzas Bay, to the east of Havana. The fleet's booty, worth over 4.8 million silver pesos, included silver, gold, silk and other goods.[165]

Recent research by Gasch-Tomás has shown that although gifts and private consignments of silks continued to be sent to Spain in the 1620s and 1630s, there was a considerable fall in the re-exportation of silk from New Spain from the 1620s onwards, which coincided with an overall decline in the trans-Pacific trade.[166] This decline is clearly seen in an analysis of the data of the registers of a royal tax, the so-called *avería*, charged on exports from Veracruz to Seville from 1600 to 1640.[167] A bequest made by Tomás de Morales, judge of the *Audiencia* of Seville, to his brother consisting of 2 pieces of damask and other goods, when he died in 1623, attests to the scarcity of silks from China in Spain at the time.[168] This is also reflected in a recent study by Krahe of post-mortem inventories of important merchants of Seville taken in the early seventeenth century, which include very few pieces of silk (as well as other Asian goods, such as porcelain) compared to the rest of their household goods. For instance, an inventory taken in November 1625 of the possessions of Fernando López Ramírez, who traded in all types of merchandise from the Indies, lists only two silks from China, which are described as 'a white tablecloth embroidered with silk and gold and lined in crimson from China [appraised] at thirty *ducados* and another tablecloth from china inlaid with coloured silks and gold at twenty *ducados*'.[169] The merchant Pedro Morera, who traded primarily in cloth, appears to have been an exception among the merchants of Seville. He had several silks from China, which included various types of woven silk cloths and clothing items made of silks (perhaps in Seville), but apparently no porcelain.[170]

The limited quantities of silk that arrived in Spain at this time appear to have been eagerly sought for use in religious contexts. Textual sources indicate that members of the Church continued to receive silks as gifts sent from New Spain. For instance, the Inquisitor Don Juan Gutiérrez Flores sent to the prioress of the convent of La Candelaria in Cadiz, a silk ornament from China for an altar, in 1624.[171] Three years later, Doctor Gil de la Barrera sent from Mexico City a consignment of 3 damasks, 2 satins, and 5 *gorgoranes* (a kind of silk made from silk and wool)[172] from China, as gifts to Don Diego Guerra, *procurador general* (representative) of the Mexican Church, who lived in Madrid.[173] Silks also found their way to churches in the Andalusian city of Córdoba, where Canon Juan Sigler de Espinosa bequeathed to the chaplains of the Chapel of San Juan Bautista that he had founded in the Cathedral of Córdoba, his vestments, an altar frontal of white satin with fringes in gold and crimson silk and a valance also in gold and silk of the same colour, all matching and made in China.[174]

An excerpt from a document cited by Gasch-Tomás serves to illustrate the privileged role played by members of the viceroyalty's court in the transmission of silks and other Asian goods to Spain. It is a report of the belongings that the Marquis

of Cerralbo, the Viceroy of New Spain, brought back with him to Spain in 1636. It lists not only a number of woven silk cloths and finished silk products but also a few embroidered silks that were made to order, including 16 pieces of striped fabric stamped (probably painted) with blue from China for a livery, 7 pieces of blue embroidered satins, 8 *reposteros* (tapestries with the coat of arms)[175] embroidered with silk and satin from China, 44 curtains of an embroidered velvet canopy from China, 5 pieces of velvet from China stamped (probably painted) with gold, a white taffeta bedspread and pillows from China.[176]

It is clear from the textual sources discussed in this section of Chapter II that the silk-for-silver trade carried out by the Spanish immediately after their settlement in Manila was very profitable due to the cheap sale price of the silks brought by the Chinese junk merchants, but after a decade or so the great demand for silks and the *almojarifazgo* taxes levied upon the Chinese made silks more difficult to obtain even if the Spanish were welling to pay much higher prices for them. This trade was so important for the Chinese merchants that some smuggled part of the silk they brought for sale to avoid paying the custom taxes.

As has been shown, the types of silks brought by the Chinese junks to Manila were similar to those purchased directly by the Portuguese in Canton. These included raw silks (plain and twisted), woven silk cloths such as velvets (some embroidered in all sorts of patterns, colours and gold), damasks, satins, and taffetas of all colours, of various qualities. In addition the junks brought finished silk products, such as coverlets and cushions. This is not surprising, as the supply of silk also came through Portuguese country traders from Macao, who profiting from friendlier relations with Spain after the union of the Iberian crowns in 1580, went regularly to Manila to trade and obtain the much sought after New World silver. Silk also came by way of Spaniards who sometimes went to both China and Macao to acquire silk intended for private trade. After 1620, when the junks came to Manila in fewer numbers due to the civil wars in China, the Spanish became increasingly dependent upon Macao to supply silk and other Chinese goods for the annual Manila Galleons bound to the New World. Although a royal decree of 1636 prohibited trade between Macao and Manila, Portuguese ships made regular trips to Manila clandestinely bringing silks until 1640, when Macao regained its independence and began war with Manila.

Textual sources have also shown that despite the sumptuary laws passed repeatedly by Philip II, Philip II and Philip IV in relation to luxury and external appearance, a small quantity of silk was re-exported from New Spain to Seville in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. As we have seen, as early as the 1590s, woven silks were sent as private consignments ordered by members of the Madrid royal court, and others together with raw silk, were registered as cargo on a number of different ships. Raw silk of various types accounted for 96 percent of all Asian textiles imported into Seville in the first four decades of the seventeenth century. Although silks were not being retailed in this Andalusian city, raw silk was imported into Granada and other silk production centres as early as the late 1580s. This in turn may have delayed the crisis suffered by the silk industries as a result of the introduction of European manufactured textiles from northwestern Europe and Italy. The greater importation of raw silk than woven silk into Seville may have been due to the Spanish elites tastes. They were probably less welling to purchase woven silks because their bright colours, but accepted more easily raw silk as it had neither Asian motifs nor is some cases dye.

Thus, it seems reasonable to conclude that the woven silks and finished silk products registered as cargo on a number of late sixteenth and early seventeenth century ships were sent as gifts (sometimes in the form of alms) or private consignments to members of the nobility, ecclesiastical institutions and/or to relatives and acquaintances of Europeans and Creoles living in Spain. As has been shown, this re-exportation of silks to Spain was made possible through the participation of members of the viceroyalty's court, nobility as well as the new middle class elites of New Spain. But the re-exportation of silks was not always a private enterprise, as sometimes silks and other goods were to be remitted to the Crown Accounting Office. From the 1620s onwards, there was a considerable fall in the re-exportation of silk to Spain, which coincided with an overall decline in the trans-Pacific trade. The limited quantities of silk cloths and finished silk products that arrived in Spain during this period appear to have been eagerly sought after for use in religious contexts. Silks were sent as gifts to members of the church in Madrid and Cadiz, and others were bequeathed to a chapel in Cordoba.

Trade to the Southern Netherlands [2.1.3]

Documentary evidence of the presence of silk in the Habsburg territories of the Southern Netherlands is scarce. As early as 1520–1521, the famous Nuremberg artist Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528), while staying in Antwerp during his trip to the Southern Netherlands, acquired many foreign artifacts and natural objects that he had not encountered before, including fine silk textiles such as velvet, satin and damask.[177] This is not surprising, as Antwerp was described in 1577 by the Calvinist city fathers as 'not only the first and principal commercial city of all Europe, but also the source, origin, and storehouse of all goods, riches and merchandise, and a refuge and nurse of all arts, sciences, nations and virtues'.[178]

Visual sources suggest that the Archduke Albert VII of Austria (1559–1621) wore clothing items made of silk from China after his marriage to Isabella Clara (1566–1633), the eldest daughter of Philip II, in 1598. After governing Portugal as viceroy in the name of his uncle Philip II from 1583 to 1593, Albert VII and Isabella Clara ruled as independent, joint governors of the Southern Netherlands between 1598 and 1621. A portrait by Juan Pantoja de la Cruz (1553–1608), who became official portrait painter to the court of Philip II in 1588 and ten years later to that of Philip III, dated 1600, depicts Albert VII wearing a big ruff collar and an elegant costume consisting of a black *bohemio* (*cape*), probably of velvet, lined with a colourful woven, embroidered or painted silk with a stylized floral pattern in white, red, grey and yellow-brown, also used on the sleeves and the pleats of the upper hose, which may have been of Chinese origin (Fig. 2.1.3.1).[179] This is suggested by the small, stylized red flowers that appear scattered on some extant late Ming silk textiles, such as a polychrome *jin* fabric patterned with lotus scrolls housed at the Tsinghua University, Academy of Arts and Design in Beijing,[180] and a silk lampas with an octagonal geometric pattern (*badayun*) on a gold silk ground, dating to *c.*1575–1625, in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (Fig. 2.1.3.2).[181] Albert VII would most probably have acquired the silk, together with porcelain and other goods from China, through his familial relationship with the Spanish/Portuguese royal court.

175 Other shipments of *reposteros* will be discussed in section 2.3.1 of this Chapter.

176 'Memoria de ropa, plata labrada y joyas del Marqués de Cerralbo, virrey de Nueva España', AGI, Contratación, 1918, pp. 2196–2229. Gasch-Tomás, 2012, p. 60, note 154.

177 Ulinka Rublack, *Dressing up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe*, Oxford, 2010, pp. 182–187. Mentioned in Christine Göttler, 'The Place of the "Exotic" in Early-Seventeenth-Century Antwerp', in Stephanie Schrader (ed.), *Looking East. Ruben's Encounter with Asia*, Los Angeles, 2013, p. 97.

178 Guido Marnef, *Antwerpen in de tijd van de Reformatie: Ondergronds protestantisme in een handelsmetropool 1550–1577*, Antwerp and Amsterdam, 1996, p. 23. Cited in Göttler, 2013, p. 90.

179 The possible Chinese origin of the silk lining was first suggested by Jordan in a catalogue entry discussing the portraits of the Archduke and Isabella Clara by Juan Pantoja de la Cruz in 1999. See Alejandro Vergara (ed.), *El Arte en la Corte de los Archiduques Alberto de Austria e Isabel Clara Eugenia (1598–1633). Un Reino Imaginado*, Madrid, 1999, pp. 145–147.

180 Published in Kuhn, 2012, p. 425, fig. 8.73.

181 Published in Ibid., p. 427, fig. 8.75. The authors Chen and Huang have dated this textile fragment to the sixteenth century, while the Metropolitan Museum dates it to the seventeenth century or earlier.

Fig. 2.1.3.1 Portrait painting of Archduke Albert VII of Austria
Oil on canvas
Juan Pantoja de la Cruz, dated 1600
Dimensions: 125cm x 97cm
Bayerische Staatgemäldesammlungen
Alte Pinakothek, Munich (inv. no. 898)

Fig. 2.1.3.2 Length of silk lampas
Silk on a gold silk ground
China, Ming dynasty, sixteenth century, c.1575–1625
Dimensions: 133.5cm x 101.7cm
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (acc. no. 34.71)

Trade to the Spanish colonies in the New World (2.1.4)

Viceroyalty of New Spain [2.1.4.1]

The opening of the trans-Pacific trade route that connected Manila and Acapulco enabled the colonial merchants of New Spain to annually import large quantities of silks. The potential profits of trade of these highly valued imported silks, destined for both the local market within the viceroyalty and re-export to the viceroyalty of Peru and Spain, were enormous.[182] By this time the domestic silk textile industry in New Spain had begun to decline and there was an enormous demand for silver in China, where the price was higher than in Japan, Europe and the New World.[183] The acquisition of silks of various types and qualities at cheap prices in Manila with silver pesos from Peruvian and Mexican mines allowed the colonial merchants to sell them at prices several times higher in the New World. Thus there was great motivation to participate in this lucrative silk-for-silver trade.

Raw silk and woven silk cloths were the most important products imported into New Spain from Manila throughout the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[184] As mentioned earlier, only a small quantity of silk was re-exported to Spain, via Havana. The earliest documentary reference of silk imports into New Spain dates to 1573, when two Manila Galleons left the Philippines with a cargo that included '712 bales of Chinese silk' among other goods.[185] A letter written that same year by the Viceroy of New Spain, Martin Enriquez, to Philip II, describes in more detail the woven silk cloths brought into Acapulco saying that '… And besides all this, the ships carry silks of different colours (both damasks and satins), cloth stuffs…'.[186] The following year Enriquez wrote again to the King, this time condemning the quality of the imported silks. He states 'I have seen some of the articles which have been received in barter from the Chinese; and I consider the whole thing as a waste of effort, and a losing rather than a profitable business. For all they bring are a few silks of very poor quality (most of which are coarsely woven), some imitation brocades, fans, porcelain, writing desks, and decorated boxes'. Enriquez goes on to describe the silk-for-silver trade as 'To pay for these they carry away gold and silver, and they are so keen that they will accept nothing else'.[187]

An unsigned memorial, dated 17 June 1586, informs the King that the Viceroy Don Martin Enriquez had written a letter on March of the previous year saying that the merchants of New Spain were 'greatly disappointed that the trade with the Philipinas Islands should be taken away from them; for, although satins, damasks, and other silken goods, even the finest of them, contain very little silk, and others are woven with grass (all of which is quite worthless), the people mainly resort to this cheap market, and the prices of silks brought from Spain are lowered. Of these latter, taffetas had come to be worth no more than eight reals, while satins and damasks had become very cheap'. Moreover, Viceroy Enriquez feared that 'if this went further, it would not be needful to import silks from Spain'.[188] As shown earlier, the importation of cheap woven silks from China was to cause great damage to the existing trade monopoly in silks from Spain.

Considerable quantities of Chinese silk continued to be shipped from Manila to the New World in the late 1580s. For instance, when the English privateer Thomas Cavendish (1560–1592) captured the 600-ton *Santa Ana* off Cabo San Lucas, Baja

182 The re-export of silk from New Spain to Peru will be discussed in the following section of this Chapter.

183 Flynn, Giráldez and Sobredo, 2001, pp. xxvii–xxviii.

184 José Luis Gasch-Tomás, 'Asian Silk, Porcelain and Material Culture in the Definition of Mexican and Andalusian Elites, c. 1565–1630', in Bethany Aram and Bartolomé Yun-Casalilla (eds.), *Global Goods and the Spanish Empire, 1492–1824*, Basingstoke, 2014, p. 159.

185 Quoted in Schurz, 1959, p. 27; and Blair and Robertson, 1903, Vol. III: 1569–1576, p. 223.

186 *Cartas de Indias* (Madrid, 1877). Published in Blair and Roberston, 1903, Vol. III: 1569–1576, p. 192.

187 Ibid., p. 204, note 3.

188 AGI, Filipinas, 18, AR 8, N 53, 1586. This memorial appears to have been written by a member of the royal Council of the Indias. Blair and Roberston, 1903, Vol. VI: 1583–1588, pp. 280–281. A slightly different English translation from the original document is published in Krahe, 2014, Vol. II, Appendix 3, Document 3, pp. 253–254.

189 Kris. E. Lane, *Pillaging the Empire. Piracy in the Americas, 1500–1750*, Armonk, New York, 1998, p. 55; Shirley Fish, *The Manila-Acapulco Galleons: The Treasure Ships of the Pacific. With an Annotated List of the Transpacific Galleons 1565–1815*, Central Milton Keynes, 2011, p. 280.

California in November 1587, while she and another Manila Galleon were en route to Acapulco, the cargo included gold and a great many bundles of silks and other fine textiles.[189] According to Gasch-Tomás, during the period from 1600 to 1640, Chinese silks amounted to 99 percent of all the Asian textiles imported into New Spain. This included 39 percent of raw silk, 59 percent of woven silk cloths and 1 percent of finished clothing items.[190]

As noted by Machuca, small quantities of silk clothing items and other Chinese goods were among the personal belongings brought by sailors that crossed the Pacific from Manila to Acapulco in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Contemporary documents show that this is the case of at least two sailors who died from unknown illnesses in Colima, a small Spanish coastal settlement located in the frontier of New Spain and New Galicia, where the galleons stopped before arriving to Acapulco to get food supplies and to send the viceroy an official report about the status of the merchandise.[191] The earliest document is that of Manuel Pérez, who died in 1580 without leaving a will. Pérez arrived to the port of Salagua (present-day Manzanillo) very ill and was taken to the rancho of Andrés Toscano, where he is said to have had '3 dresses of silk from that China, of colours, and of jubón,[192] and breeches and 50 blankets from China and 9 pesos in reales'.[193] Two days later Pérez died. His belongings were confiscated by constable Juan Muñoz from Toscano's house, and subsequently inventoried and sold at public auction. These included '2 large and 2 small porcelains from China; […] a taffeta tunic from China; […] 2 pairs of satin zaragüelles[194] from China, red. Iten 2 satin sayetes[195] from China. A chamarrilla[196] and an old satin jubón from China…'.[197] The latter were probably the 'satin jubón and jacket from China, old and ragged, auctioned for 2 pesos' by a mute man from Colima named Andrés Jácome in 1581.[198] From these documents, it is clear that imported silk clothing items reached through public auctions even the lower social classes, and that auctions were widely used for accessing both new and second-hand silk clothing items, the latter valued even if they had been worn for a long time and damaged.

In 1624, Gaspar Pagés de Moncada, who was the notary of the Almiranta *Nuestra Señora de Atocha* died whilst he was being transported from the port city of Navidad to Colima. In order to pay for his funeral and burial, the ordinary mayor Diego Mejía de la Torre sold his belongings at public auction the following year. The desire to own luxury and newly arrived Asian goods led several Colima inhabitants to purchase at least one item. The following people bought silk clothing items: Juan de Funes bought '6 satin and damask doublet from China' for '6 pesos 2 tomines c/u', Benito Rodríguez bought '1 yellow tafetta doublet from china' for '4 pesos 4 tomines', Diego Ruiz bought '1 black tafetta strip from china' for '1 peso', Clemente Hidalgo bought '1 pair of silk stockings from china, silvery, new' for '5 pesos', Jerónimo Ortiz bought '1 pair of white silk stockings from China' for '7 pesos', and Juan Cornejo bought '1 tafetta breeches and old clothes from china' for '4 pesos'.[199] The fact that Hidalgo paid 2 pesos less than Ortiz for a new pair of stockings, suggests that those of white colour were more popular and thus more expensive. What is interesting about this documentation is that it shows that Juan Cornejo, like Andrés Jácome had done forty-four years earlier, purchased old silk clothing items. It is likely that these two men could not afford to buy such items new, and therefore were willing to own one or a few of them even if old and damaged. Thus silk items must have played an important role in the personal appearance and social stance of an individual.

The documentary sources studied by Machuca, including wills, dowry letters

190 Gasch-Tomás, 2012, p. 218, fig. 5.2.

191 Paulina Machuca Chávez, 'Colima y Manila: dos ciudades hermanadas por la historia', *Portes. Revista Mexicana de studios sobre la Cuenca del Pacífico*, Vol. 4, No. 8, July/December, 2010, Colima, México, p. 8.

192 *Jubón* (doublet) was an item of clothing that could be worn by both men and women, depending on its shape and ornamentation. The costume for men typically consisted of a *jubón* or doublet that was tightly fitted and covered from the shoulders to the waist, and baggy pants or socks. Mentioned in Paulina Machuca, 'De porcelanas chinas y otros menesteres. Cultura material de origen asiático en Colima, siglos XVI–XVII', *Relaciones. Estudios de Historia y Sociedad*, no. 131, 2012, p. 86.

193 The original text in Spanish reads: '…el dicho Manuel Pérez sacó 3 vestidos de seda de la dicha China, de colores, e de jubón, e calzones y 50 mantas de la China y 9 pesos en reales…'. *Información sobre Manuel Pérez, mariner de una nao que venía de las Islas del Poniente, fallecido en el Puerto de Salagua (25 de diciembre, 1580)*, Archivo Histórico del Municipio de Colima (Hereafter cited as AHMC) 386. Unless otherwise stated the translation of the Spanish texts discussed in this section of Chapter II into English have been made by the author. For more information on Pérez, see José Miguel Romero de Solís, *Andariegos y Pobladores. Nueva España y Nueva Galicia (Siglo XVI)*, Archivo Histórico del Municipio de Colima, Zamora, 2001.

194 *Zaragüelles* were another type of long and baggy pants worn by men. Mentioned in Machuca, 2012, p. 86.

195 *Sayetes* were a doublet or coat used for warfare. Everett W. Hesse and Harry F. Williams (eds.), *La Vida de Lazarillo de Tormes y de sus fortunas y adversidades*, Wisconsin, 1961, p. 81.

196 *Chamarrilla* is a diminutive of *chamarra*, which was a leather or sheepskin jacket.

197 The original text in Spanish reads: '2 porcelanas grandes e 2 pequeñas de la China; […] una saya de tafetán de la China; […] 2 pares de zaragüelles de raso de la China, colorados. Iten 2 sayetes de raso de la China. Una chamarrilla e un jubón Viejo de raso de la China…' AHMC 386. Machuca Chávez, 2010, p. 20.

198 The original text in Spanish reads: 'un jubón y una jaqueta de raso de la China, viejo y roto, se remataron en 2 pesos'. AHMC 386, section A, box 10, exp. 20. Romero de Solís, 2001; and Machuca, 2012, p. 88.

199 The original texts in Spanish reads: '6 jubones de raso y damasco de china' por '6 pesos 2 tomines c/u', Benito Rodríguez '1 jubón de tafetán amarillo de china' por '4 pesos 4 tomines', Diego Ruiz '1 tira de tafetán negro de china' por '1 peso', Clemente Hidalgo '1 par de medias blancas de seda de china, plateadas, nuevas' por '5 pesos', Jerónimo Ortiz '1 par de medias blancas de seda de china' por '7 pesos', and Juan Cornejo '1 calzón y ropilla vieja de tafetán de china' por '4 pesos'. AHMC, section B, box 4, exp. 4. For the full list of Pagés de Moncada's goods sold on 8th February 1625, see Machuca Chávez, 2010, pp. 21–22; and Machuca, 2012, pp. 104–105, table 1 and pp. 125–127.

200 Archivo Histórico del Estado de Colima (hereafter cited as AHEC), Fondo virreinal (hereafter cited as FV), box 11, carpeta, 5, exp. 1939, and AHEC, FV, box 11, carpeta 5, exp. 1939. See, Machuca, 2012, p. 105 and pp. 124–125.

of dowries, and inventories, have shown the great appreciation that both female and male inhabitants of Colima had for silk clothing items. For instance, the will dating to 1622 of Juana de Villalobos, who was the wife of a member of Colima's cabildo, lists '1 turca de tafetán de China' and '1 turca amarilla de tafetán de China'.[200] In 1640, an embroidered *jubón* and its *pollera* of blue satin from China were given by Jerónimo de Vitoria to his future son in law, Captain Juan del Hoyo y Velasco, in occasion of the marriage to doña Manuela de Vitoria, which were valued at 40 pesos.[201] The documentation from Colima discussed above serves as an example of wide spread local interest in silks from China; in other colonial cities it would not have been different.

Based on the information provided in contemporary documents, it is evident that by the end of the sixteenth century silks from China were common in the daily life of the colonial society of the viceroyalty's capital, Mexico City. Probate inventories and notarial records indicate that in Mexico City, in contrast with what we saw earlier in Seville, both woven silks and finished silk products were sold in retail shops.[202] For instance, when the shopkeeper Alexandre Mallón died in 1592, he had a shop that sold taffetas, *sinabafas* (finely woven fabric made of silk, linen or cotton), weak silk, *gorgoranes*, as well as tocas (wimples) and stockings, all from China.[203] Antonio de la Fuente, who died in 1602, owned a shop that sold expensive damasks, satins, velvets, and finished products from China, along with finished cloths from Spain.[204] The probate inventory of the shop of a craftsman named Alonso del Riego, who died in 1603, states that he purchased raw silk, satins and taffetas from China, through the peddler from Acapulco Juan de Escudero, to whom he owned 42 pesos.[205] In addition, probate inventories show that some textile craftsmen and craftswomen made specific requests of silks through merchants with commercial links to the Philippines. These included the tailors Manuel Tinoco and Bartolomé de Ocaña. Tinoco, who died in 1591, made an order of several pieces of taffeta worth 71 pesos, and several *cates* of thrown silk valued at 8.5 pesos; and Ocaña ordered taffetas, damasks and *sinabafas* worth 218 pesos, and thrown floss silk worth 28 pesos, which the merchant Lorenzo Murientes was to carry from the Philippines to Mexico City for them.[206] Isabel Villalobos, who died that same year, also ordered some silks from the Philippines.[207] From the examples discussed above it is possible to conclude that woven silks not only predominated the types of silks sold in the capital's shops, but also those imported as special orders for craftsmen/craftswomen.

Spanish-born Bernardo de Balbuena (1562–1627), who spent most of his life in New Spain, in his descriptive poem *Grandeza Mexicana* published in 1604, portrays the capital as a crossroads of global mercantile routes. De Balbuena notes the great variety of luxury goods imported from Europe, Africa and Asia, which include 'From the great China silks of colours'.[208] He also makes remarks on the lavish lifestyle of the colonial elite, saying that 'Their courteous composure, their nobility, their noble treatment in peaceful manner, with no smallness nor shadow of scarcity; their prodigal way of giving out all things, taking no heed of excessive expense; the pearls and gold, silver and silk in plenty'.[209] An example of the elites' consumption of silks and various other goods imported from around the world at about this time can be found in the probate inventory of Francisco Muñoz de Monforte, the *corregidor* (mayor) of Mexico City who died in 1607, which lists '8 curtains and a yellow and red taffeta curtain from China […]; 2 pairs of rich velvet hose from China, one of them with stockings […]; A yellow and red damask bedspread from China […]', among other imported goods from Portugal, Spain and Italy.[210]

201 AHEC, Fondo virreinal, box 13, carpeta, 8, f. 52.

202 Recent research on an account book of shops for the years 1583–1584, registering sales of many different products, do not mention silk or other manufactured goods from China. This is not surprising, as convincingly argued by Gash-Tomás, because direct trade between New Spain and the Philippines only began a few years earlier, in 1565. Gash-Tomás, 2012, p. 79.

203 Archivo de las Notarías del DF (hereafter cited as AnotDF), Notario Juan Bautista Moreno (375), Reg. 2483, pp. 199–205. Mentioned in Gash-Tomás, 2012, p. 77.

204 AnotDF, Notario Andrés Moreno (374), Reg. 2467, pp. 465–478. Mentioned in Gash-Tomás, 2012, p. 77.

205 AGI, Contratación, 274A, N.1, R.11. Mentioned in Gash-Tomás, 2012, p. 77.

206 AGI, Contratación, 242, N.1, R.5. Mentioned in Gash-Tomás, 2012, pp. 219–220.

207 AGI, Contratación, 487, N.1, R.25. Mentioned in Gash-Tomás, 2012, p. 220.

208 Balbuena, 1604, Chapter 3, p. 77. Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes. Accessed May 2013.

209 The Spanish text reads: 'Su cortes compostura, su nobleza,/Su trato hidalgo, s apacible modo,/ Sin coriedad, ni sombra de escazesa./Aquel prodigamente darlo todo/Sin reparar en gastos excesivos/Las perlas, oro, plata, y seda à rodo'. Ibid., p. 76.

210 AGI, Contratación, 375, N4. Cited in Gasch-Tomás, 2012, p. 255.

211 Thompson, 1958, p.68.

212 Ibid., p. 67.

In the book *Travels in the New World* written almost two decades later by the English Dominican Thomas Gage, who spent the years 1625–1637 in New Spain and Guatemala, we find a similar view of the elite's ostentatious display of wealth and status in public, particularly in their dress and carriages. He observes that 'Both men and women are excessive in their apparel, using more silks than stuffs and cloth […] A hatband and rose made of diamonds in a gentleman's hat is common, and a hat-band of pearls is ordinary in a tradesman'.[211] He writes 'there were between thirty and forty thousand Spaniards, who are so proud and rich that half the city was judged to keep coaches […] the beauty of some of the coaches of the gentry, which do exceed in cost the best of the Court in Madrid and other parts of the Christendom, for they spare no silver, nor gold, nor precious stones, nor cloth of gold, nor the best silks from China to enrich them'.[212] Thus, the wealthy elite of the viceroyalty of New Spain took advantage of being at the crossroads of both trans-Pacific and trans-Atlantic trade routes, and acquired silks and other imported goods not only because of their practical and ornamental functions, but also because their served as social indicators in public.

We know that wealthy women were actively involved in the circulation of silks from Manila to New Spain. A clear example is that of Doña Teresa Setin, wife of one of the richest merchants of New Spain of the time, Santi Federighi,[213] who placed orders of Asian goods for herself via the exchange of letters with her husband's main commercial agent in Manila, Ascanio Guazzoni. Interestingly, it was Guazzoni's wife, Doña Ana María de Birués, who directly managed some orders of merchandise for Teresa in Manila. In a letter of July 1632, Guazzoni reports to Teresa that the 2,000 pesos she had sent to Ana María could not be employed in what she had ordered that year, and that Ana María had bought only 2 pieces of *espolines* (silk patterned with flowers).[214] It is unclear whether this silk was to satisfy a particular desire of Teresa, or if it was selected by Ana María according to the availability of woven silk cloths in Manila at the time.

The *Memorial Informatorio* (Informatory Memorial) of 1637 addressed to the King by Juan Grau y Malfalcon, the procurator-general of Manila and the Philippines at the court in Madrid, provides information on the types, quality and relative value of the silks imported into New Spain at the time. He mentions that of the 'six classes' of products exported from the Philippines, 'The first is of silk, in skeins, thread, and trama'[215] and 'The second, the silk textiles'.[216] Grau y Malfalcon goes on to state that by this year the trade in silk to New Spain had been disrupted '… on account of the danger from the piracies of the Dutch, few silks are shipped from China to Manila, and those cost so dear that it is not the product in which there is greatest profit; nor can so much be bought, since he who formerly bought two or three boxes with one thousand pesos, now buys one. Thus the merchants make the bulk [of their exportations] in cotton linens, and in the products of the islands […] Nueva España is now so full of Spaniards, and they have so little money, that one can understand of them in regard to the silks, what has been said of the Indians in regard to the cotton textiles – namely, that if they find those of China, they use them, and if not, they get along without them. Where this is most true, and where it ought to be considered, is in the mines – where the *aviadors*[217] do not and cannot use the cloth from Castilla because of its quality and value; but that of China, as it is cheaper and more durable and serviceable'.[218] Grau y Malfalcon's comments reflect the disruption of the regular supply of raw silks and woven silk cloths, and consequently their scarcity and increase of sale price in New Spain, caused by Dutch privateering.

213 Santi Federigi was a Sevillian of Italian origins. The Federighi-Fantoni was a powerful lineage with businesses that dealt between Florence, Seville, Cadiz and New Spain. Santi Federigi, prior of the merchant guild and knight of the Calatrava order, managed lucrative businesses in New Spain, including silver mining and cochineal dye, and Seville. He also made large investments in the Manila Galleons. For more information, see Gash-Tomás, 2012, pp. 107–109.

214 AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja-exp.: 5078–011. Consulado, p. 8. Mentioned in Gasch-Tomás, 2012, p. 71.

215 According to the authors Blair and Robertson, *trama* refers to a kind of silk for weaving. Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson (eds.), The Philippine Islands. 1493–1898, Cleveland, 1905, Vol. XXVII: 1636–1637, p. 198, note 60.

216 Ibid., p. 200.

217 According to Blair and Robertson the term *aviador* was used in New Spain to refer to a person who supplied others with articles to work in the silver mines. Ibid., p. 202, note 64.

218 Blair and Robertson, 1905, Vol. XXVII: 1636–1637, p. 202.

The colonial textile industry, as remarked by Grau y Malfancon, was heavily dependent on the trade of silk from Manila. He informs us that 'From the skeined silk, and the silk thread, and trama are manufactured in Nueva España velvets, veils, headdresses, passementaries, and many tafettas […] By this trade and manufacture, more than fourteen thousand persons support themselves in Mexico [Mexico City], La Puebla, and Antequera, by their looms, the whole thing being approved by royal decrees'.[219] In the same paragraph, he also makes a remark about the quality of the silk imported from China in comparison with that produced locally, saying that 'It is known that the skein silk of China is more even and elegant for delicate and smooth fabrics than is the Misteca [Oaxaca], which is produced in that kingdom; besides that, there is less of the latter kind than is necessary in the country'.[220] Chinese silks were also of better quality than those imported from Spain, which were too oily and thus needed more labor and expense to dye.[221] According to Grau y Malfalcon, the silk exports from Spain decreased so much from 1618 that 'the workmen of that trade, through lack of silk with which to work, have gone to Nueva España'.[222]

Recent studies on European and Asian immigrants that settled in New Spain have shown the diverse people of this colonial multi-ethnic society involved in the trade of Chinese silk and other textiles. In Mexico City, as discussed by Schell Hoberman, a small number of immigrants from Spain participated in the wholesale trade of silk and in the manufacture of silk clothing in the early seventeenth century.[223] Wholesale merchants, known as *mercaderes*, belonged to the colony's socio-economic elite. They enjoyed a privileged position with respect to retailers, and thus could own a warehouse and/or an *obraje* (shop) managed by another person, and also act as retailers by proxy.[224] One of them was a native from Toledo named Juan de Castellete (d. 1638), who formed a company with the master silk weaver Fernando de Padilla in 1607, so the latter could manage a store for him and supervise the production of silk clothing. In 1614, Castellete imported silk and subsequently sent 5,883 pesos of it to Seville. He also hired silk artisans to finish cloths with his own dyestuffs to be sold in New Spain and abroad.[225] Another merchant who re-exported silk to Spain was Francisco de Esquivel Castañeda, the son of a master silk weaver and trader from Granada.[226] Pedro de Brizuela was a merchant who imported silk thread, lent money to a dyer, and exported silk cloth to Spain. Their profitable business, and that of others like Francisco Sánchez Cuenca and Gabriel López Páramo in the 1630s, consisted in importing raw silk and thread from Manila, then supply the silk to the spinner, the spun yarn to the weaver, and/or the dye to the finisher all on credit, and subsequently sell the finished products throughout the viceroyalties or export them to Spain.[227] Such manufacturing practices, as recently noted by Gasch-Tomás, facilitated the integration of silk into the dress fashions of the elites in various cities of New Spain earlier than in Seville and other Andalusian cities.[228]

As Slack has pointed out, some *chino*[229] immigrants who arrived from Manila aboard the Manila Galleons as merchants, sailors, slaves and servants are documented as having participated in a small-scale trade of raw silk and silk cloths as early as the late sixteenth century. The majority of *chinos* settled in Mexico City, Puebla de Los Angeles, and Veracruz, where they earned a living working in diverse occupations.[230] In Mexico City, most *chinos* worked as barbers or owned small shops and open-air stalls that sold silk and cotton cloths from Asia, Mexico, and Spain, together with comestibles or second-hand items.[231] Some *chinos* of young age made service agreements for temporary employment with a Spaniard in exchange for

219 Ibid., p. 199. Mentioned in Borah, 1954, p. 90.

220 Ibid. The cultivation of raw silk had declined in the 1590's.

221 Edward R. Slack, 'Orientalizing New Spain: Perspectives on Asian Influence in Colonial *Mexico*', *México y la Cuenca del Pacífico*, Año 15, núm. 43, enero–abril 2012, p. 117.

222 Blair and Robertson, 1905, Vol. XXVII: 1636–1637, p. 203.

223 Louisa Schell Hoberman, *Mexico's Merchant Elite, 1590–1660: Silver, State and Society*, Durham, 1991, pp. 129–131.

224 There were 252 persons who called themselves wholesalers in 1598. By 1689, the number had declined to 177. Ibid., pp. 19–20 and 223.

225 Ibid., pp. 129–130.

226 Hoberman, 1991, p. 130.

227 Ibid., pp. 130–131; and Slack, 2012, p. 118.

228 Gasch-Tomás, 2014, p. 159.

229 Miguel López de Legazpi, in his letters to the King and to the Viceroy of New Spain, always referred to the Chinese merchants he encountered on various voyages from Cebú to Luzon as *indios chinos* (Chinese Indians). The Chinese who arrived and settled in the Philippines were called *chinos* (Chinese) or *sangleyes*. The term *indios chinos* is also found in administrative and private documents of New Spain, dating to the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. For this opinion, see Antonio García-Abásolo, 'Filipinos on the Mexican Pacific Coast during the Spanish Colonial Period (1570–1630)', in Marya Svetlana T. Camacho (ed.), *Into the Frontier: Studies on Spanish Colonial Philippines. In Memoriam Lourdes Díaz-Trechuelo*, Pasig City, 2011, pp. 118–119. The term *chino* was equivalent to *Oriental*, and thus it came to be used to refer to all immigrants coming from China, Japan, the Philippines, various kingdoms in Southeast Asia, and India. Edward R. Slack Jr., 'The Chinos in New Spain: A Corrective Lens for a Distorted Image', *Journal of World History*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (March 2009), p. 35; Slack, 2012, p. 98; and Edward R. Slack, 'Sinifying New Spain: Cathay's Influence on Colonial Mexico via the Nao de China', in Walton Look and Tan Chee-Beng (eds.), *The Chinese in Latin America and the Caribbean*, Leiden and Boston, 2010, p. 7.

230 *Chinos* also settled on the Pacific coast in the districts of Guerrero, Michoacán and Jalisco. They established themselves in the cities and pueblos of Acapulco, Coyuca, San Miguel, Zacatula, Texpan, Zihuatenejo, Atoya, Navidad, Guadalajara and Colima. Slack, 2012, p. 99.

231 AGN Grupo 69 vol. 93, ex. 111, f. 296–297 (1612); v. 113, ex. 135, f. 345–346 (1629); AGN Grupo 58 vol. 10, ex. 249, f. 142 (1630); Grupo 69, vol. 183, ex. 80, f. 2 (1637); and Grupo 100 vol. 35, ex. 254, f. 233 (1644). Slack, 2009, p. 42, note 25.

board, lodging, and wages. For instance, an agreement made in 1591 by a native of Pampanga, a province north of Manila, states that 'Francisco, Chinese Indian, native of the Philippine Islands, 18 years of age, in the presence of Lic. Vivero, corregidor of México, said that he wished to enter the service of Simón Matoso, resident, for two years, and because he is a minor he asked for the designation of a guardian who could sign his contract. The Corregidor appointed as his guardian Cristóbal de Medina, who placed his ward at the service of Simón Matoso for two years effective today, so that he may serve him selling clothes from China in the plazas and *tianguis* [street markets] of this city…'.[232] One year later in 1592, Philip II announced a royal decree stating that the 'Indios Chinos' of New Spain who paid their royal tribute were exempt of the *alcabala* royal sales tax of 2 percent on goods sold in their shops, as long as they were not selling Chinese or Spanish silks in bulk quantities.[233] The tax farmers known as *alcabaleros*, however, continued to collect the royal sales tax from the *chino* merchants.[234]

Another Filipino immigrant from Pampanga of interest to this study is a muleteer named Domingo de Villalobos, who died in 1618 in Zapotlán (present-day San Cristóbal), about 60 kilometers southwest of Guadalajara.[235] From a court case pertaining his estate, we learn that Villalobos owned nine mules, which he used for transporting Asian and various other goods from Acapulco to Mexico City, Colima and Guadalajara.[236] The possessions listed in his will, which were stored in several cities along the coast, included 8 pieces of taffeta, one piece of Damask, 32 pairs of cotton *medias*, glossy silk trousers, 5 *sinavafas* (also spelled sinabafas), and 16 cotton girdles.[237] Although Villalobos traded only in small quantities, the information provided in his will and judicial procedures carried out by his best friend and executor, the *indio chino* Alonzo Gutiérrez, reflects the diversity of his clients and the widespread distribution of woven silk cloths and silk clothing items. Most of his clients were Indians in their pueblos (*pueblos de indios*), but he also traded with other Filipinos, Spaniards, mestizos, mulattoes, and African slaves in Spanish pueblos and cities.[238] As early as 1651 government licenses were sold to *chinos* trading in the barrio of San Juan, a marketplace near the Calle of San Agustín.[239] From the documentation discussed above it is clear that immigrants from both Spain and Asia who settled in New Spain were actively involved in the trade of raw silks and woven silk cloths. In Mexico City, those from Spain participated in the wholesale trade of raw silk, manufacture of silk clothing, and finishing of woven cloths with dyestuffs, which were to be sold throughout the viceroyalties or re-exported (or exported in the case of those woven in New Spain) to Spain. On the other hand, the 'Indios Chinos' who came from Manila participated in a small-scale trade of raw silk and woven silk cloths by having small shops and open-air stalls, not only in Mexico City, but also in Puebla de Los Angeles and Veracruz. Some were muleteers, who transported woven silk cloths and finished silk products from Acapulco to Mexico City, Colima and Guadalajara, as well as to Spanish and Indian pueblos, and thus facilitated their widespread distribution to a multi-ethnic clientele.

The probate inventories of Mexico City studied by Gash-Tomás, including that of Francisco Muñoz de Monforte mentioned earlier, indicate that silk finished products were prevalent in the households of the capital's elites. These included canopies, cushions, pillows, and sheets used on beds and in bedchambers, which were gaining importance as private domestic spaces, as well as curtains, wall-hangings and tablecloths used in common spaces of the households.[240] The religious elites of New Spain were another particularly important social group that used finished silk garments, and woven silks for clothing and furnishings, as early as the late sixteenth century. Some tunics, chasubles and other ceremonial vestments used by the priests in the churches were embroidered and finished in China, but others appear to have been finished in workshops in New Spain.[241] For instance, when a priest of Mexico City named Pedro Martínez Buytrón died in 1596, his belongings included a blue and yellow damask cloak, a chasuble and robe of birds from China lined with colored linen; a white chasuble with blue taffeta stole and *manípulo* (shorter stole) from China; a blue taffeta hanging from China; two blue and white taffeta hangings from China lined with blue linen and green and red fringes; a black damask chasuble and stole and *manípulo* with yellow damask border and lined with blue linen from China; and a purple taffeta chasuble and stole and *manípulo* from China with a tawny damask border.[242] An order for silk placed in 1601 with the Philippine merchant Alonso Rodríguez de León by the Hospital of Our Lady of Los Remedios in Mexico City serves to illustrate the types of silks that were brought finished from China, via Manila. This order, worth 346 pesos, consisted of silk canopies, tablecloths, curtains, woven cloths for the Virgin Mary's veils, chasubles, bedspreads, ornaments for altars and others.[243]

The inventories of the belongings of five members of the *Consulado* (Consulate) of Mexico City, taken between 1589 and 1645, studied by Ballesteros Flores, list a considerable quantity of Asian and other imported goods, which include silks and porcelains from China.[244] The *Consulado* was reserved exclusively for *vecinos* of New Spain, a status that required a minimum of ten year's residence in the colony, and was restricted to wholesale traders (the upper levels of the viceroyalty's commercial world), who sometimes also ran retail operations.[245] Four of these inventories included at least one piece of silk clothing. For instance, the inventory of Antonio Díaz Cáceres, taken in 1589, lists items of girl's clothing made of 'blue damask, from China', and of 'gold and silk from China', as well as two 'sobrerropa' (a long robe worn over other clothes) made of 'blue damask from China'.[246] The inventory of Antonio de la Mota y Portugal, taken in 1628, lists 'a morning clothing of damask black and leonado [?],[247] from China, new'.[248] The inventory of Francisco Nieto, taken in 1644, lists 'A bodice[249] of black damask from China, of women', and 'Two pairs of white silk stockings from China', valued in '8 pesos'.[250] That of Lope de Osorio, taken the following year, lists 'Fifteen pairs of men silk stockings from China, of the fine ones, and after counting again were 14 new'.[251] The four aforementioned inventories also list a wide variety and quantity of raw silks and woven silk cloths, and finished silk products for the household, including bed furnishings, cushions and napkins from China as well as from Spain (Castile).[252]

Franciscan friars who served in the *conventos*, usually referred to as missions in historical literature,[253] of the Spanish northern frontier province of New Mexico (present-day southwestern United States) regularly acquired textiles imported from around the world, including China.[254] In 1610, permanent *conventos* (hereafter missions) began to be built by the friars in Pueblo villages to aid in the conversion to Christianity of Pueblo peoples.[255] A contract written in 1631 by Fray Antonio Vazquez, Secretary of the Convent of San Francisco in Mexico City, stipulated that the 'ornaments and other things for Divine Workship to be given each Friar-Priest the first time that he goes to those Conversions' were to include 'One ornament of Chinese damask. Chasuble, stole, maniple, frontal and frontal trimming, and bundle of corporal cloths', 'One pair of cassocks [made] of Chinese stuff', 'For every five [friars], two

232 Concierto de servicio y curaduría entre Francisco, indio chino, y Simón Matoso, México, 24 de enero de 1591. Ivonne Mijares (ccord.), *Catálogo de protocolos del Archivo General de Notarías de la Ciudad de México, Fondo Siglo XVI*, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Mexico City, 2005, Libro Protocolos 2. Cited in García-Abásolo, 2011, p. 122.

233 AGN Grupo 58, vol. 13, ex. 112, f. 92 (December 1640). Slack, 2009, p. 47; and Slack, 2010, p. 20. The *alcabala* was the result of new fiscal and regulatory measures adopted by the Spanish Crown, which affected the domestic economy of the New World. The *alcabala* was introduced to the viceroyalty of New Spain in 1575, and to the viceroyalty of Peru in 1591. In 1627, a sale of 2 percent called the *derecho de unión de armas* was imposed throughout the Spanish New World territories. From 1632 to 1638 the *alcabala* was doubled to 4 percent in New Spain, and from 1639 it was 6 percent. For more information on the alcabala, see Lyle N. McAlister, *Spain and Portugal in the New World, 1492–1700*, Vol. 3, Minneapolis, 1984, p. 363; and Hoberman, 1991, pp. 189–196.

234 Slack, 2009, p. 47.

235 García-Abásolo, 2011, p. 127.

236 Archivo General de Indias, Seville. Contratacion 520, N. 2, R. 14 (1621–1622). Mentioned in Slack, 2012, p. 103.

237 Mentioned in Ibid., p. 104.

238 García-Abásolo, 2011, pp. 131–133.

239 AGN Grupo 58, vol. 19, ex. 172, f. 90–91 (10 July 1651); and vol. 20, ex. 63, f. 38 (11 March 1656). Mentioned in Slack, 2011, p. 101.

240 Gasch-Tomás, 2012, p. 258.

241 Gasch-Tomás, 2014, p. 160.

242 AnotDF, Mexico City, Notario: Andrés Moreno (374), vol. 2464, 105–6. Cited in Gasch-Tomás, 2014, p. 171, note 27.

243 AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja-exp.: 0535–014. Filipinas, pp. 32–39. Mentioned in Gasch-Tomás, 2012, p. 66.

244 Teresa Berenice Ballesteros Flores, *Entre el ser y el parecer. Los objectos suntuarios orientales en el ajuar domestico de mercaderes del Consulado de la Ciudad de México (1573–1700)*, unpublished Masters thesis, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Mexico, 2007. The author studied a total of 11 inventories, housed in the Archivo General de la Nación, but only 5 of them date to the late sixteenth and first four decades of the seventeenth century. Information regarding these inventories was more recently published in Berenice Ballesteros Flores, 'El menaje asiático de las casa de la élite comercial del virreinato novohispano en el siglo XVII', *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación*, Vol. 6, No. 20, April-June 2008, pp. 59–112.

245 The *Consulado* was established in 1592, when the emerging merchant elite accorded itself as a corporate identity separate from their Sevillian counterparts. The main roles of the *Consulado* were to serve as a commercial tribunal to enforce business practices and settle disputes, to provide institutionalized support in commerce to the merchants of Mexico City, and to organize coherent commercial policies and lobby colonial and metropolitan authorities. Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert, 'From Agents to Consulado: Commercial Networks in Colonial Mexico, 1520–1590 and Beyond', *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*, vol. 57, no. 1 (2000), p. 61.

246 Ballesteros Flores, 2007, Appendix 1,a. Real Fisco de la Inquisición, vol. 3, exp. 51, 1589. Inventario y secuestro de los bienes de Antonio Díaz Cáceres. The original Spanish transcriptions are: 'Una sayita de niña, de damasco azul de China, guarnecida de pasamanos de oro', 'Dos cotaneras [?] pequeñas para niña, de telilla de oro y seda de China, de almendrado, de blanco. 15 pesos. 30 pesos', and 'Una sobrerropa de damasco azul de China, guarnecida de pasamanos de oro'. The latter item is repeated twice in the inventory.

247 The meaning of the term 'leonado' is unclear, but it was also used in early seventeenth century inventories in Spain to describe the decoration of pottery. See, for example, an entry from the Testament of King Philip II, 1602, cited in Krahe, 2014, Vol. I, p. 108, note 418.

248 Ballesteros Flores, 2007, Appendix 1,a. Vinculos y Mayorazgos, vol. 265, exp. 4, 1628. Inventario de bienes del mercader Antonio de la Mota y Portugal. The Spanish original transcription is: 'Una ropa de levanter de damasco negro y leonado, de China, nueva'.

249 This piece of clothing for men is called a doublet or jerkin.

250 Ballesteros Flores, 2007, Appendix 1,a. Real Fisco de la Inquisición, vol. 13, exp. 1, 1644. Inventario de bienes del mercader Francisco Nieto. The Spanish original transcriptions are: 'Un jubón de damsco negro de Cina, de mujer, con su pasamanillo viejo' and 'Dos pares de medias de China de seda blanca. 8 pesos'.

251 Ballesteros Flores, 2007, Appendix 1,a. Tierras, vol. 3371, exp. 1, 1645. Inventario de bienes del mercader Lope de Osorio. The Spanish original transcription is: 'Quince pares de medias de seda de China de hombre, de las finas, y después de vueltas a contar fueron 14 nuevas'.

252 For the Spanish original transcriptions of these inventories listing raw and woven silks, see

choir robes of Chinese damask', 'For every five [friars], two sets of *dalmaticas* [made] of the same stuff'.[256] These would have been transported to the missions in New Mexico through the overland mission supply caravans provided by the Spanish Crown.[257] It is clear that finished silk products were highly appreciated by both the secular and religious colonial elites of Mexico City. While silk furnishings were prevalent in private and common spaces of the households, silk ceremonial vestments and woven silks for clothing and furnishings, both imported from China or finished in workshops in New Spain, were used by Catholic priests in the churches. We have seen that appreciation of silks of the Franciscan friars who served in New Mexico was so high that they regularly acquired ornaments and ceremonial vestments of various woven silks, through the supply caravans.

Viceroyalty of Peru (2.1.4.2)

Silk, together with other Asian luxury goods, began arriving into the viceroyalty of Peru in the early 1580s. Direct trade between the Philippines and Peru first occurred when the governor of the Philippines, Gonzalo Ronquillo de Peñalosa, sent two ships from Manila to El Callao, the port near the viceroyalty's capital, Lima. The first ship was sent in 1581, but was lost at sea. The second ship, sent the following year, arrived safely carrying a cargo that included 'silk, porcelains, spices (mainly cinnamon), iron, wax and other wares'.[258] The abundance of silver in Potosí and other mines in the viceroyalty facilitated the acquisition of silk and other imported luxury goods. That same year, however, a royal order imposed by Philip II forbade the direct trade between Lima and Manila.[259] Then in 1591, a law was passed forbidding trading between Peru, Tierra Firme, Guatemala, 'or any other part of the Spanish West Indies, and China or the Philippines'.[260] This law was re-issued in 1592, 1593, 1595 and 1604.[260] It seems clear that the main motives behind the reiteration of these prohibitory laws and the severe penalties instated for their violation were both the deep concern that the Spanish Crown had for maintaining a monopoly on trade in that region as a way of protecting its domestic silk industry, and for keeping its New World precious metals within the Spanish empire.[262]

Peruvian merchants, commonly known during the colonial period as *peruleros*, were thus forced to acquire silks by way of Acapulco, where they organized a profitable trade with the Manila representatives.[263] Their ample supply of silver contributed to increasing the sale prices of the imported goods brought by the Manila Galleons.[264] Despite the export duties on shipments levied by the Viceroy Villamanrique in 1585, and the ban on trade of foreign goods between the two viceroyalties issued by Philip II two years later, in 1587, considerable quantities of silk were transshipped from Acapulco to Peru.[265] Peruvian merchants constituted a cohesive group and were able to avoid the colonial trade restrictions with New Spain and the Philippines. In 1590, the Viceroy of Peru, the Marquis of Cañete, sent a letter in defense of his proposal to restore the trade between Peru, New Spain and Asia and to create taxes that would yield the Crown substantial revenue for these transactions.

Although again in 1595, Peru was banned from trading with Acapulco and purchasing the merchandise from the Manila Galleons, a flourishing illicit trade prospered.[266] Direct trade within the colonial viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru violated the mercantilist policies of the Spanish Crown, as this was seen as a threat to imperial control. The seemingly inexhaustible resources of the Potosí mine stimulated the illicit trade so vigorously that in 1634, Philip IV finally forbade trade between the colonies.[267]

It is no surprise that silk found consumers at the highest levels of society in Lima. In May of 1602, Gaspar de Zúñiga y Acevedo, Count of Monterrey, who was then the Viceroy of New Spain (1595–1603), in a letter written to Philip III describes the luxurious dress of the inhabitants of Lima. He notes that 'All these people live very luxuriously. All wear silk, and of the most fine and costly quality. The gala dresses and clothes of the women are so many and so excessive that in no other kingdom of the world are found such'.[268] Thus, the elites of the viceregal capital wore silk not only to make a luxurious display of their social stance but also of their enormous wealth.[269] Zúñiga y Acevedo continues to say that 'The silks of China are much used also in the churches of the Indians, which are thus adorned and made decent; while before, because of the inability to buy the silks of Spain, the churches were very bare. As long as goods come in greater abundance, the kingdom will fear less anxiety, and the cheaper will be the goods'.[270] It is clear from Zúñiga y Acevedo's latter observation that silks, most likely woven silks, were used to decorate the interior of the churches of the indigenous inhabitants of Peru as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century. The increase in the supply of Chinese silks and their low sell price in comparison with those imported from Spain, gradually allowed the Indians, African slaves and other poor men and women of Lima to purchase woven silk cloths to make clothing items, mostly adopting the everyday dress styles of the Spanish elites.[271] For example, Lucia Cusi, a wealthy Indian woman, owned a 'blue Chinese velvet' *lliclla* (a traditional shawl or mantle that Andean noblewomen wrapped around their shoulders)[272] with a gold thread edging, and a silk embroidered headscarf.[273]

By this time, raw silk imported from China was already being used alongside that from New Spain in the textile industry operating in Lima. This is clearly seen in an ordinance of the year 1608 of the Gremios of Lima governing the hatmakers and silkworkers, which ordered and mandated that 'the silk sellers do not mix silk from the misteca with the silk from China in fringes and other things'.[274] In 1612, for instance, Lima residents employed 323 Indian tailors, 129 cobblers and 80 silk weavers.[275] The Spanish Carmelite friar Antonio Vázquez de Espinosa (*c.*1570–1630) in his *Compendium and Description of the West Indies* of 1628, when describing the city of Callao, informs us that 'This port contains many shops and stores with their *encomenderos* [commercial agents];[276] here are stored all the commodities which the ships bring down from the valleys for the provisioning of the city of Lima … ; silk comes from China, and many other goods, which are both retailed in Lima and distributed all over the kingdom'.[277] The large amounts of Peruvian silver available must have made the trade in silks very profitable, even though the sale prices of raw silk and woven silk cloths at arrival in Lima were approximately ten times higher than in Manila in 1620 and 1621.[278]

Woven silks were not limited to the inhabitants of Lima. They also made their way to other urban cities in the northern extremity of the viceroyalty. In Trujillo, for example, María Magdalena de Urraco, an indigenous woman who immigrated from Chiclayo and was the owner of a *solar*,[279] owned a black Chinese satin *llicll*a, as well as one made of green taffeta.[280] Already by 1596, silk was available for sale in the city of Quito (present-day Ecuador), a center of trade and colonial administration, following Lima and Potosí, then with a population of about ten thousand people

Ballesteros Flores, 2007, Appendix 2,a; Appendix 3,a and Appendix 4,a.

253 Heather B. Trigg, *From Household to Empire. Society and Economy in Early Colonial New Mexico*, Tucson, 2005, p. 68.

254 The colony of New Mexico, founded by Juan de Oñate (1550–1626) at San Juan Pueblo in 1598, was the most northern region of the Spanish frontier until Alta California was occupied. The church in New Mexico was supplied, though irregularly, by a caravan system. Each caravan carrying more than 80-tons of goods, which included utilitarian tools, equipment, household items and a range of luxury goods, primarily clothing and textiles made in New Spain and imported from Europe and China. James L. Moore, 'Archaeological Testing Report and data Recovery Plan for Two Historic Spanish Sites Along U.S. 84/285 Between Santa Fe and Pojoaque, Santa Fe County, New Mexico', *Archaeology Notes* 268, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, New Mexico, 2000, pp. 4–5.

255 For more information on the Franciscan missions, see Elinore M. Barrett, *The Spanish Colonial Settlement Landscapes of New Mexico, 1598–1680*, Albuquerque, 2012, pp. 36–41.

256 France V. Scholes, 'The Supply Service of the New Mexico Missions in the Seventeenth Century', in Francis Lansing B. Bloom (ed.), *New Mexico Historical Review*, Vol. V, No. 1 (January 1930), pp. 102–103.

257 The supply caravans, usually comprising thirty-two wagons, more than five hundred mules, herds of livestock and military escort were supposed to be sent from Mexico City every three years. Sometimes there were longer intervals between the caravan's arrivals to New Mexico. For instance, one caravan arrived in the autumn of 1621 and returned the following year; but the next caravan appears to have arrived in December 1625 or early January 1626. Fray Alonso de Benavides, the newly-appointed Custodio of missions and the first Commissary of the Inquisition in New Mexico, who arrived in the latter caravan observed that '…five or six year pass without our knowing in New Mexico [anything] of the Spanish nation until the dispatches go which are assigned for the succor of the Religious and churches which Your Majesty supports with so Catholic zeal. For though it is true that this dispatch is assigned and determined to be made punctually every three years, five and six (years), are wont to pass without the Royal officials bethinking themselves about us and God knows what it costs to remind them'. The original text by Benavides was translated in Mrs. Edward E. Ayer (ed.), *The Memorial of Fray Alonso de Benavides, 1630*, Chicago, 1916, pp. 14–15. Cited in Scholes, 1930, pp. 94–95.

258 O. H. K. Spate, *The Spanish Lake, The Pacific since Magellan*, Vol. I, Canberra, 2004, p. 218.

259 Schurz, 1959, p. 366.

260 Cited in William Lytle Schurz, 'Mexico, Peru and the Manila Galleon', *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (Nov., 1918), p. 396.

261 Libro IX, Titulo XXXXV, Ley Lxxj. *Que no puedan ir Vajeles à la China, ni à Filipinas, sino los permitidos, so la pena de esta ley*. Mentioned in Schurz, 1959, p. 366; and Benito Legarda, Jr., 'Two and a Half Centuries of the Galleon Trade', *Philippine Studies*, vol. 3, no. 4 (1955), p. 353.

262 Schurz, 1918, p. 396; Legarda, 1955, p. 353; and L. A. Clayton, 'Trade and Navigation in the Seventeenth-Century Viceroyalty of Peru', *Journal of Latin American Studies*, Vol. 7, Issue 1, May 1975, p. 5.

263 The term 'peruleros' already appears in a letter written by Francis Suarez in 1596. See Hakluyt, Vol. 3, 1599, p. 41.

264 Schurz, 1959, p. 367.

265 John Lynch, *Spain under the Habsburgs, Spain and America*, 1598–1700, Oxford, 1969, p. 225.

266 Ibid., pp. 225–226; Borah, 1954, pp. 124–127.

267 In 1604, trade between New Spain and Peru was restricted by decree to three ships a year, each of 200-tons. These ships were to carry only regional products for exchange. Five years later, in 1609, navigation between the colonies was reduced to two ships; the following year to one ship, which could carry about 300,000 pesos worth of specie. In 1631, navigation was prohibited for five years. This prohibition, repeated in 1634, remained in place for the rest of the century. Lynch, 1969, pp. 225–226.

268 Extracts from two letters from the Conde of Monterey to his Majesty are published in Blair and Robertson, 1905, Vol. XII: 1601–1604, p. 57. Cited in Schurz, 1959, pp. 365–366; and Chuan, 2001, p. 254.

269 Alejandra B. Osorio, *Inventing Lima: Baroque Modernity in Peru's South Sea Metropolis*, New York, 2008, p. 78.

270 Blair and Robertson, 1905, Vol. XII: 1601–1604, p. 57.

271 Chuan, 2001, pp. 254–255; and Osorio, 2008, p. 77.

272 Elena Phipps, 'The Iberian Globe. Textile Traditions and Trade in Latin America', in Peck, 2013, pp. 44–45.

273 Mentioned in Karen B. Graubart, *With Our Labor and Sweat: Indigenous Women and the Formation of Colonial Society in Peru, 1550–1700*, Stanford, 2007, p. 150.

274 Francisco Quiroz Checa and Gerardo Quiroz Checa (eds.), *Las ordenanzas de gremios de Lima (s. XVI–XVIII)*, Lima, 1986, pp. 19–20. Cited in Elena Phipps, '*Tornesol*': a Colonial synthesis of European and Andean textile traditions', *Textile Society of America Symposium Proceedings*, 2000. Accessed December 2014. http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/tsaconf/834.

275 Mentioned in Emilio Romero, *Historia económica del Perú*, Buenos Aires, 1949, Vol. I, p. 218; and Clayton, 1975, p. 10.

276 According to Hoberman, *encomenderos* were merchants who worked as agents on commission, buying and selling goods at the owner's risk. Hoberman, 1991, pp. 44–45. The term *encomenderos* was also used to refer to land owners who had been granted land and native workers.

277 For the original document *Compendio y Descripción de las Islas Occidentales* written in Spanish, see Guillermo Céspedes del Castillo, *Textos y documentos de la América hispánica (1492–1898)*, Barcelona, 1986, p. 148. The English text is taken from *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*, Vol. 102, translated by Charles Upson Clark, Smithsonian Institution, City of Washington, 1942.

278 Ma, 2005, p. 61; and Osorio, 2008, p. 189, note 123.

279 *Solares* were plots of land located in the centre of the new city meant to establish Spanish residences. The word *solar* could be used to refer to any terrain (*suelo*) upon which a house would be built, but it also was symbolic of wealth and social expectations of the elites of the New World. For this opinion, see Karen B. Graubart, 'The Creolization of the New World: Local Forms of Identification in Urban Colonial Peru, 1560–1640', *Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 89, No. 3, 2009, p. 478.

280 Mentioned in Graubart, 2007, p. 151.

(half or more were probably indigenous, and one quarter were Europeans, mostly Spaniards, but also included a few Portuguese, French, Italian, Greek, Flemish and German individuals).[281] Most merchants participated in the trade of locally mined gold for European clothing, Chinese woven silk cloths and porcelain, olives, wine, and spices.[282] A will made that year listing the bequests of María de Amores, an Indian woman who had twice married a Spaniard husband, includes a 'Chinese lijilla [lliclla]'.[283] In June of 1598, the storekeeper Miguel de Aldaz provided 'seventy-eight-and-a-half yards of colored damasks, eight-and-a-half yards of simple taffeta, and five-and-three quarters ounces of silk, all from China' to be given as gifts for visiting indigenous Cayapas (or Chachi) and Yumbo ambassadors. As noted by Lane, all these silks were purchased directly by the royal treasury for some four hundred pesos, despite the fact that they had been illegally imported from Acapulco.[284] In September, Aldaz provided 'twenty-six-and-a-quarter yards of colored damasks, three hats, three yards colored taffeta, three embroidered shirts with three [matching] blankets, six knives, thirty-nine strings of beads, ninety needles, and eighteenth trumpets [*sic*], all from Castile and China' that served 'to clothe the six Indians of the Province of Barbacoas who came to this court in peace'.[285] That September, an *encomendero* and his wife purchased a suit of clothes for their young son Martin from the shop of the merchant Diego Rodríguez de León. This purchase, registered just a few days after Philip II's death, consisted of various garments made with Chinese satin, silk, and taffeta, the finest Segovian broadcloth, a measure of Mexican grogram, all black and trimmed with the best Italian and Portuguese embroidering threads. The *encomendero* must have been wealthy for he paid 230 pesos, which was more than twenty times the value of an average indigenous man's outfit.[286]

Written sources indicate that silks circulated as far south as present-day Argentina by the early seventeenth century. A few references to silk are found in wills of residents of Santa Fe La Vieja, which was occupied by the Spaniards from 1573 to 1660.[287] The will of Feliciano Rodríguez, one of the first residents of the city where he served as *regidor* (governor) in 1582 and then mayor in 1585 and 1594, taken in April 1606, lists 'fourteen *baras* [yards] of taffeta, twelve of them blue, and the other two green from China';[288] and the will of Pedro Martín, taken in January 1641, lists 'three yards of taffeta from China'.[289]

The import of Chinese silk from Acapulco into the viceroyalty of Peru was once again prohibited in 1641, just three years before the fall of the Ming dynasty. Philip IV ordered that 'Whenever any ships sail from the port of Acapulco and other ports of New Spain to make the voyage to Peru on the opportunities permitted, it is our will and we order our officials of those ports to visit and inspect those ships with complete faithfulness and the advisable rigor. They shall endeavor to ascertain whether such ships are carrying any silks, or merchandise from China, or the Philippine Islands. They shall seize such, and declare those found as smuggled goods. They shall divide them, and apply them as is contained in the laws of this title'.[290] From the documentation discussed above it is possible to conclude that large quantities of raw silk and woven silk cloths arrived to the viceroyalty of Peru, either through official or clandestine trade, during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. While the raw silk was used alongside that from New Spain in Lima's textile industry, woven silk cloths circulated widely not only to other cities of the viceroyalty, but also among a multi-ethnic clientele from all the colonial social classes, who could afford them and used them in both secular and religious contexts.

281 The Spaniards occupied the Inca city of Quito in 1534, and renamed it San Francisco de Quito. In 1563, it was established as one of the royal *Audiencias* of the viceroyalty of Peru. Kris Lane, *Quito 1599. City and Colony in Transition*, Albuquerque, 2002, pp. 1, 3, 19, and 157.

282 Ibid., p. 56.

283 Frank Salomon, 'Indian Women of Early Colonial Quito as Seen Through Their Testaments', *The Americas* 44, no. 3 (January 1988) pp. 334–335. Cited in Phipps, 2013, p. 44.

284 Archivo Nacional de Historia, Quito (hereafter cited as ANHQ) Real Hacienda, box 36, bound libramientos, fol. 21. Cited in Lane, 2002, p. 46.

285 ANHQ Real Hacienda, box 36, bound libramientos, fol. 28v. Cited in Lane, 2002, p. 46.

286 ANHQ NP, 1:6 DLM, ff. 618–19. Mentioned in Lane, 2002, p. 159.

287 Santa Fe was founded by Juan de Garay along with nine other Spaniards and more that seventy *mestizos* from Paraguay. It was a necessary stopping point on the river route to the Río de la Plata and on the overland route that connected the inland territories with Tucumán, Chile and Peru. Santa Fe gave the necessary support for the foundation of Buenos Aires in 1580, which gave Spain the control of the coastal territories that were constantly threatened on the west by the Portuguese settlers in Brazil. For historical information of the archaeological site, see the digital catalogue, Carlos Raúl Falcó (coord.), *Santa Fe La Vieja (1573–1660): Testimonio Arqueológico-Urbano de una Ciudad Americana Meridional en el Período Colonial Temprano*, Santa Fe, no date. I am greatly indebted to the archaeologist Luis María Calvo, Director Department Estudios Etnográficos y Coloniales, Santa Fe, Argentina, for bringing to my attention these archival references and for providing me with information on the site.

288 The original text in Spanish reads: 'Ytem catorze baras de tafetan, las doze de ellas de azul, y las dos verde de la China'. Archivo del Departamento de Estudios Etnográficos y Coloniales (hereafter cited as ADEEC), Expedientes Civiles (hereafter cited as EC), vol. 52, fols. 116–130. The term *bara* or *vara* was a measurement that equaled approximately one yard or 83 cms. Krahe, 2014, Glossary, p. 275.

289 The original text in Spanish reads: 'tres varas de tafetán de la China'. ADEEC, Escrituras Publicas, vol. 1, fols. 12v/13v.

290 Felipe IV in Madrid, 9 of April of 1641, in *Recopilación de leyes*, Book VIII, Title XVII, law XV. For a more accurate transcription of the original text in Spanish, the present author made a slight change to the English translation published in Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson (eds.), *The Philippine Islands. 1493–1898*, Cleveland, 1904, Vol. XVII: 1609–1616, p. 45, note 9.

Silk Trade to the Northern Netherlands/Dutch Republic and England [2.2]

Trade to the Northern Netherlands/Dutch Republic [2.2.1]

Until the beginning of the seventeenth century, the principal sources of silk in the Northern Netherlands were Italy and the Levant. Initially the silk, both raw and thrown, that came from Italy was acquired via Antwerp, but after 1550 the silk trade moved to Amsterdam. By the time the Spanish troops of Philip II seized control of Antwerp in 1585, a total of 22 types of raw, prepared and dyed Italian and Levantine silk were being traded in Amsterdam.[291]

Very little information concerning the importation of Chinese silk into the Northern Netherlands in the early seventeenth century can be found in textual sources written in English. Dutch textual sources indicate that 'silk' and 'silk cloths' were among the treasures brought back to Amsterdam by Jacob van Neck on his return from Bantam in July 1599.[292] In all probability he would have acquired these silks in Bantam. According to a journal written in 1613 by the Englishman, John Saris, three or four Chinese junks came there each year, with an abundance of raw and woven silk, silk thread, fine and coarse porcelain, and vast quantities of Chinese cash.[293]

The next known reference of the presence of silk in the Northern Netherlands from Dutch textual sources dates to 1604. In August of that year, a great quantity of silk from the cargo of the richly laden Portuguese carrack *Santa Catarina*, captured by Admiral Jakob van Heemskerck off Patane on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula while en route from Macao to Goa, was sold by the newly established VOC at a public auction held in Amsterdam. Silk merchants came to the city from all over Europe.[294] The following year, the cargo was described by Levinus Hulsius in his *Achte*

291 Sjoukje Colenbrander, *When Weaving Fluorished. The Silk Industry in Amsterdam and Haarlem, 1585–1750*, Amsterdam, 2013, p. 15.

292 Vol. VI, book 36, fol. 38. Keuning, 1940, p. lxxx: V. *Resultaten en gevolgen van de reis van Van Neck*. Cited in Canepa, 2014, p. 35.

293 Ernest M. Satow (ed.), *The Voyage of Captain John Saris to Japan, 1613*, London, 1697, p. 216.

294 David W. Davies, *The World of the Elseviers, 1580–1712*, The Hague, 1954, no page no.

Fig. 2.2.1.1 Length of silk satin damask
China, Ming dynasty, sixteenth/early seventeenth century
Dimensions: 64.1cm x 58.4cm
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Rogers Fund, 1909 (acc. no. 09.50.960)

Schiffart as having consisted of 1,200 bales of raw Chinese silk; chests filled with coloured damask, atlas (a type of polished silk), taffetas and silk; large amounts of gold thread or spun gold; cloth woven with gold thread; robes and bed canopies spun with gold; silk bedcovers and bedspreads; and a 'thousand other things, that are produced in China'.[295] From the total revenue generated at the auction of approximately 3.5 million guilders,[296] the silk alone yielded in excess of 2 million guilders.[297] The 'coloured damask' may have been of a type similar to an extant length of silk satin damask with a stylized lotus pattern typical of the late Ming, dating to the sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (Fig. 2.2.1.1).

The successful auction of the raw silk, woven silk cloths and silk finished products of the *Santa Catarina*, as Colenbrander has recently remarked, prompted the VOC to begin importing Chinese silk.[280] In the council meeting of 26 November of that same year, it was heard that there were 'a number of persons engaged in the silk trade here' requesting the help of the burgomaster and city council to establish a store of raw East Indian silk.[299] They intended to set up mills for the throwing of the silk, but wanted to be sure that there was to be a supply of silk to last two years. In the council meeting of 19 December, the large sum of 120,000 gilders was allocated for the purchase of silk, enabling a great many poor people to earn their living thereby.[300] That same month the burgomasters of Amsterdam gave a Portuguese-Jewish merchant named Manoel Rodrigues Vega the lease of a house, free of charge, to install a silk factory, in exchange of teaching this trade to the Dutch.[301] Rodrigues Vega looked for innovative opportunities to invest, not only by owning shares in individual voyages as well as stock in new companies such as the *Vereningde Amsterdamse Compagnie* or United Amsterdam Company and the VOC, but also by venturing into the silk industry.[302] An inventory taken in 1612 following the death of Matthiew de Praet demonstrates that silk from China was used along other imported silks in the local silk industry. His silk weaver's workshop included 10 looms, a warpig mill and gumming frame, and that he worked with Naples, Chinese and Vincenza silk, 'orsoij' silk, organsin silk, and tram or weft silk.[303]

English textual sources indicate that the Dutch were acquiring considerable quantities of raw silk at Bantam as early as 1608. In December of that year, the Englishman Gabriel Towerson, chief factor in Bantam, wrote a letter to the EIC informing that the Dutch ship 'called the Black Lion laden at Ternata with cloves and mace, and a few nutmegs, besides 400 bales of raw silk she took in here at Bantam'.[304]

In 1614, as mentioned in Chapter I, the States General issued a general commission to the VOC for privateering against Portuguese and Spanish ships in Asia. In a letter written by the English Captain Ralph Coppindall to Adam Denton at Patani in December 1615, he states that 'the little Jackatra[305] took a Portugall junk laden with ebony, and I think some Chinaman betwixt her and the great ship, for they have sold great store of raw silks which came in this ship and have such store of made silks that they sell very good damasks (twice as good as the Orancaya's) for 2 and 2 ½ tayes per piece'.[306] From a letter written in October 1615 by another Englishman, Richard Wickham to Sir Tho. Smythe, we learn that the Dutch were also acquiring a variety of silks by plundering Chinese junks. Wickham states that 'The Hollanders go beyond all, not only us but all strangers here of late, by reason of the great quantities of raw silk, tafities, satins, velvets and China wares which they steal from the Chinese, having of late robbed many junks, whereby they sell at such rates that none that cometh truly by their goods can make profit here; besides their great employment which they have by reason of their Molluccos for all kind of provisions that they sell and turn all into ready money for the same purpose, their stealing trade supplying them yearly when other fails'.[307] Dutch plundering of Chinese junks that brought trade goods and provisions to Manila continued in the following years. Four Chinese junks were captured during the period Manila Bay was blockaded by the newly joined fleet of admiral Jan Dirksz Lam, between the winter of 1616 and the spring of 1617.[308] In May of 1618, the VOC ship *Oude Son* captured one large and six small Chinese junks; and in May of the following year, the Dutch captured three further large junks near Manila Bay.[309]

The annual blockades of Manila and the privateering against Portuguese and Spanish ships, and Chinese junks, used by the VOC in an attempt to gain access to the trade in Chinese silk by force, all failed. In 1620, the Gentlemen Seventeen advised Batavia to send two ships to Chincheo, to warn the Chinese of the Dutch blockade

295 Levinus Hulsius, *Achte Schiffart. Kurze Beschreibung / was sich mit den Holländern und Seeländern / in den Ost Indien / die nechst verlauffene vier oder fünff Jahre / als Anno 1599. 1600. 1601. 1602 und 1603 zugetragen / wie sie sich etlich mal mit den Portugesern und Hispaniern geschlagen / davon etliche Schiff An. 1604. In Holland ancommen / und was daerauff erfolght*, Frankfurt, 1605. Mentioned in Borschberg, 2002, p. 38.

296 According to Boxer, the sum was roughly equivalent to half of the VOC's capital base and was more than double than that of the EIC. Charles Ralph Boxer, *Portuguese Merchants and Missionaries in Feudal Japan, 1543–1640*, London, 1986, pp. 14–15. Also mentioned in Borschberg, 2002, p. 35.

297 Mentioned in Ibid., p. 39.

298 Colenbrander, 2013, p. 15.

299 J. G. van Dillen (ed.), *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis van het bedrijfsleven en het gildewezen van Amsterdam 1512–1672*, The Hague, 1929, Vol. 1, nos. 1054 and 1055. Cited in Colenbrander, 2013, p. 27.

300 Ibid., p. 199, note 1.

301 Richard Ayoun and Haim Vidal Séphila, *Los sefardíes de ayer y de hoy. 71 retratos*, Madrid, 2002 (first published 1992), p. 175.

302 Herbert Bloom, *The Economic Activities of the Jews of Amsterdam in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, Williamsport, 1937, pp. 33–35. Mentioned in Jessica Vance Roitman, *The Same but Different? : Inter-cultural Trade and the Sephardim, 1595–1640*, Leiden and Boston, 2011, pp. 129–130, and 135–136.

303 Colenbrander, 2013, pp. 28–29.

304 Frederick Charles Danvers and William Foster, *Letters received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East. Transcribed from the 'Original Correspondence' series of the India Office records*, London, 1896, Vol. I, pp. 4–5.

305 According to Richard Cocks the *Jacatra* was 'a small barque' from Holland that arrived at Hirado in 1615, which captured the Portuguese ship on the coast of Japan and brought it to Hirado. Danvers and Foster, 1899, Vol. III, p. 254.

306 Ibid., p. 245.

307 Ibid., p. 291.

308 Dirk Abraham Sloos, *De Nederlanders in de Philippijnsche wateren voor 1626* [The Dutch in Philippine Waters before 1626], Amsterdam, 1898, pp. 39–40. Mentioned in Cheng Wei-chung, *War, Trade and Piracy in the China Seas 1622–1683*, Leiden and Boston, 2013, p. 28.

309 For more information on the Dutch plundering activities, see Ibid., p. 29.

that awaited them off Manila and to offer to buy silk from them directly.[310] The acts of piracy against junks, however, continued in the following years. Until 1633, trade contacts with Chinese pirate merchants that frequented Formosa, provided only a small quantity of silk. After the Chinese merchant-pirate 'Nicholas Iquan' (Zheng Zhilong) defeated the Dutch fleet that year, the VOC came to an agreement with the pirate for the purchase of silk in large quantities and thus he became the sole supplier of silk and other Chinese goods to the Dutch trading post in Formosa.[311]

The Dutch privateering against Spanish ships carrying silks and other Chinese goods to New Spain continued in the 1630s. In the 1637 memorial addressed to the King discussed earlier, Grau y Malfalcon makes a remark about this situation. He says that 'in the navigation from China to Manila, in which passage the silk is plundered by the Dutch; they carry it to their country, and send it to Castilla by the hands of third persons, and sell it at a great profit'.[312] It seems clear that this would have been a very profitable trading activity for the Dutch, who would have taken the captured silk to the Dutch Republic (after 1609) without having to pay for it and then re-exported it to Spain to be sold at a high price.

In a report written by Specx' successor, Leonard Camps, to the Gentlemen Seventeen on the potential of the Hirado factory for the VOC trade, he argued that two thirds of the Chinese goods in demand in Japan consisted of all kinds of raw silks, and that the remainder was made up of silk cloths. He calculated that if they could eliminate their Portuguese rivals and monopolize the imports of silk into Japan, a profit of 854,375 *rials* could be made.[313] An analysis of the amounts of raw silk imported into Japan by Dutch ships between 1621 and 1640 made by Kato clearly shows that the participation of the Dutch in the silk trade to Japan increased considerably after 1635. That year, the imports surpassed for the first time 100,000 *catties* (100 *catties* equal 1 *picul*), a quantity that was maintained through 1640.[314]

The presence of Chinese woven silk cloths in the Dutch Republic in the early 1640s is attested by the silks from Canton presented as gifts by the Gentlemen Seventeen to Henrietta Maria of France (1609–1669), Queen consort of King Charles I of England (r. 1625–1649), and her eldest daughter Princess Maria Henrietta Stuart (1631–1660), who came to visit the Dutch Republic in March 1642. Ten months earlier, the wedding of the young Maria Henrietta and William II (1626–1650), the eldest son of the third Stadholder of the States General, Frederick Henry of Orange-Nassau (1584–1647), had been celebrated in London. In November of that year, in 1642, the VOC sent deputies to The Hague with several gifts of Chinese silk and porcelain, and Japanese lacquer,[315] for the Queen and Princess Royal, as well as for the third Stadholder's wife, Amalia van Solms-Braunfels, Princess of Orange (1602–1675).[316] A number of woven silk cloths and silk furnishings are listed as gifts for the three ladies in the Resolutions of the Gentlemen Seventeen dated November 25, 1642, but only a few are described as being from China.[317] The Queen was to receive 'five ditto [pieces of] double red Cantonese damask', and the Princess Royal was to receive four pieces of the same 'double red Cantonese damask'.[318] The gift for the Princess of Orange was much larger, for she was to receive 'twenty-four pieces of double red Cantonese damask'.[319] It seems clear that the VOC had imported a considerably large quantity of double red damask from Canton at the time, which had been most probably acquired at Formosa.

From the documentation discussed above, it seems that the Dutch were only importing a small quantity of silks into the Northern Netherlands/Dutch Republic during the period of this study. A considerably quantity of the silk imported appears to have been captured from their rivals in Asia, both the Portuguese and Spanish, as well as from Chinese junks, rather than being acquired through trade. As we have seen, the raw silk, woven silk cloths and finished silk products of the captured *Santa Catarina* sold at auction with great profits in 1604, prompted the VOC to begin importing Chinese silk. Following this sale, raw silks from China began to be used along other imported silks in the local silk industry. After the burgomaster and city council of Amsterdam allocated a large sum of money for the purchase of silk, several mills for the throwing of silk were set up, thus enabling many poor people to earn their living. The several attempts by the Dutch to gain access to the trade in Chinese silk by force in first two decades of the seventeenth century all failed. Even after 1624, when they established themselves in Formosa, trade contacts with Chinese private merchants provided only a small quantity of silk. It was only in 1633, that the VOC made an agreement with the Chinese merchant-pirate Zheng Zhilong to become the sole supplier of large quantities of silk and other Chinese goods to its trading post in Formosa. Undoubtedly, this agreement was what enabled the Dutch to increase considerably their participation in the silk trade to Japan from 1635 onwards.

Trade to England [2.2.2]

English textual sources indicate that Chinese trade junks brought a wide variety of silks to Bantam on the Island of Java, where the EIC had established their first Asian trading post in 1603. English merchants coveted silks, especially raw silk, for both their inter-Asian trade and home markets.[320]

In 1607, three years after the last English sumptuary law was repelled, King James I (r. 1603–1625), endorsed a domestic silk industry, which was to compete with imported silk.[321] The imports of raw silks into England, however, appear to have continued in the following years. In a letter written by the EIC to Gabriel Towerson, chief factor in Bantam (1605–1608) in March of that year, a request for specific types of silks is made. It reads 'And further if the China silk are not there presently to be had, that then you advise the Chinese to bring thereof both white soweing silk, twisted silk of all sorts and sizes as also raw and sleave silk'.[322] John Saris, writing in December 1608 in Bantam, informs the EIC that they decided to keep some of the cargo of the *Dragon* that came from Priaman, which included '0004 Bales Lankin Silk' and '0004 Bales Canton Silk'.[323]

In January 1613, Williams Adams wrote from Japan to his friend Augustin Spalding informing him that 'The ship that comes from Patan brings raw silk […] of all prices, damask, taffetas, velvet, satin with all other China commodities with brazil to die with, the which […] is not certain because some years good cheap, and sometime dear. Now I […] of Chinese goods they make great profit first'. Adams goes on to stress the possibility of great profits if trading directly with the Chinese, saying that '…can our English merchants get the handling of trade with the Chinese, then shall our country make great profit here, and your worshipful Indian Company of London shall not have need to send money out of England, for in Japan is gold and

310 H. T. Colenbrander (ed.), *Jan Pietersz. Coen. Bescheiden omtrent zijn bedrijf in Indië*, Vol. IV, Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, 1922, pp. 590–591. Mentioned in Ernst van Veen, 'VOC Strategies in the Far East (1605–1640)', *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies*, vol. 3, December 2001, p. 97.

311 Ibid., pp. 97–98, and 103.

312 Blair and Robertson, 1905, Vol. XXVII: 1636–1637, p. 203; and Slack, 2012, p. 118.

313 Cort verhael van 't profijt, dienst ende nutticheijt van Japan soo den Chinesen handel bequamen, overgelevert bij Lenardt Camps ende Jacques Specx 15 september 1622 end 29 januarij 1623, Ms ARA, VOC 1077, ff. 115–119. Mentioned in Kato, 1981, p. 222.

314 Ibid., pp. 222–223, Table 1.

315 The Chinese porcelain and Japanese lacquer presented as gifts will be discussed in Chapters III and IV, respectively.

316 Cynthia Viallé, '"Fit for Kings and Princes": A Gift of Japanese Lacquer', in Nagazumi Yōko (ed.), *Large and Broad. The Dutch Impact on Early Modern Asia. Essays in Honor of Leonard Blussé*, Toyo Bunko Research Library 13, Tokyo, 2010, p. 190.

317 VOC 148. Resoluties van de Heren Zevetien, November 25, 1642. Published in Ibid., Appendix, pp. 204–209.

318 The original text in Dutch reads: '5 d° dubbelde roode Cantonse damasten' and '4 d° dubbele rode Cantonse damasten'. Ibid., Appendix, pp. 205 and 206; respectively.

319 The original text in Dutch reads: '24 stucx dobbele roode Cantonse damasten'. Ibid., p. 208.

320 The inventory of Kenilworth Castle, drawn up in 1588 after the death of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, listing a large quantity of silk furnishings made of various silk cloths, such as satin, damask, taffeta and velvet, probably of European origin, demonstrates that there was a ready market in England for silks imported from the Far East in the late sixteenth century. Published in George Adlard, *Amye Robsart and the Earl of Leycester; …And a History of Kenilworth Castle* …., London, 1870, pp. 241–273.

321 Linda Levy Peck, *Consuming Splendour: Society and Culture in Seventeenth-Century England*, New York, 2005, p. 1.

322 Sir George Birdwood and William Foster (eds.), *The First Letter Book of the East India Company, 1600–1619*, London, 1893, p. 150. Cited in K. N. Chaudhiri, *The English East India Company: The Study of an Early Join-stock Company, 1600–1640*, The Emergence of International Business 1200–1800, Vol. IV, London, reprint 1999, p. 203, note 7.

323 'Lankin Silk' refers to silk from Nanking. Danvers and Foster, Vol. I, 1896, p. 21.

silver in abundance'.[324] From the court minutes of the EIC of July 1614, we learn that silk was bought as special commissions for private individuals in England, as it states: 'China taffetas of all colours to be sent to Countess of Suffolk according to her request'.[325] As noted by Lux, after Thomas Aidworth informed his superiors in London from Masulipatam in August of that year that English broadcloth would not sell in East Asia, the EIC servants began to buy silk in increasingly larger quantities and made profit on taking raw silk from Patani to Japan.[326] It was reported that John Jourdain (1572–1619) bought raw silk from Chinese junks at Bantam that same year, but there was no mention of the purchase price.[327]

In February 1615, John Jourdain writes from Bantam informing the EIC that 'Five China junks arrived with store of silks, but dares not disburse any money until other ships come with a fresh supply; the Hollanders in a similar situation'. Richard Westby informed the EIC this same month of the 'Arrival of the Globe from the Coromandel coast, and her lading for England, which includes pepper, China silks, and a large parcel of diamonds from Succadana'.[328]

A letter sent from Macassar this same year by George Cokayne to Sir Thomas Smythe states that 'On the 13th December here arrived a small junk sent from Bantam to visit both this factory and Sacadania,[329] which brought in her 678 1/5 catties China of raw Lankine[330] silk; which had come to a very good market, but within three days after arrived here a China junk (it being the first that ever came to this place) bringing great store of raw silks, woven silks, porcelain and all other China commodities, selling it here cheaper than Bantam. Now considering the long time this vessel was to stay here before the monsoon would serve for to go for Sacadania, it was thought good to employ her for Banda, I having sold little of the clothing left here with me (it being sorts not fitting for this country)'.[331] In August, George Cockayne wrote from Sambarrppa[332] to John Jourdain at Bantam informing him that 'The cloth that fits for this place being Dragons and Pettas Vermillia at 40 mas the corge; ordinary Baftas, 8 corge sold at 35 per corge; Biraamyes, 6 corge at 35 per corge; all the raw silk at 6 ½ mas per cattie; 8 picules of gumlac 16 mas per picull'.[333] From a letter written in October of that same year, we learn that the English were competing with the Dutch to buy silk in Patani. He states that 'considering the doubtfulness of employments which is expected in Patania, by reason that the Hollander layeith wait for all the silk that comes hiter, they having, partly by their own means and partly by the ill-usage of the Chinese in Patania, drawn all the junks to Sangora, where they have a factory settled and no man without their licence may buy any there, so that a very small quantity is to be hoped for'.[334] In a letter written in December, Captain Ralph Coppindall informs the merchants Robert Larkin and Adam Denton at Patani that in September he left Hirado in Japan 'towards the Emperor's court with a present (which every ship or junk that cometh hither must of force perform), which with changes much surmounteth an indifferent custom, especially when a ship cometh with a small capital, and sales so base and slack that nothing is here to be expected but loss, except a trade procured into China, the raw silks of which country are always here ready money and reasonable profit'.[335] That same month, John Jourdain sent a letter from Bantam to the East India Company informing that 'There is laden in this ship in pepper 12,529 sacks, 48 chests of China silk, wrought and raw'.[336] The following year, in 1616, John Jourdain wrote a letter from Jakarta to Richard Wickmann at Hirado informing him that 'the Gift departed into England the 22nd December laden with pepper, some cloves, mace, nuts and some 50 chests of silks of all sorts'.[337]

324 Ibid., p. 210.

325 CPS, Colonial. 'East Indies: July 1614'. Sainsbury, Volume 2, 1513–1616, 1864, p. 301. Accessed September 2014. http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/colonial/east-indies-china-japan/vol2/pp301–313.

326 'East Indies: July 1614', CPS, Colonial, Volume 2, 1513–1616, 1864, p. 312 and 325. Mentioned in Lux, 2014, p. 152.

327 'East Indies: July 1614', CPS, Colonial, Volume 2, 1513–1616, 1864, p. 325. Mentioned in Lux, 2014, p. 152.

328 'East Indies: February 1615', CPS, Colonial, Volume 2: 1513–1616, 1864, p. 376-389.

329 Sacadania is mentioned in many EIC documents. It may have referred to Republic of Sacadania, which declared independence from Somalia.

330 Danvers and Foster, Vol. III, 1899, p. 320, note 3 from page 137.

331 Ibid., p. 137.

332 The author was not able to find the geographical location of this place.

333 Danvers and Foster, 1899, Vol. III, p. 151.

334 Ibid., p. 179.

335 Ibid., p. 241.

336 Ibid., pp. 276–277.

337 Ibid., p. 112.

Documentary evidence of the presence of Chinese silk in England in the early seventeenth century is scarce. Thus a few surviving inventories listing silk cloths and/or furnishings from China are of particular importance to this study. They give us an idea of the various types of silk imported and their uses. The earliest reference dates to 1601, just a year after the establishment of the EIC. It is an inventory of the contents of Hardwick Hall, an Elizabethan house built by Elizabeth Talbot, Countess of Shrewsbury (1520–1608) in Derbyshire, taken immediately after its completion and furnishing, which lists a large quantity of silk cloths and furnishings, but only one specified as from China.[338] A silk cloth is listed as 'a Counterpoynt of China cloth of golde with a pane of white imbrodered with yellowe and grene silk lace and fringe, and lined with blewe taffaty' among the contents of the wardrobe of the 'olde building at Hardwick'.[339]

It appears that larger quantities of silk were available in England by the next decade. This is suggested by an inventory taken upon the death of Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, in June 1614, which lists a variety of costly silk cloth and furnishings, as well as carpets, porcelain and furniture from China.[340] The furnishings listed among the 'Household-stuffe at London' include 'a field bedstead of *China* worke blacke and silver branched with silver with the Armes of the Earle of Northampton upon the head peece, the toppe and valance of purple velvet striped downe with silver laces and knottes of silver, the frindge blewe silke and silver with 8 cuppes and plumes spangled suteable…';[341] 'Item one China cushen imbrodered with birds, beasts, and flowers, the ground of white Grogeron lined with yelowe taffeta';[342] 'Imprimis one Tester with head and double balance fringed, and 7 curtens, whereof fowre are made upp, and 3 unmade, the stuffe of China taffeta white embroidered with birdes and flowers. A counterpoint suteable lined with watchett Taffeta';[343] 'another China quilte stiched in chequer worke with yealowe silke the grownde white'.[344] Only one type of silk cloth is listed as '13 yeardes and a quarter of purple golde velvet *China* with flower de luces and diamond worke'.[345]

An inventory taken in February 1638 after the death of Anne, Viscountess Dorchester, lists silk cloth as '5 peeces of white Cheney damaske [sic]', valued at £16 among the contents of 'the great barrd trunck [sic]'.[346] There are also '2 yards ¼ of cheney damaske' listed among the contents of 'the Greene Velvet Cabinet'.[347] The large quantities of jewelry, plate, tapestries, soft furnishings, beds, tables and cabinets, many of them imported, listed in the inventory testify to the wealth of the Viscountess Dorchester's household.[348]

Although limited, the textual sources discussed above suggest that the English were requesting specific types of silks, including sowering silk (most likely sawing silk, as will be shown in the following pages), twisted silk and raw silk, to be imported into England as early as 1607. Seven years later, silk was being bought as special commissions for private individuals, who belonged to the English nobility. At about this time, the EIC servants realized, as the VOC would do some years later, that great profits could be obtained if they participated in the trade of silk from Patani to Japan, and thus began to buy silk in increasingly larger quantities from Chinese junks. The English, however, had to compete with the Dutch to buy silk in Patani. Chests of silks of all sorts, including raw and woven silks, were shipped to England. Surviving inventories of the early years of the seventeenth century have shown that although woven silk cloths and silk furnishings are commonly listed among the contents of the households of the wealthy nobility, only a few of them are described as being of Chinese origin.

338 Lindsay Boynton (ed.), 'The Hardwick Hall Inventories of 1601', *The Furniture History Society*, London, 1971, p. 1.

339 Ibid., p. 40.

340 This manuscript, possibly the original inventory, was discovered among the collection of writings belonging to the Baroness North at Wroxton, Oxfordshire. Published as 'An Inventory of the Effects of Henry Howard, K.G., Earl of Northampton, taken on his death in 1614, together with a transcript of his Will; prefaced by a Letter to Charles Spencer Perceval, Esq., LL.D., Director, from EVELYN PHILIP SHIRLEY, Esq., F.S.A., Local Secretary for Warwickshire', in Royal Society of Antiquaries, *Archaeologia: or Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity*, Society of Antiquaries of London, Vol. XLII, London, 1869, pp. 347–374.

341 Ibid., p. 355.

342 Ibid., p. 360.

343 Ibid., p. 361.

344 Ibid., p. 364.

345 Ibid., p. 363.

346 Francis W. Steer (ed.), 'The Inventory of Anne, Viscountess Dorchester, 1638/1639', *Notes and Queries*, Vol. 198, London, 1953, p. 155.

347 Ibid., p. 470.

348 Ibid., pp. 94–95.

Chinese woven silk cloths and finished silk products, furnishing items in particular, begin to appear in larger quantities in inventories taken from 1614 onwards. These silks include taffetas, velvets, damasks in various colours, and cushions and other items embroidered with birds, beasts and flowers.

The English continued with their indirect trade with China for years. Later in the eighteenth century trade was to be confined to the port cities of London and Canton. The silk trade was devised as a re-export enterprise in order to protect British manufacturers. According to British navigation laws and prohibition acts, all silk piece goods imported into London from Asia were to be re-exported to continental Europe, the West Indies, and the English colonies in the New World.[349]

349 Leanna Lee-Whitman, 'The Silk Trade. Chinese Silks and the British East India Company', *Winterthur Portfolio*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (Spring, 1982), p. 21.

European influence on Chinese Silk [2.3]

The trade in silk to Europe and the New World was not limited to raw silk, silk woven cloths and silk finished products made for both the Chinese domestic and export markets. By the mid-sixteenth century, it also included a variety of silks made to order in China for use in both religious and secular contexts in Europe, and the colonies in the New World and Asia. Material evidence is provided by a small number of extant woven silk cloths and finished silk products housed in public and private collections, which combine traditional Chinese weaving, embroidery or painting techniques and motifs, with European motifs. These silks, made specially for both the Portuguese and Spanish markets in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, give testimony of the ability of the Chinese silk producers to adapt to the specific requirements of their new European clientele. No silks from this period showing any signs of having been made to order in China for the Dutch or English markets were found during the present research.

Silk made to order for the Iberian market (2.3.1)

Portuguese textual sources suggest that woven silk cloths began to be made in China as special orders for the Portuguese shortly after the establishment of Macao in 1557. The earliest orders may have been intended for use in Catholic religious contexts in Asia. The Portuguese Jesuit Luís Fróis (1532–1597) in a letter to his brothers in Lisbon referring to the Jesuit festivities held from 1559 to 1560 at the Colégio de São Paulo Velho in Goa, writes 'Something I will tell you very humorous about the Chinese [after] they were informed of the Portuguese processions in Goa and the way we worship God using images, as they are skilled men decided, not to loose the opportunity to profit, which is their main interest'.[350] The Colégio de São Paulo was the first Jesuit establishment in Asia (built between 1541 and 1578), and thus it required a supply

350 The originat text in Portuguese reads: 'Huma cousa lhe direy dos chinas muito gracyosa contrarão-lhe la od portugueses as proçissões que qua fazião em Goa e a maneyra de nosso culto divino e ymagens ells como são homens abilissymos determinarão, de não perder a ocasião de ganharem que he quasi seu ultimo fin pretenderão em tudo seu enteresse'. Biblioteca da Ajuda, *Jesuítas na Ásia*, 49–IV–50, doc. 133, fl. 400. Cited in Maria João Pacheco Ferreira, 'Entre a vivência religiosa cultural e académica. A presence de têxteis chineses nas festas do colégio de São Paulo de Goa em meados do século XVI', *Revista de Facultade de Letras – Ciências e Técnicas do Património*, Porto, Vol. VII–VIII, 2008–2009, p. 200; and Pacheco Ferreira, 2013, p. 49.

Fig. 2.3.1.1 Length of silk lampas
China, Ming dynasty, second half of the sixteenth century
Dimensions: 50.8cm x 57.2cm
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Rogers Fund, 1912 (acc. no. 12.55.4)

Opposite page
Fig. 2.3.1.2 Length of woven silk
Spain, fifteenth century
Dimensions: 16.5cm x 24.1cm
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Rogers Fund, 1907 (acc. no. 07.62.72)

351 Discussed and published by Phipps and Denney in Peck, 2013, pp. 156–157, no. 15.

352 G. F. Wingfield Digby, 'Some Silks Woven Under Portuguese Influence in the Far East', *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, Vol. 77, No. 449 (Aug., 1940), p. 52.

353 Compare, for example, the arrangement of a silk velvet fabric made in Italy – possibly in Genoa, Florence or Venice – dating to c.1570–1600, in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, Museum no. 147–1880.

354 Peck, 2013, p. 156.

355 For a counted stitch embroidery dating to the early sixteenth century with this particular colour scheme, see Hong Kong Museum of Art, *Heaven's Embroidered Cloths. One Thousand Years of Chinese Textiles*, exhibition catalogue, Urban Council of Hong Kong, Hong Kong, 1995, pp. 200–201.

356 The 1565 Spanish expedition that conquered Cebú in the Philippine Islands included six Spanish Augustinian friars under the supervision of Father Andres de Urdaneta, who established several missions in the Archipelago. According to Augustinian sources, after the discovery of the Holy Child of Cebú (an image thought to be miraculous), Philip II granted the privilege to the Augustinians of the Philippine Islands to make use of his ensign, the double-headed eagle of the Hapsburg, in their emblem. In 1586, thirty years after the Jesuits first settled in Macao, three Spanish Augustinians founded the convent of St. Augustine near the city centre. Three years later, on the orders of Philip II, Portuguese Augustinians settled in the Nossa Senhora da Graça monastery. Antonio Diez de Rivera, 'The Spanish Market', *Oriental Art*, vol. XLV, No. 1 (1999), p. 39.

357 Compare, for instance, a badge made in *kesi* slit tapestry weaving, dating to c.1600–1644, published in Hong Kong Museum of Art, 1995, pp. 290–291.

358 For a bell-shaped bowl dating to the Zhengde reign and a vase dating to the Jiajing reign, see Lai Suk Yee (ed.), *Enlightening Elegance: Imperial Porcelain*

of ecclesiastical vestments for use in the liturgy and sacred festivities to support the missionary work of spreading Christianity in India.

A small number of the extant lengths of woven silk cloths and finished silk products mentioned above have been selected to illustrate the various types of silks that were made as special orders for the Iberian market. It appears that the earliest silk cloths made to order for the Iberians combined Chinese traditional weaving or embroidering techniques and motifs, with European motifs, as often occurred with the porcelain made to order that will be discussed in the following chapter.

Woven silks dating to the second half of the sixteenth century include a fragment of a silk lampas in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, which is finely woven with a repeated design of a crowned, double-headed eagle grasping an arrow in each claw that pierce a heart-shaped vase amid interlocking floral scrolls in green, blue and yellow on a red ground (Fig. 2.3.1.1).[351] The symmetrical arrangement of the design, as noted by Digby, appears to derive from contemporary European textiles.[352] Closely related arrangements appear on silks woven in both Spain and Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as seen in a fragment of a Spanish woven silk, housed in the same museum collection (Fig. 2.3.1.2).[353] It has been suggested that the colour scheme of the silk lampas discussed here has a notable European character.[354] The Spanish woven silk shows a somewhat similar colour scheme, with yellow and green on a red ground, but omitting the blue. It can be argued, however, that the colour scheme of yellow, green, and blue or black, on a red ground appear on Chinese silk of the early sixteenth century.[355] The crowned double-headed eagle, a symbol of the Habsburg rulers of Spain and Portugal commonly used in printed maps and texts related to the Spanish Empire from the mid-sixteenth century onwards, indicates that this silk lampas was made to order for the Iberian market (Fig. 2.3.1.3). The pierced heart-shaped vase beneath the eagle suggests an association with the Mendicant Order of St. Augustine in the Philippines, which was granted the right to use the double-headed eagle as an emblem after 1565.[356] The Chinese silk weavers incorporated this distinct European motif into the design, but rendered the body and wing feathers of the eagles in a manner that recalls the depictions of phoenixes on rank badges of the late Ming, particularly the scale-like pattern of the body and the contrasting colours of the wings.[357] Moreover, the interlocking floral scrolls with peonies and other blossoming flowers, and cusp-shaped leaves, are rendered in a manner that resembles those depicted in blue-and-white porcelain made at Jingdezhen for the imperial court during the reigns of Zhengde (1506–1521) and Jiajing (1522–1566).[358] The design of this silk lampas relates closely to that seen on other extant lengths of finely woven silk in blue, yellow and white on a red satin ground, which incorporate flat threads of gold leaf on paper, also dating to the second half of the sixteenth century.[359] A cope in the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto and two fragments that appear to have formed part of one or more priest's chasubles in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, demonstrate that such silks were cut and sawn into ecclesiastical vestments for the Catholic Church.[360] The stylistic characteristics of the silks discussed above indicate that although the Chinese weavers were most likely provided with a European textile or printed source to be woven in silk, they took the liberty to create a hybrid design that incorporates a single European motif with many motifs that are undoubtedly Chinese. The exact place of manufacture of all these silks is still unknown. It seems possible, as suggested by some scholars, that they were made to order in Macao.[361]

The Metropolitan Museum of Art also houses a length of silk damask finely

Fig. 2.3.1.3 Brevis exactaque totius Novi Orbis eiusque insularum descriptio recens a Joan. Bellero edita, Pedro de Cieza de Leon, *Chronica del Peru ...*, Antwerp, 1554
© John Carter Brown Library, Brown University, Providence

Opposite page left
Fig. 2.3.1.4 Length of silk damask
China, Ming dynasty, second half of the sixteenth century
Dimensions: 189.2cm x 73.7cm
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Rogers Fund, 1940 (acc. no. 40.27.2)

Opposite page right
Fig. 2.3.1.5 Length of furnishing silk satin
China, Ming dynasty, *c.*1500–1600
Dimensions: 226.5cm x 79cm
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Gift of Miss Lucy T. Aldrich (Acc. no. 35.687)

woven with a repeated design of a double-headed crowned eagle grasping an arrow in each claw that pierce a heart-shaped vase amid scrolling leaves supported by two confronted Asian elephants with multiple tusks, alternating with large-scale lotus flowers growing from globular containers on stands, all in yellow-brown on a blue ground (Fig. 2.3.1.4).[362] Although the symmetrical arrangement of this design most probably derives from contemporary European textiles, the colour scheme appears to be Chinese. Compare, for example, the colour scheme of a length of furnishing cloth made in silk satin weave, dating to *c.*1500–1600, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Fig. 2.3.1.5). In this design made to order, the Chinese weavers again combined the single European motif of the double-headed eagle with Chinese floral and animal motifs. The rendering of the petals of the lotus flowers and the scrolling leaves that surround the double-headed eagle are particularly close to those seen in the aforementioned silk satin weave. Of particular interest is the inclusion of the Asian elephant with multiple tusks, which probably represents the Buddhist six-tusked elephant described in a Chinese translation of a sutra of the fifth century as being resplendent and white and having lotuses, jade maidens, and other symbolic figures at the end of each tusk.[363] It is well known that elephants were given as tribute to the emperor by rulers from South East Asia, and were also presented as diplomatic gifts to important foreign kings. Research by Jordan Gschwend has shown that elephants and other exotic animals were shipped from India and Ceylon to Lisbon. The first elephants were sent in 1510. Some were later offered as gifts by the Portuguese kings to the courts of Spain, Austria, France and England.[364] However, it seems unlikely that the inclusion of the elephant motif was a specific request of the European customer who ordered the silk damask, who most probably did not understand its Buddhist connotation. The place of manufacture of this silk damask, like the silks discussed above, is still unknown.

One of the earliest extant embroidered silks made to order is an altar frontal, now housed in the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga in Lisbon (Fig. 2.3.1.6).[365] This altar

of the Mid to Late Ming, The Huaihaitang Collection, Hong Kong, 2012, pp. 122–123, no. 12 and pp. 172–173, no. 36, respectively.

359 Two such fragments can be found in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Acc. nos. 34.41.9 (red, blue and yellow) and 34.41.1 (blue and yellow). Mentioned in Peck, 2013, p. 157, note 1. For a fragment in the Victoria and Albert Museum, museum no. T.169–1929; and one other in the Museum Für Ostasiatische Kunst in Cologne, see Digby, 1940, pl. I, E and F, respectively.

360 The cope, inv. no. 973.422, is published in John E. Vollmer, E. J. Keall and E. Nagai-Berthrong, *Silk Roads, China Ships,* exhibition catalogue, Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, 1983, p. 19. For the fragments in the Victoria and Albert Museum, see the online museum's catalogue, each illustrated separately as museum no. T.217–1910.

361 Digby, 1940, p. 60; and Peck, 2013, p. 157.

362 The length of cloth comprises two widths of cloth seamed together, each with identical patters that are somewhat mismatched at the join. Discussed and published by Phipps and Denney in Peck, 2013, pp. 157–158, no. 16.

363 *Guan Puxian pu sa xing fa jing* (Sutra on the Practice of Visualizing the Bodhisattva Samantbhadra), in Alexander Coburn Soper, 'Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China', *Artibus Asiae*, Supplementum 19 (1959), p. 223. Mentioned in Peck, 2013, pp. 157–158, note 2.

364 For a discussion on this subject, see Annemarie Jordan Gschwend and Johannes Beltz, *Elfenbeine aus Ceylon. Luxusgüter für Katharina von Habsburg (1507–1578),* exhibition catalogue, Museum Rietberg, Zurich, 2010, pp. 127–147.

365 Discussed and published by Pacheco Ferreira in Levenson, 2009, pp. 324–324, no. 144.

Fig. 2.3.1.6 Altar frontal
Blue silk satin embroidered with silk thread without noticeable torsion, golden laminated paper thread and fillet, metallic thread, organic filament rolled in silk, paper roll filling; no lining
China, Ming dynasty, second half of the sixteenth century
Dimensions: 84cm x 138cm
Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon
(Inv. 612 Tec)

Fig. 2.3.1.7 Hanging
Kesi slit tapestry weaving
China, possibly Beijing
Ming dynasty, late sixteenth/early seventeenth century
Dimensions: 138cm x 44.8cm
Provincial Museum of Liaoning, Shenyang

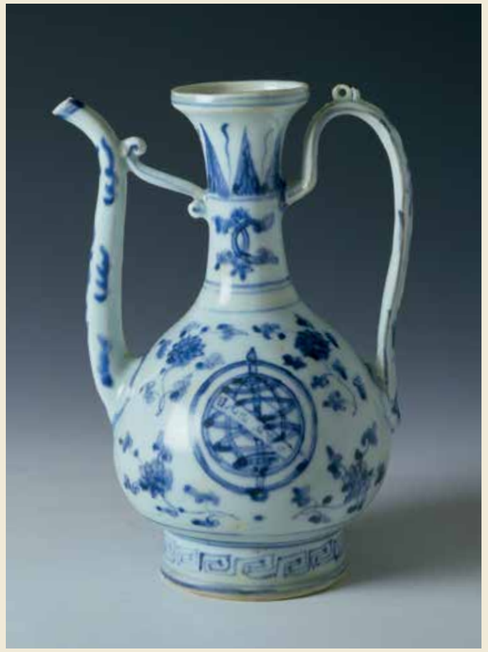

Fig. 2.3.1.8 Ewer
Porcelain decorated in underglaze cobalt blue
China, Jingdezhen kilns, Jiangxi province
Ming dynasty, Zhengde mark and of the period (1506–1521)
Height: 18.7cm
Photo courtesy of Museu de Artes Decorativas Portuguesas - Fundação Ricardo do Espírito Santo Silva, Lisbon (inv. 1430)

Fig. 2.3.1.9 Title page of Leitura Nova, Livro 2 de Místicos, book 31
Published in 1511
© ANTT / José António Silva

frontal, dating to the second half of the sixteenth century, is formed by three cloths of silk satin, each embroidered with silk thread, golden laminated paper thread and fillet, and metallic thread, which are joined together without showing any continuity of the design, most probably due to a reduction of the overall width. Here the Chinese embroiderers combined a representation of the Virgin with the Infant Christ in her arms standing on a crescent moon circumscribed by a rosary supported on each side by four angels, which is most probably Our Lady of the Rosary, with a dense composition of Chinese floral and animal motifs, some of which are rendered in very large-scale. Although the folds of the Virgin's tunic are embroidered realistically according to contemporary images of the Virgin made throughout Portuguese India, including Sinhalese territories (present-day Sri Lanka), the facial features of the Virgin and angels are distinctively Asian.[366] The place of manufacture of this altar frontal is unknown, as is the identity of the person who ordered it. It is unclear how it came to be part of the collection of the ancient convent of Nossa Senhora da Conceição in Beja. Its presence was first recorded in 1843 at a reception offered to Queen Mary II (r. 1826–1853) and her son Dom Pedro (future King Pedro V) during their visit to Beja in November of that year.[367]

Of particular interest to this study is a hanging made in *kesi* slit tapestry weaving in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century in the Provincial Museum of Liaoning, Shenyang (Fig. 2.3.1.7).[368] This *kesi* hanging is woven in gold and polychrome wefts depicting clouds and bats grasping an armillary sphere resting on a stand and a variety of antiquarian objects, all on a yellow ground. It has been suggested that the yellow ground may indicate that it was used at court. If so, it would most probably have been made at the imperial silk workshops of Beijing. The dense composition and decorative motifs of the hanging are wholly Chinese with the exception of the armillary sphere, which could be after a Chinese or European astronomical instrument. The armillary sphere – from the Latin *armilla*, meaning 'bracelet' – was a device used since ancient times both in China and Europe as an aid to understand the movement of the stars around the earth.[369] Armillary spheres, as will be shown in Chapter III, appeared depicted on porcelain made to order at private kilns in Jingdezhen for the Portuguese market during the reigns of Zhengde and early Jiajing (Fig. 2.3.1.8).[370] This motif, the personal device of King Manuel I, was widely depicted together with the Portuguese royal coat of arms on maps and title pages, and they continued to be used formally after the King's death in 1521 (Fig. 2.3.1.9).[371] But it was at the beginning of the seventeenth century, that the Italian Matteo Ricci (1552–1610), one of the earliest Jesuits allowed to enter China and the first to gain access to the imperial court in Beijing, began making astronomical instruments such as the armillary sphere at the court.[372] The *Assembly of Major Events of Ming* written by Long Wenbin, Volume 28 Calendar, states that 'In Wanli years, the Westerner Matteo Ricci made an armillary sphere, a celestial sphere, and earth globe, and other instruments'.[373] When Matteo Ricci visited the observatory of the officials of the Nanjing board of mathematicians in 1600, he saw a massive armillary sphere supported by columns with a relief decoration of dragons amongst clouds constructed by the mathematician and astronomer Kuo Shou-ching (1231–1316) in the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368).[374] Thus is not possible to ascertain if the armillary sphere depicted in the hanging intended to represent a Chinese or European astronomical instrument. Further research may provide concrete evidence of a European influence in this hanging.

Textual sources indicate that by the end of the sixteenth century, silk furnishings

366 For a brief discussion on an ivory figure representing the Virgin and Child standing on a crescent moon, see Levenson, 2009, p. 283, no. 138.

367 For more information, see Ibid., p. 324.

368 Published in Hong Kong Museum of Art, 1995, pp. 332–333. For a hanging of smaller size with the same decorative pattern but omitting the armillary sphere presented at the exhibition, see pp. 76–77. The hanging discussed here was also published in Krahl, 2009, p. 319, fig. 9, where the author suggested Beijing as place of manufacture.

369 Michela Fontana, *Matteo Ricci. A Jesuit in the Ming Court*, Maryland, 2011, p. 165; and Teresa Canepa, 'Saucer Dish with the Armillary Sphere of King Manuel I and the Royal Coat-of-Arms of Portugal', in Vinhais and Welsh, 2009, p. 82, note 3. For information on the armillary spheres invented and used by astronomers in China for the determination of celestial positions, see Joseph Needham, *Mathematics and the Sciences of the Heavens and Earth*, vol. 3 in the series *Science and Civilization in China*, Cambridge, 1959, pp. 339–359.

370 Published in Levenson , 2009, p. 329, no. 151. For a brief discussion on this group of porcelains, see section 3.1.1 of Chapter III.

371 Also see the title page of the *Leitura Nova*, *Libro 1 de Místicos*, book 30, published in 1504, which is illustrated in Canepa, 2009, p. 82, ill. 5b. Evidence of the use of the armillary sphere after the King's death is provided by the 1528 inventory of Catherine of Austria, which is bound in tooled leather embossed and painted with both the coat of arms of Portugal and the armillary sphere. For an image, see Jordan Gschwend, 1996, p. 103, fig. 14.

372 Matteo Ricci arrived to Macao in 1582. In 1600, after publishing an improved version of his Chinese world map, Matteo Ricci was allowed to submit his credentials to representatives of Emperor Wanli. Although Ricci never met the Emperor in person, he was elevated to the rank of an imperial mandarin and remained in a house on the palace grounds that the Emperor made available for him and his companions. Gerhard F. Strasser, 'The Impact on the European Humanities of Early Reports from Catholic Missionaries from China, Tibet and Japan between 1600 and 1700', in Rens Bod, Jaap Maat and Thijs Weststeijn, *The Making of the Humanities, Vol II: From Early Modern to Modern Disciplines*, Amsterdam, 2012, pp. 187–188.

373 Cited in Qianjin Wang, 'Lecture 2: History of Ancient maps and Concepts of Military Geography', in Lu Yongxiang (ed.), *A History of Chinese Science and Technology*, Shanghai, 2015, Vol. 1, p. 200.

374 Mentioned in Fontana, 2011, pp. 165–166.

Fig. 2.3.1.10 Liturgical vestment
Brocaded silk, China, with linen and cotton, possibly Spain
Seventeenth century
Peabody Essex Museum, Salem
(museum no. AE85947)

were being made as special orders for private individuals combining Chinese traditional weaving and embroidering techniques and motifs, with European motifs and forms. Carletti, in the account of his travels around the world that began in 1596, notes that 'And of the abovementioned silk – that is, of those twists, good for sewing and in all the colors that can be imagined, light as well as dark – I had them make a bed – the curtains, that is, with also all the accessories and furnishing for a room. This was made in the manner in which they work tapestry fabrics, showing the pattern from both the front and the back. An that design was of various fantastic animals, birds, and flowers, in which last those regions abound and which are esteemed more for the sight of them than for their odor, just as in Europe today they are appreciated for their beauty. And they have a similar decoration of foliage, but all very natural. And because Your Highness's arms were embroidered on the canopy of those curtains, the Zeelanders who stole them from me along with all the other goods did not dare to sell them, but sent them as gift to the Most Serene Queen of France, Maria de' Medici, together with the porcelain and various other curious things that I was bringing to present to Your Highness'.[375] This is the earliest textual reference of an order of silk bearing a European coat of arms, which was that of Fernando de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany.

Both documentary and material evidence demonstrate that special orders of velvet and finished silk products for religious use were made for both the Spanish

375 Carletti, 1965, pp. 148–149. The porcelain bought by Carletti that was loaded aboard the *São Tiago* in Goa, subsequently captured by the Dutch off St. Helena, will be discussed in Chapter III.

Figs. 2.3.1.11a, b and c Chasuble and stole from a set of liturgical vestments and furnishings
Satin and velvet, floss silk, gold-wrapped thread, silk cord, cotton, paper (padding)
China, Macao
Ming dynasty, *c.*1634
Dimensions chasuble: 108cm x 66cm
Irmandade de Santa Cruz, Braga

and Portuguese markets in the early decades of the seventeenth century. In 1615, for instance, Captain Francisco de Medina sent from Manila to Alonso Maldonado de Torres, priest of Philip III in Madrid, a consignment that included 12 velvet *reposteros* (decorative cloths patterned with a coat of arms) from China and 24 velvet cushions from China.[376] A few more velvet *reposteros* were sent that year to Spain by the archbishop of Manila, Don Diego Vázquez de Mercado. On this occasion he sent to Don Pedro de Mercado Vázquez, his nephew and *regidor* (alderman) of Madrid, a consignment that included 2 pieces of raw silk and 16 velvet reposteros from China. The following year he sent him of all the cloths that a priest needed to conduct a mass, all of silk. According to the documentation, these were specific orders of finished silk products made by his nephew.[377]

There is an interesting set of ecclesiastical vestments made of silk brocade, dating to about 1600, which reflects European influence in the Peabody Essex Museum in Salem. A priest's robe from this set serves to illustrate a striking combination of Chinese weaving techniques with both Chinese and European motifs (Fig. 2.3.1.10).[378] The silk weavers created a bright purple silk brocade with a large-scale design of repeated pairs of standing Buddhist Lions confronting each other in front of a brocaded ball, framed above and below by a crown, and among scrolls of flowering chrysanthemum and other flowers, all in gold thread. Although the Buddhist Lions and crown resemble European-style heraldry, the background is purely Chinese. While the crown motif is undoubtedly European, the pairs of standing Buddhist Lions are most probably the Chinese weaver's interpretation of a pair of lions in the rampant position (standing on their hind legs), a symbol commonly used in European heraldry. It is not known who ordered the silk brocade used to make this set of ecclesiastical vestments, but it seems likely that the silk weavers were provided with a drawing or print for such a heraldic-

376 AGI, Contratación, 1830, pp. 277–279. Mentioned in Gasch-Tomás, 2012, p. 56, note 142.

377 AGI, Contratación, 1830, pp. 850–852 and AGI, Contratación, 1834, pp. 1052–1055. Mentioned in Gasch-Tomás, 2012, p. 56.

378 This set of ecclesiastical vestments was previously dated to *c.*1660–1665, but it is now believed that the set was made in about 1600. I am grateful to Karina Corrigan, H. A. Crosby Forbes Curator of Asian Export Art, Peabody Essex Museum, for providing me with information and images of this set of vestments. For an image of various pieces of the set and the former dating, see Gauvin Alexander Bailey, 'Religious Encounters: Christianity in Asia', in Jackson and Jaffer, 2004, pp. 120–121, pl. 8.22.

Left
Fig. 2.3.1.12 Coverlet
Silk satin, embroidered with silk and gilt-paper-wrapped thread
China, seventeenth century
Dimensions: 213.4cm x 200.7cm
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1975 (acc. no. 1975.208d)

Right
Fig. 2.3.1.13 Silk and metallic-thread *kesi* slit tapestry weaving
China, Ming dynasty, late sixteenth/early seventeenth century
Dimensions: 200.7cm x 162.6cm
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Gift of Amy Greene, 1969 (Acc. no. 69.246)

379 Discussed and published in Mafalda Soares da Cunha (ed.), *Os Construtores do Oriente Português: Ciclo de exposições Memórias do Oriente*, exhibition catalogue, Oporto, 1998, p. 317–319; and José Ferreira da Costa Ortiga, *5 Séculos de Evangelização e Encontro de Culturas*, exhibition catalogue, Commissariado-Geral. Diocese de Braga, Braga, 2000, p. 131–133. The chasuble was recently discussed by Levenson, 2009, p. 326, no. 146.

380 Most of the pieces that formed this set have disappeared, were converted into other pieces, or were dismantled. Mentioned in Levenson, 2009, p. 326. The emblem of the brotherhood, a Calvary and Latin cross, is embroidered within an oval on the back of the cope. For a discussion and images of the cope, see Costa Ortiga, 2000, p. 133.

381 I am grateful to Luís Rufo, President of the Brotherhood of Santa Cruz, for providing me with information and images of the chasuble and stole for research purposes.

382 This chasuble, together with another chasuble embroidered in China in the mid-seventeenth century, is discussed by Pacheco Ferreira in Levenson, 2009, pp. 326–327, nos. 146 and 147, respectively.

383 Compare, for example, the flowers embroidered in a canopy dating to the Yuan dynasty (1279–1368)

style design. It is believed that each piece of the set was assembled in Europe, possibly in Spain, where they were lined in linen and cotton, and a cotton fringe was added. Although the set is said to have had a history of ownership in a small church in Spain, no documentary evidence has yet been found that supports this attribution.

From six letters written by Francisco Carvalho Aranha, a wealthy man from the outskirts of Braga who resided in Macao, which were kept at the archives of the brotherhood of Bom Jesus de São Marcos of the church of Santa Cruz in Braga, we learn that the brotherhood wrote to him requesting some ornaments for their church. It didn't take long for Carvalho Aranha to satisfy this request with a set of liturgical vestments and furnishings. The set, documented as having arrived in Lisbon at the beginning of 1635, included three altar frontals, a cross cover, a canopy, a pulpit fall, two chasubles, two dalmatics, a cope, and other smaller items, all made in white silk satin and crimson velvet, finely embroidered.[379] It seems clear that the monogram of the brotherhood, most probably in printed form, was given to the Chinese embroiderers at the time the order was placed as it appears embroidered on two of the few pieces of the set that still survive intact: a cope and a humeral veil.[380] A chasuble of Roman type and a stole serve to illustrate how the embroiderers incorporated both Chinese and European influences in the creation of this set of vestments (Figs. 2.3.1.11a, b, and c).[381] The chasuble has a crimson velvet orphrey on the front and back embroidered with an ascending design of stylized flowers organized in the way of *candelabra* which resembles contemporary models used in Europe in about 1600–1620; and the lateral panels of white satin are embroidered with scrolling tendrils terminating in various small flowers in blue, red and green.[382] While the design of the lateral panels is most probably based on contemporary European textiles, the rendering of the flowers with shaded areas in contrasting colours appears to be Chinese in style.[383] The stole is similarly

decorated with scrolling tendrils, with the central area of red velvet embroidered with a Latin cross, and the semi-circular terminals of red velvet embroidered with stylized leaf motifs.

Embroidered silks were also made to order for secular use in the seventeenth century. Such an example is a silk satin coverlet in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, which is finely embroidered with silk and gilt-paper-wrapped thread with a dense design that consists of a central roundel with two dragons chasing a flaming pearl amid cloud scrolls within a square with a male figure on each corner dressed in contemporary European doublets and breeches, all amongst a profusion of floral, bird and mythical animal motifs in various bright colours (Fig. 2.3.1.12).[384] The design of this coverlet, dominated by a central roundel, is distinctly Chinese. Central roundels are frequently seen in silks made for both the domestic and export markets, such as a silk and metallic-tread *kesi* tapestry dating to the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century in the same museum collection (Fig. 2.3.1.13).[385] It appears that the Chinese embroiderer intended to represent Portuguese men, but rendered them with Asian facial features and wearing clothes of patterned textiles that include Chinese traditional motifs, such as the dragon and the auspicious emblem. A few details of the embroidery, as convincingly argued by Phipps and Denney, are unusual and may reflect the influence or specific request of the Iberian customer. Most noticeable are the flaming pearl that is fully surrounded by flames and thus resembles more a European sun than the flaming pearl that appears commonly in Chinese art; and the lotus pond at one edge of the border that features large pheasants instead of the typical pair of ducks or egrets.

It would not be possible to conclude the discussion of the European influence on Chinese silk without including a set of armorial hangings of very large size made to order in China, most probably in the first half of the seventeenth century, depicting scenes from the story of the Trojan War. Although cotton was used as a foundation cloth for the seven known hangings from this set, each measuring approximately 3.6 x 4.8 metres, they were all embroidered with silk and gilt-paper-wrapped thread in China and thus deserve particular attention. The hanging illustrated here, depicting *The Abduction of Helen*, is one of three from this set housed in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Fig. 2.3.1.14a).[386] Undoubtedly the overall composition was based on a European printed source, but no exact print has yet been found.[387] The silk embroiderers, however, depicted various motifs that are immediately recognized as Chinese in style, such as the waves in the background, the lychee fruits against the striped side of the boat in the foreground, and details of the armour. In addition, the wide embroidered border that is repeated in all seven hangings, shows further motifs depicted in Chinese style, including the pair of phoenixes in the the top centre, and the scales of the serpents and tritons on each side. Recent research has shown that the faces, arms and legs of the figures of the central compositions were painted directly on the cotton foundation cloth, probably also in China by artists who had been trained by the Jesuits, possibly at the academy of painting established by the Italian Jesuit Giovanni Niccolo (1563–1626) in Japan, which produced religious art.[388] Two other hangings from this set are housed in the Museé des Beaux-Arts in Lyon,[389] one is at Steinitz in Paris,[390] and one other was sold at auction in Florence in 1934.[391] The coat of arms depicted at the corner of the border of each of these hangings does not correspond exactly with any known European arms (Fig. 2.3.1.14b). It has been suggested that it may be an erroneous rendering of the coat of arms of the Portuguese family of Mascarenhas, whose members participated actively in Portugal's overseas expansion.[392] It seems likely that the set of hangings would have been ordered by or for Dom Francisco de Mascarenhas, a *fidalgo* of the King's household, who was appointed in 1623 as Captain-General and 1st Governor of Macao, a post he held until 1626 (Fig. 2.3.1.15).[393] Errors in the execution of European coat of arms, as will be shown in the following chapter were common in porcelain made to order for the Portuguese market in Jingdezhen from as early as the Zhengde and Jiajing reigns. Three pieces of porcelain dating to the Tianqi reign (1621–1627) bear a coat of arms that appears to be another erroneous rendering of the Mascarenhas family arms, which has been attributed to Dom Francisco de Mascarenhas (Figs.3.4.1.1.15a and b). Thus it is possible that Dom Francisco de Mascahernas not only ordered this set of silk hangings, but also porcelains with his coat of arms, during the time he was serving as Captain-General and Governor of Macao. This set of hangings, combining Chinese materials and embroidering techniques, painting techniques and pigments[394] introduced by the Jesuits into both Japan and China, with European iconography, serves to further illustrate the complex and fascinating cultural and material exchanges that occurred between the Iberians and Chinese in the early seventeenth century.

illustrated in Hong Kong Museum of Art, 1995, pp. 156–157.

384 Discussed and published by Phipps and Denney in Peck, 2013, pp. 171–172, no. 26.

385 Mentioned in Ibid., p. 171, note 3. Related designs with a central roundel surrounded by a field of colourful flowers were already being made in embroidered silk in the Yuan dynasty. See, for example, a canopy embroidered with phoenixes in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Acc. no. 1988.82), published in Watt and Wardwell, 1997, pp. 196–199, no. 60.

386 Published in Edith Appleton Standen, *European Post-Medieval Tapestries and Related Hangings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, 1985, vol. 2, pp. 796–802; and Phipps and Denney in Peck, 2013, pp. 154–155, no. 14. The hanging is also discussed in Joyce Denney, 'The Abduction of Helen: A Western Theme in a Chinese Embroidery of the First Half of the Sevententh Century', *Textile Society of America Symposium Proceedings*, September 2012, Paper 673. The other two hangings, depicting *The Prophecy of Calchas* and The Sacrifice of Polyxena, in the Museum are acc. nos. 50.97.2 and 51.152.

387 Stylistic similarities with the work of the Rennaisance Italian master of engraving Marcantonio Raimondi (c.1480–1534) have been suggested in Standen, 1985, vol. 2, p. 799; and Jean Mailey, 'European Sculpture and Decorative Arts; The Abduction of Helen: From a Set of Hangings on the Trojan War', *Notable Acquisitions, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1979–1980*, New York, 1980, pp. 34–35. Mentioned by Phipps and Denney in Peck, 2013, p. 156, note 4.

388 Ibid., p. 156.

389 The hangings depict *The Death of Polydoros* and *The Revenge of Hecuba*. See Museé des Beaux-Arts, *Les Objets d'art: guide des collections*, Lyon and Paris, 1993, pp. 76–77; and Krahl, 2009, pp. 315–316, fig. 6.

390 See Nicolas Courtin and David Langeois, *Steinitz*, Paris, 2002, pp. 34–36.

391 Mentioned in Krahl, 2009, p. 315, note 36; and Denney, 2012.

392 According to White, the Mascarenhas were one of five noble families that between 1550 and 1671 accounted for about half of the governos or viceroys of the *Estado da Índia*. Mentioned in Lorraine White, 'Dom Jorge Mascarenhas, Marquês de Montalvão (1579?/–1652) and Changing Traditions of Service in Portugal and the Portuguese Empire', *Portuguese Studies Review*, Vol. 12, No. 2, 2004–2005, p. 63.

393 Mentioned in Nuno de Castro, *A Porcelana Chinesa ao Tempo do Império – Chinese Porcelain at the Time of the Empire - Portugal/Brasil*, Ramada, 2007, p. 96.

394 Scientific research of the pigments of the hanging illustrated here has shown that a blue-green pigment was used in Europe but not in Asia, and that a white pigment was used in Asia but not in Europe. For more information on this subject, see Report by Marco Leona, David H. Koch Scientist in Charge of the Department of Scientific Research at the Metropolitan Museum, August 23, 2012. Mentioned by Phipps and Denney in Peck, 2013, p. 156.

Fig. 2.3.1.14a The Rape of Helen from a set of armorial hangings of The Story of Troy
Cotton embroidered with silk and gilt-paper-wrapped thread, pigment
China, probably first half of the seventeenth century
Dimensions: 362.6cm x 480.1cm
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (acc. no. 1979.282)

Fig. 2.3.1.14b Detail of Fig. 2.3.1.14a

Fig. 2.3.1.15 Portrait of D. Francisco de Mascarenhas (13th Viceroy of the *Estado da Índia*)
Anonymous, Goa, sixteenth century?
Oil on wood
Dimensions: 188cm x 98cm
Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon (inv. no. 2146 Pint)

Discussion [2.4]

It has been shown in this study that sometime in the second half of the sixteenth century Chinese silk lampas finely woven with a repeated design of a crowned, double-headed eagle, a symbol of the Habsburg rulers of Spain and Portugal, in combination with interlocking floral scrolls that are undoubtedly Chinese in style, were cut and sawn into ecclesiastical vestments for the Catholic Church. The use of Chinese silks made to order with a mix of cultural references at the time is attested by a cope in the Royal Ontario Museum and two finely woven silk fragments that appear to have formed part of one or more priest's chasubles in the Victoria and Albert Museum, which relate closely to the woven silk lampas fragment in the Metropolitan Museum illustrated in Fig. 2.3.1.1. By the turn of the century, the motifs of woven silks made to order for the Iberian market and sawn up as ecclesiastical vestments, acquired an even more distinctive Chinese character. Such a mixture of two very different and distant cultures, one Asian and the other European, is evident in the Chinese woven silk brocade of a priest's robe from the set of ecclesiastical vestments in the Peabody Essex Museum, dating to about 1600 (Fig. 2.3.1.10). This silk brocade was made to order with a repeated large-scale heraldic-style design, but instead of depicting a pair of lions in the rampant position, a symbol commonly used in European heraldry, the silk weavers produced a strange-looking pair of standing Buddhist Lions confronting each other in front of a brocaded ball among floral scrolls that are purely Chinese in style. Thus, priests from the Catholic Church wore ecclesiastical vestments during the celebration of the liturgy that had been cut and sawn from silks made to order even though they had Buddhist motifs, and therefore did not conform at all to Christian iconography. We still don't know for whom the set of vestments was made. If the set was intended for use by the clergy in the Iberian Peninsula, the Catholic people attending church services or festivities probably would have considered it as an exotic material testimony of the missionary work in Asia. On the other hand, if it was intended for use in one of the multi-cultural and multi-religious settlements of the Portuguese or Spanish in Asia, such as Macao, Goa or Manila, it may have been seen by the Christian converts and/or worshippers as an expression of the Asian and European cultural and religious elements that coexisted in their daily lives.

The rich, exuberant and colourful Chinese silk textiles used to make ecclesiastical vestments discussed above seem to be in sharp contrast to the sumptuary laws against luxury dress and ornamentation passed in the Iberian Peninsula at the time. In Portugal, sumptuary laws were first passed by King John III in 1535, and then again by King Sebastian I in 1560, both of the royal House of Avis-Beja. In Spain, the sumptuary laws passed repeatedly by the Habsburg kings appear to have strongly influenced the consumer reception and use of Chinese silks. King Philip II passed sumptuary laws eight times between 1563 and 1594. From 1580, when King Philip II also became King Philip I of Portugal, the sumptuary laws he passed also applied to the inhabitants of Portugal. Textual sources have revealed, however, that in Spain, like in Portugal, the royalty, high-ranking nobility and clergy were exempted from sumptuary laws. Chinese silks were shipped from New Spain to Spain especially for the King and other members of the royal Habsburg court in the early 1570s, and woven silks were sent as private consignments ordered by individuals working for the court in the early 1590s. King Philip III not only passed four sumptuary laws during his reign but also set a royal example to his subjects in expressing sobriety on special occasions. In 1600, the King even forced many plebeians to declare the silks and other luxury goods they owned before a notary. King Philip IV passed a series of sumptuary laws in the first months of 1623 but interestingly, a proclamation was issued on 22nd March of that year which suspended the implementation of the law. This was only due to political and dynastical interests of the King, who in an attempt to marry Princess Maria Ana with Charles Stuart, Prince of Wales, the second son of King James I of England, allowed the capital city of Madrid to display the great wealth and status of the Spanish monarchy during his lengthy visit, which lasted eight months.

The popularity of the Chinese silks imported from Manila via the trans-Pacific trade route to the Spanish colonies in the New World, located across the Atlantic Ocean from Spain, does not seem at all in accordance with the Habsburg sumptuary laws, too. Textual sources have shown that they could not be as strictly enforced as in Spain or Portugal. Thus, the wide availability, regular supply and low sale price of Chinese woven silk cloths in comparison with those imported from Spain changed the consumer habits of the Spanish colonial elites, clergy and new middle class of the viceroyalties capitals, Mexico City and Lima. The colonial elite's conspicuous consumption of Chinese silks and the ostentatious display of wealth and social status in public in Mexico City and Lima, as well as the use of silks by a multi-ethnic clientele of lower social stance, something completely unimaginable in the Iberian Peninsula, is an example of how the laws and rules of the governing Habsburg kings had their limitations.

Unfortunately, as mentioned in the previous pages, the few extant ecclesiastical vestments dating to the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries that are preserved in public collections around the world all have lost information on their provenance. Apart from the few pieces of a set of vestments in Braga, Portugal, that still survive intact in the church for which they were destined (two are illustrated in Fig. 2.3.1.11a, b and c), we do not know who ordered them and for which religious order or ecclesiastical community they were intended. Therefore at this point it can not be stated with certainty if they were used in Spain, Portugal, in Asia or in the New World, nor how they fitted-in with the restrictions and regulations of the sumptuary laws in those areas. Hopefully future research will clarify this.

Conclusions [2.5]

From the information provided by the various primary and secondary sources discussed in this Chapter, although limited in the case of the Dutch and English, it is possible to elaborate some general conclusions in regards to the trade of Chinese silk to Western Europe and the New World in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. As has been shown, the Iberians, as well as the Dutch and English, were trading similar types of raw silks, woven silk cloths and finished silk products. This is actually not surprising since all these silks were purchased by the Portuguese directly at Canton or from Chinese junk traders who brought them to Macao, and by the Spanish from Chinese junk traders or Portuguese merchants that brought them to Manila, and in the case of the Dutch and English they were either acquired through privateering against Portuguese and Spanish ships, as well as Chinese junks, or were purchased from Chinese junk traders who brought them to Bantam, Patani or Batavia, where they had established trading posts. It has become clear, however, that the distribution, consumer reception and use of the various types of silks imported into their respective home countries in Western Europe and the Spanish colonies in the New World were in some ways similar, but in others quite different. These similarities and differences, closely related to their individual political, mercantile, religious and social policies, will be summarized in the following pages.

Soon the Portuguese, the first Europeans to arrive in Asia and to establish direct trade relations with China, recognized the unprecedented opportunity of economic profit if they participated in a large-scale trade of silk via Canton and Malacca. The profits of the trade in silk must have been so high, that private individuals traded not only woven silk cloths but also finished silk products in defiance of the royal monopoly over trade extended to silk in 1520. A relatively small quantity of raw silk and woven silk cloths began to reach Lisbon via Goa, and continued to do so even when commercial relations with China were prohibited from 1522 to 1544. Once the Portuguese settled in Macao in 1557, and thus gained regular access to the biannual fair of Canton, raw silk together with Japanese and New World silver, became the main commodities traded by them. At the Canton fair, the Chinese merchants sold the various silks by weight, with their sell price varying not only according to the type and quality but also to the demand at the time of purchase. The raw silks purchased by the Portuguese were mostly spun silk in white and colours, and white twisted silk (*retros* or *retres*). They purchased a variety of fine woven silks, including damasks, satins, velvets (both wrought and plain), taffetas (both black and colours), and brocades, some of which were embroidered or painted in bright colours with flowers, animals, mythical animals and deities. Other woven silk cloths were also embroidered with gold thread. In addition, the Portuguese purchased some finished silk products made for both the Chinese domestic and export markets.

The Portuguese used most of these silks for their inter-Asian trade, mainly distributing them to India, Japan (by both Portuguese merchants and Jesuits until 1639) and Manila (after 1571) in exchange for silver and gold. The giant Portuguese merchant ships used in the Macao-Malacca/Goa-Lisbon trade route served to supply silk and other Asian goods to Portugal and the rest of Europe. Chinese silks, however, represented only about 5–6 percent of all the Asian textiles imported by the Portuguese into Lisbon in the early sixteenth century. The limited quantities of woven silk cloths and finished silk products imported appear to have been intended almost exclusively royal court, high-ranking nobility and clergy. The main reasons for this were most probably the high purchase price of the silks, and the sumptuary laws against luxury dress and ornamentation first passed by successive kings of the royal House of Avis-Beja and then of the royal House of Austria (Habsburg). Chinese silks were held in high esteem and thus eagerly sought after by the royalty, high-ranking nobility and clergy, who were all exempted from sumptuary laws, for use in both secular and religious contexts not only because of the novelty of their exotic Chinese decorative motifs and bright colours, but also for their associations with the Portuguese expansion to Asia, still unknown to most Europeans. For the Lisbon court silks served as symbols of both political authority and social status, and thus were given as diplomatic gifts to represent the power of Portugal's seaborne empire at the time. The ecclesiastical institutions, especially the Society of Jesus, used embroidered, painted and woven silk cloths withexotic and colourful motifs to make Catholic liturgical vestments or as furnishings to decorate the churches, even though they did not conform at all to Christian iconography. The trade in silk must have brought considerable revenues for the Portuguese Crown in the first seventy or so years of trade in Asia. This is suggested by the fact that following the union of Spain and Portugal in 1580, the Crown allowed freedom of trade, but continued to reserve for itself the trade in silk, pepper and cinnamon. By this time, considerable quantities of a variety of silk cloths (especially white woven silk) and finished silk products were integrated regularly in sumptuous festivities of sacred-profane context organized by the Jesuits and some of the Mendicant Orders throughout Portugal. These silks were used to make garments worn by the participants, such as robes, shirts, shawls and tunics, as well as liturgical ornaments, including altar frontals, wall hangings, curtains, valances, canopiesand pavilions, to adorn the interior and exterior ecclesiastical spaces, and the streets of the cities. Even rank badges, the woven or embroidered insignia worn by Chinese civil and military officials on their robes, were imported and used as liturgical ornaments

for the churches. The silks used for these public displays, most probably given to the Church as royal gifts or acquired through the Jesuits in Japan (from 1578 until their expulsion in 1639), served not only as material testimonies of the Portuguese expansion to China and the missionary activity there, but also had cultural, economic and political symbolic meanings. At about this time, there was a small quantity of finished silk products, including furnishings for both secular and religious use, imported into Lisbon as private consignments or as gifts to relatives by many different individuals. But it was not until the early seventeenth century, with the influx of larger quantities of silks imported from China and after about 1614 also from Persia, that woven silk cloths and finished silk products became more widely available to people from different social groups in the capital Lisbon, Oporto and other cities involved in commerce. Chinese silks were much sought after by both men and women of the middle classes of these urban societies, who were now able to incorporate them into clothing for daily use and religious festivities, as well as into their households.

The Portuguese monopoly on the trade in silk to Europe lasted until 1571. That year, the Spanish founded Manila as a colony in the Philippines following the discovery of a return route to Acapulco across the Pacific, and began to trade regularly in silk. Chinese junks from ports all over south China, extending from Ningbo to Canton, came to Manila every year to exchange the New World silver for silk and a variety of other Chinese goods (including porcelain). Beginning in 1573, large quantities of various types of silks and other Asian goods were exported from Manila to the New World, but only a small amount of them were subsequently re-exported via Veracruz to Seville, in Spain.

Chinese junks, most probably from Canton and Zhangzhou, brought to Manila a variety of raw silks of various qualities (white and coloured untwisted silks), and woven silk cloths, including plain and embroidered velvets in various colours and some with gold, patterned satins, brocades, black and coloured damasks and other silks embroidered with gold or silver, like those traded by the Portuguese, which were highly esteemed and of high value. Patterned silks, either woven or painted, were also brought but sold at low prices. The Chinese merchants in Manila, as those in Canton, sold all the silks by weight. As has been shown, the great demand of silks and other Chinese goods by the Spanish, together with the taxes (*almojarifazgo* and municipal taxes) levied upon the Chinese, began to affect the sell price of silks only a decade after the Spanish founded Manila. This resulted in that silks and other Chinese goods almost disappeared from the market, and that the few available were sold at very high prices. In 1583, for example, the price of satin increased from 12 *tostóns* (12 four-real silver coins) to about 40 or 45, and still could not be found. The silk-for-silver trade was very important for the Chinese merchants, as some of them smuggled part of the silk they brought to Manila for sale in order to avoid paying the taxes.

The supply of silk to Manila was not solely in the hands of the Chinese junk traders. After King Philip II's accession to the Portuguese throne in 1580, a regular supply of silk came by way of Portuguese merchants from Macao, in exchange of the much sought after New World silver, and Spanish merchants went occasionally to Macao to acquire cargoes of silk intended for private trade. In 1593, the year the Crown forbade the Manila merchants to travel to Macao, the Portuguese began to extract higher prices for silks from the Spanish than those customarily charged by the Chinese junk traders. At about this time, some of the Portuguese New Christian merchants residing in Manila began to compete with the Spanish in the trade of silk

to the New World. After the 1620s, when fewer junks came to Manila due to the civil wars in China, the Spanish came to be increasingly dependent upon Macao to supply silk and other Chinese goods for the Manila galleons bound to the New World. Undoubtedly, this trade with Manila was very profitable for the Portuguese, who despite the royal decree of 1636 prohibiting trade between Macao and Manila, continued to make regular trips clandestinely until 1640, when Macao regained its independence from Spain.

Unlike the Portuguese, the Spanish were familiar with the production and consumption of silk, as sericulture and silk weaving had spread via the Arab conquest to Andalusia in southern Spain in the first half of the eighth century. Although a few Chinese and other Asian silks had reached Spain in the mid-fifteenth century, imported silks were still considered a luxury available only to the royal court, nobility, clergy and wealthy merchant class in the following century. Despite the sumptuary laws in relation to luxury and external appearance passed repeatedly by the kings of Spain, and after 1580 also of Portugal, a small quantity of Chinese silks were re-exported from New Spain to Seville in the motherland Spain, in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. These included silks sent especially for King Philip II and other members of the royal court in the early 1570s, probably including Archduke Albert of Austria who jointly governed the Southern Netherlands with his wife Isabella Clara, as well as woven silk cloths ordered by individuals working for the court in the early 1590s. For the years between 1600 and 1640, various types of Chinese raw silk, including thrown silk, floss silk, and longhaired silk, amounted 96 percent of all the Asian textiles re-exported from New Spain to Seville. Chinese woven silk cloths amounted only to 4 percent, and finished silk clothing to 0 percent. Although these silks were not being retailed in Seville, raw silk was imported into Granada and other silk production centres as early as the 1580s. It is possible that the greater importation of raw silk than woven silk into Seville was due to the fact that the Spanish elites were less willing to purchase Chinese woven silks with bright colours and exotic motifs because of the strict enforcement of the sumptuary laws in relation to luxury and external appearance passed repeatedly by the Habsburg kings.

Consumer demand for silks appears to have increased among the elites of Spain in the 1610s, when New Spain's merchants looked for new markets in Europe, but most retail shops were still not offering such Asian imported goods for sale. It was precisely at this time that Toledo became one of the main cities where silks, mostly raw silk, were imported from New Spain. It has become clear that the growing demand by both secular and religious elites for woven silk cloths and finished silk products was in part satisfied through gifts, inheritances or alms sent by relatives or acquaintances, as well as by private consignments ordered by the court, clergy, nobility or wealthy merchant class, which were sent from the Philippines, via New Spain, or from New Spain directly, via the Atlantic to Spain. We saw that a certain amount of silk, however, was also re-exported for the *Royal Contaduría* (Royal Accounting Office) in the early decades of the seventeenth century. The re-exportation of silks to Spain dropped significantly during the next two decades, especially the 1630s, which coincided with an overall decline of the trans-Pacific trade of the Manila galleons between Manila and Acapulco.

A small quantity of Chinese silks also reached the Habsburg territories of the Southern Netherlands in the early 1520s. Textual sources attest to the presence of woven silk cloths, such as velvet, satin and damask, in Antwerp as early as 1520–1521.

Visual sources, on the other hand, attest to the use of clothing items made of Chinese silk by Archduke Albert VII of Austria after his marriage to Isabella Clara Eugenia, the eldest daughter of King Philip II, in 1598. Such woven silks would most probably have arrived to the archducal court in Brussels through the Habsburg familial relationship.

The distribution, appreciation and use of silks in the Spanish colonies in the New World were all quite different than in Spain. There are a few reasons for these differences. Firstly, that the sumptuary laws issued in the viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru were not as strictly enforced as in Spain. Secondly, that the large quantities of silks imported via the Pacific trade route into the viceroyalties, and their low sell price in comparison with those imported from Spain, prompted that silk changed much earlier from being a luxury good into a common good accessible to people of almost all social classes, than in Spain. Thirdly, that the raw silk, woven silk cloths and finished silk products were all offered for sale in the street markets and shops, second-hand markets, and by peddlers, and distributed through both wholesale merchant and family networks as early as the late sixteenth century. It is clear that woven silk cloths and finished silk products were highly appreciated by both the secular and religious elites of both viceregal capitals. The secular elites used them for ostentatious public displays of their wealth and social stance, incorporating them in their everyday clothing and carriages, and in the private and common spaces of their households. The ecclesiastical institutions of New Spain, including the Franciscans who served in the missions of New Mexico, used silk ceremonial vestments as well as woven silk cloths for clothing and church ornaments, which were both imported from China or finished in the viceroyalty's workshops. In the viceroyalty of Peru, even though the sell prices of raw silk and woven silk cloths were ten times higher than in Manila (in the years 1620 and 1621), the large quantities of silks that arrived through official or clandestine trade were purchased by a multi-ethnic clientele from almost all the colonial social classes who could afford them to be used in both secular and religious contexts. Woven silk cloths were used to decorate the interior of the churches of the indigenous inhabitants, and were purchased by Indians, African slaves, their descendants and other poor inhabitants of Lima and other cities of northern Peru to make clothing items, mostly adopting the everyday dress styles of the Spanish elites. Fourth, but not least, the colonial textile industries of both viceroyalties came to be heavily dependent on the trade of raw silks imported from Manila. This was mainly due to their better quality and as mentioned above, their low sell prices in comparison with those imported from Spain. In New Spain, for example, Grau y Monfalcón declared in 1637 that more that 14,000 people in Mexico City, Puebla and Antequera supported themselves by this trade.[395] In addition, immigrants from Spain participated in the wholesale of silk and in the manufacture of silk clothing in the early seventeenth century, while *chino* immigrants who came from Manila participated in a small-scale trade of raw silk and woven silk cloths as early as the sixteenth century.

The Dutch began to import Chinese silks into the Northern Netherlands at the turn of the sixteenth century. Jacob van Neck on his return to Amsterdam in 1599, brought raw silk and woven silk cloths, which he most probably purchased from Chinese junk traders that came to Bantam. The successful auction of the raw silk, woven silk cloths and silk finished products of the richly laden Portuguese carrack *Santa Catarina* captured off Patani which took place five years later, in 1604, prompted the VOC to begin importing Chinese silk. The auction of these silks came to influence the development of the Dutch silk industry, as it gave an incentive to a number of individuals, including Portuguese-Jewish merchants, engaged in the silk trade in Amsterdam to set up mills for the throwing of Chinese and other imported silks. This industry in turn was to enable many people to earn a living. By 1608, the Dutch were acquiring considerable quantities of raw silk at Bantam. Some of the raw silk and woven silk cloths imported into the Northern Netherlands that after 1609 became the Dutch Republic, however, were acquired through privateering against Portuguese and Spanish ships, as well as Chinese junks in Asia, rather than being acquired through trade. Clearly this was a very profitable trading activity for the Dutch, who would subsequently re-exported some of the captured raw silk to Spain to be sold at a high price. After 1624, the Dutch were able to acquire silks from the Chinese merchants that frequented their trading post at Formosa, but only in small quantities. It was not until 1633, however, that the VOC began to purchase large quantities of silk after coming to a trade agreement with the Chinese merchant-pirate Zheng Zhilong, who became the sole supplier of silk and other Chinese goods (including porcelain) to the Dutch in Formosa. This agreement enabled the VOC to increase considerably its participation in the silk trade to Japan after 1635, and once the Portuguese and the Jesuits were expelled from Japan in 1639, their competitors were reduced only to the Chinese junk merchants. From 1636 onwards, the trade in silk to the Dutch Republic included not only silk from China but also from Bengal. By the early 1640s, the VOC was presenting woven silk cloths from Canton as diplomatic gifts. Although the past and current literature published in English consulted for this study does not discuss the use of woven silk cloths or silk finished products among the urban societies of the Dutch Republic in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the documented importation of silks indicates that there was already an interest for silks at the time. Future research in Dutch textual sources may shed new information into this aspect of the tastes and fashions of the Dutch society.

The English began to trade in Chinese silks in the early years of the seventeenth century. They purchased a wide variety of silks brought by Chinese junks to Bantam, where the EIC established its first Asian trading post in 1603. Silks, especially raw silk, were coveted for both the EIC's inter-Asian trade and home markets. Although, King James I endorsed a domestic silk industry to compete with imported silk in 1607, the import of Chinese raw silks appear to have continued in the following years. That same year, the EIC began to make requests for specific types of silks, including raw silk, twisted silk and sawing silk, to be imported into England. By the following decade, the EIC was even acquiring some woven silk cloths as special commissions for private individuals who belonged to the nobility. The English also purchased silk brought by Chinese junks to Patani, where they were competing to do so with the Dutch.

Only a small quantity of silk appears to have been imported into England during the first years after the establishment of the EIC. Woven silk cloths and finished silk products, including taffetas, velvets, damasks in various colours, and cushions and other items embroidered with birds, beasts and flowers, begin to appear listed in larger quantities in inventories of the belongings of the wealthy nobility drawn up from 1614 onwards. The English continued to conduct indirect trade with China until the eighteenth century, when trade was confined to London and Canton. To protect British manufactures, the British navigation laws and prohibition acts, stated that all silk piece goods imported into London from Asia were to be re-exported to continental Europe, the West Indies, and the English colonies in the New World.

395 Mentioned in Schurz, 1918, p. 394.

The most important material evidence of the trade in silk to Western Europe and the New World is provided by a small number of extant woven silk cloths and finished silk products of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries housed in public and private collections in China and the rest of the world, which combine traditional Chinese weaving, embroidery or painting techniques and motifs, with European motifs. This group of silks, not only fascinating for their rarity but also for the role they played in the intercultural exchange between the East and West that occurred in the early modern period, demonstrate that the trade in silk to Western Europe and the New World was not limited to raw silk, woven silk cloths and finished silk products made for both the Chinese domestic and export markets. These silks were made as special orders for the Portuguese and Spanish markets for use in both religious and secular contexts in their respective Iberian countries in Western Europe, the Spanish colonies in the New World, as well as the Portuguese and Spanish colonies in Asia. They give tangible testimony of the ability of the Chinese silk producers to adapt to specific requirements of their new European clientele.

From the analysis of the stylistic characteristics of a selection of these silks it can be concluded that the European influence on them was quite limited. Although the Chinese silk producers were most likely provided with a European textile or printed source as model for the woven or embroidered silk ordered, they always took the liberty to create a hybrid design, incorporating European motifs with motifs that are undoubtedly Chinese in style. They even rendered some of the European decorative elements in a manner that recalls the depictions of certain floral or animal motifs seen on embroidered or woven silks made for the domestic market. Although the symmetrical arrangement of the design of some of these silks appears to derive from European textiles, the design of others like those dominated by a central roundel, is distinctly Chinese. Even the colour schemes used by the silk producers seem to have been taken from silks made earlier for the domestic market. Although the exact place of manufacture of these silks is still unknown, the fact that scholars have suggested Beijing and Macao as possible places of origin for some of them, would indicate that European influence not only affected the silk producers that could have worked closely with Iberian customers, but also those that were in mainland China and thus were less likely to have contact with any Europeans.

As shown the use of silks made to order for the Iberian market with a mix of cultural references, both Asian and European, is attested by a few extant ecclesiastical vestments and woven silks that appear to have formed part of other such vestments. Although many questions still remain unanswered, one can confidently say that priests of the Catholic Church living in the Iberian Peninsula, and/or in the Portuguese and Spanish settlements in Asia, wore ecclesiastical vestments sawn up from Chinese silks with exotic and colourful motifs, such as Buddhist lions, which did not conform at all to Christian iconography. Such ecclesiastical vestments seem to be in sharp contrast to the sumptuary laws passed in the Iberian Peninsula at the time.

Textual sources have shown, however, that special orders were also made for private individuals from other European countries present in Asia as early as the late sixteenth century. Perhaps the most important order we know of is that placed by the Italian Francesco Carletti for the curtains and all the accessories and furnishings for a room, which combined Chinese traditional weaving and embroidering techniques and motifs, with European motifs and forms. These pieces of silk were most probably woven in *kesi* tapestry with a design of various fantastic animals, birds and flowers. According to Carletti, the canopy of the curtains was embroidered with the coat of arms of Fernando de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany. This is the earliest textual reference of silk made to order bearing a European coat of arms. Silks bearing European coat of arms continued to be made to order in the early seventeenth century. These include the velvet *reposteros* (decorative cloths patterned with a coat of arms) sent from Manila to the priest of King Philip III in Madrid, Alonso Maldonado de Torres, in 1615; and the magnificent set of seven known hangings embroidered with silk and gilt-paper-wrapped thread, and with details painted with pigments, bearing a coat of arms that may be an erroneous rendering of the arms of the Portuguese family Mascharenas. Future research may provide further material and textual evidence of orders of silks made specifically for European customers at the time.