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# **Cultural Exchange and Consumption Patterns in the Age of Enlightenment**

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# Content

<u>VERONIKA HYDEN-HANSCHO, RENATE PIEPER, WERNER STANGL</u> <u>Introduction</u> .....	<u>7</u>
<u>WOLFGANG SCHMALE</u> <u>Theory and Practices of Cultural Exchange within Europe</u> .....	<u>19</u>
<u>BARTOLOMÉ YUN-CASALILLA</u> <u>The History of Consumption of Early Modern Europe in a Trans-Atlantic Perspective</u> <u>Some New Challenges in European Social History</u> .....	<u>25</u>
<u>CÉSAR MANRIQUE FIGUEROA</u> <u>New Spain's Imports of Culture from the Southern Netherlands</u> <u>The Case of Books</u> .....	<u>41</u>
<u>LUDOLF PELIZAEUS</u> <u>Media Control Between Spain and Colonial Mexico at the End of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century</u> .....	<u>57</u>
<u>JOSÉ ENRIQUE COVARRUBIAS</u> <u>Alexander von Humboldt on Luxury, Consumption and Economic Prosperity</u> <u>A Contribution to the Study of Cultural Exchange</u> .....	<u>67</u>
<u>MICHAEL NORTH</u> <u>Towards a Global Material Culture</u> <u>Domestic Interiors in the Atlantic and Other Worlds</u> .....	<u>81</u>
<u>JUDITH A. CARNEY</u> <u>African Plant and Animal Species in 18<sup>th</sup>-Century Tropical America</u> ...	<u>97</u>
<u>HENK DEN HEIJER</u> <u>Africans in European and Asian Clothes</u> <u>Dutch Textile Trade in West Africa, 1600–1800</u> .....	<u>117</u>
<u>JUTTA WIMMLER</u> <u>Material Exchange as Cultural Exchange</u> <u>The Example of West African Products in Late 17<sup>th</sup> and Early 18<sup>th</sup>-Century France</u>	<u>131</u>
<u>VERONIKA HYDEN-HANSCHO</u> <u>Beaver Hats, Drugs and Sugar Consumption in Vienna around 1700</u> <u>France as an Intermediary for Atlantic Products</u> .....	<u>153</u>

IRENE FATTACCIU  
Exotic Products, Luxury and New Forms of Sociability  
Changing Patterns of Consumption in 18<sup>th</sup>-Century Madrid ..... 169

BENITA WISTER  
Chocolate Consumption in Westphalia and Styria during the 18<sup>th</sup> Century ..... 189

RENATE PIEPER  
From Cultural Exchange to Cultural Memory  
Spanish American Objects in Spanish and Austrian Households of the Early  
18<sup>th</sup> Century ..... 213

Abstracts ..... 235  
Contributors ..... 241

## Introduction

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WERNER STANGL

Cultural exchange and the emergence of consumer societies have been two major fields of research for cultural historians. Studies of cultural transfer and exchange have centered on Continental Europe, with special emphasis on the position of France as a center of cultural dissemination.<sup>1</sup> The history of consumption has been studied mainly with regards to the British Empire and its relation to British industrialization.<sup>2</sup> Whereas the analysis of the French cultural exports was mainly directed towards Continental Europe, studies of industrialization and the surge of a British consumer society have been chiefly associated with British endeavors in Asia. Nevertheless, such a narrow scope falls short of explaining many phenomena of both cultural exchange and the development of emerging consumer societies. French cultural dominance would not have been achieved in Europe without cultural elements coming to France from overseas, also drawing on the intensified British connections to Asia. The growing European trade with Asia, in turn, is not conceivable without taking into account the influx of silver and gold from the Iberian Atlantic, Mexico, Peru and Brazil, in the emerging “world market”. The Atlantic, generally, can be considered a space of contact and exchange where these developments converged: European contacts with Asia should have strengthened cross-cultural ties in general and thus influenced consumption patterns on both sides of the Atlantic, in the South as well as in the North, and in spaces too often only considered as places of origin of exotica. Thus the study of cultural exchange should pay closer attention to the impacts and effects of transfers on cultures and consumption patterns within the Atlantic world.

Due to the broad participation of all Atlantic regions, the increase of transatlantic networks<sup>3</sup> and trade was remarkable over the course of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. During the same epoch European consumer societies emerged for the first time. Therefore it would be of major interest to focus the study of increasing Atlantic cultural transfer and exchange on the Age of Enlightenment.

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- 1 Robert MUCHEMBLET (Ed.), *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*. 4 Vols. Cambridge 2007; Peter BURKE/R. Po-chia HSIA (Ed.), *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge 2007; Michel ESPAGNE/Etienne FRANÇOIS/Werner GREILING/Matthias MIDDELL (Ed.), *Deutsch-Französische Kulturbibliothek*. Multivolumed. Leipzig 1998–2012. Günter BERGER/Franziska SICK (Ed.), *Französisch-deutscher Kulturtransfer im Ancien Régime*. Tübingen 2002. Michel ESPAGNE, *Les transferts culturels franco-allemands*. Paris 1999.
  - 2 Maxine BERG, *In Pursuit of Luxury: Global Origins of British Consumer Goods in the Eighteenth Century*. In: *Past and Present* 182 (2004), 85–142.
  - 3 Antonio IBARRA/Guillermina DEL VALLE PAVÓN (Ed.), *Redes sociales e instituciones comerciales en el imperio español, siglos XVII a XIX*. Mexico 2007.

The concept of cultural transfer has been developed in the 1980s by Michel Espagne and Michael Werner to explain the presence of German sources, manuscripts and books in French libraries and archives.<sup>4</sup> The analysis of foreign elements in a particular culture lead to general reflections about cultural identity, otherness and foreign influences which, decontextualized and embedded, form integrative parts of the own cultural identity. Two ideas are central. According to Michel Espagne foreign influences can be identity-establishing because cultures are permanently in contact and continually exchange with others. A distinctive cultural element is transferred from one cultural setting to another where several processes of reception and integration lead to new interpretations and “phenotypes” of the cultural phenomenon. In the theory, after the processes of transfer, decontextualization and integration, the other and the self cannot be distinguished or separated any more, but merge to the same cultural element.<sup>5</sup> Such a complete exchange, however, should be regarded as an exception and is only likely to happen with relatively minor elements continuously transferred and retransferred between very similar and already entangled cultural systems. The definition of “culture” as a collective programming of the mind like “software”, following Geert Hofstede and Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink, keeps the theoretical framework open to various forms of culture including material culture.<sup>6</sup> The framework is not limited exclusively to Eurocentric history although its starting point suggested this assumption.

The compatibility of the European model of cultural transfer with Atlantic contexts faced several obstacles. First, developed for late 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century studies, the model of cultural transfer favored nation states as major field of interest which formed serious restrictions to work with this approach in an Atlantic context, where cultures of mestizos/métis were the norm. The focus on nation states was established by the first examples of empirical research on cultural transfer, but it was not intended by the architects of the theoretical framework. Michel Espagne and Michael Werner underlined that the aim is to study intercultural transfers disregarding whether the involved cultural spaces are local or national.<sup>7</sup> Reflections on the adaptation of the framework for early modern times, especially for the 16<sup>th</sup> century, have been made as well.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, the European definition of “culture” as knowledge de-emphasized the importance of material transfers for cultural change in Europe as well as in the Atlantic world. Consumption and

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4 Michel ESPAGNE/Michael WERNER, *Deutsch-Französischer Kulturtransfer im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert. Zu einem neuen interdisziplinären Forschungsprogramm des C.N.R.S.* In: *Francia* 13 (1985), 502–510.

5 Michel ESPAGNE, “Kulturtransfer” – Europäische Geschichte gegen den Strich nationaler Mythen. In: Wolfgang SCHMALE (Ed.), *Kulturtransfer. Kulturelle Praxis im 16. Jahrhundert*. Vienna 2003, 15.

6 Hans-Jürgen LÜSEBRINK, *Interkulturelle Kommunikation. Interaktion, Fremdwahrnehmung, Kulturtransfer*. Stuttgart – Weimar 2005, 10–13, 129.

7 ESPAGNE/WERNER, *Deutsch-Französischer*, as note 4, 504.

8 For example SCHMALE, *Kulturtransfer*, as note 5.

therefore material culture has been included into the framework of cultural transfer by Martin Mulsow.<sup>9</sup> Last but not least, the theory of cultural transfer demands the transformation, reshaping or advancement of cultural elements to something new as a last step of the integration of the other. This challenge excludes the simple imitation or adoption of cultural elements on a large scale as well as increasing material exchanges. Changes resulting from higher amounts or increasing imports of cultural elements are difficult to explain within the framework of cultural transfer. Nonetheless, as the example of chocolate shows, most American goods were consumed in different ways in Europe than in Ancient America, and they changed consumption patterns of the European nobility especially since the early 18<sup>th</sup> century.

The theoretical framework of cultural transfer has been criticized, enhanced and adapted. The “*Histoire croisée*”, for instance, tried to overcome the concept of nation state. Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann criticized the fact that the possibility of transfers in return or re-transfers has been neglected. History is therefore an endless series of transfers and re-transfers. The *Histoire croisée* remained on a very theoretical level because of the refusal to design an a priori framework. Therefore this approach is not really practical for material culture and Atlantic history.<sup>10</sup> Jürgen Osterhammel, Sebastian Conrad and Shalini Randeria suggested that non-European contexts needed to be considered in order to explain European history sufficiently. Their concept of an “entangled” or “shared history” pays attention to direct or indirect external influences and in particular examines colonial contexts, where transfers from the motherland to the colonies have been studied extensively but the transfers from the colonies to the motherland were studied less.<sup>11</sup> The approach of “entangled history” has been used in a very special context of German-Asian history and was never considered by Atlantic history in general, where the legacy of the older concept of *métissage* is still productive.<sup>12</sup>

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- 9 Martin MULSOW, *Konsumtheorie und Kulturtransfer. Einige Perspektiven für die Forschung zum 16. Jahrhundert*. In: SCHMALE, *Kulturtransfer*, as note 5, 131–143. Look further: Paul NOLTE, *Der Markt und seine Kultur – ein neues Paradigma der amerikanischen Geschichte?* In: *Historische Zeitschrift* 264 (1997), 329–360.
- 10 Michael WERNER, *Zum theoretischen Rahmen und historischen Ort der Kulturtransferforschung*. In: Michael NORTH (Ed.), *Kultureller Austausch. Bilanz und Perspektiven der Frühneuzeitforschung*. Vienna – Cologne – Weimar 2009, 19–22. Michael WERNER/Bénédicte ZIMMERMANN, *Penser l’histoire croisée. Entre empirie et réflexivité*. In: *Annales* 58 (2003), 7–36.
- 11 Jürgen OSTERHAMMEL, *Geschichtswissenschaft jenseits des Nationalstaats. Studien zu Beziehungsgeschichte und Zivilisationsvergleich*. Göttingen 2001. Sebastian CONRAD/Shalini RANDERIA (Ed.), *Jenseits des Eurozentrismus. Postkoloniale Perspektiven in den Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften*. Frankfurt 2002.
- 12 Laurier Turgeon (Ed.), *Regards croisés sur le métissage*. Laval 2002. See the critical remarks of Hartmut Kaelble to *Histoire croisée* and *entangled history*: Hartmut KAELEBLE, *Die Debatte über Vergleich und Transfer und was jetzt?* In: *H-Soz-u-Kult*, 08.02.2005, <http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de/forum/id=574&type=artikel> [2012–09–06].

Thus, the integration of transfer theories to Atlantic history with a strong focus on material culture is one objective of this book. Therefore we use rather the term “exchange” than “transfer” in order to open the theoretical framework for Atlantic history. The terms transfer and exchange are difficult to distinguish. Some scholars use the term exchange as a synonym for transfer without reflection on the semantic of the terms, even in the context of the theoretical framework of cultural transfer.<sup>13</sup> Peter Burke, followed up by Bernd Roeck, tried to give a precise distinction of the two words. He emphasized the bi- or multilateral aspects of the topic. According to Burke the term transfer is unidirectional and cannot cover flows of information in both directions, which is quite common when cultures get in contact. Therefore he prefers speaking of cultural exchange. Furthermore he suggests using the term cultural translation, because even the term exchange was not suitable to describe active processes of reception and adaptation.<sup>14</sup> However, these processes of de-contextualization or transformation of cultural elements to something new in the course of reception and on the demands/usability of the receiving culture had already been an indispensable component in transfer theory since Michel Espagne and Michael Werner thought about cultural transfer.<sup>15</sup>

We want to emphasize that the theory of cultural transfer strongly underpins our reflections on cultural interaction within the Atlantic world and provides the theoretical framework. However, in view of the fact that cross-cultural interactions in the Atlantic are indeed mutual, we think that the term “exchange” is more accurate in describing interactions within the Atlantic world than “transfer”, understood as a directional action. Partners, ideas, objects, circumstances and objectives of giving and getting differed in many respects and have to be examined carefully. The foreign components, the traces of the other, integrated into the self and leading to a new identity of the self are why we want to discover cultural transfers and exchange in an Atlantic context. The increasing amounts of Atlantic products in Europe, for instance, prove that the exchange of products or raw materials lead to

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13 See the use of “transfer” and “exchange” in some contributions of Robert MUCHEMBLE (Ed.), *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*. 4 Vols. Cambridge 2007; Dorothea NOLDE/Claudia OPITZ (Ed.), *Grenzüberschreitende Familienbeziehungen. Akteure und Medien des Kulturtransfers in der frühen Neuzeit*. Cologne – Weimar – Vienna 2008. Michael NORTH (Ed.), *Artistic and Cultural Exchanges between Europe and Asia, 1400–1900. Rethinking Markets, Workshops and Collections*. Farnham – Burlington 2010.

14 Peter BURKE, *Translating, Knowledge, Translating Cultures*. In: Michael NORTH (Ed.), *Kultureller Austausch. Bilanz und Perspektiven der Frühneuezeitforschung*. Vienna – Cologne – Weimar 2009, 69–70. Bernd ROECK, *Introduction*. In: Robert MUCHEMBLE (Ed.): *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*. Vol. 4. *Forging European Identities, 1400–1700*. Cambridge 2007, 2–4. See further Peter BURKE, *Kultureller Austausch*. Frankfurt 2000.

15 Michel ESPAGNE, *Les transferts culturels franco-allemands*. Paris 1999, 3–23. Michel ESPAGNE/Michael WERNER, *La construction d’une référence culturelle allemande en France*. In: *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 42,4 (1987), 970–979. Josef JURT, *Das wissenschaftliche Paradigma des Kulturtransfers*. In: Günter BERGER/Franziska SICK (Ed.), *Französisch-deutscher Kulturtransfer im Ancien Régime*. Tübingen 2002, 15–38.

considerable changes in material culture and to processes of integration and adaptation and therefore influenced identities. Thus, we should ask how the increasingly interconnected Atlantic worlds influenced each other and what was the impact of Atlantic exchange on consumption patterns in different parts of Europe and the Atlantic world.

During the 18<sup>th</sup> century contacts and transfer in the Atlantic could build on long-standing traditions that reach well into the Middle Ages in the case of Africa and over 200 years back for the Americas. Plants, animals, forced and free passengers, ideas and information travelled in ever increasing amounts across the ocean. All sorts of Atlantic goods were transported as well. These included not only exotic and luxury objects but old and new consumer goods and a growing variety of raw materials and supplies.<sup>16</sup> Even if many Atlantic items were already well known in adjacent regions the increasing availability of imported commodities and the extending presence of foreign ideas and persons as well as alien plants and animals has changed the cultural environment and altered consumption patterns both in the societies of origin as well as in those of their destination. In addition, it should be considered that the first consumer society emerged in Britain from the late 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> century onwards. This was initially due to the imitation of Asian goods and subsequently due to the creation of new goods with a specific British connotation, i. e. the result of cultural transfer from India and China to Britain.<sup>17</sup> Yet, it is often neglected that raw materials, like indigo-blue, used for the imitation of Asian or the new British products were not only imported from Asia but were often of Atlantic origin.<sup>18</sup> Thus Transatlantic exchanges triggered Asian cultural transfers to Europe and vice versa. Even if cultural exchange is at least bidirectional and consists of several cultural transfers, for analytical reasons specific transfers must be singled out. In order to approach the multiple dimensions of cultural exchanges across the Atlantic and the shifting consumption patterns induced hereby, the enormous variety of these processes should be addressed.

In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, cultural exchange had many actors, but most of the traders crossing the Atlantic were Europeans due to their overseas stations and settlements, inferior freight costs and relatively low salaries.<sup>19</sup> Within the British Atlan-

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16 Marcello CARMAGNANI, *Le isole del lusso. Prodotti esotici, nuovi consumi e cultura economica europea, 1650–1800*. Turin 2010.

17 Maxine BERG, *Cargoes: the Trade in Luxuries from Asia to Europe*. In: David CANNADINE (Ed.), *Maritime Trade and Empire*. New York 2007, 47–64; NORTH, Artistic, as note 13; Marina Alfonso MOLA/Carlos MARTÍNEZ SHAW (Ed.), *La ruta española a China*. Madrid 2007.

18 John GARRIGUS, *Blue and Brown: Contraband Indigo and the Rise of a Free Colored Planter Class in French Saint-Domingue*, In: *The Americas* 50 (1993/94), 233–263.

19 Rafael DOBADO GONZÁLEZ, *Prices and Wages in Bourbon Mexico from an international comparative perspective*. In: José MORILLA CRITZ/Juan HERNÁNDEZ ANDREU/José Luis GARCÍA RUIZ/José María ORTIZ-VILLAJOS (Ed.), *Homenaje a Gabriel Tortella. Las claves del desarrollo económico y social*. Madrid 2010, 85–102; Klaus WEBER, *Deutsche Kaufleute im Atlantikhandel 1680–1830: Unternehmen und Familien in Hamburg, Cadix und Bordeaux*. Munich 2004.



tic the trading posts on the Western African shores and the colonies in the Caribbean were economically more important than those in North America. The French and the Dutch had their own African outposts and American settlements as well as their own cultural contacts to the West and the East Indies. In addition, Spain was present in the Atlantic as well as in the Pacific. The Spanish presence in Africa had been reduced to Northern Africa and the Canary Islands since the early modern period, whereas the Philippines constituted a valuable colony in the Pacific. In contrast to Spain, Portugal had lost most of its African and Asian possessions during the 17<sup>th</sup> century, with Brazil becoming the most important Portuguese colony in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. It might be difficult to discern Asian from Atlantic influences and exchanges, and the contemporary use of the terms “West-” and “East-Indies” or simply the “Indies” in order to refer to America and Asia is still confusing. Nonetheless, commodities, persons, ideas and natural resources exchanged across the Atlantic differed in most cases considerably from Pacific influences. Therefore, usually it should be possible to determine specific Atlantic aspects of cultural transfer. Finally, one should keep in mind that the impact of the Atlantic cultures and commodities was not restricted to coastal regions but reached far into the continental hinterland and had done since the early 16<sup>th</sup> century. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, changing political and cultural structures within Europe altered communication networks and the direction of transfer processes. Therefore, Atlantic influences in Continental and in Central Europe should be considered as well.

Bearing these considerations in mind, the studies presented in this volume will analyze a broad range of cultural exchange processes and their relevance for consumption patterns during the Age of Enlightenment. Attention will be given to major European players with direct Transatlantic connections who acted also as intermediaries for Central Europe, like Spain, France, and the Netherlands, and to the changes in Central Europe itself. In addition to European relations with the Americas, connections with Africa were of considerable importance in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Therefore, we will include European ties with Africa in our analysis, trace African products in European material culture and consider African-American relations too.

The first studies using the theory of cultural transfer in an Atlantic context dealt mainly with contacts between Europeans and Native Americans in early modern times and their intercultural communications and acculturation. The miscellany edited by Laurier Turgeon worked primarily on the French Atlantic. Turgeon made considerable efforts to adapt the transfer theory to Atlantic contexts.<sup>20</sup> Thenceforth much has been done. Historiography on cultural exchange often addresses two major topics of European activity in the course of the engagement with the other: mission and Europe’s admiration for exotica. The sample of contributions com-

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20 Laurier TURGEON/Denys DELÂGE/Réal OUELLET (Ed.), *Transferts culturels et métissages Amérique/Europe XVIe–XXe siècle*. Paris 1996.

piled by Patricia Grimshaw and Andrew May has a close view on mission, education and their impact on indigenous peoples with a wide geographical range.<sup>21</sup> The book edited by Daniela Bleichmar and Peter C. Mancall covers four centuries of European culture of collecting with a strong focus on Americana and material culture.<sup>22</sup> What has not been taken into consideration is the reciprocity of exchanges and the materiality which affects not only noble collections, but people's everyday life. The mutuality of exchanges has been pointed out by the sample of collected essays compiled by Michael North on European-Asian interconnections in knowledge, arts, trade, and material culture.<sup>23</sup> Nevertheless, exchanges within the Atlantic world are not comparable to Eurasian transfers. The role of Africa within mutual Atlantic exchanges has been widely neglected except for Africa's contribution to the slave trade. The interesting case study of Roquinaldo Ferreira about the cultural, religious and social effects of the slave trade in Angola is a recent example of how this may be about to change, but more must be done to close the gap.<sup>24</sup> Thus the aim of the present collection is to present a variety of case studies concerning mutual interaction between all key players of the Atlantic, Europe, the Americas and Africa, scrutinizing both the transfer of ideas and the exchanges within the material world. Special attention has been given to the Atlantic influence on cultures in Central Europe and to Africa's interconnections with Europe and America.

Studies dealing with the development of consumer societies and changing consumption patterns are usually restricted to one single country or empire. Maxine Berg and her ground-breaking studies refer to the English consumer society.<sup>25</sup> Beverly Lemire studies the cultural importance of British cotton-textile consumption extensively.<sup>26</sup> Even if the connections to the Asian material culture are mentioned in both groups of studies neither the Atlantic dimension is referred to extensively nor the concept of cultural exchange is applied. Thus the aim of the present collection is to refer to both theoretical approaches – cultural exchange and consumer society – and to consider mainly the Atlantic dimension.

Studies on Atlantic history often approach the subject from a Western European view. The collective work edited by Bernard Bailyn and Patricia Denault refers to both the Northern and the Southern Atlantic but do not include Central Europe-

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21 Patricia GRIMSHAW/Andrew MAY (Ed.), *Missionaries, Indigenous Peoples and Cultural Exchange. First Nations and the Colonial Encounter*. Brighton 2010.

22 Daniela BLEICHMAR/Peter C. MANCALL (Ed.), *Collecting Across Cultures. Material Exchanges in the Early Modern Atlantic World*. Philadelphia 2011.

23 NORTH, *Artistic*, as note 13.

24 Roquinaldo FERREIRA, *Cross-Cultural Exchange in the Atlantic World. Angola and Brazil during the Era of the Slave Trade*. Cambridge 2012.

25 Maxine BERG, *From Imitation to Invention: Creating Commodities in Eighteenth-Century Britain*. In: *Economic History Review* 45 (2002), 1–30.

26 Beverly LEMIRE, *Cotton*. London–New York 2011; cf. the edition of documents: Beverly LEMIRE (Ed.), *The British Cotton Trade, 1660–1815*. 4 vols., London 2009.

an connections nor do they apply the concept of cultural exchange.<sup>27</sup> On the other hand, as the survey of Michael Werner and his presentation of the concept of the *histoire croisée* shows, studies of cultural transfer and entanglement focus mainly on first hand connections and pay less attention to the effects of further dissemination. Thus, when examining Continental Europe and especially Central Europe they pay less attention to the cultural impact that French mercantilist policy had in all Atlantic areas and in the European hinterland.<sup>28</sup> Furthermore the importance of Africa in the material world and its cultural implications are still underestimated. Investigations of Transatlantic slave trade center their attention on forced migration, as the summaries of Herbert S. Klein, Piet C. Emmer and Olivier Pétéré-Grenouilleau show.<sup>29</sup> Agency, a term well established in studies of slavery, is an important concept regarding the variety of activity, since the participation of Africans and Afro-Americans in processes of cultural exchange frequently has to be reconstructed against the “dominant narrative” of Africans as a passive group, either in the form of “counter narratives” or by reading “between the lines” in European sources. Forced migrants were important agents of cultural exchange and especially influenced consumption patterns. The cultural baggage of slaves included food, plants, animals, raw materials and manufactured products. They disseminated foreign knowledge, manufacturing processes and consumption patterns. Cultural transfer has been referred to as a process of dissemination from Europe to other continents but besides this, influences from overseas to Europe should be considered as well. In the present collection of essays we will consider both directions and include exchange between Africa and the Americas. The focus on Africa and its interconnections with the Atlantic world attempts to end the insignificant role attributed to Africa in previous European historiography.

The common theoretical framework for the contributions in this book, briefly addressed in this introduction, is significantly expanded by the theoretical papers by W. Schmale on cultural exchange and by B. Yun Casalilla on the history of consumption. In each case a thorough reflection on the reciprocity between the historiographical concepts and their use for the analysis of concrete historical setting is of particular relevance. W. Schmale first sketches the importance of European as well as global cultural transfer processes and then provides details on the groups, institutions, and mechanisms which were vital to these processes and fueled the consolidation of Europe as a primarily culturally defined space during the 18<sup>th</sup> cen-

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27 Bernard BAILYN/Patricia L. DENAULT (Ed.), *Soundings in Atlantic History: Latent Structures and Intellectual Currents, 1500–1830*. Cambridge, MA 2009. Kenneth POMERANZ, *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy*. Princeton 2000.

28 Michael WERNER, *Zum theoretischen Rahmen und historischen Ort der Kulturtransferforschung*. In: Michael NORTH, *Kultureller Austausch. Bilanz und Perspektiven der Frühneuezeitforschung*. Vienna – Cologne – Weimar 2009, 15–23.

29 Piet C. EMMER, *The Dutch Slave Trade, 1500–1850*. Oxford – New York 2006; Herbert S. KLEIN, *The Atlantic Slave Trade*. Cambridge 1999; Olivier PÉTRÉ-GRENOUILLEAU (Ed.), *From Slave Trade to Empire. Europe and the Colonisation of Black Africa (1780s–1880s)*. London 2004.

tury. B. Yun synthesizes the historiographical understandings of Atlantic history over the past 30 years. In a second step, Yun discusses the relation between Atlantic history and European history, stresses the necessity of complementing the histories of exchange and contact with histories of rejection as well as failed or lagged transfers, and makes us rethink some common assumptions regarding consumption patterns on both sides of the Atlantic.

The second section of the book is dedicated to the Spanish Atlantic. The articles refer mainly to New Spain/Mexico and especially to the transfer of books and ideas. Books are an ideal object for studying the material basis of cultural exchange as the importance of their diffusion and use within different cultural contexts should be comprehensible even for those who privilege an exclusively immaterial understanding of culture. C. Manrique Figueroa studies the import of books printed in the Spanish-Austrian Netherlands and their impact in New Spain by identifying the presence of Flemish books on a broad variety of topics in colonial library inventories. Manrique shows among other things that at least two Antwerp families produced titles especially for the Spanish-American market and that the Southern Netherlands didn't completely lose their importance on cultural transfer even after the War of the Spanish Succession, but that they were more affected by the tightened grip of the Inquisition towards the end of the century as a result of the French Revolution.

L. Pelizäus focuses on the conjunctions of the control of information flows within the Spanish Empire during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Pelizäus shows that it was a system within which the flow of both goods and ideas was always caught in a discourse that oscillated between considerations of control and efforts to modernize by opening up to foreign influences. Pelizäus doesn't only look at the normative side of the coin, but also on the institutional problems of censorship and the effectiveness of the prohibitive measures.

The effects of these exchanges of ideas are presented in the article of J. E. Covarrubias, who considers the concepts of Adam Smith and Alexander von Humboldt on consumption in view of the Mexican realities. Covarrubias thereby reconstructs and contrasts how cultural and material exchanges, and their influences on economic development in the Americas, were perceived by these two high-profile characters and how they were presented to a European public.

The third section of this book is dedicated to the role of non-Spanish spaces within transatlantic exchanges. These studies refer less to the exchange of intellectual knowledge but directly to the material culture, examining how the transport and availability of goods influenced consumption patterns and how knowledge about the use of products was exchanged. First, M. North considers innovations, developments, and diffusions of domestic interiors and associated behaviors in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, when a shift from multifunctional to monofunctional rooms can be noticed in ever broader social strata and geographic spaces. North shows the com-

mon features of the material culture in Dutch colonial spaces in Africa, America and Asia, and contrasts the material world of Dutch and English colonists in the Atlantic realms.

J. A. Carney demonstrates the impact of African plants and animals which were brought to the Americas, an issue which is often neglected in studies on the Columbian exchange. Carney shows how the African–American exchange was tied to the slave trade, showing the different trajectories and cultural impacts of different species, depending on a variety of factors: they were used as provisions of the slaves, or as cash crops, or by the slaves themselves in their subsistence plots, further spreading familiar staples and sometimes pioneering large-scale cultivation. Carney also emphasizes the slaves' active role as agents of exchange, through their consumption patterns as well as by openly or clandestinely transporting seeds.

H. den Heijer considers the cultural repercussions of textile imports from Europe and Asia to Africa by Dutch traders. Here, the focus is strongly on an unfamiliar historical human actor, the African as consumer. Heijer clearly shows that Western Africa was a market which grew considerably during the 18<sup>th</sup> century due to the available capital generated by the expansion of the slave trade. Heijer points out that African fabrics were imitated in the Netherlands, that Asian and European textiles were adapted to African tastes, and that textiles were especially manufactured for the African market both in the Netherlands and in India. Heijer also mentions African raw materials which were exported for textile production in Europe and Asia. Quite how far the specialized production of fabrics for Africa influenced tastes and the domestic textile production in the Netherlands and India remains open to debate.

J. Wimmeler considers the cultural implications of African raw materials on consumption patterns in France. It was the availability of Atlantic raw materials that essentially contributed to the large scale production of goods which are commonly associated with the Orient or East Asia. As a consequence, Wimmeler shows how a material exchange from Africa made a cultural exchange from Asia to Europe possible. Furthermore, taking on the examples of production techniques and African medicinal plants, the article shows how cultural transfers may either succeed or fail depending on specific individual circumstances.

The last section of studies refers to the impact of the Atlantic in Central Europe. In the first contribution to the section, V. Hyden-Hanscho examines how France, as the cultural trendsetter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, replaced Spain as the most important intermediary for transmitting Atlantic products to Vienna. In addition to American goods, Hyden-Hanscho tracks the transfer of some African products and drugs we could already follow on their way to France in the contribution of Wimmeler. Hyden-Hanscho highlights the importance of the protagonists, courtly and scientific networks, as well as French migrant artisans in these processes as carriers and brokers of the know-how that complements the physical goods.

Cultural appropriation of an exotic semi-luxury good, chocolate, in the context of Madrid is analyzed by I. Fattacciu. The author shows how tastes, availability and prices of the commodity and efforts at class distinction converged in the diffusion of drinking vessels as well as changing spaces and forms of sociability in Madrilenian society. Fattacciu also confronts us with the stigmatization of chocolate consumption as “outlandish” and, again, with the two-faced policies of Spanish authorities, who tried to regulate sociability according to class while promoting the development of the middle class.

Different social policies and their influence on cultural exchange are also present in B. Wister’s comparison of chocolate consumption in two Central European regions, Westphalia and Styria. Wister looks in close detail at the relative importance of personal connections and formal diffusion by the way of merchants as well as artisans, showing how restrictive measures in Westphalia shaped a completely different process of cultural reception compared to Styria, where market forces lead to a much deeper cultural penetration of chocolate consumption.

Finally R. Pieper studies the status of exotic luxuries – chinaware, folding screens, table chests and bezoar stones – in noble households in Madrid and Styria in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The essay especially reconstructs the importance of New Spain/Mexico and its trade connection to Asia via the “Manila Galeon” in the European reception of the mentioned items. Pieper shows that New Spain was much more than just a way station in an Asian–European trade. New Spain developed manufacturing traditions of its own, appropriated Asian forms, and shaped them so prominently that, for example, the folding screen even lost its Asian connotation in Central Europe, becoming known instead as the “Spanish screen”.

Together, the articles assembled in this book fuse the concept of cultural exchange with the history of consumption by taking on specific examples of transfers in most possible directions, with the only exception of North-South transfers (and vice versa) within the American sphere. We meet the Atlantic as center of cultural diffusion in all directions (North) and as a creative catalyzer for Asian-European exchange (Heijer, Wimmler, Pieper). Atlantic Europe (Fattacciu) and America (Carney) are present in this book as immediate spaces where the impact of material exchanges leads to cultural adaptations and new forms of social interaction, and we can further follow the diffusion of these transatlantic exchanges and associated cultural practices to central Europe (Hyden-Hanscho, Wister, Pieper). We can see through their lens how material exchanges spark, intensify, or hamper intellectual currents (Manrique, Pelizäus, Covarrubias). Some contributions consider more the roles of institutions and general social practices (Manrique, Pelizäus, Wimmler, Fattacciu), others personal agents (Covarrubias, North, Carney, Heijer, Hyden-Hanscho, Pieper), or specialize on the interplay of these factors (Wister). The articles reflect the broad range of cultural exchanges via the Atlantic and thus contribute to integrate these processes in a general vision of emerging Transatlan-

tic consumer societies (Yun) and the consolidation of a common European cultural space (Schmale).

At the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Atlantic realms were already mutually entangled to a very high degree. Europe, the Americas and Asia were much more interconnected at the end of the Ancien Régime than ever before and this interconnectedness influenced knowledge, people, and people's behavior to a large extent. Thus, the globalization of the 19<sup>th</sup> century had a sound basis to build upon.

The present book is part of a larger project on "Cultural and technological transfer from the Southern Atlantic to Central Europe in times of crisis and warfare (1640–1740)" financed by the Austrian Science Foundation. Quite a number of persons contributed to this endeavour. Our special thanks go to Edd Fry who corrected our "foreign" English very fast and thoroughly. Barbara Holzapfel was especially helpful in all administrative matters, and our dean Helmut Konrad agreed to support the publication financially. Finally we would thank Wolfgang Schmale for including this collection into the series of 18<sup>th</sup> century studies.

# Theory and Practices of Cultural Exchange within Europe

WOLFGANG SCHMALE

## *Liminal remarks on cultural exchange in European history*

“Cultural exchange” might be seen as an essential agent of every culture in every historical period.<sup>1</sup> The difference is made by the degree of exclusion or inclusion, the quantity of exchanged cultural assets (for a definition, see below), and the number and nature of individuals and/or social groups who are living agents of cultural exchange. Finally the difference is made by whether cultural exchange is consciously regarded as a kind of need, or whether it just “happens” somewhat like a by-product of trade and commerce. There is always a contingent part in cultural exchanges.

In European history, the 18<sup>th</sup> century marks the beginning of an era of globalization.<sup>2</sup> This means that cultural transfers and exchanges were enhanced and diversified on a global level but also within Europe. Geographically, the notion of Europe was clarified and extended. Towards the east, the proposition of the Swedish officer and scholar Strahlenberg to make the Urals the eastern border of the continent was largely accepted.<sup>3</sup> Russia, or more precisely, the western perception of Russia focused on western Russia, on the Russian Enlightenment in St. Petersburg. So, Russia easily became a harmonious part of Europe. This included the Hetmany of Ukraine which took full part in the European Enlightenment.<sup>4</sup>

To the west, the Atlantic space (the Americas) participated fully in all European intellectual and material movements although it was not part of Europe in a geographic sense. To the north, the Scandinavian space, after the rise of Sweden and Denmark as European powers under absolutism, had lost much of its former opacity. To the south-east and the south, a long series of battles against the Ottoman Empire was won by the Habsburgs and this pushed the European frontier further to the east and south-east while the Mediterranean regained its former function of a European “mare nostrum”. Governments invested in infrastructure – most were delivered using forced labour – and through their investment enhanced engineering technologies.

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- 1 This article is based on: Wolfgang SCHMALE, A Transcultural History of Europe – Perspectives from the History of Migration. In: EHO (European History Online), <http://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/theories-and-methods/transcultural-history> [2012–07–31]. The original text, first published on December 3, 2010, has undergone changes with new additions.
  - 2 This thesis is emphasized by Margarete GRANDNER/Andrea KOMLOSY (Ed.), *Vom Weltgeist be-seelt. Globalgeschichte 1700–1815*. Vienna 2004.
  - 3 See as an overview of this discussion: W. H. PARKER, Europe: How Far? In: *The Geographical Journal* 126, 3 (1960), 278–297.
  - 4 Tatiana SIROTCHOUK, *La vie intellectuelle et littéraire en Ukraine au siècle des Lumières*. Paris – Genève 2010.



As a result, communication and the exchange of intellectual and material goods became faster. One of the most important moments in this history of exchange was the printing and distribution of books. Despite censorship, which was in some cases very strong, no government was able to prevent the distribution of printed materials. New business models emerged as Robert Darnton and other scholars have demonstrated in the case of the *Encyclopédie* and the European book-markets. It is worth noting that this development fully included the Habsburg empire. Or, to put it in other words: this vast area was as much an area of Enlightenment as France or Scotland.<sup>5</sup>

Of course, the European history of cultural exchange did not start in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. It became enhanced and empowered, but this evolution benefited from a centuries-long history during which the ground was laid for those structures that supported various techniques of cultural transfer and exchange.

#### *Some theoretical and conceptual aspects*

The history of Europe is not that of just one culture, but many. On the one hand, these cultures have interlinked trans-culturally with one another; on the other, they have also repeatedly disentangled themselves. Cultural transfer played an important role in these processes. It is founded upon the communication between “cultures”. Culture can be defined as a phenomenon which is manifested by a perceptible concentration of semantic relations and social contexts, often with a spatial dimension. This definition is valid not only for national cultures, but also other examples such as court culture, the Enlightenment philosophers, confessions and so on. Both material and intellectual “cultural assets” are communicated. A “cultural asset” includes not only individual assets but also more complex ones. In the sense meant here, cultural assets can be architectural styles such as Baroque or Classicism, institutions such as the university or academy, technologies such as clockwork mechanisms or the steam-engine, and institutionalized socio-political structures such as “constitution” or “monarchy”. Because these transfers can be understood as verbal and non-verbal communicative acts, the moments in which transfer take place depend on the various conditions and structures of the communication. These continuous processes of interlacing and intertwining led to both the Europeanization of Europe and to the converse processes whereby the geographical space of Europe repeatedly shifted.

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5 Johannes FRIMMEL/Michael WÖGERBAUER (Ed.), *Kommunikation und Information im 18. Jahrhundert. Das Beispiel der Habsburgermonarchie*. Wiesbaden 2009. See also Wolfgang SCHMALE, (Ed.), *Multiple kulturelle Referenzen in der Habsburgermonarchie des 18. Jahrhunderts/Références culturelles multiples dans la monarchie des Habsbourg au dix-huitième siècle/Multiple Cultural References in 18<sup>th</sup>-Century Habsburg Monarchy*. Bochum 2010. Robert DARNTON, *The Business of Enlightenment. A Publishing History of the Encyclopédie 1775–1800*. Cambridge, Mass. – London 1979. Roger CHARTIER, *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France*. Princeton 1987.

# The History of Consumption of Early Modern Europe in a Trans-Atlantic Perspective

## Some New Challenges in European Social History<sup>1</sup>

BARTOLOMÉ YUN-CASALILLA

This paper's aim is not to provoke a discussion on the Atlantic and Atlantic history. Instead it will present some recent trends in Atlantic history as a sort of transnational history and reflect on their consequences for our understanding of Europe's past. More precisely the paper will show how and to what extent what we could call the "new" Atlantic history obliges us to rewrite the history of Europe by taking the history of consumption and the exchanges of material culture among Atlantic shores as a case study.

Two preliminary remarks are needed. First, as I have explained in previous works, the term "trans-national" will be used here in a very loose sense.<sup>2</sup> By trans-national I will not refer to the connections between communities located in different nation-states as is common among historians working on the modern world.<sup>3</sup> My intention here is just to make clear how a recent historiography that departs from the crucial concepts of trans-national and entangled histories, which very much characterise current Atlantic history, can contribute to rethinking some aspects of European past, in this case the history of consumption. Such a historiography underlines links between societies and social groups located in different imagined communities, not necessarily the nation state, as well as the role of mediators among those societies; and the processes of adaptation, adoption and – though sometimes neglected by historians – rejection among different peoples. In this sense, trans-national history is not "per force" linked to societies where the nation state is prevalent, like early modern European societies. Second, like many other historians today, I understand trans-national history not as a method, but as an approach. But, more importantly, though trans-national history is not a method, it does have a preferred methodology. That methodology, though not exclusive

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1 This text forms part of the research project P09-HUM 5330, "Nuevos productos Atlánticos, Ciencia, Guerra, Economía y Consumo en el Antiguo Regimen, 1492–1824" financed as a "Group of Excellence" by the Junta de Andalucía, partially with FEDER funds. I am grateful to Bethany Aram, a member of this group, for translating the original Castilian text. Previous versions of it were presented in different, more particular forms in "Cultural Brokers. The Summer Academy of Atlantic History and Atlantic History Lectures" (Galway, July 2011) organized by Nicholas Canny, at the European University Institute's "Summer School of Comparative and Transnational History" (Florence, September 9, 2011) and at the Istituto Storico Italo-Germanico of Trent (March, 22, 2012). I thank the different colleagues and researchers who discussed the content of these pages for their comments and criticism.

2 Bartolomé YUN, 'Localism', *Global History and Transnational History. A Reflection from the Historian of Early Modern Europe*. In: *Historisk Tidskrift* 4, 127 (2007), 659–678.

3 See C. A. BAYLY/S. BECKERT/M. CONNE et al., *AHR conversation: on transnational history*. In: *American Historical Review* 111, 5 (2006), 2.

to it, is mostly based on the “histoire croisée” (or entangled history) and on network analysis.<sup>4</sup>

In recent years Atlantic history has undergone important changes in terms of the choice and focus of the subjects under study. Authors including David Armitage, Alison Games, Donna Gabaccia, Jorge Cañizares Ezguerra, Bernard Bailyn, Philip Morgan or Nicolas Canny and many others have noted this transformation.<sup>5</sup> The classic view is very much related to a long tradition of narratives linked also to the established history of empires in which political, military, and economic history prevailed.<sup>6</sup> The Atlantic has long been conceived, and still is today, as an area dominated by Europe. The study of empires, first the Portuguese and Spanish, then the Dutch and British, has dominated historians’ analytical perspectives. Thus it was the European perspective, through the lens of the struggle among different monarchies or states in formation, from which the history of the Atlantic was viewed. Rather than as a space in itself, the Atlantic has sometimes been presented as an arena for European political and economic competition. As a consequence of this perspective, the Atlantic was understood, above all, in the framework of the retrospective narrative of European nation states created in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. According to this view, there had existed backward nations, like Spain and Portugal, that produced economically backward, politically intolerant and culturally traditional empires, whereas others, particularly Britain, had built dynamic, civilizing, and modern empires. They did so, moreover, of their own volition, thanks to their unique force and their specific and modern characters. This Atlantic was identified almost exclusively with America and the relations between European nations and American colonies. Africa had been attributed a very passive role, appearing almost exclusively as the provider of slaves for the New World’s plantation economies.

The Atlantic, moreover, has been considered as a relatively closed, almost autonomous, system with rather weak connections to other areas of the world.<sup>7</sup> Concepts such as “triangular trade” exemplify very well the existence of a system of inter-coastal relations that were accorded notable importance. In precisely this

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4 See also YUN, ‘Localism’, as note 2.

5 See among others the introduction to D. ARMITAGE/M. J. BRADDICK (Ed.), *The British Atlantic World, 1500–1800*. Basingstoke – New York 2002; D. GABACCIA, *A Long Atlantic in a Wider World*. In: *Atlantic Studies* 1 (2004), 1–27, J. CAÑIZARES-ESGUERRA, *Puritan Conquistadors. Iberianizing the Atlantic, 1550–1700*. Stanford 2006; B. BAILYN, *Atlantic History. Concepts and contours*. Harvard 2006, P. MORGAN/N. CANNY, *The Oxford Handbook of the Atlantic World, 1450–1850*. Cambridge, MA 2011.

6 Though not related to the Atlantic, much of the reasoning of D. GHOSH, *Another set of imperial Turns?* In: *American Historical Review* 117, 3 (June 2012), 772–793, can be easily transposed to it.

7 For a discussion of this aspect, see N. CANNY, *Atlantic History and Global History*. In: J. P. GREEN/P. MORGAN (Ed.), *Atlantic History. A Critical Appraisal*. Oxford 2009; and P. MORGAN/J. GREEN, *Introduction. The present state of Atlantic History*. In: *Ibidem*, 3–33.

# New Spain's Imports of Culture from the Southern Netherlands The Case of Books

CÉSAR MANRIQUE FIGUEROA

The transatlantic exportation and circulation of cultural goods of the Southern Netherlands to the Hispanic world is a subject which offers several possibilities for researchers because of the flow of people, books, engravings, paintings, tapestries, sculptures and textiles that found a welcome not only in the Iberian Peninsula but also in far-off Spanish America as well.<sup>1</sup>

However, relatively little attention has been paid to book trade between the Southern Netherlands and the Hispanic world during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Researchers have instead focused their efforts on the rise of Antwerp as a significant centre of Spanish vernacular editions which occurred in the golden age of the city between 1540 and 1560. During this period the careers of two Antwerp publishers stand out: those of Joannes Steelsius<sup>2</sup> and Martin Nutius,<sup>3</sup> whose editorial activity is believed to have made up eleven per cent of all the Spanish vernacular works published during those years.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, it is not a surprise that scholars have devoted considerable attention to the commercial operations of Christophe Plantin and his *Officina Plantiniana* since the Plantin-Moretus archives are exceptional and provide invaluable data for topics such as printing, typography and commercial oper-

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- 1 To study the commercial, cultural and artistic relations established between the Southern Netherlands and the Hispanic world, see: J.A. GORIS, *Étude sur les colonies marchandes meridionales (portugais, espagnols, italiens) à Anvers de 1488 a 1567. Contribution a l'Histoire des débuts du capitalisme moderne*. Leuven 1925; Eddy STOLS, *De Spaanse Brabanders of De handelsbetrekingen der Zuidelijke Nederlanden met de Iberische wereld 1598–1648*. Brussels 1971; Werner THOMAS/Robert VERDONK (Ed.), *Encuentros en Flandes, Relaciones e intercambios hispanoflamicos a principios de la Edad Moderna*. Leuven 2000; Paul VANDENBROECK (Ed.), *America: Bride of the Sun: 500 years Latin America and the Low Countries*. Antwerp 1992; Eddy STOLS (Ed.), *Flandre et Amérique latine. Flandria extra muros/500 ans de confrontation et métissage*. Antwerp 1993; Werner THOMAS (Ed.), *Un mundo sobre papel, libros y grabados flamencos en el Imperio Hispano Portugués*. Leuven 2009.
  - 2 Joannes Steelsius started his fruitful career in 1533, he remained active in Antwerp until 1562 when his widow and heirs took over his print shop. See: Pedro R. LEÓN, *Brief Notes on Some 16<sup>th</sup> Century Antwerp Printers with Special Reference to Jean Steelsius and his Hispanic Bibliography*. In: *De Gulden Passer* 54 (1976), 78–81.
  - 3 Martin Nutius was active in Antwerp from 1539–40 to 1558, his activity concerning Spanish-language books has been more studied than that of Joannes Steelsius, with whom Nutius had previously worked. Moreover, Nutius learned Spanish, which was a very useful tool in his own networking with the Spanish community established in Antwerp. See for instance: Jean PEETERS-FOUNTAINAS, *L'Officine espagnole de Martin Nutius à Anvers*. In: *De Gulden Passer* 35 (1957), 1–104.
  - 4 These numbers were recently published in the splendid book: Alexander S. WILKINSON, *Iberian books/Libros Ibéricos (IB): Books published in Spanish Or Portuguese Or on the Iberian Peninsula Before 1601*. Delft 2010, xvii.

ations.<sup>5</sup> It is not surprising either that the Spanish humanist Benito Arias Montano and his collaboration with Christophe Plantin has been prominent in the Spanish historiography up to now.<sup>6</sup>

In fact, some of the master pieces of the Flemish printing press were issued during the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century: The Polyglot Bible of Antwerp or the “Biblia Sacra Hebraice Chaldaice, Graece et Latina, Cura et Studio Benedict Ariae Montani”, issued in eight volumes between 1569–1573 by Christophe Plantin under the royal auspice of Philip II and in collaboration with the Spanish humanist Benito Arias Montano, who coordinated a select team of scholars, was the largest typographical venture of the whole 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>7</sup> The text was issued in Hebrew, Chaldean, Aramaic, Greek and Latin and illustrated by the leading engravers of Antwerp: Jean Wierix and Philippe Galle. In brief, the Polyglot Bible was considered to be not only Plantin’s masterpiece, but also the most important work realized by one single printer in the Low Countries.<sup>8</sup>

Jesuit Jerónimo Nadal’s “Adnotationes et meditationes in evangelia”, first printed in Antwerp by Martin II Nutius between 1594 and 1595, was another masterpiece of Flemish typography which had a wide distribution throughout the Hispanic world.<sup>9</sup> According to the tradition, Saint Ignace of Loyola himself required Father Jerónimo de Nadal to compose a book where the Gospels could be combined with an instructive text. A compilation of 153 engravings first appeared in 1593 in Antwerp directly published by the Jesuits under the name “Evangelicae Historiae Imagines”. The next year Martin II Nutius published not only the engravings but also the complementary instructive text under the name “Adnotationes

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- 5 The French publisher Cristophe Plantin started his career in Antwerp with the foundation of his celebrated *Officina Plantiniana* in 1555 and remained active until 1589, when it was taken over by his son-in-law Jan Moretus. See for instance: Frans ROBBEN, *De relaties van Christoffel Plantijn met de boekhandel in Spanje: een voorlopige inventaris*. In: Marcus DE SCHEPPER/Francine DE NAVE (Ed.), *Ex Officina Plantiniana. Studia in memoria Christophoro Plantini (1520–1589)*. Antwerp 1989. [= *De Gulden Passer* 66–67 (1988–1989), 399–418]; Frans ROBBEN, *Cristóbal Plantino, (1520–1589) y España*. Madrid 1989; Frans ROBBEN, Juan de Pullman, librero y agente de la *Oficina Plantiniana* en Salamanca (ca. 1579–1609), un avance. In: *Simposio Internacional sobre Cristóbal Plantino*. Madrid 1990, 53–61; Francine DE NAVE (Ed.), *Christophe Plantin et le Monde Ibérique*. Antwerp 1992; Jaime MOLL, *Plantino y la industria editorial española*. In: Fernando CHECA (Ed.), *Cristóbal Plantino: un siglo de intercambios culturales entre Amberes y Madrid*. Madrid 1995, 11–30; Fernando BOUZA, *De política y tipografía en torno a Felipe II y los Países Bajos*. In: Fernando CHECA (Ed.), *Cristóbal Plantino: un siglo de intercambios culturales entre Amberes y Madrid*. Madrid 1995, 31–52; Chris COPPENS, *The Plantin Moretus Archives: An index to Jan Denucé’s inventory of 1926*. In: *De Gulden Passer* 76–77 (1998–1999), 333–349.
- 6 Vicente BÉCARES BOTAS, *Arias Montano y Plantino: el libro flamenco en la España de Felipe II*. León 1999; Vicente BÉCARES BOTAS/Antonio DÁVILA PÉREZ, *Benito Arias Montano, correspondencia conservada en el Museo Plantin Moretus de Amberes*. 2 vols., Madrid 2002.
- 7 Federico PÉREZ CASTRO/Leon VOET, *La Biblia Políglota de Amberes*. Madrid 1973.
- 8 Francine DE NAVE, *Christophe Plantin et le monde Ibérique, Introduction a l’exposition*. In: Francine DE NAVE (Ed.), *Christophe Plantin et le Monde Ibérique*. Antwerp 1992, 16.
- 9 First a compilation of 153 engravings appeared in 1593 directly published in Antwerp by the Jesuits under the name *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines*.

# Media Control Between Spain and Colonial Mexico at the End of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century

LUDOLF PELIZAEUS

For too long the Spanish Crown<sup>1</sup> and the Spanish Inquisition<sup>2</sup> have been seen merely as instruments of control and limitation, suffocating all liberal ideas. The Enlightenment in South West Europe has been considered as a very limited instrument of a small intellectual circle and with little capacity for insight.<sup>3</sup> Therefore we will look at the institutions participating in the exchange of ideas between Europe and South America and will ask to what extent the Spanish Inquisition and the Spanish Crown controlled the media flow between Spain and the oversea possessions in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>4</sup> We want to ask whether the Inquisition was limited to control or if they also managed to influence different medias, and to what extent this generated a cultural exchange.

## *A lost book*

From 1558/59 for Spaniards, and from 1580 for Portuguese, it was forbidden to study abroad or print books outside of Spain. As a result, any imported book would be considered as suspicious and most European books had to be smuggled in. Especially for goods and books from France import was difficult due to political problems, whereas Irish and Flemish merchants had a better standing.<sup>5</sup> The Inqui-

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- 1 See Gabriel PAQUETTE, Enlightened Reform in Southern Europe and its Atlantic Colonies in the Long Eighteenth Century. In: Gabriel PAQUETTE (Ed.), Enlightened Reform in Southern Europe and its Atlantic Colonies, c. 1750–1830. Farnham 2009, 1–23, here: 2–8.
  - 2 Alvaro HUERGA, La Inquisición en la España borbónica, el declive del Santo Oficio (1700–1808): los hechos y las actividades inquisitoriales: la actividad de los Tribunales americanos: Tribunal de México. In: Bartolomé ESCANDELL BONET/Joaquín PÉREZ VILLANUEVA (Ed.), Historia de la Inquisición en España y América. Vol. 1: El conocimiento científico y el proceso histórico de la Institución (1478–1834). Madrid 1984, 1348–1352, 1422–1423; Maria Teresa MARTINS, A censura literária em Portugal nos séculos XVII e XVIII. Lisbon 2005, 5–22; Lucienne DOMERGUE, La censure des livres en Espagne à la fin de L'Ancien Régime. Madrid 1996; Elvira CUNHA DE AZEVEDO MEA, Sentenças da Inquisição de Coimbra em metropolitanos de D. Frei Bartolomeu dos Mártires (1567–1582). Porto 1982. Older basic literature on the subject: António BALÃO, A inquisição em Portugal e no Brasil. Lisbon 1906; and Heinrich REUSCH, Die Indices librorum. Tübingen 1886. On Mexico: Solange ALBERRO, Inquisition et société au Mexique 1571–1700. Mexico 1988, 110–112. A survey on the research until 1991: Richard E. GREENLEAF, Historiography of the Mexican Inquisition. Evolution of Interpretations and Methodologies. In: Elizabeth PERRY/Anne J. CRUZ (Ed.), Cultural encounters. The Impact of the Inquisition in Spain and the New World. Berkeley 1991, 248–276, here: 253–254.
  - 3 GREENLEAF, Historiography, as note 2, 252–253.
  - 4 Sven GRAMPP, Einleitung: Medien unter Kontrolle: Problemaufriss und Konturierung. In: Sven GRAMPP/Daniel MEIER/Sandra RÜHR (Ed.), Medien unter Kontrolle. Erlangen 2009, 8.
  - 5 José Antonio ESCUDERO, La Inquisición en España. Madrid 1985, 24–32; DOMERGUE, Censure, as note 2, 18. See: Oscar RECIO MORALES, Las reformas Carolinas y los comerciantes extranjeros

sition made a huge effort to maintain control and managed to be relatively effective in Spain, a comparatively small country if we consider the dimensions of the American coastline.

Officially book exports to the New World were controlled not by the Inquisition but by Crown officials who checked a ship before it could leave the harbor.<sup>6</sup> But by the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century rising frequency of ships made it impossible to control them all, so the Inquisition in New Spain established its own control at Veracruz, its monopoly port for Atlantic trade.<sup>7</sup> At the port, there was a relatively complicated system of control. First of all, the members of the Inquisition had to be alerted to the arrival of smuggled books, which rarely happened. Once they were aware of the contraband items, they had to list by hand the newly arrived books and compare the titles with the official Index of Spanish books, since Spain had its own index not identical with the Roman one. Since the last edition of the Spanish index was published in 1747, by the late 18<sup>th</sup> century a lot of books were only listed on several appendices published later. So it took quite a while to find out whether a book was listed or not, since even the Index itself was not an alphabetic list but divided in three classes of “condemnation” and only in each class then in alphabetical order. If a book figured on the index, it would be immediately confiscated. Suspicious books not listed on the index were sent to Mexico, to have the Holy Office control their content.<sup>8</sup>

The procedure shows the relative independence of New Spain in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, since the Holy Office in Mexico controlled books on its own. With the growing book market, most of the books arriving in Spain and its dominions were of French origin, or translated into French, and very often on scientific and economic subjects. Therefore France became the leading centre for the production of

en España: actitudes y respuestas de las “naciones” a la ofensiva regalista, 1759–1793. In: *Hispania* 240 (2012), 67–94, here: 70–72. Ana CRESPO SOLANA, *Legal Strategies and Smuggling Mechanisms in the Trade with the Hispanic Caribbean by Foreign Merchants in Cadiz: The Dutch and Flemish Case, 1680–1750*. In: *Jahrbuch für Geschichte Lateinamerikas* 47 (2010), 181–212, here: 181–185, 199–209.

- 6 A smuggler of books who got caught excused himself before the inquisition he surely won't have read the controlled books himself, since he stated (of course!) that he didn't even know that they were on the Index. The Holy Office didn't believe him, but we do not learn anything about his punishment. *Archivo General de la Nación, Ciudad de México (AGN), Inquisición, GD 61 Inquisición 1801*. Vol. 875, exp. 27. Large list of books: October 20, 1786: AGN, Inquisición, GD 61, Año: 1804. Vol. 1211, exp. 13.
- 7 Books could not only arrive from Europe but already circulated in the New World especially from the French Antilles. See: Pernille ROGE, *Legal Despotism and Enlightened Reform in the Îles du Vent: The Colonial Governments of Chevalier de Mirabeau and Mercier de la Rivière, 1754–1764*. In: *PAQUETTE, Enlightened Reform*, as note 1, 167–170, 182.
- 8 See on the Roman book control: Hubert WOLF, *Einleitung zur Bandi Edition 1701–1813*. In: Hubert WOLF (Ed.), *Römische Bücherverbote. Edition der Bandi von Inquisition und Indexkongregation 1701–1813*. Paderborn 2009, VII–XVII, here: IX–XI; and A. Huerga, *El tribunal de México*. In: Joaquín PÉREZ VILLANUEVA (Ed.), *Historia de la Inquisición en España y América*. Madrid 1984, 1348–1353.

# Alexander von Humboldt on Luxury, Consumption and Economic Prosperity

## A Contribution to the Study of Cultural Exchange

JOSÉ ENRIQUE COVARRUBIAS

The history of the Atlantic cultural exchange in the 18<sup>th</sup> century was in many ways the history of increasing trade of luxury items between Spanish America and Europe. Greater quantities of sugar, coffee, cochineal, vanilla, and of course of gold and silver were transported from Spanish America to Europe and more European manufactured goods traveled from the Old World to the New World, particularly at the end of the century when American consumption increased.

The 18<sup>th</sup> century also represents a very important age in the history of economic ideas. The period was characterized by significant changes in explanations for the “origins and causes of the wealth of nations”; to put it in the terms of Adam Smith, a towering figure at that time. No less important than this economist were Hume, Cantillon, Quesnay, Mirabeau, Galiani and Condillac, who are still regarded as some of the great economic thinkers of their age, and who were equally interested in the causes, modalities and consequences of the consumption of luxury goods in European societies.<sup>1</sup> It is precisely in relation to this theme that this article will elaborate upon an argument about Alexander von Humboldt, the well known Prussian naturalist, who from 1799 to 1804 traveled through a large part of Spanish America.

In a strict sense, this article will not offer an analysis or discussion of economic theories. Humboldt was not an economist but a scientist whose main aim was to inform his readers about the most interesting physical and moral realities of Spanish America. His comprehensive clear purpose compelled him to consider the economic situation of the colonies he visited and to express opinions about their social, political and administrative situation. The work which best summarizes Humboldt’s views and judgments on the economic state of Spanish America – or of a part of it – is his “Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain”, which appeared originally in French in 1811.<sup>2</sup> References to this “Essay” will be constant throughout this article and will serve to demonstrate how Humboldt conceived of an economic exchange – and as an extension of it a cultural exchange – between Europe and America in the turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

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1 A classic work is Joseph J. SPENGLER, *Économie et population. Les doctrines françaises avant 1800. De Budé a Condorcet*. Paris 1954, 113–164. Other studies: William J. BARBER, *British Economic Thought and India, 1600–1858. A Study in History of Development Economics*. Oxford 1975; Maxine BERG/Elizabeth EGER (Ed.), *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires, and Delectable Goods*. Basingstoke 2003.

2 Alexander VON HUMBOLDT, *Essai politique sur le Royaume de la Nouvelle-Espagne*. Paris 1811. There were two French editions of this work by SCHOELL, one of them appeared already in 1807 in fascicles. The Essay was soon translated to English (1811) and Spanish (1822).



*The precedent of Adam Smith and his historical perspective*

It is impossible to discuss Humboldt's contribution to the better understanding of Spanish America without referring to Adam Smith, who established the economic themes and categories that became standards for understanding the economic consequences of luxury consumption in the last decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. In the case of Smith, we have an economic analysis placed firmly into a historical context,<sup>3</sup> in that of Humboldt, we have an analysis informed by remarkable geographical knowledge.<sup>4</sup>

Smith was the 18<sup>th</sup> century economist who most systematically incorporated into his economic analysis the phenomenon of the commercial expansion from Europe to America and Asia. Humboldt knew Smith's work, "The Wealth of Nations" (1776),<sup>5</sup> and continued, in an explicit and implicit manner, some of the principal themes that Smith had exposed in this work. It is impossible to evaluate Humboldt's contribution to the study of the economic exchanges between Europe and Spanish America without examining Smith's view of the nature and consequences of those links. In this section I will examine Smith's economic ideas that have ramifications on Humboldt's "Essay".

Smith explained the great economic change Western Europe experienced as it transitioned from a rural and agricultural state to an urban and manufacturing state, and highlighted the patterns of consumption amongst the aristocracy. Chapter 4 in book III of "The Wealth of Nations", "How the commerce of towns contributed to the improvement of the country" is famous and frequently quoted by specialists. In this chapter, Smith explains the transformation of England from a place of war and conflict to a peaceful landscape: "[...] commerce and manufactures gradually introduced order and good government, and with them the liberty and security of individuals, among the inhabitants of the country, who had before lived almost in a continual state of war with their neighbours, and a servile dependency upon their superiors".<sup>6</sup>

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3 Recent commentary about Smith and his conception of historical research: Charles GRISWOLD JR., *Adam Smith and the Virtues of Enlightenment*. Cambridge 1999, 255–256, 349–354; Samuel FLEISCHACKER, *On Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations. A Philosophical Companion*. Princeton 2004, 26–31, 36–44, 80–82; Alexander BROADIE, *The Scottish Enlightenment. The Historical Age of the Historical Nation*. Edinburgh 2007, 75–77.

4 Hanno BECK, *Alexander von Humboldt*, 2 volumes. Wiesbaden 1959–1961, is the classical biography of Humboldt with constant references to his geographical capacities. Beck commented upon Humboldt's geographical studies in New Spain in "Kommentar", included in Alexander VON HUMBOLDT, *Mexico-Werk: politische Ideen zu Mexico: mexicanische Landeskunde*. Darmstadt 1991, 546–578. See also Margarita BOWEN, *Empiricism and Geographical Thought*. From Francis Bacon to Alexander von Humboldt. Cambridge 1981, 210–259.

5 Humboldt refers to *Wealth of Nations* several times in his *New Spain Essay*: Alexander VON HUMBOLDT, *Ensayo político sobre el reino de la Nueva España*. Mexico 1966, 401, 425–426, 429, 554 (this Porrúa edition is the best and most complete annotated version of the *Essay*).

6 Adam SMITH, *Wealth of Nations*. New York 2003, III, 4, 520. I use the Bantam Classic Edition (Bantam Dell).

# Towards a Global Material Culture

## Domestic Interiors in the Atlantic and Other Worlds

MICHAEL NORTH

### *Introduction*

*“I have three rooms next to each other, all of them for my own use. One is the so-called reception room [Visitenzimmer], the middle one a small drawing room [Saal] and then my sitting room [Wohnstube], with a bedchamber [Schlafstube] of moderate size. My husband lives on the other side of the reception room.”<sup>1</sup>*

This was written by the Göttingen Professor’s wife Wilhelmine Heyne-Heeren, who shortly after her wedding in 1796 claimed part of the couple’s home for her own use. This led to a separation of female and male living spaces that in turn would prove typical of changes in domestic arrangements during the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>2</sup>

On the whole, there was at the time a trend to move from living patterns with large, undifferentiated rooms to ones with smaller, specialised rooms. The parlour emerged as the focal point of family life, which was also reflected in furnishings and domestic culture.<sup>3</sup> Although contemporaries often found the domestic architecture and living conditions in the small towns of southern Germany and the old commercial cities of northern Germany to be backward or old-fashioned, and travellers regarded only the capital cities and university towns as more modern, living arrangements were changing even in the traditional centres.

The transition from a few large rooms to a number of smaller ones was a new phenomenon – at least with regards to the domestic architecture of the urban middle and upper classes. The process had already begun during the 17<sup>th</sup> century, to be sure, when all over Europe houses with their simple spatial structure were partially subdivided, but it was only during the 18<sup>th</sup> century that large attics previously used for storage were converted into living spaces and also partitioned into rooms. In addition to the use of the principal floors in merchant houses, the fenes-

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1 “[...] Ich habe drey Zimmer neben einander, die ich alle für mich brauche. Eines ist das sogenannte Visitenzimmer, das mittlere ein kleiner Saal und dem folgt meine Wohnstube, wobei eine mittlere Schlafstube ist. Mein Mann wohnt an der anderen Seite des Visitenzimmers.” Quoted in Birgit PANKE-KOCHINKE, *Göttinger Professorenfamilien. Strukturmerkmale weiblichen Lebenszusammenhangs im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*. Pfaffenweiler 1993, 90.

2 See also Adelheid von SALDERN, *Im Hause, zu Hause. Wohnen im Spannungsfeld von Gegebenheiten und Aneignungen*. In: Jürgen REULECKE (Ed.), *Geschichte des Wohnens, 1800–1918. Das bürgerliche Zeitalter*, vol. 3. Stuttgart 1997, 155–156. For the following see Michael NORTH (Ed.), *Material Delight and the Joy of Living. Cultural Consumption in the Age of Enlightenment in Germany*. Aldershot 2008, Chapter 4: *The Culture of Domestic Interiors*, 61–76.

3 Uwe MEINERS, *Stufen des Wandels. Aspekte der Periodisierung der bürgerlichen und bäuerlichen Kultur im Münsterland (1550–1800)*. In: Günter WIEGELMANN (Ed.), *Wandel der Alltagskultur seit dem Mittelalter*. Münster 1987, 275–308, here 307.

tration of façades brought more light into the rooms. The redesignation of specialised rooms, moreover, altered both the size and usage patterns of the old central hall. Accordingly, those who could afford it came to have a wider array of special-purpose rooms, e. g., a drawing room in addition to the parlour, while the poorer folk had to make do with one living room and a kitchen, or only a single room. Newly constructed multi-family dwellings and tenements with larger flats on one floor served the demand for rented accommodation with specialised rooms.<sup>4</sup> In many towns, old houses underwent strikingly luxurious modernisation:

*The gentleman of the house, Madame, the young misses, the young gentleman, the menservants [and] the maids all want their own rooms now; the staff is no longer content with servants' quarters, they must be able to heat their rooms in winter, and then there are the parlours, reception rooms, dining rooms, entrance halls and whatever other names may be given to the rooms.*<sup>5</sup>

This transition from larger to smaller family rooms was of course not limited to Germany. All over Europe – and even in North America as well the colonial cities of Africa and Asia – we can witness innovative forms of dwelling and material culture. George Gibbs, a physician in Exeter toward the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, wrote to his bride about the new house to be rented.

*“Just within the second door, on the left hand, is a very small Room, which will do for a Surgery [...] beyond this, is a good Parlour (not large) wth two sash'd windows, wainscoted, & painted blue.”*

Above were “two chambers ‘tolerably good, & one of them, if I remember right, hung with paper”, as well as a “dining room with two sash'd windows looking into the Neighbours Garden and hung with yello Harreteen”. It lead into “a very good lodging Room, but somewhat dark”.<sup>6</sup> The parlour became the prominent reception room not only in England, but also in North America. Every new or redece-

4 Jens FRIEDHOFF, “Magnificence” und “Utilité”. Bauen und Wohnen 1600–1800. In: Ulf DIRLMEIER (Ed.), *Geschichte des Wohnens*. Band 2: 500–1800. Hausen, Wohnen, Residieren. Stuttgart 1998, 503–788, here 620–633.

5 “[...] der Herr, die Madame, die Demoiselles Töchter, der junge Herr, die Diener, die Mädchen, jeder will jetzt seine eigene Stube haben; mit Kammern ist die Dienerschaft nicht zufrieden, im Winter muß das Zimmer geheizt werden können, dazu kommen dann noch Putzstuben, Visitenzimmer, Eßsäle, Entreezimmer, und was für Namen die Stuben noch mehr haben mögen.” Johann Jacob SELL, Brief über Stettin und die umliegende Gegend auf einer Reise dahin im Sommer 1797 geschrieben. Berlin 1800; quoted in Volker GLÄNTZER, *Nord-Süd-Unterschiede städtischen Wohnens um 1800 im Spiegel der zeitgenössischen Literatur*. In: Günter WIEGELMANN (Ed.), *Nord-Süd-Unterschiede in der städtischen und ländlichen Kultur Mitteleuropas*. Münster 1985, 73–88, here 83.

6 Amanda VICKERY, *Behind closed Doors. At Home in Georgian England*. New Haven – London 2009, 91. Guildhall Library, MS 11 021, vol. 1, f. 65 (12 May 1747), George Gibbs, Exeter, to Ann Vicary, Bristol; f. 117 (30 June 1777), George Gibbs, Exeter, to Nanny Gibbs.

# African Plant and Animal Species in 18<sup>th</sup>-Century Tropical America

JUDITH A. CARNEY

## *Introduction*

The intercontinental exchange of plants, animals, and microbes that occurred as a result of European maritime expansion between the 16<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries is known to scholars as the Columbian Exchange. The term derives from the pioneering scholarship of historian Alfred W. Crosby, who coined it in his 1972 book by that title. In his second book, *Ecological Imperialism*, Crosby drew attention to the significance of ordinary people for these early global species transfers. European migrants who settled new lands transformed the environments of North America, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa with the plants and animals that accompanied them. They created a transplanted cultural and botanical footprint – landscapes resembling those they had left behind or, in Crosby’s words, *Neo-Europes*.<sup>1</sup> In the decades since publication of these landmark books, the Columbian Exchange has become indispensable to our understanding of the biological and cultural history of the early modern era.

This article examines yet another significant human-mediated intercontinental transfer of species that occurred during the Columbian Exchange, but one that has received less scholarly attention. In this instance, the agents of plant establishment were African, the migrants were enslaved, and the transfers involved species brought from tropical Africa to the New World tropics. These African species introductions were unlike any other of the Columbian Exchange era for they unfolded in tandem with the transatlantic slave trade and the forced migration of Africans. The object of this article is to illuminate the African components of the Columbian Exchange.

This discussion particularly considers some two dozen plants that arrived in tropical America between the 16<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries (Table 1). Most were domesticated in Africa. Others, originally from Asia, reached tropical Africa in pre-history, when Africans adopted them into existing agricultural systems. Each of these plants is documented in the historical record of crops grown in New World plantation societies.

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1 Alfred W. CROSBY, *The Columbian Exchange. Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492*. Westport, Conn. 1972; Alfred W. CROSBY, *Ecological Imperialism. The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900–1900*. New York 1986. On plant transfers by “ordinary people,” see William BEIN-ART/Karen MIDDLETON, Plant transfers in historical perspective: A Review Article. In: *Environment and History* 10/1 (2008), 3–29.

Table 1:  
African Plants Mentioned in Historical Records  
of Plantation Societies of Tropical America<sup>2</sup>

Cereals		Oil Plants and Fruits	
Sorghum	<i>Sorghum bicolor</i>	Sesame/benne	<i>Sesamum radiatum</i>
Rice	<i>Oryza spp.</i>	Castor bean	<i>Ricinus communis</i>
Tubers		Oil palm	<i>Elaeis guineensis</i>
Yams	<i>Dioscorea cayenensis</i>	Watermelon	<i>Citrullus lanatus</i>
Plantain/Banana	<i>Musa spp.</i>	Muskmelon	<i>Cucumis melo</i>
Taro/Eddo	<i>Colocasia esculenta</i>	Ackee	<i>Blighia sapida</i>
Legumes		Vegetables and Spices	
Black-eyed pea/ cowpea/calavance	<i>Vigna unguiculata</i>	Okra	<i>Hibiscus esculentus</i>
Pigeon/Angola/ Congo pea/guandul	<i>Cajanus cajan</i>	Egyptian spinach/ jute mallow	<i>Corchorus olitorius</i>
Bambara ground- nut/ Voandzeia	<i>Vigna subterranea</i>	Guinea pepper	<i>Xylopia aethiopica</i>
Lablab/hyacinth/ bonavist bean	<i>Lablab purpureus</i>	Guinea squash	<i>Solanum aethiopicum</i>
Basis for Beverages		Forage Grasses	
Roselle/bissap	<i>Hibiscus sabdariffa</i>	Guinea grass	<i>Panicum maximum</i>
Kola nut	<i>Cola spp.</i>	Angola/Pará grass	<i>Brachiaria mutica</i>
Millet	<i>Pennisetum glaucum</i>	Bermuda grass	<i>Cynodon dactylon</i>
		Molasses grass	<i>Melinis minutiflora</i>
		Jaraguá grass	<i>Hyparrhenia rufa</i>

Consideration of African contributions to New World agricultural systems demands a shift in research perspective from the export commodities that slaves grew for European markets to the plants they cultivated for their own needs. This perspective illuminates the ways African species were introduced, the purposes they served, and the sites where they were established. This in turn legitimizes the importance of African species as a vital logistical support of the transatlantic slave trade, their role in European colonization of the New World tropics, and the agency of enslaved Africans in initiating their cultivation.

#### *Africans in Iberia on the Eve of European Overseas Expansion*

Enslaved Africans were in the Iberian Peninsula prior to the colonization of the Americas. They arrived during the Muslim occupation through the trans-Saharan trade in slaves. Documents record their presence in Spain from the fourteenth century. With maritime expansion in the early 15<sup>th</sup> century, the Portuguese began di-

<sup>2</sup> Taken from Judith CARNEY/Richard ROSOMOFF, In the Shadow of Slavery: Africa's Botanical Legacy in the Atlantic World. Berkeley 2009.

# Africans in European and Asian Clothes

## Dutch Textile Trade in West Africa, 1600–1800

HENK DEN HEIJER

### *The importance of textile*

Clothes have been important in every culture and the same is true for Africans in the early modern era, who attached great importance to clothing as a symbol of status. Kings and chiefs were significantly more richly dressed than both their subjects and of course than their house slaves, a common feature in African societies. To distinguish themselves, wealthy and powerful individuals liked to dress in colorful, expensive fabrics imported from outside of Africa, taking advantage of the long-established textile trade that brought items from China and the Middle East into Europe, and after the 15<sup>th</sup> century, from Europe to Africa's west coast.

In 1602 Pieter de Marees published his “Beschryvinghe ende historische verhael vant Gout Koninckrijck van Gunea” (Description and Historic Account of the Gold Kingdom of Guinea), in which he wrote an interesting description of life in the city of Benin, located in the Niger delta.<sup>1</sup> The chiefs of Benin are depicted in the book as extremely fashionably dressed men with a variety of clothing. Surrounded by their entourage, they walk around town in cotton gowns of African origin, with Dutch linen around their shoulders. As De Marees visited the West African coast at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, when merchants from the Dutch Republic had only just discovered the trade route to this coastal area, it may seem quite surprising that Dutch linen was already so common at that time.<sup>2</sup>

However, the presence of European fabrics in Benin in itself wasn't that remarkable. Ever since the Portuguese had explored the coasts of West Africa and established trade stations there during the 15<sup>th</sup> century, textiles were an important component of the trade between Europeans and Africans. Initially, only wool and linen fabric from Europe was traded in West Africa, although it is also possible that cotton from the Barbary Coast was sold by European merchants or by Sub-Saharan caravan trade.<sup>3</sup> After the discovery of the sea route to Asia by Vasco da Gama in 1498 the textile trade to West Africa gained a new dimension. In addition to Eu-

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1 The description of Benin is not from Pieter de Marees but from an informant with the initials D.R. In the reissue of Pieter DE MAREES, *Beschryvinghe ende historische verhael van het Gout Koninckrijck van Gunea anders de Gout-custe de Mina genaemt liggende in het deel van Africa*. The Hague 1912, the editor S.P. L'Honoré Naber suggested that the initials stand for Dierick Ruiters, a sailor who published a seaman's guide of the Atlantic entitled *Toortse der Zee-Vaert*. Vlissinghen 1623. See also P. DE MAREES, *Description and Historical Account of the Gold Kingdom of Guinea* (1602). Oxford 1987, 226.

2 DE MAREES, *Beschryvinghe*, as note 1, 117.

3 B.W. DIFFIE/C.D. WINIUS, *Foundation of the Portuguese Empire, 1415–1580*. Minneapolis 1977, 25 and 47. As early as the thirteenth century Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese merchants were buying cotton in the coastal regions of modern Morocco.

ropean products, the Portuguese also shipped significant amounts of cotton fabric from India to West Africa via Lisbon.<sup>4</sup> The colorful Asian fabrics were very popular among Africans, and textiles would continue to dominate the European trade to West Africa until far into the 19<sup>th</sup> century. During this time, the demand for Asian fabrics and designs increased, fabrics and designs that, by then, didn't necessarily originate from Asia.<sup>5</sup>

As noted previously, Dutch trade to West Africa didn't take off until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. After skipper Barent Ericksz from Medemblik had gone on a successful trade mission to Guinea with his ship, the "Maeght van Enkhuysen", the trade to West Africa took a huge leap. Each year, about twenty ships departed for Guinea, with a significant cargo of metal products, spirits and textiles on board. Within a few years, merchants from the Republic dominated the trade to West Africa. As long as the Dutch continued to wage war against Spain and Portugal in Europe, these merchants didn't have to fear attacks from Portuguese warships in Africa, since the Portuguese had their hands full with the Dutch in European waters. But when a truce was announced in 1607, the stakeholders in the trade to West Africa feared the end of their trade activities in this area. To prevent this, they advocated for the protection of their trade interests in a remonstrance to the States General in which they said that their ships were loaded with important Dutch commodities like different sorts of linen and woolen cloth, which were vital to the industry of the Dutch Republic in its formative years.<sup>6</sup> The plea for protection had the desired effect. In 1612, the first Dutch fort – Nassau – was built on the Gold Coast by order of the States General. Later, in the thirties and forties, the Dutch West India Company (WIC) succeeded in expelling the Portuguese from the Guinea Coast altogether. Until the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Dutch would dominate the trade to this part of West Africa, after which they were gradually outflanked by the English.

The trade between the Republic and West Africa was initially driven by private merchants who, in some cases, had united to form companies for a certain period or for certain occasions.<sup>7</sup> In 1621, after the end of the Twelve Years' Truce, the States General had granted the monopoly on the Atlantic shipping and trade, including the West African trade, to the WIC, which had been founded the same year. Despite this, part of the trade remained in the hands of smugglers. From the last quarter of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, these smugglers originated mainly from port cit-

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4 G.V. SCAMMEL, *The First Imperial Age. European Overseas Expansion c. 1400–1715*. London 1989, 13.

5 In the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries cotton with Asiatic motives was also printed in the Dutch Republic. E. HARTKAMP-JONXIS, *Sits en katoendruk, handel en fabricage in Nederland*. In: HARTKAMP-JONXIS (Ed.), *Sits. Oost-West relaties in textiel*. Zwolle 1987, 30–41; B. BROMMER (Ed.), *Bontjes voor de tropen, de export van imitatieweefsels naar de tropen*. Helmond – Zwolle 1991.

6 J.K.J. DE JONGE, *De oorsprong van Neerland's bezittingen op de kust van Guinea*. The Hague 1871, 30–33.

7 J.I. ISRAEL, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade, 1585–1740*. Oxford 1989, 61.

# Material Exchange as Cultural Exchange

## The Example of West African Products in Late 17<sup>th</sup> and Early 18<sup>th</sup>-Century France\*

JUTTA WIMMLER

Integrating material exchanges into theories of cultural exchange has proven a difficult task for scholars. This is partially a result of the intellectual origins of cultural transfer theories, which were established within the field of German Studies and strongly focused on the exchange of literature, ideas, and other aspects of “high culture” between Europeans. Although most definitions of cultural exchange include material transfers in their list of possible topics, actual investigations of cultural exchange processes rarely focus on them.<sup>1</sup> For example, Michael Gassert explicitly includes material exchanges in his definition of cultural exchange, but in the end focuses strongly on the fact that those who conduct trade in material products – merchants – were mediators and media for knowledge exchanges. So although Gassert’s definition could potentially lead to an inclusion of the products traded by these merchants, he does not follow up with a corresponding investigation.<sup>2</sup> As a consequence of this lack of scholarship, it has been difficult for researchers to explain how one might assess such processes.<sup>3</sup>

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- 1 Gesa STEDMAN/Margarete ZIMMERMANN (Ed.), *Höfe – Salons – Akademien. Kulturtransfer und Gender im Europa der Frühen Neuzeit*. Hildesheim 2007. Helga MITTERBAUER (Ed.), *Entgrenzte Räume. Kulturelle Transfers um 1900 und in der Gegenwart*. Vienna 2005. Hans-Jürgen LÜSEBRINK (Ed.), *Interkulturelle Kommunikation. Interaktion, Fremdwahrnehmung, Kulturtransfer*. Stuttgart 2005. Wolfgang SCHMALE (Ed.), *Kulturtransfer. Kulturelle Praxis im 16. Jahrhundert*. Innsbruck 2003. Thomas FUCHS/Sven TRAKULHUN (Ed.), *Das eine Europa und die Vielfalt der Kulturen. Kulturtransfer in Europa 1500–1850*. Berlin 2003. Günter BERGER/Franziska SICK (Ed.), *Französisch-deutscher Kulturtransfer im ‘Ancien Régime’*. Tübingen 2002. Michael GASSERT, *Kulturtransfer durch Fernhandelskaufleute. Stadt, Region und Fernhandel in der europäischen Geschichte. Eine wirtschaftshistorische Untersuchung der Beziehungen zwischen wirtschaftlichen Vorgängen und kulturellen Entwicklungen anhand von Karten, 12. bis 16. Jahrhundert*. Frankfurt am Main 2001. Hans-Jürgen LÜSEBRINK/Rolf REICHARDT (Ed.), *Kulturtransfer im Epochenbruch. Frankreich–Deutschland 1770 bis 1815*. Leipzig 1997. See also the four volumes of the series “Cultural exchange in Early Modern Europe”: Heinz SCHILLING/István G. THÓTH (Eds), *Religion and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700*. Cambridge 2006. Donatella CALABI/Stephen TURK CHRISTENSEN (Ed.), *Cities and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700*. Cambridge 2007. Francisco BETHENCOURT/Florike EGMOND (Ed.), *Correspondence and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700*. Cambridge 2007. Herman ROODENBURG (Ed.), *Forging European Identities, 1400–1700*. Cambridge 2007.
- 2 GASSERT, *Kulturtransfer*, as note 1.
- 3 See e.g. LÜSEBRINK (Ed.), *Kommunikation*, as note 1, 129. Gesa STEDMAN/Margarete ZIMMERMANN, *Kulturtransfer der Frühen Neuzeit unter dem Zeichen von Raum und Gender: eine Problemskizze*. In: STEDMAN/ZIMMERMANN, *Höfe*, as note 1, 9–10. Matthias MIDDEL, *Von der Wechselseitigkeit der Kulturen im Austausch. Das Konzept des Kulturtransfers in verschiedenen*



As Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink has stated following Matthias Middell, it is rather difficult to assess material exchanges within this framework, especially in the era of consumption.<sup>4</sup> Quite frequently, cultural identity was lost as products of consumption were quickly incorporated into a culture's self-perception and thus became part of its identity. Indeed, exchange processes from the Atlantic to Europe in early modern times are strongly characterized by this loss of original cultural identity. These materials nevertheless influenced European cultures, especially as they encouraged innovations and triggered consumption.<sup>5</sup> Since the impact of the Atlantic, including Africa, on European development and cultural change lay mainly in material imports, cultural exchange theories can benefit from an Atlantic perspective, which emphasises the role of material objects in exchange processes.

We should ask how this Atlantic impact on European culture, which was based on material exchanges, can be assessed within cultural exchange theories. Considering the lack of scholarship in this area, this is certainly a pressing concern. Some researchers have provided starting points for this question. Michael Gassert suggested that the exchange of raw materials can encourage new techniques, manufacturing processes, innovations or imitations.<sup>6</sup> While this general notion is also shared by Maxine Berg in her article about British consumer goods in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, she does not employ a framework of cultural exchange, though she does assess the transfer of technologies.<sup>7</sup> Gassert's definition (and Berg's notion) opens the door for assessing raw materials as processes of cultural exchange. However, in his paper about integrating cultural exchange theories with theories of consumption, Martin Mulsow suggested that cultural presence had to be mediated through material objects in order for the process to be considered cultural transfer. For him, material presence is not enough – cultural presence needs to be part of the reception.<sup>8</sup> Thus for Mulsow, the physical presence of a foreign substance is not in itself cultural exchange. While this request makes sense in theory, the reality of exchange processes is in fact more complicated, as can be illustrated by the case study offered in this article.

This paper explores the impact of African substances and accompanying African knowledge on early modern French culture, arguing that this impact should be understood as cultural exchange. It will integrate theories of cultural exchange with approaches regarding innovation and consumption in early modern Europe, but will also move beyond both in assessing the importance of the Atlan-

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Forschungskontexten. In: Andrea LANGER/Georg MICHELS (Ed.), *Metropolen und Kulturtransfer im 15./16. Jahrhundert*: Prag – Krakau – Danzig et al. 2001, 17.

4 LÜSEBRINK, *Kommunikation*, as note 1, 130.

5 See especially Maxine BERG, *In Pursuit of Luxury: Global History and British Consumer Goods in the Eighteenth Century*. In: *Past & Present* 182/1 (2004).

6 GASSERT, *Kulturtransfer*, as note 1, 60, 66.

7 BERG, *Pursuit*, as note 5.

8 Martin MULSOW, *Konsumtheorie und Kulturtransfer. Einige Perspektiven für die Forschung zum 16. Jahrhundert*. In: SCHMALE, *Kulturtransfer*, as note 1, 134.

# Beaver Hats, Drugs and Sugar Consumption in Vienna around 1700

## France as an Intermediary for Atlantic Products<sup>1</sup>

VERONIKA HYDEN-HANSCHO

Vienna and Central Europe could not directly benefit from the Atlantic expansion of Western Europe during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Dependent on merchants from Venice, Nuremberg and Augsburg, the Viennese markets were inadequately supplied with Atlantic products.<sup>2</sup> But Atlantic products had their own tradition in Austria's material culture in early modern times and they could be found in the collections or inventories of the high nobility or the imperial family. The family ties of the Casa de Austria and the political bonds between Madrid and Vienna had guaranteed long-lasting cultural transfer of Atlantic products from Spanish America to Vienna during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>3</sup> These Atlantic products, like ivory, logwood and bezoar, were central to the well-known collections of the Austrian branch of the Habsburg dynasty, for example at Ambras Castle or in Prague under Rudolf II. The chambers of art and curiosities, the so called "Wunderkammern", reflected the rulers' admiration for everything exotic, curious, new and beautiful in nature and art. According to Gabriel Kaltermack, a German artist:

*"A well equipped art collection ought primarily to contain three things. First, sculptures. Secondly, paintings. Thirdly, curious items from home and abroad made of metals, stone, wood, herbs – whether from above the ground, from within the ground or from the waters and the sea. [...] Then, antlers, horns, claws, feathers and other things belonging to strange and curious animals, birds or fishes [...]"*<sup>4</sup>

Thus, Spain played an important role as intermediary for Atlantic products on their way to Vienna in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. However, these relationships were based upon the family ties between Madrid and Vienna and upon the Spanish supremacy in culture and court-representation in early modern Europe. During the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century France under Louis XIV displaced Spain as

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1 The research was funded by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF): P20629-G08.

2 Erich LANDSTEINER, Handel und Kaufleute. In: Karl VOCELKA/Anita TRANINGER (Ed.), Wien. Geschichte einer Stadt. Vol. 2: Die frühneuzeitliche Residenz (16.–18. Jahrhundert). Vienna – Cologne – Weimar 2003, 185–214.

3 Renate PIEPER, Papageien und Bezoarsteine. Gesandte als Vermittler von Exotica und Luxuserzeugnissen im Zeitalter Philipps II. In: Friedrich EDELMAYER (Ed.), Hispania – Austria II. Die Epoche Philipps II. (1556–1598). Vienna 1999, 215–224. Maria STIEGLECKER, "Was ich eingethan und erkhauff, wille ich mit erster gelegenheit überschickken." Zum Gütertransfer von Spanien an den Kaiserhof. In: Friedrich EDELMAYER (Ed.), Hispania – Austria II. Die Epoche Philipps II. (1556–1598). Vienna 1999, 225–245.

4 Susan PEARCE/Ken ARNOLD (Ed.), The Collector's Voice: Critical Readings in the Practice of Collecting. Vol. 2: Early Voices. Aldershot – Burlington – Singapore – Sydney 2000, 14–15.

the trend-setter in representative and material culture.<sup>5</sup> It was the aim of the Sun King to display France's new political and military hegemony through an ostentatious culture in court-life and representation and to export his cultural program within Europe.<sup>6</sup> Even the Court of Vienna became influenced by French culture in clothing, cosmetics, furniture, cooking, and even medication by 1700. Journeys to Paris and Versailles became obligatory for young noble men in the course of their Grand Tour in order to learn French behaviour in court-life and French attitudes in politics, art, living and representation.<sup>7</sup>

In addition to the French hegemony in Europe's political and cultural affairs, Louis XIV and Colbert tried to make efforts to expand France's presence in the Atlantic. The French colonies in Canada along the Saint Lawrence River and the Great Lakes suffered from slow population development. The establishment of the French in the Caribbean often happened without governmental regulations. Guyana was not more than a small settlement and on the West African Coast the French played an insignificant role in comparison with the Portuguese, Dutch or British trading forts. So the aim of Colbert's Atlantic interests was to extend the French influence in the Atlantic and, moreover, to increase the economic output of the French colonies.<sup>8</sup> Therefore, the fur-trade of the French in North America was intensified, France enlarged its zone of influence along the Mississippi, and the Treaty of Ryswick affirmed the French possession of Saint-Domingue, initiating the development of Saint-Domingue, which went on to become Europe's main supplier of sugar in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Finally, with the foundation of the Compagnie du Sénégal France made attempts to install French trading posts on the West African Coast, especially in Senegambia.<sup>9</sup>

Thus by 1700 France imported a variety of Atlantic products which found their way into French culture. The furs remained Canada's most important export product to metropolitan France as had been true since the early French colonization in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. About 70 % of Canadian exports consisted of beaver furs, the so called castor. In the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century about 300 000 furs per annum arrived in France from the Saint Lawrence River.<sup>10</sup> From the 1670s onwards,

5 James B. COLLINS, *The State in Early Modern France*. Cambridge 1995, 119–122.

6 Guido BRAUN, *Von der politischen zur kulturellen Hegemonie Frankreichs 1648–1789*. Darmstadt 2008. Peter BURKE, *The fabrication of Louis XIV*. New Haven 1992.

7 Thomas GROSSER, *Erinnerungen und Souvenirs. Deutsche Reisende an den Stätten französischer Erinnerungskultur zwischen Kavalierstour und beginnendem Massentourismus (1700–1850)*. In: Eva DEWES/Sandra DUHEM (Ed.), *Kulturelles Gedächtnis und interkulturelle Rezeption im europäischen Kontext*. Berlin 2008, 103–137. Thomas GROSSER, *Reiseziel Frankreich. Deutsche Reiseliteratur vom Barock bis zur Französischen Revolution*. Opladen 1989. Jeremy BLACK, *France and the Grand Tour in the early eighteenth century*. In: *Francia* 11 (1983), 407–416.

8 Gilles HAVARD/Cécile VIDAL, *Histoire de l'Amérique française*. Paris 2008, 99–102.

9 Jean MEYER/Jean TARRADE/Annie REY-GOLDZEIGUER, *Histoire de la France coloniale*. Vol. 1: *La conquête*. Paris 1991, 57–61, 102–120, 125–128. James PRITCHARD, *In search of Empire. The French in the Americas, 1670–1730*. Cambridge 2004, 123–124, 150–186, 191, 254–255.

10 HAVARD/VIDAL, *Histoire*, as note 8, 460–462.

# Exotic Products, Luxury and New Forms of Sociability Changing Patterns of Consumption in 18<sup>th</sup>-Century Madrid

IRENE FATTACCIU

In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, colonial products were primarily distinguished by their novelty and consequent rarity. In the following century, their consumption, as well as that of other luxury goods, grew as part of a slow but progressive process of popularization. As a result, the ability of national economies to absorb the phenomenon became central to the Enlightenment debate over the nature of social progress, occupying a large part of the literature on the subject.<sup>1</sup> The polemic over luxury was neither exclusively Spanish, nor was it just a theoretical debate involving European intellectuals; Bourbon Spain featured new intellectual and moral – not to mention material – possibilities that informed and motivated the luxury debate involving thinkers, philosophers, economists and institutions.<sup>2</sup>

Many people blamed the subversion of traditional values on the importation of fashions from other European countries, principally France. Some denounced the Bourbon dynasty for this adoption of foreign fashions and customs, while intellectuals close to Enlightenment ideals rejected such closed-mindedness. The most important figures of the Enlightenment supported the new taste for luxury, despite its extravagance and fragility, based on the premise that the search for happiness was the driving force behind private life, economics and history. The effects of this ideal of rationality and freedom in fashion and behaviour were felt especially outside aristocratic circles, among the highest brackets of what we could define as the middle class. Many authors, inspired by the writing of Montesquieu, Voltaire, Hume and the Encyclopedists, turned their attention to the possibilities of development offered by the consumption of luxury goods.<sup>3</sup>

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- 1 On the luxury debate in the 18th century see: Alan HUNT, *Governance of the Consuming Passions: A History of Sumptuary Law*. New York 1996; John SEKORA, *Luxury The Concept in Western Thought, Eden to Smollet*. Baltimore 1977; Matthew HILTON, *The Legacy of Luxury: Moralities of Consumption Since the Eighteenth Century*. In: *Journal of Consumer Culture* 4 (2004), 101–123; María BOLAÑOS, *Técnicas del placer, industrias del capricho. Artes suntuarias y fábricas reales*. In: José Luis PESET REIG (Ed.), *Historia de la Ciencia y de la técnica en la Corona de Castilla*, vol. IV. Madrid 2002, 725–763; Maxine BERG/Elizabeth EGER, *Luxury in the eighteenth century: debates, desires and delectable goods*. Basingstoke 2002.
  - 2 See as an example: F. ROJO DE FLORES, *Inventiva contra el lujo, su profanidad y excesos por medio de propias reflexiones, que persuaden su inutilidad*. Madrid 1794; Luis de EJOCENTE, *Libro del agrado, impreso por la virtud en la imprenta del gusto a la moda y al aire del presente siglo*. Madrid 1785; Manuel ROMERO DEL AMO, *Efectos perniciosos del lujo*. Madrid 1789; Pedro RODRÍGUEZ CAMPOMANES, *Discurso sobre la educación popular*. Madrid 1978 [1774].
  - 3 The *Lettres Persanes* by Montesquieu (1721), the *Mondain* by Voltaire (1736), the *Encyclopédie* by Diderot and D'Alembert and the *Essay moral, political, literary* by Hume (1752) are among the most influential texts. F. Romá i Rossell, L. Normante y Carcavilla and J. Sempere y Guarinos looked at luxury in a positive light as an impulse for decadent economy, and also P. Rodríguez Campomanes expressed himself in favour of this innovative force.

In this context, chocolate occupied a very special place, as it spread beyond the Spanish capital into small and medium-sized towns – eventually reaching as far as the rural areas – thanks to its multifaceted and controversial identity suspended somewhere between exotic, French and Spanish.<sup>4</sup> By exploring the juxtaposition of, and contrast between, its various social definitions, it becomes possible to reconstruct a very detailed picture of the process through which products were manipulated to match different consumers, as well as to understand the role played by chocolate in the diffusion of luxury and in opening up the way for other sumptuary consumer goods.

In particular, the focus on consumer practices in terms of “performance” (the rituals of consumption) rather than exclusively in terms of results (how much and what was consumed), would help to understand if and why chocolate’s success helped fuel the taste for novelty and undermined the socially hierarchical models of consumption imposed by various sumptuary legislation. The creation of social practices and rituals of consumption within which chocolate assumed a central role was crucial for creating desire for the product. At the same time, such rituals were structured and reformed around such dichotomic definitions as private/public sociability, feminine/masculine, popular/elite, and Spanish-French/exotic.

*Ostentation and distinction: the luxury debate and the creation of new spaces of sociability*

Apart from the polemic on the potential dangers of luxury, mid-18<sup>th</sup> century Madrid was still dirty and badly-built. Its narrow, tortuous streets were uneven and unpaved; garbage and dirty water was disposed of on the street; septic tanks were non-existent; and water was in short supply.<sup>5</sup>

The life of the King and the Court also remained dull, devoted more to showing off its riches than enjoying them, but the situation was gradually changing thanks to a new proliferation of social occasions and gatherings. The situation was the same when it came to food, the quantity of which seemed more important than the quality. As one anonymous 18<sup>th</sup> century traveller noted, the Spanish paid “[...] no much attention to what they drank and ate, but they [were also] incredibly into fashion and luxury”,<sup>6</sup> reiterating the impression expressed by many that ostentation was more central to the lives of upper-class Spaniards than the enjoyment of pleasure and luxury.

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4 To read more on the subject see: Irene FATTACCIU, Atlantic History and Spanish Consumer Goods in the 18th Century: The Assimilation of Exotic Drinks and the Fragmentation of European Identities. In: *Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos*, 2012, online [2012-07-31]: <http://nuevomundo.revues.org/63480>.

5 Juan SEMPERE Y GUARINOS, *Historia del Lujo y de las Leyes Suntuarias de España*. Madrid 1788, 342–343.

6 Anónimo (around 1700). In: José GARCÍA MERCADAL (Ed.), *Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal*, 6 vols. Madrid 1999, vol. 3, 462; impression repeated in William DALRYMPLE, *Travels through Spain and Portugal in 1774*. London 1777, 15.

# Chocolate Consumption in Westphalia and Styria during the 18<sup>th</sup> Century\*

BENITA WISTER

Styria at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century: the Inner Austrian court chamber accedes to the request of Baron Ferdinand of Stadl (1648–1694) to import Italian victuals like “potatoes, chocolate, salad and so forth” from Milan. The letter of passage, issued on January 15, 1694, is one of the first written proofs of chocolate consumption in Styria. Less than one decade later, the first coffee houses opened in the former residential city of Graz. And in 1716, the Milan coffee brewer Johann Maralla contributed confectionary and coffee cups as well as chocolate mugs to the banquet of the Styrian Estates.<sup>1</sup>

Same time, different place: in Westphalia, the pharmacists Henrich Robert Larosche and Steffen Höbbelink from the Prince-Bishopric of Münster propose on January 23, 1691 a “Taxa Medicamentorum” that contains a drink named “Succolata Inda”. Two years later, the Münster Court confectioner Johann Buerenfroendt delivered “cucumbers and chocolate” to the Prince-Bishop of Münster, Friedrich Christian of Plettenberg-Lenhausen (1644–1706). During the following decade, Buerenfroendt established himself as a major distributor for chocolate in the Prince-Bishopric of Münster.<sup>2</sup>

These are only a few examples amongst many showing that from the turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, chocolate began its march into Styrian and Westphalian households. Nowadays, chocolate is part of most people’s everyday life worldwide. You can buy it in the supermarket or at a specialist store, consume it liquid or solid, with almost every imaginable flavor. And one will probably not find any big differences between the consumption of chocolate in Styria and in Westphalia. This might give the impression of a very similar historical development of chocolate distribution and consumption in both areas, but the question to pose is: is that true?

There is no doubt about the importance of regional conditions and interactions for the development of consumption habits and cultural transfer of foodstuffs, drinks and tobacco, as a variety of historiographical studies on European ta-

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1 Steiermärkisches Landesarchiv (StLA), Innerösterreichische Regierung (I.Ö. Reg.), Hofkammer (Hofk.) 1694 I 26 s.f.: “Tartuffelen, Tschocalada, Saladie, und dergleichen Mehrer”; StLA, Landschaftliches Archiv, Antiquum (Laa. A.) II, K.14, H. 87, s.f.; cf. Fritz POPELKA, *Geschichte der Stadt Graz*, 2 Vols. Graz 1959, Vol. 2, 646.

2 Landesarchiv Nordrhein-Westfalen, Abteilung Westfalen (LAV NRW W), Fürstbistum Münster (Fbm. MS), Landesarchiv – Militaria (La.–Mil.) 200, f. 49r; Archiv (A.) Lembeck, W 954, Fürstliche Münsterische Küchen-Rechnung De Anno 1693, 5: “CumCummeren und Chockelade”; A. Nordkirchen, Akten (Akt.) 10510, s.f.

ble culture prove.<sup>3</sup> Yet, with regard to the current state of research on the diffusion of chocolate, European historiography down to the present day has focused mainly on the European or national level.<sup>4</sup> This circumstance has been criticized by Annerose Menninger: “The lack of country specific and regional studies [...] does not allow any validation, if semi-luxury food was adapted in a variety of ways”<sup>5</sup>.

Yet, neither her work nor others have changed this deficiency significantly to date. Only a few studies on the new hot beverages and tobacco are at variance from the common historiographical pattern and give an idea of the importance of regional influences in early modern times, referring to, amongst others, Dresden, Saxony, and Bremen.<sup>6</sup> But they do not focus upon chocolate. The rare exceptions are, for instance, a study on the socioeconomic development of chocolate in early modern Vienna by Roland Graf (2006) as well as an edited volume by Bruno Bernard on chocolate consumption in Flanders (1996).<sup>7</sup>

Now, one might say that chocolate in comparison to coffee and tea had been of minor importance in early modern times. But then it can be regarded as the

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- 3 Cf. Roman SANDGRUBER, Knödel, Nudel, Topfenstrudel. Österreichische Ernährungsgewohnheiten und regionale Unterschiede in Mitteleuropa. In: Günther WIEGELMANN (Ed.), Nord-Süd-Unterschiede in der städtischen und ländlichen Kultur Mitteleuropas. Münster 1985, 265–298; Günther WIEGELMANN, Thesen und Fragen zur Prüfung von Nahrung und Tischkultur im Hanseraum: Günther WIEGELMANN/ Ruth-E. MOHRMANN (Ed.), Nahrung und Tischkultur im Hanseraum. Münster – New York 1996, 1–22; Renée VALERI, Mitteleuropäische Einflüsse auf die Nahrung in Schweden. In: WIEGELMANN/MOHRMANN, Nahrung, as above, 319–348.
- 4 E.g. Louis E. GRIVETTI/ Howard-Yana SHAPIRO (Ed.), *Chocolate: History, Culture, and Heritage*. Hoboken 2009; Francesco CHIAPPARINO, *L'industria del cioccolato in Italia, Germania e Svizzera. Consumi mercati e imprese tra '800 e prima guerra mondiale*. Bologna 1997; Sophie D. COE/ Michael D. COE, *The True History of Chocolate*. London 1996; Nikita HARWICH, *Histoire du chocolat*. Paris 1992; Tiziana PLEBANI, *Ciocolata. La bevanda degli dei forestieri*. Venice 1991; Gillian WAGNER, *The Chocolate Conscience*. London 1987; Wolf MÜLLER, *Seltene Frucht Kakao: Geschichte des Kakaos und der Schokolade*. Hamburg 1957; Roman ROSSFELD, *Mit Stillstand zum Fortschritt. Über Handel, Verarbeitung und Konsum von Schokolade in der Schweiz bis 1800*. In: Internationaler Arbeitskreis für Kulturforschung des Essens 11 (2003), 24–35; Bianca M. LINDORFER, *Discovering Taste: Spain, Austria, and the Spread of Chocolate Consumption among the Austrian Aristocracy, 1650–1700: Food & History* 1, 7 (2009), 35–51.
- 5 Annerose MENNINGER, *Genuss im kulturellen Wandel. Tabak, Kaffee, Tee und Schokolade in Europa (16.–19. Jahrhundert)*. Stuttgart 2004, 28f.: “Der Mangel an länderspezifischen Einzel- und Regionalstudien [...] lässt eine Prüfung, ob die Genussmittel hier in unterschiedlicher Weise rezipiert worden sein könnten, nicht zu.” Her study is often taken as reference work regarding the history of coffee, tea, and chocolate.
- 6 Jörg LUDWIG, *Amerikanische Kolonialwaren in Sachsen 1700–1850. Politik, wirtschaftliche Entwicklung und sozialer Wandel*. Leipzig 1994; Christian HOCHMUTH, *Globale Güter – lokale Aneignung: Kaffee, Tee, Schokolade und Tabak im frühneuzeitlichen Dresden*. Konstanz 2008; Petra SELING-BIEHUSEN, “Coffi, Schokolati, und Potasie”. *Kaffee-Handel und Kaffee-Genuss in Bremen*. Idstein 2001.
- 7 Roland GRAF, *Adeliger Luxus und städtische Armut. Eine soziokulturelle Studie zur Geschichte der Schokolade in Mitteleuropa vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*. Vienna 2006; Bruno BERNARD/ Jean-Claude BOLOGNE/ William CLARENCE-SMITH et al. (Ed.), *Chocolat: de la boisson élitaire au bâton populaire XVI<sup>e</sup>-XX<sup>e</sup> siècles*. Brussels 1996.

# From Cultural Exchange to Cultural Memory

## Spanish American Objects in Spanish and Austrian Households of the Early 18<sup>th</sup> Century<sup>1</sup>

RENATE PIEPER

In 2001, eight sections of an early 17<sup>th</sup> century Japanese folding screen were discovered to form part of the wall decoration of the Eggenberg palace at Graz, the administrative center of former Inner-Austria. The panels represent scenes of Ōsaka before 1615, but the screen was not mentioned in the Austrian inventories before the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, and then as a “Spanish wall furnished with Indian paper”. Nonetheless, art historians assume that this screen might have been acquired by the Princes of Eggenberg in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and passed from generation to generation until it was finally detached and placed on the room walls in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>2</sup> The case of this “Spanish wall”, which was neither Spanish nor Spanish American but Japanese and appeared in the inventories of Central Europe only one hundred years after its design and production in Ōsaka, leads to the question, what was the function of the Spanish Empire in providing Europe with overseas luxuries in the 18<sup>th</sup> century?

In the 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> century, American, African, and Asian artifacts were mainly acquired through the Portuguese and Spanish trading systems and collected in the cabinets of curiosity of the European nobility and elites.<sup>3</sup> The rise of the Dutch, English, and French privileged companies intensified the connections between Europe and Asia and cemented European interests in Oriental goods,<sup>4</sup> whereas American exotics lost part of their attraction. Thus for the 18<sup>th</sup> century, it seems to be obvious that after two centuries of intense commerce and contacts, transatlantic cultural exchange was already so well established, and therefore the transfer of American, and especially Spanish-American objects to other European regions no longer commanded much attention. In addition, by the start of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Spain had lost its former political and cultural importance and for-

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1 The archival material was assembled for the FWF funded project P 20629-G08: Cultural and technological transfer from the Southern Atlantic to Central Europe in Times of Crisis and Warfare (1640–1740): France and Spain as Intermediaries for the Habsburg territories. Archival research was done by Mag. Jakob Fallmann, whom I wish to thank for his efforts.

2 Franziska EHMCKE/Barbara KAISER (Ed.), *Ōsaka zu byōbo. Ein Stellschirm mit Ansichten der Burgstadt Ōsaka in Schloss Eggenberg*. Graz 2010.

3 Maria STIEGELECKER, ‘Was ich eingethan und erkauft, wille ich mit erster gelegenheit überschickhen.’ Zum Gütertransfer von Spanien an den Kaiserhof. In: Friedrich EDELMAYER (Ed.), *Hispania-Austria II. Die Epoche Philipps II. (1556–1598). La época de Felipe II (1556–1598)*. Vienna – Munich 1999, 225–246.

4 Maxine BERG, *Cargoes: the Trade in Luxuries from Asia to Europe*. In: David Cannadine (Ed.), *Maritime Trade and Empire*. New York 2007, 47–64; Maxine BERG, *In Pursuit of Luxury: Global Origins of British Consumer Goods in the Eighteenth Century*. In: *Past and Present* 182 (2004), 85–142.



eign merchants had obtained leading positions in the Ibero-American commerce.<sup>5</sup> Thus, during the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Spain was more likely to import cultural patterns from other European countries and their overseas possessions than to disseminate its own material culture or that of its transatlantic territories.

This assumption is contradicted by the structure of commerce within the Spanish Empire under the Bourbon dynasty. From the War of the Spanish Succession until the Napoleonic invasion transatlantic trade grew steadily. Spanish American silver exports alone tripled throughout the period, but they gradually lost their relative importance, to the point that on the eve of the Napoleonic wars, precious metals contributed only one half of all Spanish American deliveries to the Old World.<sup>6</sup> This implies that other American export items became more and more important over the century.

Historiography often mentions the sugar trade as a characteristic of European transatlantic commercial relations. However, Spanish American sugar production was largely overshadowed by that of the French and British Antilles and, with regard to total export values, dyes – cochineal and indigo – as well as tobacco and even cocoa were more important. Next to precious metals, these commodities were the most substantial of all export commodities with regard to their prices and the quantities, registered in the Spanish American export-tax declarations. Moreover, these goods were shipped in increasing quantities to other parts of Europe too. Various Mesoamerican dyewoods, pharmaceutical drugs, spices, hides, tropical woods, precious stones, and pearls were exported as well. Besides these wares, which were at least in part registered and taxed, there existed a broad variety of items with less value than precious stones, or which didn't have as high a trade volume as hides but were regularly exported as well. Due to administrative reasons these goods were often declared as "gifts". To assess their export volume is thus impossible, and it is even rather difficult to determine the nature of these "gifts". Nonetheless, it is safe to assume that these goods, like the officially declared wares, were brought to Europe in increasing quantities. If their export volume mirrors that of the other export commodities, it might have increased three- or four-

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5 Ana CRESPO SOLANA, *Legal Strategies and Smuggling Mechanisms in the Trade with the Hispanic Caribbean by Foreign Merchants in Cadiz: The Dutch and Flemish Case, 1680–1750*. In: *Jahrbuch für Geschichte Lateinamerikas* 47 (2010), 181–212; Antonio Luis LÓPEZ MARTÍNEZ, *Cádiz y el comercio entre Europa y América a finales del siglo XVIII. Una aproximación a partir de las pólizas de seguros marítimos*. In: *Jahrbuch für Geschichte Lateinamerikas* 47 (2010), 213–246; Klaus WEBER, *Deutsche Kaufleute im Atlantikhandel, 1680–1830*. Munich 2004; Enriqueta VILA VILAR/Allan J. KUETHE (Ed.), *Relaciones de poder y comercio colonial*. Seville 1999.

6 Antonio GARCÍA-BAQUERO GONZÁLEZ, *Cádiz y el Atlántico (1717–1778). El comercio colonial español bajo el monopolio gaditano*, 2 vols. Seville 1976; John R. FISHER, *Commercial Relations between Spain and Spanish America in the Era of Free Trade, 1778–1820*. Liverpool 1985; Renate PIEPER, *Money or Export Commodity for Asia? American Silver in the Markets of Mexico, Castile and Amsterdam from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century*. In: John H. MUNRO (Ed.), *Money in the Pre-Industrial World: Bullion, Debasements and Coin Substitutes*. London 2012, 129–145.

## Abstracts

WOLFGANG SCHMALE

### Theory and Practices of Cultural Exchange within Europe

In European history, the 18<sup>th</sup> century marks the beginning of an era of globalization. This means that cultural transfers and exchanges were enhanced and diversified both on a global level and also within Europe. By the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the nature of cultural transfers had changed. Enlightenment had nurtured the opinion that European culture was the most progressive in the world and that Europeans had to accomplish a cultural mission towards other cultures in the world. The 18<sup>th</sup> century witnessed an astonishing progress in the self-definition of Europe as “European Culture” or simply as culture in the singular. That means that the self-assertion of Europe as being a legitimate manifestation of something historically new had won the battle. This did not hinder the exchange of goods but, to some extent, it ended the bi- or multi-directional character of cultural transfer and exchange. Inside Europe, growing nationalism enhanced multi-directional transfers for reasons of national competition but the time for cultural models such as the Italian and the French one that were imitated by all and had an impact on all, were over.

BARTOLOMÉ YUN-CASALILLA

### The History of Consumption of Early Modern Europe in a Trans-Atlantic Perspective: Some New Challenges in European Social History

In recent years Atlantic history has undergone important changes in terms of the choice and focus of the subjects under study. The classic view is very much related to a long tradition of narratives linked to the established history of empires, with the Atlantic being conceived as an area dominated by Europe. What we could call “New Atlantic history” has changed many of these presumptions, understanding the Atlantic as a bottom-up system, recognizing more the “negotiated” and intercultural relations of power. Especially in the realms of consumption, habit and customs, we can see complex processes of transfer, reception and adoption as well as rejections, hybridization and cultural oppositions. A simple reflection on the cases presented in the text from the perspective of the history of consumption leaves clear that Europeans did not impose themselves upon peoples on the other side of the Atlantic without problems or internal changes and perversion of their own principles and material culture.

CÉSAR MANRIQUE FIGUEROA

### New Spain's Imports of Culture from the Southern Netherlands. The Case of Books

The importance of the exchange of books, engravings, paintings, and tapestries from the Southern Netherlands within New Spain's society during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries is widely recognized. However, next to nothing is known about the presence and circulation of Southern Netherlands' books during the 18<sup>th</sup> century in the American viceroalties. There are several reasons for this lack of studies. Scholars have normally assumed that contacts between the Hispanic world and the Southern Netherlands had been declining since 1650 and sales in the Iberian market had been going down since the late 17<sup>th</sup> century. In line with such an approach, it would seem that the books and engravings of the Southern Netherlands were no longer exported to Spain or the American viceroalties. Nevertheless, this industry continued to be very active well into the 18<sup>th</sup> century. For this reason, this paper examines the extent to which the Southern Netherlands' Latin, Spanish and French-language texts continued to circulate among New Spain's readers.

LUDOLF PELIZAEUS

### Media Control Between Spain and Colonial Mexico at the End of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century

The article focuses on Mexico within the system of exchange of ideas through censorship in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. It can be shown that the American dominions of Spain could be kept clear from heresy, but that new political ideas could not be kept away. Even if Spain managed to keep most books out of the country and its overseas dominions, enough copies made their way to allow ideas to flow. Together with the major political changes occurring in Spain from 1808 onwards, the philosophical ideas that had so far only circulated in elite circles made their way to a broader audience. A large part of Creole society started to buy and read foreign books if they spoke enough French. The guerilla warfare which broke out from 1808 onwards was thus mainly justified as a fight of the "right religion" against new and dangerous "heretical" ideas.

JOSÉ ENRIQUE COVARRUBIAS

### Alexander von Humboldt on Luxury, Consumption and Economic Prosperity: A Contribution to the Study of Cultural Exchange

The well known scientist and traveler Alexander von Humboldt (1769–1859) has been traditionally considered as a good example of enlightened cosmopolitanism in the manner of Herder, Goethe, and Kant. Indeed, he shared with them a great

appreciation for the most diverse expressions of civilization in the world. However, it is important to note that Humboldt also had a keen and cosmopolitan interest in economic matters, as his work “Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain” (1811) clearly illustrates. In “Essay” he analyzed the economic situation of colonial Mexico in a way that reveals his aim of corroborating general truths about consumption, production (agriculture and mining), and the geographical frame of material activities. Under the contrasting influences of Adam Smith and so-called “political arithmetic”, he tried to convince his readers of the Spanish colony’s great economic potential and the type of local consumption necessary to realize it. Humboldt wrote in the aftermath of a century of intense exchange of luxury goods between Europe and America, and this background is essential to understanding the importance he gave to economic matters and the question of welfare.

MICHAEL NORTH

### Towards a Global Material Culture: Domestic Interiors in the Atlantic and Other Worlds

This paper explores the formation of a global material culture during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Based on the examination of inventories in North America, North-Western Europe, South Africa and South East Asia it shows that the domestic interiors of the upper and upper middle classes were shaped by similar tastes of fashions all over the world. The paper will ask how these were mediated worldwide and examine aesthetic differences with special reference to the British and Dutch colonial spheres.

JUDITH CARNEY

### African Plant and Animal Species in Eighteenth-Century Tropical America

The Columbian Exchange literature emphasizes the New World and Asian crops that revolutionized the food systems of Africa but ignores the role of African crops in the New World tropics. This article draws attention to the neglected African components of the Columbian Exchange. The movement of African plants and food animals across the Atlantic Ocean in the initial period of plantation development depended on the transatlantic slave trade for their dispersal. Plants and animals arrived on slave ships together with African captives for whom the species were traditional dietary staples, medicines, and food animals. A proper appreciation of African contributions to New World agricultural systems requires a new perspective on plantation societies, one that shifts the standard research perspective from the export commodities that slaves grew to the plants they cultivated for their own needs. This consideration in turn draws attention to the significance of

African species as a vital logistical support of the transatlantic slave trade and to the agency of enslaved Africans in pioneering cultivation of familiar dietary plants in their dooryard gardens and food fields.

HENK DEN HEIJER

### Africans in European and Asian Clothes. Dutch Textile Trade in West Africa, 1600–1800

Textiles have always been important commodities in the trade with West Africa. This article focuses on the Dutch textile export to West Africa in early modern history. At the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Dutch merchants started to ship European fabrics to the Gold Coast. For more than two centuries textiles represented about half of the value of the goods that were bartered for gold, ivory, and slaves. During the course of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries the size of the trade with West Africa grew significantly. Within the product range of textiles, however, there was a remarkable shift from European to Asian fabrics. Around 1700 the share of Asian textiles in the trade has risen to 40 or even 50 percent. For a long time Dutch trade with West Africa was in the hands of the Dutch West India Company (WIC). This ended, however, in 1730 when the trade monopoly of the WIC was abolished. From that moment private merchants took over the Dutch–African trade. These merchants continued the shipping of large quantities of textiles to the West African Coast, mainly in order to purchase slaves for the plantation colonies in the Americas. The value of these exported textiles fluctuated around 350 000 guilders a year.

JUTTA WIMMLER

### Material Exchange as Cultural Exchange: The Example of West African Products in Late 17<sup>th</sup> and Early 18<sup>th</sup> Century France

Although theories of cultural exchange have always been open to the idea of including material exchanges into their field, little research has been done on the subject. This paper argues that an Atlantic perspective can contribute to this discussion because transfers from the Atlantic to Europe were strongly connected to material products. Based on an analysis of such exchange processes from Western Africa to France in the 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, the article explores a variety of ways in which substances and raw materials acted as agents of cultural exchange. This includes the related areas of consumption, imitation, and innovation, as well as the production of knowledge in fields such as medicine or technology. Since Atlantic materials impacted on European cultures, this article makes a case for including such processes into definitions of cultural exchange, at the same time providing some starting points for reassessing the role of materials for cultural development.

VERONIKA HYDEN-HANSCHO

### Beaver Hats, Drugs and Sugar Consumption in Vienna around 1700: France as Intermediary for Atlantic Products

Under Louis XIV France displaced Spain as a trend-setter in representative and material culture within Europe and intensified its efforts in Atlantic expansion. This paper investigates if and how France could act as a cultural broker for Atlantic products in Vienna and more specifically how France's intermediation of Atlantic products changed Viennese cultural life. The article argues that Atlantic products mediated by France were less visible than those mediated by Spain because they formed part of the manufacturing process, such as the use of gum arabic in French hat production. France's most important contribution to the intermediation of Atlantic products was the dissemination of knowledge as demonstrated by the use of South American plants in medicine. French artisans diffused knowledge about the processing of beaver and vicuña hats and about special methods and working equipment for the use of sugar in sweets and desserts. The paper identifies the protagonists and the intermediaries, primarily members of the Viennese court nobility, French artisans and correspondents who provided direct access to the famed French court.

IRENE FATTACCIU

### Exotic Products, Luxury and New Forms of Sociability: Changing Patterns of Consumption in 18<sup>th</sup>-Century Madrid

During the 18<sup>th</sup> century chocolate became the most popular Spanish drink, and its consumption – as well as that of other luxury goods – grew as part of a slow but progressive process of popularization. In this process the cultural and social appropriation on the part of different consumers further enriched chocolate's image and influenced how its consumption spread. This paper looks at the juxtaposition and contrast between its various social definitions, reconstructing a detailed picture of the process through which products were manipulated to match different consumers. In particular, by focusing on rituals of consumption in Madrid, the paper aims to understand if and why chocolate's success helped fuel the taste for novelty and undermined the socially hierarchical models of consumption imposed by various sumptuary legislation.

BENITA WISTER

## Chocolate Consumption in Westphalia and Styria during the 18<sup>th</sup> Century

This essay deals with the comparison of the development of chocolate distribution and consumption in Westphalia and Styria during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. It examines the different ways of informal distribution, such as private imports and contraband trade that throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century played a significant role in both regions. In a second step, it examines the different approaches of formal distribution and trade by wholesalers and merchants. What role did Italian merchants play in colonial trade in both regions? Were there different distribution strategies applied in Styria and Westphalia? Last, but not least, the article takes a closer look at the so called “specialists”, such as chocolate makers and grinders, coffee brewers, and confectioners. The aim is to illustrate that chocolate, as it is often stated, did not conquer “Europe”, but that regional circumstances might have had a significant influence on the development of distribution and consumption of chocolate within 18<sup>th</sup>-century Europe.

RENATE PIEPER

## From Cultural Exchange to Cultural Memory: Spanish American Objects in Spanish and Austrian Households of the Early 18<sup>th</sup> Century

During the 18<sup>th</sup> century Spain was more likely to import cultural patterns from other European countries and their overseas possessions than to disseminate its own material culture or that of its transatlantic territories. Instead, Spanish probate inventories and ship registers reveal that luxurious objects like folding screen, bezoar stones, chinaware, búcaro vessels and table chests were still imported either directly from New Spain/Mexico and Peru, or that New Spain acted as an intermediary between Asia and Europe. It is noteworthy that in this epoch, Mexico had developed a manufacturing tradition of its own, inspired by Asian, European and indigenous forms alike. The luxuries arriving from the (West- and East-) “Indies” were highly valued in Europe and they brought about a continuous impact of Spanish America on the motherland. Likewise, Inner-Austrian/Styrian households still had material belongings which originated from the Spanish overseas empire. Inventories do not reveal when these items were acquired but there are indications of their worth and thus the esteem in which they were held. German names point to former links to the Spanish Empire that were still present in the cultural memory. Thus a cultural impact of Spanish America on the material culture of the Iberian Peninsula and Central Europe could still be perceived during the 18<sup>th</sup> century.