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MANUEL LÓPEZ PEREIRA OF AMSTERDAM, ANTWERP AND MADRID: JEW, NEW CHRISTIAN, AND ADVISOR TO THE CONDE-DUQUE DE OLIVARES

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MANUEL LÓPEZ PEREIRA OF AMSTERDAM, ANTWERP AND MADRID: JEW, NEW CHRISTIAN, AND ADVISOR TO THE CONDE-DUQUE DE OLIVARES*

JONATHAN I. ISRAEL

While the main trend in Portuguese New Christian migration in the early seventeenth century was from Portugal and Spain to the Low Countries, or Italy, there was always a small trickle passing in the opposite direction, from lands where the open practice of Judaism was permitted, back to Spain and Portugal. In most cases, we can only speculate as to the motives of those who returned to a life of apparent Catholic orthodoxy. Frequently difficulties in integrating into Sephardi life, or some form of estrangement from, or rancour against, the leadership of the Portuguese Jewish communities played a part. In some cases it was simply a matter of business opportunities or even just plain bad luck, a transient visit leading to entanglement with the Inquisition. It may be that there were also Sephardi Jews who reverted to Catholicism in the Peninsula out of religious conviction.

Among those Portuguese who did return from Holland to the Peninsula, one of the most intriguing, if hitherto a somewhat shadowy figure, was Manuel López Pereira, a former member of the Amsterdam Sephardi community who became a senior financial official in Madrid. This in itself is remarkable enough but, in addition to the possibly unique course of his career, López Pereira was one of the most important of the small group of experts on foreign trade gathered at the Spanish court in the 1620s, advisors whose tracts and memoranda on international trade rivalry, and Spain's worsening economic problems, played a major role in the framing of Olivares' ambitious programme for the commercial, industrial, and financial regeneration of Spain.

This group of authors of mercantilist projects gathered at Madrid in the 1620s included a German from Trier, by the name of Agustín Bredimus,¹ a Walloon nobleman, Gabriel de Roy,² the Dutchman Francisco Rétama, who became a citizen of Jerez,³ the Englishman Thomas Shirley, and two Portuguese New Christians, one of whom, Duarte Gomes Solís, already has an established place in historical literature as one of the more notable Iberian

* I should like to thank most warmly for their extensive assistance with this article Professor J. H. Elliot of the Institute for Advanced Study of Princeton University; my colleague Angel García, of University College London, and Jesús Bouza Alvarez, of the University of Madrid.

¹ On Bredimus, who, by the late 1620s, was acting as agent of the Hanseatic towns in Madrid, see José Alcalá-Zamora, *España, Flandes y el mar del Norte (1618-39)*, (Barcelona, 1975) 180, 281, 415.

² *Ibid.* 239-42, 274-79; E. Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders of de handelsbetrekkingen der zuidelijke Nederlanden met de Iberische wereld, 1598-1648*, (2 vols. Brussels, 1971) i, 18-21.

³ Retama's tract "Consideraciones en rracon de passar el trato a las provinziias ovedientes de Flandes" is printed in Alcalá-Zamora, *op cit.*, 480-90.

mercantilist writers of the seventeenth century.⁴ The other Portuguese, Manuel López Pereira, is much less well known than Gomes Solís, presumably because most of his tracts to this day remain unpublished. He was, however, even more prolific than Gomes Solís in the range of his schemes, perhaps indeed the most prolific of any of these authors of projects. And while in several cases he was probably merely drawing on a common fund of ideas, rather than putting forward new ideas of his own, López Pereira's proposals in several respects approximate more closely to the actual lines of Olivares' mercantilist initiatives than those of virtually any other mercantilist writer, or *arbitrista*, of the time. It is thus with some confidence that we can say that he was an influence of some consequence in the formulation of Olivares' policies.

Manuel López Pereira seems to have settled definitively in Spain in 1619, living first as a merchant in Seville but then moving, within a year or two to Madrid. Around the time he moved to the Spanish capital he began compiling and submitting to Philip IV's ministers a hefty series of at least nine or ten economic tracts and possibly even more. These were well received and it is clear that he must have found favour (as well as protection from the Inquisition) at the highest level for it evidently seeped out at court that he had relatives living as Jews in Holland. We have no specific comment by Olivares' himself on López Pereira, but, in 1624, a *junta* of lesser ministers judged him to be a man of "much a inteligencia" and "muy buen zelo" whose work was to be encouraged.⁵ He was recommended for a royal grant, was naturalised as a Castilian subject pending further favours,⁶ and subsequently became a royal *contador* (auditor). In the early 1630s, he was in charge of the accounts of the revenues from Olivares' new salt tax.⁷ Clearly he proved his worth as an official. From a letter written in Madrid in November 1636, we learn that he was then promoted (we may assume on Olivares' re recommendation) to the senior post of *contador de relaciones* with a seat in the royal Council of Finance.⁸ Thus, López Pereira spent a great many years in the day-to-day company of Spain's principal ministers. This promotion to a highly prestigious post in the higher echelons of the court bureaucracy, we are told, provoked widespread scandal at court for not only was López Pereira publicly known to be a Portuguese New Christian, but also (it was rumoured) had in early life been publicly condemned as a "judaiser", in an Auto-da-fé in Portugal, and now had a brother living as a professing Jew in Amsterdam. Although the writer of this letter says that he does not know whether these rumours were true or not, we know today that this was indeed the situation.

⁴ Gomes Solís' main work was his *Discursos sobre los comercios de las dos Indias* published in 1622 where, among numerous other projects, he suggested that the Spanish crown should allow professing Jews to establish ghettos in the Portuguese East Indies as a way of undermining Dutch and English trade with the Far East; see *loc. cit.* 14-15; Léon Bourdon (ed.) *Mémoires inédits de Duarte Gomes Solís* (Lisbon, 1955) and the extensive relevant sections of C.A. Hanson, *Economy and Society in Baroque Portugal 1668-1703* (Minnesota, 1981).

⁵ For this information, I am indebted to J. H. Elliott for communicating to me the content of a *consulta* in an unnumbered volume of the Montesclaros papers in the private archive of the duques del Infantado, in Madrid.

⁶ *Actas de las Cortes de Castilla* xl, 266, session of 8 Jan. 1624.

⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. xlix (1632) 393.

⁸ Antonio Rodríguez Villa, *La Corte y monarquía de España en los años de 1636 y 1637* (Madrid, 1886) 65.

In fact, Manuel had two younger brothers – Antonio and Francisco López Pereira – living as professing Jews in Amsterdam; and Antonio, whose Jewish name was apparently Joseph Israel Pereira,⁹ was a man of some prominence in synagogue affairs. He several times served as a member of the governing board of the Neveh Shalom synagogue and was a founding member of the *Santa Companhia de dotar orfãos e donzelas pobres*, (1615) a Portuguese Jewish organisation based in Amsterdam, with secret branches in Antwerp, Rouen, St Jean de Luz, and even in Brazil, dedicated to providing marriage portions for poor Portuguese Jewish girls (and for poor New Christian girls in countries where the practice of Judaism was not allowed) who were willing to abandon Christianity and marry in synagogue in Holland or in Hamburg.¹⁰

The legend of the Sephardi Jew who migrated back from Holland to the Peninsula, reverting to at least nominal Christianity, and who ultimately became an advisor and confidant of Olivares lived on among Dutch Sephardi Jewry through the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries albeit in a slightly confused form. Daniel Levi de Barrios, who published a chronicle of the Portuguese Jewish community of Amsterdam, in 1683, names the one-time Dutch Jew who made good in Spain becoming, as he put it, *contador mayor* of the king of Spain and *valido* of the Conde Duque not as “Manuel” but as “Antonio” Lopes Pereira.¹¹ Apart from the confusion of first names as between Manuel and Antonio López Pereira, it may be that Levi de Barrios’ designation of López Pereira as “valido”, that is a favourite and confidant, of Olivares somewhat overstates the case. However, we can be fairly sure that Manuel López Pereira was personally close to Olivares, and was in some sense his protégé, as we know that at the time of the Conde-Duque’s death, Manuel López Pereira, who was evidently still in Madrid, was named in Olivares’ will as one of his (fairly numerous) executors.¹² The story as told by Levi de Barrios was later repeated in the eighteenth century by the Amsterdam Portuguese Jewish chronicler David Franco Mendes.¹³

⁹ It seems clear that Antonio Lopes Pereira usually used the name Joseph Israel Pereira in synagogue records and that he was several times treasurer of the Neveh Shalom synagogue, but that he also later claimed the ancient patronymic “Abendana” styling himself from 1622 “Joseph Abendana”. Rather confusingly, there is also one reference in the Amsterdam Portuguese Jewish records to “Izaq Israel Perejra que he Antonio Lopes Pereira” which I take to be a mistake for “Francisco Lopes Pereira”, see *Livro de Bet Haim do Kahal Kados de Bet Yahacob* ed. Wilhelmina C. Pieterse (Assen, 1970) 3, 8, 15-16, 22-4, 37, 51-3; H. P. Salomon, *Portrait of a New Christian. Fernão Alvares Melo (1569-1632)* (Paris, 1982) 51.

¹⁰ I. S. Revah, ‘Le premier règlement imprimé de la “Santa Companhia de dotar orfãos e donzelas pobres”’, *Boletim internacional de bibliografia luso-brasileira*, IV (1963) 659.

¹¹ Daniel Levi de Barrios, *Triunfo del gobierno popular y de la antigüedad holandesa* (Amsterdam, 1683) section “Casa de Iacob” p. 9; Levi de Barrios’ mistake in turn led the historian A. M. Vaz Dias astray, for the latter found it hard to believe that a Dutch Jew born of a family victimized by the Inquisition, should have reverted to Christianity in the Peninsula and supposed that the continued references to Antonio Lopes Pereira in Amsterdam showed that the story was in fact untrue, see A. M. Vaz Dias, “Losse bijdragen tot de geschiedenis der Joden in Amsterdam”, *De Vrijdagavond* VIII (1931) 23; for more information on Antonio López Pereira, see *Livro de Bet Haim*, 181.

¹² *Memorial Histórico Español* xix 131.

¹³ David Franco Mendes, “Memorias do estabelecimento e progresso dos judeus portugueses e espanoos nesta famosa cidade de Amsterdam” in *Studia Rosenthaliana* (henceforward *SR*), IX (1975) 7-8.

But if Manuel López Pereira's later life became entwined in legend his early life figures in an even more intriguing story and, once again, one that can be shown to be substantially true. One of the principal accounts preserved by the Portuguese Jews of Amsterdam concerning the origins of their community centred around a renowned beauty of Lisbon by the name of Maria Nunes who fled Portugal in the late 1590s, together with her two brothers, a sister, Justa Pereira, and an uncle, after her parents were seized by the Inquisition as "judaisers". According to this story, she was on a ship together with her four relatives (her brothers being none other than Manuel and Antonio López Pereira), when the vessel was intercepted by the English and brought into an English port. According to Levi de Barrios, an English duke fell in love with Manuel's beautiful sister; and sought her love with such ardour that Queen Elizabeth, hearing of this, summoned the girl to appear before her so as to judge her beauty for herself. The Queen was so impressed that she reportedly took Maria Nunes with her in the royal carriage for a ride through London to show off her beauty to the English. But despite all the efforts of the duke to marry her, and make her his duchess, Maria Nunes, wishing to remain true to her secret faith, insisted on leaving England together with her relatives and proceeding to Amsterdam.¹⁴

In the 1920s, the Dutch Jewish historian Sigmund Seeligmann came upon a letter sent to The Hague by Noël de Caron, the Dutch States General's agent in London, which appears to refer to this episode. The letter is dated 27 April 1597 and relates that among several Dutch ships intercepted by the English, *en route* from Spain and Portugal, was a vessel from Flushing which had on board a group of five Portuguese passengers who were fleeing from Inquisition, one of whom, he mentions, was a young "noble lady" dressed in male attire.¹⁵ These Portuguese were taken to London. De Carron also specifically mentions that the group were on their way to Amsterdam where the girl was to be married. While we can not be certain that this passage refers to the beautiful Maria Nunes and her relatives, it does seem likely; and we do know that the marriage of Maria Nunes to her cousin, Manuel Lopes Homem, was entered in the city registers at Amsterdam on 28 November 1598.¹⁶ At that date her parents were still languishing in the Inquisition gaols in Lisbon. Manuel López Pereira's own marriage, or first marriage, was registered in Amsterdam on 9

¹⁴ *Ibid.*; Levi de Barrios, *loc. cit.* 5; J. S. Silva Rosa, *Geschiedenis der Portugeesche Joden te Amsterdam, 1593-1925* (Amsterdam, 1925) 2, 6, 8; Wilhelmina C. Pieterse, *Daniel Levi de Barrios als geschiedschrijver van de portugees-israelietische gemeente te Amsterdam in zijn "Triumpho del Gobierno Popular"* (Amsterdam, 1968) 44-5; Mozes Gans, *Memorboek. Platenatlas van het leven der joden in Nederland van de middeleeuwen tot 1940* (Baarn, 1971) 20-1; the parallel between the story of Maria Nunes and her secret loyalty to Judaism with the paragon of beauty and Catholic loyalty shown off at the English court by Queen Elizabeth, embodied in Cervantes' famous story *La española inglesa* was pointed out to me by my colleague Angel García who expects to develop this theme in a forthcoming article. I am much indebted to him for pointing out this remarkable aspect of the subject.

¹⁵ Sigmund Seeligmann, *Bibliographie en Historie. Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der eerste Sephardim in Amsterdam* (Amsterdam, 1927) 15-18; J. d'Ancona, "Komst der Marranen in Noord-Nederland: de Portugese gemeenten te Amsterdam tot de vereniging (1639)", in *Geschiedenis der Joden in Nederland* ed. H. Brugmans and A. Frank (Amsterdam, 1940) 204-5.

¹⁶ Seeligmann, *Bibliographie*, 15; Gans reproduces a photo of the contract signed by Maria Nunes and Manuel Lopes Homem, Gans, *Memorboek*, 21.

September 1605, by which date his parents were also securely ensconced in the city. Manuel is stated as being then aged twenty-three years old and having been born on the island of Madeira, albeit of a Lisbon family.¹⁷ His bride, Bretis Nunes of Oporto, was a daughter of his father's brother, Pedro Homem, the uncle who had been with him in England, and a sister of Manuel Lopes Homem. Justa Pereira married another cousin, Francisco Nunes Homem, also in 1605. Thus Manuel, Maria, and Justa would all seem to have married their first cousins.

Manuel López Pereira's Jewish name has yet to be identified. As we have seen, Antonio Lopes Pereira was originally styled in the synagogue Joseph Israel Pereira but later, in 1622, he and his cousin, Francisco Nunes Homem, adopted, or discovered, the patronymic "Abendana".¹⁸ Historians disagree over whether the adoption of such medieval Spanish Jewish names by Portuguese *Marranos* returning to Judaism in the seventeenth century indicates a genuine continuity, a recollection of that family's own pre-1492 surname, or whether it was simply a fashionable means of enhancing one's standing in the new milieu to assume patronymics which had once been, and in the Levant still were, prestigious Spanish Jewish names.¹⁹ According to Antonio López Pereira and Nunes Homem they discovered what was their own ancient name, in 1622, learning this from certain relatives "*de sua mispaha em judesmo*", presumably in the Levant. This would then seem to be something of an in between case. Undeniably, though, the family did enjoy high status among early seventeenth-century Dutch Sephardi Jewry. As evidence of this, it is significant that Antonio López Pereira married Maria Pimentel (Judica Abendana), daughter of the "noble" Garcia de Pimentel, the Pimentel (Abeniacar) clan of Venice, Amsterdam, and Constantinople – one of Garcia's brothers was a rabbi in the Turkish capital – being universally acknowledged as one of the most select, as well as wealthiest, Sephardi lineages in early modern Europe.²⁰ Garcia Pimentel's brother, Manuel Pimentel, is known to have stayed at the French court in 1607, shortly before reverting to open Judaism in Venice, was accepted as a nobleman and caused a sensation with his skill at cards. Despite his deliberately losing to the king on occasion, Henri IV is reputed to have remarked "I am the king of France but you are the king of gamblers".²¹ It is evident that the Pimentel-Abeniacar family also came to play a certain role in Manuel López Pereira's own life.

A number of notarial deeds concerning Manuel López Pereira's business activity in the years after his marriage have been preserved in the Amsterdam city archive. In his twenties, he participated as a junior partner in a wide-ranging family concern chiefly

¹⁷ Seeligmann, *Bibliographie*, 22; Pieterse, *Daniel Levi de Barrios*, 45.

¹⁸ *Livro de Bet Haim*, 181; d'Ancona, "Komst der Marranen", 205; Salomon, *Portrait of a New Christian*, 51.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*; Jean Denucé, "De afkomst van Anna de Milan (ca. 1548-1613), stammoeder van het geslacht Teixeira de Mattos", *Antwerpsch Archievenblad* ser. 2, no. 3 (Jan. 1928), 28; J. C. Boyajian, "The new Christians reconsidered: evidence from Lisbon's Portuguese Bankers, 1497-1647", *S.R.*, XIII (1979) 150-51.

²⁰ Franco Mendes, *Memorias*, 13, 21; E. M. Koen a.o., ed. "Notarial Records in Amsterdam relating to the Portuguese Jews in that Town up to 1639" (in instalments in *SR*) *SR*, xii (1978) 173.

²¹ François de Bassompierre, *Mémoires du Marechal de Bassompierre* (4 vols. Amsterdam, 1723) i, 206-8, the story is retold in Levi de Barrios.

involved in importing sugar from Brazil and Madeira, via Portugal, to Holland.²² In August 1604, Manuel together with his cousin and brother-in-law, Manuel Lopes Homem, bought a quarter share in a large, 240 ton, ship, the *Jaeger*, for 2,000 guilders. But the older man, Lopes Homem, was clearly the senior participant. In January 1605, Manuel Lopes Homem was one of several leading Portuguese Jewish merchants who petitioned the States General to be allowed to continue trading with the Iberian Peninsula despite the growing pressure for Dutch retaliation against Spanish attempts, since 1598, to exclude Dutch shipping and goods from the ports of Spain and Portugal.²³ One cargo of sugar belonging to the family, on board a Portuguese ship sailing from Bahia to Portugal, was seized in 1605 in mid-Atlantic by a Zeeland privateer which involved the family in trying to retrieve their sugar from the admiralty authorities in Zeeland.²⁴ In August 1608, Manuel López Pereira was accused by an Amsterdam confectioner of having sold him two chests of defective Madeira sugar.²⁵

Manuel López Pereira was still living in Amsterdam in July 1609 when he chartered a Dutch ship on behalf of a Lisbon merchant to deliver cargo in Portugal and return with figs to Holland.²⁶ But at some point between 1609 and 1612, probably quite soon after the signing of the Twelve Years' Truce, he moved to Antwerp where he now acted as the family's agent.²⁷ In August 1612, the widow of Garcia Pimentel, in Amsterdam, assigned to Manuel López Pereira, in Antwerp, 10,000 guilders out of the large sum of 30,750 guilders which came to her apparently from the fortune of Manuel Pimentel, the "king of gamblers".²⁸ It is not explained in the document why this large sum was paid over; but as Garcia Pimentel's widow seemingly refers to Manuel López Pereira as her "son-in-law", it may be that his first wife had died and that in choosing a second wife he had followed his brother's example and chosen a daughter of Garcia Pimentel; the money would then be the dowry. Alternatively, the money may have been Maria Pimentel's dowry and was simply being paid over from Antwerp, where it was deposited, to Antonio López Pereira by his brother.

Another key document of 1612 details something of the family's commercial organization following the death of Manuel's father, Gaspar Lopes Homem, in November 1612.²⁹ This deed indicates that his mother, Mayor Rodrigues, and his brothers, Antonio and Francisco López Pereira, all in Amsterdam, agreed to continue the procedures followed during their father's life-time in collaboration with Manuel Lopes Homem who is stated to have moved from Holland to Lisbon, and latterly to Seville, with Manuel López Pereira, in

²² "Notarial records" nos. 152, 153, 188, 270.

²³ *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal*, XIII (1604-1606) ed. H. H. P. Rijperman (The Hague, 1957) 226, 490, 494.

²⁴ "Notarial Records" no. 188

²⁵ *Ibid.* no. 282.

²⁶ *Ibid.* no. 357.

²⁷ A certain "Emanuel Loupes" figures in the list of Antwerp Portuguese drawn up in 1611 but this may not have Manuel López Pereira, see I. S. Revah, "Pour l'histoire des Marranes à Anvers: recensements de la "Nation Portugaise" de 1571 a 1666", *Revue des Etudes Juives*, CXXII (1963) 142.

²⁸ "Notarial records" no. 565.

²⁹ *Ibid.* no. 599.

Antwerp, and with Francisco Nunes Homem (later David Avendana), Manuel's cousin and brother-in-law, in Amsterdam. The name of the company was changed from "Gaspar and Manuel Lopes Homem" to the "Heirs of Gaspar Lopes Homem and Francisco Nunes Homem". The fact that Manuel Lopes Homem was now in Seville suggest that his beautiful wife, Maria Nunes, was there also, which, to say the least, would be highly ironic in view of the Sephardi legend centering on her religious constancy and highly intriguing as Seville was a city much frequented by the author of *la Española inglesa*.

For the next six or seven years Manuel López Pereira continued as the family's agent in Antwerp trading, we may surmise, more with Seville than with Lisbon. From an Amsterdam deed, dated 13 November 1617, we learn that Francisco López Pereira, "merchant in Amsterdam", owes "his brother Manoel Lopes Pereira, merchant in Antwerp", the sum of 1,500 pounds Flemish for cash raised by Manuel in payment of merchandise bought on credit by Francisco, in Amsterdam, and shipped to the latter's father-in-law, Manoel Pereira da Costa (alias Francisco Nunes d'Alcobaça), described as presently staying in Trujillo "in Andalusia".³⁰ Payment was due from Spain for nine consignments of goods which had been shipped to Málaga and San Sebastian, the arrangement being that the father-in-law would remit the cash to Manuel López Pereira in Antwerp. Antonio López Pereira, who owned shares in two or three ships, was also involved in Spanish trade and in February 1618 participated for one third share in a cargo of grain shipped to the family's agent in Málaga, a certain Simão Francisco, the return cargo to Amsterdam to consist of wine, almonds, raisins, and wool.³¹ It is clear that the family were also dealing in products from the Spanish Indies for, in 1615, we find Manuel Lopes Homem, in Seville, taking out insurance on two Spanish ships due to sail back with cargo on his account from the Caribbean island of Puerto Rico.³² Clearly one of the commodities on board were hides; for later that year we find Manuel López Pereira importing 800 West Indian hides to Antwerp.³³

It seems from one source that Manuel López Pereira was in Seville in 1617.³⁴ If so, his stay there on that occasion was brief; for in an Amsterdam deed of August 1618 we read that Manuel López Pereira "has come from Antwerp to settle his affairs here".³⁵ This 1618 visit to Holland, however, did prelude his final departure from the Low Countries and permanent move to Spain. In, or around, 1619 he joined his cousin, Manuel Lopes Homem, in Seville. Although he did not stay long there, it is clear that whilst in Seville he continued in business as a merchant. Judging from two notarial deeds preserved in the Antwerp city archive, his activity during his initial period in Spain centered on importing costly wares from the Spanish Netherlands of a sort apt to be sold to a discriminating noble

³⁰ *Ibid.* no. 1271; from the deeds no. 1197, we learn that in February 1614, Francisco Lopes Pereira (b. 1586) married Beatris Rodrigues, daughter of Francisco Nunes d'Alcobaça, paying 960 guilders to his mistress of many years standing, a Dutch woman named as "Grietgen" by whom he had two children.

³¹ "Notarial records" no. 1342.

³² Stols, *De Spaanse Brabanders* ii, 162-63.

³³ Hans Pohl, *Die Portugiesen in Antwerpen (1567-1648)* (Wiesbaden, 1977) 164.

³⁴ D'Ancona, "Komst der Marranen", 205.

³⁵ "Notarial records", nos. 1500, 1505, and 1516.

clientèle or else at court in Madrid. We hear, for instance, of a consignment of pearls sent out to him from Antwerp (presumably originating in the East Indies and brought back first to Amsterdam) and of a large tapestry, woven in, and sent out from, Antwerp, depicting a story from the life of the Roman general Scipio, decidedly the kind of thing to appeal to a man of Olivares' tastes.³⁶ From this evidence, it may not be too farfetched to infer that López Pereira gained his original entrée at court, either through Olivares himself or some other prominent figure, as a purveyor of jewellery and choice *objets* from the South Netherlands.

But however López Pereira gained his original introduction at court he was well established there by the summer of 1623 as an acknowledged expert on international trade in general and Low Countries commerce in particular. His initial batch of tracts seem to date from the year 1621 and in that year, or shortly after, he withdrew definitively from trade and devoted himself wholeheartedly to his new career as a proposer of economic projects, or *arbitrios*. By 1624, apparently, he had spent a lengthy period at Madrid without returning to Seville (where he had left his wife and children) and was allegedly subsisting at court in a state of "necesidad y empeño".³⁷ In view of the fact that he had previously been handling costly merchandise, and large sums of money, this may well indicate that his own business affairs had collapsed. Alternatively, or possibly additionally, it may also imply that, for whatever reason, he had broken off relations with his family.

The papers which López Pereira submitted at court in 1621 already reveal that preoccupation with a very wide range of economic issues characteristic of his later tracts of 1623-4. At this time, shortly after the setting up of the *Junta de Reformación*, in Madrid, a government committee charged with finding solutions for Spain's worsening economic problems, the Spanish court was being flooded with discourses on commercial and monetary matters and López Pereira clearly had to fight for attention through a veritable crowd of Castilian as well as would-be foreign *arbitristas*. His initial submissions discoursed on Spain's monetary problems,³⁸ on the question of foreign imports entering Spain,³⁹ and on the strategic question of how best to fight the Dutch "rebels" in the Netherlands. Many of his ideas were clearly not original and merely echoed what other and better known *arbitristas* had already written. Thus, his arguments in favour of stringent restrictions and prohibitions to curb the influx of foreign manufactures pouring into Spain were substantially the same as those of Pedro Hurtado de Alcozer and Sancho de

³⁶ Stadsarchief, Antwerpen, Notarial Archive no. 3619, fos. 132-132v and 489-489v; Pohl, *Portugiesen in Antwerpen*, 173, 188, 207.

³⁷ Again, I am indebted to Professor J. H. Elliott for this information.

³⁸ López Pereira's main submission in 1621 is the piece preserved in Archivo Histórico Nacional, Sección de Consejos, libro 1428, fos. 263-74; López Pereira's tract "Medio para la reducción y consumo del vellón" in the Biblioteca Nacional (Madrid) MS. 6731. "Arbitrios sobre moneda" is undated but may also be one of the early pieces, from 1621; López Pereira's initial batch of tracts was discussed in a report from Juan de Hocés to the king, dated Madrid 17 November 1621 which is printed in Angel González Palencia (ed.), *La Junta de Reformación (1618-1625). Documentos procedentes del Archivo Histórico Nacional y del General de Simancas* (Valladolid, 1932) 162-66.

³⁹ See the report by Juan de Hocés, p. 166.

Moncada,⁴⁰ though given the crucial role of Dutch, Flemish, French and English textiles and other manufactures in undermining Spain's economic vitality at this time, this should not count as a criticism against him.⁴¹ López Pereira's 1621 paper on the Low Countries' war argued that Spain should not try to resume a land offensive against the Dutch in the Low Countries but strive to weaken the "rebels" by means of naval and economic pressure alone. This argument had already been put forward by various writers.⁴² Indeed, this was a point of view with a considerable following in Spain. Even so, López Pereira was judged to have argued the point in a way that had to be taken seriously "dando muchos y buenos fundamentos en su proposicion". But what chiefly caught the attention of Spanish ministers in López Pereira's initial batch of memoranda was the detailed knowledge he possessed of commerce and industry in the Low Countries and all aspects of Dutch economic activity in Spain and its empire. Thus, was "digna de ser leyda la proposicion del dicho Manuel López Pereyra, porque della se conoce el trato y estado de los Olandeses y quanto importa el impedilles por todas maneras la saca de plata destos reynos".⁴³ In 1621, the year in which Spain resumed her Eighty Years' War against the Dutch, this was precisely the aspect of matters which Philip IV's ministers were most preoccupied with.

López Pereira's tracts seem to have been esteemed, then, for the light they cast on Spain's highly problematic economic relationship with the Low Countries rather than for what they say on Spain's domestic economic difficulties, though of course in some respects the two things were inextricable. By 1623, López Pereira had graduated to the inner circle of favoured experts, mostly foreigners, who were assisting the newly instituted *Junta de Comercio*, under the chairmanship of the Marqués de Montesclaros, in its twin tasks of finding means to regenerate Spain's ailing economy and waging economic warfare against the Dutch.⁴⁴ He was now formulating proposals which were discussed amid great secrecy. The tracts which López Pereira submitted in 1623-4 include the paper on how to eradicate Dutch merchandise from Spain, published here for the first time as an appendix to this article, a discourse on the waging of maritime warfare against the Dutch from the Spanish Netherlands, a tract recommending the setting up of an East India Company in the Spanish Netherlands, presumably to be based at Antwerp, and another recommending the setting up of a joint stock company to take over the monopoly of Spain's trade with Spanish America, a company to be organized on the same lines as the Dutch colonial companies. Yet, while compiling these pieces, he continued writing other memoranda on Spanish domestic issues. At least two of these, a paper arguing in favour of *erarios*, public loan-banks on the model of the Italian *monti di pietà* which Olivares wanted to establish in Spain, and another on the inadvisability of the Cortes taxing bread and other basic food-stuffs were printed.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ Jonathan I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic and the Hispanic World, 1606-1661*, (Oxford, 1982) 54-5.

⁴² See, for instance, the memorandum by Hurtuño de Urizar of 3 Feb. 1618 in Archivo General de Simancas (hereafter AGS) Estado 2847.

⁴³ See again the report by Juan de Hocés in González Palencia *op. cit.* p. 164.

⁴⁴ On the *Junta de comercio*, see Israel, *The Dutch Republic and the Hispanic World*, 134-42.

⁴⁵ See Manuel López Pereira, *Papel referente a la institucion de erarios* (Madrid, 1623) in Biblioteca Nacional (Madrid) V.E. 211/18 and the tract on taxation by Manuel López Pereira in Biblioteca Nacional V.E. 211/19.

Of the (at least) four papers by López Pereira relating to Spain's programme of economic warfare against the United Provinces, the tract "Sobre arajar la entrada de las mercaderias de reveldes", of 1623, was possibly the earliest. It is also a good example of the intimate connection between certain key ideas formulated in López Pereira's tracts and the actual mercantilist schemes embarked upon by Olivares in the mid 1620s. But while López Pereira does clearly foreshadow what was to emerge as royal policy, it is extremely difficult to know how far he was actually influencing the proceedings and how far he was merely echoing and reiterating ideas which were already circulating among Philip's ministers and advisors. In this tract he explores ways of making the royal prohibition on the entry of Dutch manufactures more effective.⁴⁶ To stop up the loopholes, argues López Pereira, the crown must fix clearer criteria by which officials in the ports can identify and eradicate contraband goods where these were concealed among cargoes coming from neutral lands and disguised by false seals and papers. López Pereira then lists all the major manufactures imported into Spain from, in turn, Germany, the "rebel provinces" of the Netherlands, the "obedient provinces" (ie. the Spanish Netherlands), France, and England. The chief problem, he claimed, was that the main sea-ports of Flanders – Dunkirk and Ostend – were now blockaded by the Dutch navy so that most merchandise being sent from the Spanish Netherlands to Spain was having to be exported through the neighbouring French port of Calais.⁴⁷ This, he believed, was the root of the difficulties confronting the king's strategy. For there was much similarity between the manufactures produced in the two parts of the Netherlands so that it was possible to camouflage "Dutch" as "Flemish" products in a way that was not possible with manufactures from France and England. The Dutch would have no opportunity to mix their goods in with those of the South Netherlands were it still possible to ship merchandise direct from the Flemish sea-ports to Spain. But whilst this could only be done through Calais, the Dutch had the perfect opportunity to subvert Philip IV's ban. "To this port of Calais", wrote López Pereira, "the Dutch bring their manufactures and these then reach these realms mixed up with those produced in the obedient provinces".⁴⁸

Apart from Flemish manufactures, maintained López Pereira, only linens and woollens from Germany could be confused with Dutch products, at any rate once a detailed list of types and categories was drawn up. So different were the manufactures of France and England from those of the Low Countries that there was little or no risk of seepage of contraband Dutch goods into Spain through either of those two countries. To prevent the penetration of Dutch manufactures into the Spanish realms, according to López Pereira, it sufficed to bring in new controls in Flanders and in North Germany. What the king had to do was forbid the importing to Spain of Flemish goods from any English or French port other than Calais; and stop the mixing in of Dutch with Flemish products at Calais by decreeing that, henceforward, all goods exported from the loyal Netherlands to Spain and

⁴⁶ See the text from the AGS Estado vol 2847 printed in the appendix below; on Philip IV's prohibition against Dutch goods and shipping, see Israel, *The Dutch Republic and the Hispanic World*, 134-42.

⁴⁷ See *ibid.* pp. 87, 90; Stols, *Spaanse Brabanders* i, 13, 16, 24, 121.

⁴⁸ See p. 123.

Portugal would have to be registered by a specially appointed official who would remit the lists of registered exports separately to Spain, so that the goods could be checked off on arrival. Any supposedly “Flemish” goods which did not figure on the prepared lists in this way should be automatically subject to confiscation. Exactly the same should henceforward apply to any supposedly “German” linens or woollens shipped to Spain from either England or France. For any genuine manufactures of Germany would invariably be exported direct from Hamburg, Lübeck, or another Hanseatic port and not via England or France. Besides excluding Dutch goods from Spain more effectively, López Pereira pointed out that all this would serve to stimulate industrial activity in the Spanish Netherlands.

What is perhaps most significant about this tract is that it was precisely the thinking set out here which determined Olivares’ decision to post special agents to register and control exports to Spain in Flanders and North Germany even though no such controls could be imposed in England or France.⁴⁹ Here we see a particularly close parallel between López Pereira’s proposals and what was actually implemented by the crown. It is also significant that López Pereira states that even the flow of Flemish wares through Calais should only be tolerated by the king until the projected “Company” to handle Netherlands trade, with its heavily armed convoys sailing to Dunkirk, began to operate. Here López Pereira is referring to the so-called *Almirantazgo* which Philip IV set up a few months later and which was indeed intended to control and defend trade between Spain and Flanders by means of powerfully armed convoys.⁵⁰ López Pereira’s reference to it in this tract may be evidence that he was one of the originators of the scheme which seems highly likely. At the very least, it shows that he was privy at an early stage to secret and highly important matters of state.

One further feature of this tract deserves mention. López Pereira asserts that there should be a total ban on the entry of English “black bays” into the Iberian Peninsula.⁵¹ For while these draperies were woven in England, they were dyed and finished in Holland due to the fact that dyeing techniques were rather backward in England. Thus, this product was a partial Dutch manufacture and should be banned. The author did not expect that the English would take offense at such a ban as long as no hindrance was offered to the entry into the Peninsula of English “white”, or undyed bays. These, he recommended, should henceforth be dyed in Seville where, according to him, there was already a dyeing industry expert enough to handle the task and which could be developed. It is striking that exactly the same point about English bays had already been made by the Marqués de Montesclaros

⁴⁹ Gabriel de Roy was appointed Spain’s “Agent” in North Germany and eventually succeeded in the 1630s, with the aid of the Danish crown in imposing an elaborate system of certificates on all goods shipped between Germany and the Iberian Peninsula; on De Roy and the controls in Flanders, see Israel, *The Dutch Republic and the Hispanic World*, 205, 207.

⁵⁰ On the *Almirantazgo*, see *ibid.* 204-13; Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, “Guerra económica y comercio extranjero en el reinado de Felipe IV”, *Hispania*, xxiii (1963) 71-113.

⁵¹ “Bays” were a light woollen cloth made chiefly in and around Colchester where there was a “Dutch Bay-hall”; the English is a rendering of the Dutch “baai”, this cloth having originated in sixteenth-century Flanders.

himself in a *consulta* of October 1622.⁵² This may mean that here López Pereira is merely reiterating ideas which had already been in circulation for some time among Philip's economic experts. On the other hand, it is clear that Montesclaros was not the originator of the idea for he says in the same *consulta* that he learnt about this matter whilst serving as the king's *assitente* in Seville. It is therefore just possible that Montesclaros originally conceived this idea from López Pereira whilst the latter was living in Seville. If so, this would suggest that López Pereira's first contact with the Spanish government came about through his meeting this well-connected nobleman in Seville.

López Pereira's other tracts dealing with aspects of the Dutch-Spanish economic conflict are also of considerable interest. His piece on the war at sea, discussed in the Council of State, in Madrid, in February 1624, is probably not one of the earliest statements of Spain's need to switch to a purely defensive strategy on land – the army was then bogged down before Breda – and to a much expanded effort at sea from Spain's ports in Flanders.⁵³ The council showed interest; though, in his idea, which does seem to have been new, that once Spain had a powerful enough fleet at Dunkirk, part of it could be used to ferry salt from Setúbal to Flanders where the salt could be exchanged for naval stores sent from the Hanseatic towns. This would, he pointed out, save the king from his present need to pay for expensive naval munitions in hard cash and would deal a heavy blow to the Dutch salt trade with northern Europe.

López Pereira's recommendation, along with that of Rétama, that an East India Company, with the right to trade with a large part of the Portuguese empire in Asia, should be set up in the South Netherlands was discussed by the *Junta de Comercio*, in Madrid, in March 1624.⁵⁴ The essence of López Pereira's idea here was that such a South Netherlands East India Company, backed by the commercial and distribution facilities of the Low Countries, authorised by the king to trade with parts of Asia from which the Dutch were excluded, would be bound to draw off capital from the Dutch East India Company, if it were advertised that Dutch investment would be accepted; and in this way the Portuguese "estado da India" would be revived from its present languishing state while the Dutch company would be substantially weakened. The *Junta*, however, rejected the scheme on the grounds that it ran counter to the essential drift of the king's commercial strategy, which was to eradicate Dutch involvement from the Spanish and Portuguese colonial empires, not encourage it. The *Junta* preferred a different scheme, for a new East India Company, to operate on a joint-stock basis, to be set up in Lisbon and this is what was eventually tried. Ministers also rejected López Pereira's scheme for a Spanish West India Company, to be modelled on the Dutch colonial companies, which he envisaged as having a joint starting capital of several million ducats and a board of thirty directors which would

⁵² AGS Estado 2036. *Consulta of the Consejo de Estado*, 6 Oct. 1622, fo. 2.

⁵³ For this tract, see AGS Estado 2038 expediente no. 87; see also AGS Estado 2038 no. 86. *Consulta of the Consejo de Estado*, 8 Feb. 1624; on the shift in strategic thinking at Madrid in 1623-4, see Israel, *The Dutch Republic and the Hispanic World*, 103-109.

⁵⁴ See AGS Estado 2847. Manuel López Pereira, "Sobre que se hagan Compañías de obedientes para contratar en la India oriental" and the *consulta of the Junta de Comercio* of 13 March 1624.

draw funds and goods for the Indies trade from the whole of Spain.⁵⁵ There was little desire, it would seem, to tamper with the existing system.

To conclude, it is evident that Manuel López Pereira, a former Jew of Amsterdam, succeeded in forging a successful and remarkable career at the court of Philip IV of Spain. While we do not know what considerations moved him to leave the Low Countries and settle permanently in Spain, his tracts suggest a deep-seated hostility to the Dutch Republic and a decided preference for Antwerp and the Spanish Netherlands. Although he had to conform outwardly to Catholicism in Antwerp and Spain, and in the latter country needed official protection from the Inquisition, there seem to be no indications at all in his tracts as to his religious attitudes and beliefs. The nature of his career at the Spanish court, and his rise to the *Consejo de Hacienda*, show that like the Pimentel family and other Portuguese Marrano lineages of his day, he must have had the refinement and manners normally associated with members of the nobility. Finally, it is clear that he was the most prolific, and one of the most influential, of the foreign advisors on trade whom Olivares gathered around him in the 1620s and that his tracts had an appreciable bearing on the conception and implementation of the Conde-Duque's mercantilist projects.

APPENDIX

“Sobre atajar la entrada de lass mercaderias de reueldes en estos reynos” (1623)⁵⁶

Manuel Lopez Pereira en prosignicion de lo prometido dize que la maior fuerza de los reinos consiste en el comun comercio de sus abitadores pues mediante su contratacion engruesan sus caudales y se acresientan los derechos de los prinsipes con que se hazen poderosos y ricos no solo para defenssa y comservacion de sus prouincias sino para ofenca de las contrarias de que tenemos espiencia costosa en los paizes rebeldes que siendo su tierra tan limitada y breue se an echo poderosos y conquistadores por medio de sus frequentes contratos y negociaciones en todas las partes que se conosen y supuesto que en los prensipios se pudiera remediar este daño no permitiendo que supiesen otras que las destos reinos escuzandose las proibiciones pasadas, contodo oy estan tan adelante con las que tienen entabladas que combiene llevar otro asunto precurando enflaqueser sus fuerças minorandoles la parte que fuere posible de que resultara delibitar (*sic*)su poder y compelerles por nesesidad aprestar la obediencia a V.Magd. cuya es –

Los prensipales comercios que tienen los rebeldes son sinco el primero la negociacion de las partes setentrionales el seg^{do} el de Levante, el tersero la sal que pertenden asentar en la

⁵⁵ AGS Estado 2847. “Manuel López Pereira dize que la esperiencia muestra que el comercio, negociacion y trato de las Yndias occidentales se va cada dia deteriorando . . .”; and *ibid.* consulta of the *Junta de Comercio*, 16 March 1624.

⁵⁶ This text is to be found unpaginated in AGS Estado 2847; I would like to record my thanks to the archivists at Simancas for providing me with a photocopy of the complete text and for permission for it to be published as well as for copies of the other Manuel López Pereira tracts dealing with aspects of the Dutch-Spanish conflict.

punta de raia,^{a)} el quarto la comp^a de la Yndia oriental, el quinto las comrespondencias despaña. De los tres primeros se a tratado en papel y descurso que se a dado sobre la desposicion de la guerra que se deue hazer a los dhos rebeldes mostrandose como asistiendo la armada de galiones en los puertos de dunquerque, ostende y en el nuevo descubierto^{b)} les inquietaran e infestaran todos sus puertos y ynpidiran la pesca de los arencones y demas negociaciones del septentrion; y como el nego de la punta de raia se enflaquesera y acabara con la sal que los galiones an de lleuar despaña a los dichos puertos para venderse por cuenta de V.Mag^d, y que el de Levante lo aran con muy grande riesgo y costa respeto de que a la salida de sus yslas y pasar por el estrecho de gibraltar ande encontrar con dos armadas reales y los que se escaparen de la primera pereseran a manos de la segunda o por lo menos que daren tan detirioradas sus fuerças que no poderan consigir efecto considerable. Por manera que resta tratar del quarto comercio de la yndia oriental que tiene tratado particular a que se remite y del ultimo que son las comrespondencias despana sobre que se dize lo siguiente.

El medio que se a tomado para quitarselas a sido la proibicion general echa contra los dichos rebeldes de que no entren ellos ni sus mercederías en los puertos despana. Y como es notorio oy se allan en ellos mas generos suos que quando tenian premicion de meterlos de modo que manifestamente surte efecto de la dha proibicion y se el asunto es que no entren combiene se procure otros diuersos caminos enderesados al consecucion deste fin y para que se puedan dar los que combienen sera ness^{ro} ante todas cosas mostrar por menor los prensipales generos que se labran en todos los paizes del norte y lo originarios de cada prouincia y los puertos que dellas mas frequentan la negociacion destes reinos para que com particular cuidado se venga en conosimiento de lo que se pertende que sera en esta forma –

Alemania – los puertos que de las prouincias de alemania mas frequentan la negociacion despana son los de dansich, lubeck y amburgo y de todos ellos el prensipal es el de la siudad de amburgo por estar mas propinco a este mar oceano y porque abunda de cantidad de mercaderes ricos y poderosos que con sus comercios y entiligencias an traído a ella todas las manufacturas de las demas prouincias de alemania. De los dichos puertos lo prensipal que se trae de dansich y lubeck es el trigo y de amburgo vienen las manifeturas seg^{tes} – la sera, cobre, azero de toda suerte, estulins, bocasías, lenseria por nombre aneage grega cruda y curada, pano de amburgo, mitones, fustanes, plomo, lino de toda suerte, coxillos que llaman carniseros, clavos de hierro, escritorios, y toda suerte de laton labrado y otras menudencias de poca ymportancia conossidas por manifeturas daquellas parttes de alemania.

Paizes rebeldes – de las dichas prouincias rebeldes los prensipales puertos que comerciavan con espana eran los de olanda y gelanda^{c)} y antes de las guerras no tenian manufacturas de ymportancia lo prensipal en que se ocupavan eran en sus pescarias mateca

^a That is, “Punta de Araya”, the great salt-pan in the Caribbean on the coast of Venezuela.

^b Presumably, López Pereira means Nieuwpoort.

^c “Gelanda” was the usual Spanish form for Zeeland.

y quezos tambien fabricavan algunas olandas^{d)} en leiden sarges que llaman dallave y com ello venian a estos reinos traiendo juntamente el trigo cobre y sera que adquerian de alemania. Despues de las dhas gerras se les passaron muchas naciones con las quales yntroduzieron todas las manifeturas y generos de las prouincias de alemania y otros reinos que lo an sentido arto en sus comrespondencias. Labran oy los dichos rebeldes las olandas cambrai, telillas de toda suerte, tapesarias, sarges de leiden, sarges de senoria, catalufas^{e)} de lana, telas de lino y algodón mesclado, picotes^{f)} de lana, selicios^{g)}, transaderas^{h)}, puntas blancas y de colores, panos que llaman gingaos, poluos asules, terciopelosⁱ⁾ de seda y contraechos de tripa, medias de lana, hilo de toda suerte y colores, bomasines,^{j)} y otros generos de poca ymportancia. Demas de los referidos traen a estos reinos todos los generos de amburgo y las baetas de ymgalaterra que llevan a teñir en sus prouincias por que no es buena la tinta negra del dicho reino. Tambien meten las espesiaras y panos de algodón que traen de la yndia oriental de modo que todo las dichas manifeturas e generos se an de proibir que no entren en estos reinos como se dira adelante –

Paizes obedientes – los puertos de los paizes obedientes que negocian con espana es el de dunquerque y ostende que oy estan serrados y se paso el comercio a cales de francia que es el mas propinco a los dichos paizes obedientes, en los quales se fabrican todos los dichos generos que vienen de los rebeldes y son tan paresidos unos a otros que defecultosamente sse pueden destingir. A este puerto de Cales como tambien les hes propicio a los rebeldes p la paz que tienen con el rey cristianisimo traen sus manifeturas y vienen a estos reinos mesclados con las fabricadas en los estados obedientes con que les hes muy facil transportarlas a ellos para cuyo remedio se apuntara lo nesso^{rio}.

Reino de francia – los puertos de francia mas ymportantes que tienen conrespondencia con estos reinos son el de cales referido, ruan, samalo, nantes, bordeaux, rochela y san yuan da luz y por todos estos precuran meter los olandeses sus manifeturas y el prensipal por donde entra mas cantidad es el de san yuan da luz q como comfina con espana las meten p tierra con mucha facilidad. Son los ruendes,^{k)} creas nabales,^{l)} bramantes,^{m)} bunes lanas, puntas y otros generos de lemseria conosidos p daquel reino de francia.

^d “holanda” is given in the eighteenth-century *Diccionario de Autoridades* of the Real Academia Española (reprinted in 3 vols Madrid, 1969) as a “tela de lienzo mui fina”; see also J. Corominas, *Diccionario critico de la lengua castellana* (4 vols. Madrid, 1954) which likewise gives “holanda” as a “lienzo fino”.

^e Term deriving from the Italian *cataluffa* denoting a woollen cloth worked to resemble plush or velvet which was originally manufactured in Venice.

^f According to Corominas, *picote* (from the French *picot*) was a “tela aspera y basta probablemente derivado de picar porque es tan aspera que pica al tocarla”.

^g “selicios”, presumably *cilicio* given in the *Diccionario de Autoridades* as a “vestidura corta, texida de cerda, por cuya aspereza la usan immediate al cuerpo las personas penitentes”.

^h That is *tranzadera* given in the *Diccionario de Autoridades* as a “lazo que se forma trenzando alguna cuerda.

ⁱ “terciopelos”: Martín Alonso, in his *Enciclopedia del Idioma* (3 vols. Madrid. 1958) gives *terciopelo* as “tela velluda y tupida de seda, formada por dos urdimbres y una trama” and also imitations made from inferior materials.

^j “Bombasines”: a type of silk cloth of Italian origin.

^k “Ruanes”: Normandy linens.

^l That is, naval canvas.

^m Corominas gives *bramante* as an alternative to *brabante* or “clase de lienzo fabricado en dicha provincia”.

Reino de Ynglaterra – los puertos que negocian deste reino de Ynglaterra con estos reinos el prensipal es el de la suidad de londres. Por este entra tambien mucha canttidad de manifeturas de los rebeldes, las originarias que se fabrican en el son las baetasⁿ⁾ blancas, cariseas,^{o)} toda suerte de perpetuanes,^{p)} arges ympriales,^{q)} panos de londres, panos de bristol, panos redin,^{r)} panos sofocas,^{s)} cordelates,^{t)} baetas angostas de colores, tamaletes, bresuates, frisas, medias de lana, estaño, todas mercaderias conosidas por daquel reino.

Por manera que conforme a los generos de cada prouincia solamente los que vienen de amburgo y los que se fabrican en los paizes obedientes pueden uenir de los rebeldes y traer las armas y sertificaciones de que son echos y fabricados en las dichas partes por que como se a mostrado los de francia y ynglaterra no tienen semilitud con los demas y son buen conosidos y para que se pueda aplicar el remedio que combiene e evitar en gran p^{te} los enganos y motious que por este camino hazen los rebeldes para meter en estos reinos sus manifeturas se a de mandar publicar lo siguiente – que ningunas de las manifeturas de amburgo aunque traigan las armas de la dicha suidad puedan uenir a espana por via de francia y inglaterra sino derechamente y que las que vinieren por sy solas o mescladas con las demas manifeturas de los dichos reinos sean confiscadas por que es indubitable q todas las dichas manifeturas de amburgo y alemania que uienen p las uias referidas son de olandezes o compradas en los dichos paizes rebeldes y se uerifica esta uerdad con que se fueran pertenecientes a los moradores de amburgo o compratas en la dicha suidad no las nauegaran por las dichos reinos sino derechamente en sus naos pues las tienen en abundancia y con mas comodidad y menos costa podrian uenir en ellas.

Juntamente se a de publicar que ningunas de las manifeturas de los paizes obedientes puedan uenir por ningun puerto de ynglaterra ni francia saluo por el de cales asta se entable lo prepuesto sobre la armada que a de aistir en los puertos referidos que estandolo se escuzara pues uendran por ellos. Y esto p respecto de que todas las que vienen por fuera del dicho puerto de cales son echas em los paizes rebeldes los quales las meten en estos reinos por las dichas uias de francia y imgalaterra con nombre de fabricadas en los obedientes y por que se podrian ayuntar en este puertto de cales las mercaderias de los rebeldes como esta referido y demesclarise unas con otras aueria confucion por la similitud omnimoda que entre sy tienen se mandara que sean obligados los mercanderes de los paizes obedientes a traer sertificacion de los cabildos y regimientos de las uillas donde

ⁿ The Spanish *bayeta* presumably derives from the French *baiette* but it is used in the seventeenth century to refer to English “bays”.

^o *Cariseas*: this is the Spanish for the English *kerseys*, a type of “new drapery” the name for which seemingly derives from the village of Kersey in Suffolk.

^p The *Oxford English Dictionary* gives *perpetuana* as a “durable, wool fabric manufactured in England since the sixteenth century”.

^q According to the *Diccionario de Autoridades* “hai sarga imperial y de Inglaterra, cuyos apellidos toman de la parte de donde vienen” but this would not seem to fit in this instance.

^r Presumably “cloth of Reading”.

^s *Panos sofocas*: that is cloth of Suffolk.

^t *Cordellate*: the *Diccionario de Autoridades* describes this as a “cierto genero de paño delgado como estamena. Llamose assi por el cordoncillo que hace la trama.

se labran y de la cantidad que cada persona manifiesta y con la dicha certificacion se otorge reguistro en el puerto de cales o en la parte que paresiere mejor serca del dicho puerto que como sea placa de los paizes obedientes y p donde an de pasar las dichas mercaderias bastara de modo que en qualquiera de las dichas p^{tes} a de assestir una persona comfidente nombrada p su alteza en bruselas que tome relacion del reguistro y certificaciones y las remita por tierra y mar a los administradores de las aduanas de los puertos donde hizieren los navios su derecha descarga de que resultara cobrar por imtero U Magd sus derechos reales y sera de gran comodidad y vtilidad a los obedientes por que ellos solos vendran a estos reinos con sus mercaderias y enrequeseran y podran mayor seruir a U Magd y auiendo mal despacho y salida de las manifeturas de los rebeldes todos los oficiales y manifetores se ausentaran de los dichos estados y se pasaran a los obedientes com que se hiran acabando sus fuerças.

Y para que esto se execute en las aduanas se dara memoria a los administradores de las de mar y tierra destos reinos de los generos de los estados rebeldes para que uesiten y abran todas las pacas de mercaderias de los reinos referidos y allando en ella algunos de los dichos generos de los rebeldes los tomen por perdidos sin despensacion alguna aunque traigan certificacion de que son labrados en los obedientes y en amburgo y asymismo que tomen por perdidos todos los demas que vinieren enpacados con ellos.

Y por que las baetas blancas se fabrican en yngalatterra y com queda dicho se transporten a olanda para se tenir de negro y vienen por el dicho reino se a de publicar que no puedan entrar en estos reinos baetas negras y que todas las que vinieren aunque traigan certificacion de que son tenidas en yngalatterra seran confiscadas por que se suelen dar alli y entran muchos p el dicho respecto y pues a los moradores del dicho reino se les permite que puedan traer las dichas baetas blancas no se les haze agrauio y aqua se podran tenir (como se haze en Sevilla) y se entroduziran las tinturas caso bien importante por muchos respectos q se dexan bien considerar.

Asymismo se mande que todos los generos de drogas y paños de la yndia oriental que se truxeren de las partes del septentrion se tomen por perdidos por ser daquela conquista y pertenecientes a esta corona con que se escuzaran las grandes cantidades que los olandezes yinglezes meten en estos reinos que es causa de sustentar los dhos comercios.

Y para que se pueda com distincion poner en efecto todo lo referido se mandara despachar todas las pacas y mercaderias que ubiere en las pacas aduanas y vinieren a ellas tres meses despues de la publicacion deste bando y proibicion y no alegen ynorancia ni se mesclen las mercaderias antiguas con las proibidas de nueuo.

Y que en las aduanas aja aposentos separados donde se pongan y guarden las mercaderias que entraren de cada uno de los dhos reinos para que com mas facilidad a la vista se conosquan los generos de primicion o priobidos y tambien sera de comsideracion que se tenga quenta con lo que entra de cada prouincia y de lo que sale p^a cada una dellas por cargo y descargo que es de muy gran consideracion sabersse para todas ocaziones y p^a otras dependencias de materia destado que pueden suseder.

Y aunque paresse que conforme lo apuntado se podra consigir y danar en gran parte los negocios y tratos de los abitantes de los dichos paizes rebeldes por que se les quita las ocaziones y motiuos que tomauan para negociar en estos reinos se aduierte que todo consiste en poner en las aduanas personas de buena comsiencia y berdad por que poco

aprovecha preuenir si la que lo a de executar no mira a otra cossa que a su prouecho particular de que se verna^{u)} asegir que en lugar de se proibir lo que se pertende recambiara todo en benef^o de los contrarios que sin pagar derechos metran sus mercaderias y haran maiores ganancias como sosedia en tienpo de los 30 p 100 que ni pagauan el dicho derecho ni los demas.

Y porque podra ser que no se pueda remediar este incobeniente paresse que auiendose de segir sera menor premetir que puedan entrar libremente en sus proprias naos y p^a que no paressea que sera hir contra la reputacion y mostrar flaqueza, consentiendolo, se proponderan medios con que, haziendose, se remedie y alcanse muy maiores vtilidades que ueniendo las dichas manifeturas de los rebeldes como oy vienen sin se poder remediar con lo apuntado en este papel.

^u “Se verna”: a colloquialism for “se vendra”.