

Máximo García Fernández

Keeping up appearances in early modern Castile

Social emulation drove demand and influenced consumer behaviour at all levels, leading to the *power and tyranny of fashion* and the development of all economic sectors involved in the cultural projection of clothing*. Clothing was not replaced at the same rate as it is today, but some social sectors still witnessed rapid and widespread changes in clothing habits. After the *birth of fashion* during the 15th and 16th centuries (Belfanti 2008), the 18th century experienced a *revolution of consumption* (McKendrick 1982). It is thus important to research the material culture that changed male and female bodies with different garments and accessories (Roche 1997), which had by then become a civilisational and *sensorial* issue for public consumption. Within this methodological framework, it is also necessary to compare these developments within Castile and western Europe more broadly (Torrás 1999), assessing the significance of innovations and the variety of items available as a reflection of market strategies, establishing the characteristic attitudes of each social group and defining individual aspirations (balancing the wish for social promotion and prices) underlying intercultural contact (García M. 2016).

In the present study, a wide variety of notarial records (guardianship accounts, dowries and post-mortem inventories) and of literary, moral and legal sources (dated to the Renaissance, Baroque and Enlightenment periods, and including numerous memoranda, tailors' patterns and reformist fashion magazines) are examined from an economic, social and cultural perspective in order to study fabrics, colours and accessories used as social markers and design strategies from the perspective of gender, age and identity expressed through clothing. These are key variables in tracing changes in the collective and individual demands of Mediterranean families during the Ancien Régime from the Middle Ages (Furió 2018) to the modern period (Pérez 2013) in rural (Malanima 1990), provincial (Ramos 2010) and/or courtesan environments (Figeac 2007).

* Principal investigator of research projects, funded by the Spanish Ministry (HAR2017-84226-C6-4-P): *Families, material culture, social appearances and civilization: identities and their representation in inland Spain, 1500–1850*; “Excelencia”, 2018–21; and (PID2020–113012GB–I00): *Intergenerational conflicts and civilization processes in the Ancien Régime: the vision of young people in territories of the Iberian Peninsula (16th–19th Centuries)* (*Fam&Civ*); 2021–25.

1. Markets and luxury

The reactivation of demand and urban consumption depended on market access – from the periodic fair to the permanent shop – the economic situation and the prevailing economic mentality, which were reflected in recurrent *sumptuary laws*; these mercantilist tenets led to the implementation of protectionist policies to promote local fabrics and hamper the import of foreign ones, or to critical illustrated publications that expressed horror at the availability of vast quantities of smuggled French mousselines in 18th century Spain. In this context, an item is not simply a commodity but a symbol of distinction and social prestige, whereby its tangible value is entangled with its cultural value; luxury, ostentation, decorum and appearance were all key factors in the growing circulation of intercontinental gifts (Carrió 2016).

The dissemination of luxury items could have been the end of the *European aristocratic constitution*. A symbol of a certain social code of conduct, the *vice of appearances* was considered unnecessary, corrupting norms and triggering decadence. As such, luxury was a legitimate target of bans and taxes to control consumption, as long as it was not the product of national industries or was not subject to custom duties, or it was regulated by the commercial networks that traded in them (Carmagnani 2012, 21-55). However, stopping the dissemination of this *abyss of pleasure* was an impossible mission: it was visible in palatial architecture, carriages, fashion and fine household items. A new civic virtue had to be built, based on a reinterpreted relationship between the material and the immaterial, between public and private needs. Within this renewed framework, luxury acquired a collective positive hue because it materialised in more comfortable housing and better clothing whilst also striking a balance between fending off external threats and satisfying the desires of the individual. This created the possibility of enjoying luxurious goods (which were even cheaper, *populujos*) without good habits being undermined and of cancelling laws that were never able to solve the problems of demand, most notably in relation to the dynamic circulation of Eastern cottons (Martínez 2008).

The dissemination of these ideas about consumption allowed Dutch and English publicists and merchants to progressively dismantle the principles of mercantilism and their obsession with the balance of trade, whilst adding value to re-exports and arguing that traffic could not be stopped by prohibitions. In parallel, the liberalisation of consumption at continental level destabilised the rigid aristocratic hierarchies and created new ways of social promotion for the enemies of *sumptuary laws*, for whom ostentation knew no limits, and could be contained but never suppressed. This debate was revived by the spirit of bourgeois *sweet trade*, *education in manners*, *solid luxury* based on *real needs*, and the very *improvement of customs* (rather than simply a *refinement of vanity*).

When dealing with the controversial issue of clothing, Rousseau was an enemy of luxury:¹ «In the independence in which I lived... and, stifling the vanity... I be-

¹ Jean Jacques Rousseau, *Confesiones* (1748-55), libro 8^o (1993. Barcelona: Planeta, 381). His thoughts on luxury are found throughout his works, but his responses in the *First Discourse* (compiled

gan the change in my dress, I quitted laced clothes and white stockings». Two factors contributed to him adopting the *Armenian* attire. Firstly, «On Christmas Eve... the door of a garret, in which all our linen was hung up after being washed, was broken open. Everything was stolen, amongst other things, forty-two of my shirts, of very fine linen, and which were the best part of my stock». Secondly, he had prostate issues and difficulty urinating while wearing stockings and pantaloons. In his *Discourse on the Arts and Sciences*, he complained about the corruption of habits, forcing himself to practice the plainness that he preached and giving up his bourgeois clothes for a limited and austere wardrobe. These principles of *rusticity*, however, triumphed only in the mental and conceptual sphere.

Thus, the aspiration to personal ostentation converged, and clashed, with critical attitudes towards the collective desire for clothing that outlined, at all levels, social inequality. This clash accelerated the underlying conflict that marked the progress of modernity, when the desire for comfort became widespread and even universal. The increase in the public capital of appearances is sharply illustrated by the differences between the domestic comforts and the external appearance of Francisco Javier Carrión Ribas, a diplomat who died in Madrid in 1779,² and those of father don Alonso de Carrión y Losada, who died in 1678. The living room of the latter, despite the fact that he was the perpetual mayor of Zamora, was barely furnished, with eight chairs *baqueta de moscovia*, and his alcove was decorated only by four pieces of cloth. Another room contained two desks, two sideboards covered with cloth and a portable pantry. The bedroom was furnished with a four-poster bed and an old bench; inside, there were chests, trunks, a carpet, a heater and a stove. Upstairs, there was a chest with two cassocks, short capes, two new hats and his capes. Two interior rooms contained rope beds and mattresses, a headboard and a duvet, and a chest containing eleven bed sheets and fifteen pillows, a hairdresser's sheet and a handkerchief, eight napkins and six small tablecloths, five pairs of underwear, four pairs of stockings, a coat, three shirts and a nightgown, a woman's dress of Dutch linen and an overskirt, a large mat and a brazier, sixteen fine plates, twelve bowls, six small cups with their saucers, three large bowls, four pairs of gloves, two head cloths, a robe and two fans. Carrión, for his part, owned carriages and three walking sticks, a large library, Chinese-style tableware and a fish pan to eat from; a draughts board, inkwells and quills on the desk; 100 chairs, stools and couches *for visitors*, along with candles, candlesticks and mantelpieces; music scores near a large number of glazed bowls; carpets, crystal lamps, cornucopia mirrors and several clocks; and razors for shaving and tweezers for the fingernails. His wardrobe was well furnished too. A dozen cloth or velvet dresses, including matching waistcoat, jacket and trousers (one «old fashioned» for Holy Week, and a

by Masó, Salustiano. 1979. *Escritos de combate*. Madrid: Alfaguara), the *Discurso* and the entry *Économie (morale et politique)* in the 1755 *Encyclopaedia* (later entitled *Discours sur l'économie politique*, 1985. Madrid: Tecnos) are particularly interesting. The *Discourse on Inequality* was very controversial, reinventing the topic of the natural state and turning man into an affable creature capable of fertile feelings of happiness. During this controversy, Palissot brought to the stage a «four-legged character» with a leaf of lettuce between the teeth, whom Voltaire referred to as «Diogenes' monkey», noting in one of his letters that «no one has ever employed so much passion in wishing to turn us into animals».

² Archivo de Protocolos de Madrid, leg. 16294, f. 323.

black one for mourning), and 30 *trué* shirts, fifteen made of fine cloth and thirteen of inferior quality. His late wife's wardrobe and coiffure were equally rich (headdresses, hairpins, handkerchiefs, *peinadores* and dozens of fans).³

«The excess of luxury / has taken root / from dotage / to the innocent child / regardless of sex, / occupation or trade».⁴ Despite not having access to every type of foreign clothing, the middle classes began purchasing tight vests, corsets and bodices, incorporating novelties (a pejorative term: «thing that is new and not common; often dangerous, because they bring changes to old uses»; Sebastián de Covarrubias) that did not go unnoticed by Enlightenment intellectuals. This was an ideological transformation that brought with it some positive notions, such as the encouragement of industry and the condemnation of idleness. Wills, inventories and dowries began listing a growing number of sumptuary garments, often accompanied by information about their place of origin as a way to emphasise their prestigious nature: Maltese, Neapolitan, Turkish, Venetian and Chinese, or made after the style of said countries: «in the French style», «in the English style», «in the Polish style» or «in the Sultan's style». Also of significance was the increase in the number of «unused» shirts, which presented a way to project a given image, to define or impose «the latest fashion». Many are labelled «for its use», «to dress up», «of its sex» or «for travelling»: in other words, made and decorated for special occasions. Both outer and inner garments were increasingly made of cotton, which was easier to wash, dry and iron, as well as being cheaper to adapt to new patterns, dyes and cuts. This was the reason for the increasing arrival of foreign mousselines and chiffons (and also the growing export of Catalanian *indianas*) (Muñoz 2011). This variety of garments «in the international» or «Oriental» styles coexisted with traditional dress (black outer skirts and/or white shawls) and with the habit of using it in the open air or the Church, often with open references to popular authenticity (*casticismo*). As such, shapes and types copied from the best Paris dressmakers (lace, ribbons and openwork reproduced in picture cards and magazines) existed side by side with classic homemade garments.

With the material luxury of the court (Descalzo 2014) and popular plainness (García M. 2019a) as a backdrop, private and commercial letters reveal, for example, that the harbour of Alicante stored a large volume of imported cloth, which demonstrates the increasing importance of the fashion industry.⁵ The letters being exchanged across the Atlantic, which consigned the constant traffic in textile novelties, reflect the same trend (Silva 2019).

These were no mere commodities, and for this reason economic means and mentality had to go hand-in-hand to dynamise increasingly widespread demand. This ran parallel to critical attitudes towards luxury and growing consumption among emerging social groups in urban contexts, which resorted to symbolism to

³ Archivo Histórico Provincial de Zamora, leg. 1644, ff. 513-517.

⁴ Merás y Queipo de Llano, Ignacio. 1785. *Consejos de un cortesano a un amigo suyo sobre las modas y el exceso del lujo en la corte*. Madrid. Another eloquent title: Eijocente, Luis de. 1795. *Libro del agrado, impreso por la virtud en la imprenta del gusto, a la moda y el aire del presente siglo*. Madrid.

⁵ Arxiu del Regne de Valencia, *Varia*, n° 74; 463 letters sent by the merchant Felipe Moscoso from Alicante to a number of merchants in Genoa from 1660 to 1686.

better display their prestige. Dress always concealed ideological and civilisational undercurrents, as reflected in the tension between novel dress fashions and a censorship that sang the praises of rusticity: the impact caused by the novelties being pushed forward by the *fashion of the century* was thus uneven. It can be deduced that during the 1700s aesthetics and colour, among other important factors, counted for more than durability. Lyon was to transform the canon of textile quality by disseminating the new French fashion, supported by a strong silk (and cotton) industry; thereafter, Paris was to *set the tone* for elegant dress, exporting their goods to the Spanish-American market and competing with the Asian goods traded by the company of the Philippines.

2. Quantitative sources for clothing consumption

What was in demand, and when? Did patterns change according to social group, age and gender? The increase or decrease in cultural inequality and changes in the standards of living must be explained.

The increase in aggregate consumption from the Late Middle Ages onwards is reflected in wills, post-mortem inventories, dowries, seizure documents and inter-vivos donations (García J. 2001). These documents represent the legal, economic and social reality of each period, and the information that they provide in different European countries can be profitably compared. These records were related to private, domestic and familial spheres (concerning the tutelage of minors). They were a guarantee against a lack of trust that was never far from the surface («to avoid all fraud»). Insecurity, litigation, disagreements, intestates or disputes over property encouraged their production; beyond the logic of succession, they allowed personal property to be enjoyed without fear. These records have been widely used to examine demand, material culture and everyday life (standards of living) between 1500 and 1850, although it must be remembered that they remain partial and sometimes unclear, and also that not all property was necessarily recorded for various reasons (García M. 2015).

In addition, the «debts satisfied in recompense for your good offices... letters of payment for the years spent in our service» consign the very varied (in terms of amount, quality and typology) amounts of money spent by masters on their servants. Receipts for *white bed linen* and other textile goods suggest that masters often rewarded their servants with clothing (shirts, stockings, coats), shoes and headdresses (*cofias*), as well as the cloth with which they were made.⁶ Although the items so bequeathed are not dissimilar to those used by the masters, the differences are also enormous, which meant the possibility of confusion was small. The few personal ledgers that survive today also give interesting insight into the lives of married women and widows, especially the interaction between the public and private spheres. The careful recording of female domestic expenses includes the purchase of clothes. The family's trousseau was generally made at home, especially the undergarments, and this was a task that fell entirely to women (clothes were

⁶ Archivo Histórico Provincial de Valladolid (AHPVa), *Protocolos Notariales* (PN), legajo 103, 1551; leg. 102, 1550; leg. 48, 1552; Valladolid city.

sewn, shortened and lengthened to fit new needs, and they were sold in the public *almoneda* or amicably shared), although hiring professional weavers and tailors was not rare. For instance, Isabel Despés bought several serge breeches for her son, while sending out to be mended others that were worn through wear (Gascón 2012).

We also have (a few) documents in which the authors recorded information about their own clothes (Luciani 2013), including diaries and autobiographies («a weapon against forgetfulness and a tool of memory»; Amelang 2005).⁷ Clothing was a language that formed recurrent images (Ebben 2010).⁸ For instance, the clothes bought by an Italian student in Salamanca, according to his own account, were as follows (Haley 1977):

Tab. 1. Clothes bought by Girolamo da Sommaia in Salamanca (1603-1607)

Girolamo da Sommaia	1603	1604	1605	1606	1607	Total	
Breeches	2	1	1	5	4	13	pairs
Short trousers	5	3	3	3		14	
Shoes		6	7	3		16	pairs; more than three per year
Other (18 different pieces)	2	9	20	8	13	52	
Pieces	9	19	31	19	17	95	(annual average: 19)

Source: Haley 1977.

The small number of shirts and warm clothes bought by this student is surprising. This stands in sharp contrast to the large number of shoes purchased («I wore a new pair», he reiterated). He acquired more than 20 different pieces, but approximately two-thirds correspond to the typical dress of Castilian Baroque students: breeches, shorts, doublets and gloves. He also spent a not inconsiderable amount on passementerie, cloths of Rouen, fustian, canvas, silk, taffeta, chamois and Dutch linen in various colours, of which black was not predominant.

Although this student did not spend excessively on clothing and his expenses were not regularly spaced, he never neglected his image as a Florentine noble. He gave clothing as gifts, borrowed it, lost it, bought it in shops (even when he travelled to Barcelona) or ordered it from Salamanca tailors and hosiers. A travel case for travelling to Medina del Campo was his only other possession. He purchased barely a dozen pieces of clothing per year, despite his luxurious

⁷ See also Amelang (2006).

⁸ According to the memoirs of several young military officials during the 17th century, having or not having clothes, and their exchange, repair and gifting, was a way to ratify hierarchies, to express value. Often they altered their external appearance, imitating and adapting to the «air» of their superiors, seeking recognition. In this way, they tried to maintain and improve their social status, moulding their identity and showing authority through the symbolism of dress; appearances were a central and vital motif, the reflection of the cultural paradigms of the time.

appearance and his good demeanour, *in the Spanish fashion*, although more colourful: similar to what he would wear in his native Tuscany.

Unlike other young men, who were not so keen on studying, at the age of 22, after fighting with his father and «so as to not die of hunger», in 1568 the student began attending the University of Gaspar Ramos Ortiz in Salamanca (Rodríguez 1999). Soon after his arrival, he bought his diary and rented a house with a classmate, purchasing several items in second-hand shops and from peddlers on the well-stocked street of Serranos. After describing his poor furniture, he spent much more effort on describing his dress. He was punctilious about his personal appearance: shirts, doublets, leather jackets and smocks, breeches and *forros*, socks, slippers, shoes and flip-flops, necks, frills and gloves, bonnets, *loba* and *manteo* for his scholar's uniform (and buttons, thimble, thread and needles to mend them).⁹ His dress was plain although he often wore short capes, colours and lace.

Tab. 2. Daily expenses for Gaspar Ramos in Salamanca (1568-1569)

Living expenses (<i>ordinario</i>)	26%
Clothing expenses	24%
Housing	16%
Medical attention	14%
Studies	12%
Other	8%

Source: Rodríguez 1999.

Those excessive expenses until August 1569 (when he got married) led to a long conflict with his family, forcing him to drop out of university. Tuition fees were 14 ducats per year; the housekeeper charged five reales; he spent 30 maravedies on food every day; the scholar's uniform (22-thread kersey cloth) cost no less than 175 reales; and he also bought a few cheap Latin books. In short, he spent much on eating, clothes and uniforms, but little on books and ink.

Family inventories also provide information about social dress,¹⁰ and they can be a valuable source in terms of quantities, qualities and varieties (shortcomings and luxuries) of clothing and shoes.

⁹ From July to September 1568, he spent 7,814 maravedies on clothing (35% of total expenses).

From October 1568 to March 1569: 2,210 mrs. (15%).

From April to August 1569: 1,836 mrs. (30%).

¹⁰ In 1550, Rodrigo de Miranda was curator of Juan Espinosa, a young man from Valladolid; AHPVa, PN, leg. 47.

Clothing	14 pieces	37%	963 mrs.	32%
Shoes	24	63%	612	21%
Varas cloth			1.268	42%
Tailoring costs			140	5%

2.1 Guardianship accounts

«*Cuentas que da*», «*de la curaduría de*», «*consta por su libro de gasto*» (Brunet 2012). Clothing was a clear medium for the social projection of youth (Cava 1999). An order issued by the *corregidor* of Salamanca to the guardian of the minor Gaspar Téllez in 1584 certifies the attire of Castilian youths (Lorenzo 2019):

To learn the trade, see to it that he is not naked; give him a coat, two smocks, two pairs of stockings and two galligaskins, a hat and the shoes; two shirts and a doublet, all made of tow; the cloth must be of six reales per vara [cheap]; and cover tailoring expenses; and all that is spent on these clothes discount from the profit brought in by the lad.¹¹

At the end of their commission, the expenses paid by the guardians were to be charged to the «minor's guardianship accounts». Their analysis reveals the typical attire of youths and the consumption of new clothes by families. The same pieces of clothing feature time and time again. It was typical for special expenses to be made on new clothes and tailoring at Christmas time. The monthly or annual clothing expenses of these Castilian youths, many of whom came from the countryside, demonstrate that the dissemination of new fashions was not limited to the elite.

The detailed listing of clothing and shoes in these accounts allows us to reconstruct the basic elements of the urban dress of male and female youths. Sometimes, various pieces were bought at the same time, and on other occasions these purchases were spaced out throughout the year. Toddlers were dressed in *ropillas*, small doublets, *lavaderos*, muffs and nappies; young men wore a hat and coat; and girls wore shawls, long cloaks, *sayuelos* and robes. Coarse cloths were used for undergarments, breeches and socks. Linen canvases were used for shirts, baggy trousers, handkerchiefs and head cloths. The most costly fabrics –taffeta, satin, silk and laced velvets– in yellow, purple, green, brown or blue, were used for hats and sleeves, adorning short capes. Necks from Holland and Milan coexisted with skirts of Courtray, Rouen and Brittany cloth. In many cases, the pieces purchased were new, and tailoring expenses had to be added, but even the most affluent orphans often resorted to mending and reusing their parents' old clothing: the most common of such operations were the refurbishment of waistbands, legs and doublets, adding patches and changing buttons. Most of these youths had shoes, often up to fourteen pairs per year; these were not necessarily simple, of a bad quality or in need of having their soles replaced.

2.2 Female dowries and *almonedas* of inventoried property

Some of the most widely used documentary sources to understand the living standards and evolution of demand in pre-industrial Spain are payment letters

¹¹ Archivo Histórico Provincial de Salamanca (AHPSa), PN, leg. 3482, f. 513; 1588.

associated with dowries, the post-mortem inventory of family possessions and the public sale in the *almoneda* of heirlooms.

In brief, the main issue with using data from dowries is that they generally correspond to the trousseaus from the preceding generation: legally understood as an advance of their will, a trousseau meant daughters inherited many of the elements that entered the new family's trousseau from their mothers or as gifts from other relatives (Dávila 2005). This was one of the peaks of consumption in the life-cycle, but on many occasions the number of pieces consigned in these records is not only small but also largely comprises «used», «very old» or «broken» items, which makes it more difficult to infer how accessible the market was for these households (indeed, the replacement of old and worn clothing seems to have been fairly uncommon).

On the other hand, establishing when the items that were left at the end of the life cycle (Duraes 2018), when households often disaggregated, had entered the household is also difficult, not least because many possessions were intentionally concealed. In addition, the system followed in interior Castile saw the items valued by the appropriate guild master, but no details were given concerning the room in which these items were kept. Therefore, items and pieces of clothing were listed more than once and not counted systematically, which is unsurprising for a society in which the pressure of consumerism was less acutely felt.

However, the *almoneda* (García M. 2013, 235-60) records present a more accurate picture of the auction of second-hand books, including starting and final prices. The possessions of residents of small rural towns were auctioned outside the morgue or in the public square, as set by ancestral custom; items were shown and their quality and novelty proclaimed, and these (frequent) events often became impromptu fairs, where the residents could buy what they needed or simply find a bargain.

In any case, these records can provide complementary information about juvenile attire among the popular classes, which have otherwise left few traces in the record.

3. Covering the everyday needs of minors

Although clothing expenses of different Castilian youths varied widely, the amount that guardians spent on this was on average a substantial 25% of total expenses. Apart from possible biases in the record (embezzlement) and bad management, guardians always tried to keep the orphans decently dressed although they gave priority to food, healthcare, training and other education expenses.

Tab. 3. Percentage of guardianship expenses for Castilian orphan minors

20 cases	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Maravedies
A 1547-96	39.8	35.0		2.8	3.6		2.5	16.3	56,617
1547-53 a	32.3	61.8		1.0	3.6			1.4	49,123
b	29.1	63.9	0.1	0.4	5.5			1.1	46,707
c 1565-68	30.0	51.0	7.0	4.0	7.0		1.0		35,857
d 1587-94	53.2	12.7		3.2			2.2	28.7	205,118
e 1583-90	19.4	80.6							15,385
f 1589-96	78.2	5.7		6.6	8.6			0.8	82,817
g 1580-83	28.6	70.1					0.8	0.5	10,421
1593-95 h	12.8	81.7			5.6				22,897
i	17.6	75.9		6.5					17,243
j 1586-96	70.8			7.2	4.3	14.2	0.2	3.2	52,627
k 1557-61	53.9			10.5		19.1	1.6	14.9	12,655
B 1568	24.0	26.0	16.0	14.0	12.0			8.0	
C 1540-48	24.8	22.4		1.3	15.5		4.0	32.0	837,048
D 1565-1627	5.0	6.0		1.0	1.0			87.0	
E 1619	30.0	32.0		5.0			33.0		34,340
F 1620	9.0	75.0		0.5	2.0			13.5	35,493
G 1715	23.3	70.0			6.7				22,440

1. Clothing. 2. Food. 3. Housing (housekeepers/servants). 4. Healthcare. 5. Studies. 6. Practical training. 7. Leisure/Trips. 8. Administration.

A. Salamanca city and province (average of 11 guardianships): a and b. Brothers Juan Maldonado and Pedro Bonal; c. Diego Guzmán; d. Sebastián de Olivares; e. Nicolasa Delgado; f. Francisco Rodríguez; g. Ana García, of Villamayor; h and i. Brothers Pedro and Francisca Emperador; j. Juan de San Vicente; k. Andrés Flórez.

B. Ramos Ortiz, of Salamanca city; C. Hernando Daza, of Medina del Campo city; D. Barromás village, Ávila (average of four guardianships); E. Juan Sarmiento, of Bocigas village, Valladolid; F. Ana García, Soria city; G. Francisco Ustáriz, Navarra province.

Sources: AHPsA and AHPVa, PN, several bundles.

Other examples from Salamanca include: the account issued by the administrator of the late Ana García, Lorenzo Crespo (1580-1583);¹² the accounts

¹² AHPsA, PN, leg. 5084. He issues this document along with Marcos de Palacios, brother-in-law of the minor and husband of Isabel García, daughter of Juan García and sister of the deceased; resident in Villamayor village, Salamanca.

Accounts: 434 *maravedies* for cloth for a skirt; 68 mrs. for a shawl; 3 reales for a shirt bought in the first year of the guardianship; 51 mrs. for a pair of breeches and a pair of shoes; 34 mrs. for a pair of shoes (first year); 5 rs. for a short cloak; 4 rs. for a shirt; 1 rs. for a pair of shoes; 2 rs. for two pairs of shoes; 10 mrs. for tailoring; 5 rs. for a shirt in 1580; 40 mrs. for a pair of shoes; 9.5 rs. for a skirt the

given by Simón Delgado of his guardianship of his sister Nicolasa Delgado (from February 1580, when their father died, to 1590);¹³ and the invoices submitted by Roque Ledesma, a clothes' merchant who had died during his guardianship, for his tutorship of minors Pedro Emperador and Francisca García, residents of Torresmenudas (1593-1595).¹⁴

These documents add little more to the record of expenses yielded by these 20 guardianships, mostly concerning minors from Salamanca and Valladolid in the second half of the 16th century, but also later, up to 1715 (Tab. 3). They do, however, allow us to pursue several interesting fields of enquiry – and to compare this evidence with coetaneous European data – concerning the demands of Castilian youths (for example, types of shoes and clothing used, and the annual distribution of expenses) in another ten or so similar documents from approximately the same period (one isolated example is much later, and comes from the 1760s). The amounts vary little, but these documents are valuable in that they illustrate material culture and consumption (from the market to the household) in the day-to-day lives of these youths. Let us examine this in detail.

The *dación de la cuenta de la tutela de Josefa Fernández Recalde*¹⁵ is of enormous interest because it presents a very detailed snapshot of the period.

Clothing expenses barely amounted to 746 rs. (just over 5% of the total). On average, three new pieces were purchased per year, which always included a skirt and a shirt (and sometimes doublets, vests and aprons). By the mid-18th century, when consumerism was much more acute, the 30 pieces bought for Josefa bear witness to the plainness of female dress in the Castilian countryside. This number also included several pieces of headdress and abundant shirts.

year she died; 1 rs. for a shawl; 5 rs. for another skirt in 1580; 340 mrs. for two shirts in the second year; 85 mrs. for a black shawl; 68 mrs. for two pairs of shoes (second year); 3 rs. for two pairs of shoes when she was with her uncle; 60 mrs. for a shawl when she was with her uncle; 5 rs. for a shirt when she was living with her uncle, on Saint Michael's day, September 1581; 51 mrs. for a pair of shoes when she was with her uncle for the wine harvest of 1581; 60 mrs. for a pair of shoes when she was with her uncle; 60 mrs. for a pair of shoes for Christmas; 4 rs. for a shirt.

¹³ AHPSa, PN, leg. 2954. Both parts appointed an accountant, with Nicolasa being represented by her husband, Diego del Águila, a clerk in Medina del Campo city, where they all resided.

¹⁴ AHPSa, PN, leg. 4312, ff. 1202-1220. The accounts were examined by Juan de Silva, silversmith, by that time the minors' guardian, and requested from García, widow of Roque Ledesma (who was also Juan's relative).

Accounts: 12 rs. for 18 nappies, three shirts, four towels and a large shawl for the nights; 6 rs. for a new orange *frisa* cloak; 20 mrs. for a pair of breeches; 1.5 rs. for a pair of knitted sleeves; 1.5 rs. for a pair of breeches and a pair of shoes; 2 rs. for a pair of tights; 6 rs. for a little fur-lined tunic; 20 mrs. for a pair of shoes; 42 mrs. for a pair of breeches and a pair of shoes; 4 rs. for a night cover for swaddling; 4 rs. for a small doublet; 4 rs. for a new cloak; 12 rs. for four shirts; 4 rs. for a headboard for the cot; (1595) 16 rs. for pair of baggy trousers and a small tunic; 14 rs. for a tunic.

¹⁵ Lumbrales village, Salamanca. He hands Pascual Arroyo and his wife Josefa Fernández Recalde the accounts for the eleven years in which Juan Fernández Recalde, her uncle, acted as her guardian; Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Valladolid (ARChVa), *Pleitos Civiles* (PC), Pérez Alonso, olvidados, caja 397,1; «Libro de cuentas (1757-1567); memoria de lo que voy dando a mi sobrina de los bienes que me entregaron».

Tab. 4a. **Clothing items (*varas* of cloth/canvas and tailoring) bought by a guardian for his niece**

	Total	Skirts	Doublets	<i>Frisas</i>	Vests	Aprons	Capes	Shirts
1757	4	1	1	1		1		
1759	3	1	1	1				
1760	2	1						1
1761	2		1					1
1762	3	1			1			1
1763	4	1		1		1		1
1764	2							2
1765	6	1	1	1			1	2
1766–67	4	2			1			1
In 11 years	30	8	4	4	2	2	1	9

Tab. 4b. **Shoes (pairs) for Josefa**

	Total Pairs Shoes	Bought (54)	Made (16)	Buckles (3)
1757	4	4		
1758	6	4	2	1
1759	7	6	1	1
1760	9	6	3	
1761	5	5		
1762	5	5		
1763	5	4	1	
1764	6	5	1	
1765	9	6	3	1
1766	9	5	4	
1767	5	4	1	

Tab. 4c. **Monthly distribution of expenses on shoes (70 pairs)**

Christmas and New Year	10	17%
Easter	17	28%
Corpus	10	17%
Santiago	3	
Saint Mary of August	7	12%
All Saints	6	10%
February – September – October	5	
Local festivities	2	

Source: ARChVa, *Pleitos Civiles*, bundle 397,1.

In contrast, the accounts indicate that five pairs of shoes were bought, and nearly two more made to suit, every year on average, and in some years this increased to as many as nine pairs, including their replacement buckles. The

amount spent on footwear¹⁶ amounted to a considerable 597 reales (4%). Shoes were always bought on special occasions, such as Easter, Corpus Christi, Christmas and New Year (as well as mid-August and All Saints). In summary, she got plenty of shoes and shirts, along with lower garments and headdresses.

The *cuentas tomadas por los guardians* of *Barromán* in 1565–1627¹⁷ certify that most expenses went on food (and teachers and/or apothecaries) rather than on their poor garments. The average amount spent on clothing was a meagre 5%, but in some cases this amount is considerably higher, up to 24%, 19% and 17% (the minimum is 4%). In one example, expenses associated with the minor María Martín, married to Juan García, amounted to 17,503 maravedies for 1605, of which a substantial 6,568 mrs. (38%) went on 23 pieces of clothing:

Tab. 5. Pieces and prices of clothing went for María Martín (1605)

Shirts	4	317 maravedies	
Skirts	4	519	
Overskirt	2	432	
Hoods	1	44	
Headdresses	4	538	
Shawls	2	291	
Breeches	2	459	
Stoles	1	544	
Shoes (pairs)	3	330	(plus ten <i>varas</i> of <i>pardillo</i>): 3,094 mrs.

Source: ARChVa, *Protocolos y Padrones*, bundle 24,1.

Guardianships in Salamanca are at the heart of this study. For instance, Diego Flores, the guardian of Pedro Bonal and Juan Maldonado, underage brothers, requested accounts for 1547-53 from their tutor Antonio Ramírez.¹⁸ Clothing expenses were in the region of 30% of the total, and both brothers were more or less treated equally.

The accounts for Juan Maldonado indicate expenses of 49,123 maravedies, 15,201 mrs. more than for his brother.¹⁹

¹⁶ Affordable prices: 8, 10 and 11 reales («a pair of white shoes», September 1766, 12 rs.). «Shoes made by Juan Saldaña»; «a pair of shoes made by Remigio and another pair by Saldaña».

¹⁷ ARChVa, *Protocolos y Padrones*, caja 24,1; Arévalo city; 1565–1627 (during the 16th century, 108 examples (78%) and 30 during the 17th century (22%)). The amounts vary widely, from 400,000 to 7,000 maravedies; only 8% contain detailed information about clothing.

¹⁸ AHPSa, PN, leg. 3167; 1547-53. Antonio Ramírez, the tutor, submitted the accounts in March 1554.

¹⁹ Tanning, tailoring, *varas* cloth; lining; laces; pins and accessories. 1550. A cloth cassock, 9.5 rs. 1551. Cape, smock and breeches (6 *varas* of cloth from Piedrahita, at 7 rs. per vara): 1,423 mrs.

Tab. 6. Accounts for the minor Juan Maldonado (1547-1553)

Pieces	1547	1548	1549	1550	1551	1552	1553	Total	
		1	2		1	1	1	6	
Tailored Smocks	1		1	1	1	1	1	6	
Doublets	1		3	1	1	1	1	8	
Breeches/half breeches		2	2	2	2	2	2	12	
Shirts				1				1	
Cassocks							1	1	
Capers					1			1	
Hats							1	1	
Shoes / boots (pairs)		4	8	6	7	6	9	40	annual average: 6
Pieces	2	7	16	11	13	11	16	76	monthly average: 1
Maravedíes	180	991	1,727	1,119	2,260	1,854	3,794	11,925	

Source: AHPsA, PN, bundle 3167.

«What I, Antonio Ramírez, tutor of Pedro Bonal, have spent between 24 September 1547 and the day they left my household, giving them all that they needed, clothing, shoes, school and education, books, paper and other trifles».²⁰

Tab. 7. Accounts for the minor Pedro Bonal (1547-1553)

Pieces	1547	1548	1549	1550	1551	1552	1553	Total	
Tailored Smocks		1	2	1	1	1		6	
Doublets	1		1	1	1		1	5	
Breeches/half breeches	1		2	1	1		1	6	
Shirts		2	2	4	2	2	1	13	
Capes						1		1	
Cloaks					1			1	
Shoes (pairs)	1	4	8	7	6	5	4	35	annual average: 5
Pieces	3	7	15	14	12	9	7	67	monthly average: 1
Maravedíes	362	895	1,107	1,445	2,297	3,178	1,125	10,409	

Source: AHPsA, PN, bundle 3167.

²⁰ 1550. Breeches and matching smock: half a ducat.

1551. For cloaks, smocks and breeches for him and his brother: 11.5 *varas* of Piedrahita cloth: 1.423 mrs. went for him; preparing the cloth for tailoring (2 rs.) and the lining (3 rs.).

1552. For a smock and a 20-thread cape, 4 *varas* at 16 rs.: 240 mrs.; lining for the smock, 1.5 of *friseta*: 90 mrs.; preparation of the cloth: 30 mrs.; 3 rs. for the tailoring of smock and cape.

A comparison of both accounts reveals that canvas shirts were considered a basic purchase. The tutor spent similar amounts on both brothers (1,700-1,500 mrs. over the year), but in one case these expenses were more evenly distributed over the years, whereas in the case of Pedro the expenses clearly peaked in 1549-1550. Their «shopping baskets» were also similar, comprising the typical items for the period: smock, doublet and breeches, which were annually replaced, plus two warm capes. These pieces were purchased from local tailors, at a rate of one piece per month. Again, not an excessive number of pieces of clothing, but five pairs of shoes. With these ten/eleven pieces, these two lads were much better attired than the girls seen above; the expenses were well controlled by attentive guardians, who made an effort to keep their charges well clothed.

We must point out the considerable difference in the price of shoes in the late 16th century, which ranges from 22 to 46 mrs.: the most common price was 34 (ten pairs), and the most expensive 40 (nine pairs). Many pairs fetched prices of 26, 28, 30 or 35 mrs. (50% were in the 30s, 30% in the 20s, and 20% in the most expensive bracket, the 40s). However, by the 1590s the prices had increased substantially: 24 pairs fetched prices of 61 mrs. each, three pairs 130 and 140 mrs., nine pairs 153 mrs., two pairs 161 mrs., two pairs 170 mrs., two pairs 182 mrs. and seven pairs 187 mrs.²¹

The accounts of the guardianship of Sebastián de Olivares for 1587-94 are also very systematic;²² interesting additional information can be extracted from the following example (Tab. 8).

²¹ Value of the work of Sebastián de Olivares: pairs of shoes: two at 136 mrs., one at 146 mrs., six at 153 mrs., two at 161 mrs., five at 170 mrs., one at 182 mrs., one at 183 mrs. and three at 187 mrs. Mending four pairs cost 24 mrs., and the triple mending of boots cost 510 mrs.

²² AHPSa, PN, leg. 5266; 1595. Accounts taken from Antonio de Villarroel during his guardianship of Sebastián de Olivares (orphan), both of whom were residents in the city of Salamanca. Amount: 544,501 maravedies. Expenses: 499,910 mrs. Alcance contra el curador: 44,591 mrs.

1588. Five *varas* of 24-thread cloth for clothing for the minor (5,542 mrs. in total), with three dozen buttons; double-soled shoes: 153 mrs.; mending of two Holland necks.

1589. Outfit of black *raja* from Segovia: with buttons, hat (12 rs.), cuffs, necks, closed cordovan boots «bought to accompany the dean to Zamora» (15, waistband and spurs (9,439 mrs.).

1590. *Varas* of 22-tread cloth from Segovia for tunic and short cape (3,978 mrs.); *chamelote* (2,210 mrs.); tailoring (510); linings (229); silk (34); passementerie (108); taffeta (94 mrs.); *rizo* (7 rs.).

1591–1592. 220 rs. paid for a dress to join that military company. «After Sebastián Olivares came back from the war, the court ordered his guardian to give him 80 ducs of his estate for dressing, shirt, sword and other things that he needed».

1594. «As admitted by Olivares himself»: 2,210 mrs. of black *chamelote* for *sevillanos*.

Tab. 8. Accounts for the minor Sebastián de Olivares (1587-1594)

Pieces	1588	1589	1590	1591	1592	1593	1594	Total	
Doublets	1		1			1	1	4	
Breeches/half breeches	1	1	2					4	
Stockings and tights/ <i>ligas</i>	3	2	2			2	1	10	
Shirts	2	2	1			4		9	
<i>Bebederos</i>		1	1			1		3	
Handkerchiefs	1							1	
Dresses	1	1					1	3	
Short Capes	1	1	1			1	1	5	
Galligaskins	2		1					3	
Tunics	1						1	2	
Undergarments	1	1	1			1	1	5	
Hats	2	2	1			1	2	8	
Necks/Cuffs	2	4	6				3	15	
Ruffs							2	2	
Sleeves						1	2	3	
Military uniform				1	1			2	
Boots	1	1						2	
Shoes (pairs)	3	7	6			2	7	25	
Pieces	22	23	23	1	1	14	22	106	monthly average: 2
Maravedies	12,345	18,441	11,081	7,480	---	11,702	17,160	78,209	

Source: AHPsA, PN, bundle 5266.

Sebastián's attire displays the need to present an urban appearance, as indicated by the presence of ruffs and cuffs in the accounts, as well as stockings and boots. Hats and military uniforms feature in all years except for two, demonstrating that his personal appearance was always carefully maintained.

Also very valuable is the full²³ «account that Juan Bautista Rodríguez makes of his expenses on behalf of Rodrigo de Monroy, guardian of the minor Diego Guzmán», son of the *comendador* don Gonzalo del Aguila, dated to June 1568.²⁴

²³ The total expenses: 35,827 maravedies.

September–December 1565	3,907 maravedies	
Dress	1,051	(27%)
Food	2,640	
Schooling	178	
Apothecary	18	
Leisure	20	
1566	13,616 maravedies	
Dress	4,220	(31%) (add buttons to smock; mend old breeches; cloth-canvas)
Food	7,920	(30 ducats per year)
Schooling	1,117	(2 reales per month)
Apothecary	44	
Leisure	245	

Tab. 9. Accounts for the minor Diego Guzmán (1565-1567)

Pieces	1565	1566	1567	Total	
Capes and Smocks (tailoring)	1	2	2	5	
Doublets		2	3	5	
Breeches/half breeches	2	5	12	19	
Stocking an Tights		3	3	6	
Shirts		3		3	
Hats		4	4	8	
Gloves	1	1		2	
Belts		2	2	4	
Shoes	3	8	15	26	
Pieces	7	30	41	78	monthly average: 3

Source: AHPsA, PN, bundle 2943.

Both brothers averaged one new garment per month overall, but their figures tended to converge: Sebastián got two per month for seven years (106 in total), and Diego three per month across 28 months (78 in total). This resulted in good profits for hosiers and cobblers; old pieces were not necessarily replaced but were also mended. Almost a third of the expenses of their guardianship went on clothing, but this did not mean that other expenses were neglected (apothecaries, domestic service, schooling, leisure). In terms of dress, they had at least two new outfits comprising cape, smock and doublet per year.

Let us consider one final account that reflects these guardianship expenses before presenting a global analysis.

This record includes male²⁵ and female fashion (sometimes the girls' garments are more numerous, but overall the boys have double the pieces): hats or

1567	18,304 maravedies	
Dress	5,402	(30%)
Food	7,920	
Schooling	920	
Apothecary	1,319	(barber)
Leisure	116	
Housekeepers / servants	2,627	(Dieguillo)

²⁴ AHPsA, PN, leg. 2943; 1565-68.

²⁵ AHPsA, PN, leg. 5268, ff. 1309-1336; Antonio de Santillana, tutor of Juan de San Vicente.

Expense: 442 mrs. for a doublet and a pair of breeches when he arrived to his household; 1,992 mrs. for an outfit of short cape, tunic and cloth breeches; 782 mrs. for a tunic and galligaskins; 408 mrs. for a doublet and canvas baggy trousers; 1,122 mrs. for a tunic and mixed-cloth green galligaskins.

1588-94: 200 rs. for shoes in the first seven years, «although due to illness in the first year, 24 rs. are taken off, 176 rs. remaining». During these same years, he bought new hats and as many half breeches «as needed» (three pairs of half breeches per year, amounting to 8 rs. per year, and two hats per year, at 6 rs. each); 2,108 mrs. on shirts, at a rate of two shirts during each of the seven years, at 6 rs. each (both small and large) 147 rs. (3,132 mrs.); 13 rs. when he left prison in shoes and half breeches; 15 rs. for a doublet on Midsummer Eve, 1594; 5 ducats for a tunic and a pair of galligaskins of brown cloth; 18 rs. for hat, half breeches and shoes; 8 rs. to rescue a pawned tunic kept by a surgeon.

headdresses, breeches or tunics, short capes or cloaks, and undergarments and doublets feature for both boys and girls. The variety in terminology expresses the still-growing Castilian style, which, however, soon began to wane and was no longer able to mark European fashions, being overtaken by French fashion between approximately 1640 and well into the 1700s.

Tab. 10. **Other different pieces and minors**

	Nicolasa	Ana	Pedro (brother i)	Francisca	Juan	Total
Pieces	(e) 1583-90	(g) 1580-83	(h) 1593-1595	(i) 1593-95	(j) 1586-1596	
Skirts/Smocks	4	1				5
Smocks/ <i>Sayuelos</i>		2				2
Large Cloaks	1		2	1		4
Doublets/small doublets	4		1	1	6	12
Breeches/half breeches	1		1	1	24	27
Shirts	3	7	7	4	17	38
Cloaks	2					2
<i>Ropas</i>	2		3			5
Tunics					7	7
Bodices	1					1
Farthingales	1					1
Headcloths	8					8
Shawls		3	1			4
Bonets	1					1
<i>Bebederos</i>	1		4			5
Sleeves			1			1
Baggy Trousers			1	1	2	4
Full Outfit					2	2
Short Capes				1	3	4
Undergarments		1	3	1	2	7
Galligaskins				1	7	8
Hats				1	16	17
Necks/Cuffs	1			1	2	4
<i>Coletos</i>					1	1
Sleeves	2				1	3
Mules	3					3
Clogs	2					2
Boots/ankle boots/ <i>Botillas</i>	3				1	4
Shoes (pairs)	1	12	3	5	20	41
Pieces: monthly average: 2	41	26	27	18	111	223

Sources: AHPSa, PN, several bundles.

Tab. 11a. **Expense distribution in guardianship accounts, Salamanca, 16th century**

23 cases	Tutors	Curators
Food	16%	30%
Dress/Shoes	14%	19%
Schooling	2%	1%
Apothecary	1%	3%
Debts	1%	13%
Bureaucratic fees	12%	4%
Estate management	17%	5%
Legal costs	11%	2%
Others	26%	23%
Investment	33%	53%
Management	41%	24%
Others	26%	23%

Tab. 11b. **Supervision expenses, Salamanca (1547-1596). 11 cases**

Dress (including white linen)	39.8%
Food	35.0%
Schooling/apprenticeship	3.5%
Apothecary	2.8%
Leisure/Trips	2.5%
Management	16.3%
Annual average	19,892 reales
Annual average on dress	7,920
Personal average	56,617
Personal average on dress	22,542

Tab. 11c. **Clothing (pieces recorded). Personal average: 35 pieces**

	Male (79.1%)	Female (20.9%)	
Upper Garments	20.6%	15.8%	
Lower Garments	15.1%	14.8%	
Accessories	16.0%	12.2%	
Shirts	11.2%	14.3%	
Shoes	37.1%	18.5%	(265 pairs for boys, 35 for girls)
Bed linen	--	24.4%	

Sources: AHPSa, PN, several bundles.

The distribution of expenses (Tab. 3 and 11a, 11b and 11c) and the importance attached to each concept is revealing, especially when the analysis includes an examination of guardianships and supervision (the former being less prone to spending on

clothing). Although studies, housing, apprenticeships, healthcare and travelling were considered secondary, clothing, along with the administration of the minors' inherited estates and money, was considered important (including bed linen, which was considered a key female need). Clothing is the largest expense item in four of the accounts examined, in one case amounting to as much as 78% of the total budget. Although dress-related expenses could reach 40% of the budget, this was rare, and, in most cases, notable deficiencies can be attested in the construction of a sufficient wardrobe; we must not forget that a significant proportion of dress expenses was spent on shoes.

4. Conclusions for the debate

Guardianship accounts allow us to analyse material culture (which was rather basic for the lower and rural classes). Although it is clear more examples need to be examined, we can still suggest consumption among *Ancien Régime* youth seems stagnant, despite this being a period in the life cycle in which material needs are many. There was growth in some areas, but the dissemination of novelties was uneven, a reflection of the ideological dispute between modernity and critical attitudes towards luxury and vanity, and the corresponding defence of rusticity.

Notable differences existed between classes, genders and periods; the privileged groups were more likely to follow new fashions, as orphans rarely inherited enough means to actively join the semi-perishable goods market. Their estates, however, were sufficiently substantial to keep textile consumption at dynamic levels (Welch 2009).²⁶

Badly shod (few expensive shoes are attested, and many sole replacements) despite their mobility, the quality of their garments depended on the care of their guardians, their gender, their context (rural or urban) and their professional projection (academic or agricultural) (García M. 2019b).

Once we go beyond De Vries' *industrious revolution* (2009) gaze, changes in consumer behaviour are attested in interior Castile prior to 1850, as reflected in guardianship accounts, dowries, *almonedas* accounts and household inventories carried out after the death of testators. Additional information may be extracted from legal texts, works that describe traditional customs and Enlightened memoranda (Bartolomé 2012). This evidence and the methods used to examine it indicate that innovation played little role in the dress of the popular classes, and that each social class had a characteristic approach to the distribution of expenses depending on their aesthetic aspirations, the conditions of the market (generally, the prices recorded were not high) and the interplay of contradictory interests of public promotion. This also reflects traditional commercial, cultural and guild relations, which are expressed in the items on offer at fairs and in retail shops. We must keep these salient points in mind in order to compare the evolution of these apparently rigid consumption patterns with those of north-western and Mediterranean Europe.

²⁶ A study of material and visual culture of consumption in Renaissance Italy that follows the track of buying: lively experiences of civilization («behind the apparent routine of inspecting the goods, selecting, bargaining, and organising deliveries, there was a multi-faceted game of deep-rooted beliefs; the everyday nature of the connections considerably strengthened the social order»).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Amelang, James. 2005. "Comparando la escritura autobiográfica en España e Inglaterra durante la Edad Moderna. ¿Qué se debe hacer?." In *El otro, el mismo: biografías y autobiografía en Europa (siglos XVIIIXX)*, ed. David J. Colin, 63-72. Valencia: PUV.
- Amelang, James. 2006. "La autobiografía moderna entre la historia y la literature." *Chronica Nova* 32: 143-57.
- Bartolomé, Juan Manuel, and Máximo García, ed.. 2012. *Apariencias contrastadas: contraste de apariencia. Cultura material y consumos de Antiguo Régimen*. León: Universidad.
- Belfanti, Carlo M. 2008. *Civiltà della moda*. Bologna: Il Mulino.
- Brunet, Guy. 2012. "Le juge et l'orphelin: des assemblées de parents aux conseils de famille, XVIII^e-XIX^e siècles." *Annales Démographie Historique* 1: 225-48.
- Carmagnani, Marcello. 2012. *Las islas del lujo. Productos exóticos, nuevos consumos y cultura económica europea, 1650-1800*. Madrid: Marcial Pons.
- Carrió-Invernizzi, Diana, ed. 2016. *Embajadores culturales. Transferencias y lealtades de la diplomacia española de la Edad Moderna*. Madrid: UNED.
- Cava, M^a Gema. 1999. "Economías infantiles: recursos materiales y gestión del patrimonio de los huérfanos extremeños durante la Edad Moderna." *Obradoiro* 8: 65-98.
- Dávila, Rosa M^a, and Máximo García. 2005. "Vestirse y vestir la casa. El consumo de productos textiles en Valladolid (1700-1860)." *Obradoiro de Historia Moderna* 14: 141-74.
- Descalzo, Amalia, and José Luis Colomer, ed. 2014. *Vestir a la española en las cortes europeas (siglos XVI y XVII)*. Madrid: CEEH.
- De Vries, Jean. 2009. *La revolución industrial. Consumo y economía doméstica desde 1650 hasta el presente*. Barcelona: Crítica.
- Duraes, Andreia. 2018. *Casas de cidade: Processo de privatização e consumos de luxo nas camadas intermédias urbanas (Lisboa na segunda metade do século XVIII e início do século XIX)*. Tesis doctoral: Universidade do Minho.
- Ebben, Maurits, ed.. 2010. *Un holandés en la España de Felipe IV. Diario del viaje de Lodewijk Huygens, 1660-61*. Madrid: Doce Calles.
- Figeac, Michel, ed. 2007. *L'ancienne France au quotidien. Dictionnaire d'Histoire matérielle*. Paris: Colin.
- Furió, Antoni, ed.. 2018. *Pautes de consum i nivells de vida al món rural medieval*. Valencia: PUV.
- García, Juan Vicente. 2001. "Imatges a la llar. Cultura material i cultura visual a la València dels segles XIV i XV." *Recerques* 43: 163-94.
- García, Máximo, ed.. 2013. *Cultura material y vida cotidiana moderna: escenarios*. Madrid: Sílex.
- García, Máximo. 2015. "Seguridades e inseguridades vestimentarias cotidianas entre la mayoría popular juvenil." In *Comercio y cultura en la Edad Moderna*. Sevilla: Universidad, 185-228.

- García, Máximo, ed. 2016. Dossier *Escenarios castellanos y europeos: espacios domésticos y apariencias urbanas y rurales (siglos XVI–XVIII)*. *Tiempos Modernos* 8, 32.
- García, Máximo. 2019a. “Permanencias estructurales rurales versus mudanzas. Consumos, necesidades y apariencias en Valladolid a finales del Antiguo Régimen.” *Revista de Historia Moderna. Anales de la Universidad de Alicante* 37: 316-46.
- García, Máximo. 2019b. *Los caminos de la juventud en la Castilla Moderna: menores, huérfanos y tutores*. Madrid: Sílex.
- Gascón, M^a Isabel. 2012. “Las mujeres entre la intimidad doméstica y el espacio público. Libros de cuentas femeninos y ordenanzas municipales.” *Revista de Historia Moderna* 30: 283-300.
- Haley, George, ed.. 1977. *Diario de un estudiante de Salamanca. La crónica inédita de Girolamo da Sommaia, (1603-1607)*. Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca.
- Lorenzo, Francisco Javier. 2019. “Las cuentas de curaduría en el s. XVI: posibilidades de estudio para conocer a los jóvenes huérfanos.” In *Jóvenes y juventud en los espacios ibéricos durante el Antiguo Régimen*, ed. Máximo García, et al., 73-112. Lisboa: Colibrí.
- Luciani, Isabelle. 2013. “Llevar un «libro de cuenta y razón» en la Provenza moderna (siglos XVI-XVIII): escritura doméstica y relato de uno mismo.” *Manuscripts* 31: 163-203.
- Malanima, Paolo. 1990. *Il lusso dei contadini. Consumi e industrie nelle campagne toscane del Sei e Settecento*. Bologna: Il Mulino.
- Martínez, Saúl. 2008. “Beyond luxury: sumptuary legislation in 17th century Castile.” In *Making, using and resisting the law in European history*, 93-108. Pisa: Pisa University Press.
- McKendrick, Neil. 1982. “The commercialization of fashion.” In *The birth of a consumer society: The commercialization of eighteenth-century England*, ed. Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and J.H. Plumb, 20-45. London: Europa Publications.
- Muñoz, Daniel, ed.. 2011. *Comprar, vender y consumir. Nuevas aportaciones a la historia del consumo en la España moderna*. Valencia: PUV.
- Pérez-García, Manuel. 2013. *Vicarius consumers. Trans-national meetings between the West and East in the Mediterranean world (1730-1808)*. Farnham: Ashgate.
- Ramos, Fernando. 2010. *Pautas de consumo y mercado en Castilla, 1750-1850. Economía familiar en Palencia al final del Antiguo Régimen*. Madrid: Sílex.
- Roche, Daniel. 1997. *Histoire des choses banales: naissance de la consommation dans les sociétés traditionnelles (XVII^e-XIX^e siècle)*. Paris: Fayard.
- Rodríguez-San Pedro, Luis Enrique. 1999. *Vida, aspiraciones y fracasos de un estudiante de Salamanca. El diario de Gaspar Ramos Ortíz (1568-1569)*. Salamanca: Universidad.
- Silva, Luciana da. 2019. *Aparência e sensibilidade: a indumentária na Vila do Carmo (Mariana), 1693-1755*. Tesis doctoral: Universidade de Campinas.
- Torras, Jaume, et al., ed. 1999. *Consumo, condiciones de vida y comercialización: Cataluña, Castilla, siglos XVII-XIX*. Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León.
- Welch, Evelyn. 2009. *De compras en el Renacimiento. Culturas del consumo en Italia, 1400-1600*. Valencia: PUV.