

Invisible Globalization: French Hats in Habsburg Vienna, 1650-1750*

Veronika Hyden-Hanscho

*Institute for Modern and Contemporary Historical Research,
Austrian Academy of Sciences*

ABSTRACT

In the second half of the seventeenth century, the Viennese nobility introduced French fashion as a consumption pattern for Austrian elites. Beaver and vicuña hats, made of raw materials from Canada, Peru, West Africa, the Sudan and the Levant, were part and parcel of the new French fashion. French hats were globalized commodities appreciated throughout Europe, although the globalized nature and composition of the product remained completely invisible. This article considers Vienna as a remote area, far from the booming and, in historiography, well-explored European Atlantic ports and capitals, and investigates how Vienna participated in particular global fashion trends. Specifically, it focuses on the social and economic impact of hats as a globalized consumer good on the local Viennese market. Based on an extensive analysis of archival sources, the article sheds light on consumption patterns of elites, practices of the trade in hats, and the consequences of the globalized hat market for local craft production. The globalization of the hat market entailed the immigration of fully trained hatters. Skilled craftsmen from France and Italy introduced new processing methods in Vienna, but this did not result in the dissemination of knowledge. The continuing demand for hats in Vienna stoked a large increase in imports of finished or semi-finished hats, which in turn fostered the emergence

* The findings of this paper derive in part from research project P 20629-G08 “Cultural Transfer from the Southern Atlantic to Central Europe in Times of War and Crisis (1640-1740): France and Spain as Intermediaries for the Habsburg Territories”, funded by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF). I am grateful to Renate Pieper, Beverly Lemire, William D. Godsey and anonymous referees for fruitful discussions, helpful comments or critical readings of earlier drafts of this paper. I would like to thank Werner Stangl for the digital creation of the map published here.

of new branches of activity for the accoutrement and selling of these products.

1. Introduction

When the young count Sigmund Friedrich Khevenhüller from Carinthia in Inner Austria discovered Europe's courts on his grand tour in 1687, he consumed tea and sugared lemonade in Antwerp and rose-sugar candies in Paris. He bought castor hats decorated with ostrich feathers in Paris and sent home twelve pairs of white cotton lady's gloves from London and several packages of chocolate from Lyon and Brussels.¹ Tea, chocolate and cotton were well-known globalized products in the seventeenth century. Contemporaries never doubted that tea was imported from China, as it was served in chinaware. Chocolate, another globalized beverage, was clearly rooted in an exotic identity. With the inception of sugar production in Brazil and the Caribbean in early modern times and its use as an ingredient in hot beverages, sugar was commoditized as an increasingly Atlantic product. Cotton's East Indian origin guaranteed the customer a product of higher quality. All of these commodities were subjects of debates on luxury. Their globalized nature was visible because their name, their preparation, or the product itself alluded to something exotic or to the origin of the raw materials incorporated in it. This was not true of beaver hats. Well-adapted to French fashion, no globalized component of the hat-beaver from Canada, gum arabic from West African and sub-Saharan regions, ostrich feathers from the Levant, a fixture of European decoration – stood out as imported, exotic or originating from a distant source.

Global trade and interdependence, transcontinental flows of merchandise, services, labor and capital, had an enormous impact on the European markets in goods, luxury items and labor as well

¹ Österreichisches Staatsarchiv (hereafter ÖStA), Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (hereafter HHStA), Khevenhüller 24, 1686-1689, Sigmund Friedrich 1-5/3 Rechnungsausweise 1687, s. fo.

as on its consumption patterns. Historiography of early globalization and of its impact on European consumption usually refer to such popular items as tea, coffee, chocolate, sugar, porcelain and cotton.² However, globalization would not deserve to be called a decisive factor characterizing early modern times if it were limited in Europe to obviously exotic products. Beyond these highly appreciated imports from Asia and the Americas, lots of raw materials and semi-finished products from around the world influenced Europe's material culture and served for further processing. Gum arabic from Senegambia, used as a stiffening agent, is one example. Often these products lacked novelty, sumptuousness or appreciation.³ Some were hardly noticed by consumers because they were absorbed within the processing. The well-known beaver furs were shipped across the Atlantic in vast quantities beginning in the seventeenth century and competed with Russian furs. In the literature,⁴ compet-

² The literature on globalized consumer goods in Western Europe is abundant. See, for example, F. Trentmann (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Consumption*, Oxford, 2012; A.E.C. McCants, "Poor Consumers as Global Consumers: The Diffusion of Tea and Coffee Drinking in the Eighteenth Century", in *The Economic History Review*, no. 61, 1, 2008, pp. 172-200; M. North, *Material Delight and the Joy of Living: Cultural Consumption in the Age of Enlightenment in Germany*, Aldershot, 2008; M. Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth Century Britain*, Oxford, 2005; B. Lemire, "Domesticating the Exotic: Floral Culture and the East India Calico Trade with England, c. 1600-1800", in *Textile: The Journal of Cloth and Culture*, no. 1, 1, 2003, pp. 64-85; M. Berg and H. Clifford (eds.), *Consumers and Luxury: Consumer Culture in Europe 1650-1850*, Manchester, 1999; R. Fox and A. Turner (eds.), *Luxury Trades and Consumerism in Ancien Régime Paris: Studies in the History of the Skilled Workforce*, Aldershot, 1998; D. Roche, *Histoire des choses banales: Naissance de la consommation dans les sociétés traditionnelles (XVII^e-XIX^e siècle)*, Paris, 1997; C. Sargentson, *Merchants and Luxury Markets: The Marchands Merciers of Eighteenth-Century Paris*, London, 1996; J. Brewer and R. Porter (eds.), *Consumption and the World of Goods*, London, 1993; B. Lemire, *Fashion's Favourite: The Cotton Trade and the Consumer in Britain, 1660-1800*, Oxford, 1991.

³ J. Wimmeler, "Material Exchange as Cultural Exchange. The Example of West African Products in Late 17th and Early 18th-Century France", in V. Hyden-Hanscho, R. Pieper and W. Stangl (eds.), *Cultural Exchange and Consumption Patterns in the Age of Enlightenment: Europe and the Atlantic World*, Bochum, 2013, pp. 133-134.

⁴ D.O. Flynn and A. Giráldez, "Born with a 'Silver Spoon': the Origin of World Trade in 1571", in *Journal of World History*, no. 6, 2, 1995, p. 201; J. Osterhammel and N.P. Petersson, *Globalization: A Short History*, Munich, 2003; G.C. Gunn, *First Globalization: The Eurasian Exchange, 1500-1800*, Lanham, MD, 2003, pp. 2-4; A.G. Hopkins, "The History

ing commodities and increasing consumer choice figure as the most important indicators of early globalization.⁵ Consequently, French hats made of beaver or vicuña, gum arabic and ostrich feathers qualify as proper objects of inquiry in studies of invisible globalized consumer goods. This paper investigates the consumption of French hats as an unapparent globalized product in Vienna and examines its economic and social effects and its consequences for the local market around the turn of the eighteenth century, when French hats were extremely popular. It focuses above all on the invisible global complexity of the product and on the effects of globalization on the local labor market and craft production. On the first point, the references in historical writings to imported exotic items, changing consumption patterns, heavily laden incoming ships in dynamic Atlantic ports or busy auctions of Chinese luxury goods, indicate that globalization was actively and consciously experienced by people involved in it. On the contrary, this article suggests that phenomena of globalization affected people with little conception of it and involved products whose global complexity was barely noticed.⁶ Timothy Brook describes French beaver hats as a by-product of the search for a route to China across Canada,⁷ a position that overlooks the fact that their production depended not only on beaver furs but also on other globalized raw materials and on technical know-how. The second argument put forward here is that increasing demand for beaver hats catalyzed changes in the labor market. Our analysis of the Viennese hatters will show that the globalization of hat pro-

of Globalization – and the Globalization of History”, in A.G. Hopkins (ed.), *Globalization in World History*, London, 2002, pp. 15-17; K.H. O’Rourke and J.G. Williamson, “When did Globalization begin?”, in *European Review of Economic History*, no. 6, 2002, pp. 23-50.

⁵ J. de Vries, “The Limits of Globalization in the Early Modern World”, in *Economic History Review*, no. 63, 3, 2010, pp. 722-730.

⁶ See, for a similar conclusion, M.P. Romaniello, “Trade and the Global Economy”, in H. Scott (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern European History, 1350-1750*, vol. 2/2, Oxford, 2015, p. 329.

⁷ T. Brook, *Vermeer’s Hat. The Seventeenth Century and the Dawn of the Global World*, New York, 2008, p. 51.

duction had structural impacts other than the stimulation of the local crafts and led, in particular to their differentiation.

Compared with the main Atlantic ports, the participation of territories in Central Europe such as the Austrian hereditary lands has received little attention in scholarly writings. Austria could not directly benefit from the expansion efforts of Western Europe: the empire's capital, Vienna, was dependent on intermediaries, as the example of Count Khevenhüller's consumption and imports shows. Historians have repeatedly stressed that with early globalization economic leadership in Europe moved from Southern Europe to the North-West. In this telling, London, Amsterdam, Bordeaux and Hamburg benefited widely from the new possibilities of the Atlantic trade, while Central Europe was relegated to the periphery of a globalizing world.⁸ However, as Anne McCants points out, the findings of research on globalization in the early modern period do not always answer the crucial questions. The chronology of globalization, the multiplicity and the asynchrony of geographical areas, for instance, are among the key problems that need to be revisited.⁹ Globalization as a hallmark of the early modern period must have been apparent even in land-locked areas like Vienna.

Coffee and chocolate captured the Viennese market in the seventeenth century, and we know that luxury goods imported from Spanish America via Madrid influenced Vienna considerably starting in the sixteenth century, given the enduring dynastic and political ties between Madrid and Vienna. But at the end of the seventeenth century, the prospective extinction of the Spanish Habsburgs in Madrid and the open question of the Spanish Succession brought Spanish-Italian preeminence in European culture and fashion to an end and liberated the Viennese market for new influences

⁸ P. O'Brian, "Provincializing the First Industrial Revolution", in *Working Papers of the Global Economic History Network*, no. 17, 2006, pp. 16-39.

⁹ A.E.C. McCants, "Exotic Goods, Popular Consumption, and the Standard of Living: Thinking about Globalization in the Early Modern World", in *Journal of World History*, no. 18, 4, 2007, pp. 433-462.

emanating from ascendant France. Despite the Bourbon-Habsburg antagonism, Vienna came under French influence as regards fashion. Fashion was always a compelling force for change in the economic sphere and society.¹⁰ In contrast with the spread of English cottons in the eighteenth century,¹¹ the role of globalized commodities in French fashion was not evident; raw materials such as Canadian beaver and West African gum arabic, used in hat production, were invisible in the finished product. The impact of globalized French hats on the Viennese market will therefore be the key question.

The early exchange of precious goods and the spread of hot beverages in Austria from the sixteenth century onward have been addressed in research on early modern consumption, on trade and cultural transfer, and on Atlantic history. In her work, Renate Pieper investigates the cultural transfer of Atlantic products from Spanish America to Vienna guaranteed by the family ties of the Habsburgs. This kind of globalized consumption mostly concerned ostentatious rarities that highly privileged individuals displayed in *Wunderkammern*: exotic birds, parrots, bezoar stones and the like. Another example is the Japanese folding screen in the Eggenberg castle in Graz.¹² All of these studies consider obviously globalized goods with an aura of the exotic that were available only to a very limited group of consumers. The idea of a broader consumer society in Austria has been studied in works on hot beverages such as chocolate, tea and coffee. Whereas Bianca Lindorfer devotes her thesis on chocolate

¹⁰ M. Berg, "Luxury, the Luxury Trades, and the Roots of Industrial Growth: A Global Perspective", in F. Trentmann (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Consumption*, Oxford, 2012, p. 186.

¹¹ B. Lemire, *Cotton*, Oxford, New York, 2011, pp. 65-83.

¹² R. Pieper, "From Cultural Exchange to Cultural Memory: Spanish American Objects in Spanish and Austrian Households", in V. Hyden-Hanscho, R. Pieper and W. Stangl (eds.), *Cultural Exchange and Consumption Patterns in the Age of Enlightenment: Europe and the Atlantic World*, Bochum, 2013, pp. 213-234; F. Ehmcke and B. Kaiser (eds.), *Ôsaka zu byôbo: Ein Stellschirm mit Ansichten der Burgstadt Ôsaka in Schloss Eggenberg*, Graz, 2010; R. Pieper, "Papageien und Bezoarsteine: Gesandte als Vermittler von Exotica und Luxuserzeugnissen im Zeitalter Philipps II", in F. Edelmayr (ed.), *Hispania-Austria II: Die Epoche Philipps II. (1556-1598)*, Vienna, 1999, pp. 216-224.

again to conspicuous consumption by the high nobility and to Spain's role as intermediary for Austria, Benita Wister looks at Inner Austria, a remote area dependent on Italian imports.¹³ However, the imperial capital of Vienna, as a residential center, seat of power and economically thriving city, is underrepresented in research. Similarly, fashion or hats have never been stood at the center of such research concerning Austria or Vienna in the context of early globalization. Thus, a study focusing on French hats in Vienna and their social and economic consequences is a first step to fill the gap. The findings presented here are based on extensive archival research. In order to scrutinize the production and consumption of hats in Vienna, the Austrian State Archives and several family archives have been examined. Owing to the loss of sources on the hatters' guild in Vienna, multiple collections in the Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna have been used, specifically last wills, probate inventories, letter patents and tax accounts. The first part of this paper will examine the consumption of French hats in Vienna. The second part will explain the global complexity of the product and the previous failure to perceive the hats as globalized goods, while the third part will discuss the diversifying effects of the globalized hat market on the local hatter's craft and the emergence of new branches of activity.

2. The consumption of French hats in Vienna

In 1676, Countess Johanna Theresia Harrach returned to Vienna from a long stay in Spain, where she had accompanied her husband, the imperial ambassador there. An entry in her diary tells us that

¹³ B.M. Lindorfer, *Cosmopolitan Aristocracy and the Diffusion of Baroque Culture: Cultural Transfer from Spain to Austria in the Seventeenth Century*, Ph.D. thesis, European Univ. Institute Florence, 2009; B. Wister, "Chocolate Consumption in Westphalia and Styria during the 18th Century", in V. Hyden-Hanscho, R. Pieper and W. Stangl (eds.), *Cultural Exchange and Consumption Patterns in the Age of Enlightenment: Europe and the Atlantic World*, Bochum, 2013, pp. 189-211.

she had to convert her Spanish dresses to the French style in order to have a suitable wardrobe for visiting the new empress and the court in Laxenburg.¹⁴ Claudia Felicitas of Austria, empress since 1673 and the first in memory who had not come directly from Spain or Italy, was the first to whom we can trace the importation of French gowns from Paris.¹⁵ Though it was certainly not her intention, she paved the way for a new French fashion style in Vienna. French fashion had spread widely in Europe, but it did not have a deep impact on Vienna until 1673. Viennese hostility to everything French or Bourbon prevented an earlier French influence in many areas of culture, whereas treatises, disputes and pamphlets on fashion give evidence of a controversy regarding French influences in fashion in German territories since the Thirty Years' War.¹⁶ The pivoting of cultural politics from Italian and Spanish to French fashion in Vienna at the end of the seventeenth century reflected the shift in political hegemony. The question of the Spanish succession and France's advance in politics and culture heightened Vienna's interest in French culture, although the emperor was politically tied to anti-French alliances with England and the Dutch Republic. When beaver hats became the fashion in Vienna, they had long been an integral component of French fashion. Henry III accepted beaver in hat fashion at the court. Under Louis XIII, forms, decorations and materials for hats changed and multiplied. Beaver and vicuña, pure or mixed with other materials, served as the basis of the hat, dyed in various colors and trimmed with braids, ribbons, and ostrich feathers. After the prevalence of baroque forms of wide-brimmed and voluminous hats in the middle of the seventeenth century, the introduction of wigs as a daily hairstyle required hats with greater firmness. The importance of gum arabic as a starching agent increased with the

¹⁴ ÖStA, AVA, Harrach 350, Tagzettel Johanna Theresia, 30 Apr. 1677.

¹⁵ ÖStA, HHStA, OMeA, Alte Akten 3, 1676-78, Unsere Majestät Claudia Felicitas, fos. 54^r-66^v.

¹⁶ B. Wiggin, "Globalization and the Work of Fashion in Early Modern German Letters", in *Journal of Early Modern Cultural Studies*, no. 11, 2, 2011, pp. 40-55.

adoption of the typical tricorne form early in the reign of Louis XIV. Wigs eventually reduced hats to little more than an accessory, but a very prestigious one. The painting by Henri Testelin on the founding of the Royal Academy of Sciences in 1666 is one of the first depictions of Louis' fashion program, including a beaver hat with bright red ostrich feathers. The trend in hats formed as tricorns persisted as an important part of men's fashion until the French Revolution.¹⁷

After the Treaty of the Pyrenees, France's ambitions to exercise political and economic hegemony intensified. French textiles competed directly with Italian textiles, so the promotion of French fashion within Europe was not just a representative game, but occurred against the background of deliberate, pragmatic aims for the French economy. Propagandistic forms of promotion such as Europe's first fashion dolls helped to disseminate French fashion all over Europe. Gazettes and journals like the *Mercure Galant* were especially important media of promotion, illustrating monthly the latest fashion trends in copper engravings with detailed information on colors and materials or, more subtly, giving accounts of social events at the French court replete with overwhelming details on fashion news from Paris or Versailles. Long before marketing formed a consumer culture in the eighteenth century, France commercialized its fashion style as a symbol of political hegemony throughout Europe. At the other end, in Vienna it was the court nobility that had the greatest interest in French representative culture, desiring to participate in a pan-European aristocratic culture guided by the French model. The court nobility was the driving force in disseminating beaver and vicuña hats in Vienna, as consumers as well as intermediaries.

Young nobles were introduced to beaver hats in France, mostly in Paris, when they visited the court of Louis XIV on their grand tour. The tour completed their education for a career in the military or civil administration with training in social conduct at court. Consumption patterns in fashion played an important part, because to

¹⁷ A. Bönsch, *Formengeschichte europäischer Kleidung*, Vienna, Cologne, Weimar, 2001, pp. 162-166.

be introduced to court society it was mandatory to dress in French clothes. Every young noble, regardless of his economic or social background, bought French garments and hats upon arriving in France. Count Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach and his cousin, Baron Karl Franz Scherffenberg, had already purchased several beaver hats on their tour in France in 1656 and 1657.¹⁸ A generation later, Count Aloys Thomas Raimund Harrach was well informed on where to buy beaver hats, with a long list of recommended merchants of commodities and luxuries in Paris.¹⁹ Despite his financial troubles, Count Khevenhüller finally bought beaver hats in 1687 during his grand tour, not only for use in France but also to wear in Italy and to bring home to Austria.²⁰ In 1684, Karl Eusebius Liechtenstein possessed eight hats in his wardrobe, six of them were beaver hats.²¹ These last examples demonstrate that in the 1680s French fashion, and in particular French beaver hats, surpassed other European fashion styles, at least the Italian style, and that the consumption of beaver hats as French hats was accepted by the Austrian nobility as an important part of French fashion.

These consumption patterns, learned on the grand tour, were repeated whenever the cavalier went abroad afterwards. We can cite the example of Count Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach. Although his charge as imperial ambassador in Spain was inextricably tied to the Habsburg tradition of hostility to France, every time he passed through France on his way to or from Spain he spent a great deal of money in France on fashion goods and on beaver hats. This was the case in 1666, 1669, 1674, 1675 and 1698.²² Naturally, other forms of

¹⁸ ÖStA, AVA, Harrach 334, Länderreise Ferdinand Bonaventura 1655-7 s. fo.

¹⁹ ÖStA, AVA, Harrach 115, Länderreise Aloys Thomas Raimund, s. fo.

²⁰ ÖStA, HHStA, Khevenhüller 24, 1686-9, Sigmund Friedrich 1-5/3 Rechnungsausweise 1687, s. fo.

²¹ H. Haupt, "Ein liebhaber der gemähl und virtuososen..." *Fürst Johann Adam I. Andreas von Liechtenstein (1657-1712): Quellenband*, Vienna, Cologne, Weimar, 2012, p. 1051.

²² ÖStA, AVA, Harrach 2693, Reise 1658-1666, Rechnungen, s. fo. ÖStA, AVA, Harrach 2979, Rechnungen Varia 1624-1699, s. fo. ÖStA, AVA, Harrach Handschriften 134, Tagebuch Ferdinand Bonaventura, 465-467.

intermediation prompted nobles to buy French hats. Louis XIV's propaganda machinery worked well. Many members of the court nobility subscribed to the *Mercure Galant*, the *Gazette* or other French journals.²³ Undoubtedly the Viennese court nobility observed innovations in French supplies of beaver hats. For instance, copper engravings by Jean Bérain illustrating several sorts of beaver hats, published in the *Mercure Galant*, survived from the collection of Prince Eugene, the famous military commander.²⁴ Beaver hats of every type could be found in Vienna. French and Italian hatters established themselves there and produced and sold beaver and vicuña hats, because local artisans were not familiar with the processing techniques. However, the majority of French beaver hats were not produced in Vienna but imported by merchants, personal intermediaries or members of the nobility themselves on their journeys to France. In the second half of the seventeenth century we find beaver hats called *castor de muscovite* imported from France.²⁵ These were made of beaver furs, processed in Russia, reimported into France and sold to markets in Europe. When France developed its own processing technologies, these hats disappeared from the assortment.²⁶ At the turn of the century, black and grey beaver hats were the most fashionable and the most common.²⁷ Normally they were decorated with embroideries in all colors, with laces and with

²³ ÖStA, AVA, Harrach 217, Brief Alexandre Bergeret, 12 Sept. 1678.

²⁴ Albertina Vienna, Jean Le Pautre, *Œuvres de Jean Le Pautre*, HB 150.6, 52.

²⁵ ÖStA, AVA, Harrach 2693, Reise 1658-1666, Rechnungen Ferdinand Bonaventura, s. fo.

²⁶ E.R. Wolf, *Europe and the People without History*, reprint, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 2010, pp. 158-159; R.T. Naylor, *Canada in the European Age, 1453-1919*, 2nd ed., Québec, 2006, p. 72; J. Pritchard, *In Search of Empire: The French in the Americas, 1670-1730*, Cambridge, 2004, p. 155.

²⁷ H. Haupt, "Ein Liebhaber der gemähl und virtuososen..." Fürst Johann Adam I. Andreas von Liechtenstein (1657-1712): *Quellenband*, Vienna, Cologne, Weimar, 2012, pp. 60, 90, 96, 107, 165, 1051; ÖStA, AVA, Harrach 2693, Reise 1658-1666, Rechnungen Ferdinand Bonaventura, s. fo.; ÖStA, HHStA, Khevenhüller, Kammer am Attersee 3/O/10, s. fo.; ÖStA, HHStA, Khevenhüller 24, 1686-1689, Sigmund Friedrich 1-5/3 Rechnungsausweise Oct. 1678 and May 1688, s. fo.; ÖStA, HHStA, Khevenhüller 21, 1675, Inventar Ödenburg, s.fo.

ostrich feathers. Of course those that were colored in gold or silver were among the most expensive. In addition, there were special products, including flat-coated and white beaver hats.²⁸

As a rule, special orders of this kind were imported directly from France through personal intermediation. Alexandre Bergeret, valet of the French dauphine, made a fortune supplying Austrian nobles with French fashion commodities from Paris. Beaver hats were always part of such deliveries, which arrived regularly in Vienna. Bergeret sent prefabricated fashion sets called *habits* consisting of a coat, a suit called *justaucorps*, a vest, a shirt, trousers, stockings, gloves and, of course, beaver hats at the height of fashion to Vienna, and he satisfied personalized requests as well. In 1694, for example, Philipp Carl Emmanuel Buquoy, Prince Longueval, ordered a special set of garments with a beaver hat decorated with a white hawk feather.²⁹ Among Bergeret's regular clientele, Viennese high society placed orders for beaver hats. Besides Buquoy and Harrach, who was extremely enthusiastic about French fashion, nobles with names such as Waldstein, Schwarzenberg, Lamberg and Dietrichstein are evidence of the growing demand for beaver hats in Vienna and indicate the acceptance of those hats as part of French fashion.³⁰ All of these families were part of the most devoted, powerful and influential court nobility. Bergeret's customers held the most prestigious offices in politics and at court and were the emperor's personal advisors. Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach, for instance, was twice imperial ambassador in Madrid and Lord Chamberlain of Leopold I. Still, Austrian nobles were willing to defy authority, for the importation of French luxuries and commodities had been prohibited since 1674 and the ban was renewed in 1702.³¹ A Viennese secretary privately accused Bergeret and Countess Johanna Theresia Harrach of contraband in 1676, when Bergeret sold French commodities to no-

²⁸ ÖStA, AVA, Harrach 217, Brief Alexandre Bergeret, 14 Sept. 1676 and 12 Sept. 1678.

²⁹ ÖStA, AVA, Harrach 218, Brief Alexandre Bergeret, 25 Jan. 1694.

³⁰ ÖStA, AVA, Harrach 217 and 218, Briefe Alexandre Bergeret 1669-1703.

³¹ Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv (hereafter WStLA), Patente 659/1674. WStLA, Patente 913/1702.

bles in the countess' house in Vienna.³² Bergeret normally profited from the possibilities of free import, guaranteed in passports of nobles and ambassadors who travelled through or departed from France.³³ In this case, Bergeret's customers exerted themselves on behalf of the intermediary.

The local hatters could not satisfy these new demands. French and Italian hatters filled the gap. Between 1690 and 1699 Prince Johann Adam Andreas Liechtenstein, for instance, ordered 232 guilders' worth of beaver hats from hatters in Vienna. Only one of these commissions was placed with a Viennese hatter, the others going to French hatters in Vienna.³⁴ Richard Fauconet was certainly the most effective French hatter in Vienna. Between 1698 and 1705 the Viennese court ordered 3,260 guilders' worth of hats from his enterprise.³⁵ The position of the court and the ruling house concerning French fashion or French hats is undocumented, but the court seems to have operated ambivalently: it tacitly allowed French hats to be worn and imported. Orders amounting to 3,260 guilders must have been earmarked for the court and its livery. Undoubtedly, the official court was influenced by French fashion in the late 1690s. Beaver hats for the court's livery again prove the broad impact of consumption patterns in society. Other noble houses also spent money on beaver hats for their livery. Count Harrach, for one, had already done so in 1676-77.³⁶

It is distinctive of early globalization that globalized commodities were not restricted to elite consumers, but also affected broader markets in Europe and altered patterns of consumption.³⁷ Until the

³² ÖStA, AVA, Harrach 350, Tagzettel Johanna Theresia, 2 and 28 Dec. 1676.

³³ ÖStA, AVA, Harrach 218, Brief Alexandre Bergeret, 19 Mar. 1703.

³⁴ H. Haupt, *"Ein liebhaber der gemähl und virtuososen..." Fürst Johann Adam I. Andreas von Liechtenstein (1657-1712): Quellenband*, Vienna, Cologne, Weimar, 2012, pp. 60, 90, 96, 107, 165.

³⁵ ÖStA, FHKA, HKA, HZAB, 1682-1705, see <http://www.oesta.gv.at/site/6662/default.aspx>, 15 July 2014.

³⁶ ÖStA, AVA, Harrach 217, Brief Alexandre Bergeret, 23 Aug. 1676 and 4 Feb. 1677.

³⁷ J. de Vries, "The Limits of Globalization in the Early Modern World", in *Economic History Review*, no. 63, 3, 2010, pp. 722-730.

end of the Ancien Régime, hats were much more than just a fashionable accessory. As an important component of the courtly code of conduct, they had a wider social impact because every man of honor, the military, and administrative officials as well as valets and servants wore hats or carried them under the arm according to the rules of proper conduct in society. Beaver hats were at least four times as costly as ordinary hats made of rabbit or hare, so beaver furs often were mixed with raw materials of poor quality. There was an abundant variety of cheaper hats on the market, made half of beaver and half of other furs or wool, called *demi-castor*. Hats of which beaver composed much less than half the material were still regarded as beaver hats. In Vienna, as in most other central European cities, sumptuary laws restricted the use of hats according to the social hierarchy. Although these rules were commonly circumvented, they give an idea of the socially graduated consumption of beaver hats. Hats made entirely of beaver were reserved for the higher nobility and for the court. The lower nobility as well as civil servants in administration and finance, the military, valets, servants at the imperial court and in noble houses, councillors and mayors normally wore *demi-castor* hats or hats with a smaller beaver content. Lower civil servants, servants of noble houses, merchants, artists, artisans, tutors, and journeymen could not wear beaver hats at all, but only hats made from rabbit or hare. Finally, peasants and day laborers were only allowed to wear hats worth less than one guilder, that is to say they had woollen hats.³⁸

However, beaver hats were broadly accepted as consumer goods by Viennese elites and the purchasing of them extended to social climbers in the military and civil administration. Although there are no precise data, we can assume that the trickle-down effect of conspicuous consumption worked in Vienna as it did in France.³⁹ Fi-

³⁸ G. Hampel-Kallbrunner, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kleiderordnungen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung Österreichs*, Vienna, 1962, p. 51-54.

³⁹ W.H. Sewell, "The Empire of Fashion and the Rise of Capitalism in Eighteenth-Century France", in *Past and Present*, no. 206, 2010, p. 104.

nally, consumption patterns and tastes passed to lower social strata through the inheritance of clothes and garments from master to servant.⁴⁰ Domestic servants were customarily remembered in their masters' testamentary dispositions. They inherited the everyday wardrobes including hats and other accessories. The master's model was a powerful vector for the diffusion of taste and fashion to broader parts of society. Beaver hats also circulated as second-hand goods at flea markets and were retailed by peddlers in Vienna. Whereas wigs were reserved for gentlemen, hats were part and parcel of the livery and of military uniforms in the eighteenth century.⁴¹ The livery and the military served as disseminators of tricorne hats. Imperial uniforms in particular were in high demand at Viennese flea markets, so the lower classes had access to hats of every type and quality.⁴² As in France and England, fashion was a major catalyst of change in society in Vienna. Fashion trends provoked new forms of consumption, which then triggered changes in production, trade and the crafts.

3. The invisibility of beaver, vicuña, gum arabic and ostrich feathers

A great distance separated the raw materials from the finished hat in the seventeenth century, but by comparison with today's globalized products this did not involve a crucial difference in the complexity of inputs or the division of labor. Raw materials from the Americas, Africa and the Levant were collected in France. Apart from hats of wool and felt for the lower social strata, hats were ordi-

⁴⁰ Arenbergarchief, Edingen / Archives d'Arenberg, Enghien, 36/31, Biographie 93, Testamentbrief Philipp-Karl, 25 Aug. 1691.

⁴¹ S. Wägener, *Pedelle, Mägde und Lakaien: das Dienstpersonal an der Georg-August-Universität Göttingen 1737-1866*, Göttingen, 1996, p. 86; Heeresgeschichtliches Museum, Vienna, Inv. Nr. 2015/16/59-7.

⁴² G. Stöger, *Sekundäre Märkte? Zum Wiener und Salzburger Gebrauchtwarenhandel im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, Vienna, 2011, p. 30, 205.

narily made of pelt. After French fashion introduced beaver hats at the beginning of the seventeenth century and popularized them in Europe in the second half of the same century, the beaver hat became the typical tricorne hat of European and Austrian fashion. In French hat manufacturing, all the raw materials underwent several processes before the finished, decorated hats could be sold or exported. The globalized nature of the raw materials incorporated in the final product was not obvious to producers and consumers alike. The components from Canada, Peru, West Africa, the Sudan and the Levant that were brought together in Europe extended beyond the reach of the common patterns of transatlantic and Eurasian trade in coffee, sugar or porcelain. When a consumer drank tea from a china cup, he was quite aware of the exoticism or the particularity of the beverage and the vessel. This was not the case when the cavalier doffed his hat.

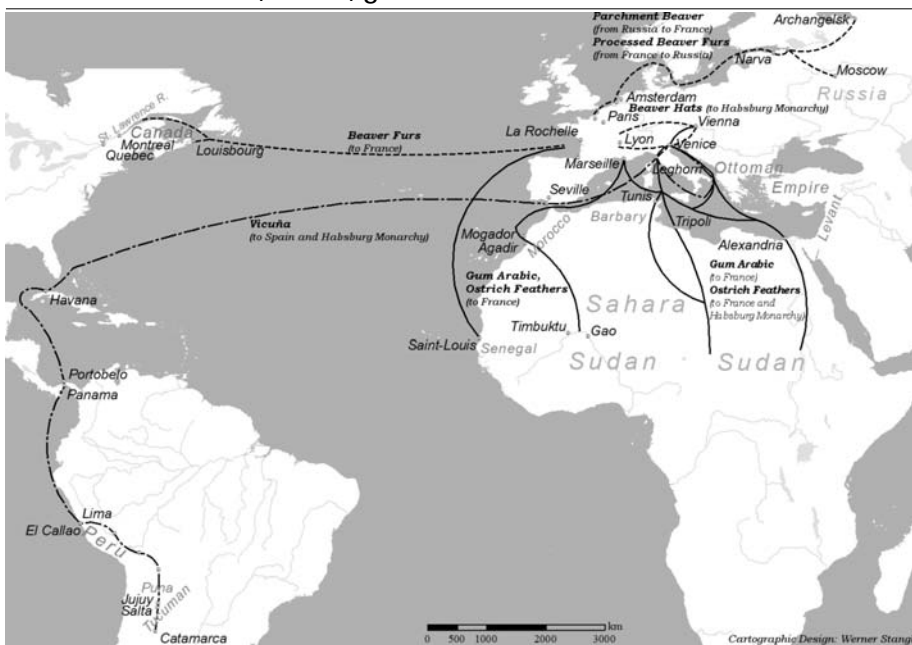
Beaver was native to Europe, but because of overhunting the majority of the furs were initially imported from Russia. In the second half of the sixteenth century French trappers began to trade for beaver furs with the natives of North America.⁴³ During the seventeenth century, when beaver hats became fashionable, exports of beaver furs grew to become the most important source of income for France's North American colonies. In the years around 1700, some 300,000 Canadian furs arrived in France annually, accounting for approximately 70 per cent of the entire export volume of New France.⁴⁴ There were two types of beaver pelts from New France. One, coat beaver, or *castor gras*, was worn by Indians for months until the fur lost the outer guard hair and released fine inner pelt that was very expensive and much in demand. The other, parchment beaver, or *castor sec*, was dried and shipped to Europe. The loss of the outer hair had to be induced by processing. However, fur-processing technologies were less developed in France while they had

⁴³ L. Turgeon, "Échanges d'objets et conquête de l'Autre en Nouvelle-France au XVI^e siècle", in L. Turgeon, D. Delâge and R. Ouellet (eds.), *Transferts culturels et métissages Amérique/Europe XVI^e-XX^e siècle*, Laval, 1996, p. 161.

⁴⁴ G. Havard and C. Vidal, *Histoire de l'Amérique française*, Paris, 2008, p. 461.

survived in Russia, where the manufacturing of furs was quite common, so Canadian furs were exported to Russia in order to process the parchment beaver. Hats made of these furs were consequently called *castor de moscovie* in Europe. As the trade to Russia was organized and controlled by Dutch merchants, this exportation and re-importation was very costly and disadvantageous for the French hat market (see Map 1).⁴⁵ It was probably in the late seventeenth century that France developed its own processing technologies for parchment beaver and that imports of coat beaver surpassed shipments of parchment beaver. From at least 1700, French beaver hats were made almost entirely of Canadian furs and *castor de moscovie* declined, vanishing in Viennese sources.

MAP 1
Globalized raw materials for French hats:
beaver, vicuña, gum arabic and ostrich feathers



⁴⁵ R.T. Naylor, *Canada in the European Age, 1453-1919*, 2nd ed., Québec, 2006, p. 72; E.E. Rich, "Russia and the Colonial Fur Trade", in *The Economic History Review*, no. 7, 3, 1955, pp. 307-328.

Although the characteristic French hat was made of beaver, there was a much more expensive and exclusive alternative raw material, namely vicuña. Vicuñas are wild South American camelids, native to the highlands of the central Andes. Their wool has been renowned since pre-Columbian days for its warmth, denseness and concinnity. In Incan times, the exploitation of vicuña was strictly regulated. Vicuña wool was reserved for the royal Inca family to make special garments used as offerings. In the colonial period, most vicuña fibres and skins were exported to Europe. Vicuña skins were a by-product of hunting that sustained the native population with meat. Indigenous communities in Alto Perú, Puna of Jujuy, Salta and Catamarca were allowed to pay their taxes to the Spanish authorities in kind with vicuña fibres and skins. In Yavi, in 1712, for example, the indigenous community paid their annual tribute partly in vicuña skins. According to estimates, these numbered 17,000 vicuñas per year. Precise statistics on vicuña skin exports to Europe are lacking, but exploitation of the herd must have been intense because the Spanish crown was confronted with complaints about the declining vicuña population from the late sixteenth century onwards.⁴⁶ Unlike beaver, vicuña skins never dominated Peruvian exports to Spain. Compared with precious metals, the value of cargos of vicuña on Spanish ships was miniscule.⁴⁷ Shipments to Europe were organized via the Spanish treasure fleet from Lima and Calla via Portobelo to Seville and Cadiz.⁴⁸ In the eighteenth century, vicuña also arrived in Europe via Buenos Aires, owing to the growing European demand for skins.⁴⁹ Through the Mediterranean the skins were distributed

⁴⁶ H. Yacobaccio, "The Historical Relationship Between People and the Vicuña", in I.J. Gordon (ed.), *The Vicuña: The Theory and Practice of Community-Based Wildlife Management*, New York, 2009, pp. 11-16.

⁴⁷ X. Lamikiz, *Trade and Trust in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World: Spanish Merchants and their Overseas Networks*, London, 2010, p. 83.

⁴⁸ J.R. Fisher, *The Economic Aspects of Spanish Imperialism in America 1492-1810*, Liverpool, 1997, pp. 40, 168.

⁴⁹ D. Rock, "The Colonial Era and its Aftermath, 1492-1870", in P. Heenan and M. Lamontagne (eds.), *The South America Handbook*, New York, 2013, pp. 6-8.

via Leghorn to Venice, and from there to Central Europe. Venice was still very active as an intermediary and terminal for imports from overseas to Central Europe, especially to Inner, Upper and Lower Austria. Venetian hatters imported and sold vicuña both as a raw material and in the form of finished hats in Vienna.⁵⁰

In addition to beaver and vicuña, another exotic raw material was required in the processing of hats. Gum arabic, the resin of the acacia tree, was commonly used as a binder in pharmaceuticals or as a thickening agent for dyestuffs.⁵¹ To give the beaver hat its typical tricorn-shape, the hat had to be stiffened during processing. Gum arabic was used to starch the furs. This was one of the most delicate procedures in the manufacturing of beaver hats.⁵² Gum arabic was found in the lower sub-Saharan regions in the North of Senegal and the South of Mauritania. Traditionally, European gum imports came from Arabia and the Nilotic Sudan. Gum arabic from West Africa was traded via trans-Saharan trails through Morocco to France.⁵³ Since beaver hats, though produced mostly in France, were also turned out in Vienna, gum arabic was also shipped to Vienna via trans-Saharan trails through the Ottoman Empire via Alexandria, Tripoli or Tunis and then by way of Leghorn or Venice. In Vienna, gum arabic was sold in small quantities. However, during the seventeenth century Europeans discovered the economic potential of the Senegambian gum arabic for their textile, paper and cosmetic manufactures, and European demand fuelled production in West Africa. In the seventeenth and eighteenth century, gum arabic was Senegambia's leading export product. According to Webb, Senegambian exports of gum arabic exceeded the slave trade until 1718.

⁵⁰ WStLA, Alte Ziviljustiz, Testamente 1031, Vielli.

⁵¹ J. Wimmeler, *Body, Mind, Technology: The Influence of the French Caribbean and West Africa on French Culture and Society, ca. 1640-1740*, Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of Graz, 2011, pp. 62-63, 75-79, 195-198.

⁵² M. Sonenscher, *The Hatters of Eighteenth-Century France*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1987, pp. 17, 25.

⁵³ M. Abitbol, "Le Maroc et le commerce transsaharien du XVII^e au début du XIX^e siècle", in *Revue de l'Occident musulman et de la Méditerranée*, no. 30, 1, 1980, p. 13.

France received its shipments via Saint-Louis, the French trading post in West Africa.⁵⁴

The key point for the perception of these exotic products in Europe is that they entirely lost their visibility in the course of processing. The processing of beaver furs required a tightly organized series of specialized procedures based on the division of labor. The furs underwent shaving, stripping, cleaning, sorting, forming under steam, felting and treating with wine sediment and nitric acid, to name only the most important steps. In the finishing process, the hat was again trimmed, formed and starched with gum arabic as stiffening agent, and, finally, dyed in various colors and decorated with ostrich feathers and ribbons. Nothing of the finished hat looked like beaver, apart from a thin layer of beaver fuzz called veneer. Beaver hats looked exactly like hats made of rabbit or hare. The production of beaver hats required supplies of exotic raw materials, a far-flung network of commercial routes, cooperation in trade and a lot of manpower. Although all this changed the labor market and the framework of international trade, this kind of globalization was invisible to consumers. The population of European Atlantic ports was of course more familiar than that of land-locked Central Europe with cargos of beaver furs. People in seaports were probably aware of the furs' origin, value and use. Alongside French Atlantic ports, Dutch ports also received shipments directly from the Dutch trading post of New Amsterdam on Manhattan Island.⁵⁵ Since the Dutch organized the inter-European fur trade from France to Russia, Dutch hat makers, sellers and consumers certainly had a much better appreciation of beaver furs and hats as global traded consumer goods than did people in land-locked areas, and Dutch Golden Age paintings offer detailed proof of this. However, it is highly doubtful that French consumers beyond the Atlantic ports noticed the globaliza-

⁵⁴ J.L.A. Webb, "The Trade in Gum Arabic: Prelude to French Conquest in Senegal", in *Journal of African History*, no. 26, 1985, pp. 149-153.

⁵⁵ E.J. Dolin, *Fur, Fortune, and Empire: The Epic History of the Fur Trade in America*, New York, 2010, pp. 33-36.

tion of the fur trade or the presence of exotic gum arabic in the hats. Certainly, Viennese consumers hardly did. Viennese consumers of beaver hats simply bought French hats, fashionable hats or beaver or vicuña hats, respectively. The sources indicate that beaver hats were perceived primarily as a French commodity, and French fashion was not looked upon as exotic in Vienna. Even if the hats were produced in Vienna, nobody noticed that the beaver furs, as well as the vicuña, came from across the Atlantic and the gum arabic from West Africa. Beaver fur was well known in Austria because beaver was also native to Central Europe, and although vicuña certainly was not, there is no known trace in archival or printed sources of public discourse in Vienna about the exotic nature of vicuña, about its luxury or even about its presence in fashion. Again, the manufacturing process rendered the globalized character invisible to sellers and consumers. It is essential to understand that intermediation and processing of the raw materials caused their original cultural connotation to evaporate.

Regarding the last exotic element of hat fashion, ostrich feathers, we must mention a different dimension of the perception of the exotic, one which underscores again the deep but unnoticed impact of globalization in early modern European cultures. Around 1700, ostrich feathers were brought to Europe by various routes. They reached France from West Africa via Saint-Louis across the Atlantic as well as by trans-Saharan trails via Akka and Agadir through Morocco.⁵⁶ Ostrich feathers were ubiquitous in the Ottoman Empire. Via Alexandria, Tripoli and Tunis they were sold to Europe, especially to Leghorn and Venice.⁵⁷ Through Italy, Vienna had access to them in large quantities.

Ostrich feathers had formed part of European fashion and furnishings since early modern times. The cultural perception of them was bound up with the European perception of a geographically and

⁵⁶ M. Abitbol, "Le Maroc et le commerce transsaharien du XVII^e au début du XIX^e siècle", in *Revue de l'Occident musulman et de la Méditerranée*, no. 30, 1, 1980, p. 12.

⁵⁷ M. Dyer, "Export Production in Western Libya, 1750-1793", in *African Economic History*, no. 13, 1984, pp. 125-126.

culturally undifferentiated Orient, encompassing Asia from the Levant to China and Japan.⁵⁸ The oriental style deeply influenced fashion and furnishing, notably in France,⁵⁹ where Louis XIV and his Turkish or Persian costume balls intensified the examination of the oriental style.⁶⁰ In Vienna too, ostrich feathers of all colors and sizes were overwhelmingly present in theaters, at operas, balls, and other society events.⁶¹ We find them in household inventories in special categories, described in a diversity of colors and sizes for decorating triumphal or funeral processions and sleighs, for instance.⁶² In Vienna, there was a much stronger cultural perception of the Orient. Since the sixteenth century the Viennese Habsburgs had stood in the way of the expanding Ottoman Empire. In 1683 Kara Mustafa Pasha besieged Vienna. The Orient, in the guise of the Ottoman Empire, strongly determined the existence of the Habsburg territories. For more than 150 years the emperor was continually embroiled in conflict. Noble households were abundantly equipped with the spoils of war and so-called Turkish artifacts such as Turkish carpets, shotguns and arms. The display of oriental style in Vienna after 1683 was meant to demonstrate the overcoming of the Ottoman threat.⁶³ As a consequence, the use of ostrich feathers as accessories in Austria was laden with various common perceptions of exoticism.

⁵⁸ A. Pagden, "The Immobility of China: Orientalism and Occidentalism in the Enlightenment", in L. Wolff and M. Cipolloni (eds.), *The Anthropology of the Enlightenment*, Stanford, 2007, pp. 52, 56-57, 60, 64.

⁵⁹ M. Dobie, "Orientalism, Colonialism, and Furniture in Eighteenth-Century France", in D. Goodman and K. Norberg (eds.), *Furnishing the Eighteenth Century: What Furniture Can Tell Us about the European and American Past*, New York, London, 2007, pp. 13-36.

⁶⁰ I. Baghdiantz McCabe, *Orientalism in Early Modern France: Eurasian Trade Exoticism and the Ancien Regime*, Oxford, 2008, pp. 5, pp. 243-250.

⁶¹ A. Sommer-Mathis, "Amerika im Fest und auf der Bühne im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert", in F. Polleroß, A. Sommer-Mathis and C.F. Laferl (eds.), *Federschmuck und Kaiserkrone: Das barocke Amerikabild in den habsburgischen Ländern*, Schloßhof, 1992, pp. 136-156.

⁶² H. Haupt, "Ein Liebhaber der gemäht und virtuososen..." *Fürst Johann Adam I. Andreas von Liechtenstein (1657-1712): Quellenband*, Vienna, Cologne, Weimar, 2012, p. 1024.

⁶³ B. Dorfey, "Furcht – Faszination – Phantasie: 600 Jahre Begegnung zwischen dem Osmanischen Reich und Europa", in B. Dorfey and M. Kramp (eds.), *"Die Türken kommen!", Exotik und Erotik: Mozart in Koblenz und die Orientsehnsucht in der Kunst*, Koblenz, 2007, pp. 31-40.

The extreme ambiguity of the way exotic goods like ostrich feathers, carrying French connotations, were perceived in Austria arose from multiple intermediations and also reflected the fact that even the intermediating culture misperceived or ignored the origin of exotic goods. Firstly, in Viennese sources we find very general information about foreign products or goods. Exotic materials are especially hard to identify, because Viennese sources only mention where the items were bought. As exotic materials passed through one or more intermediaries to get to Vienna, usually only the last intermediary is mentioned. Designations of origin rarely occur in Viennese sources. The terms “Indian” and “Turkish” were especially vague, leaving doubt as to whether they referred to the West Indies, the East Indies, the Orient or the Oriental style.⁶⁴ Contemporaries did not distinguish the exact origin of the materials. Secondly, even in intermediating France there was confusion between the West and the East Indies. Both were called *les Indes*. The West Indies and French America, where the beaver skins originated, were culturally disregarded in comparison to the East Indies, which were perceived as belonging to the Orient. Ostrich feathers as part of the Oriental style were highly appreciated in Europe in the eighteenth century, especially in France.⁶⁵ Over many years, exotic goods were consumed and copied according to constant stereotypes in Western Europe and hence increasingly in Central Europe.⁶⁶ Raw materials for hats were part of this constant exchange and hybridization of glob-

⁶⁴ See, for example, ÖStA, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv (hereafter AVA), Harrach 350, 4 Dec. 1676; ÖStA, HHStA, Khevenhüller 41, Inventar Starein, s. fo. H. Haupt, “Ein liebhaber der gemähl und virtuosen...” *Fürst Johann Adam I. Andreas von Liechtenstein* (1657-1712): *Quellenband*, Vienna, Cologne, Weimar, 2012, pp. 57, 200, 916, 1034.

⁶⁵ I. Baghdiantz McCabe, *Orientalism in Early Modern France: Eurasian Trade Exoticism and the Ancien Regime*, Oxford, 2008, p. 7; M. Dobie, “Orientalism, Colonialism, and Furniture in Eighteenth-Century France”, in D. Goodman and K. Norberg (eds.), *Furnishing the Eighteenth Century. What Furniture Can Tell Us about the European and American Past*, New York, London, 2007, pp. 13-36.

⁶⁶ On the problem in general, see A. Pagden, “The Immobility of China: Orientalism and Occidentalism in the Enlightenment”, in L. Wolff and M. Cipolloni (eds.), *The Anthropology of the Enlightenment*, Stanford, 2007, pp. 52-64.

alized material cultures, so why and how should an Austrian consumer have thought about the globalized components of his absolutely French hat?

4. French and Italian hatters in Vienna and the differentiation of the craft

Imports of French hats bulked large in satisfying demand in Vienna, but there was also a significant migration of French and Italian hatters to Vienna as a result of the changing demands of the nobility. The processing of beaver hats was very labor-intensive and included a multi-step division of labor. Cleaning, shaving, felting, tumbling, forming under steam, trimming, starching and dyeing beaver furs required a big workshop with lots of special tools and a good number of journeymen and apprentices. The journeymen absolutely had to abide by the hatter's instructions and perform their tasks in proper order. The establishment of a beaver hat manufacture required fully trained masters and entailed considerable capital expenditure on the workshop, equipment and raw materials. Hatters' enterprises in France in the eighteenth century engaged as many as thirty workers and relied on a capital stock of 2,500 guilders (5,000 livres).⁶⁷ Such investment was utterly impossible for the local guilds in Vienna. The driving forces for the establishment of new hat-making enterprises had to come from outside. To the best of our knowledge, there was no direct investment and recruitment of French hatters by nobles. To take to the road as journeyman was less common in France than in the German territories, but French hatters were more likely to wander than other artisans.⁶⁸ Peter Lesage from Monchalon in Normandy was one of the first French hatters in Vi-

⁶⁷ M. Sonenscher, *The Hatters of Eighteenth-Century France*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1987, pp. 36-38.

⁶⁸ U.-C. Pallach, "Fonctions de la mobilité artisanale et ouvrière – compagnons, ouvriers et manufacturiers en France et aux Allemagnes (17^e-19^e siècles)", in *Francia*, no. 11, 1983, pp. 365-406.

enna. In his patent application in 1664 he indicated that he had spent a number of years in several countries and had served Austrian nobles and the Viennese court for three years. In 1664 he decided to stay in Vienna and therefore obtained a letter patent from Emperor Leopold I.⁶⁹ The bestowal of letter patents was the only legal way for the authorities to hire highly skilled workers from abroad and enable them to settle. It was a common strategy for filling gaps on the Viennese market in all sorts of activities. These patents made a craft existence outside the local guild possible, while facilitating good connections to the court and thus access to a wealthy clientele.⁷⁰ The patents formed the basis for the establishment of French and Italian hatters in Vienna.

From 1659 to 1730 at least seven French and three Italian hatters and their work are documented in Vienna, often through the invoices they made out to Austrian nobles. For the Viennese hat market, these numbers are quite substantial. The first and the most successful French hatter in Vienna was Richard Fauconet. Richard Fauconet and his brother Gervais were fully trained masters from Paris. In 1659 they obtained an imperial patent to process and sell fashionable French beaver and vicuña hats in Vienna, initially for three years. They installed themselves in the inner town and built up a workshop outside the city walls with several boilers and more than 12 dozen molds and forms for hat production.⁷¹ The description of the workshop suggests that Fauconet's enterprise was actually a hat-making manufacture that could compete with standard French enterprises. Although Fauconet was allowed to produce both beaver and vicuña hats, there is no evidence that he ever processed vicuña. He was well known for his high-quality French beaver hats, as we

⁶⁹ ÖStA, HHStA, Reichshofrat, Fabriks-, Gewerbe- und Handlungsprivilegien 9, Konv. 1, fo. 10r.

⁷⁰ G. Otruba, "Wiens Gewerbe, Zünfte und Manufakturen an der Wende vom 17. zum 18. Jahrhundert", in *Wiener Geschichtsblätter*, no. 42, 1987, pp. 126-128; H. Haupt, *Das Hof- und hofbefreite Handwerk im barocken Wien 1620 bis 1770: Ein Handbuch*, Innsbruck, Vienna, 2007, pp. 13-46.

⁷¹ WStLA, Hauptarchiv, Akten und Verträge 3/1659.

can surmise from the fact that his house in the inner town near the court was nicknamed “to the beaver.”⁷²

Vicuña was traded and processed only by Italian hatters. Nicola Vielli, an Italian hatter in Vienna by imperial patent, specialized in vicuña hats. He produced them in Vienna and also imported finished and semi-finished ones from Venice. According to his workshop’s inventory, in 1697 he stocked more than 150 finished vicuña hats and more than 50 bales of raw vicuña from Venice, both items worth more than 650 guilders. Some 20 per cent of the total value of his stock of raw materials and goods consisted of vicuña,⁷³ a considerable quantity of this rare and expensive material. Beaver and vicuña involved different areas of origin, different importers to Europe, different transit routes and different intermediaries. Vicuña, originating within the Spanish empire, came via the traditional trans-Atlantic route and finally reached Vienna through Italian and Mediterranean intermediation, as Italian merchants had dominated international imports to Vienna since the late Middle Ages.⁷⁴ This example shows that Venice and the Mediterranean were still prominent in trade at the beginning of the eighteenth century, especially as intermediaries for Vienna and Austria.

Whereas the motives for the migration of hatters remain mostly untold, the motives for the bestowal of imperial patents on French and Italian hatters seem to be clear. Richard Fauconet got his patent in 1659 under specific circumstances. His professional skills as well as his Catholicism and his legitimate birth were underlined, although religion and family situation were no obstacles to the grant of letters patent, which were an imperial instrument for recruiting professionals from abroad. The patent was provided for three years, following which Fauconet was to be integrated into the local guild.⁷⁵

⁷² P. Harrer, *Wien: Seine Häuser, Menschen und Kultur*, vol. 6/8, Vienna, 1952-1955, p. 424.

⁷³ WStLA, Alte Ziviljustiz, A1 Testamente 1031/17. Jahrhundert.

⁷⁴ E. Landsteiner, “Handel und Kaufleute”, in P. Csendes and F. Oppl (eds.), *Wien: Geschichte einer Stadt*, vol. 2/3, Vienna, Cologne, Weimar, 2003, pp. 197-201.

⁷⁵ WStLA, Hauptarchiv, Akten und Verträge 3/1659.

Catholicism and a legitimate birth were basic requirements for becoming a member of the Viennese guild. Leopold I intended to establish state-of-the-art production in Vienna by recruiting French hatters. In a first step, an imperial patent guaranteed Fauconet's existence and explicitly allowed him to train apprentices. The requirement that he be integrated into the Viennese hatters' guild shows that he was meant to act as a conduit for new technologies and know-how. Richard Fauconet and his son, who followed him in the business, finally obtained Viennese citizenship in 1690.⁷⁶ Fauconet occupied the office of councillor in the city government and became member of the local guild.⁷⁷ But the path to such integration was long. The local hatters were very upset about the establishment of the French competition. A few months after Fauconet had built up his enterprise with a workshop outside the city walls, members of the guild of local hatters protested with acts of vandalism, breaking into the workshop and destroying or stealing tools, molds and hats, causing more than 100 guilders' worth of damage. Fauconet protested and the emperor himself had to intercede and decree damages and measures to safeguard Fauconet, his business and his future intentions to enter the local guild.⁷⁸ The emperor's intercession points up the expectation that the French hatter would be a channel for the dissemination of new technologies. Certainly, the French hatters filled gaps in the Viennese market and satisfied local demand in large part. The story of Richard Fauconet clearly demonstrates the significant position he gained in local competition. He bequeathed a large fortune to his children: 150,000 guilders, much of it earned from hat-making but a good deal more from the profitable real estate ventures and financial transactions in which he invested his gains from the hat-making business.⁷⁹ Given these facts – a cutting-edge enterprise in Vienna like that of Richard Fauconet, employing lots

⁷⁶ WStLA, Bürgereidbücher, B1, Duplikate Bd. 33, fos. 181^r, 193^v, 217^r.

⁷⁷ WStLA, Alte Ziviljustiz, A1 Testamente 842/1707.

⁷⁸ WStLA, Hauptarchiv, Akten und Verträge 3/1659.

⁷⁹ WStLA, Alte Ziviljustiz, A1 Testamente 842/1707.

of journeymen, permitted to train apprentices and boasting several masters from France – it would seem logical to assume that the globalization of hat production resulted in the dissemination of knowledge. Fauconet's enterprise, at least, should have acted as a conduit for French know-how, as the emperor indeed intended, so that French hats could be produced entirely in Vienna.

Testing this assumption requires a closer investigation of the productivity of Viennese hatters in general. Unfortunately, seventeenth-century sources from the hatters' guild in Vienna do not survive, and only very few from the eighteenth century have come down to us. There are no sources on the processed raw materials, on the kind of hats produced, on the size of the workshops of Viennese hatters or on the question of whether they served the nobility successfully. In order to examine the effects of globalization in hat production, we have exploited tax accounts. Accounts of the tax liability of all taxpayers in Vienna were drawn up annually and are available continuously from the inner city as well as from the suburbs. They include all tax-paying hatters in Vienna, excluding those who exercised the craft illegally or were exempted from paying taxes by an imperial patent. The number of craftsmen outside the guilds was quite high in the first half of the eighteenth century. Although the municipality of Vienna had steadily tried to oblige them to pay taxes since the seventeenth century, an unknown number of hatters were exempt or presumably worked in the lower price segment. Still, tax accounts are all we have to get an overall picture of the craft, giving us interesting quantitative information on the number and the productivity of Viennese hatters and on changes within the craft. In Vienna, taxes were paid on real estate, handicraft and business enterprises. The tax accounts tell us whether a craftsman maintained a workshop or a house and they state the amount of the tax liability based on the productivity of the business.⁸⁰ The findings presented

⁸⁰ F. Baltzarek, *Das Steueramt der Stadt Wien 1526-1760*, Vienna, 1971, pp. 50-3, 56-64, 70-9, 86-106, 160-6.

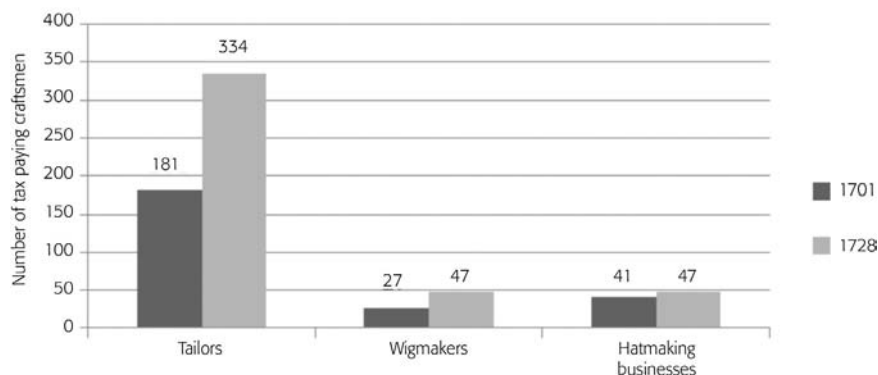
here rely on the analysis of tax accounts of two samples, for 1701 and 1728.⁸¹

The most dynamic branch of economic activity in Vienna from the late Middle Ages to the eighteenth century was the clothing business. Its growth gained pace in the late seventeenth century, with Vienna already made the permanent seat of imperial power by Ferdinand II and with the onset of an era of prosperity after the Ottoman menace was overcome in 1683. A growing population, the attraction of the court and the presence of governmental authorities led to growing demand for textiles and fashion of all qualities, especially luxuries.⁸² The dynamism in fashion is reflected in the increasing number of tailors, for example, in Vienna. Figure 1 shows the increase of tax-paying craftsmen in the fashion trades between 1701 and 1728. The number of tailors nearly doubled from a high initial level of 181 in 1701 to 334 in 1728. The very young branch of the wigmakers, founded in 1695 by a crafts code, was certainly a result of the new French fashion in Vienna, as many French wigmakers settled in Vienna. The number of tax-paying wigmakers also nearly doubled between 1701 and 1728. Dynamism of this sort is not to be found for hatters, whose number rose by a moderate 14 per cent between 1701 and 1728, against the growth of 84 per cent for tailors and 74 per cent for wigmakers. The relatively moderate growth rate is the first important indicator for answering the question about the effects of globalization on the craft. It seems that globalization, rather than stimulating the craft, encouraged the importation of hats.

⁸¹ WStLA, Steueramt, Steueranschlag, B2 Stubenviertel Buch 102 (1701), B3 Kärntnerviertel Buch 99 (1701), B4 Widmerviertel Buch 81 (1701) and B5 Schottenviertel Buch 90 (1701); WStLA, Steueramt, Steueranschlag, B2 Stubenviertel Buch 129 (1728), B3 Kärntnerviertel Buch 126 (1728), B4 Widmerviertel Buch 108 (1728) and B5 Schottenviertel Buch 116 (1728).

⁸² A. Weigl, "Die Haupt- und Residenzstadt als Konsumtionsstadt", in P. Csendes and F. Opll (eds.), *Wien: Geschichte einer Stadt*, vol. 2/3, Vienna, Cologne, Weimar, 2003, pp. 137-141.

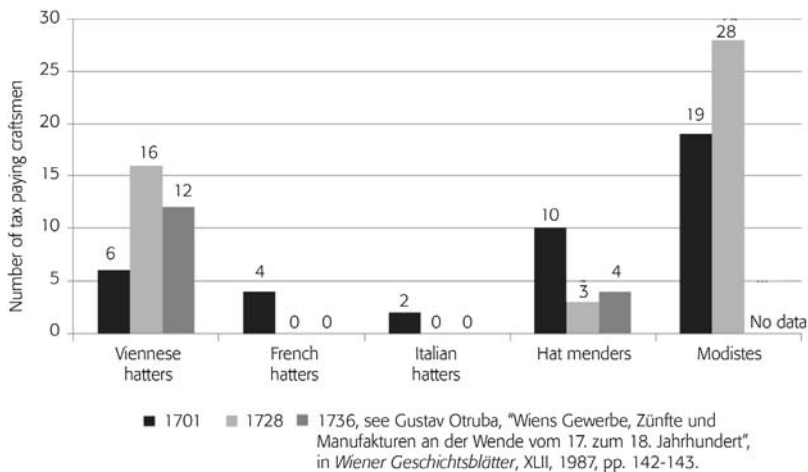
FIGURE 1
Distribution of the fashion trades in Vienna in 1701 and 1728



The paramount change in Viennese hat production between the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries was the differentiation of the craft. Figure 2 shows the different groups and branches of activity involved in hat production. In 1701, 12 out of 41 hat-making and -selling firms produced hats in their own workshops. Half of these manufacturing enterprises were run by French or Italian hatters. The processing of hats by master businesses was sharply divided between Viennese hatters and masters from France and Italy. French and Italian hatters had disappeared from Vienna by 1728. The boom years of French hats were over at the beginning of the eighteenth century, because French fashion had spread throughout Europe. New hatters did not migrate, so, logically, imports of hats must have been decisive to meet steadily expanding demand. The number of master businesses involved in manufacturing processes did not rise between 1701 and 1736; only, with the end of migration, Viennese hatters replaced foreign masters. However, production displayed little dynamism and there was certainly no substantial dissemination of knowledge. One reason is that French hatters found their integration into Viennese society far from easy. After finally achieving integration and economic success, they sought to climb the social ladder by giving up their trade. This was the path taken by the leading

French hatter in Vienna, Richard Fauconet. The most important consequence of globalization for Viennese hat production was the emergence of new branches of activity, namely hat menders and modistes. Hat menders were involved in refurbishing hats and, after 1707, in selling them.⁸³ Modistes entered in the finishing process: dying, embroidering, appliqu  ing, and placing ostrich feathers on the already processed hat.⁸⁴ Neither hat menders nor modistes processed raw materials; certainly they were not involved in processing beaver or vicu  a furs or starching with gum arabic and did not need special manufacturing expertise. The emergence of menders and modistes reinforced the division of labor in hat-making businesses.

FIGURE 2
Division of labor within the hatmaking businesses
in Vienna in 1701, 1728 and 1736



Thus, 70 per cent of the craftsmen working in the hat trade were not really employed in manufacturing. Hat menders and modistes bought semi-finished or finished hats and provided for their accou-

⁸³ V. Thiel, *Gewerbe und Industrie*, Vienna, 1910, p. 506.

⁸⁴ WStLA, Innungen und Handelsgremien, U 102/3, 4 Apr. 1718.

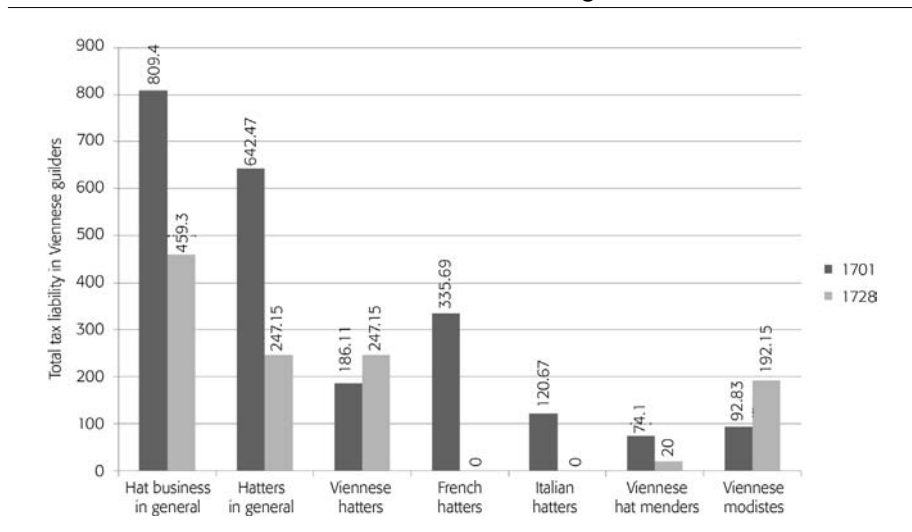
trement and outfitting in order to sell them. Sometimes the value added consisted only of decoration with ostrich feathers. This reinforced the invisibility of hats as globalized products. In all likelihood, neither menders nor modistes were aware of the complexity of their products. The *de facto* emergence of low value added and low productivity, along with high import penetration and a high division of labor in the hat business, was finally accepted and legalized in 1718, when Charles VI signed a new charter for the hatters' guild in Lower Austria including Vienna as residential city. Against all protectionist constraints ordained by his predecessors, he regulated the processing and the sale of hats and allowed finished hats and raw materials to be imported from abroad, respectively from France or Italy, under certain circumstances. Hatters were permitted to import unfinished hats and to garnish them, but not to sell them, so their tasks and duties were traditionally connected with processing procedures. By contrast, modistes had to buy unfinished hats from local hatters and were responsible for the accoutrement before they sold them. Modistes were not allowed to import hats from abroad, but they could get them from local hatters anyway. Hat menders, finally, could import finished hats from abroad and were allowed to sell them by decree of the Viennese magistrate of 1707.⁸⁵ The scope of the hat menders' and the modistes' activity was therefore restricted to decoration and sales, thus opening the Viennese market further for hat imports, although modistes used a circuit by intermediary trade with local hatters. However, the charter of Charles VI made the importance of hat imports for the Viennese market perfectly clear.

The extremely low productivity of the entire gamut of hat businesses is also shown by diminishing tax revenues for the local authority in the first half of the eighteenth century. In a period of prosperity and growth in Austria and Vienna, the total tax revenues from hat-making and selling businesses nearly halved between the

⁸⁵ WStLA, Innungen und Handelsgremien, U 102/3, 4 Apr. 1718.

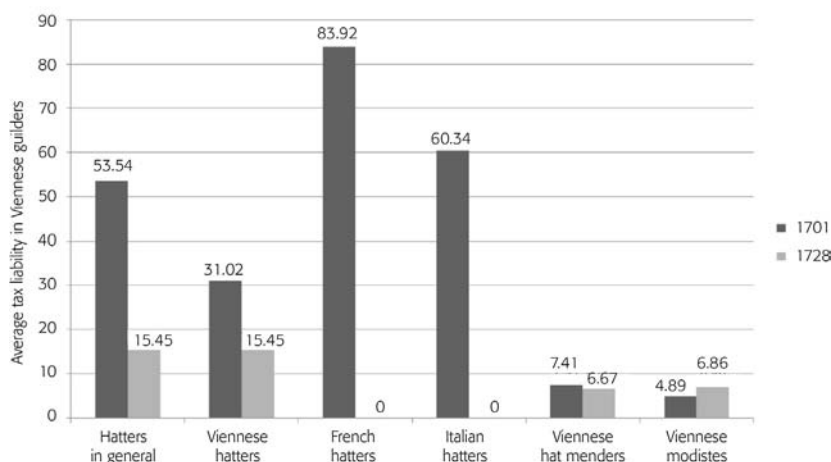
sample years of 1701 and 1728, from 809 to 459 guilders. Figure 3 documents the total tax liability of the hat-making businesses in 1701 and 1728. It shows the diminishing tax revenues in general and singles out the most important players in determining productivity in the hat businesses. In both sample years, the bulk of tax revenues came from master hatters with a manufacturing enterprise. In 1701, at the beginning of the War of the Spanish Succession, hatters in general contributed eight times the amount of taxes paid by menders and modistes, whose tax rates were extremely low. The hatters' high tax liability was due to the very high levies not on Viennese but on French and Italian hatters. Considering that there were only two Italian and four French hatters against six Viennese hatters in 1701, the foreigners' tax contribution was considerable, as shown by the average tax liability of the hatters in Figure 4. The amount of tax was tied to the possession of workshops and houses and to the number of persons living in them. Big manufacturing firms like that of Richard Fauconet paid many times more than most others.

FIGURE 3
Total tax liability of the hatmaking businesses in Vienna,
1701 and 1728 in Viennese guilders



Despite the existence of some outstanding hat manufactures, less exclusive Viennese hatters were able to compete in 1701. According to their tax liability, their productivity was substantial. This changed in 1728. The big workshops of French and Italian hatters had disappeared, and although the number of Viennese hatters more than doubled to fill the gap, their tax liability halved. This enormous loss of productivity ostensibly stemmed from the fact that Viennese hatters were not allowed to hire more than two journeymen and apprentices in order to abide by the rules of the guild, whereas French and Italian hatters did not face such restrictions thanks to imperial patents. But, of course, the rules had been the same in 1701 and earlier. Nevertheless, Viennese hatters' business stagnated in the first half of the eighteenth century. Their total tax liability rose slightly, but as their number increased their average tax liability fell by half, from 31 to 15.45 guilders. The loss of productivity suggests that Viennese hatters were hard put to cope with the new competitive constraints in the hat fashion trades. Their lack of processing know-how and the restrictions of the guild forced them to produce for lower

FIGURE 4
Average tax liability of the hatmaking businesses in Vienna,
1701 and 1728 in Viennese guilders



price segments or to import semi-finished hats, a trade flow legalized by Charles VI in 1718. But the luxury requirements of high-end customer were increasingly met by imports sold by hat menders and modistes.

The tax liability of menders and modistes was very low. A great number of small or one-man businesses like menders and modistes were needed in order to compensate for one of the big hatters. Hat menders appear to have been a transitory phenomenon in the history of hat production in Vienna. In 1701, ten hat menders worked in Vienna (see Figure 2) with a modest average tax liability of 7.41 guilders, and their intrinsic duty was to repair hats. After Charles VI allowed hats to be imported from abroad, the number of menders fell to three in 1728 and four in 1736 and their average tax liability to 6.67 guilders. Although hat menders were allowed to import finished hats, their business was ultimately unsuccessful; they certainly lacked the indispensable international connections to get access to hats. Indeed, the market for finished hats without added value was very small, since nobles could get French hats from France via personal intermediaries. The only branch of the Viennese hat business with a fairly good performance was that of the modistes. They bought semi-finished hats from local hatters or merchants, added the accoutrements, and sold them. Between 1701 and 1728 the number of modistes increased by nearly 50 per cent, their total tax liability more than doubled, their average tax liability thus also rose somewhat, from 4.89 to 6.86 guilders (see Figure 4), and they overtook the hat menders in productivity. Finally, the differentiation of the craft as a consequence of globalization had negative effects in terms of tax revenues for the local authority. The tax liability of the new branches grew only very moderately if at all, although the number of persons engaged in them increased. No Viennese hat-making or hat-selling enterprise ever attained the astronomically high productivity of French or Italian hatters. The work of French and Italian hatters did not find followers and as there was no dissemination of knowledge; their migration to Vienna did not sustainably improve the local methods of the hat production.

Apart from the customers, the winners of the globalization of hat production were located predominantly not in Vienna but in France. The growing demand for hats and rising consumption in Vienna did not result in knowledge transfer or in increasing productivity of the Viennese hatters, but in new branches of activity specialized in accoutrement and selling. Indeed, the Viennese modistes benefited significantly from this development; they gained the Viennese high-end customers in the long run. This trend strengthened again in the middle of the century, when the hat industry was completely revolutionized by a technical discovery in England that improved the felting capability of raw materials of inferior quality through processes of carroting using mercuric nitrate. This new mixture of mercury revived the use of rabbit and hare for luxury hats after centuries during which these materials had been used for the headgear of commoners and the lower classes in Europe.⁸⁶ As a result, expensive beaver and vicuña were no longer necessary and imports of beaver fell rapidly. The worldwide shift from French to English technology and imports did not significantly alter the Viennese market and the situation within the craft.

5. Conclusion

Globalization was a decisive factor in the early modern period and Vienna participated extensively in global trade, entangled markets and other aspects of this phenomenon. Apart from the ever-present examples of tea, coffee and chocolate, the case of French beaver and vicuña hats in Vienna, made of raw materials from Canada, Peru, West Africa, the Sudan and the Levant, shows that complex globalized commodities without an exotic aura or a visible global origin were omnipresent in Vienna. French hats were invisible globalized products because the raw materials lost their globalized char-

⁸⁶ J. F. Crean, "Hats and the fur trade", in *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, no. 28, 3, 1962, pp. 380-386.

acter in the course of processing regardless of whether they were produced in France or in Vienna. The Viennese hat market featured a multiplicity of influences, intermediaries and imports. The multiple intermediations needed in order to import beaver and vicuña hats from France reinforced merchants' and consumers' ignorance of the global aspects of the French hats that they appreciated. Consumers were probably never aware of the Atlantic provenance of beaver and ostrich feathers, as the raw materials from Canada and Africa served as a substitute for European beaver and Levantine ostrich feathers. Whereas beaver hats arrived in Vienna from France directly through personal links or via the Dutch Republic, Russia and Germany, the Italian market was still an important intermediary for vicuña from the Spanish empire and ostrich feathers and gum arabic from Africa and the Levant. The great number of intermediaries made globalization less visible. Against the background of armed conflict between the Habsburgs and the Ottoman Empire, the amalgamation of common exoticism and Oriental style gave rise to very ambiguous cultural perceptions of ostrich feathers. In Vienna, differing influences and perceptions of the Orient and the Exotic were mixed together under the guise of French fashion.

Nevertheless, French beaver hats were part of an early process of cultural globalization in fashion. Under Louis XIV, France developed one of the first dress codes with a global impact. In the eighteenth century, French fashion captured European elites and their outposts, as well as social climbers and the middle classes through the trickle-down effect of consumption patterns. An extensive program of fashion propaganda by means of printed journals, copper engravings and fashion dolls formed the basis of this early globalization in fashion. Viennese elites participated in French fashion trends, which were a component of a French-led, pan-European noble culture. Beaver hats became fashionable at least from the 1670s. The court nobility was the driving force, adopting French fashion on the grand tour and ordering a substantial volume of imports managed by personal intermediation that violated all import bans on French luxuries and fancies. The court followed until 1700

and equipped its livery with French hats, and noble houses did the same. The ubiquity of beaver hats in Vienna had a deeper impact on society, affecting the consumption patterns of a wider public including the military, civil servants, valets and men of honor.

French beaver hats provide further evidence that fashion was a compelling force for change in the Viennese society and economy. The arrival of highly skilled French and Italian hatters in Vienna in the second half of the seventeenth century radically altered the social and economic fabric of the Viennese hat-making craft. The professionals from France and Italy, accepted by imperial patents, took over the luxury segment of the Viennese market. Although among the French firms that set up in Vienna there were several cutting-edge enterprises with the expertise to train apprentices, the globalized hat market did not result in the dissemination of knowledge or stimulate the local craft, but rather catalyzed changes in the latter's composition, notably its differentiation. The never-ending demand for hats amplified the role of imports, which the emperor finally permitted on the condition that local artisans put their hands on the hat in the finishing process, if only to garnish it with a feather. This facilitated the establishment of such new branches of activity as menders and modistes, responsible for the final accoutrement of imported semi-finished and finished hats, and consisting of firms with low expenditure and low productivity. The tax liability of the hat-making industry reflects, as a whole, decreasing taxable incomes from the beginning of the eighteenth century. The number of hatters with big workshops fell dramatically, as did their tax liabilities. The new branches could not compensate for the loss of productivity. More consumption did not result in growing tax revenues, nor did it provoke a rise in the number of professional craftsmen or the establishment of large-scale hat workshops or manufactures. But the easing of the import bans by Charles VI opened the market and paved the way for the modistes, a branch of activity that survives to the present day. Insofar as globalized products are defined by complexity, the incorporation of raw materials from all over, division of labor on a global scale and the general public's ignorance of the first

two attributes, the Viennese hat market essentially did not differ from its counterparts elsewhere.

Bibliography

Archival Sources

Austrian State Archives Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Reichshofrat, Fabriks-, Gewerbe- und Handlungsprivilegien; Obersthofmeisteramtsakten; Khevenhüller 21, 24, 41, Kammer am Attersee.

Austrian State Archives Vienna, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Harrach 115, 217, 218, 334, 350, 2693, 2979, Handschriften 134.

Austrian State Archives Vienna, Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv (<http://www.oesta.gv.at/site/6662/default.aspx>).

Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna, Hauptarchiv, Akten und Verträge; Alte Ziviljustiz, Testamente; Patente; Bürgereidbücher; Innungen und Handelsgremien; Steueramt, Steueranschlag B2 Stubenviertel, B3 Kärntnerviertel, B4 Widmerviertel and B5 Schottenviertel.

Arenbergarchief, Edingen / Archives d'Arenberg, Enghien, 36/31, Biographie 93.

Heeresgeschichtliches Museum Vienna, Inv. Nr. 2015/16/59-7.

Printed Primary Sources

ALBERTINA VIENNA, *Œuvres de Jean Le Pautre*, HB 150.6.

HAUPT H. (2012), "Ein liebhaber der gemähl und virtuosen..." Fürst Johann Adam I. Andreas von Liechtenstein (1657-1712): Quellenband, Vienna, Cologne, Weimar.

Secondary Sources

ABITBOL M. (1980), "Le Maroc et le commerce transsaharien du XVII^e au début du XIX^e siècle", in *Revue de l'Occident musulman et de la Méditerranée*, no. 30, 1, pp. 5-19.

BAGHDIA NTZ MCCABE I. (2008), *Orientalism in Early Modern France: Eurasian Trade Exoticism and the Ancien Régime*, Oxford.

- BALTZAREK F. (1971), *Das Steuerarmut der Stadt Wien 1526-1760*, Vienna.
- BERG M. (2005), *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth Century Britain*, Oxford.
- BERG M., CLIFFORD H. (eds.) (1999), *Consumers and Luxury: Consumer Culture in Europe 1650-1850*, Manchester.
- BÖNSCH A. (2001), *Formengeschichte europäischer Kleidung*, Vienna, Cologne, Weimar.
- BREWER J., PORTER R. (eds.) (1993), *Consumption and the World of Goods*, London.
- BROOK T. (2008), *Vermeer's Hat. The Seventeenth Century and the Dawn of the Global World*, New York.
- CREAN J.F. (1962), "Hats and the fur trade", in *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, no. 28, 3, pp. 373-386.
- DOBIE M. (2007), "Orientalism, Colonialism, and Furniture in Eighteenth-Century France", in D. Goodman and K. Norberg (eds.), *Furnishing the Eighteenth Century: What Furniture Can Tell Us about the European and American Past*, New York, London, pp. 13-36.
- DOLIN E.J. (2010), *Fur, Fortune, and Empire: The Epic History of the Fur Trade in America*, New York.
- DORFEY B. (2007), "Furcht – Faszination – Phantasie: 600 Jahre Begegnung zwischen dem Osmanischen Reich und Europa", in B. Dorfey and M. Kramp (eds.), *"Die Türken kommen!" Exotik und Erotik: Mozart in Koblenz und die Orientsehnsucht in der Kunst*, Koblenz, pp. 28-55.
- DYER M. (1984), "Export Production in Western Libya, 1750-1793", in *African Economic History*, no. 13, pp. 117-136.
- EHMCKE F., KAISER B. (eds.) (2010), *Ôsaka zu byôbo: Ein Stellschirm mit Ansichten der Burgstadt Ôsaka in Schloss Eggenberg*, Graz.
- FISHER J.R. (1997), *The Economic Aspects of Spanish Imperialism in America 1492-1810*, Liverpool.
- FLYNN D.O., GIRÁLDEZ A. (1995), "Born with a 'Silver Spoon': the Origin of World Trade in 1571", in *Journal of World History*, no. 6, 2, pp. 201-221.
- FOX R., TURNER A. (eds.) (1998), *Luxury Trades and Consumerism in An-*

- cien Régime Paris: Studies in the History of the Skilled Workforce*, Aldershot.
- GUNN G.C. (2003), *First Globalization: The Eurasian Exchange, 1500-1800*, Lanham, MD.
- HAMPEL-KALLBRUNNER G. (1962), *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kleiderordnungen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung Österreichs*, Vienna.
- HARRER P. (1952-1955), *Wien: Seine Häuser, Menschen und Kultur*, vol. 6/8, Vienna.
- HAUPT H. (2007), *Das Hof- und hofbefreite Handwerk im barocken Wien 1620 bis 1770: Ein Handbuch*, Innsbruck, Vienna.
- HAVARD G., VIDAL C. (2008), *Histoire de l'Amérique française*, Paris.
- HOPKINS A.G. (2002), "The History of Globalization – and the Globalization of History", in A.G. Hopkins (ed.), *Globalization in World History*, London, pp. 11-46.
- LAMIKIZ X. (2010), *Trade and Trust in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World: Spanish Merchants and their Overseas Networks*, London.
- LANDSTEINER E. (2003), "Handel und Kaufleute", in P. Csendes and F. Opll (eds.), *Wien: Geschichte einer Stadt*, vol. 2/3, Vienna, Cologne, Weimar, pp. 185-214.
- LEMIRE B. (2003), "Domesticating the Exotic: Floral Culture and the East India Calico Trade with England, c. 1600-1800", in *Textile: The Journal of Cloth and Culture*, no. 1, 1, pp. 65-85.
- (1991), *Fashion's Favourite: The Cotton Trade and the Consumer in Britain, 1660-1800*, Oxford.
- LINDORFER B.M. (2009), *Cosmopolitan Aristocracy and the Diffusion of Baroque Culture: Cultural Transfer from Spain to Austria in the Seventeenth Century*, Ph.D. thesis, European Univ. Institute Florence.
- MCCANTS A.E.C. (2008), "Poor Consumers as Global Consumers: The Diffusion of Tea and Coffee Drinking in the Eighteenth Century", in *The Economic History Review*, no. 61, 1, pp. 172-200.
- (2007), "Exotic Goods, Popular Consumption, and the Standard of Living: Thinking about Globalization in the Early Modern World", in *Journal of World History*, no. 18, 4, pp. 433-462.
- NAYLOR R.T. (2006), *Canada in the European Age, 1453-1919*, 2nd ed., Quebec.

- NORTH M. (2008), *Material Delight and the Joy of Living: Cultural Consumption in the Age of Enlightenment in Germany*, Aldershot.
- O'BRIAN P. (2006), "Provincializing the First Industrial Revolution", in *Working Papers of the Global Economic History Network*, no. 17, pp. 1-39.
- O'ROURKE K.H. , WILLIAMSON J.G. (2002), "When did Globalization begin?", in *European Review of Economic History*, no. 6, pp. 23-50.
- OSTERHAMMEL J., PETERSSON N.P. (2003), *Globalization: A Short History*, Munich.
- OTRUBA G. (1987), "Wiens Gewerbe, Zünfte und Manufakturen an der Wende vom 17. zum 18. Jahrhundert", in *Wiener Geschichtsblätter*, no. 42, pp. 113-150.
- PAGDEN A. (2007), "The Immobility of China: Orientalism and Occidentalism in the Enlightenment", in L. Wolff and M. Cipolloni (eds.), *The Anthropology of the Enlightenment*, Stanford, pp. 50-64.
- PALLACH U.-C. (1983), "Fonctions de la mobilité artisanale et ouvrière – compagnons, ouvriers et manufacturiers en France et aux Allemagnes (17^e-19^e siècles)", in *Francia*, no. 11, pp. 365-406.
- PIEPER R. (2013), "From Cultural Exchange to Cultural Memory: Spanish American Objects in Spanish and Austrian Households", in V. Hyden-Hanscho, R. Pieper and W. Stangl (eds.), *Cultural Exchange and Consumption Patterns in the Age of Enlightenment: Europe and the Atlantic World*, Bochum, pp. 213-234.
- (1999), "Papageien und Bezoarsteine: Gesandte als Vermittler von Exotica und Luxuserzeugnissen im Zeitalter Philipps II", in F. Edelmayr (ed.), *Hispania-Austria II: Die Epoche Philipps II. (1556-1598)*, Vienna, pp. 215-224.
- PRITCHARD J. (2004), *In Search of Empire: The French in the Americas, 1670-1730*, Cambridge.
- RICH E.E. (1955), "Russia and the Colonial Fur Trade", in *The Economic History Review*, no. 7, 3, pp. 307-328.
- ROCHE D. (1997), *Histoire des choses banales: Naissance de la consommation dans les sociétés traditionnelles (XVII^e-XIX^e siècle)*, Paris.
- ROCK D. (2013), "The Colonial Era and its Aftermath, 1492-1870", in P. Heenan and M. Lamontagne (eds.), *The South America Handbook*, New York, pp. 3-16.

- ROMANIELLO M.P. (2015), "Trade and the Global Economy", in H. Scott (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern European History, 1350-1750*, vol. 2/2, Oxford, pp. 307-333.
- SARGENTSON C. (1996), *Merchants and Luxury Markets: The Marchands Merciers of Eighteenth-Century Paris*, London.
- SEWELL W.H. (2010), "The Empire of Fashion and the Rise of Capitalism in Eighteenth-Century France", in *Past and Present*, no. 206, pp. 81-120.
- SOMMER-MATHIS A. (1992), "Amerika im Fest und auf der Bühne im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert", in F. Polleroß and A. Sommer-Mathis and C.F. Laferl (eds.), *Federschmuck und Kaiserkrone: Das barocke Amerikabild in den habsburgischen Ländern*, Schloßhof, pp. 127-158.
- SONENSCHER M. (1987), *The Hatters of Eighteenth-Century France*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London.
- STÖGER G. (2011), *Sekundäre Märkte? Zum Wiener und Salzburger Gebrauchtwarenhandel im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, Vienna.
- THIEL V. (1910), *Gewerbe und Industrie*, Vienna.
- TRENTMANN F. (ed.) (2012), *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Consumption*, Oxford.
- TURGEON L. (1996), "Échanges d'objets et conquête de l'Autre en Nouvelle-France au XVI^e siècle", in L. Turgeon, D. Delâge and R. Ouellet (eds.), *Transferts culturels et métissages Amérique/Europe XVI^e-XX^e siècle*, Laval, pp. 155-168.
- DE VRIES J. (2010), "The Limits of Globalization in the Early Modern World", in *Economic History Review*, no. 63, 3, pp. 710-733.
- WAGENER S. (1996), *Pedelle, Mägde und Lakaien: das Dienstpersonal an der Georg-August-Universität Göttingen 1737-1866*, Göttingen.
- WEBB J.L.A. (1985), "The Trade in Gum Arabic: Prelude to French Conquest in Senegal", in *Journal of African History*, no. 26, pp. 149-168.
- WEIGL A. (2003), "Die Haupt- und Residenzstadt als Konsumptionsstadt", in P. Csendes and F. Oppl (eds.), *Wien: Geschichte einer Stadt*, vol. 2/3, Vienna, Cologne, Weimar, pp. 137-141.
- WIGGIN B. (2011), "Globalization and the Work of Fashion in Early Modern German Letters", in *Journal of Early Modern Cultural Studies*, no. 11, 2, pp. 35-60.

- WIMMLER J. (2013), "Material Exchange as Cultural Exchange. The Example of West African Products in Late 17th and Early 18th-Century France", in V. Hyden-Hanscho, R. Pieper and W. Stangl (eds.), *Cultural Exchange and Consumption Patterns in the Age of Enlightenment: Europe and the Atlantic World*, Bochum, pp. 131-151.
- (2011), *Body, Mind, Technology: The Influence of the French Caribbean and West Africa on French Culture and Society, ca. 1640-1740*, Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of Graz.
- WISTER B. (2013), "Chocolate Consumption in Westphalia and Styria during the 18th Century", in V. Hyden-Hanscho, R. Pieper and W. Stangl (eds.), *Cultural Exchange and Consumption Patterns in the Age of Enlightenment: Europe and the Atlantic World*, Bochum, pp. 189-211.
- WOLF E.R. (2010), *Europe and the People without History*, reprint, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London.
- YACOBACCIO H. (2009), "The Historical Relationship Between People and the Vicuña", in I.J. Gordon (ed.), *The Vicuña: The Theory and Practice of Community-Based Wildlife Management*, New York, pp. 7-20.