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VENETIAN TRADE AND COMMERCIAL RELATIONS WITH ENGLAND IN THE
EARLY TUDOR PERIOD, 1485-1550.

J. Scaife.

Ph.D. Thesis.
University of Kent at Canterbury, 1979.

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ABBREVIATIONS.

A.A.	Armi Antiche
Ag.Hist.Rev.	Agricultural History Review
Am. H.R.	American Historical Review
Annales	Annales; Economies, Societes, Civilizations
A.P.C.	Acts of the Privy Council
A.R.	Accounting Review
A.S.I.	Archivio Storico Italiano
A.S.L.	Archivio Storico Lombardo
A.S.V.	Archivio di Stato di Venezia
A.V.	Archivio Veneto
B.M.	British Museum, London
B.M.V.	Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venezia
Correr	Museo Civico-Correr
C.L.R.O.	City of London Record Office
C.P.R.	Calendar of Patent Rolls
C.C.R.	Calendar of Close Rolls
C.S.P.M.	Calendar of State Papers, Milan
C.S.P.V.	Calendar of State Papers, Venice
C.S.P.Sp.	Calendar of State Papers Spain
C.E.H.E.	Cambridge Economic History of Europe
C.H.J.	Cambridge Historical Journal
Econ.Hist.Rev.	Economic History Review
Eng.Hist.Rev.	English Historical Review
E.C.P.	Early Chancery Proceedings
E.E.T.S.	Early English Text Society
Harl.	Harleian MS.
H.C.A.	High Court of Admiralty
J.Ec.B.H.	Journal of Economic and Business History
J.E.H.	Journal of Economic History
J.P.Ec.	Journal of Political Economy
L. & P.	Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII.
M.M.	Mariners Mirror
N.R.S.	Northampton Record Society
N.A.V.	Nuovo Archivio Veneto
O.E.D.	Oxford English Dictionary on Historical Principles
P.R.O.	Public Record Office, London
P.P.H.F.C.	Papers and Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club
Q.J.E.	Quarterly Journal of Economics

R.B.P.H.	Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire
R.H.	Revue d'Histoire
R.H.M.C.	Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine
Rot.Parl.	Rotuli Parliamentorum
Sc.E.H.R.	Scandinavian Economic History Review
S.C.R.O.	Southampton Civic Record Office
Stats.Realm	Statutes of the Realm
S.R.S.	Southampton Record Society
T.R.H.S.	Transactions of the Royal Historical Society
V. & A.	Victoria and Albert Museum, London

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The half century between 1480-1530 remains very much a no-man's-land between the main interests of medievalists and early modernists, and it has consequently failed to receive the attention that it merits. Whilst both schools of historians agree that this was a period of transition for Italian merchants trading with England, there has been little work into the commercial activities of particular alien groups or individual merchants. It was time, therefore, for an analysis of one of these alien trading communities.

The reign of Edward IV saw not only the zenith of Venetian preponderance in the Anglo-Mediterranean trade, it also witnessed the beginning of Venetian difficulties in their continued trade with England. Edward IV's commercial policy had an immediate effect upon the Venetian monopoly. Richard III placed further harsh restrictions upon Italians trading in England in order to gain the support of the influential merchant class of London. The Venetian Signoria hoped that, by speedily recognising the new Tudor regime, Henry VII - out of gratitude - would repeal the Yorkist legislation hampering Venetian trade with England and thereby enable the Venetian merchants to resume their former monopoly. However, the Tudors were even more determined than their Yorkist predecessors to support English merchants against alien monopoly. By 1511 English voyages to the Mediterranean had assumed the character of a regular and profitable trade.

In assessing the continued importance of the commercial role played by Venetian merchants in early Tudor England, it is seen that Venetian merchants retained a large share of English trade with the Mediterranean, notably with regard to exports. It is also clear that despite early setbacks the import of certain luxury commodities remained firmly in Venetian hands.

That the Venetians remained important in many branches of English trade may be attributed to the sophisticated organisation, business techniques, and the vast network of mercantile and financial connections which the Venetians maintained in the major markets of Europe and the Levant. The importance of the Venetians to the English crown was paramount in the maintenance of their position. This was not confined to purely trading functions. Important services were rendered to the English crown. Many of these services were merely an extension of normal mercantile activities and are reflective of continued Venetian dominance in those areas. However, there are distinct indications that by 1550 the end of a long period of Venetian dominance in English economic history was already in sight.

J. Scaife
Canterbury
1978

INTRODUCTION

The most important single work and source book in English of Anglo-Venetian relations in this period is the first six volumes of the Calendar of State Papers, Venetian series, collected and edited by Rawdon Brown, (London, 1864 - 84.). Volumes I and II are especially useful, containing as they do the summaries of the official acts of the Venetian government regarding the operation of the Flanders mude and the Cottimo da Londra. They also contain useful introductions and appendices relating to Anglo-Venetian trade, 1202 - 1558. However, the economic historian in particular, who approaches the Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, should be aware of the pitfalls in following Brown's work too closely. There is much that Brown has omitted in editing these documents, and notably amongst those relating to commerce, whilst the translations also tend to have many errors attendant upon any work of this magnitude. Brown was primarily concerned with those documents relating to the political and institutional aspects of Anglo-Venetian relations, a prejudice common to most Victorian historians; consequently, the Calendared documents, as left by Brown, give a disproportionate emphasis to the state organised side of Anglo-Venetian trade and commercial relations. Much that has been written of Anglo-Venetian trade in the general economic histories of the period has been taken from the calendared series, with the result that this emphasis on the state organised trade has persisted. I have used the Calendared documents largely as a guide to the evidence available in the Archivio di Stato, and in most instances I have referred back to the original documents in Venice. Over a hundred years have elapsed since the publication of the Venetian calendar and little has been done in that time to add significantly to Brown's labours. It was therefore time for a re-survey of the materials at Venice, and of the transcripts and original manuscripts which Rawdon Brown presented to the Public Record office. (1)

(1) The contents of the Rawdon Brown collection at the Public Record Office, reference P.R.O., 30/25, can be found in the List and Index Society, Public Record Office, Gifts and Deposits, Supplementary List, No.70.

Much valuable information has been drawn from the Venetian diarists and chroniclers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in particular, the diaries of Marin Sanudo⁽¹⁾ and Gerolamo Priuli;⁽²⁾ material has also been drawn from the Cronaca di Antonio Morosini⁽³⁾ and the Annali veneti di Domenico Malipiero.⁽⁴⁾

The work of the Belgian archivist Gilliots van Severen in calendaring the archival material of the town of Bruges⁽⁵⁾ proved invaluable for the Venetian trade with Flanders prior to 1519. In addition many recent publications notably by A.A. Ruddock in England, and F.C. Lane in America have made much incidental information on the Venetian and English economies available to the student of Anglo-Italian commercial relations. It therefore seems desirable that the commercial relations of Venice with England in the later Middle Ages should form the subject of a study, which, in addition to building on the work of Rawdon Brown and on these latest advances in knowledge, should also explore further the available manuscript sources in Venice and England.

One of the main purposes of this thesis is to draw the attention of English historians to the rich sources of material relative to the history of English overseas trade still to be found in the Venetian archives. An introduction in English to the contents of the Archivio di Stato di Venezia at the Frari is given very sketchily by Horatio F. Brown, in Studies in the History of Venice.⁽⁶⁾ The best guide remains Andrea da

- (1) Marin Sanudo, I Diarii di Marin Sanudo (1495-1533) 58 vols., R. Fulin (ed.) R. Dep. Veneta di Storia Patria, Venezia, 1879-1903.
- (2) Gerolamo Priuli, I Diarii di Gerolamo Priuli, (ed.) A. Segre, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores 2nd. ed. vol. XXIV Part III, Citta di Castello, 1911. (ed.) R. Cessi, Bologna, 1933-37.
- (3) Chronique d'Antonio Morosini; extraits relative à l'histoire de France. (ed.) G. Lefèvre-Pontalis, and L. Dorce, 4 vols., Paris, 1898-1902.
- (4) Domenico Malipiero, Annali veneti; dell'anno 1451 al 1500 di Domenico Malipiero, A.S.I., ser. 1, VII, Firenze, 1843.
- (5) 'Inventaire des archives de la ville de Bruges,' Bruges, 1871; and 'Cartulaire de l'ancienne étaple de Bruges,' Bruges, 1904-5.
- (6) H.F. Brown, Studies in the History of Venice, New York, 1907, see chapter on 'The Constitution of the Venetian Republic and the State Archives.'

Mosto's, 'L'Archivio di Stato di Venezia, indice generale, storico, descrittivo ed analitico,' Tomo, 1. Archivi dell'amministrazione centrale della Repubblica Veneta e archivi notarili, (Bibliotèque des Annales Institutorum, vol. V, Rome, 1937). This contains a brief description of the various governmental series and references to the manuscript indices kept in the Archivio di Stato, but not all series have yet been indexed. In addition to the governmental series described by Da Mosto there are also several private archives deposited at the Frari. The Notarial Archives contain many extensive papers, amongst which there must be many records relating to the English trade awaiting the diligent researches of future students. However, these papers being arranged from the point of view of the notaries, it is a difficult task trying to bring together information relating to one specific branch of trade or even the operations of a single merchant. Of the private archives at the Archivio di Stato, the Miscellanea Gregolin series is extremely rich in material relating to Venetian trade with England and the Low Countries. It is not mentioned by Da Mosto, but the guide to it at the Frari is the index 201. In this series the buste (or bundles) 12, 12 bis and 12 terza are labelled 'Lettere commerciali', buste 13, 14 and 15 are labelled 'Registri commerciali.' Another private archive, I Registri Privati Contabili, Raccolta Barbarigo - Grímaní, also contains much valuable information relative to this study, consisting of extracts from the ledgers of the Pisani fraterna. These private archives were most important for my research in Venice. A great many other private collections and family archives, as well as official state documents rest in the Museo Civico-Correr, at Venice, notably the Priuli account books referred to below, which form part of the collection Tron-Donà. The other major depository in Venice used in this study, the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, contains a large collection of manuscripts relative to a study of the Anglo-Venetian trade.

In England, besides the valuable Rawdon Brown collection,⁽¹⁾ there is also much miscellaneous information relative to this subject

(1) P.R.O., 30/25.

both in the Public Record Office and in the British Museum. Most of this material has been collected and published in calendared form by the Public Record Office.⁽¹⁾ Many of the more important records contained in the calendared publications have been used alongside the original manuscripts. Where the argument rests solely on the interpretation of the calendared entries this has been acknowledged in the footnotes. Prominent amongst the English primary sources used in this study are the Particulars of Customs and the Enrolled Customs Accounts. I have used these extensively together with the local port books to give added weight and an extra dimension to the Venetian source material. Two further useful sources for the techniques of the Anglo-Venetian trade in this period are furnished by the little used earlier records of the High Court of Admiralty,⁽²⁾ and by the Early Chancery Proceedings.

Finally, I have made extensive use of the local records kept at London and at Southampton. At the London Record Office the Journals of the Common Council, and the Repertories of Aldermen temp. Henry VII and Henry VIII were particularly useful in tracing the activities of Venetians in the metropolis. The Southampton source material is invaluable not only as a record of Venetian shipping and trading activities in the port, but also because it affords a valuable insight into the social activities of the Venetian community in Hampshire and its relations with the borough of Southampton at a time of growing economic nationalism in England.

(1) H.M.S.O., British National Archives, Sectional List 24.

(2) cf. A.A. Ruddock, 'The Earliest Records of the High Court of Admiralty, 1515-1558', Bull. Inst. Hist. Res., XXII, 66, 1949.

THE COMMODITIES OF TRADE : EXPORTS

The English national customs accounts, and especially the Particular Customs Accounts, are in principle the only possible source from which statistical data for the Anglo-Venetian trade in this period could be obtained. Yet, although the accounts contain the names of the merchants, dates of shipment and the names of the vessels and their masters, their limitations are so fundamental that no statistical survey could satisfactorily be made from them. Speaking of the Particular Customs Accounts as a possible source for a general survey of English overseas trade Professor H.L. Gray stated: "..... the results would be fragmentary. Relatively few of the port books survive, and many of those which do are injured or extend over periods briefer than a year. It would probably be impossible to reconstruct from them the trade of all English ports for any single year of the fourteenth, fifteenth or sixteenth centuries, to say nothing of a series of years."⁽¹⁾ Even were these records complete, it would be impossible to extract from them accurate figures for any one branch of English overseas commerce. With very few exceptions the accounts for this period do not specify the ports of destination and provenance of the shipments detailed, and while experience may enable the student of Venetian history to identify in some cases both merchants and commodities peculiar to that branch of trade this will remain mere approximation.⁽²⁾

No branch of English trade could present more difficulties to the statistician or reveal more clearly the limitations of the Particular Accounts than the Anglo-Venetian trade in the early Tudor period. An attempt to

(1) Studies in English Trade in the fifteenth Century, ed., by E. Power and M.M. Postan, London, 1933. p.321. See also N.S.B. Gras, The Early English Customs System, Camb. Mass., 1918. H.S. Cobb, 'Local Port Customs prior to 1550,' Journal of the Society of Archivists, 1, no.8, 1958, pp.213-24.

(2) For example there are many complications relating to Italian surnames in this period. There were Giustiniani resident at Genoa and Chios as well as at Venice, and Michaeli at Florence and Venice; when dealing with cittadini merchants the picture becomes even more complex.

extract some meaningful information from these records has confirmed the intricate complexity of this commerce. Whilst for the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries one can follow to a large extent the state organised trade of the Flanders galleys, the sixteenth century accounts for Southampton are extremely fragmentary. Of the galley voyages, 1518-19, 1519-20, 1520-23 and 1531-33, the records are incomplete and unfortunately the account for 1522-23 was unfit for production during the period of this study. The only existing Southampton Port Books relating to visits of the galleys after 1484-85 are for the years 1494-95 and 1504-05. Furthermore, there is a general deterioration in the layout of the Southampton Port Books, since from 1494 they are carelessly written and omit details relating to the merchants and vessels. In the Port Books of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries the practice of naming the home ports of vessels entering the harbour begins to fall off and in the sixteenth century very few vessels are so identified. Similarly, the place of origin of the merchants is also omitted in the sixteenth century books, and the immediate destination of vessels in the port ceases to be recorded at all from the late fifteenth century. Moreover, any study of Anglo-Venetian commerce in the early Tudor period must take account of those branches of trade other than the state galley traffic. Throughout this period the overland route via Frankfurt and Antwerp was increasingly used by Venetian merchants, and a significant amount of Venetian goods were regularly shipped in numerous small vessels from London to Antwerp, and vice-versa. There is also reason to believe that a small amount of Venetian trade may have been directed via France; certainly Venetian merchants in London had trading contacts with Rouen and Bordeaux in the sixteenth century. Since the fourteenth century there had also been a lively and regular trade carried on with England in private Venetian vessels. For the present thesis the Particular Accounts have been used for illustrative rather than quantitative detail, though some tentative conclusions concerning the general nature of the trade have resulted.

Unlike the Particular Customs Accounts, the Exchequer Enrolled Customs Accounts survive almost completely intact, and provide a continuous series of export figures for wool and cloth between 1485-1547,⁽¹⁾ and therefore I have utilised these accounts in so far as it has been possible to do so. As the Enrolled Accounts are divided in the case of non-denizen merchants, for the purpose of taxation, into Hanseatic and Alien accounts it is possible to utilize the Alien accounts to illustrate the fortunes of Anglo-Venetian trade, especially from Southampton as shipments from that port are more likely to have been direct to Venice. Whilst the Hanseatic share in foreign merchandise imported and exported is sufficiently clear⁽²⁾ there is no hint in the Enrolled Accounts as to how much of the remaining sum of Alien imports and exports should be attributed to Italians, and how much to other aliens. However, the Particular Accounts for the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII show that very much of it, rated according to value rather than according to bulk, was Italian, and that amongst the Italians the Venetians accounted for a significantly large share. The Italians were particularly well established in the trade of London and Southampton, a fact that clearly emerges from the Particular Accounts for this period.

Venetian exports from England involved only a small number of commodities. With the exception of woollen cloths⁽³⁾ and pewterware these

- (1) The Enrolled Customs Accounts for the period 1485-1547 reveal the bare outlines of England's total overseas trade. The standard source is G. Schanz, Englische Handelspolitik gegen ende des Mittelalters, 2 vols, Leipzig, 1881, supplemented by P. Ramsey, 'Overseas Trade in the Reign of Henry VII; the evidence of customs accounts,' Econ.Hist.Rev., VI, No.2, 1953, and E.M. Carus-Wilson and O. Coleman, England's Export Trade 1275-1547, Oxford, 1963. For the tin trade see J. Hatcher, English Tin Production and Trade before 1550, Oxford, 1973.
- (2) In the following discussion the distinction between Hansards and Aliens will be maintained throughout.
- (3) In the majority of instances woollen cloths exported by Venetians were exported in a 'raw' or unfinished condition, the final processes of dyeing and shearing were performed at Venice, and thus strictly speaking cloths were only a partial exception to the rule that Venetian exports were largely raw materials.

commodities were all raw materials essential to Venetian industry and the re-export trade to the Levant. The relazione of Andrea Trevisan, 1498, emphasises the economic importance of England in Venetian eyes:-

"Le ricchezze d'Inghilterra sono maggiori che in altro luogo d'Europa per quanto mi è stato detto da antichissimi et esperti mercanti, et per quel etiamdio, che io medesimo hò potuto giudicare per quel tanto che hò veduto." (1)

Throughout the entire Tudor period Venetian exports from England were dominated by a single commodity - woollen cloth. As early as 1265 various types of English cloth were included in the lists of commodities on which customs were payable at Venice.⁽²⁾ Despite the traditional importance of wool in Anglo-Venetian trade in the middle ages it was probably English woollen cloths rather than wool itself that first drew the Venetian galley fleets to English waters in the early fourteenth century.⁽³⁾ From the mid-fourteenth century the Flanders galley fleets found it increasingly difficult to find an adequate return cargo in the Low Countries in face of the decline in the Flemish cloth industry. The place of the Flemish draperies was taken by English cloths, and with the rapid development of the English cloth industry in the fourteenth century,⁽⁴⁾ English draperies soon replaced those of Flanders in the major Mediterranean and Levantine

- (1) Relazione al Senato de Andrea Trevisan, 1498, in L. Firpo, (ed.) Relazioni Ambasciatori Veneti, Torino, 1965. p.46.
- (2) C.S.P.V., I, 3. and p. cxi. These were largely English Stamfords, and included coloured as well as plain cloths.
- (3) For the development of regular Venetian galley voyages to England in the fourteenth century see F.C. Lane, 'Merchant Galleys, 1300-34: Private and Communal Operation,' in Venice and History : the collected papers of Frederic C. Lane, Baltimore, 1966.
A. Schaube, 'Die Anfänge der venetianischen Galeerenfahrten nach Nordsee,' in Historische Zeitschrift ser. 3. v, 1908, p.38.
R. Cessi, 'Le Relazioni commerciali fra Venezia e la fiandra nel secolo XIV', in N.A.V., n.s. XXVII, 1914.
- (4) See H.L. Gray, 'The Production and Export of English Woollens in the Fourteenth Century,' Eng.Hist.Rev., XXXIX, 1924.

markets.⁽¹⁾

It is clear from the existing London hosting accounts⁽²⁾ of the mid-fifteenth century that the value of cloths exported annually by Italians from England was much higher than Professor de Roover's statements⁽³⁾ suggest. Professor Fryde⁽⁴⁾ has shown that, between 1440-43, Italian merchants acquired English cloth worth at least £46,360. The purchases of the Venetians formed 88% of this total. As many of the Venetian merchants mentioned in the customs and hosting accounts acted as agents for other Venetian firms, the commercial transactions of these men do not therefore represent simply the preferences of a few Venetian merchants, but reflect the business interests of a much wider group of Venetians engaged in trade with England. From the existing evidence it is clear that the Venetians in

- (1) The rapid expansion of English cloth exports to the Levant by Venetian merchants in the fourteenth century led the woollen manufacturers of Venice to petition the Senate for protective measures, C.S.P.V., I, 24. There are numerous references in the A.S.V., Senato Misti series omitted by Rawdon Brown, which relate to the re-export of western (i.e., Flemish and English) cloths to the Venetian Levantine empire in the fourteenth century, e.g., A.S.V., Senato Misti 40 f146r, 41 f79r, 42 ff53v, 85v, 100v, 111v, 143r, 148v, 149r, et seq.. Imports of English cloth had increased to such an extent by 1385, by which time the Flanders galleys were shipping cloth direct from England, that the Senate found it necessary to legislate in such a way as to deter these large imports of cheap English cloths, which were rapidly undermining the traditional markets of Venice's own woollen industry. The decree of 14th July, 1385, laid down a 10% duty on all foreign cloths imported into Crete, Coron, Modon, Corfu and Negroponte. Further measures were found to be necessary in 1388. By 1394 the situation had deteriorated to such an extent that the Senate was forced to raise the duty to 20%. Ibid., 39, f108r.
- (2) P.R.O., K.R. Exchequer Accounts, Various, E101 128 (30-31). The London hosting accounts relate to a period when Italian shipments of English cloth reached their peak, see E.M. Carus-Wilson and O. Coleman, Op.cit., P.95.
- (3) R. de Roover, 'Le balance commerciale entre les Pays-Bas et l'Italie au quinzième siècle,' R.B.P.H. XXXVII, 1959, pp.374-86. De Roover restated the whole thesis briefly in 'The Bruges Money Market around 1400,' in which he widened his previous formulation of this thesis by suggesting that during the greater part of the fifteenth century "the balance of trade with Italy tended to be deficitary for northern Europe because there was no longer any sizeable market for Flemish or even for English cloths.", in Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren, XXX, 1968, pp.42-3. See also below, my chapter on Anglo-Venetian trade : Balance or Imbalance?
- (4) E.B. Fryde, 'Anglo-Italian Commerce in the Fifteenth Century : Some Evidence About Profits and the Balance of Trade', R.B.P.H., L. 1972, pp.345-55.

the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were above all interested in exporting English cloths. In the fifteenth century of sixteen important Venetian dealers covered by the hosting accounts only one showed a marked preference for purchasing wool.⁽¹⁾ Two Venetian firms established in England in the fifteenth century well illustrate this preference,⁽²⁾ between 1440-44 the partnership of Federico Corner, Carlo Contarini and Partners purchased £9,730. 6s. worth of English cloth for export, compared with only £498. 10s. spent on wool, and the firm of Lorenzo Marcanuovo and Co., between 1438-44, made total disbursements of £15,472. 17s. 11d. on English cloths and only £400 on wools. Equally Professor Lane⁽³⁾ has shown that these agents in England were given instructions as to purchases to be made. This is confirmed by my own researches into the sixteenth century Venetian commission agent Martin di Federico, many of whose letters and papers survive as a result of bankruptcy proceedings against Federico in the Court of Admiralty, in 1541.⁽⁴⁾ Thus Andrea Barbarigo directed his agent Giovanni Marcanuovo to acquire cloths made by E. Webber, and these instructions were carried out to Barbarigo's satisfaction. Cloth constituted over 90% of the value of Marcanuovo's exports between 1438-44. His exports were on such a scale that he was able to secure a rebate in freight charges on cloth shipped from England to Venice on the Flanders galley fleet of 1441. Martin di Federico, a Venetian commission agent resident in London in the early sixteenth century was one of the most important exporters of English cloth in the 1530's.⁽⁵⁾ Federico was deeply involved in the export of kerseys.⁽⁶⁾ His purchases were made for clients in Venice, who placed specific orders with him and

(1) P.R.O., Exchequer Accounts, Various, E101. 128/30 mm.7-8.

(2) The following information was kindly communicated to me by Professor Fryde.

(3) F.C. Lane, Andrea Barbarigo, Merchant of Venice 1418-49, New York, 1967, pp.128, 131.

(4) P.R.O., H.C.A. 13/4, 23/10. See below pp. 24-25, 180-81.

(5) e.g., P.R.O., E122. 82/8.

(6) Ibid., H.C.A. 13/4 ff 278, 287, 290, 292-3.

despatched money to him by bills of exchange⁽¹⁾ drawn on Venetian firms in London. Another Venetian firm deeply involved in the export of English cloths in the sixteenth century was the Badoer fraterna of Zuan Francesco and Zuan Alvise Badoer.⁽²⁾ Between 1539-44 the Badoer invested 42,878 ducats in kerseys and broadcloths (see Table I), out of a known total investment of 47,940 ducats in western commodities. Much of the cloth was exported overland via Antwerp commission agents.

Table I

INVESTMENTS OF THE BADOER FRATERNA IN ENGLISH COMMODITIES 1539-44⁽³⁾

Year	Wool	Cloth	Tin	Agents	Total
1539	-	2,365	2,896	30	5,291
1540	-	12,633	194	-	12,827
1542	-	15,952	-	-	15,952
1544	2,304	11,928	5,337	3,601	23,170
TOTAL	2,304	42,878	8,427	3,631	57,240

Cloth absorbed 75.77% of the total investment of the Badoer in English commodities in these years, whilst wool constituted only 4.8%, and tin 17.5% of the total. While much more information is required these few examples are typical of many similar investments made by Venetians in the fifteenth and sixteen centuries. Venetian merchants appear to have exported chiefly woollen cloths of medium quality from England, priced at between £1. 4s. and £2. per cloth, but English cloths of almost every kind, with the notable exception of worsteds, were handled by Venetians, a variety that the customs accounts normally conceal. The Particulars of Account of R. Bukberd and N. Waryng, collectors of a subsidy of poundage for London, 1509,⁽⁴⁾ show Venetian shipments of cloth of grain, cloth without grain, whites, kerseys

(1) Ibid., H.C.A. 23/10

(2) A letter book relating to the Badoer family's commercial dealings in the London market is preserved in the A.S.V., Miscellanea Gregolin, busta 12 bis.

(3) All figures given are in Venetian ducats. The ducat being worth between 52-54d. sterling in the 1530's. A.S.V., Senato Terra, 26, f232r. B.M., Harl. MSS.442 ff37.51.

(4) P.R.O., K.R. Customs Accounts E122. 81/2.

both white and coloured, and cottons. Other accounts confirm the wide variety of Venetian cloth exports, and the subsidy of poundage for London, of 1509, which differentiates between kerseys and cloth without grain, indicates the importance of kerseys for Venetian exporters. A considerable proportion of the cloths exported came from the west of England.⁽¹⁾ Kerseys were regarded as particularly suitable for re-export to the Levant,⁽²⁾ where they were in great demand, so much so that by the late fifteenth century, and possibly earlier, they had become an indispensable commodity of sale in the Levant for Venetian merchants in return for purchases of eastern luxury goods. By mid-sixteenth century Venetian trade with the Levant was largely dependent upon their continued supply, and the arrival of English kerseys in the Levantine markets overland from Muscovy in the 1550's and 1560's seriously worried Venetian merchants.⁽³⁾ Profits on English cloth were considerable. In 1441, Andrea Barbarigo received a cargo of English cloths and tin at Venice, on which his agents in England had spent some 5,420 ducats.⁽⁴⁾ The cloths alone were worth £739. They consisted of 16 expensive mostovalieri,⁽⁵⁾ which varied in value at this period from £5. to £8. each,⁽⁶⁾

(1) P.R.O., E.C.P. 280 (79).

(2) U. Tucci, Lettres d'un marchand vénitien Andrea Berengo, 1553-1556, Paris, 1957, passim.. P. Earle, 'The Commercial Development of Ancona, 1479-1551,' Econ. Hist. Rev., n.s..XXII, 1969, pp.28-44.

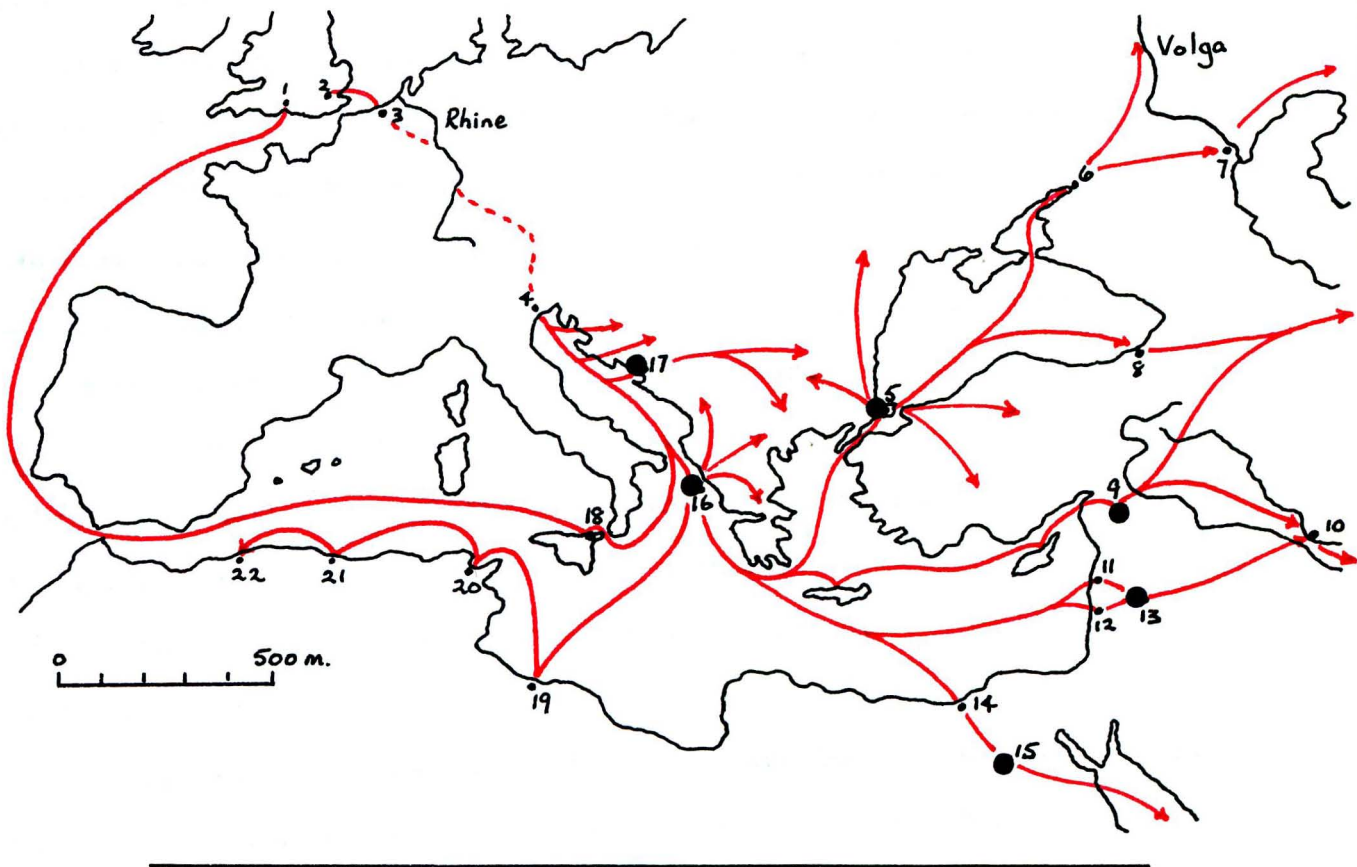
(3) R. Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation, 8 vols. Everyman edition, 1907. I. pp.397-8, 438-68. II, pp.1-52, 113-32. W. Foster, England's Quest of Eastern Trade, London, 1933, pp.14-45. N. Steensgaard, Carracks, Caravans and Companies, Odense, 1973. G. Berchet, (ed.) Relazioni dei consoli veneti nella Siria, Torino, 1866, passim.

(4) Approximately £900, reckoning on a ratio of 1 ducat = 40d. sterling, cf. 'The Noubre of Weights,' B.M., Cottonian MSS, Vespasian E.IX, f108r.

(5) I am unable to discover how these cloths were made up; they are frequently mentioned in records of the fifteenth century. 'Musterdevelers' or 'Mustyrdderyllers', in English, were undoubtedly a make of light woollen cloth, possibly manufactured originally at the town of Muster-de-Villiers near Harfleur, see H. Norris, Costume and Fashion, (1066-1485) II, London, 1927, p.463.

(6) P.R.O., K.R. Customs Accounts, E.101. 128/30 ff4, 6.

Distribution of kerseys by Venetians. Major trade flows.



Key.

● Major Venetian markets.

○ Other markets.

1 Southampton.

2 London.

3 Antwerp.

4 Venice

5 Constantinople.

6 Tana.

7 Astrakhan.

8 Trebizond.

9 Aleppo.

10 Baghdad.

11 Tripoli.

12 Beirut.

13 Damascus.

14 Alexandria.

15 Cairo.

16 Corfu.

17 Ragusa.

18 Messina.

19 Tripoli.

20 Tunis.

21 Algiers.

22 Oran.

100 bastards,⁽¹⁾ and 550 pieces of much cheaper cloths. The sale of the cloth in Venice and at Constantinople, and Fermo, in the Romagna, and the recovery of the money from the buyers took several years. His profits from the whole series of transactions amounted to about one third of the original investment. If the dealings in cloth are analysed separately from Badoer's overall business, however, we get a high rate of return, amounting to about 38% of the original outlay in England.⁽²⁾ The profits of Barbarigo from the export of English cloth in the fifteenth century can be compared with the figures provided by the English ambassadors Gardiner and Fox, in 1528. The two Englishmen writing from Orvieto reported that English cloths worth £1. in England were worth over £6. in Italy, and yet were not procurable in sufficient quantities.⁽³⁾ Unfortunately many more such examples are necessary, but even this amount of evidence seriously suggests the Venetian merchants investing in English cloths were assured of a high rate of profit in Italy, in spite of the exceptionally high costs incurred through the high freight rates charged on Venetian galleys and carracks in the early sixteenth century. See Appendix II.

Thus long before the sixteenth century English wool had been shipped to Venice, less as a raw material but rather in the manufactured form. If we regard one sack of wool as the equivalent of $4\frac{1}{2}$ cloths of assize⁽⁴⁾ then the

- (1) Bastard cloths were probably a cheaper light cloth, made up of two distinct kinds of wool, different types of yarn being used for the warp and for the weft, and originated in the west of England, see G. de Poerck, La draperie médiévale en Flandre et en Artois, Technique et Terminologie, Bruges, 1951, II. p.16, and 'Il libro dei conti di Giacomo Badoer, Constantinople, 1436-40' ed. V. Dorini and T. Bertele, Roma, 1956, passim.
- (2) F.C. Lane, Venice and History, pp.118-25.
- (3) L. & P., IV (ii) 4090. Gardiner and Fox to Brian Tuke, Orvieto, 23 March, 1528.
- (4) Professor Gould assesses this as the "approximate average of the closely agreeing values chosen by other scholars or mentioned by contemporaries." J.D. Gould, The Great Debasement, Oxford, 1970, pp.119-21.

dominance of cloth over wool in Venice's woollen export trade from England becomes apparent. For example, in 1508, 12,000 pieces of assorted cloths and kerseys were awaiting shipment on the Flanders galleys, which had also loaded 1,200 sacks of wool.⁽¹⁾ The 12,000 pieces of cloths and kerseys equate to approximately 2,666 sacks of wool, a far larger quantity than the amount of raw wool shipped that year on the state galleys. In 1505 the galleys had loaded 9,000 kerseys alone,⁽²⁾ the equivalent of 2,000 sacks. In 1515, the Malipieri shipped 470 sacks of wool to Venice with 2,400 coloured kerseys and 500 broadcloths in an English vessel. The combined total of cloths was the equivalent of 644 sacks.⁽³⁾ Finally, in 1527, Stefan de Nadal exported 1,000 kerseys, 250 other cloths and 60 sacks of wool, along with other goods belonging to Venetian merchants.⁽⁴⁾ This dominance of cloth over wool in Venetian exports from England in the sixteenth century reflects the national trend. Between 1500-43 cloth accounts for between 66.8 and 92.1% of total annual woollen exports.⁽⁵⁾ In only one year after 1522-23 does cloth account for less than 80% of the whole.

While the export of raw wool shows an overall decline in the first half of the sixteenth century, cloth exports show an upward trend.⁽⁶⁾ Although the amount of cloth exported annually fluctuates between quite wide margins, the alien share of cloth exports remains remarkably static. For the quinquennia⁽⁷⁾ 1500/05 - 1545/50 the alien percentage of the average total

(1) Sanudo, 1 Diarii, VII, 13 May, 1508.

(2) Ibid., VI. 5 August 1505.

(3) Ibid., XX, 15 June, 1515.

(4) A.S.V., Miscellanea Gregolin, busta 12 bis, Letter of Stefan de Nadal to Martin di Federico, his London agent, dated Venice, 26 April, 1527.

(5) These figures are taken from J.D. Gould, op.cit., Table XII, p.120.

(6) F.J. Fisher, 'Commercial Trends and Policy in Sixteenth-Century England', Econ.Hist.Rev., X. 1940. J.D. Gould, op.cit., pp.173-5. E.M. Carus-Wilson, and O. Coleman, op.cit., pp.112-9.

(7) The calculations are made from Michaelmas to Michaelmas.

annual cloth export is 42, 44.7, 42.9, 43.4, 41, 39.8, 42.6, 44.1, 49.1, 40.5 respectively. Only in the period 1540-45, when alien exports amounted to 49.1% of the whole is there any marked change in the alien share of English cloth exports. The 1540's witnessed the exportation of English kerseys and broadcloths on a large scale by Venetian merchants overland to Venice through Flemish and Italian commission agents in Antwerp.⁽¹⁾

The Enrolled Customs Accounts probably provide a more reliable index of total exports than of the distribution of the cloth trade between denizen, hanseatic and alien merchants. There is much evidence, English and Venetian, to suggest that the favourable terms on which merchants of the Hanse exported cloth encouraged deceptions. Many Venetian merchants shipped cloths by arrangement with German merchants in this period.⁽²⁾ Similarly, the higher

(1) W. Brulez, De firme della faille en de internationale handel van Vlaamse firma's in de 16e eeuw., Brussels, 1959; *ibid.*, 'Lettres commerciales de Daniel et Antoine van Bombergen à Antonio Grimani, 1532-1543,' Bulletin de l'Institute historique belge de Rome, XXXI, 1958: *ibid.*, 'L'exportation des Pays-Bas vers l'Italie par voie de terre au milieu de XVI^e siècle,' Annales, XIV, 1959, pp.461-91: *ibid.*, 'Les routes commerciales d'Angleterre en Italie au XVI^e siècle,' Studi in Onore de Amintore Fanfani, Milan, 1962, IV, pp.121-84; *ibid.*, 'Le commerce international des Pays-Bas au XVI^e siècle : essai d'appréciation quantitative,' R.B.P.H., XLVI, 1968, pp.1205-21. P. Earle, art.cit., pp.28-44. F. Edler 'The van der Molen commission merchants of Antwerp : trade with Italy, 1538-44', Medieval and Historical Essays in Honour of J.W. Thompson, (ed.). J.C. Gate and E.N. Anderson, Chicago, 1938, pp.78-145: *ibid.*, 'Winchcombe Kerseys in Antwerp, 1538-44', Econ.Hist.Rev., VII, 1936-37. E. Coornaert, 'Anvers au XVI^e siècle; La firme della faille,' Annales, 8, 1936. *ibid.*, 'Notes pour l'histoire du commerce des Pays-Bas avec l'Italie du sud et les au-delà à la fin du XV^e et XVI^e siècles,' Studi in onore di Amintore Fanfani, Milano, 1962, IV, pp.395-409.

(2) For German-Venetian commercial and trading links in this period see H. Simonsfeld, Der Fondaco dei Tedeschi und die deutsch-venetianischen Handelsbeziehungen., Stuttgart, 1887, 2 vols., P. Braunstein, 'Relations d'affaires entre Nurembergeois et Venitiens à la fin du XIV^e siècle', Melanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'Ecole Française de Rome: LXXVI, 1964. G. Strauss, Nuremberg in the sixteenth century, New York, 1966. Ranke, 'Kolns binnen-deutscher Verkehr im 16 und 17 Jahr hundert,' in Hansische Geschichtsblätter, XXIX, 1924. W. von Stromer, 'Nuremberg in the International Economies of the Middle Ages,' B.H.R., XLIV, 1970 pp.210-25. K. Hohlbaum, Kolner Inventar, 2 vols. 1896. especially I pp.383-4. A. Huyskens, 'Die Krisis des deutschen Handels während des geldrischen Erbfolgekrieges, 1542-43,' in Annalen des historischen vereins für dem Niederrhein, 81, 1906, pp.46-70. B. Kuske, 'Die Handelsbeziehungen zwischen Koln und Italien im späteren-mittelalter,' Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst. XXVII, 1908. J. Muller, 'Das Rodwesen Bayerns und Tirols im Spätmittelalter und zu Begium der Neuzeit,' in Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, III, 1905, pp.361-420, 556-626. A. Schulte, Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Handels und Verkehrs zwischen Westdeutschland und Italien mit Ausschluss von Venedig, Leipzig, 1900.

customs duties paid by aliens resulted in the shipment of Venetian goods in the name of denizens and English collaborators. Certainly contemporaries claimed that the privileges of the Hanse were abused.⁽¹⁾ Jan van Brugge, a merchant of the Hanse was fined and disfranchised by the Aldermen and merchants of the Steelyard for exporting cloth to Flanders on behalf of non-Hanseatic alien merchants.⁽²⁾ Lorenzo Pasqualigo shipped large quantities of English goods to Venice through German collaborators between 1510-19.⁽³⁾ However, collusion between Hanseatics and Venetians must have remained a comparatively unusual occurrence; a more common practice was the shipment of cloth in the name of Englishmen. In the reign of Henry VIII a bill for an act of Parliament demanded that no woollen cloth or kerseys be exported without first paying customs, subsidies and other duties at the alien rate since Englishmen had recently been deceitfully practising with alien merchants.⁽⁴⁾

⁽⁴⁾ There is abundant evidence in the Venetian archives, the records of the High Court of Admiralty, and elsewhere that it was a common practice for Venetian merchants to enter goods in another name in order to defraud the customs, or to protect them at sea from hostile parties, although the latter form of arrangement was generally made before the Customs Houses and therefore did not involve customs evasion.

The consequences of the proclamation of 26th February, 1539, "that straungers shall paye like custome and subsidy as the Kinges subjectes,"⁽⁵⁾ for Venetian trade with England must have been marked.⁽⁶⁾ During the seven year period when aliens exported at the same rate as denizens, alien cloth exports rose spectacularly, whilst those of denizens fell.⁽⁷⁾ Aliens were

(1) J.D. Gould, op.cit., p.148.

(2) P.R.O., E.C.P. 123(62).

(3) Sanudo, 1 Diarii IX-XVIII, passim., eg.XVII, 1 September, 1513. Letter of Antonio Bavarin to the Cà da Pesaro in Venice.

(4) L. & P., Add., I, (ii), 1848.

(5) Schanz, op.cit., II, pp.602-4. J.D. Gould, op.cit., pp.147-8.

(6) For example the vast increase in the Badoer investments in cloth between 1539-44, supra, p.11.

(7) J.D. Gould, loc.cit., E.M. Carus-Wilson and O. Coleman, op.cit., pp.118-9, 140-1, 148-9.

exporting from London only 4.8% of national woollen exports between 1536/7-1537/8; in the period 1538/39-1545/46, however, alien exports had risen to 25.4%, and in the period 1547-48 and 1549-50⁽¹⁾ alien cloth exports from London had collapsed to only 0.8% of the national total.⁽²⁾ One major effect of the proclamation of 1539 was to make it no longer profitable for aliens to export in the name of Englishmen, and if it is necessary to invoke this factor in explaining export trends, between 1536-50, then the Enrolled Accounts appreciably underrate alien exports of cloth during the early sixteenth century. The Navigation Act of 1540⁽³⁾ reduced the privileges granted to aliens in the previous year. After 1540 the new concessions applied only to those aliens shipping in English vessels. Moreover, the probability that there was a trade in export licences granted to courtiers in the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII to export cloth free of customs⁽⁴⁾ may have resulted in similar distortions on a smaller scale. Finally, if the Enrolled Accounts are an imperfect guide to the distribution of cloth exports between English and Italian merchants, the figures as a whole are impaired by the evasions of both English and alien merchants. In 1511, John Sharp was appointed as the King's solicitor in all ports from which kerseys were shipped to prevent the frauds practised in the reign of Henry VII by aliens.⁽⁵⁾ It was alleged that merchants had been customing three kerseys for one whole cloth, valued at 40s., instead of 60s., which was a considerable loss to the King's revenues.

- (1) The returns for 1548-49 are insufficient to permit calculations.
- (2) The corresponding figures for denizens are 46.8, 37.3 and 60.3% respectively. Gould's figures tend to exaggerate the significance of the period 1538-46, since the adjacent years were particularly bad ones for alien cloth exports, but he is probably correct in believing that the trends in denizen and alien exports cannot be explained entirely in terms of the stimulus given to alien exporters by the proclamation of 1539.
- (3) Stats. Realm, 32 Hen.VIII, cl4.
- (4) This practice was increasingly resorted to by Henry VIII in the later years of his reign to counteract the stringent measures passed against the export of unfinished cloth.
- (5) L. & P., I.(i). 885 (i).

The Particular Accounts testify to the large and frequent shipments of cloth made by Venetians at London and Southampton in the early Tudor period. The surviving Port Books provide only fragmentary information concerning the shipment of cloth by Venetian merchants, but the Enrolled Accounts provide a clue as to Venetian cloth shipments. The peaks of alien cloth exports from Southampton clearly coincide with the arrival of Venetian galleys and carracks at that port. Large quantities of cloth were being exported by aliens from the Hampshire port in most years until 1509; thereafter the figures are only equalled with the return of the galleys in 1518-19, 1519-20, 1522-23 and 1532-33, and in those years when one or more Venetian carracks or English vessels are in port loading goods for Venice and intermediate Italian ports. (1)

Towards mid-century there are frequent complaints by Venetian merchants in Venice to their London agents (2) of the poor quality of English cloths exported. Traditionally English broadcloths had been exported in an undyed state by Venetian merchants due to the more professional cloth finishing industries at Venice, and to the ill-repute of the English shearmen and fullers. In 1552 several English cloths were cut into pieces and openly displayed in a window at Rialto with a sign declaring them to be false and condemned. This provocative act led to a strong complaint from the Privy Council. (3) On 20th November, 1552, Peter Vannes, the English ambassador at Venice, wrote to the Privy Council of the outcome of his complaint to the Signory. The Republic had declared the cloths to be false, he wrote, (4)

- (1) Between 1510-30 the Venetians made frequent use of English, Spanish, Genoese and even Ragusan shipping to supplement their own merchant marine which nevertheless underwent a revival in the sixteenth century, and from the 1520's Venetian carracks began to regain their former position of dominance on the North Sea - Mediterranean route, see F.C. Lane, 'Venetian Shipping During the Commercial Revolution,' in Venice and History, pp.3-24.
- (2) P.R.O., H.C.A. 24/10.
- (3) Cal. St. Papers. foreign. Edward VI, 1547-53, 582.
- (4) Ibid..

"because they were with certain marks called 'portata' wrought in wool, like to the mark of Venice, and not in thread, as strange cloths be accustomed to have. Had told them that whatsoever law it were here, the cloths of England could not be compelled to be otherwise wrought than it should please the King or the ancient custom of his realm; as he did believe the said cloths were none other, having besides these 'portata', or marks wrought in cloth, the sign of the crown; and for their goodness, he was well assured that through the world were no truer or better cloths made than English cloths; and doubted not their Ambassador⁽¹⁾ in England had advertised them of this matter."

In reply the Signory said that it had not been done in 'contumely of the King's Majesty or derogation of the reputation of the English cloths', but because their statutes required such an action, and because merchants had counterfeited the 'portata' for the better utterance of their cloths. Vannes report continues:-

"(He)⁽²⁾ told them he had nothing to do with the conduct of their merchants but was well assured that the marks of the English cloths could not be so easily falsified by any merchant here (Venice), and desired them to look into the matter so that no such inconvenience should again occur. They had promised him a reply, which he has not yet received, whatever their reply may be, he supposes hereafter they will beware of such inconveniences, or any prohibitions, the which should be to their own hindrance many ways."

Until the 1530's London never dominated the cloth trade of Italian merchants as it did those of the Hanse, due to the marked preference of the Italians for Southampton as the port of call for England. In the reign of Henry VII certainly no more than half of all alien cloth was shipped from London, and in the period 1515/16-1519/20 London accounted for no more than 36.8% of the whole. Later the situation changed and in 1535/6-1539/40, 81.9% of alien cloth was exported from London; by 1540/41-1544/45 this figure had risen to 87.4%. That London did not play a greater part in alien cloth exports in the earlier sixteenth century and the reign of Henry VII can be explained by the large amount of cloth shipped during this period from Southampton by Venetian and Italian merchants resident in Southampton and by the much larger Venetian and Italian communities in London.⁽³⁾ In the

(1) Giacomo Soranzo, August, 1551-May, 1554. L. Firpo. op.cit., p.XVI.

(2) My words in brackets.

(3) See below Chs. V and VI.

period 1505/06-1509/10, when 59.1% of all alien cloth exports were shipped from ports other than London, Southampton accounted for 94.9% of this total. The preponderance of the Hampshire port was of course due to the frequent calls made by Venetian galleys and carracks.⁽¹⁾ During the period 1515/16-1519/20, when the outports accounted for 63.2% of alien cloth exports, Southampton was responsible for the shipment of 94.7% of alien cloth not sent from London. Although Venetian shipping was largely absent from Southampton in these years, the Port Books show Venetians shipping goods in English and foreign vessels.⁽²⁾ From 1535 the picture changes as a result of the removal of Venetian and Italian shipping to London.

After the Hanseatics, the Italians appear most prominently in the customs records as exporters of cloth, and amongst the Italian exporters the Venetians figure large. In the year 1534-35 for example when 90.5% of alien cloths were exported from London, the Petty Custom accounts show a number of Venetian merchants exporting on a large scale. A Venetian agent in London, Martin di Federico, made twenty-two shipments of cloth in this year, amounting to more than 650 cloths. On 1st August, 1514, it was reported that Venetian merchants, amongst others, were shipping cloth from London in an English vessel for Constantinople and in two others bound for Chios to the sum of 300,000 ducats.⁽³⁾ The surviving account books of the Pisani fraterna⁽⁴⁾ show the Pisani regularly importing large quantities of English cloth into Venice, and in England the records of the Court of Chancery are rich in dealings and disputes between English clothiers and Venetian merchants.⁽⁵⁾ As late as 1557 9,500 kerseys and 160 broadcloths, worth perhaps rather more

(1) The Genoese also continued to use the port intermittently in this period, and much Italian cloth was exported in English and foreign vessels. S.C.R.O., SC5/4 (27-40).

(2) Ibid., The evidence of the Southampton Port Books is confirmed by Sanudo, eg. Sanudo 1 Diarii, XIV, 17 June, 1512, 20 August, 1512: XV, 4 February, 1512, 7 February, 1512: XVI, 6 March, 1513: XVII, 22 October, 1513: XVIII, 15 June, 1514: XX, 15 June, 1515.

(3) Sanudo, 1 Diarii, XVIII, 16 August, 1514.

(4) A.S.V., Archivio Grimani-Barbarigo, buste 47-49, reg. 19, 21, 22, 24.

(5) P.R.O., E.C.P. 278(66), 331(81), 334(14), 1067(62), 280(79), 282(85), 310(61), 679(33).

than £10,000 at Blackwell Hall, were exported by Italians.⁽¹⁾ Smedt⁽²⁾ points out that the bulk of these cloths belonged to two Venetian firms, Placito Ragazzoni, and Bonaventura Michaeli. The size of shipment is even more significant when one recalls that only a limited amount of English cloths were allowed to be exported to Italy by the Privy Council in that year,⁽³⁾ on the petition of the Merchant Adventurers. Permission for only about half of what the two Venetian firms sought to export was granted.⁽⁴⁾

Venetian merchants exported cloths to Italy both by sea and by land. In the early part of the sixteenth century members of London's Venetian community were exporting large consignments of cloth from Southampton in the state galleys, in private Venetian carracks, and also in alien vessels. Venetians continued to ship cloth from Southampton after 1534, but less regularly. In 1546 a ship called 'Saint Mary and Saint Edward of Hampton', belonging to the Venetian merchant, Francesco Bernardo, was loaded by Venetian and Italian agents in Southampton on behalf of Domenico Erizzo together with several other Venetian merchants. The cargo was made up of broadcloths, kerseys and cotton, with other English merchandise, and the vessel's charter bound it to Livorno, Messina and Venice.⁽⁵⁾ By the 1530's, however, the importance of Southampton for Venetian shipments had declined, and most of the Venetian shipments of cloth were made from London. Most of the vessels from London on which the Venetians exported cloth were clearly bound for the Low Countries, and much has been written on the increasing importance

(1) A.P.C., (1556-58), 63-4.

(2) O. de Smedt, De engelse natie te Antwerpen in de 16^e Eeun, 1496-1582, Antwerp, 1950-54, 2 vols. I, pp.205-7, 218.

(3) The cloths were in fact sent overland via Antwerp and Frankfurt.

(4) B.M., Lansd. MSS., 170/33. Petition of the Italian merchants to the Privy Council, January, 1557.

(5) P.R.O., H.C.A. 13/93 ff.241-5, 271-4. The vessel never sailed as it caught fire while still at anchor in Southampton Water, and most of the cargo was lost.

of the overland routes from Antwerp to Venice in this period.⁽¹⁾

Firms of commission merchants, like the Van der Molen of Antwerp acted as forwarding agents between Antwerp and Venice, and as commission merchants, using the services of Italian merchants in London to purchase kerseys and broadcloths for their Venetian customers. The survival of the Van der Molen letter book for the period 1538-44, and the preservation at the Public Record Office of documents relating to their commission agent in London, Martin di Federico, provide much information concerning the cloth trade between England and Venice, via Antwerp, in the later reign of Henry VIII.⁽²⁾ It has been estimated that in 1542-43 two thirds of Antwerp's overland exports to Italy consisted of non-Netherlandish fabrics,⁽³⁾ and most English cloth seems to have reached Venice and the Levant by this route. Antwerp and Venice, however, were not the only markets for the Venetian exports of English cloth, for Venetian merchants maintained agents elsewhere, particularly in France and Spain.⁽⁴⁾ Nor did the Venetian export cloth only

- (1) See W. Brulez, *De firma della faille*, op.cit., 'Lettres commerciales,' art.cit., 'L'Exportation des Pays-Bas,' art.cit.; 'Les routes commerciales d'Angleterre,' art.cit.; 'Le commerce international,' art.cit.. P. Earle, art.cit.. F. Edler 'The van der Molen,' art.cit.; 'Winchcombe kerseys,' art.cit.. E. Coornaert, 'La firme della faille,' art.cit.; 'Les routes commerciales d'Anvers vers l'Italie au XVI^e siècle,' Annales de géographie 36, 1927. J. Goris, Étude sur les colonies marchands méridionales à Anvers de 1488 à 1567, Louvain, 1925. J.A. van Houtte, 'Anvers aux XV^e siècles: expansion et apogée,' Annales, 16, 1961. Ibid., 'La genèse du grand marché international d'Anvers à la fin du Moyen Age,' R.B.P.H., XIX, 1940. Ibid., 'Bruges et Anvers, marchés nationaux ou internationaux du XIV^e au XVI^e siècles?' Revue du Nord, 34, 1952. H. van der Wee, The Growth of the Antwerp Market, The Hague, 1963, 3 vols, II. pp.180-82. O. de Smedt, op.cit.. R. Marchal, Les voies de communication entre les Pays-Bas et l'Italie au XV^e siècle, Thèse de licence, Bruxelles, 1958. Y. Renouard, 'Les voies de communication entre pays de Méditerranée et pays de l'Atlantique au Moyen Age. Problèmes et hypothèses,' in Mélanges d'histoire du Moyen Age dédiés à la mémoire de Louis Halphen, Paris, 1951.
- (2) The Van der Molen letter book was examined by Florence Edler, 'The Van der Molen', and for Martin di Federico see P.R.O., H.C.A., 24/10, A.S.V., Miscellanea Gregolin, busta 12 bis, and below Ch.IV pp.180-81.
- (3) Van der Wee. op.cit., 1, p.186.
- (4) F.C. Lane, Andrea Barbarigo, pp.113-21.

on their own account, both English and Spanish merchants found the good offices of the Venetian merchant useful when exporting cloth and other commodities to Spain, Italy and elsewhere in the Mediterranean.⁽¹⁾ A lively trade was carried on by Venetian merchants resident in London, with Iberia in the sixteenth century. In 1527 the Venetian merchant, Matteo Bernardo, shipped various English commodities to Portugal for the Portuguese merchants, Alvero de Pinto and Fernando Merchaunt.⁽²⁾ Other Venetians resident in London acted as commission agents for Spanish merchants in Spain; for example, in November, 1532, Marino de Martines di Gozi, merchant of Corunna, wrote to Hieronimo da Molin in London to be prepared to receive a cargo of Spanish wine shipped by him to England.⁽³⁾ While in the reign of Henry VII an export licence granted to several Spanish merchants mentions that the Spaniards had chartered a Venetian vessel, then in England, the 250 ton 'Maria de Fuenterrabia', owned by one 'John Sancius of Venesse'.⁽⁴⁾

Clothmakers from all over England gathered in London for the weekly cloth market held at Blackwell Hall, at which all transactions by clothiers in London had to take place.⁽⁵⁾ It is clear that the City injunctions relating to sale by wholesale of cloths in the city were not obeyed. Country clothiers often left their cloth in private houses or inns,⁽⁶⁾ and often traded illegally with alien merchants in the houses opposite the Steelyard, near Dowgate.⁽⁷⁾ Probably Venetian merchants bought most of their cloth at Blackwell Hall, and certainly the City authorities were very stringent in

- (1) A.A. Ruddock, Italian Merchants and Shipping in Southampton, 1270-1600, Southampton, 1951. passim.
- (2) L. & P., IV (11) 3154 (ii).
- (3) L. & P., V, 1577.
- (4) W. Campbell, (ed.), Materials for a History of the Reign of Henry VII, 2 vols. Rolls Series, 1873-7, I, p.251.
- (5) G.D. Ramsay, The Wiltshire Woollen Industry in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, Oxford, 1943.
- (6) C.L.R.O., Repertories of Aldermen, 13, f188v, 14 f87r, 20 f410r, 22 f93v, 23 f354r.
- (7) Kolner Inventar, 1, pp.383-4.

enforcing the ordinances against transactions between non-citizens in London. The Repertories of the Court of Aldermen are full of the impositions of fines for such misdemeanours; three whole pages of the Index of volume 7, covering the period 1525-7 are devoted to buying and selling between foreigners, (i.e., non-citizens, either native or alien). The famous clothier John Winchcombe of Newbury, in Berkshire, was fined £10. for selling, to a Venetian merchant, 279 pieces of kersey of various colours, and the Venetian also had to pay a fine of £20.⁽¹⁾ Reference to a number of similar cases of cloth bought or sold involving Italians occur among the petitions to the Court of Chancery.⁽²⁾ Venetian merchants, however, were not entirely dependent upon Blackwell Hall, and often dealt directly with the English clothiers. The better quality kerses were often sold before they were off the looms, and a commission agent, like Martin di Federico, was under constant pressure from his customers in Venice, who dictated their requirements with regard to colour and quantity in the most meticulous detail, and constantly complained of the quality of the goods sent.⁽³⁾ Venetian merchants in London used agents, Venetian, Italian, and English, in the localities to purchase cloth for them, sometimes sending representatives out into the cloth producing counties to make their purchases and sometimes they dealt directly with clothiers like 'Jack of Newbury'. Details concerning the cloth transactions of Venetians survive as a result of the bankruptcy case of Martin di Federico in the High Court of Admiralty. Martin had an English agent in London, one John Alexander, who bought kerses both for himself and for Federico. Sometimes Alexander went into the clothing districts himself and bought cloths from the clothiers, mostly kerses which the clothiers later packed and despatched to Alexander in London.⁽⁴⁾ Occasionally Alexander sent a letter to the clothiers asking them to bring a certain number of kerses to Federico's house in London where the purchase was made, and the clothiers given meat

(1) C.L.R.O., Repertories of Aldermen, 7, 1525-27, f97v.

(2) P.R.O., E.C.P. 278 (66), 331 (8), 334 (14), 1067 (62).

(3) Ibid., H.C.A. 24/10.

(4) Ibid., H.C.A. 13/4, f287r.

and drink before their long journey home.⁽¹⁾ Martin di Federico appears also to have dealt directly with John Winchecombe, whose kerseys were in such great demand at Antwerp and in the Levant during this period.⁽²⁾ Other merchants dealing largely in the export of kerseys also bought directly from the clothiers.⁽³⁾ There are also records of Italian merchants buying cloths from drapers and cloth-workers in London, and from London merchants who acted as middlemen between them and the country clothiers. Cases appearing before the Court of Chancery include a number of disputes between Italian merchants and London drapers.⁽⁴⁾ London merchants appear to have specialised in acting as middlemen between the cloth industry and Italian merchants in early sixteenth century London.⁽⁵⁾ The normal practice of payment was to buy the cloth partly with cash and partly on credit.⁽⁶⁾ Often Venetian merchants gave their cloth to clothworkers to process before exportation. The payment for cloths in cash was also practised, notably, if the amount involved was small, as when John Alexander bought 10 pieces of kerseys of divers colours from William Cowdrey, worth £14. 10s., paying on delivery.⁽⁷⁾

England also had attracted the Venetians as a source of high grade wool. Her export trade was founded upon the Cotswold, Romney, Lincoln and Leicester longwools, which had a monopoly of the medieval wool market. The Romneys in particular produced vast quantities of high grade long wool, the rams clipping 12-lb. apiece. Whilst among the shortwools the Ryeland was supreme and challenged the Merino's wool in quality. Contrary to popular

(1) Ibid., ff 277-8.

(2) F. Edler, 'Winchecombe kerseys', passim., ibid., 'The van der Molen,' passim..)

(3) P.R.O., E.C.P. 280(79).

(4) Ibid., 282(85), 310(61), 679(33).

(5) L. & P., IV, (11), 4282. Humphrey Monmouth, a London draper, bought cloth weekly from several Suffolk clothiers and sold 400 or 500 cloths every year to aliens in London.

(6) See below, Ch. IV. pp.192-3.

(7) P.R.O., H.C.A. 13/4. f287r.

opinion the high quality of English wool was retained down to the early eighteenth century, and was not destroyed in the early sixteenth century by the enclosure movement.⁽¹⁾ The relazioni of Venetian ambassadors to England abound with glowing reports of England's high grade wools.⁽²⁾ By the sixteenth century England's wool export trade and the part played by aliens in that trade had both declined markedly. Since the development of the Staple system in the fourteenth century the only aliens significantly involved in the wool export trade were Italian merchants shipping wool directly by sea to Italy.⁽³⁾ In comparison with the 32,000 sacks⁽⁴⁾ of English wool which had been the average total export of the early fourteenth century⁽⁵⁾ the shipment of wool in the sixteenth century was quite small. On average less than 7,900 sacks were exported annually in all by both denizens and aliens, during the first half of the sixteenth century.⁽⁶⁾ After 1521, total wool exports for the remaining years of Henry VIII's reign seldom exceed 5,000 sacks annually.⁽⁷⁾ The Enrolled Customs Accounts published by Carus-Wilson and Coleman, which provide fairly complete data until the last years of Henry VIII's reign, indicate an annual average export of 5,798 sacks for the entire period 1500-43, compared with an average annual export of 8,602 sacks for the period 1485-1500. If the export of wool was no longer the most important branch of English trade, and the amount of wool exported

(1) See K.J. Allison, 'Flock Management in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,' Econ.Hist.Rev., 2nd ser. XI, 1958. P.J. Bowden. The Wool Trade in Tudor and Stuart England., London, 1962. Ibid., 'Wool supply and the woollen industry,' Econ.Hist.Rev., 2nd ser., IX 1956. M.L. Ryder, 'The History of Sheep Breeds in Britain,' Ag.Hist.Rev., XII(1), 1964. R. Trow-Smith, A History of British Livestock Husbandry to 1700, London, 1957.

(2) L. Firpo, op.cit., passim.

(3) E. Power, The Wool Trade in English Medieval History, Oxford, 1941. pp.86-103.

(4) 1 sack = 364-lb. avoirdupois.

(5) Ibid., pp.37, 102.

(6) Carus-Wilson and O. Coleman, op.cit., p.70.

(7) Ibid., pp.72-4.

by other Italians, who had once dominated the trade⁽¹⁾ was in most years quite small, the amount exported by Venetian merchants remained significantly high. English wool is a product that is generally considered as having been only a 'memory' for Italy in the sixteenth century. This is not so. Certainly the predominance of Spanish wool in the Italian peninsula is indisputable; however, there existed throughout the sixteenth century a traffic in the exportation of high quality English wool (largely Cotswold) to different Italian textile centres as the records of shipments made by the Della Faille of Antwerp prove,⁽²⁾ nor are the Della Faille an isolated example. In the continued traffic in English wool it was the Venetians who played the principal role. The trade in English wool to Venice continued, moreover, not only by sea, but also by land routes via Antwerp and later via Hamburg. Contrary to current opinion the export of wool to Italy experienced something of a revival in the sixteenth century.⁽³⁾ In that century the Genoese and Florentines turned increasingly to Spanish rather than English wool for their textile industries.⁽⁴⁾ Venice, distrustful of Habsburg designs, and threatened on all sides by Habsburg territories,⁽⁵⁾ continued as a matter of policy to look to England rather than to Spain, as a source of fine wool.⁽⁶⁾ Whilst an increasingly large percentage of Spanish wool began to flow into Venice in the sixteenth century it was not until the late sixteenth century that English wool ceased to be imported.⁽⁷⁾ During the reigns of Henry VII

(1) E. Power, op.cit., pp.8-19.

(2) W. Brulez, De Firme della Faille, loc. cit.,

(3) For the traditional view see R. Ehrenberg, Hamburg und England im Zeitalter der Konigin Elizabeth, Jena, 1896, p.303. G. Luzzatto, 'La decadenza di venezia dopo le scoperte geografiche nella tradizione e nella realtà', A.V., 5 serie, LIV-LU, 1954, p.176.

(4) H. Lapeyre, 'Le commerce des laines en Espagne sous Philippe II,' Bulletin de la société d'Histoire Moderne, LIV, 1955, pp.5-8. F. Ruiz Martin, Lettres marchandes échangées entre Florence et Medina del Campo, Paris, 1965, passim..

(5) See P.J. Laven, Renaissance Italy, 1464-1534, London, 1966, p.118.

(6) In the sixteenth century, no less than previously, Venice's power and independence rested on her economic and commercial freedom of action, to be dependent on the goodwill of the Habsburgs was to be avoided at all cost.

(7) W. Brulez, 'La Navigation Flamande à la fin du XVI^e siècle,' R.B.P.H., XXXVI, 1958.

and Henry VIII it is true to say that Venice continued to look to England as her primary source of high grade wools. In 1554, the Venetian ambassador, Giacomo Soranzo, still spoke highly of the quality and repute of English wools,⁽¹⁾ while in 1557, the ambassador Giovanni Michieli urged the Signory to ensure the continued supply of English wool, which, he said, was of great importance to Venice.⁽²⁾

During the period 1500-43 Italians exported an average of 631 sacks a year, or 10.9% of the whole, though the alien export of wool fluctuated wildly throughout the period both in absolute terms and as a percentage of the whole. For the quinquennia 1485/90-1540/45 the alien percentage of the average total annual wool export is given in Table II. The reason for the

TABLE II

ENGLISH WOOL EXPORTS, 1485-1543: Calculated from the published figures of E.M. Carus-Wilson and O. Coleman. pp.68-74.

Period	Av. annual wool exports (sacks)	Denizens % of the whole	Aliens % of the whole
1485/6 -1489/90	9,811	91.5	8.4
1490/1 -1494/5	7,705	88.6	11.4
1495/6 -1499/1500 ^{i/}	8,980	96.4	3.6
1500/1 -1504/5	7,885	85.6	14.4
1505/6 -1509/10	7,316	85.0	15.0
1510/11-1514/15	6,808	95.2	4.8 ^{ii/}
1515/16-1519/20	8,187	91.8	8.2
1520/21-1524/25	5,132	89.6	10.4
1525/26-1529/30	4,835	92.9	7.1
1530/31-1534/35	3,005	74.4	25.6
1535/36-1539/40	3,951	96.6	3.4
1540/41-1542/43	3,738	76.3	23.7

^{i/} The figures are distorted for these years due to the absence of any accounts for Southampton in the years 1498/9 and 1499/1500.

^{ii/} The alien percentage is slightly exaggerated here by the fact that the accounts are missing for Sandwich for the period 1514/15, and for Ipswich for 1511/15. However, if we interpolate for the missing years the figure for the year chronologically nearest, aliens exported 4.6% of the whole during the period 1510/15.

(1) L. Firpo, op.cit., p.367.

(2) E. Alberi. ed., Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato, Firenze, 1840, serie I, vol.II, p.356.

figure of alien exports in the period 1510-15 can be sought in the almost total cessation of normal trading with England by Venetian merchants⁽¹⁾ due to the political crisis of the War of the League of Cambrai, 1509-16.⁽²⁾ In the quinquennium 1515/16-1519/20 the average of alien exports rose again to 671 sacks or 8.2% of the whole. At Southampton in 1519-20 aliens accounted for 100% of the total wool export for that year, when over 1,000 sacks of wool were loaded on board the Flanders galleys for Venice.⁽³⁾ However, on the whole the period 1510/11-1529/30 marks a low in total alien exports of wool. The exception to this is the period 1520/21-1524/25, when an average of 534 sacks or 10.4% of the whole is recorded. The bulk of this was exported in one single year, 1522-23, when aliens exported 1,550 sacks from Southampton (100% of the total annual export); the Flanders galleys being in port that year.⁽⁴⁾ 1524-25 saw a marked fall in the number of sacks exported by aliens from Southampton,⁽⁵⁾ significantly no wool was exported in the name of Venetians in that year. At Venice 1525 was marked by plague, which seriously disrupted trading activities that year. The production of cloth in the city fell to a mere 1,990 pieces, perhaps as indicative of the short supply of English wool as of the general economic disruption brought about by the plague. The situation was made worse by the loss of the Venetian carracks the 'Zana' and the 'Giustiniana', seized in the previous year by Biscayan pirates while en route for Venice laden with rich cargoes of wool, woollen cloths

- (1) During this period the bulk of Venetian commercial activities in England were in military supplies, and a large percentage of Venetian merchandise was despatched overland in the names of German merchants or exported under the names of denizen collaborators. Thus a large percentage of Venetian trade is hidden in the custom accounts for these years, see below pp. 31, 184, 293, 321-2, 311.
- (2) The war was finally brought to a close by the Treaty of Noyon, in 1516, by which Venice regained Verona from the Emperor Maximilian, L. & P., I(i)-II(ii), passim., C.S.P.V., II. Passim.
- (3) P.R.O., K.R. Customs Accounts. E122 143/5A. E.M. Carus-Wilson and O. Coleman, op.cit., p.72.
- (4) P.R.O., K.R. Customs Accounts E 122 143/5B.
- (5) Only 177 sacks were exported in that year, Carus-Wilson and O. Coleman, op.cit., p.72.

and tin.⁽¹⁾ For the period 1530/1-1534/5 the alien export figure rises to 25.6% of the whole. Once again, however, a large percentage of this was exported in a single year from Southampton, 1533-4, when the Flanders galleys loaded over 1,700 sacks of wool or 100% of the total. Between 1535/6-1539/40 the average fell to 3.4%. This low figure must once again be set against the disruption of Anglo-Venetian trade. The Turco-Venetian war of 1537-40 seriously hampered the mercantile operations of Venetian merchants.⁽²⁾ Significantly this period also witnessed a large fall in the number of cloths produced at Venice. The figures produced by Sella⁽³⁾ show that in the period 1530-34 the Venetian woollen industry produced an annual average of 5,632 cloths. In the period 1535-39 this fell to 4,751 pieces as a result of the disruption of Venice's eastern markets, marking a 15.6% drop in production, a figure which strikingly corresponds with the 15% fall in alien exports of English wool in those years. The close correlation of the decline in production of Venetian cloths and in the alien exports of English wool, with the known fact that the Venetian cloth industry was largely dependent upon continued English supplies, points to the conclusion that the decline in alien wool exports in those years was due largely to the disruption of the traditional markets for Venetian cloth. Clearly the peaks in the alien exports of wool before 1534 coincide with the visits of the Flanders galleys to Southampton. Large quantities of wool were exported by aliens in most years until 1508-9. Significantly these figures are not equalled again until the return of the Venetian galleys in 1518-20, 1522-23, and 1532-33. The comparatively high alien export of wool in the 1540's, now from London rather than Southampton, is undoubtedly connected with the renewed importance of private Venetian

(1) C.S.P.V., III 836, 838, 847, 848; Sanudo, 1 Diarii, XXXVI, 14 June, 1524. Much of the cargo although belonging to Venetian merchants was freighted in the name of denizens which helps to account for the low figure for alien exports of wool in that year.

(2) Venetian shipping was especially vulnerable to the activities of Barbarossa's corsairs in the Mediterranean.

(3) D. Sella, 'The Rise and Fall of the Venetian Woollen Industry', in Crisis and Change in the Venetian Economy, B. Pullan (ed.), London, 1968, pp.108-9.

shipping in the trade between England and Venice, and must be set against the dramatic expansion of Venetian cloth production in the mid-sixteenth century. From 1521-69 Venetian cloth production figures climb rapidly at the average annual rate of 9.6%.⁽¹⁾ At the same time the expansion of the English cloth industry during the early sixteenth century had a twofold effect upon the alien demand for English wool. The growing demand of English clothiers in the reign of Henry VIII lessened the supply available for export at the same time as raising its price.⁽²⁾ Rising wool prices on top of already heavy export duties made it increasingly difficult to meet the Spanish competition, but the price of Spanish wool was also rising in the early sixteenth century.⁽³⁾ It was almost certainly the upward trend in the price of Spanish wool rather than exchange depreciation which caused a temporary revival in English wool shipments in the early 1540's. The Venetians in particular took advantage of the more competitive English wools during this period.

The existence of the Enrolled Customs Accounts enables the trend in the export of English wool to be traced with some confidence. For the period 1485-1543 gaps in the accounts are never of sufficient importance to distort the evidence to any great extent. However, the accuracy of the Enrolled Accounts for assessing the share of aliens in the sixteenth century wool trade is threatened by numerous deceptions, by pacts with wool packers and customers regarding wool shipped through the lawful channels, and the shipment of goods in the name of denizens. The transferability of export licences granted to royal favourites, and sold by them to alien exporters also serves to obscure the distribution of English trade between denizen and alien merchants. In

(1) D. Sella, op.cit., p.111.

(2) P.J. Bowden, 'Wool supply and the woollen industry', art.cit., ibid., 'Movements in Wool Prices, 1490-1610', Yorkshire Bulletin of Economic and Social Research, IV, 1952. F.J. Fisher, art.cit., T.C. Mendenhall, The Shrewsbury Drapers and the Wool Trade, Oxford, 1953.

(3) E.J. Hamilton, American Treasure and the Price Revolution in Spain, 1501-1650, Cambridge, Mass., 1934; ibid. 'Prices as a factor in business growth; prices and progress,' J.Econ.Hist., XII, 1952.

November, 1456, the Senate had passed a decree stating that the Cottimo da Londra (the Venetian 'factory' in London) should not be burdened with more than the usual £20. given to the customs officials for placing a low price on their merchandise.⁽¹⁾ As we have seen a considerable quantity of wool was involved on the infrequent visits of the Venetian galleys to Southampton after 1509, but on a smaller scale the payment of bribes to the English customers and wool packers was no doubt a frequent occurrence.⁽²⁾ That Venetian merchants continued to defraud the customs in the reign of Henry VIII is confirmed by a decree passed by the Senate, 3 June, 1535. Henry VIII had received information that many Venetian merchants, during the last visit of the Flanders galleys to Southampton, had defrauded the customs, and he therefore ordered an investigation into the allegations. The royal officials when they had re-weighed several of the sacks of wool being exported by Venetians discovered that the merchants were receiving much better weight than was lawful, and the King therefore claimed damages from the Venetian community. In order to satisfy the King's demands the Consul and the Consiglio dei Dodici da Londra agreed to pay £1,000 on behalf of the Cottimo da Londra, but this resolution was forthwith annulled by a second decree, as contrary to the laws and customs of the Republic. The Cottimo was therefore informed that the merchants who had benefitted from the good weights must pay the whole of the damages claimed by the King according to the advantages gained by each.⁽³⁾ Zuan Francesco Badoer wrote to his brother in England advising him to avoid paying duties in order to make a greater profit.⁽⁴⁾ Clearly the customs accounts tend to minimise the export of English wool by Venetians, and their real share in this as in other branches of trade is difficult to assess. In the light of the trade in wool export licences in this period the situation becomes

(1) A.S.V., Senato Misti, 5, f187r.

(2) A good deal of evidence survives for the fifteenth century of such practices. E. Power and M.M. Postan, op.cit., p.58.

(3) C.S.P.V., V. 52. L. & P., VII, 561, 607, 624-6, 699.

(4) A.S.V., Miscellanea Gregolin, busta 12 bis. Lettere commerciali, Letter of 5 January, 1531.

even more complex.⁽¹⁾

The part of Venetians and other Italians in the export of wool had long been confined to the direct sea route via the 'Straits of Marrock'. The monopoly of the English Staplers was thus broken by the royal licences sold to Venetians, Italians and denizen exporters to ship wool directly to Italy. While the direct trade to Italy accounted for only a small part of the whole⁽²⁾ there is abundant evidence to show the continued importance of the declining supply of English wool in the industrial centres of Italy, and the continued attraction of fine wool for Italian merchants trading with England. The Venetian woollen industry⁽³⁾ remained a negligible part of the city's economy until the rapid expansion of the industry in the sixteenth century. Traditionally it specialised in the production of high grade cloth and notably of scarlets woven of fine English wool.⁽⁴⁾ English wool remained popular with Venetian clothiers until well into the late sixteenth century, when Spanish wool was gradually substituted as the greater home consumption of English wool made regular and plentiful supplies less certain. In the middle ages annual output at Venice never rose beyond 3,000 cloths, a modest amount compared with that of other Italian cloth centres.⁽⁵⁾ Output soared from the second decade of the sixteenth century from a mere 2,000 pieces to well over 26,000 pieces in the 1560's. The rapid upsurge of cloth production at Venice, to a large extent relying on continued supplies of English wool,

- (1) See P.R.O., K.R. Customs Accounts. E122. 143/3, and E122. 216/1. for several cases involving Italian merchants in London exporting wool from Southampton nominally as the agents of English courtiers.
- (2) It has been claimed for the fifteenth century that less than one fifth of the total wool trade was conducted through the Straits, E. Power, op.cit., p.101.
- (3) The origins of the city's woollen industry go back to the thirteenth century, N. Fano, Ricerca sull'arte della lana a Venezia nel XIII^e e XIV^e secolo, A.V., 1936. pp.73-213. G. Luzzatto, Storia economica di Venezia, Padua, 1961. D. Sella, art.cit., p.111.
- (4) N. Fano, loc. cit..
- (5) D. Sella, art.cit., p.112. G. Luzzatto, Storia Economica dell'età moderna e contemporanea, Padua, 1954, pp.89-90.

led in turn to an increased trade in English wool, at a time when the total export of that commodity was rapidly declining. The registri of the Senate, and ambassadorial relazioni and dispacci of the sixteenth century contain frequent references to the importance of the English wool trade to the city, and of securing a plentiful and regular supply for the rapidly expanding textile industry of Venice. In 1485, 1497, and 1501, provisions had been made to supply the Republic with sufficient English wool to ensure the continued production of cloth, so that poor persons employed in the cloth industry might not perish.⁽¹⁾ The Senate was as much concerned with the social welfare of its citizens, and with maintaining political stability through full employment, as with ensuring plentiful supplies of raw materials for Venetian industry in these legislative measures.⁽²⁾ These provisions were necessitated by the interruptions made to the regular galley voyages to England in these years. In the years immediately following the cessation of regular galley voyages to the west, in 1509, constant provision had to be made by the Senate to ensure regular and plentiful supplies by alternative routes and means of transportation. In 1512, it was estimated that 30,000⁽³⁾ poor people in Venice were employed in the manufacture of woollens and that their livelihood was threatened by the shortage of English wool. There were only 562 sacks of wool in the entire city, and much of this stock was old or

(1) A.S.V., Senato Mar, 12. f62r. 14 ff119v-120r. 15 f60v.

(2) See B. Pullan, Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice, Oxford, 1971.

(3) I have checked this figure at the A.S.V., and I am satisfied that it is not a clerical error, but it must represent a much wider group of workers than those simply involved in spinning and weaving in the city. The figure represents 26% of the total population of the city, which at that time stood at about 115,000. The 30,000 people involved in the manufacture of woollens quoted here must therefore represent not only the skilled textile workers in the city but also their families, and possibly those involved in allied trades, such as in the dyeing industry, as the city's total output of cloth at this time was certainly no more than 3,000 pieces per annum. D. Sella, art.cit., D. Beltramine, Storia della popolazione di Venezia della fine del secolo XVI alla caduta della Repubblica, Padova, 1954. J. Beloch, 'La Popolazione di Venezia nei secoli XVI^e-XVII^e', N.A.V., 3, 1902.

spoilt.⁽¹⁾ Provision was therefore made to ensure an adequate supply of English wool. In October of the same year further measures were taken to maintain the city's stock of English wool.⁽²⁾ By April, 1513, the situation had become critical, out of eighty manufactories in the city only eight were operating. There were merely fifty sacks of wool in all Venice, a supply scarcely sufficient for fifteen to twenty days work, and of the worst quality although it fetched a high price. Many poor craftsmen had already left the city and the Senate feared that many more would soon be compelled to follow them. To improve the situation the Senate was forced to enact that, for a period of eight months, all merchants were allowed to import western wools into Venice, by land and sea, free from payment of the half freights to the Arsenal and the tenths, but all other dues and customary import duties were to be paid.⁽³⁾ Official returns showed that in fourteen months not more than thirty to thirtyfive thousandweight (Venetian) had been imported, whereas the annual amount required by the cloth manufacturers exceeded four hundred thousandweight. The Senate reported that the shortfall was due to the interruption of the Flanders voyages and to the insupportable tax of the half freights and tenths to which importers were subjected. The Act of April, 1513, however, only provided a short term solution. The import concessions on English wools were prolonged for a further six months in November, 1513,⁽⁴⁾ and again in June, 1514.⁽⁵⁾ 1517 witnessed similar complaints that the poor of Venice were threatened by the shortage of wool in the city, and that remaining stocks were scarcely sufficient for two months work.⁽⁶⁾ The Pisani and the Priuli fraterne⁽⁷⁾ dealt heavily in English wool in the early sixteenth century. Most of the wool imports were

(1) A.S.V., Senato Mar, 17, f149r.

(2) Ibid., f176r.

(3) Ibid., 18, f4r.

(4) Ibid., 18, f20r.

(5) Sanudo, 1 Diarii XVIII, 3 June 1514.

(6) Ibid., XXIV, 5 June, 1517. A.S.V., Senato Mar, 19, f29r.

(7) See Ch.IV, p.165 below.

distributed to retailers and manufacturers in Venice. Moreover, the Pisani gave out the raw wool to merchant employers involved in the textile industry, who in turn gave it out to the numerous spinners and weavers established in Venice. The Pisani received the finished cloth for re-export. The fraterna also dealt in dyes, and often handed out the dyes and the wool together to the manufacturers with specific instructions as to how the cloth was to be made up. In this way the wool merchants helped to finance the local woollen industry at Venice. In 1529, for example, the Pisani fraterna had well over 5,000 ducats invested in English wool which was being made into cloth or was in the finishing processes.⁽¹⁾ Vincenzo Priuli sold most of his English wool to the drapieri of Venice on two or three years credit.

The direct sea route from England to Venice was not the only route by which English wool reached the city in the early Tudor period. Wool was also increasingly transported overland through Germany from the Staple of Calais, or shipped to Venice from Calais, and in times of need the Senate was very much concerned to encourage the trade by land and sea, whether by Venetians or aliens, and even by foreign shipping.⁽²⁾ Between 1510-34 English shipping carried an increasingly large percentage of Venetian wool exports to Venice. In 1515, for example, an English vessel chartered by Venetian merchants sank en route for Venice with 470 sacks of wool and other goods belonging to Venetians.⁽³⁾ The Southampton merchant Henry Huttoft made several voyages to Venice in his vessel the 'Hart' in the 1530's shipping large quantities of wool for Venetian merchants.⁽⁴⁾ In 1544 and 1545, two successful wool voyages to Venice were launched by a syndicate of wealthy London merchants, probably with the aid and encouragement of Venetian

(1) A.S.V., Registri Privati, Raccolta Barbarigo-Grimani, busta 47-49, reg.21. Museo Civico Correr, Archivio Tron-Donà, PD. 912 II.

(2) C.S.P.V., I, 503, 739, 813. II, 146, 201, 236, 358, 976.

(3) Sanudo, 1 Diarii XX, 15 June, 1515.

(4) P.R.O., H.C.A. Libels 9(5) Examinations, June-July, 1538.

merchants resident in London.⁽¹⁾ The English merchant, Edmund Harvel, resident in Venice in the 1530's and 1540's, was also deeply involved in the importation of English wool into the city for Venetian manufacturers. In 1538, Harvel received a patent from the King for the export of 200 sacks of wool,⁽²⁾ and no doubt much of Harvel's wool shipments were made on behalf of Venetian merchants in Venice.⁽³⁾

Legislation passed in the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII threatened the Venetian involvement in the wool trade, but Venetians continued to receive licences to export, much to the chagrin of the Staplers,⁽⁴⁾ less because of petitions and remonstrances than because of the benefit to the Crown from such grants.⁽⁵⁾ Unlike other Italian 'nations' in England the

(1) The export of wool in 1544-45 constituted a monopoly dominated by an inner ring of wealthy brethren of the Company of Merchant Staplers. The less wealthy members of the Staple were excluded from these two private trading ventures. The members of this inner circle represent the most prominent London merchants of the period, men who would be quite familiar with influential Venetian merchants resident in the metropolis. A similar attempt at farming the Staple and monopolising wool exports to Italy had been unsuccessfully attempted by the Venetian, Matteo Bernardo in the 1530's. The ventures of 1544 and 1545 were possibly an attempt by Venetian merchants in collusion with wealthy London Staplers to re-establish Bernardo's monopoly. See below Ch.IV. pp.186-7 and B. Winchester, Tudor Family Portrait, London, 1955. pp.251-2.

(2) L. & P., XIII (1). 384(96).

(3) Harvel was intimate with Thomas Cromwell and many other influential government officials in the late 1520's and the 1530's. He was appointed English 'ambassador' at Venice sometime in the 1530's, although at his death, in January, 1550, the Signory refer to him as vice-ambassador (notio). C.S.P.V., V, 615. Harvel's salary, as an English agent at Venice dated from 1531, and can be found in B.M., Arundel MS. 97, ff 116, 131, 134, 155, 183. For references to his early mercantile career in the city see Ibid., Vit:B. XIII, 91, 122v, 127, 126v, 129v, 132v: Vit.B.XIV.299: Harl.MS. 416 f21: Nero B. VII 92, 93, 99, 100, 104, 106, 107, 108, 109, 115, 116, 119. Nero B.VI, 151, 134. L. & P., XII (11) 1021, 1127. XIII (1), 31, 139, 301, 384(96), 621, 908, 693, 846. The diplomatic correspondence between Harvel and the English government can be found in L. & P., XIV-XXI passim., Cal.St.Papers Foreign, Edward VI, 1547-53. passim... and between Harvel and the Signory of Venice, many of which relate to commerce, in C.S.P.V., V, passim...

(4) See H. Miller, 'London and Parliament in the reign of Henry VIII', Bull.Inst.Hist.Res., 35, 1962.

(5) See below Ch.VII. pp.314-17.

Venetians regularly and systematically applied for a renewal of their wool export licences during the early Tudor period. The Consuls and ambassadors of the Republic were charged with obtaining these licences, which generally ran for 5 year periods, in the name of the Venetian mercantile community.⁽¹⁾ Venetian ambassadors petitioning for a renewal of the patents constantly argued that they were profitable to the King and the merchants alike.⁽²⁾ The continued demand by Venetian merchants for wool export licences indicates the great profitability of this branch of trade for Venetians. Luckily the profits of Venetians accruing from the export of English wool can be estimated from a set of figures recorded in the minutest detail by an English merchant in the later fifteenth century, who was himself in the habit of shipping wool to Venice.⁽³⁾ The average price for a sack of fine Cotswold wool was estimated at £8. sterling, and the exporter expected to pay the alien rates of customs and subsidy. The freight charges on the Flanders galleys amounted to £2. persack, and were much higher than the cost of other types of shipping.⁽⁴⁾ The merchant estimated his total expenses up to the sale of the wool at £14. 10s. 6d., but he estimated that the wool would sell at Venice at £20. sterling per sack.⁽⁵⁾ His expected profit of £5. 10s. per sack worked out at 37% of his total investment, and at 47% of the original outlay in

(1) Below pp.315-7.

(2) eg. A.S.V., Senato Mar.23, f21r.

(3) B.M., Cottonian MSS. Vesp. E IX. fos. 107v-108r. They form part of a merchant's notebook referred to as the 'Noumbre of Weights', and according to E.E. Power, op.cit., p.45, who used some of this material, date from the latter part of the fifteenth century.

(4) A.S.V., Senato Mar, 12 f157r. decree of 18 November, 1488 which mentions that foreign vessels trafficking between England and Candia were loading wine and other goods at 4 ducats per butt, whilst Venetian vessels could not load under 7 ducats. In the later fifteenth century the freights on wool shipped on Genoese carracks from Southampton to Genoa amounted to approximately 25s. Genoese per cantare, J. Heers, Gènes au XV^e siècle, Paris, 1961, p.316. Assuming that £1. sterling equalled 12.9 li, Genoese, and that an English sack of 364-lb. avoirdupois contained about 4-16 cantares, ibid., p.408, we obtain a freight ratio of 8s.3d. sterling per sack.

(5) This is confirmed by a reference to the price of wool in Italy in 1533. P.R.O., E.C.P., 396(34), 481(8-12). A sack of Cotswold wool worth £8. in England was worth £18. in Italy.

England up to the time of shipment.⁽¹⁾ The Venetian merchant was therefore counting on a much higher rate of profit than the English Staplers could normally secure on the export of wool to Calais.⁽²⁾ This clearly suggests that the level of prices was much higher in Italy than in northwestern Europe at this time. Only this explanation could account for the extraordinary high rates of profit secured by Venetian merchants involved in the Anglo-Venetian trade, in spite of the exceptionally high costs incurred through shipments on the state galleys and on private Venetian carracks. As in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the one party which failed to benefit from Venetian involvement in the wool trade were the English Staplers, and in 1525 one hears the familiar complaint of the Staplers against the licences and alien competition.⁽³⁾

A number of governmental measures were intended to limit the Venetian share in the wool trade, but the literary evidence, the customs returns, and the patent rolls suggest that these measures were largely ineffective, or effective for a short while only. In 1490 there was a project for establishing a Staple for English wool at Pisa. The Pisa Staple was to have a monopoly of the Italian branch of the English wool trade. The Venetians placed the blame for the establishment of the Staple on the dealings of the Florentine merchants with Henry VII.⁽⁴⁾ However, it is evident that

- (1) Compare this with the high rates of return made by Andrea Barbarigo on cloth and tin in the mid-fifteenth century. Supra, p.12.
- (2) In the same period the Staplers' profit was about £1. to £2. per sack, E. Power, op.cit., pp.70-1.
- (3) The Ordinance Books of the Merchants of the Staple, (ed.), E.E. Rich, Cambridge, 1937, p.10. P.J. Bowden, op.cit., p.109. In 1529 the complaint against the granting of licences was echoed by the London Mercers, "by reason whereof the marchauntes his subjectes, havying not such recourse or traffique of marchaundise as they have had in tymes passed, been greatly decayed and impoverished." H. Miller, art.cit., pp.143-4.
- (4) A.S.V., Senato Secreta, Deliberazioni, 34 f59r-v. Senato Mar. 13 flr. Two Florentine representatives were despatched to London to negotiate with the English government. Cristoforo Spini, formerly a representative of the Medici Bank in England, and Tommaso Portinari, but it appears that the initiative for the negotiations originated in England. Foedra V, pars.9-10.

the interests of the City of London and the Company of Merchant Staplers were prominent in attempting to break the Venetians' monopoly of the wool trade to Italy. Two leading Merchant Staplers, one of whom was an Alderman of London, were appointed as the English negotiators with the Florentines. The London merchants were amongst the most prominent shippers of wool to Italy from Southampton in this period.⁽¹⁾ At first it was proposed that only English vessels should be allowed to bring wool to Pisa and that no English wool should go to any other Italian port.⁽²⁾ News of this led the Venetian government to protest, through their Consul in London, that if they were refused licences to ship wool to Venice to maintain their woollen industry, it would be pointless in future to send the Flanders galleys to England. The threatened withdrawal of the regular galley voyages, and its implications to the Crown's income was sufficient to gain the support of Henry VII against the vested interests of the City and the Staplers. The final agreement signed with Florence, therefore, included a clause stipulating that the Venetians should henceforth be licensed to take only 600 sacks per annum to Venice.⁽³⁾ This had the temporary effect of cutting out the Venetian galleys as carriers of Florentine wools from England, but the customs accounts for Southampton for the remainder of Henry VII's reign show that Florentine and London merchants were still shipping wool to Italy on the Venetian galleys, pointing to the failure of the Pisa Staple. Moreover, Venetian annual shipments of wool were never restricted to the 600 sacks allocated by the treaty. In 1532, a licence to export wool granted to the Venetian merchants permitted the export

- (1) Foedra, loc.cit., R.L. Storey, The Reign of Henry VII, London, 1968, p.177.
- (2) A. Grunzweig, 'Les fonds du Consulat du Mer aux Archives de Florence', Bulletin de l'institute historique belge de Rome, 1930, pp.41-2.
- (3) A.S.V., Senato Secreta, Deliberazioni, 34, f59r. Foedra, v, pars. iv 9. Pisa was henceforth to have the monopoly of English wool exports to Italy in return for the granting of many trading privileges for the English colony at Pisa, See M. Mallett, 'Pisa and Florence in the Fifteenth Century', in Florentine Studies, (ed.) N. Rubinstein, London, 1968, pp.413-4. 'Anglo-Florentine commercial relations 1465-1491', Econ.Hist.Rev. 2nd ser. XV, 1962.

of 1,600 sacks of wool in accordance with a former patent dated 21 March 21 Henry VIII.⁽¹⁾ The fate of the Pisa Staple was finally sealed in 1494, when the Pisans revolted against Florentine rule. A large measure of Venice's political and military support for the Pisans against Florence during this period can probably be attributed to the Signory's desire to undermine the Anglo-Florentine wool trade by setting up an independent Pisan Republic. By 1511 the treaty with Florence was remembered merely as a useful precedent for a petition addressed to the young King Henry against the Venetian export of wool in the galleys and carracks to the prejudice of the King's navy.⁽²⁾ In the reign of Henry VII, and in the earlier years of Henry VIII's reign many licences to ship wool direct to Italy were granted to Englishmen⁽³⁾ including merchants of the Staple. The same period also provides a great many examples of English wool, the property of both Englishmen and Venetians, being sent to the Mediterranean in English vessels.⁽⁴⁾ The treaty of 1490 had hardly resulted in a monopoly for English shipping or a corresponding decline

(1) L. & P., V 766(25).

(2) B.M., Royal M.S. 14B f33. The petition claimed that if only the King would withdraw the licences issued to Italians and allow only English merchants to ship wool to the Mediterranean, then four or five English vessels would sail annually on this voyage.

(3) eg. W. Campbell, op.cit., II, pp.288, 365, et seq., L. & P., I(1) 54(82), 357(1), 604(2), 682(5), 1221(38), 1462(7), 1662(13). II 2684(28), 2964(5), 3049(1). Among the Customs Accounts for London in the reign of Henry VIII there are a number of indentures concerning the shipment of wool to the Mediterranean by Englishmen, eg. P.R.O., E122 81(3), 4 Hen VIII, and E122 81(10), 14-15 Hen.VIII.

(4) In 1488, Ralph Asen, citizen and alderman of London, was granted a licence to export 350 sacks of wool to the Mediterranean in a ship the 'Anthony of London'. W. Campbell, op.cit., II, 288. In October 1510 Sir Edward Howard, Sir Thomas Knyvet, Charles Brandon, and Edward Guldeford were granted a licence to freight a vessel called the 'Mary and John of London', or any other vessel not exceeding 250 tons burthen, with goods including wool, to be shipped to the Mediterranean. L. & P., I. (1) 604(12), and in 1534 Venetian merchants are found loading wool onto the English vessel the 'Margaret Hart' of Southampton belonging to Henry Huttoft, L. & P., VII 625, P.R.O., H.C.A. 13/7 ff.229-38. Venetian merchants are also found exporting wool in the vessels of aliens, Genoese, Spanish, Portuguese and Ragusan. In December 1541 Domenico Erizzo and other Venetian merchants shipped wool 'beyond the Straits of Marrock' in a Spanish vessel the 'Sanctus Nicholas de Byskay'. P.R.O., E122 204(9).

in Venetian wool exports.⁽¹⁾ The slump in alien exports of wool between 1510-30, when alien exports fell to 7.6% of the whole,⁽²⁾ seems to have been produced more by the interruption in the voyages of the Flanders galleys and English competition in the Mediterranean than by government policy. In 1531 an Act of Parliament,⁽³⁾ inspired by a slump in the export of wool and woollen cloths prohibited the purchase of wool by aliens. The Act attempted to revive for ten years the lapsed legislation of 1489⁽⁴⁾ which in turn had attempted to revive legislation passed by Edward IV, in 1465.⁽⁵⁾ However, whilst the Act caused much consternation among the Venetians, who were about to resume the Flanders galley voyages,⁽⁶⁾ the enforcement of the Act probably lasted little longer than the slump which produced it. Certainly the effect of the clause concerning aliens seems to have been minimal since the period 1530/31-1534/35 saw alien wool exports reach 25.6% of the whole.⁽⁷⁾ This high figure is largely the result of the final visit of the Flanders galleys, and the success of the Venetians in renewing their licence to export wool, in May 1533, for a further five year period.⁽⁸⁾ In 1546, similar transitory legislation was passed.⁽⁹⁾ Originally meant to endure until the following

- (1) The treaty probably encouraged a growing trend towards English participation in the Mediterranean trade, dating from the reign of Edward IV, who also participated in the trade, sending one of his own vessels southward. C.L. Scofield, The Life and Reign of Edward the Fourth, 2 vols. 1923. A policy which Henry VII continued by investing £8,000 in wool, in 1496, to be exported to Pisa. P.R.O., Exchequer, Various Accounts, box 414(6). f207r.
- (2) E.M. Carus-Wilson and O. Coleman, op.cit., pp.70-4.
- (3) Stats. Realm. 22 Hen VIII.c.1.
- (4) Ibid., 4 Hen VII. c11.
- (5) Ibid., 4 Ed.IV, c4.
- (6) C.S.P.V., IV, 805, 1030.
- (7) Supra, Table II, p.37.
- (8) L. & P., VI. 578(22).
- (9) Stats. Realm, 37 Hen. VIII c15.

Parliament this legislation was reaffirmed by Edward VI in the first year of his reign, and in 1549 a proclamation was issued that offenders would be severely punished.⁽¹⁾ However, a loophole was left, which enabled the grower to sell his wool to anyone in the open market provided that Staplers and clothiers had the first option to purchase. In May, 1542, the Imperial ambassador reported that the English government had refused to renew the licence by which Venetian merchants exported wool in their galleys⁽²⁾ since the Republic was too friendly with the Pope,⁽³⁾ but this refusal to renew the Venetian patents was of limited significance since the state galleys did not renew their regular voyages to the Channel, and in the following years licences continued to be granted to individual Venetian merchants.⁽⁴⁾ Thus while Venetian exports of English wool suffered many vicissitudes in fortune during the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII, these can only partially be explained in terms of government policy, never sustained, and in the early 1540's the Venetians appear to have controlled a larger share of England's diminishing wool exports than at any other time. In 1552, economic nationalism finally triumphed by the enactment which forbade alien merchants buying wool between shearing time and the Feast of the Pacification. That the restraint was not complete, however, suggests the continued support of the Crown in favour of alien exporters.

A reasonably detailed picture of Venetian involvement in the wool trade can be constructed from the customs records and the patent rolls, but just as it has been suggested that these sources are not entirely reliable as an indicator of the alien share of the trade since licences granted to royal servants and corporate bodies were often sold to aliens, so also the traffic in licences between aliens themselves must be taken into account.

(1) B.M., Harl. 4943.

(2) The Republic debated the possibility of renewing the state galley voyages to England in 1542. A.S.V., Lettere del Collegio, Secreta, Filza 17, 2 January, 1541, Letter of the Collegio to Girolamo Zuccato, Venetian secretary in England.

(3) L. & P., XVII, 310. C.S.P., VI(11) 6.

(4) L. & P., XIX (1) 22; XXI (11) 648(44).

We know that Giovanni Campucci, a Lucchese merchant, obtained a licence to export a certain quantity of wool from Henry VIII, which he intended to give to the Venetian, Niccolo Duodo, in payment of a debt owing to the Venetian.⁽¹⁾ One also suspects that when Domenico Erizzo exported wool from London as factor and attorney of the Milanese, Giovanni Boroni, the Venetian was taking advantage of Boroni's favour at the royal court to export his own goods.⁽²⁾ Boroni was deeply involved in transactions with the English court. Whilst one can never be certain whether goods belong in reality to principal or factor, a certain pattern does emerge from the evidence.

Venetian merchants normally exported their wool from Southampton. 97.4% of all alien wool was exported from that port in the first decade of the sixteenth century, and 85.6% for the entire period 1500-43.⁽³⁾ The dominance of Southampton is clearly associated with the visits of the Flanders galleys and partly with the geographic convenience of Southampton as an outlet for the much sought after Cotswold and west of England wools. The Southampton Wool House Books⁽⁴⁾ show wool being brought to Southampton by the agents of the Cotswold woolmen, and there handed over to Venetian merchants. Venetians resident in London sometimes bought their wool personally or through the agency of a London merchant in the localities, and often from middlemen in London or Southampton.⁽⁵⁾ The Cely papers⁽⁶⁾ however, show that the Italians also bought wool direct from the suppliers, thus cutting out the woolmen. "I have not bought this year a lock of wool," writes Richard Cely, in 1480, "for the wool of Cotswold is bought by Lombards." The anonymous fifteenth century author of the *Libelle of Englyshe Polyce* complained that:

"In Cotteswolde also they ryde aboute
And al Englande and bien wythouten doute
What them liste wythe fredome and fraunchise
More then we Englyshe may getyn in any wyse."⁽⁷⁾

- (1) P.R.O., E.C.P. 396(34).
- (2) Ibid., K.R. Customs Accounts. E122. 83/15.
- (3) E.M. Carus-Wilson and O. Coleman, op.cit., pp.70-4.
- (4) S.C.R.O., S.C.5/8. Temp Henry VII and Henry VIII.
- (5) P.R.O., H.C.A. 13/4.
- (6) The Cely Papers. (ed.) H.E. Malden, Camden, Third Series, vol.i, Royal Historical Society, 1900, pp.45,48.
- (7) Libelle of Englyshe Polyce, G. Warner, (ed.) Oxford, 1926, p.24.

Much of the wool was bought on credit spread over several years despite the laws prohibiting aliens from buying staple wares on credit.⁽¹⁾ Besides dealing largely with woolmen Venetian merchants also maintained direct relations with wool growing monastic houses, which had characterised trade in the thirteenth century,⁽²⁾ but by the Tudor period the bulk of Venetian purchases were made through woolmen in the localities or through London agents at Leadenhall. By the mid-sixteenth century London was exporting a much higher proportion of the diminishing total alien export of wool. For the period 1500-43, 13.5% of the wool exported by aliens was shipped from London, for the period 1535/6-1539/40 50.2% and by 1540/41-1542/43 no less than 71.5% of all alien wool exports was shipped from London.⁽³⁾

Among the commodities which, after woollen cloth and wool, appear most frequently in the Particulars of Customs as Venetian exports are tin, sometimes exported in the raw state in blocks and sometimes manufactured into pewter vessels; lead, particularly following the dissolution of the monasteries, and smaller quantities of copper. The remaining commodities of the Venetian export trade were largely made up of the produce of English agriculture, both pastoral and arable. Hides and leather were exported, before and after the proclamation of 1538, prohibiting the export of these commodities, because it was claimed, "leather, hides and tallowe is suddanlie enhaused and risen in prices and much skantnes thereof is uttered and employed."⁽⁴⁾ Other exports include grain, beans, and flour, however, dearth in England resulted in the enforcement of measures against the export of 'prohibited goods,' but the trade continued with and without royal licence.⁽⁵⁾ English beer is known to have been exported by Venetians to the Netherlands, from a licence granted in March, 1542, to Augustino de Agostini, for the export of

(1) E.E. Power "The Wool Trade in the Fifteenth Century", in Studies in English Trade in the Fifteenth Century. (ed.) E.E. Power and M.M. Postan, London, 1933, pp.47, 56.

(2) P.R.O., K.R. Various Accounts, Foreign Merchants 128/30, mm. 2 and 10.

(3) E.M. Carus-Wilson and O. Coleman, op.cit. pp.73-4.

(4) Schanz, op.cit., II 668-9.

(5) L. & P., XVI. 554, 662, 663. 'that men no longer dared to smuggle out of England corn, leather, cheese and such commodities.'

600 tons. (1)

English tin was beyond doubt the purest as well as the most abundant in Europe, and enjoyed a high reputation in Europe and the Levant. (2) Giacomo Soranzo's relazione to the Senate, in 1554, praised the wealth and high quality of the lead and tin exported by Venetian merchants:-

'Nel paese di Cornovaglia vi sono le miniere di piombo e di stagno, delli quali metalli si cava copie grande e di tanta bontà, che non si trovano de'simili in altre parte.' (3)

Andrea Trevisan reported, in 1498, with equal praise, the renown of English tin and pewterware:-

'Nasce ancora in detta isola piombo e stagno infinito; Et in quel purissimo stagno fanno vasi non manco lucidi che se fossero di fino argento; e questi sono di grande stima

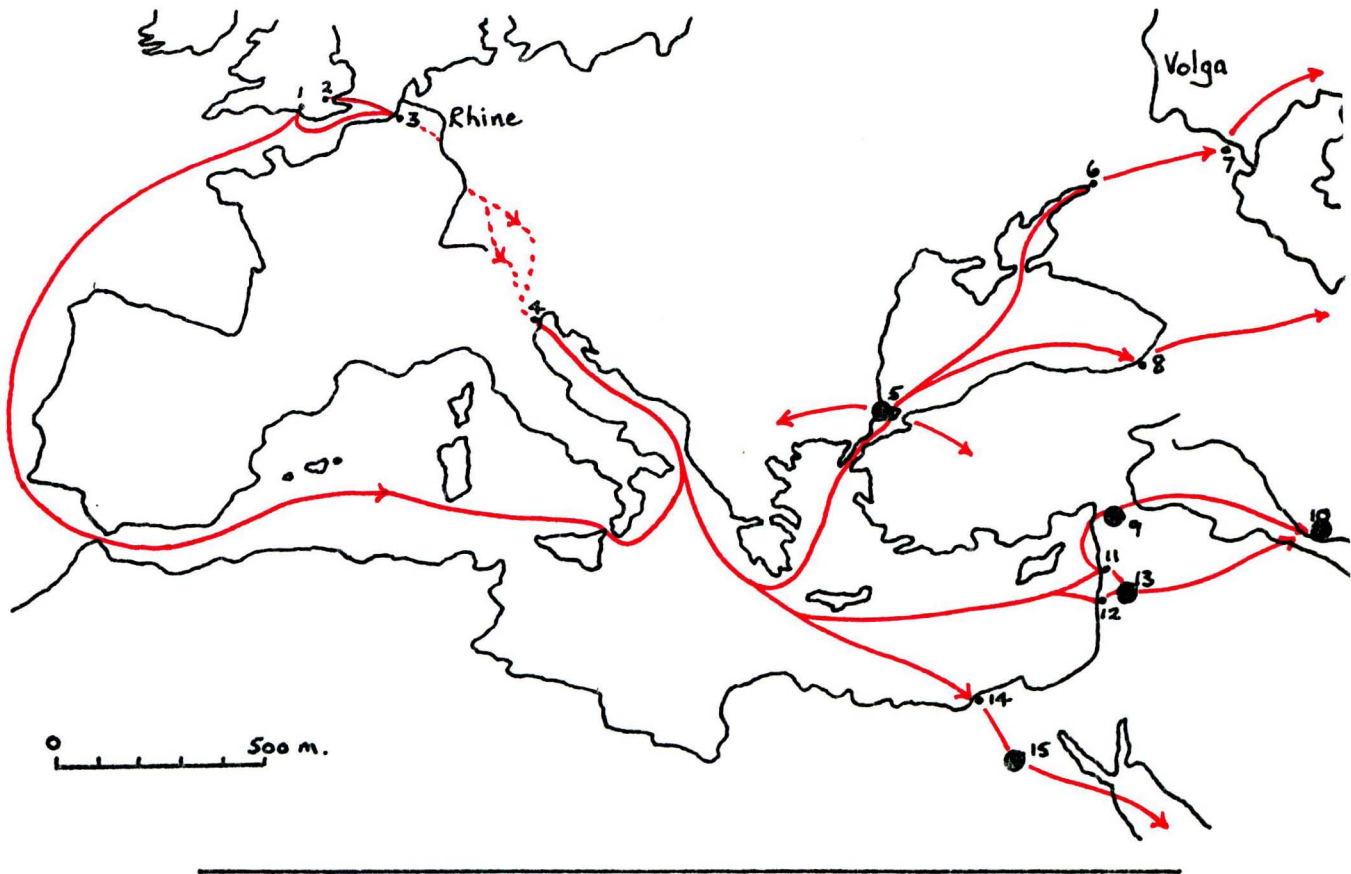
Tin was exported from England by Venetian merchants both in its unworked state and manufactured into pewter. (5) Pegolotti (6) gives some interesting details as to the form in which the tin arrived at Venice; "The tin is imported from Cornwall in England in large slabs of a long square form, each weighing about one and one third cantaro, Barbaresque weight of Majorca,

- (1) Ibid., XVII 220(9).
- (2) The best monograph on this subject is undoubtedly Dr. Hatcher's excellent work on the medieval English tin trade, J. Hatcher, English Tin Production and Trade before 1550, Oxford, 1973, from which much of the statistical information presented has been drawn.
- (3) L. Firpo, op.cit., p.310.
- (4) Ibid., p.47. Not only did the experienced eye of Venetian merchants praise the quality of English tin, the expert testimony of the celebrated Venetian technologist Vannocio Biringuccio confirms this, in 1540, he wrote of English tin, in his Pirotechnia, V. Biringuccio, Pirotechnia, (ed.) C.S. Smith and M.T. Gnudi, New York, 1942, p.60. "According to what I have heard from experienced men, the best and the most abundant that is found in the provinces of Europe is that which is mined in England."
- (5) Vannocio Biringuccio, lauded the pureness of English pewterware, which contained no lead:- "... the tin that comes from England, when worked as well as in cakes that show it to be pure, is much more beautiful and better in all works than is that made in Venice." Biringuccio, Pirotechnia, p.211.
- (6) Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, La Practica della mercatura, (ed.) A. Evans, Camb. Mass., 1936, pp.380-1.

where, and at Venice, they made bundles of tin rods, bound together by rods of tin." English tin reaching the Levant via Venice brought a higher price than tin arriving via other routes, "... because every one of the rods made at Venice has on it the stamp of San Marco, those of Venice get better price than those of Majorca or Provence, from two or three per cent, although one is as good as the other."⁽¹⁾ Tin exported from Venice in rods bearing the seal of San Marco found a ready market in the Levant and Middle East. The articles most in demand at Alexandria in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries were European metals, which the East lacked. Of these tin figured highly.⁽²⁾ Some tin and pewterware was redirected to the rest of Italy on arrival at Venice, but after local consumption⁽³⁾ had been catered for the bulk of English tin taken by the Venetian galleys was primarily to supply customers in the trading centres of the Middle East, Constantinople, Damascus, Aleppo, Alexandria and Cairo. So great was the temptation to ship tin and kerseys, the staple commodities of western trade with the East in this period, that the Senate was forced to issue a series of decrees commanding the captains of Venetian vessels to sail first to Venice so that the duties might be paid to the Republic, and the goods then re-exported in conformity with the regulations governing the staple in metals.⁽⁴⁾ Once in the Levant much of the tin was conveyed overland by caravan to Arabia, India and even as far as China.⁽⁵⁾ The price of English tin in the markets of the Middle East was very high, and the Venetians secured large profits on its sale. Andrea Barbarigo made a profit of 51% on the sale of his English tin.⁽⁶⁾ In the mid-sixteenth century English tin was said to fetch 4s. a lb. avoirdupois in Babylon, while the average price

- (1) Ibid., p.381. The Cantaro is given as from 140-150 lb.avoirdupois. These 'slabs' or large rectangular blocks of Cornish tin usually weighed between 200-300 lb. avoirdupois, and blocks of Devon tin termed 'slabs' half as much, J. Hatcher, op.cit., p.4.
- (2) See J.E. Thorold-Rogers, Economic Interpretations of History, London, 1891, p.106. Andrea Barbarigo, op.cit., pp.58-9.
- (3) By local consumption is meant not simply the city of Venice, but a wide area in northern Italy and the Adriatic Sea.
- (4) C.S.P.V., I, 328, 348, 492. II, 357.
- (5) J. Hatcher, op.cit., Map, p.118.
- (6) F.C. Lane, Andrea Barbarigo, pp.58-9. Venice and History, pp.118-25.

Distribution of tin by Venetians. Major trade flows.



Key.

- Major Venetian markets.
- Other markets.
- 1 Southampton.
- 2 London.
- 3 Antwerp.
- 4 Venice.
- 5 Constantinople.
- 6 Tana.
- 7 Astrakhan.
- 8 Trebizond.
- 9 Aleppo.
- 10 Baghdad.
- 11 Tripoli.
- 12 Beirut.
- 13 Damascus.
- 14 Alexandria.
- 15 Cairo.

in London was only about 6d. a lb.⁽¹⁾ Andrea Berengo, writing from Aleppo, in 1556, describes how English tin was used almost as a form of specie, and as such was an important element in Venice's Levantine trade, being exchanged by the Venetians for cloves at a fixed rate of exchange, and that the arrival of English tin from Venice was eagerly awaited by Venetians in Aleppo.⁽²⁾

From the fifteenth century the Venetians, who until then appear to have received much of their supplies of tin overland from Bruges,⁽³⁾ began to make regular shipments of tin direct from England to Venice in the Flanders galleys. Our earliest information on the export of tin direct to Venice on the state galleys is, in 1412, in a decree of the Senate for the fitting out of four galleys for the Flanders voyage, which contains an express stipulation that the tin is to be obtained from London.⁽⁴⁾ From that date there is ample evidence of the continuity of the direct tin trade to Venice.⁽⁵⁾ Yorkist commercial policy had a serious effect upon the Venetian export of tin, especially the export licensing system through which the crown endeavoured to raise extra revenue. The necessity of purchasing the licence to export tin and lead undoubtedly led to the high cost of trading in metals and must have encouraged customs evasion by Venetian merchants. The licensing of tin exports was revived for a time in the reign of Henry VII.⁽⁶⁾

The decline and final cessation of the Flanders galley voyages in the early sixteenth century possibly restricted the rate of growth of tin exports.⁽⁷⁾

(1) P.R.O., SP.12, 243 f335.

(2) U. Tucci, op.cit., pp.179-81, 183, 185-8, 191, 197, 199, 204, 219, 221, 224, 262, 264, 284 and Appendices 1-3.

(3) Pegolotti, op.cit., states that Florence and Venice received their tin supplies overland p.380. See also R. Hunt, British Mining, 2nd ed., 1887, p.45. G.R. Lewis, The Stannaries, Camb. Mass., 1903, pp.58-9. E.S. Hedges, Tin in Social and Economic History, London, 1964, p.16.

(4) C.S.P.V., I, 189.

(5) Ibid., I, 328, 334, 338, 341, 348, 399, 546, 829; II, 146, 201, 418, 481, 843, 899, 934, 1166; III, 139, 838; IV, 703.

(6) The wording of grants made by the crown to their factors clearly expressed that they were expected to sell licences. C.P.R., 1494-1509, 496, 460-1.

(7) J. Hatcher, op.cit., p.126.

Venetian shipping accounted for the bulk of recorded tin exports throughout the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The Venetians attained a pre-eminent position in the export of tin in this period, and it is not surprising to discover from the tables in Schanz⁽¹⁾ that the peaks of tin exports were attained in the first decade of the sixteenth century, when the Flanders galleys still regularly visited England. Sanudo reports that the Flanders galleys returned to Venice with very rich cargoes in this decade.⁽²⁾ Tin exports between 1510-47, following the withdrawal of regular galley voyages to the west in 1509, were on average 20% lower than they had been in the first decade of the sixteenth century.⁽³⁾ In 1492, a staple in all metals, excluding Derbyshire lead, was established at Southampton,⁽⁴⁾ but failed to establish the town as the centre for the tin trade.

Schanz's tables show that almost 28% of the export of English tin and pewter plate was in the hands of aliens during the reign of Henry VIII. Aliens exported an average of more than £2,000 worth of tin and pewterware annually from English ports between 1509-46, three quarters in the form of tin and the remainder as pewter vessels from the evidence presented by Schanz, almost 44% of tin and 92% of pewterware exported by aliens, between 1509-46, were shipped from London. Southampton accounted for 38% of tin and over 7% of pewterware. The amount of tin exported by aliens fluctuates widely from year to year but the early and later years of Henry VIII's reign witnessed the peaks in alien exports from London. From Southampton there is the familiar relationship between exports and the visits of the Flanders galleys, though after 1534 aliens continue to export large quantities of tin from the Hampshire port. Again there is ample evidence to show Venetian merchants resident in London exporting tin from Southampton in the state galleys and in private Venetian and English vessels. In the early sixteenth century, English tin

(1) G. Schanz, op.cit., II, pp.118-24.

(2) Sanudo, 1 Diarii VI,24 August, 1506. VII,13 May, 5 November, 1508. VIII,10 May, 1509.

(3) J. Hatcher, op.cit., p.126. The progressive decline of Southampton's trade in the early sixteenth century consequent upon the withdrawal of Venetian and Mediterranean shipping from the port was bound to have an adverse effect upon the export of tin from the port.

(4) C.P.R., 1485-94, 383-5.

once more found its way to Venice via the overland route. In 1513, for example, the Pasqualigo of London hoped to transport a large consignment of tin to Venice via Germany.⁽¹⁾ But increasingly, tin was exported in Venetian carracks as the Flanders galleys ceased to visit English waters. Carracks such as the 'Sancta Maria et Sanctus Edwardus' continued to visit England and freighted large quantities of tin, and pewterware,⁽²⁾ as did the 'Capella' owned by Tommaso Marcopolo,⁽³⁾ shipping tin direct to Venice from London and Southampton. In 1515 and 1524 large quantities of Cornish tin shipped on English and Venetian vessels were lost as a result of piracy in the western Mediterranean.⁽⁴⁾ Not only Venetians, but English merchants too exported tin and pewter plate to Venice on Venetian carracks. William Gresling, a London grocer, was among the Venetian merchants freighting Cornish tin on the 'Sancta Maria et Sanctus Edwardus'.⁽⁵⁾ In the final analysis the declining number of Venetian vessels visiting Southampton resulted in a slump in alien exports of tin from that port after 1509. Not surprisingly, therefore, London's tin exports, between 1467-1547, indicate a close correlation with the voyages of the Flanders galleys. In general terms the Enrolled Accounts indicate a sharp decline from 1467-1500 occasioned by the withdrawal of Venetian shipping from London to Southampton, and of the establishment of the tin staple at the latter port in 1492. The revival of London's fortunes in the export of tin came in 1510, as a result of Southampton's declining tin trade with the Mediterranean consequent upon the migration of much of the Mediterranean trade back to the port of London. The exports of pewterware naturally follow the same pattern.⁽⁶⁾

(1) Sanudo, 1 Diarii, XVII, 22 October, 1513.

(2) L. & P., XXI(11) 218. P.R.O., H.C.A., 13/5, 13/7, 13/93.

(3) P.R.O., H.C.A., 13/11 ff 123-4.

(4) Sanudo, 1 Diarii, XX, 15 June, 1515. An English bark freighted by Venetian merchants, which amongst other goods had a cargo of 500 cantare of tin and much lead. C.S.P.V., III 836, 838, 847, 848, Sanudo, 1 Diarii XXXVI, 14 June, 1524. The two carracks 'Zana' and 'Giustiniana' seized by Biscayan pirates on their return to Venice from England with English goods including much tin and pewterware.

(5) P.R.O., H.C.A. 13/5 ff 191-5; 13/7 ff 401, 409; 13/93 ff 192-4, 202-3, 241-6, 271-4, 275-8, 294-5, 301-3.

(6) J. Hatcher, op.cit., Appendix B. pp.164-93.

The lead mines of Derbyshire provided the other mineral export that appears frequently in the customs returns made on Venetian exporters.⁽¹⁾ Schanz's tables showing lead exports from London during the first few years of the reign of Henry VIII indicate that at a time when alien exports were high, lead exports by aliens from London were only slightly less valuable.⁽²⁾ Lead, together with tin, formed a significant part of the return cargo of Venetian vessels in the Tudor period, and the customs accounts for London in the 1530's show Venetian merchants exporting much lead along with the more familiar merchandise.⁽³⁾ In 1546, a royal warrant for the delivery of a large quantity of lead, to the Venetian merchant Domenico Erizzo, was made out by Sir Edward North, Chancellor of Augmentations.⁽⁴⁾ The early sixteenth century saw the erection of many new public buildings in Venice and the Veneto, and the period 1530-70 witnessed an expansion in the construction of mainland villas, notably along the Brenta, for private families.⁽⁵⁾ Lead formed an indispensable building material at this time, and was in short supply at Venice, which had little lead in its own mainland territories.⁽⁶⁾

One other commodity appears regularly in the customs accounts, and is frequently mentioned in the patents granted to the merchants of Venice as one of the principal items of Anglo-Venetian trade - hides. According to Schanz's tables⁽⁷⁾ about 70 lasts of 200 hides each were exported by both alien and English merchants annually from English ports during the reign of Henry VIII. Aliens exported about 54% of the total export of hides, mostly from London, which accounted for 58% of all hides exported by aliens. Once

(1) See W.G. Hoskins, The Age of Plunder, The England of Henry VIII 1500-1547, London, 1976. pp.165, 167-9.

(2) G. Schanz, op.cit., II. pp.118-9.

(3) P.R.O., K.R. Customs Accounts, E.122 82/8.

(4) L. & P., XXI (1).652. The lead bought by Erizzo from the King obviously originated from despoiled monastic property.

(5) J.S. Ackerman, Palladio, Penguin Books, 1966.

(6) See A. Alberti e R. Cessi, 'La politica mineraria della repubblica Veneta' - Roma, (Ministero dell'Economica Nazionale) 1927.

(7) G. Schanz, op.cit., II. pp.109-17.

more the customs accounts indicate the predominance of Italian merchants, and again Venetians figure large amongst the Italian exporters of hides. In 1515 Venetian merchants shipped 1,000 dozen calfskins on an English bark bound for Venice.⁽¹⁾ Five years later Niccolo Trevisan is recorded exporting 70 lasts of tanned hides from London on the Flanders galleys then in Southampton.⁽²⁾ Merchants like Domenico Erizzo frequently exported leather with their cloth, wool and tin from Southampton in the early sixteenth century,⁽³⁾ and the Hampshire port accounted for about 12% of the total alien export of hides at this time. An indication of the continued importance of English hides to the Venetian leather working industries in the mid-sixteenth century is illustrated by a decree passed in the Senate, in September, 1545, by which provision was made for the continued importation of English tanned hides, despite the protests of the Venetian tanners.⁽⁴⁾ The petition of the guild of shoemakers of Venice states that the hides tanned annually at the 'Zudecha' were insufficient for the numerous population of the city, and that if the trade was to prosper it was essential to obtain a regular and sufficient supply of tanned hides for the use of the shoemakers. The local supply had proved insufficient for the growing consumption of the local population and the decree, henceforth, permitted tanned hides of the best quality from England and Turkey to be imported, paying the usual duties. In future English tanned hides were to be sold in the public warehouses at Rialto, along with those tanned in Venice, but with the proviso that English hides were not to be purchased so long as there were still local hides in the Venetian slaughter houses. English hides, however, were preferred to local ones by the shoemakers. The Venetian ambassadors to England made frequent mention of the high quality of English and Irish hides in their relazione and dispacci

(1) Sanudo, 1 Diarii, XX, 15 June, 1515.

(2) C.S.P.V., III. 120.

(3) P.R.O., H.C.A. 13/93 ff 242-5, 271-4.

(4) A.S.V., Senato Terra, 34, f 71v.

in this period.⁽¹⁾ English hides sold at Venice at 2 soldi less per lb. (Venetian) than those tanned locally, and were 1 soldo per lb. more than hides imported from Turkey.⁽²⁾

Surprisingly we find that the Venetians were also involved in the export of grain and beans from England, commodities which, as perishables, normally reached a circumscribed market. However, much of the Venetian export of grain from England was to France and Flanders. Grain in this period provided a difficult cargo. In June, 1527, Antonio Duodo, a resident of London, who had exported 700 quarters of wheat to Calais requested a licence to send the wheat into France since the sea crossing had made the wheat defective and unsaleable in Calais.⁽³⁾ Nor is this the only reference to Venetians exporting grain. In 1498 a Venetian carrack bound from London to Venice loaded large quantities of wheat at Calais, doubtless of English growth, at the rate of 4s. 6d., sterling for 660 Venetian stai.⁽⁴⁾ During the crisis years, 1527-29, when much of northern and central Italy suffered from famine, heightened by the invasions of foreign armies,⁽⁵⁾ the Signory in desperation wrote to Marc'Antonio Venier, ambassador in London, requesting that he obtain licences to export wheat and wheat flour to Venice.⁽⁶⁾ To better facilitate the importation of English grain the Consiglio Dieci decreed, on 19 September, 1527, that all importers of wheat or wheaten flour from England were to receive

(1) L. Firpo, op.cit., passim.

(2) A.S.V., loc.cit..

(3) L. & P., IV (11)3209.

(4) D. Malipiero, Annali, pp.710-11.

(5) See B. Pullan, Rich and Poor, pp.240-4; ibid, 'The famine in Venice and the new poor law, 1527-29', Bulletino dell' Istituto di Storia della Società e dello Stato Veneziano, V-VI (1963-4). At this juncture Venice was involved in a life and death struggle with the Habsburgs, and consequently much of the grain supplies of central Europe, and the Kingdom of Naples were inaccessible to Venetian buyers. In the second half of 1527 Cyprus also fell into distress; it was at this critical juncture that the Signory wrote in desperation to London for permission to export English grain.

(6) Sanudo, 1 Diarii, XLVI, 20 October, 5 December, 1527.

a bounty of 40 soldi per staio,⁽¹⁾ and permitted the importation of the grain in Venetian or alien vessels chartered in the west. To further facilitate speedy shipment alien vessels were permitted to insure as Venetian bottoms.⁽²⁾ On 12 October following, the period of the operation of the bounty was extended to May, 1528. Moreover, the bounty was extended to beans and legumes imported from England. Unfortunately, Venier reported that there was also a scarcity of grain in England, owing to a series of poor harvests,⁽³⁾ and that grain could not be obtained, but he added that he had talked to the Venetian merchants in London who reported that there was much bean flour being ground at the mills, and he, therefore, proposed to obtain beans and bean flour. His one fear was that in making a demand for licence to export grain and beans he would exasperate the London populace.⁽⁴⁾ The merchants resident in London also wrote to France to obtain a licence to export French grain, as it was reported in London that France had adequate grain supplies. Whatever the final outcome of the negotiations in England, it is clear that in times of dearth and crisis at Venice, grain, beans and other legumes were eagerly sought in distant England, which normally had sufficient stocks for export.

The exports of Venetian merchants from England were probably rather more diversified than has been suggested above, and certainly more varied than is traditionally ascribed by English historians. No doubt the Venetians were involved in the export of a host of other miscellaneous commodities to the nearby French, Spanish and Netherlandish markets. Certainly a highly profitable trade was carried on with the ports of Rouen and Bordeaux, and numerous licences were granted to Venetians both to import French wines, woad, and other goods,⁽⁵⁾ and to export English goods to France.⁽⁶⁾

(1) Staiò, Venetian bushel, 1 staiò of Venice = 3 Florentine staiò, 1 Florentine staiò = approx. 1 Winchester bushel (approx. 64-lb. avoirdupois). The Venetian staiò, therefore, was approx. 3 Winchester bushels, or 192-lb. avoirdupois.

(2) A.S.V., Consiglio Dieci, Parti Comuni, 3 f90r.

(3) See W.G. Hoskins, 'Harvest Fluctuations and English Economic History, 1480-1619', Ag.Hist.Rev., XII pt.1 1964; ibid. op.cit., pp.85-8.

(4) Sanudo, 1 Diarii, XLVI, 20 October, 5 December, 1527.

(5) L. & P., II(11) 2999, 3502; III(1) 55(22); IV(11) 2599(13); V 1065(29); VI 1703; XIV(1) 403(49); XVII 137(49); XVIII 476(19).

(6) Ibid., XVIII. 476(19).

The Venetian trade with France must have involved the export of those English goods traditionally entering Anglo-French trade. Unfortunately these commodities of export are unspecified in the patents granted to Venetians.

THE COMMODITIES OF TRADE : IMPORTS

Venetian imports into England present us with a rich diversity of commodities. It is now over a century since Rawdon Brown⁽¹⁾ tabulated the produce and manufactures conveyed to England by the Flanders galleys. Since then the opulence and variety of the Venetian import trade has been referred to so often by English historians that it is in danger of becoming a commonplace, and can only be vitalised by the evidence of the port books of London and Southampton.⁽²⁾ The Particular Accounts for the two ports show Venetians importing goods of the most varied nature, ranging from foodstuffs and raw-materials to manufactured articles and luxury products. Unfortunately there does not exist an import index comparable with the information published with regard to exports by Schanz, and by Carus-Wilson and Coleman. Fortunately, Schanz has published tables for the import of sweet and malmsey wine, but further information must be gleaned from the Particular Accounts.⁽³⁾ For the present thesis the Particular Accounts have been used for illustrative rather than quantitative detail.

Venetian commerce was both complex and highly organised, and much of the merchandise brought to England in the Venetian state galleys had travelled across two continents before reaching England. The complexity of this trans-continental trade has been more than adequately treated elsewhere,⁽⁴⁾

- (1) C.S.P.V., Rawdon Brown, (ed.), London, 1864, vol.1, Table No.5, pp.CXXXV-CXXXIX.
- (2) All the commodities enumerated in this chapter are to be found in the records of the P.R.O., K.R. Customs Accounts, E122., for London and Southampton in the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and in the records of the Southampton customs and water-bailiffs kept at the Southampton Corporation Record Office. Only rare or unusual commodities are indicated by footnotes, or in those instances where Venetian records untouched by Brown are referred to.
- (3) Over forty years ago Professor H.L. Gray wrote of the courage that would be required to complete statistical data from the surviving port books. E. Power and M.M. Postan, op.cit., p.321., and we still await the scholar with the courage and flair for interpolation that the task would require.
- (4) W. Heyd, Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen Âge, Leipzig, 1886. F.C. Lane, Venice, A Maritime Republic, Baltimore, 1973. pp.68-85, 285-92. P. Laven, op.cit., pp.67-76. J.W. Parry, The Story of Spices and the Spices Described, New York, 1969.

and it is not the purpose of this thesis to add to the already extensive literature of the medieval spice trade. Outstanding among the commodities imported into England by the Flanders galleys were the spices⁽¹⁾ so eagerly sought and lavishly employed by the cooks of wealthy households. These were used in the preparation of fish and meat dishes, to mask the taste of salt and tainted flesh,⁽²⁾ as well as in sweetmeats, and hot spiced drinks. The scale on which the great noblemen, ecclesiastics, and wealthy merchants ate is a dietitian's nightmare, and the medieval menus⁽³⁾ still extant are of great interest in bringing home to us the extravagance of the upper classes of Tudor England, and of the astonishing resources of their kitchens.⁽⁴⁾ The Church vied with the Court and the nobility in the luxurious magnificance of its banquets, and while such gargantuan meals marked special occasions there was a good deal of extravagance and luxury at the tables of wealthy Englishmen.⁽⁵⁾ Many of these medieval recipes look alarming at first with

- (1) The medieval trade in pepper and spices of many kinds, in dyestuffs, medieval plants, and drugs from the Orient, generally goes under the inclusive name of the spice trade.
- (2) The popularity in Tudor England of strong seasoning for meat and fish was undoubtedly due to the mode of preservation employed at that period, and spices must have been added with relish to the rather insipid and pickled meats of the long winter months.
- (3) See T. Austin, (ed.), 'Two Fifteenth Century Cookery Books', E.E.T.S., 91, London, 1888. f. Furnivall, (ed.), The Babees Book, E.E.T.S., 32, London, 1868. J.C. Drummond and A. Wilbraham, The Englishman's Food, A History of Five Centuries of English Diet, London, (rev.ed.,) 1964. S. Pegge, (ed.), The Forme of Curry. A roll of ancient English cookery, compiled about A.D.1390 by a master cook of King Richard II, London, 1780. R. Tannahill, Food in History, London, 1973.
- (4) It was usual to have at least three separate courses of meat, followed by three separate fish courses, and each of the six courses was brought to a close by a dish of pastry, a sweetmeat or a jelly. J.C. Drummond and A. Wilbraham, op.cit., pp.57-62. W. Herbert, (ed.), The Rutland Papers, Camden Society Publications, XXI, 1842, and The Regulations and Establishment of the Household of Henry Algernon Percy, Fifth Earl of Northumberland, 1512, (ed.), Thomas Percy, Bishop of Dromore, 1827.
- (5) Archbishop Cranmer was forced to take steps to check the scandalous extravagance of the higher dignitaries of the Church in 1541. R. Warner, Antiquitates Culinariae, 1791.

pepper, ginger, cardamom, cinnamon, saffron, cloves, nutmegs and mace all in one recipe, and medieval cooks used a great deal more than a mere 'pinch' of these spices, if only because the starchy ingredients and creamy sauces, which reduced the saltiness, also reduced the intensity of the spices themselves.

Prior to 1504 the trade in these spices at London had been monopolised by the Venetians who imported them directly from Venice, but in the sixteenth century the Venetian monopoly in England was broken by the Portuguese.⁽¹⁾ Portuguese spices reached Europe in 1501, but at first they did not seriously damage the Venetian trade. In 1504, Portuguese spices were on sale in London,⁽²⁾ and in the same year the Venetian Levantine galleys found none at Alexandria and Beirut, ports at which they were accustomed to find three million pounds weight or more. In 1503 and 1505 Venetian ambassadors were sent to Egypt to negotiate better trading terms but failed.⁽³⁾ Increasingly anxious the Venetians even considered the building of a Suez canal.⁽⁴⁾ In 1506 a new committee, the Cinque Savii alla Mercanzia, was established to consider and advise upon Venice's future commercial development. Between 1508-20, there was little Venice could do, for she was immediately embroiled in a disastrous European war, involving her very survival, and in 1516-17 the Ottoman Turks overran Syria and Egypt presenting Venice with a new situation in the Levant.⁽⁵⁾ But the Republic's oriental trade showed remarkable resilience. The economic shock of the Portuguese incursion, and

- (1) Portuguese efforts to undermine the traditional spice routes by rounding the African continent had been encouraged by the Genoese and Florentines in an effort to break the Venetian monopoly. W. Heyd, op.cit., II, pp.521 et seq.; C. Verlinden, 'La colonie italienne de Lisbonne et l'economie portugaise,' in Studi in Onore di Armando Saponi, Milano, I, 1957.
- (2) Sanudo, 1 Diarii, V, 9 March, 1504. 380 tons of spices from Calicut arrived in the Thames in five Portuguese vessels to the consternation of the Venetian colony at London.
- (3) See J.E. Wansbrough, 'Documents for the history of commercial relations between Egypt and Venice, 1442-1512', L.S.O.A.S., Ph.D. Thesis, 1961-2.
- (4) F. Charles-Roux, 'L'Isthme de Suez et les rivalités européennes au XVI^e siècle,' Revue de l'histoire des colonies français, 1924. V. Magalhaes-Godhino, 'Le repli Venitien et Egyptien et la route du Cap, 1496-1533,' Eventail de l'Histoire vivante, Hommage à Lucien Febvre, Paris, 1953, II, pp.283-300.
- (5) See S.N. Fischer, The Foreign relations of Turkey, 1481-1512, Urbana, 1948. Ibn Iyas, 'The Otoman Conquest of Egypt,' Trans. W.H. Salmon, Oriental Translation Fund, n.s., XXV, London, 1921. G.W.F. Stripling, The Ottoman Turks and the Arabs, 1511-74, Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, vol.26, No.4, Urbana, 1942.

the panic that followed it did not last long. As early as 1505 Vincenzo Quirini, the Venetian ambassador at Antwerp, reported that the current price of pepper was 20 Flemish gros the lb.(Flemish) and ginger 24 gros, provided it came from Venice, as spices brought by the Portuguese were inferior, and fetched no more than from 16-18 gros Fl. the lb..⁽¹⁾ The Portuguese attempt at monopolising the shipping in the Indian Ocean and the East Indies did not succeed. Her officials proved venal, and Portugal did not possess the financial resources to maintain her stranglehold on her Muslim competitors, reinforced after 1526 by the reinvigoration of Mughal India.⁽²⁾ Venice had her own advantages. Her spices, notably those that suffered from lengthy sea voyages around the Cape, were generally of higher quality than Portugal's. The centuries of experience gained by Venetian merchants in the eastern markets was also important. Venice had traditional contacts and a lengthy experience in the spice trade. Her marketing techniques and her experience in the European markets were also superior. This can be judged by the fact that spices imported from Alexandria through Marseilles to Lyons were more expensive than Venetian spices trans-shipped overland from Venice to Lyons.⁽³⁾ These factors tended to counter, at least in part, the cheaper Portuguese transport costs to Antwerp. Finally, the Republic's experience in supplying the needs of the Levantine and Eastern merchants was important for the maintenance of the Venetian spice trade. Venice certainly experienced bad years. In 1499, 1500, 1504, 1506 and 1512, there was no pepper to be had at Alexandria or Beirut; 1517, 1519, 1523 and 1529, were also lean years for the trade as can be judged from the lack of spices on the Flanders galleys in 1518-19, and 1522-23. Yet, in 1515, Venetian pepper and ginger were still on the market at

(1) B.M.V., Ital. Cl.VII, Cod. DCCCCLXXXIX (9581) f46r. Letter dated Antwerp, 21 June, 1505, from amongst the dispacci of Vincenzo Quirini to the Signory.

(2) C.G.F. Simkin, The Traditional Trade of Asia, London, 1968, pp.171-80.

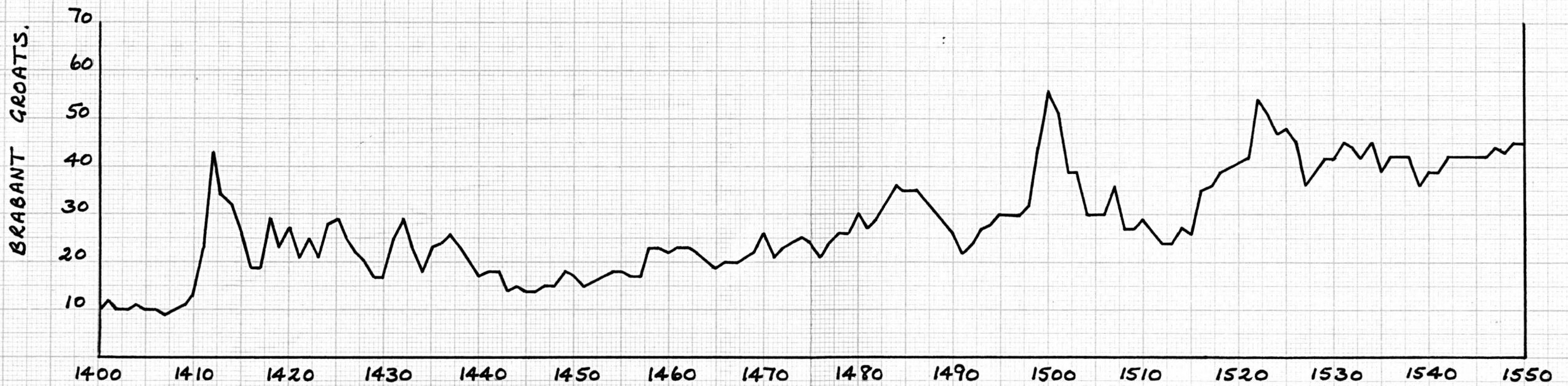
(3) R. Gasçon, 'Un siècle du commerce des épices à Lyons,' Annales, 15, 1960.

Antwerp in large quantities competing with the Portuguese trade.⁽¹⁾ In the 1520's Levantine spices almost totally vanished from the market at Antwerp, but in the 1530's they made a determined recovery, and in 1533-4, 85% of the spices at Lyons were Venetian. In an effort to combat the Mediterranean trade Portugal transferred her trade from Antwerp to Lisbon, but Venetian marketing techniques and experience were able to confound them. By the 1560's Venice had a spice trade greater than it had ever had in the past.⁽²⁾ From 1504, therefore, Venetian spices had to compete with those of Portugal, but the purchase price at Lisbon and Venice was roughly the same, while the demand in western Europe was higher than ever. Moreover, Portuguese competition, far from reducing the market cost of spices in western Europe, tended to increase the price of all spices reaching western markets.

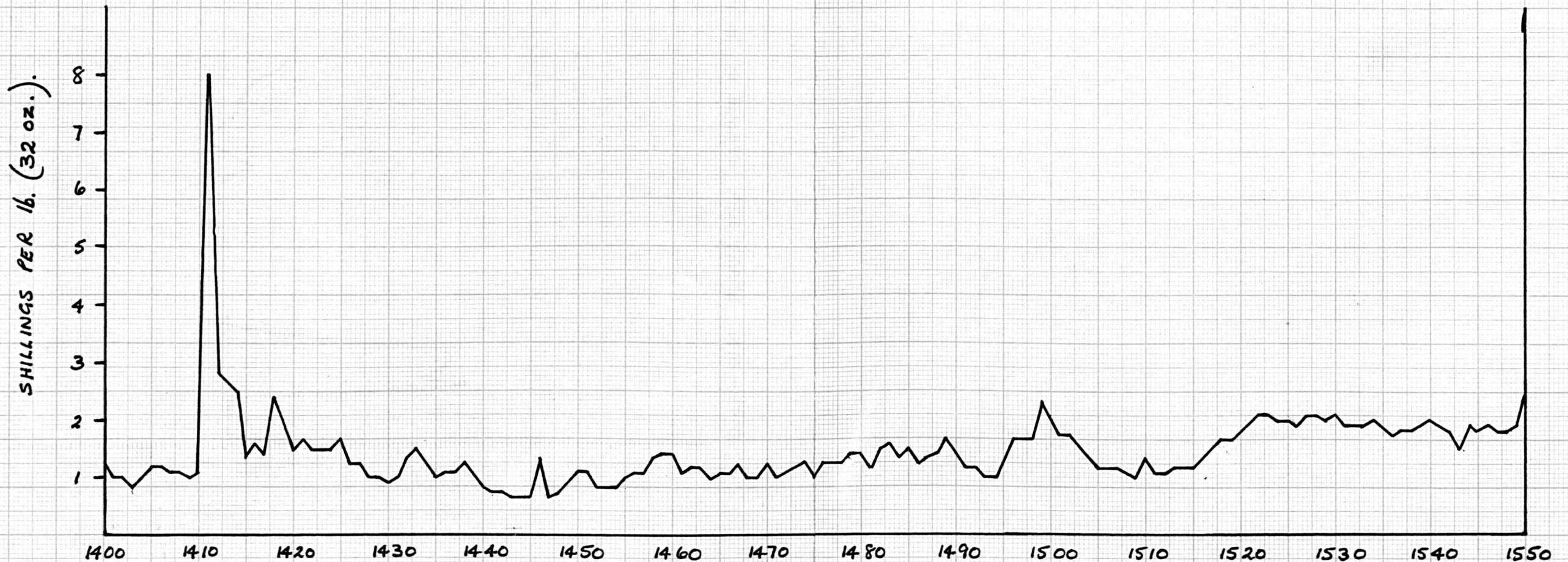
A distinct drop in the western price of spices, and particularly of pepper, between the three decades 1420-50 is indicated by Van der Wee's study of Antwerp prices, and this is reinforced by a study of English and French figures for the same period. See graphs 1-3, and Table III.⁽³⁾

- (1) The town ordinance of Antwerp, of 1508, makes a distinction in quality between Venetian and Portuguese pepper. In that year garbeleren on Portuguese pepper was paid twice as much. However, only when the Mediterranean spice trade became important again, in the 1530's, was an explicit distinction made between Portuguese and Venetian ginger and pepper, the Venetian being on average 5 to 6% more expensive. See Van der Wee, op.cit., II, p.306.
- (2) F.C. Lane, 'The Mediterranean Spice Trade: Its Revival in the Sixteenth Century', in Venice and History, pp.25-35.
- (3) H. Van der Wee, The Growth of the Antwerp Market and the European economy, The Hague, 1963, II, Appendix 26. J.E. Thorold Rogers, A History of Agriculture and prices in England, 7 vols. Oxford, 1866-1902, IV, pp.680-2. G.d'Avenel - Histoire économique de la Propriété, des Salaires, des Deurées, et de tous les Prix en général, 1200-1800, 5 vols. Paris, 1894-1912, vol.IV, 482-6, 502-6. Where gaps exist in Thorold Roger's table of prices I have taken the average price for the decade and inserted this into the gap. Fortunately few gaps do exist and where this is so the gaps are of little more than a year or two at most. The English series gives only approximate results since it rests upon a comparatively small number of data. The variations depend not only upon circumstances in the Levant, but also upon conditions in the lands of production, in England and the entire travelling route. The Venetian statistics are extracted from the following sources:- for the years 1411-18, 1421-27, 1431, A.S.V., Misc. Gregolin, busta 14, Soranzo Account Book, libro nuovo e libro vecchio, busta 8. Lettere commerciali, 1416. 1420, W.Stieda, Hansich-venetianische Handelbeziehungen, Rostock, 1894, p.103. 1429-32, B.M.V., Cronaca di Antonio Morosini, M.S. Ital., Cl.VII. Cod. 2049 (8332), II, 955, 1143, 1348. 1437-46, 1462, A.S.V., Archivi privati, Archivio Grimani-Barbarigo, Ledgers A and B. 1470-82, A.S.V., Misc.Gregolin, busta 15, Ledger Book of Alvise Michieli, 1497-1510, Girolamo Priuli, 1 Diarii, in Rerum Italiacarum Scriptores 2nd. ed., Tomo XXIV, Parte III, vol.1, Città di Castello: Casa Editrice, S.Lopi, 1911; vol.II, Bologna; Nicola Zanichelli, 1933; vol.IV Bologna; Nicola Zanichelli 1938; Marin Sanudo, 1 Diarii., eds. R.Fulin et al., Deputazione Veneta di Storia Patria, Venezia, 1879-1903.

GRAPH 1. AVERAGE PRICE OF PEPPER IN ANTWERP, PER lb. OF ANTWERP, IN MONEY OF ACCOUNT OF BRABANT, 1400-1550
 (Compiled from the tables of H. van der Wee, Growth of the Antwerp market, Appendix 26)



GRAPH 2. THE PRICE IN LONDON PER lb. (32 oz) IN STERLING, 1400-1550.
 (Compiled from the tables of Thorold-Rogers, History of Agriculture and Prices IV.)



GRAPH 3. AVERAGE PEPPER PRICES AT VENICE IN DUCATS PER CARGO 1410 - 1510.

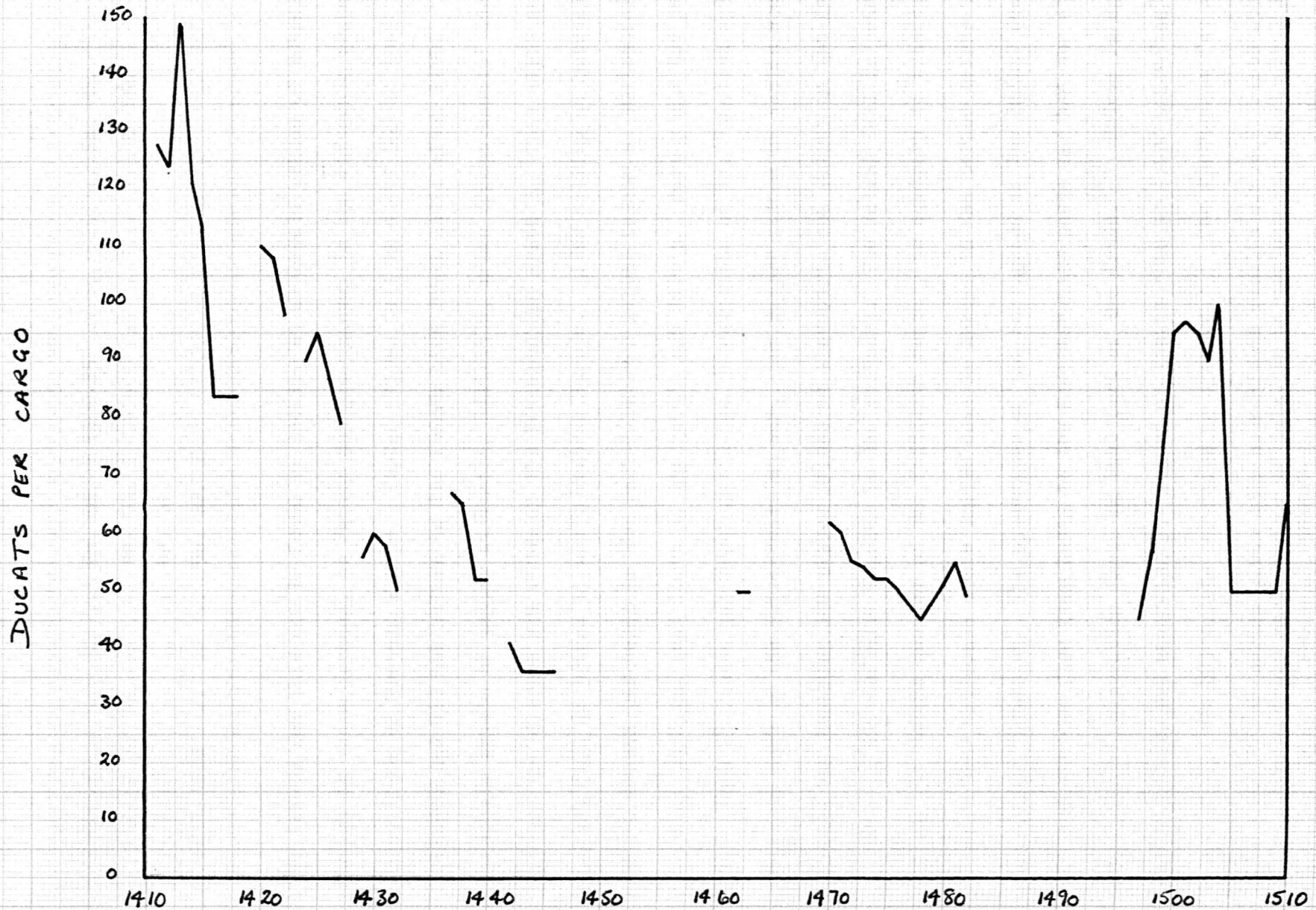


Table III

THE AVERAGE PRICE FOR PEPPER IN FRANCE, BY PERIODS OF TWENTY-FIVE YEARS, FROM 1400-1550, IN LIVRE TOURNOIS PER LIVRE. (1)

1400-25 6s. 8d.	1500-25 6s. 8d.
1425-50 4s. 0d.	1525-50 10s. 8d.
1450-75 6s. 3d.	
1475-1500 5s. 4d.	

The reason for this can be found by looking at wholesale prices of pepper at Venice in these decades, as Venice was pre-eminent in the fifteenth century spice trade of western Europe. Pepper prices fell by about 50% in that interval and did not return to its former high level until after 1498. Wholesale prices of pepper at Venice, 1411-1510, drawn from merchants' ledgers, letters and diaries are shown in the accompanying graph 3. This explains the general fall in prices in north-western Europe. After selling at between 83-157 ducats per cargo in the period 1411-26 pepper prices at Venice fell to 50 in 1432 and sank lower in the 1440's and 1470's. Rarely did the price rise above 55 ducats per cargo until the interruption of the Venetian spice trade in 1499 by the Turco-Venetian war. Low pepper prices at Venice are grounds for assuming low pepper prices at Alexandria and Beirut in the face of lack of any definite figures to the contrary. The actual fall in prices during the second quarter of the fifteenth century is contrary to traditional opinion that wholesale spice prices rose in Europe in the period before the Portuguese incursion. The appearance of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean interrupted the flow from India to the Mediterranean ports and had the effect of a rise in protection costs in that part of the trade.⁽²⁾ Prices in Egypt and Syria mounted accordingly. Prices at Venice rose to a correspondingly high figure, 80-100 ducats per cargo in 1502-04.⁽³⁾ The Portuguese for a

- (1) The French series gives only approximate results since it rests upon a comparatively small number of data. As in contemporary England: 1 livre = 20 sous; 1 sou = 12 deniers.
- (2) See F.C. Lane, 'National Wealth and Protection Costs', in Venice and History, pp. 376-8.
- (3) Girolamo Priuli, 1 Diarii., in Rerum Itali carum Scriptores, 2nd ed., Tomo XXIV, Parte III. vol.II (Bologna; Nicola Zanichelli, 1933,) 185, 197, 221, 242-3, 255, 282, 335.

time sold at high prices also, but, in 1506, they fixed their price at the equivalent of 52 ducats per cargo. The Venetian price of pepper followed the Lisbon price thereafter. In 1509, it was also at 52 ducats per cargo. The price of 52 ducats per cargo was a return to the general low level maintained by the Venetians in the later fifteenth century, but the Portuguese did not lower their prices below that level. Graphs 1-3 confirm the conclusion of F.C. Lane and V. Magalhães Godhino that during the decades when the Portuguese captured the bulk of the spice trade from the Venetians they did so by methods which raised prices in western Europe rather than lowered them. The Portuguese sea route to India did not lower the price of spices for Europeans, its immediate effect was rather to greatly increase their cost. After coming down to 52 ducats per cargo, in the period 1506-9, pepper prices rose, so that the Portuguese were receiving 66% more for their pepper in 1527 than in 1509. (1)

Along with the Venetian importation into England of these 'culinary spices' in the later fifteenth century came a wide variety of oriental drugs, and medicinal plants to restock the supplies kept by English apothecaries, monasteries and hospitals. Cassia and Senna were imported from Egypt, rhubarb from China, myrobalan plums from India, with other purgatives such as colocynth and scammony. From the East Indies came turbith, galingale and camphor. From Sokotra came aloe and Dragon's Blood (Dracaena Cinnibari), a solidified gum resin much used as an astringent by medieval apothecaries, and held to be good for stopping haemorrhages. A host of other drugs, aniseed, zedoary, gum benzoin, wormseed, borax, sal ammoniac, balsam, galbanum,

(1) See graphs 1 and 2, F.C. Lane, 'The Mediterranean Spice Trade', in Venice and History, pp. 25-34; 'National Wealth and Protection Costs,' ibid., pp.376-8. V. Magalhães Godhino, 'Le repli venetien et égyptien et la route du cap,' Évantail de l'histoire vivante: Homage à Lucien Febvre, Paris, 1953, II, pp.283-300; and, L'Économie de l'empire portugais aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles, Paris, 1958. D.F. Lach, Asia in the making of Europe, Chicago, 1965, I pp.143-7: also useful, F. Charles-Roux, 'L'Isthme de Suez et les rivalités européennes au XVI^e siècle', Revue de l'histoire des colonies français, 1924. M. Mirkovic, 'Ragusa and the Portuguese spice trade', The Slavonic and East European Review, 21, American series, II, 1943.

asafoetida, euphorbium, opoponax, elichrysum, 'Venice Sumach', 'calamus verus' or sweet flag, pellitory roots, melilot, cantharidae, tragacanth, verdigris, squinanth, sagapen and sarcocolla, all in great demand by English apothecaries, were also landed in England from the Venetian galleys. The Portuguese intrusion into the traditional spice trade does not appear to have diverted the drug traffic to the same extent as the traffic in 'culinary spices'.⁽¹⁾ Moreover, Venetian pharmacists enjoyed a high reputation for their drugs throughout Europe and many of the drugs exported to northern Europe by Venetian merchants were made up into medicines at Venice where the civic authority regarded the drug trade, and the preparation of drugs and remedies with great importance.⁽²⁾ The popularity of drugs and medicinal preparations in England reached its zenith in the sixteenth century. In July 1534, one Hieronimo Baptista Opizio wrote from Venice to Thomas Starkey, Cromwell's secretary, informing him that certain drugs required by 'Clement' (Armstrong?) were not to be found at Venice, but that he was able to despatch the rest, especially the 'lignum guaiacum' for 'morbus gallicus', and directions for a special purgative and an ointment. Opizio had also received an earlier request for a prescription to relieve pains in the joints.⁽³⁾ Venice was especially noted for a compound called 'Theriaca Venetia', or 'Venice Treacle', as it was popularly called in England, which contained no less than sixty-one ingredients.⁽⁴⁾ Another popular theriaca, 'Cairo Treacle', was also brought

- (1) N. Steensgaard, Carracks, Caravans and Companies: The structural crisis in the European-Asian trade in the early seventeenth century, Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies, No.17, Odense, 1973, p.101.
- (2) See C.J.S. Thompson, The Mystery and Art of the Apothecary, London, 1929. pp.61-2.
- (3) B.M., Nero B VI, 140. Opizio to Starkey, 29 July, 1534.
- (4) 'Theriaca Venetia' proved so popular that it was much copied by English apothecaries, and one apothecary claimed to have a theriaca which could compare with that of Venice. No doubt with the Venetian merchants in mind, he wrote to Queen Elizabeth: "It is very lamentable to consider that strangers do daily send into England a false and naughty kind of Mithridatium and Treacle in great barrels, more than a thousandweight a year, and utter the same at such a low price, for 3d. and 4d. a pound to the great hurt of Her Majesties subjects and no small gain to strangers purses." C.J.S. Thompson, op.cit., p.64.

to England by the Venetians.⁽¹⁾ Venice also supplied England with various ointments, oils, cerates, collyriæ, tablets, sacred earths, inhalations, and of course precious rose water from Persia.⁽²⁾ A glance at one of the many pharmacopœias printed at Venice in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries would give a fair idea of the numerous drugs and potions available at Venice, many of which must have entered Anglo-Venetian trade.⁽³⁾

From the late fifteenth century, and especially at the court of Henry VIII, there was a growing demand among the English nobility for perfumes, jewelry and luxury materials, which Venetian merchants like the Pisani and Priuli readily supplied. Spikenard, frankincense, incense, sandalwood and balsam, were imported, along with the chief ingredients employed in perfumery, civet, musk and ambergris. The arts of distilling exquisite smelling perfumes and preparing unguents, however, long remained the monopoly of Italy. By the 1530's the use of perfumes had become general among the English wealthy. Henry VII spent large sums on perfumes, as his privy purse expenses testify; in 1492, a box of pomand cost him 10s., and in 1498, he paid £17. 5s. for musk and ambergris.⁽⁴⁾ Henry VIII spent lavishly on perfumes, jewels, and precious stones.⁽⁵⁾ In 1510, he purchased precious stones and jewels from the Venetian government through the ambassador in London, Andrea Badoer, to the value of 100,000 ducats.⁽⁶⁾ He also made large purchases through individual

(1) Prospero Alpino, the celebrated Paduan physician and naturalist, wrote, in 1591, that Theriaca of Cairo was much sought after in the west, and that Englishmen then came to Cairo to purchase it. Ibid., p.63.

(2) A collyrium called Hierax Venetia was considered a very powerful application for afflictions of the eye; it consisted of myrrh, gum ammoniac and verdigris.

(3) e.g. Manilius', Luminara Majius, printed at Venice in 1496.

(4) H. Norris, - Costume and Fashion, III, The Tudors, Book I, 1485-1547, London, 1938. pp.44-5.

(5) P.R.O., Exchequer, Treasury of Receipts, Misc. Books, E36/215 passim. B.M., Royal M.S. 7C XVI, ff 18-32.

(6) Sanudo, 1 Diarii XI, 9, 16 November, 1510. 2 January, 1510. A.S.V., Senato, Secreta, Deliberazioni. 43, f 155r. The purchase was made in the form of a loan to the Republic by Henry VIII in order to preserve Venice against France. There is no record of the return of the jewels, or the repayment of the loan.

Venetian merchants and jewellers,⁽¹⁾ like Andrea Thomaso, from whom the king purchased a diamond, in 1536, for £1,520.⁽²⁾

From the Venetian possessions in the eastern Mediterranean, and from the Levantine markets came more bulky products to swell the Venetian imports into England. From Cyprus and Syria came large quantities of camlet, a fine woven material made from goats hair. Large quantities of camlet were imported by the Flanders galleys, in 1518, in place of spices much to the annoyance of the King and Cardinal Wolsey.⁽³⁾ Turkish and Persian carpets, and silks, together with Syrian cotton, also formed a large part of the Venetian imports, along with bales of raw cotton-wool from Syria and Egypt. In Candia, Rotimo, Coron, Modon, Monemvasia, Nauplia, and from other Venetian held islands and cities in the Aegean and Ionian Sea, Venetian carracks freighted sweet wines, malmsies,⁽⁴⁾ muscadels, romaneys, muscadines and tyre,⁽⁵⁾ direct to England. From Cephalonia and Zante came 'raisins of Corinth' or currants, raisins, oil and turpentine. From North Africa came Cairo carpets, sugar, cotton, and saltpetre, with ostrich plumes, ivory and occasionally black slaves brought from West Africa across the Sahara. Also from Africa

(1) L. & P., XIV (II) 435 (19), 781; XXI (11) 332(48).

(2) L. & P., XI, 381.

(3) P.R.O., K.R. Remembrances, Customs Accounts, E122 209/3, and B.M.V., Ital. Cl.VII, MCXIX (7449), Letter of 21 June, 1518.

(4) Malmsey or malvasia wine was grown in Crete and Cyprus, but the better quality wines, Malvasia Candiae, Creticum vinum, Malvasia Garba, and Rotimo Malvasia from the different districts of Crete were considered the best.

(5) Romaney was an inferior kind of malmsey made at Corcyra, Cephalonia, and Zante, and was often sold by the Venetians as malmsey although by a city ordinance, of 1353, it was forbidden to sell romaney as malmsey in London. A.L. Simon, History of the Wine Trade, London. 1906. I, p.213. Muscadel on the other hand was held in great estimation in England, and fetched higher prices than any other kind of sweet wine; it was made from the muscat grape grown in Crete. G.B. Croce, Della eccellenza e diversita dei vini, che nella Montagna di Torino si fanno, Torino, 1606. C.S.P., Domestic Series 1581-91, p.423. Tyre wine is of uncertain origin but was probably a sweet wine shipped from the islands of the Tyrrhenean Sea, especially Ischia and Capri. A.L. Simon. op.cit., II p.240.

came the monkeys and parrots destined as household pets for wealthy Tudor families, and the seeds of the malaquetta pepper, commonly called 'grains of paradise' much used by English apothecaries.⁽¹⁾

Venice was renowned throughout Europe for its luxury textiles, and large quantities of expensive velvets, satins and silks were sent from the lagoons to England. The Venetians specialized in the sale of high quality patterned materials of silk and velvet. Bales and chests of these costly fabrics were landed from the galleys at Southampton and London. Damask, a patterned material wholly woven of silk, which was very expensive, and sold in London for about eight shillings per yard, arrived in various colours and as rolls of white damask embroidered throughout in gold, with black, green, tawny, and crimson satins.⁽²⁾ Other Venetian specialities were brocades, brocatels, cloth of gold or silver of Venice, cloth of gold of Damask, baudekyns, crimsons, crimson cloth of gold of Damask, satins, velvets, tinsels, tissue and taffeta.⁽³⁾ So great was the demand in England for these expensive materials that they frequently cost over £7 per yard.⁽⁴⁾ Considerable

- (1) E.W. Bovill, The Golden Trade of the Moors, London, 1968, p.105.
- (2) Much of the information on Venetian and Italian textiles of this period was obtained in the excellent library at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, and also from the members of the department of textiles who were very kind and helpful in answering all my questions. Also H. Norris, op.cit., III passim, which is an invaluable guide to this subject.
- (3) A brocade was a silken material, generally woven with a floral pattern in gold, silver, or in contrasting colours, with the pattern raised. A brocatel was a large patterned silk brocade. Cloth of gold of Venice was an especially rich material woven with a warp of pure gold threads, and a weft of silk, and was considered to be the finest of all Italian cloths of gold. Baudekyn, similar to cloth of gold, was woven with both warp and weft of gold thread. Cloth of gold of Damask, one of the more fashionable, and more expensive Venetian fabrics was woven with a pattern of gold warp and weft. Crimsons were another fine quality speciality of Venice, woven with a coloured silk, and had the appearance of a colour and gold shot. Crimson cloth of gold of Damask was similar to the preceding material but had a shot ground and a coloured pattern or vice-versa. Often, especially in the case of velvet, the ground was of gold and the pattern in a colour, or the pattern gold on a coloured velvet ground.
- (4) L. & P., II(2) pp.1490-1511: III(1) 113, 580, 852, 869, 1001, 1285; (2) 2305, 3375, pp.1490-1510, 1548-1559; VI 583, 1608: VII, 243, 336: X 913. B.M., Royal MS. 75 XIV, ff 83, 125. Harl.M.S. 6,069. f 1. Also W. Campbell, Materials for a History of the Reign of Henry VII, 2 vols., London, 1873. I, pp.178-83, 419.

quantities of Venetian satins were also offloaded from the galleys at Southampton.⁽¹⁾ Smaller quantities of tinsel, a textile of gold or silver, not so brilliant as cloth of gold or so substantial, was also imported from Venice, in all colours, and was used extensively for trimming dresses. Tissue and taffeta were similar thin materials; in 1525, Stefano de Nadal despatched a small quantity of tafetta to England overland via Antwerp.⁽²⁾ Although never as fine as Lucchese velvets, Venetian velvets also reached England in large quantities, in black and white, tawney, russet, green, azure and murrey, and especially the more expensive velvets in two piles, in which the pattern was raised above the ground.⁽³⁾ Venetian luxury textiles imported into England in the sixteenth century provide an excellent example of a medieval industry specifically catering for a distant market. There is a good deal of evidence to suggest that certain luxury cloths were specially designed for the English market in the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII. The pine motif dominated the pattern design in use on fabrics in late fifteenth century England (the pine often being enclosed by ogival lines) and Venetian patterned cloths catered for this taste. In the early Tudor period the pine began to assume the character of the pomegranate in velvets and silks imported from Venice. Another favoured pattern of the English at this time was the oleander, a bold pattern enhanced when woven in rich coloured velvet on gold or silver cloth of silk. Venetian brocades of the early Tudor period, embodying the pine and pomegranate fruit, blossom, buds, and leaves, in three or four colours, in velvet and silk, found a ready market in England. The pomegranate was the personal badge of Katherine of Aragon and its pre-eminent rise in patterned fabrics dates from her marriage to Henry VIII. The motif was much in evidence upon the woven fabrics imported from Venice. The oleander and pomegranate

(1) P.R.O., K.R. Customs Accounts E122. 142/11.

(2) A.S.V., Misc. Gregolin, busta 12 bis, Letter of 12 May, 1525. Stefano de Nadal to Martin Federigo.

(3) 'Plain velvets' rather than 'velvets in two piles' were popular throughout the reign of Henry VIII, but there was also a vogue for 'figured velvets'; these were woven in two colours with two and sometimes three piles, and many of these came from Venice where the technique had reached perfection by the early sixteenth century.

persisted in the first three decades of the sixteenth century.⁽¹⁾ In the later years of the reign of Henry VIII Venetian patterns comprise the conventionalised ocanthus branch and leaf with the central portion of the ogival pattern occupied by a vase-shaped motif from which sprang all kinds of flowers, but chiefly the Tudor rose. This motif made its appearance on Venetian cloths about midway through Henry VIII's reign replacing the pomegranate design at about the time of the King's divorce from Katherine.

Mediterranean produce and manufactures form a further category of Venetian imported commodities into England. Southern Italy and Sicily formed an important element in the Venetian galley trade with north western Europe. Saffron, olive oil, liquorice, oak galls, black furs, and lambskins from Puglia, and sulphur, brimstone, prunes, raisins, and sugar in various forms from Sicily, were taken on in the Sicilian ports. From Palermo, noted for its confections, came sugar loaves, sugar candy, comfits, barrels of succado and citronade, fruits preserved in syrup and candied orange peel. At Messina the Venetians loaded large quantities of raw silk most of which went to the London guild of female silk spinners.⁽²⁾ The purchase of raw silk and silk goods imported by Venetian merchants into England was made either through brokers or directly through the London silkwomen; for example, the revel accounts of Richard Gibson, for 1510-22, indicate large purchases of silk of Venice and Cyprus from Elizabeth Philip, Elizabeth Warcop, Margaret Davy and other silkwomen.⁽³⁾ In February, 1511, Mrs. Warren received £18. 12s. for a fringe of damask gold, weighing by Venice weight 140 oz; whilst, in 1520, Elizabeth Philip received £246. 0s. 11d. for 1,137½ oz. of Venice gold, and £2. 17s. for silk points and Venice ribbon. Venetian and Italian silks

(1) It must be born in mind that the design of patterned materials in the Renaissance period remained in vogue for many years.

(2) M.K. Dale, "The London Silkwomen of the Fifteenth Century", Econ.Hist.Rev., IV, 1934. pp.329-32.

(3) L. & P., II, (2) Addenda; III, (2) Addenda, passim. P.R.O., SP.232, passim. Queen Anne Boleyn made large purchases of Venice silks, and at her death an inventory of her debts was drawn up which shows that she owed a Mrs. Vaughane, £68. 4s. 1½d. for silks. L. & P., X 914.

were of a far superior quality to those produced in England, and presented a serious threat to the nascent English silk industry. Between 1455-1504, five acts of parliament were passed forbidding the importation of twined silk and silk goods of the lesser variety, such as ribbons, points, lace girdles and cauls.⁽¹⁾ 'Piece goods' continued to be imported, however, by the act 19 Hen. VII, which gave freedom to denizen or stranger to import "all other maner of Sylkes, aswell wrought as rawe, or unwrought to sell at pleasour."⁽²⁾

Venetian vessels en route for England picked up further produce and manufactures in the Balearic Is., and Iberia. At Majorca olive oil, raisins, figs, and maiolica ware were loaded.⁽³⁾ In the ports of Granada and Andalusia the Venetians loaded further supplies of raw silk, and Mediterranean fruits, oranges, lemons, pomegranates, figs, Valencia almonds and raisins, with barrels of oil, white Castillian soap, and bales of grain, all important commodities for the English woollen cloth industry. Leatherwork, wax, quicksilver and liquorice were also loaded in Spain along with Iberian sweet wines, notably sack and bastard so popular in England. Occasional visits were made to Lisbon to pick up cork and further supplies of wine.

A large variety of miscellaneous commodities were imported by Venetian merchants from the Low Countries. From Holland and Zealand, Brussels, Cambrai and Nieuwerkerke came linens, from Tournai and Courtrai came bales of cloth. Felt hats, bonnets, hoods, cloaks, bodices, laces, and knitted gloves appear in the customs accounts with a host of other miscellaneous household wares and leather goods, such as boots, shoes, and belts. Baltic furs, marten, squirrel, jennet, miniver, fox and wolf were purchased, from Hanseatics at Bruges and Antwerp, and imported into England. Venetian involvement in the Anglo-Netherlandish trade was deeply resented by English merchants, and much of the miscellaneous trade

(1) The plain part at the back of women's caps for keeping the hair in place.

(2) Rot.Parl. V, 325a. VI, 222b. Stats. Realm, 19 Hen. VII, c.21.

(3) For the Venetian involvement in the Majorcan maiolica trade see C.D.E. Fortnum, Maiolica, Oxford, 1896. pp.109-110. and C. Platt, and R. Coleman-Smith, Excavations in Medieval Southampton, 1953-1969, Leicester, 1975.

was curtailed by the acts of 1463, and 1484.⁽¹⁾ Also well represented amongst Venetian imports from the Netherlands are the more costly hangings and coverlets, for the canopied beds of the period. From Arras, Tournai and Brussels came rich tapestries and curtains to cover bare walls. In 1524, Antonio Duodo, resident in London, received two cloths of Arras from an Easterling merchant depicting the story of "Christ's mawndye", and his praying in the garden of Gethsemone.⁽²⁾ Carpets manufactured in the Low Countries first arrived in England, in the Flanders galleys, in the early sixteenth century alongside the more traditional Oriental and 'Turkish' carpets.⁽³⁾

The list of commodities imported into England, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by Venetian merchants, as compiled by Rawdon Brown⁽⁴⁾ from the documents relating to England in the state archives at Venice is at best a simplification of a very difficult and complex subject. For the early Tudor period such simplicity is even less appropriate. Venetian fraterne⁽⁵⁾ usually had branches or agents in Bruges and Antwerp, as well as at London, whilst Venetian merchants resident in England were also actively involved in the French, Spanish and Portuguese trades. Indeed, there is nothing peculiar to the early Tudor period concerning the involvement of resident alien merchants in many areas of English overseas trade, but for the early sixteenth century the overwhelming importance of Antwerp as a centre of international trade does introduce new and complex factors. Re-exports of Venetian goods from Antwerp, between 1510-1563, formed a significant part of Anglo-Venetian trade, and this serves to emphasise the complexity of tracing the provenance of 'traditional

(1) Stats. Realm, 3 Ed. IV, c.3., I Richard III, c.12. These measures were largely ineffective.

(2) L. & P., IV (1) 979 (1).

(3) S.C.R.O., SC5/4 23.

(4) C.S.P.V., I, Appendix, Table No.5, pp.CXXXVI-CXXXIX.

(5) For an explanation of fraterna, and the organisation and operations of private Venetian business firms in the west see Ch.IV, below.

Venetian commodities of trade', or of attempting to assess the value of Venetian goods imported into England in this period. Spices, luxury cloths and munitions, for example, were as likely to have originated in Portugal, Genoa, Florence, Milan or elsewhere, as from Venice. Moreover, Venetian owned goods were frequently imported by aliens on behalf of Venetians resident in England, or by Venetians in the name of Englishmen or aliens for the purpose of avoiding discriminatory taxes and piratical attack by enemies of the Republic.

The traditional pattern of Anglo-Venetian trade of earlier centuries was radically transformed in the early sixteenth century. Since 1317, the Flanders galleys had brought gross spice, small spice, and a host of other high cost produce and manufactures to England, not only from Venice and her overseas empire, but from Italy, Iberia, the Levant, Arabia, Africa and the Orient. In the mid-fifteenth century the anonymous author of the 'Libelle of Englysche Polyce' listed with bitterness the luxury goods brought to England by Venetian merchants, in Venetian vessels:-

" The grete galees of Venees and Florence
Be wel ladene wyth thynges of complacence,
All spicerye and other grocers ware,
Wyth swete wynes, all manere of chaffre,
Apes and Japes and marmusettes taylede,
Nifles, trifles, that litell have availed,
And thynges wyth whiche they fetely blere oure eye,
Wyth thynges not endurynge that we bye.
For moche of thys chaffre that is wastable (1)
Mighte be forborne for dere and dyssevable:"

By the second decade of the sixteenth century the complaint is heard that the Flanders galleys no longer bring such valuable commodities as in the past. (2)
The imports of the Flanders galleys in 1518-1519 are illuminating in this respect. Cardinal Wolsey expressed, in no uncertain terms to the Venetian ambassador, his disappointment over the poor quality of the cargoes landed that

(1) G.F. Warner, The Libelle of Englysche Polyce, Oxford, 1926. pp.18-19.

(2) C.S.P.V., II 1042.

year. The royal customer's account of these cargoes shows Wolsey's complaints to have been justified. The three galleys carried a very large quantity of sweet wines - 465 butts, 4 tuns and $6\frac{1}{2}$ hogsheads, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ barrels - a good indication of the lack of spices at Venice that year. Excluding the wines, all the other goods unloaded at Southampton from the galleys totalled only £928. 13s. 8d. according to the customers' valuations! The disruption of the spice trade meant that only £13. 10s. 0d. worth of pepper was unloaded that year, a meagre £5 worth of ginger, and only 10s. worth of cloves. The biggest single commodities in the galley cargoes were camlet, which the customers valued at £375. 6s. 8d., raw silk, worth £163. 6s. 8d., and oil, £177. 10s. 0d. The remainder of the cargo was made up of galls, fruit, sugar, syrup, glassware, writing paper, satins, furs, three Turkey carpets, and a monkey, justifying the author of the Libelle.⁽¹⁾ A century earlier, in 1410, the two London galleys, patrons Cristoforo Soranzo and Giovanni Morosini, unloaded cargoes at London worth £5,421. 18s. 0d. according to the royal customers.⁽²⁾ In 1421, a single galley unloaded cargo at London valued at approximately £5,650, as declared for customs purposes, a considerable part of which was made up of silk 'raw' and 'fine', velvets embroidered and brocaded with gold of Venice, damask, tartarine, kerchiefs of Cyprus and kerchiefs of cotton.⁽³⁾ In 1491-2, the Venetian galleys had unloaded satin, velvet, damask, sarcenet, and cloth of gold, valued at £1,656. 6s. 8d. alone.⁽⁴⁾ When the galley traffic was at its height in the mid-fifteenth century the cargoes frequently averaged total customs valuations of £5,500. Thus the muda of 1518-19 was a great disappointment to the English crown. At Antwerp the Flanders galleys also met with a cool reception from the city authorities that year. The bulk of

(1) P.R.O., K.R. Customs E122 209/3.

(2) P.R.O., K.R. Customs E122 76/32.

(3) P.R.O., K.R. Customs E122 72/55.

(4) P.R.O., K.R. Customs E122 142/11.

the cargoes unloaded at Antwerp in 1519 included fruits from Palermo, dried prunes from Naples, currants from Patras, dates from Messina, sweet Tyre wine, books both printed and in manuscript, glassware, Italian earthenware and other manufactured articles. It was to be the last visit of the galleys to the city.⁽¹⁾ After 1509 spices, drugs and Mediterranean produce formed only a small fraction of Venetian galley imports; however, the decline of this aspect of Venice's trade with England was matched by a growth in other areas.

The Particulars of Customs for London, for the second quarter of the sixteenth century, show quite clearly that re-exports from the Netherlands dominated the trade of Venetians in London, and that expensive luxury cloths figure most prominently among these imports. The extent to which the Italians continued to control the trade in cloths of silk and gold is indicated in a letter from one Laurence Stubbes to Cardinal Wolsey, dated 1 July 1530.⁽²⁾

Stubbes had been instructed to search the city of London for cloths of baudekyn and cloths of gold, both Venetian specialities, but had been unsuccessful.

The shortage he attributed partly to the large quantities bought recently by the King and Wolsey, and partly to the war in Italy. In fact the Florentines, Genoese and Lucchese probably had a much firmer grasp on the market in silks than the Venetians who specialised in more costly and elaborately worked fabrics. In 1511, however, the Venetian consul in London wrote of the great injury that the Venetian and Genoese merchants would suffer as a result of a proclamation that only lords and knights might wear silk.⁽³⁾ Throughout his reign Henry VIII purchased cloth of silk and gold on a vast scale from

(1) J. Wegg, Antwerp, 1477-1559, London, 1916, p.177.

(2) L. & P., IV, (111) 6495.

(3) L. & P., I (1), 937. C.S.P.V., II, 138. The first parliament of Henry VIII passed a lengthy sumptuary law in 1510, (Stats. Realm. 1 Hen VIII c.14); the act of 1510 was not renewed in the following Parliament which met in 1512, but a proclamation against wearing costly apparel was issued in 1511. The act, however, had little effect and remained largely a dead letter, as can be judged by its repeated re-enactment during the King's reign. Stats. Realm., 6 Hen VIII, c.1., 7 Hen VIII, c.6., 24 Hen VIII, c.13. B.M., Harl. M.S., 442 ff118. 122. See also W. Hooper 'Tudor Sumptuary Laws.', Eng. Hist. Rev., 30, 1915.

Italian merchants.⁽¹⁾ Licences were often granted to Venetian merchants conditional upon the King being offered first choice of the goods imported.⁽²⁾ Cardinal Wolsey, during his years of power, was another large consumer of Venetian fabrics to adorn York House and Hampton Court.⁽³⁾ So too were the English aristocracy, and even the wealthier merchants of London and Southampton.⁽⁴⁾

After 1510 Venetian manufactured goods increasingly reach England via the Antwerp market, and the direct sea route became the preserve of private shipping freighting bulk cargoes. With the disappearance of the Venetian state galleys, the Venetians temporarily lost their monopoly of the Mediterranean trade to Ragusan, Spanish, and English shipping. Privately-owned shipping at Venice suffered a severe slump at the end of the fifteenth century, which gave English shipping the opportunity to push its way into the sweet wine trade with Crete. By bounties and commercial privileges, however, Venice made a determined effort to build up her private shipping again, and in these efforts the Republic was extremely successful.⁽⁵⁾ By the 1540's the Venetians had regained their former monopoly of the sweet wine trade with England. Professor Tenenti has estimated that from the mid-sixteenth century there were five or six large carracks belonging to Venetians making the voyage to England every year,⁽⁶⁾ carrying mainly wine, and currants from Cephalonia, Zante and Crete. Occasionally small consignments of silks, camlet, glassware, precious stones,

(1) The King's Book of Payments I, 9 Henry VIII contains numerous references to such transactions. P.R.O., Exchequer Treasury of Receipt, Misc. Books, E36/215.

(2) L. & P., XXI (11). 332 (48).

(3) R.J. Minney, Hampton Court, London, 1972, pp.11-13, 18, 21. N. Williams, The Cardinal and the Secretary, London, 1975, p.55.

(4) H. Norris, op.cit., passim. A.A. Ruddock, op.cit., pp.153-4.

(5) F.C. Lane, 'Venetian Shipping during the Commercial Revolution', in Venice and History, pp.3-24.

(6) A. Tenenti, Piracy and the Decline of Venice, London, 1967, p.58.

musical instruments, books and paper were also shipped by carrack to England, along with quantities of oil, galls, figs, and cotton. From the 1530's there are frequent references to Venetian carracks at London and Southampton. The English Particulars of customs, and evidence from Venetian diarists and private letters indicate that two to three vessels per year were often engaged on the London route at this time. The sudden withdrawal of English shipping from the Mediterranean in the 1530's⁽¹⁾ was no doubt a contributory factor in the prosperity enjoyed by Venetian shipping between 1530-70, after which period English vessels once more re-entered the Mediterranean. The customs figures published by Schanz, which distinguish between sweet, non-sweet and malmsey wine, indicate that aliens imported 16,859 tons of malmsey wine into England during the reign of Henry VIII.⁽²⁾ Alien imports of malmsey wine, which were almost entirely in the hands of the Venetians, amounted to 38.6% of total malmsey imports, and of these alien imports 80.7% were imported into London; whilst of the rest, 16.2% were imported through the Hampshire port of Southampton. In the later years of Henry VIII's reign, however, two important factors emerge: imports of malmsey wine became increasingly monopolised by aliens, as Venetian shipping re-established itself, and as Venetian shipping and capital was released by the end of the Italian wars; secondly, alien imports became increasingly centred on London. (See accompanying graph 4.)

The evidence of the English customs accounts fully supports Hakluyt's description of English penetration into the Mediterranean in the early sixteenth century,⁽³⁾ and shows also the recapture of the Mediterranean trade by Venetian shipping in the 1540's.⁽⁴⁾ The attempts of the Venetians

- (1) See G. Connell-Smith, Forerunners of Drake: a study of English trade with Spain in the early Tudor period, London, 1954.
- (2) Schanz, II, pp.128-150.
- (3) R. Hakluyt, Principal Navigations, III pp.1-50.
- (4) See G.D. Ramsay, English Overseas Trade in the Centuries of Emergence, London, 1957. pp.36-38.

ALIEN IMPORTS OF MALMSEY WINE, 1509-1547.

BUTTS

2000

1800

1600

1400

1200

1000

800

600

400

200

1509

1519

1529

1539

1509

1519

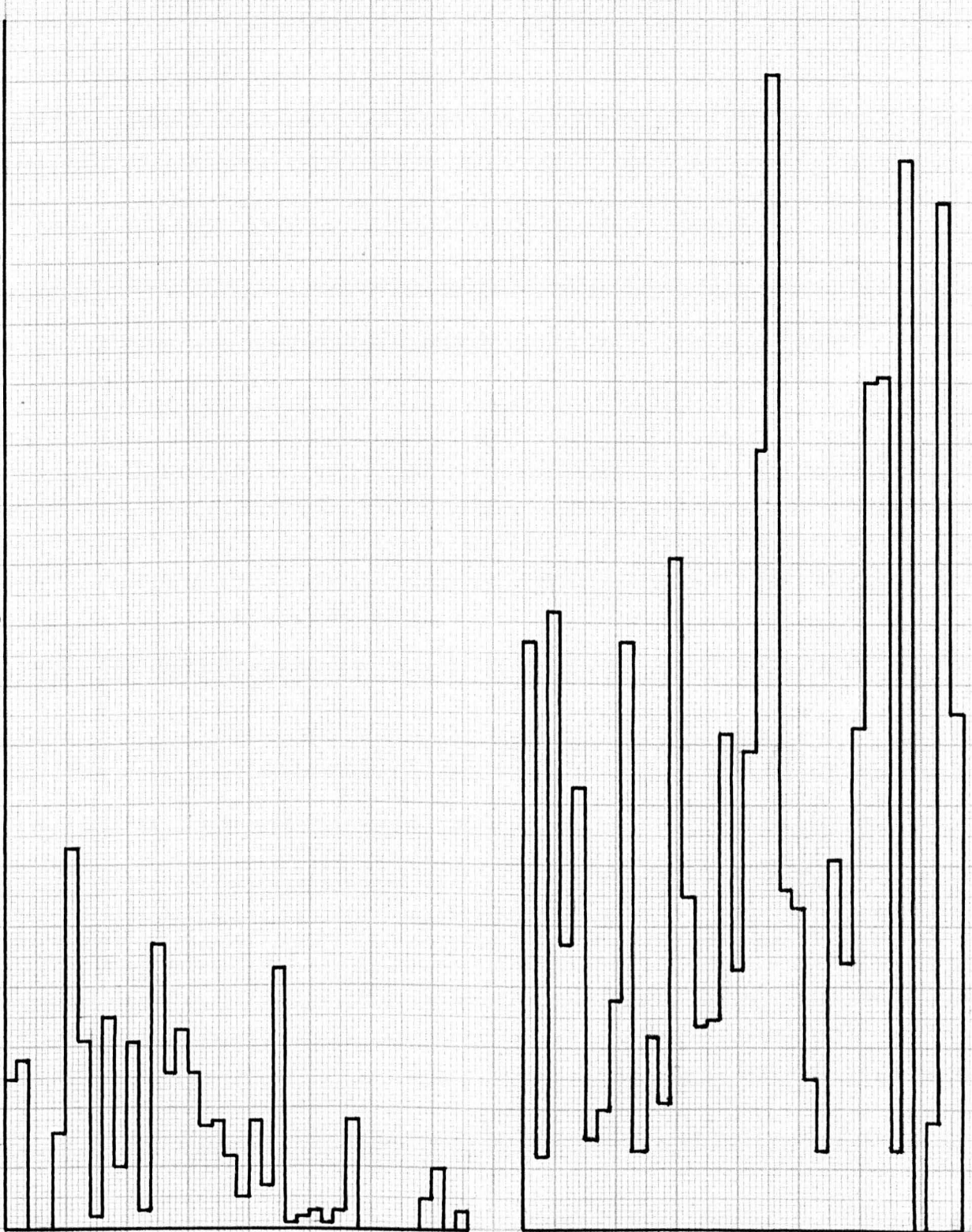
1529

1539

SOUTHAMPTON

LONDON

(GRAPH 4)



during the reign of Henry VII to exclude Englishmen from the Candian wine trade, partly to protect Venetian shipping and partly in an attempt to thwart the proposed English wool staple at Pisa⁽¹⁾ had prompted retaliatory measures which resulted in the Venetians repealing their higher duties, though without reciprocal concessions. In 1500 the unavailability of Venetian carracks for the northern route caused the senate to authorize the Tiepolo and Pesaro to send their wine from Candia to the west by any available foreign vessel, excepting a Ragusan.⁽²⁾ By the reign of Henry VIII there is abundant evidence of English activity in the Cretan wine trade.⁽³⁾ Why English voyages to the Mediterranean became less frequent after 1534, and ceased altogether after 1552, is a difficult question. Various explanations have been advanced - in the increasing importance of the overland routes, in the Turkish threat, in the increased competition of Mediterranean shipping, in the unfavourable relations with Spain, and in the generally unfavourable economic climate.⁽⁴⁾ Whatever the cause, private Venetian shipping, which had always supplemented the Venetian galley trade - notably as carriers of wine - and which has been largely overlooked by English historians dazzled by the luxurious cargoes carried by the state galleys of Venice, was already reappearing in the early 1530's.⁽⁵⁾ Genoese and Spanish shipping was also hired in the second and third decades of the sixteenth century to bring Candian wines to London for

(1) C.S.P.V., I, 569, 606, 609, 627, 764, 798, II, 908, 1244.

(2) C.S.P.V., I, 806.

(3) A.S.V., Senato, Mar, 17 f126r, 18 ff50r, 63r. Senato, Deliberazioni, Secreta, 48 f15v. Collegio, Lettere, Secreta, Filza 5, 14 February, 1517. B.M.V., Ital. Cl.VII, Cod. MCXIX (7449), Letter Book of Sebastian Giustinian, 24 February, 1515. 8, 9, 19, 31 March, 1516. 5 May, 1516. 17 June, 1516. 23 July, 1516. 20 November, 1518. 25, 26 February, 1518. 29 April, 1519. 21 July, 1519. Sanudo, 1 Diarii XX, 20 April, 1515. P.R.O., E.C.P. 572(12). R. Hakluyt, Principal Navigations III, pp. 2-6.

(4) See F. Braudel, The Mediterranean, I, p.615, and G. Connell-Smith, op.cit., passim.

(5) C.S.P.V., I 742, 765, 766a. P.R.O., H.C.A. 3/2 f96; H.C.A. 13/93 f247. The latter case involves a cargo of currants brought from Zante.

Venetian merchants,⁽¹⁾ and by the last years of Henry VIII's reign the sweet wine trade was firmly back in Venetian hands.

The distances and time involved in the import into England of Candian wine was an inevitable source of litigation. In the medieval period wine was always vulnerable as a cargo, and London vintners often refused to pay for overdue and bad Cretan wine.⁽²⁾

Venetian merchants were also actively engaged in the lucrative Gascon wine trade despite the 'navigation act' of 1486.⁽³⁾ The enforcement of the act, as always, depended upon the King's prerogative. Several licences to import and sell Gascon wine were granted, between 1517-47, to Venetian subjects by Henry VIII.⁽⁴⁾ Three merchants in particular - Antonio and Jacopo de Basiano, and Giovanni Pietro de Brescia - appear to have had a great interest in the Gascon trade. Giovanni Pietro alone received three separate licences, between 1517-26, amounting to a total sum of 1,100 tons; while in May, 1532 the Venetian Jew, Marco Raphael, received a licence to import 600 tons.

An analysis of the cargoes of Venetian vessels at the end of the fifteenth century reveals a degree of specialisation, and a significant shift in the traditional cargoes of the state galleys. In the sixteenth century Venetian imports into England are increasingly dominated by manufactured articles, many of them manufactured at Venice itself. We have dwelt at some length on the trade in Venetian luxury cloths, as these formed a significant part of Venetian imports into England in the Tudor period. Glassware was another specialisation in which the Venetians had no competition until much later in the sixteenth century. Muranese glass products were increasingly

(1) P.R.O., H.C.A. Libels 11, ff47-9, 55: P.R.O., E.C.P. 849(50), 1037(50).

(2) Viz. the London vintner Thomas Gyttons. P.R.O., E.C.P. 672(1).

(3) Stats. Realm. 1 Hen VII c.8. The act of 1486 endured only until the next parliament, and in fact lapsed until re-enacted with additional clauses in 1489. Stats. Realm., 4 Hen VII c.10.

(4) L. & P., II (11) 2999, 3502; III (1) 55 (22); IV (11) 2599 (13); V 1065 (29); XIV (1) 403 (49); XVII 137 (49).

despatched to England from the late fifteenth century. They arrived in the form of coloured glass for church windows, coloured drinking glasses and bowls, glass beads and buckles, and more costly Venetian crystal glassware to adorn the tables of wealthy English households.⁽¹⁾ During the reign of Henry VII large numbers of ivory combs, amber and glass rosaries, precious silver framed mirrors, carved tables and chairs, and skilfully wrought chests of cypress wood appear amongst the customs accounts of the Venetian galleys. Tennis balls and playing cards, ivory horns, perfumed gloves, embroidered handkerchiefs of Venice gold or silver fringed with tassels, ventarole or silk fans, clavichord wire, lutes, trumpets and other musical instruments, with sheet music and breviaries. Ecclesiastical goods also formed an important element of Venetian imports into England, vestments of 'Lord Alexander', stoles, glass rosaries and crucifixes were brought ashore from the galleys, with tall wax candles, incense, frankincense, missals and psalters. Another specialist area developed in the early Tudor period was the trade in books and stationery. The Venetians imported into England bales of parchment, writing paper, and 'paper royall',⁽²⁾ with oak galls and copperas for the manufacturing of ink. The arrival of various consignments of books in the galleys reflects the increasing standard of culture in Renaissance England. In 1488 a London merchant, Richard Brent, imported five chests of books from the Venetian galleys in Southampton. In 1495 seven chests of books, some printed and some copied by hand, were brought to England by the Flanders galleys, and similar consignments appear in other years following this. In 1504 twenty cases of books were landed by the Flanders galleys at Southampton, which the customers note as libri pro cantato, most probably church music books and sheet music.⁽³⁾ In the later fifteenth and

(1) See C. Platt, op.cit., passim.

(2) Paper in reams which, according to the Oxford English Dictionary, was so called from the reign of Henry VII.

(3) S.C.R.O., Port Books 1494-5, 1504-5; P.R.O., E.C.P. 123/63.

early sixteenth centuries there was an active trade between England and Venice in manuscripts. An increasing number of Englishmen, imbued with the developing humanist spirit of the renaissance, were eager to secure reproductions of Greek literary treasures unavailable in the west. With the market for beautifully copied manuscripts rapidly increasing in the latter half of the fifteenth century, the reputation of Cretan copyists spread throughout Europe. The Venetians quickly seized upon the commercial possibilities of the trade in reproduction manuscripts,⁽¹⁾ and Venice became the natural centre for the dissemination of Greek texts. The market for Greek manuscripts subsequently declined under the impact of printed works, but even in the sixteenth century the demand for Cretan manuscripts remained buoyant.⁽²⁾ In England the fairs of St. Giles and Stourbridge were noted for their manuscript dealers, but as a whole the details of the trade in manuscripts in England are obscure. The Venetian book trade with England in the early Tudor period well illustrates the shift taking place in Venetian commerce from the more traditional commodities of Venetian trade to the new manufacturing industries. In England the official attitude to the book trade was liberal at a time when mercantile policy was developing in other fields. The policy in regard to book production was different simply because there was as yet nothing to protect. An act of 1484 contained a clause which established free trade in books.⁽³⁾ Approximately two-thirds of

(1) See H. Omont, Fac-similés de manuscrits grecs des XV^e et XVI^e siècles, Paris, 1887, pp.9-15. H. Pernot, 'Les Crétois hors de Crète,' in Études de littérature grecque moderne, Paris, 1916, pp.129-94. D.J. Geanakoplos, Byzantium and the Renaissance: Greek Scholars in Venice, Harvard, 1973.

(2) During the sixteenth century the Aldine press at Venice produced many Greek works, but the manuscript remained a more economical form of production. Until about 1550 there were few printers who cared to risk the expense of providing Greek founts of type for the satisfaction of a very limited market, nor were there sufficient typesetters with any great familiarity with the Greek language.

(3) Stats. Realm., 1 Rich. III c.9.

the persons connected with the English book trade before 1535 were aliens.⁽¹⁾ Venetian merchants involved in the book trade were handicapped, however, by having to pay double subsidies. An act of 1534 finally brought the book industry under national control, repealing the act of 1484.⁽²⁾ Fine Italian and Venetian maiolica wares were also unloaded from the galleys along with Venetian lace and other manufactures from Venice and the cities of the terra ferma. The inclusion of a greater proportion of Venetian and Italian manufactures among the galley cargoes of the early Tudor period indicates a steady transformation of the Anglo-Venetian trade as Venice developed largely new forms of economic activity to compensate for losses in traditional spheres. In part this greater specialisation is also due to the changing demands of the English court which became more sophisticated in the early sixteenth century.

If, however, despite the disruption and final cessation of the Flanders galley voyages, Venetian merchants in London continued to figure prominently as importers of fine cloths and manufactured goods, and by the mid-sixteenth century had largely recaptured the Mediterranean trade in sweet wines and currants, other commodities traditionally brought to England by the Flanders galleys ceased to figure so prominently among Venetian imports into England. The Venetians had formerly monopolised the spice and drug trade with England, but it is difficult to find evidence that spices formed a significant part of Venetian imports after the first decade of the sixteenth century. Spices formed only 2% of the total galley imports, excluding wine, in 1519.⁽³⁾ Whilst notions that the Portuguese discoveries permanently crippled the Venetian spice trade have long since been discounted,⁽⁴⁾ and despite large quantities of Levantine spices reaching Antwerp

(1) M. Plant, The English Book Trade, London, 3rd ed., 1974, p.28.

(2) M. Plant, op.cit., p.30. The act of 1534 though directed against aliens was ostensibly concerned with them as introducers of seditious literature.

(3) P.R.O., K.R. Customs, E122. 209/3.

(4) F.C. Lane, 'The Mediterranean Spice Trade: Its Revival in the Sixteenth Century', in Venice and History, pp.25-34.

after the revival of the Venetian spice trade in the 1540's, ⁽¹⁾ there is very little evidence of Venetian merchants in London importing spices on a large scale during the reign of Henry VIII. Whilst English merchants can frequently be found buying spices at the Antwerp market ⁽²⁾ the English customs accounts of the middle and later years of the reign of Henry VIII do not suggest, in the absence of a more systematic analysis, that Venetian merchants in England were greatly involved in the spice trade. Certainly Venetian spices were reaching Antwerp in the early sixteenth century, and were of better quality than Portuguese spices, but to obtain a true estimate of Venetian spices reaching England via Antwerp after 1510 would be impossible as Venetian and Portuguese spice imports cannot be differentiated with any degree of certainty. Venetian spices, however, did continue to reach England in the early sixteenth century, and their importation possibly increased towards mid-century, but Venetian merchants no longer dominated the import of spices to England. Besides the cargoes of the galleys still visiting Southampton at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the London subsidy of poundage accounts for 1508-9 show Venetian merchants importing significant quantities of what may have been Portuguese pepper, cinnamon and brazil wood into London. ⁽³⁾ By 1534-5 spices appear much less frequently in the English account books. The English court records, not in themselves a perfect guide, tell a similar story. Between 1529-32 a chance case appears in the records of the Chancery Court concerning the sale of sandal wood by the Venetian, Girolamo da Molin, to an English grocer, John Cache, ⁽⁴⁾ and one wonders how much information relating to the continued activity of Venetian merchants in the spice trade in England still remains hidden in English and Venetian archives.

(1) F. Edler de Roover, 'The Market for Spices in Antwerp, 1538-44', R.B.P.H., XVII, 1938, pp.215-8.

(2) eg. Stephen Vaughan, L. & P., XXI (1) 265.

(3) P.R.O., K.R. Customs, E122 81/2.

(4) P.R.O., E.C.P. 616 (12).

Another commodity disappearing rapidly from among the list of Venetian imports into England was bowstaves. In the reign of Edward IV⁽¹⁾ the Commons had petitioned that the Venetians be compelled to import bowstaves for the defence of the realm, and Richard III had received a similar petition from the London bowyers.⁽²⁾ As a consequence it was enacted that the Venetians must import 4 bowstaves with every ton of goods and 10 with every butt of wine. At the beginning of his reign we find Henry VIII ordering large consignments of yew bows from the Cà da Pesaro and other Venetians,⁽³⁾ but the supplies of yew bowstaves became increasingly difficult for the Venetians to obtain due to the Turks, who controlled the areas from which the Venetians traditionally received them. Imports of bowstaves became increasingly the province of the Hanseatic merchants in the sixteenth century.⁽⁴⁾ Bowstaves, however, rapidly gave way in the sixteenth century to other military requirements, and in this Venetian merchants figure prominently. The Venetians received several orders for Brescian armour for footsoldiers, and more exquisitely manufactured pieces for noblemen.⁽⁵⁾ In the early years of Henry VIII's reign, and again later in the reign, the King bought large quantities of military supplies from the Venetians, the export of which required a licence from the Signory of Venice. In 1512 Venetian merchants resident in England were doing little business save supplying the King with munitions and arms, including saltpetre, brimstone, and guns of all descriptions.⁽⁶⁾

(1) Rot. Parl. 14 Edward IV, Petitions of Parliament, 47.

(2) Stats. Realm., 1 Richard III, c.13.

(3) A.S.V., Senato, Deliberazioni 43, f75r; Senato, Mar, 17, f126r, 18, f50r. Sanudo, 1 Diarii, XI, 4 September, 1510. XIX, 7 December, 1514. L. & P., I(1) 1463(iv); I(11) 2831(i); 3613(ii) 123; V 429, 438.

(4) Schanz, II 655-6; Dasent, A.P.C., p.192. ff51, 56. L. & P., I (ii) 2832, v, (79), vi, (51), 2668 (23), 2832 iii, (61), v, (60), vi (59); 3613, i (41), ii (157).

(5) See Ch.VII, below. pp.

(6) Sanudo, 1 Diarii XVI, 16 March, 1513.

The bulk of the brimstone and saltpetre imported by the Venetians came from Southern Italy.

Venetian merchants were also concerned with satisfying the more pacific needs of the English court. The role of the Venetians as providers of fine luxury cloths has already been discussed; the court also consumed vast quantities of miscellaneous Venetian imports, including edging ribbon, gold and silver thread, lace, silk ribbons and kerchiefs, jewels, comfits, ostrich feathers, perfumed gloves and reams and reams of coloured paper used in the many court revels. The King's Book of Payments⁽¹⁾ illustrates the diversity of these goods, and shows many dealings in jewels and goldsmiths' work, whilst throughout the reign royal licences were granted to individual Venetians for the importation of such commodities. The Pisani⁽²⁾ and Donà⁽³⁾ fraterne were heavily involved in despatching pearls and gems to England. More comprehensive than most was the licence granted to the Milanese, Giovanni Battista Boroni, in January, 1538, by which Boroni might import jewels, precious stones, cloth of gold, and all other things of goldsmiths' work, ribbons, points, gold and silver thread, silk wrought and unwrought, and other things necessary for the King, Court and Commons.⁽⁴⁾ It is known that Boroni had many dealings with the Venetians⁽⁵⁾ and one suspects that the licence granted to Boroni, which significantly relates to many specifically Venetian specialist commodities, was resold or shared with Venetian merchants.

Thus far the Venetians have been portrayed as essentially importers into England of luxury goods, a sphere of commerce to which they are traditionally

(1) P.R.O., Exchequer, Treasury of Receipts, Misc. Books. E36/215.

(2) See Ch.IV, below.

(3) Museo Correr, Donà dalle Rose, b411, b412. A.S.V., Testamenti Notarili, 1250. III, 150.

(4) L. & P., XIII (1), 190 (8).

(5) See Ch.VII below, pp.

ascribed by English economic historians, but it would be a great distortion of the facts to see them simply as such. A variety of commodities vital to English industry were offloaded from Venetian vessels. The English wool and woollen cloth industries were the principal beneficiaries. Along with the essential soaps⁽¹⁾ and oil used in the cleansing stages, the cloth finishing industries also benefitted from the wide variety of mordants, pigments and emulsifying agents brought by Venetian merchants, such as borax, oak galls,⁽²⁾ copperas, mastic, madder, woad, sanderlac,⁽³⁾ gum tragacanth, brazilwood, grain, indigo, ochre, saffron, lapis-lazulæ, litharge, zinopre, minium, turquoise, shellac, verdigris and verditer.⁽⁴⁾ In the early sixteenth century Venetian merchants resident in London carried on a profitable trade in Toulouse woad, despite the Act of 1489 restricting its importation by alien merchants.⁽⁵⁾ Several Venetians shipped woad to England direct from Rouen, and Bordeaux where there was a small resident Italian community.⁽⁶⁾ Toulouse woad was also re-exported by Venetians from Antwerp, along with madder.⁽⁷⁾ In 1543, Hieronimo and Vincenzo Michieli of London were licensed to despatch a crayer of 50 tons, manned by Venetians, and 'freighted in England with any legal merchandise', whereupon they were to return with 'certain merchandise which they have in

- (1) Black and white varieties of soap were imported into England by Venetian merchants from Venice itself, Candia, Apulia, Sicily and Spain.
- (2) Oak galls were also used in the tanning industry.
- (3) A binding compound much used in the medieval dyeing industry.
- (4) A green earth, with a green, bluish-green and more frequently a light blue colour, was usually prepared by adding chalk to a solution of nitrate of copper. Verditer cost about 6s. 9d. per lb. in 1506, and 1s. 2d. per lb. (avoir-du-poid) in England in 1558. O.E.D., X, ii, (1928.)
- (5) Stats. Realm, 4 Hen VII c.10.
- (6) Y. Renouard, 'Du nouveau sur les hommes d'affaires italiens du moyen âge', Annales 7, 1953.
- (7) L. & P., XIX (1) 278 (59).

the city of Rouen'.⁽¹⁾ Licences to import Toulouse woad were granted to Venetians by the King, in 1517, 1519, 1526, 1532 and 1539.⁽²⁾ The quantities imported varied from between 200 and 600 tons. In 1532, the Venetian Jew, Marco Raphael, was licensed to import 600 tons of Toulouse woad.⁽³⁾ English and alien shipping appears to have been used equally in this trade. In 1549, for example, two Venetian merchants, resident in London, Evangelista da Fonte and Giacomo Ragazzoni, received 530 baletts of woad out of certain Flemish hoys coming from Antwerp.⁽⁴⁾ Toulouse woad and Gascon wine were the principal commodities dealt with in France, and the licences granted to Venetian merchants by the Crown enabling them to take part in the French trade were generally for the importation of both these commodities. Italian merchants are known, however, to have imported a variety of commodities into England from Rouen in Henry VIII's reign, including canvas, pack thread, fine thread (notably Lyon thread), dried prunes, silks, raw silk, beads, peas, fruit, fruit in syrup, and white cloth.⁽⁵⁾ Small quantities of canvas were brought to England by Venetians from France and the Netherlands for use in the production of sarplars to pack the raw wool.⁽⁶⁾ Various miscellaneous commodities of importance to nascent English industries were also imported by the galleys and carracks of Venice. Vitriol and galls were frequently landed at Southampton from Venetian vessels, and were important to the printing industry, where they were essential in the manufacture of ink. Two other imported commodities, olive oil and soda ash,

(1) L. & P., XVIII (1) 476 (19).

(2) L. & P., II (2) 2999, III (1) 55 (22), IV (2) 2599 (13), V 1065 (29), XIV (1) 403 (49).

(3) L. & P., V 1065 (29).

(4) P.R.O., H.C.A. 13/6 ff33-4.

(5) L. & P., XIX. (1). 278 (59).

(6) S.C.R.O., SC5/4 23, 25. L. & P., XVIII (1) 476 (19).

were used in the English soap and glass industries.⁽¹⁾ The Venetians also played a major role in supplying England with a wide range of drugs and medicines, many of which were made up and despatched direct from the Venetian pharmacists. Without the Venetian involvement in the drug trade to England many essential drugs would otherwise have been unavailable to English physicians and apothecaries. It has also been noted that drugs and medicines were not the sole commodities trafficked in, prescriptions and medicinal recipes were also sent to England from Venice.⁽²⁾

Venetians played a significant role in the armaments trade with England, supplying the English Crown with a wide range of arms and munitions such as brimstone, saltpetre, bowstaves, Brescian handguns of all descriptions, along with helmets, cuirasses and entire suits of chased armour from Brescian foundries. They were also occasionally involved in the less glamorous bulk trades, and corn, beans and peas were often imported from France in times of dearth in England.⁽³⁾

The expansion in the consumption of luxury goods in sixteenth century England was also paralleled, to a lesser degree, by the traffic in luxury goods to Scotland and Ireland. Many of the luxury imports into Scotland and Ireland, from England, were Venetian re-exports. In 1539 and 1540 James V of Scotland wrote to the English government for patents to purchase malmsey and other sweet wines in London.⁽⁴⁾ Sweet wines also formed an important item of re-export to Ireland⁽⁵⁾ along with silk cloths,⁽⁶⁾ satins, damasks, taffeta, velvets and a

(1) G.H. Kenyon, The Glass Industry of the Weald, Leicester, 1968. D.W. Crossley, 'The performance of the Glass Industry in the sixteenth century', Econ. Hist. Rev., 2nd ser., XXV, 1972.

(2) Supra, pp.82-84.

(3) See Ch.VII below.

(4) L. & P., XIV (1) 125; XV 733 (58).

(5) A.K. Longfield, Anglo-Irish Trade in the Sixteenth Century, London, 1929, p.142.

(6) In 1504 the total amount of worked silk sent from Bristol to Ireland amounted to 243 lb. and was valued at £162 by the royal customers. The same figure is maintained in other early sixteenth century Bristol port books. Ibid., pp.153, 155.

host of smaller merchandise. First in importance among these small goods were the Venetian imports into England of dyes, drugs and spices.⁽¹⁾ The royal customs accounts for Bristol in the early sixteenth century illustrate the variety of Venetian goods re-exported to Ireland.⁽²⁾ In 1504, for example, many bills of lading contain small amounts of cinnamon and aniseed valued at 2s. 6d. the quarter, and mace and pepper at ls. Od. the lb.. Other accounts contain ginger, nutmegs and cloves at ls. 8d. the lb., and cumin seed at 2d. per lb. More frequent are shipments of borax, liquorice, senna and brimstone. The Southampton Brokage Books⁽³⁾ for this period show that large quantities of Venetian goods were carted to Bristol immediately after the arrival of the Flanders galleys in Southampton. Whilst many of these commodities were intended for consumption in Bristol, there is no doubt that a significant percentage was re-exported to Ireland by Bristol merchants. The goods landed by Venetian merchants at London and Southampton thus served the whole of Britain, and not simply an exclusively English market.

The Southampton Brokage Books for the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries⁽⁴⁾ provide a valuable account of the distribution of Venetian goods imported into England via the Hampshire port. The land routes from Southampton were good,⁽⁵⁾ and free from political disturbance unlike the Channel. London naturally took the bulk of Venetian goods passing landward through the town gates of Southampton.⁽⁶⁾ Venetian imported commodities are recorded going to the Midlands, Manchester, Derby, Nottingham and Warwick, and even westward

(1) Ibid., p.178.

(2) P.R.O., K.R. Customs E122 20/10-14, 199/1.

(3) S.C.R.O., Brokage Books, SC5./5 19-31, passim.

(4) The fifteenth century Brokage Books at Southampton Civic Record Office are better kept and contain more explicit information of the contents of goods passing out of the town.

(5) C. Platt, Medieval Southampton. The Port and Trading Community, A.D. 1000-1600, London, 1973.

(6) S.C.R.O., SC5 /5 19-31.

to Exeter, but the bulk of the goods went to London, Salisbury, Winchester and Bristol, while smaller quantities of goods, largely dyestuffs, were distributed locally to Reading, Newbury, Abingdon, Oxford and Andover. In the book of 1470-71 goods are even recorded travelling as far north as Kendal in Westmorland.⁽¹⁾

Venetian firms established in England in the early Tudor period traded not only on a European scale but on a world scale, with branches and agents in the Middle East, North Africa and throughout Southern Europe and the Mediterranean. They also brought to England the miscellaneous products of the international market at Antwerp, and Venetian imports into England arriving from the Low Countries in the middle years of the reign of Henry VIII display a diversity of interests; madder, woad, paper, canvas, candles, wax, sayes, furs, tapestries, hats, felts, daggers, knives, pots and pans, glass mirrors, crystal glassware, books, musical instruments and furniture.⁽²⁾ If we add to these the oils, sweet wines, Mediterranean produce, luxury textiles, arms and munitions brought from Venice, Italy and Iberia by Venetian merchants then the picture of their omnipresence is complete. The Spanish merchants shipping goods on the Venetian galleys in the later fifteenth century and in the first decade of the sixteenth century added an important element to Anglo-Venetian trade. At the time when Girolamo Barbarigo was master of the fellowship of Venetian merchants in London, a dispute arose between the Venetians and the Spanish merchant, Fernando de Aza, when the latter refused to pay dues owing to the fellowship for 12 bales of mace, which the Venetian galleys had brought for him to Southampton.⁽³⁾ However, by the early sixteenth century the English Merchant Adventurers could purchase a full range of those commodities which had traditionally made up the Venetian import trade with England, at the great

(1) Ibid., SC5 /5 19.

(2) P.R.O., K.R. Customs, E122 82/8.

(3) P.R.O., E.C.P. 118 (3).

international market at Antwerp and in their more direct dealings with Spain. From the later fifteenth century English merchants penetrated the Mediterranean and Levantine markets, and English voyages eastward became quite common in the first three decades of the sixteenth century. Nevertheless, Venetian merchants continued to control certain areas of trade in the first half of the sixteenth century, and to compete successfully in others with their English rivals. English and alien shipping made only a partial inroad into the England-Levant route. The Venetians, along with other Italians, continued to control the trade in fine cloths of silk and gold. English enterprise in the Mediterranean was short lived, and by the 1540's the import of sweet wines and currants once more was firmly in Venetian hands. Above all Venetian imports into England continued to be characterised by the richest diversity, and whilst luxury goods formed a very important part of these imports Venetian merchants also brought considerable quantities of essential commodities, largely destined for the English textile industry, and carried on a considerable trade in arms and munitions.

ANGLO-VENETIAN TRADE: BALANCE OR IMBALANCE?

The north-west of Europe in general, through Venetian activities at London and Antwerp, contributed to Venetian prosperity, offering it support and advantages, and admitting Venice to open association with its own economic activity. The dominant factor in this association was the great difference in price levels which stimulated trading in commodities between England and Venice.⁽¹⁾ In the sixteenth century the prosperity of northern Italy only slowly lost its pre-eminence in Europe. Certainly nothing like a transference of economic leadership from Italy to north-western Europe was as yet taking place. Northern Italy remained the area of densest population and manufacture in Europe. Nor did the military situation in Italy, between 1494-1530, have the drastic effect on Italy's economy as a whole that some historians would have us believe. By mid-sixteenth century Italy was well on the way to recovery from the devastations of war. In fact the market for Italian luxury goods had never been so strong due to Europe's insatiable demand for such items. One general observation can be made of the early sixteenth century economy, there was a definite balance of trade in favour of Italy.⁽²⁾ A balance of trade unfavourable to the north of Europe was to be expected; Italian business techniques and organisation were vastly superior, and commercial links far more widespread and firmly established in areas of traditional economic dominance. Italian goods were more plentiful, and above all more expensive per unit, and were bound to outweigh products from the north of Europe. Evidence of this

- (1) See F.C. Spooner, N.C.M.H.E. III, p.22, for a discussion of the problems of price levels and the differences in standards of living between north and south, and east and west, in this period.
- (2) F. Braudel, The Mediterranean. I, p.214. R. de Roover, 'Le balance commerciale entre les Pays Bas et l'Italie au quinzieme siecle,' R.B.P.H., XXXVII, 1959, pp.374-86, and Verhandelingen van de Kroninklyke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van Belgie, Klasse der Letteren, XXX, 1968, pp.42-7. E.B. Fryde, 'Anglo-Italian Commerce in the Fifteenth Century: Some evidence about profits and the balance of trade,' R.B.P.H., L, 1972, pp.345-55.

imbalance of trade between Venice and England, and the payments resulting from it, is abundant. At Venice there were always bills of exchange on London, Bruges, or Antwerp, available for buyers. This is strong evidence of a trading balance that undoubtedly favoured Venice. Tangible proof is provided by the repeated complaints of English merchants, economists and of the government itself.⁽¹⁾

Outside Italy business organisation was less advanced. Exchange transactions were largely, though not exclusively, a monopoly of the Italians. The major banking centres of western Europe all had sizeable Italian communities. In London the Venetian billbrokers and merchants met in 'la strada' (Lombard Street). Lombard Street quoted the exchange on Bruges, Antwerp, Lyons, Florence, Genoa, and Venice. Thus English merchants having money to collect in Sicily could do so by using the services of bankers in Venice, because in London transactions with Palermo were exceptional. Medieval bills were payable at sight, at so many days after sight, at so many days from a specified date or often at the conclusion of the fairs.⁽²⁾ However, most bills were payable at usance. Usance was determined by normal business practice and varied according to the distance involved. The examples given in the accompanying table are based on protests for nonpayment at different dates in London and Venice. They refer to exchange transactions initiated in Venice. Protests usually mention the date when the bill was issued, the rate of exchange at which it was issued, the maturity date, and the prevailing exchange rate at this time in order to work out the rechange. This information is given in Table IV. Usance between Venice and London was three months, thus exchange and rechange took six months.

(1) G. Warner, (ed.) The Libelle of Englishe Polycye, Oxford, 1926, pp.18-24. Clement Armstrong, 'A Treatise concerning the Staple and the Commodities of this Realm', in Drei volkswirtschaftliche Denschriften aus der Zeit Heinrichs VIII von England, R. Pauli, (ed.) Göttingen, 1878, pp.15-43. S.T. Bindoff, 'Clement Armstrong and his Treatises of the Commonweal', in Econ. Hist. Rev. XIV, 1944. A.S.V., Senato, Mar 22 f208r, Senato, Deliberazioni Secreta 55 ff60v-61r. B.M., Royal MS. 14B f33.

(2) See J. Goris, op.cit., pp.108-22.

Table IV.

EXCHANGE AND RECHANGE BETWEEN VENICE AND LONDON, 1462-1512.⁽¹⁾

Date of issue of Bill in Venice.	Rate of Exchange, Sterlings.	Date of protest in London.	Date of Rechange in London.	Rate of Rechange.	Profit per ducat.	Percentage of profit per year.
15 Feb., 1462.	47	5 May, 1462.	15 May, 1462.	44	3	13.6
6 July, 1462.	47	7 Oct., 1462.	7 Oct., 1462.	44	3	13.6
15 Aug., 1462.	47	16 Nov., 1462.	16 Nov., 1462.	44 $\frac{1}{4}$	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	12.4
6 Jan., 1463.	47	15 April, 1463.	15 April, 1463.	41	6	29.2
11 Jan., 1463.	47	14 April, 1463.	14 April, 1463.	41	6	29.2
27 Feb., 1463.	47	27 May, 1463.	27 May, 1463.	43	4	18.6
26 April, 1464.	47 $\frac{1}{4}$	13 Nov., 1464.	13 Nov., 1464.	42 $\frac{3}{4}$	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	21.0
28 April, 1466.	50	6 Aug., 1466.	29 July, 1466.	46 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	15.0
8 May, 1467.	51 $\frac{1}{2}$	9 Aug., 1467.	9 Aug., 1467.	48	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	14.6
4 June, 1468.	52 $\frac{1}{2}$	9 Sept., 1468.	5 Sept., 1468.	49	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	14.3
21 April, 1469	53	21 July, 1469.	21 July, 1469.	50	3	12.0
27 June, 1469.	53 $\frac{3}{4}$	26 Oct., 1469.	26 Oct., 1469.	49 $\frac{3}{4}$	4	16.0
8 Dec., 1469.	55 $\frac{1}{4}$	8 March, 1470.	8 March, 1470.	50 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 $\frac{3}{4}$	18.8
23 Jan, 1470.	55	27 April, 1470.	26 April, 1470.	50 $\frac{2}{3}$	4 $\frac{1}{3}$	17.1
12 March, 1470.	54 $\frac{1}{2}$	27 June, 1470.	14 June, 1470.	49 $\frac{1}{2}$	5	20.2
8 June, 1470.	54 $\frac{1}{2}$	10 Sept., 1470.	10 Sept., 1470.	50 $\frac{1}{2}$	4	15.8
6 July, 1470.	54 $\frac{1}{2}$	12 Oct., 1470.	8 Oct., 1470.	50 $\frac{3}{4}$	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	14.8

(1) All figures taken from R. Brown, C.S.P.V., II, p.lxxiii, (Exchange rates are quoted in so many d. sterling per Venetian ducat.).

Table IV, Contd.

Date of issue of Bill in Venice.	Rate of Exchange, Sterlings.	Date of protest in London.	Date of Rechange in London.	Rate of Rechange.	Profit per ducat.	Percentage of profit per year.
8 Jan., 1471.	55½	4 May, 1471.	9 April, 1471.	50	5½	22.0
20 July, 1471.	55½	22 Oct., 1471.	21 Oct., 1471.	50¾	4¾	18.7
10 May, 1473.	55½	12 Aug., 1473.	11 Aug., 1473.	50	5½	22.0
21 July, 1475.	56	4 Nov., 1475.	23 Oct., 1475.	51½	4½	17.5
28 Feb., 1476.	56	1 June, 1476.	29 May, 1476.	51½	4½	17.4
31 May, 1476.	56	31 Aug., 1476.	31 Aug., 1476.	52¾	3¼	12.3
23 Oct., 1476.	56	23 Jan., 1477.	23 Jan., 1477.	52½	3½	14.0
1 Jan., 1477.	56½	3 April, 1477.	2 April, 1477.	52½	4	15.2
20 July, 1479.	55½	20 Oct., 1479.	20 Oct., 1479.	50	5½	22.0
31 July, 1481.	54¾	15 Nov., 1481.	15 Nov., 1481.	51¾	3	11.6
15 Jan., 1508.	52	29 Feb., 1508.	29 Feb., 1508.	-	-	-
22 June, 1512.	54	29 Oct., 1512.	29 Oct., 1512.	51¾	3¼	12.6

In exchange dealings between Venice and London the Venetian ducat was rated in sterlings. The table reveals that the ducat was consistently worth more in Venice than in London, with the consequence that the lender nearly always gained and the taker nearly always lost. For the persistence of this phenomenon there is only one explanation: the action of the interest rate. Among the twenty-nine cases recorded in the table there are no instances of a lender sustaining a loss. The table also shows that profits varied greatly from one transaction to another and that the business of exchange was highly speculative. The median return on exchange transactions was in the range of 17.5% according to the table. This is 3.5% higher than the figure given for early fifteenth century transactions between Venice and London by De Roover,⁽¹⁾ when the commercial rate of interest was 14%. It is not surprising that many merchants who operated with little working capital went to the wall.

Through an analysis of the itineraries of the Italian galley fleets in the fifteenth century⁽²⁾ Professor de Roover demonstrated that the galleys took almost nothing from Flanders despite the fact that the Italian merchants unloaded the bulk of their cargoes there. Venetian merchants in the Low Countries therefore faced the serious and continuing problem of paying for imports without being able to export goods back to Venice. Such an unfavourable balance of trade was eventually bound to erode the Venetian business firms established in the Low Countries. In fact Venetian business activities in the Low Countries were in serious danger of collapse by the end of the fifteenth century, and did not survive for long in the next century. After 1495 the Venetian galleys only visited the Low Countries in 1504, 1505, 1507 and 1520.⁽³⁾ This sudden collapse

(1) R. de Roover, The Rise and Decline of the Medici Bank, p.121.

(2) R. de Roover, art. cit., pp.374-86.

(3) W.A. Horst, 'Antwerpen als specerijenmarkt', Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis 51, 1936, pp.333-336.

of the Venetian trade with Flanders and Brabant reflects a complexity of circumstances. The serious imbalance of trade was a major factor in this, but more immediate in origin, it was probably due to the Emperor Maximilian's expansionist policy in northern Italy, where he had designs on Venice's mainland territories.⁽¹⁾ As a result of these political machinations Venice was forced to seek the support of France. Hence Venetian trade with north-western Europe became enmeshed in the Hapsburg-Valois conflict. Furthermore, in 1499, Venice was embroiled in war with the Turk; in 1508, she was invaded by Imperial forces; and, in 1509, by a European coalition. The Portuguese spice trade centred on Antwerp, from 1499, robbed Venice of much of the *raison d'être* of her trading activities in the Netherlands. Venetian spices were in fact at Antwerp in 1504, 1505, 1508, and 1510,⁽²⁾ but there was no large scale Venetian trade, which was a result of the fact that Venetian spice prices were up to 25% above those of the Portuguese.⁽³⁾ The Flanders galley fleet of 1520 was a forlorn attempt by the Venetians to re-establish the old trade. The English voyages were now no longer connected with the Low Countries, after 1509 they continued only irregularly, and were brought to an end in 1533-4. A marked change in Venetian methods of distributing goods to north-western Europe resulted in response to these challenges, and land routes became increasingly popular.

The exchange of goods, like the exchange of credit, depended upon an intricate system of closely related markets. The Venetian state galley trade with north-western Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries well illustrates the principles by which a multilateral trade system operated, and its structure explains, in part, how events in the Low Countries had repercussions in London and Venice, how these events could in turn affect the profits of Venetian

- (1) C.S.P.V., II, *passim*. C.S.P.S., II, *passim*, by 1514 Maximilian was nursing a scheme to give Milan and Venice to the Infante Don Ferdinand. C.S.P.S., II, 171.
- (2) The spices were sent direct from Alexandria in 1510, Van der Wee, op.cit., II, p.127.
- (3) L. Gilliodts-Van Severen, Cartulaire de l'ancienne étaple de Bruges, Bruges, 1904-4, II, pp.368-369.

merchants trading in the Levant, and finally how they led to the collapse of the state galley system in the early sixteenth century. An analysis of the itinerary of the Flanders galleys will indicate how markets in Southern Italy, Sicily, the Balearic Islands, Barbary, Iberia, Flanders, and England all contributed to the commercial patterns of the state galley system. The character of the trade in England, particularly the trade balances, clearly demonstrates what those commercial objectives were in the early Tudor period. Finally, the Venetian operations in the money markets of Bruges and Antwerp illustrate how the Venetians' financial operations there enabled them to maintain this multilateral trade system, and in particular the ^{state galley} trade with England.

The Flanders galley fleet was divided between England and Flanders. En route between Venice and Cadiz sufficient quantities of merchandise were loaded for sale in the two northern markets. While the value of those commodities loaded at Venice was generally high they failed to supply a full cargo for Flanders and England because their market was very limited. To fill the galleys before quitting the Mediterranean was a constant problem for the Venetians.⁽¹⁾ Hence the broad itinerary taking in Sicily, Majorca, Southern Spain, and Portugal. These intermediary ports of call in the Mediterranean were no mere diversion made by the galley masters in search of extra profits for their shareholders, but were an integral part of the voyage, laid out by the Senate in the galley contract, to ensure that the galley holds were full on arrival at the channel ports. A full cargo was essential to secure the heavy investments made by Venetian shareholders in the venture. The part played by the markets of Iberia and Southern Italy were central to the success of the Flanders voyages.

The articles of Venetian provenance were all highly priced luxury goods, and on average formed about 18.5% of the total customs valuation in the

(1) A.S.V., Senato Mar, Incante Galere, I., passim.

fifteenth century.⁽¹⁾ The spices and luxury articles from the orient re-exported from Venice accounted for approximately 53.2% of the total. Merchandise from southern Italy formed a significantly large percentage, approximately 18%, of the total cargoes of the Flanders galleys. Dyes, almonds, and rice from Valencia, and oil, white soap, sweet wines, raw silk and a variety of manufactured goods from Granada also found a ready market in England, where Spanish goods formed about 7% of the total imports on the Flanders galleys. The itinerary in northern waters⁽²⁾ demonstrates that the markets of London and Antwerp, though serving very different functions, for the Flanders galley trade were integral features of a single commercial policy. There are two features of this itinerary, the order of the ports of call, and the time allotted to each port for loading, which suggest what the distinct interests of the merchants in those markets were. The outward voyage ended at Southampton. The Flanders fleet went first to England where they divided. Those destined for Bruges or Antwerp proceeded to that market, having unloaded their cargoes and taken

- (1) S.C.R.O., Port Books, SC5/4, 15-23. These figures must remain mere approximation as the difficulties inherent in the customs accounts make ascertaining the provenance of Venetian galley imports extremely difficult.
- (2) An interesting feature of the itinerary of the Flanders galleys is their reluctance to touch at ports on the west coast of France; it has been suggested by Yves Renouard, 'Les hommes d'affaires italiens à la Rochelle au moyen age,' in Studi in onore di Armando Saporì, 1, Milano, 1959, that this was the result of French trade monopolies. However, it is more likely that this was because the galleys were full by the time they left Cadiz or Lisbon, and sought to make a quick crossing to England to avoid the winter storms of the Atlantic. Even more probable was the desire of the Venetians completely to avoid the French ports in order to maintain good relations with England. In 1439 the English House of Commons attempted to legislate against Italian vessels, forbidding them to unload goods from any port west of Gibraltar, see R. Flenley, 'London and foreign merchants in the reign of Henry VI.' E.H.R., 5 series, XXV, 1910. p.646. Venetian involvement in the profitable Anglo-Gascon trade would have led to bitter economic and political repercussions.

on a return cargo of miscellaneous goods from the Netherlands⁽¹⁾ they then returned to Southampton to load wool, tin, hides and kerseys for the return voyage to the Mediterranean. Whilst geography necessitated that Flanders remained the furthest point of call, and that Southampton, reached first by the galleys, was the dividing point for the outbound cargoes, Southampton in the early Tudor period was undoubtedly the terminus for the Flanders galleys. The mude⁽²⁾ (ie. the official loading periods of the galleys) of London and Antwerp confirm this. The muda of London was always half the time again⁽³⁾ allotted to the muda of Flanders. Consistently more precious goods were unloaded at Antwerp than at Southampton. Consequently the value of the cargoes loaded in England often exceeded the value of the cargoes unloaded. Although the Venetian imports were extremely expensive and offered the Venetian merchants a high return, the London market could only absorb a limited quantity of such luxury goods. Estimates of trading activities based on figures drawn from cargo totals, whilst they may give an accurate idea of the trade carried in certain galleys, must be treated with some reserve in view of the fact that the customs accounts are fragmentary for this period, and a long run of galley accounts cannot be obtained; moreover, crucial accounts for the years of decline in the sixteenth century are missing or unfit for study.⁽⁴⁾ Whilst this may give an idea of trade carried in the state galleys of Venice, they say nothing about the commercial investments made by particular merchants in those vessels. For although the Flanders galleys were a state enterprise, their cargo was not restricted to

(1) Imports from the Netherlands formed approximately 2.6% of the total value of the imports of the Flanders galleys in the fifteenth century. S.C.R.O., Port Books, SC5/4, 15-23.

(2) See below Ch.III, p.114.

(3) See below pp.120-22.

(4) The customs account for the Flanders galleys of 1522-23 exists, but unfortunately was unfit for production during the period of this study. P.R.O., K.R. Customs Accounts, E122. 143/5B.

Venetian merchants. Once all goods consigned to the galleys by Venetians had been landed⁽¹⁾ alien merchants were permitted to load cargo. The Florentines and other Italians in particular loaded large quantities in both directions during the early Tudor period, and English and Spanish merchants also figure in the private letters of Venetian merchants, and in decrees of the Senate regulating the voyages. These aliens did not, of course, share in the profits of the voyage, but they did add their own considerable shipments to those goods loaded by Venetians. Whilst there is much evidence available for the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to distinguish clearly ownership of specific shipments, this unfortunately is not true of the Tudor period.⁽²⁾ However, a rough estimate from existing records shows that Venetians accounted for about 62% of inbound cargoes and 78.2% of outbound cargoes. English merchants exported a significant amount of goods on the Flanders galleys, whilst Italian merchants formed the second largest group of importers and exporters after the Venetians on the state galleys. Thus a large percentage of the investment in the galley cargoes was Venetian.⁽³⁾ Frequently the figures were much higher; for example, in 1519-20, the galley 'Trevisana' officially loaded 263 sacks and 37½ cloves of English wool in the names of Venetian merchants, and only 11 sacks and 30 cloves in the name of aliens.⁽⁴⁾

Whilst in the early sixteenth century wool, woollen cloth, tin, and hides continued to form the bulk of the return cargoes, English wool became increasingly important to the Venetian economy.⁽⁵⁾ By the early Tudor period there was often little point in making the western voyage without a return cargo

- (1) A specific period was set aside for the loading of Venetian goods, thereafter non-Venetian goods could be loaded. A.S.V., Senato, Misti, 51 f98r.
- (2) See below, Ch.VI. pp.184, 321-2.
- (3) See below, Ch.IV. pp.165, 169-72.
- (4) All the alien wool belonged to the Florentine merchant Filippo Alberto. P.R.O., K.R. Customs Accounts, E122. 213/10.
- (5) Supra, Ch.1. pp.34-58.

of wool. The scales of Venetian trade in the west were weighted, therefore, in favour of English wool and woollen cloth, and Venetian merchants were naturally reluctant to load the galleys in Flanders when the principal object of the western voyage was to ensure continued supplies of English raw materials for Venetian industry. If the desire to obtain English cloth and raw materials was the key factor in the continuation of the Flanders galley voyages from the later fifteenth century, one must find out why some galleys continued to unload the bulk of their valuable cargoes of Levantine and Mediterranean merchandise at Sluys and Antwerp. Certainly the continued and vociferous complaints of the English government in the reign of Henry VIII suggests that the Venetians did not increase their sales in the London market to balance their trade. An imbalance of trade must therefore have existed. Indeed all the existing evidence would point to the fact that it did. However, there was machinery for correcting this imbalance. Without such machinery the galley trade would have collapsed much sooner than it did. Had an unfavourable balance of trade with England long persisted the Venetian merchants would have found themselves totally excluded from the English market by their inability to pay for the goods they wanted. The overall trade of the Venetians in England, however, must not be seen solely in terms of the imports and exports of the Flanders galleys. During this period an increasing number of privately owned Venetian carracks plied annually between England and the Mediterranean. One can see in the increased importance of these voyages during the Tudor period, and also in the greater use of the overland route, the means of adjusting an otherwise unfavourable trade balance. In the early sixteenth century the balance of Anglo-Venetian trade must have been more and more in the Venetians' favour as the delivery of expensive luxury articles and sweet wines increased to meet the insatiable demand of the English court, nobility, and wealthy merchant class.⁽¹⁾ Fundamentally, however,

(1) The house of the Southampton merchant Thomas Huttoft, for example, in Bugle Street, contained a precious oriental carpet brought from Venice, rich coverlets and hangings, two carved Italian chests of cypress wood and numerous tapestry cushions. A.A. Ruddock, Italian merchants and shipping, p.86.

the Venetian galleys, by the later years of the reign of Henry VII, and certainly in the reign of Henry VIII, continued to come to the west primarily for English kerseys and raw materials.⁽¹⁾ The fact that the bulk of the galley cargoes continued to be unloaded in the Low Countries rather than at Southampton was due simply to the existing market conditions in Tudor England. The Venetians could not hope to have sold their goods in London as they did at Antwerp, which acted as a market for much of northern and western Europe. It is important therefore to understand the way in which the Venetians paid for those English commodities so essential to their economy and which made up the bulk of their return cargoes.

The English wool and woollen cloth trade existed on the basis of a credit system⁽²⁾ which allowed the merchants to pay for a part of the wool over a period of time,⁽³⁾ usually one or two years. Like the English Merchant Stapler the Venetian merchant used the interval before the payment was due to conduct other business. The proceeds from these transactions were then used to pay for the wool. The Libelle⁽⁴⁾ accused the Venetians of buying wool on credit in Calais, selling it for ready money in the Low Countries and then profiting from the 'fair loan' of the wool by investing the same money in exchange transactions while the English wool merchants waited a whole year or more for payment. However the author of the Libelle too frequently allows his chauvinistic feelings free rei n.

- (1) A series of senatorial decrees in the early sixteenth century underlines the importance and dependence of the Venetian cloth industry upon the regular supply of fine English wool. Supra, Ch.1A, pp.44-47.
- (2) P.J. Bowden, 'Wool supply and the woollen industry', Econ. Hist. Rev. 2nd ser. IX, 1956. M.M. Postan, 'Credit in medieval trade', Econ. Hist. Rev. 1, 1928. G.D. Ramsay, The Wiltshire Woollen Industry in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, Oxford, 1943, pp.8-25.
- (3) A similar arrangement was entered into by the Venetians with the English government in obtaining remission from their customs payments. C.P.R., 17 Hen.VII pt.II m.27(10), 21 Hen.VII pt.II m.3(19), 2 Ed.VI pt.III m.41, 3 Ed.VI pt.II m.44, 7 Ed.VI pt.III m.36. See also F.C. Dietz, English government finance 1485-1558, London, 1964, pp.19-25.
- (4) G. Warner, op.cit., p.23.



There is little evidence that the Venetians consistently bought their wool from the Calais staple, and even if they had they would hardly have sold it in the Low Countries when the major purpose of the galley traffic was to ensure the continued prosperity of the Venetian cloth industry, and when greater profits accrued from the sale of the wool at Venice.⁽¹⁾ The Libelle also complained that the Venetians abused their wool credits by shipping wool to Venice, selling it quickly at a profit, and then transferring the money to Flanders where they loaned it to English merchants for a further profit before their wool payments fell due. Here again the author relies on prejudice rather than accurate information. This contradicts the known practices of the Venetian merchants. In the first place specie was only seldom taken from the Mediterranean to Flanders in this period. Transfers by letters of advice, or banker's transfers, would have been more normal, but even this would only rarely have been practised by the Venetians, who would not have transferred the credits they badly needed in Venice back again to London or Antwerp.⁽²⁾ Faced with a large trading deficit in England for the state galley voyages the Venetians must have been forced to seek other methods of obtaining cash to pay the English wool growers and wool middlemen of the west country, and the English cloth manufacturers and dealers of the west country and Blackwell Hall. In fact various methods existed by which the Venetian merchants could supply cash or even eliminate the need for paying in cash in England. The most obvious was by holding funds in those markets where English merchants made regular purchases. In the early Tudor period the Antwerp mart was the major centre of English overseas trade,⁽³⁾ and it would have been through the Antwerp market that Venetian repayments were probably made. The Venetian galleys increasingly came to England with smaller

(1) Supra, pp.50-1.

(2) De Roover certainly thinks this was true for the Italian merchants in the fifteenth century, see R. de Roover, art. cit., and 'Money, Banking and Credit in Medieval Bruges', J. Econ. Hist., II, 1942.

(3) See G.D. Ramsay, The City of London, Manchester, 1975, pp.1-27. H. van der Wee, op.cit., pp.183-5. O de Smedt, op.cit., *passim*.



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quantities of rich oriental produce in the sixteenth century. In 1518, Cardinal Wolsey bitterly complained to the Venetian ambassador that the galleys no longer came to England with spices as before, and that much of the cargo comprised Venetian and Levantine manufactures. He also complained that only one galley had unloaded in Southampton, the other two having gone to Antwerp.⁽¹⁾ In 1522 and 1533, similar complaints were heard from the English government. In 1532, and again in 1533, the Duke of Norfolk informed the Venetian ambassador, Carlo Capello, that in view of the small quantity and the inferior quality of the spices shipped to England by the Flanders galleys the King required an understanding that in future the commerce be more advantageous to England than it had been hitherto.⁽²⁾ The fact was that the Venetian galleys had to unload the bulk of their cargoes in Antwerp in order to supply the Venetian merchants resident in London and Southampton⁽³⁾ with the credit they needed in England, and not only for the sale of English products on the return voyage to the Mediterranean. This is well illustrated by the difficulties the Venetian galleys faced in 1522-23 and 1531-33 when the fleets did not call at Antwerp.⁽⁴⁾ In those years the repayments made in England by Venetian merchants to the crown in respect of deferred customs payments had to be made in specie. In

- (1) B.M.V., Ital. Cl. VII, Cod.MCXIX (7449), Letter of Sebastian Giustinian to the Signoria, 20 November, 1518.
- (2) Sanudo, 1 Diarii LVII, 23 December, 1532. A.S.V., Senato, Mar 22 f208r. Senato, Deliberazioni Secreta 55, ff60v-61r. The sum total of customs accruing to the King from the three galleys in 1534 was £6,174. 8s. 2d. L. & P., VII, 916.
- (3) There were no Venetian merchants resident at Antwerp after 1508. J.A. Goris, op.cit., p.71. The economic action taken by Maximilian I, in 1508-9, completely ruined Venetian trade with the Netherlands, see M. le Glay, Correspondence de l'Empereur Maximilian avec Margaret d'Autriche de 1507 à 1519, Paris, 1839, 'Lettre de Maximilian à sa fille Marie de Hongrie, le 8 juin, 1509.
- (4) Kroniek van Antwerpen sedert het jaer 1500 tot 1575, G. van Loon et al. (eds.), Antwerpen, 1843, p.11. Sanudo, 1 Diarii XXXIII, 8 April, 1522; LVII, 23 December, 1532. A.S.V., Senato, Deliberazioni Secreta, 49 f76r.

December, 1532, the Duke of Norfolk informed the Venetians that in future their commercial privileges would be granted only on condition that a fixed quantity of gold be despatched for the purchase of wool, and that transactions by means of bills of exchange would no longer be permissible.⁽¹⁾ The Signoria, eager to obtain fresh supplies of English wool, swiftly complied with the King's demand, and enacted that in future the merchants despatch gold, either in ingots or ready cash, with the English galleys.⁽²⁾ However, there is little evidence to prove that this form of payment continued after 1534, as the galley voyages to England were discontinued. Nor does it appear that the English government insisted upon this mode of payment once diplomatic relations between the two countries were normalised,⁽³⁾ and as payment by means of tratte continued to be made by Venetians in England throughout the rest of the King's reign.⁽⁴⁾

It remains to be demonstrated how the Venetians transferred their payments from the Low Countries to London. The English merchants from whom the Venetians obtained their wool and cloth were not generally interested in the import trade, and so they had little need to make purchases in Flanders.⁽⁵⁾ However, several wealthy Staplers supplemented their wool business by trade in imported goods,⁽⁶⁾ and one reason for this may have been the convenience of the credit they

(1) A.S.V., Senato, Mar 22 f208r. Sanudo, 1 Diarii LVII, 23 December, 1532.

(2) A.S.V., Senato, Deliberazioni Secreta, 55 ff60v-61r.

(3) Following Henry VIII's quarrel with Rome the Venetian ambassador returned to Venice and the Republic retained only a resident secretary in England. The King's annoyance at Venice's pro-papal policy and her failure to aid his efforts, at Padua and Vicenza, to secure favourable theological votes in his divorce case were underlying reasons for the English insistence, in 1533, on payment in specie.

(4) eg. P.R.O., H.C.A. 23/10.

(5) See S. Thrupp, 'The Grocers of London, a study of the distributive trade', in E. Power (ed.) English Trade in the Fifteenth Century, pp.263, 268.

(6) B. Winchester, Tudor Family Portrait, London, 1955.

held against Venetian merchants. More important than the Merchant Staplers, however, were the mercers and grocers of London, who purchased large quantities of goods in Antwerp for importation into England,⁽¹⁾ and therefore needed funds in Flanders and Brabant to carry on their trade there. Through these English mercers and grocers the Venetian merchants could obtain the sterling they required in London to settle their accounts with the English woolmen and cloth merchants. They did this by selling drafts on Bruges or Antwerp to English merchants in London for sterling or by buying from agents in Bruges or Antwerp drafts on London payable in sterling.⁽²⁾ In either case the Venetians were using their considerable funds in the Low Countries to buy sterling; in this way they could loan Brabant or Flemish pounds to the English merchants operating in Antwerp and the latter could repay the loan in pounds sterling in London upon the sale of the imported goods.⁽³⁾

Occasionally repayments would be made to the wool merchants to whom the Venetians were indebted, but on the whole it would simply be made to the account of a Venetian factor or agent such as Martin de Federico.⁽⁴⁾ In London exchange transactions also went in the opposite direction from London to the Low Countries with the same purpose of fulfilling obligations contracted by Venetians in London.⁽⁵⁾ The exchange in this case was made in London on an agent in Antwerp or Bruges for an English merchant who desired to use his credits against Venetian merchants in London to buy in the Low Countries. The factors or agents⁽⁶⁾

(1) See for example G.D. Ramsay, John Isham, Mercer and Merchant Adventurer, Northampton Record Society, 1962.

(2) A.S.V., Senato, Terra 7 f89r.

(3) See E. Power, The English Wool Trade, p.68.

(4) P.R.O., H.C.A. 23/10.

(5) A.S.V., Senato, Terra 7 f89r.

(6) In the early sixteenth century, following the withdrawal of the Bruges Consulate in 1506, Venetian merchants conducted all their trade in Antwerp through Flemish or Italian commission agents such as the Van der Molen and the Della Faille.

would meet the representative of the English grocers and mercers at the fairs of Bergen-op-Zoom and Antwerp to supply cash, make payments and provide loans for English clients of Venetian merchant bankers in London.⁽¹⁾ In this way the Venetians would have been able to cancel out the debts they contracted for English goods, largely for wool and woollen cloths, in London, and establish credit on which they in turn could draw in the future. The Antwerp money market served as a clearing house for more than the Anglo-Venetian trade. The town stood at the centre of North European trade with the Mediterranean and it is essential to see its importance to other branches of European trade in order to understand why the Venetians were so little interested in settling their English obligations by simply selling more in London. Antwerp was a major international market for the redistribution of commodities drawn from all over Europe, the Far East, and America, and was an international banking centre of the greatest importance to Venetian merchants. London by comparison was a mere appendage to Antwerp before 1568.⁽²⁾ Through the agents in Antwerp the Venetians maintained a multilateral trade system, employing foreign commission agents, acting as clearing houses, to bring into equilibrium not only their balance of trade with England, but the whole series of trade balances they maintained along the north-south trade routes.⁽³⁾ This may be gauged by the importance of the outbound cargoes of Iberian and Southern Italian produce to the Venetian galley system. How was this paid for? Certainly not by part shipments of English wool, cloth, tin or hides from England to Iberia or Southern Italy, as these commodities were not legally permitted to be sold en route for Venice under the terms of the galley contract. A part of the

(1) See J.A. Goris, op.cit., pp.111-112.

(2) See G.D. Ramsay, The City of London, Chapter 2, 'London, a satellite city', pp.33-70. W. Brulez, 'Le commerce international des Pays-Bas au XVI^e siècle: essai d'appréciation quantitative', R.B.P.H., XLVI 1968, pp.1205-21.

(3) See for example W. Brulez, 'Lettres commerciales de Daniel et Antoine van Bombergen à Antonio Grimani, 1532-43', Bulletin de l'institute historique belge de Rome XXXI, 1958. F. Edler, 'The van der Molen, commission merchants of Antwerp: trade with Italy 1538-44', in Medieval and Historical Essays in Honor of J.W. Thompson, ed. J.C. Cate and E.N. Anderson, Chicago, 1938, pp.78-145.

payment was probably made through transfer payments made by Venetian merchants in the Low Countries on behalf of Italians, Spaniards and Portuguese who needed the credit to restore their own unfavourable balance of trade in the Low Countries.⁽¹⁾ Venetian merchants of course also needed credit in Spain, Naples and Sicily, and services rendered to Spanish, Portuguese and Italian merchants in the Low Countries could be repaid later in Venice. In this way a system of trade existed that bound several markets together both by the exchange of products and by the transfer of payments. So long as Antwerp could provide a market for Venetian spice imports their system of multilateral trade could be kept alive by the flow of credit from Flanders and Brabant.

However, in the early Tudor period war in Italy and against the Turk, the increased uncertainty of the sea route to northern Europe, financial difficulties at home, additional duties imposed on the Flanders galleys at Antwerp after 1506, and competition from foreign shipping, all contributed to disrupt the balance on which the Venetian state galley trade had existed. In addition to this Venetian merchants found it increasingly difficult to supply and sell their cargoes of spices and drugs to buyers in north-western Europe in the face of Portuguese imports. Thus the basic foundation of the Venetian state galley trade with north-western Europe was threatened. The account of these mounting difficulties and the eventual collapse of the state galley trade to northern waters is a very complex one. In the end the multilateral trade system of the Flanders galleys proved to be too vulnerable to market changes, the failure to maintain or adjust one market was bound to disrupt the equilibrium on which the Venetian state galley system depended. The cessation of the Flanders galley voyages to England after 1533 marks the failure of the Venetian state galley system to find that new equilibrium. Henceforth the Anglo-Venetian trade was carried on under new

(1) J.A. Goris, op.cit., passim.

conditions and in private Venetian hands. By the 1540's private Venetian shipping had recaptured the bulk of the Mediterranean trade from English and foreign vessels, and Venetian trade with England entered a new period of prosperity.

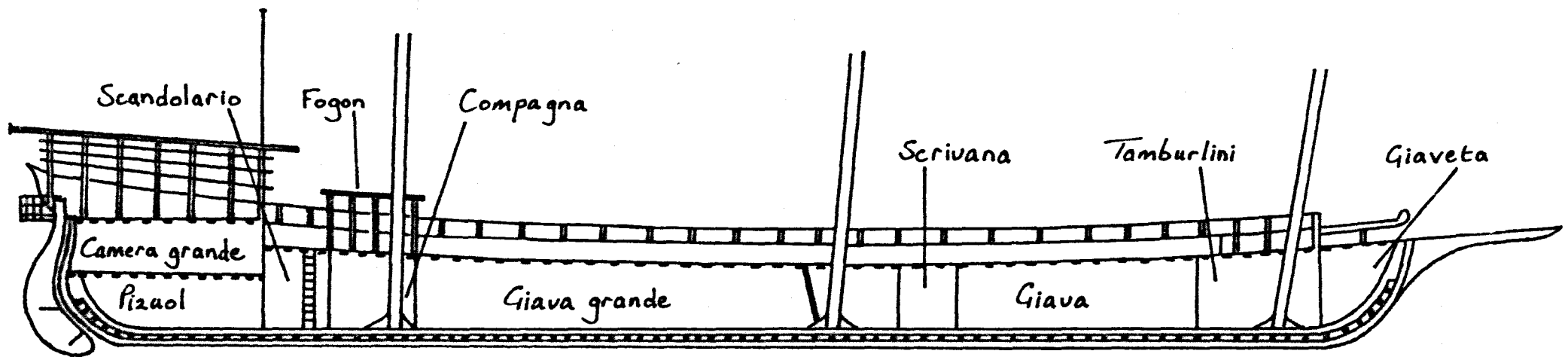
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THE STATE ORGANISATION OF ANGLO-VENETIAN TRADE.

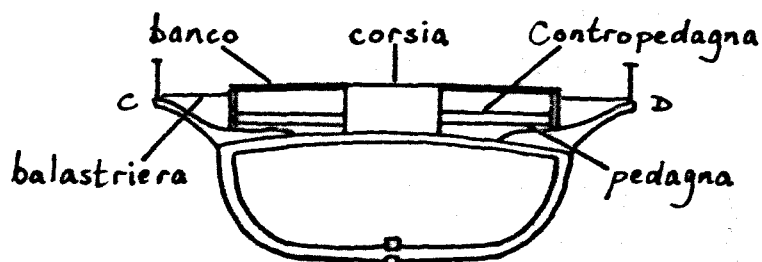
The commercial policy of the Venetian government in the late middle ages has been aptly described as "frankly and efficiently capitalistic".⁽¹⁾ The avowed policy of the Senate was to help Venetian merchants make a profit.⁽²⁾ It did so by organising trading fleets and commercial operations on established galley routes so as to lower the protection costs of Venetian merchants. At the same time the city's trade was organised in such a way as to contribute most to Venice's position as a staple city⁽³⁾ in the trade between east and west.⁽⁴⁾ The advantage these voyages gave to Venetian shippers by providing them with better protection at less cost than was available to their competitors was a crucial factor. Lane has ably illustrated that protection costs were among the most important factors in business success.⁽⁵⁾

In organising the protection of the city's international trade, the Senate made numerous rulings of the type of vessel to be used on the Flanders voyage,⁽⁶⁾ and upon the mode of navigation.⁽⁷⁾ It was essential that the sums spent on protection were related to the value of the commodities being protected.

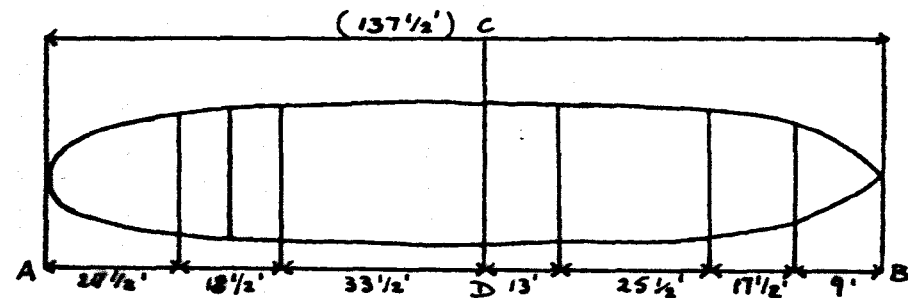
- (1) F.C. Lane, Venice, A Maritime Republic, p.144.
- (2) A.S.V., Senato, Mar 1 f37r. There are many similar references stating that the Flanders galleys were instituted for the general profit of the Venetian mercantile community.
- (3) F.C. Lane, Venice, A Maritime Republic, pp.60-4.
- (4) Those western goods stipulated as staple commodities had to be conveyed first to Venice, and then to the Levant or elsewhere. Strict regulations governed the trade in western staple commodities, A.S.V., Senato, Mar 6 f91r.
- (5) F.C. Lane, 'National Wealth and Protection Costs', pp.373-82, 'The Economic Meaning of War and Protection', pp.383-98, 'Economic Consequences of Organised Violence', pp.412-28, all in Venice and History, see also Lane's, Andrea Barbarigo, pp.45-53, 59-60, 71, 78, 81, 84.
- (6) See Appendix 1; and Diagram 1 on page 111.
- (7) The general maritime regulations were laid down in the auction contracts of the Flanders galleys; eg. P.R.O., 30/25 199 cc.32-35, 53, 73, 107; see also F.C. Lane, 'Maritime Law and Administration', in Venice and History, pp.227-51.



Section of a galera da mercato of the measure of Flanders c.1518, based on the Instruzione di Pre Theodoro de Nicolò.⁽¹⁾



Cross-section CD.



(1) The diagrams are based on the 'Instruzione sul modo di fabricare galere' di Pre Theodoro de Nicolò c.1550. B.M.V., MS. Ital. Cl. IV. Cod. 26. A.J. Jal, Archeologie navale, 2 vols. Paris, 1840, I, 384-387. J. Sottas, op. cit., pp. 1-35. F.C. Lane, Venetian ships, pp. 8-23, and above all on the model in the Museo Storico Navale. The measurements given are in Venetian feet as given in the Instruzione and in A.S.V., Arsenale busta 1, and are the same for the fifteenth century.

In effect this meant that only the most valuable merchandise was carried in the merchant galleys, less valuable and bulk cargoes, such as salt and grain, were left to the private sector. The galea da mercato was used by the state because of its greater navigational qualities.⁽¹⁾ The shallow draught of the galleys, and their greater mobility under oars⁽²⁾ were an advantage when manoeuvring in and out of port, and especially in the shallow waters and sand banks of the Flemish coast, the Kentish flats and the Thames estuary. If attacked the galleys had even more advantages. Most important on the long and dangerous route to the English Channel and North Sea was the large fighting force⁽³⁾ provided by the

- (1) F.C. Lane, Venetian Ships and Shipbuilders of the Renaissance, Baltimore, 1934, pp.22-4. J. Sottas, Les Messageries Maritime de Venise aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles, Paris, 1938, pp.30-34.
- (2) Although the galea da mercato depended on the wind to carry it from one port to another, the oars gave the vessel a greater independence than the fifteenth century cog, and the oars were in fact idle during most of the voyage. See E. Fasano-Guarini, 'Comment naviguent les galères au XVI^e siècle', Annales 16, 1961, pp.279-96. The mere possibility of using the oars for short durations during critical situations made the voyages of the galea da mercato quicker and more dependable than roundships prior to 1500. In 1509, the Flanders galleys were ordered directly home due to the political crisis of that year. They covered the return journey from Southampton to Otranto, approximately 2,500 miles, in 31 days, (Sanudo, 1 Diarii VIII,c.474.) an indication of how quickly the journey could be made by galley under sail.
- (3) The essential armament for a medieval vessel was its crew. The large number of men required on a great galley to man the oars provided the basis of a fighting force far larger than could be employed on a roundship. The crew of a Venetian galea da mercato was specified by Venetian maritime law as 210, A.S.V., Senato, Misti 49 ff114r-5r, but this figure excluded the merchants who travelled on board the galleys and who were required to provide their own bow, bolts, and armour. Of this number 171 were galeotti. These figures are confirmed by the general galley regulations passed for successive Flanders voyages and may be found in A.S.V., Senato, Misti series, down to 1440, thereafter in Sanato, Mar series, and from 1461-1531 in a special series, Senato, Deliberazioni, Incanti Galere I and II.

oarsmen. In addition the oars enabled the galleys to act in unison as a squadron. For these reasons the galea da mercato was the type of merchantman offering the maximum security,⁽¹⁾ and the one favoured by the Senate for transporting the precious cargoes on a regular pattern of annual voyages to Flanders and England.

The Senatorial regulations, which laid down a schedule of regular trading voyages, with modifications from voyage to voyage according to circumstances, underline the Senate's desire for a regular and rapid turnover⁽²⁾ of those eastern and western commodities so essential for the continued prosperity

- (1) The galee da mercato were the safest form of maritime transport available until the later fifteenth century, and offered the best security against either bad weather conditions or corsairs. This was the Senate's economic justification for their continued use as common carriers of high value Venetian wares. Although the Flanders galleys charged higher freight rates than either the Venetian roundships, or other competitors on the Flanders route, their insurance rates were cheaper, and their service speedier and more reliable. See A. Schulte, Geschichte der grossen Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft, Stuttgart, 1923, II pp.65-72, III p.412, on the differences in insurance rates and freights in the fifteenth century, and III pp.228-9, on the use of the galee da mercato on the western voyages in competition with the roundships. So safe indeed were the Flanders galleys in the estimation of Venetian merchants that goods were frequently sent uninsured, although on such occasions the merchandise was generally spread throughout the three galleys to cover any loss or damage. F.C. Lane, Andrea Barbarigo, pp.56n,116.
- (2) Lane has shown that there was a real and positive correlation between the regularity of the voyages and the rapidity of the turnover of private capital. F.C. Lane, Venice and History, pp.113-6.

of the city. The institution of the Flanders muda⁽¹⁾ was administered with the object of collecting in Venice, as quickly as possible, all the commodities which were ready in the western markets at the stipulated period. The government established regular loading periods to avoid the delays brought about by ships captains postponing their purchases until the last possible moment in the hope that prices would fall. The Senate thus ensured that individual interests did not interfere with the benefit which the mercantile community as a whole derived from a regulated schedule of galley voyages.⁽²⁾ By maintaining the regulations

- (1) The Venetian word muda has two commercial meanings, see G. Boerio, Dizionario del dialetto veneziano, 2nd. ed. Venezia, 1856. Muda meant a fleet, or convoy of vessels. This is the meaning given by Schaube, (A. Schaube, Handelsgeschichte der romanischen Völker des Mittelmeergebiets bis zum Ende der Kruzzüge, Berlin, 1906.) Ashburner, (W. Ashburner, The Rhodian Sea Law, Oxford, 1909, p.cxlviii.) Edler, (F. Edler, Glossary of Medieval Terms of Business: Italian series, 1200-1600, Camb., Mass., 1934.) and Luzzatto, (G. Luzzatto, Storia economica d'Italia, Roma, 1949, 1, pp.313-4.). It also meant the period of time prescribed by the Senate for loading. The second usage has received little attention by historians, and yet it is the more common meaning of muda in Venetian commercial regulation in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Heyd, (W. Heyd, op.cit. II p.453.) and Sottas, (J. Sottas, op.cit. p.105.) recognised its second meaning, but restricted its application in this sense to the period of loading at Alexandria and Beirut. F.C. Lane, 'Fleets and Fairs', in Studi in Onore di Armando Sapori, Milano, 1957, 1, pp.651-63, cleared up many of these oversights and stressed the importance of the second meaning, but discussed the term solely in relation to Venice's eastern trade. Yet it is clear from the registers of the Senato, Mar series, the diary of Marin Sanudo, and notably from the auction contracts and the commissions of the capitani of the Flanders mude that the term muda was frequently used to refer to the period of loading permitted in England as set out in the auction contracts of the Flanders galleys. For example, in 1520, Sanudo, summarizing the auction contract for the Flanders voyage of that year, writes: "... la muda in Inghilterra sia zorni 90, con tutti li altri capitoli di l'incanto soprascrito." Sanudo, 1 Diarii, XXIX, 23 Nov., 1520. Earlier in the same summary he states that the galleys were to proceed to Southampton, "... dove stagino zorni 60, poi compiti sia spazà la muda." There are many other examples. In the same way 'muda pannorum' meant the period of the loading of cloth, and not the cloth fleet of that year.
- (2) A.S.V., Senato, Misti, 53, ff 115r-6r. "... niun altra cossa e de pini utilitate alla mercandantia che conservar le mude, per quelle e sustimento de la mercandantia," and Senato, Mar, 11, f129r; 16, flr.

of the Flanders muda the Senate underlined its main objectives, the constant movement of eastern commodities to the Flemish⁽¹⁾ market, the regular supply of English cloths and raw materials to Venice, and an awareness of the importance of keeping private capital moving. It was essential for the government to establish and maintain a rhythm in the communal transportation system as this gave rhythm to the entire commercial activities of the city. At Venice, unlike other medieval cities, there was a perpetual fair⁽²⁾ in the sense that both trade and the clearance of payments were conducted throughout the year, although the intensity of trade varied. The Senate regulated the arrival and departure of vessels and concentrated them into certain periods of the year. The intervening periods were the months of most intense commercial activity. According to a surviving fifteenth century economic treatise⁽³⁾ there were three periods in the year when trading was most active at Venice. Money was tight there during these periods due to the intensity of buying, and the bulk of the purchases were made on credit.⁽⁴⁾ These three periods were mid-January to the 10th February,⁽⁵⁾ April,⁽⁶⁾ and July to September.⁽⁷⁾ The official schedule of merchant galley

- (1) London was only a subsidiary market for Venetian spices in the west, and Levantine spices were only switched to the London market in bulk when prices in Flanders were low. Occasionally in the fifteenth century there is mention of the London galleys returning to Venice with pepper, the merchants being unable to sell all their spices in that market. A.S.V., Senato, Mar, 6, fl77r. A senatorial decree of 27 March, 1451, had exempted all spices conveyed overland from Venice to London by way of Treviso from a duty of 2½%, unlike those spices conveyed overland to Flanders. A.S.V., Senato, Terra, 2, fl78r.
- (2) G. Luzzatto, 'Vi furono fiere a Venezia?' Studi di storia economica veneziana, Padua, 1954, pp.202-5.
- (3) El libro di mercantantie et usance di paesi. F. Borlandi (ed.) in Documenti e studi per la storia del commercio e del diritto commerciale italiano, VII, Torino, 1936, p.167.
- (4) See F.C. Lane, Andrea Barbarigo, pp.63-4.
- (5) During this period purchases were made for shipment on vessels sailing in February for Syria.
- (6) Purchases made for shipment on the Flanders galleys which sailed in July.
- (7) This was the major period of trading, when purchases were made for shipment on the Beirut and Alexandria mude, which sailed in the autumn.

sailings for the year was thus established. (See Table No.V.)⁽¹⁾

Table V.

OFFICIAL SAILING DATES OF THE MUDE, 1480-1508.

Sailings	Destination
1-15 March	Al Traffego. ie. to Tunis and Tripoli.
22 April-8 May	Barbary and Aqua Morte.
15 July	Flanders.
25 July	Romania. (Greece and Constantinople.)
24 August	Beirut.
30 August	Alexandria.

In the first three quarters of the fifteenth century the Flanders mude left Venice during the spring of each year for the Channel ports.⁽²⁾ The 'Cronaca' of Antonio Morosini⁽³⁾ indicates that the Flanders muda reached England between May and August after a voyage of three to five months. They left Flanders between September and November, and arrived back in Venice between January and May. The round trip, therefore, took from ten to fourteen months.⁽⁴⁾ However, towards the close of the fifteenth century the time schedule gradually became more protracted. In 1470, 1471 and 1472, the Senate attempted to fix a date for

- (1) The information in this Table is based largely on information contained in A.S.V., Senato, Deliberazioni, Incanti Galere, reg. I and II, but in which the years 1499-1519 are missing. The gap has been filled by referring to Sanudo, 1 Diarii, passim; and also to reference in A.S.V., Senato, Mar series, 11-17; also F.C. Lane, Venetian Ships, pp.46, 136; and Venice and History, p.110. There were of course many departures from these schedules and the stipulated sailing dates must not be taken too literally.
- (2) Giovanni da Uzzano, writing in 1442, gives the sailing date of the Flanders muda between 8-20 April, 'La Practica della Mercatura di Giovanni di Antonio da Uzzano nel 1442', G.F. Pagnini, (ed.) Della decima e delle altre gravezze, Tomo IV, Firenze, 1766, p.105.
- (3) Antonio Morosini, Chronique d'Antonio Morosini; extraits relatifs à l'histoire de France, (ed.) G. Lefèvre - Pontalis and L. Dorez, 4 vols., Paris, 1898-1902.
- (4) H.W. Rawlinson, 'The Flanders Galleys', M.M. XII, 1926, pp.146-7, exaggerates the amount of time taken by the fleet, and the time he quotes for the fleet of 1417 is contradicted by Morosini.

departure in June or July.⁽¹⁾ The time of their arrival at Sandwich or Southampton was between October and November until the mid 1470's; thereafter the time of departure was advanced into the autumn, so that the muda arrived at the English ports between November and February.⁽²⁾ An analysis of the royal and local customs accounts (see Table VI on page 118) for the period 1463-83 clearly illustrates the alteration of the sailing schedule of the muda. When the muda left Venice in June or July it generally left the English ports for Venice between May and July, and so arrived in the lagoons before November, and prior to the departure of the vessels⁽³⁾ sailing for Syria in February. The voyage took about fifteen months for the round trip. When, in the late fifteenth century, the muda altered its schedule to leave Venice in the autumn, it did not leave England on the return voyage until January or February in the second year following, and took about eighteen months or more⁽⁴⁾ for the round trip. In this way the Flanders galleys arrived back in Venice before June in time for the departure of the autumn muda to Beirut and Alexandria.

- (1) The change can be clearly followed in the royal customs accounts, (P.R.O., Exchequer K.R. Customs, E122. 128, 129, 142) and in the Southampton Port Books (S.C.R.O., SC 5/4, 16-23) of that period. An act of the Senate, dated 17 June, 1470, (A.S.V., Senato, Mar, 11, f47r.) forbade the granting of shipping permits for the Flanders galleys after the 26 June. The act was repeated in the following years. (A.S.V., Senato, Mar, 11, ff104r, 139r, et seq.).
- (2) See P.R.O., *ibid.*, and S.C.R.O., *ibid.*)
- (3) See F.C. Lane, Venice and History, p.110.
- (4) The Flanders muda of 1491 took twentyfive months for the voyage. M. Sanudo, MS. Vite dei Dogi, B.M.V., Ital. Cl.VII Cod. DCCCI (7152), III 351.

Table VI.

THE ARRIVAL AND DEPARTURE OF THE FLANDERS GALLEYS, COMPILED FROM THE
LOCAL AND ROYAL CUSTOMS ACCOUNTS, 1463-83.

Arr. S'mpton from Med.	Dept. S'mpton for Flanders	Arr. Sandwich from Flanders	Dept. Sandwich for Med.	Arr. S'mpton from Flanders	Dept. S'mpton for Med.	
20.10.63	No date	-	-	24.4.64	20.7.64	(1)
20.10.63	25.10.63	-	-	24.4.64	20.7.64	(2)
20.10.63	No date	-	-	24.4.64	20.7.64	(3)
20.10.63	25.10.63	-	-	-	-	(4)
-	-	12.5.65	23.6.65	-	-	(5)
-	-	12.5.65	29.6.65	-	-	(6)
-	-	12.5.65	25.6.65	-	-	(7)
-	-	12.5.65	26.6.65	-	-	(8)
-	-	8.6.69	20.8.69	-	-	(9)
-	-	8.6.69	20.8.69	-	-	(10)
-	-	8.6.69	20.8.69	-	-	(11)
30.11.69	No date	-	-	No date	22.6.70	(12)
No date	11.12.69	-	-	12.4.70	28.6.70	(13)
-	-	-	-	12.4.70	28.6.70	(14)
3.11.72	No date	-	-	3.4.73	No date	(15)
3.11.72	No date	-	-	3.4.73	No date	(16)
3.11.72	No date	-	-	-	-	(17)
3.11.72	No date	-	-	3.4.73	No date	(18)

- | | | |
|------|----------------------|---|
| (1) | E122/194 (14) | Galley, Lodovico Gradenigo, patron. |
| (2) | E122/194 (14) | Galley, Domenico Trevisan, patron. |
| (3) | E122/194 (14) | Galley, Giovanni Foscarini, patron. |
| (4) | E122/194 (14) | Galley, Paolo Zorzi, patron. |
| (5) | E122/128 (8) | Galley, Nicolo Pesaro, patron. |
| (6) | E122/128 (8) | Galley, Nicolo Mudaro, patron. |
| (7) | E122/128 (8) | Galley 'Capitan', Nicolo Mudaro, patron. |
| (8) | E122/128 (8) | Galley, Pietro Querini, patron. |
| (9) | E122/128 (10) | Galley, Zuan Montesenegro (sic.), patron. |
| (10) | E122/128 (10) | Galley, Thomaso Zeno, patron. |
| (11) | E122/128 (10) | Galley, Francisco Georgio, patron. |
| (12) | S.C.R.O. SC.5/4. 16. | Galley, Nicolo Pesaro, patron. |
| (13) | S.C.R.O. SC.5/4. 16. | Galley, Marco Trevisan, patron. |
| (14) | S.C.R.O. SC.5/4. 16. | Galley, Hieronimo Duodo, patron. |
| (15) | S.C.R.O. SC.5/4. 17. | Galley, Pietro Marcello, patron. |
| (16) | S.C.R.O. SC.5/4. 17. | Galley, Bartholomeo Georgio, patron. |
| (17) | E122/73 (34) | Galley, Giovanni Bragadin, patron. |
| (18) | S.C.R.O. SC.5/4. 17 | Galley, Francisco Duodo, patron. |

Table VI Contd.

Arr. S'mpton from Med.	Dept. S'mpton for Flanders	Arr. Sandwich from Flanders	Dept. Sandwich for Med.	Arr. S'mpton from Flanders	Dept. S'mpton for Med.	
-	-	14.11.75	No date	-	-	(19)
-	-	14.11.75	No date	-	-	(20)
-	-	14.11.75	No date	-	-	(21)
-	-	-	-	30.9.77	22.1.78	(22)
-	-	-	-	30.9.77	13.1.78	(23)
-	-	-	-	13.12.77	24.1.78	(24)
-	-	-	-	13.1.78	13.1.78	(25)
28.4.78	No date	-	-	-	-	(26)
28.4.78	No date	-	-	-	-	(27)
28.4.78	No date	-	-	-	-	(28)
28.4.78	No date	-	-	-	-	(29)
-	-	-	-	8.1.81	12.2.81	(30)
-	-	-	-	8.1.81	No date	(31)
-	-	-	-	No date	12.2.81	(32)
-	-	-	-	No date	12.2.81	(33)
12.2.81	No date	-	-	-	-	(34)
12.2.81	No date	-	-	26.9.81	No date	(35)
12.2.81	31.5.81	-	-	-	-	(36)

- | | | |
|------|----------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (19) | E122/128 (15) | Galley, Fantucio Morosini, patron. |
| (20) | E122/128 (15) | Galley, Fantin Contarini, patron. |
| (21) | E122/128 (15) | Galley, Gionvanni Badoer, patron. |
| (22) | S.C.R.O. SC.5/4. 18. | Galley, Cristoforo Duodo, patron. |
| (23) | S.C.R.O. SC.5/4. 18. | Galley, Paolo Moasse (sic.), patron. |
| (24) | S.C.R.O. SC.5/4. 18. | Galley, Filippo Gritti, patron. |
| (25) | S.C.R.O. SC.5/4. 18. | Galley, Pietro di Priuli, patron. |
| (26) | E122/194 (22) | Galley, Antonio Pisano, patron. |
| (27) | S.C.R.O. SC.5/4. 18. | Galley, no patron named. |
| (28) | S.C.R.O. SC.5/4. 18. | Galley, Pietro Balbi, patron. |
| (29) | S.C.R.O. SC.5/4. 18. | Galley, Pietro Contarini, patron. |
| (30) | S.C.R.O. SC.5/4. 20. | Galley, Bernardo Barbarigo, patron. |
| (31) | S.C.R.O. SC.5/4. 20. | Galley, Giovanni Valaresso, patron. |
| (32) | S.C.R.O. SC.5/4. 20. | Galley, Andrea Venier, patron. |
| (33) | S.C.R.O. SC.5/4. 20. | Galley. - Trevisan, patron. |
| (34) | E122/194 (24) | Galley, Bernardo Bondimier, patron. |
| (35) | S.C.R.O. SC.5/4. 20. | Galley, Pietro Surian, patron. |
| (36) | S.C.R.O. SC.5/4. 20. | Galley, Alvise Georgio, patron. |

(sic.) Montesenegro and Moasse are not Venetian patrician names, and I can only assume that perhaps they were Venetian subjects either from the Terra Ferma provinces or from the Empire da Mar, most probably they were either Cretans or Dalmatians.

The reason for these changes in the sailing schedule of the Flanders galleys is directly related to the changing function of the Flanders muda. In the fourteenth century, and the first half of the fifteenth century, the Flanders galleys' main function had been to move spices to the western markets centred on Bruges. As return cargoes they loaded large quantities of English cloths and tin for re-export to the Levantine markets, and English wool for the Venetian and north Italian textile industries.⁽¹⁾ From the later fifteenth century the cargoes of wool became more important,⁽²⁾ and the timing of the voyage shifted and slowed down. Instead of making a round trip between spring and autumn the Flanders galleys, as we have seen, left in mid summer, spent at least three months in London or Southampton, and left England in the spring of the following year after the sheep clip.

The gradual increase in the period taken by the Flanders muda was due to the inclination of the merchants and the patroni delle galere da Londra to extend the period of the muda (ie. the period of loading) in England. The reason behind these attempts to delay the sailing date was due to many factors, but more and more to the fact that in England the Venetian merchants were heavily involved in the wool trade. They wished therefore to wait for the spring clip, when more wool would become available on the market, at which time they could hope for lower prices. Constant pressure by the Venetian community in London and delays in the sailing of the London galleys in the fifteenth century finally induced the Senate to modify the auction contract for the Flanders muda to meet the demands of those merchants operating on the English market.⁽³⁾

- (1) Supra, Ch.1A, passim. Much of the wool shipped to Venice in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was loaded either in the names of Italians, or by Venetians on behalf of Italian wool merchants, and particularly the merchants of Florence, Lucca and Bologna. S.C.R.O., Port Books, SC 5/4, 16-23 passim.
- (2) Supra, Ch.1A, pp.35-41, 44-48.
- (3) A.S.V., Senato, Mar, 15, ff60v, 61r; 16, f43r; 17, f34r: Sanudo, 1 Diarii II, 20 February, 1499; VI, 24 August, 1506; VII, 13 May, 1508.

Throughout the fifteenth century Venetian merchants operating in the western markets, notably at London, kept up a steady pressure to extend the period of the muda, while there was still business to be done.⁽¹⁾ The period of the London muda was progressively extended throughout the entire period of the operation of the Flanders voyages. The London muda was set at forty days in 1392, fifty days in 1394, two months in 1420, ninety days in 1441, and then rose to one hundred and ten days in 1453.⁽²⁾ Thereafter it was generally set at ninety days.⁽³⁾ Occasionally alterations were made; for example, in 1485 it was reduced to sixty days.⁽⁴⁾ It was increased to seventyfive days in 1488,⁽⁵⁾ and in 1495 was set at seventy days. Throughout the early Tudor period it was usually sixty days.⁽⁶⁾ However, in 1532, the muda of the English galleys, as they were now called, was extended once more to ninety days.⁽⁷⁾ Compared with the London muda the term set for the Sluys or Antwerp muda was much shorter. Until the mid-fifteenth century the period set for the Sluys muda remained the

- (1) A.S.V., Senato, Misti, 45, f125r; 47, ff37r, 61r, 108r, 163r; 48, f135r; 53, f22r: Senato, Mar, 1, f16r, f21r et seq.. From the point of view of the Senate the strict regulation of the muda put a term to the haggling over prices and ensured a quick turnover. Consequently there was a saving in shipping costs and a greater volume of trade undertaken. The muda also ensured that the rhythm of international trade was not disturbed. Galley traffic was an expensive means of transport and a quick turn around was necessary to keep it to a minimum.
- (2) A.S.V., Senato, Misti, 42, f90r; 43, f38r; 53, f22r: Senato, Mar, 1, ff16r, 21r; 4, f173r. C.S.P.V., I, 109, 114, 225, 263, 269, 310.
- (3) A.S.V., Senato, Deliberazioni, Incanti Galere, 1, passim.
- (4) P.R.O., 30/25 104 (2) c.14.
- (5) A.S.V., Senato, Deliberazioni, Incanti Galere, II, f30.
- (6) P.R.O., 30/25, 199 c.10. A.S.V., Senato, Mar, 14, f57r. Senato, Deliberazioni, Incanti Galere I and II, passim. Sanudo, 1 Diarii XXIX, 23 November, 1520. J. Sottas, op.cit., p.130.
- (7) A.S.V., Senato, Deliberazioni, Incanti Galere II, f43r.

same as that of London, forty days.⁽¹⁾ For the rest of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries the Sluys or Antwerp muda was regularly set at either fifty or sixty days. With the re-establishment of the Flanders voyages, in 1518, the term of the Antwerp muda was set once more at forty days.⁽²⁾ It was only with great reluctance that the Republic made exceptions to the strict enforcement of the muda, and then on the arrival of the galleys at Venice the goods were impounded until the normal marketing times so that no unfair profits were made on Rialto. Thus the system which operated to the advantage of all was strictly maintained.⁽³⁾

The regulation of the Flanders mude made possible the relatively rapid turnover of key western commodities, notably tin and kerseys. Nevertheless, investing capital in the Flanders mude was a protracted affair. Investment by a merchant in the full cycle of exchange between England and the Levant meant tying up one's capital for a two year period. The general outline of Andrea Barbarigo's business dealings with his western agents show a rhythm of two years to liquidate one investment of capital in English goods, and to be free for a choice of a new investment. The return on an investment in western goods, however, was rewarding. The dealings of Andrea Barbarigo, and other Venetian merchants show an annual average profit of 15%, an overall profit of 30% on the original capital investment.⁽⁴⁾

The principle upon which the Flanders galley system worked was one of a blend of state and private enterprise. The state provided the galleys themselves,⁽⁵⁾

- (1) A.S.V., Senato, Misti, 42, f90r; 53, f22r. C.S.P.V., 1, 109, 225. In 1392 the Sluys muda was extended to fifty days. A.S.V., Senato, Misti, 43, f38r, f114r.
- (2) A.S.V., Senato, Deliberazioni, Incanti Galere, I and II, passim. P.R.O., 30/25, 104 (2) c.14; 199 c.9.
- (3) See F.C. Lane, 'Rhythm and Rapidity of Turnover in Venetian Trade of the Fifteenth Century', in Venice and History, pp.109-27.
- (4) Supra, Ch.1A, pp.12-13.
- (5) See F.C. Lane, Venice and History, pp.193-226, for the development of this system of communal ownership. Also, J. Sottas, op.cit., pp.105-6.

and thus bore the major capital expense, while the actual trading carried out by the galleys was largely directed by private enterprise. State control, however, played by far the greater part, and encompassed the merchant with a whole series of regulations. The preparations for each voyage of the Flanders galleys began with the auction of the contract for the muda.⁽¹⁾ The aim was to find a merchant or a group of merchants who would be responsible for the overall direction of the venture and would draw the maximum commercial profit from it. The holding of the auction was one of the tasks of the Senate in co-operation with the Collegio,⁽²⁾ and the method of conducting it was laid down by the Senate in the general galley regulations. These regulations also laid down the time of year at which each different muda should sail, and the auctions were usually held five or six months ahead of that time. Thus the Flanders galleys, which sailed for England and Flanders in July were usually auctioned in January or February.⁽³⁾ The auction was always preceded by an official proclamation by the heralds, from Rialto and San Marco, of the number of galleys to be auctioned, their destination, and the conditions of the proposed contract. The proclamation sometimes preceded the auction by a month. In the later fifteenth century, and in times of crisis auctions were frequently announced at short notice. The auctions were held under the personal supervision of 'I Cinque Savii agli Ordini'. A large proportion of the time allotted for the auction was a pure formality, the intention was to give more merchants a chance to record a bid. In practice very few bids were received at the commencement of the bidding and all attention was

- (1) A.S.V., Senato, Deliberazioni, Incanti Galere I and II passim. All persons wishing to make motions concerning the Flanders muda were to do so by a stipulated date, and all senators were summoned to attend while the muda was being debated. C.S.P.V., I, 258, 258.
- (2) According to a Senatorial decree of 5 June, 1517, the Collegio was to put the Flanders galleys up for auction within one week of the enactment. Sanudo, 1 Diarii XXIV, 5 June, 1517.
- (3) A.S.V., Senato, Mar, 11-17; Incanti Galere I and II, passim. P.R.O., 30/25 199. J. Sottas, op.cit. pp.71, 89, 90, 94.

concentrated on the latter stages of the auction, the last and highest bid received being the successful one.

The amounts raised in these auctions varied considerably, and much depended upon the international situation, the number of galleys to be sent, and the ports of call announced for the voyage.⁽¹⁾ In the fifteenth century the Flanders and London galleys were auctioned for prices which brought the state an average of about 5,400 ducats for the muda each year.⁽²⁾ The auctions were not always a matter of prospective bidders offering sums of money for galley contracts. During the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries the Flanders galleys were kept operating by the artificial method of state subsidies.⁽³⁾ Venetian commercial policy was to maintain continuity in all her commercial contacts so that even low bidding for the muda contracts for the Flanders galleys did not deter the republic from pressing forward with these voyages. A subsidised muda

- (1) The galleys put up for auction for the Flanders voyage would fetch from 67 to 81 lire grosse apiece. A.S.V., Senato Mar, Incanti Galere I and II, passim.
- (2) The amount received for the galleys is recorded in the registers of the Senate after the resolutions for auctioning them. These resolutions occur about the same time each year, those for Flanders usually occur in January or February. By comparison the Aigues Mortes galleys in the same period yielded an average yearly profit of about 1,850 ducats.
- (3) In 1485, the Senate raised the money for the subsidies for the Flanders muda equally from two sources, the unappropriated moneys of the Jews, and the 2 and 3% duties levied on western goods. P.R.O., 30/25 104/2. The subsidies for the Flanders galleys despatched, in 1517, came from several sources:- "Abino de don da la signoria nostra ciascuno di patroni che torano dicte gallie ducati sie millia zoe, 3000 di sie grossi de le do et tre per cento, pagade prima le auzianita, 1000, dei debitori de le cazude facti et che si farano, li altri ducati do mille de ogni sorta debitori et supra facti et da esser facti del offitio di provveditori, sopra il regno de Cipro, dechiarando che li dicti patroni possino scontar li incanti ne li sui doni." P.R.O., 30/25 199 c.4. This was again emphasised in a decree of the Senate dated, 10 May, 1492. A.S.V., Senato, Mar, 13 f84r.

was better than no muda at all, thereby allowing a commercial rival to steal a march on her Levantine trade with the west. More important, in the Tudor period, the subsidised galley voyages ensured a continuous supply of English raw materials, notably of high quality wools for the maintenance of the Venetian woollen cloth industry.⁽¹⁾ The Flanders galleys formed an all important link in Venice's east-west trading policy. In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries there was frequent mention of a bounty which the Senate made to the successful contractors, and often the size of this bounty would enter into the bidding with the galleys going to the bidder who would accept the smallest loan. From 1480 a subsidy of 1,000 to 5,000 ducats was offered by the state⁽²⁾ with each galley auctioned, and frequently the bids made were less than the subsidies offered.⁽³⁾ In 1517, and in 1520, with the return of the Flanders mude after the war of the League of Cambrai, a bounty of 6,000 ducats per galley was offered with the Flanders muda.⁽⁴⁾ The result of the institution of bounties was that the state subsidies became the principal aim of the bids at the auctions instead of offers in the other direction. The introduction of subsidies by the state indicates that by the late fifteenth century the Flanders mude could no longer finance themselves, and also underlines the extent to which the state was prepared to go to ensure the continuation of a regular galley service to the western markets.

Provided the successful bidder was subsequently approved by the senate as a proper and capable person with reliable financial backing he became

- (1) Supra, Ch.1A, pp.34-41.
- (2) To have raised the freight rates would have seriously handicapped the Venetian merchants using the galleys.
- (3) In 1501, a subsidy of 1,300 ducats per galley was offered, the reason given by the Signoria was that compensation to the patroni was necessary following the act proscribing the galleys from visiting Flanders following the collapse of Veneto-Burgundian relations, as a result the muda was restricted to London. A.S.V., Senato, Mar, 15 f65r.
- (4) P.R.O., 30/25 199. Sanudo, 1 Diarii XXIX, 23 November, 1520.

the galley contractor, the patron.⁽¹⁾ The bidder or bidders who gained these contracts were usually Venetian merchants or bankers who regarded the Flanders mude not only as possible profitable investments, but also as a means of securing favourable transportation for their own merchandise.⁽²⁾ Quite frequently the patroni were merchants with some maritime experience, having often served in the past as capitani or patroni delle galere, but it was by no means usual or necessary for the contractors to sail with their own galleys. Their role was primarily that of financiers, although through their representatives, the galleymasters (patroni delle galere), who commanded the individual galleys, they could exert a great deal of influence over the whole enterprise. It frequently happened that the financiers who hired the galleys would employ an experienced patrono delle galere to carry out the practical side of their duties. This was particularly so when a group of merchants, acting as a temporary joint venture, took up the contract. In such cases although the contract was formally allotted to a single merchant he would then name his partners in the maona,⁽³⁾ which had been formed for the direction and the financing of the voyage.

Once the galleys had been allotted the first responsibility of the patron was to present the names of his associates, his guarantors, and his possible galley patron or patroni to the senate. The successful patron had to receive favourable votes from at least four-fifths of the senators present. In those instances when the successful contractor nominated his patron delle galere the nominee would also require the approval of the senate. The successful holder of a galley contract generally nominated as his patroni delle galere young relatives

- (1) J. Sottas, op.cit., pp.89-94. Any patron after obtaining the mastership of a galley at the auction, and who failed to prove himself eligible to the senate had to pay a 300 ducat fine. P.R.O., 30/25 199 c.41.
- (2) eg. The investment of the Priuli in the Flemish muda of 1504 consisted not only of their share in the galley company, but also in the use of the Priuli family funds to purchase cargo in England for its own account. MS, Correr, Archivio Tron-Donà, ff5, V.
- (3) See below p.128.

with business connections or possibly the son of a wealthy business colleague.⁽¹⁾ Here we see the kind of interlocking pattern of state control and private enterprise which underpinned the Flanders galley system. Although the patroni delle galere were the representatives of the contractor (patron) and of the shareholders in the galley company, they were not allowed a free hand in their selection. State approval was required because this was first and foremost a state enterprise.

Whilst the state provided a large part of the capital engaged in the Flanders voyage a large percentage of it was private capital and was supplied by fraterne.⁽²⁾ Occasionally one of these family partnerships bore practically the whole cost and risk of one, or even two, of the Flanders galleys, but generally the costs and risks were shared among several fraterne which entered into temporary partnerships with each other. These partnerships were organised as both galley partnerships and as partnerships of the whole muda.⁽³⁾ The most basic of these two forms of partnership was the galley company which put up the capital to rent and provision the galley. The galley company was divided into twentyfour carati.⁽⁴⁾ The shareholders, called parcenevoli,⁽⁵⁾ often owned so much that the patron was in effect an employee.⁽⁶⁾ The second form of

- (1) A.S.V., Misc. Gregolin, busta 10, Lettere commerciali, 1482-99, copialettere di Michele da Lezze, 1487 and 1491; busta 12 bis, Lettere commerciali, 1514-1548, Lettere di Zuan Alvise Badoer, 1532: Senato, Mar 11-20 passim, general galley regulations. See also Ibid, Registri Privati, Raccolta Barbarigo-Grimani, busta 47-49, regs. 19-24, especially 21; and the journal of Lorenzo Priuli, MS. Correr, Archivio Tron-Donà, PD912/II.
- (2) See Ch.IV below for a discussion of Venetian fraterne.
- (3) See F.C. Lane, 'Family Partnerships and Joint Ventures' in Venice and History, pp.36-55, and Venice, A Maritime Republic, pp.138-9.
- (4) Galley shares.
- (5) Boerio, Dizionario.
- (6) A.S.V., Registri Privati, Raccolta Barbarigo-Grimani, busta 47-49, reg. 21, Pisani Account Books.

partnership, called a maona,⁽¹⁾ was a temporary partnership of all the patroni and parcenevoli of all the galleys. Often the maona was formed as a direct result of senatorial regulation. When the senate stipulated that the freights of all the galleys in the muda be pooled in one fund, or corpo, then the patroni and the parcenevoli were virtually compelled to enter into an agreement for the strict administration of the corpo.⁽²⁾ The government regulation of the galley fleets, requiring the merchant operators to charter the galleys afresh each year, reinforced the temporary nature of the galley companies, and of the maona. Since the state bore the major capital expense, by providing the galleys, the mude tended to make large, permanent, private, business corporations unnecessary at Venice. Instead the structure of Venetian business was based on senatorial initiative and regulation, rich family partnerships of relative permanence,⁽³⁾ and joint ventures of a temporary duration.⁽⁴⁾

As galley master the patron was nominally the head of the partnership, and the galley commander, patron delle galere. To be approved by the senate he had to be at least thirty years old,⁽⁵⁾ and to show that the 'company' he headed was able to put up sufficient security to assure the operation of the galley and the payment of the whole crew. Each patron had to disburse 400 ducats

- (1) The word does not appear in Boerio, Dizionario, but is used in the journal of Lorenzo Priuli, MS. Correr, Tron-Donà, PD912/II, in relation to the Flanders mude. See R. Cessi, 'Studi sulle Maone medioevali', Archivio storico italiano LXXVII, ser.6, 1919. Although referring to Genoese practice the use of the word in the Priuli Journal confirms Cessi's findings that the maone were not associations of bondholders, but associations of the contractors or shareholders of the muda.
- (2) MS. Correr, MS III. 1057 ff19-21, provides an example of such an agreement for the administration of the corpo of the galleys al trafego of 1486.
- (3) See Ch.IV, below.
- (4) F.C. Lane, Venice and History, pp.52-3.
- (5) The patroni delle galere were often little more than that, as they were frequently young patricians, relatives or business associates of the contractor, gaining first hand experience of the western markets, and the operation of the galley fleets.

eight days after receiving the Flanders galleys from the Arsenal under penalty of 1,000 ducats. This deposit was repaid from the proceeds of the auction and the emendi. If the sum paid by the patroni at the auction exceeded the loan then they were entitled to demand it from the bounty derived from the 2 and 3% duties on western goods. The patroni e provveditori all'Arsenale were bound by the senate, under heavy penalties, to spend the 400 ducats on the fitting out of the galleys, and the capitano was to be present when the money was handed over to the Arsenal officials by the patroni and an account was to be kept of its use. (1) Furthermore, sufficient securities were to be given by the patroni to the Avogadori di Comun for the performance of their contracts. (2) The patron's duties and functions were elaborately laid out in the terms of the galley charter. One set of these regulations concerned freight rates. There were different charges for every type of merchandise and for each stage in the galley's voyage. (3) When the Senate organised a galley voyage to Flanders it determined the freight rates on the main items to be carried and required the patroni delle galere to load at those rates. The patroni could not refuse to load the

(1) P.R.O., 30/25 104(2) c.41. In addition to this, on the opening of the bank of the Flanders galleys the patroni were to deposit the instalments of pay required for the crews, arbalast men and stipendiaries. Ibid., c.41.

(2) Ibid., 30/25 199 c.10.

(3) eg. see P.R.O., 30/25 199 c.59, where the rate of freight for the muda of 1517 is given as follows: "Petie grosse pagano ducati 4, de nollo le minute et zuchari de levante ducati 5, gottoni e filadi ducati 12, vue passe ducati 8, albertoni e pellami ducati 18, cere de tutte sorte 10, cuori, ducati 10, pagni miero carte ducati 1½ per balla de rifare 12, sede d'ogni sorte per ogni mur sotil ducati 20, fu stagni forestieri possino condurse cum le stricture sotile pani de valor ducati 25, et deli in 2050 ducat ½ la peza e da ducati 25, in suso duct. uno, haver de casa uno e ½ per cento, et se alcuno soto fraude cargasse seda over pani de seda per 5 per cento over una marcadantia per l'altra per da quella de laqual un terzo sia del accusador, uno terzo di officiali, chi lacca oū del cap.º fuor di, v^a, laltro terzo sia de le gallie."

merchandise of competing merchants as the galleys were common carriers for specified commodities. The Flanders muda had to load all spices offered before they could load wine. If the patroni, in order to gain higher prices for their own spices, attempted to limit the total amount of spices shipped to the west by filling up their galleys with casks of wine they were ordered to unload the wine, and make room for the displaced spices of other merchants.⁽¹⁾ The Senate instead of Rialto thus became the interpreter of supply and demand, and the votes of the senators, not bargaining between shippers and shipowners, determined the terms and the route of the Flanders voyage. The rates stipulated by the Senate for the Flanders mude were set sufficiently high in the fifteenth century, so that auctioning the galleys for the western voyage yielded the government a sufficient amount to pay the cost of building and outfitting the galleys.⁽²⁾ However, as we have seen, from 1480, subsidies had to be offered with the Flanders galleys to attract bidders.⁽³⁾ The amounts bid often varied because of changes in freight rates. Although most basic rates remained unchanged for long periods,⁽⁴⁾ some were debated each year by the Senate and were determined not by what the traffic would bear, but by commercial purposes. To

- (1) A.S.V., Senato, Misti 47 f106r. The commodities specified for loading in Venice, and the order of priorities can be seen in the contract for the Flanders muda of 1477, MS. Correr, Codici Cicogna, busta 2987-2988/16, which was not calendared by Rawdon Brown.
- (2) Due to the fiscal regulations protecting the mude the Arsenal made a profit from leasing the merchant galleys. A.S.V., Arsenal, busta 5, 2 series, 19 October, 1445. At this time the Flanders galleys brought in around 6,000 ducats per annum, and continued to do so for the rest of the century. The richest rents, however, naturally came from the Alexandria and Beirut galleys, approximately 12,000 ducats in the later fifteenth century. Those of Aigues Mortes only brought in 1,800 ducats. The amount received for the galleys is recorded in the registers of the Senato, Mar series.
- (3) Venice was not alone in subsidizing commercial voyages to the west. Florence was also forced to offer heavy subsidies at the auctions of the western galleys, see M. Mallett, The Florentine Galleys in the Fifteenth Century, Oxford, 1967, pp.43-5, 86-7, 148.
- (4) A.S.V., Senato, Incanti galere, I and II passim. These can also be traced in the commissioni di capitani at the Correr, MS. Wcovitch Lazzari, busta 24/4, as well as at the P.R.O., 30/25 104(2), 199, and in A.S.V., Senato, Commissioni, Formulari reg. 4.

improve the market situation in Venice the Flanders galleys were occasionally ordered to load all spices offered without charging any freight. Some galley freights were treated as customs duties, and were not determined according to the economies of the muda itself. In this way the chartering of a Flanders galley was often treated as an investment in tax-farming by the investors.⁽¹⁾

The close connection between freights and customs was one of the major reasons for regulating freights strictly and entrusting their collection to state officials. All merchandise weighed on board the Flanders galleys in Venice for the outward voyage were to pay freight according to Troy weight,⁽²⁾ and each galley had on board an official public weigher appointed by the state to ensure fair practice.⁽³⁾ All freight was paid in advance in Venice, or in England at the rate of 40d. sterling per ducat, and in Flanders at the rate of 50 gross Fl. per ducat.⁽⁴⁾ On the return voyage the freight of wools and woollen cloths were to be paid sixteen months from the date of the arrival of the muda in Venice. Freights of tin and pewterware were to be paid on the expiration of eight months. The freight of all other merchandise loaded in Malaga, Majorca, and Sicily was to be paid at the end of six months. Failure to pay freight within the stipulated time resulted in a 500 ducats fine.⁽⁵⁾ The collection of the freight money was made by the officiali extraordinarii⁽⁶⁾ in Venice, and by the capitano in the

- (1) eg. see the Priuli Journal, MS. Correr, Archivio Tron-Donà PD. 912 II, and the Pisani Account Books, A.S.V., Registri Privati, Raccolta Barbarigo-Grimani, registri contabili reg.21.
- (2) 'ad pondus subtile', P.R.O., 30/25 199 c.9, see also R. Brown, C.S.P.V., 1, Preface p.cxliv, n.1, and p.350 n.1.
- (3) P.R.O., 30/25 199 cc.9, 11.
- (4) Ibid., c.10.
- (5) Ibid., cc.57, 63.
- (6) A.S.V., Senato, Mar 2 f52r. This body of officials was ordered to collect freights from the Flanders galleys for the first time in 1357. Ibid., Misc. Cod. 132 c.28, f10r. The capitano received from the extraordinarii 100 ducats freight money from each of the galleys before their departure from Venice. If this did not suffice then the capitano was empowered to levy such amount of freight money from the galleys as would ensure that he always had a fund of 100 ducats for each galley. P.R.O., 30/25 199 cc.29, 31, 66.

ports of Antwerp and Southampton. The capitano then took out what he needed for the maintenance of the muda, and distributed the rest among the patroni. All cargo loaded and all freights due were recorded by the notario, a state official chosen by the Collegio and assigned by that body to the flag-galley. All the freights collected at Venice, Antwerp, Southampton and the intermediate ports were placed in a common pool to ensure that the galleys would be loaded equally and more safely.⁽¹⁾ The patron was expressly forbidden to collect freight money on the voyage in order to protect the interests of the parcenevoli.⁽²⁾

The strict regulation of the freight payments was partly to prevent the patroni from cheating the parcenevoli, and also to assure that the galleys would act as intended by the state, as common carriers, giving specified commodities priority over others,⁽³⁾ but loading merchandise of high priority such as spices and wool at equal rates for all Venetian shippers on a basis of first come first served.⁽⁴⁾ In effect they had no choice as the regulations ensured that nothing could be loaded without a docket from the capitano, and he and the extraordinarii collected the freights. However, the Pisani Account Books and the Priuli Journal show that the patroni gave rebates to business associates, and made contracts specifying how illegally collected freights were to be divided.⁽⁵⁾

(1) Ibid., cc.10, 11, 42, 47, 63, 67, 68, 86.

(2) Ibid., cc.42, 67.

(3) At Venice spices and drugs were to be loaded first, then a limited amount of sugar, finally after all other goods the shippers of cotton were to present their cotton before the term assigned for the payment of the spice freight. Ibid., c.64. The shipment of wines was strictly limited to certain areas of the galley, and all spices and Levantine wares took precedence. Generally wines were only loaded if a full cargo could not be found. Ibid., c.65.

(4) A.S.V., Senato, Misti, 49 f81r, 51 f98r.

(5) See Ch.IV below. pp. 169-73.

The regulations by which the Senate organised the Flanders mude contained numerous provisions for preventing the formation of monopolies.⁽¹⁾ In practice, however, the regulations did not prevent the patroni from either giving rebates in some form, or from arranging the loading of wares in ways more advantageous to some shippers than to others. For example, if more wool (a priority merchandise) was offered than could lawfully be loaded, the capitano was supposed to ensure that all shippers had a fair proportion loaded on the galleys and that provision was made for the rata (ie. the left over shares, the remnant of the wool) to be loaded on some other vessel, generally a Venetian carrack⁽²⁾ then in northern waters, which might or might not be able to return in convoy with the galleys. In times of an abundance of cargo the patroni naturally favoured the prior loading of their own and their associates goods, and large profits could be made by a patron who made arrangements to give such priorities.⁽³⁾ Whether the capitano was able to enforce these regulations on the patroni, especially when the patron might be a rich and powerful figure, such as Alvise Pisani or Lorenzo Priuli, is doubtful. The fact that there were numerous regulations covering this eventuality is evidence that they certainly tried.⁽⁴⁾ In instances where the patron disagreed with the capitano, he had recourse to appeal against such decisions. His appeal might be upheld by the Quarantia, the Avogadori di Comun or by the Maggior Consiglio.⁽⁵⁾ It is clear

- (1) Control of the Flanders galleys ensured control of the commodity for which those galleys had a transport monopoly for a season, English wool.
- (2) Goods loaded on the carrack only paid $\frac{1}{2}$ freight, A.S.V., Senato Mar 16 f43r.
- (3) On many occasions in the early sixteenth century more wool and woollen cloths were offered than could be loaded. In 1506, 100 bags of wool were left in Southampton for lack of room, a similar quantity was left in 1507, and in 1508 1,200 bales of wool and 12,000 pieces of kersey could not be loaded. Sanudo, I Diarii VI, 24 August, 1506, VII 17 January, 1507, VIII 13 May, 1508. Such cargoes left behind took precedence over all others purchased thereafter on the next voyage. A.S.V., Senato, Mar 17 f34r.
- (4) The capitano could levy heavy fines of 1,000 ducats or more on disobedient patroni. P.R.O., 30/25 104(2), 199.
- (5) P.R.O., 30/25 104(2) c.31, and F.C. Lane, Venice a Maritime Republic, p.146.

that the regulations governing the muda were frequently evaded, but their existence indicates that the state went to great lengths to ensure a fair opportunity to all Venetian merchants to ship on the Flanders galleys.

Much has already been mentioned in passing of the capitano, or the commander of the fleet. The capitano was appointed by the Senate, and received his commission from the Doge, acknowledging his rank and authority.⁽¹⁾ A copy of the auction contract was attached for his reference on the voyage. The intention was that he should be a man of some standing in the city, and preferably possess some experience of the sea. He was not only in command of the fleet, but was also the official representative of the Republic when the fleet touched at the intermediate ports. As such he was appointed as a state official, and was supposed to have no personal interest in the trading side of the voyage, and no commercial connections with the patroni or the parcenevoli.⁽²⁾ However, they were not asked to renounce all opportunity for commercial profit, for they were allowed to invest in cargo through colleganze entrusted to agents.⁽³⁾ He was assisted by an able navigator, il ammiraglio,⁽⁴⁾ who acted as chief technical adviser to the capitano, whose own practical seamanship may have been second rate.

From 1397,⁽⁵⁾ a vice-capitaneus was appointed, in charge of the London galleys. His authority commenced upon reaching the Downs where the muda divided.

- (1) 'Capitaneus et Rector', P.R.O., 30/25 104(2) c.1, 199 c.1.
- (2) Ibid., 30/25 104(2) cc.8, 11, 12, 23; 199 cc.93, 116, 117, 125.
- (3) By a decree of the Senate, 1406, the capitano was permitted to trade solely in England. A.S.V., Senato, Misti 57, f32r.
- (4) P.R.O., 30/25 104(2) c.1, 199 cc.3, 76. The ammiraglio was selected by the capitano, and advised on all nautical matters, B.M.V., Ital Cl. IV Cod. CLXXVII ff6 et seq., in effect he executed all the sailing orders.
- (5) The earliest record I have been able to find of the election of a vice-capitaneus for the London galleys is in March, 1397. A.S.V., Senato, Misti 43 f174r, thereafter notice of the election of the vice-capitaneus continues almost unbroken in the registers of the Senate, Misti and Mar series to the early sixteenth century.

The capitano remained with the Flanders galleys, and the vice-capitaneus proceeded to London, or later to Southampton when the muda divided in the Solent.⁽¹⁾ He was elected by scrutiny in the Senate from amongst the patroni appointed to the London galleys. The office generally going to the patron who had placed the highest bid for one of the London galleys. Unfortunately, there is little direct documentary evidence to ascertain the extent of the vice-capitaneus' authority and office. It must be presumed that he had roughly similar duties and powers granted to the capitano who remained in constant touch by post with the vice-capitaneus, and the London consul, during the period that the galleys were separated, and that he retained overall command during this period. While the capitano was in Flanders the despatches of the Signoria concerning the London muda were sent to the vice-capitaneus via the London consul, and duplicates were despatched to the capitano in Flanders. A conflict of interests being inherent in the duality of the vice-capitaneus' role⁽²⁾ the consul no doubt closely supervised all his dealings. That the vice-capitaneus' private interests often took precedence over his official office (for which he appears to have received no official salary) is supported by the numerous regulations passed by the Senate in the fifteenth century. During that period the London muda was often flagrantly abused⁽³⁾ and as a result the galleys were delayed. By comparison the Flanders galleys appear to have suffered less from such delays.⁽⁴⁾ The office of vice-capitaneus continued down to the sixteenth century, and became unnecessary only when the galleys ceased to call at Antwerp.

Election as capitano was eagerly sought as a distinction, and as a source of revenue. On his return, the capitano had the honour of reporting

(1) A.S.V., Senato, Misti reg. 42-53 passim.

(2) He represented both state and private interests.

(3) See especially A.S.V., Senato, Mar 7 f43r, 9 ff10r, 139r.

(4) Ibid., Senato, Misti 47 f108r, Senato, Mar 4 ff177r, 190r, 196r, 5 ff39r, 82r, 144r.

before the Senate. In his relazione he described how the patroni had conducted themselves, the particulars of the voyage, and the general commercial situation in the western markets. Following his relazione the Senate voted approval or disgrace on each patron. The capitano had to be at least forty years old and was generally elected about five or six months before the muda was due to sail. His salary was fixed at 600 golden ducats for the voyage, to be paid by the patroni.⁽¹⁾ Out of his salary the capitano had to pay the wages and living expenses of two servants, two trumpeters, a priest and his personal notario, who was responsible for registering all the decisions on policy made by the capitano, his advices, and all the punishments and fines imposed on the voyage.⁽²⁾ The rest of his suite, consisting of the amiraglio, a clerk, and two medical men, a physician and a surgeon, were paid by the patroni.⁽³⁾ During the voyage he had complete judicial authority over all those sailing in the fleet,⁽⁴⁾ and for capital offences he could impose sentence himself or hand the offenders over to the Quarantia or the Avogadori di Comun on reaching Venice. Once the voyage had commenced he was not allowed to leave the galleys, even at Southampton or Antwerp where the muda made a long stop.⁽⁵⁾ Exceptions to this rule were occasionally made to capitani who wished to visit the shrine of St. Thomas at Canterbury.⁽⁶⁾ The capitano was also permitted ashore daily to hear mass at the chapel of St. Nicholas in Southampton.⁽⁷⁾ On other occasions the capitano was permitted ashore to fulfil certain diplomatic business.⁽⁸⁾ In the event of

(1) P.R.O., 30/25 104(2) c.1, 199 cc.2, 3.

(2) Ibid., 104(2) cc.1, 2; 199 cc.3, 123, 23.

(3) Ibid., 104(2) c.1, 199 cc.3, 61, 76. A.S.V., Senato, Misti 49 f81r. One of the medical men was to go to England, the other to Flanders.

(4) P.R.O., 30/25 199 c.1. His jurisdiction commenced one week before the period assigned for the departure of the fleet.

(5) Ibid., 199 c.117.

(6) C.S.P.V., I, 144, 241, 257, but on no account were the capitano, the patroni or other stipendiaries to visit the shrine of St. James of Compostella. P.R.O., 30/25 199 c.45.

(7) Sanudo, I Diarii LV, 29 January, 1531. C.S.P.V., I, 257, IV, 725.

(8) A.S.V., Senato, Deliberazioni Secreta 34 f89r, Sanudo, I Diarii VI, 24 August, 1506.

illness or the death of the capitano during the muda one of the patroni would be elected by the merchants to take command,⁽¹⁾ but the election was made subject to the approval of the Senate. Frequently the list of nominees for the post was extended beyond the patroni to include the entire merchant body resident in England. In 1488, for example, the Senate decreed that the election of a successor to Piero Malipiero, who had died in England⁽²⁾ should be made in this manner. The capitano elected was to receive a salary of 100 ducats for the remainder of the voyage, and the salary was to be raised by an average on the cargo of the galleys. He was to take command within four days of the receipt in London of the state's approval. In the event of his refusing the post the nominee who received the second largest number of votes was to take command.⁽³⁾ Similarly, on the death of Andrea Priuli, in Antwerp, on 16 September, 1518,⁽⁴⁾ the approval of the Senate was sought by the Consiglio dei Dodici of Antwerp for their election of Vincenzo Zantani, one of the patroni as capitano.⁽⁵⁾

It is obvious from what has gone before that the post of capitano of the Flanders muda was one of the most significant, if not one of the most popular, in the Venetian official structure. The salary alone placed the capitani in the top income bracket of Venetian officials, while his combined role of travelling ambassador and commander of the muda gave him almost unequalled prestige during the term of his office. The capitani were frequently instructed to visit the English court with the dignity of ambassador extraordinary. Giacomo Venier, in 1491,⁽⁶⁾ and Vincenzo Capello, in 1506,⁽⁷⁾ received this office

(1) P.R.O., 30/25 199 c.19.

(2) B.M.V., M. Sanudo, MS. Vitei dei Dogi, Ital. Cl. VII DCCCI (7152) III, 310.

(3) A.S.V., Senato, Mar 12 f178r.

(4) Sanudo, I Diarii XXVI, 29 September, 1518.

(5) A.S.V., Senato, Mar 19 f73r-v. In this instance Zantani's election was confirmed by the Senate, but only as a temporary measure, until a new capitano could be elected in Venice and despatched to Antwerp.

(6) Ibid., Senato, Deliberazioni Secreta 34 ff85r, 89r.

(7) Sanudo, I Diarii VI, 24 August, 1506.

of great prestige during the term of their command of the Flanders muda, while, in 1518, Lorenzo Priuli entertained Henry VIII and his courtiers aboard his flagship at Southampton.⁽¹⁾ Apart from the occasional diplomatic task the capitano's function was also military in emergencies, but routinely it centred on enforcing the galley regulations and on scrutinizing the activities of the patroni.

In addition to the state officials and the crews the galleys also carried several passengers, usually merchants travelling with their merchandise. The patroni were bound to take all merchants, with their servants, and effects, freight free provided that they shipped goods yielding freight to the amount of 15 ducats or upwards.⁽²⁾ On the Flanders galleys it was the practice for the capitano or vice-capitaneus to call a council of twelve noble merchants, il consiglio dei dodici, to advise him on any major problems which arose during the voyage on such matters as the choice of ports of call, the possible overloading of the galleys, the curtailment of the muda to effect an early sailing date, the means of evading pirates, etc..⁽³⁾ In this way the Venetian merchants travelling with the galleys had the right to be consulted before any decision affecting the trading prospects of the muda was made.

It is immediately apparent that the patron, when he won a galley contract was letting himself in for a considerable capital outlay before he saw any of his money back. The patron's assets were the freight charges and any personal commercial profit which he could draw from his own goods on the galleys. To set against this there were not only the wages and living expenses of the crews,⁽⁴⁾ but also a proportion of the commissioning and running costs of the

(1) B.M.V., It.Cl.VII Cod. MCXIX (7449) Giustinian Letter Book, Letters of 22 May, 6, 7, 16 June, 1518.

(2) P.R.O., 30/25 199 c.20.

(3) A.S.V., Senato, Misti 38 f150r, 39 f32r, 40 f28r, 41 f52r, 47 f86r, 50 f154r, 51 f56r; Senato, Mar 4 ff36r, 174v et seq..

(4) P.R.O., 30/25 104(2) cc.2, 4, 25, 29, 36; 199 cc.3, 4, 28, 37, 38, 57, 59, 61, 62, 65, 82, 96, 108, 109, 123.

galleys themselves. For while the responsibility for building and equipping the galleys lay largely with the state Arsenal,⁽¹⁾ the expenses of spare equipment which the galleys were required to carry were shared between the state and the patroni. The state provided spare spars and rigging, blocks and tackle, extra oars, bowracks and ladders.⁽²⁾ The patroni had to furnish additional sail cloth for awnings, all the smaller accessories needed by a medieval vessel such as caulking oakum, pitch, nails, rope and tallow,⁽³⁾ as well as more specific items such as seachests⁽⁴⁾ and timber piles, to be driven into the mud in Southampton Water in order to tie up the galleys to prevent their cables from rotting.⁽⁵⁾ The patron also had to arm the crew according to a set of specific regulations.⁽⁶⁾ The galeotti were generally provided with a pike,⁽⁷⁾ while the balistrarii, or bowmen, had to be provided with a crossbow, bolts and other weapons at the expense of the patron.⁽⁸⁾ The patroni were also jointly responsible for the provision of an armourer for the squadron.⁽⁹⁾ With the introduction of handguns and cannon in the later fifteenth century⁽¹⁰⁾ the overheads of the patron rose sharply. The commission of Bartolomeo Minio,

(1) See F.C. Lane, Venetian Ships, pp.130-2.

(2) P.R.O., 30/25 199 cc.23, 87.

(3) Ibid., cc.38, 39, 48.

(4) Ibid., cc.55, 95.

(5) Ibid., Auction contract c.3.

(6) Ibid., cc.59, 72, 85, 87, 105, Auction contract 15, 16, 17, 42. The capitano was instructed by the Senate to ensure that the patroni provide sufficient arms for the crews, and that they were kept serviceable and stowed in readily accessible positions on the galley. Heavy penalties were imposed on those patroni who loaded merchandise in the spaces reserved for the storage of arms. Ibid., cc.51, 102, auction contract 13, 14, 103.

(7) R.J. Mitchell, The Spring Voyage, London, 1964, p.55.

(8) J. Sottas, op.cit., pp.84-102.

(9) P.R.O., 30/25 199 c.25. 'uno curacer'.

(10) According to Lane cannon were used on the galee da mercato as early as 1460. F.C. Lane, Venice, a Maritime Republic, p.357.

capitano of the Flanders muda, in 1485, ⁽¹⁾ instructed him to take from the freight money collected on the outward journey a sufficient sum to purchase 'in ponente' four pieces of ordnance for each galley. These were to be handed over on the return of the galleys to the provveditor in charge of the gun foundry at the Arsenal. From 1518 the ballistrari on the merchant galleys were armed with bombarde (handguns) instead of bows, thus increasing the galley's fire power. ⁽²⁾ The auction contract for the Flanders muda of 1517 stipulated that the patroni were to provide twentysix bombarde on each galley, the ballistrari were also provided with bows. ⁽³⁾ However, by the early sixteenth century the heavy cannon on board the galleys were provided by the Arsenal at the expense of the state. ⁽⁴⁾ Sebastian Giustinian, ambassador to Henry VIII, 1515-19, clearly indicates that the muda of 1517, was well supplied with artillery. ⁽⁵⁾ In June, 1522, the guns of the Flanders galleys were confiscated by the King's officials and removed to Portsmouth. ⁽⁶⁾ From the despatches of the ambassador, Antonio Surian, and the numerous decrees recorded in the registers of the Senate and the Consiglio Dieci, relating to the seizure it appears that the galleys were heavily armed, in addition to numerous small cannon each vessel had two large bronze culverins. ⁽⁷⁾ Ten months following the seizure an

(1) P.R.O., 30/25 104(2) c.7.

(2) F.C. Lane, Venice, A Maritime Republic, p.357. A decree of 1486 stated that 20 bombardieri (gunners) were to be carried by the galleys. A.S.V., Arsenale, busta 6 f21r, Senato, Deliberazioni, Incanti Galere I, f97r.

(3) P.R.O., 30/25 199 cc.13, 17, 42. Each of the 6 ballistrari nobiles were to be provided with two bows, 'unam a pede et unam a molineto' Ibid., c.72.

(4) Sanudo, I Diarii XXXIII, 23 July, 1522. A.S.V., Senato, Deliberazioni Secreta, 49 f110r. A separate fund had been established in 1506 for the gun foundry at the Arsenal under the supervision of the Provveditor of artillery. A.S.V., Arsenale busta 7 ff.37-40.

(5) The King was extremely interested in the galleys' large culverins. B.M.V., Ital. Cl. VII Cod. MXXIX (7449), Letter of 16 June, 1518.

(6) These guns were in the royal magazine at Calais, in May, 1535. L.& P. X 807.

(7) Sanudo, I Diarii XXXIII, 23 July, 1522; 13 October, 1522; 17 December, 1522; 25 February, 1522; XXXIV, 11 March, 1523; 25 April, 1523; 30 May, 1523. A.S.V., Senato, Secreta, Dispacci 49 ff110r, 111v, Consiglio Dieci, Misti 45 f102v: C.S.P.V., II 486, 495, 506, 652.

accommodation was made with the King, who was allowed to keep six large bronze culverins while the rest of the galley artillery was returned. By order of the Consiglio dei Dieci the six culverins were to be replaced immediately by the capitano, and the patroni, at the expense of the galleys, and were to be fitted before leaving England in order to ensure their safe return.⁽¹⁾

Figuring large amongst the patron's expenses were his responsibilities for victualling the galley. A considerable body of regulations existed governing the amount of biscuit, beans, salted beef and wine that had to be taken on board.⁽²⁾ The patroni were obliged to feed almost two hundred officials and oarsmen.⁽³⁾ Each man was to be provided with eighteen ounces (Venetian) of biscuit daily⁽⁴⁾ at a cost of two soldi per man,⁽⁵⁾ and sufficient wine and meat per day.⁽⁶⁾ On the outward voyage the patron had to load salted meat and bread sufficient for at least two months rations. On the return voyage he was required to load sufficient bread in England for one and a half months, and wine for two to four weeks.⁽⁷⁾ The patron was strictly forbidden to load merchandise beneath the scandolarium as this area was reserved for storing the salted meat. Several other storage spaces on the galley were set aside solely for the galley's provisions, and severe penalties were imposed on anyone caught removing provisions or replacing them with merchandise.⁽⁸⁾

(1) A.S.V., Consiglio dei Dieci, Misti 46 ff13r-v, C.S.P.V., II 656, 657, 671.

(2) P.R.O., 30/25 199 cc.38, 72, 96, 108, 109. 180 stai of biscuit had to be shipped on board each galley in Venice.

(3) Ibid., c.59.

(4) Ibid., c.96. Decree of the Senate, 28 June, 1438.

(5) Ibid., c.38. The capitano was to ensure that the crews received their statutory rations, ibid., c.9.

(6) Ibid., c.109.

(7) Ibid., cc.108, 109.

(8) Ibid., cc.20, 65, 67, 68, 78, 79, 102. A.S.V., Senato, Mar 5 f61r.

The patron had numerous other miscellaneous expenses, both prior to their departure, and upon their return to Venice. Twenty thousandweight⁽¹⁾ of ballast had to be loaded in each galley by the patron before he could commence loading any cargo in Venice.⁽²⁾ They had to give 50 ducats to the Arsenal for the maintenance of the docks, and 20 ducats to the capitano in Venice for the cost of careening the galleys.⁽³⁾ Finally, the patron had to make a contribution towards the maintenance of various institutional charities. On leaving Venice he had to deposit 25-lb. (Venetian) of wax with the Ospedal de S. Antonio,⁽⁴⁾ and 200-lb. (Venetian) of wrought wax to the Procuratori di S. Marco on his return.⁽⁵⁾

In some cases the patron was relieved of some of the extraordinary charges which could be incurred on a long voyage by a system of charging additional costs to the merchandise carried, and thus levy an additional freight charge. Additional expenses incurred by taking on extra crew when the galleys were threatened by pirates⁽⁶⁾ were often defrayed by levying a general average

- (1) 'XX milliaria', 1 milliarium = 1,000 lire grosse = 1,050-lb. avoirdupois, ie. 0.47 deadweight tons.
- (2) Ibid., c.26. This was generally sand or gravel, R.J. Mitchel, op.cit., p.61. On the return voyage tin and lead were loaded as ballast.
- (3) The galleys had to be careened three times during the voyage. Ibid., cc. 95, auction contract 35, 51.
- (4) Ibid., c.20. The Ospedal de Gesù di S. Antonio was founded in 1476, in an attempt by the state to alleviate the urgent problem of poverty in the city as a whole. It was not until 1503 that it emerged as a state institution for the maintenance of ex-servicemen and Arsenalotti. It was given the financial support of the state by a decree of the Maggior Consiglio. See B. Pullan, Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice, Oxford, 1971, pp.210-215. The donation made by the patroni of the Flanders galleys could also be made in cash equivalent to the value of 25-lb. of wax.
- (5) P.R.O., 30/25 199 c.95. The Procuratori were an exalted body of chief magistrates of the Republic, who also formed an administrative board of governors for several charities, see B. Pullan, op.cit., pp.108-9.
- (6) On the dangers of piracy in this period see G. Fisher, Barbary Legend; War, Trade and Piracy in North Africa 1415-1830, Oxford, 1957. M. Meehan, English Piracy, 1460-1500, M. Litt. Thesis, Bristol, 1972. A. Tenenti, 'I corsari in Mediterraneo all inizio del cinquecento', Rivista Storica Italiana LXXII, 1960. Although concerned with the late sixteenth century Tenenti's, Naufraques, corsaires et assurance maritime a Venise 1592-1609, Paris, 1959, and Piracy and the Decline of Venice, 1580-1615, London, 1967, are also useful. See also B. Cialdea, La formazione dell'ordinamento marittimo nelle relazioni internazionali secoli XIV-XVIII, Milano, 1959. S. Lane-Poole, The Barbary Corsairs, London, 1890, while still containing much useful information, has been largely superseded by Fisher.

on the galleys, one-third of which was placed on the merchandise, freight, and tonnage, according to the freight rate, the remaining two-thirds were raised by a levy on the merchants travelling with the galleys and on the galley freights.⁽¹⁾ In 1488, the departure of the galleys from Southampton was delayed for the lack of 4,000 ducats needed to pay the King's customs. To expedite their departure the Senate proposed that the sum be raised by permitting the patroni a discount of 20 ducats per cent on the freight of their wools, 24 ducats on cloth, and $4\frac{3}{4}$ ducats on tin. If the patroni were not freighting goods themselves then any other merchant offering freight, and willing to make the deposit in their name was to receive this benefit. In the event of this scheme failing to raise the necessary sum, the Avogadori di Comun were instructed to compel the parcenevoli of the Flanders muda to disburse the 4,000 ducats in Venice on the same terms.⁽²⁾ Such charges incurred by the patroni included bribes to the customs officials, unexpected port dues, expenses incurred by the capitano in his diplomatic capacity, the cost of safe conducts, additional pilots, and presents to the King of England, the Duke of Burgundy and their chief ministers.⁽³⁾

The bulk of the work of preparing the galleys for sea was done at the Arsenal.⁽⁴⁾ The patroni e provveditori all'Arsenale had to hand the galleys over to the patroni delle galere three months after the Senate's declaration of the voyage.⁽⁵⁾ The patroni delle galere then had to place a skeleton crew aboard each galley,⁽⁶⁾ and transfer them to the Bacino S. Marco

(1) A.S.V., Senato, Mar 9 f13r.

(2) Ibid., Senato, Mar 12 f129r.

(3) Ibid., Senato, Mar 4 f199r; 8 ff17r, 171r; 9 ff13r, 43r; 12 ff129r, 178r; 14 ff57r, 65r, 82v, 137v-138r; 15 f61r; 19 ff73r-v: Officiali alle Raxon Vecchie, Notatorio 2 cc.9, 28, 53, 76, 154, 189, 250, 307, 354.

(4) F.C. Lane, Venetian Ships, pp.131-4, 136-7.

(5) P.R.O., 30/25 199 c.2.

(6) The patroni appointed for the London galleys had first choice of the galleys prepared for the Flanders voyage, but naturally every patron wanted to command a new galley, and despite senatorial regulations the wealthier patroni attempted to influence the distribution of the galleys. A.S.V., Senato, Mar 1 f79r, Arsenale, busta 10 fflr, 77r.

for the loading of the cargoes. On their return to Venice the patroni delle galere were held responsible for returning their galleys to the Arsenal within eight days, and had to hand them over to the patroni all'Arsenale. The officers of the Arsenal went aboard the galleys immediately upon their arrival in Venice to assess the damages incurred to the vessels, the oars and the rigging. The Armiraaglio all'Arsenale was responsible for inspecting the galleys when they were returned to the Arsenal by their patroni, and for seeing that they were cleaned and repaired. Once in the Arsenal the patroni delle galere were required, in theory at least, to clean and repair them at their own cost so that they would be ready for the next voyage. From the freight received on the goods for the Flanders voyage the Arsenal was paid the rent for the galleys and the assessments made for damages, the remainder was turned over to the patroni by the officiali straordinarii.⁽¹⁾

The patroni were also responsible for finding the crews for the galleys. In the late fifteenth century enrolling galley crews became more difficult, and this was matched by the difficulties in getting galeotti to report once they had signed on.⁽²⁾ Competition between the patroni for galeotti was severe and some patroni sought out seamen in their homes to make private bargains. To prevent this the Senate ruled that the advances of pay could not be recovered if paid elsewhere than at the regular hiring places. The capitano together with two of the Cinque Savii agli Ordini⁽³⁾ received the galeotti at

(1) Ibid., Senato, Misti 47 ff18r, 22r, 70r. Senato, Mar 1 f36r, 4 f93r, 12 f50r, 14 f50r, 22 f62r. Arsenale, busta 5, 3rd. series, 19 October, 1415, 22 September, 1418, 9 January, 1435, 15 November, 1435, busta 10 f77r, busta 11 f65r, busta 133 f114r, busta 135 f26r.

(2) P.R.O., 30/25 199 c.6. To enrol a crew the patron set up a table on the Molo in front of the Palazzo Ducale and offered advances to selected applicants between the ages of 25 and 40. A handshake was sufficient, but under the senatorial regulations governing the muda the galeotti had to receive 180 soldi each ten days before the sailing date, Ibid., C.82. When the galleys were to sail the event was announced for three days by public crier at Rialto and San Marco. Any galeotto who failed to report was then sought out by the Avogadori di Comun and either put on board forceably or imprisoned. Ibid., cc.46, 53, 100, 101.

(3) Secretaries for the marine, young noblemen serving their apprenticeship in government, their work was subject to revision by the highly responsible Savii Grandi.

the armament office in the Arsenal one by one, and mustered the crews at the Bacino after the receipt of their first instalment of pay.⁽¹⁾ One of the major causes of discontent amongst the galeotti was their payment on a monthly basis, rather than by the voyage.⁽²⁾ A further serious cause of discontent was the frequent changes in the nature of the voyage. To supplement their income the crewmen had the right to transport freight-free a stipulated amount of merchandise,⁽³⁾ but even this failed to prevent many galeotti from jumping ship at one of the ports of call.⁽⁴⁾ Not all the seamen had reason to be discontent, many were better off than the galeotti.⁽⁵⁾ On the galee da mercato there were about a dozen sailors, compagni, experts in working the rigging and steering at the helm. They were paid almost three times as much as a galeotto, had greater freighting privileges, and were of a higher social and professional standing on the galleys.⁽⁶⁾ The appointment of the warrant officers, the comiti, homini di conseio, bombardieri ballistrari, and others had to be approved by a committee of the Collegio.⁽⁷⁾

- (1) See Besta, Il Senato Veneziano, Miscellenea di storia veneta, ser.ii, V, 1899, pp.64-8, 176-96.
- (2) P.R.O., 30/25 104(2) c.33, 199 c.25.
- (3) See Table VII below. The galeotti crammed as much merchandise as possible under their benches and even raised them to make more room. Ibid., cc.37, 40, 103. The royal and local customs accounts in England show that the galeotti imported and exported a considerable and varied quantity of goods. The crewmen were also permitted to return to Venice with 10 ducats worth of merchandise free of customs. A.S.V., Senato, Misti 50 f66r.
- (4) P.R.O., 30/25 199 cc.33, 63, 64, 65, 105.
- (5) By the late fifteenth century maritime labour was becoming scarce at Venice, and the Republic came to rely heavily upon Greek and Dalmatian galeotti, see A. Tenenti, Cristoforo da Canal: La marine marchande vénitienne avant Lepante, Paris, 1962, pp.81-8.
- (6) On the Flanders galleys there was an established social order at meal times. Eating at the head table with the capitano on the flag-galley or with the patron on the other galleys were such merchant nobles as were on the voyage, the 6 nobiles balistrarii, the presbyter and the physician. At the lower table, or armiraglio's table, (armiraglio on the flag-galley and homo di conseio on the other galleys) were the two deck officers, the comiti and the patronus iuratus, the warrant officer commanding the popa (forward deck), the ship's scribe (notario), the mate in charge of the gear and sails the penese, the galley carpenter, and the galley caulker, the chief gunner, and the 8 compagni or mates. The galeotti ate at their benches. P.R.O., 30/25 199, passim.
- (7) Ibid., cc.8, 15, 16, 27, Auction contract 18, 23.

Restrictions were imposed upon the amount of personal baggage that could be loaded by galley officials and seamen. Table VII illustrates the differential rates granted by the state, and indicates the extent of the supplementary earning granted to crews on the Flanders galleys. The figures are taken from the general galley regulations governing the muda of 1517.⁽¹⁾

Table VII.

WEIGHT OF MERCHANDISE ALLOWED FOR THE SCRIGNI (CHESTS) OF THE OFFICERS AND GALEOTTI ON THE FLANDERS GALLEYS IN 1517.

Armiraaglio	3,000-lb. (Venetian)
Homo di conseio	1,200-lb. (Venetian)
Comitus	1,200-lb. (Venetian)
Patronus iuratus	1,200-lb. (Venetian)
Carpenter	1,500-lb. (Venetian)
Caulker	1,500-lb. (Venetian)
Notario	4,000-lb. (Venetian)
Other officers	150-lb. (Venetian)
Galeotti	800-lb. (Venetian)

These restrictions indicate an attempt by the state to restrain, if not actually to deny, the accepted maritime custom of the seaman's venture.⁽²⁾ The reason

- (1) Ibid., cc.103, 104. Auction contract 29. The figures given tally with those given in other auction contracts for the Flanders mude 1480-1520. A.S.V., Senato, Deliberazioni Incanti Galere, and P.R.O., 30/25 104(2). Anyone found with merchandise loaded elsewhere on the galley other than in the chests paid an extra 8% duty and double freight on the extra cargo. P.R.O., 30/25 199 c.104. The notario, however, was subject to a 100 ducats fine on each additional thousandweight, ibid., c.29. If the warrant officers were found to have brought chests other than those stamped at the Arsenal they were liable to a 6 months term in prison, and forfeited all their pay, ibid., c.55.
- (2) See concerning the origins of the seaman's venture and the maritime rights of the seaman, Riniero Zeno, 'Storia del diritto marittimo italiano nel Mediterraneo', 2nd. ed. in Pubblicazione della Fondazione Vittorio Scialoia per gli studi Giuridici, 3, Milano, 1946. G. Bonolis, Diritto marittimo medievale dell'Adriatico, Pisa, 1921. W. Ashburner, The Rhodian Sea Law, Oxford, 1909. R. Predelli and A. Sacerdoti, Gli statuti marittimi veneziani fino al 1255, Venezia, 1903. Also F.C. Lane, Venice, A Maritime Republic, pp.50-3.

for these restrictions was obviously the limited space available for merchandise on the galley, but they did nothing to make service on the galleys more popular.

The salaries and wages paid to each category of sailor were laid down by the Senate, as also was the number to be engaged for each galley. The pay of the capitano, the officers and stipendiaries of the Flanders galleys in 1517 was as follows:-

Table VIII.

OFFICIAL WAGES OF GALLEY OFFICIALS AND SEAMEN ON THE FLANDERS GALLEYS 1485-1517. (1)

Capitano	600 ducats for the voyage.
Nobiles Ballistrari	70 ducats for the voyage, and 6 grossi per day expenses.
Notario	60 ducats for the voyage.
Presbyter ⁽²⁾	60 ducats for the voyage.
Armira ⁽³⁾	10 ducats a month, and board.
Physician	7 ducats a month, and board.
Comitus	5 ducats (minimum) and board.
Ballistrarii	19 lire (lire of 4 light soldi) per month, and board.
Bombardieri	3 ducats per month and board.
Carpenter	19 lire (4 light soldi per lire) per month, and board.
Caulker	19 lire (4 light soldi per lire) per month, and board.
Trumpeter	4 ducats per month, and 4 ducats per month for board.
Galeotti	8 light lire per month and board.

Immediately upon the return of the galleys to Venice the Senate had proclamations read at Rialto and San Marco, that should any galeotto or official not have

- (1) P.R.O., 30/25 104(2), 199. A.S.V., Senato, Deliberazioni Incanti Galere I and II.
- (2) The Presbyter also received 15 golden ducats on his return to Venice from all the patroni, P.R.O., 30/25 199 cc.57,61.
- (3) The Armira also received 4 butts of Cretan wine freight free in addition to the normal freight concession granted to him. C.S.P.V., I, 168.

received his full pay, he was to go to the Arsenal, to the officio del armamento, where the capitano was instructed to sit for six days to hear all grievances, and to make notes. His report was then handed over to the Senate, who instructed the Avogadori di Comun to enforce the laws, securing for the aggrieved seamen their full amount of pay.⁽¹⁾ Other regulations ensured that the crew received their due pay. The notarii acted as pursers, and were held responsible for seeing that the crews were paid. They in turn were supervised by the capitano. The notarii were strictly forbidden to receive more than 1d. sterling in England from each man for their services.⁽²⁾ The patroni were forbidden to make compromises with the crews over pay,⁽³⁾ nor were they permitted to enlist their household servants or stipendiaries as galeotti.⁽⁴⁾ During the period of the western muda specific rates of exchange were set for paying the crews in Flanders and England.⁽⁵⁾ With the ever present problem of desertion, sickness or death amongst the crew the patroni were also held responsible by the Senate for making good all gaps in the crews. It was common for the galleys to be undermanned by the time they were due to leave England, and oarsmen had to be hired in either Flanders or England.⁽⁶⁾ It was the duty of the capitano

(1) P.R.O., 30/25 199 cc.53, 100.

(2) Ibid., 104(2) c.25. 199 c.71.

(3) Ibid., 104(2) c.33. 199 c.88.

(4) Ibid., 199 cc.61, 62.

(5) Ibid., 104(2) c.25. 199 cc.12, 13. During the early Tudor period the official rate of exchange in England for payment of the crews was 40d. sterling per ducat, occasionally it was 38d. or 39d.. The patroni must therefore have made a large saving on paying the crews at a fixed rate. During this period the official exchange rate of the ducat in Lombard Street varied between 50-54d. sterling to the ducat. See Table IV above Ch.II pp.92-3. On 26 February, 1519, Sebastian Giustinian gives the ducat as 50½d. sterling. B.M.V., Ital. Cl. VII Cod. MCXIX (7449) 26 February, 1518, (Venetian style). On 25 May, 1522 the ducat was worth 54d. sterling in London, B.M., Harleian MS. 442 ff37, 51. In January, 1532, the ducat was quoted at 52½d. sterling in London. A.S.V., Senato, Terra XXVI f232r.

(6) A.S.V., Senato, Mar 3 fl12r, 8 fl17r. Sanudo, I Diarii XXXIII, 17 February, 1522, XXXIV, 14 April, 1523.

to hold frequent musters, to make a note of gaps, and to fine the patron the equivalent of the salary or wage of the missing man as long as the gap remained unfilled.⁽¹⁾ With these problems ever present the patroni were naturally reluctant to let their crews ashore with pay.⁽²⁾ This was particularly true if the galleys could not sail on schedule for lack of crewmen. The Senate imposed heavy fines on patroni whose galleys did not sail on time, but punctuality was not always possible.⁽³⁾

A great deal of the success of Venetian merchants in England was due to their relationship with the King and his ministers. However, a more formal organisation to deal with the crown and the urban authorities was essential if Venetian trade with England was to be successful. The desire for such an organisation stemmed as much from the interests of the merchants themselves as from the desire of the Signoria to establish permanent diplomatic communications with the English crown. The reasons for the organisation of Venetian merchants in England and Flanders under consular governments are very diverse, but are closely linked to relations between the merchants and the local governments⁽⁴⁾ in both a positive sense, by providing formal channels of communications, and in the more negative sense, of keeping foreign governments out of internal affairs which the Venetian merchants were instructed to settle between themselves. However, if there were apparent advantages to be gained from such an organisation the practice was not universal.⁽⁵⁾

(1) P.R.O., 30/25 199 cc.64, 65, 119, auction contract 45, 105.

(2) Ibid., cc.17, 22, 97.

(3) Ibid., 104(2) c.22. 119 c.62.

(4) See Chapters V and VI below.

(5) The French and High Germans were not organised in England, nor in Antwerp, J.A. Goris, op.cit., p.70 et seq.. The Portuguese and Spaniards remained unorganised or loosely subject to consuls in the Low Countries. Only the Hanseatics and the Italians appear to have been organised under consular government in England, and of the Italians, only the Venetians retained permanent diplomatic links with England in the sixteenth century.

A multitude of existing decrees indicates that the Venetian mercantile communities in England and Flanders were strictly supervised and organised along lines laid down by the Senate. The Venetian merchants in Flanders⁽¹⁾ and England were placed under the authority of a consul elected annually on the spot from amongst the Venetian merchants resident in those countries.⁽²⁾ Until 1570 the Venetians appointed to the English consulate were of necessity patricians, and their election was subject to confirmation by the Signoria.⁽³⁾ The names of the consuls, confirmed in their office by the Senate were doubtless registered among the records of the provveditori di Cottimo da Londra, but none of these have survived. In 1460, the Senate had decreed that it was unfitting that one individual should enjoy the profit and honour derived from the office, and the

- (1) The Bruges consulate was closed in 1506, J.A. Goris, op.cit., p.71.
- (2) A.S.V., Senato, Mar, 33 f74v. Senato, Terra filza 38, January 15, 1560. C.S.P.V. I, Preface pp.lix-lx.
- (3) At the accession of Queen Elizabeth (1558), Venice was without a consular representative in England and the inconveniences arising from this absence appear to have been so prejudicial to Venetian interests that the Venetians resident in London took the initiative by electing, on 13 December, 1560, a consul in the person of Placido Ragazzoni, a member of a wealthy cittadini family of longstanding connection with England. B.M.V., MS 'Cronaca di Famiglia Cittadesche Venete' Ital. Cl. VII Cod, CCCXLI (8623) No.XXXVII ff 178-89. The election of a non-patrician to the consular post was strongly opposed by the Signoria. When, in January, 1561, a motion was placed in the Collegio (A.S.V., Senato, Terra filza 38 15 January, 1560.) to confirm this appointment the election was declared to have been held contrary to the law, and was allowed to stand only until St. Mark's day in the following year. The Collegio having dealt with Ragazzoni, and perceiving the exigencies of their commercial dealings with England, declared that a fresh election be held for the post of consul. By a decree dated 6 March, 1563 (A.S.V., Senato, Terra filza 38 6 March, 1563.) and by a majority of 154 to 6, the Senate elected the nobleman Giovanni da Cà da Pesaro as their London consul. Pesaro resided, in London, in that capacity until 1570, when he left without any successor being appointed in his place. The office therefore fell into abeyance, and the Republic was left once again without an official representative in England. Placido Ragazzoni, still resident in England, appears once again to have filled the gap, and is mentioned a little later as agent for the Cottimo da Londra. (C.S.P.V., VII 650.) Placido remained in England until 1571, and died at Padua in 1587. (B.M.V., Ital. Cl. VII Cod. CCCXLI (8623) No. XXXVII ff 178-89.)

consul was charged to have a successor elected in the usual manner. He was to remain in office for one year only, and from year to year a new election was to be made.⁽¹⁾ However, the Senate might intervene to prolong the period of office of a particularly satisfactory administrator.⁽²⁾ The consul was paid by fees derived from the duties of the Cottimo da Londra,⁽³⁾ and was assisted in his duties by a council of twelve patrician merchants, Il Consiglio dei Dodici da Londra, whose consent the new consul required for extraordinary measures and expenditure.⁽⁴⁾ To ensure that the consul was not guilty of extravagant expenditure, or of negligence in collecting the duties on Venetian imports and exports, and other debts and quotas, due to the Cottimo da Londra for its maintenance the Consiglio dei Dodici was required by the statutes of the Cottimo to appoint two provveditori to examine the accounts of outgoing consuls.⁽⁵⁾

The London consul, with the assistance of the Consiglio dei Dodici da Londra, supervised the regulations governing the London muda, and the collection of the quotas for the upkeep and additional expenses of the Cottimo da Londra. They were also responsible for collecting duties not paid in Venice or in Flanders, and a host of other duties and fines payable in London to the Cottimo. From 1475 the London consuls were held responsible for keeping a list of all exchange deals made by Venetians resident in London, drawing on Bruges, and vice-versa. The consul's list of those merchants involved was sent annually to

- (1) A.S.V., Senato, Mar 6 f163v.
- (2) C.S.P.V., I 336, 342, 353.
- (3) A.S.V., Senato, Mar 33 f74v. In 1556, a committee appointed by the Senate to elect a consul for the London Cottimo were instructed to appoint a salary for the consul as they thought fit.
- (4) A.S.V., Senato, Mar 5 f187r. The London consul was not to incur any expense for the Cottimo exceeding ten shillings without the consent of the Consiglio dei Dodici. The consul was also forbidden to pay for banquets held in London, or to spend more than £2 sterling on celebrating St. Marks Day from the coffers of the Cottimo.
- (5) A.S.V., Senato, Mar 15 f165r. These two official revisers of the accounts of the Cottimo were generally chosen from amongst the poor patrician merchants in London, or from the young patricians acting as nobiles ballistrari on the Flanders galleys if they were then in England. Ibid., 4 f36r.

the Cinque Savii alla Mercanzia at Venice, to be entered into their files.

Venetian merchants resident in London made numerous very profitable exchange deals in this way, receiving high rates of interest on loans from other merchants under cover of bills of payment. It appears from this act that such operations were subject to taxation, and that the Venetian merchants in London were avoiding payment. Those merchants found by the consul to have made such exchanges were subject to tax for two years, and to discourage the consul from making illicit arrangements with individual merchants a penalty of 500 ducats was imposed on all miscreants. (1) Another important function of the consul was the organisation of regular despatches of merchants' letters overland to the Bruges consulate, and to Venice. The state provided an efficient and speedy mail service for its merchants in London and Bruges, with despatches to Venice twice a month, once from London, and once from Bruges. The cost of the service was defrayed by a charge made on the Venetian merchants in the two cities on a fifty-fifty basis. (2) The consul also combined the role of notary public for Venetian merchants in England. The consulate employed a secretary, many of whom were trained public notaries, the consul himself generally being a merchant with little understanding of the law of contract. (3)

All disputes between Venetian merchants in England were to be tried before the consul, and a fine of 500 ducats was decreed for any Venetian citizen who resorted to the local courts for settlement of dispute between themselves. (4) It is not easy to assess how far the Venetians were successful in excluding the local authorities and the crown from domestic affairs. (5) Certainly the consuls

(1) Ibid., Senato, Terra 7 f89r.

(2) Ibid., Senato, Misti 49 f63r, Senato, Mar 6 f77r, 7 f3r, 8 f111r. See also P. Sardella, Nouvelles et speculations à Venise, Paris, 1948.

(3) A.S.V., Senato, Terra 26 f232r. A. Anselmi, Le scuole di notariato in Italia, Viterbo, 1926.

(4) A.S.V., Senato, Mar 11 f171r.

(5) See Ch. VII below pp.341-2, also Ch.V 214-6, Ch.VI 255-7.

faced internal threats to their authority, most notable is the perennial reluctance of the merchants to pay their quotas and other duties to the Cottimo da Londra⁽¹⁾ in refusals to obey consular decisions⁽²⁾ and in the sixteenth century, in disputes between the consul and the resident ambassador,⁽³⁾ and also between the consuls in London and Southampton.⁽⁴⁾ However, on the whole Venetian merchants were not particularly prone to involve the English authorities in their disputes; when, late in the fifteenth century Santi Tron, a Venetian merchant resident in London, decided to appeal to the common law of England against a judgement given by the Consiglio dei Dieci da Londra he appears to be supplying the inevitable exception.⁽⁵⁾ In this instance the consul's impartiality was in question. In 1492, a dispute over freight on the Flanders galleys at Southampton was heard before the London consul, who gave judgement for Marco Orio and Andrea da Mezo, patroni of the two 'London' galleys. Santi Tron, however, flatly refused to pay the freight charges, and appealed to the Chancery Court, justifying his repudiation of the consul's judgement on the grounds that he was an interested party in the case. The consul, Lorenzo Pisani, was kinsman to Vettor Pisani, who, with his partners, had hired the 'Oria' and the 'Meza' galleys for the voyage, and stood to lose large sums for payment of freight charges if judgement were given against Orio and de Mezo. According to the court records Tron pleaded that: "Ther was in the seid Lawrens such affection and parcialyte and suche as were of the same Counsell that fauered hym that he owght not for that cawse to have any rule in the seid matter." More commonly, but nevertheless still infrequently, Venetian merchants

- (1) A.S.V., Senato, Mar 2 ff 107r, 137r, 167r, 168r, 183r, 3 f99r, 4 f96r, 5 f61r, 6 f132v, 12 f122r, 13 f96r, 14 f95v.
- (2) Ibid., Senato, Mar 15 f165v.
- (3) Before the appearance of the resident ambassador in England the Venetian consul was frequently used in correspondence between the Signoria and the English crown. The arrival of Andrea Badoer in 1509 clearly resulted in serious tensions between the consul and the ambassador, whose activities tended to overlap. A.S.V., Senato, Deliberazioni Secreta 42 ff83v, 106r, 107r. Sanudo, I Diarii X, 1 May, 1510. L. & P., 1(1) 264.
- (4) In May, 1533, the London consul, Domenico Erizzo, complained about various malpractices in the Southampton consulate, where there appears to have been no code of law. Sanudo, I Diarii LVIII, 16 June, 1533.
- (5) P.R.O., E.C.P. 104/16-20.

turned to the English courts for redress against fellow citizens.⁽¹⁾ The case before Admiralty, between Domenico Erizzo and Giacomo Ragazzoni is of a rather different order since it involves the goods of a third party arrested by the two merchants in different English courts, a dispute which could not have been resolved by the Venetian consul.⁽²⁾ On the whole consular jurisdiction, supported by the sanctions at the disposal of the state in Venice seems to have been relatively effective.

The organisation of the Venetian 'nation' in England was primarily concerned with self-help, as well as with the arrangements necessary during the muda of the Flanders galleys. The importance of the connection between the muda and the Cottimo da Londra is emphasised by a motion made in the Senate in 1518 concerning the re-establishment of the Flanders voyages.⁽³⁾ If relations between the Venetians and the English authorities were limited and controlled by the statutes governing the consulate the nature of existing evidence gives greater prominence to the more positive functions of the consulates in maintaining diplomatic relations with local and central government. In this latter respect the consul fulfilled a dual function, in the absence of an accredited diplomatic agent he acted as an ambassador of the Republic whilst, more properly, he continued to press the interests and grievances of the resident merchant community. In the sixteenth century not only did the consul lose his diplomatic importance, except in so far as he deputised for the ambassador, but in matters touching the affairs of the merchants the ambassador also came to take the lead, although in most commercial affairs he was assisted, and accompanied to the court by the consul and a delegation of merchants.⁽⁴⁾ By

(1) L. & P., IV (2) 3432.

(2) P.R.O., H.C.A. 13/5 ff85-6, 88-9.

(3) A.S.V., Senato, Mar 19 f72v.

(4) Ibid., Senato, Mar 18 f63r. B.M.V., Ital. Cl. VII Cod. MCXIX (7449) 31 March, 1517; 5 May, 1517, et seq..

comparison other Italian 'nations' in England were poorly represented and had little diplomatic leverage in commercial disputes with the English crown. The Venetians were well organised and protected in England by the state through its diplomatic representatives at the English court. The Venetian consulate, greatly assisted and strengthened by the establishment of a permanent embassy⁽¹⁾ in Henry VIII's reign, facilitated full commercial and diplomatic representation, and gave the Venetian 'nation' in England an element of autonomy.

(1) See Appendix V.

IV.

THE ORGANISATION OF PRIVATE BUSINESS ENTERPRISE IN VENETIAN TRADE WITH ENGLAND.

The medieval Italian merchant was a distinctive individual characterised by his mode of work, and by his mobility.⁽¹⁾ At the same time the term merchant embraces a great variety of individuals divided not only by the scale of their commercial activities, but also by their business organisation, life style, and economic functions. One of the most obvious differences is that between the itinerant and the sedentary merchant; a difference which is partly but only partly, that between the young merchant acting as factor and the more established merchant capitalist.⁽²⁾ Many important Venetian merchants trading in the west travelled a good deal; others resolutely remained in Venice.⁽³⁾ Mobility was not of necessity an index of importance, but there is clearly a very real difference between a Venetian merchant established in London, but returning occasionally to Venice or visiting the other western branch of his firm in Bruges or Antwerp, and a merchant visiting Southampton or London with the Flanders galleys or his carrack for a limited period and for a specific

- (1) N.S.B. Gras, Business and Capitalism. An Introduction to Business History, New York, 1939, pp.67-92. M. Beard, A History of the Business Man, New York, 1938. Yves Renouard, "Affaires et hommes d'affaires dans l'Italie du moyen âge", Annales 3, no.3, 1948, and "Lumières nouvelles sur les hommes d'affaires italiens du moyen âge", Annales 10, no.1, 1955, also "Du nouveau sur les hommes d'affaires italiens du moyen âge", Annales 7, no.1, 1952. These three articles assemble valuable points concerning the business history of late medieval Italy. S.L. Thrupp, op.cit., p.6. F.C. Lane, Andrea Barbarigo, passim.
- (2) J.C. Davis, The Decline of the Venetian Nobility as a Ruling Class, Baltimore, 1962, pp.34-53. U. Tucci, "The Psychology of the Venetian Merchant in the Sixteenth Century", in Renaissance Venice, J.R. Hale, ed., London, 1973, pp.346-378. Also useful as a comparison with Venice in this period is R.A. Goldthwaite, Private Wealth in Renaissance Florence, Princeton, 1968.
- (3) The Venetian merchant who stayed at home could employ a travelling factor to conduct his business in the west, but in general he seems to have done so only when it was difficult or impossible to maintain a resident factor.

purpose.⁽¹⁾ The Venetian merchant trading with England might be a member or partner of one of the great Venetian merchant banking families, the Capello, Pisani, Priuli, or Tiepolo;⁽²⁾ he might be a commission agent; or an independent merchant with a moderate amount of capital, such as Andrea Barbarigo, channelling a large part of his capital into a venture in English wool, woollen cloths and tin; or the factor of an alien commercial house; but he probably combined a number of these functions. The commercial activities and organisation of Venetian merchants in England are complicated by the most diverse practices. Dr. Thrupp,⁽³⁾ who analysed the activities of all aliens in and around London in the fifteenth century, emphasised the inequality of status among the members of the dominant Italian community. She divided the Italians into a number of groups, the agents of large firms, partners of large firms, members of smaller partnerships, independent merchants, and a wide range of less successful individuals trying to make a living from brokerage and money lending. Dr. Thrupp's description of the Italian community forming an aristocracy among alien merchants in London, but unequal among themselves remains true for the Venetian community in the sixteenth century. Both the importance of the Venetian community and their rich diversity makes them a group worthy of consideration in the business affairs of early Tudor England.

The Italian historian Armando Sapori has described the liquidation of the London branch of the Medici Bank in 1478 as symbolising the effective end of Italian activity in England.⁽⁴⁾ However, Sapori clearly errs here, whatever

- (1) Such mercantile activities, conducted from the decks of the Venetian galleys and carracks in English ports, were not of course limited to Venetian merchants. State officials and seamen serving on the galleys or privately owned vessels also had their chests and bundles of merchandise on board for sale in the ports of call. Supra, Ch.III pp.146-7.
- (2) See F.C. Lane, 'Venetian Bankers, 1496-1533', Venice and History, pp.69-86.
- (3) S.L. Thrupp, 'Aliens in and around London in the Fifteenth Century', in Studies in London History presented to Philip Edmund Jones, ed. A.E.J. Hollaender and W. Kellaway, London, 1969, p.261.
- (4) A. Sapori, Studi di Storia Economica II, Firenze, 1956, p.1070. "Quando nel 1478 si chiuse la filiale della Banca Medici a Londra, si chiuse un'altra pagina delle vicende dei nostri mercanti in Inghilterra; e questa volta in calce a quella pagina fu apposta la parola 'fine'."

the fluctuating fortunes of other Italian firms based in England⁽¹⁾ the early Tudor period ably testifies to the durability and continued success of established Venetian business firms. The names of old Venetian merchant families with a long history of trading with England continue to figure prominently in English and Venetian records. Venetian fraterne⁽²⁾ trading with England and possessing established branch offices in London are numerous in the reign of Henry VII. Lorenzo and Hieronimo Giustinian represented their father Antonio at the London branch of the family firm in the years preceding the war of the League of Cambrai.⁽³⁾ Earlier that decade Silvan Capello had established himself in London as the representative of the Capello fraterna.⁽⁴⁾ Between 1490-1509

- (1) One must seriously doubt whether other Italian business houses in England declined to such an extent in the late fifteenth century. Certainly the names of old well established Florentine, Lucchese and Genoese firms continue to figure prominently in English public records, whilst new firms of international note such as the Buonvisi and Frescobaldi must be added in the early sixteenth century. Rather, the Italian firms based in England in the early Tudor period received a new lease of life; both Henry VII in the early years of his reign, and Henry VIII needed to borrow large amounts of money, and both in different ways turned to the Italian community to meet their requirements. See W.C. Richardson, Stephen Vaughan: Financial Agent of Henry VIII. A Study of Financial Relations with the Low Countries, Baton-Rouge, 1953, and 'Some Financial Expedients of Henry VIII', Econ.Hist.Rev. 2nd ser., VII, pp.33-48. R.B. Outhwaite, 'The Trials of Foreign Borrowing: The English Crown and the Antwerp Money Market in the Mid-Sixteenth Century', Econ.Hist.Rev. 2nd series XIX, pp.289-305. F.C. Dietz, English Public Finance, 1485-1641, (2nd edition) London, 1968. R. Ehrenburg, Capital and Finance in the Age of the Renaissance, (trans. by H.M. Lucas) London, 1928, pp.198-201, 226-7, 229, 230-80.
- (2) See below pp.162-64.
- (3) A.S.V., Consiglio Dieci, Misti 32 ff56r-v, 64v, 66r. Sanudo I Diarii VIII, 19 March, 1509, et seq.. Lorenzo was London consul of the Venetian 'nation' in 1508-9. A.S.V., Consiglio Dieci, Misti 32 f56r. C.S.P.V. 1, Preface, Table 3 pp.cxxx-cxxxi.
- (4) At the head of the London branch Silvan represented his father Antonio and his brother Vincenzo in Venice. B.M.V., Ital. Cl. VII Cod. DCCCCLXXXIX (9581), "Dispacci di Vincenzo Querini al Senato come oratore a Filippo il Bello di Spagna, 1505-6." Letters of 22 November, 1505, 27 March, 6 April, 13 April, 1506. Sanudo, I Diarii VI, 24 August, 1506. In 1504, the Capelli formed a temporary partnership with the Cà da Pesaro in financing a western venture. Sanudo, I Diarii V, 9 March, 1504.

other London agents of Venetian fraterne, such as Hieronimo di Cà da Pesaro, Piero Contarini, Nicolò da Ponte, Luca Valaresso and Lorenzo Pasqualigo, (1) appear frequently in Venetian records of the period.

Another large Venetian fraterna which invested heavily in trade with England, the Tiepolo, figures prominently in the last two decades of the reign of Henry VII. Piero Tiepolo represented his brother Hieronimo at the London branch of the company. He was a prominent figure amongst the Venetian community, and was elected London consul on two separate occasions, in 1502 and in 1508. (2) The Tiepolo Company of London was heavily involved in the Cretan wine trade with England. On several occasions, however, the company went into temporary partnership with other Venetian fraterne. In 1497 the Tiepoli formed such a partnership with Andrea Loredan, Andrea Erizo, and others, for a joint venture to England with a large cargo of Cretan wine and other wares. The cargo was loaded on the 'Foscara', a carrack of 2,000 botte; Paolo Foscari was appointed patron. (3) The Tiepoli invested 20,000 ducats in the venture. This investment represented the bulk of the capital put up for the venture by the partnership.

- (1) Sanudo, I Diarii V, 9 March, 1504; VII, 12 November, 30 November, 1507, 5 November, 1508; VIII, 19 March, 1509. A.S.V., Senato, Mar 14 ff137v-8r; 15 ff13v, 165v; Consiglio Dieci, Misti 32 ff56r, 64v, 66r, 73r. The Contarini held a prominent position in the London mercantile community in the 1490's. Piero Contarini was elected Venetian Consul in 1495-6. (A.S.V., Senato, Mar 14 ff82v, 88v.) The Contarini head office at Venice, like many other Venetian fraterne, was involved in the interchange of English and Syrian produce and wares, (Sanudo, I Diarii I, 19 February, 1496.) and the family appears to have regularly despatched Levantine wares to the west on the Flanders galleys. The fraterna invested heavily in the Flanders muda of 1507 when Nadalin Contarini sailed with the fleet as patron of one of the London galleys. Sanudo, I Diarii VII, 12 November, 30 November, 1507, 5 November, 1508.
- (2) A.S.V., Senato, Terra 16 f30r; Senato, Mar 15 f165v: Sanudo, I Diarii VII, 17 January, 1507.
- (3) Whether Foscari invested any of his capital in the venture or was merely the master of the vessel is not known.

The Tiepolo Company felt so secure that they did not insure the cargo.⁽¹⁾
 In 1500, the Tiepolo Company of London joined with the Cà da Pesaro in a venture to ship 1,100 botte of Cretan wine to England. The Tiepolo Company was responsible for shipping 600 botte of the cargo.⁽²⁾ The capital of the London branch of the Tiepolo fraterna is not known, but in September, 1508, the London company went bankrupt and its entire debt was estimated at 22,000 ducats. The company was given time by its creditors to repay the debt in full giving good security, a measure that the Senate fully endorsed.⁽³⁾ The London Company was wound up that year.

The Pasqualigo firm also appears frequently in the first two decades of the sixteenth century. Lorenzo Pasqualigo represented his two brothers Alvise and Francesco at the London branch.⁽⁴⁾ Lorenzo made a great success of his commercial operations in England during a period of twentytwo years' residence in London, and on his return to Venice, in 1519, he was described by the ambassador, Sebastian Giustinian, as having become very wealthy.⁽⁵⁾ The later years of Henry VIII's reign were no less studded with the names of well established Venetian firms operating in England. The Morosini, for example, were represented in London by the London Company of Girolamo and Zuan Battista Morosini in the 1540's.⁽⁶⁾ One could add many more names to this list to

- (1) The failure to insure the cargo cost the Tiepolo dear. The 'Foscara', caught in an Atlantic storm on the outward journey, sank in the Channel approaches with the loss of its cargo. A.S.V., Senato, Mar 14, ff137v-138r, 154v.
- (2) Ibid., 15, f13v.
- (3) Ibid., Senato, Terra 16, f30r.
- (4) Ibid., Canc. Inferiore, atti notarili, busta 6620 No.4. Samudo, I Diarii XIV, 17 June, 17 August, 20 August, 1512; XV, 4 February, 1512; XVI, 16 March, 3 May, 4 July, 1513; XVII, 22 October, 1513; XVIII, 26 April, 6 May, 1514; XXI, 31 October, 1515; XXIII, 27 November, 1516. C.S.P.V., I, 752. II, 138, 145, 174, 183, 186, 215, 216, 217, 228, 229, 239, 253, 340, 395-6, 401, 405-6, 455-6, 500, 661, 817.
- (5) 'Relazione al Senato di Sebastian Giustinian, 10 October, 1519', in L. Firpo, ed., Relazioni di Ambasciatori Veneti (i), Inghilterra, Torino, 1965, p.185.
- (6) P.R.O., E101 129/5, (15-32). A.A. Ruddock, op.cit., p.102, cites a reference to the firm of Girolamo and Giovanni Battista Morosini from February, 1542. P.R.O., H.C.A. Examinations 92. 8 February, 1541-2, but this tome which appears to promise a wealth of valuable material on the operations of a large Venetian fraterna company in England in the 1540's has unfortunately been registered unfit for use and I have been unable to consult it.

illustrate the durability of those Venetian firms traditionally involved in Anglo-Venetian commerce. Moreover, to these illustrious names must be added those of newcomers from the cittadini class such as the Federici, D'Angnelli and Ragazzoni. (1) Thus the end of the fifteenth century did not herald the curtailment of profitable trading activities for Venetian merchants, rather they continued to flourish in England for at least another half century.

To the fifteenth and sixteenth century Venetian merchant economic freedom (ie. the opportunity to buy and sell personally in numerous markets without constraint) was essential for his business operations. The protection that the Venetian state provided was essential to give the merchants of Venice the opportunity they desired, but protection was not enough. The merchant whom the state provided with secure transportation facilities could as an individual acting alone buy commodities in one market, accompany them himself on the galleys to another market and sell them there. Young Venetian merchants did this when acting as ballistrarii della popa on the Flanders galleys, (2) but only while serving their apprenticeship, or occasionally afterwards did the merchant nobles of Venice travel with their goods. (3) The itinerant merchant had been largely superseded by the resident merchant. A co-ordinated action on two different markets, such as Venice and London, required some form of co-operation and subordination between businessmen. The same applied to the pooling of

(1) B.M.V., Ital. Cl. VII, Cod. CCCXLI (8623) MS. 'Cronaca di Famiglie Cittadinesche Venete', ff 178-89. C.P.R., 7 Ed. VI pt.III, m.36.

(2) The practice of appointing poor noble ballistrarii della popa continued after the cessation of the Flanders galleys voyages as a means of apprenticing, and financially assisting poor Venetian noblemen. As late as 1569 young patrician merchants were sailing to England as bombardieri nobiles on board private Venetian merchantmen. C.S.P.V., V, 894.

(3) In 1554, the young merchant Daniel Contarini travelled to England on board the carrack 'Bemba' as an itinerant merchant; while, in 1569, three patrician merchants Andrea Dandolo, Marc'Antonio Venier, and Paolo Venier travelled on board a carrack to England with their goods. A.S.V., Dispacci, Inghilterra, Filza I. 11 June, 1554.

capital to handle large purchases or to pay the galley crews. Co-operation on the largest scale was taken care of by the state, but much room was left for private associations. For the economic freedom desired by Venetian merchants it was essential that the private associations formed by the merchants among themselves, to meet the needs left unfilled by the state, be such that they could give the operators a variety of choices in buying and selling on the international markets.

One factor which emerges clearly in Venetian business organisation is the importance of the family unit. Family capitalism, expressed in the fraterna, or 'family partnership', was the dominant form of business organisation at Venice in the early Tudor period.⁽¹⁾ Under Venetian law the members of a family that lived together and did business as a unit automatically became full partners. Venetian family partnerships were basically household partnerships arising from the joint obligations of brothers who lived together, and embracing all the inherited patrimony.⁽²⁾ Expenditures for everyday existence and household furnishings, as well as business expenses were recorded in the ledger

- (1) P. Molmenti, Storia di Venezia nella vita privata, 3 vols., Torino, 1880, vol.1, p.456. The fraterna was a peculiarly Venetian form of business organisation, and was less tightly organised than most other Italian business organisations. At Florence for example business organisations were relatively permanent and relatively centralised. In Florentine partnerships joint action was made possible primarily through the subordination of several merchants to the direction of an outstanding personality or merchant of great wealth and power, who made the major decisions about investments and determined general policy. R. de Roover, The Rise and Decline of the Medici Bank, passim.. R.A. Goldthwaite, op.cit.. The Venetian fraterna was equally permanent, but much less centralised for practical administrative purposes, nor did it have one dominant personality at its head. The distinction between the centralised and decentralised types of organisation was not clear cut in practice, eg. the organisation of the Milanese merchant bankers, the Borromei, was a complicated mixture. (G. Biscaro, "Il banco Filippo Borromei e compagni di Londra", Archivio Storico Lombardo ser.IV, vol.XIX, Anno XL, 1913, pp.37-44.) The fraterna was not a purely business partnership as were the partnerships by which Florentine, Luccese and Milanese merchants recruited their subordinates.
- (2) C. Fumagalli, Il diritto di fraterna nella giurisprudenza da accusio alla codificazione, Torino, 1912, pp.113-20. Each of the brothers in a fraterna was a permanent, fully authorised, legal agent for all the others unless it was specifically provided otherwise. Ibid., pp.157-9. M. Weber, Zur Geschichte der Handelsgesellschaften im Mittelalter, Stuttgart, 1889, pp.69-73.

along with the sales and purchases of merchandise. The fraterna demanded a high degree of co-ordination of effort within the family and agreement as to family aims. Many of the members of the leading Venetian fraterne were men prominent in the political life of the Republic. (1) Leadership in Venetian government and in business were thus combined. The Fraterne had an air of permanence which gave added practical importance to their goodwill. They offered each other and the smaller independent operators the best hopes of future orders, loans, employment and other forms of business favours. The wealthy fraterne often possessed great political influence, and could dispose of governmental positions. (2) Family firms were the nuclei of both economic and political power, and each important patrician household had a number of dependents. In the case of a family which formed a leading business firm the dependents included a number of subsidiary partners, agents, or associates, all organised under the power of the household. A family that was powerful politically and economically could ask favours, because it could give them in return. For example, in 1531, in such a family, the Badoer, Zuan Francesco Badoer, resident in Venice, wrote to his brother Zuan Alvise, patron of one of the Flanders galleys in England, who was competing with a rival, Maffeo Bernardo, to command the service of a commercial official of subordinate rank, "..... el dixidera farvi cosa agrata piu presto a voi che a Mafio perche spiere lui a chasa sua piu bin da chasa nostra che da Mafio Bernardo." (3) The only favour required in this case was a discreet silence concerning what wares a certain galley had loaded, but the phrase "... lui a chasa sua piu bin da chasa nostra" sums up a basic principle of Venetian business. Another example of this politico-commercial power can be

(1) F.C. Lane, Venice and History, pp.36-9.

(2) J.C. Davies, op.cit., passim. G. Cracco, Societa e stato nel medioevo veneziano, Firenze, 1967.

(3) A.S.V., Miscellenea Gregolin, busta 12 bis, 3 October, 1531.

seen in the organisation of the Pisani fraterna. Alvise Pisani was an active politician,⁽¹⁾ the leading banker of Venice between 1509-28,⁽²⁾ and a member of a fraterna which was heavily involved in trade with England. Alvise's commercial operations were conducted in co-operation with his two brothers, Lorenzo and Almorò. All three of the brothers died about 1528,⁽³⁾ and some of the account books of the executors of Almorò survive in the Archivio di Stato at Venice.⁽⁴⁾ The Pisani books afford a valuable insight into the organisation of a large Venetian fraterna operating in England.

According to Professor Lane,⁽⁵⁾ the wealth of the three Pisani brothers totalled close to 250,000 ducats, and possibly more. The family

- (1) Alvise spent large sums for political advantage. He spent 40,000 ducats in dowries, marrying his daughters to members of families with political influence. He himself held some of the highest offices in the Republic. See F.C. Lane, Venice and History, p.38.
- (2) The bank was inherited by Alvise as a going concern from his father Giovanni, who had run it with his brother Francesco. The total deposits in the Pisani bank were about 250,000 ducats. See F.C. Lane, 'Venetian Bankers, 1496-1533', Venice and History, pp.69-86.
- (3) Alvise died of the plague at the siege of Naples in July, 1528. C.S.P.S. III pt.II, 485.
- (4) A.S.V., Registri Privati, Raccolta Barbarigo-Grimani, busta 47-49, reg. 19-24, studied on micro-film in my possession. The ledger compiled by the executors (reg.21) by copying balances from other account books indicates that reg.21 must have been the ledger of the Pisani fraterna. The weight of evidence would exclude Alvise from the fraterna as the registers refer only to Almorò and Lorenzo, while the will of Lorenzo (A.S.V., Archivio notarile, notaio Gerolamo di Bossis, Testamenti III, No.33.) drawn up in 1511, only refers to the relationship between Almorò and Lorenzo Pisani. But, F.C. Lane in his article on Venetian fraterne (F.C. Lane, Venice and History, pp.36-55.) is sure that Alvise had a share in the Pisani fraterna. Indeed it would be unusual for Alvise to have been left out, and Lane advances the theory that since Alvise was primarily a banker he may have wished to separate his brothers' obligations from those which he as a banker had to assume. As the existing ledgers were made in 1528 by the executors it is quite possible that Alvise had withdrawn earlier from the family partnership. Certainly, in reg.21, one of the accounts carried over from the ledger is in the name of 'Alvise Pisani e fradelli', but the capital is much smaller than would be expected in a fraterna of this size, and Lane suggests that the account simply refers to tax levies which were still recorded jointly. Altogether there is little clear evidence of Alvise's connections with the fraterna; however, the practical co-operation of Alvise and his brothers and the identification of Alvise with the fraterna by contemporaries such as the diarists Marin Sanudo and Gerolamo Priuli indicates that Alvise had some share in the fraterna.
- (5) Ibid., pp.40-1.

wealth was widely diversified. A large amount was invested in landed property on the Terraferma.⁽¹⁾ There was also the family palazzo on the Canal Grande at Santa Maria Zobenigo. The fraterna also held a large quantity of government bonds. Another large amount of fraterna capital was in merchandise held in Venice, in the basement of the palazzo, and in warehouses throughout the city. Little was held in bills of exchange, but the fraterna had a balance of about 2,500 ducats in Alvise's bank.⁽²⁾

Likewise the fraterna's investments in merchandise were greatly diversified, wool, cloth, tin, bowstaves, spices, salt, grain, pearls and many other minor commodities, but by far the largest part of the fraterna's commercial investments were made in English wools. In 1499, for example, the fraterna had about 40,000 ducats invested in the Flanders voyage in wool and woollen cloths.⁽³⁾ The commercial investments of a fraterna could also be supplemented by those made by members of the fraterna individually, and this was done by the Pisani. While the Pisani fraterna held investments in property and carried on commercial operations, the brothers also held property individually, and engaged in business activities on their own account. However, the separate accounts could affect the way in which profits were distributed amongst the brothers. In instances of individual bankruptcy it was often difficult for one member of a fraterna to avoid liability for the others.⁽⁴⁾ Both Almorò and Lorenzo Pisani were in debt to the Pisani fraterna to the sum of 43,000 ducats, in 1528, while Alvise and his son Giovanni together owed the fraterna close to 10,000 ducats. The bulk of this capital withdrawn from the fraterna funds was

- (1) The Pisani owned an estate at Boara near Rovigo, and collected rents from it valued at 20,000 ducats, and at Treviso the family owned the mills above the city. A.S.V., Registri Privati, Raccolta Barbarigo-Grimani, busta 48, reg.21.
- (2) Exchange operations were possibly left to the Pisani bank belonging to Alvise; there was no doubt a mutually profitable relationship between the fraterna and the bank, possibly connected with the buying and selling of bills of exchange.
- (3) Priuli, I 124. Malipiero, p.551.
- (4) G.I. Cassandro, Le rappresaglie e il fallimento a Venezia nei secoli XIII-XVI, Torino, 1938.

used in commercial dealings, distinct, yet connected with those of the fraterna. The London Company of the Pisani family was in effect a subsidiary of the fraterna. The London Company was formed as a partnership between Almorò and Lorenzo Pisani, and Nicolò Duodo of London. Duodo was the active, London based, partner of the company.⁽¹⁾ The capital of Almorò and Lorenzo, in 1528, was actually in the form of bills payable left to them over several years of the company's operation. Nicolò Duodo, the London branch manager, owed his two partners approximately half the amount held by the two brothers in bills payable. At the same time the London Company of Pisani and Duodo owed the Pisani fraterna 5,500 ducats in 1528. This debt was a specific credit extended by the fraterna partnership to the partnership of the London Company of Pisani and Duodo. Venetian fraterne were thus frequently involved in a network of subsidiary partnerships.⁽²⁾ The London Company of the Pisani shows how the capital withdrawn from the fraterna by Almorò and Lorenzo could be used to establish a branch company to act as an agent for the parent company. A similar subsidiary company was set up by the Pisani in partnership with Giovanni della Riva to deal with the Syrian side of the family's business activities. The three companies acted as agents for each other in buying and selling. Almorò and Lorenzo, in Venice, were thus able to transfer wares rapidly from east to west, and vice-versa. Shipments were not made directly, however; the wares were merely consigned by the London company to the order of the Syrian company; loss by shipwreck was borne solely by the company that placed the order.

Although the leading firms of Venice were fraterne, based on the co-operation of brothers or father and sons, they frequently acquired subsidiary partnerships and salaried factors. Some of the subsidiaries in

(1) See below pp. 175-6, 229. Almorò had been active in London for the Pisani fraterna in the 1490's, and therefore had a knowledge of the market. In 1497 he had held the post of Venetian consul in London. Samudo, I Diarii 1, 21 August, 1497.

(2) Supra, pp. 158-160.

which a fraterna placed its funds were fairly permanent like the Pisani and Duodo Company of London, but many were strictly temporary, and lasted for no longer than the duration of the venture. In some instances this was little more than several months. Prominent amongst these temporary joint ventures were those for the purchase of cargo or the chartering of a vessel. Venetian business was so largely built upon its maritime enterprises that its organisation centred around voyages and cargoes, and a host of agreements were dissolved once the voyage for which they had been formed was completed and the cargo sold. These temporary associations of fraterne were of great importance to the Venetian economy. Roberto Cessi⁽¹⁾ suggests that in a strict legal sense such temporary associations may not have been true partnerships, but legal arrangements for joint ownership and conferring power on a common agent.

When the cost of an operation was too high for one single fraterna, the liability could be divided among a number of individual interests through a temporary partnership or joint venture.⁽²⁾ Such temporary associations of capital were involved in financing the Flanders galley voyages. More capital was involved in the operating of merchant galley voyages than in any other type of Venetian enterprise. A Flanders fleet of three or four galleys with a full complement of 600-700 crewmen and officials, over a period of fifteen months or more required a huge capital investment. The cargo carried by the Flanders galleys was worth about 250,000 ducats.⁽³⁾ The cost of these galleys, their fittings, provisions, and the wages of the crews, as well as the cost of the cargoes themselves greatly exceeded the capital resources of the wealthiest Venetian fraterne. By a system of renting state owned merchant galleys the

(1) R. Cessi, Note per la storia della societa di commercio nel Medio Evo in Italia, Roma, 1917; and "Studi sulle 'Maone' medioevali", Archivio Storico Italiano LXXVII, ser.6, 1919, pp.6-7.

(2) A.S.V., Registri Privati, Raccolta Barbarigo-Grimani, busta 47-49, registri 19-24, passim. See for comparison M.M. Postan, "Partnerships in English Medieval Commerce" in Medieval Trade and Finance, Cambridge, 1973, pp.65-91. P. De Peismaekar, "Les formes d'association a Ypres", Revue de Droit International, 1904, p.640.

(3) Sanudo, I Diarii VII, 5 November, 1508. J. Sottas, op.cit., pp.106-36.

fraterne were left with greater capital resources to invest in commerce. In the sixteenth century with the gradual decline and the final cessation of the Flanders galley voyages fraterne involved in international commerce with the west often found it necessary to own their own vessels, or to invest capital in the shares of a vessel.⁽¹⁾ The bulk of the capital invested in the Flanders muda was private capital supplied by fraterne.⁽²⁾ Occasionally one powerful fraterna might bear practically the whole cost and risk of a galley, but generally costs and risks were shared among a number of fraterne, which entered into a temporary partnership with each other, or with individual merchant capitalists solely for the duration of the voyage. Such arrangements were either galley partnerships or maone.⁽³⁾ Galley partnerships were the most basic form of temporary partnership and were based upon a single galley. A galley company was formed and divided into twentyfour equal shares which were then assigned to the parcenevoli or galley shareholders.⁽⁴⁾

The Pisani account books provide little evidence as to the actual capital outlay involved in these galley partnerships of the Flanders mude. Luckily another family involved in trade with the west, the Priuli, can offer us a glance at such arrangements. The Ledgers of Lorenzo, Gerolamo and Vincenzo Priuli⁽⁵⁾ offer a wealth of material concerned with the Flanders mude and with English trade generally. They are a valuable record of a large Venetian fraterna for the years 1505-35. Lorenzo Priuli, like Alvise Pisani, was also deeply involved in the political life of the Republic and held many

(1) See F.C. Lane, "Venetian Shipping during the Commercial Revolution of the Sixteenth Century", in Crisis and Change in the Venetian Economy, B. Pullan, ed., London, 1968, pp.22-45.

(2) Supra, Ch.III, passim.

(3) Supra, pp. 127-8.

(4) Supra, Ch.III p. 127.

(5) MS. Correr, Archivio Tron Donà, PD.912 II. The Ledger of Lorenzo Priuli, the head of the Venice office of the company, and PD.911 II, the Ledger of the London branch office of the fraterna under Gerolamo and Vincenzo Priuli. I have studied these Ledgers on microfilm.

of the more influential offices of state.⁽¹⁾ Like the Pisani the Priuli invested heavily in real estate on the mainland.⁽²⁾ For example, in 1537, Gerolamo possessed 140 campi in the Polesine; a small farm of 60 campi at Villa della Frasinella, and a vast farm comprising 350 campi at Villa della Pincara; in the Vicentino, at Villa della Ferro, he owned a further 400 campi; in the Trevigiano he owned more lands, largely fenland, and lands in the Padovano near Cittadella, and Camposanpiero. The Pisani and Priuli families were connected through Vincenzo's marriage to one of the daughters of Alvise Pisani. Vincenzo, like Almorò and Lorenzo Pisani, was very active in the business of importing English wool, while Gerolamo was a prominent banker,⁽³⁾ and handled the financing of all Vincenzo's wool operations.

In 1504, Lorenzo and his sons owned eight carati, or a third of the shares, of the galley company of which Federigo Morosini was the patron. The capitano, Marc'Antonio Contarini, wrote to Lorenzo from Southampton that they would have 17,000 ducats of freight on the return voyage.⁽⁴⁾ The total cost of the galley amounted to 7,503 ducats and 7 grossi, according to a letter sent by Morosini to Lorenzo from Southampton. This figure represents the net cost in the west, calculated by Morosini, by deducting the amount of freights he had collected in Southampton from the total expenses incurred by him there.⁽⁵⁾ These figures are born out by entries in the Pisani account books. The twelve carati, or half of the shares of the galley company, held by the Pisani, of the

- (1) Sanudo, I Diarii, passim. By 1509 Lorenzo was one of the capi of the Consiglio Dieci. A.S.V., Consiglio Dieci, Misti 32 f64r et seq..
- (2) A.S.V., Archivio Tiepolo B.199 n.72.
- (3) See F.C. Lane, "Venetian Bankers, 1496-1533", Venice and History, pp.69-86.
- (4) Sanudo, I Diarii v, 9 March, 5 August, 1505.
- (5) "Per Galia de Fiandre patrono Federigo Moroxini, Capettanio Ser Marco Antonio Contarini. A Ser Federigo Morexini come patrono per tanti ne assegna per suo conto montar dita galia ducati 7,503 grossi 7 che tocha a noi per karati 8 ducati 250l, grossi 2, computando i danari due de Vicenzo a sterlina 54 per ducato, val L.250 s.2, d.2. p.— ." Correr, Archivio Tron Donà PD.912 II f19.

Flanders fleet which sailed in 1518, was debited for 4,220 ducats.⁽¹⁾ These figures represent the amounts disbursed on the galleys in excess of the total receipts received by the patron. The outlay above the receipts of each galley had to be advanced by the parcenevoli of the galley.⁽²⁾ The advance made to the patron was paid back to the parcenevoli by granting them their share of the freights payable in Venice after the return of the galleys, and, in the early Tudor period, their share of the state subsidy offered by the Senate. A number of credits to the Priuli of their percentage of the subsidy are entered in October, and in December, 1506. For example, on 1 October, 1506, the following entry occurs: "Per Hoffitio di governadori del Intrade per conto de Cresiamenti A Galia de Fiandra, patron Federigo Morexini, Capitano Ser Marco Antonio Contarini, in la qual participo in 1/3, per tanti dito Ser Federigo ne scripsse questo giorno per parte del don de dita galea, deli carati 8 me aspeta, L.32 s.— d.— p.—." The settlement for the freights is added: "Per Francesco Foscari e fradelli fo de Ser Nicolò A Galea de Fiandra patronizata per Ser Federigo Moroxini Capitano Ser Marco Antonio Contarini, che mi tocha i ditti per debitori per la nostra parte di ducati 600 el he sta conza la loro partida, come apar per poliza de Santo de Caxa." Both the Priuli and the Pisani fraterne settled the payment of certain freight on the goods they shipped on their galleys by crediting their galley account.⁽³⁾ Thus some indication of the capital required for the Flanders voyage can be glimpsed from the accounts and ledgers of the Pisani and Priuli fraterne.⁽⁴⁾

- (1) A.S.V., Registri Privati, Raccolta Barbarigo-Grimani, busta 48, reg.21.
- (2) An entry in the Priuli ledger of September 30, 1505, (MS. Correr, Archivio Tron Donà PD.912 II f5.) indicates the payment to the patron by Vincenzo Priuli of £264. 13s. 6d. sterling (1267 ducats, at 50d. sterling to the Venetian ducat) and the next entry would have balanced the account, but is unfortunately incomplete.
- (3) A.S.V., Registri Privati Raccolta Barbarigo-Grimani, busta 48 reg.21. MS. Correr, Archivio Tron Donà PD 912 II f xxiii.
- (4) In fact the figures indicated in the records of these two fraterne possibly fall short of the full amount of the capital outlay which had to be paid out for the Flanders voyage. F.C. Lane advances a more realistic figure of 20-24,000 ducats for the voyage, in Venice and History, p.48, and adds that even this may be a conservative figure.

The bulk of the capital investment was in the galley cargo. A cargo worth a quarter of a million ducats shipped on the Flanders galleys was of course made up of goods freighted by numerous merchants who had no association among themselves. Those merchants who invested capital in the operation of a merchant galley also had an incentive to invest in its cargo. Indeed they might have to do so to ensure that the galley had a full cargo, and did not sail only partially full. The investment of the Priuli fraterna in the Flanders galley voyage of 1504 consisted not only in a share in the galley company, but also in the purchase of cargo. The Priuli made their purchases both individually, jointly with other members of the galley company, and jointly with all the parcenevoli of all three Flanders galleys. However, by far the largest capital outlay was made directly by the fraterna for its own account of wool, woollen cloth, and hides, worth almost 10,000 ducats.⁽¹⁾ This investment was the biggest single outlay of capital in the whole venture made by Lorenzo and his sons. Collections from the sales of the wool continued to be the family's major source of income for a long while after the return of the galleys. The Priuli investment in the galley company can therefore be seen as only a secondary investment, made to ensure the supply of wool. The family's desire to obtain an adequate wool supply therefore led the fraterna into joining a galley company in order to ensure that the Flanders galleys could actually sail that year. Ensuring an adequate cargo led the Priuli to make other purchases. They joined for one third, the amount of their share in the galley, in the purchase of 200 botti of malvasia bought by the patron, Federigo Moresini. The total cost of the Priuli share in the wine was about 750 ducats. The reason for the purchase of wine was the lack of spices to fill the outgoing galleys.⁽²⁾ Gerolamo Priuli noted with rage in his diary, as his family was heavily involved in the Flanders voyage, that spices were not being shipped to the west

(1) MS. Correr Archivio Tron Donà PD. 192 II ff 5, V.

(2) In fact wine could not be loaded on the Flanders galleys until all spices that were offered for freight had been loaded. P.R.O., 30/25 199 cc.64, 65.

in 1504 because spices were arriving in large quantities from India in Portuguese vessels. (1)

Joint ventures were also made in this manner by all the patroni and parcenevoli of the Flanders fleet. The purchase of wine to fill out the cargo for the voyage to England was arranged separately for the Morosini galley by all the patroni and parcenevoli of the galley company. However, the Priuli joined with all the patroni and parcenevoli of the fleet in purchasing a cargo of lead in England for the return voyage. This form of partnership was termed a maona. (2) The patroni had a common interest in ensuring that there was an adequate cargo for the fleet as a whole. Venetian merchants shipping to the west commonly split their shipments and loaded part of their goods on each galley to insure them against loss or damage. (3) One way to assure a large cargo for all the galleys was for a maona to be formed to agree to joint purchases to help fill the galleys. The lead bought in 1505 for the account of the Flanders maona to which the Priuli belonged was purchased jointly to ensure that each galley had sufficient ballast. (4)

Joint action was also stimulated by the merchants' desire for monopoly, or for a favourable bargaining position. Venetian merchants in the west were always on the lookout for ways of making agreements to effect some temporary monopoly. Venetian merchants acting together as a maona seeking cargo could prevent fierce competition. Such cartels were favoured by the state. (5) It also strengthened the bargaining power of the Venetian merchants in England if they acted in concert by prior agreement. The basic reason for

(1) Priuli II, 352-6.

(2) Supra, pp.127-8.

(3) F.C. Lane, Andrea Barbarigo, pp.56, 116.

(4) Large quantities of tin, copper, pewterware and lead were frequently bought in England by the Venetians for this purpose.

(5) F.C. Lane, Venice, A Maritime Republic, pp.144-6. The state distinguished between those combines which were open to all Venetians, and those that excluded some merchants for the benefit of others.

joining in such a maona or in a galley company may have been a desire to avoid competitive bidding against one another. It was certainly an important consideration in a contract made among the patroni and parcenevoli of the Flanders muda of 1487-8, which made provision for joint action on behalf of all the patroni in the sale of soap in London. Besides avoiding competition in the sale of their soap the patroni also agreed that sixty thousandweights of gallnuts should be bought jointly by a single agent in Venice, and should be sold by a single agent for the maona in England.⁽¹⁾ However, one competitor at least felt that he had been discriminated against and kept off the market by unfair practice, in 1488, as a lawsuit ensued upon the return of the galleys to Venice concerning the loading of a cargo of soap other than that belonging to the maona.⁽²⁾

There were therefore several factors compelling the patroni and the parcenevoli of each Flanders fleet into temporary partnerships in different degrees. The desire to prevent undue competition amongst themselves in the western markets also gave a stimulus to develop general merchandising agreements for the period of the muda. The necessity to pool operating expenses and to ensure a full cargo were fully appreciated and acted upon. The basic structure of Venetian business organisation was therefore very flexible. Diversification and flexibility were basic to the commercial operations of Venetian merchants trading with the west in the early Tudor period.⁽³⁾

Alongside these large fraterne organisations operated the small independent merchant capitalist such as Andrea Barbarigo. His was an independent business, and was typical of the operations of an independent capitalist. He participated in no formal or enduring partnerships and employed no regular staff

(1) A.S.V., Miscellenea Gregolin, busta 10.

(2) Ibid., busta 10, 1491.

(3) See N.S.B. Gras, op.cit., p.67. F.C. Lane, Andrea Barbarigo, passim.

of salaried agents or employees. The partnerships that he formed were for a specific venture only, and were terminated in law immediately the occasion for forming the partnership had passed. Both the fraterna and the small, independent, merchant capitalist, however, had need of the mechanism of overseas agency⁽¹⁾ in order to organise their dependents and to form temporary alliances with each other. The independent merchant also had ^{of} necessity to enter into temporary contracts of joint ownership which created no real partnership, but at most a joint venture. Under Venetian law, joint ownership was not a relationship between merchants but a relationship between each of them and the commodities owned. It could be divided amongst them in the case of a shipload of wool or woollen cloths, but the commodity in fact was rarely divided, generally one of the joint owners acted as agent for the other or others. In his capacity as accredited agent he bought and sold for all the joint owners and advanced them credit on his books corresponding to their investment in the joint ownership.

While family connections were utilised whenever possible the structure of business relationships also reflect alliances between important mercantile families often admittedly sealed by marriage. Many Venetian companies like the Pisani were represented in England by junior partners or by employees who were not members of the family forming the parent company. In 1532, a junior member of the Badoer family, Zuan Alvise, travelled to England as 'patronus galearum'. The commission offered him personally the most favourable conditions for a young patrician merchant with little capital to make a fortune. From Venice one of his brothers, Zuan Francesco, addressed a letter to him at Southampton in which he urged him to mind the Badoer interests, to come out on the credit side, and to think of the future because in Venice none but the rich were respected. Zuan Alvise was obviously acting as a junior partner of the Badoer fraterna in England, and combining the interests of the family fraterna with his own education of business techniques in the west and the

(1) Ibid., pp.91-9.

operating of a merchant galley. He was instructed to invest capital in good kerseys, to try to manage things as though he were but a small merchant, without ostentation, and above all on his return home he was to make out his customs declaration under a false name, bearing taxes in mind.⁽¹⁾ Whilst younger relatives were frequently sent at an early age to join branches established in London, or with the Flanders galleys, many of the clerks and factors of the Venetian companies in London were outsiders, and not always Venetians. Genoese, Florentines and Lucchese often acted as factors for Venetian fraterne in England, while in the mid-sixteenth century a large number of Flemish merchants were acting as commission agents for Venetian firms in the west. The domestic servants of Venetian merchants in London also seem to have been a very cosmopolitan group.⁽²⁾ Finally there was a whole network of subsidiary partnerships formed by Venetian merchants and firms in London normally, but not exclusively with fellow Italians.⁽³⁾

In discussing the business organisation of Venetian merchants in England the emphasis thus far has been placed on the London firms constituted by predominantly family partnerships or by a number of investing capitalists resident in Venice. Some Venetian companies, however, were represented in England by men who were clearly junior partners or simply salaried employees, and who resided for long periods in London or Southampton. The interests of the Pisani and of other Venetian firms⁽⁴⁾ were represented in England by Nicolò Duodo, who was the active partner and branch manager of the Pisani and Duodo Company of London.⁽⁵⁾ The amount of capital contributed to the partnership by

- (1) A.S.V., Miscellanea Gregolin, busta 12 bis. Zuan Francesco to Zuan Alvise Badoer, 5 January, 1531.
- (2) See R.E.G. and E.F. Kirk, "Returns of Aliens dwelling in the City and Suburbs of London", Publications of the Huguenot Society of London X, 1900-8, 1, passim.
- (3) Several partnerships were made with Southampton burgesses eg. Henry Huttoft, P.R.O., Libels 9(5), Examinations June-July, 1538. H.C.A. 13/7 ff229-38. There were also many temporary partnerships made with Spanish and Portuguese merchants, eg. P.R.O., E122 204(9); L. & P., IV(11) 3154(11), V 1577. W. Campbell, Materials I, 251.
- (4) C.S.P.V., II 1287.
- (5) A.S.V., Registri Privati, Raccolta Barbarigo-Grimani, busta 47-49, reg.19-24.

Duodo is unknown, although when the executors of Almorò Pisani took over the Pisani books in 1528 the sum due to Almorò and Lorenzo from Duodo stood at 8,248 ducats. Clearly Duodo's services were his chief donation to a company established by the Pisani fraterna in Venice. Nicolò prospered as manager of the London Company, and by 1519 the Venetian ambassador in London could describe him as an upright man with property worth 30,000 ducats.⁽¹⁾ Like many of his fellow countrymen Duodo does not appear to have married in England, though he fathered an illegitimate son, Antonio.⁽²⁾ Nicolò left England sometime in the 1520's, and left all his business interests in England in the hands of his son, Antonio Duodo.⁽³⁾ Antonio continued to head the family business in London, and acted as commission agent for other Venetian firms until he also returned to Venice.⁽⁴⁾

Nicolò Duodo was a junior partner in a branch company of a large Venetian fraterna; other Venetian firms were represented in England by employees or factors. A number of merchants in London are described in the English records as factors of Venetian companies. The role of junior members of the major Venetian fraterne in this capacity has already been considered, but many fraterne employed agents or factors who were neither partners nor junior members of the family firm. In 1530, Girolamo da Molin appears as the factor of the Venetian merchant and banker Maffio Bernardo.⁽⁵⁾ Earlier in the century Antonio Salvago, a Genoese, had acted as London factor for several Venetian merchants.⁽⁶⁾

(1) "Relazione al Senato di Sebastian Giustinian, 10 October, 1519", L. Firpo, ed., Relazioni di Ambasciatori Veneti (1), Inghilterra, Torino, 1965, p.185.

(2) See below, Ch.IV pp.229-30.

(3) L. & P., III. pt II, 1870; VI 1702. P.R.O., E.C.P. 621 (35-7).

(4) P.R.O., E.C.P. 621 (37).

(5) L. & P., IV pt.III 6491, 6501.

(6) P.R.O., E.C.P. 266(25).

Since merchants like Maffio Bernardo were intermittently in London, their chief factors must have played the role of ordinary employees and of representatives in their master's absence. It would appear that the term 'factor' is sometimes used in English sources loosely to cover also agents and procurators, ⁽¹⁾ but certainly some Venetian firms were represented by genuine factors. Antonio Bavarin is described unequivocally in the Venetian records as the London based factor of the Cà da Pesaro, ⁽²⁾ with which he was in frequent correspondence. ⁽³⁾ The factor, whether acting for one or for many, was largely concerned with buying and selling. He received and sold his master's goods to the best advantage: he bought and shipped the goods his master had ordered. There was nothing mechanical in all this, however, the factor was no passive agent. Naturally he did not directly determine his master's policy, but the advice and information he gave must have influenced that policy. The factor's knowledge of the English market must have been paramount in influencing his master's decision on what goods to import or export, and on a host of other decisions. The limited powers of factors is a subject discussed on a number of occasions in cases brought before the High Court of Admiralty during this period, ⁽⁴⁾ though one may suspect that because of problems of distance and communication the difference between a junior partner, like Duodo, and an employee, like Bavarin, was potentially greater in terms of legal status, and form of remuneration, than in terms of practical independence.

These agents or factors like the junior members of the family and extra-familial partnerships were clearly sedentary figures. Members of the

- (1) See "The Factor or Agent in Foreign Trade" in Studies in Elizabethan Foreign Trade, by T.S. Willan, Manchester, 1959, pp.1-32.
- (2) A.S.V., Atti Notarili-Devereux, Giovanni, 1509-11, busta 6620 No.4.
- (3) Sanudo, I Diarii XV, 5 October, 1512; XVI 3 July, 1513; XVII 1 September, 12 October, 5 January, 1513. C.S.P.V., II, 199, 237, 252, 283, 336-7, 362.
- (4) P.R.O., H.C.A. 13/4 ff 38-40: 13/7 ff 199, 204, 247.

Venetian mercantile community in London are not infrequently found about their business in Southampton or the west country, but in so far as day to day business activities were not dependent upon mobility; it must be accepted that by the late fifteenth century the itinerant merchant had been largely superseded in Venetian trade. However, if in the sixteenth century Venetian firms normally relied upon more permanent representatives, the travelling merchant is not entirely absent from the records. (1)

Much of the business done in England by Venetian merchants in the sixteenth century was done by consigning wares to commission agents. (2) A merchant resident in Venice and acting through agents residing in England or Flanders could keep track more accurately of what his agents were doing, if their sales were in his name and on commission. The agent's accounts then consisted of records of sales or purchases at specified prices of specific amounts, and of relatively small or well-established handling charges. Once trade connections were firmly established with an agent in the west then handling charges and shipping practices became more generally standardised, and prices became a matter of common knowledge among the mercantile community. The resident merchant at Venice could then systematically check on his commission agent's accounts and dealings. According to the standard rates agents received 2% of the value of the wares they sold, and 1% on purchases and collections of bills of exchange. (3) Some merchants did a great deal of business for relatives and close friends without charging them commission on

- (1) B.M.V., Ital Cl.VII, Cod MCXIX (7449) 21 June, 1518. A.S.V., Dispacci ambasciatori, Inghilterra, Filza 1, 11 June, 1554, 21 July, 1569. Senato, Misti, 46 f35r; 48 f27r: P.R.O., 30/25 199cc13,45.
- (2) The profit sharing system or colleganza had given way at an early date in Venice to a system of commission agency. The term colleganza can be roughly equated to the Genoese commenda, see A. Arcangeli, "La commenda a Venezia specialmente nel secolo XIV", Rivista Italiana per le scienze giuridiche XXXIII, 1902, pp.107-64.
- (3) G. Luzzatto, "Les activités économiques du patriciat vénitien", Annales IX, 1937, p.47. The standard rate may have varied, however, according to the locality. In the mid-fifteenth century Andrea Barbarigo charged 2% on both purchases and sales, and 0.25% on collecting bills of exchange, F.C. Lane, Andrea Barbarigo, p.93 n18.

the basis that the favour would be reciprocated at some future date.

Through the commission agency a merchant resident in Venice could obtain a certain minimum of co-operation from other merchants resident in London, Southampton, Bruges or Antwerp. Commission agents established in England worked for many merchants resident in Venice. These agents did not depend upon individual merchant capitalists or fraterne for salary and advancement, as factors did on their employers. However, the loyalty of an agent could not be assured by the self-interest which made a partner concerned for the welfare of his fraterna. The control of a principal over his agents in England or Flanders, or both, was reinforced by Venetian law. The law could be invoked by the resident merchant in those cases when the agent failed to make return shipments equal to the amount he owed. (1) Foreign agents could be prosecuted in the English or Flemish law courts by the Venetian consul, or by the Venetian merchant or merchants aggrieved. (2) Resident merchants, therefore, regularly examined their agent's accounts and letters with great care before deciding whether to extend further business to the agent, but the fear of losing their principal's business, in what was usually a very profitable arrangement, generally induced the agent to act in his principal's interests, while the fear of a prolonged lawsuit in Venice with all that it entailed usually ensured that the agent would strictly follow his principal's instructions. The resident merchant, however, had to leave much of the judgement of the operations to the agent whose local knowledge of the market situation was indispensable. A good agent sold quickly and reinvested at good prices, obtained high quality goods, and found sufficient cargo space to ship the investment back to Venice at good freight rates. The principal had to be

(1) G.I. Cassandro, "La Curia di Petizion", Archivio Veneto, 1937, p.134. A merchant of Venice could be called upon to submit his accounts and letters for examination by the law court judges.

(2) See below Ch.VII pp.310-11 ; see also W. Holdsworth, A History of English Law V, London, 1924, pp.60-128.

content with general exhortations and trust in his agent's character and commercial judgement.

One of the most striking features of medieval commerce was the reliance placed upon the work of the established merchant of good repute. This was the most valuable guarantee of all commercial and financial undertakings and many merchants relied so much upon it that they would do much business with each other without taking the trouble to register their contracts before a public notary.⁽¹⁾ Venetian merchants visiting Southampton in the Flanders galleys found it very useful to produce a resident Venetian of good repute among the town's mercantile community. Such an agent could usefully stand as guarantor in commercial transactions with English wholesalers.⁽²⁾ The Venetians found many advantages in having resident agents in Southampton⁽³⁾ as well as in London. The Southampton agent's main concern was in the transfer of merchandise to London from the Hampshire port, and in making profitable purchases of wool, kerseys and tin in the local markets of the south west.

The bankruptcy of Martin di Federigo, in October, 1541, with the subsequent legal disputes provides much valuable information about the activities of one Venetian commission agent, resident in London, who was operating on a large scale in the export of English woollen cloths. Martin di Federigo⁽⁴⁾ appears from the English records as one of the most important exporters of English cloth in the 1530's,⁽⁵⁾ and was involved to a large extent

(1) J.A. Goris, op.cit., p.111.

(2) A.A. Ruddock, op.cit., p.119.

(3) See below Ch.V. pp.243-44.

(4) A.S.V., Miscellenea Gregolin, busta 12 bis. Lettere commerciali, 1520-40. In a letter dated 20 July, 1525, and addressed to Martino di Federigo of London from Ser Stefano de Nadal, it appears that Federigo was then acting as agent for three Venetian fraterne, the Barbarigo, De Nadal, and Seguro; he was also the agent for several other individual Venetian merchant capitalists.

(5) P.R.O., K.R. Customs Accounts, E122 82(8).

in the importation of malmsey and other Levantine sweet wines from the Venetian colonies in the eastern Mediterranean. (1) He was the London based agent of other Italian firms, and of an Antwerp commission house deeply involved in the Anglo-Venetian trade in kerseys. (2) Venetian merchants sent many bills of exchange to Martin, drawn on Italian firms in London. (3) With the capital advanced Martin was instructed to make purchases of English kerseys, according to detailed instructions sent to him with regard to the colours and the qualities required. (4) He was also required on occasion to send other commodities such as fine English pewterware, (5) and the correspondence as a whole is of a varied nature, ranging from complaints about the increasingly shoddy workmanship of English goods, (6) to general political and business news. (7) Since the demand for English kerseys was great, most of them being purchased when still on the loom, the professional commission merchant resident close to the place of production was an important and essential figure in Venetian business organisation.

In the sixteenth century the big family firms, which were inclined to be conservative in their business practices, gave way increasingly to firms that were smaller, more numerous, and more active than the general histories of

- (1) A.S.V., Miscellenea Gregolin, Lettere commerciali, busta 12 bis.
- (2) P.R.O., H.C.A. 13/4 ff 278, 287, 290, 292-3; 23/10 passim. Also F. Edler, "The van der Molen, commission merchants of Antwerp; trade with Italy 1538-44", Medieval and Historical Essays in Honor of J.W. Thompson, ed. J.C. Cate and E.N. Anderson, Chicago, 1938.
- (3) P.R.O., H.C.A. 23/10 passim. A.A. Ruddock, op.cit., p.102.
- (4) P.R.O., H.C.A. 23/10 ff 9-23.
- (5) Ibid., ff 11, 15.
- (6) Ibid., ff 12-13, 15-17.
- (7) Ibid., ff 12, 14, 17.

the period would suggest.⁽¹⁾ Above all the use of resident commission agents reduced operating costs. The enormous increase in the number of small scale mercantile operations trading with the west, several of them Veronese or Paduan based,⁽²⁾ constitutes a new element in the commercial development of Anglo-Venetian trade in the sixteenth century. From the 1520's several Venetian family firms from the cittadino class, new to the Anglo-Venetian trade, emerge on the English scene. Cittadini families like the Ragazzoni, Prini, Federici, and Franceschi, which by mid-sixteenth century had largely replaced the older established patrician firms resident in London. The larger patrician fraterne, however, continued to do much business with England through Italian and Flemish commission houses based in Antwerp and London,⁽³⁾ or through the agency of these cittadini merchants. They even entered into partnership with them. In the 1540's Giacomo Ragazzoni and sons entered into partnership with Ser Giacomo Foscarini. The Ragazzoni-Foscarini Company of London was represented in England by Placido Ragazzoni. The Ragazzoni provided the company with two carracks specially built for the channel voyage; these carracks made several journeys to London in the 1540's and 1550's.⁽⁴⁾ By the reign of Queen Mary the Ragazzoni represented several Venetian fraterne in London, and were well connected with the English court. The Ragazzoni Company of London was finally wound up in 1571, as a result of the family's losses in Cyprus and the Levant

- (1) See W. Brulez, De Firma della Faille en de internationale Hanel van Vlaamse Firma's in de 16e Eeuw, Brussels, 1959, pp.53-5, 106-8, 363-5, 580-1. F. Braudel, op.cit., I, pp.212-3.
- (2) L. & P., IV pt.III, 6600 (19); XIV pt.II, 435 (9).
- (3) See W. Brulez, De Firma della Faille, passim, and 'Lettres commerciales de Daniel et Antoine van Bombergen à Antonio Grimani, 1532-43', Bulletin de l'institute historique belge de Rome XXXI, 1958. F. Edler, 'Winchecombe Kerseys' and 'The Van der Molen', passim. On Flemish migration to Venice and Flemish-Venetian commercial connections see W. Brulez, Marchands flamands à Venise I, Brussels-Rome, 1965.
- (4) B.M.V., MS Cronaca di Famiglie Cittadinesche venete, Ital. Cl.VII Cod. CCCXLI (8623) ff 181-5 et seq.. A.S.V., Senato, Terra XXXIII f147r. Collegio, Secreta, Lettere filza 19, 13 October, 1551; 3 November, 1551. Terra, Lettere 12 August, 1552, 17 December, 1552. P.R.O., SP.I, 776; SP.X, 220. C.S.P. Foreign, Ed.VI, 24 November, 1551. L. & P., XIX pt.I, 22; XIX pt.II, 597, 686.

that year. (1)

Despite extensive Senatorial regulations governing the western voyages merchants continued to be attracted by the opportunities for monopoly inherent in restricted transportation facilities. However, a desire for monopoly is inherent in all commercial operations at all periods. Within the patrician class there was always lively commercial competition, families rose and fell by the success of their commercial operations. (2) The authority of the Senate prevented the formation of any permanent special organisations designed to monopolise a particular branch of trade or a particular commodity. It has been shown that buying and selling, control of prices, and selection of commodities of trade were left to the merchants. The Senate's commercial activity was designed to assist the collection of profits, not through governmental investment, but on the investments of merchants, acting independently or in limited partnership. Venetian business organisation provided for unified direction only in so far as it was necessary for the protection or for the advantages conferred upon the Venetian mercantile community overseas.

Although the patron of a Flanders galley had a legal monopoly of offering transportation facilities for the enterprise he had no legal monopoly of the use of the transportation. He was supposed to load all wares offered for shipment without preference until he had a full cargo. However, by purchasing a full cargo himself in combination with others, and by illegally favouring these goods over those of his competitors during the term of the muda the patron could monopolise the use of the transportation, and could thus

- (1) The Ragazzoni lost much of its capital during the War of Cyprus as it had made heavy investments in Cypriot vineyards, and lost much merchandise at the commencement of the war when the Turks seized all Venetian goods and property in Constantinople.
- (2) See for example the history of the Barbarigo family in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in F.C. Lane, Andrea Barbarigo, pp. 15-43, and J.C. Davis, op.cit., pp. 34-53.

become the only merchant selling that season's English wool clip on the market at Rialto. The disruption of the overland route to Flanders and England, or the advantage of having a vessel in the west in those years when no Flanders muda was put up for auction also assisted monopoly. With the volume of exports from England restricted a single enterprising merchant might gain a monopoly. For example, in 1513, with the renewal of war between England and France, and because of an outbreak of plague in London, Lorenzo Pasqualigo recommended his brothers in Venice not to sell English goods, even if they could do well on credit, as there would soon be a great scarcity of English goods at Rialto. In the meantime he had bought up large quantities of kerseys and tin and he would send them overland to Venice as soon as possible. ⁽¹⁾ In times of political strain, when the overland route to England was closed to Venetians such merchants often overcame the difficulty by arranging for the cloth, wool, or tin to be brought through Germany by German merchants. ⁽²⁾ In this way the merchandise was not exposed to the dangers which beset goods known to belong to Venetians. In 1513, Venetian merchants in London hoped to ship goods to Venice in a vessel belonging to the Buonvisi of Lucca, and thereby avoid the loss of their goods to French corsairs in the Channel and western Mediterranean. ⁽³⁾ Opportunities for mercantile profit were thus created by the spasmodic restrictions placed upon trade, for those merchants who were quick to seize the opportunity. Merchants in Venice could thus count upon the interruption of transport facilities between Venice and England to diminish the demand for cloth in England, and lower the price there, while diminishing the supply and increasing the price in Venice.

(1) Sanudo, I Diarii XVII, 22 October, 1513.

(2) L. Schick, Un grand homme d'affaires au début du XVI^e siècle: Jacob Fugger, Paris, 1957, pp.86-8. A. Simonsfeld, Der Fondago dei Tedeschi in Venedig und die deutsch-venetianischen Handelsbeziehungen, 2 vols., Stuttgart, 1887, passim. F.C. Lane, Andrea Barbarigo, pp.73-5. C.S.P.V., II, 229, 283, 340; III, 1007, 1022.

(3) Sanudo, I Diarii XVII, 22 October, 1513.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries when both law and public sentiment were opposed to monopoly at Venice some merchants did attempt to monopolise specific commodities by controlling a season's galleys. Two impressive attempts were made, in 1472, and 1532, to corner the market in English wool by controlling the Flanders galleys. In 1472, Hieronimo Contarini⁽¹⁾ purchased a patent from Edward IV⁽²⁾ to export in his name 400 sacks of wool "beyond the Straits of Marrok". However, to ensure that his competitors were excluded from the market in English wool that year Contarini obtained a further concession from the King, the sole right to load wool on the Flanders galleys. The licence gave Contarini a legal monopoly of that year's English wool clip destined for the Venetian market by excluding all other Italian merchants from loading wools on the Venetian galleys due to arrive in England that year. The Venetian merchants in London incensed by Contarini's action protested to the London consul, Paolo Tiepolo. Tiepolo failed to make Contarini withdraw the monopoly and so informed the Senate. Following a lengthy debate in the Senate the Avogadori di Comun were instructed to prosecute Contarini for acting contrary to the general interest of Venetian merchants and citizens. In a letter to Tiepolo, dated 8 February, 1472, Doge Nicolò Tron informed the consul of the Senate's decision, and instructed Tiepolo to command Contarini to appear before him, and deliver the Senate's message to the recalcitrant merchant, notifying him of the Signoria's displeasure and commanding him to

(1) Contarini acted at different times as factor for the King's mother, Cecily, Duchess of York, his sister Margaret of Burgundy, and the influential courtier Sir John Astley. E. Power and M. Postan, Studies in English Trade, p.45.

(2) Edward IV's commercial policies were in the long run injurious to the English economy, especially the export licensing system through which he endeavoured to raise money and ingratiate his creditors. See C.L. Scofield, The Life and Reign of Edward IV, 2 vols., 1923, II pp.404-28. However, one must be wary of Miss Scofield's conclusions; see also E. Power, 'The Wool Trade in the Reign of Edward IV', Camb. Hist. Journal, II, 1928, pp.21-2, and C. Ross, Edward IV, London, 1974, pp.351-70.

cancel the contract so far as it excluded other Venetians from loading wool on board the galleys. Tiepolo was further instructed to warn Contarini of the illegality of the monopoly, and to inform him that all wools entering Venice in his name would be declared contraband on arrival and liable to seizure by the customs officials. On the 12 January, the Doge had written to Bertucio Soranzo, capitano of the Flanders galleys, instructing him to give strict orders to the patroni to load all wools presented by Venetian merchants for shipment during the London muda, notwithstanding the royal patent granted to Contarini. Tiepolo was also commanded to inform the Venetian community in London of this decision.⁽¹⁾ Unfortunately, as far as I have been able to ascertain, the records do not inform us of the final outcome of Contarini's action, but fortunately we possess fuller details of a similar incident sixty years later.

In 1533 a suit was brought against Matteo Bernardo by the Avogadori di Comun on five charges, the principal of which was that he had attempted to farm the English wool staple in regard to the export of English wools beyond the Alps, and thus to impose a monopoly on the importation of English wools into Venice.⁽²⁾ As a result of Bernardo's tampering with the normal flow of English wool to Venice the Senate was forced to intervene in the wool trade,⁽³⁾ and introduced special provisions for the immediate importation of English wools until the close of December, 1533, both by land and by sea, in either Venetian or alien vessels, to replenish the stocks of wool at Venice.

(1) A.S.V., Senato, Mar 9 f125r.

(2) A.S.V., Senato, Mar 22 f100r. Sanudo, I Diarii LV, 19 February, 1531; LVIII, 9 April, 21, 29, 30 May, 5, 6 June, 1533.

(3) Beside his own commercial transactions Bernardo was also dealing in wool on behalf of several Florentine wool merchants. In 1533, with stocks of wool at Venice reduced to a mere 200 pokes, on account of Bernardo's operations the Senate feared that wool belonging to Bernardo in England would be despatched to Florence rather than to Venice. A.S.V., Senato, Mar 22 f100r-v.

Bernardo's attempt at monopoly had been frustrated by the swift intervention in London of the Venetian ambassador, Carlo Capello, who immediately met with the Chancellor, Sir Thomas More, ⁽¹⁾ at Greenwich, on 5 January, 1533, to discuss the affair. ⁽²⁾ The trial of Matteo Bernardo took place between 29 May and 6 June, 1533, to packed audiences in the Senate such was the interest in the case amongst the patrician merchants. ⁽³⁾ The Avogador di Comun, Jacopo da Canal, prosecuting for the state charged Bernardo on five separate accounts; defamation of the Republic in England; abuse of the ambassador, Carlo Capello; attempted farming of the English wool staple thereby restricting and controlling the entry of wools into Venice; the payment of the crew of his galley in England contrary to the regulations governing the muda and to the will of the capitanio of the Flanders galleys; and finally, that he prevented the Venetian merchants from loading their wools on board his galley. The sentence of the Senate was heavy. Bernardo was banished for a period of ten years from England, Calais, Antwerp, Bruges and the whole of Flanders. If at any time he attempted to act contrary to the term of his banishment he was to be fined 5,000 ducats, the money to be levied on his property in Venice. In addition to his banishment from the western markets Bernardo was also fined a total of 1,000 ducats to be paid immediately to the Dogana da Mare; the money to be used for the dredging of the lagoons.

- (1) More told Capello that in future the King wished all wools to be purchased from the Staplers at Calais when the supply was restricted in time of scarcity. Sanudo, I Diarii LV, 19 February, 1532.
- (2) Capello's action greatly angered Bernardo and when the two Venetians met on Greenwich Bridge following Capello's meeting with More, Bernardo became abusive, calling the ambassador "la fece di homini", and forcibly indicated that it was his own business to negotiate commercial matters, and not the office of Capello's secretary. Ibid., LVIII, 9 April, 1533.
- (3) Bernardo was one of the most prominent merchants and bankers in early sixteenth century Venice. When he appeared before the Senate on 29 May he was accompanied by his brother Bartolo and eight advocates. Ibid., LVIII, 30 May, 1533. On the Bernardo Bank see F.C. Lane, Venetian Bankers, pp.71, 75n, 77, 83-4.

It is therefore apparent that cartels formed by some merchants to the disadvantage of others aroused the general opposition of all the merchants involved in western trade. An egalitarian feeling was prevalent within the Venetian patrician class, but predominant was the patriotic calculation of the Senate for the preservation of the economic structure of the Republic.⁽¹⁾ Small operations in particular were opposed to monopolies, and ensured through the Senate that the merchant galleys acted as common carriers. Members of the Senate were of course merchants themselves, and sometimes voted in favour of their personal mercantile interests. Like any other system of governmental regulation over economic life the supervision of overseas commerce by the Senate was subject to a variety of competing pressures from economic groups. In this way the Senate was particularly hostile to personal profit and business monopolies. Ambitious and powerful patrician merchants such as Hieronimo Contarini and Matteo Bernardo, who tried to gain monopolistic profits by securing special concessions from English monarchs were swiftly dealt with by due process of law, and were charged with acting contrary to the public interest.

Throughout this period the continued dominance of Venetian merchants was facilitated by a number of improvements in commercial techniques, double entry book-keeping,⁽²⁾ bills of lading,⁽³⁾

- (1) G. Luzzatto, 'Sindicati e cartelli', p.62.
- (2) The best general survey is R. de Roover, 'Aux origines d'une technique intellectuelle; La formation et l'expansion de la comptabilité à partie double', Annales, IX, 1937. See also his 'Early Accounting Problems of Foreign Exchange', A.R., XIX, 1944. For Venice the best surveys are Luca Pacioli, Summa de Arithmetica, Venezia, 1494. H. Sieveking, 'Aus Venetianischen Handlungsbüchern', in G. Schmoller, Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung und Volkswirtschaft in Deutschen Reich, XXV, 1901, pp.1489-1521, and XXVI, 1902, pp.189-225. F. Besta, La ragioneria, prima parte, Ragioneria generale, 2nd ed., Milano, 1922, being the work of professors at the Scuola Superiore di Commercio at Venice it is an authoritative description of the books in the Venetian archives from the point of view of accounting technique. E. Pergallo, Origin and Evolution of Double Entry Book-keeping, New York, 1938, is also very useful.
- (3) F.C. Lane, Venice and History, p.62. E. Bensa, The early history of bills of lading, Genoa, 1925.

insurance contracts, ⁽¹⁾ bills of exchange, ⁽²⁾ bankers' credits, ⁽³⁾ and an efficient postal service between Venice and London. ⁽⁴⁾ The methods of book-keeping employed by Venetian merchants in particular were far in advance of those systems commonly used in northern Europe. ⁽⁵⁾ Advanced Italian business techniques were an invaluable asset to those merchants operating in distant markets such as London, Bruges and Antwerp, and saved the merchant much time, effort and money. Venetian methods of accounting had reached an excellence at an early date, ⁽⁶⁾ and appear to owe little to developments in other Italian commercial centres. By the fifteenth century Venetian ledgers all show a high degree of sophistication, using profit and loss, and capital accounts. Double entry accounts were well known and commonly used at Venice at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Moreover, by the later fifteenth century the practice had grown up at Venice of using a journal alongside the ledger. The important

- (1) The best monograph on this subject is the work by G. Stefani, Insurance in Venice from the origins to the end of the Serenissima, Trieste, 1958. For a general survey see also R. Doehaerd, 'Chiffres d'assurances à Genès en 1427-28', R.B.P.H., 1949. J. Heers, 'Le prix de l'assurance maritime à la fin du moyen âge', R.H.E.S., 1959. F.E. de Roover, 'Early examples of marine insurance', J.E.H., V, 1945. M. Treppo, 'Assicurazioni e commercio a Barcelona nel 1428-1429', R.S.I., LXX, 1957-58. Although relating to a later period V. Barbour's 'Marine risks and insurance in the seventeenth century', J.E.B.H., 1929, is also useful.
- (2) See M. Bloch, 'Histoire et problèmes monétaires, le problème de la monnaie de compte', Annales X, 1938. L. Einaudi, 'Teoria della moneta immaginaria', R.S.E., I, 1936. D. Gioffré, Genès et les foires de change de Lyon à Besançon, Paris, 1960. J.M. Holden, The history of negotiable instruments in English Law, London, 1955. R. de Roover L'evolution de la lettre de change XIV^e-XVIII^e siècles, Paris, 1952.
- (3) H. Lapeyre, 'La banque, les changes et le crédit au XVI^e siècle', R.H.M.C., 1956.
- (4) See below Ch.VII pp.331-33. P. Sardella, op.cit., passim.
- (5) On the English practice of book-keeping see G. Connell-Smith, 'The Ledger of Thomas Howell', Econ.Hist.Rev., 2nd. ser. III, (3), 1951. B.S. Yamey, 'Scientific Bookkeeping and the Rise of Capitalism', Econ.Hist.Rev., 2nd. ser. I, 1949.
- (6) H. Sieveking, art.cit., XXV, (1901), pp.1502-3. F. Besta, op.cit., 1, passim. In an analysis of the unpublished treatise on bookkeeping written in 1518, and revised in 1550, by the chief book-keeper for the Fugger firm, there is a long passage where the book-keeper prides himself on having learned at Venice in 1516 the secrets of Venetian book-keeping, in A. Weitnauer, Venezianischer Handel der Fugger nach der Musterbuch haltung des Matthäus Schwarz, Studien zur Fugger-Geschichte, IX, Munich and Leipzig, 1931.

function of the journal according to Luca Pacioli's classic treatise was to serve as the basis for the ledger, in case of loss, damage or theft to the latter.⁽¹⁾ By making entries in chronological order in the journal, and by using the journal alongside the ledger the Venetian merchant involved in a wide variety of import and export transactions on several overseas markets could quickly check his accounts and transactions before committing more capital to new ventures. Because Venetian methods of accounting determined profits on one venture at a time balance sheets, and the closing of ledgers were less important at Venice than at either Florence or Lucca. The only kind of balancing of ledgers practised at Venice was when one ledger was closed, as all its pages had been used up, thus necessitating the opening of a new ledger. For an exporting merchant, like Lorenzo Priuli, the dependence on his books and on those kept by his agent at London or Southampton both facilitated business transactions and created special problems. Pacioli refers to these problems in C.26. Pacioli suggested that the ledger kept in Venice was always the main ledger il quaderno, and the quaderno piccolo or 'little ledger' was to be kept by the overseas agent. Balances drawn from the agent's ledger were to be recorded in the main journal at Venice before entry in the quaderno or main ledger. The accounts of the main ledger were generally completed by using statements furnished by the overseas agent who made an abstract from his quaderno piccolo. These abstracts were kept in the main journal at Venice, a practice fully illustrated by the Priuli Journal, 1505-1535.⁽²⁾ The Priuli Journal and the ledgers of the Pisani fraterna, 1525-1544⁽³⁾ illustrate the

- (1) L. Pacioli, op.cit., Pt.1, sec. 9. treatise 11, c.115. A translation of Pacioli exists in J.B. Geijsbeek, Ancient Double-Entry Bookkeeping, Denver, 1914, which I found very useful.
- (2) MS. Correr, Archivio Tron Donà, PD.912 II, k.xli, 23 and 29 September.
- (3) A.S.V., Registri Privati, Raccolta Barbarigo-Grimani, registri 19-24.

great technical progress in book-keeping methods employed at Venice in this period. Entries in the mid-sixteenth century are more complicated than the system described by Pacioli in 1494, and early sixteenth century ledgers and journals are much better integrated. Moreover, a variety of petty expense books were now kept by members of the fraterna. The balances from these books were also recorded in the journal before being entered into the main ledger.

The Venetians, being first and foremost import and export merchants, were greatly concerned with keeping track of wares shipped, wares received, and amounts owed to agents. Accordingly Venetian accounts are extremely distinctive.⁽¹⁾ Primary accounts in Venetian books are (i) the accounts opened for each kind of merchandise received, (ii) (viazi) voyage accounts or shipment accounts, and (iii) the agent's accounts. An advantage with this system was that the viazio or shipment account made it unnecessary to debit the agent's account every time wares were shipped. Instead the agent was debited only after he had reported the net return he had gained from the sale of the wares shipped. Thus when the net return was debited to the agent's account it was also credited to the viazio account. The advantage of this duplication of accounts was the separation of the record of shipment from the record of the agent's obligations.⁽²⁾ Moreover, the viazio account permitted the closing of each merchandise account when the particular consignment of wares to which it referred had been sold, and it made unnecessary taking an inventory of merchandise on hand. By opening new merchandise accounts for each season's imports a merchant achieved this result even if he was continually importing the same commodity from the same agent. The Priuli opened distinct accounts for wool received by the muda of 1504, the muda of 1508, etc., For the most important and constant importations, those of English wool or kerseys, the Priuli opened new accounts for each consignment received.

(1) H. Sieveking, art.cit., XXV (1901), p.1504.

(2) R. de Roover, 'Aux origines', pp.187-188.

Because they opened new merchandise accounts for each venture they did not need an inventory in order to work out profits. In this way viazò accounting became an attractive system to Venetian merchants and saved much time and energy.

Other business techniques used by the Italian merchants generally also gave an edge to the Venetian businessman in northern Europe. Venetian commercial dealings on the London and Antwerp markets in the early sixteenth century operated on several different mechanisms of sale and purchase. The most frequently used of these financial instruments by Venetian merchants in the west were (1) payments 'a termine', by which payments were made after a stipulated period of time. The payments were given in bond. Ordinarily the sum to be paid was made over two or three years, the first instalment was usually paid out the year following the bond, and the other two payments in the following years; (2) 'a parte denari a parte termine', by which part of the payment was made in ready cash and the rest was paid at the end of the stipulated period; (3) 'a parte contanti e parte robbe', consisted of paying a part of the debt in ready cash and the rest in merchandise. This form of sale also served to hide certain credit operations⁽¹⁾ concluded between two parties at an exaggerated rate. This was effected by concealing the interest charged; by fixing the rate of the merchandise received well below its true value the creditor could realise a large profit;⁽²⁾ (4) 'a parte robbe e a parte termine', was payment partly in merchandise, and the balance paid out in ready money at the end of a specified period, generally within a year; (5) payment by 'assignatione de ditte', or by bill of credit. Ditte transferred credit rapidly from one market to another, and was the most common form of credit transfer employed by Venetian merchants in England;⁽³⁾ (6) 'a parte in ditte e parte termine', were payments made by remission of ditte, and

(1) On the necessity to deal in this manner see B.N. Nelson, The idea of Usury, Princeton, 1950.

(2) See M.M. Postan, Medieval Trade and Finance, pp.11-12.

(3) A.S.V., Miscellanea Gregolin, busta 12, 12 bis, where there are many examples.

payment of the outstanding debt at the end of a mutually agreeable date; (7) finally, payment was also effected 'a parte ditta e parte robba', or remission partly by bill of exchange and payment of the remaining debt by the exchange of merchandise. The form taken by these instruments of sale and purchase was of course pliable, and many different combinations were used. At the same time, though less frequently in the sixteenth century, payment was still made in ready cash, 'a denari contanti'. In January, 1552, for example, a Venetian merchant at Antwerp, Filippo Prini, offered Richard Johnson, an English merchant stapler resident in that city, a rare jewel worth £1,000 sterling together with £1,700 sterling in ready money, in return for 48 sarplers of fine Cotswold wool. ⁽¹⁾

(1) B. Winchester, A Tudor Family Portrait: The Johnson Family, London, 1955, pp.290-291.

THE VENETIAN COMMUNITY IN ENGLAND: RELATIONS WITH URBAN AUTHORITY
AND URBAN SOCIETY.

The London 'Colony'.

The origins of the Venetian community in England are impossible to ascertain with any degree of accuracy, but certainly by the late fourteenth century London had attracted a small, prosperous, and expanding Venetian community.⁽¹⁾ The development of a significant Venetian community can be placed with some certainty between 1384⁽²⁾ and 1399.⁽³⁾ By the reign of Henry IV Venetian trade at London was booming.⁽⁴⁾ The Venetian community in London grew in size and strength after 1400. By 1409 the 'colony' was organised under a consul assisted by a committee of twelve merchants, Il Consiglio dodici di cottimo da Londra.⁽⁵⁾ The Venetians began to build up their consular position, and commercial operations in London from the 1460's as they were increasingly displaced in Flanders by the Genoese. The choice of London was partly the result of geographical factors. London was conveniently situated to serve the Venetian commercial interests in both England and the Low Countries.

- (1) C.S.P.V., 1, passim. R. Cessi, "Le Relazioni commerciali fra Venezia e la Fiandra nel secolo XV", N.A.V. N.S. XXVII, 1914. A. Schaube, "Die Anfänge der venetianischen Galeerenfahrten nach Nordsee", Historische Zeitschrift ser.3, V, 1908. A.A. Ruddock, op.cit., Chapter 1, passim.
- (2) In 1384, the Venetian galleys renewed their voyages to England on a regular basis. A.S.V., Senato, Misti 38 f 150r, 39 f 32r.
- (3) In 1399, the Venetians received a grant of commercial privileges in England from Richard II. Commemoriali IX, 96, 152. See also C.S.P.V., 1, 96-98, 102, 104-6, 109, 114, 116, 121, 132-3, 158.
- (4) A.S.V., Senato, Misti 53 f97r. Prior to 1409 Venetian commercial activities in north west Europe were based solely on Bruges and its port of Sluys, and the Bruges consulate had responsibility for the London based merchants. Venetian merchants in Flanders had received a charter of privileges from the Magistrat de Bruges in the early fourteenth century, and it was renewed in 1358. (Van Severen, op.cit. I, 287, 292, 298.
- (5) S. Romanin, Storia documentata di Venezia, III, 392.

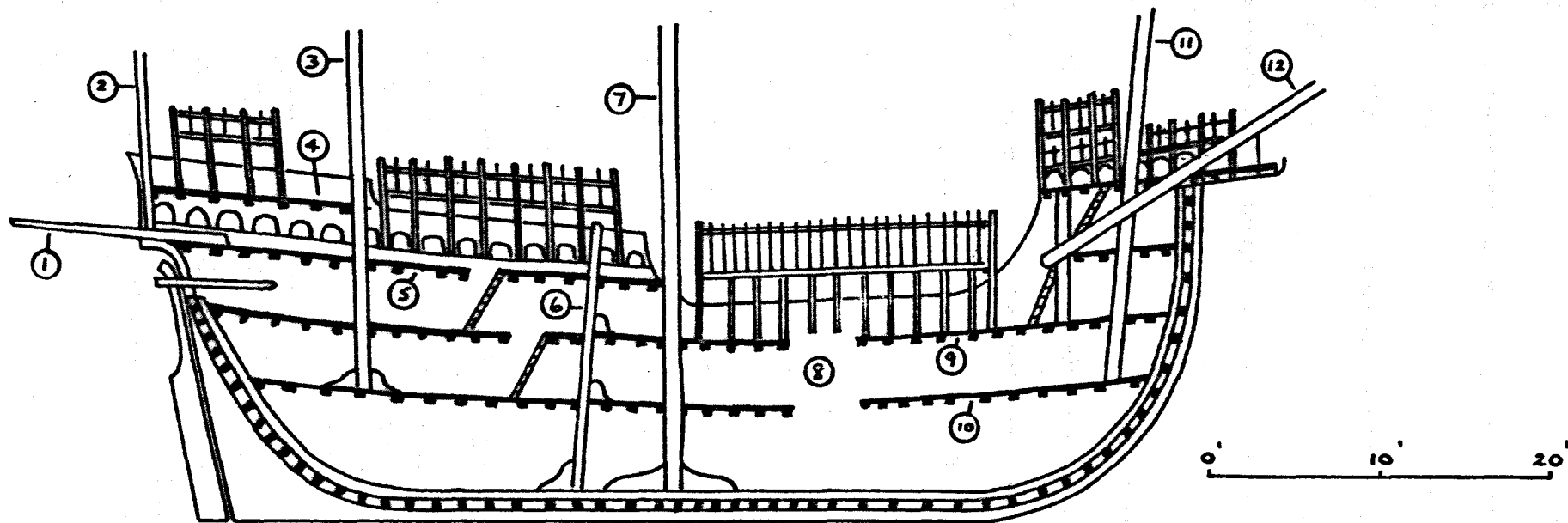
It lay at the centre of the main lines of communications in the English lowlands. A broad and deep river valley penetrated sixty miles inland, into the heart of the country. As high up the river as London Bridge the Thames was both tidal and navigable, and accessible to sea-going vessels.⁽¹⁾ The Venetian galleys found no difficulty, unlike the huge carracks, in taking their merchandise directly by sea to London. The navigational difficulties of the north Kentish coast and the Thames estuary did not hamper the light, shallow-draughted galleys, which discharged their cargoes at Galley Quay by Thames Street.⁽²⁾ Venetian carracks,⁽³⁾ however, dropped anchor at Gravesend and off-loaded their cargoes into a multitude of lighters and small craft which then proceeded up river to the city, or were trans-shipped to the Low Countries in Dutch, and Flemish hoys. Rarely did private Venetian shipping proceed further than Gravesend. As early as 1453 the Senate decreed that Venetian vessels proceed no further than Gravesend or Greenwich, and forward their cargoes by lighter at the expense of the masters.⁽⁴⁾ Venetian vessels bound for England increasingly resorted to Southampton in the fifteenth century rather than to London for a variety of reasons, one of which was that it offered a more convenient and safer port of call than the capital. It spared the large, unwieldy carracks from making the dangerous and difficult doubling of the North Foreland, and the intricacies of navigation in the approaches to the Thames estuary. In the sixteenth century improvements in shipbuilding, and a revolution in rigging made the navigation of the North Foreland and Thames approaches a far less risky undertaking than it had been

(1) A point repeatedly made by successive Venetian ambassadors to England, eg. Andrea Trevisan, and Giacomo Soranzo, L. Firpo, op.cit., passim.

(2) The quay was still called 'Galley Quay' in the survey of the port of London of 1559, where the quay's dimensions are given as 150 foot from east to west, in length, and 51 foot in breadth. P.R.O., E159/34 rot. 222.

(3) See the Sectional drawing overleaf and Appendix III.

(4) A.S.V., Senato, Mar 4, 1496r.



Section of a sixteenth century Venetian carrack, based on the 'Instruzione di Pre Theodoro de Nicolò',⁽¹⁾ and the drawings of Jacopo de Barbari.⁽²⁾

1. Outrigger.
2. Bonaventure mast.
3. Mizzenmast.
4. Half deck with awning.

5. Quarter deck with guns on carriages.
6. Knight with sheave holes for hoisting the main yard.
7. Main mast.
8. Hatch to hold.

9. Main deck.
10. Lower deck.
11. Foremast.
12. Bowsprit.

(1) *B.M.V., MS. Ital. Cl. IV, Cod. 26. (Measurements in Venetian feet.)*

(2) *De Barbari map of Venice (1500) in the Museo Storico Navale, Venice.*

in the fifteenth century.⁽¹⁾ The development of Trinity House and the primitive but systematic charting of the Thames approaches made London once more a more convenient port than Southampton.⁽²⁾ The development of the Antwerp mart and the choice of London as a convenient trans-shipment centre for Venetian carracks shipping goods to England and the Low Countries added to this. Increasingly Venetian carracks sailed up the Channel to Margate or Gravesend in the early sixteenth century. By the 1540's Venetian sea-borne trade with north western Europe was once more centred on London. Attempts by the crown to force this trade back to the Hampshire port in the reign of Queen Mary failed.⁽³⁾ London was also secure and accessible in all weathers, and its close proximity to the continent was highly advantageous. London, moreover, was not merely a great commercial seaport; it was also a capital city.

The presence of the King, his government, and his courts of law offered protection to the Venetian community in an otherwise hostile environment,⁽⁴⁾ while the presence of the royal court and its requirements offered ample commercial prospects. By the late fifteenth century London's geographical position, combined with the rapid growth of the Antwerp market and the close commercial links between these two international markets

- (1) J.H. Parry, The Age of Reconnaissance, London, 1963, pp.76-110.
- (2) For the beaconage and buoyage of the Thames estuary see G. Spence, Nautical Description of the Banks and Channels of the Thames Estuary, London, 1804. A.A. Ruddock, "The Trinity House at Deptford", Econ.Hist. Rev. LXV, 1950. H.P. Mead, The Trinity House: Its Unique Record from the days of Henry VIII, London, 1947. G.G. Harris, The Trinity House of Deptford 1540-1660, London, 1969: also useful are R. Jones, The Geography of London River, London, 1932, and J. Broodbank, A History of the Port of London, London, 1921.
- (3) C.S.P.V. VI (ii), 554. M.W. Gidden, (ed.), Charters of Southampton, Southampton, 1909-10, II, p.36. State Papers, Domestic, XL, 77-8. S.C.R.O., Book of Debts, 1569.
- (4) The importance of the presence of the royal courts of law cannot be over stressed. It is significant that in 1457, at a time when the Venetian community contemplated removing themselves to Winchester, the Senate petitioned the English crown for special judges to be appointed in Winchester so that appeals in disputes between Venetian merchants and Englishmen, and between Venetians and other aliens, need not be delayed by having to be carried up to the Chancery Court in London. A.S.V., Senato, Mar 6 133r.

reinforced these advantages.⁽¹⁾ The first half of the sixteenth century is a significant period in the history of the Venetian community in England. As English trade became increasingly concentrated into the hands of the London capitalists,⁽²⁾ and upon the international market at Antwerp so Venetian merchants, formerly resident in Southampton and the other outports, were attracted to the capital. By the late 1530's the Venetians had virtually disappeared from Southampton.⁽³⁾ Although there was a continued presence of Venetian merchants, artisans and professional people in England after 1550, many Venetian merchants in the third quarter of the sixteenth century came from the cittadino class or the subject territories, and fewer young Venetian patricians came to reside in London.⁽⁴⁾

While there is abundant evidence illustrating the activities of the Venetian merchants in Tudor England it is much more difficult to obtain quantitative information concerning the size of the Venetian population during the early Tudor period. This difficulty partly results from the lack of evidence which makes all population figures highly conjectural before the nineteenth century. Problems are greatly increased by the fact that many Venetian merchants were peculiarly itinerant individuals, moving from Venice to England and vice-versa according to the state of business and because of political pressures. The Alien Subsidy Rolls provide an invaluable source for calculating the Venetian population of London. Unfortunately the alien subsidy

- (1) E. Coornaert, "Anvers; la genèse du système capitaliste", Annales 8, 1936; J.A. van Houtte, "Anvers aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles: expansion et apogée", Annales 16, 1961, and "La genèse du grand marché international d'Anvers à la fin du Moyen Âge", R.B.P.H. 19, 1940; E. Sabre, "Anvers: Métropole de l'Occident, 1492-1566", Collection Notre Passé XVI^e siècle, No.2, Brussels, 1952; O de Smedt, op.cit., passim.
- (2) A.A. Ruddock, "London capitalists and the decline of Southampton in the early Tudor period", Econ.Hist.Rev. 2nd. ser. II, 1949.
- (3) S.C.R.O. SC5/4. 39-45 passim.
- (4) This also appears to have been true of late sixteenth century Constantinople, and other Venetian mercantile colonies scattered throughout the Mediterranean world. In 1594 only four out of nineteen Venetian merchants resident in Constantinople were patricians. U. Tucci, "The Psychology of the Venetian merchant in the sixteenth century", in Renaissance Venice, ed. J.R. Hale, London, 1973, p.348.

roll of 1485,⁽¹⁾ which contains a total of 1,596 names, specifically exempts all Venetians together with their servants. Fortunately, as a result of the impressive work of R.E.G. and E.F. Kirk in searching through the rolls of lay subsidies after 1523, undertaken for the Huguenot Society of London⁽²⁾ we have, for certain years in the early sixteenth century, what appear to be fairly complete and reliable lists of Venetians in London. The only satisfactory returns are those for 1540-41, for 1548-49 and for 1557, and even these are not entirely satisfactory for estimating numbers of Venetians in London. The returns do not generally mention either the occupation of individuals assessed or their place of origin. Moreover, many of the aliens assessed are referred to by their christian names only, and often these are badly corrupted by the English clerks so as to be indecipherable. Further, the individual alien is not the only unit of assessment. Often the assessment is based on commercial units such as a mercantile company, for example Evangelista da Fonte and Company in the return of 1547; Evangelista and Giacomo Ragazzoni and Company, return of 1548-9; Domenico Eriza and Company, return of 1548-9; or an individual and his companions, for example Baptista Morosini and companions in the return of 1541. In addition to this allowance has to be made for carelessness on the part of the English officials. Catching Venetian merchants who were on the move was also a problem, and not only the merchants, but also artisans who were accustomed to make the circuit of the regular fairs and markets. The lists were also apt to be incomplete because of bribery and the use of influence.⁽³⁾ Absolute accuracy is therefore impossible. However, the lay subsidy returns do provide an indication, albeit an imperfect one, of the size of London's Venetian population in the later years of Henry VIII's reign,

(1) P.R.O., E.179. 242/25, 269/34.

(2) R.E.G. and E.F. Kirk, "Returns of Aliens dwelling in the City and Suburbs of London", Publications of the Huguenot Society of London X, 1900-8, I.

(3) L. & P. XVI, 384.

and in the reigns of Edward VI and Queen Mary. They are also valuable in that they provide us with the valuation of Venetian property in London, and the suburbs. For these reasons I have thought it profitable to analyse the returns relating to Venetians between 1541-1557. In Table IX the indentures relating to Venetians of the subsidies granted between 1541-1557 as transcribed by the Kirks from the lay subsidies for London and the suburbs ⁽¹⁾ are considered and Venetian residents grouped according to the assessed value of their possessions. Over half of the Venetian merchants resident in London possessed property valued at £50 and more, whilst 19% of the total Venetian population of London held possessions which the city authorities valued at over £150. The overall value of Venetian property held in London was less than that of other Italians, although there were several wealthy Venetian merchants who possessed property in London equal in value to that of the wealthiest Florentine, Genoese, Lucchese, and Milanese merchants resident in London.

Table IX.

VALUE OF VENETIAN POSSESSIONS ASSESSED FOR THE SUBSIDY, 1541-57	% OF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF VENETIANS ASSESSED
£300 ----- 500	7
£150 ----- 200	12
£ 50 ----- 100	36
£ 10 ----- 40	14
£ 2. 10s --- 10	17
£ 1 ----- and below ⁽²⁾	14

In Table X the total value of Venetian possessions in the city in 1541, 1549 and 1557 are compared. The substantial rise in the value of Venetian possessions in this decade and a half is indicative of the general prosperity of Venetian trade with England in the latter part of Henry VIII's reign and the early years

(1) Kirks, op.cit. 1, pp.19-248.

(2) Humbler members of the Venetian community, where assessed, are almost always valued at 8d. or 4d., and in fact the assessment is often omitted altogether.

In Table X the total value of Venetian possessions in the city in 1541, 1549, and 1557 are compared. The substantial rise in the value of Venetian possessions in this decade and a half is indicative of the general prosperity of Venetian trade with England in the latter part of Henry VIII's reign and the early years of Edward VI.

Table X.

DATE	TOTAL VALUE OF VENETIAN POSSESSIONS IN LONDON		
	£	s.	d.
1541	577.	6.	8.
1549	1454.	6.	8.
1557	830.	0.	0.

In Table XI the indentures relating to Venetians of the subsidy granted in 1557 are given along with the previous assessment. The total percentage increase in the value of Venetian property between the two assessments was as great as 159%. In all eight cases cited in Table XI the value of Venetian property increased between the two assessments. Allowing for inflation, this still indicates a rapid over-all rise in the value of Venetian property, and the general prosperity of the London colony.

Table XI. (1)

VENETIANS ASSESSED FOR THE PAYMENT OF THE SUBSIDY, 1557

NAME	WARD	PRESENT ASSESSMENT	PREVIOUS ASSESSMENT
Jacopo Ragazzoni	Tower	£ 300	£100
Marc'Antonio Erecse	Tower	£ 100	£ 50
Francesco Marocha	Tower	£ 100	£ 20
Sebastiano Eriza	Tower	£ 50	£ 30
Giovanni Antonio	Tower	£ 50	£ 20
Antonio Donato	Billingsgate	£ 80	£ 40
Thomaso & Bartolomeo Fatherego	Billingsgate	£ 150	£ 60
		Total: £ 830	Total: £320

(1) State Papers, Mary, XI, 70.

There is some scattered, but detailed information relating to the Venetian community from literary sources, enabling us to make a tentative, but nonetheless valuable calculation of the number of Venetian merchants in London prior to 1540. The evidence testifies to very considerable fluctuations. In March 1514, the Consul, Lorenzo Pasqualigo, wrote to his brothers, Alvise and Francesco, in Venice, that Venetian appeals to be exempt from contributing towards the cost of Henry VIII's French war had failed, and expressed the hope that the contribution would not be large as Nicolò Duodo, Antonio Bavarin and he were the only Venetians remaining in London.⁽¹⁾ The preceding years had witnessed a great exodus of Venetians from England following the political crisis of 1509. The Venetian ambassador, Andrea Badoer, relates in a letter of 20 April, 1510, how most of the Venetians living in London were taking the opportunity to return home through France under a safe conduct.⁽²⁾ If there were only three Venetian merchants in London in March, 1514, the Venetian community had been much larger at the end of the reign of Henry VII. Andrea Badoer, in his correspondence of 1510, mentions by name no less than eight merchants returning from London in that year, and these are but casual references.⁽³⁾ Evidence from the London Record Office permits a brief glimpse of the Venetian colony with some assurance at the beginning of the sixteenth century. In the Journals of the Common Council of the City of London preserved in the City of London Record Office there is a list of alien merchants licensed as brokers by the city authorities in the fourteenth year of Henry VII's reign (1498-99).⁽⁴⁾ The Venetian 'nation' in London nominated five brokers, of whom one name is deleted.⁽⁵⁾ Entries in the Repertories of the Court of

(1) Samudo, I Diarii XVIII, 26 April, 1514.

(2) Ibid., X, 14 May, 1510.

(3) The eight names are Nicolò da Ponte, Hieronimo da Molin, Lunardo Foscari, Lorenzo Giustinian, Piero da Cà da Pesaro, and the merchants Marcello, Grimani and Morosini. Ibid., X, 14 May, 1510; 29 May, 1510; XI 22 December, 1510.

(4) C.L.R.O., Journals of the Common Council, Journal 10, (1492-1505), f157r.

(5) The deleted name is that of Nicolò Balbi.

Aldermen for the same period repeat the names of the Venetian brokers admitted.⁽¹⁾ If the Venetian 'nation' could claim five brokers in London, the largest number among the Italian brokers in the city,⁽²⁾ then the Venetian mercantile community in the reign of Henry VII must have been quite considerable. Further evidence from the customs accounts, and literary evidence from the diary of Marin Sanudo, show that the Venetian merchants in London were carrying on a brisk trade with Venice in the last decade of Henry VII's reign, evidence which leads one to suppose that there was a sizeable Venetian community operating in the capital. In 1515 the merchants were returning to London as the political situation improved, and, though less numerous than before 1508-9, there was a recognisable Venetian community in London to receive the new ambassador, Sebastian Giustinian, in April, 1515.⁽³⁾ By 1518 the merchant population appears to have increased in anticipation of the arrival of the Flanders fleet of that year.⁽⁴⁾ In that year there are at least seven Venetians listed among the alien merchants owing money to Henry VIII.⁽⁵⁾ In the 1520's the Venetian community in London seems to have approached its former size, there were three Venetian galley fleets sent to England in this decade, while private shipping once more began to return to

(1) Ibid., Repertories of Aldermen 1, (1495-1505), f38r, f43v.

(2) By the reign of Henry VIII the Venetians once more appear to have lost ground to the Genoese. In 1498-99 there were nominated 5 Venetian brokers, 4 Genoese, 4 Florentines, 3 Lucchese, and 2 Milanese, Ibid.. However, a document relating to the early years of the reign of Henry VIII, but misplaced among later State Papers of the reign gives a list of alien merchants acting as brokers, and gives a total of 17 Genoese names. (L. & P., Add. 1, i, 49(1).) The number of Genoese brokers here named exceeds the number of brokers listed for all the other Italian nations together. The royal and local customs accounts for the period 1509-16 confirm this trend. It is therefore probable that the Genoese greatly benefitted from Venetian difficulties in those years.

(3) B.M.V., Ital. Cl. VII, Cod. MCLIX (7449) 21 April, 1515.

(4) In June, 1518, the Venetian ambassador noted that several merchants not accustomed to frequent the English market had arrived in England by land. Ibid., 21 June, 1518.

(5) L. & P., III pt.1. 54; Addenda 1 pt.1, 238. The merchants named are Antonio Bavarin, Lorenzo Pasqualigo, Nicolo Duodo, Hieronimo da Molin, Mattheo Bernardo, Marco Moriano, and 'Stephen Fesaunt', but the entry for Hieronimo da Molin and Mattheo Bernardo also refers to "and others", unfortunately not listed.

English waters on a regular basis.⁽¹⁾ In the 1530's and 1540's members of familiar Venetian mercantile families appear frequently in the court records, state papers, and in the particular customs accounts. A decree of the Senate of June, 1535, concerning the Cottimo da Londra also points to the continuance of a significant Venetian community.⁽²⁾ In 1548-49 at least twelve recognisable Venetian merchants appear on the alien subsidy return of that year.⁽³⁾ An assessment of Venetian merchants for the subsidy of 1557 names eight Venetian merchants resident in Tower and Billingsgate wards of the city.⁽⁴⁾ In 1568, a certificate by the Italian merchants residing in London noting their election to the office of Postmaster,⁽⁵⁾ one Godfrey Mareschallj, a Fleming, includes the names of five Venetian merchants, and one Venetian company.⁽⁶⁾ As late as May, 1571, the returns made by the Lord Mayor of aliens residing within Langbourne Ward of the city lists five Venetians resident in the ward, two merchants, one table keeper, and two simply described as 'lodgers'. One of the two merchants, Antonio de Federigo, had been resident in the same house in Langbourne Ward for thirteen years.⁽⁷⁾ By the 1580's Elizabeth's stern measures against Venetian shipping, while never completely successful, did much to undermine

(1) Sanudo, I Diarii XXVII-LVI, passim. P.R.O., K.R. Customs Accounts E122, London and Southampton, 1519-30, passim.

(2) A.S.V., Senato, Mar 23, f86v.

(3) Kirks, op.cit., pp.141-90.

(4) See Table XI, p.201.

(5) It seems remarkable that the merchant strangers were allowed to set up a post of their own, and to despatch and receive letters freely and apparently without interference on the part of the government. In Elizabeth's reign it was affirmed in a proclamation of 1591 that one of the principal reasons for conferring on the Post Office a monopoly in the conveyance of letters was that the state might possess the means of detecting and defeating conspiracies against itself. J.A.J. Housden, "The Merchant Strangers Post in the Sixteenth Century", Eng.Hist.Rev. 21, 1906, pp.739-40.

(6) B.M. Lansdown MS. 10 f101. No.25.

(7) Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth, May, 1571. No.84.

Venetian commerce with England. ⁽¹⁾ In 1592, a single Venetian merchant, originally from Zante, was residing in London and many of the Venetian merchants conducted their affairs through the Florentine, Bartolomeo Corsini, an agent of the Capponi, with the result that the Signoria found it difficult to appoint a consul. ⁽²⁾

According to Biscaro the Venetian colony in London numbered forty or more during the fifteenth century. ⁽³⁾ An analysis of the subsidies returned between 1455-59, and 1462-70 as tabulated by Giuseppi ⁽⁴⁾ is given in Tables XII and XIII. The Tables testify to some fluctuations in the population of the Venetian mercantile community in London, between 1455-70, and show that the Venetian colony constituted one of the largest of the Italian 'nations' in England in the late fifteenth century; a position which the colony retained until 1509. ⁽⁵⁾

Table XII.

ANALYSIS OF THE RETURNS OF THE SUBSIDIES BETWEEN 1455-59, AND 1462-70, EXTRACTED FROM M.S. GIUSEPPI'S TABLES. (ITALIAN NATIONS ONLY.)

Date Mich.-Mich.	Merchants householders paying 40 shillings.					Total
	Florentines	Genoese	Lucchese	Milanese	Venetians	
1455-6	2	4	1	0	4	11
1456-7	4	4	1	0	4	13
1457-8	3	4	1	0	4	12
1458-9	2	5	2	0	4	13
1462-3	4	1	1	0	6	12
1463-4	4	1	1	0	6	12
1464-5	2	0	1	0	3	6
1465-6	-	-	-	-	-	No Returns
1466-7	3	7	2	0	6	18
1467-8	2	4	2	0	3	11
1468-9	3	3	1	0	2	9
1469-70	-	-	-	-	-	No Returns

- (1) B.M.V., Ital. Cl.VII. Cod. DCCCCXXIV (8874) ff.177r-205v, "Tratti in Ordine al commercio fra la Republica di Venezia e l'Inghilterra con la fra prosizione del Magnifico Eccellentissima de Cinque Savii alla Mercanzia. Particolari di quanto vicerea la Regina d'Inghilterra da Veneziani accio si levi il dazio della Nuova Imposta". Also A. Tenenti, Piracy and the Decline of Venice, p.58.
- (2) A.S.V., Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia, reg.138. f.166v.
- (3) G. Biscaro, "Il banco Filippo Borromei e compagni di Londra", Archivio storico lombardo, ser.IV, vol.XIX, anno XL, 1913, p.369.
- (4) M.S. Giuseppi, "Alien Merchants in England in the fifteenth century", T.R.H.S., n.s.IX, 1895, p.96.
- (5) Supra, p.203, footnote No.2.

Table XIII.

Date Mich.-Mich.	Merchants householders paying 20 shillings.					
	Florentines	Genoese	Lucchese	Milanese	Venetians	Total
1455-6	10	18	6	0	22	56
1456-7	-	-	-	-	-	No Returns
1457-8	9	34	5	0	12	60
1458-9	10	30	4	0	15	59
1462-3	9	11	9	0	17	46
1463-4	9	10	9	0	17	45
1464-5	9	3	3	0	13	28
1465-6	-	-	-	-	-	No Returns
1466-7	19	18	8	0	9	54
1467-8	13	17	1	6	15	52
1468-9	14	19	2	0	11	46
1469-70	-	-	-	-	-	No Returns

From 1519 until shortly after the death of Henry VIII, in 1547, the Venetian colony was possibly of a size only marginally less than it had been in the late fifteenth century. Between 1550-70 the London colony began to decline significantly, although the other Italian 'nations' in London were disappearing more rapidly from the English scene.⁽¹⁾ That the Venetians were able to hold on to their position in England for so long is sound testimony to their commercial and maritime hold over Anglo-Levantine trade in the first three quarters of the sixteenth century.

All the evidence relating to the Venetian community in London cited above has been concerned primarily with the Venetian mercantile community. It must, however, be born in mind that there was always a permanent Venetian embassy staff between 1509-56, and a sizeable population of Venetian artisans and professional people living in or around London in the early sixteenth century. Between 1509-56 the resident embassy staff, including the ambassador and his secretary, ranged from twelve to four depending upon the status of the accredited agent, and upon the political situation.⁽²⁾ The full retinue usually comprised the secretary, the steward of the household, a chaplain, a barber,

(1) Kirks, *op.cit.*, 1, pp.191-401, eg. only a handful of Genoese names appear on the certificate of 1568, 1, p.384.

(2) *A.S.V.*, Senato, Deliberazioni, Secreta, 55 f82v, 65 f77r, Consiglio Dieci, Misti 32, f66r.

a cook, four personal servants, one of whom was to attend upon the secretary, and two grooms. ⁽¹⁾ The size of the Venetian professional and artisan population in London is more difficult to ascertain with any degree of certainty. Many must have lived in the great liberties of St. Martin-le-Grand, and Blackfriars, where they could practise their craft, and retail their wares without hindrance from the city authorities. ⁽²⁾ Occasional references to this section of the Venetian community are found, however, in the King's Book of Payments, and in the Wardrobe Accounts of the royal family. ⁽³⁾ Numerous Venetian artists, skilled craftsmen and professional people were employed at the royal court. Many Venetian musicians were employed by Henry VIII. Henry's great love of music and his own musical talents were renown throughout Europe. The fabled wealth, and musical excellence of the Tudor court during the reign of Henry VIII ⁽⁴⁾ tempted many Venetian musicians to seek Henry's patronage. In 1516, the Venetian virtuoso Fra Dionisio Memmo arrived in England. ⁽⁵⁾ He was

- (1) Ibid., Senato, Terra 7 f174v.
- (2) In 1539 the city authorities attempted to limit the bounds of the liberty of St. Martin-le-Grand but failed; and in 1543 and 1544 they attempted without success to define the city's rights in the Borough of Southwark. C.L.R.O., Repertories of Aldermen 10, ff97r, 303r; 11 f44r.
- (3) P.R.O., Treasury of Receipt, King's Book of Payments, 1-9 Henry VIII, E.36/215, passim. L. & P., III, pt.II, p.1543, King's Book of Payments, 12 Henry VIII; V, p.317 et seq. Treasurer of the Chambers Accounts, Payments made by Brian Tuke, 20 Henry VIII - 23 Henry VIII. B.M., Add. MS. 20030 ff48r, 57r, 78v, 82v, 96r, Privy Purse Expenses 22 Henry VIII - 25 Henry VIII; also Arundel MS.97, ff56v, 58r, 65v, 68v, 78r, 113v, 155r, 159r, 165r, 167v, 171v, 181v, Household Expenses 30 Henry VIII - 33 Henry VIII. Royal MS. 7F. XIV (125), 'Wardrobe Accounts of Katherine of Aragon'.
- (4) J. Stevens, Music and poetry in the early Tudor Court, London, 1961.
- (5) Memmo was a pupil of Giovanni di Maria, and was strongly influenced by the Frenchmen, Pierre de Fossis, maestro di cappella di San Marco, 1491-1527, and Jean Mouton, then working in Venice. Memmo excelled as an organist. On 22 September, 1507, he was appointed first organist of San Marco. From the letters of Nicolò Sagudino it appears that Memmo was highly thought of in Venice, at that time the musical capital of Europe. Groves', Dictionary of Music and Musicians, vols. II and IV, London, 1954. B.M.V., Ital. Cl.VII, MCXIX (7449) 30 September, 1516, 20 June, 1517. O. Logan, Culture and Society in Venice, 1470-1790, London, 1972, pp.256-68.

immediately presented at Court to Cardinal Wolsey, and to the King by the Venetian ambassador. Henry was greatly impressed by Memmo's musical skill and made him Vicar-Choral of the Chapel Royal, a position Memmo held for several years before returning to Venice. Another Venetian virtuoso, Zuan da Leze, a prominent harpsicordist, travelled to England with his instrument at his own expense, but failed to impress Henry. Da Leze was so despondent at his rejection that he took his own life. (1) In the 1520's and 1530's the name of Peregrine Simondi, a Paduan sackbut player, frequently occurs in the various Books of Payment and Wardrobe Accounts, along with that of Marco Antonio a Venetian sackbut player. (2) In the early 1540's there are records of no less than fourteen Venetian musicians in the pay of the King. (3) Amongst the payments made to Italian artists employed at the court in 1520 is a payment of £20 per annum to one Frederick Gracian (Federico Graziano), a Venetian. (4) There is also abundant evidence of many highly skilled artisans in the employ of the court. In 1539 there is a reference to a Veronese, Hieronimo Benall, who is described as "a carver of precious stones" for the King, for which he received a salary of £10 per annum and an allowance of 22s. 6d. for livery. (5) In the late 1530's and 1540's there are several references to a Friulian gun-founder employed by Henry VIII, Arcangelo d'Arcano, who received letters

(1) Sanudo, I Diarii XL, 24 December, 1525.

(2) L. & P., V p.317; IV pt.III, 6600 (19), (20); B.M., Arundel MS. 97. ff3r, 11v, 58r, 65v, 113v. Simondi received letters of denization and substantial grants of land from the King in 1530.

(3) Alberto, Vincenzo, and Alessandro da Venitia "the King's vialls", who received payment of 1s. per day. B.M., Arundel MS.97. ff155r, 159r, 165r. In 1545 letters of denization were granted to Alvise, Antonio, Gasparo, Giovanni and Giovanni Baptista Bassani "the King's musicians", natives of Venice, and to Giulio, Lorenzo, Zacchario and Augustino the sons of Alvise, and to Paolo the son of Gasparo. L. & P., XX pt.I, 465 (50).

(4) L. & P., III pt.II p.1543.

(5) B.M., Arundel MS.97. f78r. Benall received letters of denization in 1539. L. & P., XIV pt.II, 435 (9).

of denization in August, 1541.⁽¹⁾ During the period 1547-9 several highly skilled glassmakers reached England from Murano. The Duke of Somerset attempted to introduce the manufacture of high quality glasswork of the façon de Venise into England in the first or second year of Edward VI's reign. Venetian records give us the names of nine Muranese glassmasters and glassblowers with their wives and children established in England in 1549.⁽²⁾ Venetian architects and engineers were also present at the English court; unfortunately little is known of them or their work. John of Padua was both musician and "the Devisor of his Majesties buildings", and later entered the service of the Duke of Somerset.⁽³⁾ Hieronimo de Treviso is described as an architect, engineer and deviser of court masques for Henry VIII.⁽⁴⁾ Many other artists and skilled craftsmen from Venice and her dominions must also have resorted to the English court in this period, but unlike their wealthy and influential, mercantile fellow countrymen they have left no trace of their existence or activities. The court had always been least open to anti-Italian prejudices, and had tried to encourage many Venetian artisans and professional people to England. There can also be little doubt that many of those who came were largely encouraged to do so by Venetian merchants already established in London. The direct influence of Venetians or of Venice in the arts and in science was greater than has hitherto been recognised by historians. Venetian engineers were employed by Henry VIII in the French War of 1512-13, while in 1531 one of the most distinguished military engineers of the time, Marco Savorgnano, arrived at the English court

- (1) B.M., Arundel MS.97 ff165r-v. L. & P., XVI 1135 (7). G. Casoni, 'Note sull'artiglieria veneta', in Venezia le sue Lagune, 1. pt.2, Venezia, 1847.
- (2) A.S.V., Consiglio Dieci, Parti Comuni 19, f118v. Ibid, filza 50, February, 1550. The glassworkers Hieremia Pisani, Sebastiano Zanon, Alvise di Albertino, Michielin da Chiari and his son Baptista, Gracioxo alias 'Disperato', Marco Terrible and his son Piero, and Iseppo Casseleri had contracted to work in England for approximately five years to an English-Flemish consortium. The workers' families were relatively large, each had four or five children making the group approximately fifty in number.
- (3) L. & P., XIX pt.I, 812 (110). For his architectural service he received a salary of 2s. per day.
- (4) See M.D. Wyatt, Foreign Artists Employed in England During the Sixteenth Century, London, 1868.

under the guidance of Marco Rafael a Venetian Jew then in high favour with Henry VIII. ⁽¹⁾ Rafael himself was a skilled mathematician, and had formerly been employed in the Ducal Chancellery, constructing and deciphering codes. ⁽²⁾ There was also a very strong Venetian maritime influence. In the 1540's in particular, Henry VIII brought to England many skilled Venetian marine engineers, shipwrights, naval architects, and skilled navigators ⁽³⁾ to build up the royal navy. Between 1545-49, Venetian salvagers were employed by the English government to refloat the Mary Rose. In the event only her bronze cannon were recovered. ⁽⁴⁾ Finally there was an assortment of Venetians employed at the court as "servants to the King", such as the Brescian, Pietro Carmeliano, ⁽⁵⁾ the King's secretary. ⁽⁶⁾ In 1542 two Venetians, described simply as "the King's servants", received letters of denization. ⁽⁷⁾ In the 1520's the Venetian merchant Francisco Corbo was a member of the King's household, and was instrumental in importing grain into the corn-hungry city of London in 1525. ⁽⁸⁾ One of the King's farriers, in 1535, was also a Venetian. ⁽⁹⁾

- (1) L. & P., I (1), (11), passim. L. Einstein, The Italian Renaissance in England, London, 1902.
- (2) C.S.P.V., II, preface, pp.i-ii.
- (3) P.R.O., Pipe Office, Declared Accounts 2587, 2588. M. Oppenheim, A History of the Administration of the Royal Navy, London, 1896, pp.52, 59-60. C.S.P.Sp., VI, pt.1, 16 July, 1541. The 200 ton 'Galley Subtylle' was constructed largely by experienced Venetian shipwrights. R.C. Anderson, Oared Fighting Ships, London, 1962, pp.65, 66, 84.
- (4) A.P.C., 1, 14 April, 1546; 2, 17 May, 1547, 3 August, 1549. The contractor, one Pietro Paolo, received £107. 11s. 5d. for recovering her guns and small ordnance. In July, 1545, a team of 31 Venetian salvagers were at work on the 'Mary Rose'.
- (5) Carmeliano and many other Venetians in English service were double agents of Venice, and England, eg. Augustino de Agostini, who as Wolsey's secretary rose rapidly in the English diplomatic service between 1523-27. C.S.P.Sp., III (1) p.11. L. & P., IV (11), 3105. He received payment from the Venetian ambassador Falier, in January, 1523, with regard to the embargo placed upon the Venetian galleys by the King. C.S.P.V., III 614, 637. From 1530 he was used by Norfolk and Cromwell for overseas missions. L. & P., V 283, 733, 1077, App. 15. 1188, 1223, 1657, 1667. VI 22, 156 et seq..
- (6) Carmeliano was also something of a court poet and as such enjoyed great favour with the young King. L. Einstein, op.cit., p.46.
- (7) L. & P., XVII, 137 (49).
- (8) See below p.219.
- (9) Hannibal Zenzano, L. & P., VIII, 291 (50).

The medical profession was represented by Augustino de Agostini M.D., and by the apothecary Giovanni de Zuodo.⁽¹⁾

While the Venetian mercantile colony in London suffered occasional reverses in the early sixteenth century, notably between 1509-16, the Venetian merchant population in the capital must often have numbered between ten and twenty merchants. When one includes the clerks and the servants of these merchants, the substantial embassy staff, and the professional and artisan population of the colony, a total Venetian population in London at times approaching fifty does not seem inconceivable.

The Venetian mercantile community was particularly concerned to preserve its identity, unlike the other Italian 'nations', the French, and the merchants from the Low Countries.⁽²⁾ There were recognised Venetian quarters in London,⁽³⁾ though Venetian merchants are to be found scattered over quite a large area of the city, in Surrey, Middlesex, and in the city of Westminster.⁽⁴⁾ The Venetians, despite the prevailing historical view,⁽⁵⁾ were not centred on Lombard Street, the traditional Italian quarter in London,⁽⁶⁾ but further east in the parish of St. Olave, Hart Street.⁽⁷⁾ This is confirmed by Stow, "In Tower Street between Hart Lane and Church Lane,

(1) B.M., Arundel MS. 97 f18lv. (1541).

(2) Kirks, op.cit., pp.90, 401. M. Giuseppi, art.cit., pp.75-98.

(3) See accompanying map of London illustrating major centres of Venetian residence between 1537-57, p.213.

(4) Kirks, op.cit., *passim*.

(5) For example A.A. Ruddock, op.cit., p.132; H.W. Gidden, ed., The Book of Remembrance of Southampton, III, S.R.S., 1930, pp.57-8; G. Unwin, Studies in Economic History, pp. 67,95.

(6) P.R.O., H.C.A. 13/1 f50, 13/7 f277, 13/8 f146, 13/93 ff301, 306.

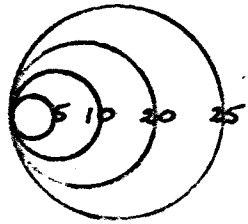
(7) Ibid., H.C.A. 13/7 f235, 13/8 f108, 13/9 f36: Kirks, op.cit., pp.54, 107.

was a quadrant called Galley Row, because galleyemen dwelt there", (1) while

"on the north side of Tower Street" is a lane, "called Mincheon Lane, which runneth up towards the north, and is for the most part of this Tower Street ward; which lane is ... above the west end of Hart Street. In this lane of old time dwelt divers strangers born of Genoa (sic.) and those parts; these were commonly called galleyemen, as men that came up in the galleys, brought up wines and other merchandises, which they landed in Thames Street, at a place called Galley Key." (2)

The demography of the Venetian mercantile community can be plotted with some degree of accuracy from statistics selected from the Alien Subsidy Returns for the years 1537-57. (3) (See Map III.) A clear picture of certain defined Venetian residential areas emerges from such a study. 48% of the total Venetian mercantile community lived in and around Hart Street, St. Olave's Parish (in the adjacent Tower and Billingsgate Wards), and in the parishes of St. Andrews and St. George's (4) Billingsgate. The second largest group

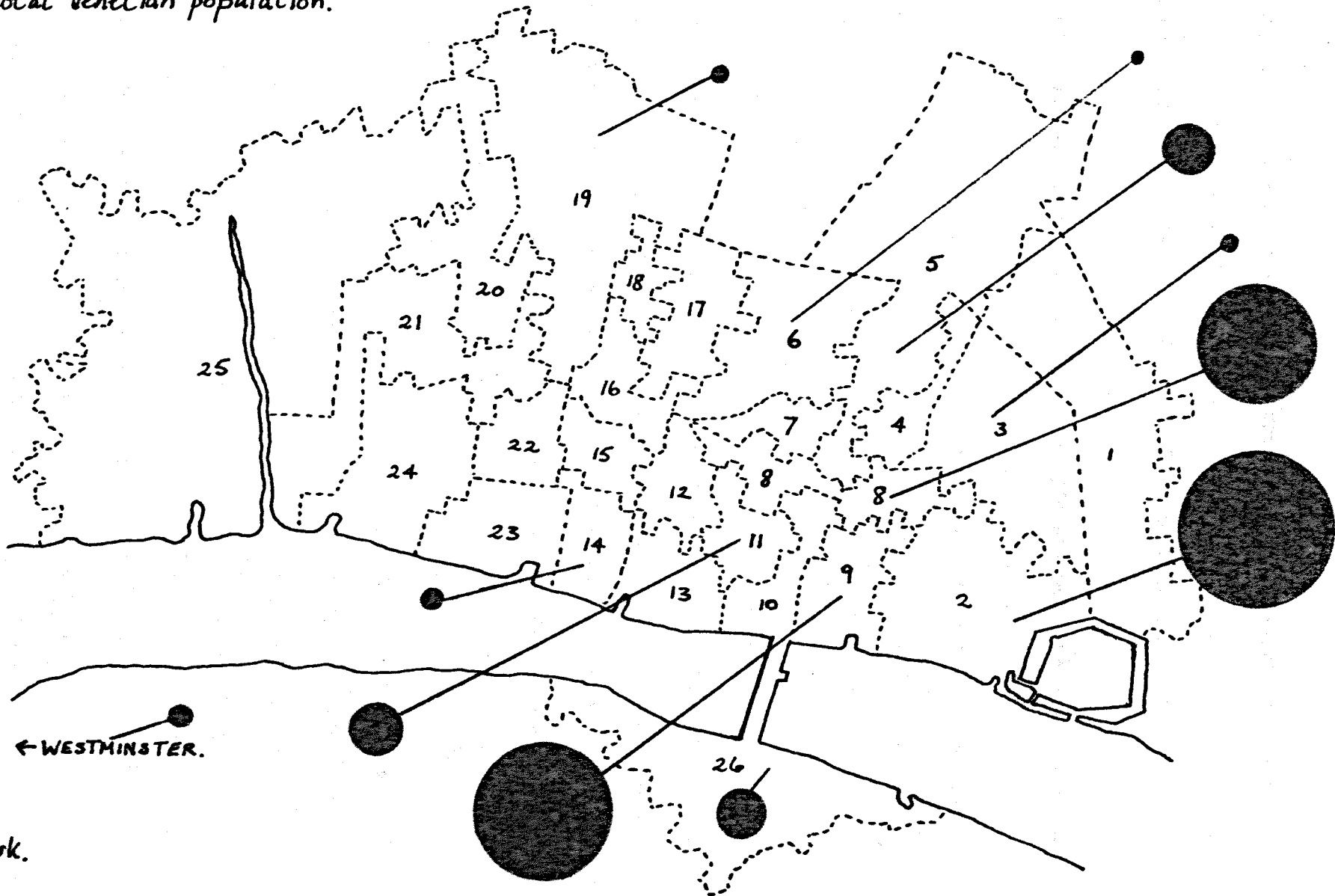
- (1) John Stow, Survey of London, 1603, Everyman edition, London, 1916, p.122. The galleyemen referred to here, and throughout by Stow, are the galleyemen from the Venetian and Florentine galleys. The Venetian galleys called regularly at London in the first half of the fifteenth century. The Florentine galleys only rarely called at London and preferred Southampton as their terminus in northern waters. See M.E. Mallett, op.cit., pp.82-103. Stow confuses the Genoese with the Venetians, and talks of the 'Genoese galleys', galleyemen etc.. The Genoese, however, traded with England in carracks not galleys. It must be remembered that Stow was writing about a hundred years after the last Venetian galleys left London, and only the names of buildings and streets, as well as a strong oral tradition remained for Stow to work upon.
- (2) Stow, pp.120-1.
- (3) Kirks, op.cit., pp.16-248.
- (4) From literary sources there is evidence that many Venetians were clustered in Tower Street, Billingsgate. A notarial document of the early sixteenth century shows a number of Venetian merchants resident in Botolphe Lane in the parish of St. George's. A.S.V., Notarili, Devereux, Giovanni, 1509-11, Busta 6620, No.4. Francisco de Bardi, a Florentine, was the master of a house in Botolphe Lane in the first decade of the sixteenth century, "wherein be diverse merchauntes strangers inhabited." P.R.O., E.C.P. 475 (18).



Major centres of Venetian residence, 1537-57, in relation to the wards of Tudor London.

No. of merchants as a percentage of the total Venetian population.

1. Portsoken Without.
2. Tower Street.
3. Aldgate.
4. Lime Street.
5. Bishopsgate.
6. Broad Street.
7. Cornhill.
8. Langbourne.
7. Billingsgate.
10. Bridge Ward Within.
11. Candlewick Street.
12. Walbrooke.
13. Downgate.
4. Vintry.
15. Cordwainer.
16. Cheepe.
17. Colman Street.
18. Basinghall.
19. Cripplegate.
20. Aldersgate.
21. Farringdon Within.
22. Bread Street.
23. Queenshithe.
24. Castle Baynard.
25. Farringdon Without.
26. Bridge Ward Without or Borough of Southwark.



comprising 21.4% of the total Venetian community resided in Langbourne Ward, centred around the parishes of St. Denis Backchurch, and St. Gabriell Backchurch, with others scattered in the parishes of St. Nicholas Acon, and Fenchurch. These three wards, Tower, Billingsgate, and Langbourne, account for over 70% of London's Venetian colony, and contain the city's two major Venetian quarters. Another smaller group of Venetians, comprising 7% of the Venetian colony, lived in the parish of Abchurch, Candlewick Street Ward. A further 8.8% of the London colony were centred in two areas outside the city boundaries, in Southwark, Surrey, and in the City of Westminster, Middlesex, where 5.8% and 3% respectively of the total London Venetian population resided.

With regard to this proclivity of the Venetian colony in London to congregate in particular community areas, it must be added that wealthy Venetian merchants rented suitable town properties where available, in the London wards of Aldgate, Broadstreet, Bishopsgate, Vintry, and Cripplegate, where, according to Stow, in Aldermanbery Street, "be divers fair houses on both the sides meet for merchants."⁽¹⁾ Again according to Stow, in Kerion Lane, off Royal Street, in Vintry Ward, "there be divers fair homes for merchants strangers."⁽²⁾ In 1541, the Giustiniani held property in Vintry Ward, St. Martin's Parish, to the value of £5, and paid a subsidy of 5 shillings.⁽³⁾ It is not claimed that Venetian merchants lived only in the above mentioned wards, but these do constitute the main centres. Since most of the available evidence relates to the middle years of the sixteenth century the geographical dissemination is not explained by shifting concentrations within this period.

The tendency to live together and to act together is a natural characteristic of any immigrant community, and is in no way extraordinary. Whilst many other alien communities in London were not organised under consular

(1) Stow, p.262.

(2) Ibid., p.222.

(3) Kirks, op.cit., p.55.

government, the Venetian colony was so organised. It must be stressed, however, that the Venetian colonies in London and Southampton never approached the degree of power and authority that was acquired by similar Venetian colonies elsewhere. In Constantinople, for example, the Venetian colony acted virtually as an independent state, appointing a podesta, who issued edicts and appointed an administration after the Venetian model.⁽¹⁾ In the Near East generally the Venetians often obtained concessions including a section of the town, their own public buildings and church, and a free zone in the harbour.⁽²⁾ Privileges granted by the English Crown were more modest in nature. The Venetians resident in London were not organised, however, into a rigorously regulated, or a geographically circumscribed community comparable with the Hanseatic Kontor. The organisation of the Venetian colony in London was primarily concerned with the arrangement necessary for the efficient, and profitable administration of the cottimo da Londra, during the visits of the Flanders galleys to England, as well as with the legal problems of individual Venetian merchants. The Venetian colony in London was also organised under consular government to facilitate representation at court, and more importantly to give the colony an element of autonomy. Consular jurisdiction, with few exceptions, related to domestic affairs. Venetian merchants, however, were kept under strict surveillance by the consul, especially in dealings effecting the interests of the Venetian community as a whole.⁽³⁾ In 1533, for example, the merchant banker Mafio Bernardo was arraigned before the Avogadori di Comun on the charge of attempting to farm the English wool staple, and thereby to

(1) H. Brown, Studies in the History of Venice II, New York, 1907, Ch.1.

(2) F.C. Lane, Venice: A Maritime Republic, pp.99-100, 130-1. F. Wilken, "Über die Venetianischen Consulen zu Alexandria im 15^{teen} und 16^{teen} Jahrhunderte", K. Academie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, in Abhandlungen aus dem Jahre 1831, Berlin, 1832, pp.44-5. A.S.V., Senato, Mar 32 ff35-6. J.E. Wansbrough, op.cit., passim.

(3) Supra, Ch.III, pp.149-55.

monopolise the sale of English wools at Venice to the detriment of other merchants and the Flanders galleys. Bernardo's dealings with the crown, and the merchant staplers was reported to the Signory by the ambassador and consul in London.⁽¹⁾ Although less regimented than the Hanseatic Kontor⁽²⁾ the Venetian colony remained essentially inward looking and primarily concerned with Venetian and family affairs.

The Venetians, however, did possess their own 'Logia' or House⁽³⁾ in London. A memorandum in the Book of Remembrance of Southampton,⁽⁴⁾ for 1487 refers to a 'Venise House of London'.⁽⁵⁾ The exact location of 'Venise House' is not known, and Stow and Leyland make no mention of it, but it is probable that it lay in the vicinity of St. Olave's parish, Tower Ward, or near to Lombard Street in Langbourne Ward.⁽⁶⁾ 'Venise House' was undoubtedly the office of the Venetian consul in London, and served as the meeting place, and possibly warehouse, for the Venetian merchants in the city.

Venetian merchant colonies throughout Europe encouraged corporate worship to foster the solidarity of their communities in foreign cities. In London, the Venetians do not appear to have met separately from other Italians as was the case in Southampton. Instead there appears to have been an Italian

- (1) Sanudo, I Diarii LV, 19 February, 1531; LVIII, 14 April, 21 May, 29-30 May, 5-6 June, 1533.
- (2) See S.L. Thrupp, "Aliens in and around London in the fifteenth century", Studies in London History presented to Philip Edmund Jones, ed., A.E.J. Holleander and W. Kellaway, London, 1969, pp.261-2.
- (3) F. Edler, Glossary of Medieval terms of Business, Italian series, 1200-1600, Camb. Mass., 1934, p.164.
- (4) Book of Remembrance III, ed., H.W. Gidden, S.R.C., 1930, pp.57-58.
- (5) "Memo, that the 15 day april in the awdythowes was granted unto the merchants of Venise house of London for to unlading of the galley in this port, patron of the same galley Jerome Monsynogo, £6. 13s. 4d., for to help the same merchants for carrying a part of their goods to London"
- (6) I have been unable to find any further reference to 'Venise House' in either the London Record Office, or in any contemporary histories, or secondary works on the city of London. Nor have I come across any specific reference to such a building in the Venetian archives, although the Cottimo da Londra obviously approximates to the same. Supra, Ch.III, pp.150-4.

rather than a specifically Venetian church, but this did not mean that the Venetian community did not celebrate certain feasts alone on specific occasions, for example on the feast of St. Mark, April 25, or the fest of St. Nicholas, December 6. The Cottimo da Londra was forbidden to pay for banquets held, or to spend more than £2, on the celebration of the festival of St. Mark.⁽¹⁾ Within London the Venetians frequented the Church of St. Nicholas (the patron saint of seamen) in Lombard Street, while within the house of the Austin Friars, a noted centre for alien merchants of various nationalities in London,⁽²⁾ they had a meeting place in a room known as 'Lumbardeshall'. In the fifteenth century there was a Venetian priest at the Austin Friars. The Austin Friars also frequently acted as confessors to Italians, whilst their church acted as a burial ground for those who died in London.⁽³⁾ Across the river, in the Borough of Southwark, the Venetians used another church, the church of Our Lady, in the priory of St. Mary's, Southwark.⁽⁴⁾ In 1501-2 there is an instance of a deceased Venetian galleyman bequeathing a mortuary⁽⁵⁾ in the form of one piece of camlet⁽⁶⁾ to 'Our Lady of Southwyk'.⁽⁷⁾

The London authorities were less predisposed to recognise the usefulness of Venetian merchants than either the crown or the Southampton authorities.

- (1) A.S.V., Senato, Mar 5 f187r.
- (2) The Victoria History of the Counties of England, ed., W. Page, 'A History of London' vol.1., London, 1909, p.512. L. & P., VII, 1670; IX, 330; X, 351.
- (3) S.L. Thrupp, Aliens in and around London in the fifteenth century, p.263.
- (4) Stow, pp.359, 363-5.
- (5) O.E.D., In the English church a mortuary was a customary obligation or offering paid out of the estate of a deceased person to the church to which he belonged.
- (6) In the King's Book of Payments, March 1511, the piece of cloth is reckoned at 3-9 yds. (P.R.O., Exchequer Treasury of Receipt, King's Book of Payments, 1-9 Hen.VIII, E.36/215.) The price of tawney camlet in the 1480's was 4s. the yard (Thorald Rogers, op.cit.), assuming a similar price for 1501-2, the galleyman's mortuary would have been worth £7. 16s., a very considerable sum.
- (7) Miscellaneous Letters of Southampton of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries, R.C. Anderson, ed., S.R.S., 1921, "Letter of Mathew Fox, Prior of Our Lady of Southwark to William Justice, Mayor of Southampton", p.33.

London hostility to alien merchants has often been over emphasized. This is to be guarded against for the London authorities profited from the revenues, merchandise and services provided by the various alien communities. In July, 1556, for example, the Londoners were instrumental in obtaining for the Venetian merchants the Council's licence for occasional Venetian wine ships to resort to London with their cargoes of Levantine wines, despite the act of 1554,⁽¹⁾ which had conceded the staple for the sweet wine trade to Southampton. In this instance London interests were at stake, and consequently co-operation with the merchants of Venice was forthcoming. The reliance of the English capital upon the wealth and commercial expertise of its Venetian inhabitants, however, was less marked than in the case of Southampton. However, the Londoners were not slow to profit from the presence of the wealthy Venetian mercantile community. The Venetians were more acceptable to the London companies and private citizens, as wealthy tenants than as privileged merchants. The Venetians were able and willing to pay much higher rents than Englishmen in the capital, for some of the best properties in London.⁽²⁾ A number of instances show the greater London companies renting property to wealthy members of the Venetian community. Stefan Fesaunt, and Gasparo, his son, leased property in London belonging to the Mercers Company, the under lease of which resulted in a series of disputes in Chancery.⁽³⁾ Giovanni Evangelista⁽⁴⁾ rented a messuage, "with iiii tenements thereto appertaining", in the parish of St. Mary Abchurch, from the master and warden of the Merchant Taylor's company for a period of twentyone years, the rent of which amounted to £8. 6s. 8d. yearly.

(1) Charters of Southampton, H.W. Gidden, ed., S.R.S., 1909-10, II 36.

(2) Antonio Foscarini, the Venetian ambassador to James I, in a despatch to the Signory of 19 April, 1612, lamenting the decline of Venetian trade with England states that in the sixteenth century Venetian merchants owned many fine houses in London. C.S.P.V., XII 412.

(3) P.R.O., E.C.P. 1160 (73), 974 (16).

(4) Giovanni was a citizen of Zara in Dalmatia, but as such was a Venetian subject.

In this instance the London draper, John Parnell, was bound jointly with the Venetian in the sum of 40 marks to ensure payment, and Parnell was arrested during Wolsey's Chancellorship when one year's rent was not paid on the day due, even though, as Parnell testified, the Venetian had spent more than £20 on repairs to the property.⁽¹⁾ The London authorities might lament, in 1525, that the great houses of the city were being increasingly leased to merchant strangers,⁽²⁾ but clearly the liveried companies often found their most profitable tenants amongst the Venetian community. The Venetian community, therefore, contributed largely to the prosperity of the London Liveried Companies, and individual London citizens.

One of the most pressing problems facing London in the early sixteenth century was the demand for food resulting from a rapidly expanding population.⁽³⁾ In normal times the corn growing regions of the home counties were able to supply the bulk of London's needs, but in years of scarcity, occasional contracts were made with Venetian merchants to supply the city with foreign corn. The scarcity of grain in England after 1525 caused the city authorities to take measures to encourage aliens to import more grain.⁽⁴⁾ Although the Hanseatic merchants provided the city with the bulk of alien corn imports⁽⁵⁾ the Venetian merchants, Martin di Federico, and Francisco Corbo,⁽⁶⁾ were involved in importing corn from Europe in 1525.⁽⁷⁾ On a higher note

(1) P.R.O., E.C.P. 552 (27).

(2) C.L.R.O., Journals of the Common Council 12, 1518-1526, f335v.

(3) See N.S.B. Gras, The Evolution of the English Corn Market from the Twelfth Century to the Eighteenth Century, Camb. Mass., 1915, p.78. J. Fisher, "The Development of the London Food Market, 1540-1640", Econ. Hist. Rev., V, 1935, pp.46-64.

(4) C.L.R.O., Repertories of Aldermen 7, 1525-1527, f247.

(5) L. & P., IV pt.3, 5904.

(6) Corbo was a member of the King's household and was, therefore, in an ideal position to obtain licences for the import of foreign corn. L. & P., IV pt.1., 210, 1892.

(7) A.S.V., Miscellanea Gregolin, busta 12 bis. (Lettere commerciali), Martin di Federico to Stefano de Nadal in Venice, dated London, 1525. Federico was acting as Nadal's agent in London.

Venetian merchants also contributed heavily to London's official functions, notably to the splendour of coronation pageantry. For example, in September, 1533, Venetian finance contributed to enhance the coronation of Mary Tudor. Magnificent triumphal arches were erected along the coronation route by all the Italian 'nations'.⁽¹⁾ Giacomo Ragazzoni spent heavily on the coronation of 1553, and later received ample reward for this, and for other services to the Crown.⁽²⁾ No doubt national rivalry, notably between the various Italian communities, spurred the Venetians on to lavish money on such occasions, to the delight of the London authorities, and to the relief of the Londoner's purses.

While there is some evidence of co-operation, however, there are far more references to conflicts and grievances, which can be found throughout the London records in the early Tudor period. The unenfranchised Venetian merchants, along with other alien merchants, found the privileges of the London citizens a constant grievance.⁽³⁾ Many legal battles involved the alleged infraction of the city's privileges. Local privileges and fiscal considerations caused the city authorities to regulate and supervise the activities of aliens very closely. Delays and inconveniences resulting from these restrictions provided a constant source of friction. There was also the complaint that the Londoners were imposing new burdens on alien merchants in the form of taxation and services.⁽⁴⁾

Of the many restrictions imposed upon the Venetian community by the London authorities that relating to the sale of all merchandise brought into the city within a specific period caused the greatest grievance at the

- (1) J. Entick, A New and Accurate History and Survey of London, Westminster, Southwark, and places adjacent, 4 vols., London, 1766, 1, p.489. R. Garnett, ed., The Accession of Queen Mary, London, 1892, p.119. H.F.M. Prescott, Mary Tudor, 2nd ed., London, 1952, p.197.
- (2) B.M.V., Ital. Cl. VII, Cod. CCCXLI (8623), Cronaca di Famiglie Cittadinesche Venete, XXXVII, ff181r-185r.
- (3) London citizenship carried with it a large number of rights and privileges which the Londoners jealously guarded. C.M.E.H.E., III, pp.330-1.
- (4) The London authorities of course replied that these 'new impositions' were of ancient and universally accepted origins.

commencement of Henry VII's reign. Pressure from the London authorities on the insecure Lancastrian monarchy had enabled them in 1404 to have Parliament pass a bill enforcing alien merchants to complete their business within three months.⁽¹⁾ Against this the Venetians, and other Italians, protested,⁽²⁾ urging that the greater freedom they had in trading the more merchandise they would bring, and, therefore, the more customs they would pay, and the more English goods they would buy, as they had to spend all their takings in England being unable to export bullion.⁽³⁾ The force of this argument was appreciated by the crown, and the order was quashed, but in 1440 pressure from the London citizens again resulted in a limit being set, this time for eight months, at the end of which time any goods unsold might be exported without paying customs.⁽⁴⁾ The Yorkists maintained the city's privileges. In 1483, Richard III confirmed this limit of eight months, after which the Venetian merchants should export their unsold merchandise within two months, or as soon as wind and weather would permit.⁽⁵⁾ This enactment led the Senate to complain to Richard III in March, 1484,⁽⁶⁾ and again in April, 1485.⁽⁷⁾ Finally, at the accession of Henry VII the Venetian Senate's petition was upheld, and the legislation of Richard III was repealed⁽⁸⁾ to the chagrin of London merchants.

(1) Stats. Realm, 5 Hen. IV, c.9.

(2) Rot. Parl., III, 553.

(3) Rymer, Foedra, 1, 924. Rot. Parl., III, 543.

(4) Stats. Realm, 18 Hen. VI, c.4. More costly goods such as cloth of Venice were excepted.

(5) Ibid., 1 Ric. III, c.9. The preamble to Richard III's statute sets out that, "Venetians, Janueys, Florentynes, Apuleyns, Cicilians, Lucaners, Catelyns, and others of the same nation in London were in the habit of taking warehouses, storing their goods and holding them up till prices rose; they bought goods to sell again in the city and realm by retail; and they acted as hosts to men of other nations."

(6) A.S.V., Senato, Mar 12, f3r.

(7) Ibid., 12, f42r.

(8) Stats. Realm, 1 Hen. VII, c.10.

The Statutes of Richard III were upheld once more, in 1540, but appear to have had little effect. ⁽¹⁾

Venetian merchants were also affected by the privilege which gave to the enfranchised alone the right to purchase merchandise within the city boundaries with the intention to resell. ⁽²⁾ Richard III's statute of 1483 had set out to prevent aliens buying goods to sell again in the city. Henry VII's statute had repealed this, and the city authorities had felt it necessary to write up all the grants, statutes, and other records showing their right to seize goods that were foreign bought and sold, and presented the book to the King's council. ⁽³⁾ In matters relating to foreign buying and selling the London authorities, as the Italian merchant, Georgio Ardisono, complained, were both prosecution and jury in their own complaint. ⁽⁴⁾ In such circumstances Venetians could hardly expect to obtain a fair hearing and complaints that the city was not a disinterested judge sound plausible enough.

Similarly the unenfranchised Venetians were forbidden to keep shops in order to sell their merchandise at retail. During the reign of Henry VII it was decreed that any citizen who was discovered to have concealed the goods of a foreigner should be disenfranchised, and put in the pillory, ⁽⁵⁾ a provision which was re-enacted in the years following. ⁽⁶⁾ Again the preamble to Richard III's statute of 1483 sets out how "great numbers of strangers", Venetians and others, were settling down in the city with their wives and children, and "wilnot take uppon theym any laborious occupation as cartynge

(1) P.R.O., SP8. 243, 429.

(2) C.L.R.O., Journals of the Common Council, 14, 1535-1542, passim. Repertories of Aldermen, 7, 1525-1527, passim.

(3) C.L.R.O., Repertories of Aldermen, 1, 1495-1505, f12v: G. Schanz, II, p.184.

(4) P.R.O., E.C.P. 278 (66).

(5) C.L.R.O., Journals of the Common Council 10, f144v.

(6) Ibid., 12, f24v. P.R.O., E.C.P. 199 (3).

and plowynge", but rather, they practised "handicrafts and easy occupations", and imported foreign wares which they sold in the markets and fairs, where such retailing was allowed, thus throwing Englishmen out of work.⁽¹⁾ This restriction by the city authorities worked against Venetian craftsmen more seriously than against the merchants. The city regulations, however, did not restrict the range of activities of Venetian merchants. While the citizens had established their right to monopolise the retail trade by the reign of Henry VII, opportunities still remained for Venetians to dispute the monopoly. By 1540, the Council found it necessary to republish Richard III's statute.⁽²⁾

The restrictions placed upon Venetian brokers was another grievance of the Venetian community in London. Strict supervision was prompted by the desire of the London authorities to check usury through false transactions, and to prevent dealings contrary to the city's privileges.⁽³⁾ Venetian brokers were the object of popular suspicion felt for the profession as a whole,⁽⁴⁾ and also of the petitions of freemen brokers in persuance of their own interests.⁽⁵⁾ Frequent complaint was made that Venetian merchants were not only practising usury, but using their knowledge of which goods were plentiful or secure to inform other Venetian merchants how to send up the prices of their own goods and so depreciate English merchandise.⁽⁶⁾ The London records show many attempts by the city authorities to limit the number of alien brokers, and to ensure that only those Venetians licensed by the Mayor and

(1) Stats. Realm., 1 Ric. III, c.9. According to Stow aliens were permitted shops in the manor of Blanch Apleton, Aldgate, and not elsewhere, within the city or suburbs, Stow, p.136.

(2) P.R.O., SP8. 429.

(3) M. Giuseppi, art.cit., p.83. S.L. Thrupp, op.cit., p.97.

(4) Ibid., p.221.

(5) T.G. Wyatt, "Aliens in England before the Huguenots", Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London, XIX, 1952-58, pp.74-5.

(6) Rot. Parl., IV, 193. L. & P., IV pt.3, 5966.

Aldermen engaged in brokerage.⁽¹⁾ The frequency with which these enactments were repeated suggests that enforcement proved very difficult. It appears to have been usual for the Venetian 'nation' in London to nominate five or six official brokers for licence to operate in the city in the late fifteenth century.⁽²⁾ A list of the brokers for the early years of the reign of Henry VIII gives the names of four Venetian merchants, Giovanni Giustinian, 'Stephen Fesaunt', 'Pecaporko', and Luca Marcello.⁽³⁾

Other measures proved to be equally grievous. Venetian merchants were compelled to use carts, carters, and porters licensed specifically by the city to handle their goods.⁽⁴⁾ The restrictions alone were irksome,⁽⁵⁾ but the means of implementation appear to have concerned Venetian merchants most. Carts and porters licensed by the city authorities often appear to have been unavailable when most needed.⁽⁶⁾ Merchandise was ruined through exposure to the weather while waiting for the porters to arrive.⁽⁷⁾ Attempts by the royal government to prevent frauds to the King's revenues resulted in similar grievances. The suspicion that aliens might conceal uncustomed goods amongst their exports resulted in the appointment of packers specifically to handle the

- (1) C.L.R.O., Journals of the Common Council, 11, 1505-1518; 12, 1518-1526 passim.; Repertories of Aldermen, 1, 1495-1505; 2, 1506-1514 passim.; 3, 1514-1518 f47v; 8, 1528-1532, f286r.
- (2) Ibid., Journals of the Common Council, 10, 1492-1505, f157r; Repertories of Aldermen, 1, 1495-1505, ff38r, 43v. M. Giuseppi, art.cit., p.96.
- (3) P.R.O., SP1. 231, ff57, 59.
- (4) W.M. Stern, The Porters of London, London, 1969, p.14.
- (5) B.M.V., Ital. Cl.VII, MCXIX (7449), 21 July, 1519.
- (6) A similar complaint was made by Venetians of the Southampton porters, see below pp.268, 273.
- (7) A.S.V., Miscellanea Gregolin, busta 12 bis, Lettere commerciali, Zuan Alvise to Zuan Francesco Badoer, London, 3 March, 1532. C.L.R.O., Journals of the Common Council, 14, Scavage, fol.A.

goods of alien merchants, whose clerk kept a book of particulars detailing every pack made for the information of the customers. The Venetians complained that excessive handling by packers resulted in damage to their bales of wool in the customs house. The London packers were the object of complaint in a letter to Zuan Francesco Badoer from his brother Zuan Alvise, in London, in 1532.⁽¹⁾

While the city privileges and regulations continued to promote discord between the Venetians and the city authorities, by the early sixteenth century most difficulties were connected with the dues and services that were claimed by the London authorities from non-citizens. In May, 1525, for example the Mayor and Aldermen, concerned to reduce the exemptions from public duties claimed by the unenfranchised, decided that all aliens occupying the great houses within the city should henceforth, in conjunction with the aldermen of the ward, appoint and pay deputies to fulfil on their behalf the duties of constable and watch. It was claimed that the great houses of various wards were being increasingly inhabited by alien merchants, amongst whom Italians predominated, and that those aliens refused to contribute towards the charges of the city, and because the refusal of aliens presented a bad example to other citizens!⁽²⁾ The charge that Italian merchants were occupying "a good part of the finest, and chief houses in the city of London", was repeated well into the second half of the sixteenth century.⁽³⁾ Antonio Foscarini, the Venetian ambassador, noted in April, 1612 that the Venetian merchants had possessed many fine houses in London in the sixteenth century.⁽⁴⁾ In 1533, Eustace Chapuys, the Imperial ambassador, reported that the London authorities were determined to make all inhabitants, including aliens, pay towards the city's

(1) G. Schanz, II p.358, A.S.V., Miscellanea Gregolin, loc.cit..

(2) C.L.R.O., Journals of the Common Council, 12, 1518-1526, f335v.

(3) G.D. Ramsay, "The undoing of the Italian mercantile colony", p.31.

(4) C.S.P.V., XII, 412.

gift of 3,000 ducats presented to Anne Boleyn on the occasion of her coronation. (1)

Less specifically the lay subsidy levied on aliens in the 1540's seem to have been imposed within London with greater vigour upon aliens than upon citizens. (2)

The most important and most lasting grievance of the Venetian merchants was related to the various dues that the London authorities claimed by an ancient right to levy on merchant strangers. While there is no similar recorded list of grievances felt by the Venetian mercantile community in London as exist for the French, Spanish and Dutch communities in the calendared collection of miscellaneous letters and papers of the reign of Henry VIII, (3) many of the general grievances felt by these other alien groups also affected the Venetian mercantile community. There are grounds for this belief in the memorandum drawn up by the French merchants, in 1526, (4) and referred to as "the list of grievances presented by the French merchants and other strangers". Instances of similar grievances can be found in the dispacci and relazioni of Venetian ambassadors to England. (5) These grievances came to a head during the office of Giovanni Michiel. In December, 1556, Michiel met with the royal council to demand that the Venetian merchants enjoy their usual ancient liberties without innovation, and demonstrated that the inconvenience and loss of the Venetian merchants would bring neither convenience nor profit to the English Merchant Adventurers. (6) These dues were multifarious, and included ankerage, balliage,

(1) L. & P., VI, 508.

(2) Kirks, op.cit., pp.19-190. L. & P., XVI, 223.

(3) L. & P., XV, 995(2); XVI pt.1, 1, 141, 174, 214, 664, 834, 864.
B.M., Galba B X, ff145r-54r. P.R.O., SP7. 235 ff86, 89. Schanz II, 363.

(4) P.R.O., SP7. 235 ff86, 89. The articles presented to Wolsey contain the Cardinal's marginal answers.

(5) B.M.V., Ital. Cl. VII, MCXIX (7449), 21 July, 1519. Apart from general grievances applicable to all aliens in London, Cardinal Wolsey also complained of the Venetian use of the Marcheto in London. The Marcheto was a small silver coin, but not of the Sterling standard, and on that account prohibited.

(6) C.S.P.V., VI pt.2, 771, 776, 882. Albèri, op.cit., serie 1, II, 'Relazione del Giovanni Michieli detta in Pregadi. Il di 13 Maggio, 1557', pp.291-380.

headmoney, crantage, scavage, carriage, groundage, package, and many less irksome dues,⁽¹⁾ all the subject of acrimonious disputes between the city authorities and the Venetian community throughout the early sixteenth century. During these years a number of Italians appear in the records of the city for refusal to pay scavage and other dues.⁽²⁾ The Venetian colony in London had attempted to repudiate the payment of scavage as early as 1396. The Venetians and other Italian 'nations' in London complained to the mayor that the sheriffs had levied this toll on their goods coming from Southampton to London by land and asserted that they had not been accustomed to pay it. The Sheriffs maintained that it had always been payable on goods belonging to foreigners, and observed that the Venetians paid it on heavy goods of little value reaching London by water, but objected to pay it on light goods of greater value which they transported by land. After examining the city records on the subject the mayor declared that in future the Italians must pay scavage on all goods whether coming by land or by water, but the toll remained a matter of dispute between Venetians and the city authorities into the sixteenth century.⁽³⁾

Many of the grievances felt by Venetians were common to other alien groups, and to foreigners alike,⁽⁴⁾ and should not be too readily attributed to nascent economic nationalism, but rather to traditional urban exclusiveness. Despite this, however, the early Tudor period saw the continuation of a generally aggressive policy towards Venetian merchants and artisans on the part of the city authorities. Concern for the city's privileges and revenues, and a determination to treat aliens as Englishmen themselves were treated abroad ensured that the city's relationship with its Venetian inhabitants would never

(1) G. Schanz II, p.361.

(2) C.L.R.Q., Repertories of Aldermen, (1-14), *passim*.

(3) C. Pendrill, London Life in the Fourteenth Century, London, 1925, p.110.

(4) In medieval parlance the foreigner was not an alien, but simply anyone from outside (foris) the borough or district.

be entirely amicable. Many of the measures proposed in Parliament against merchant strangers can be attributed to the malignant influence of the London M.Ps. (1) If it had not been for the intervention of the crown the position of the Venetians in London would have been much worse. The relations between the city and central government deteriorated sharply with the rise to power of Thomas Wolsey. (2) In 1529, the city drew up a wholesale indictment of Wolsey's administration as it affected London, which included a loud protest against the favours shown by the Cardinal towards Italian merchants, and his restraint of the city's rights and liberties:-

"It is to be noted that the great number of licences granted by the King our soveraigne lord to marchauntes estraingers, the long respite for the payment of their custome, and the greate sommes of money lent to them by his grace have encouraiged them to raise prices and engross goods, by reason whereof the marchauntes his subjectes, havynge not such recourse or traffique of marchaundise as they had in tymes passed, been greatly decayed and impoverished." (3)

The Venetians in particular appear to have suffered from their reputation (largely unfounded) for economic sharp practice and deceit, a reputation which was hardly conducive to good relations. They were especially vituperated for their exchange and credit operations, an attitude which can be found in government circles as well as in those of the citizenry. (4) As the 'Libelle of Englyshe Polycye' puts it, "The bore the golde oute of thys londe, And souke the thryfte away oute of oure honde, As the waffore soukethe honye fro the bee." (5) A number of lawsuits suggest that in individual cases the reputation was not perhaps unjust. A common practice amongst all Italian

- (1) H. Miller, "London and Parliament in the reign of Henry VIII", Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research 35, 1962, pp.128-49. J.S. Roskell, The Commons and their Speakers in English Parliaments, 1376-1523, Manchester, 1965.
- (2) C.L.R.O., Repertories of Aldermen, 3, (1514-18), ff 80, 93, 116; 4, (1519-21), f145v.
- (3) H. Miller, art.cit., p.143.
- (4) A.S.V., Senato, Secreta 55 ff60r-61r. Sanudo, I Diarii LVII, 23 December, 1532.
- (5) G.F. Warner, op.cit., p.21.

merchants was to produce a contract in Italian, which was then verbally and inaccurately translated to the unwary Englishman with whom they were doing business. (1) More commonly they feigned to have mislaid bills of obligation when the Englishman returned to pay his debts. The money was taken, promises were made that the bill would be cancelled when found, and sometime later the Englishman found himself sued for non-payment. (2)

Relations of a more intimate nature between Venetians and the wives of London citizens led to sexual jealousies, and intense inter-communal friction and hostility. Londoners were extremely apprehensive of the attentions paid to their wives by Venetian merchants, and existing evidence justifies their fears. The seduction of the wives and daughters of London citizens, with apparent impunity, by amorous Italian merchants was one of the major grievances forcibly expressed at the Spitalfields meeting on Easter Sunday, 1517. (3) There is certainly sufficient evidence to indicate that the amorous advances made by Venetian merchants to the wives and daughters of London citizens met with notable success. Intimate relations between Venetians and respectable London ladies often resulted in illegitimate offspring. Illegitimate children of Venetian merchants in London were often well cared for. Antonio Duodo, the illegitimate son of Nicolò Duodo and Margaret Cheveley, the daughter of a London burgess, (4) was brought up within the Venetian community, and became an active member of the Duodo fraterna. He assisted his father with his mercantile affairs in England, and after his father's departure for Venice, in 1519, Antonio became the manager of the London branch. He also acted as the London based commission agent for several other Venetian fraterne that traded

(1) Eg., P.R.O., E.C.P. 280(8).

(2) Ibid., 387 (21); 403 (28); 468 (5).

(3) B.M.V., Ital. Cl.VII, Cod. MCXIX (7449), 5 May, 1517. Edward Hall, Chronicle, edn. 1806, pp.588-9.

(4) C.L.R.O., Journals of the Common Council 12, (1518-26), f6.

with the west. His birth as a natural Englishman⁽¹⁾ gave him an advantage over fellow Venetians in the export of English raw materials, in reduced customs dues and innumerable other legal and commercial privileges.⁽²⁾ He also appears to have mixed freely amongst the London merchant class, and was well known at court. He finally returned to Venice to rejoin his family after making a fortune in England.⁽³⁾ The Venetian attitude to the morality of Englishwomen is left in no doubt by the relazione of Andrea Trevisan:-

"... che siano assai inclinati alla libidine, con tutto ciò io non hò mai intesco, che ne in corte, ne tra popolari sia alcuno innamorato: Onde è necessario à dire, ò che gli Inglesi sieno i più segreti amatori del mundo, ò vero che nõ habbino amore: ciò dico io de i maschi, perchè delle donne intendo il contrario, perchè quelle danno molti violenti inditii di furore. Tutta via gl'Inglesi guardano le donne di casa loro con molta gelosia, riducendosi però in fine ogni cosa nella forza del denaro."

Nor were the wives and daughters of London citizens alone in receiving the attentions of Venetian merchants. Venetians were frequent visitors to the stews in Southwark, to the ladies who operated at such establishments as the Cardinal's Hat, the Cross Keys, the Swan, and the Boar's Head.⁽⁴⁾ In 1510, the London consul brought allegations to the notice of the Senate that the ambassador, Andrea Badoer, spent his time living a profligate life in the city with the willing wives of London burgesses, and the less salubrious

- (1) On the nature and status of English subjects in the Middle Ages see W. Holdsworth, History of English Law, London, 1926, XI pp.72-77. F. Pollock, and F.W. Maitland, A History of English Law, I, 443. Ancient law laid stress upon purity of blood rather than territorial law, but the matter was clarified by statute in 1351, (Stats. Realm, 25 Ed.III, c.2.) which stated that all children born of Englishmen or Englishwomen were legal subjects of the Crown of England.
- (2) See below Ch.VII, pp.292-323.
- (3) P.R.O., E.C.P. 621 (35), (36), (37). L. & P., III pt.2, 1870; VI 1702. According to Sebastian Giustinian, Antonio owned property and goods in England worth 30,000 ducats, in 1519. B.M.V., Ital. Cl.VII, Cod. MCXIX (7449), 10 October, 1519.
- (4) Stow, pp.360-2.

ladies of the bordellos.⁽¹⁾ As a direct result of such attitudes and actions many Venetians found themselves before the mayor charged with immorality or bawdy behaviour. A Venetian subject, Francisco de Grado, found himself before the local courts during the Chancellorship of Sir Thomas Audley. De Grado was cited in a dispute between a certain John Fuller and his wife Elizabeth. De Grado pleaded that he had merely tried to protect Elizabeth Fuller from her husband!⁽²⁾

Conflicts of a sexual nature also arose between Venetians and other members of the Italian community. In 1533, an unnamed Italian went to the house of Antonio Vivaldi, merchant of Genoa, to complain about the seduction of his wife by Vivaldi, but upon arriving at Vivaldi's house the unfortunate husband was savagely set upon by the Venetian, Antonio Duodo and his companions, the friends of Vivaldi, and a running battle with swords and stones through the streets of London ensued.⁽³⁾ Prior to this incident, a strange case came before the Lord Chancellor in the late fifteenth century regarding Maria Moriana, a female servant in the establishment of the Venetian merchant, Filippo Cini.⁽⁴⁾ Cini appears to have run into financial difficulties for he was arrested and imprisoned for debt at Winchester. Later, back in London, having apparently extricated himself from Winchester gaol, he found himself facing debt once more and dependent upon "the alms of well disposed peopill". Finding himself once more in serious financial straits Cini tried to raise money by offering his wife's Italian servant Maria for sale. The woman

(1) Sanudo, I Diarii XI, 22 December, 1510. The London consul, Lorenzo Giustinian and Andrea Badoer were engaged in a constant battle of words during Giustinian's term of office. The allegations may have been unfounded, certainly the Signoria appear to have gone along with Badoer's explanation, for the ambassador suffered no rebuke through the matter.

(2) P.R.O., E.C.P. 804 (23).

(3) L. & P., VI, 1701.

(4) P.R.O., E.C.P. 30 (67); 32 (52); 148 (67). Cini is an unusual figure among the Venetian community in London, and his career in England has been outlined by A.A. Ruddock, op.cit., pp.125-8.

had been in the Cini household for many years, but this did not prevent Cini from offering her to a Genoese for £20. It appears, however, that Maria was neither indentured, nor slave, nor concubine, for she refused to consent to the deal, claiming that she was a freewoman. Not to be outdone Cini decided on a different approach. Instead of simply offering the woman for sale he inveigled her to accompany him to a public notary, where he told her that he simply wished to transfer the obligations of several people who owed him debts to her in repayment for her long and faithful service to his wife. But, as the petition addressed to the Lord Chancellor on her behalf testifies, ... "Your said Oratrice beyng very Innocent and can not speke nor undirstond Englishe nor latyn come before an Notary And then and ther the seid Philip shewed to the same Notary that your seid Oratrice shulde owe him XX li. and thereuppon in his Country language required your seid Oratrice to seale the said wrytyng and to take hym ayen and than she shulde be sure of his seid dettis." Having obtained this public document Cini had Maria thrown into gaol for debt and informed her that she would remain there until she consented to be sold to Cini's Genoese customer. Maria, however, was fortunate in her choice of 'friends', many of whom were influential in London, and possibly the enemies of Cini. With the help of these Italian 'friends' Maria appealed to the Lord Chancellor pleading her ignorance of English and Latin, and the avarice of her master. Unfortunately the story ends there, and we are left to wonder at the outcome of the case.

In the treatment of Venetians before the local courts, where there is still record, it is evident that prominent Venetian merchants resident in London frequently received fair treatment. A Venetian involved in a lawsuit with an influential and powerful London figure, however, considered his opponent's local influence too powerful to permit a fair trial, and he would therefore appeal to the Lord Chancellor. Significantly, however, in those cases when a London citizen of less exalted status and influence was engaged in a dispute with a prominent member of the Venetian community, with influential

connections in the city and at the royal court, it was not unusual for the Londoner to write to the Lord Chancellor complaining of the Venetian's influence and connections within the city. For example, the London salter, John Norres, claimed that he was likely to be unjustly condemned because of Antonio Duodo's connections in the city.⁽¹⁾ Antonio Duodo was highly influential within the city, being the illegitimate son of Nicolò Duodo,⁽²⁾ and a natural born Englishwoman.⁽³⁾ Antonio proved to be an invaluable agent in England for Venetian merchants, and his sympathies were largely Venetian for he eventually quit England for Venice.⁽⁴⁾ Those Venetians in the capital who did not enjoy Duodo's influence at court, or within the city, resorted to bribery. There are many complaints by London burgesses alleging that Italians had bribed the jury in trials involving Italian merchants, and the point seems valid that Venetians along with other Italians did frequently harry citizens before the London courts.⁽⁵⁾ Moreover, the Venetian consul was empowered to come to the aid of Venetian merchants involved in legal difficulties, and to use every available political and financial lever to extricate Venetians from such situations. The Consulate kept a separate fund, raised by a levy on Venetian imports and exports, to bribe royal, and municipal officials.⁽⁶⁾

The hostility of the London apprentices, in 1517, was of a more demonstrative nature than that of the city authorities. The apprentices were

- (1) P.R.O., E.C.P. 431 (30), 443 (26), 590 (51).
- (2) Nicolò was himself a denizen, well connected with the court, and an influential member of the Venetian community in London. L. & P., II pt.1, 1267: see also Sanudo I Diarii X-XIX passim, where there are numerous references to Duodo's activities in London.
- (3) C.L.R.O., Journal of the Common Council 12, (1518-26), f6.
- (4) P.R.O., E.C.P. 621 (35), (36), (37), passim.
- (5) P.R.O., E.C.P. 403 (52); 415 (45); 465 (7); 585 (65); 1211 (33).
- (6) A.S.V., Senato, Mar 5 flr, 11 fl71r, 15 fl65v. The Consul was permitted to expend £20 per annum on 'gifts' to English officials.

the most troublesome and unpredictable element of the city's population. They were desperately poor, readily incensed to riot, and easily excited by fantastic stories of alien malpractices in the city. Narrow, prejudiced, and intolerant of anything un-English they made life miserable, and at times dangerous for alien merchants and artisans who were unanimous in their distaste for the brutish London populace.⁽¹⁾ For most of these apprentices life was centred in London, and their horizons were limited by ignorance and incredulity. The slightest argument or the most casual encounter could result in violence. The May Day riots of 1517 came at a time when Venetian trade with England was just recovering from its depressed state brought about by the War of the League of Cambrai, 1509-16. Consequently the anti-alien riots of May, 1517, seriously alarmed the Venetian community in London, and the Venetian government. Indications of popular disaffection with the alien community appeared as early as the spring of 1516.⁽²⁾ A year later a bill of complaints against aliens was presented by John Lincoln, a London broker, to Dr. Beale, a canon of the Mendicant Friars, who was appointed to preach the Easter Tuesday spiritual sermon. In this it was alleged that the common artificers of London could scarce get any work, so great was the number of foreign artificers, and that the English merchants "could have no utterance for the alien merchants brought in all the silks, cloth of gold, wine, oil and such other merchandise that no man almost buyeth of an Englishman."⁽³⁾ Beale introduced these complaints into his sermon, and took for his text, 'The heaven is the Lord's and the fulness thereof, but the earth he has given to the children of men',

(1) W.B. Rye, England as seen by foreigners in the days of Elizabeth, London, 1865, p.7. J. Lees-Milne, The Tudor Renaissance, London, 1951, p.12.

(2) L. & P., II pt.1, 1834. On the 28 April, 1516, Thomas Allen in a letter to the Earl of Shrewbury refers to a bill of grievances nailed to the door of St. Pauls, which reflected on the policy of Henry VIII, and his council. The bill insinuated that aliens obtained credit from the King and bought large quantities of wool to the detriment of Englishmen. This was obviously aimed at the Italians who received many fiscal and commercial concessions about this time.

(3) Holinshead, Henry VIII, 1517, III 841, ed. Hooker.

and he eloquently argued that when God appointed proper boundaries and habitations to all nations, he gave the land the audience stood upon as an inalienable inheritance to Englishmen forever, and as birds would defend their nests, so he argued ought Englishmen to defend their country against aliens. The sermon did not lose its effect upon the large congregation. "Of this sermon many a light person took courage, and openly spake against strangers", noted the chronicler Edward Hall.⁽¹⁾ The Venetian ambassador, Sebastian Giustinian, hearing of Beale's Easter sermon and of its effect upon the crowded audience, immediately took steps to ensure the safety of the Venetian community, and of Venetian property in the city, by seeking an audience with Cardinal Wolsey. Wolsey listened to the representations of the alarmed ambassador and assured Giustinian that the government would make adequate provision for the prevention of any act of violence against the Venetian community. However, Wolsey's assurances did not dispel Giustinian's fears.⁽²⁾ On the Sunday following Beale's sermon several Italian merchants were involved in a verbal battle with Sir Thomas Palmer and other London merchants at Greenwich Palace. During this argument William Bolt, a London mercer, threatened the Italians with the retribution of the London populace. News of the encounter at court spread like wildfire through the city, and the Italians were assaulted by a group of apprentices on their return to London. Many Italians were *cudgelled* and thrown into a canal before the mayor arrived to break up the *mêlée* and gaol several Londoners.⁽³⁾ By the 30 April, Giustinian, who had been present at the disturbances, was seriously alarmed at the way in which events were moving, and being warned that day of further threats to the lives of aliens in the city, he determined to leave London the

(1) E. Hall, *op.cit.*, pp.588 et seq..

(2) *B.M.V.*, Ital. Cl. VII, Cod. MCXIX (7449), Letter of Giustinian to the *Signoria*, 5 May, 1517.

(3) E. Hall, *loc. cit.*.

same day and to resort to the safety of the King's court at Richmond. On his arrival Giustinian proceeded immediately to the king and made a strong plea for the protection of the Venetian community. Henry assured the ambassador that he would take every precaution. (1)

Surprisingly the May Day riots passed without any harm being done to the Venetian community. According to Giustinian the rioters left the houses of the Venetians unharmed, because they alone acted with equity and decorum. The other alien communities received no such leniency. The French and the Flemish appear to have received the brunt of the London mob's fury, while the Portuguese and Spanish ambassadors were insulted and the house of the Spanish ambassador was mobbed. The Florentines, Genoese, and Lucchese also received the attention of the Londoners, but possibly recalling similar occurrences sixty years previously, the Italians were well prepared. They barricaded their houses and were ready with small arms and artillery! The Venetian community had probably made similar preparations, and this state of preparedness for the mob, and their demographic isolation from the major Italian quarter of the city, rather than Giustinian's glib explanation possibly explains why the London mob passed by the houses of the Venetians. In a letter to the Senate of 12 May, 1517, Giustinian informed the Signoria that he was once more back in the city, and that he found it quiet again, but he also expressed his anxiety about whether the severity of the punishments would suffice to repress the ill-feeling of the populace towards aliens in the city. (2) The ill-feeling fostered by the sight of the mutilated remains of those who had suffered for the part they had played in the insurrection led to a fresh outburst of anti-alien feeling five months later when the King and Wolsey were once more absent

(1) B.M.V., Ital. Cl.VII, MCXIX (7449), 5 May, 1517.

(2) Ibid., Letter of Giustinian to the Signoria, 12 May, 1517.

from the capital.⁽¹⁾ On this occasion the mayor and aldermen, mindful of their previous experience, were more watchful. The ringleaders were arrested, and nothing serious appears to have come of it, but the apprehension caused to the Venetian community is apparent in a letter from Giustinian to the Senate dated the 26 September.⁽²⁾ Ill-feeling between the alien community and the Londoners smouldered on for many more years. In June, 1519, the Spanish ambassador's attempts to celebrate Charles V's successful election to the Empire by bonfires about the city were disappointed by the London authorities, who feared that the crowds of strangers might try to avenge Evil May Day.⁽³⁾ A decade after the Evil May Day riots the Frenchman Claude Dodieu wrote how on 1 May he kept at home for fear of the London artisans who go in arms 'querir le May', and sometimes attack foreigners.⁽⁴⁾ In 1527, the Venetian ambassador Marc'Antonio Venier feared to ask for an export licence for grain and beans for fear of arousing the anger of the London populace.⁽⁵⁾ Three years later the London apprentices took up arms with intent to kill the Venetian merchants because they were exporting large quantities of English wool at a time when many English cloth weavers were unemployed. The mob believed that the Venetian wool exports were to blame for their lack of employment. On this occasion the Mayor, Richard Champion, went to the houses of the Venetians and arrested sixty apprentices, whereupon the disturbances ceased.⁽⁶⁾ Much of the hostility of the London artificers was directed against alien competitors of similar

(1) L. & P., II pt.2, 3697.

(2) B.M.V., Ital. Cl.VII, Cod. MCXIX (7449), 26 September, 1517. Hall makes no mention of this sequel to Evil May Day.

(3) J.J. Scarisbrick, Henry VIII, London, 1968, p.104.

(4) L. & P., IV pt.2, 3105, p.1413.

(5) Sanudo, I Diarii XLVI, 20 October, 5 December, 1527.

(6) Sanudo, I Diarii LIII, 6 April, 1530. Letter of the ambassador Ludovico Falier to the Signoria.

status,⁽¹⁾ but clearly merchants were also the targets of these disturbances.

With the exception of the periodic rampages of the London apprentices against the alien communities the early Tudor period generally does not appear to have been marked by any notable anti-Venetian sentiment. In this sense the period contrasts with the mid-fifteenth, and mid-sixteenth centuries, a contrast which may be related to more general economic trends. Significantly the economic depression of the mid-fifteenth century⁽²⁾ was accompanied by anti-Italian disturbances. The riots that drove the Venetians briefly from London, in 1456-57, were related to the exclusion of Englishmen from Mediterranean markets during a period of depression. Again, after 1550, with the sudden and unexpected collapse of the Antwerp market, the Merchant Adventurers fought with a new vigour to place increasingly irksome restrictions on Italian competitors.⁽³⁾ However, whereas the mid-fifteenth century and early sixteenth century disturbances achieved few lasting consequences, by the mid-sixteenth century English merchants were in a much stronger position to oust rival Italian groups, some of which for a number of reasons had long been declining in importance and numbers. For the period beginning with the recovery from the late fifteenth century crisis, and ending with the mid-sixteenth century disturbances the surviving evidence points overwhelmingly to an era of relatively good social relations between the Venetian colony and the citizens of London.

(1) L. & P., Add. 1, pt. 1, 384.

(2) See C. Cipolla, 'The trends in Italian economic history in the later middle ages', Econ.Hist.Rev., 2nd series, II, 1949.
C. Cipolla, R.S. Lopez, and H.A. Miskimin, 'The economic depression of the Renaissance?' Econ.Hist.Rev., 2nd series, 14, 1961-62.
W.K. Ferguson, 'Recent Trends in the Economic Historiography of the Renaissance', Studies in the Renaissance, VII, 1960.

(3) C.S.P.V., VI pt.1, 548, 554; VI pt.2, 771, 776, 882. G.D. Ramsay, English Overseas Trade in the Centuries of Emergence, London, 1957, pp.22-49; also John Isham, Mercer and Merchant Adventurer, Northampton Record Society, 1962.

VI.

THE VENETIAN COMMUNITY IN ENGLAND: RELATIONS WITH URBAN AUTHORITY AND URBAN SOCIETY II.

The Southampton 'Colony'.

It has been shown that the first Venetian colony in England grew up in and around the metropolis. Venetian merchants could reside and trade there under royal protection, while Venetian artisans found security in the great liberties. Both groups found the court and the city a major market for their luxury wares. The London colony, in close touch with the chief markets for Mediterranean and Levantine imports both in England and north western Europe, always formed the largest single Venetian community resident in England. The only other settlement of Venetians large enough to be considered a colony was at Southampton, the channel port of call for Venetian shipping en route for London and the Low Countries. However, individual Venetian merchants are occasionally found at other south coast ports. Members of the London colony occasionally travelled to Margate,⁽¹⁾ Sandwich⁽²⁾ or Rye⁽³⁾ to supervise the final trans-shipment of merchandise from the numerous, small, coastal vessels coming from London or Southampton to the Flanders galleys or large Venetian carracks riding at anchor in the Downs. This was a favourite anchorage for Venetian vessels to regroup, re-victual, and await a favourable wind to take them down the channel on their homeward voyage. It also afforded Venetian merchants in England an opportunity to make last minute consignments for Venice or other ports en route. As Sandwich had always been a trans-shipment port in the organisation of Venetian galley trade with northern Europe there was often

(1) A.S.V., Dispacci, Inghilterra, Filza 1, 11 and 12 June, 1554; 3 November, 1554; 10 October, 1555. Letters of the ambassador Giovanni Michiel to the Signoria. P.R.O., H.C.A., Examinations 15, 25 June, 1563; 12 March, and 12 July, 1564; 17, 30 November 1569; 29 January, 1570; 21, 13 May, 1575: Libels 38, No.44.

(2) C.S.P.V., 1 and 11, passim. D. Gardiner, Historic Haven, the story of Sandwich, Derby, 1954, pp.128-132.

(3) A.P.C., 1, 74, 8 January, 1543.

a small but transitory Venetian community in the Kentish port in the early Tudor period. Portsmouth, and Exeter also witnessed occasional visits by Venetian merchants. In 1492, Filippo Morosini, was arrested by royal officials in Portsmouth when the arsenal at that port caught fire, and the luckless Morosini was found to be dwelling in the vicinity.⁽¹⁾ Between 1545-1549, there are records of several Venetian merchants and seamen temporarily residing at Portsmouth.⁽²⁾ In the 1530's a Venetian merchant, Nicolò Daniele, appears to have settled in Exeter. In a grant of denization to the Venetian dated May, 1533, Daniele is described as a 'marchaunt of Exeter, native of Venise'.⁽³⁾

In any work concerned with the Italian communities of medieval Southampton the historian is immediately aware that he is deeply indebted to the invaluable work of A.A. Ruddock.⁽⁴⁾ Dr. Ruddock's researches in both English and Italian archives have produced a remarkable picture of Italian mercantile involvement in the Hampshire port. In my own research in the Public Record Office, London, and in the Southampton Civic Record Office, no less than in the writing of this chapter, I am conscious of a debt of gratitude to Dr. Ruddock's pioneering work. Much of my own research into the Southampton colony has, therefore, necessarily involved the retracing of Dr. Ruddock's work on the Italian communities in that port. I hope that in focusing in particular

- (1) B.M.V., Ital. Cl.VII, Cod. DCCCI (7152), MS, Vite dei Dogi, M. Sanudo, III, 339. Morosini was subsequently released on the King's orders.
- (2) P.R.O., Pipe Office, Declared Accounts 2587, 2588. A.P.C., I, 14 April, 1546; II, 17 May, 1547, 3 August, 1549.
- (3) L. & P., VI 578 (21).
- (4) See Dr. Ruddock's study of the Italian communities in Southampton in A.A. Ruddock, Italian Merchants and Shipping in Southampton 1270-1600, Southampton, 1951. Also numerous articles, 'London Capitalists and the Decline of Tudor Southampton', Econ.Hist.Rev., 2nd ser. II, 1949; 'The method of handling the cargoes of medieval merchant galleys', B.I.H.R., XIX, 1944; 'The Flanders Galleys', History, March, 1940; 'Alien merchants in Southampton in the later middle ages', Eng.Hist.Rev., LXI, 1946; 'Italian trading fleets in medieval England', History, XXIX, 1944; 'Alien Hosting in Southampton in the fifteenth century', Econ.Hist.Rev. XVI, 1946; 'Antonio Guidotti', P.P.H.F.C., XV, 1941-3.

upon the Venetian colony, and by drawing upon Venetian archival sources unused by Dr. Ruddock, I may in some small way add to our knowledge of the commercial operations and social relations of the Venetian community in Tudor Southampton.

The Venetian 'colony' at Southampton was established much later in date than that at London. The first Venetian to take up permanent residence in the town was Dardo Giustinian, in 1456. Giustinian was quickly followed by agents of the Pisani and Priuli fraterne, with their clerks, and junior factors. Other Venetian merchants rapidly followed them.⁽¹⁾ Prior to this date the Flanders galleys only called there intermittently.⁽²⁾ The alien hosting certificate shows that the Venetian merchants in London employed the services of Florentines established in the Hampshire port prior to 1456.⁽³⁾ From 1457-58 the Venetian state galley fleets called regularly at Southampton, and a small 'colony' came into existence as a result of these visits. The alteration of the route of the Flanders galleys in English waters and the establishment of the Venetian colony at Southampton followed the anti-alien riots of 1456 and 1457 in London. The Venetian community in London was concerned for its safety as early as 1450, and in 1453 the Senate decided that the galley fleet about to depart for northern Europe should proceed no further than Gravesend. The riots of 1456 and 1457 thoroughly alarmed the entire Italian community and for a while they envisaged a migration of all the Italian nations to Winchester.⁽⁴⁾ There were many advantages for the Venetians in the establishment of a permanent 'colony' in the port. Southampton possessed an excellent harbour on the south coast, equally well protected from the natural forces of the

(1) P.R.O., Exchequer, K.R., Subsidy Rolls, E.173 (133), (135), (137), (139).

(2) C.S.P.V., 1, passim.

(3) P.R.O., Exchequer, K.R., Subsidy Rolls, E.173 (101), (105), (107), (110).

(4) A.S.V., Senato, Mar 4 ff10r, 196r. E.E. Power, and M.M. Postan, English Trade in the Fifteenth Century, p.355.

weather and the danger of marauding enemies. It possessed a deep water channel constantly scoured by the Test, Itchen, and Hamble streams, which enabled the large Venetian carracks of over 600 tons burden to sail up Southampton Water and drop anchor in the port. The port possessed two fine quays with cranes, the West Quay or Galley Quay at Biddlesgate, and the South Quay or Water Gate Quay. Speed⁽¹⁾ in his history of Southampton speaks of the quays as being 'stately'.⁽²⁾ Both quays were greatly extended and improved following the transfer of the Flanders galleys to Southampton. The port was well placed for the long distance shipping routes of the galleys and carracks passing through the Channel to London and Antwerp. More important, however, for the Venetians the town provided easy access to the important Cotswold wool producing regions, to the Cornish and Devonshire tin mining regions, and to the important cloth industries of its immediate hinterland and the great west country clothing region.⁽³⁾ It possessed easy overland access to London,⁽⁴⁾ important in those times when there was difficulty of weather or navigation in reaching the capital itself by sea. It made the most suitable and natural outpost on the south coast. Its chief disadvantage for the Venetian trade lay in the inability of its immediate hinterland to absorb more than a limited quantity of the more costly Venetian imports. Nevertheless, Southampton and its hinterland did absorb a significant amount of Venetian goods.⁽⁵⁾

(1) J. Speed, History of Southampton, 1596, ed. E.R. Aubrey, Southampton, 1909.

(2) The South Quay measured about 223 ft. in length from the Water Gate to the head of the quay, and in breadth by the Water Gate, about 190 ft., but only 63 ft. at the head of the quay. West Quay measured about 225 ft. in length from the West Gate to the head of the quay, and in breadth by West Gate about 58 ft., but at the head of the quay not more than 37 ft.. West Quay was lengthened in 1576. J.S. Davis, History of Southampton, Southampton, 1883, p.112.

(3) See G.D. Ramsay, The Wiltshire Woollen Industry, Oxford, 1943, pp.6-30.

(4) F. Stenton, 'The road system of Medieval England', Econ.Hist.Rev., VII, 9, 1936. B.C. Turner, 'A Hampshire merchant and some aspects of medieval transport', P.P.H.F.C., 16, 1944-47.

(5) C. Platt and R. Coleman-Smith, Excavations in Medieval Southampton 1953-69, 2, The Finds, Leicester U.P., 1975, this gives the most recent archaeological evidence of the Venetian trade with Southampton; see also G.D. Ramsay, op.cit., who underlines the important commercial links with Salisbury and the Wiltshire cloth towns, and A.B. Wallis Chapman, The Black Book of Southampton, Southampton, 1912-15, 1, pp.xxvi and xxiii. S.C.R.O., Brokage Books SC 5/5, 28-43, (1491-1547), *passim*.

Apart from the town's geographical value to the Venetians there were numerous commercial benefits to be derived from a permanent Venetian colony in the Hampshire port. By establishing resident agents in the town the Venetian firms based in London were able to direct their commercial operations in the port and the west country from the capital without endlessly travelling to the port to direct operations there between carrack and galley sailings. In this way the permanent agents living in Southampton were in the best position throughout the year to receive merchandise unloaded from Venetian, and other alien vessels calling at the port, and to supervise its despatch by road to the capital. Resident Venetian agents were also busy throughout the year in the local markets buying and storing the wool, tin, lead, hides and woollen cloths for the return cargoes of the Venetian galleys and carracks, and could store in their houses or in rented warehouses and cellars throughout the town the Levantine wines, camlets, luxury cloths, dyes, drugs, oil, spices and other merchandise specifically imported for sale in the town and its hinterland when local demand assured them of their sale at a maximum profit. The resident Venetian agent, unlike the itinerant merchant, could bide his time awaiting an upturn in local market prices.⁽¹⁾ The Venetian merchants travelling with the galleys or carracks were obliged to sell their merchandise comparatively cheaply if their arrival in the port coincided with a fall in prices brought about by unfavourable market conditions, such as the prior arrival of a Genoese carrack or Ragusan argosy laden with similar merchandise. It was, therefore, desirable for the Venetian firms operating in England to have a resident agent in Southampton to ensure maximum efficiency and profitability in their English based operations. Venetian business practice also made the presence of a few reputable and influential resident Venetian merchants in Southampton desirable for the betterment of Venetian commercial operations in the port. That a

(1) N.S.B. Gras, op.cit., p.80.

merchant's word should be his bond and that his reputation should be founded on this was all-important in business transactions of the period.⁽¹⁾ Commercial undertakings were conducted on a basis of confidence and trust in the other merchant's business reputation, many deals were sealed solely by word of mouth, without witness or record, and many merchants relied so much upon these verbal guarantees that it was considered superfluous to have an insurance policy.⁽²⁾

Venetian merchants visiting the port onboard the state galleys and private carracks of Venice frequently resorted to the resident Venetian merchant of repute and influence in the town. The itinerant merchant found it useful and highly profitable to be able to rely upon his resident fellow countryman as guarantor of good character and sound business practice. Quite frequently the itinerant merchant could not produce the necessary ready money or pay the petty-customs dues until they had a return on their imported merchandise.⁽³⁾ The resident agents were also of use to the itinerant merchant by standing as guarantor for payment of the port fees of the Flanders galleys, and to those unlucky Venetian merchants who found themselves involved in lawsuits in the local courts. The resident agent was frequently a significant and powerful figure in the town, well known to the influential burgesses and to the town authorities. He was thus often able to stand bail for the itinerant merchant who found himself in such trouble, or he was able to look after their interests by acting as their attorney in cases where the itinerant merchant had quit the realm before the termination of his case.⁽⁴⁾ However, Venetian agents, and the branches of Venetian firms established in Southampton occupied a subordinate

- (1) J.A. Goris, op.cit., p.111. F.C. Lane, Venice; A Maritime Republic, pp.138-40. M.M. Postan, 'Credit in Medieval Trade', Econ.Hist.Rev., 1, 1928.
- (2) For a fuller consideration of Venetian business practice in early Tudor England, V. Ch.IV, supra passim.
- (3) S.C.R.O., SC 5/4. (1-23) passim. Many of the port books have marginal notes made by the Southampton water bailiffs, showing that in such cases the financial pledge of a resident agent personally known to the officials in the customs house was accepted as a guarantee of future payment. See also A.A. Ruddock, op.cit., pp.119-20.
- (4) Ibid., p.120.

position in relation to the larger branches of their firms in London. They were not generally outstanding figures amongst the Venetian merchants in England and were principally occupied in the trans-shipment of merchandise to the capital or in the purchase and sale of merchandise in the local markets.⁽¹⁾

By the late fifteenth century the Venetians had entrenched themselves deeply in Southampton.⁽²⁾ They profitted from the decline of Genoese trade with England following the mid-fifteenth century crisis in Anglo-Genoese relations.⁽³⁾ From 1461 the alien subsidy returns for Southampton show a relatively steady number of Venetians resident in the port.

Table XIV

ANALYSIS OF THE RETURNS MADE ON ITALIANS, 1455-1471.⁽⁴⁾

Date Mich-Mich	Florentines	Genoese	Venetians	Other Italians	Total
1455-56	1	9	0	0	10
1456-57	1	8	1	0	10
1457-58	-	-	-	-	No Returns
1458-59	1	9	1	0	11
1459-60	-	-	-	-	No Returns
1461-63 ⁽⁵⁾	2	6	6	0	14
1463-64	1	4	3	0	8
1464-65	-	-	-	-	No Returns
1465-66	-	12	-	-	12
1466-67	1	3	3	0	7
1467-68	2	11	4	1	18
1468-71 ⁽⁶⁾	-	-	-	-	No Returns
TOTAL	9	62	18	1	90

(1) P.R.O., H.C.A. 13/4, 23/10.

(2) M.S. Guiseppi, art.cit., pp.97-8.

(3) J. Heers, 'Les Génois en Angleterre', Studi in Onore di Armando Saporì II, Milano, 1957, pp.810-17. J. Finot, Etude historique sur les relations entre la Flandre et la République de Gênes au moyen âge, Paris, 1906.

(4) Figures extracted from the tables of M.S. Guiseppi, art.cit., pp.96-8.

(5) Easter to Michaelmas.

(6) Easter to Michaelmas.

Table XIV gives an analysis of the returns made on Italians between 1455-71, extracted from Guiseppi's tables of the subsidies granted 31 Henry VI. However, the period 1468-1485 witnessed a rapid decline in Southampton's Italian colony,⁽¹⁾ brought about by the end of the Florentine galley voyages, and the decline of the Genoese carrack trade. The Local Port Books, for the period 1459/60 to 1480/81,⁽²⁾ show the effect upon the town's Italian trade. From a total of £323. 3s. 9d. in 1459/60, the annual sums collected in petty customs and other dues sank to £171. 2s. 2½d. in 1477/78, and £159. 9s. 10½d. in 1480/81. The Italian colony in the port decreased in numbers rapidly. Only the annual visits of the Venetian galleys, and occasional Venetian carracks kept a few Italian merchants in the port. The Venetian community which had never been as large as that of Florence or Genoa also withdrew from the port to London. Henceforth, the Venetian community in Southampton became highly transitory, arriving and departing with the scheduled galley voyages, and the Venetian colony in the Hampshire port almost ceased to exist. No evidence can be found of the presence of any permanent Venetian resident or agency at Southampton after 1495. However, in view of the regular visits of the Flanders galleys to Southampton down to 1509, and the establishment of a vice-consulate at the port in the early Tudor period⁽³⁾ it seems likely that a Venetian community of sorts did exist in the town down to the political crisis of 1509. In that year the Flanders galleys were recalled from England before the date stipulated in their auction contract, and the decline of the London colony can also be traced to 1509-10.⁽⁴⁾ The Venetian community at Southampton was always highly transitory in the reign of Henry VII, and the sudden withdrawal of the colony probably occurred in 1508-9. Evidence from

(1) A.A. Ruddock, op.cit., pp.206-217.

(2) S.C.R.O., SC 5. 4. (12-20).

(3) See below p.

(4) Supra, pp.

Venetian sources⁽¹⁾ shows that a large measure of Venetian trade with England in the early years of the reign of Henry VIII was carried on through Italian agents like the Genoese, Antonio Vivaldi, whose company had an agency in Southampton, and a branch office in Venice.⁽²⁾ Vivaldi made several extremely large shipments of cloth from Southampton between 1509-15;⁽³⁾ the period of greatest economic dislocation for Venetian merchants trading with the west. By 1520, a small, but transitory, Venetian community probably returned to Southampton with the return of the Flanders galleys in 1518-19, 1519-20, and 1522-23. However, from the 1530's Venetian trade with England became increasingly centred on London. The Flanders galleys, now referred to as 'la muda d'Anglia',⁽⁴⁾ made their last voyage to Southampton in 1533-34. From the 1530's Venetian carracks increasingly resorted to the Thames estuary. Significantly, in 1533, the town authorities made representation to Thomas Cromwell that the town found the fee farm increasingly difficult due to the fact that "the galleys and carracks of Venice and Genoa do not come as they have done".⁽⁵⁾ The shift in Venetian trade from Southampton to London destroyed any future hope of a revival of the Venetian community in the Hampshire port. However, references to a few Venetian agents based in London, such as Martin di Federigo, show a continued but erratic association with Southampton down to the middle of the sixteenth century.⁽⁶⁾

- (1) A.S.V., Miscellanea Gregolin, busta 12 bis. Correspondence of Stefan da Nadal, 1514-25.
- (2) B.M., Vit. BXI. 30, L. & P., IV pt.ii, 3825; IV pt.iii, 5225, 5612; VI 1701.
- (3) S.C.R.O., SC 5. 4. (27), (28), (29), passim.
- (4) A.S.V., Senato Mar, Incante Galere reg.II, f42r.
- (5) L. & P., VI 1686.
- (6) P.R.O., H.C.A. 23/10, 24/10, 13/4.

Within the Venetian community at Southampton it is possible to differentiate three distinct groups. Firstly, there was a small resident group of commission agents and junior partners of Venetian firms whose functions have been outlined above. Many of the young patricians acting as agent or junior partner for Venetian firms who were sent to England to learn the family business were generally accompanied by a single servant and a clerk. The Venetians, unlike other Italian firms in England, appear to have operated with a small staff. ⁽¹⁾ Occasionally, as in the case of Filippo Cini, ⁽²⁾ the Venetian factor employed a female servant, but it was more usual for a male to fill the position. ⁽³⁾ Apart from their servants and clerks, the wealthier Venetian merchants often brought their household slaves to England with them. ⁽⁴⁾ For example, in 1548, a wealthy Venetian merchant, Piero Paolo Corsi, offered a black Moorish slave from Guinea for sale in Southampton, but he was unable to find a purchaser. ⁽⁵⁾ Some Venetian merchants, such as Filippo Cini,

- (1) R. de Roover, The Rise and Decline of the Medici Bank, pp.87-95. The London branch of the Medici Bank in the fifteenth century was managed by Gerozzo di Figli, who was himself a partner. Figli had three factors and several office boys to assist him in the running of the branch.
- (2) Supra, pp. 231-2.
- (3) P.R.O., Exchequer, K.R., Subsidy Rolls, Southampton E. 176-179 passim; E.C.P. 30 (67), 32 (52), 148 (67).
- (4) Slavery in the medieval Mediterranean differed markedly from the slavery of the eighteenth and nineteenth century American plantations. Although the Venetians had traded in slaves as long as they were available the Venetian economy did not depend upon slavery. Unlike many other Mediterranean states the Venetians never manned their galleys with slaves. Nor was slavery in Venice associated with any racialist theories, the Venetians dealt with caucasian and negroid slaves, but there is little evidence of any moral objection to its existence. See V. Lazari, 'Del Traffico e della condizione degli schiavi in Venezia nei tempi di medioevo', Miscellanea di Storia Italiana, 1, Torino, 1862. L. Cibrario, Della schiavitù e del servaggio, 2 vols., Milano, 1868-69. P. Molmenti, La storia di Venezia, 1, Torino, 1880, pp.132-3. L. Tessa, 'La Schiavitù domestica e il traffico degli Schiavi', Rivista Dalmatica, 1941. F.C. Lane, Venice, A Maritime Republic, pp.132-3, 286-7, 332-3, 347-50.
- (5) P.R.O., H.C.A. Examinations 93, 13 May, 1548. The trade in slaves was carefully regulated by the state, and re-exports from Venice required special permits. On the whole recorded sales indicate that slaves were used primarily as domestics by Venetians. Venice was one of the largest slave markets in late medieval Europe. The supply of slaves decreased in the later 15th Century as the Turks came to dominate the major sources, but household slaves still existed during the early Tudor period as the highly decorative Negro gondoliers in the paintings of Vittore Carpaccio, eg. 'The Miracle of the Reliquary of the True Cross' (1494), and of Gentile Bellini, eg. 'The Miracle of the Cross at Ponte San Lorenzo' (1500), in the Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venezia: illustrate. 248.

brought their wives with them from Venice.⁽¹⁾ Others married Englishwomen.⁽²⁾ Wealthy English heiresses were a particularly tempting prize for young Venetian patricians with little or no private wealth of their own. The young patrician sent to England as a junior partner of a Venetian fraterna or as the commission agent of a large Venetian firm operating in England was particularly tempted not only by the prospect of the rich dowry, but also by the influential connections that might result from a marriage to the daughter of a leading Southampton burgess. Marriage to the wealthy widows of Venetian merchants was also equally tempting to financially distressed Englishmen. The legal battle surrounding the widow of the deceased Venetian merchant, Giovanni da Ponte, illustrates how desirable the widows left by Venetian merchants could be from a financial point of view. Sir Lewis Orrell, who married Mary, Da Ponte's English widow, was exasperated by the innumerable delays and procrastination of her former husband's Venetian executors in freeing Mary's portion of Da Ponte's estate which amounted to over 3,000 marks, i.e. over £2,000.⁽³⁾

A second distinct group was formed by a significant population of Venetian artisans and professional people who had settled in the port. While there is abundant evidence illustrating the activities of the Venetian mercantile population in early Tudor Southampton it is much more difficult to obtain information concerning the artisan population. The resident artisan population of the Venetian colony in Southampton must have been very small and only occasional references can be found in the town records.⁽⁴⁾ The bulk of the Venetian artisan population was largely transitory arriving and departing

(1) Ibid., Exchequer, K.R., Subsidy Rolls, E.176 (585).

(2) Ibid., E.C.P. 292 (6).

(3) Ibid., E.C.P. 292 (16).

(4) S.C.R.O., SC5. 6. Steward Books 1480-1547, passim: Southampton Municipal Deeds, No.326: A.B.W. Chapman, The Black Book of Southampton, 1388-1620, in 3 vols, S.R.S. 1912-15, II, pp.144-9: H.W. Gidden, The Book of Remembrance, 1303-1620, in 3 vols., S.R.S. 1927-30, 1, 19.

with the galley fleets. Only a small percentage of these skilled workmen entered the local guilds, were absorbed by the English community, and were thus separated from the Venetian colony.⁽¹⁾ Venetian artisans finding trade slack in Venice, and perhaps easily impressed by the reports of easy pickings in England for skilled craftsmen, by oarsmen and seamen returning with the Flanders galleys often temporarily laid aside their trade in Venice or her Terraferma and da Mar provinces, and signed on as galley oarsmen until they reached Southampton where they set up their trade, undermining the local trades with their highly skilled workmanship. Venetian artisans were involved in a variety of trades in Southampton. Local records show them working in the town as tailors, carpenters, cordwainers, shearmen, bakers, coopers, shoemakers and glovers.⁽²⁾ There are also references to marine salvagers and surgeons residing in the town, and in the nearby town of Portsmouth.⁽³⁾ Venetian subjects, as well as Venetian citizens, can also be found in the port engaged in craft trades. For example in April, 1519, there is a record of a Veronese tailor named Baptista da Verona in the town.⁽⁴⁾ Finally, there was a larger, but very transient maritime population from Venice and her subject provinces. This significant number of men which, prior to 1509, descended in most years on the port with the Flanders galleys comprised galley masters, officers, gunners, priests, sailors and oarsmen. To this must also be added the periodic arrival in the port of a smaller number of seamen from the privately owned Venetian carracks, which are often found in the port alongside the Flanders galleys. The arrival of Venetian shipping in the port in the early Tudor period

(1) A.A. Ruddock, op.cit., pp.156-8.

(2) Black Book of Southampton, I, pp.96-103, II, 144-9. Book of Remembrance, I, passim. Assize of Bread Book, p.43. S.C.R.O., Municipal Deeds, No.326. J.S. Davis, op.cit., pp.139-49.

(3) P.R.O., Pipe Office, Declared Accounts 2588. A.P.C., I, 14 April, 1546; II, 17 May, 1547.

(4) Book of Remembrance, III, 90.

temporarily swelled the town's Venetian population in a way that no other alien community in Southampton could equal. After 1509, this influx of Venetian seamen became less regular, but nevertheless continued to provide the town with a temporarily inflated Venetian community, notably in 1518-19, 1519-20, 1522-23, 1532-33, and 1533-34. The period of stay of this floating population in Southampton varied according to shipping time-tables and unforeseen delays which arose as a result of meteorological and political factors or due to commercial practice. Delays of a few days or many months could temporarily extend the period of transient residence of this floating Venetian population on Southampton Water. Vessels arriving in late autumn could be laid up in the port for many months, and the crews forced to find temporary winter quarters in the town. Their numbers were comparatively large, a rough estimate would indicate some 700 Venetian officials, seamen and galeotti in the Hampshire port in 1494-95, when two Venetian carracks the 'Duoda' and the 'Trevisana' are recorded in the port alongside the Flanders galleys of that year.⁽¹⁾ In the summer of 1522 there were three galleys, and the carrack of Mafio Bernardo loading in the port.⁽²⁾ While the arrival of two Venetian carracks alone, in 1545-46,⁽³⁾ brought a large, and sudden influx of Venetian merchants, and seamen into the town in the final years of Henry VIII's reign. However, the itinerant merchants, arriving and departing with the Venetian vessels in the port, played a much less important role in the town than those Venetians and their dependents who almost annually arrived in the port

(1) S.C.R.O., SC5. 4. 23, Port Book, 1494-95.

(2) Sanudo, I Diarii XXXIII, 5 July, 1522.

(3) L. & P., XX pt.I, 543, 544, 1295; XX pt.II, 16, 27(2); XXI pt.I, 57, 80, 90, 100, 498, 689. A.P.C., I, 14 April, 1546. A.S.V., Consiglio Dieci, Parti Comuni 17 f201r. The two vessels belonged to Piero Paolo Corsi, and to Francesco Bernardo, and were both of 700 tons burden. They were seized by the Crown to serve in the war with France. The Bernardo carrack was taken to the Thames, where another Venetian vessel, the 'Sancte Maria e Giuseppi', 250 tons, master Pietro de Soza, was also being fitted out for naval action against the French.

from London to organise the Venetian trade in the port. These semi-residents were frequently of great assistance to them in their small trading ventures and in lodging them, either in their own dwellings or in lodgings with friendly Englishmen in the town. The Venetian colony in Southampton, therefore, unlike its sister colony in the metropolis, witnessed much more violent swings in its population from year to year. Probably, after 1509, the Southampton community entered into an earlier decline than its counterpart in London, a decline which, despite a short revival, was having serious effects upon the town's finances by the 1530's. The reasons for this were many and varied, and are basically related to the shift in Venetian trade with England from Southampton to London, as a result of the return by Venetian merchants to the cheaper and safer land route to north western Europe in the early sixteenth century; a change which made the Venice-Antwerp-London route more important than the direct sea link between Venice and Southampton. The sea route was used increasingly for the shipment of bulk cargoes only.⁽¹⁾ At the same time the growth of London in the early sixteenth century at the expense of all the outports underlined the decline of the Southampton link in the chain of Anglo-Venetian trade. In the early years of Henry VII's reign the London merchants began to dominate the chief branches of the town's trade, and the overland trade between the port and the metropolis.⁽²⁾ With the withdrawal of the London merchants from Southampton in the early sixteenth century the Venetians followed. From the 1530's Venetian shipping increasingly sailed past the Solent and came to anchor at the London outports of Gravesend and Margate. In the early years of Henry VIII's reign Southampton also lost her former role as a collecting centre for English exports to the Mediterranean and Levantine markets.

(1) J. Heers, 'Types de navires et spécialisation des trafics en Méditerranée à la fin du moyen âge', Le Navire et l'économie maritime du moyen âge au XVIII^e principalement en Méditerranée, Travaux du Colloque International d'Histoire Maritime tenu 1957, (École Pratique des Hautes Études, 6^e section, 1958.).

(2) A.A. Ruddock, 'London Capitalists', pp.143, 147-8.

The development of Blackwell Hall as the country's major cloth mart,⁽¹⁾ which even trapped the cloth production of the Hampshire hinterland,⁽²⁾ deprived the town of one of the major reasons for the Venetian carracks continuing to call there and consequently for the continuance of a Venetian community in the Hampshire port. By the mid-sixteenth century Venetian carracks only rarely called at the port. Mary Tudor's attempts to check Southampton's decay by forcing the Venetian trade back into the south coast port through the grant to the town of a monopoly of the sweet wine trade, a major Venetian import into England failed.⁽³⁾ Strong protests from the Venetian ambassador, Giovanni Michieli, in 1556, secured permission for a number of Venetian wine ships to unload in London from time to time.⁽⁴⁾ The customs records show only a few Venetian vessels unloading their cargoes there in accordance with the town's monopoly, such as the carrack patron Tommaso Marcopolo, who dropped anchor in Southampton Water in 1559.⁽⁵⁾ It proved impossible to compel the Venetians to unload in Southampton and their carracks returned in large numbers in the mid-sixteenth century to the outports of Gravesend and Margate.⁽⁶⁾ Elizabeth finally sealed Southampton's fate by coming to an agreement with the town authorities, who accepted compensation for every vessel unloading sweet

(1) G.D. Ramsay, English Overseas Trade, pp.15-23.

(2) G.D. Ramsay, The Wiltshire Woollen Industry, pp.6-30.

(3) Charters of Southampton, II p.36. In August, 1554, Mary gave the corporation a charter which granted "that all malmseys and other sweet wines growing in the islands of Candy and Retimo, or within any part of the Levant", imported into England by either demizens or strangers should be landed only at the port of Southampton on pain of forfeiting 20/- for every butt, 'one half to go to the crown and the other to the town'. The grant was again confirmed in June, 1558, and by Elizabeth in 1563, but the latter grant was only a temporary measure made perpetual by a further act in 1571. State Papers, Domestic, XL, 77-78. S.C.R.O., Book of Debts, 1569.

(4) C.S.P.V., VI ii 554.

(5) S.C.R.O., SC 5. 4. 54. Port Book, 1558-9.

(6) Supra, p.239.

wine at London in violation of the town's monopoly.⁽¹⁾ The last Venetian carrack recorded in the vicinity of Southampton was wrecked off the Isle of Wight, in 1587, whilst trying to enter the Solent in a gale, and was possibly bound for Southampton.⁽²⁾

The Venetian colony in Tudor Southampton had a quite separate identity in the town from the other resident Italian communities, and it appears to have been much more exclusive than its London counterpart. Perhaps in part this was due to their dominance over the southern port, whereas in London the Venetians formed merely one of many large alien communities. The Venetian community was centred on the neighbouring parishes of St. Michael's and St. John's, and lay principally along the main thoroughfares of West Street and Bugle Street, which linked the Wool House with Galley Quay. Here the Venetians inhabited some of the town's most luxurious houses. Of these a few were town properties purchased by the mayor and aldermen as a capital investment. Others belonged to leading burgesses.⁽³⁾ One of the largest properties in Southampton was the West Hall, adjoining the Wool House in Bugle Street, which the mayor and aldermen had purchased from the Salisbury merchant, Robert Lange, in 1428.⁽⁴⁾ Over the next century and a half this property was rented by a long list of Italian tenants including the Venetian merchants Paolo and Stefano Priuli in the late fifteenth century.⁽⁵⁾

Legal and jurisdictional bonds emphasised the solidarity of the Venetian colony in Southampton. Like its London counterpart the Southampton colony was organised under consular government. At Southampton, as at London,

- (1) By the 1580's the monopoly was worth some 200 marks per annum. In 1587, the Earl of Leicester and, in 1589, the Earl of Essex paid highly for the privilege. J. Speed, op.cit., pp.204-6, 218-22.
- (2) W. Monson, Naval Tracts IV, 413.
- (3) S.C.R.O., SC 5. 6. Steward Books, 1482-83 et seq.. Their owners are frequently enumerated in the town's surveys.
- (4) A.A. Ruddock, op.cit., p.
- (5) S.C.R.O., SC 5. 6. Steward Books 1482-83, 1486-87.

the Venetian community was not organised into a geographically isolated and circumscribed quarter, rigorously regulated by the consul. Although the town possessed a recognised Venetian residential area, wealthy Venetians bought or rented properties throughout the town. The Southampton colony did not possess a separate resident consul on a regular basis until the Tudor period. The Venetian consul at London was responsible for the outports of Southampton and Sandwich in the fifteenth century. Occasionally influential burgesses of Southampton were appointed vice-consul in the port by the resident Venetian community in the fifteenth century. Such elections were made contrary to the regulations governing the cottimo, and on at least two occasions the Senate, upon hearing of this infringement, asked the London consul to investigate. In 1427, Hugh Rys was elected vice-consul by the Venetian community, and served willingly in that office until the following year.⁽¹⁾ At the end of the fifteenth century Thomas Overy was appointed to the office. Both Rys and Overy were powerful and highly influential in the town. Overy served as Sheriff at Southampton between 1487-88, and was elected mayor in 1488, 1489 and again in 1490.⁽²⁾ Eight years later he was using his influence in the town on behalf of Venetian merchants.⁽³⁾ The honour bestowed upon leading burgesses of the town by Venetian merchants illustrates the social harmony, and close co-operation which existed between the Venetian community and the leading townfolk in the port.

A second consul in England, resident in the south coast port, was not considered necessary in the first three quarters of the fifteenth century as the twin Venetian consulates of London and Bruges could between them satisfactorily organise and control all Venetian commercial operations in

(1) C.S.P.V., 1, 238.

(2) J.S. Davies, op.cit., pp.174-5.

(3) A.S.V., Senato, Mar 14 f60r.

north western Europe. The growth of Venetian trade with England after the debilitating effects of the Wars of the Roses, and the general effects of the mid-fifteenth century economic depression brought the need for a vice-consul in the Hampshire port. It was no longer practicable for the London consul to travel incessantly between the two ports, supervising the annual Flanders mude and the other widespread commercial activities of the Venetian communities in the two towns. Moreover, the merchants' need for the consul's presence at the port frequently clashed with his duties in London or at the royal court. On several occasions in the fifteenth century the London consul had found it necessary to appoint a deputy or vice-consul to deal with Venetian affairs in the south west, especially whilst the galleys were in harbour. Early in the reign of Henry VII Girolamo Barbarigo, "maister of the ffeliship of the merchauntis of Venice beyng within the citie of London", appointed Girolamo Pisani to deputize for him in Southampton while the galleys were there and to collect the averages levided for the maintenance of the consulate on the cargoes of all Venetian vessels coming to that port.⁽¹⁾ A reference to the vice-consulate in 1532 indicates that it was a fairly well established organisation by that date, and had a separate code of practice to the London cottimo.⁽²⁾ The record book of the Venetian notary Giovanni Manzini shows that the capitano of the Flanders galleys had supreme authority over the crews of the state galleys, and over those of private Venetian vessels in the port, including those merchants sailing with the vessels. The capitano was empowered by the Senate to hear and give judgement in quarrels arising between Venetian merchants, officials, and crewmen whilst the galleys were anchored in Southampton.⁽³⁾ It is possible that the duties of the consul were frequently carried out by the capitano in the fifteenth century. However,

(1) P.R.O., E.C.P. 118 (3), 132 (40).

(2) Sanudo, I Diarii LV, 9 January, 1531.

(3) A.S.V., Alti Notarile, cassa IV, cassella 3, filza 18, Alti Giovanni Manzini, ff 6v-7r. Senato, Misti 43 f38r. P.R.O., 30/25 119 c.115.

by the reign of Henry VII the two officials appear to have worked independently of one another.⁽¹⁾ Disputes between Venetian merchants in the port were referred back to the London consulate who heard and judged such cases. Since no records of the London consulate exist for the fifteenth or early sixteenth centuries the workings of the London consulate and its Southampton branch are difficult to analyse, and such an analysis is based on the few references to the consuls existing in the registers of the Senate and the Council of Ten. It is clear, however, that the Southampton vice-consul was always subordinate to the London consulate. In 1495, the Southampton consul, Almorò Gritti, was kidnapped by French corsairs whilst dining with the capitano of the Flanders galleys on board the flagship, riding at anchor in Southampton Water. The Frenchmen took advantage of the festivities on board the flag-galley, sailed quietly up Southampton Water in the dusk, took the Venetians by surprise in the middle of their meal, and carried off the consul and the capitano as highly valuable prisoners. On receipt of this news the Senate ordered the London consul, Piero Contarini, to go to Southampton to take charge of the business there, and to organise the collection of the ransom money demanded by the Frenchmen.⁽²⁾ The Southampton consulate probably ceased to function following the cessation of the Venetian state galley voyages to England in 1533-34. The last record of any Venetian vice-consul in the port is in 1532.⁽³⁾ Thereafter, as Venetian trade with England was once more concentrated on the capital, those Venetians remaining in Southampton had to refer to the London consulate in all matters concerning Venetian commercial affairs in the Hampshire port.

(1) A.S.V., Senato, Mar 14 ff82v-83r. P.R.O., 30/25 199 cc.1, 64, 65, 97, 117, 119, 124, 125. Auction contract cc.34, 51.

(2) A.S.V., Senato, Mar 14 ff82v, 83r, 90r. J. Sottas, op.cit., pp.132-3.

(3) Sanudo, I Diarii LV, 9 January, 1531.

Corporate worship further emphasised the solidarity of the Southampton colony. The Venetian community appears to have laid greater emphasis upon its separate identity than the London colony and met apart from the other Italian nations in the port in all religious matters. The Venetians had their chapel dedicated to St. Nicholas, the patron saint of seamen, behind St. Mary's church in the suburbs of the town.⁽¹⁾ This double dedication to St. Mary and St. Nicholas is a common feature of Venetian mercantile communities overseas. St. Nicholas, especially, enjoyed great popularity in Venice, and the maritime cities of the Venetian provinces in Istria, Dalmatia and Greece. Seamen in the later middle ages were highly sensible to the dangers of their calling, and reasonably so, references to shipwreck are numerous throughout the early Tudor period. Venetian sailors venturing on the long and perilous journey from Venice, or Crete, out into the storm-tossed Atlantic to English ports in the Channel or North Sea were conscious of being in a special sense in the hands of the Almighty, and so made a point of offering up public prayer on landfall and at their departure to remind God and the Virgin, la Stella della Mar, that they counted on heavenly protection against the cruel elements. The chapel of St. Nicholas in St. Mary's churchyard provided these seamen not only with a place of worship, but also served as a place of burial.⁽²⁾ Here was the communal sepulchre of those Dalmatian oarsmen from the Flanders galleys who died while the galleys were in port. The bulk of the oarsmen employed on the state galleys by the Venetians were largely Greeks and Dalmatians from Venice's Levantine and Adriatic provinces.⁽³⁾ In Venice

- (1) Rawdon Brown, referring to the chapel in his calendar, errs in his translation from Sanudo, proffering '... in St. Mary's in Tegusso', (C.S.P.V., IV 725.), for the original Italian, "... in regresso di la chiesa de nostra dona", Sanudo, I Diarii LV, 29 January, 1531. A mistake also noted by A.A. Ruddock, op.cit., p.131.
- (2) It was no doubt used for the burial of the many galleyemen who died of plague in Southampton in 1519. Among the dead was Nicolò Dolfin, patron of one of the galleys. Sanudo, I Diarii XXVII, 1 April, 1519.
- (3) F.C. Lane, Venice, A Maritime Republic, pp.201, 218, 356, 367-8, 384.

they were organised into a religious confraternity, la Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni, one of a hundred or so scuole piccole in Venice around 1500.⁽¹⁾ The headquarters of this scuola was in the church of San Giorgio degli Schiavoni, behind the Riva degli Schiavoni, which marked their quarter in the city. This confraternity had its own communal sepulchre in the chapel of St. Nicholas. The sepulchre was marked by a large inscribed stone of a greyish-blue colour, which measures 6ft. 8ins. by 3ft. 8ins..⁽²⁾ In the centre is a shield bearing a Byzantine double-headed eagle, surrounded by an intertwining leaf motif incised in low relief. Around the edge, enclosed within an incised linear border is the following inscription in Italian and Latin:

'SEPULTURA DE LA SCHOLA DE SCLAVONI ANO DÑI MCCCCLXXXI.'

The corners of the stone are decorated with the emblems of the four evangelists enclosed within quaterfoils. The winged lion of St. Mark, the eagle of St. John, the angel of St. Matthew, and the winged ox of St. Luke. Leland who visited Southampton, in 1546, furnishes us with our only description of the chapel, by then in decay. He described it as 'a poore and small thing yet standing at the est ende of St. Marie Church in the great cemiterie'.⁽³⁾ In 1549-50 the church of St. Mary was pulled down by the townsfolk.⁽⁴⁾ The stone must then have been removed by the Venetian community to the church of North Stoneham nearby, the only other church in the vicinity dedicated to St. Nicholas.⁽⁵⁾

(1) See B. Pullan, Rich and Poor, p.34.

(2) The tombstone of the Dalmatian scuola can still be seen in the church of North Stoneham near Southampton. I have studied and made drawings of the tombstone from photographs taken while at Southampton in 1975.

(3) J. Leland, Itinery I, p.276.

(4) J.S. Davies, op.cit., p.338.

(5) J. Buller in his history of Southampton noted the stone lying in the north aisle at North Stoneham in 1819, J. Buller, Companion in a tour around Southampton, 1819. The Rev. G.W. Minnis, writing of the stone in 1893, suggests that the positioning of the stone in the north aisle, where there was probably a chantry attached, was considered a more suitable location for the place of burial of the alien seamen in the eyes of the local congregation than interment before the high altar. Rev. G.W. Minnis, 'The Slavonian Tombstone at North Stoneham', P.P.H.F.C. II, 1893, p.357.

At Southampton, unlike London, the attitude of the authorities and the townsfolk towards the Venetian community was significantly different for one simple reason; at Southampton a sound commercial motive formed the basis of a meaningful inter-relationship between the two communities. At the Hampshire port recognition by the town authorities and by influential burgesses of the value of the Venetian commercial link with the town predisposed them to a better understanding and co-operation with the Venetian community. The rich and steady flow of Mediterranean and Levantine goods through the south coast port provided the town not only with valuable revenues with which to pay the fee farm,⁽¹⁾ but also with many opportunities to profit from the presence of the wealthy Venetian mercantile community. By the late fifteenth century, following the departure of the Genoese from the port, the Venetian colony, and Venetian shipping came to be one of the principal economic factors in the town's prosperity. The presence of the Venetian galleys and carracks in Southampton contributed heavily to the revenues of the town. The sum collected in petty customs⁽²⁾ on the cargoes of the Venetian galleys alone was sufficient to pay the entire fee farm and still leave a surplus for other local expenses.

The borough had purchased its fee farm in 1199 for the fine of £100, and the annual rent of £200 payable at the Exchequer each Michaelmas. However, in the town records the amount of the farm appears to have varied in the fifteenth, and early sixteenth centuries, between £200 and £226. 13s. 4d..⁽³⁾ From the late fifteenth century the town appears to have found it increasingly difficult to pay the fee farm despite the regular arrival of the Venetian galleys

(1) The fee farm rent was the 'composition' or reserved rent paid to the King in right of his demesne and in lieu of ancient claims; it also covered petty customs and fines.

(2) Petty customs were collected on all goods entering the port by water at specific rates laid down in the Book of Rates, or at the ad valorem rate of 3d. in the £, Southampton burgesses being exempt.

(3) J.S. Davies, op.cit., p.34. In 1438 the farm was £225; in 1441 £200; in 1447 £226. 13s. 4d.; and in 1512 it appears as £218.

and carracks, along with other Italian, Spanish and English shipping. A.A. Ruddock has shown how the activities of London merchants in Southampton were sapping the financial stability and vitality of the port to an alarming degree in the early Tudor period, despite the port's outward signs of prosperity.⁽¹⁾ While this is undoubtedly so in the final analysis the decline of Venetian shipping after 1509 was a determining factor, and Southampton's only prosperous years were those when the state galleys of Venice made their occasional and increasingly rare visits to the Hampshire port. Contemporaries saw in the decline of the Venetian galley and carrack trade with Southampton a major underlying reason for the town's financial difficulties. The dominance of the London merchants and the decline of Southampton's prosperity in the early Tudor period are inextricably linked with the decline of the Venetian galley traffic which had previously called annually at the port. It was the removal of the galleys from London to Southampton in 1457-58 which had first drawn the London merchants to the Hampshire port. In the fifteenth century the London merchants were unable to despatch regular voyages of their own to the Mediterranean markets. They relied heavily upon Italian commercial organisation and shipping in all their dealings with the Mediterranean. In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries London merchants made up a significant part of the cargoes of Venetian galleys on their return voyage to the Mediterranean,⁽²⁾ despite Venetian maritime legislation that required the goods of Venetians to be loaded first, and that the goods of aliens be shipped only after all Venetian goods had been loaded.⁽³⁾ It is clear that certain English merchants were given preference and priority over those less influential Venetian merchants who travelled with the galleys. The sudden withdrawal of the Venetian galley fleets

(1) A.A. Ruddock, 'London Capitalists', passim; much of the port's trade fell into the hands of privileged English merchants who paid no customs to the town authorities.

(2) S.C.R.O., SC5. 4. (19-27), Port Books, 1480-1509, passim.

(3) A.S.V., Senato, Misti 44 f29r.

in 1509, combined with the rapid decrease in the number of Venetian carrack voyages to the north at this time⁽¹⁾ was a major financial blow to the Southampton authorities. Conversely, however, the withdrawal of Venetian shipping undoubtedly stimulated the growth of English voyages to the Mediterranean.⁽²⁾ Although Venetian shipping was quickly replaced by Ragusan, Genoese, Spanish, and English vessels the position of the London merchants was considerably strengthened. Much of the English shipping from Southampton to the Mediterranean was London owned. For example, the 'Ely of London', the 'Thomas of London', and an unnamed vessel belonging to Edward Bampton, freeman of London, all departed for Italy in the early years of the sixteenth century.⁽³⁾ The great expansion in English trade with Spain and the Mediterranean⁽⁴⁾ was greatly aided as a result of the withdrawal of Venetian shipping from that route. London vessels in particular took up the slack resulting from the withdrawal of Italian shipping from northern waters. As early as the later fifteenth century London shipping had attempted to penetrate the Venetian monopoly over the Mediterranean trade. The royal vessel the 'Mary de la Towre' hired out by the king to syndicates of English merchants, the majority of whom were freemen of London left Southampton for the Mediterranean in 1486, and again in 1491. Another royal vessel, the 'Sovereign', made the voyage in 1494, 1497, and in 1504-5. Three London vessels departed for the Mediterranean from Southampton in 1499-1500. Several Southampton vessels also made the voyage with large consignments of goods owned by London merchants, such as the 'Charity' and the 'Julian' which entered Southampton with Mediterranean goods

- (1) F.C. Lane, Venice and History, pp.10-11.
- (2) R. Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation, Everyman Library Edition, 1962, III, No.2.
- (3) P.R.O., L.T.R. Customs, Roll. 23. S.C.R.O., SC 5. 4. (24-29) passim.
- (4) G. Connell-Smith, Forerunners of Drake; a study of English trade with Spain in the early Tudor period, London, 1954. P. Scrosoppi, 'Il porto di Livorno e gli inizi dell'attivita inglese in Mediterraneo', Boll. stor. livornese, i, pp.350-7.

in 1504. In 1505, the Southampton vessel the 'Margaret' left for Italy.⁽¹⁾ By 1485, there was a flourishing English colony at Pisa.⁽²⁾ In the early sixteenth century the Levantine market was penetrated by English vessels. The 'Thomas of London' went to Alexandria in 1501, and the 'Sovereign' to Chios in 1505.⁽³⁾ With the end of the galley voyages and the carrack trade Florentine, Genoese and Lucchese agents in England shipped increasingly on English vessels. The Italian merchants in England had already begun to transfer from Venetian to English shipping in the late fifteenth century due to the greater profitability in shipping on English vessels, whose freight charges were far lighter than those of the Venetian galleys on account of their smaller crews. Similarly the freight charges on Venetian carracks were much higher than their English competitors.⁽⁴⁾ The decline of Venetian shipping to England in face of the mounting competition of English merchants backed by the vessels and diplomacy of Yorkist and Tudor Kings, and the total collapse of Venetian maritime trade with northern Europe after 1509, as a result of Venice's heavy involvement in the Italian wars, opened the way for capitalist entrepreneurs in London. Increasingly, after 1500, the London merchants withdrew from the Hampshire port.

It is a significant fact that in the numerous pleas by the Southampton borough authorities to the crown for remission of the fee farm constant reference is made to the decay of Italian shipping visiting the port, and in particular to the galleys and carracks of Venice. One of the earliest occasions on which the town gained remission for payment of the farm, in 1484, coincides with the absence of the Venetian galleys and carracks from the port.

(1) S.C.R.O., SC 5.4. (23), (24), (25). P.R.O., Exchequer, K.R., Customs, E122 209(2).

(2) P. Scrosoppi, art.cit., pp.350-1.

(3) C. Singer, The Earliest Chemical Industry, London, 1948, pp.158-9.

(4) A.S.V., Senato, Mar 12 f157r.

Edward IV had banned the export of raw wool in 1483, and in the first year of Richard III's reign (1483-84) other heavy impositions were laid upon the Venetian merchants in England. ⁽¹⁾ Yorkist policy resulted in a lack of confidence in Venice, and no galleys were put up for auction in that year. ⁽²⁾ Following the cessation of the regular galley voyages to England in 1509 the town, not surprisingly, and despite the expansion of English and Spanish shipping in the port, was regularly two or three years behindhand in its payments. ⁽³⁾ The return of the Flanders galleys in 1518-19, 1519-20, 1522-23, 1532-33, and 1533-34, in addition to the gradual return of private Venetian shipping ⁽⁴⁾ was insufficient to pay off the huge debts incurred. ⁽⁵⁾ In 1530 a permanent remission of 40 marks (£26. 13s. 4d.) was made to the burgesses on their petition to the crown of the town's great expenses, and the decay of trade brought about by the decline of the Venetian and Genoese galley and carrack trade with the town. ⁽⁶⁾ Two years earlier, in November, 1528, the Bishop of Bangor ⁽⁷⁾ had written to Cardinal Wolsey on the occasion of his elevation to the Bishopric of Winchester (which see embraced the town of Southampton) to petition the Chancellor on behalf of the townsfolk for a

- (1) Stats. Realm, 1 Ric. III, c.9. A.S.V., Senato, Mar 11 f127r; 12 ff3r, 42r, 104r. Edward IV's ban on the export of raw wool was merely a device to supplement his income in the issue of licences authorizing privileged Italian merchants to export wool, in spite of the statutory restrictions upon the trade, see E.E. Power, 'The Wool Trade in the Fifteenth Century', in Studies in English Trade in the Fifteenth Century, p.47.
- (2) A.S.V., Senato, Mar 11 f127r-v, 12 f3r. W.C. Hazlitt, History of Venice, London, 1900, IV, p.244.
- (3) J.S. Davies, op.cit., pp.36-8.
- (4) See D. Burwash, English Merchant Shipping, 1460-1540, Toronto, 1947, p.207, for the importance of alien shipping in the port during the early reign of Henry VIII.
- (5) The revenues from the galleys were considerable; for example the sum total of customs receipts for the galleys in 1532-33 was £6,174. 8s. 2d. L.& P. VII 916.
- (6) Stats. Realm, III, 351, 352.
- (7) Thomas Skevington; as abbot of Beaulieu Abbey Skevington had been made an honorary burgess of Southampton in 1514, now the town enlisted his aid in drawing Wolsey's attention to their financial difficulties, Original Letters, ed. H. Ellis, 3 ser. II, 153-4.

remission of the farm as they "had now small resort to shipping".⁽¹⁾ In 1533, the Corporation wrote to Thomas Cromwell urging him to remit payment of the fees on the grounds that "... we have only petty customs, formerly levied on merchant strangers arriving here in galleys and carracks. They do not come as they have done ...".⁽²⁾ By 1537 matters had again come to a head; in January of that year the Mayor, under fear of a process of the Exchequer and the seizure of the town's liberties, had recourse to the Italian merchant Nicolò d'Egra⁽³⁾ who came to the town's temporary relief. In October, 1538, the Italian community again advanced £200 for the farm.⁽⁴⁾ By 1549 the sum of £1,844 ls. 6d. was owing to the Exchequer; of this £1,044 ls. 6d. was remitted in 1550 upon the corporation entering into a bond for £1,000 to pay the remaining £800 at the rate of £100 per annum.⁽⁵⁾ In 1552 an arrangement was made with the corporation whereby the town retained its liberties and should in future pay £200 in fee farm dues in those years when the galleys and carracks of Venice and Genoa visited the town to discharge or load merchandise, but should render only £50 in those years when the petty custom did not amount to £200, "and the said galleys and carracks do not come". Henceforth the town received a permanent remission of £150 in those years when Venetian and Genoese vessels did not enter the port, "provided also that the mayor, bailiffs and burgesses fail to certify within the quinzaine of Michaelmas, the true number of carracks and galleys, and the amount of petty custom in any year, this remission shall be void".⁽⁶⁾

(1) J.S. Davies, op.cit., p.257.

(2) L. & P., VI 1686.

(3) S.C.R.O., Book of Remembrance, C, 1512-1601, 1537 ff37 et seq.. D'Egra was commission agent for several Italian merchants and settled their customs dues and other payments in the port. Ibid., Steward Book, 1525-26.

(4) Book of Remembrance, II, pp.37, 41.

(5) J.S. Davies, op.cit., p.38.

(6) C.P.R., Edward VI pt.II, 1551-53, 4 April, 1552.

Sporadic though the Venetian carrack trade was with the Hampshire port after 1509 this trade continued to be of great importance to the town, for the Venetian carracks brought in cargoes of considerable value. These cargoes temporarily swelled the town's revenues. For example, as late as April, 1574, a vessel chartered by Venetian merchants entered the port with a cargo of cotton wool, currants, galls and oil for a consortium of Venetian merchants, and left the port in June for Venice with a large cargo of kerseys, tin, lead and woolfells also belonging to Venetians. The total Venetian imports were valued at £11,848. 13s. 4d.,⁽¹⁾ showing the importance of one single Venetian shipment to the town's prosperity. A comparison of the customs collected between 1485-1509, and between 1535-45 indicates the importance to Southampton of the Venetian traffic through the port.⁽²⁾ In the reign of Henry VII commencing with an average annual total of £5450. 7s. 0d. for the first five years of the reign, the averages rose to £8579. 18s. 0d. for the quinquennium 1490-95, and £10342. 0s. 0d. for the years 1504-9.

Table XV.

ANNUAL AVERAGE TOTAL OF ROYAL CUSTOMS COLLECTED IN SOUTHAMPTON IN THE EARLY TUDOR PERIOD, ACCORDING TO RUDDOCK

	£.	s.	d.
1485-90	5450.	7.	0.
1490-95	8579.	18.	0.
1504-09	10342.	0.	0.
1515-20	6096.	5.	9½.
1535-40	2033.	0.	0½.
1540-45	662.	19.	3½.

The great expansion in London merchants' participation in the port's trade is largely responsible for this increase in the customs, but the great expansion

- (1) P.R.O., Exchequer, Q.R., Customs Accounts, E122 146(15), and Exchequer, Port Book, E 190 814(9).
- (2) The figures are taken from Ruddock, op.cit., pp.258, 262, and 'London Capitalists and the Decline of Southampton, pp.148-9. The yearly average collected in royal customs dues between 1453-59, when the Mediterranean trade of Southampton was at its peak, was only £4,533. 12s. 4½d.

in trade with the Iberian peninsula and the Mediterranean in these years also explains a certain amount of this increase in the customs, a large percentage of which was either conducted by Venetian merchants or carried in Venetian vessels.⁽¹⁾ The annual average total of customs after 1509 fall drastically, and with the exception of the period 1515-20, when Venetian shipping once more temporarily returned to the Hampshire port,⁽²⁾ the annual total of customs failed to reach the pre-1509 levels. By the late 1530's the effects of increasing numbers of vessels now sailing past the Solent for the Thames were evident in the royal customs totals. The average annual figure for the quinquennium 1535-40 was £2035. 0s. 0½d.. For the next quinquennium it sank to £662. 19s. 3½d..⁽³⁾ Despite the town's deteriorating position the corporation remained hopeful of a revival of its former prosperity. In anticipation of a revival of commerce with Italy and the Mediterranean the town kept its Customs House and port facilities in adequate repair, so that in 1565 it could confidently report that although suffering a decrease in traffic, the town was "as well able to cope with trade as ever it was."⁽⁴⁾

It was not only the loss of the petty customs paid by the Venetian galleys and carracks that the town authorities lamented in the mid-sixteenth century. A multitude of other dues and fees paid by Venetians had formerly swollen the town's revenues. These town duties which were levied in the port

- (1) S.C.R.O., SC 5. 4. (23), (25), Port Books, 1494-95, 1504-5. The Flanders galleys carried rich cargoes down to 1508-9, and full return cargoes, so that in 1504, 1505, 1506 and 1508 they were forced to leave large quantities of wool and cloth behind in Southampton. A.S.V., Senato, Mar 16 f43r; Sanudo, I Diarii VI, 5 August, 1505, 24 August, 1506; VII, 17 January, 1507, 13 May, 1508.
- (2) J.S. Davies, op.cit., p.113. The Southampton burgesses certainly did not feel their trade was on the wane for they piled a new quay at the Water Gate in 1525, and paved and gravelled it in 1526. This coincides with the return of the Venetian galleys between 1518-23.
- (3) P.R.O., L.T.R. Enrolled Customs, E.356 24.
- (4) B.M., Add. MS 25460 f141.

in addition to the local custom fell broadly into one of the two following classes, namely, port duties and shore duties.⁽¹⁾ The port duties at Southampton were anchorage and keelage, which were levied on all vessels entering the legal bounds of the port. The shore duties which consisted of wharfage, cranage, ganging, tronage, hallage, ostelage, keyage, package, and a few lesser tolls were usually levied not on the vessels themselves but on the merchandise loaded and unloaded in the port. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries anchorage and keyage duties were paid on galleys and carracks when they first entered the port. Anchorage was also due on vessels which entered the limits of the port even if they did not trade there.⁽²⁾ By 1426 there were special rates for anchorage for galleys and carracks. Carracks which anchored within the port's legal limits paid anchorage of 3s. 4d.. Since the draught of most of the Venetian carracks was so great as to prevent the vessels from coming up to the quays, they stayed out in Southampton Water, moored to piles which were specially placed there for that purpose.⁽³⁾ The Flanders galleys also paid anchorage of 3s. 4d. if they anchored out in Southampton Water,⁽⁴⁾ awaiting a berth at the town's West Quay, or if they had returned from Flanders and were awaiting the loading of the 'London' galleys.⁽⁵⁾ Galley cargoes were generally unloaded straight onto the quay, whereas the cargoes of the carracks had to be offloaded into

- (1) See M. Hale, 'A Treatise in Three Parts; Pars Prima, De Jure Maris et Brachiorum eiusdem - Pars Secunda, De Portibus Maris - Pars Tertia, Concerning the Custom of Goods imported and exported' - in - A Collection of Tracts relative to the Law of England, 1, ed. F. Hargrave, 1787, pp.74-7.
- (2) D.B. Quinn, Port Books of Southampton, 1469-81, S.R.S., 1938. II, p.xvi, 16.
- (3) P.R.O., 30. 25/199, f40 c.3.
- (4) H.S. Cobb, The Local Port Book of Southampton 1439-40, S.R.S., 1961, p.xxxiv.
- (5) The Venetian state galleys designated for England continued to be called the London galleys long after they had ceased to call at that port.

several lighters and small craft which plied back and forth between the quay and the huge vessels. The practice of unloading galley cargoes at the West Quay was so regular that the quay was commonly known as Galley Quay.⁽¹⁾ The rate of anchorage for galleys at the quay was usually 10s., and this charge was sometimes stated to be for anchorage, keelage and keyage.⁽²⁾ The sixteenth century rates of the port duties are set out in the Old Book of Rates for 1517, as 'ankrage of every gale 10s., ankrage of every careche 6s. 8d., ankrage of every crayer havng a coche bote 4d., ankrage of every lytyl bote 2d.'. ⁽³⁾

The shore duties were specific grants made by the crown to the town authorities. All these duties were permanent.⁽⁴⁾ Cranage was primarily a charge on commodities measured by the tun, pipe, butt and hogshead. There was a standard rate of cranage of 4d. per tun, 2d. per pipe and butt, and 1d. per hogshead. Use of the town crane was virtually compulsory for the loading and unloading of commodities, as the levying of cranage dues occurs with such regularity in the port books. Whether or not use of the town crane had been compulsory earlier in the fifteenth century, it was definitely laid down in a town ordinance of 1491 "that all manner gibes of cloth exceeding XX clothes and tonnys, pipes, buttes and quarlettes of all manner merchandise shalbe wound uppe and strike downe by the Crayns, to the grete avile of the tonne, and ese of all manner laborers, upon peyne of paying doubill cranage".⁽⁵⁾ Occasionally tuns of wine are recorded as being exempt from cranage when they were 'raised by hand'.⁽⁶⁾ On other occasions, although special derricks and pulleys were

(1) J.S. Davies, op.cit., p.112.

(2) P. Studer, The Port Books of Southampton, 1427-30, S.R.S., 1913, p.108.

(3) S.C.R.O., MS. Old Book of Rates, (1517), f25v.

(4) M. Hale, op.cit., pp.77-8. H.S. Cobb, op.cit., p.xxxv.

(5) Oak Book of Southampton, I, 157.

(6) S.C.R.O., SC 5. 4. (14-27) passim. H.S. Cobb, op.cit., p.xxxvii.

often used for unloading the cargoes of Venetian galleys,⁽¹⁾ tuns and butts so unloaded were charged crantage⁽²⁾ as though the town crane had been used for the purpose. Crantage was not paid on goods which did not come onto the quay,⁽³⁾ such as those goods transhipped from Venetian carracks lying in Southampton Water into coasting vessels. However, crantage was paid on goods re-exported from the town, although such goods might be duty free.⁽⁴⁾ Wharfage was a toll similar to crantage. It was levied on all goods landed in bales, balets, barrels, lasts or measures by the cwt.. Small measures of goods, such as 1 barrel of Malmsey wine, or 1 to 3 cloths, were not generally charged wharfage. This exemption was also applied to small manufactured articles imported by the galleys such as combs, razors or rosaries, unless these were of sufficient numbers to make up a bale or fardel.⁽⁵⁾ The exemption greatly benefitted the Venetian galleymen who imported such articles to peddle in the town. There was no single rate of wharfage at Southampton, the rate varied greatly according to the commodity. For example, a bale of pepper was rated at 1d., and a bale of rice at $\frac{1}{2}$ d.. Wharfage rates also varied from year to year, and show a tendency to rise at the end of the fifteenth century and in the early sixteenth century. For example, wharfage on pepper was usually 1d. per bale in the late fifteenth century, but 3d. per bale in the Old Book of Rates (1517). Madder was $\frac{1}{4}$ d. or $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per bale in the earlier Port Books, but 1d. per bale from 1480 onwards. The inconsistency of wharfage rates must have been due to some relation to the commodities market value. As with crantage, wharfage was paid only on those goods which were actually landed on the town

(1) A.A. Ruddock, Method of Handling the Cargoes of Medieval Galleys, p.141.

(2) H.S. Cobb, op.cit., pp.xxxvii-xxxviii.

(3) D.B. Quinn, Port Books, II p.162.

(4) H.S. Cobb, op.cit., pp.23, 62.

(5) S.C.R.O., SC5. 4. (14-25) passim.

quays. According to Hale⁽¹⁾ the toll taken was "for the pitching or lodging of goods upon a wharf". Also, as with crannage, wharfage was charged on re-exported goods.⁽²⁾ Gauging dues were paid for gauging the quantity of wine and oil brought into the town in the various Venetian and Cretan casks.⁽³⁾ It was necessary to gauge these commodities to allow for losses in transit, and to counter attempted fraud. Tronage fees were paid for the use of the town beam, and the weights in the town weigh-house, for the weighing of wool. Pesage was paid for the weighing of all other merchandise of avoirdupois.⁽⁴⁾ The office of Tronage of wools at Southampton was granted out for life by the crown in 1509 to John Sharp, a groom of the wardrobe,⁽⁵⁾ but in 1531 it was granted to the town by Act of Parliament, and the wool weigher was henceforth appointed by the mayor, bailiffs and burgesses. Venetian merchants frequently attempted to circumvent the official weighing of their wool. For example, in 1534, the wool weigher was discovered to have favoured Venetian merchants to the detriment of the King's customs. The re-weighed wool was found to contain 209½ sacks and 21 nails⁽⁶⁾ more than the original sum entered into the accounts, 17.45% more than the total entered in the weigher's account at the time of the discovery of the fraud, when a total of 1,200 sacks had already been loaded on the galleys.⁽⁷⁾ The royal officials, William Symonds M.P., and William Knight reported to Cromwell that on average 15 to 16 nails more than

(1) M. Hale, op.cit., p.76.

(2) H.S. Cobb, op.cit., p.xxxix.

(3) According to Venetian maritime law all barrels loaded on the Flanders galleys were to be of one measure. This measure was intended to prevent disputes with England and Flemish custom houses. P.R.O., 30/25 199, c.34.

(4) M. Hale, op.cit., pp.76-7.

(5) C.P.R., 1494-1509, p.600.

(6) The nail or clove = 7-lb. avoirdupois.

(7) L. & P., VII 561, 607, 624, 625, 626, 699, 916, 965.
A.S.V., Senato, Mar 23 f86v.

the just weight had been allowed on each sack of wool weighed. The offending Venetians were made to pay a total of £1,000 for the excess wool. On the 8 May, 1534,⁽¹⁾ several days after the discovery of the fraud by the royal officials, the Mayor, John Perchard, and the aldermen of Southampton wrote to Cromwell in the hope that the office would not be taken away from the town:-

"We have received your letters by William Symonds, which are the greatest discomfort to us. The fault attributed to us in weighing wools is, if fairly examined, no fault at all, except it be negligence; but as an honest man was appointed to use it, we thought ourselves discharged. We thought to serve the King for his goodness in granting us the office. But as you state that the beam was not indifferently used, in the sight of William Symonds and Knyght we examined the matter and found the falsehood thereof to be in the porters, and in oversight of the weighing that the craft of the porters had been overlooked. We have discharged them and committed them to prison, and bound the weigher under sureties to answer his negligence. We hope the office will not be taken from us. It is little more than a year since we had it."

In addition to these duties and fees Hallage charges were levied on various goods belonging to Venetian merchants, notably on woollen cloths. These charges were for the storage of such merchandise in the town halls or warehouses. All cloths not belonging to residents of the town and intended for sale within the town were to be stored in the respective halls which also acted as markets.⁽²⁾ A tin house also existed for the storage of tin prior to export. Ostelage was a specific charge levied on wool, which was stored and weighed for sale in the town wool-house. Ostelage is first recorded in 1477, when it appears as a charge on exported wool at the rate of 1d. per poke.⁽³⁾ From this time onwards ostelage is frequently recorded in the Port Books, particularly on exports of wool by Venetian merchants. The payment appears to have been made at the same time as the payment of the petty custom and wharfage on wool to the water bailiff's clerk, and generally at the end of the year.⁽⁴⁾ In 1483,

(1) L. & P., VII 626.

(2) Book of Remembrance 1, p.111.

(3) D.B. Quinn, Port Books of Southampton II, pp.113, 181.

(4) A town officer identified in 1483 as 'the sergeant of the water', also rendered an account to the Steward for ostelage on considerable quantities of wool, S.C.R.O., SC 5. 6. Steward's Book 1482-83.

ostelage was paid at the rate of 4d. per sarpler on consignments of wool.⁽¹⁾ Wool belonging to Venetian merchants was often stored and weighed in the town wool-house prior to 1531, to the detriment of the King's beam, and this naturally reduced the fees for tronage received by the royal wool-weigher. However, some form of adjustment appears to have been made by the town authorities, 'for the half part of the hostillage of wool shipped in the said port anno 20'.⁽²⁾ These payments for 'half-hostelage of wools' continued to be made to the royal wool weigher until 1531 when tronage passed to the town. In the sixteenth century the Book of Wools (an annual account of wool weighed in the wool-house, and of the ostelage levied there) was kept by the water bailiff's sergeant who presented it annually for audit. The rates levied were 4d. from each buyer and seller for weighing a sarpler, and 4d. from the seller for ostelage.⁽³⁾ Finally, a fine called keyage was paid by Venetians on those carts belonging to Venetian merchants loaded on the quays. The rate was usually 4d. per cart.⁽⁴⁾

The town authorities invested part of the surplus from these revenues, largely derived from Venetian shipping and commerce in the port, in municipal properties located in strategic parts of the town which they then let out to wealthy Venetian and Italian merchants residing in Southampton. The Venetians were willing and able to pay much larger rents than Englishmen and could afford to pay for what was often the best accommodation in the port. One of the highest rents recorded for any town property in this period was the sum of £13. 13s. 4d. paid annually by the Venetian merchants, Paolo and Stefano Priuli, for the West Hall in Bugle Street. The value of this investment can be gauged by the fact that in the sixteenth century when the

(1) Assize of Bread Book, ed. R.C. Anderson, S.R.S., 1923, pp.13-17.

(2) C.P.R., Edward IV 1476-85, p.117. S.C.R.O., SC 5. 6. Steward's Book 1481-82.

(3) Third Book of Remembrance 1, pp.xxxii-xxxiii, II p.3.

(4) Black Book of Southampton II, p.61. Third Book of Remembrance 1, p.40n.

Venetian connection with the port was declining no Englishman could be found to pay such a rent.⁽¹⁾ In a similar manner many town properties were rented by Venetians, notably the lofts and cellars of the Wool House in Bugle Street, the Long House in Porter's Lane, the Rounceval Tower, and the Weigh House in French Street.⁽²⁾ Venetian merchants in Tudor Southampton thus contributed heavily to the investments made by the town authorities in town property, and even accepting that the high rent paid by the Priuli was exceptional, these investments must have represented a very profitable return for the town. By taking this one step further and assuming that the rents paid by Venetians for privately owned residences in the town were of a similarly high nature, then the Venetian community must have contributed greatly to the prosperity of the property owning Southampton burgesses. Moreover, this prosperity extended down the social scale to include the tavern keepers and artisan householders, who also made a profit by accommodating officers and crewmen from Venetian vessels.⁽³⁾ A lodging ashore, often after several weeks or months spent aboard the Venetian galleys and carracks in cramped quarters or simply at the galley benches, offered attractions to the seamen and galley officials. Under Venetian maritime law no more than forty crewmen per galley were allowed ashore at once,⁽⁴⁾ but it would appear that the law was not strictly observed. The Steward Books and the Book of Fines for the fifteenth century show that the Venetian crewmen, after their vessels anchored in the port, went all over the town to seek more comfortable lodgings in the houses of the townsfolk. The local records show minor officials, oarsmen, and seamen lodging with tailors, coopers, shoemakers and other artisans. This large floating population of Venetians represented a considerable increase in the

(1) S.C.R.O., SC 5. 6. Steward's Book, 1482-83, 1486-87. A.A. Ruddock, op.cit., pp.130-1.

(2) S.C.R.O., SC 5. 6. Steward's Books, temp. Henry VII and Henry VIII passim.

(3) P.R.O., E.C.P. 43 (178), (181).

(4) Ibid., 30/25 199 c.22.

population of the town. A single merchant galley carried a full complement of 211, including the patrician master.⁽¹⁾ The Flanders fleet, which was composed of three galleys in the early Tudor period,⁽²⁾ thus carried a total complement of over 600 men. Venetian carracks carried a crew of 70 or more, and frequently sailed in pairs for additional protection.⁽³⁾ Some of these vessels often lay up in the port for the winter months with the result that several hundred Venetians often crowded the town's narrow streets, and passed their time in the port's taverns and bordellos. The temptations of the town's taverns and prostitutes frequently delayed the departure of the galleys at the stated hour despite repeated calls from the galley trumpeters in the harbour. Frequently the galley men overspent, and pledged themselves beyond their means to the taverners. Unable to pay their debts they were thrown into St. Michael's gaol as debtors, and the masters of the galleys had to make a last patrol ashore before the departure of the fleet to redeem the galley men at great expense, loss of time and inconvenience to the merchants.⁽⁴⁾ The inconvenience, and great financial loss caused by these delays led the Senate to regulate the amount to which the galley men could pledge themselves to the taverns of Southampton. Henceforth those galley men who pledged themselves in the taverns beyond the pay received by them to the amount of 4 ducats were to be redeemed by the masters of the galleys, and the money spent on redeeming them was to be placed to their debit. Those galley men who pledged themselves

(1) Ibid., 199 c.59.

(2) During the fifteenth century when Venetian trade with England was at its peak there had often been four galleys. C.S.P.V., 1, passim.

(3) F.C. Lane, Venice, A Maritime Republic, p.382. J. Sottas, op.cit., p.66. The Venetian carracks carried large crews on the voyage to England as an insurance cover; for example, vessels sailing on the voyage to the Levant carried as few as 50 men. Insurance rates varied according to the ship and its voyage. Insurance on the Flanders galleys had been about 4% before 1509. At the outbreak of the War of the League of Cambrai rates rose rapidly and could not be had even for 15%. At the end of the sixteenth century rates between Venice and London varied between 5 and 7%.

(4) A.S.V., Senato, Misti 47 f163r; Senato, Mar 4 f196r. P.R.O., E.C.P. 29 (358).

for a greater sum than 4 ducats were likewise to be redeemed by the masters. The money paid on their behalf was to be placed to their debit, and in addition to this a fine of 50% of the total debt incurred beyond the first 4 ducats was to be levied on each of the debtors. The penalty was thus shared amongst all the galley men involved. To protect the galley men from exploitation by the masters the Senate further decreed that the loans were to be rated at the same rate of pay to be given to the galley men in England stipulated in the auction contract. (1)

The town customers, as well as the royal customers, also benefitted from the bribes and presents distributed by Venetian merchants. (2) Other town officials were also the recipients of Venetian largess. The accounts of the town stewards record numerous contributions received from Venetians towards the cost of various public works in the town. For example, 'donations' of £1 from Benedetto Tiepolo, and 13s. 4d. from Lorenzo Pisani and Demetrio de Lazzaro, two galley patroni, as a 'gift' to the town "towards the making off the newe walle", in the reign of Henry VII indicate that these large sums were not merely compulsory collections made upon Venetian merchants towards public works. (3) 'Gifts' of this nature ensured that the townsfolk viewed the Venetians as beneficiaries, and not as over-privileged aliens menacing the prosperity of the town and its commerce.

Venetian business connections in the Mediterranean and Levantine ports, and the establishment of regular Venetian voyages between Southampton and Italy were also beneficial to a small, but adventurous group of Southampton

(1) A.S.V., Senato, Misti 43 f38r. According to the Senatorial decree of 1394 the rate of pay of the galley men was to be paid in sterling according to the prevailing rate of exchange. The auction contract of 1485 stipulated a rate of pay of 38d. sterling per ducat for the galley men. By the sixteenth century the rate of pay stipulated in the galley contract was 40d. sterling per ducat. P.R.O., 30/25 104 (2) c.21; 199, Add.Laws II, c.12.

(2) A.S.V., Senato, Mar 5 f187r.

(3) S.C.R.O., SC 5. 6. Steward's Books, 1489-90, 1492-93.

burgesses. Venetian involvement with the town opened up an area of trade to those English merchants who wished to share more directly in the profits of the Mediterranean trade. In the fifteenth century English merchants found the Venetian factors established in Southampton invaluable and very willing to place them in touch with the patroni and pursers on board Venetian carracks or the Flanders galleys. Venetians also placed English merchants in touch with factors in Naples, Sicily, Crete or the Levantine ports, and with agents who could look after the Englishmen's merchandise on board the galleys or carracks, handle its sale, and the purchase of Levantine goods with the proceeds for a commission on the profit. It is clear from the few existing records that a certain number of English merchants with close business contacts with resident Venetians and Italians, in both London and Southampton, thus secured an entry into the carrack and galley trade. Throughout the fifteenth century English merchants were shipping wool, cloth, woad, and spices on Venetian vessels, were employing Venetian agents to handle this merchandise on their behalf, and even travelled themselves on occasion on the galleys and carracks of Venice.⁽¹⁾ For example, in 1483, William Herriot of London enlisted the help of Giovanni de'Bardi, a Florentine acquaintance, to arrange with the patron of one of the Venetian galleys to take 128 pokes of wool to Italy, and deliver it to Herriot's factor there, an Italian, for sale on Herriot's behalf.⁽²⁾ A few years earlier than this Roger Dawson of London sailed from Southampton to Palermo, and Messina on a Venetian galley, with 236 broadcloths, and 126 coloured straits which he sold in Sicily.⁽³⁾ In 1488, a certain Richard Brent arrived at Southampton from Venice in the Flanders galleys, bringing with him ginger, currants, malmsey, silks and

(1) C.C.R., 1399-1402, p.374; 1405-09, p.426. C.P.R., 1413-16, p.351; 1416-22, p.256; 1441-46, pp.48-58. S.C.R.O., SC 5. 4. fifteenth century Port Books, *passim*.

(2) P.R.O., E.C.P. 139 (8).

(3) Ibid., 45 (112).

five chests of books valued at a total of £300 by his own reckoning.⁽¹⁾ In this way the Southampton burgesses, unlike the London merchant capitalists, did not regard the Venetians as rivals barring them from the lucrative Mediterranean trade. Such co-operation helps to explain the development of a friendly attitude towards the Venetian community in Southampton, which presents a great contrast to the hostility of the Londoners, who from the late fifteenth century were launching their own tentative ventures into the Mediterranean.

In general terms the Venetians appear to have been on good terms with the townsfolk of Southampton. Town records for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are fairly abundant, and show no manifestations of hostility towards the Venetian community comparable to the anti-alien feeling in London. However, there were sporadic outbreaks of hostility towards Venetians in Southampton between 1460-1480. These were largely connected with an internal struggle for power in the borough between two rival parties among the townsmen.⁽²⁾ One of these factions led by John Payne had many links with London merchants and conceived a great hostility towards Italian merchants. When Payne's party gained power in the town in 1460 the Italians became the victims of the town court. Between 1457-64 a long dispute arose in the Chancery Court between John Payne and Jacopo Falleron, a Venetian commission agent.⁽³⁾ In a petition to the Chancellor, Falleron, and two other Venetians, complained that Payne had illegally distrained consignments of wine and woad belonging to them in Southampton, allegedly in payment of a debt owed to him. While the dispute was still sub judice Payne, acting in contempt of the Court of Chancery, began a fresh suit in the mayor's court at Southampton against the Venetians. The bitter and expensive legal battle

(1) Ibid., 123 (63).

(2) See A.A. Ruddock, op.cit., pp.162-85, for a more detailed discussion of this rivalry.

(3) P.R.O., E.C.P. 26 (385); Accounts Various, Bonds of foreign merchants 128 (36).

dragged on until 1464.⁽¹⁾ In 1461 Nicolo Dandolo accused the Sheriff of Southampton in the Court of Chancery of abusing his municipal power by imprisoning him without bail or a trial.⁽²⁾ In February 1463 the Mayor seized 20 butts of malmsey belonging to Filippo Cini and Andrea Morosini on the pretext that they had not paid the local customs on a large consignment of merchandise in September, 1462. The two Venetians appealed to the Chancellor, and offered to produce a document of receipt sealed by the town water bailiff. The receipt produced in the mayor's court at Southampton should have given the Venetians acquittal by common law, but the Venetians complained in Chancery that they were unable to obtain justice in the town court against Payne. The Southampton authorities took the further step of having the wines belonging to the Venetians sold at a much reduced price. Morosini and Cini demanded twice the value of their wines in compensation, and once more appealed to Chancery citing the Statute Staple of 1353⁽³⁾ to justify their claim. The Venetians also appealed to the king, and firmly pointed out that when Payne's treatment of aliens was known abroad it would discourage other merchants from trading with England unless justice was obtained.⁽⁴⁾ The appeal to the crown succeeded and in May, 1463, Payne was relieved of his office by Edward IV, and replaced by the pro-Italian Walter Fetplace, ousted by Payne in 1460. Relations between the Venetians and townsfolk improved under Fetplace. In 1472, however, Payne's party once more came to power in Southampton. Petitions in Chancery after 1472 reiterate the Venetian merchants former complaints of ill-treatment, and abuse of the law by the town authorities. Between 1472-1480 the town authorities once

(1) Ibid., E.C.P. 26 (221), (385); 28 (346); 30 (8-9). C.C.R., 1461-68, pp.252-3.

(2) P.R.O., E.C.P. 27 (190).

(3) Presumably they must have obtained English legal advice, but I have no evidence for this.

(4) Ibid., 27 (416); 29 (150).

more displayed their feelings towards the Venetian community. In 1473 Filippo Cini complained to the Chancellor that the mayor, John Walker,⁽¹⁾ had arrested him on unspecified charges, and that he was unable to obtain justice in the town court.⁽²⁾ In 1474, another Venetian merchant complained to the Chancellor that the town water bailiff, Lewis Eynes, had packed a jury with his own neighbours to obtain a favourable verdict against him. Two years later David White, the town's water bailiff, exacted double payment of local customs on Venetian and Italian goods brought into the port.⁽³⁾ This last outbreak of anti-Italian feeling was not of long duration, however, and by 1480 the former friendly attitude of the townsfolk towards the Italians prevailed once more. While the early Tudor period witnessed a more friendly relationship between the Venetians and the townsfolk of Southampton, quarrels and even the spilling of blood between Venetians and Englishmen are recorded in the Book of Fines kept by the town Steward. Fines levied in the mayor's court for breaches of the peace are numerous. Gambling, notably card playing and dicing, frequently gave rise to brawls between galleymen and Southampton apprentices and household servants. Lack of common gaming rules, and a chance to profit through the inability to communicate in a common tongue no doubt played a large part in these disputes. Venetians were occasionally fined for petty theft from the houses of Englishmen, while Englishmen also stole from Venetian merchants and galleymen. For example, the ostler of the Crown Inn was caught redhanded picking a 'Lumbard's' purse, and there are many similar entries in the Book of Fines.⁽⁴⁾ Many quarrels arose in or near the town bordellos outside the East Gate, nor were sexual disputes confined to the town

(1) Walker was an old associate of Payne, and was by origin a citizen and grocer of London. He had been heavily involved in the anti-Italian movement of 1460. A.A. Ruddock, op.cit., p.184.

(2) P.R.O., E.C.P. 32 (52).

(3) Ibid., 59 (39); 64 (975), (1011); 66 (389).

(4) S.C.R.O., Book of Fines, 1492-93 et seq..

prostitutes; there are many instances in the town records of the seduction of the wives and daughters of Southampton townsfolk by Venetians of all social ranks.⁽¹⁾ In the metropolis the sexual violation of a Londoner's wife or daughter by an alien was enough to arouse the London mob. In 1517 such an occurrence in the capital had led to "divers young men of the city" assaulting Italians in the streets, "and some were struck, and some buffeted, and some thrown into the canal."⁽²⁾ At Southampton similar incidents provoked only isolated and private quarrels. Often the offending Venetian merely received a small fine for immoral behaviour, usually of a shilling, imposed by the mayor in the town court.

Quarrels and brawls between Venetians and the townsfolk, which actually led to bloodshed in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries were few, and appear to have been minor affairs, involving only two or three people on both sides. Such occurrences were speedily dealt with by the town watch, and fines imposed by the mayor in the town court indicate equal blame for such incidents. A certain Richard Hortensell, beadle of Godshouse, was fined 6s. 8d. for causing an affray with a negro drummer from the galleys, and a second drummer, and two galleymen who came to the negro's rescue paid a similar fine to the town court. On another occasion a capper drew his dagger on a galleyman and both parties were fined equally in the mayor's court. In 1494, the mayor, John Walsh, dealt with two similar offences in one day. Walsh fined an Englishman a shilling for assaulting and wounding a galleyman, and imposed an equal fine on another galleyman who had attacked a Bristolian in the town. Occasionally the townsmen were clearly at fault in provoking these quarrels. For example, Robert Prowte maliciously assaulted and wounded a seaman from a carrack with a 'glyve'.⁽³⁾ Fines imposed by the town

(1) S.C.R.O., Book of Fines, 1492-93, et seq.. Assize of Bread Book, p.16.

(2) E. Hall, loc.cit..

(3) S.C.R.O., Book of Fines, 1490-91 et seq.. Book of Remembrance III, p.49.

authorities on brawling Venetian seamen and Englishmen in the mayor's court indicate that the Venetians and Englishmen were equally to blame in the great majority of such cases. Considering the close-confinement of some 600 Venetian seamen and officials in the port during the final stages of the muda it is surprising that many more serious fights did not occur or develop into more serious riots.

Brawling also occurred between the Venetians themselves, or between Venetian galleymen and other aliens in the port. The number of incidents brought before the town court involving such affrays were more numerous than those occurring between Venetians and Englishmen. The Steward Books frequently record fines imposed on Venetians for brawling amongst themselves in the town, and for causing a public nuisance. Most of these give little detail of the affair, but occasionally the Steward gives us more information. On one occasion a fight amongst the trumpeters of one of the Flanders galleys cost them 2s. 6d. in fines; on another a galley carpenter was fined 3s. 6d. for wounding an oarsman from his own galley within the town boundaries. A galleyman who broke the skull of another oarsman was fined 3s. 4d., while another paid 9d. for dragging a fellow countryman by the ear! Sometimes these quarrels merely amounted to heated words, but the quarrels often developed into violence, and resulted in serious injuries and a breach of the peace.⁽¹⁾ It is indicative of the good relationship between the Venetians and the townsfolk that the greater number of brawls and acts of violence in the town occurred amongst the Venetians themselves, and not between galleymen and townsfolk. Reasons for the greater number of recorded acts of violence amongst the galleymen can be put down to the many months close confinement at sea on board the cramped Venetian vessels. The intermixture of the different 'nations' serving in the state galleys, with their deep seated inter-urban

(1) S.C.R.O., Book of Fines, 1490-91 et seq.. Steward Book, 1473-74, 1492-93 et seq..

differences, or the jealousies existing between provincials and metropolitan Venetians must also have accounted for many quarrels ashore. These jealousies and suppressed feelings, rather than any hostility on the part of the townsfolk were the cause of most of the brawls in the town. Any deep seated hostility on the part of the townsfolk towards the Venetians would rather have had the effect of making the different 'nationals' serving on board the galleys sinking their differences, and uniting against the townsfolk, as had occurred in 1319.⁽¹⁾ The fact that there is no record of such an event in the early Tudor period would appear to indicate that the Venetians were well received in the town after 1480.

Positive evidence of this friendly relationship with the townsfolk is clearly demonstrated in the numerous records of co-operation between the townsfolk and the Venetians. Co-operation on various works around the town are recorded in the Steward Books of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Town craftsmen co-operated with the carpenters and caulkers of the galleys in building the necessary equipment to steeve the galley cargoes, or in the repair of the galleys when they sailed into the harbour damaged by high seas and gales in the Channel and the Bay of Biscay. The Capitanio of the Flanders fleet frequently contracted with the mayor and town authorities on such occasions, agreeing to pay a large sum in ready money for the essential repair work, or for the hire of the necessary equipment for steaving their cargoes. The Steward's accounts of these contracts in the late fifteenth century indicate a remarkable degree of close co-operation between the town officials, English artisans, and galley men when the occasion demanded it, and when a profit to the town was anticipated. The mayor, the steward and the town carpenter frequently rode to distant forested estates to purchase, and organise the felling of timber to repair the galleys. Galley carpenters assisted local woodcutters to fell the elms and oaks at Beaulieu, Marchwood

(1) C.P.R., 1317-21, p.605; 1321-24, p.276. Foedra, II ii, 69, 93. Commemoriali II, 8.

and Eling, and large consignments of ashes and elders from Hamble and Botley were floated up Southampton Water in the lighters of the local boatmen; alongside them the barks of the Flanders galleys bore similar cargoes to Galley Quay. Local craftsmen and galley men also co-operated well in the making of derricks, pulleys, capstans, vices, and slices for stowing freight assembled in the Rounceval Tower. (1) Co-operation between the galley men and townsfolk was not solely confined to work on galley contracts. The Steward frequently made use of the plentiful supply of highly skilled labour in the presence of the galley crews, on various town works. In 1522 the Steward's record of the list of the payment of wages shows that the number of oarsmen from the Venetian galleys that he employed in repairing the town walls greatly exceeded the number of English labourers doing similar work. Venetians and townsmen also co-operated and worked side by side digging conduit pipes for the town, and repairing the leaks when the town water supply gave out in 1470, and combined their labour to unload boats at Redbridge. Venetians repaired the crane at the Water Gate, cleaned out the Wool House, and assisted the town carpenter in repairing numerous town properties. In July, 1522, the mayor sought the skilled services of the galley trumpeters and minstrels to provide entertainment for the visit of Henry VIII and Charles V to the town. On the outbreak of war with France, in 1522, Venetian galley men and townsmen worked side by side to place the town in military readiness to face the possibility of a French attack. Galley men hauled the heavy iron guns from the town armoury onto the ramparts, and imparted their ballistic and engineering skills in setting them up on the towers overlooking the harbour. They also overhauled and made ready the large cannon placed outside the Water Gate to defend the town quay, and shipping in the harbour. (2)

(1) S.C.R.O., SC 5. 6. Steward Book, 1487-88, 1493-94. See also A.A. Ruddock, 'The Method of Handling the Cargoes of Medieval Galleys', passim.

(2) S.C.R.O., SC 5. 6. Steward Book, 1474-75, 1481-82, 1521-22, 1522-23.

Although there are many such examples of co-operation and friendly relations between the Venetians and the townsfolk of Southampton the burgesses and freemen of the town jealously guarded their privileges, and the town authorities took care to ensure that the Venetians did not undermine the town franchises or the privileges of the craft guilds. While the town stewards were willing to employ the skilled craftsmen of the galleys in the capacity of unskilled labour, the mayor and aldermen were careful to protect local craftsmen from the competition of the highly skilled Venetian artisans on board the galleys. In times of slack trade in Italy or the Venetian maritime provinces skilled artisans frequently sought to make a living by serving on the Venetian merchant galleys, knowing that extra profits could be made in England or Flanders. In Southampton these skilled tailors, shoemakers, hatters, bakers and other artisans were quick to establish their craft again to supplement their wages as oarsmen. Their superior skills made them formidable competitors for the local craftsmen in the town and nearby markets. In London the city authorities made the protection of the city's craftsmen a major plank in their anti-alien policy. The city had successfully appealed to Parliament to achieve these ends in the fifteenth century.⁽¹⁾ The Southampton authorities were no less convinced of the need to protect their local crafts and trades, and determined to protect the town craftsmen from Venetian competitors. Venetian competition pressed most heavily upon the town tailors. The last decade of the fifteenth century and the first two decades of the sixteenth century saw the preponderance of Italian modes of dress in England. The Venetians in particular were renowned throughout Europe for their elegant, and extravagant style of dress.⁽²⁾ The

(1) Stats.Realm, 33 Hen.VI, c.5; 3 Ed.IV, c.3; 22 Ed.IV, c.3.

(2) See H. Norris, op.cit., 1, pp.109-110, 130-33, 223-34, 369-73. M. Newett, 'The Sumptuary Laws of Venice in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries', in Historical Essays by Members of the Owens College Manchester, ed. T.F. Tout, and J. Tait, London, 1902, pp.245-78.

modish style of dress displayed by the Venetian merchants, and their servants in the Hampshire port acted as a stimulant to the more fashion conscious Southampton merchants. The presence of skilled Venetian tailors among the galley crews offered the fashion conscious townsmen the opportunity to have clothing made up in the latest Venetian mode in the town itself. The local tailors were seriously alarmed by the threat to their livelihood and in 1474-75 they petitioned the mayor for the preservation of their privileges. In the petition they spoke of their support towards "the great changes of the town for its repair and defence", and being unable to maintain their "poor estate", they begged relief against "the strangers tailors coming to the port in carracks and galleys and setting up their craft in the town contrary to former and proper custom, without fine made to the town, to the destruction and impoverishment of the master-tailors and others of the said craft." The tailors begged the town authorities to order that no alien tailor "be suffered to keep shop, house or chamber within the town or franchises of the same for the purpose of their work, except they first made fine and agreement with the masters of the craft, upon pain of imprisonment for the first offence, and for the second to be fined 100s., to be divided equally between the town and the master tailors."⁽¹⁾ In response to the tailors' petition the mayor issued an ordinance forbidding alien tailors from vessels in the port to hire houses or shops in the town, or to cut out or sew any garments for burgesses of Southampton. In future the galley tailors were to be allowed ashore to work provided they first paid a composition fee to the master of the tailors' guild for a licence to work in a shop in the town under the supervision of one of the town artisans. However, many galley men continued to find ways of avoiding this prohibitive town ordinance largely through the connivance of those Southampton burgesses

(1) Black Book of Southampton, 1, pp.96-100. For the concession granted in this petition the tailors gave the town £5 sterling.

who wished to have such articles made up for themselves or for retail. In 1484, the mayor, Vincent Tehy, summoned the Venetian galley tailors before him in a body, and obliged them to swear an oath in the town court "that they schall not cutte nor make no maner garments of ony nacyon but of ther owne nacyon." The activities of the galley tailors still had to be watched carefully, however, for, in 1498, the names of six galleyemen offending the town ordinances relating to tailoring and retailing appear in the town records.⁽¹⁾ Upon the payment of their fees to the town tailors' guild many of the galley tailors set to work in the small shops of the Southampton tailors. Their influence upon the local tailors must have been great, and beneficial to the sales of those tailors for whom they worked.

The tailors' guild was not the only guild to seek the protection of the town authorities from Venetian competition. The cordwainers obtained protection by town ordinance in 1477, and the coopers' guild in 1486. In June, 1504, the wardens of the shearmen's guild, with all their company, complained before the mayor and aldermen of the wrongs done to them by "divers galleyemen in takkyng (dressing) and foldyng certain clothes and kersies contrary to ther liberty." It was agreed, therefore, by the town authorities, and the wardens of the guild that "merchaunt strangers and Basariotts having servants of their own that could fold (and) takk such cloths and kersies" might use their servants skill for their own goods, but not otherwise. It was also agreed that the shearmen should take for the 'takkyng' and 'foldyng' of every kersey by aliens a $\frac{1}{2}$ d. sterling. The barbers, bakers, and shoemakers of the Venetian galleys also paid composition fees to the masters of the respective local guilds showing that they too had obtained similar protection, although there are no records of their

(1) Ibid., pp.100-3. Book of Remembrance 1, 5. Assize of Bread Book, p.43.

charters in the town archives. Notice occurs of the steward acknowledging receipt from the masters of the corveser (shoemakers) craft in April, 1488, for the town's part of the fines collected from Venetian galleyemen.⁽¹⁾

Municipal regulations concerning trade in Southampton also show a similar determination on the part of the authorities to restrict the activities of Venetians, wherever they conflicted with the interests of the burgesses. The town authorities, however, did not object to the galleyemen peddling their small wares in the town. The galley officials, oarsmen, sailors and even the galley priest sought to augment their meagre wages by trafficking in small consignments of goods. The Port Books show that many galleyemen took advantage of the laws allowing them to carry goods in their sea chests, which were stowed beneath the rowers benches.⁽²⁾ The London authorities attempted to put an end to peddling in the metropolis,⁽³⁾ but at Southampton there is no solid evidence of any similar attempt to end such trading or that peddling by galleyemen in the town and its hinterland was resented by the townsfolk. It was the wealthy itinerant Venetian merchant, and the resident agent handling large quantities of merchandise who were subjected to the many local restrictions. Venetian merchants were prohibited from retailing their imported merchandise in the town or its precincts. They could only sell their merchandise in the town to wholesale merchants, who were guildsmen of the town or of the franchise. This privilege gave the local wholesale merchants an impregnable hold over the highly profitable distributive trade in Venetian imports throughout the midlands, the south, and the south-west of England. The great profits derived from this wholesale middleman role in the distribution of Mediterranean and Levantine products

- (1) S.C.R.O., Steward Book 1488-89; Municipal Deeds No.326. Book of Remembrance 1, 5. Black Book of Southampton II, pp.144-49.
- (2) S.C.R.O., SC 5. 4. (19-25) passim. F.C. Lane, Venice, A Maritime Republic, p.342.
- (3) Schanz II, 595.

throughout much of England is probably one of the major reasons why the Southampton burgesses, unlike the merchants of London, were content to allow the Venetians to dominate the town's trade with those markets. Fines levied on Venetians and foreigners (ie. non-franchised English merchants) alike for the attempted evasion of this town ordinance brought the town extra revenues. For example, in 1521, the town court levied a fine of 13s. 4d. for the sale of 4 butts of malmsey wine on board the Venetian galleys to two Petworth merchants.⁽¹⁾ Venetian merchants were thus totally excluded from the retail trade. This was approved and confirmed by royal charter confirming the town ordinances, in October, 1510, and again, in 1514.⁽²⁾ The town's charter had also been confirmed by Henry VII at the commencement of his reign.⁽³⁾ The proscription of Venetian merchants from the retail trade of the town was further underlined by a town ordinance forbidding the retail, by the non-enfranchised, of all manner of cloths in the town. Venetian merchants were also affected by the privilege, which gave to the enfranchised alone the right to purchase merchandise within the town and its precincts with the intention to resell. Nor could they sell amongst themselves or to other aliens in the town. In the mid-sixteenth century a town ordinance complained that the town had suffered in the past from merchant strangers cellaring their goods within the town, and then by colour of their freedom elsewhere, or by sufferance of the townsfolk, or by burgesses themselves, selling their goods to other strangers as if they were burgesses or freemen of the town.⁽⁴⁾

To sum up, it appears that on the whole, throughout the early Tudor period and for much of the period prior to Bosworth, the Southampton authorities, burgesses, and townsfolk conducted their business with the

(1) S.C.R.O., Book of Fines, 1520-21. Charters of Southampton, ed. H.W. Gidden, S.R.S., 2 vols., 1909-10, 1, pp.62-3. J.S. Davies, op.cit., pp.139-51.

(2) Ibid., pp.156-7.

(3) Charters of Southampton, 1, p.62.

(4) S.C.R.O., Book of Remembrances, 1563-64, f94r. 6 January, 1564.

Venetians in an atmosphere of amicability and hospitality. It must be noted, however, that the friendly relations between the town and the Venetians were preconditioned to a large extent by the profitability for the town, and the townsfolk in their dealings with the Venetians. Realising only too well that the town's prosperity depended increasingly upon the presence of Venetian shipping in the port the attitude of the Southampton authorities and the ordinary townsfolk was a very favourable one. The Venetians were tolerated so long as their trade and commercial transactions were practised in a manner that ensured the town the greatest profitable return. Venetian trade and commerce was restricted and regulated, however, to prevent them from competing unfairly with the town merchants and artisans. But, provided that they observed the town ordinances the Venetians could generally count upon the town authorities to be tolerant of their trading and commercial activities, and could be generally assured of an hospitable welcome from all sections of the Southampton populace. The interests of the Southampton burgesses during the early Tudor period were primarily local in character, and the prosperity of the town was their major consideration, unlike the more adventurous London capitalists. The Venetian community at Southampton remained transitory throughout the Tudor period, rarely returning after the abrupt departure of Venetian shipping from the port in 1509. The Venetians had few interests in the local market, and although it was the headquarters of most of their shipping in northern Europe prior to 1533 their interest was only intermittent. Venetian residence in the town depended largely upon the visits of the state galleys each year; their decline in the early Tudor period brought an end to the Venetian community at Southampton.

VENETIAN MERCHANTS AND THE ENGLISH CROWN.

Venetian merchants were welcome in England because they were useful to the King in several important respects. One of the principal benefits accruing to the Crown from Venetian commercial activities in England was the additional revenue raised through the duties levied by royal officials on all commodities imported or exported by Venetian merchants. Parliament in its dealings with the Venetians was usually dominated by the policy of the king and a powerful non-municipal group, on whose favour all alien merchants were dependent for their privileges. The Venetians were generally willing to procure their privileges by paying higher customs duties, and by offering the crown various commercial, and financial services. In return the king and parliament granted the Venetians trading privileges within the realm,⁽¹⁾ and used them to offset the powerful local mercantile interests.⁽²⁾ In addition petitions for the improvement of trading privileges by the Venetian consul or ambassador were often favourably received in the face of local interests. For example, in 1556, the ambassador, Giovanni Michieli, secured permission for Venetian wine ships to unload their cargoes at London instead of Southampton despite the Charter granted, in 1554, which established the town as the staple port for sweet wines.⁽³⁾ When disturbances caused complaints that trade was hampered,⁽⁴⁾ orders were issued that considering the profit derived from aliens the law should be enforced and offenders brought to justice. Only for brief periods did Parliament heed the complaints of London merchants,⁽⁵⁾ and

- (1) Commemoriali IX, 93, 96, 143, 152. B.M., Cotton MSS. Nero B. VII, 22 et seq.. C.S.P.V., IV, 747.
- (2) For a general discussion of this see E. Miller, 'The economic policies of governments', in C.E.H.E. III, pp.328-38.
- (3) Supra, Ch.VI, p.253 n.3.
- (4) Notably in 1456-57, and in 1517. A.S.V., Senato, Mar 5 f153r; 6 f33r. B.M.V., Ital. Cl. VII, MCXIX (7449), Letters of Sebastian Giustinian to the Signoria, dated 5, and 12 May, 26 September, 1517. Supra, Ch.V, pp.234-37.
- (5) H. Miller, art.cit., passim. W. Notestein, 'The winning of the initiative of the House of Commons', the Raleigh Lecture in History, 1924, pp.4-10.

curtail the rights of alien merchants. The Londoners were the most outspoken of the anti-alien lebbies, and their complaints recurred with each and every grant of privilege to alien merchants.

In return for this friendly policy, which assured Venetian merchants the privilege of coming to England in safety, and granted them justice in the King's courts, and rights in private law sufficient to protect their persons and property, Venetian merchants greatly enriched the King's revenues. No commodity was imported or exported by Venetian free of customs duty, except by special licence. These duties were set at a higher rate than those paid by Englishmen, while an additional subsidy was also levied. The articles of commerce entering into Anglo-Venetian trade, and subject to customs, fall into four distinct groups for purposes of taxation: wool, woolfells and hides; woollen cloths; wines; and general merchandise, which included all Venetian imports other than sweet wine from gross spices to saltpeter.⁽¹⁾

On wool, woolfells and hides Venetian merchants paid a triple duty. In common with denizens they paid the 'antiqua customa' of 1275, and a half a mark (6s. 8d.) on every sack, and every 240 woolfells, and one mark on every last of hides.⁽²⁾ On top of this they paid the 'nuova customa' or 'petty custom' from which denizens were exempt, of a quarter mark (3s. 4d.) on wool and woolfells, and a half a mark on hides.⁽³⁾ They therefore paid 10s. in customs on wool and woolfells, as opposed to 6s. 8d. for denizens, and £1 on hides, as opposed to 13s. 4d. for denizens. In addition, a subsidy granted by Parliament was imposed on all aliens. Before 1471 the wool subsidy varied from 20s. to 100s. per sack,⁽⁴⁾ but after 1471 the combined custom for aliens on wool and woolfells remained steady at 76s. 8d. (ie. a subsidy of 66s. 8d.).

(1) Foedera, IV, 361 c.11.

(2) N.S.B. Gras, op.cit., pp.209-10.

(3) Ibid., p.262.

(4) E.E. Power, 'The Wool Trade in the Fifteenth Century', in Studies in English Trade, p.40. E.M. Carus-Wilson and O. Coleman, op.cit., p.196.

Normally Venetian merchants were able to secure a remission. According to Professor Power⁽¹⁾ aliens normally had to meet a total payment of 53s. 4d. per sack in the early Tudor period. In addition to this Venetian merchants had to pay a small tax called the 'Calais penny', levied at the rate of 8d. per sack on all wool exported directly to the Mediterranean. To avoid payment of the 'Calais penny' Venetian merchants often exported their wool, either in the names of Flemings or through English accomplices, to Antwerp and then re-directed the wool overland to Venice.⁽²⁾ The ancient custom and the petty custom remained constant. Thus the additional subsidy was far heavier than the original custom fixed by law.⁽³⁾ The denizen rate of custom, and subsidy remained fixed at 40s. per sack after 1471. At the price of £8 per sack for good quality Cotswold wool in the early Tudor period,⁽⁴⁾ this would be equivalent to an ad valorem duty of some 48% for Venetian exporters compared to an ad valorem duty of only 25% for denizens. Several smaller additional charges were also made on the shipment of wool. For example, for fixing the cocket seal a levy of 2d. per shipment was paid by each merchant to the customer.

The custom on cloth was also fixed at different rates for aliens and denizens, and the rates never varied down to 1547. However, Tudor governments attempted to raise their revenue on alien cloth exports by other means. In 1531, the Duke of Norfolk informed the Venetian ambassador, Carlo Capello, that henceforth the Venetian merchants would be required to export a greater number of coloured, and finished cloths.⁽⁵⁾ Capello replied that this was contrary to the ancient privileges and customs afforded to the

(1) Ibid., p.40.

(2) B. Winchester, op.cit., pp.290-1. G. Warner, op.cit., p.23. Sanudo, I Diarii XVII, 22 October, 1513.

(3) E.M. Carus-Wilson and O. Coleman, op.cit., pp.194-6.

(4) Supra, Ch.1A, p.38.

(5) Sanudo, I Diarii LV, 8 January, 1531.

Venetian nation. Similar unsuccessful efforts had been made by Cardinal Wolsey, in 1518, and 1519.⁽¹⁾

Table XVI

THE CUSTOM ON CLOTH IN THE EARLY TUDOR PERIOD.

	Denizen Duty Rate in the £.	Alien Duty Rate in the £.
Undyed cloth	1s. Od.	2s. 9d.
Partially dyed cloth	1s. 6d.	4s. 1d.
Dyed cloth	2s. Od.	5s. 6d.

Above these duties was the subsidy of poundage, an ad valorem tax on general merchandise, imposed at varying rates of 6s. 8d. or 1s. in the £. Denizens were specifically exempted from paying the subsidy on cloth. Therefore, the duties paid by Venetians on their large cloth shipments were particularly welcome to the crown.

The customs and subsidy were again high on wine. Aliens paid butlerage at 2s. per cask,⁽²⁾ which remained fixed throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The subsidy or tunnage on wine was paid by all aliens, but the rate at which it was charged differed with the origin of the wine imported, and the nationality of the importer. From the first, sweet wines were always selected by the English government of the day for extra taxation. Malmsey and other sweet wines imported by the Venetians generally paid a subsidy double that of French or Rhenish wines. Parliament granted a tunnage of 6s. on every tun of sweet wine coming into the kingdom to Edward IV, and also to Henry VII.⁽³⁾ In 1547 the Commons granted Edward VI similar tunnage rates on sweet wines,⁽⁴⁾ and renewed the grant in favour of Queen Mary,

- (1) B.M.V., Ital. Cl.VII, Cod. MCKIX (7449) Letters of Sebastian Giustinian to the Signoria of Venice, dated 21 June, 1518, 21 July, 1519.
- (2) A.L. Simon, op.cit., I, p.141, II, p.54.
- (3) W. Campbell, Materials, pp.245-6.
- (4) Stats. Realm, 1 Ed.VI, c.12.

in 1554.⁽¹⁾ Besides the butlerage and tunnage on sweet wines the Venetian merchants were subjected from 1491 to a further imposition of 18s. per butt on the importation of Malmsey and other sweet wines.⁽²⁾ Moreover, it was also enacted that no butt of Malmsey be sold in England above £4.⁽³⁾ In addition to this, from 1472, the importation of all Venetian merchandise was to be forbidden unless they brought with every butt of Malmsey and other sweet wines ten bow staves, "of good and able stuff, upon pain of forfeiture of 13s. 4d. for every butt of the said wines so brought and conveyed, and not the said number of bow staves with the same butt."⁽⁴⁾ Despite official representations the duty of 18s. per butt, and the law requiring the import of ten bowstaves per butt on all sweet wines remained in force throughout the sixteenth century.⁽⁵⁾ After strong consular protest in 1492, and again in 1499,⁽⁶⁾ Henry VII was persuaded to reduce the additional tax to one noble (6s. 8d.) per butt, a concession which did not satisfy the Republic, who continued to claim an absolute equality of duties with all other importers. Improved diplomatic relations between Venice and England following Henry VII's entry into the League of Venice, in 1496, was largely responsible for this concession on the part of the English King.⁽⁷⁾ During this period the Venetian Senate refrained

(1) Ibid., I Mariae, stat.2, c.18.

(2) Ibid., 7 Hen.VII, c.7. The duty applied solely to Venetian merchants.

(3) The preamble to the Act of 1483 shows that Malmsey normally sold at £5. 6s. 8d. the butt; Ibid I Ric.III. c.13.

(4) Ibid., 12 Ed.IV c.13.

(5) A.S.V., Senato, Mar 13 f103r; 18 f63r: Collegio, Secreta, Lettere filza 5. B.M.V., Ital. Cl.VII, Cod. MCXIX (7449), Letters of Sebastian Giustinian to the Signoria, dated 24 February, 1515; 8 March, 1516, 9, 19, 31 March, 5 May, 17 June, 23 July, 1517, 20 November, 1518, 25-26 February, 1518, 29 April, 30 June, 21 July, 1519. Ital. Cl. VII, Cod. MCCXXIII, Relazione di Sebastian Giustinian al Senato, 10 September, 1519. Sanudo, I Diarii I, 11-12 April, 1498, II 1 July, 1499, XX 20 April, 1515, XXXIII 8 April, 1522.

(6) A.S.V., Senato, Mar 13 f103r; Sanudo, I Diarii II, 1 July, 1499.

(7) The period 1496-1502 witnessed a flurry of diplomatic negotiations between the two countries. C.S.P.V., I, 667, 668, 669, 674, 675, 676, 677, 679, 681, 684, 685, 686, 687, 689, 690, 693, 695, 696, 699, 702, 704, 707, 708, 709, 710, 712, 714, 718, 719, 725, 727, 729, 735, 736, 737, 740, 741, 748, 754, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 767, 798, 820, 824, 826, 827, 828.

from levying any additional tax on English vessels loading wine in Candia, and even refused to sanction a motion of some Senators who wished, in 1503, to threaten England with the establishment of a wine monopoly in Candia, if Venetian vessels were still made to pay the noble duty in England.⁽¹⁾ Henry VIII was loath to give up the extra revenue that the duty on Venetian imports of sweet wine brought him. In 1515, 1516, 1517, and subsequent years the Signoria wrote to Henry VIII and sent special ambassadors to urge the complete repeal of the additional duty, which Henry VII had promised to take off; but Henry's Chancellor, Thomas Wolsey, merely made promises, and the discussions dragged on for almost eight years as Wolsey and the King continued to procrastinate.⁽²⁾ Between 1515-1519 the ambassador, Sebastian Giustinian, made repeated requests to obtain the repeal of the duty, on each and every occasion his efforts were checked by Wolsey. The subject was first placed before the Cardinal on 24 February, 1516, by the ambassadors Andrea Badoer and Sebastian Giustinian, who were politely asked to come again about it on 8 March. On that day the Cardinal arranged that the matter would be fully discussed a fortnight later; but, exactly twelve months later, nothing had yet been done, and Giustinian, having met Wolsey at an official dinner, in March, 1517, drew him aside and told him that it was time that the affair of the duties should be settled. The cautious Cardinal, however, answered that he would see to the dispute as soon as ever the pressure of official business became less exacting. Giustinian had an audience with Wolsey a week later, but could only obtain a vague promise that he would look into the matter. Again, the following week, the ambassador sought an audience of Wolsey and urged the Republic's claim, but again Wolsey merely promised that the matter would be

(1) Sanudo, I Diarii IV, 19 March, 1503.

(2) A.S.V., Senato, Mar 18 f63r. Collegio, Secreta, Lettere filza 5, 14 February, 1517. Sanudo, I Diarii XX, 20 April, 1515.

brought before the Council at the first available opportunity. A series of further audiences and demands that the matter be dealt with had no effect. In June, 1517, Wolsey pleaded illness; in July, he apologised for the delay, and argued that he must have legal advice, but promised to have the matter settled after Michaelmas; but nothing was settled after Michaelmas, nor even a year later, Giustinian failing to obtain anything more than a gracious reception from Wolsey in November, 1518. In February, 1519, the matter was brought before the Council, and unfavourably received there, although Wolsey assured the ambassador that things would soon be put right. A few days later Wolsey's attitude hardened, and he expressed surprise that the Signoria of Venice should insist on diminishing the revenues of the King, as inherited from his father, who had graciously reduced the duty from eighteen shillings to a noble, and said that the Signoria ought to be content with this reduction. Giustinian, surprised by Wolsey's sudden change of tactics, replied that the Signoria had removed the duty of four ducats per butt in Candia, under promise of King Henry VII that he would repeal the corresponding duty in England. The Cardinal rejoined angrily that the duties were the sole benefit derived from the Malmsey wines imported into England; that the Council would rather the wines should not come than lose the duties, and that the Republic derived greater benefit from what she exported from England than accrued to the King. These and other arguments were accompanied with foul language concerning the Venetian Republic, and allegations that the Signoria wished to be master of the world. After listening to Wolsey's taunts and threats Giustinian asked if this was the Chancellor's final decision, to which Wolsey answered in the negative, saying that in a matter of that sort it was fitting to have more mature consideration, after which he would give an answer, in conjunction with the Council. In his report of this meeting the ambassador remarked that it would be useless to appeal to the King, as Wolsey was 'alter rex'; that it would be the surest means of making an irreconcilable enemy of him,

and prove the utter ruin of the Venetian merchants resident in England.⁽¹⁾

In September, 1519, Giustinian wrote to the Signoria saying that Wolsey was very anxious for the state to send him 100 Damascene carpets, adding that he believed this present would quickly settle the affair of the wine duty. Wolsey received his carpets, but did nothing to remove the extra duty. In April, 1522, Wolsey complained to the Venetian ambassador, Antonio Surian, that the King's revenues were reduced because the Flanders galleys no longer came regularly, and when they did arrive in England they were almost empty. He protested at the same time against the alleged smaller size of the butts of sweet wine they brought.⁽²⁾ In June of the same year, a carrack belonging to Mafio Bernarde, with a full cargo of Cretan wine, was forced to land it at Southampton in order that customs be collected, although its destination was different. Protests from the consul and the ambassador were fruitless, and thereafter the matter of the noble duty per butt on Venetian wine imports lapsed, until the affair was revived again in the reign of Elizabeth.⁽³⁾

On general merchandise Venetians paid 3d. in the £ sterling customs, and a further 6d. in the £ sterling for poundage. The duty on spices, precious stones, silks and other costly wares imported by the Venetian galleys and carracks, as on those miscellaneous goods other than wool or woollen cloth exported, such as tin, lead, and pewterware, paid at most a poundage of $6\frac{1}{2}\%$ for Venetians, and 5% for denizens. It is worthy of note that smugglers were chiefly interested in these small, but very expensive wares brought by Venetians from the Mediterranean, and prosecutions in the Court of Chancery frequently

(1) For the whole of this business see the letters and despatches of Sebastian Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in England, 1515-1519. B.M.V., Ital. Cl. VII, Cod. MCXIX (7449) Letters of 24 February, 8 March, 1516; 9, 19, 31 March, 5 May, 17 June, 23 July, 1517; 20 November, 25-26 February, 29 April, 1519; 30 June, 21 July, 1519.

(2) Sanudo, I Diarii XXXIII, 18 April, 1522.

(3) Ibid., XXXIII, 19 June, 1522.

concern such items in the later middle ages.⁽¹⁾ At Southampton, unlike London, with fewer officials to be bribed illicit dealing by Venetian merchants was considerably easier. A clerk on one of the Flanders galleys⁽²⁾ visiting the port in the late fifteenth century noted down all the gifts dispensed to ease the passage of illicit cargo from butts of wine to the customer downwards.

The difference in status between denizen, and Venetian merchants appears to have been economic rather than legal. Disabilities certainly existed for Venetians in the matter of landholding and inheritance, but in the English courts of law there were no bars against Venetians. The economic disabilities of Venetian merchants were principally certain restrictions on trading within the country, and the higher rate of customs which they paid. However, Venetian merchants could, and did pay their customs at the lower rate by securing letters of denization, but they then had to pay the taxes, the tenths and fifteenths, which were not collected from aliens. Venetian merchants resident in England could usually count upon a friendly attitude on the part of the Crown, which gave them equal rights with natives to sue in the king's courts, and the privilege of removing economic disabilities by securing letters of denization, and by assuming the obligations of native born Englishmen.

Venetian merchants who came to the king's courts seem to have been satisfied with the common law of England. The legal position of Venetian merchants in England considered from the point of view of their access to the King's courts rested on their rights under English common law and the 'Law Merchant'.⁽³⁾ There was one privilege which Venetians enjoyed in all courts,

(1) See E.M. Carus-Wilson and O. Coleman, op.cit., p.22. G.D. Ramsey, "The Smugglers Trade: A Neglected Aspect of English Commercial Development", T.R.H.S., 5th series, 2, 1952, pp.131-57. N. Williams, Contraband Cargoes, London, 1959.

(2) Giovanni Manzini, A.S.V., Notarile, Cassa IV, cassella 3, filza 18.

(3) The Law Merchant was a law of mercantile transactions, which was administered principally at fair, and market courts. There was no hard and fast line between Merchant and Common Law. For all practical purposes Law Merchant may be said to be entirely concerned with the pleas of debt and contract. F. Pollock, and F.W. Maitland, A History of English Law, Cambridge, 1911, 1, p.467. W.S. Heldsworth, op.cit., vol. V, pp.60-127. L.F. Salzman, English Trade in the Middle Ages, pp.164-66.

a jury made up half of their own countrymen, if enough could be found, ⁽¹⁾ in all cases except criminal cases involving the death penalty. This privilege was enforced in local and central courts. ⁽²⁾ In the King's Bench such juries were usual, and it would appear that Venetians, on the whole, received satisfactory treatment. Daniele Barbare gives no indication that English law was not scrupulously fair to Venetian citizens, while Andrea Trevisan is more forthcoming, and writes of the English jury system:

".... li mercantanti Italiani fanno bene di questa mala consuetudine ogni volta, che contendono con Inglesi etiam prima che si riserrino sieno bene passuti, e vogliano sostentare la parte del suo principale, pure non la possono durare al pare delli Italiani, che sono assuefatti alli digiuni, et alli disagi; et tal che in fine il più delle volte il giudite seque a favore delli Italiani."⁽³⁾

Such juries were also common in cases brought before mayors and royal commissioners, in spite of the pretext of the city of London that it was contrary to the city franchises that offences committed in the city should be tried by foreigners. ⁽⁴⁾ The Venetians seem to have secured, by letters patent of Henry IV, in 1399, the right to hear and determine all civil cases, past and future, relating to any matters concerning Venetian merchants, but with the proviso that the immunities of the City of London be preserved throughout. According to the Ordinance of the Staple, cases in staple courts in which both parties were aliens were to be decided by juries made up wholly of aliens. ⁽⁵⁾

- (1) Often other Italians, or Englishmen, the associates and friends of Venetians, acted in the capacity of Venetian jurymen when insufficient fellow countrymen were available.
- (2) Stats. Realm, I, pp.53, 98, 336, 373. Relazioni di Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato, L. Firpo, ed., 'Relazione di Andrea Trevisan al Senato, 1498', pp.50-1; 'Relazione di Daniele Barbare al Senato, 1551', pp.245-6.
- (3) Ibid., p.46.
- (4) Commemoriali IX, 152.
- (5) Rot. Parl., II, 262. Stats. Realm, I, p.336. England possessed no special court for aliens, or laws providing means of redress for alien merchants in the royal courts. The kingdom was thus exceptional. In Naples consuls of alien merchants had legal as well as commercial powers. G. Yver, Le commerce et les marchands dans l'Italie meridionale au XIII^e au XV^e siècles, Paris, 1903, pp.197 et seq., at Rome, and at Venice there were representatives for alien subjects, W.S. Holdsworth, op.cit., vol.V, pp.68-71, 94-6. F.C. Lane, Venice and History, pp.242-3. The English merchants had a master, an assembly, and important legal rights at the staple at Bruges, G. van Severen, Cartulaire, I, 212.

The Statute of Acton Burnell, and the Statute of Merchants, (1) which dealt exclusively with debt, and the Ordinance of the Staple, (2) which dealt with local mercantile matters applied to native as well as to alien merchants. The legal provisions of the Carta Mercatoria were concerned solely with the treatment of aliens in the local courts of fair and town, and did not affect their legal position in the central courts. (3) Consequently under these circumstances the alien merchants' only means of legal redress was through the English courts of law, which were made readily available to them, since no special court of law existed for their use.

According to Venetian practice merchants could be called upon by the Curia di Petizion to submit their books to the examination of the judges, and were expected, even if they had no formal receipts, to have letters to show. Accounts and letters were basic to Venetian legal action for enforcing the responsibility of overseas agents to the merchants resident in Venice. It was therefore extremely useful for Venetian fraterne and individual merchants trading with England through agents to have similar legal rights in English law courts. (4) Letters received and accounts rendered, when produced in a court of law, carried more weight than oral testimony. If an agent had rendered an account of sales made on behalf of the principal, the latter could present these to substantiate his claim. The ledgers of Italian merchants were accepted as conclusive evidence in lawsuits in England. Domenico Erizzo, the Venetian consul in London, stated in the High Court of Admiralty, in 1541, that:

" ... by all the tyme of this deponentys knowledge in the trade of marchaundyze feythe hathe byn and ys gevyn to all honest marchauntes bookeys called lydgers the owner of suche booke beyng reputed knowen and takyn for an honest man in credyt and truyth." (5)

(1) Stats. Realm, I, 98, 53.

(2) Ibid., I, 336, 373.

(3) N.S.B. Gras, op.cit., p.260. cc.5, 6, 8.

(4) See F.C. Lane, Andrea Barbarigo, p.98.

(5) P.R.O., H.C.A., Examinations 92, 1 March, 1541.

This practice was followed in the local courts at London, and Southampton.

Italian ledgers were also bequeathed to descendants as family valuables, and produced in court in the hope of recovering debt. ⁽¹⁾

Venetian merchants were for the most part a transient group, and few of them could devote several years to the pursuit of justice, which a suit in the common law courts sometimes demanded. They were dependent for their protection on the king, whose diplomatic, financial, and economic interests were often dependent on them. For these reasons we find many cases involving Venetians brought before the Council, or taken by special privilege into higher courts. Venetian merchants, although not expected to know the common law of England, were nevertheless not denied access to it. ⁽²⁾ The consul was empowered by the Signoria, in cases of necessity, to hire legal aid in England. Juris consultants, and advocates with specialist knowledge of English mercantile law and legal procedure were hired to proceed on behalf of Venetian merchants in English law courts. The cost of these expenses was to be defrayed by the Cettimo da Londra. ⁽³⁾ Venetian merchants were parties to most actions brought before the King's Bench, general personal actions, and cases involving the king's interests; complaints made by Venetians against customs collectors, or cases arising out of complaints against the collection of the subsidy, or the intimidation of juries. ⁽⁴⁾ Murders were infrequent as the pardons on the patent rolls shew; however, in such instances, very rarely was the accused punished. He generally fled, or was pardoned, as for example, in March, 1526, when the Venetian merchant Hieronime da Melin received pardon for the murder of Jehn Palmer, ⁽⁵⁾ citizen of London.

(1) Ibid., E.C.P., 32 (353), 63 (177): H.C.A., Examinations 7, 31 March, 1552.

(2) The relazioni of England during this period indicate a keen interest in the English legal system, and in the justice to be found there. L. Firpo, op.cit., passim.

(3) A.S.V., Senate, Misti 48 f67r.

(4) Supra, Ch.V, pp.232-33; see also W.S. Heldsworth, op.cit., II pp.361 et seq., and F. Pollock and F.W. Maitland, op.cit., I, pp.459, 465-6.

(5) P.R.O., S.B. (17 Hen. VIII) Pat. p.l. m.35. Del. Westminster, 17 March, 1526.

Lack of time to carry on a long suit, the king's personal interest, or lack of jurisdiction on the part of other courts frequently induced many Venetian merchants to appeal to the Council, but there was certainly no bar against Venetians in the common law courts. The king's interest in the legal entanglements of aliens and the peculiar nature of some of the suits account for the large number of cases which came before him and his council. Such cases varied in nature. They arose out of the violation of the king's letters of protection; his diplomatic relations with the Republic; and his own particular interests. More common were cases which could not readily be settled in local town courts. In such circumstances it was felt that local feeling would intervene to the prejudice of Venetian merchants. Other cases brought before the Council arose out of flagrant acts of malpractice, or aggression on the part of the king's officers; whilst some appeared in that court simply because they fell outside the scope of the Common Law. For example, in 1543, a case came before the Council concerning the complaints of Hieronimo Michieli made against the Customer and Controller of Rye. Michieli alleged that the Customer had unlawfully demanded custom of him, which he had not hitherto been used to paying. In this instance the Council sent a strongly worded letter to the Customer and Controller commanding them to "redubbe their misdemeanor with diligence."⁽¹⁾ Almost a decade later the Council wrote to the London customers instructing them not to interfere with the Venetian exports of cloths and kerseys during the twenty days following the instruction, the late restraint on cloth exports notwithstanding.⁽²⁾

The Council also received petitions from the Doge and Signoria of Venice on behalf of injured Venetian merchants or subjects. The Venetian government took great care to protect the private interests of its merchants resident in England, and all Venetian ambassadors in London were briefed to

(1) A.P.C., I, (1542-1547), f430, p.74.

(2) Ibid., III, (1550-1552), pp.481, 482.

intervene in legal cases involving the citizens or subjects of Venice. For example, in 1541, "the Venetian merchant Paskall", [sic], (Pasqualigo), was arrested in the night by the London watch for lewd words touching the king, and was sent to the counter, and thence to Newgate prison. The Venetian secretary, Gerolamo Zuccato,⁽¹⁾ and several Venetian merchants, upon hearing of Pasqualigo's predicament, made immediate representation to the Council that the accusation was forged, and malicious. After hearing Zuccato the Council despatched two councillors, Sir John Allen and Sir Richard Gresham,⁽²⁾ to examine the matter.⁽³⁾ Pasqualigo was subsequently released, and remained in England until March, 1542.⁽⁴⁾ In March, he was given letters of protection by Henry VIII to return home in safety, and was also granted a gift of 40 crowns and a horse by the king. The Venetian Senate frequently intervened in cases brought before the local and central courts. In such instances intervention by the Venetian government generally took the form of the despatch of Ducal letters to the king and his chief ministers, or to the Mayor and Aldermen of London or Southampton in instances involving the local courts. These official letters of protest were generally accompanied by despatches instruction the Consul or the Ambassador to appear in person before the King or Mayor, to make full and proper suit on behalf of the merchants involved.⁽⁵⁾ For instance in the late fifteenth century the Doge intervened on behalf of two young Venetian merchants resident in London,⁽⁶⁾ Pietro Diedo and Francesco Foscari, who claimed to be falsely charged with the crime of sodomy. The two Venetians were arrested by the London authorities

- (1) Between 1535-47, Venice was represented in England by Secretarii in ordinari, and not by ambassadors, see Appendix V.
- (2) The two Englishmen were also London aldermen, and carried much weight in the city.
- (3) L. & P., XVI 1480.
- (4) Ibid., XVII 79, 152.
- (5) A.S.V., Senato, Mar 11 f114r; 12 f3r; 14 ff82v, 83r, 90r, 91v: Senato, Deliberazioni Secreta 32 f184r: Officiali alle Raxon Vecchie, Notatario 2, ff 76, 90, 91, 95. Sanudo, I Diarii II, 20 February, 1498.
- (6) Ibid., Officiale alle Raxon Vecchie, Notatario 2, ff 89r-95r.

on several charges, principal of which was the heinous crime of sodomy, brought by Thomas Bray, an English youth, at the instigation of a certain Diciliot Vanber, who offered Bray a financial inducement to defame the two Venetians. As one of the other principal charges brought against the Venetians was defrauding the king's customs, it appears that Vanber was possibly a commercial rival, and that the false charges were levelled against the Venetians to blacken their character and destroy their commercial standing in the city. The intervention of the Doge took the unusual form of the despatch of letters of protest to the Mayor and Aldermen of London, and to the Venetian consul, Giacomo Duodo, who was instructed to appear before the Mayor and Aldermen, and to address them in strong and apposite language concerning the arrest of the two merchants. The consul was also to make suit for full indemnity in the English courts. The legal expenses arising from this suit were to be met by the Cottimo da Londra, largely as a result of the pressure brought to bear on the government in Venice by the fathers of the merchants concerned, Alvise Diedo and Filippo Foscari. The final cost of their legal fees and expenses in England totalled £40 sterling, and the Senate awarded the two merchants a further £24. 12s. for additional expenses incurred in the despatch of letters to the king and to Venice, and for the purchase of legal 'favours'. The total sum, £64. 12s., was placed to the debit of the Cottimo. The consul was instructed to register Piero and Francesco as creditors, and the Cottimo as debtor for the full amount. Similarly, in 1527, the ambassador, Marc'Antonio Venier, was instructed by the Signoria to remonstrate with Cardinal Wolsey and Henry VIII against the arrest in London of their merchant Stefano de Antivari. (1)

The state did not intervene merely on behalf of wealthy Venetian merchants. Robbery and acts of violence committed against Venetian seamen also received

(1) L. & P., IV pt.2, 3432. Stefano was probably a Venetian subject rather than a citizen of Venice, and it is interesting to note that the Signoria took an equal interest in the mercantile activities of its merchant subjects from the provinces Da Mar.

their prompt attention,⁽¹⁾ as, in 1499, when three galeotti peddling their wares twenty miles inland from Southampton were attacked, and robbed on the king's highway, and two of them were killed. Warrants were immediately issued by the king upon notification by the capitano of the Flanders galleys. The offenders were speedily caught, and summary execution followed in Southampton, whereupon the capitano wrote to the Signoria praising the king's justice, and added that in such matters the king did everything in favour of Venetian subjects, and showed them all goodwill. In cases involving the violation of letters of protection⁽²⁾ the king was compelled to uphold their validity. In England the violation of safeconducts and letters of protection was considered an act of high treason against the king.⁽³⁾ Commissioners were often specially appointed by the crown to do justice in difficult cases, between merchants or between Venetian merchants and the crown. The two Venetian merchants Antonio Duodo and Nicolò Balbi involved in a commercial dispute, in 1521, had the matter settled by the appointment of two English mediators, Richard Pace and John Stokesley.⁽⁴⁾ Similarly the Venetian merchants, Giacomo Ragazzoni and Evangelista Fonte, had their dispute with the French merchant, Guillaume Late, settled by the English lawyers William Coke, William Britten, Henry Harvie and John Marblestone, appointed by the King's Council, in 1552.⁽⁵⁾ In areas of commercial dispute between the two governments a similar procedure

(1) Sanudo, I Diarii II, 20 February, 1498.

(2) In 1495, the Flanders galleys were attacked in Southampton by French pirates, and the Venetian consul at Southampton, the capitano of the Flanders galley fleet, several patrician merchants, sailors, galeotti, and much merchandise were seized. The Signoria complained of this act of violence against their subjects in English waters, and demanded swift action from the king, reminding him that the galleys and merchants of Venice were under his protection. C.S.P.V., I, 658, 659, 673, 678, 782.

(3) D. Queller, The Office of Ambassador in the Middle Ages, Princeton, 1967, p.129. Rot. Parl., II 250.

(4) L. & P., III, pt.1, 1870.

(5) A.P.C., IV, (1552-1553), p.583, 620.

was applied. In 1518, two English commissioners, ⁽¹⁾ Richard Page and Thomas More, chosen for their integrity and impartiality as much for their learning and knowledge of the law, were appointed by the king to settle the long standing dispute over the imposition of a noble per butt on Venetian imports of sweet wine into England. The dispute proved too thorny a problem, however, and little appears to have come from their mediation. Indeed the whole affair was largely contrived by Henry and Wolsey to procrastinate. While appearing on the surface to appease the Venetians, it is certain that Henry never intended to surrender such a lucrative source of revenue. ⁽²⁾

The dangers which beset Venetian goods in the course of shipment and storage also gave rise to much litigation, which usually began with an appeal to the king, or to the Chancellor. Certain actions began with an appeal to the king or to the Council; failure to accept the oaths of Venetian merchants as to the value of merchandise by officials; goods illegally opened by the mayor or water-bailiffs and left exposed and damaged; goods on which customs had been remitted for one reason or another, and which had been seized by the customers for non-payment of customs in disregard of the king's licence. Many of these commercial disputes, and cases involving maritime incidents were referred to the High Court of Admiralty. ⁽³⁾ The business of the Admiralty Court consisted of civil as well as criminal matters. ⁽⁴⁾ Venetians appeared before the court in a variety of cases dealing with general mercantile, shipping, and commercial matters, arbitration, and salvage. ⁽⁵⁾ Two widely different examples from the many existing in the Admiralty Court records will well

- (1) B.M.V., Ital. Cl.VII, MCXIX (7449), Letters of Sebastian Giustinian to the Signoria, dated 17, 28 February, 1518.
- (2) Supra, pp.294-298.
- (3) See A.A. Ruddock, Records of the High Court of Admiralty, passim, for an analysis of those records existing for the period 1515-1558.
- (4) The criminal business of the court was separated from its civil and spoil business in the reign of Henry VIII, and a complete set of Oyer and Terminer records exist for it. See R.G. Marsden, ed., Select Pleas in the Court of Admiralty, 1, London, 1894, pp. 1-1ii.
- (5) The precedents contained in the Black Book of the Admiralty, T. Twiss, ed., Rolls Series, IV vols., 1871-76, I, pp.246-280, 345-394, show that the business of the court consisted of general shipping, and mercantile affairs, as well as criminal action at sea.

illustrate the varied nature of Venetian involvement with the court.⁽¹⁾ In 1538-39, an interesting and lengthy suit was filed in the court against the Venetian 'Peter Delapyn', the patron of a Venetian carrack, for salvage reward, and damages for the loss of a fishingboat,⁽²⁾ by Thomas Horne, William Osborne, Thomas Sowthowson, and Robert Sawle of Deal.⁽³⁾ Between the 9th and 11th November, 1538, the four Deal fishermen, and twelve others, went to the assistance of the Venetian carrack at Delapyn's request. The carrack, laden with malmsies and other valuable merchandise, had grounded on the Goodwin Sands, and was in danger of breaking up with the loss of the cargo and the vessel. At Delapyn's request the Englishmen fastened a line to the carrack and laboured for three days and nights to release the vessel, during which time the fishing boat was struck by the carrack and sank with all her apparel, masts, sails, cables, oars, nets, and anchor, to the value of £20 sterling, and £12 over and above the £20 for the tackle. Once the carrack was freed Delapyn refused to pay the 25s. labour agreed with the fishermen, or to recompense them for the loss of their vessel, tackle and livelihood. The presiding judge, Anthony Hussee, fined the Venetian £14. 12s. 3d., to be paid to the four fishermen in compensation, and ordered that the Englishmen's legal costs also be paid by Delapyn. In 1542, a business transaction between a Venetian merchant in Venice, and his agent in England was investigated by the Court of Admiralty.⁽⁴⁾ Instead of despatching merchandise to England, Leonardo Moro sent Martin de Federico, his London agent, a bill of exchange drawn on Girolamo and Giovanni Battista Morosini in London. Having received the money, Federico purchased English kerseys according to Moro's instructions, packed and sealed them with Moro's mark, and prepared to despatch them to Venice. The Court of Admiralty

(1) Many other examples can be found throughout this thesis.

(2) The 'Christ' of Deal, a 6 ton vessel.

(3) P.R.O., H.C.A. Libels, file 5 fl7, and file 7, sentence.

(4) Ibid., H.C.A. Examinations, 92, 8th February, 1542.

was involved when the crown objected to the operation on the ground that bills of exchange were used in payment of the goods instead of bullion. This was a frequent complaint of the English government against Venetian merchants in the early sixteenth century. ⁽¹⁾ A principal charge directed against Venetian traders in the early Tudor period was that they drained the country of sterling, and depreciated the currency by circulating base money. ⁽²⁾ The introduction of Venetian copper, and base coinage was made a serious subject of complaint by Cardinal Wolsey in July, 1519. ⁽³⁾ The complaint concerned the introduction of Venetian galley half-pence, and other base coins. The coin referred to by Wolsey was the Venetian marcheto, a silver coin, but not of the sterling standard, and on that account prohibited. The other base coins referred to by Wolsey were probably the same Venetian coins prohibited by Act of Parliament, in 1409. ⁽⁴⁾ The Act of 1409 forbade the circulation of the small Venetian galley coins, specified as "Suskins and Dotkins". The former in Venetian is sisin or sesin a coin of very small value. The "Dotkin" is the Venetian daottin, the exact value of which was 8 Venetian soldi. In like manner, the sesin was worth a soldo and a half. Both these coins were of silver, but with a great deal of alloy, ⁽⁵⁾ and as such were calculated to debase the standard.

The protection of the Venetian merchant's financial transactions was as important for him as the safeguarding of his life, and merchandise. For Venetians as well as Englishmen the collection of debts was possible

- (1) B.M.V., Ital. Cl.VII, Cod. MCXIX (7449), Letter of Sebastian Giustinian to the Signoria, 20 November, 1518. Sanudo, I Diarii LVII, 23 December, 1532. A.S.V., Senato, Mar 22 f208r. Senato, Deliberazioni, Secreta 54, f96r; 55, ff60v-61r. Bullionist legislation was re-enacted in the reign of Henry VIII, and the laws were enforced with greater vigour. E. Lipson, Economic History of England, I, pp.531-33.
- (2) The Winchester Assize of Customs (1203), clause 6, ordered the seizure of all false money brought into the country by alien merchants. N.S.B. Gras, Early English Customs System, p.219.
- (3) B.M.V., Ital. Cl.VII, cod. MCXIX (7449), Letter of Sebastian Giustinian, and Antonio Surian to the Signoria, dated 21 July, 1519.
- (4) Stats. Realm, I, 299.
- (5) See Papodopoli, II pp.177, 212-3.

either by process under a writ of debt, or by the procedure defined in the Statute of Acton Burnell, and the Statute of Merchants. Venetians could secure acknowledgements of indebtedness from their debtors, whether Englishmen or aliens, before one of several authorities, and had access to several courts to secure payment. According to the Statute of Merchants⁽¹⁾ recognizances of debt could be made before the mayors of boroughs or their clerks, and if the debt was not paid the person of the debtor could be seized. In this manner Nicolò Duodo had the London skinner, Nicholas Grafton, outlawed for debt, in 1524.⁽²⁾ The court gave the debtor three months in which to pay; on further default his lands and moveable property could be seized, and delivered to the creditor, who would hold them until he was paid.⁽³⁾ According to the Statute of Acton Burnell it was enacted that:

"If the creditor be a merchaunt stranger, he shall remain at the costs of the debtor for so long time as he tarrieth about the suit of his debt and until the moveable goods of the debtor be sold or delivered to him."⁽⁴⁾

In 1533, Antonio Duodo called in the debts due to him and his late father, Niccolò, from the Italian merchant Giovanni Campucci. Campucci disputed the amount of the debt owed to Duodo, and proposed to settle the dispute by the arbitration of a group of foreign merchants. Through the good favours of the king, Duodo had arranged for the Earl of Essex to arrest those goods belonging to him, but held by Campucci. However, Campucci claimed that the goods were the property of another Venetian merchant, Nicolò Balbi. Further details of the case are vague, but it appears that Duodo hounded the Italian with the law so that Campucci was forced for a while to take sanctuary in the liberty of St. Martin's. Finally, Duodo consented to release Campucci on 'certain conditions', unfortunately unspecified.⁽⁵⁾ One obvious method employed by Venetians to avoid

(1) Stats. Realm, I, 53.

(2) L. & P., IV, pt.1, 137(8).

(3) W.S. Holdsworth, op.cit., III, pp.131-2.

(4) Stats. Realm, I, 54. However, by Statute Staple the debtor was not given the additional three months in which to pay.

(5) L. & P., VI, 1702, 1702 (2).

their English creditors was to flee the country. In 1537, a complaint was made to Thomas Cromwell against Barnardo de Priuli, and several other Venetians, who had failed to discharge their bonds entered into with English creditors.⁽¹⁾ In the previous year Barnardo de Priuli and Company, and the Florentine merchant, Antonio Guidotti,⁽²⁾ entered into an agreement to deliver 150 butts of malmsey wine to various English merchants. Fifteen months later Priuli's London based company was liquidated, and he and Guidotti had fled the country.⁽³⁾ In 1537, a carrack arrived in Bristol laden with Levantine goods, amongst which were 22 butts of malmsey wine, and 37 great butts of raisins of Corinth belonging to Barnardo de Priuli, but the English merchants were unable to seize Priuli's goods as they were loaded, and consigned as those of a merchant of Flanders.

Recognizances of debt had a wider economic and financial importance,⁽⁴⁾ but viewed in the light of the legal protection afforded to Venetian merchants they are proof that adequate machinery was provided for the collection of debts. Venetian merchants appeared before all authorities making and receiving recognizances, suing and being sued for debt. Why certain courts were chosen by Venetians for acknowledgement of debts rather than others is a matter of conjecture. The greater power of the higher courts, and the natural tendency of all aliens to rely on royal support perhaps accounts for the greater number of their recognizances found on the Chancery Rolls.⁽⁵⁾

As the king's debtors or creditors Venetians brought their suits in the Exchequer which, as a court of common law, had established procedures

(1) Ibid., XII pt.I, 189.

(2) See A.A. Ruddock, 'Antonio Guidotti', P.P.H.F.C. XV, 1941-43.

(3) L. & P., XII pt.2, 556.

(4) M.M. Postan, 'Credit in Medieval Trade', Econ. Hist. Rev., I, 1928. F.C. Diets, English Government Finance, 1485-1558, Urbana, 1920, pp.33-41.

(5) According to K. Kunze, Hansische Geschichtsquellen IV, Halle, 1891, p.xxxi, only the most prominent alien merchants came into the king's courts with their acknowledgements of debt, but this is hardly tenable as Venetians of all economic and social ranks appear to have used the king's courts.

whereby debtors could be constrained to pay the sums owing. In the early Tudor period the Chamber became the king's principal treasury⁽¹⁾ which made it undesirable that it should be dependent on the Exchequer for the enforcement of payment by obstinate debtors. Funds were therefore diverted from the Exchequer to the Chamber in order to give the king more rapid possession of his revenues. To ensure the speedy payment of debts to the Chamber a new departure was made - the systematic direction of the recipients of the king's favour to enter into bonds to deliver their payments into the Chamber at precise dates. From the later years of the reign of Henry VII Venetian merchants were thus constrained to make bonds in respect of customs dues. In cases involving large sums of customs due to the king Venetian merchants frequently made several bonds in respect of successive part-payments at annual or half annual intervals, whilst for all other kinds of transactions requiring the royal permission or pardon⁽²⁾ monetary payments had to be made. In 1535, the Venetian merchants in England, after complaining that they now had to find sureties for the payment of the customs, whereas previously their own bonds had been considered sufficient, offered to pay 4 marks a sack for their wool in ready money instead of 5 marks with a year's grace.⁽³⁾ This example cuts across the normally accepted thesis that credit continued to play a significant part in alien purchases of wool in the sixteenth century. In this way recognizances - obligations acknowledging a previously authorized debt or stipulated agreement of record - became an important part of Tudor crown finance. The Treasurer of the Chamber kept a list of bonds due. The King's Remembrancer for the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII records innumerable recognizances of debt affecting Venetian merchants in the early sixteenth

(1) See W.C. Richardson, Tudor Chamber Administration, Baton Rouge, 1952. G.R. Elton, The Tudor Revolution in Government, Cambridge, 1969, pp.23-27, 188-89.

(2) Foed.Eng., XIII, 161-6.

(3) B.M., Cotton MS. Nero B. VII. 21.

century. For example, in 1507, Pietro Tiepolo and others made a recognizance for £1,000, payment of £1,000 to be made within two months of warning. ⁽¹⁾

Antonio Bavarin's name frequently occurs, in 1507, 1510, 1511, 1516 and

1519. ⁽²⁾ An entry, in February, 1511, names "Antonio Bavarin, Lorenzo Pasqualigo, Hieronimo da Molin, and others for the sum of £4,638. 14s. 4½d. received for the custom of Southampton for the year ending Michaelmas 1 Henry VIII." Another large entry was made in 1519-20 for the payment of the custom at Southampton naming several Venetian merchants who owed the king £3,959. 7s. 11d.. Smaller sums owed by individual Venetian merchants also frequently occur, as in the case of Niccolò Duodo who made a recognizance for £399. 3s. 5d., in 1519-20, payable on 3 July, 1522. Many others are entered in the name of partnerships, like that of Niccolò Duodo and Antonio Bavarin, who made several recognizances jointly in 1519-20. ⁽³⁾ The King's debts took precedence over all others, and by his prerogative debtors were removed from Newgate to the Fleet prison, and cases from the lower courts to the Exchequer. ⁽⁴⁾

Venetians who trade with England enjoyed other privileges in the kingdom, which made trade between England and the Republic possible and desirable. They were assured the protection of life and merchandise in general terms by Magna Carta, 1215, ⁽⁵⁾ the Carta Mercatoria, 1303, ⁽⁶⁾ the privileges granted to the Venetian nation in England by Richard II, in 1399, ⁽⁷⁾ and confirmed and extended by Henry IV on his accession, ⁽⁸⁾ by letters patent of

(1) C.C.R., Henry VII, (1500-1509), 830. m 13d.

(2) Ibid.. B.M., Add. MS., 21481 (289). P.R.O., S.P.7, 232 f123.

(3) P.R.O., S.P.7, 232 f123.

(4) W.S. Holdsworth, op.cit., I, p.240.

(5) Clause 41, J.C. Holt, Magna Carta, Cambridge, 1965, pp.326-27.

(6) Foedra IV, 361.

(7) Commemoriali IX, 96.

(8) A.S.V., Senato, Misti 44, f143r. Commemoriali IX, 93, 152.

protection granted to Venetian merchants and shipping by the crown, and more specifically by personal letters of protection issued under the great seal. Privileges granted to the Venetian nation in the fifteenth century by the crown related largely to the protection of Venetian shipping, and free access to trade in England. Amongst the privileges granted, in 1399, by Henry IV was the provision that no English merchant was to supply the galleys and vessels of Venice without sufficient security from other persons, and should Englishmen do so it was to be at their own risk, as on no account could Venetian mariners be arrested to the disturbance and hindrance of the passage of Venetian vessels to and from England.⁽¹⁾ In Flanders, unlike England, the Venetian merchants had quite extensive commercial privileges.⁽²⁾ In 1507 a charter of indemnity was granted to the Venetian merchants in England by Henry VII with the view to screening them from prosecutions to which they had exposed themselves by the advantages they had taken of previous grants made to them by the king.⁽³⁾ This grant henceforth authorised the Venetian merchants to buy and sell for a period of ten years at London, and elsewhere in England, Ireland, and Calais, wool, woollen cloths, lead, tin, and hides. These privileges together with the safe conducts protecting Venetian shipping continued to be granted throughout the reign of Henry VIII. In the Tudor period the letters of safe conduct, and the privilege to buy and sell throughout the kingdom were sought by the accredited agents of the Republic, the consul or the ambassador, with the support of the Senate. The king's letters patent not only provided Venetian shipping and merchandise with protection, they also provided a means of redress. Licences to export wool and tin were generally granted every five years.⁽⁴⁾ The sale of these licences represented a considerable source of income to the crown, and throughout the reign of Henry VIII the cost of obtaining them rose

(1) Ibid., 152. A.S.V., Senato, Misti 47, f163r.

(2) G. van Severen, Cartulaire I, 902 et al.

(3) Foedra XIII, 161-66.

(4) Supra, Ch.1A, pp.37-8.

sharply. In the fifteenth century the cost of the patents and franchises had varied from between 20-40 ducats,⁽¹⁾ although occasionally 110 ducats were paid.⁽²⁾ Henry VII greatly increased the cost of the Venetian patents, and when the Venetian ambassador, Sebastian Giustinian, approached the English government for a renewal of the Venetian franchises, in 1517, Cardinal Wolsey demanded a considerable sum of money for placing the Venetians on the same commercial footing that they had held prior to 1509-10. The patents granted by Henry VII had expired in 1510, and the intervening years had witnessed the withdrawal of the regular galley traffic. Wolsey insisted on the payment of £300 (approximately 1,500 ducats) for the renewal of the patents and franchises, but Giustinian refused to pay any money in excess of the cost of the deeds and the stamps.⁽³⁾ On 19 July, 1517, Giustinian wrote to the Signoria that he was of the opinion that Wolsey delayed the granting of the patents because he wanted a bribe. The Cardinal refused to grant the patents until Giustinian entered into a bond to the effect that the Flanders galley fleet would be despatched within eight months.⁽⁴⁾ In 1519, similar difficulties were made by Wolsey over the grant of export patents to the Venetian merchants. On this occasion, as in 1517, the difficulties raised by the Cardinal were a direct result of his continental policy. To ensure Venetian compliance with his diplomatic schemes in Europe, Wolsey played his trump card with the Republic - he curtailed their commercial activities in England.⁽⁵⁾ On 21 July, 1519, Wolsey

(1) A.S.V., Senato, Misti 44 f94r; 50 f79r; 53 f13r.

(2) Ibid., 45 f71r.

(3) B.M.V., Ital. Cl. VII, Cod. MCXIX (7449), 31 March, 5 May, 1517.

(4) Ibid., letters of 19, 23 July, 1517.

(5) The official papers, and diplomatic correspondence relating to the embargo on the Flanders galleys, and the prolonged and strained relations between Venice and England resulting from Wolsey's diplomacy between 1522-23 can be found in B.M., Cotton MS. Nero B. VII 25, 28, 34, 38, 40, 75. Vitellius B. V 83, 97, 101, 107, 121, 127, 137, 152, 154, 160, 169, 172, 174, 185, 192. Galba B. VI 210. Caligula D. VIII 229. Vespasian C. III 82. Lansdown MSS 258 ff 237, 254. Harleian MSS. 6260 (199), (215); 6345 (119), (123); 6989 (16); 7185 (112). L. & P., III, 2045, 2304, 2305, 2315, 2320, 2329, 2427, 2440, 2497, 2498, 2555, 2669, 2684, 2721, 2722, 2772, 3207. C.S.V.P., III 441, 457, 463, 465, 467, 469, 474, 475, 483, 484, 485, 493, 495, 502, 506, 507, 514, 515, 517, 522, 550, 555, 562, 566, 567, 571, 574, 582, 583, 584, 590, 593, 595, 608, 618, 621, 623, 637, 640, 644, 647, 650, 656, 657, 664, 671, 683, 686, 694, 697, 700, 701.

approached the Venetian ambassadors, Giustinian and Surian, and proposed to negotiate all the existing mercantile difficulties outstanding between the two nations, specifying the difficulties with regard to the patents to export wool and tin.⁽¹⁾ Surian, apprehensive that Wolsey might use these negotiations to alter the laws and ancient immunities enjoyed by the Venetian mercantile community in England, replied that the Republic would willingly accede to the proposal provided no innovations were effected in the ancient customs and commercial franchises previously observed. Again, in October, 1521, Wolsey approached Surian with an offer to include a special clause in the truce with France for the protection of Venetian shipping and merchants trading with England, by sea or land, in return for Venetian diplomatic support of the English initiative in Italy.⁽²⁾ The failure of the Republic to comply with Wolsey's diplomatic overtures, and to break with the French alliance, led directly to the embargo placed on the Flanders galleys in 1522-23.⁽³⁾ The years of Thomas Wolsey's political ascendancy were thus marked by strained Anglo-Venetian relations, and an increased difficulty in obtaining the renewal of the patents and franchises traditionally granted to the Venetian nation by the crown. In 1530, to obviate future difficulties in obtaining the patents for their merchants the Signoria decreed that henceforth the London consul was to anticipate the delay by commencing to negotiate for the renewal of the patents a year before they expired.⁽⁴⁾ However, the vulnerability of the Venetians in face of such threats to their commerce proved to be too useful a weapon to the crown, and continental diplomacy continued to interfere with the pursuit of Anglo-Venetian commerce in Henry VIII's reign. In 1531, and 1533-34, the

(1) B.M.V., Ital. Cl.VII, Cod. MCXIX (7449) 21 July, 1519.

(2) A.S.V., Senato, Deliberazioni, Secreta 49, f36r. Wolsey was apprehensive at this time of the effect of the joint march of the Franco-Venetian armies against the Pope in the autumn of 1521.

(3) Ibid., Consiglio Dieci, Misti 45 f102v, 46 f13r. Senato, Mar 20 f134v. Sanudo, I Diarii XXXIII, 17 February, 1522; XXXIV, 2 May, 1523.

(4) Ibid., Collegio, Secreta, Lettere. Filza 12, 28 September, 1530.

patents were again refused by the crown.⁽¹⁾ On this occasion it was the diplomatic repercussions of the divorce question that rebounded on Venetian trade with England. On 19 June, 1534, the Doge wrote to Carlo Capello, the Venetian ambassador in London, instructing him to urge the king and his ministers to come to a speedy conclusion regarding the renewal of the patents, because trade was increased by the liberality of sovereigns, and the facilities they concede encourage the merchants to trade. Capello was also to inform the king that the recent restrictions placed on Venetian trade merely discouraged the mercantile community at Venice from investing in trade with England. Between 1534-35 to 1547-48 Anglo-Venetian relations returned to a more normal footing, although no further Venetian ambassador was despatched to England after the recall of Carlo Capello in 1535. In 1542, the Venetian secretary was refused a patent, for the Venetian merchants to export wool, by the king as a result of Venice's close relations with the papacy,⁽²⁾ but this was a momentary lapse of the otherwise amicable relations⁽³⁾ between the two states, and, in 1546, a licence to export wool was freely granted to the Venetians for a period of ten years.⁽⁴⁾ In the reign of Edward VI the Venetian merchants continued to receive their patents and the confirmation of their franchises unhindered by the crown.⁽⁵⁾

The Venetian merchants successfully claimed to be liable for only those customs, taxes, and impositions which were specifically designated in the Carta Mercatoria as charges on aliens.⁽⁶⁾ In 1514, Parliament demanded a

- (1) Ibid., Senato, Mar 22 ff79r, 208r; 23 f21r; Senato, Deliberazioni, Secreta 55, ff50v, 60v-61r. Sanudo, I Diarii LV, 5 October, 7, 10 November, 31 December, 2 January, 22 February, 1531; LVII 4, 18 January, 1532.
- (2) A.S.V., Senato, Terra 31 ff 11r, 12r, 28r.
- (3) Ibid., Senato, Deliberazioni, Secreta 65, f77r.
- (4) L. & P., XXI pt.2, 648 (44).
- (5) A.S.V., Senato, Deliberazioni, Secreta 65, f115r. C.P.R., Edward VI, (1547-53), 2 Ed. VI, 20 November, 1548; 3 Ed. VI, 10 November, 1549.
- (6) The one exception was the duty of a noble per butt on Venetian imports of sweet wines.

pecuniary contribution of the Venetian community in England towards Henry VIII's invasion of France, ⁽¹⁾ but the consul and Venetian merchants objected to this, with the plea that it was contrary to ancient custom, and their franchises, to pay any war tax. ⁽²⁾ Nor were they responsible in law for debts of which they were not principal debtors or sureties, by a privilege granted in 1353, ⁽³⁾ but this was difficult to maintain, since it was looked upon with suspicion by English creditors, who felt that alien companies could disclaim responsibility for the debts of defaulting members for which they were morally and perhaps naturally responsible. Whilst the wills of Venetians could be proved in England ⁽⁴⁾ their executors could bring suit for the collection of their outstanding debts, and their heirs could inherit their personal property, a Venetian could not inherit land, or acquire it, except by the favour of the king to whom it escheated at his death. However, for the Venetian merchant this was no great disability. He could obtain land by purchase, lease or gift, and he could rent shops or tenements in which to conduct his affairs and reside, ⁽⁵⁾ He could even rent houses, and then let them to other aliens. In 1539, several Venetian merchants residing in Cripplegate, London, paid rent for a basement warehouse to the Lucchese merchant, Tommaso Calvacanti. ⁽⁶⁾ Land throughout the country came into the hands of aliens usually because the owner, frequently the king himself, was financially bound to them. Such landed property was usually held for a short time only until the debt was paid or some

(1) Sanudo, I Diarii XVIII, 26 April, 1514.

(2) Lorenzo Pasqualigo estimated the cost to the Venetian colony at £150 if forced to pay.

(3) Rot. Parl. II 250.

(4) R.R. Sharpe, ed., Calendar of Wills Proved and Enrolled in the Court of Husting, London, 1258-1688, London, 1869.

(5) F. Pollock and F.W. Maitland, op.cit., I, p.459.

(6) A.S.V., Miscellenea Gregolin, busta 12 bis., 19 July, 1539.

other financial arrangement was made. Fortunately, records exist of the grant of landed property to two Venetians in the reign of Henry VIII, both of whom were also denizens, and servants of the king. One Peregrine Symond, a Paduan, was granted the manor of Fedington in Gloucestershire, with all the lands appertaining, with warrens, waters, and fisheries, at the annual rent of 40s., in August, 1530.⁽¹⁾ In the 1540's the Venetian, Augustino de Agostini, was liberally endowed with lands throughout the kingdom by Henry VIII. On 22 March, 1541, he received much valuable lands "in lieu of £20 and £50 heretofore granted him", as royal physician, and 'servant' to the king.⁽²⁾ Other properties in Suffolk, and Salop also came into his hands about this time. In addition to such widely scattered landed properties, Agostini also owned property in Langbourne Ward, London.⁽³⁾ There can be no doubt that these endowments, along with an earlier grant of denization,⁽⁴⁾ elevated Agostini into the ranks of the moderately wealthy.⁽⁵⁾ The Agostini family was prominent in government and business at Venice and Augustino owned much property in Italy at his death.⁽⁶⁾ The Agostini lands in England appear to have passed to his two sons, Giulio and Alessandro,⁽⁷⁾ but not without difficulties. The disposal

(1) L. & P., IV pt.3, 660⁰ (20).

(2) The lands came from confiscated monastic properties in Hampshire, Wiltshire and Somerset. L. & P., XVI, 1500 (726). The greater portion of these lands had been the properties of Hyde Abbey outside Winchester. Agostini's holdings to which he had been given a lifetime lease as a royal gift are described in detail in P.R.O., Patent Roll, 27 July, 37 Hen.VIII. m7.

(3) A lay subsidy roll for London, dated 24 October, 1541, lists his assets in lands and fees at £70 on which a tax of £7 was to be paid. Kirks, op.cit., I, p.47. An entry for 4 April, 1544, set a value of £66. 13s. 4d. on these properties, all located in the parish of St. Denis, Backchurch.

(4) L. & P., V 232.

(5) Agostini married an Englishwoman named Agnes, and the family appears to have been prominent in the parish of St. Denis Backchurch. The registers of St. Denis Backchurch include the dates of christening of his three daughters born between 1540-44, J.L. Chester, ed., Register Booke, St. Denis Backchurch Parish, London, Harleian Society, 1878, pp.71-3. Agostini also had three sons, two of whom, Giulio and Alessandro, are known to have remained in England after their father's death.

(6) The last will and testament of Dr. Augustino de Agostini exists in the Record Office at Chancery Lane, and was probated in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury on 20 June, 1561, ten years after Agostini's death at Lucca, on 20 Sept., 1551. P.R.O., H.C.A., Libels, 24/4/22. The will bears the number 24 in the Loftes register, and is transcribed in Augustino's own hand, in the Venetian dialect.

(7) Ibid., C66/1024/10 (11). See also O. Ogle and W.H. Bliss, eds., Calendar of Clarendon State Papers, Oxford, 1872, I, 487.

of the estate was complex, and resulted in a series of litigations extending over several decades. Agostini also left large sums of money to his wife and daughters. His wife, Agnes, who later remarried, brought a handsome dowry of 500 marks to Francis Alford of London.⁽¹⁾ In addition to the legal complications, and interminable delays in obtaining their inheritances, misfortune also attended the Agostini sons. Giulio who was found 'insane' at an inquisition, at the Guildhall,⁽²⁾ was committed to the custody of his stepfather, who also received the custody of his lands.⁽³⁾ Alessandro, who married a certain Margaret Conway of Evesham, Worcestershire,⁽⁴⁾ was also declared 'insane' at an inquisition of 18 June, 1574,⁽⁵⁾ and his mother, indifferent to the situation, allowed him to be removed to Bicester by Thomas More the husband of his sister, Livia. For his trouble More received from Alessandro a 'loan' of £200.⁽⁶⁾ Livia's own marriage to More brought a dowry of £530 of "lawful English money", to her husband.⁽⁷⁾ The strange circumstances surrounding the misfortunes of the Agostini sons, and the close acquaintance of the Alford and More families prior to 1563⁽⁸⁾ leave one with a nasty suspicion of the fate of the two 'insane' sons. By the 1570's almost all of the Agostini lands in England has passed into the hands of the Alford and More families.

(1) C.P.R., (1563-66), 108.

(2) Abstracts of Inquisitions Post Mortem, City of London, Index Library, XXVI, London, 1901, II, pp.52-3. The inquisition took place on 8 January, 1565, when Giulio was twenty years of age.

(3) P.R.O., C66. 1024/10 (11).

(4) P.R.O., Req. 2. 278 (29).

(5) Abst. Inq. P.M., II 185-86.

(6) Ibid., 186. The loan was never repaid, and it was observed by one John Baylie that More, from time to time, handed over to Alessandro pittances to buy necessary things.

(7) P.R.O., Req. 2. 201 (6).

(8) C.P.R., (1560-63), 420.

From the fourteenth century letters patent of denization were granted to Venetian merchants by the king, which conferred a limited kind of naturalisation, ⁽¹⁾ and were more easily obtainable than the Act of Parliament necessary for complete naturalisation. These letters patent contained grants of commercial privileges, and often a statement as to the rate at which customs should be paid. That this grant was a most desirable privilege is evident from the character of the letters patent. Letters of denization did not admit Venetian merchants to citizenship, which was wholly in the control of the towns. City authorities, notably at London, looked upon all non-citizens, foreign or alien, as extranei, and their right to admit 'foreigners' to the freedom of the city was jealously guarded. The grant of the franchise to an alien was a generous privilege, materially reducing the local dues payable on his merchandise, and breaking down all the barriers raised against him in the local markets. Although London bestowed citizenship on certain aliens in the fifteenth century, none was admitted in the Tudor era, nor is there any record of a Venetian being granted the franchise at Southampton in this period. ⁽²⁾ However, some aliens often chose to renounce the privileges of denization when they seemed to be outweighed by its disadvantages. When, for example, an extra tax was levied on all the king's subjects, it might be the lesser of two evils to pay customs at alien rates, but when a tax was levied only on aliens resident in the kingdom, then claims of denization would obviously be pressed. Thus a Venetian merchant might prefer one year to appear as an alien, and another as a denizen. ⁽³⁾

The Tudor monarchy attempted to curtail the economic activities of such denizens. By Statute I Hen.VII. c.2., aliens with denizen status were required

(1) W.S. Holdsworth, op.cit., IX, pp.72-99.

(2) In the fifteenth century, however, the Venetian, Gabriel Corbizzi, a denizen merchant, was admitted to the franchise of Southampton, and served as collector of the subsidy, town steward, water bailiff, and sheriff over a period of thirty years residence in the town. C.P.R., (1429-36), 117. H.W. Gidden, ed., Book of Remembrance, I, 66, 68: Stewards Books I, p.vii, II 51.

(3) The resulting difficulty in using existing customs accounts to analyse Venetian trade with England becomes immediately apparent.

to pay customs dues at alien rates, the declared intention being to prevent the defrauding of the customs by aliens pretending denization. ⁽¹⁾ There remained some ambiguity about the liability of aliens with denizen status until the Act of 1540 ⁽²⁾ decreed that denizens must pay at alien rates. It is evident, however, that denization continued to be sought in the early sixteenth century by Venetian citizens, and subjects, see Table XVII.

Table XVII.

GRANTS OF DENIZATION MADE TO VENETIANS, 1509-1546.

Date of Grant	Name	Status
February 1513	Niccolo Balbi, Venetian	Merchant (3)
October 1515	Stefano Texano, Venetian	Merchant (4)
December 1515	Niccolo Duodo, Venetian	Merchant (5)
August 1530	Peregrine Symond, Paduan	Musician and 'servant' of the king. (6)
May 1531	Dr Augustino de Agostini M.D., Venetian	Doctor and 'servant' to the king. (7)
May 1533	Niccolo Daniel, Venetian	Merchant (8)
March 1535	Marc'Antonio Moriani, Venetian	Merchant (9)
March 1535	Domenico Erizzo, Venetian	Merchant (10)
March 1535	Hieronimo da Molin, Venetian	Merchant (11)
March 1535	Antonio Carsidoni, Venetian	Merchant (12)
October 1539	Hieronimo Benall, Veronese	Artisan (13)
August 1541	Arcangelo d'Arcana, Friulian	Artisan (14)
March 1545	Aliuxius Bassani, and his sons Augustino, Giulio, Lorenzo and Zacharia; Gasparo Bassani and his son Paolo; Antonio Bassani; Giovanni Bassani; and Giovanni Baptista Bassani, Venetians.	Musicians (15)
July, 1546	Francesco Bernardo, Venetian	Merchant (16)

(1) Stats. Realm, IV, I Hen.VII. c.2.. E.M. Carus-Wilson and O. Coleman, op.cit., p.197.

(2) Stats. Realm, 32 Hen. VIII. c.16. P.R.O., SP.8 429. L. & P., XV 995 (2).

(3) L. & P., I pt.1, 1662 (44).

(5) Ibid., II pt.1, 1267.

(7) Ibid., V 232.

(9) Ibid., VIII 481 (12).

(11) Ibid., VIII 481 (22).

(13) Ibid., XIV pt.2, 435 (9).

(15) Ibid., XX pt.1, 465 (50).

(4) Ibid., II pt.1, 1090.

(6) Ibid., IV pt.3, 6600 (19).

(8) Ibid., VI 578 (21).

(10) Ibid., VIII 481 (22).

(12) Ibid., VIII 481 (22).

(14) Ibid., XVI 1135 (7).

(16) Ibid., XXI pt.2, 648 (26).

The greatest burden placed on the Venetians was taxation. Until 1539, the Venetian merchants, along with other aliens, paid customs at a higher rate than native born Englishmen. Concerning taxes on moveables, a conflict arose between the attempts by Venetians to maintain their privileges granted in the Carta Mercatoria, and the tendency of Tudor governments to collect taxes from as many people as possible.⁽¹⁾ Venetians who held land throughout the kingdom were of course liable for all charges on that land, but it seems safe to conclude that Venetian merchants were not expected to contribute to the taxes on moveables when they held land. The Venetians, therefore, in the early Tudor period, seem to have been able by persistent efforts on the part of the consul and the ambassador to maintain very nearly the position established for them by ancient law. Thus the legal, and economic position of Venetian merchants in England appears to have been a secure one during most of the early Tudor period, it now remains to analyse the relationship between the Venetian community and the crown, to see in particular what benefits the Tudor monarchs obtained in return for their continued support, and protection of the Venetian mercantile community.

Traditionally the role of the Venetian merchant in English medieval history has been limited to that of a purely mercantile nature by English historians.⁽²⁾ From the fourteenth century English monarchs found the Venetians

- (1) Samudo, I Diarii XVIII, 26 April, 1514. L. & P., XVI 384. There appears always to have been uncertainty concerning the incidence of tax on moveables. Madox says that these subsidies were paid by citizens, and burgesses only, T. Madox The History and Antiquities of the Exchequer of the Kings of England, London, 1711, pp.504 et seq., and the protests brought against unfair assessments by aliens in the reign of Henry VIII seem to prove his statement, but they also show that contemporary assessors in cities were inclined to regard residence as the standard.
- (2) Eg. E. Lipson, Economic History of England, 1, The Middle Ages, London 8 ed., 1945. W. Cunningham, The Growth of English Industry and Commerce, London, 1915. W. Busch, England under the Tudors, London, 1895. L.F. Salzman, English Trade in the Middle Ages, London, 1931. S.T. Bindoff, Tudor England, Penguin Books, 1950. J.D. Mackie, The Earlier Tudors, 1485-1558, Oxford, 1952. A.R. Myers, England in the Late Middle Ages, Penguin Books, 1963. While the most recent economic history of the early Tudor period, W.G. Hoskins, The Age of Plunder; The England of Henry VIII, 1500-1547, London, 1976, is disappointing in that it scarcely mentions the economic activities of aliens in England.

financially, militarily, and diplomatically useful,⁽¹⁾ whilst the widespread connections of Venetian merchants throughout Europe and the Levant offered them a convenient channel of communications, and an incomparable information service.⁽²⁾ These services to the English crown, together with the higher rate of customs dues paid by Venetians, resulted in the establishment of a generally friendly inter-relationship between the Venetian mercantile community and the English crown. While no Venetian merchant in the early Tudor period attained a financial or economic influence over the crown in any way comparable to that of the large international banking houses such as the Frescobaldi, Buonvisi, or Fugger,⁽³⁾ several Venetian merchants were well recompensed for services rendered to the Tudor crown.

The crown was the most important customer of the Venetians in England. The supply of goods to the crown, that is to the government and the royal household, was a highly profitable business. Existing records of Venetian imports of luxury cloths, notably of brocaded silks, in the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII, indicate a high level of Venetian involvement in the luxury textile trade in England.⁽⁴⁾ The Household Books, and Books of Payment show many purchases of Italian luxury manufactures, and give a rough indication of the importance of the crown as a consumer at this time. For example Venetian lace of the punto tagliato (cutwork), punto in aria (needlepoint), and reticella type was highly fashionable in the 1540's and 1550's, and was greatly in demand

(1) R. Cessi, "Le relazioni commerciali fra Venezia e le Fiandra nel secolo XIV", N.A.V., n.s. XXVII, 1914. Buzzatti, "Relations diplomatiques entre l'Angleterre et Venise au XIV^e siècle", in Revue de droit international et de législation comparée, XVI, 1884. P.M. Perret, Histoire des relations de la France avec Venise, 2 vols., Paris, 1896. C.S.P.V., I-V, passim.

(2) J.A.J. Housden, "The Merchant Strangers Post in the Sixteenth Century", Eng.Hist.Rev., XXI, 1906, pp.739-42.

(3) R. Ehrenberg, Capital and Finance, passim.

(4) Supra, Ch.1B. pp.66-68.

at the English court for use in the embellishment of garments.⁽¹⁾ Henry VIII had a great passion for jewellery and precious stones, and this naturally inspired the great nobles and other courtiers to indulge in a great display of their wealth. The Venetians specialised in the import of jewels, jewellery and precious gems and they had a virtual monopoly over the import of pearls from the Indies.⁽²⁾ In 1546, Francesco Bernardo was granted a licence to import jewels, pearls, and precious stones set in gold, embroidered in garments, and unset. The licence was for a period of three years, and afterwards at the king's pleasure.⁽³⁾ Henry VIII also employed skilled Venetian jewellers, and engravers.⁽⁴⁾ The court was also a significant consumer of Venetian spices and sweet wines. The last decade of the fifteenth, and the first two decades of the sixteenth century saw the dominance in England of Italian modes of dress and interior furnishing.⁽⁵⁾ The popularity of these fashions with the English court created a demand for further imports of expensive Italian fabrics. The new regime of 1509 expanded further the magnificence of the Tudor court.⁽⁶⁾ The dealings of the Venetians with the crown were not all in luxury goods. The revival of the Hundred Years War by the youthful descendant of Henry V⁽⁷⁾ resulted

- (1) H. Norris, op.cit., 1, pp.230-1. All noteworthy lace of the sixteenth century is of Italian origin, and Venetian lace was of a particularly fine quality. M. Schuette, "History of Lace", Ciba Review 7, 1949, pp. 2685-87. A Latour, "Lace fashions through the ages", Ibid., pp. 2670-73.
- (2) The Ledger of Almorò Pisani, A.S.V., Registri Privati, Raccolta Barbarigo-Grimani, busta 47-49, reg.21 passim, contains many references to the export of high grade pearls, from Persia and the E. Indies, to England in the 1520's. Pearls from the Indies were of a higher quality than those imported by the Spanish from the Americas, and consequently fetched a higher price, C.H. Haring, Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies, Camb. Mass., 1918, pp.165n.4, 165, 189.
- (3) L. & P., XXI pt.2, 332 (48).
- (4) Ibid., XI 381, XIV pt.2, 435 (19).
- (5) H. Norris, op.cit., pp.109-10.
- (6) F.C. Dietz, op.cit., pp.88-9. W. Hooper, "Tudor Sumptuary Laws", Eng. Hist. Rev., XXX, 1915.
- (7) J.J. Scarisbrick, op.cit., Ch.2, passim.

in an equally buoyant market for arms, ammunition and military supplies. Many of the small arms came from the Brescian foundaries.⁽¹⁾ Venetian merchants in London engaged in supplying the court found little other business in England, in 1512-13, than trading in military stores and equipment.⁽²⁾ The King's Book of Payments⁽³⁾ and the Army and Navy Receipts and Payments⁽⁴⁾ provide ample evidence of the significant role played by Venetian and other Italian merchants in supplying the crown during the years leading up to the first French war of Henry VIII. It was largely as importers of bowstaves and armaments that Venetian merchants retained their earlier commercial importance vis-à-vis the crown in the early sixteenth century. The Pesaro in particular supplied the English crown with large quantities of bows, brimstone, saltpetre, and other military supplies between 1510-14.⁽⁵⁾ In 1510 Piero da Cà da Pesaro petitioned the Collegio for a licence to export 40,000 bowstaves, in any vessel Venetian or alien, to the king of England with whom he had a contract.⁽⁶⁾ Four years later the king wrote to the Signoria for a licence to export armaments from Venice in foreign vessels, as the contractors, the Pesaro, had run foul of the Venetian navigation laws.⁽⁷⁾ In 1512-13 the crown entered into prolonged negotiations with the Venetian government through the Republic's ambassador in London, Andrea Badoer, for the hire of four galie sottile,⁽⁸⁾ and two galie bastarde.⁽⁹⁾ Henry was willing to pay 1,000 ducats per month for each galley

(1) See below pp. 328-30.

(2) See the letters of Lorenzo Pasqualigo, resident in London, to his brothers Alvise and Francesco in Venice, dated 1513, Sanudo, I Diarii XVI, 16 March, 1513 et seq..

(3) P.R.O., E36 (215).

(4) Ibid., E36 (1).

(5) Sanudo, I Diarii XI-XIX, passim. There are many letters from the Pesaro factor in London, Antonio Bavarin, in these years relating to the arms trade with England.

(6) Ibid., XI 4 September, 1510.

(7) A.S.V., Senato, Mar 8 f50r. Sanudo, I Diarii XIX, 7 December, 1514.

(8) The light, fighting galley of Venice.

(9) A larger fighting galley than the galia sottil.

during the period of the loan. The negotiations failed because the Venetians did not have the vessels to spare.⁽¹⁾ The scheme was revived by Henry in the 1540's, on this occasion the Republic was willing to provide skilled navigators, shipbuilders, carpenters, and gunners to build, equip and man a small fleet of English galleys.⁽²⁾ Venetians also supplied the crown with merchandise through Italian intermediaries who were better known at court or who had personal contact with the king and his chief ministers.⁽³⁾

The commercial links between the Venetian merchants and the court are best illustrated by the visit paid by the king and his court to the Flanders galleys at Southampton, in 1518,⁽⁴⁾ to make purchases of the better quality merchandise. The king and his courtiers were also presented with expensive presents of glassware, comfits, and preserves by the galley patroni. Licences were granted to individual Venetian merchants by the king to purvey expensive merchandise in the realm, by which the recipient of the licence might re-export those goods that he found himself unable to sell, without paying the customs. Once again the king and his household were given first choice of the items imported.⁽⁵⁾ Such an arrangement was typical of late medieval business practice by which customers were sought only after the goods had been imported.⁽⁶⁾ The royal licence made business easier for the merchant importer of luxury commodities, with a limited market for high cost products,⁽⁷⁾ in a beneficial way to both the

- (1) Ibid., XV, 7 February, 1512. By 1513 Franco-Venetian relations were cemented by a new alliance, and it is more reasonable to suppose that this was the true reason for the Venetian refusal to comply with Henry VIII's request.
- (2) P.R.O., Pipe Office, Declared Accounts 2587, 2588. N. Oppenheim, op.cit., pp.52, 59-60. C.S.P.Sp., VI pt.1, 16 July, 1541.
- (3) Such as the arrangement between Domenico Erizzo and the Milanese Giovanni Battista Boroni, P.R.O., El22 83(15). H.C.A. 13/95 ff 241-5, 271-4. L. & P., XIII pt.1, 190(8).
- (4) B.M.V., Ital. Cl.VII, Cod. MCXIX (7449), 28 May, 6, 16 June, 1518, Letter of Sebastian Giustinian to the Signoria.
- (5) L. & P., XXI pt.1, 332(48).
- (6) F.C. Lane, Andrea Barbarigo, pp.58-9, 131.
- (7) The trade of John Isham in silks, in the 1550's, well illustrates the pitfalls in importing large quantities of expensive Italian, luxury textiles. Isham's capital locked up in Italian silks was long immobilised, a year or more elapsed before he disposed of all his stocks of silks and satins, G.D. Ramsay, 'John Isham', pp.xxx-xxxii.

importer and the king. Venetian merchants frequently undertook to supply the king, Wolsey, and other important members of the government and court with specific goods on request, and were clearly responsible for commissioning the manufacture abroad of arms, and other articles according to individual specifications. Cardinal Wolsey was a consumer of large quantities of expensive Venetian luxury articles, most of which went to furnish his palaces at Hampton Court and York House. ⁽¹⁾ Wolsey received seven Damascene carpets from the Venetian merchants of the Flanders galleys in June, 1518, ⁽²⁾ and in November of the same year he requested a further hundred carpets from the Signoria, through their ambassador, Sebastian Giustinian. The Signoria, anxious to please the Cardinal, offered the carpets to Wolsey as a gift. ⁽³⁾ Other commissions were made by the Cardinal in the following years, notably a request, made in 1529, to the ambassador, Lorenzo Orio, for an order of Greek books from the Aldine press. This was accompanied by a request to have copies made, on good paper, of several Greek manuscripts in the monastery of Sant'Antonio at Venice. ⁽⁴⁾ In the same year Wolsey ordered a large amount of tawny coloured damask from Venice. ⁽⁵⁾ Although Wolsey was the greatest single customer of the Venetians in England, with the exception of the king, other courtiers also placed commissions with Venetian merchants and manufacturers. In 1532, for example, the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Wiltshire, Thomas Cromwell, and two other courtiers commissioned Carlo Capello to have suits of fine Brescian armour made for them. ⁽⁶⁾ The king also placed large commissions with Venetian arms

- (1) R.J. Minney, Hampton Court, London, 1972, pp.8-21. N. Williams, The Cardinal and the Secretary, London, 1975, pp.54-8.
- (2) B.M.V., Ital. Cl.VII, Cod. MCXIX (7449) Despatches of Sebastian Giustinian to the Signoria, dated 21 June, 11 November, 1518.
- (3) The gift of 60 Cairo carpets cost the Signoria 700 ducats, but failed to pave the way for the removal of the extra wine duty, Ibid., 10 September, 1519. C.S.P.V., II 1287. A.S.V., Consiglio Dieci, Misti 46, f177r.
- (4) Ibid., Senato, Deliberazioni Secreta 50, f187v. Sanudo, I Diarii XL, 10 January, 1525. The books were intended for the library of Wolsey's new Collegiate foundation at Oxford. See also H. Omont, Facsimilés des manuscrits grecs des XV^e et XVI^e siècles, Paris, 1887.
- (5) A.S.V., Senato, Deliberazioni Secreta, Filza 9, 2 August, 1529.
- (6) Sanudo, I Diarii LVII, 18 January, 1531.

manufacturers for specific types of firearms and spare parts. In 1544, the English ambassador at Venice, Edmund Harvel, requested the Signoria in the king's name to allow an agent of his at Brescia to have 1,500 harquebuses of various sorts, and 1,050 suits of armour for foot soldiers, and cavalry made to his specifications and sent to England.⁽¹⁾ Two years later there is a record in the King's Book of Payments, by the Treasurer of the Court of Augmentations, of a payment made by virtue of the king's warrants to a Veronese gunsmith, named Antonio, of £480 for handguns.⁽²⁾ Whilst there is no direct evidence to link these large purchases of Brescian arms and armour by Henry VIII to the arms factories at Gardone, in the Val Trompia, it is probable that the English orders were placed here with the great families of Gardone gunmakers, the Cominazzo, Francino, and Gavaccioli.⁽³⁾ A manuscript written, in 1642, by a Florentine gunmaker, Antonio Petrini,⁽⁴⁾ provides a great deal of information on the European renown, and sales of the early sixteenth century Brescian gunmakers, and upon the skill of their work. According to Petrini the Brescian genius lay in the fine steel work of the barrels, rather than in the technical skill of lockmaking.⁽⁵⁾ Those dating from the early sixteenth century were the finest in Europe, and were much sought after by kings and princes. Large quantities of common service arms were also made in Brescia itself, but the fine quality arms of Gardone were much sought after because they were lighter and of more elegant proportions than other comparable north European barrels. Many Englishmen who preferred

(1) A.S.V., Senato, Terra 33, f94r.

(2) L. & P., XXI pt.1, 643.

(3) See Gio. Matteo Cigogna, Trattato Militare, 1567. V.A. Bertolotti, Le Arti Minori alla Corte di Mantova, Milano, 1889, pp.160-1.

(4) Petrini's "L'Arte Fabrice", has been reprinted with notes by A. Gaibi in Armi Antiche, 1962, p.111. See also Gaibi's article on the Cominazzi, "I Cominazzi; una famiglia di artefici famosi di Gardone Val Trompia", Armi Antiche, 1960, p.75.

(5) Brescian locks were inferior in exact workmanship to the German and French locks of this period.

the German locks would nevertheless purchase Brescian barrels, and then stock and make up the composite gun at home. The international make up of a great many firearms in this period must be born in mind. Many imported Flemish and German guns of the sixteenth century are of Italian origin, parts of them being imported from Milan or Brescia, and made up in the Low Countries. (1) It is probable that Henry VIII's large purchases of barrels at Brescia, and arms and equipment at Antwerp, in the period 1544-46, were for this purpose. A complete inventory of the firearms, and armour of Henry VIII, drawn up by order of Edward VI, in 1547, lists several very finely chiselled barrels with incised acanthus leaves, roses, and scrollwork typical of Brescian workmanship. (2)

Venetian merchants thus supplied many of the needs of the English crown and the court, but their usefulness to the English government was not narrowly confined to a commercial function. The victualling of the royal garrison at Calais at this time occupied the attention of Venetians. For example, in 1527, Antonio Duodo exported 700 quarters of wheat for the victualling of the town of Calais. (3) Grants of protection given to Venetians travelling in the suit of the Lieutenant of Calais also occur from time to time, and one supposes that they were possibly involved in the victualling of the town garrison. (4) Individual Venetians also victualled the king's army, both before and after it left English soil. (5) However, there are signs of a diminishing role as providers for the royal household in the third decade of Henry VIII's reign, and from the 1540's the Venetians, along with other Italian suppliers

- (1) A particularly fine example of such a firearm exists in the Windsor Castle Armoury. The 'Farnese' wheel-lock musket has a finely chiselled lock and lockplate and a finely tooled steel barrel. It is signed Gio. Bat. Vis., and is probably the work of a Brescian master. The stock bears the date 1596, but the gun is probably older. Windsor Castle Museum.
- (2) H.A. Dillon, "Arms and Armour at Westminster, the Tower, and Greenwich, 1547", Archaeologia, 1888.
- (3) L. & P., IV pt.2, 3209.
- (4) For example, the letters of protection granted to Giovanni Antonio Negro, alias Nigro, merchant of Venice, in May, 1533. L. & P., VI 579. Martin di Federico and Francisco Corbo, were also involved in the corn trade. Supra, Ch.V, p.219.
- (5) Samudo, I Diarii XVI, 16 March, 1513.

to the crown, virtually disappear from the existing records as suppliers of luxury cloths to the royal household, their place being taken increasingly by English merchants. ⁽¹⁾ Only in the sale of arms and munitions to the crown did the Venetians maintain a firm hold.

The sale of goods to the court, however, represents merely one aspect of a variety of services offered to the English crown by the Venetian mercantile community. Other services were of a much more valuable nature. Whilst the Venetians did not excel as royal financiers, for reasons to be discussed later, they did provide the crown with an incomparable information and communications service. The news service provided by the Venetians in London cannot be overstressed. The possession of news, and up to date information has always been an aspect of power, and as such was recognised by the Tudor crown. In order to assess world market conditions the Venetian community in England watched the international situation as avidly as the English government itself. Letters to Venetian merchants resident in London are full of international business and political news. ⁽²⁾ Just as the Venetian Senate received much of its information about English affairs through the letters of their merchants resident in London, so members of the English government were often initially informed of events on the continent through the Venetian community in London. Levantine and Turkish news letters especially were an area in which the Venetians not only filled a gap in the English diplomatic information service, but also where the Venetians could scarcely be bettered. In the 1530's and 1540's in particular, Turkish news letters became very important to the English government as the Habsburg-Valois conflict spread to the Mediterranean and the Balkans following the

(1) L. & P., XVII 258, p.138; XVIII pt.2, 231 pp.125-6; XIX pt.1, 368 p.240.

(2) At the P.R.O., H.C.A. Interrogatories, file 29, contains a large bundle of letters belonging to Venetian merchants in England, and contains a great deal of international news from Rialto. The Pasqualigo and Bavarin letters from which Samudo took much of his information relating to events in England, France and the Low Countries can be read in Samudo, I Diarii IX-XX, passim.

Franco-Turkish alliance of 1543.⁽¹⁾ In the period 1509-30 Venetian news letters of Italian affairs had been equally valuable, and provided the government of Thomas Wolsey with valuable military and diplomatic information relating to the Franco-Imperial struggle in Italy.⁽²⁾ Information provided by the Venetian community of the state of the Mediterranean and Levantine markets must also have been of immense value to those Englishmen involved in Levantine commerce, many of whom were courtiers,⁽³⁾ or who had courtly connections.

The Venetian postal service between London and Rialto was also frequently used by government agents. The English ambassadors to the Venetian Republic, Richard Pace, Giovanni da Casales, Edmund Harvel, and Peter Vannes, all made use of the Venetian post.⁽⁴⁾ The Privy Purse Expenses for December, 1530, show a payment of 26s. 8d. made to Hieronimo da Molin's servant for bringing letters from Italy to the English government.⁽⁵⁾ In 1539, John Harrywell, sent large batches of government letters to the continent by the Venetian post, at a cost of £30.⁽⁶⁾ The Venetian postal service was probably employed because of its renown for speed and efficiency.⁽⁷⁾ Although other Italians resident in London frequently provided the crown with similar information, and with postal services, those provided by the Venetian Consulate in London were

(1) See the articles in N.C.M.H.E., II, by F.C. Spooner, 'The Habsburg-Valois Struggle', pp.346-9, 351; and V.J. Parry, 'The Ottoman Empire, 1520-66', pp.517-8. Also P. Coles, The Ottoman Impact on Europe, London, 1968, pp.79-95.

(2) C.S.P.V., II-III, *passim*.

(3) In 1540, the Duke of Norfolk had an agent resident at Candia to ensure that the Duke's business in the Levant did not suffer, but this appears to be an isolated example. J.A. Williamson, Maritime Enterprise 1485-1558, London, 1913, p.232.

(4) C.S.P.V., III-V, *passim*.

(5) B.M., Add. 20030 f48. There are many other examples in the King's Book of Payments.

(6) Ibid., Arundel MS.97 ff 56-104.

(7) P. Sardella, op.cit., *passim*.

superior. A fact which was acknowledged by Raimondo de Soncino, the Milanese ambassador in London, in 1497.⁽¹⁾ The extent to which the Venetians acted as intermediaries between the king and his diplomatic representatives abroad can best be judged by the fact that the Venetians frequently constituted a security risk. In 1531, it was greatly feared that Papal briefs would be smuggled into England amongst the letters of Venetian merchants.⁽²⁾ De Praet, the Imperial ambassador in England, alleged that Venetian servants used by Cardinal Wolsey were in French pay.⁽³⁾ Anxiety about what information the Venetian merchants were sending out of the country in their letters was more permanent. In June, 1522, for example, the Earl of Surrey suggested to Henry VIII that all letters from the Venetians should be stopped or at least be examined lest they warn the French king of the forthcoming invasion.⁽⁴⁾

Venetian merchants were also frequently given the opportunity to reveal their extra-mercantile talents. A long list of diplomatic ventures and triumphs may be attributed to members of the Venetian community in England. In 1496, power was given by the Signoria to two Venetian merchants in London, Piero Contarini and Luca Valaresso, to include Henry VII in the Holy League of Venice.⁽⁵⁾ While, in 1498, Andrea Trevisan assisted the Spanish ambassador, Don Pedro de Ayala, in his efforts to arbitrate a peace treaty between England and Scotland.⁽⁶⁾ The Venetian merchant Nicolò da Ponte was instrumental, in 1508, in communicating secret information between Venice and Henry VII concerning the international negotiations being conducted at Cambrai without English or Venetian participation.⁽⁷⁾ There are many other examples; in 1545, the

(1) C.S.P.M. I, 301, 316, 545.

(2) C.S.P.Sp. IV pt.2, 615.

(3) Ibid., III pt.1, 11.

(4) L. & P., III pt.1, 2315.

(5) Commemoriali XVIII, f53.

(6) Sanudo, I Diarii I, 31 December, 1497; 14 February, 1497.

(7) A.S.V., Consiglio Dieci, Misti 32 f56r.

Venetian merchant Francesco Bernardo was despatched from England to France by the English government to negotiate a treaty between the two crowns for which service Bernardo was later knighted by Henry VIII, given an annual pension, and granted favourable trading privileges for a period of ten years. (1)

In one specific sphere, however, Venetian involvement with the crown was minimal and insignificant. The traditional relationship between Italian merchants and the English crown, ever since the thirteenth century, had been in the sphere of finance. This is particularly true of the Florentines. While the Venetians had been content to establish only trading companies in northern Europe the Florentines had almost always concentrated on the primacy of their financial enterprise, (2) but one must not overlook the many-sidedness of Venetian enterprise. The financial connections and expertise of the Italians continued to be utilized by Henry VII, and Henry VIII. (3) In this respect the Venetian merchants resident in London could offer little service to the Tudor monarchs. To a large extent this has also been true of their relationship with the Yorkist and Lancastrian dynasties. The reasons for this are basic to Venetian commercial practice. Venetian merchants, unlike other Italians, did not systematically perform financial services for states other than their own. The Republic determined at an early date not to allow the resources of the state to be absorbed in high risk loans to foreign princes. (4) There was a serious risk that the high interest rates yielded by purely financial

(1) P.R.O., H.C.A. 13/8 ff 127-32; L. & P., XXI pt.1, 1383(45); XXI pt.2, 332(48), 648(44). G.S.P.V., IV, 391, 469, 523, 730-1, 746, 902. A.S.V., Senato, Terra 35 f44v, 38 f122r, 39 f10r.

(2) R. de Roover, Money, Banking and Credit in Medieval Bruges, Camb. Mass., 1948, pp.29, 55, 89-91. L.F. Salzman, op.cit., pp.38-40. R.Eherenberg, op.cit., pp.193-230.

(3) F.C. Dietz, op.cit., pp.24-5, 33-4, 49, 78-80, 88-90. Supra, p.158.

(4) An act of 1450 forbade the giving of credit, either to any foreigner or any citizen except for such money as he should have deposited in the bank, E. Lattes, La Libertà delle banche a Venezia dal secolo XIII al XVII, Milano, 1869, pp.34, 70.

transactions might tempt potential investors away from industry, commerce and agriculture.⁽¹⁾ Consequently at Venice the private banks were subjected to much more rigid regulation than in other parts of Italy.⁽²⁾ The anxiety of the government to make the banks safe was equalled by a desire to utilize their resources for loans to the state. In 1449, the Senate legislated against such practices on the part of Venetian merchants in London. The law of 21 March, 1449, expressly forbade the Cottimo da Londra or individual Venetian merchants from making loans to the king of England or to any other Englishman. Henceforth, if any London consul proposed such an action it was to be considered null and void, and the London merchants were to be legally dispensed from paying anything towards such a loan.⁽³⁾ From the preamble to this act it appears that the Cottimo da Londra had previously been involved in advancing loans to the English crown, and had lost heavily in the process.⁽⁴⁾ However, the crown frequently secured forced loans from Venetian merchants in England.⁽⁵⁾ How far such restrictions placed upon Venetian financial relationships with the English crown affected Venice's commercial position in England is difficult to assess. Certainly the Genoese, Florentines, and Lucchese appear to have profitted

- (1) The Venetians did to some extent speculate on the money markets of Europe, and Venice acquired a reputation as a clearing house for bills of exchange, D. Sella, Commerci e industrie a Venezia nel secolo XVII, Venezia-Roma, 1961, pp.82-3. In the second half of the sixteenth century the Venetians entrusted their capital to the Spanish government through Genoese intermediaries. Philip II's stoppage of payments, in 1596, produced repercussions at Venice, and a bitter reaction against this form of unproductive lending, G. Cozzi, Il Doge Nicolo Contarini; ricerche sul patriziato veneziano agli inizi del seicento, Venezia-Roma, 1958, p.346.
- (2) In the early sixteenth century existing regulations were tightened; in June, 1524, commissioners were appointed to supervise the dealings of the private banks, and additional regulations were made, in 1526, F. Ferrara, "Documenti per servire alla storia dei banchi veneziani", A.V., 1, 1871, and "Gli antichi banchi di venezia", Nuova Antologia, XVI, 1871, pp.177-213, 435-66.
- (3) A.S.V., Senato, Mar 3, f107r.
- (4) Ibid., The Cottimo was in debt to the sum of £1,000 sterling, of this £200 had been loaned to the king, in 1446, to be repaid by the remission of customs duties on wools exported by Venetians.
- (5) Foedera, IV, 131, 136, 148. Sanudo, I Diarii XVIII, 26 April, 1514.

handsomely in this period from their financial dealings with the Tudor crown, receiving many commercial concessions in repayment of their loans.⁽¹⁾ However, this could also too often prove to be a disastrous course; the Florentine firm of Lorenzo Frescobaldi e Fratelli went bankrupt, in 1518, as a result of the firm's heavy financial involvement with Henry VIII.⁽²⁾ Apart from the Venetian government's strict regulations concerning financial involvement with the English crown, there were other reasons for the non-involvement of Venetians in such dealings. Venice, unlike Genoa, Florence, Milan, and Lucca, had no international banking and finance houses, comparable with the Frescobaldi, Vivaldi, Buonvisi, Campucci, Affaitadi, and other Italian firms, capable of supplying the large sums, and proffering the intricate banking services required by the Tudor crown.⁽³⁾ The major Venetian banks about 1500 were primarily involved in financing private Venetian trading ventures,⁽⁴⁾ and in advancing loans to private merchants and the state. The extent to which the Venetian banks had tied up their limited capital in these trading ventures and loans to the state greatly precluded them from advancing large loans to the English crown. Studies of the Venetian banchi di scritta⁽⁵⁾ refer to the chaotic state

- (1) F.C. Diets, op.cit., pp.49, 78-80. R. Ehrenberg, op.cit., *passim*. B.M.V., Ital. Cl.VII, Cod. MCCXXIII, 'Relazione di Sebastian Giustinian al Senato, 1519.'
- (2) The Frescobaldi owed Henry VIII over £60,000 sterling; as a result of their inability to pay the king the firm lost its credit, and was forced into bankruptcy, L. & P., II pt.2, 1384, 1475, 1736, 1792, 1816, 1928, 1937, 1968, 2023, 2034, 2153, 2113, 2166, 2230, 2953, 3098, 3141, 3491, 4004. C.S.P.V., II 722, 730. R. Ehrenberg, op.cit., pp.198-201.
- (3) Ibid., pp.198-201, 226-7, 229.
- (4) Merchandise and shipping occupied the greater part of the banker's funds. In 1499, the Pisani bank had about 40,000 ducats invested in the Flanders galley voyage, in English wool and cloths, and had recently bought a new carrack for the western voyages. The Da Molin bank was also heavily involved in investing in western goods, as was the bank of Matteo Bernardo in the 1530's, F.C. Lane, Venice and History, pp.77-8.
- (5) C.F. Dunbar, "The Bank of Venice", Q.J.E. VI, 1892. A. Magnocavallo, "Proposta di riforma bancaria del banchier veneziano Angelo Sanudo nel secolo XVI", Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche IX, Roma, 1904, pp.413-7. G. Luzzatto, "Les banques publiques de Venise siècles XVI^e-XVIII^e", in J.G. van Dillen, ed., History of the Principal Public Banks, The Hague, 1934. M. Brunetti, "Banche e Banchieri Veneziani dei 'Diari di Marin Sanudo' " in Studi in Onore di Gino Luzzatto II, 1950. A. Stella, 'La crisi economica veneziana della seconda meta del secolo XVI', A.V. 59, 1956. F.C. Lane, Venice and History, pp.69-86.

of private banking in Venice in the sixteenth century. The failure of the state to erect a stable system of credit put the Venetians at a severe disadvantage at this time. ⁽¹⁾ Venetian merchants appear to have been willing to make large financial advances to the English crown. However, the crown frequently found that Venetian interest rates were too high and turned to other Italian firms instead. In 1525, the English government attempted to raise large sums of money in Italy in an effort to maintain the Imperial forces of Charles V. ⁽²⁾ Richard Pace, the English ambassador at Venice, was instructed by Cardinal Wolsey to raise money through Venetian merchants known to the king. Niccolò Duodo was approached by Pace, and agreed to serve the king to the best of his powers, although he claimed that money was then scarce in Venice. At the second meeting Pace asked Duodo to advance the king a loan of 22,000 crowns of the sum payable immediately to Pace in Venice. Duodo, however, demanded 'unreasonable gain', offering Pace the money at a rate of 5s. 2d. to be repaid in England for every crown loaned. Pace refused the money at this unreasonable rate, but found that even the Venetian factor of Antonio Vivaldi could only offer to advance the sum at the rate of 4s. 9d. per crown. Rather than take the money in Venice, Pace wrote to Clerk ⁽³⁾ at Rome with instructions to see if the money could be raised more reasonably there. ⁽⁴⁾ The English crown made frequent use of the Genoese, Antonio Vivaldi and Ansaldo de Grimaldi, who had factors in Venice, to raise money or to make payments in that city. Viewed in such a light it is not surprising that the Venetian merchants offered little financial service to the English crown. Periodically, when the English

(1) A.S.V., Senato, Terra filza 14, 26 September, 1551; reg., 1551-52, ff 12v-13r, 16v-17r, 18v, 81v-82r, 101v-111v; filza 52, 2 December, 1568, 24 January, 1568. Correr MS. Cicogna 2853 f168v.

(2) Henry and Wolsey were equally desirous that the Venetian forces should join those of the Emperor.

(3) John Clerk, English ambassador at the Papal Court, 1521-22, 1523-1525, L. & P., III 3594 et seq.. Clerk's purpose in Rome was to form an alliance with the Emperor, Adrian VI, Venice and Milan against France.

(4) B.M., Vit. B. VII 102, 107.

government wished to transmit money by bills of exchange to government agents in Italy Venetian merchants were willing to proffer their services when pressed. The English government used the services of Marc'Antonio Venier, in 1528, to pay their ambassador, Giovanni da Casales, then in Venice.⁽¹⁾ In February, 1531, a Venetian merchant resident in London called Marc'Antonio _____, was paid £6. 9s. 4d. for a bill of exchange, and £1. 2s. 10d. for another on 26 August by the king.⁽²⁾ The Venetian merchant and banker Mattheo Bernardo was heavily involved in exchange dealings for the English crown in the early 1530's. An entry in the Privy Purse Accounts, dated 5 January, 1532, shows a repayment by the king to Bernardo of 3,000 golden crowns in acknowledgement for money delivered by Bernardo to Dr. Benet, the English ambassador at Rome,⁽³⁾ the entry is signed by the king.⁽⁴⁾ Transmitting money by exchange represented a less hazardous service to the crown. More frequently small sums of money were loaned to English agents resident in Venice by Venetian merchants. Dr. Richard Croke, for example, received loans from Domenico Trevisan, and from the Venetian Jew, Marco Raphael.⁽⁵⁾ The Senate frequently assisted the resident English ambassadors with financial perquisites, and housed them at the expense of the state.⁽⁶⁾ Edmund Harvel had his outstanding tax debts owing to the Signoria cancelled from the commencement of his office as English ambassador at Venice.⁽⁷⁾ In 1522, Richard Pace was housed at the expense of the Signoria, first at the Cà Dandolo, and later at the vacant house of Doge Antonio Grimani,

(1) L. & P., IV pt.2, 4883.

(2) B.M., Add. MS. 20030 ff 48-9. Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII, dated 9 February, 1531; 26 August, 1531, and signed by Henry.

(3) Dr. William Benet, English ambassador at Rome, 1531-33. L. & P., V and VI passim.

(4) B.M., Add. MS. 20030 f96.

(5) Ibid., Vit. B. XIII 47, 49, 54.

(6) A.S.V., Consiglio Dieci, Misti 45 f63r. Senato, Terra 22 ff121r, 143r, 149v.

(7) C.S.P.V., V 354.

at Santa Maria Formosa.⁽¹⁾ Such services to the English embassy at Venice considerably assisted the English crown, which found the expense of overseas embassies a heavy burden.

The transformed financial position of the English crown in the early sixteenth century, following Henry VII's nursing of the crown's finances, led to the situation where the crown assumed the role of creditor, a situation that was maintained and extended during the early years of Henry VIII's reign. Payments to Italian merchants by the crown, sometimes in the form of a direct loan were frequent occurrences.⁽²⁾ More often, however, Venetian merchants were granted licences to import and export merchandise deferring customs payments for periods of a few months or a few years,⁽³⁾ and these were clearly the most important source of Venetian indebtedness to the crown.⁽⁴⁾ In 1535, the Venetian merchants resident in England petitioned Thomas Cromwell to be respited for the custom of all their merchandise, as had been the case in the time of King Henry VII, without the customers requiring surety for the arrival of the Flanders galleys laden with rich cargoes, as had occurred in 1533.⁽⁵⁾ Payment in arrears for royal patents and other grants account for other debts, and much of the money owing to the crown by Venetians was not a consequence of loans at all, but fines and forfeited recognizances.⁽⁶⁾ The reasons behind the advance of royal loans to Venetians appear to have been mixed. Under Henry VII promotion of the customs revenue seems to have been the prime

(1) Samudo, I Diarii XXXIII, 14 September, 1522.

(2) F.C. Dietz, op.cit., pp.78-79. B.M.V., Ital. Cl.VII, Cod. MCCXXIII, 'Relazione di Sebastian Giustinian al Senato, 1519.'

(3) Supra, pp.311-313.

(4) C.C.R., Hen.VII. II, m 13d. 830. L. & P., II pt.2, pp. 1481-90; III pt.2, pp. 1528-46. B.M., Add. MS. 21481 f289. A.P.C., IV, 2 April, 1552.

(5) B.M., Nero B. VII, 21. Cromwell, anxious to placate foreign opinion following the execution of Fisher and More, granted their demands, and offered the Venetian community generous customs privileges if they would remain in England. L. & P., IX 965.

(6) P.R.O., E101 129(11).

consideration,⁽¹⁾ and grants were made conditional on the recipient importing goods of a greater value to the king's customs than in the past.⁽²⁾ No doubt this remained the major determining factor in the reign of Henry VIII, but under the second Tudor the loans appear to be related to the court's great need for luxury materials. No doubt the precious stones, pearls, silks, satins and sweet wines supplied by Venetian merchants in repayment were in fact both a consequence, and a cause of royal advances. Sebastian Giustinian saw Henry VIII's loans as a means to promote trade, and as a convenient way of benefitting royal favourites.⁽³⁾ More credibly we see Venetians receiving loans as royal favourites or as men useful to the English crown. In the same relazione to the Senate Giustinian talks of the king's fondness for the merchant Girolamo da Molin. To the results of good personal relationships must be added rewards for the multitude of services provided by the Venetian community in England.

While it is easy to exaggerate the dependence of the crown upon the good offices of Venetian merchants, much evidence does exist, of which only a small selection has been presented above, to show that in a number of important spheres, and in a host of miscellaneous ways Venetians, both as merchants and professional men, provided notable service to the Tudor crown. Further evidence exists in the recognition of service when royal grants were made to Venetians. In testimony to their continued usefulness to the crown in this period the Venetians received a formidable collection of annuities, knighthoods, grants of heraldic devices, grants of land, pardons for criminal offences, valuable commercial privileges, and a host of lesser gifts from the crown. For example between 1500-1547 four knighthoods were granted to Venetians,⁽⁴⁾ while in the

(1) F.C. Diets, op.cit., pp.24-25.

(2) C.S.P.V. IV, 837, 987; V, 17.

(3) B.M.V., Ital. Cl.VII, Cod. MCCXXIII, 'Relazione di Sebastian Giustinian, 1519'.

(4) Samud, I Diarii I, 11-12 April, 1498. B.M.V., Ital. Cl. VII, Cod. MCXIX (7449), 5 August, 1515. L. & P., XXI pt.2, 1383(45). C.A. Sneyd, 'A relation of the Island of England about 1500', Camden Society XXXVII, London, 1847, pp.vii-viii. In a chapel at the Frari to the right of the Assumption of the Virgin is the tomb of Francesco Bernardo which states that he was knighted by Henry VIII for services to the English crown.

reign of Edward VI two Venetians were honoured with the grant of Tudor heraldic devices to attach to their own badges.⁽¹⁾ Annuities ranging from £250 per annum for life,⁽²⁾ or 1,000 crowns per annum,⁽³⁾ to £20 per annum were granted to Venetian ambassadors, ambassadorial staff, merchants, musicians, agents of the king and a physician.⁽⁴⁾ Large areas of land were also granted to a few Venetians in recognition of their services to the crown or in part payment of their salaries as crown agents or servants.⁽⁵⁾

Finally and perhaps most significantly, the uninterrupted presence at the Tudor court of a diplomatic representative of the Republic throughout the period 1509-1557 must be considered a major factor in Venice's commercial success in maintaining a hold on the English market. The diplomatic relationship of the Republic with the Tudor crown was often a close one. Unlike Florence, Genoa, Naples, Milan, and Lucca, Venice maintained an independent diplomatic stance in these years, and consequently was regarded by the English crown as an important Italian and Mediterranean power, a regard which was strengthened by Venice's not inconsiderable naval and military forces, whilst the city's wealth was renowned. Venetian merchants were never more favoured in these years than in those periods of close Anglo-Venetian diplomatic and military co-operation in Italy. No other Italian state retained a permanent ambassador or diplomatic representative at the English court under the early Tudors. Various Italian diplomats visited England in this period, but their stay was always of a short duration, and their value to the resident Italian nations in

(1) A.S.V., Senato, Mar 32 f159r. C.A. Sneyd, op.cit., p.viii.

(2) L. & P., XXI pt.2, 1383(45).

(3) E. Alberi, ed., op.cit., p.1537. These two grants were made to the merchant Francesco Bernardo, and the ambassador Daniele Barbaro.

(4) B.M., Add. MS. 21481 (7 May, 1519.). L. & P., III pt.2, p.1537; IV pt.3, 6600(20); XXI 1383 (45), (65). E. Alberi, op.cit., I (ii) p.270.

(5) Supra, pp. 318-321.

London must have been limited. Thus, while the other Italian communities in Tudor England purchased favour from the crown largely through their financial services, the Venetians gained similar commercial advantages and favour largely through the presentation of a united front in the form of official consular and ambassadorial representation, as well as through those diplomatic, postal and information services admirably provided by the individual merchants.

CONCLUSION

At the commencement of the period covered by this study, the virtual monopoly over trade between England and the Mediterranean enjoyed by Venice was already under threat from English and alien competitors.^{1/} Venetian preponderance in English trade reached its zenith in the reign of Edward IV, founded largely upon the importation of Oriental spices, and luxury manufactures from the Mediterranean and Levantine markets, and upon the export to the Mediterranean of large quantities of English cloth and tin.^{2/} The period between 1480-1530 was one of profound change for Venetian merchants trading with England, and reflects the increased difficulties faced by Venetian merchants in maintaining their commercial monopoly in north western Europe. Certainly in terms of commercial power the Venetians were in a far stronger position than their Italian rivals, the Genoese, Florentines, and Lucchesi. However, English jealousy of Italian merchants rose to a great height during the reigns of Edward IV and Richard III. The Yorkists, being deeply indebted to the citizens of London for their elevation to the throne,^{3/} could do no less than concede the demands of the London lobby in Parliament. The trade with the Levant at this time must have been considerable for we find the metropolis well supplied with the products of the Mediterranean and the Levant. By 1480 Venice was in a strong economic position. In Italy all her major commercial and industrial rivals were either racked by political division or had been severely affected by industrial and commercial decline.^{4/} Venice controlled the supply of eastern spices, dyestuffs,

- 1/ J. Heers, 'Le commerce des Basques en Mediterranee au XV^e siecle', Bulletin Hispanique, 1955. J. Finot, Etude historique sur les relations commerciales entre la Flandre et l'Espagne au moyen age, Paris, 1899, and Les relations commerciales entre la Flandre et la republique de Genes au moyen age, Paris, 1906. W. Heyd, op.cit., II, pp.565-71. P. Argenti, The Occupation of Chios by the Genoese, 1346-1566, Cambridge, 1958, I, pp.496-506. F.C. Lane, 'Venetian Shipping during the Commercial Revolution', Venice and History, pp.3-24.
- 2/ As yet wool was of only secondary importance to Venetian traders.
- 3/ C.L. Scofield, The Life and Reign of Edward IV, 2 vols., 1923, ii pp.404-30. C. Ross, Edward IV, London, 1974, pp.353-4.
- 4/ A. Doren, Studien aus der Florentiner Wirtschaftsgeschichte, vol.I: Die Florentiner Wollentuchindustrie vom XIV. bis zum XVI. Jahrhundert, Stuttgart, 1901. P. Laven, op.cit., pp.35-58. P. Coles, 'The Crisis of Renaissance Society: Genoa, 1488-1507', Past and Present, II, 1957. R.H. Bautier, The Economic Development of Medieval Europe, London, 1971, pp.242-3.

sweet wines, and other Oriental and Mediterranean produce, while from the 1470's she increasingly dominated the trade in raw silk,^{1/} silk materials, and other high quality Italian and Oriental manufactures. The Republic enjoyed both commercial and maritime supremacy of the Mediterranean world,^{2/} but in north western Europe her seaborne trade centred increasingly upon England as the Republic's political relations with Flanders deteriorated^{3/} under Maximilian I.^{4/} As Venetian trade with England increased so too did English opposition to Italian dominance. In accordance with the desire of the citizens of London the reign of Edward IV commenced with the re-establishment of restrictive measures on alien commerce, and protection in favour of the home trade. Italians were forbidden to buy or ship English wool.^{5/} In the same year a further blow was aimed at the shipping monopoly of the Flanders galleys when English merchants were forbidden to ship goods outward or homeward in alien vessels unless sufficient freight could not be found in English shipping. At the suit of the London artificers, in 1463, and in 1482, the importation by Italians of a long list of foreign articles carried by the Flanders galleys were prohibited on

- 1/ The Portuguese appear to have carried only insignificant amounts of raw silk around the Cape. Small consignments are mentioned between 1514-19; thereafter no import of raw silk to Lisbon can be demonstrated before 1610. The field was therefore left open for the Venetians to monopolise. Silk materials from China and Persia, however, regularly constituted part of the cargoes of Portuguese ships to Europe, and posed a serious threat to the Venetian dominance of the trade in Oriental silks. A.S.V., Misc. di atti non appartenenti ad alcun archivio b.24, 16 November, 1588, 4 January, 1589, also N. Steensgaard, op.cit., p.158.
- 2/ A. Doren, Storia economica dell'Italia nel medioevo, Padova, 1937, p.306.
- 3/ The Republic's land routes through Germany and the Low Countries were threatened by Maximilian, and so the sea route became more important.
- 4/ The Genoese with Habsburg support came to dominate the Mediterranean trade with Flanders. L. Gilliodts van Severen, Cartulaire de l'Ancienne Estaple de Bruges, Bruges, 1904, I, 593, 610; II 1273. The value of Genoese trade with England diminished rapidly once their hold over Fokia alum supplies declined. W. Heyd, op.cit., II, pp.565-71. G. Zipell, 'L'alume di Tolfa e il suo commercio', Archivio della Societa Romana di Storia Patria XXX, 1907.
- 5/ Stats. Realm, 3 Ed. IV c.1.

the grounds that they were of inferior quality to their own.^{1/} In 1472, at the petition of the Bowyers Company parliament enacted that no Venetian should be permitted to import merchandise without bringing ten good bowstaves for every butt of malmsey, and that the bowstaves could only be sold to Englishmen.^{2/} The immediate consequence of these enactments was the withdrawal of many of the Venetian merchants from London, and retaliatory measures against English trade and shipping in the Mediterranean. In 1469, a squadron of Venetian galleys seized an English vessel bound for Chios with goods to the value of 2,000 ducats, belonging to the London merchants William Cooper and John Bridges.^{3/} In the reign of Richard III further harsh measures against Italian merchants followed.^{4/} The Venetians were accused of keeping cellars and warehouses in London in which they packed or mixed their goods, and starved the market until they got inflated prices for them. It was alleged also that Italians, contrary to the law, sold by retail; bought up English goods cheaply, waited for an upturn in market prices and sold at a huge profit; that they sent the profits arising from the sales to Venice by exchange; that they bought up large quantities of wool and had it made up into cloth on their own account; and that after making fortunes in England they retired to their own country to enjoy their profits.^{5/} In order to remedy these evils Richard III's parliament enacted that all Italian merchants not being denizens should sell their goods and invest the proceeds in English commodities before 1 May, 1484, and that henceforth all goods arriving

1/ Stats. Realm, 3 Ed. IV c.3, and 22 Ed. IV c.3. The articles listed by the artificers were: woollen cloths, laces, corses, silk ribands, fringes of silk, thread, laces of thread, twined silk, embroidered silk, lace of gold, tires of gold or silk, dice, playing cards, tennis balls, points, purses, gloves, girdles, harnesses, shoes, all articles made of tanned leather, and all painted wares.

2/ Ibid., 12 Ed. IV c.2, and renewed I Ric. III c.10.

3/ A.S.V., Senato, Mar 9 ff33r, 35r. Senato, Deliberazioni Secreta 24 f67r.

4/ The complaints and action of the London lobby appear to have been directed largely at the Italian merchants during this period.

5/ Stats. Realm, I Ric. III c.8.

after Easter, 1484, should be sold within eight months after their arrival, and all goods not sold within that time should be carried abroad within two months, or become forfeit to the crown. Prohibitions on the sale of woollen cloth in England, on employing Englishmen to convert wool into cloth for their own account, and on having any dealings in the clothing trade followed. The Venetians were further limited to the sale of goods by wholesale,^{1/} and only in the place of their residence. A further Act enforced and extended Edward IV's statute to prohibiting the import of articles of foreign manufacture.^{2/} Richard III's harsh restrictions brought a virtual curtailment of Venetian trade with England, and in 1483, and 1484 the Flanders galleys did not sail, on the orders of the Senate. Commercial relations between the two countries continued to deteriorate despite repeated appeals from the Doge, and protests from the London Consul. Of fifteen Acts passed by the single parliament of Richard III, seven dealt with the regulation of commerce and manufacture. They were all couched in the same hostile spirit imposing harsh restrictions on alien merchants, particularly Italians, with the aim of promoting English trade and enriching the king through the sale of licences and patents of denizenship.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find that Venice was the first European power to offer congratulations and political recognition to the victor of Bosworth.^{3/} The Signoria hoped that by speedily recognizing the new Tudor regime Henry VII, out of gratitude, would repeal the Yorkist legislation hampering Venetian trade with England, and thereby enable the Venetian merchants to resume their former monopoly. The first parliament of Henry VIII appears to have been inclined ^{to deal} with commercial questions in a

^{1/} An exception to this was the sale of imported printed books.

^{2/} Ibid., I Richard III c.8. Venetian manufactured silks were particularly affected by this law.

^{3/} W.C. Hazlitt, History of Venice IV, London, 1900, p.244.

fairer spirit, though native influence was still dominant. Henry Tudor and his advisers, indeed, appear to have better understood the true interests of trade than the commercial lobby in the House of Commons. Consequently the hostile Act of Richard III respecting Italian merchants was repealed, but other protective Acts were retained and strengthened by a new Navigation Act (1489). The Venetians soon found that the new king, while showing every diplomatic courtesy to the Republic was even more determined than his Yorkist predecessor to support English merchants in their newly established Mediterranean market. An Act of Parliament, dated 1497,^{1/} indicates the extent of the English commercial penetration of the Mediterranean markets in the reign of Henry VII, and shows that the Merchant Adventurers now traded direct with Venice, and resided there "to buy, sell, and make their exchanges according to the laws and customes of those parts." The profitability of the new commerce to English merchants and the crown was not lost on Henry VII, and the negotiations with Florence for a wool staple at Pisa, in 1490, is an indication that the Tudor regime continued to be influenced by powerful commercial pressure groups.^{2/} By 1511, English shipping had made a large and profitable inroad into the Italian dominated Mediterranean markets.^{3/} Moreover, in the fierce competition for the trade of the Mediterranean during the sixteenth century political events became inextricably linked with commercial achievement. Mastery of the political scene increasingly

1/ Stats. Realm 12 Hen. VII c.6.

2/ Foedera XII, 373, 389-90.

3/ P.R.O., E.C.P. 283/30, 770/9; L.T.R. Customs Roll, 23. S.C.R.O. Port Books temp. Henry VII, SC 5/4 23-27; Hakluyt, Principal Navigations 3, p.2; Schanz, op.cit., II, pp.282-3.

meant mastery in the economic field, and permitted some nations to achieve competitive success while others that had been dominant in earlier centuries failed. In the fierce competition for the trade between north western Europe and the Levant Venice ultimately failed to retain her monopoly.

In assessing the continued importance of the commercial role played by Venetian merchants in early Tudor England it is seen, at least with regard to exports, that Venetian merchants retained a large share of English trade with the Mediterranean. English cloths, both coloured and uncoloured, along with traditional English raw materials continued to be exported by Venetians in significant quantities. By the sixteenth century the Flanders galleys, having lost their raison d'être for continuing to visit Flanders in face of the Portuguese spice trade, continued erratically to visit England in an effort to ensure regular supplies of essential raw materials for Venetian industry, and important commodities for re-export to the Levantine markets. In the 1540's Venetian involvement in the export of English manufactures and raw materials actually increased from its previous levels, and if cloth exports predominate the Venetian share of certain other branches of English trade remained equally significant. For example, Venetians exported large quantities of hides, a branch of trade generally portrayed as firmly under English control.

Statistical information is less readily available for the import trade, and it must remain doubtful whether the surviving port books can ever be made to yield really satisfactory statistical data, but there is no shortage of English and Venetian archival material, and it is quite clear that despite early setbacks the import of certain commodities remained firmly in Venetian hands. There are clear indications that for much of the period Venetian merchants, along with other Italians, continued to control the import of fine cloths of silk and gold. It is true that English penetration of the Mediterranean during the reign of Henry VII and the early years of the reign of Henry VIII had threatened Venetian control of the sweet wine trade, but these attempts to trade directly by sea with the eastern Mediterranean were largely abandoned in

the 1530's. Between 1539-47, 75% of the malmsey wine trade was once more in Venetian hands. Moreover, while Venice lost her pre-eminence in the spice trade, she partially made up for this by finding an expanding market in England and the Low Countries for other Mediterranean goods. The general economic growth of western Europe, which was proceeding vigorously in the sixteenth century, stimulated economic growth in Venice also. The expanding volume of the cotton trade with the west is one example of the way Venice profited from these expanding markets. The English consumption of sweet wines increased enormously in the Tudor period, and Venetian merchants profited largely from this. The cost of freighting wine from Crete to Southampton was halved in the later fifteenth century. Later raisins and olive oil also became a major item in Venetian shipments to England. By the 1540's the Venetian Ionian provinces of Cephalonia and Zante specialised in growing grapes solely for the English market. The development of such cities as London, Antwerp, Seville, and Lisbon made the commercial pre-eminence of Venice less outstanding than it had been, but they also provided expanding markets for Venetian manufactures and colonial produce.

Other changes in the European economy also adversely affected Anglo-Venetian trade. North European bullion resources could not endure without being replenished, and Venetian galleys and carracks could not long continue to carry much specie and little valuable cargo away from the north without ultimately destroying the trade. In northern Europe the gradual exhaustion of money supplies and the increasing efforts of princes to substitute domestic for imported manufactures and to limit the importation of southern luxuries worked against continued Venetian prosperity. After 1500 the northern economies became more powerful, and could compete more effectively against the Italian hegemony in international trade. In the eastern Mediterranean Turkish arms were triumphant. Both Mameluks and Ottomans increased their tariffs and their prices. The Venetians were caught in the middle; the rising costs of trade had to be absorbed by the trader. The later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries was a bleak period for Venice. The Republic found her supply of eastern goods was

reduced and almost cut off, at the same time her northern markets were badly eroded. She returned to productive industry, notably cloth manufacture, but the transition from her traditional role as entrepôt was painful. Venice did recover, but never regained the dominant position she had held in the world's economy during the Middle Ages. However, despite valient efforts by successive Tudor governments to develop local industries the value of the commodities sent from Venice to north western Europe still greatly exceeded that of the goods shipped in the opposite direction. It was always necessary for the west to ship silver bullion eastward in order to balance the commercial accounts. However, in Anglo-Venetian trade this was not the norm. Repayment was more generally made through the despatch of ditte from London based agents to Venice or through credit exchanges with English merchants at Antwerp. The later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries witnessed the rapid development of a system of credit transfer between Venice, Antwerp and London, but frequent complaints by successive governments during the reign of Henry VIII against the bullion exports of Venetian merchants indicate that the flow of silver from west to east did not cease, despite strong bullionist legislation in England. (1)

In this period the multilateral trade system of the Flanders galleys proved to be too vulnerable to market changes. (2) The failure of the Venetians to maintain the spice market at Antwerp, and to adjust their trading operations in the west disrupted the delicate equilibrium upon which the state galley system rested. The decline and final abandonment of the Venetian galley trade in the early sixteenth century led to the establishment of new market conditions, and new routes. Henceforth Venetian trade with England was conducted by private shipping or by overland carriers, and had entered a new period of prosperity by the 1540's.

(1) Supra, pp.104-5.

(2) See A. Friis, 'An inquiry into the relations between economic and financial factors in the sixteenth century', Scan. E.H.R., 1953, for a general view of the changing European economy.

Whilst permanent and intimate business relationships in the sixteenth century continued to be based on the family unit,⁽¹⁾ short term, and specific business ventures were undertaken by a complicated series of extra-familial partnerships. There are indications that changes taking place in the Venetian and wider European economy may have served both to intensify family commitment, and also to promote, in search of working capital, many more subsidiary agreements. At the beginning of the sixteenth century London contained a very diverse Venetian business community. As in the fifteenth century⁽²⁾ Venetian merchants included the agents of large fraterne; partners of fraterne; independent merchants; and less successful individuals making a living from money lending and brokerage. They included also the travelling merchant whose departure from the business scene has too often been pre-dated by historians of Italian trade.⁽³⁾ By the 1580's the Venetian business community had virtually disappeared.⁽⁴⁾ This change may simply reflect the fact that by the later sixteenth century many Venetians were forsaking business for safer investments

- (1) Recent studies of Italian mercantile organisation during the Renaissance have centred around the role of the family. Professor Lane writing of Venice noted a transition from the old form of partnership in which members of the family predominate to the series of partnerships entered into with non-family members. (F.C. Lane, Venice, A Maritime Republic, p.138.) R.A. Goldthwaite extended Lane's observation with the thesis that Renaissance Florence witnessed a fragmentation of the family unit and the liberation of Italian commerce from the family connection. (R.A. Goldthwaite, op.cit.) But, generally the continuing importance of the extended family and of family solidarity is emphasised in much recent work of the leading mercantile families of Genoa, Venice, and Florence. Generally see J. Heers, Le clan familial au moyen âge, Paris, 1974. D.O. Hughes, 'Urban Growth and Family Structure in Medieval Genoa', P. & P., 66, 1975, pp.3-28 insists that, whatever the pattern elsewhere in Italy, in Genoa the essential strength of the great aristocratic families remained unimpaired. Similar conclusions have been reached for Venice by J.C. Davis, A Venetian Family and its Fortune, 1500-1900, Philadelphia, 1975, and for Lucca by M. Berengo, Nobili e mercanti nella Lucca del Cinquecento, Torino, 1965. L.R. Burr, 'Demographic Characteristics of Florentine Patrician Families, Sixteenth and Nineteenth Centuries', J.Ec.H. XXIX, 1969, pp.191-205 concludes that the role of the family in Tuscany remained essentially the same, though arguing that after 1500 the clans became smaller.
- (2) S.L. Thrupp, Aliens in and around London, p.261.
- (3) For examples of Venetians travelling with their goods see B.M.V., Ital. Cl.VII MCXIX (7449) 21 June, 1518, Letter of Sebastian Giustinian to the Signoria. L. & P., Add. I (1), 401.
- (4) U. Tucci, art.cit., p.348.

either in Terraferma estates or in new expanding industries,⁽¹⁾ but it more clearly reflects a change in Venetian business operations. The distinctive development of the sixteenth century was the increased use made of commission merchants. By the sixteenth century it had become expensive for Venetian firms to maintain establishments in all the major commercial centres of Europe and the Levant; the employment of commission agents removed the need for direct representation and reduced operating costs. There was of course nothing new in Venetian merchants utilising the services of other Venetian or Italian companies established in London, Andrea Barbarigo had carried on a profitable trade with England in the 1430's through the commission agent, Lorenzo Marcannovo.⁽²⁾ What was distinctive and new was the emergence of the professional commission agent, often non-Venetian, and the parallel decline in the number of large Venetian fraterne with branches in England. In this way Venetian business operations in England are in part a reflection of the economic climate of mid-sixteenth century Europe. For Venetian commerce generally the sixteenth century was a time of disruptions and difficulties, and the increased use of commission agents in distant centres, such as London, rationalised business organisation and reduced capital requirements.

Whilst the family remained the basis of Italian business organisation in the early Tudor period, rapid fragmentation of family business connections after the second or third generation are more apparent in the sixteenth century. A unified business commitment could hardly survive the proliferation of collateral lines.⁽³⁾ However, insofar as Venice is concerned the sixteenth

- (1) J.C. Davis, Decline of the Venetian Nobility, and A Venetian Family, Ch.II, passim. See also B. Pullan, 'Occupations and Investments of the Venetian Nobility in the Middle and Late Sixteenth Century', in J.R. Hale, ed. Renaissance Venice, London, 1973, p.387.
- (2) F.C. Lane, Andrea Barbarigo, pp.128, 131.
- (3) See R. De Roover, Business, Banking and Economic Thought in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe, ed. J. Kirshner, Chicago, 1974, pp.57-8. R.A. Goldthwaite, op.cit., passim.

century witnessed a tendency towards the strengthening of the fraterna. The desire for individuals to break away from the family unit actually appears to have been checked at Venice in the more difficult economic climate of the sixteenth century. During this period families were attempting to preserve their status and wealth, by a policy of restricted marriage,⁽¹⁾ and recent studies of Florentine families show that Tuscan families were pursuing a similar marital policy in the sixteenth century.⁽²⁾ The consequences of such a policy would be to reinforce economic and social ties between brothers. However, study of the Venetian merchants resident in London shows that a qualification must be added to this. By the sixteenth century the component parts of the family network were no longer as clearly subordinate to the fraterna in Venice as had been the case in the past. Venetian merchants overseas were clearly important figures in the mercantile world, who not only dominated their own companies, but also held substantial investments in the fraterna, and in the family's branches elsewhere.

That Venetian merchants remained important in many branches of English trade in this period may be attributed to the sophisticated organisation, business techniques and the vast network of mercantile and financial connections which the Venetians maintained in the major markets of Europe and the Levant. No English merchant had at his disposal such an organisation. Against such competition it is not surprising to find that English efforts in the Mediterranean against the Venetian dominated trades were not attended with greater success, especially at a time when more convenient markets nearer home offered greater prospects for commercial gain.⁽³⁾ Moreover, the importance of the Venetians was not confined to purely trading functions. Important services were rendered to the English

(1) J.C. Davis, The Decline of the Venetian Nobility, pp.58, 62-66.

(2) D. Herlihy, 'Deaths, Marriages, Births, and the Tuscan Economy, c.1300-1550', R.D. Lee, ed. Population Patterns in the Past, New York, 1977, pp.150-2.

(3) See T.S. Willan, 'English trade with the Levant in the sixteenth century', Eng.Hist.Rev., LXX, 1955, pp.399-404.

crown. Many of these services were merely an extension of normal mercantile and financial activities, and are reflective of continued Venetian dominance in those areas.

However, there are distinct indications that by 1550, the terminal date of this study, the end of a long period of Venetian dominance in English economic history was already in sight. Dr. Ramsay, ⁽¹⁾ I believe rightly, claims that "there can be no doubt that the undoing of the ancient Italian mercantile colony at London may be squarely located in the third quarter of the sixteenth century." For the Italians in general the early years of the reign of Edward VI were not good years. The Enrolled Accounts show only 12% of total cloth exports to have been in the hands of non-Hanseatic aliens for the period 1547-50. The reigns of Edward VI and Mary brought increased difficulties for Venetian merchants trading with England. ⁽²⁾ Rather more startling are the indications from the surviving fragments of evidence relating to the import trade. It is not easy to gain an overall view of Venetian trade for this later period, since most of the surviving customs accounts of London, from which port the bulk of Venetian trade with England was now conducted, relate to wool or the petty custom only, but for 1546-7 there is extant a full survey of the subsidy of tannage and poundage. ⁽³⁾ This account shows total imports of £158,500 according to the customer's valuations which excludes Hanseatic goods. Imports by aliens were valued at £43,857, still about 28% of all goods valued. A number of prominent Venetian merchants continue to appear, notably those of Damian Dolfin, Placito Ragazzoni, and Martin di Federico, but the names of aliens listed

(1) G.D. Ramsay, 'The undoing of the Italian mercantile colony', p.39.

(2) These difficulties are emphasised by the ambassador in London, Giovanni Michieli, 'Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti', Alberi E. ed., serie I., vol II, Firenze, 1840, pp.291-380.

(3) P.R.O., K.R. Customs Accounts E122. 85/3. Even here this MS. has one membrane missing for the month of May and is slightly mutilated.

are now overwhelmingly French, Flemish or Dutch. The nature of the commodities imported is equally instructive. Luxury goods appear among alien imports only rarely, and in modest quantities. However, one must be wary of building too fine an argument on the basis of one existing customs account. Moreover, it is well known that much Venetian trade by the late 1540's was handled by Flemish agents, and Flemish and German merchants continued to be used by Venetian firms in the export of English cloth, wool, and tin overland to Venice. There is possibly ground for believing that the Venetian grip on the import of high quality cloths was slackening. The King's Book of Payments for the later years of Henry VIII's reign show few Italian merchants supplying the court with such goods, compared with the large number of Italians recorded in the early years of the reign. The records indicate that prominent English merchants, such as Sir Richard Gresham, assumed the lead as suppliers of the royal household with Italian fabrics.

Whilst there can be no doubt that the end of this period was characterised by the final emancipation of English merchants from alien tutelage, ⁽¹⁾ the middle of the sixteenth century saw the direct sea links with the Levant and Italy once more firmly in the hands of Venetian shipping. However, this trade was important now only for the import of sweet wines, currants, raisins and oil, which remained firmly under Venetian control. It remained for future conflicts in Elizabeth's reign to remove this last bastion of alien control. That the English did not entirely find their re-entry into this area of Venetian predominance easy can be estimated from the English combination of legitimate trading voyages with piratical enterprises against the well established Venetian shipping. In the final analysis it was English cannon that literally blasted their way into this last remaining area of alien monopoly. The last vestiges of Venetian trade with England collapsed before the ruthless maritime and

(1) The privileges of the German Hanse were revoked in 1552 at the request of the Merchant Adventurers, G.R. Elton, England Under The Tudors, London, 1955, pp.247-8.

'commercial' activities of the Elizabethan sea-dogs.⁽¹⁾ The declining importance of Venetian merchants in England after 1550 was no doubt accelerated by the withdrawal of the Republic's official embassy in 1557, after almost half a century of continuous diplomatic representation at the English court, and by the irregular appointment of Venetian consuls in London.⁽²⁾ In Elizabeth's reign much trade continued to be conducted by Venetians with England through Italian merchants in London, and a great deal more work needs to be done on the activities of alien commission agents in London in the sixteenth century.

The normal attitude of early Tudor governments towards the Venetian community was one of self-interested benevolence. Central government offered some protection to Venetian merchants against local interests, but during the minority of Edward VI government was neither able nor inclined to resist the pressures of the Merchant Adventurers, on whom it was becoming increasingly dependent financially.⁽³⁾ Even more unfortunate for the interests of Venetian merchants in England, this period of weak government coincided with the beginning of an acute economic crisis. In 1550, the hitherto safe Antwerp market was no longer able to absorb the ever increasing English cloth exports.⁽⁴⁾ In the spring of that year English merchants began to find difficulty in selling their cloths. It was no accident that it was in this environment of mutual recriminations between English merchants and clothiers that a new offensive was launched against alien competitors. English merchants were now in a position to oust alien rivals. The first blow fell against the privileges of the Hanse, in 1552.

- (1) See A. Tenenti, Piracy and the Decline of Venice, pp.56-86. N. Williams, The Sea Dogs; Privateers, Plunder and Piracy in the Elizabethan Age, London, 1975, pp.238-59.
- (2) See Appendix IV.
- (3) G.D. Ramsay, 'The undoing of the Italian mercantile colony', p.27, has recently stressed the importance of these factors.
- (4) J. Fisher, art.cit., passim.

The concentration of English trade on Antwerp was no doubt the major reason for the overall decline in the number of Venetian merchants resident in England during the sixteenth century. The dominance of Antwerp was not directly detrimental to Venetian interests in England, however, for Venetian firms maintained agents in Antwerp from whom they obtained the large quantities of English cloths, especially kerseys, which were despatched overland to supply the Mediterranean and Middle Eastern markets. In the early sixteenth century Venetian trade with England increasingly made use of the safe and well organised transcontinental route across Germany and the Alps to Venice. Goods small in bulk, but high in value had in preceding centuries frequently found their way direct from north to south and vice-versa instead of by the lengthy sea passage via the Straits of Gibraltar. It now became more usual for Venetian merchants to despatch the packs of woollen cloths, wool and even consignments of tin, heavy and bulky as they were, overland by carrier. By mid-sixteenth century this transcontinental route between Antwerp and Italy was covered from end to end by professional firms of Italian,⁽¹⁾ and German carriers. They undertook responsibility for the carriage of freight entrusted to them for the whole journey, and they maintained agents at selected staging posts en-route, to check, unpack, and re-pack the goods. The major route in mid-century lay from Antwerp to Cologne, then across Germany to Augsburg, the Brenner and Venice. For the two years 1543-45 1,095 convoys of carts left Antwerp for Italy with loads worth 587,000 great-pounds, one hundred and eightyfive of three hundred merchants involved were Italian, accounting for 63.2% of the value of the merchandise. The chief destinations were Ancona⁽²⁾ 34.9%, and Venice 29.3%, which suggests large scale transport to the Balkans and Levant, important markets of English kerseys.⁽³⁾ Such convoys occurred between March and July

(1) J. Denucé, Italiaansche Koopmangeschlachten te Antwerpen in de XVI^e-XVIII^e eeuwen, Amsterdam, 1937.

(2) See P. Earle, 'The Commercial Development of Ancona, 1479-1551', Econ.Hist.Rev., XXII (1), 1969.

(3) The bulk of the shipments were English kerseys, the cloth of the Low Countries made up a smaller percentage of the total shipments and went essentially to the Italian market.

because of the intermediate role of Italian shipping. The muda of Beirut left Venice on or around the 24 August, and that of Alexandria on 30 August. (1) August convoys were too late in the year to reach Venice before winter interrupted Mediterranean sailing schedules. Exports to Italy have been reckoned at about 1/6th of Antwerp's business, and a large percentage of this sum was made up of English re-exports. (2) Large shipments of cloth from the London customs house indicate that Venetian commission agents, such as Martin di Federico, and Gerolamo da Molin, exported goods to the Low Countries throughout this period. Studies of known Venetian agents based at Antwerp indicate similar trends, and one must guard against associating too closely indications of declining numbers of Venetian merchants in late sixteenth century England with notions of diminishing Venetian involvement in English trade. Likewise the increasing use of commission agents may explain the disappearance of the Venetian consulate and the Cottimo da Londra, as the duties levied on the English trade were now collected in Venice by the officials of the Arsenal. (3) However, it appears that the growth of the Antwerp market and England's close association with it did help indirectly to free many branches of English trade from Italian control. At a time when English merchants were still ill-equipped to venture into the Mediterranean, the import of most Mediterranean and Levantine wares, now mainly re-exported from Antwerp, were handled increasingly by English merchants. Spice imports, dominated by the Venetians during the reign of Henry VII had passed into the hands of English merchants in the reign of Henry VIII when virtually all spices were re-exported from Antwerp. By the late 1540's there are even indications that English merchants established in Antwerp had largely supplanted the Italians as importers of silks into England.

(1) Supra, Table V, p.116.

(2) F. Edler, Van der Molen, p.215; W. Brulez, 'Exportation des Pays-Bas', pp.465 et seq.. F. Edler, 'Winchcombe Kerseys', pp.57-8.

(3) A.S.V., Senato, Mar 18 ff4r, 35r; 20 ff20v, 134v.

It is of the greatest significance that by the 1550's the only areas of English trade still dominated by aliens were those involving the Venetians shipping direct from the Mediterranean.

Other factors may have contributed to Venetian decline, but are of subsidiary importance. The consequence of the English Reformation possibly played a significant part in the decline, but the argument remains unconvincing except in a few instances. Venetian threats to withdraw from English trade⁽¹⁾ never materialised, and were probably intended largely as placatory diplomatic manoeuvres in the direction of Rome and the Imperial Court. With regard to the opinions sought by Henry VIII from the University of Padua, in 1534, Carlo Capello, the Venetian ambassador in London, wrote to the Signoria on behalf of the King to permit the University to debate, and to give its opinion on the King's divorce, but the Signoria, fearful of the international repercussions, procrastinated and referred the matter to the Consiglio dei Dieci. The decision of the Dieci not to allow the University to give a decision on the matter indicates that the Republic stood more in awe of Charles V than of Henry VIII.⁽²⁾ Similarly the prohibition on the export of wool by Venetians, in 1532, was caused by a letter from Pope Clement VII informing Henry VIII that the Consiglio dei Dieci forbade any doctor of law to quit the University of Padua for the purpose of stating the King's rights in the divorce case.⁽³⁾ However, the Venetians were too sound businessmen to allow the English schism to interfere with a lucrative and essential trade. Certainly during the Henrician reformation Venetian merchants do not appear to have been harried for conscience sake. It must be remembered that until Henry VIII's death doctrinal changes in England were limited. The main problems were related to the Act of Supremacy. Nor must the spread of heretical literature be regarded as solely a Hanseatic preserve. In 1524, several officers belonging

(1) L. & P., IX 965.

(2) A.S.V., Consiglio Dieci, Parti Segrete, Filza 4, 7 May, 1534. Senato, Deliberazioni, Segrete 56 f122r. Dispacci, Roma, Filza 4B, 7 November, 1535. C.S.P.V., V 343, 348, 412.

(3) C.S.P.V., IV, Preface p.xv.

to the Venetian galleys were arrested by the Holy Office in Spain for selling heretical bibles. (1) Certainly, before 1550, the Tudor government was not inclined to make too close an inquiry into the opinions of members of the Italian community. The Venetians in fact appear to have adjusted themselves remarkably well to the new circumstances. Possibly more important were political and economic changes in Venice itself. The sixteenth century saw the gradual decline of Venetian colonies and traditional markets. For Italy as a whole the sixteenth century was a time of limited horizons, a process which became marked after 1550. Venetian merchants invested increasingly in land and non-productive investments such as government bonds, and neglected industrial crops in the interests of food production. Peter Laven discussing the early sixteenth century poignantly refers to this period as one of "positive evasion and gainful retreat." (2) It is against such a background that the declining Venetian presence in England must be viewed. The picture of an adjustment and decline with Venice itself is, however, only an extension of the gradual decline of Venice's economic position in England. From mid-century Venetian merchants were dispensable, and they and their shipping proved relatively easy victims when their English rivals began an aggressive commercial drive into the Mediterranean and Levantine markets in the less prosperous years of the later sixteenth century.

(1) C.S.P.V., I, Preface p.cxxi.

(2) P.J. Laven, op.cit., p.89.

A P P E N D I C E S .

Appendix I.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES: a) VENETIAN.

The chief authorities consulted were Bartholomeo de Paxi, Tariffa de pexi e misure, Venezia, 1503, no paging; Rawdon Brown, ed. C.S.P.V., I, Introduction; G. Boerio, Dizionario del dialetto Veneziano di Giuseppi Boerio, 2nd ed. Venezia, 1856. F.E. de Roover, Glossary of Medieval Terms of Business 1200-1600, Italy, Camb. Mass. 1934; G.A. da Uzzano, La Practica della mercatura, F.G. Pagnini, ed. Della decima e delle altre gravezze Tomo IV, Firenze, 1766. F.B. Pegolotti, La practica della mercatura di Francesco di Balduccio Pegolotti, A. Evans, ed. Camb. Mass. 1936. Also the diaries of Priuli and Sanudo.

WEIGHT.

The Venetians used four different pounds for weighing, the heavy pound, the light pound, the pound for weighing specie and the pound for weighing gold or silver thread. Only the first two of these relate to this thesis.

1 lira or libbra grossa = 1.04 Eng. lb. (480 gm.)
1 lira or libbra sottile = 0.66 Eng. lb. (302.4 gm.)

By the gross weight (or heavy lb.) all iron, copper, tin, lead, wood, meat, cheese, fruit, honey and pitch were sold.

By the light lb. all wares imported from the Levant were sold, i.e. cotton, pepper, cinnamon, ginger, incense, sugar, indigo, brazilwood, silk, kermes, all kind of gum, wax, saffron, cloves, rock alum, raisins, amber rosaries and all minute spices. (100 lb. grosso = 158 lb. minuto), Paxi.

Other weights used were in connection with the spice trade.

1 Cantaro forfori = 92 libbra grossa.

The Cantaro was used for weighing those spices coming solely from Alexandria. It was divided into 100 ruotoli or rotoli. But the figures given by Sanudo and Priuli of the amount of spices shipped from the east are given in colli. The collo was a bale used for trans-shipment. There were two kinds of colli, the colli grandi or colli alexandrini and the colli piccoli or colli 'serici' (Syria).

1 collo = 1120 lb. Eng. ⁽¹⁾
1 collo piccolo = 264 lb. Eng. ⁽²⁾

At Lisbon spices were quoted in the light cantar.

1 cantar = 176 lire sottile (Paxi) = 116 lb. Eng.

At Venice all spices were measured in lire sottile and their wholesale prices were quoted in cargi.

1 cargo, carga or carica = 400 lire sottile = 264 lb. Eng.

(1) G. Priuli, I Diarii, p.247. Sanudo, I Diarii XVII, c.191.

(2) A.S.V., Senato Misti, 56, f109r.

DRY CAPACITY.

1 Staio = 2.3 Imp. bushels = 144.9 Eng. lb. = 132 lire grosse
= 138.6 Eng. lb. (Paxi's measure conflicts with other sources. He also gives that the staio of wheat was also equivalent to the staio used in measuring ship's biscuit.)

WET CAPACITY.

1 Secchie ⁽¹⁾	= 1/7 Mastelli.
1 Barila	= 6/7 Mastelli.
1 Mastello	= 16.5 gallons Eng. (75 Litres.)
1 Bigoncia	= 2 Mastelli.
1 Anfora	= 8 Mastelli.
1 Botta	= 10 Mastelli.
1 Burchio	= 600 Mastelli.

However, in the Cretan wine trade with England Cretan liquid measures were generally used by the Venetians.

1 Cretan botta	= 48 Mastelli (Venetian).
1 Rasca	= 4 Botte.

The value of the botta as a measure of capacity was also stated as equal to 10 stara = 23 Imp. bushels (1,449 lb. Eng.).

An English statute of 1483 states that the butt of malmsey used to be seven score gallons or six score six gallons, but the Venetians now load butts that hold only five score eight gallons. Henceforth none were to be imported unless they held 126 gallons. (Stats. Realm.)

SHIP MEASURES.

a) The Flanders galleys.

The Senate made numerous rulings on the type of vessel to be used on the Flanders voyage. In 1318 the galleys of Flanders were constructed in excess of the measures stipulated by the government, at the instigation of Dardi Bembo, Andriolo Baseio, and Gabriel Dandolo, who had the contracts for the operation of the Flanders muda of that year, and who ordered them to be built to a larger measure than stipulated in order to carry more cargo. (R. Cessi, *Relazioni commerciali fra Venezia e le Fiandra nel secolo XIV*, N.A.V. n.s.XXVII, 1914, p.87.) As a result of this experience the Senate laid down a series of regulations restricting the size of the Flanders galleys in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The fact that these regulations had to be restated regularly indicates the extent of the difficulty the government faced in enforcing the measure of Flanders. In 1356 the Senate settled on 400 milliari as the official measure of Flanders. (*Ibid.*, p.92.) In 1440 the galleys of the measure of Flanders were forbidden to exceed 440 milliari (*A.S.V.*, Senato Misti 60, f249r.) 1 milliarius = 0.47 deadweight tons. (F.C. Lane, 'Tonnages, Medieval and Modern', in *Venice and History*, pp.353, 357-8, 367-370.) But again, in 1480, the Senate complained that the galleys were of 500-600 milliari, and, in 1481, 450 milliari was established as the maximum. (*A.S.V.*, Senato Terra 8, f114r.) The galleys of the measure of Romania by comparison were legally fixed at only

(1) Possibly the origin of the English word sack. The galleys used the secchio, or bucket, to measure out Spanish and other sweet wines brought from the Mediterranean.

230-350 milliari (140-165 deadweight tons burden), (A.S.V., Senato Mar 1, fl3r.). Jal gives a description of the galleys of the measure of Flanders for 1501, which he states were of 500 milliari burden below deck, and as much again on deck. (A. Jal, Archeologie navale, Paris, 1840, 1, pp.384-7.) (Presumably included in the weight on deck were the crew, the oars, chests, sails, tackle, etc..) Finally, in 1520, the Senate once more complained that the galleys were of too great a size, and limited their length to 160 feet (Venetian). (A.S.V., Senato Mar 19, fl26r.) Even so they were so large when completed that in order to get them out of the Arsenal it was necessary to narrow the postize (G. Boerio, Dizionario del dialetto veneziano, 2nd. ed. Venezia, 1856, 'postizia' - the upper part of a ship, the superstructure.) Also that they were unseaworthy. Two other Flanders galleys of similar dimensions then under construction on the berths were ordered to be reduced to the legal measure.

b) Round-ships.

The size of Venetian ships of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are more generally estimated in terms of botte. The botta was used to determine the cubic capacity of a vessel, and the miliaria to find how much weight they could carry without sinking below the legal line fixed on the side of the vessel.

The use of the botta as a ship measure resulted from the importance of the Cretan wine trade.

1 botta = 126 gallons = 20.2 cu.ft. = 0.5 freight tons. (See F.C. Lane, Tonnages, Medieval and Modern, Venice and History, passim. G. Luzzato, 'Per la storia delle costruzioni navali a Venezia nei secoli XV e XVI', in Scritti storici in onore di Camillo Manfroni, Padova, 1925, p.390n, figured that the botta was 0.7 to 0.75 tonnellata, although this seemed surprising to him.)

LENGTH.

1 piede = 1.1 Eng. feet.
1 passo = 5 piede.

AREA

1 campo = 4,373.29 sq.yds.

VENETIAN MONEY.

Prices and wages have invariably been given above in the same moneys of account in which they were given in the original documents. No attempts have been made to transform the sums into modern equivalents as such figures would be meaningless. However, the figures quoted above are significant for comparison among themselves.

Debasement was so common at this period that accounts were kept in ideal monetary units called moneys of account,⁽¹⁾ and these moneys often had no counterparts in the coins in circulation. During the period of this study there were two such moneys of account in use in Venice: the lira di grossi on a gold basis represented by the gold DUCAT coin; and the lira di piccoli on a silver basis represented by the silver SOLDINO coin:-

- i. The lira di grossi = 20 soldi di grossi of 12 denari di grossi.
(1 gold DUCAT coin = 2 soldi di grossi).
- ii. The lira di piccoli = 20 soldi di piccoli of 12 denari di piccoli.
(1 silver SOLDINO coin = 1 soldo di piccoli).

(1) See L. Einaudi, 'Teoria della moneta immaginaria', R.S.E. 1, 1936.

In 1472, the lira di piccoli had been so much debased that 1 DUCAT was valued at 124 soldi of the lira di piccoli. This relationship 1 DUCAT = 124 soldi di piccoli was thus made the basis for creating a DUCAT of account which became distinct from the DUCAT as a gold coin.

From 1472-1509, the DUCAT as a money of account was equal to the DUCAT as a gold coin, whether figured as equal to 2 soldi di grossi or as equal to 124 soldi di piccoli. After 1509 the two parted company, largely as a result of a debasement of the silver coinage brought about by the Italian Wars. From 1509 the DUCAT was used as a money of account dependent for its metallic value upon the silver coins which represented the lira and soldo di piccoli. The DUCAT as a money of account equal to 24 grossi was now not the equivalent of the gold DUCAT coin, but of 124 soldi di piccoli. To specify the DUCAT coin after 1509 it was necessary to refer to DUCATO D'ORO.⁽¹⁾ The legal price of the gold DUCAT coins rose as the silver coinage was debased, in 1545, 1 gold DUCAT coin equalled 7 lire 17 soldi of the lire di piccoli.⁽²⁾

Whenever lire and soldi have been used in the thesis above, lire di piccoli are meant. References to DUCATS before 1509 are to the gold DUCAT coin or its equivalent as a money of account. References to DUCATS thereafter are to DUCATS of account equal to 124 soldi of the lira di piccoli.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES: b) ENGLISH.

The chief authorities consulted were 'The Nounbre of Weyghts' B.M., Cottonian MSS. Vesp. E.IX. J.E. Thorold-Rogers, A History of Agriculture and Prices in England, 8 vols., Oxford, 1882, vol.III. A.L. Simon, A History of the Wine Trade in England, 3 vols., London, 1906, vol.2., and R.E. Zupko, A Dictionary of English Weights and Measures, London, 1968. Also, Rotuli Parliamentorum, and Statutes of the Realm.

WOOL.

For customs purposes wool was reckoned by the sack, the sack being a standard weight of 364 lb. avoirdupois of shorn wool, containing the wool shorn from approximately some 260 sheep.

Woolfells, ie. sheepskins, collected after the Martinmas slaughterings, with the wool still on them, were reckoned by number; 240 were customed as a sack.⁽³⁾

7 lb. avoirdupois = 1 clove or nail
2 cloves or nails = 1 stone
2 stones = 1 tod
6½ tods = 1 wey
2 weys = 1 sack (or poke)
2 sacks = 1 sarpler

CLOTH.

Woollen cloths were accounted for by number, the number being reckoned in terms of the standard 'cloth of assize'. The standard cloth whose size was

- (1) N. Papadopoli, Le Monete di Venezia, 3 vols., Venezia, 1907, II (1472-1605), 91, 100, 177, 212, 213.
- (2) Papadopoli, II, 214, 270.
- (3) N.S.B. Gras, op.cit., p.209.

fixed by statute⁽¹⁾ was a double width cloth measuring, when full and finished, approximately 24 yds. long by $1\frac{1}{2}$ -2 yds. wide. Cloths of different measurements than these, such as the many types of single-width cloths which were usually shorter and narrower, were converted for customs purposes into cloths of assize. By the sixteenth century many cloth manufacturers were making 'long cloths' as much as 40 yds., instead of 24 yds. in length. By an ordinance of 1536⁽²⁾ which laid down a standard scale of equivalents, it is clear that before this date these cloths had not always been properly converted for customs purposes into cloths of assize. Such undervaluations of 'long cloths' may make the early Tudor export figures for cloth lower than they should be, and thus disguise the full extent of the alien cloth trade.

A sack of wool would provide sufficient material for perhaps some 4 or $4\frac{1}{2}$ cloths of assize⁽³⁾ and the value of these cloths, therefore, was obviously much greater than that of the sack of wool.

Kerseys, which were popular with Venetian merchants, were permanently subject to customs at the rate of 3 kerseys to a cloth of assize.

$2\frac{1}{4}$ ins. = 1 nail
4 nails = 1 quarter
3 quarters = 1 Flemish Ell
4 quarters = 1 yard of 36 ins.
5 quarters = 1 English Ell

Cloths were sometimes referred to for customs purposes by the 'pack' or 'piece'. The 'pack' was a measure reckoned at 10 whole cloths of 24 yds. each in length and 2 yds. wide. The 'piece' was a measure of length, and the length varied according to the textile, but on average the 'piece' was reckoned at 39 yds..⁽⁴⁾

WINE.

The Tun = 252 gallons (Imperial)
The Butt or The Pipe = 126 gallons
The Tercian = 84 gallons
The Hogshead = 63 gallons
The Barrel = $31\frac{1}{2}$ gallons⁽⁵⁾

Richard III sought to regulate the contents of the butts of Malmsey; the preamble to this Act⁽⁶⁾ contains information as to the price of this sort of wine in England, and other details which are worthy of reproduction here:-

- (1) Stats. Realm, II, pp.154, 168, 403.
- (2) P.R.O., SP. 1(113) ff129-40.
- (3) Tudor Economic Documents, ed. R.H. Tawney and E. Power, 3 vols., London, 1924, 1, p.180.
- (4) P.R.O., Exchequer, Treasury of Receipt.E.36 215 'King's Book of Payments, 1-9 Hen. VIII.
- (5) Stats. Realm, 2 Hen. VI, c.14, 18 Hen. VI, c.17.

"Complaint in Parliament that butts of Malvoisie used to be brought in great plenty previous to the year 1449, which contained 140 gallons each, and some 132 gallons, and the smallest of them 126 gallons, and that a man might buy of the merchant strangers a butt of such wine for 50s. or 53s. at the most, to be paid two parts in woollen cloth and a third in cash. But now, by the craft of these merchant strangers, a butt of Malveseye barely holds 108 gallons; besides which, knowing how much of this wine is wanted in the realm, these merchant strangers only bring enough to last barely a year, so that they have enhanced the price to 8 marks (£5. 6s. 8d.) ready money, and no cloth, to the great enriching of themselves and great deceit, loss, hurt, and damage of your Sovereign Lord and of all your Commons of this your said realm. In consideration of which hurtes and damages aforesaid, and for the reformation of the same, please it Your Highness of your most bounteous and benign grace, by the advice and assent of your Lords spiritual and temporal, and of your Commons in this your present Parliament assembled, for to ordain, enact, and establish in this your present Parliament, and by authority of the same, that no manner of merchant nor other person, whatsoever he be, from the Feast of Saint Michael the Archangel, now next coming forward, bring nor cause to be brought into this realm any butt of Malvesey to be sold, but if it hold in measure at the least 126 gallons, nor any manner of vessel with any manner of wines, whatsoever they be, and of what country soever they be, nor any manner of vessels of oil, but if the vessels of those wines and oil contain and hold the assize and measures following, to wit:-

Every tun to hold six score and six gallons,
Every tercian to hold four score and four gallons,
Every hogshead to hold 63 gallons,
Every barrel to hold $31\frac{1}{2}$ gallons,

according to the ancient assize and measures of the same vessels used within this realm. On arrival, all such vessels to be gauged by the Royal gawger before being sold, any shortage to be made good by the seller and the price to be fixed by authority; the wine imported or sold otherwise than in accordance to the aforesaid regulations to be forfeited." (1)

DRY MEASURE.

1 quarter of English wheat = 504 lb. avoirdupois.

LEAD.

Measured by the fother: 1 fother = $19\frac{1}{2}$ C., (2,184 lb. avoirdupois.)

LEATHER.

Measured by the dicker: 10 hides = 1 dicker. (2)

According to the Assisa de Ponderibus et Mensuris, a last of hides contained 20 dickers, each dicker containing 10 hides. The last therefore contained 200 hides. (3)

- (1) The act was renewed by stat. 23 Hen. VIII, c.7., and 28 Hen. VIII, c.14.
- (2) O.E.D.
- (3) Stats. Realm, 1, c.205. This is also confirmed by N.S.B. Gras, op.cit., p.209, and J.A.H. Murray, ed., The New Oxford Dictionary on Historical Principles, Oxford, 1888-1928.

FREIGHT RATES BETWEEN ENGLAND AND VENICE.

On the regulated voyages of the galleys of the muda of Flanders the freight rates, Venice to England, fixed by the state to be charged by all the galleys were:-

Gross spice to pay freight at the rate of	4 ducats.
Small spice " " " " " "	5 ducats.
Levantine sugar " " " " " "	5 ducats.
Cottons, raw and spun " " " " " "	12 ducats.
Currants " " " " " "	18 ducats.
Lambskins " " " " " "	18 ducats.
Undressed hides " " " " " "	18 ducats.
Dressed hides " " " " " "	10 ducats per 1,000.
Wax of every sort " " " " " "	10 ducats.
Paper " " " " " "	1 ducat.
Paper in bales containing 12 reams " " " " " "	$\frac{1}{2}$ ducat.
Silks of every sort " " " " " "	20 ducats per thousand-weight Troy.
Cloths valued at 25 ducats and under " " " " " "	$\frac{1}{2}$ ducat per piece.
Cloths of higher value " " " " " "	1 ducat per piece.
Household utensils " " " " " "	$\frac{1}{2}$ ducat per 100.
Wines " " " " " "	7 ducats per butt. (1)

WOOL.

Freight charges on wool shipped from England to Venice on the Flanders galleys were extremely high: 10 ducats per sack. (2) At times when there were no regular sailings of the Flanders galleys the Senate laid down strict freight charges for the shipment of English wools, which were to be paid to the account of the Flanders galleys. The freight charges on wools, 1521-22, as laid down by the Senate (3) were as follows:-

- i. Freight on wools brought to Venice by Venetians or aliens by land from Calais to pay $2\frac{1}{2}$ ducats per sack.
- ii. Freight on wools brought to Venice by Venetians or aliens, and in either Venetian or alien ships from England by sea via Livorno to pay $3\frac{1}{2}$ ducats per sack.
- iii. Freight on wools brought to Venice by Venetians or aliens coming via Ragusa or other places in the Gulf to pay $7\frac{1}{2}$ ducats per sack.

CRETAN WINE.

Most wines carried between the ports of Candia or Retimo, and Southampton or London were shipped on Venetian carracks, which, during the early Tudor period, charged 7 ducats freight per botta of Candia. Whilst

(1) P.R.O., 30/25 104(2) c.23: 199 Auction contract c.59.

(2) B.M., Cottonian MSS. Vesp. E.IX. fos. 107v-108r.

(3) A.S.V., Senato, Terra XXII ff 11v, 12r.

this was often less than the freight charged by the Flanders galleys, it was considerably higher than the rate charged by Venice's major competitors in this period:-

In 1473, the Genoese cut the rate to 3 ducats to the 'ruin' of the Venetians. (1)

In 1488, 'foreigners', amongst whom English shippers were the principal culprits, cut the rate to 4 ducats, whilst the Venetians could not charge less than 7 ducats. (2)

In 1505, a motion was defeated to limit the rate Venetians could charge to 5 ducats, having 2 ducats per botta bounty from the state. (3)

(1) Ibid., Senato, Mar 9 f162r.

(2) Ibid., Senato, Mar 12 f157r.

(3) Ibid., Senato, Deliberazioni, Secreta, 40 f133r.

CRITICAL NOTE ON VENETIAN ROUND-SHIPS.

English economic historians referring to Venetian trade with England tend to underestimate the extent of private Venetian shipping visiting English ports in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. They paint a picture which is at once too simple and too schematic; too simple because it suggests that the bulk of Venetian trade with England was conducted by the Venetian state galley traffic; too schematic because it suggests that the end of the state organised galley voyages, in 1534, represents the commencement proper of Venetian carrack trade with England. Whilst less exotic than the Flanders galleys the great Venetian cogs, ⁽¹⁾ and carracks of the fifteenth, and early sixteenth centuries were a much more important part of the Venetian merchant marine in terms of the volume of cargo they carried. Four merchant galleys of the measure of Flanders would have carried about 1800 botte of cargo, whilst three round-ships would have carried approximately 3000 botte. Such a comparison serves to place the Flanders galleys in proper perspective in Anglo-Venetian trade. ⁽²⁾ The western voyages to the Channel and North Sea ports employed the largest ships in the Venetian merchant marine. Most of the cogs, and carracks mentioned in the fifteenth century are recorded as over 1000 botte. In 1417, three large Venetian cogs, the 'Ziliola', 'Bocheta', and 'Ungarena', were seized in England by Henry V. ⁽³⁾ In 1431, the cog 'Querina' of 420 tons (840 botte) freighted with Cretan wine ran into a storm and was swept out into the Atlantic. ⁽⁴⁾ Fifteen years later the Senate ordered three round-ships to go in convoy to the Channel ports, one of these vessels was stated to be of 1155 botte. ⁽⁵⁾ In June, 1449 four cogs were reported in the Channel ports, two of these were described as of 1100 botte, and 732 botte. ⁽⁶⁾ There are three vessels listed among the ships applying to serve the state, in 1462, that had previously been involved in the western trade. One of these vessels is recorded as having carried 1050 botte to Flanders, another is estimated at 900 botte, but as having carried 1300 botte to Flanders, and the third, officially estimated as 1000 botte, is recorded as having carried 1156 botte out to Flanders, and 1300 botte on the return voyage. ⁽⁷⁾ In view of these facts it would not be exaggerated to estimate that some three cogs a year, capable of carrying over 3000 botte, cleared from Venice for the ports of north western Europe in the fifteenth century. However, by the late 1460's Venice began to feel the competitive edge of West European rivalry in the bulk carrying trade between the Mediterranean and the North Sea. Vessels from Genoa, Portugal, Spain and

- (1) L.R.C. Laughton, "The Cog", M.M. 46, 1960; and "The Venetian Roccafortis", M.M. 43, 1956.
- (2) J. Heers, "Types de Navires et spécialisation des trafics en Méditerranée à la fin du moyen âge", in Le Navire et l'économie maritime du moyen âge au XVIII^e siècle, principalement en Méditerranée, Travaux du Colloque International d'Histoire Maritime tenu à Paris, 1957, (Paris, 1958.)
- (3) A.S.V., Senato, Misti 52 f113r.
- (4) B.M.V., Ital. Cl.VII, Cod. 368.
- (5) A.S.V., Senato, Mar 2 f156r.
- (6) Ibid., 3 f135r. In the previous year the Senate had proposed to send five 'great cogs' to the west.
- (7) Ibid., Notatario di Collegio 12 f98r.

England competed with Venetian carracks on the long, hazardous voyage from Crete to the Channel ports. This trade had been the chief support of the largest Venetian carracks, but, by 1487, private shipbuilding at Venice was completely at a standstill.⁽¹⁾ Between 1475-88, the state began to build carracks itself to ease the acute shortage of such vessels at Venice. The first of these were four vessels ranging between 600 and 2,400 tons. In the decade 1488-98 the state ordered a further six carracks to be built, mostly of 1200 tons, of which five were actually constructed.⁽²⁾ There are records of six vessels of 600 tons or more, between 1488-98, engaged in the Cretan wine trade with England.⁽³⁾ From the diary of Marin Sanudo, and from the registers of the Senate (Mar series) these vessels can be clearly identified:-

DATE OF THE VESSELS' SOJOURN IN ENGLAND	VESSEL	OWNER/MASTER
1495-96	'Malipiera'	Toma Duodo, master. ⁽⁴⁾
1495-96	'Zorza'	Nicolò da Napoli, master. ⁽⁵⁾
1497	'Tiepolo' (3000 <u>botte</u>)	Hieronimo Tiepolo & Co. of London, own ers. ⁽⁶⁾
1497	'Foscara'	Chartered by the Tiepolo Co. ⁽⁷⁾
1497-98	'Pasqualigo'	Belonging to the Pasqualigo. ⁽⁸⁾
1498	'Pandora'	Belonging to the Pisani. ⁽⁹⁾

However, between 1488-1502, the Venetian merchant marine was in a perilous state, shipbuilding stagnated,⁽¹⁰⁾ and both in number and capacity the Venetian round-ships able to trade beyond the Straits of Gibraltar were not a half of what they

- (1) Ibid., Senato, Mar 9, f19r; 12 ff125r, 187r.
- (2) Ibid., Arsenale, busta 6, f10r. Senato, Terra 7 ff98r-100r, 139r-140r, 157r, 161r, 177r, 179r, 192r; 8 f74r; Senato, Mar 9 ff20r, 99r, 120r-121v, 162r; 10 ff155r, 189v; 11 f103r; 12 ff123v, 153r; 13 ff50r, 90r; 14 f141r. Malipiero, p.645.
- (3) Ibid., 12 ff13r, 14r.
- (4) Ibid., 14 ff57r, 65r.
- (5) Ibid., 14 ff65r, 82v.
- (6) Sanudo, I Diarii 1, 27 June, 1497.
- (7) A.S.V., Senato, Mar 14 ff137v-138r.
- (8) Ibid., f138r.
- (9) Sanudo, I Diarii 1, 12 April, 1498.
- (10) F.C. Lane, Venice and History, pp.10-11.

had been in the middle of the fifteenth century.⁽¹⁾ The preamble to the remedial law of 1502, which established a thorough going reform and governmental aid programme for the private shipbuilding sector at Venice, set forth the major causes for the decline. The shipbuilders complained of low freight rates, innumerable dues and obligations laid on the ships by the state, the loss of western trade because of the permission given to aliens to load wines in Crete, and the competition of foreign vessels which had never previously come within the Straits of Gibraltar.⁽²⁾ With massive governmental aid the situation began to improve from 1502, and whilst the Italian Wars tied up many of the larger Venetian carracks as naval auxiliaries, between 1509-30, by 1540 the Venetian mercantile marine was once more a significant factor in the Venetian economy. For example, in 1545-46, there were three Venetian carracks in English waters, two of which were over 1,400 botte. The third was recorded as only 500 botte.⁽³⁾ Between 1538-70 there is positive evidence that the number of large carracks had doubled since the beginning of the century, and one can estimate with some degree of accuracy that three to four vessels left Venice each year for England in the 1540's and 1550's. Professor Tenenti ventures to suggest that in the Elizabethan era the Venetians despatched no less than five or six vessels to England each year.⁽⁴⁾ These large Venetian carracks continued trading with England to the end of the sixteenth century. Between 1583-92 several Venetian merchantmen were still actively engaged in trade with northern Europe, as the presence of the carracks 'Bon', 'Lombardo', 'Balaniera', 'Lippomano', 'Stella', 'Videla', 'Selvagna', 'Manicella', and 'Tizzone' in the North Sea and the Channel ports during these years ably testify.⁽⁵⁾

(1) A.S.V., Cinque Savii alla Mercanzia, ser. 1, busta 135 ff99r-100v.

(2) Ibid., Senato, Mar 15 fl45r.

(3) L. & P., XI pt.1, 543.

(4) A. Tenenti, Piracy and the Decline of Venice, p.59.

(5) A.S.V., Senato, Mar 52 f73v; 53 ff74v, 114r.

COMPARISON OF THE NUMBER AND CAPACITY OF VENETIAN VESSELS CLEARED ANNUALLY FOR
ENGLAND AND CONSTANTINOPLE BY PERIODS. (1)

A. ENGLAND.

1448		1449		Average 1558-59		Full Year 1558		Full Year 1559		First 6 months 1560	
No.	Av. Capacity (Botte)	No.	Av. Capacity (Botte)	No.	Av. Capacity (Botte)	No.	Av. Capacity (Botte)	No.	Av. Capacity (Botte)	No.	Av. Capacity (Botte)
4	3716	2	-	3	3660	4	5280	2	2040	3	2760

B. CONSTANTINOPLE.

1448		1449		Average 1558-59		Full Year 1558		Full Year 1559		First 6 months 1560	
No.	Av. Capacity (Botte)	No.	Av. Capacity (Botte)	No.	Av. Capacity (Botte)	No.	Av. Capacity (Botte)	No.	Av. Capacity (Botte)	No.	Av. Capacity (Botte)
3	2920	4	2920	3	3360	4	3240	3	3480	1	1200

(1) The table is based on the estimates of the number of vessels clearing for various ports as registered by the Senate, and the Donà family. A.S.V., Senato, Mar 2 ff134r, 156r; 3 ff43r, 48r-49r, 53r, 58r, 70r, 121r, 135r. Correr MS. Archivio Donà dalle Rose, busta 217, "Navi Grosse de Venetia, loro Viaggi e loro Patroni".

VENETIAN CONSULS IN ENGLAND, 1481-1571.

LONDON CONSULS	SOUTHAMPTON VICE-CONSULS	DATE OF OFFICE
Alvise Contarini		1481-82 ⁽¹⁾
Pietro Trevisan		1487 ⁽²⁾
Girolamo Barbarigo	Girolamo Pisani	1488 ⁽³⁾
Pietro Contarini		1490 ⁽⁴⁾
Lorenzo Pisani		1492 ⁽⁵⁾
Almorò Gritti		1494-95 ⁽⁶⁾
Nicolò Giustinian		1495 ⁽⁷⁾
Piero Contarini	Almorò Gritti	1495-96 ⁽⁸⁾
Almorò Pisani		1496-97 ⁽⁹⁾
	Thomas Overy	1498 ⁽¹⁰⁾
Andrea Bragadin		1499-1500 ⁽¹¹⁾
Piero Tiepolo		1501 ⁽¹²⁾
Andrea Bragadin		1502 ⁽¹³⁾
Nicolò Giustinian		1503-4 ⁽¹⁴⁾
Pietro Tiepolo		1507 ⁽¹⁵⁾
Lorenzo Giustinian		1509 ⁽¹⁶⁾
Lorenzo Pasqualigo		1510 ⁽¹⁷⁾
Ferigo Morosini		1510-11 ⁽¹⁸⁾
Lorenzo Pasqualigo		1512 ⁽¹⁹⁾
Hieronimo da Molin		1520 ⁽²⁰⁾
Hieronimo da Molin	Nicolin da Conta	1532 ⁽²¹⁾
Domenico Erizzo		1532-33 ⁽²²⁾
Domenico Erizzo		1541 ⁽²³⁾
Damiano Dolfin		1548-49 ⁽²⁴⁾
(An alien Consul)		1550-56 ⁽²⁵⁾
Placido Ragazzoni		Dec. 1560-April 62 ⁽²⁶⁾
Placido Ragazzoni		1568 ⁽²⁷⁾
Giovanni da Cà da Pesaro		1568-70 ⁽²⁷⁾
Placido Ragazzoni		1570-71 ⁽²⁷⁾

In 1588, the Senate reported that it did not know whether there was a consul in London or not, and instructed their ambassador in France to make enquiries.⁽²⁸⁾

(1) - (28) See overleaf, p.373.

- (1) A.S.V., Senato, Mar 11 f128r.
- (2) Ibid., 12 f107r.
- (3) P.R.O., E.C.P. 118(3), 132(40).
- (4) A.S.V., Senato, Deliberazioni 34 f59r.
- (5) Ibid., Mar 13 f103r.
- (6) Ibid., 14 ff82r-90r.
- (7) Ibid., 14 f57r.
- (8) Ibid., 14 ff82r-v, 83r.
- (9) Sanudo, I Diarii I, 2 March, 1497.
- (10) A.S.V., Senato, Mar 14 f60r. Thomas Overy was a Southampton burgess.
- (11) Sanudo, I Diarii II, 1 July, 1499.
- (12) A.S.V., Senato, Mar 15 f160r.
- (13) Ibid..
- (14) Ibid., Senato, Deliberazioni 39 f153r.
- (15) Sanudo, I Diarii VII, 17 January, 1507.
- (16) Ibid., VIII, 19 March, 1509. A.S.V., Senato, Deliberazioni Secreta 41 f130r, 20 March, 1509.
- (17) Sanudo, I Diarii IX.
- (18) Ibid., X, 20 April, 1510. From April 13, 1510.
- (19) Ibid., XIV, 11 May, 1512.
- (20) Ibid., XXIX, 23 October, 1520.
- (21) Ibid., LVI, 22 February, 1532; 15 March, 1533. A.S.V., Senato, Terra 26, f232r. Nicolin da Conta was a Genoese merchant resident in Southampton.
- (22) Sanudo, I Diarii LVIII, 4 May, 1532.
- (23) P.R.O., H.C.A. Examinations 92, 1 March, 1541.
- (24) A.S.V., Cinque Savii alla Mercanzia, Nuova Serie, busta 49, 12 June, 1548.
- (25) Ibid., Senato, Mar 33 f74v. Senato, Deliberazioni Secreta 70 f55r.
- (26) Ibid., Senato, Terra, Filza 38, 15 January, 1561.
- (27) At the accession of Queen Elizabeth (1558) Venice was without a consular representative in England and the inconveniences arising from this absence appears to have been so prejudicial to Venetian interests that the merchants resident in London took the initiative and elected a consul without Senatorial authority. The Venetian community elected Placido Ragazzoni as London Consul on 13 December, 1560. Ragazzoni was a member of a wealthy cittadino family of longstanding connection with England. (B.M.V., MS Cronaca di Famiglie Cittadinesche Venete, Ital. Cl.VII, Cod.CCCXLI (8623) No.XXXVII, ff178-89.) The election of a non-patrician to the consular post was strongly opposed by the Signoria. When a motion was made in the Collegio, in January, 1561, (A.S.V., Senato, Terra, Filza 38, 15 January, 1560.) to confirm this appointment, the election was declared to have been held contrary to the regulations governing the Consulate, and was allowed to stand good only until St. Mark's day 1562. The Collegio having thus dealt with Ragazzoni, and perceiving the exigencies of their commercial dealings with England, declared that a fresh election be held for the post of London Consul. On 6 March, 1563, (Ibid., Senato, Terra, Filza 38, 6 March, 1563.) the Collegio elected the nobleman Giovanni da Cà da Pesaro as London Consul by a majority of 154 to

(27) Contd.

6. However, Pesaro did not arrive in England until 1568, and Ragazzoni continued in office until that date. Pesaro resided in England until July, 1570, without any immediate successor being appointed to undertake his functions. The Senate failed to appoint a successor to Pesaro, and Placido Ragazzoni once more stepped into the breach, (C.S.P.V. VII 650.) until his departure for Venice in 1571. (B.M.V., op.cit., f186r.)

(28) C.S.P.V., I, p.lx.

VENETIAN AMBASSADORS, SECRETARIES, AND DIPLOMATIC AGENTS IN ENGLAND, 1485-1557.

AMBASSADORS EXTRAORDINARY	AMBASSADORS IN ORDINARY	AMBASSADORIAL SECRETARIES	RESIDENT SECRETARIES IN ORDINARY	SUBRATORE ⁽¹⁾	DATE OF OFFICE		
					App.	Arr.	Dep.
Giacomo Venier					12. 4.1491	Nov. 1491	July 1492 ⁽²⁾
				Pietro Contarini	10. 2.1496	-	? ⁽³⁾
				Luca Valaresso	10. 2.1496	-	Oct 1496 ⁽³⁾
Andrea Trevisan					4. 4.1496	24. 8.1497	15. 3.1498 ⁽⁴⁾
Francesco Capello					8.11.1501	Nov 1501	20. 6.1502 ⁽⁵⁾
Vincenzo Capello					14. 3.1506	Jan 1506	Aug 1506 ⁽⁶⁾
Vincenzo Quirini					14. 3.1506	14. 1.1506	23. 4.1506 ⁽⁷⁾
				Lorenzo Giustinian	19. 1.1509	-	24. 4.1509 ⁽⁸⁾
				Nicolo da Ponte	19. 1.1509	-	24. 4.1509 ⁽⁹⁾
Andrea Badoer		— Ziliolo			30. 1.1509	20. 3.1509	19.11.1515 ⁽¹⁰⁾
Pietro Pasqualigo					16.10.1514	11. 4.1515	4. 5.1515 ⁽¹¹⁾
	Sebastian Giustinian	Nicolo Sagudino			17.12.1514	11. 4.1515	27. 7.1519 ⁽¹²⁾
	Antonio Suriano	Ludovico Spinelli			19.12.1517	20. 6.1519	Aug 1523 ⁽¹³⁾
Gerolamo Contarini						27. 5.1522	5. 7.1522 ⁽¹⁴⁾
	Lorenzo Orio	Gasparo Spinelli			6. 3.1525	24. 5.1525	12. 5.1526 ⁽¹⁵⁾
			Gasparo Spinelli		5. 6.1526		23.10.1526 ⁽¹⁶⁾

Appendix V - CONTD.

AMBASSADORS EXTRAORDINARY	AMBASSADORS IN ORDINARY	AMBASSADORIAL SECRETARIES	RESIDENT SECRETARIES IN ORDINARY	SUBROTORRES	DATE OF OFFICE		
					App.	Arr.	Dep.
Domenico Bollani	Marc'Antonio Venier	Gasparo Spinelli			25. 6.1526	22.10.1526	1. 1.1529 ⁽¹⁷⁾
	Ludovico Falier	Gerolamo Moriano			28. 4.1528	17.12.1528	13. 9.1531 ⁽¹⁸⁾
	Carlo Capello	Gerolamo Zuccato			5.1.1531	11. 8.1531	1. 3.1535 ⁽¹⁹⁾
			Gerolamo Zuccato		11. 3.1535	-	April 1545 ⁽²⁰⁾
			Giacomo Zambon		8. 6.1544	April 1545	July 1547 ⁽²¹⁾
		Alvise Novello			11. 3.1547	July 1547	Oct 1549 ⁽²²⁾
		Daniele Barbaro	Alvise Agostini		12.10.1548	Oct 1549	Feb 1551 ⁽²³⁾
				Alvise Agostini	Feb 1551	-	22. 8.1551 ⁽²⁴⁾
		Giacomo Soranzo	Gio.Fran.de' Franceschi		6.10.1550	Aug 1551	22. 5.1554 ⁽²⁵⁾
		Michiele Suriano	Antonio Mazza ?		12. 9.1553	22. 5.1554	Jan 1557 ⁽²⁶⁾
				21.11.1556	28. 3.1557	3. 7.1557 ⁽²⁷⁾	

(1) - (27) See p.377

- (1) Diplomatic missions were often entrusted for the sake of convenience, speed, and economy to merchants resident in London, and well known at the English court. Such agents appointed by the Senate or the Council of Ten, were styled suboratores, and held sindicati (a warrant with strict instructions, granting the agent full powers of attorney, to conclude draft conventions already negotiated with a foreign power, and reported to the home government by the agent), Boerio, Dizionario.
- (2) A.S.V., Senato, Deliberazioni, Secreta 34 ff85r, 89r; Senato Mar 13 f84r. Sanudo, MS. 'Vite dei Dogi', B.M.V., Ital. Cl.VII, Cod.DCCCI (7152), III 340, 351.
- (3) C.S.P.V. I, 679, 686. Sanudo, I Diarii I, 13 November, 1496.
- (4) C.S.P.V. I, 738, 741. Sanudo, I Diarii I, 23 September, 11 October 1497, 12 April, 1498. C.S.P.M. I, 536.
- (5) C.S.P.V. I, 818, 820, 824, 826.
- (6) Sanudo, I Diarii VI, 24 August, 1506. B.M.V., Ital. Cl.VII, Cod. DCCCCLXXXIX (9581), 'Dispacci de Vicenzo Quirini', No. 113, 127.
- (7) Ibid., No.109, 120, 127, 882. Quirini had been appointed ambassador to King Philip of Spain in 1505, and accompanied the King on his journey from Antwerp to Corunna in 1506, when a storm wrecked the Flemish flotilla off the coast of England. Henry VII seized the opportunity of Philip's distress to negotiate a new political and commercial agreement with the ruler of the Netherlands. As a result of these diplomatic negotiations the Signoria of Venice appointed Quirini ambassador extraordinary to the English court during his stay in England. He was instructed to discover the terms of the commercial arrangements being negotiated, and whether they would affect Venetian commerce with N.W. Europe.
- (8) A.S.V., Consiglio Dieci, Misti 32 ff56r-v, 73r. Sanudo, I Diarii VIII, 19 March, 10, 24 April, 1509. Lorenzo Giustinian was the London Consul of the Venetian nation in that year, and as such the official Venetian diplomatic representative in England. However, whilst the powers of the London Consul were extensive prior to 1509, they related largely to commercial affairs, and not to political negotiations, for which the Consul required a specific commission or power of attorney which he received in January.
- (9) Ibid., Da Ponte was a Venetian merchant resident in London. He was well known at the English court, and throughout the Cambrai crisis of 1508-9, he conducted, unofficially, a series of secret negotiations with Henry VII's Latin secretary, Pietro Carmeliano. When the crisis finally broke in the Spring of 1509 the Council of Ten appointed Da Ponte and Giustinian suboratores at the English court until the Republic's ambassador extraordinary, Andrea Badoer, could arrive in England. Their task was to prepare the ground for Badoer to form an alliance with England against France, and to seek English assistance in detaching the Emperor Maximilian from the League of Cambrai.
- (10) A.S.V., Consiglio Dieci 32 ff66r, 73r. Sanudo, I Diarii VIII, 10 April, 1509, XIX 16 October, 1514. Despite the long years of Andrea Badoer's residence in England, Badoer never received the status of ambassador in ordinary. The Venetian embassy in London can be said to have become residential in April, 1515, with the arrival of Sebastian Giustinian. Giustinian was the first Venetian ambassador to arrive in England with a commission from the Signoria specifically instructing the ambassador to reside at the English court, and from time to time to advise the Republic of affairs and events at that court, (A.S.V., Senato, Deliberazioni, Secreta 46 f84v.). In this it marked a break with all previous commissions.

(10) Contd.

Andrea Badoer, although resident in England from 1509-1515, was not originally intended to reside at the Tudor court. His commission from the Council of Ten (*Ibid.*, Consiglio Dieci, Misti 32 ff3r.) contains no instruction to reside at the court, nor are there any residential duties mentioned in his commission. Badoer's was essentially an extraordinary embassy despatched rapidly at a time of crisis. Later his embassy became residential in all but name as the duration of his stay was prolonged due to difficulties encountered in the despatch of his replacements; Francesco Capello, who was held up at Ulm and eventually had to turn back, (*Ibid.*, Senato, Deliberazioni, Secreta 43 ff3r-4v et seq.), and Francesco Donado, (*Sanudo*, I Diarii XIX, 4 September, 1514), who died unexpectedly in December, 1514 (*Ibid.*, XIX, 17 December, 1514.). The decision to make the English embassy residential was taken in the winter of 1509-10. By a decree of the Senate, dated 16 January, 1510, it was decided that the interests of the Republic could be well advanced by the favour of the King of England who was well disposed towards the state, and that such a disposition ought to be cultivated by the despatch of an ambassador to reside with the King. The decision was carried by 150 votes to 15 against, (A.S.V., Senato, Deliberazioni, Secreta 42 flllr.). Hale mistakenly states that Venice had a standing representative in England from the 1490's, (*J.R. Hale*, 'International relations in the west; diplomacy and war', N.C.M.H.E., Cambridge, 1957, I, p.268.). However the various missions to England between 1491-1509 in no way mark a break from the pattern of previous embassies sent to England by the Signoria in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. None of the missions to England prior to 1509 could be said to constitute an innovation in Anglo-Venetian diplomatic relations, nor do they in any way mark the commencement of a conscious policy on the part of the Republic of having a standing representative at the English court.

- (11) *Sanudo*, I Diarii XIX, 16 October, 1514. B.M.V., Ital. Cl.VII, Cod. MCXIX (7449), 3 May, 12 April, 1515.
- (12) *Sanudo*, I Diarii XIX, 17 December, 1514. B.M.V., Ital. Cl.VII, Cod. MCXIX (7449), 11 April, 1515, 27 July, 1519.
- (13) *Sanudo*, I Diarii XXV, 19 December, 1517. B.M.V., Ital. Cl. VII, Cod. MCXIX (7449), 21 June, 1519. A.S.V., Senato, Deliberazioni, Secreta 50 f30v.
- (14) *Sanudo*, I Diarii XXXIII 23 July, 1522. B.M.V., Ital. Cl.VII, Cod. MIX (7447) 27 May, 1522.
- (15) *Sanudo*, I Diarii XXXIX, 27 May, 1525. A.S.V., Senato, Mar 20 f146r.
- (16) *Sanudo*, I Diarii XLI, 5 June, 1526. State Papers I, pt.Cl, 23 October, 1526.
- (17) *Sanudo*, I Diarii XLI, 25 June, 1526, XLIX, 2 January, 1528. State Papers I, pt.Cl. 23 October, 1526.
- (18) *Sanudo*, I Diarii XLVIII, 28 April, 1528. XLIX, 2 January, 1528.
- (19) *Ibid.*, LVI, 11 January, 1530, 13 September, 1531. A.S.V., Senato, Deliberazioni, Secreta 54 f53v, Collegio, Lettere Secreta, Filza 14, 21 April, 1531.
- (20) *Ibid.*, Senato, Deliberazioni, Secreta 56 f84r. Consiglio Dieci, Parti Secrete, Filza 6, 8 April, 1545.
- (21) *Ibid.*, Senato, Deliberazioni, Secreta 43 ffl62r, 17lv, 65 fl15r. Consiglio Dieci, Parti Secrete, Filza 6, 8 April, 1545. State Papers IX, pt.V, pp.665-66.

- (22) A.S.V., Senato, Deliberazioni, Secreta 65 ff105v, 115r. Segretario alle voci 1, f28v. Collegio, Lettere Secreta, Filza 18, 3 October, 1549.
- (23) Ibid., Segretario alle voci 1, 12 October, 1548. Collegio, Lettere Secreta, Filza 18, 3 October, 1549.
- (24) L. Firpo, op.cit., p.xvi.
- (25) A.S.V., Collegio, Lettere Secreta, Filza 18, 6 October, 1550. Senato, Terra 37 f57v. Consiglio Dieci 19 f198v, Parti Secrete, Filza 8, 12 September, 1551.
- (26) L. Firpo, op.cit., p.xvii.
- (27) Ibid., pp.xvii-xviii.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y.

PRIMARY SOURCES: MANUSCRIPTS.

This thesis is based primarily upon a study of a wide variety of late fifteenth and early sixteenth century manuscripts and published sources in the public depositories of Venice and England. In order to present the results of my research it was found necessary to trace developments of earlier centuries, principally the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, even though the surviving records of the earlier period have not been examined with equal thoroughness.

A: VENICE.

Archivio di Stato di Venezia (A.S.V.):

The greatest mass of material was found in the A.S.V., commonly called the Frari. The latest and best guide to the archival sources is Andrea da Mosto, L'Archivio di Stato di Venezia, indice generale, storico, descrittivo ed analitico, Tomo 1, Archivi dell'amministrazione centrale della Repubblica Veneta e archivi notarili, (Bibliothèque des 'Annales Institutorum', vol.V, Roma, 1937). This contains brief descriptions of the various governmental series, and references to the manuscript indices, kept in the archives, which have to be consulted in order to locate definitely material required. Unfortunately not all series have been indexed. Almost sixty years older, but still a useful supplement to da Mosto's guide is Bartolomeo Cecchetti, Statistica degli archivi della regione veneta, 3 vols., Venezia, 1880-81. These are further supplemented by manuscript inventories kept in the archive.

I. Archives of the Chief Legislative Councils.

a) Senato.

Of supreme importance to this study is the series Senato, Mar, divided into registers and files. The subject-matter is extremely varied, and it is the chief archival source used here for matters relating to the state organisation of the Cottimo da Londra, and the voyages of the Flanders galleys. For the years before 1440 the series Senato, Misti, has been used. Parallel to Senato, Mar, is the series Senato, Terra, similarly organised in registers and files, to which I have referred chiefly in matters concerning tariffs and duties on English goods imported into Venice overland. Details of the routes, freight rates, etc., of the Flanders galleys, and information relating to how they were auctioned are also contained in these two series. For the years before 1440 these resolutions are contained in the series Senato, Misti; for the period 1440-1469 in Senato, Mar; and after 1469 in a special series called Senato, Deliberazioni, Incanti Galere contained in 2 registers. This series comes down to 1569, but unfortunately the years 1499-1519 are missing. The diary of Marin Sanudo does much to fill the gap.

Senato, Misti, Registri 1-53.

Senato, Mar, Registri 1-33.

Senato, Terra, Registri 1-40.

Filze 1-38.

Senato, Delib., Secreta, Reg. 1-69.

Senato, Deliberazioni, Incanti, Galere, Reg. 1-2.

b) Consiglio dei Dieci.

The series Consiglio dei Dieci, Parti Misti, in registers and files, continues to the end of 1524, and I have occasionally referred to this collection. In search of information relating to Anglo-Venetian commercial relations I have also consulted all the Parti Comuni down to the year 1551, registri 1-19,

referring where appropriate to the files which supplement the registers, (Filze 1-50). Occasionally I have also referred to the Parti Secrete, in particular Filze 1-8, relating to the correspondence of the chiefs of the Ten to the ambassadors and secretaries resident in England between 1526-51.

c) Collegio.

There are a few references to Anglo-Venetian trade and commerce in the deliberations of the Collegio, notably in the series Collegio, Lettere, Secreta, Filze 1-18, (1510-1551). In Collegio In ordinario, Esposizioni Principi, register I f9r, there is an important note written in January, 1591, to explain the irregularity with which ambassadors had been sent to England since 1534.

II. Archives of Venetian Magistracies.

a) Officiale alle Raxon Vecchie.

In this series, notably Officiale alle Raxon Vecchie, Notatorio, there are a few references for the late fifteenth century relating to the lading of the Flanders galleys, and concerning legal processes conducted in Venice on behalf of Venetian merchants in London.

b) I Cinque Savii alla Mercanzia.

This series contains a great deal of miscellaneous information relating to trade between England and Venice, but is largely concerned with the work of the Cinque Savii. The manuscripts are contained in large bound volumes, called buste. Buste 1 and 2 run from 1506-1570. Unfortunately the documents relating to the Cottimo da Londra, in Nuova serie, busta 49, refer to the organisation and proceedings of the Cottimo after 1550, and there was little of relevance to this study contained in these. Also useful was Nuova serie, busta 91, which contains valuable information relating to the ventures and customs exemptions of Venetian seamen, this was kindly drawn to my attention by F.C. Lane.

c) Arsenale.

The series Arsenale contains a vast amount of information on most aspects of Venetian shipping. I used this series largely as a source of information for an analysis of the state organisation of the Fladers galley voyages. For this purpose buste 5-8 were used.

d) Magistrate del Sal.

Serie 1, Reg.1, Capitolare dall'anno 1277 al 1792. (Provveditori al sal, capitolare) B.I.. Miscellaneous documents relating to the imposition of new customs, it contains several manuscripts relating to the imposition of the duty on the wine shipments of foreigners in Candia, and others relating to foreign competition over freight rates, temp. Edward IV, Richard III and Henry VII.

III. Archivio Notarile.

The notarial archives at Venice are very extensive, and contain much valuable information relating to English trade. However, these papers being arranged from the point of view of the notaries, it would be a vast task to comb through them and extract all the information relevant to Venetian trade with England.

Each Venetian notary was required to make two 'original' copies of a will and deposit one with the government. For most notaries there are protocolli, or volumes of copies, on parchment of all the wills they drew up.

Cancellaria inferiore, B79., Gasparino Favacio, protocollo, was most useful, and contains the Senatorial requirements for the pooling of freights on the merchant galleys.

Cancellaria inferiore, atti notarili, busta 6620, no.4. contains a great deal of information on the trading activities of Lorenzo Pasqualigo, active in

England in the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII.

The archive is divided into three distinct sections, *Atti*, *Testamenti* and *Miscellanea*. Much of the information used in this thesis was drawn from *Atti*, B.15336, *Testamenti*, B.1506, and *Miscellanea*, P.141. Notable amongst the documents used from this archive were:

Atti Notarile, cassa IV, cassella 3, filza 18, *Atti Giovani Manzini*, notary on the Flanders galleys. This contains the journal kept by Manzini, and offers a unique glimpse of Venetian trading activities at Southampton in the late fifteenth century.

Testamenti Notarile 1250 III. 150., and *Testamenti Notarile* 1262 III. 37., provide the wills of Andrea and Giambattista Donà, who were heavily involved in the export of English kerseys to Cyprus in the 1540's, and should be used in conjunction with the Letter Books of Andrea and Giambattista deposited in the Correr.

Also extremely useful was the will of Lorenzo Pisani, dated 1511, *Testamenti Notarile* B.1506, notaio Gerolamo di Bossis, *Testamenti* III, 33.

Of great interest are the *Atti Notarile*, *Protesti Cambriarii*, which offer valuable information on financial dealings between London and Venice, and on the comparative value of the £ sterling and the Venetian ducat. Those used were:

Notario, John Devereux of London, busta N.6620.

Notario, William Slade of London, Cassa VII, cassella 2, filza 19.

Notario, William Stifford of London, Cassa VII, cassella 2, filza 18.

IV. The Compilazione delle Leggi.

Compiled during the eighteenth century, it is a collection of official copies of decrees issued by the councils and magistracies of Venice, and is conveniently arranged according to subject matter. Busta 27 contains much state legislation on seamen.

V. Private archives deposited at the Frari, not mentioned in Da Mosto.

a) Miscellanea Gregolin.

Much of the material in this archive has been collected from various parts of the archives of the Venetian Republic as well as from private archives. The guide to it at the Frari is the index 201, in manuscript. In this *Miscellanea* the buste (bundles) 8-12 quarta, including busta 12, busta 12 bis, busta 12 terza, are labelled 'Lettere commerciali'. Buste 13, 14 and 15 are labelled 'Registri commerciali'. These documents are valuable for the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and contain series of merchants letters, ledgers, and account books. The following are particularly referred to in this thesis:

In busta 8, a fragment of a letterbook of Sebastiano Badoer of letters written to London and Bruges, 1451.

In busta 10, *Lettere commerciali* di Michele da Lezze 1482-99, relating to commercial affairs at London and Bruges, and some detached sheets in busta 12 bis on microfilm in my possession.

b) Registri Privati Contabili, Raccolta Barbarigo-Grimani.

This collection is of great commercial interest because it consists almost entirely of extracts from the books of the Pisani *fraterna*. Registers 19-24 are account books of the executors and heirs of Almorò Pisani, 1525-1564. They passed through the hands of Almorò's son-in-law, Agostino Nani. Principally it consists of a ledger referred to as 'libro b'. Registers 19 and 20 are valuable in interpreting it, reg. 19 being the ledger of the estate of Almorò, 1525-44, and having capital account which makes clearer the use of reg. 21 in

the division of the property. Reg.20 consists of journal entries some of which refer to reg.19, and some to reg.21. Microfilmed throughout.

c) Archivio Tiepolo, B 199. 72.

A collection of mercantile letters, notably of the Priuli and Pisani families. Useful for tracing the investments of the patrician families in non-commercial undertakings on the mainland.

Museo Civico-Correr.

The archives at the Correr contain a great many private and family documents, as well as a host of miscellaneous manuscripts of the Venetian Republic. Especially useful for the study of fifteenth and sixteenth century Anglo-Venetian trade were:

a) Mercatura e Traffichi III, P.D. (Provenienze Diverse) C.989.

A collection of mercantile letters and registers containing amongst other letters relating to western trade; a wool register dated 1606, which lists the bales of wool arriving in Venice from 'the west' between 1508-1606. The register lists separately those bales that arrived by sea and those that arrived by land.

b) Archivio Tron-Donà.

The Priuli account books at the Museo Civico referred to below are in the collection Tron-Donà; the index to this collection is at best haphazard. The Priuli accounts are in two separate ledgers. The Ledger of Lorenzo Priuli P.D. 912 II, and the Ledger of the London branch office of the Priuli fraterna under Gerolamo and Vincenzo Priuli - P.D. 911 II. The ledgers are most beautifully written, and are very easy to read. There are 117 folios numbered, the verso of one folio being written in Arabic script, and the recto of the next page being given the same number in Roman numerals, so that pages facing each other have the same number. Microfilmed completely.

Also in the Archivio Tron-Donà are a collection of mercantile letters of the Donà family. The sixteenth century documents were particularly helpful, notably the letters of Giambattista Donà to his brother Andrea in Cyprus, Donà b.411, b.412., and Andrea's replies, Donà F.N. b.XXIII. The Donà correspondence for the 1540's helped to build up a picture of the distribution of English goods in Cyprus, and of the importance of English kerseys as a substitute for specie in the Levantine markets.

c) Archivio Donà della Rosa.

The Donà della Rosa collection contains numerous family archives, and a collection of miscellaneous letters, registers, and state papers of the Republic which were retained in private hands, and were finally deposited in the archive in this century.

Most of the miscellaneous documents are bound together in bundles (buste).

Busta 155, contains an itemised list of the cost and construction of a Venetian merchant galley.

Busta 217, 'Navi Grosse de Venetia loro viaggi e loro Patroni'. An extremely useful source for information relating to the appointment of patroni of private vessels voyaging to the west.

Besides these miscellaneous collections the Archivio also contains the papers of the Bragadin and Michiel families. I was able to spend only an afternoon reading through the Michiel papers, which were useful chiefly in enabling me to compare the business methods of that family with those of the Priuli, Pisani, Da Leze, Badoer, and Donà, which I have studied in greater depth on microfilm at my leisure. The Ledger of Alvise Michiel, 1470-1481, is in A.S.V., Miscellanea Gregolin, busta 15. However, the business mainly recorded is in shipping to Apulia and Alexandria.

d) Archivio Gradenigo.

Busta 193. This contains several miscellaneous manuscripts relating to shipping, shipbuilding and marine insurance. Amongst the MSS. consulted for this thesis were: an itemised list of the expense of building a round ship of 1200 botte, in a document concerning the Arsenal dating from around 1560; and, a sixteenth century copy of the Zeno Code of 1255. This list of maritime statutes, dated about 1506, gives valuable information on the shipping regulations of the Republic, and also gives some information on the jurisdiction of the Consoli dei Mercanti over contracts in restraint of trade, fines laid on those making illegal contracts (ie. monopolistic combines between foreigners and Venetians), as well as the supervision of the woollen industry, and insurance and exchange transactions. The copy of the Zeno Code in the Museo Civico, unlike that in the Marciana has additional laws of the sixteenth century down to 1590.

e) MSS. Wcovich-Lazzari, busta 24/1.

A collection of summaries of relazioni given by capitani of the merchant galleys, and several commissioni. The formulas in use in the fifteenth century are in the A.S.V., Senato, Commissioni, Formulari, Reg.4.

f) MSS. Cicogna. 2987-2988/16.

Contains the auction contract of the Flanders muda, dated 1477, which supplements those in A.S.V., Senato, Deliberazioni, Incanti galere, I and II, and P.R.O., 30/25 104(2), 199.

Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venezia (B.M.V.).

Most of the documents studied in this archive were ambassadorial papers, despatches, and relazioni relating to the affairs of the Venetian embassy in London or to the affairs of N.W. Europe in general. The archive also has many MS. relating to Venetian shipping and ship building.

MSS. Italiani, Classe II, Codicillo 93. A fifteenth century copy of the Zeno Code of 1255, with additional laws of the fifteenth century.

MSS. Italiani, Classe II, Cod. 50. 'Statuta Navium'. This gives further information on the shipping regulations of the Republic.

MSS. Italiani, Classe IV, Cod. 26. 'Instructione sul modo di fabricare galere' Pre Theodoro de Niccolò.

MSS. Italiani, Classe VII, Cod. MCCCCLXXI (9638). A register of woollen cloth produced in Venice, 1516-1607, which distinguishes between high quality cloth of 100 and 80 portade and medium quality cloths of 70, 60 and 50 portade. Of great value in tracing the rise of the Venetian cloth industry, and its continued use of high grade western wools in the manufacture of high quality cloths.

MSS. Italiani, Classe VII, Cod. DCCCCXXIV (8874). 'Tratti in ordine al commercio fra la Republica di Venezia e l'Inghilterra'.

MSS. Italiani, Classe VII, Cod. DCCCI (7152), III. 'Cronaca Veneta e vite dei Dogi, 1474-1494', Marin Sanudo.

MSS. Italiani, Classe VII, Cod. MCXLIX (7449). 'Sebastiano Giustinian, Dispacci al Senato nella sua Ambascierie d'Inghilterra, 1515-1519'.

MSS. Italiani, Classe VII, Cod. MCCXXXI (7458), No. 17, ff 248r-259r. 'Carlo Capello, Sommario della Relazione della sua Ambasciata in Inghilterra, 1533'.

MSS. Italiani, Classe VII, Cod. MCXLIX (7452). 'Vicenzo Quirini, Dispacci al Senato come Oratore a Filippo il Bello di Spagna, 1505-1506'.

MSS. Italiani, Classe VII, Cod. MCVIII (7448). 'Francesco Cornaro, Dispacci al Senato come Ambasciatore in Spagna, 1508-1509'.

MSS. Italiani, Classe VII, Cod. MIX (7447). 'Gasparo Contarini, Dispacci al Senato come Ambasciatore a Carlo V, 1521-1525'.

MSS. Italiani, Classe VII, Cod. DCCLXXXIX (8002). 'Zacharia Contarini, Dispacci della sua Ambasciata a Massimiliano I, 1495-1496'.

MSS. Italiani, Classe VII, Cod. DCCCCLXXXIX (9581). 'Vincenzo Querini, Dispacci della sua Ambasciata a Massimiliano I, 1506-1507'.

MSS. Italiani, Classe VII, Cod. CCCXLI (8623). 'Cronaca di Famiglie Cittadinesche Veneti', Toderini.

B: ENGLAND.

(i) LONDON.

British Museum (B.M.):

Add. MSS. 11717, 15387, 18758, 20030, 21481, 28173, 28578,
28579, 28580, 29866.

Arundel MSS. 97.

Cotton MSS.

Caligula. E. I.

D. VIII, X.

Galba. B. III, IV, V, VII, IX.

Nero. B. VI, VII.

Otho. C. IX.

E. IX, X.

Vespasian. C. I, IV.

E. IX. ("The Noubre of Weyghts").

Vitellius. B. II, III, IV, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X,

XI, XIII, XIV, XVII, XVIII, XIX.

(Originals of State Papers Henry VIII).

Egerton MSS. 544, 763.

Harleian MSS. 36, 83C., 282, 296, 297, 416, 417, 419, 442,
1338, 1878, 2091, 4943, 6260, 6345, 6989, 7185.

Lansdown MSS. 170, 258, 1041.

Royal MSS. 14.B. XXIIA, XXIIB, XXVIII, XXXIII.

7.C. XVI.

7.F. XIV (27), (125).

Stowe MSS. 554.

Public Record Office (P.R.O.):

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64(975, 1011), 66(389), 76(113), 84(103), 93(8),
104(16), 109(59), 115(95), 118(3), 123(62-3), 132(40),
148(67), 266(25), 267(58), 278(66), 280(8, 79),
282(85), 292(6, 16), 310(61), 315(66), 331(81),
334(14), 337(7), 343(38, 40), 347(16), 368(67),
387(21), 396(34), 403(28, 52), 408(39), 415(45),
431(30), 443(26), 465(7), 468(5), 475(18), 481(8-12),
552(27), 572(12), 578(35), 585(65), 586(27-8),
587(13), 590(51), 616(12), 621(35-7), 624(45),
656(45), 679(33), 714(44-8), 766(11), 804(23),
933(24), 974(16), 1005(44), 1022(57), 1067(62),
1137(23), 1160(73), 1211(33).

Exchequer, Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer (L.T.R.), Enrolled Accounts: Customs.
E.356. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27.

Exchequer, K.R., Customs Accounts, Particulars. E.122.

London: 73(33-4), 78(1-12), 79(1-19), 80(1-5), 81(1-39), 82(1-9),
83(1-21), 84(1-14), 85(1-10), 166(12, 14), 179(1), 186(1-8),
194(11-26), 195(13, 20, 21, 27), 203(5-6), 204(1-9), 213(9-11),
218(32).

Southampton: 142(1-13), 143(1-16), 144(1-3), 145(1), 146(15), 195(8, 15),
209(2-6).

Bristol: 20(10-14), 199(1).

Exchequer, K.R., Subsidy Rolls, Lay Series. (Alien).

(London) E.179. 141, 144, 145, 242, 251, 269.

(Southampton) E.173. 133, 135, 137, 139.

E.176. 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586.

Exchequer, K.R., Various Accounts. E.101. 128(30-1), 129(15-32), 414(6).

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Payments. '), 217.

High Court of Admiralty (H.C.A.):

Libels. 5/17, 7/5, 13/1, 13/2, 13/3, 13/4, 13/5, 13/6, 13/7,
13/8, 13/9, 13/10, 13/11, 13/90, 13/91, 13/92, 13/93,
13/94, 13/95, 13/96, 23/10, 24/10, 24/11.

Examinations. 90, 92.

Interrogatories. 29.

Rawdon Brown Collection of Venetian MSS.

30/25. 1, 16, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 98, 99, 104(2), 108e,
P.188, P.189, P.199.

31/14. 110b, 110c, 110d, 110e, 110f, 110g, 112n.

(A collection of registers, journals, letters, and extracts relating to Anglo-Venetian affairs. Particularly useful are the Commissioni, and Auction Contracts of the Flanders galley fleets of 1485, and 1517: the collected relazioni of Venetian ambassadors to England 1399-1609: the lists of Venetian ambassadors extraordinary, 1370-1660, and ambassadors in ordinary, 1507-1660: and the list of London Consuls, 1410-1533.). For a fuller list of the Consuls see my Appendix IV.

SP 4. 86, 94, 101.

SP 6. 36, 42, 46, 48, 120, 122, 150, 152, 402, 556.

SP 7. 19, 37, 155, 233, 234, 235, 236, 238, 261, 590,
618, 640, 644, 712.

SP 8. 4, 12, 79, 81, 101, 103, 125, 130, 201, 202, 206,
214, 235, 245, 261, 429, 706, 714.

SP 9. 19, 21, 38, 44, 67, 100, 135, 140, 211, 214, 260,
337, 349, 360, 411, 412, 446, 472, 506, 562, 605,
636, 665, 696, 731.

SP 10. 30, 220, 231, 399, 452, 491.

SP 11. 95.

SP 12. 243.

City of London Record Office (C.L.R.O.):

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(ii) SOUTHAMPTON.

Southampton Civic Record Office (S.C.R.O.).

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SC5/5.(7-45). Brokage Books, 1470-1549.
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- Calendar of Fine Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office (1911, etc.).
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- Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic for the reign of Henry VIII, preserved in the Public Record Office etc., (1920, etc.).
- Calendar of Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office (1891, etc.).
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- Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts existing in the Archives Collection of Milan I, 1359-1618, A.B. Hinds, ed., 1913.
- Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, preserved in the Public Record Office etc. (1856, etc.).

Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, (temp. Edward VI and Mary), preserved in the Public Record Office etc. (1861, etc.).

Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain, preserved in the Archives at Vienna, Brussels, Simancas and elsewhere, (1862, etc.).

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Cartulaire de l'ancienne étable de Bruges, ed. L.G. van Severen, 2 vols. Bruges, 1904-5.

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