

# **The commercial development of Ancona, 1479-1551**

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# ABBREVIATIONS

<u>ADSI</u>	- Archivio dello Spedale degl'Innocenti, Florence
<u>AMSPM</u>	- <u>Atti e Memorie della R. Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Marche</u>
<u>Annales</u>	- <u>Annales: économies, sociétés, civilisations</u>
<u>ASA</u>	- Archivio di Stato, Ancona
<u>ASCA</u>	- Archivio Storico Comunale, Ancona
<u>ASF</u>	- Archivio di Stato, Florence
<u>ASI</u>	- <u>Archivio storico italiano</u>
<u>BL</u>	- Baker Library, Harvard Business School
<u>DAD</u>	- Drzavni Arhiv, Dubrovnik
<u>E &amp; S</u>	- <u>Economia e storia</u>
<u>ECHR</u>	- <u>Economic History Review</u>
<u>EHR</u>	- <u>English Historical Review</u>
<u>JEBH</u>	- <u>Journal of Economic and Business History</u>
<u>JEH</u>	- <u>Journal of Economic History</u>
<u>JPE</u>	- <u>Journal of Political Economy</u>
<u>RBPH</u>	- <u>Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire</u>
<u>Revue d'Istanbul</u>	- <u>Revue de la Faculté des Sciences Economiques de l'Université d'Istanbul</u>
<u>RSI</u>	- <u>Rivista storica italiana</u>
<u>Studi A.S.</u>	- <u>Studi in onore di Armando Saporì (Milan, 1957)</u>

THE COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF ANCONA

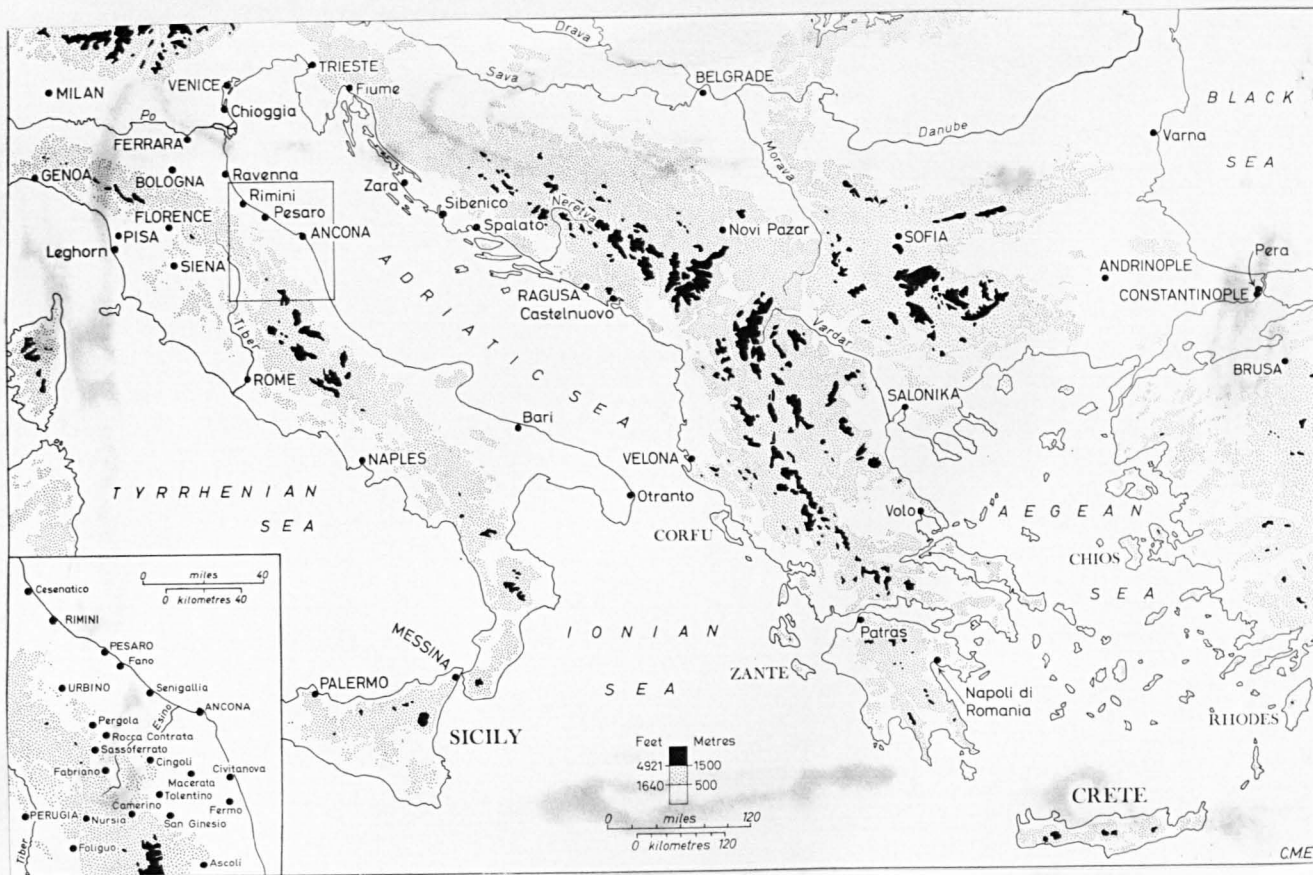
1479-1551

by

PETER EARLE

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from Peter Earle, 'The Commercial Development of Ancona, 1479-1551', *ECHR* 2nd ser. xxii (1969), p 29

# ABSTRACT

This thesis will examine and attempt to explain how, in the first half of the sixteenth century, the central Italian port of Ancona achieved its greatest economic importance relative to other cities in the whole of its history. It will be seen that this development coincided with and was causally connected with the rise of other ports as widely dispersed as London, Antwerp, Ragusa and Constantinople.

During this period Ancona was transformed from a port of merely regional significance into a major international entrepot where the raw materials and manufactured goods of the Ottoman Empire were exchanged for agricultural produce and industrial goods from <sup>Italy and</sup> ~~outside~~ western Europe. These changes were caused by developments outside Ancona itself, in particular the political stability of the lands of the eastern Mediterranean under Ottoman rule and the growing tendency for merchants to use land rather than sea trade routes as a result of improved organization of land haulage and the growth of piracy.

The thesis has been based mainly on the hitherto unconsulted notarial archives of Ancona, and it should help to revise the view that post-medieval notarial records are of little value in studying commercial history. Other sources in Ancona itself and in the main cities with which <sup>she</sup> ~~one~~ traded have also been consulted.

The thesis is arranged in six chapters. Chapter 1 sets the political and commercial framework of the Mediterranean within which Ancona was to develop. Chapter II sets the city in its geographical, historical and political perspective within this Mediterranean.



Chapter III consists of an examination and criticism of the sources consulted. Chapter IV is the core of the thesis, describing the commercial development of the city and attempting to explain it. Finally Chapters V and VI discuss the way in which trade was carried on in Ancona. Chapter V deals with the structure of the merchant community and the way in which merchants operated, whilst Chapter VI deals with the organisation and operation of shipping.

CHAPTER ONETHE POLITICAL AND COMMERCIAL BACKGROUND TO THE  
DEVELOPMENT OF ANCONA

The history of a single town, unless it is to be of merely antiquarian or parochial interest, must bear some relationship to the history of the wider world that lies outside. Such relationship should be first spatial and temporal, so that the events in the history of the single town relate chronologically and geographically to events happening simultaneously in other places both at any point of time and over a period of time. It should also be a causal relationship so that the effects of events in the single town can be seen in events in the outside world and, usually more important, the effects of events in the outside world can be seen operating in the history of the single town. In this and the next chapter some attempt will be made to provide a framework within which the commercial history of Ancona that is described in the fourth chapter can be seen to have relationships with the mainstream of history in all four of these ways. In this chapter some aspects of fifteenth and sixteenth century Mediterranean and European history which appear to have relevance to the history of Ancona will be described, whilst in the following chapter a geographical and historical perspective to the commercial development of Ancona in the period studied will be given.

The period covered by this thesis, indeed the whole period from 1450 to 1600, was one of very considerable change for the Mediterranean region. Economically, this period sees the beginning of that process which was eventually to shift the centre of gravity of the European economy from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic and the North Sea.

Whilst the speed of this process has been much exaggerated by historians in the past, there seems no doubt that, throughout the sixteenth century, there was a tendency for the innovating ability and commercial enterprise that had been the hallmark of Mediterranean areas such as northern Italy, Catalonia and Provence in the middle ages to be equalled or excelled by new regions to the north and west such as Portugal, England, Brabant, Holland and south Germany. Such a transformation was reflected in the change of origins of the merchants and shipowners who controlled the bulk of the trade of the area. Before 1450 a Mediterranean dominated by the great trading republics of Venice, Genoa, Florence and Barcelona still existed. By 1600 the massive influx of northern shipping had already begun which was to set the scene for the domination by English, French and Dutch shipping that was to follow. Simultaneous with this slow change of economic power, the Mediterranean shared with the rest of Europe two other features of change which were clearly of very great significance for the area. These were the widespread demographic advance experienced by most areas of Europe and the Mediterranean in the sixteenth century, and the political process of empire-building which greatly reduced the number of independent states in the region.

Most important of the latter movements, at least as far as the eastern Mediterranean was concerned, was the expansion and consolidation of the Turkish Empire to more or less its continental limits in the Mediterranean. Practically the whole of the Balkans had fallen into Turkish hands by the end of the fifteenth century. The exceptions were parts of Dalmatia and a few fortresses in the Morea which Venice still held, and the small maritime republic of Ragusa which maintained its independence as a Catholic state paying tribute to the Turk right



down to the eighteenth century. In the Veneto-Turkish War of 1499-1502, Venice lost still more of its posts along the route to the Levant - Modon, Coron and Santa Maura - though she was guaranteed navigation in the Adriatic and Mediterranean.<sup>1</sup> By 1518, the Turks had conquered Syria and Egypt and in 1522 the island of Rhodes was captured from the Knights of St. John. The results of this expansion are still very confused but some things are clear.

For the <sup>first</sup> ~~first~~ time since the Arab expansion of the seventh and eighth centuries, the whole of the eastern Mediterranean and nearly all the Balkan coastline and hinterland were ruled by one man. Furthermore, there seems no doubt that after the civil strife between rival factions in the reign<sup>v</sup> of Bayezid (1481-1503),<sup>2</sup> the empire under Selim and <sup>l</sup>Suleiman was strongly ruled and policed. If this situation is compared with that of a hundred years earlier when the same area was split up and fought over by Italians, Greeks, Franks, Serbs, Turks, Arabs and Mongols, it can be seen that the potential for demographic and economic development was quite considerable. The military classes<sup>l</sup> of the area no longer spent their time fighting on Balkan lands but went off year after year campaigning on the Danube, in the Black Sea lands, the Ukraine, the Crimea or above all on the eastern borders against the Persians, returning to their own lands only in the winter.<sup>3</sup> While these warriors had replaced the old Balkan lords as exploiters of

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1. For an account of this war and of the peace settlement see R. Cessi, Storia della Repubblica di Venezia (Milan, Messina, 1944-6), ii, 45-6 and S. Romanin, Storia documentata di Venezia (Venice, 1913), v, 133-54.
  2. S.N. Fisher, 'Civil strife in the Ottoman Empire, 1481-1503', Journal of Modern History, xiii (1941), 449-66 especially p.466.
  3. W.H. McNeill, Europe's Steppe Frontier 1500-1800 (Chicago, 1964), p.32.



the peasants in a system still basically feudal, most writers find that, in the sixteenth century at least, the system weighed less heavily on the peasants than in previous years. The holding of timars, as the military fiefs were called, was not hereditary, and the relationship of lord with peasant was far more strictly controlled by Ottoman law<sup>1</sup> than it had been under Byzantine rule. The old feudal requirements of forced labour and other services were replaced by a single tax, and Ottoman judges receiving their revenue from other sources acted as local representatives of the central government to insure that timar holders obeyed the law. There seems to have been, in the sixteenth century, a nice balance between the mounted feudal cavalry (<sup>sipahis</sup> ~~sipahis~~) drawing their revenue from timars and the devshirme class who drew their revenue from the Anatolian and Arab provinces and provided the Janissaries and the bureaucracy. This was to be upset in the seventeenth century with the growing obsolescence of the former.<sup>1</sup>

The effect of Turkish expansion and the consolidation of their power was to re-arrange the frontiers of south-eastern Europe and western Asia. Under the declining power of the last Byzantine emperors both the Balkans and Anatolia had been frontier provinces. Central weakness provided an opportunity for local leaders to establish independent control over their lands, and even to found ephemeral

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1. Since in Marxist terms an improvement in the peasants' lot was a backwards step, the subject of the change to Turkish rule has aroused much interest and controversy. For a discussion of Yugoslav historiography since the war citing works on this subject see W.S.Vucinich, 'The Yugoslav Lands in the Ottoman Period', Journal of Modern History, xxvii (1955), pp.287-306. For the view that this change marked an improvement in both the condition of the peasant and in the internal security of the country see L.S.Stavrianos, The Balkans since 1453 (New York, 1958), pp.37-9; G.Vernadsky, 'On some parallel trends in Russian and Turkish history', Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, xxxvi(1945), pp.27-8; S.J.Shaw, 'The Ottoman View of the Balkans', in C.and B.Jelavich, The Balkans in Transition (Los Angeles, 1963), pp.64-7; W.H.McNeill, op.cit., pp.31-40; T.Stoianovich, 'The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant', JMI, xx (1960), 235.

empires such as the Serbian Empire of Stephen Dusan.<sup>1</sup> The same weakness also provided an irresistible invitation for adventurers of all nations to move into the power vacuum and seize what they could. Examples of this in the Balkans are the adventures of the Grand Catalan Company<sup>2</sup> and of the knights who were granted lands after the Fourth Crusade.<sup>3</sup> After the battle of Manzikert in 1071 a similar situation had arisen in Anatolian. Prominent among those who took advantage of Byzantine weakness were groups of Turkish adventurers motivated by the powerful combination of loot, glory and the Holy War. The resulting confusion that arose on the frontiers of the retreating Byzantine Empire is well described by Wittek:<sup>4</sup>

The population of the marches was destined to perpetual frontier warfare. These march-warriors are continually in readiness to parry the raids of the enemy, and in turn also undertake similar raids, frequently penetrating deep into the territory of the foe. Booty constitutes for the marches the principal economic basis of life. Between the military borderlands and the peaceful and industrial hinterland there exists the greatest cultural contrast, and this contrast is further accentuated by racial differences ... a curious mixture of nationalities and languages.

But by the end of the fifteenth century these frontier conditions had come to an end. The Balkans and Anatolia were now the heartlands of a still expanding and strongly centralized Ottoman Empire. The fighting still went on but now Wittek's "marches" tended to be the Danube and the Euphrates. The implication of this change for the peasants of the Balkans is summed up by McNeill:<sup>5</sup>

The operation of the Turkish administrative machine in the sixteenth century had a curiously contradictory effect. The conservation of a comparatively lightly burdened peasantry at the center of the State and destructive raiding aimed against

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1. W. Miller, 'The Medieval Serbian Empire', The Quarterly Review (1916)
  2. K.M. Setton, 'The Arignone Papacy and the Catalan Duchy of Athens', Byzantium, xvii (1944-5), especially pp. 281-3.
  3. W. Miller, The Latins in the Levant (1908).
  4. P. Wittek, The Rise of the Ottoman Empire (1938), p.17.
  5. W.H. McNeill, *op.cit*, p.32.

similar communities lying just beyond the limits of regular Turkish administration were complementary aspects of the same process. Indeed the center could sustain organized military power on a large scale for an extended time only by preying upon peripheral communities, while keeping a secure home base where relatively easy economic circumstances and limited exploitation of the humbler ranks of society assured a modicum of stability in the rear.

The relatively easy conditions for Balkan peasants were obtained at the price of extremely uneasy conditions for the inhabitants of Danubic Europe where much previously cultivated land reverted to pasture and the safest form in which to accumulate property was considered to be lábajószág or "goods on legs".<sup>1</sup>

At the same time that the scene was set for the possibility of greater internal development in the vast area of the Turkish land empire, Turkish aggression against the Christian powers of the Mediterranean switched from land to sea. Apart from the temporary conquest of Otranto in 1480, Ottoman ambitions for territorial expansion in the Mediterranean were confined to the remnants of the Venetian Empire and the islands belonging to Genoa and the Knights of St. John. The Turks, particularly in the reigns of Selim and Suleiman, were very successful at sea and despite occasional victories by Christians, the initiative largely belonged to the Moslems down to the battle of Lepanto.<sup>2</sup> In addition to naval action, the early sixteenth century was a period of very active piracy and privateering. The Turkish conquests from Venice in the war of 1499 - 1502 provided a springboard for offensive in the Central Mediterranean and it is from this period that the development of extensive piracy in the southern Adriatic begins. Venice, who had for centuries policed the waters of the Adriatic, was no longer able to control the raids. Into this neutral sea where Venice had kept the peace for her own and others' navigation, fleets of pirates

1. A.N.J. den Hollander, 'The Great Hungarian Plain: a European Frontier Area', Comparative Studies in Society and History, iii (1960-61), 82-3. See also McNeill, op.cit., pp.18-19.

2. See F.Braudel, 'Les Espagnols et l'Afrique du Nord de 1492 à 1577', Revue Africaine, lxxix (1928), 184-253 and 351-428 for an account of this struggle; also S.Lane-Poole, The Barbary Corsairs (1890), pp.31-178.



now penetrated regularly. Neither the dominant position of Corfu nor the fleet of the Republic provided much security.<sup>1</sup> The strength of the Turkish navy and of Moslem piracy was greatly augmented by the growth of communications between the Berbers and the Turks, particularly after the occupation of Algiers by Barbarossa in 1516, and by the capture of the strongest centre of Christian counter-piracy, Rhodes, in 1522.<sup>2</sup>

Against the changes in the eastern part of the Mediterranean, where the land was almost certainly more and the sea less secure, should be set the other changes of the period. As politically and economically significant as the consolidation of the Turks in the east was the expansion of Spain and France in the west. Whilst the late fifteenth century had seen the union of Castile and Aragon and the conquest of Grenada, as well as French absorption of Provence, the first half of the sixteenth century was dominated by the struggle between Valois and Hapsburg. From the point of view of Mediterranean history, it is the protracted wars in Italy that were the most significant part of this struggle. The eventual success of the Hapsburgs in annexing first the kingdom of Naples, including Sardinia and Sicily, and then the duchy of Milan, meant that the western Mediterranean was now dominated politically by Spain. Both Genoa, through the direct action of Andrea Doria,<sup>3</sup> and Medicean Florence were her allies.

Within Italy itself, simultaneously with the struggle of France and Spain and their allies, lesser wars had continued as they had in the fifteenth century. Secular and Papal ambitions drove the Borgia Pope, Alexander VI and his family to expand the Papal patrimony in the Romagna and their work was continued by Julius II. Venice, though checked by the efforts of the Holy League in 1509-11, continued to consolidate her mainland

1. A.Tenenti, 'I corsari in Mediterraneo all'inizio del Cinquecento', RSI, lxxii (1960), 234-87.
2. S.Lane-Poole, *op.cit.*, pp.31-60, 72-75. On Barbarossa see also F.Braudel, *op.cit.*, especially pp.353-60 and Sir G.Fisher, Barbary Legend (Oxford, 1957), pp.41-81.
3. See E.Petit, André Doria (Paris, 1887) for a biography of this Genoese admiral who transferred himself and Genoa from French to Spanish service in 1528.

territory. Florence after the long war with Pisa from 1494 - 1509 eventually incorporated the Pisan territory into her own and it only remained for Siena to fall in 1555 for the shape of modern Tuscany to be formed. In this, mirroring the greater expansionist policies of Turks and Spaniards, by the mid-sixteenth century, Venice, Florence and the Papal States had all rounded out their territories and had left many fewer independent city-states behind.

Very little is known of what this consolidation of territory throughout the Mediterranean meant in economic terms. Initially, during the period of conquest, no doubt it meant suffering and material destruction. Often it also meant heavy and more efficient taxation to feed the swollen armies and bureaucracies demanded by the larger units. But also and perhaps more significant in the long run, it meant a far greater amount of civil peace. In the first half of the sixteenth century it seems probable that the results of consolidation favoured the peoples of south-eastern Europe. For while many parts of Italy were suffering the devastation described by Barbagallo that occurred in the wake of the Italian Wars,<sup>1</sup> the Ottoman Empire was already enjoying the benefits of a unified administration.

In any case no estimate of the effect of Empire-building on economic life in the Mediterranean can be made without reference to the second feature of change mentioned above -- the rapid growth of population that occurred in the sixteenth century. Although the timing and intensity of this development naturally varied from place to place, there seems to have been few areas of Europe that did not have very many more people in 1600 than they had in 1500. For the Mediterranean Braudel has assembled much of the available evidence. He finds increases of population in the central and Western Mediterranean ranging from 15 per cent to over 100 per cent in the course of the

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1. C. Barbagallo, 'La crisi economico-sociale dell'Italia della Rinascenza', *Nuova Rivista Storica*, xxxix-xxxv (1950-51), especially xxxiv, 398-411 and xxxv, 1-18.

sixteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Nowhere was this more striking than in the cities.<sup>2</sup> Barkan who has worked on the sixteenth century Turkish censuses thinks that the population of the Turkish Empire might have more than doubled in the course of the century.<sup>3</sup> Both writers agree on the major features of this growth in population. It was widespread, it continued, though with ever more frequent checks, for most of the sixteenth century and it led to a relatively much greater increase in the population of cities than of the countryside.

The degree of urbanization has always been a factor that has distinguished the Mediterranean countries from the other parts of Europe, right down to the beginning of the Industrial Revolution. This concentration in cities and its intensification during the sixteenth century posed problems of transport and supply to even the smallest of such cities, and their solution was probably the most important function of Mediterranean trade. The provisioning of the really large cities and of the scores of smaller cities that were unable to draw their supplies from their doorstep as a result of size, geographical position or specialization in some other product was achieved in two main ways. First every city had a surrounding area from which it drew the bulk of its needs in food. These supplies arrived in part by land, but also if the city was a port, as virtually all large cities had to be, there would be a stretch of coastline to either side of the city from which it would draw a part of its supplies by sea. To this localised trade in food should be added other forms of

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1. F. Braudel, La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II (Paris, 1949), pp.353-359; see also pp.348-9 for a global estimate of population at the end of the sixteenth century.
  2. Ibid, pp.268-72.
  3. O.L.Barkan, 'La "Méditerranée" de Fernand Braudel vue d'Istamboul', Annales, ix (1954), pp.191-5. See also Idem, 'Essai sur les données statistiques des registres de recensement dans l'Empire ottoman aux XVe et XVIe siècles', Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient, i (1957).



essentially local trade such as that in jars, pots, mats, barrels, firewood etc. and especially for the ports the trade in ship and boat-building materials. This short-distance trade in mainly agricultural products is found to be the chief employer of shipping in all those few studies that have been based on the analysis of documents relating to some local requirement to register incoming ships.<sup>1</sup> Many writers basing their studies on documents that only show large ships have missed the significance of this small-scale but essential trade.<sup>2</sup> The areas from which this sort of supply came varied considerably from Constantinople's monopoly of the Black Sea grain trade and right of pre-emption on many other areas of the eastern Mediterranean to that of a small port set in a rich agricultural hinterland. Some cities however were so large or had such poor local supplies that they had to look beyond the areas in which they had strong local influence in order to feed themselves. As a result of this, specialist exporting areas had developed. The most important of these supplying the eastern and central Mediterranean with grain were Sicily, the Greek mainland of the Aegean and Egypt. Competing for the supplies of these regions were such cities as Venice, Ragusa, Constantinople, Palermo

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1. For example see C. Carrère, 'Le droit d'ancrage et le mouvement du port de Barcelone au milieu du XVe siècle', Estudios de Historia Moderna, iii (1953), 67-156 and the discussion following C. Traselli's article 'Les sources d'archives pour l'histoire du trafic maritime en Sicile', in M. Mollat (ed.), IVe Colloque d'Histoire Maritime (Paris, 1962), p.118.
  2. As an example of this compare two articles on shipping at Barcelona in the first half of the fifteenth century. Carrère, op.cit, has analysed the shipping using Barcelona on the basis of an anchorage tax that was paid by all but the very smallest locally-owned boats. From this study it is clear that the majority of shipping using the port was very small. Completely the opposite impression is obtained from the study of M. del Treppo, 'Assicurazioni e commercio internazionale a Barcellona nel 1428-1429', RSI, lxx-lxx (1957-58). Based on the insurance contracts drawn up by a Catalan notary concerning 104 vessels, he found that only 15 of these contracts concerned vessels smaller than those defined as large by Carrère -- coca, balener, nau, galère. (lxx, 525-6).

and Cairo, as well as many of the islands which often specialized in other goods or held garrisons beyond the possibility of local supply. Such demand was of course considerably swollen in times of dearth or in times of warfare when the competing armies and navies had also to be fed.<sup>1</sup>

One of the main features of the history of Mediterranean trade in the sixteenth century is the growing competition for these supplies of grain as the population of the cities and the countryside continued to increase. With little evidence of much improvement in agricultural techniques, the balance between supply and demand was to be broken in the second half of the century with a resulting increase in famine, plague and agrarian revole.<sup>2</sup> It was this situation that was the first cause of the influx of northern shipping in the 1590s.<sup>3</sup>

While the trade in grain and the other basic commodities of the Mediterranean table such as wine, oil and salt was probably the most essential feature of both long and short distance trade during this period, two other main branches of trade must be distinguished. The first of these fed the industries of the cities and disposed of their products. In this connection it is important to remember that northern Italy continued to be the most important centre of Mediterranean industry. In particular this meant the four great cities of Venice, Florence, Genoa and Milan.<sup>4</sup>

1. For a study of the grain trade see M. Aymard, Venise, Raguse et le commerce du blé (Paris, 1966). Also L. Gücer, 'Le commerce intérieur des cereales dans l'Empire Ottomane pendant la seconde moitié du XVIIe siècle', Revue d'Istanbul, xi (1949-50), 160-177.
2. On banditism and other forms of revolt see F. Braudel, La Méditerranée, op.cit., pp. 643-60. For the Ottoman Empire see O. L. Barkan, 'La Méditerranée' op.cit. pp. 197-8. On famine and plague at Venice see B. Pullan, 'Wage-earners and the Venetian Economy, 1550-1630', ECHR, 2nd. ser. XVI (1964)
3. This influx is best shown in F. Braudel and R. Romano, Navires et marchandises à l'entrée du Port de Livourne 1547-1611 (Paris, 1951), pp. 49-51.
4. F. Braudel, La Méditerranée ..., op.cit. pp. 339-41.



This concentration of industry in northern Italy meant that the main direction of trade was raw materials coming to Italy and the stream of finished articles to be distributed through Italy and then to the other countries of the Mediterranean or to northern Europe. Textiles, mainly woollen and silk, and leather were the main products of the region, though luxuries of all kinds were also conspicuous. Whilst northern Italy was the main centre for the industries, the raw materials came rather from the extremities of the region. Apart from the small supply from England, wool came mainly from Morocco and Spain, and from the Balkans. Raw silk also came from Spain and in the east from Anatolia and beyond the borders of the Turkish Empire, as well as from Sicily and other parts of Italy. The chief sources of hides were north Africa, Spain, the Balkans, Egypt and Danubic Europe. As Braudel points out, this very important commerce passed predominantly from Islam to Christendom: "celle-ci achète, celui-là vend, parce que moins riche en hommes, plus riche en troupeaux."<sup>1</sup> The main centres for the consumption of manufactured goods that entered international trade were the cities, the needs of most rural populations being met from inferior goods of local origin. Although little is known of the class and income structure of the final purchasers of those goods that did enter international trade, it seems very unlikely that, except for necessities like grain and salt, any goods filtered down far below upper income groups.

While the fortunes of individual cities as manufacturers varied over time, this view of the trade in raw materials coming from the extremities of the Mediterranean to Italy, and of the stream of manufactured goods going from northern Italy to the other cities of the Mediterranean,

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1. Idem p.337.

though a simplification of the complicated system existing in reality, yet provides a convenient generalization to help understand the main currents of this branch of trade. The industries of southern France became serious competitors only under Colbert in the seventeenth century, and the once flourishing Catalan cloth industry was progressively eliminated from Sardinia, Naples and Sicily by the Genoese.<sup>1</sup> The main correction necessary for the purpose of this study is to mention the manufactured goods that emanated from the Turkish Empire. The most important of these were camlets, a cloth made of a mixture of silk and goat's wool that was sold throughout Europe, and finished leather goods, particularly saddlery.<sup>2</sup>

Although the movement of foodstuffs, raw materials and industrial goods within the Mediterranean no doubt made up the bulk of all commerce in the area, it is impossible to study the Mediterranean during this period in isolation. The Mediterranean is indeed only a sea and, although the word is useful as geographical shorthand for the countries peripheral to the sea, it is important to realize that such an approach gives rather a parochial view of the trading relations that existed in the sixteenth century world. The Mediterranean had never been isolated from the rest of the world and in no period was this truer than in the period of European commercial expansion covered by this thesis. The third branch of commerce that must be considered therefore is the relationship of the Mediterranean with the rest of the world. Confining our attention to those goods which were of importance in the eastern and central Mediterranean, three main groups of imports to the region can be

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1. Idem pp.339-40.

2. See for instance, Antonio Manuzio, Viaggi fatti da Vinetia, alla Tana, in Persia, in India, et in Costantinopoli (Venice, 1543), p.129, 'Qui [Andrinople] si conciano gli cordovani di tutti gli colori eccellentissamente. Si lavora di selle, briglie, e d'altri fornimenti di cavallo meglio che altrove ....'

identified. Probably the most important of these were the manufactured goods imported from northern and central Europe. These were the real competitors to Italian industry in the Mediterranean and in particular should be mentioned the imports of English and Flemish cloth which grew very rapidly during this period. Also in this group come the manufactures of rapidly developing southern Germany, particularly arms and fustians. The second group includes northern and central European raw materials, especially the mineral products of England, Germany and Hungary but also hides from the Great Hungarian Plain. The last group includes all those goods that came from Asia via the Turkian Empire. This is the branch of commerce that has attracted most attention from historians and incorporates all that miscellaneous bundle called spices, (Most important of which were pepper and dyes, and raw silk.<sup>1</sup> Back to northern and central Europe went the manufactured goods of Italy and the Turkish Empire, those products of the Mediterranean not available in the north, such as sweet wines and Greek currants, and the oriental goods that were <sup>N</sup>ot absorbed in the Mediterranean itself. To the east went probably a considerable amount of coin, but also Italian and northern European manufactured goods.

The distribution of northern and central European goods in the Mediterranean and of oriental goods in northern and central Europe had been one of the major features of the commercial development of Venice and Genoa in the middle ages.

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1. Scattered information in various archives is now giving historians a much better idea of the effects of the Portuguese exploitation of the sea routes to the east. It now seems clear that after an initial period when the spices and other eastern goods carried by the Portuguese dominated the European market, by about 1530 the routes via the Levant were again giving serious competition and by 1550 were responsible for as high a proportion of oriental goods imported into Europe as the ocean routes. F. Braudel, La Méditerranée....., op.cit, pp.421-47; R. Gascon, 'Un siècle du commerce des épices à Lyon, fin XVe - fin XVIe siècles', Annales, xv (1960), 638-66; F.C.Lane, 'The Mediterranean Spice Trade', American Historical Review, xlv (1940); V.Magalhaes-Godinho, 'Le repli Vénitien et Egyptien et la route du Cap 1496-1553', Hommages à Lucien Febvre, ii (Paris, 1953), 291-300; H. Van der Wee, The Growth of the Antwerp Market and the European Economy (The Hague, 1963), ii, 124-30, 153-7.



While this activity was not destroyed as suddenly as was once thought by the Portuguese discovery of the all-sea route to India, the sixteenth century was much change in this branch of commerce. Genoa, continuing a trend seen in operation in the fifteenth century,<sup>1</sup> switched her activities increasingly from the eastern to the western Mediterranean, although she retained a foothold in the east in the busy entrepot of Chios. Venice found her position as intermediary between east and west challenged strongly by Antwerp. The relative attractions of the two cities varied over time and were certainly not always in Antwerp's favour, but overall the development of the northern entrepot cut off much of the potential trade that Venice could expect to handle. This is made very clear by Van der Wee who, in his study of the growth of the Antwerp market, shows the success of the north in drawing away from the Mediterranean much of the German and Hungarian copper and silver as well as of the oriental goods which had been previously distributed from Venice.<sup>2</sup> To spices and metals should be added the third element in Antwerp's significance as a sixteenth century entrepot -- the rapid expansion of English and Flemish cloth exports distributed through Antwerp to central Europe, Italy and the Levant. During the first half of the century this important trade tended to be carried to its Mediterranean markets more and more by land rather than by either Venetian galleys or English and Genoese ships.<sup>3</sup> Antwerp thus acted as an alternative entrepot in just those products which had once formed the most profitable part of Venetian commerce. During the first half of the sixteenth century, for reasons that often had little to do with Antwerp, Venice was overall the loser

1. J.Heers, *Genes au XVe siècle* (Paris, 1961), pp. 499.

2. Van der Wee, *op.cit.*, ii, 124-30, 153-7; iii, 66-67.

3. W.Brulez, 'L'exportation des Pays-Bas vers l'Italie par voie de terre au milieu du XVIe siècle', *Annales*, xiv (1959), pp.461-2; D.Gioffrè, 'Il commercio d'importazione genovese alla luce dei registri del dazio, 1495-1537', *Studi in onore di A. Fanfani*, v (Milan, 1962), 120-9.

in this contest. Partly as a result of this, Venice also lost her grip on other parts of her trade. She was increasingly challenged in Alexandria by other distributors of eastern goods such as the Ragusans, Jews and merchants of Marseilles<sup>1</sup> and also found herself, as will be seen in this thesis, bypassed by a considerable proportion of the goods sent overland from Antwerp to be distributed in Italy and the Levant.<sup>2</sup>

The movement of these various commodities which made up most of the trade of the Mediterranean region was carried out in a number of ways. Most of the trade in provisions and other essential goods was carried by water, land transport being in most cases prohibitive by expense after more than a few miles. The local trade which provided for the bulk of the deficit areas' needs was carried mainly in small boats<sup>3</sup> belonging either to the central city or to the small ports from which the goods came.<sup>3</sup> In the long distance provisions trade there was some specialization. Very important in this trade were the fleets of Venice, Ragusa and Genoa.<sup>4</sup> Whilst the first carried goods mainly for herself and the remnants of her maritime empire, Ragusa and Genoa and their satellites were general carriers of bulk goods throughout the Mediterranean. But probably more important than this specialization was in fact the lack of domination of the long distance trades by anyone. Politically the towns which had controlled the sea routes during the middle ages had lost the game, and the period under consideration is one where what is most striking is the very catholic origin of Mediterranean shipping.<sup>5</sup>

Under the vague protection of empires and no longer threatened by the

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1. Gascon, op.cit, pp.645-9; N. Mirkovich, 'Ragusa and the Portuguese Spice Trade', Slavonic and East European Review (1943)

2. See below p. ~~86~~ 87.

3. C. Carrère, op.cit, pp.90-92; J. Heers, op.cit, p.282.

4. For Venice and Ragusa see M. Aymard, op.cit, pp.55-70; also in this context see below pp. ~~64-66~~ 84, 137

5. F. Braudel, La Méditerranée..., op.cit, pp.256-8, 339.

mercantilist ambitions of the great trading cities, scores of ports were able to fit out general carriers whose operation was affected by little of the tiresome regulation which must have made the former power of Venice so hard to bear. The very conditions which allowed the spread of piracy in the Mediterranean also enabled the carriers from the smaller ports to multiply in a period of comparative freedom between the domination of Venice and Genoa and the domination of the English and Dutch.

However, although the carriage of agricultural goods was almost entirely by water, it is useless to look at Mediterranean trade during this period from the point of view of sea routes alone. In the case of manufactured commodities long hauls by land were far from uncommon and in point of fact were considerably increasing their importance in the course of this period.<sup>1</sup>

Land transport is one aspect of pre-industrial economies that is particularly hard to assess, but it seems quite likely that it has been seriously underestimated. Most of the raw materials that entered into trade were fairly bulky, with the exception of raw silk and dyes, and were therefore usually carried by water, but they could often bear the expense of land transport for a significant part of their journey. Even agricultural goods had to bear the cost of land transport for at least part of the way -- at the very least they had to get to the ports, but in any emergency they might well travel a long way by land.<sup>2</sup> As far as manufactured goods were concerned, most of them were of sufficient value to bear the costs of land or sea transport indifferently.<sup>3</sup> Some of the factors already mentioned such as

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1. Idem pp.244-9; also works cited in <sup>p.17, fn.3</sup> ~~above~~ above.

2. J. Delumeau, Vie économique et sociale de Rome dans la seconde moitié ~~peu~~ du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle (Paris, 1957-9), I, 112-14 discusses the problems and the relative costs of sending grain by land or sea from the March of Ancona to Rome.

3. For a discussion of comparative costs see below pp. ~~131-2~~ 131-2, 166-7

the growth of territorial units under one ruler and the development of piracy were causing merchants to re-route their goods in any case. Not only were marine insurance rates high,<sup>1</sup> but there was a positive attraction in sending goods through territories ruled effectively by one ruler.

Any attempt to estimate the level of trade in the Mediterranean region and changes in that level during the period under review must be extremely speculative. With technical progress in both industry and agriculture limited, changes in the level of demand would seem to be mainly a function of population, the level of income per capita and the distribution of income. Population, as we have seen, was rising. This fact would of course be likely to affect both the other variables. The level of income per capita would also depend partly on uncontrollable factors such as the weather but also on factors such as the degree of utilization of resources with existing techniques, and the degree of specialization. The effects of a rising population on the level of income per capita and on the distribution of income between various categories such as social classes or food-growers and food-buyers is extremely difficult to assess. Ultimately one would expect a Malthusian situation to arrive, where pressure of population on resources would lead to a sub-division of the lands of the poor and an increase of the lands of the rich, who would benefit, theoretically at least, from both rising prices and falling wages. In this situation, absence of technological innovation would lead almost inevitably to a fall in the level of income per capita, as has been brilliantly described by Le Roy Ladurie in the case of the peasants of Languedoc who were forced by just such a combination of factors to shift from a wheat and meat diet to a wheat and rye diet.<sup>2</sup> However, even without technological development, rising population need not give way immediately to such a situation. If the original density of

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1. See below pp. ~~164~~ 164-7.

2. E. Le Roy Ladurie, Les Paysans de Languedoc (Paris, 1966), pp.135-328.



population relative to resources was very low, an increase in population might well lead to rising marginal returns as a result of the possibilities of increased specialization and more intensive agriculture. It seems quite likely that such a situation existed in the Ottoman Empire and that the coming of the Ottoman regime provided the sort of milieu in which these possibilities could be put into practice. If the figures of Braudel are anywhere near accurate the density of population must have been very much lower in the eastern Mediterranean than in the central and western Mediterranean.<sup>1</sup> Additional support to this hypothesis is given by the enormous export of hides from the Ottoman Empire. Export of hides from Danubic Empire might be a sign of frontier trouble, but export of hides from a peaceful area where landlords engage very little in agriculture would seem, a priori, to indicate an area of low density population and high standard of living compared, for instance, with Languedoc where animals were forced off the land by the expansion of grain cultivation onto extremely marginal land.

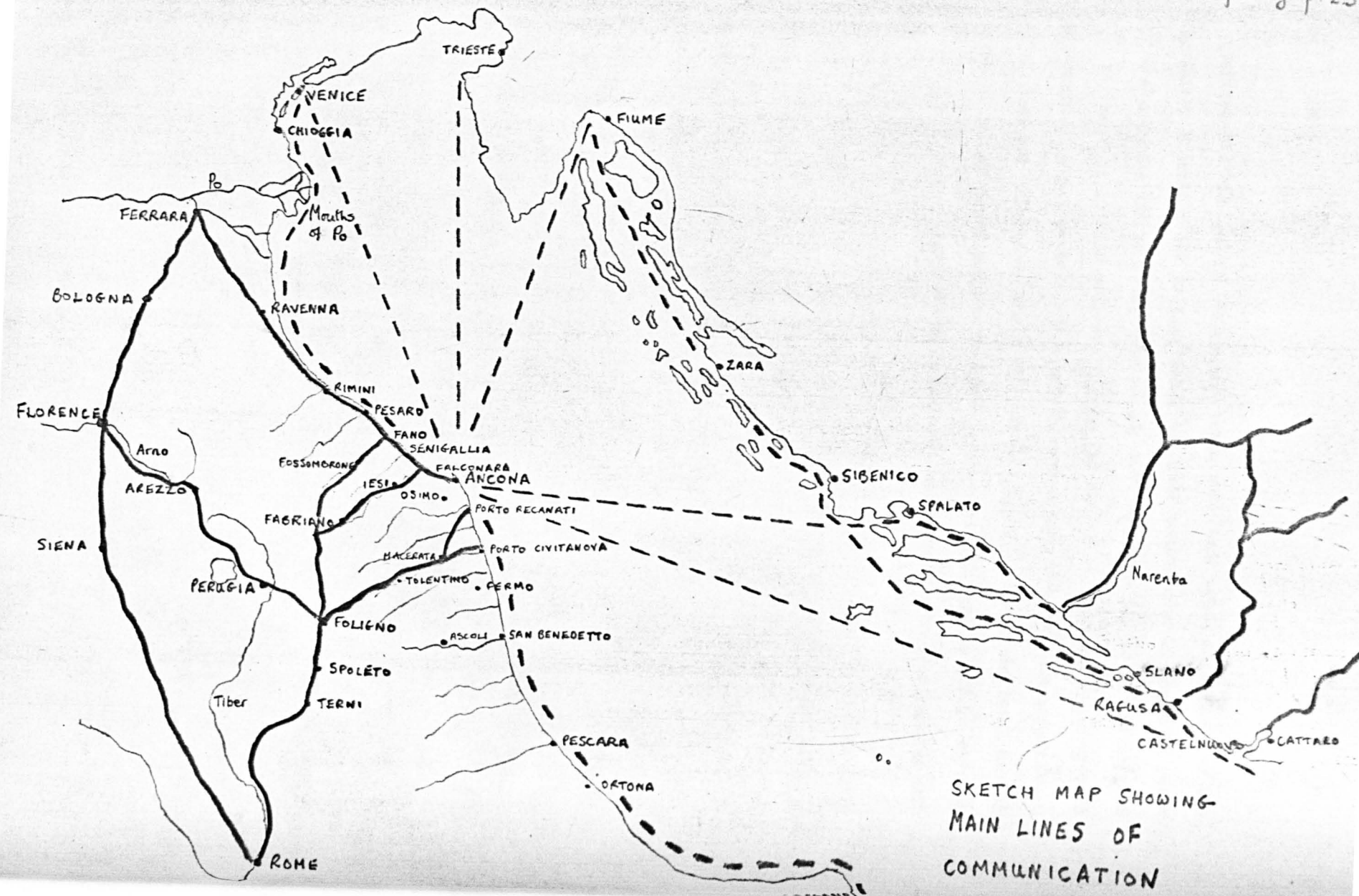
Whether this hypothesis is correct and increasing population was combined with an increase in income per capita in the eastern Mediterranean is probably something that can never be ascertained. The first half of the sixteenth century does however, from several points of view, seem to be a period when the eastern Mediterranean prospered relative to the west. Whether this led to an increase in the level of trade is unfortunately another fact virtually impossible to assess. We have aggregate figures of trade for no period before the present, and even those are not particularly reliable. A danger for the economic historian lies in the fact that as he studies periods closer to his own so he has more documents with which to work, thus providing

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1. Braudel, La Méditerranée..., op.cit, p.349.



the temptation to argue that more paper means more trade. Notwithstanding this, it seems to this writer that the first half of the sixteenth century, despite its wars, was a period that saw in many parts of the eastern Mediterranean an increase in income per capita together with an increase in population, and that the combination of these two factors led to an increase in the level of trade. Not till the last half and especially the last quarter of the century did decreasing marginal returns begin to set in as the balance between resources and population was upset.



## CHAPTER TWO

### ANCONA AND THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD

Before beginning to examine the part played by Ancona in the Mediterranean of the first half of the sixteenth century, some attempt will be made here to set the city in its geographical, historical and political environment.

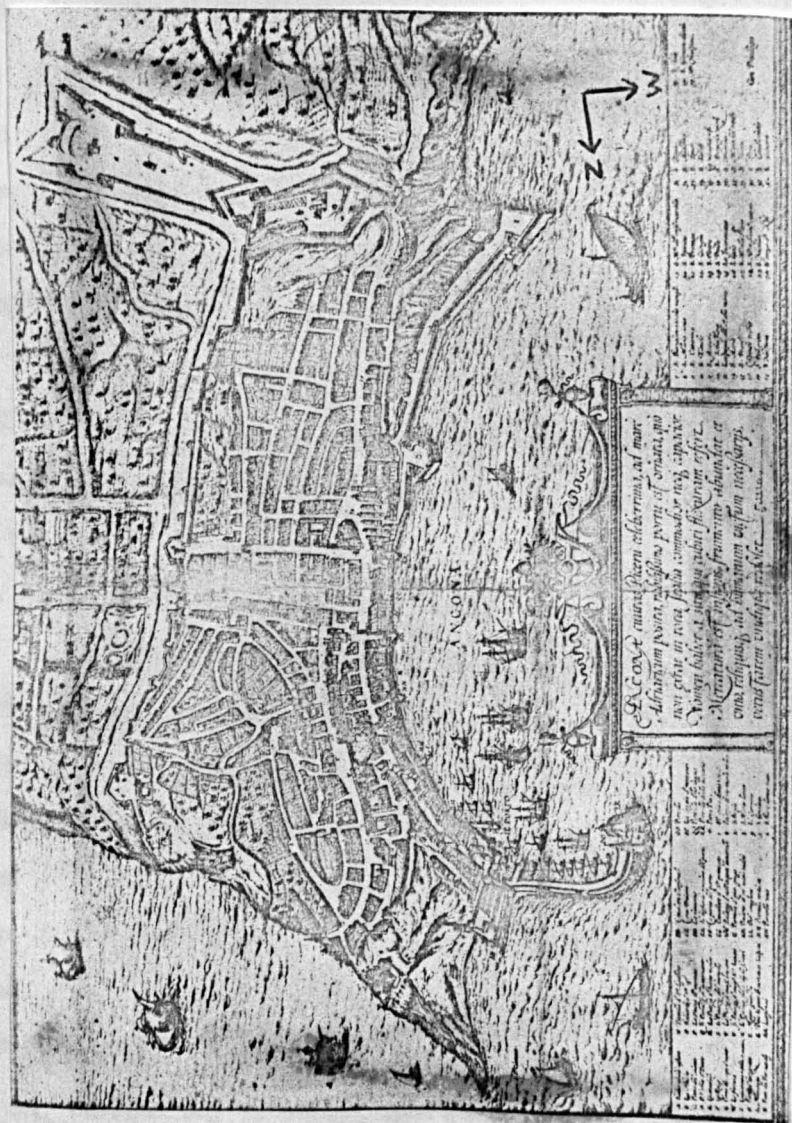
Ancona is and was the chief city of the Marche, that part of Italy that lies to the east of the central Apennines.<sup>1</sup> On this side there are thirteen rivers that drain the waters of the mountains. To the west there is only one, the Tiber. The thirteen rivers of the Marche run almost parallel to the north east before discharging their waters into the central Adriatic. All have the features of fiumi-torrente, an irregular flow of water rising to a great peak with the melting of the snows, and dwindling to a trickle or nothing in the heat of summer. None are navigable for any distance. Between the rivers ~~lie~~<sup>lie</sup> the foothills of the Apennines, each hill crowned by its fortress or hill-town with scattered hamlets below. On the slopes of the hills the vine and the olive are cultivated whilst grain is grown wherever possible, but its most usual habitat is in the so-called plains which really correspond only to the troughs of waves in a landscape described by a geographer as a sea in tempest.<sup>2</sup> Timber is rare in the lower hills but becomes more abundant in the Apennine and Sub-Apennine region. The parallelism of the rivers is disturbed only by the mass of Monte Cónero, a geological oddity of the region, rising to a height of 1700 feet close to the sea almost in the centre of the region.

Monte Cónero also forms the only serious break in the sandy coastline

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1. The following geographical description of the Marche is based on B.Ciaffi, Il Volto agricolo della Marche (Bologna, 1953); G.Merlini, Ancona e i porti delle Marche e dell'Emilia (Bologna, 1942) and F.Milone, L'Italia nell'economia delle sue regioni (Turin, 1955).

2. Milone, op.cit. p.571 quoting E.Ricci, Marche (Turin, 1929), p.44.



from M. Natalucci, Ancona attraverso i secoli (Città di Castello, 1960) vol. II, 171.



Tronto lies Ascoli Piceno, now one of the few industrial centres of the of the central Adriatic from the mouths of the Po to the promontary of Marche, and in earlier times a powerful fortress commanding the fertile lower Monte Garofano. <sup>1</sup> Falling in dramatic cliffs to the sea, two spurs of the reaches of the river. After the great depopulation of the last mountain, Guasco and Astagno, lead off to the north-west to form the part of any significance is there and towards forming the hills of the natural harbour of Ancona, and together with the bulk of Monte Cònero at its back protect the harbour from the waves and the worst winds of the Adriatic.

In the Middle Ages the geological features of Ancona's natural harbour were augmented by the extension of the Guasco in a curving mole <sup>1</sup> and the provision of a chain across the mouth of the harbour. <sup>2</sup> On the Astagno was erected the Citadel with fortified walls running to where the cliffs fall into the sea to the south-east of the city. <sup>3</sup> Well defended from attack by land or sea, protected from all winds except the west, and with a fairly deep anchorage, <sup>4</sup> Ancona thus fulfilled most of the requirements of a sixteenth century harbour.

To the south, between Ancona and Pescara, lie only what are known as porti-marina. These are beaches on which small sailing boats and fishing vessels have to be dragged out of the reaches of the sea. Among these porti-marina the most important were San Benedetto del Tronto, Civitanova Marche, Porto Recanati and Numana. San Benedetto, although not a good anchorage, had some importance in its position close to the mouth of the Tronto, the border of the kingdom of Naples and the river with the most constant flow of all the rivers of the Marche. Some twenty miles up the

1. G. Bevilacqua, 'Gli allargamenti di Ancona dalle origini sino a noi' in Guida di Ancona (Ancona, 1884), p.121. For a description of the port and its approaches in the mid-fifteenth century see C.Feroso, Grazioso Benincasa, marinaio e cartografo Anconitano del secolo XV (Ancona, 1884), pp.9-10.

2. Bevilacqua, op.cit. p.122.

3. Idem p.5.

4. The action of the sea on the rock of the Astagno was a factor causing a progressive deterioration of the harbour at Ancona. In a report made to Clement VIII about the decadence of trade in Ancona, among the reasons offered was the fact that the port was so full of detritus that loaded ships touched the bottom and could not moor in shelter. M.Natalucci, Ancona attraverso i secoli (Citta di Castello, 1960-1), ii, 74-8; ASCA, 221.

Tronto lies Ascoli Piceno, now one of the few industrial centres of the Marche, and in earlier times a powerful fortress commanding the fertile lower reaches of the river. After the small porta-marina of Grottamare, the next port of any significance is Porto San Giorgio serving the hill-town of Fermo, and after that Civitanova Marche at the mouth of the river Chienti.

The valley of the Chienti is one of the most important routes of inland communication leading past the hill-towns of Macerata, Tolentino and Camerino to a pass over the Appenines giving onto the important crossroads of Foligno. Here a route north and west runs through Assisi and Perugia along the shores of Lake Trasimene to Arezzo and the Valdarno, while south lies Spoleto, Terni and the Tiber Valley. Apart from the pass at the head of the Val di Chienti, Foligno is connected to two other passes through the Appenines. One of these is very steep and difficult and comes down to the valley of the Potenza and the other, slightly easier, to the valley of the Esino. The latter via Gubbio, Umbertide and Città di Castello leads to Arezzo and the Valdarno.

At the mouth of the Potenza is Porto Recanati, of all the ports of central Italy south of Ancona the most frequented in early modern times, through its connection with the Fair of Recanti<sup>a</sup> held for fifteen days every September.<sup>1</sup> Like the Fairs of Lanciano<sup>2</sup> in the south and of Foligno, the Fair of Recanati was a truly international occasion and was particularly important for the settlement of debt.<sup>3</sup> Porto Recanati was no better equipped than the other ports to the south, and here again it was necessary to drag ashore fishing boats, and even the larger boats that had crossed the Adriatic by winch or strength of arm. On the road between the port and the town of Recanati lies

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1. M. Leopardi, Annali di Recanati (Milan, 1945), i, 19-20, 142-3 etc.

2. On these fairs see C. Marciani, Lettres de change aux foires de Lanciano au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle (Paris, 1962).

3. These three fairs, but especially Recanati, appear very frequently as terminal dates for credit transactions. See below ~~under~~ pp. 120-1.

Loreto, already a great centre of pilgrimage.

Two small ports between Recanati and Ancona came under the dominion of Ancona. These were Numana and Sirolo. Numana with some protection from the cliffs of Monte Cònero nevertheless has an anchorage of only three feet. Sirolo in the next bay has more protection and deeper water but is difficult to reach by land.

Although the coast to the north of Ancona is as sandy and unprotected as to the south, the mouths of the rivers had been made into what are known as porti-canali by continuous clearance of the detritus washed down, and by the erection of river walls. All four ports of this nature were of more importance than the porti-marina to the south. These, Rimini at the mouth of the Marecchia, Pesaro on the Foglia, Fano on the Arzilla and Senigallia on the Misa, were all able to provide some competition to Ancona in medieval and early modern times when the size of ships did not make their shallow anchorages such a liability as they are today, when the traffic of Ancona is at least double and in some years treble that of all the other ports of the Marche together.<sup>1</sup> The best of these ports was Pesaro, the port of the Duchy of Urbino, with better access to the towns of the plains to the north than Ancona and also nearer to Florence and the other textile towns of Tuscany. Fano, a port since Roman times, was rapidly silting up in medieval and renaissance times halting the trade that was naturally attracted to the city where the old Via Flaminia reached the sea. The Via Flaminia ran up the valley of the Metauro and connected with the Val Tiberina through Fossombrone, Passo della Scheggia, Gubbio and Perugia. Senigallia, another city with an important fair, the Fiera della Maddalena held in mid-July, had flourished

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1. Milone, op.cit, p.595

in the thirteenth century but by the fourteenth century was beginning to decline. One other port of the central Adriatic should be mentioned, Falconara. Situated at the mouth of the Esino it had an important function as an outpost of Ancona, despite its lack of proper port facilities. The Esino flows first through a small but fertile plain, via Tesi. Further inland it splits into two; one part goes past Fabriano from which it is possible to join the Val Tiberina; the other part goes to Matelica.

Although the terrain of the Marche is extremely hilly and broken up - more than four-fifths of the land is classified as hill or mountain - the area is today and always appears to have been extremely productive. Today, although the area of the Marche is only 1/30th that of all Italy, it produces 6-7 per cent of all grain. It also produces well beyond its needs of wine and oil, and carries as many cattle and pigs as Tuscany which is twice as large.<sup>1</sup> In the absence of agricultural statistics for earlier periods one has to rely on rather impressionistic evidence such as that of the Anconitan noble, Ferretti, who rhapsodizes on the fertility of his city's territory despite its small area:<sup>2</sup>

... che benché il suo ameno fertilissimo territorio sia più presto angusto che altramente, rende nondimeno, bonissimi vini e in quantità grande, ottimo olio, frumento di bona fazione, delicatî frutti, saporite carni, grassi formaggi, uova assai,<sup>3</sup> honesta abbondanza, tordî starni, sterlacche, e beccafichi ...

or of the Venetian, Marco Dandolo, travelling from Macerata to Tolentino in 1523, who described it as very beautiful country "with little hills

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1. Idem pp. 570-86.

2. F. Ferretti, Diporti Notturmi (Ancona, 1579), p. 145.

3. '... that although its [Ancona's] charming and very fertile territory is confined rather than otherwise, it yields nevertheless the finest wines in great quantity, the best oil, high-grade wheat, tender fruit, delicious meat, rich cheeses, eggs in great number and an honest abundance of thrushes, partridges, skylarks and sparrows ....'



covered in corn: that for thirty miles, besides the grain, not even the smallest stone could be found; it seems quite impossible to gather, let alone consume, so much corn".<sup>1</sup>

However apart from agricultural produce the Marche in medieval and Renaissance times produced very little. The most famous industry of the whole area was the paper industry of Fabriano. Paper of Fabriano, renowned throughout the Mediterranean, had been produced since the fourteenth century.<sup>2</sup> There was also a small paper industry at Ancona. Matelica was known for its ceramics and Ancona for its soap.<sup>3</sup> A few towns had small textile industries but otherwise there was practically nothing except the small local handicraft industries, common to all centres, that provided the needs of a small local market. Lacking mineral resources, situated outside the main lines of communication even though the Adriatic acted as a highway, and surrounded by other agricultural regions, Romagna, Umbria and the Abruzzi, the Marche can never have been in former times anymore than it is today a region of great economic bustle.

This then was the hinterland of Ancona; rich agricultural lands poorly connected, with no great river to provide a collection point for bulky goods. Ancona itself is cut off from its immediate hinterland even more than the other ports of the central Adriatic. Rising behind are the slopes of Monte Cónero. Only six miles to the north the valley of the Esino provides a means of inland communication. To the south to reach the valleys of the Musano and the Potenza, is a very steep climb through the village of Pinocchio. In order to thrive at all, Ancona had to exploit its port with its protection

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1. E. Albèri, Relazioni Venete (Florence, 1839-63) 2nd. ser.iii, 88.

2. O. Angelelli, L'industria della carta e la famiglia Miliani in Fabriano (Fabriano, 1930), p.9.

3. On the soap industry of Ancona see below p.70

from wind, sea and man.

Fifteenth and early sixteenth century Ancona was a semi-autonomous republic under the suzerainty of the Church.<sup>1</sup> This meant that the city was able to elect all its own officials.<sup>2</sup> Although in theory the financial administration of the city was also free, in fact the very heavy burden of her tribute to the Holy See nullified this freedom to a large extent. The tribute in the form of tallage, census and affitti was paid annually to the Treasurer of the Camera Apostolica and often amounted during the fifteenth century to more than half of the total Communal income.<sup>3</sup> Pleas for reduction in this tribute form a recurring theme in the correspondence of the Anziani with successive Popes.<sup>4</sup> In Judicial matters, too, there was some encroachment from the Papal government.<sup>5</sup>

The Popes took increasing interest in the problems of Ancona as the fifteenth century progressed. On several occasions, the thought of Ancona becoming a second Otranto caused reductions of tribute to be made for the purpose of maintaining the city walls and the port.<sup>6</sup> However, in spite of its strategic and commercial importance, the city remained free from the ambitions for territorial expansion of successive Popes until eventually in 1532 Della Barba took possession of the city for Clement VII with hardly a shot fired.<sup>7</sup> From that date until the Risorgimento the city remained an integral part of the Papal State.

Until they were all incorporated in the Papal States, Ancona was

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1. The only modern political history of Ancona is M. Natalucci, op.cit. (3 vols.). For the government of the Papal State in the early fifteenth century see Peter Partner, The Papal State under Martin V (1958), especially pp.95 ff.
  2. Idem p. 179.
  3. R. Roia, 'L'amministrazione finanziaria del Comune di Ancona nel sec. XV', ANSPM, 4th ser. i(1924), 142-6; Partner, op.cit. p.180.
  4. M. Natalucci, op.cit. i, 449, 455-6, 470-1, 483, 499.
  5. P. Partner, op.cit. p.179.
  6. M. Natalucci, op.cit. i, 489, 491.
  7. For a description of this and the events leading up to Ancona's loss of independence see idem, ii, 17-27.

constantly quarrelling with its immediate neighbours, the communes of Osimo, Recanati and Iesi. These quarrels rarely amounted to more than a boundary skirmish. When they became more, the reason was generally because of the allies that the belligerent communes felt compelled to call in.<sup>1</sup> A more dangerous neighbour was the Malatesta family who at the height of their power held all the main ports from Rimini to Senigallia. The Malatesta made three separate attempts to conquer Ancona in the early fifteenth century.<sup>2</sup> That all of these were unsuccessful is some indication of the strength of the city. Ancona in fact seems to have had considerable diplomatic success during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries which enabled her to retain her independence even though on occasions her contado<sup>3</sup> was laid waste and her coffers emptied to buy off invaders, notably the Duke of Urbino in 1517.<sup>4</sup> Even when Sforza overran the Marche in 1433, Ancona was left its free institutions, substituting Sforza for the Church as stipendiary and guaranteeing him help and supplies.<sup>5</sup> Other adventurers such as Cesare Borgia in 1502 and Giovanni dalle Bande Nere in 1526, who considered the capture of the city, never even went as far as attempting what would clearly have been a costly and difficult venture.<sup>6</sup>

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1. The most significant of these boundary skirmishes were in 1463 versus Iesi (idem, i, 474-5); in 1476-78 versus Osimo (i, 486-9) and in 1511-13 versus Iesi (ii, 5-8).
  2. In 1411 (idem, i, 450), 1414 (i, 451), 1419 (i, 455).
  3. The contado is the surrounding countryside controlled by a city.
  4. Natalucci, op.cit, ii 8-12. See Camillo Albertini, Storia d'Ancona (MS in ASCA), Lib. x, Pt.iii, pp.20 ff. where there is a list of those who contributed to raise the sum needed to pay off the Duke of Urbino 'acciò non recasse danni al territorio anconitano'.
  5. Natalucci, op.cit, i, 459-60.
  6. Marino Sanuto, Diarii (Venice, 1880-98), iv, 257, 'El ducha Valentino cerchava di haver Ancona, terra di la Chiesa; et intisi, quella si volse più tosto dar a' venitiani; ma nostri non li volseno, per non tuor le terre di la Chiesa'; Pierre Gauthiez, Jean des Bandes Noires, 1498-1526, (Paris, 1901), pp.285-8.

Ancona's relations with Venice are of the greatest importance in the history of the port. The eighteenth century historian, Capmany, discussing the origin and progress of maritime commerce in his history of Barcelona, considers Ancona as the third great maritime republic to arise after Venice and Amalfi.<sup>1</sup> Although he gives no evidence for this statement, Ancona like the other trading cities took a part in the Crusades and gained commercial privileges in the Levant.<sup>2</sup> It is clear that in the twelfth century the city was capable of defying Venice. A treaty of 1152 between the two cities after a period of war shows reciprocal promises but no presumption of pre-eminence on either side.<sup>3</sup> Ancona was then the centre of opposition and resistance to Venice who by this period had maritime control of the Adriatic north of Ancona and Ragusa. Uneasy relations broke into open war on occasions for a century after this treaty until finally in 1264 Ancona submitted, and concluded a humiliating commercial treaty. Through all this period, Venice had been in treaty relationships with most of Ancona's petty rivals in the Marche - Osimo, Recanati, Castelfidardo, Cingoli, Rimini, Fano, Senigaglia and Fermo.<sup>4</sup>

The treaty of 1264, made in the first place for five years, has similarities with others made with Ferrara and Ragusa, which ensured the domination of Venice in the Adriatic and the supply of agricultural goods to the Venetian market. Although Ancona was allowed to trade fairly freely with the opposite shore of the Adriatic and with Apulia, there were restrictions on her trade

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1. A. de Capmany, Memorias históricas sobre la marina, comercio y artes de la antigua Ciudad de Barcelona, 4 vols. (Madrid, 1779-94), Vol.i, Pt.ii, 12.
  2. W. Heyd, Histoire du commerce du Levant (Leipzig, 1885-6), i, 157, 318, 346.
  3. G. Luzzatto, 'I più antichi trattati tra Venezia e le città Marchigiane', Nuovo Archivio Veneto, n.s. ii (1906), pp. 42-43. R. Cessi, La repubblica di Venezia e il problema adriatico (Naples, 1953), pp. 44-45.
  4. R. Cessi, op.cit. pp. 45-74; G. Luzzatto, op.cit. pp. 5-42.



in cotton and salt and also it was necessary for Ancona's trade in agricultural produce to the northern Adriatic to go through Venice. Ancona was allowed to maintain its own commerce with the Levant but was not to import or export the goods of foreigners from the Levant, Durazzo or the northern shores of the Adriatic.<sup>1</sup> As will be seen later, the implementation of this clause would handicap the most important function of Ancona, as a transit port for Tuscan and Lombard goods going east either by sea or via the Balkan ports and overland.

To what extent this treaty was maintained lack of records at Ancona make it impossible to say, but further attempts by Ancona at naval resistance were unsuccessful<sup>2</sup> and the establishment of a permanent Venetian squadron to police the waters of the Adriatic must have considerably curtailed the possibilities of contraband.<sup>3</sup> References to Venetian control during the next two centuries indicate that Ancona remained subordinate to Venice,<sup>4</sup> and although Ancona kept consuls in Constantinople up to its fall and obviously did some trade in the east, it seems fairly certain that her independence as a maritime power was severely limited.<sup>6</sup> During the fifteenth century, Ancona was connected diplomatically as much with Venice as with the Popes, and in 1445-46 was part of the League in which Sforza, Venice and Florence joined forces against the Pope and the Aragonese.<sup>7</sup>

1. The text of the 1264 treaty is in G. Luzzatto, *op.cit.*, pp. 67-70.

2. R. Cessi, *op.cit.*, p. 74.

3. *Idem* pp. 81, 93-95.

4. For instance see R. Predelli, *I Libri Commemorativi della repubblica di Venezia regesti*, 8 vols. (Venice, 1876-1914), i, 149; ii, 185; iii, 68-69; N. Jorga, *Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des Croisades du XVe siècle* (Paris, 1899), pp. 194, 196, 258, 261-2, 304.

5. M. Natalucci, *op.cit.* i, 469. See also G. Gariboldi, *Angelo Boldoni* (Ancona, 1879).

6. G. Bonolis, 'Sul commercio delle città adriatiche nel Medio Evo', *Rivista Internazionale di Scienze Sociali*, lvi (1911), pp. 296-303; A. Battistella, 'Il dominio del Golfo', *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, n.s. xxxv (1919), pp. 9-29.

7. R. Predelli, *op.cit.* iv, 295-6.

Even after Ancona had made peace with the Pope in July 1446<sup>1</sup>, she remained a member of the Veneto - Florentine League.<sup>2</sup> Ancona retained good relations with both the Medici and the Republic of Florence who were interested in the possibilities of Ancona as an outlet to the east<sup>3</sup> and a commercial treaty of 1499 granted the Florentines reduced customs duties in the port, particularly for the transit trade.<sup>4</sup> W

With the cities of the other side of the Adriatic, Ancona maintained close relations and commercial treaties established mutual low taxes and other advantages.<sup>5</sup> Relations were particularly close with Ragusa, who after the end of Venetian domination in 1358 began to emerge as a powerful independent maritime republic under the ~~Walla~~ suzerainty of Hungary and after 1460 as a tributary of the Turk.<sup>6</sup> From the few records that remain in Ancona for the early fifteenth century, it is clear that relations between the two cities formed a very important part in the commercial life of both of them.

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1. Idem, iv, 298.
  2. Idem, iv, 299; see also v, 203, 210, 219, 236, 291; vi, 10, 41 for further associations with Venice in the fifteenth century.
  3. G.R.B. Richards, Florentine Merchants in the Age of the Medici, (Cambridge, Mass, 1932), p.48 for Lorenzo encouraging friendship with the Marche.
  4. ASCA, 47, cc22-24.
  5. These can be found most conveniently in V. Makuscev, Monumenta historica Slavorum Meridionalium (Warsaw, 1874), Tom.i, vol.i, 96-7 (treaty with Zara, 1258); 98-102 (treaty with Zara, 1288); 110-111 (concord with Trau, 1236); 111-18 (concord with Ragusa, 1372); 119-23 (renewal of concord with Ragusa, 1397); 124-6 (further renewal, 1440); 126-38 (additional agreements with Ragusa, 1495, 1500, 1501, 1514, 1518, 1540, 1541); 139-42 (concord with Cattaro, 1442). See also C. Ciavarini, Statuti Anconitani del Mare, del Terzenale e della Dogana e Patti con Diverse Nazioni (Ancona, 1896), pp.233-279 for the text of most of the above and other treaties.
  6. For a brief history of the political development of Ragusa see B. Krekic, Dubrovnik (Raguse) et le Levant au Moyen Age (Paris, 1961) pp.13-65. Also on the development of Ragusan maritime commerce see F.M. Appendini, Notizie Istorico-Critiche sulle Antichità, Storia e Letteratura de' Ragusei (Ragusa, 1802), i, 210-226.

There is little detailed information on the commerce of Ancona prior to the period that is the subject of this study.<sup>1</sup> Spheres of interest can be established to a certain extent from the signatories of commercial treaties and the lists of goods in these treaties give some idea of the nature of the trade. But such sources give no indication of the quantity of trade, or of the relative importance of the various goods and routes. No information can be found on business methods or personnel. The only comparative study of an earlier period that is of much help in an assessment of the position of Ancona is Krekić's work on the trade of Ragusa with the Levant up to 1460.<sup>2</sup> But even this, being a selection of documents relating to eastern trade, mentions Ancona only incidentally and does not enable one to form an accurate opinion of the importance of Ancona in the Ragusan economy. The cities of the Mediterranean of which more comprehensive studies have been made, such as Genoa and Barcelona,<sup>3</sup> did not, in the fifteenth century at least, fall within the orbit of Anconitan trade to any great extent, although Barcelona did maintain consuls in the city.<sup>4</sup>

By the major struggles of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries that have been mentioned earlier, Ancona was surprisingly little

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1. The most useful sources are references to Ancona in collections of documents compiled for other purposes. See V. Makuscev, *op.cit*; C. Ciavarini, *op.cit*; G. Möller, Documenti sulle relazioni delle città toscane coll' Oriente cristiano e coi Turchi fino all'anno 1531 (Florence, 1879) and the references to Ancona cited therein. This list does not pretend to be complete. A few references to Anconitan trade and shipping can be found in most of the collections of Venetian and Genoese notarial documents relating to the eastern Mediterranean.
  2. Krekić, *op.cit*.
  3. J. Heers, *op.cit*; C. Carrère, *op.cit*.
  4. A. de Capmany, *op.cit*, vol.i, pt.ii, 110. See also 14 ASA 1-3 cl16v for an interesting document relating to the appointment by some Barcelonese merchants in Ancona of a new consul, the son of the former consul who had recently died (8 Oct. 1484). For the key to abbreviations of references to original material in the footnotes see Bibliography pp. 222-228.

✓ N. Jorga, *op.cit*; B. Krekić, *op.cit*; R. Predelli, *op.cit*;

affected. The great contest between Valois and Hapsburg, which according to Barbagallo laid waste great stretches of Italy,<sup>1</sup> left hardly a ripple in Ancona. The most that Ancona was called on to do was to provide provisions on occasion for an army in transit, such as that of Lautrec in 1528.<sup>2</sup> The only part of the entire fighting of the first half of the sixteenth century that had much effect directly on Ancona was the War of the Duchy of Urbino in 1516-7.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, though Ancona was called on occasionally to supply a certain number of galleys for the Papal fleet,<sup>4</sup> the city was very little affected by the maritime struggles between Turks and Christians. Ancona maintained very good relations in fact with the Turks throughout the period.<sup>5</sup> As the seventeenth century historian, Saracini, put it:-<sup>6</sup>

Li Turchi ... habitavano in essa Città senza alcun dubbio, andando, stando, tornando nella medesima, con più sicurezza, che non facevano nelli loro Paesi ....

That it was a sensible policy for Ancona to treat the Turks in this way ~~was~~

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1. C. Barbagallo, op.cit. xxxiv (1950), 401-11.
  2. M. Natalucci, op.cit, ii, 16-17; M. Sanuto, op.cit. xiv, 124-5, 280 for Spanish troops in Ancona in 1512.
  3. See above p.30.
  4. M. Natalucci, op.cit, ii, 4(1509); M. Sanuto, op.cit, ii, 649, 690 (1499); iii, 1519 (1501); iv, 252 (1502); v, 12 (1503); xxiii, 41, 396 (1516); xxx, 170 (1521).
  5. Saracini, op.cit, p.362. See also V. Makuscev, op.cit, pp.178-92; M. Natalucci, op.cit, ii, 134-9; M. Sanuto, op.cit, v, 27 (1503).
  6. 'The Turks lived in the city without fear, going, staying and returning to the same in greater safety than they enjoyed in their own lands'.



will be seen when the commerce of the period under discussion is described. There appears to have been no change in this policy when the direct rule of the Holy See began. The prosperity of the most important Papal port in the Adriatic was clearly more significant than any lip-service to the idea of non-communion with the Infidel.

As far as relations with Venice are concerned in the period studied, it is clear that by the early sixteenth century at least, the provisions of the treaty of 1264 had become a dead letter. Venice's losses against the Turk in the War of 1499 - 1502 and her further humiliations at the hands of the Holy League in 1509-11 had destroyed the legend of Venetian supremacy at sea and ipso facto her pretensions to the control of the Adriatic. Under the terms of the Julian capitulation of 1511, Venice was forced to agree that the merchants, ships and goods of Ancona and other ports of the Adriatic should have liberty of movement. Although Venetian lawyers in 1515 denied the right of the Doge to obligate the State in contradiction of his electoral oath, and although the Julian capitulation was denied at the Conventions of Brussels (1513), Angers (1518), Worms (1521) and Venice (1523), clauses regulating the commercial relations between states were introduced which were very similar to those in the Julian capitulation.<sup>1</sup> In any case the emphasis placed by Venice on the de iure recognition of what had once been the de facto domination of the Adriatic indicates the weakness of Venice during the first half of the sixteenth century. Despite occasional clashes,<sup>2</sup> there is little evidence that Venice was able to do much to stop the expansion of Anconitan commerce during this period, or that of the other rising ports of the area such as Ragusa, Ferrara and Trieste.<sup>3</sup>

1. R.Cessi, op.cit, pp.165-81; A.Battistella, op.cit, pp.31-41.

2. M.Sanuto, op.cit, v, 363, 976, 1058; ix, 503; x, 602; xxvii, 127.

3. For the development of Ragusa in the sixteenth century see J.Tadic, 'Le port de Raguse et sa flotte au XVIe siècle' in M.Mollat (ed.), Le Navire et l'Economie Maritime du Moyen-Age au XVIIIe siècle (Paris, 1958), pp.9-26. Little has yet been done on the fortunes of Trieste and Ferrara, though it should be clear from this study that both these ports were also expanding in response to similar factors to those operating in Ancona.

From this outline of the changes in the framework in which Ancona had to operate, it can be seen that there was little to hinder the expansion of Ancona as a port if circumstances should develop that made such an expansion desirable. Situated in the central Adriatic with the best natural harbour between Venice and the ports of Apulia, and with difficult but not impossible communications with the cities of central and northern Italy, any change in the routes taken to the east from sea to land, and any internal developments in the Turkish Empire which led to an increase in demand were likely to have repercussions on Ancona. Little affected by the Italian Wars, little hampered by the Venetian navy and in the latter part of the period with the support of an expanding Papal State behind her, it will be seen how this combination of circumstances led to the development of Ancona to what was by the middle of the sixteenth century, in relative terms, the most prosperous period of the city's history.

# CHAPTER THREE

## SOURCES

There are two archives in Ancona with material for the fifteenth and sixteenth century. These are the Archivio Storico Comunale,<sup>1</sup> which has been used by those historians who have previously shown an interest in the city<sup>2</sup>, and the Archivio di Stato which, for this period, has hitherto been practically untouched.

The Archivio Storico Comunale, as noted by Delumeau,<sup>3</sup> has not much to offer the commercial historian. Apart from Statutes, communal decrees and other official pronouncements and correspondence which help to give some background to information found elsewhere, the most useful source to be found in this archive are the surviving books of the depositario generale.<sup>4</sup> This official supervised most of the collection and disbursement of the Commune's revenue, both before and after the loss of self-government in 1532.<sup>5</sup> In his books were recorded all those classes of income and

1. The most recent catalogue of the archive is G. Angelini Rota, L'Archivio Storico Comunale di Ancona (Ancona, 1956). References to material consulted will relate to the numbering in this catalogue.
2. Economic and social historians collecting material for studies of other cities have occasionally visited Ancona but have been disappointed in the contents of this archive. See M. Popovic-Radenkovic, 'La penetrazione dei mercanti Pratesi a Dubrovnik (Ragusa) nella prima metà del XV secolo', ASI, CXXVII (1959), p. 505, 521; J. Delumeau, Vie économique et sociale de Rome dans la seconde moitié du XVIe siècle (Paris, 1957), p. 97; N. Mollat (ed.) IVe Colloque d'Histoire Maritime, (Paris, 1962), p. 101, discussion between F. Braudel and J. Delumeau.
3. J. Delumeau, loc. cit.
4. ASCA, 59, 61, 62, 66, 68, 115, 116, 117, 118, 121, 431.
5. For financial administration see R. Roia, 'L'amministrazione finanziaria del Comune di Ancona nel sec. XV', AMSPM, 4th. ser. 1 (1924), pp. 141-246.

expenditure for which he was responsible. Amongst these the most important for the purposes of this study were the records of customs' receipts.

Although it is tempting, in the absence of anything else, to use these receipts as a quantitative estimate of changes in the commerce of the port, there are considerable problems to be faced. First, in the period of over seventy years with which this study deals, only a total of five years is represented in the surviving books.<sup>1</sup> Secondly, not all goods that entered the port were covered by customs' payments recorded in these books. Some goods such as grain imported were exempt from tax, and thus though grain ships were recorded as entering the port in the books of the customs officers,<sup>2</sup> no payments on grain imports were recorded in the books of the depositario. Some other taxes such as those on imported salt, wine, hay and firewood and the head tax on pilgrims went not to the communal authorities, but to a special body that administered the port and the dockyard.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless the classes of good that did pay the tax recorded in the books of the depositario generale remained substantially the same throughout the period, so that the problem of the omission of some goods from the record may not be all that serious for the analysis that will be applied to these books in this thesis.

Far more important, in an attempt to assess the relevance of the figures that can be obtained from this source, is the problem of ascertaining what was happening to the level of duty at which the taxes were collected. Only scattered evidence on this can be extracted from the available material, but it seems quite clear that the level of duty

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1. Feb.-July 1470, 1481; March-July 1493, 1498; Feb.-July 1502, 1509, 1517, 1518, 1527; May 1541-Jan. 1542.

2. ASCA 507, entries 205, 267, 280 and 297 in particular.

3. Roia, op.cit. pp. 236-7. None of the books relating to the administration of the port survive.



showed a tendency to fall throughout the period. No instance has been found of the duties being raised. On the other hand, the general level was reduced in 1510 and again in the 1540s, bringing the general ad valorem level of duty down from 6 per cent for goods imported from outside the Adriatic and 2 per cent for goods imported from within, to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent and 1 per cent respectively.<sup>1</sup> In addition, many of the most important goods such as cloth, raw silk and camlets paid specific duties which were the subject of concessions to foreigners, beginning in 1499-1500 to Florentines and Ragusans, and later extended to Sienese, Lucchesi and all the subjects of the Turk.<sup>2</sup> In view of these problems, it would be unwise to put too much faith in the story that these figures tell. The most that can be expected from them is some idea of the order of magnitude of changes in the commerce of the port. However, even if the total figures are suspect, some advantage can be had from a breakdown of the totals.

The way in which the income from the customs was recorded varied according to the individual responsible. One factor common to all entries, however, was the name of the merchant making payment and the amount paid. From an analysis of these entries, it is possible to establish who were the leading figures in the trade of the port and this has been very useful as a check on information gained from other sources. Normally name and amount paid were all that was recorded, reference being made to the page of the

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1. The general level of duty in the fifteenth century was 6 per cent ad valorem for goods imported from outside the Adriatic and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent from within. C. Ciavarini, *op.cit.* p.108-10. This had fallen to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent and 2 per cent respectively by 1510. ASCA, 47, cc.74-5 and to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent and 1 per cent by 1551, ASCA, 222, cc. 1-24.
  2. V. Makuscev, *op.cit.* pp.128-30, 133-5 concessions to Ragusans; pp.178-80 concessions to merchants of Janina, Arta and Velona; pp.180-5 concessions to Levantine subjects of the Turk. ASCA, 47, cc 22-4, 46 concessions to Florentines; c50 to Lucchesi.

customs' officers register where the original entry had been made.

Sometimes more detail was given as "per parte de in sua de cottoni sodi et filati, tappedi et pelle montonine et cordovani".<sup>1</sup> Very occasionally sufficient detail was given to enable the actual rate paid to be calculated as "per in sua de panni balle 18 carcho in la nave de fiorio de raghusa".<sup>2</sup>

However, in none of the surviving libri de depositario is there sufficient material to enable a detailed breakdown of the goods entering and leaving the port to be made. All that one can tell from the scattered references is that such goods were entering into the trade of the port. This limited evidence is sometimes of great use. The 1481 book has a much greater number of references to goods than most of the books and has been extremely helpful in describing trade around that date.<sup>3</sup> The books of the depositario have also been useful in demonstrating the importance of the transit trade in cloth. Since cloth in transit did not change hands in Ancona, there are few references to this trade in the notaries' contracts which refer mainly to sales,<sup>4</sup> but scattered references in the depositary's books confirm the significance of this trade, which is illustrated best by the account-books of Florentine merchants.<sup>5</sup>

Of the customs officers' registers from which the entries in the libri de depositario were made up, there is only one surviving example. This is the Cartolano de Doana di Giulio Lioni which covers the period 21 May 1551 - 31 August 1551.<sup>6</sup> This document covers incoming shipping for a period of just over three months and provides the only information that can be considered at all complete regarding the shipping and commerce of Ancona. Even this covers only imports, gives no figures for tonnage or other

1. ASCA, 61, c10v.

2. Ibid c11v.

3. See below pp. 66-73.

4. For a discussion of the different types of contract registered before the notaries see below pp. 46-57.

5. For these see below pp. 57-58. 6. ASCA, 507.

measurement of the ship's capacity, rarely gives the owner or the nationality of the ship<sup>1</sup> and mentions the port where its current load was taken on in only 24 per cent of the entries.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, despite the great number of entries for such a short period,<sup>3</sup> there is good reason to believe that even this document does not record the entry of all the ships or boats that came into the port. This hypothesis is based on the fact that of the 80 entries for the month of August, of which only eight do not give the provenance of the ship, there is not a single reference to boats from the two immediately neighbouring ports of Falconara and Sirolo. In view of the geography of the region, this would seem to imply that boats coming from these ports were not registered. However, despite these shortcomings, the Cartolario records the name and type of ship, its master, its cargo and the merchant to whom it was consigned, as well as the customs payment made and so provides much more information than can be gained elsewhere of the structure and nature of Ancona's commerce.

Apart from what has been discussed above, there is very little in the Archivio Storico Comunale that is of use to the historian of this period, and it is in the Archivio di Stato that the bulk of the research for this study has been done. The only documents existing in this archive for the period before 1550 are the Fondo Notarile. Here are the surviving volumes

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1. Most of the entries give only the patrone (master) of the ship.
  2. The description 'cartolario della barca de Francesco Genaro venuta da Ferrara ....' clearly shows the provenance of the ship, whilst the description 'cartolario della barca de Francesco Doimo da Ferrara....' is ambiguous. The phrase 'da Ferrara' could be part of the surname of the owner or patrone. Despite the fact that the provenance is often fairly obvious from the nature of the cargo, this figure of 24 per cent includes only those entries that incorporate the words 'venuta' or 'carico'.
  3. 321 entries in a period of just over three months.

of contracts registered before the notaries of Ancona.<sup>1</sup> The contracts are copied into books and are not loose, as is often the case elsewhere, which makes them much easier to use.<sup>2</sup> In addition many of the later volumes have an index giving the first names of the parties and the type of contract. The contracts that are in these volumes are in fact drafts and the volumes are what are known elsewhere as chartularies.<sup>3</sup> If for some reason the party to a contract wanted more formal evidence for the existence of the contract, a parchment could be extracted by the notary from the record in his volume.

The usual form of the contract was first a heading giving the type of contract and the names of the parties. Then followed the date and place where the contract was made, and the names of the witnesses.<sup>4</sup> Then followed the meat of the contract worded in accordance with the correct legal formulae for that kind of contract. Finally there <sup>were</sup> ~~was~~ always a number of clauses defining the procedures and penalties to be followed in case of non-fulfillment of the contract or other contingencies, and also clauses, normally heavily abbreviated, revoking privileges and provisions of other bodies of law, such as Roman or ecclesiastical, which might

1. A list of the notaries whose volumes survive in the Archivio di Stato at Ancona can be found in G. Giuliani, 'I fondi dell 'Archivio di Stato di Ancona', *Rassegna degli Archivi di Stato*, xvii (1957), pp. 57-68.
2. See J. Heers, *Gênes au XVe siècle* (Paris, 1961), p.4 and R. Doehaerd and Ch. Kerremans, *Les relations commerciales entre Gênes, la Belgique et l'Outremont d'après les archives notariales génoises 1400-1440* (Brussels, Rome, 1952), p.ix for descriptions of Genoese notarial documents of the fifteenth century as loose papers gathered together in bundles or filze. The notarial records examined at Zara and Ferrara were also loose.
3. See D. Herlihy, *Pisa in the Early Renaissance* (New Haven, 1958), pp.2-11 for a discussion of the notarial chartulary. As at Pisa, to cancel an obligation contained in an entry, the notary would write in the margin the fact, the date, witnesses and circumstances of cancellation.
4. As a typical example of the beginning of a notarial contract in the archives at Ancona see 1 ASA 1-2 c62r - 'Locatio bovum et terrarum ludovici nassioni de Sarnano die vigesima mensis decembris [1483] actum ancone in bancha mei notarii infrascripti posita in parrochia sancti nicolai iuxta res episcopatus ancone res Ser Anton Johannis magistri Jacobi vias publicas e alia latere presentibus petro cicchoni de varano et francisco liberii de camborano testibus ad hec vocatis habitis et rogatis: Ludovico nassioni de Sarnano.....' (text of contract follows).



interfere with the execution of the contract.<sup>1</sup> For the notarial contract was itself law within its limited sphere.<sup>2</sup>

Contrary to the experience of other cities,<sup>3</sup> the notarial contracts at Ancona are still in the period studied of the greatest interest to the commercial historian. Why this should be, when in other cities the notarial contract as a source is becoming of limited value as early as the fourteenth century, is difficult to say. Certainly the contracts at Ancona are much richer than those of the other collections examined for this study, though they clearly only cover a very small fraction of all commercial transactions that occurred in the city. By this stage in the development of commercial institutions, it was no longer essential to register a contract before the notaries to provide evidence in the event of future litigation. Properly kept commercial books were acceptable at law.<sup>4</sup> For this reason it remains somewhat of a mystery why there should still at this late date be so many contracts relating to fairly straightforward matters such as the sale of goods on credit.

In view of the considerable bulk of the notaries' volumes at Ancona

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1. A typical example of such abbreviated clauses following the main text of the contract is 'renuntiantes dictas partes etc. que omnia et singula etc. que bona etc. in quibus bonis etc.' For definitions, bibliography and significance of these and other notarial formulae see A. de Bouard, L'acte privé (1948), vol. ii of Manuel de diplomatique française et pontificale (Paris, 1929-48); Gino Nasi, Formularium Florentinum Artis Notariae (Milan, 1943), pp. vii-lxiii; Jacobus Butrigarius, 'De renunciationibus' in Summa rolandina artis notariae (Lyons, 1537-8; Venice, 1588); A. Berger, 'Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Roman Law', Transactions American Philosophical Society, n.s. xliii (Philadelphia, 1953); P. Riesenbergh, 'Roman Law, Renunciations and Business in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', Essays in Honor of Austin P. Evans (New York, 1955), pp. 207-226.
  2. D. Herlihy, *op.cit.*, p. 16.
  3. *Idem* p. 10; Doehaerd & Kerremans, *op.cit.*, p. viii.
  4. Doehaerd and Kerremans, *op.cit.*, pp. viii-ix; A. Saporì, 'Saggio sulle fonti' in Studi di storia economica medievale (Florence, 1947), pp. 7-9; ASCA, 89, Constitutiones sive Statuta Magnifice Civitatis Ancone (Ancona, 1513) rubric lxxxi.

some method of sampling was necessary. What has been done is to examine all notaries' volumes that survive in the calendar years in which there are libri de depositario surviving.<sup>1</sup> This enables some cross check between the information provided by these two basic sources. In addition all the notaries' volumes for the period 1479-84 have been examined to provide a base from which to observe subsequent changes. Also it was found that there was a certain amount of specialization amongst the notaries and all the volumes of a few notaries whose contracts were particularly rich in information on maritime and commercial affairs have been examined.<sup>2</sup> The evidence of the notaries' contracts has had to be treated mainly in a descriptive manner as there is no reason to presume that the contracts that survive constitute an acceptable random sample. The notaries did not record every commercial transaction nor do all the original notaries' books survive.<sup>3</sup>

The kind of contract that was registered by the notaries covered practically all kinds of contractual behaviour including many such as wills, dowries and service contracts that have been little used in this study. The types of contract that have been used fall into four main groups though there is a certain amount of overlapping between these groups. These are contracts concerned with production in Ancona and its contado; those dealing with the exchange of goods and the activity of merchants; those dealing with the transport

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1. Except 1470, 1493, 1498 which were poorly represented in the surviving notaries' books. The year 1551 in which the customs' register mentioned above has survived has also been studied.
  2. Cresci, Stracca, Leoni, Giustiniani. See Bibliography pp. 222-224 for a complete list of the notaries used in this study.
  3. There is no full list of notaries active during this period. That there were considerably more than those whose volumes survive can be seen from a document of 1480. This was signed by eight notaries. Only five notaries' volumes survive for the year 1480, of which only three appear as signatories in this document. 12 ASA 1 c8.

of goods to and from Ancona and finally those contracts relating to litigation resulting from non-fulfilment of other contracts or some other contingency.

Nearly all the contracts relating to production are concerned with agriculture. There are very few industrial contracts. Partly this reflects the small part that industry played in Anconitan life but also it is probably a result of the fact that the productive part of industry as opposed to the commercial would be more likely to be recorded in private documents rather than notarial contracts. Although the organization of agriculture remains largely outside the scope of this study, some consideration has been given to it, especially in the five-year period used as a base. Most of the agricultural contracts that were recorded - and in the books of some notaries they provide a majority of all contracts - are tenancy agreements. These agreements were of two main types, the locatio ad coptimum in which payment was made by a rent in kind, and the locatio ad laboritum or ad soccitam which was a mezzadria contract. The latter was also on occasion termed a societas. Whether any of the land was worked by the owners of the land themselves cannot be determined from the notarial contracts. The contracts relate to all the main branches of agriculture practised in the contado of Ancona, arable (terra campiva) pasture (terra pratiua), viticulture (terra vineata) and olive culture (terra oliveata) as well as to the leasing of stock and draught animals. The locationes ad coptimum are fairly straightforward and provide for a tenancy of one year or a period of years and the payment of the coptimum normally in so much grain by the end of August. Most of these contracts have to do with the leasing of arable land or of draught animals (locatio bovum). The various forms of mezzadria contract have a wider range of use and can be found in all branches of agriculture. They bear a striking resemblance to the commenda or societas contract<sup>1</sup> used for many commercial purposes, in that

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1. See below p. 49.

the capitalist, in this case the landlord, provided land, stock and usually seed whilst the working partner provided his labour and at the end of the agreed period the product was divided equally between them. Naturally the mezzadria contract, dealing with a more predictable occupation, is able to be far more explicit than the commenda in outlining the duties of the working partner, but the basic division of function remains the same in both. How much of the available land was farmed under either of these kinds of agreement cannot be assessed. Even if the notarial contracts were complete, the problem would remain, since only on a very few occasions was the area of land involved mentioned. When the amount of land was mentioned, the normal formula was the capacity such as "capacitatis seminis duarum salmarum".<sup>1</sup> Usually land was described by its parish and its neighbours as "unam vineam .... positam in pertinentibus ancone in contrata Sancte Marie iuxta res heredum andree jarinotti res Ser anton iohannis iacobi res magistri iohannis capentarii viam virinalem a pede - alia latera".<sup>2</sup>

References to industry in the contracts are mostly indirect. Persons making contracts are described as tailors, bakers, smiths or shoemakers but little can be found about the way in which they ran their businesses. There are a few societas contracts relating to the establishment of a new partnership for the purposes of production,<sup>3</sup> but most of these contracts are concerned with commercial companies. Finally there are a few contracts relating to employment or apprenticeship but these are not at all frequent.<sup>4</sup> The

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1. 16 ASA 1 c36r.

2. 1 ASA 1-2 cl50v.

3. e.g. 11 ASA 13-14 cl13v. Contract 'super arte laborandi auri tirati'

~~4. e.g. 14 ASA 1-3 c642r, 118r. In idem c99r the Venetian consul fulfils an earlier contract and gives his servant a dowry of 30 ducats.~~



commonest service contracts were those for domestic service. The normal terms of employment for a girl was a fairly long contract with the provision of food, clothing and at the end of her contract a dowry.<sup>1</sup> Men who were apprenticed were not normally paid a salary but were given a lump sum at the end of their contract.<sup>2</sup> Men who had already served an apprenticeship or who were unskilled were normally paid their keep and a salary. It can be seen that neither in agriculture nor in industry do the notarial contracts tell us much about the conditions of production or of any changes that may have occurred in them.

By far the most important contract dealing with the exchange of goods was the promissio.<sup>3</sup> This related nearly always to a straightforward sale of goods on credit and the promise of the purchaser to pay for them at some future date. Mentioned in the contract were the names of buyer and seller, the description of the goods and their price and the date on which repayment was expected. It is from the enormous number of contracts of this kind that most of the information on the structure of the piazza of Ancona has been built up. Two main problems arise out of the use of this material. Firstly goods in transit did not form the subject of a promissio as they did not change hands in Ancona, and secondly it is often impossible to tell from the contract whether the principles are acting for themselves or for a third party. Some help in solving the latter problem can be had from the numerous procuraciones, deeds of attorney, which establish to a certain extent the business relations between different persons, but the problem of identity still remains a difficult one. Two other contracts imparting information similar to the promissio

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1. e.g. 14 ASA 1-3 cc42r, 118r. In idem c99r the Venetian consul fulfils an earlier contract and gives his servant a dowry of 30 ducats.
  2. See 14 ASA 1-3 cl08r - contract for apprenticeship in the smith's trade for four years. Terms were the provision of food, clothes, teaching and 6 ducats at the end of the contract.
  3. Examples of promissio contracts are given in the Appendix of documents, PP. 214-5, 217-8.

but not nearly so common were the emptio or deed of sale, and the quietatio or quittance. This kind of contract has not been used much as it generally duplicates data that can be extracted more easily from the promissio.

There are very few contracts at Ancona dealing with the organization of commercial companies. Of the more permanent type of company which had existed in Tuscany for several centuries only one example of Articles of Association has been found,<sup>1</sup> though companies are often found as parties to other contracts.<sup>2</sup> Two types of contract setting up a partnership for a limited period of time can be found at Ancona. These were various forms of the old commenda<sup>2</sup> and the contract of cambium.<sup>3</sup> Both these types of contract established a partnership for a specific business venture which in reality amounted to little more than a loan combined with insurance. The main difference lay in that the profits or losses of a commenda were shared between the two contractors according to some pre-agreed ratio, whilst in a cambium,

1. 13 ASA 2 c250. This concerns the establishment of a company by five brothers. One of the brothers is given powers by two others to set up a company involving all five of them. This was necessary as some of the brothers were in Perugia and others in Ancona. For more details of this contract see p. 189.
2. The term commenda was not in fact used in Ancona. This type of contract, which involves the provision of capital by one partner, stans, and its investment by the other travelling partner, tractator, and the division of the profits or losses of the venture according to some pre-agreed ratio was called by various names such as 'in recomendagioni', 'in accomendatio', 'societas' or 'societas trafficandi super mare'. For a discussion of the use of the commenda in Venice see G. Luzzatto, 'La commenda nella vita economica', Studi di storia economica veneziana (Padua, 1954), pp. 59-80; in Barcelona, A.E. Sayous, 'Les méthodes commerciales de Barcelone au XVe siècle', Revue historique de droit français et étranger, 4th. ser. xv (1936) pp. 270-4 and in general see R.S. Lopez and I. Raymond, Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World (New York, 1955), pp. 174-84. Once very common throughout the Mediterranean, this type of contract was disappearing as more permanent commercial partnerships developed.
3. The cambium was commoner at Ancona but some time between 1513 and 1517 the cambium contract ceased to be registered before the notaries of Ancona. The latest one noted in this study is dated 7 Feb. 1513. 14 ASA 5-6 c46r. On the cambium contract see Lopez and Raymond, op.cit, pp. 162-3.

~~4. Examples of all three of these contracts will be found in the Appendix of documents pp.~~

interest was paid on the loan regardless of the profitability of the venture. These contracts give the name of the principal, the nature of the loan (often in goods rather than cash), instructions on what is to be done with the loan which normally involve its carriage to some specified destination and subsequent sale or investment, and the terms on which repayment, or in the case of a commenda, sharing of the profits or losses, will be made. Both these types of contract were rather clumsy and archaic, and if capital had to be raised it was more normal to resort to an ordinary time-loan or a bill of exchange. Similarly if one had goods that had to be carried by sea, it was easier to have them looked after on a commission or salary basis. Nevertheless these contracts give much information on the organization of commerce as well as on the transportation of goods.

Apart from the promissio, there were two other kinds of credit instrument which appear very frequently in the notaries' books. These were the mutuum and the depositum. Unlike the promissio neither of these instruments were tied to a specific transaction. The normal form of the mutuum states that the borrower had received "mutuo gratis et amore" from the lender so much cash or goods which he promises to return at some future date. No mention is made of rate of interest, nor of the reason for the loan. In the depositum the borrower confesses that he has received "in depositum" from the lender so much cash which he promises to keep at his own risk and to return at some future date. Again neither interest nor explanation of the loan is given, but it seems that the depositum lies midway between the cambium (sea loan) and the mutuum.<sup>1</sup> The cambium is a loan combined with insurance - the lender himself underwrites the loan. While the depositum is not underwritten by the lender, it always includes a clause which is identical with clauses defining the risks covered in marine insurance contracts. However the person who accepts these risks is the borrower. For example someone receives in deposit 42 ducats which he

1. Examples of all three of these contracts will be found in the Appendix of documents pp. 213-221.



promises to keep at his own "risico periculo et fortuna videlicet ignis aque furti rapine ruine naufragii et cuiuslibet alterius causae tam divini quam humani".<sup>1</sup> The mutuum makes no mention of risk. Apart from this rather strange clause the function of mutuum and depositum seem to be identical. The difference between them lies mainly in that the depositum is usually for larger sums and is vaguer about the date of repayment. It is probable that the depositum was a feature of a rather loose sort of banking and that the mutuum was a consumption loan. There appeared to be little pattern in the loan market, leading figures in the piazza appearing often as both borrowers and lenders, and these two common forms of contract have not been subjected to much analysis. Another type of credit instrument which was found to be of much greater use, but which appeared only very infrequently was the presentatio licterarum cambii. This normally involved the presentation by the payee or his agent of a bill of exchange to the payer. The text of the bill, normally in Italian, is reproduced in full and is followed by a request for its prompt payment. This is normally followed by a refusal by the payer, occasionally with the grounds of the refusal, and a formal protest by the payee. These contracts give invaluable information not only on methods of remitting money but also on the structure of international trade as it is possible to see clearly who is acting for who. In most other contracts the name of the company involved in the contract is not given, only the name of the individual who actually made the transaction, but in the bill of exchange the full name of the company involved is nearly always given. Unfortunately the bill of exchange usually came in front of the Anconitan notaries only if something went wrong and therefore not only are the examples that exist atypical, but they are also very rare.

The group of contracts that involve the transport of goods to and from Ancona are nearly all concerned with shipping. In Ancona, as elsewhere, evidence relating to the carriage of goods by land is very hard to come by.

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1. 1 ASA 19 cl57r.

2. For an example of a bill of exchange see p. 119



Despite the importance of shipping to the economy of Ancona, references to this subject in the notarial contracts are also rare though sufficient can be found to throw considerable light on its structure and organization. The three main types of contract providing information on shipping are the cambium, the naulizatum (charter-party) and documents relating to the sale of a ship either in the form of a promissio or an emptio.

The cambium contract which is described above normally involved the provision of a loan, either in goods or cash, to be taken on a specific venture. Such ventures usually involved carriage by sea and the contract normally states, in addition to a description of the goods or cash involved, the name of the patrone of the ship on which it is to be carried and sometimes the name of the ship, the destination and the route of the ship, and very occasionally the nature of the return cargo. Thirty-eight of these contracts have been noted and almost all of them refer to fairly large ships. They do not give any idea of the total cargo carried on the ship, freight rates or passage times, but in view of the shortage of naulizata (charter-parties) covering voyages outside the Adriatic, they give a very valuable insight into long-distance trade.<sup>1</sup> Apart from voyages to Romania or Constantinople, which are the subject of the majority of the cambia, they cover voyages to Tunis, Alexandria, Civitavecchia<sup>2</sup> and one interesting example of an Anconitan ship sailing to the Black Sea in 1483, where the lender stated that he would not accept the risk of the cambium "ex civitate pere in mare maioris seu maggiore ut vulgo dicitur".<sup>2</sup>

Notarized contracts covering the sale of some 80 ships or boats have been

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1. e.g. 15 ASA 6-7 c28r, 13 ASA 9 c293v, 13 ASA 6, c127v.

2. 15 ASA 5 c78r. The full text of this contract is given as an example of a cambium pp. 216-217.

216 15 ASA 5 c78r, 13 ASA 9 c293v, 13 ASA 6, c127v.

found in the volumes studied. Unfortunately the contracts hardly ever give a description of the vessel that is to be sold. Either there is no reference to the matter at all or else mention is made of an inventory which is not reproduced.<sup>1</sup> The usual formula for the description of a ship being sold was merely some variation of the following:

... unam navem cum omnibus ar<sup>n</sup>nesibus et corredis, ancere, velis, barcis et alliis rebus ad dictam navem spectantibus et pertinentibus ...<sup>2</sup>

The normal information that can be gained from these documents is the type of ship, its price, its whereabouts, sometimes its name and its size and the names of the buyer and seller. The contracts themselves are of little interest being similar to those governing the sale of other classes of goods.

The naulizatum is the most valuable contract for the study of shipping. In all, 145 such contracts have been noted but only 59 of these came from the years chosen for more intensive study. The remainder were traced as a result of the fact that very few notaries handled naulizata and thus by following up other volumes of those notaries who specialized in this business, it has been possible to gain much more data on freight rates, trade routes and types of ship. The specialization amongst the notaries was such that out of 43 notaries studied, only 13 had any examples of this sort of contract and seven of these had 137 out of the total of 145. Thus, apart from any other consideration, the existence of notarized naulizata depends on volumes of those notaries who specialized in the business being extant. In addition to this problem, it is quite obvious, from the very small number of naulizata for the years that have been studied in more detail, that only a minute fraction of the shipping leaving the port of Ancona during this period is represented by the naulizata studied. This is made particularly apparent from the year 1551. In this year 35 naulizatum contracts were found, far more than in any other

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1. See 31 ASA 13 c3v. Sale of the Anconitan ship 'Madre de Dio' with a reference to an inventory in the hands of a countryman of the buyer. The only really good example of an inventory of a ship is 1 ASA 1-2 c30 r - 'Descriptio bonorum et rerum caravelle ranaldi et perigrini filiorum et heredum quondam dragotti de sibenico'.
  2. 16 ASA 2 ccl83v-184v.

year, and nearly a quarter of the total. Nevertheless, in the customs' register mentioned above which covers just over three months, over 300 vessels are recorded as entering the port. Furthermore the naulizata that do exist rarely cover the whole of the cargo of the ship. If only because of the shortage of other evidence, the naulizata have been extremely useful, however, in trying to assess changes in quantity, quality, origin, organization and routes of shipping. The main problem in using this material, as indeed in using any notarial contracts of this period, is that of assessing the typicality of the evidence. There is, in fact, a danger of a possible bias here. Probably the least likely contract to be registered would be one where an Anconitan was chartering an Anconitan ship, since the parties would be well known to each other and might well be satisfied with a private contract. Since it is the view of the writer that Anconitan shipping becomes progressively less important in the port, this bias should be borne in mind, although the one piece of quantitative evidence existing, the customs' register of 1551, corroborates this view.

The amount of material appearing in any one naulizatum varied considerably. This is not only because of the qualitative difference between one voyage and another, but also because of frequent omissions from the notarized version of the contract as compared with the original private contract which was generally drawn up in Italian. The very minimum which occurs, especially in the naulizata of later years, is just the heading such as :-

"Naulizatum galioni Nicolai Marsopoli de Crocera" <sup>1</sup>

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1. 31 ASA 21-22 c9r. The naulizatum is the only type of contract to appear in this form.

followed by a blank space in the volume. What has happened is that the notary has merely inserted in the correct fold of his book the Italian version which has since either been lost or was destroyed on completion of the contract.<sup>1</sup> All that one can learn from this sort of document is that such and such a vessel was at that time in the port of Ancona, in itself, in conjunction with other evidence, quite useful. A commoner and more valuable type of naulizatum is one that gives the bare bones of the contract without many details. This gives the name of the charterers, the owner or patrone (master) of the ship, the cargo to be loaded, its destination and the amount and method of payment of the freight. This, with modifications, such as inclusion of the name and capacity of the ship, the route or the amount payable for demurrage, is the commonest form of contract. Finally there is the full-length contract, often running into several pages.<sup>2</sup>

Two other strictly maritime contracts were also useful in building up a picture of the organization and uses made of shipping, but were too few in number to provide the basis for much intensive analysis. These were contracts relating to the appointment of ships' officers, especially the patrone, and insurance contracts. Finally, references to shipping occur in a wide range of documents, many of which are mainly concerned with other matters. The various forms of the commenda, as well as the cambium, often related to a voyage overseas and in fact often specifically required the provision of a

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1. Proof of this is given by a similar heading 'Naulizatum navis Johannis Matthei Florii de Raguseo' but loose the original document still in its correct fold and beginning 'Giova' Mateo di Florio da Ragusa patrone di un nave Santa Maria della Misericordia ...' and continuing as a complete charter-party.
  2. For a discussion of chartering see pp. 157-64. An example of a naulizatum will be found in the Appendix of documents pp. 213-214.



boat by the travelling party.<sup>1</sup> Payment depending on the time of arrival of a specified ship,<sup>2</sup> quittance (quietatio) of freight (nolum)<sup>3</sup> or goods, sequestration of a ship or some of its equipment for debt, contracts made by ships' officers naming their ship and its present whereabouts<sup>4</sup> all give some information on shipping and some provide important additions to our knowledge.

Giving an overall picture of the whole economic life of the city are documents relating to disputes arising out of the non-fulfilment of contracts or other differences. The usual method of procedure would be for one party to file a protest (protestatio), giving details of his grievance and referring to any contractual evidence that he was able to call. The other party would then file his reply (responsio); there might then be an agreement to accept arbitration. The arbitrators might take evidence from third parties and then would pronounce their sentence which would be binding. Examples of all these documents have been found but it is rare to find a complete series relating to the same proceedings. In fact very rarely do the proceedings get beyond the stage of protestatio in the notaries' records. Presumably the matter would either be settled without further argument, or else evidence and sentence would be transferred to court and the records would be kept by the notary of the court. Nevertheless what remains is very useful in giving a fuller understanding of the realities that lie behind the formal phrases of other contracts.

Although the notarial contracts in the Archivio di Stato at Ancona provide a surprisingly good picture of the commercial life of the city, it should be

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1. Particularly in the type of commenda called societas trafficandi super mare.
  2. Such contracts were normally in connection with the sale on credit of goods which the purchaser was shipping overseas. For example 33 ASA 17 cl54v: 22 Mar 1541, two merchants sell 20 kerseys to a merchant of Constantinople, payment in eight months or before if the ship called 'La Mater de Dio' has returned to Ancona.
  3. There is one particularly good series of such quittances involving 49 ships carrying salt from Ibiza to Ancona for the Camera Apostolica 1517-22. Contracts in LASA 33, 11 ASA 11-14.
  4. Such a contract might have nothing to do with shipping, yet give incidental information on the subject.<sup>8.11</sup> Thus the patrone of a barcia in Ancona accepted on 26 Mar 1503 a letter of exchange drawn on himself in Pera ten months previously. 13 ASA 1, cl88v.

clear that they by no means answer all the questions. Apart from their limited value as a statistical source, they throw little light on many structural and institutional problems, and also by-pass whole sectors of economic activity within the city. Amongst the more important facets that are little touched by the notarial contracts are the important transit trade of the city, local industry, banking, land transport, the supply of commercial credit and the structure of commercial organizations. Some of these defects can be made up from sources existing in other cities with which Ancona had commercial ties. Investigation in other cities also gives much more depth to aspects of commerce on which there is also information at Ancona.

The two main sources from other cities that have been consulted are collections of merchants' account and letter books, and notarial archives. Since there are no merchants' books extant at Ancona, it was hoped that, in view of the predominantly foreign origin of the leading merchants on the Anconitan piazza,<sup>1</sup> the books of some merchant who actually lived and did business in Ancona might be found. Though a long shot, it was felt that, armed with the names of merchants and with their cities of origin, there was a fairly good chance of this in the very extensive collections of merchants' books that exist in some Italian cities. However, despite search in Florence, Perugia, Pisa, Prato, Ragusa and Venice nothing of this kind was found. Time and expense prevented further search in the other cities from which merchants residing in Ancona originated.<sup>2</sup>

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1. See below pp. 107-109

2. The most likely Italian cities not searched were Siena, Lucca, Milan, Bergamo and Cremona.

Despite this disappointment, more success was had in finding the books of merchants who did business with Ancona but never actually resided there. These merchants were all engaged in the transit trade that existed via Ancona and Ragusa and their books have been found in various collections of Florentine commercial books<sup>1</sup> and in the Privata collection in the Archives at Ragusa.<sup>2</sup> These books include ledgers, journals and letter-books and are discussed in more detail below.<sup>3</sup> Apart from the evidence that these books provide of the transit trade of Ancona, they are also invaluable in giving an insight into the organization of commercial companies and in their methods of operation. Data on costs of production and carriage and on unit profit; information on the kind of problems that arose in the operation of long-distance trade; details of the structure of the companies and of their relations with their agents and correspondents in other cities; all these can be found in such books. And thus despite their limited range in time and in type of business, they do much to make up for the lack of any books of those who operated <sup>in</sup> Ancona itself.

The most useful of the notarial archives that have been examined outside Ancona were those of Ragusa.<sup>4</sup> Unlike the practice in Italian cities, all acts made by notaries were entered into the same volume for a given time period. Individual notaries did not keep their own volumes. These notarial acts were registered in two different institutions in Ragusa and are collected together in two series called the Diversa Notariae and the Diversa Cancellariae. The former is the richer in contracts dealing with

1. ASF, Carte Strozzi, ser. V, 78, 80, 86, 87, 89, 93; BL Medici MSS 516, 518, 536(4), 538, 539, 552a; ADSI, Estranei, 416, 417. Details of these books can be found in the bibliography pp. 226-27.
2. DAD, Privata, 29.
3. Pp. ~~222~~ 122-32.
4. On the archives at Ragusa see J. Tadić, 'Les archives économiques de Raguse', Annales, XVI (1961), pp. 1168-75 and Ibid, 'Les sources de l'histoire maritime yougoslave', in M. Mollat (ed) Ive Colloque d'Histoire Maritime (Paris, 1962), pp. 85-92.



maritime commerce and is the series that has been most used for this study. Some indication of the comparative richness of the notarial archives at Ancona is seen in the fact that at Ragusa there are never more than two volumes from each collection for a single year, generally less, and these not very bulky, whilst at Ancona of the notaries' acts still existing there are normally at least a dozen thick volumes of comparative page size.<sup>1</sup> The kind of contract that provides the bulk of the information about the Anconitan piazza, the promissio, was hardly ever registered before the notaries at Ragusa. However, the contracts that were registered provide a very rich panorama of the maritime life of the city. These include naulizata, assicurationes (insurance contracts), contracts for partnership in new ships or rearrangement of old partnerships, protested bills of exchange and other very valuable material. However, despite the completeness of the collection, by no means all of these types of contract were registered at Ragusa and here again it would be wrong to make statistical calculations on the basis of this evidence. The great bulk of the naulizata, for instance, involve contracts to ship grain from Sicily, Apulia and the Greek ports. There is very little reference to naulizata concerning voyages to Ancona or even Venice. And yet, simply by reference to the casual mention of Ragusan shipping at Ancona in Anconitan sources, it would be easy to show that the naulizata registered in Ragusa do not cover all Ragusan voyages. This can be inferred from the arrival in Ancona from Ragusa of Ragusan ships for which no naulizatum for the voyage exists in Ragusa. This is best seen in the Cartolaro of 1551. In this, four Ragusan ships are specifically entered as having come from Ragusa<sup>2</sup> but there are charter-parties for none of these in the Diversa Notarise, nor are there for the other seven Ragusan vessels that are registered without naming where they had come from.

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1. This is true at least of the sixteenth century when more volumes have survived at Ancona.
  2. ASCA, 507, entries 102, 267, 318, 320.



The naulizatum of Ragusa is similar to its Anconitan counterpart.<sup>1</sup>

The two main differences are that it is nearly always fuller and that from an early date in this period, it was quite normal for the contract to be registered in Italian. Otherwise the phraseology and formulae used in the contract betray a common Italian heritage. Of even greater interest than this large collection of naulizata are the insurance contracts in the Diversa Notariae. Although they occur from the beginning of the period they become increasingly more numerous as the period continues. Eventually they were incorporated in a different series of their own.<sup>2</sup> Since there are very few insurance contracts at Ancona, the pattern of insurance rates for the various shipping routes has been almost entirely constructed from the documents at Ragusa. Apart from the insurance rates themselves, the contracts give the same sort of information about size of ships, routes, cargoes and organization of shipping as the naulizata, and have been used in conjunction with the latter to build up a picture of Ragusan shipping. The contracts are normally in Italian, give the name of insurers and insured, the value and description of the goods to be insured, the ship on which they were to be carried, the destination and route, the risks from which they were to be insured and the conditions of payment in the event of loss.<sup>3</sup>

The contracts relating to the building and fitting out of ships at Ragusa are very interesting as there are no ship-buildings contracts at all at Ancona.<sup>4</sup> In addition, as at Ancona, such contracts as those concerning the appointment of ships' officers, commenda and disputes have all been used to broaden the material used to describe the organization of shipping in both ports.

The notarial archives of Zara<sup>5</sup> and Pesaro have also been consulted to see if these ports were duplicating the activities of Ragusa and Ancona.

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1. Examples of both Ragusan and Anconitan naulizata can be found in the Appendix of documents pp. 213-4, 220-1.
  2. DAD, Libro de Noli et Sicurta which starts 11 Jan 1563.
  3. For details see section on insurance pp. <sup>164-7</sup> ~~125-8~~ and Appendix of documents pp. 218-20.
  4. See J. Tadić, 'Le port de Raguse ...' op.cit, pp. 11-18 for a discussion of shipbuilding and ship operation at Ragusa.
  5. For the archives at Zara see J. Tadić, 'Les sources ...' op.cit pp. 78-81.

The Drzavni Arhiv at Zara contains most of the archives of the province of Dalmatia. Amongst this enormous collections only the notarial archive of Zara itself and of Sibenico<sup>1</sup> were sampled for the same years that had been singled out in Ancona. Very little of interest to this study and very little on the maritime life of these two ports was discovered in this brief survey. The same was true of the notarial acts in the Archivio di Stato at Pesaro, the central Italian port that seemed most likely to be a significant rival of Ancona in this period. While the lack of evidence from these sources may be an indication of lack of trade, a partial examination of this kind could hardly be considered sufficient evidence to provide conclusive proof. It seems very likely that the richness of the Anconitan and Ragusan notarial archives of this period are rather the exception than the rule, and it is probably not wise to argue little or no trade from the non-existence of proof of it in other notarial collections of the early sixteenth century. K H

In addition to notarial archives and merchants' books, the opportunity was taken while in other cities to consult other collections of documents which it was felt might have a bearing on the subject. The most valuable of these were the records of the Cinque Savii alla Mercanzia in Venice, correspondence with individuals and the government in Ancona contained in the collection Mediceo Avanti il Principato in Florence and similar material in the collections Lettere de Levante and Consilium Rogatorum in Ragusa.<sup>2</sup>

From the description of the sources in this chapter it can be seen that the thesis has to rely very heavily on notarial records. Evidence from libri de depositario and merchants' books can be used to supplement this source but the bulk of the material has to come from these rather unwieldy volumes of contracts. While it is an agreeable surprise that so much useful

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1. In fact the notarial archives of Zara, Sibenico and Pesaro have only been sampled for the period up to 1518-20.
  2. For details of material consulted see Bibliography pp. 226-8.

data should still exist in late fifteenth and early sixteenth century notaries' contracts, it must be noted that they leave much to be desired as a source for economic history. The sheer weight of paper that has to be turned over to find anything of interest is a major problem, especially when it is considered that the historian is not working with anything as complete as say, parish registers or fiscal records. The reward to effort is therefore very slight. There is also virtually no way of guaranteeing the typicality of what is found in notarial records. That other sources tend to confirm my findings is encouraging but hardly conclusive in any statistical sense. Indeed, it has to be admitted that, in view of the enormous number of transactions that must have occurred in the economic life of Ancona during the period studied, those transactions that formed the subject-matter of contracts registered before the notaries must have been atypical. The most obvious bias is that notarial contracts tend to involve big rather than small business and credit rather than cash transactions. In the chapters on merchants and on shipping there are signs of this bias. It is the leading wholesale merchants and the biggest ships that have, perforce, to be discussed, though they obviously represented the minority in terms of numbers.

As a result of the shortcomings of this major source, the thesis has had to be impressionistic and descriptive - with none of the, perhaps misleading, quantitative precision that tends to be the hallmark of modern economic history. Even as an impressionistic and descriptive document, however, the thesis is forced by its source material to be quiet or extremely speculative on some subjects. As was mentioned earlier, the contracts do not reflect all aspects of economic life, and thus problems such as the organization of business, the structure of credit and the organization of land transport cannot be satisfactorily discussed. There also seem to be some strange gaps in the evidence. For instance, other sources, though admittedly not strictly in the period studied, describe Ancona as a centre of

pilgrim traffic,<sup>1</sup> the slave trade<sup>2</sup> and the import of horses from the Balkans;<sup>3</sup> yet, of these three subjects, beyond one reference to the sale of a slave,<sup>4</sup> there is no mention in notarial contracts. Can one argue the absence of such activities from absence of mention of them in such a source? The same problem occurs in comparing Ancona with other cities. For instance, the notarial records of Pesaro and Zara indicate economies that were hardly influenced by their maritime position at all. Is this true, or were contracts dealing with maritime commerce not registered before the notaries in these cities? It is certainly true that the subject-matter and form of the notarial contract vary considerably from city to city. Genoese and Ragusan contracts, for instance, are very different from Anconitan contracts.<sup>5</sup>

In conclusion, it seems wisest to use notarial contracts as a source for economic history always in conjunction with some other, preferably quantitative, source. When writing the thesis, the surest ground was when the commercial life of Ancona around the middle of the sixteenth century was being described, the date when the customs' register discussed above has survived. Analysis of the register provided a framework into which descriptive material from the notaries' contracts could be easily and fairly confidently fitted. Where such fiscal documents have survived in other Italian cities, nearly all of which have enormous quantities of notaries' registers surviving for the sixteenth century, the scope for a far more detailed study of the Italian, and indeed Mediterranean economy, during this crucial period of its history seems to be immense.

1. J. Sottas, Les messageries maritimes de Venise au XIVE et au XVe siècles (Paris, 1938), pp. 140-1.
2. I. Origo, 'The Domestic Enemy: Eastern Slaves in Tuscany in the 14th and 15th centuries', Speculum, xxx (1955), p. 329.
3. For the use of Albanian + Balkan light cavalry in the Italian Wars see Sir Charles Oman, The Art of War in the Sixteenth Century (1937), pp. 91-93. For the import of horses by one of the most successful condottieri, Giovanni de' Medici see ASF, MAP, CXII, 180, 210, 279, 295 etc.
4. 13 ASA 2 c 138r.
5. For Genoese contracts see Dochaerd and Kerremans, op. cit. passim. For Ragusan contracts see above pp. 58-60.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE DEVELOPMENT OF ANCONITAN COMMERCE, 1479-1551

In this chapter an attempt will be made to describe and explain the main changes that occurred in the commerce of Ancona during the period studied. The description is divided into three main periods. A base period, 1479-84, is first described and is then compared with two periods of the first half of the sixteenth century, 1500-27 and 1541-51. The first of these two latter periods is one of fairly rapid development, whilst the second is one of consolidation of the earlier changes.

Although overall there was very considerable commercial development in the city, this development seems to have had remarkably little effect on the basic economy of the city. Commercial development did not lead as it did elsewhere to much industrial and agricultural change but rather was superimposed on an existing framework which probably remained similar in its outlines throughout. Thus, whilst by the 1520s Ancona had become an international centre for the distribution of textiles, textile raw materials and hides, this had apparently little effect on the textile or leather industries of the city. Some expansion there probably was, but the following quotation from the work of a local notable listing the industrial accomplishments of his native city provides negative evidence that any such expansion was limited:-<sup>1</sup>

... latvaga arte d'imbiancar la cera zaura, de lat quale  
ordinariamente se ne serve Roma non che il resto delle  
Ecclesiastiche provincie; quella della tentoria di ogni  
sorte di tela, di drappo e di pezze di panni ... l'util  
arte di cilandrare o manganare le tele, l'arte di far

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1. Francesco Ferretti, Diporti notturni (Ancona, 1579), p. 143.

canapi o cavi per servizio delle grosse navi e de gli  
altri legni da gabbia ...<sup>1</sup>

The writer was boasting and if this was all he could think of, then it seems reasonable to assume that Ancona was not an important industrial centre.

Nor did the growth of population that appears to have occurred as a result of the influx of foreign merchants, brokers, bankers and shipowners<sup>2</sup> call forth an equivalent growth either in local consumption industries or in local agriculture. The response seems rather to have been a movement from a position of regional exchange within the Adriatic to one where it became increasingly necessary to draw some of the local consumption requirements from a wider supply region.

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1. 'The art of whitening unrefined wax, with which they normally serve Rome and the rest of the provinces of the Church; that of dyeing every kind of linen, silk and woolen cloth ... the useful art of calendering or <sup>by</sup>magling cloth, the art of making hempen ropes or cables for the service of great ships and other decked vessels ...'
  2. The increase in population assumed here is very poorly documented. A description of the city made to Gregory XIII in about 1581 gives the population of Ancona and its contado as about 23,600, of which just over half lived in the city itself and its immediate surroundings. In 1567 at the time of Pius IV the population was given as 22,766. Natalucci, op. cit. ii, 89. Francesco Ferretti writing in 1579 gives the population as 18,435, to which should be added foreigners residing in the city such as the 2,700 Jews and 1,000 Greeks plus others bringing the population again to somewhere around 23,000. Op. cit. p. 148 quoted by Natalucci, loc. cit.

However before this date, I have found no such concrete estimate of population. Nevertheless, it seems evident that population was increasing in the first half of the sixteenth century, by immigration if not by natural increase. The best positive evidence of this is the quotation from Saracini, op. cit. p. 347 ~~quoted~~ <sup>quoted</sup> below p.90.

Indeed the changes in Ancona were not the result of a burst of enterprise by the natives of the city, but were the result of the independent decisions of foreign entrepreneurs to channel existing trades through Ancona instead of by alternative routes. That these trades expanded in the course of the period was also the result of factors that lay outside anything that happened in Ancona itself. Individual ports rarely played a dominant<sup>n</sup> role in international trade and their best reaction to such good fortune as Ancona enjoyed was to make their facilities as attractive as possible, by keeping the harbour clear of detritus, reducing tariffs, providing accommodation for people and goods, and by welcoming all merchants regardless of race, religion or nationality in a general effort to hold on to their good fortune as long as possible. Though merchants and shipowners of Ancona participated to a certain extent in the expansion of trade, it was primarily in this passive role that the natives of the city encouraged and benefited from the altered trading conditions of the first half of the sixteenth century.

In the base period, however, the significance of Ancona was still mainly as a link in a limited exchange economy within the Adriatic. The whole of the Adriatic was a region whose natural resources complemented each other very well. The west coast was an area of fairly fertile agriculture where surpluses could be collected at many ports for distribution either amongst each other, or more important to the deficient areas of Venice and the ports of the north and east Adriatic. In turn produced sylvan, mineral and pastoral products in which the west coast and Venice were deficient. Whilst most areas supported some local industry, there was some specialization in the larger cities such as Venice, Chioggia, Ferrara, Bologna, Ancona and Ragusa. The limits of this region were approximately the watersheds of the mountains that surrounded the area except in the Po valley, although it seems fairly clear that some of the goods that appear to originate from ports of the Adriatic had come

North and  
Adriatic

across the mountains from further inland. ~~For~~<sup>example</sup>, both the hides and the iron that came through Trieste probably came from Germany - indeed the hides are specifically called cori teotonici.

Within this area Ancona was able to supply herself with most of her food from the resources of her fertile contado. The great majority of the notarial contracts in this early period relate to tenancy agreements in local agriculture, and one of the features of these contracts was the regularity with which tenants were required as a part of their agreement to carry grain and other produce to the houses of their landlords in the city. This applied to both the main types of tenancy, the locatio ad coptimum where rent was paid, almost without exception in kind, and the various kinds of mezzadria<sup>1</sup> where sharecroppers from the small villages and hill-towns behind Ancona were required to bring the landlord's share of the crop to his house in the city.<sup>2</sup> Most of those who worked the land would have lived in the small towns of the contado or in Ancona itself and have gone out to work each day. The practice of rural concentration in towns is common to all south and central Italy, and accounts in part for the comparatively large towns that have always existed in the area.<sup>3</sup>

1. For these contracts see above pp. 46-47.
2. It seems indeed that it was required by statute for tenants to bring both grain and wine to the landlord's house. See ASCA 89, De Civilibus, Rub. cvi 'de laboratoribus terrarum' and Rub. cvii 'de laboratoribus vinearum'. For examples of this in contracts see 1 ASA 1-2, cl50v, '... dictus Nicolaus conductor ... promisit ... quolibet anno in tempore vendenniarum portare in ancone ad domum habitationem dicti Jacobi medietatem vini ...' or for a coptimum, ibid c3r, '... et hoc per coptimo ... sex salmari grani romani sive calmisie boni ... quod coptimum dicti Matheus et Radus promiserunt eidem Ser Antonio consignare in Castro Varani domi habitationi dicti Ser Antonii de mense agusti proxime venturi ...'
3. On the phenomenon today see G. Schacter, The Italian South (New York, 1965), pp. 55-9.



Although it is probable that many of the families living in Ancona at this time either owned or worked land in the contado from which they drew much of their supplies, an active market in agricultural produce existed. A good source for studying this market would have been the various indirect taxes on such things as the sale of wine, retail and wholesale, on the sale of grain, meat and oil, and on milling. Unfortunately all these taxes were farmed and no details of their collection are extant.<sup>1</sup> From the notaries' contracts, despite the numerous references to sales, in small and large lots, of grain, wine and oil, little pattern can be observed in this business. A few dealers in significant quantities can be distinguished, such as Count Trovarelli in wine and oil, Gabriele Feretti and Antonio Boldoni in grain and Ciriaco Massioli in wine - the last to become one of the leading merchants in the early sixteenth century, and the others members of the local landed aristocracy. Just as it is impossible to provide a breakdown of the market in food, so is it impossible to analyse landownership from the notarial records. It seems probable that most of the land remained in the hands of the nobles and of the Church but there was a fairly active market in land throughout the period and on occasion the names of non-noble merchants can be found as landowners. The commune itself was an important landowner, most of its holdings being in the form of woods and meadows.<sup>2</sup>

On the other main local source of food, the sea, we have even less information than on the structure and organization of agriculture. Very few contracts concerning fishing have been found, although it must have been a very important source of both food and livelihood. From the little that exists, it seems probable that for those who had no boat and thus were unable to go to sea to fish, the ownership of beaches by others implied some form of tenurial relationship between fisherman and landlords.

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1. See Roia op. cit. pp. 175-82

2. Idem pp. 165-7

Apart from the supplies of food that came into the city as a result of the fulfilment of agricultural contracts made with peasants working land in the city's immediate hinterland, much of Ancona's requirements came in by sea in the normal course of trade. Food and other products would be collected at the mouths of the small rivers to the north and south, or on the beaches of the two small ports immediately to the south of Ancona, Sirolo and Numana, and then brought to the city. The contracts relating to the purchase and carriage of these goods to the sea, and to the multitude of small boats that brought them to Ancona appear only infrequently in the notaries' contracts. Sometimes an isolated contract for the delivery of firewood to the mouth of the Esino or to the beach of Numana, of oil to the port of Ascoli or similar transactions can be found.<sup>1</sup> A better source for this kind of trade is the libro de depositeria for 1481, which gives more information on the goods that entered trade than most of these books. Although most of the entries relate to more distant trade, there are a number of references to such short distance trade as the carriage of wine from Sirolo and Massignano, and of donkey skins from Osimo.<sup>2</sup>

Apart from her own agricultural produce and the redistributed surpluses of the other ports of the western Adriatic, Ancona had little to offer in the way of trade. The branch of the export trade that was to become of most importance in the sixteenth century, the export of Italian and western European manufactured goods in transit for the Levant, was in this base period of little significance. Paper from Fabriano, cloth from Siena and Florence, it is true, were to be found on ships sailing from Ancona as well as being traded on the piazza, but the scale of this sort of business was very small compared with what it was to be later on. This can be seen quite clearly since the cloth exports which were entered in the libro de depositeria

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1. See 15 ASA 1-3 c70r; 10 ASA 1 c35r; 14 ASA 5 c31r,90v; 15 ASA c204r; 16 ASA 1 c21 for examples of this sort of trade.
  2. ASCA, 61, c3r-5r.

for 1481 were registered separately under the heading 'Entrata de Drapperia'. In the six month period 1st February to 31st July 1481 the book shows 235 bales of cloth being exported by sea.<sup>1</sup> Although there are no comparable records for a later date, the separate item 'Entrata de Drapperia' being abandoned, some indication of the changes that occurred in this trade can be seen by the fact that in 1551 over a thousand bales of cloth were brought into the city by sea alone, for sale in the city and subsequent re-export, in a period of only just over three months.<sup>2</sup> As for the products of her own industry, only soap<sup>3</sup> and barrels were of any real significance in overseas trade. Ancona, like most medium-sized towns, had a wide range of small industries serving local consumption requirements, but little that was demanded outside the city.

So it was mainly the trade in food and drink that occupied the ships trading out of Ancona in the fifteenth century. The range of this trade was the whole Adriatic, for even in those areas that were primarily agricultural, there was a demand for the produce of other parts. But the most important area for Anconitan trade in this period was the northern and eastern Adriatic. The commonest form of charter for a boat out of Ancona was to leave in ballast and to pick up a cargo of grain, oil or wine at one of the more specialist agricultural ports and then to carry the cargo to be exchanged for the products of the ports of the north and east Adriatic. In return, the boat might bring berets, mercery, says and fustians from the important redistribution centre of Ferrara or industrial goods from Venice or Chioggia as well as the redistributed products of Venetian trade. In the north-east, the most important ports were Trieste

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1. Ibid cllr.

2. ASCA, 507, passim. On this trade see below pp. 86-89.

3. Soap being shipped to Constantinople was often the capital to be invested in a cambium contract. 15 ASA 5 c94r, 95r, 96r, 296r; 15 ASA 6-7 c68r, 72v, 74v. For protection to soap manufacturers see Ciavarini, op.cit. p.119.

and Fiume. From Trieste came some of the products of central Europe, especially iron and hides.<sup>1</sup> Fiume and her neighbouring ports, particularly Segna, were the leading sources of house and shipbuilding timber for Ancona. These waters were also a prime source of fish which often formed part of cargoes from Trieste and Fiume, and sometimes was contracted for in advance.

The ports to the south of Fiume were not often mentioned in contracts of the fifteenth century, but Zara and Sibenico were occasionally the destination of ships from Ancona. Further south still, however, was Ragusa which was already playing a very important part in Anconitan Commercial life. Centre of the redistribution trade in Balkan goods as well as being the head of one of the main routes leading across the Balkans to the cities of the Levant, Ragusan ships trading to Ancona brought a mixed cargo of hides, wool, wax and iron as well as a trickle of Turkish goods from further east. This latter part of the trade which was to grow considerably in the sixteenth century was not yet of very great significance.<sup>2</sup>

Ancona's contribution to trade outside the Adriatic consisted almost entirely of the despatch of two or three ships each year to the eastern Mediterranean, principally to Constantinople or Alexandria. These ships carried oil, wine and soap from Ancona and its surroundings but space was also chartered by inland merchants loading industrial goods such as paper and cloth. Normally calling at Ragusa to complete their cargoes, these ships brought back from the east Egyptian and Syrian cotton, spices and drugs

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1. For the commerce of Slovenia which included hides for Trieste see F. Gestrin, 'Economie et société en Slovenie au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Annales*, xvii (1962), pp. 676-82.
  2. These last two paragraphs are based on numerous contracts relating not only to the carriage of goods to and from the various destinations as above, but also to the sale of goods in Ancona itself. The latter often indicated the provenance of the goods sold and sometimes this was in fact obvious from the nature of the goods. For examples of contracts relating specifically to the carriage of goods see 15 ASA 1-3 c68v; 14 ASA 1-3 cl24v; 4 ASA 1 c220r; 14 ASA 5 c36r, 73, 91v, 114r. See also ASCA, 61, c3r-10r for references to goods being imported and exported from Ancona.



raw silk, wool and hides for distribution from both Ragusa and Ancona.<sup>1</sup> These voyages were the most enterprising made by Anconitans during this period and probably represented a long tradition of trading with the Levant. Although, in fact, the sort of business done by these ships, i.e. the exchange of agricultural produce and European industrial goods for the products of the Turkish Empire, was to be the main function of the port during the period studied, it was to be the land routes rather than the all-sea routes that were to be most important. In many ways the sort of trade that these voyages represented was to become an anachronism in the conditions of the sixteenth century. The leisurely collection of cargoes at a set time each year might pay dividends to some cities that were able to protect their home markets by restrictive legislation, but in Ancona it was to be the general carrier and quick turnover of trade that were to be more important in the sixteenth century.

In the period, 1479-84, despite the existence of ships trading from Ancona both within and without the Adriatic, the impression gained from the notaries' contracts is one of a fairly low level of commerce. Goods from outside the region of exchange within the Adriatic were the exception and as such catch the eye, but the bulk of the contracts consisted of either the everyday transactions of a community whose main interest was in agriculture rather than in maritime commerce, or when they did relate to more commercial transactions, referred mainly to retail rather than wholesale

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1. 14 ASA 1-3 c6v, 83v, 124v, ~~224v~~; 8 ASA 34 c578r; 15 ASA 5 c78r, c94 and ASCA, 61, cliv for the Anconitan end of this trade. For Ragusan examples see DAD, Diversa Notariae, 65, cl2v, 162v.

trade or at least indicated a small scale of operation.<sup>1</sup> Transit trade existed, if only because Ancona was the natural port for a wide area of central Italy, but its extent was limited compared to later periods. The commerce of this base period mainly served the consumption needs of the city itself, or at the most assisted in the necessary redistribution of goods between different areas of the Adriatic.

From the notaries' books examined in the period 1500-27 considerable changes in the commerce of the city can be observed.<sup>2</sup> Individual transactions became much larger,<sup>3</sup> a greater part in both the commerce and the shipping of the port was played by strangers, a greater variety of goods entered the port from a wider area, and the transit and entrepot trade expanded relatively to the trade for domestic consumption. The sort of trade

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1. This sort of statement is difficult to establish beyond doubt. It really rests, as does so much when working with notarial records, on a general impression of the change between the sort of contracts registered in this period and those of the sixteenth century. Where whole volumes of contracts are given up to commercial contracts later on, in this base period such contracts are very difficult to find. Often it seems surprising that the notaries are working in a port at all, so few are the references to things maritime. Although this could conceivably be the result of notaries whose clientèle lay in the commercial world having no volumes extant, some evidence to the contrary lies in the fact that one notary, Giacomo Alberici, whose volumes cover the whole period from 1479 to 1509, shows just this change to a more commercial world. Another indication is in the sums of money that form the subject matter of contracts. Taking an arbitrary dividing line of 100 ducats, very many more contracts relating to sums greater than this can be found in the sixteenth than in the fifteenth centuries. See below p. 81.
  2. The expansion of trade described below can also be seen from the libri de depositaria. Total customs payments in gold ducats as recorded in these books were:-

1 Feb - 31 July 1481 .... 630	1 Feb - 31 July 1509 .... 3047
1 Mar - 31 July 1493 .... 402	1 Feb - 31 July 1517 .... 3060
1 Mar - 31 July 1498 .... 621	1 Feb - 31 July 1518 .... 3939
1 Feb - 31 July 1502 .... 672	1 Feb - 31 July 1527 .... 3209

Source: ASCA 61, 66, 68, 115, 116, 117, 118, 121.

For a criticism of the value of this evidence see pp. 38-41. The low figure for 1502 which does not reflect the expansion already seen in the notaries' contracts is probably explained by the Veneto - Turkish War which did not end till May 1503. There is no record of any shipping outside the Adriatic in the year 1502.

3. For examples from the hide trade see below p. 81.

described in the previous section continued, and even expanded as a result of a population swollen by immigration caused by the developments in the other trades,<sup>1</sup> but no longer did it play such a dominant part in the commercial life of the city. Alongside these changes, the old structure of agriculture and local industry appears to have remained largely unchanged.

The three main branches of trade during this period were those dealing with the export of cloth, the import of hides and the collection and redistribution of agricultural goods. Most of the other goods that entered or left Ancona did so as a result of the development of these three basic branches of commerce. It will be seen that as each of these trades developed, so the same development attracted traders from a wider range, thus initiating a cumulative expansion. It will also be seen that while all three of these trades existed in embryo in the period 1479-84, their scale and scope had changed so much as to justify the conclusion that, in the sixteenth century, Anconitan trade performed a very different function within the Mediterranean region.

Down to the 1520s the cloth trade of Ancona was mainly a transit trade. Ancona was a station on the most important axis of Florentine trade whose key points were Florence itself, Ancona, Ragusa and Constantinople. To the west the route extended in two main directions, to the wool ports of eastern Spain and to the Florentine dominated emporium of Lyons. To the east the route split at both Ragusa and Constantinople into many parts leading to all the great cities of the Turkish Empire.

It was to the east that nearly all Florentine cloth not sold in Italy was consigned. Marco Foscarelli, writing in 1527, said that the production of serbo cloth made with Spanish wool - far the most important cloth manufacture of Florence - was 14,000 cloths a year. Of this number, 10,000 were sent to Constantinople, the rest being sold in Florence, Rome, Naples and other

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1. See above ~~note~~ p. 65, fn. 2.

places.<sup>1</sup> If for Constantinople we read Levant, this agrees with the evidence of the Florentine account books of the early sixteenth century that have been examined. No records of shipments of garbo cloth other than to Naples, Rome, Bologna or the Levant have been found, and the sales to other Italian cities form only a very small part of the total sold outside Florence.

In the mid-fifteenth century, most of the Florentine cloth going to the Levant was carried on the Florentine galleys. Freight rates were subsidized and insurance was usually unnecessary since the risk of piracy was virtually excluded. However, the enormous cost of the galleys to the State and the gradual disappearance of their original raison d'être - the danger of being exploited by monopolist carriers such as Venice and Genoa - by the development of the carrying trade in a growing number of independent ports led ultimately to the abandonment of the Florentine galleys.<sup>2</sup> Once cloth shippers had to pay normal commercial freights and insurance, shipment from west Italian ports could not compete in cost with shipment from Adriatic ports. Even before the abandonment of the system, more and more cloth going east was being directed along the overland routes across the Balkans, and Mallett cites this as another important reason for the decision to give up the galleys.<sup>3</sup> The use of the overland routes must have become even more important with the outbreak of the war between Florence and Pisa in 1494.

However, Ancona did not immediately reap the benefit of this change in the routes of Florentine cloth going east. For some years Ancona had to share the trade with her neighbour, Pesaro,<sup>4</sup> and with the ports of Apulia. What distinguishes the sixteenth century in this respect is that the other

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1. E. Alberi, Relazioni Venete (Florence, 1839-63), 2nd ser, i, 28.

2. M. E. Mallett, The Florentine Galleys in the Fifteenth Century (Oxford, 1967), pp. 45-52.

3. Mallett, *op.cit.*, p. 147.

4. Pesaro was the port used by Pratese merchants exporting cloth to Ragusa in the first half of the fifteenth century. See M. Popovic-Radenkovic, 'La penetrazione dei mercanti pratesi a Dubrovnik (Ragusa) nella prima metà del XV secolo', ASI (1959), pp. 503-21.



Adriatic ports also used by Florence in the late fifteenth century were now almost completely neglected. The first part of the change can be seen in one of the Medici account books examined. In 1493 and 1494, cloth was shipped via Apulia. In 1495 and 1497 it went through Pesaro and in 1496 through Ancona.<sup>1</sup> After 1500 only isolated references can be found to shipment through any other port but Ancona. If 1494 is taken as the break away from Apulia, a fairly obvious reason would seem to be the outbreak of war in southern Italy which had little effect on the central Adriatic. For the break away from Pesaro at the turn of the century, the most likely cause seems to be the tariff concessions granted by Ancona to Florence in 1499 and 1500.<sup>2</sup>

The expansion of the Florentine trade through Ancona in the early sixteenth century encouraged the shipping of other goods together with the woollen cloth that was the staple of the trade. Silks, velvets and jewellery came from Florence itself, and from further back on the route came Perpignan cloth and Rheims linen which had been collected at Lyons.<sup>3</sup> In the other direction the main goods were camlets, raw silk, hides and a wide range of dyes, spices and other specialities of the Levant trade. The whole of this trade from Lyons to Constantinople was in the hands of Florentines or their agents.<sup>4</sup>

Although most of the cloth entering Ancona during this period was destined for the cities of the Turkish Empire, whether it was from Florence or from Siena and other cities of central Italy engaged in the same trade on

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1. Medici MS 516, cc 144-165.

2. ASCA, 47, cc22-4.

3. For Perpignan cloth see 9 ASA 7-8 cl28r; 13 ASA 9 c272r. For a business account describing the exchange of Turkish camlets for Rheims linen at the Lyons end of the route see Medici MS 536(4), cc29, 60.

4. For a description of the organization of this trade see below pp. 122-32. and also G.R.B. Richards, Florentine Merchants in the Age of the Medici (Cambridge, Mass. 1932).

a smaller scale, some at least was always sold on the Anconitan market.<sup>1</sup> Sales by Florentine agents to Anconitans or to the citizens of the small towns in the neighbourhood occurred quite frequently, but nearly always such sales were the results of fairly small transactions. In the 1520s, however, there is a change in this pattern. Sales of cloth in Ancona itself become at least as important as the transit trade. An illustration of this is given in the Giornale of Marco di Simone del Nero, a Florentine cloth merchant. His giornale records the sale of 1,053 cloths outside Florence in the years 1522-8. Only 66 of these cloths are consigned directly to the Levant. Of the remaining 856 which are clearly destined for the most part to be sold in the Levant, 737 were consigned to Ancona and 115 to Ragusa.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately there are no other account books for the 1520s to check this information but some indication of the change in Ancona from a forwarding station to an important cloth market is given by an analysis of large cloth sales as recorded in the notaries' contracts. In 1509 only four sales of cloth for a total value each of over 100 ducats could be found. This sum represents approximately four bales of garbo cloth. In 1527 there were 23 sales of over 100 ducats, five of them for more than 1,000 ducats.

The shift of consignments from Turkish cities to Ancona meant that, instead of maintaining agents and correspondents in the Levant, Florentine merchants were now more often selling directly to Ragusan, Greek and Turkish merchants in Ancona.<sup>3</sup> This development was but one aspect of a trend that

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1. See, for instance, in 1509, 13 ASA 9 ccl00v, 139r, 185r, 199v, 272r.
  2. ADSI, Estranei 417. 85 cloths were consigned to Naples, 45 to Bologna, 4 to the Fair of Recanati and 1 to Rome.
  3. For sales to easterners see 11 ASA 17-18 cl0v (Corfiots), cl7r (Jew of Belgrade), cl06v (men of Castelnuovo), cl17r (Greeks of Velona and Corfu), cl21r (Turk of Velona), cl24v (merchants of Salonika) etc. For easterners chartering ships to take the cloth across the Adriatic see idem cl6v (150 bales to Castelnuovo or Alessio), c26r (to Alessio or Durazzo), cl51r (120 bales to Castelnuovo or Velona). See also idem c61r (Ragusan insures kerseys Ancona to Coron). The change can also be seen in ASCA, 121, c28v-31r where numbers of Turks, Greeks, Armenians and Ragusans can be found importing silk, camlets and hides and exporting cloth. Although many Ragusans can be found in the 1518 libro de depositaria, ASCA, 118, there were no Turks and very few Greeks.

can be seen throughout the period. The old Italian domination of Balkan and eastern Mediterranean trade was being undermined by the rise of local shipping and local merchants.<sup>1</sup> In fact Ragusans and Greeks were to be found not only buying Florentine cloth in Ancona but also in Florence itself.<sup>2</sup> Less well known since their activities did not often take them beyond the coast are the Turkish and Armenian merchants who figure quite frequently in Anconitan sources.

Once Ancona had become established as an international cloth mart, other buyers and sellers of cloth were attracted to the city. Apart from the sales of cloth from other Italian cities, sales of English and Flemish cloth, which were rare before 1520 and then had come probably via Messina and Ragusa,<sup>3</sup> now become more common. The sale of kerseys can be found in Ancona as early as 1501,<sup>4</sup> but sales of kerseys as well as panni de Londra become much more frequent in the 1520s. A large consignment sold in 1527 was 390 kerseys and 20 panni de Londra for a total of 4,054 ducats.<sup>5</sup> References to the sale of panni de Fiandra, panni limosiari (from the Limousin) and panni armentini (from Armentieres) can also be found.<sup>6</sup> From the west a further source was Carcassonne from which cloth was imported into Ancona on behalf of Florentine merchants of Lyons.<sup>7</sup> Although for the most part the impetus for the consignment of cloth to Ancona came from outsiders,

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1. For a discussion of this development in the eastern Mediterranean see H. Inalcik, 'Bursa and the Commerce of the Levant', JESHO, 111 (1960), pp.131-47, especially p.141.
  2. R. de Roover, 'A Florentine Firm of Cloth Manufacturers', Speculum, xvi (1941), p.19.
  3. For English ships and English cloth coming to Ragusa from Messina see DAD, Div.Not., 93, c59r, cl47r; 94, c71r, 118v.
  4. 7 ASA 6-7, cl16v.
  5. 11 ASA 17-18 c8r. For other references to the sale of English cloth in Ancona see 11 ASA 15-16 c59v, 60r; 13 ASA 25-26 cl6v, 17r, 20r, 76r; 11 ASA 17-18 c44v, 48r, 61r, 139r. Sellers included Anconitans, Florentines, Venetians, Genoese, Lucchesi and Germans.
  6. 11 ASA 17-18 cl7r, 117v, 143r; 21 ASA 1 c74v etc.
  7. 11 ASA 15-16 c71r, 156v.



a new direction to the cloth trade can be found in contracts arranging for the carriage of camlets overland to Flanders to be reinvested in English cloth or other goods. For example, in April 1523, three merchants of Ancona confessed themselves debtors of a Florentine for 1,706 ducats (1,523 ducats in cloth and 183 ducats in cash). They exchanged the cloth and cash for 685 pieces of camlet in Ancona, and one of the merchants, Francisco Piergentile, promised to take the camlets to Flanders and there invest in what merchandise seemed best to him.<sup>1</sup>

The fact that it was camlets that this merchant contracted to take overland illustrates the other side of the development of the Anconitan market during this period. For, just as the changes in Florence's eastern trade turned Ancona into a cloth mart, so did they establish the city as a centre for the sale of those Balkan and eastern goods which had previously travelled through Ancona to Florence. Much of the exchange of eastern and western goods in Ancona was done by means of barter, though the goods bartered were always also valued in money. English cloth was bartered against rhubarb,<sup>2</sup> velvet against silk,<sup>3</sup> cloth of Armentières against camlets<sup>4</sup> and in June 1527 a mixture of English, Florentine and Flemish cloth was sold to some Greeks, payment to be made with a galleon.<sup>5</sup>

All these factors made Ancona a far more attractive port of call for the merchants of other centres, and it is in the 1520s that the city became truly cosmopolitan. As the Venetian, Marco Dandolo, wrote in 1523:-<sup>6</sup>

La terra [Ancona] e bellissima, piena di merchandanti de ogni natione et maxime greci e turchi, et fase facende assai, et li fo affermato per nostri [veneziani] che erano di li, che si havea fato in questo anno passato per 500 mille ducati di facende; et

1. Idem c68v; see also idem c71r.

2. 11 ASA 17-18 c8r.

3. 11 ASA 15-16 cl87v.

4. 11 ASA 17-18 cl45r.

5. Ibid cl17r. Levantine goods were also, naturally, sold for cash or on a normal credit basis. See ibid cl2v, 28v.

6. Sanuto, op.cit. xxxiv, 205-6. Also Alberi, op.cit. 2nd ser. iii, 87.



in quelli giorni erano giunti 7 schierazzi grossissimi de  
Turchi molto ben cargi.<sup>1</sup>

Some idea of the change can be seen by comparing this quotation with the remarks of another Venetian, Domenico Trevisano, who visited the city thirteen years earlier in 1510 - "Gli Anconitani sono industriosi, ma poveri; non hanno navi da navigare, e si stanno."<sup>2</sup>

While Ancona became a real entrepot for the cloth trade only in the 1520s, she had occupied such a position in relation to the hide trade from the early sixteenth century and on a small scale even in 1479-84. The main features of this trade were the import of hides from a number of regions in central Europe, the Balkans and the Black Sea and their sale to the leather industry of Ancona itself, and to a number of cities in central Italy that had leather industries well beyond their local consumption requirements. The evidence for this inland trade is mainly in the form of sales of hides to merchants from these inland cities. Although there is virtually no direct evidence in notaries' contracts of the transport of hides to these cities, confirmation that I am right in assuming that these merchants did take the hides home after purchasing them and incidentally a good description of Anconitan trade, is given by a document in the Florentine archives. This document, a report to Pope Gregory XIII, is comparing Ancona's past glory with its present misfortune:-<sup>3</sup>

... che le fiere di Recanati, di Foligni, di Lanciano e di Farfa, sono derivate, mantenute e deteriorate del mantenimento, et mancamento del comertio d'Ancona, et che mentre fu in essere, si videro in quella città, case ricchissime di mercanti ... li quali suggerivano tutte le pannine, che si mandavano in

1. 'The place is very beautiful, crowded with merchants of every nation and in particular Greeks and Turks, and they do plenty of business. It was affirmed by our compatriots who were living there, that 500,000 ducats' worth of business was done there in this last year. In those days that we were there, seven enormous Turkish schirazzi arrived fully loaded.'
2. Sanuto, op.cit. x, 55; also Alberi, op.cit. 2nd ser. iii, 37. 'The Anconitans are industrious, but poor; they have no ships to sail, and they stay at home.'
3. ASF, Carte Stroziane, 1st ser. 318, cc.46-47.

Levante, e con grandissima utilità si facevano le commutationi di cere, di lini, di ciambellotti, di cordovani e d'altri corri, che concì poi dalla Pergola, dalla Rocca Contrada, da Fabriano, e da Camerino per uso di sole, ne abbondava, non solo, tutto lo stato Ecclesiastico, ma anco non poca parte del Regno di Napoli ...<sup>1</sup>

To the four cities above, Florence, Norcia, Sassoferrato, San Cinesio, Cingoli and Sant'Angelo in Vado should be added as centres of tanning whose merchants bought hides imported through Ancona.

In the early sixteenth century this hide trade expanded rapidly and was almost certainly the most important branch of commerce. In the whole period, 1479-84, only three sales of hides worth more than 100 ducats were found. In the single year, 1502, there were 21 and there were 68 in 1509. There were two contracts worth more than 300 ducats in 1502, 13 in 1509 and 23 in 1527. During the period 1500-27, the origin and type of hides also changed emphasis. Whereas in the fifteenth century hides from different parts of Italy, especially Tuscany, had been sold in Ancona, from 1500 onwards the only Italian hides on the market were local ones such as those bought from the officials of the beccaria. Little detailed information has been found on this institution. Also known as the macello, it was a form of indirect taxation that was farmed each year and had something to do with the pasturing and slaughter of livestock. The farm was usually taken up by leading merchants and would appear to be different from the other farms of indirect taxes in that it required, not only the collection of taxes, but also the management of what seems to have been a fairly large business venture. Scattered references to the activities of these institutions can be found in the notarial records. In one contract the farmers sold sheep for a total of 1900 ducats.<sup>2</sup> In another they bought sheep from a man of Lecce.<sup>3</sup> In a contract of the 1540s they promised to sell all the skins

1. '... that the fairs of Recanati, Foligno, Lanciano and Farfa began, kept going and declined as a result of the preservation and diminution of the commerce of Ancona. While this commerce flourished, one saw in that city the splendid houses of merchants ... who handled all the cloth that was sent to the Levant, and very profitably exchanged it for wax, flax, camlets, cordovans and other hides which were then tanned by men of Pergola, Rocca Contrada, Fabriano and Camerino, to be made into shoes, sufficient not only for all the States of the Church but also for a good part of the Kingdom of Naples.'

2. 1 ASA 16 c167v.

3. 33 ASA 17 c498v.

of certain types of animal slaughtered in the current year.<sup>1</sup> In the same year they contracted to sell to a group of Anconitan shoemakers all hides of cattle killed up to a certain date.<sup>2</sup> It seems that by the 1540s the officials were importing livestock, especially sheep, to be pastured in the neighbourhood of Ancona. These came principally from Apulia, but also from Slavonia.<sup>3</sup>

Apart from this local source, and far more important, were the imported hides. The prime source for these during the early sixteenth century were the ports of the northern Adriatic, especially Trieste, exporting what were known as cori teotonici. At the same time hides were brought in from Constantinople in the course of voyages to the Levant. These were known as cori de moncastro, a port at the mouth of the Dniester (Cetatea Alba in Romania).<sup>4</sup> By 1509 the cori teotonici had lost their predominance and were increasingly challenged by what were known as cori de gretia from both sides of the Balkan peninsula. By the 1520s both these courses of supply were probably equally important and had been joined by hides from an even wider range. To the earlier cori de moncastro from the Black Sea were now added cori de Varna and cori de Kaffa, and from the other side of the Ottoman Empire hides were making up much of the cargoes that came from Alexandria. In addition to the wider area from which the hides were drawn, there was a tendency through the period for dressed leather as well as crude hides to be imported. This was either in the form of cordovans or as finished articles, particularly saddlery.

In the same way that cloth brought with it many other articles of trade, the expansion of the hide trade also attracted other goods into the city. Sometimes this was because the article was a complementary

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1. 39 ASA 1 c52v.

2. Idem c87v.

3. 33 ASA 17 c498v; 39 ASA 1 c59v, 68v, 85v, 88r.

4. For Florentines buying these hides in the Levant see Richards, *op.cit.*, p.172.

good in the making of leather. The most significant of such complementary goods were gallnuts from the ports of southern Albania and the Morea. Gallnuts (valonea) were an essential ingredient in the tanning of leather and as such were imported into Ancona throughout the period studied. A report of 1624 to the Cinque Savii alla Mercanzia at Venice recalled an ingenious piece of commercial warfare of eighty years previously:-<sup>1</sup>

Ancora cosa è che dove concorrono li pellami ivi capitano le vallonie; et mentre non vi sia vallonia con quale essi corami s'acconciamo senza dubbio riesce infruttuoso il corrame in Ancona, et luochi circonvicini ...

Per for, che le vallonie, che si raccolgono nella Morea, et isole dell'Arcipelago capitassero in questa città, habbiamo trovato, che l'Eccellentissimo Senato l'anno 1545 convene per due anni a quelli della Romania alta, et bassa che portavano vallonie in questa città privilegio d'essentione de datii d'uscita delle carisse de Londra, delli quali quella gente a quei tempi si provvedeva, et questo per deviar dette vallonie d'Ancona che a quel tempo ancora sturbava il negotio di questa piazza ...<sup>2</sup>

Apart from such complementary goods, products originating from the same area as the hides were brought to Ancona with the expansion of this trade. In this category came a very wide range of articles from the Balkans and the eastern Mediterranean such as iron, wax, fish and the goods mentioned earlier as being brought in exchange for cloth.

In the third main field of trade, the collection and distribution of agricultural goods, change and expansion from the fifteenth-century position of Adriatic self-sufficiency can be seen. In medieval times Ancona was considered an exporter of agricultural goods as her commercial treaties with Venice show.<sup>3</sup> In the period, 1479-84, Ancona still exported

1. Archivio di Stato at Venice, Cinque Savii alla Mercanzia, n.s.iii, Ancona n.p.

2. 'Where hides go, there also goes valonea; and when there is no valonea with which to tan the hides, then no doubt the hide trade of Ancona and nearby places will prove unprofitable ... That valonea, which is gathered in the Morea and in the islands of the Archipelago, should come to this city (Venice), we found that the Senate in the year 1545 granted for two years to those men of Upper and Lower Romania, who brought valonea to this city, the privilege of exemption from the export duties on London kerseys. Those people took advantage of this, and the object was to divert valonea from Ancona, which at that time was still disturbing the business of this city ...'

3. See above p. 31.



some agricultural goods but was also on occasion an importer as was seen above. From the early sixteenth century Ancona relied increasingly on the import of agricultural goods, though not all these were destined for local consumption. The most important new supply of grain was from the Aegean, carried normally by Ragusan ships in the course of their international trade in grain. Ragusan grain ships collected their cargoes in Sicily, southern Italy or the Aegean and then distributed over a wide area. The first reference that has been found to the Marche as a destination was in 1502.<sup>1</sup> From this date onwards such references become much commoner. Pesaro and Rimini were often named as alternative unloading ports.<sup>2</sup>

Without better statistics, it would be impossible to say for certain whether Ancona and its territory provided sufficient food for its own consumption or not. For in the sixteenth century the re-export of produce from Ancona itself, as well as the chartering of boats to pick up cargoes at intermediate ports continued. To the former destinations in the north and east Adriatic were now added deficit areas further afield such as the ports of the Tyrrhenian Sea.<sup>3</sup> One thing is clear, however, and that is that the expansion of this third branch of trade further encouraged the voyages to Ancona of such general carriers of the Mediterranean as the Genoese, the Ragusans and the Greeks.

It should be understood that although distinction between these three branches of trade has been made for the purpose of analysis, the interaction between them was close. What had happened by the 1520s was that Ancona had become a general entrepot for a considerable range of goods and as such had

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1. DAD, Diversa Notariae, 81, c76v.

2. For more on the Ragusan grain trade see M. Aymard, Venise, Raguse et le commerce du blé pendant la seconde moitié du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle (Paris, 1966).

3. 13 ASA 5 c227r to Civitavecchia (via Fermo or Pesaro); 13 ASA 6 cl27v to Civitavecchia (via Senigallia); idem cl56v to Francavilla (via Ortona); 11 ASA 13-14 c21r to La Spezia or Genoa; idem c50r to Malaga, Cadiz or Seville (via Barletta) etc.

attracted a fairly large resident colony of foreign merchants, as well as attracting the custom of general carriers and travelling merchants. For a port to be successful as an entrepot, however good its harbour or its communications, it is desirable that merchants and ship-owners can invest the proceeds of their imports in exports so as to avoid idle capital and idle ships. These were the kind of facilities that Ancona was able to offer by the 1520s. Turks and Greeks from the other side of the Adriatic could take back cloth in return for their camlets and hides. Merchants involved in the trade to Flanders could exchange cloth for camlets. Central Italians could buy hides and camlets in exchange for their cloth. The same applied to shipping. Ships which brought hides from Ragusa or Constantinople were likely to take cloth back or grain would be exchanged for hides in Trieste. Even ships from the Aegean carrying grain could depend on a profitable, if not a bulky, cargo out of Ancona. The trade of Ancona was thus by this date nicely balanced.

In the period 1541-51 the structure of trade that had developed by 1527 remained the same in outline but significant changes in detail can be observed. The volume of trade was probably higher than in the 1520s. This is difficult to establish conclusively. The customs payment recorded for a nine month period in 1541-2 was 11,592 ducats<sup>1</sup> compared with 3,209 ducats for a six-month period in 1527.<sup>2</sup> This certainly overstates any growth in the trade of the port, however, as the figures would have been inflated by the flood of business that followed the signing of peace between Venice and Turkey in October, 1540.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless this higher customs payment probably reflects a change in the right direction. A scale of

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1. ASCA 431.

2. ASCA 121.

3. F. Edler, 'Winchcombe Kerseys in Antwerp (1538-44)', EcHR (1936), 59-61.

business that would have seemed to be exceptional in the 1520s had become by the 1540s quite normal.

By the 1540s the sale of cloth in Ancona had almost certainly outstripped the sale of hides as the leading sector of Anconitan commerce. And within this cloth trade it was the sale of English and Flemish cloth brought overland, seen to have been developing in the 1520s, that was the most important part. The sales of Florentine cloth had dwindled almost to nothing, reflecting the disruption of the industry that followed the struggles of the late 1520s. Siena had by now replaced Florence as the most important Italian source.

The northern cloth that arrived in Ancona was mainly in the form of kerseys, particularly Winchcombe kerseys, panni de Londra and ultrafini. There is no clear indication of the nature or provenance of these ultrafini which were in fact the most common sort of cloth sold on the Anconitan market. They came on the same boats and were consigned to the same merchants as the other types of cloth which are clearly English and have therefore been taken as English "superfine" cloth, though there is no direct evidence that this is correct.<sup>1</sup> Most of the references to cloth are in sales contracts or in charterparties for carriage to the ports of the eastern Adriatic, especially Ragusa, Castelnuovo (Herceg Novi) and Velona,<sup>2</sup> and it is difficult to get much idea of the organization of the trade from Antwerp to Ancona. That some of the cloth was brought by river and sea from Ferrara on the last leg of its journey can be established from entries in the customs register for 1551 which records the arrival of ships from Ferrara carrying cloth.<sup>3</sup> There is no reason to believe, however, that all the cloth came by sea on the last part of its journey. Though presumably somewhat more expensive,

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1. I am indebted to Prof. E. M. Carus-Wilson for this suggestion.

2. These last two ports were probably more important than Ragusa in the trans-Adriatic trade by this date.

3. ASCA 507 entries 1, 132, 257, 313.

cloth which had already gone from Antwerp to distributing centres in northern Italy could surely go the short distance further to Ancona by land. It would most likely be quicker and would reduce to a minimum the possibility of damage being done to the cloth by sea-water. Such damage was the subject of two contracts in which assessors stated their opinion of the cause of some kerseys being "guaste malamente".<sup>1</sup>

Fortunately, much more can be learned about the trade between Antwerp and Ancona from the researches of Brulez and Edler. Brulez has analysed a series of registers in Brussels concerning a tax of 1 per cent which was placed on all goods exported from the Low Countries in 1543-45, and has extracted from it material relating to exports, mainly English and Flemish cloth, by land to Italy.<sup>2</sup> He estimated that this branch of commerce represented 17 per cent of all Antwerp's export trade and about 40 per cent of Antwerp's export trade by land.<sup>3</sup> This probably underestimates the importance of the land trade to Italy in other years since much of the English transit trade had been diverted to Hamburg to avoid the tax.<sup>4</sup> The destination of these exports to Italy is given in 62.8 per cent of the entries in the register. Analysis of the destinations shows that Ancona (34.9 per cent) and Venice (29.3 per cent) dominated the trade<sup>5</sup> - an indication of the importance of Levantine markets to Antwerp, and of course to England since both Ancona and Venice were more important as forwarding stations to the Levant than as consumption markets.

Amongst the exporters, Italians were predominant, with 63 per cent of the total against 23 per cent by Flemings.<sup>6</sup> The Italians were even more predominant in the export to Ancona, the Flemings preferring to send their

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1. 31 ASA 13 cc 111-2,436v.

2. W. Brulez, 'L'exportation des Pays-Bas vers l'Italie', Annales, xiv (1959), 461-91.

3. Idem p.465.

4. Idem p.463.

5. Idem p.475.

6. Idem p.470.



goods to Venice.<sup>1</sup> One other group of some importance in exporting to Ancona were the Spaniards and Portuguese.<sup>2</sup> Nearly all the goods exported were carried by specialist international haulage firms.<sup>3</sup> Brulez considers this development an outstanding feature of sixteenth century international trade, in that it reduced costs, removed the problem of transport and the reiterated disbursement of money from the merchant, and above all allowed the small merchant to take part in long distance land trade as he had long been able to do at sea.<sup>4</sup> Six firms carried practically all the goods carried from Antwerp to Italy during this period. Each of the firms had its own routes. The main firms carrying goods consigned to Ancona were two Milanese firms, Giovanni Angelo d'Annoni and Jeronimo Rovalasco whose routes lay through Switzerland, and the Lorrainer, Pierre Thierry whose routes lay through Lorraine.<sup>5</sup> It seems that the routes of all three of these firms converged in Italy at Milan, and then went to Ferrara which seems to have been the terminal and transshipment centre for these central European haulage firms.<sup>6</sup>

The letter-book of one of the exporters, the Antwerp commission house of Pieter van der Molen and Brothers, has been studied for the years 1538-44 by Dr Edler.<sup>7</sup> This firm consigned kerseys and other cloth to Italian merchants in Ancona and Genoa. Their correspondents in Ancona were Bernardo Morando and Giovanni Senati.<sup>8</sup> Both these merchants can be traced in notaries' contracts, libro de depositaria and customs register in Ancona.<sup>9</sup>

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1. Idem pp.477-8.

2. Loc.cit.

3. Idem pp.465-7.

4. Loc.cit.

5. Idem pp.467-70.

6. Loc.cit. Also on the routes see Ibid, 'Les routes commerciales d'Angleterre en Italie au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle', Studi in onore di A. Fanfani (Milan, 1962), iv, 121-84 and E. Coornaert, 'Les routes commerciales d'Anvers en Italie au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle', Annales de Géographie, xxxvi (1927), 168-9.

7. Edler, op.cit, pp.57-62.

8. Idem p.58.

9. For Senati see below, Appendix C, p.202.

Dr Edler tells us that "the Antwerp agents purchased Winchcombe kerseys for their Ancona and Genoese principals in two ways: from English merchants who brought cloths to the fairs of Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom and from Italian merchants residing in London, who were evidentially agents for the English clothiers."<sup>1</sup>

At the other end of the route from Antwerp, the cloth was consigned in Ancona to a group of merchants, mainly of Italian and especially of Florentine origin, who sold the cloth in Ancona to merchants from the eastern Mediterranean. Most important amongst the latter were a new group who had not previously played a very significant role in the city. These were Jews, described as either Levantine or Portuguese, many of whom were resident in the city. It was these men who consigned the cloth on the last stage of its journey into Turkish territory. In the hide trade also this group of merchants from the eastern Mediterranean were of much greater significance in the 1540s. Although the same type of Italian or Ragusan import-export merchant that had dominated the trade in earlier years still existed, some of his functions had now been taken over by Jewish or Levantine merchants who sold the hides and other goods which they had brought on their own ships direct to the representatives of the inland cities.

The large number of Levantine and Jewish merchants in Ancona were a feature of the piazza that struck most visitors. Saracini indicates that they came in two waves, in 1533 and 1549. He says that the first wave came as a result of a famine which encouraged ships from the eastern Mediterranean to bring grain to Ancona. Many of the Marranoes and Jews who brought this grain stayed in Ancona "applicandosi, chi à mercantare, chi à fare sensarie, e chi ad altri essercitii, che però gustando quelli del sito della Citta e guadagno s'accassarono, e divennero in essa (con il tempo) Mercanti

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1. Edler, op.cit, p.58.

ricchissimi ...<sup>1</sup> The parallel with the arrival of northern shipping in the Mediterranean in the 1590s is an interesting one. The description of the second wave of immigrants in 1549 provides a good picture of the port at that time:<sup>2</sup>

Successe l'anno 1549 nel quale venne in Ancona ad habitare gran gente forastiera, particolarmente di Mercanti Fiorentini, Lucchesi, Senesi, Romani, Venetiani, e Urbinati, con le loro famiglie; e di Levante vennero, Sciotti, e altri Greci diversi, Mercanti Marani, Ebrei, Levantini, Turchi, Armeni; e dall'isola di Sicilia diverse famiglie, come anco dalla Dalmatia, d'Alemagna, di Francia, e di Fiandra; onde per il concorso de' Mercanti, si faceva in essa Città gran negotii, venendo di continuo nel suo Porto navilli diversi, detti, schirazzi, charavelle, e d'altra sorte, e nomi chiamati, carichi di Cori, Cordovani, Lane, Sete, Cere, Ciambellotti, Droghe, Reobarbari, Zucchari, e di Fiandra Piombi, Carisee, e altre diverse mercante, che non bastavano per esse, le botteghe, e li soliti Magazzini antichi, con le Case per habitare li concorsi Mercanti; onde si diedero gl'Anconitani ad accrescere, con novelle fabbriche, l'antiche loro habitationi, e farne dell'altre da fondamenti, essendo cresciute le pigioni di esse, due terzi di più, di quello era solito affitarsi, perch'erano multiplicati gl'habitori, al numero di due mila, e settecento anime, e più, dal tempo, che Paulo III reintegrò la Città d'Ancona delli pubblici offitii [1538].<sup>3</sup>

The colony of Jews and Marranoes in Ancona was an important link in the European trading network set up by their co-religionists. Under the

1. Saracini, op.cit, p.347. '... applying themselves, some to trade, some to brokerage, and others to other businesses; and since they enjoyed the situation of the city and the profits, they settled down and became, in time, the richest merchants in the city ...'
2. Idem p.361.
3. 'There followed the year 1549 in which there came to Ancona to live a great crowd of foreigners, particularly merchants of Florence, Lucca, Siena, Rome, Venice and Urbino with their families; and from the east came men of Chios and other Greeks, Marrano merchants, Jews, Levantines, Turks and Armenians; and from the island of Sicily several families, as well as from Dalmatia, Germany, France and Flanders. As a result of the gathering of merchants, much business was done in the city and ships were constantly coming into the port. These were called schirazzi, caravels and various other names, and were loaded with hides, cordovans, wool, silk, wax, camlets, drugs, rhubarb and sugar, and from Flanders lead, kerseys and other merchandise. Indeed the shops and the old warehouses were not big enough for all these goods, nor were there enough houses for all these merchants to live in. And so the Anconitans applied themselves to enlarge their old houses with new building and to build others from the foundations, for the rents had gone up, two-thirds or more, from what they had been accustomed to let them at. And the reason for this was that the population had increased by 2,700 and more souls from the time that Paul III restored to the City of Ancona its own civil government.'

leadership of Portuguese Marranoes who had learned their business in Lisbon and Antwerp, this trading network had as its headquarters, from the 1530s on, the great cities of the Ottoman Empire. For a period of two or three decades the Ottoman rulers went close to involving themselves in the same sort of mercantilist relationship with these Jewish merchants and financiers as western rulers were to undertake with their subjects in the seventeenth century. As Ellis Rivkin, who has written a very interesting paper on this subject says:-

Though this Ottoman flirtation with Marrano-inspired mercantilism was short-lived, it had carried in its wake an outburst of economic activity in the Mediterranean and adjoining areas under Ottoman control that was little less than phenomenal ... Granted great economic and political privileges in Turkey, the Marranos lost no time in putting their entrepreneurial skills to work. Under the vigorous leadership of Don Joseph [Nasi], the rich resources of the Ottoman realms were fully exploited. They engaged in large scale trading operations in cloth, textiles, grain, petter, wool, etc., that knit together Poland, Hungary, the Balkans, the Levant and Italy.<sup>1</sup>

Ancona, at this time exceptionally tolerant to the Jews,<sup>2</sup> was one of the major outlets of this trade to the markets of western Europe. As such, the city naturally attracted a large colony of Jewish and Marrano merchants anxious to retain their contacts with their fellows in western Europe and the Ottoman Empire. Although the Jewish colony in Ancona was to suffer a rude setback in 1555, when Papal tolerance was reversed with the publication of the Bull 'Cum nimis absurdum' by Paul IV and the subsequent auto-da-fé of apostate Marranos, it played an extremely important part in raising Ancona to its peak as an entrepot. Individual Jews were amongst the leading merchants in Ancona, such as Aron Bottone and Giacomo Cavaliero whose activities are listed in Appendix C<sup>3</sup> or Doctor Barbosa who had been to the Indies and was famous as a leading Jewish doctor. Indeed the latter's

1. Ellis Rivkin, 'Marrano-Jewish Entrepreneurship and the Ottoman Mercantilist Probe in the Sixteenth Century', Paper read at the Third International Conference of Economic Historians held at Munich 1965, pp.1-5.

2. See p. 102.

3. Pp. 211-212.



activities went beyond the commercial sphere and in 1555 he was saved from the auto-da-fé because of the work that he had done for the city.<sup>1</sup> More important than individuals, however, in Ancona's development was the fact that it was the Jews, more than anyone, who were able to exploit the Ottoman riches on which Ancona's trade depended.

A very good idea of the import trade of the city by sea right at the end of the period studied can be had from an analysis of the sole surviving customs register which covers three months in 1551.<sup>2</sup> This register, while it indicates the changes that had occurred in the city since the fifteenth century, also shows how much continuity there was in the petit cabotage that was essential for the city to exist at all. During this period the arrival of 321 incoming ships was registered. It is possible to divide the types of shipping using the port into three categories according to size.<sup>3</sup> Of the ships in the register, 292 belonged to the smallest category, 23 to the middle category and only 6 to the largest. In terms of carrying capacity, it is estimated that between two-thirds and three-quarters of the total tonnage was made up of the smallest category.<sup>4</sup> In this respect the results in Ancona are similar to those of other ports in the Mediterranean where a comparable analysis has been possible.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, compared with Carrère's

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1. C. Roth, The House of Nani, Dona Gracia (Philadelphia, 1947), pp.138, 146.

2. ASCA, 507. 21 May - 31 Aug. 1551.

3. Four main ways of classifying shipping have been used. These are price when sold, carrying capacity, size of crew and the name given to the type of ship by contemporaries. All four methods have their drawbacks but point nevertheless to the same general classification. The three categories used here are distinguished by the generic names nave, naviglio and barca. The dividing line in terms of tonnage is about 75 tons and 150 tons though there is considerable overlap. For a further discussion of types of ship using the port see below pp. 134-41.

4. This estimate, which is very approximate, is deduced by multiplying the number of ships in each category by the average tonnage of that category of ship as quoted in the charter-parties that appear in the notarial records for 1550-1.

5. C. Carrère, op.cit, pp.67-156. See also the discussion in M. Mollat (ed.), Ive Colloque d'Histoire Maritime (Paris, 1962), p.118.

analysis of shipping at Barcelona in the early fifteenth century, the share of small shipping at Ancona was even larger.<sup>1</sup> This probably reflects the difference in the normal trading area of the two ports. For the range of goods that could be brought to Ancona from the ports of the Adriatic and Ionian Seas, Barcelona had to rely on the whole western Mediterranean, and indeed for some goods on the Atlantic as well.

However, when these ships are analysed by the value of the goods carried, a very different picture is obtained.<sup>2</sup> For instance, 9 schirazzi, medium-sized vessels from the ports of Albania and southern Yugoslavia, alone carried 44 per cent by value of the imports. These ships carried hides, camlets, mohair and raw silk brought overland across the Balkans. Most of the consignees were Jewish or Levantine merchants either resident in Ancona or travelling with the ships. A further 20 of the smallest category of ships carried 36 per cent by value of the imports. These were bringing cloth from Ferrara, and in contrast to the schirazzi discussed above, most of the consignees were Italian. Thus, 29 ships, less than 10 per cent of the total, and none of them very big, were carrying 80 per cent by value of the total imports. The 6 large ships carried only about 6 per cent of the total. These were loaded mainly with grain and salt. The remaining 286 ships carried only 14 per cent of the total.

If the same sort of analysis is applied to goods rather than to ships a similar picture emerges. The three main classes of good that entered into international trade, that is hides, cloth and camlets, represented 76 per cent of the value of all goods imported in this register. If the other goods clearly

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1. Carrere, loc.cit.

2. The value of goods on which these percentage figures are based has been estimated by grossing up those goods that paid duty ad valorem and multiplying the quantity of the goods that paid specific duties by the average of their prices as found in the notarial documents of the years 1550-1. The value of grain and salt and other goods that paid no duty was reckoned in the same way. The results are naturally only approximate.

of an "international" rather than "local" nature are added, such as raw silk, cotton, carpets, wax, spices and dyes, the total comes to some 83 or 84 per cent. An indication of the favourable treatment given to this kind of trade by the authorities at Ancona is that these goods paid only 70 per cent of the customs' duties as recorded in the register.

The remaining 286 ships which carried only 14 per cent by value of the total imported represent the normal trade of Ancona which was necessary to maintain the city's own consumption requirements. A very wide range of goods throughout the Adriatic made up this total. Some boats that were registered carried nothing or just a box belonging to the boat's owner. But of those that were loaded, the diversity of the trade and the degree of specialization that it implied within the Adriatic can be seen from an examination of those cargoes whose appearance was most frequent. Thus of goods that came mainly from the north and east Adriatic, timber formed the bulk of the cargoes of 31 of these small boats, fish of 17, cheese of 13 and nails of 9. To add to cheese and fish, another element of the Italian diet is shown by the consignments of onions and garlic, particularly the latter, which made up the cargoes of 29 boats, mainly from the western Adriatic. Other prominent cargoes were mercery, probably mainly from the Po valley (22 cargoes); pots, pans, jars and earthenware (24); furniture and mats (8); barrels, probably mainly returned empties (13), and grain. Grain was imported on 14 ships of all sizes but 80 or 90 per cent of the import during this period came on 5 ships, two from Greece, one from Alexandria, one origin unknown and one from Senigallia "per fortuna". One other important cargo registered during this period was that of a Ragusan ship with a large cargo of salt. Unfortunately the loading port was not registered and in fact it is difficult to get much idea of the trade in salt at any time during the period studied. For a short period between 1517 and 1524, Ancona was used as the destination of ships chartered by the Camera Apostolica to carry salt from Ibiza. During this period charter-parties and quittance of freight of 49 ships engaged in this trade



appear in the notarial contracts.<sup>1</sup> But apart from this, references to salt in the notaries' contracts are very few and an overall picture of the salt trade is impossible to achieve.

How typical the information is on which this brief analysis is based, is difficult to say. Certainly the period of only just over three months is a very short one, and there is no reason to assume that it forms an adequate basis for general assumptions on the structure of Anconitan commerce. The notarial records are of little help in appraising the statistical value of the register. In the whole of the year 1551, mention has been found of only 44 ships in the notaries' contracts, and of these, 24 belonged to the largest categories of shipping. Of the six large ships registered as entering the port, only three can be traced.<sup>2</sup> A further problem is that, even in the context of a single year, it can be argued that the months May to August can hardly be called representative. In particular it is possible that the fact that the register relates to the summer months might have caused the comparative importance of small boats to have been overstated.

The question of winter navigation has aroused much interest amongst historians. Braudel, for instance, considers that winter, both on land and at sea, saw a great slackening of military and commercial activity.<sup>3</sup> Whilst, a priori, there might seem good reason for this argument, various factors could operate against the risk of shipwreck in winter. For instance, it does not seem unlikely that the hazards were greater for oared ships than for sailing ships. If, for this reason, as Braudel indicates, the winter kept pirates and navies at home, this very fact might have provided an

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1. These contracts are in volumes 1 ASA 33, 11 ASA 11-14.
  2. Nave 'Santa Maria di Loreto' arrived from the Levant on 9 July (ASCA 507, entry 151) and was chartered on 13 July (31 ASA 21-22 c183r). Nave, patrone Biagio Alegretti arrived on 30 July with a cargo of salt (entry 237) and was chartered on 14 August (31 ASA 21-22 c209r). Nave 'Santo Croce' arrived on 21 July from Alexandria (entry 194) and was chartered on 22 August by Turkish merchants to carry cloth to Castelnuovo (35 ASA 25 c326r). No trace of the other navi (entries 49, 267 and 297) can be found in the notarial contracts.
  3. F. Braudel, La Méditerranée ..., op.cit, pp.210-220.



incentive for commercial sailing ships to risk the hazards of the weather.

The only continuous records at Ancona which can throw any light on this problem are those of the Quarto.<sup>1</sup> This was a supplementary customs' duty imposed on most classes of goods entering and leaving the port from July 1558 to February 1563. Monthly payments give the following semi-annual percentages:-<sup>2</sup>

	1558/9	1559/60	1560/1	1561/2
August - January	40	45	44	48
September - February	46	41	42	44
October - March	45	44	43	46
November - April	47	47	44	48

For what they are worth, these figures show a decline in trade during the winter months but hardly a catastrophic one. There are several examples of small boats being chartered at Ancona during the winter months. For instance in 1551 there were 17 charter-parties for the smallest category of boat recorded in the extant notaries' books. Of these 17, two were in November, three in January, three in February and one in March. Destinations included Velona, Castelnovo and Ragusa. At Ragusa it was in the months of August to March that the greatest activity was seen in the chartering and insurance of ships to collect grain and distribute it in the ports of the Adriatic and western Mediterranean.<sup>3</sup> Naturally the Ragusan grain trade was, despite its speculative nature, tied to harvest times which explains its concentration in winter. The most sensible conclusion to be made about winter navigation is that, if agriculture demanded it, then ships went to

1. ASCA, 363.

2. These figures have had to be presented as semi-annual percentages because both February and July had figures consistently higher than those of other months, suggesting that in these months half-yearly accounts were paid in.

3. This can be established from the dates of naulizata and insurance contracts. Of the 60 or so in the Diversa Notarise for the calendar years 1541 and 1551 which are concerned with this sort of business, only one has been found in the months between May and July (DAD, Diversa Notarise, 111, cl62v).

sea in winter, but that otherwise they preferred to concentrate their trade in the summer.

Probably more important than the possibility of the over-representation of small ships in the customs register is the under-representation of large ships. The really valuable cargoes which large ships brought to Ancona came from Pera and Rodosto, and no ship arrived from these ports during this period. Normally ships from Pera would arrive before May and would spend the summer making up their return cargoes before returning to the east in the autumn.<sup>1</sup> Also as mentioned above, most of the Ragusan grain ships would be expected at Ancona later than August (harvest-time) and earlier than May.

Weak as this isolated source of statistics undoubtedly is, it does at least suggest a pattern very similar to that obtained from the notarial records alone. As a result of the sort of development that has been described in this chapter, Ancona by mid-century can be seen as an important T-junction in the system of European trade-routes that had developed by that date. The vertical stroke of the T ran north through Ferrara, Milan, Basle and Antwerp to London. The horizontal stroke ran through Florence and Genoa or Leghorn to Lyons or Marseilles in the west, and through Ragusa, Castelnuovo or Velona to Constantinople in the east. At the junction, Italian and western European manufactured goods and Italian agricultural goods were exchanged for the raw materials and manufactured goods of the Turkish Empire. Interesting too, is the fact that although Ancona is a port, this was the junction of two predominantly land routes. Ancona was to lose its importance later in the century as the vertical north-south link became increasingly through Venice or Trieste and as the horizontal east-west link became increasingly the Mediterranean proper using Leghorn as a vital redistribution centre. This later development should not disguise

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1. This can be established in the same way as the above though the result is not so clear cut nor are there so many examples.

the fact that, in the middle of the sixteenth century, Ancona was as significant as an entrepot as Leghorn.

Indeed, Delumeau thinks that the traffic of Ancona in 1551 was equal to that of Leghorn at the beginning of the seventeenth century.<sup>1</sup> This is borne out by the researches of Braudel and Romano into the shipping of Leghorn. From 1573 to 1593 - the period when they considered their sources most precise - they found only 3,000 ships registered as entering Leghorn in the twelve years with surviving registers in this period.<sup>2</sup> At an average of 250 a year this would seem to show less activity than Ancona in 1551 with 320 ships entering in three months. Comparisons of this sort are however very difficult to make, since the type of ship and the cargo they carried clearly varied between the two ports. Some indication that the registers they studied may quite heavily understate the true picture is given by a document found by d'Addario in the Florentine archives. This is a general relation about the Florentine State compiled for Cosimo I which gives figures for ships loading and unloading at Leghorn in the years 1547-50 which are much higher than Braudel's figures for the later period.<sup>3</sup> It would probably be wisest to conclude that Ancona and Leghorn were about equally important in the middle of the sixteenth century. Judging from the conclusions of Billioud on the commerce of Marseilles from 1515 to 1599, it seems fairly clear that Ancona was handling more traffic than Marseilles at this period.<sup>4</sup> While Ancona's prominence was short-lived, it should be remembered that the conditions which led to the rise of Marseilles and Leghorn to importance in the seventeenth century did not exist in the middle of the sixteenth.

1. J. Delumeau, Vie économique et sociale de Rome dans la seconde moitié du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle (Paris, 1957), p.97.
2. F. Braudel and R. Romano, *op.cit.*, pp.39-53.
3. A. d'Addario, 'Burocrazia, economia e finanze dello Stato Fiorentino alla metà del Cinquecento', ASI, cxxi (1963), 444.
4. R. Collier and J. Billioud, Histoire du Commerce de Marseille, iii (Paris, 1951), pp.329-33.



The other major facet of international trade that can be seen from the customs' register at Ancona, and which is mirrored in the notarial contracts, is that at Ancona not only were eastern goods exchanged for western goods, but also that these goods were exchanged by easterners and westerners meeting face to face. The goods from the Turkish Empire were brought to Ancona and sold there by Turkish subjects<sup>1</sup> or Ragusans. Italian and western European goods were brought by western Europeans, especially Italians, but also Flemings, Frenchmen, Portuguese and Germans. In this way Ancona can be seen as a true frontier between Islam and Christendom. This development marks a stage in the resurgence of the commercial vitality of Islam and indeed of the eastern Mediterranean as a whole, which lies between the late medieval pattern of Italian and Catalan domination of eastern Mediterranean commerce and the pattern from 1600 onwards of domination by the new maritime powers of the Atlantic and the North Sea.<sup>2</sup>

While this role of Ancona, just described, is undoubtedly the most interesting from the point of view of the development of European trade as a whole, it should not be forgotten that the local intra-Adriatic<sup>trade</sup> that existed before these developments, remained much the greatest employer of shipping, and that the sea-routes to the eastern Mediterranean continued to be used. Geographically, land connections with Egypt and the Aegean coastline of Greece made little sense, and these two destinations continued to be an important employer of shipping, particularly in the bulkier trades.

The fact that Ancona managed to leave aside its normal geographical role, as a minor port serving central Italy, to enjoy a brief period of

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1. The term 'Turkish subject' is a loose one. But for some people the choice to live on Ottoman soil was more or less irrevocable. The Marranos, for instance, were welcomed by the Ottoman Sultans only if they reverted to Judaism. Their adoption of Judaism was a guarantee against their returning to most parts of Europe and thus a guarantee of loyalty. See Rivkin, op.cit, pp.4-5.
  2. Cf. Rivkin, op.cit.; T. Steianovich, 'The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant', JEH, xx (1960).



distinction in the trade of the Mediterranean region as a whole can be seen to have been more the result of luck than of any particularly good judgment on the part of the citizens of the city. The geographical position of the city suited it perfectly to play the role it did in the altered political circumstances of the sixteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Turkish and Spanish expansion and the instability that this caused in the waters of the Mediterranean made land routes an attractive proposition, especially with the development of specialist overland haulage companies. If land routes were to be used for the carriage of those goods most in demand in the growing market represented by the populous cities of the eastern Mediterranean, then these routes emanating from the centres of supply such as London, Flanders, Lyons and Tuscany almost certainly had to cross the Adriatic somewhere. Ancona was the most suitable of the western Adriatic ports for the crossing. An interesting example of the way in which Ancona's most likely rival, Pesaro - the port of the Duchy of Urbino - had fallen behind is seen in the result of the Ancona "boycott". This was an attempt by a group of Ottoman Jews to substitute <sup>Pesaro for</sup> ~~Ancona~~ Ancona in their trans-Adriatic trade as revenge for the burning of apostate Marranos described above.<sup>2</sup> Partly successful, the boycott was hampered and eventually abandoned partly as a result of the non-cooperation of the Jews of Brusa who said that Pesaro was inadequately equipped to handle a large volume of trade.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps of more interest than the failure of Pesaro to compete successfully with Ancona was the failure of Venice to dominate this trade as she was to do later, though unfortunately when events had again changed and once more much of the trade was being carried by sea.

Part of the reason for Venetian inability to monopolize the trade, although she certainly carried a great deal of it even at the height of

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1. For the geography of Ancona and an indication of the comparative benefits of its harbour see above pp. 23-29

2. P. 91.

2. C. Roth, *op.cit*, pp.154-9.

Ancona's success, can be seen in the facilities offered by Ancona. To start with, the Anconitan customs' duties were very low. By the end of the period, the general customs' duty on imported goods had come down to one per cent and the duty on some of the more important goods was less even than this.<sup>1</sup> For instance, cloth imported for sale in the city paid only ten bolognini per bale. This was only one-thousandth of its value.<sup>2</sup> Silk, camlets and hides also paid such nominal rates of duty. Venetian duties tended to be much higher and goods moving through the city or territory of Venice were often subjected to further costly regulations.<sup>3</sup> Venetian awareness of this problem is shown by a document in the Venetian archives.<sup>4</sup> This is the introduction to a copy of the Anconitan customs tariff dated 1540 and runs:-

E manifesto ad ogn'uno che il gran corso che ha preso la mercadantia in Ancona, et altri lochi sottovento ... a grandissimo danno cosi del Publico [of Venice] come delli privati habitanti in essa, et essendo precipuo fondamento delle facende de detti lochi de sottovento le carisse et altre pannine de Ponente, che capitano da li con spera de intrata solum de soldi 16 per balla de meza soma, et le robbe che si concorrono li in gran quantita con poctissima spesa, cioe ... [follows details of customs' rates in Ancona] pero e necessario levarli li Datii dell'intrada alle sopradette pannine di Ponente, et robbe della Romania Alta e Bassa, alla qual anche altre volte li son sta levati in bona parte ma non essendo tanto che basti all'effetto sopradetto ... Si domanda la liberta dall'Egregio Consiglio di Dieci di poter metter parte di levar il Datio dell'Intrada alle

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1. See above pp. 39-40.

2. 80 bolognini to the ducat. Bale of cloth in Ancona 110-130 ducats.

3. W. Brulez, 'L'exportation ...', op.cit, p.478 explains the preference of Italian merchants to ship through Ancona rather than Venice by the conditions that Venice applied to foreigners.

4. Archivio di Stato at Venice, Cinque Savii alla Mercanzia, n.s.iii, Ancona, n.p.

predette robbe de Ponente e Romania: il che tornera a grandissima utile di questa citta etc.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to offering low rates of duty, Ancona treated the Levantine and Jewish merchants on whom her prosperity depended very well. Special facilities were laid on for Turkish merchants when they came to the city.<sup>2</sup> Equally forward looking was the attitude of successive Popes to the Jews after the loss of Ancona's independence in 1532. Not only were the restrictions on existing Jews removed but Portuguese Marranos were encouraged to settle in Ancona even though they reverted to Judaism.<sup>3</sup> This tolerance which applied only in Rome, Ferrara and Ancona of all Italian cities can have done little to harm a trade based largely on the Antwerp - Italy axis and on the Ottoman Empire, where so many of the Jews persecuted in other parts of Europe had already gone.<sup>4</sup>

Geographical factors also helped Ancona to assert her commercial independence of Venice during this period. In the absence of strong Venetian interference, it was clearly more economical to send Florentine cloth eastward from a port south of the Po. So long as the English staple was at Antwerp, it was feasible to route English cloth west of the Venetian possessions. Later with the movement of the English staple to Hamburg this would have been very expensive as Hamburg - Venice was in any case considerably

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1. 'It is clear to everyone that the great progress that trade in Ancona and other places nearby has enjoyed does very great harm both to the public as a whole and to private individuals (in Venice); and since the principle foundations of the business of those places are the kerseys and other cloth from the West which are sent there with the hope of paying an import duty of only 16 soldi for a bale of half a soma, and other goods which are sent there in great quantity at very low cost, e.g. ...., then it is necessary to lower the import duties (into Venice) on the above-mentioned cloth from the West and goods from Upper and Lower Romania. Many of these have been lowered on other occasions but not sufficiently to have the above effect... We demand permission from the Council of Ten to put to the vote the lowering of the import duties of the above-mentioned goods from the West and Romania: which will be to the very greatest profit of this city etc.'
  2. M. Natalucci, op.cit. ii, 137-8; V. Makuscev, op.cit. pp.188-9.
  3. M. Natalucci, op.cit, ii, 139-40.
  4. C. Roth, op.cit; J. Delumeau, op.cit, p.96.

cheaper than Antwerp - Venice.<sup>1</sup> The links between Ancona and the distributing ports of the eastern Adriatic were also shorter than those from Venice, though to counter this, the route from Ancona had more open sea to cross.

Finally, and probably most important, the first half of the sixteenth century was a period when Venice was both politically and militarily weaker than she was either before or after. The struggle to maintain what was left of her Empire in the two naval wars against the Turks and, in addition, the devastations of the Holy League left Venice in a position where she was incapable of retaining complete control of Adriatic trade.

While such factors as these enabled commerce in Ancona to expand in the period studied, the position of the port was nevertheless precarious. There was no particularly strong reason why trade based fundamentally on such distant centres as London, Antwerp, Constantinople and Florence should continue to pass through Ancona. Indeed even the trade of Antwerp was precarious, although somewhat more firmly based than that of Ancona. As the rise and fall of Ancona are so intimately connected with those of Antwerp, it would perhaps be appropriate to quote Brulez' summary of Antwerp's position in the sixteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

Ce qui attirait les marchands étrangers à Anvers, c'étaient les produits étrangers, non ceux des Pays-Bas. Et ce trait fait bien ressortir le caractère instable, fortuit de la prédominance d'Anvers dans le monde commercial du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle: la ville n'est pas un aimant qui attire, bon gré mal gré, tous les marchands par des avantages inhérents à une situation géographique ou par la présence de produits impossibles à trouver ailleurs; elle est un point de rencontre, entre beaucoup d'autres, et qui a connu un essor inégalé par la combinaison, fortuite en grande partie, des draps anglais, du poivre portugais, des métaux allemands; mais ce point de rencontre est resté constamment menacé par d'autres confluences possibles, parfois mieux situées, et assorties d'avantages plus grands. Aussi bien, la disparition d'Anvers comme port mondial a-t-elle changé, en fait, fort peu de choses dans le commerce de l'époque et n'a guère eu, sauf pour les Pays-Bas eux-mêmes, de conséquences importantes. 1585 n'a pas vu la destruction d'un des piliers centraux du commerce mondial, mais la substitution d'un point de rencontre à un autre.

1. W. Brulez, 'Les routes commerciales ...', op.cit, pp.181-4.

2. W. Brulez, 'L'exportation des Pays-Bas vers l'Italie, op.cit, p.481.



Mutatis mutandis, Ancona was in exactly the same position. The city had little industry and only a relatively small population to encourage the continuation of her trade in the event of those who controlled the trade, hardly any of whom were Anconitans, deciding to use different routes and different entrepôts. And so in the future, events beyond the control of Ancona meant that in the seventeenth century, the city returned to the comparative insignificance that it had had in the fifteenth. English cloth went from Hamburg to Venice, or later with the development of English naval power, direct to the eastern Mediterranean or to Leghorn. Venice countered Ancona's links with the ports of the other side of the Adriatic by the development of Spalato as an alternative route into the Balkans in the 1580s,<sup>1</sup> and the surge of Turkish, Jewish and Ragusan enterprise that had done so much to make Ancona a frontier town in the middle of the century began to subside with the end of Turkish expansion in the Mediterranean, and the incursion of the English, Dutch and French into the ports of the Levant.

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1. J. Tadić, 'Le commerce en Dalmatie et à Raguse et la décadence économique de Venise au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle', Aspetti e cause della decadenza economica veneziana nel secolo XVII (Venice, Rome, 1961), pp.258-70.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### MERCHANTS AND THE ORGANIZATION OF TRADE

At the same time as the expansion of trade described in the last chapter, there was considerable change in the origin and scale of operation of the merchants frequenting the piazza and the port of Ancona. The most noticeable of these changes were the increasing domination of merchants foreign to Ancona and the increasing scale of both individual transactions and of the global trade handled by these merchants. This chapter will seek to describe these changes and also to discuss the methods used by these merchants in handling their business.

The simplest way of getting an overall picture of the human structure of the market at Ancona is by an analysis of the merchants recorded as paying customs' duties in the surviving libri de depositaria. While subject to a considerable degree of inaccuracy,<sup>1</sup> these records do at least show who was paying the most duty and thus give an indication of the leading figures in the trade of the port.<sup>2</sup> Analysis of the sums paid in each entry also show to some extent developments in the scale of business transacted, although these results are somewhat vitiated by the fact that it was the habit of many of the leading merchants to make payments from time to time in large lump sums. It is hoped that this weakness will be countered by the likelihood of these large sums being made up of large rather than small transactions. In Table I below the figures from this source are subjected to various forms of analysis.

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1. See above pp. 38-41

2. Only an indication since it is probable that some of the payments were made on behalf of someone else.

Table I  
Analysis of Entries in the Libri de Depositaria

Year	1. No. of Entries (approx.)	2. No. of entries larger than 20 ducats	3. % Total in entries over 50 ducs	4. % Total paid by top merchant	5. % Total paid by top 4 merchants	6. % Total by top 10
1481	150	3(2%)	-	8.2	24.4	39.7
1502	100	5(5%)	-	13.4	23.1	33.1
1509	300	28(9%)	40	28.6	42.4	55.9
1517	500	21(4%)	46	9.1	29.3	46.3
1518	500	40(8%)	59	14.5	37.4	56.8
1527	450	41(9%)	43	14.6	30.2	46.0
1541-2	1000	128(13%)	50	8.0	16.8	28.3

Source: ASCA, 61,115,116, 117, 118, 121, 431.

Although too much faith should not be placed in these figures, they do serve to illustrate various features of trade in Ancona. Columns 2 and 3 indicate an expansion in the scale of business also seen in the contracts registered before the notaries.<sup>1</sup> Columns 4, 5 and 6 show that throughout the period studied a high proportion of the total trade of the port was handled by a very small group of merchants. The fact that the percentage paid by the top four and by the top ten merchants (columns 5 and 6) reach a peak between 1509 and 1527 is also significant. It was largely through the activities of a small group of merchants that the commerce of the port expanded during this period. The return to lower percentages in the period 1541-2 is a sign of the commercial maturity of the port. More merchants are now participating in the trade <sup>but</sup> ~~by~~ at a completely different level of operation. A glance at the figures for 1481 and for 1541-2 should serve to establish this.

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1. See above pp. 77, 81.

The leading merchants of the port who make up the percentage figures of column 6 in Table I are relieved of some of their statistical anonymity in Table II below. Here are set out the surnames (or first names if no surname is known) of all these merchants, together with their city or country of origin where it is known. Surnames when repeated have been placed in italics.

Table II  
Leading Merchants in Ancona 1481 - 1542  
According to Libri de Depositaria  
(origin where known in brackets)

<u>1481</u>	<u>1502</u>	<u>1509</u>	<u>1517</u>	<u>1518</u>	<u>1527</u>	<u>1541-2</u>
Ferratini	<u>Tommasi</u> *	<u>Tommasi</u>	<u>Carlo</u>	Michele	<u>Cini</u>	Girini
(Ancona)	(Ancona)	(Ancona)	( <u>Pesaro</u> )	(Fabriano)	(Pisa)	(Florence)
Piero	Massioli	<u>Goggis</u>	<u>Goggis</u>	<u>Cechi</u>	Miniatti	Senati
(Pesaro)	(Bergamo)	(Ragusa)	(Ragusa)	(Florence)	(Florence)	(Ancona)
Marelli	<u>Cini</u>	<u>Cini</u>	<u>Cechi</u>	<u>Goggis</u>	<u>Tommasi</u>	Gondula
(Ancona)	(Pisa)	(Pisa)	(Florence)	(Ragusa)	(Ancona)	(Ragusa)
Neruzzi	Scurio	<u>Carlo</u>	Brici	<u>Lippi</u>	Boningelli	Pavesi
(Bologna)	(Greece)	(Pesaro)	(Siena)	(Florence)	(unknown)	(Ancona)
Paolo	Cinelli	Buscurati	Scaglia	<u>Marinozzi</u>	<u>Cechi</u>	Doria
(Ascoli)	(Perugia)	(Ancona)	(Bergamo)	(Ancona)	(Florence)	(Genoa)
Tomasso	Pilestri	<u>Marinozzi</u>	<u>Cini</u>	<u>Tomasi</u>	<u>Goggis</u>	Lodovici
(Ragusa)	(Ancona)	(Ancona)	(Pisa)	(Ancona)	(Ragusa)	(Urbino)
Boldoni	<u>Lippi</u>	Gratiosi	dalla Pera	Medici	Marco	Luttrini
(Ancona)	(Florence)	(Ancona)	(Ancona)	(Florence)	(Rome)	(Florence)
Biagio	Bonaventura	Pico	Angeli	<u>Cini</u>	Franchi	Canvamar
(Ragusa)	(Sicily)	(Bergamo)	(Camerino)	(Pisa)	(Genoa)	(Turkish)
<u>Tomasi</u>	Saradi	<u>Cechi</u>	Affaitati	<u>Goro</u>	Antiqui	Salrech
(Ancona)	(Ferrara)	(Florence)	(Cremona)	(Fabriano)	(Ancona)	(Unknown)
Vangelista	Mattaviti	Golini	<u>Goro</u>	<u>Carlo</u>	Gasparro	Biliotti
(Unknown)	(Unknown)	(Unknown)	(Fabriano)	(Pesaro)	(Unknown)	(Florence)

Source: ASCA 61, 115, 116, 117, 118, 121, 431.

\* Repeated names have been placed in italics.

This table illustrates some interesting features of the Anconitan piazza. First ignoring the repeated names and treating each name as a unit, it can be



seen that out of 70 merchants in the table, the origin of only 6 is unknown. Of the rest only 16 originated from Ancona, though several more acquired Anconitan citizenship during their residence in the city. Thus it would be fair to say that natives of Ancona played a relatively minor part in the commercial development of their city. On the other hand, despite the close links of Ancona with the Balkans and Levant, only 9 of these merchants came from this area, of whom 7 were Ragusan. All the other merchants whose origin can be discovered were Italian. It is possible that this pattern might have been disturbed if the libro de depositaria for 1551 had been preserved. Certainly the study of the Customs' Register extant<sup>1</sup> for that year would suggest that some Portuguese and Levantine Jews would have been amongst the leading ten merchants.<sup>2</sup> However, from the evidence at our disposal, the conclusion must be that the upper stratum of the piazza at Ancona was occupied almost entirely by Italians. The reason for this is that most of the non-Italians that paid customs' duties were not resident in Ancona, but were merely in transit, and thus, unless they brought in a really large cargo on their ship, would not feature in this table. Thus in 1527 about one-fifth of all entries were payments made by subjects of the Turk, but it is rare to find two entries made on behalf of the same merchant. The same pattern can be observed in the payments for 1541-2.

While these Italian merchants who dominated the piazza of Ancona were less transient than their counterparts from across the Adriatic, it does **not** seem that that they spent very long in Ancona themselves. The normal pattern of behaviour would seem to be a fairly short spell of residence in Ancona and then return to their native cities or elsewhere. This is suggested by the fact that of the 70 names in the table, only 27 appear more than once. Whilst it is true that some of the other 43 names appear in other years with payments not large enough

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1. ASCA, 507.

2. See, for instance, the activities of Aron Bottone and Giacomo Cavallero, Appendic C, pp. 211-212.

to figure in a table setting out only the top ten payees, the evidence of the notarial contracts supports the assumption that the majority of merchants kept their stay in Ancona fairly short. A merchant, who features in the notaries' contracts in one year as an important figure, will often be completely absent from contracts of the next year to be studied. Even amongst those names which are repeated in more than one year, there is only one example of the kind of family continuity in big business that is common in other cities. This is the Tommasi family, who appear five times in the table and are prominent in notarial contracts in every year studied. Four generations of the family can be found amongst the leading merchants of the port in the seventy years studied. Two other families, Cini and Cechi, are represented by more than one person but the other five names which are repeated are those of the same person throughout.

However, whilst it is important to stress this feature of incontinuity amongst the merchants of Ancona, it should be noted that a very small number of men played an extremely important part in developing the trade of the port in the crucial period, 1500-27. The Tommasi, father and son, Andrea Carlo of Pesaro, Girolamo and Francesco Giovanni Cini of Pisa, Pierantonio and Lorenzo Cechi of Florence and Luigi de Goggis of Ragusa between them occupied the three top places in the table on all but three occasions between 1502 and 1527, and together with a few others such as Nicolo Lippi<sup>1</sup> of Florence were by far the most important merchants as seen from the evidence of the notarial contracts. Here again the period 1541-2 indicates a break with the past. None of the names for this period are the same as for any earlier period, though the time-span 1527-41 is shorter than for instance 1509-27. Partly this can be explained by the death or retirement of the merchants, mentioned above, who had helped to build up the trade of the city from 1502 to 1527 but the reason may also be connected with the political changes that saw the end of the independence of Ancona in

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1. For the activities of all the merchants named above see Appendix C, pp. 184-200.

1532, when several of the older noble and mercantile families were expelled from the city.<sup>1</sup>

Although there is not sufficient evidence to build up a picture of the commercial activities of these merchants from the libri de depositaria, a very good idea of the business engaged in by a large proportion of them can be found in the notarial contracts. Ignoring the year 1518, which is poorly represented in the surviving notaries' books, only 14 of the remaining 60 merchants in Table II could not be found as a party in at least one notarial contract. This in itself indicates the way in which these two sources complement each other. In Appendix C the activities of these merchants as seen in the notarial contracts have been listed. Whilst obviously incapable of any statistical interpretation, this appendix does serve to show the kind of business engaged in by these merchants.

Although typicality is a difficult concept, in the absence of material which can be treated statistically, it is possible from the evidence of the notarial contracts to create a composite merchant whose activities provide a picture of the sort of business carried on by a considerable number of individual merchants, as well as representing the business of the merchants residing in the port as a whole. This composite merchant represents best the activities of the period 1502-18. Naturally his activities would change as the trade of the port changed and a somewhat different picture would have to be drawn of a "typical" merchant of the 1540s. He also is a representative of big business. All the sources used tend to give more prominence to the big men than they do to the little men. This, of course, is unrealistic since presumably there were far more little men than there were big men, but as mentioned in the chapter on the sources it is unavoidable in view of a bias inherent in the nature of the notarial contract.<sup>2</sup> With these limitations in

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1. Cf. below pp. ~~141-2~~ 141-2.

2. See p. 62.

mind it still seems possible to use the material to illustrate some of the activities of the "typical merchant". He would have a house in Ancona, part of which he might let to other merchants<sup>1</sup> and part of which would almost certainly be a shop.<sup>2</sup> The house would be near the port and he might also have in the port area a warehouse (fundico). He would also have a certain amount of land in the contado which he would let either for a rent in kind or on a sharecropping basis.<sup>3</sup>

As the owner of part of a ship<sup>4</sup> he would occasionally be involved in the management of this investment, in the appointment of a new patrone or scrivano<sup>5</sup> and in disputes with the ships' officers and with other merchants over problems of non-payment of freight, loss of goods at sea or the route to be taken by the ship on its next voyage. But the management of the ship would be secondary to his main function as a general import-export merchant.

As the agent of two or three Florentine lanaioli<sup>6</sup>, he would receive from time to time consignments of cloth brought by the carriers on mules from Florence together with instructions as to their consignment to a Florentine agent in Ragusa. For this his only financial interest would be his commission, though occasionally he would find himself with the prospect of making payment on a bill of exchange drawn on him as agent of his Florentine principals by their agent in Pera or Adrianople.<sup>7</sup> But he would also import Florentine or Sienese cloth on his own account or else buy it in Ancona to ~~see~~<sup>sell</sup> partly retail from his shop in Ancona and partly wholesale to Ragusan or Levantine merchants whose ships were lying in the port.<sup>8</sup> Sometimes he would ~~see~~<sup>sell</sup> such cloth for cash or on credit,

1. ~~uncommonly shared~~ <sup>See 36 ASA 3 c131r.</sup>

2. Shops were quite often shared. See 1 ASA 1-2 cc4, 170v etc.

3. ~~uncommonly shared~~ <sup>E.g. 14 ASA 5 c67r; 13 ASA 9 c248r.</sup>

4. For the activities of shipowners see below pp. 144-48.

5. For the functions of patrone and scrivano see below pp. 148-54.

6. Of the 44 merchants in Table II identified in notarial contracts, at least 9 were the agents of Florentine firms.

7. For more on this sort of business see below pp. 122-33.

8. At least 20 of the 44 merchants sold cloth.



but often he would barter the cloth for hides, camlets or silk which the ships had brought to Ancona. In any case he would be a major purchaser of the goods carried to Ancona by these ships. These goods would be joined in his warehouse by the consignments of hides and occasionally iron which he had bought from merchants shipping from the northern Adriatic. Often he would buy these goods nearer source, chartering a ship or using his own ship to pick up oil and grain at Fermo or Senigallia and then travelling with the ship himself or else sending an agent in his place to Trieste or Fiume where he could sell the oil and grain and reinvest in hides, iron, fish or wool.<sup>1</sup>

Some of these goods he would sell locally on the Anconitan market but he would also sell large quantities on credit to merchants from central Italy. Here again he might resort to barter, exchanging the wool of Trieste or of Greece for Florentine cloth, or hides for the paper of Fabriano.

Apart from this general business in exchanging the goods of the Adriatic and of central Italy, he would almost certainly participate in the voyages of Anconitan and other ships to the eastern Mediterranean. He might do this by investing cash or a quantity of Anconitan soap in a cambium to Constantinople<sup>2</sup> where it would be reinvested partly in such goods as camlets or silk but more probably in hides brought from Black Sea ports or else hides loaded at the port of Rodosto. Alternatively he might travel with his goods himself<sup>3</sup> or else sell goods from his warehouse to some merchant who was travelling with the ship.<sup>4</sup> He would also be likely to have a commercial interest in any voyage to Alexandria,<sup>5</sup> possibly chartering a ship himself to load oil, cloth or metal and bringing back the ubiquitous hides<sup>6</sup> as well as cotton and ashes for the Anconitan soapmakers. His

1. 13 ASA 4 c171; 13 ASA 2 ccl09r, 276r.

2. 15 ASA 5 ccl4r, 94v.

3. Idem c96r.

4. Idem ccp4v, 95v.

5. 14 ASA 1-3, c124v; 13 ASA 9 c285r.

6. 26 of the 44 merchants identified in notarial contracts can be found selling hides.

interests outside the Adriatic might also include the import of grain or valonea from the ports of the Ionian and Aegean. In all the places with which he was accustomed to do business, he would be likely to have a resident agent or correspondent.

Besides his business as a shipowner, commission agent and import-export merchant this "typical" merchant would be likely to have some of his capital tied up in loans or on deposit to other merchants, in consumption loans to the poor (often lent and repaid in grain),<sup>1</sup> or in loans to the Commune of Ancona.<sup>2</sup> He might also invest in such ventures as the grain mills of the valley of the Esino<sup>3</sup> or the farms of the various communal taxes.<sup>4</sup> Apart from being the agent of foreign firms or individuals, he might be the consul for some foreign city or country, and would be called in to settle disputes and also to facilitate the commercial activities of the nationals that he was representing. For instance in 1484, Francesco Antiqui the Venetian consul organized an auction for a Venetian subject,<sup>5</sup> and in 1509 the same Venetian consul was acting as arbitrator in a dispute over the ownership of goods in a wrecked Venetian ship.<sup>6</sup> Continuity of consuls in the same family was very common. Another Antiqui was Venetian consul in 1527 whilst the Tommasi family were traditionally Florentine consuls.<sup>7</sup> Apart from holding consulships, the merchant if he was an Anconitan would be very likely to be taking an active part in the government of his city. Thus, for example, Bartolomeo di Ser Thomasso, apart from

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1. E.g. 1 ASA 1-2 c31r, 137v.

2. For these and the institution of the Monte dei Meriti see Roia, *op.cit.*, pp. 209-13.

3. E.g. 1 ASA 19 cc106v, 134r.

4. E.g. 14 ASA 1-3 cc49r, 108v; 14 ASA 5 cl6lv; ASA 12 cl27r.

5. 14 ASA 5 cl03v.

6. 13 ASA 9 n.p.

7. Natalucci, *op.cit.*, ii, 132. For another example see 14 ASA 1-3 cl16v where merchants of Barcelona appointed Polgiorgio Polideri as Catalan consul in place of his dead father.

being the consul for the Florentines and the Ragusans, was appointed ambassador to the Pope in 1484 and 1490, was elected one of the first three consoli del mare in 1493 and became an official of the Monte dei Meriti in the following year.<sup>1</sup>

This is all to say that specialization was unusual amongst the merchants who frequented Ancona. This is the pattern that has been found in other medieval and early modern cities<sup>2</sup> and is hardly surprising in view of the general conditions in which commercial life operated. To be too specialized in a world where the turnover of trade was very slow, where news and knowledge of market conditions were often months out of date, where a sudden act of piracy or the outbreak of war could destroy one's investment or close a whole region to trade, and above all where the rhythm of agriculture and the success of the harvest determined to a great extent the chronology of trade and its quantity, was to place a merchant in an unenviable position. Within the framework of the "typical" merchant described above, some merchants of course favoured one type of business more than another. Some sold mainly hides, some mainly cloth, some concentrated on trade in the northern Adriatic, some were more involved in shipping than in trade and so on.<sup>3</sup> But almost all merchants whose activities are sufficiently well documented engaged in other types of business apart from their main interests. The exceptions to this are mainly merchants who as agents of a large firm represent only part of some more general European pattern of trade. The best example of this in Ancona are the agents of the great Affaitati complex of companies who, from the point of view of Ancona, specialize almost entirely in the sale of sugar,

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1. Albertini, *op.cit.*, Lib.x, Pt.ii, 15, 83, 127, 165.

2. Cf. F.C.Lane, Andrea Barbarigo, *op.cit.*, pp.52-77; J.Heers, Genes au Xve siècle (Paris, 1961), p.204.

3. For examples of the different weighting of various types of business see Appendix C, passim, pp. 177-212.



pepper and brazil wood.<sup>1</sup>

Although it is possible to see the sort of business engaged in by merchants in Ancona, it is very difficult to discover from the notarial contracts how this business was carried on. The contracts give only a limited view of business activity. A merchant can be seen selling here, buying there, chartering a ship, appointing a procurator or involved in a dispute, but this kind of information gives little idea of how the merchants actually operated. Far more of this can be seen from the account books of Florentine and Ragusan merchants studied and the evidence from this source will be examined later.

One feature of the structure of trade that is particularly difficult to ascertain is the relationship between individual merchants. Normally merchants contracted as individuals or as one of a number of people party to the particular contract. Only rarely are words, such as compagno or socio, indicating membership of a formal partnership, used. Can one assume that unless such words were used, formal partnerships did not exist and that a purely informal grouping was formed to negotiate a particular piece of business? If this is the case, then the piazza of Ancona must have been very loosely organized and should be compared with Florence where the partnership was the normal form of organization. Two sorts of evidence can be used to support this assumption of a very loosely organized structure. First, it was far commoner for Florentine, Sienese and other Tuscan merchants to be described as members of a company or partnership than it was for merchants from the Marche or Romagna. Secondly, the grouping of

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1. See Appendix C, p. 335 and for other examples 13 ASA 9 ccl18r, 166r, 183v, 185v, 303, 331v. For some of the activities of the Affaitati family see Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani, i, 348-52 (Rome, 1960)



of merchants that were parties to particular contracts rarely remained the same for any length of time and often indeed changed from day to day.<sup>1</sup> One very common arrangement was to buy as a member of a group and to sell as an individual.

If this assumption is the correct one, then the individual merchant was the rule at Ancona, and he conducted his business either by buying, selling, investing and lending as an individual or else he formed short-term informal combinations with other merchants to buy or sell a particular lot of cloth or hides or to charter a particular ship for a single voyage, settlement being reached by common consent at some time in the future. Such an arrangement whereby merchants entered into agreements for single transactions was also common in London at this time,<sup>2</sup> and indeed even in the case of the more formal partnerships common in Florence, partnerships came to agreements with other partnerships or with individuals to venture together for the sale of a particular shipment of cloth or other such business.<sup>3</sup> At Ancona, combinations for a longer term would be those in shipping or farms of communal taxes, but even here there would seem to be little compulsion on a party to remain in the group, and the personnel involved in a farm or in the ownership of a ship fluctuated considerably.

Whether as cause or effect, the loose organization amongst the merchants in Ancona was reflected in an equally loose organization of the credit market. There appears to have been little specialization in banking<sup>4</sup> until the commercial life of the city became more sophisticated in the 1540s. In earlier years, and indeed still in the 1540s, individuals appear as both

1. Thus 31 ASA 13 c53r Augustino Pavesi purchased cloth in association with Giovanni Senati (29 April 1541) but sold firewood to him on 6 April (idem c4Or) and bought mohair from him on 1 June (idem, c86v).
2. I am indebted to Prof. F.J.Fisher for this information.
3. E.g. ASF, Strozzi v.78 cl67; idem, v. 89 cl01.
4. But see Roia, *op.cit.*, pp.212-24 for the activities of Bonaventura and Simone di Bonaventura, Jewish bankers, 1494-1532.

borrowers and lenders and it is impossible to see any particular pattern in this business. The main need of the merchants was to find sufficient short- and medium-<sup>term</sup>~~ter~~, credit to cover each venture on which they were engaged. This might involve credit up to periods as long as two years but the normal term was six months or a year. The buyer of goods would be seeking credit until he had sold again, the shipper of goods until he had sold the goods which he received as returns and so on. Since not all merchants found themselves short of cash at the same time, this sort of business could easily be handled by the merchants themselves as another side of their business.

By far the commonest form of credit was the promissio,<sup>1</sup> or sale of goods on credit. In many ways this was similar to the English bill obligatory though it was always tied to a particular transaction. It was indeed nothing more or less than the extension of credit by the seller of goods to the buyer, rarely for longer than one year, except in the case of very large sums. By its nature this was not a type of credit which required the existence of a banker. Credit for a voyage or for a particular venture could still be obtained by contracts with a long history in the Mediterranean, such as the commenda and the cambium. Both these contracts involved the lender in a formal relationship with the borrower and also involved him in the business in which the borrower was engaged. In both, the lender shared in the risks of the venture, in the commenda because his reward was calculated as a proportion of the profits, and in the cambium as an underwriter of the risks that would otherwise be covered by an insurance contract.

Two forms of credit existing at Ancona which seem nearer to true bankers'

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1. For further discussion of the contracts mentioned in this section see above pp. 42-51.
  2. ~~For a particular 37 ASA 4 passim for a notary who specialized in this sort of business.~~

business were the depositum and the mutuum. These contracts have been discussed above, but it should be noted that both of them were loan contracts, unconnected in almost all cases with any particular transaction. The main difference between the contracts, neither of which mention interest, was that the depositum is usually for larger sums and is vaguer about the date of repayment, while the mutuum is for smaller sums and is much more precise. The conclusion seems to be that the mutuum was a consumption loan and that the depositum was indeed similar to a deposit with a banker, in that in most cases repayment of the money could be demanded "ad omnem terminem" of the lender. Despite this, there appears to be little pattern of organization in the depositum market until the 1540s, when a group of Portuguese and Levantine Jews had evolved who specialized in this business.<sup>1</sup> Up until that date individual merchants appeared as both borrowers and lenders in depositum contracts and it would seem to have been as useful an investment to the merchant with liquid funds on hand as it was a source of credit to the merchant with none.

To conclude this short discussion of credit, mention should be made of the bill of exchange.<sup>2</sup> This was a contract which involved not only the provision of credit but was also extremely important as a means of remitting funds. The specialization of bankers who dealt in the exchange business does not seem to have occurred at Ancona, and the bill of exchange was in use as a very convenient way for merchants to extend credit to each other, as well as for funds to be sent from one city to another. Not very many examples of bills of exchange have been found in notarial contracts at Ancona, and then almost always as a result of a bill being protested. When bills were

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1. See in particular 37 ASA 4 passim for a notary who specialized in this sort of business.
  2. For a discussion of the bill of exchange in Antwerp and London at this time see R. de Roover, Gresham on foreign exchange: an essay on early English mercantilism (Cambridge, Mass. 1949).



protested, however, the text of the bill always appears in the contract registering the protest so that it is possible to see the form that bills took. Unlike the places of exchange quoted in the merchants' manuals, Ancona had no usance and nearly all bills were payable at so many days' sight. Another feature which distinguishes bills at Ancona was the fact that almost never was the rate of exchange quoted in the text of the bill. All that the bill says is that the payer must pay so much cash, nearly always gold ducats, to the payee. Nearly all the bills involve four parties in two pairs, each pair being in some sort of business relationship with each other. For example:-

A tergo: Domini Girolamo Cyni e Bernardino d'Andrea d'Artino  
in Ancona.

Intus: A di xxvi di Marzo 1502 in Pera. Pagate per questa prima di cambio vista ad giorni quindici a Ser Nicolo Michelozzi e in absentia ad Bartolomeo di Ser Thomaso ducati 70 d'oro in oro venetiani: per altrettanti hauti qui di contanti da Giovanni Maringhi et mettate ad nostro. Christo vi guardi. Vostro Nicolo d'Andrea d'Artino.<sup>2</sup>

In this case Giovanni Maringhi was the agent in the Levant of Ser Nicolo Michelozzi,<sup>3</sup> a Florentine merchant whose agent in Ancona was Bartolomeo di Ser Thomaso whilst the two d'Artini were brothers. In nearly all examples the relationship between the members of each pair of contractors was as close as this, indicating the absence of professional exchange dealers. Although it must have been difficult on some occasions to find someone to take up a bill in the absence of the formal exchange market described by de Roover as existing in Antwerp and London, bills protested in Ancona were drawn in a large number of places such as Antwerp, Florence,

2. 'On the back: To Girolamo Cyni & Bernardino d'Andrea d'Artino in Ancona. Inside: 26 March 1502, in Pera. Pay by this first of exchange at 15 days sight to Ser Nicolo Michelozzi and in his absence to Bartolomeo di Ser Thomaseo 70 Venetian gold ducats: for the same had here in cash from Giovanni Maringhi, and place it to our account. Christ watch over you. Yours Nicolo d'Andrea d'Artino'.
3. For Maringhi's letters to Michelozzi covering the date of this bill of exchange see Richards, op.cit, pp.90-183.



Pera, Ragusa, Venice and Buda.<sup>1</sup> In most cases it is probable that mutual convenience in remitting funds rather than the extension of credit or exchange speculation was the most important motive in drawing a bill.

The arrangements for bringing together the parties to a contract were clearly very important in the conditions of Ancona, with its absence of specialists. However references to brokers are few in the notarial contracts, and one must presume that brokerage was an expense that had to be met before most transactions could be negotiated. Contracts for making a partnership in the art of brokerage (sensaria) appear quite often in the 1540s, but apart from their length (normally one year) and the fact that the parties contracted to exercise the art diligently, they tell us little of how brokers operated.<sup>2</sup> The Statutes of the Dogana have more to say on the subject and give the scale of brokerage fees, normally 1d in the £, half to be paid by each party.<sup>3</sup>

As far as the main business of merchants, buying and selling, is concerned, the notarial contracts give a rather biased view. To judge from the contracts one would think that practically all business was carried out on credit or as part of a barter transaction. This, of course, is unlikely and indeed one would hardly expect merchants to go to the expense of a notarized contract to record a cash sale. Credit sales in the form of a promissio unfortunately never state the rate of interest and it is thus impossible to determine the premium paid. All the contracts tell us is that the buyer promises to pay so much in such and such a time. Credit was often given in instalments and sometimes periods up to two years were given for payment. One of the commonest terminal dates for a credit transaction was at the time of the various Fairs of central Italy.<sup>4</sup> Though these Fairs were

1. For bills of exchange see 13 ASA 2 cc54r, 197r, 255v, 256r, 257v; 13 ASA 3 ccl89v, 223v; 13 ASA 6 cl86r; 13 ASA 8 cc247r, 256r; 13 ASA 23-24 cc43v, 61v; 13 ASA 25-26 cc32r, 84r, 57r; 11 ASA 5-6 c37v (Buda), 85r; 11 ASA 11-12 c59v; 31 ASA 13 c75v (Antwerp).

2. E.g. 43 ASA 5 cl8r (two Jews) and cl73r (two Ragusans, a Spaniard and a Florentine).

3. Ciavarini, op.cit, pp.211-16.

4. Recanati, Lanciano, Foligno and Assisi were the Fairs most cited as terminal dates, Recanati being by far the commonest. There was also a Fair in Ancona (7-23 May), E. Spadolino, 'Gli ordini della Fiera di Ancona', Le Marche, vi (1906) pp.3-15. Only one reference to this Fair was found in the notarial documents (11 ASA 2 c5v) and it does not seem to have been of much importance.

clearly very important in the rhythm of commerce of the area, it is as exchange fairs in the manner of Lyons, Geneva or Piacenza<sup>1</sup> that they appear most often in the contracts in Ancona. Here was an opportunity for merchants from all parts to meet and to settle their outstanding obligations. The barter sales that appear in the contracts are normally what might be called credit-barter rather than cash-barter. The buyer promised to pay the seller at a future date in a certain quantity of the exchange good agreed on.

Barter must have been a very satisfactory way of doing business since it represented what the merchants would otherwise do in two or more contracts thus saving brokerage and also of course avoiding the problems of using money and exchange brokers.

Most of the trade that was conducted in Ancona was venture trade. The buyer of goods, although he might be fairly sure that he would be able to sell them at a profit, rarely worked to a firm order. Orders would sometimes be given to a travelling merchant. Thus a Pisan promised a Jew of Salonika to consign to Ancona 13 pieces of cloth from Armentières.<sup>2</sup> Such orders were especially common for purchases of agricultural goods or timber; but the buyer, who was a wholesale merchant would still be engaged in venture trade. In a slightly different category was the system of credit-barter described above. Here indeed the merchant was working to a firm order, for he had contracted to supply in the future a specific quantity of another sort of goods. However, the prevalence of venture trade, in conjunction with early modern communications meant that trade was always very precarious. In the time that it took for a merchant to act on a piece of information that he had received on market conditions in some other city, the market which had previously been

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1. F. Borel, Les Foires de Genève au XVe siècle (Geneva, 1892); M. Brésard, Les foires de Lyon aux XVe et XVIe siècles (Paris, 1914); E. Coornaert, 'Caractères et mouvements des foires internationales au Moyen Age et au XVIe siècle', Studi A.S., 1, (Milan, 1957).

2. 11 ASA 17-18 c145r.

short of some commodity might have been glutted from another source, or vice versa. Apart from avoiding committing himself too deeply in one market, the merchant's only protection against these problems was to try to make the most of what communications and opportunities there were by appointing agents or partners to reside in the cities where he traded. Numerous references to such agents can be found in the notarial contracts but little idea of the way in which they worked can be obtained. In order to understand better the methods of operating between principals and agents it is necessary to look at account and letter books which while not telling us everything at least give a reasonable picture of how such a system worked. The next section therefore will describe the working of the system by which Florentine cloth merchants disposed of their products in the Levant. While possibly this was not the same way as merchants in Ancona worked, the analysis should at least clarify some of the problems as seen from Ancona.

As mentioned above the Florentine merchants whose books have been examined <sup>were</sup> ~~was~~ usually organized on a company basis. Although no partnership agreements have been studied, there is in the Selfridge collection at Harvard one volume of partnership agreements which has been analysed by Dr. Edler. She found great similarity between the different agreements. These partnerships were usually formed for a three-year period and were then renewable for two years and then for a further two and so on. In most of the partnerships there was a distinction between active partners, whose share of the profits was greater than their contribution to the capital, and sleeping partners. Normally there was provision that the former should not engage in any other mercantile activity, a prohibition not placed on the latter.<sup>1</sup>

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1. F. Edler, Glossary of Medieval Terms of Business, Italian Series 1200-1600 (Cambridge, Mass. 1934), pp.335-47.



The books from the Medici collection which have been studied for this thesis relate to Francesco di Giuliano de' Medici, who had begun by dealing in jewellery and small scale banking before moving into the cloth business. His first partnership in the cloth business was formed in 1491 with his father and his brother, Giovenco, who was the active partner.<sup>1</sup> This company lasted until 1496 when the capital was increased and two new partners were introduced. These were Alfieri Istrinati and Niccolo Caradoni, the latter a Florentine merchant who lived in Adrianople and who was to be paid commission on his sales of cloth in the Levant.<sup>2</sup> Contemporary with these two companies which were both known as "Giuliano di Giovenco e Francesco di Giuliano de' Medici & Co.", Francesco's younger brother, Giovanni, was in the Levant and there is a ledger extant from 1495 to 1497 of "Giovanni di Giuliano di Giovenco de' Medici e di Cresci di Ser Marcionne Donati sul quale tenno nostre faciende che faremo in levante atenente a noi e per maestri nostri".<sup>3</sup> The father died in 1498 and in 1502 Francesco had formed a new company in the woollen industry with Alfieri Istrinati and Alessandro Giudicci. In 1506 he formed a further new company with his brother, Giovanni, who had earlier been in the Levant, Niccolò Michelozzi and Giovanni Maringhi who lived in Pera.<sup>4</sup> At the same time Francesco, who was not an active partner, was carrying on business on his own account, and a ledger and a letter-book relating to this business have been studied.<sup>5</sup> This business was continued in association with his son, Raffaello, whilst

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1. Idem pp.343-4. The account book dealing with this partnership is Medici MS 516.

2. Idem p.344.

3. Medici MS 518.

4. Edler, op.cit, pp.344-5.

5. Medici MSS 536(4), 538.



Francesco continued to invest in companies in the woollen industry till his death in the late 1520's.<sup>1</sup>

Similar complications occur in the Strozzi books studied, though unfortunately no Articles of Association have been found. The main books here are those of the firm of Lorenzo and Filippo di Filippo Strozzi, lanaioli in garbo, 1502-12 and of Lorenzo's son, Federico. Both Lorenzo and Federico had many other interests besides the manufacture and sale of cloth. Lorenzo was a partner in another firm carrying his name which imported wool from Spain and was also engaged in buying, selling and lending on the security of jewels. Federico was in exchange business and later became a banker in Naples.<sup>2</sup> The last group of companies examined were those of the del Nero family in the Archivio dello Spedale degli'Innocenti which show the same sort of complications and overlapping as the activities of the Strozzi and Medici.<sup>3</sup>

All the companies and individuals discussed above were engaged in trade along the axis Lyons - Florence - Constantinople. Many were also involved in other business with Rome, Naples and Spain but this will not be discussed here. Florentine trade with the Levant will be discussed first from the point of view of the merchants in Florence and then from the point of view of the merchants who were resident in the Levant, to give an idea of the overall working of the system.

All the references to cloth being sent east from Florence that have been found relate to fairly large consignments.<sup>4</sup> To help them to know

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1. Medici MSS 539, 552a.

2. ASF, Strozzi, v, 78, 80, 86, 87, 89, 93.

3. ADSI, Estranei, 416, 417, 422.

4. See Medici, MS 516, cc 136-68, seven consignments 1492-5 at an average of 28 cloths each; ADSI, Estranei, 416, cc 7-61, annual consignments 1505-10 at an average of 40; idem, 417, cc 3-31, 30 consignments 1522-25 at an average of 20. These last consignments were sent only to Ancona, not to the Levant. For changes in the cloth trade in the 1520's, see above pp. 77-79.

what selection of cloth would sell best in the east, they had only the knowledge of what had sold well before and instructions from their agent in the Levant, which by the time the cloth arrived there would be at the very least some three months out of date. Often the consignment as a whole would be sent east partly on account of the firm arranging for its shipment, and partly on account of other parties.<sup>1</sup> The first that is known of the cloth is a journal entry normally headed "una mandata di panni garbi tatta per levante" which lists the cloth, its price, the seller if it is not made by the same firm and the terms on which payment by the various parties to the shipment is to be made.<sup>2</sup> Before the cloth could be sent out of Florence, some of it would probably need dyeing, and then the cloth would have to be washed, marked and made up into bales of four cloths each. Packaging materials would have to be accounted for and the gabella of Florence paid before the cloth could be taken by the public carrier on the first stage of its journey, to Ancona. A journal entry would enumerate these various expenses.<sup>3</sup>

Meanwhile letters would have been sent to the various individuals who would handle the cloth on the way to the Levant as well as to the company's agent in the Levant.<sup>4</sup> These would normally include the company's permanent representative in Ancona who would be informed of the despatch of the cloth and would be sent a description of each cloth, together with its sign, number and the number of the bale that it was in. He would normally be instructed to load the cloth on a ship for Ragusa and consign to the Florentine agent there, or occasionally he might consign the cloth in Ancona to a merchant who

1. ASF, Strozzi, v, 89, c23; idem, v, 78, cl67.

2. Medici, MS 516, ccl36-68; idem, MS 536(4), cc5-17; ASF, Strozzi, v, 89, c23; ADSI, Estranei, 416, ccl62-70

3. ASF, Strozzi, v, 78, cl67; idem, v, 89, cl01.

4. For letters see letter-books Medici, MSS 538, 539 passim. Notes of letters were also often kept at the back of journals, see ASF Strozzi, v, 89, ccl95ff. Also Richards, *op.cit.* pp. 54-163, 202-226.

who was to travel with it. Instructions regarding any payment that he had to make and regarding the despatch of a copy of the bill of lading would also be in his letter. Other letters would be sent to the Florentine agent in Ragusa similar to the above, giving instructions about the despatch of the cloth to the agent in the Levant. If a merchant was travelling with the cloth he would receive a letter as well. Finally a long letter would be sent to the agent in Levant informing him of the despatch of the goods and instructing him as to their disposal. He would be informed of the state of the Florentine market for goods that he might receive in barter, would be told on what terms to offer credit, would be instructed when and how to submit his expenses and the terms of his commission.

The normal division of expenses for the carriage of cloth from Florence to the Levant would be that expenses from Florence to Ancona would be met in Florence, the carrier being paid in advance. Insurance would also normally be found in Florence.<sup>1</sup> Expenses from Ancona to the Levant were usually accounted for by the agent in the Levant. Some of these he could meet personally such as warehousing and selling costs in the Levant, and possibly carriage from Ragusa to Pera if the carrier did not insist on being paid in advance. Other costs he was physically unable to cover personally, such as tariffs at Ancona and Ragusa, and these would be met by agents or correspondents in these cities who would be reimbursed, probably by means of a bill of exchange. When all had been paid for, the agent in the Levant would send a statement of the total expenses to his Florentine principals who would credit his account accordingly.<sup>2</sup> Normally cash or a bill of exchange would be sent to the agent or to any merchant

1. Medici, MS 536(4), cc11,40; ASF, Strozzi, v, 78, cl67

2. For examples of these expense accounts see Medici, MS 516, cc144-65 ADSI, Estranei, 416, 167-71; ASF, Strozzi, v, 89, cl03.

travelling with the goods to meet part of the expenses,<sup>1</sup> and the balance would be paid together with the agent's commission at the conclusion of the venture.

A different way of conducting the same sort of business can be seen in the books of Francesco di Giuliano de' Medici.<sup>2</sup> In most of the business shown in these books he is acting not as a principal but as a commission agent in Florence. He bought cloth in Florence which he consigned to merchants in Ragusa and Adrianople on their account and similarly he sold silk, carpets and montanini on their account to merchants in Florence. He also participated in this sort of business on his own account. His method of operation was the same as described above but his main interest in the business was his commission and brokerage income.

Knowledge of what happened to the cloth in the Levant can be obtained from the ledger of Giovanni de' Medici and Cresci Donati<sup>3</sup> and from the copies of agents' statements of expenses and sales of cloth contained in the journals of Florence based merchants.<sup>4</sup> Medici and Donati were in the Levant for some eighteen months in 1495-6. The financial relation between them is not clear from their ledger, but it is probable that they first went to the Levant with a consignment of 272 cloths on account of various Florentine companies and individuals and in which they themselves had some small financial interest in addition to the prospect of commission.<sup>5</sup> The

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1. Medici MS 538, cc20, 30v.

2. Medici MS 536(4), passim.

3. Medici MS 518, passim.

4. See fn. 2, p. 126.

5. Medici MS 518, c41, 'spese di 272 panni da Firenze a Andrinopoli'. Other consignments of cloth normally only had their expenses stated from Ragusa or Constantinople and the fact that Medici and Donati were debited as individuals for part of the expenses of the cloth, although they did not own it, suggests that they were sharing in the profit or loss of the venture. This would be similar to the arrangement of paying merchants travelling with goods in a commenda contract. Donati was paying one-ninth of the expenses and Medici one-eighteenth.



The ledger shows how they disposed of this cloth and subsequent consignments, and how they purchased goods in the Levant for consignment to their principles or on their own account. They had no permanent residence in the Levant and spent their time staying with Florentine merchants living in Adrianople, Brusa and Pera, to whom they paid board and lodging.<sup>1</sup> In principle their activities are simply the reverse of those of the commission agent operating in Florence described above. The cloth was sold ~~to~~ to a variety of Jews, Turks, Armenians and Italians in the cities where the merchants stayed, for cash, credit or barter with silk, camlets and cochineal.<sup>2</sup> These goods were also purchased on account for the Florentine merchants. Expenses on carriage, customs, warehousing and brokerage were paid by Medici and Donati who debited their principals.<sup>3</sup> Other expenses included short-term loans from Florentine agents to cover their activities.<sup>4</sup> Medici and Donati received commission on their sales of cloth and on their purchases of Levantine goods.

Living in all the cities of the Levant was a permanent colony of Florentine merchants,<sup>5</sup> and it is to these that the majority of cloth consignments were made. In most of the account books studied these merchants are shown as the recipients of letters of instruction and as despatchers of statements of expenses. Only in one account book, the journal of Michele di Bernardo del Nero, is it possible to trace the fortunes of a

1. Idem, c24, 'Spese di vitto'. Expenses in Pera were 6½ aspri per day, in Brusa 6 and in Andrinople 5.
2. Idem cc7, 33, 36 shows the sale of a batch of 76 cloths between 19 Oct. 1495 and 23 June 1496 giving some idea of the slow rate of turnover.
3. Medici, MS 518, cc50, 69, 75-7, 79, 'Spese di mercantie'.
4. Idem, c2.
5. Alberi, Relazioni Venete. Jacopo Contarini writing in 1507 said that 60 or more Florentine firms had agents in Pera. This does not seem unlikely from the references in the account books and in the notarial contracts.

consignment of cloth complete from the making up of the consignment in Florence to the sale of the individual cloths in the Levant. This relates to the consignment of 100 cloths, half on account of del Nero and half on account of Francesco di Filippo del Pugliese. The cloths are listed in the journal with their Florentine prices and a statement of the expenses as far as Ancona is made. From Ancona the cloths were consigned to Fantone Fantoni in Pera to sell, and in the same journal a copy of a statement from the latter shows not only what further expenses were incurred from Ancona to Pera but also the details of the sale of the cloth. Sixty-five of the cloths were sold on credit at terms up to four months, mainly to Jews, and the remainder were bartered with Italians and Armenians for silk and camlets.<sup>1</sup> In the same journal the reverse procedure for the 94 camlets received in barter can be seen up to their sale in Florence.<sup>2</sup>

No idea of the profitability of this sort of business can be obtained from the account books studied. No balance sheets of the firms engaged in the business have been found. Certainly on individual transactions the merchants sometimes made a loss<sup>3</sup> and it seems quite likely that the net profit margins were quite low. This would be extremely difficult to prove, but a look at buying prices in Florence and selling prices in the Levant leads one to this conclusion. The total margin out of which travelling and selling costs had to come was not very large as can be seen in the two examples in Table III. However, it should be noted that merchants engaged in this sort of trade would not be likely to calculate profit on each leg of the journey. It was the total profit on the round trip that determined the profit on the particular venture, and it might well be good policy to

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1. ADSI, Estranei, 416, ccl71-3.

2. *Idem*, ccl67-70.

3. On both the cloth and the camlets discussed above, del Nero made a loss.

sell cloth at a loss in the Levant in order to make a really handsome profit on the returns in raw silk. Also of course merchants at this time would not be thinking only of the profits and losses to be made in buying and selling goods but would also be interested, maybe mainly interested, in the possibility of gains to be made by way of exchange. However, whatever the policy of the individual, the expenses between Florence and the Levant would be an important factor in the operation of the business. The breakdown of expenses and indeed the total expenses are very difficult to determine from the account books at our disposal. It is rare to get accounts of expenses both from the Levant to Ancona, and from Ancona to Florence and it is rarer still to get a full breakdown of these two groups of expenses. Even when this is possible, other expenses such as overheads, insurance and interest payments were often kept in separate account books.<sup>1</sup>

In Table III the percentage breakdown of expenses into various categories of the two best examples found is given. It will be noticed that the margin of selling price over ex source price was in both these cases only about 20 per cent. Whilst a tight control was needed on transference costs, there was not all that much scope to reduce costs since fixed percentage payments such as tariffs, brokerage and commission<sup>2</sup> made up a significant part of the total, and carriage, an important item in the case of cloth, was normally in the hands of specialist outsiders.<sup>3</sup> This all meant that the main factors determining the rate of profit were knowledge of the market

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1. The best source for expense accounts are journals. Ledgers rarely give many details, referring to the relevant journal entry. But even journal entries often refer back to an earlier entry in a memorandum book. Because of the multiple ownership of much of the cloth exported, other expenses are sometimes in a completely different set of books. For Florentine accounting methods and the relation between the different account books see F. Edler, Glossary, op.cit. pp.348-91.
  2. Agents' commission was normally 2-3 per cent.
  3. There were specialist haulage contractors both side of the Adriatic. For an account-book entry concerning a carrier from Florence to Ancona see Medici, MS 536(4), c26, 'Giovanbatista di Matteo dalla Pieve'. See DAD, Div. Not. 87, c99v for a contract between five Florentine merchants and a Slav carrier to carry their cloth to Novi Bazar.

and the rate of turnover and hence the importance of the agent - 2 per cent was very little to pay for a good one.

TABLE III

Examples of the Cost of Trading between Florence and the Levant

	<u>SILK<sup>1</sup></u> <u>Brusa - Florence (1503)</u>	<u>CLOTH<sup>2</sup></u> <u>Florence - Pera (1507)</u>
Cost ex source	82.6%	78.6%
Carriage (a)	2.7	10.6
Tariffs (b)	6.2	6.1
Brokerage etc. (c)	.8	4.1
Insurance (d)	1.2	1.7
Other costs (e)	.4	3.2
Profit or loss	+6.1	-4.3
Cost to purchaser	100.0	100.0

(a). Land carriage rates were normally reckoned by the soma (mule load).

Although the value per soma of the silk was five times that of the cloth, it paid only twice the rate on carriage from Ancona to Florence. Furthermore the ratio of carriage Levant/Ancona : Florence/Ancona was twice as high for the cloth (6:1) as for the silk (3:1) indicating that carriage rates favoured silk even more in the Balkans.

(b). The highest tariff in each case was the selling tariff, 5% in both Florence and Pera.

(c). The difference here lies in the fact that for the silk the brokerage and commission in the Levant are concealed in the percentage given as cost ex source. The figure was not broken down.

(d). For the sea voyage Ancona - Ragusa. The normal rate was at least

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1. Medici MS 536 (4) c40.

2. ADSI, Estranei, 416 cc165,171-3.



2% and both these consignments were underinsured. (Cf. p. 166 )

- (e). This heavy item for the cloth included interest at 14% for six months on a loan covering selling and transport costs (.7%), another interest payment at 15% for 4 months (.6%), losses through bad money (.6%), tips and discounts (.65%) and warehousing (.4%). Some of these costs, e.g. warehousing, interest were probably also paid on the silk, but would be part of general overhead costs rather than being costed to a particular venture.

It is obvious that regular and safe communications between principals and their agents and correspondents in the Levant was a vital element in the operation of such a system as has been described above. It is not clear, however, from the available sources how letters were sent during this period. It seems fairly clear that there existed a regular system of haulage firms both sides of the Adriatic, but whether letters travelled by the same means as goods is not at all certain. Some indication that this was not the case is shown by letters which announce the despatch of goods on the day of writing, but give the impression that the reader will receive the letter before the goods.<sup>1</sup> Certainly, as Delumeau has shown, there was a regular postal service from Rome to all the major Italian cities, including Ancona,<sup>2</sup> and it seems quite likely that there was also such a system linking Florence and Ancona with the major cities of the Balkans and Levant. This is however pure conjecture and I have found no evidence of the existence of such a system, let alone of its timetable or cost. All we do know is that the merchants were constantly writing to each other, discussing markets, prices, future prospects, and keeping one another informed of their current financial position vis-à-vis each other.<sup>3</sup> Advice of account book entries,

1. E.g. Medici MS 538 (23 April 1503)

2. J. Delumeau, op.cit., i, 37-79.

3. A very good idea of the sort of things which formed the subject-matter of letters between agents and principals can be found in Richards, op.cit., where part of one of the Medici letter-books has been translated.

bills of exchange and remittance of cash or goods would all be sent by letter, as would the discussion of more informal matters as the need for a new agent<sup>1</sup> or worry over the expenses involved in hiring a new apprentice.<sup>2</sup>

Whether the Florentine way of organizing their trade was the method used by the merchants of over cities and countries, it is difficult to say from the available evidence. Certainly the system of doing business revealed by the Cranfield Papers of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries presents very similar solutions to similar problems encountered by English merchants in the Low Countries.<sup>3</sup> Although Ancona during the period covered by these Florentine merchants' books was really little more than a forwarding station, and thus would not have needed such an extensive system as that of the Florentines, by the 1540s it seems probable that an organization very much the same existed in Ancona. The linking of a central city with the peripheries of its trading area by a system of permanent and temporary agents was clearly a convenient way of surmounting the difficulties of trade, without merchants being forced to travel with their goods. Communications were assured by the development of haulage specialists, both on land and at sea, and possibly also by the development of postal services, and these regular communications were occasionally supplemented by the journeys of the merchants themselves or their employees or younger relations. Cities as closely connected as Ancona, Ragusa<sup>4</sup> and Florence would have much overlap between their respective trading systems. The agents of one would act as the agents of another and in their turn these systems would overlap with the systems developed by the merchants of the Levant.

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1. Richards, op.cit, pp.177-8.

2. Idem p.101.

3. F.J.Fisher (ed.), Historical Manuscripts Commission, 80. Calendar of the Manuscripts of ... Lord Sackville of Knole, Sevenoaks, Kent (1966), vol.ii, Letters relating to Lionel Cranfield's business overseas, 1597-1612.

4. For a Ragusan firm operating in much the same way as the Florentine firms discussed above see DAD, Privata, 29, 'Libro di Negozio di Andrea di Luca di Sargo e Compagnia, 1526-34'.

## CHAPTER SIX

### SHIPPING

Although it has been shown above that the significance of Ancona in sixteenth century trade was really as a cross-roads on two long-distance land routes, the geography of the city meant that shipping and in particular short-distance shipping was absolutely vital to the existence of Ancona. In this chapter an attempt will be made to analyse the types of shipping using the port, their operational range and their pattern of ownership, followed by a description of the personnel involved in the operation of shipping and of the methods used in chartering, insurance and controlling merchandise being shipped. Information from the notarial records of Ancona and Ragusa and from the customs' register of 1551 has provided the bulk of the material but considerable use has also been made of the published maritime statutes of the city.<sup>1</sup>

In view of the almost complete lack of material on the shipbuilding industry at Ancona and the absence of descriptive evidence from other sources, analysis of the types of shipping using the port has perforce to be rather speculative. However, from the scattered evidence available, some idea of the variety of shipping can be obtained and some conclusions regarding the scale of size and price of ships and their operational range can be attempted.

Four main ways of identifying shipping have been used. These are price when sold,<sup>2</sup> tonnage,<sup>3</sup> size of crews and the name given to the type

1. J.M.Pardessus, Collection des lois maritimes (Paris, 1839), vol.v, ch.xxx.
2. All prices have been converted into gold ducats. For conversion table see p.171
3. Measures of capacity have been converted where possible into Ragusan carri. On the problems of early modern and other definitions of tonnage see F.C.Lane 'Tonnages, Medieval and Modern', EcHR, 2nd.ser.xvii (1964), 213-233. Most of the conversion figures used here are based on the table in his article (p.229). For details see p.174. Lane (p.229) following Tadić, 'Le port de Raguse ...', op.cit, pp.14-15 estimates the Ragusan carro to be roughly equal to 1½ deadweight tons and I have referred to tonnage in this chapter on this basis.



of ship by contemporaries. All four methods of identification have their drawbacks. Price, for instance, must have varied considerably with the age of the ship which is never stated. Historians have long struggled with the problems of trying to discover exactly what was meant by the various methods of measuring tonnage in the Middle Ages and early modern times, and though there is now some measure of agreement, this subject still presents many difficulties.<sup>1</sup> Crews were not constant; more men would be needed in time of war or during the winter. Finally the notaries referred, on occasion, to what was quite clearly the same ship by different names. While such problems as these might suggest that the whole exercise of trying to classify shipping was of dubious value, all four methods of identification point to the same general classification which will serve for the present purpose. The price of vessels sold in Ancona during this period ranged from under 10 gold ducats to 3000,<sup>2</sup> their capacity ranged from under 15 to 375 tons.<sup>3</sup> There were certainly much larger ships using the Adriatic, and possibly Ancona, during this period but this is the largest ship identified from Anconitan sources. For the 1530s Tadić estimated that the Ragusan fleet contained more than 30 ships with a capacity of over 300 tons,<sup>4</sup> while the largest ship discovered during the course of my researches in Dubrovnik was the English ship captained by William Gonson of 600 tons (1000 bottē).<sup>5</sup> Within the range of shipping discovered from the Anconitan records, three main categories can be distinguished and 14 different types of ship identified.

The generic term for the largest category of shipping was navis or nave.<sup>6</sup>

The range of price for this category was from 240 ducats up to 3000 and of

1. For a discussion of tonnage measurement see Lane, op.cit.
2. 31 ASA 13 c89v. 6 June 1541. A Barcia sold to the Genoese merchant, Benedetto Doria, for 3150 scudi d'oro.
3. Albertini, op.cit, Lib. x, pt.ii, 125. August 1493. A Genoese nave, portata 600 bottē.
4. Tadić, 'Le port de Raguse ...', op.cit, pp.14-15. Ragusan ships were to become much bigger in the course of the century.
5. DAD, Div.Not.94 c7lv. 9 July 1518.
6. The word nave was used not only as a generic term for large ships but also to describe a particular type of vessel.



size from 120 to 375 tons. Apart from the navis itself, five other types of vessel fall within this range and some distinction can be made between them. These were the barcia, barciotto, carrack, galleon and urca. The barcia was a vessel of predominantly western Mediterranean or Atlantic origin and tended towards the upper limits of size as defined by tonnage or <sup>price</sup> ~~size~~. All the barcie that were sold fetched prices of over 1400 ducats, but there does seem to be a distinction in size between barcie from the Biscay coast and those from the western Mediterranean, the latter being much smaller, and one from Majorca being only about 75 tons and thus belonging to another category by size.<sup>1</sup> The barciotto was again western Mediterranean, especially Genoese, and tended towards the lower limits. The highest price for a barciotto was 800 ducats. Only three references to urche have been found. They were all Flemish, from 165 to 225 tons.<sup>2</sup> In terms of size and tonnage, the carrack and galleon are less easy to define. Most carracks were too small to belong to the navis class on the grounds of size, although on occasions they could be quite big.<sup>3</sup> A galleon, too, could be quite small, but most of the galleons sold fell in the price range 500-1200 ducats. Here again the occasional much larger vessel is found, such as the galleon 'San Pietro e San Paulo' sold for the heirs of the Florentine condottiere, Giovanni de'Medici dalle Bande Nere, for 2000 gold ducats.<sup>4</sup> Neither carracks nor galleons can be distinguished by origin. Galleons which were much commoner in Ancona came from all nations of the Mediterranean. The only area where they seemed to be a speciality were the Greek islands, especially Crete.

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1. 11 ASA 11-12 cl33v.

2. 11 ASA 11-12 cl37r; 11 ASA 13-14 cl07v; idem cl11v.

3. 11 ASA 11-12 cl4r. A French carrack discharged a cargo equivalent to over 300 tons.

4. 11 ASA 17-18 cl80v. 14 Dec 1527.

What really places these two types of ship in the class of navis is the fact that the range of operation of all five types of ship was the Mediterranean proper. These were ships that came into the Adriatic only as part of a longer voyage. During the early part of the period these were the ships that provided the sea links with the eastern Mediterranean, often calling at Ragusa to complete their cargoes. Later on, as the long distance trade in grain became of more importance, it was chiefly these large ships that picked up the cargoes of grain in the ports of the Morea or the Aegean and carried them to Ancona, or carried grain from Ancona or the small ports of the western Adriatic to the deficit areas of the western Mediterranean. In addition they continued their fifteenth century function of providing links with the centres of the eastern Mediterranean, particularly Rodosto, Pera, Beirut and Alexandria where they collected those cargoes too bulky to go by the land routes.

The generic term navigium or naviglio was used for the second category of shipping. In size and price this category overlapped both the others. Prices ranged from 60 - 500 gold ducats and size 15-120 tons. Apart from naviglio, five types of vessel are clearly identified. These are the marciliana, schirazzo, saetta, bergantino and caravel. The marciliana<sup>1</sup> was the ship of the northern Adriatic.<sup>2</sup> Worth from 80 to 240 ducats and ranging from 15 to 120 tons in size, they together with the schirazzi formed the bulk of the medium-sized shipping in Ancona. The schirazzo was the carrier of the southern Adriatic and Ionian seas. Except for a few from the Greek islands, these vessels came exclusively from the ports of the

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1. For a discussion of marciliane see F. Braudel, La Méditerranée ... op.cit, pp.256-7. He comments on the growth in numbers and size of marciliane and the extension of their operational range in the later sixteenth century.
  2. Of 26 marciliane whose origins are clear, only three did not come from ports of the northern Adriatic. Chioggia and Trieste were the commonest ports of origin.

coast of southern Yugoslavia and Albania.<sup>1</sup> Roughly the same size as the marciliana, but with a few examples much larger, the schirazzo ranged from 70 to 120 tons. Only one example of the sale of a schirazzo has been found, the price of which was much higher than the most expensive marciliana.<sup>2</sup> Schirazzi played an increasingly important part in the shipping of Ancona with the development of Greek, Turkish and Albanian trade in the 1520's.

Almost all the caravels that came to Ancona during this period were of Ragusan origin. Although this type of ship was quite a frequent visitor to Ancona, no references to the size or price of caravels has been found in Anconitan sources. It is clear from the Ragusan material, however, that the caravel was larger than the marciliana or schirazzo. Its size ranged from 75 to 180 tons.<sup>3</sup> It is because the caravel was no larger than it has been classed here as a naviglio, for in operational terms it was more like a navis in that it was not especially an Adriatic vessel. The two other types saetta and bergantino, were also mainly of Ragusan origin. The bergantino, which is only found in Ancona at the end of the period was similar in size to the marciliana whilst the saetta was smaller, from 45 to 115 tons and lies on the borderline of the third group.

This second category of shipping dominated the trans-Adriatic trades and thus was probably the carrier of the highest value goods entering Ancona. There was considerable specialization within these trades. The marciliana not only originated from the northern Adriatic but normally traded with this area and it is in the carriage of goods from Trieste, Fiume, Venice and Chioggia that this type of ship was normally employed. Similarly the

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1. Of the 31 schirazzi whose origins are clear, not one came from a port north of Zara. 10 came from three flourishing ports of the Gulf of Cattaro, Castelnuovo, Perastro and Cattaro itself, whilst another 10 came from the Albanian ports of Velona and Alessio.
  2. 31 ASA 13 c460r. Sold to a Ragusan for 450 scudi d'oro (429 ducats).
  3. This range of size for caravels differs slightly from the figures of Tadić, 'Le port de Raguse ...', op.cit, p.15 who gives 60 to 80 carri (90 to 120 tons) for a caravel. However of the small sample noted, 8 out of 13 were larger than 80 carri.

schirazzo was nearly always employed in the carriage of goods from the ports of the south-eastern Adriatic and Ionian such as Velona, Castelnuovo and Cattaro. The meeting point was Ragusa from which shipping of all types came.

The third category of shipping contains boats up to about 50 tons and worth from 4 to 135 gold ducats. Only two names are used to describe vessels in this group, barca and grippa. Of the two, the grippa was dearer, only two being sold for under 50 ducats whilst the majority of barche were sold for less than this figure. Both these types of vessel came from all over the Adriatic but never from outside it. Whilst this category of ship was employed mainly in the petit cabotage of the west coast of the Adriatic, there are numerous examples of such small ships being used in voyages across the Adriatic and there was clearly much overlap between this group and the second group in patterns of utilization. Indeed the Adriatic is narrow enough for trades between the two coasts to be considered almost the same as petit cabotage, though the short section of open sea could often present sudden hazards to very small ships. The whole area is famous for its very violent storms which rise up with practically no warning at all.

Apart from size and price, little can be discovered from Anconitan sources about the distinguishing features of these different types of ship. Some idea of the size of crews can be found from naulizata which often stated the number of sailors that the master contracted to provide. Crews of naves ranged from 20 to 50 men, including officers and servants. Crews of schirazzi and caravels ranged from 10 to 20 men, while those of a marciliana were smaller, from 3 to 10 men. Finally a barca generally had a crew of 3 or 4 men. There was a slight advantage in the ratio of men to tonnage in the larger ships, but this is really only clear-cut in the comparison between very large and very small ships. Thus a barca of 15 tons would have a ratio of about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  tons per man, whilst the largest ship built at Ragusa during the sixteenth century had a crew of 140 to sail its 1650 tons - about 12



tons per man. For ships of from 30 to 300 tons, however, the ratio fluctuated in the region of about 6 to 10 tons per man. In 1620 an observer considered that an English ship of 200 tons required a crew of nearly 30 whilst a Dutch ship of the same size had only 9 or 10 men.<sup>1</sup> Whilst this was possibly an exaggeration to prove a point, the ratio of tons to men in the English ship would only be about  $4\frac{1}{2}$ , at the lower end of the range in Ancona a century beforehand.

If there was a slight advantage for larger ships in the ratio of men to tonnage, the reverse was true of the cost per ton of capacity. Tadić estimates that the price of Ragusan navi rose from 10 ducats per carro to 30 ducats per carro in the course of the sixteenth century, i.e. from about 7 to 20 ducats per ton.<sup>2</sup> Marciliane, on which we have the most information, cost between 3 and 8 ducats per ton, and in the majority of cases examined under 7 ducats per ton. Since these two important indices of the cost of using shipping tended to operate in different directions for large and small ships, it is probable that the tendency for the price of materials to rise faster than wages during the sixteenth century, which Tadić points out,<sup>3</sup> favoured the use of medium-sized or small ships. This would be reinforced by the fact that the gains to large ships in a higher tonnage/man ratio were in any case probably not so great as the gains to medium-sized or small ships in a lower capital cost/ton ratio. In the context of Anconitan trade, smaller ships had already a very great advantage over large ships since most trade was within the Adriatic where a quick turn-round would certainly be more important than great capacity.

An analysis of the comparative importance of the various types of ship using the port was carried out above.<sup>4</sup> This showed that in terms of

1. Violet Barbour, 'Dutch and English Shipping in the Seventeenth Century', EcHR, ii (1930), pp.246-7.
2. Tadić, 'Le port de Raguse ....', op.cit, p.16.
3. Idem, loc.cit.
4. See above pp. 92-95.

numbers of ships or of carrying capacity, it was ships of the third and smallest category that dominated the trade of Ancona, but that in terms of the value of the goods carried, it was ships of the middle category that were most important. This is in some ways unfortunate for it is on the large ships that most of the information on ownership and utilization has had to be based, as it is large ships that form the subject-matter of the most detailed notarial contracts and also of the material to be found in the maritime statutes of the port.

Even if this important problem of an atypical bias is ignored, the establishment of the nationality or origin of shipping using Ancona presents many other problems. The normal way in which a ship was identified in contracts was by the name of the patrone (master). However, whilst the origin of the master is generally given, there is little reason to assume that his origin is the same as that of the ship or of its owners. Where the owners are mentioned, they are often of different nationalities and in any case the ship might have been built by former owners in a different place. Bearing these comments in mind, some attempt will be made below to comment on the ownership of shipping using the port of Ancona, despite the possibility of numerous errors.

The first general conclusion that arises out of a study of the sources is that native shipowners appear to have contributed very little to the expansion of shipping using the port. Providing little competition on the expanding Adriatic routes, the old fifteenth-century shipping families of Ancona appear to have concentrated on the traditional long-distance trades between Ancona and Constantinople or Alexandria. By the 1540s these old shipowning families seem to have abdicated from these trades as well. Although not much research has been done on the internal politics of Ancona, there would seem to have been antagonism between the old shipping and landed aristocracy on the one hand and the important merchant families

of the sixteenth century on the other. The latter were often of Tuscan origin, and nearly all had Tuscan, and especially Florentine connections. It seems probable that this group with their Tuscan background were the winners in the political struggle that resulted in the end of Ancona's independence in 1532. As Natalucci puts it when he is describing the government of the Cardinal of Ravenna which followed these events:-<sup>1</sup>

I nobili cittadini, che personificavano le tradizioni e le istituzioni del passato governo, furono espulsi dai loro uffici e sostituiti con forastieri, specialmente fiorentini.

The same seems to have happened in the commercial sphere for of the great shipping families of the late fifteenth and the early sixteenth century,<sup>2</sup> only the Trionfi remained at all significant in the commerce of the port in the 1540s and the early 1550s. At the same time that the importance of the old shipowning families was declining, that of the merchants who rose to prominence in the sixteenth century was increasing. Many of the leading merchants discussed in the last chapter were shipowners<sup>3</sup> but even so the importance of Anconitan shipping, whether owned by natives or by residents of long standing was certainly less than that of the foreign shipping which provided the greater part of the port's requirements during the period studied.

Of this foreign shipping almost certainly the most important numerically throughout the period was that of Ragusa. Ragusan shipping is also the most easily identifiable. A great shipbuilding centre, nearly all Ragusan ships were built, officered and owned by Ragusan citizens. Ragusan shipping was involved in all trades but was especially prominent in the direct trade from Ancona to Ragusa itself, and in the general carrying trade of both the eastern and western Mediterranean, particularly in the carriage of

1. Natalucci, op.cit, ii, p.29. See also idem, ii, 23-36 and 85-86; Saracini op.cit, p.346 gives a list of noblemen exiled in 1533.

2. The families that appear most frequently in the documents as shipowners are Agli, Bonarelli, Buscurati, Ferrantini, Pasqualini, Piergentili, Torriglioni and Trionfi.

3. E.g. Tommasi and Goggis. See Appendix C. Andrea Scaglia, a leading hide merchant, bought at least six marciliane in the period, 1509-20, 13 ASA 9 c213r; 11 ASA 5-6 c92r; 11 ASA 11-12 c168v, c177v, c101v. In the 1540s and early 1550s two leading merchants who were also important shipowners were Benedetto Doria and Cesare Ludovici. Appendix C, pp. ~~203-7~~ 203-7.

grain. Next in importance as general carriers came the Genoese and Greeks.<sup>1</sup> Whilst the Genoese appeared as general carriers throughout the Mediterranean, the Greeks operated mainly in this period in the eastern Mediterranean. Naves and other kinds of large ships from most other important centres of the Mediterranean appeared at some time or other in the Anconitan records, but no others appear with any frequency.<sup>2</sup>

In the trades within the Adriatic Anconitan shipping was even less dominant than in the Mediterranean trades. Whilst Anconitan and Ragusan ships were again the most important numerically, the competition from the shipping of other ports of the Adriatic was intense. This was particularly true of the trade with the eastern Adriatic. Trade with the ports of the north-east Adriatic was normally carried in the shipping of those ports. Similarly the trade with the ports of the Gulf of Cattaro and Albania which increased rapidly during the 1520's was carried mainly in local shipping, particularly the schirazzi of Castelnovo, Perastro and Velona. The coastal trade of the western Adriatic, in which it is very difficult to distinguish the ownership of the boats involved, would nevertheless seem to be organized in a similar way. Whilst several barche of Anconitan origin can be identified, many more belonged to citizens of the smaller ports.

The general conclusion to be made on the subject of the ownership of shipping is that, as in the commerce of the port, the natives did not play a particularly prominent part in the changes that took place during this period. Nowhere at Ancona is there evidence of a powerful shipbuilding industry, and here the city must be compared to its disadvantage with

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1. The word 'Greek' is used to distinguish those people whom the notaries referred to as Greek. Inhabitants of Chios were generally referred to as Genoese. The various peoples of the Turkish Empire were normally distinguished as Greeks, Albanians, Slavs, Armenians, Jews, Turks etc. presumably on the basis of their native tongues.
  2. A good example of western Mediterranean shipping can be given by a breakdown of the nationality of ships that brought salt from Iviza to Ancona in the years 1519-22. Of 44 ships whose nationality can be identified, 17 were Ragusan, 8 Biscayan, 7 Ligurian, 6 Sicilian, 3 Flemish, 2 Majorcan and 1 French. These contracts are in the following notaries' books - 1 ASA 33, 11 ASA 11-14.



Ragusa, which combined the benefits of an expanding commerce with a fleet which by the middle of the sixteenth century was carrying goods for third parties and for Ragusans as far afield as Goa and Brazil. The reason for Ancona's comparative backwardness in this field can be seen to be a combination of a shortage of capital, materials and space. Certainly in the two last requirements of a shipbuilding centre Ragusa was very well placed.

All the shipping using the port, whatever its nationality, conformed approximately to the same general pattern of operation. Even shipping owned by persons whose cultural background was completely different from that of the Italians and Ragusans who provided the majority of the shipping using the port accepted a statutory and customary framework within which to operate their ships that was very similar to that developed by the Italians. This is not very surprising for, in the absence of strong State interference in the operation of shipping as with the Venetian galley system, the problems facing shipowners and shippers would be much the same whether they were operating from Ancona, Constantinople or indeed London. Within the Mediterranean, custom and commercial law had developed over the last five hundred years to govern such matters as insurance, chartering, the management of unaccompanied goods and the rights and obligations of the various persons involved in shipping and in the carriage of goods by sea. Within such a general framework there were of course variations from place to place but such variations were on the whole fairly trivial. Below, this framework will be considered as it can be seen from the records at Ancona. First the structure of shipowning and the function of shipowners will be discussed, followed by an analysis of the functions of various key personnel on board ship, and concluding with a survey of the various methods of chartering and insuring ships.

Although it was not unusual for ships, even large ones, to be owned by an individual, it was more often the case that a ship would be owned by a number of co-owners (parzonevoli). Generally large ships were divided

into 24 shares (carati) and any number of these carats or parts of them would be owned by individuals or by partnerships. Smaller ships were more often divided into simple fractions, though the use of carats for even quite small vessels is quite common. Ships or parts of ships were freely alienable, often apparently without reference to the other co-owners.<sup>1</sup> Ships could be seized for non-payment of debt, as was the 'Santa Maria d'Europa' which was handed over to the representatives in Ancona of the master's Genoese creditors in Cadiz.<sup>2</sup> More frequent was the sequestration of sails and rudder for the dual purpose of selling them to realize the value of the debt, and of preventing the departure of the debtor.<sup>3</sup> Similarly ships were pledged as security for loans, as when the Cretan master of a galleon pledged his ship as security for a loan from the Venetian consul to pay his crew.<sup>4</sup>

The pattern of ownership at Ancona was very cosmopolitan. The only regulation that has been found limiting the international ownership of ships was one which forbade the sale to foreigners of Anconitan vessels fitted out for privateering.<sup>5</sup> However it seems that the authorities at Ancona were sometimes alarmed at the growing foreign domination of the port and two statutes have been discovered which tried to do something to improve the situation.

The first of these statutes, which was repeated quite often suggesting that it was difficult to enforce, forbade Anconitan merchants to charter a foreign ship if an Anconitan ship was in the port. If the reason for the chartering of a foreign vessel was that the Anconitan freight-rates were not competitive, then the matter was to be referred to arbitration.<sup>6</sup> The

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1. This statement is based on the fact that no reference to permission to sell by co-owners has been found.
  2. 1 ASA 20 cl35v.
  3. E.g. 14 ASA 1-3 c101v. Protest by shipowner at the seizure of the rudder and sails of his ship for non-payment of the salt tax.
  4. 14 ASA 5 c3r.
  5. Pardessus, op.cit, rub.lxxvi, pp.178-9.
  6. Idem rub.xcvii, p.197 and also ASCA, 47 , cc5v-7r.

fictitious sale of a foreign ship to by-pass this regulation carried very heavy fines.<sup>1</sup> Whether any of the ships sold which appear in the notarial contracts were the subject of such fictitious purchases is impossible to say although one or two deals certainly seem to be covering up something.<sup>2</sup> No reference to the contravention, or indeed implementation of this priority has been found in the notarial documents.

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1. Idem rub.xcvii, p.198.

2. The following sequence of contracts relating to the ship "Sant'Andrea" give some idea of the difficulty in interpretation arising from the selective nature of notarial contracts. From these contracts it would appear that Giacomo Barbaro sold the same ship 2½ times and that Geronimo Agli bought it 1½ times but never sold it. There is no record that Scalamonti or Piergiacomo Greco, who appear as later owners, paid anything to Geronimo Agli. Note also the changes in the roles of owner, patrone and sailor amongst the various persons involved. The solution may lie in other documents not in the notaries' books or may be an instance of fictitious purchase for one reason or another.

- 27 Aug.1509. Giacomo Barbaro sold Geronimo Agli half the ship "Sant'Andrea" and half a barca for 225 gold ducats. (1ASA 25 cl13r).
- 1 Oct. 1509. Giacomo Barbaro sold Geronimo Agli the ship "Sant'Andrea" for 400 gold ducats, payment to be made to various creditors of Barbaro in Ancona and the balance of 300 ducats to an Anconitan merchant in Alexandria. Agli to pay 30 ducats as premium on the insurance of the 300 ducats travelling to Alexandria. Agli to employ Barbaro as a sailor at 3 ducats a month. (Idem cl27v).
- 20 Oct.1509. Agli, as patrone of "Sant'Andrea" promises Anconitan merchants to load oil and grain at Fermo. (13 ASA 9 c 285r).
- 27 Oct.1509. Melchiorre Agli received in cambium 72 ducats from a Spanish merchant for the voyage Ancona - Alexandria - Rhodes on the ship "Sant'Andrea". (Idem c293v).
- 10 Nov. 1509. Barbaro sold Giovanbattista Scalamonti the ship "Sant'Andrea" for 450 ducats. Money received. (1 ASA 25 cl56v).
- Same day. Scalamonti 'dominus et patronus' of "Sant'Andrea" confirmed all naulizata made by G.Agli, and all officers and sailors and all cambia accepted, and appointed G.Agli patrone for the voyage Ancona to Alexandria and return at a salary of 5 ducats a month. (Idem cl57r).
- 10 Dec.1509. Scalamonti sold the ship to Piergiacomo Greco for 550 gold ducats. Money received. (Idem cl83).
- Same day. Piergiacomo acknowledged himself debtor of G.Agli for cambia and letters of exchange to the value of 140 ducats travelling with the ship. (Idem cl84r)
- Same day. Piergiacomo acknowledged himself the debtor of Scalamonti for cambia of 33 ducats travelling with the ship, now stated to be bound for Constantinople. (Idem cl84r)

The second exception relates to ships bought with the aid of loans from the Commune. The first reference to this practice is in two statutes of 1511 and 1512.<sup>1</sup> Those who brought ships bought abroad <sup>for</sup> ~~and~~ over 400 botte to the port of Ancona could borrow up to 1000 gold ducats for five years, provided that the ships were not over five years old and were not Ragusan.<sup>2</sup> However the ships could not be sold again without the permission of the Council. A further reference to loans, this time for ships being built in Ancona, is found in a series of decrees of 1520 for the removal of unemployment.<sup>3</sup> Those making ships of over 400 botte in the port of Ancona to sail under the flag of Ancona would receive a loan of 1000 gold ducats from the Commune for six years, under condition that the vessel was not sold to anyone not living in the city or contado of Ancona.

The shareholders in a ship were bound to pay their share in the fitting-out of the vessel, and refusal to do this could result in a forced loan being made by the other shareholders on the security of the defaulter's share of the ship or on his other goods.<sup>4</sup> Additional expenditure would normally be paid for out of the common pool, any profits being shared out according to the investment of the shareholders, either at the end of the voyage or at some other mutually agreed time. If they were not travelling themselves, shipowners were normally in the habit of appointing a procurator amongst those who were to look after their interests, both as merchants and shipowners.<sup>5</sup> According to the statuti del mare, failure of a shareowner to answer for his share to the ship's officers could mean that he would not be indemnified in the case of damage,<sup>6</sup> though no example of this has been found in the notarial records.

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1. Pardessus, op.cit, pp.207-10.

2. The reason for the prohibition of Ragusan ships in this Statute is not clear. No reference to the sale of a Ragusan ship to an Anconitan after this date has been found.

3. ASCA, 47, cc.127v-128v.

4. Pardessus, op.cit, Rub.iii, pp.118-19.

5. For example 13 ASA 9 cl54v. 14 May 1509. Lorenzo Ridolfi in the name of Nicolo Lippi as particeps for nine carats in the barciotto "Santa Maria di Loreto" appointed Alfasito Strinati of Florence, merchant living in Pera, his procurator.

6. Pardessus, op.cit, Rub.v, pp.~~1116~~<sup>xii</sup>, 126-7.



Shipowners were liable to various forms of taxation. Taxes such as arboraggio were taxes on the movement of a ship, payable on entry to a port. At Ancona, in addition, shipowners had to pay to the depositario pecunie portus two per cent of the value of the ship each year. The value was estimated by two "expertos ad extimandum navigia" and the tax was normally paid the first time that the ship left port during the fiscal year, though shipowners were still liable even if the ship was laid up for the whole of the year.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately there are no records of the collection of this tax extant, as it would be a very valuable source for analysing the size of the Anconitan merchant marine.

The representative of the owners on board the ship was known as the patrone. The co-owners might appoint one of their own number to be patrone or might appoint a third party.<sup>2</sup> Alternatively the patrone might himself be the owner of the ship.<sup>3</sup> Although unusual for large ships, this practice was quite normal for smaller ships and for barche the institution of an owner-skipper combining the functions of owner and patrone was typical.<sup>4</sup> If not one and the same person, the relation of the patrone to the owners was similar to that of the overseas representatives of Italian companies at the same period.<sup>5</sup> Either salaried or a shareholder, he was responsible day and night to the shareholders for the safety of the ship and its gear as well as for making a satisfactory return on their investment "lucra facienda more boni patroni".<sup>6</sup> He was expected to keep accounts and to present them

1. Ciavarini, op.cit, pp.88-9. For a similar form of taxation in Ragusa see J. Tadić, 'Le port de Raguse ...', op.cit, p.17.

3a. Note the expression 'dominus et patronus'. 1ASA 25 cl57r.

4a. Also at Barcelona. See C.Carrère, op.cit. pp. 96-98.

5a. Very few examples of the salaries of any ship's officers have been found. Examples of the order of magnitude are 120 ducats a year (14 ASA 5 cl60v) and 5 ducats a month (1 ASA 25 cl57r). Both these salaries included the right to cargo space. The salary of no other person on board any ship has been found over 50 ducats a year.

6a. DAD, Div.Net. 88, c83.

b. *manuscripto*.

2. Pardessus, op.cit, Rub.v, pp.121-2

either from voyage to voyage<sup>1</sup> or when he was asked for them,<sup>2</sup> at which time he would usually pay to the owners their profits pro rata of their investment.

The length of the patrone's appointment varied. Most salaried patroni were appointed at the commencement of a voyage for its duration. But patroni who were also shareholders in the ship might hold the office for longer. On the sale of a ship, the patrone was either confirmed in his office or a new appointment was made. The procedure on the death of the patrone is not clear. The only example of the re-appointment of a patrone in such a situation that has been found showed that the successor, a relation of the dead patrone, was appointed by the charterers.<sup>3</sup> Since other important decisions were left to the community of merchants on board,<sup>4</sup> this may well have been normal procedure. Alternatively the patrone might appoint his own predecessor in his will.

When a ship was lying in its home port, the patrone was normally subject to the consent of his employers or co-owners before chartering or fitting-out.<sup>5</sup> The problems of dual management that this implied can be illustrated from the protest of the sailors of a ship owned by a Perugian merchant in 1493. The sailors made a formal protest before the notary that the vessel was hanging around Ancona in good weather instead of proceeding to Barletta as contracted. When he was called on to reply to the sailors' protest, the patrone said that he, too, wished to proceed to Barletta but the owner had ordered him to remain in Ancona.<sup>6</sup> Once out of port, however, the patrone had necessarily more or less complete freedom to act on behalf of the owners. He was given

1. Idem c83r.

2. Pardessus, op.cit. Rub.v, pp.121-2.

3. 11 ASA 13-14 cl33r. 21 Oct. 1521. Florentine charterers of a Flemish barcia appoint a new patrone after it had sunk in a storm.

4. See below pp.154-5.

5. DAD, Div.Not. 88, c38v.

6. 15 ASA 6-7 c262r.

freedom to charter as seemed best to him, to trade with the accumulated freight payments as well as to trade on his own behalf.<sup>1</sup> To facilitate this, salaried patroni were always provided with a proportion of the total cargo space (portata) as well as a salary. Usually the amount is not stated, the contract merely stating "cum mercede et portata solito", but occasionally details are given, presumably because the amount was different from custom. Although the patrone had very great freedom, once at sea, he was, however, circumscribed to a certain extent by existing charter-parties as well as by the consensus of opinion of the merchants travelling with the ship.<sup>2</sup> 8/

Clearly the position of patrone was one of great responsibility ~~and~~ and for its successful performance would require a man of considerable ability and enterprise. The rewards that such a man, at once sailor, merchant and on many occasions diplomat, could expect were no doubt high. Although often a patrone was an employee or a junior shareholder, this was by no means always the case. He was often the majority shareholder or at least the largest single shareholder and as such would have a more than equal say in the management of the ship. Furthermore that a patrone, even though he held no shares in the ship at all, might be a person of considerable wealth is shown by an interesting document of 1484. Here the newly appointed patrone of a ship, bought by two brothers of Ancona from a Genoese, contracted to pay the balance of the purchase price which he would receive from the brothers on safe arrival in Pera, the ship and its freights travelling at his, the patrone's risk. The loan was nearly ten times his salary for the voyage.<sup>3</sup>

If the borderline between patrone and owner is often difficult to gauge, that between patrone and <sup>h</sup>necciere is also in many cases ill-defined. The

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1. DAD, Div.Not. 88 c38v.

2. See below pp. 154-5.

3. 14 ASA 1-3 c160. The loan was 1100 ducats; the patrone's salary was 120 ducats.

nocchiero was the officer responsible for sailing the ship and the crew were to his discipline.<sup>1</sup> He made the decisions on mooring and pilotage,<sup>2</sup> subject however to the directions of the patrone and the merchants on the route and the ports of call. His contribution to the latter was to form one of a committee of five composed of himself, the patrone and three merchants.<sup>3</sup> This democratic approach to the running of the ship must have led to confusion in times of danger as a communal decision was required both for lightening<sup>4</sup> and abandoning ship.<sup>5</sup>

Despite the first impression that the nocchiero was involved only in nautical problems, another rubric of the statutes states that he was responsible for administering the shares of owners who had not appointed an agent for the purpose, and gives a scale of charges for this service.<sup>6</sup> One would have expected that such an administrative function would fall to either the scrivano (purser) or patrone. In fact nocchieri appear very infrequently in the notarial documents and it is difficult to get a more precise idea of their function. It seems probable that they were only engaged on large vessels,<sup>7</sup> and that otherwise the two roles were both carried out by the patrone.

A very important official on board ship was the scrivano. At once purser and public notary, the same faith was given him as to a notary ashore. Prior to taking up his appointment he had to swear, in the presence of the majority of the merchants or if there were no merchants, the nocchiero and three sailors, to exercise his office "bene et legaliter ... tam pro patronis dictorum navigiorum quam pro <sup>m</sup>erchateribus et marinariis: et aliis navigantibus in dictis navigiis". Once sworn in he had to write in his books all that pertained to his office

1. Pardessus op.cit, Rub.xxvii, pp.140-1; Rub.xxxi, p.143.

2. Idem, Rub. xxxi, p.143.

3. Idem, Rub.xxvii, p.143-4.

4. Idem, Rub. lxxvii, p.188. Patrone, nocchiero and crew to make decision to lighten ship.

5. Idem, Rub.xxviii, pp.144-5. No one to abandon ship or run out ship's boat without the consent of a majority of those in danger.

6. Idem, Rub. xxxvi, p.146.

7. No reference to a nocchiero has been found on any ship smaller than a navis.



and such writing had to be given "plena fides".<sup>1</sup> Once the ship was outside the state of Ancona, he functioned as a public notary and could write wills and contracts provided that he observed the correct forms.<sup>2</sup> The books that pertained to his office would include the ledgers relating to the management of the ship and his catasto, wherein he would register all the goods that had been loaded in the ship from the bills of lading (polize di caricamento). To insure that he did this correctly, the scrivano was expected to be present at loading and to keep a tally.<sup>3</sup> He also had to make note of all goods that were loaded in rechomandagioni<sup>4</sup> and to register the cargo-space allotted to each sailor and whether the concession had been ceded to another.<sup>5</sup> On return to Ancona, the customs officer boarded the ship and sealed the goods, and then the scrivano had to give on oath "principales libros totius honoris ipsorum navigiorum".<sup>6</sup>

As might be expected, the scrivano was often called to give evidence in cases of dispute over freight or rights of ownership of cargo. For example, in April 1541 the scrivano of a Ragusan ship affirmed on oath that a certain Florentine merchant had not loaded various hides at Pera and Rodosto which he claimed to have done. The scrivano then went on to state what he had in fact loaded "per la poliza".<sup>7</sup> Again in the event of damage or losses at sea, it was on his testimony that the average-adjustors settled the individual claims. The maritime statutes of Ancona made provision for both particular average, the calculation of the shares to be paid by shipowners and merchants to those of their number who had lost property as a result of unintentional damage to the ship,<sup>8</sup> and general

1. ASCA, 89, Rub. xc. Pardessus, op.cit, Rub.xv, pp.128-30.

2. Idem, Rub.xv, pp.129-30.

3. Idem, loc.cit.

4. Idem, rub.1, p.162-3.

5. Idem, rub.1ii, p.165.

6. Ciavarini, op.cit, p.182.

7. 31 ASA 13 c45r. Also see 13 ASA 1 c162r.

8. Pardessus, op.cit, rub.lxxxvi, pp.184-8.

average in the event of intentional damage (e.g. lightning ship) to secure the safety of the ship and its cargo.<sup>1</sup> No contribution was required by non-sufferers, however, to those who lost goods to corsairs.<sup>2</sup> In all such cases the testimony and the books of the scrivano clearly carried considerable weight and it was important that the temptation or possibility of fraud on his part should be removed as far as possible. The normal penalty for fraud in the Mediterranean was the loss of the right hand and this was often written into the scrivano's oath which he took on entering office. To supplement this the scrivano was appointed by representatives of both the merchants and owners, as happened in April 1517 when the owner of the 'Santa Maria de Loreto' and five merchants representing the majority of all the merchants on board appointed a Venetian as scrivano for a voyage from Ancona to Pera.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore the Statutes laid down that the scrivano must not be the patrone or a part-owner,<sup>4</sup> nor the brother or nephew of the patrone.<sup>5</sup>

Although the law stated that a scrivano must not be the patrone or the owner of a ship, it seems probable that on small ships the owner-skipper or patrone must have fulfilled his role, since the expense of a scrivano, with a working crew of only two or three would have been too much of a luxury. The only reference to a scrivano on a ship smaller than a navis was on a pilgrim caravel travelling from Ancona to Syria in 1542.<sup>6</sup> Scrivani would be carried on long voyages such as these, especially in the carriage of pilgrims who would no doubt be glad of his services as public notary. Another time when it was probable that a scrivano would be carried on a small ship was when two or more such ships were travelling

1. Idem rub. lxxxvii, p.189.

2. Loc.cit. Pardessus (p.188) notes that the bizarre system of contribution adopted in Ancona appears to be unique.

3. 13 ASA 17 c75v. See also 1 ASA 25 c48r.

4. Pardessus, op.cit, rub.xlvii, pp.156-8.

5. ASCA, 89, rub.xc.

6. 31 ASA 13 c385v.

together. Although no examples of this have been found, it is noteworthy that the Statutes always refer to ships in the plural when discussing the duties of the scrivano.<sup>1</sup>

The remainder of the crew had no commercial function and were engaged to sale the ship. Both officers and men received cargo-space in addition to their salaries. These were either customary<sup>2</sup> or were stated in particular charter-parties<sup>3</sup> or contracts of employment.<sup>4</sup> For a voyage out of the Gulf, sailors were paid three months in advance and the balance at their destination.<sup>5</sup> Having contracted to go on a voyage by accepting a deposit (arra) or by shaking hands with the patrone or nocchiero in the presence of the scrivano, the sailor was bound to complete the voyage.<sup>6</sup> He could be dismissed only for treachery, disobedience to the nocchiero, in the event of the sale of the ship or when the ship was laid up for the winter.<sup>7</sup> Anconitan sailors were armed and expected to defend their ships though not to seek trouble.<sup>8</sup>

Apart from the officers and the crew, there were generally a certain number of merchants on board ship travelling with their own or their employers' merchandise. These had some powers to offset the possibility of being at the mercy of an unscrupulous patrone. Although the destination of a ship was normally decided by the owners who then let cargo-space to those who wanted to load, the route once decided could not be changed without the consent of at least two-thirds of the merchants measured by the amount of goods loaded.<sup>9</sup> Much more power rested with the merchants when the whole ship was chartered by an individual or a group of merchants,

1. E.g. the quotation from the Statutes on p. ~~152~~ 151.

2. As 15 ASA 6-7 c71r. 'Cum stipendio e portata dari aliis marinariis anconitanis per alias naves anconitanas talis portate qualis est dicta....'

3. 36 ASA 3 c206v. Charter of barca 'reservato le portate di marinari cio è di some sei per caduno'.

4. Often sailors were hired by the year or longer period as famuli (servants). In this case salary would be stated in their contract but portata would be likely to vary from voyage to voyage.

5. Pardessus, op.cit, rub.liv, pp.166-7.

6. Idem, rub.x, pp.125-6.

7. Idem, rub liv, p.167.

8. Idem, rub. lxxix, p.180; rub.lvi, p.168 says that the nocchiero and the ship's company must remain in port on receipt of news of pirates.

9. Idem, rub.i, pp.116-7; rub.xlix, p.162.

in which case the merchants would normally decide on the route.

Furthermore as was seen above, the merchants had a hand in the selection of the scrivano, from the business point of view the most important person on board for them. Merchants also selected from amongst their number a consul who together with two councillors gave judgment on differences between them. Appeals could be made from such judgments to Anconitan consuls at home or abroad.<sup>1</sup>

Not many merchants, however, travelled in person with their goods at this period and most of the persons travelling on the ship would be representatives, in one manner or another, of their shore-based principals. If not travelling himself, a merchant could adopt a number of procedures to ensure the correct dispatch of his business. Simplest of all was to consign the goods to his factor abroad. Alternatively he might send the goods or cash in commenda or ad cambium although both these two ways of doing business were rather clumsy and archaic.<sup>2</sup> If one had goods to be carried by sea, it was easier to have them looked after on a commission or salary basis. This involved either the appointment of a procurator to look after one's interests or of a supercargo. The supercargo, often an employee or a relation of the merchants handled all business on their behalf and contracts often stated that his expenses were to be met by the patrone.<sup>3</sup>

Another common way of arranging for the management of unaccompanied goods was to entrust them to the patrone. This was particularly the case for straightforward matters such as the purchase and consignment of grain where it was often the patrone's responsibility to make the purchase for

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1. Idem, rub.xlvii, pp.156-60.

2. For these contracts see above pp.49-50.

3. 31 ASA 21-22 c13r. Patrone to pay expenses of supercargo on voyage Ancona - Crete - Lisbon. See also 36 ASA 3 c181r.



his charterers. This was very common at Ragusa where the carriage of grain was a very regular business and patroni would know all the ports and agents well, in addition to being knowledgeable on the subject of the quality and price of various grains. In a typical example, the patrone was given cash by a number of merchants to go to Calabria and "ubi melius videbitur dicto patrone per utilitate dictorum mercatorum cum allis eorum pecuniis emere frumentum novum bonum cum omni avantagio sibi possibile per dicta utilitate ipsorum mercatorum ...."<sup>1</sup> Otherwise the patrone might be instructed in his charter to sail to such a port and there await the instructions of the charterer's agent or some other person.<sup>2</sup> The price of such services was either reflected in the freight rate or a commission was agreed in the contract.<sup>3</sup>

No idea can be obtained from the sources of the number of merchants or representatives that did travel with ships in this period. That active trading was considered worth encouraging is shown by a statute of 1512 which provided for the selection by lot of one man per 100 botte to travel with ships bought with the aid of the loans given by the Commune. These men had to be of the merchant class and aged between 14 and 45 years. They could load up to 50 ducats worth of goods and were paid a salary, half of which was credited to them in the customs.<sup>4</sup> The purpose of this statute was probably to give a start to young merchants, much in the same way as the "bowmen of the quarterdeck" at Venice.<sup>5</sup> For merchants in general travelling with their goods the impression that one receives from the notarial documents is that the voyages of Anconitan and Ragusan ships to Alexandria and Constantinople provided them with far more opportunity to make profitable decisions on the spot than the more routine voyages in the Adriatic and

1. DAD, Div.Not. 80 cl85v.

2. As 15 ASA 6-7 cc71r-73r. The patrone of an Anconitan ship was instructed to report to the charterer's agent in Pera. For the second part of the voyage from Pera to Pisa, this agent was to provide a supercargo.

3. DAD, Div.Not. 111 c113v. The patrone of a Ragusan galleon to receive a commission of 2 per cent on his purchase of grain in Patras or Arta for Ancona.

4. Pardessus, op.cit, pp.208-10.

5. F.C.Lane, Andrea Barbarigo, Merchant of Venice (1418-49), (Baltimore, 1944), pp.7-18.

Aegean. This would no doubt lead to a greater incentive for merchants to travel in person. In the same way it appears that far more Turkish and Greek merchants came in person on voyages to Ancona, than for instance Italians. The further the distance, the less accurate was one's knowledge of market conditions and the greater the need for entrepreneurial skill. Whether this factor inflated the numbers travelling on longer voyages is very difficult to say since it was generally the larger ships that made such voyages and thus one would expect the numbers to be higher in any case.

By the early sixteenth century the contract between the merchants and the owners of a ship was normally in the form of a charter-party, although occasionally a ship was chartered in the form of a promissio<sup>1</sup> or a societas trafficandi super mare with shipowner and shipper sharing the profits of a voyage. By this date the charter-party had settled down into a well-established form of contract requiring little more than the filling-in of the relevant details of a particular agreement.

The charter-party (naulizatum) was a very straight-forward document with few of the problems of interpretation to be found in some notarial documents. The merchants promised to deliver a certain quantity of goods at a certain port within a certain time. The patrone promised to have his ship ready for sea with a sufficient crew within the same time and then to load the goods and carry them on a pre-determined route to a specified port, where either he or the merchant or the merchant's representative would unload them. Within a certain time after unloading, the merchant promised to pay the naulum (freight) or the balance, if an advance had been paid. Penalties were laid down for the non-fulfilment of these clauses. A common penalty was the equivalent of the freight lost

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1. 15 ASA 1-3 c70v. Owner of a barca promised to go to Civitanova and load grain, then to proceed to Pesaro 'et hoc per naulo ....'
  2. 1 ASA 16 c102. A tailor of Ancona and the owner of a naviglio from Lesina (Hvar) formed a societas in which the tailor invested 60 ducats and his partner the naviglio. Profits to be divided 50:50.

to be paid by a shipper who failed to provide the agreed cargo on time.<sup>1</sup>

Another was demurrage at a specified rate if loading exceeded a certain time.<sup>2</sup> Many contracts also specified waiting time in intermediate ports as well as unloading time in the port of destination and demurrage would be paid if either were exceeded. The mention of specific penalties for non-fulfilment of the patrone's obligations is rare in the contracts, though allegations against the patrone formed the basis of much subsequent litigation.

If the charter-parties of Ancona and Ragusa, which were more or less identical, are compared with a collection of seventeenth-century English charter-parties in the possession of Professor F.J. Fisher four main points of difference can be noted.<sup>3</sup> Firstly at Ancona the same contract (naulizatum) is used whether the whole ship was hired to a group of merchants or whether merchants merely chartered space on a ship whose route and management was entirely in the hands of the shipowners. In England the charter-party would only have been used in the first case, a bill of lading being sufficient documentary evidence in the second. It seems probable that this was also true at Ancona on many occasions and that this is one reason why naulizata are in fact rare in the notary's books. Most of the trade of the port was carried on fairly stereotyped routes where, in the majority of cases, it would have been possible for anyone requiring cargo-space to find it in a few days. Certainly in the letter-books of Florentine merchants that have been examined no mention is made of naulizata for the carriage of goods between Ancona and Ragusa, though all the letters make careful instructions as to

1. See 39 ASA 1 c81v. 'Pacto est quod si dicti conductores non caricarent in dicto schirazzo omnes supradictas ballas quod casu teneantur solvere dicto patrone totum et integrum naulum tamquam si onus praedictum recepisset ...' or the interesting Italian shorthand for this clause 'se .... non charichassino la ditta quantita .... siano tenuti et cosi promettino pagare ... voito per pieno ....' 36 ASA 3 c63v. See also Pardessus, op.cit., rub.11, pp.164-5.
2. 15 ASA 6-7 c72r. An Anconitan ship chartered for Pera and then Pisa to wait two and a half months at Pera after which time the charterer promised to pay 7 ducats for each subsequent day.
3. These are copies of charter-parties from the High Court of Admiralty records in the P.R.O.

what should be done with the bill of lading.<sup>1</sup> Presumably those examples of naulizata covering this sort of business - incidentally the majority of all naulizata discovered - reflect unusual caution on the part of the shipper. Another difference between the English and Anconitan charter-parties, mainly a reflection of the above, is the rarity of time charters at Ancona. The time charter was the commonest form for the English contracts but at Ancona there are very few examples. Partly this was because so much of the business was merely the hiring of cargo-space on a particular "liner" route, but also it reflects the difference in the trading area of the two places. Whereas English shipping was chartered to sail in the Atlantic, shipping at Ancona never went further than Lisbon or Alexandria. Within such small limits a voyage charter, with possibly a time limit, would probably be more sensible, since the length of the voyage would never be in such doubt as would that of the English merchants chartering a ship to sail "in and from such Ports and places within the Islands of the Azores, Newfoundland and Ireland or at any other southwards islands soe that it lye not to the southward of 26° N." The other two differences between these two sources of charter-parties really supplement each other. In England it was fairly common for the merchants to contract to pay and victual the crew but extremely rare for a deposit on the freight to be made. In Ancona it was quite common for a deposit to be made, but I have found no example of the merchant contracting to pay the crew, indeed more often is it the case that the shipowner contracts to feed the supercargo.<sup>2</sup> But these are small differences - in both cases the charterers are giving the shipowner some assistance in fitting-out. The really striking feature of a comparison of seventeenth-century English charter-parties and their sixteenth-century Anconitan counterparts is their similarity. Like the problems of

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1. E.g. Medici MS 538 c110r.

2. E.g. 31 ASA 21-22 c13r; 36 ASA 3 c181r.



absentee merchants running their business overseas, the problems of operating shipping in pre-industrial, or rather pre-telegraphic days, were very much the same in England or the Mediterranean, and the solution to most of these problems <sup>had</sup> ~~have~~ been evolved by generations of merchants, and in particular by Italian merchants in their great period of development from 1000 to 1500.

To return to the evidence as seen from Ancona, if the whole ship had been chartered, the cargo was quite often not specified and the patrone merely contracted to load "tot et tantas mercantias" that the charter<sup>er</sup> provided. This would also be the normal formula to be used in relation to return cargoes. Again with the charter of the whole ship, far more flexibility would be shown with regard to the route. The general direction of the voyage would appear in the contract but particulars might be left to the discretion of the patrone or supercargo, or else it would be agreed that the ship would call at various ports where a decision on the further destination of the ship would be made. This practice, known as divisa, was most common in the charter of ships to carry grain. A port of the Aegean might be specified for divisa on the final loading port and then one or two other ports might be named for a decision on the final unloading ports. As an example of these practices the charter of the Ragusan ship 'Santa Maria della Misericordia' can be taken. This ship was chartered in January 1551 by a merchant in Ancona to load grain and hides in various ports of the Aegean at the discretion of the supercargo. Once loaded the ship was to proceed to Pendimelle in Calabria for the first divisa on whether the ship was to unload in Italy or Spain. If in Italy the ship was to proceed to Leghorn for a divisa on whether to unload there or in Viareggio. If in Spain the divisa was to be made in Alicante: eleven ports from Valencia to Lisbon were named as possible destinations.<sup>1</sup> Presumably

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1. 31 ASA 21-22 c13r.

these decisions were made on the basis of information from local agents. Malta and Zante (Zakynthos) were the commonest places for such decisions to be made in connection with the Ragusan and Anconitan grain trade.

If only part of a ship was chartered by one merchant or a group of merchants, they had no control over the route, which was laid down by the patrone. Alternative unloading ports would thus have to be at the normal points of call on that route. A change of route required the assent of at least two-thirds of the merchants, calculated by the amount of merchandise carried.<sup>1</sup> Clearly there were considerable advantages in flexibility in chartering a whole ship or at least two-thirds of one, although these would have to be set against the danger of shipping so much in one bottom. The best solution was no doubt that of the Ragusan grain shippers. Twenty or thirty merchants would charter a whole ship thus gaining flexibility whilst minimizing risk. Such associations of merchants to charter a ship were uncommon in Ancona. Risk-spreading of this kind is most evident amongst the Turkish and Jewish merchants who shipped cloth to the opposite coast of the Adriatic, but this was such a well-used route that it would not seem that flexibility was a motive in chartering the whole ship.

Several methods of calculating the freight were in use. Very common within the Adriatic was the payment of a lump sum for a specified round trip.<sup>2</sup> This method of payment would be used for a merchant who had chartered the whole ship for the particular voyage and would avoid calculation of freight on the miscellaneous cargo that such a voyage would probably involve. Similar to this method of what amounted to a guaranteed hire payment were the few examples of time charter that have been found.<sup>3</sup> For fairly homogeneous cargoes,

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1. Pardessus, op.cit, rub.i, pp.116-7.

2. Lump sums were also paid for the charter of larger ships to the eastern Mediterranean, e.g. 13 ASA 1 c223r, DAD, Div.Not. 65 c12.

3. 15 ASA 1-3 c41v. Charter of Grippa to load wine for 14 ducats each month out of Ancona. Also 13 ASA 8 c229r.

such as grain, wine or valonea, freight was usually determined at so much per unit of volume or weight delivered at a specified port. This would apply whether the charter was for the whole ship or only for part of the ship. The shipment of cloth to the eastern Adriatic was calculated at so much per bale.

More complicated was the calculation of freight on naves going to the eastern Mediterranean. Very few charters for these voyages exist, although it is apparent from other contracts that it was normal procedure for at least two or three Anconitan ships to leave for Constantinople and Pera each year, as well as others for Alexandria and Syria. The reason for the lack of charters is probably the same as for the shortage of charters generally - that these routes, like the Adriatic routes were fairly regular "liner" routes and the payment of freight was based on an established tariff. The evidence for this assumption is that in most of the existing charters, reference is made to such a tariff, even though the ships chartered were not the normal "liners". The best example of this is a charter made in May, 1491 in which the outward cargo to Pera was not specified but the naulum of 45 ducats was to be paid in Pera "secundum consuetudinem et tariffam anconitanam". The return cargo was also to be carried according to the tariff of Ancona but with many exceptions where special rates were quoted.<sup>1</sup> From the little evidence that is available, it would seem that, as in this case, the tariff was based on differential rates, low (in this case a low lump sum) for the outward voyage and higher for the return. Sometimes the outward cargo would travel free as in May, 1553 when Jewish merchants chartered three-quarters of a Ragusan ship for the voyage Ancona - Alexandria - Ancona. The outward cargo of paper and cloth was to travel free whilst the entire freight was calculated on

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1. 15 ASA 6-7 cc70v-72. See also DAD, Div. Not. 87 c191v; 106 c180r for Ragusan ships carrying goods to or from Ancona 'secundum tariffam Ancone'.



the return cargo of flax, hides, spices, ashes and sugar.<sup>1</sup> In the English charter-parties discussed above goods carried outward to the wine ports of France or Spain were usually carried free and the entire freight was calculated on the return cargo of wine, whilst E.H.Byrne in his book, Genoese Shipping in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, shows that the freight of ships going to the eastern Mediterranean were normally calculated in essentially the same way as my example above.<sup>2</sup>

In view of the importance of the eastern Mediterranean as a destination for goods from Ancona, whether by land or sea, it is unfortunate that the tariff discussed above no longer exists. As it is, only two rates for the carriage of goods to Constantinople have been found.<sup>3</sup> All other cargoes were carried as part of a lump sum agreement or else according to the tariff of Ancona. On other routes the rates for only two types of cargo appear in sufficient numbers to enable any kind of average rates to be calculated. The first is the carriage of cloth from Ancona to the ports of Albania and southern Yugoslavia. The range of rates is from 15 to 40 aspri per bale,<sup>4</sup> representing from about one-quarter to four-fifths of one per cent of the value of the cargo. The other cargo is the carriage of grain and in the following table grain freight rates between various places are given,

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1. 36 ASA 5 c136r.

2. (Cambridge, Mass. 1930). pp.37-42, 49-58.

3. 13 ASA 9 c271r. Oil to Pera at 2½ ducats per milliarium. This rate was only slightly in excess of rates within the Adriatic for the carriage of oil. 36 ASA 3 c63r. Cloth to Constantinople at 7½ aspri per kersey, about three times the Adriatic rate.

4. For notes on money see pp.172-4. This range was calculated from twenty naulizata, 1525-52. The usual range was 20-30 aspri (15 contracts).



all rates having been converted to ducats per carro<sup>1</sup>:-

TABLE IV.  
Grain Freight Rates.<sup>2</sup>  
(Ducats per carro)

Ancona - Zara	$\frac{3}{4}$	Ancona - Ionian Sea - Ancona	3-4
Ancona - Ravenna, Ferrara	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	Ancona - Aegean Sea - Ancona	3-5
Ancona - Venice, Trieste	1-2	Ragusa - Aegean Sea - Ancona	3-4
Ancona - Barletta	2	Ragusa - Egypt - Ancona	6-7
Ancona - Naples	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	Ragusa - Aegean Sea - Barcelona	8
Ancona - Civitavecchia	3	Ragusa - Aegean Sea - Lisbon	11

(The price of grain in Ancona ranged from 20 to 50 ducats per carro).

Apart from the normal features of a naulizatum considered above, special clauses were often inserted. These were most often in connection with the apportionment of expenses, presumably on such occasions as the apportionment ran counter to custom. Such expenses might be the payment of supercargoes and pilots, port taxes and customs' duties, the provision of small boats to unload in shallow harbours, the provision of barrels for the collection of wine, or if he was travelling himself the cost of the merchant's board. Other special clauses included agreements on the provision of cargo-space for merchants other than the charterer such as the Jewish merchant who chartered a Turkish schirazzo in December 1551 and specified that his bales were to be placed below deck and that no one else's cargo was to be loaded before he had completed loading his own.<sup>3</sup> It was also necessary to write into charter-parties on occasion clauses which reflected the complicated diplomatic and naval framework within which sixteenth century merchant shipping had to operate.<sup>4</sup>

Although it is not clear how much of the total goods shipped through

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1. For conversions see pp. 166-74.
  2. This table is based on both Anconitan and Ragusan notarial contracts.
  3. 36 ASA 3 c296v. See also 11 ASA 13-14 c21r.
  4. 15 ASA 1-3 c41v. Charter of griipa to load wine anywhere but in Venetian territory. 31 ASA 21-22 c13r. Charter of Ragusan ship to load grain for the western Mediterranean. Patrone not to go to Ragusa on pain of 300 scudi 'salvo iusto impedimento'. 39 ASA 1 c81v. Turkish schirazzo on voyage to Velona to call at Ragusa and Castelnovo 'intelligere novas corsariorum'.

the port was covered by insurance, this was an important feature of shipping during this period. The normal natural hazards of shipping in the eastern Mediterranean in fifteenth and sixteenth century vessels were intensified during this period by the increase of piracy and the failure of Venice to fulfil her old role as protector of shipping in the Adriatic.<sup>1</sup> References to insurance at Ancona are very scarce<sup>2</sup> and it is clear that shippers in Ancona relied mainly on the services of other centres which specialized in this business. The few contracts which do exist at Ancona are crude compared with the insurance contracts to be found in Ragusa. The risks were not spread between a large number of underwriters, nor do the contracts all adopt the same formula.<sup>3</sup>

Consequently most of the data on insurance rates and insurance contracts has been found at Ragusa. Up to 1527 the Ragusan contract was in the process of evolution, but in the volumes of the Diversa Notariae studied from 1541 onwards the contract had settled down into a well-established form and from 1563 all Ragusan marine insurance was gathered together into one series.<sup>4</sup> The Ragusan insurance contract in its established form<sup>5</sup> was very comprehensive. The normal formula for the risks covered was:-

"di acqua fuoco gietto in mare di ripresagli di amici et inimici  
ritentione et incursioni di navi fuste galere e di quale si voglia  
altre naviglie armate o disarmate e da tutti gli altri case pericoli et  
infortunii divini et humani possibili et impossibili imaginabili et  
inimaginabili quali a detta nave e robbe fussero interventi ...."<sup>6</sup>

Only very rarely was this comprehensive formula not used, though occasionally

- 
1. See above pp. 3-9.
  2. Only nine insurance contracts were found in the whole of the period studied. All but one were underwritten by foreigners, mainly Ragusans.
  3. None of the contracts registered at Ancona name more than one underwriter. The contracts varied considerably in form and did not follow the pattern of Ragusan contracts, unlike naulizata which were similar in the two cities.
  4. DAD, Libro de Noli et Sicurta, vol. i, 11 Jan 1563 to 5 Dec. 1564. This series continues to 1755. See J. Tadić, 'Les sources ....', op.cit, p. 87.
  5. An example of a Ragusan insurance contract will be found on pp. 218-220.
  6. DAD, Div. Not. 106 c174r.

specific risks which were not to be covered were mentioned.<sup>1</sup> All large risks were spread between many underwriters<sup>2</sup> and an individual rarely underwrote more than 200 ducats.

As will be seen in Table V below, the rates were high but were probably a fair reflection of the dangers involved in shipping in the eastern Mediterranean at this time. Although the precise amount of merchandise covered was rarely stated, it is clear, from the few examples where it is possible to compare the market value of the goods insured with their insured value, that the risk did not always cover the full value of the goods. Out of ten examples where the two values can be estimated, seven are quite clearly under-insured. The value insured ranged from about 15 to 80 per cent of the market value. Apart from the limited security of under-insurance, merchants could also get more protection by shipping their goods in more than one bottom. In the table below insurance rates for various routes are given at different periods. Although the number of contracts on which this table is based are not sufficient to make too strong a thesis, there does seem to be a fall in rates. Whether this was a result of better insurance practices or safer shipping is difficult to say. The first period, 1498-1502, however, must have been strongly affected by the Turco - Venetian War.

TABLE V  
Insurance Rates in the Eastern Mediterranean.<sup>3</sup>

	1498-1502 <sup>4</sup>	1515-1527	1541	1550-51	1563
Ancona - Ragusa	3-4%	2%	1½-3%	2%	1½%
Ancona - Rodosto	-	-	6%	5½-6%	-
Ancona - Constantinople	-	8%	8%	6-7%	-
Ancona - Black Sea	-	10%	-	-	6-7%
Ancona - Beirut, Tripoli	-	-	7%	-	-
Ancona - Alexandria	-	-	8%	-	5-5½%

1. DAD, Div.Not. 111 c59r. Four houses insured from Ragusa to Ancona against all causes except the negligence of those looking after them.
2. DAD, Div.Not. 111, c102r. 22 underwriters for risk of 1800 scudi on hides from Rodosto to Ancona.
3. Based on insurance contracts registered in Ancona and Ragusa. All the rates apply to voyages in either direction on the route stated. The rate for a return voyage was generally less than twice the rate for a one-way voyage.
4. There are no records of shipping from Ancona outside the Adriatic during this period.

The full significance of these rates and the dangers that they represented can be seen when they are compared with the total cost of conveying goods by land from the Levant to the Adriatic and then by the short sea route to Ancona. For high value goods it was possible for this alternative route to be cheaper for carriage, customs, tolls and insurance together, than it would have been to insure the goods alone on the long sea route.<sup>1</sup> With this sort of factor operating it no longer seems surprising that most goods to and from Ancona travelled no further by sea than the width of the Adriatic.

1. Medici MS 518. 76 cloths sent from Florence to Adrianople in 1495 at a cost of 86 aspri per cloth and sold in Adrianople at prices ranging from 1200 to 1650 aspri per cloth, i.e. carriage between 5 and 7½ per cent of selling price. Idem MS 536 (4). A bundle of silk bought in Brusa in 1502 was sold in Florence for 494 grossi. Carriage, tariffs and insurance to Ancona amounted to 19 grossi, less than 4 per cent of selling price. The statement here is however not always correct. See p. 131 for an example of the cost of sending cloth at a much higher rate.



## APPENDIX A

WEIGHTS, MEASURES AND MONEY

This appendix will not attempt analysis of all the various types of weights, measures and money met with in the sources used, but will concentrate on establishing a relationship between the commoner words and phrases in the notarial contracts.<sup>1</sup>

The unit of weight in Ancona was the libbra (pound). Ancona had in fact two libbre, grosso and sottile, the difference being  $\frac{3}{2}$  per cent.<sup>2</sup> Most of the goods sold by weight were however weighed al grosso and the commonest in the notarial contracts were soap (normally quoted by the 100 libbre), cotton (100), wool (100), sugar (100), papper (100), valonea (1000), German hides and hides of Moncastro (100), wax (100), iron (1000), honey (100) and fish (100), silk and spices other than pepper normally being quoted by the libbra. 100 libbre of Ancona equalled 102 libbre of Florence,<sup>3</sup> and Mallett gives 74.8 lbs. English as equivalent to 100 libbre of Florence.<sup>4</sup> Oil was also sold by weight, the unit being the migliaio (40 metri = 1 migliaio = 1800 libbre<sup>5</sup>). Salt was sold by the moggio or modio, a unit of both weight and volume. The moggio equalled 464 libbre.<sup>6</sup> Grain and wine

1. For information on the measures used by the Florentine merchants see F. Edler, Glossary op.cit. passim and especially pp.317-22.
2. Giovanni di Antonio da Uzzano, Practica della mercatura (1442), vol.iv of G. Pagnini, Della decima e di varie altre gravanze imposte dal comune di Firenze, 4 vols. (Lucca, 1765), ch.viii; Francesco di Balduccio Pegolotti, La practica della mercatura (ed. A. Evans) (Cambridge, Mass. 1936), p.156.
3. Uzzano, loc.cit.; Pegolotti, op.cit. p.161; Franco Borlandi (ed.), El libro di mercatantie e usanzi de' paesi del Chiarini (Turnin, 1936), p.18.
4. Mallett, Florentine Galleys, op.cit. p.177.
5. Uzzano, loc.cit. Pegolotti, op.cit. p.156 gives 1700 libbre to the migliaio.
6. DAD, Div.Not. 93, c97r: 101½ modii = 10 mondini of Iviza; Pegolotti, op.cit. p.231: mundino weighs 32 cantara barbaresche; Mallett, loc.cit.: cantar of Barbary = 150 Florentine libbre.

were sold by the salma, a unit of volume to which an equivalent weight could be given.<sup>1</sup>

Many goods were sold by the package, different packages being roughly equivalent in weight<sup>2</sup> and normally representing half a mule's load (soma).<sup>3</sup> Goods sold in this way were cloth (balla), hides (balla), silk (feldello), wax (collo), camlets and mohair (taula). Cotton and wool were sometimes sold by the sacca which was usually much larger than the other packages mentioned<sup>4</sup> and probably represented a mule's full load.

The contents of these packages were sold by the piece as well as by the libbra or package. The commonest goods to be sold by the piece were cloth, Black Sea and German hides, cordovans, montonini, camlets and mohair. Number of pieces generally bore a constant relation to the package, e.g. panni alti (4 to bale),<sup>5</sup> panni bassi (8),<sup>5</sup> kerseys (10),<sup>5</sup> hides (9 or 10),<sup>6</sup> montonini (100).<sup>7</sup>

Cloth was also sold by the braccia (about  $\frac{2}{3}$  of an English yard)<sup>8</sup> but it is impossible to tell from the sources how many braccia made up the various sizes of piece.<sup>9</sup>

1. See below the table of measures of capacity and weight used in shipping. The salma of grain of Ancona was about one-eleventh of the carro of Ragusa which Tadić, 'Le port de Raguse ...', op.cit. p.14 estimates to have been equivalent to 20 hectolitres of grain or 1,500 kg. (3307 lbs. English). See also F. C. Lane, 'Tonnages, Medieval and Modern', EcNR, 2nd ser. xvii (1964), p.224.
2. ASCA, 222, clv 'item che la balla, collo, o, cassa ... semper se intenda essere di libre docento cinquante lordo'. It is unlikely that this clause relating to customs payments was followed in normal practice. In cases where prices were quoted by both weight and package (mainly hides) the bale normally weighed between 150 and 200 libbre. See 14 ASA 5 cl1r; 7 ASA 6-7 c76v; 13 ASA 2 c98v; 1 ASA 19 cl62r etc; although some were exactly 250 libbre, e.g. 14 ASA 5 cl55v.
3. Cf. Mallett, op.cit. pp.178-9.
4. E.g. 13 ASA 17 c70r sack of wool = 675 lbs.; ASCA, 507, c21v cotton = 480 lbs.; idem, c23r wool = 500 lbs.; idem, c25v cotton = 425 lbs. The sacca thus seems to have been a full mule's load.
5. ASCA, 222, cl2v. Sopramani and ultrafini were panni alti.
6. Both these were common but there was also a ballone, ASCA, 222, c5r which held 15-16 hides.
7. ASCA, 222, cl0r.
8. Edler, Glossary, op.cit. p.52.
9. Pegolotti, op.cit. p.156; 3  $\frac{1}{3}$  braccia of Ancona = 1 canna of Ancona. Idem, p.161: 37  $\frac{1}{2}$  braccia of Ancona = 10 canne (ells) of Florence.

In Table VI below the relation between the various sorts of measurement used for determining the capacity of a ship are set out, together with other measures used in the reckoning of freight rates. The problems of tonnage measurement have been discussed recently by Prof. F. C. Lane and some of these measures are based on his article.<sup>1</sup> The remainder have been calculated from the well-known handbooks of Pegolotti, Pasi and Chiarini. The notarial contracts whilst employing all the measures in the table do not unfortunately enable a check on the accuracy of these sources to be made.

The various kinds of staio and salma, the carro and ribeba were all grain measures, the botta was a wine measure, the mondino<sup>2</sup> a salt measure and the milliarium was a general purpose unit of weight. The carro, staio of Venice, botta and milliarium were the measures used most frequently at Ancona for reckoning the capacity of a ship.

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1. Lane, op.cit.

2. The mondino is included to give some idea of the minimum size of the 44 ships found in the notarial contracts carrying Ivizan salt to Ancona for the Camera Apostolica in 1519-22. 1 ASA 33, 11 ASA 11-14 passim.



Table VI

Measures of Capacity and Weight Used in Shipping

- 1 carro of Ragusa and Naples = 1.5 metric tons burden<sup>1</sup>  
 = 1.5 deadweight tons<sup>1</sup>  
 = 2.4 botte of Venice<sup>1</sup>  
 = 3 milliaria of Venice<sup>1</sup>  
 = 22.7 stera of Venice<sup>2</sup>  
 = 19.3 stera of Ragusa<sup>3</sup>  
 = 62.5 stera of Ferrara<sup>4</sup>  
 = 5.4 salme grosse of Sicily<sup>5</sup>  
 = 6.5 salme generali of Sicily<sup>5</sup>  
 = 10-11 somme of Ancona<sup>6</sup>  
 = 11 salme of Ancona<sup>7</sup>  
 = 4 milliaria of Ancona<sup>8</sup>  
 = 1.7 mondini of Iviza<sup>9</sup>  
 = 6-7 ribebe of Alexandria<sup>10</sup>

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1. Lane, op.cit. p.229.

2. Idem, p.224 gives  $22\frac{2}{3}$  stera of Venice to the carro. Bartolomeo de Pasi, Tariffa de' pesi e misure (Venice, ed. of 1540), p.23 gives  $22\frac{1}{3}$ .

3. Pasi, ed.cit. p.23.

4. Idem p.24.

5. Idem pp.23-7. 1 carro = 36 tumani napolitani; 1 salma grossa =  $6\frac{2}{3}$  tumani napolitani; 1 salma generale =  $5\frac{1}{2}$  tumani napolitani.

6. Idem loc.cit. 1 salma grossa = 2 somme of Ancona but 1 salma generale =  $1\frac{1}{2}$  somme of Ancona. Pegolotti, op.cit. p. 160 gives 1 soma of Ancona = 2 staia of Venice.

7. Only Borlandi, op.cit. p.107 gives equivalents for the salma of Ancona. Here 1 salma =  $14\frac{1}{7}$  mine of Genoa: 1 mina of Genoa =  $4\frac{1}{2}$  staia of Florence (p.107): 1 staia of Venice =  $3\frac{1}{2}$ - $3\frac{3}{4}$  staia of Florence (p.28) which works out at about 1 salma of Ancona = 2 staia of Venice, the same as Pegolotti (p.160) gives for the soma of Ancona. I have therefore presumed that the soma and the salma of Ancona were the same measure. Grain sales were normally quoted by the salma whilst grain freights were quoted by the soma, staia of Venice or carro.

8. Pasi, ed.cit. p.105. 'Lire 1360 di Ancona fanno in Vinetia al grosso £1000'.

9. A salt measure both of weight and volume, the volume equivalents were 1 mundino = 15 quartiere of Majorca (Pegolotti, pp.129, 175): 1 staio of Venice =  $1\frac{1}{2}$  quartiere of Majorca (idem, p.231) so that 1 mundino was equal to 12 stera of Venice.

10. Pasi, ed.cit. pp.23-4, p.28, 4 ribebe = 4 salme generali.



## Money

The normal unit used in the notarial contracts was the Venetian ducat. This was both a unit of account and a real coin which could be used in transactions. The Venetian ducat remained fairly stable throughout the period studied, the weight of the 24 carat gold coin ranging from 3.494 grammes to 3.559 grammes.<sup>1</sup> In the period 1541-51, the scudo d'oro was used almost as often as the Venetian ducat in contracts.

In Table VII below other units of money found in the notarial contracts will be expressed in terms of the Venetian ducat:

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1. See N. Papadopoli Aldobrandini, Le monete di Venezia descritte ed illustrate, pt.ii (Venice, 1907). Weight of the Venetian ducat, all 24 carat fine gold:

Giovanni Mocenigo (1478-85)	3.559 grammes
Leonardo Loredan (1501-21)	3.533 and 3.507 grammes
Andrea Gritti (1523-28)	3.507 and 3.494 grammes
Pietro Lando (1539-45)	3.533 grammes
Francesco Dona (1545-53)	3.494 grammes

Table VII

Money Used in Notarial Contracts

- 1 Venetian gold ducat = 1 fiorino d'oro of Florence<sup>1</sup>  
 = 13.3 - 14.0 carlini papali<sup>2</sup>  
 = 1.2 - 2.4 fiorini or ducati moneto<sup>3</sup>  
 = 80-84 bolognini<sup>4</sup>  
 = 40 grossi of Ragusa (1541-51)<sup>5</sup>  
 = 50-56 aspri of Turkey<sup>6</sup>  
 = £6.4.0. - £6.11.0. Venetian (1541-51)<sup>7</sup>
- 20 Venetian gold ducats = 21 scudi d'oro (1541-51)<sup>8</sup>

1. Units used as equivalents in account books studied. Fiorino d'oro, fiorino di grossi and fiorino di suggello were all used in the account books. Edler, Glossary, op.cit. p.317 gives the relationship between these florins.

2. G. Castellani, 'La moneta del comune di Ancona', Studia Picena, xi, 31 says that 10 carlini were pronounced to be equal to the ducat in 1504. However the carlino was underweight and was worth only 13 to the ducat. Actual quotations in the notarial contracts giving the exchange rate show that it depreciated to 14 carlini per ducat and then remained stable:

1501 (7 ASA 6-7 c95r)	13 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>3</sub> <u>carlini</u> to ducat
1504 (1 ASA 20 cl01v)	13.6
1509 (13 ASA 9 c272r)	14
1524 (11 ASA 15-16 cl56v)	14
1541 (33 ASA 17 c371v)	14
1550 (32 ASA 6 c7r)	14
1551 (36 ASA 3 c42v)	14

3. These are presumably silver florins and ducats, though there is no direct evidence to that effect. Only the four exchange rates below have been found in the period 1479-1527 but prices quoted in fiorini or ducati moneto were usually in the range of 1½ to 2 times the price in gold ducats. The ratio of 2 fiorini to the scudo d'oro (i.e. 2.1 fiorini to gold ducat) was frequently quoted in the period 1541-51.

1503 (1 ASA 19 cl59v)	1.2 <u>fiorini moneto</u> to ducat
1509 (13 ASA 9 cl00v)	2.4
1509 (Idem, c287v)	2.0
1527 (13 ASA 25-26 c87v)	1.9

4. The bolognino was a silver coin that was struck at many places in central Italy. See Castellani op.cit. It was also used as a unit of account and the ratio up to 1527 was 1 ducat = 80 bolognini = 160 soldi = 20 grossi. In the contracts studied 1541-51 the ducat has appreciated 5 per cent so that 1 ducat = 84 bolognini = 168 soldi = 21 grossi whilst the scudo d'oro = 80 bolognini = 160 soldi = 20 grossi. These ratios are frequently quoted in notarial contracts and also appear very clearly in the customs register ASCA<sup>507</sup> passim. The bolognino was nearly always used as the unit to subdivide the ducat and the scudo in the notarial contracts.

5. DAD, Div.Not. 106, 111 passim.
6. Silver coin used throughout the Turkish Empire. See Braudel, La Méditerranée, op.cit. pp.418-9. The following rates of exchange give some idea of the movement of the aspro in relation to the ducat:

1493 (DAD 73, c3lv)	52 <u>aspri</u> to ducat
1495 ( <u>Medici</u> 518 c2)	51 <sup>2</sup> / <sub>3</sub>
1503 (Idem 536(4) <u>passim</u> )	53-54
1507 (ADSI 416, c172v)	52 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
1509 (DAD <u>Div.Not.</u> 88 <u>passim</u> )	51-52
1527 (DAD <u>Privata</u> 29, c40v)	56
1541 (35 ASA 15 np, c306r)	50
1551 (31 ASA 21-22 c312v)	42

The last rather high rate may be a mistake or the result of a freak shortage of silver. No other rates for 1551 have been found.

7. The Venetian money of account. See Braudel, op.cit. p.404. Only two rates of exchange have been found:

1548 (36 ASA 1 c149r)	£6.18.0. to the ducat
1551 (39 ASA 1 c113r)	£6. 4.0.

The Venetian lira was frequently used both at Ragusa and Ancona for quoting freight rates to Venice.

8. This ratio is clear from the notarial contracts. E.g. 33 ASA 17 c40lv; 39 ASA 1 c58v.

## APPENDIX B

PRICES

In view of the method of sampling the notarial contracts and of the non-random nature of the contracts themselves, it is impossible or at least unwise to construct price indices on the basis of the material selected. In Table VIII below some idea of the price relation between various years is shown. The numbers of observations quoted in the table do not indicate the number of contracts in which these goods appeared. A very large number of contracts only mentioned the balance of the price due or else did not state the exact quantity of goods bought. For other goods where price and quantity exist, the quotations are not in terms of weight or the piece (e.g. hides sold by the bale). Often the price of the goods was not mentioned at all. A common example of this was grain and wine which were often sold in advance at a price to be agreed by common consent at the harvest or vintage.

All the prices were almost by definition the prices of goods sold on credit and most of them were wholesale. The table gives median prices with the number of observations in brackets.



Table VIII

Median Prices of Various Goods

<u>Description</u>	<u>1479-85</u>	<u>1500-04</u>	<u>1509</u>	<u>1517-18</u>	<u>1527</u>	<u>1541-42</u>	<u>1550-51</u>	
(gold ducats per 100 lbs.)								
A. German hides	3.3 (1)*	3.3 (13)	4.4 (2)	3.6 (31)	4.5 (4)	4.7 (1)	4.8 (1)	A.
B. Moncastro hides	-	3.1 (6)	4.1 (7)	3.4 (2)	4.0 (4)	4.3 (2)	4.8 (7)	B.
C. Wax	-	8.3 (11)	8.5 (3)	10.0 (3)	6.6 (1)	8.5 (1)	8.5 (2)	C.
D. Iron	-	1.0 (8)	1.1 (1)	1.0 (2)	-	-	1.0 (1)	D.
E. Sugar	-	5.3 (7)	4.7 (22)	5.5 (3)	5.0 (1)	-	-	E.
F. Cotton	-	6.5 (2)	7.0 (2)	5.0 (3)	-	-	4.8 (6)	F.
G. Valonea	-	.3 (2)	.3 (1)	.3 (2)	.3 (1)	-	.6 (5)	G.
(gold ducats per piece)								
H. German hides	.4 (1)	.8 (2)	.9 (4)	.6 (27)	.7 (2)	-	-	H.
I. Moncastro hides	.5 (1)	.6 (10)	.7 (3)	.8 (2)	.9 (3)	.8 (4)	1.0 (7)	I.
J. Greek hides	-	.5 (3)	.6 (3)	.6 (1)	.7 (2)	-	.9 (3)	J.
K. Kerseys	-	7.5 (1)	-	-	8.0 (9)	10 (24)	11 (31)	K.
L. Ultrafini	-	-	-	-	20 (2)	26 (13)	28 (55)	L.
M. Armentini	-	-	-	-	-	22 (7)	-	M.
N. Mostavallieri	-	-	-	-	-	53 (1)	63 (4)	N.
O. Sopramani	22 (1)	-	-	-	24 (8)	-	29 (1)	O.
P. Camlets	-	-	3.5 (1)	-	3.0 (1)	-	4.0 (6)	P.
Q. Mahair	-	-	-	-	-	3.0 (3)	2.5 (7)	Q.
(gold ducats per salma)								
R. Grain (wheat)	2.0 (30)	4.8 (47)	-	2.0 (7)	3.0 (7)	2.4 (7)	4.5 (11)	R.

\* Number of observations in brackets.

## APPENDIX C

ACTIVITY OF MERCHANTS

The object of this appendix is four-fold. First it is hoped to show the possibility of finding in notarial contracts material dealing with a group of merchants selected from another source. Admittedly the group of merchants selected, those who paid the most customs' duty in the libri de depositeria, is a very biased group. But it is interesting that so many of them can be found in notarial contracts and indicates that other Italian cities may have similar material in their notarial archives.

Secondly, it is hoped that this appendix will show the sort of information that the notarial contracts give on commercial affairs. Even in these brief notes it should be clear that the range of activity covered by notarial contracts is quite wide.

Thirdly, the appendix gives an idea of the kind of business engaged in by different leading merchants and thus acts as an illustration of the remarks in Chapter Five.

Finally, by considering the changes in the materials handled by individual merchants and in the scale of their individual transactions some illustration of the cumulative changes in the commerce of the port over the period studied can be had. It is indeed just such material as that contained in this appendix that is the basis of the whole thesis.

Since the appendix must be impressionistic rather than precise, prices paid for goods have been omitted to save space except when they were unusually high or when the quantity of goods sold gives no indication of the scale of the transaction. Also in cases where there is much repetition of similar contracts, only a selection has been given. It should be noted that in almost all cases terms such as "bought" and "sold" refer to credit transactions and that the dates are the dates of the contracts and not necessarily those of the transactions.

The following abbreviations have been used in the appendix:

b. = bale; br. = braccia; c. = case (colla or cassa); c.q. = certain quantity translating such expressions as "tot", "tanta quantitas" or "certa quantitas"; d.a. = Gold ducat; fl. = florin; lb. = libbra; m. = milliarium; p. = piece; s. = sack; s.a. = soudum auri; t. = taula.  
For these weights, measures and units of money see Appendix A.

Activities of the leading merchants in the Libro de Depositaria  
of 1481 as seen in notarial contracts of 1479-1484

<u>Date</u>	<u>Activity</u>	<u>Reference</u>
1.	<u>FRANCISCO ANTONIO and FRANCISCO NICOLÒ FERRANTINI of Ancona</u>	
7.1.1479	Francisco Nicolo received in deposit from Giorgio Petri 40 d.a. and promised to return 20 in 6 mths. and 20 in one year.	1 ASA 1-2 c3r
27.3.1479	Giovanpaulo Bomplani of Ancona received in deposit from Francisco Nicolo 150 d.a. for 1 yr.	10 ASA 1 c33r
27.3.1479	Francisco Nicolo sold to another Anconitan a <u>berca</u> with all its equipment and a skiff for 72½ d.a.	Idem c33r
23.9.1479	Francisco Antonio sold hides for 60 d.a.	Idem ccl03-4
14.12.1479	Francisco Nicolo acquitted a Genoese of debt of 100 d.a.	14 ASA 1-3 cl34r
8.11.1480	Francisco Nicolo <u>patrone</u> of <u>navis</u> owned by Anconitans on voyage to Slavonia.	Idem c42v
27.8.1481	Francisco Nicolo sold Anconitan 50p. hides	1 ASA 1-2 cl44r
27.11.1481	Francisco Nicolo co-owner of ship "Santa Maria" at present in the harbour at Ancona. His will that ship stay there despite protest that the ship should sail.	4 ASA 1 cl21v
11.1.1482	Francisco Nicolo, <u>patrone</u> of <u>navis</u> , received <u>ad cambium</u> from Anconitan c.q. fustians which he promised to take to Constantinople. Goods to be restored within 15 days of safe arrival	

<u>Date</u>	<u>Activity</u>	<u>Reference</u>
	in Constantinople at lenders risk.	15 ASA 5 c14r
8.5.1482	Francisco Antonio sold saddles and Greek hides. Balance of purchase price outstanding 102 d.s.	Idem c55r
10.1.1483	Francisco Nicolo and another Anconitan are declared debtors of a third Anconitan in respect of various instruments of <u>cambium</u> to the value of 120 d.s.	Idem c76v
18.2.1483	Quittance of Ciriaco Brondoli of Ancona of the office of <u>scrivano</u> on the ship patronized by Francisco Nicolo. Francisco received from Ciriaco 43 d.s. the balance of the freight.	15 ASA 5 c79r
14.4.1483	Francisco Nicolo sold 2b. hides of Romania to man of San Severino.	Idem c86v
18.4.1483	Francisco Nicolo chartered his ship to some Neapolitans for voyage to ports of Apulia. Protest about non-payment of the freight.	Idem c87r
6.5.1483	Francisco Antonio sold 53c. soap to Anconitans.	Idem c94v
6.5.1483	Francisco Antonio gave in cambium to four merchants of Ancona 45c. soap, value 146 d.s. which they promised to send or take with the ship patronized by Bartolomeo Giacomo of Ragusa to Constantinople and to repay 2 months after the ship had returned in safety to Ancona. All risk to be borne by Ferrantini, except when the ship is standing at Constantinople.	Idem c95r
6.5.1483	Francisco Antonio sold 50c. soap to merchants of Ancona. Price 153 d.s. to be paid in 1 year.	Idem c95v



<u>Date</u>	<u>Activity</u>	<u>Reference</u>
4.6.1483	Francisco Nicolo, <u>dominus et patronus</u> of the ship "Santa Maria" in the port of Ancona sold 4 carats to Cosimo Martelli of Florence, as is written in a private instrument, for 62 <sup>2/3</sup> d.a. (The actual sale took place on 9 Jan. 1483)	Idem cl00r
6.3.1484	Francisco Nicolo sold to Anconitan a ship called "Santa Maria" which he had bought from Giovan Paolo Monoli of Ancona. Price 300 d.a. to be paid in one year. Purchasers to have complete freedom of the ship except that it was not to be used for contraband.	Idem cl65v
15.4.1484	Francisco Nicolo sold a vineyard, olive grove, house and meadow in the <u>contado</u> of Ancona for 108 d.a.	14 ASA 5 c67r
4.5.1484	Agent for Francisco Antonio sold 100p. Tuscan hides to men of Monte Ulmo.	Idem c80r
22.5.1484	Francisco Antonio sold 8654 lbs. soap for 11ld.a.	15 ASA 5 cl89v
2. <u>PIERO GIOVANNI of Pesaro, citizen of Ancona</u>		
23.12.1484	Sold 2400 lbs. Tuscan hides to man of Rocca C.	14 ASA 5 cl88v
5.6.1480	Sold 97 pairs 'setularium noirarum' and 1 pair 'pancelli mulieri' to Anconitan.	4 ASA 1 c26v
8.11.1480	Acting for himself and for Marchetti Tomassi sold to Anconitan 14 carats of the ship at present patronized by Francisco Nicolo Ferrantini for 262 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> d.a. Buyer promised not to sell the carats for at least 2 years.	14 ASA 1-3 c42r
30.10.1481	Bought 6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> m. firewood from Anconitan.	Idem cl11r

<u>Date</u>	<u>Activity</u>	<u>Reference</u>
3.	<u>HEIRS of BARTOLOMEO MARELLI of Ancona</u>	
31.3.1478	Bartolomeo Marini and Bartolomeo Marelli received biscuit <u>ad cambium</u> from Boldoni (no.7 below) loaded on caravel Ancona - Constantinople	15 ASA 1-3 c70r
28.11.1479	Bartolomeo Marini and Francisco Gerardi of Ancona and acting for Bartolomeo Marelli received <u>ad cambium</u> from Boldoni pitch and wine to carry Ancona - Segna - Alexandria - Damietta	14 ASA 1-3 cl24v
12.8.1480	<u>Re cambia</u> on ship patronized by Bartolomeo Marini on voyage Ancona - Crete - Rhodes - Alexandria - Damietta.	Idem cl9r
7.5.1481	Bartolomeo Marelli bought cloth from Anconitan	4 ASA 1 c84v
26.10.1481	Marelli, Marini and others bought a ship from "Spandrino". Details in another instrument.	14 ASA 1-3 cl12v
3.11.1481	This ship sailing to Alexandria and Beirut	8 ASA 3-4 c578v

4. FILIPPO NEROZZI of Bologna

No reference has been found to this merchant in the notaries' books. He has four entries in the depositary's book, one for grain exported, one for oil exported and the other two with no reference to the goods involved.

5. PAOLO of Ascoli

No reference to this merchant has been found in the notaries' books, he made only one payment to the customs on February 13 when he loaded 104b. cloth on the ship of Florio da Ragusa.

6. TOMASSEO of Ragusa

No reference to this merchant has been found in the notaries' books. He made only one payment to the customs on June 9 when he imported cotton, carpets, camlets and schiavine.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Activity</u>	<u>Reference</u>
7. <u>ANTONIO ANGELO BOLDONI of Ancona</u>		
31.3.1478	See no.3. above	15 ASA 1-3 c7Or
28.11.1479	Gave in <u>cambium</u> to Anconitans (see above no.3) wine, pitch and other goods, total value 40 d.s. to be taken to Segna and then to Alexandria and Damietta. Repayment within 10 days of return to Ancona. (Received 5.8.1481)	14 ASA 1-3c124v
29.6.1480	Boldoni and two other Anconitans promised to consign 40 <u>salme</u> grain to another Anconitan	Idem c11v
7.5.1483	Received <u>ad cambium</u> from Anconitan 25c. soap which he promised to send with Ragusan ship to Romania and repay 2 months after the ship had returned safely to Ancona.	
18.1.1484	With Venetian promised to consign to a Florentine 4200 lbs. Tuscan hides (@ 180-190 the bale) and this in payment of a debt to a third party whom the Florentine said he had already paid for the hides.	14 ASA 5 c11
4.2.1484	With same Venetian promised to consign to Anconitan c.q. Tuscan hides, value 138 d.s. in payment for 114 lbs. saffron	Idem c23r
25.4.1484	Sold 15 lbs. saffron to a Florentine	Idem c7Or
18.5.1484	Bought 5p. Florentine cloth from a Florentine	14 ASA 5 c89r
19.5.1484	Received <u>ad cambium</u> from a Florentine 87½ d.s. which he promised to send with the ship patronized by Luca More together with all the goods loaded by the Florentine on the ship on the voyage to Ortona, Segna and Vegle.	

<u>Date</u>	<u>Activity</u>	<u>Reference</u>
	Repayment to be made in merchandise. Risk to be the Florentine's both ways.	Idem c91v
21.5.1484	Bought 3p. cloth from man of Fano.	Idem c94r
25.5.1484	Made an offer of 150 d.s. for the galleon belonging to Giovanni da Verona and auctioned at the request of his creditor Giorgio Correxio of Chios. The auction was sanctioned by the Venetian consul and the galleon was eventually sold to an Anconitan for 254 d.s.	Idem c103-4
2.9.1484	Protest <u>re</u> timber loaded on an Anconitan ship	15 ASA 5 c193v
8.	<u>GIOVANNI di BIAGIO of Ragusa</u>	
	No reference to this merchant has been found in the notaries' books. He made only one payment to the customs on June 9 when he imported raw cotton, cotton yarn, cordovans and <u>montonini</u> .	
9.	<u>BARTOLOMEO di TOMMASEO of Ancona</u>	
15.3.1479	Inventory of the goods of a Venetian who had recently died and which were in Tommasi's possession. (Cloth, clothes, household goods)	14 ASA 1-3 c38r
6.2.1484	Sold 5b. German hides to man of Camerino.	14 ASA 5 c24v
6.3.1484	As factor of Benedetto Benincasa of Florence and on behalf of Giacomo Rossi of Pistoia heard the protest by the <u>patroni</u> of four Ragusan ships who said they had been chartered by Benincasa to carry wheat and barley from Manfredonia and Barletta to Ancona. They said that according to the charter-party they were to be paid after the grain had been unloaded at Ancona, and that the grain was to be unloaded within four days or else the charterers had to pay a penalty. It was now seven days since they had arrived at Ancona and they demanded that the grain be unloaded and that they be	



<u>Date</u>	<u>Activity</u>	<u>Reference</u>
	paid the freight and the penalty.	16 ASA 1 c21
8.3.1484	Bartolomeo replied, in the presence of the Ragusan consul, that the grain was not meant for Ancona, but Rimini, that he had not seen the charter-party and that he would do nothing until he had.	Idem c22r
9.11.1484	A Florentine in the name of Bartolomeo sold 21p. hides of Romania to men of Cingoli.	14 ASA 5 c253r
10.	<u>VANGELISTA and PACLUCCIO, origin unknown</u>	

No reference to these merchants have been found in the notaries' books nor do their payments to the customs give any indication of their business.

(In view of the low totals paid for the Customs in the year <sup>81</sup>14~~80~~, it was possible for merchants to appear in this list of the leading ten payers as a result of only one entry and that a fairly small one. Also it meant that several merchants not really based in Ancona could appear in the list. Of the above, nos. 4,5,6,8 and possibly 10 belong to this category).

Activities of the leading merchants in the Libro de Depositeris  
of 1502 as seen in notarial contracts of 1502

1. BARTOLOMEO di Ser TOMMASI and TOMMASO his son of Ancona

13.1.1502 For himself and in name of Benvenuti Benvenuti of Florence, procurator of Bernardo Morelli of Florence, said that it had come to his notice that the Council of Ancona had annulled a certain instrument of sale between Aloysius Alfonsi of Lisbon and said Bernardo re c.q. sugar.

22 ASA 1 c124v

<u>Date</u>	<u>Activity</u>	<u>Reference</u>
9.3.1502	Bought from Niccole Lippi 5c. sugar of Madeira and 3c. wax (727 lbs.)	7 ASA 1 c124v
19.3.1502	Sold 1458 lbs. wax to man of Foligno.	Idem c61r
17.6.1502	Acting for Ser Nicolo Michelozzi of Florence protested the non-payment of a letter of exchange drawn on Girolamo Cini (see no. 3 below).	13 ASA 2 c197r
29.7.1502	Sold 234 lbs. pepper to man of Ascoli.	Idem c217r
11.8.1502	Sold 82b. hides of Moncastro to man of Nursia.	Idem c226v
27.8.1502	Sold 318b. hides of Moncastro to man of Pergola.	Idem c226v
31.8.1502	Bartolomeo sold his son Tommaseo c.q. pepper and sugar.	Idem c240v
14.9.1502	Acting for Ottaviano d'Antonio Girini of Florence protested non-payment of letter of exchange drawn on Cini (see no.3. below).	Idem c248r
1.10.1502	Acting for Antonio Calvagni and Girolamo Girini & Co. <u>Lansoli</u> of Florence, as above.	Idem c257v
30.9.1502	Acting for Nori di Giacomo Venturi of Florence protested non-payment of letter of exchange drawn on Ciriaco Massioli (see no.2 below).	Idem c255v
30.9.1502	Acting for Nicolo di Bernardo del Nero & Co. of Florence, as above.	Idem c256r
29.10.1502	Sold 523 lbs. sugar to man of Foligno.	Idem c273r
10.11.1502	Together with Sebastian Lorenzo Pauli of Florence bought 977 lbs. wax from Ragusan.	13 ASA 2 c278v
1.12.1502	Sold 75 sheep to Anconitan.	Idem c291r
13.12.1502	Father and son sold 14 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> b. German hides.	Idem c296r

(This family were the agents of most of the Florentine lansoli whose books have been examined in Florence, and were also traditionally consuls of both the Florentine and Ragusan nations of Ancona.)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Activity</u>	<u>Reference</u>
2. <u>CIRIACO MASSIOLI of Bergamo</u>		
31.12.1502 01	Sold 42b. German hides to man of Nursia.	13 ASA 2 c78v
3.2.1502	Sold c.q. iron to man of Nursia.	11 ASA 2 c5r
5.4.1502	Sold 50b. and 4p. German hides to man of Nursia.	13 ASA 2 cl20v
12.5.1502	Sold 21b. German hides to man of Nursia.	7 ASA 8 c87r
8.6.1502	Sold 31b. and 5p. German hides and 2000lbs. of iron as above.	13 ASA 2 cl91r
9.6.1502	Sold 39b. German hides to man of Rocca Contrata.	Idem cl92r
17.6.1502	Sold 36b. German hides to man of Sasso- ferrato.	Idem cl97v
16.7.1502	Sold 950 lbs. cotton to man of Osimo.	Idem c213v
18.8.1502	Sold 514 <u>modi</u> salt to a Florentine.	Idem c231r
30.9.1502	Letter of exchange drawn on Massioli by Gentile di Loro da Fabriano in Pera (22.4.1502) for 62½ d.a. Payee Nori di Giacomo Venturi or his agent Tommasi. Value received in Pera from his son, Lionardo Venturi. Massioli refused payment. Idem c255v	
30.9.1502	Letter of exchange drawn as above in Pera (20.4.1502) for 50 d.a. Payee Nicolo di Bernardo del Nero & Co. or his agent Tommasi. Value received in Pera from Lorenzo di Antonio Rucellai. Massioli refused payment. Idem c256r	

(The sales of hides above are just a selection. In the notary's book,  
13 ASA 2 alone, there were 55 hide contracts concerning Massioli).

<u>Date</u>	<u>Activity</u>	<u>Reference</u>
3.	<u>GIROLAMO CINI of Pisa</u>	
2.3.1502	Sold 98p. German hides to man of Rocca Contrata. 7 ASA 8 c48r	
7.3.1502	Invested 100 <u>salme</u> wine in <u>societas</u> with two Anconitans, one of whom to carry it on a boat to Segna, sell and re-invest in timber.	13 ASA 2 cl09r
11.5.1502	Sold 2500 lbs. iron to Anconitans.	Idem cl41r
21.5.1502	Sold c.q. sugar and soap for 26d.a. to man of Gubbio.	Idem cl52r
6.6.1502	Sold 5680 lbs. iron to Anconitan.	Idem cl89r
17.6.1502	Letter of exchange drawn on Cini and Bernardino d'Andrea d'Artino by Nicolo d'Andrea d'Artino in Pera (26.3.1502) for 70 d.a. Payee Ser Nicolo Michelozzo or his agent Tommassi. Value received in Pera from Giuliano Maringhi. Refused payment saying that Bernardino was not in Ancona and he had not got the money.	Idem cl97r
14.9.1502	Letter of exchange drawn on the same as above by the same in Pera (26.5.1502) for 50 d.a. Payee Ottaviano d'Antonio Girini or his agent Tommasi. Value received from Antonio Girini in Pera. Refused payment.	Idem c248r
1.10.1509	As above. Drawn 3.6.1502 in Pera for 70 d.a. Payee Antonio Calvagni and Girolamo Girini & Co. <u>lanaioli</u> of Florence. Value received from Laddo Calvagni and Giovanni Girini in Pera. Payment refused.	Idem c257v
27.9.1502	Sold 1375 lbs. of cotton yarn to man of Borgo San Sepulchro.	Idem c254v

4. SCURO, a Greek

No reference to this merchant has been found in the notarial contracts. He made only one payment to the customs on 23 March and was probably



only in transit.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Activity</u>	<u>Reference</u>
5.	<u>TESEO CINELLI e fratelli of Perugia</u>	
11.5.1500	(Guglielmo Giacobi of Ragusa, <u>patrone</u> of caravel confessed to be the debtor of Rodolfo Cinelli of 190 d.a. worth of cow-hides loaded in Constantinople by Rodolfo's brother, Mario and of two <u>cambia</u> , in all 390 $\frac{2}{3}$ d.a. He paid the debt in 435 $\frac{1}{2}$ hides of Moncastro).	1 ASA 16 c156r
20.8.1502	Teseo Cinelli and brothers and Nicolo Roberti of Perugia sold 48 $\frac{1}{2}$ hides of Moncastro to men of Nursia.	13 ASA 2 c232r
22.8.1502	Same as above sold 50b. hides of Moncastro 'sive Terra de Adrondio' to men of Pergola.	Idem c232r
1.9.1502	Same as above sold 40b. hides of Moncastro to men of Rimini.	Idem c241v
21.9.1502	Teseo and Giovandrea Cinelli appointed their brother, Camillo, agent to make the following company with their brothers, Rodolfo and Mario in Perugia:	
	a) Capital of each brother as in a 'scripto' in the hands of Giovandrea.	
	b) Company to be called Teseo Cinelli and Bros.	
	c) Company to last for six years.	
	d) Object of Company, to trade in Ancona.	
	e) Rodolfo not held to place his person in the company, but all the others must.	
	f) All goods over the value of 50 d.a. inside or outside the Adriatic to be insured.	
	g) Salaries to be drawn annually but profits not to be drawn till end of six years.	Idem c250-1

6. BERNARDINO PILESTRI of Ancona

No reference to this merchant has been found in the notaries' books.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Activity</u>	<u>Reference</u>
7. <u>NICOLO LIPPI of Florence</u>		
11.1.1502	Sold 6br. <u>monarchini</u> .	13 ASA 2 c81r
2.3.1502	Sold 822 lbs. German hides to man of Nursia.	7 ASA 8 c47v
9.3.1502	Sold 5c. sugar of Madeira and 3c. wax to Tommasi	Idem c49v
4.4.1502	Sold 75b. German hides to man of Rocca C.	13 ASA 2 c119v
2.5.1502	Sold c.q. velvets and silks to man of S. Chirici	Idem c133r
22.5.1502	Leaned 3m. firewood to Anconitan. To return in 15 days or else to pay for it.	6 ASA 1 c396r
17.6.1502	Sold 7br. black camlets.	13 ASA 2 c197v
30.8.1502	Sold 20b. hides of Moncastro to man of Rocca C.	Idem c237v
8. <u>GIOVANBATTISTA BONAVENTURA of Sicily</u>		
9.5.1502	Bonaventura and Bartolomeo de Callis of Syracuse bought a black slave from two Anconitans for 25 d.a. and paid in 500 lbs. sugar of Sicily.	13 ASA 2 c138r
9. <u>GIANELLO SARADI of Ferrara</u>		
No reference has been found to this merchant in the notaries' books. He made only one payment to the customs on 1 April for wine exported.		
10. <u>Giorgio MATTAUITI, origin unknown</u>		
No reference to this merchant has been found in the notaries' books. He made only one payment to the customs on 30 July for <u>valonea</u> imported.		

(In view of the low totals paid to the Customs in this year, it was possible for merchants to appear in this list of the leading ten payers as the result of only one entry and that a fairly small one! The total paid <sup>by</sup> nos 4, 8, 9, and 10, all fairly clearly merchants in transit, rather than residents in Ancona, was less than the amount paid by the tenth merchant in any succeeding year for which there are records).

Activities of the leading merchants in the Libro de Depositaria  
of 1509 as seen in notarial contracts of 1509

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<u>Date</u>	<u>Activity</u>	<u>Reference</u>
1. TOMMASEO BARTOLOMEI di Ser TOMASSO of Ancona		
16.5.1508	(Letter of exchange drawn on Tomasseo by Pier Venturi & Co. <u>Lanaioli</u> of Florence for 300 d.a. Payee Antonio di Filippo del Migliore or Paolo Sinibaldi of Florence. For value in Florence from Piero Barti).	13 ASA 8 c256v
30.12.1508	Appointed a <u>patrone</u> of the ship "Santa Maria" owned by himself, Luigi de Goggis, two other Anconitans and another Ragusan.	13 ASA 9 n.p.
30.1.1509	Sold 25b. Greek hides.	Idem n.p.
17.2.1509	Sold 464 lbs. fish.	Idem n.p.
14.3.1509	Sold 6040 lbs. wax to men of Cingoli and Foligno for 435 d.a.	Idem cl07r
5.5.1509	Bought from merchant of Camerino 4m. and 2 metri of oil which by Tommasseo's order had been consigned to Trieste. Payment by August.	Idem cl45v
18.5.1509	Sold Andrea Scaglia, merchant of Bergamo living in Ancona, c.q. cod, eels and other fish. Balance of price outstanding 200 d.a.	Idem cl56v
22.5.1509	Sold 20b. hides to man of Camerino.	Idem cl64v
24.5.1509	Bought 1c. soap from Florentine merchant in Ancona.	24 ASA 3-4 c63v
15.6.1509	Appointed Francisco Giuliani Madini of Florence his agent to seek from Giacomo Bottegari of Florence 253 d.a. for <sup>bill</sup> <del>letter</del> of exchange <sup>drawn</sup> <del>written</del> <sup>on</sup> said Giacomo and sent by Giacobbo Giuliani, the main Florentine agent in Ragusa.	13 ASA 9 cl91
4.7.1509	Sold 1932 lbs. fish to Anconitans.	Idem c208v
4.8.1509	Sold 32b. Greek hides.	Idem c230r



<u>Date</u>	<u>Activity</u>	<u>Reference</u>
3.9.1509	Sold 30b. Greek hides to man of Pergola.	13 ASA 9 c252r
12.9.1509	Sold 30b. Greek hides to man of Nursia.	Idem c265r
20.10.1509	With other Anconitans chartered the <u>barciotto</u> "Sant'Andrea", <u>patrone</u> Giovanni degl'Agli of Ancona to load oil and grain at Fermo for Rhodes and Alexandria.	Idem c285r
8.12.1509	Sold 8br. cloth to man of Bergamo	Idem c335v
15.12.1509	Sold 380 lbs. cotton to Anconitans.	1 ASA 25 cl94r

(These hide sales and those of the other merchants in this year are only a selection of the large number of such contracts that were found, particularly in the notary's volume, 13 ASA 9).

2. LUIGI DRAGI de GOGGIS of Ragusa

30.12.1509	Appointed <u>patrone</u> of ship co-owned by himself, Tommasi and others (see no.1. above).	13 ASA 9 n.p.
29.1.1509	Sold c.q. silks and woolen cloth to Ragusans for 924 d.a.	Idem n.p.
31.1.1509	Sold 15b. Greek hides and 100 saddles.	Idem n.p.
7.3.1509	Sold 8b. Greek hides to man of Matelica.	Idem c96r
23.5.1509	Sold 16b. Greek hides to man of Pergola.	Idem cl67r
24.5.1509	Sold 8c. wax to man of Foligno.	Idem cl68v
8.6.1509	Sold 400 lbs. wool of Trieste.	Idem cl83v
1.9.1509	Insured 100 d.a. worth of goods loaded by Perugian on Ragusan ship from Constantinople to Ancona at 8%.	Idem c251r

3. GIROLAMO CINI of Pisa

7.2.1509	Sold 19 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> b. Greek hides to man of Nursia.	Idem n.p.
2.3.1509	Bought c.q. yarn from man of Foligno for 21d.a.	Idem <sup>c91r</sup> <del>n.p.</del>
27.3.1509	Sold 9b. Greek hides to man of Pergola.	Idem cl15r
29.3.1509	Elias Alegretti of Ragusa received from Cini 212 lbs. soap to take to Pera, sell and re-invest, risk and half the profit to Cini.	Idem cl17v
5.4.1509	Sold 18b. hides to man of Nursia.	13 ASA 9 cl27v
5.5.1509	Sold 2170 lbs. wool of Trieste.	Idem cl44v



<u>Date</u>	<u>Activity</u>	<u>Reference</u>
10.5.1509	Sold 12b. Greek hides to man of Camerino	Idem c152r
19.5.1509	Sold 10b. Greek hides to man of Rocca C.	Idem c161v
22.5.1509	Sold 13b. and 3p. Greek hides to man of Camerino.	Idem c165r
1.6.1509	Sold 8000 lbs. <u>valonea</u> .	Idem c174r
4.7.1509	Sold 10b. Greek hides to man of Pergola.	Idem c206v
13.8.1509	Sold 866 lbs. soap to Anconitan.	Idem c235v
27.8.1509	Sold 20b. Greek hides to man of Rocca C.	Idem c246v
30.8.1509	Bought land, capacity 8 <u>salme</u> grain in Paterno for 60 fl. which he let to the sellers. <u>ad coptium</u> of 3 <u>salme</u> grain each year.	Idem c248r
30.8.1509	Sold 50b. and 4p. Greek hides to man of Camerino.	Idem c248v
30.10.1509	Sold 5170 lbs. soap to merchant sailing to Pera.	24 ASA 3-4 c125r
21.11.1509	Sold 5b. hides of Moncastro to Anconitan.	1 ASA 25 c172r
4. <u>ANDREA CARLO of Pesaro</u>		
29.1.1509	Jewish merchant of Recanati promised to deliver 1½m. oil to Carlo.	13 ASA 9 n.p.
10.5.1509	Sold 46b. and 3p. Greek hides to man of Camerino.	Idem c150r
12.6.1509	Sold 2545 lbs. Levantine wool to Florentine who promised to consign c.q. Florentine <sup>cloth</sup> in pay- ment. The colours of the cloth to be consigned to be declared by Geronimo Casini and Piero Cechi, Florentines living in Ancona.	Idem c188r
30.6.1509	Sold 34b. Greek hides.	Idem c203v
12.7.1509	Sold 9lb. and 1p. Greek hides to man of Rocca C.	Idem c217r
3.8.1509	Sold c.q. black and white <u>grigii</u> to Spanish Jew for 126 fl.	Idem c229v

<u>Date</u>	<u>Activity</u>	<u>Reference</u>
12.9.1509	Sold 112b. Greek hides and 290p. German hides to men of Sant'Angelo in Vado for total of 945 d.a.	Idem c258-60
13.10.1509	Sold 1289 horse hides to man of Rocca C.	Idem c277r
6.11.1509	Sold 17b. and 9p. Greek hides to man of Cingoli.	Idem c300r
5. <u>GIOVANNI FRANCISCO BUSCURATI of Ancona</u>		
30.12.1509 <sup>08</sup>	Co-owner with nos. 1 and 2 above of "Santa Maria".	13 ASA 9 n.p.
6. <u>VINCENZO and FRANCISCO MARINOZZI of Ancona</u>		
23.2.1509	Francisco sold 9br. Florentine "monarchini".	6 ASA 3-4 c27r
26.4.1509	Vincenzo sold 8b. Greek hides.	13 ASA 9 c140r
26.7.1509	Vincenzo (and Cose Cosolano of Ancona) sold 119b. Greek hides to men of Pergola for 879 d.a.	Idem c225r
10.12.1509	Francisco had <u>cambia</u> on board the ship "Sant'Andrea" bound for Syria or Constantinople which the new owner agreed to accept from the old with whom they had originally been placed.	1 ASA 25 c184r
7. <u>GIOVANNI GRATIOSI of Ancona</u>		
3.2.1509	Sold 1½m. lime to a builder (murator).	6 ASA 3-4 c21v
27.2.1509	Sold c.q. Paduan flax to men of Montesicuro.	Idem c29r
26.4.1509	Bought 110 <u>salme</u> wine from Anconitan and agreed to pay at the vintage in c.q. lime, bricks and 2m. <u>planelle</u> .	Idem c41r
12.9.1509	Sold 1250 bricks.	Idem c49v
8. <u>ANTONIO GIOVANBATTISTA PICO of Ancona</u>		
7.3.1509	Andrea Buscurati, <u>patrone</u> of the ship "Ponte Conocchip" with the consent of Bartolomeo Massioli, owner of the ship and of three merchants travelling with the ship appointed Pico <u>scrivano</u> for a voyage from Ancona to Syria.	1 ASA 25 c43v
	(Presumably the ship left at some time around 17 April when Pico made a large customs payment).	

<u>Date</u>	<u>Activity</u>	<u>Reference</u>
9.	<u>PIERANTONIO CECCHI of Florence</u>	
22.1.1509	Sold 101 saddles to man of Assisi.	130ASA 9 n.p.
27.2.1509	Sold 511 lbs. wax.	Idem c90r
31.3.1509	Sold 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ p. <u>garbo</u> cloth of Florence to Ragusan.	Idem cl19r
20.4.1509	Sold 29b. and 8p. Greek hides to man of Rocca C.	Idem cl37v
24.4.1509	An Anconitan received from Cechi 5br. black velvet and promised to pay in c.q. wine by November.	Idem cl39r
8.5.1509	Sold 12b. 76p. tanned hides to man of Cingoli.	Idem cl48v
10.5.1509	Sold 194b. tanned hides to man of Camerino for 1180 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.a.	Idem cl50v
11.5.1509	Sold 34b. tanned hides to man of Rocca C.	Idem cl52v
14.5.1509	Sold 37b. tanned hides to men of Cingoli.	Idem ccl53-5
18.5.1509	Sold 10b. tanned hides "de ratione diversorum" to men of San Ginesio.	Idem cl59v
19.5.1509	Sold 172 lbs. pepper and 132 lbs. sugar to man of Ascoli.	Idem l61v
9.6.1509	Sold 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ br. <u>monarchini</u> , 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ br. black rays and 9br. kerseys.	Idem cl85v
11.7.1509	Sold 33b. and 9p. Greek hides.	Idem c215v
12.9.1509	Sold 8259 lbs. German hides to man of Sant' Angelo in Vado.	Idem c260r
8.10.1509	Sold 4p. Florentine <u>garbo</u> cloth to Florentine.	Idem c272r
23.10.1509	Sold 945 lbs. refined sugar and 1108 lbs. sugar of Madeira.	Idem c287v
8.11.1509	Sold 25b. hides of Moncastro to man of Camerino.	Idem c303r
10.	<u>ANTONIO GOLINI &amp; Co., origin unknown</u>	

No reference to this company has been found in the notaries' books.

Activities of the leading merchants in the Libro de Depositaria  
of 1517 as seen in notarial contracts of 1517

<u>Date</u>	<u>Activity</u>	<u>Reference</u>
1. <u>ANDREA CARLO of Pesaro</u>		
10.1.1517	Sold 255p. German hides	13 ASA 17 c8r
24.1.1517	Sold 244p. German hides to men of Rocca C.	Idem c18r
13.2.1517	Together with Melchior Angeli (no.8 below) sold to a merchant of Bergamo living in Ancona 15,250 lbs. of washed and 277 lbs. of unwashed wool for a total of 820 d.a.	Idem c31v
19.2.1517	Sold 362p. German hides to man of Rocca C.	Idem c35r
12.3.1517	Sold 180p. German hides to man of Rocca C.	Idem c46v
31.3.1517	Sold 307p. German hides to man of Rocca C.	Idem c58r
25.4.1517	As one of the merchants with goods on the ship of Brici (see below no.4) bound for Pera appointed a new <u>scrivano</u> .	Idem c75v
25.5.1517	Sold 240p. German hides to men of Rocca C.	Idem c94v
26.5.1517	Sold 20,630 lbs. German hides to men of Camerino for 764 d.a.	Idem c96r
28.7.1517	Sold 750p. German hides to men of Rocca C.	Idem c133v
2.9.1517	Gave in deposit to five Anconitans 600 d.a.	Idem c157r
3.9.1517	Sold 1080p. German hides to men of Rocca C. for 634 d.a.	Idem c158r
8.9.1517	Sold 434p. German hides to man of Sassoferrato	Idem c160v
10.9.1517	Sold 1055p. German hides to men of Rocca C.	Idem c161v
22.9.1517	Sold 675p. German hides to men of Rocca C.	Idem c174v
25.9.1517	Sold 581p. hides of Adronzio to men of Rocca C.	Idem c175r
9.10.1517	Sold 550p. German hides to man of Sant'Angelo in Vado.	Idem c184v

(This is only a selection of the larger hide sales made by this merchant. He also sold a few Greek hides).

2. LUIGI DRAGI de GOGGIS of Ragusa

28.4.1517 Sold 4m. ashes for soap-making to soapmakers Idem c77r



27.10.1517 Sold 252p. German hides

Idem cl97v

3. LORENZO CECCHI of Florence

1.4.1517 Sold 362p. German hides to men of Rocca C.

13 ASA 17 c58r

25.4.1517 Sold 4s. almonds to Sienese.

Idem c76r

22.9.1517 Sold 40m. valonea to men of Cremona.

Idem cl75v

12.10.1517 Sold 100 salme barley.

Idem cl88v

4. MARCANTONIO BRICI of Siena, citizen of Ancona

18.2.1517 Sold 45b. Greek hides to men of Camerino.

Idem c33r

26.3.1517 Sold 1104 lbs. wool.

Idem c56v

9.3.1517 Sold 1550 lbs. washed Levant wool to man of  
Camerino.

Idem c43r

25.4.1517 Sold 30,000 lbs. bassi to man of Bergamo.

Idem c72r

25.4.1517 Appointed an Anconitan patrone of his ship  
"Santa Maria de Loreto" for voyage to Pera.

Idem c73v

25.4.1517 In conjunction with the majority of the  
merchants trading with the ship appointed a  
Venetian as scrivano.

Idem c75v

28.4.1517 With the consent of Brici, the new patrone  
accepted ad cambium c.q. cloth for Pera.

Idem c76v

22.9.1517 Sold 27b. Greek hides to man of Iesi.

Idem cl70r

22.9.1517 Sold 2534 lbs. raw cotton.

Idem cl72v

19.8.1517 Sold 29b. Greek hides.

Idem cl47r

5. ANDREA SCAGLIA of Bergamo

6.5.1517 Sold 105b. German hides to man of Camerino

22 ASA 6 c24v

6. GIROLAMO CINO of Pisa

17.2.1517 Sold 168p. hides of Moncastro.

13 ASA 17 c32v

17.3.1517 Sold 470 lbs. wool.

Idem c50r

20.10.1517 Sold 4b. wax.

Idem cl95r

7. ANTONIO GIACOMO DALLA PERA of Ancona

25.4.1517 Made claim re 400 d.a. worth of goods loaded  
on Ragusan ship during the Fair of Recanati  
"risico periculo et fortuna" of the ship  
which had perished.

13 ASA 17 c74v

25.4.1517 One of majority of merchants loading on the ship of Marcantonio Brici who appointed a new patrone for the voyage to Pera.

Idem c75v

8. MELCHIOR ANGELI of Camerino

13.2.1517 With Carlo (no. 1 above) sold wool to value of 820 d.a. to man of Bergamo.

Idem c31v

6.4.1517 Sold 25b. Greek hides to man of Camerino.

Idem c63r

25.5.1517 Sold 15,000 lbs. valonea.

Idem c94v

17.6.1517 Sold 122 $\frac{1}{2}$ br. black velvet of Florence.

Idem cl03v

18.6.1517 Chartered marciliana of Chioggia to carry domestic goods to Ferrara.

22 ASA 6 c36r

30.10.1517 Sold 5m. oil.

13 ASA 17 c200r

9. AGOSTINO degl'AFFAITATI of Cremona

No reference to this merchant has been found in the notaries' books but from 1509-24 Pier Martino degl'Affaitati seems to have acted as the agent of this family in Ancona and the following references can be found for 1517.

26.1.1517 Sold 209 lbs. sugar

13 ASA 17 c20v

3.4.1517 Sold 819 lbs. sugar

Idem c60v

4.4.1517 Sold 5153 lbs. sugar and 704 lbs. brazil wood.

Idem c61v

5.11.1517 Sold 3986 lbs. brazil wood to Ragusan for 159 d.a.

Idem c201v

10. GORO ANDREA SIMONI of Fabriano, citizen of Ancona

6.1.1517 Sold 1000 lbs. wool of Levant and 1000 lbs. iron

Idem c7r

6.3.1517 Sold 528 lbs. iron (there are several contracts where Goro sells small quantities of iron)

Idem c41r

14.3.1517 Sold 233 lbs. wool to Anconitans.

13 ASA 17 c48v

27.5.1517 Sold 243p. German hides.

Idem c96v

11.8.1517 Sold 480p. German hides to men of Camerino.

Idem cl40v

29.8.1517 Sold 500 lbs. wool.

Idem cl52v

12.11.1517 Sold 255p. German hides to man of Rocca C.

Idem c202v

(This merchant made many small sales of iron, wool, and German hides in the notary's book 13 ASA 17)

The year 1517 suffers from the fact that for nearly all commercial matters, it is necessary to depend almost entirely on the one notary's book, 13 ASA 17. In all, seven notarys' books have been studied for this year but none of the others have many commercial contracts.

Activities of the leading merchants in the Libro de Depositaria  
of 1527 as seen in notarial contracts of 1527

<u>Date</u>	<u>Activity</u>	<u>Reference</u>
1. <u>FRANCESCO GIOVANNI CINI of Pisa</u>		
18.1.1527	Sold a sack of wool to Jew of Salonika.	28 ASA 3-4 c10v
13.2.1527	Sold c.q. hides of Salonika.	11 ASA 17-8 c26r
15.2.1527	In dispute with Genoese merchants and Lorenzo Cechi over calets imported to Ancona by Turkish merchants.	Idem c28v
18.3.1527	In dispute re 6200 d.a. worth of goods bought in Aleppo.	13 ASA 25-6 c22
18.6.1527	Sold 15b. Greek hides to men of Rocca Contrata.	Idem c37v
22.6.1527	Sold 51b. Greek hides as above.	Idem c40v
21.10.1527	Sold 306p. Greek hides to men of Camerino.	11 ASA 17-8 c164v
2. <u>GIACOMO MINIATTI of Florence</u>		
3.7.1527	Sold Lorenzo Cechi 81 <u>sopramani</u> cloths of Florence, 63 made by Lorenzo Segni & Co. and 16 by Tommaseo Loazi & Co. Price in all 2065½ d.a. to be paid in 14 months.	Idem c122r
15.5.1527	Bought c.q. German hides for 121 d.a. from Florentine merchant living in Ancona.	Idem c90v
7.9.1527	Sold 14,000 lbs. <u>valonea</u> .	13 ASA 25-6 c57v
14.9.1527	Sold 170p. hides of Moncastro and c.q. <u>valonea</u> to men of Sant'Angelo in Vado.	11 ASA 17-8 c152v
30.10.1527	Sold 4 Florentine <u>sopramani</u> to Ragusan.	13 ASA 25-6 c75v
3. <u>GIOVANNI di TOMMASEO and TOMMASEO BARTOLUTI of Ancona</u>		
25.1.1527	Sold 623 lbs. Syrian flax to men of San Severino.	11 ASA 17-8 c12v

<u>Date</u>	<u>Activity</u>	<u>Reference</u>
26.2.1527	Tommaseo sold 350 lbs. wool.	25 ASA 10-11 c57v
27.4.1527	Giovanni involved in protest as consul of the Florentines and Genoese.	11 ASA 17-8 c85v
7.9.1527	Giovanni sold 42b. Greek hides	13 ASA 25-6 c58v
7.10.1527	Giovanni sold 558p. hides of Moncastro to men of Caldorola.	Idem c67v
14.12.1527	Giovanni sold 86b. Greek hides to men of Pergola.	11 ASA 17-8 cl78r

4. MARSELINO BONINGHELLI, origin unknown

No references to this merchant have been found in the notaries' books.

5. LORENZO and PIERANTONIO CESCHI of Florence.

17.1.1527	Lorenzo bought 390 kerseys and 20p. London cloth from a merchant of Lucca for a total of 4054 d.a. whom he paid 500 d.a. cash, 1170 d.a. in 585 lbs. of rhubarb and the balance to be paid in April.	11 ASA 17-8 c8r
15.2.1527	Lorenzo in dispute with Genoese and with Francesco Cini over camlets imported to Ancona by Turks.	Idem c28v
9.5.1527	Pierantonio sold 12 Florentine <u>sopramani</u> made by Giovanbattista and Giulio Ricci to a merchant of Zara.	13 ASA 25-6 c29v
2.7.1527	Lorenzo sold c.q. <u>sopramani</u> worth 300 d.a. to a Bosnian to be delivered to a Turk in Velona and was paid in c.q. cordovans.	11 ASA 17-8 cl2lv
3.7.1527	Lorenzo bought 81 <u>sopramani</u> from Giacomo Miniatti of Florence for 2065½ d.a.	Idem cl22r
15.7.1527	Lorenzo sold 3223 lbs. alum to Antiqui of Ancona.	Idem cl27v
14.12.1527	Lorenzo sold to a Venetian a galleon, four-fifths of which belonged to the heirs of the <u>condottiere</u> , Giovanni de'Medici. The buyer promised to pay the price of 2000 d.a. to Lorenzo's brother in Chios.	Idem cl30r



6. LUIGI de GOGGIS of Ragusa

6.11.1527 Sold 6b. wax and 200 montonini to men of  
Cingoli.

11 ASA 17-8 c170r

16.12.1527 Sold 50b. Greek hides to men of Pesaro.

Idem c181r

7. GIOVANNI MARCHI of Rome

3.1.1527 Bought c.q. hides from Venetian for 850 d.a. 13 ASA 25-6 c11r

18.6.1527 Sold 82b. Greek hides to men of Rocca

Contrata.

Idem c37r

5.7.1527 Sold 40b. Greek hides to men of Senigallia.

Idem c44v

9.7.1527 Sold 32b. Greek hides to men of Camerino.

Idem c45v

17.9.1527 Sold cloth, value 60 d.a. to man of Pergola. 11 ASA 17-8 c153r

8. GIOVANNI AMBROGI and GERONIMO FRANCHI of Genoa

18.3.1527 Arbiters in dispute over goods from Aleppo. 13 ASA 25-6 c22

18.6.1527 Giovanni sold c.q. Greek hides, value 290 d.a. 11 ASA 17-8 c114r

17.10.1527 Giovanni and Geronimo and Damiano Negri of

Genoa bought a barciotto from a Chiot for

660 d.a.

Idem c161r

5.12.1527 Giovanni and Geronimo payers of letter of  
exchange for 100 d.a. drawn on them by the  
patrone of a ship from Chios.

13 ASA 25-6 c84r

14.12.1527 Giovanni sold 672p. Greek hides to man from  
Pergola.

11 ASA 17-8 c179r

9. GERONIMO MARCANTONIO ANTIQUI of Ancona, the Venetian consul

12.7.1527 With another merchant bought 6800 lbs. soap. 28 ASA 3-4 c137r

13.7.1527 Had merchandise, value 1728 d.a. on board

Venetian ship 'Santa Maria' bound for

Barbary in societas with Giuliano Ginori

of Florence. Profits to be shared 50:50.

13 ASA 25-6 c46v

15.7.1527 Bought 3223 lbs. alum from Lorenzo Cechi.

11 ASA 17-8 c127v

10. GASPARRO, origin unknown

No reference to this merchant has been found in the notaries' books.

Activities of the leading merchants in the Libro de Depositaria  
of 1541-2 as seen in notarial contracts of 1541-2

<u>Date</u>	<u>Activity</u>	<u>Reference</u>
1. <u>GIROLAMO GIRINI of Florence</u>		
9.3.1541	Sold 129p. hides of Moncastro to men of Rocca Contrata.	31 ASA 13 c8r
28.4.1541	Sold five kerseys to men of Rocca Contrata.	Idem c52r
5.5.1541	Sold one <u>salma</u> of grain to man from Arnigdola.	Idem c56v
7.5.1541	For himself and in the name of Pandolfo Biliotti appointed an agent to collect a large number of small debts owed by people in and around Ancona mainly on account of grain sales.	Idem cc57-8
10.5.1541	Sold 90 <u>salme</u> grain to man of Fano.	Idem c61r
23.5.1541	Payee of letter of exchange drawn by Giovanbattista and Lorenzo Guicciardini & Co. of Antwerp on Giovanni Gualterucci of Ancona. Instructions that the 242 d.a. paid be placed to the a/c of Domenico Maria dalle Balle of Bologna.	Idem c75v
24.5.1541	Sold to Corfiot $\frac{1}{2}$ <u>navis</u> 'Santo Bernardo' <u>pro indiviso</u> with himself for the other $\frac{1}{2}$ for the price of 330 d.a.	Idem c75v
24.5.1541	Evidence in protest that Antonio Girini of Florence, now living in Pera, had loaded on the <u>barcia</u> 'Santa Maria di Loreto' 30s. of various spices including cinnamon, cloves and pepper consigned to Girolamo Girini and Esdra, Jew of Salonika.	Idem c76v
26.5.1541	Sold 260 buffalo hides to men of Rocca Contrata.	Idem c79r
18.6.1541	Sold 50p. hides of Salonika to man of Nursia.	Idem c98v
1.7.1541	Sold 101p. hides to Moncastro to man of Sant'Angelo in Vado.	Idem c109v


<u>Date</u>	<u>Activity</u>	<u>Reference</u>
2.7.1541	Chartered galleon to load up to 2000 sacks of raisins in Patras or Lepanto.	Idem c112v
11.8.1541	Bought 20 <u>ultrafini</u> from Sebastian Vas of Portugal.	31 ASA 13 c126v
5.9.1541	Sold 16b. hides to man of Caldorola.	Idem c144r
2. <u>GIOVANNI SENATI of Ancona</u>		
1.1.1541	Bought 40 <u>ultrafini</u> from merchant of Mantua for 1040 d.a. Payment in 8 months.	33 ASA 17 c9r
7.1.1541	Sold 200p. caviar to Anconitan.	Idem c16r
8.1.1541	Sold 22 bundles of hay to Anconitan.	Idem c16v
15.3.1541	Sold 26p. German hides.	31 ASA 13 c16v
26.3.1541	Gave 66 s.a. in deposit to two Anconitans.	Idem c26v
27.3.1541	Sold 20p. German hides to man of Sassoferrato.	Idem c27r
6.4.1541	Genoese promised to consign to Senati at the beach of Fiumesino 100m. of timber.	Idem c40v
29.4.1541	Together with Augustino Panesi of Genoa bought c.q. cloth from Leonardo Luttrini & Co.	Idem c53r
17.5.1541	Sold $\frac{1}{2}$ <u>salma</u> grain to Anconitans.	Idem c67r
1.6.1541	Sold 120p. mohair to Genoese.	Idem c86v
21.5.1541	Sold 550p. tanned hides to man of Rocca Contrata.	33 ASA 17 c266v
2.6.1541	Sold 490p. German hides as above.	Idem c304v
1.7.1541	Sold 10p. German hides to man from Abruzzi.	31 ASA 13 c110r
1.7.1541	Sold 4645 lbs. wool to man of Ascoli.	Idem c110v
15.8.1541	Bought 30 kerseys from Milanese merchant living in Ancona.	33 ASA 17 c411v
24.8.1541	Sold 30b. hides of Kaffa to men of Rotella.	31 ASA 13 c137r
11.1.1542	<sup>B:U</sup> <del>Letter</del> of exchange for 114 $\frac{2}{3}$ s.a. drawn on Senati by Guglielmo Scarlatti in Pera. Payee Paolo Peruzzi. Protested.	Idem c217r



<u>Date</u>	<u>Activity</u>	<u>Reference</u>
3. <u>GIOVANNI GONDULA of Ragusa</u>		
9.3.1541	Sold 1b. Kerseys to Anconitans.	31 ASA 13 c9r
12.3.1541	Appointed arbiter by Florentine merchants in dispute over their ship.	Idem cl3r
28.4.1541	Sold 72b. and 2p. of tanned hides to man of Camerino.	31 ASA 13 c52v
19.5.1541	Sold 2p. English 'mostavalieri' to Jew.	33 ASA 17 c263v
19.5.1541	Sold 36 kerseys to Jew.	Idem c263v
1.7.1541	Examined at petition of Mantuan merchant a bale of kerseys and declared that in his judgement they had been damaged by water on the voyage between Ferrara and Ancona.	31 ASA 13 cl11v
2.12.1541	Sold 40 kerseys to Ragusan.	Idem cl85v
4. <u>PAOLO PAVESI of Ancona</u>		
No references to this merchant have been found in the notaries' books.		
5. <u>BENEDETTO DORIA of Genoa</u>		
11.1.1541	Sentence that Alexander Ralli of Chios must give half the quantity of cotton disputed to Doria.	31 ASA 13 c3r
12.3.1541	Appointed arbiter in dispute by Anconitan.	Idem cl3r
1.4.1541	Sold c.q. woollen cloth and silks to merchant of Chios for 1648 s.a.	Idem cc32-3
1.4.1541	Insured 500 s.a. worth of above which had been loaded by the purchaser on the ship 'Mater Dei' bound for Syria.	Idem c33v
6.6.1541	Bought the Barcia called 'La Mollica' from Antonio Ralli of Chios, her captain and <u>patrone</u> , for 3150 s.a. Payment in 10 months.	Idem c89v
3.8.1541	Man of Senigallia promised Doria for himself and on behalf of Lorenzo Marri of Genoa to consign 800 <u>salme</u> grain into a barca at the beach of Senigallia by September.	Idem cl24v



<u>Date</u>	<u>Activity</u>	<u>Reference</u>	204
19.9.1541	Doria and Lorenzo Marii of Genoa chartered a Ragusan ship for a voyage to Chios. No further details.	Idem c150v	
21.4.1542	Doria for himself and in the name of Lorenzo Marii bought four carats of the <u>navis</u> 'Santa Maria de Gratia' just arrived from Rodosto from Marino Berisca of Ragusa for 200 s.a. Berisca sold another six carats to a Ragusan on the same day.	31 ASA 13 c266v	
31.5.1543	Together with other co-owners of the above ship appointed Niccolo Matthei of Insula de Medio <u>patrone</u> .	Idem c312v	
5.7.1542	Together with the Giustiniani of Chios and his partner Lorenzo Marii chartered half the ship 'La Mollica' for a voyage to Coron. (It is not clear from this contract whether Doria still owned this ship, see 6.6.1541 above. The contract specifically said that the charter was made with the consent of Constantine Ralli, the ship's captain).	Idem c336r	
7.9.1541	Men of Senigallia promised Doria and Marii to consign <sup>1000</sup> <del>1000</del> <u>salme</u> grain into a <u>barca</u> at the beach of Senigallia. Total cost to be 2500 s.a., 700 down, 500 in ten days, 500 in 20 days, 500 in 30 days and balance on consignment.	Idem c146v	
9.10.1542	Doria and Marii chartered Sicilian <u>navis</u> 'Santa Caterina' to load barley at Tremite and take it to Naples.	Idem c436v	
6.	<u>CESARE LUDOVICI of Urbino</u>		
18.2.1541	Sold 2650 cordovans for 874 d.a. to Jewish company in Ancona.	33 ASA 17 c92v	

11.6.1541 Appointed Adrian Pannimac, Flemish merchant living in Ancona to receive in his name 3b. of kerseys, nos. 18, 19 and 20, signed  belonging to Marco Bono of Ragusa. The bales to be brought from Antwerp to Ancona with another 6 'sub conductum' of Martin Arne, Fleming.

31 ASA 13 c92r

23.8.1541 Sold 1380 cordovans to Jew.

33 ASA 17 c428r

7. LEONARDO LOCTINI and HONOFRIO ARNOLFI & Co. of Florence

29.4.1541 Sold c.q. cloth to Senati and a Genoese merchant for 240 d.a.

31 ASA 13 c53r

29.4.1541 Sold 100 salme grain to men of Trieste.

Idem c54r

15.6.1541 Bought 7p. 'San Martini' cloth from Sienese.

Idem c96r

27.8.1541 Together with the heirs of Giovanni Tommassi sold 317b. hides of Moncastro to men of Pergola for 1585 d.a.,  $\frac{1}{2}$  in 6 months and  $\frac{1}{2}$  in 1 year.

Idem cl39r

30.8.1541 Together with heirs of Giovanni Tommasi sold 1490p. hides of Moncastro to men of Calderola.

Idem cl42r

8.12.1541 As above sold 143b. hides to men of Camerino. Idem cl88r

8. CANVAMAR, Turkish merchant

No reference to this merchant has been found in the notaries' books. There are in fact very few references to Turks in the notarial contracts of this period although 14 Turks paid some 6% of the customs duties. Much more contact between the Turkish Empire and the west was provided by the Jews, but the following two contracts are probably typical of the sort of business of the Turks in Ancona, once they had sold their cargoes of camlets and hides, and purchased their return cargoes.

14.6.1541 Cagi Mecmet of Brusa, Cagi Usuf and Cagi Sali, all Turks, chartered the schirazzo of Marino Giovanni of Cattaro to take cloth to Castelnuovo

<u>Date</u>	<u>Activity</u>	<u>Reference</u>	206
	or Narenta.	35 ASA 15 c306r	
16.6.1543	Three Jews chartered the <u>navigli</u> of Aga and Ali, Turks, to load 86b. cloth for Ragusa or Castelnuevo.	32 ASA 1 c293r	
9.	<u>LUCA SALRECHI (possibly SALVERECCI), origin unknown</u>		
23.8.1542	Evidence in protest <u>re</u> charter-party made between Luca Salrechi and Nicolo Curetti of Ragusa, <u>patrone</u> of a pilgrim ship, to carry a load of cotton and damask from Tripoli in Syria to Ancona.	31 ASA 13 c385v	
10.	<u>PANDOLFO BILIOTTI of Florence</u>		
12.3.1541	Biliotti and Giacomo Giacomini, and in the name of Vincenzo the Albanian, <u>patrone</u> of their ship, appoint Giovanni Gondula arbiter in a dispute over the ship.	Idem cl3r	
15.3.1541	Sold 4300 lbs. of wool.	Idem cl6r	
7.5.1541	Gerini in the name of Biliotti appointed agent to collect large number of small debts in Ancona and district, mostly for sales of grain.	Idem c57-8	
29.8.1541	Sold 1800 cordovans to Spanish Jew.	Idem cl41v	

Activities of some leading importers in the Customs Register of 1551  
as seen in notarial contracts of 1550-52

1. CESARE LUDOVICI of Urbino

a) In customs register

Imported 9b. of cloth for sale and 19b. for transit on boats 2, 19, 22, 51, 106, 133, 175, 191, 261, and 309.  
 Imported 2b. and 121p. of hides on boats 102 and 306.  
 Imported 122c. of wax on boats 102, 220 and 306.  
 Also imported carpets, soap, cloves, incense and schiavine.

b) In notarial contracts

<u>Date</u>	<u>Activity</u>	<u>Reference</u>
6.5.1550	For himself and on behalf of a Ragusan sold	

<u>Date</u>	<u>Activity</u>	<u>Reference</u>	207
	two <u>sopramani</u> of Florence and seven Winchcombe kerseys to men of Senigallia.	39 39 ASA 1 c57v	
18.6.1550	Sold 3272 lbs. raw cotton to Perugian.	Idem c96r	
8.1.1551	Chartered Ragusan ship to go to Chiarenza, Volo, Salonika or Negroponte to load 120 <u>carri</u> of grain and to unload either in Livorno and other ports of the Tyrrhenian or in various Spanish and Portuguese ports. If unable to load full cargo of grain to go to Chios to load general merchandise and Constantinople to load hides.	31 ASA 21-2 cl3r	
18.2.1551	Sold 100 camlets to Florentine merchant living in Ancona.	36 ASA 3 c65v	
11.3.1551	Bought the galleon 'Santo Spirito' from its Portuguese and Anconitan owners for 1200 s.a. Price paid 700 s.a. in c.q. rhubarb and 500 s.a. in cash.	31 ASA 21-2 c50v	
14.5.1551	Sold six carats of galleon to Florentine.	Idem cl09r	
8.5.1551	Sold 17 <u>ultrafini</u> to an Anconitan.	36 ASA 3 cl19v	
6.7.1551	Sold 470 cordovans.	Idem cl68r	
17.8.1551	Protest <u>re</u> non-arrival of seven bales of <u>ultrafini</u> supposed to have been delivered to Ancona by Piero Schapi from unspecified source.	Idem cl93v	
31.8.1551	Chartered <u>barca</u> for trip Ancona - Dolcigno - Modon - Ancona to load grain.	36 ASA 3 c209v	
1.9.1551	Paid the debt of a Florentine to a Sienese in 55 s.a. worth of wax.	Idem c210v	
3.9.1551	Sold 61p. hides of Alexandria to man of Urbino.	Idem c213r	
6.10.1551	Chartered 50 <u>carri</u> of his galleon for trip Ancona - Constantinople - Rodosto - Ancona to load grain.	39 ASA 21-2 cl09: 39 ASA 21-2 cl10	
5.4.1552	Payee of <sup>bill</sup> <del>Letter</del> of exchange for 24 s.a. drawn by Nicolo and Andrea fratelli Franscisci di Sorgho in Ragusa <sup>on</sup> <del>the</del> the <u>patrone</u> of a Ragusan		



DateActivityReference

ship.

36 ASA 4 c140v

2. BENEDETTO GONDULA of Ragusaa) In customs register

Imported 120b. cloth in transit on boats 1, 19, 22, 51, 106,  
133, 134, 175, 183, 191 and 261.

Imported 104c. wax on boat 363.

Also imported sugar and grain.

b) In notarial contracts

<u>Date</u>	<u>Activity</u>	<u>Reference</u>
13.1.1551	Sold c.q. camlets to Portuguese Jew for 145 s.a.	36 ASA 3 c16r
12.2.1551	Sold 20 'mani' kerseys to Anconitan.	Idem c60r
19.2.1551	Sold two English 'mostavallieri' cloth to same.	Idem c68r
23.2.1551	Sold c.q. camlets to Jews for 468 d.a.	Idem c81v
17.3.1551	Cancelled charter-party made with shipowner of Perastro. No details.	31 ASA 21-2 c62v
13.7.1551	Chartered <u>navis</u> of Ancona. No details.	Idem c183r
14.8.1551	Chartered <u>schirazzo</u> of Ragusa. No details.	Idem c196r
6.10.1551	Chartered 30 <u>carri</u> of galleon belonging to Cesare Ludovici for trip Ancona - Constantinople - Rodosto - Ancona to load grain.	39 ASA 21-2 c109r
27.7.1551	Bought c.q. paper from Florentine merchant living in Ancona. Balance of price owing was 315 s.a.	36 ASA 3 c84v
26.2.1552 and dates till end of April	Giovanni Gabrielli acting for Benedetto Gondula charters 12 barche to load grain at Codigoro and consign it to the agent of the Savini in <del>Ferrara</del> ferrara.	36 ASA 4 c84v 95r, 101v, 102r, 111v, 112r, 125r 136v, 138v, 145.

3. FRANCISCO GABRIELI and VINCENZO CAVINCIONI & Co. of Luccaa) In customs register

Imported 99b. of cloth for sale on boats 1, 175, 260, 261, 309.

b) In notarial contracts

<u>Date</u>	<u>Activity</u>	<u>Reference</u>
30.1.1550	Sold 20 kerseys.	37 ASA 4 c58r
5.2.1550	Sold 10 kerseys.	Idem c69r
3.6.1550	Sold 20 <u>ultrafini</u> to Anconitans.	39 ASA 1 c69r
16.10.1550	Sold 6b. <u>ultrafini</u> to Jew living in Ancona.	37 ASA 4 c437r
27.10.1550	Sold 5 <u>ultrafini</u> to Anconitan.	Idem c451r
15.12.1550	Sold 12 <u>ultrafini</u> to citizens of Siena and Senigallia.	Idem c523v
16.12.1550	Sold 4 <u>ultrafini</u> to Anconitans.	39 ASA 1 c110v
10.1.1551	Sold 6 pieces of rays and damasks.	36 ASA 3 c12v
26.2.1551	Sold 1½b. <u>ultrafini</u> to Bolognesi.	38 ASA 10 c81v
14.3.1551	Sold 4 <u>ultrafini</u> to man of Osimo.	39 ASA 1 c123v
28.4.1551	Sold 8 <u>ultrafini</u> to men of Senigallia.	36 ASA 3 c109v
17.4.1551	Sold 20 <u>ultrafini</u> to Florentine merchant in Ancona.	Idem c102v
3.4.1551	Sold 12 <u>ultrafini</u> to Anconitans.	39 ASA 1 c128v
13.5.1551	Sold c.q. <u>valonea</u> .	Idem c135v
10.7.1551	Sold 16 <u>ultrafini</u> to Florentine merchant in Ancona.	36 ASA 3 c169r
19.6.1551	Sold 6 pieces of rays and damasks.	Idem c160r
26.8.1551	Sold 12p. <u>ultrafini</u> to Anconitan.	Idem c204r

4. GIROLAMO GIRINI and ALUIGI PESSARO & Co. of Florencea) In customs register

Imported 45b. cloth for sale and 2b. for transit on boats 106, 175, 191.

Imported 3b. cordovans on boat 131.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Activity</u>	<u>Reference</u>
3.4.1550	Sold 59p. hides of Moncastro to Florentine.	39 ASA 1 c53v
26.6.1550	Sold 2600 lbs. Levant hides to men from the Abruzzi.	Idem c77v
16.7.1550	Sold 30,193 lbs. <u>valonea</u> to Bolognesi.	39 ASA 1 c85r
29.12.1550	Sold 1990 lbs. Levant wool to Florentines.	36 ASA 3 c2r
14.1.1551	Sold 4000 lbs. of <u>valonea</u> to Anconitans.	Idem c20v
14.1.1551	Sold 327 lbs. sugar to man of Monte Ulmo.	Idem c23v
24.1.1551	Sold 6000 lbs. of <u>valonea</u> .	Idem c38v
13.5.1551	Sold 6000 lbs. <u>valonea</u> to men of Sant' Angelo in Vado.	Idem cl24r
21.5.1551	Let house to Portuguese.	Idem cl31r
23.5.1551	Sold 4180 lbs. <u>valonea</u> to men from Fossombrone.	Idem cl35r
29.5.1551	Sold two London 'mostavaleri' cloths.	Idem cl41r
26.6.1551	Aluigi Pessaro examined cloth said to have been damaged on its journey to Ancona.	31 ASA 21-2 cl62
22.8.1551	Sold <u>valonea</u> .	36 ASA 3 cl97-8
22.8.1551	Sold 70p. Slav hides.	Idem cl98v
6.8.1551	Chartered galleon. No details.	31 ASA 21-2 c201r
26.8.1551	Chartered two <u>barche</u> for trip Dolcigno - Modon - Ancona or Senigallia. To load grain.	36 ASA 3 c206v
3.9.1551	Sold 20 white kerseys to man of Lucca.	39 ASA 1 cl61r
18.9.1551	Sold 10 Winchcombe kerseys to Anconitans.	36 ASA 3 c221v
5.10.1551	Sold 35b. hides of Varna to men of Rocca Contrata.	Idem c234v
9.10.1551	Bought c.q. cloth and silks, value 648 s.a. from merchant of Chios living in Ancona.	Idem c246v
5.11.1551	Sold 177 lbs. cloves to man from Cassia.	39 ASA 1 cl71r
26.11.1551	Bought 16 <u>ultrafini</u> from Portuguese Jew living in Ancona.	36 ASA 3 c278v
22.12.1551	Sold 4000 lbs. <sup>Levant hides</sup> to citizens of Arezzo.	Idem c299v

<u>Date</u>	<u>Activity</u>	<u>Reference</u>
23.12.1551	Sold 183 lbs. <u>cheremisini</u> to Portuguese Jew.	Idem c302r
5. <u>ARON BOTTONE, Jew of Salonika living in Ancona</u>		
	a) <u>In customs register</u>	
	Imported 21b. cloth for sale in boats 21, 53, 55, 110, 192.	
	Imported 359b. hides in boats 63, 114, 221, 304, 305, 306.	
	Imported 40t. camlets in boats 114, 221, 305, 306.	
	Also imported cordovans, <u>feltri</u> , wax, silks, mohair and raw silk.	
	b) <u>In notarial contracts</u>	

<u>Date</u>	<u>Activity</u>	<u>Reference</u>
14.5.1550	Sold cordovans and <u>montonini</u> to Jews of Ancona and Osimo. To pay 1238 d.a. by August the balance of a greater sum.	39.ASA 1 c60v
2.1.1551	Bought, together with Samuel Signore, c.q. 'green' cloth from a merchant of Citta di Castello, value 397 s.a.	36 ASA 3 c6r
7.2.1551	Sold 43½ double mohairs to man of Macerata.	Idem c56r
14.5.1551	Chartered part of a schirazzo to carry 80b. cloth to Castelnuovo.	Idem cl25v
17.12.1551	Chartered part of a schirazzo to carry 70b. cloth to Castelnuovo.	Idem c296v
6. <u>GIACOMO CAVALIERO, Jew of Velona living in Ancona</u>		
	a) <u>In customs register</u>	
	Imported 4b. cloth for sale and 9b. for transit in boats 62, 158, 192.	
	Imported 149b. and 186p. hides and cordovans on boats 63, 113, 114, 221, 304, 305, 306.	
	Also imported <u>feltri</u> , <u>schiavine</u> , <u>macramani</u> and raw silk.	
	b) <u>In notarial contracts</u>	

<u>Date</u>	<u>Activity</u>	<u>Reference</u>
3.7.1550	With other Jews chartered <u>schirazzo</u> to load 50b. cloth for Velona.	39 ASA 1 c81v



<u>Date</u>	<u>Activity</u>	<u>Reference</u>
19.8.1550	Sold 1050 cordovans to Florentine.	Idem c90v
19.8.1550	Sold 1070 cordovans to Mantuans.	Idem c91v
2.9.1550	Sold 270 cordovans to Anconitan.	Idem c93v
20.3.1550	Bought 4b. <u>ultrafini</u> from Portuguese Jew.	37 ASA 4 cl45v
16.12.1550	Bought 10p. linen of Rheims from Portuguese Jew.	39 ASA 1 cl11r
28.1.1551	With other Jews chartered schirazzo to load 150b. cloth for Castelnuovo.	36 ASA 3 c82r
6.7.1551	Sold 186p. hides of Salonika to Jew.	39 ASA 1 cl46v
11.8.1551	Bought 20 <u>ultrafini</u> from Portuguese Jew in Ancona.	Idem cl54v
14.8.1551	Bought 18 <u>ultrafini</u> from Jews.	Idem cl56v
5.10.1551	Sold 900 cordovans to Anconitan.	36 ASA 3 c235v
22.10.1551	Man from Fano promises to consign $4\frac{1}{2}$ <u>salme</u> of paper @ 40 reams per <u>salma</u> and received in payment from Cavaliere c.q. cordovans and <u>montonini</u> .	Idem c255v

APPENDIX DDOCUMENTS1. Some typical notarial contracts from the Archivio di Stato of Ancona.a). Naulizatum. 39 ASA 1, c81v. 3 July 1550.

Naulizatum cossam rais die tertia mensis Julii actum in Civitate Ancone in fundico mercantiarum ut super posito et laterato presentibus Gabriele de Alleis et Francisco de Jachellis de Ancona testibus -

Cossam rais Turcha patronus cuiusdam schirazzi portate stariorum mille in circa ad presens existentis in portu Ancone naulizavit dictum dictum (sic) schirazzium Jaco Cavalerio, Davit Cohem, Elie Catonelle et Samoelel Bonsignore hebreis mercatoribus Ancone comorantibus causa onerandi quinquaginta ballas pannorum et eas portandi ad velona pro naule et practis infrascriptis videlicet quia dictus patronus promisit dare dictum eius schirazzium stagnum et bene correndatum cum hominibus ad sufficientiam et dicti conductores promisserunt infra decem dies proxime futuros onerare ballas quinquaginta pannorum ultrafini, cariseorum et maffetti ad rationem petiarum quatuor ultrafini pro balla et cariseorum decem pro balla et trium pannorum maffetti pro balla quibus quinquaginta ballis oneratis post dictos decem dies in dicto schirazzio dictus patronus promisit eum primo bono tempore de portu Ancone discedere et ire ad velonam predictam et ibi dictas ballas pannorum prefatis conductoribus vel eorum deputatis dictas ballas bene conditionatas consignare ad eorum libitum, et hoc pro naule ad rationem triginta trium asprorum pro balla, quod naulum dicti conductores per eos et eorum heredes promisserunt dicto patrono presenti a dare et solvere sine aliqua lite - in dicta Velona adsignatis dictis ballis bene conditionatis ut super et de inde - pactum est quod dictus patronus teneatur tangere Raugam et et (sic) castrum novum et ibi intelligere novas corsariorum et si aliquod novi audire quod dicto casu dictus patronus teneatur facere voluntatem, Davit Cohem et aliorum mercatorum hebreorum in dicto schirazzio

existentium, pactum est quod si dicti conductores non caricarent dictas quinquaginta ballas infra dictum tempus decem dierum quod teneantur solvere dicto patrono scutos duos monete pro quolibet die de stalia et ex converse si dictus patronus non discederet post dictum tempus oneratis dictis ballis 50 quod dicto casu dictus patronus teneatur et ita promissit soluere dictis conductoribus dictos scutos duos quolibet die - salvo justo impedimento - Pactum est - quod si dicti conductores non caricarent in dicto schirazzo omnes supradictas ballas quod dicto casu teneantur solvere dicto patrono totum et integrum naulum tamquam si onus predictum recipisset totum soluendum per eos ad solidum et libram. Pactum est quod dictus patronus non possit accipere aliarum ballas absque expressa dictorum conductorum licentia - Renuntiantes dicte partes et quolibet earum renuntians in permissis omnibus et singulis exceptioni dicte promissionis et obligationis non facte rei non sic geste omnique alie legum juris et statutorum auxilio quae omnia et singula super dicta et in presenti instrumento contenta dicte partes et quolibet ipsarum ad in vicem et vicesim videlicet una pars alteri et altera alteri sollempnis stipulantibus hinc inde intervenientibus per eas et earum heredes promisserunt et convenerunt dicti hebrei more hebreorum juraverunt per Deum verum et Legem Moysi scripturis hebraicis corporaliter manibus tactis et dictus cossam Turcha more Turcharum predicta omnia et singula attendere et observare et in nullo de jure vel de facto contrafacere vel venire non aliquo seu jure occasione aliqua ratione vel causa sub pena dupli dicte quantitatis in quolibet capitulo huius contractus insolidum statuto stipulatione et promissa, et obligatione omnium suorum bonorum presentium et futurum.

b). Promissio. 36 ASA 3, c60. 4 February 1551.

Dominus Benedictus Condule de Raguseo cum Francisco Bovio de

Ancona. Die dicto e loco presentibus hieronimo quondam Johannis de Florenis et Jacomo quondam Christofari de bonarellis de Ancona testibus -

Dominus Franciscus Bovius de Ancona per se - promisit et convenit Domino Benedicto Gondule de Raguseo mercatori Ancone commoranti eidem Domino Benedicto dare solvere et numerare sine aliqua lite ducatos ducentos et octuaginta quatuor auri ad rationem viginti unius grossorui pro ducato in tanta bona moneta - hinc ad unum annum proximo futurum hodie incipiens et ut sequitur finiens et deinde - et hoc pro pretio et nomine pretii petiarum viginti carisearum mani ad rationem ducatorum decem pro qualibet petia et petiarum sex carisearum allôgiavardi ad rationem ducatorum quatuordecim pro qualibet petia prout dictus Dominus Franciscus dixit et confessus fuit in presentia dictorum testium et mei notarii infrascripti - Renuntians - pro quibus omnibus - sub pena dupli - et obligatione bonorum - que bona - in quibus bonis - et obligavit se in forma camere apostolice - juravit.

c). Depositum. 1 ASA 19, c157r. 28 July 1503.

Depositum Antonii chirici malinelli de Janua civis ancone die xxviii mensis julli actum ancone in apoteca mei notarii infrascripti posita ut super presentibus marino de monte fano et pierangelo garumoli testibus ad hec vocatis habitis et rogatis.

Jeronimus Petri Cicconi de Varano habuit et recepit coram dictis testibus et me notario infrascripto in depositum et nomine et causa veri et puri depositi ab antonio chirici malinello de Janua cive et habitore ancone ducatos quatragenta duos in numeratis in auro largos bonos legales et justii ponderis sine malitia quos quatragenta duos ducatos auri largos depositum predictum dictus Jeronimus promisit tenere custodire et salvare penes se ad instantiam dicti Antonii omnibus ipsius Jeronimi risico periculo et fortuna videlicet ignis aque furti rapine ruine naufragii et cuiuslibet alterius causae tam divini quam humani et quos quatragenta duos ducatos auri depositum predictum dictus Jeronimus per se et suos heredes promisit



et convenit dicto antonio presenti stipulanti et recipienti per se et suis heredibus eidem antonio dare soluere et restituere sine aliqua lite etc. ad omnem terminem et petitionem dicti antonii. Sub pena dupli etc. et obligatione omnium suorum bonorum etc. que bona etc. in quibus bonis etc. juravit etc.

d). Mutuum. 1 ASA 1-2, c55v. 16 December 1482.

Die XVI mensis decembris actum ancone in apoteca residentie mei notarii infrascripti posita ut supra presentibus Ser Nicolao Bartolomei et Ser Christofaro Stefani de Ancona testibus ad hec vocatis habitis et rogatis.

Andreas Nicolai Albanensis habitator Ancone habuit et recepit mutuo gratis et amore a Ser Nicolao Antonii drapperii de Ancona ducatum unum auri venetum bonum legalem et iusti ponderis - sine malitia quem ducatum unum auri mutuum predictum dictus Andreas per se et suos heredes promisit et convenit dicto Ser Nicolao presenti stipulanti et recipienti per se et suis heredibus dare reddere et restituere sine aliqua lite questione vel molestia omni exceptione iuris et facti remota ad omnem terminum et petitionem dicti Ser Nicolai sub pena dupli dicte quantitatis in quolibet capitulo huius contractus in solidum solleniter stipulaverunt et promisserunt et obligaverunt omnium suorum bonorum etc. que bona etc. in quibus bonis etc.

c78

e). Cambium. 15 ASA 5, 17 February 1483.

Cambium Johannis baptiste picchi die decima septima februarii actum in apoteca residentie mei notarii posita ut supra presentibus Ser hieronimo Ser antonii palearii et hieronimo simonis magri de ancona testibus ad hec vocatis habitis et rogatis.

Stephanus fabricii de torriglionibus et quiriacus antonii brendoli de ancona fuerunt vere contenti et confessi habuisse et recepisse ad cambium et nomine et causa veri ~~mutui~~ <sup>et puri</sup> cambii a nobili viro johanni baptista picco de ancona capsas triginta et una saponis ponderis librarum quinquemila

Concordia

octingenti quatráginta quinque extimatas de eorum communi ducatorum  
centum undecim auri venetorum bonorum legales etc. quam quantitatem  
ducatorum dicti stephanus et quiriacus portare promiserunt cum navi  
patronizato per Bartolomeum bricium de Ancona in proximo viágio quod facere  
intendit ad partes romanie de portu ancone die presenti tangendo scalas  
consuetas: ex dictis partibus romanie ad portum ancone recto viágio et  
viágio non mutato: et ipsam quantitatem cambium predictum dicti Stephanus  
et Quiriacus ? et quelibet ipsorum principaliter et in solidum  
renuntiantes etc. promiserunt et convenerunt dicto johanni baptiste  
presenti stipulanti et recipienti per se et suis heredibus dare solvere  
et restituere sine aliqua lite questione vel molestia inter duos menses  
postquam dicta navis redierit ad salvamentum ad portum ancone: hoc  
declarato quod dicta quantitas ducatorum eundo et redeundo vadat et redeat  
rissico periculo et fortuna dicti johanni baptiste videlicet furti etc.  
et eo casu que ibunt et redibunt mercantie dicte navis. hoc est declarato  
quod casu que dicta navis ex civitate pere in mare maiore seu maggiore  
ut vulgo dicitur ire quod ex dicto loco pere eundo atando et redeundo ex  
mare maiore usque peram non eat dictam quantitatem aliquo rissico dicti  
johanni baptiste sed dictorum stefani et quiriaci: et hoc expresse quod  
casu que in dicto viágio maris maioris dicta navis periet quod deus avertat  
quod liceat dicto quiriaco redire cum mercantiis ex pera ancone et in  
quacumque navi dictus quiriacus redidibit voluit dictus johannes baptista et  
ita promisit quod dicta quantitas redeat eius rissico ut supradictum est  
non obstanti quod navis mutaretur. quia omnia etc.

f). Promissio. 1 ASA 1-2, c25r. 10 April 1479.

Promissio facto per carolum johannis sclavonem habitatorem montagnoli  
Ser Georgio Petri de ancona.

Die decima mensis aprilis actum ancone in banchum mei notarii  
infrascripti supra positum et lateratum presentibus Johanne egidio

Nicolai de monteferiis et dominico bonfortis de massignano testibus  
ad hec vecatis habitis et rogatis.

Carolus Johannis Sclavus habitator montagnoli promisit et convenit  
per se et suos heredes Ser Georgio Petri de Ancona presenti stipulanti  
et recipienti per se et suos heredibus eidem Ser Georgio dare soluere  
et numerare sine aliqua lite questione molestia omni exceptioni iuris  
et facti remota hinc ad mensem iunii proxime futuri et deinde ad omnem  
terminum et petitionem ipsius Ser Georgii ducatos quinque moneta et  
hoc pro satisfactione pretii unius vegetis a vino sibi vendite date et  
consignate et quinque salmarum vini boni tribiani preut idem Carolus  
dixit asservit et confessus fuit in presentia mei notarii et dictorum  
testium ad petitionem dicti Ser Georgii. Renuntians dictus Carolus  
exceptioni dicte vegetis et vini non habite et non recepte ei  
non date vendite et consignate per dictum Ser Georgium et dicte  
promissionis et confessionis non facte rei non sit geste et predicta  
omnia et singula non fuisse et ~~non fuisse~~ et non esse ut supradictum  
est etc. pro quibus omnibus et singulis etc. que bona etc. in quibus  
bonis etc. et voluit dictus Carolus ubique posse capi deteneri et  
conveneri etc.

2. Some typical notarial contracts from the Diversa Notariae in  
the Drzavni Arhiv, Dubrovnik.

a). Assecuramentum. DAD. Div. Not. 106, c174r. 12 April 1541.

Infrascriptum assecuramentum scriptum in quodam folio papyraceo  
vernacule sermone, allatum mihi notario cathastici a partibus  
infrascriptis de suo communi consensu et voluntate hic registratum fuit,  
cuius tenor sequitur.

Sia note a manifesto a qualunque persona quale veddera o leggera

questo presente scritto di assicuramento qualmente col nome d'Iddio  
 buono viaggio guadagno e salvamento Nicolo di Giovanni Caramundo si  
 assicura et vuole esser' assicurato per quella summa e quantita de dinari  
 quale sera dichiarita delli assicuratori infrascritti in e sopra pannine  
 caricate sopra la nave patroneggiata da Luca di Giovanni Basilisco e vole  
 esser' assicurato dal giorno hore e puncto che detta nave e partita dal porto  
 di raugia per sino tanto ch'a buono salvamento arrivera in porto di  
 Constantinopoli e la securta vole perito che dio non daghi o non perito, di  
 acqua fuoco gietto in mare di ripresagli di amici et inimici ritentione et  
 incursioni di navi fusti galere e di quale si voglia altro naviglio armato  
 o disarmato e da tutti gli altri case pericoli et imfortunii divini et  
 humani possibili et impossibili imaginabili et inimaginabili quali a detta  
 nave e robbe fussero interventi che dio non voglia a tutti li modi e vie  
 si assicura e vole esser' assicurato ponendo gli assicuratori in luogo suo  
 ogni e qualunque volta alcuno danno seguitasse dal che dio non voglia -  
 dichiarando chel patrono preditto o quale si voglia altra persona che detta  
 nave patronigate si ritrovare, posse con essa navigare per tutti li  
 quattro venti al horgia, poggia, avanti et drieto, a destra et a sinistra  
 et posse andar' scorrere sorgere porteggiare inqualsivoglia porto spiaggia  
 e luogo caricar e discaricare et in altri navigli transmutar e qualunque  
 altra cosa far' come meglio le parere e quando de ditta nave robba venisse  
 alcuna mala nuova che dio non voglia in tale caso li assicuratori siano  
 tenute dar' e pagare quelle tanto ch'haverano assicurato cadauno la sua  
 portione in termine di tre mesi dal giorno che tale mala novella sera  
 venuta e quando in termine di uno anno prossime future, non venisse alcuna  
 nuova di detta nave e robba in tale caso li assicuratori siano tenuti dar e  
 pagare quelle tanto ch' haverano assicurato cadauno la sua portione et in  
 cadauno delli detti casi patrono ufficiali e marinari possino per la  
 recuperatione preditta comparere in ogni giuditio et senza pregiuditio del



presente assicuramento e li assicuratori non possino defendersi con alcuna lege statuta privilegio e quale si voglia altra consuetudine de pigliare salve condutte e pigliate non vaglia se prima non haverano pagate quelle tante ch'haverano assicurato cadauno la sua portione dichiarando che li assicuratori allhera se intendano havere guadagnato el risico suo quando detta nave a buone salvamento sera arrivata in porta di Constantinopoli con le robba, e statti per hore vintiquattro.

Io Francisco di Lorenzo Sessusovich assecurò ut supra per ducati cento e per mio risico ho havuti ducati cinque vale.

Io Francisco di Piero Belle assecurò ut supra per ducati cinquanta e per mio risico ho havuto ducati duei e mezo vale.

b). Naulizatum. DAD Div. Net. 111, c113. 28 February 1551.

Cadit sub die ultime mensis Februarii 1551

Providus et prudens vir Marcus Joannis Loss, patronus Galeonis, qui est portata curruum septuaginta, sponte cum dei nomine ad bonum viagium lucrum et salvamentum naulizavit dictum Galeonem nobili Ser Hieronimo Johannis de babatio ibi presenti acceptanti, et dictum Galeonem naulizante pro curribus sexaginta quinque pro eunde ad partes levantis pro onerando frumento cum pactis modis conditionibus et declarationibus infrascriptis. et prime dictus patronus premisit cum dicto galeone bene stagno corredato et marinarato cum marinariis tresdecim computata persona ipsius patroni ad primum bonum tempus, salve iuste impedimento recedere ex aquis Racusis et recto transito se conferre ad partes levantis incipiendo a sinu padrasse usque nartam pro onerando frumento et convenerunt quando dictus patronus non invenerit, aut propter aliquod turcarum impedimentum, non posset onerare frumentum, tali casu debeat extra frumentum onerare illa mercimonia, que dicto patrono meliora vidibuntur, pro quibus mercimoniis dictus Joannes patronus debeat habere eadem naula que haberet si frumentum onerasset. Et quando patronus predictus non posset onerare frumentum aut alia mercimonia, pacti fuerunt quod patronus debeat habere medietatem suam naulam et sit liber ab obligatione presentis

naulizatus. Et cum quando dictus patronus oneraret frumentum convenerunt quod illeco recepto onere patronus a schala recedere debeat et recto tramite conferre in Ancenam et ibi exonerare suum caricum frumenti. Quo exonerato dictus Ser Hieronimus mercator promisit prefato patrone solvere sua naula ad rationem scutaterum auri in aure quattuor pro singule curru, quamquidem solutionem facere promisit in termine dierum decem a die quo frumentum fuerit exoneratum. Item pacti sunt quod dictus Ser Hieronimus debeat mutuare suprascripto Marco patrone scutatos auri centum quos debeat restituere salves in terram, et quod dictus patronus debeat ab eodem Ser Hieronimo habere duo pro cento pro sua provisione. Similiter convenerunt quod casu quo patronus predictus oneravit alia preter frumentum mercimonia secundo supradictum est quod ea debeat vehere in Ancenam et pro illis habere debeat naula supra declarata.

Renuntiando. Iudex Ser Marinus Jacemi de Ghertaldis et Nicolaus Piero testes.

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