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World cities before globalisation: the European city network, A.D. 1300–1600. Appendices 2 & 3.

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APPENDIX II: DATA FICHES

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1. MEDITERRANEAN FIRMS

1.1. ITALIAN FIRMS

1.1.1. VENETIAN FIRMS

ANDREA BARBARIGO, 1418 – 1449

Andrea Barbarigo stemmed from an old Venetian noble family (Lane, 1944a, 15). By the beginning of the 15th century, the line of Andrea Barbarigo was suddenly impoverished under his father Nicolò Barbarigo (Lane, 1944a, 15-16). Andrea Barbarigo began his mercantile career in 1418, with a capital of only 200 ducats (Lane, 1944a, 17). He began as a noble bowman on the galleys, a commercial and maritime apprenticeship (Lane, 1944a, 17). During the 1420s, Barbarigo became an official attorney attached to one of the commercial courts of Venice (the Curia di Petizion), but after he left this function, he never held a political or judicial function anymore (Lane, 1944a, 18-19). Andrea often traded for and with his brother Giovanni, who became a merchant as well, but they never formed a partnership (Lane, 1944a, 19). In 1439, Andrea Barbarigo married Cristina Cappello (Lane, 1944a, 28). Death of Andrea Barbarigo in 1449. Until the coming of age of his two sons, the capital of Andrea Barbarigo was managed by his brother Giovanni Barbarigo and by Andrea da Mosto (Lane, 1944a, 32). Nicolò, son of Andrea Barbarigo, was not an active merchant himself (Lane, 1944a, 178). Andrea's sons Nicolò and Alvise were partly active in trade (spice trade with Alexandria, ventures in Barbary gold). After Alvise died in 1471, Nicolò became more interested in Syria (Lane, 1944a, 37, 194-196). The sons of Niccolò became active in political offices. They were not involved in trade anymore (Lane, 1944a, 39). Neither was the next generation (Lane, 1944a, 40-41).

Andrea Barbarigo (died 1449) (Spufford, 2002, 336). Venetian merchant. (Spufford, 2002, 336; Lane, 1973, 165). The first Venetian merchant from whom we have account books complete with journal and ledger. The moderate fortune which he left at his death in 1449 was accumulated by using the institutions favorable to resident merchants that had developed during the previous century. He bought standard commodities, such as cotton, wool, spices, copper, or cloth, shipped mainly on the regular galley fleets, and employed a score of different commission agents, some relatives and some not. He kept his books carefully in double entry and invested up to the hilt, buying or selling bills of exchange to make the best use of his money. He had been abroad in his youth, but for decades he never went further than the Rialto. He had to go there to make and receive payments and, above all, in order to collect the news. Whether or not he made profits depended largely on what instructions he wrote to his many agents. With no newspapers giving quotations, a resident merchant relied on receiving letters from the merchants to whom he gave business and on what his ears could pick up. Without access to the Rialto, he was cut off from the flow of information on which to base his decisions. A court sentence forbidding a merchant to go to the Rialto was the equivalent of putting him out of business (Lane, 1973, 143). Andrea Barbarigo was the son of a capitanio of the galleys to Alexandria when one of the galleys was wrecked coming up the Dalmatian Coast in winter.

Judged derelict of duty in not going to its aid, he was fined 10,000 ducats. Thus impoverished, Andrea Barbarigo, then about 18, began trading with the only advantages of good family connections and a couple of hundred ducats given him by his mother. He began his career as a noble bowman or quarterdeck bowman. Before he died at 50 in 1449, he had assets of 10,000 to 15,000 ducats, no great fortune, but a substantial accumulation (Lane, 1973, 345).

References:

Lane, F. C., 1944a. *Andrea Barbarigo, Merchant of Venice, 1418-1449*. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series 62, 1).

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I did not consult:

Anichenko, E., 2004. "Pro honore et commercio nostris: Some aspects of Venetian maritime commerce illustrated by the late fifteenth century Venetian manuscript". *Povijesni Prilozi*, 26, 39-57. [Agostino Barbarigo].

Delort, R., 1965. "Un aspect du commerce vénitien au XVe siècle: Andrea Barbarigo et le commerce des fourrures (1430-1440)". *Le Moyen Age. Revue d'Histoire et de Philologie*, 71, 29-70, 247-273.

Source material:

Account books left by four generations of a branch of the Barbarigo family, preserved in the Archivio di Stato of Venice (Lane, 1944a, 15, 139). First surviving ledger started in 1431 (Lane, 1944a, 21). The letterbook of Andrea Barbarigo ends in 1440 (Lane, 1944a, 131). The papers of Andrea Barbarigo are the most complete business records of any Venetian merchant or firm of the late Middle Ages and 16th century (Lane, 1944a, 137). Journal of 1431-1440, also containing copies of outgoing letters from 1431 to 1440 (not complete) (Lane, 1944a, 141). Ledger of 1431-1440 (Lane, 1944a, 142). Journal of 1440-1449 (Lane, 1944a, 142). Ledger of 1440-1449 (Lane, 1944a, 142-143). Also account books (journal and ledger) preserved of Nicolò and Alvise Barbarigo (1456-1482). Further account books of Nicolò Barbarigo, Giovanni Alvise Barbarigo, Antonio Barbarigo, Vittore Barbarigo,… (Lane, 1944a, 143-144).

Size: Small or medium-sized

Andrea Barbarigo was not an important figure in the history of the Venetian Republic (Lane, 1944a, 3). In 1431, Barbarigo possessed ca. 1,600 ducats (Lane, 1944a, 21, 183-184). Through borrowing money, Barbarigo raised his trading fund in 1431 to ca. 3,300 ducats (Lane, 1944a, 22, 183). In 1440, Barbarigo's capital amounted to ca. 10,000 ducats (Lane, 1944a, 29 n. 66, 184). At his death in 1449, Barbarigo left a fortune of close to 15,000 ducats, a substantial amount, although not a big fortune (Lane, 1944a, 32, 186). Small independent operator (Lane, 1944a, 91). In 1440, Andrea Barbarigo had attained a position of assured independence. At this point, he was a well-established merchant who could pick and choose, throwing his business from one firm of commission agents to another with the assurance that they would be glad to have him as a

customer now that he dealt in considerable sums (Lane, 1944a, 131). Impoverished, Andrea Barbarigo, about 18, began trading with the only advantages of good family connections and a couple of hundred ducats given him by his mother. He began his career as a noble bowman or quarterdeck bowman. Before he died at 50 in 1449, he had assets of 10,000 to 15,000 ducats, no great fortune, but a substantial accumulation (Lane, 1973, 345).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Trade in Cretan wares: wine, kermes dye, cheese (Lane, 1944a, 22). By the 1440s, Barbarigo became more exclusively a wholesale dealer (Lane, 1944a, 30). Trade of English cloth. shipment of cloth to the Levant, import of cloth to Italy and Venice (Lane, 1944a, 30). Before the 1440s also retail sale of cloth in Venice. Before 1432 and in 1439, retail cloth sale for Barbarigo on commission by a draper (his godfather Lorenzo da Vigna before 1432). In 1432-36, retail cloth sale by Barbarigo himself (Lane, 1944a, 30). Pepper trade with Bruges in 1430 (Lane, 1944a, 57). Import of tinware and cloth from England in 1430 (Lane, 1944a, 58). Export of Florentine and English cloth, sheepskins, canvas and silver coins to Palestine in 1431 (Lane, 1944a, 61). Import of cotton from Palestine in 1431 (Lane, 1944a, 61-63). Trade in grain from the Marches in 1432 (Lane, 1944a, 66-67). Trade in skins from Abruzzo and the Marches in 1432 (Lane, 1944a, 68). Largest interest of Barbarigo was in trade in English cloth (Lane, 1944a, 68). Pepper and cotton thread sent him by Dolceto from Acre in 1433 (Lane, 1944a, 105). Purchases of Spanish wool, oil and silk in Valencia in 1436-39 (Lane, 1944a, 115, 118, 122). Sale in Venice of English cloth was one of the most constant and most profitable of Andrea's occupations (Lane, 1944a, 122). Import of cloth, tin and pewter from England (Lane, 1944a, 123). Fairly regular shipments of skins and gold thread to Bruges (Lane, 1944a, 124). Shipment of pepper to England in 1439 (Lane, 1944a, 127-128). In his investments, Andrea Barbarigo specialised hardly at all (Lane, 1944a, 134). Bought furs in Tana, up to his death in 1449, and in Bruges (Spufford, 2002, 336; Lane, 1973, 165). He bought standard commodities, such as cotton, wool, spices, copper, or cloth. (Lane, 1973, 143).
- Finance: Bank account at the bank of Francesco Balbi, which was often overdrawn to obtain credit (Lane, 1944a, 24-25). Use of bills of exchange to borrow money (Lane, 1944a, 25).
- Industry: Dyeing of English cloth in Venice through putting-out system (Lane, 1944a, 170).

Network of Andrea Barbarigo:

Andrea Barbarigo participated in no formal or enduring partnerships. He employed no regular staff of salaried agents or employees. The associations he formed with other merchants were for an occasion only and in law terminated automatically at the end of the occasion. (Lane, 1944a, 90). Barbarigo made use of agency and joint ownership for doing business in association with other merchants (Lane, 1944a, 91). Most of Andrea's business abroad was done by consigning wares to agents. According to the standard rates, they received 2 % of the value of the wares they sold, and 1 % on purchases and collections (Lane, 1944a, 93). Barbarigo sometimes acted as agent himself and received commissions, although he did much business for relatives and friends without charging them commission (Lane, 1944a, 93). Andrea Barbarigo did not use the

commenda at all (Lane, 1944a, 94). The commission agents through whom he operated worked not for him alone, but also for many other merchants (Lane, 1944a, 97).

Table A..1. Network of Andrea Barbarigo, 1431 – 1449

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Venice		8	4	3	1	1418-1449	Andrea Barbarigo did not own a house in Venice in 1431: he rented a house and storerooms (Lane, 1944a, 21). Headquarters.	
Acre		3	2	2	1	1431-1435<	In 1431, Alberto Dolceto sailed with the ships for Acre, to work there as a commission agent for Andrea Barbarigo and a number of other Venetian merchants (Lane, 1944a, 61). Shipment of goods to Palestine in 1431, consigned to Alberto Dolceto (Lane, 1944a, 61). Dolceto still for Barbarigo in Acre in 1433 (Lane, 1944a, 71). Barbarigo and Dolceto were old associates in 1431. In 1431, Alberto Dolceto went to Acre as agent of Barbarigo. Before, Andrea Barbarigo had not done much trade in cotton (Lane, 1944a, 101). Dolceto was also agent for other merchants in Acre, e.g. for Bernardo Venier (Lane, 1944a, 102). New shipment to Dolceto in Acre in 1434 (Lane, 1944a, 107). Zorzi in Damascus and Soranzo in Hama were given authority in 1434 to transfer to Latakia, Beirut or Acre the wares sent them. However, if sent to Acre, Zorzi and Soranzo had to consign the goods to Alberto Franco and not to Alberto Dolceto (Lane, 1944a, 107). Alberto Franco went to Acre in 1434 from Venice. Barbarigo referred to the possibility that Franco would become the agent of Barbarigo in Acre (Lane, 1944a, 107). In 1435, Dolceto returned from Acre, and ended to be Barbarigo's agent there (Lane, 1944a, 108). Copies of letters to Dolceto have been preserved (Lane, 1944a, 141).	
Alexandria		3	2	2	1	>1430-1447<	Andrea Barbarigo sailed with the galleys to Alexandria (Lane, 1944a, 18). Agents in Alexandria (Lane, 1944a, 22). Business in Alexandria through commission agents already before 1430 (Lane, 1944a, 54 n. 3). In 1430, Barbarigo did not send goods to Alexandria because of the dispute between Venice and the Soldan of Egypt (Lane, 1944a, 54). In 1436, Andrea Barbarigo sent 1,000 ducats on the galleys to Alexandria (Lane, 1944a, 113). Shipments to Alexandria entrusted to Caroldo before or in 1438, and to Giordano before or in 1438 (profits calculated in 1438) (Lane, 1944a, 189).	

							Shipments to Alexandria entrusted to Michiel before or in 1447 (profits calculated in 1447) (Lane, 1944a, 192).	
Barbary		3	2	2	1	1443-1448	Agents of Andrea Barbarigo on the north African galleys (established in 1443): Andrea da Mosto (1443, 1445), Alvise da Mosto (1446) (Lane, 1944a, 30-31). After 1446, only one investment in Barbary trade by Barbarigo, in 1448 (Lane, 1944a, 31 n. 76). Alvise da Mosto was a cousin of Andrea Barbarigo: Andrea entrusted him with bartering some cloths and beads for gold in north African ports when Alvise was about 20, and noble bowman on the galleys (Lane, 1973, 345).	
Bruges		3	2	2	1	>1430-1440s<	Correspondents: Vittore Cappello and Brothers of London and Bruges (Lane, 1944a, 28). In the 1440s, the Cappello ceased to be his correspondents in the west (Lane, 1944a, 30). Wares shipped to Bruges in a cog in 1430 which was seized by pirates (Lane, 1944a, 56). Also shipment of pepper to Bruges in the galleys in 1430 (Lane, 1944a, 57). Representatives in Bruges in 1430: Cappello brothers (Lane, 1944a, 57). In 1432, shipment of skins from Italy to Vittore Cappello and brothers in Bruges (Lane, 1944a, 69). Cappello brothers still representatives in Bruges in 1433 (Lane, 1944a, 74). After large purchases in 1432-33, Andrea did not buy heavily again in northwestern Europe until 1439 (Lane, 1944a, 123). Both in 1432 and 1439, he used as agents the Cappello brothers, who in 1439 became his brothers-in-law. The brothers Giovanni, Alban and Vittore Cappello were well known among merchants in London and Bruges (Lane, 1944a, 123). The Cappello branch at Bruges, correspondent of Barbarigo in 1432, was no longer active in 1436. In 1436, Barbarigo gave his Bruges business to Alvise and Girolamo Bembo (Lane, 1944a, 123). Western investment of Barbarigo in 1439-40 amounted to between 4,000 and 5,000 ducats (Lane, 1944a, 127). In 1440, the Bembo were still agents of Barbarigo in Bruges (Lane, 1944a, 129-130). In Bruges, Andrea shifted in the 1440s from Girolamo Bembo to his own cousin, Andrea da Mosto, as agent (Lane, 1944a, 131). Some copies of letters preserved to the Cappello for 1431-1440, continuous record for 1438-1440 (Lane, 1944a, 141). Bought furs in Tana, up to his death in 1449, and in Bruges (Spufford, 2002, 336; Lane, 1973, 165).	
Candia		3	2	2	1	>1431-c.1432<	Shipment of cloth and other wares to Andrea's cousin, Marco Barbarigo, in Candia (Lane, 1944a, 175). Uncles and cousins in Crete, which he knew	

							personally. Letters to them preserved for 1431 (Lane, 1944a, 18). His relatives in Crete were well-to-do (Lane, 1944a, 22). His Cretan relatives were landholders rather than merchants, but they were interested in the sale at Venice of Cretan merchandise (Lane, 1944a, 22). Andrea Barbarigo sold Cretan merchandise in Venice for his relatives from Crete, and purchased Venetian wares and Mantuan cloth on commission for his cousin Marco Barbarigo in Crete (Lane, 1944a, 22). He sent Venetian cloth to his cousin Piero Masolo (Lane, 1944a, 23). Some copies of letters preserved to relatives in Crete (Lane, 1944a, 141). Marco Barbarigo was agent in Crete of Andrea (before or in 1432) (profits calculated in 1432) (Lane, 1944a, 187).	
Constantinople		3	2	2	1	>1431-1447<	Small purchase via bills of exchange of gold thread in Constantinople in 1431 (Lane, 1944a, 66). Again purchase of gold thread in Constantinople in 1432 (Lane, 1944a, 71). Carlo Cappello acted for Barbarigo in Constantinople (Lane, 1944a, 98 n. 30, 166). Ca. 1440, the Venier invested money of Barbarigo in their shipments between Valencia and Constantinople on their ship, the Zorzi Pulese (Lane, 1944a, 93, 122). Mantuan cloth shipped to Constantinople by Barbarigo (Lane, 1944a, 164-166). Shipment to Ser Bartolomeo Querini in Constantinople in 1433 (Lane, 1944a, 165). Priuli, agent at Constantinople before or in 1438 (profits calculated in 1438) (Lane, 1944a, 189). Carlo Cappello, agent at Constantinople, in or before 1447 (profits calculated in 1447) (Lane, 1944a, 192).	
Damascus		3	2	2	1	>1433-1436<	Agent in Damascus in 1434: Bertuccio Zorzi (Lane, 1944a, 107). Zorzi in Damascus and Soranzo in Hama were given authority in 1434 to transfer to Latakia, Beirut or Acre the wares sent them (Lane, 1944a, 107). Agents at Damascus: Alvise and Giovanni de Martini (1433-1435). They were allowed to send goods for sale to Beirut (Lane, 1944a, 113). In 1436, Bertuccio Zorzi withdrew from Syria, and went to Valencia (Lane, 1944a, 113).	
Fermo (Marches)		3	2	2	1	>1432<	Troillo Pacaron, one of the closest associates of Barbarigo. Resided in Fermo in the Marches. He purchased grain for Barbarigo in 1432 (Lane, 1944a, 66-67). Also purchase of skins for Barbarigo in 1432 (Lane, 1944a, 68).	
Ferrara		3	2	2	1	>1431-c.1436<	Before 1431, Alberto Dolceto had been agent of Andrea Barbarigo in Ferrara, where he had sold cloth or tin, and purchased small quantities of grain for Andrea (Lane, 1944a, 101 n. 2). Export of English pewter (tinware) to Ferrara in 1431 (Lane, 1944a, 59). Before or in 1436, shipments to Ferrara, entrusted to Calefino (profits calculated in 1436) (Lane, 1944a,	

							188).	
Hamāh		3	2	2	1	>1433-1436<	Lorenzo Soranzo at Hama was agent of Barbarigo in Hama, the main cotton centre of Syria. Shipment of cloth to Soranzo in 1433 (Lane, 1944a, 104). Again shipment in 1434 (Lane, 1944a, 107). In 1435-36, Soranzo still agent of Andrea (Lane, 1944a, 112 n. 36). In 1436, also other agent: Fantin Rodeli (Lane, 1944a, 112 n. 36). At the centre of Andrea's network in Syria was Lorenzo Soranzo at Hama, who was given the power to send cloth for sale to Damascus or other places (Lane, 1944a, 112-113). Ca. 1435, Lorenzo Soranzo withdrew from Syria (Lane, 1944a, 113). Agents in Syria (Lane, 1944a, 22). The Soranzo brothers were cotton merchants at Venice and commission agents acting for Barbarigo and others in Syria (Lane, 1944a, 88). After 1435, Andrea sent less to Syria and shifted his main investments to Spain (Lane, 1944a, 113).	
London		3	2	2	1	>1430-1445<	Agents in London in 1434 (Lane, 1944a, 25). Correspondents in the 1430s: the Cappello brothers: Vittore, Alban and Giovanni. Became later his brothers-in-law (Lane, 1944a, 27). Correspondents: Vittore Cappello and Brothers of London and Bruges (Lane, 1944a, 28). In the 1440s, the Cappello ceased to be his correspondents in the west (Lane, 1944a, 30). In 1430-31, import of cloth and tinware from London (Lane, 1944a, 58). After large purchases in 1432-33, Andrea did not buy heavily again in northwestern Europe until 1439 (Lane, 1944a, 123). In London, in 1436 and 1438, agents of Barbarigo were not only the Cappello brothers, but also Bertuccio Contarini, for the sale of gold thread exported from Venice via Bruges to London (Lane, 1944a, 124-126). Western investment of Barbarigo in 1439-40 amounted to between 4,000 and 5,000 ducats, most of which was sent to Giovanni Cappello in London via bills of exchange (Lane, 1944a, 127). In 1440, the Cappello brothers left London, and Andrea's affairs in London were turned over to Bertuccio Contarini (Lane, 1944a, 130). Later in 1440 however, Barbarigo turned over his business in London to Giovanni and Lorenzo da Marcanuovo (Lane, 1944a, 130). Until ca. 1445, the Marcanuovo remained the agents of Andrea, but ca. 1445, he began employing another agent, Marco Barbarigo de Messer Francesco (Lane, 1944a, 131). Some copies of letters preserved to the Cappello for 1431-1440, continuous record for 1438-1440 (Lane, 1944a, 141).	
Sicily		3	2	2	1	>c.1434-	Shipments to Sicily before or in 1434, entrusted to Barbo (profits calculated	

						c.1442<	in 1434) (Lane, 1944a, 188). Shipments to Sicily before or in 1440 (profits calculated in 1440) (Lane, 1944a, 191). Shipments to Sicily entrusted to Querini before or in 1442 (profits calculated in 1442) (Lane, 1944a, 191).	
Tana		3	2	2	1	>1431-1449	Agent in Tana ca. 1431, who owed Andrea Barbarigo a small sum in 1431 (Lane, 1944a, 66). Wine exported to an agent in Tana in 1431, and slaves sent by the same agent to Andrea Barbarigo (Lane, 1944a, 182). Shipments to Tana (before or in 1433), entrusted to Verdieri (profits calculated in 1433) (Lane, 1944a, 187). Bought furs in Tana, up to his death in 1449, and in Bruges (Spufford, 2002, 336; Lane, 1973, 165).	
Valencia		3	2	2	1	1436-c.1440	Agents in Valencia (Lane, 1944a, 93). Bertuccio Zorzi and Venier Brothers were agents of Barbarigo in Valencia (Lane, 1944a, 100). In 1436, Bertuccio Zorzi withdrew from Syria, and went to Valencia (Lane, 1944a, 113). While Zorzi was in Valencia (1436-1439), Andrea invested there the bulk of his capital, about 4,000 ducats (Lane, 1944a, 113-114). Zorzi was a son-in-law of Francesco Balbi, an important banker and merchant in Venice. Barbarigo had a good relationship to Balbi (Lane, 1944a, 114). When Zorzi returned to Venice in 1439, Barbarigo invested in Spanish wares through an alliance with Francesco Venier and Brothers (Lane, 1944a, 122). After 1440, Andrea moved his main investments from Spain to England (Lane, 1944a, 122). Ca. 1440, the Venier invested money of Barbarigo in their shipments between Valencia and Constantinople on their ship, the Zorzi Pulese (Lane, 1944a, 93, 122).	
Aigues-Mortes		2	2	1	0	>c.1438<	Shipments to Aigues Mortes before or in 1438, entrusted to Giordano (profits calculated in 1438) (Lane, 1944a, 189).	
Beirut		2	2	1	0	>1434<	Shipments to Beirut (Lane, 1944a, 46). Zorzi in Damascus and Soranzo in Hama were given authority in 1434 to transfer to Latakia, Beirut or Acre the wares sent them (Lane, 1944a, 107). Agents at Damascus: Alvise and Giovanni de Martini (1433-1435). They were allowed to send goods for sale to Beirut (Lane, 1944a, 113).	
Francavilla Fontana (Puglia)		2	2	1	0	1431	Export of English pewter (tinware) to Francavilla in 1431. Shipment by sea (Lane, 1944a, 59).	
Khaniá (Crete)		2	2	1	0	>c.1440<	Shipments to Canea entrusted to Minoto (before or in 1440) (profits calculated in 1440) (Lane, 1944a, 191).	

Latakia		2	2	1	0	1434, c.1438	Zorzi in Damascus and Soranzo in Hama were given authority in 1434 to transfer to Latakia, Beirut or Acre the wares sent them (Lane, 1944a, 107). Shipments to Latakia entrusted to Rodeli before or in 1438 (profits calculated in 1438) (Lane, 1944a, 189).	
Trani (Puglia)		2	2	1	0	1437	In 1437, cotton sent to a merchant who resided at Trani, with whom he had never done business before (Lane, 1944a, 96).	
Molina (Spain)		1	1	1	0		An agent of Zorzi purchased wool in the Molina district, which was partly sent to Andrea Barbarigo in Venice (Lane, 1944a, 118).	

+ “entrusted to” is a translation of “recommendado” which was used in account books and letters to refer to wares consigned to a commission agent (Lane, 1944a, 203).

BEMBO BROTHERS, before 1476 - after 1492

The brothers Marco and Gerolamo Bembo, sons of Messer Gerolamo, were Venetian merchants active at the end of the 15th century (Thiriet, 1957, 914).

References:

Thiriet, F., 1957. "Les lettres commerciales des Bembo et le commerce vénitien dans l'empire Ottoman à la fin du XVe siècle". In: *Studi in Onore di Armando Sapori*. Milan, Istituto Editoriale Cisalpino, vol. 2, 911-933.

I did not consult:

Source material:

A letter book has been preserved in the Venetian Archivio di Stato, containing the correspondence sent from Venice by Marco and Gerolamo Bembo between 6 July 1482 and 17 April 1492. The letter book contains 289 letters, 207 sent between July 1482 and December 1485, and 82 letters sent between January 1486 and April 1492: at least from 1487, another letter book was kept simultaneously. A smaller letter book, containing letters sent to the Bembo between 31 December 1481 and 23 December 1486, has been preserved as well (Thiriet, 1957, 913-914, 914 n. 8, 922).

Frederic C. Lane mentions the existence of a letter book of Marco Bembo in the Archivio di Stato of Venice, containing copies of bills of lading and other letters written during the years 1476-1481. Most of these letters were concerned with shipments of wine to London and Bruges, and with shipments to Alexandria, Syria and Pera. He also refers to the preservation of another group of between 50 and 100 original letters and copies, written between 1476 and 1483 between Marco Bembo and his agents in Pera, Syria, and Venice, which have also been preserved in the Venetian Archivio di Stato. Moreover, Lane noted the presence in the same archives of about 350 letters of Ambrosio Malipiero, of the period 1482-1487, which he linked to the Bembo papers (Lane, 1944a, 150).

Size: Medium-sized or large

The Bembo appear to have been considerable Venetian merchants and ship owners (Thiriet, 1957, 914, 932).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Trade in products of the eastern Mediterranean (Cretan wine and cheese purchased in Candia, grain purchased in Constantinople and especially Thessaloniki, raisins, silk, spices) which were sent to Venice, London and Bruges. In exchange, products from western Europe were sold on the Eastern markets (textiles from Flanders and the Venetian hinterland, metals, soap,…) (Thiriet, 1957, 923-933).

- Finance: ?
- Industry: ?
- Shipping: Shipowning (Thiriet, 1957, 914, 932).

Network of the Bembo:

The network of the Bembo consisted of agents, who operated not only for the Bembo, but also for their own account (Thiriet, 1957, 923, 932-933).

Table A..1. Network of the Bembo, 1476 – 1492

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Venice		8	4	3	1	>1482-1492<	Headquarters. All 289 letters of Marco and his brother Gerolamo Bembo were sent from Venice.	Lane, 1944a, 150; Thiriet, 1957, 914
Candia		4	2	2	1	1482-1490	67 letters sent to Candia in 1482-1490. Main agent in Candia was the draper Francesco Giustignan (34 letters). In 1483-1485, when Giustignan suffered from a serious illness, the main factor of the Bembo in Candia was their nephew Giovanni Malipiero (26 letters).	Thiriet, 1957, 915-923
Alexandria		3	2	2	1	1476-1481	Most of the letters in the earlier correspondence book of Marco Bembo of 1476-1481 were concerned with shipments of wine to London and Bruges, and with shipments to Alexandria, Syria and Pera. The correspondence book of 1482-1492 does not contain any letters to Alexandria however.	Lane, 1944a, 150
Bruges		3	2	2	1	1476-1486	36 letters sent to Bruges in 1482-1486. Main agents in Bruges were Alberto Contarini (1482-1484: 12 letters) and Andrea Magno (1484-1486: 10 letters). Most of the letters in the earlier correspondence book of Marco Bembo of 1476-1481 were concerned with shipments of wine to London and Bruges, and with shipments to Alexandria, Syria and Pera.	Lane, 1944a, 150; Thiriet, 1957, 915-923
Constantinople / Pera		3	2	2	1	1476-1484, 1487	- 21 letters sent to Constantinople in 1482-1487. Main agent in Constantinople was Alvise Malipiero, nephew of the Bembo (14 letters), who went to Thessaloníki in 1484. - Alvise Malipiero sent (a) letter(s) from Pera to the Bembo in Venice between 1482 and 1486. Most of the letters in the earlier correspondence book of Marco Bembo of 1476-1481 were concerned with shipments of wine to London and Bruges, and with shipments to Alexandria, Syria and Pera.	Lane, 1944a, 150; Thiriet, 1957, 915-923, 928 n. 18

							Another group of between 50 and 100 original letters and copies, written between 1476 and 1483 contains correspondence between Marco Bembo and his agents in Pera, Syria, and Venice.	
Damascus		3	2	2	1	1476-1489	23 letters sent to Damascus in 1482-1489. Main agent in Damascus was Antonio Negro (13 letters). Most of the letters in the earlier correspondence book of Marco Bembo of 1476-1481 were concerned with shipments of wine to London and Bruges, and with shipments to Alexandria, Syria and Pera. Another group of between 50 and 100 original letters and copies, written between 1476 and 1483 contains correspondence between Marco Bembo and his agents in Pera, Syria, and Venice.	Lane, 1944a, 150; Thiriet, 1957, 915-923
London		3	2	2	1	1476-1492	45 letters sent to London in 1482-1492. The agent of the Bembo in London was Girolamo Tiepolo (45 letters). Most of the letters in the earlier correspondence book of Marco Bembo of 1476-1481 were concerned with shipments of wine to London and Bruges, and with shipments to Alexandria, Syria and Pera.	Lane, 1944a, 150; Thiriet, 1957, 915-924
Modon		3	2	2	1	1482-1491	43 letters sent to Modon in 1482-1491. Main agent in Modon was Tommaso Civrano (34 letters).	Thiriet, 1957, 915-923
Thessaloníki		3	2	2	1	1482-1487, 1490	25 letters sent to Thessaloníki in 1482-1490. Main agent in Thessaloníki was Alvise Malipiero, nephew of the Bembo (12 letters), who moved to Thessaloníki from Constantinople in 1484. Alvise Malipiero died in Thessaloníki in May 1485. After Malipiero's death, Francesco Bembo was sent to Thessaloníki to liquidate the business, which lasted until 1490.	Thiriet, 1957, 915-923, 931, 931 n. 23
Corfu		2	2	1	0	1483-1485	3 letters sent to Corfu in 1483-1485. In 1484, (an)other letter(s) was/were sent to Corfu by ship.	Thiriet, 1957, 915-922
Cyprus		2	2	1	0	1482-1486	7 letters sent to Cyprus in 1482-1486.	Thiriet, 1957, 915-923
Palermo		2	2	1	0	1482-1483, 1487-1488	10 letters sent to Palermo in 1482-1488.	Thiriet, 1957, 915-922
Réthimnon		2	2	1	0	1482	3 letters sent to Réthimnon in 1482.	Thiriet, 1957, 915-922
Tripoli (Syria)		2	2	1	0	1482	3 letters sent to Tripoli in 1482.	Thiriet, 1957, 915-922
Ancona		1	1	1	0	1482	1 letter sent to Ancona in 1482.	Thiriet, 1957, 915-922
Barbary		1	1	1	0	1484	1 letter sent to Barbary in 1484.	Thiriet, 1957, 915-

								922
Beirut		1	1	1	0	1483	1 letter sent to Beyrouth in 1483.	Thiriet, 1957, 915-922
Chios		1	1	1	0	1484	In 1484, (a) letter(s) was/were sent to Chios by ship.	Thiriet, 1957, 915-922
Genoa		1	1	1	0	1483	1 letter sent to Genoa in 1483.	Thiriet, 1957, 915-922
Lyon		1	1	1	0	1482	1 letter sent to Lyon in 1482.	Thiriet, 1957, 915-922
Vólos		1	1	1	0	<1482-1486>	Alvise Malipiero sent (a) letter(s) from Vólos to the Bembo in Venice.	Thiriet, 1957, 928 n. 18

+ The network of the Bembo has been largely reconstructed on the basis of a correspondence book containing the minutes of the letters sent by the Bembo brothers from Venice to their agents abroad between 6 July 1482 and 17 April 1492. This book did not contain all the letters sent by the Bembo; at least from 1487, another letter book must have been kept simultaneously (Thiriet, 1957, 913-914, 914 n. 8, 922). A list of the 289 letters recorded in the book can be found in Thiriet, 1957, 915-922.

+ Destinations of letters of the Bembo (1482-1492) have been scored as follows (8-point scale): 4: more than 50 letters; 3: 11-50 letters; 2: 2-10 letters; 1: 1 letter. Single letters sent to different destinations (e.g. to Bruges and London), have been counted among the letters for each of these destinations.

ANDREA BERENGO, before 1549 – 1556

Andrea Berengo was a Venetian merchant. He did not belong to the Venetian patriciate, although he had close relations with several patricians. (Tucci, 1957, viii-ix). The patrician branch of the Berengo family was extinct since the 13th or 14th century, and Andrea Berengo definitely did not belong to the patriciate. His parents lived a modest life. (Tucci, 1957, 3-4). Andrea Berengo operated in Syria for the most illustrious Venetian business houses. (Tucci, 1957, 4). Andrea Berengo presumably died in Syria, probably not long after his last known letter from Syria of 12 August 1556. (Tucci, 1957, 5-6). Andrea Berengo was the son of Francesco Berengo. (Tucci, 1957, 331).

References:

Tucci, U., ed., 1957. *Lettres d'un marchand vénitien. Andrea Berengo (1553-1556)*. Paris, S.E.V.P.E.N. (École Pratique des Hautes Études – VIe section. Centre de Recherches Historiques. Affaires et Gens d'Affaires, 10).

I did not consult:

Tracy, J., 2009. "Syria's Arab traders as seen by Andrea Berengo, 1555-1556". *Oriens*, 37 (1), 163-176.

Source material:

Three correspondence books of Andrea Berengo have been preserved, containing copies of 282 letters sent from Aleppo in 1555 and 1556. (Tucci, 1957, viii, 2).

Size: Small

Andrea Berengo was not a large merchant. (Tucci, 1957, viii-ix). He arrived in Aleppo with a very small capital of his own (400 ducats), as well as some extra capital invested by others. (Tucci, 1957, ix).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Trade in a large variety of products: Berengo's correspondents sent him iron wire, hats, coral, copper, tin, paper, etc., mostly from Italy and Provence. In return, he shipped cotton, hides, furs, etc. to his correspondents. (Tucci, 1957, ix). Also export of spices (e.g. cinnamon, cloves, ginger, nutmeg), although by that time Egypt had become a much more important spice market than Syria. (Tucci, 1957, ix).
- Finance:
- Industry:

Network of Andrea Berengo:

Table A..1. Network of Andrea Berengo, 1555 – 1556								
City	**R**	**Score**				**Period**	**Type of presence**	**References**
Aleppo		8	4	3	1	1553, 1555-1556	Place of origin of the letters sent by Andrea Berengo. (Tucci, 1957, viii, 2). Andrea Berengo resided in Aleppo. (Tucci, 1957, viii-ix). Andrea Berengo was in Limisso in 1553, being on his way from Aleppo to Venice. (Tucci, 1957, 4). In 1555, Andrea Berengo again went to Syria: he was in Salines on 26 August, in Tripoli on 28 August, in Aleppo in the middle of September. He intended to stay in Aleppo for at least four years. (Tucci, 1957, 4).	
Tripoli (Syria)		4	2	2	1	1549, 1555-1556	Important correspondence with Tripoli in Syria. (Tucci, 1957, viii). Correspondents in Tripoli. (2). Andrea Berengo was in Tripoli in 1549. (4). In 1555, Andrea Berengo again went to Syria: he was in Salines on 26 August, in Tripoli on 28 August, in Aleppo in the middle of September. He intended to stay in Aleppo for at least four years. (Tucci, 1957, 4). 100 letters of Andrea Berengo to 10 different correspondents in Tripoli have been preserved between 1553 and 1556. (Tucci, 1957, 331-332). Principal correspondents in Tripoli were Zuan Maria Penzini, Mattio de Mattio, and Pietro Galimberto. (Tucci, 1957, 331-332).	
Venice		8 **4**	4 **2**	3 **2**	1 **1**	1553-1555 1555-1556	The correspondents in Tripoli and Cyprus were intermediaries between Andrea Berengo in Aleppo and his correspondents in Venice, passing on merchandise and letters. (Tucci, 1957, viii). His correspondents in Venice invested in the business of Andrea Berengo in Aleppo. (Tucci, 1957, ix). In May 1556, Andrea Berengo sent a large amount of spices via Salines to Venice. (Tucci, 1957, ix). Correspondents in Venice. (2). Andrea Berengo was in Limisso in 1553, being on his way from Aleppo to Venice. (Tucci, 1957, 4). Before returning to Syria in 1555, Andrea Berengo owned a gloves shop in Venice together with Zuan Lunardo Broco. (Tucci, 1957, 4). 85 letters of Andrea Berengo to 39 different correspondents in Venice have been preserved between 1555 and 1556. (Tucci, 1957, 331-332).	
Famagusta		3	2	2	1	1555-1556	Important correspondence with the ports of Cyprus (Famagusta, Salines, Nicosia). (Tucci, 1957, viii). Correspondents in Cyprus. (2). 28 letters of Andrea Berengo to 6 different correspondents in Famagusta have been preserved between 1555 and 1556. (Tucci, 1957, 331-332). Another 17	

							letters of Andrea Berengo to Fabrizio da Legnago in Cyprus have been preserved between 1555 and 1556. (Tucci, 1957, 332). The principal correspondent in Famagusta was Marc'Antonio Angusola. (Tucci, 1957, 331-332).	
Larnaca (Cyprus)		3	2	2	1	1555-1556	Important correspondence with the ports of Cyprus (Famagusta, Salines, Nicosia). (Tucci, 1957, viii). In May 1556, Andrea Berengo sent a large amount of spices via Salines to Venice. (Tucci, 1957, ix). Correspondents in Cyprus. (2). In 1555, Andrea Berengo again went to Syria: he was in Salines on 26 August, in Tripoli on 28 August, in Aleppo in the middle of September. He intended to stay in Aleppo for at least four years. (Tucci, 1957, 4). 25 letters of Andrea Berengo to 6 different correspondents in Salines have been preserved between 1555 and 1556. (Tucci, 1957, 331-332). Another 17 letters of Andrea Berengo to Fabrizio da Legnago in Cyprus have been preserved between 1555 and 1556. (Tucci, 1957, 332). Principal correspondent in Salines was Florio Mattina. (Tucci, 1957, 331-332).	
Nicosia (Cyprus)		3	2	2	1	1555-1556	Important correspondence with the ports of Cyprus (Famagusta, Salines, Nicosia). (Tucci, 1957, viii). Correspondents in Cyprus. (2). 30 letters of Andrea Berengo to 6 different correspondents in Nicosia have been preserved between 1555 and 1556. (Tucci, 1957, 331-332). Another 17 letters of Andrea Berengo to Fabrizio da Legnago in Cyprus have been preserved between 1555 and 1556. (Tucci, 1957, 332). Principal correspondents in Nicosia were Francesco de Vico, Zuan Contarini, and Antonio Morexini. (Tucci, 1957, 331-332).	
Constantinople		2	2	1	0	<1555-1556>	Correspondence with Constantinople was not very frequent. (Tucci, 1957, viii). 2 letters of Andrea Berengo to one correspondent in Constantinople have been preserved between 1555 and 1556. (Tucci, 1957, 331-332).	
Zante		2	2	1	0	<1555-1556>	Two letters of Andrea Berengo to two different correspondents in Zante have been preserved between 1555 and 1556. (Tucci, 1957, 331-332).	
Corfu		1	1	1	0	<1555-1556>	One letter of Andrea Berengo to Corfu and Venice has been preserved between 1555 and 1556. (Tucci, 1957, 331-332).	
Damascus		1	1	1	0		Correspondence with other cities in Syria, such as Damascus, was not very frequent. (Tucci, 1957, viii).	
Kyrenia (Cyprus)		1	1	1	0	<1555-1556>	One letter of Andrea Berengo to Kerynia (Cyprus) has been preserved between 1555 and 1556. (Tucci, 1957, 331-332).	

Limassol		1	1	1	0	1553	Andrea Berengo was in Limisso in 1553, being on his way from Aleppo to Venice. (Tucci, 1957, 4).	

+ The correspondence of Andrea Berengo has been preserved for the period from 8 October 1555 until 22 January 1556, and from 6 May 1556 until 30 June 1556 (282 letters). Another 8 letters have been preserved for the period 1553-1556. (Tucci, 1957, viii, 2).
+ Destinations of letters of Andrea Berengo (1555-1556) have been scored as follows (8-point scale): 4: more than 50 letters; 3: 11-50 letters; 2: 2-10 letters; 1: 1 letter.

MICHELE DA LEZZE, before 1497 – after 1514

References:

Braudel, F., Tenenti, A., 1966. “Michiel da Lezze, marchand vénitien (1497-1514)”. In: Abel, W., Borchardt, K., Kellenbenz, H., Zorn, W., eds., 1966. *Wirtschaft, Geschichte und Wirtschaftsgeschichte. Festschrift zum 65. Geburtstag von Friedrich Lütge*. Stuttgart, Gustav Fischer Verlag, 38-73.

Lane, F. C., 1944b. “Family partnerships and joint ventures in the Venetian Republic”. *The Journal of Economic History*, 4 (2), 178-196.

I did not consult:

Source material:

Fragments of the correspondence of Michele da Lezze have been preserved in the Archivio di Stato of Venice (Miscellanea Gregolin) for the years 1497-1514. (Braudel & Tenenti, 1966, 41; Lane, 1944b, 181).

Size: Medium-sized or large

Michele da Lezze was named as one of the ten richest men in Venice. (Lane, 1944b, 181).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Trade in spices, silk and cotton from the Levant, gold and silk from Barbary, Spanish wool, and tin and kerseys from England. (Braudel & Tenenti, 1966, 39). Also trade in precious metals, which were used as merchandise rather than as a means of payment. (40). Michele da Lezze traded in spices from Egypt, wool from England, gold from Barbary, etc. (Lane, 1944b, 183).
- Finance: Michele da Lezze made use of bills of exchange. He made purchases using credit, cash and barter. (Braudel & Tenenti, 1966, 39). Only exceptional use of maritime insurance. (40-41).
- Industry:
- Shipping: Michele da Lezze owned a third of one of the Barbary galleys of the fleet of 1506. His son Luca was going on the voyage as a patron. (Lane, 1944b, 192).

Network of Michele da Lezze:

Michele da Lezze operated as an individual merchant. He did not work in the framework of companies or partnerships. He made use of correspondents abroad (other Venetian merchants), and of the galley system of the Venetian state. 14 merchants and shipmasters are known who

carried out trade for da Lezze abroad in exchange for a commission (a percentage of the transacted business). Only one of his correspondents was involved as a partner in the business of da Lezze, receiving 1/3 of the profits. Michele da Lezze also traded with his son Luca da Lezze. (Braudel & Tenenti, 1966, 38). Da Lezze sent his correspondents recommendations and instructions (*arichordi*), but nevertheless his representatives had a large degree of freedom. (Braudel & Tenenti, 1966, 38). Michele da Lezze made a regular use of the *galere da mercato*, and only exceptionally of private ships. Only once he made use of overland routes. (Braudel & Tenenti, 1966, 38-39).

Until 1514, Syria and Egypt were the principal areas of trade of Michele da Lezze. He ended his trade with these areas in 1514, probably as a result of the death of his son Luca, the Turkish menace, and the Atlantic discoveries. From 1514 Cyprus became the principal base for the trade of Michele da Lezze. (Braudel & Tenenti, 1966, 39). Michele da Lezze traded in Syria, Egypt, Spain, England and Barbary. (Braudel & Tenenti, 1966, 39).

Table A..1. Network of Michele da Lezze, 1497 – 1514

City	**R**	**Score**				**Period**	**Type of presence**	**References**
Venice		8	4	3	1		Headquarters. (Braudel & Tenenti, 1966, 38).	
Alexandria		3	2	2	1	>1497-1514	In 1511, kerseys were sold by Piero Loredan for Michiel da Lezze in Alexandria. (Braudel & Tenenti, 1966, 39-40). In 1497 Michiel da Lezze sent 7,000 Venetian ducats to Alexandria. In 1507, 800 ducats were sent to Piero Loredan in Alexandria. (40). The profits of sales of ducats in Alexandria were sometimes returned to Venice via bills of exchange. (40). In 1497 pepper was purchased for Michiel da Lezze, and shipped to Venice with the galleys. (41). In 1497, Michiel da Lezze shipped goods with the galleys of Alexandria (with captain Felipo Taliapiera). (41-44). In 1498, Michiel da Lezze sent an instruction to Pandolfo Morexini concerning the galleys of Alexandria. (44). In 1497 goods were sent with the galleys of Alexandria by Donado Marzelo, cousin of Michiel da Lezze, for account of the latter. (44-46). An account of Michiel da Lezze has been preserved for the galleys of Alexandria and al Traffego of 1498. (46-47). In 1503 ginger coming from Alexandria with the galleys was sent to Silvan Capello in England with the galleys of Flanders. (47). In 1507, Piero Loredan was instructed to go to Alexandria with the galleys al Traffego. (62-63). A copy of an account on trade with the galley of Alexandria has been preserved for 1511. (71). A copy of a letter to Piero Loredan in Alexandria, sent by ship via Candia, has been preserved for 1514. (Braudel & Tenenti, 1966, 71-72).	

							Until 1514, Syria and Egypt were the principal areas of trade of Michiel da Lezze. He ended his trade with these areas in 1514, probably as a result of the death of his son Luca, the Turkish menace, and the Atlantic discoveries. (Braudel & Tenenti, 1966, 39). Michiel da Lezze traded in Syria, Egypt, Spain, England and Barbary. (Braudel & Tenenti, 1966, 39). Michele da Lezze traded in spices from Egypt. (Lane, 1944b, 183).	
Barbary		3	2	2	1	>1498-1506<	In 1505 Michiel da Lezze gave 2,000 ducats to Sebastian Dolfin for trade in Barbary. The ducats were exchanged for gold. This gold was then transported to Valencia where it was minted. In 1506, Luca da Lezze made the same journey as galley patron. (Braudel & Tenenti, 1966, 40). An account of Michiel da Lezze has been preserved for the galleys of Alexandria and al Traffego of 1498. (46-47). A copy of an instruction of 1505 by Michiel da Lezze to messer Sebastian Dolfin, patron of a galley to Barbary, has been preserved. (56-57). In 1506, Luca da Lezze was instructed to go with the galleys to Barbary for the purchase of gold, and from there to Valencia. Luca was free to choose to which harbour in Barbary he would go. (59-62). Michiel da Lezze traded in Syria, Egypt, Spain, England and Barbary. (Braudel & Tenenti, 1966, 39). Michele da Lezze traded in gold from Barbary. (Lane, 1944b, 183). Michele da Lezze owned a third of one of the Barbary galleys of the fleet of 1506. His son Luca was going on the voyage as a patron. (Lane, 1944b, 192).	
Beirut		3	2	2	1	>1505-1514	The profits of sales of kerseys in Beirut were sometimes returned to Venice via bills of exchange (cfr. letter to Piero Bonaza in Beirut in 1510). (Braudel & Tenenti, 1966, 40). In 1505 Michiel da Lezze sent an instruction to Marco Antonio Novelo, patron of a galley to Syria, for sale of kerseys in Beirut and Tripoli. (Braudel & Tenenti, 1966, 57-58). A copy of a letter to Marco Antonio Novelo in Cyprus and Syria has been preserved from 1506. (Braudel & Tenenti, 1966, 59). Until 1514, Syria and Egypt were the principal areas of trade of Michiel da Lezze. He ended his trade with these areas in 1514, probably as a result of the death of his son Luca, the Turkish menace, and the Atlantic discoveries. (Braudel & Tenenti, 1966, 39). Michiel da Lezze traded in Syria, Egypt, Spain, England and Barbary. (Braudel & Tenenti, 1966, 39).	
Cyprus		3	2	2	1	>1506-1514<	A copy of a letter to Marco Antonio Novelo in Cyprus and Syria has been preserved from 1506. (Braudel & Tenenti, 1966, 59). Correspondent in	

							Cyprus was Zuan Antonio di Piero. (Braudel & Tenenti, 1966, 59). Piero Bonaza was instructed by da Lezze to go to Cyprus and Syria (Tripoli ?) by galley. (64-65). Connections with Zuan Maria Ferantte in Cyprus in 1514. (72-73). From 1514 Cyprus became the principal base for the trade of Michiel da Lezze. (Braudel & Tenenti, 1966, 39).	
London		3	2	2	1	>1503-1505<	In 1503, Michiel da Lezze sent ginger to Silvan Capello in London. (Braudel & Tenenti, 1966, 39-40). In 1505, a shipment of Michiel da Lezze to England was insured. (40-41). In 1503 ginger coming from Alexandria with the galleys was sent to Silvan Capello in England with the galleys of Flanders. (47). A copy of an instruction to Silvan Capello in England has been preserved for 1503. (48). Copies of two letters of 1504 and two letters of 1505 sent to Nicolo' Duodo in London have been preserved. (48, 51, 54-56). Michiel da Lezze traded in Syria, Egypt, Spain, England and Barbary. (Braudel & Tenenti, 1966, 39). Michele da Lezze traded in wool from England. (Lane, 1944b, 183).	
Tripoli (Syria)		3	2	2	1	>1505-1514	In 1505 Michiel da Lezze sent an instruction to Marco Antonio Novelo, patron of a galley to Syria, for sale of kerseys in Beirut and Tripoli. Correspondent in Tripoli was Bernardin Testa. (Braudel & Tenenti, 1966, 57-58). A copy of a letter to Marco Antonio Novelo in Cyprus and Syria has been preserved from 1506. (Braudel & Tenenti, 1966, 59). Piero Bonaza was instructed by da Lezze to go to Cyprus and Syria (Tripoli ?) by galley. (64-65). An instruction to Piero Bonaza on the galleys to Syria in 1510 has been preserved. (65). Until 1514, Syria and Egypt were the principal areas of trade of Michiel da Lezze. He ended his trade with these areas in 1514, probably as a result of the death of his son Luca, the Turkish menace, and the Atlantic discoveries. (Braudel & Tenenti, 1966, 39). Michiel da Lezze traded in Syria, Egypt, Spain, England and Barbary. (Braudel & Tenenti, 1966, 39).	
Valencia		3	2	2	1	>1505-1506<	In 1505 Michiel da Lezze gave 2,000 ducats to Sebastian Dolfin for trade in Barbary. The ducats were exchanged for gold. This gold was then transported to Valencia where it was minted. In 1506, Luca da Lezze made the same journey as galley patron. (Braudel & Tenenti, 1966, 40). In 1506, Luca da Lezze was instructed to go with the galleys to Barbary for the purchase of gold, and from there to Valencia. (59-62). Michele da Lezze traded in Syria, Egypt, Spain, England and Barbary. (Braudel & Tenenti, 1966, 39). Wool loaded in Valencia by a maona of the different patroni	

							(including Luca da Lezze) of the Barbary galley fleet in 1506. (Lane, 1944b, 192).	
Candia		1	1	1	0	>1514<	A copy of a letter to Piero Loredan in Alexandria, sent by ship via Candia, has been preserved for 1514. (Braudel & Tenenti, 1966, 71-72).	

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PISANI BROTHERS, before 1499 – 1528

Alvise Pisani (d. 1528) was an active politician as well as the leading banker of Venice between 1509 and 1528. He survived a number of runs on his bank, e.g. in 1499. At a certain point he concentrated nearly all the banking business of the Venetian state in his hands. (Lane, 1944b, 179). Pisani married his daughters to members of families of political influence. One of his sons became a cardinal. Pisani frequently was a member of the highest councils of the Venetian Republic. (Labalme & Sanguineti White, 2008, 274-277; Lane, 1944b, 180). Alvise Pisani's mercantile operations were carried on in co-operation with his brothers Lorenzo and Almorò. Both of them also died ca. 1528. Apparently Alvise had withdrawn from the partnership with his brothers already by 1511, at least in name, perhaps as a result of his banking activities. In practice however, Alvise co-operated with his brothers in mercantile operations. (Lane, 1944b, 180, 180-181 n. 8). In addition to the fraterna, each of the Pisani brothers was engaged in business activities on his own account. Both Almorò and Lorenzo were in debt to the Pisani fraterna for about 43,000 ducats when they died, while Alvise and his son Giovanni together had a debt of 10,000 ducats to the partnership. (Lane, 1944b, 183). The bank of Alvise Pisani was a separate firm. The bank was inherited by Alvise from his father Giovanni, who had run it with his brother Francesco. (Lane, 1944b, 185).

Pisani company: one of the four big Rialto banks in Venice at the end of the 15th c., only one that did not collapse at the end of the century. Owned by the Pisani family. Failed in the beginning of the 16th c. after lending money to the Venetian government to help finance its wars, and investing in the financing of politicians and galley voyages (Hunt & Murray, 1999, 210- 211). Alvise Pisani took over the bank founded by his father in the 2nd half of the 15th c. in 1499. In 1500, he liquidated the bank and paid all deposits back. In 1504, Alvise Pisani opened a new bank. His bank was still prosperous in 1526. In 1528, still in good fortunes, Alvise Pisani died when serving the Venetian-French army while besieging Naples. Around 1587, a new Pisani bank (Pisani-Tiepolo) failed (Labalme & Sanguineti White, 2008, 275, 277; Lane, 1973, 328-331). After Alvise Pisano's death in 1528, his bank was closed, with full restitution to all depositors. (Labalme & Sanguineti White, 2008, 277).

The Pisani bank was founded in 1475, liquidated paying in full in 1500, reopened in 1504 and again liquidated paying in full in 1528 after the death of Alvise Pisani. (Lane, 1937, 189). Mercantile ventures were probably not made in name of the bank, although they were financed by loans from the bank to the banker and his associates. (Lane, 1937, 195). In 16th century Venice banking was not a specialised business. It was a part of the larger operations of merchant nobles. (Lane, 1937, 195). Run on the Pisani bank during the crises of 1499 and 1509. (Lane, 1937, 197, 199). Pisani loaned money to the state in different ways: he sent cash to pay the troops, furnished a letter of credit to an ambassador, drew a bill of exchange for the payment of a subsidy or tribute, or met the expenses of galley commanders. (Lane, 1937, 201). In 1522, Antonio di Priuli established a bank which was closely associated with the bank of Alvise Pisani, father-in-law of Priuli. It existed until 1551. (Lane, 1937, 189, 203).

References:

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Source material:

Some account books of the executors and heirs of Almorò Pisani survive in the Archivio di Stato at Venice. These account books contain fragments copied from ledgers of a Pisani fraterna. (Lane, 1944b, 180, 180 n. 8). A ledger of the executors of Almorò and Lorenzo Pisani has been preserved in the Archivio di Stato in Venice. It consists almost altogether of extracts from the books of the Pisani fraterna (Lane, 1944a, 149). Much information about Alvise Pisani can be found in the diaries of Marino Sanudo. (Labalme & Sanguineti White, 2008, 274-278).

Size: Large

Alvise Pisani (d. 1528) was the leading banker of Venice between 1509 and 1528. At a certain point he concentrated nearly all the banking business of the Venetian state in his hands. (Lane, 1944b, 179). The wealth of Alvise Pisani and his brothers at some point amounted to 250,000 ducats or even more. (Lane, 1944b, 182). The total deposits in the bank of Alvise Pisani were probably over 250,000 ducats. (Lane, 1944b, 185).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Trade in cloth, wool, tin, salt, grain, spices, bowwood, etc. (Lane, 1944b, 182, 186). International commerce, as well as sales to retailers and manufacturers in Venice. (Lane, 1944b, 182-183). Trade in cotton. (Lane, 1944b, 185). The Pisani bank was one of the chief silver customers of the Fugger. (Lane, 1937, 195).
- Finance: Large investments of the Pisani in real estate in Venice and on the mainland. (Lane, 1944b, 182). The Pisani held a large amount of government bonds. (Lane, 1944b, 182). Exchange transactions for the Pisani fraterna were probably carried out by the bank of Alvise Pisani. (Lane, 1944b, 182). The Pisani had shares in the Venetian wine tax. (Lane, 1944b, 186). Bank of Alvise Pisani. Large loans to the Venetian state to pay for its wars. (Labalme & Sanguineti White, 2008, 276). Deposit banking by the bank of Alvise Pisani. (Lane, 1937, 190). In 1519, the Venetian government owed the bank of Alvise Pisani 150,000 ducats. (Lane, 1937, 201).
- Industry: Investments in the Venetian woollen industry by supplying cloth manufacturers with raw materials. The Pisani partnership gave out the raw materials and received the finished products in return. (Lane, 1944b, 183).
- Shipping: The Pisani associated with other capitalists to finance the voyages of the Venetian merchant galleys. They did not own ships themselves however. (Lane, 1944b, 186-187). Shortly before 1499, the Pisani had purchased a large ship. (Lane, 1937, 196).

Network of the Pisani brothers:

The Pisani fraterna consisted of the principal partnership between the brothers, and a number of subsidiary companies, such as the London Company and the Syrian Company. Connections existed between the different subsidiaries: e.g. the Syrian Company shipped cotton for the London Company. (Lane, 1944b, 185). At key places, agents were supplied by the subsidiary partnerships. Elsewhere, the Pisani may have made use of the services of commission merchants. (Lane, 1944b, 185). In addition the Pisani brothers made use of strictly temporary partnerships formed for a particular purchase or a particular voyage. These partnerships were arrangements for joint ownership and for conferring power on a common agent. (Lane, 1944b, 186).

Table A..1. Network of the Pisani brothers, ca. 1528

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Venice		8	4	3	1		Headquarters. (Lane, 1944b, 179). Large amounts of merchandise were stored in the basement of the family palace and in warehouses in Venice ca. 1528. (Lane, 1944b, 182).	
Aleppo		6	3	2	1	>1507-1528	A subsidiary of the Pisani fraterna was the Syrian Company. This company, devoted to trade with Syria, was managed by Giovanni della Riva. Before the foundation of the company, Della Riva was the salaried agent of the Pisani in Syria (1507-1516): first as a mere factor (salary of 120 ducats a year), later as a branch manager of the warehouse or workshop which he had built for the Pisani at Aleppo (salary of 250 ducats a year). Only after 1516 he became a partner in the Syrian Company. (Lane, 1944b, 184). A minor subsidiary in Syria was managed by Vincenzo Pisani. (Lane, 1944b, 185).	
London		6	3	2	1	>1528	A subsidiary of the Pisani fraterna was the London Company. It was a partnership among Lorenzo and Almorò Pisani and Nicolò Duodo. Duodo appears to have been the active partner. The London Company was involved in shipments between Venice and London. (Lane, 1944b, 184). Through his bank, Alvise Pisani invested in the western voyages to England and Flanders, trading in wool and cloth. (Labalme & Sanguineti White, 2008, 275).	
Alexandria		3	2	2	1		Alvise Pisano participated in the spice trade with Alexandria. (Labalme & Sanguineti White, 2008, 275).	
Barbary		3	2	2	1	>1518-1521<	Use of the galleys of Barbary in 1519. In that year Alvise Pisani had 46 of	

							the 48 shares of the two galleys to Barbary. (Lane, 1944b, 181 n. 8). The Pisani invested at least three times in Barbary galleys. The Pisani had shares in the galleys of Barbary in 1519-1521. (Lane, 1944b, 188). Alvise Pisani participated in voyages of the merchant galleys to Barbary. (Labalme & Sanguineti White, 2008, 275). During the winter of 1518-1519 a combine headed by the Pisani bank financed the voyages of the merchant galleys of Flanders and Barbary. (Lane, 1937, 196).	
Flanders		3	2	2	1	>1518-1519<	The Pisani invested at least twice in Flemish galleys. The Pisani had twelve shares in a galley of Flanders in 1518. (Lane, 1944b, 188). Through his bank, Alvise Pisani invested in the western voyages to England and Flanders, trading in wool and cloth. (Labalme & Sanguineti White, 2008, 275). During the winter of 1518-1519 a combine headed by the Pisani bank financed the voyages of the merchant galleys of Flanders and Barbary. (Lane, 1937, 196).	
Beirut		2	2	1	0		The Pisani invested at least once in a Beirut galley. (Lane, 1944b, 188). A subsidiary of the Pisani fraterna was the Syrian Company. This company, devoted to trade with Syria, was managed by Giovanni della Riva. (Lane, 1944b, 184). A minor subsidiary in Syria was managed by Vincenzo Pisani. (Lane, 1944b, 185).	
Constantinople		2	2	1	0	>1528	At the time of their death in 1528, the Pisani brothers owned 5,378 ducats in a shipment to Constantinople. (Lane, 1944b, 182).	
Spain		2	2	1	0		The Pisani brothers had Spanish associates, referred to cryptically in the will of Lorenzo Pisani (1511). (Lane, 1944b, 185).	
Boara Polésine		1	1	1	0		At Boara near Rovigo a factor named Paolo Capo di Vin collected rents for the Pisani from an estate valued at 20,000 ducats. (Lane, 1944b, 182).	
Padua		1	1	1	0		In 1514, Alvise Pisani guaranteed the repayment of loans made by others to the Venetian state. In exchange, he obtained the income from the Polesine region, the salt tax from Padua, and the customs duties from Treviso and Udine. (Labalme & Sanguineti White, 2008, 276n. 127).	
Polesine		1	1	1	0		In 1514, Alvise Pisani guaranteed the repayment of loans made by others to the Venetian state. In exchange, he obtained the income from the Polesine region, the salt tax from Padua, and the customs duties from Treviso and Udine. (Labalme & Sanguineti White, 2008, 276n. 127).	
Treviso		1	1	1	0		At Treviso the Pisani owned several mills. (Lane, 1944b, 182). In 1514, Alvise Pisani guaranteed the repayment of loans made by others to the	

							Venetian state. In exchange, he obtained the income from the Polesine region, the salt tax from Padua, and the customs duties from Treviso and Udine. (Labalme & Sanguineti White, 2008, 276n. 127).	
Udine		1	1	1	0		In 1514, Alvise Pisani guaranteed the repayment of loans made by others to the Venetian state. In exchange, he obtained the income from the Polesine region, the salt tax from Padua, and the customs duties from Treviso and Udine. (Labalme & Sanguineti White, 2008, 276n. 127).	

A minor subsidiary was named Giovanni Francesco Pisani e Cia in the “West”. (Lane, 1944b, 185). During the crisis of 1499, the Pisani had about 40,000 ducats invested in the western voyage, in wool and in cloth. (Lane, 1937, 196).

GUGLIELMO QUERINI, before 1428 – ca. 1468

Guglielmo Querini was born around 1400, and died ca. 1468. (Luzzatto, 1954, 167). The Querini were a powerful and old Venetian noble family. (Luzzatto, 1937, 31; Luzzatto, 1954, 168). Guglielmo Querini had a good knowledge of bookkeeping, commercial techniques, geography. (173; Lane, 1965, 75). The political functions Querini carried out in Venice (member of the senate, etc.) allowed him to have good contacts with the chancellery of the doge and with the commercial magistrate. As a result, he was well informed about the international economic situation. (174; Lane, 1965, 74). After 1436 (Levant), 1439 (Sevilla, Flanders, England) and 1441 (Romagna), the business of Guglielmo Querini became increasingly concentrated upon attempts to recover outstanding debts from his business connections (partners, factors, etc). (181-182; Lane, 1965, 75). These attempts to recover his outstanding debts resulted in a neglect of other and new business opportunities. (184). Nevertheless, he did not retire entirely from business in the years 1436-1449. E.g., he made several purchases and sales at the Rialto in Venice between 1438 and 1440. Moreover, in the period after 1436 he remained active in the grain trade, e.g. in partnership with Niccolò Businelli in 1446. (184). In this period he also remained active in the trade in gemstones, especially rubies. (185). By 1441, the business of Querini had shrunk to small proportions, but business was resumed from 1452 and even more after 1457, due to the fact that his nephew Giovanni, son of Bartolomeo, became old enough to become active in business as well. (185). Guglielmo Querini was not a hardcore merchant. Although he always remained interested in business, and never completely gave up his commercial activities, he preferred to stay in Venice, where he occupied public offices and was active on the Rialto. (192). Guglielmo Querini belonged to a great Venetian family. He was a failure as a merchant. (Lane, 1965, 74).

Members of the Venetian aristocracy: great landowners and overseas merchants. Invested heavily in silk manufacture from the middle of the 15th c. onwards. (Spufford, 2002, 250). Guglielmo Querini (c. 1400-1468), a Venetian merchant, lost the major part of his capital because he was either ill-advised or unlucky in selecting his commission agents (De Roover, 1963, 436 n. 25).

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Source material:

A correspondence book, containing copies of letters and memoranda sent by Guglielmo Querini to his partners, commissionaries, etc. between 1428 and 1461 has been preserved in the Archivio di Stato of Venice, together with other documents and accounts of the execution of the will of Querini, tax records, and several court actions. (Lane, 1965, 74; Luzzatto, 1954, 167). Letter- and memorandum book of Guglielmo Querini, son of Andrea, for 1428-1461 has been preserved in the Archivio di Stato of Venice (Lane, 1944a, 150).

Size: Small or medium-sized

Guglielmo Querini was a Venetian patrician of average riches. (Luzzatto, 1954, 171-172).

Main activities:

- Commerce: A large part of the wealth of Querini was invested in commercial enterprises in 1439. In 1448, he had withdrawn large parts of his capital from commercial investments. (Luzzatto, 1954, 172). Trade in a large variety of goods: silk and gold brocades, cloth, dyeing materials (woad, kermes, indigo), alum, grain, and especially precious stones. (172). Also trade in iron, pepper, wool, wine. (173). From Sevilla, import of oil and kermes. (180). Also retail sale of flour to bakers by the partnership of Querini and Businello (probably a miller) in 1446. (185). Trade in gemstones, especially rubies, even during the 1440s. (185). Trade in slaves with Barbary. (188). Querini invested in gold and silk brocades, woollens, dyes (woad, kermes), alum, musk, but especially in wheat and precious stones. (Lane, 1965, 74).
- Finance: Use of bills of exchange. (Luzzatto, 1954, 175-176). Use of maritime insurance, e.g. for shipments from Sevilla to Venice. (180).
- Industry: Guglielmo Querini might have had connections with a number of jewellers and goldsmiths in Venice. (Luzzatto, 1954, 185).
- Shipping: In 1457, Guglielmo Querini was owner of a small ship, which however was captured by a Catalan in the same year. (188; Lane, 1965, 75).

Network of Guglielmo Querini:

Guglielmo Querini was strongly interested in expanding his business network continually, and in entering in business relations with new markets. (Luzzatto, 1954, 173). Guglielmo Querini was a very sedentary merchant. From 1428 until his death he never travelled further than Ravenna. (177; Lane, 1965, 75). In the beginning of his career, Guglielmo Querini operated in partnership with his brothers Bartolomeo and Taddeo, who resided in Trebizond and Constantinople. (177-178). In this early period (1420s and early 1430s), he not only traded with his brothers, but also with others. This was the most profitable period in the business career of Querini. However, in 1435 his both brothers died. (178). Querini had or attempted to create business connections in a large number of cities abroad (even those that were very remote or only sporadically frequented). There he found friends and relatives, often in large numbers, all Venetian patricians, who resided there or made regular journeys between Venice and the place abroad. (192). Correspondence of Querini with places in the Black Sea, Barbary, Sevilla, etc. was very slow. (Luzzatto, 1937, 46 n. 2).

Table A..1. Network of Guglielmo Querini, 1428 – 1461								
City	**R**	**Score**				**Period**	**Type of presence**	**References**
Venice		8	4	3	1	>1428-1461<	Headquarters. Guglielmo Querini was a very sedentary merchant. From 1428 until his death he never travelled further than Ravenna. (177; Lane, 1965, 75).Guglielmo Querini rented warehouses and rooms at the Rialto for warehousing his merchandise. (Lane, 1965, 75; Luzzatto, 1954, 173). Guglielmo Querini had business connections with Cosimo and Lorenzo de' Medici, the Bardi, Bernardo and Giovanni Portinari, and Filippo Borromei, whose services were used for the transfer of bills of exchange between Venice and Bruges. (Luzzatto, 1954, 172, 186).	
Constantinople		**6** 4	**3** 2	**2** 2	**1** 1	>1428-1435 1435-1447	Guglielmo Querini was active in Constantinople. (Luzzatto, 1954, 172). New correspondent in Constantinople in 1444 was Piero Zantani. (174). Correspondents in Constantinople in 1436. (174-176). In 1431-1432, Guglielmo's brother Bartolomeo was his correspondent in Trebizond. Guglielmo ordered him to transfer his profits through bills of exchange directly or via Constantinople to Venice. (175-176). In the first years of his commercial activities, Guglielmo Querini was associated with his brothers Bartolomeo, who resided in Trebizond, and Taddeo, who resided in Constantinople. (Luzzatto, 1954, 177-178). Guglielmo's brothers Bartolomeo and Taddeo both died in 1435, and the business in Constantinople and the Black Sea was given in the hands of two factors, Tommaso Beniventi and Giovanni di Priuli, who had to liquidate the business of the brothers. The liquidation took 12 years and had a negative outcome. (178, 182, 182 n. 12). After 1435 Guglielmo Querini ordered his factors Beniventi and di Priuli, as well as other correspondents in Trebizond, Sinope and Tana to invest in silk, spices, and dye-stuffs, but only with money they could recover from debtors,… (Luzzatto, 1954, 178-179). Business of Querini with the Levant almost completely ended after 1436. (181). Despite sending several letters to his correspondents in the Bosporus and the Black Sea to urge them to collect his outstanding debts and to liquidate the affairs of his brothers, he did not conclude any business transaction in Constantinople, Trebizond or Tana between 1436 and 1447. (183). Correspondent(s) in Constantinople. (192).	Lane, 1965, 74

Trebizond		**6** 4	**3** 2	**2** 2	**1** 1	>1428-1435 1435-1447	Guglielmo Querini was active in Trebizond. (Luzzatto, 1954, 172). Factor in Trebizond in 1445 was Giovanni da Scarpanto. (174). In 1431-1432, Guglielmo's brother Bartolomeo was his correspondent in Trebizond. Guglielmo ordered him to transfer his profits through bills of exchange directly or via Constantinople to Venice. (175-176). In the first years of his commercial activities, Guglielmo Querini was associated with his brothers Bartolomeo, who resided in Trebizond, and Taddeo, who resided in Constantinople. (Luzzatto, 1954, 177-178). In 1428, Guglielmo Querini entrusted Giovanni da Scarpanto, who was leaving with the galleys of Romania, with 200 ducats, to be invested in silver in Thessaloníki, which had to be consigned to Guglielmo's brother Bartolomeo in Trebizond for the purchase of silk. A similar operation was carried out for Querini by Giovanni da Scarpanto in 1429, now with 450 ducats. (Luzzatto, 1954, 178). In 1430, Bartolomeo temporarily returned to Venice, but in the same year went back to Trebizond on a private ship with four bales of cloth from Guglielmo. (178). Guglielmo's brothers Bartolomeo and Taddeo both died in 1435, and the business in Constantinople and the Black Sea was given in the hands of two factors, Tommaso Beniventi and Giovanni di Priuli, who had to liquidate the business of the brothers. The liquidation took 12 years and had a negative outcome. (178, 182). After 1435 Guglielmo Querini ordered his factors Beniventi and di Priuli, as well as other correspondents in Trebizond, Sinope and Tana to invest in silk, spices, and dye-stuffs, but only with money they could recover from debtors,… (Luzzatto, 1954, 178-179). Business of Querini with the Levant almost completely ended after 1436. (181). Despite sending several letters to his correspondents in the Bosporus and the Black Sea to urge them to collect his outstanding debts and to liquidate the affairs of his brothers, he did not conclude any business transaction in Constantinople, Trebizond or Tana between 1436 and 1447. (183). Correspondent(s) in Trebizond. (192).	Lane, 1965, 74-75
Papozze	A	4	2	2	1	1428-1454<	Guglielmo owned real estate in Papozze along the Po, which he had inherited from his family in 1428. (Luzzatto, 1954, 168). Here, Querini had permanently a factor. Vegetables, fruits, and farm animals produced here were sent to the Querini family in Venice for consumption, while grain, wine, etc. were sold or sent to Venice for commercial purposes. Especially the grain production here was relatively important. (168-169). E.g. letter to	

							his factor in Polesine in 1454. (175). Querini travelled to his estate in the Polesine region. (177). Correspondence with his factor in Papozze about grain trade. (184). In 1446, import of grain in partnership with Niccolò Businelli from the region of Ferrara, Polesine, Chioggia and other unspecified locations. (184-185).	
Ravenna		4	2	2	1	1438-c.1450<	Guglielmo Querini was active in Ravenna. (Luzzatto, 1954, 172). Ferondo de' Ferondi originally worked together with Querini in partnership or as his factor in Venice and other cities of the Veneto, but then went to Ravenna for Querini with the task to sell iron, pepper and wool for Querini, and to acquire woad, wheat and wine instead. Despite failure of a large woad transaction, later a company was established between Querini and Ferondi in Ravenna for exchange of merchandise imported from Spain and the Levant for local agricultural products (Luzzatto, 1954, 173). Ca. 1450, Querini sold a property to Antonio Azzolino in Ravenna. (176). In 1449, Querini attempted to liquidate the business with Ferondo de' Ferondi, and for this purpose he sent an instruction to his procurator in Ravenna, Desiderio di Sperti. (176). Guglielmo Querini once travelled to Ravenna. (177). In 1447, Guglielmo Querini had investments in colleganze or other forms of participation in commerce with Romagna. (Luzzatto, 1954, 170-171). In 1438, Guglielmo Querini expanded his business towards Sevilla and the Romagna. (179). Trade with Ravenna and Forlì since 1438, where his main representative (partner or factor) was Ferondo de' Ferondi. From Romagna, mostly export of grain and woad. This business with the Romagna does not appear to have been continued after 1441. (181). Correspondence with Ravenna and Forlì about grain trade. (184).	Lane, 1965, 74
Aigues-Mortes		3	2	2	1		Guglielmo Querini was active in Aigues-Mortes. (Luzzatto, 1954, 172). Correspondent(s) in Aigues-Mortes. (192).	Lane, 1965, 74
Albania		3	2	2	1	>1442<	Guglielmo Querini was active in Albania. (Luzzatto, 1954, 172). In 1442, Querini corresponded with Girolamo Malipiero, who had gone to Bosnia and Albania for commercial purposes, and to whom Querini had entrusted a number of gemstones. (Luzzatto, 1954, 174). Correspondent(s) in the interior of Albania. (192).	Lane, 1965, 74
Bosnia		3	2	2	1	>1442<	Guglielmo Querini was active in Bosnia. (Luzzatto, 1954, 172). In 1442, Querini corresponded with Girolamo Malipiero, who had gone to Bosnia and Albania for commercial purposes, and to whom Querini had entrusted a	Lane, 1965, 74

							number of gemstones. (Luzzatto, 1954, 174). Even in the period 1436-1449, Guglielmo Querini exported gemstones to Bosnia, Milan, Rome, Geneva, France, Flanders and London, when the occasion arose to sent them there with someone he could trust upon, and when chances for sale increased as a result of a princely wedding. (Luzzatto, 1954, 185). A correspondent in Bosnia was Giovanni Malipiero. (185). Correspondent(s) in Bosnia. (192).	
Bruges		3	2	2	1	>1435-1439<, >1452-1454<	Guglielmo Querini was active in Bruges. (Luzzatto, 1954, 172). Correspondent in Bruges in 1435 was Benedetto Soranzo. (175). In 1452, Guglielmo sent his nephew Giovanni Querini to Flanders and England. (177). Querini sent oil with the galleys of Flanders to Bruges and London in 1438. (180). Trade with Bruges and London was mostly rather modest in size, but became temporarily more considerable in 1436-1439. (180-181). Correspondent in Bruges in 1439 was Gabriel Soranzo. (181, 182 n. 11). Business with Sevilla, Flanders and England does not appear to have been continued after 1439. (181). Even in the period 1436-1449, Guglielmo Querini exported gemstones to Bosnia, Milan, Rome, Geneva, France, Flanders and London, when the occasion arose to sent them there with someone he could trust upon, and when chances for sale increased as a result of a princely wedding. (Luzzatto, 1954, 185). In 1452, Giovanni Querini, nephew of Guglielmo, embarked on the Flemish galleys as a scribe. (185). On the journey of 1452, Guglielmo gave his nephew some merchandise for sale, with the order to purchase with the yields goods in Bruges and also in London to make up a return freight, or to be sold on the way back in Mallorca or Sicily. This was only a small venture, since Giovanni was still very inexperienced. (186-187). Guglielmo Querini had business connections with Cosimo and Lorenzo de' Medici, the Bardi, Bernardo and Giovanni Portinari, and Filippo Borromei, whose services were used for the transfer of bills of exchange between Venice and Bruges. (Luzzatto, 1954, 172, 186). A second journey to Flanders was undertaken by Giovanni Querini for his uncle in 1454, which was much more important. Guglielmo sent merchandise with his nephew for a total value of ca. 500 ducats. Giovanni was to participate in profits and losses of the purchase and sale of wine along the journey. (187-188). Correspondent(s) in Bruges. (192).	Lane, 1965, 74, 76
Candia		3	2	2	1	>1454-1461<	Guglielmo Querini was active in Candia. (Luzzatto, 1954, 172). In 1454, Giovanni Querini went on the Flemish galleys. He made a stop in Candia to	Lane, 1965, 74

							obtain wine from Filippo, cousin of Guglielmo in Crete. (187). Ca. 1456-1457, Querini gave 136 ducats to Giorgio da Traù for the purchase of wine (probably in Candia) which he then had to sell in Barbary. The transport would take place in the ship of Querini, which also was to transport grain for Muslim merchants from Sicily to Tunis. However, the ship was captured by a Catalan on the way from Venice to Barbary. (188-189). In 1461, Querini ordered Andrea di Franceschi, who went to Candia, to purchase several gemstones for him, and to sell several pieces of cloth which belonged to Querini and Andrea di Franceschi in partnership. (191). Correspondent(s) in Candia. (192).	
Forlì		3	2	2	1	1438-1441<	Guglielmo Querini was active in Forlì. (Luzzatto, 1954, 172). In 1447, Guglielmo Querini had investments in colleganze or other forms of participation in commerce with Romagna. (Luzzatto, 1954, 170-171). In 1438, Guglielmo Querini expanded his business towards Sevilla and the Romagna. (179). Purchase of woad in Venice from a merchant of Forlì ca. 1437. (179, 179 n. 9). Trade with Ravenna and Forlì since 1438, where his main representative (partner or factor) was Ferondo de' Ferondi. From Romagna, mostly export of grain and woad. This business with the Romagna does not appear to have been continued after 1441. (181). Correspondence with Ravenna and Forlì about grain trade. (184).	Lane, 1965, 74
London		3	2	2	1	>1436-1439<, >1452<	Guglielmo Querini was active in London. (Luzzatto, 1954, 172). In 1452, Guglielmo sent his nephew Giovanni Querini to Flanders (Bruges) and England. (177). Querini sent oil with the galleys of Flanders to Bruges and London in 1438. (180). Trade with Bruges and London was mostly rather modest in size, but became temporarily more considerable in 1436-1439. (180-181). Business with Sevilla, Flanders and England does not appear to have been continued after 1439. (181). Even in the period 1436-1449, Guglielmo Querini exported gemstones to Bosnia, Milan, Rome, Geneva, France, Flanders and London, when the occasion arose to sent them there with someone he could trust upon, and when chances for sale increased as a result of a princely wedding. (Luzzatto, 1954, 185). On the journey of 1452 with the Flemish galleys, Guglielmo gave his nephew Giovanni some merchandise for sale, with the order to purchase with the yields goods in Bruges and also in London to make up a return freight, or to be sold on the way back in Mallorca or Sicily. This was only a small venture, since	Lane, 1965, 74

							Giovanni was still very inexperienced. (186-187). Correspondent(s) in London. (192).	
Sevilla		3	2	2	1	1438-1439<	In 1438 and 1447, Guglielmo Querini had investments in colleganze or other forms of participation in commerce with Sevilla. (Luzzatto, 1954, 170-171). Guglielmo Querini was active in Sevilla. (Luzzatto, 1954, 172). In 1438, his correspondent in Sevilla was his cousin Carlo Morosini. (174). In 1438, Guglielmo Querini expanded his business towards Sevilla and the Romagna. (179). In 1437, Guglielmo's cousin Carlo Morisini went to Sevilla with the galleys. The presence of Carlo Morisini in Sevilla was the incentive for Guglielmo to establish trade connections with Sevilla in 1438. (179). The main business with Sevilla was the shipment of a large amount of woad from Venice to Sevilla, carried out in partnership between Querini and Morosini. (179). Also silk and gold cloth and a ruby were sent by Querini to Morosini. The return freights from Sevilla consisted mainly of oil, but also of wax, mercury, cinnabar and wool. (180). The business with Morosini in Sevilla was continued in 1439. (180). Business with Sevilla, Flanders and England does not appear to have been considerable anymore after 1439. (181). Correspondent(s) in Sevilla. (192).	Lane, 1965, 74
Sinope		3	2	2	1		After 1435 Guglielmo Querini ordered his factors Beniventi and di Priuli, as well as other correspondents in Trebizond, Sinope and Tana to invest in silk, spices, and dye-stuffs, but only with money they could recover from debtors,… (Luzzatto, 1954, 178-179). Correspondent(s) in Sinope. (192).	
Syria		3	2	2	1	>1431-1437<	Guglielmo Querini was active in the ports of Syria. (Luzzatto, 1954, 172). In 1431 and 1432, Bernardo Navagero went to Syria in order to purchase cotton for Guglielmo Querini. (178). In 1437, Querini gave 400 ducats to Giovanni Negro, who went to Syria, for the purchase of pearls and other merchandise. (179). Business of Querini with the Levant almost completely ended after 1436. (181).	Lane, 1965, 74
Tana		3	2	2	1	>1436-1439<	Guglielmo Querini was active in Tana. (Luzzatto, 1954, 172). Correspondents in Tana in 1439. (174). After 1435 Guglielmo Querini ordered his factors Beniventi and di Priuli, as well as other correspondents in Trebizond, Sinope and Tana to invest in silk, spices, and dye-stuffs, but only with money they could recover from debtors,… (Luzzatto, 1954, 178-179). Business of Querini with the Levant almost completely ended after 1436. (181). Despite sending several letters to his correspondents in the Bosporus	Lane, 1965, 74-75

							and the Black Sea to urge them to collect his outstanding debts and to liquidate the affairs of his brothers, he did not conclude any business transaction in Constantinople, Trebizond or Tana between 1436 and 1447. (183). Correspondent(s) in Tana. (192).	
Tunis		3	2	2	1	>c.1456/57<	Guglielmo Querini was active in the ports of Barbary. (Luzzatto, 1954, 172). Ca. 1456-1457, Querini gave 136 ducats to Giorgio da Traù for the purchase of wine (probably in Candia) which he then had to sell in Barbary. The transport would take place in the ship of Querini, which also was to transport grain for Muslim merchants from Sicily to Tunis. However, the ship was captured by a Catalan on the way from Venice to Barbary. (188-189). The Venetian consul of Tunis informed Querini about the misfortune of his ship. (189). Finally the business between Querini and Giorgio da Traù was liquidated in 1462. (190). Correspondent(s) in Tunis. (192).	Lane, 1965, 74
Bologna		2	2	1	0	>1458<	Guglielmo Querini was active in Bologna. (Luzzatto, 1954, 172). In 1458, Querini sent gemstones to Rome with Domenico di Bartolomeo. He also entrusted him with 30 ducats for purchases of gemstones in Bologna or elsewhere. (190-191).	Lane, 1965, 74
Chioggia		2	2	1	0	1446	In 1446, import of grain in partnership with Niccolò Businelli from the region of Ferrara, Polesine, Chioggia and other unspecified locations. (184-185).	
Ferrarese		2	2	1	0	1446	In 1446, import of grain in partnership with Niccolò Businelli from the region of Ferrara, Polesine, Chioggia and other unspecified locations. (184-185).	
France		2	2	1	0	<1436-1449>	Even in the period 1436-1449, Guglielmo Querini exported gemstones to Bosnia, Milan, Rome, Geneva, France, Flanders and London, when the occasion arose to sent them there with someone he could trust upon, and when chances for sale increased as a result of a princely wedding. (Luzzatto, 1954, 185).	
Geneva		2	2	1	0	<1436-1449>	Even in the period 1436-1449, Guglielmo Querini exported gemstones to Bosnia, Milan, Rome, Geneva, France, Flanders and London, when the occasion arose to sent them there with someone he could trust upon, and when chances for sale increased as a result of a princely wedding. (Luzzatto, 1954, 185).	
Milan		2	2	1	0	<1436-1449>	Even in the period 1436-1449, Guglielmo Querini exported gemstones to Bosnia, Milan, Rome, Geneva, France, Flanders and London, when the	

							occasion arose to sent them there with someone he could trust upon, and when chances for sale increased as a result of a princely wedding. (Luzzatto, 1954, 185).	
Pisa		2	2	1	0	1458	In 1458, Querini was one of the creditors of the bankrupt Francesco di San Cassiano of Pisa. (Luzzatto, 1954, 191).	
Rome		2	2	1	0	<1436-1449>, >1458<	Even in the period 1436-1449, Guglielmo Querini exported gemstones to Bosnia, Milan, Rome, Geneva, France, Flanders and London, when the occasion arose to sent them there with someone he could trust upon, and when chances for sale increased as a result of a princely wedding. (Luzzatto, 1954, 185). In 1458, Querini sent gemstones to Rome with Domenico di Bartolomeo. He also entrusted him with 30 ducats for purchases of gemstones in Bologna or elsewhere. (190-191).	
Siracusa		2	2	1	0	>c.1456/57<	On the journey of 1452 with the Flemish galleys, Guglielmo gave his nephew Giovanni some merchandise for sale, with the order to purchase with the yields goods in Bruges and also in London to make up a return freight, or to be sold on the way back in Mallorca or Sicily. This was only a small venture, since Giovanni was still very inexperienced. (186-187). Ca. 1456-1457, Querini gave 136 ducats to Giorgio da Traù for the purchase of wine (probably in Candia) which he then had to sell in Barbary. The transport would take place in the ship of Querini, which also was to transport grain for Muslim merchants from Sicily to Tunis. However, the ship was captured by a Catalan on the way from Venice to Barbary. (188-189). In the hope to recover the ship, Querini sent Giorgio da Traù to Syracuse. However, Giorgio da Traù was not successful in Syracuse. (189-190). Finally the business between Querini and Giorgio da Traù was liquidated in 1462. (190). Correspondent(s) in Syracuse. (192).	
Thessaloníki		2	2	1	0	1428-1429	In 1428, Guglielmo Querini entrusted Giovanni da Scarpanto, who was leaving with the galleys of Romania, with 200 ducats, to be invested in silver in Thessaloníki, which had to be consigned to Guglielmo's brother Bartolomeo in Trebizond for the purchase of silk. A similar operation was carried out for Querini by Giovanni da Scarpanto in 1429, now with 450 ducats. (Luzzatto, 1954, 178).	
Veneto		2	2	1	0	before 1438	Ferondo de' Ferondi originally worked together with Querini in partnership or as his factor in Venice and other cities of the Veneto, but then went to Ravenna. (Luzzatto, 1954, 173).	

Gozi (Crete)		1	1	1	0		Guglielmo Querini owned real estate in Gozi on Crete, inherited from his family. This estate was not very profitable however. His correspondent in Crete was his cousin Filippo Querini, representing the interests of the family. (Luzzatto, 1954, 168).	
Mallorca		1	1	1	0	1452	On the journey of 1452 with the Flemish galleys, Guglielmo gave his nephew Giovanni some merchandise for sale, with the order to purchase with the yields goods in Bruges and also in London to make up a return freight, or to be sold on the way back in Mallorca or Sicily. This was only a small venture, since Giovanni was still very inexperienced. (186-187).	

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1.1.2. GENOESE FIRMS

BRIGNOLE, before 1572 – after 1604

The Brignole belonged to the Genoese minor merchant nobility. They were among the merchant families that had been ennobled by Andrea Doria in 1528 (Court, 2004, 988). Antonio and Teramo Brignole were brothers. Gio Francesco Brignole was the son of Antonio Brignole. (Doria, 1986, 111). The brothers Antonio and Teramo Brignole were also politically active in Genoa. (Doria, 1986, 111 n. 199). Antonio Brignole was the son-in-law of Nicolò Sale. (Court, 2004, 993).

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Savelli, R., 1981. *La Repubblica oligarchica. Legislazione, istituzioni e ceti a Genova nel Cinquecento*. Milan, 74, 83, 141, 237 (about the political activities of the Brignole brothers).

Source material:

ACG (Archivio storico del Comune di Genova), Fondo Brignole Sale. (Doria, 1986, 74 n. 58). Preserved are several correspondence books (copialettere), e.g. of Teramo Brignole (1583-1584). (Doria, 1986, 83 n. 89). A copialettere has been preserved of Teramo Brignole for a period of less than 5 months, when he was in Florence. He wrote 545 letters (on average 114 each month). He corresponded with 17 places: 2 in the Genoese republic, 9 in Italy, 5 abroad of Italy, and the fairs of Piacenza. (108). Teramo Brignole had 86 correspondents (excluding the letters to the fairs of Piacenza), of whom 73 were Genoese (51 in the Genoese Republic, 22 abroad). (Doria, 1986, 108). The letter book of Teramo Brignole contains letters for the period 5 November 1583 – 29 March 1584. (Doria, 1986, 108). Copy-books of correspondence have been preserved of Antonio and his son Gio Francesco Brignole for the period April 1572 – April 1576, May 1576 – October 1578, December 1581 –

December 1582, January 1587 – December 1587, January 1588 – December 1588, January 1593 – May 1594, May 1594 – December 1594, January 1595 – May 1596, January 1598 – March 1599, May 1600 – March 1602, March 1602 – February 1605, January 1605 – December 1606, January 1607 – February 1612, February 1612 – December 1616. These letterbooks have been preserved in the Archivio storico del Comune di Genova, Fondo Brignole Sale. (Doria, 1986, 111 n. 198). Copies of a total of 12,494 letters have been preserved of Antonio Brignole, for a period of 211 months (on average 59.2 letters per month). (Doria, 1986, 111). Business papers (account books and letter registers) of Antonio Brignole survive. (Court, 2004, 989-990, 1003).

1. TERAMO BRIGNOLE, before 1572 – 1587 (network not used)

Teramo Brignole was a Genoese of the diaspora, had worked more abroad than in Genoa itself. He belonged to a family of rich silk producers, merchants and bankers. (Doria, 1986, 108). End 1587, Teramo Brignole dissolved his business and entered the Dominican Order. He died in the monastery of S. Domenico in Fiesole in 1625. (Doria, 1986, 108 n. 188).

Size: ?

Main activities:

- Commerce:
- Finance:
- Industry:

Network of Teramo Brignole:

Table A..1. Network of Teramo Brignole, 1583 – 1584

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Florence		8	4	3	1	1582-1587	Teramo Brignole was in Florence from 1582 until his death in 1625. (Doria, 108, 108 n. 188).	
Genoa		6	3	2	1	1583-1584	Teramo Brignole had 50 correspondents in Genoa, all of whom were Genoese. (Doria, 1986, 108). Teramo Brignole was a Genoese merchant.	
Messina		4	2	2	1	1578-1584	Teramo Brignole was in Palermo, Messina and Naples between 1578 and	

							1582. (Doria, 1986, 108). Teramo Brignole had 3 correspondents in Messina, all of whom were Genoese. (Doria, 1986, 108).	
Naples		4	2	2	1	1576-1584	Teramo Brignole was in Naples and Rome between 1576 and 1577. (Doria, 1986, 108). Teramo Brignole was in Palermo, Messina and Naples between 1578 and 1582. (Doria, 1986, 108). Teramo Brignole had 4 correspondents in Naples, all of whom were Genoese. (Doria, 1986, 108).	
Palermo		4	2	2	1	1578-1584	Teramo Brignole was in Palermo, Messina and Naples between 1578 and 1582. (Doria, 1986, 108). Teramo Brignole had 3 correspondents in Palermo, all of whom were Genoese. (Doria, 1986, 108).	
Rome		4	2	2	1	1576-1577, 1583-1584	Teramo Brignole was in Naples and Rome between 1576 and 1577. (Doria, 1986, 108). Teramo Brignole had 4 correspondents in Rome, three of whom were Genoese. (Doria, 1986, 108).	
Sevilla		4	2	2	1	1572-1574, 1583-1584	Between 1572 and 1574, Teramo Brignole was in Sevilla. (Doria, 1986, 108). Teramo Brignole had 2 correspondents in Sevilla, all of whom were Genoese. (Doria, 1986, 108).	
Antwerp		3	2	2	1		Since his childhood, Teramo Brignole had been several times in Antwerp. (Doria, 1986, 108).	
Lucca		3	2	2	1	1583-1584	Teramo Brignole had 2 correspondents in Lucca, none of whom were Genoese. (Doria, 1986, 108).	
Lyon		3	2	2	1	1583-1584	Teramo Brignole had 2 correspondents in Lyon, all of whom were Genoese. (Doria, 1986, 108).	
Piacenza		3	2	2	1	1583-1584	Teramo Brignole corresponded with the fairs of Piacenza (mostly in Piacenza since the 1580s). (Doria, 1986, 108).	
Pisa		3	2	2	1	1583-1584	Teramo Brignole had 4 correspondents in Pisa, none of whom were Genoese. (Doria, 1986, 108).	
Siena		3	2	2	1	1583-1584	Teramo Brignole had 3 correspondents in Siena, none of whom were Genoese. (Doria, 1986, 108).	
Venice		3	2	2	1	1583-1584	Teramo Brignole had 4 correspondents in Venice, two of whom were Genoese. (Doria, 1986, 108).	
Granada		2	2	1	0	1583-1584	Teramo Brignole had 1 correspondent in Granada, who was a Genoese. (Doria, 1986, 108).	
Lérici		2	2	1	0	1583-1584	Teramo Brignole had a correspondent in Lérici, who was a Genoese. (Doria, 1986, 108).	
Livorno		2	2	1	0	1583-1584	Teramo Brignole had 1 correspondent in Livorno, who was not a Genoese. (Doria, 1986, 108).	

Mallorca (Palma de Mallorca?)		2	2	1	0	1583-1584	Teramo Brignole had 1 correspondent in Mallorca, who was a Genoese. (Doria, 1986, 108).	
Toledo		2	2	1	0	1583-1584	Teramo Brignole had 1 correspondent in Toledo, who was a Genoese. (Doria, 1986, 108).	

+ 2 correspondents or more = 3 (8 point scale), 1 correspondent = 2 (8 point scale).

2. ANTONIO BRIGNOLE, before 1572 – after 1604

Antonio Brignole was one of the most important Genoese businessmen ca. 1587. (Doria, 1986, 73). He was a nobile nuovo. (Doria, 1986, 111). Antonio Brignole conducted a substantial volume of business with his father-in-law Nicolò Sale. Nicolò's son was married to Antonio's sister. (Court, 2004, 993-994). Gio Francesco Brignole, son of Antonio, became Doge of Genoa in 1635-1637. He was especially an important financier, but also traded in a variety of goods, largely on the same markets as his father. (Doria, 1986, 112). The network of Gio Francesco Brignole has not been included in the analysis, since only data are available for the 17th century (1605-1616). Moreover, the network is very similar to that of his father. (Doria, 1986, 113, 120).

Size: Large

Antonio Brignole was one of the most important Genoese businessmen ca. 1587. (Doria, 1986, 73). His net fortune increased from 73,503 scudi d'oro in 1573 to 119,822 scudi in 1584 and 180,931 scudi in 1596. (Doria, 1986, 111).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Antonio Brignole was involved in purchase and sale of a large variety of merchandise: textiles, raw materials, foodstuffs, precious metals, manufactured goods. (Doria, 1986, 111). In 1573, 60 % of his property was invested in commercial activities, in 1584 47 %. (Doria, 1986, 111 n. 199). The Brignole traded mostly in grain, sugar, raw silk, Spanish wool and textiles. (Court, 2004, 989). The Sale and Brignole together sold wool, raw silk, grain, sugar and Flemish cloth in Florence. (Court, 2004, 995). Antonio Brignole was a commodities merchant and exchange banker. (Court, 2004, 1002).
- Finance: Increasingly, Antonio Brignole expanded his financial activities. (Doria, 1986, 111). Antonio Brignole was a commodities merchant and exchange banker. He often operated as a broker of relationships and obligations. (Court, 2004, 1002).
- Industry: Antonio Brignole was a setaiolo (silk producer). (Doria, 1986, 111).
- Shipping: Antonio Brignole was a shipowner. (Doria, 1986, 111).

Network of Antonio Brignole:

Antonio Brignole was active on a very large area in Europe and the Mediterranean. (Doria, 1986, 111). During a period of 34 years, Antonio Brignole probably sent on average two letters a day, and received a same amount. (Doria, 1986, 112). In a total period of 17 years and a half, Antonio Brignole sent letters to 429 Genoese entrepreneurs abroad (214 in 17 Italian places, 128 in 15 centres of the Iberian Peninsula, and 87 in 10 places elsewhere in Europe or northern Africa), as well as to a number of non-Genoese. (Doria, 1986, 112).

The Brignole's business network consisted of a great number of acquaintances and a few close partnerships. The Brignole formed short-lived joint ventures with other merchants, which were quite often repeated. (Court, 2004, 989). Almost all the correspondents of Antonio Brignole were Genoese. (Court, 2004, 990). The Brignole conducted continuous business with intimates as well as short-term trade with parties previously unknown to them. (Court, 2004, 991). Their agents and partners abroad had local privileges and knowledge. (Court, 2004, 991). The Brignole were especially involved in connecting different merchants with complementary businesses. (Court, 2004, 991). One of the responsibilities of partners abroad was to handle local jurisdictions. (Court, 2004, 991). Agents provided market intelligence, bought and sold commodities, arranged for shipping and insurance, collected debts, or transferred funds. These agents performed their services for a fee. In a joint venture this service was in exchange for a similar service in another place, and for a share in the profits of both. (Court, 2004, 994). The Brignole occupied a central position in a web of associations. (Court, 2004, 996). Formal partnerships lasted from the purchase of commonly held goods until their sale. Most informal relationships lasted a month here, a month there, but others lasted decades. Even the most profound relationships continued from commission to commission. (Court, 2004, 1003). => Use of participation and commission.

Table A..2. Network of Antonio Brignole, 1572 – 1604

City	**R**	**Score**				**Period**	**Type of presence**	**References**
Genoa		8	4	3	1	>1572-1604<	Headquarters. (Court, 2004, 991; Doria, 1986, 109, 112).	Court, 2004, 994, 999
Alicante		4	2	2	1	1572-1578, 1581-1582, 1588, 1594-1595, 1598, 1601-1604	15 Genoese correspondents. (Doria, 1986, 112). At least 2 non-Genoese correspondents. (Doria, 1986, 118-119).	
Antwerp		4	2	2	1	1572-1578, 1581-1582, 1587-1588, 1594-1595, 1598, 1601-1604	30 Genoese correspondents. (Doria, 1986, 112). At least 7 non-Genoese correspondents. (Doria, 1986, 118-119). An associate of the Brignole in Antwerp was Geronimo Lomellino Chiavari (1573). (Court, 2004, 993, 997-998).	Court, 2004, 994
Bologna		4	2	2	1	1587-1588,	3 Genoese correspondents. (Doria, 1986, 112). At least 15 non-Genoese	

						1594-1595, 1598, 1601-1604	correspondents. (Doria, 1986, 118-119).	
Florence		4	2	2	1	1572-1578, 1581-1582, 1587-1588, 1594-1595, 1598, 1601-1604	Correspondent of Antonio Brignole in Florence: Giacomo Martelli. A letter of 1587 has been preserved. (Doria, 1986, 74 n. 58). 12 Genoese correspondents. (Doria, 1986, 112). At least 26 non-Genoese correspondents. (Doria, 1986, 118-119). The Brignole had connections with the Cibo of Florence (1573). (Court, 2004, 993). Nicolò Sale, father-in-law of Antonio Brignole, was based in Florence. Antonio Brignole conducted a substantial volume of business with his father-in-law Nicolò Sale. Florence was a major hub for the activities of the Brignole. Nicolò Sale took care of sales and collection of debts in Florence for the joint ventures between Brignole and Sale. (Court, 2004, 993-995, 999). Trade in raw silk between Naples and Florence by Brignole and the merchants Nazelli and Ferraro, who dealt in Calabrian raw silk and Catalan cloth. (Court, 2004, 1000-1001).	Court, 2004, 994, 999
Granada		4	2	2	1	1572-1578, 1581-1582, 1587-1588, 1594-1595, 1598, 1601-1602	22 Genoese correspondents. (Doria, 1986, 112). 1 non-Genoese correspondent. (Doria, 1986, 118-119). Antonio Brignole had contacts with the Genoese wool dealers Francesco and Bartolomeo Lomellini, residents of Granada. Brignole ordered these agents to collect money from several of his debtors, and to purchase Granada wool with it (1573). (Court, 2004, 989).	
Lyon		4	2	2	1	1572-1578, 1581-1582, 1587-1588, 1594, 1598, 1601-1602	35 Genoese correspondents. (Doria, 1986, 112). At least 11 non-Genoese correspondents. (Doria, 1986, 118-119).	Court, 2004, 994, 1001
Madrid		4	2	2	1	1572-1578, 1581-1582, 1587-1588, 1594-1595, 1598, 1601-1602	29 Genoese correspondents. (Doria, 1986, 112). At least 3 non-Genoese correspondents. (Doria, 1986, 118-119).	
Messina		4	2	2	1	1572-1578, 1581-1582, 1587-1588,	43 Genoese correspondents. (Doria, 1986, 112). At least 4 non-Genoese correspondents. (Doria, 1986, 118-119). An associate of the Brignole in Messina was Paolo Vincenzo Sauli. (Court, 2004, 993, 1001).	Court, 2004, 994

						1594-1595, 1598, 1601-1604		
Milan		4	2	2	1	1572-1578, 1581-1582, 1587-1588, 1594-1595, 1598, 1601-1604	26 Genoese correspondents. (Doria, 1986, 112). At least 9 non-Genoese correspondents. (Doria, 1986, 118-119).	
Naples		4	2	2	1	1572-1578, 1581-1582, 1587-1588, 1594-1595, 1598, 1601-1604	45 Genoese correspondents. (Doria, 1986, 112). At least 14 non-Genoese correspondents. (Doria, 1986, 118-119). A correspondent in Naples was Nicolò Salvago, a Calabrian raw silk buyer based in Naples. (Court, 2004, 1000-1001).	Court, 2004, 994
Palermo		4	2	2	1	1572-1578, 1581-1582, 1587-1588, 1594-1595, 1598, 1601-1604	33 Genoese correspondents. (Doria, 1986, 112). At least 7 non-Genoese correspondents. (Doria, 1986, 118-119). A correspondent of Antonio Brignole in Palermo was Giulio Sale (1573). (Court, 2004, 998-999).	Court, 2004, 994
Rome		4	2	2	1	1572-1578, 1581-1582, 1587-1588, 1594-1595, 1598, 1601-1604	23 Genoese correspondents. (Doria, 1986, 112). At least 12 non-Genoese correspondents. (Doria, 1986, 118-119).	
Sevilla		4	2	2	1	1572-1578, 1581-1582, 1594-1595, 1598, 1603-1604	17 Genoese correspondents. (Doria, 1986, 112). 1 non-Genoese correspondent. (Doria, 1986, 118-119). Among the correspondents of Antonio Brignole in Sevilla were the Pallavicini (1573). (Court, 2004, 989).	
Venice		4	2	2	1	1572-1578, 1581-1582, 1587-1588,	14 Genoese correspondents. (Doria, 1986, 112). At least 16 non-Genoese correspondents. (Doria, 1986, 118-119).	

						1594-1595, 1598, 1601-1604		
Barcelona		3	2	2	1	1572-1578, 1587	7 Genoese correspondents. (Doria, 1986, 112). At least 2 non-Genoese correspondents. (Doria, 1986, 118-119). Venture of Antonio Brignole and Nicolò Salvago, correspondent in Naples, between Naples and Barcelona. Salvago traded between Naples and Barcelona. (Court, 2004, 1000-1001).	
Bari		3	2	2	1	1598, 1601-1602	2 Genoese correspondents. (Doria, 1986, 112, 118-119).	
Brescia		3	2	2	1	1587-1588	At least 2 non-Genoese correspondents. (Doria, 1986, 118-119).	
Cádiz		3	2	2	1	1576-1578, 1581-1582	1 Genoese correspondent. (Doria, 1986, 112). 1 non-Genoese correspondent. (Doria, 1986, 118-119).	
Carmagnola		3	2	2	1	1576-1578	1 Genoese and 2 non-Genoese correspondents. (Doria, 1986, 118-119).	
Cartagena		3	2	2	1	1572-1576, 1588, 1598	4 Genoese correspondents. (Doria, 1986, 112, 118-119).	
Cologne		3	2	2	1	1587-1588, 1594	2 Genoese correspondents. (Doria, 1986, 112, 118-119).	
Córdoba		3	2	2	1	1576-1578, 1581-1582, 1594-1595	7 Genoese correspondents. (Doria, 1986, 112, 118-119).	
Cuenca		3	2	2	1	1572-1576, 1587-1588	5 Genoese correspondents. (Doria, 1986, 112, 118-119).	
Lecce		3	2	2	1	1594-1595, 1598, 1601-1604	2 Genoese correspondents. (Doria, 1986, 112). 1 non-Genoese correspondent. (Doria, 1986, 118-119).	
Lisbon		3	2	2	1	1572-1576, 1601-1604	4 Genoese correspondents. (Doria, 1986, 112, 118-119).	
Livorno		3	2	2	1	1572-1578, 1581-1582, 1588, 1594, 1601-1604	At least 3 non-Genoese correspondents. (Doria, 1986, 118-119). The Brignole had a shipping agent in Pisa and Livorno: Salvatore Quaratesi (1573). He was fired after failing to insure a shipment of rice to England in 1573. From then, Brignole decided to regularly make use of the services of Felice Beccuto and Gugliermo Giuliani in Livorno and Pisa. (Court, 2004, 992-993).	Court, 2004, 994
London		3	2	2	1	1572-1578, 1581-1582,	4 Genoese correspondents. (Doria, 1986, 112). At least 1 non-Genoese correspondent. (Doria, 1986, 118-119). In 1573, the Brignole shipped rice to	

						1587-1588, 1601-1602	England. The shipment was lost at sea however. (Court, 2004, 992).	
Lucca		3	2	2	1	1572-1578, 1581-1582, 1587-1588, 1598, 1601-1602	At least 6 non-Genoese correspondents. (Doria, 1986, 118-119).	
Mallorca (Palma de Mallorca?)		3	2	2	1	1581-1582, 1594, 1598	3 Genoese correspondents. (Doria, 1986, 112, 118-119).	
Marseille		3	2	2	1	1572-158, 1581-1582, 1588	7 Genoese correspondents. (Doria, 1986, 112, 118-119).	Court, 2004, 994
Massa		3	2	2	1	1581-1582, 1601-1602	2 Genoese correspondents. (Doria, 1986, 112). 1 non-Genoese correspondent. (Doria, 1986, 118-119).	
Monteleone		3	2	2	1	1572-1576, 1581-1582	2 Genoese correspondents. (Doria, 1986, 112, 118-119).	
Nice		3	2	2	1	1576-1578, 1581-1582, 1587-1588, 1598	5 Genoese correspondents. (Doria, 1986, 112). 1 non-Genoese correspondent. (Doria, 1986, 118-119).	
Nürnberg		3	2	2	1	1581-1582, 1594	At least 2 non-Genoese correspondents. (Doria, 1986, 118-119).	
Piacenza		3	2	2	1	1587-1588	At least 2 non-Genoese correspondents. (Doria, 1986, 118-119). Antonio Brignole corresponded with the fairs of Besançon in 1587. (Doria, 1987, 73-74).	
Pisa		3	2	2	1	1572-1578, 1581-1582, 1587-1588, 1594-1595, 1598, 1601-1604	2 Genoese correspondents. (Doria, 1986, 112). At least 6 non-Genoese correspondents. (Doria, 1986, 118-119). The Brignole had a shipping agent in Pisa and Livorno: Salvatore Quaratesi (1573). He was fired after failing to insure a shipment of rice to England in 1573. From then, Brignole decided to regularly make use of the services of Felice Beccuto and Gugliermo Giuliani in Livorno and Pisa. (Court, 2004, 992-993).	Court, 2004, 1001
Toledo		3	2	2	1	1572-1578, 1594	5 Genoese correspondents. (Doria, 1986, 112, 118-119).	
Turin		3	2	2	1	1576-1578,	2 Genoese correspondents. (Doria, 1986, 112). At least 2 non-Genoese	

						1581-1582, 1588	correspondents. (Doria, 1986, 118-119).	
Valencia		3	2	2	1	1588, 1594	1 Genoese correspondent. (Doria, 1986, 112). 1 non-Genoese correspondent. (Doria, 1986, 118-119).	
Valladolid		3	2	2	1	1601-1604	7 Genoese correspondents. (Doria, 1986, 112). At least 2 non-Genoese correspondents. (Doria, 1986, 118-119).	
Alessandria		2	2	1	0	1572-1576	1 Genoese correspondent. (Doria, 1986, 112, 118-119).	
Bergamo		2	2	1	0	1576-1578	1 Genoese correspondent. (Doria, 1986, 118-119).	
Cabeza de Buey		2	2	1	0	1576-1578	1 Genoese correspondent. (Doria, 1986, 118-119).	
Carcare		2	2	1	0	1576-1578	1 non-Genoese correspondent. (Doria, 1986, 118-119).	
Carrara		2	2	1	0	1603-1604	1 non-Genoese correspondent. (Doria, 1986, 118-119).	
Chioggia		2	2	1	0	1595	1 non-Genoese correspondent. (Doria, 1986, 118-119).	
Frankfurt am Main		2	2	1	0	1594	1 non-Genoese correspondent. (Doria, 1986, 118-119).	
Gerace		2	2	1	0	1594	1 Genoese correspondent. (Doria, 1986, 112, 118-119).	
Montalto di Castro		2	2	1	0	1587	1 non-Genoese correspondent. (Doria, 1986, 118-119).	
Morocco		2	2	1	0	1601-1602	1 Genoese or non-Genoese correspondent. (Doria, 1986, 112, 118-119).	
Pavia		2	2	1	0	1601-1602	1 non-Genoese correspondent. (Doria, 1986, 118-119).	
Roanne		2	2	1	0	1572-1576	1 Genoese correspondent. (Doria, 1986, 112, 118-119).	
Sciacca		2	2	1	0	1581-1582	1 non-Genoese correspondent. (Doria, 1986, 118-119).	
Terranova		2	2	1	0	1594	1 Genoese correspondent. (Doria, 1986, 112, 118-119).	
Toulon		2	2	1	0	1588	1 Genoese correspondent. (Doria, 1986, 112, 118-119).	
Varese		2	2	1	0	1581-1582	1 non-Genoese correspondent. (Doria, 1986, 118-119).	
Villanueva de la Fuente		2	2	1	0	1588	1 Genoese correspondent. (Doria, 1986, 112, 118-119).	
Villefranche-sur-mer		2	2	1	0	1581-1582	1 Genoese correspondent. (Doria, 1986, 112, 118-119).	

+ The tables in Doria (1986) on pages 112 and 118-119 are not entirely consistent in numbers of Genoese correspondents. For numbers of Genoese correspondents I have made use of the data in the table on page 112.

+ 10 correspondents or more = 4 (8 point scale), 2-9 correspondents = 3 (8 point scale), 1 correspondent = 2 (8 point scale).

CENTURIONE, 15th – 16th century

General: Also Centurioni, Centurio, Centurión) (Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 16 n. 49). The Centurione family was a Genoese family, active since the 15th c., active in Spain, Portugal and the Low Countries, Atlantic trade, banking, interest in the New World,… (Mollat, 1973, 425). In 1536, the Centurione albergo contained 67 components (households (?)) of which 17 resided abroad. (Doria, 1986, 79). Since the Middle Ages, the Centurione had practiced trade and all forms of banking simultaneously (Pike, 1966, 87-88).

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Source material:

1. FILIPPO AND FEDERIGO CENTURIONE AND HEIRS, 15th century

15th c.: The Centurioni possessed the largest private bank in Genoa in the 15th c., and also dominated a large part of the Genoese trade with Spain. Were also important participants in the monopoly of the Tolfa alum (Heers, 1961, 92). Centurioni bank was originally in hands of two brothers: Filippo and Federigo (15th c.). After their death they were succeeded by Giovanni-Battista, Francesco, Domenico, and Giovanni, all brothers or cousins (Heers, 1961, 93). The Centurioni possessed shares in the association farming the quicksilver trade of Spain (Heers, 1961, 204). The Centurioni "albergo" was new in the 15th c.: result of fusion of different families: Oltremarini, Scotti, Becchinogne. Were "hommes nouveaux". Did not have fiefs, but were businessmen and burghers. Family enterprise of Filippo and Federigo Centurioni. Their sons were involved in the business and went abroad for business: to Seville, Valencia, the whole of Spain, and even Naples. The sons took over the business after the death of their fathers: Giovanni-Battista (son of Filippo), and Bartolomeo (natural son of Federigo) gave their names to the new bank, but also Francesco and Domenico (other sons of Filippo) were involved in the business. The Centurioni themselves actively and directly led the business. Had associates who represented them in a specific city, such as Tommaso Piccamiglio in Valencia. The notarial contracts are signed by the Centurioni, not by commissionaries. Were active in banking: had a bank in Genoa; trafic of money; exchange activities; trade in merchandise. E.g.: trade of Spanish grain for sale in Genoa, sale of salted meat in Genoa, controlled the quicksilver monopoly in Castile; temporary control over Tolfa alum trade; control over a large part of the silk trade in Genoa. Trade in different directions: Pisa, Milan, Barcelona, Geneva, but especially Castile. In Genoa, they were bankers of the Bask and Galician shipowners, whose ships they also used for transport in the western Mediterranean. In 1466, 5 of these ships were in the service of the Centurioni. At the same time, two other large ships in their service sailed to Spain. The Centurioni were the favourite correspondents of the Medici in Genoa. They had intense contacts with the Medici branches in Florence, Milan, Geneva and later Lyon (ca. 1470). The Centurioni sons became the most powerful bankers of Genoa and Spain, and they were among the first to finance the trade with the America's. Also lent money to Charles V (Heers, 1961, 544-546). The Centurioni resided in the centre of Genoa, in the business quarters. Their house was located on San Siro square. The bank was located at the ground floor, also a shop rent to an artisan. Via marriages, the Centurioni were related to other merchant families: children of Filippo were married to the son and daughter of Batista Gentile, daughter of Federigo married Enrico Pinelli, both also relatively new families. Filippo possessed a house in the banlieue, in Multedo (which was not a very rich quarter). Federigo rented a house in another banlieue (Heers, 1961, 546). The Centurioni were involved in the grain trade. In 1464, six ships from the Riviera went to Porto Pisano for grain import in Genoa for the account of the Centurioni brothers (Heers, 1961, 339-340). In 1490, the tiara of the pope was pawnbroked to the Genoese merchant Centurione (Von Pölnitz, 1960, 345). Columbus was trained as a merchant and worked many years as an agent for the Centurione firm (Pike, 1966, 14). In the 15th c., the Centurione controlled the largest bank in Genoa, played an important role in the trade with Spain, and were among the most important farmers of the Tolfa alum (Pike, 1966, 184 n. 17).

Size: Large

The Centurioni possessed the largest private bank in Genoa in the 15th c., and also dominated a large part of the Genoese trade with Spain. (Heers, 1961, 92). In the 15th c., the Centurione controlled the largest bank in Genoa. (Pike, 1966, 184 n. 17).

Main activities:

- Commerce:
- Finance:
- Industry:

Network of Filippo and Federigo Centurione and heirs:

Table A..1. Network of Filippo and Federigo Centurione and heirs, 15th century

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Genoa		8	4	3	1	15th-16th c.	Stabel, 2001, 207. Origin of the family. Centurioni were the most powerful bankers in Genoa in 15th and 16th c. Had a bank on San Siro square (Heers, 1961, 546). The Centurioni were the favourite correspondents of the Medici of Florence in Genoa. (Heers, 1961, 545). In the 15th c., the Centurione controlled the largest bank in Genoa. (Pike, 1966, 184 n. 17).	
Sevilla		6	3	2	1	15th c.	The sons of Filippo and Federigo Centurioni represented the company of their fathers abroad: in Valencia, Sevilla, the whole of Spain, and even Naples (Heers, 1961, 545). The Centurioni were active in the grain trade of Castile, Provence and Pisa to Genoa (Heers, 1961, 344). Ca. 1450 the Centurione were the most active Genoese merchants in Sevilla. They exported large amounts of gold from Sevilla to Genoa in this period. (Otte, 1986, 18). The Centurione had their own seat in Sevilla already in the 15th century. (Otte, 1986, 18).	
Naples		4	2	2	1	15th c.	The sons of Filippo and Federigo Centurioni represented the company of their fathers abroad: in Valencia, Sevilla, the whole of Spain, and even Naples (Heers, 1961, 545).	
Valencia		4	2	2	1	>1450s<	The sons of Filippo and Federigo Centurioni represented the company of their fathers abroad: in Valencia, Sevilla, the whole of Spain, and even	

							Naples. The representative of the Centurioni in Valencia in the 1450s was Tommaso Piccamiglio (Heers, 1961, 545). In 1457, the brothers Filippo and Federigo Centurione were active in Valencia. (Otte, 1986, 18).	
Barcelona		3	2	2	1	15th c.	Trade of the Centurioni in the 15th c. in all directions: Pisa, Milan, Barcelona, Geneva, but above all Castile (Heers, 1961, 545).	
Florence		3	2	2	1	15th c.	The Centurioni were the favourite correspondents of the Medici of Florence in Genoa. Also close relations between the Centurioni and the Medici branches in Milan, Geneva and later Lyon (Heers, 1961, 545).	
Geneva		3	2	2	1	15th c.	Trade of the Centurioni in 15th c. in all directions: Pisa, Milan, Barcelona, Geneva, but above all Castile (Heers, 1961, 545). The Centurioni were the favourite correspondents of the Medici of Florence in Genoa. Also close relations between the Centurioni and the Medici branches in Milan, Geneva and later Lyon (Heers, 1961, 545). In the second half of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th century, the Centurione were active in Geneva. (Doria, 1986, 96-97, 97 n. 143).	
Granada		3	2	2	1	15th c.	Partnership between Francesco Centurione (son of Filippo) and Raffaele Luciano in 15th c., with a capital of 10,000 lire "bonne monnaie" (large sum), for going to Toledo, Granada and Medina del Campo (Heers, 1961, 199). The sons of Filippo and Federigo Centurioni represented the company of their fathers abroad: in Valencia, Sevilla, the whole of Spain, and even Naples (Heers, 1961, 545). Trade of the Centurioni in 15th c. in all directions: Pisa, Milan, Barcelona, Geneva, but above all Castile (Heers, 1961, 545). In the 15th century, the Centurioni were active in the grain trade of Castile, Provence and Pisa to Genoa (Heers, 1961, 344).	
Ibiza		3	2	2	1	1465-1470	In the period 1465-1470, the Centurioni sent different ships to Ibiza for salt trade (Heers, 1961, 356).	
Lyon		3	2	2	1	>c.1470<	The Centurione of Genoa had close relations with the Medici branch of Lyon (ca. 1470) (Heers, 1961, 545).	
Medina del Campo		3	2	2	1	15th c.	Partnership between Francesco Centurione (son of Filippo) and Raffaele Luciano in 15th c., with a capital of 10,000 lire "bonne monnaie" (large sum), for going to Toledo, Granada and Medina del Campo (Heers, 1961, 199). The sons of Filippo and Federigo Centurioni represented the company of their fathers abroad: in Valencia, Sevilla, the whole of Spain, and even Naples (Heers, 1961, 545). Trade of the Centurioni in 15th c. in all directions: Pisa, Milan, Barcelona, Geneva, but above all Castile (Heers,	

							1961, 545). In the 15th century, the Centurioni were active in the grain trade of Castile, Provence and Pisa to Genoa (Heers, 1961, 344).	
Milan		3	2	2	1	15th c.	Trade of the Centurioni in 15th c. in all directions: Pisa, Milan, Barcelona, Geneva, but above all Castile (Heers, 1961, 545). The Centurioni were the favourite correspondents of the Medici of Florence in Genoa. Also close relations between the Centurioni and the Medici branches in Milan, Geneva and later Lyon (Heers, 1961, 545).	
Pisa		3	2	2	1	15th c.	Trade of the Centurioni in 15th c. in all directions: Pisa, Milan, Barcelona, Geneva, but above all Castile (Heers, 1961, 545). The Centurioni were active in the grain trade of Castile, Provence and Pisa to Genoa (Heers, 1961, 344).	
Provence		3	2	2	1	15th c.	In the 15th century, the Centurioni were active in the grain trade of Castile, Provence and Pisa to Genoa (Heers, 1961, 344).	
Southampton		3	2	2	1	15th c.	Federigo Centurione (Genoese) was a familiar name in the port of Southampton in the 15th c. (Watson, 1961, 1088 n. 4).	
Toledo		3	2	2	1	15th c.	Partnership between Francesco Centurione (son of Filippo) and Raffaele Luciano in 15th c., with a capital of 10,000 lire "bonne monnaie" (large sum), for going to Toledo, Granada and Medina del Campo (Heers, 1961, 199). The sons of Filippo and Federigo Centurioni represented the company of their fathers abroad: in Valencia, Sevilla, the whole of Spain, and even Naples (Heers, 1961, 545). Trade of the Centurioni in 15th c. in all directions: Pisa, Milan, Barcelona, Geneva, but above all Castile (Heers, 1961, 545). In the 15th century, the Centurioni were active in the grain trade of Castile, Provence and Pisa to Genoa (Heers, 1961, 344).	
Bruges		2	2	1	0	15th c.	Centurione-family present in Bruges: became members of the financial and political elite (Stabel, 2001, 207). Not sure if this branch of the Centurione had business ties with the bank of Filippo and Federigo.	
Chios		2	2	1	0	>1474-1475<	It is likely that Columbus was active for the Centurione in Chios in 1474-75 (Pike, 1966, 154 n. 58).	
Lisbon		2	2	1	0	>1477<	Columbus worked for the Centurione in Lisbon in 1477 (Pike, 1966, 154 n. 58). The Centurione of Lisbon were active in the sugar trade between Madeira and Portugal (Pike, 1966, 206 n. 2). Not sure if this branch of the Centurione had business ties with the bank of Filippo and Federigo.	
Madeira		2	2	1	0	>1478<	In 1478, Columbus went to Madeira for the Centurione firm to purchase sugar for them (Pike, 1966, 154 n. 58). The Centurione of Lisbon were	

							active in the sugar trade between Madeira and Portugal (Pike, 1966, 206 n. 2). Not sure if this branch of the Centurione had business ties with the bank of Filippo and Federigo.	
Porto Pisano		2	2	1	0	>1464<	In 1464, six ships from the Riviera went to Porto Pisano for grain import in Genoa for the account of the Centurioni brothers (Heers, 1961, 339-340).	
Rome		2	2	1	0	>1490<	In 1490, the tiara of the pope was pawnbroked to the Genoese merchant Centurione (Von Pölnitz, 1960, 345). The Centurione were important participants in the monopoly of the Tolfa alum (Heers, 1961, 92). In the 15th c., the Centurione were among the most important farmers of the Tolfa alum (Pike, 1966, 184 n. 17). No direct connections with Rome are mentioned in the literature however.	
Sicily		2	2	1	0	1463	In 1463, a Centurione sent a ship with red velvet to Sicily to exchange them for cheese (Heers, 1961, 357).	
Tolfa	M	2	2	1	0	15th c.	The Centurione were important participants in the monopoly of the Tolfa alum (Heers, 1961, 92). In the 15th c., the Centurione were among the most important farmers of the Tolfa alum (Pike, 1966, 184 n. 17).	
Ravensburg		1	1	1	0	15th c.	Alvise or Luigi Centurione was a commission merchant for the Grosse Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft in Genoa before 1477. (Schulte, 1923, I, 208).	

+ The ties between the different Centurione are not entirely clear. Since the Centurione were still a young Albergo in the 15th century, it can be assumed that most of its members who were active in business, had connections with each other.

2. GASPARE CENTURIONE AND BROTHERS, end 15th century – ca. 1532

16th c.: One of the Centurioni, Paolo, searched for a commercial route to the Indies via Russia in the 16th century. (Mollat, 1973, 425). Between 1550 and 1575 members of the Centurione family (e.g. Adamo Centurione, Marco Centurione, the latter in the service of the Grand Duke of Tuscany) operated as fleet commanders (condottiere) for the Spanish. (Doria, 1986, 66, 67 n. 35). In Spain, the Genoese became increasingly important for Philip II, and they eclipsed the Germans. The Grimaldi, Doria, Spinola, Fiesco, Lomellini, Gentile, Centurione, Grillo,… concluded asientos with Philip II for enormous sums of money (Lapeyre, 1955, 117). Adamo Centurione of Genoa was one of the most important Genoese creditors of Charles V. He provided a loan of 200,000 escudos to help cover the costs of the Emperor's expedition to Algiers. In return, he received the town of Estepa (Cordoba) and surrounding territory (Pike, 1966, 155 n. 68). Ansaldo Grimaldi ("Ansaldus Magnus") was considered as the richest man of Genoa of his time, together with Adamo Centurione. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 9). Estevan Centurion and Juan Bautista de Grimaldo obtained revenues from Spain in exchange for loans in 1519. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 11). Stefano Centurione (d. 1529) was an important

representative of Agostin Grimaldi in Spain and in the business with Charles V. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 10). Ca. 1540, Adamo Centurione was the richest citizen of Genoa. (Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 16 n. 49).

Gaspare Centurione: Trade from Sevilla with the New World, trade from Rouen with Antwerp and La Rochelle, financier of Charles V. Trade in sugar, slaves, textiles,… (Mollat, 1973). Genoese merchant, son of Rafaele Centurione (died between 1519 and 1521). 7 brothers, among which Martino, Stefano, Melchior, Beneditto. Gaspare was born in Genoa, living in Sevilla until ca. 1522. Then attempt to make a trip to the New World from Sevilla (Santo Domingo) to organise the succession of his brother Melchior, who had died there in February 1521. Captured by the vice-admiral of France in July 1522, Guyon Le Roy du Chillou, and brought to Le Havre. Lawsuit for the Parliament of Rouen against the vice-admiral, won by Centurione in 1523. Only in 1527, 2/3 of the money Le Roy du Chillou owed him, was paid. Gaspare Centurione remained frequently in Rouen at least until 1532 (Mollat, 1973). Other authors mention Teramo Centurione as father of Gaspare. Gaspare had 7 brothers. (Otte, 1986, 27). In the last years of the reign of Ferdinand the Catholic, Gaspare Centurione was the largest financier in Andalusia. (Otte, 1986, 27). Of the eight sons of Teramo, 7 became merchants, and Gaspare was the most important of them. (Otte, 1986, 27).

Size: Large

Bank of Gaspare Centurion in Sevilla in 1519 had a guarantee of 50,000 ducats (Pike, 1966, 183 n. 6).). In the last years of the reign of Ferdinand the Catholic, Gaspare Centurione was the largest financier in Andalusia. (Otte, 1986, 27).

Main activities:

- Commerce: On the ship on which Gaspare Centurione intended to go to the New World, he had loaded woollens, linen, clothes, shoes and Venetian glass. (Mollat, 1973, 430). Trade in sugar, slaves, textiles,… (Mollat, 1973).
- Finance: Gaspare Centurione active as banker. Involved in exchange transactions. (Mollat, 1973, 431-432). Ca. 1509, the Centurione were financiers of don Pedro Fernández de Córdoba, a large grain producer in Andalusia. (Otte, 1986, 19). The Centurione were financiers of the catholic kings of Spain, e.g. Martino Centurione (often together with Pantaleone Italiano) in 1497-99, 1503. (Otte, 1986, 30). Loans of Adamo Vivaldi and Tommaso Fornari and Co. to Charles V in 1519-1521. (Otte, 1986, 32). Among the main *asentistas* who lended money to Charles V in 1520-25 were Agostino Grimaldi and Stefano Centurione (76,834 ducats), Agostino Vivaldi and Tommaso Fornari (42,334 ducats), Adamo Vivaldi and Tommaso Fornari and co. (10,000 ducats), and Stefano Centurione (5,525 ducats). (Otte, 1986, 34). Among the asentistas in 1526-1532 were Giovanni Battista Grimaldi and Stefano Centurione (105,467 ducats), Agostino Grimaldi and Stefano Centurione, Stefano Centurione, Nicola and Giovanni Battista Grimaldi and Adamo Centurione, and Giovanni Battista Grimaldi and Adamo Centurione. Almost all the Genoese asentistas in the years 1520-1532 belonged to the Grimaldi, Centurione and Fornari families. (Otte, 1986, 34). The Centurione farmed parts of the Spanish royal income in the 16th century (e.g. Stefano Centurione in 1519, Luciano Centurione (1574-1582)). (Doria, 1986, 102-103 n. 170). Still in the 17th century, Ottavio Centurione was factor of the Spanish king Philip IV. (Doria, 1986, 103 n. 172). Under Philip IV, Ottavio Centurione was a member of the “Consejo de

Guerra" and the "Consejo de Hacienda". (Doria, 1986, 103 n. 173). In the last years of the reign of Ferdinand the Catholic, Gaspare Centurione was the largest financier in Andalusia. (Otte, 1986, 27). Deposit and transfer business, also trade in bills of exchange and large-scale lending operations with the local aristocracy. (Pike, 1966, 88-89).

- Industry: Gaspare Centurione intended to built a sugar mill in the New World. The material for the construction of such a mill was on board of the ship on which he intended to go to the New World. (Mollat, 1973, 430-431).
- Shipping: In 1517, Gaspare Centurion owned only 1/4 of the Santa Maria del Antigua in 1517: in the 1st half of the 16th c., not many Genoese owned vessels engaged in the American trade (Pike, 1966, 76).

Network of Gaspar Centurione:

The Centurione brothers conducted their business in the framework of the company: especially companies between the brothers or with other relatives, as well as with other Genoese. (Otte, 1986, 28). Martino was a partner of members of the Italiano family, and later of his stepfather Benedetto Pinello; Gaspare had a company with Tommaso Calvo, relative of Benedetto Pinello, and Stefano was a partner of Giuliano Calvo (present in Sevilla since 1501), and of two merchants named Francesco Doria, sons of Andrea and Alaramo, who were the heirs of the Genoese banker Lazzaro Doria. The Doria were directly related to the Centurione (a Francesco Doria was married to a Centurione. In 1508 Stefano and Agostino Centurione were appointed as the executors of his will). (Otte, 1986, 28). In 1508, Gaspare Centurione liquidated the business of his company with Tommaso Calvo and of the company of his brother Martino with Benedetto Pinello. (Otte, 1986, 28). Silent partners in the bank of Gaspare and Battista Centurione, established in Sevilla in 1508, were the companies of Martino Centurione and Benedetto Pinello, and of Stefano Centurione and the two Francesco Doria. (Otte, 1986, 29). In 1517, Gaspare Centurione established a new company with Adamo Vivaldi. (Otte, 1986, 29-30). In 1507, Gaspare Centurione and his brothers became active in Seville for the first time, notably Gaspare and Stefano. (Otte, 1986, 28). Stefano was a partner of Giuliano Calvo, who was present in Sevilla since 1501. (Otte, 1986, 28). In 1508, Gaspare founded the first public bank in Sevilla. (Otte, 1986, 28). In 1508, Gaspare Centurione established a commercial and banking company with his relative Battista Centurione. This company was active in Europe as well as in America. This company was established for 3 years. In 1511 it was continued by Gaspare with a new partner, Giovanni Francesco Grimaldi, while Battista Centurione left the company. (Otte, 1986, 29). The company between Gaspare Centurione and Giovanni Francesco Grimaldi became the most important Genoese company for trade with America after the bankruptcy of Bernardo Grimaldi. (Otte, 1986, 29). The company was dissolved in 1517, when Giovanni Francesco Grimaldi associated himself with his cousin Giovanni Battista Grimaldi. (Otte, 1986, 29). In 1517, Gaspare Centurione established a new company with Adamo Vivaldi. (Otte, 1986, 29-30). In the 16th century, at least 9 members of the Centurione family were active in Sevilla. (Doria, 1986, 101 n. 159). The different enterprises and companies of the Centurione brothers were probably legally independent companies (although some of the companies appear to have been silent partners in others). Nevertheless, the Centurione brothers often worked and traded together.

Table A..2. Network of Gaspare Centurione, end 15th century – ca. 1532								
City	**R**	**Score**				**Period**	**Type of presence**	**References**
Sevilla		3	2	2	1	>1501-1508	-In 1506, an exchange transaction took place between Gaspare Centurione in Valladolid and Stefano Centurione in Sevilla. (Otte, 1986, 30). In 1507, Gaspare Centurione and his brothers became active in Seville for the first time, notably Gaspare and Stefano. (Otte, 1986, 28).	
		8	**4**	**3**	**1**	1508-1525<	- The Grimaldi and Centurione were the 4th and 5th largest Genoese families in Seville in the 16th c. The names of 9 members of each family appear in the notary books of Seville in the 16th c. (Pike, 1966, 2). Stefano was a partner of Giuliano Calvo, who was present in Sevilla since 1501. (Otte, 1986, 28). In 1508, Gaspare founded the first public bank in Sevilla. (Otte, 1986, 28). In 1508, Gaspare Centurione established a commercial and banking company with his relative Battista Centurione. This company was active in Europe as well as in America. This company was established for 3 years. In 1511 it was continued by Gaspare with a new partner, Giovanni Francesco Grimaldi, while Battista Centurione left the company. (Otte, 1986, 29). The company between Gaspare Centurione and Giovanni Francesco Grimaldi became the most important Genoese company for trade with America after the bankruptcy of Bernardo Grimaldi. (Otte, 1986, 29). The company was dissolved in 1517, when Giovanni Francesco Grimaldi associated himself with his cousin Giovanni Battista Grimaldi. (Otte, 1986, 29). In 1517, Gaspare Centurione established a new company with Adamo Vivaldi. (Otte, 1986, 29-30). In the 16th century, at least 9 members of the Centurione family were active in Sevilla. (Doria, 1986, 101 n. 159). **Gaspare** Centurione lived in Sevilla from 1508 at the latest until 1522, where he financed many of the ships to the New World. (Mollat, 1973, 434 n. 2). Stefano Centurione, brother of Gaspare, in Seville in 1523 (Mollat, 1973, 426). Stefano Centurione and Adamo Vivaldi speculated on the grain trade in Sevilla in 1523. In 1523, Stefano Centurione and Adamo Vivaldi sold a large amount of grain in Sevilla. (Mollat, 1973, 425-426, 434 n. 5). Melchior Centurione, brother of Gaspare, in Sevilla before he left to the New World ca. 1519. Active in the slave trade to the Antilles (Mollat, 1973, 426). Adamo Vivaldi and Domingo de Forné (Domenico Fornari), partners of	

							Gaspare Centurione, lived with him in the same house in Sevilla (Mollat, 1973, 426). Juan Francisco de Grimaldo and Gaspar Centurion: combined trade and banking. Referred to as merchants in the Sevillian Notary Protocols of 1513-14, but as bankers from 1515 on. In 1518, Juan Francisco de Grimaldo mentioned as public banker in Seville, the same for Gaspar Centurion in 1519. By 1519, probably already by 1515 (but only licensed by the city from 1518) both had opened banks (Pike, 1966, 88). Not known whether Centurion and Grimaldo operated individual banks or formed a partnership. Probably, they were not partners, but worked together closely (as in their commercial activities). They maintained accounts in each other's banks, and probably served as each other's bondsmen. Deposit and transfer business, also trade in bills of exchange and large-scale lending operations with the local aristocracy. The Grimaldo bank came to an end with the death of his founder in 1523. Gaspar Centurion was still functioning as a public banker in 1525 (Pike, 1966, 88-89). Gaspar Centurione was one of the most active Genoese merchants in Sevilla in the 1510s. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 8). Gaspar Centurione and Giovan Francesco Grimaldi traded from Sevilla especially with Santo Domingo, but also with San Juan (Puerto Rico), Cuba and Terra Firme. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 8). In a letter of 1522, Gaspar Centurione mentions the exchange rates of Lyon with Spain (probably Medina del Campo or the fairs of Castile), Sevilla, Genoa, Milan, Florence, Rome, Naples, Palermo, Bergamo, London and Valencia. (Mollat, 1973, 433). From 1513 to 1517, Juan Francisco de Grimaldi and Gaspar Centurion were among the most active Genoese capitalists in Seville. They worked together in a regular fashion but, in accordance with the Genoese custom of individual enterprise, were not joined by any bonds of partnership. The majority of their sea-loans to America were granted for the dispatch of merchandise rather than for the provisioning of ships. Their most active borrowers were Spanish merchants (Pike, 1966, 50). Gaspar Centurione active as public banker in Sevilla from 1519 the latest, still mentioned in Sevilla in 1525. (Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 16). After 1518, Gaspar Centurione obtained a licence from Laurent de Gorrevod in Sevilla for the export of black slaves to the New World. (Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 16 n. 49).	

							Esteban (=Stefano) Centurion and Adan de Vivaldo traded in grain in Seville in 1523 (Pike, 1966, 18). One of the wealthiest members of the Centurion during the early years of the 16th c. was Esteban (brother of Gaspar?). He was a denizen of Granada, but spent several months a year in Seville. During the rest of the time, his business in Seville was managed by his brother Melchor (Melchior, brother of Gaspar?). Both brothers sent large amounts of merchandise to America and invested heavily in sea loans. Esteban also was the owner of a ship, La Victoria, which made regular runs between Seville and the island of Hispaniola. In 1507, they entrusted merchandise to Jeronimo de Grimaldo and granted him full power to conduct their affairs in the New World. Three years later, they sent Jacome de Castellon to America as their agent, with much better results. In 1520, their business had so expanded that a third brother, Benito (is this Beneditto, brother of Gaspar, who went to Santo Domingo after 1527?), was sent to Santo Domingo as their permanent representative in America. This business came to an end with the death of Esteban in 1525. His single heir was a minor daughter who, along with his property and investments, was placed under the guardianship of a Spanish merchant, Garcia de Castilla (Pike, 1966, 75). **Later period:** In Sevilla mention of Cristóbal, Jerónimo, Pablo, Simón (Ximón), Lucian and especially Polo Centurione (mentioned in Sevilla in 1542-1553) between 1525 and 1560 (Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 16, 44-46). Polo Centurione in Sevilla, e.g. 1542: one of the creditors of the Florentine merchant Rayner Donguillerme. Partner of Polo Centurione was Constantin Spinola. (Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 35-36). Cristóbal and Lucian Centurione mentioned in exchange transactions between the fairs of Castile and Sevilla in 1544. (Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 37). (1) Company of Polo Centurion, Constantin Spinola, and Lucas Pinelo, started in 1539. (Pike, 1966, 81). Company of Centurion, Spinola, and Pinelo had broad interests: active in slave trade, insurance, merchandise, public banking, loans to the nobility, city and monarch (Pike, 1966, 82). (2) Company of Luis Spinola, Cristobal Centurion, and Carlos Jufre de Lercaro, started in 1549. (Pike, 1966, 81). Spinola, Centurion and Juffre de Lercaro: Only Spinola was a denizen of Seville. He managed the firm's investments in the	

							American trade and its mercantile and financial business in Seville. Lercaro resided continuously at court, where he arranged the company's financial operations with the government. Cristobal Centurion spent most of his time in Seville engaged in commercial activities during the first years of the firm's existence. From 1551 to 1553 he could be found at court, where he negotiated several large loans for the firm. In the years after the termination of the partnership in 1554, Centurion reduced his commercial investments in Seville and established himself permanently at court. By the end of the century he was one of the most outstanding bankers of the Genoese colony of Seville (Pike, 1966, 82). Ca. 1550-1551, Andrea Spinola and Cristobal Centurion received reimbursements from crown treasure for their loans to the royal court of Spain. The reimbursements were collected for them by Luis Spinola (Pike, 1966, 78). In 1554, Cristobal Centurion was a creditor of the Spanish king (Pike, 1966, 79). (3) Also a company of Jeronimo Centurion, of which the names of the partners are not known (Pike, 1966, 81). In 1537, Polo Centurione traded in paper in Sevilla. (Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 59). Centurione mentioned in Sevilla in exchange transactions recorded in notarial documents of Sevilla (15th notariate): 1494-1525: Adamo Vivaldi and Gaspare Centurione and Co. (1518-1523), Centurione, Benedetto, de Teramo (1525), Centurione, Marco (1524), Flerigo Centurione and Lorenzo Vivaldi (1522-1525), Giovanni Francesco Grimaldi and Gaspare Centurione (1516-1518), Leonel Vivaldi and Marco Centurione (1521), Marco and Perseval Cattaneo and Pietro Centurione (1501), Stefano Centurione and Co. (1522-1524); 1537-1556: Andrea Lomellino, Cristoforo Centurione and Luigi Spinola (1552-1553), Centurione, Benedetto, condam D. (1548), Centurione, Benedetto (1556), Centurione, Luciano, de Battista (1548), Centurione, Sebastiano (1556), Centurione, Simone, de Jacopo (1543-1556), Francesco and Luigi Spinola and Cristoforo Centurione (1550-1551), Lorenzo Spinola and Luciano Centurione (1542-1546), Luciano and Simone Centurione (1545-1546), Paolo Centurione and Constantino Spinola (1537-1551), Paolo Centurione, Constantino Spinola and Luca Pinello (1551-1554), Simone and Sebastiano Centurione (1548-1549); 1557-1584: Centurione, Luigi (1560-1564), Centurione, Simone (1557). (Otte, 1986, 42-	

							56).	
Granada		4 **6**	2 **3**	2 **2**	1 **1**	>1507<, >1517-1522<	In 1507, Esteban Centurion resided in Granada, but spent several months a year in Seville (Pike, 1966, 146 n. 7). One of the wealthiest members of the Centurion during the early years of the 16th c. was Esteban (brother of Gaspar?). He was a denizen of Granada, but spent several months a year in Seville. During the rest of the time, his business in Seville was managed by his brother Melchor. This business came to an end with the death of Esteban in 1525. His single heir was a minor daughter who, along with his property and investments, was placed under the guardianship of a Spanish merchant, Garcia de Castilla (Pike, 1966, 75). In the early 16th century, Stefano Centurione and Giuliano Calvo transferred money from America to a Spanish fleet in Granada, with the help of Flérigo Centurione in Malaga. (Otte, 1986, 25). In 1517, the brothers Gaspare, Stefano and Carlo Centurione established a bank in Granada, managed by Carlo Centurione. (Otte, 1986, 32). Centurione mentioned in Granada in exchange transactions recorded in notarial documents of Sevilla (15th notariate): 1494-1525: Stefano and Carlo Centurione (1522). (Otte, 1986, 42-56).	
Medina del Campo		6	3	2	1	>c.1503<, >1518-1524<	Shortly after 1503, Martino Centurione issued a bill of exchange in Medina del Campo. (Otte, 1986, 28). Loans and payments via bills of exchange with Medina del Campo and Valladolid by Gaspar Centurione and Adamo Vivaldi (Mollat, 1973, 426). Adamo Vivaldi and Stefano Centurione were active at the Spanish Court and at the fairs of Castile. (Mollat, 1973, 434 n. 8). In a letter of 1522, Gaspar Centurione mentions the exchange rates of Lyon with Spain (probably Medina del Campo or the fairs of Castile), Sevilla, Genoa, Milan, Florence, Rome, Naples, Palermo, Bergamo, London and Valencia. (Mollat, 1973, 433). **Later period:** Cristóbal and Lucian Centurione mentioned in exchange transactions between the fairs of Castile and Sevilla in 1544. (Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 37). Cristoforo Centurione carried out business in Medina del Campo as well as in Valladolid ca. mid 16th c. (Otte, 1986, 37). Centurione mentioned in Medina del Campo in exchange transactions recorded in notarial documents of Sevilla (15th notariate): 1494-1525: Adamo Vivaldi and Tommaso Fornari (1518-1521), Agostino Grimaldi and	

							Stefano Centurione (1520-1524), Benedetto Doleran and Gaspare Centurione and Co. (1520), Centurione, Benedetto (1521-1523), Centurione, Flerigo (1524), Giovanni Battista Grimaldi and Stefano Centurione and Co. (1521); 1537-1556: Andrea Lomellino, Nicola Spinola and Cristoforo Centurione (1542-1545), Andrea Lomellino and Cristoforo Centurione (1546-1550), Benedetto Centurione and Paolo Spinola (1546-1548), Centurione, Filippo (1542), Cristoforo Centurione and Giovanni Ambrogio Nigrono (1550-1553), Jacopo Centurione and Leonardo Salvago (1538-1540). (Otte, 1986, 42-56).	
Valladolid		3	2	2	1	>1497-1513<	- In 1506, an exchange transaction took place between Gaspare Centurione in Valladolid and Stefano Centurione in Sevilla. (Otte, 1986, 30). A member of the Centurione family supplied the Spanish Court with silk and wool between 1497 and 1510. (Otte, 1986, 22). From 1511 Adamo Vivaldi (partner of Gaspare in Sevilla from 1517) had connections with the Spanish Court, together with his brother Agostino. (Otte, 1986, 30). In 1510-1513, Agostino and Adamo Vivaldi were bankers at the Spanish royal court. (Otte, 1986, 30).	
		6	**3**	**2**	**1**	1517-1527<	- In 1527, Gaspare Centurioni is in Valladolid to give attorney to his brother Benedito to act in his name at the court in Valladolid (Mollat, 1973, 431). Loans and payments via bills of exchange with Medina del Campo and Valladolid by Gaspare Centurione and Adamo Vivaldi (Mollat, 1973, 426). Adamo Vivaldi and Stefano Centurione were active at the Spanish Court and at the fairs of Castile. (Mollat, 1973, 434 n. 8). In autumn 1517, Gaspare Centurione was at the court in Valladolid. He founded a new bank and commercial enterprise in Valladolid in 1517 together with Adamo Vivaldi, partner of Tommaso Fornari. (Otte, 1986, 31). The Genoese controlled firm of Fernan Vazquez, Domingo and Tomas de Forne and Agustin de Vivaldo obtained the licence for export of negro slaves from Africa to America in 1518, of which they resold large parts, and on which they made huge profits. Their firm was based at the royal court. Vazquez was a Spaniard. Domingo and Tomas de Forne were Genoese bankers who left Genoa in 1526 to take up residence at the Spanish Court. Agustin Vivaldi was a member of the Sevillian Genoese colony. In 1519, Gaspar Centurion became the representative of this firm in Seville, taking charge of the shipment of their slaves to America (Pike, 1966, 58, 170-171 n.	

							24). The firm of Vazquez, Forne and Vivaldo had a monopoly over the slave trade to the colonies since 1518, granted for 8 years, and artificially kept prices high by exporting only small amounts of slaves. The monopoly was finally revoked in 1526 (Pike, 1966, 58-59). After the end of the monopoly, the firm remained highly active in the slave trade. By mid century, its main business consisted in exchange of slaves for sugar (Pike, 1966, 60). Adamo Vivaldi and Stefano Centurione were active at the Spanish Court and at the fairs of Castile. (Mollat, 1973, 434 n. 8). Stefano Centurione (d. 1529) was an important representative of Agostin Grimaldi in Spain and in the business with Charles V. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 10). In 1519 Laurent de Gorrevod sold a licence for the export of 4,000 black slaves to America to the commercial and banking house of Adamo Vivaldi, Tommaso Fornari and Co. (in which also Gaspare Centurione was involved) for 25,000 ducats. Vivaldi and Fornari also financed part of the imperial election of Charles V. A partner in this company was Alonso Gutiérrez de Madrid, who gave procuration to Gaspare Centurione for the collection of income from America. (Otte, 1986, 32). **Later period:** In 1551, Cristobal Centurion, merchant of the Genoese colony of Seville, resided at the Spanish Court (Pike, 1966, 49). Company of Luis Spinola, Cristobal Centurion, and Carlos Jufre de Lercaro, started in 1549. (Pike, 1966, 81). Spinola, Centurion and Juffre de Lercaro: Only Spinola was a denizen of Seville. He managed the firm's investments in the American trade and its mercantile and financial business in Seville. Lercaro resided continuously at court, where he arranged the company's financial operations with the government. Cristobal Centurion spent most of his time in Seville engaged in commercial activities during the first years of the firm's existence. From 1551 to 1553 he could be found at court, where he negotiated several large loans for the firm. In the years after the termination of the partnership in 1554, Centurion reduced his commercial investments in Seville and established himself permanently at court. By the end of the century he was one of the most outstanding bankers of the Genoese colony of Seville (Pike, 1966, 82). Ca. 1550-1551, Andrea Spinola and Cristobal Centurion received reimbursements from crown treasure for their loans to the royal court of Spain. The reimbursements were collected for them by Luis Spinola (Pike, 1966, 78). In 1554, Cristobal Centurion was a creditor of	

							the Spanish king (Pike, 1966, 79). Cristoforo Centurione carried out business in Medina del Campo as well as in Valladolid ca. mid 16th c. (Otte, 1986, 37). Ca. 1550-1580 a member of the Centurione family resided at the Spanish Court. (Doria, 1986, 101 n. 160). Centurione mentioned in Valladolid in exchange transactions recorded in notarial documents of Sevilla (15th notariate): 1494-1525: Adamo Vivaldi and Tommaso Fornari and Co. (1518), Agostino Grimaldi and Stefano Centurione (1523), Centurione, Gaspare (1518), Tommaso Calvo and Gaspare Centurione (1506); 1537-1556: Andrea Lomellino and Cristoforo Centurione (1546). (Otte, 1986, 42-56).	
Naples		**5** 3	**3** 2	**2** 2	**1** 1	before 1500 (?) >1510<	- Gaspar Centurione appears to have begun his career in the Spanish territories in Italy, as administrator of a feudal estate in Naples and of the prince of Salerno. He provided loans to several noblemen in Naples (the prince of Squillace, the duke of Trayeto,…), Salerno (Roberto of San Severino, prince of Salerno) and Sicily (Bernardo di Villamarno, count of Tapacho). (Otte, 1986, 27). - In 1510, Gaspare Centurione gave power of attorney to Francesco and Francesco Doria to collect his outstanding debts in Genoa, Naples and in Sicily. (Otte, 1986, 28). In a letter of 1522, Gaspar Centurione mentions the exchange rates of Lyon with Spain (probably Medina del Campo or the fairs of Castile), Sevilla, Genoa, Milan, Florence, Rome, Naples, Palermo, Bergamo, London and Valencia. (Mollat, 1973, 433).	
Rouen		5	3	2	1	1523-1532	Gaspare Centurione lived frequently in Rouen from 1523 until at least in 1532 (no traces of Gaspare anymore after 1532). (Mollat, 1973, 431). A representative of Gaspare Centurione in Rouen in 1527 was the widow of the Rouen merchant Guérin Sene. (Mollat, 1973, 430). Nevertheless, Gaspar Centurione was not permanently established in Rouen. (Mollat, 1973, 431). Members of the Centurione family were active in Rouen in the 16th century. (Doria, 1986, 93).	
Antwerp		4	2	2	1	>c.1523-c.1532	Trade of Gaspar Centurione from Rouen with Antwerp. Correspondents were his cousins Vicenze and Jeronimo Nigro (Mollat, 1973, 431). For his lawsuit at the Parliament of Rouen, Gaspar Centurione had to request letters and information from Flanders (Mollat, 1973, 429). Benedito Centurione, brother of Gaspar, stayed in Flanders for a while after 1527, before he went	

							to Santo Domingo (Mollat, 1973, 431). Benedetto, brother of Gasparre Centurione, began his career as businessman in Flanders. (Otte, 1986, 27). Agostino Centurione (Antwerp, 16th c.). Banker of Charles V between 1521 and 1528. Genoese financier (Goris, 1925, 395). Connection with Gaspar Centurione not known. **Later period:** Vincenzo Centurione had a firm in Antwerp in 1604. He was associated with Ottavio Centurione in Madrid. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 194).	
Genoa		4	2	2	1	>1510-1522<	Place of origin of the Centurione. Martino Centurione, brother of Gaspar, was in Genoa in September 1522 (Mollat, 1973, 425). For his lawsuit at the Parliament of Rouen, Gaspar Centurione had to request letters and information from Genoa (Mollat, 1973, 429). In 1510, Gaspare Centurione gave power of attorney to Francesco and Francesco Doria to collect his outstanding debts in Genoa, Naples and in Sicily. (Otte, 1986, 28). Letter from Martino in Genoa to the imprisoned Gaspar in 1522. (Mollat, 1973, 428). In a letter of 1522, Gaspar Centurione mentions the exchange rates of Lyon with Spain (probably Medina del Campo or the fairs of Castile), Sevilla, Genoa, Milan, Florence, Rome, Naples, Palermo, Bergamo, London and Valencia. (Mollat, 1973, 433). **Later period:** Ca. 1540, Adamo Centurione was the richest citizen of Genoa. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 9; Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 16 n. 49).	
Lyon		4	2	2	1	1490s-1525<	Before 1507, Stefano Centurione, brother of Gaspare, was active in Lyon. (Otte, 1986, 28). Different members of the Centurione family in Lyon. The Bracelli, associates of the Centurioni, had interests in Lyon as well since ca. 1490s until at least early 1520s (Mollat, 1973, 427). For his lawsuit at the Parliament of Rouen, Gaspar Centurione had to request letters and information from Lyon (Mollat, 1973, 429). In 1525, Gaspar Centurione was in Lyon, to give attorney to his brother Benedito to act in his name for two years (Mollat, 1973, 431). In a letter of 1522, Gaspar Centurione mentions the exchange rates of different places with Lyon. (Mollat, 1973, 432). Gaspar Centurione frequented Lyon. (Mollat, 1973, 436 n. 29). Lyon was one of the centres of international exchange of the Centurione in the early 16th century. (Otte, 1986, 29). Exchange transaction in 1506 between Martino Centurione and Benedetto Pinello in Valencia, Agostino and Barnaba Grimaldi, the heirs of Agostino Lomellini in Lyon, Francesco	

							Doria, and Giuliano Calvo. (Otte, 1986, 30). **Later period:** A Raphaël Centurioni of Genoa received a letter of naturalisation in Lyon (1567-1571) (Gascon, 1971, 367). In 1548 Costantino operated together with Battista Cattaneo, Benedetto Centurione and Leonardo Gentile at the fairs of Lyon and Besançon. (Otte, 1986, 37).	
Málaga		4	2	2	1	>1493<, >c.1509<	Ca. 1509 the Centurione exported a large amount of grain from Andalusia via Málaga to Genoa. (Otte, 1986, 20). In the early 16th century, Stefano Centurione and Giuliano Calvo transferred money from America to a Spanish fleet in Granada, with the help of Flérigo Centurione in Malaga. (Otte, 1986, 25). Martino Centurione was the first of the brothers of Gaspare who established himself in Spain, notably in Malaga, where he was active in the commerce and production of woollens and silks. He obtained naturalisation in Spain in 1493. Later, he moved from Malaga to Valencia. (Otte, 1986, 27). Adamo Vivaldi, from 1517 partner of Gaspare Centurione in Sevilla, was active in Malaga before 1511. (Otte, 1986, 30). In 1512 Adamo Vivaldi and Flérigo Centurione organised from Malaga the supply of the Spanish troops in Guipuzcoa. (Otte, 1986, 30). Members of the Centurione family were active in Malaga at the end of the 15th century and in the early 16th century. (Doria, 1986, 101 n. 164).	
Palermo		4	2	2	1	>c.1493-1503<	Gaspare Centurione appears to have begun his career in the Spanish territories in Italy. He provided loans to several noblemen in Naples (the prince of Squillace, the duke of Trayeto,…) Salerno (Roberto of San Severino, prince of Salerno) and Sicily (Bernardo di Villamarno, count of Tapacho). (Otte, 1986, 27). Melchiorre, one of Gaspare's brothers, resided in Palermo at the beginning of his career (before going to Sevilla and the New World). After 1493, Martino Centurione exported cloth from Valencia to his brother Melchiorre in Palermo. (Otte, 1986, 27). In 1503 Gaspare Centurione issued a bill of exchange in Madrid, to be paid to his brother Melchiorre in Palermo. (Otte, 1986, 27-28). In 1510, Gaspare Centurione gave power of attorney to Francesco and Francesco Doria to collect his outstanding debts in Genoa, Naples and in Sicily. (Otte, 1986, 28). In a letter of 1522, Gaspar Centurione mentions the exchange rates of Lyon with Spain (probably Medina del Campo or the fairs of Castile), Sevilla, Genoa, Milan, Florence, Rome, Naples, Palermo, Bergamo, London and Valencia. (Mollat, 1973, 433).	

Santo Domingo		4	2	2	1	1507/8-1528<	- **Stefano** Centurion: One of the wealthiest members of the Centurion during the early years of the 16th c. was Esteban (brother of Gaspar?). He was a denizen of Granada, but spent several months a year in Seville. During the rest of the time, his business in Seville was managed by his brother Melchor. Both brothers sent large amounts of merchandise to America and invested heavily in sea loans. Esteban also was the owner of a ship, La Victoria, which made regular runs between Seville and the island of Hispaniola. In 1507, they entrusted merchandise to Jeronimo de Grimaldo and granted him full power to conduct their affairs in the New World. Three years later, they sent Jacome de Castellon to America as their agent, with much better results. In 1520, their business had so expanded that a third brother, Benito [or is meant Melchior], was sent to Santo Domingo as their permanent representative in America. This business came to an end with the death of Esteban in 1525. (Pike, 1966, 75). Jeronimo de Grimaldo went to Santo Domingo in 1508, receiving powers of attorney from Bernaldo de Grimaldo (who sent him to Santo Domingo), Ambrosio Spinola, Benito Doria, Alejandro Catan~o, Batista Centurion, Juan Tomas de Monte, Esteban Centurion and Domenegro de Castellon, all members of the Genoese colony in Seville (Pike, 1966, 72, 177 n. 82). In 1509, Tomas de Castellon left for the New World with merchandise belonging to his father Bernardo and to Batista Centurion. He became resident in Santo Domingo until 1513, when he moved to San Juan where he died in 1527 (Pike, 1966, 72-73). In 1510, his brother Jacome de Castillon went to Santo Domingo, carrying the goods of Esteban Centurion (Pike, 1966, 72-73). **Gaspare Centurione** and Giovan Francesco Grimaldi traded from Sevilla especially with Santo Domingo, but also with San Juan (Puerto Rico), Cuba and Terra Firme. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 8). Juan Francisco de Grimaldo and Gaspar Centurion sent a small but steady stream of slaves to Hispaniola during the years immediately after 1514 (Pike, 1966, 57). In 1513, all the sea loans of Juan Francisco de Grimaldo and Gaspar Centurion were invested in voyages to Santo Domingo (one to San German P.R. and Santo Domingo), for 1517, by far the most frequent destination was Santo Domingo. Also mentioned in 1517 were Cuba, Santiago de Cuba, Hispaniola, Puerto Rico, Darien, Island of San Juan (Pike, 1966, 52-54). In 1516 Grimaldo and Centurion drew up company contracts with 2 Spanish merchants for the sale	

							of merchandise in the New World (Pike, 1966, 69). In 1509-1511, the American gold mines were farmed to Leonardo Cattaneo. Among his partners Gaspare and Battista Centurione. From 1518 Gaspar Centurione was one of the principal farmers of the American gold mines. (Otte, 1986, 26-27). - The American agent of the firm of Vazquez, Forne and Vivaldo (established at the Spanish court, and for which Gaspar Centurione was the agent in Sevilla) became Melchor Centurion, a brother of Gaspar, and a merchant of long-standing in Seville. It was agreed that he would reside in Santo Domingo. It was also his duty to establish and maintain contact with the firm's other agents in Puerto Rico and Cuba and to keep his partners informed of market conditions in the colonies (Pike, 1966, 58-59). Another factor of the firm of Fernan Vazquez, Domingo and Tomas de Forne and Agustin de Vivaldo in Hispaniola was Valian de Forne (Pike, 1966, 172 n. 33). Melchior Centurione to Hispaniola as representative of the Genoese of Sevilla, established in Santo Domingo from 1519 until his death in February 1521 (Mollat, 1973, 426). Stefano Justiniani, partner of Gaspar Centurione in his journey to the Indies. Replaced Melchior Centurione in Santo Domingo in 1523 (Mollat, 1973, 425). In 1522, Gaspar Centurione goes to Hispaniola with equipment to build a sugar mill. However, he gets captured by the French around Le Havre (Mollat, 1973, 430-431). Stefano Justiniani, successor of Melchior Centurione, exploited a sugar mill on Hispaniola since 1523 (Mollat, 1973, 431). Benedito Centurione, brother of Gaspar, went to Santo Domingo sometime after 1527 (Mollat, 1973, 431). Benito Centurione had contacts with the Welser branch in Santo Domingo, e.g. in 1528. (Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 34). In 1527, Benito Centurion was in Santo Domingo (Pike, 1966, 72-73).	
Valencia		4	2	2	1	<1493-1506<	Martino Centurione was the first of the brothers of Gaspare who established himself in Spain, notably in Malaga, where he was active in the commerce and production of woollens and silks. He obtained naturalisation in Spain in 1493. Later, he moved from Malaga to Valencia. Here, he purchased cloth from Valencia, which he exported to his brother Melchiorre in Palermo. (Otte, 1986, 27). Martino was in Valencia in 1503. (Otte, 1986, 28). In a letter of 1522, Gaspar Centurione mentions the exchange rates of Lyon with Spain (probably Medina del Campo or the fairs of Castile), Sevilla, Genoa,	

							Milan, Florence, Rome, Naples, Palermo, Bergamo, London and Valencia. (Mollat, 1973, 433). Exchange transaction in 1506 between Martino Centurione and Benedetto Pinello in Valencia, Agostino and Barnaba Grimaldi, the heirs of Agostino Lomellini in Lyon, Francesco Doria, and Giuliano Calvo. (Otte, 1986, 30). Centurione mentioned in Valencia in exchange transactions recorded in notarial documents of Sevilla (15th notariate): 1494-1525: Martino Centurione and Benedetto Pinello (1506); 1537-1556: Constantino Gentile and Luciano Centurione (1542), Paolo Centurione, Constantino Spinola and Luca Pinello (1553). (Otte, 1986, 42-56).	
La Rochelle		3	2	2	1	>1532<	Trade of Gaspar Centurione from Rouen with La Rochelle. In 1532 lawsuit between Gaspar Centurione and a citizen of La Rochelle in Rouen. (Mollat, 1973, 431).	
Rome		3	2	2	1	>1501<	In 1501, Martin Centurione (brother of Gaspar?) and Agostin Grimaldi transferred 42,000 ducats to Rome for the Catholic Kings. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 9). The Centurione in Spain had connections with the Rome firm of Ambrosio and Lazaro Grimaldi and partners in the early 16th c. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 10). In a letter of 1522, Gaspar Centurione mentions the exchange rates of Lyon with Spain (probably Medina del Campo or the fairs of Castile), Sevilla, Genoa, Milan, Florence, Rome, Naples, Palermo, Bergamo, London and Valencia. (Mollat, 1973, 433). **Later period:** Members of the Centurione family were among the managers of several institutions of the church in Rome between 1580 and 1619. (Doria, 1986, 88).	
San Juan (Puerto Rico)		3	2	2	1	>1514-1521<	Gaspar Centurione and Giovan Francesco Grimaldi traded from Sevilla especially with Santo Domingo, but also with San Juan (Puerto Rico), Cuba and Terra Firme. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 8). In 1513, all the sea loans of Juan Francisco de Grimaldo and Gaspar Centurion were invested in voyages to Santo Domingo (one to San German P.R. and Santo Domingo), for 1517, by far the most frequent destination was Santo Domingo. Also mentioned in 1517 were Cuba, Santiago de Cuba, Hispaniola, Puerto Rico, Darien, Island of San Juan (Pike, 1966, 52-54). The American agent of the firm of Vazquez, Forne and Vivaldo (established at the Spanish court, and for which	

							Gaspar Centurione was the agent in Sevilla) became Melchor Centurion, a brother of Gaspar, and a merchant of long-standing in Seville. It was agreed that he would reside in Santo Domingo. It was also his duty to establish and maintain contact with the firm's other agents in Puerto Rico and Cuba and to keep his partners informed of market conditions in the colonies (Pike, 1966, 58-59). In 1514, four different people served Juan Francisco de Grimaldo and Gaspar Centurion as agents in America: Gregorio Martin, a merchant on the Island of San Juan; Rodrigo de Narvaez, shipmaster; Juan Rodriguez, Genoese shipmaster; Miguel Diaz, resident on the Island of San Juan. These agents were not under partnership contract, but received specific or general powers of attorney (Pike, 1966, 68, 175 n. 63).	
Toulouse		3	2	2	1	>c.1522<	From Rouen, Gaspar Centurione had connections with the Spanish colony in Toulouse, especially with Jean Bernuy. (Mollat, 1973, 427-428).	
Brouage		2	2	1	0	<1523-1532>	Trade of Gaspare Centurione from Rouen with Brouage, from where he transported salt to Zeeland on a Breton ship for example. (Mollat, 1973, 431).	
Burgos		2	2	1	0	>1521<	Centurione mentioned in Burgos in exchange transactions recorded in notarial documents of Sevilla (15th notariate): 1494-1525: Centurione, Benedetto, de Luciano (1521). Connection with Gaspare and his brothers not known however. (Otte, 1986, 42-56).	
Canary Islands		2	2	1	0		Centurione mentioned in the Canaries in exchange transactions recorded in notarial documents of Sevilla (15th notariate): 1537-1556: Centurione, Leonardo (1546), Centurione, Nicola, de Battista (1543). (Otte, 1986, 42-56). Members of the Centurione family were involved in the colonisation of the Canary Islands. Connection with Gaspare and his brothers not known however. (Doria, 1986, 104 n. 180).	
Darién		2	2	1	0	>1517<	Gaspar Centurione and Giovan Francesco Grimaldi traded from Sevilla especially with Santo Domingo, but also with San Juan (Puerto Rico), Cuba and Terra Firme. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 8). In 1513, all the sea loans of Juan Francisco de Grimaldo and Gaspar Centurion were invested in voyages to Santo Domingo (one to San German P.R. and Santo Domingo), for 1517, by far the most frequent destination was Santo Domingo. Also mentioned in 1517 were Cuba, Santiago de Cuba, Hispaniola, Puerto Rico, Darien (in Panama), Island of San Juan (Pike, 1966, 52-54).	
Lisbon		2	2	1	0		Members of the Centurione family were present in Lisbon during the 16th	

							century. Connection with Gaspare and his brothers not known however. (Doria, 1986, 104 n. 177).	
Madeira		2	2	1	0		Members of the Centurione family were involved in the sugar trade and production of Madeira in the 15th-16th centuries. Connection with Gaspare and his brothers not known however. (Doria, 1986, 104 n. 179).	
Madrid		2	2	1	0	>1503<	Gaspare Centurione appeared for the first time in Spain in 1503. In 1503 Gaspare Centurione issued a bill of exchange in Madrid, to be paid to his brother Melchiorre in Palermo. (Otte, 1986, 27-28). **Later period:** Centurione mentioned in Madrid in exchange transactions recorded in notarial documents of Sevilla (15th notariate): 1557-1584: Centurione, Barnaba (1574). (Otte, 1986, 42-56). Under Philip II, the Centurione were established at the Spanish court in Madrid. (Otte, 1986, 39). Ca. 1550-1580 a member of the Centurione family resided at the Spanish Court. (Doria, 1986, 101 n. 160). Payment by Andrea Lomelin and Cristobal Centurione by bill of exchange from Madrid in 1546. (Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 45). Vincenzo Centurione had a firm in Antwerp in 1604. He was associated with Ottavio Centurione in Madrid. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 194).	
Puglia		2	2	1	0		The Centurione obtained feudal estates in southern Italy between ca. 1550 and 1613. (Doria, 1986, 85). Members of the Centurione family were active as entrepreneurs in Puglia during the 16th century (connection with Gaspare Centurione and his brothers not known however). (Doria, 1986, 86 n. 104).	
Saint-Germain-en-Laye		2	2	1	0	>c.1522<	Gaspare Centurione had connections at the French Court in Saint-Germain-en-Laye ca. 1522: Gaspar Bracelli (Mollat, 1973, 427).	
Salerno		2	2	1	0		Gaspar Centurione appears to have begun his career in the Spanish territories in Italy, as administrator of a feudal estate in Naples and of the prince of Salerno. He provided loans to several noblemen in Naples (the prince of Squillace, the duke of Trayeto,…), Salerno (Roberto of San Severino, prince of Salerno) and Sicily (Bernardo di Villamarno, count of Tapacho). (Otte, 1986, 27).	
Santiago de Cuba		2	2	1	0	>1517-1521<	Gaspar Centurione and Giovan Francesco Grimaldi traded from Sevilla especially with Santo Domingo, but also with San Juan (Puerto Rico), Cuba and Terra Firme. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 8). In 1513, all the sea loans of Juan Francisco de Grimaldo and Gaspar Centurion were invested in voyages to	

							Santo Domingo (one to San German P.R. and Santo Domingo), for 1517, by far the most frequent destination was Santo Domingo. Also mentioned in 1517 were Cuba, Santiago de Cuba, Hispaniola, Puerto Rico, Darien, Island of San Juan (Pike, 1966, 52-54). The American agent of the firm of Vazquez, Forne and Vivaldo (established at the Spanish court, and for which Gaspar Centurione was the agent in Sevilla) became Melchor Centurion, a brother of Gaspar, and a merchant of long-standing in Seville. It was agreed that he would reside in Santo Domingo. It was also his duty to establish and maintain contact with the firm's other agents in Puerto Rico and Cuba and to keep his partners informed of market conditions in the colonies (Pike, 1966, 58-59).	
Venice		2	2	1	0	>1515<	Already in 1515, members of the Centurione family were active in Venice. (connection with Gaspare Centurione not known however). In 1535-36, a Centurione resided in Venice. (Doria, 1986, 90 n. 121).	
Bergamo		1	1	1	0	1522	In a letter of 1522, Gaspar Centurione mentions the exchange rates of Lyon with Spain (probably Medina del Campo or the fairs of Castile), Sevilla, Genoa, Milan, Florence, Rome, Naples, Palermo, Bergamo, London and Valencia. (Mollat, 1973, 433).	
Estepa		1	1	1	0		Adamo Centurione of Genoa was one of the most important Genoese creditors of Charles V. He provided a loan of 200,000 escudos to help cover the costs of the Emperor's expedition to Algiers. In return, he received the town of Estepa (Cordoba) and surrounding territory. His connection with Gaspare and his brothers not known however. (Pike, 1966, 155 n. 68).	
Florence		1	1	1	0	1522	In a letter of 1522, Gaspar Centurione mentions the exchange rates of Lyon with Spain (probably Medina del Campo or the fairs of Castile), Sevilla, Genoa, Milan, Florence, Rome, Naples, Palermo, Bergamo, London and Valencia. (Mollat, 1973, 433).	
London		1	1	1	0	1522	In a letter of 1522, Gaspar Centurione mentions the exchange rates of Lyon with Spain (probably Medina del Campo or the fairs of Castile), Sevilla, Genoa, Milan, Florence, Rome, Naples, Palermo, Bergamo, London and Valencia. (Mollat, 1973, 433). A Filippo Centurione was agent of Horatio Palavicino in London at the end of the 16th century. (Doria, 1986, 99).	
Milan		1	1	1	0	1522	Members of the Centurione family obtained high governmental offices in Milan during the 16th century (connection with Gaspare Centurione not known however). (Doria, 1986, 90). In a letter of 1522, Gaspar Centurione	

							mentions the exchange rates of Lyon with Spain (probably Medina del Campo or the fairs of Castile), Sevilla, Genoa, Milan, Florence, Rome, Naples, Palermo, Bergamo, London and Valencia. (Mollat, 1973, 433).	
San Germán (Puerto Rico)		1	1	1	0	1513	In 1513, all the sea loans of Juan Francisco de Grimaldo and Gaspar Centurion were invested in voyages to Santo Domingo (one to San German P.R. and Santo Domingo). (Pike, 1966, 52-54).	

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Places only for later period:

* Messina: Members of the Centurione family were active in Messina in the second half of the 16th century. (Doria, 1986, 83).
* Brussels: Members of the Centurione family were active in Brussels under Philip III. (Doria, 1986, 96 n. 139).
* Cádiz: Andres Centurione was active in Cádiz in 1546. (Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 16).
* Besancon: In 1548 Costantino operated together with Battista Cattaneo, Benedetto Centurione and Leonardo Gentile at the fairs of Lyon and Besançon. (Otte, 1986, 37).

GIO BATTA FORNARI, before 1582 – after 1584

Gio Batta Fornari was a Genoese merchant and financier belonging to the nobili nuovi. (Doria, 1986, 109).

Benedetto & Agostino Fornari lent money to Charles V for his election as emperor. Genoese bankers (Goris, 1925, 393). Bankers of Charles V since 1525 (Goris, 1925, 395). Bankruptcy of Vicencio and Domenico Fornari, rich Genoese merchants active in Medina del Campo, in 1580 (Lapeyre, 1955, 492). Loan for election of Charles V as emperor in 1519: 55,000 fl (Ehrenberg, 1928, 75). Tommaso Fornari was active at the Spanish court ca. 1517-1519. (Otte, 1986, 31). Among the asentistas in 1520-1525 were Agostino Vivaldi and Tommaso Fornari (42,334 ducats), Tommaso and Domingo Fornari (20,000 ducats), Adamo Vivaldi and Tommaso Fornari and co. (associated with Gaspare Centurione) (10,000 ducats). Among the asentistas in 1526-1532 were Tommaso and Domingo Fornari (213,334 ducats). Almost all the Genoese asentistas in the years 1520-1532 belonged to the Grimaldi, Centurione and Fornari families. (Otte, 1986, 34). According to notarial records of Sevilla, members of the Fornari family were active in Sevilla (Antonio and Pietro Fornari and Gregorio Adorno (1522-1523), Antonio and Pietro Fornari (1524-1525), Benedetto and Agostino Fornari and Pietro Franchi (1520), Pietro Giovanni Salvago and Nicola Fornari (1521-1525), Valian Fornari and Nicola Fieschi Raggio (1548-1551)), Medina del Campo (Adamo Vivaldi and Tommaso Fornari (1518-1521), Agostino Vivaldi and Tommaso and Domenico Fornari (1523), Valladolid (Adamo Vivaldi and Tommaso Fornari and Co. (1518), Tommaso and Domenico Fornari (1523-1524), and Alicante (Stefano Fornari Mortedo (1555)) in the first half of the 16th century. (Otte, 1986, 42-56). In 1536, the De Fornari albergo contained 54 components (households (?)) of which 18 resided abroad. (Doria, 1986, 79). Members of the Fornari family obtained high governmental offices in Milan during the 16th century. Tomaso Fornari e.g. became treasurer of the imperial army in Milan in 1536. (Doria, 1986, 89-90). The Fornari family had a commercial enterprise in Bruges in the early 16th century. (Doria, 1986, 94). Tomaso De Fornari was factor of the Spanish king in 1538. (Doria, 1986, 103 n. 172).

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I did not consult:

Source material:

ACG (Archivio storico del Comune di Genova), Fondo Brignole Sale. (Doria, 1986, 74 n. 58). Preserved are several correspondence books (copialettere), e.g. of Gio Batta Fornari (1582-1584). (Doria, 1986, 83 n. 89). 745 letters have been preserved in the copy book, written in

a period of 24 months and a half (a little bit more than 30 letters a month). The letterbook contains copies of letters written by Fornari between 20 September 1582 and 6 October 1584. Fornari corresponded with 22 places outside of the Genoese republic. (Doria, 1986, 109, 109 n. 192).

Size: Medium-sized

Gio Batta Fornari was a merchant of average richess. (Doria, 1986, 109). He left an estate of 24,116 scudi d'oro to his two sons. (Doria, 1986, 109 n. 191).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Commerce in raw silk, velvets, sugar, wool, grain, etc. (Doria, 1986, 109).
- Finance: Exchange transactions. (Doria, 1986, 109).
- Industry:

Network of Gio Batta Fornari:

Table A..1. Network of Gio Batta Fornari, 1582 – 1584

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Genoa		8	4	3	1	>1582-1584<	Headquarters. (Doria, 1986, 109).	
Lisbon		4	2	2	1		5 correspondents in Lisbon (all of whom were Genoese). (Doria, 1986, 109).	
Livorno		4	2	2	1		5 correspondents in Livorno (2 of whom were Genoese). (Doria, 1986, 109).	
Messina		4	2	2	1		7 correspondents in Messina (4 of whom were Genoese). (Doria, 1986, 109).	
Palermo		4	2	2	1		6 correspondents in Palermo (5 of whom were Genoese). (Doria, 1986, 109).	
Rome		4	2	2	1		6 correspondents in Rome (4 of whom were Genoese). (Doria, 1986, 109).	
Sevilla		4	2	2	1		5 correspondents in Sevilla (all of whom were Genoese). (Doria, 1986, 109). Members of the Fornari family lived in Seville in the 16th c. (Pike, 1966, 2).	
Alicante		3	2	2	1		2 correspondents in Alicante (all of whom were Genoese). (Doria, 1986, 109).	
Antwerp		3	2	2	1		3 correspondents in Antwerp (all of whom were Genoese). (Doria, 1986, 109).	
Cologne		3	2	2	1		2 correspondents in Cologne (one of whom was Genoese). (Doria, 1986, 109).	
Florence		3	2	2	1		4 correspondents in Florence (2 of whom were Genoese). (Doria, 1986, 109).	

London		3	2	2	1		2 correspondents in London (all of whom were Genoese). (Doria, 1986, 109).	
Lyon		3	2	2	1		3 correspondents in Lyon (all of whom were Genoese). (Doria, 1986, 109).	
Madrid		3	2	2	1		3 correspondents in Madrid (2 of whom were Genoese). (Doria, 1986, 109).	
Milan		3	2	2	1		4 correspondents in Milan (2 of whom were Genoese). (Doria, 1986, 109).	
Naples		3	2	2	1		3 correspondents in Naples (all of whom were Genoese). (Doria, 1986, 109).	
Piacenza		3	2	2	1		Correspondence with the fairs of Piacenza, which were mostly held in Piacenza in this period. (Doria, 1986, 109).	
Pisa		3	2	2	1		2 correspondents in Pisa (none of whom were Genoese). (Doria, 1986, 109).	
Toledo		3	2	2	1		2 correspondents in Toledo (all of whom were Genoese). (Doria, 1986, 109). During the 16th century, the Fornari were involved in the trade in Spanish wool in Toledo. (Doria, 1986, 62 n. 21).	
Valencia		3	2	2	1		2 correspondents in Valencia (all of whom were Genoese). (Doria, 1986, 109). Members of the Fornari family were active in Valencia between ca. 1564 and 1590. (Doria, 1986, 102 n. 166).	
Venice		3	2	2	1		3 correspondents in Venice (all of whom were Genoese). (Doria, 1986, 109).	
Barcelona		2	2	1	0		1 correspondent in Barcelona (Genoese). (Doria, 1986, 109).	
Granada		2	2	1	0		1 correspondent in Granada (Genoese). (Doria, 1986, 109).	
Portoferraio		2	2	1	0		1 correspondent in Portoferraio (who was not a Genoese). (Doria, 1986, 109).	

+ 5 correspondents or more = 4 (8 point scale), 2-4 correspondents = 3 (8 point scale), 1 correspondent = 2 (8 point scale).

GRIMALDI, early 16th century

The Grimaldi family belonged to the old nobility of Genoa. It was one of the Genoese alberghi after 1528. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 4). The Grimaldi were a Guelph family, and together with the Fieschi they were among the leaders of the Guelph party in Genoa. As a result, the Grimaldi had old connections with France and the house of Anjou. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 5). Agostin Grimaldi (d. 1533) was the first of the Grimaldi to carry out important commerce with Spain at the end of the 15th century. (7). The banking and exchange business of the Grimaldi was in hands of three groups in the family: (A) Ansaldo Grimaldi (d. 1539), who was considered as the richest man of Genoa of his time, together with Adamo Centurione. Ansaldo died without children. His heir was his nephew cardinal Girolamo, and later his sons Gian Battista and Lucas. (9); (B) Agostin Grimaldi (d. 1533): important banking business with Spain and the emperor. (9). Nicolo, the son of Agostin, became active as a merchant as well, from an early age. In 1515 Agostin gave his son 80,000 ducats, with which Nicolo carried out business on his own account and in partnership with his father. Nicolo later became prince of Salerno. (10). (C) The sons of Giorgio Grimaldi, Nicolo (d. 1534), Gian Battista and Stefano (d. 1561). They provided several loans to Spain in the years 1522-1527 (Gian Battista already in 1519). Nicolo Grimaldi worked closely together with the Cataneo and the Strozzi. (10-11). There were strong family ties between the three main branches in Genoa (Ansaldo, Agostin and sons of Giorgio) and the branch in Monaco. For many other members of the Grimaldi family, the family connection is often not clear. (17). Close connections of the Grimaldi with Charles V. However, a number of crises in this relation: 1525, 1528, 1532. (17). The Grimaldi were closely related to the Centurione, Cataneo and De Negro through marriage. (17).

The Grimaldi lent money to Charles V in the first quarter of the 16th century. A. Grimaldi (with A. Vivaldi) also lent money to the English court at the end of the 15th century. Alum-monopolists (1551): exported alum to the Low Countries (Goris, 1925, 206-208).
Genoese family. In 1519, Jéronimo Grimaldi was an important Genoese importer of spices in Lyon (Gascon, 1971, 221). After the Ducci affair (1544-1549), Genoese merchants supplied Antwerp with most of its alum, particularly those to whom the Pope granted rights for alum coming out of Tolfa. The Habsburg government contracted with the Genoese merchants, first the Grimaldi, and later the Sauli, to supply alum to Antwerp at a fixed price. Some of this price would be directed to government coffers. By 1555, the government had transferred the alum contract to the city of Antwerp in exchange for an up-front payment (Harreld, 2004, 175-176). In Spain, the Genoese became increasingly important for Philip II, and they eclipsed the Germans. The Grimaldi, Doria, Spinola, Fiesco, Lomellini, Gentile, Centurione, Grillo,… concluded asientos with Philip II for enormous sums of money (Lapeyre, 1955, 117). The Tolfa alum mines in the papal states were firmly in hands of the Grimaldi in 2nd quarter 16th c. (Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, xxiii). Depositary general of the Apostolic Chamber : banker who managed the finances of the papal state, responsible for expenditure and the collection of a more or less substantial flow of income: for most of the 1st half of the 16th c. in hands of the Florentines: after Bindo Altoviti, the Genoese Ansaldo Grimaldi, and the Florentine merchant Paolo Serragli, it was the turn of Benvenuto Olivieri, who was depositary general from July 1540 to end 1542, again in 1543 (after a brief period of management by Tobias Palavicini), and finally again in 1545-46. After 1546 however, the Genoese gained ascendancy (Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 19). Depositary general of the Apostolic Chamber in 1513-1546: mostly Florentines: Filippo Strozzi, Bartolomeo Lanfredini, Bindo Altoviti, Paolo Serragli, Benvenuto Olivieri. A few

Genoese interruptions under Paul III: Grimaldi, and Pallavicini-Giustiniani (Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 22). In the first half of the 16th c., the Genoese families linked to the Apostolic Chamber were few in number: Sauli, Pallavicini, Giustiniani, Grimaldi (who held a virtual monopoly on the alum mines of Tolfa) and a few others, all of whom possessed considerable financial resources (Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 22). From 1 August 1531, administration of the Tolfa alum mines was shared between the Genoese banker Ansaldo Grimaldi and the Sienese banker Girolamo Venturi, who contracted to pay an annual 15,000 ducats di carlini and to produce 20,000 cantars of alum. Venturi found himself unable to meet his financial obligations, and borrowed money from various merchant-bankers, promising in return a consignment of alum: Giulio and Lorenzo Strozzi & Partners, together with the heirs of Pandolfo Della Casa & partners, stood surety for Venturi. In 1541, when the books were balanced, the heirs of Girolamo Venturini (who died in 1537) found themselves owing Benvenuto Olivieri & Partners of Rome (who had taken over from the Strozzi company) almost 16,500 scudi (Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 169-170). Contract for 12 years for the monopoly of the Tolfa alum mines between Ansaldo Grimaldo and the Apostolic Chamber from 1538, at which time Grimaldi was also depositary general of the Apostolic Chamber (Girolamo Sauli, who acted as his procurator, was vice-depositary): in the contract, right for annual production of 30,000 cantars. Annually, Grimaldi had to pay 28,333.3 ducats as well as an initial sum of 40,000 ducats, which would be repaid to him however in annual shares of 3,333.3 ducats. In the mid-16th c., the Genoese had a firm monopoly over the Tolfa alum mines, which lasted until 1578. The Sauli (Bandinello Sauli) were in charge from 1553 to 1565, and the Pallavicini from 1566 to 1578. Only in the last quarter of the 16th c., did the Florentines reappear (Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 170). During the alum contract of 1541-53 with the Grimaldi, 392,661 cantars of alum were exported. Of the 370,824 that can be traced, the Grimaldi personally handled only 21,4%, while Martin Ayala, a Spanish merchant from Burgos, exported 27,4%. The Florentines Del Bene and Sertini (11,2%) dealt especially with exports to France. Also contributions by the Genoese Giustiniani (10,5%). Benvenuto Olivieri exported 2,8%: 8,285.139 cantars of alum to Marseilles and Aigues Mortes between 1541 and 1544, and 2,000 cantars to Florence (Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 171). Grimaldi bank in Genoa in 15th c.: company of Merualdo and Giovanni-Batista de Grimaldi (Heers, 1961, 93). Loan of Agostino and Nicolo de Grimaldi and Company to Charles V for his election as emperor: January 1519: 55.000 fl. For this, the Grimaldi were represented by Lorenzo Vivaldi (Ehrenberg, 1928, 75-76). Jeronimo de Grimaldo went to Santo Domingo in 1508, receiving powers of attorney from Bernaldo de Grimaldo (who sent him to Santo Domingo), Ambrosio Spinola, Benito Doria, Alejandro Catan~o, Batista Centurion, Juan Tomas de Monte, Esteban Centurion and Domenegro de Castellon, all members of the Genoese colony in Seville (Pike, 1966, 72, 177 n. 82). Jeronimo de Grimaldo was citizen in Santo Domingo in 1508-1536 (Pike, 1966, 73). In 1510 Bernaldo de Grimaldo was granted the special privilege by king Ferdinand, of allowing his factor to reside permanently in the Indies, while this permission was denied to all other foreigners. The Grimaldo were particularly favored by Ferdinand because of their large loans to him on the occasion of his daughter Catherine's marriage to the Prince of Wales (Pike, 1966, 177 n. 82). Jeronimo de Grimaldo carried out his duties as representative of the Genoese of Seville in the New World faithfully until 1509. By then he began to manipulate for his own benefit the funds he had collected for the Sevillan merchants. However, he managed to replace the missing sums, returned temporarily to Seville in 1516, and managed to be restored into favour of his uncle Bernaldo and other members of the Genoese colony. He was sent to the America's again with merchandise and power of attorney of several merchants, but again he betrayed their confidence (Pike, 1966, 72-74). Niccolo Grimaldi, most important member of the

Grimaldi family became prince of Salerno. (Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 16 n. 48). Between 1550 and 1575, members of the Grimaldi family (e.g. Stefano Grimaldi, Giorgio Grimaldi) operated as fleet commanders (condottiere) for the Spanish. (Doria, 1986, 67 n. 35).

Emmanuele and Leonello de Grimaldi, mid 15th c. Belonged to the Oliva family, which in the 15th c. aggregated in the Grimaldi albergo. No banking, and not much money trafic. They had no establishments abroad, although one brother resided for a while in Nicosia, and they sent a bill of exchange to Famagusta. But no permanent factors or commissionaries abroad. The products they received in Genoa were sent by other merchant houses. The Grimaldi de Oliva brothers were especially active in Genoa itself. However, trade in a large variety of goods: spices, Spanish wool, leather from Tunis, grain, salted fish, honey from Provence, silk, indigo,… They possessed a caravel and purchased 1 carat in the ship of Giacomo di Leone. But in general the Grimaldi de Oliva brothers were no bankers, nor shipowners. They were mostly merchants, and often sold retail. They owned shops, a warehouse. Mostly they sold to artisans. They provided loans at interest, mostly for a guarantee: simple consumption loans, often small amounts. Nevertheless, they gathered a considerable fortune from their business: large dowries for their daughters, possessed different houses in Genoa. Daughters of Emmanuele all married to merchants: Tommaso Gentile, Giacomo Spinola di San Luccà, Acelino Spinola di San Luccà, his son married a Lomellini (Heers, 1961, 547-549).

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Size: Large or very large

Ansaldo Grimaldi (“Ansaldus Magnus”) was considered as the richest man of Genoa of his time, together with Adamo Centurione. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 9). The Grimaldi were probably the most important Genoese banking family for Charles V in the 1520s. (17). In the 1520s, the Grimaldi were the strongest financial group of Genoa. (17).

Main activities:

- Commerce: The Grimaldi were involved in commerce. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 6). The Grimaldi were involved in grain trade in Sicily and with the Iberian Peninsula. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 6-8). The Grimaldi were involved in the trade of mercury. (8). Wholesale trade in grain, mercury, export to America. (16-17). The Grimaldi were involved in the alum trade. (Soly, 1974, 808; Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 191). In 1519, Jéronimo Grimaldi was an important Genoese importer of spices in Lyon (Gascon, 1971, 221).
- Finance: The Grimaldi were especially known as bankers. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 6). Bernardo Grimaldi lent 30,000 ducats to king Ferdinand of Spain ca. 1507. (7). Gian Battista Grimaldi was involved in the farming of the Maestrazgo in 1528-1532. (8). Banking and exchange transactions by the Grimaldi. (9). Ansaldo Grimaldi was an important banker of Charles V, especially after 1529 (but already in 1525 e.g.). (9). Agostin Grimaldi and his son Nicolo provided money for the election of Charles V as German king in 1519 (55,000 Gulden). (10). The sons of Giorgio Grimaldi, Nicolo, Gian Battista and Stefano provided several loans to Spain in the years 1522-1527. Shortly after 1525 however, the relations with Charles V worsened for a short period. (11). The Grimaldi of Monaco also had connections with Charles V. (12-13). Main business of the Grimaldi was financial business. (17). Agostino and his son Nicolo Grimaldi provided a loan for the election of Charles V in 1519 (through Lorenzo Vivaldo). They were among the most favoured bankers of Charles V. (Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 16 n. 48). Loans of Agostino and Nicolò Grimaldi to Charles V in 1519-1521. (Otte, 1986, 32). Among the main *asentistas* who lended money to Charles V in 1520-25 were Nicola Grimaldi (114,160 ducats), Agostino Grimaldi and Stefano Centurione (76,834 ducats), and Nicola and Giovanni Battista Grimaldi (34,667 ducats). (Otte, 1986, 34). Among the asentistas in 1526-1532 were Ansaldo Grimaldi (580,000 ducats), Giovanni Battista Grimaldi and Stefano Centurione (105,467 ducats), Agostino Grimaldi and Stefano Centurione, Giovanni Battista Grimaldi, Nicola and Giovanni Battista Grimaldi and Adamo Centurione, Nicola Grimaldi, and Giovanni Battista Grimaldi and Adamo Centurione. The main Genoese asentistas in 1533-1536 were Ansaldo Grimaldi (227,530 ducats) and Nicola Grimaldi (201,000 ducats). Almost all the Genoese asentistas in the years 1520-1536 belonged to the Grimaldi, Centurione and Fornari families. (Otte, 1986, 34-35). Still in 1597, a certain Giovanni Giacomo Grimaldi was among the four representatives of the bankers involved in the Spanish bankruptcy of 1596. (Otte, 1986, 39). In 1528-1532, G. B. Grimaldi farmed the income of the Spanish Maestrazgos. He also farmed other forms of income of the Spanish state (e.g. in 1519 and 1526). (Doria, 1986, 102-103 n. 170). The Grimaldi had ties with the Spanish Crown from the 15th century the latest. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 190).
- Industry:
- Other: The Grimaldi provided maritime military power to the Iberian princes. E.g. Raniero de Grimaldi provided a fleet to king Ferdinand I of Portugal. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 7, 7 n. 23). Giacomo Grimaldi became fleet commander of Charles V in Sicily after 1528. The Grimaldi of Monaco provided two galleys to the fleet of Charles V. (14, 17).

Network of the Grimaldi:

The Grimaldi did not establish one large enterprise. On the contrary, different members of the family founded their own businesses (individual or in partnership with other Genoese merchants of the Grimaldi family and others). However, strong ties of solidarity among the members of the albergo.

Table A..1. Network of the Grimaldi, first third 16th century

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Genoa		8	4	3	1	15th-16th c.	Genoese family. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 3-4). Grimaldi bank in Genoa in 15th c.: company of Merualdo and Giovanni-Batista de Grimaldi (Heers, 1961, 93).	
Medina del Campo		6	3	2	1	first 3rd 16th c.-1563<	The Grimaldi were especially active in Rome, Lentini, Chios, Granada, Sevilla, London, Santo Domingo, Venice, Antwerp, Lisbon and the fairs of Castile in the first third of the 16th century. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 16). Were represented in Medina del Campo (Denucé, 1934, 27). Ca. mid 16th century Stefano Salvago and Antonio Grimaldi and co. were active in Medina del Campo and Sevilla. (Otte, 1986, 37). In Sevilla and Medina del Campo a partnership existed between Giovanni Battista Affaitati and Nicola Grimaldi and co. (1544) (Otte, 1986, 37). The company of Gaspare Grimaldi and Stefano Salvago at the Spanish court was represented at the fairs of Castile by Scipione Grimaldi. (Otte, 1986, 38). Grimaldi mentioned in Medina del Campo in exchange transactions recorded in notarial documents of Sevilla (15th notariate): 1494-1525: Agostino and Nicola Grimaldi and Co. (1520), Agostino Grimaldi and Stefano Centurione (1520-1524), Antonio Usodimare and Bernardo Grimaldi (1522), Giovanni Battista Grimaldi and Stefano Centurione and Co. (1521), Giovanni Francesco Grimaldi and Co. (1520), Grimaldi, Barnaba (1525), Nicola and Giovanni Battista Grimaldi (1520); 1537-1556: Barnaba Grimaldi and Stefano Salvago and Co. (1538), Grimaldi, Anfran (1553), Stefano Salvago and Antonio Grimaldi and Co. (1542); 1557-1584: Nicola Grimaldi, Antoniete Pallavicino and Lorenzo Spinola (1563). (Otte, 1986, 42-56).	
Rome		6	3	2	1	>1497-1538<	The Grimaldi had good connections with the Curia in Rome, and they obtained several profitable offices in the church. Girolamo Grimaldi became	

							cardinal in 1527. He was a nephew of Ansaldo Grimaldi, a head of the Grimaldi in Genoa, who had financial connections with the papal court. Ansaldo was among other things involved in the financial transactions between the pope and the Castilian Crown connected with the “cruzada”. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 6). In 1501, Martin Centurione and Agostin Grimaldi transferred 42,000 ducats to Rome for the Catholic Kings. (9). Agostin Grimaldi probably had connections with the Rome firm of Ambrosio and Lazaro Grimaldi and partners. (10). The Grimaldi were especially active in Rome, Lentini, Chios, Granada, Sevilla, London, Santo Domingo, Venice, Antwerp, Lisbon and the fairs of Castile in the first third of the 16th century. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 16). Bernardo Grimaldi became Genoese consul in Sevilla in 1489, and exported grain from Sevilla and Sicily to Rome in 1497, together with Edoardo Scala. (Otte, 1986, 24). In 1507 Jacopo Grimaldi took care of the dispatch of letters from the Casa de la Contratación to king Ferdinand in Naples via Valencia and Rome. (Otte, 1986, 25). Depositary general of the Apostolic Chamber: for most of the 1st half of the 16th c. in hands of the Florentines: after Bindo Altoviti, the Genoese Ansaldo Grimaldi, and the Florentine merchant Paolo Serragli, it was the turn of Benvenuto Olivieri, who was depositary general from July 1540 to end 1542, again in 1543 (Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 19). A few Genoese depositary generals under Paul III: Grimaldi, and Pallavicini-Giustiniani (Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 22). Contract for 12 years for the monopoly of the Tolfa alum mines between Ansaldo Grimaldo and the Apostolic Chamber from 1538, at which time Grimaldi was also depositary general of the Apostolic Chamber (Girolamo Sauli, who acted as his procurator, was vice-depositary) (Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 170). Ansaldo Grimaldi had a bank in Rome in the 1530s. (Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 16 n. 48). Grimaldi worked for the Roman Curia (Denucé, 1934, 35). Ansaldo Grimaldo was active in Rome via a company headed by Tommaso Salvago. This company was associated with a company at the Spanish court, named “Gaspare Grimaldi and Stefano Salvago, son of Tommaso”. (Otte, 1986, 37-38).	

							In the beginning of the 16th century, a Genoese cardinal of the Grimaldi family resided in Rome. (Doria, 1986, 87 n. 108). The Grimaldi were among the farmers of the alum mines of Tolfa between 1531 and 1578. (Doria, 1986, 88). Ansaldo Grimaldi and Girolamo Venturi farmed the alum mines of Tolfa from 1531. (Soly, 1974, 808 n. 47).	
Sevilla		6	3	2	1	mid 15th c.-1584<	Already in the middle of the 15th century, the Grimaldi had a seat of their business house in Sevilla. (Otte, 1986, 18). In 1501, Agostin Grimaldi exported grain from Sevilla to Italy. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 7). Several Grimaldi were active in Sevilla. In 1508, the firm of Giacomo Grimaldi was established in Sevilla. This firm exported cloth from Rouen to Santo Domingo. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 7). In 1507 Jacopo (=Giacomo?) Grimaldi took care of the dispatch of letters from the Casa de la Contratación to king Ferdinand in Naples via Valencia and Rome. (Otte, 1986, 25). Bernardo Grimaldi lived in Sevilla and obtained naturalisation in 1507. (7, Otte, 1986, 26). Bernardo Grimaldi became Genoese consul in Sevilla in 1489, and exported grain from Sevilla and Sicily to Rome in 1497, together with Edoardo Scala. (Otte, 1986, 24). In the first two decades of the 16th century, also Bartolomeo Grimaldi, and from 1509 to 1513 Nicola Grimaldi, lived in Sevilla. After 1513, Nicola was represented by Giovan Francesco Grimaldi, who was in Sevilla at least from 1508 to 1518, and worked together with Gaspar Centurione. They provided loans for the organisation of shipping to the New World, and sent merchandise to the Indies themselves. (8). In 1508, Gaspare Centurione established a commercial and banking company with his relative Battista Centurione. This company was active in Europe as well as in America. The company was established for 3 years. In 1511 it was continued by Gaspare with a new partner, Giovanni Francesco Grimaldi, while Battista Centurione left the company. (Otte, 1986, 29). The company between Gaspare Centurione and Giovanni Francesco Grimaldi became the most important Genoese company for trade with America after the bankruptcy of Bernardo Grimaldi. (Otte, 1986, 29). The company was dissolved in 1517, when Giovanni Francesco Grimaldi associated himself with his cousin Giovanni Battista Grimaldi, who before had been active in Valencia. (Otte, 1986, 29). The Grimaldi were especially active in Rome, Lentini, Chios, Granada, Sevilla, London, Santo Domingo, Venice, Antwerp, Lisbon and the fairs of Castile in the first	

							third of the 16th century. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 16). Jeronimo de Grimaldo went to Santo Domingo in 1508, receiving powers of attorney from Bernaldo de Grimaldo (who sent him to Santo Domingo), Ambrosio Spinola, Benito Doria, Alejandro Catan~o, Batista Centurion, Juan Tomas de Monte, Esteban Centurion and Domenegro de Castellon, all members of the Genoese colony in Seville (Pike, 1966, 72, 177 n. 82). In 1510 Bernaldo de Grimaldo was granted the special privilege by king Ferdinand, of allowing his factor to reside permanently in the Indies, while this permission was denied to all other foreigners. (Pike, 1966, 177 n. 82). Jeronimo de Grimaldo carried out his duties as representative of the Genoese of Seville in the New World faithfully until 1509. By then he began to manipulate for his own benefit the funds he had collected for the Sevillan merchants. However, he managed to replace the missing sums, returned temporarily to Seville in 1516, and managed to be restored into favour of his uncle Bernaldo and other members of the Genoese colony. He was sent to the America's again with merchandise and power of attorney of several merchants, but again he betrayed their confidence (Pike, 1966, 72-74). Juan Francisco Grimaldi was active as public banker in Sevilla until his death in 1523. (Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 16). Giovanni Francesco Grimaldi was banker in Sevilla in 1510-1513. (Otte, 1986, 30). The Grimaldi and Centurione were the 4th and 5th largest Genoese families in Seville in the 16th c. The names of 9 members of each family appear in the notary books of Seville in the 16th c. (Pike, 1966, 2). Many loans and credits granted by Jacome de Grimaldo in 1508 in Seville to merchants trading with the New World. Jacome de Grimaldo was one of the richest members of the Genoese colony in Seville during the first decades of the 16th c. (Pike, 1966, 50-51). From 1513 to 1517, Juan Francisco de Grimaldi and Gaspar Centurion were among the most active Genoese capitalists in Seville. They worked together in a regular fashion but, in accordance with the Genoese custom of individual enterprise, were not joined by any bonds of partnership. The majority of their sea-loans to America were granted for the dispatch of merchandise rather than for the provisioning of ships. Their most active borrowers were Spanish merchants (Pike, 1966, 50). In 1513, all the sea loans of Juan Francisco de Grimaldo and Gaspar Centurion were invested in voyages to Santo Domingo (one to San German P.R. and Santo	

							Domingo), for 1517, by far the most frequent destination was Santo Domingo. Also mentioned in 1517 were Cuba, Santiago de Cuba, Hispaniola, Puerto Rico, Darien, Island of San Juan (Pike, 1966, 52-54). Juan Francisco de Grimaldo and Gaspar Centurion sent a small but steady stream of slaves to Hispaniola during the years immediately after 1514 (Pike, 1966, 57). The largest Genoese crown bankers of the Sevillan colony in the 1st half of the 16th c. were Agustin de Vivaldo, Jacome and Juan Francisco de Grimaldo and Agustin Italian (Pike, 1966, 180 n. 102). Ca. mid 16th century Stefano Salvago and Antonio Grimaldi and co. were active in Medina del Campo and Sevilla. (Otte, 1986, 37). In Sevilla and Medina del Campo a partnership existed between Giovanni Battista Affaitati and Nicola Grimaldi and co. (1544) (Otte, 1986, 37). Grimaldi mentioned in Sevilla in exchange transactions recorded in notarial documents of Sevilla (15th notariate): 1494-1525: Bernardo Grimaldi and Edoardo Scala (1494-1506), Constantino Gentile and Agostino Grimaldi (1516-1518), Giovanni Francesco Grimaldi and Gaspare Centurione (1516-1518), Giovanni Francesco and Giovanni Battista Grimaldi (1518-1522), Grimaldi, Jacopo (1506), Grimaldi, Jacopo, de Oberto (1521-1523), Jacopo Grimaldi and Nicola Doria (1518-1521); 1537-1556: Battista Grimaldi and Stefano Grillo (1553), Grimaldi, Antonio (1553), Grimaldi, Battista (1554), Grimaldi, Giovanni Antonio (1549), Stefano Salvago and Antonio Grimaldi (1538-1542); 1557-1584: Conrado Grimaldi and Stefano Ferrari (1565), Conrado Grimaldi and Galeazzo Nigrono (1566), Galeazzo Nigrono and Agostino Grimaldi (1567), Giovanni Battista Franchi and Paolo Grimaldi (1559), Grimaldi, Bartolomeo (1583-1584), Grimaldi, Jacopo (1560), Grimaldi, Josepe (1583), Grimaldi, Leonardo (1564), Josepe Grimaldi and Geronimo Buron (1580). (Otte, 1986, 42-56). In the 16th century, at least 9 members of the Grimaldi family were active in Sevilla. (Doria, 1986, 101 n. 159). Agostino Grimaldi in Sevilla was a correspondent of Giovan Battista and Lorenzo Grimaldi in Antwerp ca. 1560-1579. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 190-191). Benvenuto Olivieri was involved (for 1/4) in the alum trade of 2,500 cantars of alum sold by the Grimaldi company at the end of 1544 to a group of merchants from Burgos. This alum was destined for the ports of	

							Cádiz and Sevilla. (Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 175).	
Valencia		6	3	2	1	>1457<, >1506-1555<	A member of the Grimaldi family was active in Valencia in 1457. (Otte, 1986, 18). In 1507 Jacopo Grimaldi took care of the dispatch of letters from the Casa de la Contratación to king Ferdinand in Naples via Valencia and Rome. (Otte, 1986, 25). Giovanni Battista Grimaldi was active in Valencia before 1517. In 1517, he associated himself with his cousin Giovanni Francesco Grimaldi in Sevilla. (Otte, 1986, 29). Nicolo Grimaldi, son of Agostin, probably headed for a while a branch in Valencia. In the 1520s, a firm Nicolao de Grimaldo, Nicolao y Tomas Espindola existed in Valencia. Also later, Nicolo remained active in large business operations with Spain. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 10, 10 n. 39). Exchange transaction in 1506 between Martino Centurione and Benedetto Pinello in Valencia, Agostino and Barnaba Grimaldi, the heirs of Agostino Lomellini in Lyon, Francesco Doria, and Giuliano Calvo. (Otte, 1986, 30). Grimaldi mentioned in Valencia in exchange transactions recorded in notarial documents of Sevilla (15th notariate): 1494-1525: Agostino and Barnaba Grimaldi (1506), Andrea Gentile and Giovanni Battista Grimaldi (1508), Andrea, Paolo, Gabriele and Giovan Battista Grimaldi (1506), Antonio Usodimare and Bernardo Grimaldi (1521-1523), Agostino and Nicola Grimaldi de Corte (1518), Barnaba and Agostino Grimaldi (1518); 1537-1556: Battista Grimaldi and Stefano Grillo (1553-1554), Daniele Spinola, Battista Grimaldi and Filippo Salvago (1555), Giorgio Grimaldi and Lazzaro Doria (1549), Giovanni Antonio and Jofre Grimaldi (1546-1548), Grimaldi, Giovanni Antonio (1546), Grimaldi Ceva, Battista (1550). (Otte, 1986, 42-56).	
Valladolid		6	3	2	1	>1518-1533<	One of the main representatives of Agostin Grimaldi in his business with Charles V and Spain was Stefano Centurione (d. 1529). In 1533, Agostin was the representative of the Genoese Republic at the Court of Charles V. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 10). The firm of Agostino and Nicolò Grimaldi at the Spanish court supplied a loan to Charles V for his election as emperor in 1519. This firm provided additional loans in 1520 and 1521. (Otte, 1986, 32). Ansaldo Grimaldo was active in Rome via a company headed by Tommaso Salvago. This company was associated with a company at the Spanish court, named “Gaspare Grimaldi and Stefano Salvago, son of	

							Tommaso". (Otte, 1986, 37-38). Under Philip II, the Grimaldi were established at the Spanish court in Madrid. (Otte, 1986, 39). Grimaldi mentioned in Valladolid in exchange transactions recorded in notarial documents of Sevilla (15th notariate): 1494-1525: Agostino and Nicola Grimaldi (1518), Agostino Grimaldi and Stefano Centurione (1523). (Otte, 1986, 42-56).	
Antwerp		4	2	2	1	first 3rd 16th c.-1579<	The Grimaldi were especially active in Rome, Lentini, Chios, Granada, Sevilla, London, Santo Domingo, Venice, Antwerp, Lisbon and the fairs of Castile in the first third of the 16th century. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 16). After the Ducci affair (1544-1549), Genoese merchants supplied Antwerp with most of its alum, particularly those to whom the Pope granted rights for alum coming out of Tolfa. The Habsburg government contracted with the Genoese merchants, first the Grimaldi, and later the Sauli, to supply alum to Antwerp at a fixed price. Some of this price would be directed to government coffers. By 1555, the government had transferred the alum contract to the city of Antwerp in exchange for an up-front payment (Harreld, 2004, 175-176). Factor: Lucian Palavicini de la Rocha. (Goris, 1925, 206-208). The Van der Molen firm of Antwerp made use of the services of the Grimaldi for making international money transfers (late 1530s-early 1540s). (Puttevils, 2007, 268). The Grimaldi supplied alum to Fernando Dassa and Co. in Antwerp between 1540 and 1544. (Soly, 1974, 813-814). From 1547, the Grimaldi supplied alum to Gaspar Ducci in Antwerp. A conflict arose between Ducci and the Grimaldi in 1549. (Soly, 1974, 815-818). Luciano Pallavicino de la Rocha was a factor of the Grimaldi. He was active in the Low Countries ca. 1547-1550. In 1547 he was involved in a lawsuit against Gaspar Ducci in Mechelen. (Soly, 1974, 817-819). In 1551-1554, the Grimaldi supplied alum to a representative of the government of the Low Countries in Antwerp. They obtained the monopoly of alum import in the Low Countries from Charles V. (Soly, 1974, 819). The Grimaldi were still active in Antwerp in the second half of the 16th c.: e.g. Giovan Battista Grimaldi Morasana (d. 1560). He was succeeded by his sons Giovan Battista and Lorenzo, who became the most important members of the Grimaldi family in Antwerp: their company was especially active in Spain and Italy. Bankruptcy in 1579.	

							(Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 190-191). In 1551, Luciano Pallavicino della Rocha was factor of the Grimaldi in Antwerp. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 191).	
Chios		4	2	2	1	first 3rd 16th c.	The Grimaldi traded with Chios (like the Giustiniani). In a later period, Johannes, son of Obertus Grimaldi, was established in Chios. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 6). The Grimaldi were especially active in Rome, Lentini, Chios, Granada, Sevilla, London, Santo Domingo, Venice, Antwerp, Lisbon and the fairs of Castile in the first third of the 16th century. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 16).	
Granada		4	2	2	1	first 3rd 16th c., >1554<	In 1554, Johannes Grimaldi, son of Franciscus, lived in Granada. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 9). The Grimaldi were especially active in Rome, Lentini, Chios, Granada, Sevilla, London, Santo Domingo, Venice, Antwerp, Lisbon and the fairs of Castile in the first third of the 16th century. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 16). The company of Gaspare Grimaldi and Stefano Salvago at the Spanish court was represented in Granada by Ambrogio Salvago. (Otte, 1986, 38). During the 16th century, the Grimaldi were involved in the trade in Spanish wool in Granada. (Doria, 1986, 62 n. 21).	
Lentini		4	2	2	1	>1510s<	In the 1510s, Francesco Grimaldi became Syndicus of Lentini (at the east coast of Sicily). Probably, the Grimaldi were involved here in the Sicilian grain trade. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 6). The Grimaldi were especially active in Rome, Lentini, Chios, Granada, Sevilla, London, Santo Domingo, Venice, Antwerp, Lisbon and the fairs of Castile in the first third of the 16th century. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 16).	
Lisbon		4	2	2	1	first 3rd 16th c.	The Grimaldi were especially active in Rome, Lentini, Chios, Granada, Sevilla, London, Santo Domingo, Venice, Antwerp, Lisbon and the fairs of Castile in the first third of the 16th century. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 16). Members of the Grimaldi family were present in Lisbon during the 16th century. (Doria, 1986, 104 n. 177). Antonio Calvi in Lisbon was a correspondent of Giovan Battista and Lorenzo Grimaldi in Antwerp ca. 1560-1579. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 190-191).	
London		4	2	2	1	>1508<	Agostin Grimaldi probably had a factor in London. Francesco and Agostino Grimaldi and Agostino Vivaldo transferred the dowry of Katharina for her marriage with Henry VIII of England in 1508. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 10). The	

							Grimaldi were especially active in Rome, Lentini, Chios, Granada, Sevilla, London, Santo Domingo, Venice, Antwerp, Lisbon and the fairs of Castile in the first third of the 16th century. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 16). In the early 16th century, several branches of the Grimaldi family were active in London. (Doria, 1986, 97). Paolo Grimaldi was active in London at the end of the 16th century. He was a secret agent for Don Juan of Austria. (Doria, 1986, 99). A. Grimaldi (with A. Vivaldi) lent money to the English court at the end of the 15th century. (Goris, 1925, 206-208).	
Medina de Ríoseco		4	2	2	1	first 3rd 16th c.	The Grimaldi were especially active in Rome, Lentini, Chios, Granada, Sevilla, London, Santo Domingo, Venice, Antwerp, Lisbon and the fairs of Castile in the first third of the 16th century. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 16). The company of Gaspare Grimaldi and Stefano Salvago at the Spanish court was represented at the fairs of Castile by Scipione Grimaldi. (Otte, 1986, 38).	
Santo Domingo		4	2	2	1	1508-1536<	In 1508, the firm of Giacomo Grimaldi was established in Sevilla. This firm exported cloth from Rouen to Santo Domingo. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 7). Girolamo Grimaldi, probably a nephew of Bernardo Grimaldi (in Sevilla), was among the most active Genoese in the New World. He lived in Santo Domingo from 1508 until 1515, and perhaps died in the latter year. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 7). Gaspar Centurione and Giovan Francesco Grimaldi traded from Sevilla especially with Santo Domingo, but also with San Juan (Puerto Rico), Cuba and Terra Firme. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 8). The Grimaldi were especially active in Rome, Lentini, Chios, Granada, Sevilla, London, Santo Domingo, Venice, Antwerp, Lisbon and the fairs of Castile in the first third of the 16th century. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 16). Jeronimo de Grimaldo went to Santo Domingo in 1508, receiving powers of attorney from Bernaldo de Grimaldo (who sent him to Santo Domingo), Ambrosio Spinola, Benito Doria, Alejandro Catan~o, Batista Centurion, Juan Tomas de Monte, Esteban Centurion and Domenegro de Castellon, all members of the Genoese colony in Seville (Pike, 1966, 72, 177 n. 82). Jeronimo de Grimaldo was citizen in Santo Domingo in 1508-1536 (Pike, 1966, 73). In 1510 Bernaldo de Grimaldo was granted the special privilege by king Ferdinand, of allowing his factor to reside permanently in the Indies, while this permission was denied to all other foreigners. (Pike, 1966, 177 n. 82). Jeronimo de Grimaldo carried out his duties as representative of the Genoese of Seville in the New World faithfully until 1509. By then he began	

							to manipulate for his own benefit the funds he had collected for the Sevillan merchants. However, he managed to replace the missing sums, returned temporarily to Seville in 1516, and managed to be restored into favour of his uncle Bernaldo and other members of the Genoese colony. He was sent to the America's again with merchandise and power of attorney of several merchants, but again he betrayed their confidence (Pike, 1966, 72-74). Luca Battista Adorno and Jacopo Grimaldi in Sevilla exported silks to Hispaniola in the early 16th century. (Otte, 1986, 25). Bernardo Grimaldi was the most active Genoese merchant in business with America in the early 16th c. He sent his relative Geronimo Grimaldi to Santo Domingo (capital of America until 1521) in 1507 where the latter became one of the largest entrepreneurs. In 1509, Bernardo Grimaldi was involved in the expedition of Diego Colón to America. (Otte, 1986, 26). In 1508-09, Bernardo Grimaldi was one of the partners in the farm of the American gold mines of the Spanish Crown, together with Juan Díaz de Alfaro, Geronimo Salvago, etc. (Otte, 1986, 26). In 1509-1511, the American gold mines were farmed to Leonardo Cattaneo. Among his partners was Pasquale Grimaldi. (Otte, 1986, 26-27).	
Venice		4	2	2	1	first 3rd 16th c.	The Grimaldi were especially active in Rome, Lentini, Chios, Granada, Sevilla, London, Santo Domingo, Venice, Antwerp, Lisbon and the fairs of Castile in the first third of the 16th century. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 16).	
Villalón		4	2	2	1	first 3rd 16th c.	The Grimaldi were especially active in Rome, Lentini, Chios, Granada, Sevilla, London, Santo Domingo, Venice, Antwerp, Lisbon and the fairs of Castile in the first third of the 16th century. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 16). The company of Gaspare Grimaldi and Stefano Salvago at the Spanish court was represented at the fairs of Castile by Scipione Grimaldi. (Otte, 1986, 38).	
Barcelona		3	2	2	1	>1519-1523<	Percival de Grimaldi was in Barcelona in 1523. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 16 n. 54). Grimaldi mentioned in Barcelona in exchange transactions recorded in notarial documents of Sevilla (15th notariate): 1494-1525: Agostino and Nicola Grimaldi (1519-1521). (Otte, 1986, 42-56). Company not mentioned by Kellenbenz (1961b) however.	
Loire region (Court of France)		3	2	2	1	>1499<	In 1499, Ansaldo Grimaldi was the representative of the Genoese Republic at the French Court. After 1512, Ansaldo went over from the French to the Spanish side. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 9).	
Lyon		3	2	2	1	>1503<,	Nicola, a brother of Giovanni Battista Grimaldi (partner of Giovanni	

						>1519<	Francesco in Sevilla since 1517) was active in Lyon ca. 1503. (Not mentioned by Kellenbenz (1961b) however). (Otte, 1986, 29). In 1519, Jéronimo Grimaldi was an important Genoese importer of spices in Lyon (Gascon, 1971, 221). Exchange transaction in 1506 between Martino Centurione and Benedetto Pinello in Valencia, Agostino and Barnaba Grimaldi, the heirs of Agostino Lomellini in Lyon, Francesco Doria, and Giuliano Calvo. (Otte, 1986, 30).	
San Juan (Puerto Rico)		3	2	2	1	>1514-1517<	Gaspar Centurione and Giovan Francesco Grimaldi traded from Sevilla especially with Santo Domingo, but also with San Juan (Puerto Rico), Cuba and Terra Firme. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 8). In 1517, by far the most of the sea loans of Juan Francisco de Grimaldo and Gaspar Centurion (in Sevilla) were invested in voyages to Santo Domingo. Also mentioned in 1517 were Cuba, Santiago de Cuba, Hispaniola, Puerto Rico, Darien, Island of San Juan (Pike, 1966, 52-54). In 1514, four different people served Juan Francisco de Grimaldo and Gaspar Centurion as agents in America: Gregorio Martin, a merchant on the Island of San Juan; Rodrigo de Narvaez, shipmaster; Juan Rodriguez, Genoese shipmaster; Miguel Diaz, resident on the Island of San Juan. These agents were not under partnership contract, but received specific or general powers of attorney (Pike, 1966, 68, 175 n. 63).	
Tolfa	M	3	2	2	1	1531-1553	The Tolfa alum mines in the papal states were firmly in hands of the Grimaldi in 2nd quarter 16th c. (Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, xxiii). From 1 August 1531, administration of the Tolfa alum mines was shared between the Genoese banker Ansaldo Grimaldi and the Sienese banker Girolamo Venturi, who contracted to pay an annual 15,000 ducats di carlini and to produce 20,000 cantars of alum. (Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 169-170). Contract for 12 years for the monopoly of the Tolfa alum mines between Ansaldo Grimaldo and the Apostolic Chamber from 1538, at which time Grimaldi was also depositary general of the Apostolic Chamber (Girolamo Sauli, who acted as his procurator, was vice-depositary): in the contract, right for annual production of 30,000 cantars. Annually, Grimaldi had to pay 28,333.3 ducats as well as an initial sum of 40,000 ducats, which would be repaid to him however in annual shares of 3,333.3 ducats. (Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 170). During the alum contract of 1541-53 with the Grimaldi, 392,661 cantars of alum were exported. Of the 370,824 that can be traced, the Grimaldi personally handled only 21,4%, (Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 171). In	

							1531-1578, the Tolfa alum mines were farmed to the Grimaldi, Sauli, Di Negro and Pallavicino. (Doria, 1986, 61 n. 12). The Grimaldi were among the farmers of the alum mines of Tolfa between 1531 and 1578. (Doria, 1986, 88). Ansaldo Grimaldi and Girolamo Venturi farmed the alum mines of Tolfa from 1531. (Soly, 1974, 808 n. 47). Farmers of the Italian alum in 1540 were Luca and Giovanni Battista Grimaldi. (Soly, 1974, 813). From 1554, the Tolfa alum mines were farmed by the Sauli. Until then, they had been farmed to the Grimaldi. (Soly, 1974, 819-820). Benvenuto Olivieri was involved (for 1/4) in the alum trade of 2,500 cantars of alum sold by the Grimaldi company at the end of 1544 to a group of merchants from Burgos. This alum was destined for the ports of Cádiz and Sevilla. (Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 175).	
Zaragoza		3	2	2	1	>1518<	Grimaldi mentioned in Zaragoza in exchange transactions recorded in notarial documents of Sevilla (15th notariate): 1494-1525: Agostino and Nicola Grimaldi (1518). (Otte, 1986, 42-56). Not mentioned by Kellenbenz (1961b) however.	
Almadén	M	2	2	1	0	1528-1532	Gian Battista Grimaldi was involved in the farming of the Maestrazgo in 1528-1532, and as a result in the trade in mercury of Almaden. Already in 1526, Gian Battista Grimaldi and Tomaso Fornari purchased mercury of Almaden from the Fugger. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 8).	
Bruges		2	2	1	0	early 16th c.	The Grimaldi family had a commercial enterprise in Bruges in the early 16th century. (Doria, 1986, 94). Connection with the main branches in Genoa not known however.	
Calabria		2	2	1	0		The Grimaldi obtained feudal estates in southern Italy between ca. 1550 and 1613. (Doria, 1986, 85). Members of the Grimaldi family were active as entrepreneurs in Calabria and Puglia during the 16th century. (Doria, 1986, 86 n. 104). Connection with the main branches in Genoa not known however.	
Canary Islands		2	2	1	0	>1537-1555<	Grimaldi mentioned on the Canary Islands in exchange transactions recorded in notarial documents of Sevilla (15th notariate): 1537-1556: Grimaldi, Jacopo (1548-1555), Grimaldi Ricci, Domenico (1537, 1546). (Otte, 1986, 42-56). Connection with the main branches in Genoa not known however.	
Cocentaina		2	2	1	0	>1522<	Grimaldi mentioned in Cocentaina in exchange transactions recorded in notarial documents of Sevilla (15th notariate): 1494-1525: Antonio	

							Usodimare and Barnaba Grimaldi (1522).(Otte, 1986, 42-56). Connection with the main branches in Genoa not known however.	
Darién		2	2	1	0	>1517<	Gaspar Centurione and Giovan Francesco Grimaldi traded from Sevilla especially with Santo Domingo, but also with San Juan (Puerto Rico), Cuba and Terra Firme. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 8). In 1517, by far the most of the sea loans of Juan Francisco de Grimaldo and Gaspar Centurion (in Sevilla) were invested in voyages to Santo Domingo. Also mentioned in 1517 were Cuba, Santiago de Cuba, Hispaniola, Puerto Rico, Darien (in Panama), Island of San Juan (Pike, 1966, 52-54).	
Frankfurt am Main		2	2	1	0	>1519<	In 1519, Agostin Grimaldi and his son Nicolo transferred 55,000 Gulden to Lorenzo de Vivaldi in Frankfurt for the election of Charles V. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 10). Members of the Grimaldi family were active at the Habsburg court of Charles V and his successors which travelled between Frankfurt, Nürnberg, Speyer, Regensburg, Augsburg, Metz and Innsbruck. (Doria, 1986, 96, 96 n. 141).	
Geneva		2	2	1	0	2nd half 15th c.-begin 16th c.	In the second half of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th century, the Grimaldi were active in Geneva. (Doria, 1986, 96-97, 97 n. 143). Connection with the main branches in Genoa not known however.	
Monaco		2	2	1	0	13th-16th c.	Since the second half of the 13th century, the Grimaldi established themselves in Monaco, over which they obtained seigneurial control from the 14th century. Head of the Grimaldi in Monaco in 1505 was Luciano Grimaldi. (5). In 1505, Luciano Grimaldi was lord of Monaco. After his death in 1523, he was succeeded by his brother Agostino Grimaldi (d. 1532), bishop of Grasse. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 5-6, 12). Ca. 1525 Nicolo Grimaldi fled to his relatives in Monaco for difficulties with Charles V. This illustrates the close ties between the family branches in Genoa and in Monaco. (11-12). After the death of Agostino in 1532, he was succeeded by his young nephew Honorato Grimaldi. (15). The main guardian of Honorato became Stefano Grimaldi, who was de facto lord of Monaco until his death in 1561. (16).	
Nules		2	2	1	0	>1522<	Grimaldi mentioned in Nules in exchange transactions recorded in notarial documents of Sevilla (15th notariate): 1494-1525: Antonio Usodimare and Barnaba Grimaldi (1522).(Otte, 1986, 42-56). Connection with the main branches in Genoa not known however.	
Puglia		2	2	1	0		The Grimaldi obtained feudal estates in southern Italy between ca. 1550 and	

							1613. (Doria, 1986, 85). Members of the Grimaldi family were active as entrepreneurs in Calabria and Puglia during the 16th century. (Doria, 1986, 86 n. 104). Connection with the main branches in Genoa not known however.	
Santiago de Cuba		2	2	1	0	>1517<	Gaspar Centurione and Giovan Francesco Grimaldi traded from Sevilla especially with Santo Domingo, but also with San Juan (Puerto Rico), Cuba and Terra Firme. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 8). In 1517, by far the most of the sea loans of Juan Francisco de Grimaldo and Gaspar Centurion (in Sevilla) were invested in voyages to Santo Domingo. Also mentioned in 1517 were Cuba, Santiago de Cuba, Hispaniola, Puerto Rico, Darien, Island of San Juan (Pike, 1966, 52-54).	
Antibes		1	1	1	0		The Grimaldi were lords of Antibes in the 16th century. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 12). Nicolo Grimaldi, lord of Antibes, was an uncle of the brothers Nicolo, Gian Battista and Stefano. (12).	
Augsburg		1	1	1	0		Members of the Grimaldi family were active at the Habsburg court of Charles V and his successors which travelled between Frankfurt, Nürnberg, Speyer, Regensburg, Augsburg, Metz and Innsbruck. (Doria, 1986, 96, 96 n. 141).	
Innsbruck		1	1	1	0		Members of the Grimaldi family were active at the Habsburg court of Charles V and his successors which travelled between Frankfurt, Nürnberg, Speyer, Regensburg, Augsburg, Metz and Innsbruck. (Doria, 1986, 96, 96 n. 141).	
Málaga		1	1	1	0	>1497<	Agostin Grimaldi exported wheat via Malaga to Genoa in 1497. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 7).	
Menton		1	1	1	0	13th-16th c.	In the course of the 13th-14th century, the Grimaldi obtained seigneurial rights over Menton. The Grimaldi still were in Menton in the 16th century. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 5, 12).	
Metz		1	1	1	0		Members of the Grimaldi family were active at the Habsburg court of Charles V and his successors which travelled between Frankfurt, Nürnberg, Speyer, Regensburg, Augsburg, Metz and Innsbruck. (Doria, 1986, 96).	
Milan		1	1	1	0		Members of the Grimaldi family obtained high governmental offices in Milan during the 16th century. (Doria, 1986, 90). Connection with the main branches in Genoa not known however.	
Naples		1	1	1	0	>1507<	In 1507 Jacopo Grimaldi took care of the dispatch of letters from the Casa de la Contratación to king Ferdinand in Naples via Valencia and Rome.	

							(Otte, 1986, 25).	
Nürnberg		1	1	1	0		Members of the Grimaldi family were active at the Habsburg court of Charles V and his successors which travelled between Frankfurt, Nürnberg, Speyer, Regensburg, Augsburg, Metz and Innsbruck. (Doria, 1986, 96, 96 n. 141).	
Peru		1	1	1	0	>1526<	Leone Grimaldi went to Peru with an expedition from Sevilla in 1526, which was organised by Pietro di Vivaldi and other Italians in Sevilla. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 8).	
Regensburg		1	1	1	0		Members of the Grimaldi family were active at the Habsburg court of Charles V and his successors which travelled between Frankfurt, Nürnberg, Speyer, Regensburg, Augsburg, Metz and Innsbruck. (Doria, 1986, 96, 96 n. 141).	
Roccabruna		1	1	1	0		The Grimaldi obtained seigniorial rights over Roccabruna. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 5).	
Rouen		1	1	1	0	from 1508	In 1508, the firm of Giacomo Grimaldi was established in Sevilla. This firm exported cloth from Rouen to Santo Domingo. (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 7). Connection with the main branches of the Grimaldi not known however.	
San Germán (Puerto Rico)		1	1	1	0	>1513<	In 1513, all the sea loans of Juan Francisco de Grimaldo and Gaspar Centurion were invested in voyages to Santo Domingo (one to San German P.R. and Santo Domingo), for 1517, by far the most frequent destination was Santo Domingo. Also mentioned in 1517 were Cuba, Santiago de Cuba, Hispaniola, Puerto Rico, Darien, Island of San Juan (Pike, 1966, 52-54).	
Speyer		1	1	1	0		Members of the Grimaldi family were active at the Habsburg court of Charles V and his successors which travelled between Frankfurt, Nürnberg, Speyer, Regensburg, Augsburg, Metz and Innsbruck. (Doria, 1986, 96, 96 n. 141).	

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Only after 1st third 16th c.:

* East Indies: One of the Grimaldi went to the East Indies (after the first half of the 16th century). (Kellenbenz, 1961b, 8).
* Brussels: Members of the Grimaldi family were active in Brussels between 1550 and 1554. (Doria, 1986, 96 n. 139).
* Turin: Lorenzo Grimaldi was treasurer at the court of Emanuel Filibert of Savoy in Turin after 1574. (Doria, 1986, 91 n. 123).
* Messina: Members of the Grimaldi family were active in Messina in the second half of the 16th century. (Doria, 1986, 83).
* Mazarron: The Grimaldi traded in alum of Mazarron. They not only controlled the alum of Tolfa, but also most of the Spanish alum mines. (ca. 1547-1551). (Soly, 1974, 815-816, 819).

* Burgos: Benvenuto Olivieri was involved (for 1/4) in the alum trade of 2,500 cantars of alum sold by the Grimaldi company at the end of 1544 to a group of merchants from Burgos. This alum was destined for the ports of Cádiz and Sevilla. (Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 175).
* Cádiz: Benvenuto Olivieri was involved (for 1/4) in the alum trade of 2,500 cantars of alum sold by the Grimaldi company at the end of 1544 to a group of merchants from Burgos. This alum was destined for the ports of Cádiz and Sevilla. (Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 175).

MARCO LOMELLINI, ca. 1440 – after 1474

The Lomellini were a Genoese noble family. Until the 1450s, there was no other Genoese family with the same surname, but after the middle of the 15th century, some other families were included in the Lomellini albergo. (Kamenaga Anzai, 2003, 243). Genoese merchant family. Portuguese cork monopoly came in hands of Marco Lomellini in 1456 (Mus, 1964, 83). Simon Lomellino was an important spice importer in Lyon in 16th c. (Gascon, 1971, 221). In Spain, the Genoese became increasingly important for Philip II, and they eclipsed the Germans. The Grimaldi, Doria, Spinola, Fiesco, Lomellini, Gentile, Centurione, Grillo,… concluded asientos with Philip II for enormous sums of money (Lapeyre, 1955, 117). Account books of the Lomellini (1386-1433) have been preserved (Lapeyre, 1955, 341). The Lomellini were already active in trade and banking in the fourteenth century, e.g Giovanni Lomellini (banker ca. 1334), Napoleone Lomellini (merchant ca. 1387). (Kamenaga Anzai, 2003, 245). Between 1520 and 1575, members of the Lomellini family operated as fleet commanders (condottiere) for the Spanish. (Doria, 1986, 66, 67 n. 35). In 1536, the Lomellini albergo contained 73 components (households (?)) of which 13 resided abroad. (Doria, 1986, 79).

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Source material:

Account books of the Lomellini (1386-1433) have been preserved (period before Marco Lomellini). (Lapeyre, 1955, 341). To reconstruct the business activities of Marco Lomellini, Virginia Rau has especially made use of royal charters granted to Lomellini. (Rau, 1957, 722-726).

Size: Large

Marco Lomellini was an important personality in trade and finance in 15th century Portugal. (Rau, 1957, 722). Marco Lomellini was the richest Genoese merchant in Lisbon. (Heers, 1961, 202). In the 15th century, the Lomellini were the most important Genoese merchants in Lisbon. (Doria, 1986, 103).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Portuguese cork monopoly came in hands of Marco Lomellini in 1456 (Mus, 1964, 83; Rau, 1957, 723). Trade of Marco Lomellini in velvet, London cloth, etc. ca. 1469. (Rau, 1957, 724). The Madeira branch of the Lomellini was involved in the trade in sugar, wine, honey, etc. (Rau, 1957, 725-726).
- Finance: The Lomellini invested in the Genoese public debt. (Kamenaga Anzai, 239-263). In the course of the 16th century, members of the Lomellino family farmed parts of the Spanish royal income (e.g. Francesco Lomellino in 1535, 1538-39, 1552-1552). (Doria, 1986, 103 n. 170). In Spain, the Genoese became increasingly important for Philip II, and they eclipsed the Germans. The Grimaldi, Doria, Spinola, Fiesco, Lomellini, Gentile, Centurione, Grillo,… concluded asientos with Philip II for enormous sums of money (Lapeyre, 1955, 117). Marco Lomellini and his brothers carried out exchange transactions. (Rau, 1957, 721, 723, 721 n. 28, 723 n. 40). Marco and Daniel handled large sums of money in Lisbon, sometimes for the payment of allowances to noblemen of the royal house. (Rau, 1957, 723).
- Industry: The Lomellini in Madeira owned sugar mills. (Rau, 1957, 725).
- Shipping: The ship Santo Espírito was ordered to be built in Lisbon by Marco Lomellini (Rau, 1957, 724). Urbano Lomellini built a house and sugar mills at Porto do Seixo, and owned extensive lands at Santa Cruz and Santana (Rau, 1957, 725).

Network of Marco Lomellini:

Table A..1. Network of Marco Lomellini, ca. 1440 – after 1474

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Lisbon		8	4	3	1	>1424-1504<	Marco Lomellini took over the Portuguese cork monopoly from Maarten Lem in June 1456. Was Marco in Lisbon?? (Mus, 1964, 83). Marco Lomellini was the richest Genoese merchant in Lisbon. He obtained the farm of the trade of Portuguese cork in 1455 from the Portuguese king. For this he founded an association “a carati”, in which a Florentine merchant obtained a part, and 1/4 came in hands of Domenico Scoto (Heers, 1961, 202). Bartholomeu Lomellini was a merchant residing in Lisbon in 1424. He was the first known Lomellini in Portugal. He was a partner of the Genoese	

							Bartholomeu Baraboto and the Lisbon merchants Luís Eanes, Estêvão Anes, Pedro Esteves and Lourenço Vicente, in a contract for the supply of Sicilian and Castilian corn to the fortress of Ceuta (Rau, 1957, 721). In 1433, Bartholomeu Lomellini was still living in Lisbon. After 1433, we lose track of Bartholomeu in Lisbon, but on the other hand, come across relatives of his: the brothers Marco, Daniel and Filipe; Leonardo, Ambrósio, João António, Julião, Baptista and others. It was Marco Lomellini who became a most important personality in trade and financial circles of 15th c. Lisbon (Rau, 1957, 721-722). In 1440, Marco Lomellini was residing in Lisbon and obtained a three year royal charter of security for himself and Tropel de Vivaldi, ensuring their personal safety and that of their commodities, even in the event of war against Genoa (Rau, 1957, 722). Ambrósio Lomellini was resident in Nantes in 1443. He wanted to send ships to Portugal and obtained a royal charter of security, dated 25-9-1443, no doubt through the influence of Marco Lomellini. On 15-1-1459, Ambrósio, in partnership with the Breton James Tanas, was received as “servant” of the Portuguese king Afonso for 10 years (Rau, 1957, 722). The trade and financial ramifications of the Lomellini spread throughout Portugal, assisted by the complacent favor of King Afonso V (Rau, 1957, 722). In 1452, Filipe, a brother of Marco, is mentioned as merchant resident in Lisbon, being protected by royal charter for 5 years. In 1453, their brother Daniel arrived in Lisbon, protected by a royal charter valid for 5 years. Another charter of protection and privilege granted to Daniel in 1456, which seems to indicate that he had settled as a merchant in Lisbon. In 1440, Leonardo and João António Lomellini settled in Lisbon, also receiving a royal charter of protection (Rau, 1957, 722-723, 722 n. 37, 723 n. 38). Marco and Daniel handled large sums of money in Lisbon, sometimes for the payment of allowances to noblemen of the royal house. The great stroke of business made by the Lomellini brothers in mid 15th c. was the contract of monopoly of the cork export trade, signed on 21-6-1456: contract to Marco Lomellini. Contract for 10 years. Capital divided in 20 carati: 11 for Marco and Daniel, 5 for Domenico Scotto (a Genoese) and 4 for Giovanni Guidete (Guidotti?), a Florentine. According to a document of 1466, the percentages were different, and Martin Leme has taken the part of Domenico Scotto (Rau, 1957, 723, 723-724 n. 42). The Lomellini were favored by the Portuguese kings. Privileges	

							of Daniel renewed in 1456. Royal favor for Marco, Daniel (e.g. 1456) and Filipe (e.g. 1465). In 1468, new charter of indemnity and privilege granted to Marco Lomellini, for 50 years. Safety also ensured of the ship Santo Espírito which Marco Lomellini had ordered to be built in Lisbon (Rau, 1957, 724). By 1468, Marco's nephews Baptista Lomellini and Francisco Calvo also resided in Lisbon (Rau, 1957, 724). In 1469-1471, Marco Lomellini returned to Genoa, where he was Portuguese consul. In 1471, he returned to Portugal, being granted a certificate of naturalisation, just like his nephews Baptista Lomellini and Francisco Calvo. In 1474, Marco Lomellini was mentioned as resident in Lisbon (Rau, 1957, 724). Two sons of Marco, Duarte and Francisco, were born in Lisbon, and declared Portuguese born on 10-1-1480. Their mother was Portuguese (Rau, 1957, 725). In 1504, his son Duarte was a merchant in Lisbon (Rau, 1957, 725 n. 50). In 1472, Baptista Lomellini and Francisco Calvo obtained permission to trade in Moorish lands (Rau, 1957, 725). The Lomellini were married to Portuguese ladies and noblemen attached to the King of Portugal. By the beginning of the 16th c., they were already truly Portuguese. They only retained a few economic interests in common with their Genoese relatives, and even these were gradually forgotten in the course of the 17th c. (Rau, 1957, 726). Portuguese cork monopoly came in hands of Marco Lomellini in 1456 (Mus, 1964, 83). The Lomellini of Madeira traded in sugar, wine, honey and preserves, sending their ships to Portugal, Flanders, Genoa and Venice, and also financing the fitting out of vessels bound for India (e.g. 4 vessels fitted out for Malacca) (after 1471) (Rau, 1957, 726, 726 n. 55). In the 15th century, the Lomellini were the most important Genoese merchants in Lisbon. (Doria, 1986, 103). 16th c.: In 1584, the Lomellini sold corals for 100,000 ducats in Lisbon. (Doria, 1986, 81-82). Members of the Lomellino family were present in Lisbon during the 16th century. (Doria, 1986, 104 n. 177).	
Bruges		4	2	2	1	>1438-1471<	Lomellino-family present in Bruges: became members of the financial and political elite (Stabel, 2001, 207). The Genoese Mathias Scraca was the partner in Bruges of Ambrogio Lomellini, who resided in Nantes (1466) (Schulte, 1923, I, 401-402). The Lomellini of Madeira traded in sugar, wine, honey and preserves, sending their ships to Portugal, Flanders, Genoa and Venice, and also financing the fitting out of vessels bound for India (e.g. 4	

							vessels fitted out for Malacca) (after 1471). (Rau, 1957, 726, 726 n. 55). The Lomellino family had a commercial enterprise in Bruges in the early 16th century. (Doria, 1986, 94). Girolamo Lomellino was active in Bruges in 1438. He had an account with the Borromei bank in Bruges. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007).	
Genoa		4	2	2	1	>1469-1471<	City of origin of the Lomellini family. In 1469-1471, Marco Lomellini returned from Portugal to Genoa, where he acted as Portuguese consul (Rau, 1957, 724). The Lomellini of Madeira traded in sugar, wine, honey and preserves, sending their ships to Portugal, Flanders, Genoa and Venice, and also financing the fitting out of vessels bound for India (e.g. 4 vessels fitted out for Malacca) (after 1471). (Rau, 1957, 726, 726 n. 55). Ca. 1469 Marco Lomellini sold a ship for the king of Portugal in Genoa. (Rau, 1957, 724). Trade operations of Marco Lomellini between Genoa and Lisbon. (Rau, 1957, 725). Origin of the family.	
London		4	2	2	1	>1468<	In 1468, Filipe Lomellini, brother of Marco Lomellini, resided in London. Before, he had been residing in Lisbon (Rau, 1957, 724).	
Nantes		4	2	2	1	>1443-1466<	Ambrósio Lomellini was resident in Nantes in 1443. He wanted to send ships to Portugal and obtained a royal charter of security, dated 25-9-1443, no doubt through the influence of Marco Lomellini. On 15-1-1459, Ambrósio, in partnership with the Breton James Tanas, was received as “servant” of the Portuguese king Afonso for 10 years (Rau, 1957, 722). Ambrogio Lomellini in Nantes in 1466 (Schulte, 1923, I, 401).	
Santa Cruz (Madeira)		4	2	2	1	>1471<	A branch of the Lomellini family struck root in Madeira, under the protection of the Portuguese royal house. The brothers Urbano and Baptista Lomellini, attracted by the Madeira sugar trade, fixed their residence at the town of Santa Cruz, in the jurisdiction of Machico. Baptisto and Urbano were nephews of Marco Lomellini. In 1471 Baptista and his factors were recognised as “natives of those regions”. Urbano built a house and sugar mills at Porto do Seixo, and owned extensive lands at Santa Cruz and Santana (Rau, 1957, 725). The Lomellini of Madeira traded in sugar, wine, honey and preserves, sending their ships to Portugal, Flanders, Genoa and Venice, and also financing the fitting out of vessels bound for India (e.g. 4 vessels fitted out for Malacca) (Rau, 1957, 726, 726 n. 55). Nevertheless, they became slowly integrated in the landed aristocracy of Madeira. In his will of 1518, Urbano Lomellini gave instructions for the building of a	

							Franciscan convent at one of his own estates in Madeira. The Lomellini were married to Portuguese ladies and noblemen attached to the King of Portugal. By the beginning of the 16th c., they were already truly Portuguese. They only retained a few economic interests in common with their Genoese relatives, and even these were gradually forgotten in the course of the 17th c. (Rau, 1957, 726). Members of the Lomellini family settled on the island of Madeira in 1471 where they bought land and began to produce sugar (Pike, 1966, 129). Members of the Lomellino family were involved in the sugar trade and production of Madeira in the 15th-16th centuries. (Doria, 1986, 104 n. 179).	
Sevilla		4	2	2	1	mid 15th c.	- Bonifacio Lomellini represented the Lomellini in Seville (mid 15th c.) (Mus, 1964, 83 n. 370). - In 1540, Tomas de Marin and Leonardo Lomelin, both members of the Genoese colony in Seville, formed a partnership for the trade in slaves and sugar between Seville and Mexico. Many of the slaves were transported to Vera Cruz on the ship of Nicolas Catan~o. Catan~o was closely associated with Lomelin, and in 1550-1551, when Lomelin was not in Seville but at the royal court, Nicolas Catan~o served as Lomelin's proxy in a lawsuit before de Casa de Contratacion (Pike, 1966, 65). In 1542, contract of Lomelin and Marin with Hernando Cortes in Mexico for the exchange of slaves for the sugar produced by Cortes' sugar mills (Pike, 1966, 65). After the death of Cortes in 1547, the contract was not renewed (Pike, 1966, 66). In 1544, Andre Lomelin and Cristobal Centurione in Sevilla were involved in exchange transactions between the fairs of Castile and Sevilla (bill of exchange from Lorenzo Espindola and Lucian Centurione). (Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 37). In 1554, Andrea Lomellini was active in Sevilla, where he operated as agent for Costantino Gentile and Giovanni Ambrogio Nigrono. (Otte, 1986, 36). In 1554, Andrea Lomelin was a creditor of the Sevillan banker Domingo de Lizarrazas, who went bankrupt that year. (Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 47). Jacome Lomelin de Alegro was in Sevilla in 1557. (Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 48). Lomellini mentioned in Sevilla in exchange transactions recorded in notarial documents of Sevilla (15th notariate): 1494-1525: Lomellino, Bartolomeo, de Giovanni (1522), Lomellino, Giovanni (1498); 1537-1556: Ambrogio	

							Salvago and Stefano Lomellino (1549), Andrea Lomellino, Cristoforo Centurione and Luigi Spinola (1552-1553), Demetrio Pinello and Andrea Lomellino (1546-1548), Geronimo Cattaneo and Andrea Lomellino (1554), Jacopo Lomellino and Nicola Fieschi Raggio (1548-1550), Lomellino, Andrea, de Giovanni (1553-1555), Lomellino, Benedetto, de Jacopo (1548), Lomellino, Stefano, de Agostino (1553-1555), Lomellino Allegro, Jacopo (1546, 1553-1556); 1557-1584: Lomellino Allegro, Jacopo (1557-1560). (Otte, 1986, 42-56).	
Rome		3	2	2	1	1426, 1456	In 1426, Bartholomeu Lomellini (Lisbon) drew bills of exchange on Rome, to be paid by Leonardo degli Alberti or his partners of Rome (Rau, 1957, 721, 721 n. 28). In 1456, Marco and Daniel Lomellini in Lisbon drew bills of exchange on the Medici bank in Rome, to defray the expenses of Dr. João Fernandes da Silveira, who was in Rome from 1456 to 1460 (Rau, 1957, 723 n. 40). A Lomellino was among the more prestigious cardinals in Rome sometime between 1535 and 1595. (Doria, 1986, 88 n. 109).	
Venice		3	2	2	1	after 1471	The Lomellini of Madeira traded in sugar, wine, honey and preserves, sending their ships to Portugal, Flanders, Genoa and Venice, and also financing the fitting out of vessels bound for India (e.g. 4 vessels fitted out for Malacca) (Rau, 1957, 726, 726 n. 55).	
Canary Islands		2	2	1	0		Members of the Lomellino family were involved in the colonisation of the Canary Islands. (Doria, 1986, 104 n. 180). Connection with Marco Lomellino not known however. Lomellini mentioned on the Canary Islands in exchange transactions recorded in notarial documents of Sevilla (15th notariate): 1537-1556: Lomellino, Domenico, de B. (1545), Lomellino Allegro, Jacopo (1546). (Otte, 1986, 42-56).	
Oran		2	2	1	0	15th-16th c.	In Oran, the Cattaneo, Lomellini and Antonio Ricci resided and traded in the 15th and 16th centuries. (Doria, 1986, 81). Connection with Marco Lomellino not known however.	
Porto do Seixo (Madeira)	S	2	2	1	0	>1471<	The brothers Urbano and Baptista Lomellini, attracted by the Madeira sugar trade, fixed their residence at the town of Santa Cruz, in the jurisdiction of Machico. Baptisto and Urbano were nephews of Marco Lomellini. In 1471 Baptista and his factors were recognised as "natives of those regions". Urbano built a house and sugar mills at Porto do Seixo, and owned extensive	

							lands at Santa Cruz and Santana (Rau, 1957, 725). Members of the Lomellino family were involved in the sugar trade and production of Madeira in the 15th-16th centuries. (Doria, 1986, 104 n. 179).	
Valencia		2	2	1	0	>1457<	In 1457, two members of the Lomellini family were active in Valencia. (Otte, 1986, 18). Connection with Marco Lomellino not known however. Exchange transaction in 1506 between Martino Centurione and Benedetto Pinello in Valencia, Agostino and Barnaba Grimaldi, the heirs of Agostino Lomellini in Lyon, Francesco Doria, and Giuliano Calvo. (Otte, 1986, 30). Lomellini mentioned in Valencia in exchange transactions recorded in notarial documents of Sevilla (15th notariate): 1537-1556: Domenico Grillo and Stefano Lomellino (1538), Lomellino, Francesco (1542). (Otte, 1986, 42-56).	
Ceuta		1	1	1	0	>1424<	Bartholomeu Lomellini was a merchant residing in Lisbon in 1424. He was the first known Lomellini in Portugal. He was a partner of the Genoese Bartholomeu Baraboto and the Lisbon merchants Luís Eanes, Estêvão Anes, Pedro Esteves and Lourenço Vicente, in a contract for the supply of Sicilian and Castilian corn to the fortress of Ceuta (Rau, 1957, 721).	
Santana (Madeira)		1	1	1	0	>1471<	The brothers Urbano and Baptista Lomellini, attracted by the Madeira sugar trade, fixed their residence at the town of Santa Cruz, in the jurisdiction of Machico. Baptisto and Urbano were nephews of Marco Lomellini. In 1471 Baptista and his factors were recognised as "natives of those regions". Urbano built a house and sugar mills at Porto do Seixo, and owned extensive lands at Santa Cruz and Santana (Rau, 1957, 725). Members of the Lomellino family were involved in the sugar trade and production of Madeira in the 15th-16th centuries. (Doria, 1986, 104 n. 179).	

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Only 16th c.:
* Lyon: In 1512, the Genoese Jean-Baptiste Lomellini asked the Consulate of Lyon to be received as a citizen of Lyon, after he had received already his letter of naturalisation from the king, to avoid the harsh treatment of the Genoese in France (Gascon, 1971, 365-367). Simon Lomellino was an important spice importer in Lyon in the 16th c. (Gascon, 1971, 221). Exchange transaction in 1506 between Martino Centurione and Benedetto Pinello in Valencia, Agostino and Barnaba Grimaldi, the heirs of Agostino Lomellini in Lyon, Francesco Doria, and Giuliano Calvo. (Otte, 1986, 30).
* Franche Comté: Members of the Lomellini family were active in the Franche Comte in the 16th century. (Doria, 1986, 93).
*Puglia: Members of the Lomellini family were active as entrepreneurs in Puglia during the 16th century. (Doria, 1986, 86 n. 104).
*Messina: Members of the Lomellini family were active in Messina in the second half of the 16th century. (Doria, 1986, 83).

*Tabarca: From 1543, the Grimaldi and the Lomellini, later only the Lomellini, became owners of the island Tabarca at the Barbary coast, which remained in Genoese hands for ca. 200 years. The island was especially important for coral fishing and coral trade. In 1584, the Lomellini sold corals for 100,000 ducats in Lisbon. (Doria, 1986, 81-82; Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 191).
* Vera Cruz: In 1540, Tomas de Marin and Leonardo Lomelin, both members of the Genoese colony in Seville, formed a partnership for the trade in slaves and sugar between Seville and Mexico. Many of the slaves were transported to Vera Cruz on the ship of Nicolas Catan~o. Catan~o was closely associated with Lomelin, and in 1550-1551, when Lomelin was not in Seville but at the royal court, Nicolas Catan~o served as Lomelin's proxy in a lawsuit before de Casa de Contratacion (Pike, 1966, 65). In 1542, contract of Lomelin and Marin with Hernando Cortes in Mexico for the exchange of slaves for the sugar produced by Cortes' sugar mills (Pike, 1966, 65). The firm of Lomelin and Marin had representatives in Vera Cruz in 1542: Juan Bautista de Marin and Juan de Camilla. A third representative in Mexico was Antonio Fiesco. The agents were also responsible to transport the sugar from the sugar mills of Cortes at Tuxtla near Vera Cruz and at Tlaltenango in Cuernavaca to Vera Cruz (Pike, 1966, 65-66). In 1545-47, the factors sent 5 shipments of sugar to Spain. After the death of Cortes in 1547, the contract was not renewed (Pike, 1966, 66).
* Granada: Lomellini mentioned in Granada in exchange transactions recorded in notarial documents of Sevilla (15th notariate): 1537-1556: Ambrogio Salvago and Ansaldo Lomellino (1544), Ambrogio Salvago and Stefano Lomellino (1548-1550), Geronimo Spinola and Gianotto Lomellino (1546), Lomellino, Gianotto (1543), Lomellino, Jacopo (1543). (Otte, 1986, 42-56). Correspondence of the Affaitadi with Stefano Lomellino in Granada. (Denucé, 1934, 31). Francesco and Bartolomeo Lomellini were wool dealers in Granada. In 1573, they corresponded with Antonio Brignole in Genoa. (Court, 2006, 989).
* Cadiz: Lomellini mentioned in Cádiz in exchange transactions recorded in notarial documents of Sevilla (15th notariate): 1537-1556: Lomellino, Cesareo (1551), Lomellino Allegre, Nicola (1543). (Otte, 1986, 42-56).
* Tuxtla: The firm of Lomelin and Marin had representatives in Vera Cruz in 1542: Juan Bautista de Marin and Juan de Camilla. A third representative in Mexico was Antonio Fiesco. The agents were also responsible to transport the sugar from the sugar mills of Cortes at Tuxtla near Vera Cruz and at Tlaltenango in Cuernavaca to Vera Cruz (Pike, 1966, 65-66).
* Tlaltenango: The firm of Lomelin and Marin had representatives in Vera Cruz in 1542: Juan Bautista de Marin and Juan de Camilla. A third representative in Mexico was Antonio Fiesco. The agents were also responsible to transport the sugar from the sugar mills of Cortes at Tuxtla near Vera Cruz and at Tlaltenango in Cuernavaca to Vera Cruz (Pike, 1966, 65-66).
* Fairs of Castile: In 1544, Andre Lomelin and Cristobal Centurione in Sevilla were involved in exchange transactions between the fairs of Castile and Sevilla (bill of exchange from Lorenzo Espindola and Lucian Centurione). (Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 37). Ca. mid 16th c. Andrea Lomellini (in Sevilla), as well as Francesco Lomellino, had close connections with Medina del Campo and Valladolid. (Otte, 1986, 37).
Lomellini mentioned in Medina del Campo in exchange transactions recorded in notarial documents of Sevilla (15th notariate): 1494-1525: Melchiore Lomellino and Agostino Gentile (1520); 1537-1556: Andrea Lomellino, Nicola Spinola and Cristoforo Centurione (1542-1545), Andrea Lomellino and Cristoforo Centurione (1546-1550), Lomellino, Andrea (1546), Lomellino, Francesco (1544-1548), Luciano Spinola, Giovanni Francesco Vivaldi and Leonardo Lomellino (1538-1542), Luciano Spinola and Leonardo Lomellino (1543-1546), Stefano Lomellino and Cristoforo Lercari (1555), Stefano Lomellino and Jofre Lercari (1555-1556). (Otte, 1986, 42-56).
* Valladolid: Leonardo Lomelin was at the Spanish Court in 1550-1551. (Pike, 1966, 65). Ca. mid 16th c. Andrea Lomellini (in Sevilla), as well as Francesco Lomellino, had close connections with Medina del Campo and Valladolid. (Otte, 1986, 37). Lomellini mentioned in Valladolid in exchange transactions

recorded in notarial documents of Sevilla (15th notariate): 1537-1556: Andrea Lomellino and Cristoforo Centurione (1546), Lomellino, Francesco (1554). (Otte, 1986, 42-56).
* Malacca: The Lomellini of Madeira traded in sugar, wine, honey and preserves, sending their ships to Portugal, Flanders, Genoa and Venice, and also financing the fitting out of vessels bound for India (e.g. 4 vessels fitted out for Malacca) (Rau, 1957, 726, 726 n. 55).
* Antwerp: Ottavio Lommelino was the 26th largest exporter from Antwerp to Italy in 1544. (Puttevils, 2007, 332). Important financial consortium of Battista Spinola, Aurelio Cattaneo and Gerolamo Lomellino in Antwerp in 1587. Giovan Battista Lomellino in Antwerp in 1572. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 190-191). Geronimo Lomellino Chiavari in Antwerp was a correspondent of the Brignole in Genoa ca. 1573. (Court, 2004, 993).
* Madrid: Andrea Lomelin and Cristobal Centurion made a payment in 1546 via a bill of exchange from Madrid to Sevilla. (Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 45). Gerolamo Lomellino in Antwerp was associated with Ottavio de Marini in Madrid in the second half of the 16th c. In 1572, Giovan Battista Lomellino in Antwerp was factor of Lorenzo Spinola of Madrid. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 191).
* Besançon: Gerolamo Lomellino, in Antwerp in the second half of the 16th century, had a brother in Besançon, Filippo Lomellino. Gerolamo also traded with Bandinello di Nero and Catelin Pinelo in Besançon. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 191).

FRANCESCO DI NEGRO, before 1563 – after 1591

Francesco Di Negro was a Genoese merchant and a nobile vecchio. (Biorci, 2008, 97; Doria, 1986, 110).

In 15th c., in Genoa a bank of Giacomo and Paulo Giustiniani. Their bank was located under the portico of the Loggia of the Di Negro family on the Piazza Banchi (Heers, 1961, 91 n. 1, 93). The Di Negro obtained feudal estates in southern Italy between ca. 1550 and 1613. (Doria, 1986, 85). The Di Negro were active in Rouen in the 16th century. (Doria, 1986, 93). The Di Negro family had a commercial enterprise in Bruges in the early 16th century. (Doria, 1986, 94). Members of the Di Negro family were present in Lisbon during the 16th century. (Doria, 1986, 104 n. 177). Members of the Di Negro family were active on Madeira. (Doria, 1986, 104 n. 179). Francesco de Negro, Lorenzo Spinola and Bartolomeo Calvi were correspondents of Simon Ruiz in Medina del Campo and Valladolid in 1577-1588. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, xiii).
In 1559, Negron de Negro, a Genoese merchant in Antwerp, established a partnership with Giovanbattista Spinola and the Schetz family of Antwerp for the trade of alum from Mazarron (Spain) to the Low Countries. (Goris, 1925, 210-215, 644-650). Since ca. 1525, the Mendez, the Affaitadi and Gabriel de Negro monopolised the Portuguese spice trade in Antwerp. (Denucé, 1934, 20-22). In the early 1540s, the Sauli and Di Negro families obtained the concession of the alum mines of Mazzarón in Spain. (Doria, 1986, 60 n. 11). In 1531-1578, the Tolfa alum mines were farmed to the Grimaldi, Sauli, Di Negro and Pallavicino. (Doria, 1986, 61 n. 12). In 1559, the Genoese Negrone di Negro was treasurer of the Duke of Savoye, governor of the Low Countries. He was involved in the alum trade in the Low Countries together with the Schetz. In 1559, he sent his servant, Hannibal Cambi to Spain to sign a contract about supply of Spanish alum with the Marquis of Villena. Later that year, he appointed Francisco Spinola as his representative in Spain. (Soly, 1974, 828-829).
Ambrogio Di Negro was asentista in 1553-1600. The annual interests on these loans to the Spanish government amounted to 14.9-17 % in 1556-1570, 4.8-9.3 % in 1583-1591, and 10.8-18.9 % in 1594-1600. (Doria, 1986, 71 n. 50, 72 n. 51).

Is the Genoese family Di Negro the same as the Genoese family De Negrón in Spain (especially Sevilla) and the New World?: The Negrón family was a Genoese family, established in Seville. Carlos de Negrón was born in Seville in 1507. He was the son of a naturalised Genoese merchant who had settled in Seville early in the 16th c. Carlos de Negrón was active as a legal advisor to the Sevillian inquisition, but he also engaged in business. He was particularly active in the slave trade: mid 16th c., he owned two galleons which ran slaves between Africa and Vera Cruz in Mexico (Pike, 1966, 4). Carlos married into the Sevillian nobility. None of the children of Carlos de Negrón entered trade (Pike, 1966, 4-5). Around the middle of the 16th century, the Catan~o and Negron families were particularly active in the slave trade between Seville and America. Members of both families even owned several ships that transported slaves (Pike, 1966, 64). Juan Batista de Negron was in Mexico in 1584 (Pike, 1966, 73). Carlos de Negron owned several slave ships making regular runs between Africa and America (Pike, 1966, 76). In 1550-51, reimbursements from crown treasure for loans to the Spanish court by Galeazzo de Negron of the Genoese colony in Seville (Pike, 1966, 78). In 1554, Galeazo de Negron (Genoese in Seville) and his partner Cristobal de Lercaro were creditors of the Spanish king (Pike, 1966, 79).

Company of Galeazo de Negron, Jacome Calvo, and Cristobal Lercaro started in 1551. This company was, among other things, active in loans to the king (Pike, 1966, 81; 181 n. 117). Octavian de Negron was a banker in Toledo. He went bankrupt in 1554. (Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 49). Juan Iñíguez, a well-known Sevillian public banker. In 1553-54 e.g., he was in partnership with the Genoese Octaviano de Negron. The bank of Iñíguez and Negron failed in 1554 (Pike, 1966, 89-90).

Is the Negrone family the same as the Di Negro family (???). Doria (1986) mentions the Di Negro and Negrone families separately.
In the 16th century, the Negrone were active in the Franche Comte. (Doria, 1986, 93). Members of the Negrone family were present in Malaga around 1500, and in Alicante during the last third of the 16th century. (Doria, 1986, 101 n. 164, 102 n. 165). Members of the Negrone family were active on the Canaries. (Doria, 1986, 104-105 n. 180).
Benedetto Negroni, a Genoese banker, participated in a loan of 100,000 scudi to the Apostolic Chamber in 1548. (Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 18-19). The Negroni also participated in another loan of 128,000 scudi contracted for 1549-50 to the Apostolic Chamber in Rome. (Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 19).
End 16th c.: In Antwerp Melchiore Negrone, branch at the fairs of Piacenza, named “Filippo Spinola and Melchiore de Negrone”, and a branch at Madrid, headed by Cesare Garbarino. Bankruptcy in 1601. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 194).
Between 1520 and 1575 members of the Negrone family (e.g. Ambrogio Negrone) operated as fleet commanders (condottiere) for the Spanish. (Doria, 1986, 66, 67 n. 35).

Is the Nigrono family the same as the Di Negro family?
According to the notarial records of Sevilla, the Nigrono family was active in Sevilla (Nicola Cattaneo and Andrea Nigro (1523), Nigro, Andrea (1523), Nigrono, Bartolomeo (1519-1525), Agostino Nigrono and Geronimo Calvo (1555-1556), Constantino Gentile and Giovanni Ambrogio Nigrono (1553), Geronimo Cattaneo and Giorgio Nigrono (1540), Giovanni Francesco Vivaldi, Giorgio Nigrono and Co. (1542-1546), Jacopo Calvo and Galeazzo Nigrono (1549-1551), Nigrono, Giovanni Ambrogio (1554), Nigrono, Ottaviano (1554-1555), Nigrono Pascua, Galeazzo (1548-1551), Nigrono Pascua, Giovanni Maria (1548), Nigrono Pascua, Jacopo (1543), Nigrono Pascua, Simone (1545), Pantaleone and Giorgio Nigrono (1554)), Medina del Campo (Ambrogio Nigrono and Andrea Spinola (1549), Bernardo Spinola and Giovanni Francesco and Ambrogio Nigrono (1550), Constantino Gentile and Giovanni Ambrogio Nigrono (1553-1554), Cristoforo Centurione and Giovanni Ambrogio Nigrono (1550-1553), Geronimo Italiano and Pantaleone Nigrono (1542-1543), Luigi Nigrono and Luigi Socon (1542)), the Canary Islands (Monardes Nigrono Pascua, Giovanni (1544), Nigrono Pascua, Geronimo (1546), Nigrono Pascua, Giovanni Maria (1546, 1548)), Cádiz (Nigrono Pascua, Jacopo (1542)), Valladolid (Constantino Gentile and Giovanni Ambrogio Nigrono (1555)), and Cuenca (Nigrono, Antonio (1553)) in the first half of the 16th century. In Sevilla still after 1556: Conrado Grimaldi and Galeazzo Nigrono (1566), Galeazzo Nigrono and Agostino Grimaldi (1567). (Otte, 1986, 42-56).

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Source material:

Copies of the letters sent by Francesco Di Negro from Genoa for the period 1563-1591 have been preserved (not complete). The letters have been preserved in the Archivio della Facoltà di Economia e Commercio della Università di Genova, Fondo Doria. Letter books have survived for January 1563 – December 1564, July 1585 – April 1586 (only letters to Italy), October 1586 – March 1587, July 1589 – May 1590, May 1590 – May 1591. (Biorci, 2008, 97-98; Doria, 1986, 10-110, 110 n. 194). Correspondence has been preserved for a total of 61 months (just below five years). In this period Di Negro wrote 2,436 letters (40 letters per month). Di Negro corresponded with 123 Genoese residing abroad of the Genoese Republic in 11 Italian locations and 17 locations beyond Italy, as well as with a number of non-Genoese merchants. (Doria, 1986, 110).

Size: Medium-sized or large

The fortune of Francesco Di Negro increased between 1561 and 1596 from ca. 3,000 scudi d'oro to ca. 53,000 scudi d'oro. (Doria, 1986, 110).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Purchase and sale of wool, silk, cloth, velvets, gold, salt, cheese, cotton, sugar, spices, grain, wine, corals, etc. (Doria, 1986, 110). Trade in grain from Sicily. (Court, 2008, 83).

- Finance: Di Negro advanced loans. (Doria, 1986, 110).
- Industry:

Network of Francesco Di Negro:

Francesco Di Negro traded with the whole of Italy, Egypt, Algeria, the Iberian Peninsula, the Canaries, the Low Countries, Germany, etc. (Doria, 1986, 110). Francesco Di Negro had connections with clients, agents and relatives who represented his interests in crucial economic and financial localities. (Biorci, 2008, 97).

Table A..1. Network of Francesco Di Negro, 1563 – 1591

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Genoa		8	4	3	1	>1563-1591<	Headquarters. (Doria, 1986, 110).	
Antwerp		4	2	2	1	1563-1564, 1574-1575, 1589-1591	5 Genoese correspondents in Antwerp. (Doria, 1986, 110). 1 non-Genoese correspondent in Antwerp. (Doria, 1986, 117). Francesco Di Negro had current accounts in Antwerp, Rome and Venice ca. 1563-1564. (Court, 2008, 92). Among the correspondents in Antwerp in 1563-1564 were the heirs of Pier Francesco Spinola. (Court, 2008, 92). In Antwerp Francesco Di Negro had frequent contact with Gio d'Acser (1563-1564). (Biorci, 2008, 97 n. 2). Correspondents in Antwerp (1563-1564). (Biorci, 2008, 111).	
Besançon		4	2	2	1	1563-1564	Correspondence with the fairs of Besançon in 1563 (not mentioned in Doria (1986) however). (Court, 2008, 87, 88 n. 11, 91 n. 14-15). Especially at the fairs of Besançon Francesco Di Negro had two fixed agents, among whom his son Geronimo (1563-1564). (Biorci, 2008, 97 n. 2). Correspondents at the fairs of Besançon (1563-1564). (Biorci, 2008, 111).	
Casale Monferrato		4	2	2	1	1589-1591	2 Genoese correspondents in Casale Monferrato. (Doria, 1986, 110). At least 6 non-Genoese correspondent in Casale Monferrato. (Doria, 1986, 116).	
Florence		4	2	2	1	1563-1564, 1574-1575, 1585-1587	6 Genoese correspondents in Florence. (Doria, 1986, 110). At least 5 non-Genoese correspondents in Florence. (Doria, 1986, 116).	
Lyon		4	2	2	1	1574-1575, 1586-1587, 1589-1590	3 Genoese correspondents in Lyon. (Doria, 1986, 110). At least 2 non-Genoese correspondents in Lyon. (Doria, 1986, 117). Members of the Di Negro family were active in Lyon during the 16th century. (Doria, 1986, 92).	
Madrid		4	2	2	1	1574-1575,	8 Genoese correspondents in Madrid. (Doria, 1986, 110). At least 1 non-	

						1586-1587, 1589-1591	Genoese correspondent in Madrid. (Doria, 1986, 117).	
Marseille		4	2	2	1	1563-1564, 1574-1575, 1586-1587, 1589-1591	1 Genoese correspondent in Marseille. (Doria, 1986, 110). At least 5 non-Genoese correspondents in Marseille. (Doria, 1986, 117).	
Messina		4	2	2	1	1563-1564, 1574-1575, 1585-1586, 1589-1590	7 Genoese correspondents in Messina. (Doria, 1986, 110, 116). Members of the Di Negro family were active in Messina in the second half of the 16th century. (Doria, 1986, 83). A correspondent in Palermo and later in Messina was Francesco's cousin Nicolò Di Negro (1563-1564). (Biorci, 2008, 97, 100). Correspondents in Messina (1563-1564). (Biorci, 2008, 111).	
Milan		4	2	2	1	1563-1564, 1574-1575, 1586-1587, 1589-1591	10 Genoese correspondents in Milan. (Doria, 1986, 110). At least 2 non-Genoese correspondents in Milan. (Doria, 1986, 116). Correspondents in Milan. (Court, 2008, 87).	
Naples		4	2	2	1	1563-1564, 1574-1575, 1585-1587, 1589-1591	16 Genoese correspondents in Naples. (Doria, 1986, 110). 1 non-Genoese correspondent in Naples. (Doria, 1986, 116). Correspondents in Naples (1563-1564). (Biorci, 2008, 111).	
Palermo		4	2	2	1	1563-1564, 1574-1575, 1585-1587, 1589-1591	16 Genoese correspondents in Palermo. (Doria, 1986, 110, 116). A correspondent in Palermo and later in Messina was Francesco's cousin Nicolò Di Negro. Another correspondent in Palermo was Battista Toriglia (1563-1564). (Biorci, 2008, 97). Correspondents in Palermo (1563-1564). (Biorci, 2008, 111).	
Pisa		4	2	2	1	1563-1564, 1574-1575, 1585-1587, 1589-1591	1 Genoese correspondent in Pisa. (Doria, 1986, 110). At least 4 non-Genoese correspondents in Pisa. (Doria, 1986, 116).	
Rome		4	2	2	1	1563-1564, 1585-1587, 1589-1591	12 Genoese correspondents in Rome. (Doria, 1986, 110). At least 6 non-Genoese correspondents in Rome. (Doria, 1986, 116). Francesco Di Negro had current accounts in Antwerp, Rome and Venice ca. 1563-1564. (Court, 2008, 92). Among the correspondents in Rome in 1563-1564 were Pallavicino and Lercaro, as well as Paris Pinello and partners. (Court, 2008, 92).	
Turin		4	2	2	1	1586-1587,	6 Genoese correspondents in Turin. (Doria, 1986, 110). At least 12 non-	

						1589-1591	Genoese correspondents in Turin. (Doria, 1986, 116). Negrone di Negro was treasurer at the court of Emanuel Filibert of Savoy in Turin in 1561-1574. (Doria, 1986, 91 n. 123).	
Venice		4	2	2	1	1563-1564, 1574-1575, 1586-1587, 1590-1591	7 Genoese correspondents in Venice. (Doria, 1986, 110). 1 non-Genoese correspondent in Venice. (Doria, 1986, 116). Francesco Di Negro had current accounts in Antwerp, Rome and Venice ca. 1563-1564. (Court, 2008, 92). Among the correspondents in Venice in 1563-1564 were Salvago and Negro. (Court, 2008, 92).	
Barcelona		3	2	2	1	1563-1564, 1574-1575, 1590-1591	2 Genoese correspondents in Barcelona. (Doria, 1986, 110). 1 non-Genoese correspondent in Barcelona. (Doria, 1986, 117). Correspondents in Barcelona (1563-1564). (Biorci, 2008, 111).	
Bologna		3	2	2	1	1585-1586	2 non-Genoese correspondents in Bologna. (Doria, 1986, 116).	
Cádiz		3	2	2	1	1563-1564, 1574-1575	4 Genoese correspondents in Cádiz. (Doria, 1986, 110, 117).	
Granada		3	2	2	1	1574-1575	2 Genoese correspondents in Granada. (Doria, 1986, 110, 117).	
Livorno		3	2	2	1	1574-1575, 1585-1586	1 Genoese correspondent in Livorno. (Doria, 1986, 110). At least 2 non-Genoese correspondents in Livorno. (Doria, 1986, 116).	
Millesimo		3	2	2	1	1589-1590	2 non-Genoese correspondents in Millesimo. (Doria, 1986, 116).	
Mondovì		3	2	2	1	1586-1587, 1589-1591	At least 2 non-Genoese correspondents in Mondovì. (Doria, 1986, 116).	
Sassari		3	2	2	1	1574-1575	1 Genoese correspondent in Sassari. (Doria, 1986, 110). 1 non-Genoese correspondent in Sassari. (Doria, 1986, 116).	
Sevilla		3	2	2	1	1574-1575, 1589-1590	2 Genoese correspondents in Sevilla. (Doria, 1986, 110, 117).	
Valencia		3	2	2	1	1574-1575	2 Genoese correspondents in Valencia. (Doria, 1986, 110, 117). Members of the Di Negro family were present in Valencia ca. 1564-1590. (Doria, 1986, 102 n. 166).	
Zaragoza		3	2	2	1	1590-1591	2 Genoese correspondents in Zaragoza. (Doria, 1986, 110, 117).	
Alba		2	2	1	0	1589-1590	1 non-Genoese correspondent in Alba. (Doria, 1986, 116).	
Alexandria		2	2	1	0	1574-1575	1 Genoese correspondent in Alexandria. (Doria, 1986, 110, 117).	
Alger		2	2	1	0	1590-1591	1 Genoese correspondent in Alger. (Doria, 1986, 110, 117).	
Alicante		2	2	1	0	1589-1591	1 Genoese correspondent in Alicante. (Doria, 1986, 110, 117). A member of the Di Negro family was active in Alicante during the last third of the 16th century. (Doria, 1986, 102 n. 165).	
Cagliari		2	2	1	0	1585-1586	1 non-Genoese correspondent in Cagliari. (Doria, 1986, 116).	

Canary Islands		2	2	1	0	1574-1575	1 Genoese correspondent on the Canaries. (Doria, 1986, 110, 117).	
Carcare		2	2	1	0	1589-1591	At least 1 non-Genoese correspondent in Carcare. (Doria, 1986, 116).	
Castello Aragonese		2	2	1	0	1589-1590	1 non-Genoese correspondent in Castello Aragonese. (Doria, 1986, 116).	
Cortemilia		2	2	1	0	1589-1590	1 non-Genoese correspondent in Cortemiglia. (Doria, 1986, 116).	
Ferrara		2	2	1	0	1589-1591	At least 1 non-Genoese correspondent in Ferrara. (Doria, 1986, 116).	
Larghero		2	2	1	0	1574-1575	1 Genoese correspondent in Larghero. (Doria, 1986, 110, 117).	
Lucca		2	2	1	0	1585-1586	1 non-Genoese correspondent in Lucca. (Doria, 1986, 116).	
Le Malle		2	2	1	0	1589-1590	1 non-Genoese correspondent in Le Malle. (Doria, 1986, 116).	
Mallorca		2	2	1	0	1574-1575	1 Genoese correspondent in Mallorca. (Doria, 1986, 110, 117).	
Mantua		2	2	1	0	1589-1590	1 non-Genoese correspondent in Mantua. (Doria, 1986, 116).	
Nürnberg		2	2	1	0	1574-1575	1 non-Genoese correspondent in Nürnberg. (Doria, 1986, 117).	
Pietrasanta		2	2	1	0	1590-1591	1 non-Genoese correspondent in Pietrasanta. (Doria, 1986, 116).	
Pinerolo		2	2	1	0	1586-1587, 1590-1591	At least 1 non-Genoese correspondent in Pinerolo. (Doria, 1986, 116).	
Roanne		2	2	1	0	1574-1575	1 Genoese correspondent in Roanne. (Doria, 1986, 110, 117).	
Saint-Tropez		2	2	1	0	1574-1575	1 non-Genoese correspondent in S. Tropez. (Doria, 1986, 117).	
Saliceto		2	2	1	0	1589-1590	1 non-Genoese correspondent in Saliceto. (Doria, 1986, 116).	
Villanueva de la Fuente		2	2	1	0	1574-1575	1 non-Genoese correspondent in Villanueva de la Fuente. (Doria, 1986, 117).	

+ The tables in Doria (1986) on pages 110 and 116 are not entirely consistent in numbers of Genoese correspondents. For numbers of Genoese correspondents I have made use of the data in the table on page 110.
+ I have only included correspondents of Francesco Di Negro mentioned in his own letter books. Other data on connections of the Di Negro family in the 16th century have not been incorporated in this table, since their relationship with Francesco is unknown.
+ Biorci (2008, 111) also mentions correspondents in Gavi and Ventimiglia. They are not mentioned by Doria (1986) however. I decided to not include them in the table.
+ 5 correspondents or more = 4 (8 point scale), 2-4 correspondents = 3 (8 point scale), 1 correspondent = 2 (8 point scale).

PALLAVICINI, ca. 1566 – 1593

Horatio Palavicino (born in the 1540s) was a son of the Genoese businessman and diplomat Tobias Pallavicino (Stone, 1956, 1-2). Tobias Pallavicino (d. ca. 1580) was the second son of Francisco (d. 1534) (Stone, 1956, 331). Horatio began his career as Antwerp representative of the business enterprises of his father (Stone, 1956, 4). By 1580, Horatio Palavicino had become the financial agent of the English government on the continent, following in the footsteps of Thomas Gresham. From 1580 to 1592, he played a very important role in English foreign policy, after which he lost the favour of queen Elisabeth (1593) and retired to his landed estates. He died in 1600 (Stone, 1956, 4-5, 82). Through marriages, the family of Tobias Pallavicino was related with the great Genoese banker Lazzaro Grimaldi, with the Lomellini, and with the banking firm of the Spinola (Stone, 1956, 6). Horatio Palavicino married Anna, the daughter of the Antwerp merchant Gillis Hooftman in 1591 (Stone, 1956, 29). The firm of Tobias Pallavicino was closely associated to Battista Spinola in the alum trade (Stone, 1956, 44-45). The firm of Tobias Pallavicino obtained the Tolfa alum monopoly for twelve years in 1566 (Stone, 1956, 44). They were determined to renew the contract with the Pope, but the Pope wanted to appoint a new farmer (Stone, 1956, 48). The Pallavicini therefore set out to make market conditions impossible for any future contractor, by acquiring large stocks of alum and by making monopoly import agreements with the main consumer markets (England, the Low Countries and perhaps also France) (Stone, 1956, 48, 52; Doria, 1986, 61). The Pallavicini did not manage to obtain a monopoly contract with England. Strong competition arose from 1578 between the Pallavicini and their successors (the Florentine firm of the Altovici), which led to a sharp decline of alum prices (Stone, 1956, 55). However, in the Low Countries, the Pallavicini were more successful in obtaining a monopoly contract with the rebellious States General (Stone, 1956, 58). In reaction of their dealings with the Dutch rebels, the Pope and Philip II freezed all the Pallavicino alum in Spain and Italy. Nevertheless, the Pallavicini managed to get some of the alum through (Stone, 1956, 60-61). Of the alum dealings of the Pallavicini from ca. 1580, nothing is known (Stone, 1956, 63). Horatio Palavicino died in 1600 (Stone, 1956, 88).
For the Italian branch of the family, Pallavicino (double L) is normally used, while for Horatio and his descendants, Palavicino is spelled with one L (Stone, 1956, xiii n. 1). The Pallavicini belonged to the Genoese diaspora. Among the 46 known Pallavicini households in 1536, 7 lived outside of Genoa. (Doria, 1986, 79).

On 1 January 1548, a loan of 100,000 scudi to the Apostolic Chamber was registered: 62% was contributed by Florentine companies (Luigi Rucellai: 16.000 scudi; Tommaso Cavalcanti and Giovanni Giraldi: 15.000; Bastiano da Montauto: 12.000; the heirs of Girolamo Ubaldini, who were succeeded by Benvenuto Olivieri: 7.000; Bindi Altoviti: 6.000; Pier Antonio and Alamanno Bandini: 6.000); 20% by Lucchese (Martino Bernardini; Francesco Cenami; Vincenzo Spada (20.000)); 12% by Genoese (Benedetto Negroni; Girolamo Pallavicini (12.000); 6% by a banker from Como (Baldassare Olgiatto (6.000)) (Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 18-19). Depositary general of the Apostolic Chamber in 1513-1546: mostly Florentines: Filippo Strozzi, Bartolomeo Lanfredini, Bindo Altoviti, Paolo Serragli, Benvenuto Olivieri. A few Genoese interruptions under Paul III: Grimaldi, and Pallavicini-Giustiniani (Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 22). In the first half of the 16th c., the Genoese families linked to the Apostolic Chamber were few in number: Sauli, Pallavicini, Giustiniani, Grimaldi (who held a virtual monopoly on the alum mines of Tolfa) and a few others, all of whom possessed considerable financial resources (Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 22). In the mid-16th c., the Genoese had a firm monopoly

over the Tolfa alum mines, which lasted until 1578. The Sauli (Bandinello Sauli) were in charge from 1553 to 1565, and the Pallavicini from 1566 to 1578. Only in the last quarter of the 16th c., did the Florentines reappear (Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 170). Pallavicini were Genoese merchants and bankers. As merchants, they were only interested in alum trade (Gentil Da Silva, 1959, ix). Pallavicino family were owners of a great feudal enclave on the Po in the early Middle Ages. As early as the 12th c., a cadet branch had settled in Genoa, and by the 15th c. it had entered the ranks of the merchant aristocracy of Genoa. Together with the Spinola, Grimaldi, Lomellino, Giustiniano and Doria families, they controlled the politics of Genoa. The Pallavicino remained in high office in Genoa throughout the 16th and early 17th c. (Stone, 1956, 1). Nicolo Pallavicino lived at the Spanish court and handled currency and commodity exchanges with Antwerp. The English government used him for such transactions as early as 1564 (Stone, 1956, 2). Merchants from Cremona, moved to Antwerp in the 16th century (Denucé, 1934, 13).

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Source material:

The family archives of Horatio Palavicino have disappeared totally. No ledgers or account books have been preserved. Concerning the business activities of Palavicino, much can be found however in the administrative archives left by the Elisabethan bureaucracy (Stone, 1956, xiv-xv, 182-183).

1. TOBIAS PALLAVICINO, ca. 1566 – ca. 1580

Size: Large

Main activities:

- Commerce: In the 1560s and 1570s, Tobias Pallavicino controlled the papal alum monopoly (Stone, 1956, 4; Doria, 1986, 61 n. 12). By the early 1580s, a bitter quarrel arose with the Pope over the alum monopoly: attempts by the Pope to break the alum monopoly of the Pallavicini (Stone, 1956, 8, 10). The Tolfa alum works were farmed by the Pope to Tobias Pallavicino for twelve years in 1566. Already before 1566, Nicolo Pallavicino and Battista Spinola had taken part in the alum monopoly exploited by a consortium of Italian financiers at Antwerp, headed by Agostino Sauli (1550s to 1566) (Soly, 1974, 835; Stone, 1956, 44). The Pallavicini did not abuse their monopoly, and alum supplies in the Low Countries and England were plentiful and at a reasonable price during this time (Stone, 1956, 47-48). Main business enterprise of Horatio Palavicino was the alum trade. However, he also undertook a great variety of other enterprises (Stone, 1956, 182). Tobia Pallavicino was farmer of the papal alum. (Doria, 1986, 98). In 1578 the farm of the Tolfa alum mines was given to Bernardo Olgiatti and Francesco Ridolfi. (Soly, 1974, 837). Alum trade. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 191).
- Finance: Loan of alum by Horatio Palavicino and his associate Battista Spinola to the rebellious States General of the Low Countries in 1578, in exchange for a six year monopoly of alum imports into the Low Countries. The loan was guaranteed by queen Elisabeth and the city of London (Soly, 1974, 837-838; Stone, 1956, 58-59, 67-97). During 1578, the Palavicino-Cataneo firm and that of Spinola obtained an ever greater hold upon the financial and economic affairs of the revolted provinces. They advanced money in exchange for supplies of cloth at artificially low prices (Stone, 1956, 59-60). Tobia Pallavicino was depositary general of the Apostolic Chamber. (Doria, 1986, 98). The Pallavicini and the Spinola financed the Dutch rebels against Philip II in 1578. (Doria, 1986, 98).
- Industry: Lease of the alum mines of Tolfa and Massaron (Stone, 1956, 4, 6, 45, 47).

Network of Tobias Pallavicino:

The Pallavicini were alum monopolists. Their network spanned the alum producing regions in the papal states and Spain, and the main alum consumption markets of the Low Countries and England (who were the major textile producing countries) (Stone, 1956, 47).

Table A..1. Network of Tobias Pallavicino, ca. 1566 – ca. 1580

City	**R**	**Score**				**Period**	**Type of presence**	**References**
Genoa		8	4	3	1	>1566-1580<	Tobias Pallavicino, father of Horatio, was a businessman in Genoa (Stone, 1956, 2). Tobias headed the alum business of the Pallavicini from Genoa (Soly, 1974, 835 n. 153; Stone, 1956, 6). Horatio Palavicino's brothers Fabritio and Gian Andrea were in Genoa in the 1590s (Stone, 1956, 86-87).	
Antwerp		6	3	2	1	>1564-1582<	Nicolo Pallavicino lived at the Spanish Court and handled currency and commodity exchanges with Antwerp. The English government used him for such transactions as early as 1564. Nicolo was probably closely related to Tobias Pallavicino (Stone, 1956, 2). Ca. 1576, Horatio Palavicino was an	Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 191

							agent for the Pallavicino family at Antwerp (Stone, 1956, 3). The alum from Tolfa was distributed via Antwerp to north western Europe. Horatio was the head of the Antwerp branch of the business house of his father (Stone, 1956, 4). Horatio represented the alum business of Tobias Pallavicini in Antwerp (Soly, 1974, 835 n. 153; Stone, 1956, 6, 47). In Antwerp, Horatio was assisted by Philip Cataneo, agent for the firm of Nicolo Pallavicino and Simeon Sauli, as well as by Battista Spinola, and Horatio appears to have exercised some form of control over Alessandro in London (Stone, 1956, 47). In 1574-1578, Tobias Pallavicino controlled 93.8 % of the alum import to the Low Countries. In 1578-1582, the Pallavicini still supplied 88 % of the total alum import in Antwerp. (Soly, 1974, 837-838). In the late 1530s – early 1540s, the Van der Molen firm of Antwerp made use of the services of the Pallavicini for making international payments. (Puttevils, 2007, 268). In 1551, Luciano Pallavicino della Rocha was factor of the Grimaldi in Antwerp. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 191). Luciano Pallavicino de la Rocha was a factor of the Grimaldi. He was active in the Low Countries ca. 1547-1550. In 1547 he was involved in a lawsuit against Gaspar Ducci in Mechelen. (Soly, 1974, 817-819).	
Rome		6	3	2	1	1542-1579	Fabritio (a brother of Horatio, d. 1625) represented the alum business of Tobias Pallavicini in Rome and Tolfa (Stone, 1956, 6). He lived in Rome and controlled the alum exploitation in Tolfa. (Soly, 1974, 835 n. 153). In 1579, Fabritio was imprisoned and tortured by the Pope because of the dealings of the Pallavicini with the rebels in the Low Countries. Only in 1582, he was released (Stone, 1956, 8, 10, 61-63). In 1584, Horatio Palavicino was condemned by the Inquisition, and his goods in Rome and the papal territory were seized (Stone, 1956, 10, 61). Benvenuto Olivieri was depositary general from July 1540 to end 1542, again in 1543 (after a brief period of management by Tobias Palavicini), (Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 19). A few Genoese depositary generals under Paul III: Grimaldi, and Pallavicini-Giustiniani (Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 22). In 1548 Girolamo Pallavicini was involved in a loan of 100,000 scudi to the Apostolic Chamber (Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 18-19). In the beginning of the 16th century, a Genoese cardinal of the Pallavicino family resided in Rome. (Doria, 1986, 87 n. 108). The Pallavicino were depositary general of the Apostolic Chamber in 1559-1565. (Doria, 1986, 88 n. 110). The Pallavicino	

							were among the farmers of the Tolfa alum mines between 1531 and 1578. (Doria, 1986, 88).	
London		5	3	2	1	>1564-1580<	Nicolo Pallavicino lived at the Spanish Court and handled currency and commodity exchanges with Antwerp. The English government used him for such transactions as early as 1564. Nicolo was probably closely related to Tobias Pallavicino (Stone, 1956, 2). By 1576, Tobias' brother Alessandro was well established in London (Stone, 1956, 2-3). Alessandro, the uncle of Horatio, represented the alum business of Tobias Pallavicini in London (Soly, 1974, 835 n. 153; Stone, 1956, 6, 47). Horatio Palavicino left Antwerp for London (Stone, 1956, 9). The Pallavicini imported alum directly to England from Civita Vecchia, and not anymore through Antwerp (Stone, 1956, 46). Horatio appears to have exercised some form of control over Alessandro in London (Stone, 1956, 47). In 1578-1580, strong competition existed between Tobias Pallavicino and the new Italian alum farmers Olgiatti and Ridolfo in England. (Soly, 1974, 837).	Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 191
Madrid		4	2	2	1	>1564-1567<	Nicolo Pallavicino lived at the Spanish Court and handled currency and commodity exchanges with Antwerp. The English government used him for such transactions as early as 1564. Nicolo was probably closely related to Tobias Pallavicino (Soly, 1974, 835 n. 153; Stone, 1956, 2). Tobias' alum firm's interests at Madrid were protected by Lorenzo Spinola (Stone, 1956, 47, 62). In Madrid (1567) and Medina del Campo (1564) Nicola Pallavicino had a company with Simone Saoli. (Is Nicola the same as Nicolo, relative of Tobias (?)) (Otte, 1986, 55). At the end of the 16th century, a Mucio Pallavicino was active in Madrid. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 228-229).	Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 191
Civitavecchia		3	2	2	1	>1577<	The Pallavicini imported alum directly to England from Civita Vecchia, and not anymore through Antwerp (Stone, 1956, 46). Fabritio Pallavicino had agents in Civita Vecchia for shipping alum to the west (e.g. in 1577) (Stone, 1956, 49).	
Medina del Campo		3	2	2	1	>1563-1564<	In Madrid (1567) and Medina del Campo (1564) Nicola Pallavicino had a company with Simone Saoli. (Is Nicola the same as Nicolo, relative of Tobias (?)). In 1563, also a company of Nicola Grimaldi, Antoniete Pallavicino and Lorenzo Spinola existed in Medina del Campo. (Is this the Lorenzo Spinola who represented Tobias Pallavicino in Madrid (?)) (Otte, 1986, 55). According to notarial records in Sevilla, members of the Pallavicini family	

							were active in Medina del Campo (Giovanni Antonio Pallavicino and Alessandro and Jacopo Cattaneo (1550-1551), Pallavicino Basadonna, Giovanni Antonio (1542-1549), Pallavicino Rotulo, Baltasare (1555)) in the first half of the 16th century. (Otte, 1986, 42-56).	
Tolfa	M	3	2	2	1	1566-1578	Tobias Pallavicino leased the Tolfa alum mines from the pope in the 1560s and 1570s (Stone, 1956, 4). Fabritio (a brother of Horatio) represented the alum business of Tobias Pallavicini in Rome and Tolfa (Stone, 1956, 6, 47). He lived in Rome and controlled the alum exploitation in Tolfa. (Soly, 1974, 835 n. 153). The Pallavicino were among the farmers of the Tolfa alum mines between 1531 and 1578. (Doria, 1986, 88).	
Alicante		2	2	1	0	1579	During the last third of the 16th century, members of the Pallavicino family were active as entrepreneurs in Alicante. (Doria, 1986, 102 n. 165). In 1579, the Pallavicini managed to ship alum from Alicante to the Low Countries, despite the embargo of Philip II (Stone, 1956, 62).	
Civenova		2	2	1	0	1570s	The alum stock amassed by the Pallavicini in the 1570s was apparently located in the Italian port of Civenova (Stone, 1956, 54).	
Mazarrón	M	2	2	1	0	before ca. 1578	Tobias Pallavicino also took on the farm of the Mazarrón alum mines in Spain (Soly, 1974, 836 n. 158; Stone, 1956, 45). The Spanish production was probably handled by Nicolo Pallavicino (Stone, 1956, 47). By ca. 1578, the Pallavicini had lost their control over the alum mines of Mazzarón. (Soly, 1974, 838).	
Sevilla		2	2	1	0	>1573<	In Sevilla, a company of Bartolomeo and Antonio Pallavicino existed in 1573. (Otte, 1986, 54). Antonio Brignole of Genoa had connections with the bank of Nicolò, Bartolomeo, and Antonio Coronata Pallavicino in Sevilla ca. 1573. (Court, 2004, 989, 1002). Bankruptcy of the firm of Bautista Palavesin de Brine and Cristobal de Franquis in Sevilla in 1542. (Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 44-45). According to notarial records in Sevilla, members of the Pallavicini family were active in Sevilla (Battista Pallavicino de Brine and Cristoforo Franchi (1542), Franco and Pietro Giovanni Grillo and Ottaviano Pallavicino (1539-1543), Franco Grillo Leardo and Battista Pallavicino (1537-1539), Giovanni Grillo and Battista Pallavicino (1548), Pallavicino, Battista (1542, 1546), Pallavicino, Paolo (1555), Pietro Giovanni Grillo Leardo and Battista Pallavicino (1549-1553)) in the first half of the 16th century. (Otte, 1986, 42-56).	

Valencia		2	2	1	0	<1564-1590>	Ca. 1564-1590, members of the Pallavicino family were active as entrepreneurs in Valencia. (Doria, 1986, 102 n. 166). According to notarial records in Sevilla, members of the Pallavicini family were active in Valencia (Battista and Nicola Pallavicino (1538), Pallavicino Basigniana, Giovanni Antonio (1549)). (Otte, 1986, 42-56).	
Le Havre		1	1	1	0	1577	Most of the alum of the Pallavicini shipped from Civita Vecchia to Plymouth in 1577, was afterwards shipped from Plymouth to Le Havre (where it was seized by the French authorities) and to London (Stone, 1956, 50).	
Plymouth		1	1	1	0	1577	In 1577, the Pallavicini firm made use of the shipping firm of William and John Hawkins of Plymouth for the shipment of a large amount of alum from Civita Vecchia to Plymouth (Stone, 1956, 49-50).	

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Earlier period:
* Besançon: In 1543, Benvenuto Olivieri's company in Rome had large liabilities with the company of Damiano Pallavicini and Paolo Doria & Partners of Besançon. (Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 183-206, 243-253).
* According to notarial records in Sevilla, members of the Pallavicini family were active in the **Canary Islands** (Pallavicino, Sebastiano (1542)), and **Cádiz** (Giovanni Francesco Vivaldi and Sebastiano Pallavicino (1548), Pallavicino, Agostino (1538, 1546)) in the first half of the 16th century. (Otte, 1986, 42-56). The Pallavicino obtained feudal estates in southern Italy between ca. 1550 and 1613. (Doria, 1986, 85). Members of the Pallavicino family were active as entrepreneurs in Calabria and Puglia during the 16th century. (Doria, 1986, 86 n. 104). Still in the 17th century, members of the Pallavicino family were factors of the Spanish king (Gio Luca Pallavicino (1635-1644), Gio Geronimo Pallavicino (from 1644)), or members of the "Consejo de Hacienda" (Gian Luca Pallavicino under Philip IV). (Doria, 1986, 103 n. 172-173).
* Members of the Pallavicino family are known to have operated in Lyon in the early 16th century. (Doria, 1986, 92).

2. HORATIO PALAVICINO, early 1580s – 1593 (network not used)

Or Orazio Pallavicino (Doria, 1986, 98).

Size: Medium-sized or large

After the death of Thomas Gresham, in England only Horatio Palavicino possessed the knowledge and capacity to handle business to so many directions (Stone, 1956, 184).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Main business enterprise of Horatio Palavicino was the alum trade. However, he also undertook a great variety of other enterprises (Stone, 1956, 182). Trade in works of art and rareties for members of the English royal court (Stone, 1956, 186-187). Alum trade of Horatio Palavicino continued during the 1580s and 1590s (Stone, 1956, 188). In 1591, Palavicino obtained a licence for the export of 40,000 cloths from England (Stone, 1956, 188-189). Export of grain in 1592. He also speculated on grain prices during the near famine in 1596 (Stone, 1956, 189). Palavicino invested in English voyages of discovery (Stone, 1956, 201). Horatio Palavicino also made attempts to monopolise the pepper trade, without success however (Stone, 1956, 207-230).
- Finance: Horatio Palavicino was an international broker and expert on problems of currency exchange. He also carried out a proportion of his business for the queen, consisting of handling transfers of cash to ambassadors and spies, and paying over of war subsidies to European allies (Stone, 1956, 182). Horatio Palavicino had close relations with several important members of the English royal court (Stone, 1956, 183). Horatio Palavicino was active as a money lender to the English aristocracy and gentry (Stone, 1956, 190-199). There are some indications that Palavicino acted as a deposit banker (Stone, 1956, 199). Horatio Palavicino did not invest in the English joint stock companies (Stone, 1956, 200-201).
- Industry:
- Other: Horatio Palavicino played a crucial role in English foreign policy between 1580 and 1592 as ambassador, secret agent, etc (Stone, 1956, 5, 98-181).

Network of Horatio Palavicino:

Only fractions of the total range of activities of Palavicino can be reconstructed (Stone, 1956, 182-183). Horatio Palavicino made use of the services of several Genoese agents residing in London, but travelling all over Europe as merchants: G. B. Giustiniani, G. B. Cagoria, Eliano Calvo, Francesco Rizzo, Marc'Antonio Messia, Filippo Centurione, Agostino Graffigna, Scipione Borgoni. (Doria, 1986, 99).

Horatio Palavicino had extensive business contacts all over Europe. After the death of Thomas Gresham, only Horatio Palavicino possessed the knowledge and capacity to handle business to so many directions (Stone, 1956, 184).

Table A..2. Network of Horatio Palavicino, early 1580s – 1593

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
		3	2	2	1	1578-1584<	- While in Paris in the early 1580s, Horatio Palavicini had agents in London. (Stone, 1956, 100).	Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 191
London		**8**	**4**	**3**	**1**	>1585-1600<	- Horatio Palavicino left Antwerp for London (Stone, 1956, 9). By 1610, Fabritio Pallavicino was represented in London by Edward, illegitimate son of Horatio Palavicino. In 1612, Fabritio sent John Vincentio Lomellino, his brother-in-law, to England (Stone, 1956, 91-92). During his frequent periods	

							of absence from London, Palavicino's transactions in London were handled by two Genoese agents, Giovanni Battista Giustiniano and Francisco Rizzo (Stone, 1956, 184). Giovanni Battista Giustiniano is first mentioned in London in 1578, when he appears as Palavicino's agent in London. He was a not unimportant figure in the London commercial world of the late 1580s and 1590s. He carried out trade and currency exchange to Italy. Upon him Horatio placed most reliance. Giustiniano was well acquainted with the merchants and politicians of London and Genoa. Giustiniano kept the ledgers and accounts of Horatio Palavicino (Stone, 1956, 184-185). Francisco Rizzo was a small merchant, trading to the Baltic, Venice and northern Italy. He was employed by Palavicino to help Giustiniano in brokerage real estate operations. The relationship with Rizzo was less personal than that with Giustiniano (Stone, 1956, 185). In London, Palavicino also made use of the service of the lawyers Thomas Owen and Francis Brakin (Stone, 1956, 186). Horatio Palavicino had obtained letters of denization in England in 1585 (Stone, 1956, 98). In the years 1581-1586, Horatio increasingly participated in English political activity abroad (Stone, 1956, 100). Transfer of 15,000 £ for the Exchequer from London to Antwerp in bills of exchange by Palavicino in January 1582 (Stone, 1956, 103). In 1586, Battista Giustiniano and Francisco Rizzo transferred money (50,000 écus) for the English crown to Palavicino, who was then in Germany, via bills of exchange drawn from London on Lyon, Rouen, Antwerp, Cologne and Frankfurt. These bills were drawn on members of the Italian trading community, such as Hippolito Buonamonte, Nicolò di Gozzi, and others, while also some English merchants, especially Henry Billingsley and Thomas Cordel, played their part (Stone, 1956, 140-141). A second 50,000 écus were transferred for the Exchequer by Palavicino's agents in London in 1586-1587. The money was transferred to Palavicino in Frankfurt through bills drawn by Palavicino on Lyon and Antwerp, and also through Emden, Hamburg and Venice. Much of the actual money was supplied by Giovanni Calendrini of the firm of Ludovico Perez and Co. (Stone, 1956, 147). Alessandro Pallavicino, partner and brother of Horatio, also resided in London. (Doria, 1986, 99).	
Paris		~~8~~ ***5***	~~4~~ ***3***	~~3~~ ***2***	~~1~~ ***1***	early 1580s-1584<	- In the early 1580s, Horatio Palavicino spent a good deal of time in Paris, from where he continued to direct the alum distribution (Stone, 1956, 63).	

		4	2	2	1	>1585	Paris, in the early 1580s, was the most convenient centre for Horatio Palavicini to control his international alum interests (Stone, 1956, 100). As early as 1582, Palavicini from Paris arranged credit transfers throughout Europe for the English government (Stone, 1956, 100). Early 1582, Horatio Palavicino made a large payment (10,000 £) for the English government to the Duke of Anjou, partly in current silver at Paris, and partly in bills of exchange drawn on Rouen and Lyon. The cash was transferred by Palavicino for Anjou to Lyon and Antwerp via bills of exchange (Stone, 1956, 102). Horatio Palavicino was still in Paris in 1584 (Stone, 1956, 100). Palavicino was acquainted to the Gondi and Zametti, the Italian financiers who handled and controlled the French finances (Stone, 1956, 181). - Horatio Palavicino had extensive business contacts all over Europe, and he had an intimate knowledge of high finance in Genoa, Venice, Lyon, Paris, Frankfurt and Antwerp (Stone, 1956, 184). Purchases of artworks and rareties in Paris by Palavicino for members of the English court (Stone, 1956, 186-187).	
Antwerp		4	2	2	1	>1582-1593<	Horatio Palavicino had extensive business contacts all over Europe, and he had an intimate knowledge of high finance in Genoa, Venice, Lyon, Paris, Frankfurt and Antwerp (Stone, 1956, 184). In 1593, Palavicino purchased spices in London for a consortium of three Antwerp merchants (Stone, 1956, 220-230). Purchase of tapestry in Brussels by Palavicino for the English Lord Treasurer through Benedetto Assarino, agent in Antwerp, in 1584 (Stone, 1956, 187). Early 1582, Horatio Palavicino made a large payment (10,000 £) for the English government to the Duke of Anjou, partly in current silver at Paris, and partly in bills of exchange drawn on Rouen and Lyon. The cash was transferred by Palavicino for Anjou to Lyon and Antwerp via bills of exchange (Stone, 1956, 102). Transfer of 15,000 £ for the Exchequer from London to Antwerp in bills of exchange by Palavicino in January 1582 (Stone, 1956, 103). In 1586, Battista Giustiniano and Francisco Rizzo transferred money (50,000 écus) for the English crown to Palavicino, who was then in Germany, via bills of exchange drawn from London on Lyon, Rouen, Antwerp, Cologne and Frankfurt. These bills were drawn on members of the Italian trading community, such as Hippolito Buonamonte, Nicolò di Gozzi, and others, while also some English merchants, especially Henry Billingsley and Thomas Cordel, played their	

							part (Stone, 1956, 140-141). In March and April 1586, Palavicino took up credit at the fair of Frankfurt through bills on Middelburg, Antwerp, Lyon, and Venice. These bills were to be met by those taken up in London by his agents and drawn on these intermediate centres (Stone, 1956, 141). A second 50,000 écus were transferred for the Exchequer by Palavicino's agents in London in 1586-1587. The money was transferred to Palavicino in Frankfurt through bills drawn by Palavicino on Lyon and Antwerp, and also through Emden, Hamburg and Venice. Much of the actual money was supplied by Giovanni Calendrini of the firm of Ludovico Perez and Co. (Stone, 1956, 147). In 1585-1587, Horatio Palavicino sold his remaining stocks of alum in the Low Countries. In that period, he controlled 91 % of the alum import in the Southern Neherlands. (Soly, 1974, 839).	
Frankfurt am Main		4	2	2	1	>1586-1591<	Horatio Palavicino had extensive business contacts all over Europe, and he had an intimate knowledge of high finance in Genoa, Venice, Lyon, Paris, Frankfurt and Antwerp (Stone, 1956, 184). Horatio Palavicino was active at the spring fair of Frankfurt in 1586, raising money for a diplomatic mission in Germany (Stone, 1956, 137). In 1586, Battista Giustiniano and Francisco Rizzo transferred money (50,000 écus) for the English crown to Palavicino, who was then in Germany, via bills of exchange drawn from London on Lyon, Rouen, Antwerp, Cologne and Frankfurt. These bills were drawn on members of the Italian trading community, such as Hippolito Buonamonte, Nicolò di Gozzi, and others, while also some English merchants, especially Henry Billingsley and Thomas Cordel, played their part. Billingsley was the only to be in a position to issue bills drawn directly on Frankfurt (Stone, 1956, 140-141). At the same time in 1586, Palavicino had been raising cash in Germany on his own personal security, mainly from the firm of Ludovico Perez and Co. of Nurnberg and Frankfurt (Stone, 1956, 141). A second 50,000 écus were transferred for the Exchequer by Palavicino's agents in London in 1586-1587. The money was transferred to Palavicino in Frankfurt through bills drawn by Palavicino on Lyon and Antwerp, and also through Emden, Hamburg and Venice. Much of the actual money was supplied by Giovanni Calendrini of the firm of Ludovico Perez and Co. (Stone, 1956, 147). In November 1587, Palavicino drew bills of exchange on Ludovico Perez and Co. in Frankfurt or Nurnberg (Stone, 1956, 154). Arrangements of Horatio Palavicino with Nurnberg and Frankfurt bankers in 1591 (Stone,	

							1956, 172).	
Genoa		4	2	2	1	>1586-1590s	Horatio Palavicino's brothers Fabritio and Gian Andrea were in Genoa in the 1590s (Stone, 1956, 86-87). Horatio Palavicino had extensive business contacts all over Europe, and he had an intimate knowledge of high finance in Genoa, Venice, Lyon, Paris, Frankfurt and Antwerp (Stone, 1956, 184). Giovanni Battista Giustiniano, a London agent of Palavicino from 1578 until the 1590s, was well acquainted with the merchants and politicians of London and Genoa (Stone, 1956, 185). Purchases of artworks and rareties in Genoa by Giustiniano for members of the English court (Stone, 1956, 186-187). Palavicino had Genoese correspondents in 1586 (Stone, 1956, 147). Despite his alliance with the Protestant powers in Europe, Horatio Palavicino remained loyal to the Genoese republic, and he took care of the shipment of large amounts of grain from Holland and Zeeland to Genoa in 1591, a period of grain crisis in Genoa. A letter of Horatio Palavicino to the Doge of Genoa has been preserved of 1591. (Doria, 1986, 98-99, 99 n. 151).	
Lyon		4	2	2	1	>1582-1587<	Horatio Palavicino had extensive business contacts all over Europe, and he had an intimate knowledge of high finance in Genoa, Venice, Lyon, Paris, Frankfurt and Antwerp (Stone, 1956, 184). Early 1582, Horatio Palavicino made a large payment (10,000 £) for the English government to the Duke of Anjou, partly in current silver at Paris, and partly in bills of exchange drawn on Rouen and Lyon. The cash was transferred by Palavicino for Anjou to Lyon and Antwerp via bills of exchange (Stone, 1956, 102). In 1586, Battista Giustiniano and Francisco Rizzo transferred money (50,000 écus) for the English crown to Palavicino, who was then in Germany, via bills of exchange drawn from London on Lyon, Rouen, Antwerp, Cologne and Frankfurt. These bills were drawn on members of the Italian trading community, such as Hippolito Buonamonte, Nicolò di Gozzi, and others, while also some English merchants, especially Henry Billingsley and Thomas Cordel, played their part. From Rouen to Lyon, Palavicino used his own bills (Stone, 1956, 140-141). In March and April 1586, Palavicino took up credit at the fair of Frankfurt through bills on Middelburg, Antwerp, Lyon, and Venice. These bills were to be met by those taken up in London by his agents and drawn on these intermediate centres (Stone, 1956, 141). A second 50,000 écus were transferred for the Exchequer by Palavicino's agents in London in 1586-1587. The money was transferred to Palavicino in	

							Frankfurt through bills drawn by Palavicino on Lyon and Antwerp, and also through Emden, Hamburg and Venice. Much of the actual money was supplied by Giovanni Calendrini of the firm of Ludovico Perez and Co. (Stone, 1956, 147).	
Venice		4	2	2	1	>1586-1592<	Horatio Palavicino had extensive business contacts all over Europe, and he had an intimate knowledge of high finance in Genoa, Venice, Lyon, Paris, Frankfurt and Antwerp (Stone, 1956, 184). Export of grain from Harwich to Venice in 1592 (Stone, 1956, 189). A second 50,000 écus were transferred for the Exchequer by Palavicino's agents in London in 1586-1587. The money was transferred to Palavicino in Frankfurt through bills drawn by Palavicino on Lyon and Antwerp, and also through Emden, Hamburg and Venice. Much of the actual money was supplied by Giovanni Calendrini of the firm of Ludovico Perez and Co. (Stone, 1956, 147). In March and April 1586, Palavicino took up credit at the fair of Frankfurt through bills on Middelburg, Antwerp, Lyon, and Venice. These bills were to be met by those taken up in London by his agents and drawn on these intermediate centres (Stone, 1956, 141).	
Emden		3	2	2	1	>1586-1587<	A second 50,000 écus were transferred for the Exchequer by Palavicino's agents in London in 1586-1587. The money was transferred to Palavicino in Frankfurt through bills drawn by Palavicino on Lyon and Antwerp, and also through Emden, Hamburg and Venice. Much of the actual money was supplied by Giovanni Calendrini of the firm of Ludovico Perez and Co. (Stone, 1956, 147). A Nicolò Pallavicino was active in Emden at the end of the 16th century. (Doria, 1986, 96).	
Nürnberg		3	2	2	1	>1586-1591<	In 1586, Palavicino had been raising cash in Germany on his own personal security, mainly from the firm of Ludovico Perez and Co. of Nürnberg and Frankfurt (Stone, 1956, 141). In November 1587, Palavicino drew bills of exchange on Ludovico Perez and Co. in Frankfurt or Nürnberg (Stone, 1956, 154). Arrangements of Horatio Palavicino with Nürnberg and Frankfurt bankers in 1591 (Stone, 1956, 172).	
Rouen		3	2	2	1	>1582-1586<	Early 1582, Horatio Palavicino made a large payment (10,000 £) for the English government to the Duke of Anjou, partly in current silver at Paris, and partly in bills of exchange drawn on Rouen and Lyon. The cash was transferred by Palavicino for Anjou to Lyon and Antwerp via bills of exchange (Stone, 1956, 102). In 1586, Battista Giustiniano and Francisco	

							Rizzo transferred money (50,000 écus) for the English crown to Palavicino, who was then in Germany, via bills of exchange drawn from London on Lyon, Rouen, Antwerp, Cologne and Frankfurt. These bills were drawn on members of the Italian trading community, such as Hippolito Buonamonte, Nicolò di Gozzi, and others, while also some English merchants, especially Henry Billingsley and Thomas Cordel, played their part. The bills to Rouen were handled in small amounts by several lesser English merchants. From Rouen to Lyon, Palavicino used his own bills (Stone, 1956, 140-141).	
Cologne		2	2	1	0	>1586<	In 1586, Battista Giustiniano and Francisco Rizzo transferred money (50,000 écus) for the English crown to Palavicino, who was then in Germany, via bills of exchange drawn from London on Lyon, Rouen, Antwerp, Cologne and Frankfurt. These bills were drawn on members of the Italian trading community, such as Hippolito Buonamonte, Nicolò di Gozzi, and others, while also some English merchants, especially Henry Billingsley and Thomas Cordel, played their part (Stone, 1956, 140-141).	
Hamburg		2	2	1	0	>1586-1587<	A second 50,000 écus were transferred for the Exchequer by Palavicino's agents in London in 1586-1587. The money was transferred to Palavicino in Frankfurt through bills drawn by Palavicino on Lyon and Antwerp, and also through Emden, Hamburg and Venice. Much of the actual money was supplied by Giovanni Calendrini of the firm of Ludovico Perez and Co. (Stone, 1956, 147).	
Middelburg		2	2	1	0	>1586<	In March and April 1586, Palavicino took up credit at the fair of Frankfurt through bills on Middelburg, Antwerp, Lyon, and Venice. These bills were to be met by those taken up in London by his agents and drawn on these intermediate centres (Stone, 1956, 141).	
Brussels		1	1	1	0	1584	Purchase of tapestry in Brussels by Palavicino for the English Lord Treasurer through Benedetto Assarino, agent in Antwerp, in 1584 (Stone, 1956, 187).	
Cambridge		1	1	1	0		In Cambridge, close to Palavicino's country estate, Palavicino made use of the services of the lawyer Adams (Stone, 1956, 186).	
Harwich		1	1	1	0	1592	Export of grain from Harwich to Venice in 1592 (Stone, 1956, 189).	
Norfolk		1	1	1	0		The Norfolk agent John Hobart was employed for the administration of the landed estates of Palavicino (Stone, 1956, 186).	

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GIOVANNI PICCAMIGLIO, before 1445 – after 1470

Giovanni Piccamiglio was a Genoese businessman, belonging to an old Genoese merchant family. His ancestors were especially active in trade with the eastern Mediterranean, but by the 15th century the commerce of the Piccamiglio family had become far less considerable. Giovanni Piccamiglio was the heir of the company of Cosmo (Giovanni's father) & Ambrosio Piccamiglio, who were active as merchants to Southampton, Cádiz, Malaga,… and as insurers. Giovanni Piccamiglio was related to the important Genoese banker Federigo Centurione, who had married one of his sisters. From 1454, Giovanni Piccamiglio played a role in the political administration of Genoa (Heers, 1959, 7-8). The Piccamiglio family does not appear to have played an important role in commerce and banking in the 15th and 16th centuries. A Piccamiglio resided at the Spanish court ca. 1550-1580. (Doria, 1986, 101 n. 160). In 1597, a certain Ettore Piccamiglio was among the four representatives of the bankers involved in the Spanish bankruptcy of 1596. (Otte, 1986, 39).

References:

Heers, J., ed., 1959. *Le livre de comptes de Giovanni Piccamiglio homme d'affaires Génois 1456-1459*. Paris, S.E.V.P.E.N. (École Pratique des Hautes Études – VIe section. Centre de Recherches Historiques. Affaires et Gens d'Affaires, 12).

I did not consult:

Source material:

The account book of Giovanni Piccamiglio of 1456-1459 has been preserved, and has been published by Jacques Heers (1959). This account book is one of the only preserved private documents (account books, correspondence) on Genoese economic history for the period before the 16th century (Heers, 1959, 5, 9-10).

Size: Small or medium-sized

Giovanni Piccamiglio was not a very important businessman in 15th-century Genoa. Nevertheless, his activities were varied, and he had a solid fortune (Heers, 1959, 6).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Giovanni Piccamiglio started his career as a travelling merchant, active on the markets of the eastern Mediterranean. In 1452, he installed himself probably definitely in Genoa. Although he remained active in commerce, especially with his brothers abroad, Giovanni increasingly specialised himself in financial activities. His personal trade in 1456-1459 was largely restricted to local trade in the neighbourhood of Genoa, while his involvement in international trade in this period was very limited (Heers, 1959, 8-9, 29-30).

- Finance: After 1452, Giovanni Piccamiglio became increasingly specialised in lending and especially in the trade in bills of exchange. He also became investing partner in several *commenda* contracts, was active as a maritime insurer, and invested in public debt bonds. By 1469-1470, he was the head of a *deposito* bank called "Giovanni Piccamiglio & Co." (Heers, 1959, 9, 30-38).
- Industry: No.

Network of Giovanni Piccamiglio:

Before establishing himself definitely in Genoa in 1452, Giovanni Piccamiglio was active as a travelling merchant. Giovanni Piccamiglio directed all his business personally. He was not a member of a company, and did not conclude durable partnerships with other businessmen. The relations with his brothers were loose and temporary. Nevertheless, he had several intermediaries and agents abroad, such as Tommaso de Sovignano (one of his relatives) or Francesco de Levanto (Heers, 1959, 8, 37).

Table A..1. Network of Giovanni Piccamiglio, 1456 – 1459

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Genoa		8	4	3	1	1452-1470<	Headquarters. Giovanni Piccamiglio established himself in Genoa – probably permanently – in 1452. By 1469-70, Piccamiglio was the head of a bank in Genoa.	Heers, 1959, 8-9
Bruges		4	2	2	1	<1456-1459>	Correspondent who took care of exchange transactions (bills of exchange) for Giovanni Piccamiglio, and regularly sent him a balance. Important node for exchange transactions of Piccamiglio.	Heers, 1959, 34
London		4	2	2	1	<1456-1459>	Correspondent who took care of exchange transactions (bills of exchange) for Giovanni Piccamiglio, and regularly sent him a balance. Most important node for exchange transactions of Piccamiglio.	Heers, 1959, 34
Sevilla		4	2	2	1	<1456-1459>	Correspondent who took care of exchange transactions (bills of exchange) for Giovanni Piccamiglio, and regularly sent him a balance. Important node for exchange transactions of Piccamiglio. Giovanni Piccamiglio also invested in *commenda* contracts whereby the active merchant was established in Sevilla.	Heers, 1959, 30, 34
Barcelona		3	2	2	1	<1456-1459>	Correspondent who took care of exchange transactions (bills of exchange) for Giovanni Piccamiglio, and regularly sent him a balance.	Heers, 1959, 34
Chios		3	2	2	1	<1456-1459>	Between 1445 and 1452, Giovanni Piccamiglio travelled among other places to Chios (in 1445) where he loaded goods, especially alum, for export to the west. Ca. 1456-59, he had a correspondent in Chios who took care of	Heers, 1959, 8, 30, 34

							exchange transactions (bills of exchange) for him, and regularly sent him a balance. Gregorio, one of Giovanni Piccamiglio's brothers, in whose trade activities he participated, made a journey to Chios, while Nicolò, another brother, was in the east as well.	
Savona		3	2	2	1	<1456-1459>, >1458<	Giovanni Piccamiglio sold silk from Granada and Castilian coins for his brother Tommaso (established in Valencia) in Savona. Piccamiglio also advanced funds to the Campioni of Savona and sent them some cloth, for which he received wine and other goods in exchange (1458).	Heers, 1959, 30
Toledo		3	2	2	1	<1456-1459>	Giovanni Piccamiglio invested in *commenda* contracts whereby the active merchant was established in Toledo.	Heers, 1959, 30
Valencia		3	2	2	1	<1456-1459>	Correspondent who took care of exchange transactions (bills of exchange) for Giovanni Piccamiglio, and regularly sent him a balance. Tommaso Piccamiglio, the most active of Giovanni's brothers, was established in Valencia. Giovanni sold silk from Granada and Castilian coins for Tommaso in Savona. Giovanni Piccamiglio also invested in *commenda* contracts whereby the active merchant was established in Valencia.	Heers, 1959, 30, 34
Cádiz		2	2	1	0	>1456<	In 1456, Giovanni Piccamiglio traded in wax in Cádiz, via Luca Ardimento.	Heers, 1959, 30
Geneva		2	2	1	0	>1457<	In 1457, Giovanni Piccamiglio purchased pepper in Geneva.	Heers, 1959, 30
Noli		2	2	1	0	>1457<	Pietro Antonio Borlando of Noli sent oil to Piccamiglio in 1457.	Heers, 1959, 30
Pera		2	2	1	0	1450	Between 1445 and 1452, Giovanni Piccamiglio travelled among other places to Pera, where he resided for more than 6 months in 1450.	Heers, 1959, 8
Phocaea		2	2	1	0	>1456<	In 1456, Giovanni Piccamiglio exported gold and paper, purchased in Genoa, to Phocaea.	Heers, 1959, 30
Tortona		2	2	1	0	>1456<	Gaspare de Signorio of Tortona sent linen to Giovanni Piccamiglio in 1456.	Heers, 1959, 30

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GIOVANNI DA PONTREMOLI, before 1433 – after 1459

Giovanni da Pontremoli was a son of Filippo da Pontremoli (d. by 1427). Giovanni was born between ca. 1402 and ca. 1409. He died between 1463 and 1478. (Gioffrè, 1982, xiv-xv).

References:

Gioffrè, D., 1982. *Lettere di Giovanni da Pontremoli, mercante genovese 1453-1459*. Genoa, Università di Genova – Istituto di Paligrafia e Storia Medievale (Pistarino, G., ed. Collana Storica di Fonti e Studi, 33).

I did not consult:

Valérian, D., 2008. "Les affaires de Giovanni da Pontremoli au Maghreb après la chute de Constantinople". In: Mansouri, M. T., ed. *La conquête de Constantinople: L'événement, sa portée et ses échos (1453-2003), Actes du Colloque de Tunis, 11-13 décembre 2003*. 171-188 (Cahiers du CERES, Série Histoire, 18).

Source material:

166 letters of Giovanni da Pontremoli have been preserved for the years from 1453 to 1459. They have been published by Domenico Gioffrè (1982, ix, 3-253). These letters of Giovanni da Pontremoli have been preserved as minutes in a register in the Archivio di Stato of Genoa. The letters contain information about merchandise, prices, freights, insurance, exchange, etc. (Gioffrè, 1982, vii).

Size: Small or medium-sized

Giovanni da Pontremoli was among the average tax payers of Genoa in 1448 (avaria = direct tax). (Gioffrè, 1982, xiii-xiv).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Giovanni da Pontremoli traded in goods for his own account or in commission for others. (Gioffrè, 1982, xi). Giovanni da Pontremoli exported woollen cloth from the west to Chios. He was specialised in the trade in woollen cloth, especially from Genoa. He had his own woollens shop (bottega) in Genoa. (xxiii-xxiv). Da Pontremoli especially exported woollen cloth to his correspondents. The return freights were much more varied: silk, spices (especially pepper), cotton, kermes. (xxiii-xxv). To Barbary, mostly export of cloth, but also of jewels and gemstones. (xxviii-xxx). From Barbary, da Pontremoli especially imported grain, leather, wax and gold. (xxx-xxxiii). Grain trade with Tunisia, Costantina, Sicily and Corsica. (xxxiv). This grain trade was not very large however. (xxxviii-xxxix). From Corsica, import of grain and especially wine. (xxxix). Wholesale and retail trade. (xlvii).
- Finance: Giovanni da Pontremoli carried out exchange transactions for his own account or in commission for others. (Gioffrè, 1982, xi). Giovanni da Pontremoli frequently (almost annually) took part in tax farms in Genoa between 1436 and 1458 (e.g. farming of indirect

taxes on grain, wine, slaves, etc). (xlii-xliii). In 1439, Giovanni da Pontremoli farmed the collection of the grain tax from the Banco di San Giorgio in Genoa. (Gioffrè, 1982, viii-ix). Da Pontremoli was not very active in loan transactions. He only invested small amounts of his capital in loans to others. (xlv-xlvi). In 1453, Giovanni da Pontremoli participated with three other financiers in an insurance company. Not known whether he was still active as insurer in 1453-1459. (xlvi).

- Industry: Da Pontremoli was involved in the production of jewels in Genoa: he was partner in a company for the supply of jewels together with several members of the jewellers guild of Genoa. (Gioffrè, 1982, xxix-xxx). Da Pontremoli participated with the brothers Grimaldi de Oliva and two setaioli in a company for the production of silk cloth, with a total capital of 8,000 l. (2,000 l. invested by da Pontremoli). (xlvii). Da Pontremoli owned a bottega for woollen cloth in Genoa. (xxiii-xxiv).

Network of Giovanni da Pontremoli:

54 of the preserved letters were destined for Northern Africa (18 agents), 26 for the Levant (10 agents), 23 for Corsica (8 agents), 19 for Sicily (8 agents), 11 for Boscomarengo, 9 for Milan, 5 to the fairs of Geneva, 3 to Florence, 3 to Chiavari, 2 to Marseille, 2 to Rome, and one each to Naples, Varazze, Rapallo and Spain. For five letters, the destination is unknown. (Gioffrè, 1982, ix-x). Da Pontremoli corresponded mainly with Barbary, the Levant, Sicily and Corsica. (x). Giovanni da Pontremoli made use of commission agents for his trade abroad. These agents were trustworthy persons residing abroad, several of whom being relatives of da Pontremoli. The agents received a fixed provision, and did not share in profits or losses. They collected the goods sent to them by Giovanni da Pontremoli, obtained return freights, kept accounts of their business for da Pontremoli, etc. Da Pontremoli himself traded in commission in Genoa for his correspondents. Giovanni da Pontremoli was not a travelling merchant. (xi). However, some of the correspondents of da Pontremoli had a share in profits and losses: participation instead of commission (societas). Participation agreements often with patrons or scribes on ships carrying goods of da Pontremoli. (xii). In Northern Africa, Giovanni da Pontremoli traded and corresponded with a number of merchants residing temporarily in Barbary, as well as with a number of permanently in Northern Africa settled merchants (e.g. Nicola de Tacio, who moved from Chios to Barbary in 1456). (xxvii). The most active commission agents of da Pontremoli in the Levant were Giovanni Battista Mirono (17 letters), Nicola de Tacio (9 letters), and Iacopo de Monleone (6 letters). (xxvii). Giovanni da Pontremoli operated alone in Genoa, not in association with others. (xlvii).

Table A..1. Network of Giovanni da Pontremoli, 1453 – 1459

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Genoa		8	4	3	1		Headquarters. All 166 letters were sent by Giovanni da Pontremoli from Genoa. (Gioffrè, 1982, 3-253). Da Pontremoli never travelled far away from Genoa in the years 1453-1459. (Gioffrè, 1982, xi).	
Bona		3	2	2	1		6 (7) letters to Bona (2 in 1456, 2 in 1457, 2 in 1459). Da Pontremoli had 4 different correspondents in Bona. In 1454, Giovanni da Pontremoli sent a	

							letter each to Iacopo da Monleone and Bartolomeo Mirono who were leaving for Bona and Tunis. (Gioffrè, 1982, 3-253). Among the correspondents of da Pontremoli residing in Bona were Bartolomeo Cosio, Ottaviano Imperiale and Pietro de Coronato. (xxvii). Nicola de Tacio, commissionary of da Pontremoli, was also the representative in Bona of the coral company of the rich Genoese merchant-banker Eliano Spinola. (xxviii). Important grain market for da Pontremoli. (xxxiv-xxxv). 8 letters to Barbary , without specification of city/town of destination. (1 in 1454, 3 in 1455, 4 in 1458). (Gioffrè, 1982, 3-253).	
Bosco Marengo		3	2	2	1		10 (11) letters to Boscomarengo (3 in 1455, 5 in 1456, 2 in 1457). Da Pontremoli had 1 correspondent in Boscomarengo, Antonio de Costa de Bosco. In 1455, Giovanni da Pontremoli also sent a letter to Antonio de Costa, leaving for Boscomarengo. (Gioffrè, 1982, ix-x, 3-253). Antonio de Costa was a commission agent of Giovanni da Pontremoli in Boscomarengo in Piemonte. He operated for Giovanni da Pontremoli in Pavia and Alessandria. (Gioffrè, 1982, x).	
Calvi		3	2	2	1		7 (8) letters to Calvi (2 in 1456, 4 in 1457, 1 in 1458). Da Pontremoli had 3 different correspondents in Calvi, the most important of whom was Lorenzo da Rapallo. In 1457, Giovanni da Pontremoli also sent a letter to Zaccaria de Canobio, leaving for Calvi. (Gioffrè, 1982, 3-253). Lorenzo da Rapallo, lord of the castle of Calvi, was a relative of da Pontremoli. (xvi). 13 (15) letters to Corsica, without specification of city/town of destination (but probably Calvi) (1 in 1455, 2 in 1456, 5 in 1457, 4 in 1458, 1 in 1459). In 1456, Giovanni da Pontremoli also sent 2 letters to Bartolomeo Mirono, leaving for Corsica. (Gioffrè, 1982, 3-253).	8
Chios		3	2	2	1		19 letters to Chios (7 in 1453, 5 in 1454, 4 in 1455, 3 in 1456). Da Pontremoli had 6 different correspondents in Chios, the most important of whom was Tommaso de Fornari. Also one letter to the Levant (in 1459). (Gioffrè, 1982, xx, 3-253). Johannes and Stefanus de Pinu, relatives of da Pontremoli's wife, were the owners of a ship that went regularly to Chios and Caffa. (xv). No letters were sent to the Levant in 1457-58 due to civil strife, war with the Catalans, plague, etc. (xx).	
Constantine		3	2	2	1		13 (20,5) letters to Constantine (4 in 1455, 2 in 1456, 5 in 1457, 2 in 1458). Da Pontremoli had 5 different correspondents in Constantine, the most important of whom was Giovanni Battista Mirono. In 1455, Giovanni da	

							Pontremoli also sent a letter each to Gaspare de Nigro, Oliverio de Nigro, and Iacopo da Monleone, leaving for Constantine, and another letter to Gaspare de Nigro in Tunis or Constantine. In 1456, Giovanni da Pontremoli sent one letter to Giovanni Battista Mirono, one to Iacopo da Monleone, and 2 to Nicola de Tacio, all leaving for Constantine (Gioffrè, 1982, xxvii, 3-253). A correspondent in Constantine was Oliverio de Nigro. (xii n. 11). Constantine was the main destination in Northern Africa of correspondence sent by da Pontremoli. It was especially an important grain port. (xxvii). Very important grain market for da Pontremoli. (xxxiv-xxxv). 8 letters to Barbary , without specification of city/town of destination. (1 in 1454, 3 in 1455, 4 in 1458). (Gioffrè, 1982, 3-253).	
Milan		3	2	2	1		8 (9) letters to Milan (3 in 1455, 3 in 1456, 1 in 1457, 1 in 1458). Da Pontremoli had 1 correspondent in Milan. In 1456, Giovanni da Pontremoli sent a letter to Iacopo de Amindola, leaving for Milan. (Gioffrè, 1982, ix-x, 3-253). In Italy, Da Pontremoli had contacts with Milan, Pavia, Alessandria and Florence. (Gioffrè, 1982, xi).	
Sacca		3	2	2	1		8 letters to Sacca (6 in 1457, 2 in 1458). Da Pontremoli had 3 different correspondents in Sacca. (Gioffrè, 1982, 3-253). 6 letters to Sicily, without specification of city/town of destination (3 in 1456, 3 in 1457). In 1455, Giovanni da Pontremoli also sent a letter to Gregorio de Furno, leaving for Sicily. (Gioffrè, 1982, 3-253).	
Tunis		3	2	2	1		10 (14,5) letters to Tunis (3 in 1454, 2 in 1455, 2 in 1456, 1 in 1457, 2 in 1458). Da Pontremoli had 6 different correspondents in Tunis. In 1454, Giovanni da Pontremoli also sent a letter each to Iacopo da Monleone and Bartolomeo Mirono who were leaving for Bona and Tunis, and one letter to Bartolomeo de Calvi, scribe on a ship leaving for Tunis. In 1455, he also sent a letter to Oliverio de Nigro, leaving for Tunis, and to Gaspare de Nigro in Tunis or Costantina. In 1456 he also sent a letter to Bernardo Lercario in Tunisia. (Gioffrè, 1982, xxvii, 3-253). Important grain market for da Pontremoli. (xxxiv-xxxv). 8 letters to Barbary , without specification of city/town of destination. (1 in 1454, 3 in 1455, 4 in 1458). (Gioffrè, 1982, 3-253).	
Alessandria		2	2	1	0		Antonio de Costa was a commission agent of Giovanni da Pontremoli in Boscomarengo in Piemonte. He operated for Giovanni da Pontremoli in Pavia and Alessandria. (Gioffrè, 1982, x). In Italy, Da Pontremoli had	

							contacts with Milan, Pavia, Alessandria and Florence. (Gioffrè, 1982, xi).	
Caffa		2	2	1	0		3 (4) letters to Caffa (2 in 1455, 1 in 1456). Da Pontremoli had 2 different correspondents in Caffa. In 1455, Giovanni da Pontremoli also sent a letter to Martino da Voltaggio, leaving for Caffa. (Gioffrè, 1982, xx, 3-253). Johannes and Stefanus de Pinu, relatives of da Pontremoli's wife, were the owners of a ship that went regularly to Chios and Caffa. (xv). No letters were sent to the Levant in 1457-58 due to civil strife, war with the Catalans, plague, etc. (xx).	
Chiavari		2	2	1	0		3 letters to Chiavari (2 in 1456, 1 in 1457). Da Pontremoli had 1 correspondent in Chiavari. (Gioffrè, 1982, ix-x, 3-253).	
Florence		2	2	1	0		2 (3) letters to Florence (1 in 1454, 1 in 1455). Da Pontremoli had 2 different correspondents in Florence. In 1454, Giovanni da Pontremoli also sent a letter to Iacopo de Amendola, leaving for Florence. (Gioffrè, 1982, ix-x, 3-253). In Italy, Da Pontremoli had contacts with Milan, Pavia, Alessandria and Florence. (Gioffrè, 1982, xi).	
Geneva		2	2	1	0		4 (5) letters to Geneva (4 in 1459). Da Pontremoli had 1 correspondent in Geneva. In 1459, Giovanni da Pontremoli also sent a letter to Leonardo Grimaldi, leaving for Geneva. (Gioffrè, 1982, ix-x, 3-253). Velvet produced by the silk shop of da Pontremoli was exported to the fairs of Geneva by Giovanni da Pontremoli. (xlvii).	
Marseille		2	2	1	0		2 letters to Marseille (2 in 1457). Da Pontremoli had 2 different correspondents in Marseille. (Gioffrè, 1982, ix-x, 3-253).	
Palermo		2	2	1	0		2 letters to Palermo (2 in 1457). Da Pontremoli had 1 correspondent in Palermo. (Gioffrè, 1982, 3-253). 6 letters to Sicily, without specification of city/town of destination (3 in 1456, 3 in 1457). In 1455, Giovanni da Pontremoli also sent a letter to Gregorio de Furno, leaving for Sicily. (Gioffrè, 1982, 3-253).	
Pavia		2	2	1	0		Antonio de Costa was a commission agent of Giovanni da Pontremoli in Boscomarengo in Piemonte. He operated for Giovanni da Pontremoli in Pavia and Alessandria. (Gioffrè, 1982, x). In Italy, Da Pontremoli had contacts with Milan, Pavia, Alessandria and Florence. (Gioffrè, 1982, xi).	
Pera		2	2	1	0		2 letters to Pera (1 in 1454, 1 in 1455). Da Pontremoli had 1 correspondent in Pera: Battista Goastavino. Before 1453 Stefano de Pinu was a correspondent of da Pontremoli in Pera as well, but as a result of the loss of Constantinople to the Turks de Pinu went to Chios. (Gioffrè, 1982, xx-xxi,	

							3-253). No letters were sent to the Levant in 1457-58 due to civil strife, war with the Catalans, plague, etc. (xx).	
Rome		2	2	1	0		2 letters to Rome (1 in 1457, 1 in 1458). Da Pontremoli had 2 different correspondents in Rome. (Gioffrè, 1982, ix-x, 3-253).	
Sfax		2	2	1	0		One letter was sent to Sfax in Northern Africa. (Gioffrè, 1982, xxvii). Important grain market for da Pontremoli. (xxxiv-xxxv).	
Stora		2	2	1	0		1 (2) letters to Stora (1 in 1457). Da Pontremoli had 1 correspondent in Stora. In 1457, Giovanni da Pontremoli also sent a letter to Giovanni Battista Mirono, leaving for Stora. (Gioffrè, 1982, 3-253). Stora was the harbour of Costantina. (xxvii). Important grain port for da Pontremoli. (xxxiv-xxxv). 8 letters to Barbary , without specification of city/town of destination (1 in 1454, 3 in 1455, 4 in 1458). (Gioffrè, 1982, 3-253).	
Trapani		2	2	1	0		1 (2) letters to Trapani (1 in 1455). Da Pontremoli had 1 correspondent in Trapani. In 1456, Giovanni da Pontremoli sent a letter to Tommaso de Cassana, leaving for Trapani. (Gioffrè, 1982, 3-253). 6 letters to Sicily, without specification of city/town of destination (3 in 1456, 3 in 1457). In 1455, Giovanni da Pontremoli also sent a letter to Gregorio de Furno, leaving for Sicily. (Gioffrè, 1982, 3-253).	
Marsacares		1	1	1	0		In 1457, Giovanni da Pontremoli sent a letter to Nicola de Tacio, leaving for Marsachares. (Gioffrè, 1982, xxvii, 3-253). Marsacares was a famous coral port in Northern Africa. (xxvii). 8 letters to Barbary , without specification of city/town of destination. (1 in 1454, 3 in 1455, 4 in 1458). (Gioffrè, 1982, 3-253).	
Naples		1	1	1	0		In 1456, Giovanni da Pontremoli sent a letter to Geronimo de Domoculta, leaving for Naples. (Gioffrè, 1982, ix-x, 3-253).	
Rapallo		1	1	1	0		1 letter to Rapallo (1 in 1455). Da Pontremoli had 1 correspondent in Rapallo. (Gioffrè, 1982, ix-x, 3-253).	
Rivarolo		1	1	1	0		1 letter to Rivarolo (1 in 1458). Da Pontremoli had 1 correspondent in Rivarolo. (Gioffrè, 1982, 3-253).	
Spain		1	1	1	0		In 1459, Giovanni da Pontremoli sent a letter to Giuliano Tarigo, leaving for Spain. (Gioffrè, 1982, ix-xi, 3-253).	
Varazze		1	1	1	0		1 letter to Varazze (1 in 1457). Da Pontremoli had 1 correspondent in Varazze. (Gioffrè, 1982, ix-x, 3-253).	

+ 5 letters to unknown destinations: in 1454 one letter to Bartolomeo da Sarzano, in 1455 one letter to an unknown correspondent, in 1456 and 1457 each one letter to Pietro Spinola, in 1458 one letter to Benedetto de Nigro. (Gioffrè, 1982, ix-x, 3-253).

+ The number of letters given between brackets also includes the letters sent with agents leaving for the respective town/city. 8-point scale (number of letters is number between brackets): 3: more than 5 letters; 2: 2-5 letters; 1: 1 letter.

1.1.3. TUSCAN FIRMS

FLORENTINE FIRMS

ACCIAIUOLI COMPANY, 1284 – 1343

The Acciaiuoli of Florence are already referred to as money lenders in 1231, but the Acciaiuoli company, founded by Leone di Riccomanni Acciaiuoli, is mentioned for the first time in 1284. The firm was styled "Compagnia di messer Leone degli Acciaiuoli e compagni" ca. 1304, and "Compagnia di Dardano degli Acciaiuoli e compagni" ca. 1322-1327. Around 1337 the company was headed by Acciaiuolo and/or Banco degli Acciaiuoli. The company failed in 1343, during the wave of bankruptcies that ravaged Florence during the early 1340s (Byrne, 2004a, 1; Hoshino, 1982-1983, 7; Hunt, 1994, 241; Polica, 72; Renouard, 1938, 47-48; Id., 1942, 18-19, 21).

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Source material:

The archives of the Acciaiuoli company have disappeared completely, but indirect data can be found in several documents of the Angevin kings of Naples and in the Papal Archives. In the Archivio di Stato of Florence an inventory of all the account books (1501 registers) of the Acciaiuoli company that were confiscated after the bankruptcy in 1343 has been preserved in a register of the Tribunale di Mercanzia (Hoshino, 1982-1983, 7-9; Renouard, 1938, 44, 47; Id., 1942, 4-5, 18).

Size: Very large

The Acciaiuoli company was one of the largest Florentine firms of the first half of the 14th century. Probably its size was similar to that of the Peruzzi firm. The company counted 10 partners in 1284 and 19 partners in 1312. At least 95 factors/partners are known by name, but this probably constitutes only a fraction of their total number. At one point, more than 40 factors were employed in the branches alone (De Roover, 1948b, 39; Hoshino, 1982-1983, 21-23; Hunt, 1994, 1; Renouard, 1938, 47; Id., 1942, 18-20).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Trade in a large variety of goods, e.g. grain from the kingdom of Sicily, wool, cloth, armour, etc (Hoshino, 1982-1983, 11; Hunt, 1994, 40; Hunt & Murray, 1999, 93, 102-105; Renouard, 1942, 20).
- Finance: The Acciaiuoli appear to have been traders rather than financiers. Nevertheless, they were important bankers of the papacy and especially of the Angevin kings of southern Italy. In contrast with the Bardi and Peruzzi, the Acciaiuoli did not advance loans to the kings of England (Byrne, 2004a, 1; Hunt, 1994, 61-62; Hunt & Murray, 1999, 93, 102-105; Renouard, 1941, 112; Id., 1942, 19-21).
- Industry: Involved in the cloth production of Florence. They were especially engaged in the import, dyeing in Florence and re-export of cloth from western Europe (Hoshino, 1982-1983, 11; Hunt & Murray, 1999, 102-105).

Network of the Acciaiuoli company:

The Acciaiuoli enterprise was set up as a centralised multi-branch company. The firm was not only represented abroad by a large number of branches, but was also in correspondence with agents in numerous cities in the Mediterranean and western Europe. The business of the Acciaiuoli was concentrated on Italy (especially the kingdom of Sicily, where they played a crucial role since 1310) and the Levant. They did not have any branch or representative on the Iberian peninsula. Their financial activities in northwestern Europe appear to have been rather limited as well, although their commerce in this region may well have been considerable (De Roover, 1948b, 31; Hoshino, 1982-1983, 8-9, 11; Renouard, 1942, 20; Spufford, 2002, 24).

Table A..1. Network of the Acciaiuoli company, 1284 – 1343 (especially 1343)								
City	**R**	**Score**				**Period**	**Type of presence**	**References**
Florence		8	4	3	1	1284-1343	Headquarters, located in the Borgo Santi Apostoli.	De Roover, 1948b, 46 n. 63; Hoshino, 1982-1983, 12-13; Renouard, 1941, 61; Id., 1942, 18
Agrigento		6	3	2	1	>1343<	Branch. 28 ledgers of the branches in Sicily were confiscated in 1343.	Hoshino, 1982-1983, 10, 16, 19
Ancona		6	3	2	1	>1343<	Branch. 2 ledgers of the branch in Ancona were confiscated in 1343.	Hoshino, 1982-1983, 10, 13
Avignon		6	3	2	1	>1318-1344<	Branch. Normally 3 factors. The papal archives mention the presence of partners and factors in Avignon between 1318 and 1344. Francesco di Monte degli Acciaiuoli represented the company in Avignon at least between 1333 and 1344. 32 ledgers of the branch in Avignon were confiscated in 1343.	De Roover, 1948b, 46 n. 63; Hoshino, 1982-1983, 10, 13-14; Renouard, 1938, 48-51; Id., 1941, 63; Id., 1942, 20
Barletta		6	3	2	1	>1343<	Branch. Normally 4 factors. 35 ledgers of the branch in Barletta were confiscated in 1343.	De Roover, 1948b, 46 n. 63; Hoshino, 1982-1983, 10, 14; Renouard, 1938, 48; Id., 1942, 20
Bologna		6	3	2	1	>1321-1343<	Branch. Normally 1 factor. The papal archives mention the presence of partners and factors in Bologna between 1321 and 1341. 46 ledgers of the branch in Bologna were confiscated in 1343.	De Roover, 1948b, 46 n. 63; Hoshino, 1982-1983, 10, 14; Renouard, 1938, 48-51; Id., 1942, 20
Bruges		6	3	2	1	>1332-1343<	Branch. Normally 2 factors. The papal archives mention the presence of partners and factors in Flanders between 1332 and 1340, and in Bruges between 1336 and 1342.	De Roover, 1948b, 46 n. 63; Hoshino, 1982-1983, 11, 15; Murray, 2005, 231 n. 69; Renouard, 1938, 48-51; Id., 1942, 20
Chiarenza		6	3	2	1	>1341-1343<	Branch. Normally 2 factors. The papal archives mention the presence of a	De Roover, 1948b, 46

							factor in Chiarenza between 1341 and 1342. Piero Guicciardini (d. 1370) was a factor of the Acciaiuoli company in Chiarenza in the early 1340s. 6 ledgers of the branch in Chiarenza were confiscated in 1343.	n. 63; Goldthwaite, 1968, 111-112; Hoshino, 1982-1983, 10, 15; Renouard, 1938, 48-51; Id., 1942, 20
Famagusta		6	3	2	1	>1343<	Branch. Normally 3 factors. 9 ledgers of the branch in Cyprus were confiscated in 1343.	De Roover, 1948b, 46 n. 63; Hoshino, 1982-1983, 10, 15; Renouard, 1938, 48; Id., 1942, 20
Ferrara		6	3	2	1	>1343<	Branch. 9 ledgers of the branch in Ferrara were confiscated in 1343.	Hoshino, 1982-1983, 10, 15
Genoa		6	3	2	1	>1343<	Branch. Normally 6 factors. 44 ledgers of the branch in Genoa were confiscated in 1343.	De Roover, 1948b, 46 n. 63; Hoshino, 1982-1983, 10, 15-16; Luzzati, 1971, 31; Renouard, 1938, 48; Id., 1942, 20
London		6	3	2	1	>1332-1343<	Branch. Normally 2 factors. The papal archives mention the presence of partners and factors in London between 1332 and 1342. The Acciaiuoli were significantly smaller than the Bardi and Peruzzi in England. 5 ledgers of the branch in London were confiscated in 1343.	De Roover, 1948b, 46 n. 63; Hoshino, 1982-1983, 10, 16; Hunt, 1994, 40; Murray, 2005, 231 n. 69; Renouard, 1938, 48-51; Id., 1942, 20
Mallorca (Palma de Mallorca?)		6	3	2	1	>1343<	Branch. 7 ledgers of the branch in Mallorca were confiscated in 1343.	Hoshino, 1982-1983, 10, 16
Messina		6	3	2	1	>1343<	Branch. 28 ledgers of the branches in Sicily were confiscated in 1343.	Hoshino, 1982-1983, 10, 17, 19
Naples		6	3	2	1	>1331-1343<	Branch. Normally 5 factors. The papal archives mention the presence of partners and factors in Naples between 1340 and 1342. Niccola Acciaiuoli, son of Acciaiuolo, began his career in the branch in Naples in 1331. He stayed in Naples after the collapse of the company, and eventually became	Byrne, 2004b, 1; De Roover, 1948b, 46 n. 63; Hoshino, 1982-1983, 10, 17; Hunt,

							grand seneschal of the kingdom of Naples. 32 ledgers of the branch in Naples were confiscated in 1343.	1994, 241; Renouard, 1938, 48-51; Id., 1941, 55-56; Id., 1942, 20-21
Palermo		6	3	2	1	>1343<	Branch. Normally 3 factors. 28 ledgers of the branches in Sicily were confiscated in 1343.	De Roover, 1948b, 46 n. 63; Hoshino, 1982-1983, 10, 17-19; Renouard, 1938, 48; Id., 1942, 20
Paris		6	3	2	1	>1336-1343<	Branch, located in the Rue des Lombards in 1340. Normally 1 factor. The papal archives mention the presence of partners and factors in Paris between 1336 and 1340.	De Roover, 1948b, 46 n. 63; Hoshino, 1982-1983, 11, 18; Murray, 2005, 231 n. 69; Renouard, 1938, 48-51, 48 n. 2; Id., 1942, 20
Piacenza		6	3	2	1	>1324-1343<	Branch. The papal archives mention the presence of partners and factors in Piacenza between 1324 and 1334. Moreover, Meo Carducci, presumably a partner, was in Piacenza, Parma, Bologna and Faenza between 1324 and 1337. 7 ledgers of the branch in Piacenza were confiscated in 1343.	Hoshino, 1982-1983, 10, 18; Renouard, 1938, 48-51; Id., 1942, 20
Pisa		6	3	2	1	>1330-1343<	Branch. Normally 2 factors. The papal archives mention the presence of a partner in Pisa in 1330. 36 ledgers of the branch in Pisa were confiscated in 1343.	De Roover, 1948b, 46 n. 63; Hoshino, 1982-1983, 10, 18-19; Renouard, 1938, 48-51; Id., 1942, 20
Rhodes		6	3	2	1	>1338-1343<	Branch. Normally 1 or 2 factors according to Renouard (1942, 20), 3 according to De Roover (1948b, 46 n. 63). In 1338, the Bardi, Peruzzi and Acciaiuoli together built a shop at Villeneuve in Rhodes as a residence for their representatives. 11 ledgers of the branch in Rhodes were confiscated in 1343.	De Roover, 1948b, 46 n. 63; Hoshino, 1982-1983, 10, 19; Renouard, 1938, 48; Id., 1942, 13, 20
Romania		6	3	2	1	>1343<	Branch in Romania (the Black Sea region). 13 ledgers of the branch in Romania were confiscated in 1343.	Hoshino, 1982-1983, 10, 19
Rome		6	3	2	1	>1340<	Branch. Normally 2 factors. The papal archives mention the presence of a factor in Rome in 1340. No branch in Rome is mentioned by Hoshino (1982-1983) however (was the branch closed by 1343?).	De Roover, 1948b, 46 n. 63; Renouard, 1938, 48-51; Id.,

								1942, 20
Susa (Sousse)		6	3	2	1	>1343<	Branch. 29 ledgers of the branches in Tunis and Susa were confiscated in 1343.	Hoshino, 1982-1983, 10, 19
Tunis		6	3	2	1	>1343<	Branch. Normally 2 factors. 29 ledgers of the branches in Tunis and Susa were confiscated in 1343.	De Roover, 1948b, 46 n. 63; Hoshino, 1982-1983, 10, 19-20; Renouard, 1938, 48; Id., 1942, 20
Venice		6	3	2	1	>1332-1343<	Branch. The papal archives mention the presence of factors in Venice between 1332 and 1338. This branch is not mentioned by De Roover (1948b, 46 n. 63). 35 ledgers of the branch in Venice were confiscated in 1343.	Hoshino, 1982-1983, 10, 20; Renouard, 1938, 48-51; Id., 1942, 20
Macerata		4	2	2	1	>1322-1326<	Perhaps a branch. The papal archives mention the presence of partners and factors in Macerata between 1322 and 1326. No branch in Macerata is mentioned by De Roover (1948b) or Hoshino (1982-1983).	Renouard, 1938, 48-51; Id., 1942, 20
Perugia		4	2	2	1	>1325-1337<	Perhaps a branch. The papal archives mention the presence of partners in Perugia between 1325 and 1337. No branch in Perugia is mentioned by De Roover (1948b) or Hoshino (1982-1983).	Renouard, 1938, 48-51; Id., 1942, 20
Languedoc		3	2	2	1		The factors of the Acciaiuoli in Avignon also represented the company in Languedoc.	Renouard, 1941, 62 n. 73
Provence		3	2	2	1		The factors of the Acciaiuoli in Avignon also represented the company in Provence.	Renouard, 1941, 62 n. 73
Faenza		2	2	1	0	<1324-1337>, 1335	The papal archives mention the presence of Giovanni di Jacopo, presumably a partner, in Faenza on 2 July 1335. Moreover, Meo Carducci, presumably a partner, was in Piacenza, Parma, Bologna and Faenza between 1324 and 1337.	Renouard, 1938, 48-51
Parma		2	2	1	0	<1324-1337>	Meo Carducci, presumably a partner, was in Piacenza, Parma, Bologna and Faenza between 1324 and 1337.	Renouard, 1938, 50
Sarzana		2	2	1	0	1334	Stefano di Jacopo, factor, was in Piacenza and Sarzana between July and October 1334.	Renouard, 1938, 51

+ The exact number of branches of the Acciaiuoli company is not known, although it can be assumed that the table gives a fairly complete picture. To reconstruct the list of branches, Hoshino (1982-1983) has been followed (with the addition of Rome, mentioned as a branch by all other authors), since he appears to be the most complete. About the network of agents used by the firm, almost no data are available. As a result, the network reconstructed here gives only a fragmentary view.

+ All the branches have been attributed a score 6 in the 8-point scale: data on the number of factors and the number of confiscated ledgers for each branch often contradict each other, and as such do not allow unambiguous estimations of the size of the different branches.

ALBERTI DEL GIUDICE, 1302 – 1439

In the course of time, different more or less independent Alberti companies have existed. In what follows, each of them will be treated separately (see genealogical table for an overview).

In 1302, a trading company was founded by the brothers Alberto, Neri and Lapo, sons of Jacopo degli Alberti, members of the Florentine family of the Alberti del Giudice. In 1346, a split arose between the two partners Jacopo d'Alberto and Caroccio di Lapo degli Alberti. Two companies came out of this split, respectively the Alberti antichi (headed by Jacopo), and the Alberti nuovi (headed by Caroccio). Another division occurred within the Alberti antichi around 1372, when Niccolò di Jacopo and Benedetto di Nerozzo degli Alberti each went their own way. After a collapse in 1439, the Alberti withdrew definitely from business (De Roover, 1958, 20, 31-32; Hunt & Murray, 1999, 155; Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 39; Renouard, 1938, 52-53; Id., 1941, 44, 47-48; Id., 1942, 29).

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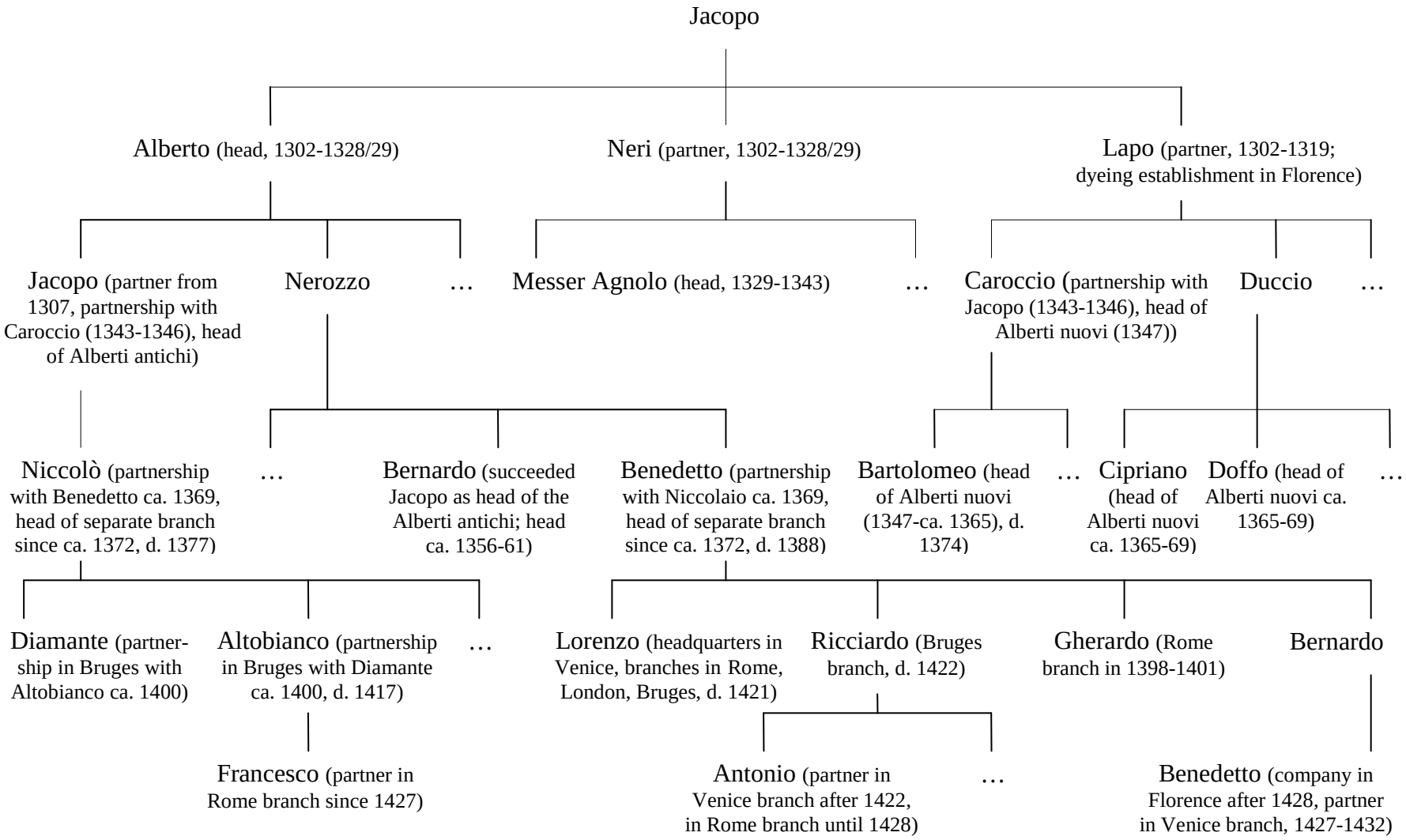
Source material:

Fragments of account books of the Alberti company of the first half of the 14th century have been preserved, which have been published by Armando Sapori. The principal extant records are fragments of the *libro segreto* of Alberto di Jacopo degli Alberti del Giudice & Co. (1302-1329), and fragments of the private ledger of Caroccio di Lapo degli Alberti (De Roover, 1958, 28-31).

An account book has been preserved as well for the Alberti nuovi company, concerning its early years of existence until 1352. The archives of the Alberti antichi are lost however. Indirect data about Alberti antichi and Alberti nuovi can be found in the Papal Archives. More than 500 letters of the Alberti have been preserved in the Datini archive for the years 1388-1407 (Guidi Bruscoli, s.d., 4; Renouard, 1938, 44, 54; Id., 1942, 4-5, 34, 37).

Fig. A..1. Selective Genealogy of the Alberti del Giudice



1. ALBERTI COMPANY, 1302 – 1346

The Alberti company was founded in 1302 by the sons of Jacopo degli Alberti, Alberto, Neri, and Lapo. After a difficult period in 1310-1319, the company successfully survived the Florentine bankruptcy wave of the 1340s. In 1346, the partnership between Jacopo d'Alberto and Caroccio di Lapo came to an end, each founding their own company, respectively the Alberti antichi and the Alberti nuovi (De Roover, 1958, 20, 30-31, 43).

Size: Large

In 1307, the Alberti company employed 14 factors, which number increased to 20 by 1310. By 1319, nine partners, all of whom belonged to the Alberti family, participated in the Alberti firm. In 1323, the company had a total equity of 30,465 li. 12 s. 1 d. (the investments of the partners in the *corpo* consisted of 25,000 li.). With the exception of the giant Bardi, Peruzzi and Acciaiuoli companies, the Alberti company – although significantly smaller – was perhaps the largest Florentine trade company in the 1340s, by which time it participated in international trade and finance (De Roover, 1958, 24-27, 40-41; Hunt & Murray, 1999, 119, 155; Renouard, 1941, 57; Id., 1942, 30-33).

Main activities:

- Commerce: The Alberti started as importers of Flemish cloth from the Champagne fairs via Florence to Italy. Due to warfare in Florence and Italy, and a decreasing demand for Flemish cloth (partly as a result of the development of a local cloth industry in Florence), the Alberti company came in serious difficulties in the years 1310-1319 (especially in 1312-1315). Thanks to strong measures to keep control over its financial means, a diversification of its trade (less expensive Flemish cloth, more cloth of cheaper varieties from Brabant and France by 1329, also trade in wool, local cloth, spices and dyestuffs after 1320) and involvement in local cloth manufacturing in Florence, the company became profitable again from 1319 (De Roover, 1958, 20-23, 39-40, 42, 44-46; Hunt & Murray, 1999, 155; Renouard, 1942, 31).
- Finance: As papal bankers, the Alberti participated in international finance from ca. 1335, especially in money transfers between England and Avignon. Trade in bills of exchange (e.g. in Bruges). The Alberti did not procure loans to princes however (De Roover, 1958, 45-46; Hunt & Murray, 1999, 155; Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 18-19, 45-46; Renouard, 1941, 112, 116; Id., 1942, 32).
- Industry: Imported Flemish cloth was finished and dyed in Florence, where the Alberti had a dyeing establishment at least from 1307 to 1319. From at least 1321, the Alberti owned a cloth manufacturing establishment in Florence (De Roover, 1958, 20, 22; Hunt & Murray, 1999, 155).

Network of the Alberti Company:

The Alberti were organised as a Florentine multi-branch company. The Alberti network was not limited to their network of branches and factors. They also made use of agents elsewhere: e.g. in Nice they were represented by an innkeeper (Hunt, 1994, 99).

Table A..1. Network of the Alberti Company, 1302 – 1346								
City	**R**	**Score**				**Period**	**Type of presence**	**References**
Florence		8	4	3	1	1302-1346	- Headquarters (*Fondaco*), located in Borgo Santa Croce. Heads of the company were successively Alberto di Jacopo (1302-1328), Messer Agnolo di Neri (1329-1343), followed by a partnership between Jacopo d'Alberto and Caroccio di Lapo (1343-1346). - Dyeing establishment: managed by Lapo di Jacopo degli Alberti (partner) (at least from 1307 to his death in 1319). - Cloth manufacturing establishment (*Bottega della lana*): managed by Caroccio di Lapo degli Alberti (partner) (at least from 1321), assisted by two factors (his brothers Bartolo and Francesco); by November 1329 the management was transferred to Francesco d'Alberto degli Alberti.	De Roover, 1958, 20, 22-24, 29, 31, 43-44; Renouard, 1941, 61
Avignon		6	3	2	1	>1329-1345<	Branch or factor(s) (at one time or another between 1302 and 1348). Definitely a branch from 1329. The papal archives mention the presence of partners and factors in Avignon between 1335 and 1345.	De Roover, 1958, 46; Renouard, 1938, 53-54; Id., 1942, 32
Barletta		6	3	2	1	>1307<	Branch or factor(s) (at one time or another between 1302 and 1348). Filippo di Schiatta di Lippozzo was for a time manager of the Barletta branch. 3 factors in 1307 (Simone del Forte, Fuccio del Maestruccio, Puccio di Bono (the last also active in Naples)).	De Roover, 1958, 20, 24-25, 46
Bologna		6	3	2	1	>1307<	Branch or factor(s) (at one time or another between 1302 and 1348). 2 factors in 1307 (Guido di ser Rinaldo, Piero di Stefano).	De Roover, 1958, 20, 24-25, 46
Bruges, Flanders		6	3	2	1	>1307<	- Branch or factor(s) in Flanders (at one time or another between 1302 and 1348). Factors commuting between Florence, the fairs of Champagne and Flanders: 4 factors in 1307 (More Bonsignori, Cione Bonsignori, Giovanni di ser Pino, Piero di Dedi Falconieri). - Trade in bills of exchange by the Alberti representatives in Bruges.	De Roover, 1958, 24-25, 46; Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 18-19; Renouard, 1942, 31
Constantinople		6	3	2	1		Branch or factor(s) (at one time or another between 1302 and 1348).	De Roover, 1958, 30, 46; Renouard, 1942, 32
Genoa		6	3	2	1	>1315	- Branch or factor(s) (at one time or another between 1302 and 1348). At least from 1315. - Represented by an innkeeper.	De Roover, 1958, 46; Renouard, 1941, 52; Id., 1942, 32
London		6	3	2	1	>1335-1338<	Branch or factor(s) (at one time or another between 1302 and 1348). At least from 1335. The papal archives mention the presence of partners and factors	De Roover, 1958, 46; Renouard, 1938, 53-

							in London between 1336 and 1338.	54; Id., 1942, 32
Mallorca (Palma de Mallorca?)		6	3	2	1		Branch or factor(s) (at one time or another between 1302 and 1348).	De Roover, 1958, 46
Milan		6	3	2	1	>1307<	Branch or factor(s) (at one time or another between 1302 and 1348). 1 factor in 1307 (Bettino Scarpa, also active at the Champagne fairs).	De Roover, 1958, 20, 24-25, 46; Renouard, 1942, 32
Naples		6	3	2	1	>1307<	Branch or factor(s) (at one time or another between 1302 and 1348). 1 factor in 1307 (Puccio di Bono, also active in Barletta).	De Roover, 1958, 20, 24-25, 46; Renouard, 1942, 32
Venice		6	3	2	1	>1307<	Branch or factor(s) (at one time or another between 1302 and 1348). Tieri di Messer Ridolfo was for a time before November 1307 in charge of the Venetian branch. 1 factor in 1307 (Bruno di Nuto Benvenuti).	De Roover, 1958, 20, 24-25, 43, 46; Renouard, 1942, 32
Antwerp, Brabant		3	2	2	1	>1329<	By 1329, More and Cione Bonsignori, factors of the Alberti in Flanders, had become increasingly active in the Brabant region. Branch from 1306 in Bruges-Antwerp according to Renouard (1942, 31-32). Not mentioned by De Roover (1958) however.	Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 18-19
Aquilèia		3	2	2	1	from 1315	Branch from 1315 in Aquilèia according to Renouard (1942, 31-32). Not mentioned by De Roover (1958) however.	Renouard, 1942, 32
Basel		3	2	2	1		Represented by an innkeeper.	Renouard, 1941, 52
Bar-sur-Aube		3	2	2	1	>1307<	Factors commuting between Florence, the fairs of Champagne and Flanders: 4 factors in 1307 (More Bonsignori, Cione Bonsignori, Giovanni di ser Pino, Piero di Dedi Falconieri).	De Roover, 1958, 24-25
Faenza		3	2	2	1		Represented by an innkeeper.	Renouard, 1941, 52
Lagny-sur-Marne		3	2	2	1		Factors commuting between Florence, the fairs of Champagne and Flanders: 4 factors in 1307 (More Bonsignori, Cione Bonsignori, Giovanni di ser Pino, Piero di Dedi Falconieri).	
Nice		3	2	2	1		Represented by innkeepers: Vanni and Petruccio Ugolini (the same also represented the Peruzzi).	Hunt, 1994, 99; Renouard, 1941, 52
Paris		3	2	2	1		Represented by innkeepers: Donato Ardinghelli and Spinello Guicciardi.	Renouard, 1941, 52
Pisa		3	2	2	1		Represented by an innkeeper.	Renouard, 1941, 52
Provins		3	2	2	1		Factors commuting between Florence, the fairs of Champagne and Flanders: 4 factors in 1307 (More Bonsignori, Cione Bonsignori, Giovanni di ser Pino, Piero di Dedi Falconieri).	
Troyes		3	2	2	1		Factors commuting between Florence, the fairs of Champagne and Flanders:	

							4 factors in 1307 (More Bonsignori, Cione Bonsignori, Giovanni di ser Pino, Piero di Dedi Falconieri).	
Verona		2	2	1	0	>1329<	By 1329, factors of the Alberti occasionally interceded directly with suppliers in Verona and Venice.	Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 18-19

+ Renouard (1941, 52) does not give any indication about the period in which the innkeepers (in Basel, Faenza, Genoa, Nice, Paris, and Pisa) worked for the Alberti, but since the innkeepers in Nice also represented the Peruzzi, they must have been active sometime between 1302 and 1343. Consequently, Renouard appears to refer here to the Alberti company before its split in 1346. Is this the case as well for the other innkeepers?
+ Renouard (1942, 31-32) refers to branches in Bruges-Antwerp, Milan, Naples and Constantinople from 1306, in Genoa, Venice and Aquilèia from 1315 or even before, in Avignon from 1329, and in London from 1335 the latest. However, I have chosen to follow the more recent study by De Roover (1958), which does not mention the branches in Antwerp and Aquilèia.

2. ALBERTI ANTICHI, 1346 – 1439

The Alberti antichi (as they were called in the papal documents) were founded by Jacopo d'Alberto degli Alberti in 1346. The company experienced a first period of prosperity until 1350-51, followed by a grave crisis, and a strong revival from 1359. Another crisis appears to have occurred between 1368 and 1371, when the Alberti antichi temporarily lost their privileged status as papal bankers. Around 1372, a split arose in the company, and two separate companies developed, respectively headed by Niccolò di Jacopo and by Benedetto di Nerozzo. It is not clear however, in how far this split was apparent rather than real. Benedetto became involved in the revolutionary government of Florence during the Ciompi revolt in 1378. For this, he and some of his relatives were exiled from Florence in 1387. Other members of the Alberti family were sent into exile in 1393 and 1401, thereby founding companies in different cities abroad. Only in 1428 the sentence was lifted, and the Alberti were allowed to conduct trade in Florence again. In the 1430s, the Alberti got in financial difficulties, overinvesting in a few companies, and one branch after another had to be dissolved. In 1439, there was a final collapse, and the Alberti definitely retired from business and started to live from the revenues of their properties. A major factor in the decline of the Alberti firm was the rise of the Medici bank (De Roover, 1958, 15-17, 31-32; Hunt & Murray, 1999, 155; Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 39; Renouard, 1938, 53; Id., 1942, 33-35).

Size: Large or very large

The Alberti antichi were the biggest Florentine merchant-banking company during the second half of the 14th century, and for several years they were even the largest business enterprise of western Europe (De Roover, 1958, 31-32; Renouard, 1942, 33-36).

Main activities:

- Commerce: The Alberti antichi traded in all kinds of goods, but especially in textiles. The London branch exported English wool and cloth to Italian ports (Hunt & Murray, 1999, 155; Renouard, 1942, 36-37).

- Finance: Large scale banking. By the 1360s, the Alberti antichi were the preferred bankers of the Pope. Among other things, they transferred papal revenues from Scandinavia (via Bruges), England, etc to Italy. The London branch advanced credit to English wool producers. Nothing is known about the financial relationships between the Alberti and monarchs other than the popes however (De Roover, 1958, 15, 31-32; Hunt & Murray, 1999, 155; Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 23; Renouard, 1941, 112-116; Id., 1942, 37).
- Industry: At least since 1382, several wool manufactories were operated by the Alberti in Florence, e.g. by Alberto di Bernardo Alberti and Giovanni Pagni; by Niccolo di Luigi Alberti. (Padgett & McLean, 2006, 1556).

Network of the Alberti antichi in the last third of the 14th century:

The Alberti antichi were a decentralised multi-branch company. In the commercial and financial centres where they had no branches, they were probably represented by correspondents. The network of the Alberti antichi spanned the western Mediterranean and north-western Europe. However, the Alberti antichi definitely did not have a branch in Portugal, and probably they did not have one in the eastern Mediterranean either (De Roover, 1958, 31-32; Renouard, 1938, 54; Id., 1942, 36).

Table A..2. Network of the Alberti antichi, last third of the 14th century (network not used)

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Florence		8	4	3	1	1346-1401>	Headquarters.	De Roover, 1958, 16
Avignon		6	3	2	1	Last 3rd 14th c., >1347-1376<	- Branch. Managers in Avignon: Lamberto di Lapo Lamberteschi (1347-1367), Tommaso di Mone degli Alberti (1364-1374). In 1367-1370, Tommaso accompanied the papal Curia on its journey in Italy. The Avignon branch remained active during these years however. - From 1372, Niccolò di Jacopo and Benedetto di Nerozzo had different factors in Avignon, respectively Jacopo di Vanni and Piero di Bartolo (for Niccolò), and Tommaso di Mone, Matteo di Luca and Filippo degli Marsigli (for Benedetto). - The papal archives mention the presence of partners, factors and correspondents in Avignon between 1347 and 1376.	De Roover, 1958, 32; Renouard, 1938, 54-58, 53 n. 1; Id., 1941, 63, 114; Id. 1942, 34, 36
Barcelona		6	3	2	1	Last 3rd 14th c., >1367-1375<	Branch. The papal archives mention the presence of partners and factors in Barcelona between 1367 and 1375.	De Roover, 1958, 32; Renouard, 1938, 54-58; Id., 1942, 36
Bari		6	3	2	1	Last 3rd 14th c., >1364-1366<	Branch. Apparently, the factors of the Alberti antichi in Puglia resided in Barletta as well as in Bari. The papal archives mention the presence of correspondents in Bari and Puglia between 1364 and 1366.	Renouard, 1938, 54-58; Id., 1942, 36 n. 5.

Barletta		6	3	2	1	Last 3rd 14th c.	Branch. Apparently, the factors of the Alberti antichi in Puglia resided in Barletta as well as in Bari.	De Roover, 1958, 32; Renouard, 1942, 36, 36 n. 5.
Bologna		6	3	2	1	Last 3rd 14th c., >1368-1370<	Branch. The papal archives mention the presence of factors in Bologna between 1368 and 1370.	De Roover, 1958, 32; Renouard, 1938, 54-58; Id., 1942, 36
Bruges		6	3	2	1	Last 3rd 14th c., >1355-1375<	- Branch. Jacopo Vanni was employed as a factor in the Alberti branch in Bruges in 1356. - Factor in Bruges of Niccolò di Jacopo in 1372 was Niccolò di Luca; factors of Benedetto di Nerozzo in 1372 were Ranieri di Domenico, Bernardo di Niccolò, Talento di Andrea Bucelli and Matteo di Giovanni Doni. - The papal archives mention the presence of partners and factors in Flanders and Brabant between 1355 and 1375, and in Bruges between 1355 and 1375.	De Roover, 1958, 32; Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 23; Renouard, 1938, 54-58; Id., 1942, 36, 34 n. 5
Genoa		6	3	2	1	Last 3rd 14th c., >1368-1374<	Branch. The papal archives mention the presence of correspondents in Genoa between 1368 and 1374.	De Roover, 1958, 32; Renouard, 1938, 54-58; Id., 1942, 36
London		6	3	2	1	Last 3rd 14th c., >1363-1376<	Branch: Gherardo degli Alberti & Co. The papal archives mention the presence of partners and factors in London between 1363 and 1376.	De Roover, 1958, 32; Origo, 1963, 358 n. 23; Renouard, 1938, 54-58; Id., 1942, 36
Naples		6	3	2	1	Last 3rd 14th c., >1373<	Branch. The papal archives mention the presence of correspondents in Naples in 1373.	De Roover, 1958, 32; Renouard, 1938, 54-58; Id., 1942, 36
Paris		6	3	2	1	Last 3rd 14th c., >1364-1375<	Branch. The papal archives mention the presence of partners and factors in Paris between 1364 and 1375.	De Roover, 1958, 32; Renouard, 1938, 54-58; Id., 1942, 36
Perugia		6	3	2	1	Last 3rd 14th c., >1355-1366<	Branch. The papal archives mention the presence of correspondents in Perugia between 1355 and 1366.	De Roover, 1958, 32; Renouard, 1938, 54-58; Id., 1942, 36
Venice		6	3	2	1	Last 3rd 14th c., >1348-1372<	- Branch. - Factor in Venice in 1372 of Niccolò was Jacopo di Jacopo Corsini; factor of Benedetto in 1372 was Bartolomeo di Tommaso. - The papal archives mention the presence of partners, factors and correspondents in Venice between 1348 and 1372.	De Roover, 1958, 32; Renouard, 1938, 54-58; Id., 1942, 36, 34 n. 7
Bourges		3	2	1	0	>1366<	The representatives of the Paris branch were also active in Bourges. The	Renouard, 1938, 54-

							papal archives mention the presence of a factor in Bourges in 1366.	58; Id., 1942, 36
Brussels		3	2	2	1		The representatives of the Bruges branch were also active in Brussels.	Renouard, 1942, 36
Cambrai		3	2	2	1		The representatives of the Bruges branch were also active in Cambrai.	Renouard, 1942, 36
Cologne		3	2	2	1		The representatives of the Bruges branch were also active in Cologne.	Renouard, 1942, 36
Liège		3	2	2	1		The representatives of the Bruges branch were also active in Liège.	Renouard, 1942, 36
Mechelen		3	2	2	1	1372	The representatives of the Bruges branch were also active in Mechelen. Bartolomeo di Giovanni Sovaglini, factor of the Alberti antichi (both branches), transferred papal revenues from Mechelen to Avignon in 1372.	Renouard, 1942, 36, 35 n. 1
Montpellier		3	2	2	1	>1366-1370<	The papal archives mention the presence of a correspondent in Montpellier between 1366 and 1370.	Renouard, 1938, 54-58
Rouen		3	2	2	1		The representatives of the Paris branch were also active in Rouen.	Renouard, 1942, 36
Tours		3	2	2	1		The representatives of the Paris branch were also active in Tours.	Renouard, 1942, 36
Valencia		3	2	2	1	>1373<	The representatives of the Barcelona branch were also active in Valencia. The papal archives mention the presence of a correspondent in Valencia in 1373.	Renouard, 1938, 54-58; Id., 1942, 36 n. 5
Montefiascone		2	2	1	0	<1367-1370>	During the stay of Urbanus V in Italy in 1367-1370, the Alberti antichi had a representative at the Curia, who travelled between Rome, Viterbo and Montefiascone.	Renouard, 1938, 54; Id., 1942, 36
Rome		2	2	1	0	<1367-1370>	During the stay of Urbanus V in Italy in 1367-1370, the Alberti antichi had a representative at the Curia, who travelled between Rome, Viterbo and Montefiascone.	Renouard, 1938, 54; Id., 1942, 36
Viterbo		2	2	1	0	<1367-1370>, >1368<	- During the stay of Urbanus V in Italy in 1367-1370, the Alberti antichi had a representative at the Curia, who travelled between Rome, Viterbo and Montefiascone. - The papal archives mention the presence of a factor in Viterbo in 1368.	Renouard, 1938, 54-58; Id., 1942, 36
Aversa		1	1	1	0	1365	The papal archives mention the presence of a correspondent in Aversa on 12 October 1365.	Renouard, 1938, 54-58
Marseille		1	1	1	0	1367	The papal archives mention the presence of a factor in Marseille in 1367, accompanying the Papal Curia.	Renouard, 1938, 54-58

+ It is not clear whether this is the network before or after the split in the Alberti antichi company around 1372. Both the company of Niccolò and of Benedetto appear to have taken over part of the staff in each of the branches of the older Alberti antichi firm. In reality the personnel of the different branches seems to have operated indistinctly for both firms and in the same office building. Only in Avignon the split was more than purely formal (Renouard, 1942, 34).

+ This list is entirely based on documents in the Pontifical Archives, and as such there is no guarantee for completeness (Renouard, 1938, 54).

Network of the Alberti antichi after 1377/1388:

The table below gives an overview of the branches of the different Alberti companies after the death of Niccolò di Jacopo (d. 1377) and Benedetto di Nerozzo degli Alberti (d. 1388). The complex organisation of the Alberti bank from the end of the 14th century until the 1430s has still to be sorted out by economic historians. Several members of the family – being sent into exile – established or joined branches in different cities abroad, whereby the connections between these different branches are often unclear. By this time, the Alberti company was not a centralised company anymore. The branches were essentially independent, and connected rather through family relationships, trust, and linked investments, than through corporate control (Hunt & Murray, 1999, 155; Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 34, 38; Padgett & McLean, 2006, 1556).

Table A..3. Network of the Alberti antichi, after 1377/1388 (esp. early 15th century)

City*	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Venice (N, B)		6	3	2	1	>1399-1411<	- At the end of the 14th century, a partnership of Bernardo (di Nerozzo (?)) and Alberto di Bernardo Alberti existed in Venice, and between 1399 and 1411 a company of Bernardo (di Benedetto (?)) Alberti. Ca. 1398, the branch of Niccolò was represented in Venice by a partnership of Diamante and Altobianco Alberti.	Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 36-38; Murray, 2005, 232-233; Padgett & McLean, 2006, 1556-1557
		~~**8**~~ ***7***	~~**4**~~ ***3***	~~**3**~~ ***2***	~~**1**~~ ***1***	>1421-1432<	- After being sent into exile, Venice became the headquarters of the company of Lorenzo di Benedetto degli Alberti (d. 1421). Inherited by his brother Ricciardo (d. 1422). After Ricciardo's death, other Alberti invested in the company, most notably Lionardo di Nerozzo and Antonio di Ricciardo. Ca. 1427-1432, the Venice branch was operated by Benedetto di Bernardo and Lionardo di Nerozzo degli Alberti.	
Barcelona (N)		6	3	2	1	<1377-1439>, >c.1400<	Branch. Around 1400, there was a partnership between a Niccolò degli Alberti and Filippozzo Soldani. This Niccolò was perhaps a brother or cousin of Diamante and Altobianco of Bruges. Diamante and Altobianco on the one hand, and Alberto and Bernardo degli Alberti on the other hand, were also represented in Barcelona by the Datini company.	De Roover, 1948b, 30; De Roover, 1958, 32; Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 34; Melis, 1962, 15; Murray, 2005, 232-233
Bologna (B)		6	3	2	1	<1377-1439>	Branch. At the end of the 14th century, a partnership between Bernardo (di Nerozzo (?)) and Alberto di Bernardo Alberti existed in Bologna.	Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 34; Padgett & McLean, 2006, 1556
Bruges (N, B)		6	3	2	1	>1388-1436<	By 1400, at least three distinct Alberti companies were established in	De Roover, 1958, 32;

							Bruges: (1) Diamante and Altobianco degli Alberti, sons of Niccolò (at least from 1395 to 1404). (2) Ricciardo di Benedetto degli Alberti (d. 1422). Branch of the company of Lorenzo di Benedetto degli Alberti of Venice (1392-1407). In the late 1420s, Antonio di Ricciardo degli Alberti had a company in Bruges, managed by Filippo di Giovanni di ser Rucco. The company was renewed in 1430. (3) Alberto di Bernardo and Bernardo (di Nerozzo (?)) degli Alberti (1395-1401). Bernardo was in Bruges between 1388 and 1400.	Guidi Bruscoli, s.d., 3-5, 9; Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 34, 36-37; Melis, 1962, 15; Murray, 2005, 233; Origo, 1963, 359 n. 28; Padgett & McLean, 2006, 1556-1557
Florence (N, B, O)		~~8~~ *7* 5 **6**	~~4~~ *3* 3 **3**	~~3~~ *2* 2 **2**	~~1~~ *1* 1 **1**	Until 1387/1401 <1402-1413> <1428-1439>	- Headquarters until the Alberti were exiled from Florence (between 1387/1401 and 1428): Alberti were not allowed to trade in Florence. Florentine companies of the Alberti existed at least until 1400 (several companies in which Ricciardo di Benedetto was involved, a company of Niccolo di Luigi Alberti). - Roman branch temporarily established in Florence (papal court travelled between Rome, Florence and Pisa in 1402-1413): managed by Aldighiero di Francesco Biliotti for Lorenzo di Benedetto degli Alberti. - After the sentence of exile expired in 1428, Benedetto di Bernardo Alberti established a new company in Florence. - The Bruges branches of the Alberti company also corresponded with the Datini company in Florence.	De Roover, 1958, 16-17; Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 34, 36-38; Melis, 1962, 15; Padgett & McLean, 2006, 1556
Genoa (?)		6	3	2	1	<1377-1439>	Branch. The Bruges branches of the Alberti company also corresponded with the Datini company in Genoa.	Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 34; Melis, 1962, 15
London (B, O)		6	3	2	1	>1395-1436	Branch. Brief decline at the end of the 14th c., but leading position in England was regained from 1395 until 1436. Ca. 1399-1400 two Alberti companies were active in London: Alberto & Bernardo degli Alberti, and Gherardo degli Alberti. Apparently both were closed not much after 1400. More or less simultaneously (ca. 1397-1399) a partnership between Niccolo di Luigi and Calcidonio Alberti operated in London. By 1421 a branch of the company of Lorenzo di Benedetto degli Alberti of Venice, inherited by his brother Ricciardo (d. 1422), existed in London. In 1421 it was renamed Alessandro di Francesco Ferrantini & Partners (Ferrantini was manager and shareholder). The London branch was the first that was dissolved during the financial difficulties of the 1430s. It went bankrupt in 1436, probably as a	Barron, 1969, 217; Guidi Bruscoli, s.d., 4-5, 9, 14; Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 34, 36-37, 39; Padgett & McLean, 2006, 1556-1557

							result of bad management.	
Montpellier (?)		6	3	2	1	<1377-1439>	Branch.	Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 34
Palermo (N, B, O)		6	3	2	1	>1390-1439>	Branch. At least since 1390, a company of Ricciardo di Benedetto, Bivigliano di Marco, Niccolaio di Marco and Antonio di Tommaso Alberti existed in Valencia and Sicily. Other companies which were active in Palermo at the end of the 14th century were a partnership between Simone Alberti and Jacopo Guardi, and a company of Antonio Alberti (later Piero Alberti), which was probably connected to Diamante and Altobianco Alberti, sons of Niccolò.	Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 34; Padgett & McLean, 2006, 1556-1557
Paris (B)		6	3	2	1	<1377-1439>	Branch. A partnership of Gherardo Alberti and Niccolo Ramaglianti was active in Paris at the end of the 14th century.	Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 34; Padgett & McLean, 2006, 1557
Rome (B, N)		6	3	2	1	<1377-1439>, >1384-1436<	Branch. In 1384-1398, the Rome branch went under the name of Giovanni di Lippo Alberti. In 1398 it passed briefly to Gherardo, and from 1401 to his brother Lorenzo di Benedetto degli Alberti (d. 1421). Between 1412 and 1421, the Roman branch was transferred into the hands of Lorenzo's nephew Benedetto di Bernardo. By 1427, managing partner was Antonio di Ricciardo, who was joined in 1427 by Francesco di Altobianco degli Alberti. In 1428, Francesco became the sole managing partner. By 1433, the branch increasingly came into problems. In 1436, Francesco was sued by Benedetto for an unfair rendering of accounts. Under Lorenzo, the Roman branch was managed by Aldighiero di Francesco Biliotti. In 1427, the Roman bank was reorganised, and Tommaso Spinelli joined Biliotti as managing factor. The Roman branch followed the itinerant papal court between Rome, Florence and Pisa in 1402-1413.	Guidi Bruscoli, s.d., 9 n. 30; Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 34, 36-39
Valencia (B)		6	3	2	1	>1390-1439>	Branch. At least since 1390, a company of Ricciardo di Benedetto, Bivigliano di Marco, Niccolaio di Marco and Antonio di Tommaso Alberti existed in Valencia and Sicily. The Bruges branches of the Alberti company also corresponded with the Datini company in Valencia.	Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 34; Melis, 1962, 15; Padgett & McLean, 2006, 1556
Basel (B)		5	3	2	1	>1438<	The Bruges company of the Alberti was involved in financing the Alberti company in Basel. The Basel branch was also associated with the company of Benedetto and Antonio degli Alberti at the Papal Court. Dego degli Alberti was the manager of the Basel firm.	Guidi Bruscoli, s.d., 5-6, 13
Cologne (B)		5	3	2	1	>1429-1436<	The Bruges company of the Alberti had a branch in Cologne, which operated	Guidi Bruscoli, s.d.,

							initially without own capital. It was managed by Bartolomeo di Domenico Biliotti, who invested 1,000 Rhenish florins in the company in 1429. After 1434 the branch was managed by Antonio di Antonio de' Rossi.	5, 9; Von Stromer, 1973, 332
Pisa (B)		4	2	2	1	1409	Branch. Roman branch temporarily established in Pisa in 1409 (Council of Pisa): managed by Aldighiero di Francesco Biliotti for Lorenzo di Benedetto degli Alberti. The Bruges branches of the Alberti company also corresponded with the Datini company in Pisa.	Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 34; Melis, 1962, 15
Barbary		3	2	2	1		Branch in northern Africa according to Hunt & Murray (1999, 155). Other authors do not mention a branch in northern Africa however.	Hunt & Murray, 1999, 155
Geneva		3	2	2	1		Branch according to De Roover (1963, 462). Other authors do not mention a branch in Geneva however.	De Roover, 1963, 462 n. 10
Lisbon		3	2	2	1	>1426<	Bills of exchange drawn from Lisbon on Leonardo degli Alberti (was this Lionardo di Nerozzo?) in Rome by Bartholomeu Lomellini in Lisbon.	Rau, 1957, 721, 721 n. 28
Palma de Mallorca		3	2	2	1		The Bruges branches of the Alberti company corresponded with the Datini company in Mallorca.	Melis, 1962, 15
Rhodes		3	2	2	1	<1386-1410>	Branch according to Origo (1963, 84). Other authors do not mention a branch in Rhodes however (although Hunt & Murray (1999, 155) mention the presence of an Alberti branch in the eastern Mediterranean).	Hunt & Murray, 1999, 155; Origo, 1963, 84
Sevilla		3	2	2	1	<1386-1410>	Branch according to Origo (1963, 84). Other authors do not mention a branch in Sevilla however (although Hunt & Murray (1999, 155) mention the presence of an Alberti branch in the non-Catalunyan part of Spain).	Hunt & Murray, 1999, 155; Origo, 1963, 84
Ibiza		2	2	1	0	<1386-1410>	The Bruges branches of the Alberti company corresponded sporadically with the Datini company in Ibiza (5 letters have been preserved).	Melis, 1962, 15
Wervik		2	2	1	0	>1397<	The Alberti had stocked woollen cloth in Wervik, one of the main textile centres of the Low Countries. Part of the cloth was destroyed during a fire in 1397. Diamante and Altobianco degli Alberti had a monopoly on the export of textiles from Wervik.	Guidi Bruscoli, s.d., 5; Prevenier & Blockmans, 1986, 74-79

* N = Branch under control of Niccolò di Jacopo degli Alberti (d. 1377) and his descendants; B = Branch under control of Benedetto di Nerozzo degli Alberti (d. 1388) and his descendants; O = Branch under control of another line of the Alberti; ? = Not known.

+ Generally, a distinction can be made between the companies and branches headed by Niccolò di Jacopo and his descendants (N), and those in hands of Benedetto di Nerozzo and his lineage (B). However, by the 1420s, the distinction between these two branches was not so clear anymore: in 1427 Antonio di Ricciardo and Francesco di Altobianco, from opposite branches of the family, were partners in the Rome branch of the Alberti company. By 1428, the Rome branch, managed by Francesco di Altobianco (grandson of Niccolò), depended from the Venetian branch operated by Lionardo di Nerozzo and Benedetto di Bernardo (grandson of Benedetto). Some companies (such as the company of Alberto and Bernardo degli Alberti in Bruges) did not belong to any of these two

family branches (O) (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 34, 38). However, perhaps the different branches operated for all the companies without much distinction (Renouard, 1942, 34).
+ Almost nothing is known about the lower levels of the network: correspondents of the Alberti firm.

3. ALBERTI NUOVI, 1347 – after 1375 (network not used)

After a split in the Alberti company in 1346, the Alberti nuovi (as they were called in the papal documents) were founded in 1347 as an offshoot of the original company by Caroccio di Lapo degli Alberti. They were headed by Caroccio until his death later in the same year, after which he was succeeded by his son Bartolomeo. The Alberti nuovi are still mentioned in the papal documents in 1375 (De Roover, 1958, 31; Hunt & Murray, 1999, 155; Renouard, 1942, 38).

Size: Large

Although not as successful as the Alberti antichi, the Alberti nuovi were nevertheless a substantial company, with 19 factors in 1348, just before the outbreak of the Black Death. At the origin of the company, the capital (*corpo*) of the Alberti nuovi totalled 24,000 li. (De Roover, 1958, 26-27; Renouard, 1942, 37-38).

Main activities:

- Commerce: The Alberti nuovi were especially active in the trade in wool and cloth. However, they also traded in grain, iron, etc (Renouard, 1942, 38).
- Finance: Papal bankers from the 1360s (De Roover, 1958, 31; Renouard, 1941, 112, 116; Id., 1942, 38).
- Industry: The Alberti nuovi were involved in cloth finishing in Florence (Renouard, 1942, 38).

Network of the Alberti nuovi:

The Alberti were a Florentine multi-branch company.

Table A..4. Network of the Alberti nuovi, 1347 – ca. 1375 (especially 1348)

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Florence		8	4	3	1	>1348<	Headquarters. 10 factors.	De Roover, 1958, 26-27
Avignon		6	3	2	1	>1345-1375<	Branch at the papal court. 6 factors. The papal archives mention the presence	De Roover, 1958, 26-

							of partners and factors in Avignon between 1345 and 1375.	27; Renouard, 1938, 59-60; Id., 1942, 38
Barletta		6	3	2	1	>1348<	Branch. 3 factors in Barletta and Naples together.	De Roover, 1958, 26-27; Renouard, 1938, 59; Id., 1942, 38
Bruges		6	3	2	1	>1359-1367<	Branch. The papal archives mention the presence of partners and factors in Flanders and Brabant between 1359 and 1367.	Renouard, 1938, 59-60; Id., 1942, 38
Mallorca (Palma de Mallorca?)		6	3	2	1		Branch.	Renouard, 1938, 59; Id., 1942, 38
Naples		6	3	2	1	>1348<	Branch. 3 factors in Barletta and Naples together.	De Roover, 1958, 26-27; Renouard, 1938, 59; Id., 1942, 38
Castilla-León		4	2	2	1	>1359-1363<	The papal archives mention the presence of a factor in Castilla-León between 1359 and 1363.	Renouard, 1938, 59-60
Perugia		4	2	2	1	>1353-1355<	The papal archives mention the presence of partners, factors and correspondents in Perugia between 1353 and 1355.	Renouard, 1938, 59-60
Brussels		2	2	1	0	1359	The papal archives mention the presence of partners and factors in Brussels in 1359.	Renouard, 1938, 59-60
France		2	2	1	0	1358	The papal archives mention the presence of a factor in France in 1358.	Renouard, 1938, 59-60

ANDREA BANCHI, 1413 – 1467

Andrea di Francesco Banchi (1372-1462) belonged to a family of Florentine silk merchants. His father Francesco owned three silk shops in the Via di Por Santa Maria together with his two brothers. From 1390 onward, Andrea Banchi probably worked for Michele, his only surviving uncle, until Michele's death in 1413. In that year, Andrea went into a partnership with Priore di Mariotto Banchi, a younger relative, presumably for running the silk shop Andrea had inherited from his father. The partnership was ended in 1420, and from then on Andrea Banchi worked without a partner until 1433. Originally, Banchi sold silks in retail in the shop in Via di Por Santa Maria, but soon he began producing silks as well. Andrea again took a partner from 1433 to 1439 (Bernardo dalla Palla, who died in 1439), and from 1454 (Bernardo di Dato Dati (b. ca. 1412) and Bartolomeo d'Andrea di Domenico, two of his previous employees). The latter partnership was continued until 1467, five years after Andrea Banchi's death. Andrea Banchi was a very successful silk merchant with superior business ability. From ca. 1460, the Banchi firm became less profitable and even began making losses (De Roover, 1963, 30-31; Edler-De Roover, 1966, 224-225, 229, 231, 283-285).

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Edler-De Roover, F., 1966. "Andrea Banchi, Florentine silk manufacturer and merchant in the fifteenth century". In: Bowsky, W. M., ed. *Studies in medieval and Renaissance history*. Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, vol. 3, 221-285.

Source material:

18 volumes of account books dealing with the business and private affairs of Andrea Banchi have been preserved for the years from 1425 until 1467. These include two *libri segreti*, a number of ledgers, journals, cash books and a letter book, as well as several auxiliary account books. They can be found in the archives of the Spedale degli Innocenti in Florence (Edler-De Roover, 1966, 224, 235-236).

Size: Medium-sized

The Banchi silk manufactory was a large enterprise, employing probably about 100 persons (mostly via putting-out system). The staff in the silk shop itself numbered seven in 1460 (partners not included). According to the *catasto* of 1427, the capital of Banchi's silk shop amounted to 5,202 fl., which was higher than the capital of most silk manufacturers at that time. The *corpo* of the partnership of Banchi with Bernardo Dati and Bartolomeo d'Andrea was 5,600 fl. in 1454, and 6,000 fl. in 1455. In 1427 Andrea Banchi was among the upper 2 % of Florentine taxpayers. At that time, only three *setaioli* were taxed higher than Banchi. By 1457, he was among the ten highest taxpayers of Florence (De Roover, 1963, 30-31; Edler-De Roover, 1966, 225-227, 231, 259, 276).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Andrea Banchi began his career as a retail merchant in silk fabrics. In 1428 an additional retail silk shop was founded, which was managed by a partner, Piero d'Andrea Petrini, who was succeeded after his death in 1446 by his brothers Giovanni and Zanobi. This

partnership was ended after the death of Andrea Banchi's son Piero in 1453. In the 1420s, Andrea Banchi began producing his own silks, which were sold partly by the Florentine retail shop of Andrea Banchi or to wholesale merchants, but which were also marketed abroad through commission agents and a branch in L'Aquila. Banchi made purchases of raw silk, and sales of silks (brocades, velvets, damasks) and silk products (such as ribbons, belts, liturgical vestments, etc), but also of woollen cloth (Edler-De Roover, 1966, 225, 228, 230, 233-234, 259-275, 282).

- Finance: During the 1420s, Andrea Banchi invested money in the form of deposits with several businessmen. He made use of credit instruments such as bills of exchange, but he was not active as a banker himself (Edler-De Roover, 1966, 227-228, 267-268).
- Industry: From the 1420s, Andrea Banchi's shop began producing silk fabrics. The production was organised according to the putting-out system. About thirty looms worked for Andrea Banchi (Edler-De Roover, 1966, 225, 236-237, 258).

Network of Andrea Banchi:

Production and retail of silks by Andrea Banchi, as well as purchase of raw materials, were largely limited to Florence. However, some of the silks produced in Banchi's shop were directly marketed abroad through commission agents or by an *accomanda* with Benvenuto Nuti. The attempts of Andrea Banchi to sell his silks abroad were often unsuccessful, unless permanent and reliable representatives could be found who knew the foreign market in which they operated (De Roover, 1963, 190; Edler-De Roover, 1966, 239, 259, 275).

Table A..1. Network of Andrea Banchi, 1413-1467

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Florence		8	4	3	1	1413-1467	The silk manufacturing business and retail silk shop of Andrea Banchi were located in Florence. The silk shop was located in the Via di Por Santa Maria. In 1440, Andrea Banchi purchased a storeroom or warehouse (*fondaco*) in the Via Vacchereccia near his silkshop.	Edler-De Roover, 1966, 225-230, 259
L'Aquila		5	3	2	1	1454-1463	In 1454, Bernardo Dati travelled several times to L'Aquila to sell silks. In 1455, an *accomanda* was formed in L'Aquila by Andrea Banchi and Co. with Benvenuto di Francesco Nuti. The *accomanda* was renewed in 1458 and again in 1461. After Banchi's death in 1462, the *accomanda* was slowly liquidated. In June 1463, an agent was sent from Florence to L'Aquila to sell as much of the remaining stock as possible.	Edler-De Roover, 1966, 232, 234
Geneva		2 **4**	2 **2**	1 **2**	0 **1**	c.1435-1437 1437-1456	- Ca. 1435, Andrea Banchi sent Priorozzo di Giovanni di Lodovico Banchi (b. ca. 1402), a relative, to the fairs of Geneva to sell silks. - Priorozzo was established as a permanent representative in Geneva in	Edler-De Roover, 1966, 264-268

							1437. Bernardo dalla Palla, partner of Andrea, made a trip to Geneva in 1438. Priorozzo remained in Geneva until 1444. From then, Andrea Banchi sent silks on commission to Bartolomeo Scali, a Florentine merchant in Geneva. Shipments to Geneva ceased after 1456. The profits of the sales in Geneva were only partly transmitted to Florence by bills of exchange (via Venice or Rome), while most was returned by shipping specie.	
Barcelona		3	2	2	1	1440-1443	Andrea Banchi twice sent silks to Barcelona between 1440 and 1443. In 1440, Niccolò Banchi, brother of Priorozzo (representative in Geneva), went to Barcelona with silks from the Banchi firm. From Barcelona, he went to the fairs of Castile, but was unable to sell the silks there. Finally, the cloth was left in the hands of Piero di Niccolò Piaciti, a Florentine merchant in Barcelona, who managed to sell them in the end. In 1443, Priorozzo Banchi in Geneva sent another piece of cloth to Piaciti in Barcelona.	Edler-De Roover, 1966, 268-269
Calabria		3	2	2	1	<1455-1463>	Purchase of raw silk by the *accomanda* of Benvenuto Nuti in Abruzzo and Calabria.	Edler-De Roover, 1966, 233, 240
Castel di Sangro		3	2	2	1	<1455-1463>	Sales by the *accomanda* of Benvenuto Nuti of silk goods from the Banchi firm at the fairs of Castel di Sangro in Abruzzo.	Edler-De Roover, 1966, 233
Constantinople / Pera		3	2	2	1	1459-1465	In 1459, the Banchi firm established a *commenda* contract with Piero di Niccolò di Piero Popoleschi for sale of woollen cloth in Constantinople and elsewhere in Turkey, and for purchase of raw silk. He was free to go to Adrianople or Brusa by horse, or to take the galleys into the Black Sea. Popoleschi sold most of his cloth in Pera and Adrianople, and purchased raw silk in Brusa and Gallipoli. A new *commenda* contract was founded in 1460 between Andrea Banchi and Niccolò di Niccolò Dietifeci (d. 1469), a Florentine residing in Pera, who was about to return from Florence to the east. He was to sell woollen and silk cloth, and to purchase raw silk with the proceeds. In 1461 and 1462, more silks were sent to Dietifeci and his partner Bastiano da Foligno. In 1462, Giuliano Ginori, grandson of Andrea Banchi, accompanied a large shipment of woollen and silk cloths with the Florentine galleys to Dietifeci in Pera. From end 1462, difficulties arose with Dietifeci. In 1465, Cosino di Leonardo Molletti was given a procuration to collect as much cash from Dietifeci as possible as well as the remaining cloths belonging to the Banchi firm.	Edler-De Roover, 1966, 271-272, 274-275
Lanciano		3	2	2	1	Before 1455-1463>	Before 1455, silks of the Banchi firm were sold at the fairs of Lanciano in Abruzzo by Simone di Niccolò della Tosa of Rimini. Later, sales were made	Edler-De Roover, 1966, 233, 262

							by the *accomanda* of Benvenuto Nuti.	
Mantua		3	2	2	1	1431-1440	Since 1431, Giovanni di Burato and Company, cloth retailer, was a client of Andrea Banchi in Mantua. In 1438, Banchi also made some direct sales in Mantua, to Paula Malatesta of Rimini, marchesa of Mantua, and to Lodovico Gonzaga. However, purchases from Mantua had ceased by 1440.	Edler-De Roover, 1966, 263
Recanati		3	2	2	1	Before 1455-1463>	Before 1455, silks of the Banchi firm were sold at the fairs of Recanati in Marche by Simone di Niccolò della Tosa of Rimini. Later, sales were made by the *accomanda* of Benvenuto Nuti.	Edler-De Roover, 1966, 233, 262
Rimini		3	2	2	1	Before 1455	Before the *accomanda* in L'Aquila was opened, the Banchi firm had been represented in Rimini by Simone di Niccolò della Tosa.	Edler-De Roover, 1966, 262
Rome		3	2	2	1	>1450-1462	Andrea Banchi sent silks to Rome throughout his career, but he had difficulties finding agents who could sell them profitably. His first known agent in Rome was Giusto di Vieri Guidi, who died in 1450. Benvenuto Nuti, an employee of Banchi, then was sent to Rome to collect receivables on silks sold by Guidi. Later, Giovanni and Zanobi Petrini opened a silk shop in Rome, which sold silks sent by Andrea Banchi on commission. The shop was not a success, and in 1455 Andrea Banchi ended his relations with the Petrini and he again sent Benvenuto Nuti to Rome to try and sell the goods Banchi had sent to the Petrini. Between 1455 and 1462, Banchi consecutively made use of the services of several agents in Rome, none of whom was very successful: Iacopo Bischeri and brothers (1455-1457), Stefano di Guelfo (1457-1458), Francesco di Bruno Mazzei (1458-1460), Matteo Baroncelli and Guglielmo Rucellai and company (1460-1462).	Edler-De Roover, 1966, 230, 232, 263-265, 232 n. 35
Sulmona		3	2	2	1	<1455-1463>	Sales by the *accomanda* of Benvenuto Nuti of silk goods from the Banchi firm at the fairs of Sermona (Sulmona) in Abruzzo.	Edler-De Roover, 1966, 233
Bruges		2	2	1	0	1461-1463	In 1461, a contract similar to a *commenda* contract was made with Niccolò d'Andrea de' Greci. He went to France with silks of Andrea Banchi, and attempted to sell them in Tours at the court of Louis XI, in Rouen, and finally in Bruges where he was able to sell some of them, but at a loss. The silks Niccolò was not able to sell, were left with the Bruges branch of the Florentine company of Antonio da Rabatta and Bernardo Cambi. In 1463, some of the silks were bartered for English cloth at the Antwerp Easter fair.	Edler-De Roover, 1966, 269-270
Pesaro		2	2	1	0	Before 1455	Before 1455, silks of the Banchi firm were sold at the fairs of Pesaro by Simone di Niccolò della Tosa of Rimini.	Edler-De Roover, 1966, 262
Adrianople		1	1	1	0	1459	In 1459, Piero Popoleschi sold silk cloth of Andrea Banchi in Pera and	Edler-De Roover,

							Adrianople.	1966, 271
Antwerp		1	1	1	0	1463	Some silks of Banchi were left by Niccolò de' Greci with the Bruges branch of the Florentine company of Antonio da Rabatta and Bernardo Cambi. In 1463, some of these were bartered for English cloth at the Antwerp Easter fair.	Edler-De Roover, 1968, 270
Brusa		1	1	1	0	1459	In 1459, Piero Popoleschi purchased raw silk for Andrea Banchi in Brusa and Gallipoli.	Edler-De Roover, 1966, 271
Castilla-León		1	1	1	0	1440	In 1440, Niccolò Banchi went to Barcelona with silks of Andrea Banchi. He visited the fairs of Castile, but was unable to sell the silks there.	Edler-De Roover, 1966, 268-269
Gallipoli (Turkey)		1	1	1	0	1459	In 1459, Piero Popoleschi purchased raw silk for Andrea Banchi in Brusa and Gallipoli.	Edler-De Roover, 1966, 271
Naples		1	1	1	0	1455	In 1455, Andrea Banchi sent brocades to Antonio di Romolo Cecchi in Naples for sale at the Aragonese court. However, sales were not successful here.	Edler-De Roover, 1966, 262-263
Rouen		1	1	1	0	1461	In 1461, a contract similar to a *commenda* contract was made with Niccolò d'Andrea de' Greci. He went to France with silks of Andrea Banchi, and attempted to sell them in Tours at the court of Louis XI, in Rouen, and finally in Bruges where he was able to sell them, but at a loss.	Edler-De Roover, 1966, 269-270
Tours		1	1	1	0	1461	In 1461, a contract similar to a *commenda* contract was made with Niccolò d'Andrea de' Greci. He went to France with silks of Andrea Banchi, and attempted to sell them in Tours at the court of Louis XI, in Rouen, and finally in Bruges where he was able to sell them, but at a loss.	Edler-De Roover, 1966, 269-270

BARDI COMPANIES, 1263 – between 1352 and 1369

The Bardi family of Florence was active in commerce already in the first half of the 13th century. The Bardi company in Florence was established in 1263. In the beginning of the 14th century this firm largely expanded its business. However, the company failed in 1346. Immediately after this bankruptcy some members of the family founded the much smaller company of the Bardi nuovi or Bardi della Corona. This firm operated as a papal banker between 1346 and 1352, and apparently disappeared sometime before 1369. Another spin-off of the main Bardi firm was a company headed by Filippo di Lapo di messer Jacopo Bardi in London since 1346. This firm became relatively important in England after a reorganisation in 1357, and was still active at the end of the 14th century. After the bankruptcy of the main Bardi company, individual members of the Bardi family remained involved in banking as members of other companies (Byrne, 2004c, 93-94; Cardini, 1980, 1457; Guidi Bruscoli, s.d., 3; Hunt, 1994, 241; Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 264-265; Renouard, 1938, 62; Id., 1942, 10, 14, 28, 28-29 n. 1).

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Source material:

The archives of the Bardi firm have disappeared almost completely. The remaining fragments (among which four account books) have been preserved in the private archives of marquis Ginori Venturi and prince Corsini, and have been analysed by Armando Sapori. Complementary information about the network of the Bardi firm can be found in the Papal Archives (Renouard, 1938, 44, 61; Id., 1942, 4-5, 10 n. 3; Sapori, 1926, 209-225).

No accounts survive of the archives of the Bardi nuovi. For the reconstruction of the network of this firm one has to rely entirely upon sources preserved in the Papal Archives (Renouard, 1938, 44; Id., 1942, 4-5, 28).

1. BARDI COMPANY, 1310 – 1346

Involvement of the Bardi family of Florence in business became especially considerable in the early 14th century with the foundation in 1310 of a new company which was renewed several times before it went bankrupt in 1346. Between 1310 and 1331 the firm was styled “Compagnia di Lapo e Doffo dei Bardi e compagni”. This was changed into “Compagnia di messer Ridolfo dei Bardi e compagni” in 1331. The business of the Bardi was very profitable until 1331-32, but profits decreased sharply from 1332 and were probably replaced by losses after 1335 (Hunt, 1994, 165, 241; Renouard, 1941, 48, 83; Id., 1942, 10, 13-14; Sapori, 1926, 212).

Size: Very large

The Bardi company was the biggest Florentine firm of the whole medieval and early modern period. The *corpo* of the Bardi firm in 1320 amounted to 103,307 fl., which is the largest known capital of any Florentine firm before 1346. Its assets totalled 1,266,775 li. in 1318. In most years, the company counted between 16 and 22 partners, at least 2/3 of whom belonged to the Bardi family. Between 1310 and 1346 ca. 378 factors of the firm are known. At one and the same time the Bardi probably hired between 120 and 150 employees (Hunt, 1994, 1, 4, 39; Hunt & Murray, 1999, 109; Renouard, 1938, 60; Id., 1941, 47; Id., 1942, 10-11).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Trade in grain, oil and wine from southern Italy and Sicily, English wool, textiles from Flanders, France and Florence, spices, alum, and a large variety of other goods (Hunt, 1994, 60-61, 64-65; Hunt & Murray, 1999, 93, 102-105; Renouard, 1942, 12; Spufford, 2002, 334).
- Finance: Loans to princes and clergymen on a very important scale. The Bardi had especially close financial ties with the kings of Sicily and England, but they also were bankers of the papacy, the Order of the Hospitalers, the kings of France and the counts of Flanders. The provision of loans to these princes allowed the company to obtain tax exemptions and commercial privileges, such as favourable conditions for the export of English wool. By the 1340s, especially Edward III owed them an enormous amount of money (Byrne, 2004c, 93-94; Fryde, 1978, 172-173; Fryde, 1988, 17, 23, 44, 46-48, 72-73, 83, 87-90, 107, 122-126, 142, 223; Hunt, 1994, 60-65, 84, 198; Hunt & Murray, 1999, 93, 102-105; Renouard, 1941, 112; Id., 1942, 12-13; Sapori, 1926, 216-217, 220).
- Industry: The Bardi provided raw materials and credit to several small Florentine artisans, and were involved in the Florentine cloth industry (Hunt & Murray, 1999, 102-105; Renouard, 1942, 13).

Network of the Bardi company:

The Bardi firm was organised as a centralised multi-branch company. The network of the Bardi company was very extensive, with more than twenty branches scattered throughout the Mediterranean and western Europe. The branches (consisting of offices and warehouse space) were administered by partners or capable factors. Instructions were sent regularly from the headquarters to the branches. In many of the commercial and financial centres where they did not have a branch, the Bardi made use of innkeepers or other correspondents, while in several other places the Bardi were temporarily represented by factors travelling from the branches. The Bardi appear to have been organised slightly less centralised than the Peruzzi and Acciaiuoli companies. Some of the branch managers were given a fairly loose rein (De Roover, 1948b, 31; Hunt, 1994, 84; Renouard, 1942, 11-12; Sapori, 1952, xxxvi).

Table A..1. Network of the Bardi company, 1310 – 1346

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Florence		8	4	3	1	1310-1346	Headquarters, located on the left bank of the Arno. The Bardi also had a cloth shop in the Via di Calimala. The Bardi were barred from holding public office in Florence since 1293. Nevertheless they were very influential in city politics through the political activities of some of their non-Bardi shareholders, such as Taldo Valori in the 1330s.	Hunt, 1994, 33; Hunt & Murray, 1999, 113; Origo, 1963, 90; Renouard, 1941, 61; Id., 1942, 10
Bruges		7	3	2	1	>1318-1336<	Large branch (the branch manager received a salary of 200 fl. per year). The papal archives mention the presence of partners and factors in Flanders between 1324 and 1336, and in Bruges between 1329 and 1333. Members of	De Roover, 1948b, 33; Renouard, 1938, 62-66; Id., 1941, 50,

							the Portinari family of Florence for a long time managed the Bruges branch of the Bardi. Francesco di Balduccio Pegolotti, factor of the Bardi, obtained favourable commercial treaties for the Bardi in Bruges.	53, 55; Id., 1942, 11; Sapori, 1926, 216; Id., 1952, xxxvi
Famagusta		7	3	2	1	>1318-1336<	Important branch (Sapori mentions a branch in Cyprus, without specifying the exact location). The papal archives mention the presence of factors in Cyprus between 1328 and 1332. Francesco di Balduccio Pegolotti was one of the branch managers of the Famagusta branch of the Bardi. He obtained favourable commercial treaties for the Bardi in Cyprus.	Hunt, 1994, 84, 87; Renouard, 1938, 62-66; Id., 1941, 55; Id., 1942, 11; Sapori, 1926, 216, 217, 221; Id., 1952, xxxvi; Spufford, 2002, 334
London		7	3	2	1	>1311-1392	- Large branch (the branch manager received a salary of 200 fl. per year). The papal archives mention the presence of partners and factors in London between 1317 and 1339. From 1318 to 1321, Francesco Pegolotti was branch manager of the London branch. Taldo Valori was manager in the London branch for many years. The Bardi branch was located in Lombard Street until it was sacked by a London mob and sold to the royal government in 1328. The rumour that the Bardi had already a branch in London in 1183 is not credible. - After the bankruptcy of the Bardi in 1346, the Bardi branch in London remained active as a separate company until its final settlement in 1392. It was reorganised in 1357 under Filippo de' Bardi, who was followed up by his son in 1362. This company operated on a surprisingly large scale.	Cardini, 1980, 1457; De Roover, 1948b, 33; Fryde, 1978, 161, 172-173; Fryde, 1988, 15, 18, 113; Hunt, 1994, 84, 241; Renouard, 1938, 62-66; Id., 1941, 50; Id., 1942, 11; Sapori, 1926, 216; Id., 1952, xxxvi; Spufford, 2002, 23
Naples		7	3	2	1	>1318-1336<	Large branch (the branch manager received a salary of 200 fl. per year), located in the Ruga Cambiorum (Bankers' Row). The papal archives mention the presence of a factor in Naples in 1319. Boccaccio (around 1326-1332) and his father worked as factors in the Bardi branch in Naples.	Cardini, 1980, 1457; Renouard, 1938, 62-66; Id., 1941, 50, 56; Id., 1942, 11; Sapori, 1926, 216, 217, 221; Id., 1952, xxxvi; Spufford, 2002, 57
Palermo		7	3	2	1	>1336<	Important branch (Hunt and Sapori (1926) mention a branch in Sicily, without specifying the exact location).	Hunt, 1994, 56; Renouard, 1938, 62; Id., 1942, 11; Sapori, 1926, 221; Id., 1952, xxxvi
Ancona		6	3	2	1	>1314<	Branch.	Renouard, 1942, 11;

								Sapori, 1926, 215; Id., 1952, xxxvi
L'Aquila		6	3	2	1	>1336<	Branch.	Renouard, 1942, 11; Sapori, 1926, 221; Id., 1952, xxxvi
Avignon		6	3	2	1	>1316-1344<	Small branch (the branch manager received a salary of 120 fl. per year). The papal archives mention the presence of partners and factors in Avignon between 1316 and 1344.	Renouard, 1938, 62-66; Id., 1941, 50; Sapori, 1926, 216, 217; Id., 1952, xxxvi
Barcelona		6	3	2	1		Branch.	Renouard, 1938, 62; Id., 1942, 11; Sapori, 1952, xxxvi
Bari		6	3	2	1	>1336<	Branch. It is not entirely clear whether the branches in Bari and Barletta existed simultaneously. The papal archives mention the presence of a factor in Bari in 1336.	Renouard, 1938, 62-66; Id., 1942, 11; Sapori, 1952, xxxvi
Barletta		6	3	2	1	>1318<	Branch. It is not entirely clear whether the branches in Bari and Barletta existed simultaneously.	Renouard, 1942, 11; Sapori, 1926, 216; Id., 1952, xxxvi
Cagliari		6	3	2	1	>1336<	Branch (Sapori (1926) mentions a branch in Sardinia, without specifying the exact location).	Renouard, 1942, 11; Sapori, 1926, 221; Id., 1952, xxxvi
Constantinople		6	3	2	1	>1336<	Branch.	Renouard, 1942, 11; Sapori, 1926, 221; Id., 1952, xxxvi
Genoa		6	3	2	1	>1307-1336<	Branch. The papal archives mention the presence of a factor in Genoa in 1324. The Bardi were already active in Genoa by 1307.	Luzzati, 1971, 31; Renouard, 1938, 62-66; Id., 1942, 11; Sapori, 1926, 216, 217, 221; Id., 1952, xxxvi
Jerusalem		6	3	2	1		Branch.	Sapori, 1952, xxxvi
Mallorca (Palma de Mallorca?)		6	3	2	1	>1327-1336<	Branch. The papal archives mention the presence of factors in Mallorca in 1327.	Renouard, 1938, 62-66; Id., 1942, 11; Sapori, 1926, 221; Id., 1952, xxxvi

Marseille		6	3	2	1		Branch	Sapori, 1952, xxxvi
Nice		6	3	2	1		Branch (Sapori). According to Renouard, the Bardi were represented at Nice by an innkeeper who took care of transhipment of goods between the north and the south.	Renouard, 1941, 52; Sapori, 1952, xxxvi
Orvieto		6	3	2	1	>1321-1336<	Branch. The papal archives mention the presence of a factor in Orvieto in 1321.	Renouard, 1938, 63-66; Id., 1942, 11; Sapori, 1926, 221; Id., 1952, xxxvi
Paris		6	3	2	1	>1316-1336<	Branch. The papal archives mention the presence of factors in Paris between 1316 and 1336. The branch in Paris was also active on “varie Fiere”, probably the fairs of Champagne.	Renouard, 1938, 62-66; Id., 1942, 11; Sapori, 1926, 216, 217; Id., 1952, xxxvi
Pisa		6	3	2	1	>1318-1321<	Branch. The papal archives mention the presence of factors in Pisa in 1321.	Renouard, 1938, 62-66; Id., 1942, 11; Sapori, 1926, 216, 217; Id., 1952, xxxvi
Rhodes		6	3	2	1	>1314-1338<	Branch in Rhodes. In 1338, the Bardi, Peruzzi and Acciaiuoli together built a shop at Villeneuve in Rhodes as a residence for their representatives. The Bardi obtained exemption from customs taxes in Rhodes.	Renouard, 1942, 13; Sapori, 1926, 215, 216, 217, 221; Id., 1952, xxxvi
Sevilla		6	3	2	1	>1336-1337<	Branch. The papal archives mention the presence of factors in Sevilla between 1336 and 1337. In Sevilla, the Bardi enjoyed the same privileges as the Genoese.	Renouard, 1938, 62-66; Id., 1942, 11, 13; Sapori, 1952, xxxvi
Tunis		6	3	2	1		Branch (Sapori). According to Renouard, it is not known whether the Bardi had a branch in Tunis, or only a correspondent.	Renouard, 1942, 11 n. 6; Sapori, 1952, xxxvi
Venice		6	3	2	1	>1314-1320<	Branch.	Renouard, 1938, 62; Id., 1942, 11; Sapori, 1926, 215, 217; Id., 1952, xxxvi
Bologna		4	2	2	1	>1323-1331<	Branch according to Renouard (not mentioned by Sapori). The papal archives mention the presence of partners and factors in Bologna between 1323 and 1331.	Renouard, 1938, 62-66; Id., 1942, 11
Perugia		4	2	2	1	>1328-1333<	Branch according to Renouard (not mentioned by Sapori). The papal archives mention the presence of factors in Perugia between 1328 and 1333.	Renouard, 1938, 62-66; Id., 1942, 11
Aigues-Mortes		3	2	2	1	>1336<	At Aigues-Mortes, the Bardi were represented by an innkeeper who	Spufford, 2002, 204

							organised transport of English wool sent him from Montpellier on the galleys to Porto Pisano.	
Bar-sur-Aube		3	2	2	1	>1318-1320<	The branch in Paris was active on “varie Fiere”, probably the fairs of Champagne.	Renouard, 1942, 11; Sapori, 1926, 216, 217
Brabant		3	2	2	1	>1333-1336<	The Bardi obtained commercial privileges in Brabant. Jacopo di Gherardino Gianni, factor, was in Flanders and Brabant in July 1333 and August 1336. Lotto Franceschi, factor, was in Flanders and Brabant in July 1333.	Renouard, 1938, 65; Id., 1942, 13
Brittany		3	2	2	1		Some of the factors of the Bardi are known to have been active in Brittany.	Renouard, 1942, 12
English wool region		3	2	2	1		The Bardi purchased English wool on the English countryside.	Fryde, 1988, 151
Lagny-sur-Marne		3	2	2	1	>1318-1320<	The branch in Paris was active on “varie Fiere”, probably the fairs of Champagne.	Renouard, 1942, 11; Sapori, 1926, 216, 217
Lesser Armenia		3	2	2	1		Francesco Pegolotti obtained favourable commercial treaties for the Bardi in Armenia. Armenia here probably refers to Lesser Armenia (also named the Christian kingdom of Armenia) in southern Anatolia (see Lane, 1973, 130-131).	Hunt, 1994, 84; Renouard, 1941, 55; Id., 1942, 13; Sapori, 1952, xxxvi
Libourne		3	2	2	1	>1336<	At Libourne, the Bardi were represented by an innkeeper who stored, repacked and arranged for transport to Montpellier of English wool sent from London in returning Gascon wine ships. Some of the factors of the Bardi are known to have been active in Guyenne.	Spufford, 2002, 203-204
Lyon		3	2	2	1		At Lyon, the Bardi were represented by an innkeeper.	Renouard, 1941, 52; Id., 1942, 12
Montpellier		3	2	2	1	>1336<	At Montpellier, the Bardi were represented by an innkeeper who arranged for transport to Aigues-Mortes of English wool sent to him from Libourne.	Spufford, 2002, 204
Portugal		3	2	2	1	1338	On 9 April 1338, the Bardi company obtained a charter from the Portuguese king, assuring their personal security and that of their possessions.	Rau, 1957, 717 n. 4
Provins		3	2	2	1	>1318-1320<	The branch in Paris was active on “varie Fiere”, probably the fairs of Champagne.	Renouard, 1942, 11; Sapori, 1926, 216, 217
Troyes		3	2	2	1	>1318-1320<	The branch in Paris was active on “varie Fiere”, probably the fairs of Champagne.	Renouard, 1942, 11; Sapori, 1926, 216, 217
Kremnica		2	2	1	0	>1331<	In 1331, Magister Hippolyt, a member of the Bardi family, was provincial	Spufford, 2002, 371

							treasurer in Kremnica, and the dominant figure in the town. A later member of the family, Nofri dei Bardi, was given Hungarian nobility.	
Burgos		1	1	1	0	1337	Jacopo Martini, factor, was in Toledo, León and Burgos in March and April 1337.	Renouard, 1938, 65
León		1	1	1	0	1337	Jacopo Martini, factor, was in Toledo, León and Burgos in March and April 1337.	Renouard, 1938, 65
Pontremoli		1	1	1	0	1324	Lottieri Giovanni, factor, was in Pontremoli on 29 October 1324.	Renouard, 1938, 65
Southampton		1	1	1	0	>1339	The Bardi and Peruzzi obtained control over the customs at Southampton until they came in the hands of William de la Pole early in 1339.	Fryde, 1988, 124
Spoleto		1	1	1	0	>1331-1332<	Azzolino di ser Viviano, factor, was in Spoleto on 16 June 1331 and on 15 June 1332.	Renouard, 1938, 64
Toledo		1	1	1	0	1337	Jacopo Martini, factor, was in Toledo, León and Burgos in March and April 1337.	Renouard, 1938, 65

+ For identification of the branches the list of Sapori (1952, xxxvi) has been used. Only fragments of the network of correspondents and innkeepers used by the Bardi firm are known, and even the total number of branches is uncertain (although the table can be assumed to be fairly complete at the branch level). Consequently, the network outlined in the table is definitely not exhaustive (Renouard, 1942, 11 n. 5).

+ According to Byrne (2004c, 93), the Bardi established branches in Naples, Friuli, Udine, Cividale, Cremona, and Aquileia in the 1290s. Except for the office in Naples, no traces of these can be found in the 14th-century network as investigated by Renouard (1938; 1942) or Sapori (1952). Consequently, I have excluded these branches from the table.

2. BARDI DELLA CORONA, 1346 – after 1352 (disappeared before 1369) (network not used)

Immediately after the bankruptcy of the Bardi company in 1346, several members of the family founded the much smaller company of the Bardi nuovi or Bardi della Corona. This company operated as a papal banker between 1346 and 1352, but must have disappeared before 1369. Most of the eleven known partners belonged to the Bardi family, and more specifically to the branch of messer Vieri di ser Lapo Bardi (Renouard, 1938, 62; Id., 1942, 28-29).

Size: Medium-sized

The Bardi della Corona firm was only a shadow of the old Bardi company. Not unlike other Florentine companies of the years between 1346 and 1360, the Bardi nuovi had probably only small amounts of capital and a limited geographical reach when compared to the larger Florentine companies before and after this period. At least eleven partners are known to have been members of the Bardi nuovi (Renouard, 1942, 25, 29).

Main activities:

- Commerce: ?
- Finance: Relatively important papal bankers in the years 1346-1352 (Renouard, 1942, 28).
- Industry: ?

Network of the Bardi della Corona:

The Bardi della Corona firm was a multi-branch company. In most places, the Bardi nuovi probably made use of the services of independent correspondents rather than of factors employed by the company (Renouard, 1938, 67; Id., 1942, 26, 29).

Table A..2. Network of the Bardi della Corona, 1346 – 1352

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Florence		8	4	3	1	1346-1352<	Headquarters.	Renouard, 1942, 28-29
Avignon		6	3	2	1	1346-1350<	Branch. The papal archives mention the presence of partners and factors in Avignon between 1346 and 1350.	Renouard, 1938, 67-68; Id., 1942, 29
Eastern Mediterranean		6	3	2	1		Branch in the eastern Mediterranean, the exact location of which is unknown.	Renouard, 1938, 67; Id., 1942, 29
Naples		6	3	2	1	1346-1347<	Branch. The papal archives mention the presence of partners in Naples between 1346 and 1347.	Renouard, 1938, 67-68; Id., 1942, 29
Perugia		6	3	2	1	1346<	Branch. The papal archives mention the presence of a partner in Perugia in 1346.	Renouard, 1938, 67-68; Id., 1942, 29
Venice		6	3	2	1	1346-1351<	Branch. The papal archives mention the presence of partners and factors in Venice between 1346 and 1351.	Renouard, 1938, 67-68; Id., 1942, 29

+ This list is almost certainly not complete, since it has exclusively been based on papal documents (Renouard, 1942, 25 n. 2).

BORROMEI, before 1393 – late 1470s

Members of the Borromei family, an originally Tuscan family (from San Miniato al Tedesco near Florence) of which several branches were exiled from Florence in the course of the 14th century, established several banking enterprises at the end of the 14th century: The brothers Giovanni and Borromeo di Filippo Borromei founded a bank in Milan, while a third brother, Alessandro, established a bank in Venice. Ludovico di Bartolomeo Borromei and his brothers, of another branch of the family, established a bank in Pisa, and later in Florence. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Id., 2008; Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 40-41). The Borromei were originally from Florence, but were banished by the Signoria in 1369. Filippo, father of Giovanni, Borromeo and Alessandro, was condemned to death. The exile lasted until 1413, when Alessandro di Filippo returned to Florence, having amassed a sizeable fortune. (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 40). The Borromei family had Tuscan origins, and had family branches in Milan, Venice, Padua and Florence. (Guidi Bruscoli, s.d., 3, 7). In what follows, only the Milanese and Venetian banks of the Borromei will be discussed.

Pisan-Florentine branch: Another branch of the Borromei was exiled from Florence likewise. Around the time that Borromeo Borromei was establishing banks in Padua and Milan (late 14th century), Ludovico di Bartolomeo di Francesco Borromei founded a Pisan bank. After the ban on this branch of the family was lifted in 1392, they gradually emigrated back to Florence. The Pisa bank of the brothers Ludovico, Francesco and Piero di Bartolomeo existed by 1395. The partnership was dissolved in 1404 when Francesco moved to Genoa. In 1409 Ludovico and his brother Piero founded a bank in Florence at the Mercato Nuovo. On Ludovico's death in 1415, his eldest son Gabriello inherited the partnership with Piero. Shortly afterward this firm became involved in papal finance. In 1420 the bank lent Martin V 15,000 florins, and Piero was appointed papal treasurer in Bologna. The loan went to pay mercenary troops defending the city, and as surety Martin defrayed revenues from the diocese to the Borromei bank. But the funds appear never to have been paid back. Piero died sometime between 1423 and 1427, leaving the bank in the hands of Gabriello, and appointing Gabriello guardian of his sons Giuliano and Alessandro. By 1433, Giuliano and Alessandro were working as clerks in the Venetian office of Galeazzo Borromei, while Gabriello was still active as banker in Florence in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 41).

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Visconti. (See Pisoni, 1995). (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 40-41). Other documents about the Borromei can be found in the Archivio di Stato of Florence. Eight ledgers of Borromei companies survive in the archive at Isola Bella: two ledgers for Giovanni Borromei & co. of Milan (1427, 1428); one for Filippo Borromei & co. of London (1436-39); one for Filippo Borromei & co. of Bruges (1438); and four for Filippo Borromei & co. of Milan (1445, 1446, 1451-52, 1453-55). (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007). The Bruges ledger of the Milan bank (1438) has been published on-line by Jim Bolton and Francesco Guidi Bruscoli (2007). Almost no data have been preserved about the Venetian bank of the Borromei. Some scattered information can be found in the Venetian Archivio di Stato. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007).

.1. BORROMEI OF MILAN, before 1393 – after 1457

Giovanni di Filippo Borromei (died probably in 1431), son of Filippo di Lazzaro Borromei of San Miniato al Tedesco (halfway between Florence and Pisa) (executed for his part in a rebellion against Florence). Giovanni di Filippo fled to Milan, citizen in 1394. Treasurer-general of the Duchy for many years, large lones to successive Visconti dukes. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). Headquarters in Milan (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Id., 2008). Since 1393 the banking interests of the Borromei family had flourished under the leadership of two enterprising brothers, Borromei (+ 1422) and Giovanni di Filippo, who serviced the Carrara lords of Padua and the Visconti in Milan. Borromeo handled much of the business for Giangaleazzo Visconti and his court. In turn, the great tyrant served as godfather to Borromeo's children. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 40-41). Giovanni di Filippo remained a major force in Milan after the death of Giangaleazzo Visconti. He maintained a bank there and eventually passed it to his adopted son Vitagliano, who was appointed treasurer to duke Filippo Maria in 1418. Vitagliano's natural son Filippo carried on the bank in Milan and in 1436 expanded his operations by opening affiliate offices in London and Bruges (in reality Vitaliano himself in name of his son Filippo, who was still a teenager). (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 40-41). Vitaliano was the son of Giacomo Vitaliani of Padua and Margherita, sister of Giovanni di Filippo Borromei (head of the Borromei in Milan). Vitaliano was adopted by Giovanni di Filippo Borromei as his heir, and his surname changed to Borromei. Became a citizen of Milan in 1416, died in 1449. One of the most powerful men in Milan: ducal treasurer of Milan in 1418. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008).

Size: Large

Start capital of the Bruges branch in 1435: 3,000 lb. groot fl. Turnover in 1438: 273,400 lb. fl. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Branch in Bruges: Bills of exchange and international money transfers (53,1%); journal transfers (payments to, for, and between clients) (40,9%); Commercial activities: Trade (6%) (1438). Import of silk and luxury cloth and export to London: Borromei in London sold silks, damasks, velvets. In Bruges, sale of sugar from Palermo. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). Bruges branch: trade in fustians from Augsburg and Ulm (1793 lb. vl., 0s. 11d. in 1438); silk, damascs, velvet (724 lb. vl. in 1438); English wool and cloth; sugar from Palermo. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). London branch: trade in cloth, wine, almonds, wool, etc. (Guidi Bruscoli, s.d., 12). Trade

and exchange between northern Europe and the Mediterranean world were by far the largest part of the bank's business, however, with exchange to and notably from Venice predominating. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007). Trade in English wool and English cloth. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007).

- Finance: Giovanni di Filippo Borromei (Milan): Bank, loans to Visconti dukes. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Id., 2008). Branch in Bruges: Main function of the bank: to draw on Venice and Barcelona, to raise the credits needed for the branch in London to buy English wool and cloth for export to Italy. Banking activities: Bills of exchange and international money transfers (53,1%); journal transfers (payments to, for, and between clients) (40,9%); Commercial activities: Trade (6%) (1438). (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). Giovanni di Filippo Borromei was treasurer-general of the Duchy of Milan for many years, large lones to successive Visconti dukes. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). Borromeo Borromei handled much of the business for Giangaleazzo Visconti and his court. (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 40-41). Vitagliano was appointed treasurer to duke Filippo Maria of Milan in 1418. (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 40-41). Importance of the facilities the bank offered its local account holders. What must be stressed is that both in Bruges and, to a much greater extent in London, the Borromei had local clients with whom they traded and to whom they offered both banking and credit facilities. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007). Trade and exchange between northern Europe and the Mediterranean world were by far the largest part of the bank's business, however, with exchange to and notably from Venice predominating. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007).
- Industry:

Network of the Borromei of Milan:

Decentralised company (De Roover, 1948b, 31).

Table A..1. Network of the Borromei of Milan, ca. 1393 – ca. 1457 (especially 1438)

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Milan		8	4	3	1	>1393-1457<	Before 1393 - at least 1444. Headquarters: Giovanni di Filippo Borromei (died probably in 1431), succeeded by Vitaliano (died in 1449). Headquarters. English wool sent to Milan. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). Headquarters: Giovanni di Filippo fled to Milan, citizen in 1394. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). Giovanni di Filippo Borromei (died probably in 1431), succeeded by Vitaliano (died in 1449). (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). Giovanni di Filippo maintained a bank in Milan and eventually passed it to his adopted son Vitagliano, who was appointed treasurer to duke Filippo Maria in 1418. Vitagliano's natural son Filippo carried on the bank in Milan and in 1436 expanded his operations by opening affiliate offices in	Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007

							London and Bruges (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 40-41). The Borromei of Milan had headquarters in Milan, and branches in Bruges, London and Barcelona (Schulte, 1923, I, 421-422). Headquarters. (De Roover, 1948b, 39). Borromeo Borromei was establishing banks in Padua and Milan (end 14th century). (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 41). Borromeo (+ 1422) and Giovanni di Filippo serviced the Carrara lords of Padua and the Visconti in Milan. (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 40-41). The Borromei bank in Bruges had 10 or more account holders in Milan in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7).	
Barcelona		6	3	2	1	1436/37-1446<	Branch: 1435- reformed in 1443/44. Vitaliano founded a bank in Barcelona, which was a client of the Borromei in Bruges. The branch in Bruges had also other correspondents in Barcelona (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). The Borromei had already established a branch at Barcelona in the 14th c. (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 47). Bank called Filippo Borromei & Co. in Barcelona in 1438 (De Roover, 1963, 138-139). Bills of exchange drawn by the Bruges branch on the branch in Barcelona to raise credits for the London branch. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). The Borromei of Milan had headquarters in Milan, and branches in Bruges, London and Barcelona (Schulte, 1923, I, 421-422). Vitaliano Borromei established his own company in Bruges in 1434-1435, and a branch a year later in London, and also another company in Barcelona: all under the name of his 15 year old son Filippo (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). In fact the Borromei of Bruges and of Barcelona were branches of the Bank in Milan, while the London branch depended upon the Bruges branch (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). Main function of the bank in Bruges was to draw bills of exchange on Venice and Barcelona, to raise the credits needed for the branch in London to buy English wool and cloth for export to Italy. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). The branch in Barcelona was founded in 1436/37. No reference is given by Jacks & Caferro when mentioning a Borromei branch in Barcelona in the 14th century. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007). Connections of the Bruges branch in 1438: A great deal of business was done with Iberia and especially but not exclusively with Barcelona. In addition to Filippo Borromei & co. of Barcelona, bills to and from Bruges were taken up or paid by Giovanni Buzacherino and Giovanni della Seta, Pere and Ramon Grau,	Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Guidi Bruscoli, s.d., 12

							Joan Riba and Giovanni Ventura & co. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007). The ledger of Antonio Della Casa & co. at the Papal court contains accounts for Filippo Borromei & co. of Bruges, London and Barcelona in 1441 and 1442. This suggests that they may have still been working for the Borromei, on an informal basis. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007). There was a restructuring at Barcelona and on 1 January 1445 a new company was established there with a capital of 6,000 milanese florins provided by Vitaliano, who was to have two thirds of the profits, with Arrighino di Ambrogio Pozzobonello taking the other third. They each had a representative in Barcelona, respectively Taddeo di Ardizio Vismara and Francesco di Arrighino Pozzobonello. Initially the company was an *accomandita* in the name of the two factors but well before the end of the contract, on 20 June 1446, the agreement was reshaped. Vitaliano's son, Filippo, was now to play a much more important role in the management of the bank. There had been disputes and litigation between the original partners, and Vitaliano had become increasingly distrustful of Vismara. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007). The Borromei bank in Bruges had 10 or more account holders in Barcelona in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7). The Borromei bank in Bruges had 3 to 10 Catalan account holders (city of origin not known) in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7).	
Bruges		3 **6**	2 **3**	2 **2**	1 **1**	>1416-1435 1435-1440/41, 1443-1457	- Correspondent of the Borromei of Milan before 1435 was the Bruges branch of the Borromei of Venice: Galeazzo Borromei and Antonio di Francesco and Company (death of Galeazzo in 1436); another correspondent in Bruges was Felice da Fagnano (already before 1416) (brother of Ambrogina, who married Vitaliano by 1416): also represented the bank in London. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008; Guidi Bruscoli, s.d., 7). - 1 January 1435 (contract drawn up in July 1434) - 1440-1441 (closed). Reformed in 1443-1444. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). Branch. Managers: Paolo di Antonio da Castagnolo (from Florence) and Giovanni di Michele Micheli (from Lucca) (Micheli transferred to London in 1436); clients in Bruges. Staff: Paolo da Castagnolo: manager; Felice da Fagnano: deputy manager (Brother-in-law of Count Vitaliano); Alessandro di Piero Borromei: trainee manager from the Florentine branch of the family;	Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert, 2006, 160-161

							Giannino, Bartolomeo, and Battista Tancio: Italian apprentices; the 'Franzoxo': a local employee. Clients in Bruges: a.o.: Goffredo Rapondi, a Lucchese living in Bruges: bought silk in large amounts from the Borromei, to be sold in England. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008; Guidi Bruscoli, s.d., 8). Initial capital: 3,000 £ groot Fl. (profits to be divided between Count Vitaliano: 75%, Castagnolo: 12,5%, and Micheli: 12,5%). Not much trade in Bruges itself. Household in Bruges (rented from Paolo Meliani (Lucchese living in Bruges) for 12£ / year). Total cash accounts kept in Bruges in 1438: 24,779 lb. Vl. Fustians of Augsburg bought in Bruges in 1438. Some fustians sold in Bruges. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). The Borromei of Milan had headquarters in Milan, and branches in Bruges, London and Barcelona (Schulte, 1923, I, 421-422). Bruges branch. Headed by a governatore, junior partner, not a salaried factor, in 1438 (De Roover, 1948b, 39). Vitagliano's natural son Filippo carried on the bank in Milan and in 1436 expanded his operations by opening affiliate offices in London and Bruges (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 40-41). This is wrong, Filippo was still a teenager. The Milan bank was managed by Vitaliano, who opened the branches in Bruges and London in name of his son Filippo. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007). Vitaliano Borromei established his own company in Bruges in 1434/35, and a branch a year later in London, and also another company in Barcelona: all under the name of his 15 year old son Filippo (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). In fact the Borromei of Bruges and of Barcelona were branches of the Bank in Milan, while the London branch depended upon the Bruges branch (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). Main function of the bank in Bruges was to draw bills of exchange on Venice and Barcelona, to raise the credits needed for the branch in London to buy English wool and cloth for export to Italy. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). The branches in London and Bruges were apparently closed in the early 1440s due to bad results. Nevertheless, members of staff of the Borromei company were still present in London and Bruges in 1441-1442 and may have been working for the Borromei on an informal basis. In 1443, two new contracts were instituting two new companies: one in Bruges, one in	

							London. This time, both branches were independent from each other. The Bruges company was named Prevosto e Alessandro Borromei & Partners, and lasted until 1457. (Guidi Bruscoli, s.d., 12-13). The ledger of Antonio Della Casa & co. at the Papal court contains accounts for Filippo Borromei & co. of Bruges, London and Barcelona in 1441 and 1442. This suggests that they may have still been working for the Borromei, on an informal basis. Biscaro states that at the beginning of 1441 Vitaliano's illegitimate son Giovanni *alias* Prevosto Borromei was the representative of the company in Bruges. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007). By contracts dated 12 March 1443 Vitaliano established two new and separate companies, one in Bruges and the other in London, to be open for business on the 1 January 1444. The company at Bruges, Prevosto e Alessandro Borromei & co., had a capital of £19,200 imperiali. This contract was again for five years (1444-1448), but was probably renewed, in the name of Prevosto only, as the company lasted until 1457. Count Vitaliano again provided the capital and was entitled to 66.6 per cent of the profits, whilst the remaining third was to be divided between Prevosto and Alessandro di Piero Borromei of the Florentine branch of the family, who were sent to Bruges where Alessandro had already worked for the previous company. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007). The Borromei bank in Bruges had 10 or more account holders in Bruges in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7).	
London		3 **5** 6	2 **3** 3	2 **2** 2	1 **1** 1	>1416-1435 1435-1440/41, 1443-1452	- Representative from before 1416 until 1436: Felice da Fagnano (already before 1416) (brother of Ambrogina, who married Vitaliano by 1416): also represented the bank in Bruges. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). - 1435 - 1440-1441 (closed). Reformed in 1443-1444. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). Manager in 1435: Giovanni Bindotti. Manager from 1436: Giovanni di Michele Micheli (from Lucca). Other member of staff: Alessandro Palastrello, visited the Bruges branch quite frequently. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008; Guidi Bruscoli, s.d., 8, 12). Branch of the Bank in Bruges (sub-branch). English wool and cloth bought and shipped from London. Occasional travel of members of staff of the Bruges branch to London. Large sale of fustians. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). The Borromei of Milan had headquarters in Milan, and branches in Bruges,	Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert, 2006, 161

							London and Barcelona (Schulte, 1923, I, 421-422). London branch: Bruges branch supplied the entire capital of the London branch (1,600 £ groat) (1438) (De Roover, 1948b, 39). Vitagliano's natural son Filippo carried on the bank in Milan and in 1436 expanded his operations by opening affiliate offices in London and Bruges (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 40-41). Vitaliano Borromei established his own company in Bruges in 1434-1435, and a branch a year later in London, and also another company in Barcelona: all under the name of his 15 year old son Filippo (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). In fact the Borromei of Bruges and of Barcelona were branches of the Bank in Milan, while the London branch depended upon the Bruges branch (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). Main function of the bank in Bruges was to draw bills of exchange on Venice and Barcelona, to raise the credits needed for the branch in London to buy English wool and cloth for export to Italy. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). Factors in the London branch in 1452 were Felice da Fagnano and Nicolo Micheli. (Lambert, 2006, 162). The branches in London and Bruges were apparently closed in the early 1440s due to bad results. Nevertheless, members of staff of the Borromei company were still present in London and Bruges in 1441-1442 and may have been working for the Borromei on an informal basis. In 1443, two new contracts were instituting two new companies: one in Bruges, one in London. This time, both branches were independent from each other. The London branch was named Felice da Fagnano & Partners. It was managed by Felice da Fagnano. The branch was dissolved in 1452. (Guidi Bruscoli, s.d., 12-13). Among the clients of the Borromei bank of Bruges were the English or perhaps better the Londoners, who did not come to Bruges itself but traded to the fairs at Antwerp and Bergen and to Middelburg. Activities of the Borromei in fustian and madder trade to Iberia and England. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007). Export trade from England through London, Sandwich and Southampton. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007). The staff of the London branch, Giovanni and Niccolò Micheli, Felice da Fagnano and Alessandro da Palastrello appear in the English Views of Hosts trading in the city in the early 1440s and the ledger of Antonio Della Casa & co. at the Papal court contains accounts for Filippo Borromei & co. of Bruges, London	

							and Barcelona in 1441 and 1442. This suggests that they may have still been working for the Borromei, on an informal basis. Biscaro states that at the beginning of 1441 Felice da Fagnano, Count Vitaliano's brother-in-law was the representative of the company in London. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007). By contracts dated 12 March 1443 Vitaliano established two new and separate companies, one in Bruges and the other in London, to be open for business on the 1 January 1444. In 1448 Vitaliano was thinking of closing it due to bad management but it was not dissolved until 14 March 1452 (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007). The Borromei bank in Bruges had 10 or more account holders in London in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7). The Borromei bank in Bruges had 2 English account holders (city of origin not known) in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7).	
Antwerp		4	2	2	1	>1437-1438<	The Bruges branch had clients in Antwerp: e.g. Gherard Nuolante (acted as agent for the Borromei), innkeeper in Antwerp, who provided warehousing and accommodation for the Borromei. House rented in Antwerp by the bank for 12£ 14s 2d / year in 1437-1438. Regular travel of members of staff of the Bruges branch to Antwerp. Substantial cash accounts in Antwerp, especially during the fairs, for payments to their clients. Total turnover in Antwerp in 1438: 4,863 lb. Vl. (31% of cash transactions at Brabantine fairs). Purchase of fustians from Augsburg, sale of English wool. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). Bruges branch: Considerable amount of business at the great fairs at Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom, and at Middelburg and its outport Arnemuiden. The Borromei rented a house in Antwerp for six months of the year where they and some of their Italian clients stayed at fair time. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007). Among the local clients of the Bruges branch were merchants from Bruges and other cities and towns in the Low Countries, from the Rhineland and from South Germany, with several major companies from Augsburg and Ulm having factors based in either Antwerp or Bruges. Another group of local clients were the English or perhaps better the Londoners, who did not come to Bruges itself but traded to the fairs at Antwerp and Bergen and to Middelburg. Activities of the Borromei in the wool trade between Calais and Antwerp and Mechelen. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007).	Lambert, 2006, 162

							The Borromei branch of Bruges kept substantial cash accounts in Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom, responsible for 31 % of their total cash business, for the benefit of its customers, mainly Italians resident in Bruges. Moreover, the firm itself was heavily involved in the purchase of fustian, and the sale of wool at the Brabantine fairs. When we look at the people mentioned in the accounts whose place of residence (in the Low Countries) is given, 24 of the 139 (17,27 %) were active in Antwerp, 17 (12,23 %) in Bergen-op-Zoom. (Lambert et al., 2008, 6-7). The Borromei bank in Bruges had 3 to 10 account holders in Antwerp in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7). The Borromei bank in Bruges had 2 account holders in Brabant (city not known) in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7).	
Geneva		4	2	2	1	>1438<	The Bruges branch had correspondents in Geneva. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). Connections of the Bruges branch in 1438: One of the clearing houses for the settling of accounts between northern and southern Europe was the fairs at Geneva. Here the bank used Guglielmo da Marliano, Arrighino Panigarola and Giovanni Panigarola and brothers. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007). The Borromei bank in Bruges had 10 or more account holders in Geneva in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7).	
Genoa		4	2	2	1	>1438<	The Bruges branch had correspondents in Genoa. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). Connections of the Bruges branch in 1438: in Genoa, Milan's main outlet to the sea, they used various members of the Fornari family and Oddo Raù, originally from Pisa. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007). The Borromei bank in Bruges had 10 or more account holders in Genoa in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7).	
Venice		4	2	2	1	>1438<	Correspondents of the Borromei of Milan in Venice were the Borromei of Venice. The Borromei branch in Bruges had an account in Venice by Cecco di Tommaso and brothers (who themselves had an account by the Borromei in Bruges). The Borromei in Venice were clients of the Borromei branch in Bruges. The Borromei branch in Bruges carried out commission trade for Arrighino Panigarola of Venice. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). Bills of exchange drawn by the Bruges branch on messer Antonio Borromei & Lazzaro di Giovanni, and on Cecco di Tommaso and brothers to raise money for the London branch. English wool sent to Venice. (Bolton & Guidi	

							Bruscoli, 2008). Main function of the bank in Bruges was to draw bills of exchange on Venice and Barcelona, to raise the credits needed for the branch in London to buy English wool and cloth for export to Italy. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). The Borromei of Milan had representatives in Venice. (Lambert, 2006, 161). On the main European money market at Venice, major exchange operations were conducted by the Bruges branch with Cecco di Tommaso and brothers and above all with messer Antonio and Lazzaro di Giovanni who are referred to as the 'Borromei of *or* at Venice'. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007). Connections of the Bruges branch in 1438: At Venice they also dealt with Agnolo di Zanobi Gaddi & co., Cosimo and Lorenzo de' Medici & co., Arrighino Panigarola, Niccolò Ranghiadore and various members of the Corner family. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007). The Borromei bank in Bruges had 10 or more account holders in Venice in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7).	
Avignon		3	2	2	1	>1438<	The Bruges branch had correspondents in Avignon: especially the Ricci and the Ventura. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). Connections of the Bruges branch in 1438: In southern France, or perhaps more accurately the lower Rhône valley, the chief centres for exchange were Avignon and Montpellier. At Avignon, the Bruges's bank's correspondents were Bernardo and Matteo Ricci & co., who handled in part the exchange from London via Bruges to pay Sir Thomas Rempston's ransom to Tanneguy du Chastel, and Jacopo Ventura & co.(Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007). The Borromei bank in Bruges had 3 to 10 account holders in Avignon in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7).	
Basel		3	2	2	1	>1438<	The Bruges branch had correspondents in Basel: especially Bernardo da Uzzano & Diego degli Alberti and Company, and Cosimo & Lorenzo de' Medici (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). Connections of the Bruges branch in 1438: At Basel Bernardo da Uzzano and Diego degli Alberti & co. and Cosimo and Lorenzo de' Medici & co. remitted and accepted bills of exchange from and for them. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007). The Borromei bank in Bruges had 3 to 10 account holders in Basel in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7).	
Bergen-op-Zoom		3	2	2	1	>1438<	The Bruges branch had clients in Bergen-op-Zoom. Regular travel of members of staff of the Bruges branch to Bergen-op-Zoom. Substantial cash accounts in Bergen-op-Zoom, especially during the fairs, for payments to	Lambert, 2006, 162

							their clients. Purchase of fustians from Ulm and Augsburg. Total turnover in Bergen-op-Zoom in 1438: 3,800 lb. vl. (31% of cash transactions at Brabantine fairs). Purchase of fustians from Augsburg and a smaller amount of fustians from Ulm (more expensive), sale of English wool. Some fustians re-sold in Bergen-op-Zoom. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). Bruges branch: Considerable amount of business at the great fairs at Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom, and at Middelburg and its outport Arnemuiden. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007). Among the local clients of the Bruges branch were the English or perhaps better the Londoners, who did not come to Bruges itself but traded to the fairs at Antwerp and Bergen and to Middelburg. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007). The Borromei bank in Bruges had 2 account holders in Brabant (city not known) in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7).	
Calais		3	2	2	1	>1438<	Jacopo Guidetti bought wool at the Calais staple for a partnership between the Borromei of Bruges and Lorenzo di Niccolo di Zanobi. Regular travel of members of staff of the Bruges branch to Calais. Purchase of English wool at the Calais staple, for re-sale in the Low Countries (to clothiers in Holland and Brabant). Fustians to England via Calais. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). Activities of the Borromei in the wool trade between Calais and Antwerp and Mechelen. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007). The Borromei bank in Bruges had 1 account holder in Calais in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7). Mechelen occupied a particular position in the commercial network of the Borromei, who had installed an agent in the city. He received sarplers of wool directly from the wool staple in Calais and sold them to local drapers, who thus were able to buy the raw material without going to Bruges or Antwerp. (Lambert et al., 2008, 9).	
Cologne		3	2	2	1	>1438<	The Bruges branch had correspondents in Cologne: especially the Rossi; clients in Cologne. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). Connections of the Bruges branch in 1438: At Cologne, they used Antonio de'Rossi for both local and international business. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007). The Bruges branch had clients in south Germany (cities not specified) (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). Among the local clients of the Bruges branch were merchants from Bruges and other cities and towns in the Low Countries, from the Rhineland and from South Germany, with several major companies from Augsburg and Ulm having factors based in either Antwerp or Bruges.	

							(Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007). The Borromei bank in Bruges had 3 to 10 account holders in Germany in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7). The Borromei bank in Bruges had 3 to 10 account holders in Cologne in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7).	
Florence		3	2	2	1	>1438-1442<	Representative of the Borromei of Milan in Florence was a Florentine bank founded by another branch of the Borromei family. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). Bruges branch: correspondents in Florence; commission trade for Francesco Ventura and Company of Florence. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). English wool sent to Florence. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). Connections of the Bruges branch in 1438: Their main correspondents in Florence were Bernardo da Uzzano and Bianco d'Agostino & co., Giovanni Rucellai & co. and Francesco Ventura & co. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007). The Borromei bank in Bruges had 3 to 10 account holders in Florence in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7). The Bruges branch had correspondents at the papal court. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). Connections of the Bruges branch in 1438: For ecclesiastical clients access to the papal curia was of vital importance. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007). The ledger of Antonio Della Casa & co. at the Papal court contains accounts for Filippo Borromei & co. of Bruges, London and Barcelona in 1441 and 1442. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007). The Borromei bank in Bruges had 2 account holders at the Papal Court in 1438. Several account holders and contacts mentioned in the ledger of the Bruges branch (1438) carried out transactions at the Papal Court. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7). In 1434-1443, the Papal Court was mostly established in Florence, except in 1438, when it was in Ferrara. (De Roover, 1963; Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 48).	
Lucca		3	2	2	1	>1438<	The Borromei bank in Bruges had 3 to 10 account holders in Lucca in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7).	
Mechelen		3	2	2	1	>1438<	The Bruges branch had clients in Mechelen: e.g. Arnold Bau (acted as agent for the Borromei), innkeeper in Mechelen who provided warehousing for the Borromei. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). Activities of the Borromei in the wool trade between Calais and Antwerp and Mechelen. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007). Mechelen occupied a particular position in the commercial	

							network of the Borromei, who had installed an agent in the city. He received sarplers of wool directly from the wool staple in Calais and sold them to local drapers, who thus were able to buy the raw material without going to Bruges or Antwerp. (Lambert et al., 2008, 9). The Borromei bank in Bruges had 3 to 10 account holders in Mechelen in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7).	
Middelburg		3	2	2	1	>1438<	The Bruges branch had clients in Middelburg. Regular travel of members of staff of the Bruges branch to Middelburg (e.g. Paolo da Castagnolo in Middelburg in January 1438). Cash accounts kept in Middelburg. Purchase of madder (Middelburg was market and port for purchase and shipping of madder), sale of English wool. English wool sometimes sent to Italy via Middelburg. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). Bruges branch: Considerable amount of business at the great fairs at Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom, and at Middelburg and its outport Arnemuiden. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007). Among the local clients of the Bruges branch were the English or perhaps better the Londoners, who did not come to Bruges itself but traded to the fairs at Antwerp and Bergen and to Middelburg. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007). The Borromei had interests in Middelburg. (Lambert et al., 2008, 9). The representative of the Borromei bank in Middelburg, whose account books contain 14 people (resident in the Low Countries) who are mentioned as working in the Zeeland town (10,07 % of the total number), was able to make some profitable business dealings sending madder to Southern Spain and Southampton. (Lambert et al., 2008, 10). The Borromei bank in Bruges had 3 to 10 account holders in Middelburg in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7).	
Padua		3	2	2	1	end 14thc.<	Borromeo Borromei was establishing banks in Padua and Milan (end 14th century). (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 41). Borromeo (+ 1422) and Giovanni di Filippo serviced the Carrara lords of Padua and the Visconti in Milan. (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 40-41). Jim Bolton and Francesco Guidi Bruscoli (2007; Id., 2008) do not mention the existence of a branch in Padua however.	
Palermo		3	2	2	1	>1438<	The Bruges branch had correspondents in Palermo. Commission trade for Piero Gaetani and Antonio Da Settimo of Palermo: sugar imported from Palermo and sold in Bruges, hides bought in Bruges and sent to Italy on the Venetian galleys; partnership with Ranieri Aiutamicristo of Pisa in Palermo for the sale of fustians and purchase of sugar at Palermo. Sugar imported	

							from Palermo. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). The Borromei bank in Bruges had 1 account holder in Palermo in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7).	
Pisa		3	2	2	1	>1438<	The Bruges branch had correspondents in Pisa. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). The Borromei bank in Bruges had 3 to 10 account holders in Pisa in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7).	
Sevilla		3	2	2	1	>1438<	The Bruges branch had correspondents in Seville. 1438: Fustians and madder sent to Jacopo da Riveruolo in Seville. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). Connections of the Bruges branch in 1438: The bank had correspondents in Seville (Gabriello delle Banche and Giovanni Provana & co. and Jacopo Grillo). (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007). The representative of the Borromei bank in Middelburg was able to make some profitable business dealings sending madder to Southern Spain and Southampton. (Lambert et al., 2008, 10). The Borromei bank in Bruges had 3 to 10 Spanish account holders (city of origin not known) in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7). The Borromei bank in Bruges had 2 account holders in Sevilla in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7).	
Southampton		3	2	2	1	>1438<	The Bruges branch had contacts with merchants from Southampton. Agent: Gregorio Cattano, Cristofano Cattano. English wool and cloth shipped via Southampton. Fustians to England via Southampton. Sale of madder by Cristofano Catano for the Borromei in Southampton. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). Export trade from England through London, Sandwich and Southampton. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007). The representative of the Borromei bank in Middelburg was able to make some profitable business dealings sending madder to Southern Spain and Southampton. (Lambert et al., 2008, 10). The Borromei bank in Bruges had 2 English account holders (city of origin not known) in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7). The Borromei bank in Bruges had 2 account holders in Southampton in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7).	
Tournai		3	2	2	1	>1438<	The Bruges branch had clients in Tournai. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). The Borromei bank in Bruges had 3 to 10 account holders in Tournai in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7). The Bruges branch had clients in Hainault (cities not specified) (Bolton & Guidi	

							Bruscoli, 2008). The Borromei bank in Bruges had 3 to 10 account holders in Hainault in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7).	
Valencia		3	2	2	1	>1438<	The Bruges branch had correspondents in Valencia. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). Connections of the Bruges branch in 1438: The bank had correspondents in Valencia (Piero Buzacherino, Andrea da Casale, Cecco di Tommaso and brothers and Michele dalla Vecchia). (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007). The Borromei bank in Bruges had 3 to 10 Catalan account holders (city of origin not known) in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7). The Borromei bank in Bruges had 3 to 10 account holders in Valencia in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7).	
Arnemuiden		2	2	1	0	>1438<	Bruges branch: Considerable amount of business at the great fairs at Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom, and at Middelburg and its outport Arnemuiden. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007). The ledger of the Borromei bank of Bruges (1438) mentions a contact in Arnemuiden. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 8).	
Augsburg		2	2	1	0	>1438<	The Bruges branch had clients in south Germany (cities not specified) (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). Among the local clients of the Bruges branch were merchants from Bruges and other cities and towns in the Low Countries, from the Rhineland and from South Germany, with several major companies from Augsburg and Ulm having factors based in either Antwerp or Bruges. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007). The Borromei bank in Bruges had 3 to 10 account holders in Germany in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7). The Borromei bank in Bruges had 2 account holders in Augsburg in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7).	
Bologna		2	2	1	0	>1438<	Connections of the Bruges branch in 1438: For ecclesiastical clients access to the papal curia was of vital importance, and in 1438 it was at Bologna, where the Borromei Bruges sent bills to Francesco Boscoli and Giovanni da Uzzano & co. rather than to Borromei Borromeo & co., surprisingly. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007). The Borromei bank in Bruges had 2 account holders in Bologna in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7).	
Cádiz		2	2	1	0	>1438<	Fustian and madder were sent by the Bruges branch to Sevilla via Cádiz in	

							1438. Representative was Cristofano Crivello. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). The ledger of the Borromei bank of Bruges (1438) mentions a contact in Cádiz. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 8).	
Cambrai		2	2	1	0	>1438<	The Borromei bank in Bruges had 2 account holders in Cambrai in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7).	
Damme		2	2	1	0	>1438<	The Bruges branch had clients in Damme. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). The Borromei bank in Bruges had 2 account holders in Damme in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7).	
Ferrara		2	2	1	0	1438	The Bruges branch had correspondents at the papal court. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). Connections of the Bruges branch in 1438: For ecclesiastical clients access to the papal curia was of vital importance. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007). The ledger of Antonio Della Casa & co. at the Papal court contains accounts for Filippo Borromei & co. of Bruges, London and Barcelona in 1441 and 1442. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007). The Borromei bank in Bruges had 2 account holders at the Papal Court in 1438. Several account holders and contacts mentioned in the ledger of the Bruges branch (1438) carried out transactions at the Papal Court. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7). In 1434-1443, the Papal Court was mostly established in Florence, except in 1438, when it was in Ferrara. (De Roover, 1963; Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 48).	
Ghent		2	2	1	0	>1438<	The Bruges branch had clients in Ghent. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). The Borromei bank in Bruges had 2 account holders in Ghent in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7).	
Lier		2	2	1	0	>1438<	The Borromei ledgers suggest that Antwerp already acted as a pole of attraction for the cities in its immediate surroundings in the 1430s. Of the ten people of the small cloth town of Lier mentioned in the accounts, eight were doing business in the Scheldt town, trying to buy wool. (Lambert et al., 2008, 9). The Borromei bank in Bruges had 2 account holders in Lier in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7).	
Lille		2	2	1	0	>1438<	The Borromei bank in Bruges had 2 account holders in Lille in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7).	
Montpellier		2	2	1	0	>1438<	The Bruges branch had correspondents in Montpellier: especially the Ventura and Bucelli. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). Connections of the Bruges branch in 1438: In southern France, or perhaps more accurately the lower Rhône valley, the chief centres for exchange were Avignon and	

							Montpellier. At Montpellier they dealt with Bernardo Ventura and Giannozzo Buccelli & co. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007). The Borromei bank in Bruges had 2 account holders in Montpellier in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7).	
Sandwich		2	2	1	0	>1438<	English wool and cloth shipped via Sandwich by the Bruges branch. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). Export trade from England through London, Sandwich and Southampton. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007). The Borromei bank in Bruges had 2 English account holders (city of origin not known) in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7).	
Aardenburg		1	1	1	0	>1438<	The ledger of the Borromei bank of Bruges (1438) mentions a contact in Aardenburg. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 8).	
Angers		1	1	1	0	>1438<	The ledger of the Borromei bank of Bruges (1438) mentions two contacts in Angers. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 8).	
Asti		1	1	1	0	>1438<	The ledger of the Borromei bank of Bruges (1438) mentions a contact in Asti. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 8).	
Beveren (near Roeselare)		1	1	1	0	>1438<	The Borromei bank in Bruges had 1 account holder in Beveren (near Roeselare) in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7).	
Brussels		1	1	1	0	>1438<	The Borromei bank in Bruges had 1 account holder in Brussels in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7). The ledger of the Borromei bank of Bruges (1438) mentions a contact at the Burgundian court. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 8).	
Diest		1	1	1	0	>1438<	The ledger of the Borromei bank of Bruges (1438) mentions a contact in Diest. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 8).	
Frankfurt am Main		1	1	1	0	>1438<	The Bruges branch had contacts with merchants from Frankfurt am Main. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). The ledger of the Borromei bank of Bruges (1438) mentions a contact in Frankfurt am Main. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 8). The Bruges branch had clients in south Germany (cities not specified) (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). Among the local clients of the Bruges branch were merchants from Bruges and other cities and towns in the Low Countries, from the Rhineland and from South Germany, with several major companies from Augsburg and Ulm having factors based in either Antwerp or Bruges. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007). The Borromei bank in Bruges had 3 to 10 account holders in Germany in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7).	

Gravelines		1	1	1	0	>1438<	The Borromei bank in Bruges had 1 account holder in Gravelines in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7).	
‘s Hertogenbosch		1	1	1	0	>1438<	The ledger of the Borromei bank of Bruges (1438) mentions a contact in ‘s Hertogenbosch. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 8).	
Holland		1	1	1	0	>1438<	The Borromei bank in Bruges had 1 account holder in Holland in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7).	
Kortrijk		1	1	1	0	>1438<	The Bruges branch had clients in Kortrijk. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). The Borromei bank in Bruges had 1 account holder in Kortrijk in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7).	
Lisbon		1	1	1	0	>1438<	The Borromei bank in Bruges had 1 account holder in Lisbon in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7).	
Lyon		1	1	1	0	>1438<	The ledger of the Borromei bank of Bruges (1438) mentions a contact in Lyon. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 8).	
Male		1	1	1	0	>1438<	The Borromei bank in Bruges had 1 account holder in Male in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7).	
Mons		1	1	1	0	>1438<	The Borromei bank in Bruges had 1 account holder in Mons in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7). The Bruges branch had clients in Hainault (cities not specified) (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). The Borromei bank in Bruges had 3 to 10 account holders in Hainault in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7).	
Morella		1	1	1	0	>1438<	The ledger of the Borromei bank of Bruges (1438) mentions a contact in Morella. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 8).	
Nantes		1	1	1	0	>1438<	The ledger of the Borromei bank of Bruges (1438) mentions a contact in Nantes. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 8).	
Nürnberg		1	1	1	0	>1438<	The Borromei bank in Bruges had 1 account holder in Nürnberg in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7). The Bruges branch had clients in south Germany (cities not specified) (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). Among the local clients of the Bruges branch were merchants from Bruges and other cities and towns in the Low Countries, from the Rhineland and from South Germany, with several major companies from Augsburg and Ulm having factors based in either Antwerp or Bruges. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007). The Borromei bank in Bruges had 3 to 10 account holders in Germany in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7).	
Oudenaarde		1	1	1	0	>1438<	The ledger of the Borromei bank of Bruges (1438) mentions two contacts in	

							Oudenaarde. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 8).	
Paris		1	1	1	0	>1438<	The ledger of the Borromei bank of Bruges (1438) mentions a contact in Paris. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 8).	
Perugia		1	1	1	0	>1438<	The Borromei bank in Bruges had 1 account holder in Perugia in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7).	
Piemonte		1	1	1	0	>1438<	The Borromei bank in Bruges had 1 account holder in Piemonte in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7).	
Ravensburg		1	1	1	0	>1438<	The ledger of the Borromei bank of Bruges (1438) mentions a contact in Ravensburg. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 8). The Bruges branch had clients in south Germany (cities not specified) (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). Among the local clients of the Bruges branch were merchants from Bruges and other cities and towns in the Low Countries, from the Rhineland and from South Germany, with several major companies from Augsburg and Ulm having factors based in either Antwerp or Bruges. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007). The Borromei bank in Bruges had 3 to 10 account holders in Germany in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7).	
Rennes		1	1	1	0	>1438<	The ledger of the Borromei bank of Bruges (1438) mentions a contact in Rennes. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 8).	
Savona		1	1	1	0	>1438<	The Borromei bank in Bruges had 1 account holder in Savona in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7).	
Scotland		1	1	1	0	>1438<	The ledger of the Borromei bank of Bruges (1438) mentions a contact in Scotland. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 8).	
Siena		1	1	1	0	>1438<	The ledger of the Borromei bank of Bruges (1438) mentions a contact in Siena. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 8).	
Sluis		1	1	1	0	>1438<	Resale of small amounts of fustians in Sluis by the branch in Bruges. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). The Borromei bank in Bruges had 1 account holder in Sluis in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7).	
Thérouanne		1	1	1	0	>1438<	The ledger of the Borromei bank of Bruges (1438) mentions a contact in Therouanne. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 8).	
Ulm		1	1	1	0	>1438<	The Bruges branch had clients in south Germany (cities not specified) (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). Among the local clients of the Bruges branch were merchants from Bruges and other cities and towns in the Low Countries, from the Rhineland and from South Germany, with several major companies from Augsburg and Ulm having factors based in either Antwerp	

							or Bruges. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007). The Borromei bank in Bruges had 3 to 10 account holders in Germany in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7).	
Valenciennes		1	1	1	0	>1438<	The ledger of the Borromei bank of Bruges (1438) mentions a contact in Valenciennes. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 8).	
Verdun		1	1	1	0	>1438<	The Borromei bank in Bruges had 1 account holder in Verdun in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7).	
Verona		1	1	1	0	>1438<	The Borromei bank in Bruges had 1 account holder in Verona in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7).	
Wervik		1	1	1	0	>1438<	The Bruges branch had clients in Wervik. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). The Borromei bank in Bruges had 1 account holder in Wervik in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Lambert et al., 2008, 7).	

+ The network reconstructed here is biased towards the Low Countries, since especially the network and the correspondents of the Bruges branch are known (for the year 1438). (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Id., 2008).
+ Scores have been attributed as follows (several exceptions however): 10 or more account holders in the ledger of the Bruges branch (1438): 4-2-2-1; 3 to 10 account holders: 3-2-2-1; 2 account holders: 2-2-1-0; 1 account holder: 1-1-1-0. When the ledger mentions businessmen/companies in a city in which there were no account holders, a score 1-1-1-0 has been given.

.2. BORROMEI OF VENICE, before 1395 – late 1470s

A brother of Giovanni and Borromeo Borromei of the Milanese bank, Alessandro di Filippo (+ 1431), had built up a thriving business in Venice in partnership with the Sienese merchant Domenico d'Andrea already by 1395. The son of Borromeo di Filippo Borromei, Galeazzo, joined the Venetian bank as an apprentice to Alessandro some years later, and around 1420 he took on sole management of two new offices in Bruges and London with Antonio di Francesco as partner (Galeazzo Borromei and Antonio di Francescho and Co.). Sometime later, Giovanni di Paolo Rucellai formed a partnership with Galeazzo in Venice, which was very profitable (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 40).

The exile of the Borromei branches of Milan and Venice lasted until 1413, when Alessandro di Filippo returned to Florence, having amassed a sizeable fortune. In all likelihood, Galeazzo, son of Borromeo, moved to Florence along with his uncle Alessandro. In 1425 he took up residence in a palace along the Arno. When Alessandro died childless in 1431, Galeazzo and his brothers Giovanni and Antonio inherited a remarkable patrimony, including shares in the banks in Bruges, London and Venice (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 40). Galeazzo returned to Venice in 1433, while founding a Florentine filiale with the collaboration of his brother, Giovanni (mid 1430s). This bank existed until the late 1470s. Soon, Antonio took over the Venetian bank. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 41-42). At the death of Galeazzo in 1436, ownership of the bank went to his brother Antonio Borromei. (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 45). Antonio Borromei and Lazzaro di

Giovanni: Antonio Borromei (family member of Giovanni di Filippo Borromei), Lazzaro di Giovanni. Headquarters in Venice (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Id., 2008). On the death of Alessandro di Filippo in 1431, two new partnerships were created in Venice, both with Lazzaro di Giovanni (son of Giovanni di Borromeo), one in the name of Alessandro's nephew, Antonio di Borromeo, the other with Antonio's son, Borromeo. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007).

Size: Large

In 1427, Alessandro Borromei was the 4th wealthiest inhabitant of Florence according to the Catasto. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 40). Galeazzo Borromei was one of the most affluent businessmen in all of Italy (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 39-41).

Main activities:

- Commerce: The branch at the papal court traded in luxury goods such as silver plate and processed wool. (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 45). In Basel, Tommaso traded in silver plate, jewelry, and other precious commodities, for which bishops and prelates showed a large appetite. He also sold wool cloth, bought wholesale from his brothers Buonsignore and Rubaconte in Mantua (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 44).
- Finance: Papal banking. (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 41-42, 45-50).
- Industry:

Network of the Borromei of Venice:

Table A..2. Network of the Borromei of Venice, ca. 1395 – ca. 1450 (especially 1444)

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Venice		8	4	3	1	>1395-1448<	Late 14th c. - after 1436. Headquarters: messer Antonio Borromei and Lazzaro di Giovanni. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). Alessandro di Filippo (+ 1431) had built up a thriving business in Venice in partnership with the Sienese merchant Domenico d'Andrea already by 1395. (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 40). Sometime after 1420, Giovanni di Paolo Rucellai formed a partnership with Galeazzo di Borromeo Borromei in Venice, which was very profitable (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 40). Galeazzo Borromei, son of Borromeo di Filippo Borromei: headquarters in Venice. Died in 1436, bank taken over by his brother Antonio di Borromeo Borromei, and later by Antonio's son Borromeo Borromei. Galeazzo Borromei was one of the most affluent businessmen in all of Italy (Jacks &	Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007

							Caferro, 2001, 39-41). The Borromei of Venice had been one of the Alberti's chief competitors in Bruges, London and Venice. (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 40). By 1433, Giuliano and Alessandro, of a collateral branch of the Borromei family, were working as clerks in the Venetian office of Galeazzo Borromei (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 41). When Alessandro died childless in 1431, Galeazzo and his brothers Giovanni and Antonio inherited a remarkable patrimony, including a fourth of the capital held by the banks in Bruges, London and Venice (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 40). Galeazzo returned to Venice in 1433. Soon, Antonio took over the Venetian bank, and it is quite likely that Tommaso Spinelli served for a short while under his administration before 1435 (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 41-42). At the death of Galeazzo in 1436, ownership of the bank went to his brother Antonio Borromei. Antonio of its own had already shares in the branches at Venice, Bruges and London, in addition to real estate in Padua, where he made his home, Verona and Bologna. (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 45). On 12 April 1447, Tommaso Spinelli liquidated his share of the partnership with Borromeo Borromei for 11,000 ducats. The final quittance was issued on 31 May 1448 near the Rialto bridge in Venice, when Tommaso's brother Niccodemo handed over the remaining 5,000 ducats to the Borromei (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 54).	
Bruges		6	3	2	1	c.1420-1444<	Branch: Before 1436: Galeazzo Borromei and Antonio di Francesco and Company; after 1436: Alessandro Borromei and Antonio di Francesco and Company: also active in Antwerp. Alessandro was a son of Antonio Borromei, a brother of Galeazzo. Company in Venice and its branch in Bruges were major clients of Filippo Borromei and company of Bruges. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Id., 2008; Guidi Bruscoli, s.d., 7). Around 1420 Galeazzo di Borromeo Borromei, nephew of Alessandro, took on sole management of two new offices in Bruges and London with Antonio di Francesco as partner (Galeazzo Borromei and Antonio di Francescho and Co.). (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 40). The Borromei of Venice had been one of the Alberti's chief competitors in Bruges, London and Venice (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 40). In 1442, Tommaso Spinelli, manager of the Rome branch, sent his brother Rubaconte to Bruges to collect monies past due there, especially the sums owed him by a certain	Guidi Bruscoli, s.d., 7

							Lorenzo di Niccolò (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 47). In 1444, the Borromei-Spinelli Roman bank had branch offices in Florence (Borromeo Borromei and Tommaso Spinelli), in London (Alessandro Borromei & Co.) and in Bruges (Alessandro Borromei & Co.) (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 50). 1436: death of Galeazzo Borromei. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). When Alessandro died childless in 1431, Galeazzo and his brothers Giovanni and Antonio inherited a remarkable patrimony, including a fourth of the capital held by the banks in Bruges, London and Venice (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 40). At the death of Galeazzo in 1436, ownership of the bank went to his brother Antonio Borromei. Antonio of his own had already shares in the branches at Venice, Bruges and London, in addition to real estate in Padua, where he made his home, Verona and Bologna. (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 45). Bruges branch of the Borromei of Venice: before 1436: Galeazzo Borromei and Antonio di Francesco and Company (death of Galeazzo in 1436); after 1436: Alessandro Borromei and Antonio di Francesco and Company. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). Galeazzo Borromei & Co. in Bruges in 1427 were correspondents of the Rome branch of the Medici (De Roover, 1963, 209). Firm of Galeazzo Borromei & Co. in Bruges in 1427 (De Roover, 1963, 245). Branch. Correspondence of the Borromei-Spinelli Rome branch in 1444 with the Branch Office “Alessandro Borromei & Co.” in Bruges. Other correspondents: Antonio da Rabatta and Bernardo Cambi & Co.; Lorenzo di Niccolò & Co. (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 50).	
Florence		6	3	2	1	1433-late 1470s	Partnership between Galeazzo Borromei and Tommaso Spinelli in Venice. Tommaso started a bank at the papal court in Florence 31 July 1435. After the death of Galeazzo in 1436, new partnership with his brother Antonio, and later with Antonio’s son Borromeo (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 39-40). Tommaso Spinelli served for a short while under the administration of Antonio Borromei in Venice before July 1435. On 31 July 1435 the papal bank of the Borromei opened, with Tommaso Spinelli as managing partner. The new firm went by the name of “Borromei, Spinelli, e compagnia di Corte”. Galeazzo provided start-up capital and an international network, while Tommaso brought his experience as financier to the Camera Apostolica and his connections to the papal court (Jacks & Caferro, 2001,	

							41-42). Tommaso Spinelli ultimately broke off from the Borromei in 1448 (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 44). Tommaso Spinelli went from Basel to Florence in 1435. Here, his fortunes were beginning to improve: customers included a wide array of papal functionaries and several prominent cardinals. Business in silver plate and processed wool. Between 1437 and 1440, profits of roughly 986 florins annually (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 45). By late 1430s, Tommaso Spinelli was entrusted with the task of overseeing the income from Annates for pope Eugenius IV around Europe. As a result, the volume of business through his bank increased as well: profits in 1441 and 1442: almost 4,000 florins for the 2 years: double the annual rate from 1437-1440 (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 45-47). Cumulative profits for 1437-1441: 7,937 florins (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 47). Early 1443, Tommaso followed the papal retinue back to Rome (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 48). In 1444, the Borromei-Spinelli Roman bank had branch offices in Florence (Borromeo Borromei and Tommaso Spinelli), in London (Alessandro Borromei & Co.) and in Bruges (Alessandro Borromei & Co.) (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 50). Pope Eugenius IV settled in Florence in 1434-1443: he fled from Rome in 1434 from an angry Roman mob (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 48). Galeazzo returned to Venice in 1433, while founding a Florentine filiale with the collaboration of his brother, Giovanni. (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 41-42). Branch. Correspondence of the Borromei-Spinelli Rome branch in 1444 with the Branch Office “Borromeo Borromei and Tommaso Spinelli” in Florence. (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 50). The Florence branch was established in the mid 1430s and lasted until the late 1470s. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007).	
London		6	3	2	1	c.1420-1444<	The Borromei of Venice had been one of the Alberti’s chief competitors in Bruges, London and Venice (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 40). In 1444, the Borromei-Spinelli Roman bank had branch offices in Florence (Borromeo Borromei and Tommaso Spinelli), in London (Alessandro Borromei & Co.) and in Bruges (Alessandro Borromei & Co.) (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 50). Around 1420 Galeazzo di Borromeo Borromei, nephew of Alessandro, took on sole management of two new offices in Bruges and London with Antonio di Francesco as partner (Galeazzo Borromei and Antonio di Francescho and Co.). (Guidi Bruscoli, s.d., 7-8; Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 40). When Alessandro died childless in 1431, Galeazzo and his brothers Giovanni and	Guidi Bruscoli, s.d., 7

							Antonio inherited a remarkable patrimony, including a fourth of the capital held by the banks in Bruges, London and Venice (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 40). At the death of Galeazzo in 1436, ownership of the bank went to his brother Antonio Borromei. Antonio of its own had already shares in the branches at Venice, Bruges and London, in addition to real estate in Padua, where he made his home, Verona and Bologna. (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 45). Branch. Correspondence of the Borromei-Spinelli Rome branch in 1444 with the Branch Office "Alessandro Borromei & Co." in London. (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 50). After the death of Galeazzo in 1436, his place was taken by Alessandro di Antonio in London and Bruges in 1438. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Guidi Bruscoli, s.d., 7-8).	
Rome		6	3	2	1	1443-1448	Early in 1443, Tommaso followed the papal retinue back to Rome (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 48). In the Spring of 1443, Tommaso Spinelli was appointed depositary general of pope Eugenius IV: highest office to which a private banker could aspire. Tommaso was depositary general until 1447. Tommaso was appointed because of diverging politics of Eugenius IV and the Medici, whose Roman branch managers had been depositary general before. Borromei had the advantage of close financial ties to Milan, and the fact that they had several affiliate offices in Spain (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 48). As depositary general, Tommaso had to lend large sums to the pope, of which many were only partially or not paid back. Nevertheless, Tommaso did benefit financially from his position as depositary: access to a wide range of clients inside and outside of the papal court (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 49-51). Upsurge of business as depositary general: in 1443, profits of the firm jumped to 4,401 florins, more than double the previous year. However, in February 1447, pope Eugenius IV died: meant the end of Tommaso Spinelli as papal depositary general. Within a couple of months, Tommaso Spinelli also dissolved his partnership with the Borromei, and set up a bank of his own (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 51). In 1444, the Borromei-Spinelli Roman bank had branch offices in Florence (Borromeo Borromei and Tommaso Spinelli), in London (Alessandro Borromei & Co.) and in Bruges (Alessandro Borromei & Co.) (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 50). On 12 April 1447, Tommaso had taken the decisive step in establishing himself as an independent banker.	Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007

							Liquidated his share of the partnership with Borromeo Borromei, still in his minority, for 11,000 ducats. The final quittance was issued on 31 May 1448 near the Rialto bridge in Venice, when Tommaso's brother Niccodemo handed over the remaining 5,000 ducats to the Borromei (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 54). At the death of Galeazzo in 1436, ownership of the bank went to his brother Antonio Borromei. Lacking experience as a banker, Antonio had plans to close the branch at the papal court. But in September 1436, Giovanni da Castro urged Antonio not to disband this office because of the potentially enormous profits to be made and because of the fame of involvement in ecclesiastical circles. Antonio agreed to maintain the Roman branch in the name of his son, Borromeo (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007; Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 45).	
Basel		5 ~~***3***~~ ***4***	3 ~~***2***~~ ***2***	2 ~~***2***~~ ***2***	1 ~~***1***~~ ***1***	1434-1436 1444	In summer 1434 Tommaso Spinelli, partner of Galeazzo Borromei, travelled to Basel to personally oversee operations at the Council of Basel, where he handled several accounts of high-ranking prelates. Tommaso's most trusted employee at the Council was Giovanni da Castro, who ran the Basel office in the capacity of factor between 1435 and 1437. Leonardo Doffi, nephew of Tommaso Spinelli, was also employed in the Basel office, and continued to serve Tommaso over the course of two decades. Leonardo joined the Basel bank as factor at the age of 18 (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 44). The Basel bank relied heavily on the Borromei network, specifically on the branches of Galeazzo and Antonio di Francesco in Bruges, London and Venice, and to a lesser extent, with the bank of Filippo Borromei and Alessandro and Paolo Castagnuolo in Milan. Most of the transactions went through the "banco di corte" attached to Eugenius's court in Florence, indicating that the Basel operation, like that of the Medici, functioned more as an agency of the papal bank than as a distinct branch. Tommaso traded in silver plate, jewelry, and other precious commodities, for which bishops and prelates showed a large appetite. He also sold wool cloth, bought wholesale from his brothers Buonsignore and Rubaconte in Mantua (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 44). In 1435, Tommaso left Basel for Florence to oversee the "banco di corte". Giovanni da Castro remained at the helm of the Basel office. However, the Basel office did not make much profit, and on 3 August 1436 Antonio Borromei wrote to Da Castro advising him to prepare for the impending closure of the	

							Basel operations. By September 1436, the bank in Basel was closed. In the same month, the council was condemned by the pope (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 45). Correspondents of the Rome branch in 1444: Ognibene Sagramori & Co. (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 50). Branch at the papal court: partnership between Galeazzo Borromei and Tomasso Spinelli. Was in Basel in 1435. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2007).	
Antwerp		3	2	2	1	after 1436	After 1436: Alessandro Borromei and Antonio di Francesco and Company, Bruges branch of the Borromei of Venice: resided in Bruges, but moved to Antwerp when necessary. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008).	
Avignon		3	2	2	1	>1444<	Correspondents of the Rome branch in 1444: Secondio Bossarini and Giovanni Manelli & Co.; Tanai di Nerli & Co.; Bernardo and Matteo Ricci & Co.; Guglielmo Dammani and Tommaso Feretti & Co. (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 50).	
Barcelona		3	2	2	1	>1444-1450<	The Basel and Rome branches of the Borromei-Spinelli partnership maintained from the onset a steady business with Spain, although not using the Borromei affiliates in Barcelona. Spaniards accounted for many of the largest loans. Spinelli experienced constant difficulties in collecting the loans in Spain however, such as from Alfonso Carillo, archbishop of Toledo. War between Florence and Duke Alfonso of Aragon in 1445 put a hiatus to Spinelli's affairs in Spain. In 1444, Lando Gianetto was sent to Spain to collect the debt of Alfonso Carillo, however unsuccessful. In 1450, Giannetti returned to Barcelona, accompanied by Leonardi Doffi: partial victory, but the balance was never delivered: drove a permanent wedge between Tommaso and his two agents (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 47). Correspondents of the Rome branch in 1444: Filippo Aldighieri; Jacopo Casasaggia; Vanni Rucellai & Co. (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 50). Neither the Rome nor Basel branch of Borromei-Spinelli appeared to have used the Borromei affiliates in Barcelona for their business with Spain (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 47).	
Bologna		3	2	2	1	>1444<	Correspondents of the Rome branch in 1444: Nicolaio da Meleto & Co. (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 50).	
Gaeta		3	2	2	1	>1444<	Correspondents of the Rome branch in 1444: Bartolini di Dino e Francesco di Antonio (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 50).	
Geneva		3	2	2	1	>1444<	Correspondents of the Rome branch in 1444: Piero Fastelli and Gasparre Guidotti (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 50).	

Lisbon		3	2	2	1	>1444<	Correspondents of the Rome branch in 1444: Francesco Giuntini. (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 50).	
Mantua		3	2	2	1	>1434<	All the while Tommaso Spinelli ran the Borromei-Spinelli office in Basel, he maintained a small but steady business with the banking firm in Mantua, owned by his brothers Cipriano and Bonsignore. (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 265). Tomasso sold woolen cloth in Basel ca. 1434, bought wholesale from his brothers Buonsignore and Rubaconte in Mantua (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 44).	
Milan		3	2	2	1	>1444<	The Basel bank relied heavily on the Borromei network, specifically on the branches of Galeazzo and Antonio di Francesco in Bruges, London and Venice, and to a lesser extent, on the bank of Filippo Borromei and Alessandro and Paolo Castagnuolo in Milan. (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 44). Correspondents of the Rome branch in 1444: Sighieri Gallerani; Alessandro Castagnuolo; Ambruogio and Jacopo da Oma; Filippo Borromei & Co. (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 50).	
Montpellier		3	2	2	1	>1444<	Correspondents of the Rome branch in 1444: Secondio Bossarini (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 50).	
Naples		3	2	2	1	>1444<	Correspondents of the Rome branch in 1444: Andrea Borromei & Co.; Giovanni Mirabelli; Bartolomeo and Dionigi da Schorno. (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 50).	
Padua		3	2	2	1	>1444<	Correspondents of the Rome branch in 1444: Giovanni da Castro. (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 50).	
Palermo		3	2	2	1	>1444<	Correspondents of the Rome branch in 1444: Antonio di Settimo; Ciellino di Settimo & Co. (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 50).	
Perpignan		3	2	2	1	>1444<	Correspondents of the Rome branch in 1444: Beringhieri and Tommaso Tecchini. (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 50).	
Pisa		3	2	2	1	>1444<	Correspondents of the Rome branch in 1444: Michele and Gabriello da Schorno & Co. (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 50).	
Siena		3	2	2	1	>1444<	Correspondents of the Rome branch in 1444: Jacopo and Marco Benzi & Co. (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 50).	
Valencia		3	2	2	1	>1444<	Correspondents of the Rome branch in 1444: Giovanni Amato; Lorenzo di Giovanni Vieri (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 50).	

+ The network reconstructed here is biased, since especially the correspondents of the Rome branch are known. (Jacks & Caferro, 2001).

BOTTI, ca. 1550 – 1568

The Botti came originally from Cremona, from where they were exiled in the early 15th century. Subsequently, the family established itself in Florence where the Botti became active in commerce. At the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century, Simone di Matteo Botti was a partner in the Capponi company in Pisa. Further, nothing is known about the business of the Botti until the middle of the 16th century, when the sons of Simone Botti, Francesco (d. 1558), Matteo (d. 1565), Simone (d. 1566), Jacopo (d. before 1563) and Giovambattista (d. 1568) were active in the main commercial and financial centres of western Europe. At the same time, the Botti were partners in several companies of the Affaitadi, Capponi, Guadagni and Rinuccini. It is during this period (ca. 1550-1568) that the Botti family reached its apogee. After the death of Giovambattista Botti, the last of the sons of Simone, in 1568, no traces can be found anymore of the Botti in the world of commerce. Matteo di Giovambattista, the only heir of the sons of Simone di Matteo, was still a child when he inherited the commercial and banking interests of his father and uncles, and when he finally became old enough, he never turned to business but instead adopted an aristocratic lifestyle (Point-Waquet, 1978, 690-692, 694-697, 713).

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Source material:

No private archives of the Botti have been preserved. As a result, the business of the Botti is known only indirectly. Nevertheless, the history of this family can be reconstructed via notarial records and governmental and juridical archives (Point-Waquet, 1978, 690-691).

Size: Large

The Botti disposed of large amounts of capital, but the volume of the capitals invested by the Botti can not be reconstructed from the notarial sources (Point-Waquet, 1978, 691, 693).

Main activities:

- Commerce: The Botti were involved in trade in a large variety of merchandise. In Sevilla, they were engaged in the slave trade with the New World (Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 26; Point-Waquet, 1978, 692).

- Finance: The Botti were involved in banking. They traded in bills of exchange and provided loans, and they were among the guarantors of the dowry of Lucretia de' Medici, daughter of the grand duke of Tuscany. The Botti also invested in real estate in and near Florence (Point-Waquet, 1978, 692-695).
- Industry: The Botti invested *in accomandita* in a wool company and a *battiloro* company in Florence (Point-Waquet, 1978, 693).
- Shipping: The Botti appear to have been engaged in shipping and shipowning (Point-Waquet, 1978, 692-693).

Network of the Botti:

The sons of Simone Botti were in person or through their capital present in the main financial and commercial centres of western Europe around the middle of the 16th century. While Matteo and Simone were established more or less permanently in Florence, Francesco, Jacopo and Giovambattista travelled regularly between Spain, Antwerp and Italy. Not much is known however about the organisation of the business of the Botti, and about the relations between their different business establishments (Point-Waquet, 1978, 691, 693-694).

Table A..1. Network of the Botti, ca. 1550 – 1568

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Florence		8	4	3	1	>1548-1568	Matteo and Simone Botti appear to have been established more or less permanently in Florence or Italy. As a result, Florence constituted a stable node in the business network of the Botti. In Florence, the Botti were involved in banking and manufacturing. Simone di Simone Botti invested *in accomandita* in a wool company of Vincenzo Manovelli in Florence in 1559, and in a *battiloro* company with Luigi Mormorai in 1561. Manovelli and Mormorai both were nephews of the Botti brothers. At Simone's death in 1566, his shares in these companies were taken over (and increased) by Giovambattista.	Point-Waquet, 1978, 691-694
Sevilla		6	3	2	1	>1542-1556<	Representation. Francesco, Jacopo and Giovambattista Botti travelled regularly between Spain, Antwerp and Italy. In Spain, the Botti (notably Jacopo) were especially active in Sevilla. The banking activities of Jacopo Botti in Sevilla were considerable. He was an important creditor of the bankers Iñiguez and Lizarrazas. Among his clients in 1549 were several merchants trading with the Indies, and important personalities such as Hernando Pizarro. Jacopo was constantly in contact with the Affaitadi in Sevilla. The Botti exported goods from Sevilla, e.g. to Genoa and Florence.	Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 17, 26, 44, 47; Lohmann Villena, 1968, 40; Point-Waquet, 1978, 691-694
Bari		5	3	2	1	>1554<	Representation. In 1554, Matteo di Simone invested in an *accomanda* with	Point-Waquet, 1978,

							"Baldassare Del Portico e Benedetto Buonaparte e compagni", active in Bari and the kingdom of Naples.	691-692
Medina del Campo		5	3	2	1	Mid 16th c.	Representation. In Medina del Campo, Francesco Botti was a partner in the firm of "Ippolito Affaitadi, Jacomo de Bardi et compagnie".	Point-Waquet, 1978, 691, 693
Antwerp		4	2	2	1	>1556<	Representation. Francesco, Jacopo and Giovambattista Botti travelled regularly between Spain, Antwerp and Italy. In Antwerp, the Botti had contacts with the Affaitadi. In 1556, Francesco Botti advanced 6,000 ducats for a loan to the English king at the fairs of Antwerp.	Point-Waquet, 1978, 691, 693-694
Ancona		3	2	2	1	Mid 16th c.	Representation.	Point-Waquet, 1978, 691
Cádiz		3	2	2	1	>1561<	Representation. In 1561, Jacopo Botti was in Cádiz as the representative of a French company trading with Spain.	Point-Waquet, 1978, 691-692
Genoa		3	2	2	1	Mid 16th c.	Exports by the Botti from Sevilla to Genoa.	Point-Waquet, 1978, 692
Granada		3	2	2	1	Mid 16th c.	Representation.	Point-Waquet, 1978, 691
Lyon		3	2	2	1	>1565<	Representation. In 1565 Matteo di Simone Botti invested 2,000 lb. tourn. in the cloth industry of Lyon, under the name of the Guadagni, Rinuccini and Capponi. The Botti do not appear to have been established durably in Lyon however.	Point-Waquet, 1978, 691-692, 691 n. 12
Marseille		3	2	2	1	Mid 16th c.	Representation.	Point-Waquet, 1978, 691
Rome		3	2	2	1	Mid 16th c.	Representation.	Point-Waquet, 1978, 691
Valladolid		3	2	2	1	>1556-1558<	Representation. Giovambattista (from 1556-1558) and Jacopo were in contact with the Affaitadi company in Valladolid.	Point-Waquet, 1978, 691, 693
Venice		3	2	2	1	Mid 16th c.	Representation.	Point-Waquet, 1978, 691
Calais		2	2	1	0	Mid 16th c.	Jacopo Botti was in relation with the Affaitadi in Calais as merchant-shipowner during calm periods in the French-Spanish war.	Point-Waquet, 1978, 693
Santo Domingo		2	2	1	0	>1548<	In 1548, Jacopo Botti was involved in a shipment to Santo Domingo. Already in 1544, Jacopo and Giovambattista Botti advanced 175 ducats for fitting out a ship to the Americas.	Point-Waquet, 1978, 692
Pera		1	1	1	0	>1548<	Export of cochenille from Sevilla to Florence for re-export to Pera in 1548.	Point-Waquet, 1978, 692

+ Since no account books of the Botti have been preserved, and the reconstruction of their network has been based especially upon notarial records, the network is probably only very partially known.

BUONACCORSI COMPANY, ca. 1307 – 1342

The Buonaccorsi (or Bonaccorsi) company was a Florentine firm of the first half of the 14th century. The Buonaccorsi firm was established in Florence in 1307 at the latest, when it was headed by Lapo Buonaccorsi and Mando di Bellincia. The company experienced a spectacular growth in the 1320s and 1330s, but soon it became overextended. Already in 1342, during the wave of bankruptcies that ravaged Florence in 1342-1346, the firm failed after the disappearance of its representatives in Naples and Avignon. Probably, the bankruptcy of the Buonaccorsi was fraudulent. After the death of Lapo, he was replaced as head of the company by Betto Buonaccorsi ca. 1311, and by Vanni Buonaccorsi in 1314. Vanni headed the firm until his death in 1330, when he was succeeded by his son Simone. After the death of Simone in 1340, the Buonaccorsi company came in hands of Simone's brother Niccolò. Several partners belonged to the Aldobrandini, Portinari and Villani families; the managing partner in the 1340s was the famous Florentine chronicler Giovanni Villani (Fryde, 1996, 108-109; Hunt, 1994, 40, 269, 226 n. 49; Hunt & Murray, 1999, 117; Luzzati, 1971, 12-15, 30, 32-33; Renouard, 1938, 163-164; Id., 1941, 53, 83; Id., 1942, 21-24; Spufford, 2002, 24).

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Source material:

No records of the Buonaccorsi firm have survived at all, but some indirect data can be found in the Florentine and the Papal Archives (Luzzati, 1971, 33; Renouard, 1938, 44, 163-164; Id., 1942, 4-5, 21).

Size: Large

In the early 1320s, the Buonaccorsi company was a medium-sized firm, trading almost exclusively on the axis Naples – Florence. However, by 1330 it had become the fourth biggest company of Florence. Nevertheless, the Buonaccorsi always remained somewhat smaller than the companies of the Bardi, Peruzzi and Acciaiuoli. Between 1307 and 1342, ca. 70 persons (among whom 17 partners) are known to have been working for the Buonaccorsi firm. This number is based on fragmented source material however (Hunt & Murray, 1999, 102; Luzzati, 1971, 15, 30-33, 38-40, 71-72; Renouard, 1942, 21-22).

Main activities:

- Commerce: The mercantile activities of the Buonaccorsi were presumably larger than their banking operations. They traded in Flemish, Florentine and French cloth (from 1331), English wool, and grain and other foodstuffs of southern Italy, and in a lesser degree in spices, alum, oil, cattle and luxuries of the eastern Mediterranean (Hunt, 1994, 164; Luzzati, 1971, 37-38; Renouard, 1942, 23-24).
- Finance: The Buonaccorsi had close ties with the papacy and the kings of Sicily. They provided loans to princes only from 1328, and exclusively to the Angevin kings of Naples. The Buonaccorsi carried out important transfers of money for the papacy and others, and they were also engaged in deposit banking, e.g. in Naples (Hunt, 70 n. 134; Luzzati, 1971, 33-35; Renouard, 1938, 163; Id., 1941, 112; Id., 1942, 22-24).
- Industry: ?

Network of the Buonaccorsi company:

The Buonaccorsi firm was a Florentine multi-branch company, which appears to have been very centralised. Their business in southern Italy was very considerable (Hunt, 1994, 84-85; Renouard, 1942, 23).

Table A..1. Network of the Buonaccorsi company, ca. 1307 – 1342

City	**R**	**Score**				**Period**	**Type of presence**	**References**
Florence		8	4	3	1	c.1307-1342	Headquarters. The headquarters were located in the Sancti Apollinaris quarter in 1339.	Fryde, 1996, 108-109; Luzzati, 1971, 48; Renouard, 1938, 164 n. 1; Id., 1942, 21
Avignon		3	2	2	1	Before 1324	- Before 1324, the Scali and Peruzzi were correspondents of the Buonaccorsi in Avignon.	Fryde, 1996, 109; Hunt, 1994, 85; Luzzati, 1971, 26, 33-34, 36, 48, 73-74; Renouard, 1938, 164-
		7	**3**	**2**	**1**	1324-1342	- Important branch in 1324-1342. In 1324, Tingo Alberti was removed from Naples to the new branch in Avignon. Matteo Villani represented the Buonaccorsi company in Avignon in 1333-35. The papal archives mention	

							the presence of partners and factors in Avignon between 1324 and 1342.	166; Id., 1941, 110 n. 68; Id. 1942, 23, 21-22 n. 4
Naples		7	3	2	1	1278-1342	Important branch. The Buonaccorsi are mentioned in Naples as early as 1278, so perhaps they were active in Naples much earlier than in Florence. They definitely had a permanent branch in Naples by 1319, when the company was represented there by Matteo Villani and Tingo Alberti. Villani was a representative of the Buonaccorsi company in Naples from 1319 until its bankruptcy (except in 1333-35). Vanni Buonaccorsi was in Naples in 1324. The papal archives mention the presence of partners and factors in Naples between 1319 and 1346.	Fryde, 1996, 109; Hunt, 1994, 85, 269, 70 n. 134; Luzzati, 1971, 14, 25-26, 34, 36, 48, 73-74; Renouard, 1938, 164-166; Id. 1942, 23, 21-22 n. 4
Barletta		6	3	2	1	>c.1311<, >1335<	Branch. From ca. 1311, the Buonaccorsi were active in Barletta, where they were presumably represented by other Florentine merchants, such as a certain “Borghesius”. Import of grain from Barletta in 1335.	Luzzati, 1971, 13-14, 36, 38, 73-74
Benevento		6	3	2	1	>1318-1342<	In 1318, the Buonaccorsi carried out banking activities in Benevento. They certainly had a branch there in 1342. The papal archives mention the presence of partners in Benevento between 1332 and 1339.	Luzzati, 1971, 14, 36, 73-74, 105; Renouard, 1938, 164-166; Id. 1942, 23
Bologna		6	3	2	1	>1329-1331<, >1342<	Branch in 1342. The papal archives mention the presence of a factor in Bologna between 1329 and 1331. The Buonaccorsi were active as papal bankers in Marche, Umbria, Emilia and Rome in 1325.	Luzzati, 1971, 33, 36, 72-73; Renouard, 1938, 164-166; Id. 1942, 23
Bruges		6	3	2	1	>1338-1340<	Although mentioned otherwise by Renouard (1942), the Buonaccorsi had a branch in Bruges at least from 1338, which was headed by Bandino Buonaccorsi until 1340.	Luzzati, 1971, 34, 36, 38, 74; Renouard, 1942, 23; Stabel, 2001, 197
Genoa		6	3	2	1	>1307<	The Buonaccorsi already had a branch in Genoa at the end of the first decade of the 14th century.	Luzzati, 1971, 13, 34, 36
London		6	3	2	1	>1332-1342<	Branch in 1332-1342. The papal archives mention the presence of partners and factors in England between 1332 and 1334, and in London in 1340. The Portinari, who were exiled from Florence, for a long time managed the branch of the Buonaccorsi in London. Another representative in England was Andrea di Grifo. The London branch was the only branch that was not permanently managed by a partner.	Luzzati, 1971, 21, 34, 36, 74-75; Renouard, 1938, 164-166; Id., 1941, 53; Id. 1942, 23
Macerata		6	3	2	1	>1326-1331<,	Branch in 1342. The papal archives mention the presence of correspondents	Luzzati, 1971, 33, 36;

						>1342<	in Macerata between 1326 and 1331. The Buonaccorsi were active as papal bankers in Marche, Umbria, Emilia and Rome in 1325.	Renouard, 1938, 164-166; Id. 1942, 23
Molfetta		6	3	2	1	>1316<	Branch. In 1316, the branch of the Buonaccorsi in Molfetta was pillaged.	Luzzati, 1971, 14, 36
Paris		6	3	2	1	>1340-1342	Branch founded before 1340. Dissolved in 1342.	Luzzati, 1971, 34, 36; Renouard, 1938, 164; Id. 1942, 23
Perugia		6	3	2	1	>1328-1329<, >1342<	Branch in 1342. The papal archives mention the presence of partners and factors in Perugia between 1328 and 1329. The Buonaccorsi were active as papal bankers in Marche, Umbria, Emilia and Rome in 1325.	Luzzati, 1971, 33, 36, 73-74; Renouard, 1938, 164-166; Id. 1942, 23
Pisa		6	3	2	1	>1310-1329<	The Buonaccorsi already had a branch in Pisa at the end of the first decade of the 14th century.	Luzzati, 1971, 13, 32, 36, 73-74
Rome		6	3	2	1	>1325<, >1339<, >1342<	Branch in 1342. The papal archives mention the presence of a factor in Rome in 1339. The Buonaccorsi were active as papal bankers in Marche, Umbria, Emilia and Rome in 1325.	Luzzati, 1971, 33, 36; Renouard, 1938, 164-166; Id. 1942, 23
Venice		6	3	2	1		Branch in Venice. The Buonaccorsi founded their branch in Venice relatively late. In 1313, a factor of the Buonaccorsi company was arrested in Venice.	Luzzati, 1971, 36-37, 72-74
Antwerp		3	2	2	1	<1338-1340>	The Buonaccorsi were active in Antwerp. Bandino Buonaccorsi, manager of the branch in Bruges, was temporarily in Antwerp.	Luzzati, 1971, 36, 74
L'Aquila		3	2	2	1		The Buonaccorsi were active in L'Aquila.	Luzzati, 1971, 36
Bríndisi		3	2	2	1		The Buonaccorsi were active in Bríndisi.	Luzzati, 1971, 36
Laon		3	2	2	1		The Buonaccorsi were active in Laon.	Luzzati, 1971, 36
Marseille		3	2	2	1		The Buonaccorsi were active in Marseille. Money transfers from Marseille.	Luzzati, 1971, 34, 36
Padua		3	2	2	1	>1314<	Correspondent (or perhaps a branch) in Padua in 1314. Not mentioned anymore after 1314.	Renouard, 1942, 23
Provence		3	2	2	1		The Buonaccorsi were active all over the Provence.	Luzzati, 1971, 36
Reims		3	2	2	1		The Buonaccorsi were active in Reims.	Luzzati, 1971, 36
Salerno		3	2	2	1		The Buonaccorsi were active in Salerno.	Luzzati, 1971, 36
San Severino Marche		3	2	2	1	1330	The Buonaccorsi were active in San Severino Marche. The papal archives mention the presence of Lorenzo Buonaccorsi, factor, in San Severino Marche in July 1330.	Luzzati, 1971, 36; Renouard, 1938, 166
Eastern Mediterranean		2	2	1	0		Luzzati (1971, 37) found no traces of activity of the Buonaccorsi in the eastern Mediterranean. Nevertheless, the company may well have been active there. According to Renouard (1942, 23) for example, the	Luzzati, 1971, 37; Renouard, 1942, 23

							Buonaccorsi had representatives in the eastern Mediterranean.	
Milan		2	2	1	0		The Buonaccorsi perhaps were active in Milan. Money transfers from Milan.	Luzzati, 1971, 34, 36
Talamone		2	2	1	0		The Buonaccorsi were temporarily active in the port of Talamone.	Luzzati, 1971, 36, 40

+ The nature of the representation of the Buonaccorsi company in many places is highly unclear. Often, it is difficult to distinguish between branches and less permanent forms of activity (use of correspondents, travelling factors, etc).

+ Luzzati (1971, 37) found no traces of activity of the Buonaccorsi in Sicily, Germany, Spain and the eastern Mediterranean. Nevertheless, the company may well have been active there (according to Renouard (1942, 23) for example, the Buonaccorsi had representatives in the eastern Mediterranean).

CORSI, 1534 – 1588

In 1400, members of the Florentine Corsi family owned a partnership for the production of silk cloth. During the rest of the 15th century, the Corsi remained active in this branch of the Florentine economy. At a certain point, the Corsi expanded their business activities and founded an international merchant-banking company. The activities of this firm can be followed from the generation of the brothers Simone (1508-87), Bardo (1513-72), Antonio (1515-87) and Giovanni (1519-71), the sons of Iacopo di Simone Corsi (d. 1534). These brothers appear to have been active in business from 1534, when their father died. Around 1545, they probably established a family firm which remained in operation until the death of the last brother in 1587, when the sons of Simone and Giovanni dissolved the company and divided the family patrimony. In 1588, a new bank was established by Iacopo di Giovanni Corsi (1561-1602) and his brother Bardo (1566-1625) which possibly became one of the largest banks in Florence around 1600, but which has not been studied yet by historians. Consecutively, the firm was named Simone and Giovanni Corsi & Co. del Banco (1566), Simone and Antonio Corsi & Co. (after the death of Giovanni and Bardo in 1571 and 1572), and Simone and Heirs of Giovanni Corsi & Co. (from 1582, when Iacopo, the eldest son of Giovanni, reached adulthood and Antonio withdrew from the firm). Francesco Martelli was the manager, and also a partner of the Corsi bank up to his death in 1587 (Edler-De Roover, 1966, 227; Goldthwaite, 1998, 474, 476-478).

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Source material:

Several partnership contracts for silk shops of the 15th and early 16th century are still extant. No 15th-century business accounts have survived however. Most of the ledgers and accompanying secondary account books of the Corsi firm in the years 1566-1587 have been preserved in the Archivio di Stato of Florence, as well as some ledgers of older companies in the kingdom of Naples. The *libri segreti* and the articles of association of the successive partnerships have disappeared however. Ledgers for the company of Iacopo and Bardo di Giovanni di Iacopo Corsi & Co. still exist for the period 1588-1641 (Goldthwaite, 1998, 474-475, 477, 526, 475 n. 3, 476 n. 7).

Size: Medium-sized or large

In the 1580s the Corsi firm was relatively large, but probably it did not belong at that time to the very largest firms of Florence. In the 1570s and 1580s the *corpo* of the Corsi bank varied between 50,000 and 60,000 ducats (e.g. 53,875 ducats in 1587). In the 1590s and early 17th century, the business of the next generation of Corsi may have become one of the largest of Florence (Goldthwaite, 1998, 475, 479-480).

Main activities:

- Commerce: The Corsi imported raw silk into Florence and exported finished cloth products, especially to the south of Italy. They also had an occasional but significant involvement in grain imports from southern Italy. In much smaller amounts the Corsi traded in spices and coral from the east (Goldthwaite, 1998, 486-487, 530-531).
- Finance: The Corsi were active in banking, especially in international traffic in bills of exchange. They only had a limited involvement in direct borrowing and lending however, and they did not engage in court finance abroad or local deposit banking (Goldthwaite, 1998, 486-489).
- Industry: In 1587, apart from their own company, the Corsi also had majority investments in two wool shops and a silk shop, which did not bear the name of the Corsi but those of the managing partners (Goldthwaite, 1998, 479, 481).

Network of the Corsi:

The Corsi company had the characteristics of a traditional Florentine firm in which the principal partners were the Corsi brothers. It consisted of a set of legally separate firms bound together by majority ownership of the Corsi in each of them. Geographically, the foreign investments of the Corsi were concentrated in the kingdom of Naples, while their activities outside of Italy were limited to Lyon and, to a much lesser degree, Augsburg (Goldthwaite, 1998, 480-482, 490).

Table A..1. Network of the Corsi, ca. 1545 – 1588 (especially 1582 – 1588)

City	**R**	**Score**				**Period**	**Type of presence**	**References**
Florence		8	4	3	1	c.1545-1588	The Corsi owned a bank and several cloth shops in Florence. The home office in Florence employed the manager (Francesco Martelli), a cashier, and one or two *giovani*.	Goldthwaite, 1998, 479-481, 483
Messina		6	3	2	1	1537-1565	- Bardo di Iacopo Corsi had a company with Antonfrancesco Scali in Messina from 1537 onwards, joined in 1545 by Simone Corsi. This company was succeeded by another company with Francesco di Domenico Martelli in Messina until 1565, when it was moved to Naples.	Goldthwaite, 1998, 479, 481-482, 530
		5	**3**	**2**	**1**	1565-1587	- This company was succeeded by an investment *in accomandita* in the company of Vincenzo di Giorgio Brandolini e compagni.	

Naples		6 **5**	3 **3**	2 **2**	1 **1**	1565-1572 1583-1587	- Bardo di Iacopo Corsi had a company with Francesco di Domenico Martelli in Naples from 1565 to 1572 (This office had previously been located in Messina). - In 1583, a company named Lorenzo di Giorgio Brandolini e Iacopo di Niccolò Giunta e compagni was established in Naples, in which the Corsi invested *in accomandita*. The Corsi also had 8 client firms (correspondents) in Naples in the period 1582-88.	Goldthwaite, 1998, 479, 481-482, 491, 530
Lyon		4	2	2	1		Most of the exchange activities of the Corsi were concentrated on the fairs of Lyon and Besançon. They also exported cloth to Lyon and Augsburg. The Corsi had no branch in Lyon however. They operated in Lyon through 18 correspondent banks (4 of which represented the Corsi in both Lyon and Besançon). Their most important correspondent was the firm of Luigi and Francesco Capponi & Co. of Lyon and Besançon. Other important correspondents were Giovambattista Gondi, Pierantonio and Lorenzo Giacomini & Co. in Lyon, Pierantonio di Mario Bandini and Alfonso di Lorenzo Strozzi & Co. in Lyon and Besançon, Zanobi Carnesecchi, Filippo and Alessandro di Alfonso Strozzi & Co. in Lyon and Besançon, and Pierfrancesco and Falco Rinuccini & Co. in Lyon.	Goldthwaite, 1998, 486-488, 493, 530-531
Piacenza (Fairs of Besançon)		4	2	2	1		Most of the exchange activities of the Corsi were concentrated on the fairs of Lyon and Besançon. In the 1580s, the fairs of Besançon were usually held in Piacenza, but references in the Corsi ledger always specify the fair at Besançon, often with the additional phrase “or wherever it will be held”. The Corsi had no branch at the fairs. They operated at the Besançon fairs through 21 correspondent banks (4 of which represented the Corsi in both Lyon and Besançon). Their most important correspondent was the firm of Luigi and Francesco Capponi & Co. of Lyon and Besançon. Other important correspondents were Giovanfrancesco Rucellai & Co. (later Francesco di Bernardo Riccardi and Giovanfrancesco Rucellai & Co.) in Besançon, Pierantonio di Mario Bandini and Alfonso di Lorenzo Strozzi & Co. in Lyon and Besançon, and Zanobi Carnesecchi, Filippo and Alessandro di Alfonso Strozzi & Co. in Lyon and Besançon.	Goldthwaite, 1998, 487-488, 493, 531
Lucca		3	2	2	1	<1582-1588>	8 client firms (correspondents) in 1582-88.	Goldthwaite, 1998, 491, 530
Milan		3	2	2	1	<1582-1588>	2 client firms (correspondents) in 1582-88.	Goldthwaite, 1998, 491, 530

Palermo		6 **3**	3 **2**	2 **2**	1 **1**	<1542-1559> <1582-1588>	- In 1542, Giovanni di Iacopo had a company with Francesco Bruni in Calabria, which was later replaced to Palermo. Accounts of this company are extant for 1542-1559. - In 1582-88, the Corsi had relations with two client firms (correspondents) in Sicily, at least one of which was located in Palermo.	Goldthwaite, 1998, 482, 491, 526, 530
Pisa		3	2	2	1	<1582-1588>	4 client firms (correspondents) in 1582-88. In 1582, the Corsi had invested 2,000 ducats in the firm of Beccuti Berti & Co. of Pisa.	Goldthwaite, 1998, 491, 530
Rome		3	2	2	1	<1582-1588>	13 client firms (correspondents) in 1582-88.	Goldthwaite, 1998, 491, 530
Venice		3	2	2	1	<1582-1588>	13 client firms (correspondents) in 1582-88.	Goldthwaite, 1998, 491, 530
Ancona		2	2	1	0	<1582-1588>	1 client firm (correspondent) in 1582-88.	Goldthwaite, 1998, 491
L'Aquila		2	2	1	0	<1582-1588>	1 client firm (correspondent) in 1582-88.	Goldthwaite, 1998, 491
Augsburg		2	2	1	0	<1582-1588>	Export of cloth to Lyon and Augsburg. In Augsburg, the Corsi had contacts with only one client: the company of the heirs of Leonardo Buroner.	Goldthwaite, 1998, 486, 490, 530
Calabria		~~6~~ *2*	~~3~~ *2*	~~2~~ *1*	~~1~~ *0*	<1542-1559> Disappeared by 1559 the latest	In 1542, Giovanni di Iacopo had a company with Francesco Bruni in Calabria, which was later replaced to Palermo. Accounts of this company are extant for 1542-1559.	Goldthwaite, 1998, 482, 526
Genoa		2	2	1	0	<1582-1588>	1 client firm (correspondent) in 1582-88.	Goldthwaite, 1998, 491
Siena		2	2	1	0	<1582-1588>	1 client firm (correspondent) in 1582-88.	Goldthwaite, 1998, 491, 530

+ The Corsi network has been more or less completely reconstructed for the years 1582-1588.

DATINI COMPANY, 1363-1410

Francesco di Marco Datini, born in Prato (Tuscany) ca. 1335, was a self-made man. Orphaned by the Black Death, he went to Avignon in 1350 where he became familiar with the world of business as an apprentice and later as a factor. In 1363 he founded his own company, which was engaged in the armour trade. After his return to Prato in 1383, Datini's business expanded considerably through the establishment of several branches in Italy and abroad between 1383 and 1395. However, in the last years of his life, the period of his greatest activity was over. He died in 1410 without heirs, and left his fortune to a charity which he founded himself and which still exists (http://www.istitutodatini.it/home.htm). It is thanks to this that his archives, which are the largest extant business archives of the Middle Ages, have been preserved up to now (Hunt & Murray, 1999, 156; Melis, 1962, 26-27; Origo, 1963, 8, 16-17, 30, 36, 54, 330, 341; Spufford, 2002, 133).

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Source material:

The company of Francesco Datini is the most well-documented business enterprise of medieval Europe. In his will, Datini made arrangements for the preservation of all the papers that were carefully collected by him and his branch managers during his life. As a result, an

impressive amount of more than 120,000 letters received by the different branches from a large number of correspondents and agents of the Datini company have been preserved in the *Archivio Datini* in Prato (see http://datini.archiviodistato.prato.it/www/indice.html), together with over 500 account-books, as well as a large amount of partnership contracts, insurance policies, bills of exchange and various other business documents, mostly dating from 1383 to 1410, but some going back as early as 1363. Some other documents concerning the Datini company can be found in the *Archivio di Stato* in Florence (Melis, 1962, 11, 13-14, 25, 27; Origo, 1963, 7-8, 347-348).

Size: Large

Originally, the business of Francesco Datini in Avignon was rather small. His companies consisted of no more than two or three partners. In 1363, Francesco Datini and one of his partners respectively invested not more than 800 and 400 florins into their business, while by 1382 the capital invested in the Avignon company was only 3,866 gold florins. However, after 1383 his business grew considerably, and by 1398 Francesco Datini's companies had a capital formation of 40,000-50,000 fl., which was reduced to ca. 30,000 fl. after 1399. At his death, his personal fortune consisted of 70,000 gold florins (Del Treppo, 1972, 776; Goldthwaite, 1987, 16; Origo, 1963, 7, 38, 53).

Main activities:

- Commerce: In Avignon, Francesco Datini originally dealt chiefly in armour from Milan and Germany. In 1376 he began to trade in salt, and probably also in silverware and works of art. From then on, the variety of goods he traded in at Avignon continued to increase: wool, *grana* (scarlet dye), leather, wheat, oil, wine, honey, linen, fustian, silver belts, woollen cloth, sewing-thread, silk curtains, tablecloth, coffers, etc. After his return to Italy in 1383, he remained active in the commerce of a wide variety of merchandise: wool, silk, linen, woollens and silks, leather, hides, furs, dyes (madder, woad, *grana*), alum, soap, wax, tar, wood, metals, jewels, spices, wine, wheat, slaves (but never in large quantities), and so on. Francesco Datini was not only involved in large-scale wholesale trade but also in retail business. During his later years in Avignon, he opened a wine tavern and a drapers' shop. In Florence, he established a shop selling various textiles and other merchandise (Hunt & Murray, 1999, 156; Origo, 1963, 12, 36-41, 67, 70-74, 87-90, 97-102; Spufford, 2002, 129, 133, 237).
- Finance: In 1376, Francesco Datini set up a money-changer's business in Avignon. However, only at the end of the 14th century, Datini became really active in banking with the establishment of a bank in Florence in 1398, in partnership with Bartolomeo Cambioni. This bank was engaged in the acceptance and issue of bills of exchange, and in the provision of loans, however only to other trading-companies or private clients, and not to princes, popes or communes (with the exception of Prato). He also became, for a short time, tax farmer of the tolls on meat and wine in Prato. His companies, especially the Pisan branch, did some underwriting of insurance policies (Del Treppo, 1972, 776; Hunt & Murray, 1999, 156; Melis, 1962, 10-11; Origo, 1963, 12, 39, 66, 89, 103, 139, 146, 149; Padgett & McLean, 2006, 1549).
- Industry: During his years in Avignon weapons were assembled in the shop of Datini. He employed a craftsmen, Hennequin of Bruges, who made coats of mail. After his return to Prato in 1383, he became involved in the cloth trade, entering into a partnership with the

clothmaker Piero di Giunta and with Francesco di Matteo Bellandi. In 1391, he formed another company for the dyeing of cloth, with Niccolò, the son of Piero di Giunta, and five years later, after Piero's death, Datini entered into a partnership with Niccolò's son Agnolo. The cloth was sold in a shop in Florence. After the death of Agnolo in 1399, and of Niccolò and Francesco Bellandi in 1400, the company was liquidated. At the same time, the branch in Genoa was involved in a partnership with the Florentine Nofri di Michele for production of woollen cloth in Genoa (Del Treppo, 1972, 776; Hunt & Murray, 1999, 156; Melis, 1962, 10-12; Origo, 1963, 12, 37, 67-68, 77; Padgett & McLean, 2006, 1549; Spufford, 2002, 129, 133).

Network of the Datini Company:

Datini's firm did not consist of one single partnership with a headquarters and several dependent branches, but of different companies with different partners. Only Francesco Datini belonged to each of them, and controlled their management. Each of the companies was an independent enterprise, and each, in dealing with one of the others, would charge commission and interest. The branches however promoted each other's business as much as possible. The partners were men well-known and loyal to Datini, and several were employees promoted to partnership. In the companies worked not only partners but also *fattori* and other salaried employees. Francesco Datini weekly wrote letters to the managers of each of his branches, and sometimes he sent one of his partners or factors to travel between his branches, carrying his instructions and sending back reports. In most of the important commercial centres in which he did not have a branch of his own, Datini had correspondents (*commissi*) working on a commission basis. These sometimes were agents, carrying out his instructions (e.g. in Venice), or Italian trading companies established there (e.g. in Paris, London or Bruges) (De Roover, 1948b, 31; Hunt & Murray, 1999, 156-157; Origo, 1963, 106, 108, 111-114, 117; Padgett & McLean, 2006, 1466).

Table A..1. Network of the Datini Company, ca. 1383 – ca. 1411 (especially 1395 – 1405)

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Florence		3	2	2	1	>1373<	- Correspondents in Florence in 1373: Niccolò and Lodovico del Bono.	Del Treppo, 1972, 794, 776 n. 25; Hunt & Murray, 1999, 156; Melis, 1962, 10-12, 17, 19, 26; Origo, 1963, 8, 21, 42, 68, 77-78, 86-88, 128, 146, 149, 347; Padgett & McLean, 2006, 1548-1549
		6	3	2	1	1383-1386	- Branch. In 1382, Francesco Datini opened a warehouse in Via Porta Rossa in Florence, which was managed at first by his brother-in-law, Niccolò dell'Ammannato Tecchini. In 1383, Datini formed a company (since 1388 with Stoldo di Lorenzo and Falduccio di Lombardo (died in 1400)) in Florence. Since 1384, Datini was a partner in the cloth shop of Niccolò di Piero in Florence.	
		8	**4**	**3**	**1**	1386-1401	- Headquarters. In 1386, Datini established himself in Florence which became his new headquarters. In 1387, he also entered into partnership with Domenico di Cambio for the trade in silks and cotton veils. This	

		6	3	2	1	1401-1415	company was only dissolved after Datini's death. In 1398, Francesco Datini established a bank in Florence with Bartolomeo Cambioni of Prato, which was gradually liquidated after Cambioni's death in 1400. - Branch. Most of the last nine years of Datini's life were spent at home in Prato, instead of in Florence. Luca del Sera and Francesco di ser Benozzo became Datini's partners in Florence in 1404. The company in Florence lived on after the death of Datini, and became an independent company five years later: company of Luca del Sera and Francesco di ser Benozzo. - 27.02 % (33,925 letters) of the preserved letters were sent from Florence, which was the most important place of origin of letters sent to the Datini company (7 letters to Florence, 4,586 to Prato, 15,604 to Pisa, 5,092 to Genoa, 18 to Avignon, 4,519 to Barcelona, 1,943 to Valencia, 1,627 to Mallorca, 6 to Venice, 1 to Pistoia, 429 to Bologna, 89 elsewhere, and 4 to an unknown location).	
Prato		8 6 ~~8~~ ***7***	4 3 ~~4~~ ***3***	3 2 ~~3~~ ***2***	1 1 ~~1~~ ***1***	1383-1386 1386-1401 1401-1410	- Headquarters. At the beginning of 1383 Datini returned to Prato, where he founded his main branch. He built a warehouse with an office which became his central office from where he corresponded with his branches in Italy and abroad. Datini's factor in Prato in 1383 was Monte d'Andrea. Francesco Datini also established a company for cloth production in Prato in 1383, which was liquidated in 1400, after his partners died of the plague. Nevertheless, Francesco Datini was frequently in Pisa or Florence, rather than in Prato, to manage his business. - In 1386, Datini established himself in Florence, which became his new headquarters. - Most of the last nine years of Datini's life were spent at home in Prato, where his trusted factor was Barzalone di Spedaliere (ca. 1410). - 3.31 % (4,152 letters) of the preserved letters were sent from Prato (2,931 to Florence, 11 to Prato, 1,083 to Pisa, 18 to Genoa, 8 to Avignon, 12 to Barcelona, 2 to Valencia, 19 to Pistoia, 48 to Bologna, 8 elsewhere, and 12 to an unknown location).	Hunt & Murray, 1999, 156; Melis, 1962, 10-11, 17, 21; Origo, 1963, 8, 21, 54, 67-68, 331, 334, 342, 347; Padgett & McLean, 2006, 1549
Avignon		8	4	3	1	1363-1382	- Headquarters. In 1350, Francesco Datini went to Avignon, where he was joined by his brother Stefano in 1358. In 1363, Datini purchased his first shop in Piazza dei Cavalieri in Avignon, one of his partners being Niccolò di Bernardo. In 1367, he founded a new partnership with Toro di Berto, and together they owned three shops. At the same time, Datini also entered into	Del Treppo, 1972, 794, 776 n. 25; De Roover, 1948b, 30; Hunt & Murray, 1999, 156; Melis,

		6	**3**	**2**	**1**	1383-1410	a partnership with Tuccio Lambertucci (since 1365). In 1376 he also set up a money-changer's business in Avignon. - Branch. At the end of 1382, Francesco Datini left Avignon. He handed over his affairs in Avignon to Boninsegna di Matteo and Tieri di Benci, who had been working with him for several years. Boninsegna di Matteo remained in charge of the Avignon branch for the rest of his life. Factors in Avignon in 1410 were Tieri di Benci and Tommaso di Giovanni. 5.82 % (7,311 letters) of the preserved letters were sent from Avignon (2,285 to Florence, 589 to Prato, 1,090 to Pisa, 709 to Genoa, 1,776 to Barcelona, 349 to Valencia, 419 to Mallorca, 2 to Pistoia, 57 to Bologna, 8 elsewhere, and 27 to an unknown location).	1962, 10-11, 17-18, 26-27, 27 n. 1-2; Origo, 1963, 8, 30, 35, 37-39, 53, 123, 343, 347; Padgett & McLean, 2006, 1548
Barcelona		6	3	2	1	1393-1410	Branch. In 1393, Datini sent his most able Florentine partner, Luca del Sera, to Barcelona. In 1394, he founded three Spanish companies: in Barcelona, Valencia, and on Mallorca. Barcelona was the headquarters of the Catalunya company of Datini. Luca del Sera was the managing partner who travelled between the various Spanish branches. Simone d'Andrea was established as managing factor when the Barcelona branch was founded. Some years later, he was made a partner. In 1410, the manager in Barcelona was Cristofano di Bartolo. 8.25 % (10,350 letters) of the preserved letters were sent from Barcelona (1,334 to Florence, 45 to Prato, 1,049 to Pisa, 1,016 to Genoa, 92 to Avignon, 6 to Barcelona, 3,359 to Valencia, 3,134 to Mallorca, 23 to Bologna, and 292 elsewhere).	Del Treppo, 1972, 775, 794; De Roover, 1948b, 30; Hunt & Murray, 1999, 156; Melis, 1962, 10-11, 17-18; Murray, 2005, 232-233; Origo, 1963, 8, 90, 96, 124, 344, 347, 362 n. 7; Padgett & McLean, 2006, 1549; Spufford, 2002, 237
Genoa		3 **6**	2 **3**	2 **2**	1 **1**	Before 1392 1392-1401	- For some time before 1392, Datini had been dealing with the Genoese firm of Andrea di Bonnano and Ambrogio Boni. - Early in 1392, Datini formed his own company, under the name of Francesco di Marco, Andrea di Bonanno & Co. The Genoese company only lasted until 1401, after Andrea di Bonanno was carried off by the plague in 1400, and the company's affairs were wound up. - 8.62 % (10,824 letters) of the preserved letters were sent from Genoa (2,713 to Florence, 98 to Prato, 4,251 to Pisa, 2 to Genoa, 330 to Avignon, 2,080 to Barcelona, 805 to Valencia, 519 to Mallorca, 13 to Bologna, 12 elsewhere, and 1 to an unknown location).	Del Treppo, 1972, 776; Hunt & Murray, 1999, 156; Melis, 1962, 10-12, 17, 19, 27, 12 n. 7; Origo, 1963, 8, 90, 96, 347; Padgett &McLean, 2006, 1549
Palma de Mallorca		6	3	2	1	1394-1410	Branch. In 1394, Datini founded three Spanish companies: in Barcelona, Valencia, and Palma de Mallorca. Luca del Sera was the managing partner	Del Treppo, 1972, 775, 794; Hunt &

							who travelled between the various Spanish branches, while Cristofano di Bartolo took charge of the branch in Mallorca. The Valencia and Mallorca branches were dependent upon the Barcelona office. 2.74 % (3,446 letters) of the preserved letters were sent from Mallorca (540 to Florence, 4 to Prato, 228 to Pisa, 220 to Genoa, 7 to Avignon, 1,472 to Barcelona, 844 to Valencia, 2 to Mallorca, 4 to Venice, 16 to Bologna, and 109 elsewhere).	Murray, 1999, 156; Melis, 1962, 10-11, 17, 20, 27; Origo, 1963, 8, 90, 96, 124, 347; Padgett & McLean, 2006, 1549
Pisa		3 **6**	2 **3**	2 **2**	1 **1**	before 1383 1383-1410	- Before opening a branch in Pisa, Datini had already been dealing for some time with the Pisan company of Andrea di Maestro Ambrogio and Agnolo degli Agli. Francesco Datini also had an agent in Pisa in 1382: Stoldo di Lorenzo. - Branch. In 1383, Datini opened a branch in Pisa, taking over the company of Andrea di Maestro Ambrogio and Agnolo degli Agli, in conjunction with two partners, Stoldo di Lorenzo and Matteo di Lorenzo, under the name Francesco di Marco & Co. Francesco Datini was frequently in Pisa or Florence, rather than in Prato, to manage his business. The chief factor employed by the Pisan company was Cristofano di Bartolo da Barberino, and under him worked Manno di Albizzo degli Agli (d. 1400), partner in 1392-1400. Later, Cristofano became one of Francesco's partners in Spain. The Pisa branch was dissolved before 1410. 8.59 % (10,787 letters) of the preserved letters were sent from Pisa (5,652 to Florence, 1,429 to Prato, 14 to Pisa, 1,866 to Genoa, 283 to Avignon, 850 to Barcelona, 213 to Valencia, 230 to Mallorca, 1 to Venice, 2 to Pistoia, 112 to Bologna, 132 elsewhere, and 3 to an unknown location). More letters were destined for Pisa than for any of the other branches.	Del Treppo, 1972, 776, 776 n. 25; Hunt & Murray, 1999, 156; Melis, 1962, 10-11, 17, 21, 26-27; Origo, 1963, 8, 21, 36, 54, 67, 93-94, 331, 347; Padgett & McLean, 2006, 1549
Valencia		6	3	2	1	1394-1410	Branch. In 1394, Datini founded three Spanish companies: in Barcelona, Valencia, and on Mallorca. Luca del Sera was the managing partner who travelled between the various Spanish branches. The Valencia and Mallorca branches were dependent upon the Barcelona office. After 1403, the branches of Valencia and Barcelona were fused into a single company. 4.58 % (5,750 letters) of the preserved letters were sent from Valencia (610 to Florence, 7 to Prato, 254 to Pisa, 584 to Genoa, 1 to Avignon, 2,509 to Barcelona, 1,402 to Mallorca, 5 to Bologna, and 378 elsewhere).	Del Treppo, 1972, 775, 794; Melis, 1962, 10-11, 17, 22; Hunt & Murray, 1999, 156; Origo, 1963, 8, 90, 96, 124, 347; Padgett & McLean, 2006, 1549
Bologna		4	2	2	1		- Some companies in Bologna were correspondents of the Datini company. 3.23 % (4,055 letters) of the preserved letters were sent from Bologna (1,868 to Florence, 127 to Prato, 1,256 to Pisa, 180 to Genoa, 8 to Avignon,	Melis, 1962, 11, 17-18; Origo, 1963, 149, 330

		~~8~~ ***5***	~~4~~ ***3***	~~3~~ ***2***	~~1~~ ***1***	1400	279 to Barcelona, 120 to Valencia, 205 to Mallorca, 10 to Venice, and 2 elsewhere). - Headquarters. In 1400, Datini and his family fled from the plague to Bologna, and Datini stayed there for 14 months. In this period, the headquarters were temporarily removed to Bologna.	
Ibiza		5	3	2	1	c.1394-1404<	After he founded his branches in Valencia, Barcelona and Mallorca in 1394, Datini founded a small agency, in connection with the Mallorcan branch, on Ibiza, which possessed some flourishing salt mines. The branch in Ibiza was managed by two Florentines, Giovanni and Tuccio di Gennaio, who were already settled there before, trading on their own account. The agency on Ibiza still existed in 1404. 555 letters were sent from Ibiza (10 to Florence, 1 to Genoa, 91 to Barcelona, 175 to Valencia, 277 to Mallorca, 1 elsewhere).	Melis, 1962, 17, 20; Origo, 1963, 8, 90, 96, 98, 361 n. 21, 23
San Mateo		5	3	2	1	From c.1394	After he founded his branches in Valencia, Barcelona and Mallorca in 1394, Datini founded a small agency in San Mateo, a small borough which was then one of the chief collecting centres of Catalan wool. The agency in San Mateo was connected with the branch in Valencia. 937 of the preserved letters were sent from San Mateo (38 to Florence, 18 to Pisa, 4 to Genoa, 369 to Barcelona, 481 to Valencia, 20 to Mallorca, 2 to Bologna, and 5 elsewhere).	Melis, 1962, 17, 22; Origo, 1963, 74, 96-97, 124
Venice		5	3	2	1	>1398-1401<	Venice and Bologna were transitory seats of the Datini company. In Venice, Datini had a correspondent working on a commission basis, the Florentine Bindo di Gherardo Piaciti. 4.98 % (6,251 letters) of the preserved letters were sent from Venice (2,081 to Florence, 7 to Prato, 905 to Pisa, 205 to Genoa, 1,426 to Barcelona, 670 to Valencia, 703 to Mallorca, 242 to Bologna, 11 elsewhere and 1 to an unknown location).	Melis, 1962, 11, 17, 22; Origo, 1963, 10, 100, 113, 138
Bruges		4	2	2	1	1384-1411	The Datini company corresponded with a number of Italian trading companies in Bruges. 1.90 % (2,383 letters) of the preserved letters were sent from Bruges (197 to Florence, 109 to Pisa, 232 to Genoa, 1 to Avignon, 1,027 to Barcelona, 431 to Valencia, 375 to Mallorca, 4 to Bologna, and 7 elsewhere). Principal correspondents in Bruges were Giovanni Orlandini and Piero Benizi, the Alberti, and Luigi and Salvestro Mannini.	Guidi Bruscoli, s.d., 2-3; Melis, 1962, 15-18; Murray, 2005, 232; Origo, 1963, 83, 94, 113
Livorno		4	2	2	1		2.57 % (3,232 letters) of the preserved letters were sent from Livorno (42 to Florence, 1 to Prato, 3,038 to Pisa, 57 to Genoa, 1 to Avignon, 63 to	Melis, 1962, 17, 20

							Barcelona, 8 to Valencia, 21 to Mallorca, and 1 elsewhere).	
Lucca		4	2	2	1		The Datini company had a factor in Lucca, and also corresponded with a number of companies in Lucca. 1.55 % (1,948 letters) of the preserved letters were sent from Lucca (494 to Florence, 16 to Prato, 1,033 to Pisa, 189 to Genoa, 165 to Barcelona, 39 to Valencia, 2 to Mallorca, 5 to Bologna, and 5 elsewhere).	Melis, 1962, 11, 17, 20; Origo, 1963, 149
Milan		4	2	2	1	>1367<	Import of armour by Francesco Datini to Avignon ca. 1367 from the Milanese firms of Basciamuolo of Pescina and of Danesruollo of Como. Milan was the most important production centre of the armour sold by Datini in his period in Avignon. 799 of the preserved letters were sent from Milan (221 to Florence, 39 to Prato, 192 to Pisa, 284 to Genoa, 5 to Avignon, 40 to Barcelona, 6 to Mallorca, 2 to Venice, and 10 to Bologna).	Melis, 1962, 17, 20; Origo, 1963, 36-37
Montpellier		4	2	2	1		Important correspondents in Montpellier were Deo Ambrogi and Giovanni Franceschi & Co. 3.71 % (4,652 letters) of the preserved letters were sent from Montpellier (157 to Florence, 2 to Prato, 405 to Pisa, 550 to Genoa, 185 to Avignon, 2,799 to Barcelona, 244 to Valencia, 307 to Mallorca, 2 to Bologna, and 1 elsewhere).	Melis, 1962, 17, 20; Origo, 1963, 83-84, 94
Palermo		4	2	2	1		557 of the preserved letters were sent from Palermo (91 to Florence, 375 to Pisa, 10 to Genoa, 1 to Avignon, 21 to Barcelona, 6 to Valencia, 49 to Mallorca, and 4 elsewhere).	Melis, 1962, 17, 21
Paris		4	2	2	1	>1396<	Important correspondents in Paris were the Paris branches of the companies of Deo Ambrogi and Giovanni Franceschi & Co., and of Luigi and Salvestro Mannini & Co. 845 of the preserved letters were sent from Paris (51 to Florence, 45 to Pisa, 205 to Genoa, 27 to Avignon, 402 to Barcelona, 47 to Valencia, 65 to Mallorca, and 3 to Bologna).	Melis, 1962, 17, 21; Origo, 1963, 41, 83-84, 94, 113
Perpignan		4	2	2	1		861 of the preserved letters were sent from Perpignan (29 to Florence, 10 to Pisa, 2 to Genoa, 7 to Avignon, 693 to Barcelona, 16 to Valencia, and 104 to Mallorca).	Melis, 1962, 17, 21; Origo, 1963, 94
Perugia		4	2	2	1		0.82 % (1,023 letters) of the preserved letters were sent from Perugia (445 to Florence, 4 to Prato, 571 to Pisa, and 3 to Genoa).	Melis, 1962, 17, 21
Pietrasanta		4	2	2	1		1.10 % (1,383 letters) of the preserved letters were sent from Pietrasanta (726 to Florence, 44 to Prato, 246 to Pisa, 300 to Genoa, 45 to Barcelona, 7 to Valencia, 4 to Mallorca, 1 to Bologna, and 10 elsewhere). Pietrasanta was one of the minor Tuscan ports.	Melis, 1962, 17, 21; Origo, 1963, 91-92
Pistoia		4	2	2	1		Francesco Datini resided for a while in Pistoia. 624 of the preserved letters	Melis, 1962, 17, 21

							were sent from Pistoia (219 to Florence, 183 to Prato, 189 to Pisa, 17 to Genoa, 1 to Avignon, 11 to Bologna, and 4 elsewhere).	
Rome		4	2	2	1		The Datini company corresponded with a number of companies in Rome. 1.32 % (1,660 letters) of the preserved letters were sent from Rome (392 to Florence, 5 to Prato, 625 to Pisa, 547 to Genoa, 59 to Barcelona, 5 to Valencia, 22 to Mallorca, 4 to Bologna, and 1 elsewhere).	Melis, 1962, 17, 21; Origo, 1963, 149
Savona		4	2	2	1		0.83 % (1,037 letters) of the preserved letters were sent from Savona (10 to Florence, 101 to Pisa, 904 to Genoa, 8 to Barcelona, 4 to Valencia, and 10 to Mallorca).	Melis, 1962, 17, 22
Aigues-Mortes		3	2	2	1		128 of the preserved letters were sent from Aigues-Mortes (3 to Florence, 16 to Pisa, 11 to Genoa, 39 to Avignon, 36 to Barcelona, 2 to Valencia, and 21 to Mallorca).	Melis, 1962, 17-18; Origo, 1963, 83, 94
Arles		3	2	2	1		467 of the preserved letters were sent from Arles (63 to Florence, 128 to Pisa, 131 to Genoa, 60 to Avignon, 36 to Barcelona, 4 to Valencia, and 45 to Mallorca).	Melis, 1962, 17-18; Origo, 1963, 83, 94
Brescia		3	2	2	1		143 of the preserved letters were sent from Brescia (1 to Florence, 2 to Prato, 137 to Pisa, 1 to Genoa, 1 to Barcelona, and 1 to Venice).	Melis, 1962, 17-18
Castelnuovo Scrivia		3	2	2	1		209 of the preserved letters were sent from Castelnuovo Scrivia (209 to Genoa).	Melis, 1962, 17, 19
Ciudadela		3	2	2	1		126 of the preserved letters were sent from Ciudadela (1 to Barcelona, and 125 to Mallorca).	Melis, 1962, 17, 19
Colle di Val d'Elsa		3	2	2	1		113 of the preserved letters were sent from Colle di Val d'Elsa (46 to Florence, 6 to Prato, 60 to Pisa, and 1 elsewhere).	Melis, 1962, 17, 19
Cremona		3	2	2	1		199 of the preserved letters were sent from Cremona (143 to Florence, 5 to Prato, and 51 to Pisa).	Melis, 1962, 17, 19
Ferrara		3	2	2	1		247 of the preserved letters were sent from Ferrara (186 to Florence, 42 to Pisa, and 19 to Bologna).	Melis, 1962, 17, 19
Foligno		3	2	2	1		59 of the preserved letters were sent from Foligno (24 to Florence, and 35 to Pisa).	Melis, 1962, 19
Gaeta		3	2	2	1		302 of the preserved letters were sent from Gaeta (129 to Florence, 59 to Pisa, 63 to Genoa, 19 to Barcelona, 13 to Valencia, 18 to Mallorca, and 1 elsewhere).	Melis, 1962, 17, 19
London		3	2	2	1	1382-1410	Datini never opened a branch in England, nor did he send any of his own men there. However, he depended for the import of English wool on other Tuscan firms established in London, such as the Guinigi, Mannini, Alberti,	Melis, 1962, 17, 20; Origo, 1963, 71, 83-84, 94, 113

							Dini and Caccini, who operated as his representatives and correspondents in London and England in the period 1382-1410. Important correspondents in London were the London branch of Luigi and Salvestro Mannini & Co., and Giovanni Orlandini & Co. 271 of the preserved letters were sent from London (159 to Florence, 10 to Pisa, 81 to Genoa, 13 to Barcelona, 2 to Valencia, and 6 to Mallorca).	
Marseille		3	2	2	1		464 of the preserved letters were sent from Marseille (29 to Florence, 2 to Prato, 144 to Pisa, 172 to Genoa, 61 to Avignon, 20 to Barcelona, and 36 to Mallorca).	Melis, 1962, 17, 20; Origo, 1963, 83, 94
Menorca		3	2	2	1	>1395<	An agent was sent to Menorca for the purchase of Menorcan wool, e.g. in 1395. 229 of the preserved letters were sent from Menorca (Mahón and Ciudadela not included) (14 to Barcelona, 2 to Valencia, and 213 to Mallorca).	Melis, 1962, 17, 20, 17 n. 2; Origo, 1963, 75
Naples		3	2	2	1	>1380<	In 1380, Datini sent two of his factors to Naples with 2,000 florins. 198 of the preserved letters were sent from Naples (42 to Florence, 92 to Pisa, 5 to Barcelona, 5 to Valencia, 22 to Mallorca, and 32 elsewhere).	Melis, 1962, 17, 20; Origo, 1963, 39
Nice		3	2	2	1		76 of the preserved letters were sent from Nice (1 to Florence, 23 to Pisa, 44 to Genoa, 1 to Avignon, 4 to Barcelona, and 3 to Mallorca).	Melis, 1962, 20; Origo, 1963, 94
Parma		3	2	2	1		187 of the preserved letters were sent from Parma (1 to Prato, 181 to Pisa, 1 to Genoa, and 4 to Bologna).	Melis, 1962, 17, 21
Peñíscola		3	2	2	1		261 of the preserved letters were sent from Peñíscola (3 to Florence, 2 to Pisa, 1 to Genoa, 54 to Barcelona, 128 to Valencia, 24 to Mallorca, and 49 elsewhere). Peñíscola was a small harbour town. From here the Catalan wool, collected in San Mateo, was exported to Italy.	Melis, 1962, 17, 21; Origo, 1963, 74
Piombino		3	2	2	1		257 of the preserved letters were sent from Piombino (233 to Florence, 6 to Pisa, 12 to Barcelona, 5 to Valencia, and 1 elsewhere).	Melis, 1962, 17, 21
Portovenere		3	2	2	1		97 of the preserved letters were sent from Portovenere (11 to Florence, 5 to Pisa, and 81 to Genoa).	Melis, 1962, 21
Siena		3	2	2	1		208 of the preserved letters were sent from Siena (47 to Florence, 7 to Prato, 152 to Pisa, 1 to Genoa, and 1 to Mallorca).	Melis, 1962, 17, 22
Signa		3	2	2	1		99 of the preserved letters were sent from Signa (27 to Florence, 29 to Prato, and 43 to Pisa).	Melis, 1962, 22
Todi		3	2	2	1		82 of the preserved letters were sent from Todi (48 to Florence, and 34 to Pisa).	Melis, 1962, 22
Tortosa		3	2	2	1		211 of the preserved letters were sent from Tortosa (1 to Pisa, 160 to	Melis, 1962, 17, 22

							Barcelona, 23 to Valencia, 5 to Mallorca, and 22 elsewhere).	
Agrigento		2	2	1	0		5 of the preserved letters were sent from Agrigento (none of them to any of the branches of the Datini company).	Melis, 1962, 18
Aix-en-Provence		2	2	1	0		4 of the preserved letters were sent from Aix-en-Provence (1 to Florence, 1 to Pisa, 1 to Genoa, and 1 to Valencia).	Melis, 1962, 18
Albocácer		2	2	1	0		7 of the preserved letters were sent from Albocácer (6 to Valencia, and 1 elsewhere).	Melis, 1962, 18
Alcudia (Spain)		2	2	1	0		22 of the preserved letters were sent from Alcudia (22 to Mallorca).	Melis, 1962, 18
Alessandria		2	2	1	0		7 of the preserved letters were sent from Alessandria (1 to Genoa, 5 to Barcelona, and 1 to Mallorca).	Melis, 1962, 18
Alicante		2	2	1	0		27 of the preserved letters were sent from Alicante (15 to Valencia, and 12 to Mallorca).	Melis, 1962, 18
Ancona		2	2	1	0		27 of the preserved letters were sent from Ancona (1 to Pisa, 19 to Barcelona, 3 to Valencia, and 4 to Mallorca).	Melis, 1962, 18
Andraitx		2	2	1	0		7 of the preserved letters were sent from Andraitx (7 to Mallorca).	Melis, 1962, 18
Arezzo		2	2	1	0		17 of the preserved letters were sent from Arezzo (11 to Florence, and 6 to Pisa).	Melis, 1962, 18
Asti		2	2	1	0		7 of the preserved letters were sent from Asti (1 to Pisa, 5 to Genoa, and 1 to Barcelona).	Melis, 1962, 18
Avigliana		2	2	1	0		5 of the preserved letters were sent from Avigliana (2 to Pisa, and 3 to Avignon).	Melis, 1962, 18
Bagni di Lucca		2	2	1	0		3 of the preserved letters were sent from Bagni di Lucca (3 to Prato).	Melis, 1962, 18
Barberino di Mugello		2	2	1	0		3 of the preserved letters were sent from Barberino di Mugello (2 to Florence, and 1 to Prato).	Melis, 1962, 18
Bergamo		2	2	1	0		6 of the preserved letters were sent from Bergamo (6 to Pisa).	Melis, 1962, 18
Burriana		2	2	1	0		3 of the preserved letters were sent from Burriana (3 to Barcelona).	Melis, 1962, 18
Cabanes		2	2	1	0		4 of the preserved letters were sent from Cabanes (3 to Valencia, and 1elsewhere).	Melis, 1962, 18
Cagliari		2	2	1	0		8 of the preserved letters were sent from Cagliari (3 to Pisa, 2 to Valencia, and 3 to Mallorca).	Melis, 1962, 18
Cala Figuera		2	2	1	0		3 of the preserved letters were sent from Cala Figuera (3 to Mallorca).	Melis, 1962, 18
Caldas de Mombuy		2	2	1	0		16 of the preserved letters were sent from Caldas de Mombuy (1 to Pisa, 14 to Barcelona, and 1 to Valencia).	Melis, 1962, 18
Camerino		2	2	1	0		15 of the preserved letters were sent from Camerino (11 to Florence, 1 to	Melis, 1962, 18

							Pisa, and 3 to Mallorca).	
Cantavieja		2	2	1	0		4 of the preserved letters were sent from Cantavieja (1 to Valencia, and 3 elsewhere).	Melis, 1962, 19
Castellón de la Plana		2	2	1	0		6 of the preserved letters were sent from Castellón de la Plana (5 to Valencia, and 1 elsewhere).	Melis, 1962, 19
Catania		2	2	1	0		9 of the preserved letters were sent from Catania (2 to Florence, 6 to Pisa, and 1 to Mallorca).	Melis, 1962, 19
Cesena		2	2	1	0		11 of the preserved letters were sent from Cesena (11 to Florence).	Melis, 1962, 19
Ceva		2	2	1	0		4 of the preserved letters were sent from Ceva (4 to Genoa).	Melis, 1962, 19
Citta di Castello		2	2	1	0		11 of the preserved letters were sent from Citta di Castello (8 to Florence, 1 to Prato, and 2 to Pisa).	Melis, 1962, 19
Collioure		2	2	1	0		12 of the preserved letters were sent from Collioure (2 to Barcelona, and 10 to Mallorca).	Melis, 1962, 19
Cuenca		2	2	1	0		9 of the preserved letters were sent from Cuenca (9 to Valencia).	Melis, 1962, 19
Cuevas de Vinromá		2	2	1	0		40 of the preserved letters were sent from Cuevas de Vinromá (1 to Barcelona, 35 to Valencia, 2 to Mallorca, and 2 elsewhere).	Melis, 1962, 19
Denia		2	2	1	0		29 of the preserved letters were sent from Denia (1 to Florence, 1 to Barcelona, 23 to Valencia, and 4 to Mallorca).	Melis, 1962, 19
Empoli		2	2	1	0		16 of the preserved letters were sent from Empoli (9 to Florence, 2 to Prato, and 5 to Pisa).	Melis, 1962, 19
Escatrón		2	2	1	0		3 of the preserved letters were sent from Escatrón (1 to Barcelona, and 2 elsewhere).	Melis, 1962, 19
Estella		2	2	1	0		3 of the preserved letters were sent from Estella (3 to Barcelona).	Melis, 1962, 19
Fabriano		2	2	1	0		9 of the preserved letters were sent from Fabriano (2 to Florence, and 7 to Pisa).	Melis, 1962, 19
Fès		2	2	1	0		5 of the preserved letters were sent from Fès (5 to Mallorca).	Melis, 1962, 19
Gandía		2	2	1	0		5 of the preserved letters were sent from Gandía (5 to Valencia).	Melis, 1962, 19
Godelleta		2	2	1	0		8 of the preserved letters were sent from Godelleta (8 to Valencia).	Melis, 1962, 19
Honaine		2	2	1	0		3 of the preserved letters were sent from Honaine (1 to Valencia, and 2 to Mallorca).	Melis, 1962, 19
Hyères		2	2	1	0		5 of the preserved letters were sent from Hyères (1 to Florence, 4 to Genoa).	Melis, 1962, 19
Játiva		2	2	1	0		45 of the preserved letters were sent from Játiva (45 to Valencia).	Melis, 1962, 20
Jávea		2	2	1	0		4 of the preserved letters were sent from Jávea (4 to Valencia).	Melis, 1962, 20

Lérici		2	2	1	0		10 of the preserved letters were sent from Lérici (2 to Prato, and 8 to Pisa).	Melis, 1962, 20
Lisbon		2	2	1	0		6 of the preserved letters were sent from Lisbon (2 to Pisa, 1 to Barcelona, 2 to Valencia, and 1 to Mallorca).	Melis, 1962, 20
Lliria		2	2	1	0		5 of the preserved letters were sent from Lliria (5 to Barcelona).	Melis, 1962, 20
Lyon		2	2	1	0		During his period in Avignon, Datini sometimes sent one of his partners to Lyon for the import of armour. 1 of the preserved letters was sent from Lyon (to Avignon).	Melis, 1962, 20; Origo, 1963, 36
Mahón		2	2	1	0		37 of the preserved letters were sent from Mahón (37 to Mallorca).	Melis, 1962, 20
Málaga		2	2	1	0		16 of the preserved letters were sent from Málaga (8 to Barcelona, 5 to Valencia, 2 to Mallorca, and 1 elsewhere).	Melis, 1962, 20
Martigues (l'Ile)		2	2	1	0		23 of the preserved letters were sent from l'Ile Martigues (2 to Florence, 15 to Pisa, 5 to Avignon, and 1 to Barcelona).	Melis, 1962, 20; Origo, 1963, 94
Maubec		2	2	1	0		3 of the preserved letters were sent from Maubec (2 to Florence, and 1 to Pisa).	Melis, 1962, 20
Mechelen		2	2	1	0		23 of the preserved letters were sent from Mechelen (3 to Pisa, 13 to Genoa, 6 to Barcelona, and 1 to Mallorca).	Melis, 1962, 20
Messina		2	2	1	0		6 of the preserved letters were sent from Messina (1 to Pisa, 1 to Mallorca, and 4 elsewhere).	Melis, 1962, 20
Modica		2	2	1	0		6 of the preserved letters were sent from Modica (2 to Florence, and 4 to Pisa).	Melis, 1962, 20
Monaco		2	2	1	0		3 of the preserved letters were sent from Monaco (3 to Genoa).	Melis, 1962, 20
Montalbán		2	2	1	0		7 of the preserved letters were sent from Montalbán (4 to Barcelona, and 3 elsewhere).	Melis, 1962, 20
Montelupo Fiorentino		2	2	1	0		30 of the preserved letters were sent from Montelupo Fiorentino (2 to Florence, 11 to Prato, and 17 to Pisa).	Melis, 1962, 20
Morella		2	2	1	0		16 of the preserved letters were sent from Morella (5 to Barcelona, 8 to Valencia, and 3 elsewhere).	Melis, 1962, 17, 20
Murcia		2	2	1	0		8 of the preserved letters were sent from Murcia (2 to Barcelona, 5 to Valencia, and 1 to Mallorca).	Melis, 1962, 20
Noli		2	2	1	0		27 of the preserved letters were sent from Noli (27 to Genoa).	Melis, 1962, 21
Oristano		2	2	1	0		3 of the preserved letters were sent from Oristano (2 to Florence, and 1 to Genoa).	Melis, 1962, 21
Palamós		2	2	1	0		34 of the preserved letters were sent from Palamós (1 to Genoa, 30 to Barcelona, and 3 to Valencia).	Melis, 1962, 21
Pavia		2	2	1	0		11 of the preserved letters were sent from Pavia (1 to Pisa, and 10 to	Melis, 1962, 21

							Genoa).	
Pera (Constantinople)		2	2	1	0		3 of the preserved letters were sent from Pera (3 to Genoa).	Melis, 1962, 21
Piacenza		2	2	1	0		7 of the preserved letters were sent from Piacenza (4 to Pisa, and 3 to Genoa).	Melis, 1962, 21
Piran		2	2	1	0		3 of the preserved letters were sent from Piran (3 to Mallorca).	Melis, 1962, 21
Pollensa		2	2	1	0		12 of the preserved letters were sent from Pollensa (12 to Mallorca).	Melis, 1962, 21
Pontecurone		2	2	1	0		27 of the preserved letters were sent from Pontecurone (27 to Genoa).	Melis, 1962, 21
Portofino		2	2	1	0		9 of the preserved letters were sent from Portofino (9 to Genoa).	Melis, 1962, 21
Pozzallo		2	2	1	0		5 of the preserved letters were sent from Pozzallo (5 to Pisa).	Melis, 1962, 21
Rimini		2	2	1	0		5 of the preserved letters were sent from Rimini (5 to Florence).	Melis, 1962, 21
Salsadella		2	2	1	0		37 of the preserved letters were sent from Salsadella (19 to Barcelona, and 18 to Valencia).	Melis, 1962, 21
San Feliú de Guixols		2	2	1	0		19 of the preserved letters were sent from San Feliú de Guixols (19 to Barcelona).	Melis, 1962, 21
San Gimignano		2	2	1	0		24 of the preserved letters were sent from San Gimignano (18 to Florence, and 6 to Pisa).	Melis, 1962, 21
San Giovanni Valdarno		2	2	1	0		5 of the preserved letters were sent from San Giovanni Valdarno (3 to Florence, and 2 to Pisa).	Melis, 1962, 21
San Miniato		2	2	1	0		4 of the preserved letters were sent from San Miniato (1 to Florence, and 3 to Pisa).	Melis, 1962, 22
Santa Gonda		2	2	1	0		6 of the preserved letters were sent from Santa Gonda, now a neighbourhood of Prato (1 to Florence, and 5 to Pisa).	Melis, 1962, 22
Sant'Angelo in Vado		2	2	1	0		3 of the preserved letters were sent from Sant'Angelo in Vado (3 to Pisa).	Melis, 1962, 22
Sciacca		2	2	1	0		24 of the preserved letters were sent from Sciacca (2 to Pisa, and 22 elsewhere).	Melis, 1962, 22
Segorbe		2	2	1	0		17 of the preserved letters were sent from Segorbe (1 to Barcelona, 15 to Valencia, and 1 to Mallorca).	Melis, 1962, 22
Serravalle Scrivia		2	2	1	0		7 of the preserved letters were sent from Serravalle Scrivia (7 to Genoa).	Melis, 1962, 22
Sevilla		2	2	1	0		Important correspondents in Sevilla. 27 of the preserved letters were sent from Sevilla (9 to Genoa, 2 to Barcelona, 13 to Valencia, and 3 to Mallorca).	Melis, 1962, 22; Origo, 1963, 84

Siracusa		2	2	1	0		14 of the preserved letters were sent from Siracusa (2 to Florence, 5 to Pisa, 1 to Barcelona, 1 to Valencia, and 5 to Mallorca).	Melis, 1962, 22
La Spezia		2	2	1	0		7 of the preserved letters were sent from La Spezia (6 to Florence, and 1 to Pisa).	Melis, 1962, 20
Talamone		2	2	1	0		4 of the preserved letters were sent from Talamone (4 to Barcelona). Talamone was one of the minor Tuscan ports.	Melis, 1962, 22; Origo, 1963, 91-92
Tarascon		2	2	1	0		3 of the preserved letters were sent from Tarascon (2 to Pisa, and 1 to Genoa).	Melis, 1962, 22; Origo, 1963, 94
Teruel		2	2	1	0		3 of the preserved letters were sent from Teruel (2 to Barcelona, and 1 to Mallorca).	Melis, 1962, 22
Tortona		2	2	1	0		45 of the preserved letters were sent from Tortona (45 to Genoa).	Melis, 1962, 22
Trapani		2	2	1	0		21 of the preserved letters were sent from Trapani (2 to Pisa, 2 to Mallorca, and 17 elsewhere).	Melis, 1962, 22
Tunis		2	2	1	0		25 of the preserved letters were sent from Tunis (2 to Florence, 6 to Pisa, 3 to Barcelona, and 14 to Mallorca).	Melis, 1962, 22
Verona		2	2	1	0		25 of the preserved letters were sent from Verona (21 to Florence, and 4 to Pisa).	Melis, 1962, 22
Vico d'Elsa		2	2	1	0		37 of the preserved letters were sent from Vico d'Elsa (35 to Florence, and 2 to Pisa).	Melis, 1962, 22
Viterbo		2	2	1	0		8 of the preserved letters were sent from Viterbo (3 to Florence, 4 to Pisa, and 1 to Genoa).	Melis, 1962, 23
Volterra		2	2	1	0		24 of the preserved letters were sent from Volterra (15 to Florence, 1 to Prato, and 8 to Pisa).	Melis, 1962, 23
Zaragoza		2	2	1	0		42 of the preserved letters were sent from Zaragoza (33 to Barcelona, 8 to Valencia, and 1 elsewhere).	Melis, 1962, 22
Agde		1	1	1	0		2 of the preserved letters were sent from Agde (1 to Barcelona, and 1 to Valencia).	Melis, 1962, 18
Alcamo		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Alcamo (to Barcelona).	Melis, 1962, 18
Alcudia (Morocco)		1	1	1	0		2 of the preserved letters were sent from Alcudia (2 to Mallorca).	Melis, 1962, 18
Alexandria		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Alexandria (to Valencia).	Melis, 1962, 18
Alger		1	1	1	0		2 of the preserved letters were sent from Alger (2 to Mallorca).	Melis, 1962, 18
Aliaga (Spain)		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Aliaga (to Valencia).	Melis, 1962, 18
Ares del Maestre		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Ares del Maestre (to Valencia).	Melis, 1962, 18

Barbentane		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Barbentane (to Barcelona).	Melis, 1962, 18
Barletta		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Barletta (to Florence).	Melis, 1962, 18
Benicasim		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Benicasim (to Valencia).	Melis, 1962, 18
Bermeo		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Bermeo (to Barcelona).	Melis, 1962, 18
Beteta		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Beteta (to Valencia).	Melis, 1962, 18
Bientina		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Bientina (to Florence).	Melis, 1962, 18
Bona		1	1	1	0		2 of the preserved letters were sent from Bona (1 to Pisa, and 1 to Mallorca).	Melis, 1962, 18
Bonifacio		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Bonifacio (to Pisa).	Melis, 1962, 18
Breganson		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Breganson (to Genoa).	Melis, 1962, 18
Cadaqués		1	1	1	0		2 of the preserved letters were sent from Cadaqués (2 to Barcelona).	Melis, 1962, 18
Cádiz		1	1	1	0		2 of the preserved letters were sent from Cádiz (2 to Genoa).	Melis, 1962, 18
Caffa		1	1	1	0		2 of the preserved letters were sent from Caffa (1 to Florence, and 1 to Genoa).	Melis, 1962, 18
Calvi		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Calvi (to Genoa).	Melis, 1962, 18
Canneto		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Canneto (to Florence).	Melis, 1962, 18
Cape Salinas		1	1	1	0		2 of the preserved letters were sent from Cape Salinas (2 to Mallorca).	Melis, 1962, 19
Capo Blanco		1	1	1	0		2 of the preserved letters were sent from Capo Blanco (2 to Mallorca).	Melis, 1962, 19
Capo S. Martin		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Capo S. Martin (to Mallorca).	Melis, 1962, 19
Carmignano		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Carmignano (to Prato).	Melis, 1962, 19
Cascia		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Cascia (to Pisa).	Melis, 1962, 19
Cascina		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Cascina (to Pisa).	Melis, 1962, 19
Castel de Cabra		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Castel de Cabra (not to any of the branches of the Datini company).	Melis, 1962, 19
Castelfiorentino		1	1	1	0		2 of the preserved letters were sent from Castelfiorentino (1 to Florence, and 1 to Pisa).	Melis, 1962, 19
Castellammare del Golfo		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Castellammare del Golfo (not to any of the branches of the Datini company).	Melis, 1962, 19
Castiglion Fiorentino		1	1	1	0		2 of the preserved letters were sent from Castiglion Fiorentino (2 to Florence).	Melis, 1962, 19
Catí		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Catí (to Valencia).	Melis, 1962, 19
Cerreto Guidi		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Cerreto Guidi (to Prato).	Melis, 1962, 19
Chios		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Khíos (to Florence).	Melis, 1962, 22
Cigoli		1	1	1	0		2 of the preserved letters were sent from Cigoli (2 to Pisa).	Melis, 1962, 19

Civitavecchia		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Civitavecchia (to Pisa).	Melis, 1962, 19
Cocentaina		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Cocentaina (to Valencia).	Melis, 1962, 19
Codigoro		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Codigoro (to Bologna).	Melis, 1962, 19
Crema		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Crema (to Pisa).	Melis, 1962, 19
Culla		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Culla (to Valencia).	Melis, 1962, 19
Cullera		1	1	1	0		2 of the preserved letters were sent from Cullera (2 to Valencia).	Melis, 1962, 19
Damascus		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Damascus (to Barcelona).	Melis, 1962, 19
Es Vedrà		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Isla de la Vedrá (to Barcelona).	Melis, 1962, 22
Firenzuola		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Firenzuola (to Pisa).	Melis, 1962, 19
Fivizzano		1	1	1	0		2 of the preserved letters were sent from Fivizzano (2 to Pisa).	Melis, 1962, 19
Foce d'Arno		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Foce d'Arno (to Pisa).	Melis, 1962, 19
Forlì		1	1	1	0		2 of the preserved letters were sent from Forlì (2 to Pisa).	Melis, 1962, 19
La Galera		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from La Galera (to Barcelona).	Melis, 1962, 20
Gavorrano		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Gavorrano (to Pisa).	Melis, 1962, 19
Gerona		1	1	1	0		2 of the preserved letters were sent from Gerona (2 to Barcelona).	Melis, 1962, 19
Giogoli		1	1	1	0		2 of the preserved letters were sent from Giogoli (2 to Florence).	Melis, 1962, 19
Grosseto		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Grosseto (to Pisa).	Melis, 1962, 19
Horta		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Horta (to Pisa).	Melis, 1962, 19
Hospitalet		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Hospitalet (to Barcelona).	Melis, 1962, 19
La Hoz de la Vieja		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from La Hoz de la Vieja (to Barcelona).	Melis, 1962, 20
Huesca		1	1	1	0		2 of the preserved letters were sent from Huesca (2 to Barcelona).	Melis, 1962, 20
Imola		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Imola (to Pisa).	Melis, 1962, 20
Inca		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Inca (to Mallorca).	Melis, 1962, 20
Lérida		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Lérida (to Valencia).	Melis, 1962, 20
Lluch		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Lluch (to Mallorca).	Melis, 1962, 20
Loupian		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Loupian (to Barcelona).	Melis, 1962, 20
Manacor		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Manacor (to Mallorca).	Melis, 1962, 20
Mantua		1	1	1	0		2 of the preserved letters were sent from Mantua (2 to Florence).	Melis, 1962, 20
Maqueda		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Maqueda (to Valencia).	Melis, 1962, 20
Mazara del Vallo		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Mazara del Vallo (to Pisa).	Melis, 1962, 20
Miravet		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Miravet (to Barcelona).	Melis, 1962, 20
Monreal		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Monreal (Navarra) (to Barcelona).	Melis, 1962, 20

Montespértoli		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Montespértoli (to Prato).	Melis, 1962, 20
Montopoli		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Montopoli (to Bologna).	Melis, 1962, 20
Montserrat		1	1	1	0		2 of the preserved letters were sent from Montserrat (1 to Barcelona, 1 elsewhere).	Melis, 1962, 20
Motrone		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Motrone (to Barcelona).Motrone was one of the minor Tuscan ports.	Melis, 1962, 20; Origo, 1963, 91-92
Nirone		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Nirone (to Pisa).	Melis, 1962, 20
Noto		1	1	1	0		2 of the preserved letters were sent from Noto (2 to Pisa).	Melis, 1962, 21
Olite		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Olite (to Barcelona).	Melis, 1962, 21
Ollioules		1	1	1	0		2 of the preserved letters were sent from Ollioules (2 to Pisa).	Melis, 1962, 21
Onteniente		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Onteniente (to Valencia).	Melis, 1962, 21
Orvieto		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Orvieto (to Florence).	Melis, 1962, 21
Padua		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Padua (to Florence).	Melis, 1962, 21
Paláia		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Paláia (to Pisa).	Melis, 1962, 21
Perelló		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Perelló (to Valencia).	Melis, 1962, 21
Pertuis		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Pertuis (to Avignon).	Melis, 1962, 21
Pescia		1	1	1	0		2 of the preserved letters were sent from Pescia (1 to Florence, and 1 Pisa).	Melis, 1962, 21
Pézenas		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Pézenas (to Barcelona).	Melis, 1962, 21
Pianoro		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Pianoro (to Florence).	Melis, 1962, 21
Poggibonsi		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Poggibonsi (to Pisa).	Melis, 1962, 21
Pomarance		1	1	1	0		2 of the preserved letters were sent from Pomarance (2 to Florence).	Melis, 1962, 21
Pontelagoscuro		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Pontelagoscuro (to Pisa).	Melis, 1962, 21
Pontevico		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Pontevico (to Pisa).	Melis, 1962, 21
Pontremoli		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Pontremoli (to Pisa).	Melis, 1962, 21
Poppi		1	1	1	0		2 of the preserved letters were sent from Poppi (2 to Florence).	Melis, 1962, 21
Poreč		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Poreč (Parenzo) (to Mallorca).	Melis, 1962, 21
Port-de-Bouc		1	1	1	0		2 of the preserved letters were sent from Port-de-Bouc (2 to Pisa).	Melis, 1962, 21
Porto Petro		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Porto Petro (to Barcelona).	Melis, 1962, 21
Porto Pi		1	1	1	0		2 of the preserved letters were sent from Porto Pi (2 to Mallorca).	Melis, 1962, 21
Pratovecchio		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Pratovecchio (to Florence).	Melis, 1962, 21
Ragusa		1	1	1	0		2 of the preserved letters were sent from Ragusa (2 to Florence).	Melis, 1962, 21
Requena		1	1	1	0		2 of the preserved letters were sent from Requena (2 to Valencia).	Melis, 1962, 21
Rhodes		1	1	1	0		Correspondents in Rhodes. 1 of the preserved letters was sent from Rhodes (to Barcelona).	Melis, 1962, 21; Origo, 1963, 84

Rieti		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Rieti (to Florence).	Melis, 1962, 21
Rosas		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Rosas (to Barcelona).	Melis, 1962, 21
San Celoní		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from San Celoní (to Barcelona).	Melis, 1962, 21
Sansepolcro		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Sansepolcro (to Barcelona).	Melis, 1962, 22
Santa Cruz de Moya		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Santa Cruz de Moya (to Barcelona).	Melis, 1962, 22
Sarzana		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Sarzana (to Pisa).	Melis, 1962, 22
Sessa Aurunca		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Sessa Aurunca (to Florence).	Melis, 1962, 22
Sóller		1	1	1	0		2 of the preserved letters were sent from Sóller (2 to Mallorca).	Melis, 1962, 22
Solsona		1	1	1	0		2 of the preserved letters were sent from Solsona (1 to Barcelona, and 1 to Valencia).	Melis, 1962, 22
Susa		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Susa (to Mallorca).	Melis, 1962, 22
Suvereto		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Suvereto (to Florence).	Melis, 1962, 22
Tarragona		1	1	1	0		2 of the preserved letters were sent from Tarragona (2 to Barcelona).	Melis, 1962, 22
Tedlès		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Tedlès (to Mallorca).	Melis, 1962, 22
Toledo		1	1	1	0		2 of the preserved letters were sent from Toledo (2 to Valencia).	Melis, 1962, 22
Torroella de Montgri		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Torroella de Montgri (to Barcelona).	Melis, 1962, 22
Toulon		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Touon (to Barcelona).	Melis, 1962, 22
Toulouse		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Toulouse (to Avignon).	Melis, 1962, 22
Trento		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Trento (to Florence).	Melis, 1962, 22
Uzzano		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Uzzano (to Prato).	Melis, 1962, 22
Vada		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Vada (to Pisa).	Melis, 1962, 22
Valdelinares		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Valdelinares (not to any of the branches of the Datini company).	Melis, 1962, 22
Vérnio		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Vérnio (to Pisa).	Melis, 1962, 22
Verrazzano		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Verrazzano (to Pisa).	Melis, 1962, 22
Vicchio di Mugello		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Vicchio di Mugello (to Florence).	Melis, 1962, 22
Villa		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Villa (to Florence).	Melis, 1962, 23
Villanueva y Geltrú		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Villanueva y Geltrú (to Barcelona).	Melis, 1962, 23
Villarreal de los Infantes		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Villarreal de los Infantes (to Valencia).	Melis, 1962, 23

Villeneuve-les-Avignon		1	1	1	0		1 of the preserved letters was sent from Villeneuve-les-Avignon (to Barcelona).	Melis, 1962, 23

+ This table has been largely based upon Federigo Melis' (1962, 13-26) quantitative analysis of the flows of correspondence to the different branches of the Datini company (and some additional places, especially Bologna). A total of 125,549 business letters have been preserved (mostly for the years 1383-1411, and especially for the period 1395-1405, when almost 2/3 of the surviving letters were produced), only 196 of which have an unknown place of origin. Although most of the letters sent to the Avignon branch were lost during the transport from Avignon to Italy, a quantitative analysis of the places of origin of the extant letters gives a good indication of the geography of the flows in the Datini network and their intensity[1] (Melis, 1962, 11, 13-28).

+ Places of origin of letters sent to the Datini firm have been scored as follows (8-point scale): 4: more than 500 letters; 3: 51-500 letters; 2: 3-50 letters; 1: 1-2 letters.

[1] "L'indagine sulla composizione del carteggio è molto più interessante: per le cognizione che essa apporta, pur trattandosi di un esame superficiale, in tema di ampiezza e localizzazione dei traffici datiniani e di intensità loro" (Melis, 1962, 13).

GUARDI COMPANY, ca. 1345 – 1371

Not much is known about the Guardi company of Florence. Ca. 1345-50, the company was styled "Compagnia di Niccolò e Martino Guardi e compagni", while ca. 1364-70 the company was named after Antonio and Simone Guardi, sons of Niccolò. In 1368, as a result of a crisis in the Alberti antichi company, the Guardi obtained a quasi monopoly on papal banking. However, in 1371 the Guardi went bankrupt (Renouard, 1938, 166-167; Id., 1942, 39-40).

References:

Renouard, Y., 1938. "Le compagnie commerciali fiorentine del Trecento (Dai documenti dell'Archivio Vaticano)". *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 96 (2), 166-169.

Renouard, Y., 1942. *Recherches sur les compagnies commerciales et bancaires utilisées par les Papes d'Avignon avant le Grand Schisme*. Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 39-41 (Université de Paris. Faculté des Lettres).

Source material:

We do not know much about the Guardi firm. Some fragmentary data about the Guardi company can be found in the Papal Archives (Renouard, 1938, 44, 166; Id., 1942, 4-5, 40).

Size: Medium-sized

Medium-sized Florentine company. The liabilities of the Guardi at the bankruptcy in 1371 amounted to 127,000 fl. (Renouard, 1938, 166; Id., 1942, 39-40).

Main activities:

- Commerce: ?
- Finance: Small financial operations for the Camera Apostolica from 1345. In 1368, as a result of a crisis in the Alberti antichi company, the Guardi for a short time obtained a quasi monopoly on papal banking (Renouard, 1938; 166-167; Id., 1941, 112; Id., 1942, 39-40).
- Industry: ?

Network of the Guardi company:

The Guardi company was organised as a multi-branch company, making use of correspondents in places were no branches were established.

Table A..1. Network of the Guardi company, ca. 1345 – 1371								
City	**R**	**Score**				**Period**	**Type of presence**	**References**
Florence		8	4	3	1	>1345-1371	Headquarters.	Renouard, 1942, 39
Avignon		6	3	2	1	>1345-1371	Branch. The papal archives mention the presence of partners, factors and correspondents in Avignon between 1345 and 1371.	Renouard, 1938, 167-169; Id., 1942, 39
Perugia		6	3	2	1	>1353-1371	Branch. The papal archives mention the presence of partners and factors in Perugia between 1353 and 1371.	Renouard, 1938, 167-169; Id., 1942, 39
Brabant		4	2	2	1	>1371<	Correspondent or branch. The papal archives mention the presence of factors in Flanders and Brabant in 1371.	Renouard, 1938, 168-169; Id., 1942, 39
Bruges		4	2	2	1	>1371<	Correspondent or branch. The papal archives mention the presence of factors in Flanders and Brabant in 1371.	Renouard, 1938, 167-169; Id., 1942, 39
Genoa		4	2	2	1	>1370-1371<	Correspondent or branch. The papal archives mention the presence of a correspondent in Genoa between 1370 and 1371.	Renouard, 1938, 167-169; Id., 1942, 39
London		4	2	2	1	>1371<	Correspondent or branch. The papal archives mention the presence of a correspondent in London in 1371.	Renouard, 1938, 167-169; Id., 1942, 39
Naples		4	2	2	1	>1365-1371<	Correspondent or branch. The papal archives mention the presence of factors and correspondents in Naples between 1365 and 1371.	Renouard, 1938, 167-169; Id., 1942, 39
Venice		4	2	2	1	>1370-1371<	Correspondent or branch. The papal archives mention the presence of a correspondent in Venice between 1370 and 1371.	Renouard, 1938, 167-169; Id., 1942, 39
Montefiascone		2	2	1	0	>1367-1370<	The papal archives mention the presence of partners and factors at the Curia in Italy (Rome, Viterbo, Montefiascone) between 1367 and 1370.	Renouard, 1938, 168-169
Rome		2	2	1	0	>1367-1370<	The papal archives mention the presence of partners and factors at the Curia in Italy (Rome, Viterbo, Montefiascone) between 1367 and 1370.	Renouard, 1938, 168-169
Viterbo		2	2	1	0	>1367-1370<	The papal archives mention the presence of partners and factors at the Curia in Italy (Rome, Viterbo, Montefiascone) between 1367 and 1370.	Renouard, 1938, 168-169
Foligno		1	1	1	0	1365	The papal archives mention the presence of partners in Foligno on 4 April 1365.	Renouard, 1938, 168-169
Lucca		1	1	1	0	1367	The papal archives mention the presence of a partner in Lucca on 1 September 1367.	Renouard, 1938, 168-169
Spoleto		1	1	1	0	1371	The papal archives mention the presence of factors in Spoleto on 19 March and 14 April 1371.	Renouard, 1938, 168-169

+ The network of the Guardi can only very partially be reconstructed from the papal documents (Renouard, 1942, 39).

GUICCIARDINI, 1519-1543

The Guicciardini were a Florentine family which members were active in both business and politics. Already in 1240 Guicciardino Guicciardini matriculated in the silk guild of Florence, and his descendants for many generations were owners of silk manufactories. Guicciardino's son Tuccio laid the foundations of the family's wealth. In the 14th century, the wealthy Piero Guicciardini had investments in a wool manufactory, a *banco* in Florence and a *fondaco* in Foligno at the time of his death in 1370. The only son and heir of Piero, messer Luigi Guicciardini (d. 1403) continued to keep some of his capital in business, his major investment (of 10,000 florins) being in a company engaged in commerce and banking in Florence and Flanders (Bruges). Other partners in this company (mentioned in 1378, 1380 and 1397) were Piero d'Antonio Benizi, Duti di Filippo del Popolo di San Lorenzo, and in 1380, Agostino degli Strozzi. Not much is known about the network of this company however. The sons and grandsons of messer Luigi had little interests in business, with the exception of his grandson Jacopo Guicciardini (1422-1490) who created a silk company in the name of his son Piero in 1475. This Piero di Jacopo (1454-1513) had a continuing interest in the silk industry, and after 1500 he set up several silk manufactories for his sons. The five sons of Piero continued to invest jointly in the family silk business which was apparently dissolved during the 1520s however (Goldthwaite, 1968, 110-112, 114, 117-127, 132, 137-138, 140-142, 112 n. 12; Guidi Bruscoli, s.d., 3; Padgett & McLean, 2006, 1554).

In 1519 three of Piero's sons, Jacopo (1480-1552), Francesco (1482-1540) and Girolamo (1497-1556) put capital in a Flemish venture, and from then on Jacopo and Girolamo became active in international trade and finance. The Flemish company was originally established by Girolamo. He returned to Florence in 1524 however, where he continued to be active in business. His son Agnolo (1525-1581) was a businessman as well and built up a large fortune. After 1524, the company in Flanders became the exclusive concern of Jacopo and his sons. This enterprise reached its largest expansion around 1540, but it was never successful and went bankrupt in 1543. Causes for the insolvency were losses on land and sea, bad debts, and especially confiscation of much of the company's money and goods at the instigation of the Pistoiese financier Gaspar Ducci. The company was declared officially bankrupt with debts of more than 25,000 fl., and the two directors, Giovanbattista and Lorenzo, sons of Jacopo, were imprisoned. With the exception of Lodovico, the sons of Jacopo di Piero retired largely from business after the bankruptcy. At the end of the 16th century, the Guicciardini appear to have been involved in the exploitation of the Tolfa alum mines (Goldthwaite, 1968, 142-143, 146-153; Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 170-171). In what follows, the business network of the 16th-century Flemish company founded by Jacopo and Girolamo di Piero Guicciardini will be discussed.

References:

Goldthwaite, R. A., 1968. *Private wealth in Renaissance Florence. A study of four families*. Princeton (NJ), Princeton University Press, 108-155, 283-285.

Goris, J. A., 1925. *Étude sur les colonies marchandes méridionales (Portugais, Espagnols, Italiens) à Anvers de 1488 à 1567. Contribution à l'histoire des débuts du capitalisme moderne*. Leuven, Librairie Universitaire Uystpruyst, 603-606 (Université de Louvain. Recueil de travaux publiés par les membres des conférences d'histoire et de philologie, 2me série, 4me fascicule).

Source material:

The Guicciardini family still owns its own archives, located in the family palace in Florence. It is one of the largest collections of family documents in the city. The documentation on Jacopo is very rich, especially for the years 1505-1530. Some account books and letter books have been preserved for the Flemish company of the Guicciardini, as well as business accounts of several silk companies of Piero Guicciardini and his sons, and an account book of the Florentine company of Girolamo Guicciardini for the period 1527-1530 (Goldthwaite, 1968, 140, 152, 283-285, 109 n. 1, 149 n. 98).

Size: Medium-sized

The Flemish company originally had a capital of 4,500 florins. It was increased to 7,000 fl. in 1524 and to 7,500 fl. in 1527 (Goldthwaite, 1968, 146-147, 147 n. 94).

Main activities:

- Commerce: The Flemish company of the Guicciardini and its numerous outposts were part of a network of commerce and banking. Among other things, they were involved in the commerce of silks and other luxury goods (Goldthwaite, 1968, 148-149, 152).
- Finance: The Flemish company of the Guicciardini was engaged in banking (e.g. exchange transactions) (Goldthwaite, 1968, 148-149).
- Industry: The Guicciardini were active in the Florentine silk industry from as early as the 13th century. In the late 15th and 16th centuries, Piero Guicciardini and his sons and grandsons still invested largely in silk companies in Florence, as well as in other Florentine cloth industries (Goldthwaite, 1968, 132, 141-142, 145, 153-154).

Network of the Guicciardini company:

From the headquarters in Antwerp, the sons of Jacopo moved to different international centres to represent the family business (Goldthwaite, 1968, 148).

Table A..1. Network of the Guicciardini company, 1519 – 1543 (especially ca. 1540 – 1543)

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Antwerp		8	4	3	1	1519-1543	A company in Flanders was established by Girolamo and Jacopo di Piero Guicciardini in 1519, with headquarters in Antwerp. The management in Flanders was originally in hands of Girolamo. In 1520 Agnolo (1506-1568), Jacopo's oldest son, went to Antwerp as well, and in 1524 Girolamo returned definitely to Florence, without withdrawing his capital investments	Goldthwaite, 1968, 142-143, 145-150, 153; Goris, 1925, 102, 248-250, 604; Guidi Bruscoli, 2007,

							in the Antwerp company however. In 1527, Agnolo was joined in Antwerp by two of his brothers, Giovanbattista (b. 1508) and Lorenzo (1513-1594). By 1543, Giovanbattista was the head of the company in Antwerp, while Agnolo and Lorenzo had left Flanders and were replaced by their brother Lodovico (1521-1589). The Guicciardini shipped silks to Antwerp, London and Ferrara. The firm went bankrupt in 1543. Later, Lodovico became a representative for several Italian firms in Antwerp.	249; Puttevils, 2007, 268
Ferrara		7	3	2	1	1540-1543	Lorenzo di Jacopo Guicciardini moved to Ferrara in 1540, where he established a company which had become one of the two headquarters of the Guicciardini business by 1543. The Guicciardini shipped silks to Antwerp, London and Ferrara.	Goldthwaite, 1968, 148-149; Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 244
Florence		6	3	2	1	>1502-1543	Jacopo di Piero Guicciardini was engaged in the Florentine silk industry, at least from 1502 until the end of the 1520s. In 1524, his brother Girolamo returned to Florence where he founded a new business enterprise. By 1540, the brothers Agnolo and Raffaello di Jacopo returned from Antwerp to represent the Guicciardini firm in Florence.	Goldthwaite, 1968, 132, 141-142, 145, 148, 152; Goris, 1925, 604
London		6	3	2	1	From 1541	Vincenzo di Jacopo Guicciardini (1519-1567) went to London in 1541. The Guicciardini shipped silks to Antwerp, London and Ferrara.	Goldthwaite, 1968, 148-149; Goris, 1925, 604
Naples		6	3	2	1	1543	Raffaello di Jacopo (1516-1592) represented the Guicciardini firm in Naples since 1543.	Goldthwaite, 1968, 148
Pescia		6	3	2	1		Company of Jacopo di Piero Guicciardini with Andrea Signorini in Pescia.	Goldthwaite, 1968, 143
Livorno		3	2	2	1		According to Goris (1925), one of the sons of Jacopo di Piero Guicciardini was established in Livorno.	Goris, 1925, 604
Lyon		3	2	2	1		The younger sons of Jacopo di Piero Guicciardini did an apprenticeship in Lyon in one of the Florentine companies, before going to Antwerp.	Goldthwaite, 1968, 148
Rome		3	2	2	1	>1525-1527<, >1543<	A few business letters from Girolamo Guicciardini in Rome and Venice for the years 1525-1527 are still extant. The grandsons of Girolamo had some investments in Rome. In 1543, the company of Benvenuto Olivieri in Rome had large liabilities with the company of Giovan Battista and Lorenzo Guicciardini & Partners of Antwerp.	Goldthwaite, 1968, 152-154; Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 183-206, 243-253
Venice		2	2	1	0	>1525-1527<	A few business letters from Girolamo Guicciardini in Rome and Venice for the years 1525-1527 are still extant.	Goldthwaite, 1968, 152-153

THE MEDICI, 1348 – 1494

The Medici were the most powerful family of Florence in the 15th and 16th centuries. The Medici were active as money-changers from the early 14th century. At that time messer Averardo de' Medici (d. 1318) was also involved in banking and commerce outside Florence (but presumably not beyond Italy). During the rest of the 14th century, the Medici do not appear to have had any notable business enterprises until Vieri de' Medici founded a bank in Rome in the last quarter of the century. In 1348, Vieri di Cambio de' Medici was enrolled in the Arte del Cambio. From then on, he was active in the banking business for over 40 years, forming a succession of partnerships and gradually extending the scope of his business. The company of Vieri di Cambio was dissolved in 1391 or 1392, and split in 3 independent units:
(1) a firm established by Antonio di Giovanni di Cambio de' Medici (d. 1396), Vieri's nephew. Partners were Jacopo di Francesco Venturi and Giovanni di Salvestro. It did not exist for long, and is not mentioned anymore in the records of the Arte del Cambio after 1395.
(2) a company founded by Francesco di Bicci de' Medici in the name of his son Averardo di Francesco. This firm went out of existence only in 1443.
(3) a firm in Rome, operated by Giovanni di Bicci de' Medici, which developed into the famous Medici bank, and finally was dissolved in 1494.
In what follows, the companies of Vieri di Cambio, Giovanni di Bicci, and Averardo di Francesco de' Medici will be discussed separately (De Roover, 1963, 35-37; Goldthwaite, 1987, 7, 10-11).

References:

The literature on the Medici family of Florence is huge. The classic work on the Medici bank is:

De Roover, R., 1963. *The rise and decline of the Medici bank, 1397-1494*. Cambridge (MA), Harvard University Press (Harvard Studies in Business History, 21).

This work replaces the older:

De Roover, R. 1948a. *The Medici bank. Its organization, management, operations, and decline*. New York, New York University Press & London, Geoffrey Cumberlege – Oxford University Press (Business History Series).

See also:

Goldthwaite, R. A., 1987. "The Medici bank and the world of Florentine capitalism". *Past and Present*, 114, 3-31.

I did not consult:

Ansell, C. K., Padgett, J. F., 1993. "Robust Action and the Rise of the Medici, 1400-1434". *American Journal of Sociology*, 98, 1259-1319.

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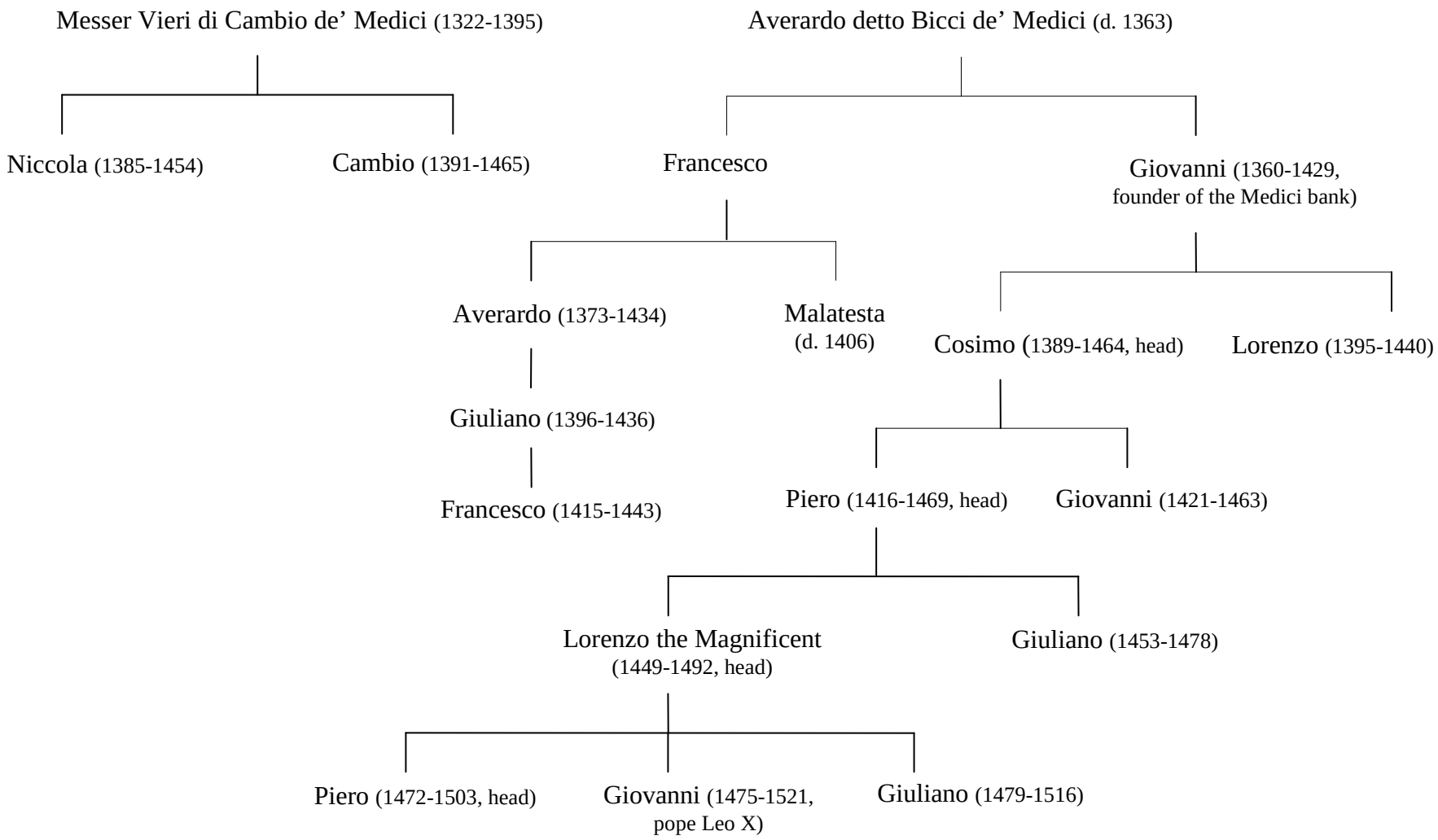
Weissen, K., 1995. “Die Bank von Cosimo und Lorenzo de’ Medici am Basler Konzil (1433-1444)”. *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 82, 350-386.

Source material:

The Medici company is one of the best documented firms of the Middle Ages thanks to the survival of large parts of its archives, now in the Archivio di Stato of Florence. Especially valuable are three general *libri segreti* of the main Medici company, covering the period from 1397 to 1451. For the later period there is a lack of account books, but this gap is partly filled by the preservation of an abundant amount of correspondence, especially after 1450. In addition, some partnership agreements, balance sheets and various other documents survive as well (De Roover, 1963, 3-4, 46, 391-395).

A ledger has been preserved of the company of Averardo di Francesco de’ Medici covering the period from 25 March 1395 to 24 March 1396 (De Roover, 1963, 37-38).

Fig. A..1. Selective Genealogy of the Medici



1. COMPANY OF VIERI DI CAMBIO DE' MEDICI, 1348 – 1393 (network not used)

After he entered the money-changers' guild (*Arte del Cambio*) in 1348, messer Vieri di Cambio (or Cambiozzo) de' Medici (1323-1395) became active in business until he had to retire due to ill health, probably in 1393. The scope of his activities increased gradually, and became considerable from the 1370s. In 1382, Vieri's partners were Niccolò di Riccardo Fagni (or del maestro Fagno), Giovanni di Arrigo Rinaldeschi da Prato, Jacopo di Francesco Venturi, and Francesco di Bicci de' Medici. In 1391 or 1392, the bank of Vieri di Cambio was split in three independent units. At his death a few years later in 1395, his sons Niccola (1385-1454) and Cambio (1390-1465) were still too young to succeed their father. However, much later they formed a partnership and established a banking house with offices in Florence and Rome, but the firm failed to thrive. By 1433, the two brothers were reduced to poverty after they had to sell most of their real estate in order to extinguish the liabilities of their company (De Roover, 1963, 35-37, 231; Goldthwaite, 1987, 7, 11).

Size: Large

After 1370, Vieri di Cambio was one of the leading Florentine bankers. When he died in 1395, he was one of the wealthiest men of Florence (De Roover, 1963, 35-36; Goldthwaite, 1987, 7).

Main activities:

- Commerce: The company of Vieri di Cambio was active in trade (De Roover, 1963, 35-36).
- Finance: Vieri di Cambio was active in banking (De Roover, 1963, 35-36; Padgett &McLean, 2006, 1549-1550).
- Industry: The bank of Vieri de' Medici had a large share in Hungarian copper mining (Goldthwaite, 1987, 4 n. 1).

Network of the company of Vieri di Cambio de' Medici:

The company of Vieri di Cambio was organised as a decentralised multi-branch company. The Rome branch, for example, was set up as a separate partnership in which Giovanni di Bicci participated as junior partner and branch manager (De Roover, 1963, 36; Padgett & McLean, 2006, 1466 n. 5).

Table A..1. Network of the company of Vieri di Cambio de' Medici, 1370 – 1393

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Florence		8	4	3	1	1348-1393	Headquarters. In Florence, Vieri de' Medici was active in local banking, often in partnership with others.	De Roover, 1963, 35; Padgett & McLean, 2006, 1549-1550
Bruges		6	3	2	1	>1391-1393<	Branch, not mentioned by De Roover (1963) however (?). Corresponded with the Datini company in Florence and Genoa.	Guidi Bruscoli, s.d., 3; Melis, 1962, 15;

								Padgett & McLean, 2006, 1550
Genoa		6	3	2	1	>1382/84-1393<	Branch in Genoa: Partnership with Francesco di Bicci Medici. A bill of exchange to “messer Vieri e Francesco de’ Medici” in Genoa of 1390 has been preserved in Datini archives.	De Roover, 1963, 36; Padgett & McLean, 2006, 1550
Rome		6	3	2	1	>1385-1393	Branch in Rome, from 1385 managed by Giovanni di Bicci de’ Medici. The style of the branch in 1386-1393 was “Vieri e Giovanni de’ Medici in Roma”. In 1393, Giovanni di Bicci took over the Roman branch, which became “Giovanni de’ Medici e compagni in Roma”. The firm of Niccola and Cambio, the sons of messer Vieri, had representatives in Rome in 1420.	De Roover, 1963, 36, 204; Padgett & McLean, 2006, 1550
Venice		6	3	2	1	>1382/84-1395	By 1382/84, the firm of Vieri de’ Medici and Jacopo di Francesco Venturi had a Venetian branch, which dealt in bills of exchange.	De Roover, 1963, 36; Padgett & McLean, 2006, 1550
Zara		3	2	2	1	>1385<	In Zara, the representative of the Venetian branch of the company (which had correspondents along the Dalmatian coast) was Paoli di Berto Grassini.	De Roover, 1963, 36
Hungary	M	2	2	1	0		The bank of Vieri de’ Medici had a large share in Hungarian copper mining.	Goldthwaite, 1987, 4 n. 1
Pisa		2	2	1	0	>1369<	In 1369, Vieri de’ Medici was mentioned among the Florentine merchants using the port of Pisa.	Padgett & McLean, 2006, 1549

+ The number of branches of this company is uncertain.

2. THE MEDICI COMPANY, 1397 – 1494

One of the companies that came out of the split of the firm of Vieri di Cambio was a bank in Rome, headed by Giovanni di Bicci de’ Medici (1360-1429), a distant cousin of Vieri. In 1397, Giovanni di Bicci transferred his headquarters to Florence, forming a partnership with Gentile di Baldassare Buoni (only for a few months) and Benedetto di Lippacio de’ Bardi. The Medici bank existed for nearly 100 years, until the Medici were expelled from Florence and their property sequestrated during the invasion of Florence by the French king Charles VIII in 1494. By that time, the Medici company was virtually bankrupt. The Medici bank experienced a period of growth which lasted more or less until the death of Cosimo de’ Medici in 1464, followed by a period of decline, which became especially strong after the Pazzi conspiracy against the Medici in 1478. The Medici company was headed consecutively by Giovanni di Bicci (1397-1429), Cosimo di Giovanni (1429-1464), Piero di Cosimo the Gouty (1464-1469), Lorenzo the Magnificent (1469-1492), and Piero di Lorenzo de’ Medici (1492-1494) (De Roover, 1963, 3, 35-40, 49, 51, 70, 74-76, 85-86, 358, 365, 369-370; Goldthwaite, 1987, 7-8; Padgett & McLean, 2006, 1550).

Size: Large or very large

The initial capital of the Medici bank in 1397 totalled 10,000 fl., which was reduced to 8,000 fl. after only a few months. In 1420, the *corpo* was set at 24,000 fl. It was increased again in 1435 (32,000 fl.), in 1439 (44,000 fl.), and in 1451 (72,000 fl.). After this period, the capital structure of the Medici company cannot be followed anymore. Although the Medici company was the largest firm of Europe in the 15th century, its total capital investments in 1451 were less than those in the Peruzzi and Bardi companies of the 14th century. Moreover, several other 15th-century Florentine companies did not run far behind the Medici in total capital investments. In 1402, 17 factors were employed by the Medici firm, while in 1470, a total of 57 members of staff worked in the company. Probably the Medici bank never employed more than 65 persons (De Roover, 1963, 39-44, 49, 56, 65, 68-69, 95; Goldthwaite, 1987, 16, 25; Hunt, 1994, 246 n. 7).

Main activities:

- Commerce: The Medici firm traded in a great variety of commodities, but most importantly in a number of staple goods, such as wool, alum, cloth, spices, olive oil, citrus fruits, and in luxury articles (silks, jewelry, etc). The Medici traded for their own account, but also in commission for other merchants. They obtained the alum monopoly of the mines of Tolfa from the papacy from 1466 to 1476. In 1489-1492, the Pisa branch of the Medici also controlled the sale of iron ore of Elba to the ironmasters of Pietrasanta and Pisa (De Roover, 1963, 142-143, 152-166; Goldthwaite, 1987, 28; Hunt & Murray, 1999, 183-184).
- Finance: The financial activities of the Medici were extremely important, and they were more deeply engaged in banking than in commerce. They traded vigorously in bills of exchange, and were involved in loans and other financial operations with several princes, such as the Popes (Giovanni di Bicci was a friend of Baldassare Cossa, who was elected pope John XXIII in 1410), Francesco Sforza of Milan, René of Anjou (count of Provence), king Edward IV of England, and the dukes of Burgundy. The Tavola in Florence was engaged in local banking (money-changing, deposit-banking, trade in shares of the Florentine public debt) but also dealt in bills of exchange. The Venice branch underwrote some insurance, but was never very active in this field. (De Roover, 1963, 108, 44-48, 70-71, 140-141, 225, 236-237, 246, 261-262, 313, 329, 340-341, 348; Goldthwaite, 1987, 6-7, 29-30; Padgett & McLean, 2006, 1550).
- Industry: The Medici were not only merchants and bankers, but they were involved in industrial activities as well. They owned two woolshops and a silkshop in Florence. The Medici bank was also engaged in the mining business in Tolfa and Elba, where the company mainly played a role in the distribution of the output of the mines rather than in their exploitation (De Roover, 1963, 42, 54, 60, 152-193; Hunt & Murray, 1999, 195-196; Spufford, 2002, 23).

Network of the Medici company:

The Medici firm was a decentralised multi-branch company. It was made up of several partnerships between the Medici and the managers of their different branches and cloth shops, which were combined in a larger company similar to a modern holding company. Partners in the holding company were normally the Medici and their general manager. The parent company controlled the subsidiary companies by owning more than 50 percent of the capital in each of them. After 1455, the holding structure was given up; instead the Medici family went directly into

partnerships with each of the branch managers. The branches formed separate legal entities, and they dealt with each other on the same basis as with outside customers, although they were expected to promote each other's business. The branches had to submit regular financial statements to the headquarters, where they were checked by the general manager. The Medici did not have travelling auditors however (De Roover, 1948b, 31, 35; Id., 1963, 60-62, 72, 78, 80-85, 274; Goldthwaite, 1987, 15; Hunt & Murray, 1999, 240-241; Padgett & McLean, 2006, 1466).

The Medici probably had the largest geographical extension of all Florentine companies of the 15th century. They were represented in all banking centres in Europe and even the Levant by their own branches or by outside correspondents. Instead of establishing a full-fledged branch, especially during the first years after entering a new territory, the Medici sometimes concluded limited partnerships (*accomandite*) according to which they were not liable for any debts beyond their original contribution (De Roover, 1963, 89, 127; Goldthwaite, 1987, 16, 25; Guidi Bruscoli, s.d.).

Table A..2. Network of the Medici company, 1397 – 1494

City	**R**	**Score**				**Period**	**Type of presence**	**References**
Florence		8	4	3	1	1397-1494	- Headquarters, located in the Medici palace. The staff of the central office consisted of the general manager and a small number of assistants and secretaries. General managers: Benedetto de' Bardi (1402-1420), Ilarione de' Bardi (1420-1433), Lippaccio de' Bardi (1433-1435), Antonio da Pescia and Giovanni Benci (1435-1443), Giovanni Benci (1443-1455), Giovanni di Cosimo de' Medici (1455-1463), Francesco Sassetti (1463-1490), Giovambattista Bracci (1490-1494). In 1402, 5 clerks were working in the headquarters. Ca. 1470, the central office and Tavola combined employed 10 members of staff. - Tavola (definitely existed in 1408-1494), involved in local banking in Florence, but also in trade in bills of exchange and import and export of wool, silk and cloth. The Tavola was located in the Via Porta Rossa, in the heart of the business district. In 1414, the Tavola employed 7 members of staff, not including the branch manager, and in 1460 the Tavola counted at least 4 employees. - Silk cloth manufacturing shop (1433-1480) - Two woollen cloth manufacturing shops: woolshop I (1402-1420, 1439-1480, 1491-1494); woolshop II (1408-1465(?)) - The Rome branch was temporarily located in Florence when the Curia moved there (from February 1419 to September 1420, in 1434-1437, and in	De Roover, 1948a, 12; Id., 1948b, 22-23, 34; Id., 1963, 39, 42-45, 49, 60, 84, 95, 194, 225, 228, 232, 236-239, 377, 379; Goldthwaite, 1987, 7-8; Padgett &McLean, 2006, 1550; Spufford, 2002, 56

							1439-1443).	
Avignon		3	2	2	1	>c.1420-1427<	- In 1427, the firm of "Niccola e Cambio di Vieri de' Medici & Co." was a correspondent of the Rome branch of the Medici. Michele di Ferre, commission agent of the Medici in Geneva, was in correspondence with the Pazzi branch in Avignon in the early 1420s.	De Roover, 1948a, 12; Id., 1948b, 34, 40; Id., 1963, 63, 68, 73, 95, 209, 282, 311-316; Goldthwaite, 1987, 8, 16; Spufford, 2002, 57
		4	2	2	1	1442-1446	- In 1442, Giovanni di Benedetto Zampini was sent as a factor to Avignon.	
		5	3	2	1	1446-1448	- An *accomanda* was established in Avignon in 1446.	
		6	**3**	**2**	**1**	1448-1480	- In 1448, the *accomanda* was replaced by an ordinary partnership. 4 factors were employed by the Medici branch in Avignon ca. 1470. After 1468, the business of the Avignon branch contracted. The Avignon branch was dissolved in 1480.	
		3	2	2	1	from 1480	- Probably the Medici continued their business activities with Michele Dini, their former managing partner in Avignon, after 1480.	
Bruges		3	2	2	1	>1416-1438	- From 1416 or before, the Medici were doing business in Flanders by means of correspondents. Correspondent in 1416: Filippo Rapondi; in the 1420s and 1430s: Gualterotto de' Bardi & Co; Galeazzo Borromei & Co.	De Roover, 1948a, 12; Id., 1948b, 20-22, 34, 36-37, 40; Id., 1963, 59-60, 68, 72-73, 92-94, 209, 245, 248, 282, 318-321, 324-326, 338-348, 350-353, 479 n. 178; Goldthwaite, 1987, 8, 16; Lambert, 2006, 146, 166; Marechal, 1985a, 219; Spufford, 2002, 32, 205, 404
		4	2	2	1	1438-1439	- In 1430 and 1436, the Medici respectively sent Marco Spinellini and Bernardo di Giovanni Portinari to Bruges to put pressure on the correspondents there. In 1438, Portinari went again to Flanders, and took up residence in Bruges.	
		5	3	2	1	1439-1455	- In 1439, the Bruges branch was founded as an *accomanda*. In 1448-1450, the Bruges branch was temporarily placed under the authority of the London branch.	
		6	**3**	**2**	**1**	1455-1480	- In 1455, the *accomanda* was replaced by a normal partnership. The offices, warehouses and residences for the staff of the Bruges branch were located in the impressive Bladelin house since 1466. The Bruges branch employed 6 factors in 1466, 7 factors in 1469. After 1473 the Bruges branch went into decline. In 1480 the Bruges branch was dissolved and taken over by its former manager, Tommaso Portinari. - A distinct *ragione* was formed for the wool trade in 1473, which was yielding handsome profits. - Two galleys, built for Philip the Good for crusade purposes (the "Burgundian galleys") were operated by the Bruges branch of the Medici from 1467. In 1469, Portinari was ordered to sell the galleys: he sold 7/8 of the property rights. In 1473, one of the galleys was captured by Danzig	

							privateers, while the other galley was wrecked less than a year later.	
Geneva		4	2	2	1	>1421-1426	- The Medici had an agent in Geneva sent there by the Rome branch after 1420: Antonio Bertini. During the early 1420s, the Medici also used the services of Michele di Ferro, apparently a commission agent.	De Roover, 1948a, 12; Id., 1963, 50-51, 56-57, 74, 205, 279-291, 297, 310; Goldthwaite, 1987, 8, 16; Spufford, 2002, 56-57
		5	3	2	1	1426-1439	- In 1424, Giovanni Benci was sent to Geneva to prepare for the establishment of a new branch there. When the branch was opened in 1426, firstly as a limited partnership (*accomanda*), Giovanni Benci and Michele di Ferro became the managers. In 1437-38, 3 factors were working in the *accomanda*.	
		6	**3**	**2**	**1**	1439-1466	- Only in 1439, the *accomanda* was transformed in a full-fledged partnership. In the same year, the branch in Geneva employed 4 factors (manager not included). In 1466, the Geneva branch was moved to Lyon. The transfer to Lyon was a gradual process. Already in 1455, one of the factors of the Geneva branch (Francesco di Antonio Nori) resided in Lyon.	
		4	2	2	1	1466-1490<	- After 1466, the Medici still kept a factor in Geneva. Even in 1490, Pierre Fossier, factor in the Lyon branch, spent most of his time in Geneva or other parts of Savoy.	
London		3	2	2	1	>1416-1446>	- From 1416 or before, the Medici had been doing business with correspondents in London. Ca. 1427, correspondents in London were Totto Machiavelli and Ubertino de' Bardi & Co. Around 1430, representatives were the Bardi and Borromei companies. In 1430, Marco Spinellini was sent to Bruges and London to put pressure on the correspondents there.	De Roover, 1948a, 12; Id., 1948b, 33, 35, 37-38; Id., 1963, 59, 62-63, 68, 72-73, 92, 95, 209, 245, 318-319, 321, 324-325, 328-338, 427 n. 60; Goldthwaite, 1987, 8, 16
		6	**3**	**2**	**1**	>1446-1472	- A London branch was established in 1446. Prior to 1446, the Medici had operated an office in London already, but it was financed and staffed by the Bruges branch. In 1450, the London branch was reorganised into an *accomanda*. It was changed again in an ordinary partnership in 1454, and for the second time in an *accomanda* in 1465. In 1446, 3 factors were employed in the London branch. Ca. 1470, the London branch counted 4 members of staff.	
		5	3	2	1	1473-1480	- In 1472, the London branch was closed, but a new branch was established in London in 1473 as a subsidiary of the Bruges branch. This branch was taken over by Tommaso Portinari in 1480.	
Lyon		4	2	2	1	1455-1460>	- Already in 1455, Antonio Nori, one of the factors of the Geneva branch, was residing in Lyon.	De Roover, 1948a, 12; Id., 1963, 74, 94-95, 289-292, 295-
		5	3	2	1	>1460-1466	- From the end of the 1450s, the Geneva branch maintained an office in	

		6	**3**	**2**	**1**	1466-1494	Lyon. - In 1466, the Geneva branch was definitely transferred to Lyon. The branch was located in the Rue de la Juiverie, on the right bank of the Saône. The Lyon branch employed 2 managers, 4 factors, and 2 domestic servants in 1466, perhaps 8 factors and 2 servants in 1469, and 8 members of staff in 1490. As a result, it was probably the largest branch of the Medici bank. The Lyon branch came in financial difficulties from 1476 onwards. In 1494, the personnel of the Medici bank in Lyon was expelled from France, because Piero di Lorenzo de' Medici refused the French army of king Charles VIII permission to cross Florentine territory. The branch temporarily moved to Chambéry in Savoy. - In 1467, Francesco del Tovaglia was in charge of the sale of silks in Lyon, which was apparently run as a separate business (*accomanda*).	311; Goldthwaite, 1987, 8, 16; Spufford, 2002, 56
Milan		3 **6**	2 **3**	2 **2**	1 **1**	>early 1420s<, >1446< 1452-1478	- In the early 1420s, the Vitali in Milan were correspondents of Michele di Ferre, commission merchant of the Medici in Geneva. Reliable correspondents of the Medici in Milan in 1446 were the da Castagniolo, the Ornati, and Guglielmo da Marliano. - The branch in Milan was founded in 1452 or in 1453 the latest by Pigello Portinari, apparently on the request of Francesco Sforza, duke of Milan, and an ally of the Medici. In 1460, the Milan branch had a staff of 6 members, to which one or two were added in the next few years. Ca. 1470, the Milan branch was composed of 8 members of staff. By 1478, Lorenzo il Magnifico decided to liquidate the Milan branch.	De Roover, 1948a, 12; Id., 1963, 64, 70-73, 91-92, 95, 248, 261-263, 268-275, 282; Goldthwaite, 1987, 8, 16, 29-30
Rome		6	3	2	1	1393-1478, 1481-1494	In 1393-1397, Giovanni di Bicci de' Medici headed a bank in Rome. In 1397, he transferred his headquarters to Florence, but a branch remained at the Curia in Rome, managed by Giovanni's partner Benedetto di Lippacio de' Bardi. The branch was located in Canale di Ponte (now Via del Banco di Santo Spirito). Several managers of the Rome branch of the Medici bank became Depositary General of the Apostolic Chamber between 1420 and 1476. The Roman branch, officially called "la ragione che segue la Corte", followed the papal court in its peregrinations through Italy (Bologna, Ferrara, Florence) and to the Swiss lakes, and as a result was not always located in Rome (e.g. 1419-1420, 1434-1443). 4 factors were employed in the Rome branch in 1402, 5 in 1438. Ca. 1470, the branch counted 6 staff members. In 1478, the possessions of the Medici were confiscated by the	De Roover, 1948a, 12; Id., 1963, 39, 43-49, 53, 55-56, 65-73, 95, 124, 198, 202, 205-207, 216-218, 221-224; Goldthwaite, 1987, 7-8, 16, 28-29; Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 7; Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 48-49, 53; Padgett & McLean,

							Pope, and the branch was only restored in 1481. In 1494, the Rome branch was taken over by Giovanni Tornabuoni.	2006, 1550; Spufford, 2002, 23, 56
Venice		4 **6**	2 **3**	2 **2**	1 **1**	1398-1401 1402-c.1480	- 1n 1398, Neri di Cipriano Tornaquinci was sent to Venice from the Rome branch to investigate possibilities for business. Tornaquinci stayed in Venice as a salaried agent of the Medici until 1401. - A branch was established in 1402. At that time, 3 factors were employed in Venice. By 1436, the personnel of the Venice branch included 2 managers and 6 factors. Ca. 1470, there were 8 members of staff. During his exile in 1433, Cosimo de' Medici went to Venice. By 1469, the Venice branch was in the process of liquidation, and there was no longer a branch according to the *catasto* of 1470. In 1471, however, the Venice branch was re-established. It was finally liquidated again between 1479 and 1481.	De Roover, 1948a, 12; Id., 1963, 41-44, 49-50, 53, 56, 66, 72-73, 95, 151-152, 240-247, 252-253; Goldthwaite, 1987, 8, 16, 23; Padgett & McLean, 2006, 1550
Ancona		5	3	2	1	from 1436	The Medici entered into an *accomanda* in Ancona in 1436, with other investors and 2 active partners: Bernardo d'Andrea di messer Alamanno de' Medici and Bartolomeo di Niccolò Martelli.	De Roover, 1963, 59, 69
Basel		5	3	2	1	1433-1443	In 1433 Giovanni Benci, manager of the Geneva branch of the Medici, opened a temporary branch of the Medici in Basel, because the papal Curia was there during the general council of the Church. The Medici office in Basel was still open in 1443. It was probably a subbranch of the Geneva branch by 1442, and was not managed by a partner, but only by a factor.	De Roover, 1963, 57-59, 195, 212-215; Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 42; Spufford, 2002, 56
Gaeta		5	3	2	1	1400-1426	In 1400, an office was opened in Gaeta, controlled by the Rome branch. In Gaeta and Naples together, 4 clerks were employed by the Medici in 1402. At that time, the Medici were farming the customs of Gaeta and needed a permanent representative. In 1422, the *accomanda* of Gaeta was renewed. Was the branch in Gaeta dissolved together with the Naples office in 1426?	De Roover, 1963, 43-44, 47, 89, 254-255; Padgett & McLean, 2006, 1550
Montpellier		3 **5**	2 **3**	2 **2**	1 **1**	>1446<, >1455< >1466-c.1481	- Reliable correspondents of the Medici in Avignon and Montpellier in 1446 were Zampini (the Medici agent in Avignon), and the representatives of the Pazzi, Venturi, Nerli and Carnesecchi. The correspondent of the Medici in Montpellier in 1455 was Antonio di Bernardo Canigiani. - In the 1460s and 1470s, the Medici maintained a subbranch of the Avignon partnership in Montpellier. From before 1466, this office in Montpellier was under the management of Rosso di Gentile da Sommaia. Around 1481, the Montpellier branch was in the phase of being liquidated.	De Roover, 1963, 91-92, 128-129, 296, 298, 301, 315-316
Naples		**5**	**3**	**2**	**1**	1400-1426	- In 1400, the Medici opened an office in Naples which was controlled by the Rome branch. In 1415, the Naples subbranch was reorganised into an	De Roover, 1963, 43-44, 47, 50, 55, 89,

		3 **5** **5**	2 **3** **3**	2 **2** **2**	1 **1** **1**	1426-1471 1471-1483 1486-1494	*accomanda*. In Naples and Gaeta together, 4 clerks were employed by the Medici in 1402. In 1426, the Naples branch was dissolved. - From 1426 to 1471, the Medici bank had no branch in Naples. It was represented however by correspondents operating on a commission basis. In 1455, the Medici correspondents in Naples were Filippo Strozzi & Co., Benedetto Guasconi, and Bartolomeo Buonconti. - In 1471, a new office was opened in Naples, probably as a subsidiary of the Rome branch. In 1478, the bank building of the Medici in Naples was confiscated, but the property was restored in 1479. The branch was dissolved in 1483. - In 1486, a new branch was opened in Naples, again as a subsidiary of the Rome branch. It was taken over by Giovanni Tornabuoni in 1494.	128-129, 139-140, 165, 254-261; Goldthwaite, 1987, 16, 29; Padgett & McLean, 2006, 1550
Pisa		3 **5** 3 **5**	2 **3** 2 **3**	2 **2** 2 **2**	1 **1** 1 **1**	>1426< 1442-early 1460s from early 1460s >1486<, >1489<	- Originally, the Medici used the Pisan office of Averardo di Francesco de' Medici as their correspondent in Pisa (e.g. in 1426). - In 1442, the Medici formed an *accomanda* in Pisa. This *accomanda* was still in existence in 1457, but probably the Medici withdrew in the early 1460s. - Ugolino Martelli, previously manager of the Pisa accomanda, continued the business after the withdrawal of the Medici, and acted as agent for the Medici. The Burgundian galleys, operated by the Medici, made regular journeys from the Low Countries to Pisa, and occasional trips from Pisa to Constantinople between 1467 and 1474. - By 1486, there was a Medici branch in Pisa again, which was probably discontinued within the next two years. However, by 1489, the Medici established a new partnership in Pisa, with Giovanni di Bernardo Cambi, to obtain exclusive privileges for the iron mines of Elba.	De Roover, 1963, 62, 66-69, 128-129, 275-277, 341-342; Goldthwaite, 1987, 8
Trani		5	3	2	1	>1477-1479<	Ca. 1477, an *accomanda* of the Medici existed in Puglia, with headquarters in Trani near Barletta. Manager was Angelo di Piero Serragli. By 1477, this *accomanda* was in bad conditions. In 1478, the goods stored in Trani were confiscated by the king of Naples. In 1479, the property was restored however.	De Roover, 1963, 257-258
Bitanto		4	2	2	1	>1477<	The Medici *accomanda* of Puglia had a factor at Bitanto near Bari: Antonio Scarazzi.	De Roover, 1963, 258
Bologna		4	2	2	1	1437, >1455<	The Rome branch was located in Bologna in 1437, where the pope had set up his court at that time. Correspondents of the Medici in Bologna in 1455	De Roover, 1963, 128-129, 194; Jacks

							were Nicolaio da Meleto, and Antonio Bonafè & Co.	& Caferro, 2001, 90
Ferrara		4	2	2	1	1438, >1455<	The Rome branch was in 1438 in Ferrara, where pope Eugenius IV had convoked a counter-council. At that time, the branch employed 5 members of staff. Correspondents in Ferrara in 1455 were Bandino da Meleto, Taddeo Albregiani (or Albresani), and Baldassare di Giovanni Machiavelli.	De Roover, 1963, 95, 128-129, 194, 212; Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 42
Gallipoli (Italy)		4	2	2	1	>1477<	The Medici *accomanda* of Puglia had a factor at Gallipoli on the Gulf of Taranto: Bernardino Spina.	De Roover, 1963, 258
Konstanz		4	2	2	1	1414-1418	The Medici established a temporary branch in Konstanz during the council of the Church in 1414-1418. Ilarione de' Bardi, manager of the Rome branch, was definitely in Konstanz in 1415.	De Roover, 1963, 195, 202
Loire region (Court of France)		4	2	2	1	>1482<, >1488<	The Lyon branch had representatives at the French court. In 1482: Pellegrino Lorini; in 1488: Guglielmo di Niccolò and Pellegrino Lorini.	De Roover, 1963, 306, 466 n. 92
Monopoli		4	2	2	1	>1477<	The Medici *accomanda* of Puglia had a factor at Monopoli: Piero Velluti.	De Roover, 1963, 258
Ostuni		4	2	2	1	>1477-1479<	The Medici *accomanda* of Puglia had a factor at Ostuni: Berto Belfratelli. In 1478, the goods stored in Ostuni were confiscated by the king of Naples. In 1479, the property was restored however.	De Roover, 1963, 258
Terlizzi		4	2	2	1	>1477<	The Medici *accomanda* of Puglia had a factor at Terlizzi near Bari: Niccola Doitera.	De Roover, 1963, 258
Antwerp		3	2	2	1	>1438<, >1455<	According to the Bruges partnership contract of 1455, the Bruges branch manager was allowed to visit the fairs of Antwerp. In 1438, Bernardo Portinari visited the fairs of Antwerp.	De Roover, 1948b, 37; Id., 1963, 88, 320
Barcelona		3	2	2	1	>1446-1455<	Correspondents. Correspondents in Barcelona which were considered reliable in 1446: Francesco Neroni, the company of Giovanni Venturi and Riccardo Davanzati (which went bankrupt in 1447 however), the company of Raimondo Mannelli and Piero Piaciti & Co. After the failure of the company of Giovanni Venturi and Riccardo Davanzati & Co. the Bruges branch sent one of its factors, Attaviano Altoviti, to Barcelona to retrieve some of the goods held in consignment by Venturi and Davanzati. The correspondent of the Medici in Barcelona in 1455 was Filippo Pierozzi.	De Roover, 1963, 91-92, 128-129, 249-250, 321
Chambéry		3	2	2	1	1494	In 1494, after its expulsion from France, the Medici branch of Lyon was removed to Chambéry.	De Roover, 1963, 310
Cologne		3	2	2	1	>1427<, >1455<	In 1427, Simone Colin was a correspondent of the Rome branch in Cologne. Correspondent of the Medici bank in Cologne in 1455 was Abel Kalthoff.	De Roover, 1963, 128-129, 209
Cotswolds		3	2	2	1	>1446<,	According to a partnership contract of 1446, the manager of the London	De Roover, 1963, 88,

						>1453<	branch was authorised to go into the Cotswolds or other English counties to buy wool. In 1453, Simone Nori, manager of the London branch, went to the Cotswolds for the purchase of wool.	321, 328
Genoa		3	2	2	1	>1455<	The favourite correspondents of the Medici bank in Genoa in 1455 were Filippo and Federigo Centurione. Close relations also existed between the Centurioni and the Medici branches of Milan, Geneva and later Lyon.	De Roover, 1963, 128-129; Heers, 1961, 545
Lisbon		3	2	2	1	>1456<, >1477-1479<	Correspondents. In 1456, Marco and Daniel Lomellini in Lisbon drew bills of exchange on the Medici bank in Rome, to defray the expenses of Dr. João Fernandes da Silveira, who was in Rome from 1456 to 1460. In 1477, the London branch of the Medici had active business relations with Bartolomeo Marchionni of Lisbon, who sent consignments of sugar and wine. Debtors of the Bruges branch of the Medici in 1479 were among others Benedetto Portinari and Bartolomeo Marchionni, who were probably implicated in the Portuguese Guinea venture, in which Tommaso Portinari had invested.	De Roover, 1963, 337, 352; Rau, 1957, 723 n. 40
Lübeck		3	2	2	1	>1413-1449	Correspondent: Gherardo Bueri (definitely in 1427). Gherardo Bueri is recorded to have been in Lübeck already from 1413 as a correspondent of the firm of Lodovico Baglione of Perugia. This firm represented the Medici in Lübeck (e.g. in 1415). Bueri became a burgher of Lübeck and married Tybbeke, the daughter of Johann Bere, burgomaster of Lübeck from 1439 to 1449. After Bueri's death in 1449, Cosimo de' Medici sent Benedetto di Stefano degli Obizi da Fucecchio to Lübeck, in order to settle the estate of Bueri.	De Roover, 1963, 63-64, 209, 243; Dollinger, 1970, 204-205; Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 89; Lambert, 2006, 146; Von Stromer, 1973, 332
Nürnberg		3	2	2	1	>Early 1420s-1427<	Guglielmo e Arrigo Rumoli (Rommel?) were correspondents of the Rome branch in Nürnberg in 1427. The Rommel were also correspondents of Michele di Ferre, the agent of the Medici in Geneva in the early 1420s. The Medici partly financed the mining and smelting business of the Kamerer & Seiler company of Nürnberg.	De Roover, 1963, 209, 282; Von Stromer, 1973, 339
Pavia		3	2	2	1	>1459-1464<	In 1459, the Milan branch was in partnership with Amaretto di Raimondo Mannelli, ducal treasurer of Pavia, and received a share of 50 % in the profits of tax farming. The proceeds of the gabelle and other taxes were assigned to the Medici and were remitted to them by the collectors. Ca. 1464, Jacopo Giannotti, a factor of the Milan branch, was sent to Pavia to Amaretto Mannelli.	De Roover, 1963, 270-271
Perugia		3	2	2	1	>1455<	Correspondents of the Medici bank in Perugia in 1455 were Antonio da Pennino & Co., Eredi d'Alfano e Severi & Co., and Eredi d'Angelo e	De Roover, 1963, 128-129

							Ugolino Cespoldi.	
Rennes		3	2	2	1	>1485<	Jules Thierry of Rennes, his father and grandfather were correspondents of the Medici in Brittany for many years. In 1485, the Rome branch dishonored a draft of Thierry.	De Roover, 1963, 303, 466 n. 98
Rhodes		3	2	2	1	>1455<	Correspondent of the Medici bank in Rhodes in 1455 was Bernardo Salviati.	De Roover, 1963, 128-129
Siena		3	2	2	1	>1455<	Correspondent of the Medici bank in Siena in 1455 was Cosimo di Francio Berti.	De Roover, 1963, 128-129
Valencia		3	2	2	1	>1427<, >1441<, >1446-1447<	Correspondents. Vieri de' Bardi & Co. were correspondents of the Rome branch in 1427. The Medici branch in Bruges entered in a joint venture with Piero del Fede & Co. of Valencia in 1441 for the purchase of 100 bales of almonds in Valencia. Correspondents in Valencia which were considered reliable in 1446: Francesco Neroni, the company of Giovanni Venturi and Riccardo Davanzati (which went bankrupt in 1447 however), the company of Raimondo Mannelli and Piero Piaciti & Co.	De Roover, 1963, 91-92, 145, 209
Wrocław		3	2	2	1	before 1433	Agent of the Medici in Wrocław was the bank of Antonius Ricci of Florence and his partner Hans Banke. This bank was dissolved during the blockade of emperor Sigismund against Venice.	Von Stromer, 1973, 332
L'Aquila		2	2	1	0	>1427<	In 1427 the Medici branch in Venice sold saffron for a correspondent in L'Aquila.	De Roover, 1963, 243
Arnemuiden		2	2	1	0	>1455<	According to the Bruges partnership contract of 1455, the Bruges branch manager was allowed to visit the roadsteads of Zeeland, such as Arnemuiden.	De Roover, 1948b, 37; Id., 1963, 88
Bergen-op-Zoom		2	2	1	0	>1455<	According to the Bruges partnership contract of 1455, the Bruges branch manager was allowed to visit the fairs of Bergen-op-Zoom.	De Roover, 1948b, 37; Id., 1963, 88
Calais		2	2	1	0	>1455<	According to the Bruges partnership contract of 1455, the Bruges branch manager was allowed to visit Calais.	De Roover, 1948b, 37; Id., 1963, 88
Como		2	2	1	0	>1459<	In 1459, the Milan branch had frequent business relations with the ducal treasurer in Como, Giovanni da Erba. The proceeds of the gabelle and other taxes were assigned to the Medici and were remitted to them by the collectors.	De Roover, 1963, 270, 459 n. 73
Constantinople		2	2	1	0	1467-1474>	The Burgundian galleys, operated by the Medici, made regular journeys from the Low Countries to Pisa, and occasional trips from Pisa to Constantinople between 1467 and 1474.	De Roover, 1963, 341-342
Elba	M	2	2	1	0	1489-1492	The Medici bank was engaged in the mining business in Tolfa and Elba,	De Roover, 1963, 42,

							where the company mainly played a role in the distribution of the output of the mines rather than in their exploitation.	54, 60, 152-193
Guinea		2	2	1	0	1474-1475	In 1474-75, Tommaso Portinari, branch manager in Bruges, sponsored an expedition of the Portuguese to the coast of Guinea, which was a profitless venture.	De Roover, 1963, 348-349
Middelburg		2	2	1	0	>1455<	According to the Bruges partnership contract of 1455, the Bruges branch manager was allowed to visit Middelburg.	De Roover, 1948b, 37; Id., 1963, 88
Novara		2	2	1	0	>1459<	In 1459, the Milan branch had frequent business relations with the ducal treasurer in Novara, Difendente Baliotti. The proceeds of the gabelle and other taxes were assigned to the Medici and were remitted to them by the collectors.	De Roover, 1963, 270, 459 n. 73
Palermo		2	2	1	0	>1489-1491<	The iron obtained by the Medici from their iron ore monopoly in 1489-1492, was partly sent to agents in Palermo.	De Roover, 1963, 165
Parma		2	2	1	0	>1459<	In 1459, the Milan branch had frequent business relations with the ducal treasurer in Parma, Manfredotto da Cornazanno. The proceeds of the gabelle and other taxes were assigned to the Medici and were remitted to them by the collectors.	De Roover, 1963, 270, 459 n. 73
Pietrasanta		2	2	1	0	1489-1492	In 1489-1492, the Pisa branch of the Medici controlled the sale of iron ore of Elba to the ironmasters of Pietrasanta and Pisa.	De Roover, 1963, 164-166; Goldthwaite, 1987, 28
Southampton		2	2	1	0	>1446<, >1473<	According to the partnership contract of 1446, the manager of the London branch was authorised to visit Southampton or to go into the Cotswolds or other English counties to buy wool. The Burgundian galleys, operated by the Medici, were on their way to Southampton in 1473 when they were attacked off Gravelines by Danzig privateers. One of them escaped, the other was captured.	De Roover, 1963, 88, 321, 347
Tolfa	M	2	2	1	0	1466-1476	The Medici bank was engaged in the mining business in Tolfa and Elba, where the company mainly played a role in the distribution of the output of the mines rather than in their exploitation.	De Roover, 1963, 42, 54, 60, 152-193
Tunis		2	2	1	0	1460, 1477	In 1477, the Medici invested in a venture with Schiatta di Francesco Bagnesi as active partner to Tunis for the purpose of purchasing grain. The Tavola in Florence invested in a venture to Barbary in 1460 which was entrusted to Bongianni Gianfigliazzi.	De Roover, 1963, 237-238; Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 90
Volterra	M	2	2	1	0	1470-1484<	In 1470 the Medici organised a society to exploit the mines at Volterra. A	Goldthwaite, 1968,

							new society was established in 1484. However, the mining activities of Volterra were not successful.	196, 202 n. 43

+ The network of the Medici, as presented in this table, is more or less complete, especially at the level of the branches.

3. COMPANY OF AVERARDO DI FRANCESCO DE' MEDICI, ca. 1393 – 1443

In 1391 or 1392, the firm of Vieri di Cambio de' Medici (see above) was dissolved into three independent companies. One of them was the bank founded by Francesco di Bicci de' Medici (older brother of Giovanni di Bicci) in name of his son Averardo di Francesco de' Medici (ca. 1372-1434). The bank of Averardo chose its factors and partners as much as possible from the Medici and Bardi families. After his death in 1434, Averardo was succeeded by his son Giuliano (d. 1436) and his grandson Francesco (d. 1443), but in 1443 the branch descending from Francesco di Bicci became extinct (De Roover, 1963, 37-39, 276).

Size: Medium-sized or large

Main activities:

- Commerce: Trade in Spanish wool and other commodities such as mercury, which were imported in Florence via Porto Pisano (De Roover, 1963, 37-38, 276).
- Finance: Engaged in international and local banking, extensive trade in bills of exchange. International banking was the principal activity of the company of Averardo di Francesco. The company was also active as a maritime insurer (De Roover, 1963, 37-38; Padgett & McLean, 2006, 1550).
- Industry: ?

Network of the company of Averardo di Francesco de' Medici:

Decentralised multi-branch company. In 1395, Averardo's company had correspondents located in most of the principal trading and banking centers of medieval Europe. Most of these correspondents were Florentine business houses. The bank of Averardo never expanded to north-western Europe (De Roover, 1963, 38; Padgett & McLean, 2006, 1550).

Table A..3. Network of the company of Averardo di Francesco de' Medici, 1393 – 1443

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Florence		8	4	3	1	1393-1443	Headquarters. In Florence, the company of Averardo de' Medici was active	De Roover, 1963, 37-

							in banking in partnership with others.	39; Padgett & McLean, 2006, 1550
Barcelona		**6** 5	**3** 3	**2** 2	**1** 1	before 1400 1420-1426<	- Before 1400, the firm of Averardo di Francesco had a company in Barcelona with Andrea Pazzi, who later became a partner in the Rome branch. Correspondent in 1395: Antonio di Guccio e Falduccio di Lombardo. - From 1420 onwards, Averardo's company had a branch in Barcelona. The branches in Spain were in the form of *accomandite* (limited partnerships) in which the investing partners, in this case Averardo de' Medici and Bardo di Francesco di messer Alessandro de' Bardi, assumed responsibility only up to the amount of their original investment. After 1426, Fantino di Fantino de' Medici headed the Barcelona office.	Bauer, 1936, 143 n. 27; Del Treppo, 1972, 827 n. 146; De Roover, 1963, 38-40; Padgett & McLean, 2006, 1550
Genoa		6	3	2	1	>1393-1401<	In 1393-1401, a partnership between Francesco di Bicci de' Medici and Francesco Bardi existed in Genoa (not mentioned by De Roover however). Correspondent in 1395: Ruggiero di Messer Giovanni de' Ricci e Mainardo Bonciani & Co.	De Roover, 1963, 40; Padgett & McLean, 2006, 1550
Pisa		3 **6**	2 **3**	2 **2**	1 **1**	>1395< 1420-1434< Closed before 1443	- Correspondent in 1395: Lorenzo di Cione del Buono e Gentile di Baldassare del Buono & Co. - From 1420 onwards, Averardo's bank had an office in Pisa. The office in Pisa was presumably dissolved sometime between the death of Averardo in 1434, and of his grandson Francesco in 1443.	Bauer, 1936, 143 n. 27; De Roover, 1963, 38, 40, 62
Rome		3 **6**	2 **3**	2 **2**	1 **1**	1393-1397< >1411-1427<	- At first, Averardo was represented in Rome by the firm of his uncle Giovanni di Bicci de' Medici. Both firms worked closely together. The situation changed somewhat when Giovanni founded his own bank in Florence in 1397, and no longer needed the services of his nephew's firm. - After the transfer of Giovanni di Bicci from Rome to Florence, Averardo decided to open a branch in Rome. Such a branch existed definitely in 1411, and was managed then by Andrea di Lippacio de' Bardi (d. 1433). A partner in the Rome branch was Andrea Pazzi. From 1422 onward, the Rome bank of Averardo was styled "Francesco di Giachinotto Boscoli & Company".	De Roover, 1963, 38, 255; Padgett & McLean, 2006, 1550
Valencia		5	3	2	1	From 1420	From 1420 onwards, Averardo's company had a branch in Valencia. The branches in Spain were in the form of *accomandite* (limited partnerships) in which the investing partners, in this case Averardo de' Medici and Bardo di Francesco di messer Alessandro de' Bardi, assumed responsibility only up to the amount of their original investment.	Bauer, 1936, 143 n. 27; De Roover, 1963, 38-39

Avignon		3	2	2	1	>1395<	Correspondent in 1395: Francesco Benini e Niccolao di Bonaccorso.	De Roover, 1963, 40
Bologna		3	2	2	1	>1395<	Correspondent in 1395: Filippo Guidotti.	De Roover, 1963, 40
Bruges		3	2	2	1	>1395<	Correspondent in 1395: Giovanni di Jacopo Orlandini e Piero Benizi & Co. Later, correspondents in Bruges were Gualterotto Gualterotti & Co., and Giovanni Orlandini & Co. who failed in 1422.	De Roover, 1963, 40, 318
Gaeta		3	2	2	1	>1395<	Correspondent in 1395: Agostino Bartolino; Antonio di Jacopo e Doffo Spini & Co.; Filippo di Michele & Co.	De Roover, 1963, 40
London		3	2	2	1	>1395<	Correspondent in 1395: Bernardo di Giorgio de' Bardi.	De Roover, 1963, 40
Montpellier		3	2	2	1	>1395<	Correspondent in 1395: Deo Ambruogio e Giovanni Franceschi.	De Roover, 1963, 40
Paris		3	2	2	1	>1395<	Correspondent in 1395: Paolo Ramaglati e Jacopo Ginocchi & Co.	De Roover, 1963, 40
Perugia		3	2	2	1	>1395<	Correspondent in Perugia: Paolo di ser Amato & Co.	De Roover, 1963, 38
Siena		3	2	2	1	>1395<	Correspondent in 1395: Tommaso di Cecco & Co.	De Roover, 1963, 40
Venice		3	2	2	1	>1395<	Correspondent in 1395: Antonio Dietifeci; Nanni e Bonifazio Gozzadini & Co.	De Roover, 1963, 40
Porto Pisano		2	2	1	0		Imports in Florence via Porto Pisano.	De Roover, 1963, 37-38, 276

Table A..4. Network of the company of Averardo di Francesco de' Medici, ca. 1395 (14th century)

City	**R**	**Score**				**Period**	**Type of presence**	**References**
Florence		8	4	3	1	1393-1443	Headquarters. In Florence, the company of Averardo de' Medici was active in banking in partnership with others.	De Roover, 1963, 37-39; Padgett & McLean, 2006, 1550
Barcelona		**6** 5	**3** 3	**2** 2	**1** 1	before 1400 1420-1426<	- Before 1400, the firm of Averardo di Francesco had a company in Barcelona with Andrea Pazzi, who later became a partner in the Rome branch. Correspondent in 1395: Antonio di Guccio e Falduccio di Lombardo. - From 1420 onwards, Averardo's company had a branch in Barcelona. The branches in Spain were in the form of *accomandite* (limited partnerships) in which the investing partners, in this case Averardo de' Medici and Bardo di Francesco di messer Alessandro de' Bardi, assumed responsibility only up to the amount of their original investment. After 1426, Fantino di Fantino de' Medici headed the Barcelona office.	Bauer, 1936, 143 n. 27; Del Treppo, 1972, 827 n. 146; De Roover, 1963, 38-40; Padgett & McLean, 2006, 1550

Genoa		6	3	2	1	>1393-1401<	In 1393-1401, a partnership between Francesco di Bicci de' Medici and Francesco Bardi existed in Genoa (not mentioned by De Roover however). Correspondent in 1395: Ruggiero di Messer Giovanni de' Ricci e Mainardo Bonciani & Co.	De Roover, 1963, 40; Padgett & McLean, 2006, 1550
Avignon		3	2	2	1	>1395<	Correspondent in 1395: Francesco Benini e Niccolao di Bonaccorso.	De Roover, 1963, 40
Bologna		3	2	2	1	>1395<	Correspondent in 1395: Filippo Guidotti.	De Roover, 1963, 40
Bruges		3	2	2	1	>1395<	Correspondent in 1395: Giovanni di Jacopo Orlandini e Piero Benizi & Co. Later, correspondents in Bruges were Gualterotto Gualterotti & Co., and Giovanni Orlandini & Co. who failed in 1422.	De Roover, 1963, 40, 318
Gaeta		3	2	2	1	>1395<	Correspondent in 1395: Agostino Bartolino; Antonio di Jacopo e Doffo Spini & Co.; Filippo di Michele & Co.	De Roover, 1963, 40
London		3	2	2	1	>1395<	Correspondent in 1395: Bernardo di Giorgio de' Bardi.	De Roover, 1963, 40
Montpellier		3	2	2	1	>1395<	Correspondent in 1395: Deo Ambruogio e Giovanni Franceschi.	De Roover, 1963, 40
Paris		3	2	2	1	>1395<	Correspondent in 1395: Paolo Ramaglati e Jacopo Ginocchi & Co.	De Roover, 1963, 40
Perugia		3	2	2	1	>1395<	Correspondent in Perugia: Paolo di ser Amato & Co.	De Roover, 1963, 38
Pisa		**3** 6	**2** 3	**2** 2	**1** 1	>1395< 1420-1434< Closed before 1443	- Correspondent in 1395: Lorenzo di Cione del Buono e Gentile di Baldassare del Buono & Co. - From 1420 onwards, Averardo's bank had an office in Pisa. The office in Pisa was presumably dissolved sometime between the death of Averardo in 1434, and of his grandson Francesco in 1443.	Bauer, 1936, 143 n. 27; De Roover, 1963, 38, 40, 62
Rome		**3** 6	**2** 3	**2** 2	**1** 1	1393-1397< >1411-1427<	- At first, Averardo was represented in Rome by the firm of his uncle Giovanni di Bicci de' Medici. Both firms worked closely together. The situation changed somewhat when Giovanni founded his own bank in Florence in 1397, and no longer needed the services of his nephew's firm. - After the transfer of Giovanni di Bicci from Rome to Florence, Averardo decided to open a branch in Rome. Such a branch existed definitely in 1411, and was managed then by Andrea di Lippacio de' Bardi (d. 1433). A partner in the Rome branch was Andrea Pazzi. From 1422 onward, the Rome bank of Averardo was styled "Francesco di Giachinotto Boscoli & Company".	De Roover, 1963, 38, 255; Padgett & McLean, 2006, 1550
Siena		3	2	2	1	>1395<	Correspondent in 1395: Tommaso di Cecco & Co.	De Roover, 1963, 40
Venice		3	2	2	1	>1395<	Correspondent in 1395: Antonio Dietifeci; Nanni e Bonifazio Gozzadini & Co.	De Roover, 1963, 40
Porto Pisano		2	2	1	0		Imports in Florence via Porto Pisano.	De Roover, 1963, 37-38, 276
Valencia		0	0	0	0	From 1420	From 1420 onwards, Averardo's company had a branch in Valencia. The	Bauer, 1936, 143 n.

							branches in Spain were in the form of *accomandite* (limited partnerships) in which the investing partners, in this case Averardo de' Medici and Bardo di Francesco di messer Alessandro de' Bardi, assumed responsibility only up to the amount of their original investment.	27; De Roover, 1963, 38-39

Table A..4. Network of the company of Averardo di Francesco de' Medici, 1393 – 1443 (especially 15th century)

City	**R**	**Score**				**Period**	**Type of presence**	**References**
Florence		8	4	3	1	1393-1443	Headquarters. In Florence, the company of Averardo de' Medici was active in banking in partnership with others.	De Roover, 1963, 37-39; Padgett & McLean, 2006, 1550
Pisa		3 **6**	2 **3**	2 **2**	1 **1**	>1395< 1420-1434< Closed before 1443	- Correspondent in 1395: Lorenzo di Cione del Buono e Gentile di Baldassare del Buono & Co. - From 1420 onwards, Averardo's bank had an office in Pisa. The office in Pisa was presumably dissolved sometime between the death of Averardo in 1434, and of his grandson Francesco in 1443.	Bauer, 1936, 143 n. 27; De Roover, 1963, 38, 40, 62
Rome		3 **6**	2 **3**	2 **2**	1 **1**	1393-1397< >1411-1427<	- At first, Averardo was represented in Rome by the firm of his uncle Giovanni di Bicci de' Medici. Both firms worked closely together. The situation changed somewhat when Giovanni founded his own bank in Florence in 1397, and no longer needed the services of his nephew's firm. - After the transfer of Giovanni di Bicci from Rome to Florence, Averardo decided to open a branch in Rome. Such a branch existed definitely in 1411, and was managed then by Andrea di Lippacio de' Bardi (d. 1433). A partner in the Rome branch was Andrea Pazzi. From 1422 onward, the Rome bank of Averardo was styled "Francesco di Giachinotto Boscoli & Company".	De Roover, 1963, 38, 255; Padgett & McLean, 2006, 1550
Barcelona		6 **5**	3 **3**	2 **2**	1 **1**	before 1400 1420-1426<	- Before 1400, the firm of Averardo di Francesco had a company in Barcelona with Andrea Pazzi, who later became a partner in the Rome branch. Correspondent in 1395: Antonio di Guccio e Falduccio di Lombardo. - From 1420 onwards, Averardo's company had a branch in Barcelona. The branches in Spain were in the form of *accomandite* (limited partnerships) in which the investing partners, in this case Averardo de' Medici and Bardo di Francesco di messer Alessandro de' Bardi, assumed responsibility only up to the amount of their original investment. After 1426, Fantino di Fantino de'	Bauer, 1936, 143 n. 27; Del Treppo, 1972, 827 n. 146; De Roover, 1963, 38-40; Padgett & McLean, 2006, 1550

							Medici headed the Barcelona office.	
Valencia		5	3	2	1	From 1420	From 1420 onwards, Averardo's company had a branch in Valencia. The branches in Spain were in the form of *accomandite* (limited partnerships) in which the investing partners, in this case Averardo de' Medici and Bardo di Francesco di messer Alessandro de' Bardi, assumed responsibility only up to the amount of their original investment.	Bauer, 1936, 143 n. 27; De Roover, 1963, 38-39
Avignon		3	2	2	1	>1395<	Correspondent in 1395: Francesco Benini e Niccolao di Bonaccorso.	De Roover, 1963, 40
Bologna		3	2	2	1	>1395<	Correspondent in 1395: Filippo Guidotti.	De Roover, 1963, 40
Bruges		3	2	2	1	>1395<	Correspondent in 1395: Giovanni di Jacopo Orlandini e Piero Benizi & Co. Later, correspondents in Bruges were Gualterotto Gualterotti & Co., and Giovanni Orlandini & Co. who failed in 1422.	De Roover, 1963, 40, 318
Gaeta		3	2	2	1	>1395<	Correspondent in 1395: Agostino Bartolino; Antonio di Jacopo e Doffo Spini & Co.; Filippo di Michele & Co.	De Roover, 1963, 40
Genoa		3	2	2	1	>1393-1401<	In 1393-1401, a partnership between Francesco di Bicci de' Medici and Francesco Bardi existed in Genoa (not mentioned by De Roover however). Correspondent in 1395: Ruggiero di Messer Giovanni de' Ricci e Mainardo Bonciani & Co.	De Roover, 1963, 40; Padgett & McLean, 2006, 1550
London		3	2	2	1	>1395<	Correspondent in 1395: Bernardo di Giorgio de' Bardi.	De Roover, 1963, 40
Montpellier		3	2	2	1	>1395<	Correspondent in 1395: Deo Ambruogio e Giovanni Franceschi.	De Roover, 1963, 40
Paris		3	2	2	1	>1395<	Correspondent in 1395: Paolo Ramaglati e Jacopo Ginocchi & Co.	De Roover, 1963, 40
Perugia		3	2	2	1	>1395<	Correspondent in Perugia: Paolo di ser Amato & Co.	De Roover, 1963, 38
Siena		3	2	2	1	>1395<	Correspondent in 1395: Tommaso di Cecco & Co.	De Roover, 1963, 40
Venice		3	2	2	1	>1395<	Correspondent in 1395: Antonio Dietifeci; Nanni e Bonifazio Gozzadini & Co.	De Roover, 1963, 40
Porto Pisano		2	2	1	0		Imports in Florence via Porto Pisano.	De Roover, 1963, 37-38, 276

COMPANY OF BENVENUTO OLIVIERI, 1539 – 1549

The Olivieri family of Florence suddenly became active in the field of commerce and finance in the early 16th century, when the sons of Paolo di Benvenuto Olivieri became active as merchants and bankers in some of the principal financial markets of the time. The company of Benvenuto di Paolo Olivieri in Rome, which was independent from the main Olivieri holding, is the best documented of the different Olivieri companies. Benvenuto di Paolo (1496-1549) moved to Rome in 1516 the latest. From 1520 to 1531, Benvenuto was a partner of the Florentine papal banker Bindo Altoviti, and between 1532 and 1538 he became a partner in the company of Filippo Strozzi in Rome. After the death of Filippo Strozzi in 1538, Benvenuto Olivieri founded his own company in Rome in 1539. His partners were Benedetto Busini and Simone Guiducci. After Benvenuto's death in 1549, his sons Giulio and Alessandro, who were still very young at that time, did not continue his business activities (Bullard, 2003, 28; Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 29-32, 38-39, 42-43, 45-50, 52-56, 63).

References:

Guidi Bruscoli, F., 2007. *Papal banking in Renaissance Rome. Benvenuto Olivieri and Paul III, 1534-1549*. Aldershot, Ashgate.

Source material:

Records of the company of Benvenuto Olivieri have been preserved in the Fondo Galli Tassi in the Archivio di Stato of Florence (Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, xvii-xviii).

Size: Medium-sized

Benvenuto Olivieri probably started his career with a fairly small amount of capital. The company of Benvenuto Olivieri & Partners had a *corpo* of 24,000 ducats at the start in 1539. It was raised to 50,000 ducats in 1543, but again reduced to 24,000 ducats in 1545. Benvenuto's assets in 1545, four years before his death, totalled approximately 40,000 scudi d'oro, which is not very impressive, but at the same time no small achievement for a self-made man (Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 52-56, 205-206, 213).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Benvenuto Olivieri took part in the monopoly of the papal Tolfa mines, exporting alum to Florence and France. He was also involved in the grain import to Rome, especially from Sicily, in 1539-1548 (Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 169-171, 178-180).
- Finance: Benvenuto Olivieri was Depositary General of the Apostolic Chamber between 1540 and 1546 (with some short interruptions). His company participated in a large variety of business deals with the Camera Apostolica. He made several loans to the papacy in the 1530s and 1540s. Benvenuto Olivieri also had shares in the administration of the papal Mint in Rome, in several tax farms (customs of Rome, salt tax of the Romagna, etc), in the public debt, and in venal offices (Bullard, 2003, 38; Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 19, 22, 162-163, 166, 180-181).

- Industry: No.

Network of the Olivieri company:

The Olivieri brothers founded companies in several of the principal markets of the early 16th century. Their enterprise had the structure of a holding with the Florentine company, having important shares of capital in both the Nürnberg and Naples companies, at the top. The Rome company of Benvenuto Olivieri, which is the best documented of them, detached itself from the other Olivieri companies, but maintained close business relations with the companies of his brothers. Contacts were frequently maintained by letter. Moreover, each of the Olivieri companies had current accounts with the others, so that all the payments and the transfers of money, which were very frequent, could be made more easily. The Rome bank of Benvenuto had shares in several other Florentine firms in Rome, but not in companies abroad (Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 29-30, 37-38).

Table A..1. Network of the Olivieri company, 1539 – 1549 (especially 1543)

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Rome		8	4	3	1	1539-1549	The company of Benvenuto Olivieri was located in Rome. Benvenuto Olivieri (or his company) was also a silent partner in several other companies of Florentine merchants in Rome: Girolamo Ubaldini & Partners, Antonio Covoni & Partners, Filippo Carducci & Partners, and Bartolomeo Bettini & Partners. The company of Benvenuto Olivieri worked closely together with several other bankers in Rome, such as the Genoese company of Luca Giustiniani, the company of the Florentines Tommaso Cavalcanti and Giovanni Giraldi, etc.	Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 52-54, 56-61, 183-206, 243-253
Bologna		4	2	2	1	>1543<	Bologna and the Romagna were of primary importance for the interests of the company of the Olivieri of Rome. The main point of reference here was the company of the heirs of Carlo Cattani & Partners, with whom Benvenuto had large assets and liabilities. Bernardo Machiavelli, commissioner of the Olivieri for the salt tax of the Romagna, had a substantial account with the Olivieri of Rome.	Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 183-206, 243-253
Florence		4	2	2	1	>1543-1546<	Company of the cousins Michele di Paolo (1493-1554) and Giovanni di Piero Olivieri in Florence, which was the mother company of the Olivieri holding. The company of Michele and Giovanni Olivieri & Partners was mostly active in commerce, especially in the trade of woollen and silk cloth. The partnership between Michele and Giovanni was renewed in 1546, but	Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 30-31, 38, 171, 183-206, 243-253

							probably the company came into being much earlier. Benvenuto Olivieri had large assets and / or liabilities with several companies in Florence in 1543: Jacopantonio Busini & Partners, Piero and Luigi Capponi & Partners, and Michele and Giovanni Olivieri & Partners. Benvenuto Olivieri exported alum to Florence.	
Lyon		4	2	2	1	>1541-1543<	Benvenuto Olivieri had a correspondent in Lyon for the export of alum to France: Giovan Francesco Bini & Partners. This was the foreign company with the closest and most constant ties with the company of Benvenuto Olivieri. In 1543, Benvenuto Olivieri had very large assets and liabilities with companies in Lyon: Giovan Francesco Bini & Partners, Andrea Rinieri & Partners, Antonio and Ludovico Buonvisi & Partners, Tommaso Sertini & Partners, Bartolomeo Panciatichi & Partners, Simone Panciatichi & Partners, Averardo and Piero Salviati & Partners.	Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 172, 183-206, 243-253
Naples		4	2	2	1	>1532-1549<	At least from 1532, the Olivieri brothers had a company in Naples, Michele and Alessandro Olivieri & Partners. Alessandro di Paolo especially was very active in Naples. In 1547-48, Michele and Alessandro traded in wheat and barley in Abruzzo and Basilicata. In 1549, the company was in a very bad state. In 1543, Benvenuto Olivieri's company had large liabilities with the company of his brothers in Naples.	Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 33-34, 183-206, 243-253
Valladolid		4	2	2	1	>1543<	The correspondents of the Olivieri of Rome in Spain for operations at the main fairs of Castile were Rinaldo and Giovan Battista Strozzi & Partners of Valladolid. In 1543, Benvenuto's company had very large assets and / or liabilities in Valladolid with the companies of Rinaldo and Giovan Battista Strozzi & Partners, Girolamo Briz & Partners, Antonio and Francesco Lotti & Partners. Several clients had accounts with the Olivieri in Rome via the Strozzi in Valladolid.	Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 183-206, 243-253
Antwerp		3	2	2	1	>1543<	In 1543, Benvenuto's company had large liabilities with the companies of Giovan Carlo Affaitati & Partners of Antwerp, and Giovan Battista and Lorenzo Guicciardini & Partners of Antwerp.	Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 183-206, 243-253
Besançon		3	2	2	1	>1543<	In 1543, Benvenuto's company had large liabilities with the companies of Damiano Pallavicini and Paolo Doria & Partners of Besançon, and of Giovan Battista and Vincenzo Pinelli Adorni, Francesco de' Franchi & Partners of Besançon.	Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 183-206, 243-253
Burgos		3	2	2	1	>1543<	In 1543, Benvenuto's company had large assets and liabilities with the company "Heir of Girolamo Castro, Francesco, Diego and Alfonso Perez di	Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 183-206, 243-253

							Malvenda & Partners" of Burgos, with whom the Olivieri were in business for the distribution of alum in Atlantic France and to a lesser extent in Spain.	
Genoa		3	2	2	1	>1543<	In 1543, Benvenuto's company had small assets with the company of Damiano Pallavicini & Partners of Genoa which, however, were the remainders of much larger operations linked to the import of grain from Sicily.	Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 183-206, 243-253
Sicily		3	2	2	1	1539-1548	Benvenuto Olivieri was involved in the grain import to Rome, especially from Sicily, in 1539-1548.	Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 178-180
Venice		3	2	2	1	>1543<	In 1543, Benvenuto's company had large assets and liabilities with the company of Lorenzo and Alessandro Strozzi & Partners of Venice. Neri Capponi of Venice had an account with the Olivieri in Rome.	Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 183-206, 208, 243-253
Aigues-Mortes		2	2	1	0	>1542<	Benvenuto Olivieri obtained the right to export alum from the Tolfa mines to the Mediterranean ports of Marseille and Aigues-Mortes. Benvenuto Olivieri was represented in the Mediterranean ports of France by Giovan Francesco Bini & Partners of Lyon. In July 1542, Benvenuto Olivieri and Partners hired a ship for the transport of at least 3,000 cantars of alum from Civitavecchia to Aigues-Mortes. The alum, once it reached its destination, would be consigned to Raimondo Vidal, who was a partner of the Olivieri company in this business venture.	Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 171-174
L'Aquila		2	2	1	0	>1543<	The Naples company of the Olivieri had an associated company in L'Aquila, named Paolo di Michele Olivieri and Giandonato di Alessandro Barbadori & Partners. The company in L'Aquila was especially active in the silk trade. Benvenuto Olivieri had a very small amount of liabilities with the Olivieri company in L'Aquila in 1543.	Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 34, 183-206, 243-253
Bari		2	2	1	0	>1543-1549<	The Olivieri had a company in Bari, in which both the Olivieri of Florence and those of Naples appear to have held shares. In 1549, this company was called Paolo Olivieri and Ippolito Franciotti & Partners. The company was involved in the silk trade. Connections with Benvenuto's firm in Rome are uncertain.	Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 34
Cosenza		2	2	1	0	>1521-1549<	The Olivieri operated a company in Cosenza, which was an associated company of the Naples company. Alessandro di Paolo was senior partner in this company, which was in existence as early as 1521. The company in Cosenza was still active in 1549, when it was styled Donato di Michele Olivieri and Francesco di Donato Vechietti & Partners. The company in Cosenza was above all involved in the silk trade. Connections with	Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 33-34

							Benvenuto’s firm in Rome are uncertain.	
Dieppe		2	2	1	0	>1541-1542<	In 1541-42, Benvenuto Olivieri's company sent 4 ships with 7,566 cantars of alum to La Rochelle, Dieppe and Rouen. In Dieppe, the Olivieri were represented by the company of Giovan Francesco Bini & Partners of Lyon.	Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 172, 183-206, 243-253
Ferrara		2	2	1	0	>1543<	In 1543, Benvenuto’s company had small assets and / or liabilities with the companies of Lorenzo Guicciardini & Partners of Ferrara, and Heir of Baldassarre Machiavelli & Partners of Ferrara.	Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 183-206, 243-253
London		2	2	1	0	>1543<	In 1543, Benvenuto’s company had small liabilities with Piero and Luigi Capponi and Mariotto Neretti & Partners of London.	Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 183-206, 243-253
Marseille		2	2	1	0		Benvenuto Olivieri obtained the right to export alum from the Tolfa mines to the Mediterranean ports of Marseille and Aigues-Mortes. Benvenuto Olivieri was represented in the Mediterranean ports of France by Giovan Francesco Bini & Partners of Lyon.	Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 171-173
Medina del Campo		2	2	1	0		Rinaldo and Giovan Battista Strozzi & Partners of Valladolid were active for the Olivieri at the October fair at Medina del Campo, the fair at Villalón, and the fair at Medina de Ríoseco.	Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 183-206, 243-253
Medina de Ríoseco		2	2	1	0		Rinaldo and Giovan Battista Strozzi & Partners of Valladolid were active for the Olivieri at the October fair at Medina del Campo, the fair at Villalón, and the fair at Medina de Ríoseco.	Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 183-206, 243-253
Nürnberg		2	2	1	0	1542-1547	Giovanni di Piero Olivieri began working in Nürnberg in 1521 for the Florentine Torrigiani company, but in 1542 a company called Michele, Alessandro and Giovanni Olivieri & Partners was established in Nürnberg. This company appears to have been the point of reference for the other companies of the family for the import of precious metals or cloth of medium quality, and the export of silk cloth or cloth of gold. Connections with Benvenuto’s firm in Rome are uncertain.	Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 34-36
Pisa		2	2	1	0	>1543<	In 1543, Benvenuto’s company had small liabilities with the company of Giuliano and Piero Capponi & Partners of Pisa.	Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 183-206, 243-253
La Rochelle		2	2	1	0	>1541-1543<	Benvenuto Olivieri obtained the right to export alum from the Tolfa mines to La Rochelle. In 1541-42 Olivieri’s company sent 4 ships with 7,566 cantars of alum to La Rochelle, Dieppe and Rouen. Benvenuto Olivieri was represented in La Rochelle by Giovan Francesco Bini & Partners of Lyon.	Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 171-172, 183-206, 243-253
Rouen		2	2	1	0	>1541-1543<	Benvenuto Olivieri obtained the right to export alum from the Tolfa mines to Rouen. In 1541-42 Olivieri’s company sent 4 ships with 7,566 cantars of alum to La Rochelle, Dieppe and Rouen. Benvenuto Olivieri was	Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 171-172, 183-206, 243-253

							represented in Rouen by Giovan Francesco Bini & Partners of Lyon. Andrea Malvenda of Rouen had an account with the Olivieri.	
Tolfa	M	2	2	1	0		Benvenuto Olivieri was involved in the trade of alum from the mines of Tolfa.	Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 169-171
Villalón		2	2	1	0		Rinaldo and Giovan Battista Strozzi & Partners of Valladolid were active for the Olivieri at the October fair at Medina del Campo, the fair at Villalón, and the fair at Medina de Ríoseco.	Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 183-206, 243-253
Ancona		1	1	1	0	>1543<	In 1543, Benvenuto's company had very small liabilities with the company of Jacopo Giacomini & Partners of Ancona.	Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 183-206, 243-253
Cádiz		1	1	1	0	1544	Benvenuto Olivieri was involved (for 1/4) in the alum trade of 2,500 cantars of alum sold by the Grimaldi company at the end of 1544 to a group of merchants from Burgos. This alum was destined for the ports of Cádiz and Sevilla.	Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 175
Civitavecchia		1	1	1	0	1542	In July 1542, Benvenuto Olivieri and Partners hired a ship for the transport of at least 3,000 cantars of alum from Civitavecchia to Aigues-Mortes.	Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 171-174
Paris		1	1	1	0	>1543<	In 1543, Benvenuto's company had very small assets in Paris with the company of Riccardo Del Bene & Partners.	Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 183-206, 243-253
Perugia		1	1	1	0		Benedetto Busini, partner of Benvenuto Olivieri, travelled to Perugia.	Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 183-206, 243-253
Sevilla		1	1	1	0	1544	Benvenuto Olivieri was involved (for 1/4) in the alum trade of 2,500 cantars of alum sold by the Grimaldi company at the end of 1544 to a group of merchants from Burgos. This alum was destined for the ports of Cádiz and Sevilla.	Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 175

+ The network reconstructed in this table is somewhat biased, since we are better informed about some business operations of Benvenuto Olivieri (alum trade with France, relations with the Apostolic Chamber) than about other ones. Due to the nature of the data (especially a balance sheet of 1543, reconstructed by Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 183-206, 243-254), the overall structure of the network of Benvenuto's company remains uncertain.

+ Francesco Guidi Bruscoli (2007, 183-206, 243-254) has reconstructed a balance sheet of the Olivieri company for 13 February 1543. This balance sheet records several companies with headquarters within and beyond Italy with whom the Olivieri had assets and /or liabilities. Places have been distinguished depending on the size of these assets and liabilities combined: very large (> 10,000 ducats), large (1,000-10,000 ducats), small (100-1,000 ducats), very small (< 100 ducats).

+ In the 1520s, members of the Olivieri family were living and working in Valencia. Jacopo Olivieri originally went to Spain to attend some business affairs, but he ended up taking minor orders in the Church. He died in Spain in 1524. Nothing is known about connections of Benvenuto with Valencia however (Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 34-35).

PAZZI, ca. 1399 – 1478

The Pazzi belonged to an old aristocratic family of Florence. Belonging to the *magnati*, they were excluded from political office in Florence from the end of the 13th century until the 1430s. The Pazzi were already involved in banking by the middle of the 13th century. By 1300, members of the family were matriculated in the wool merchants' guild. The foundations of the wealth of the Pazzi in the 15th century were laid by Andrea di Guglielmino de' Pazzi (1371-1445). By 1399, he had established himself in Barcelona as a banker and cloth merchant. Later he returned to Florence, where he belonged among the top taxpayers in 1427. After Andrea's death in 1445, his property was inherited by his three sons Antonio (d. 1451), Piero and Jacopo, who were also politically active in Florence. The business of the Pazzi experienced a slowdown for about a decade, with a temporary closure of the banks in Florence and Avignon around 1447, but from the late 1450s the Pazzi firm began to flourish again. By the early 1460s, Antonio and Piero had died, and the direction of the Pazzi business came in hands of Jacopo and his nephews, several of whom (such as Renato, Francesco and Andrea) were enterprising merchants and bankers. During the first half of the 15th century the Pazzi had good relations with the Medici, and this was reinforced by the marriage between Guglielmo di Antonio de' Pazzi and Bianca de' Medici around 1460. Nevertheless, in 1478 Jacopo and his nephew Francesco, who hated the Medici, set up the famous Pazzi conspiracy against the Medici. The plot failed and the properties of the Pazzi family were all confiscated. This resulted in the Pazzi bank being dissolved (Bullard, 1980, 19; Goldthwaite, 1987, 10; Martines, 2004, 63-66, 70, 73-74, 76-77, 80-81; Spufford, 2002, 53). In what follows, the networks of the Pazzi firm under Andrea di Guglielmino (until 1445) and under Jacopo di Andrea (after 1445) will be treated separately.

References:

Martines, L., 2004. *April blood. Florence and the plot against the Medici*. London, Pimlico, 62-82 (First published in Great Britain by Jonathan Cape 2003).

About the Avignon branch of the Pazzi, see:

Cler, M., 1957. "Un homme d'affaires avignonnais du XVe siècle. Alaman de Passis". *Provence Historique*, 7 (30), 305-336.

I did not consult:

Naitana, F., 1999. "The material wealth of the Pazzi family following the conspiracy. A "passport" for the history of relations between Florence and Ragusa (Dubrovnik) in the late Middle Ages". *Quaderni Medievali*, 47, 41-75.

Spallanzani, M., 1987. "Le aziende Pazzi al tempo della congiura del 1478". In: *Studi di storia economica toscana nel Medioevo e nel Rinascimento. In memoria di Federigo Melis*. Pisa, Pacini, 305-320.

Source material:

Account books of the Pazzi firm have not been preserved. Consequently, most of the information on the organisation of the Pazzi firm comes from the Florentine catasto registers. The notarial records of Avignon and Marseille contain information on the activities of the Pazzi in Provence (Cler, 1957, 305-307, 311, 317; Martines, 2004, 65-82).

1. COMPANY OF ANDREA DI GUGLIELMINO DE' PAZZI, ca. 1399 – ca. 1447 (network not used)

Size: Large

By 1427, Andrea di Guglielmino de' Pazzi belonged to the top taxpayers in Florence. The *corpo* of the Florence bank was declared to be 4,250 fl. in the tax assessment of 1433 (Martines, 2004, 72).

Main activities:

- Commerce: The Pazzi were more or less continuously involved in the large-scale international shipment of goods and bullion. Andrea di Guglielmino was engaged in trade in luxury cloth (e.g. trade in silk cloth by the Barcelona and Pisa companies). Andrea also obtained parts of the French royal salt monopoly (Cler, 1957, 308, 310; Martines, 2004, 66-68).
- Finance: Banking was the main activity of the Pazzi company. Andrea di Guglielmino de' Pazzi had connections with the French king Charles VII, and with René of Anjou, pretender to the throne of Naples. At the same time, Andrea de' Pazzi was a papal banker, transferring money from northern Europe to Rome for the papal court. Among the largest debtors of the Pazzi in the 1430s was the city of Florence. Andrea di Guglielmino lent money to several Florentine silk and wool companies. He was also involved in insurance, farming of the French salt tax and investments in the Florentine public debt (Cler, 1957, 308, 310; Martines, 2004, 65-67, 70, 73).
- Industry: Andrea di Guglielmino was a major shareholder in a silk company in Florence in 1427. In 1433, he had shares in several silk and wool producing companies in Florence (Martines, 2004, 66, 72).
- Shipping: Being a prime investor in four Florentine galleys, Andrea di Guglielmino was engaged in shipping. In 1440, he commanded one of the Florentine galleys (Martines, 2004, 66, 68).

Network of Andrea di Guglielmino de' Pazzi:

The Pazzi firm established by Andrea di Guglielmino consisted of several companies linked by criss-cross investments, each ranking as a discrete corporate and legal entity. However, in the trial of the Pazzi after their conspiracy against the Medici, the different partnerships of the Pazzi were legally treated as one by the ruling group around Lorenzo de' Medici. The Pazzi had considerable business interests in France (Goldthwaite, 1987, 10; Martines, 2004, 66-67, 69-70).

Table A..1. Network of Andrea di Guglielmino de' Pazzi, ca. 1427 – ca. 1447								
City	**R**	**Score**				**Period**	**Type of presence**	**References**
Florence		8	4	3	1	>1427-c.1447	Headquarters. The houses of Andrea de' Pazzi were located in the heart of the old city. The bank in Florence was temporarily closed around 1447. Andrea di Guglielmino also was a major shareholder in a silk company in Florence, in the name of Ormanno degli Albizzi, in 1427. In 1433, Andrea de' Pazzi had shares in several silk and wool producing companies in Florence.	Martines, 2004, 65-66, 71-72, 74
Avignon		6	3	2	1	>1427-c.1447	Branch. In 1433, the Avignon bank was registered in the names of Guglielmo and Piero, sons of Andrea di Guglielmino. The bank in Avignon was temporarily closed around 1447. In 1433, Andrea de' Pazzi was also a partner in a Provence bank with Niccolò Cambini. According to Cler (1957), the Pazzi bank in Avignon was in hands of "Michel de Passis" and his brothers, already in the 1410s, and still in 1445. Ca. 1390, a certain Aguinolfo de Pazzi had a bank in Avignon.	Cler, 1957, 308, 310, 311 n. 17; De Roover, 1963, 91, 315; Lambert, 2006, 68; Martines, 2004, 66, 69, 72-74
Barcelona		8 **6** 2	4 **3** 2	3 **2** 1	1 **1** 0	>1399<, 1417-1433	- By 1399, Andrea di Guglielmino de' Pazzi was established in Barcelona. Later, he returned to Florence. - Branch. The Barcelona branch of the Pazzi was set up in 1417 by a partnership between Andrea di Guglielmino de' Pazzi and Girolamo Guasconi. In 1427, the Barcelona company was registered in the names of Antonio, Andrea's son, and of Francesco Tosinghi. The Barcelona firm was dissolved by 1433. - Antonio di Andrea de' Pazzi sailed with the Florentine galleys to Barcelona, Valencia and Southampton around 1440.	Del Treppo, 1972, 826, 827 n. 146; De Roover, 1963, 138; Martines, 2004, 65-68, 72; Spufford, 2002, 53
Montpellier		6	3	2	1	>1427-1433<	Branch.	De Roover, 1963, 91; Martines, 2004, 66, 72
Paris		6	3	2	1	>1411<, >1427-1433<	Branch. According to Cler (1957) the Paris branch was dependent upon the bank in Avignon. Domenico de' Pazzi was in Paris in 1411.	Carrère, 1967, 155 n. 3; Cler, 1957, 309-310; Martines, 2004, 66, 72
Pisa		6	3	2	1	>1427-1433<	Branch. In 1427, the Pisa branch bore the name of Andrea di Guglielmino himself.	Martines, 2004, 66-67, 72
Rome		6	3	2	1	>1427-1440s<	Branch. The Rome bank was named after and managed by Francesco	De Roover, 1963, 91;

							Boscoli, one of the partners. In the 1440s, the Pazzi bank in Rome occupied a very strong position.	Martines, 2004, 66-67, 72-73
Ragusa		4	2	2	1		A house was rented in Ragusa by Martino Chiarini for the Pazzi firm in Barcelona.	Spufford, 2002, 53
Bruges		3	2	2	1	>1429<	The Florence bank of Andrea di Guglielmino had a deposit of more than 3,000 fl. in the Borromei bank in Bruges. In 1429, a Florentine galley picked up silver in Port-de-Bouc belonging to Andrea de' Pazzi for shipment to England or Flanders.	Martines, 2004, 68, 70
Southampton		3	2	2	1	>1440-1442<	Antonio di Andrea de' Pazzi sailed with the Florentine galleys to Barcelona, Valencia and Southampton around 1440. In 1442, Jacopo di Andrea de' Pazzi travelled with the Florentine galleys to Southampton. Already in 1429, a Florentine galley picked up silver in Port-de-Bouc belonging to Andrea de' Pazzi for shipment to England or Flanders.	Martines, 2004, 68
Valencia		3	2	2	1	>1430-1440<	The firm Antonio Pazzi and Francesco Tosinghi in Barcelona had a correspondent in Valencia, Bartolomeo Benci, in 1430. Antonio di Andrea de' Pazzi sailed with the Florentine galleys to Barcelona, Valencia and Southampton around 1440.	De Roover, 1963, 138; Martines, 2004, 68
Port-de-Bouc		1	1	1	0	>1429<	In 1429, a Florentine galley picked up silver in Port-de-Bouc belonging to Andrea de' Pazzi for shipment to England or Flanders.	Martines, 2004, 68

+ Since the reconstruction of the Pazzi network is largely based upon data from the Florentine tax registers (catasto), it is probably not entirely reliable. The list of correspondents is far from complete.

2. COMPANY OF JACOPO DI ANDREA DE' PAZZI, late 1450s – 1478

Size: Large

According to the catasto of 1458, the *corpo* of the silk cloth company in Geneva totalled 4,000 fl. In 1457 and 1469, Jacopo and his nephews together paid one of the highest taxes in Florence, second only to the Medici. The Pazzi bank was perhaps the second largest in Florence in 1478 (De Roover, 1963, 30-31, 366; Martines, 2004, 77, 80).

Main activities:

- Commerce: The Pazzi were more or less continuously involved in the large-scale international shipment of a large variety of goods and bullion. They were heavily engaged in the sale of luxury goods and textiles, and in the salt trade. The Pazzi obtained the Tolfa alum

monopoly from pope Sixtus in 1476 (Cler, 1957, 317-323; Goldthwaite, 1987, 28; Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 168; Martines, 2004, 68, 79, 80; Mus, 1964, 101-102).

- Finance: The Pazzi were chiefly known as bankers. They provided credit, carried out exchange transactions, and were engaged in deposit banking. They were papal bankers for years, transferring funds for the Roman Curia from different parts of Europe, such as from Germany between 1451 and 1478. Among the major clients (debtors or creditors) of the Rome bank around 1458 were pope Calixtus III and several members of the Curia, as well as many other prelates. In 1474, the Pazzi replaced the Medici as the main bankers of pope Sixtus IV. In Avignon, the Pazzi were major bankers and suppliers of René of Anjou. The Pazzi also invested in the Florentine public debt (Cler, 1957, 311-316; Ehrenberg, 1928, 195; Goldthwaite, 1987, 28; Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 7; Martines, 2004, 73, 78-79, 81).
- Industry: The Pazzi were heavily engaged in the manufacture and sale of luxury cloth. In 1458, Jacopo had a silk cloth company in Geneva and one in Florence. Shortly before 1458, he had been a partner in the silk business of Lorenzo Dietisalvi and Company. A Florentine woollen cloth company of Jacopo had been closed ca. 1456. In 1469, a company in the name of Andrea de' Pazzi, a son of Antonio, produced woollen cloth for the Pazzi firm in Rome (Martines, 2004, 77-80).
- Shipping: Antonio and Jacopo, sons of Andrea di Guglielmino, and Giovanni, Jacopo's nephew, served as officers on the Florentine galleys (Martines, 2004, 68).

Network of Jacopo di Andrea de' Pazzi:

In 1478, the corporate family business of the Pazzi consisted of five separate, but interlocked partnerships in the hands of Jacopo di Andrea and five of his nephews (Goldthwaite, 1987, 10, 28).

Table A..2. Network of Jacopo di Andrea de' Pazzi, late 1450s – 1478

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Florence		8	4	3	1	>1450s-1478	Headquarters. In 1458, Jacopo also owned a silk company in Florence, managed by Giuliano di Francesco Corsellini. A Florentine woollen cloth company in the name of Jacopo and partners had been closed ca. 1456. In 1469, there existed a company in Florence in the name of Renato de' Pazzi, a son of Antonio. This company was described as a kind of storage space and correspondence headquarters in the tax registers of 1469.	Cler, 1957, 319-320; Martines, 2004, 78-80
Avignon		6	3	2	1	>1458, 1473<	Branch. In 1458, there appears to have been a Pazzi bank in Avignon, headed by Piero di Andrea. In 1473, the Medici, Pazzi and Capponi firms received shipments of 150,000 fl. from Lyon and Avignon. According to Cler (1957), the Avignon branch was in hands of "Alaman de Passis" (d.	Cler, 1957, 310-311, 322-323, 330-335; Martines, 2004, 68, 77, 80

							1481), until he went bankrupt ca. 1465 and the branch was taken over by his sons and relatives. The bank in Avignon flourished again under Alaman's grandsons André and Nicolas around the 1490s. Did this branch survive the dissolution of the Pazzi business after the Pazzi conspiration?	
Bruges		6	3	2	1	>1472-1478	Branch. In 1472, the Pazzi bank in Bruges had a staff of 8 members. In 1476, when the Pazzi obtained the papal alum monopoly, Bruges became one of the main banking outlets for the Pazzi. At that time, Guglielmo and Giovanni de' Pazzi were in Bruges to take care of the alum business. In 1478, the Pazzi in Bruges were represented by Pierantonio di Guasparre Bandini-Baroncelli.	De Roover, 1948b, 28; Id., 1963, 94, 164, 257, 355, 366, 427 n. 56; Goldthwaite, 1987, 28; Martines, 2004, 80; Mus, 1964, 101
Geneva		6	3	2	1	>1458-c.1465	Branch. In 1458, Jacopo had a silk cloth company in Geneva, "Jacopo de' Pazzi and Co.", which was managed by Francesco di Lutozzo Nasi. In the early 1460s, the branch in Geneva was named after Guglielmo di Antonio de' Pazzi and Francesco Nasi, and was one of the most important banking firms in Geneva. It was transferred to Lyon around 1465. In 1465, Piero Baroncelli was sent by the Avignon branch to Geneva for the purchase of textiles at the fairs.	Cler, 1957, 318-319; De Roover, 1963, 257, 462 n. 10; Martines, 2004, 77-78, 80
Lyon		6	3	2	1	c.1465-1473<	Branch. In 1469, the Pazzi firm in Lyon was named after Guglielmo de' Pazzi, son of Antonio. This branch had been transferred from Geneva to Lyon ca. 1465, where it continued to flourish at least until 1473. Its manager was Francesco Capponi, and he is said to have had 6 factors in his service. In 1473, the Medici, Pazzi and Capponi firms received shipments of 150,000 fl. from Lyon and Avignon.	Cler, 1957, 322, 334, 315 n. 40; De Roover, 1963, 310, 366; Ehrenberg, 1928, 203; Goldthwaite, 1987, 28; Martines, 2004, 68, 80
Marseille		6	3	2	1	>1472<	Branch. In 1472, the Pazzi company in Marseille had four members of staff.	Cler, 1957, 318, 320; De Roover, 1963, 315; Martines, 2004, 80
Rome		6	3	2	1	>1458-1478	Branch. In 1458, Piero and Jacopo di Andrea had a bank in Rome, managed by Jacopo de' Mozzi. This bank was the continuation of the bank founded by Andrea di Guglielmino. In 1469, the bank in Rome was named after Guglielmo de' Pazzi, son of Antonio. By 1478, the Rome bank was managed by Francesco de' Pazzi.	Bullard, 1980, 19; De Roover, 1963, 366; Goldthwaite, 1987, 28; Martines, 2004, 77-78, 80, 82
Valencia		6	3	2	1	>1473<	Branch. In 1473 Giovanni, a nephew of Jacopo de' Pazzi, commanded a	Cler, 1957, 319;

							Florentine galley sailing to Port-de-Bouc, Barcelona, Valencia, and back to Porto Pisano. In 1460, the Avignon branch had a factor in Valencia.	Martines, 2004, 68, 80
Barcelona		3	2	2	1	>1458, 1473<	In 1458, Jacopo still had silk cloth in Barcelona for a value of 2,700 fl. In 1473 Giovanni, a nephew of Jacopo de' Pazzi, commanded a Florentine galley sailing to Port-de-Bouc, Barcelona, Valencia, and back to Porto Pisano.	Martines, 2004, 68, 78
Naples		3	2	2	1	>1458<	In 1458, Filippo Strozzi's company in Naples owed the Pazzi 2,726 fl. for cloth. The Avignon branch exported cloth to Naples.	Cler, 1957, 319; Martines, 2004, 79
Palermo		3	2	2	1		The Avignon branch exported cloth via the French galleys to Palermo.	Cler, 1957, 318
Paris		3	2	2	1		The Avignon branch had contacts with agents in Paris.	Cler, 1957, 318
Port-de-Bouc		1	1	1	0	>1473<	In 1473 Giovanni, a nephew of Jacopo de' Pazzi, commanded a Florentine galley sailing to Port-de-Bouc, Barcelona, Valencia, and back to Porto Pisano.	Martines, 2004, 68
Porto Pisano		1	1	1	0	>1473<	In 1473 Giovanni, a nephew of Jacopo de' Pazzi, commanded a Florentine galley sailing to Port-de-Bouc, Barcelona, Valencia, and back to Porto Pisano.	Martines, 2004, 68

+ Since the reconstruction of the Pazzi network is largely based upon data from the Florentine tax registers (catasto), it is probably not entirely reliable. The list of correspondents is far from complete.

PERUZZI COMPANY, 1274 – 1343

The Peruzzi company of Florence was founded in 1274, and was reorganised as a super-company in 1300. The company was headed consecutively by Filippo d'Amideo (1292-1303, except for a short intermezzo in 1298-1299 when Pacino d'Arnoldo managed the company), Tommaso d'Arnoldo (1303-1331), Giotto d'Arnoldo (1331-1336), Bonifazio di Tommaso (1336-1340), and Pacino di Tommaso (1340-1343), all of whom belonged to the Peruzzi family. Beside the Peruzzi, other Florentine families such as the Soderini and Baroncelli also supplied partners to the company. After a very prosperous period until ca. 1331 difficulties began for the Peruzzi company, finally resulting in its bankruptcy in 1343. The branches continued to function for several more years however, at least in England, and probably also elsewhere. A company with the name Peruzzi reappeared briefly after the first outbreak of the plague (Hunt, 1994, 15, 21-35, 127-128, 229; Hunt & Murray, 1999, 105, 156; Renouard, 1941, 83, 71 n. 116; Id., 1942, 15-18).

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The Peruzzi company is the most well-documented of the large Florentine firms of the 14th century. Several of its account books are still extant and have been published by Armando Sapori. Additional indirect data about the Peruzzi company can be found in the Papal Archives. The structure of the Peruzzi company is only sufficiently known for the period after 1300 (Hunt, 1994, 77; Renouard, 1938, 44, 169; Id., 1942, 4-5, 15, 15 n. 4).

Size: Very large

The Peruzzi company became probably the second largest firm of Florence in the first half of the 14th century; only the Bardi (and perhaps also the Acciaiuoli) were bigger. The *corpo* of the Peruzzi company amounted to 124,000 li. (more than 85,000 fl.) in 1300, increased to 149,000 li. (ca. 103,000 fl.) in 1310, but then decreased again to 60,000 li. in 1324 and 90,000 li. in 1331. The total assets of the firm amounted to 742,247 li. in 1335. The number of partners varied between 17 and 22. In total, 164 factors of the Peruzzi are known, 133 of whom were active between 1331 and 1343. In 1335, the company counted 90 salaried employees (Hunt, 1994, 1, 12, 25, 39, 68, 76; Hunt & Murray, 1999, 102-105, 109; Renouard, 1938, 170, 172; Id., 1942, 15-16, 18-20, 16 n. 6).

Main activities:

- Commerce: The Peruzzi traded in all sorts of merchandise. Their principal commerce, however, concerned the trade in grain from the Angevin kingdom of southern Italy, English wool, cloth, and spices (Hunt, 1994, 61; Hunt & Murray, 1999, 93, 102-105; Renouard, 1942, 17).
- Finance: In the 14th century, the Peruzzi did business on a very important scale with several sovereigns. They were bankers of the papacy and the Order of the Hospitalers. They granted loans to the Angevin kings of southern Italy (since begin 14th century) and the English kings (important loans from 1336), and their financial connections with the king of France and the count of Flanders were even stronger than those of the Bardi (Fryde, 1988, 17, 47-48, 72, 83, 87-90, 107, 122-126, 142, 223; Hunt, 1994, 61-62, 72, 87, 188, 198; Hunt & Murray, 1999, 93, 102-107; Murray, 2005, 235; Renouard, 1938, 171; Id., 1941, 112; Id., 1942, 17).
- Industry: The Peruzzi were involved in the Florentine textile industry. In Florence, the Peruzzi employed two factors in a Compagnia della Drapperia which controlled a small textile manufacturing operation (Hunt, 1994, 78-83; Hunt & Murray, 1999, 102-107).

Network of the Peruzzi company:

The Peruzzi firm was a centralised multi-branch company. Although in practice there was a certain degree of decentralisation, important decisions were made by the chairman at the headquarters in Florence. The politically sensitive branches, where status, social graces, intelligence, and authority in the company were necessary to deal with noblemen and bureaucrats, were managed by partners. Branches with mainly trading and logistics activities, on the other hand, were normally managed by well-trained factors. The Peruzzi were not only serviced by their various branches but also by a large number of agents in the Mediterranean (already before 1310) and western Europe (not in Castile however) (De Roover, 1948b, 31; Hunt, 1994, 55, 134; Hunt & Murray, 1999, 106-108; Renouard, 1942, 17; Spufford, 2002, 24).

Table A..1. Network of the Peruzzi company, 1300 – 1343

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Florence		8	4	3	1	1274-1343	Headquarters. The headquarters consisted of several companies (at least in the account books): (1) Co. della Tavola (banking-related operations managed in Florence); (2) Co. della Mercanzia (trading and logistics out of Florence); (3) Co. della Drapperia (controlled a small textile manufacturing operation); (4) Co. della Limosina (account through which the company's charities were channeled); (5) Special Accounts (oversaw a number of important customers directly from Florence, such as the Order of the Hospitalers and certain church dignitaries). The headquarters of the Peruzzi were located in the Santa Cecilia quarter. Moreover, the Peruzzi leased warehouses in the parishes of San Jacopo tra le fosse and San Simone, and shops and boutiques in the Piazza a Ponte, Borgo dei Greci, and Via Vachereccia. 40 factors were employed in Florence in July 1335.	De Roover, 1948b, 20; Hunt, 1994, ii (map), 69, 78-83, 95; Hunt & Murray, 1999, 106-107; Renouard, 1941, 61; Id., 1942, 15 n. 1
Avignon		7	3	2	1	not yet in 1300 >1316-1343	Branch, headed by a partner (at one time F. Villani). 4 factors were employed in Avignon in July 1335. The Avignon branch was downgraded after 1341, but remained open until the end. Bonifazio Peruzzi had been active in the Avignon branch from 1319 to 1321 before he became leader of the company, and Pacino Peruzzi from 1322 to 1325.	De Roover, 1948b, 32; Hunt, 1994, ii (map), 34, 79, 89, 95, 129, 147, 221, 223; Hunt & Murray, 1999, 107; Renouard, 1938, 171-174; Id., 1942, 16-17
Bruges		7	3	2	1	>1300-1342<	Branch headed by a partner (e.g. Giovanni Villani, Riccardo del maestro Fagno (for at least 6 years), Donato di Pacino Peruzzi, Pacino di Tommaso	De Roover, 1948b, 20, 33; Hunt, 1994, ii

							Peruzzi). However, from 1336 onward, the branch was led by a factor. In July 1335, the Bruges branch employed 4 factors. The Peruzzi bank was located near the Koningsbrug in 1335. The manager Donato Peruzzi also served as general receiver of the count of Flanders between 1326 and 1329.	(map), 34, 79, 86-89, 95, 99, 129, 81 n. 11; Hunt & Murray, 1999, 107; Marechal, 1985a, 219; Murray, 2005, 231; Renouard, 1938, 171; Id., 1942, 16-17; Stabel, 2001, 197
London		7	3	2	1	not yet in 1300 >1303-1343<	Branch headed by a partner (e.g. Giovanni Baroncelli (in 1340)). By 1306, the company had two employees in England. In July 1335, the branch employed 5 factors. Probably the London branch was rather small in the first two decades of the 14th c. It became more important from the beginning of the 1320s (due to the increasing wool export to Florence), when it was headed by Bonifazio Peruzzi, not a partner, but the son of the chairman Tommaso. After the fall of Edward II Bonifazio left the country in 1328, leaving a factor as his proxy. After he became the leader of the Peruzzi company, Bonifazio Peruzzi settled again in London from 1338 to 1340. He tried to revive the wool trade, and went in joint-venture with the Bardi to finance Edward III. Only in 1336, the London branch became involved in large loans to the English king. The younger Despenser, an English nobleman, placed appreciable funds with the London branches of the Bardi and Peruzzi companies. The Peruzzi branch in England continued to function for several more years after the bankruptcy in 1343.	De Roover, 1948b, 33; Hunt, 1994, ii (map), 34, 79, 85-86, 95, 129, 133, 148-149, 163, 212, 229, 163n. 32; Hunt & Murray, 1999, 107; Renouard, 1938, 171-174; Id., 1942, 16-17; Spufford, 2002, 23
Naples		7	3	2	1	1270s-1342<	Branch headed by a partner (e.g. Arnoldo Peruzzi (ca. 1289), Giovanni Villani (1305), Donato Peruzzi). 6 factors were employed by the Naples branch in July 1335. The Peruzzi obtained permission to carry out banking activities in Naples in 1302. The business of the Peruzzi in Naples was of great importance. The Soderini brothers, outside shareholders since 1331, worked for the company in Naples and Sicily.	De Roover, 1948b, 33; Hunt, 1994, ii (map), 21, 69-70, 79, 85, 88, 95, 99, 168; Hunt & Murray, 1999, 107; Renouard, 1938, 171-174; Id., 1942, 16-17
Palermo		7	3	2	1	1299-1342<	Branch headed by a partner. 6 factors worked in Palermo in July 1335. F. Forzetti was branch manager in Palermo from 1299 to 1341. He was a local resident of Palermo, and became a partner only from 1331 onward. The	Hunt, 1994, ii (map), 56, 76, 79, 86, 95, 168, 56 n. 76, 94 n.

							Soderini brothers, outside shareholders since 1331, worked for the company in Naples and Sicily.	62; Hunt & Murray, 1999, 107; Renouard, 1938, 171; Id., 1942, 16-17
Paris		7	3	2	1	>1300-1343	Branch headed by a partner (e.g. Filippo Peruzzi). 4 factors worked in the branch in July 1335. At the beginning of the 14th century, the Paris branch was very important: the Peruzzi had close relations with the French kings, and Paris was a large market. The Peruzzi were awarded control of the Mint in Paris in 1305. After 1337 the branch was downgraded in number of employees, and was headed by a factor instead of a partner, due to the increased involvement of the Peruzzi with Edward III.	De Roover, 1948b, 21, 43 n. 16; Hunt, 1994, ii (map), 79, 86, 95, 129-131, 146, 221, 223; Hunt & Murray, 1999, 107; Renouard, 1938, 171-174; Id., 1941, 71 n. 118; Id., 1942, 16-17
Barletta		6	3	2	1	>1300-1342<	Major branch headed by a factor. 5 factors were employed in Barletta in July 1335. The branch in Barletta, southern Italy's principal grain port, was very large, but its business was essentially limited to trading and logistics, best suited to the talents of a well-trained factor.	Hunt, 1994, ii (map), 49, 79, 87, 95, 129; Hunt & Murray, 1999, 107; Renouard, 1938, 171; Id., 1942, 16-17
Rhodes		6	3	2	1	not yet in 1300 c.1309-1342<	Major branch headed by a factor. Probably the branch was founded shortly after the conquest of Rhodes by the Hospitalers in 1309. In the difficult years of getting established the branch was headed by a partner, Lottieri Silimanni, who was later replaced by a factor. In 1338, the Bardi, Peruzzi and Acciaiuoli together built a shop at Villeneuve in Rhodes as a residence for their representatives.	Fryde, 1988, 90; Hunt, 1994, ii (map), 72, 79, 87, 129; Hunt & Murray, 1999, 108; Renouard, 1938, 171; Id., 1942, 13, 16-17
Cagliari		5	3	2	1	>1310-1342<	Minor branch. The operations carried out by the branch in Sardinia were relatively small and remote.	Hunt, 1994, ii (map), 79, 87, 134; Renouard, 1938, 171; Id., 1942, 16-17
Chiarenza		5	3	2	1	1307-1342	Minor branch. The branch in Chiarenza was founded in 1307, when the Angevin king bought the port. This branch, closed in 1342, was the first branch that was liquidated. The branch in Chiarenza was very small and did not have a resident manager. It even did not seem to have had a permanent factor, and may have been run from Naples.	Hunt, 1994, ii (map), 79, 87, 134, 221, 78 n. 5; Renouard, 1938, 171; Id., 1942, 16-17
Cyprus		5	3	2	1	>1300-1342<	Minor branch. Operations of the Peruzzi in Cyprus were relatively small and	Hunt, 1994, ii (map),

							remote, especially when compared to the Bardi presence in Cyprus. I have not been able to trace the exact location of the Cyprus branch.	79, 87, 129; Renouard, 1938, 171; Id., 1942, 16-17
Genoa		5	3	2	1	>1307-1342<	Minor branch. The papal archives mention the presence of a factor in Genoa in 1324. The Genoese branch dealt primarily with logistics and legal problems rather than buying and selling for the local market. The branch in Genoa was very small and did not have a resident manager.	Hunt, 1994, ii (map), 79, 86-87, 144, 78 n. 5; Luzzati, 1971, 31; Renouard, 1938, 171-174; Id., 1942, 16-17
Mallorca		5	3	2	1	not yet in 1300 >1310-1342<	Minor branch. The activities of the Mallorca branch were relatively small and remote.	Hunt, 1994, ii (map), 21-22, 79, 87, 129, 134, 129 n. 7; Renouard, 1938, 171; Id., 1942, 16-17
Pisa		5	3	2	1	>1300-1342<	Minor branch. The Pisa branch dealt primarily with logistics and legal problems rather than buying and selling for the local market.	Hunt, 1994, ii (map), 79, 86-87, 129, 144; Renouard, 1938, 171-174; Id., 1942, 16-17
Tunis		5	3	2	1	>1300-1342<	Minor branch. Activities of the Tunis branch were relatively small and remote.	Hunt, 1994, ii (map), 79, 87, 129; Renouard, 1938, 171; Id., 1942, 16-17
Venice		5	3	2	1	>1300-1342<	Minor branch. The Venice branch mostly was involved in logistics and legal problems rather than buying and selling for the local market.	Hunt, 1994, ii (map), 79, 86-87, 129; Renouard, 1938, 171; Id., 1942, 16-17
Alexandria (Egypt)		4	2	2	1	>1310<	Important agency. In the major centre Alexandria the Peruzzi dealt primarily through agents instead of branches to avoid confronting the great maritime powers of the Mediterranean (Genoa, Venice and Catalonia).	Hunt, 1994, 55, 134
Barcelona		4	2	2	1	>1335<	Important agency: in Barcelona, the Peruzzi were represented by a number of correspondents. In the major centre Barcelona the Peruzzi dealt primarily through agents instead of branches to avoid confronting the great maritime powers of the Mediterranean (Genoa, Venice and Catalonia).	Hunt, 1994, ii (map), 55, 87; Renouard, 1942, 17
Constantinople		4	2	2	1	>1310-1335<	Important agency. In the major centre Constantinople the Peruzzi dealt primarily through agents instead of branches to avoid confronting the great maritime powers of the Mediterranean (Genoa, Venice and Catalonia).	Hunt, 1994, ii (map), 55, 87, 134

Ragusa		4	2	2	1	>1310-1335<	Important agency. The Peruzzi were very active in Ragusa: 9 agents, who dealt in grain and other merchandise, also acted as temporary custodians of cash being remitted from southern Italy to Florence via Venice. In the major centre Ragusa the Peruzzi dealt primarily through agents instead of branches to avoid confronting the great maritime powers of the Mediterranean (Genoa, Venice and Catalonia).	Hunt, 1994, ii (map), 55, 87, 134, 50 n. 47
Bologna		3	2	2	1	from 1323	The Peruzzi were represented by an innkeeper in Bologna from 1323 (described by Davidsohn as branch; however, there is no evidence of formal branch accounts nor reference to such a branch in the surviving Peruzzi books).	Hunt, 1994, 144 n. 72; Renouard, 1941, 52
English wool region		3	2	2	1		The Peruzzi purchased English wool on the English countryside.	Fryde, 1988, 151
Gerona		3	2	2	1	c.1300	In 1294 king James II of Aragon granted Filippo Peruzzi the right to live and practice commerce in his territories. Around 1300, Giotto di Arnoldo Peruzzi spent considerable time in Gerona, where he was living at the time, for the company. However, the company never established a branch in Gerona, and later set one up in Mallorca.	Hunt, 1994, 21-22, 129 n. 7
Libourne		3	2	2	1		Represented by an innkeeper (located on the wool route through southern France).	Hunt, 1994, 99
Milan		3	2	2	1	from 1309	The Peruzzi were represented in Milan from 1309 (described by Davidsohn as branch; however, there is no evidence of formal branch accounts nor reference to such a branch in the surviving Peruzzi books).	Hunt, 1994, 144 n. 72
Montpellier		3	2	2	1		Represented by an innkeeper (located on the wool route through southern France).	Hunt, 1994, 99
Nice		3	2	2	1		Represented by an innkeeper (the same innkeeper as the Alberti).	Hunt, 1994, 99; Renouard, 1941, 52
Nîmes		3	2	2	1		The Peruzzi were represented by an innkeeper in Nîmes.	Renouard, 1941, 52
Perpignan		3	2	2	1		The Peruzzi were represented by an innkeeper in Perpignan.	Renouard, 1941, 52
Rome		~~6~~ *3*	~~3~~ *2*	~~2~~ *2*	~~1~~ *1*	>1300< not anymore by c.1305	In 1300, the Peruzzi had a branch at the papal court in Rome. However, in 1305 Clement V went to Avignon, and he temporarily discontinued the relations with the Italian bankers in 1306.	Hunt, 1994, 129, 131
Schiavonia		2	2	1	0		The Peruzzi were represented in Schiavonia (north-eastern coast of the Adriatic), but it is not certain whether representation here was permanent.	Renouard, 1942, 17 n. 2
Sommières		2	2	1	0	from 1305	The Peruzzi obtained control of the Mint of Sommières from king Philip IV in 1305.	Hunt, 1994, 131; Renouard, 1941, 71 n.

								118
Tournai		2	2	1	0	from 1305	The Peruzzi obtained control of the Mint of Tournai from king Philip IV in 1305.	Hunt, 1994, 131; Renouard, 1941, 71 n. 118
Troyes		2	2	1	0	from 1305	The Peruzzi obtained control of the Mint of Troyes from king Philip IV in 1305.	Hunt, 1994, 131; Renouard, 1941, 71 n. 118
Macerata		1	1	1	0	1321	Donato di Nucio Biliotti, correspondent of the Peruzzi, was in Macerata from 1 to 31 July 1321.	Renouard, 1938, 174
Southampton		1	1	1	0	>1339	The Bardi and Peruzzi obtained control over the customs at Southampton until they came in the hands of William de la Pole early in 1339.	Fryde, 1988, 124
Tripoli (Libya)		1	1	1	0		The Peruzzi were represented in Tripoli, but it is not certain whether representation here was permanent. Renouard (1942, 17 n. 2) did not specify whether Tripoli in Syria or in Libya was meant.	Renouard, 1942, 17 n. 2
Tripoli (Syria)		1	1	1	0		The Peruzzi were represented in Tripoli, but it is not certain whether representation here was permanent. Renouard (1942, 17 n. 2) did not specify whether Tripoli in Syria or in Libya was meant.	Renouard, 1942, 17 n. 2

+ It is not certain whether the list of branches of the Peruzzi company is complete, and probably only a fraction of their agents and innkeepers is known. Nevertheless, the network of the Peruzzi company is known relatively well thanks to the quality of the source material (Renouard, 1942, 17).
+ Ranking of branches (8-point scale): headed by a partner: 7; major branch headed by a factor: 6; minor branch: 5 (see Hunt, 1994, ii (map), 79).

ROCCA, end 1570s – ca. 1621 (?)

The Rocca (also de Rocca or della Rocca) belonged to a Florentine family. (However, according to Doria, 1986, 96, the Rocca were Genoese). In the 16th century, the Rocca were especially active in business in the southern Low Countries, from where they also maintained connections with Spain. As a result of the troubles in the Low Countries, the Rocca moved to Cologne, where the firm was headed by Baltasar Rocca (ca. 1541 – ca. 1621) by the end of the 1570s. The company of Baltasar Rocca and Mateo Scarpona and Co. was among the Italian companies that remained the longest in Cologne. It is not known when the Rocca business in Cologne was dissolved however (Kellenbenz, 1954, 260, 388 n. 6; Thimme, 1912, 434).

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Source material:

Not much is known about the Rocca of Florence. Information about their business network can be found in the Historisches Archiv in Cologne and the Staatsarchiv in Wetzlar (Kellenbenz, 1954, 388 n. 6; Thimme, 1912, 434-435).

Size: Medium-sized or large

The Rocca-Scarpona company was one of the larger Italian firms in Cologne (Thimme, 1912, 434).

Main activities:

- Commerce: The Rocca traded especially in silk from Italy, English cloth, grain, alum, and Hungarian copper. They also supplied the counts of Schauenburg with luxury goods such as silks, velvet, paper, lemons, wine, etc. Alessandro Rocca succeeded Gilis de Greve in the copper trade of the Gräfenthaler Saigerhandelsgesellschaft. He was also involved in the trade of the European pepper consortium (Dietz, 1921, II, 311; Kalus, 2009, 14; Kellenbenz, 1954, 260-261; Thimme, 1912, 434; Von Rauch, 1921, 180 n. 4).
- Finance: Alessandro Rocca conducted money transfers for the counts of Schauenburg. In Hamburg Alessandro Rocca was active as underwriter of maritime insurance contracts (Kalus, 2009, 14; Kellenbenz, 1954, 260-261). For the rest, nothing is known about the financial business of the Rocca.
- Industry: ?

Network of the Rocca:

Nothing is known about the structure of the Rocca enterprise. It is unclear for example whether or not Alessandro Rocca in Hamburg operated independently from the headquarters in Cologne. The nature of the relationships with foreign correspondents is uncertain as well: was the company represented abroad by salaried factors, commission agents,…?

Table A..1. Network of the Rocca, end 1570s – ca. 1610

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Cologne		8	4	3	1	>end 1570s-1621>	By the end of the 1570s, the headquarters were located in Cologne.	Kellenbenz, 1954, 260; Thimme, 1912, 434-435
Hamburg		6	3	2	1	>c.1590-1610>	The connections of the Rocca with Hamburg were very strong. Here, Alessandro Rocca, brother of Baltasar, had established himself by ca. 1590. English cloth was purchased in Hamburg, which was an important transit centre for the business of the Rocca. Between ca. 1595 an ca. 1610 Alessandro Rocca was the Hamburg factor of a consortium of Hungarian copper producers. However, by 1600 the firm of Alessandro Rocca in Hamburg was apparently already in decline. By 1610 he had gotten into financial difficulties, and had moved to Altona. Nothing is known about Alessandro Rocca after 1610.	Doria, 1986, 96; Kalus, 2009, 14; Kellenbenz, 1954, 260-262; Thimme, 1912, 435
Florence		4	2	2	1	>1590-1591<	The connections of the Rocca with Florence were apparently very strong. The company exported English cloth to Florence. In 1590 Alessandro Rocca (in Hamburg) represented an Italian alum consortium with partners in Florence (Niccolo Inata), Antwerp and Rome, and in 1591 he insured a grain transport to Italy organised by the Capponi of Florence.	Kalus, 2009, 14; Kellenbenz, 1954, 260; Thimme, 1912, 435
Rome		4	2	2	1	>1590<	The connections of the Rocca with Rome were apparently very strong. The company exported English cloth to Rome. In 1590 Alessandro Rocca (in Hamburg) represented an Italian alum consortium with partners in Florence, Antwerp and Rome (Bernardo Olgiato).	Kellenbenz, 1954, 260; Thimme, 1912, 435
Altona		3	2	2	1	c.1610	By 1610, when he had gotten into financial difficulties, Alessandro Rocca moved from Hamburg to Altona.	Kellenbenz, 1954, 262
Antwerp		3	2	2	1	>1590-1591<	In relation to his maritime insurance activities, Alessandro Rocca (Hamburg) had contacts with the Antwerp business world. In 1590 Alessandro Rocca	Kellenbenz, 1954, 260-261; Stols, 1971,

							represented an Italian alum consortium with partners in Florence, Antwerp (Francesco Cambi and partners) and Rome. The Masi in Antwerp were apparently business correspondents of the Rocca, since payment of Alessandro Rocca by the Capponi in 1591 could take place via the Masi. Jan van Immerseel in Antwerp had connections with the Rocha family.	199
Brussels		3	2	2	1		Alessandro Rocca had good relations with the government of the Low Countries in Brussels.	Kellenbenz, 1954, 261-262
Bückeburg		3	2	2	1		Alessandro Rocca had strong business connections with the counts of Schauenburg in Bückeburg.	Kellenbenz, 1954, 261
Burgos		3	2	2	1	>1578<, >1591<	At the end of the 1570s Gregorius de Henzina, merchant in Burgos, and Baltasar's son Jacob collected debts for the Rocca firm in Spain, Italy and France. In 1591, Alessandro Rocca (in Hamburg) represented the Malvenda, an important merchant family of Burgos. Alessandro conducted grain trade with Spain.	Kellenbenz, 1954, 260-261; Thimme, 1912, 435
Dinant		3	2	2	1	end 1570s	At the end of the 1570s, the goods of the Rocca in Namur and Dinant and the territories of Gyve, Charlemont, Azimon, Doisse and surroundings were administered by Johannes and Michael aux Brebis of Dinant.	Kellenbenz, 1954, 260; Thimme, 1912, 435
Emden		3	2	2	1		Emden, where the company purchased English cloth, was an important transit centre for the business of the Rocca.	Kellenbenz, 1954, 260; Thimme, 1912, 435
Ferrara		3	2	2	1		The Rocca exported English cloth to Ferrara.	Kellenbenz, 1954, 260; Thimme, 1912, 435
France		3	2	2	1	>1578<	Alessandro Rocca carried out grain trade with southern France. At the end of the 1570s, Gregorius de Henzina, merchant in Burgos, and Baltasar's son Jacob collected debts for the Rocca firm in Spain, Italy and France.	Kellenbenz, 1954, 260-261; Thimme, 1912, 435
Frankfurt am Main		3	2	2	1		Members of the company of Baltasar Rocca regularly visited the fairs of Frankfurt.	Dietz, 1921, II, 311
Medina del Campo		3	2	2	1	>1591-1595<	Alessandro Rocca was an agent of the Malvenda firm in Medina del Campo during the pepper contract of 1591.	Kalus, 2009, 10, 14
Norway		3	2	2	1	early 17th c.	Alessandro Rocca was active in trade with Norway from Hamburg in the early 17th century.	Kellenbenz, 1954, 262
Nürnberg		3	2	2	1	>1591<, >1599<	Payment of Alessandro Rocca by the Capponi in 1591 could take place via the Torrigiani in Nürnberg. In 1599, Alessandro sent Iberian goods to Nürnberg. Alessandro Rocca worked for the Gräfenthaler	Kalus, 2009, 14; Kellenbenz, 1954, 261

							Saigerhandelsgesellschaft, operated by merchants from Nürnberg.	
Russia		3	2	2	1	early 17th c.	Alessandro Rocca was active in trade with Russia from Hamburg in the early 17th century.	Kellenbenz, 1954, 262
Stade		3	2	2	1		Stade, where the company purchased English cloth, was an important transit centre for the business of the Rocca.	Kellenbenz, 1954, 260; Thimme, 1912, 435
Venice		3	2	2	1		The Rocca exported English cloth to Venice.	Kellenbenz, 1954, 260; Thimme, 1912, 435
Verona		3	2	2	1		The Rocca exported English cloth to Verona.	Kellenbenz, 1954, 260; Thimme, 1912, 435
Namur		2	2	1	0	end 1570s	At the end of the 1570s, the goods of the Rocca in Namur and Dinant and the territories of Gyve, Charlemont, Azimon, Doisse and surroundings were administered by Johannes and Michael aux Brebis of Dinant.	Kellenbenz, 1954, 260; Thimme, 1912, 435
Pinneberg		2	2	1	0		Alessandro Rocca had close business connections with the counts of Schauenburg in Bückeburg and their officials in Pinneberg.	Kellenbenz, 1954, 261

+ Due to a lack of comprehensive source material and detailed studies on the Rocca company, our knowledge of the Rocca business network is highly unsatisfactory.

SALVIATI, late 14th – early 17th century

The Salviati were a Florentine family, living already in Florence in the second half of the 12th century. They played an important political, economic and social role in the city since the 14th century. The Salviati became active in commerce and banking in the early 14th century. At that time, Jacopo di Salvi di Guglielmo was a banker, and his brother Salvestro was an entrepreneur in the Florentine woollen industry. Later in the 14th century, the sons and grandsons of Cambio, a brother of Jacopo and Salvestro di Salvi, were involved in commercial and industrial activities as well, especially in the production and export of woollen cloth. However, during the 14th century, the commercial activities of the Salviati appear to have been rather small (Hurtubise, 1985, 9, 24, 27).

It were the descendants of another brother of Jacopo and Salvestro, Lotto, himself a judge, who became active in high finance and international trade in the 15th and 16th centuries. Jacopo Salviati (c. 1360-1412) was the first member of this branch of the family to become a merchant. Under the sons and grandsons of Jacopo, the Salviati entered the realm of international commerce. However, in 1464-65, the Salviati suffered a serious crisis, and as a result business was not very active between 1465 and 1480. From the late 15th century, the Salviati business, at that time in the hands of the sons and grandsons of Alamanno di Jacopo, became more vigorous again. From then on, several generations of Salviati ran profitable business enterprises at least until the early 17th century (Hurtubise, 1985, 37-38, 44, 51-53, 61-62, 145, 219). In what follows, the business enterprises of Jacopo, his sons and grandsons until the crisis of 1464-65, and those of the descendants of Alamanno from the late 15th until the early 17th centuries, will be discussed separately.

References:

Gascon, R., 1971. *Grand commerce et vie urbaine au XVIe siècle. Lyon et ses marchands (environs de 1520 – environs de 1580).* Paris, Mouton, vol. 1, 214-216 (École Pratique des Hautes Études. Civilisations et Sociétés, 22).

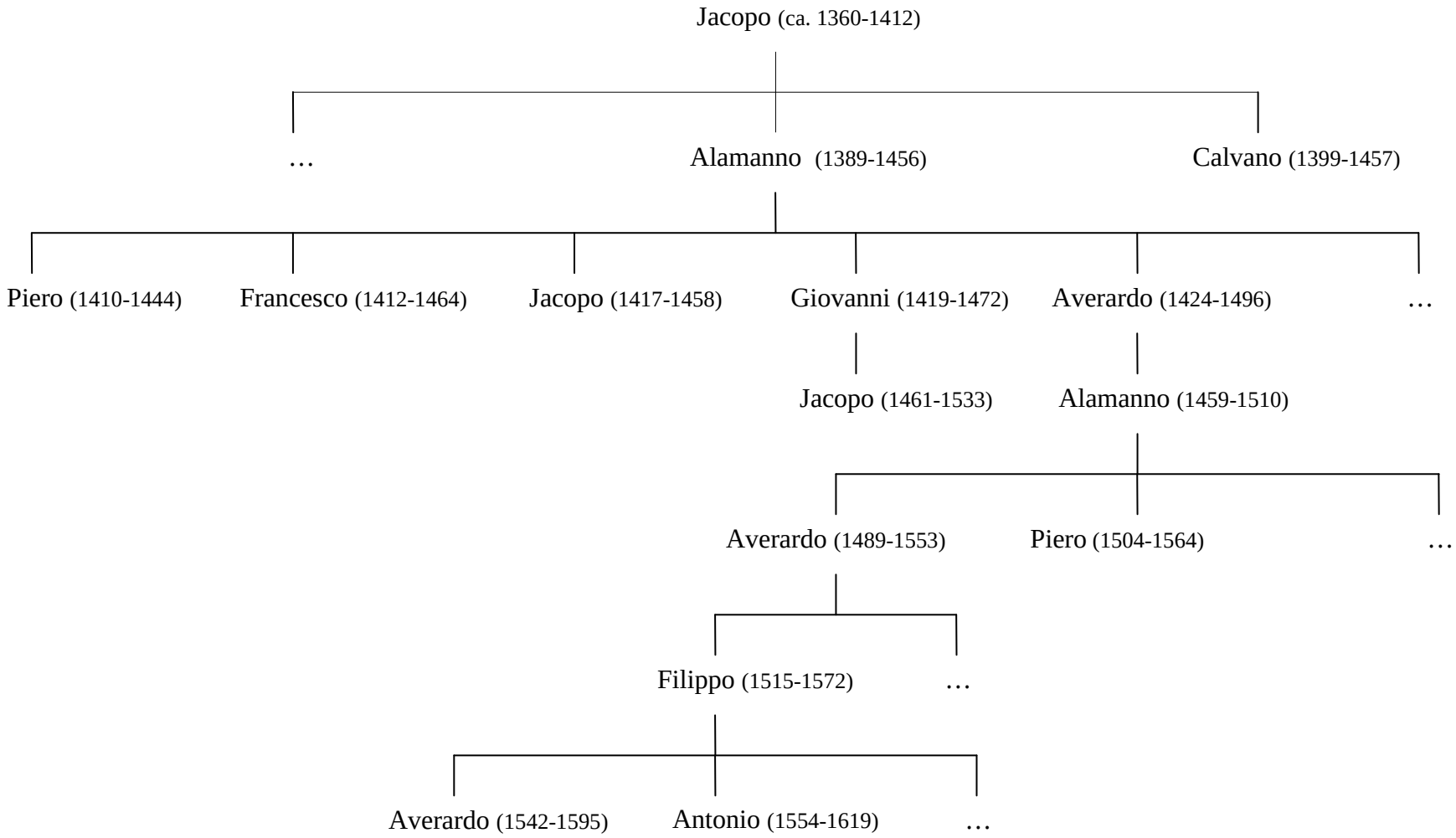
Hurtubise, P., 1985. *Une famille-témoin: Les Salviati*. Vatican City, Bibilioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Studi e Testi, 309).

I did not consult:

Hurtubise, P., 1994. “L’implantation d’une famille florentine à Rome au début du XVIe siècle: les Salviati”. In: Gensini, S., ed. *Roma Capitale (1447-1527). Atti del IV convegno di studio del Centro studi sulla civiltà del tardo Medioevo, San Miniato (Pisa), 27-31 October 1992*. Pisa, Pacini, 253-271.

There also exists a dissertation by Pirera on the activities of the Salviati company in Lyon, based on the ledger of 1508 (see Gascon, 1971, 214 n. 20).

Fig. A..1. Selective Genealogy of the Salviati



Source material:

An impressive business archive survives for the Salviati family in the Scuola Normale di Pisa. It contains about 5,000 account books, several 1,000 contracts, etc, especially for the period from the 14th to the 18th century. Data on the Salviati can be found as well in a number of other archives in Florence and elsewhere (Bullard, 2003, 21; Gascon, 1971, 214; Goldthwaite, 1998, 475, 475 n. 5; Hurtubise, 1985, 9-11).

1. COMPANIES OF JACOPO DI ALAMANNO SALVIATI, HIS SONS AND GRANDSONS, late 14th century – 1464/65 (network not used)

Jacopo Salviati (ca. 1360-1412) was active in the Florentine wool business at the end of the 14th century. However, from 1397 Jacopo became increasingly involved in governmental activity, and from the early 15th century his sons and partners took over the management of his business. The company of Jacopo in Florence was not very large yet, but in the next generations it experienced a marked growth. Between 1438 and 1456, Alamanno di Jacopo (1389-1456) and his sons created several Salviati companies. In 1464-65 the Salviati bank suffered a serious crisis however, which was related to the difficulties of the Medici, to whom the Salviati were political and economic allies. The sons of Alamanno had to liquidate almost all their enterprises to be able to pay at least partially their creditors. In the end, they were rescued from bankruptcy by Piero de' Medici. As a result of this crisis, the Salviati business was not very active between 1465 and 1480 (Hurtubise, 1985, 37-38, 44, 51-53, 61-62).

Size: Medium-sized or large

The business of Jacopo Salviati at the end of the 14th century was still fairly small. However, it experienced an important growth under his sons and grandsons, especially between 1438 and 1456 (Hurtubise, 1985, 38, 43-44).

Main activities:

- Commerce: In the period 1438-1456, the Salviati traded in wool, silk, leather, sugar, rice, dyestuffs, precious metals, woollen and silk textiles, etc (Hurtubise, 1985, 44 n. 118).
- Finance: ?
- Industry: The Salviati were involved in cloth manufacturing in Florence from the early 14th century. Jacopo Salviati established a wool company at the end of the 14th century (Hurtubise, 1985, 27, 44 n. 118).

Network of the companies of the sons and grandsons of Jacopo Salviati:

Table A..1. Network of the companies of the sons and grandsons of Jacopo Salviati, 1438-1465

City	R	Score	Period	Type of presence	References

Florence		8	4	3	1	late 14th c.-after 1465	A Florentine wool company was founded by Jacopo Salviati at the end of the 14th century. This company remained in the hands of the Salviati until the 16th century. The sons of Alamanno di Jacopo founded a bank in Florence in 1439, which survived the crisis of 1464/65.	Hurtubise, 1985, 37, 44, 216, 44 n. 118
Bruges		6	3	2	1	1456-1465	The sons of Alamanno di Jacopo founded a company in Bruges in 1456. In 1464, Borromei, the manager of the Salviati company in Bruges, fled to a sanctuary because he could not satisfy all the creditors demanding payment. The company apparently was dissolved during or shortly after the crisis of 1464-65.	De Roover, 1963, 359-360; Hurtubise, 1985, 44, 44 n. 118; Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 253
London		6	3	2	1	1445-1465	The sons of Alamanno di Jacopo founded a company in London in 1445. This company was dissolved during or shortly after the crisis of 1464-65.	Hurtubise, 1985, 44, 44 n. 118; Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 253
Pisa		6	3	2	1	1438-after 1465	The sons of Alamanno di Jacopo founded a company in Pisa in 1438, which survived the crisis of 1464/65. In 1446, the Salviati company in Pisa was organised in the name of Francesco di Alamanno Salviati (1412-1464).	Hurtubise, 1985, 44, 51, 216; Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 253; Mollat, 1988, 98
Barcelona		3	2	2	1	1423-1428<	In 1423, Calvano (1399-1457), the youngest son of Jacopo, became active in Barcelona. The Salviati were active in Barcelona ca. 1428. In this period they had connections with the Catalan merchant Johan de Torralba.	Del Treppo, 1972, 826; Hurtubise, 1985, 43-44
Rhodes		2	2	1	0	1455	In 1455, a certain Bernardo Salviati was a correspondent of the Medici bank in Rhodes.	Hurtubise, 1985, 51

+ According to Jacks & Caferro (2001, 253), the Salviati operated a branch in Rome in the 15th century, which controlled the companies in Bruges, Pisa and London. However, no mention is made of a Rome company of the Salviati by Hurtubise (1985) for this period. As such, this branch has not been included in the network.

2. COMPANIES OF THE DESCENDANTS OF ALAMANNO DI JACOPO SALVIATI, ca. 1480 – early 17th century

After a period of relative inactivity, the Salviati became increasingly involved in business again from ca. 1480. By the end of the 15th century, the business network of the Salviati contained already more than twelve companies, at least half of which were completely in the hands of the sons and grandsons of Alamanno di Jacopo. After the death of Alamanno di Averardo di Alamanno (1459-1510), the business came in hands of his cousin Jacopo di Giovanni (1461-1533) and Alamanno's son Averardo (1489-1553), while his other son Piero (1504-1564) was still too young to take over his inheritance. However, Jacopo was too much involved in politics in Florence and Rome, and he left the management of the firm to his sons and nephews, although he remained the main partner in all the Salviati enterprises. Already in 1524, Averardo and Piero Salviati, sons of

Alamanno, who were very talented businessmen, had obtained *de facto* control over the management of the Salviati business. In 1540 they took over the shares of the heirs of Jacopo – who had adopted an aristocratic lifestyle at the papal court – in the different Salviati companies. After the death of Averardo in 1553, Piero associated himself with Filippo (1515-1572), Averardo's son. Piero himself remained active in business until his death in 1564, but in 1561 he was on the verge of bankruptcy, and his businesses were not taken over by his sons. As a result, from 1564, the Salviati network was entirely in the hands of Filippo and his sons. At least until the early 17th century, the descendants of Filippo Salviati invested heavily and successfully in business, and the firm of Averardo and Antonio di Filippo Salviati & Co. was still one of the most important Florentine banks at the end of the 16th century. Nevertheless, from the 1560s the Salviati became less risky in their business investments, and by the end of the 16th century, a tendency towards aristocratisation can be found among the descendants of Filippo Salviati (Goldthwaite, 1998, 475; Hurtubise, 1985, 44, 51, 61-62, 145, 147, 206-212, 215, 217, 219, 221, 224).

Size: Large

The Salviati developed one of the most important financial, commercial and industrial networks of Florence in the 16th century. In 1529, Piero d'Alamanno Salviati was considered to be the third richest merchant of Florence. In terms of economic power, the Salviati presumably were the second or third family in Florence ca. 1551-55. The capital of the Florentine bank subsequently amounted to 8,000 fl. (in 1508, and in 1528-1542), 36,266 écus (in 1578-1581), 23,000 écus (in 1595-1598) and 30,000 écus (in 1598-1602). The capital of the Lyon bank, on the other hand, totalled 5,000 écus in 1510, and was raised to 8,400 écus in 1513 and to 20,000 écus in 1520. Still in 1571, the Salviati were submitted in Lyon to the second highest tax of all the Florentines (Gascon, 1971, 359; Hurtubise, 1985, 146, 207, 215, 218, 224).

Main activities:

- Commerce: The Salviati were especially active in wholesale trade and industry. They traded mostly in textiles (silks, woollens, linen, English kerseys), metals (German silver, copper), furs and spices. They were among the largest importers of spices in Lyon, controlling 17.5 % of the import in 1538 and 22.8 % in 1548. In 1552, they obtained exemption from import taxes in Lyon for English cloth and linen from Rouen (Gascon, 1971, 72, 115, 216, 220; Hurtubise, 1985, 219-221).
- Finance: The banking business of the Salviati was largely limited to their bank in Lyon and to their activities in Rome. The Salviati were relatives of the Medici pope Leo X as well as of the French queen Catharina de' Medici. As such, they were heavily involved in financial activities for the kings of France and for the Medici popes, and the bank in Lyon became an important channel for communication between the courts of France and Rome. The Lyon company was involved in the farming of the French salt tax from 1515, and participated in farms attributed to Jacopo Salviati by pope Leo X by 1514, such as the administration of the papal treasury of the Romagna as well as that of the salt of the Papal State. In 1523, Jacopo became the personal secretary of Pope Clement VII. The Salviati lent the king of France 130,500 écus in 1553, and 99,000 écus in 1555. These Salviati loans were partly financed by money deposited by outsiders in the Lyon bank. The Salviati were engaged in exchange transactions (Bullard, 1980, 16, 94, 16 n. 21; Ehrenberg, 1928, 206, 217; Gascon, 1971, 215-216, 367-368; Goldthwaite, 1968, 240; Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 14; Hurtubise, 1985, 146, 219-221).

- Industry: The Salviati were especially active in wholesale trade and in industry. In Florence, they participated in the production of woollens since the end of the 14th century, as well as in silk, *battiloro* and dyeing (*arte della tinta*) companies since the late 15th century. In the 16th century, the Salviati also were engaged in stock-farming and silk manufacturing in Pisa and in leather production in Florence and Pisa (Hurtubise, 1985, 61-62, 145, 219, 44 n. 118).

Network of the companies of the descendants of Alamanno Salviati:

The different companies of the Salviati were presumably relatively independent from each other. The branch in Lyon for example did not depend from any other company (it was legally independent from the Salviati company in Florence), and did not have any branches itself. The network was built through family ties, participation in different companies, correspondents, factors, etc (Gascon, 1971, 215-216, 281).

Table A..2. Network of the companies of the descendants of Alamanno Salviati, ca. 1480 – early 17th century (especially ca. 1508 – ca. 1584)

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Florence		8	4	3	1	>1480-1608<	After the crisis of 1464-65, the activities of the Salviati were very weak, but from 1480 the old wool company and the bank in Florence became increasingly active again. The Salviati bank in Florence, especially active in commerce, remained in existence at least until 1602. Moreover, the Salviati participated in wool shops (e.g. late 14th century-1519, 1544-1553, 1560-1570), silk companies (e.g. 1474-after 1517), dyeing companies (e.g. 1483-1528, from 1533), and *battiloro* companies (e.g. 1489-1504, from 1565) in Florence. The sons and grandsons of Filippo Salviati remained active in the woollen business in Florence at least until 1608. By 1540, Averardo and Piero Salviati were also partners in the bank of Luigi Requesens and the cloth manufactury of Antonio Dati in Florence. Besides, the Salviati invested *in accomandita* in several leather manufacturies in Florence between 1541 and 1561, and in a dyeing establishment in 1566. The Salviati employed two condottiere for mule transport between Lyon and Florence.	Gascon, 1971, 176; Hurtubise, 1985, 61-62, 145, 147, 206-208, 216-218, 222, 44 n. 118
Lyon		7	3	2	1	1508-1584<	In 1508 (1505 according to Gascon), Jacopo and Alamanno Salviati founded a bank in Lyon. At the same time, another Salviati bank existed in Lyon, founded before 1516 by Bernardo Salviati, who developed ties with the court of France. In 1513, the Lyon bank founded by Jacopo and Alamanno was reorganised, and came under the management of Francesco Naldini. In 1517, two new partners, Leonardo Spina and Giovambattista Corboli, joined the	Bullard, 1980, 16, 16 n. 21; Ehrenberg, 1928, 206-207, 210, 217-218; Gascon, 1971, 94, 214-215; Goldthwaite, 1968,

							Lyon company and took over the management after the death of Naldini in 1518. In 1520, again a new partner was incorporated, Giovanni Battista Bracci. The Salviati remained active in Lyon even after the financial crash in Lyon in 1559. In 1571, they were associates of Giambattista Bardi. The Salviati operated in Lyon at least until 1584, but by then, their activities presumably had become rather limited.	240; Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 172, 183-206, 243-253; Hurtubise, 1985, 145-147, 198-200, 206-207, 216, 220-221
Antwerp		6	3	2	1	1538-1544<	A Salviati company was founded in Antwerp in 1538. By 1540, it was entirely in the hands of Piero and Averardo Salviati. The Salviati sent Italian silks to Antwerp, and were involved in the export trade from Antwerp to Italy in 1543. The Salviati were the 17th largest exporters from Antwerp to Italy in 1544.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 217; Gascon, 1971, 216; Goris, 1925, 248-250; Hurtubise, 1985, 216; Puttevils, 2007, 332
Naples		3 **6**	2 **3**	2 **2**	1 **1**	>1536< >1554-1572<	- Already in 1536, the Salviati were engaged in exchange transactions between Lyon and Naples. - After the death of his brother Averardo in 1553, Piero Salviati created a company in Naples. The Salviati also invested in several *accomandite* for commerce and banking in Naples (e.g. in 1554, 1572).	Gascon, 1971, 216; Hurtubise, 1985, 217, 222
Pisa		6	3	2	1	>1480-1593<	After the crisis of 1464-65, the activities of the Salviati bank in Pisa were very weak, but from 1480 it became increasingly active again. The bank in Pisa, especially active in commerce, was still in existence in 1540. In 1509 a *magona* (stock farming enterprise) was established in Pisa. By 1540, the Salviati also owned a leather manufactury. Ca. 1590, they still owned a silk shop in Pisa with a capital of 16,000 fl. Moreover, the Salviati invested *in accomandita* in several meat shops (1544, 1580, 1582), silk shops (1589, 1590, 1593) and a leather manufactury (1565) in Pisa.	Hurtubise, 1985, 61-62, 145, 206-207, 216, 218, 222, 44 n. 118
Rome		**6**	**3**	**2**	**1**	c.1512-1533?	- Although not mentioned by Hurtubise (1985), most authors (Bullard, 1980; Ehrenberg, 1928; Goldthwaite, 1968) seem to agree on the existence of a Salviati bank in Rome, established by Jacopo Salviati (d. 1533) in the early 16th century. Jacopo, brother-in-law to pope Leo X, was already living in Rome in 1512 as ambassador of the Florentine Republic. By 1514 he had been assigned the administration of the papal treasury of the Romagna, as well as that of the salt of the Papal State. He became in 1523 the personal secretary of Pope Clement VII. The Lyon bank definitely had strong ties with Rome. In 1536, they even had their own courier, travelling between Lyon and Rome.	Bullard, 1980, 16, 16 n. 21; Ehrenberg, 1928, 206-207; Gascon, 1971, 181, 216; Goldthwaite, 1968, 240; Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 14; Hurtubise, 1985, 152, 198-200, 219-220, 222

		5	3	2	1	>1577<	- The Salviati invested in an *accomanda* for commerce and banking in Rome (1577).	
Venice		3 **6**	2 **3**	2 **2**	1 **1**	>1536< 1555-1579<	- Already in 1536, the Salviati were engaged in exchange transactions between Lyon and Venice. - In 1555, Filippo, son of Averardo, founded a bank in Venice. This bank was still in operation in 1579.	Gascon, 1971, 216; Hurtubise, 1985, 216-218
Bari		5	3	2	1	>1561<	The Salviati invested in an *accomanda* for commerce and banking in Bari (1561).	Hurtubise, 1985, 222
Maremma		5	3	2	1	>1566<	The Salviati invested in an *accomanda* for commerce of grain in the Maremma region (1566).	Hurtubise, 1985, 222
Paláia		5	3	2	1	>1566<	In 1566, the Salviati invested *in accomandita* in an oil trading enterprise in Paláia near Pisa.	Hurtubise, 1985, 222
Palermo		3 **5**	2 **3**	2 **2**	1 **1**	>1536< >1573<	- Already in 1536, the Salviati were engaged in exchange transactions between Lyon and Palermo. - The Salviati invested in an *accomanda* for commerce and banking in Palermo (1573).	Gascon, 1971, 216; Hurtubise, 1985, 222
Sevilla		3 **5**	2 **3**	2 **2**	1 **1**	>1536< >1559-1577<	- Already in 1536, the Salviati were engaged in exchange transactions between Lyon and Sevilla. They also sold silks in Sevilla. - The Salviati invested in several *accomandite* for commerce and banking in Sevilla (e.g. in 1559, 1563, 1577).	Gascon, 1971, 216; Hurtubise, 1985, 222
Blois		3	2	2	1		Italian silks were sent to Blois by the Salviati.	Gascon, 1971, 216
Bologna		3	2	2	1		The Salviati bank of Lyon was represented in Bologna.	Gascon, 1971, 216
Bruges		3	2	2	1		The Salviati bank of Lyon was represented in Bruges. Italian silks were sent to Bruges by the Salviati.	Gascon, 1971, 216
Burgos		3	2	2	1		The Salviati bank of Lyon was represented in Burgos, where the firm also sent Italian silks. The Salviati had their own condottiere for mule transport between Lyon and Spain, especially Burgos.	Gascon, 1971, 176, 216
Marseille		3	2	2	1		The Salviati bank of Lyon was represented in Marseille, where the firm also sent Italian silks.	Gascon, 1971, 216
Medina del Campo		3	2	2	1	>1536<	In 1536, the Salviati were engaged in exchange transactions between Lyon and Medina del Campo.	Gascon, 1971, 216
Montpellier		3	2	2	1		The Salviati bank of Lyon was represented in Montpellier.	Gascon, 1971, 216
Nantes		3	2	2	1		Italian silks were sent to Nantes by the Salviati.	Gascon, 1971, 216
Paris		3	2	2	1	>c.1525-1530<	The Salviati exported Italian silks to Paris, where Piero Spino (?) presumably was their representative at the French Court (ca. 1525-1530).	Ehrenberg, 1928, 211; Gascon, 1971,

								216
Rouen		3	2	2	1	>1536<	The Salviati bank of Lyon was represented in Rouen, where the firm also sent Italian silks. In 1536, the Salviati were engaged in exchange transactions between Lyon and Rouen.	Gascon, 1971, 115, 216
Salerno		3	2	2	1	>1536<	In 1536, the Salviati were engaged in exchange transactions between Lyon and Salerno.	Gascon, 1971, 216
Toulouse		3	2	2	1		The Salviati bank of Lyon was represented in Toulouse, where the firm also sent Italian silks.	Gascon, 1971, 216
Tours		3	2	2	1		Italian silks were sent to Tours by the Salviati.	Gascon, 1971, 216
Valladolid		3	2	2	1		Italian silks were sent to Valladolid by the Salviati.	Gascon, 1971, 216
Zaragoza		3	2	2	1	>1536<	In 1536, the Salviati were engaged in exchange transactions between Lyon and Zaragoza. The Salviati also exported Italian silks to Zaragoza.	Gascon, 1971, 216
Lisbon		~~6~~ *2*	~~3~~ *2*	~~2~~ *1*	~~1~~ *0*	Second half 15th century	In the second half of the 15th century, the Salviati were involved as partners in at least one company in Lisbon.	Hurtubise, 1985, 44 n. 118

+ Especially the network of the Lyon branch of the Salviati company is known relatively well.

SCALI COMPANY, 1222 – 1326

The Scali company was a large Florentine company which origins go back to 1222. Among its partners were not only members of the Scali family, but also of other families, especially the Amieri and the Petri. The Scali company went bankrupt in August 1326. This bankruptcy had large repercussions for the Florentine business world, and the liquidation of the company dragged on for many years (Fryde, 1996, 109-111; Hunt, 1994, 40-41, 160, 160n.16; Hunt & Murray, 1999, 115; Renouard, 1938, 174; Id., 1941, 43, 47; Id., 1942, 8-10).

References:

Fryde, E., 1996. "The bankruptcy of the Scali of Florence in England, 1326-1328". In: Britnell, R., Hatcher, J., eds. *Progress and problems in medieval England. Essays in honour of Edward Miller*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 107-120.

Renouard, Y., 1938. "Le compagnie commerciali fiorentine del Trecento (Dai documenti dell'Archivio Vaticano)". *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 96 (2), 174-176.

Renouard, Y., 1942. *Recherches sur les compagnies commerciales et bancaires utilisées par les Papes d'Avignon avant le Grand Schisme*. Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 8-10 (Université de Paris. Faculté des Lettres).

I did not consult:

Borsari, S., 1994. *Una compagnia di Calimala: gli Scali (secc. XIII-XIV)*. Macerata, Università degli studi di Macerata.

Source material:

Indirect data about the Scali company can be found in the Papal Archives (Renouard, 1938, 44; Id., 1942, 4-5).

Size: Very large

The Scali company was one of the most important firms of Florence in the first quarter of the 14th century. It was a very large and diversified company. The liabilities of the Scali at the time of their bankruptcy amounted to 400,000 fl. In its final year, the company had 25 shareholders, only 4 of whom belonged to the Scali family (Fryde, 1996, 109-110; Hunt, 1994, 38, 40-41, 160, 160 n. 16; Renouard, 1938, 174; Id., 1941, 81; Id., 1942, 9).

Main activities:

- Commerce: The Scali were a very diversified company. Among other things, they imported grain from the kingdom of Sicily, English wool and French and Flemish cloth into Florence, and re-exported them to the rest of Italy (Renouard, 1942, 9).
- Finance: The Scali were the principal bankers of the papacy in the early 14th century, and they loaned considerable amounts of capital to the Angevin kings of Naples, the kings of France, and occasionally the English kings. In France, they collected the revenues of several

tolls and taxes. The Scali carried out exchange transactions and were involved in deposit banking (e.g. in England). Among the creditors of the London branch in 1326 were several high clergymen, and a number of Italian, Hanseatic and English merchants (Fryde, 1996, 109-112, 114, 117-119; Hunt & Murray, 1999, 102; Renouard, 1941, 70, 116; Id., 1942, 9).

- Industry: ?

Network of the Scali company:

The Scali were organised as a multi-branch company. They were very active in the commerce of southern Italy, England, and France (Hunt, 1994, 40-41, 160-163, 160 n. 16; Renouard, 1942, 9).

Table A..1. Network of the Scali company, first quarter of the 14th century

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Florence		8	4	3	1	1222-1326	Headquarters, located in the Popolo San Remigio. The Scali also had an inn in the Popolo di Santa Maria in Campo for lodging their clients and correspondents travelling through Florence.	Fryde, 1996, 109-110; Renouard, 1942, 8-9
Avignon		6	3	2	1	>1317-1326<	Branch. The papal archives mention the presence of partners and factors in Avignon between 1317 and 1326.	Renouard, 1938, 175-176; Id., 1942, 9
Bologna		6	3	2	1	<1316-1326>, >1326<	Branch. The papal archives mention the presence of a factor in Bologna in 1326.	Renouard, 1938, 175-176; Id., 1942, 9
Genoa		6	3	2	1	>1307-1326<	Branch. After the bankruptcy of the Scali, the Genoese creditors of the company seized the goods of the other Florentine merchants in Genoa.	Fryde, 1996, 110; Luzzati, 1971, 31; Renouard, 1942, 9
London		6	3	2	1	>1324-1326<	Branch. In 1325, the head of the London branch left England, leaving behind only two senior factors, Landus Omodei and Cerbius Tenchini. Agents of the Scali firm did not only stay in London, but also went elsewhere in England.	Fryde, 1996, 111-112, 115-116; Renouard, 1942, 9
Milan		6	3	2	1	<1316-1326>, >1320-1326<	Branch. The papal archives mention the presence of partners and factors in Lombardy between 1321 and 1326, and in Milan in 1320.	Renouard, 1938, 175-176; Id., 1942, 9
Naples		6	3	2	1		Branch.	Renouard, 1942, 9
Paris		6	3	2	1		Branch.	Renouard, 1942, 9
Perugia		6	3	2	1	<1316-1326>, >1324-1326<	Branch. The papal archives mention the presence of partners in Perugia between 1324 and 1326.	Renouard, 1938, 175-176; Id., 1942, 9
Viterbo		2	2	1	0	before 1326	Primairano Bracherii, factor, was in Viterbo before 1326.	Renouard, 1938, 176
Antwerp		1	1	1	0		The agents of the Scali issued two bonds at Antwerp, attesting debts of the	Fryde, 1996, 114

							Scali to two German merchants.	
Cuneo		1	1	1	0	1321	Guido di Cione Marzuoli, presumably one of the partners, was in Cuneo on 15 June 1321.	Renouard, 1938, 175
Piacenza		1	1	1	0	1324	Guido di Cione Marzuoli, presumably one of the partners, was in Piacenza on 27 July 1324.	Renouard, 1938, 175

+ The total number of branches of the Scali firm is not known, but presumably there were many more than those mentioned in the papal documents. Moreover, in cities where they had no branch, the Scali were probably often represented by correspondents. Consequently, the network reconstructed in the table is highly incomplete (Renouard, 1942, 9).

SODERINI COMPANY, at least from 1354 to 1399

The Soderini were a family of Florentine bankers. Some members of the Soderini family were partners in the Peruzzi company. After the bankruptcy of the Peruzzi, the Soderini founded their own firm which is mentioned in the papal documents between 1354 and 1375, but which probably existed before and after these dates. Ca. 1355, the company was named "Compagnia di Niccolò Soderini e compagni", ca. 1365-67 "Compagnia di Andrea Soderini e compagni", ca. 1367-1369 "Compagnia di Francesco di Gieri Soderini e compagni", and ca. 1375 "Compagnia di Tommaso Soderini". Tommaso di Guccio Soderini was still involved in banking in Florence in 1399. The Soderini remained engaged in business in the 15th and 16th centuries. By 1472, another Tommaso Soderini had risen from humble beginnings to considerable financial success through banking and silk manufacturing, and by this time he counted among the wealthier citizens of Florence. Still in the first half of the 16th century, the Soderini were active as papal bankers in Rome (Bullard, 1980, 16; Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 246; Padgett & McLean, 2006, 1551-1552; Renouard, 1938, 176-177; Id., 1942, 41-42).

References:

Renouard, Y., 1938. "Le compagnie commerciali fiorentine del Trecento (Dai documenti dell'Archivio Vaticano)". *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 96 (2), 176-178.

Renouard, Y., 1942. *Recherches sur les compagnies commerciales et bancaires utilisées par les Papes d'Avignon avant le Grand Schisme*. Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 41-42 (Université de Paris. Faculté des Lettres).

I did not consult:

Clark, P. C., 1991. *The Soderini and the Medici: Power and patronage in fifteenth-century Florence*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Source material:

Our knowledge of the 14th-century Soderini company is almost entirely based on data preserved in the Papal Archives (Renouard, 1938, 44, 176; Id., 1942, 4-5).

Size: Medium-sized

The Soderini company was a medium-sized firm in Florence in the second half of the 14th century (Renouard, 1938, 176; Id., 1942, 41).

Main activities:

- Commerce: ?
- Finance: The Soderini were papal bankers between ca. 1354 and 1378 (Padgett & McLean, 2006, 1551-1552; Renouard, 1938, 176; Id., 1941, 112; Id., 1942, 42).

- Industry: ?

Network of the Soderini company:

The Soderini company was a Florentine multi-branch company in the third quarter of the 14th century, apparently also using the services of correspondents in cities were no branches were established.

Table A..1. Network of the Soderini company, ca. 1354 – ca. 1375

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Florence		8	4	3	1	>1354-1399<	Headquarters. Tommaso di Guccio Soderini was active in international merchant banking as well as in local banking in Florence.	Padgett & McLean, 2006, 1551-1552; Renouard, 1942, 41-42
Avignon		6	3	2	1	>1354-1376<	Branch. The papal archives mention the presence of partners and factors in Avignon between 1354 and 1376. Tommaso di Guccio Soderini was active in international merchant banking in Florence and Avignon.	Padgett & McLean, 2006, 1551; Renouard, 1938, 176-178; Id., 1942, 42
Bruges		6	3	2	1	>1364-1370<	Branch. The papal archives mention the presence of factors and partners in Flanders and Brabant between 1364 and 1370, and in Bruges between 1364 and 1365.	Renouard, 1938, 176-178; Id., 1942, 42
Paris		6	3	2	1	>1366<	Branch. The Soderini were represented in Paris by the factor Guinet Barbier de Rodez, who was French and not Italian, which was exceptional. The papal archives mention the presence of factors in Paris in 1366.	Renouard, 1938, 176-178; Id., 1941, 53; Id., 1942, 42
Montpellier		4	2	2	1	>1365<	Correspondent or branch. The papal archives mention the presence of a correspondent in Montpellier in 1365.	Renouard, 1938, 176-178; Id., 1942, 42
Naples		4	2	2	1	>1361-1365<	Correspondent or branch. The papal archives mention the presence of partners in Naples between 1361 and 1365.	Renouard, 1938, 176-178; Id., 1942, 42
Perugia		4	2	2	1	>1354-1365<	Correspondent or branch. The papal archives mention the presence of partners and correspondents in Perugia between 1354 and 1365.	Renouard, 1938, 176-178; Id., 1942, 42
Rome		2 ~~6~~ ***3***	2 ~~3~~ ***2***	1 ~~2~~ ***2***	0 ~~1~~ ***1***	>1368-1370 after 1385?	The papal archives mention the presence of a correspondent at the Curia in Italy (Rome, Viterbo, Montefiascone) between 1368 and 1370. Tommaso di Guccio Soderini was active in international merchant banking in Florence and Rome in partnership with Stoldo Altoviti.	Padgett & McLean, 2006, 1551-1552; Renouard, 1938, 177-178

Montefiascone		2	2	1	0	>1368-1370<	The papal archives mention the presence of a correspondent at the Curia in Italy (Rome, Viterbo, Montefiascone) between 1368 and 1370.	Renouard, 1938, 177-178
Viterbo		2	2	1	0	>1368-1370<	The papal archives mention the presence of a correspondent at the Curia in Italy (Rome, Viterbo, Montefiascone) between 1368 and 1370.	Renouard, 1938, 177-178
Arras		1	1	1	0	1366	The papal archives mention the presence of a factor in Arras on 8 June 1366.	Renouard, 1938, 177-178
Cologne		1	1	1	0	1368	The papal archives mention the presence of a factor in Cologne from 31 May to 28 June 1368.	Renouard, 1938, 177-178

+ The network of the Soderini can only very partially be reconstructed from the papal documents (Renouard, 1942, 42).

SPINELLI COMPANY, 1447 – 1492

The Spinelli family of Florence was active in commerce and banking since the 14th century. The most successful banker of the Spinelli family was Tommaso di Lionardo (1398-1472), who started his career as an apprentice of the Alberti company in Rome, and later became a junior partner in a Roman bank owned by the Borromei. He established his own bank in Rome in 1447, followed by a number of textile manufactories in Florence during the 1450s. The bank suffered a serious crisis in 1457-1458 due to overinvolvement in loans to pope Calixtus III. During the 1460s the situation improved, but by 1471 conditions appear to have worsened again. The Roman bank was reorganised by Tommaso early in 1459. Three new partners were added: Alessandro di Bernardo de' Bardi, Gherardo di Amerigo Grasso (d. 1461), and his nephew Leonardo di Cipriano Spinelli (d. 1468). Following Leonardo's death in 1468, Tommaso formed a new partnership with Jacopo di Scolaio Spini and Simone di Mariano di Vanni Filipepi. This partnership continued until the death of Tommaso Spinelli in 1472. His nephew Guasparre di Niccodemo Spinelli inherited Tommaso's business enterprise, but under Guasparre the bank was far less resilient. About 1478, the company ran into serious trouble, and was finally forced to declare bankruptcy in 1492. In the 16th century, Benetto, a son of Guasparre, partly restored the fortune of the Spinelli family through the operation of several silk manufactories (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 4-7, 53-54, 58, 70-71, 243, 247, 252-256, 259-262).

References:

Jacks, Ph., Caferro, W., 2001. *The Spinelli of Florence. Fortunes of a Renaissance merchant family*. University Park (PA), The Pennsylvania State University Press.

I did not consult:

Caferro, W., 1995. "L'attività bancaria papale e la Firenze del rinascimento: il caso di Tommaso Spinelli". *Società e Storia*, 70, 717-753.

Caferro, W., 1996. "The silk business of Tomasso Spinelli, fifteenth-century Florentine merchant and papal banker". *Renaissance Studies*, 10, 417-439.

Caferro, W., 2008. "Tommaso Spinelli: The soul of a banker". *The Journal of the Historical Society*, 8 (2), 303-322.

Source material:

Records on the business of Tommaso Spinelli are preserved from 1435. They contain extracts of account books and balance sheets (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 5).

Size: Medium-sized

The starting capital of Tommaso's Florentine silk shop in 1454 totalled 6,000 fl., which was a relatively large amount for a silk manufactory. In 1458, the wool manufactory in Florence had the rather substantial capital of 3,000 fl. In December 1471, shortly before the death of Tommaso Spinelli, the Roman bank had a *corpo* of 4,000 fl. (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 77-78, 80, 254-255).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Tommaso Spinelli traded especially in luxury items with the papal court. The principal goods imported by Spinelli in Rome were woollen cloth, silks, linen and cotton, but he also traded in spices, furs, medicines and military items. Around 1458, Tommaso Spinelli was the largest importer in Rome (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 55, 58-59).
- Finance: In 1447, the year in which he founded his own bank, Tommaso Spinelli was fired as Depositary General of the Apostolic Chamber. However, his dealings with the Curia remained very important. Tommaso advanced large loans to pope Calixtus III and his successors. He collected Annates and other revenues, and his clientele included a number of influential cardinals. Spinelli had many difficulties in obtaining repayment of his loans to the Camera Apostolica (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 53-55, 65-67, 248-249, 251-252).
- Industry: In 1454 Tommaso Spinelli established a silk shop in Florence, and in 1458 he added a cloth factory for the production of woollen cloth. Tommaso's silk shop was very profitable (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 58, 75-80).

Network of the Spinelli company:

The Rome bank of Tommaso Spinelli did have no international network of affiliate branches. Nevertheless, he could dispose of an international network of correspondents and business relations, in which his brothers played key roles (Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 55, 265-266).

Table A..1. Network of the Spinelli company, 1447 – 1472

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Rome		8	4	3	1	1447-1492	Headquarters. In 1447, Tommaso established his own bank in Rome. The bank and warehouse in Rome were located in a house rented from cardinal Latino Orsini. The management of the bank in Rome was increasingly delegated to others, firstly to Leonardo Doffi and Smeraldo di Giovanni Strozzi, and after 1457, when Tommaso returned to Florence, to Tommaso's nephew Leonardo di Cipriano.	Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 55-56, 70-71, 75-76, 88, 109, 243, 248-252
Florence	T	6	3	2	1	1454-1479	- In 1454, Tommaso began a bottega for the manufacture of silk in the Via Por Santa Maria in Florence, in partnership with Niccolò di Piero Buonaccorso and Goro di Matteo Gori. The silk shop was continued through several partnerships until ca. 1479. In 1454, Tommaso's silk shop employed 30 weavers, which number was increased to 40 in 1462. - In 1458, Tommaso formed a partnership with Lorenzo di Rinieri Spinelli for a wool manufactory. The wool shop was still in operation in 1470. - In Florence, Tommaso sold cloth through Mariotto dello Steccuto, one of	Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 75-80, 82, 84, 86-87, 90

							the city's largest retailers. The volume of business between Tommaso and Mariotto was substantial. - In 1457, Tommaso definitely returned to Florence, leaving the management of his Rome bank in the hands of others.	
Venice		5	3	2	1	>1449-1467<	Tommaso's brother Niccodemo had a bank in Venice which was a close business associate of Tommaso's Rome bank. Other correspondents of Tommaso in Venice were the companies of Benedetto Spinelli (the son of Niccodemo), and Filippo Inghirami & Co. In 1449, Tommaso sold tin in Venice through his brother Niccodemo. In 1464-1465, Tommaso temporarily set up his base of operations in Venice to oversee a transfer of funds from Cologne.	Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 59, 90, 248-249, 252-253, 265
Barcelona		4	2	2	1	>1459-1467<	Tommaso Spinelli had extensive business connections in Barcelona. Francesco d'Antonio Giannotti and Stefano del Guelfo worked for Tomasso Spinelli, but in what capacity is unclear. Correspondents in Barcelona were Bernardo Ciampelli (1467), Filippo Pierozzi, and Federigo Ghalletti (1467).	Jacks & Caffero, 2001, 65-67, 89, 90, 248-249, 253
Aquilèia		3	2	2	1	>1467-1471<	Correspondents of the Spinelli bank in Aquilèia were Salvato di Giovanni & Pasquale di Santuzo.	Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 253-254
Avignon		3	2	2	1	>1471<	Correspondents of the Spinelli Bank in Avignon in 1471 were Leonardo Manelli & Co., Ambrogio Ruffini, and Francesco da Savignano.	Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 254
Bologna		3	2	2	1	>1459-1471<	Niccolò da Meleto was a longtime correspondent of the Spinelli bank in Bologna (e.g. in 1459, 1467). Through him, Spinelli carried out a fairly substantial business with high-ranking clergy and their functionaries in Bologna. Also silk was sold in Bologna. Correspondents of the Spinelli bank in Bologna in 1471 were Guido and Rinaldo Zanchini & Co.	Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 88-89, 248-249, 253-254
Bruges		3	2	2	1	>1459-1471<	Correspondents of the Spinelli bank in Bruges were Antonio da Rabatta (1467), Bernardo Cambi & Co. (1467), Giovanni Frescobaldi (1471), and Ambrogio Ruffini (1471). Schiatta Bagnesi did some business for Tommaso at the fairs in Flanders in 1461. Silks of Tommaso were sold in Flanders.	Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 88-90, 248-249, 253-254
Ferrara		3	2	2	1	>1463-1467<	The correspondent of the Spinelli bank in Ferrara in 1467 was Francesco da Cavalli. Cloth of Tomasso was sold to customers in Ferrara.	Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 88-89, 253
Geneva		3	2	2	1	>1459-1466<	Geneva generated a profitable business for Tommaso. His main intermediary in Geneva was Francesco Del Tovaglia, who was one of the most active salesmen of silks for the Spinelli between 1461 and 1466. Filippo Beaqua (the Milanese representative), Venturino Borromei, and quite likely Carlo Baroncelli also handled Tommaso's silks in Geneva.	Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 88-89, 248-249

Genoa		3	2	2	1	>1467-1471<	The correspondent of the Spinelli bank in Genoa was Venturino Borromei (1467, 1471).	Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 253-254
London		3	2	2	1	>1467-1471<	Correspondents of the Spinelli bank in London were Lodovico Strozzi & Co. (1467), and Giovanni de' Bardi & Co (1471).	Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 253-254
Lübeck		3	2	2	1	>1459-1467<	After Rome and Geneva, Tommaso's busiest market for silks was Lübeck. His representative in Lübeck was Francesco Rucellai. Credit transactions with Lübeck went through the Spinelli in Venice. From ca. 1465, Tommaso Spinelli became increasingly interested in the new markets in northern and eastern Europe, particularly in Nürnberg and Lübeck.	Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 89-90, 248-249, 252-253
Lyon		3	2	2	1	>1459-1467<	Correspondent of Tommaso Spinelli in Lyon: Guglielmo Dudio. Spinelli sold his silks and woollens at the fairs of Lyon.	Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 248-249, 252-253
Mantua		3	2	2	1	>1463-1465<	Cloth of Tommaso was marketed in Mantua via his brother Buonsignore, who resided in Mantua.	Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 82, 88-89
Milan		3	2	2	1	>1463-1471<	Correspondents in Milan: Guaspare Vagliano (1467), the company of Filippo Beaqua, Stefano di Moliano (1471). Cloth of Tommaso was sold in Milan.	Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 88-89, 253-254
Montpellier		3	2	2	1	>1471<	Correspondent of the Spinelli Bank in Montpellier in 1471 was the company of Niccolò Manelli & Tadeo Masi.	Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 254
Nantes		3	2	2	1	>1459<	Correspondent of Tomasso Spinelli in Nantes: Francesco Fanucci.	Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 248-249
Naples		3	2	2	1	>1459-1471<	Correspondents in Naples: Filippo and Lorenzo Strozzi. Not much silk was sold by Tommaso in Naples however.	Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 88, 248-249, 254
Nürnberg		3	2	2	1	>1465-1467<	From 1465, Tommaso Spinelli became increasingly interested in the new markets of northern and eastern Europe, particularly Nürnberg and Lübeck. The correspondent of the Spinelli bank in Nürnberg in 1467 was Hans Mulor.	Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 252-253
Paris		3	2	2	1	>1459-1467<	Correspondent of the Spinelli in Paris: Francesco Fanucci.	Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 248-249, 253
Rhodes		3	2	2	1	>1467<	Correspondents of the Spinelli bank in 1467 in Rhodes were Giovanni Peruzzi, and Gientil de' Bardi & Co.	Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 253
Siena		3	2	2	1	>1457-1467<	Correspondents of Tommaso Spinelli in Siena: Bartolomeo Gabrielli (as early as 1457), Ugo d'Agostino Berti (in 1467). Tommaso's cloth was sold in Siena.	Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 59, 88-89, 253, 369 n. 75

Valencia		3	2	2	1	>1467<	Tommaso Spinelli had extensive business connections in Valencia. Correspondents in Valencia in 1467 were Giovanni Canigiani & Co., and Baldassare Biliotti, Francesco Buoncambi & Co.	Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 65-67, 253
Arezzo		2	2	1	0		Tommaso Spinelli distributed goods to retailers in Arezzo.	Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 59
Borgo San Sepolcro		2	2	1	0		Tommaso Spinelli distributed goods to retailers in Borgo San Sepolcro.	Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 59
Castel San Giovanni		2	2	1	0		Tommaso Spinelli distributed goods to retailers in Castello San Giovanni.	Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 59
Cologne		2	2	1	0	>1464-1465<	In 1463, Tommaso advanced a loan to the Camera Apostolica, which was guaranteed by the common services paid by the bishopric of Cologne. When a year had passed with less than half the amount collected, Tommaso went to Venice from where he dispatched a series of messages to Cologne to personally oversee the transfer of funds from the bishop. The whole operation took more than a year, and by 1467 the account still registered an outstanding debt of 2,281 fl.	Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 248-249
Cortona		2	2	1	0		Tommaso Spinelli distributed goods to retailers in Cortona.	Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 59
Galicia		2	2	1	0	>1450<	In 1450, Spinelli purchased 265,862 maravedis worth of leather through Giovanni del Pelagio, a commission agent in Galicia.	Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 363 n. 39
Montevarchi		2	2	1	0		Tommaso Spinelli distributed goods to retailers in Montevarchi.	Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 59
Parma		2	2	1	0	>1463-1465<	Cloth of Tommaso was sold to customers in Parma.	Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 88-89
Pisa		2	2	1	0		Tommaso Spinelli distributed goods to retailers in Pisa.	Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 59
Sevilla		2	2	1	0	c. 1451	Around 1451, the Spinelli had difficulties collecting the debts of Alfonso Carillo, archbishop of Toledo, who owed the bank 8,000 fl. Tommaso's chief factor in Spain, Lando Giannetti, made several trips to Toledo and Sevilla to collect from the bishop, but without success.	Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 55-56
Toledo		2	2	1	0	c.1451	Around 1451, the Spinelli had difficulties collecting the debts of Alfonso Carillo, archbishop of Toledo, who owed the bank 8,000 fl. Tommaso's chief factor in Spain, Lando Giannetti, made several trips to Toledo and Sevilla to collect from the bishop, but without success.	Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 55-56
Kraków		1	1	1	0	from 1465	From ca. 1465 the Spinelli bank prospected for business in Poland, and more	Jacks & Caferro,

							specifically in Kraków and Poznań.	2001, 252
Poznań		1	1	1	0	from 1465	From ca. 1465 the Spinelli bank prospected for business in Poland, and more specifically in Kraków and Poznań.	Jacks & Caferro, 2001, 252

STROZZI, 1420s – 1538

The Strozzi were one of the great patrician families of Florence, only overshadowed by the Medici. The Strozzi are known to have been active in banking already at the end of the 13th century. By the early 14th century, they had extended their banking activities into France and England, and at Avignon they were active at the papal court. In the 14th century, Carlo Strozzi had a company with a capital of 53,600 fl. in 1367. His sons operated companies in Florence, Valencia and Genoa, and were involved in silk manufacturing. At the end of the 14th century, Filippo di Leonardo Strozzi (d. 1405) had a wool company which was continued in the early 15th century by his sons Leonardo, Piero, and Simone (after 1424 replaced by his son Matteo). Pinaccio, the fourth son, had gone to London sometime before 1422 where he established a wool company as well, which had dealings with the Florentine company of his brothers. The surviving personal account books of Simone and Matteo tell us almost nothing about the internal operation of the business of the Strozzi brothers. We only know that in 1422, 1,200 fl. was invested in an *accomanda* in L'Aquila (Goldthwaite, 1968, 31-32, 36, 39, 41-46, 48; Id., 1987, 16; Padgett & McLean, 2006, 1559; Renouard, 1941, 58, 114, 113 n. 82; Id., 1942, 39, 38 n. 10).

More is known about the operations of Niccolò, Jacopo and Filippo, the sons of Leonardo di Filippo Strozzi. They ventured abroad and built up an extensive international business. Their cousin Matteo, meanwhile, was exiled by Cosimo de' Medici because of his relationship to the wealthy financier Palla Strozzi[2] (a cousin of Matteo's father Simone). After Matteo's death in 1435, his young sons, being exiled as well, were taken aboard the organisation of Niccolò, Jacopo and Filippo di Leonardo as apprentices. Sometime before 1466 Filippo and Lorenzo di Matteo set up their own business in Naples, which was liquidated in the 1490s, after the death of Filippo in 1491. At the time of Filippo il vecchio's death, his sons Lorenzo and Filippo were still too young to carry on his business, but in 1510 they established their own company, which became heavily involved in papal banking when Filippo il giovane became Depositary General of the Apostolic Chamber. After Filippo il giovane's death in 1538, none of his sons took over his business. However, at the end of the 16th century a firm named Zanobi Carnesecchi and Alessandro Strozzi & Co. (active in Lyon and at the fairs of Besançon) was one of the more important banking firms of Florence (Goldthwaite, 1968, 37-39, 48, 50-51, 56, 77-78, 85-90, 101-102; Id., 1998, 475, 531).

In what follows, the networks of three Strozzi companies will be investigated: (1) the company of Niccolò, Jacopo and Filippo, the sons of Leonardo di Filippo Strozzi; (2) the company of Filippo di Matteo (Filippo il vecchio) and his brother Lorenzo; (3) the business of Filippo di Filippo (Filippo il giovane) and his brother Lorenzo.

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[2] The branch of Palla Strozzi apparently was active in business as well: the bank of Gianfrancesco Strozzi, son of Palla, got in financial difficulties in 1464 (De Roover, 1963, 359-360, 481 n. 17).

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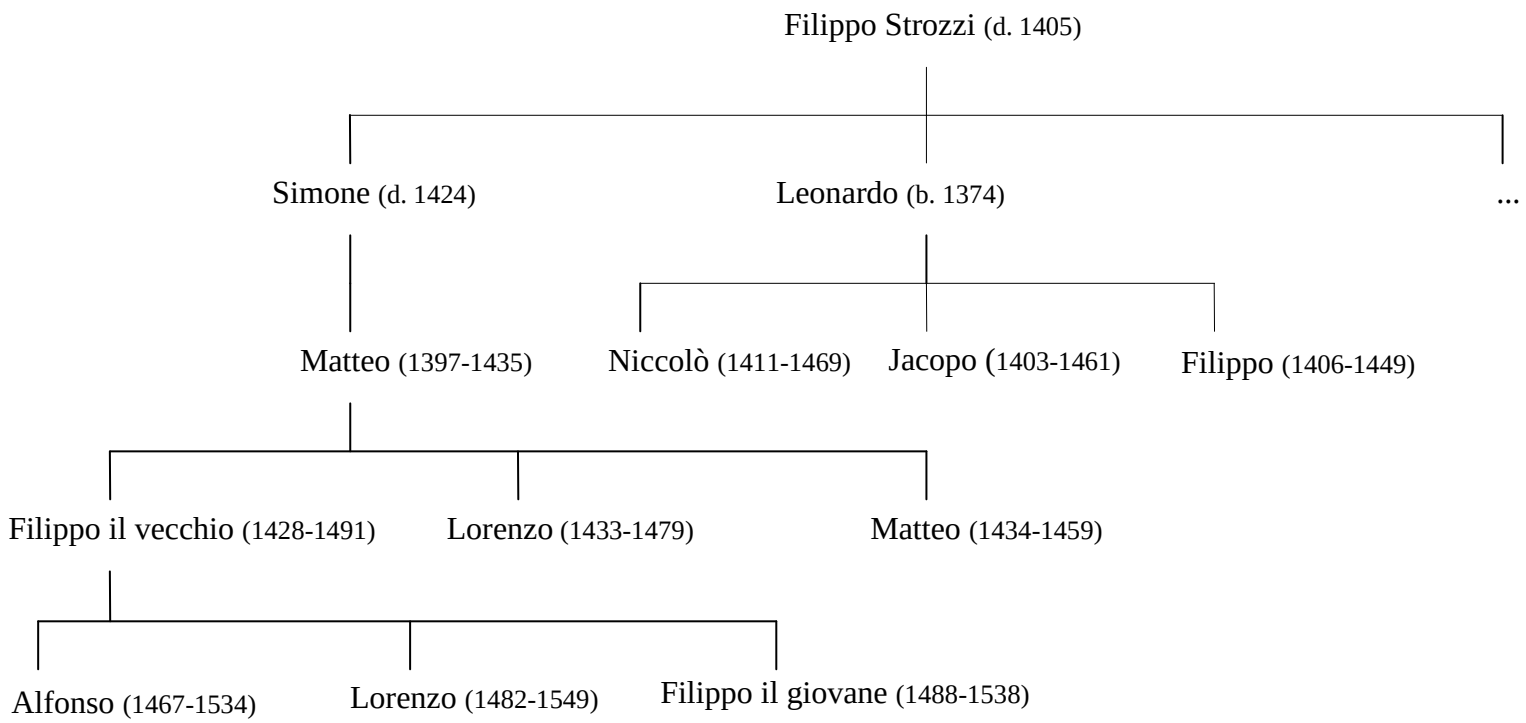
Source material:

The *Carte Strozziane*, a collection of family documents of the Strozzi, have been preserved in the Archivio di Stato of Florence. Other collections of Strozzi documents are in Ferrara and in the Folger Shakespeare Library (Washington, D.C.) (Goldthwaite, 1968, 31 n. 1).

Two account books of the companies of the sons of Leonardo di Filippo Strozzi survive, one of Filippo in Avignon, and one of Jacopo in Bruges. For the investigation of the business network of Filippo and Lorenzo di Matteo Strozzi, a book of *ricordanze* of 1466-1467 and several account books (one of which has been published by Alfonso Leone) and balance sheets for the companies in Naples and Florence are available, as well as the correspondence of the brothers with their mother Alessandra during their early years in exile (Goldthwaite, 1968, 53, 59, 280, 51 n. 42, 56 n. 53; Guidi Bruscoli, s.d., 4).

Filippo di Filippo Strozzi left several letters, accounts and other documents. There also exists a biography of Filippo il giovane written by his brother Lorenzo. None of the *libri segreti* of the companies of Filippo il giovane have been preserved, but some account books of the companies in Rome and Florence are still extant, as well as a number of account books of the cloth manufactories of Filippo and Lorenzo di Filippo, and three account books of the company of Filippo il giovane and Lorenzo of 1510. Information on Filippo di Filippo's financial relations with the papacy can be found, among other places, in the Archivio Vaticano (Bullard, 1980, 3, 179; Goldthwaite, 1968, 87-89, 97, 281-282).

Fig. A..1. Selective Genealogy of the Strozzi



1. COMPANY OF THE SONS OF LEONARDO DI FILIPPO STROZZI, 1420s – 1460s (network not used)

Jacopo (1403-1461), Filippo (1406-1449), and Niccolò Strozzi (1411- died 1468 or 1469) were the sons of Leonardo di Filippo Strozzi. They ventured abroad to the Low Countries, Spain and Naples, and built an international commercial network of offices. The company reached its largest expansion in the period 1441-1446 (Del Treppo, 1972, 777; Goldthwaite, 1968, 53, 53 n. 45).

Size: Large

The sons of Leonardo built up an extensive and lucrative operation. They were reputed to be very rich. In the early 1440s, the *corpo* of the different companies of the Strozzi brothers amounted to ca. 12,000-13,000 Barcelonese lira. (Del Treppo, 1972, 778; Goldthwaite, 1968, 48).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Engaged in commercial activities. The Strozzi furnished woollen and silk cloth to the court of Alfonso I in Naples (Edler –De Roover, 1966, 262; Goldthwaite, 1968, 48).
- Finance: Engaged in banking activities (Goldthwaite, 1968, 48).
- Industry: ?

Network of the company of the sons of Leonardo di Filippo Strozzi:

Almost nothing about the organisation of the business of the brothers Niccolò, Jacopo and Filippo is known. All of them ventured abroad, apparently without any inclination to return to Florence (Goldthwaite, 1968, 53).

Table A..1. Network of the company of the sons of Leonardo di Filippo Strozzi, 1420s – 1460s

City	**R**	**Score**				**Period**	**Type of presence**	**References**
Naples		8	4	3	1	>1447-1461<	Head office. Matteo di Matteo Strozzi worked in the main branch in Naples, where he died in 1459. From 1447, his brother Filippo di Matteo Strozzi was associated with Niccolò di Leonardo Strozzi in the office in Naples. In 1461, Lorenzo di Matteo joined the office in Naples.	Del Treppo, 1972, 777; Goldthwaite, 1968, 53-55
Avignon		6	3	2	1	>1423-1426<	An account book of Filippo di Leonardo Strozzi in Avignon (1423-26) has been preserved.	Goldthwaite, 1968, 53 n. 45
Barcelona		6	3	2	1	>1437-1449<	Office. A company was established in Barcelona by Filippo Strozzi, first with Lorenzo Tacchini, and from 1437 with his brothers Jacopo and Niccolò. The capital of this company was less than 3,000 Valencian lira. Filippo di Leonardo Strozzi died in Barcelona in 1449.	Del Treppo, 1972, 777; Goldthwaite, 1968, 53, 53 n. 45; Mollat, 1988, 158, 279
Bruges		6	3	2	1	1441-1461<	Office. A branch in Bruges, named Jacopo Strozzi & Partners, was opened in 1441. Jacopo died in Bruges in 1461. An account book of Jacopo di Leonardo Strozzi in Bruges (1450-57) has been preserved. Lorenzo and Matteo di Matteo Strozzi worked for the company in Bruges in the 1450s. Lorenzo was still in the office in Bruges in 1461.	Del Treppo, 1972, 777; Goldthwaite, 1968, 53, 54 n. 45; Guidi Bruscoli, s.d., 4, 6-7, 10
Palermo		6	3	2	1	from 1445	In 1445, a branch was established in Palermo.	Del Treppo, 1972,

								777
Rome		6	3	2	1	>1468-1469<	Office. Niccolò di Leonardo Strozzi died in Rome in 1468 or 1469.	Goldthwaite, 1968, 53, 53 n. 45
Valencia		6	3	2	1	>1438-1441<	Office. In 1441, the branch in Valencia had a capital of 2,600 Valencian lira. Members of the Strozzi family were active in Valencia since 1438.	Del Treppo, 1972, 777; Goldthwaite, 1968, 53; Guidi Bruscoli, s.d., 6

+ Not much is known about the network of the Strozzi brothers.

2. COMPANY OF FILIPPO STROZZI IL VECCHIO, before 1466 – 1490s

The sons of Matteo di Simone di Filippo Strozzi, Filippo (il vecchio), Lorenzo, and Matteo, being exiled from Florence at a young age, did their apprenticeship in the firm of Jacopo, Filippo and Niccolò di Leonardo Strozzi (see above). Sometime before 1466 Filippo (1428-1491) and Lorenzo (1433-1479) di Matteo set up their own business in Naples, building up an international banking enterprise while being in exile. When the ban of exile on Filippo and Lorenzo was lifted in 1466, they were allowed to return to Florence, and Filippo became closely associated with Lorenzo de' Medici. After the death of Niccolò di Leonardo Strozzi in 1468 or 1469, Filippo il vecchio inherited half his estate. As such, he became the heir of the good name and international contacts of the business of Niccolò. The company of Filippo il vecchio was an important exception to the Florentine banking crisis of the end of the 15th century. In the 1490s, after the death of Filippo il vecchio in 1491, his companies in Naples, Rome and Florence were liquidated (Bullard, 2003, 22; De Roover, 1963, 374; Goldthwaite, 1968, 51, 53, 56-57, 65, 77).

Size: Large

The *corpo* of the company of Filippo and Lorenzo di Matteo Strozzi totalled 16,000 monete di Napoli in 1466. In 1484, the total assets of the company amounted to 57,965 fl. At the end of his life in 1491, Filippo di Matteo Strozzi had accumulated one of the greatest fortunes of Florence of that time. In 1491, Filippo Strozzi's investments in commerce and banking amounted to 35,000 fl. (Goldthwaite, 1968, 35, 64, 56 n. 53; Id., 1987, 16; Id., 1998, 475-476, 492, 532-533).

Main activities:

- Commerce: The company of Filippo and Lorenzo di Matteo Strozzi was involved in trade, mainly in the import of raw silk to Florence and the export of finished textiles to Naples, but also in the import of grain from southern Italy. Additionally, and in much smaller amounts, the Strozzi carried out trade in saffron and cochineal (Goldthwaite, 1968, 57; Id., 1998, 486-487, 533, 535).

- Finance: The company of Filippo and Lorenzo di Matteo Strozzi was engaged in banking activities such as exchange transactions and loans throughout Italy and in Lyon. Filippo il vecchio gained considerable influence at the court of king Ferdinand I in Naples, and he also became a banker to the Pope. Filippo Strozzi was not involved in local deposit banking however (Ehrenberg, 1928, 195-196; Goldthwaite, 1968, 56-58; Id., 1998, 487, 489).
- Industry: Filippo Strozzi sold raw materials to and purchased finished cloth from a large number of textile producers. In 1493, Selvaggia, widow of Filippo il vecchio, invested in a wool manufactory of Giovacchino Guasconi (Goldthwaite, 1968, 77; Id., 1987, 19).

Network of the company of Filippo Strozzi il vecchio:

The company of Filippo il vecchio operated on a western European scale. In Italy itself, only 10 client firms are mentioned in the ledger of 1480-83, and 6 for 1487-89 (Goldthwaite, 1998, 489, 491).

Table A..2. Network of the company of Filippo Strozzi il vecchio, before 1466 – 1490s

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Naples		8	4	3	1	>1455-1491<	Headquarters. Sometime before 1466, Filippo and Lorenzo di Matteo Strozzi operated a bank (managed by Filippo) and a *fondaco* (commercial enterprise managed by Lorenzo) in Naples. Already in 1455, the company "Filippo Strozzi & Co." was a correspondent of the Medici in Naples (but perhaps this was the company of Leonardo's sons). When Filippo definitely left Naples, he was represented here by his brother Lorenzo, who died in 1479. Even after Lorenzo's death, Naples continued to be the centre of the Strozzi business. In 1491, Filippo di Matteo also founded a company in Naples for his son Alfonso, in which Filippo had invested *in accomandita*. The company in Naples was dissolved in the 1490s, after the death of Filippo il vecchio.	Bullard, 1980, 9; De Roover, 1963, 129; Ehrenberg, 1928, 196; Goldthwaite, 1968, 56-58, 62, 77, 62 n. 63; Id., 1987, 17; Id., 1998, 475, 489, 533, 535-536; Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 32; Sicca, 2002, 182
Florence		6	3	2	1	1470-1491<	Branch office: opened in 1470, directed by Filippo il vecchio. The bank in Florence engaged primarily in exchange transactions and loans. In the decade after Filippo's death (1491), the company in Florence was liquidated.	Goldthwaite, 1968, 57-58, 77
Rome		6	3	2	1	1482-c.1520	A third branch was opened in Rome in 1482. The bank in Rome engaged primarily in exchange transactions and loans. This bank continued to operate after the death of Filippo in 1491 under the management of Berto Berti, who by 1494 had left the Strozzi firm. Alfonso, the oldest son of Filippo, appears to have taken over the company of his father in Rome. Filippo il giovane and	Bullard, 1980, 98; Goldthwaite, 1968, 57-58; Id., 1987, 17; Id., 1998, 475, 489, 533, 535-536; Guidi

							his brother Lorenzo invested in this bank until ca. 1520, after which time it seems to have been closed.	Bruscoli, 2007, 15 n. 57
Lyon		4	2	2	1	>1480-1489<	Exchange transactions and loans throughout Italy and, outside Italy, especially in Lyon. Correspondents (client firms) in Lyon in the years 1480-83: Neri Capponi and Bartolomeo Buondelmonte & Co.; in 1487-89: Neri Capponi and Bartolomeo Buondelmonte & Co., Bartolomeo di Lutozzo Nasi & Co. (later Bernardo and Heirs of Bartolomeo Nasi & Co.), and Heirs of Leonardo Mannelli & Co.	Goldthwaite, 1968, 58; Id., 1998, 489, 493, 533, 535-536
Aragón		3	2	2	1	<1480-1489>	Clients (correspondents) in Aragón.	Goldthwaite, 1998, 489, 533
Bologna		3	2	2	1	<1480-1489>	Clients (correspondents) in Bologna.	Goldthwaite, 1998, 535
Bruges		3	2	2	1	<1480-1489>	Client firms (correspondents) in Bruges.	Goldthwaite, 1998, 489, 533, 535-536
Ferrara		3	2	2	1	<1480-1489>	Clients (correspondents) in Ferrara.	Goldthwaite, 1998, 533
London		3	2	2	1	<1480-1489>	Client firms (correspondents) in London.	Goldthwaite, 1998, 489, 533
Lucca		3	2	2	1	<1480-1489>	Clients (correspondents) in Lucca.	Goldthwaite, 1998, 533
Perugia		3	2	2	1	<1480-1489>	Clients (correspondents) in Perugia.	Goldthwaite, 1998, 533
Valencia		3	2	2	1	<1480-1489>	Clients (correspondents) in Valencia.	Goldthwaite, 1998, 489, 533, 535
Venice		3	2	2	1	<1480-1489>	Client firms (correspondents) in Venice: Giovanni Frescobaldi and Filippo de' Nerli & Co. and Mauro Arighetti & Co.	Goldthwaite, 1998, 535-536

+ The reconstruction of the business network of the bank of Filippo Strozzi il vecchio has primarily been based on two ledgers of the Florentine bank: ledger F (1480-1483) and ledger I (1487-1489) (Goldthwaite, 1998, 534-536).

3. COMPANY OF FILIPPO STROZZI IL GIOVANE, 1510 – 1538

At the death of their father Filippo il vecchio in 1491, Lorenzo (1482-1549) and Filippo il giovane (1488-1538), his youngest sons, were still much too young to take over the business of their father. During the 1490s, Filippo il vecchio's companies were dissolved, and the liquid assets

of the inheritance were invested by Carlo and Matteo di Lorenzo Strozzi, nephews of Filippo il vecchio and guardians of his sons, in their own enterprises in Florence and Venice. Only after 1501, the estate was turned over to Lorenzo and Filippo di Filippo. Filippo il giovane and Lorenzo kept their investments in the companies of their nephew Matteo Strozzi in Florence (as late as 1521-22) and in Venice (until 1513). However, Lorenzo and Filippo di Filippo were not destined for a business career, and only by 1510 they established their own company, which came entirely in Filippo's hands in 1522. Only around 1515, when he became Depositary General of the Apostolic Chamber, Filippo il giovane began to consider seriously a business career. The company maintained operations until Filippo became involved in political problems at the end of his life, and the account books were still open at the time of his death in 1538. Filippo Strozzi died in prison for his involvement in the attempts of Florentine exiles to restore a Republican government in Florence. None of his sons carried on his business (Bullard, 1980, 12; Id., 2003, 41; Goldthwaite, 1968, 77-78, 85-90, 101-102; Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 16, 39).

Size: Large or very large

Filippo il giovane was reputed to be the richest man in Christendom after Jacob Fugger. The social capital of the Strozzi company in Rome amounted to 25,000 cameral ducats in 1515 and 1517, and 24,000 cameral ducats in 1519. It was raised to 36,000 ducats in 1532 and 40,000 gold ducats in 1537. The *corpo* of the Lyon branch amounted to 9,800 écus in 1517, 20,000 écus in 1521, and 24,000 écus in 1532. In 1526, the Pope owed Strozzi a total of 103,000 ducats (Bullard, 1980, 9, 98; Goldthwaite, 1968, 92-93, 95, 97; Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 48-50, 48 n. 109)

Main activities:

- Commerce: The company founded by Filippo and Lorenzo di Filippo Strozzi in 1510 was active in commerce, and the companies founded abroad later (Rome, Lyon, etc) were also engaged in trade. The bank in Rome traded in luxury goods, and counted among its clients prominent Roman citizens, members of the Curia and foreign diplomats who frequented the papal court. Filippo Strozzi was also involved in the grain trade (Bullard, 1980, 117, 161; Goldthwaite, 1968, 88, 91, 96).
- Finance: The company of Filippo il giovane was involved in exchange transactions between Lyon, Florence and Rome. His bank also engaged in money-changing and speculation on the fluctuations in the value of petty coins in relation to gold. Filippo established financial contacts with several ruling houses of Europe. He was the most important banker of the Medici popes Leo X and Clement VII (Filippo was married to Clarice de' Medici), and he became Depositary General of the Camera Apostolica in 1515. As Depositary General, and in exchange for large loans, Filippo il giovane enjoyed important privileges at the papal court (collection of customs fees, control of the mint, salaries, salt taxes, and other incomes). Filippo also provided loans to the king of France (Bullard, 1980, 9-10, 25-26, 86, 110-111, 118; Id., 2003, 27, 32-35; Ehrenberg, 1928, 206, 214; Goldthwaite, 1968, 86, 88-89, 91-92, 96, 98; Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 14-15, 48-49).
- Industry: Filippo and Lorenzo di Filippo Strozzi had investments in several cloth manufactories between 1493 and ca. 1530, although they never entered into the management of any of them (Goldthwaite, 1968, 86-87).

Network of the company of Filippo Strozzi il giovane:

Filippo il giovane's business activities reached beyond Europe (various Italian cities, France and Spain) and even into the New World (Bullard, 1980, 6; Id., 2003, 26).

Table A..3. Network of the company of Filippo Strozzi il giovane, 1510 – ca. 1538

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Rome		6	3	2	1	1514-1523	- In 1514, Filippo signed a contract for a company in Rome, which would begin operations on 25 March 1515, more or less at the time when Filippo il giovane became Depositary General. The Strozzi bank was located in the main banking street of Rome, the Canale di Ponte (later called Via del Banco di S. Spirito). The manager was Antonio di Ser Michele Strozzi. Later, the manager became Filippo di Simone Ridolfi.	Bullard, 1980, 86, 90, 98-99, 101, 159, 164, 99 n. 27; Id., 2003, 31-32, 34-35, 41, 51, 54 n. 66; Ehrenberg, 1928, 206, 212-214; Goldthwaite, 1968, 89-90, 92-93, 99; Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 14-16, 47-48, 50
		8	**4**	**3**	**1**	1523-1538	- In 1523, Filippo il giovane moved to Rome and began to take much more direct interest in the management of the company. Manager in 1528 was Migliore Covoni. In 1533 (manager in Rome at that time was Benvenuto Olivieri), Filippo il giovane ordered the liquidation of the Rome bank in anticipation of the death of the Medici pope Clement VII, who died in 1534. By that time, the liquidation had not taken place yet, and Filippo Strozzi's grain warehouses in Rome were sacked by an angry mob due to difficulties in grain supplies to the city and the loss of papal protection. However, Strozzi managed to obtain the favour of the successor of Clement VII. The company came to an end in 1538 because of the death of Filippo Strozzi.	
Florence		~~**8**~~ ***7***	~~**4**~~ ***3***	~~**3**~~ ***2***	~~**1**~~ ***1***	1510-1523	- Company of "Lorenzo and Filippo Strozzi and Company" established in 1510. In 1522, the company came entirely in the hands of Filippo il giovane. After 1519, Filippo devoted most of his energies to his business in Rome, and left his associate, Francesco del Nero, increasingly in charge of his affairs in Florence.	Bullard, 1980, 88-90, 118, 89 n. 91; Id., 2003, 41; Ehrenberg, 1928, 214-215; Goldthwaite, 1968, 88-89, 100-101; Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 48, 48 n. 109
		6	3	2	1	1523-1536	- After 1523, Filippo moved to Rome, and his brother Lorenzo was entrusted with overseeing the account books. In 1534, Filippo ordered his Florentine agent, Francesco Dini, to close the Florentine company, and after confiscations ca. 1535, the company in Florence was closed by 1536.	
Lyon		3	2	2	1	<1510-1517	- The Florentine company founded in 1510 was engaged in exchange	Bullard, 1980, 117;

		6	**3**	**2**	**1**	1517-1559<	transactions, especially with the company of Francesco Pitti of Lyon. - Filippo il giovane opened a bank in Lyon in 1517. Managers in 1521 were Piero and Giovanfrancesco Bini. In 1528, Filippo himself resided temporarily in Lyon. In 1534, Giovanfrancesco Bini, the manager, was temporarily imprisoned by the French king Francis I. Palla di Lorenzo Strozzi entered the management of the Lyon bank in 1533. Eventually, Palla took over the Lyon company, together with Giovanfrancesco Bini. Palla, still active in the company at the time of his death, died in 1559.	Id., 2003, 31; Ehrenberg, 1928, 206, 214-215; Goldthwaite, 1968, 89, 94-97, 100, 104, 106-107; Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 48, 208, 48 n. 109
Naples		6	3	2	1	>1521-1535<	In 1515, Filippo il giovane intended to open a branch of his bank in Naples, under the name of Filippo Ridolfi or Antonio Strozzi. In 1521, the Naples branch of Filippo Strozzi's bank was the company of Bartolomeo Ginori and Angelo Strozzi. In that year, the Rome branch of the Strozzi was in troubles due to losses in Naples. Ca. 1535, Filippo's properties in Naples were confiscated by emperor Charles V.	Bullard, 1980, 100, 106, 118; Denucé, 1934, 40; Goldthwaite, 1968, 93, 101
Venice		6	3	2	1	>1534-1536<	A company in Venice is mentioned in a testament of Filippo il giovane, dated sometime after 1534. In 1536, Filippo il giovane retired to Venice.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 214-215; Goldthwaite, 1968, 101, 97 n. 47; Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 48, 249, 48 n. 109
Antwerp		5	3	2	1	>1533-1534<	In 1533, the Lyon branch set up an *accomanda* with a capital of 5,500 écus for commerce in Antwerp. Purchase of grain in Flanders in 1534. The Strozzi in Naples were correspondents of the Affaitadi of Antwerp. The Van der Molen of Antwerp made use of the services of the Strozzi for making international payments.	Bullard, 1980, 163 n. 49; Denucé, 1934, 40; Goldthwaite, 1968, 96 n. 44; Puttevils, 2007, 268
Sevilla		5	3	2	1	>1532-1534<	In 1532, Filippo Strozzi established a branch in Sevilla under the form of an *accomanda*. The partner in Sevilla was Francesco di Giovanni Lapi, whose bank had been a correspondent of the Strozzi in Sevilla before. The Strozzi bank in Sevilla was also involved in transatlantic trade.	Bullard, 1980, 6, 118, 167, 156 n. 18; Goldthwaite, 1968, 96 n. 44; Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 49 n. 112; Lohmann Villena, 1968, 63
Cádiz		4	2	2	1	from 1532	In 1532, Filippo il giovane created an *accomanda* for trade in Spain styled "Francesco di Giovanni Lapi & Partners in Seville and in Cadiz".	Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 49 n. 112
México		4	2	2	1	>1536<	Francesco di Giovanni Lapi, manager of the Sevilla branch of the Strozzi	Lohmann Villena,

							bank, had a factor in México City, Giovanni di Vagneta, ca. 1536. Later, Giovanni Lapi sent clothes to Gaspar de Espinosa in México. Lapi also took legal action against Juan de Espinosa Salado, one of his debtors, who had gone to México.	1968, 63, 68
Bologna		3	2	2	1		The representative in Bologna of Filippo Strozzi was the company of Antonio Dati.	Bullard, 1980, 132, 141
Calabria		3	2	2	1	>1532-1533<	The company of Filippo Strozzi was heavily involved in the import of grain from Sicily and to a lesser extent from Calabria to Rome in the first half of the 16th century (e.g. in 1532-33), sometimes in association with the Bernisone family, natives of Savona.	Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 177
Lucca		~~8~~ *3*	~~4~~ *2*	~~3~~ *2*	~~1~~ *1*	1529-1530	In 1529-1530, Filippo Strozzi took up residence in Lucca, from where he managed his business. He only returned to Rome in October 1530.	Bullard, 2003, 32-34
Puglia		3	2	2	1		Strozzi's agents purchased grain in Puglia, had it shipped to Rome, warehoused and then sold in Rome.	Bullard, 1980, 161
Sicily		3	2	2	1	>1531-1535<	For several years, and at least in 1531, 1532, and 1533, Filippo il giovane received contracts to import Sicilian grain, which was purchased by Strozzi's agents in Sicily, shipped to Rome, warehoused and then sold in Rome. Filippo's properties in Naples were confiscated ca. 1535 by emperor Charles V.	Bullard, 1980, 161; Goldthwaite, 1968, 99, 101; Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 177
Valladolid		3	2	2	1		Close ties with Alberto Cuon in Valladolid.	Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 36
Peru		2	2	1	0	From 1534	Nicola di Bernardo dal Benino, a relative of Filippo Strozzi, was active in Peru from 1534.	Lohmann Villena, 1968, 13
Siena		2	2	1	0	1524	In 1524, gold ducats were sent to the Piccolomini bank in Siena.	Bullard, 1980, 143
Ancona		1	1	1	0	1532	Agent in Ancona in July 1532.	Bullard, 1980, 158 n. 26
Brittany		1	1	1	0	1533	Filippo il giovane dispatched an agent from his Lyon company to oversee the purchase and forwarding of French grain from Picardy and Brittany to Rome in 1533.	Bullard, 1980, 162
Civitavecchia		1	1	1	0	1534	An agent of Filippo Strozzi was in Civitavecchia in September 1534.	Bullard, 1980, 163
Faenza		1	1	1	0	1532	Agent in Faenza in July 1532.	Bullard, 1980, 158 n. 26
Picardy		1	1	1	0	1533	Filippo il giovane dispatched an agent from his Lyon company to oversee the purchase and forwarding of French grain from Picardy and Brittany to Rome in 1533.	Bullard, 1980, 162

LUCCHESE FIRMS

BALBANI, before 1542 – after 1598

The Balbani were a family from Lucca. Already in the 14th century a Balbani company existed in Lucca, which combined trade and banking. This 14th-century company had about ten factos in 1371, and had a branch in Bruges (Paolo Balbani) that corresponded with the Datini company in Barcelona. (De Roover, 1948b, 40; Melis, 1962, 15).
Somewhat more is known about the business activities of the Balbani during the 16th century.

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Source material:

Several letters from the Balbani have been preserved in the Ruiz archives in Valladolid. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 19, 198-199, n. 143-147, n. 149). Lucca, State Archives, Corte dei Mercanti. Nrs. 82, 83, 84. Libri dei Mercanti???

Size: Large

Camille and Oracio Balbani were involved in the import of silk cloth of Lucca to Lyon in 1569: they were the largest importers (Gascon, 1971, 209). Camille and Oracio Balbani were 3rd biggest importer from Lucca to Lyon in 1569 (17%) (Gascon, 1971, 211). The Balbani family was the 5th biggest exporter from Antwerp to Italy in 1544. They exported goods for a total value of 8,167.5 lb. fl. (Puttevils, 2007, 162, 332-333).

Main activities:

- Commerce: The Balbani in Cologne and Hamburg in the 1570s exported English cloth to Italy, from where they imported silks and other luxury textiles (Kellenbenz, 1954, 258). Camille and Oracio Balbani were involved in the import of silk cloth of Lucca to Lyon in 1569: they were the largest importers (Gascon, 1971, 209). Involved in commerce. (Puttevils, 2007, 162). In 1544, the Balbani especially exported English kerseys and cloth from Antwerp to Italy, but also sayettes, linen, tapestries and wool. (Puttevils, 2007, 162). Juan Balbani in Milan sent two shipments of gold and silver thread to Simon Ruiz (ca. 1594). (Ruiz Martín, 1965, xvii). Sugar trade. (Puttevils, 2007, 162; Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 199).
- Finance: The Balbani only occasionally engaged in finance (Ehrenberg, 1928, 228). The Balbani concluded several asientos with the Spanish Court. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 199). Involved in banking. (Puttevils, 2007, 162). Camilo and Horacio Balbani of Lyon were especially involved in asientos with Philip II ca. 1575-1586. In this period they were among the most important asentistas. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, xviii).
- Industry: The Balbani of Antwerp owned a sugar refinery in Antwerp, together with the Affaitadi, which was called "Jan Balbani's suykerhuys". In 1555, their share in this sugar refinery was estimated at 1,971 lb. groot. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 199). Involved in industrial activities. Giovanni Balbani owned a sugar refinery in Antwerp in 1545, which was managed together with members of the Deodati family. (Puttevils, 2007, 162).

Network of the Balbani:

The Balbani were a decentralised multi-branch company: most of the branches had an independent legal status (Lapeyre, 1955, 145).

Table A..1. Network of the Balbani, ca. 1542 – ca. 1598

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Lyon		8	4	3	1	>1543-1590	The Balbani were bankers in Lyon (Lapeyre, 1955, 73). In 1590, the branches of the Balbani in Lyon and Piacenza were independent (Lapeyre,	

							1955). Successive names of the Balbani in Lyon: 1581: Camilo Balbani & Cie; 1585: Camilo & Cristofano Balbani & Cie; 1588: Cristofano Balbani & Cie (Lapeyre, 1955, 147 n. 32). The Balbani are mentioned in Lyon in 1590 (Ehrenberg, 1928, 228-229). Camille and Oracio Balbani were involved in the import of silk cloth of Lucca to Lyon in 1569: they were the largest importers (Gascon, 1971, 209). Camille and Oracio Balbani were 3rd biggest importer from Lucca to Lyon in 1569 (17%) (Gascon, 1971, 211). Balbani left the “Place de Change” in Lyon for Besançon and Chambéry in 1590 (Gascon, 1971, 653 n. 42). Tommaso Balbani was in Antwerp since 1543, but he appears to have been active in Lyon rather than in Antwerp. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 198). Francesco Balbani left the branch in Lyon in 1588 for Antwerp. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 198). The headquarters of the Balbani appear to have been located in Lyon. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 198). Branch in Lyon. (Puttevils, 2007, 162). Camilo and Horacio Balbani of Lyon were especially involved in asientos with Philip II ca. 1575-1586. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, xviii).	
Antwerp		7	3	2	1	>1543-1598<	By 1551, the Affaitadi in partnership with the Balbani, a Lucchese merchant family, had purchased a house in Antwerp called the "Suikerhuis" on the Predikerinnenstraat (Harreld, 2004, 54-55). House of Jan Balbani on the Hochstetterstraat in 1544 (Harreld, 2004, 118). In 1598, the branches of the Balbani in Antwerp and Piacenza were independent from each other (Lapeyre, 1955, 145). Name of the Balbani in Antwerp: 1598: Heirs Camilo & Cristofano Franceso, Cristofano, Federigo & Julio Balbani & Cie (Lapeyre, 1955, 147). Giovanni Balbani carried on a large sugar refinery in Antwerp together with the Diodati. The Balbani failed in Antwerp in 1566. It appears to have been re-established, but after that the Balbani were no longer of importance in Antwerp. (Ehrenberg, 1928, 228). Cesare Balbani, who went bankrupt in Antwerp in 1566, moved to Cologne where he founded a new business (Kellenbenz, 1954, 258). Involved in the export from Antwerp to Italy in 1543 (Goris, 1925, 248-250; Brulez, 1958, 177: Giovanni Balbani). In 1551, three Balbani are known to have been in Antwerp: Giovanni, Tommaso and Matteo. Giovanni married in 1555 with Joanna Rutz, widow of Sébastien van Dale, owner of large sugar exploitations on the Canaries. Tommaso was in Antwerp since 1543, but he appears to have been active in Lyon rather than in Antwerp. In 1562, two other Balbani were	

							active in business in Antwerp: Vincenzo, son of Giovanni, and Niccoló, married with a sister of Vincenzo, Susana. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 198). The Antwerp firm was named “Francesco Balbani and brothers” in 1564. It went bankrupt in 1566. After the bankruptcy, one of the brothers, Cesare, went to Cologne, while Francesco went to Hamburg. In 1570, a new Balbani firm appeared in Antwerp: “Niccoló and Cesare Balbani and Co. Cesare had married Ana Gallo, from a Spanish family. This firm went bankrupt as well, in 1581. The accounts of this company were still not entirely settled in 1595. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 198). Another Balbani firm was reorganised in Antwerp in 1586 as “Camillo, Cristoforo Balbani and Co.” with partnership of Matteo, Francesco and Giulio Balbani. Camillo had arrived in the Low Countries in 1585. He had connections with the court of Alexander Farnese. However, Camillo died in December 1587. Camillo’s youngest brother Ludovico temporarily headed the branch in Antwerp, until the arrival in 1588 of his elder brother Francesco, who left the branch in Lyon. At that moment the branch was renamed “Heirs of Camillo and Cristoforo Balbani”. Members of this company were also Matteo, Francesco, Giulio and Ludovico Balbani. The Antwerp branch was from 1588 headed by Francesco and his cousin Giulio. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 198). In 1598, the Antwerp firm was named “Francesco, Cristoforo and Giulio Balbani”. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 198). The Balbani of Antwerp owned a sugar refinery in Antwerp, together with the Affaitadi, which was called “Jan Balbani’s suykerhuys”. In 1555, their share in this sugar refinery was estimated at 1,971 lb. groot. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 199). In the 1540s, the Balbani in Antwerp were associated with Vincenzo Guinigi. Giovanni Balbani owned a sugar refinery in Antwerp in 1545, which was managed together with members of the Deodati family. (Puttevils, 2007, 162).	
Cologne		6	3	2	1	1566-1570s<	Cesare Balbani, who went bankrupt in Antwerp in 1566, moved to Cologne where he founded a new business (Kellenbenz, 1954, 258). The Balbani in Cologne and Hamburg in the 1570s exported English cloth to Italy, from where they imported silks and other luxury textiles (Kellenbenz, 1954, 258). The Antwerp firm, named “Francesco Balbani and brothers” in 1564, went bankrupt in 1566. After the bankruptcy, one of the brothers, Cesare, went to Cologne, while Francesco went to Hamburg. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 198). In 1570, a new Balbani firm appeared in Antwerp: “Niccoló and Cesare	

							Balbani and Co. Cesare had married Ana Gallo, from a Spanish family. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 198).	
Frankfurt am Main		6	3	2	1		The Balbani had a branch in Frankfurt am Main. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 199).	
Hamburg		6	3	2	1	>1570s<	Franciscus Balbani went to Hamburg (before 1570). Ca. 1570, he imported English cloth to the interior (Kellenbenz, 1954, 258). The Balbani in Cologne and Hamburg in the 1570s exported English cloth to Italy, from where they imported silks and other luxury textiles (Kellenbenz, 1954, 258). The Antwerp firm, named "Francesco Balbani and brothers" in 1564, went bankrupt in 1566. After the bankruptcy, one of the brothers, Cesare, went to Cologne, while Francesco went to Hamburg. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 198). The Balbani had a branch in Hamburg. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 199).	
Lucca		6	3	2	1	>1544-1569<	Camille and Oracio Balbani were involved in the import of silk cloth of Lucca to Lyon in 1569: they were the largest importers (Gascon, 1971, 209). Camille and Oracio Balbani were 3rd biggest importer from Lucca to Lyon in 1569 (17%) (Gascon, 1971, 211). The Balbani had a branch in Lucca. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 199). In 1544, the Balbani of Antwerp were among the ten largest Italian exporters from Antwerp to Italy. They especially exported to Ancona (from where goods were re-exported to the Levant) and Ferrara (probably for re-export to southern Italy), but also in relatively large amounts to Lucca, Venice and Pavia. Smaller exports were directed from Antwerp to Genoa, Milan and Florence. (Puttevils, 2007, 162).	
Naples		6	3	2	1	>1542<	In 1542, the Balbani had a company with the Guinigi: "Vincencio, Baldassare Guinigui, Giovanni Balbani and Co." with branches in Naples (headed by Vincenzo Guinigi) and elsewhere in Italy. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 198, 200).	
Piacenza		3 **6**	2 **3**	2 **2**	1 **1**	>1580-1582 1590-1598<	In 1590, the branches of the Balbani in Lyon and Piacenza were independent (Lapeyre, 1955). In 1598, the branches of the Balbani in Antwerp and Piacenza were independent from each other (Lapeyre, 1955, 145). The Balbani had a branch in Piacenza, "Cristoforo and Giovanni Balbani", which was established in 1590, and headed by Cristoforo Balbani. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 198-199). Balbani left the "Place de Change" in Lyon for Besançon and Chambéry in 1590 (Gascon perhaps means the fairs of Besançon, from 1579 mostly in Piacenza) (Gascon, 1971, 653 n. 42). In Milan, the bank of Cesare Negrollo advanced sums for the payment of	

							asientos concluded by Camilo and Horacio Balbani, often in participation with Simon Ruiz. For repayment of these advances Negrollo drew bills of exchange at the fairs of Besançon (e.g. 1580-1582) on Simon Ruiz at the fairs of Medina del Campo. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, xix).	
Ancona		4	2	2	1	>1544<	In 1544, the Balbani of Antwerp were among the ten largest Italian exporters from Antwerp to Italy. They especially exported to Ancona (from where goods were re-exported to the Levant) and Ferrara (probably for re-export to southern Italy), but also in relatively large amounts to Lucca,Venice and Pavia. Smaller exports were directed from Antwerp to Genoa, Milan and Florence. (Puttevils, 2007, 162).	
Ferrara		4	2	2	1	>1544<	In 1544, the Balbani of Antwerp were among the ten largest Italian exporters from Antwerp to Italy. They especially exported to Ancona (from where goods were re-exported to the Levant) and Ferrara (probably for re-export to southern Italy), but also in relatively large amounts to Lucca,Venice and Pavia. Smaller exports were directed from Antwerp to Genoa, Milan and Florence. (Puttevils, 2007, 162).	
Madrid		4	2	2	1	>1594-1598<	In 1594, a Ludovico Balbani was present in Madrid. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 199). The Balbani corresponded with Simon and Cosme Ruiz ca. 1585-1598, who in this period had their headquarters mostly in Valladolid (Medina del Campo (Simon) in 1593-1597, Madrid (Cosme) 1595-1598). (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 19, 198-199, n. 143-147, n. 149).	
Milan		2 3 ~~6~~ ***4***	2 2 ~~3~~ ***2***	1 2 ~~2~~ ***2***	0 1 ~~1~~ ***1***	>1544 >1580-1582 from 1594<	In 1544, the Balbani of Antwerp were among the ten largest Italian exporters from Antwerp to Italy. They especially exported to Ancona (from where goods were re-exported to the Levant) and Ferrara (probably for re-export to southern Italy), but also in relatively large amounts to Lucca,Venice and Pavia. Smaller exports were directed from Antwerp to Genoa, Milan and Florence. (Puttevils, 2007, 162). Branch opened in Milan in 1594. Juan Balbani headed the Balbani branch in Milan since 1594. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, xvii). In Milan, the bank of Cesare Negrollo advanced sums for the payment of asientos concluded by Camilo and Horacio Balbani, often in participation with Simon Ruiz. For repayment of these advances Negrollo drew bills of exchange at the fairs of Besançon (e.g. 1580-1582) on Simon Ruiz at the fairs of Medina del Campo. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, xix). Juan Balbani and Ottaviano Casina in Milan were correspondents of Simon Ruiz. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, xvii). Juan Balbani in Milan sent two shipments of gold and	

							silver thread to Simon Ruiz (ca. 1594) (one of them for Juan Bautista de Ugalde). These shipments went by sea from Genoa to Alicante. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, xvii).	
Palermo		4	2	2	1	from 1593	In 1593, the Balbani opened an agency in Palermo. This branch represented the interest of several Castilian businessmen: Pedro de Isunza, Juan de Castro Gago, Antonio Suárez and Juan Luis Vitoria (Lapeyre, 1955, 145). In 1593, the Balbani opened an agency in Palermo, together with a number of Spanish businessmen, Pedro de Isunza, Juan de Castrogago, Antonio Suárez Vitoria and Juan Luis Vitoria. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 199).	
Medina del Campo		3	2	2	1	>1580-1582<, >1593-1597<	The Balbani corresponded with Simon and Cosme Ruiz ca. 1585-1598, who in this period had their headquarters mostly in Valladolid (Medina del Campo (Simon) in 1593-1597, Madrid (Cosme) 1595-1598). (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 19, 198-199, n. 143-147, n. 149). In Milan, the bank of Cesare Negrollo advanced sums for the payment of asientos concluded by Camilo and Horacio Balbani, often in participation with Simon Ruiz. For repayment of these advances Negrollo drew bills of exchange at the fairs of Besançon (e.g. 1580-1582) on Simon Ruiz at the fairs of Medina del Campo. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, xix). Juan Balbani and Ottaviano Casina in Milan were correspondents of Simon Ruiz. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, xvii). Juan Balbani in Milan sent two shipments of gold and silver thread to Simon Ruiz (ca. 1594) (one of them for Juan Bautista de Ugalde). These shipments went by sea from Genoa to Alicante. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, xvii).	
Pavia		3	2	2	1	>1544<	In 1544, the Balbani of Antwerp were among the ten largest Italian exporters from Antwerp to Italy. They especially exported to Ancona (from where goods were re-exported to the Levant) and Ferrara (probably for re-export to southern Italy), but also in relatively large amounts to Lucca,Venice and Pavia. Smaller exports were directed from Antwerp to Genoa, Milan and Florence. (Puttevils, 2007, 162).	
Valladolid		3	2	2	1	>1585-1595<	The Balbani corresponded with Simon and Cosme Ruiz ca. 1585-1598, who in this period had their headquarters mostly in Valladolid (Medina del Campo (Simon) in 1593-1597, Madrid (Cosme) 1595-1598). (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 19, 198-199, n. 143-147, n. 149).	
Venice		3	2	2	1	>1544<	In 1544, the Balbani of Antwerp were among the ten largest Italian exporters from Antwerp to Italy. They especially exported to Ancona (from where goods were re-exported to the Levant) and Ferrara (probably for re-export to	

							southern Italy), but also in relatively large amounts to Lucca,Venice and Pavia. Smaller exports were directed from Antwerp to Genoa, Milan and Florence. (Puttevils, 2007, 162).	
Canary Islands	S	2	2	1	0	>1555<	In 1551, three Balbani are known to have been in Antwerp: Giovanni, Tommaso and Matteo. Giovanni married in 1555 with Joanna Rutz, widow of Sébastien van Dale, owner of large sugar exploitations on the Canaries. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 198).	
Florence		2	2	1	0	>1544<	In 1544, the Balbani of Antwerp were among the ten largest Italian exporters from Antwerp to Italy. They especially exported to Ancona (from where goods were re-exported to the Levant) and Ferrara (probably for re-export to southern Italy), but also in relatively large amounts to Lucca,Venice and Pavia. Smaller exports were directed from Antwerp to Genoa, Milan and Florence. (Puttevils, 2007, 162).	
Genoa		2	2	1	0	>1544<, >c.1594<	In 1544, the Balbani of Antwerp were among the ten largest Italian exporters from Antwerp to Italy. They especially exported to Ancona (from where goods were re-exported to the Levant) and Ferrara (probably for re-export to southern Italy), but also in relatively large amounts to Lucca,Venice and Pavia. Smaller exports were directed from Antwerp to Genoa, Milan and Florence. (Puttevils, 2007, 162). Juan Balbani in Milan sent two shipments of gold and silver thread to Simon Ruiz (ca. 1594) (one of them for Juan Bautista de Ugalde). These shipments went by sea from Genoa to Alicante. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, xvii).	
Paris		2	2	1	0		Simon Ruiz thanked the Balbani of Paris for the translation of letters from the Low Countries by Tommaso Balbani (Lapeyre, 1955, 163). Other authors do not mention a Balbani branch in Paris however.	
Alicante		1	1	1	0	>c.1594<	Juan Balbani in Milan sent two shipments of gold and silver thread to Simon Ruiz (ca. 1594) (one of them for Juan Bautista de Ugalde). These shipments went by sea from Genoa to Alicante. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, xvii).	

+ The connections between the different Balbani branches and companies are not very clear. Moreover, several of the branches probably did not exist simultaneously. As a result, the network reconstructed here is not very reliable.

BONVISI, before 1504 – 1629

The Bonvisi bank in Lyon collapsed in 1629. (Bayard, 1971, 1235, 1262). The Bonvisi were a family of Lucca. Lorenzo di Nerio Bonvisi was one of the leaders of the conspiracy that established the rule of Paul Guinigi in Lucca in the 15th century. Since then, the Bonvisi were one of the dominant political families of Lucca, financially supporting the Republic. From Lucca, the Bonvisi extended their affairs over the whole of Europe. (Bayard, 1971, 1236). The first of the Bonvisi who left Lucca was Antonio (d. 1559). (Bayard, 1971, 1236). The headquarters of the Bonvisi were located in Lucca. The branch in Antwerp went into decline in the late 1570s, and several members of the Bonvisi who fled the Low Countries established new branches in Italy from ca. 1580. The Bonvisi who were members of the partnerships in Italy were often the same as those in Lyon, sometimes with the addition of nephews and cousins. (Bayard, 1971, 1237). Evolution of the Bonvisi business: long period of rise and success, until 1586, severe crisis in 1587-1592, then an important but limited recovery, finally decline and bankruptcy. (Bayard, 1971, 1252, 1259). The Bonvisi got into difficulties as a result of a chain of bankruptcies of firms with which they had business connections: especially between 1579 and 1606. (Bayard, 1971, 1255). The incomes of the Bonvisi decreased drastically after 1586. (Bayard, 1971, 1247, 1256). From 1592, the Bonvisi business was renewed and recovered somewhat. (Bayard, 1971, 1259). Recovery especially in the years 1606-1607. (Bayard, 1971, 1263).

Lucchese family. (Goris, 1925, 248-250). Bonvisi: evolution of the sums received by the Bonvisi in Lyon, 1575-1592: relatively high until 1586 (peaks in 1578: 307,000 écus, 1586: 300,000 écus). Negative peaks in 1576: bankruptcy of Medina del Campo, in 1580: after the bankruptcy of Michaeli & Arnolfini, Bartoli, Panse, Claude Pinjon, and especially Juan de la Presa and Diego Camara in Spain, important debtors of the Bonvisi; in 1585: maybe due to Henri de Navarre becoming the only heir to the French crown. Sharp decline after 1586: 90,000 écus in 1587, 50,000 in 1589, 10,000 in 1591 (Gascon, 1971, 609-610).

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Archives Départementales du Rhône. (Bayard, 1971, passim). The will of Antonio Bonvisi (d. 1559) has been preserved (Archives Départementales du Rhône). (Bayard, 1971, 1236). No commercial papers or account books of the Bonvisi have been preserved. The principal data about the business network of the Bonvisi are notarial records of Lyon, since a large number of commercial and financial transactions were registered by a notary. However, the registers of the notaries used by the Bonvisi have not always been preserved. Moreover, not all transactions were recorded before a notary (especially commercial transactions). Nevertheless, the essential connections of the Bonvisi can be derived from the notarial archives. (Bayard, 1971, 1238 n. 21). The correspondence of the Bonvisi with Simon Ruiz of Medina del Campo has been preserved in the Historical Archives of Valladolid. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 19).

Size: Large or very large

The Bonvisi were the richest and most prestigious family in Lyon in the 16th century. (Bayard, 1971, 1234-1235). The Bonvisi were the largest merchants of Lyon. They had to pay the highest taxes in Lyon ca. 1570-1596. (Bayard, 1971, 1252-1253). Were the largest import-traders in Lyon in 1569 (paid 6.21% of the import tax of 1569) (Gascon, 1971, 204). The heirs of L. and B. Bonvisi were the largest importers in Lyon in 1569 (6.3 %). Their activities spanned the whole of western Europe. (Gascon, 1962, 507). The heirs of Antoine and Louis Bonvisi were among the most highly taxed merchants of Lyon in 1571: 500 lb. (Gascon, 1962, 533). Most important merchants of Lyon between 1560 and 1575. (Gascon, 1952, 152).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Commercial activities. (Bayard, 1971, 1238, 1253; Gascon, 1952, 152). Trade in luxury goods. (Bayard, 1971, 1239). Trade in Portuguese spices in Lyon. The Bonvisi were the most important spice importers in Lyon. (Bayard, 1971, 1244). Spices were imported by the Bonvisi via Spain, Antwerp or Marseille. (Bayard, 1971, 1238). Import of luxury textiles (silks, velvet, satin,…) from Italy.

(Bayard, 1971, 1245). Most important business of the Bonvisi was trade in luxury goods (e.g. Italian textiles) and goods coming from a long distance (e.g. spices). (Bayard, 1971, 1248). The Bonvisi traded not in large amounts in goods produced in France. E.g. trade in silks from Tours, dyestuffs from Toulouse. (Bayard, 1971, 1248). After 1592, their banking activities became less important than their commercial business. (Bayard, 1971, 1259). Trade in textiles from Flanders from 1603. Trade in copper and grain in 1624. (Bayard, 1971, 1261). Trade in spices. (Gascon, 1971, 92). Import of saffron in Lyon, probably from Spain (Gascon, 1971, 96). For trade with Spain, use of the mule-routes along the western Pyrenees: in 1544 saffron, silk, maroquinleather, scarlet grains sent to the Bonvisi in Lyon via this route (Gascon, 1971, 163-164). One of the 3 biggest importers of silk in Lyon (Gascon, 1971, 208). Large importers of Genoese satin, and Lucchese silk cloth to Lyon in 1569 (Gascon, 1971, 209). Largest importers in Lyon in 1569. Prosperity based on three commercial traffics: (1) Italy - North-West Europe: woollens from England, linen from Flanders. (2) France - Italy: silk from Naples, Messina, Vicenza to Lyon, Tours (monopoly), Avignon; linen from Brittany to Italy. (3) Italy - Spain: Silks, luxury products from Venice and Milan to Spain by land (via Irun, Canfranc) or via Nantes. Large transports of silver and gold from Spain to Italy (Gascon, 1971, 218). Large importers of spices in Lyon in the 16th c., since 1504 (Gascon, 1971, 219). Import of spices from the Levant as well as Atlantic spices to Lyon (Gascon, 1971, 229). Bonvisi were 3rd importers of saffron to Lyon in 1522-23, still large importers in 1544 (Gascon, 1971, 231). The Lyon branch especially imported silks and spices. (Gascon, 1952, 152). Apparently the Bonvisi of Lucca obtained the monopoly of the sale of iron ore from Elba to the ironmasters of Pietrasanta and Pisa in 1492. Before, it had been in hands of the Medici (De Roover, 1963, 166). The Bonvisi traded among other goods in grain, linen, tapestries, oil, cochenille, salt, alum, etc. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 200).

- Finance: Banking, and maritime insurance. (Bayard, 1971, 1238, 1253; Gascon, 1952, 152). After 1592, the Bonvisi were not active in maritime insurance anymore, and their banking activities became less important than their commercial business. (Bayard, 1971, 1259). Banking: exchange transactions, deposit banking, loans, etc. (Bayard, 1971, 1259). Were financiers of the English kings until Elisabeth I. (Goris, 1925, 396). In September 1572, money sent from Spain to Lyon by the Bonvisi, captured by brigands in Auvergne (Gascon, 1971, 198). Banking activities: circulation of bills of exchange, use of deposits, loans to the French king, cities, private persons (Gascon, 1971, 217). The Bonvisi made a profit of ca. 17-23 % on exchange operations, commission, brokerage fee, and transport costs not included. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 339 n. 44). Loans to the city of Lyon, to individual merchants in Lyon, and even to peasants on the surrounding countryside. (Gascon, 1971, 152). Maritime insurance on the Atlantic as well as the Mediterranean. (Gascon, 1952, 152).
- Industry:

Network of the Bonvisi:

Family firm: partners in the Lyon company of the Bonvisi were all members of the Bonvisi family. (Bayard, 1971, 1235). Strong financial relations existed between the different Bonvisi partnerships in different cities. (Bayard, 1971, 1237). The Bonvisi do not appear to have travelled a lot from Lyon. For their business abroad, they gave attorney to one of their employees they sent on travel, or to a befriend merchant in the city where they had to carry out business. The Bonvisi did not travel with the merchandise they sent or received, but gave them in hands of

carters. The Bonvisi were very sedentary. (Bayard, 1971, 1238). For the Bonvisi, Lyon was just a place like any other: they had representatives on all the commercial and financial places of the West: procureurs, factors, relatives, attorneys,… (Gascon, 1971, 218-219).

The Bonvisi were active within as well as beyond France. They had connections with the whole of western Europe (especially the north and east, the Iberian peninsula, and Italy), and even with Asia, Africa and the New World. (Bayard, 1971, 1238). The Bonvisi were especially active in southern Europe, their connections with northwestern Europe were rather limited. (Bayard, 1971, 1239). Strong ties with Spain: re-export of products from Lyon to Spain (Gascon, 1971, 96, 119). Largest importers in Lyon in 1569. Prosperity based on three commercial traffics: (1) Italy - North-West Europe: woollens from England, linen from Flanders. (2) France - Italy: silk from Naples, Messina, Vicenza to Lyon, Tours (monopoly), Avignon; linen from Brittany to Italy. (3) Italy - Spain: Silks, luxury products from Venice and Milan to Spain by land (via Irun, Canfranc) or via Nantes. Large transports of silver and gold from Spain to Italy (Gascon, 1971, 218). Strong connections with Spain (Gascon, 1971, 214).

The Bonvisi made use of directly dependent as well as legally independent branches, with a preference for the former. Both types of branches carried out the same business activities. (Lapeyre, 1955, 144-145).

Table A..1. Network of the Bonvisi, ca. 1504 – 1629 (esp. 1575 – 1610)

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Lucca		8	4	3	1	>15th c.-1607<	At the time of his death (1559) Antoine Bonvisi had money with the company of the heirs Louis and Benoît Bonvisi and Michel Diodati in Lucca. (Bayard, 1971, 1236). The Bonvisi companies of Antwerp, Lyon and Lucca were connected to each other (1559). (Bayard, 1971, 1236). The branch in Lucca remained the mother branch during the whole period of existence of the Bonvisi bank. (Bayard, 1971, 1236). In 1607, of 30 bills of exchange drawn on the Bonvisi of Lyon, 10 were drawn by the Bonvisi of Lucca and the Bonvisi of Venice. (Bayard, 1971, 1237). Close ties between the different Bonvisi branches and the mother branch in Lucca. All contracts of the Lyonese Bonvisi companies went through the office of Santini, notary in Lucca. (Bayard, 1971, 1237). Although very rich and powerful in Lyon, the Bonvisi refused to integrate themselves in the city. They maintained strong ties with Lucca. (Bayard, 1971, 1237). 50 % of the imports of the Bonvisi in Lyon in 1575-1610 came from Italy: import of tissues from Milan, Genoa, Bologna, Lucca, Naples, Palermo and Messina. (Bayard, 1971, 1240, 1245). The Bonvisi of Lyon maintained close ties with Lucca during the whole period of existence of their firm. Import of luxury textiles (silks, satin,…)	

							from Lucca. For the Bonvisi of Lyon, Lucca was the largest purchase market in Italy. (Bayard, 1971, 1245). 38 % of the bills of exchange remitted to the Bonvisi in Lyon in 1575-1610 came from Italy, as well as 44 % drawn on the Bonvisi. Bills of exchange sent to the Bonvisi in 1575-1610 from Lucca (10 to 50 bills drawn, 100 to 200 bills remitted to the Bonvisi). (Bayard, 1971, 1242-1243, 1245). After 1600, the Bonvisi remained active in import of luxury textiles from Lucca, Messina, Bologna, Milan, and the Levant via Venice. However, they diversified their activities. (Bayard, 1971, 1261). 2nd biggest importer from Lucca to Lyon in 1569 (19%) (Gascon, 1971, 211). Members of the Bonvisi family or their factors were in Lyon, Antwerp, Leuven, the fairs of Spain, and Lucca. (Gascon, 1952, 152). Headquarters (?). Bonvisi were in Lucca (Gascon, 1971, 214). Bank and company of heirs of Louis and Benedict Bonvisi, Michel Diodati and company, in Lucca in 1553 (Gascon, 1971, 219). Bonvisi of Lyon were closely tied to the Bonvisi in London, Antwerp, Medina del Campo, Marseille and especially Lucca (Gascon, 1971, 369). Esteban (Stefano) Bonvisi went to Lucca in 1591. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, xxiii). Ca. 60 bills of exchange drawn on the Bonvisi; ca. 150 bills of exchange for which the Bonvisi are the beneficiaries (Gascon, 1971, 216-217, fig. 24). Branch in Lucca since 1598. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 199).	
Lyon		7	3	2	1	>1504-1629 (perhaps already in 1466)	Six succeeding Bonvisi companies in Lyon between 1575 and 1629. (Bayard, 1971, 1235). The Lyon company of 1575-1577 was named Heirs of Louis and Benoît Bonvisi, Benoît being a nephew of Louis. In 1577 Louis was replaced by Bernardin, brother of Benoît (Bernardin being manager). In 1584 the sons of Benoît, Étienne and Antoine, became partners in the company (manager: Antoine). In 1588 Benoît left the partnership. Partners in 1588 were Bernardin and his nephews Étienne and Antoine (manager: Antoine, later Étienne). In 1600, Bernardin was replaced by his brother Paul (manager: Étienne). The company of 1612 had as partners Antoine and his son Benoît. In 1622, the company consisted of the brothers Benoît and Jean, sons of Antoine. (Bayard, 1971, 1235). Partners before 1575 were for example Benoît, father of Louis, and Antoine, uncle of the former (Benoît). (Bayard, 1971, genealogical tree between pp. 1236-1237). Only in 1630, when the company went bankrupt, Jean Cappelleti, not a member of the	

							family, associated himself with Jean and Benoît. (Bayard, 1971, 1235). Antonio Bonvisi was the first of the Bonvisi to leave Lucca. He became active in Lyon, where the Bonvisi are mentioned for the first time in 1504. Later, Antonio went to England. (Bayard, 1971, 1236). At the time of his death (1559) Antonio Bonvisi had money with the company of the Bonvisi in Lyon. (Bayard, 1971, 1236). The Bonvisi companies of Antwerp, Lyon and Lucca were connected to each other (1559). (Bayard, 1971, 1236). The Lyon branch was very important. (Bayard, 1971, 1237). In 1607, of 30 bills of exchange drawn on the Bonvisi of Lyon, 10 were drawn by the Bonvisi of Lucca and the Bonvisi of Venice. (Bayard, 1971, 1237). Several branches of the Bonvisi sent bills of exchange to the branch in Lyon for payment during the fairs. (Bayard, 1971, 1237). All contracts of the Lyonese Bonvisi companies went through the office of Santini, notary in Lucca. (Bayard, 1971, 1237). Although very rich and powerful in Lyon, the Bonvisi refused to integrate themselves in the city. They maintained strong ties with Lucca. (Bayard, 1971, 1237). The Bonvisi rented a residence in Lyon from Guillaume de Stuard in the Rue Saint-Jean. They also rented the building in which their bank was located (Rue Juiverie). They never purchased rural property near Lyon (although they rented a number of rural properties). (Bayard, 1971, 1237). The Bonvisi obtained naturalisation in France: Vincent and Jérôme Bonvisi obtained letters of naturalisation from king Charles IX between 1560 and 1566. Nevertheless, they belonged to the Lucchese nation in Lyon, and considered themselves as foreign merchants. (Bayard, 1971, 1237). The Bonvisi branch in Lyon was the most important Italian banking house in Lyon. (Bayard, 1971, 1238). Purchases of the Bonvisi of Lyon in France were smaller than their sales in France. Modest purchases in Lyon, Limoges, Toulouse, and somewhat larger purchases in Rouen, Tours and Paris in 1575-1610. (Bayard, 1971, 1240, 1246). Sales of the Bonvisi of Lyon in 1575-1610 especially took place in Lyon (33%), Tours (20 %), Toulouse (10 %), Paris (10 %), the Dauphiné (6.6 %), also in Marseille (1.6 %). (Bayard, 1971, 1241, 1246). The Bonvisi sold goods (silk, wine, etc.) in Lyon for local or regional consumption, or to wholesale merchants, re-exporting these goods. (Bayard, 1971, 1248). In 1607, Étienne Bonvisi and his family went back to Lucca. Only in 1612 a new Bonvisi company was established in Lyon: Antoine and Benoît Bonvisi and	

							company. (Bayard, 1971, 1262). Large importers of spices in Lyon in the 16th c., since 1504 (Gascon, 1971, 219). The heirs of L. and B. Bonvisi were the largest importers in Lyon in 1569 (6.3 %). Their activities spanned the whole of western Europe. (Gascon, 1962, 507). The heirs of Antoine and Louis Bonvisi were among the most highly taxed merchants of Lyon in 1571: 500 lb. (Gascon, 1962, 533). Ca. 1560-1575, the Bonvisi were represented in Lyon by Louis and Benedict. (Gascon, 1952, 152). Members of the Bonvisi family or their factors were in Lyon, Antwerp, Leuven, the fairs of Spain, and Lucca. (Gascon, 1952, 152). Less than 10 bills of exchange drawn on the Bonvisi of Lyon from Lyon; less than 10 bills of exchange for which the Bonvisi are the beneficiaries (Gascon, 1971, 216-217, fig. 24). Bonvisi were Lucchese merchants. Became citizens of Lyon probably from as early as 1466 to at least 1629. Were well integrated in Lyon (Mauro, 1990, 265). Bonvisi in Lyon in 1569: heirs Louis and Benedict (Gascon, 1971, 204). Bonvisi in Lyon from 1504 (and maybe already from 1466) until 1629: liquidation in 1629 due to lack of adaptation, less capable successors, bad conjoncture, crisis of 1620-21. Growth of the branch around 1500, prosperity in the period 1500-1565, crisis in 1575-1595, recovery in 1600-1620, then decline and bankruptcy (Gascon, 1971, 216-217). Lyon was only a place like any other for the Bonvisi (Gascon, 1971, 218-219). Bank and company Louis & Benedict Bonvisi in Lyon in 1559 (Gascon, 1971, 219). Had a bank in Lyon: accepted deposits (Gascon, 1971, 253). Antoine and Louis Bonvisi: Lent money to the counsillors of Lyon (Gascon, 1971, 256). Bonvisi renewed their company in Lyon about 15 times in more than a century (Gascon, 1971, 280). Independent company. Independent from the Antwerp company of Bonvisi and Diodati, but probably strong connections and solidarities (Gascon, 1971, 281). Bonvisi in Lyon acted as commissionaries for maritime insurances in Lyon: a.o. in name of merchants from Sevilla, a Portuguese merchant in Antwerp, their branch in Marseille (Gascon, 1971, 300). Bonvisi were the most important maritime insurers in Lyon (Gascon, 1971, 305). Vincent Pilati, merchant from Vicenza, established in Lyon as an important importer of silk, acted often in name of the Bonvisi in Lyon. Contacts of the Bonvisi between Lyon and Tours sometimes under the name of the bank	

							Bonaventure Michaeli and Jérôme Arnolfini (Gascon, 1971, 333). Bonvisi had a palace in Lyon, “villa Bonvisi” (Gascon, 1971, ill. xv). Bonvisi were taxed most of the Lucchese bankers in the Nommées of 1571: 500 L. (Gascon, 1971, 360). Bonvisi: already inscribed in Lyon in 1516 under the name of Urban Parenci for a tax of 2000 L. (highest after Thomas Gadaigne and Guillaume Nazi, both Florentines). Bonvisi were by then (1516) represented by Antoine and Louis in Lyon (Gascon, 1971, 363). Bonvisi were uninterruptedly in Lyon from 1504 (maybe from 1466: Jacques Bonvisi named as broker of the Florentines, possible that Florentines and Lucchese were used together here), until 1629 (Gascon, 1971, 368, 368 n. 53). Claire Bonvisi was married to an Arnolfini, Jérôme Bonvisi was married to Lucrèce de Noble (Gascon, 1971, 368). Bonvisi of Lyon were closely tied to the Bonvisi in London, Antwerp, Medina del Campo, Marseille and especially Lucca (Gascon, 1971, 369). In the 16th c., the Bonvisi seem to have centred their activities on Lyon (Lapeyre, 1955, 143). Around the 1580s, the company in Lyon is headed by Benedetto and Bernardino Bonvisi, in 1590 by Stefano and Antonio Bonvisi (Lapeyre, 1955, 144). Successive names of the Bonvisi: 1549: Antonio & Ludovico Bonvisi; 1551-1558: Antonio & heirs Ludovic Bonvisi; before December 1564: heirs of Antonio & Ludovico Bonvisi & Cie; next: Heirs Ludovico, Benito Bonvisi & Cie; 1578: Benedito, Bernardino Bonvisi & Cie; 1584: Benedito, Bernardino, Stefano, Antonio Bonvisi & Cie; 1587: Bernardino, Stefano, Antonio Bonvisi & Cie (Lapeyre, 1955, 147 n. 32). Bonvisi in Lyon: often different managers at the same time: in 1584, Baldassare Citadela, head of the house, replaced by the brothers Stefano and Antonio Bonvisi as managers. In addition to the managers, also some superior members of personnel who had right to put their signature together with the managers. Persons with right to put their signature in 1564: Bernardino and Girolamo Bonvisi; 1571: Bernardino and Girolamo Bonvisi, Alessandro and Michaele Diodati, Baldassare Citadela; 1575: Bernardino and Girolamo Bonvisi, Alessandro de Diodati, Lorenzo Cenami, Andrea Massei; 1578: Benedetto and Bernardino Bonvisi, Alessandro de Diodati; 1581: Benedetto and Bernardino Bonvisi, Alessandro de Diodati, Stefano Bonvisi; 1584: Stefano and Antonio Bonvisi, Horacio Nobili. In 1575, the managers were Bernardino and Girolamo Bonvisi. Organisation of the lower personnel in the Bonvisi company is not known	

							(Lapeyre, 1955, 152). During the whole of the 16th c., the Bonvisi were established in Lyon. They participated prominently in the financial business of the French Crown. Antonio and the heirs of Ludovico Bonvisi had a claim against Henry II in 1553 and 1557. At last only the branch in Lyon remained. There the firm failed in 1629 with liabilities of 700,000 ecus (Ehrenberg, 1928, 227). 1466-1629 (bankrupt in 1629) (Gascon, 1971, 876). The Bonvisi centred their business on Lyon. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 199).	
Antwerp		**6** 4	**3** 2	**2** 2	**1** 1	>1521-1593< <1593-1610>	Antonio Bonvisi left England and established himself in Antwerp. He died in Louhans (Leuven?) in Brabant in 1559. (Bayard, 1971, 1236). At the time of his death (1559) Antonio Bonvisi had money with the company of Alexander Bonvisi in Antwerp. (Bayard, 1971, 1236). The Bonvisi companies of Antwerp, Lyon and Lucca were connected to each other (1559). (Bayard, 1971, 1236). In Antwerp the Bonvisi company was in decline after 1576, and several members fled from Antwerp to Italy. Nevertheless, a Bonvisi company still existed in 1590 (a new company was established in 1590). (Bayard, 1971, 1236). In 1575-1610, the Bonvisi purchased textiles in small quantities from London, Antwerp and Lille (only 5 % of the total imports of the Bonvisi of Lyon came from England and the Low Countries). (Bayard, 1971, 1238-1241). Between 1575 and 1610, ca. 7.5 % of the bills remitted to and drawn on the Bonvisi in Lyon came from the Low Countries (almost entirely Antwerp). Between 50 and 100 bills of exchange were drawn from Antwerp between 1575 and 1610, and between 100 and 200 were remitted from Antwerp. (Bayard, 1971, 1239, 1242-1243). The Bonvisi played a role in the import from Southern Europe to Antwerp in 1553, and export from Antwerp to Italy in 1543 (Goris, 1925, 248-250; Brulez, 1958, 177: Ludovico Bonvisi). Went from England to Antwerp after the death of Henry VIII (Goris, 1925, 396). Trade in spices: imported to Lyon from Antwerp and Italy via the Alps and Marseille (Gascon, 1971, 92). 2.2 % of import from the Low Countries to Lyon in 1569 (14th biggest importer) (Gascon, 1971, 211). The Bonvisi were well known with the financial and commercial circles in the Low Countries. They were also important importers of English cloth in Lyon via Antwerp. The Bonvisi only played a limited role in the import from the Low Countries to Lyon however. (Gascon, 1962, 506). Members of the Bonvisi family or their factors were in Lyon, Antwerp, Leuven, the fairs of Spain, and Lucca. (Gascon, 1952, 152).	

							Ca. 80 bills of exchange drawn on the Bonvisi; ca. 160 bills of exchange for which the Bonvisi are the beneficiaries (Gascon, 1971, 216-217, fig. 24). Goris, 1925, 102. **First Lucchese merchants who left Bruges for Antwerp in the beginning of the 16th c. according to Guicchiardini** (Marechal, 1985a, 262, n. 101). Fr. Bernardes sent a news-letter from Antwerp to the Bonvisi in Lyon in 1569 (Gascon, 1971, 180 n. 199). Aléxandre Bonvisi in Antwerp in 1565, 1566; 1566: Cie Louis Bonvisi & Nicolas Diodati; 1570: Benedict & Bernardin Bonvisi (Gascon, 1971, 214, 214 n. 15). Company Alexandre Bonvisi in Antwerp in 1553 (Gascon, 1971, 219). Company of Bonvisi and Diodati in Antwerp: juridically independent from the Bonvisi in Lyon, but probably strong connections with the company in Lyon (Gascon, 1971, 281). Bonvisi of Lyon were closely tied to the Bonvisi in London, Antwerp, Medina del Campo, Marseille and especially Lucca (Gascon, 1971, 369). Alessandro Bonvisi in Antwerp before 1576 (Lapeyre, 1955, 68). Members of the Bonvisi family established in Antwerp since 1521. Antonio Bonvisi left England for the Low Countries due to persecutions against catholics in England (Lapeyre, 1955, 143-144). In 1570, the Bonvisi in Antwerp were called “Alessandro Bonvisi y cia.” Later it is called “Benedetto y Bernardino Bonvisi y cia.” like the house in Lyon. Because of the troubles in the Low Countries, the house had to be closed. In 1588, Davino Sardini is sent to Antwerp for the Bonvisi for negotiation about the asientos. He leaves Antwerp in 1590, when one plans to reopen a branch in Antwerp under the name of Stefano and Antonio, the heads of the Lyon house, under the management of Ferrante Burlamachi, but because of the uncertain circumstances, the branch is only reopened in 1593, but under the name of Burlamachi with strong participation of the Bonvisi (Lapeyre, 1955, 144-145). After Henry VIII’s death, when the reformation took a decisive course in England, Antonio Bonvisi went back to Antwerp. There, in 1555, Sir Thomas Gresham had financial transactions with him for the English Crown. The financial relations of the Bonvisi with the English Crown continued until the reign of Elisabeth I (Ehrenberg, 1928, 226). The Bonvisi were among the first Italians to settle in Antwerp: cloth and silk businesses of Martino (1517), Martino and Ludovico Bonvisi (1529) (Ludovico Bonvisi also mentioned in 1542), Niccolo Bonvisi & Co. (1521-1526), which had	

							Bernardo Cenami as partner and chief representative. Apparently, they kept clear of monetary transactions with the Emperor and the Brussels Court. So they did not lose their credit in the great crises of 1557 and 1575. In 1579, they are described by an agent of the Fugger as one of the trading houses remaining in Antwerp, with very good credit (Ehrenberg, 1928, 227). The Bonvisi in Antwerp were the most important Antwerp correspondents of Simon Ruiz of Medina del Campo. Correspondence between 1558 and 1590. In 1590, the branch of the Bonvisi in Antwerp was closed. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 19). In 1544, the Bonvisi were the 25th biggest exporter from Antwerp to Italy. (Puttevils, 2007, 332). Branch. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 199). The Bonvisi appeared in Antwerp in 1521, coming from London. The firm was named successively Niccoló Bonvisi and Co., Antonio and heirs of Ludovico Bonvisi (1551-1558), Alessandro Bonvisi and Co. (after 1558). In 1558, the branch in Antwerp was headed by Paulo Burlamachi. He was replaced by Lamberto Lamberti in 1578. In 1584, the business of the Bonvisi in Antwerp was interrupted after Lamberti fled to Holland. In 1588, the Bonvisi sent Davino Sardini as their agent to Antwerp. The Bonvisi business in Antwerp from then was managed by Sardini and Ascanio Ciuffarino. At this time, the branch in Antwerp was named Bernardino, Stefano, Antonio Bonvisi and Co. After 1590, the company was not renewed anymore. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 199-200).	
Genoa		3 **6** 3	2 **3** 2	2 **2** 2	1 **1** 1	>1569-1581 1581-1605 1605-1610>	In Genoa, four Bonvisi companies succeeded each other from ca. 1580s until 1605: Benoît and Bernardin (both also in Lyon); Étienne, Antoine (both also in Lyon) and Lélio; Étienne, Antoine and Scipion Bonvisi and Octavien and Franciotto Diodati (Scipion also in Venice); Étienne and Antoine Bonvisi and Octavien Diodati. Lélio and Scipion were sons of Paul Bonvisi, and cousins of Antoine and Étienne. (Bayard, 1971, 1236). 50 % of the imports of the Bonvisi in Lyon in 1575-1610 came from Italy: import of tissues from Milan, Genoa, Bologna, Lucca, Naples, Palermo and Messina. (Bayard, 1971, 1240, 1245). Export to Italy was more limited: exports to Genoa. (Bayard, 1971, 1241, 1245). 38 % of the bills of exchange remitted to the Bonvisi in Lyon in 1575-1610 came from Italy, as well as 44 % drawn on the Bonvisi. Bills of exchange sent to the Bonvisi in 1575-1610 from Genoa (10 to 50 bills drawn, 50 to 100 bills remitted to the Bonvisi). (Bayard, 1971, 1242-1243, 1245). The Bonvisi insured a ship going from Genoa to Naples.	

							(Bayard, 1971, 1245). Import of silks and velvet from Genoa. (Bayard, 1971, 1245). Important importers from Genoa to Lyon in 1569 (Gascon, 1971, 213). In 1581, the Bonvisi opened a branch in Genoa. This became an independent house in 1587 under the name of Alessandro & Ottavio Diodati, who managed the branch already before 1587. In 1592, the Bonvisi of Lyon declared that they had established a branch again in Genoa (Lapeyre, 1955, 144). Ca. 50 bills of exchange drawn on the Bonvisi; ca. 70 bills of exchange for which the Bonvisi are the beneficiaries (Gascon, 1971, 216-217, fig. 24). Simon Ruiz corresponded with the Bonvisi and their subordinates the Deodati (also from Lucca) in Genoa and/or Piacenza between ca. 1581 and 1605. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, xiii). Branch in Genoa since 1581. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 199). In Genoa, the Bonvisi were represented by Alessandro and Otaviano Deodati between 1587 and 1592, and by Cattaneo and Deodati since 1592. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 199).	
Marseille		6	3	2	1	>1566-1610>	Mario Bonvisi, nephew of Louis Bonvisi, and cousin of Bernardin, Paul, Laurent and Benoît, established a branch of the Bonvisi in Marseille, and became active in Barbary. (Bayard, 1971, 1236). The Bonvisi insured the ship Saint-Louis, going from Marseille to Zaragoza. (Bayard, 1971, 1244). Via Mario Bonvisi, who had established himself in Marseille, the Bonvisi had connections with Algiers in Barbary. (Bayard, 1971, 1246). Sales of the Bonvisi of Lyon in 1575-1610 especially took place in Lyon (33%), Tours (20 %), Toulouse (10 %), Paris (10 %), the Dauphiné (6.6 %), also in Marseille (1.6 %). (Bayard, 1971, 1241, 1246). Exchange transactions of the Bonvisi of Lyon (1575-1610) in France with Marseille (10 to 50 bills drawn, 10 to 50 bills remitted to the Bonvisi). (Bayard, 1971, 1242-1243, 1246). The Bonvisi of Lyon lent money in Lyon and also elsewhere (18.8 % of the loans): in Thiers (20 %), Marseille (10 %), Chambéry (6.6 %), Avignon (6.6 %), Montluel (6.6 %), Saint-Rambert en Bugey, Roanne, Autun, Nantes (all in exceptional occasions). (Bayard, 1971, 1246). Loans of the Bonvisi to merchants of Marseille. (Bayard, 1971, 1249). The Bonvisi insured ships leaving from Marseille and Rouen. (Bayard, 1971, 1246). Trade in spices: imported to Lyon from Antwerp and Italy via the Alps and Marseille (Gascon, 1971, 92). Bonvisi owned 1/4 share in a ship from Marseille to	

							Chios and Constantinople. (Gascon, 1971, 218). Mario Bonvisi & company, branch in Marseille of the Bonvisi in Lyon (Gascon, 1971, 293). Imported spices in Lyon, via Marseille, where they were active as well (Gascon, 1971, 92). Mario Bonvisi in Marseille (Gascon, 1971, 214). Had 1/4 share in the cargo of a ship from Marseille to Chios and Constantinople in 1566 (Gascon, 1971, 218). Bonvisi of Lyon were closely tied to the Bonvisi in London, Antwerp, Medina del Campo, Marseille and especially Lucca (Gascon, 1971, 369). Ca. 40 bills of exchange drawn on the Bonvisi; ca. 20 bills of exchange for which the Bonvisi are the beneficiaries (Gascon, 1971, 216-217, fig. 24).	
Piacenza		**6** 4	**3** 2	**2** 2	**1** 1	>c.1581-c.1605< <c.1605-1629>	In Piacenza, four Bonvisi companies succeeded each other from ca. 1580s: Benoît and Bernardin (both also in Lyon); Bernardin, Étienne, Antoine (all three also in Lyon); Paul, Bernardin, Étienne, Antoine (all also in Lyon); Paul, Étienne and Antoine (all also in Lyon). (Bayard, 1971, 1236). 38 % of the bills of exchange remitted to the Bonvisi in Lyon in 1575-1610 came from Italy, as well as 44 % drawn on the Bonvisi. Bills of exchange sent to the Bonvisi in 1575-1610 from Piacenza (ca. 10 bills drawn, 10 to 50 bills remitted to the Bonvisi). (Bayard, 1971, 1242-1243, 1245). From 1600 to 1629, deposits entrusted to the Bonvisi of Lyon came especially from Besançon, Piacenza and Venice. (Bayard, 1971, 1259-1260). After 1600, Venice and Florence remain important centres for exchange transactions of the Bonvisi of Lyon, but Piacenza and Milan became increasingly important. (Bayard, 1971, 1260). In 1607, 11 of the 12 bills remitted on the Bonvisi came from Piacenza. (Bayard, 1971, 1260). Increasing importance of Besançon and Piacenza for the Bonvisi from the end of the 16th century: these places were controlled by the Genoese. (Bayard, 1971, 1260). Ca. 5 bills of exchange drawn on the Bonvisi; ca. 50 bills of exchange for which the Bonvisi are the beneficiaries (Gascon, 1971, 216-217, fig. 24). Simon Ruiz corresponded with the Bonvisi and their subordinates the Deodati (also from Lucca) in Genoa and/or Piacenza between ca. 1581 and 1605. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, xiii).	
Venice		4 **6**	2 **3**	2 **2**	1 **1**	>1561-1578 1578-1607<	Daniel van der Molen, an Antwerp merchant in Venice, loaned money to the Bonvisi before 1561. (Puttevils, 2007, 193). In Venice, three Bonvisi	

		4	2	2	1	<1607-1629>	companies succeeded each other from ca. 1580s: Benoît, Laurent and Bernardin (brothers, Benoît and Bernardin also in Lyon); Benoît and Bernardin; Étienne, Antoine and Scipion. (Bayard, 1971, 1236). In 1607, of 30 bills of exchange drawn on the Bonvisi of Lyon, 10 were drawn by the Bonvisi of Lucca and the Bonvisi of Venice. (Bayard, 1971, 1237). 38 % of the bills of exchange remitted to the Bonvisi in Lyon in 1575-1610 came from Italy, as well as 44 % drawn on the Bonvisi. Bills of exchange sent to the Bonvisi in 1575-1610 from Venice (100 to 200 bills drawn, 100 to 200 bills remitted to the Bonvisi). Florence, Venice and Naples were the most important. (Bayard, 1971, 1242-1243, 1245). From 1600 to 1629, deposits entrusted to the Bonvisi of Lyon came especially from Besançon, Piacenza and Venice. (Bayard, 1971, 1259-1260). After 1600, Venice and Florence remain important centres for exchange transactions of the Bonvisi of Lyon, but Piacenza and Milan became increasingly important. (Bayard, 1971, 1260). After 1600, the Bonvisi remained active in import of luxury textiles from Lucca, Messina, Bologna, Milan, and the Levant via Venice. However, they diversified their activities. (Bayard, 1971, 1261). Silk cloth, and luxury products from Venice and Milan exported to Spain (Gascon, 1971, 218). The house of the Bonvisi in Venice becomes the representative of the Portuguese pepper consortium of Antonio Fernandes and others in Venice in 1581. Also hoped to become the representative of the consortium in Florence in 1582 (Lapeyre, 1955, 71-72). In 1578, the Bonvisi founded a house in Venice. They specified that it operated in their name, and that it was led by confidential persons (Lapeyre, 1955, 144). The Bonvisi (Benedetto, Lorenzo and Bernardino) established a branch in Venice in association with Baltasar Suárez, but this branch had to be closed rather quickly. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, xv). In 1580 the Ximenes sent Portuguese spices to Italy: to the firm of Benedikt, Laurentius and Bernardinus Bonvisi & co. in Venice. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 296). Ca. 100 bills of exchange drawn on the Bonvisi; ca. 170 bills of exchange for which the Bonvisi are the beneficiaries (Gascon, 1971, 216-217, fig. 24). Branch in Venice since 1578. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 199). The Bonvisi were the representatives of the pepper consortium of Antonio Fernandes (Lisbon) in Venice in 1581. (Lapeyre, 1955, 71-72).	

Besançon		**5** 3	**3** 2	**2** 2	**1** 1	>1569-1590< <1590-1629>	Branch. Bills of exchange were remitted to the Bonvisi of Lyon in 1575-1610 (less than 10 bills). (Bayard, 1971, 1242, 1249). From 1600 to 1629, deposits entrusted to the Bonvisi of Lyon came especially from Besançon, Piacenza and Venice. (Bayard, 1971, 1259-1260). Exchange transactions with Spain took place via Besançon in 1600-1629. (Bayard, 1971, 1260). Increasing importance of Besançon and Piacenza for the Bonvisi from the end of the 16th century: these places were controlled by the Genoese. (Bayard, 1971, 1260). 0 bills of exchange drawn on the Bonvisi; ca. 5 bills of exchange for which the Bonvisi are the beneficiaries (Gascon, 1971, 216-217, fig. 24). Bonvisi left the "Place de Change" in Lyon for Besançon and Chambéry in 1590 (Gascon, 1971, 653 n. 42). In 1571, the Bonvisi of Lyon, Besançon and Chambéry were the same, and operated under the same name (Lapeyre, 1955, 144). In 1581, the Bonvisi declare that their houses in Besançon and Lyon were the same (Lapeyre, 1955, 144). Branch. Representatives in Besançon in 1569 were Paulo, Bernardino, Stefano and Antonio Bonvisi. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 199).	
Chambéry		5	3	2	1	>1571-1590<	The Bonvisi of Lyon lent money in Lyon and also elsewhere (18.8 % of the loans): in Thiers (20 %), Marseille (10 %), Chambéry (6.6 %), Avignon (6.6 %), Montluel (6.6 %), Saint-Rambert en Bugey, Roanne, Autun, Nantes (all in exceptional occasions). (Bayard, 1971, 1246). Loans to merchants trading at the fairs of Chambéry by the Bonvisi. (Bayard, 1971, 1249). In 1574, the Bonvisi of Lyon asked the Bonvisi of Flanders and Italy to remit money via bills of exchange to Chambéry. (Bayard, 1971, 1255). Bonvisi left the "Place de Change" in Lyon for Besançon and Chambéry in 1590 (Gascon, 1971, 653 n. 42). In 1571, the Bonvisi of Lyon, Besançon and Chambéry were the same, and operated under the same name (Lapeyre, 1955, 144). Branch. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 199).	
Burgos		3 **4** 3	2 **2** 2	2 **2** 2	1 **1** 1	>1546-1569 1569-1579< <1579-1600>	36 % of the bills of exchange remitted to the Bonvisi and 18 % of the bills drawn on the Bonvisi (1575-1610) came from Spain. Between 1575 and 1610 permanent financial connections of the Bonvisi of Lyon with Burgos (10 to 50 bills drawn, 50 to 100 bills remitted to the Bonvisi). (Bayard, 1971, 1242-1244). No exchange transactions with Spain anymore between 1600	

							and 1629. (Bayard, 1971, 1260). Trade of Italian silks from Lyon to Spain (examples 1566-1569) (Gascon, 1971, 63). In 1566 Bonvisi transported diverse products from Lyon to Zaragoza and Burgos, via transporters of Urdos, Irun, Canfranc (Gascon, 1971, 164). Representative of the Bonvisi in Spain resides in Burgos: Francesco Lamberti. In 1579, Simon Ruiz suggests them to send him to Sevilla (Lapeyre, 1955, 145). Ca. 70 bills of exchange drawn on the Bonvisi; ca. 30 bills of exchange for which the Bonvisi are the beneficiaries (Gascon, 1971, 216-217, fig. 24). The Bonvisi negociated bills of exchange with the Bernuy in Burgos ca. 1546-1550. The Bernuy also sent velvet to the Bonvisi in Lyon. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 337, 339). Branch. Representatives of the Bonvisi in Burgos in 1569 were Francesco Lamberti, Baldassare Citadella and Bullione Burlamachi. They were sent by the Bonvisi to Spain in 1569. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 199).	
Florence		4	2	2	1	<1575-1610>	38 % of the bills of exchange remitted to the Bonvisi in Lyon in 1575-1610 came from Italy, as well as 44 % drawn on the Bonvisi. Bills of exchange sent to the Bonvisi in 1575-1610 from Florence (ca. 100 bills drawn, 100 to 200 bills remitted to the Bonvisi). Florence, Venice and Naples were the most important. (Bayard, 1971, 1242-1243, 1245). After 1600, Venice and Florence remained important centres for exchange transactions of the Bonvisi of Lyon, but Piacenza and Milan became increasingly important. (Bayard, 1971, 1260). The house of the Bonvisi in Venice becomes the representative of the Portuguese pepper consortium of Antonio Fernandes and others in Venice in 1581. Also hoped to become the representative of the consortium in Florence in 1582 (Lapeyre, 1955, 71-72). Ca. 100 bills of exchange drawn on the Bonvisi; ca. 150 bills of exchange for which the Bonvisi are the beneficiaries (Gascon, 1971, 216-217, fig. 24).	
Medina del Campo		4	2	2	1	>1558-1600>	36 % of the bills of exchange remitted to the Bonvisi and 18 % of the bills drawn on the Bonvisi (1575-1610) came from Spain. Between 1575 and 1610 permanent financial connections of the Bonvisi of Lyon with Medina del Campo (10 to 50 bills drawn, more than 200 bills remitted to the Bonvisi). (Bayard, 1971, 1242-1244). Important financial ties with Medina	

							del Campo, where the Ruiz were the correspondents of the Bonvisi. (Bayard, 1971, 1245). No exchange transactions with Spain anymore between 1600 and 1629. (Bayard, 1971, 1260). In 1595, the Bonvisi intended to establish a company for trade between France and Spain. They intended to establish this company in Rouen, associated with a merchant in Thiers, and with participation of the Ruiz in Medina del Campo and the Torre and Aldona in Sevilla. However, the plan was not carried out since the Ruiz did not manage to obtain a free conduct for trade with France. (Bayard, 1971, 1260-1261). Members of the Bonvisi family or their factors were in Lyon, Antwerp, Leuven, the fairs of Spain, and Lucca. (Gascon, 1952, 152). Ca. 40 bills of exchange drawn on the Bonvisi; ca. 230 bills of exchange for which the Bonvisi are the beneficiaries (Gascon, 1971, 216-217, fig. 24). Bonvisi of Lyon were closely tied to the Bonvisi in London, Antwerp, Medina del Campo, Marseille and especially Lucca (Gascon, 1971, 369). The Bonvisi in Antwerp were the most important Antwerp correspondents of Simon Ruiz of Medina del Campo. Correspondence between 1558 and 1590. In 1590, the branch of the Bonvisi in Antwerp was closed. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 19). Correspondent in Spain of the Bonvisi in Lyon: Simon Ruiz (1563) (Gascon, 1971, 295). The Bonvisi were the most important correspondents of Simon Ruiz. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 200).	
Nantes		4	2	2	1	>1564-1610>	Exchange transactions of the Bonvisi of Lyon (1575-1610) in France with Nantes (100 to 200 bills drawn, 50 to 100 bills remitted to the Bonvisi). (Bayard, 1971, 1242-1243, 1246). The Bonvisi of Lyon lent money in Lyon and also elsewhere (18.8 % of the loans): in Thiers (20 %), Marseille (10 %), Chambéry (6.6 %), Avignon (6.6 %), Montluel (6.6 %), Saint-Rambert en Bugey, Roanne, Autun, Nantes (all in exceptional occasions). (Bayard, 1971, 1246). In France, especially Paris, Rouen and Nantes were important banking centres for the Bonvisi of Lyon. (Bayard, 1971, 1249). Many bills of exchange were drawn on the Bonvisi of Lyon by the Polayn, Carnera and Ruiz of Nantes. (Bayard, 1971, 1249). Banking activities of the Bonvisi in Paris and at the French court, Toulouse, the Atlantic Ports of Nantes, Bordeaux and Rouen. (Gascon, 1952, 152). Export from Italy to Spain partly via Nantes (Gascon, 1971, 218).	

							Representative of the Bonvisi in Nantes was André Ruiz, who collected for them and the Michaeli the royal revenues in 1564 in Nantes, assigned to them as creditors of the king (Lapeyre, 1955, 50). Ca. 130 bills of exchange drawn on the Bonvisi; ca. 80 bills of exchange for which the Bonvisi are the beneficiaries (Gascon, 1971, 216-217, fig. 24).	
Naples		6 **4**	3 **2**	2 **2**	1 **1**	1580s? <1575-1610>	A Bonvisi company existed in Naples for a very short time (1580s?). (Bayard, 1971, 1236). 50 % of the imports of the Bonvisi in Lyon in 1575-1610 came from Italy: import of tissues from Milan, Genoa, Bologna, Lucca, Naples, Palermo and Messina. (Bayard, 1971, 1240, 1245). The Bonvisi insured a ship going from Genoa to Naples. (Bayard, 1971, 1245). 38 % of the bills of exchange remitted to the Bonvisi in Lyon in 1575-1610 came from Italy, as well as 44 % drawn on the Bonvisi. Bills of exchange sent to the Bonvisi in 1575-1610 from Naples (50 to 100 bills drawn, 100 to 200 bills remitted to the Bonvisi). Florence, Venice and Naples were the most important. (Bayard, 1971, 1242-1243, 1245). Silk bought in Naples, Messina and Vicenza, and exported to Lyon, Tours, Avignon (Gascon, 1971, 218). Ca. 90 bills of exchange drawn on the Bonvisi; ca. 80 bills of exchange for which the Bonvisi are the beneficiaries (Gascon, 1971, 216-217, fig. 24).	
Paris		4	2	2	1	>1570-1610>	Purchases of the Bonvisi of Lyon in France were smaller than their sales in France. Modest purchases in Lyon, Limoges, Toulouse, and somewhat larger purchases in Rouen, Tours and Paris in 1575-1610. (Bayard, 1971, 1240, 1246). Sales of the Bonvisi of Lyon in 1575-1610 especially took place in Lyon (33%), Tours (20 %), Toulouse (10 %), Paris (10 %), the Dauphiné (6.6 %), also in Marseille (1.6 %). (Bayard, 1971, 1241, 1246). Exchange transactions of the Bonvisi of Lyon (1575-1610) in France with Paris (50 to 100 bills drawn, 100 to 200 bills remitted to the Bonvisi). (Bayard, 1971, 1242-1243, 1246). In France, especially Paris, Rouen and Nantes were important banking centres for the Bonvisi of Lyon. (Bayard, 1971, 1249). After 1600, Paris became the most important centre in France for exchange transactions for the Bonvisi of Lyon. (Bayard, 1971, 1260). Banking activities of the Bonvisi in Paris and at the French court, Toulouse, the Atlantic Ports of Nantes, Bordeaux and Rouen. (Gascon, 1952, 152).	

							Ca. 80 bills of exchange drawn on the Bonvisi; ca. 150 bills of exchange for which the Bonvisi are the beneficiaries (Gascon, 1971, 216-217, fig. 24). Ca. 1580, the Bonvisi of Lyon paid 8,000 ecus to Jerónimo Curiel in Paris through bills of exchange. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, xxi). Bonvisi imported woollen cloth from Paris to Lyon via a Lucchese merchant established in Paris (Gascon, 1971, 657). Branch. Representatives in Paris were Benedetto and Fabio de Nobile, and in 1577 Giacomo Sardini. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 199). In 1570, the Bonvisi were represented in Paris by Beneditto de Nobili, in 1577 by Fabio de Nobili and Giacomo Sardini.	
Rome		4	2	2	1	<1575-1610>	38 % of the bills of exchange remitted to the Bonvisi in Lyon in 1575-1610 came from Italy, as well as 44 % drawn on the Bonvisi. Bills of exchange sent to the Bonvisi in 1575-1610 from Rome (50 to 100 bills drawn, 100 to 200 bills remitted to the Bonvisi). (Bayard, 1971, 1242-1243, 1245). In 1579, the Bonvisi of Lyon were represented by the Olgiatti (Lapeyre, 1955, 144). Ca. 75 bills of exchange drawn on the Bonvisi; ca. 140 bills of exchange for which the Bonvisi are the beneficiaries (Gascon, 1971, 216-217, fig. 24).	
Sevilla		3 **4**	2 **2**	2 **2**	1 **1**	>1515-1525< >1573-1600>	36 % of the bills of exchange remitted to the Bonvisi and 18 % of the bills drawn on the Bonvisi (1575-1610) came from Spain. Between 1575 and 1610 permanent financial connections of the Bonvisi of Lyon with Sevilla (10 to 50 bills drawn, 100 to 200 bills remitted to the Bonvisi). (Bayard, 1971, 1242-1244). Important financial ties with Sevilla. (Bayard, 1971, 1244-1245). No exchange transactions with Spain anymore between 1600 and 1629. (Bayard, 1971, 1260). In 1595, the Bonvisi intended to establish a company for trade between France and Spain. They intended to establish this company in Rouen, associated with a merchant in Thiers, and with participation of the Ruiz in Medina del Campo and the Torre and Aldona in Sevilla. However, the plan was not carried out since the Ruiz did not manage to obtain a free conduct for trade with France. (Bayard, 1971, 1260-1261). In 1573, cochenille sent by a merchant from Seville to the Bonvisi in Lyon: transported by mule-transporters from St-Jean-de-Luz (Gascon, 1971, 164). Ca. 40 bills of exchange drawn on the Bonvisi; ca. 150 bills of exchange for which the Bonvisi are the beneficiaries (Gascon, 1971, 216-217, fig. 24).	

							Exchange transactions by the Bonvisi with Sevilla in 1515-1525. (Otte, 1986, 33).	
Tours		4	2	2	1	>1550-1610>	Purchases of the Bonvisi of Lyon in France were smaller than their sales in France. Modest purchases in Lyon, Limoges, Toulouse, and somewhat larger purchases in Rouen, Tours and Paris in 1575-1610. (Bayard, 1971, 1240, 1246). Sales of the Bonvisi of Lyon in 1575-1610 especially took place in Lyon (33%), Tours (20 %), Toulouse (10 %), Paris (10 %), the Dauphiné (6.6 %), also in Marseille (1.6 %). (Bayard, 1971, 1241, 1246). Exchange transactions of the Bonvisi of Lyon (1575-1610) in France with Tours (less than 10 bills remitted to the Bonvisi). (Bayard, 1971, 1242-1243, 1246). The Bonvisi purchased silks in Tours, as well as goods produced in the north of France. (Bayard, 1971, 1248). In Tours, the Bonvisi almost had a monopoly on the import of silk for the silk-industry of Tours. (Gascon, 1952, 152). 0 bills of exchange drawn on the Bonvisi; ca. 20 bills of exchange for which the Bonvisi are the beneficiaries (Gascon, 1971, 216-217, fig. 24). Almost monopoly on trade of raw silk from Lyon to Tours, a centre of silk manufacture (Gascon, 1971, 62). In 1550, the Lucchese merchants Antoine and Louis Bonvisi (in Lyon) attempted to establish a monopoly on the supply of raw silk to the silk manufacture of Tours: established a company with their factor Jean Decholle and with Jean Barre, citizen of Tours. A lot of protest against this monopoly in Tours: as a result, Jean Barre left the company. Complaints from the aldermen of Tours against the Bonvisi and other monopolists at the Consulate of Lyon. Vincent Bonvisi, governor of the Bonvisi in Lyon, agrees to dissolve the company and never to establish it again in 1551 (Gascon, 1971, 331). Pandolfe Cenami acted as attorney for the Bonvisi in Tours on 2 August 1566 (Gascon, 1971, 333). In 1586, the Bonvisi were represented by the Salmatori (Lapeyre, 1955, 144). Contacts of the Bonvisi between Lyon and Tours sometimes under the name of the bank Bonaventure Michaeli and Jérôme Arnolfini (Gascon, 1971, 333).	
Avignon		3	2	2	1	>1569-1610>	Exchange transactions of the Bonvisi of Lyon (1575-1610) in France with Avignon (10 to 50 bills drawn, 10 to 50 bills remitted to the Bonvisi). (Bayard, 1971, 1242-1243, 1246). The Bonvisi of Lyon lent money in Lyon and also elsewhere (18.8 % of the loans): in Thiers (20 %), Marseille (10 %), Chambéry (6.6 %), Avignon (6.6 %), Montluel (6.6 %), Saint-Rambert en	

							Bugey, Roanne, Autun, Nantes (all in exceptional occasions). (Bayard, 1971, 1246). Loans of the Bonvisi to the woollen industry of Avignon. (Bayard, 1971, 1249). Bonvisi were largest importers from Avignon to Lyon in 1569 (47 %) (Gascon, 1971, 211). Sale of silk from Italy in Avignon (Gascon, 1971, 218). Ca. 5 bills of exchange drawn on the Bonvisi; ca. 20 bills of exchange for which the Bonvisi are the beneficiaries (Gascon, 1971, 216-217, fig. 24).	
Barcelona		3	2	2	1	<1575-1600>	36 % of the bills of exchange remitted to the Bonvisi and 18 % of the bills drawn on the Bonvisi (1575-1610) came from Spain. Between 1575 and 1610 permanent financial connections of the Bonvisi of Lyon with Barcelona (10 to 50 bills drawn, 50 to 100 bills remitted to the Bonvisi). (Bayard, 1971, 1242-1244). No exchange transactions with Spain anymore between 1600 and 1629. (Bayard, 1971, 1260). Ca. 50 bills of exchange drawn on the Bonvisi; ca. 60 bills of exchange for which the Bonvisi are the beneficiaries (Gascon, 1971, 216-217, fig. 24). A Benedetto Bonvisi had an uncollected debt with Giovanni Dons, a Genoese merchant resident in Barcelona. (Court, 2004, 1001).	
London		6 **3**	3 **2**	2 **2**	1 **1**	>1505-1547< >1566-1610>	In 1575-1610, the Bonvisi purchased textiles in small quantities from London, Antwerp and Lille (only 5 % of the total imports of the Bonvisi from England and the Low Countries). Exports to these areas in 1575-1610 were even smaller: only to London. (Bayard, 1971, 1238-1241). Only 1 % of the bills of exchange received by the Bonvisi in Lyon as beneficiaries or drawees in 1575-1610 came from England or the German Empire. Bills of exchange were drawn and remitted from London to the Bonvisi in Lyon (between 10 and 50 each). (Bayard, 1971, 1239, 1242-1243). Antonio Bonvisi became active in England in the early 16th century. He obtained the favour of Henry VIII, and was a friend of Thomas More. Antonio Bonvisi was accused of heresy, and left England for the Low Countries. (Bayard, 1971, 1236). Bonvisi in Lyon were associated with the English merchant Fabiano from 1566, for the export of silk of Lyon and Italy to England (Gascon, 1971, 64-65). Originally the Bonvisi were very strong in England (Brulez). (Gascon, 1971, 214).	

							Ca. 30 bills of exchange drawn on the Bonvisi; ca. 30 bills of exchange for which the Bonvisi are the beneficiaries (Gascon, 1971, 216-217, fig. 24). Bonvisi of Lyon were closely tied to the Bonvisi in London, Antwerp, Medina del Campo, Marseille and especially Lucca (Gascon, 1971, 369). From 1505, the Bonvisi had a branch in England. Due to persecutions against catholicism, Antonio Bonvisi left England for the Low Countries (Lapeyre, 1955, 143-144). In London, the Bonvisi of Lucca held the first place in finance under the reign of Henry VIII (Ehrenberg, 1928, 201). By 1505, the Bonvisi are mentioned in England. For decades, they were among the Italian merchants who paid interest on large sums of money to Henry VIII, and later granted him substantial loans. Lorenzo and Antonio Bonvisi were highly regarded under Henry VIII. After Henry VIII's death, when the reformation took a decisive course in England, Antonio Bonvisi went back to Antwerp (Ehrenberg, 1928, 226). Between 1524 and 1547 Antonio Bonvisi rented a house in Bishopsgate Street in London (Sicca, 2002, 179). The Bonvisi came from London to Antwerp in 1521. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 199). 16th c.	
Madrid		3	2	2	1	<1575-1600<	36 % of the bills of exchange remitted to the Bonvisi and 18 % of the bills drawn on the Bonvisi (1575-1610) came from Spain. Between 1575 and 1610 permanent financial connections of the Bonvisi of Lyon with Madrid (ca. 50 bills drawn, ca. 100 bills remitted to the Bonvisi). (Bayard, 1971, 1242-1244). Almost no deposits from Spain anymore after 1600, with the exception of merchants from Madrid. (Bayard, 1971, 1259-1260). No exchange transactions with Spain anymore between 1600 and 1629. (Bayard, 1971, 1260). Ca. 60 bills of exchange drawn on the Bonvisi; ca. 80 bills of exchange for which the Bonvisi are the beneficiaries (Gascon, 1971, 216-217, fig. 24).	
Milan		3	2	2	1	<1575-1610>	50 % of the imports of the Bonvisi in Lyon in 1575-1610 came from Italy: import of tissues from Milan, Genoa, Bologna, Lucca, Naples, Palermo and Messina. (Bayard, 1971, 1240, 1245). 38 % of the bills of exchange remitted to the Bonvisi in Lyon in 1575-1610 came from Italy, as well as 44 % drawn on the Bonvisi. Bills of exchange sent to the Bonvisi in 1575-1610 from Milan (10 to 50 bills drawn, ca. 50 bills remitted to the Bonvisi). (Bayard,	

							1971, 1242-1243, 1245). After 1600, Venice and Florence remain important centres for exchange transactions of the Bonvisi of Lyon, but Piacenza and Milan became increasingly important. (Bayard, 1971, 1260). After 1600, the Bonvisi remained active in import of luxury textiles from Lucca, Messina, Bologna, Milan, and the Levant via Venice. However, they diversified their activities. (Bayard, 1971, 1261). Silk cloth, and luxury products from Venice and Milan exported to Spain (Gascon, 1971, 218). Ca. 50 bills of exchange drawn on the Bonvisi; ca. 60 bills of exchange for which the Bonvisi are the beneficiaries (Gascon, 1971, 216-217, fig. 24). Branch in Milan since 1598. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 199).	
Rouen		3	2	2	1	>1563-1610>	The Bonvisi insured a ship going from Rouen to Spain. (Bayard, 1971, 1244). Purchases of the Bonvisi of Lyon in France were smaller than their sales in France. Modest purchases in Lyon, Limoges, Toulouse, and somewhat larger purchases in Rouen, Tours and Paris in 1575-1610. (Bayard, 1971, 1240, 1246). Exchange transactions of the Bonvisi of Lyon (1575-1610) in France with Rouen (10 to 50 bills drawn, 50 to 100 bills remitted to the Bonvisi). (Bayard, 1971, 1242-1243, 1246). The Bonvisi insured ships leaving from Marseille and Rouen. (Bayard, 1971, 1246). The Bonvisi purchased English and Spanish goods in Rouen. (Bayard, 1971, 1248). In France, especially Paris, Rouen and Nantes were important banking centres for the Bonvisi of Lyon. (Bayard, 1971, 1249). In 1595, the Bonvisi intended to establish a company for trade between France and Spain. They intended to establish this company in Rouen, associated with a merchant in Thiers, and with participation of the Ruiz in Medina del Campo and the Torre and Aldona in Sevilla. However, the plan was not carried out since the Ruiz did not manage to obtain a free conduct for trade with France. (Bayard, 1971, 1260-1261). Import of textiles from Flanders and Lille via Rouen since 1603. (Bayard, 1971, 1261). Banking activities of the Bonvisi in Paris and at the French court, Toulouse, the Atlantic Ports of Nantes, Bordeaux and Rouen. (Gascon, 1952, 152). Ca. 50 bills of exchange drawn on the Bonvisi; ca. 80 bills of exchange for which the Bonvisi are the beneficiaries (Gascon, 1971, 216-217, fig. 24). A	

							correspondent of the Bonvisi of Lyon in Rouen was Charles de Saldaigne (ca. 1570s) (Brunelle, 1989, 209). The Genoese Salvago declared that he had kept alum from the Levant in Rouen for the account of the Bonvisi, before 1563 (Gascon, 1971, 98). Representative of the Bonvisi in Rouen was Paulo Lamberti, who had connections as far as Narva and Moscovia. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 199).	
Thiers		3	2	2	1	<1575-1610>	Exchange transactions of the Bonvisi of Lyon (1575-1610) in France with Thiers (less than 10 bills drawn, less than 10 bills remitted to the Bonvisi). (Bayard, 1971, 1242-1243, 1246). The Bonvisi of Lyon lent money in Lyon and also elsewhere (18.8 % of the loans): in Thiers (20 %), Marseille (10 %), Chambéry (6.6 %), Avignon (6.6 %), Montluel (6.6 %), Saint-Rambert en Bugey, Roanne, Autun, Nantes (all in exceptional occasions). (Bayard, 1971, 1246). Probably also commercial ties with Thiers and Le Puy, but no sources about this have been preserved. (Bayard, 1971, 1248-1249). Loans of the Bonvisi to the linen industry of Forez and Savoy (Thiers, Saint-Rambert en Bugey). (Bayard, 1971, 1249). In 1595, the Bonvisi intended to establish a company for trade between France and Spain. They intended to establish this company in Rouen, associated with a merchant in Thiers, and with participation of the Ruiz in Medina del Campo and the Torre and Aldona in Sevilla. However, the plan was not carried out since the Ruiz did not manage to obtain a free conduct for trade with France. (Bayard, 1971, 1260-1261). Ca. 5 bills of exchange drawn on the Bonvisi; ca. 5 bills of exchange for which the Bonvisi are the beneficiaries (Gascon, 1971, 216-217, fig. 24).	
Valencia		3	2	2	1	<1575-1600>	36 % of the bills of exchange remitted to the Bonvisi and 18 % of the bills drawn on the Bonvisi (1575-1610) came from Spain. Between 1575 and 1610 permanent financial connections of the Bonvisi of Lyon with Valencia (10 to 50 bills drawn, 10 to 50 bills remitted to the Bonvisi). (Bayard, 1971, 1242-1244). No exchange transactions with Spain anymore between 1600 and 1629. (Bayard, 1971, 1260). 0 bills of exchange drawn on the Bonvisi; ca. 20 bills of exchange for which the Bonvisi are the beneficiaries (Gascon, 1971, 216-217, fig. 24).	
Zaragoza		3	2	2	1	>1555-1600>	Close commercial ties of the Bonvisi with Zaragoza. Regular import of spices from Zaragoza by the Bonvisi in 1575-1610. (Bayard, 1971, 1239-	

							1240, 1244). The Bonvisi insured the ship Saint-Louis, going from Marseille to Zaragoza. (Bayard, 1971, 1244). 36 % of the bills of exchange remitted to the Bonvisi and 18 % of the bills drawn on the Bonvisi (1575-1610) came from Spain. In 1575-1610 permanent financial connections of the Bonvisi of Lyon with Zaragoza (10 to 50 bills drawn, 50 to 100 bills remitted to the Bonvisi). (Bayard, 1971, 1242-1244). No exchange transactions with Spain anymore between 1600 and 1629. (Bayard, 1971, 1260). Trade of Italian silks from Lyon to Spain (examples 1566-1569) (Gascon, 1971, 63). (Gascon, 1971, 63). In 1566 Bonvisi transported diverse products from Lyon to Zaragoza and Burgos, via transporters of Urdos, Irun, Canfranc (Gascon, 1971, 164). 1555: saffron from Zaragoza to Bonvisi in Lyon sent by a mule-transporter from St-Bonnet-le-Château (Gascon, 1971, 175 n. 179). Ca. 50 bills of exchange drawn on the Bonvisi; ca. 70 bills of exchange for which the Bonvisi are the beneficiaries (Gascon, 1971, 216-217, fig. 24). 1566-1569	
Agen		2	2	1	0	<1575-1610>	Exchange transactions of the Bonvisi of Lyon (1575-1610) in France with Agen. (Bayard, 1971, 1242-1243, 1246). 0 bills of exchange drawn on the Bonvisi; ca. 1 bill of exchange for which the Bonvisi are the beneficiaries (Gascon, 1971, 216-217, fig. 24).	
Aigues-Mortes		2	2	1	0	<1575-1610>	Ca. 5 bills of exchange drawn on the Bonvisi; 0 bills of exchange for which the Bonvisi are the beneficiaries (Gascon, 1971, 216-217, fig. 24).	
Alger		2	2	1	0	<1575-1610>	Via Mario Bonvisi, who had established himself in Marseille, the Bonvisi had connections with Alger in Barbary. Mario drew bills of exchange from Alger on the Bonvisi in Lyon (less than 10 bills between 1575 and 1610). (Bayard, 1971, 1243, 1246). Mario Bonvisi, nephew of Louis Bonvisi, and cousin of Bernardin, Paul, Laurent and Benoît, established a branch of the Bonvisi in Marseille, and became active in Barbary. (Bayard, 1971, 1236). Ca. 10 bills of exchange drawn on the Bonvisi; 0 bills of exchange for which the Bonvisi are the beneficiaries (Gascon, 1971, 216-217, fig. 24).	
Amsterdam		2	2	1	0	<1575-1610>	Between 1575 and 1610, ca. 7.5 % of the bills remitted to and drawn on the Bonvisi in Lyon came from the Low Countries (almost entirely Antwerp). Less than 10 bills of exchange were drawn from Amsterdam between 1575	

							and 1610. (Bayard, 1971, 1239, 1242-1243). Ca. 1 bill of exchange drawn on the Bonvisi; 0 bills of exchange for which the Bonvisi are the beneficiaries (Gascon, 1971, 216-217, fig. 24).	
Angers		2	2	1	0	<1575-1610>	Exchange transactions of the Bonvisi of Lyon (1575-1610) in France with Angers (less than 10 bills remitted to the Bonvisi). (Bayard, 1971, 1242-1243, 1246). 0 bills of exchange drawn on the Bonvisi; ca. 5 bills of exchange for which the Bonvisi are the beneficiaries (Gascon, 1971, 216-217, fig. 24).	
Bilbao		2	2	1	0	<1575-1600>	36 % of the bills of exchange remitted to the Bonvisi and 18 % of the bills drawn on the Bonvisi (1575-1610) came from Spain. Between 1575 and 1610 permanent financial connections of the Bonvisi of Lyon with Bilbao (ca. 10 bills remitted to the Bonvisi). (Bayard, 1971, 1242-1244). No exchange transactions with Spain anymore between 1600 and 1629. (Bayard, 1971, 1260). 0 bills of exchange drawn on the Bonvisi; ca. 5 bills of exchange for which the Bonvisi are the beneficiaries (Gascon, 1971, 216-217, fig. 24).	
Bologna		2	2	1	0	<1575-1610>	50 % of the imports of the Bonvisi in Lyon in 1575-1610 came from Italy: import of tissues from Milan, Genoa, Bologna, Lucca, Naples, Palermo and Messina. (Bayard, 1971, 1240, 1245). 38 % of the bills of exchange remitted to the Bonvisi in Lyon in 1575-1610 came from Italy, as well as 44 % drawn on the Bonvisi. Bills of exchange sent to the Bonvisi in 1575-1610 from Bologna (less than 10 bills drawn, ca. 10 bills remitted to the Bonvisi). (Bayard, 1971, 1242-1243, 1245). After 1600, the Bonvisi remained active in import of luxury textiles from Lucca, Messina, Bologna, Milan, and the Levant via Venice. However, they diversified their activities. (Bayard, 1971, 1261).	
Bordeaux		2	2	1	0	<1575-1610>	Exchange transactions of the Bonvisi of Lyon (1575-1610) in France with Bordeaux (less than 10 bills drawn, less than 10 bills remitted to the Bonvisi). (Bayard, 1971, 1242-1243, 1246). Banking activities of the Bonvisi in Paris and at the French court, Toulouse, the Atlantic Ports of Nantes, Bordeaux and Rouen. (Gascon, 1952, 152).	

							Ca. 5 bills of exchange drawn on the Bonvisi; ca. 5 bills of exchange for which the Bonvisi are the beneficiaries (Gascon, 1971, 216-217, fig. 24).	
Bourges		2	2	1	0	<1575-1610>	Exchange transactions of the Bonvisi of Lyon (1575-1610) in France with Bourges (less than 10 bills remitted to the Bonvisi). (Bayard, 1971, 1242-1243, 1246). 0 bills of exchange drawn on the Bonvisi; ca. 1 bills of exchange for which the Bonvisi are the beneficiaries (Gascon, 1971, 216-217, fig. 24).	
Chios		2	2	1	0	1566	Indirect connections of the Bonvisi with the Levant via Venice. (Bayard, 1971, 1246). Bonvisi owned 1/4 share in a ship from Marseille to Chios and Constantinople. (Gascon, 1971, 218). Had 1/4 share in the cargo of a ship (Saint-Jean-Baptiste) from Marseille to Chios and Constantinople in 1566 (Gascon, 1971, 218, 293).	
Cologne		2	2	1	0	<1575-1610>	Only 1 % of the bills of exchange received by the Bonvisi in Lyon as beneficiaries or drawees in 1575-1610 came from England or the German Empire. Bills of exchange were drawn and remitted from Cologne to the Bonvisi in Lyon (less than 10 each). The Bonvisi did not carry out commercial activities in the German Empire. (Bayard, 1971, 1238-1243). 0 bills of exchange drawn on the Bonvisi; ca. 5 bills of exchange for which the Bonvisi are the beneficiaries (Gascon, 1971, 216-217, fig. 24).	
Constantinople		2	2	1	0	1566	Indirect connections of the Bonvisi with the Levant via Venice. (Bayard, 1971, 1246). Bonvisi owned 1/4 share in a ship from Marseille to Chios and Constantinople. (Gascon, 1971, 218). Had 1/4 share in the cargo of a ship (Saint-Jean-Baptiste) from Marseille to Chios and Constantinople in 1566 (Gascon, 1971, 218, 293).	
Córdoba		2	2	1	0	<1575-1600>	36 % of the bills of exchange remitted to the Bonvisi and 18 % of the bills drawn on the Bonvisi (1575-1610) came from Spain. Financial transactions with Córdoba (less than 10 bills remitted to the Bonvisi). (Bayard, 1971, 1242-1243). No exchange transactions with Spain anymore between 1600 and 1629. (Bayard, 1971, 1260). 0 bills of exchange drawn on the Bonvisi; ca. 5 bills of exchange for which	

							the Bonvisi are the beneficiaries (Gascon, 1971, 216-217, fig. 24).	
Dauphiné		2	2	1	0	<1575-1610>	Sales of the Bonvisi of Lyon in 1575-1610 especially took place in Lyon (33%), Tours (20 %), Toulouse (10 %), Paris (10 %), the Dauphiné (6.6 %), also in Marseille (1.6 %). (Bayard, 1971, 1241, 1246).	
Frankfurt am Main		2	2	1	0	<1575-1610>	Only 1 % of the bills of exchange received by the Bonvisi in Lyon as beneficiaries or drawees in 1575-1610 came from England or the German Empire. Bills of exchange were drawn and remitted from Frankfurt am Main to the Bonvisi in Lyon (less than 10 drawn, between 10 and 50 remitted). The Bonvisi did not carry out commercial activities in the German Empire. (Bayard, 1971, 1238-1243). 0 bills of exchange drawn on the Bonvisi; ca. 20 bills of exchange for which the Bonvisi are the beneficiaries (Gascon, 1971, 216-217, fig. 24).	
Geneva		2	2	1	0	<1575-1610>	The Bonvisi of Lyon carried out exchange transactions with Geneva in 1575-1610 (less than 10 bills drawn, less than 10 bills remitted to the Bonvisi). They also sold wares in Geneva. (Bayard, 1971, 1241-1243). Ca. 5 bills of exchange drawn on the Bonvisi; ca. 5 bills of exchange for which the Bonvisi are the beneficiaries (Gascon, 1971, 216-217, fig. 24).	
Hamburg		2	2	1	0		According to Vazquez de Prada, the Bonvisi had a branch in Hamburg since the last quarter of the 16th century. Other authors do not mention any connections of the Bonvisi with Hamburg however. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 199).	
Leuven		2	2	1	0	>1553-1559<	Members of the Bonvisi family or their factors were in Lyon, Antwerp, Leuven, the fairs of Spain, and Lucca. (Gascon, 1952, 152). Antonio Bonvisi, made his testament in 1553: heirs in Antwerp, Lyon, Lucca,… (Gascon, 1971, 219). Antonio Bonvisi left England and established himself in Antwerp. He died in Louhans (Leuven??) in Brabant in 1559. (Bayard, 1971, 1236).	
Lille		2	2	1	0	<1575-1610>	In 1575-1610, the Bonvisi purchased textiles in small quantities from London, Antwerp and Lille (only 5 % of the total imports of the Bonvisi from England and the Low Countries). (Bayard, 1971, 1238-1241). Import of textiles from Flanders and Lille via Rouen since 1603. (Bayard, 1971, 1261).	

Limoges		2	2	1	0	<1575-1610>	Purchases of the Bonvisi of Lyon in France were smaller than their sales in France. Modest purchases in Lyon, Limoges, Toulouse, and somewhat larger purchases in Rouen, Tours and Paris in 1575-1610. (Bayard, 1971, 1240, 1246). The Bonvisi purchased Spanish goods in Limoges. (Bayard, 1971, 1248).	
Lisbon		2	2	1	0	<1575-1610>	Ca. 5 bills of exchange drawn on the Bonvisi; 0 bills of exchange for which the Bonvisi are the beneficiaries (Gascon, 1971, 216-217, fig. 24). The Bonvisi of Venice were the representatives of the pepper consortium of Antonio Fernandes of Lisbon in 1581. (Lapeyre, 1955, 71-72).	
Messina		2	2	1	0	<1575-1610>	50 % of the imports of the Bonvisi in Lyon in 1575-1610 came from Italy: import of tissues from Milan, Genoa, Bologna, Lucca, Naples, Palermo and Messina. (Bayard, 1971, 1240, 1245). Import of raw silk from Palermo and Messina. (Bayard, 1971, 1245). 38 % of the bills of exchange remitted to the Bonvisi in Lyon in 1575-1610 came from Italy, as well as 44 % drawn on the Bonvisi. Bills of exchange sent to the Bonvisi in 1575-1610 from Messina (ca. 10 bills drawn, 10 to 50 bills remitted to the Bonvisi). (Bayard, 1971, 1242-1243, 1245). After 1600, the Bonvisi remained active in import of luxury textiles from Lucca, Messina, Bologna, Milan, and the Levant via Venice. However, they diversified their activities. (Bayard, 1971, 1261). Silk bought in Naples, Messina and Vicenza, and exported to Lyon, Tours, Avignon (Gascon, 1971, 218). Ca. 5 bills of exchange drawn on the Bonvisi; ca. 5 bills of exchange for which the Bonvisi are the beneficiaries (Gascon, 1971, 216-217, fig. 24).	
Montluel		2	2	1	0		The Bonvisi of Lyon lent money in Lyon and also elsewhere (18.8 % of the loans): in Thiers (20 %), Marseille (10 %), Chambéry (6.6 %), Avignon (6.6 %), Montluel (6.6 %), Saint-Rambert en Bugey, Roanne, Autun, Nantes (all in exceptional occasions). (Bayard, 1971, 1246).	
Montpellier		2	2	1	0	<1575-1610>	Exchange transactions of the Bonvisi of Lyon (1575-1610) in France with Montpellier (less than 10 bills remitted to the Bonvisi). (Bayard, 1971, 1242-1243, 1246). Ca. 5 bills of exchange drawn on the Bonvisi; ca. 1 bill of exchange for which the Bonvisi are the beneficiaries (Gascon, 1971, 216-217, fig. 24).	
Narbonne		2	2	1	0	<1575-1610>	Exchange transactions of the Bonvisi of Lyon (1575-1610) in France with	

							Narbonne (less than 10 bills drawn, less than 10 bills remitted to the Bonvisi). (Bayard, 1971, 1242-1243, 1246). Ca. 1 bill of exchange drawn on the Bonvisi; ca. 5 bills of exchange for which the Bonvisi are the beneficiaries (Gascon, 1971, 216-217, fig. 24).	
Nice		2	2	1	0	<1575-1610>	0 bills of exchange drawn on the Bonvisi; ca. 20 bills of exchange for which the Bonvisi are the beneficiaries (Gascon, 1971, 216-217, fig. 24).	
Nürnberg		2	2	1	0	<1575-1610>	Only 1 % of the bills of exchange received by the Bonvisi in Lyon as beneficiaries or drawees in 1575-1610 came from England or the German Empire. Bills of exchange were remitted from Nürnberg to the Bonvisi in Lyon (less than 10). The Bonvisi did not carry out commercial activities in the German Empire. (Bayard, 1971, 1238-1243). 0 bills of exchange drawn on the Bonvisi; ca. 5 bills of exchange for which the Bonvisi are the beneficiaries (Gascon, 1971, 216-217, fig. 24).	
Palermo		2	2	1	0	<1575-1610>	50 % of the imports of the Bonvisi in Lyon in 1575-1610 came from Italy: import of tissues from Milan, Genoa, Bologna, Lucca, Naples, Palermo and Messina. (Bayard, 1971, 1240, 1245). Import of raw silk from Palermo and Messina. (Bayard, 1971, 1245). 38 % of the bills of exchange remitted to the Bonvisi in Lyon in 1575-1610 came from Italy, as well as 44 % drawn on the Bonvisi. Bills of exchange sent to the Bonvisi in 1575-1610 from Palermo (ca. 10 bills drawn, 10 to 50 bills remitted to the Bonvisi). (Bayard, 1971, 1242-1243, 1245). Ca. 5 bills of exchange drawn on the Bonvisi; ca. 5 bills of exchange for which the Bonvisi are the beneficiaries (Gascon, 1971, 216-217, fig. 24).	
Pézenas		2	2	1	0	<1575-1610>	Exchange transactions of the Bonvisi of Lyon (1575-1610) in France with Pézenas (less than 10 bills drawn). (Bayard, 1971, 1242-1243, 1246).	
Poitiers		2	2	1	0	<1575-1610>	Exchange transactions of the Bonvisi of Lyon (1575-1610) in France with Poitiers (less than 10 bills remitted to the Bonvisi). (Bayard, 1971, 1242-1243, 1246). 0 bills of exchange drawn on the Bonvisi; ca. 5 bills of exchange for which the Bonvisi are the beneficiaries (Gascon, 1971, 216-217, fig. 24).	
Le Puy		2	2	1	0		Exchange transactions of the Bonvisi of Lyon (1575-1610) in France with Le	

							Puy (less than 10 bills remitted to the Bonvisi). (Bayard, 1971, 1242-1243, 1246). Probably also commercial ties with Thiers and Le Puy, but no sources about this have been preserved. (Bayard, 1971, 1248-1249). 0 bills of exchange drawn on the Bonvisi; ca. 20 bills of exchange for which the Bonvisi are the beneficiaries (Gascon, 1971, 216-217, fig. 24).	
Toledo		2	2	1	0	<1575-1600>	36 % of the bills of exchange remitted to the Bonvisi and 18 % of the bills drawn on the Bonvisi (1575-1610) came from Spain. Between 1575 and 1610 permanent financial connections of the Bonvisi of Lyon with Toledo (ca. 10 bills remitted to the Bonvisi). (Bayard, 1971, 1242-1244). No exchange transactions with Spain anymore between 1600 and 1629. (Bayard, 1971, 1260). 0 bills of exchange drawn on the Bonvisi; ca. 10 bills of exchange for which the Bonvisi are the beneficiaries (Gascon, 1971, 216-217, fig. 24).	
Toulouse		2	2	1	0	<1575-1610>	Purchases of the Bonvisi of Lyon in France were smaller than their sales in France. Modest purchases in Lyon, Limoges, Toulouse, and somewhat larger purchases in Rouen, Tours and Paris in 1575-1610. (Bayard, 1971, 1240, 1246). Sales of the Bonvisi of Lyon in 1575-1610 especially took place in Lyon (33%), Tours (20 %), Toulouse (10 %), Paris (10 %), the Dauphiné (6.6 %), also in Marseille (1.6 %). (Bayard, 1971, 1241, 1246). Exchange transactions of the Bonvisi of Lyon (1575-1610) in France with Toulouse (less than 10 bills drawn, less than 10 bills remitted to the Bonvisi). (Bayard, 1971, 1242-1243, 1246). The Bonvisi purchased dyestuffs in Toulouse. (Bayard, 1971, 1248). Banking activities of the Bonvisi in Paris and at the French court, Toulouse, the Atlantic Ports of Nantes, Bordeaux and Rouen. (Gascon, 1952, 152). Bonvisi were in Toulouse (Gascon, 1971, 214). Ca. 20 bills of exchange drawn on the Bonvisi; ca. 5 bills of exchange for which the Bonvisi are the beneficiaries (Gascon, 1971, 216-217, fig. 24).	
Turin		2	2	1	0	<1575-1610>	38 % of the bills of exchange remitted to the Bonvisi in Lyon in 1575-1610 came from Italy, as well as 44 % drawn on the Bonvisi. Bills of exchange sent to the Bonvisi in 1575-1610 from Turin (less than 10 bills drawn, less than 10 bills remitted to the Bonvisi). (Bayard, 1971, 1242-1243, 1245).	

							Ca. 1 bill of exchange drawn on the Bonvisi; ca. 5 bills of exchange for which the Bonvisi are the beneficiaries (Gascon, 1971, 216-217, fig. 24).	
Valladolid		2	2	1	0	<1575-1600>	36 % of the bills of exchange remitted to the Bonvisi and 18 % of the bills drawn on the Bonvisi (1575-1610) came from Spain. Between 1575 and 1610 permanent financial connections of the Bonvisi of Lyon with Valladolid (less than 10 bills remitted to the Bonvisi). (Bayard, 1971, 1242-1244). No exchange transactions with Spain anymore between 1600 and 1629. (Bayard, 1971, 1260). 0 bills of exchange drawn on the Bonvisi; ca. 5 bills of exchange for which the Bonvisi are the beneficiaries. On the map not completely clear that this is Valladolid (Gascon, 1971, 216-217, fig. 24).	
Vicenza		2	2	1	0		Silk bought in Naples, Messina and Vicenza, and exported to Lyon, Tours, Avignon (Gascon, 1971, 218). Vincent Pilati, merchant from Vicenza, established in Lyon as an important importer of silk, acted often in name of the Bonvisi in Lyon. (Gascon, 1971, 333).	
Antilles		1	1	1	0		Insurers in trade of slaves from the Cape Verde islands to the Antilles (Gascon, 1952, 152; Id., 1971, 218). Indirect connections of the Bonvisi with the New World via Spain. (Bayard, 1971, 1246).	
Asti		1	1	1	0	1582	Benedetto Bonvisi was in Asti in 1582, when the fairs of Besançon were held in Asti. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, xvii).	
Autun		1	1	1	0		The Bonvisi of Lyon lent money in Lyon and also elsewhere (18.8 % of the loans): in Thiers (20 %), Marseille (10 %), Chambéry (6.6 %), Avignon (6.6 %), Montluel (6.6 %), Saint-Rambert en Bugey, Roanne, Autun, Nantes (all in exceptional occasions). (Bayard, 1971, 1246).	
Cape Verde Islands		1	1	1	0	1567	In 1567, the Bonvisi and the Arnolfini insured a ship loaded with slaves from Cape Verde. (Bayard, 1971, 1246). Insurers in trade of slaves from the Cape Verde islands to the Antilles (Gascon, 1952, 152; Id., 1971, 218).	
East Indies		1	1	1	0		Indirect connections of the Bonvisi with the East Indies via Portugal. (Bayard, 1971, 1246).	
Malta		1	1	1	0		The Bonvisi insured the gallion Saint-Louis-l'Étoile for the Order of Saint-John in Malta. (Bayard, 1971, 1239).	
Narva		1	1	1	0		Representative of the Bonvisi in Rouen was Paulo Lamberti, who had connections as far as Narva and Moscovia. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 199).	

Roanne		1	1	1	0		The Bonvisi of Lyon lent money in Lyon and also elsewhere (18.8 % of the loans): in Thiers (20 %), Marseille (10 %), Chambéry (6.6 %), Avignon (6.6 %), Montluel (6.6 %), Saint-Rambert en Bugey, Roanne, Autun, Nantes (all in exceptional occasions). (Bayard, 1971, 1246).	
Russia		1	1	1	0		Representative of the Bonvisi in Rouen was Paulo Lamberti, who had connections as far as Narva and Moscovia. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 199).	
Saint-Rambert-en-Bugey		1	1	1	0		The Bonvisi of Lyon lent money in Lyon and also elsewhere (18.8 % of the loans): in Thiers (20 %), Marseille (10 %), Chambéry (6.6 %), Avignon (6.6 %), Montluel (6.6 %), Saint-Rambert en Bugey, Roanne, Autun, Nantes (all in exceptional occasions). (Bayard, 1971, 1246). Loans of the Bonvisi to the linen industry of Forez and Savoy (Thiers, Saint-Rambert en Bugey). (Bayard, 1971, 1249).	

+ Biased network: the table gives especially the network of the Lyon branch, which was the most important branch of the Bonvisi firm. (Bayard, 1971, 1237).
+ The reconstruction of the Bonvisi network has especially been based on the amount of bills of exchange sent from different places to the Bonvisi firm in Lyon between 1575 and 1610, as recorded in the preserved notarial registers of Lyon. These flows of bills of exchange are given on the maps in Bayard (1971, 1242-1243) and Gascon (1971, 216-217, fig. 24). Although Gascon's map is based on the work of Bayard, there are some differences between both maps. In such cases, I have followed Bayard rather than Gascon. The following ranking method has been used: 110 or more (min.) and 250 or more (max.) bills sent: 4-2-2-1; 20-150 (min.) and 60-150 (max.) bills sent: 3-2-2-1; 0-20 (min.) and 10-60 (max.) bills sent: 2-2-1-0.
+ The list of branches mentioned in Vazquez de Prada (1960, 199) has not been followed, since it does not appear to correspond with the rest of the literature.

GUINIGI, second half 13th century – 1574

The Guinigi from Lucca can be traced as far back as the tenth century. From the second half of the 13th century they were involved in international trade. Two Guinigi companies will be discussed in what follows. A first company was involved in papal banking during the fourteenth century, while a second Guinigi firm was active in the 16th century. The latter company went bankrupt in 1574. (Bayard, 1971, 1255; Gascon, 1971, 885; Lambert, 2006, 56; Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 200). Not much is known about the business activities of the Guinigi during the 15th century, period in which they dominated the political landscape of Lucca.

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Source material:

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1. GUINIGI of the fourteenth century, second half 13th century – after 1400

Existed already before the 1340s, survived the wave of bankruptcies in the 1340s (Hunt & Murray, 1999, 155). Lucchese company of the 14th c. Played a role as papal bankers (Renouard, 1941, 107). The Guinigi and the Spifame of Lucca were papal bankers in the period 1342-1362. The main papal bankers in this period however were the Malabayla of Asti. Other firms used by the popes in this period were the firm of Raymond Serralher of Narbonne, and a number of small Florentine companies, such as the Bardi della Corona and increasingly the Alberti (Renouard, 1941, 116). In 1376-1378, during the war between Florence and the pope, the Guinigi and the Interminelli of Lucca became the main papal bankers (Renouard, 1941, 116-117). The Guinigi became the rulers of Lucca (Renouard, 1942, 1). The Guinigi became rulers of Lucca in the early 15th c. Lucca was the centre of the commerce of the Guinigi firm (Renouard, 1942, 46). "The Guinigi, like the Rapondi, were one of the oldest merchant dynasties in the city [Lucca], making their mark as far back as the tenth century. From the second half of the thirteenth century they had dispersed throughout Europe to try international trade, with reasonable success. By 1370, they had turned into the largest Lucchese business house, on an international level only surpassed by the Florentine Alberti company. In addition to Lucca, the Guinigi had branches in Bruges, London, Paris, Rome and Pisa, on the whole staffed by some 16 to 22 people. The commercial drive evidently brought in a lot of money and in 1369 they were by far the economically most powerful family in the city, with an estimated capital of 200 000 florins". (Lambert, 2006, 56). "With Lucchese independence, Francesco, at that time the pater familias of the Guinigi clan, thought the time had come to turn their financial capacity into political power. He assembled a party of supporters, in which his brothers, cousins and their many sons formed the core. He also engaged the loyalties via marriages and recruited from within his company, although not all of the Guinigi's relations by marriage and their employees joined his party. However, most partisans were colleague merchants who thought that joining the Guinigi was the most promising option in terms of politics." (Lambert, 2006, 56). Death of Francesco Guinigi in 1385. As a result, the Rapondi and Forteguerra, adversaries of the Guinigi, managed to obtain a stronger position again in Lucchese politics. After 1385, the power struggle between the Guinigi and the Rapondi became more violent. (Lambert, 2006, 60). In 1392, the Guinigi defeated their political adversaries in Lucca. In 1400, Paolo Guinigi established a dictatorship in Lucca. (Lambert, 2006, 103-104).

Size: Large

Biggest company in Lucca in 1371: more than 10 factors. In 1372: personnel included 19 persons, including the 7 partners (and 12 factors). In 1381 only 16 persons, including the 7 parters (and 7 factors) (De Roover, 1948b, 39-40; Hunt, 1994, 246 n. 6). By 1370, the Guinigi had turned into the largest Lucchese business house, on an international level only surpassed by the Florentine Alberti company. In 1369 they were by far the economically most powerful family in the city, with an estimated capital of 200,000 florins. (Lambert, 2006, 56).

Main activities:

- Commerce: The Guinigi made their fortune in the 14th century in the Lucchese silk business. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 200).
- Finance: The pope returned to Rome in 1377, and the Guinigi, who had a branch in Rome, became important papal bankers (since the pope was in conflict with Florence). The Guinigi obtained a monopoly contract for the transfer of papal funds. (Lambert, 2006, 61). The

Guinigi were important bankers of the Roman pope Urban VI. They took care of the transfer of the papal income between Flanders and Rome. (Lambert, 2006, 66).

- Industry:

Network of the Guinigi of the fourteenth century:

Branches of the Guinigi company in 1372

Branches of the Guinigi company in 1381

Table A..1. Network of the Guinigi of the fourteenth century, ca. 1350 – ca. 1381

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Lucca		8	4	3	1	2nd half 13th century-1400<	Headquarters. (De Roover, 1948b, 39). Lucca was the centre of the commerce of the Guinigi firm (Renouard, 1942, 46). In addition to Lucca, the Guinigi had branches in Bruges, London, Paris, Rome and Pisa, on the whole staffed by some 16 to 22 people (ca. 1370). (Lambert, 2006, 56).	
Bruges		6	3	2	1	>1350-1381<	Branch. (De Roover, 1948b, 39). Branch in Bruges. 4 factors in 1372; 3 factors in 1381 (De Roover, 1948b, 39). Lazzaro Guinigi (1379) (Stabel, 2001, 208). Between 1350 and 1378, the Guinigi had branches or correspondents in Avignon, Bruges, Florence, London, Pisa and Venice. The Guinigi also had a correspondent at the Papal Curia in Italy in 1368-70 (Renouard, 1942, 46). In addition to Lucca, the Guinigi had branches in Bruges, London, Paris, Rome and Pisa, on the whole staffed by some 16 to 22 people (ca. 1370). (Lambert, 2006, 56). The Guinigi were involved in the export from Flanders to England in the 14th century. (Nicholas, 1979, 40).	
Genoa		6	3	2	1	>1372<	Branch. (De Roover, 1948b, 39). Branch in Genoa in 1372. Closed by 1381 (De Roover, 1948b, 39).	
London		6	3	2	1	>1350-1382<	Branch. (De Roover, 1948b, 39). Dino Guinigi & Co. in London were correspondents of Datini (ca. 1382- ca. 1410) (Origo, 1963, 358 n. 23). Branch in London in 1381 (not yet in 1372). (De Roover, 1948b, 39). Between 1350 and 1378, the Guinigi had branches or correspondents in Avignon, Bruges, Florence, London, Pisa and Venice. The Guinigi also had a correspondent at the Papal Curia in Italy in 1368-70 (Renouard, 1942, 46). In addition to Lucca, the Guinigi had branches in Bruges, London, Paris,	

							Rome and Pisa, on the whole staffed by some 16 to 22 people (ca. 1370). (Lambert, 2006, 56). The Guinigi were involved in the export from Flanders to England in the 14th century. (Nicholas, 1979, 40).	
Naples		6	3	2	1	>1372<	Branch. (De Roover, 1948b, 39). Branch in Naples in 1372. Three factors. By 1381, the Naples branch was transferred to Rome. (De Roover, 1948b, 39).	
Paris		6	3	2	1	>c.1370<	The Guinigi were present in Paris at the end of the 13th century. (Lambert, 2006, 38). In addition to Lucca, the Guinigi had branches in Bruges, London, Paris, Rome and Pisa, on the whole staffed by some 16 to 22 people (ca. 1370). (Lambert, 2006, 56).	
Pisa		6	3	2	1	>1350-1378<	Between 1350 and 1378, the Guinigi had branches or correspondents in Avignon, Bruges, Florence, London, Pisa and Venice. The Guinigi also had a correspondent at the Papal Curia in Italy in 1368-70 (Renouard, 1942, 46). In addition to Lucca, the Guinigi had branches in Bruges, London, Paris, Rome and Pisa, on the whole staffed by some 16 to 22 people (ca. 1370). (Lambert, 2006, 56).	
Rome		6	3	2	1	>1377-1381<	Branch. (De Roover, 1948b, 39). Branch in Rome. Originally in Naples, replaced after 1372 (De Roover, 1948b, 39). In addition to Lucca, the Guinigi had branches in Bruges, London, Paris, Rome and Pisa, on the whole staffed by some 16 to 22 people (ca. 1370). (Lambert, 2006, 56). The pope returned to Rome in 1377, and the Guinigi, who had a branch in Rome, became important papal bankers (since the pope was in conflict with Florence). The Guinigi obtained a monopoly contract for the transfer of papal funds. (Lambert, 2006, 61). The Guinigi were important bankers of the Roman pope Urban VI. They took care of the transfer of the papal income between Flanders and Rome. (Lambert, 2006, 66). In 1376-1378, during the war between Florence and the pope, the Guinigi and the Interminelli of Lucca became the main papal bankers (Renouard, 1941, 116-117).	
Venice		6	3	2	1	>1350-1378<	Branch. (De Roover, 1948b, 39). Branch in Venice in 1372. Three factors. Closed by 1381 (De Roover, 1948b, 39). Between 1350 and 1378, the Guinigi had branches or correspondents in Avignon, Bruges, Florence, London, Pisa and Venice. The Guinigi also had a correspondent at the Papal Curia in Italy in 1368-70 (Renouard, 1942, 46).	
Avignon		4	2	2	1	>1342-1378<	The Guinigi were papal bankers in the period 1342-1362. (Renouard, 1941, 116). Between 1350 and 1378, the Guinigi had branches or correspondents	

							in Avignon, Bruges, Florence, London, Pisa and Venice. The Guinigi also had a correspondent at the Papal Curia in Italy in 1368-70 (Renouard, 1942, 46).	
Florence		4	2	2	1	>1350-1378<	Between 1350 and 1378, the Guinigi had branches or correspondents in Avignon, Bruges, Florence, London, Pisa and Venice. The Guinigi also had a correspondent at the Papal Curia in Italy in 1368-70 (Renouard, 1942, 46).	

+ The different authors give different lists of branches and correspondents. As such, this network is not very reliable.

2. GUINIGI of the sixteenth century, before 1516 – 1574 (network not used)

In 1569 active in Lyon: the heirs Jean-Baptiste, Bernardin, Vincent, Louis Guinigi from Lucca: importers in Lyon (Gascon, 1569, 204). Guinigi had a palace in Lyon in the 16th c. (Gascon, 1971, ill. XIII, XVI). Guinigi were already taxed in Lyon in 1516 (Gascon, 1971, 363). Hers. Jean Bernardin and Vincent Guinigi bankrupt in 1574: concordat for 3/5 in 1576 (Gascon, 1971, 885). Bankruptcy of the Bernardini – Guinigi in 1574. (Bayard, 1971, 1255). In the 16th century, the Guinigi were associated with the Balbani (1542): Vincenzo, Baldassare Guinigui, Giovanni Balbani and Co.: branches in Italy, e.g. in Naples: Vincenzo Guinigui. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 200). The Guinigui, with headquarters in Lucca in the second half of the 16th century, had branches in Antwerp ("Heirs of Vincenzo Guinigui and Giuseppe Bernardini" in 1572), Lyon and Besançon. The Guinigui went bankrupt in 1574. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 200).

Size: Large

3rd biggest importer in Lyon in 1569: 3.16 % of import tax (Gascon, 1971, 204). Guinigi were taxed 3rd most of the Lucchese in the Nommées of Lyon in 1571: 200 L. (Gascon, 1971, 360).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Involved in export from Antwerp to Italy in 1543 (Goris, 1925, 248-250: Ginigi company instead of Guinigi company). Bernardin & Guinigi was biggest exporter of cotton in Lyon in 1569 (25%), and one of the biggest importers of silk cloth from Lucca to Lyon (Gascon, 1971, 209). Jean Bernardin & Vincent Guinigi: import of English products in Lyon in 1569 (2% of total) (Gascon, 1971, 211). Henri Bernardin & Vincent Guinigi were the largest importer from Lucca to Lyon in 1569 (26%) (Gascon, 1971, 211). The Antwerp branch traded in wool between Bilbao and Bruges. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 200).
- Finance: Bernardin and Vincent Guinigi were among the most important maritime insurers in Lyon in the 16th c. (Gascon, 1971, 305).
- Industry:

Network of the Guinigi of the sixteenth century:

Table A..2. Network of the Guinigi of the sixteenth century, 1516 – 1574								
City	**R**	**Score**				**Period**	**Type of presence**	**References**
Lucca		8	4	3	1	>2nd half 16th c.-1574	The Guinigui had their headquarters in Lucca in the second half of the 16th century. The Guinigui went bankrupt in 1574. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 200). Bernardin & Guinigi was one of the biggest importers of silk cloth from Lucca to Lyon (Gascon, 1971, 209). Henri Bernardin & Vincent Guinigi were the largest importer from Lucca to Lyon in 1569 (26%) (Gascon, 1971, 211).	
Antwerp		6	3	2	1	>1543-1572<	The Guinigui, with headquarters in Lucca in the second half of the 16th century, had branches in Antwerp ("Heirs of Vincenzo Guinigui and Giuseppe Bernardini" in 1572), Lyon and Besançon. The branch in Antwerp was headed by Niccoló Guinigui, nephew of Giovanni Guinigui, head of the family. The Antwerp branch traded in wool between Bilbao and Bruges. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 200). Involved in export from Antwerp to Italy in 1543 (Goris, 1925, 248-250: Ginigi company instead of Guinigi company).	
Besançon		6	3	2	1	3rd quarter 16th c.	The Guinigui, with headquarters in Lucca in the second half of the 16th century, had branches in Antwerp, Lyon and Besançon. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 200).	
Lyon		6	3	2	1	>1516-1574	In 1569 active in Lyon: the heirs Jean-Baptiste, Bernardin, Vincent, Louis Guinigi from Lucca: importers in Lyon (Gascon, 1569, 204). Guinigi were already taxed in Lyon in 1516 (Gascon, 1971, 363). Bankruptcy of the Bernardini – Guinigi in 1574. (Bayard, 1971, 1255). The Guinigui, with headquarters in Lucca in the second half of the 16th century, had branches in Antwerp, Lyon and Besançon. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 200). 3rd biggest importer in Lyon in 1569: 3.16 % of import tax (Gascon, 1971, 204). Guinigi were taxed 3rd most of the Lucchese in the Nommées of Lyon in 1571: 200 L. (Gascon, 1971, 360). Bernardin & Guinigi was biggest exporter of cotton in Lyon in 1569 (25%), and one of the biggest importers of silk cloth from Lucca to Lyon (Gascon, 1971, 209). Jean Bernardin & Vincent Guinigi: import of English products in Lyon in 1569 (2% of total) (Gascon, 1971, 211). Henri Bernardin & Vincent Guinigi were the largest importer from Lucca to Lyon in 1569 (26%) (Gascon, 1971, 211).	
Naples		6	3	2	1	>1542<	In the 16th century, the Guinigi were associated with the Balbani (1542):	

							Vincenzo, Baldassare Guinigui, Giovanni Balbani and Co.: branches in Italy, e.g. in Naples: Vincenzo Guinigui. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 200).	
Bruges		4	2	2	1	3rd quarter 16th c.	The Antwerp branch traded in wool between Bilbao and Bruges in the 2nd half of the 16th century (factor in Bruges was Sancho de Agurto). (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 200).	
Bilbao		3	2	2	1	3rd quarter 16th c.	The Antwerp branch traded in wool between Bilbao and Bruges in the 2nd half of the 16th century (factor in Bruges was Sancho de Agurto). (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 200).	
Madrid		3	2	2	1	3rd quarter 16th c.	In Madrid, the Guinigui were represented in the second half of the 16th century by the firm "Carlo Spinola, Vincenzo and Lorenzo Gentile". (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 200).	
Marseille		3	2	2	1	>1576<	The heirs Bernardin & Vincent Guinigi of Lyon exercised trade in merchandise with Octavio Guidichon, a Lucchese merchant established in Marseille (commenda) (Gascon, 1971, 293). Guidichon, Lucchese merchant in Marseille, was commanditory of the Guinigi: in 1576, he got in troubles: got 18 months to recover his active debts (Gascon, 1971, 886).	

+ The network of the Guinigi company of Lucca in the 16th century is not known in much detail. According to Vazquez de Prada (1960, 200), the partnership between the Guinigi and Balbani (ca. 1542) did not only have a branch in Naples, but also elsewhere in Italy.

RAPONDI, ca. 1340s – ca. 1456

The Rapondi were important bankers of the Burgundian dukes Philip the Bold and John the Fearless. (Lambert, ix). The Rapondi firm did not go bankrupt, despite being strongly involved in government finances. (Lambert, 2006, ix). The Rapondi were a Lucchese family. Already in 1194 Simone Rapondi was active as a merchant. The Rapondi obtained noble status in the early 13th century. By the beginning of the 14th century, the Rapondi belonged to the economically and politically ruling class of Lucca. (Lambert, 2006, 3; Mirot, 1928, 300). Most of the sons of Guido Rapondi, merchant and local politician in Lucca during the first half of the 14th century, became active as businessmen abroad, especially in Bruges. (Lambert, 2006, 3). At least by the mid 1340s a company of the Rapondi existed. At that time, the company had several partners, including Piero, brother of Guido Rapondi, who occupied several political functions in Lucca. (Lambert, 2006, 21; Mirot, 1928, 317). Piero Rapondi probably died sometime before 1362, while Guido is mentioned for the last time in 1362. Around the 1360s, a new generation took over, and head of the firm became Guglielmo Rapondi, son of Guido. Guglielmo transferred the headquarters of the firm from Lucca to Bruges. (Lambert, 2006, 22-23; Mirot, 1928, 307). Guglielmo Rapondi died ca. 1370, and he was succeeded as head of the company by his brother Dino (b. ca. 1335/40). (Lambert, 2006, 35; Mirot, 1928, 303, 311). Partner of Dino in 1371-1377 was Benedic du Gal. He was succeeded as partner by Jacopo, younger brother of Dino, and until 1379 by Giovanni, son of Dino's second cousin Jacopo. (Lambert, 2006, 38-39). Another Giovanni, son of Guglielmo, and nephew of Dino, became partner in 1378. (Lambert, 2006, 52-53). Politically, the Rapondi were the opponents of the Guinigi in Lucca, especially since 1376. (Lambert, 2006, 56-60; Mirot, 1928, 304-305). The Rapondi were exiled from Lucca from 1392. This resulted in an increasing involvement in north western Europe. (Lambert, 2006, 105). In 1395, Giovanni di Guglielmo Rapondi, nephew of Dino, left the Rapondi firm, and began his own company together with several members of the Cenami family, who were his nephews. This partnership was apparently not very successful. Giovanni perhaps left the Rapondi firm as a result of a rivalry with Dino. The conflict in the family, initiated between Dino and Giovanni, lasted for half a century, until long after both had died. (Lambert, 2006, 105-107). From the early 15th century, Dino Rapondi suffered from ill health and old age. He died in 1415. (Lambert, 2006, 139-140). After Dino's death, the firm in Bruges came in hands of his brother Filippo. (Lambert, 2006, 140, 143). Under Filippo, the Rapondi increasingly withdrew from risky investments. He invested increasingly in rents and real estate. (Lambert, 2006, 148). Filippo died in 1431. (Lambert, 2006, 149). The role of privileged banker of the Burgundian dukes was taken over by the Lucchese merchant Marco Guidiccioni under Philip the Good. (Lambert, 2006, 144-145).
Lucchese merchant-banker in Bruges. Close advisor to the Burgundian Dukes Philip the Bold and John the Fearless. Introduction of a system of annuities. (De Roover, 1948b, 20-21).

The sons of Filippo Rapondi retired largely from trade after Filippo's death in 1431. Another branch of the Rapondi then became active in Bruges, notably Goffredo, son of Giovanni di Jacopo Rapondi. Goffredo was a merchant in Bruges. (Lambert, 2006, 157).

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The business archives of the Rapondi have not been preserved. However, as a result of the role they played in Burgundian finance, they have left important traces of their business activities in the Burgundian public archives in Dijon and Lille. Several documents concerning the Rapondi can be found in the town archives of Bruges as well. (Lambert, 2006, ix, 173-176).

1. COMPANY OF DINO RAPONDI AND BROTHERS, ca. 1340s – 1432

Size: Large

The maximum amount of staff in the Rapondi firm at its height probably amounted to ca. 10-12 people. It was smaller than the Guinigi firm. (Lambert, 2006, 56 n. 184). Around 1370, the Rapondi were the second richest family of Lucca, with a total fortune of ca. 100,000 fl. (half the size of the fortune of the Guinigi, at that time the richest Lucchese family). (Lambert, 2006, 56; Mirot, 1928, 301).

Main activities:

- Commerce: The Rapondi supplied Iolanda of Bar with merchandise in the 1360s and 1370s. They especially provided luxury goods, such as silk, gold, exotic fruits, sugar, spices, etc. (Lambert, 2006, 28-29; Mirot, 1928, 309, 320-321). From 1369, the Rapondi became suppliers of the Burgundian Duke Philip the Bold. (Lambert, 2006, 34). In the 1370s, the Rapondi began to supply the Burgundian court in Paris with luxury wares such as gold and silk cloth, furs, paper, jewels, etc. The Rapondi were especially suppliers of luxury textiles. (Lambert, 2006, 41-42; Mirot, 1928, 334-344). The Rapondi supplied the French kings Charles V (from ca. 1376) and Charles VI, as well as several French princes. (Lambert, 2006, 44-49; Mirot, 1928, 325-332). The Rapondi did not play an important role in supplying the papacy of Avignon. (Lambert, 2006, 69-70; Mirot, 1928, 324-325). Trade in cloth and silks, luxury tapestries, jewels and gemstones, weapons and armour. (Mirot, 1928, 299). The Rapondi were suppliers of luxury goods to the city of Bruges. (Mirot, 1928, 340). After

1394, the Rapondi were less involved in the supply of the Burgundian court and the city of Bruges. They became increasingly active in finance instead. (Mirot, 1928, 340-341, 344). During the late 1380s and early 1390s the Rapondi reached the apogee in their commercial activities. Later, financial activities clearly took the overhand. (Lambert, 2006, 97). The supplies to the Burgundians continued in the 1380s. (Lambert, 2006, 98-100). In the 1390s, the commercial activities of the Rapondi decreased. Moreover, they came in hands of Jacopo, while Dino became increasingly involved in financial activities. (Lambert, 2006, 101). Under Filippo, the commercial activities of the Rapondi remained rather a sideline activity. (Lambert, 2006, 147).

- Finance: The Rapondi were strongly involved in the government finances of the Burgundian dukes Philip the Bold and John the Fearless. The Rapondi also operated as bankers for the city of Bruges. (Lambert, 2006, ix; Mirot, 1928, 299, 313). From 1364 to 1393, the Rapondi had close ties with Iolanda, countess of Bar, and member of the Flemish comital family. They advanced her several loans, made payments for her, and acted as intermediaries between the countess and the pawnbrokers. (Lambert, 2006, 23, 26-31; Mirot, 1928, 308-310, 313-315, 321-324). Guglielmo Rapondi provided 3,000 francs to Philip the Bold for his marriage transaction with Margaret of Male. (Lambert, 2006, 32; Mirot, 1928, 335). From ca. 1370, the Rapondi established financial and commercial ties with the Burgundian Dukes. (Lambert, 2006, 32-37). The Rapondi provided loans to the dukes of Burgundy, especially after 1384. (Lambert, 2006, 43). By 1384, the Rapondi were the preferred bankers of Philip the Bold. (Lambert, 2006, 44). Loan of 30,000 francs to the French king Charles VI in 1386. (Lambert, 2006, 47-48). The Rapondi became involved in papal banking since 1376, first indirectly via the Interminelli firm. (Lambert, 2006, 60-61). The Rapondi advanced loans to the Avignon popes between 1381 and 1394. (Lambert, 2006, 68). The Rapondi were Clement VII's principal bankers. (Lambert, 2006, 69). Dino Rapondi became the most important financial agent of the Burgundian dukes Philip the Bold and John the Fearless. (Mirot, 1928, 335). Dino Rapondi became a counsillor and the principal financial advisor of Philip the Bold from 1386. (Lambert, 2006, 83; Mirot, 1928, 344-356). The Rapondi became lenders to the city of Bruges from 1383/84, and especially after 1396. (Lambert, 2006, 88, 92, 117-119; Mirot, 1928, 371-375). Dino Rapondi took care of the payment of the ransom for John the Fearless, who was captured by the Turks in 1396. (Lambert, 2006, 115-117). Under Filippo, the financial activities of the Rapondi for the Duke and for Bruges decreased, and ended entirely in the early 1420s. (Lambert, 2006, 148). Dino Rapondi was an important counsellor of Duke Philip the Bold and John the Fearless. (Murray, 2005, 236, 236 n. 92).
- Industry:

Network of the company of Dino Rapondi and brothers:

In 1415, the Rapondi firm developed from a centralised into a more decentralised firm, with mutually independent branches. (Lambert, 2006, 144).

Table A..1. Network of the company of Dino Rapondi and brothers, ca. 1345 – ca. 1432 (especially 14th century)

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Bruges		6 **8**	3 **4**	2 **3**	1 **1**	>1345-c.1364 c.1364-c.1431	By 1345, the Rapondi had a branch in Bruges, with as factor Tommaso Giganti. (Lambert, 2006, 21; Mirot, 1928, 307, 316). In 1357, Dino de la Chiocha, one of the partners of the company, headed the branch in Bruges. (Lambert, 2006, 22). Headquarters since the 1360s. Around the middle of the 1360s, several members of the Rapondi family can be found in Bruges. (Lambert, 2006, 22-23; Mirot, 1928, 317). Guglielmo Rapondi, head of the company, was in Bruges since 1364 the latest, perhaps already since 1359. (Lambert, 2006, 23; Mirot, 1928, 308). Guglielmo was joined by several of his brothers in Bruges: first Dino, then Jacopo and Andrea (from 1368), and finally Piero, who only stayed for a relatively short time in Bruges from 1370. (Lambert, 2006, 23; Mirot, 1928, 310, 313). Since 1368, Guglielmo, Dino and Jacopo resided in the house rented by Jacopo from Comtessa di Betto del Miccio. (Lambert, 2006, 23). Guglielmo Rapondi was a regular customer of the Bruges money-changer Collard de Marke between 1366 and 1369. (Lambert, 2006, 23). In Bruges, the Rapondi appear to have had commercial ties especially with other Lucchese merchants during the 1360s, such as Forteguerra Forteguerra. (Lambert, 2006, 23).During the 1360s the Rapondi made use of the services of the brokers Claes Barbezaen and Gilles Visolle, originally from Lucca. In this period, the Rapondi also did business with other Italian merchants, as well as with English, Spanish and Hanseatic merchants, and also with Flemish businessmen. (Lambert, 2006, 24). The Rapondi had ties with the Lombards (pawnbrokers) in Bruges (especially 1360s-1370s. (Lambert, 2006, 26-27). Ca. 1370, the headquarters of the Rapondi firm were transferred from Bruges to Paris, residence of their most important customer, Philip the Bold. Although the presence of the Rapondi in Bruges decreased, they did not entirely leave Flanders. (Lambert, 2006, 37). In January 1383, Dino Rapondi bought back a collection of jewels for 5,400 lb., which Philip the Bold had pledged to three Bruges merchants in order to borrow 2,500 lb. (Lambert, 2006, 43). Representative of Dino Rapondi in Bruges in 1379 was his brother Andrea. (Lambert, 2006, 46). By the late 1370s, the Rapondi had branches in Lucca, Paris, Bruges and Avignon. (Lambert, 2006, 49). Between 1371 and 1377, not many indications about activity of the Rapondi in Bruges. (Lambert, 2006, 50). Only in 1378-1379, Dino's brother Andrea is known to have been active for	

							the company in Flanders again. (Lambert, 2006, 50). Possibly, no branch existed in Bruges between 1371 and 1377. In 1378, Andrea definitely resided in Bruges. (Lambert, 2006, 51; Mirot, 1928, 324). Andrea was the manager of the Bruges branch of the Rapondi in 1377. In 1378, he was joined as head by his nephew Giovanni, son of Guglielmo, who became a partner in the company. In 1379, Andrea had left Bruges, but he was replaced by his brother Michele. (Lambert, 2006, 52-53). Another manager in Bruges in 1377 was the Lucchese Galico da Piastra. Until 1382, the Bruges branch was headed by Andrea and Giovanni Rapondi and Galico da Piastra. In 1382, Andrea left the branch. (Lambert, 2006, 53). Dino Rapondi was for a short while in Bruges in 1377. (Lambert, 2006, 54). Dino Rapondi and Galico da Piastra appear to have travelled regularly between Bruges and Paris. (Lambert, 2006, 55). Only small amounts of money were transferred from Bruges (via Paris) to Avignon, since most Flemish supported the Rome pope Urban, rather than the Avignon pope Clement. (Lambert, 2006, 66). Branches in Paris, Bruges, Antwerp, Avignon and Venice. (Mirot, 1928, 299). Members of the Rapondi family resided in Paris, Bruges and Avignon. (Mirot, 1928, 304). Representatives in Bruges were the brothers Jacopo, Giovanni and Filippo. (Mirot, 1928, 313). In 1385-86, Galico da Piastra represented the Rapondi firm in Bruges. (Lambert, 2006, 79). The Rapondi definitely had a house in Bruges in 1381 and 1383. It was located in the Kuiperstraat, in the Lucchese neighbourhood of the city. (Lambert, 2006, 85). By the early 1380s, Bruges became more important again for the Rapondi business, and the number of staff in Bruges was often as much as in Paris, or even more. In 1383, Dino Rapondi was in Bruges. (Lambert, 2006, 85). In 1382, Giovanni Rapondi, representative in Bruges, collected the fine to be paid by Bruges to the French king after the defeat of the city at Westrozebeke. (Lambert, 2006, 87). Although the Rapondi played a role in other cities and regions in Flanders and the Low Countries as well, Bruges was for them by far the most important centre here. (Lambert, 2006, 90). From 1385, the Rapondi took care of the debt settlement of Bruges to the Duke of Burgundy, and they transferred the regular payments of the city of Bruges to the Duke. They played the role of intermediate in the financial relations between Bruges and the Burgundian dukes. (Lambert, 2006, 90-92, 111). Galico da Piastra was still factor in Bruges in 1391. (Lambert, 2006,	

							91). In 1393, Galico da Piastra left the company, and began his own business. (Lambert, 2006, 106). Giovanni di Guglielmo Rapondi, nephew of Dino, became one of the managers of the Bruges branch, together with Michele, brother of Dino. A number of years later, Giovanni was transferred to Avignon, and a year later again to Bruges. (Lambert, 2006, 106). Dino stayed mostly in Flanders from 1409, where he resided in the house in the Naaldenstraat. (Lambert, 2006, 137-138). Jacopo inherited Dino's possessions in Paris, Filippo those in Bruges. (Lambert, 2006, 140; Mirot, 1928, 380-381). Filippo took over the management of the Rapondi firm in Bruges after the death of his brother Dino. Filippo had been active in Flanders since the middle of the 1390s. Filippo invested increasingly in more safe operations than his brother Dino before him. (Lambert, 2006, 143). After the death of Dino in 1415, the business in Paris was taken over by his brother Jacopo and his nephew Guidotto, while business in Bruges was taken over by Filippo. The branches in Bruges and Paris became independent from each other, although they maintained close contacts. (Lambert, 2006, 143-144). Dino Rapondi travelled constantly between the branches of Bruges and Paris. Only during the last years, he resided more permanently in Flanders. (Lambert, 2006, 143; Mirot, 1928, 376-378). Bartolomeo Bettini and Marco Guidiccioni worked for Dino Rapondi in Bruges from the late 1390s. After Dino's death, they often worked together with Filippo Rapondi. (Lambert, 2006, 144). Filippo Rapondi died in 1431. (Lambert, 2006, 149). Jacopo di Filippo succeeded his father in Bruges, but he was almost not involved in international finance and commerce. (Lambert, 2006, 153). Branches in Bruges, Antwerp, Paris, Avignon, Venice, and probably also in the East. (Mirot, 1928, 344). Dino Rapondi had connections with the mint masters of Ghent (e.g. 1387), Mechelen (e.g. 1390) and Bruges (e.g. 1390). (Mirot, 1928, 348). The branch in Bruges had three factors in the early 15th century (Filippo Rapondi not included). (Mirot, 1928, 371, 376). The city of Bruges often made payments to the Rapondi via bills of exchange on merchants of Venice and Paris (e.g. Nerocio dei Alberti and Fr. Toto). (Mirot, 1928, 373). Settled in Bruges in the early 15th c. (Hunt & Murray, 1999, 208-209). Headquarters: Dino Rapondi was located in Bruges. Remained in Bruges until his death: Burried in the Saint Donatian Church (Stabel, 2001, 208). A factor of the Rapondi in Bruges in 1385 was Agnolo Xristofano. (Murray,	

							2005, 234 n. 87). Already under Guglielmo Rapondi in the 1360s Bruges was the seat of the northern activities of the company. (Murray, 2005, 235). The principal branches of the Rapondi company were located in Bruges, Lucca, Paris and Avignon. (Murray, 2005, 235).	
Paris		1 **8**	1 **4**	1 **3**	0 **1**	1331 c.1370-1432	Guido Rapondi was temporarily in Paris in 1331. This is one of the first indications of the Rapondi's activities abroad. (Lambert, 2006, 3, 21; Mirot, 1928, 301, 306-307). Ca. 1370 (1373 the latest), the headquarters of the Rapondi firm were transferred from Bruges to Paris, residence of their most important customer, Philip the Bold. (Lambert, 2006, 37-38; Mirot, 1928, 318). In 1374, the Rapondi became "bourgeois" of Paris. (Lambert, 2006, 38; Mirot, 1928, 318). No traces about the presence of the Rapondi in Paris between 1331 and ca. 1370. (Lambert, 2006, 37). Representative and (later) also partner of the Rapondi in Paris since 1371 was Benedic du Gal, a Lucchese merchant residing in Paris. The collaboration between Dino Rapondi and Benedic du Gal, who also continued to do business on his own account, probably lasted until 1377. (Lambert, 2006, 38-39). In Paris, the Rapondi lived in the parish of Saint-Jacques-de-la-Boucherie during the 1370s. In this quarter, many Lucchese merchants were living during these years. (Lambert, 2006, 39). By 1393 the latest, Dino Rapondi owned an impressive complex of several houses in the Rue de la vieille Monnaie in the centre of this parish. (Lambert, 2006, 40). In 1385, the Rapondi (Dino, his brothers Jacopo and Andrea, as well as Giovanni) were confirmed in their citizenship of Paris and France by king Charles VI. (Lambert, 2006, 48; Mirot, 1928, 326). By the late 1370s, the Rapondi had branches in Lucca, Paris, Bruges and Avignon. (Lambert, 2006, 49). In the late 1370s, the branch in Paris was headed by Dino and Jacopo. (Lambert, 2006, 55). Dino Rapondi and Galico da Piastra appear to have travelled regularly between Bruges and Paris. (Lambert, 2006, 55). The papal collectors in Paris and Rheims made use of the services of the Rapondi in transferring money from Paris to Avignon from 1381, the collector in Tours from 1384. The Rapondi carried out the majority of the transfers up to 1389. (Lambert, 2006, 66, 71). Between 1381 and 1395 (especially up to 1389), the Rapondi transferred 109,428 florins from Paris to Avignon for the papacy. (Lambert, 2006, 66). Branches in Paris, Bruges, Antwerp, Avignon and Venice. (Mirot, 1928, 299). Members of the Rapondi family resided in Paris, Bruges and Avignon.	

							(Mirot, 1928, 304). Factors in Antwerp and Paris before 1370. (Mirot, 1928, 317-318). Francesco Accettanti, factor of the Rapondi in Paris ca. 1397. (Lambert, 2006, 116). Ca. 1411, Filippo and Dino Rapondi still had their house in France. (Lambert, 2006, 130-131). When Dino Rapondi moved almost permanently to Flanders in 1409, Jacopo remained in charge in Paris. (Lambert, 2006, 138-139). Paris, rather than Bruges, had always been the second home for Dino Rapondi, after he had left Lucca. (Lambert, 2006, 139). Jacopo inherited Dino's possessions in Paris, Filippo those in Bruges. (Lambert, 2006, 140; Mirot, 1928, 380-381). After the death of Dino in 1415, the business in Paris was taken over by his brother Jacopo and his nephew Guidotto, while business in Bruges was taken over by Filippo. The branches in Bruges and Paris became independent from each other, although they maintained close contacts. (Lambert, 2006, 143-144). Dino Rapondi travelled constantly between the branches of Bruges and Paris. Only during the last years, he resided more permanently in Flanders. (Lambert, 2006, 143; Mirot, 1928, 376-378). Jacopo Rapondi died in 1432. (Lambert, 2006, 153). Branches in Bruges, Antwerp, Paris, Avignon, Venice, and probably also in the East. (Mirot, 1928, 344). The city of Bruges often made payments to the Rapondi via bills of exchange on merchants of Venice and Paris (e.g. Nerocio dei Alberti and Fr. Toto). (Mirot, 1928, 373). The principal branches of the Rapondi company were located in Bruges, Lucca, Paris and Avignon. (Murray, 2005, 235).	
Avignon		3 **6** 3	2 **3** 2	2 **2** 2	1 **1** 1	1376-1377, 1379-1381 1382-1396 1396-1417	The Rapondi established a branch in Avignon at the end of the 1370s. (Lambert, 2006, 37). By the late 1370s, the Rapondi had branches in Lucca, Paris, Bruges and Avignon. (Lambert, 2006, 49). In 1376, the Rapondi established their first connections with the papacy, via the Interminelli, Lucchese bankers in Avignon. However, in 1377 the pope returned to Rome, and these first contacts with the papacy broke off again. (Lambert, 2006, 60-61). From 1379 the Rapondi began to deliver services to the Avignon pope Clement VII. Originally they participated in the transfer of papal funds by other Lucchese firms. (Lambert, 2006, 63). In 1379-81, the Rapondi transferred funds from Paris to Avignon, without being present in Avignon themselves. (Lambert, 2006, 64). In 1381, Dino Rapondi went to Avignon in person. Probably a branch was opened in Avignon in 1382, headed by Andrea Rapondi, who had left the Bruges branch the same year. By 1385,	

							Andrea had a house in Avignon. (Lambert, 2006, 64; Mirot, 1928, 311-312, 324-325). In Avignon, Andrea Rapondi worked closely together with Maffredo Frami and with Giovanni Caransoni (e.g. 1384-1394). (Lambert, 2006, 64-65). Andrea was replaced as head of the Avignon branch in 1385 by his younger brother Filippo, who managed the branch until 1389. (Lambert, 2006, 65; Mirot, 1928, 312-313). Manager in 1389-1390 was Giovanni di Guglielmo Rapondi, replaced in 1390 by the factor Jacopo Rongui until 1395. From ca. 1395, Andrea again took up the leadership of the Avignon branch, where he remained until his death in 1417. (Lambert, 2006, 65; Mirot, 1928, 312). Between 1381 and 1395 (especially up to 1389), the Rapondi transferred 109,428 florins from Paris to Avignon for the papacy. (Lambert, 2006, 66). Until ca. 1385, Andrea was for two years responsible for forwarding papal funds from Avignon to the Italian peninsula for the campaign of Louis of Anjou in the kingdom of Naples. He transferred money to Venice (1385), where the company probably had a partner, and to Naples, mostly via Florentine firms, since the Rapondi did not have a representative in southern Italy. (Lambert, 2006, 67, 67 n. 292). In the 1390s, the Rapondi stopped their service for the Avignon pope, since in this period it came to a rupture between the pope and the Burgundian duke, the patron of the Rapondi. Nevertheless, Andrea Rapondi returned to Avignon in 1395, and he remained there. (Lambert, 2006, 71-72). After 1395, Andrea is only known to have carried out one more business for the Avignon papacy, notably in 1405. It is not clear whether the Rapondi still had a branch in Avignon after 1396. Andrea remained in Avignon until his death in 1417, but he appears to have been active in politics and diplomacy rather than in business. (Lambert, 2006, 73; Mirot, 1928, 385). Branches in Paris, Bruges, Antwerp, Avignon and Venice. (Mirot, 1928, 299). Members of the Rapondi family resided in Paris, Bruges and Avignon. (Mirot, 1928, 304). In 1389, Dino Rapondi was in Avignon in the following of Charles VI. (Lambert, 2006, 100). Giovanni di Guglielmo Rapondi, nephew of Dino, became one of the managers of the Bruges branch, together with Michele, brother of Dino. A number of years later, Giovanni was transferred to Avignon, and a year later again to Bruges. (Lambert, 2006, 106). Branches in Bruges, Antwerp, Paris, Avignon, Venice, and probably also in the East. (Mirot, 1928, 344). The Rapondi were the largest Lucchese firm of the end of the	

							14th century. They had no branch in Avignon, and as a result were not able to operate as papal bankers during the conflict between the pope and Florence during the War of the Otto Santi. Instead, the Camera Apostolica decided to trade with the Interminelli, a smaller Lucchese firm. However, the Camera asked the guarantee of the largest Lucchese businessmen: Dino Rapondi, Forteguerra Forteguerra and Betto Schiatta (Renouard, 1941, 110 n. 69). According to L. Mirot, the different Lucchese firms at the end of the 14th century formed a single company, with the Interminelli and Guinigi as representatives at the papal court and the Rapondi and the Forteguerra in Bruges (Renouard, 1941, 110 n. 69). The principal branches of the Rapondi company were located in Bruges, Lucca, Paris and Avignon. (Murray, 2005, 235).	
Lucca		8 **6** 3	4 **3** 2	3 **2** 2	1 **1** 1	until early 1360s 1360s-1392/94 1392/94-1400	Headquarters until the 1360s. (Lambert, 2006, 22-23). By the late 1370s, the Rapondi had branches in Lucca, Paris, Bruges and Avignon. (Lambert, 2006, 49). The Rapondi were active in Lucca in the 1360s. Their representative after 1370 was Jacopo di Giovanni Rapondi, second cousin of Dino. (Lambert, 2006, 50). Representative of the firm of Dino Rapondi in Lucca was the firm of Jacopo, son of his great uncle Giovanni. Jacopo had its own firm in Lucca, legally independent from the firm of Dino, but both companies worked closely together, and Jacopo's company even used the same trademark in 1397. In 1370, Jacopo was running his firm alone. In 1371, he appointed a factor, Cionelli Volpastri, who also worked for the Bruges branch of the firm of Dino. (Lambert, 2006, 55). In 1379, Jacopo was joined at the head of the firm by his son Giovanni, who had been active in Paris for the firm of Dino before. (Lambert, 2006, 55-56). Ca. 1392-94, Giovanni (to Avignon) and Piero (to Pisa) Rapondi were exiled from Lucca. Lucca was definitely lost to the Rapondi, especially when Paolo Guinigi established a dictatorship in Lucca in 1400. (Lambert, 2006, 103-104). The principal branches of the Rapondi company were located in Bruges, Lucca, Paris and Avignon. (Murray, 2005, 235).	
Venice		**5** 3	**3** 2	**2** 2	**1** 1	>1370-1385< >1397<, >1408<, >1438<	In 1379, Piero Rapondi, brother of Dino, was in Venice, where he represented the Rapondi company. The firm had already a partner in Venice in 1370. (Lambert, 2006, 57, 57 n. 193). Until ca. 1385, Andrea was for two years responsible for forwarding papal funds from Avignon to the Italian peninsula for the campaign of Louis of Anjou in the kingdom of Naples. He	

							transferred money to Venice (1385), where the company probably had a partner, and to Naples, mostly via Florentine firms, since the Rapondi did not have a representative in southern Italy. (Lambert, 2006, 67, 67 n. 292). Branches in Paris, Bruges, Antwerp, Avignon and Venice. (Mirot, 1928, 299). A branch in Venice existed since 1372. (Mirot, 1928, 318, 330). Factor of Dino Rapondi in Venice was Martin Catuche. (Mirot, 1928, 332). Branch established in Venice in 1370. (Mirot, 1928, 333). Dino Rapondi had a good relationship with the Venetian State. (Mirot, 1928, 333-334, 359). Dino Rapondi took care of the payment of the debts incurred to pay for the ransom of John the Fearless, which had to be paid back to several creditors in Venice. In 1397, Dino Rapondi and one of his factors went to meet John the Fearless in Italy (Venice and Treviso). (Lambert, 2006, 116-117; Mirot, 1928, 360-361). In 1397, Dino Rapondi provided a loan of 100,000 ducats to king Sigismund of Hungary, in exchange for an annuity of 7,000 ducats the king received from Venice each year. However, Venice refused to pay the annuity to Dino. Also Dino's brother Filippo was strongly involved in this affair. (Lambert, 2006, 117; Mirot, 1928, 361-362). In 1408, several bills of exchange were drawn by Dino Rapondi on Venice and other places. (Lambert, 2006, 125). Jacopo di Filippo Rapondi transferred funds from London to Venice with Niccolò Burlamacchi in 1438. It was the only transaction we know of him with an international dimension. (Lambert, 2006, 153). Branches in Bruges, Antwerp, Paris, Avignon, Venice, and probably also in the East. (Mirot, 1928, 344).). The city of Bruges often made payments to the Rapondi via bills of exchange on merchants of Venice and Paris (e.g. Nerocio dei Alberti and Fr. Toto). (Mirot, 1928, 373).	
Antwerp		3	2	2	1	1345, 1357, 1383-1384	Branches in Paris, Bruges, Antwerp, Avignon and Venice. (Mirot, 1928, 299). In 1345, Piero Rapondi had connections with Brabant. (Lambert, 2006, 21). Debts to the mintmaster of Brabant in 1357. (Lambert, 2006, 22). In 1357, Dino de la Chiocha visited the fairs of Antwerp for the Rapondi firm. (Mirot, 1928, 307). Factors in Antwerp and Paris before 1370. (Mirot, 1928, 317-318). Giovanni Rapondi, representative of the Rapondi in Bruges, went to Antwerp in 1383 and 1384 in diplomatic service for the duke of Burgundy. (Lambert, 2006, 89; Mirot, 1928, 346). Branches in Bruges, Antwerp, Paris, Avignon, Venice, and probably also in the East. (Mirot, 1928, 344).	

Chios		3	2	2	1	>1397<	Dino Rapondi had connections with merchants established in Chios. (Mirot, 1928, 333). The Rapondi had connections with the eastern Mediterranean, where they had ties to several Venetian and Genoese merchants. (Lambert, 2006, 115; Mirot, 1928, 299, 318). The Rapondi had connections with Bartolomeo Pellegrino, a Genoese alum merchant on Chios. (Lambert, 2006, 115; Mirot, 1928, 359). Branches in Bruges, Antwerp, Paris, Avignon, Venice, and probably also in the East. (Mirot, 1928, 344). In 1397, Dino Rapondi, in Treviso, took care of the repayment of the loan advanced by Bernardo Paterio, Genoese on Chios, for the ransom of John the Fearless, captured by the Ottomans. (Mirot, 1928, 363).	
Florence		3	2	2	1	c.1415	Filippo Rapondi was a correspondent of the Medici in Bruges ca. 1415/16. It is the first time we see the Rapondi work for the account of another firm. (Lambert, 2006, 146). Until ca. 1385, Andrea was for two years responsible for forwarding papal funds from Avignon to the Italian peninsula for the campaign of Louis of Anjou in the kingdom of Naples. He transferred money to Venice (1385), where the company probably had a partner, and to Naples, mostly via Florentine firms, since the Rapondi did not have a representative in southern Italy. (Lambert, 2006, 67, 67 n. 292).	
Germany		3	2	2	1	late 1380s-early 1390s	In the late 1380s and early 1390s, Dino Rapondi was one of the principal exporters of cloth from Burgundy to the Empire. (Lambert, 2006, 97). According to Mirot, Dino Rapondi must have had connections with the Rhine region, Germany and Hungary. (Mirot, 1928, 318).	
Ghent		2	2	1	0	>1387-1390<	Dino Rapondi had connections to the Mints and the mintmasters of Ghent (Bernard Bonot) and Mechelen (Renaut de Gaudry), as well as to the Chamber of Accounts in Lille, e.g. during the monetary reforms of Philip the Bold in 1389-90. (Lambert, 2006, 92-94). Dino Rapondi had connections with the mint masters of Ghent (e.g. 1387), Mechelen (e.g. 1390) and Bruges (e.g. 1390). (Mirot, 1928, 348).	
Ieper		2	2	1	0	1371, 1382, 1397-1398	In 1371, Dino Rapondi supplied the residence of Iolanda of Bar in Ieper with a variety of wares. (Mirot, 1928, 320). In 1382, Dino Rapondi was in Ieper to collect the fine to be paid by Ieper and the surrounding cities for their revolt against the Flemish court. (Lambert, 2006, 88-89). In 1397-98, Filippo Rapondi transferred a tax payment for Ieper. (Lambert, 2006, 119). Dino Rapondi collected the sum to be paid to Philip the Bold by Ieper and other Flemish cities after the battle of Rozebeke in 1382. (Lambert, 2006, 345).	

Lille		2	2	1	0	>1389-1415<	Dino Rapondi had connections to the Mints and the mintmasters of Ghent (Bernard Bonot) and Mechelen (Renaut de Gaudry), as well as to the Chamber of Accounts in Lille, e.g. during the monetary reforms of Philip the Bold in 1389-90. (Lambert, 2006, 92-94). After Dino's death, Filippo Rapondi still had connections with the ducal functionaries in Lille. (Lambert, 2006, 145). In 1390 Dino Rapondi dispatched ducal letters from Paris to the Chamber of Accounts in Lille. (Mirot, 1928, 349). Connections with the master of the Mint in Lille, Jacques de Screyhem, e.g. in 1393. (Mirot, 1928, 350). Letter of Dino Rapondi to the Chamber of Accounts in Lille preserved for the year 1405. (Mirot, 1928, 367 n. 1).	
London		2	2	1	0	1392, 1419, 1438	Probably, Dino Rapondi had regular contacts with London, where a Lucchese colony was established. In 1392, Dino Rapondi intervened in Bruges to obtain the freedom of the imprisoned Lucchese Antonio Volterra, who had stolen pearls in London. (Mirot, 1928, 318, 318 n. 18, 376 n. 5). In 1419, Jacopo Rapondi had connections with Italian bankers in London. In that year, Charles d'Orléans asked Jacopo to transfer a sum to a Florentine merchant in London. (Mirot, 1928, 318 n. 6). Jacopo di Filippo Rapondi transferred funds from London to Venice with Niccolò Burlamacchi in 1438. It was the only transaction we know of him with an international dimension. (Lambert, 2006, 153).	
Lübeck		2	2	1	0	1415-1416	In 1415, Filippo Rapondi received a sum from Lodovico Baglioni, correspondent of the Medici in Lübeck. In 1416 he received another sum from German merchants residing in Bruges in name of the Medici, who had lent the sum to embassadors of Lübeck and the Hanse at the council of Konstanz. (Lambert, 2006, 146).	
Mechelen		2	2	1	0	>1386-1390<	Dino Rapondi had connections to the Mints and the mintmasters of Ghent (Bernard Bonot) and Mechelen (Renaut de Gaudry), as well as to the Chamber of Accounts in Lille, e.g. during the monetary reforms of Philip the Bold in 1389-90. (Lambert, 2006, 92-94). Dino Rapondi had connections with the mint masters of Ghent (e.g. 1387), Mechelen (e.g. 1390) and Bruges (e.g. 1390). (Mirot, 1928, 348). In 1386, Dino Rapondi provided gold to the Mint of Mechelen. (Mirot, 1928, 348). In 1345, Piero Rapondi had connections with Brabant. (Lambert, 2006, 21). Debts to the mintmaster of Brabant in 1357. (Lambert, 2006, 22). In 1383-1384, Giovanni and Dino Rapondi played a diplomatic role for Philip the Bold in Brabant. (Lambert,	

							2006, 88-90; Mirot, 1928, 346). Dino Rapondi had connections with merchants in Flanders, Brabant, Hainault and the Rhineland. (Mirot, 1928, 347).	
Milan		2	2	1	0	1386, 1390	In 1386, Dino Rapondi and Amiot Arnaut travelled to Milan to obtain a loan from the duke of Milan to Philip the Bold. (Lambert, 2006, 83-84; Mirot, 1928, 346-347). In 1390 a member of the Rapondi firm was sent to Milan by the French king to claim part of the dowry of the daughter of the Milanese duke, which still had to be paid. Also Giovanni Rapondi, at that time manager in Avignon, worked for the Visconti duke of Milan at some point ca. 1390. (Lambert, 2006, 100). Dino Rapondi had connections with the Milanese cloth merchant Giovanni Alcherio, who had a branch in Paris. (Mirot, 1928, 347).	
Pisa		2	2	1	0	1393-1398, 1405-1046	In 1395, the Rapondi made a transfer of money for the Angevins from Avignon to Pisa. (Lambert, 2006, 71). In 1393/94, Piero Rapondi, brother of Dino, was exiled to Pisa, where he stayed until 1398. (Mirot, 1928, 305; Lambert, 2006, 104). In 1405-06, negotiations between John the Fearless and Pisa. Probably, the Rapondi took part in these negotiations. Presumably, Filippo Rapondi took care of an advance of 6,000 lb. by the duke of Burgundy to Pisa. (Mirot, 1928, 368-369).	
Reims		2	2	1	0	1381-1389	The papal collectors in Paris and Reims made use of the services of the Rapondi in transferring money from Paris to Avignon from 1381, the collector in Tours from 1384. The Rapondi carried out the majority of the transfers up to 1389. (Lambert, 2006, 66, 71).	
Rhineland		2	2	1	0		According to Mirot, Dino Rapondi must have had connections with the Rhine region, Germany and Hungary. (Mirot, 1928, 318). Dino Rapondi had connections with merchants in Flanders, Brabant, Hainault and the Rhineland. (Mirot, 1928, 347).	
Sluis		2	2	1	0	>1389-1396<	Gigantic financial operations of the Rapondi in Sluis from 1394. (Lambert, 2006, 97). Dino Rapondi was one of the overseers of the construction works at the fortification of Sluis (at least since 1389), for which he also advanced and transferred several sums of money. (Lambert, 2006, 108-109; Mirot, 1928, 349-350). More importantly, Dino Rapondi had the financial responsibility for the construction of the Tour de Bourgogne in Sluis in 1394-96. Dino Rapondi provided several loans to cover the expenses of this building project. (Lambert, 2006, 109-111). From 1394, Dino Rapondi	

							obtained the rights on the tax levied on the loading of ballast in the ships in the port of Sluis. These ballast rights were still in hands of the Rapondi under Jacopo, son of Filippo. (Lambert, 2006, 146, 153, 159; Mirot, 1928, 363).	
Tours		2	2	1	0	1384-1389	The papal collectors in Paris and Reims made use of the services of the Rapondi in transferring money from Paris to Avignon from 1381, the collector in Tours from 1384. The Rapondi carried out the majority of the transfers up to 1389. (Lambert, 2006, 66, 71).	
Dijon		1	1	1	0	>1389<	Dino Rapondi was from time to time in Dijon. (Mirot, 1928, 319). Dino Rapondi was in Dijon in 1389, in the following of king Charles VI. The Rapondi supplied the duke of Burgundy with luxury textiles for the visit of the king to Dijon. (Lambert, 2006, 100).	
Genoa		1	1	1	0	>1397<	Dino Rapondi had close ties with several Genoese merchants, who were active in the east. A number of these merchants contributed to the payment of the ransom of John the Fearless to the Ottomans in 1397. (Mirot, 1928, 359-360).	
Hungary		1	1	1	0	1398	According to Mirot, Dino Rapondi must have had connections with the Rhine region, Germany and Hungary. (Mirot, 1928, 318). Dino Rapondi provided a loan of 100,000 ducats to king Sigismund of Hungary, in exchange for an annuity of 7,000 ducats the king received from Venice each year. For this, Dino's proxies Regnier Pot and Jacques de Courtiambles visited the Hungarian Court in 1398. (Lambert, 2006, 117; Mirot, 1928, 361).	
Liège		1	1	1	0	c.1408	Ca. 1408, Filippo Rapondi was one of the attorneys collecting the fine Liège had to pay for its uprising. (Lambert, 2006, 126; Mirot, 1928, 370).	
Montpellier		1	1	1	0	1411	Perhaps the Rapondi had a factor in Montpellier, but no sources can be found to check this assertion. (Mirot, 1928, 318). In 1411 Dino Rapondi paid part of the dowry for the marriage of Catherine, daughter of John the Fearless, with the son of Louis II of Anjou, through bills of exchange drawn from Bruges on Montpellier. (Lambert, 2006, 130).	
Naples		1	1	1	0	>1385<	Until ca. 1385, Andrea was for two years responsible for forwarding papal funds from Avignon to the Italian peninsula for the campaign of Louis of Anjou in the kingdom of Naples. He transferred money to Venice (1385), where the company probably had a partner, and to Naples, mostly via Florentine firms, since the Rapondi did not have a representative in southern	

							Italy. (Lambert, 2006, 67, 67 n. 292).	
Oudenaarde		1	1	1	0	1387	In 1387 the Rapondi handed over 500 francs to the construction works on the fortifications of Oudenaarde. (Lambert, 2006, 108; Mirot, 1928, 349).	
Pavia		1	1	1	0	1386	In 1386, Dino Rapondi and Amiot Arnault received a receipt for a large loan from the duke of Milan to Philip the Bold in Pavia. (Mirot, 1928, 347).	
Pera		1	1	1	0	c.1397	Ca. 1397, Dino Rapondi took care of the repayment of the loan advanced by Baptiste Argent, Genoese in Pera, for the ransom of John the Fearless, captured by the Ottomans. (Mirot, 1928, 363).	
Treviso		1	1	1	0	1397-1398	In 1397, Dino Rapondi was sent to the court of John the Fearless (who was on his way back from the Ottoman Empire), which was temporarily removed from Venice to Treviso because of the plague. (Lambert, 2006, 116). In 1397, Dino Rapondi and one of his factors went to meet John the Fearless in Italy (Venice and Treviso). (Lambert, 2006, 116-117; Mirot, 1928, 360-361).	

+ Since no account books or correspondence of the Rapondi firm have been preserved, the network of this company is not very well known. We are better informed about the political activities and connections of members of the company than about their business networks.

2. GOFFREDO RAPONDI, ca. 1423 – ca. 1456 (network not used)

Goffredo Rapondi, son of Giovanni di Jacopo Rapondi, probably did his apprenticeship as a merchant in Bruges in the firm of his relatives in Bruges. By 1423, he owned a house in Bruges. (Lambert, 2006, 157-158). Originally, Goffredo traded in partnership with his brother Gherardo, but after a while he established a business on his own, being assisted by factors of Lucchese origin, such as Martin Cenami and Francesco Micheli (ca. 1439). Cenami later became a partner of Goffredo, but in 1452 a dispute arose between both. (Lambert, 2006, 158). Goffredo Rapondi is mentioned for the last time in 1456. (Lambert, 2006, 163). In 1464 Goffredo's son Francesco Rapondi obtained citizenship in Bruges. In 1463 Francesco had been active as a broker in London. (Lambert, 2006, 163). Francesco does not appear to have been active in business in Bruges. (Lambert, 2006, 163).

Size: Small or medium-sized

Main activities:

- Commerce: Goffredo and his partners concentrated on the trade with silk, velvets and other expensive textiles, partly for the Burgundian Court in the Low Countries. (Lambert, 2006, 159-160). Goffredo Rapondi was one of the largest exporters of wool from the Low Countries. (Lambert, 2006, 162).
- Finance:
- Industry:

Network of Goffredo Rapondi:

Table A..2. Network of Goffredo Rapondi, ca. 1423 – ca. 1456

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Bruges		8	4	3	1	>1423-1456<	Headquarters. Goffredo owned a house in Bruges at least since 1423. (Lambert, 2006, 158). This house functioned as the headquarters, except for a short while in 1450, when it appears to have been confiscated. (Lambert, 2006, 158). In Bruges, Goffredo had business connections with other Lucchese families, such as the Burlamacchi, the Di Poggio, the Arnolfini and the Bernardini. (Lambert, 2006, 158-159). In Bruges, Goffredo Rapondi made use of the services of the Borromei bank for the transfer of money abroad via bills of exchange, or for his commodity trade. (Lambert, 2006, 160). Several of the imported silks were sold in Bruges. (Lambert, 2006, 161).	
Venice		4	2	2	1		Goffredo Rapondi imported silks from Lucca, Milan, Florence, and especially Venice, where he had connections with merchants such as the Burlamacchi. (Lambert, 2006, 160). Goffredo transferred a lot of money via bills of exchange from Bruges to Venice for his silk purchases in Italy via the Borromei bank. Most of the liquidity in Venice was furnished by a number of substantial bankers and money dealers, predominantly of Florentine origin, including Antonio Cionelli and company, Cecco de' Tommasi and brothers, Mariano and Zebedeo de Colti of Pisa, Nicolo Ranghiadore, the Milanese Arrighino Panigarola and the local representatives of the Borromei family. (Lambert, 2006, 161).	
Antwerp		3	2	2	1	>1439<	Goffredo Rapondi went several times to Brabant to visit the fairs of Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom. Sometimes he was accompanied by one of his factors,	

							first Francesco Micheli, later by Martin Cenami. (Lambert, 2006, 162). In 1439, Goffredo was not able to leave the business in Bruges, and appointed an attorney to represent him at the fairs. Probably, Goffredo sold silks and purchased wool at the fairs. (Lambert, 2006, 162).	
Bergen-op-Zoom		3	2	2	1	>1439<	Goffredo Rapondi went several times to Brabant to visit the fairs of Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom. Sometimes he was accompanied by one of his factors, first Francesco Micheli, later by Martin Cenami. (Lambert, 2006, 162). In 1439, Goffredo was not able to leave the business in Bruges, and appointed an attorney to represent him at the fairs. Probably, Goffredo sold silks and purchased wool at the fairs. (Lambert, 2006, 162).	
Florence		3	2	2	1		Goffredo Rapondi imported silks from Lucca, Milan, Florence, and especially Venice. (Lambert, 2006, 160).	
London		3	2	2	1	>1452<	Goffredo Rapondi had important interests in the wool traffic from England. (Lambert, 2006, 160). Several of the imported silks were sent on to London by Goffredo Rapondi via the Borromei bank. Rapondi himself did not have a representative in London, but made use of the services of the Borromei bank for transport and sale of the silks. Goffredo had an account with the Borromei in London. Lawsuit against the factors of the London branch in 1452. (Lambert, 2006, 161). In 1463 Francesco had been active as a broker in London, perhaps related to the business of his father Goffredo. (Lambert, 2006, 163).	
Lucca		3	2	2	1		Goffredo Rapondi imported silks from Lucca, Milan, Florence, and especially Venice. (Lambert, 2006, 160). Especially when importing silks from Lucca, Goffredo occasionally sent his factor to Italy to make the purchases, or even went to Italy himself. (Lambert, 2006, 161).	
Milan		3	2	2	1		Goffredo Rapondi imported silks from Lucca, Milan, Florence, and especially Venice. (Lambert, 2006, 160). Silk imports from Italy came to Bruges by sea or over land via Milan. (Lambert, 2006, 161).	

+ Not much is known about Goffredo Rapondi and his business.

SPIFAME COMPANY, ca. 1335 – ca. 1377

The Spifame belonged to a Lucchese family established in France at the beginning of the 14th century. The most important head of the Spifame firm was Barthélemy Spifame (Renouard, 1942, 45). Barthelemi Spifame was naturalised in France since 1342. He originally came from Lucca. (Lambert, 2002, 33). Simon Spifame was a son of Barthelemi Spifame. (Mirot, 1928, 378).

References:

Renouard, Y., 1942. *Recherches sur les compagnies commerciales et bancaires utilisées par les Papes d'Avignon avant le Grand Schisme*. Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 45-46 (Université de Paris. Faculté des Lettres).

I did not consult:

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Mirot, L., 1938. "Études Lucquoises. L'origine des Spifame. Barthélemi Spifame". *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 99, 67-81.

Renouard, Y., 1939. "Compagnies mercantiles lucquoises au service des Papes d'Avignon". *Bollettino Storico Lucchese*, 11, 43-47. (Reprinted in: Renouard, Y., 1968. *Études d'histoire médiévale*, Paris, S.E.V.P.E.N., vol. 2, 825-831 (Bibliothèque Générale de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, 6)).

Source material:

Indirect data about the Spifame company can be found in the Papal Archives (Renouard, 1938, 44; Id., 1942, 4-5).

Size: Medium-sized or large (?)

Main activities:

- Commerce: Trade (Renouard, 1942, 46).
- Finance: Banking and exchange activities. Papal bankers. Relations with the kings of France and the dukes of Burgundy (Renouard, 1942, 46). Barthelemi Spifame provided 10,000 francs to Philip the Bold for his marriage transaction with Margaret of Male. (Lambert, 2006, 32). Barthelemi Spifame was a financier and supplier to the French court for many years. (Lambert, 2006, 33). Barthelemi Spifame did business with the French crown and with Philip the Bold (already before 1369). (Lambert, 2006, 38).
- Industry:

Network of the Spifame company:

The Spifame were especially active in the north of France (Renouard, 1942, 46).

Table A..1. Network of the Spifame company, ca. 1335 – ca. 1377								
City	**R**	**Score**				**Period**	**Type of presence**	**References**
Paris		8	4	3	1	>1342-1397<	Headquarters in Paris and Avignon: Barthélemy Spifame resided alternately in Paris and Avignon (Renouard, 1942, 45). Headquarters in Paris. (Lambert, 2006, 38). Branch or representative (Renouard, 1942, 46). In the 1370s, the Spifame owned a number of houses in the Rue des Lombards and the Rue Marivaux, in the Lucchese neighbourhood of Paris. (Lambert, 2006, 39). Barthelemi Spifame supplied the Burgundian court in Paris during the 1370s. (Lambert, 2006, 41). Carlo Spifame in Paris in 1397. (Lambert, 2006, 66 n. 285). Barthelemi Spifame was naturalised in France since 1342. (Lambert, 2002, 33). Paris was the centre of activities of the Spifame (Renouard, 1941, 106).	
Avignon		7	3	2	1	>1350-1377<	Headquarters in Paris and Avignon: Barthélemy Spifame resided alternately in Paris and Avignon (Renouard, 1942, 45). Branch or representative (Renouard, 1942, 46). The Spifame also had a representative at the papal court in Italy in 1368-70 (Renouard, 1942, 46). Avignon was of very high importance for the Spifame: Barthélémy Spifame, head of the company, resided here from 1350 to 1357, and returned each year to Avignon after 1357. Jean, brother of Barthélemy, headed the branch in Avignon from 1354 until 1377 (Renouard, 1941, 106).	
Bologna		4	2	2	1		Branch or representative (Renouard, 1942, 46).	
Dijon		4	2	2	1	>1369-1373<	Correspondents in 1369 and 1373: the Milanese wool merchants Antoine and Marc Gras (Renouard, 1942, 46 n. 1). Branch or representative (Renouard, 1942, 46).	
Flanders		4	2	2	1		Branch or representative (Renouard, 1942, 46).	
Florence		4	2	2	1		Branch or representative (Renouard, 1942, 46).	
Lombardy		4	2	2	1		Branch or representative (Renouard, 1942, 46).	
London		4	2	2	1		Branch or representative (Renouard, 1942, 46).	
Montpellier		4	2	2	1		Branch or representative (Renouard, 1942, 46).	
Pisa		4	2	2	1	>1363<	Branch or representative (Renouard, 1942, 46). In 1363, Jean Spifame, brother of Barthélémy, made a short voyage to Pisa (Renouard, 1941, 106).	
Siena		4	2	2	1		Branch or representative (Renouard, 1942, 46).	
Venice		4	2	2	1		Branch or representative (Renouard, 1942, 46).	

+ The network of the Spifame company is only fragmentarily known.

PISTOIESE FIRMS

COMPANY OF PISTOIA (Company of Andrea di Tici), ca. 1344 – ca. 1378

Four successive companies of Pistoia are distinguished by the Camera Apostolica: (1) the company of Bartolomeo di Francesco da Pistoia (mentioned in 1344-1355); (2) the company of Visconte di Lapo and Bartolomeo di Francesco da Pistoia (mentioned in 1355-1357); (3) the company of Visconte di Lapo and Bartolomeo di Arrigo da Pistoia (mentioned in 1358-1365); and (4) the company of Andrea di Tici da Pistoia (mentioned in 1365-1378). These four companies were successors of each other, and as such can be treated as a single company (Renouard, 1942, 47).

References:

Renouard, Y., 1942. *Recherches sur les compagnies commerciales et bancaires utilisées par les Papes d'Avignon avant le Grand Schisme*. Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 46-48, 59-62 (Université de Paris. Faculté des Lettres).

Source material:

No traces of this series of companies can be found in the archives of Pistoia (Renouard, 1942, 47). Indirect data about the Company of Pistoia can be found in the Papal Archives (Renouard, 1938, 44; Id., 1942, 4-5, 47).

Size: Medium-sized or large (?)

Main activities:

- Commerce: ?
- Finance: Papal bankers (Renouard, 1942, 48).
- Industry: ?

Network of the Company of Pistoia:

Table A..1. Network of the Company of Pistoia, ca. 1344 – ca. 1378

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Avignon		8	4	3	1	>c.1344-	Andrea di Tici was representative (factor or partner) of the company in	

						c.1378<	Avignon (Renouard, 1942, 47). Bartolomeo di Francesco and Andrea di Tici appear to have been established more or less permanently in Avignon: headquarters (?) (Renouard, 1942, 48). The company also had a representative with Urbanus V and Gregorius XI when they were in Italy (Renouard, 1942, 48). The papal archives mention the presence of partners, factors and correspondents in Avignon between 1344 and 1378 (Renouard, 1942, 59-62).	
Barcelona		4	2	2	1	>c.1355-c.1376<	Branch or representative since ca. 1355-57 (Renouard, 1942, 48). The papal archives mention the presence of correspondents in Barcelona between 1355 and 1376 (Renouard, 1942, 59-62).	
Bruges		4	2	2	1	<c.1365-c.1378>	In 1377, Jeronimo di Bartolomeo di Arrigo da Pistoia was factor in Bruges (Renouard, 1942, 47). Branch or representative since ca. 1365-78 (Renouard, 1942, 48). The papal archives mention the presence of factors in Bruges between 1372 and 1377 (Renouard, 1942, 59-62).	
Florence		4	2	2	1	>c.1344-c.1362<	Representatives in Florence were the Florentine brothers Angelo and Galeazzo di Lapo da Uzzano (Renouard, 1942, 48). Branch or representative since ca. 1344-55 (Renouard, 1942, 48). The papal archives mention the presence of correspondents in Florence in 1344-1362 (Renouard, 1942, 59-62).	
Genoa		4	2	2	1	<c.1365-c.1378>	Branch or representative since ca. 1365-78 (Renouard, 1942, 48). The papal archives mention the presence of a correspondent in Genoa between 1371 and 1372 (Renouard, 1942, 59-62).	
London		4	2	2	1	<c.1365-c.1378>	Branch or representative since ca. 1365-78 (Renouard, 1942, 48). The papal archives mention the presence of a factor in London in 1376 (Renouard, 1942, 59-62).	
Lucca		4	2	2	1	<c.1365-c.1378>	Branch or representative since ca. 1365-78 (Renouard, 1942, 48). The papal archives mention the presence of correspondents in Lucca in 1376 (Renouard, 1942, 59-62).	
Montpellier		4	2	2	1	<c.1365-c.1378>	Branch or representative since ca. 1365-78 (Renouard, 1942, 48). The papal archives mention the presence of a correspondent in Montpellier in 1367 (Renouard, 1942, 59-62).	
Naples		4	2	2	1	>c.1355/57-c.1377<	Branch or representative since ca. 1355-57 (Renouard, 1942, 48). The papal archives mention the presence of factors and correspondents in Naples between 1360 and 1377 (Renouard, 1942, 59-62).	
Paris		4	2	2	1	<c.1365-	Branch or representative since ca. 1365-78 (Renouard, 1942, 48). The papal	

						c.1378>	archives mention the presence of correspondents in Paris in 1369-1376 (Renouard, 1942, 59-62).	
Perugia		4	2	2	1	from c.1344/53	Branch or representative since ca. 1344-55 (Renouard, 1942, 48). The papal archives mention the presence of a factor in Perugia in 1353 (Renouard, 1942, 59-62).	
Pisa		4	2	2	1	from c.1344	Branch or representative since ca. 1344-55 (Renouard, 1942, 48). The papal archives mention the presence of a correspondent in Pisa in 1344 (Renouard, 1942, 59-62).	
Sevilla		4	2	2	1	<c.1365-c.1378>	Branch or representative since ca. 1365-78 (Renouard, 1942, 48). The papal archives mention the presence of a correspondent in Sevilla in 1374 (Renouard, 1942, 59-62).	
Pistoia		3	2	2	1		Place of residence of Visconte di Lapo and Bartolomeo di Arrigo is unknown. Perhaps they were established in Pistoia: headquarters (?) (Renouard, 1942, 48).	
Rome		1	1	1	0	1377	The papal archives mention the presence of a correspondent in Rome on 30 November 1377 (Renouard, 1942, 59-62).	

+ This list is based on the papal documents, and as such is probably not complete (Renouard, 1942, 47).
+ The factors and correspondents of this firm had very diverse origins: some were from Pistoia, others from Lucca, Pisa, Genoa, Bologna, Florence or Barcelona (Renouard, 1942, 47). Heads and partners were all Pistoiese however (Renouard, 1942, 48).
+ The headquarters of this company are not known. The heads of the company were perhaps/probably not residing in Pistoia, which was not an important business centre anymore since the bankruptcies of the Chiarenti and Ammanati in the 13th century (Renouard, 1942, 48).

1.1.4. LOMBARD FIRMS

AFFAITADI, before 1492 – ca. 1576

The Affaitadi family came originally from Italy. Branches of the family established themselves in Lisbon and elsewhere on the Iberian peninsula, and later also in Antwerp. (Bauer, 1936, 45). The number of partners investing in the Affaitadi company was relatively low. Among the partners were a number of other companies. (Bauer, 1936, 45). Head of the Affaitadi: Giovanni Carlos, who retired from business after entering the nobility. He was succeeded as head of the business by Giovanni Battista Affaitadi. Nevertheless, Giovanni Carlos maintained some investments in the firm. (Bauer, 1936, 50). The total capital of the Affaitadi was reduced in 1562. At that point, the firm was in a phase of liquidation. (Bauer, 1936, 50).
Head of the firm in Lisbon until his death in 1528: Jean Francois degli Affaitadi; succeeded by Jean-Charles degli Affaitadi (Giovan Carlo), head of the firm in Antwerp (+ 1555). Important role of his brother Jean-Baptiste (Giovan Battista), succeeded Jean-Charles after his death. Jean-Baptiste liquidated the company and established a new company in 1562, almost without involvement of the sons of Jean-Charles (Denucé, 1934, 74).
Originally from Cremona (Goris, 1925, 396; Denucé, 1934, 11; Puttevils, 2007, 157). Sons of Tommaso Degli Affaitadi: Giovanni Carlo and Giovanni Baptista. In 1577, they got into difficulties and had to ask for a moratorium of 6 years in which to discharge their liabilities. This is the last we hear from them (Ehrenberg, 1928, 229-230). The Affaitadi of Antwerp got into difficulties and were helped by two loans of 6,000 ducats each from Rodriguez Alvarez Caldera, a Portuguese merchant in Cologne, in 1579. (Thimme, 1912, 404).
Financial interest in other large firms: Bardi, Cavalcanti, Giraldi; Close relationship of Jean-Charles with Diego Mendez; contacts with GIRA and CAVA, CAGI. Widow of Jean Charles AFFA remarried Balthasar SCHZ (Denucé, 1934, 47; Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 195), contacts with DUCC. Death of Jean-Baptiste in 1576: end of the Affaitadi company (Denucé, 1934, 79-80).
Company headed by Giovan Battista since 1545. Bankruptcy in 1568, but re-established later. Giovan Battista died in 1576. He was succeeded by his nephews Cosimo and Ipolito. By that time, the firm had lost most of its importance. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 195-196).
In Antwerp, the Affaitadi belonged to the Florentine nation. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 195).

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Source material:

Sources mostly in SAAntw, Insolvente Boedelskamer (account books, inventory). (Denucé, 1934). Source-material for 1538-1540, 1548-1551, 1555-1556, 1556-1558, 1568 (Denucé, 1934, 83).

Size: Large or very large

The capital of the Antwerp branch amounted to 70,000 ducats in 1562. At that time, the company was in a phase of liquidation. (Bauer, 1936, 152 n. 51). The total capital in the main branch and the subsidiaries amounted to ca. 450,000 ducats (less than half of this was in hands of the Affaitadi family), at a period when the firm was already in decline. (Bauer, 1936, 50). Biggest exporter from the Low Countries overland to Italy in 1543-1545 (25,913 lb. Vl.) (Brulez, 1959, 467).

Main activities:

- Commerce: The Affaitadi traded in pepper, spices, textiles and metals. (Bauer, 1936, 42). Export of fustians and Italian textiles from Cremona (Denucé, 1934, 13). Trade in jewels and gemstones: export from Venice,... (see Gelderblom, 2000, 90; Goris, 1925, 259; Denucé, 1934, 63); Spices monopoly of Gualterotti and Jean-Francois degli Affaitadi (1508-1514) (Goris, 1925, 196; Jeannin, 1963a, 71); Control on trade of Portuguese spices in Antwerp, since around 1525 (Franco and Diego Mendez: Maranos), together with Affaitadi and Gabriel de Negro: very big monopoly. Bought all the spices in Antwerp from the Portuguese king (Pepper, cloves, nutmeg, ginger): Mendez and Affaitadi monopolised the Low Countries market, merchants selling from them were obliged to export the spices to France, England, Germany,... (Denucé, 1934, 20-22; Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, lxi). Trade in spices of the Affaitadi still important in 1551: Affaitadi companies in Antwerp, Spain and Lisbon bought spices from the Portuguese king, often together with the Pinelli and the Spinola of Genoa (Denucé, 1934, 25). Pepper contracts until the end of the company in 1566-1567 (Denucé, 1934, 24). Delivered copper (e.g. 1514-1515), quicksilver,… to the Portuguese (Goris, 1925, 104-105, 196; Denucé, 1934, 7-9, 19); trade in sugar from Madeira, sugar production in Antwerp. Big warehouse rented in Antwerp for sugar until 1556; sugar refinement: Jan Balbani’s suyckerhuys since 1551 (Denucé, 1934, 17-18, 63-64). Large alum trade in 1555 (Denucé, 1934, 61-62). Trade in spices (pepper, cinnamon from Venice, cloves, ginger), gemstones, copper, quicksilver, sugar (from Sao Tome, Canaries, Madeira, Messina), fustians from Cremona, grain, wine, pastel (Denucé, 1934, 34, 56-58, 61-63: general list of products). The Affaitadi of Cremona are among the first Italians who tried to take

part in the direct trade between Lisbon and the East Indies. When they were debarred from the direct trade with the East Indies, the Affaitadi were among the first to trade with the King of Portugal in large spices contracts (Ehrenberg, 1928, 229). They were in the mid of the 16th c. the chief shareholders in a large syndicate trading in Portuguese spices. They also appear to have had for a time a share in the lease of the Netherlands alum monopoly. (Ehrenberg, 1928, 229-230). Trade in jewels and gemstones (1540-1560) (Gelderblom, 2000, 50). Monopoly on trade in Portuguese spices in Antwerp (beginning 16th century) (Goris, 1925, 104-105). Portuguese spice trade in Antwerp. Trade in textiles. (Puttevils, 2007, 158). Export from Antwerp to Italy of kerseys, cloth, pepper, tapestries, tin, paintings, etc. (Puttevils, 2007, 158-159). Spice trade, especially with Diogo Mendes. Trade in sugar, jewels and gemstones. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 195-196).

- Finance: The Affaitadi were involved in financial activities. (Bauer, 1936, 42). Lent money to the emperor (Denucé, 1934, 8-9), also money lent to the Portuguese king (e.g. in 1508 and 1548), debts of the Portuguese king very high in 1566-1567 (Denucé, 1934, 24). Lent money to the English kings until 1556 (Denucé, 1934, 47-49), rents to the city of Antwerp, government of the Netherlands, emperor, Portuguese and English king (Denucé, 1934, 58). Maritime insurance (Denucé, 1934, 64-65). Lent money to the Habsburg house, but without much success: in financial problems from 1560 (Goris, 1925, 396-398). In 1542-58, the Affaitadi are frequently mentioned as creditors of the town of Antwerp, the English Crown and Philip II. (Ehrenberg, 1928, 229-230). Papal bankers, banking activities in Lisbon and Antwerp. Loans to Charles V and Mary of Hungary. (Puttevils, 2007, 157-158). Involved in asientos with the court. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 196).
- Industry: Sugar production in Antwerp. Big warehouse rented in Antwerp for sugar until 1556; sugar refinement: Jan Balbani's suyckerhuys since 1551 (Denucé, 1934, 17-18, 63-64).

Network of the Affaitadi:

The Affaitadi firm was a family company. (Bauer, 1936, 45). The branches of the Affaitadi company often had another name, and were not named after the Affaitadi. The branches were often accomandite, in which the headquarters was only a silent partner. (Bauer, 1936, 46). Most of the shares of the Affaitadi family in the branches go back to Giovanni Carlos. Under Giovanni Battista the shares of the Affaitadi in the branches were reduced. (Bauer, 1936, 50). Network for Affaitadi describes best period (1538-1558). Headquarters in Lisbon until 1528, from then in Antwerp. Branches, companies or "ragions", headed by "corpi": family-members or associated trusted representatives: no wage-labourers, but active part in the capital of the firm (partners). Different "ragions" were independent from each other (Denucé, 1934, 8). Trusted representatives sent along with the Portuguese expeditions (of Cabral in 1501: Barthelemy Marchione; to the East in 1502: Matteo Bergame; expedition to Calicut) (Denucé, 1934, 18-19). Decentralised multi-branch company (Jeannin, 1963a, 87).

Table A..1. Network of the Affaitadi, ca. 1479 – ca. 1576 (especially ca. 1538 – ca. 1558)

City	R	Score	Period	Type of presence	References

Antwerp		3 7 **8**	2 3 **4**	2 2 **3**	1 1 **1**	1508-1514 1514-1528 1528-c.1576	Headquarters. (Bauer, 1936, 41-42). The headquarters were named "Giovanni Battista Affaitadi e compagni" in 1553-62. (Bauer, 1936, 46-47). The Antwerp branch was a partner in the branches in London, Lisbon, Sevilla, Valladolid, Medina del Campo and Rome. The Lisbon branch was a partner in the branch of Antwerp. (Bauer, 1936, 47). The Affaitadi removed their headquarters from Lisbon to Antwerp. (Bauer, 1936, 49). In 1562, the Antwerp branch was named "Ipolito delli Affaitadi, Pietro Ducco e compagni". (Bauer, 1936, 152 n. 51). Head of the firm in Lisbon until his death in 1528: Jean Francois degli Affaitadi; succeeded by Jean-Charles degli Affaitadi, head of the firm in Antwerp (+ 1555). (Denucé, 1934, 74). Control on trade of Portuguese spices in Antwerp, since around 1525 (Franco and Diego Mendez: Maranos), together with Affaitadi and Gabriel de Negro: very big monopoly. (Denucé, 1934, 20-22). Trade in spices of the Affaitadi still important in 1551: Affaitadi companies in Antwerp, Spain and Lisbon bought spices from the Portuguese king, often together with the Pinelli and the Spinola of Genoa (Denucé, 1934, 25). Sugar production in Antwerp. Big warehouse rented in Antwerp for sugar until 1556; sugar refinement: Jan Balbani's suyckerhuys since 1551 (Denucé, 1934, 17-18, 63-64). Played a role in the import from Southern Europe to Antwerp in 1553, and export from Antwerp to Italy in 1543 (Goris, 1925, 248-250, 271-272). Headquarters in Antwerp from 1528. (Denucé, 1934, 8). Since 1514 (Jean-Charles Affaitadi to Antwerp). Death of Jean-Baptiste in 1576: end of the Affaitadi company (Denucé, 1934, 79-80). Affaitadi had an important factory in Antwerp for spice trade, which from ca. 1525 was managed by Tommaso degli Affaitadi (Ehrenberg, 1928, 229). Jean-Charles degli Affaitadi (+1555); succeeded after his death by his brother Jean-Baptiste degli Affaitadi (In theory already shortly after 1541: Jean-Charles obtained nobility) (Denucé, 1934, 8, 73). Majordomus in Antwerp: Laurent Bernardini (Denucé, 1934, 57-58). In 1562 new company established by Jean-Baptiste Affaitadi (+ ca. 1576) (Denucé, 1934, 74, 79-80). Decline of the firm after the death of Jean-Charles in 1555 (Denucé, 1934, 80). Originally associates of the Frescobaldi and of Diego Mendez for the spice-monopoly (Denucé, 1934, 8-9). Production of sugar: sugar refinery in Antwerp ("Balbani's suikerhuis"). (Denucé, 1934, 17-18). House of the Affaitadi on the Groenplaats in Antwerp (Denucé, 1934, 51). Affaitadi	Jeannin, 1963a, 87; Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 195

							involved in Portuguese spice trade in Antwerp until 1560 (Denucé, 1934, 55-56). Jan Balbani's suyckerhuys bought in 1551 with Balbani. Since 1555 completely in the hands of the Affaitadi. In 1562 residence "Den Draeck" obtained in Mutsaerdstraat: became headquarters of the company (Denucé, 1934, 64). Until at least 1535 house rented on the Groenplaats (Denucé, 1934, 68-69). "Corpi" in Antwerp in 1562 (in total 130 shares): Heirs of Jean-Charles (71), Lisbon branch (30), Jean-Baptiste and Hippolyte Affaitadi (10,5), Jerome Candiano (8), heirs of Jean-Pierre Affaitadi (2), Jerome Regna (3,5), Pierre Ducco (5) (Denucé, 1934, 76-77). Branch from 1514 (from 1508 contacts with Gualterotti and Frescobaldi). Representatives of the Lisbon branch in Antwerp in 1514: Jerome Frescobaldi; Jean-Charles moves to Antwerp in 1514 (Before he was an apprentice in Cremona, Venice and Lisbon). (Denucé, 1934, 20). Jean-Charles worked closely together with Diego Mendez in Antwerp until his arrest in 1532, from then with Luc Giraldi and with Marranos and protestant merchants from Portugal and Spain for the pepper monopoly (Denucé, 1934, 22-23). Close ties with the Frescobaldi and Gualterotti in Antwerp: had the Portuguese spice monopoly from 1508 to 1514: in exchange they delivered copper, quicksilver and vermillion for Indian trade (Denucé, 1934, 54). In 1514-1516: copper sold by Affaitadi-Gualterotti to the Portuguese king. From 1517 role taken over by the Fugger. Affaitadi involved in Portuguese spice trade in Antwerp until 1560 (Denucé, 1934, 55-56). Pepper monopoly with Gualterotti and Frescobaldi (Antwerp) between 1508 and 1514 (Denucé, 1934, 54). In 1544, Giovanni Carlo degli Affaitadi was the largest exporter from Antwerp to Italy. (Puttevils, 2007, 157). In Antwerp, the Affaitadi belonged to the Florentine nation. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 195).	
Lisbon		8 **7**	4 **3**	3 **2**	1 **1**	c.1479-1528 1528-1570<	On the Iberian Peninsula, the Affaitadi were especially active in Lisbon and Sevilla, but also in Valladolid and Medina del Campo. (Bauer, 1936, 41-42). The Lisbon branch was named "Giovanni Battista Affaitadi e Nicolò Giraldi e compagni" in 1553-62. (Bauer, 1936, 46-47). The Antwerp branch was a partner in the Lisbon branch. (Bauer, 1936, 47). The Lisbon branch was a partner in the branches in Antwerp, Sevilla, Valladolid, and Rome. (Bauer, 1936, 47). The Affaitadi removed their headquarters from Lisbon to Antwerp. When they moved to Antwerp, they were increasingly represented on the Iberian Peninsula by the Giraldi and by Jacomo dei Bardi. (Bauer,	Jeannin, 1963a, 87; Puttevils, 2007, 157; Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 195-196

							1936, 49). Head of the firm in Lisbon until his death in 1528: Jean Francois degli Affaitadi; succeeded by Jean-Charles degli Affaitadi, head of the firm in Antwerp (+ 1555). (Denucé, 1934, 74). Trade in spices of the Affaitadi still important in 1551: Affaitadi companies in Antwerp, Spain and Lisbon bought spices from the Portuguese king, often together with the Pinelli and the Spinola of Genoa (Denucé, 1934, 25). Headquarters in Lisbon until 1528. (Denucé, 1934, 8). Before 1492 (possibly since ca. 1479), until 1528 (then branch of the Antwerp firm). Headquarters until 1528. Jean-Francois Affaitadi (+1528), succeeded by his nephew (son of his brother Thomas) Jean-Charles degli Affaitadi, married to Lucrece, daughter of Jean-Francois. Independent from the Antwerp branch until 1528, from then under control of Jean-Charles. (Denucé, 1934, 17-20). Giovanni Francesco Affaitadi was already in 1501-03 of some importance in Lisbon (Ehrenberg, 1928, 229). Originally (before the discoveries), trade in sugar from Madeira, exported to Flanders. House in Cremona had financial interests in the company in Lisbon. In 1508 Jean-Francois lends money to the Portuguese king (Denucé, 1934, 22). Jean-Charles moves to Antwerp in 1514 (Before he was an apprentice in Cremona, Venice and Lisbon). (Denucé, 1934, 20). Branch from 1528. In 1555 continued under the name of Jacques Bardi. Still contacts with sons of Jean-Charles (Cesar Affaitadi) in 1570 (Denucé, 1934, 26). Jean-Charles inherites the branch in Lisbon from Jean-Francois in 1528 (Denucé, 1934, 20-21). Head of the branches in Iberian peninsula: Jacques Bardi, after the death of Luc Giraldi and Jean Charles degli Affaitadi (1555) (Denucé, 1934, 24), Jacques Bardi together with Hippolyte Affaitadi. (Denucé, 1934, 20-26). Jean-Charles also had contacts with Marranos and protestant merchants in Lisbon for the spice-monopoly (Denucé, 1934, 22-23). Close relationship with the Florentine banking house of Giraldi (Luc Giraldi and Company) in Lisbon. Ca. 1533: pepper-monopoly controlled by Affaitadi and Giraldi. They also sent ships to India until 1551 (Denucé, 1934, 23-24). Capital of the company in Lisbon in 1568: 97 shares: 12 for the heirs of Jean-Charles; 50 for the heirs of Luc Giraldi, 23 for Nicolas Giraldi (son of Luc Giraldi), 11 for Jacques Bardi, 1 for Luigi Sanguiliano (Denucé, 1934, 24).	
Medina del Campo		6	3	2	1	>1538-1571/79	On the Iberian Peninsula, the Affaitadi were especially active in Lisbon and Sevilla, but also in Valladolid and Medina del Campo. (Bauer, 1936, 41-42).	Jeannin, 1963a, 87; Vazquez de Prada,

							Important branch in 1552-1562. (Bauer, 1936, 46). The branch in Medina del Campo was named “Ippolito Affaitadi, Jacomo dei Bardi e compagni” in 1553-62. (Bauer, 1936, 46-47). The Antwerp branch was a partner in the branch of Medina del Campo. (Bauer, 1936, 47). 1538-1539: Jean-Charles to Medina del Campo with bills of exchange. Liquidation of the business in Medina del Campo between 1571 and 1579. Start date not known. (Denucé, 1934, 27-29, 33-34). In 1567 named: “Ippolito Affaitadi, Jacomo Bardi & Compagnie” (Denucé, 1934, 33-34). House of the Affaitadi in Rua Nueva. Represented by Jerome Candiano in 1567; factor in 1571: Christophe Riba (from Milan) (Denucé, 1934, 28-29). Jean Charles and Jean Baptiste travelled in turns to the Spanish fairs (Denucé, 1934, 56). In Medina del Campo, Francesco Botti was a partner in the firm of “Ippolito Affaitadi, Jacomo de Bardi et compagnie” (Point-Waquet, 1978, 693). In Sevilla and Medina del Campo a partnership existed between Giovanni Battista Affaitati and Nicola Grimaldi and co. (1544). (Otte, 1986, 37).	1960, 195
Sevilla		6	3	2	1	>1544-1570<	On the Iberian Peninsula, the Affaitadi were especially active in Lisbon and Sevilla, but also in Valladolid and Medina del Campo. (Bauer, 1936, 41-42). The Sevilla branch was named “Giovanni Battista Affaitadi, Nicolò Giraldi e compagni” in 1553-62. (Bauer, 1936, 46-47). The Antwerp, Lisbon and Valladolid branches were partners in the Sevilla branch. (Bauer, 1936, 47). Until 1555, the Sevilla branch was named “Baldassare da Gabiano e compagni”. The majority of the capital of this branch was in Venetian hands. (Bauer, 1936, 48). At least until 1567. Start date not known (before 1555). (Denucé, 1934, 29-31). Factor: Gabiano (Company named until 1555: Balthasar de Ghabiano et Compagnie) (Denucé, 1934, 30). In Sevilla and Medina del Campo a partnership existed between Giovanni Battista Affaitati and Nicola Grimaldi and co. The representative in Sevilla was the Milanese Andrea San Giuliano (1544). (Otte, 1986, 37). Textiles sent from Antwerp, via Zeeland, to Sevilla by the Affaitadi. Trade in colonial products (factor in Mexico). (Denucé, 1934, 29-30). “Corpi” in the company of Seville at time of liquidation (total 47): Jean-Baptiste Affaitadi: 24; Company of Lisbon: 10; Nicolas Giraldi: 4; Jerome Candiano: 7; Francois San Giuliano: 1,5 (Denucé, 1934, 30). Company in Sevilla in serious problems in 1567 (Denucé, 1934, 29).	Jeannin, 1963a, 87; Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 195-196
Valladolid		6	3	2	1	>1548-	On the Iberian Peninsula, the Affaitadi were especially active in Lisbon and	Jeannin, 1963a, 87;

						c.1575<	Sevilla, but also in Valladolid and Medina del Campo. (Bauer, 1936, 41-42). The branch in Valladolid was named “Giovanni Battista Affaitadi e Nicolò Giraldi e compagni” in 1553-62. (Bauer, 1936, 46-47). The Antwerp and Lisbon branches were partners in the Valladolid branch. (Bauer, 1936, 47). The Valladolid branch was a partner in the Sevilla branch. (Bauer, 1936, 47). Liquidation ca. 1575 (Denucé, 1934, 32). Jean-Pierre (probably older brother of Jean-Charles) (+1549) and Jean-Baptiste degli Affaitadi at head of the company of Valladolid until 1548. Head of the branches in Iberian peninsula: Jacques Bardi, after the death of Luc Giraldi and Jean Charles degli Affaitadi (1555) (Denucé, 1934, 24). Factor was Jerome Candiano (Denucé, 1934, 31-32). Caissier in Valladolid: Michele de Zozaia (Denucé, 1934, 32-33). “Corpi”: 47,5 shares in total: Headquarters in Antwerp: 24,5; Company of Lisbon: 10,5; Jerome Candiano: 7; Nicolas Giraldi: 4; Francois Sanguiliano: 1,5 (Denucé, 1934, 33-34).	Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 195-196
Venice		3 **6** 3	2 **3** 2	2 **2** 2	1 **1** 1	before 1514, >1544< >1548-c.1556 After 1556	Branch. (Bauer, 1936, 41-42). Venetian investments in the Sevilla branch. (Bauer, 1936, 48). The Venetian branch existed until 1556: “Giovanni Pietro e Giovanni Battista delli Affaitadi e compagni”. (Bauer, 1936, 151 n. 48). Trade in jewels and gemstones: export from Venice,... (see Gelderblom, 2000, 90; Goris, 1925, 259; Denucé, 1934, 63). Before 1548. Liquidation around 1556. (Denucé, 1934, 38-39). Gio. Pietro e Gio. Battista Affaitadi et Compagnie: Jean-Pierre (+1549) (older brother of Jean-Charles) and Jean-Baptiste (younger brother of Jean-Charles) at the head of the company in Venice. Close ties between Venice and the Affaitadi in Lisbon: kept the Venetian diplomats informed about the Portuguese trade and discoveries (Denucé, 1934, 18). This was the 2nd company in Venice, 1st company was liquidated already before 1548. Corpi of the 2nd company: Jean-Pierre Affaitadi (half of the shares), Jean-Baptiste Affaitadi, company of Lisbon, Antonio Fernandes. (Denucé, 1934, 38-39). Jean-Charles moves to Antwerp in 1514 (Before he was an apprentice in Cremona, Venice and Lisbon). (Denucé, 1934, 20). Still correspondence with Venice after 1556 (before a branch in Venice), liquidation around 1556 (Denucé, 1934, 38-39). Strong contacts of the Antwerp branch with many merchants in Venice. (Denucé, 1934, 38-39). In 1544, small export by the Affaitadi from Antwerp to Venice. (Puttevils, 2007, 158). Connections with the Michelli in Venice and Constantinople. (Denuce, 1934, 42).	Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 195

London		5	3	2	1	>1542-1569<	Active in London. (Bauer, 1936, 41-42). Important branch in 1552-1562. (Bauer, 1936, 46). The London branch was named “Roberto Ridolfi e compagni” in 1553-62. (Bauer, 1936, 46-47). The Antwerp branch was a partner in the London branch. (Bauer, 1936, 47). The London branch of the Affaitadi firm was originally founded by the Giraldi-Cavalcanti firm. (Bauer, 1936, 49). Before 1542, until after 1551. (Denucé, 1934, 43-45). Many correspondents in London, close ties. Represented by Cavalcanti & Giraldi of which Affaitadi formed virtually a part (Denucé, 1934, 47-48). In 1566 lawsuit of Hippolyte Affaitadi against John Whitbroucke and Thomas Blackways, merchants of London (Denucé, 1934, 49-50), last activities of the Affaitadi in London in 1569 (Denucé, 1934, 50). Knight Giraldi, Portuguese ambassador in London, was married to Lucrece Affaitadi. (Denucé, 1934, 48). The firm of Cavalcanti and Giraldi had branches in London, Rome and Florence. The Affaitadi were silent partners in the branches in London and Rome. (Denucé, 1934, 36).	Jeannin, 1963a, 87
Rome		5	3	2	1	>1530s-1568<	Branch. (Bauer, 1936, 41-42). The Rome branch was named “Cavalcanti e Giraldi di Roma e compagni” in 1553-62. (Bauer, 1936, 46-47). The Antwerp and Lisbon branches were partners in the Rome branch. (Bauer, 1936, 47). Before 1549, until after 1568. (Denucé, 1934, 36-38). Head in Rome: Tommasso Cavalcanti (before 1556), Battista de Arcangello Cavalcanti (from 1556) (Denucé, 1934, 36). Caissier: Leonard Giraldi (Denucé, 1934, 36). Affaitadi worked together with the company Cavalcanti & Giraldi (Denucé, 1934, 36). “Corpi” of the company in Rome: Affaitadi of Antwerp, Giraldi of Lisbon, Cavalcanti & Giraldi (largest shares) (Denucé, 1934, 36). Trade: grain sent to the Roman Curia, insurance, cloth,… Financial relations with the Curia weaker in 1568 than in first half of the century (annati of Portugal collected by Nicolo Giraldi via the company in Lisbon) (Denucé, 1934, 36); Affaitadi represented the financial interests of the Curia in the Netherlands (Denucé, 1934, 36-37). In Rome, the Affaitadi were represented by the firm of Tommaso Cavalcanti and Giovanni Giraldi (Kellenbenz, 1990, 460). The Giraldi and Cavalcanti recur more or less frequently in the Chamber registers of the 1530s and 1540s. (Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 22). The firm of Cavalcanti and Giraldi had branches in London, Rome and Florence. The Affaitadi were silent partners in the branches in London and Rome. (Denucé, 1934, 36). In 1544, small export by the	Jeannin, 1963a, 87; Puttevils, 2007, 157; Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 195

							Affaitadi from Antwerp to Rome. (Puttevils, 2007, 158). In 1543, the company of Benvenuto Olivieri in Rome had large liabilities with the company of Giovan Carlo Affaitati & Partners of Antwerp. (Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 183-206, 243-253).	
Ancona		4	2	2	1	>1544<	Contacts with firms in Ancona. (Denucé, 1934, 41). Very large export (especially kerseys) from Antwerp to Ancona in 1544, probably for re-export to the Levant. (Puttevils, 2007, 158).	
Bruges		4	2	2	1	>1514<, >1538-1541<	Representatives of the Lisbon branch in Bruges in 1514: Antoine and Philippe Gualterotti. (Denucé, 1934, 20, 52-53). Bruges merchants in accounts since 1538. (Denucé, 1934, 52-53). Jean-Charles Affaitadi obtained a house in Bruges, wanted to establish a branch there. Fixed representative was Francesco Gualterotti (Florentine banker); in 1540-41: Jehan Ambrosio Affaitadi in Bruges, company with Jean Charles. Bruges merchants in the accounts since 1538 (Denucé, 1934, 52-53).	
Cremona		4	2	2	1	>15th c.-1556<	Export of fustians and Italian textiles from Cremona (Denucé, 1934, 13). Originally from Cremona (Goris, 1925, 396; Denucé, 1934, 11). Before 1548 (since the late 14th or 15th century), until after 1554 a branch, until after 1556 an agent. (Denucé, 1934, 13). Jean-Pierre degli Affaitadi (+1549) (possibly older brother of Jean-Charles), succeeded by his children: became more or less independent from the Antwerp branch, but sometimes trade in association, e.g. in 1554; trusted representative of Jean-Charles in Cremona was the merchant Raphael Brumano (Denucé, 1934, 14); until 1556 very strong contacts of the Antwerp branch with the Cremonese merchant Nicollo da Somo (Denucé, 1934, 16). Palace of the Affaitadi in Cremona: finished in 1561. Here lived Jean-Francois, son of Jean-Charles. Also other real estate of the Affaitadi in Cremona (Denucé, 1934, 14-15). Jean-Charles moves to Antwerp in 1514 (Before he was an apprentice in Cremona, Venice and Lisbon). (Denucé, 1934, 20). => Company in Cremona appears to have been more or less independent from the Antwerp firm, was perhaps only a correspondent???	
Florence		4	2	2	1	>1544-1568<	Contacts with Cosimo I in Florence (1549-1550), relations with Florence in 1568. Contacts with banks in Florence. (Denucé, 1934, 37-38). Balance of the company in Rome signed in Florence: indication that relations with Florence became more important than with Rome (Denucé, 1934, 37-38). The firm of Cavalcanti and Giraldi had branches in London, Rome and	Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 195

							Florence. The Affaitadi were silent partners in the branches in London and Rome. (Denucé, 1934, 36). In 1544, very limited export by the Affaitadi from Antwerp to Florence. (Puttevils, 2007, 158).	
Genoa		4	2	2	1	>c.1538<	Courier service with Genoa ca. 1538 (Denucé, 1934, 38). Courier-service between Antwerp and Genoa organised by the Affaitadi, used by other merchants as well (ca. 1538) (Denucé, 1934, 38). Close relationships between Genoese merchants and the Antwerp branch (Denucé, 1934, 38). Velvet and satin produced in Genoa, sent to Antwerp by Genoese merchants for the Affaitadi. (Denucé, 1934, 38). The Van der Molen firm of Antwerp sent many letters to Italy via the Affaitadi mail system with Genoa. (Puttevils, 2007, 59).	
Lyon		4	2	2	1	>1542-1551<	Before 1542, until after 1551. (Denucé, 1934, 43-45). Connections with Italian and Portuguese firms, especially with the Rodrigues d'Evora (Portuguese jews) (with Andre Rodrigues d'Evora contracts for grain trade with Portuguese king) (Denucé, 1934, 44-45). 15 pages in the account book of 1548-51 for the financial transactions at the fairs of Lyon (Denucé, 1934, 43). Trade of the Affaitadi in spices, cloth, canvas (Denucé, 1934, 43). Important import (wine, pastel, silk) and export (pepper, cloth) of the Affaitadi between Antwerp and France in 1542-1544, privileges from the emperor (Denucé, 1934, 43-44).	
Medina de Ríoseco		4	2	2	1	>1548-1556<	1548, 1556 (separate section in the account books for the Ríoseco fairs). Important contacts: specific section in the accountancy for the fairs of Ríoseco. (Denucé, 1934, 28). Regular travel and payments by Jean Charles (often for other companies). Trade at the fairs (Denucé, 1934, 33). Jean Charles and Jean Baptiste travelled in turns to the Spanish fairs (Denucé, 1934, 56).	
Mexico (country)		4	2	2	1	>1569<	Factor in Mexico: Lesmes de Medina (+ 1569 in Mexico) (city not known) (Denucé, 1934, 29-30; Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 196).	
Villalón		4	2	2	1	>1548-1556<	1548, 1556 (separate section in the account books for the Villalón fairs). Important contacts: specific section in the accountancy for the fairs of Villalón. (Denucé, 1934, 28). Regular travel and payments by Jean Charles (often for other companies). Trade at the fairs (Denucé, 1934, 33). Jean Charles and Jean Baptiste travelled in turns to the Spanish fairs (Denucé, 1934, 56).	
Amsterdam		3	2	2	1	1540, 1556-	1540, 1556-57. (Denucé, 1934, 52). Guierbrant (1540), Giovan Raviza	

						1557	(1556-1557) in Amsterdam: sent rye from Prussia to Lisbon for the Affaitadi (Denucé, 1934, 52).	
Armentières		3	2	2	1		Close ties with the north French industrial cities. (Denucé, 1934, 46).	
Besançon		3	2	2	1		Connections with Italian firms in Besançon (the same houses as Lyon). (Denucé, 1934, 45).	
Bologna		3	2	2	1	>1544<	Merchants of Bologna had accounts with the Affaitadi in Antwerp. Trade in cloth and velvet with Bologna. (Denucé, 1934, 41). In 1544, very limited export by the Affaitadi from Antwerp to Bologna. (Puttevils, 2007, 158).	
Brussels		3	2	2	1		Contacts with the court. (Denucé, 1934, 52-53).	
Calais		3	2	2	1		Merchants-shipowners of Calais had accounts at the bank of the Affaitadi in Antwerp (Denucé, 1934, 46). Jacopo Botti was in contact with the Affaitadi in Calais as merchant-shipowner during calm periods in the French-Spanish war. (Point-Waquet, 1978, 693).	
Calatayud		3	2	2	1		Correspondence with Alvaro and Francisco Perez (Denucé, 1934, 31).	
Canary Islands		3	2	2	1		Correspondence with Louis de Balboa on Gran Canaria (Las Palmas?): trade in silk. (Denucé, 1934, 31).	
Candia		3	2	2	1		Relations with Andrea & Jacobo Barozi. Financial transactions via Michelli (Venice) and French fairs. (Denucé, 1934, 42).	
Constantinople		3	2	2	1		Relations with Francisco & Jacomo Michelli, Giorgio Salvaresa. Financial transactions with the Affaitadi via fairs of Lyon, and indirect via the Michelli in Venice. (Denucé, 1934, 42). Connections with the Michelli in Venice and Constantinople. (Denuce, 1934, 42).	
Ferrara		3	2	2	1	>1544<	Contacts with firms in Ferrara. (Denucé, 1934, 42). In 1544, export by the Affaitadi from Antwerp to Ferrara. (Puttevils, 2007, 158).	
Funchal (Madeira)		3	2	2	1	>1527-1529<	Trade in sugar from Madeira. (Denucé, 1934, 17-18, 63-64). Agent in 1527-29 (also before and after) (Denuce, 1934, 17-18). Contract of Jean-Charles with Capellan de Capellani (1527-1529): Affaitadi would buy all the sugar he produced. Before also contract of Jean-Francois with Capellani, after his death taken over by Luc Giraldi. He was active in the sugar-trade with Madeira since 1527 (Denucé, 1934, 23).	
Granada		3	2	2	1		Correspondence with Stefano Lomellino. (Denucé, 1934, 31).	
‘s Hertogenbosch		3	2	2	1	1538-1540	Correspondence with Jacob Wolf (1538-1540) (Denucé, 1934, 52).	
Liège		3	2	2	1	1557-1560	Correspondence with Liège in 1557-1560. (Denucé, 1934, 52-53).	
Lille		3	2	2	1		Close ties with the north French industrial cities. (Denucé, 1934, 46).	

Lucca		3	2	2	1		Contacts with firms in Lucca. (Denucé, 1934, 41).	
Mallorca (Palma de Mallorca?)		3	2	2	1		Correspondence with Antonio Giovan Morla: trade in oil. (Denucé, 1934, 31).	
Mantua		3	2	2	1		Regular trade and contacts with Mantova. Specialised industry of Mantova: textiles and haberdashery. (Specific section in the account books). (Denucé, 1934, 41).	
Mechelen		3	2	2	1	>1539<	Correspondence with Mechelen in 1539,… (Denucé, 1934, 52-53).	
Messina		3	2	2	1		6 firms in Messina had accounts with the Affaitadi in Antwerp. (Denucé, 1934, 40-41).	
Middelburg		3	2	2	1		Contacts with ship-owners and merchants. (Denucé, 1934, 52).	
Milan		**3** 6	**2** 3	**2** 2	**1** 1	>1544 >1576<	Merchants of Milan had accounts with the Affaitadi in Antwerp. (Denucé, 1934, 39-40). In 1544, export by the Affaitadi from Antwerp to Milan. (Puttevils, 2007, 158). In 1576, the Affaitadi had a branch in Milan headed by Cristóbal Riba. This branch is not mentioned in Denucé however. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 195-196).	
Naples		3	2	2	1		Most important representatives: Strozzi (Florentine bankers), other representatives were probably the Giraldi (Vincentio & Co); many merchants of Naples mentioned in the accountancy. (Denucé, 1934, 40).	
Palermo		3	2	2	1	>1555-1557<	Before 1555, until after 1557. Contacts with firms in Palermo. (Denucé, 1934, 40-41).	
Paris		3	2	2	1		In periods of armistice between the Valois and Habsburg dynasties. (Denucé, 1934, 45-46). Exchange operations with merchants in Paris (especially Italians and Portuguese) (Denucé, 1934, 45-46).	
Ragusa		3	2	2	1		Contacts with firms in Ragusa. (Denucé, 1934, 41).	
Rouen		3	2	2	1		Most important correspondent in Rouen was the Flemish merchant Guilielmo Cat (Denucé, 1934, 46).	
Saint-Pol-de-Léon		3	2	2	1		Correspondence with a certain François. (Denucé, 1934, 31).	
Toledo		3	2	2	1		Correspondence with Bernardino, Cristoforo and Gio. Angelo Cerniscolli; Giovanni Antonio Pinelo. (Denucé, 1934, 31).	
Tournai		3	2	2	1		Merchants of Tournai had accounts with the Affaitadi. (Denucé, 1934, 52-53).	
Valencia		3	2	2	1		Five Italian houses in Valencia had accounts with the Affaitadi in Antwerp: Pietro Carbon; Giovan Antonio de Rinaldo Dada, Gio-Jacomo Ferrufino,	

							Augostino Morla, Nicolo Olginate: all representatives of important Italian firms. Trade from Antwerp with Valencia: export from Valencia: fruit, rice, oil, silk. (Denucé, 1934, 31).	
Valenciennes		3	2	2	1		Close ties with the north French industrial cities. (Denucé, 1934, 46).	
Vicenza		3	2	2	1		Contacts with firms in Vicenza. (Denucé, 1934, 42).	
Zaragoza		3	2	2	1		Correspondence with Jeronimo Bolea. (Denucé, 1934, 31).	
Augsburg		2	2	1	0	>1550<	Account of the Welser in Augsburg at Affaitadi bank in 1550 (Hans Welser e fratelli), trade with Jacob Welser in cinnamon in 1550. (Denucé, 1934, 51).	
Brazil		2	2	1	0	1501	Trusted representatives sent along with the Portuguese expeditions (of Cabral in 1501: Barthelemy Marchione; to the East in 1502: Matteo Bergame; expedition to Calicut) (Denucé, 1934, 18-19).	
Calicut		2	2	1	0	<1502	Trusted representatives sent along with the Portuguese expeditions (of Cabral in 1501: Barthelemy Marchione; to the East in 1502: Matteo Bergame; expedition to Calicut) (Denucé, 1934, 18-19). The Affaitadi of Cremona are among the first Italians who tried to take part in the direct trade between Lisbon and the East Indies. When they were debarred from the direct trade with the East Indies, the Affaitadi were among the first to trade with the King of Portugal in large spices contracts (Ehrenberg, 1928, 229). 3rd expedition to the east (to Calicut) (2nd expedition was in 1502). (Denucé, 1934, 19). The Affaitadi in Lisbon sent a trusted representative with the Portuguese expedition to Calicut. (Denucé, 1934, 19). Ca. 1533: pepper-monopoly controlled by Affaitadi and Giraldi. They also sent ships to India until 1551 (Denucé, 1934, 23-24). The Affaitadi invested 2,000 ducats in the second expedition of Vasco da Gama to the East (Jeannin, 1963a, 70-71).	Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 196
Cologne		2	2	1	0	1579	The Affaitadi of Antwerp got into difficulties and were helped by two loans of 6,000 ducats each from Rodriguez Alvarez Caldera, a Portuguese merchant in Cologne, in 1579. (Thimme, 1912, 404).	
Como		2	2	1	0		Weak contacts with the Affaitadi. (Denucé, 1934, 42).	
Danzig		2	2	1	0	>1534<	Ship to Danzig in 1534; ships to Balticum loaded and insured in Zeeland in 1531-34 (Denucé, 1934, 51).	
Ghent		2	2	1	0	1557	Francisco Elepput, correspondent in 1557. (Denucé, 1934, 52-53).	
Oudenaarde		2	2	1	0	1557	Correspondence with Gulielmo Marotto, tapestry-weaver in 1557. (Denucé, 1934, 52-53).	
Pisa		2	2	1	0		Weak contacts with the Affaitadi. (Denucé, 1934, 42).	

Reggio		2	2	1	0		Weak contacts with the Affaitadi. (Denucé, 1934, 42).	
Trento		2	2	1	0		Weak contacts with the Affaitadi. (Denucé, 1934, 42).	

+ The upper layers (branches) of the network of the Affaitadi firm are well known. The importance of other connections is less clear, since the qualitative description of foreign correspondents, clients and representatives of the Affaitadi firm by Denucé is not easily quantifiable.

VERTEMA, before 1590 – ca. 1607

The Vertema (or Wertemann) family came originally from Piuro in the north of Lombardy, an important staple for Italian silks. Members of the Vertema family settled themselves in several important European commercial centres (Kellenbenz, 1954, 262-263). The headquarters of the firm of Carlo Wertemann were located in Nürnberg (Kellenbenz, 1954, 263). Shortly after 1607, the Vertema got into financial difficulties (Kellenbenz, 1954, 264).

References:

Kellenbenz, H., 1954. *Unternehmerkräfte im Hamburger Portugal- und Spanienhandel 1590-1625*. Hamburg, Verlag der Hamburgischen Bücherei, 262-264 (Hieke, E., ed. Veröffentlichungen der Wirtschaftsgeschichtlichen Forschungsstelle e. V., 10).

I did not consult:

Zunckel, J., 1997. *Rüstungsgeschäfte* **im Dreißigjährigen Krieg**. **Unternehmerkräfte**, **Militärgüter** *und Marktstrategien im Handel zwischen Genua, Amsterdam und Hamburg*. Berlin, ***Duncker & Humblot***.

Source material:

Data about the connections of the Vertema with the Habsburg court can be found in the Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv in Vienna (Kellenbenz, 1954, 389 n. 18).

Size: Medium-sized or large (?)

Main activities:

- Commerce: Trade in silks and spices. Grain trade from northern Europe to Italy (Kellenbenz, 1954, 263). Supply of the Habsburg troops fighting the Ottomans with ammunition, weapons, etc (Kellenbenz, 1954, 264).
- Finance: Active in trade in bills of exchange (Kellenbenz, 1954, 263-264). Loans to the Habsburgs for the war with the Turks at the end of the 16th century by the firms of Wilhelm and Alois Wertemann and of Carlo Wertemann (Kellenbenz, 1954, 264). Import of Spanish silver through Genoa for the Habsburg Mint (Kellenbenz, 1954, 264).
- Industry:

Network of the Vertema:

Table A..1. Network of the Vertema, ca. 1590 – ca. 1607								
City	**R**	**Score**				**Period**	**Type of presence**	**References**
Nürnberg		8	4	3	1	2nd half 16th c.	In the second half of the 16th century, two Vertema firms were located in Nürnberg: the firm of Wilhelm Wertemann and his brothers, and the firm of Carlo Wertemann, who temporarily was associated with Antonio Lagollo (Kellenbenz, 1954, 263). Wertemann or Vertemati temporarily had a silk house in Nürnberg (Von Rauch, 1921, 180 n. 3). Giovanni Battista and Carlo Wertemann, Italian merchants from Nürnberg (Jeannin, 1973, 269).	
Genoa		6	3	2	1	>1591-1605<	Carlo Wertemann purchased grain in northern Europe as agent of Genoa (Kellenbenz, 1954, 263). In Genoa, Carlo Wertemann was represented by the brothers Giovanni Battista and Pompeo Vertema (Kellenbenz, 1954, 263). In 1597, the Vertema shipped grain from Lübeck to Genoa (Kellenbenz, 1954, 263). Import of Spanish silver through Genoa for the Habsburg Mint (Kellenbenz, 1954, 264). The Vertema in Hamburg were the representatives of G.F. Viviano, a Genoese merchant, in the grain trade ca. 1591. (Jeannin, 1973, 269). Originally the activities of the Wertemann were directed towards grainexport to Genoa: bankruptcy of a society of their family in Genoa in 1605 (Jeannin, 1973, 275 n. 30).	
Hamburg		6	3	2	1	>1590s<	Branch. In the 1590s, Carlo Wertemann was active in Hamburg and Lübeck, from where he exported grain. Nevertheless, the headquarters of his firm remained in Nürnberg (Kellenbenz, 1954, 263). By the end of the 16th century, the Hamburg branch was headed by Virgilio Wertemann (Kellenbenz, 1954, 263). Giovanni Battista and Carlo Wertemann were the representatives in Hamburg of the Genoese merchant G. F. Viviano. Viviano imported grain from Lübeck via Hamburg ca. 1591 via the Vertema. (Jeannin, 1973, 269).	
Antwerp		3	2	2	1		The Vertema of Hamburg traded in association with the company of Ferrante Burlamachi in Antwerp. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 200).	
Frankfurt am Main		3	2	2	1	>1605<	The Vertema traded in silks and spices at the fairs of Frankfurt am Main and Leipzig (Kellenbenz, 1954, 263). In 1605, the firm of Ludwig & Wilhelm Werthemann selig Erben owed Johann Binoy in Frankfurt 9,600 fl. in money on the exchange. (Dietz, 1921, III, 271).	
Habsburg		3	2	2	1	end 16th-early	Strong connections with the Habsburg court at the end of the 16th and early	

court						17th c.	17th century (Kellenbenz, 1954, 263-264).	
Leipzig		3	2	2	1		The Vertema traded in silks and spices at the fairs of Frankfurt am Main and Leipzig (Kellenbenz, 1954, 263).	
Livorno		3	2	2	1	1597-1599	The Wertemann sent goods (other than grain) to Livorno in 1597-1599, sometimes together with Luder Otersen from Lübeck. (Jeannin, 1973, 275 n. 30).	
Lübeck		3	2	2	1	>c.1591-1599<	In the 1590s, Carlo Wertemann was active in Hamburg and Lübeck, from where he exported grain. Nevertheless, the headquarters of his firm remained in Nürnberg (Kellenbenz, 1954, 263). In 1597, the Vertema shipped grain from Lübeck to Genoa; in 1598 they sent iron from Lübeck to Naples (Kellenbenz, 1954, 263). The Wertemann sent goods (other than grain) to Livorno in 1597-1599, sometimes together with Luder Otersen from Lübeck. (Jeannin, 1973, 275 n. 30). Giovanni Battista and Carlo Wertemann were the representatives in Hamburg of the Genoese merchant G. F. Viviano. Viviano imported grain from Lübeck via Hamburg ca. 1591 via the Vertema. (Jeannin, 1973, 269).	
Basel		2	2	1	0		A protestant branch of the Vertema family established itself in Basel, and was active in the silk dyeing business. Not known whether business relations existed with the Vertema of Nürnberg (Kellenbenz, 1954, 263).	
Naples		2	2	1	0	1598	In 1598 the Vertema sent iron from Lübeck to Naples (Kellenbenz, 1954, 263).	
Piuro	T	2	2	1	0		Place of origin of the Vertema family. Important staple for Italian silks. Not known whether the Vertema of Nürnberg still had business connections with Piuro (Kellenbenz, 1954, 262). The Wertemann or Vertemati had a silk house in Plurs (in Bergell) (=Piuro) (Von Rauch, 1921, 180 n. 3).	
San Lúcar		2	2	1	0	1605	In 1605, a shipment of the Vertema from Hamburg to Johann Baptista de la Porta in San Lucar. De la Porta was probably a correspondent and relative of the firm of Oratio della Porta in Nürnberg, with whom the Vertema had business connections (Kellenbenz, 1954, 263, 295).	

+ Due to a lack of sources, our knowledge about the business network of the Vertema firm is highly unsatisfactory.

1.2. CATALAN AND ARAGONESE FIRMS

1.2.1. CATALAN FIRMS

LLOBERA, JUNYENT AND PARTNERS, 1400 – after 1484

The Llobera were a Barcelonese merchant family of the 15th century. (Battle, 1969, 535). The Llobera came originally from Solsona, and had only recently moved to Barcelona by the early 15th century. (535). Already in Solsona, the Llobera had been active as large scale merchants. In Solsona, they were related to other merchants such as Pere Garró and Joan de Junyent. Already before 1400, Joan de Llobera the elder and Joan de Junyent had moved to Barcelona where they established a trade company. (535). Joan de Llobera the elder was a son of Bartomeu de Llobera, a merchant of Solsona. Bartomeu's daughter Francesca married the Barcelonese merchant Miquel de Manresa. (535). Joan the elder established the fortune and the social ascendancy of his family in Barcelona. Between the end of the 14th century and his death in 1446, he was among the richest and most active merchants of Barcelona. His children married into the patriciate of Barcelona and even into the nobility. (536). Already before 1400, members of the families Llobera and Junyent established a company for import of fine textiles. The company was administrated by the draper Joan Font. (536-537). In 1448, the company was managed by Pere Joan Salat and Pere Font. (537 n. 8). Partners and business friends of Joan de Llobera the elder, mentioned in his will, were a.o. Guillem del Castell, Francesc Moragas, Joan Font, Pere Joan Salat, Pere Mascaró, Joan Ribera, and Joan Vila. (537). The principal heir of Joan de Llobera the elder was his son Joan the younger (b. 1396). (536 n. 7). A second company, which appears to have been linked closely to the first company, was established in 1414 by father and son Joan de Llobera and Joan de Junyent, son of Berenguer. The company had more or less the same associates as the older company, and had its headquarters as well in the Calle de la Mar. In 1422, this second company was managed by Joan de Llobera the younger and Guillem del Castell, in 1427 also Joan Bosser de Vilorbina. This company was reorganised in 1444 with new partners, and remained into existence until the death of Joan de Llobera the younger in 1454. (537). After a period of interruption during the civil war, a new company was founded by members of the same families in 1484: the guardians of Miquel Joan Benet de Junyent, Elionor de Llobera, widow of Pere Font, and Bernat Mahull, cousin of Joan and Gabriel Font. (537). (??? According to Coll Juliá, 1968, 402, these were partners in 1484 of the company founded in 1400). The successive companies, which continued de facto the same business, had the character of a family business. Members of the company (again the company founded in 1400) were Joan de Llobera, his sons Joan and Bartomeu, and his cousins the Junyent, as well as other relatives, such as the Font, who were related to the Junyent, Felip de Ferrera, and much later Bernat Mahull, cousin of the Font. Almost all of them were active members of the company, and did not limit themselves to capital investment. (537). In 1456, Felip de Ferrera, heir of Joan de Llobera the younger, together with Bernat Sarroca and Pere Font was considered as one of the most important importers of luxury cloth in Barcelona. (538). In addition to their business in the framework of the cloth companies, the Llobera also carried out a number of other business ventures. (538). Joan de Llobera the elder was consul of the sea (consul de la mar) of Barcelona in 1434. (539 n. 18). Bartomeu, brother of Joan de Llobera the younger also carried out his own business, although more as an investor of capital than as an active merchant. (540). Bartomeu died in 1455. (540). Heir of Joan the younger was

Felip de Ferrera, who continued the business of import of cloth. (540). Sons and heirs of Bartomeu the elder were Joan and Bartomeu de Llobera. (540-541). Bartomeu the younger died in 1462. His heir became his brother Joan. (542). Johan de Llobera, son of Bartomeu, was murdered in Barcelona in 1464. (548).

The cloth trading company of the Llobera and partners was established in the beginning of the 15th century, and remained active during most of the century (1400-1484). The company was originally founded by a number of merchants originating from Solsona, who had established themselves in Barcelona. The company remained connected to these founding families, while later new partners were added, who were related to the original partners through marriage. Two types of partners in the company: purely investing partners, and partners who not only invested capital in the company, but also took care of the management. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 339).

The activity of the company can be divided in 5 periods: (1) 1400-1416: administration by Joan de Junyent and Pere Cirera; (2) 1416-1425: administration by Joan Font and Francesc Moragues, with the same partners as in 1400-1416 (Pere Cirera was succeeded by his sons); (3) 1425-1440: administration by Joan Font. The Moragues and Cirera retired from the company in this period. A new partner was Pere Joan Salat; (4) 1440-1463: administration by Pere Font and Pere Joan Salat, with as partners the descendants of the Llobera and of the two branches of the Junyent; (5) 1463-1484: administration by Bernat Mahull, later joined by Joan Font. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 382). Pere Font died ca. 1463-1464. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 396). The company was founded by two passive partners, the cousins Joan de Llobera the elder and Joan de Junyent the elder, both considerable merchants, and two active partners involved in the management of the company, Pere Cirera and Joan de Junyent. The composition of the partners remained the same until 1416. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 399). In 1416, the active partners became passive partners, and management of the company came in hands of Joan Font and Francesc Moragues, brother-in-law of Pere Cirera, until 1425. Period of 1416-1425 was a difficult period for the company. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 400). Restructuring in 1425. The sons of Pere Cirera retired from the company in 1425, as well as Francesc Moragues. Only one manager in 1425: Joan Font. In 1425-1440, the company experienced a phase of growth again. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 400-401). New partners in 1438 were Celedoni Ferrer and Francesc Pla. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 401). In 1440-1450, the company was managed by Pere Joan Salat and Pere Font, and after by Pere Font alone. The company was still in favourable conditions until the outbreak of the Catalan civil war in 1462. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 401). Death of Pere Font in 1463. Period of largest difficulties of the company after death of Pere Font and during the Catalan civil war (1462-1472), which had a lasting impact for a long period. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 402). Among the partners after 1463 were the guardians of Joan Font: Felip de Ferrera and Bernat de Junyent. A new partner in this period was Bernat Mahull, who became manager of the company. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 402). By 1484, descendants of the original partners Joan de Llobera the elder and Joan de Junyent were still partners of the company. However, no descendants of the partners Joan de Junyent the elder and Pere Cirera in the company anymore. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 402). The history of this company probably can be followed into the last decades of the 15th century, and even into the 16th century. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 402).

Johan de Lobera invested 3,000 lb. in the company of Johan de Junyent the younger. (Carrère, 1967, 152, 159). The Junyent family, related to the Lobera, was a typical example of a merchant dynasty. The ancestor of the Junyent was Berenguer de Junyent, father of Pere, originally from Solsona. (Carrère, 1967, 164 n. 2).

Coll Julia only treats the first of the two companies of the Llobera and Junyent!!!

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Source material:

Some records have been preserved about the stay of Joan de Llobera in Genoa in the Archivio di Stato of Genoa. (Battle, 1969, 535). Several documents have been preserved in the Archivo Histórico de Protocolos (notarial archives) of Barcelona, e.g. a partnership contract of 1425. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 403).

Size: Medium-sized or large

The capital invested by Joan de Llobera the elder in the cloth trading company of the Llobera and the Junyent amounted to 5,010 l. 6 s. 3 d. in 1437. (Battle, 1969, 536-537). In 1413, the company had a total capital of 25,417 l. 7 s. 5 d. (538; Del Treppo, 1972, 778). The capital of this company was reduced to 6,800-9,000 lire between 1425 and 1427. (Del Treppo, 1972, 778). The highest known capital of the company was 25,417 lb. 7 s. 5 d. in 1413. This was a considerable sum for a medieval Barcelonese company. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 400). In 1425, the capital of the company amounted to 6,800 lb., which was the lowest amount known. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 400). Already in 1427, the capital had increased again to 9,050 lb. 6 s. 6 d. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 401). Ca. 1440-62, the corpo amounted to 16,200 lb. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 401). Corpo in 1483 amounted to 10,000 lb. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 402). Between the end of the 14th century and his death in 1446, Joan Llobera the elder was among the richest and most active merchants of Barcelona. (Battle, 1969, 536).

Main activities:

- Commerce: The companies of the Llobera, Junyent and their partners were especially commercial enterprises, importing textiles. (Battle, 1969, 536-537). The Llobera were especially involved in the textile trade, but in addition they also traded in sugar, grain, etc. (538). In

1413, the company of the Llobera was active in commerce and cloth production. (Del Treppo, 1972, 778). The company of Llobera and Junyent was active in import and export trade. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 382). Sale of imported cloth in Barcelona: the company Llobera-Junyent appears to have had a botega in Barcelona. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 389-391). Import trade was much more important for the company Llobera-Junyent than export trade. Only one mention of export of grana (dyestuff) in 1435. Export of rice and cotton of Catalunya were by far not as important as imports. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 392). Import especially of woollens, and in addition also dyes, linen, hats, etc. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 392). Trade in a large variety of cloth from the Low Countries, England, Perpignan, … Also large variety in quality and prices of the cloth negociated. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 392-393). Johan de Junyent the younger traded especially in Sicilian grain, and textiles, but also in alum, pastel, salt. (Carrère, 1967, 150-151).

- Finance: In 1446, Joan de Llobera the younger established a company with his former agent Bartomeu Riba and the banker Jaume de Casasaja. (Battle, 1969, 538). Joan de Llobera the younger carried out or was guarantor for exchange transactions for the town of Barcelona. (539). In 1433, Joan de Llobera the younger was administrator of the taula (money-changing) of Barcelona. (539 n. 18). Bartomeu, brother of Joan the younger, was consul of the sea in 1437 and administrator of the Taula de canvi in 1447. (540 n. 22). The company of Llobera and Junyent was active in negociation of bills of exchange. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 382). Among the clients of Joan de Junyent (not sure whether his personal clients or of the company Llobera-Junyent) in 1400-1416 were Sibila de Fortiá, widow of king Pedro, Alfonso, cardinal of San Eustaquio, Joan de Pla, royal treasurer. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 387). Among the clients of the company in 1440-1484 were members of the nobility and of the court of Aragon, as well as several merchants. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 388-391). Use of bills of exchange. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 393). Joan Font carried out banking activities for king Alfonso. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 393 n. 109).
- Industry: The cloth trading companies also appear to have been involved in finishing and dyeing of imported textiles. (Battle, 1969, 537). In 1413, the company of the Llobera was active in commerce and cloth production. (Del Treppo, 1972, 778). In 1422, Johan de Junyent the younger established a company with Berenguer de Casanoves and Johan Bosch in Balaguer for the production of cloth. The company was managed by Johan Bosch. (Carrère, 1967, 151).
- Shipping: Johan de Junyent the younger had shares in several ships. (Carrère, 1967, 152).

Network of the company of Llobera, Junyent and partners:

The cloth trading companies of the Llobera and Junyent made use of a network of factors or correspondents. (Battle, 1969, 537). The companies of Llobera and Junyent imported Flemish, English and Tuscan cloth to Barcelona, and from there exported it to the interior of the Iberian Peninsula and the whole of the Levant. (538). In 1442, Joan de Llobera the younger became active in trade between France and Aragon, together with several merchants of Barcelona, among whom a number of family members such as Pere J. de Santcliment, Jaume Ros, and Francesc Ermenter de Sentmenat. (538). The company had employees and apprentices. However, not much is known about them. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 398-399).

Table A..1. Network of the company of Llobera, Junyent and partners, 1400 – 1484								
City	**R**	**Score**				**Period**	**Type of presence**	**References**
Barcelona		8	4	3	1	>1400-1484<	The Llobera were a family of Barcelona. The Llobera came originally from Solsona. Already before 1400, Joan de Llobera the elder moved to Barcelona. (Battle, 1969, 535). In Barcelona, Joan the elder lived in the Calle dels Banys Vells. (536). The headquarters of the cloth trading company of the Llobera and the Junyent was established in the Calle de la Mar. (536). Headquarters in the Calle del Mar. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 397-398).	
Bruges		**6** 4 **6**	**3** 2 **3**	**2** 2 **2**	**1** 1 **1**	>1400-1406 >1427-1435 >1437-1467<	Joan Gregori, a Valencian merchant, was sent by the company of the Llobera and Junyent as factor to Bruges in 1434, where he purchased quality cloth of England, Flanders and Tuscany. (Battle, 1969, 537-538). In 1454, Joan de Llobera the younger (and after his death his heir Felip de Ferrera) imported merchandise (probably cloth) from England and Flanders. (538). Factor of the cloth trading company of the Llobera and Junyent in Flanders and England in 1448 was Celedoni Pla, brother-in-law of Pere Joan Salat. (Battle, 1969, 537 n. 8). In 1400-1401, Pere Cirera, partner, was in Bruges. He was again in Bruges in 1404 and 1406. In this period, or even before, he founded a chapel in the Dominican convent of Bruges. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 382). Direct import from Flanders by the cloth trading company in 1418. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 383). Large import of textiles from Flanders by the company in 1425-1440, especially in 1427-1429: two expeditions in 1427, 5 in 1428, and one in 1429. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 384). Another expedition is known for 1432. However, the ship was wrecked in the port of Sluis. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 384). In 1441 the factors of Joan Font (for the company) and Joan de Junyent the elder (for his personal account ?) loaded goods purchased in Flanders on the ship of Antoni Aloerga for shipment from Flanders. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 384 n. 92). In 1440-1463, the shipments of the company from England increased, and became even slightly higher than those from the Low Countries. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 385). In 1459, the company imported goods from Flanders and England. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 385-386). In 1458, the company Llobera-Junyent exported rice from Valencia to the Low Countries. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 386). In 1463-1484, no direct imports of English and Flemish cloth anymore by sea, but indirectly via the south of France. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 386). In 1439, two bills of exchange transactions	

							with Bruges are known in which the company Llobera-Junyent was involved. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 393). In 1440, a bill of exchange was drawn from Bruges by Celedoni Ferrer on Pere Joan Salat. From 1450, exchange transactions with the Low Countries were carried out regularly: one known for 1450, four between 1455 and 1462 (with the Flemish merchant Gérard Plouvier). (Coll Juliá, 1968, 393). An exchange transaction of the company with Bruges is known in the period 1463-1484. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 394). The statutes of the company of 1425 and 1427 make provision to the despatch of a commissioner of the company to Flanders (Bruges). In the period before, the intermediaries in Flanders are not known. Pere Cirera was in Bruges in 1400-1401, and may have returned to Bruges shortly after. In 1427, factor of the company in Bruges was the Valencian merchant Joan Gregori. In this period, Johan de Junyent the elder was represented in Bruges by his nephew Joan Seguers. Both took care of shipments of merchandise. After 1427, Joan Gregori is not mentioned anymore. Joan Seguers on the other hand probably remained active for the company in Bruges until he returned to Barcelona before 1435. In 1428, Pere Joan Salat was sent to Flanders. In 1429 he was back in Barcelona however. After the return of Joan Seguers, the company made use of the services of Francesc de Junyent, partner of the company, who resided in Bruges ca. 1437-1439. Francesc de Junyent was not purely a factor of the company, since he also carried out business on his own account. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 394-395). In 1438, two new partners were incorporated in the company: Francesc Pla and Celedoni Ferrer. Francesc Pla went to Bruges in 1438 and returned to Barcelona in 1443. Celedoni Ferrer is known to have been in Bruges from 1439 to 1444, and for much longer. He was the permanent supplier of the company in Bruges, only interrupted by regular visits to Barcelona,… E.g. in 1446-1448, when Ferrer was in Barcelona, the company made use of the services of the Milanese merchant Ambrogio Ruffino. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 395). In 1449-1453, 1456-1457, 1459-1462 and 1466 Celedoni Ferrer lived in Bruges again, where he continued to represent the company Llobera-Junyent. In 1457-58, the company was represented by the Flemish merchant Gérard Plouvier, with whom the company already had connections since the mid-1440s (Coll Juliá, 1968, 395-396). The large Bruges merchant Gérard Plouvier shipped wares for the company during a period of absence of Celedoni Ferrer, and also carried out exchange	

							transactions with Pere Font in the period 1455-1462. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 396). After the return to Barcelona of Celedoni Ferrer in 1467, the company had no permanent representative in Flanders anymore. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 402).	
London		4	2	2	1	>1429<, >1444-1461<	In 1446, merchandise was imported by the company from London on a Genoese ship. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 385). Factor of the cloth trading company of the Llobera and Junyent in Flanders and England in 1448 was Celedoni Pla, brother-in-law of Pere Joan Salat. In 1444 and after, Joan Vila was a partner of the cloth trading company, residing in England. (Battle, 1969, 537 n. 8). In 1454, Joan de Llobera the younger (and after his death his heir Felip de Ferrera) imported merchandise (probably cloth) from England and Flanders. (538). In 1440-1463, the shipments of the company from England increased, and became even slightly higher than those from the Low Countries. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 385). In 1454 and 1457, two shipments of the company came from England. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 385). In 1459, the company imported goods from Flanders and England. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 385-386). In 1463-1484, no direct imports of English and Flemish cloth anymore by sea, but indirectly via the south of France. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 386). After the first half of the 15th century, the company Llobera-Junyent appears to have strengthened its commercial ties with England. Before, suppliers in England were Joan de La Torre (1429) and the Mallorcan merchant Ramon Vidal (1446). From 1449 however, the company had a permanent representative in England, Celedoni Pla, brother-in-law of Pere Joan Salat. Celedoni Pla was in England in 1447 (?), 1449-1453, and again in 1454 and 1457. Celedoni Pla also traded for other Barcelonese firms. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 396, 396 n. 116). In 1461, Francesc Ces-Corts, probably a partner of the company, was in England. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 397). Not known where the representatives of the company stayed: London or Southampton?	
Naples		4	2	2	1	>1426-1468<	In Italy, the Llobera had above all business connections with Naples. (Battle, 1969, 535). In 1453, Bartomeu the younger, son of Bartomeu de Llobera the elder, was appointed as Catalan consul in Naples by the municipal government of Naples. At the same time, king Alfonso appointed another candidate, Gaspar Sapila. (541). In 1453, Joan de Llobera (either the son of Joan the elder or the son of Bartomeu the elder), merchant, travelled by ship from Naples to Barcelona. Early 1457, Joan de Llobera, son of Bartomeu, was in Naples and Foggia. He made frequent business travels and operated	

							as a messenger for the municipal government of Barcelona. (541-542 n. 29). In 1454-55, Joan and Bartomeu Llobera, sons of Bartomeu, were in Naples. (542 n. 29). Although de facto consul since 1454, Bartomeu the younger was only confirmed in his office by the king in 1457 (after a loan of 3,000 ducats to the king by Bartomeu's brother Joan). Shortly before his death in 1462, Bartomeu the younger returned to Barcelona. (542). Members of the Llobera family regularly resided in Naples for their business, often in the Spring or Autumn, e.g. the brothers Joan and Bartomeu, sons of Bartomeu. (542-543). In 1457, Joan de Llobera, son of Bartomeu, stayed for more than a month in Naples, together with his brother Bartomeu. (543). The brothers returned to Barcelona by ship later that year, but the ship was seized by the Genoese near Mallorca. (544). In 1449, cloth was sent to Naples by the company Llobera-Junyent. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 386). Exchange transaction with king Alfonso in Naples in the 1430s by the company Llobera-Junyent. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 393). Two exchange transactions of the company Llobera-Junyent with Naples are known in 1440-1463. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 394). In Naples, the company Llobera-Junyent had connections with Ayne de Cleva ca. 1443-1468. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 394). Johan de Junyent the younger sent Fr. Riard to Naples with salt in 1427-1428 (commenda). (Carrère, 1967, 151, 151 n. 5). Bernat de Junyent, son of Johan the younger, invested in two commendae to Naples and Palermo in 1426. (Carrère, 1967, 152, 152 n. 5).	
Palermo		4	2	2	1	>1402-1457<	In 1454, Francesc Alegre, brother-in-law of Joan and Bartomeu de Llobera, sons of Bartomeu, was in Palermo. (542 n. 29). In 1457, cloth from England was re-exported by the company to Palermo, in a commenda with Andreu Amat, brother-in-law of Pere Font. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 386). An exchange transaction of the company Llobera-Junyent with Palermo is known in 1440-1463. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 394). In 1439, Joan de Llobera the elder sold wheat from Sicily to the "jurados" of Valencia. (Battle, 1969, 538). Joan Cardona went to Sicily in 1425 as factor (or in commenda) of Joan de Llobera the elder. In 1431, Joan the younger and Bartomeu de Llobera were guarantors of Joan Cardona and his son Gaspar, collectors of the queen in Sicily. (540 n. 24). In the early 15th century, the cloth trading company especially re-exported the imported Flemish cloth to Sicily and the East. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 383). Two commendae were contracted to Sicily in 1402 and 1403. (Coll Juliá, 1968,	

							383). In 1406, cloth from Arras and Perpignan was sent by Joan de Junyent (so not entirely sure whether these shipments were for account of the cloth trading company) to Sicily, Cyprus, Rhodes and Beirut. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 383). In 1411, textiles were exported by Joan de Junyent (so not entirely sure whether these shipments were for account of the cloth trading company) to Sicily, Syria and Alexandria. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 383). In 1413, textiles were exported by Joan de Junyent (so not entirely sure whether these shipments were for account of the cloth trading company) to Sicily. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 383). These cloth shipments by Joan de Junyent apparently took the form of commendae, in which the active partner was regularly Ramon de Travichs. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 383 n. 90). A shipment of cloth was sent to Sicily before 1424. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 386). The principal business activity of Johan de Junyent the younger, son of Johan Junyent the elder, was the import of grain from Sicily and the export of cloth to Sicily (ca. 1427-1428). In Sicily, Johan de Junyent made use of a network of "factores, procuratores et negociatores" for the sale of diverse goods, especially textiles. (Carrère, 1967, 150-151). Bernat de Junyent, son of Johan the younger, invested in two commendae to Naples and Palermo in 1426. (Carrère, 1967, 152, 152 n. 5). Not known to which Sicilian harbour(s) the commendae were directed.	
Siracusa		4	2	2	1	>1402-1439<	The company had attorneys in Siracusa in 1435. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 397). In 1439, Joan de Llobera the elder sold wheat from Sicily to the "jurados" of Valencia. (Battle, 1969, 538). Joan Cardona went to Sicily in 1425 as factor (or in commenda) of Joan de Llobera the elder. In 1431, Joan the younger and Bartomeu de Llobera were guarantors of Joan Cardona and his son Gaspar, collectors of the queen in Sicily. (540 n. 24). In the early 15th century, the cloth trading company especially re-exported the imported Flemish cloth to Sicily and the East. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 383). Two commendae were contracted to Sicily in 1402 and 1403. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 383). In 1406, cloth from Arras and Perpignan was sent by Joan de Junyent (so not entirely sure whether these shipments were for account of the cloth trading company) to Sicily, Cyprus, Rhodes and Beirut. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 383). In 1411, textiles were exported by Joan de Junyent (so not entirely sure whether these shipments were for account of the cloth trading company) to Sicily, Syria and Alexandria. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 383). In 1413, textiles were exported by Joan de Junyent (so not entirely sure whether these shipments	

							were for account of the cloth trading company) to Sicily. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 383). These cloth shipments by Joan de Junyent apparently took the form of commendae, in which the active partner was regularly Ramon de Travichs. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 383 n. 90). A shipment of cloth was sent to Sicily before 1424. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 386). The principal business activity of Johan de Junyent the younger, son of Johan Junyent the elder, was the import of grain from Sicily and the export of cloth to Sicily (ca. 1427-1428). In Sicily, Johan de Junyent made use of a network of "factores, procuratores et negociatores" for the sale of diverse goods, especially textiles. (Carrère, 1967, 150-151). Not known to which Sicilian harbour(s) the commendae were directed.	
Southampton		4	2	2	1	>1429<, >1444-1461<	In 1449, a galley to England and Flanders, commanded by Francesc Junyent, was seized in England. The galley had cloth of the company on board, which was loaded in Southampton and Sluis. Pere Joan Salat and Pere Font were charged with the recuperation of the merchandise of the company. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 385). In 1449, Celedoni Pla, representative of the company in England, loaded goods on the galley of Francesc de Junyent in Southampton. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 396 n. 116). Factor of the cloth trading company of the Llobera and Junyent in Flanders and England in 1448 was Celedoni Pla, brother-in-law of Pere Joan Salat. In 1444 and after, Joan Vila was a partner of the cloth trading company, residing in England. (Battle, 1969, 537 n. 8). In 1454, Joan de Llobera the younger (and after his death his heir Felip de Ferrera) imported merchandise (probably cloth) from England and Flanders. (538). In 1440-1463, the shipments of the company from England increased, and became even slightly higher than those from the Low Countries. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 385). In 1454 and 1457, two shipments of the company came from England. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 385). In 1459, the company imported goods from Flanders and England. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 385-386). In 1463-1484, no direct imports of English and Flemish cloth anymore by sea, but indirectly via the south of France. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 386). After the first half of the 15th century, the company Llobera-Junyent appears to have strengthened its commercial ties with England. Before, suppliers in England were Joan de La Torre (1429) and the Mallorcan merchant Ramon Vidal (1446). From 1449 however, the company had a permanent representative in England, Celedoni Pla, brother-in-law of Pere Joan Salat. Celedoni Pla was in England in 1447 (?), 1449-1453, and again in 1454 and 1457. Celedoni Pla also traded for	

							other Barcelonese firms. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 396, 396 n. 116). In 1461, Francesc Ces-Corts, probably a partner of the company, was in England. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 397). Not known where the representatives of the company stayed: London or Southampton?	
Alexandria		3	2	2	1	>1411<, >1427<, >1456<	In 1411, textiles were exported by Joan de Junyent (so not entirely sure whether these shipments were for account of the cloth trading company) to Sicily, Syria and Alexandria. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 383). These cloth shipments by Joan de Junyent apparently took the form of commendae, in which the active partner was regularly Ramon de Travichs. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 383 n. 90). Johan de Junyent the younger invested in a commenda to Alexandria, from which he withdrew money in 1427. (Carrère, 1967, 151, 151 n. 6). In 1456, a company was formed between Bernat and Francesch de Junyent (1/4), Luis Dez Cortal (1/4), Francesch Moliner (1/4) and Luis Jorda (1/4) for investment in a commenda for the export of textiles and almonds with the ship of Anthoni Alamany to Rhodes, Candia, Alexandria, Cyprus, Beirut, Damascus and Chios. Active partners in the commenda were Luis Jorda and Miquel Guall. They had to buy goods in the Levant with the profits of the sales, and send them to Luis Dez Cortal and Francesch Moliner, who were to sell them for the company. (Carrère, 1967, 162 n. 1).	
Avignon		3	2	2	1	1400-1411<, 1467-1469	In 1468 Copin Matis, Antwerp merchant residing in Avignon (after a stay in Barcelona) sent foreign cloth from Bouc or Aigues-Mortes for the company Llobera-Junyent. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 386). Copin Matis, merchant of Antwerp, appears to have been a representative of the Bruges merchant Gérard Plouvier in Barcelona, before he went to Avignon. The company Llobera-Junyent was in contact with Matis in 1467-1469. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 396). In 1400, a company was established between Ramon de Navel (8,000 lb.), Johan de Junyent (200 lb.) and Johan Ces Oliveres, notary of Vich. This company was renewed several times (with several changes in the composition of the partners and their investments), and still existed in 1411. This company traded especially with Montpellier and Valencia, with the possibility to purchase linen and fustians in Genoa. In Montpellier and Avignon, the company was represented by Ramon del Puech, a merchant from Montpellier. (Carrère, 1967, 163).	
Balaguer		~~6~~ *3*	~~3~~ *2*	~~2~~ *2*	~~1~~ *1*	>1422<	In 1422, Johan de Junyent the younger established a company with Berenguer de Casanoves and Johan Bosch in Balaguer for the production of	

							cloth. The company was managed by Johan Bosch. (Carrère, 1967, 151).	
Beirut		3	2	2	1	>1404-1407<, >1456<	In 1404, sayes of Ireland were sent by the company to Cyprus and Beirut. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 383). In 1406, cloth from Arras and Perpignan was sent by Joan de Junyent (so not entirely sure whether these shipments were for account of the cloth trading company) to Sicily, Cyprus, Rhodes and Beirut. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 383). In 1407, textiles from England and the Low Countries were sent by Joan de Junyent (so not entirely sure whether these shipments were for account of the cloth trading company) to Cyprus, Rhodes and Beirut. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 383). In 1456, a company was formed between Bernat and Francesch de Junyent (1/4), Luis Dez Cortal (1/4), Francesch Moliner (1/4) and Luis Jorda (1/4) for investment in a commenda for the export of textiles and almonds with the ship of Anthoni Alamany to Rhodes, Candia, Alexandria, Cyprus, Beirut, Damascus and Chios. Active partners in the commenda were Luis Jorda and Miquel Guall. They had to buy goods in the Levant with the profits of the sales, and send them to Luis Dez Cortal and Francesch Moliner, who were to sell them for the company. (Carrère, 1967, 162 n. 1). In 1411, textiles were exported by Joan de Junyent (so not entirely sure whether these shipments were for account of the cloth trading company) to Sicily, Syria and Alexandria. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 383). These cloth shipments by Joan de Junyent apparently took the form of commendae, in which the active partner was regularly Ramon de Travichs. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 383 n. 90).	
Cyprus		3	2	2	1	>1404-1407<, >1456<	In 1404, sayes of Ireland were sent by the company to Cyprus and Beirut. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 383). In 1406, cloth from Arras and Perpignan was sent by Joan de Junyent (so not entirely sure whether these shipments were for account of the cloth trading company) to Sicily, Cyprus, Rhodes and Beirut. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 383). In 1407, textiles from England and the Low Countries were sent by Joan de Junyent (so not entirely sure whether these shipments were for account of the cloth trading company) to Cyprus, Rhodes and Beirut. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 383). These cloth shipments by Joan de Junyent apparently took the form of commendae, in which the active partner was regularly Ramon de Travichs. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 383 n. 90). In 1456, a company was formed between Bernat and Francesch de Junyent (1/4), Luis Dez Cortal (1/4), Francesch Moliner (1/4) and Luis Jorda (1/4) for investment in a commenda for the export of textiles and almonds with the	

							ship of Anthoni Alamany to Rhodes, Candia, Alexandria, Cyprus, Beirut, Damascus and Chios. Active partners in the commenda were Luis Jorda and Miquel Guall. They had to buy goods in the Levant with the profits of the sales, and send them to Luis Dez Cortal and Francesch Moliner, who were to sell them for the company. (Carrère, 1967, 162 n. 1).	
Genoa		3	2	2	1	1400-1411<, >1435<, >1446<	The Llobera had business connections with Genoa. (Battle, 1969, 535). Joan de Llobera, probably the son of Joan the elder, resided in Genoa in 1435. (543). In 1446, goods were imported by the company from England and the Low Countries on a Genoese ship. However, instead of unloading them in the agreed harbours of Jativa or Palma de Mallorca, they were shipped to Genoa. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 385). In 1400, a company was established between Ramon de Navel (8,000 lb.), Johan de Junyent (200 lb.) and Johan Ces Oliveres, notary of Vich. This company was renewed several times (with several changes in the composition of the partners and their investments), and still existed in 1411. This company traded especially with Montpellier and Valencia, with the possibility to purchase linen and fustians in Genoa. In Montpellier and Avignon, the company was represented by Ramon del Puech, a merchant from Montpellier. (Carrère, 1967, 163).	
Montpellier		3	2	2	1	1400-1411<, >1442<	In 1404, a member of the Junyent family (not exactly known who) was involved in two shipments of Flemish cloth from Montpellier to Barcelona and one from Toulouse via the Seu de Urgel. (Carrère, 1967, 159 n. 2; Coll Juliá, 1968, 382 n. 88). Company for farming of “marques” (?) between Johan Nicholau, a merchant of Montpellier (6 carats) and Johan de Lobera the younger (18 carats) in 1442. Johan de Lobera sold parts of his shares to other merchants, mostly from Barcelona, but also to one merchant of Perpignan. (Carrère, 1967, 161, 161 n. 3). In 1400, a company was established between Ramon de Navel (8,000 lb.), Johan de Junyent (200 lb.) and Johan Ces Oliveres, notary of Vich. This company was renewed several times (with several changes in the composition of the partners and their investments), and still existed in 1411. This company traded especially with Montpellier and Valencia, with the possibility to purchase linen and fustians in Genoa. In Montpellier and Avignon, the company was represented by Ramon del Puech, a merchant from Montpellier. (Carrère, 1967, 163).	
Monzón		~~6~~ *3*	~~3~~ *2*	~~2~~ *2*	~~1~~ *1*	>1446<	In 1446, a company was established between Bartomeu de Llobera and his relative Ramón de Llobera. Bartomeu invested 1,100 lb. in the company, and	

							was not actively involved in the business. The business was carried out by Ramón, who resided in Monzon, a centre of the wool trade. (Battle, 1969, 540, 540 n. 24; Carrère, 1967, 165 n. 2).	
Perpignan		3	2	2	1	>1442<, <1449-1468<	In 1468, cloth was sent in commission by Gabriel and Joan Bonanat from Perpignan for the company Llobera-Junyent. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 386). Connections with Simó de Canavellas, merchant of Perpignan, for which the company Llobera-Junyent operated as attorney in Barcelona. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 391). In 1449-1451, Joan, son of the Perpignan merchant Guillem Nomdedeu, was an apprentice of the company. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 398). The *Universitas* of Perpignan was an important debtor of Johan de Junyent the younger. (Carrère, 1967, 151, 151 n. 9). Company for farming of "marques" (?) between Johan Nicholau, a merchant of Montpellier (6 carats) and Johan de Lobera the younger (18 carats) in 1442. Johan de Lobera sold parts of his shares to other merchants, mostly from Barcelona, but also to one merchant of Perpignan. (Carrère, 1967, 161, 161 n. 3).	
Rhodes		3	2	2	1	>1406-1427<, >1456<	In 1425, Bartomeu de Llobera was patron of a galley sailing from Barcelona to Rhodes. (Battle, 1969, 540 n. 23). In 1406, cloth from Arras and Perpignan was sent by Joan de Junyent (so not entirely sure whether these shipments were for account of the cloth trading company) to Sicily, Cyprus, Rhodes and Beirut. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 383). In 1407, textiles from England and the Low Countries were sent by Joan de Junyent (so not entirely sure whether these shipments were for account of the cloth trading company) to Cyprus, Rhodes and Beirut. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 383). These cloth shipments by Joan de Junyent apparently took the form of commendae, in which the active partner was regularly Ramon de Travichs. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 383 n. 90). Johan de Junyent the younger organised a number of commendae to Rhodes in 1427. Active partners were Miquel Dezcamps and Gabriel Ortigues. (Carrère, 1967, 151 n. 6). In 1456, a company was formed between Bernat and Francesch de Junyent (1/4), Luis Dez Cortal (1/4), Francesch Moliner (1/4) and Luis Jorda (1/4) for investment in a commenda for the export of textiles and almonds with the ship of Anthoni Alamany to Rhodes, Candia, Alexandria, Cyprus, Beirut, Damascus and Chios. Active partners in the commenda were Luis Jorda and Miquel Guall. They had to buy goods in the Levant with the profits of the sales, and send them to Luis Dez Cortal and Francesch Moliner, who were to sell them for the company. (Carrère,	

							1967, 162 n. 1).	
Solsona		3	2	2	1	>1427<, >1457<	The Llobera came originally from Solsona. Already before 1400, Joan de Llobera the elder moved to Barcelona. Nevertheless, the Llobera maintained connections with Solsona, where they had a hospital, a chapel, and other properties. Joan de Junyent originated from Solsona as well. (Battle, 1969, 535; Carrère, 1967, 164 n. 2). In 1457, Joan de Llobera, son of Bartomeu, appointed an attorney to represent him in Solsona and the county of Cardona. (Battle, 1969, 543). In 1427, Johan de Junyent the younger was creditor of Bernat Garro, a merchant from Solsona. Junyent had sent textiles to Garro. Commenda given by Junyent to Johan de Cardona, merchant of Solsona. (Carrère, 1967, 151 n. 7-8).	
Valencia		3	2	2	1	1400-1411<, >1425<, >1439<, >1458<	In 1439, Joan de Llobera the elder sold wheat from Sicily to the “jurados” of Valencia. (Battle, 1969, 538). In 1458, the company Llobera-Junyent exported rice from Valencia to the Low Countries. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 386). In 1425, a business agreement was concluded between Johan de Junyent the younger and the Valencian merchant Johan Bonet, who had to supply Junyent with textiles of Sicily in Valencia. (Carrère, 1967, 151). In 1400, a company was established between Ramon de Navel (8,000 lb.), Johan de Junyent (200 lb.) and Johan Ces Oliveres, notary of Vich. This company was renewed several times (with several changes in the composition of the partners and their investments), and still existed in 1411. This company traded especially with Montpellier and Valencia, with the possibility to purchase linen and fustians in Genoa. In Montpellier and Avignon, the company was represented by Ramon del Puech, a merchant from Montpellier. (Carrère, 1967, 163).	
Candia		2	2	1	0	1456	In 1456, a company was formed between Bernat and Francesch de Junyent (1/4), Luis Dez Cortal (1/4), Francesch Moliner (1/4) and Luis Jorda (1/4) for investment in a commenda for the export of textiles and almonds with the ship of Anthoni Alamany to Rhodes, Candia, Alexandria, Cyprus, Beirut, Damascus and Chios. Active partners in the commenda were Luis Jorda and Miquel Guall. They had to buy goods in the Levant with the profits of the sales, and send them to Luis Dez Cortal and Francesch Moliner, who were to sell them for the company. (Carrère, 1967, 162 n. 1).	
Cardona		2	2	1	0	>1457<	In 1457, Joan de Llobera, son of Bartomeu, appointed an attorney to represent him in Solsona and the county of Cardona. (Battle, 1969, 543).	

Chios		2	2	1	0	1456	In 1456, a company was formed between Bernat and Francesch de Junyent (1/4), Luis Dez Cortal (1/4), Francesch Moliner (1/4) and Luis Jorda (1/4) for investment in a commenda for the export of textiles and almonds with the ship of Anthoni Alamany to Rhodes, Candia, Alexandria, Cyprus, Beirut, Damascus and Chios. Active partners in the commenda were Luis Jorda and Miquel Guall. They had to buy goods in the Levant with the profits of the sales, and send them to Luis Dez Cortal and Francesch Moliner, who were to sell them for the company. (Carrère, 1967, 162 n. 1).	
Damascus		2	2	1	0	1456	In 1456, a company was formed between Bernat and Francesch de Junyent (1/4), Luis Dez Cortal (1/4), Francesch Moliner (1/4) and Luis Jorda (1/4) for investment in a commenda for the export of textiles and almonds with the ship of Anthoni Alamany to Rhodes, Candia, Alexandria, Cyprus, Beirut, Damascus and Chios. Active partners in the commenda were Luis Jorda and Miquel Guall. They had to buy goods in the Levant with the profits of the sales, and send them to Luis Dez Cortal and Francesch Moliner, who were to sell them for the company. (Carrère, 1967, 162 n. 1). In 1411, textiles were exported by Joan de Junyent (so not entirely sure whether these shipments were for account of the cloth trading company) to Sicily, Syria and Alexandria. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 383). These cloth shipments by Joan de Junyent apparently took the form of commendae, in which the active partner was regularly Ramon de Travichs. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 383 n. 90).	
Gandía		2	2	1	0	>1436<	In 1436, Joan de Llobera the elder purchased sugar in Gandia, in association with the Barcelonese merchant Pere Rovira. (Battle, 1969, 538).	
Ibiza		2	2	1	0	>1427<	In 1427 Johan Junyent the younger gave procuration to two merchants residing in Ibiza to recover his debts in Ibiza. (Carrère, 1967, 151, 151 n. 4).	
Marseille		2	2	1	0	1446, 1467	In 1467, goods were loaded for the company by the Antwerp merchant Copin Matis in Marseille or Provence. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 386). Shipment by the company to Marseille in 1446. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 386).	
Palma de Mallorca		2	2	1	0	>1446<, >1459<	In 1446, goods were imported by the company from England and the Low Countries on a Genoese ship. However, instead of unloading them in the agreed harbours of Jativa or Palma de Mallorca, they were shipped to Genoa. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 385). In 1459, the company imported goods from Flanders and England to Palma de Mallorca. Probably the goods were transported by the Venetian galleys. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 385-386).	
Pisa		2	2	1	0	1429	In 1429, cloth of the company from Flanders and England went via the	

							Florentine galleys from the North Sea area directly to Pisa. As a result, Joan Font had to appoint attorneys in Pisa. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 384).	
San Feliú de Guixols		2	2	1	0		When shipping goods on the Florentine galleys, the company normally made use of the port of San Feliu de Guixols. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 384).	
Sevilla		2	2	1	0	>1453<	In 1453, Joan de Llobera the younger had connections with Sevilla. (Battle, 1969, 538).	
Sluis		2	2	1	0	>1446<, >1449<	In 1446, Flemish cloth was imported on a Genoese ship by the company. The cloth was loaded on the ship in Sluis. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 385). In 1449, a galley to England and Flanders, commanded by Francesc Junyent, was seized in England. The galley had cloth of the company on board, which was loaded in Southampton and Sluis. Pere Joan Salat and Pere Font were charged with the recuperation of the merchandise of the company. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 385).	
Tortosa		2	2	1	0	>1420<, >c.1449<	Ca. 1449 Gabriel Brú, draper of Tortosa, left a debt to the company Llobera-Junyent after his death. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 386-387). In 1420, a payment was made by Berenguer Oller, draper of Tortosa, to Joan Font and Francesc Moragues via bill of exchange. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 393).	
Venice		2	2	1	0	>1439<	Joan de Llobera (not known which of them) had business connections with Venice in 1439. (Battle, 1969, 543 n. 34).	
Zaragoza		2	2	1	0	>1437<	The company had attorneys in Zaragoza in 1437. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 397).	
Aigues-Mortes		1	1	1	0	1468	In 1468 Copin Matis, Antwerp merchant residing in Avignon (after a stay of one year in Barcelona) sent foreign cloth from Bouc or Aigues-Mortes for the company Llobera-Junyent. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 386).	
Foggia		1	1	1	0	>1457<	Early 1457, Joan de Llobera, son of Bartomeu, was in Naples and Foggia. (541-542 n. 29).	
Játiva		1	1	1	0	>1446<	In 1446, goods were imported by the company from England and the Low Countries on a Genoese ship. However, instead of unloading them in the agreed harbours of Jativa or Palma de Mallorca, they were shipped to Genoa. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 385).	
Middelburg		1	1	1	0	1456	In 1456, the company imported goods via the port of Middelburg. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 385).	
Noto		1	1	1	0	1452	In 1452 Johan de Torralba and Johan de Llobera farmed the meat tax of the Terra di Noto. (Del Treppo, 1972, 815).	
Port-de-Bouc		1	1	1	0	1468	In 1468 Copin Matis, Antwerp merchant residing in Avignon (after a stay of one year in Barcelona) sent foreign cloth from Bouc or Aigues-Mortes for	

							the company Llobera-Junyent. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 386).	
San Lorenzo de Morunys		1	1	1	0	1449	Debt of the company Llobera-Junyent with Joan del Mas, merchant of Sant Llorenç de Morunys, in 1449. Sant Llorenç de Morunys had a cloth industry. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 391).	
La Seu d'Urgell		1	1	1	0	1404	In 1404, a member of the Junyent family (not exactly known who) was involved in two shipments of Flemish cloth from Montpellier to Barcelona and one from Toulouse via the Seu de Urgel. (Carrère, 1967, 159 n. 2; Coll Juliá, 1968, 382 n. 88).	
Tarragona		1	1	1	0	1416	Joan Sabata, draper of Tarragona, was a client of Joan de Junyent in Barcelona in 1416. (Coll Juliá, 1968, 387).	
Toulouse		1	1	1	0	1404	In 1404, a member of the Junyent family (not exactly known who) was involved in two shipments of Flemish cloth from Montpellier to Barcelona and one from Toulouse via the Seu de Urgel. (Carrère, 1967, 159 n. 2; Coll Juliá, 1968, 382 n. 88).	
Vich		1	1	1	0	1400-1411<	In 1400, a company was established between Ramon de Navel (8,000 lb.), Johan de Junyent (200 lb.) and Johan Ces Oliveres, notary of Vich. This company was renewed several times (with several changes in the composition of the partners and their investments), and still existed in 1411. This company traded especially with Montpellier and Valencia, with the possibility to purchase linen and fustians in Genoa. In Montpellier and Avignon, the company was represented by Ramon del Puech, a merchant from Montpellier. (Carrère, 1967, 163).	

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MITJAVILA, ESPASER AND PUIGMORADELL, 1334 – 1342

Company between the Barcelonese merchants Pere de Mitjavila, Arnau Espaser, and Bernat de Puigmoradell. In addition to these three partners, investments in the company were made in commenda by ten "socios comanditarios", as well as by the five factors of the company. (Madurell y Marimón, 1965, 424, 426). The company was established in 1334. (1965, 426). Not much is known about the partners. Pere de Mitjavila was a rich merchant, who came originally from Banyoles. Pere de Mitjavila carried out important commercial activities. Moreover, he was active as ambassador of king Jaime II. (1965, 427).

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Source material:

An account book of the company of Mitjavila, Espaser and Puigmoradell, covering the years 1334-1342, has been preserved in the Archivo Capitular de la Catedral de Barcelona. This account book has been published by José M. Madurell y Marimón. (Del Treppo, 1972, 764; Madurell y Marimón, 1965, 421). This was not the only account book kept by the company at that time, but the others have not been preserved. (Del Treppo, 1972, 764). The preserved account book was a "libro segreto". (Del Treppo, 1972, 768).

Size: Medium-sized or large

The partnership Mitjavila, Espaser and Puigmoradell was an important Barcelonese company of the 14th century. (Madurell y Marimón, 1965, 421). The investments of the three partners in the company amounted to 9,820 lb. in 1334. The total social capital of the company

(including investments of the ten “socios comanditarios” and the five factors) amounted to 17,840 lb. in 1334, which was very high in comparison to other Barcelonese companies of the 14th century. (1965, 426; Del Treppo, 1972, 827). Large company. (Del Treppo, 1972, 764).

Main activities:

- Commerce: The company of Mitjavila and partners imported merchandise from Sicily, Sardegna, Naples and Flanders to Barcelona or intermediary harbours, and vice versa. (Madurell y Marimón, 1965, 422). The company was involved in commercial activities. (Del Treppo, 1972, 764).
- Finance: Bills of exchange were drawn and remitted between the different places where the company was active. (Del Treppo, 1972, 764).
- Industry:

Network of Mitjavila, Espaser and Puigmoradell:

The company of Mitjavila and partners imported merchandise from Sicily, Sardegna, Naples and Flanders to Barcelona or intermediary harbours, and vice versa. (Madurell y Marimón, 1965, 422). The company had five factors: Esteve dez-Gerp, Arnau Llorenç, Francesc Margarit, Ponç Malarç, and Bernat Ferrer. These factors obtained ¼ of the profits of the transactions carried out by them. (422). The company of Mitjavila and partners traded intensively with Flanders, the Levant, and the Italian islands in the period 1334-1342. (Del Treppo, 1972, 764). The company had factors and correspondents abroad. (Del Treppo, 1972, 764).

Table A..1. Network of Mitjavila, Espaser and Puigmoradell, 1334 – 1342

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Barcelona		8	4	3	1	>1334-1342<	Headquarters. (Madurell y Marimón, 1965, 421). Barcelona is mentioned on 24 pages of the account book. (Madurell y Marimón, 1966, 540-542). Headquarters. (Del Treppo, 1972, 764).	
Bruges		4	2	2	1	<1334-1342>	Imports from and exports to Sicily, Sardegna, Naples and Flanders. (Madurell y Marimón, 1965, 422). Import and export trade with Flanders was carried out by the factor Arnau Llorenç. (1965, 425). Bruges is mentioned on 12 pages of the account book. (Madurell y Marimón, 1966, 540-542). Flanders is mentioned on 20 pages of the account book. (Madurell y Marimón, 1966, 540-542). The company of Mitjavila and partners traded intensively with Flanders, the Levant, and the Italian islands in the period 1334-1342. (Del Treppo, 1972, 764). Trade with Flanders. (Del Treppo,	

							1972, 764).	
Cagliari		4	2	2	1	>1334-1342>	Imports from and exports to Sicily, Sardegna, Naples and Flanders. (Madurell y Marimón, 1965, 422). Exports to Sardegna, Sicily and Naples in 1334. (1965, 424). Factor in Sardegna was Bernat Ferrer, established in Cagliari. (1965, 424-425; Del Treppo, 1972, 765-766). Imports from Sicily, Sardegna and Naples mentioned in the account book since 1334. (1965, 425). Cagliari is mentioned on 55 pages of the account book. (Madurell y Marimón, 1966, 540-542). Sardegna is mentioned on 2 pages of the account book. (Madurell y Marimón, 1966, 540-542). The company transferred money between different places: e.g. a transfer of 831 l. from Cagliari to Palermo. (Del Treppo, 1972, 765-766).	
Palermo		4	2	2	1	>1334-1342>	Imports from and exports to Sicily, Sardegna, Naples and Flanders. (Madurell y Marimón, 1965, 422). Exports to Sardegna, Sicily and Naples in 1334. (1965, 424). Factor in Sicily was Esteve dez-Gerp, established in Palermo. (1965, 424-425; Del Treppo, 1972, 766). The factor Bernat Ferrer had connections with Guillem Arnau in Sicily. (1965, 425). Imports from Sicily, Sardegna and Naples mentioned in the account book since 1334. (1965, 425). Palermo is mentioned on 10 pages of the account book. (Madurell y Marimón, 1966, 540-542). Sicily is mentioned on 49 pages of the account book. (Madurell y Marimón, 1966, 540-542). Trade with Sicily. (Del Treppo, 1972, 764). The company transferred money between different places: e.g. a transfer of 831 l. from Cagliari to Palermo. (Del Treppo, 1972, 765-766).	
Cyprus		3	2	2	1	<1334-1342>	Trade in commenda with Beirut, Cyprus and Alexandria. (Madurell y Marimón, 1965, 425). Cyprus is mentioned on 7 pages of the account book. (Madurell y Marimón, 1966, 540-542).	
Mallorca		3	2	2	1	<1334-1342>	Mallorca is mentioned on 30 pages of the account book. (Madurell y Marimón, 1966, 540-542).	
Mieres		3	2	2	1	<1334-1342>	Mieres is mentioned on 6 pages of the account book. (Madurell y Marimón, 1966, 540-542).	
Naples		3	2	2	1	>1334-1342>	Imports from and exports to Sicily, Sardegna, Naples and Flanders. (Madurell y Marimón, 1965, 422). Exports to Sardegna, Sicily and Naples in 1334. (1965, 424). Imports from Sicily, Sardegna and Naples mentioned in the account book since 1334. (1965, 425). Naples is mentioned on 5 pages of the account book. (Madurell y Marimón, 1966, 540-542).	

Tarragona		3	2	2	1	<1334-1342>	Tarragona is mentioned on 10 pages of the account book. (Madurell y Marimón, 1966, 540-542).	
Valencia		3	2	2	1	<1334-1342>	Valencia is mentioned on 6 pages of the account book. (Madurell y Marimón, 1966, 540-542).	
Agde		2	2	1	0	<1334-1342>	Agde (Languedoc) is mentioned on 4 pages of the account book. (Madurell y Marimón, 1966, 540-542).	
Alexandria		2	2	1	0	<1334-1342>	Trade in commenda with Beirut, Cyprus and Alexandria. (Madurell y Marimón, 1965, 425). Alexandria is mentioned on 2 pages of the account book. (Madurell y Marimón, 1966, 540-542).	
Bañolas		2	2	1	0	<1334-1342>	Banyoles is mentioned on 2 pages of the account book. (Madurell y Marimón, 1966, 540-542). Pere de Mitjavila, the most important partner, came originally from Banyoles. (1965, 427).	
Beirut		2	2	1	0	<1334-1342>	Trade in commenda with Beirut, Cyprus and Alexandria. (Madurell y Marimón, 1965, 425). Beirut is mentioned on 4 pages of the account book. (Madurell y Marimón, 1966, 540-542).	
Bivona		2	2	1	0	<1334-1342>	Bivona (Sicily) is mentioned on 3 pages of the account book. (Madurell y Marimón, 1966, 540-542).	
Collioure		2	2	1	0	<1334-1342>	Collioure is mentioned on 4 pages of the account book. (Madurell y Marimón, 1966, 540-542).	
Gerona		2	2	1	0	<1334-1342>	Gerona is mentioned on 5 pages of the account book. (Madurell y Marimón, 1966, 540-542).	
Izmir		2	2	1	0	<1334-1342>	Izmir is mentioned on 3 pages of the account book. (Madurell y Marimón, 1966, 540-542).	
Licatta (or Lichata, or Locatia) (Languedoc)		2	2	1	0	<1334-1342>	Licatta (Languedoc) is mentioned on 4 pages of the account book. (Madurell y Marimón, 1966, 540-542).	
Martorell		2	2	1	0	<1334-1342>	Martorell is mentioned on 2 pages of the account book. (Madurell y Marimón, 1966, 540-542).	
Messina		2	2	1	0	<1334-1342>	Messina (Sicily) is mentioned on 4 pages of the account book. (Madurell y Marimón, 1966, 540-542).	
Paris		2	2	1	0	<1334-1342>	Paris is mentioned on 2 pages of the account book. (Madurell y Marimón, 1966, 540-542).	
Perpignan		2	2	1	0	<1334-1342>	Perpignan is mentioned on 5 pages of the account book. (Madurell y Marimón, 1966, 540-542).	

Tortosa		2	2	1	0	<1334-1342>	Tortosa is mentioned on 2 pages of the account book. (Madurell y Marimón, 1966, 540-542).	
Agrigento		1	1	1	0	<1334-1342>	Agrigento (Sicily) is mentioned on 1 page of the account book. (Madurell y Marimón, 1966, 540-542).	
Bellpuig		1	1	1	0	<1334-1342>	Bellpuig is mentioned on 1 page of the account book. (Madurell y Marimón, 1966, 540-542).	
Blanes		1	1	1	0	<1334-1342>	Blanes is mentioned on 1 page of the account book. (Madurell y Marimón, 1966, 540-542).	
Bona		1	1	1	0	<1334-1342>	Annaba (Bona) is mentioned on 1 page of the account book. (Madurell y Marimón, 1966, 540-542).	
Bosque de les Albes		1	1	1	0	<1334-1342>	Bosque de les Albes is mentioned on 1 page of the account book. (Madurell y Marimón, 1966, 540-542).	
Corsá		1	1	1	0	<1334-1342>	Corsá is mentioned on 1 page of the account book. (Madurell y Marimón, 1966, 540-542).	
Famagusta		1	1	1	0	<1334-1342>	Famagusta is mentioned on 1 page of the account book. (Madurell y Marimón, 1966, 540-542).	
Llansá		1	1	1	0	<1334-1342>	Llansá is mentioned on 1 page of the account book. (Madurell y Marimón, 1966, 540-542).	
Prades		1	1	1	0	<1334-1342>	Prades is mentioned on 1 page of the account book. (Madurell y Marimón, 1966, 540-542).	
San Feliú de Guixols		1	1	1	0	<1334-1342>	San Feliu is mentioned on 1 page of the account book. (Madurell y Marimón, 1966, 540-542).	
Sarral		1	1	1	0	<1334-1342>	Sarral is mentioned on 1 page of the account book. (Madurell y Marimón, 1966, 540-542).	
Sluis		1	1	1	0	<1334-1342>	Sluis (Flanders) is mentioned on 1 page of the account book. (Madurell y Marimón, 1966, 540-542).	
Toulouse		1	1	1	0	<1334-1342>	Toulouse is mentioned on 1 page of the account book. (Madurell y Marimón, 1966, 540-542).	
Trapani		1	1	1	0	<1334-1342>	Trapani is mentioned on 1 page of the account book. (Madurell y Marimón, 1966, 540-542).	
Tunis		1	1	1	0	<1334-1342>	Tunis is mentioned on 1 page of the account book. (Madurell y Marimón, 1966, 540-542).	

+ Reconstruction of this network is based upon the "Indice Geografico" of the account book of the firm of Pere de Mitjavila and partners (Madurell y Marimón, 1966, 540-542). Scores are attributed to places according to the number of mentions in the account book (not including mentions such as *paños de* ..., *peso de* ...) as follows: one mention: 1-1-1-0, two to five mentions: 2-2-1-0, more than five mentions: 3-2-2-1.

JOHAN DE TORRALBA, before 1424 – 1458

Already in 1424, Johan de Torralba was a substantial merchant in Barcelona, who had connections with important Florentine companies, and whose services were regularly used by collectors of the Camera Apostolica in Catalunya. (Del Treppo, 1972, 770-771). In the period 1428-1436, Johan de Torralba was a partner in a company carrying out sales of wool in Italy. (Del Treppo, 1972, 761-762). In 1428, a large company was founded in which Johan de Torralba was an investing partner. (771). The company established in 1428 had three partners, each investing the same amount of capital: Johan Fexas, Johan Fortuny de Manariello and Johan de Torralba. (771). The company was established for two years, and was renewed several times. (771). Johan de Torralba was the head of this company. (772). With the exception of Fexas, the partners were not allowed to carry out trade outside the company. (772). Torralba and Manariello both shared for 36.5 % in the profits of the company, Fexas (who was much less active) only for 27 %. (772-773). In 1430, the company was renewed, but without Johan Fexas, who left the company. (775). The company was dissolved in 1436, and Johan de Torralba increasingly became involved in ship owning and in the salt trade. (796). The form of business organisation of Torralba changed in 1436: instead of one company, several commende, successively or simultaneously, who represented the majority of his business. In addition sometimes also small companies established, with limited capital and for limited periods. (802-803). Torralba died in 1458. He remained active in business up to then. (806). Johan de Torralba was also politically active in Barcelona. (806-807). Johan de Sabastida belonged to the lower nobility, and married with Anthonia Torralba, daughter of Johan. Sabastida is not mentioned as relative of Torralba before 1437. The Sabastida had connections with the court in Barcelona since the 14th century. (807-808). In 1454, a company was founded for trade with Sicily. Partners were Johan de Torralba (150 oncie), Johan Sabastida (200 oncie), Francesch Junyent (100 oncie), Bernat Dalgas (100 oncie), and Johan Riumanyo (100 oncie). (815). After the death of Johan de Torralba, Sabastida does not appear to have been active in business anymore. (816). Sabastida died in 1471. (820).

References:

Del Treppo, M., 1972. *I mercanti catalani e l'espansione della corona d'Aragona nel secolo XV*. Naples, L'Arte Tipografica Napoli, 755-827 (Università di Napoli. Seminario di Storia Medioevale e Moderna, 4).

I did not consult:

Colesanti, G. T., 2005. *Caterina Llull I Çabastida: Una mercantessa Catalana nella Sicilia del '400*. Girona, Universitat de Girona, Unpublished PhD Dissertation.

Del Treppo, M., 1972. *Un Uomo d'affari catalano: Johan de Torralba*. Naples, L'Arte Tipografica Napoli. **(**Seminario di storia medioevale e moderna, 4).

Source material:

Account books preserved. (Del Treppo, 1972, 757). Parts of the account books of Johan de Torralba have been preserved in the archives of the former house of the Jesuits in Barcelona. (757). Four account books have been preserved for the period 1430-1436, and three for the period 1437-1457, as well as a number of other documents, such as partnership contracts, etc. (758). Torralba did not use proper double entry bookkeeping yet. (762-763).

1. WOOL COMPANY OF JOHAN DE TORRALBA AND JOHAN DE MANARIELLO, 1428 - 1435 (network not used)

Size: Medium-sized or large

The company of Torralba, Fexas and de Manariello had a capital of 12,000 Barcelonese lira (Del Treppo, 1972, 771). In 1430, the capital amounted to 10,000 Barcelonese lira. (775). The capital of this company was more considerable than the total capital of the Catalan company of Francesco Datini, but it had a much smaller amount of employees (3 compared to ca. 12 in the Catalan company of Datini). (776).

Main activities:

- Commerce: The company established by Torralba and his partners in 1428 was active in long-distance wholesale trade. (Del Treppo, 1972, 771). The company was specialised in the trade in wool and grain. (775). The company Torralba-Manariello focused on wool trade, followed by grain trade. (790-791).
- Finance: The company Torralba-Manariello made use of bills of exchange. (Del Treppo, 1972, 790). Johan de Torralba was active as maritime insurer. (796).
- Industry:
- Shipping: Johan de Torralba was part-owner in a number of ships. (Del Treppo, 1972, 760, 787, 796).

Network of the wool company of Johan de Torralba and Johan de Manariello:

Johan de Torralba was active as a businessman in Barcelona, Aragon, and a large sector of the international commercial hinterworld of Barcelona. (Del Treppo, 1972, 757). Johan de Torralbo made use of the services of correspondents and factors abroad. (762). The company established in 1428 was active in Aragon, Italy and Venice. (771). Two periods in the business of Torralba: (1) until 1436: company with strong concentration of capital, commerce especially concentrated on the export of Aragonese wool (and grain), strong connections with the Tuscan world and north-central Italy (here the company of Torralba filled parts of the gap left after the dissolution of the Datini company); (2) 1437-1457: large variety of investments in different sectors, active on a larger network of trade routes, import as well as export trade, connections with the markets of the Mediterranean and especially with southern Italy. (826).

Table A..1. Network of the wool company of Johan de Torralba and Johan de Manariello, 1428 – 1435								
City	**R**	**Score**				**Period**	**Type of presence**	**References**
Barcelona		8	4	3	1	>1428-1435<	Headquarters. (Del Treppo, 1972, 757). Johan de Torralba was the head of the company established in 1428. He resided in Barcelona. (772). Headquarters in Barcelona. (773). The company Torralba-Manariello-Fexas had three employees, one in Barcelona, one in Zaragoza, and one heading the agency in Tortosa. (773).	
Zaragoza		6	3	2	1	>1428-1435<	Johan de Manariello, partner in the company of 1428, headed the branch in Aragon, which was established in Zaragoza. (Del Treppo, 1972, 772). Johan Fexas, partner in the company of 1428, was also partner in a company for grain trade with Antony Cubells, with headquarters in Zaragoza. (772). Branch in Zaragoza. (773). The company Torralba-Manariello-Fexas had three employees, one in Barcelona, one in Zaragoza, and one heading the agency in Tortosa. (773).	
Tortosa		4	2	2	1	>1428-1435<	The company Torralba-Manariello-Fexas had an agency in Tortosa. (Del Treppo, 1972, 773). The company Torralba-Manariello-Fexas had three employees, one in Barcelona, one in Zaragoza, and one heading the agency in Tortosa. (773). Tortosa was an important transit place for wool and grain, and as a result, the company needed a permanent representative there. (773-774). The agent in Tortosa received an annual salary of 100 Aragonese fiorini in 1428 (60 in 1430). He was among other things responsible for loading the ships, and negotiations with shipowners and captains. (774). The employee in Tortosa in 1430-35 was Domingo Pandetrigo. (779, 781-782, 784-789).	
Genoa		3	2	2	1	>1430-1435<	In 1430-31, wool was sent to Genoa. (Del Treppo, 1972, 780). In 1432-33, wool was sent to Gabriel Homedes in Genoa. (784). In 1434-35, wool was sent to Gabriel Homedes in Genoa. (788). In 1430-1435, 13 % of the wool of the company was exported to Genoa. (791-792). Gabriel Homedes was the correspondent of the company in Genoa. (791).	
Pisa		3	2	2	1	>1428-1435<	Wool sent to Pisa in 1432. (Del Treppo, 1972, 762). In 1430-31, wool was sent to Johan Esparch in Pisa. (780). In 1432-33, wool was sent to Johan Sparter in Pisa. (783-784). In 1434-35, wool was sent to Johan Sparter in Pisa. (788). In 1430-1435, 26 % of the wool of the company was exported to Pisa. (791-792). Correspondent in Pisa. (791). In 1428, Torralba was	

							involved in a large number of exchange transactions between Pisa and Barcelona. (826 n. 146).	
Venice		3	2	2	1	>1428-1435<	The company established by Johan de Torralba and his partners in 1428 was active in Venice. (Del Treppo, 1972, 771). In 1430-31, wool was sent to Robert Alibrandi and to Francesch Castello in Venice. (780). In 1432-33, wool was sent to Robert Alibrandi, Francesch Aluart, Francesch Castello, etc., in Venice. (784-785). In 1434-35, wool was sent to Robert Alibrandi in Venice. (788). In 1430-1435, 61 % of the wool of the company was exported to Venice. (791-792). Among the correspondents in Venice were Roberto Alibrandi and Giovanni Falcucci. (791).	
Bergamo		2	2	1	0	>1437<	Among the clients of the wool of the company in Venice were merchants from Bologna, Cesena, Modena, Imola, Urbino, Osnago, Verona, Mantua, Vicenza, Brescia, and Bergamo in 1437. (Del Treppo, 1972, 791).	
Bologna		2	2	1	0	>1435-1437<	Among the clients of the wool of the company in Pisa were merchants from Bologna, Perugia, Florence and Parma in 1435-36. (Del Treppo, 1972, 791). Among the clients of the wool of the company in Venice were merchants from Bologna, Cesena, Modena, Imola, Urbino, Osnago, Verona, Mantua, Vicenza, Brescia, and Bergamo in 1437. (Del Treppo, 1972, 791).	
Brescia		2	2	1	0	>1437<	Among the clients of the wool of the company in Venice were merchants from Bologna, Cesena, Modena, Imola, Urbino, Osnago, Verona, Mantua, Vicenza, Brescia, and Bergamo in 1437. (Del Treppo, 1972, 791).	
Cesena		2	2	1	0	>1437<	Among the clients of the wool of the company in Venice were merchants from Bologna, Cesena, Modena, Imola, Urbino, Osnago, Verona, Mantua, Vicenza, Brescia, and Bergamo in 1437. (Del Treppo, 1972, 791).	
Florence		2	2	1	0	>1435-1436<	Some of the wool sent to Pisa, was sent further for sale in Florence. (Del Treppo, 1972, 791). Among the clients of the wool of the company in Pisa were merchants from Bologna, Perugia, Florence and Parma in 1435-36. (Del Treppo, 1972, 791).	
Imola		2	2	1	0	>1437<	Among the clients of the wool of the company in Venice were merchants from Bologna, Cesena, Modena, Imola, Urbino, Osnago, Verona, Mantua, Vicenza, Brescia, and Bergamo in 1437. (Del Treppo, 1972, 791).	
Mantua		2	2	1	0	>1437<	Among the clients of the wool of the company in Venice were merchants from Bologna, Cesena, Modena, Imola, Urbino, Osnago, Verona, Mantua, Vicenza, Brescia, and Bergamo in 1437. (Del Treppo, 1972, 791).	
Milan		2	2	1	0		Some of the wool sent to Gabriel Homedes in Genoa, was sent further for	

							sale in Milan. (Del Treppo, 1972, 791).	
Modena		2	2	1	0	>1437<	Among the clients of the wool of the company in Venice were merchants from Bologna, Cesena, Modena, Imola, Urbino, Osnago, Verona, Mantua, Vicenza, Brescia, and Bergamo in 1437. (Del Treppo, 1972, 791).	
Osnago		2	2	1	0	>1437<	Among the clients of the wool of the company in Venice were merchants from Bologna, Cesena, Modena, Imola, Urbino, Osnago, Verona, Mantua, Vicenza, Brescia, and Bergamo in 1437. (Del Treppo, 1972, 791).	
Parma		2	2	1	0	>1435-1436<	Among the clients of the wool of the company in Pisa were merchants from Bologna, Perugia, Florence and Parma in 1435-36. (Del Treppo, 1972, 791).	
Pegioli (?)		2	2	1	0	>1436<	Among the clients of the wool of the company in Pisa were merchants from Pistoia, Pegioli (?), San Miniato, Siena and Volterra in 1436. (Del Treppo, 1972, 791).	
Perugia		2	2	1	0	>1435-1436<	Among the clients of the wool of the company in Pisa were merchants from Bologna, Perugia, Florence and Parma in 1435-36. (Del Treppo, 1972, 791).	
Pistoia		2	2	1	0	>1436<	Among the clients of the wool of the company in Pisa were merchants from Pistoia, Pegioli (?), San Miniato, Siena and Volterra in 1436. (Del Treppo, 1972, 791).	
San Miniato		2	2	1	0	>1436<	Among the clients of the wool of the company in Pisa were merchants from Pistoia, Pegioli (?), San Miniato, Siena and Volterra in 1436. (Del Treppo, 1972, 791).	
Siena		2	2	1	0	>1436<	Among the clients of the wool of the company in Pisa were merchants from Pistoia, Pegioli (?), San Miniato, Siena and Volterra in 1436. (Del Treppo, 1972, 791).	
Urbino		2	2	1	0	>1437<	Among the clients of the wool of the company in Venice were merchants from Bologna, Cesena, Modena, Imola, Urbino, Osnago, Verona, Mantua, Vicenza, Brescia, and Bergamo in 1437. (Del Treppo, 1972, 791).	
Verona		2	2	1	0	>1437<	Among the clients of the wool of the company in Venice were merchants from Bologna, Cesena, Modena, Imola, Urbino, Osnago, Verona, Mantua, Vicenza, Brescia, and Bergamo in 1437. (Del Treppo, 1972, 791).	
Vicenza		2	2	1	0	>1437<	Among the clients of the wool of the company in Venice were merchants from Bologna, Cesena, Modena, Imola, Urbino, Osnago, Verona, Mantua, Vicenza, Brescia, and Bergamo in 1437. (Del Treppo, 1972, 791).	
Volterra		2	2	1	0	>1436<	Among the clients of the wool of the company in Pisa were merchants from Pistoia, Pegioli (?), San Miniato, Siena and Volterra in 1436. (Del Treppo, 1972, 791).	

+ Especially the Italian connections of this company are known.

2. JOHAN DE TORRALBA AND JOHAN DE SABASTIDA, 1436 – 1458

Size: Medium-sized or large

Total capital of the company founded in 1454 was 650 Sicilian oncie (=2,153 Barcelonese lira). (815).

Main activities:

- Commerce: During the war of Alfonso V against Naples, Torralba became involved in supplying the troops of king Alfonso. (798). Torralba supplied slaves to the Aragonese court. (798). From 1436, the activities of Johan de Torralba became much more varied: trade in a larger amount of goods and directions. (802). From 1436, trade in cloth, honey, spices, sugar, slaves, grain, cotton, linen, tin, Greek wine, horses, coral, silk, etc. (803-804).
- Finance: The company Torralba-Manariello made use of bills of exchange. (Del Treppo, 1972, 790). Johan de Torralba was active as maritime insurer. (796). From 1436, Johan de Torralba became increasingly involved in business with the court of king Alfonso V. (798-799). Exchange transactions between Barcelona and the court of Alfonso V in Gaeta, Capua and Naples in the period 1437-1451. (799-801). Torralba and Sabastida supported the Aragonese court with loans and banking services (transfers of bills of exchange between Barcelona and the court in southern Italy. (799-802). From 1436, increasing importance of exchange operations, speculation with the court. (802).
- Industry:
- Shipping: Johan de Torralba was part-owner in a number of ships. (Del Treppo, 1972, 760, 787, 796). After the dissolution of the company with Manariello, Johan de Torralba became increasingly involved in ship owning. (796-797). In 1437-38, Torralba owned in total 9/16 in 5 different ships. (797). He also invested in Catalan warships and their equipment, especially of the ship commanded by his son-in-law Johan Sabastida. (797-798). From 1436, increasing importance of investment in ships. (802).

Network of Johan de Torralba and Johan de Sabastida:

Johan de Torralba was active as a businessman in Barcelona, Aragon, and a large sector of the international commercial hinterworld of Barcelona. (Del Treppo, 1972, 757). Johan de Torralbo made use of the services of correspondents and factors abroad. (762). In 1454 a company was established between Torralba and Sabastida and several other partners for trade between Catalunya, Sicily, Venice, the Levant, etc. (815). Two periods in the business of Torralba: (1) until 1436: company with strong concentration of capital, commerce especially concentrated on the export of Aragonese wool (and grain), strong connections with the Tuscan world and north-central Italy (here the company of Torralba filled parts of the gap left after the dissolution of the Datini company); (2) 1437-1457: large variety of investments in different sectors, active on a

larger network of trade routes, import as well as export trade, connections with the markets of the Mediterranean and especially with southern Italy. (826).

Table A..2. Network of Johan de Torralba and Johan de Sabastida, 1436 – 1458								
City	**R**	**Score**				**Period**	**Type of presence**	**References**
Barcelona		8	4	3	1	1436-1458	The company established in 1454 had its headquarters in Barcelona, where the administration was in the hands of Bernat Dalgas. (Del Treppo, 1972, 815). The company continuously sent bills of exchange between Barcelona and Sicily. (816 n. 116).	
Naples		6	3	2	1	>1435-1450s	From ca. 1435, Johan de Torralba became increasingly involved in shipping to Naples. (Del Treppo, 1972, 796-797). From ca. 1436, Johan de Torralba became increasingly involved in business with the court of Alfonso V, successively in Gaeta, Capua, and Naples. (798-799). Torralba concluded several bills of exchange between Barcelona and the court of Alfonso V (Gaeta, 1437-1442, Capua, 1439, Naples, 1442-1451), where he was especially represented by his son-in-law and partner Johan Sabastida, in 1437-1451. In this period, Naples became the main point of interest in the business of Torralba. (799-801). Sale of cloth and tin in Naples after 1435, purchase of Greek wine, horses, grain. (803). Still active with Naples in the 1450s. (806). In the 1440s, Torralba shipped merchandise in the ship of Johan Sabastida to Naples, Palermo and Ragusa. (816).	
Siracusa		3 **6**	2 **3**	2 **2**	1 **1**	1452-1454 1454-1458<	- In 1452, Johan Sabastida became president of the royal Camera of Sicily, which was located in Siracusa. (814). As a result, Johan de Torralba began to ship Catalan cloth to Siracusa, and to purchase grain of Brucoli. (815). By 1454, Sabastida had returned to Barcelona. (816). - In the last years of his activities, Johan de Torralba established a company, which was administered by a Catalan merchant residing in Siracusa. (Del Treppo, 1972, 763). In 1454, a trade company was established between Johan de Torralba and Johan Sabastida for trade with Siracusa. (815). In the 1450s, Torralba participated in a new company trading especially with Sicily, Venice, northern Africa and the Levant. (815, 806 n. 81). The operational seat of the company established in 1454 was located in Siracusa, and was in the hands of Johan Riumanyo. (815). The company continuously	

							sent bills of exchange between Barcelona and Sicily. (816 n. 116).	
Alexandria		3	2	2	1	<1437-1449>	Investing partner in (a) commenda(e) to Alexandria (honey, almonds,…). (Del Treppo, 1972, 802). Investing partner in (a) commenda(e) to the Levant markets (185 pieces of cloth). (Del Treppo, 1972, 802). In 1437-38, Torralba sent cloth to Sicily and the Levant, and on the return shipment silk and spices to Flanders on the galley of Johan Lull. (804). In the 1450s, Torralba participated in a new company trading especially with Sicily, Venice, northern Africa and the Levant. (815, 806 n. 81).	
Bruges		3	2	2	1	>1437-1454<	Investing partner in (a) commenda(e) to Flanders (spices, silk). (Del Treppo, 1972, 802). In 1437-38, Torralba sent cloth to Sicily and the Levant, and on the return shipment silk and spices to Flanders on the galley of Johan Lull. (804, 804 n. 73). On the galley of P. J. Sentcliment, Torralba sent sugar from Sicily to Bruges. (Del Treppo, 1972, 804). Merchandise sent to Flanders on the ship of Pere Sent Pol in 1454 was sequestrated by Genoese. (Del Treppo, 1972, 804).	
Constantinople		3	2	2	1	<1437-1449>	Investing partner in (a) commenda(e) to Constantinople (41 pieces of Catalan cloth). (Del Treppo, 1972, 802). Investing partner in (a) commenda(e) to the Levant markets (185 pieces of cloth). (Del Treppo, 1972, 802). In 1437-38, Torralba sent cloth to Sicily and the Levant, and on the return shipment silk and spices to Flanders on the galley of Johan Lull. (804). In the 1450s, Torralba participated in a new company trading especially with Sicily, Venice, northern Africa and the Levant. (815, 806 n. 81).	
Gaeta		3	2	2	1	>1435-1442<	In 1435, Johan de Torralba traded with Gaeta. (Del Treppo, 1972, 796). From ca. 1436, Johan de Torralba became increasingly involved in business with the court of Alfonso V, successively in Gaeta, Capua, and Naples. (798-799). From ca. 1436, Johan de Torralba became increasingly involved in business with the court of Alfonso V, successively in Gaeta, Capua, and Naples. (798-799). Torralba concluded several bills of exchange between Barcelona and the court of Alfonso V (Gaeta, 1437-1442, Capua, 1439, Naples, 1442-1451), where he was especially represented by his son-in-law Johan Sabastida, in 1437-1451. (799-801). Sales of cloth to the king in Gaeta. (803 n. 66).	
Palermo		3	2	2	1	>1437-1450s	Investing partner in (a) commenda(e) to Palermo (61 pieces of cloth). (Del Treppo, 1972, 802). Purchases of silk of Calabria and linen of Naples in	

							Palermo after 1435. (803 n. 65). In 1437-38, Torralba sent cloth to Sicily and the Levant, and on the return shipment silk and spices to Flanders on the galley of Johan Lull. (804). On the galley of P. J. Sentcliment, Torralba sent sugar from Sicily to Bruges. (Del Treppo, 1972, 804). In the 1450s, Torralba was especially active in Sicily. (806). Torralba had credit with his correspondents in Sicily and Ragusa. (812). In the 1440s, Torralba shipped merchandise in the ship of Johan Sabastida to Naples, Palermo and Ragusa. (816).	
Pisa		3	2	2	1	>1436-1449	Correspondent in Pisa. In 1448-49, the business in Pisa (with correspondent Garcia Esparter) was liquidated. (Del Treppo, 1972, 806).	
Ragusa		3	2	2	1	>1443-1450s<	Ca. 1443, Torralba was a partner in a company trading wool with Ragusa. This company sent 80 sacs of wool to Ragusa on the ship of Johan Pruyo in 1443. (Del Treppo, 1972, 802, 802-803 n. 62). Export of wool to Ragusa in the 1450s. (806 n. 81). Torralba had credit with his correspondents in Sicily and Ragusa. (812). In the 1440s, Torralba shipped merchandise in the ship of Johan Sabastida to Naples, Palermo and Ragusa. (816).	
Rhodes		3	2	2	1	<1437-1449>	Investing partner in (a) commenda(e) to Rhodes (honey, almonds,…). (Del Treppo, 1972, 802). Investing partner in (a) commenda(e) to the Levant markets (185 pieces of cloth). (Del Treppo, 1972, 802). In 1437-38, Torralba sent cloth to Sicily and the Levant, and on the return shipment silk and spices to Flanders on the galley of Johan Lull. (804). In the 1450s, Torralba participated in a new company trading especially with Sicily, Venice, northern Africa and the Levant. (815, 806 n. 81).	
Sardegna		3	2	2	1	<1435-1450s	After 1435, purchase of coral and grain in Sardinia. (Del Treppo, 1972, 803). Still active in Sardinia in the 1450s. (Del Treppo, 1972, 806 n. 81).	
Tunis		3	2	2	1	<1437-1450s	Investing partner in (a) commenda(e) to Tunis (cloth). (Del Treppo, 1972, 802). Exports to northern Africa. (803). From 1452, Torralba participated in a new company trading especially with Sicily, Venice, northern Africa and the Levant. (815, 806 n. 81).	
Venice		3	2	2	1	1454-1458<	In the 1450s (from 1454), Torralba participated in a new company trading especially with Sicily, Venice, northern Africa and the Levant. (815, 806 n. 81).	
Capua		2	2	1	0	>1439<	From ca. 1436, Johan de Torralba became increasingly involved in business with the court of Alfonso V, successively in Gaeta, Capua, and Naples. (798-799). Torralba concluded several bills of exchange between Barcelona and	

							the court of Alfonso V (Gaeta, 1437-1442, Capua, 1439, Naples, 1442-1451), where he was especially represented by his son-in-law Johan Sabastida, in 1437-1451. In this period, Naples became the main point of interest in the business of Torralba. (799-801).	
San Mateo		2	2	1	0	<1437-1449>	Investing partner in (a) commenda(e) to San Matteo (51 pieces of cloth). (Del Treppo, 1972, 802).	
Brucoli		1	1	1	0	from 1452	In 1452, Johan Sabastida became president of the royal Camera of Sicily, which was located in Siracusa. (Del Treppo, 1972, 814). As a result, Johan de Torralba began to ship Catalan cloth to Siracusa, and to purchase grain of Brucoli. (815).	
Noto		1	1	1	0	1452	In 1452, Johan de Torralba, together with Johan de Llobera, farmed the meat tax of the Terra di Noto, which probably came in his hands partly thanks to the influence of Johan Sabastida in Siracusa at that time. (Del Treppo, 1972, 815).	
Piombino		1	1	1	0	>1448<	In 1448, Johan de Torralba supplied the Aragonese army in Piombino with weapons. (Del Treppo, 1972, 798).	

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1.2.2. ARAGONESE FIRMS

DAZA, before 1513 – after 1564

Business of Fernando Daza Mayor and his son Fernando Daza Menor in the Low Countries, and Fernando Daza Medina, grandson of Daza Mayor, in Medina del Campo.

Daza family from Calatayud in Aragon. Active especially in Antwerp and Medina del Campo. Also in Bruges, Bergen-op-Zoom, fairs of Castile, trade with Italy (Rome, Venice, Naples, Palermo), Salamanca, Valladolid, Seville. Silk trade with a merchant from Toledo between Lyon, Antwerp and Villalon. See Fagel, 1996, 96-100. Contacts with the Affaitadi in Antwerp (Denucé, 1934, 28).

Aragonese merchant Fernando Daza Mayor in Antwerp. (Fagel, 1996, 96). Fernando Daza was married to Leonor Ran, with whom he had to children: Fernando Menor de Enveres and Gracia. (Fagel, 1996, 96). Fernando Mayor died in Antwerp in 1534. (Fagel, 1996, 96). Fernando Daza Mayor came from Calatayud in Aragón. (Fagel, 1996, 96 n. 363). Many Italian merchants were involved in the business of Fernando Daza. (Fagel, 1996, 97). Fernando Daza Mayor came apparently from Calatayud in Aragón, as well as his wife Leonor Ran. They married in 1477. (Fagel, 1996, 98). Fernando Daza Mayor, son of Miguel Daza and Gracia de Blanas, came from a family of merchants of Calatayud. He had a brother Joan Daza. (Fagel, 1996, 98 n. 376). Daza Menor died between 1564 and 1566. (Fagel, 1996, 100).

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Source material:

The archive of Fernando Daza Medina, grandson of Fernando Daza Mayor, has been preserved in the archives of Valladolid. It contains many data about Fernando Mayor, among which a will drawn up by notary Egidius Tripilanus in Antwerp in 1534, and a balance of the possessions of Daza at the time of his death in 1534. (Fagel, 1996, 96, 96 n. 360).

Size: ?

Main activities:

- Commerce: Trade in alum in the Low Countries. Fernando Daza, Martin Lopez and Alonso de Santa Gadea controlled part of the alum monopoly in the Low Countries in 1540. (Fagel, 1996, 96 n. 364). Trade in silk between Fernando Daza Mayor and Fernando de la Torre. (Fagel, 1996, 97). In 1540, Fernando Daza Menor and Martin Lopez attempted to gain control over the alum trade in the Low Countries. (Fagel, 1996, 99; Soly, 1974, 813-815). Trade in tapestries between the Low Countries and Castile. (Fagel, 1996, 97-98).
- Finance: In 1531, Fernando Daza Mayor participated in a maritime insurance. (Fagel, 1996, 97 n. 366). Fernando Daza Medina had a company with his sister Mari Lopez de Urueña in 1533-1541 for carrying out exchange transactions and financial business in Sevilla, Flanders and elsewhere. (Fagel, 1996, 97). Large business in bills of exchange between Fernando Daza Medina in Medina del Campo and his uncle Fernando Daza Menor in Antwerp in 1541-1542. (Fagel, 1996, 99-100). Loans to the government in the Low Countries by the partnership of Dassa and Co. (Soly, 1974, 813-815).
- Industry:

Network of the Daza:

Table A..1. Network of the Daza, ca. 1513 – ca. 1547 (especially 1528-1542)

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Antwerp		8	4	3	1	>1528-1547<	Contacts with the Affaitadi in Antwerp (Denucé, 1934, 28). Aragonese merchant Fernando Daza Mayor in Antwerp. (Fagel, 1996, 96). Fernando Mayor died in Antwerp in 1534. (Fagel, 1996, 96). The cash accounts of Fernando Daza Mayor mention Enrique Garit, a merchant in fruit in Antwerp. (Fagel, 1996, 97). In 1528, Fernando Mayor in Antwerp was involved in a conflict with Silvester Pardo. (Fagel, 1996, 97 n. 366). Trade in silk between Fernando Daza Mayor and Fernando de la Torre, a citizen of Toledo, between Lyon, Antwerp and Villalón. (Fagel, 1996, 97). After the death of Fernando Daza Mayor, the accounts of his family members in Medina del Campo were sent to Antwerp. These relatives in Medina del Campo still owed 196,305 maravedís to Fernando Daza in 1534, which had to be paid to his son Fernando Menor in Antwerp. End December 1534, the family in Medina del Campo gave attorney to Juan Simon, Arnao del Plano, Anton Lopez de Calatayud and Francisco Perez de Calatayud in Antwerp.	

							Early 1535 however, Luis de Sarria was sent as representative from Medina del Campo to Antwerp to take care of the payments. (Fagel, 1996, 97). In 1532, Fernando Daza Medina, grandson of Fernando Mayor, was temporarily in the north. (Fagel, 1996, 97). In 1534, Fernando Daza Medina and Diego de Aranda Mayor of Valladolid formed a partnership for trade with the Low Countries. (Fagel, 1996, 98 n. 371). Fernando Daza Medina had a company with his sister Mari Lopez de Urueña in 1533-1541 for carrying out exchange transactions and financial business in Sevilla, Flanders and elsewhere. (Fagel, 1996, 97). While Fernando Daza went to the Low Countries, his wife Leonor Ran remained in Calatayud. In 1533 Fernando Daza Menor sent a tapestry from Flanders to Calatayud, which was paid for by Daza Medina from Medina del Campo. (Fagel, 1996, 98). During the 1530s, Fernando Daza Mayor resided in Antwerp. Before, he definitely had resided in Bruges. (Fagel, 1996, 99). In 1540, Fernando Daza Menor and Martin Lopez attempted to gain control over the alum trade in the Low Countries. They wrote a letter from Antwerp to Francisco del Castillo and the heirs of Gonçalo de Xerez in Rome. From Rome messages were sent to them via the Genoese. (Fagel, 1996, 99). Fernando Daza Menor owned a house in the “Keyserstrate” in Antwerp. (Fagel, 1996, 99). Fernando Daza Menor was active in Antwerp as well, e.g. as witness in documents of Martin Lopez and the heirs of Juan Simon. (Fagel, 1996, 99). Other family members in Antwerp were Juan Daça in 1540; Lope Daça in 1535. (Fagel, 1996, 99 n. 385). After the company with his sister was ended, Daza Medina remained active in the exchange business. In 1541-1542, he traded in bills of exchange with Juan Bautista and Reynaldo Estroçi, Luis Perez, Fernando Daza Menor, and Alonso de Santa Gadea. Many bills of exchange with Antwerp, and also several bills for the fairs of Bergen-op-Zoom. Especially large business in bills of exchange between Fernando Daza Medina in Medina del Campo and Fernando Daza Menor in Antwerp. They connected the fairs of Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom with those of Medina del Campo, Medina de Ríoseco and Villalón. (Fagel, 1996, 99-100). In 1540 contract between Fernando Dassa, Martin Lopez, Alonso de Santa Gadea and several other Spanish merchants in Antwerp, and the Genoese farmers of the alum of Tolfa, Luca and Giovanni Battista Grimaldi, for the supply of alum to Antwerp for a period of 12 years. This contract became meaningless when Gaspar Ducci obtained	

							the alum monopoly in the Low Countries in 1544. As a result, Dassa and his partners refused to accept the alum sent by the Grimaldi. The Grimaldi reacted and confiscated the goods of Dassa and his partners in Rome. Finally, the pope dissolved the agreement in 1547. He condemned Dassa and co to pay a fine of 9,400 ducats, 16.5 % of which had to be paid by Gaspar Ducci. (Soly, 1974, 813-815).	
Medina del Campo		8	4	3	1	>1532-1542<	The Daza were represented in Medina del Campo during the first half of the 16th century. (Denucé, 1934, 28). Gracia, daughter of Fernando Daza Mayor, was married to Lope de Medina. Both were citizens of Medina del Campo. (Fagel, 1996, 96). After the death of Fernando Daza Mayor, the accounts of his family members in Medina del Campo were sent to Antwerp. These relatives in Medina del Campo still owed 196,305 maravedís to Fernando Daza in 1534, which had to be paid to his son Fernando Menor in Antwerp. End December 1534, the family in Medina del Campo gave attorney to Juan Simon, Arnao del Plano, Anton Lopez de Calatayud and Francisco Perez de Calatayud in Antwerp. Early 1535 however, Luis de Sarria was sent as representative from Medina del Campo to Antwerp to take care of the payments. (Fagel, 1996, 97). Fernando Daza Medina, grandson of Fernando Mayor and citizen of Medina del Campo, traded with his grandfather Fernando Mayor. Between both merchants a current account existed. In 1532 they traded together with Rome and the Low Countries. Fernando Daza Medina received tapestries from the Low Countries from Juan Simon. (Fagel, 1996, 97). Fernando Daza Medina had a company with his sister Mari Lopez de Urueña in 1533-1541 for carrying out exchange transactions and financial business in Sevilla, Flanders and elsewhere. Principal seat of the company was Medina del Campo or Valladolid. (Fagel, 1996, 97). In 1534, Fernando Daza Medina and Diego de Aranda Mayor of Valladolid formed a partnership for trade with the Low Countries. (Fagel, 1996, 98 n. 371). In 1533 Fernando Daza Menor sent a tapestry from Flanders to Calatayud, which was paid for by Daza Medina from Medina del Campo. (Fagel, 1996, 98). Another member of the family in Medina del Campo was Diego Daza (d. before September 1551). (Fagel, 1996, 99 n. 385). After the company with his sister was ended, Daza Medina remained active in the exchange business. In 1541-1542, he traded in bills of exchange with Juan Bautista and Reynaldo Estroçi, Luis Perez, Fernando Daza Menor, and	

							Alonso de Santa Gadea. Many bills of exchange with Antwerp, and also several bills for the fairs of Bergen-op-Zoom. Especially large business in bills of exchange between Fernando Daza Medina in Medina del Campo and Fernando Daza Menor in Antwerp. They connected the fairs of Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom with those of Medina del Campo, Medina de Ríoseco and Villalón. (Fagel, 1996, 99-100).	
Valladolid		6	3	2	1	>1533-1541<	The Daza were represented in Valladolid during the first half of the 16th century. (Denucé, 1934, 28). Fernando Daza (in Valladolid). First half 16th c. (Denucé, 1934, 28). Fernando Daza Medina had a company with his sister Mari Lopez de Urueña in 1533-1541 for carrying out exchange transactions and financial business in Sevilla, Flanders and elsewhere. Principal seat of the company was Medina del Campo or Valladolid. (Fagel, 1996, 97). In 1534, Fernando Daza Medina and Diego de Aranda Mayor of Valladolid formed a partnership for trade with the Low Countries. (Fagel, 1996, 98 n. 371).	
Bergen-op-Zoom		3	2	2	1	>1541-1542<	After the company with his sister was ended, Daza Medina remained active in the exchange business. In 1541-1542, he traded in bills of exchange with Juan Bautista and Reynaldo Estroçi, Luis Perez, Fernando Daza Menor, and Alonso de Santa Gadea. Many bills of exchange with Antwerp, and also several bills for the fairs of Bergen-op-Zoom. Especially large business in bills of exchange between Fernando Daza Medina in Medina del Campo and Fernando Daza Menor in Antwerp. They connected the fairs of Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom with those of Medina del Campo, Medina de Ríoseco and Villalón. (Fagel, 1996, 99-100).	
Bruges		8 **3**	3 **2**	2 **2**	1 **1**	>1513-1523< >1534<	The cash accounts of Fernando Daza Mayor mention Petre Buxao, a merchant from Bruges. (Fagel, 1996, 97). During the 1530s, Fernando Daza Mayor resided in Antwerp. Before, he definitely had resided in Bruges. (Fagel, 1996, 99). In 1523 Fernando Daza Mayor was in Bruges. Already in 1513, Fernando Daza Mayor was in Bruges, where he signed the register of the Spanish Nation. In 1516, he again was present at a meeting of the Spanish nation in Bruges. In these years, his son Fernando Menor participated at the meetings of the Spanish nation in Bruges as well. (Fagel, 1996, 99).	
Lyon		3	2	2	1		Trade in silk between Fernando Daza Mayor and Fernando de la Torre, a citizen of Toledo, between Lyon, Antwerp and Villalón. (Fagel, 1996, 97).	

Medina de Ríoseco		3	2	2	1	>1541-1542<	After the company with his sister was ended, Daza Medina remained active in the exchange business. In 1541-1542, especially large business in bills of exchange between Fernando Daza Medina in Medina del Campo and Fernando Daza Menor in Antwerp. They connected the fairs of Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom with those of Medina del Campo, Medina de Ríoseco and Villalón. (Fagel, 1996, 99-100).	
Rome		3	2	2	1	>1532-1547<	Important trade with Italy. Many Italian merchants were involved in the business of Fernando Daza Mayor. Among his debtors were Luis Ran in Naples, and several merchants from Venice and Rome. After the death of Fernando Mayor, his son Fernando Menor attempted to recover these sums. (Fagel, 1996, 97). Fernando Daza Medina, grandson of Fernando Mayor and citizen of Medina del Campo, traded with his grandfather Fernando Mayor. Between both merchants a current account existed. In 1532 they traded together with Rome and the Low Countries. (Fagel, 1996, 97). In 1540, Fernando Daza Menor and Martin Lopez attempted to gain control over the alum trade in the Low Countries. They wrote a letter from Antwerp to Francisco del Castillo and the heirs of Gonçalo de Xerez in Rome. From Rome messages were sent to them via the Genoese. (Fagel, 1996, 99). In 1540 contract between Fernando Dassa, Martin Lopez, Alonso de Santa Gadea and several other Spanish merchants in Antwerp, and the Genoese farmers of the alum of Tolfa, Luca and Giovanni Battista Grimaldi, for the supply of alum to Antwerp for a period of 12 years. This contract became meaningless when Gaspar Ducci obtained the alum monopoly in the Low Countries in 1544. As a result, Dassa and his partners refused to accept the alum sent by the Grimaldi. The Grimaldi reacted and confiscated the goods of Dassa and his partners in Rome. Finally, the pope dissolved the agreement in 1547. He condemned Dassa and co to pay a fine of 9,400 ducats, 16.5 % of which had to be paid by Gaspar Ducci. (Soly, 1974, 813-815).	
Sevilla		3	2	2	1	>1533-1541<	Fernando Daza Medina had a company with his sister Mari Lopez de Urueña in 1533-1541 for carrying out exchange transactions and financial business in Sevilla, Flanders and elsewhere. (Fagel, 1996, 97).	
Villalón		3	2	2	1	>1534-1542<	Trade in silk between Fernando Daza Mayor and Fernando de la Torre, a citizen of Toledo, between Lyon, Antwerp and Villalón. (Fagel, 1996, 97). After the company with his sister was ended, Daza Medina remained active in the exchange business. In 1541-1542, especially large business in bills of	

							exchange between Fernando Daza Medina in Medina del Campo and Fernando Daza Menor in Antwerp. They connected the fairs of Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom with those of Medina del Campo, Medina de Ríoseco and Villalón. (Fagel, 1996, 99-100).	
Calatayud		2	2	1	0	>1533<	While Fernando Daza went to the Low Countries, his wife Leonor Ran remained in Calatayud. In 1533 Fernando Daza Menor sent a tapestry from Flanders to Calatayud, which was paid for by Daza Medina from Medina del Campo. (Fagel, 1996, 98).	
Lisbon		2	2	1	0	>1540<	In 1540, Francesco Daza Menor traded with Lisbon. (Fagel, 1996, 99).	
Palermo		2	2	1	0	>1568<	Juan Daza Medina, grandson of Fernando Daza Mayor, still in his minority in 1534 when Daza Mayor died, lived in Palermo in 1568. Before, Benito Ran, a relative of the Daza, had resided in Palermo as well. (Fagel, 1996, 98, 98 n. 372).	
Salamanca		2	2	1	0	>1545-1547<	Between 1545 and 1547, Lope de Medina and Jayme Lopez Ran, nephews of Fernando Daza Medina, studied in Salamanca, from where they had contact with Daza Medina. (Fagel, 1996, 98 n. 372). Rodrigo Sanches de Urueña, grandson of Fernando Daza Mayor, was canon in Salamanca. He had given his brother Fernando Daza Medina 6 million maravedís, in exchange for which he received annually 54,000 maravedís. Rodrigo died in 1549 in Salamanca however. His heirs were his brother Daza Medina and his sister Isabel Daza, both in Medina del Campo. (Fagel, 1996, 98).	
Venice		2	2	1	0		Important trade with Italy. Many Italian merchants were involved in the business of Fernando Daza Mayor. Among his debtors were Luis Ran in Naples, and several merchants from Venice and Rome. After the death of Fernando Mayor, his son Fernando Menor attempted to recover these sums. (Fagel, 1996, 97).	
Naples		1	1	1	0		Important trade with Italy. Many Italian merchants were involved in the business of Fernando Daza Mayor. Among his debtors were Luis Ran in Naples, and several merchants from Venice and Rome. After the death of Fernando Mayor, his son Fernando Menor attempted to recover these sums. (Fagel, 1996, 97).	
Toledo		1	1	1	0		Trade in silk between Fernando Daza Mayor and Fernando de la Torre, a citizen of Toledo, between Lyon, Antwerp and Villalón. (Fagel, 1996, 97).	
Zeeland		1	1	1	0		Fernando Daza Menor owned part of the polder of “Bat en Enckevoort” in Zeeland. (Fagel, 1996, 99).	

ANTONIO LOPEZ DE VILLANUEVA, before 1505 – after 1538

Antonio Lopez de Villanueva, son of Antonio Lopez de Villanueva, was born in 1472. He went to Bordeaux, where he became one of the most important merchants of the city. (Vermaseren, 1973, 8).
The Jewish-Spanish Lopez de Villanueva family had branches in Zaragoza, Bordeaux, Toulouse and Antwerp ca. 1520. The members of this family were merchants. (Vermaseren, 1973, 3). The family came originally from Calatayud in Aragón (south-west of Zaragoza). A Martin Pablo Lopez de Villanueva moved from Calatayud to Zaragoza during the 15th century. Among his grandsons were the brothers Juan, Pedro and Antonio Lopez de Villanueva. (Vermaseren, 1973, 4-5). As marranos, many of the members of the family fled from Spain ca. 1492. (Vermaseren, 1973, 5). Of the grandsons of Martin Pablo Lopez de Villanueva, Juan went to Toulouse, Pedro to Bruges and later to Antwerp, while Antonio remained in Zaragoza. (Vermaseren, 1973, 5-8). Among the sons of Antonio were Martin (Antwerp), Louis (Middelburg), Antoine (Bordeaux) and Pierre (Toulouse). (8-11). In 1527, a partnership existed between Pedro Lopez and his nephew Martin in Antwerp, and Louis, brother of Martin, in Middelburg. (12). In what follows, the network of Antoine Lopez in Bordeaux will be studied, since his business activities are better known than those of his uncles or brothers.

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Source material:

Freight contracts of Antoine Lopez in Bordeaux, registered for a notary (especially for the notary Donzeau), have been preserved in the Archives Départementales de la Gironde. (Vermaseren, 1973, 9).

Size: Medium-sized or large

Antoine Lopez often had goods on 20 or more ships in one year. (Vermaseren, 1973, 9). Antonio Lopez became one of the most important merchants of Bordeaux. (Vermaseren, 1973, 8).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Antoine Lopez traded especially in woad, but also in wine e.g. (9). The branch in Toulouse was very active in the trade in woad. (Vermaseren, 1973, 5, 6 n. 13). Trade in copper by the family branches in Antwerp, Bordeaux and Toulouse. (Vermaseren, 1973, 7). Sales of woad by Pedro Lopez de Villanueva to the Flemish textile centres. (7). Pierre Lopez in Toulouse traded in woad, alum and copper. (Vermaseren, 1973, 11). Export of pepper by Martin Lopez to Italy. Trade in lead by Martin Lopez in 1546. (12). Martin Lopez supplied the court of Doña Mencía de Mendoza, wife of Hendrik III of Nassau, in Breda. (12).
- Finance: Antoine Lopez in Bordeaux was involved in financial activities. (Vermaseren, 1973, 9). In 1550, Martin Lopez carried out large banking activities for Philips II, who was in Germany at that time. He lent 10,000 ecus to Philips for the purchase of silks, etc. He also took care of exchange transactions with Spain for Philips II. Also in 1551 he was active in financial activities for Philips II. (Vermaseren, 1973, 13).
- Industry:
- Shipping: Louis Lopez was shipowner in Middelburg. (Vermaseren, 1973, 11).

Network of Antoine Lopez:

Table A..1. Network of Antoine Lopez, ca. 1505 – ca. 1540

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Bordeaux		8	4	3	1	>1505-1546<	Antoine Lopez, son of Antonio, went to Bordeaux, where he established a branch of the Lopez de Villeneuve. He was born in 1472. From 1506, and especially after 1515, he became one of the most important merchants of Bordeaux. (8). In 1505, Antoine Lopez in Bordeaux and Martin Lopez in Antwerp were mentioned as factors of Louis Lopez, probably their brother in	

							Middelburg. (8-9). In 1517 Antoine owned a house in Bordeaux as well as lands in the surrounding of the city. (9). In 1516, Antoine Lopez sent woad from Bordeaux to his brother Louis in Middelburg, followed by wine in 1517. (9). In 1517, Antoine sent woad from Bordeaux to Antonio de Nagera in Bruges. (9). In 1538, Antoine Lopez and Pierre Eyquem sent woad and wine from Bordeaux to Martin Lopez in Antwerp. In 1546, Bertrand, son of Antoine, and Pierre Eyquem sent woad from Bordeaux to Martin Lopez in Antwerp. (9). Antoine Lopez traded in woad in Bordeaux with Toulouse, Bilbao, Burgos, Rouen, London, Arnemuiden, Middelburg and Antwerp. (9). Bertrand, son of Antoine, became a notary in Bordeaux. Another of his sons became a member of the Parliament of Bordeaux. (9). Large business of Martin Lopez in Antwerp with his brother and nephew in Bordeaux, who provided him with wine and woad. (12). Factors of Juan Lopez de Villanueva in Bordeaux in 1494 were Pierre del Poyo and Pierre Lopez. (Vermaseren, 1973, 5-6). The Jewish-Spanish Lopez de Villanueva family had branches in Zaragoza, Bordeaux, Toulouse and Antwerp ca. 1520. The members of this family were merchants. (Vermaseren, 1973, 3). Trade in copper by the family branches in Antwerp, Bordeaux and Toulouse. (Vermaseren, 1973, 7). Close ties between Pedro Lopez in Antwerp and his nephew Antoine Lopez de Villeneuve in Bordeaux, from whom he imported large amounts of woad. (Vermaseren, 1973, 7).	
Antwerp		4	2	2	1	>1520-1555<	By 1522, Pedro Lopez lived in Antwerp. In that year he purchased a large garden next to his house in Antwerp. In 1528, he sold a large house “’t Hof van Berchem” to his nephew Martin Lopez. (Vermaseren, 1973, 7). Pedro Lopez died in Antwerp in 1532, where he was buried in the monastery of the Carmelites. (Vermaseren, 1973, 7). The Jewish-Spanish Lopez de Villanueva family had branches in Zaragoza, Bordeaux, Toulouse and Antwerp ca. 1520. The members of this family were merchants. (Vermaseren, 1973, 3). Trade in copper by Pedro Lopez. (Vermaseren, 1973, 7). In 1527, a company existed between the brothers Louis and Martin Lopez (in Antwerp) and their uncle Pedro Lopez. (6). After the death of Pedro Lopez de Villanueva in 1532, his business was taken over by his nephews Geronimo Lopez and Francisco Lopez de Arramano. They sold the business	

							to Martin Lopez in 1533 however. (7). Ca. 1532-33, Francisco Lopez de Arramano, nephew and heir of Pedro Lopez de Villanueva, lived in Antwerp or Middelburg. (7). Geronimo Lopez, nephew and heir of Pedro Lopez de Villanueva, was a merchant in Antwerp. He died in 1559. (8). A Jean Lopez became citizen of Antwerp ca. 1514-1515. Perhaps he was the son of Juan Lopez in Toulouse. (8). In 1505, Antoine Lopez in Bordeaux and Martin Lopez in Antwerp were mentioned as factors of Louis Lopez, probably their brother in Middelburg. (8-9). In 1538, Antoine Lopez and Pierre Eyquem sent woad and wine from Bordeaux to Martin Lopez in Antwerp. In 1546, Bertrand, son of Antoine, and Pierre Eyquem sent woad from Bordeaux to Martin Lopez in Antwerp. (9). Antoine Lopez traded in woad in Bordeaux with Toulouse, Bilbao, Burgos, Rouen, London, Arnemuiden, Middelburg and Antwerp. (9). Pierre Lopez traded especially with Spain, Italy, Sicily, the North of France, England, the Low Countries and the Levant. (Vermaseren, 1973, 11). Martin Lopez, son of Antonio, went to Antwerp. He was in Antwerp by 1520. He became citizen of Antwerp ca. 1528-1529. (Vermaseren, 1973, 11). In 1527, a partnership existed between Pedro Lopez and his nephew Martin in Antwerp, and Louis, brother of Martin, in Middelburg. (12). In 1533, Martin Lopez took over the business of his uncle Pedro, who had died in 1532. (12). Large business of Martin Lopez in Antwerp with his brother and nephew in Bordeaux, who provided him with wine and woad. (12). Martin Lopez was still alive in 1555. (14). Eleonora, daughter of Martin Lopez, was married to Antonio del Rio, from a family of important Spanish merchants established in Bruges. Antonio and his brother Hieronimo established themselves as merchants in Antwerp. (18-19). Pedro, son of Martin Lopez, was the heir of his father's business. Nothing is known about the business of Pedro, probably he was not successful as business man. (29). Pedro died in Spain in 1567. (32). A certain Anton Lopez de Calatayud was in Antwerp in 1534, where he acted as one of the attorneys of the Daza family in Medina del Campo. (Fagel, 1996, 97). Martin Lopez: Became citizen of Antwerp around 1528 (Fagel, 2000, 100-101). Jewish merchant in Antwerp ca. 1543-1545: export to Italy (Brulez,	

							1958, 177). In 1543-45, Martin Lopez exported for 672 £ Fl. of ginger from Antwerp to Frankfurt (Harreld, 2004, 141). Martin Lopez, famous Aragonese merchant family in Antwerp (Fagel, 1996, 79). A Luis Perez in Middelburg was probably the brother of Martin Lopez of Antwerp. This family of Jewish origin had a wide network of family members in the Low Countries and Spain and France. A Luis Lopez mentioned in Middelburg from 1516, obtained citizenship in 1526. In 1552, his son Luis Perez was even treasurer of the city. From 1540, a Luis Perez is mentioned as burgher of Antwerp (Fagel, 1996, 168 n. 19). Martin Lopéz de Villanueva, uncle of Michel de Montaigne, beame an outstanding personality in the New Christian community of Antwerp. (Roth, 1948, 27). Martin Lopéz gave a great banquet in Antwerp in 1520-21. (Roth, 1948, 28).	
Middelburg		4	2	2	1	>1505-1552<	Louis Lopez was established in Middelburg. Together with his uncle Pedro Lopez de Villanueva he began a lawsuit against a debtor in 1520. In 1527, a company existed between the brothers Louis and Martin Lopez (in Antwerp) and their uncle Pedro Lopez. (6). Ca. 1532-33, Francisco Lopez de Arramano, nephew and heir of Pedro Lopez de Villanueva, lived in Antwerp or Middelburg. (7). In 1505, Antoine Lopez in Bordeaux and Martin Lopez in Antwerp were mentioned as factors of Louis Lopez, probably their brother in Middelburg. (8-9). In 1516, Antoine Lopez sent woad from Bordeaux to his brother Louis in Middelburg, followed by wine in 1517. (9). Antoine Lopez traded in woad in Bordeaux with Toulouse, Bilbao, Burgos, Rouen, London, Arnemuiden, Middelburg and Antwerp. (9). Louis Lopez de Villanueva, son of Antonio Lopez, established himself in Middelburg. Probably he already lived there in 1505. He definitely lived in Middelburg in 1516 and 1517. In 1526, he was citizen of Middelburg. In 1552, he was treasurer of Middelburg. In 1537 he was mentioned as shipowner in Middelburg. (11). In 1527, a partnership existed between Pedro Lopez and his nephew Martin in Antwerp, and Louis, brother of Martin, in Middelburg. (12). A Luis Perez in Middelburg was probably the brother of Martin Lopez of Antwerp. This family of Jewish origin had a wide network of family members in the Low Countries and Spain and France. A Luis Lopez mentioned in Middelburg from 1516, obtained citizenship in 1526. In 1552, his son Luis Perez was even treasurer of the city. From 1540, a Luis Perez is mentioned as burgher of Antwerp (Fagel, 1996, 168 n. 19).	

Toulouse		4	2	2	1	>1491-c.1520<	Pierre Lopez, son of Antonio Lopez de Villanueva, left Zaragoza for Toulouse, where he became active in the woad trade. He was mentioned there for the first time in 1502. (Vermaseren, 1973, 10). Pierre Lopez lived in the Rue Peyrolières in the University Quarters of Toulouse. He had connections with Jean de Bernuy in Toulouse. (Vermaseren, 1973, 10). In Toulouse Pierre and Martin Lopez had connections with Pierre Eyquem, who married a daughter of Pierre Lopez. (Vermaseren, 1973, 10). Pierre Lopez traded especially with Spain, Italy, Sicily, the North of France, England, the Low Countries and the Levant. (Vermaseren, 1973, 11). Juan Lopez de Villanueva went to Toulouse, where he was established by 1491. Juan Lopez died in 1498. (Vermaseren, 1973, 5-6). Not much known about the branch in Toulouse, which traded especially in woad. The archives of this branch of the family have been lost completely. (Vermaseren, 1973, 6 n. 13). The Jewish-Spanish Lopez de Villanueva family had branches in Zaragoza, Bordeaux, Toulouse and Antwerp ca. 1520. The members of this family were merchants. (Vermaseren, 1973, 3). Trade in copper by the family branches in Antwerp, Bordeaux and Toulouse. (Vermaseren, 1973, 7). Pedro Lopez, son of Antonio, was a copper merchant in Toulouse. (Vermaseren, 1973, 7 n. 20). Antoine Lopez traded in woad in Bordeaux with Toulouse, Bilbao, Burgos, Rouen, London, Arnemuiden, Middelburg and Antwerp. (9).	
Arnemuiden		3	2	2	1		Antoine Lopez traded in woad in Bordeaux with Toulouse, Bilbao, Burgos, Rouen, London, Arnemuiden, Middelburg and Antwerp. (Vermaseren, 1973, 9).	
Bilbao		3	2	2	1		Antoine Lopez traded in woad in Bordeaux with Toulouse, Bilbao, Burgos, Rouen, London, Arnemuiden, Middelburg and Antwerp. (Vermaseren, 1973, 9).	
Bruges		3	2	2	1	>1517<	Pedro Lopez de Villanueva lived in Bruges in 1504. Probably he still lived there in 1511 and 1518. (Vermaseren, 1973, 6, 6-7 n. 17). In 1517, Antoine sent woad from Bordeaux to Antonio de Najera in Bruges. (9). Antonio de Najera was a Spanish wool merchant in Bruges from 1512 onwards, where he married a Flemish woman, Pierine de Keyt. He died ca. 1531. (Fagel, 2000, 103). Eleonora, daughter of Martin Lopez, was married to Antonio del Rio, from a family of important Spanish merchants established in Bruges.	

							Antonio and his brother Hieronimo established themselves as merchants in Antwerp. (18-19). A Pedro Lopez de Calatayud was in Bruges for at least 11 years between 1502 and 1555. In this period, he also was consul of the Castilian nation of Bruges twice. (Fagel, 2000, 91). A Pedro Lopez was in Bruges for at least 10 years between 1502 and 1555. In this period, he also was consul of the Castilian nation of Bruges for three years. (Fagel, 2000, 92).	
Burgos		3	2	2	1		Antoine Lopez traded in woad in Bordeaux with Toulouse, Bilbao, Burgos, Rouen, London, Arnemuiden, Middelburg and Antwerp. (Vermaseren, 1973, 9). Factor of Pierre Lopez in Spain was Diego Bernuy, brother of Jean de Bernuy. According to Vermaseren, Diego Bernuy was a merchant in Avila. However, in reality Diego was established in Burgos. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 323-324; Vermaseren, 1973, 10). Pierre Lopez traded especially with Spain, Italy, Sicily, the North of France, England, the Low Countries and the Levant. (Vermaseren, 1973, 11).	
London		3	2	2	1	>1527<	In 1527, Francisco Lopez de Arramano, nephew and heir of Pedro Lopez de Villanueva, was in London. In that year, Antoine Lopez of Bordeaux sent woad to London to a business connection there or to Francisco Lopez de Arramano. (Vermaseren, 1973, 7 n. 24). Antoine Lopez traded in woad in Bordeaux with Toulouse, Bilbao, Burgos, Rouen, London, Arnemuiden, Middelburg and Antwerp. (9). Pierre Lopez traded especially with Spain, Italy, Sicily, the North of France, England, the Low Countries and the Levant. (Vermaseren, 1973, 11). Martin Lopez lived in London before he went to Antwerp. His brother Antoine sent merchandise to Martin in London from Bordeaux. By 1520 he was in Antwerp however. (11).	
Rouen		3	2	2	1		Antoine Lopez traded in woad in Bordeaux with Toulouse, Bilbao, Burgos, Rouen, London, Arnemuiden, Middelburg and Antwerp. (Vermaseren, 1973, 9). Pierre Lopez traded especially with Spain, Italy, Sicily, the North of France, England, the Low Countries and the Levant. (Vermaseren, 1973, 11). The Louppes were a Spanish merchant family active in Rouen under the Catholic Kings. (Mollat, 1970, 49).	
Zaragoza		2	2	1	0	c.1520	The Jewish-Spanish Lopez de Villanueva family had branches in Zaragoza, Bordeaux, Toulouse and Antwerp ca. 1520. The members of this family were merchants. (Vermaseren, 1973, 3). Antonio Lopez de Villanueva, father of Antoine, remained in Zaragoza. (8).	

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Table A..2. Connections of the brothers and uncles of Antoine Lopez (network not used)								
City	**R**	**Score**				**Period**	**Type of presence**	**References**
Calatayud						1491	Juan Lopez, uncle of Antoine, supplied woad from Toulouse to Luis de Bonadie of Calatayud and to Diego de Castro of Segovia. They owed him 5,000 lb. in 1491 for woad. (Vermaseren, 1973, 5).	
Segovia						1491	Juan Lopez, uncle of Antoine, supplied woad from Toulouse to Luis de Bonadie of Calatayud and to Diego de Castro of Segovia. They owed him 5,000 lb. in 1491 for woad. (Vermaseren, 1973, 5).	
Avignon							Juan de Dias of Calatayud, merchant in Avignon, was a brother-in-law of Juan Lopez de Villanueva, uncle of Antoine Lopez. He was married with Blanca Lopez de Villanueva. Léonie Lopez, sister of Juan Lopez de Villanueva, lived in Avignon. She was married to Gillis Lopez, merchant in Avignon. (Vermaseren, 1973, 6, 6 n. 12, 7 n. 23).	
Frankfurt am Main						>1543-1545<	In 1543-45, Martin Lopez exported for 672 £ Fl. of ginger from Antwerp to Frankfurt (Harreld, 2004, 141).	
Brussels							Between 1521 and 1524, and also later, Pedro Lopez de Villanueva lent money to the government in Brussels. (Vermaseren, 1973, 7). In 1545 Maria of Hungary ordered Fernando Dache, Martin Loupes, Alfonso de Sancta Gadea and Jehan de Larne to negociate an agreement with the Papal Administration about the alum trade. (Vermaseren, 1973, 13).	
Porto						1545	In 1545, a Francisco Lopez (perhaps Francisco Lopez de Arramano), sent flax to Porto by ship. (Vermaseren, 1973, 8).	
Italy							Pierre Lopez traded especially with Spain, Italy, Sicily, the North of France, England, the Low Countries and the Levant. (Vermaseren, 1973, 11). In 1533, Geronimo Lopez and Francisco Lopez de Arramano, nephews and heirs of Pedro Lopez de Villanueva, were involved in trade with the Mediterranean. (Vermaseren, 1973, 7-8). Large export of Martin Lopez to Italy, especially export of pepper. (12). Martin Lopez was a Jewish merchant in Antwerp ca. 1543-1545: export to Italy (Brulez, 1958, 177). Martin Lopez was the 37th biggest exporter from Antwerp to Italy in 1544. (Puttevils, 2007, 332).	
Sicily							Pierre Lopez traded especially with Spain, Italy, Sicily, the North of France,	

							England, the Low Countries and the Levant. (Vermaseren, 1973, 11). In 1533, Geronimo Lopez and Francisco Lopez de Arramano, nephews and heirs of Pedro Lopez de Villanueva, were involved in trade with the Mediterranean. (Vermaseren, 1973, 7-8).	
Levant							Pierre Lopez traded especially with Spain, Italy, Sicily, the North of France, England, the Low Countries and the Levant. (Vermaseren, 1973, 11). In 1533, Geronimo Lopez and Francisco Lopez de Arramano, nephews and heirs of Pedro Lopez de Villanueva, were involved in trade with the Mediterranean. (Vermaseren, 1973, 7-8).	
Rome						1545	In 1545 Maria of Hungary ordered Fernando Dache, Martin Loupes, Alfonso de Sancta Gadea and Jehan de Larne to negociate an agreement with the Papal Administration about the alum trade. (Vermaseren, 1973, 13). In 1540, Martin Lopez, Fernando Dassa, Alonso de Santa Gadea, and a number of other Spanish merchants had concluded an agreement with the Italian alum farmers Luca and Giovanni Battista Grimaldi for the supply of 2,300 last alum in Antwerp for a period of 12 years. This contract became useless after a monopoly was given to Gaspar Ducci in 1544. Dassa and Co. as a result refused to accept the supplies of the Grimaldi's, and a conflict arose. The Grimaldi confiscated the goods of Dassa and Co. in Rome. In 1547, the Pope cancelled the contract between the Grimaldi and Dassa and Co. The latter had to pay a fine of 9,400 ducats. (Soly, 1974, 813-815).	
Germany						1550	In 1550, Martin Lopez carried out large banking activities for Philips II, who was in Germany at that time. He lent 10,000 ecus to Philips for the purchase of silks, etc. (Vermaseren, 1973, 13).	
Sevilla							Martin Lopez had contacts with Michel Turlan in Seville. (Goris, 1925, 102-103).	
Medina del Campo							A certain Anton Lopez de Calatayud was in Antwerp in 1534, where he acted as one of the attorneys of the Daza family in Medina del Campo. (Fagel, 1996, 97).	
Breda							Martin Lopez supplied the court of Doña Mencía de Mendoza, wife of Hendrik III of Nassau, in Breda. He made purchases for her in France, and took care of transports of paintings and tapestries to Spain. (Vermaseren, 1973, 12).	

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1.3. FRENCH FIRMS

JACQUES COEUR, 1418 – 1451

Jacques Coeur was born ca. 1395-1400 in the Berry (region of Bourges) (Mollat, 1988, 13). His father, Pierre, was a furrier (Mollat, 1988, 13). He became involved in the textile and fur trade, and in the farm of the Mint of Bourges from the 1420s (Mollat, 1988, 14-18). Company of Jacques Coeur with Pierre Godard and his brother from 1430 to 1439 for trade in all types of merchandise (Mollat, 1988, 18). In 1432, he travelled to the Levant on the ship of Jean Vidal, merchant from Narbonne, which suffered shipwreck on the way back (Mollat, 1988, 18-20). Only small investment in this venture by Jacques Coeur (Mollat, 1988, 21). After his journey to the Levant, the Mediterranean became the centre of the commerce of Jacques Coeur (Mollat, 1988, 22). Jacques Coeur became a member of the royal Conseil, and carried out several diplomatic missions, especially since 1447-48 (Mollat, 1988, 32). In 1451, Jacques Coeur was imprisoned and his goods confiscated (Mollat, 1988, 38, 65). The public activities of Jacques Coeur as Argentier, and his private enterprises were very closely associated and intermingled (Mollat, 1988, 51-52). From the Argenterie as centre, Jacques Coeur built a network of agencies with a large geographical extension, organised as a sort of holding company, following the example of the Italian enterprises of the same period (Mollat, 1988, 51, 53). Horizontal as well as vertical concentration (Mollat, 1988, 53). In 1455, Jacques Coeur managed to flee to Pisa and Rome (Mollat, 1988, 304), and from there to Chios in 1456 (as participant in the crusade of pope Calixtus III). He died in Chios in 1456 (Mollat, 1988, 180-182).

Treasurer of France and leading capitalist (Hunt & Murray, 1999, 171). Received rights to 10 % of the output of copper, silver and lead of some old mines near Lyon from Charles VII in 1444 (Hunt & Murray, 1999, 171). Traveled to the Levant and established excellent relations with the Mamluks, and became the main supplier of spices to southern France from the 1430s. He shipped cloth, agricultural products, coral and silver, copper and other metals to the east. Fall of Jacques Coeur in 1451, but his 4 galleys continued to operate in the hands of others (Hunt & Murray, 1999, 182). Merchant of Bourges, in the period that the French monarchy lived in exile here: became supplier to the court from 1418, master of the Bourges mint from 1427, close relationship with the dauphin, who became king Charles VII. Industrial enterprises in paper, silk and above all mining. Trade with the Levant: eastward: cloth, linen, agricultural products, coral, also silver, copper and other metals. Reactivated the old mines near Lyon, of which he obtained 10% of the output of silver, lead and copper, exported to the Levant (Hunt & Murray, 1999, 196-197). Treasurer of Charles VII from 1438 to 1451. His business activities were intermingled with his activities as a royal officer. Raised a spectacular loan for the reconquest of Normandy in 1450 (Hunt & Murray, 1999, 206). Ran an Italian style multi-branched company from Bourges. Opportunities opened for him when the French court moved to Bourges in the 1420s (Spufford, 2002, 138). No branch in Paris (Spufford, 2002, 139). Jacques Coeur started his business in Bourges, but moved his base of operations to Tours, where the court of Charles VII was based (Spufford, 2002, 393). Representative of Jacques Coeur in Geneva in 1449: Guillaume de Varye (Schulte, 1923, I, 363). Ca. 1395: birth of Jacques Coeur (Von Pölnitz, 1960, 337). In 1429 and later, Jacques Coeur was financier of Charles VII of France. Bankruptcy of Jacques Coeur in 1453 (Von Pölnitz, 1960, 339).

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Source material:

The possessions of Jacques Coeur in France have been confiscated by the *procureur* Dauvet, who reported his activities in a large register which has been preserved and published (Mollat, 1988, 7). Complementary data can be found in the archives of Bourges, Lyon, Montpellier, Marseille, Grenoble, Avignon and Perpignan, and for Jacques Coeur's activities outside of France in the archives of Barcelona, Valencia, Turin, Genoa, Venice, Florence, Rome, Palermo and Geneva (Mollat, 1988, 8). Almost no accounts have been preserved (Mollat, 1988, 9). Almost no accounts have been preserved. As a result, data about the foreign activities of Jacques Coeur are very fragmented (Mollat, 1988, 135). As a result, the picture about the maritime traffic of Jacques Coeur is incomplete (Mollat, 1988, 135). Only a very small amount of the correspondence of Jacques Coeur has been preserved. Some of his letters are published in Mollat, 1988, 375-392 (Mollat, 1988, 375).

Size: Large

Jacques Coeur's activities and business methods were the same as those used by other French merchants of the 15th century, but he carried these out on a larger scale (Mollat, 1988, 10).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Trade in woolen textiles of Berry, Normandy, Flanders and Italy (Mollat, 1988, 15). Trade in furs (Mollat, 1988, 16). As Argentier, Coeur traded especially in a large variety of luxury goods such as jewels, precious textiles (woolens, silks and linens) and furs, but also armour and horses for example (Mollat, 1988, 39-47). The majority of the customers and debtors of Jacques Coeur belonged to the nobility (Mollat, 1988, 47). Trade in a very wide variety of goods. E.g. in Rouen: wine, herring, salmon, figs, spices, dyestuffs, wool, cloth (Mollat, 1988, 67-68). Trade in salt (Mollat, 1988, 75). Trade in cloth (especially woolens) to Sicily and Naples. From Sicily, horses were exported to France. Also sugar export from Sicily (Mollat, 1988, 162-163).
- Finance: *Argentier* (supplier and banker of the royal court) of Charles VII of France since ca. 1438 until at least 1450 (Mollat, 1988, 9, 13, 31-33). His principal clerc and factor in the Argenterie was Guillaume de Varye (Mollat, 1988, 32). Farm of the Mint of Bourges with Ravand le Danois, Pierre Godard and Jean Jubin in 1427, in which he was involved until mid 1430s (Mollat, 1988, 14, 16-18). Loans, in the form of sales on credit and otherwise, of Jacques Coeur and the Argenterie to the aristocracy at the French royal court, and (to a lesser extent) to other merchants (Mollat, 1988, 47-49). Jacques Coeur financed the French reconquest of Normandy from the English (Mollat, 1988, 66). Also financial support for the French military campaigns in Guyenne (Mollat, 1988, 73). Involved in farming of the salt taxes (Mollat, 1988, 75-76). Loans of Jacques Coeur to the king of Aragon Alfonso V (Mollat, 1988, 149). Jacques Coeur provided credit. Many clients of the Argenterie purchased on credit. Also loans were accorded, often secured on jewels, land,… (Mollat, 1988, 263). Charles VII, king of France, was the largest debtor of Jacques Coeur (Mollat, 1988, 264). Use of letters obligatory, bills of exchange and maritime insurance (not as an insurer) by Jacques Coeur (Mollat, 1988, 265-269).
- Industry: Involvement in the production process via putting-out system, or via ateliers in his possession (Mollat, 1988, 53). Jacques Coeur was involved in the production process, especially of cloth, silks, and weapons (Mollat, 1988, 89). Jacques Coeur was involved in the reorganisation of the production of woollens in the Berry (Mollat, 1988, 90-91). Jacques Coeur and Guillaume de Varye were partners in

a company for the production of silks in Florence (Mollat, 1988, 91-99). Association of Jacques Coeur (75 %) with the brothers Balsarin and Gaspard de Très (25 %), producers of weapons and armoury, originally from Milan (Mollat, 1988, 103-107). Involved in mining activities in lead, silver and copper mines in the region of Lyon since 1444 (Mollat, 1988, 245-246).

- Shipping: Jacques Coeur controlled at least 7 ships (Mollat, 1988, 118). Large campaign of shipbuilding and shipping by Jacques Coeur, supported by credit supplied by Charles VII (Mollat, 1988, 120). Several of the ships of Jacques Coeur (at least 4) were galleys, known as the galleys of France (Mollat, 1988, 120-124). Most of the ships of Jacques Coeur sailed in the Mediterranean and had a relatively modest tonnage. One ship, however, with a much larger tonnage, was destined for voyages to Flanders (Mollat, 1988, 123). Jacques Coeur made use of different types of ships, large and small (Mollat, 1988, 127). Most of the patrons of the galleys of France had strong ties with Jacques Coeur (Mollat, 1988, 132). The agents of Jacques Coeur and the patrons of his ships continued their activities abroad after the arrest of Jacques Coeur in 1451 (Mollat, 1988, 137). The galleys of Jacques Coeur exported textiles and coral to the east (Mollat, 1988, 172). From the eastern Mediterranean, the ships of Jacques Coeur returned with cotton and spices (Mollat, 1988, 172-173).

Network of Jacques Coeur:

Jacques Coeur had a large number and variety of agents in all places where he had interests (Mollat, 1988, 53-54). Jacques Coeur was assisted by servants (couriers, carters, clercs, shop keepers), receiving a salary, and factors, with a certain power of attorney, who received a share in the profits of the enterprise(s) in which they were involved. The factors themselves had subordinates as well. As such, the personnel of Jacques Coeur formed a sort of hierarchical pyramid. However, the enterprise of Jacques Coeur did not form a rigid organisation such as some of the Italian companies of that time. The cohesion of this group depended upon the central role of Jacques Coeur himself, but also on the solidarity of his agents. Importance of family ties and friendship. Most agents originated from the Berry, while often residing elsewhere (Mollat, 1988, 54).

Jacques Coeur had a number of very close and competent associates, the most important of whom was Guillaume de Varye, probably since ca. 1443-1444. Varye was especially responsible for the relations with the north of France, but he also had influence on the business in Lyon, Florence and Languedoc. After the imprisonment of Jacques Coeur, Guillaume de Varye fled to Valencia and later to Florence (Mollat, 1988, 55). Another associate, Jean de Village, also from Berry, was especially in charge of the mediterranean business of Jacques Coeur (Mollat, 1988, 55). Antoine Noir as well played an important role in the southern business of Jacques Coeur. He belonged to an important family from Valence (Mollat, 1988, 55-57).

In France and Roussillon, Jacques Coeur had in many cities clients and suppliers, which he used as agents or correspondents (Mollat, 1988, 58).

The different companies and activities of Jacques Coeur were always more or less limited in time and space. The general direction was in hands of Jacques Coeur and Guillaume de Varye (Mollat, 1988, 57).

Some itinerant factors, such as shippers (Mollat, 1988, 57).

Between the different cities in which Jacques Coeur was active, there was a strong circulation of personnel and merchandise (Mollat, 1988, 58). Jacques Coeur himself was continually travelling within and beyond France (Mollat, 1988, 58).

The network of Jacques Coeur developed gradually from the Loire-region (Mollat, 1988, 58).

Network of Jacques Coeur did not include Venice: he was a competitor of the Venetian maritime trade (Mollat, 1988, 165-167).

Ships of Jacques Coeur: Ca. 20 of the 60 known voyages went to the Christian coasts of the western Mediterranean (Mollat, 1988, 137). Central role of the western Mediterranean (Mollat, 1988, 138). 25 to 30 of the 60 known voyages went to the eastern Mediterranean (Mollat, 1988, 137). 5 of the 60 known voyages went to Barbary (Mollat, 1988, 137). 7 of the 60 known voyages went to Biscay, Atlantic Coasts of France, the Channel coasts of France, Bruges, England and Scotland (Mollat, 1988, 137).

Table A..1. Network of Jacques Coeur, 1418 – 1451

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
		8	**4**	**3**	**1**			
Bourges		6	3	2	1	1418-1432, 1435< <1435-1451	Headquarters of Jacques Coeur, at least from 1427 to 1432, again in 1435 (Mollat, 1988, 16-17). Jacques Coeur owned a palace in Bourges (Mollat, 1988, 37). Permanent factors in Bourges and Tours: Pierre Joubert and Raoulin Toustain (Mollat, 1988, 57). Important textile centre, together with Rouen (Mollat, 1988, 66). Salt attic(s) (for drying of salt) in Bourges under fiscal control of Jacques Coeur (Mollat, 1988, 76). Association of Jacques Coeur with the brothers Balsarin and Gaspard de Très, producers of weapons and armoury, originally from Milan. Balsarin de Très was established in Bourges, and had a subbranch in Tours (Mollat, 1988, 103-105). In Bourges, wares of Jacques Coeur were confiscated after his arrest. In Bourges, Jacques Coeur owned real estate (Mollat, 1988, 56). Merchant of Bourges. Became supplier to the court in Bourges from 1418 (Hunt & Murray, 1999, 196-197). Jacques Coeur started his business in Bourges, but moved his base of operations to Tours, where the court of Charles VII was based (Spufford, 2002, 393).	
Tours		8	4	3	1	>c.1445-1451	Originally, the Argenterie followed the travelling royal court of France. However, Jacques Coeur established the Argenterie permanently in Tours (before 1447), while Coeur himself continued to travel (Mollat, 1988, 36-37). Although Tours at that time was economically not very important, it was located in the centre of the royal castles at the Loire, where the court resided at that time (Mollat, 1988, 36). From ca. 1445, Jacques Coeur owned a hôtel (Mollat, 1988, 37). The Argenterie owned in Tours space for warehousing, sale and expedition, office space, and living space for some of	

							the staff of the Argenterie (Mollat, 1988, 37). The Argenterie in Tours can be seen as the headquarters of Jacques Coeur (Mollat, 1988, 38). Permanent factors in Bourges and Tours: Pierre Joubert and Raoulin Toustain (Mollat, 1988, 57). Salt attic(s) (for drying of salt) in Tours under fiscal control of Jacques Coeur (Mollat, 1988, 76). Silks produced by the silk shop of Jacques Coeur in Florence were exported directly, or via Avignon or Geneva, to Lyon, Tours, Rouen and Languedoc (esp. Montpellier) (Mollat, 1988, 97-98). Several producers and suppliers of weapons and armoury of Jacques Coeur (often foreigners) were established in Tours (Mollat, 1988, 102). Association of Jacques Coeur with the brothers Balsarin and Gaspard de Très, producers of weapons and armoury, originally from Milan. Balsarin de Très was established in Bourges, and had a subbranch in Tours (Mollat, 1988, 103-105). In Tours, wares of Jacques Coeur were confiscated after his arrest. In Tours, Jacques Coeur owned real estate (Mollat, 1988, 56). Jacques Coeur started his business in Bourges, but moved his base of operations to Tours, where the court of Charles VII was based (Spufford, 2002, 393).	
Marseille		7	3	2	1	>1445-1451	Jean de Village, one of the closest associates of Jacques Coeur, was in charge of the Mediterranean business of Coeur, especially in Marseille (Mollat, 1988, 55). Antoine Noir, one of the closest associates of Jacques Coeur, played an important role in the business of Jacques Coeur in cities as Montpellier, Marseille, Avignon, Lyon and Geneva (Mollat, 1988, 55). Permanent factor in Marseille: Jean de Village (Mollat, 1988, 57). Jacques Coeur progressively developed his activities in Marseille, without abandoning Aigues-Mortes entirely (Mollat, 1988, 116). Jacques Coeur had business relations and friends in Marseille (Mollat, 1988, 116). In 1446, Jacques Coeur obtained citizenship of Marseille. In 1447, he purchased a house in Marseille. This house became his residence, but also the seat of his business: Marseille became the headquarters of his enterprise in 1447 (Mollat, 1988, 117). The house in Marseille contained warehouses and a scriptorium (Mollat, 1988, 117). Jean de Village also established himself in Marseille, as well as Ursin Botet, agent of Jean de Village, and Guillaume Gimart (Mollat, 1988, 117). Two of the galleys of Jacques Coeur were built in Marseille (Mollat, 1988, 122). In Marseille, Jacques Coeur owned real estate. In Marseille, the Argentier had certain business interests (Mollat,	

							1988, 56). Jacques Coeur progressively developed his activities in Marseille, without abandoning Aigues-Mortes entirely (Mollat, 1988, 116). Ship of Jacques Coeur from Marseille to Barcelona in 1447 (Mollat, 1988, 153). One of the ships of Jacques Coeur went from Marseille to Collioure in 1445 (Mollat, 1988, 154). In 1449, a galley of Jacques Coeur went from Marseille to Collioure, and from there to Italy for deliveries in Livorno or Florence, and Naples and Sicily (Mollat, 1988, 155). Ships of Jacques Coeur sailing to Sicily or the kingdom of Naples most frequently came from and returned to Marseille and Aigues-Mortes, followed by Collioure. Barcelona and Valencia (only once) are mentioned less frequently (Mollat, 1988, 160). Aigues-Mortes and Marseille were the most frequent ports of departure for voyages to the eastern Mediterranean, followed by Collioure (Mollat, 1988, 171). The four French galleys of Jacques Coeur were variously based in Marseille, Montpellier and Aigues Mortes between 1444 and 1451. (Spufford, 2002, 402).	
Bruges		6	3	2	1	>1447<	Permanent factor in Bruges: Hervé Paris (Mollat, 1988, 57, 63). Hervé Paris was one of the most loyal factors of Jacques Coeur (Mollat, 1988, 63). Company between Jacques Coeur, Guillaume de Varye and Hervé Paris, administrated by Hervé Paris in Bruges (Mollat, 1988, 64). Hervé rented a house in Bruges for sale of spices and warehousing of herring to be exported to France (Mollat, 1988, 64). When absent, Hervé Paris trusted his business in Bruges into the hands of a broker, Jean Plat (Mollat, 1988, 64). At the end, Hervé Paris was also assisted by his brother Philippe (Mollat, 1988, 64). In Bruges, Jacques Coeur had a correspondent. In Bruges, wares of Jacques Coeur were confiscated after his arrest. In Bruges, Jacques Coeur owned real estate (Mollat, 1988, 56). In 1447, the Santa-Maria-e-S.-Jacme, a ship of Jacques Coeur, went from Aigues-Mortes, via Collioure and Barcelona, to Flanders (Mollat, 1988, 154-155).	
Florence	T	6	3	2	1	>1438-1456	Guillaume de Varye was involved in the business of Jacques Coeur in Florence (Mollat, 1988, 55). Permanent factor in Florence: Niccolo di Piero di Bonaccorso (Mollat, 1988, 57). Jacques Coeur travelled for business purposes to Barcelona, Geneva, Genoa, Florence, Rome, etc. (Mollat, 1988, 58). Nicolas Coeur, brother of Jacques, was a representative of the King of France at the papal Court in Rome and Florence in 1438-1443. This allowed Jacques Coeur to gain a foothold at the ecclesiastical and financial	

							circles of Rome and Florence (Mollat, 1988, 91). In 1446, Jacques Coeur became a member of the Arte della Seta in Florence. His association with Florentine silk producers was older than 1446 however (Mollat, 1988, 92). The production of silks of Jacques Coeur was in hands of Niccolo di Piero di Bonaccorso. Niccolo was a business associate of Jacques Coeur since 1443 (Mollat, 1988, 93). In 1443, Jacques Coeur (33 %) became partner in the company of Bonaccorso (17 %) and the brothers Zanobi and Guglielmo di Ser Martino (50 %) (Mollat, 1988, 94-95). The company was ended in 1446, and a new company was founded between Jacques Coeur, his son Ravand, and Bonaccorso. In 1449, this company was replaced by a company between Bonaccorso, Ravand Coeur, Guillaume de Varye and Pierre Joubert, factor of Jacques Coeur. The company remained active until 1456. From 1451, Tommaso Spinello invested actively in this company of Jacques Coeur (Mollat, 1988, 94). Two shops of this company in Florence: a silk shop and a shop for the production of gold cloth (Mollat, 1988, 95-96). The silk company of Jacques Coeur was one of the most important in Florence in 1451 (Mollat, 1988, 96-97). Jacques Coeur had business relations with Italian bankers in Montpellier, Pézenas, Avignon, Perpignan, Barcelona, Valencia, Geneva, Florence, Rome, Naples, Palermo. He used these bankers to obtain credit and to carry out transactions of exchange and transfer of money, since Jacques Coeur himself only rarely made use of bills of exchange (Mollat, 1988, 269).	
Montpellier		6	3	2	1	>1447<	Antoine Noir, one of the closest associates of Jacques Coeur, played an important role in the business of Jacques Coeur in cities as Montpellier, Marseille, Avignon, Lyon and Geneva (Mollat, 1988, 55). Permanent factor in Montpellier: Antoine Noir (Mollat, 1988, 57). Salt attic(s) (for drying of salt) in Montpellier under fiscal control of Jacques Coeur (Mollat, 1988, 79). Silks produced by the silk shop of Jacques Coeur in Florence were exported directly, or via Avignon or Geneva, to Lyon, Tours, Rouen and Languedoc (esp. Montpellier) (Mollat, 1988, 97-98). Jacques Coeur possessed important real estate in Montpellier (Mollat, 1988, 111). Jean de Beaune was a factor of Jacques Coeur in Montpellier (Mollat, 1988, 111). In 1447, a house was rented for Antoine Noir in Montpellier (Mollat, 1988, 112). Jacques Coeur financed the building of the “Loge des Marchands” in Montpellier (Mollat, 1988, 112). In Montpellier, wares of Jacques Coeur	

							were confiscated after his arrest. In Montpellier, Jacques Coeur owned real estate (Mollat, 1988, 56). Jacques Coeur had business relations with Italian bankers in Montpellier, Pézenas, Avignon, Perpignan, Barcelona, Valencia, Geneva, Florence, Rome, Naples, Palermo. He used these bankers to obtain credit and to carry out transactions of exchange and transfer of money, since Jacques Coeur himself only rarely made use of bills of exchange (Mollat, 1988, 269). Antoine Noir resided often in Montpellier or Avignon, where he had close ties with the Italian bankers (Mollat, 1988, 270). The four French galleys of Jacques Coeur were variously based in Marseille, Montpellier and Aigues Mortes between 1444 and 1451. (Spufford, 2002, 402).	
Lyon		5	3	2	1	>1444-1451	Guillaume de Varye was involved in the business of Jacques Coeur in Lyon (Mollat, 1988, 55). Antoine Noir, one of the closest associates of Jacques Coeur, played an important role in the business of Jacques Coeur in cities as Montpellier, Marseille, Avignon, Lyon and Geneva (Mollat, 1988, 55). Permanent factors in Lyon: the brothers Villars (Mollat, 1988, 57). Jacques Coeur owned at least six buildings in Lyon in 1446 (Mollat, 1988, 82). Jacques Coeur was very powerful in Lyon (Mollat, 1988, 82-83). Associates of Jacques Coeur in Lyon were Jean du Prat and the brothers Pierre and Jean de Villars (Mollat, 1988, 83). Jacques Coeur and the Villars had business relations at least from 1445 (Mollat, 1988, 84). Silks produced by the silk shop of Jacques Coeur in Florence were exported directly, or via Avignon or Geneva, to Lyon, Tours, Rouen and Languedoc (esp. Montpellier) (Mollat, 1988, 97-98). Involved in mining activities in lead, silver and copper mines in the region of Lyon (Lyonnais and Beaujolais) since 1444. The mines were located 25 to 30 km west of Lyon (Mollat, 1988, 245-246). In Lyon, wares of Jacques Coeur were confiscated after his arrest. In Lyon, Jacques Coeur owned real estate. In Lyon, Jacques Coeur was captain of a castle. Near Lyon, Jacques Coeur was active in mine exploitation (Mollat, 1988, 56).	
Aigues-Mortes		4	2	2	1	>1447-1451	Jacques Coeur used Aigues-Mortes as a base for his maritime activities in the Mediterranean before going to Marseille (Mollat, 1988, 114). Jacques Coeur progressively developed his activities in Marseille, without abandoning Aigues-Mortes entirely (Mollat, 1988, 116). Shipbuilding activity for Jacques Coeur in Aigues-Mortes (Mollat, 1988, 122). In	

							Aigues-Mortes, wares of Jacques Coeur were confiscated after his arrest (Mollat, 1988, 56). Jacques Coeur used Aigues-Mortes as a base for his maritime activities in the Mediterranean before going to Marseille (Mollat, 1988, 114). Jacques Coeur progressively developed his activities in Marseille, without abandoning Aigues-Mortes entirely (Mollat, 1988, 116). In 1447, the Santa-Maria-e-S.-Jacme, a ship of Jacques Coeur, went from Aigues-Mortes, via Collioure and Barcelona, to Flanders (Mollat, 1988, 154-155). Ships of Jacques Coeur sailing to Sicily or the kingdom of Naples most frequently came from and returned to Marseille and Aigues-Mortes, followed by Collioure. Barcelona and Valencia (only once) are mentioned less frequently (Mollat, 1988, 160). Aigues-Mortes and Marseille were the most frequent ports of departure for voyages to the eastern Mediterranean, followed by Collioure (Mollat, 1988, 171). The four French galleys of Jacques Coeur were variously based in Marseille, Montpellier and Aigues Mortes between 1444 and 1451. (Spufford, 2002, 402).	
Alexandria		4	2	2	1	1432, 1445-1449<	Business travel of Jacques Coeur on a galley of Narbonne to Alexandria in 1432 (Mollat, 1988, 20). Jacques Coeur had “compagnie à Rodes et Alixandrie”: agents (Mollat, 1988, 176). However, no permanent representative in Alexandria (Mollat, 1988, 177). In Alexandria, Jacques Coeur often made use of the service of Genoese merchants (Mollat, 1988, 177). The Levant was first visited in 1445-1446 (Mollat, 1988, 136). 25 to 30 of the 60 known voyages went to the eastern Mediterranean (Mollat, 1988, 137). In 1445-1446, Jacques Coeur’s maritime relations with the Levant started. In 1445-6, a galley of Jacques Coeur in Alexandria (Mollat, 1988, 168-169). Rhythm of journeys of the four main galleys of Jacques Coeur to the eastern Mediterranean between 1449 and 1451. These journeys continued after the arrest of Jacques Coeur until ca. 1456. Main representatives on the eastern galleys were Ravand Coeur (1445), Michel and Pierre Teinturier (until 1447), Jean Forest, Guillaume Gimart, and especially Jean de Village (Mollat, 1988, 171). Contacts of Jacques Coeur with Rhodes and Alexandria often went via Genoa (Mollat, 1988, 140). In 1448, a ship of Jacques Coeur from Aigues-Mortes via Palermo to Alexandria (Mollat, 1988, 162). In 1447, two galleys of Jacques Coeur returned from Alexandria via Palermo (Mollat, 1988, 164). In 1445-1446,	

							Jacques Coeur's maritime relations with the Levant started. In 1445-6, a galley of Jacques Coeur in Alexandria (Mollat, 1988, 168-169). In 1449, a galley of Jacques Coeur went to Rhodes, Beyrouth and Alexandria (Mollat, 1988, 174). Ships of Jacques Coeur went frequently to Alexandria (Mollat, 1988, 177). Alexandria was the only eastern destination of the galleys of Jacques Coeur that is frequently mentioned in the sources (Mollat, 1988, 179).	
Avignon		4	2	2	1		Antoine Noir, one of the closest associates of Jacques Coeur, played an important role in the business of Jacques Coeur in cities as Montpellier, Marseille, Avignon, Lyon and Geneva (Mollat, 1988, 55). Silks produced by the silk shop of Jacques Coeur in Florence were exported directly, or via Avignon or Geneva, to Lyon, Tours, Rouen and Languedoc (esp. Montpellier) (Mollat, 1988, 97-98). In Avignon, Jacques Coeur had a correspondent. In Avignon, Jacques Coeur was captain of a castle (Mollat, 1988, 56). Jacques Coeur had business relations with Italian bankers in Montpellier, Pézenas, Avignon, Perpignan, Barcelona, Valencia, Geneva, Florence, Rome, Naples, Palermo. He used these bankers to obtain credit and to carry out transactions of exchange and transfer of money, since Jacques Coeur himself only rarely made use of bills of exchange (Mollat, 1988, 269). Antoine Noir resided often in Montpellier or Avignon, where he had close ties with the Italian bankers (Mollat, 1988, 270).	
Barcelona		4	2	2	1	>1445-1448<	Antoine Noir was also occasionally active in Barcelona, Rome and Naples (Mollat, 1988, 402 n. 6). Jacques Coeur travelled for business purposes to Barcelona, Geneva, Genoa, Florence, Rome, etc. (Mollat, 1988, 58). Shipbuilding activities for Jacques Coeur in Barcelona in 1445 (Mollat, 1988, 122). In 1446, Jacques Coeur went to Barcelona for negociations with the magistrate of Barcelona (Mollat, 1988, 151). Jacques Coeur had in Barcelona clients, correspondents and factors (Mollat, 1988, 152). Associate in 1445: Joan Llobera. In 1448, Jacques Coeur had business relations with Jean Paris, Martin Guiguer, Guillaume Popon and Jean de Barquières (Mollat, 1988, 152). Several ships of Jacques Coeur sailed to Barcelona (Mollat, 1988, 153). Johan Cases, correspondent of Jacques Coeur in Perpignan, was also active in Barcelona. Another correspondent of Jacques Coeur in Barcelona was Thomas Taqui (Mollat, 1988, 158). Ricardo Davanzati, correspondent of the Medici in Barcelona, was also a	

							correspondent of Jacques Coeur. Taqui supplied credit to Jacques Coeur (Mollat, 1988, 158). Jacques Coeur had business relations with Italian bankers in Montpellier, Pézenas, Avignon, Perpignan, Barcelona, Valencia, Geneva, Florence, Rome, Naples, Palermo. He used these bankers to obtain credit and to carry out transactions of exchange and transfer of money, since Jacques Coeur himself only rarely made use of bills of exchange (Mollat, 1988, 269). Bankers used by Jacques Coeur in Barcelona and/or Perpignan: Johan Cases, Thomas Taqui, Bernard de Barquières, Ricardo Davanzati, and others (Mollat, 1988, 269-270). Several ships of Jacques Coeur sailed to Barcelona (Mollat, 1988, 153). Ships of Jacques Coeur from Palma de Mallorca, Marseille and Naples to Barcelona in 1447 (Mollat, 1988, 153). In 1447, the Santa-Maria-e-S.-Jacme, a ship of Jacques Coeur, went from Aigues-Mortes, via Collioure and Barcelona, to Flanders (Mollat, 1988, 154-155). Ships of Jacques Coeur sailing to Sicily or the kingdom of Naples most frequently came from and returned to Marseille and Aigues-Mortes, followed by Collioure. Barcelona and Valencia (only once) are mentioned less frequently (Mollat, 1988, 160).	
Geneva		4	2	2	1	>1449-1454<	Antoine Noir, one of the closest associates of Jacques Coeur, played an important role in the business of Jacques Coeur in cities as Montpellier, Marseille, Avignon, Lyon and Geneva (Mollat, 1988, 55). Jacques Coeur travelled for business purposes to Barcelona, Geneva, Genoa, Florence, Rome, etc. (Mollat, 1988, 58). Silks produced by the silk shop of Jacques Coeur in Florence were exported directly, or via Avignon or Geneva, to Lyon, Tours, Rouen and Languedoc (esp. Montpellier) (Mollat, 1988, 97-98). In Geneva, Antonio della Casa supplied and sold goods for the company of Guillaume de Varye and Niccolo Bonaccorso of Florence in 1453-54 (Mollat, 1988, 98-99). In Geneva, Jacques Coeur had a correspondent (Mollat, 1988, 56). Jacques Coeur had business relations with Italian bankers in Montpellier, Pézenas, Avignon, Perpignan, Barcelona, Valencia, Geneva, Florence, Rome, Naples, Palermo. He used these bankers to obtain credit and to carry out transactions of exchange and transfer of money, since Jacques Coeur himself only rarely made use of bills of exchange (Mollat, 1988, 269). Fairs of Geneva visited by Pierre Joubert for Jacques Coeur (Mollat, 1988, 270-271). In 1449, Guillaume de Varye at the fairs of Geneva (Mollat, 1988, 271). Goods of Jacques Coeur	

							were confiscated in Geneva in 1451 (Mollat, 1988, 271). Payments and “encaissements”, exchange and booktransfers were carried out for Jacques Coeur by Italian bankers in Geneva (Mollat, 1988, 271). One of Jacques Coeurs correspondents in Geneva was Etienne Achart, merchant and money-changer, in 1451 (Mollat, 1988, 271-272). In Geneva, Jacques Coeur had direct relations with Italian bankers: Giovanni Chierici or Clerici (Jean Clerc) was correspondent for the Florentine silk company of Jacques Coeur (Mollat, 1988, 273). Other correspondent of Jacques Coeur in Geneva was the company of Antonio della Casa and Simone Guadagni (Mollat, 1988, 273-274). Representative of Jacques Coeur in Geneva in 1449: Guillaume de Varye (Schulte, 1923, I, 363).	
Genoa		4	2	2	1	>1442-1447<	Jacques Coeur travelled for business purposes to Barcelona, Geneva, Genoa, Florence, Rome, etc. (Mollat, 1988, 58). In 1444, Pierre Colombier went from Montpellier to Genoa to organise a shipment of weapons to Tunis for Jacques Coeur (Mollat, 1988, 100-101). Several merchants of Genoa supplied Jacques Coeur with armoury in 1443-1444 (Mollat, 1988, 102-103). Ship purchased by Jacques Coeur in Genoa (Mollat, 1988, 122). Important role of Genoa in the business of Jacques Coeur (Mollat, 1988, 139). The Argenterie was supplied with weapons from the Genoese market (Mollat, 1988, 139). Genoa was an important stop on the overland and maritime travels of Jacques Coeur and his agents (Mollat, 1988, 140). Several safe conducts for Jacques Coeur and his agents, e.g. in 1447 (Mollat, 1988, 140, 143). In 1442-43: begin of the maritime trade of Jacques Coeur: three voyages between Genoa and Agde (Mollat, 1988, 136). Important role of Genoa in the business of Jacques Coeur (Mollat, 1988, 139). Ships of Jacques Coeur sailed to Pisa and Genoa (Mollat, 1988, 56).	
Limoges		4	2	2	1		Permanent factor in Limoges: Jean Quercin (Mollat, 1988, 57, 60, 268). Especially connections of Limoges with Tours and Montpellier (Mollat, 1988, 60-61). In Limoges, Jacques Coeur had a correspondent (Mollat, 1988, 56).	
Naples		4	2	2	1	>1447-1456	Antoine Noir was also occasionally active in Barcelona, Rome and Naples (Mollat, 1988, 402 n. 6). The factors Jean Jaunac and Louis Grichault were temporarily sent to Naples (Mollat, 1988, 57). Jean Jaunac, factor of Jacques Coeur, in Naples in 1451 (Mollat, 1988, 147). Jean Forest and	

							Bernard de Vaulx, business relations of Jacques Coeur, were in Naples in 1453 (Mollat, 1988, 161). In 1451-1456, Antoine Noir was very frequently in Naples (Mollat, 1988, 165). In 1452, company between Antoine Noir and a Ragusan merchant in Naples: Marino de Cajan or Cagant (Mollat, 1988, 165). Jacques Coeur had business relations with Italian bankers in Montpellier, Pézenas, Avignon, Perpignan, Barcelona, Valencia, Geneva, Florence, Rome, Naples, Palermo. He used these bankers to obtain credit and to carry out transactions of exchange and transfer of money, since Jacques Coeur himself only rarely made use of bills of exchange (Mollat, 1988, 269). Sales for Jacques Coeur in Naples and Palermo by his factors Michel Borgineu, Hervé Paris and Pierre Pintinard (Mollat, 1988, 273). In Palermo, Naples and Valencia, Jacques Coeurs factors made use of the services of the bank of Giovanni Miroballo (Mollat, 1988, 277-278). Ship of Jacques Coeur from Naples to Barcelona in 1447 (Mollat, 1988, 153). In 1449, a galley of Jacques Coeur went from Marseille to Collioure, and from there to Italy for deliveries in Livorno or Florence, and Naples and Sicily (Mollat, 1988, 155). In 1451, a ship of Jacques Coeur from Valencia to Naples (Mollat, 1988, 156). Destinations of the ships of Jacques Coeur in Sicily and the Aragonese kingdom of Naples were Palermo (mostly frequented), Naples and Gaeta (regularly frequented), Messina (once) (Mollat, 1988, 160).	
Palermo		4	2	2	1		Jacques Coeur had business relations with Italian bankers in Montpellier, Pézenas, Avignon, Perpignan, Barcelona, Valencia, Geneva, Florence, Rome, Naples, Palermo. He used these bankers to obtain credit and to carry out transactions of exchange and transfer of money, since Jacques Coeur himself only rarely made use of bills of exchange (Mollat, 1988, 269). Sales for Jacques Coeur in Naples and Palermo by his factors Michel Borgineu, Hervé Paris and Pierre Pintinard (Mollat, 1988, 273). In Palermo, commerce and exchange transactions of Jean de Village and Guillaume Gimart with the bank of Giovanni Miroballo and Giovanni de Vinaya (Mollat, 1988, 278). In Palermo, Naples and Valencia, Jacques Coeurs factors made use of the services of the bank of Giovanni Miroballo (Mollat, 1988, 277-278). In 1449, a galley of Jacques Coeur went from Marseille to Collioure, and from there to Italy for deliveries in Livorno or Florence, and Naples and Sicily (Mollat, 1988, 155). The ships of Jacques Coeur very	

							regularly frequented Sicily: at least every year from 1445 (Mollat, 1988, 159-160). Destinations of the ships of Jacques Coeur in Sicily and the Aragonese kingdom of Naples were Palermo (mostly frequented), Naples and Gaeta (regularly frequented), Messina (once) (Mollat, 1988, 160). For sugar export, the ships of Jacques Coeur called at small ports (caricatori) in the region of Trapani (Mollat, 1988, 163).	
Perpignan		4	2	2	1	>1446-1449<	Client or supplier acting as agent or correspondent for Jacques Coeur (Mollat, 1988, 58, 154). Joint-ownership of the Santa-Maria-e-S.-Jacme of Jacques Coeur (40 %) and several merchants from Perpignan and Collioure (Mollat, 1988, 156-157). Michel Borgineu, from Berry, was a representative of Jacques Coeur in Perpignan (in 1447) (Mollat, 1988, 157). The correspondents of Jacques Coeur in Perpignan belonged to the governing elite of the city: e.g. in 1446: Jehan Giginta, Jacme Bou, Berto Agosti (Mollat, 1988, 157). Berto Agosti was a merchant and banker in Perpignan, and carried out banking activities for Jacques Coeur in Narbonne, Limoux, Rodez, Entraygues, Nîmes, Nice and Perpignan. Later, Agosti went bankrupt (Mollat, 1988, 157). Another correspondent in Perpignan was Johan Cases, merchant and money-changer. He transferred bills of exchange for Jacques Coeur for the fairs of Pézenas and Montagnac. In 1449, Cases was in relations with Ravand Coeur in Tuscany (Mollat, 1988, 157-158). In Perpignan, Jacques Coeur had a correspondent (Mollat, 1988, 56). Jacques Coeur had business relations with Italian bankers in Montpellier, Pézenas, Avignon, Perpignan, Barcelona, Valencia, Geneva, Florence, Rome, Naples, Palermo. He used these bankers to obtain credit and to carry out transactions of exchange and transfer of money, since Jacques Coeur himself only rarely made use of bills of exchange (Mollat, 1988, 269). Bankers used by Jacques Coeur in Barcelona and/or Perpignan: Johan Cases, Thomas Taqui, Bernard de Barquières, Ricardo Davanzati, and others (Mollat, 1988, 269-270).	
Pézenas (Mediterranean, Rhône)		4	2	2	1	>1449<	Salt attic(s) (for drying of salt) in Pézenas under fiscal control of Jacques Coeur (Mollat, 1988, 79). In Pézenas, Jacques Coeur owned a house with a warehouse, used for the fairs of Pézenas (Mollat, 1988, 111). Another correspondent in Perpignan was Johan Cases, merchant and money-changer. He transferred bills of exchange for Jacques Coeur for the fairs of Pézenas and Montagnac. In 1449, Cases was in relations with Ravand	

							Coeur in Tuscany (Mollat, 1988, 157-158). In Pézenas, Jacques Coeur had a correspondent (Mollat, 1988, 56). Jacques Coeur had business relations with Italian bankers in Montpellier, Pézenas, Avignon, Perpignan, Barcelona, Valencia, Geneva, Florence, Rome, Naples, Palermo. He used these bankers to obtain credit and to carry out transactions of exchange and transfer of money, since Jacques Coeur himself only rarely made use of bills of exchange (Mollat, 1988, 269). At the fairs of Pézenas and Montagnac, business between Johan Cases and Antoine Noir (Mollat, 1988, 270).	
Poitou		4	2	2	1	>1449<	Permanent factor in Poitou: Jean Bourdin (Mollat, 1988, 57). Jean Bourdin was not a commercial factor, but the "receveur des aides et de la taille des gens d'armes" in Poitou. Company with Guillaume de Varye in 1449. Bourdin supplied some of the fiscal revenues of which he was in charge as credit to Jacques Coeur (Mollat, 1988, 59-60).	
Rhodes		4	2	2	1	>1449<	Good relationship between Jacques Coeur and the Order of the Hospitalers (Mollat, 1988, 175). Dignitaries of the Hospitalers in Marseille provided loans to Jacques Coeur, to be repaid in Rhodes. This allowed the Grand Master to transfer the revenues of his Order in the west to Rhodes (Mollat, 1988, 175-176). Jacques Coeur had "compagnie à Rodes et Alixandrie": agents (Mollat, 1988, 176). Exchange transactions with the Order of Saint-John (Mollat, 1988, 277). Contacts of Jacques Coeur with Rhodes and Alexandria often went via Genoa (Mollat, 1988, 140). In 1449, galley of Jacques Coeur transported cloth from Collioure to Rhodes (Mollat, 1988, 155). Diplomatic relations of Jacques Coeur with the Order of Saint John at Rhodes (Mollat, 1988, 168-169). In 1449, a galley of Jacques Coeur went to Rhodes, Beyrouth and Alexandria (Mollat, 1988, 174). The eastern galleys of Jacques Coeur had a stop in Rhodes. Good relationship between Jacques Coeur and the Order of the Hospitalers on Rhodes (Mollat, 1988, 175). Rhodes served as an entrepôt and information centre for trade with Alexandria (Mollat, 1988, 176).	
Rome		4	2	2	1	1438-1456	Antoine Noir was also occasionally active in Barcelona, Rome and Naples (Mollat, 1988, 402 n. 6). Jacques Coeur travelled for business purposes to Barcelona, Geneva, Genoa, Florence, Rome, etc. (Mollat, 1988, 58). Nicolas Coeur, brother of Jacques, was a representative of the King of France at the papal Court in Rome and Florence in 1438-1443. This	

							allowed Jacques Coeur to gain a foothold at the ecclesiastical and financial circles of Rome and Florence (Mollat, 1988, 91). Stay of Jacques Coeur in Rome in 1455 of 1456 (Mollat, 1988, 135). In 1455-56, Jacques Coeur fled to Rome (Mollat, 1988, 180). Jacques Coeur had business relations with Italian bankers in Montpellier, Pézenas, Avignon, Perpignan, Barcelona, Valencia, Geneva, Florence, Rome, Naples, Palermo. He used these bankers to obtain credit and to carry out transactions of exchange and transfer of money, since Jacques Coeur himself only rarely made use of bills of exchange (Mollat, 1988, 269). Transaction in bills of exchange with Rome (to Tommaso Spinelli, depositor general) for French clergymen for payment of annati,… (Mollat, 1988, 274-277). Representative of Jacques Coeur at the papal court: Jean Richier (or Richer, or Richelet), “chanoine” of Berry (Mollat, 1988, 276). After the arrest of Jacques Coeur, many of his factors fled to Rome, where they were protected by pope Nicolas V: Guillaume de Varye, Louis Grichault, Hugues and Antoine Noir, Jean de Village, Jean Forest (Mollat, 1988, 306). Nicolas Coeur in Rome since 1438 (Mollat, 1988, 306). Jacques Coeur had a good relationship with pope Nicolas V, who provided him with privileges to trade with the muslims (Mollat, 1988, 306-307).	
Rouen		4	2	2	1	1449-1450<	Permanent factor in Rouen: Hugues Aubert (Mollat, 1988, 57). Important centre for the activities of Jacques Coeur: textile industry, commercial centre, external links (Mollat, 1988, 66). Also connections of Jacques Coeur with Colin Poilevillain, Mint master of Rouen (Mollat, 1988, 67). Permanent factor of Guillaume de Varye became Hugues Aubert, “receveur des aides”, from 1450: for financial as well as commercial activities (Mollat, 1988, 67). Permanent factor in Rouen only after the reconquest of the city from the English in 1449 (Mollat, 1988, 66-67). The house of Guillaume de Varye in Rouen was used by Hugues Aubert, and also served as a shop (Mollat, 1988, 67). Apparently, Aubert was not a very competent factor (Mollat, 1988, 69-70). Salt attic(s) (for drying of salt) in Rouen under fiscal control of Jacques Coeur (Mollat, 1988, 76). Silks produced by the silk shop of Jacques Coeur in Florence were exported directly, or via Avignon or Geneva, to Lyon, Tours, Rouen and Languedoc (esp. Montpellier) (Mollat, 1988, 97-98). In Rouen, Jacques Coeur had a correspondent. In Rouen, wares of Jacques Coeur were confiscated after his	

							arrest. In Rouen, Jacques Coeur owned real estate (Mollat, 1988, 56).	
Valencia		4	2	2	1	>1451<	Ships of Jacques Coeur sailed regularly to Valencia (In 1451, 6 or 7 times) (Mollat, 1988, 155). Jacques Coeur had correspondents in Valencia (Mollat, 1988, 158). In Valencia, Jacques Coeur had a Maur correspondent. From Valencia, relations of Jacques Coeur with the Atlantic and with the Maghreb (Mollat, 1988, 159 (Mollat, 1988, 159). Jacques Coeur had business relations with Italian bankers in Montpellier, Pézenas, Avignon, Perpignan, Barcelona, Valencia, Geneva, Florence, Rome, Naples, Palermo. He used these bankers to obtain credit and to carry out transactions of exchange and transfer of money, since Jacques Coeur himself only rarely made use of bills of exchange (Mollat, 1988, 269). In Palermo, Naples and Valencia, Jacques Coeurs factors made use of the services of the bank of Giovanni Miroballo (Mollat, 1988, 277-278). Ships of Jacques Coeur sailed regularly to Valencia (In 1451, 6 or 7 times) (Mollat, 1988, 155). In 1451, two ships of Jacques Coeur came from Deva to Valencia (Mollat, 1988, 156). In 1451, a ship of Jacques Coeur from Valencia to Naples (Mollat, 1988, 156). In 2nd half 1451 many ships of Jacques Coeur in Valencia: had to keep away from French waters because of the arrest of Jacques Coeur (Mollat, 1988, 156). Ships of Jacques Coeur sailing to Sicily or the kingdom of Naples most frequently came from and returned to Marseille and Aigues-Mortes, followed by Collioure. Barcelona and Valencia (only once) are mentioned less frequently (Mollat, 1988, 160).	
Agde		3	2	2	1	1442-1451	Ship equipped for Jacques Coeur in Agde in 1444 (Mollat, 1988, 122). In Agde, wares of Jacques Coeur were confiscated after his arrest (Mollat, 1988, 56). In 1442-43: begin of the maritime trade of Jacques Coeur: three voyages between Genoa and Agde (Mollat, 1988, 136).	
Angers		3	2	2	1	>1449<	Client or supplier acting as agent or correspondent for Jacques Coeur (Mollat, 1988, 58). In 1449, Pierre Chabot in Angers supplied Guillaume de Varye with cloth from Normandy and England (Mollat, 1988, 59, 63). In Angers, Jacques Coeur had a correspondent (Mollat, 1988, 56).	
Beirut		3	2	2	1	1432-1449	Business travel of Jacques Coeur on a galley of Narbonne to Alexandria in 1432. During this journey Jacques Coeur also visited Damascus and Beyrouth (Mollat, 1988, 20-22). In 1449, a galley of Jacques Coeur went to Rhodes, Beyrouth and Alexandria (Mollat, 1988, 174). The galleys of Jacques Coeur not only went to Alexandria, but probably also to Acre,	

							Jaffa, and especially Beyrouth. Also contacts with Damascus (Mollat, 1988, 179).	
Bilbao		3	2	2	1		In Bilbao, Jacques Coeur had a correspondent (Mollat, 1988, 56).	
Carcassonne		3	2	2	1		In Carcassonne, Jacques Coeur had a correspondent (Mollat, 1988, 56).	
Collioure		3	2	2	1	>1445-1449<	In 1446-47, two ships built for Jacques Coeur in Collioure, port of Perpignan (Mollat, 1988, 122-123, 154). One of the ships of Jacques Coeur in Collioure in 1445 (Mollat, 1988, 154). Ships of Jacques Coeur sailed regularly to Collioure (Mollat, 1988, 154-155). Johan Cases, in Perpignan, was also correspondent of Jacques Coeur in Collioure (Mollat, 1988, 172). In Collioure, Jacques Coeur had a correspondent (Mollat, 1988, 56). One of the ships of Jacques Coeur went from Marseille to Collioure in 1445 (Mollat, 1988, 154). Ships of Jacques Coeur sailed regularly to Collioure (Mollat, 1988, 154-155). In 1447, the Santa-Maria-e-S.-Jacme, a ship of Jacques Coeur, went from Aigues-Mortes, via Collioure and Barcelona, to Flanders (Mollat, 1988, 154-155). In 1449, a galley of Jacques Coeur went from Marseille to Collioure, and from there to Italy for deliveries in Livorno or Florence, and Naples and Sicily (Mollat, 1988, 155). In 1449, galley of Jacques Coeur transported cloth from Collioure to Rhodes (Mollat, 1988, 155). Ships of Jacques Coeur sailing to Sicily or the kingdom of Naples most frequently came from and returned to Marseille and Aigues-Mortes, followed by Collioure. Barcelona and Valencia (only once) are mentioned less frequently (Mollat, 1988, 160). Aigues-Mortes and Marseille were the most frequent ports of departure for voyages to the eastern Mediterranean, followed by Collioure (Mollat, 1988, 171).	
Fanjeaux		3	2	2	1		In Fanjeaux, Jacques Coeur had a correspondent (Mollat, 1988, 56).	
Gaeta		3	2	2	1		Destinations of the ships of Jacques Coeur in Sicily and the Aragonese kingdom of Naples were Palermo (mostly frequented), Naples and Gaeta (regularly frequented), Messina (once) (Mollat, 1988, 160).	
Issoudun		3	2	2	1		In Issoudun, Jacques Coeur had a correspondent (Mollat, 1988, 56).	
London		3	2	2	1		*Commanda* between the Florentine silk company of Jacques Coeur with Ludovico di Francesco Strozzi in London (Mollat, 1988, 96, 183). Perhaps indirect trade of Jacques Coeur with England via Tuscany, since direct trade was inhibited by the war (Mollat, 1988, 96). The factor Guillaume Mazoran was temporarily sent to England (Mollat, 1988, 57). Shortly after the armistice between France and England in 1444, Guillaume Mazoran was	

							sent to England to sell some goods produced in France (Mollat, 1988, 63). First geographical extensions of the shipping of Jacques Coeur to Barbary and England (Mollat, 1988, 136). Journeys to England became possible thanks to the armistice of 1444, and the final actions of the Hundred Years war in 1450-51 (Mollat, 1988, 138).	
Le Mans		3	2	2	1		In Le Mans, Jacques Coeur had a correspondent (Mollat, 1988, 56).	
Milan		3	2	2	1		Jacques Coeur imported weapons and armoury from Milan for Charles VII (Mollat, 1988, 103).	
Montagnac		3	2	2	1		A correspondent in Perpignan was Johan Cases, merchant and money-changer. He transferred bills of exchange for Jacques Coeur for the fairs of Pézenas and Montagnac. In 1449, Cases was in relations with Ravand Coeur in Tuscany (Mollat, 1988, 157-158). In Montagnac, Jacques Coeur had a correspondent (Mollat, 1988, 56). At the fairs of Pézenas and Montagnac, business between Johan Cases and Antoine Noir (Mollat, 1988, 270).	
Paris		3	2	2	1	>1450<	Between the Burgundian crisis of 1418 and the liberation of Paris in 1436, the economic importance of Paris, even as a consumption centre, was limited. Slow recovery after 1436 as an intermediary between the markets of Languedoc and the North (Mollat, 1988, 62-63). Jacques Coeur was only slightly involved in the Parisian Mint, and in money-changing activities in Paris. Coeur never had a factor in Paris, nor an office (Mollat, 1988, 62). Some Parisiens acted as intermediaries for Jacques Coeur, such as Jean de Marle, whose house was used as a warehouse for spices sent from the south to Bruges in 1450 (Mollat, 1988, 63). Berangon Baudouin, agent of Guillaume de Varye, purchased cloth in Troyes and Reims, and travelled also to Paris (Mollat, 1988, 62). In Paris, Jacques Coeur had a correspondent (Mollat, 1988, 56). No branch in Paris (Spufford, 2002, 139).	
Pisa		3	2	2	1	1449-1450	In Pisa, Giovanni di Alamanno Salviati purchased wool and almonds for the Florentine company of Ravand Coeur in 1449-1450 (Mollat, 1988, 98). Ships of Jacques Coeur sailed to Pisa and Genoa (Mollat, 1988, 56).	
Pont-Saint-Esprit (Mediterranean, Rhône)		3	2	2	1		Salt attic(s) (for drying of salt) in Pont-Saint-Esprit under fiscal control of Jacques Coeur (Mollat, 1988, 79). Representative at the salt attic of Pont-Saint-Esprit was Nicolas de Voisines (Mollat, 1988, 80, 86). In Pont-Saint-Esprit, Jacques Coeur had a correspondent (Mollat, 1988, 56).	
Reims		3	2	2	1		Berangon Baudouin, agent of Guillaume de Varye, purchased cloth in	

							Troyes and Reims, and travelled also to Paris (Mollat, 1988, 62). In Reims, Jacques Coeur had a correspondent (Mollat, 1988, 56).	
La Rochelle		3	2	2	1	>1450-1451	Client or supplier acting as agent or correspondent for Jacques Coeur (Mollat, 1988, 58). The goods sent from Scotland to La Rochelle in 1450 were warehoused for Jacques Coeur by Jean Roy and Bernin Vigier, merchants from La Rochelle (Mollat, 1988, 71). Georges Bonhommet, clerk of Varye, sent to La Rochelle for the shipment from Scotland (Mollat, 1988, 71). In La Rochelle, wares of Jacques Coeur were confiscated after his arrest (Mollat, 1988, 56).	
Saint-Jean-d'Angély		3	2	2	1	>1451<	The Argenterie had clients in Saint-Jean-d'Angély (Mollat, 1988, 72). Guillaume de Varye was in Saint-Jean-d'Angély in June and July 1451 to settle some transactions (Mollat, 1988, 72). In Saint-Jean-d'Angély, Jacques Coeur had a correspondent (Mollat, 1988, 56).	
Saint-Malo		3	2	2	1	1450	In 1450, Varye sent a clerk, Georges Bonhommet, to Saint-Malo, to unload the wool and leather sent from Scotland to Saint-Malo. However, in the end, the ship did not arrive in Saint-Malo, but in La Rochelle (Mollat, 1988, 70). In Saint-Malo, Jacques Coeur had a correspondent (Mollat, 1988, 56).	
Saumur		3	2	2	1		In Saumur, Jacques Coeur had a correspondent (Mollat, 1988, 56).	
Thouars		3	2	2	1		In Thouars, Jacques Coeur had a correspondent (Mollat, 1988, 56).	
Toulouse		3	2	2	1		In Toulouse, Jacques Coeur had a correspondent (Mollat, 1988, 56).	
Troyes		3	2	2	1		Berangon Baudouin, agent of Guillaume de Varye, purchased cloth in Troyes and Reims, and travelled also to Paris (Mollat, 1988, 62). In Troyes, Jacques Coeur had a correspondent (Mollat, 1988, 56).	
Tunis		3	2	2	1	>1444<	In 1444, Pierre Colombier went from Montpellier to Genoa to organise a shipment of weapons to Tunis for Jacques Coeur (Mollat, 1988, 100-101). First geographical extensions of the shipping of Jacques Coeur to Barbary and England (Mollat, 1988, 136). 5 of the 60 known voyages went to Barbary (Mollat, 1988, 137). Some of the galleys of Jacques Coeur did not sail from Sicily to the east, but to the northern African coast (Mollat, 1988, 175). Shipment from Genoa to Tunis in 1444 (Mollat, 1988, 140).	
Valence		3	2	2	1		In Valence, Jacques Coeur was represented by the Plouvier and Noir families (Mollat, 1988, 86). In Valence, Jacques Coeur had a correspondent (Mollat, 1988, 56).	
Acre		2	2	1	0		The galleys of Jacques Coeur not only went to Alexandria, but probably also to Acre, Jaffa, and especially Beyrouth. Also contacts with Damascus	

							(Mollat, 1988, 179).	
Arles		2	2	1	0		Jacques Coeur was involved in the salt trade in Arles via intermediate agents (Mollat, 1988, 86).	
Beaucaire (Mediterranean, Rhône)		2	2	1	0	>1451	Salt attic(s) (for drying of salt) in Beaucaire under fiscal control of Jacques Coeur (Mollat, 1988, 79). In Beaucaire, wares of Jacques Coeur were confiscated after his arrest. In Beaucaire, Jacques Coeur owned real estate (Mollat, 1988, 56).	
Béziers (Mediterranean, Rhône)		2	2	1	0	>1451	Salt attic(s) (for drying of salt) in Béziers under fiscal control of Jacques Coeur (Mollat, 1988, 79). Jacques Coeur owned houses in Béziers (Mollat, 1988, 111). In Béziers, wares of Jacques Coeur were confiscated after his arrest. In Béziers, Jacques Coeur owned real estate (Mollat, 1988, 56).	
Bordeaux		2	2	1	0		Jacques Coeur was almost not active in Bordeaux: was in hands of the English. Only a company between Guillaume de Varye and Raoulin Toustain, for shipment of grain to Bordeaux (Mollat, 1988, 72-73, 184). In Bordeaux, Jacques Coeur had a correspondent (Mollat, 1988, 56).	
Buzançais (Loire, Cher)		2	2	1	0	>1451	Salt attic(s) (for drying of salt) in Buzançais under fiscal control of Jacques Coeur (Mollat, 1988, 76). In Buzençais, wares of Jacques Coeur were confiscated after his arrest (Mollat, 1988, 56).	
Cherbourg		2	2	1	0	>1451	In Cherbourg, wares of Jacques Coeur were confiscated after his arrest (Mollat, 1988, 56).	
Condrieu (Rhône)		2	2	1	0		The Villars brothers in Lyon had contacts with the Chappuis in Condrieu, who were involved in the business of Jacques Coeur (Mollat, 1988, 83-84).	
Damascus		2	2	1	0	1432	Business travel of Jacques Coeur on a galley of Narbonne to Alexandria in 1432. During this journey Jacques Coeur also visited Damascus and Beyrouth (Mollat, 1988, 20-22). The galleys of Jacques Coeur not only went to Alexandria, but probably also to Acre, Jaffa, and especially Beyrouth. Also contacts with Damascus (Mollat, 1988, 179).	
Deva		2	2	1	0	1451	In 1451, two ships of Jacques Coeur came from Deva to Valencia (Mollat, 1988, 156).	
Entraygues-sur-Truyère		2	2	1	0		Berto Agosti was a merchant and banker in Perpignan, and carried out banking activities for Jacques Coeur in Narbonne, Limoux, Rodez, Entraygues, Nîmes, Nice and Perpignan. Later, Agosti went bankrupt (Mollat, 1988, 157).	
Exmes (Normandy)		2	2	1	0	>1451	Salt attic(s) (for drying of salt) in Exmes under fiscal control of Jacques Coeur (Mollat, 1988, 76). In Exmes, wares of Jacques Coeur were	

							confiscated after his arrest (Mollat, 1988, 56).	
Frontignan (Mediterranean, Rhône)		2	2	1	0	>1451	Salt attic(s) (for drying of salt) in Frontignan under fiscal control of Jacques Coeur (Mollat, 1988, 79). Representative at the salt attic in Frontignan was Jean Gaillard (Mollat, 1988, 80). In Frontignan, wares of Jacques Coeur were confiscated after his arrest (Mollat, 1988, 56).	
Harfleur		2	2	1	0		In Harfleur, the Argentier had certain business interests (Mollat, 1988, 56).	
Jaffa		2	2	1	0		The galleys of Jacques Coeur not only went to Alexandria, but probably also to Acre, Jaffa, and especially Beyrouth. Also contacts with Damascus (Mollat, 1988, 179).	
Lattes		2	2	1	0		Warehouse facilities in Lattes, the port of Montpellier (Mollat, 1988, 113).	
Limoux		2	2	1	0		Berto Agosti was a merchant and banker in Perpignan, and carried out banking activities for Jacques Coeur in Narbonne, Limoux, Rodez, Entraygues, Nîmes, Nice and Perpignan. Later, Agosti went bankrupt (Mollat, 1988, 157).	
Loches (Loire, Cher)		2	2	1	0	>1451	Salt attic(s) (for drying of salt) in Loches under fiscal control of Jacques Coeur (Mollat, 1988, 76). In Loches, wares of Jacques Coeur were confiscated after his arrest (Mollat, 1988, 56).	
Messina		2	2	1	0		In 1449, a galley of Jacques Coeur went from Marseille to Collioure, and from there to Italy for deliveries in Livorno or Florence, and Naples and Sicily (Mollat, 1988, 155). The ships of Jacques Coeur very regularly frequented Sicily: at least every year from 1445 (Mollat, 1988, 159-160). Destinations of the ships of Jacques Coeur in Sicily and the Aragonese kingdom of Naples were Palermo (mostly frequented), Naples and Gaeta (regularly frequented), Messina (once) (Mollat, 1988, 160). For sugar export, the ships of Jacques Coeur called at small ports (caricatori) in the region of Trapani (Mollat, 1988, 163).	
Mireval (Mediterranean, Rhône)		2	2	1	0	>1451	Salt attic(s) (for drying of salt) in Mireval under fiscal control of Jacques Coeur (Mollat, 1988, 79). In Mireval, wares of Jacques Coeur were confiscated after his arrest (Mollat, 1988, 56).	
Narbonne (Mediterranean, Rhône)		2	2	1	0	>1432<	Salt attic(s) (for drying of salt) in Narbonne under fiscal control of Jacques Coeur (Mollat, 1988, 79). Berto Agosti was a merchant and banker in Perpignan, and carried out banking activities for Jacques Coeur in Narbonne, Limoux, Rodez, Entraygues, Nîmes, Nice and Perpignan. Later, Agosti went bankrupt (Mollat, 1988, 157). Business travel of Jacques Coeur on a galley of Narbonne to Alexandria in 1432 (Mollat, 1988, 20).	

Nevers		2	2	1	0		In Nevers, the Argentier had certain business interests (Mollat, 1988, 56).	
Nice		2	2	1	0		Berto Agosti was a merchant and banker in Perpignan, and carried out banking activities for Jacques Coeur in Narbonne, Limoux, Rodez, Entraygues, Nîmes, Nice and Perpignan. Later, Agosti went bankrupt (Mollat, 1988, 157).	
Nîmes (Mediterranean, Rhône)		2	2	1	0		Salt attic(s) (for drying of salt) in Nîmes under fiscal control of Jacques Coeur (Mollat, 1988, 79). Berto Agosti was a merchant and banker in Perpignan, and carried out banking activities for Jacques Coeur in Narbonne, Limoux, Rodez, Entraygues, Nîmes, Nice and Perpignan. Later, Agosti went bankrupt (Mollat, 1988, 157).	
Omessas (Languedoc)	M	2	2	1	0	1447	In 1447, Jacques Coeur controlled the exploitation of a silver mine at Omessas (Mollat, 1988, 111).	
Orange		2	2	1	0		Jacques Coeur was involved in the salt trade in Orange via intermediate agents (Mollat, 1988, 86).	
Orléans		2	2	1	0		In Orléans, the Argentier had certain business interests (Mollat, 1988, 56).	
Palma de Mallorca		2	2	1	0	1447	Ship of Jacques Coeur from Palma de Mallorca to Barcelona in 1447 (Mollat, 1988, 153).	
Pampailly	M	2	2	1	0	from 1444	Involved in mining activities in lead, silver and copper mines in the region of Lyon (Lyonnais and Beaujolais) since 1444. The mines were located 25 to 30 km west of Lyon (Mollat, 1988, 245-246). The most important mine was the mine of Pampailly (Mollat, 1988, 246).	
Le Puy		2	2	1	0		In Le Puy, wares of Jacques Coeur were confiscated after his arrest (Mollat, 1988, 56).	
Roanne		2	2	1	0		In Roanne, Jacques Coeur owned real estate. In Roanne, the Argentier had certain business interests (Mollat, 1988, 56).	
Rodez		2	2	1	0		Berto Agosti was a merchant and banker in Perpignan, and carried out banking activities for Jacques Coeur in Narbonne, Limoux, Rodez, Entraygues, Nîmes, Nice and Perpignan. Later, Agosti went bankrupt (Mollat, 1988, 157).	
Scotland		2	2	1	0	1450	The factors Étienne Caillat and Étienne de Manne were temporarily sent to Scotland (Mollat, 1988, 57). In 1450, Guillaume de Varye trusted a sort of commercial house in Scotland in the hands of Étienne Caillat (Mollat, 1988, 68). Étienne Caillat sent wool and leather from Scotland to Bruges and La Rochelle (Mollat, 1988, 68-70, 183). This expedition to Scotland was only carried out once (Mollat, 1988, 183).	

Aramon (Mediterranean, Rhône)		1	1	1	0		Salt attic(s) (for drying of salt) in Aramon under fiscal control of Jacques Coeur (Mollat, 1988, 79).	
Cagliari		1	1	1	0		Perhaps, the ships of Jacques Coeur sometimes made a stop at Cagliari, on the way back from the east (Mollat, 1988, 160).	
Cairo		1	1	1	0		Jean de Village went to Cairo for an “audience” to the sultan of Egypt (Mollat, 1988, 177).	
Capestang (Mediterranean, Rhône)		1	1	1	0		Salt attic(s) (for drying of salt) in Capestang under fiscal control of Jacques Coeur (Mollat, 1988, 79).	
Chios		1	1	1	0	1456	No indications of voyages of the galleys of Jacques Coeur to the Aegean (Mollat, 1988, 179-180). Nevertheless, in 1456, Jacques Coeur went to Chios, after he had fled to Rome (Mollat, 1988, 180). Jacques Coeur went to Chios in 1456 as participant in a papal crusade (Mollat, 1988, 180-181).	
Le Lac (Mediterranean, Rhône)		1	1	1	0		Salt attic(s) (for drying of salt) in Le Lac under fiscal control of Jacques Coeur (Mollat, 1988, 79).	
Lampourdier (Mediterranean, Rhône)		1	1	1	0		Salt attic(s) (for drying of salt) in Lampourdier under fiscal control of Jacques Coeur (Mollat, 1988, 79).	
Lapalme (Mediterranean, Rhône)		1	1	1	0		Salt attic(s) (for drying of salt) in La Palme under fiscal control of Jacques Coeur (Mollat, 1988, 79).	
Livorno		1	1	1	0	1449	In 1449, a galley of Jacques Coeur went from Marseille to Collioure, and from there to Italy for deliveries in Livorno or Florence, and Naples and Sicily (Mollat, 1988, 155).	
Lunel (Mediterranean, Rhône)		1	1	1	0		Salt attic(s) (for drying of salt) in Lunel under fiscal control of Jacques Coeur (Mollat, 1988, 79).	
Marseillan (Mediterranean, Rhône)		1	1	1	0		Salt attic(s) (for drying of salt) in Marseillan under fiscal control of Jacques Coeur (Mollat, 1988, 79).	
Marsillargues (Mediterranean, Rhône)		1	1	1	0		Salt attic(s) (for drying of salt) in Marsillargues under fiscal control of Jacques Coeur (Mollat, 1988, 79).	

Meschers-sur-Gironde (Guyenne, Atlantic Coast)		1	1	1	0		Perhaps a house of Jacques Coeur in Meschers: an important site for navigation on the Gironde (Mollat, 1988, 73).	
Mèze (Mediterranean, Rhône)		1	1	1	0		Salt attic(s) (for drying of salt) in Mèze under fiscal control of Jacques Coeur (Mollat, 1988, 79).	
Montrichard (Loire, Cher)		1	1	1	0		Salt attic(s) (for drying of salt) in Montrichard under fiscal control of Jacques Coeur (Mollat, 1988, 76).	
Peyriac (Mediterranean, Rhône)		1	1	1	0		Salt attic(s) (for drying of salt) in Peyriac under fiscal control of Jacques Coeur (Mollat, 1988, 79).	
Sigean (Mediterranean, Rhône)		1	1	1	0		Salt attic(s) (for drying of salt) in Sigean under fiscal control of Jacques Coeur (Mollat, 1988, 79).	
Siracusa		1	1	1	0		Perhaps the galleys to the east made a stop at Syracuse (Mollat, 1988, 174).	
Sommières (Mediterranean, Rhône)		1	1	1	0		Salt attic(s) (for drying of salt) in Sommières under fiscal control of Jacques Coeur (Mollat, 1988, 79). Jacques Coeur was “Châtelain” of Sommières (Mollat, 1988, 111).	
Villeneuve-les-Maguelonne (Mediterranean, Rhône)		1	1	1	0		Salt attic(s) (for drying of salt) in Villeneuve-lès-Maguelonne under fiscal control of Jacques Coeur (Mollat, 1988, 79).	

+ It is not very clear whether Jacques Coeur established full-fledged branches or whether he was only represented by factors.

GAPAILLON, before 1545 – after 1583

The Gapaillon business house of Lyon was specialised in silk trade. (Gascon, 1952, 145). The business was established by Odet Gapaillon (d. 1549), who began his career as a simple artisan, but who later also became active as a merchant. By 1545, he was among the thirty most highly taxed citizens of Lyon. (146). Odet Gapaillon was among the first to become active in the silk industry of Lyon (which was established in 1536). (145-146). Under the sons of Odet, especially Claude, the Gapaillon retired from silk production and focused on silk trade. They did not own their own looms,… anymore, but supplied silk to silk labourers through a putting-out system. (146). Claude Gapaillon became involved in the protestant government of Lyon in 1562. In 1568, he had to flee the city, but by 1569 he returned and continued his business together with Pierre Badieu, previously a factor who had become his associate (since 1566, contract renewed in 1573) and son-in-law. (147). Claude Gapaillon died shortly after 1573, and the business was continued by his son Claude (II) and Pierre Badieu. (148).

References:

Gascon, R., 1952. "Structure et géographie d'une maison de marchands de soie à Lyon au XVIe siècle". *Revue de Géographie de Lyon*, 27 (2), 145-154.

I did not consult:

Source material:

An inventory of the goods of the Gapaillon business house has been preserved for 1583. The notarial archives of Lyon also contain extra information. (Gascon, 1952, 145).

Size: Small or medium-sized

The business was established by Odet Gapaillon (d. 1549), who began his career as a simple artisan, but who later also became active as a merchant. By 1545, he was among the thirty most highly taxed citizens of Lyon. (146).

Main activities:

- Commerce: The artisan Odet Gapaillon became active as a silk merchant. Under his son and grandson, the silk commerce became the main activity of the enterprise. (Gascon, 1952, 146-148). Purchase of imported silk and silks, export mostly of silks produced in Lyon. (148-149). Main activity of the business house was the sale of silks produced in Lyon (as well as imported silks). (149).
- Finance: Purchase and sale mostly on credit. (Gascon, 1952, 150).

- Industry: Originally, Odet Gapaillon was active as a cloth manufacturer. Only later he also became a merchant. Under his son Charles, the company was not involved directly in silk production anymore, but only indirectly via the putting-out system. (Gascon, 1952, 146-148). Charles (II) and Badieu owned a dye manufactory, and probably some looms as well, but mostly use of putting out system. (150).

Network of the Gapaillon:

Family business. (Gascon, 1952, 146-148). The company had suppliers in the main commercial centres of Europe, and clients in most parts of France (except in the west and Provence). (148). Raw materials for the silk industry and foreign silks were purchased from large Italian importers (Vincent Pillati, merchant of Vicenza, François Cenami of Lucca,…), much less from Lyonese merchants (Pierre Tassard, Jean and Martin Connet). (149). The silks were sold at the fairs of Lyon, to merchants or their factors visiting the fairs, or to their commissionaries in Lyon. (150).

Table A..1. Network of the Gapaillon, ca. 1583

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Lyon		8	4	3	1	>1545-1583<	Headquarters and residence of the Gapaillon were located in the house called "Pilier Vert" in the rue Mercière in Lyon. (Gascon, 1952, 148).	
Amiens		2	2	1	0	>1583<	Creditor(s) (= supplier(s)) in 1583. (Gascon, 1952, 147).	
Avallon		2	2	1	0	>1583<	Debtor(s) (= client(s)) in 1583. (Gascon, 1952, 147).	
Barcelona		2	2	1	0	>1583<	Creditor(s) (= supplier(s)) in 1583. (Gascon, 1952, 147).	
Bassano del Grappa		2	2	1	0	>1583<	Creditor(s) (= supplier(s)) in 1583. (Gascon, 1952, 147-148).	
Bordeaux		2	2	1	0	>1583<	Debtor(s) (= client(s)) in 1583. (Gascon, 1952, 147). A regular client for example was René Durtol, merchant of Bordeaux. (150).	
Cahors		2	2	1	0	>1583<	Debtor(s) (= client(s)) in 1583. (Gascon, 1952, 147).	
Castelnaudary		2	2	1	0	>1583<	Debtor(s) (= client(s)) in 1583. (Gascon, 1952, 147).	
Eastern Mediterranean		2	2	1	0		Only very small amounts of silk were imported from the Levant. (Gascon, 1952, 148-149).	
Geneva		2	2	1	0	>1583<	Creditor(s) (= supplier(s)) in 1583. (Gascon, 1952, 147, 149). Debtor (= client) in 1583. (Gascon, 1952, 147).	
Genoa		2	2	1	0	>1583<	Creditor(s) (= supplier(s)) in 1583. (Gascon, 1952, 147, 149).	
Hondschoote		2	2	1	0	>1583<	Creditor(s) (= supplier(s)) in 1583. (Gascon, 1952, 147).	
Limoux		2	2	1	0	>1583<	Creditor(s) (= supplier(s)) in 1583. (Gascon, 1952, 147, 149).	
Marseille		2	2	1	0	>1583<	Creditor(s) (= supplier(s)) in 1583. (Gascon, 1952, 147).	

Messina		2	2	1	0	>1583<	Creditor(s) (= supplier(s)) in 1583. (Gascon, 1952, 147-148).	
Milan		2	2	1	0	>1583<	Creditor(s) (= supplier(s)) in 1583. (Gascon, 1952, 147-149).	
Moissac		2	2	1	0	>1583<	Debtor(s) (= client(s)) in 1583. (Gascon, 1952, 147).	
Naples		2	2	1	0	>1583<	Creditor(s) (= supplier(s)) in 1583. (Gascon, 1952, 147-148).	
Niort		2	2	1	0	>1583<	Debtor(s) (= client(s)) in 1583. (Gascon, 1952, 147).	
Paris		2	2	1	0	>1583<	Debtor(s) (= client(s)) in 1583. (Gascon, 1952, 147).	
Parthenay		2	2	1	0	>1583<	Debtor(s) (= client(s)) in 1583. (Gascon, 1952, 147).	
Périgueux		2	2	1	0	>1583<	Debtor(s) (= client(s)) in 1583. (Gascon, 1952, 147).	
Poitiers		2	2	1	0	>1583<	Debtor(s) (= client(s)) in 1583. (Gascon, 1952, 147).	
Rodez		2	2	1	0	>1583<	Debtor(s) (= client(s)) in 1583. (Gascon, 1952, 147).	
Saint-Jean-de-Maurienne		2	2	1	0	>1583<	Debtor(s) (= client(s)) in 1583. (Gascon, 1952, 147).	
Saint-Nicolas (Lorraine)		2	2	1	0	>1583<	Debtor(s) (= client(s)) in 1583. (Gascon, 1952, 147).	
Spain		2	2	1	0		High quality silks were imported from Spain. (Gascon, 1952, 147-149).	
Toulouse		2	2	1	0	>1583<	Debtor(s) (= client(s)) in 1583. (Gascon, 1952, 147).	
Tours		2	2	1	0	>1583<	Debtor(s) (= client(s)) in 1583. (Gascon, 1952, 147).	
Troyes		2	2	1	0	>1583<	Debtor(s) (= client(s)) in 1583. (Gascon, 1952, 147).	
Verona		2	2	1	0	>1583<	Creditor(s) (= supplier(s)) in 1583. (Gascon, 1952, 147-148).	
Vicenza		2	2	1	0	>1583<	Creditor(s) (= supplier(s)) in 1583. (Gascon, 1952, 147-148).	
Villefranche-de-Rouergue		2	2	1	0	>1583<	Debtor(s) (= client(s)) in 1583. (Gascon, 1952, 147).	
Creux de Metara	T	1	1	1	0	>1583<	Use of the services of silk labourers in Creux de Metara (putting-out system) in 1583. (Gascon, 1952, 147).	
Rive-de-Gier	T	1	1	1	0	>1583<	Use of the services of silk labourers in Rive de Gier (putting-out system) in 1583. (Gascon, 1952, 147, 151).	
Saint-Chamond	T	1	1	1	0	>1583<	Use of the services of silk labourers in St Chamond (putting-out system) in 1583. (Gascon, 1952, 147, 151).	
Saint-Didier-en-Velay	T	1	1	1	0	>1583<	Use of the services of silk labourers in St Didier en Velay (putting-out system) in 1583. (Gascon, 1952, 147, 151).	
Saint-Julien	T	1	1	1	0	>1583<	Use of the services of silk labourers in St Julien (putting-out system) in 1583. (Gascon, 1952, 147).	
Saint-Paul	T	1	1	1	0	>1583<	Use of the services of silk labourers in St Paul (putting-out system) in 1583. (Gascon, 1952, 147).	

+ Suppliers as well as clients of the Gapaillon probably had agents in Lyon or visited the fairs of Lyon where they conducted business with the Gapaillon. Probably the Gapaillon themselves did not have their own representatives abroad.

HERMITE, 1572 – 1616

The Hermite brothers, Antoine (1543 or 1548-1616) and Giles (1552-1596), merchants in Marseille, belonged to a family which came originally from Toulon. (Baulant, 1953, xiii). They were the sons of François Hermite (d. 1572), lawyer in Marseille, and Jeanne Mathieu. (xiii). Louise Descallis, niece of Jeanne Mathieu, was associated to the first business operations of the Hermite brothers, and several times provided loans to members of the family. She was married to a merchant-drapier of Aix, and became widowed by 1573. Jacques Arbaud, married with Marguerite Descallis, also a niece of Jeanne Mathieu, was one of the first associates of the Hermite brothers. (xiv). After the death of his brother in 1596, Antoine married to the daughter of a rich merchant of Marseille, Charles Girenton, merchant in cloth, linen and soap, and previously partner of Nicolas du Revel. Son of Antoine: Charles. (xvii). Although they probably were active in business for the account of others (e.g. for their cousin Louise Descallis), the Hermite brothers began to trade on their own account after the death of their father in 1572. (xix-xx). After 1575, no participation anymore between the Hermite brothers and their cousin Louise Descallis. (xxi-xxii). The Hermite brothers had business connections with several large merchants of Marseille: Nicolas du Revel, Charles Gérenton, Marc de Rodes, etc. These merchants were represented by Gilles Hermite in the Levant. (xxiv). Antoine and Gilles Hermite were actively involved in the troubles in Provence in 1589-1595. (xxv). In 1590-1596, Gilles Hermite became increasingly involved in the political troubles in Provence, while Antoine increasingly assumed the management of the business. (xxvi). Antoine Hermite was the heir of Gilles in 1596. (xxvii). The business of Antoine Hermite became especially prosperous from ca. 1596. (xxvii). After the death of Gilles in 1596, Antoine continued the business on his own. (xxvii). Pierre Vento increasingly participated in the business of his uncle Antoine from ca. 1601. They formed a sort of informal association (no contract was drawn up), in which each retained his independence. (xxviii). In 1606, Antoine Hermite became consul of Marseille. (xxix). The business of Antoine was continued after his death by his son Charles. (xxix).

References:

Baulant, M., ed., 1953. *Lettres de négociants marseillais: Les frères Hermite (1570-1612)*. Paris, Librairie Armand Colin (École Pratique des Hautes Études – VIe section. Centre de Recherches Historiques. Affaires et Gens d'Affaires, 3).

I did not consult:

Source material:

The business archive of the brothers Hermite has been preserved partially. Moreover, data can be found in the notarial archives of Marseille and Toulon. (Baulant, 1953, ix). For the period until 1578, only notarial acts and other impersonal documents have been preserved. From 1578, letters of the brothers are available. (xxiv).

Size: Small

In 1574, the Hermite brothers provided maritime loans for a total of 2,449 lb. 4 s., in 1575 for 2,528 lb. 4 s. 8 d. (interest included). (Baulant, 1953, xxii).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Trade in kerseys in 1573. (Baulant, 1953, xx). Trade in linen, pepper and ginger in 1573. (xxi). Trade in paper, linen in 1574. (xxi). Trade in cotton in 1575. (xxi). Trade in cotton, leather, nutmeg, etc. in 1578. (xxiv n. 107). Sale of hemp in 1579. (xxiv). Trade in bresilwood, raisins and cotton in 1580 and 1581. (xxv). Trade in silk in 1585. (xxv). Sales of cotton, nutmeg, gallnuts by Antoine Hermite in 1585-88. (xxv). Trade in cochenille in 1585-1588. (xxv). Pearls, 1590. (xxvi). Trade in oil, silk, wool and sugar. (xxvi). In 1590-1596, trade in horses, grain, sugar, oil. (xxvii). Trade in silk, cotton, spices, indigo in 1598-1601. (xxvii). Large silk trade in 1609. (xxviii). The Hermite traded successively in spices, dyes, textiles, increasingly silk instead of cotton, and finally money trade. (xxx).
- Finance: The Hermite provided maritime loans. (Baulant, 1953, xxi). Sales on credit. (xxi). Borrowed money from their cousin Louise Descallis in 1574. (xxi). In 1574-75, several maritime loans were provided by the Hermite brothers together with Louise Descallis. (xxi). Other members of the family also participated in the maritime loans provided by the Hermite brothers, e.g. their sister Marquise, their cousin Jacques Arbaud. (xxii). A large amount of maritime loans were concluded by Antoine Hermite in 1601-1616. (xxviii). After 1599, Antoine Hermite increasingly invested his wealth in real estate in Marseille and the countryside. (xxviii).
- Industry:

Network of the Hermite:

While one of the brothers remained in Marseille, the other was often absent for business purposes. (Baulant, 1953, xiii). The brothers Hermite, as investors, provided maritime loans to active merchants, for overseas ventures. Hereby, the investors of the capital assumed the risks of the maritime transport. The maritime loan often took the form of a sale on credit of merchandise by the capitalist to the active merchant, who had to sell the goods abroad, and whereby the repayment took place after the return of the active merchant. (xx n. 80). For the early period, we only have information about maritime loans (recorded in notarial documents); no information about maritime insurances, direct sales and purchases. (xxii). During the troubles in Provence in 1590-1596, the trade of the Hermite in the Levant became less important. Instead, they increasingly focused upon local trade. (xxvii).

Table A..1. Network of the Hermite, 1572 – 1616 (especially 1572 – 1596)

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Marseille		8	4	3	1	1572-1588, 1596-1616	Headquarters in Marseille in 1572-1588 and again after 1596. In the meantime, the headquarters were temporarily located in Toulon. (xxvii).	Jeannin, 1963a, 55

Aleppo		2 **5** 3	2 **3** 2	1 **2** 2	0 **1** 1	1573-1574 1578-1584 1585-1609<	- Kerseys sent to Syria in 1573-74 (through maritime loans (?)). (xx). Export of paper from Navarra to Cyprus and Syria in 1574 (through maritime loans (?)). (Baulant, 1953, xxi). - Purchase of cotton by Gilles Hermite near Aleppo, which was transported on camelback to Tripoli. (xxiii). Gilles Hermite was in Aleppo and Tripoli in 1578. (xxiv). In 1579, Gilles Hermite returned to Tripoli and Aleppo on the *Trinité*. (xxiv). In 1582, Antoine went to Tripoli and Aleppo. (xv). Gilles was in Aleppo in 1583-84 (his longest stay in the Levant). (xxv). Documents of the Hermite from Tripoli and Aleppo have been preserved for 1578-1585. (xxix). - In 1584, Antoine Hermite sent his nephew Pierre Vento (d. 1624) to Aleppo. (Baulant 1953, xvi). Apprenticed to Gilles Hermite, Pierre Vento learned Arabic, and familiarised himself with the customs of Syria. When Gilles left the Levant in November 1584, Pierre Vento was consigned to Pierre Vieu. (xvi). In 1585, the business of the Hermite in Syria was entrusted to Pierre Vieu and their nephew Pierre Vento, who did his apprenticeship in the Levant. (xxv). In 1590-1596, business in the Levant was continued by Pierre Vento for Antoine Hermite. (xxvi). In 1590-1596, the business with the Levant became less important. (xxvii). Later, Gilles Hermite intended to sent his nephew Jean-Jacques Vento, brother of Pierre, as apprentice to Jean Sauzion, merchant in Aleppo, but in the end Jean-Jacques remained in Marseille. (xvi). In 1598-1601, Pierre Vento was in Aleppo as representative of his uncle Antoine. (xxvii, xxvii-xxviii n. 131). - Correspondents of Antoine Hermite in Aleppo after 1601 were first J. B. Maure and Ch. Rondeilhat, and subsequently Guillaume Milonis, husband of Antoine's niece Madeleine. (xxvii-xxviii n. 131). Correspondent of Antoine Hermite in Syria in 1606-1609 was Guillaume Milonis, married to Madeleine, niece of the Hermite brothers. (Baulant, 1953, xvi).	Jeannin, 1963a, 55
Toulon		~~8~~ *5*	~~4~~ *3*	~~3~~ *2*	~~1~~ *1*	1590-1596	In 1596, the Hermite brothers resided in Toulon. (Baulant, 1953, xvii). In 1590, the Hermite established themselves in Toulon, to escape from the troubles in Marseille. (xxvi). Antoine remained in Toulon until 1596, while Gilles only stayed in Toulon for short periods. (xxvi). In 1596, the headquarters were moved to Marseille again. (xxvii).	
Tripoli (Syria)		2 **5**	2 **3**	1 **2**	0 **1**	1573-1574 1576-1584	- Kerseys sent to Syria in 1573-74 (through maritime loans (?)). (xx). Export of paper from Navarra to Cyprus and Syria in 1574 (through maritime loans	Jeannin, 1963a, 55

		3	2	2	1	1585-1609<	(?)). (Baulant, 1953, xxi). - In 1576-77, Antoine Hermite went to Cyprus, Beirut and Tripoli on the galleon Saint-Esprit, for which venture he borrowed 360 lb. from his cousin Jacques Arbaud. (Baulant, 1953, xxii, xxii n. 102). In 1577-78, Gilles Hermite went to Tripoli on the Saint-Jean-Baptiste. In Tripoli, he accomplished a short apprenticeship. (xxii-xxiii). Purchase of cotton by Gilles Hermite near Aleppo, which was transported on camelback to Tripoli. (xxiii). Gilles Hermite was in Aleppo and Tripoli in 1578. (xxiv). In 1581, Gilles went to Tripoli again. (xxiv). In 1582, Antoine went to Tripoli and Aleppo. (xv). Gilles Hermite was in Tripoli, which he left in November 1584. (Baulant, 1953, xvi). Documents of the Hermite from Tripoli and Aleppo have been preserved for 1578-1585. (xxix). - In 1585, the business of the Hermite in Syria was entrusted to Pierre Vieu and their nephew Pierro Vento, who did his apprenticeship in the Levant. (xxv). In 1590-1596, business in the Levant was continued by Pierre Vento for Antoine Hermite. (xxvi). In 1590-1596, the business with the Levant became less important. (xxvii). Correspondent of Antoine Hermite in Syria in 1606-1609 was Guillaume Milonis, married to Madeleine, niece of the Hermite brothers. (Baulant, 1953, xvi).	
Alexandria		3	2	2	1	1573, 1575, 1585	Plans to send Jean-Jacques Vento, nephew of the Hermite brothers, to Alexandria as an apprentice. However, this plan was never carried out. (Baulant, 1953, xvi). In 1573, Antoine Hermite made a journey to Alexandria as scribe on the ship Marie-Madeleine. (xx-xxi). In 1575, a maritime loan was provided to Louis Bousquet for a venture to Alexandria. In the end, this venture was not carried out. (xxii). In 1585, Gilles Hermite went to Alexandria. (xxv).	
Barbary		3	2	2	1	1590-1596	Antoine Hermite imported horses from Barbary in the period 1590-1596. (xxvii).	
Cyprus		3	2	2	1	1574, 1576-1577	Export of paper from Navarra to Cyprus and Syria in 1574 (through maritime loans (?)). (Baulant, 1953, xxi). In 1576-77, Antoine Hermite went to Cyprus, Beirut and Tripoli on the galleon Saint-Esprit, for which venture he borrowed 360 lb. from his cousin Jacques Arbaud. (Baulant, 1953, xxii, xxii n. 102).	
Genoa		3	2	2	1	1593	Sometime between 1590 and 1595, Gilles Hermite stayed for several months in Genoa. (Baulant, 1953, xxvi). Gilles attempted to establish connections	

							with the new commercial (especially coral and grain trade) and industrial (soap production) companies developing in Genoa, but he was not successful. (xxvi). Letters and documents of the Hermite from Italy (especially Genoa) have been preserved for 1593. (xxix). Perhaps the brothers Hermite already exported goods to Lyon and the Italian cities in the early period of their commercial activity. However, no information about this has been preserved. (xxii). Small maritime loans (in the form of credit sales of merchandise) provided by Antoine Hermite for ventures to Italy, Spain, Bretagne and England in 1585-1588. (xxv). Early 1589, Antoine Hermite was in Italy. (xxvi). Sometime between 1590 and 1595, Gilles Hermite was sent to Italy in search for new markets for oil, silk, wool and sugar. (xxvi).	
Lyon		3	2	2	1	>1585-1589<	Perhaps the brothers Hermite already exported goods to Lyon and the Italian cities in the early period of their commercial activity. However, no information about this has been preserved. (xxii). In 1585-1588, Antoine Hermite sent silks and cottons to Lyon. (xxv). After a stay in Italy early 1589, Antoine Hermite returned via Lyon. (xxvi).	
Pertuis		3	2	2	1	>1588<	Pierre Guérin, tutor of Antoine's son Charles, was used by Antoine to recover money in Pertuis and Revest. (Baulant, 1953, xvii n. 63). The Hermite owned real estate in Pertuis. (xx). Antoine Hermite was in Pertuis in the autumn and early winter of 1588. (xxv-xxvi).	
Aix-en-Provence		2	2	1	0	>1579<	In 1579, Gilles Hermite was the representative in Aleppo of a company of citizens of Aix-en-Provence, headed by Joachim Arquier. (Baulant, 1953, xxiv). The Hermite were involved in several lawsuits at the *parlement* of Aix-en-Provence. (xxv).	
Beirut		2	2	1	0	1576-1577	In 1576-77, Antoine Hermite went to Cyprus, Beirut and Tripoli on the galleon Saint-Esprit, for which venture he borrowed 360 lb. from his cousin Jacques Arbaud. (Baulant, 1953, xxii, xxii n. 102).	
Brittany		2	2	1	0	>1585-1588<	Small maritime loans (in the form of credit sales of merchandise) provided by Antoine Hermite for ventures to Italy, Spain, Bretagne and England in 1585-1588. (xxv).	
Constantinople		2	2	1	0	1574	Maritime loan to Cazé, father and son, in 1574, for a venture to Constantinople. (Baulant, 1953, xxi).	
England		2	2	1	0	>1585-1588<	Small maritime loans (in the form of credit sales of merchandise) provided by Antoine Hermite for ventures to Italy, Spain, Bretagne and England in	

							1585-1588. (xxv).	
Lisbon		2	2	1	0	>1592<	In 1592, Antoine Hermite gave procuration to Pierre Corbières to recover for him his outstanding debts with several merchants of Lisbon. This is the only indication of business connections of the Hermite with Lisbon. (xxvii).	
Le Revest-les-Eaux		2	2	1	0		Pierre Guérin, tutor of Antoine's son Charles, was used by Antoine to recover money in Pertuis and Revest. (Baulant, 1953, xvii n. 63).	
Spain		2	2	1	0	1574-1575, 1585-1588	Export of linen to Spain in 1574 (through maritime loans (?)). (Baulant, 1953, xxi). Export of cotton to Spain in 1575 by Léonard Bureton through a maritime loan of the brothers Hermite. However, the cotton was lost during the journey. (xxi). Small maritime loans (in the form of credit sales of merchandise) provided by Antoine Hermite for ventures to Italy, Spain, Bretagne and England in 1585-1588. (xxv).	
Messina		1	1	1	0	1584-1585	In winter 1584-1585, Gilles Hermite was in Messina and Naples (returning from Aleppo and leaving for Alexandria). (Baulant, 1953, xxv).	
Naples		1	1	1	0	1584-1585	In winter 1584-1585, Gilles Hermite was in Messina and Naples (returning from Aleppo and leaving for Alexandria). (Baulant, 1953, xxv).	

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PANSE, 1481 – 1580

The Panse business house existed for three generations. In the first two generations, it was very successful, while during the third, the firm declined together with the fairs of Lyon in general. Members of the family increasingly turned towards landed estates, seigneuries and public office. (Gascon, 1962, 509). The business house of the Panse was established by Jérôme Panse (d. 1529). Jérôme Panse came originally from Mondovi in Piemont near Genoa, but obtained naturalisation in France in 1481. (Gascon, 1962, 510). The original activity of Jérôme Panse in Lyon is not known. In 1509 he supplied the city of Lyon with an important shipment of Flemish tapestries. Probably he was already before involved in business between Lyon and Flanders. (511). In 1506, Jérôme Panse married to Bonne Le Charron, daughter of Claude Le Charron, a large merchant of Lyon. (512). Jérôme Panse became counsillor of Lyon in 1523. (512). After the death of Jérôme in 1529, his business was continued by his nephews Pierre (d. 1562) and Gérardin Panse (d. 1565), the latter of whom became the head of the firm. (512). Gérardin became counsillor in Lyon in 1540-42, 1550-52 and 1561-62. (513). After the death of Gérardin, the business of the Panse was continued by César, son of Pierre, and Justinien, son of Gérardin, who became the head of the firm. (516). Under the heirs of Pierre and Gérardin, the Panse increasingly retired from business. (516). The business house of the Panse was dissolved in 1580 due to the economic crisis and the political and military troubles in Flanders and France. In 1580 they had a debt of almost 120,000 lb. A moratorium was concluded with the creditors. (518; Bayard, 1971, 1255).

Gérardin Panse was the largest linen merchant of Lyon in 1550-1560. (Gascon, 1971, 79). Heirs of Gérardin Panse belonged to the biggest importers in Lyon in 1569, were merchants from Lyon (Gascon, 1971, 205). The Panse were established in trade with the Low Countries since the beginning of the 16th c. (Gascon, 1971, 206). Became a merchant dynasty in Lyon: sons succeeded their father. (Gascon, 1971, 226-227, 229). Foreign merchants who established themselves in Lyon and became strongly assimilated: became part of the Lyonese merchant class (Gascon, 1971, 368). In difficulties in 1580: Concordat: had to pay 39,868 écus in 4.5 years to their creditors (Gascon, 1971, 602, 887).

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Source material:

Inventories of the Panse firm have been preserved for 1562 and 1565. (Gascon, 1962, 497, 519). No account books have been preserved. (509). Nevertheless, several other sources allow to reconstruct the history of this business house, such as notarial registers of Benoît Dutroncy. (509, 509 n. 15). Inventory of his shop in Lyon preserved (Gascon, 1971, 79).

Size: Medium-sized

The Panse business house was the largest trading enterprise of Lyon in the commerce with the Low Countries during the 16th century. (Gascon, 1962, 497). Gérardin Panse was the largest importer of goods from the Low Countries in Lyon in 1569. He controlled 13.9 % of the imports. (Gascon, 1962, 506, 516). The heirs of Gérardin Panse paid the second highest tax at the Grande Ferme in Lyon of the merchants importing from the Low Countries to Lyon in 1565 and 1569. (507, 516). The Panse were the 14th biggest importers in Lyon in 1569. (Gascon, 1962, 508). Nevertheless, the Panse were only merchants of second order compared to the large Italian bankers in Lyon: Bonvisi, Martelli, Capponi. (510). In 1545, the Panse were among the rich merchants of Lyon, according to the taxes they paid on their business. Of the 3,644 taxed, only 56 paid more or as much as the Panse (400 lb.). The Panse belonged to the merchant aristocracy of Lyon. (513-514). In 1565, the goods in the shop in Lyon had a total value of 83,000 lb., in Antwerp of 9,000 lb. (514). In 1569, the Panse were among the 6 mostly taxed merchants of Lyon. (516). The Panse did not have many employees in 1562-1565: the Panse brothers, their partner in Antwerp, and a number of servants working in the shops. (530). The Panse probably purchased yearly for ca. 45,000 lb.-70,000 lb. of merchandise in the Low Countries ca. 1565-1569. (531). Ca. 1565-1569, the annual profits of the Panse amounted to ca. 20 % of the price of sale, or ca. 10,000 to 15,000 lb. (529-530, 532). The business of the Panse was much larger than the business of retail merchants in Lyon, or of traders on the countryside, but much smaller than that of the large international merchants of Lyon, such as the Bonvisi, whose profits were 10 to 15 times larger than those of the Panse. (532-534). 14th biggest importer in Lyon in 1569 (1.57 % of the import tax) (Gascon, 1971, 204).

Main activities:

- Commerce: In 1565, 81.80 % of the merchandise stored in the warehouse of the Panse consisted of textile products from the Low Countries. (Gascon, 1962, 497). The inventory of the Panse of 1565 mentioned woollens (34.56%, especially sayettes of Hondschoote), linen (34.80 %, mostly from Holland, Hainaut and Cambrai), silks (6.83 %, satin from Bruges), and tapestries (5.61 %) as textiles of the Low Countries and Picardy, as well as cloth from England (2.86 %) and Valencia (2.43 %), and diverse goods (13.91 %: rabbit skins from Flanders, cat skins from Holland, leather laces, etc). (Gascon, 1962, 497-500). The Antwerp shop contained mostly hides from Romania, linen from Hainaut and Cambrai (probably for export to Lyon), and diverse goods, rather than goods from France and Lyon. (Gascon, 1962, 504). Jérôme Panse traded in textiles from Flanders as well as in spices (especially pepper, e.g. 1522) imported from Antwerp. (Gascon, 1962, 511). The Panse especially imported goods from the Low Countries (and England) via Antwerp) to Lyon, from where they were exported to the rest of France and abroad. On a smaller level, they also imported French goods from Lyon to Antwerp, from where they were redistributed in the Low Countries. (522). Trade in goods of Lyon: linen and dyed thread, and goods from the

nearby regions, especially Languedoc and Auvergne. (524-525). Important trade in serges of Hondschoote: the Panse had 1,298 serges of Hondschoote in their shop in Lyon (Gascon, 1971, 125). Involved in the spice trade of Lyon in the 16th c.: import of spices from Antwerp (Gascon, 1971, 226-227, 229).

- Finance: The Panse advanced public loans, and they were involved in maritime insurance. They also advanced small loans to artisans. (Gascon, 1962, 519, 532). In their business, the Panse made abundantly use of credit (for purchases as well as sales). (526). Panse acted as lenders to private persons (Gascon, 1971, 255).
- Industry:

Network of the Panse:

Among others, transit trade via Lyon to Spain (Gascon, 1971, 119). Especially export from the Low Countries to Lyon and less in the opposite direction: Merchandise from Lyon in the Antwerp shop was only 1/17 of the value of merchandise from the Low Countries in the Lyon shop (Gascon, 1971, 126). The branches in Antwerp and Paris were organised through flexible short-term but renewable company contracts. (Gascon, 1962, 513).

Table A..1. Network of the Panse, ca. 1565

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Lyon		8	4	3	1	1481-1580	Headquarters. The headquarters of the Panse was located in the Rue des Flandres in Lyon, at least since 1515. (Gascon, 1962, 508, 511). In 1565, 21.8 % of the outstanding debts of the shop in Lyon came from Lyon. 61 of the 88 clients were small merchants, purchasing for less than 200 lb. tour., others were large merchants, re-exporting the goods they purchased from the Panse in Lyon elsewhere. (Gascon, 1962, 523). The large majority of French wares exported to Antwerp by the Panse came from Lyon. (Gascon, 1962, 524). The Panse owned the shop in Lyon in which they conducted their business. (530). Headquarters: largest linen merchant of Lyon in 1550-1560 (Gascon, 1971, 79).	
Antwerp		6	3	2	1	1549-1572	The Panse had a shop in Antwerp. (Gascon, 1962, 503-504). In 1549, Gérardin and Pierre Panse established an association with Jean Semestre, a merchant of Antwerp. This company lasted at least until 1562, and probably until 1565. Shortly after, the Panse obtained a shop in Antwerp, where they warehoused their goods imported from France, as well as products from the Low Countries destined for export to Lyon. (513). The branches in Antwerp	

							and Paris were organised through flexible short-term but renewable company contracts. (513). Antwerp was located in the centre of the supply area of the Panse. (513). In 1563, Gérardin Panse made a journey to the Low Countries. (514). The shop in Antwerp still existed in 1565. (514). In 1572, the Panse sold their property in Antwerp. (516). During the 1570s, the Panse had difficulties collecting their outstanding debts in Flanders. (518). Almost all merchandise in the shop in Lyon was imported from Antwerp in 1569, even English cloth. Purchases and sales in the Low Countries were concentrated in Antwerp. (520-522). 90 % of the clients of the Panse in the Low Countries came from Antwerp. (521, 525). Shop in Antwerp: sold not only products of the Low Countries but also linen of France in this shop. In 1547, together with other merchants (among which Etienne de la Forge), export of linen to Flanders (Gascon, 1971, 79).	
Paris		6	3	2	1	>1565<	Gérardin Panse established a shop in Paris. (Gascon, 1962, 513). A number of companies were established with merchants from Paris, mostly for a period of three to five years, which were then renewed. (513). The branches in Antwerp and Paris were organised through flexible short-term but renewable company contracts. (513). Paris was an important consumer market. (513). In 1565, 5.59 % of the outstanding debts of the shop in Lyon came from Paris. In Paris, the shop of Lyon had 9 clients, among whom the most important were the merchants Jean Grolier and Antoine Roguet. (Gascon, 1962, 521, 523). Clients in France: Paris, Montpellier, Toulouse, Thiers, Le Puy, and a mass of smaller places. (Gascon, 1971, 79).	
Barcelona		3	2	2	1	>1565<	The Lyon shop of the Panse had clients in Catalunya in 1565, especially in Barcelona (7.47 % of outstanding debts). The Lyon shop had 8 clients in Barcelona, four of whom had a debt of more than 1,000 lb. in 1565. (Gascon, 1962, 521, 524). The Panse were involved in the trade with Spain. They sold part of their textiles in Spain, especially Catalunya. (Gascon, 1962, 508). Clients in Catalonia: Barcelona and Gerona. (Gascon, 1971, 79).	
Carmagnola		3	2	2	1	>1565<	The Lyon shop of the Panse had clients in Piemont and Liguria in 1565, e.g. in Carmagnola (3.9 % of outstanding debts). (Gascon, 1962, 521, 524). Clients in Piemont and Genoa. (Gascon, 1971, 79).	
Mondovì		3	2	2	1	>1565<	The Lyon shop of the Panse had clients in Piemont and Liguria in 1565, especially in Mondovi (6.7 % of outstanding debts), from which the Panse originated, and where the debtors were often family members such as	

							Sébastien, Mathieu and Bernardin Panse. (Gascon, 1962, 521, 524). The Panse had creditors in Mondovi in 1565. (520). Clients in Piemont and Genoa. (Gascon, 1971, 79).	
Montluel		~~8~~ *3*	~~4~~ *2*	~~3~~ *2*	~~1~~ *1*	1562-1563	In 1562, Gérardin Panse fled for the protestants from Lyon to Montluel, where he continued his business. By 1564, he had re-established his business in Lyon. (Gascon, 1962, 514).	
Montpellier		3	2	2	1	>1565<	In 1565, 5.39 % of the outstanding debts of the shop in Lyon came from Montpellier. (Gascon, 1962, 521, 523). Clients in France: Paris, Montpellier, Toulouse, Thiers, Le Puy, and a mass of smaller places. (Gascon, 1971, 79).	
Le Puy		3	2	2	1	>1565<	In 1565, 4.1 % of the outstanding debts of the shop in Lyon came from Le Puy. Clients in Le Puy were merchants such as Jacques de Licques and Jacques Ferrier, who traded especially with Spain. (Gascon, 1962, 521, 523). Clients in France: Paris, Montpellier, Toulouse, Thiers, Le Puy, and a mass of smaller places. (Gascon, 1971, 79). The Panse had creditors (suppliers) in Auvergne in 1565. (Gascon, 1962, 520, 525).	
Thiers		3	2	2	1	>1565<	In 1565, 4.6 % of the outstanding debts of the shop in Lyon came from Thiers. Clients in Thiers were merchants such as Pierre Salomon and Mathieu Chalard. (Gascon, 1962, 521, 523). Clients in France: Paris, Montpellier, Toulouse, Thiers, Le Puy, and a mass of smaller places. (Gascon, 1971, 79).	
Toulouse		3	2	2	1	>1565<	In 1565, 3.4 % of the outstanding debts of the shop in Lyon came from Toulouse. In Toulouse, the shop of Lyon had 25 clients. (Gascon, 1962, 521, 523). Clients in France: Paris, Montpellier, Toulouse, Thiers, Le Puy, and a mass of smaller places. (Gascon, 1971, 79).	
Turin		3	2	2	1	>1565<	The Lyon shop of the Panse had clients in Piemont and Liguria in 1565, e.g. in Turin (3.3 % of outstanding debts). (Gascon, 1962, 521, 524). Clients in Piemont and Genoa. (Gascon, 1971, 79).	
Amiens		2	2	1	0	>1565<	The Panse imported a small number of merchandise directly from Amiens in 1565 (local textile products). (Gascon, 1962, 520, 522).	
Annecy		2	2	1	0	>1565<	The Panse had outstanding debts in Annecy in 1565. (Gascon, 1962, 521).	
Avignon		2	2	1	0	>1565<	The Panse had outstanding debts in Avignon in 1565. (Gascon, 1962, 521).	
Carcassonne		2	2	1	0	>1565<	The Lyon shop of the Panse had clients in Carcassonne (Languedoc) in 1565. (Gascon, 1969, 521, 523). The Panse had suppliers in Languedoc. (Gascon, 1962, 525).	
Delft		2	2	1	0	>1565<	10 % of the clients of the Panse in the Low Countries came from elsewhere	

							than Antwerp in 1565: about 10 cities, the most important of which were Lille, Delft, The Hague and Mechelen. (Gascon, 1962, 521, 525).	
Genoa		2	2	1	0	>1565<	The Panse had a very small amount of debts in Genoa in 1565. (Gascon, 1962, 520). The Panse had outstanding debts in Genoa in 1565. (Gascon, 1962, 521). The Lyon shop of the Panse had clients in Piemont and Liguria in 1565. (Gascon, 1962, 521, 524). Clients in Piemont and Genoa. (Gascon, 1971, 79).	
Gerona		2	2	1	0	>1565<	The Lyon shop of the Panse had clients in Catalunya in 1565, e.g. in Gerona. (Gascon, 1962, 521, 524). The Panse were involved in the trade with Spain. They sold part of their textiles in Spain, especially Catalunya. (Gascon, 1962, 508). Clients in Catalonia: Barcelona and Gerona. (Gascon, 1971, 79).	
The Hague		2	2	1	0	>1565<	10 % of the clients of the Panse in the Low Countries came from elsewhere than Antwerp in 1565: about 10 cities, the most important of which were Lille, Delft, The Hague and Mechelen. (Gascon, 1962, 521, 525).	
Lavaur		2	2	1	0	>1565<	The Lyon shop of the Panse had clients in Lavaur (Languedoc) in 1565. (Gascon, 1969, 523). The Panse had suppliers in Languedoc. (Gascon, 1962, 525).	
Lille		2	2	1	0	>1565<	10 % of the clients of the Panse in the Low Countries came from elsewhere than Antwerp in 1565: about 10 cities, the most important of which were Lille, Delft, The Hague and Mechelen. (Gascon, 1962, 521, 525).	
Limoux		2	2	1	0	>1565<	The Panse had creditors in Limoux in 1565. (Gascon, 1962, 520).	
Marseille		2	2	1	0	>1565<	The Lyon shop of the Panse had clients in Marseille in 1565. (Gascon, 1969, 521, 523).	
Mechelen		2	2	1	0	>1565<	10 % of the clients of the Panse in the Low Countries came from elsewhere than Antwerp in 1565: about 10 cities, the most important of which were Lille, Delft, The Hague and Mechelen. (Gascon, 1962, 521, 525).	
Nîmes		2	2	1	0	>1565<	The Lyon shop of the Panse had clients in Nîmes (Languedoc) in 1565. (Gascon, 1969, 523). The Panse had suppliers in Languedoc. (Gascon, 1962, 525).	
Pézenas		2	2	1	0	>1565<	The Lyon shop of the Panse had clients in Pézenas (Languedoc) in 1565. (Gascon, 1969, 523). The Panse had suppliers in Languedoc. (Gascon, 1962, 525).	
Rouen		2	2	1	0	>1565<	The Lyon shop of the Panse had clients in Rouen in 1565. The Panse imported small amounts of English cloth via Rouen. (Gascon, 1969, 522-523).	

Tours		2	2	1	0	>1565<	The Lyon shop of the Panse had clients in Tours in 1565. (Gascon, 1969, 521, 523). The Panse had a small amount of debts in Tours in 1565. (Gascon, 1962, 520).	
Valencia		2	2	1	0	>1565<	The Panse imported Valencian cloth. In 1565, only 2.43 % of the merchandise in the shop in Lyon came from Valencia. (Gascon, 1962, 523).	
Vich		2	2	1	0	>1565<	The Lyon shop of the Panse had clients in Catalunya in 1565, e.g. in Vich. (Gascon, 1962, 521, 524). The Panse were involved in the trade with Spain. They sold part of their textiles in Spain, especially Catalunya. (Gascon, 1962, 508).	
Vigone		2	2	1	0	>1565<	The Panse had outstanding debts in Vigone in 1565. (Gascon, 1962, 521).	
Troyes		1	1	1	0	1560	In 1560, Gérardin Panse went to Troyes as a representative of the merchants frequenting the fairs of Lyon. (Gascon, 1962, 512).	

+ Clients of the Lyon shop were probably merchants,… who visited Lyon and the shop of the Panse during the fairs. I have attributed scores according to the relative amount of outstanding debts of merchants from each place to the Panse in Lyon: 3-2-2-1: more than 3 %; 2-2-1-0: 3 % or less.

2. HANSEATIC FIRMS

BECKMANN, ca. 1570s – after 1622

Hamburg merchants. Lukas Beckmann (d. 1565): two sons: Lukas d. Ä (1546-1614) and Barthold d. Ä. These brothers were among the most important merchants of Hamburg at end 16th c. End 1580s, direct trade with Brazil. Trade with Antwerp: Lukas Beckmann was Altermann of the Kontor in Antwerp in the 1570s. Two of the ships in which they had shares were privateered by the English on the return from Brazil. One ship, pillaged in 1590, had a load of sugar, Brasilwood and cotton. In this ship, Barthold, Lukas and Joachim Beckmann had shares. They were among the main sugarmerchants of Hamburg and were also representatives of the Portuguese pepper monopolists (Kellenbenz, 1954, 111-112). Lukas d. Ä Beckmann: trade with the English in Stade: English cloth against linen. In 1599, he sent English cloth to Bilbao for the Antwerp merchant Francois von der Willingen. Also commission trade for other Antwerp merchants: Jan Boussemart, Hieronymus and Balthasar Andrea. For the Andrea he sent wax, textiles, grain, etc to Burgos in 1605. In the same year, ginger and pearls came from San Lukar to Lukas Beckmann in Hamburg (Kellenbenz, 1954, 112). Sons of Lukas d. Ä: Hermann, Barthold d. J. and Peter. Barthold d. J. active in money business on the fairs of Frankfurt and Leipzig: factor in Frankfurt in 1617 was the Italian Abondio Somagliano (Kellenbenz, 1954, 112). Barthold Beckman d. Ä., brother of Lukas Beckmann d. Ä: import of salt and spices in the 1590s, also active in grain trade. In 1605, grain and bacon to Lisbon and San Lucar. In the same year, metal from Leipzig and industrial products of Nurnberg to Bilbao and La Rochelle. Shipment from the firm of Johann Jacob and Samuel Heuser in Genoa to Barthold Beckmann. Probably intended to be sent further to Georg Schenk, presumably in Nurenberg. Large variety of enterprises of Barthold d. Ä.: trade on his own account and for others, but also banking activities, large loans to the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp,… Probably also involved in copper trade. Engaged in marine insurance. He died in 1622. He became burgomaster of Hamburg, and was married to the daughter of another burgomaster of Hamburg (Kellenbenz, 1954, 112-113). Lukas d. J., son of Barthold d. Ä., sent wheat to Lisbon for Jacob Heitritter in 1605. Born in 1581. Married to a daughter of Jacob de Greve. He had the 6th large account at the Bank of Hamburg in 1619. His brother Joachim traded with Lisbon and later Sevilla (Kellenbenz, 1954, 113). The different Beckmann firms formed a powerfull element of Hamburger business around 1620. Origin of the wealth probably in the copper trade. Hermann Beckmann was said to have been the largest exporter of copper to Spain ca. 1625. The Beckmann had also contacts with Heinrich Beckmann in Amsterdam, who was active in exchange transactions with Hamburg, Frankfurt and Nurnberg. These connections of the Beckmann were used by the Welser before their bankruptcy in 1614. (Kellenbenz, 1954, 113). The Beckmann were among the most powerful and rich native merchants of Hamburg (Kellenbenz, 1954, 148). Joachim Beckmann resided temporarily in Sevilla (Kellenbenz, 1954, 293). In 1599, Lukas Beckmann supplied Alexander de Chavarri in Bilbao in name of an Antwerp firm. De Chavarri originated from a Basque family (Kellenbenz, 1954, 296). In Bilbao, Barthold Beckmann traded with Johann von Eckeren and Louis de Boyleux of Cambrai, both merchants from the Low Countries (Kellenbenz, 1954, 297). In 1605, Lukas Beckmann supplied the firm of Garcia del Pezo in Burgos in the name of the Antwerp merchant Balthasar Andrea (Kellenbenz, 1954, 297). The Beckmann made use of the networks of the Flemish merchants in Spain (Kellenbenz, 1954, 299). Bartholomäus Beckmann in Hamburg was an agent of the Ximenes of Antwerp and Lisbon. Lukas Beckmann in Hamburg was an agent of Lopo Rodrigues

d'Évora in Lisbon. Representatives of these pepper contractors ca. 1591-1595. Bartholomäus Beckmann was one of the leading merchants of Hamburg. Trade in sugar. (Kalus, 2009, 10, 13).

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Source material:

Size: Medium-sized or large

Lukas d. Ä (1546-1614) and Barthold d. Ä. were among the most important merchants of Hamburg at end 16th c. (Kellenbenz, 1954, 111-112). Lukas d. J. had the 6th large account at the Bank of Hamburg in 1619. (Kellenbenz, 1954, 113). The different Beckmann firms formed a powerful element of Hamburger business around 1620. Origin of the wealth probably in the copper trade. Hermann Beckmann was said to have been the largest exporter of copper to Spain ca. 1625. (Kellenbenz, 1954, 113). The Beckmann were among the most powerful and rich native merchants of Hamburg (Kellenbenz, 1954, 148). Bartholomäus Beckmann was one of the leading merchants of Hamburg. (Kalus, 2009, 10, 13).

Main activities:

- Commerce: One ship, pillaged in 1590, had a load of sugar, Brasilwood and cotton. In this ship, Barthold, Lukas and Joachim Beckmann had shares. They were among the main sugar merchants of Hamburg and were also representatives of the Portuguese pepper monopolists (Kellenbenz, 1954, 111-112). Lukas d. Ä Beckmann: trade with the English in Stade: English cloth against linen. In 1599, he sent English cloth to Bilbao. For the Andrea he sent wax, textiles, grain, etc to Burgos in 1605. In the same year, ginger and pearls came from San Lukar to Lukas Beckmann in Hamburg (Kellenbenz, 1954, 112). Barthold Beckman d. Ä.: import of salt and spices in the 1590s, also active in grain trade. In 1605, grain and bacon to Lisbon and San Lucar. In the same year, metal from Leipzig and industrial products of Nurnberg to Bilbao and La Rochelle. Probably also involved in copper trade. (Kellenbenz, 1954, 112-113). Lukas d. J., son of Barthold d. Ä., sent wheat to Lisbon for Jacob Heitritter in 1605. (Kellenbenz, 1954, 113). Origin of the wealth probably in the copper trade. Hermann Beckmann was said to have been the largest exporter of copper to Spain ca. 1625. (Kellenbenz, 1954, 113). Representatives of the pepper contractors ca. 1591-1595. Trade in sugar. (Kalus, 2009, 10, 13).

- Finance: Barthold d. J. active in money business on the fairs of Frankfurt and Leipzig: factor in Frankfurt in 1617 was the Italian Abondio Somagliano (Kellenbenz, 1954, 112). Large variety of enterprises of Barthold d. Ä.: trade on his own account and for others, but also banking activities, large loans to the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp,… Engaged in marine insurance. (Kellenbenz, 1954, 112-113). It is unclear whether the Beckmann had also contacts with Heinrich Beckmann in Amsterdam, who was active in exchange transactions with Hamburg, Frankfurt and Nurnberg. (Kellenbenz, 1954, 113).
- Industry:

Network of the Beckmann:

The relationship between the business activities of the different members of the Beckmann family are unknown. It is not clear whether they carried out their business together or independently from each other.

Table A..1. Network of the Beckmann, 1570s – ca. 1622

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Hamburg		8	4	3	1	>1570s-1622<	Headquarters. (Kellenbenz, 1954, 111-113).	
Antwerp		3	2	2	1	1570s-1605<	Trade with Antwerp: Lukas Beckmann was Alderman of the Kontor in Antwerp in the 1570s. The Beckmann were representatives of the Portuguese pepper monopolists (Kellenbenz, 1954, 111-112). In 1599, Lukas the elder sent English cloth to Bilbao for the Antwerp merchant Francois von der Willingen. Also commission trade for other Antwerp merchants: Jan Boussemart, Hieronymus and Balthasar Andrea. For the Andrea he sent wax, textiles, grain, etc to Burgos in 1605. Lukas Beckmann had very close relationships with Antwerp (Kellenbenz, 1954, 112, 301). Bartholomäus Beckmann in Hamburg was an agent of the Ximenes of Antwerp and Lisbon. Representatives of these pepper contractors ca. 1591-1595. (Kalus, 2009, 10, 13).	
Bilbao		3	2	2	1	>1599<, >1605<	In 1599, Lukas the elder sent English cloth to Bilbao for the Antwerp merchant Francois von der Willingen. (Kellenbenz, 1954, 112). Barthold Beckman d. Ä.: in 1605, metal from Leipzig and industrial products of Nurnberg to Bilbao and La Rochelle. (Kellenbenz, 1954, 112-113). In 1599, Lukas Beckmann supplied Alexander de Chavarri in Bilbao in name of an Antwerp firm. De Chavarri originated from a Basque family (Kellenbenz, 1954, 296). In Bilbao, Barthold Beckmann traded with Johann von Eckeren	

							and Louis de Boyleux of Cambrai, both merchants from the Low Countries (Kellenbenz, 1954, 297).	
Brazil		3	2	2	1	end 1580s-1590<	End 1580s, direct trade with Brazil. Two of the ships in which the Beckmann had shares were privateered by the English on the return from Brazil. One ship, pillaged in 1590, had a load of sugar, Brasilwood and cotton. In this ship, Barthold, Lukas and Joachim Beckmann had shares. (Kellenbenz, 1954, 111-112).	
Frankfurt am Main		3	2	2	1	>1617<	Barthold d. J. active in money business on the fairs of Frankfurt and Leipzig: factor in Frankfurt in 1617 was the Italian Abondio Somagliano (Kellenbenz, 1954, 112). It is unclear whether the Beckmann had contacts with Heinrich Beckmann in Amsterdam, who was active in exchange transactions with Hamburg, Frankfurt and Nurnberg. These connections of Heinrich Beckmann were used by the Welser before their bankruptcy in 1614. (Kellenbenz, 1954, 113).	
Leipzig		3	2	2	1	>1605<	Barthold d. J. active in money business on the fairs of Frankfurt and Leipzig. (Kellenbenz, 1954, 112). Barthold Beckman d. Ä.: in 1605, metal from Leipzig and industrial products of Nurnberg to Bilbao and La Rochelle. (Kellenbenz, 1954, 112-113).	
Lisbon		3	2	2	1	>c.1591-c.1595<, >1605<	Barthold Beckman d. Ä.: in 1605, grain and bacon to Lisbon and San Lucar. (Kellenbenz, 1954, 112-113). Lukas d. J., son of Barthold d. Ä., sent wheat to Lisbon for Jacob Heitritter in 1605. His brother Joachim traded with Lisbon and later Sevilla (Kellenbenz, 1954, 113). Bartholomäus Beckmann in Hamburg was an agent of the Ximenes of Antwerp and Lisbon. Lukas Beckmann in Hamburg was an agent of Lopo Rodrigues d'Évora in Lisbon. Representatives of these pepper contractors ca. 1591-1595. (Kalus, 2009, 10, 13).	
San Lúcar		3	2	2	1	>1605<	In 1605, ginger and pearls came from San Lúcar to Lukas Beckmann the elder in Hamburg (Kellenbenz, 1954, 112). Barthold Beckman d. Ä.: in 1605, grain and bacon to Lisbon and San Lucar. (Kellenbenz, 1954, 112-113). In 1605, Lukas Beckmann in Hamburg and Jeronimo Andrea in Antwerp worked together with Andrea's correspondents in San Lúcar, Sevilla (Antonius de Meulenaer) and Venice (the firm of Cornelius Hoons and Petrus van der Put) (Kellenbenz, 1954, 300).	
Sevilla		3	2	2	1	>1605<	Joachim Beckman traded with Lisbon and later Sevilla (Kellenbenz, 1954, 113). Joachim Beckmann resided temporarily in Sevilla (Kellenbenz, 1954,	

							293). In 1605, Lukas Beckmann in Hamburg and Jeronimo Andrea in Antwerp worked together with Andrea's correspondents in San Lúcar, Sevilla (Antonius de Meulenaer) and Venice (the firm of Cornelius Hoons and Petrus van der Put) (Kellenbenz, 1954, 300).	
Stade		3	2	2	1		Lukas d. Ä Beckmann: trade with the English in Stade: English cloth against linen. (Kellenbenz, 1954, 112).	
Amsterdam		2	2	1	0		It is unclear whether the Beckmann had contacts with Heinrich Beckmann in Amsterdam, who was active in exchange transactions with Hamburg, Frankfurt and Nurnberg. These connections of Heinrich Beckmann were used by the Welser before their bankruptcy in 1614. (Kellenbenz, 1954, 113).	
Burgos		2	2	1	0	>1605<	For Baltasar Andrea, Lukas the elder sent wax, textiles, grain, etc to Burgos in 1605. (Kellenbenz, 1954, 112). In 1605, Lukas Beckmann supplied the firm of Garcia del Pezo in Burgos in the name of the Antwerp merchant Balthasar Andrea (Kellenbenz, 1954, 297).	
Genoa		2	2	1	0		Shipment from the firm of Johann Jacob and Samuel Heuser in Genoa to Barthold Beckmann the elder. Probably intended to be sent further to Georg Schenk, presumably in Nurenberg. (Kellenbenz, 1954, 112-113).	
Nürnberg		2	2	1	0	>1605<	Barthold Beckman d. Ä.: in 1605, metal from Leipzig and industrial products of Nurnberg to Bilbao and La Rochelle. Shipment from the firm of Johann Jacob and Samuel Heuser in Genoa to Barthold Beckmann. Probably intended to be sent further to Georg Schenk, presumably in Nurenberg. (Kellenbenz, 1954, 112-113). It is unclear whether the Beckmann had contacts with Heinrich Beckmann in Amsterdam, who was active in exchange transactions with Hamburg, Frankfurt and Nurnberg. These connections of Heinrich Beckmann were used by the Welser before their bankruptcy in 1614. (Kellenbenz, 1954, 113).	
La Rochelle		2	2	1	0	>1605<	Barthold Beckman d. Ä.: in 1605, metal from Leipzig and industrial products of Nurnberg to Bilbao and La Rochelle. (Kellenbenz, 1954, 112-113).	
Venice		2	2	1	0	>1605<	In 1605, Lukas Beckmann in Hamburg and Jeronimo Andrea in Antwerp worked together with Andrea's correspondents in San Lúcar, Sevilla (Antonius de Meulenaer) and Venice (the firm of Cornelius Hoons and Petrus van der Put) (Kellenbenz, 1954, 300).	

+ Probably only fragments of the network of the Beckmann are known.

HANS BERENS, early 1560s – after 1603

Hans Berens was a burgher of Lubeck. He owned parts in different ships, and was active in Livonian and Russian trade, but also in trade with the west. He was a business contact of Wolter Von Holsten to whom he provided a interest free loan of 100 Taler. Maybe they knew each other via the Krumhusen (Pelus, 1981, 64-65). Hinrich Hulshorst was a Diener of Hans Berens. (Wijnroks, 2003, 90).

References:

Pelus, M.-L., 1981. *Wolter von Holsten, marchand lubeckois dans la seconde moitié du seizième siècle. Contribution à l'étude des relations commerciales entre Lübeck et les villes livoniennnes*. Paris, École normale supérieure de jeunes filles, 64-65 (Collection de l'École normale supérieure de jeunes filles, 15).

Wijnroks, E. H., 2003. *Handel tussen Rusland en de Nederlanden, 1560-1640. Een netwerkanalyse van de Antwerpse en Amsterdamse kooplieden, handelend op Rusland*. Hilversum, Verloren, 90.

I did not consult:

Jeannin, P., 1963. "Lübecker Handelsunternehmungen um die Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts". *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, 43.

Source material:

Lübeck certificates of 1573-1580 (Pelus, 1981, 64-65).

Size: ?

Hans Berens was one of the most prominent Russia traders of Lübeck. (Wijnroks, 2003, 90).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Hans Berens was active in Livonian and Russian trade, but also in trade with the west. (Pelus, 1981, 64-65).
- Finance: Hans Berens provided an interest free loan of 100 Taler to Wolter Von Holsten. (Pelus, 1981, 64-65).
- Industry:
- Shipping: Hans Berens owned parts in different ships. (Pelus, 1981, 64-65).

Network of Hans Berens:

Table A..1. Network of Hans Berens, ca. 1571 – ca. 1603								
City	**R**	**Score**				**Period**	**Type of presence**	**References**
Lübeck		8	4	3	1	>early 1560s-1603<	Hans Berens, burgher of Lubeck (Pelus, 1981, 64). In the early 1560s, Jochim Krumhusen resided from time to time in the house of Hans Berens in Lübeck. (Wijnroks, 2003, 90). Connections of Hans Berens with the Krumhusen family, members of which family were especially established in Narva (Jaspar, Hans, Michel), Lübeck (Jochim the elder), and Antwerp (Jochim the younger, Melchior). (Wijnroks, 2003, 88-90).	
Antwerp		4	2	2	1	>1573-1580<	The Lubeck certificates of 1573-1580 show Hans Berens on different occasions associated to Melchior Krumhusen in Antwerp for trade between Riga, Bergen, Marstrand and the west (Bruges and Vlissingen). Hans Berens also conducted trade in Hamburg, Emden and Frankfurt (Pelus, 1981, 65). In the middle of the 1570s, Hans Berens was representative of the Antwerp merchant Walraven Dragon. (Wijnroks, 2003, 90). Connections of Hans Berens with the Krumhusen family, members of which family were especially established in Narva (Jaspar, Hans, Michel), Lübeck (Jochim the elder), and Antwerp (Jochim the younger, Melchior). (Wijnroks, 2003, 88-90).	
Narva		4	2	2	1	>1571-1582<	Hans Berens was "Frachtherr" of the "Narwafahrer" in 1571 and 1582. Appeared very frequently in the certificates for Narva in 1578-1580. (Pelus, 1981, 65; Wijnroks, 2003, 90). Hans Berens and Jochim Krumhusen had very good connections with Russian merchants. (Wijnroks, 2003, 90). Connections of Hans Berens with the Krumhusen family, members of which family were especially established in Narva (Jaspar, Hans, Michel), Lübeck (Jochim the elder), and Antwerp (Jochim the younger, Melchior). (Wijnroks, 2003, 88-90).	
Bergen		3	2	2	1	>1573-1580<	The Lubeck certificates of 1573-1580 show Hans Berens on different occasions associated to Melchior Krumhusen in Antwerp for trade between Riga, Bergen, Marstrand and the west (Bruges and Vlissingen). Hans Berens also conducted trade in Hamburg, Emden and Frankfurt (Pelus, 1981, 65).	
Bruges		3	2	2	1	>1573-1580<	The Lubeck certificates of 1573-1580 show Hans Berens on different occasions associated to Melchior Krumhusen in Antwerp for trade between Riga, Bergen, Marstrand and the west (Bruges and Vlissingen). Hans Berens also conducted trade in Hamburg, Emden and Frankfurt (Pelus, 1981, 65).	

Emden		3	2	2	1	>1573-1580<	The Lubeck certificates of 1573-1580 show Hans Berens on different occasions associated to Melchior Krumhusen in Antwerp for trade between Riga, Bergen, Marstrand and the west (Bruges and Vlissingen). Hans Berens also conducted trade in Hamburg, Emden and Frankfurt (Pelus, 1981, 65).	
Frankfurt am Main		3	2	2	1	>1573-1580<	The Lubeck certificates of 1573-1580 show Hans Berens on different occasions associated to Melchior Krumhusen in Antwerp for trade between Riga, Bergen, Marstrand and the west (Bruges and Vlissingen). Hans Berens also conducted trade in Hamburg, Emden and Frankfurt (Pelus, 1981, 65).	
Hamburg		3	2	2	1	>1573-1580<	The Lubeck certificates of 1573-1580 show Hans Berens on different occasions associated to Melchior Krumhusen in Antwerp for trade between Riga, Bergen, Marstrand and the west (Bruges and Vlissingen). Hans Berens also conducted trade in Hamburg, Emden and Frankfurt (Pelus, 1981, 65).	
Marstrand		3	2	2	1	>1573-1580<	The Lubeck certificates of 1573-1580 show Hans Berens on different occasions associated to Melchior Krumhusen in Antwerp for trade between Riga, Bergen, Marstrand and the west (Bruges and Vlissingen). Hans Berens also conducted trade in Hamburg, Emden and Frankfurt (Pelus, 1981, 65).	
Novgorod		3	2	2	1	>1578<	Hans Berens was Alderman of the Nowgorodfahrer in 1578 (Pelus, 1981, 65).	
Riga		3	2	2	1	>1573-1580<	Appeared in the Lubeck certificates of 1578-1580 for trade with Riga, but less frequently than for Narva. The Lubeck certificates of 1573-1580 show Hans Berens on different occasions associated to Melchior Krumhusen in Antwerp for trade between Riga, Bergen, Marstrand and the west (Bruges and Vlissingen). Hans Berens also conducted trade in Hamburg, Emden and Frankfurt (Pelus, 1981, 65).	
Vlissingen		3	2	2	1	>1573-1580<	The Lubeck certificates of 1573-1580 show Hans Berens on different occasions associated to Melchior Krumhusen in Antwerp for trade between Riga, Bergen, Marstrand and the west (Bruges and Vlissingen). Hans Berens also conducted trade in Hamburg, Emden and Frankfurt (Pelus, 1981, 65).	
Pskov		2	2	1	0	>1603<	In 1603 Hans Berens was candidate for the function of Alderman in the Kontor of Pskov, and received 7 votes (Pelus, 1981, 65; Wijnroks, 2003, 90).	

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CARSTENS, VOM BROCKE & VON CAMPEN, 1549 – ca. 1558

The company between the Lübeck merchants Hermann Carstens, Gert vom Brocke and Heinrich von Campen was founded in 1549. (Jeannin, 1963, 35-36). Heinrich von Campen was of less importance as a merchant than Carstens and Vom Brocke and he did not have his own capital. (36). In 1562 Gert vom Brocke fled from Lübeck to escape from his creditors. The company ended in a lawsuit between the heirs of Carstens and Vom Brocke. (36, 36 n. 64). Vom Brocke remained active in business after his flight. (37). Not much is known about Hermann Carstens before 1549, but he must have been a rich merchant. (38). Carstens died between 1558 and 1560. (38 n. 74). The company had a common accountancy (kept by Vom Brocke) and a common cash box (in the hands of Carstens, but apparently taken over by Vom Brocke). The house of Carstens was the headquarters of the company, and Carstens was the principal partner. (38, 40). Carstens and Von Campen were not allowed to carry out trade for their own account, while Vom Brocke had the freedom to conduct personal trade for himself. (38-39). The company was founded for 6 years, but was definitely renewed after this period. In 1558, it was definitely still in existence. (38, 39 n. 80). The Carstens, Vom Brocke and Von Campen company is the first known Lübeck company to have kept a double bookkeeping. (39-40). Lawsuit between Vom Brocke and the heirs of Carstens: Vom Brocke owed a large amount of money to Carstens. (51-53). Carstens probably provided the capital, while the management of the company was largely in hands of vom Brocke. (54).

References:

Jeannin, P., 1963. “Lübecker Handelsunternehmungen um die Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts”. *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, 43, 19-67.

I did not consult:

Cordes, A., 2005. “Kapital, Arbeit, Risiko, Gewinn. Aufgabenteilung in einer Lübecker Handelsgesellschaft des 16. Jahrhunderts”. In: Hammel-Kiesow, R., Hundt, M., eds. *Das Gedächtnis der Hansestadt Lübeck*. Lübeck, Schmidt-Römhild, 517-534.

Source material:

Data on the Carstens, Vom Brocke & Von Campen company can be found especially in the Archive of the Reichskammergericht in Wetzlar, which contains among other sources several documents on the lawsuit between the heirs of Carstens and Vom Brocke. (Jeannin, 1963, 36 n. 64). Among these documents is a financial statement of 1558, giving an overview of the activities of the company. (39). The founding act of the daughter company in Livonia has been preserved as well. (46).

Size: Small or medium-sized

The capital of the company amounted to 9,000 Mark in 1549, which was originally advanced by Hermann Carstens. (Jeannin, 1963, 38). To increase the capital base of the company, money was borrowed in several loans between 1550 and 1558, mostly from noblemen of Holstein.

In total, more than half of the capital of the company in 1558 consisted of loans (ca. 29,600 Mark, vs. 24,200 Mark of the partners (17,000 of which from Carstens)). (Jeannin, 1963, 47-48, 51, 48 n. 118). Was this 24,200 Mark of the partners the by profits accumulated and never paid out capital of 9,000 Mark of 1549 ??

Main activities:

- Commerce: Trade in herring, salt. (Jeannin, 1963, 40). Trade in beer, rope, butter, hops, iron, flax, metal, salmon, woad, leather, fur, hemp, grain, pepper, wine, tallow, sugar. (41-42, 41 n. 89). Trade in small amounts of Flemish and English cloth, fustians. No known trade in jewels, pearls, alum (pearl trade by Vom Brocke however). (42, 42 n. 93). Perhaps the trade in luxury goods (jewels, pearls, spices) was carried out by Vom Brocke on his own account. More likely, the company traded in these goods, but for some reason they were not mentioned in the statement of 1558. (43). Trade in cloth and fustians, pepper, salt, herring, grain, leather, wax, copper, brass, flax, furs. (44).
- Finance: Very sporadic use of bills of exchange, especially for transfer of money from one city to another, or to carry out payments. (Jeannin, 1963, 50). No speculation on exchange transactions, neither loans via bill of exchange. (50). The company borrowed money to increase its capital base (mostly from members of the nobility of Holstein), and also to overcome periods of acute lack of capital. (48-49). No financial activities. (50). No use of insurance. (50).
- Industry:
- Shipping: The company owned shares in four ships. As a result, the shipowning activities of the company were rather limited. (Jeannin, 1963, 40-41, 41 n. 85).

Network of Carstens, Vom Brocke & Von Campen:

The partners of the company were all Lübeck merchants. For trade abroad, the company made use of representatives. (Jeannin, 1963, 39). The company of Carstens, Vom Brocke and Von Campen was organised in imitation of Antwerp examples, and as such was influenced by Italian types of business organisation. In that sense, the company was rather exceptional for the Hanseatic area. (39). The company was active in the trade between the Baltic, the west, and the interior of Germany. (40). In Livonia and Lisbon, the company was probably represented by shipmasters. (45).

Table A..1. Network of Carstens, Vom Brocke & Von Campen, 1549 – ca. 1558

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Lübeck		8	4	3	1	1549-c.1558	Headquarters. (Jeannin, 1963, 35-36). Two bills of exchange with Lübeck. (50).	
Dorpat		6	3	2	1	from 1554	In 1554, a daughter company was founded for trade with Livonia between	

							Gert vom Brocke (as representative of the mother company), Jurgen Honerjeger in Reval, and his brother Hans Honerjeger in Dorpat. The Honerjeger brothers only traded for the company, and were not allowed to trade for their own account. The capital consisted of 5,000 Thaler of the mother company and 3,000 of each of the Honerjeger brothers. Each of the partners would receive 1/3 of the profits. (Jeannin, 1963, 46-47). Talers were sent to Livonia, probably for purchase of Russian products such as wax, leather and furs. (Jeannin, 1963, 41). Trade in Antwerp, Lisbon, Livonia. (42). Correspondents in Livonia. (43). The company was probably represented for business in Livonia by shipmasters such as Claus Wolt.(45). For the trade with Livonia, a daughter company was founded in 1554. (46-47).	
Reval		6	3	2	1	from 1554	In 1549 Gert vom Brocke represented Johann Hauwers, member of the council of Reval, at a lawsuit in Lübeck. (Jeannin, 1963, 37). Export of hops to Danzig and Reval. (Jeannin, 1963, 41). In Livonia, export to Reval (e.g. of wine) and to Narva. (41 n. 89). In 1554, a daughter company was founded for trade with Livonia between Gert vom Brocke (as representative of the mother company), Jurgen Honerjeger in Reval, and his brother Hans Honerjeger in Dorpat. The Honerjeger brothers only traded for the company, and were not allowed to trade for their own account. The capital consisted of 5,000 Thaler of the mother company and 3,000 of each of the Honerjeger brothers. Each of the partners would receive 1/3 of the profits. (Jeannin, 1963, 46-47). Export of hops to Reval. (52 n. 133). Talers were sent to Livonia, probably for purchase of Russian products such as wax, leather and furs. (Jeannin, 1963, 41). Trade in Antwerp, Lisbon, Livonia. (42). Correspondents in Livonia. (43). The company was probably represented for business in Livonia by shipmasters such as Claus Wolt.(45). For the trade with Livonia, a daughter company was founded in 1554. (46-47).	
Amsterdam		4	2	2	1		Factor(s) in Amsterdam. (Jeannin, 1963, 40). Sales of grain in Amsterdam. (41). Import of pepper from Antwerp, often via Amsterdam and Hamburg. (Jeannin, 1963, 41).	
Antwerp		4	2	2	1	>1552-1558<	Factor(s) in Antwerp. (Jeannin, 1963, 40). Lawsuit of the Antwerp citizen Marten von Bruel against the Carstens, Vom Brocke, Von Campen Gesellschaft. (Jeannin, 1963, 36 n.65). Gert vom Brocke was active as merchant in Antwerp, trading with Danzig, in 1540. (Jeannin, 1963, 37). In	

							1568, Gert vom Brocke had creditors in Antwerp. (37 n. 72). In 1545, Hermann Carstens and Balthasar de Vleminck of Ghent founded a company for trade between Antwerp and the Baltic. (Jeannin, 1963, 37-38). Tallow was sold for the company in Antwerp by Peter Lüdinghusen. (41 n. 89). Import of pepper from Antwerp, often via Amsterdam and Hamburg. (Jeannin, 1963, 41). The company purchased sugar in Hamburg from the Lübeck merchant Gillis Musche, who had purchased the sugar from Benedictus Guderman, the Hamburg factor of the Antwerp merchant Marten von Bruel. (42). Trade in Antwerp, Lisbon, Livonia. (42). Ca. 6 correspondents in Antwerp: least important were Daniel Lampe (1556), Hinrich Boltwyn (1558), and Bernd Frenckinck (1553, 1556-1557). These correspondents sent Thalers to the company. (45, 45 n. 104). More important correspondents were the Lübeck merchant Peter Lüdinghusen, and the Antwerp merchants Heinrich and Johann von Achelen, father and son, who were involved in the business with Lisbon. (45). Hans von Pelcken, brother of Joachim, sent money through a bill of exchange from Danzig to Antwerp for the company in 1552. (46). The Von Pelcken family, representatives of the company in Danzig, had close business connections with Lisbon and Antwerp. (46). One bill of exchange from Lisbon to Antwerp. (50 n. 127).	
Danzig		4	2	2	1	1549-1556<	Factor(s) in Danzig. (Jeannin, 1963, 40). In 1568, Gert vom Brocke attempted to obtain a letter of conduct from the king of Poland via the Danzig merchant Joachim von Pelcken. Apparently, he was successful, since he issued a procuration in Danzig in 1574. (Jeannin, 1963, 37). Joachim von Pelcken, merchant of Danzig, had close connections with the Carstens, Vom Brocke, Von Campen Gesellschaft. (Jeannin, 1963, 37 n. 70). Gert vom Brocke was active as merchant in Antwerp, trading with Danzig, in 1540. (Jeannin, 1963, 37). Export of hops to Danzig and Reval. (Jeannin, 1963, 41). Important trade of the company with Danzig. (41). Sugar was exported to Danzig. (42). Correspondents in Danzig. (43). Representative in Danzig was Joachim von Pelcken. Originally (in 1549-1551) he received a yearly salary, later he obtained a share in the profits of the transactions he carried out for the company. (45-46). Hans von Pelcken, brother of Joachim, sent money through a bill of exchange from Danzig to Antwerp for the company in 1552. (46). The Von Pelcken family, representatives of the company in Danzig, had close business connections with Lisbon and Antwerp. (46).	

							Representative in Danzig in 1556 was Hans Kremer. Perhaps Joachim von Pelcken was not a representative anymore after 1555. (46). One bill of exchange drawn from Danzig on the Low Countries. (50 n. 127). Export of hops and sugar to Danzig. (52 n. 133).	
Nürnberg		4	2	2	1		Factor(s) in Nürnberg. (Jeannin, 1963, 40). Import of metals from Nürnberg, export of flax and salmon to Nürnberg. (41). Business with Hans Hulscher in Nürnberg. (44). Hans Hulscher was the correspondent in Nürnberg. Not known whether he was a factor or commission agent. (45). Export of flax to Nürnberg. (52 n. 133).	
Fehmarn		3	2	2	1		Purchase of grain not only in Danzig but also on the island of Fehmarn and in Pomerania. (Jeannin, 1963, 41).	
Hamburg		3	2	2	1		Import of pepper from Antwerp, often via Amsterdam and Hamburg. (Jeannin, 1963, 41). The company purchased sugar in Hamburg from the Lubeck merchant Gillis Musche, who had purchased the sugar from Benedictus Guderman, the Hamburg factor of the Antwerp merchant Marten von Bruel. (42). Two bills of exchange from Hamburg with the west. (50 n. 127).	
Lisbon		3	2	2	1		Important grain export from Danzig to Lisbon. (Jeannin, 1963, 41). Trade in Antwerp, Lisbon, Livonia. (42). Three gold rings were brought from Lisbon by Arendt Wettermann. (42 n. 94). Export of grain to Lisbon. (44 n. 100). The company was probably represented for business in Lisbon by shipmasters.(45). The Antwerp merchants and correspondents Heinrich and Johann von Achelen, father and son, were involved in the business of the company with Lisbon. (45). The Von Pelcken family, representatives of the company in Danzig, had close business connections with Lisbon and Antwerp. (46). One bill of exchange from Lisbon to Antwerp. (50 n. 127). Shipment of grain and flour to Lisbon with the ships of the shipmasters Hinrich Straβborch and Hans Moller. (52 n. 134).	
Narva		3	2	2	1		In Livonia, export to Reval (e.g. of wine) and to Narva. (Jeannin, 1963, 41 n. 89). Talers were sent to Livonia, probably for purchase of Russian products such as wax, leather and furs. (Jeannin, 1963, 41). Trade in Antwerp, Lisbon, Livonia. (42). Correspondents in Livonia. (43). The company was probably represented for business in Livonia by shipmasters such as Claus Wolt.(45). For the trade with Livonia, a daughter company was founded in 1554. (46-47).	

Pomerania		3	2	2	1		Purchase of grain not only in Danzig but also on the island of Fehmarn and in Pomerania (by the company itself). (Jeannin, 1963, 41, 45).	
Sweden		3	2	2	1		Import of iron from Sweden. (Jeannin, 1963, 41).	
Bornholm		2	2	1	0		Purchase of butter in Bornholm by Ulrich Fresen by order of the company. (Jeannin, 1963, 41, 45 n. 101).	
Erfurt		2	2	1	0		Trade in woad with Erfurt: payment to Pancratius Helwick of Erfurt. (Jeannin, 1963, 41, 41 n. 88).	

+ Data about the network of the Carstens, Vom Brocke & Von Campen Gesellschaft are incomplete. In many cases, origin nor destination of merchandise is mentioned, while the role of several persons in the business of the company is not entirely clear either. (Jeannin, 1963, 40).

VICKO VON GELDERSEN, ca. 1357 – 1391

The family von Geldersen came originally from the region of Lüneburg. Johannes von Geldersen was the first member of the family who appeared in Hamburg. (Nirrnheim, 1895, xi). Vicko von Geldersen was a Hamburg merchant. (Murray, 2005, 243; Nirrnheim, 1895, xlix). The son of Vicko von Geldersen was Johannes (d. 1401). (Nirrnheim, 1895, xlvi). Von Geldersen was a member of the town council of Hamburg. (Nirrnheim, 1895, xxvii-xxviii). Vicko Von Geldersen regularly traded in partnership with other merchants, e.g. with his Diener Aleid and Wolder in 1376-1377, whereby half of the capital was provided by Von Geldersen, and ¼ by each of these Diener. (Nirrnheim, 1895, xliii-xliv). The most important company in which Vicko Von Geldersen participated was a partnership with his uncle Albert Luneborch, who was a successful merchant. This company was renewed in 1370, and still existed in 1379. (Nirrnheim, 1895, xliv). Another important company was established between Vicko von Geldersen and Albert Soltow. (Nirrnheim, 1895, xliv). Several members of the family of Vicko Von Geldersen invested small sums in the business of Von Geldersen as silent partners. (Nirrnheim, 1895, xlv). Immediately after the death of Vicko von Geldersen, a company was established by his sons Johannes and Vicko the younger, with a capital of 800 mark lubisch. This partnership between the brothers was closed in 1398 with large profits. After the death of Johannes in 1401, the partnership was continued by Vicko and the guardians of the heirs of Johannes. During his life, Johannes also founded other companies. (Nirrnheim, 1895, xlvii). The family Von Geldersen can be found in Hamburg since shortly before the middle of the 14th century, where the family obtained very quickly a high status. Several Von Geldersen became members of the council of Hamburg. However, already by the end of the 14th century, the importance of the Von Geldersen in Hamburg went into decline. (Nirrnheim, 1895, xi-xii). Five different branches of the Von Geldersen established themselves in Hamburg around the middle of the 14th century. (Nirrnheim, 1895, xii-xv). Vicko von Geldersen himself was mentioned for the first time in Hamburg in 1357. Perhaps Vicko only came to Hamburg in the 1350s. He soon became active in business, which experienced a boom. Perhaps he carried out his first business activities with his uncles Friedrich and Albert Elebeke. In 1367, Vicko von Geldersen became a member of the town council of Hamburg. (Nirrnheim, 1895, xiv-xv). Vicko von Geldersen died in 1391. He had two sons: Johannes (d. 1401), and Vicko. Johannes continued the Handlungs- and Rentenbuch of his father. (Nirrnheim, 1895, xvi). Medium-sized Hanseatic merchant from Hamburg. 2nd half 14th c. (Dollinger, 1970, 160).

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Source material:

A number of account books of Vicko von Geldersen have been preserved: a Handlungsbuch (1367-1392), a Rentenbuch (1377-1411), which was continued by Vicko's son Johannes and his heirs, and a Schuldbuch (1360-1366). (Eikenberg, 1976, 13; Nirrnheim, 1895, xviii-xlix). Account-books have been preserved. (Dollinger, 1970, 160).

Size: Small or medium-sized

The capital of the company of Von Geldersen with his Diener Aleid and Wolder amounted to 120 mark lubisch in 1376, and ca. 155 mark lubisch in 1377. (Nirrnheim, 1895, xliii-xliv). Medium-sized Hanseatic merchant from Hamburg. (Dollinger, 1970, 160).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Trade in cloth from the Low Countries. (Murray, 2005, 243; Nirrnheim, 1895, xlix). Purchase of cloth in Flanders, sales of linen, iron, honey, meat, butter, etc. in Flanders. (Nirrnheim, 1895, xlix-l). Vicko Von Geldersen traded in beer, fish, flax, cotton, meat, grain, hops, wood, honey, clothes, linen, silks, metals and metal products, horses, ships and shipmaterials, wax, and especially cloth. (Nirrnheim, 1895, liii-lxx). Imported large quantities of Flemish cloth, which he sold retail to his customers in the little towns of the Elbe and the Lower Weser. (Dollinger, 1970, 160). Trade especially in Flemish cloth, but also in Venetian wares. (Eikenberg, 1976, 13).
- Finance: Exchange transactions with Flanders. (Nirrnheim, 1895, xlix-l). Vicko von Geldersen provided a loan to duke Erich the younger of Sachsen-Lauenburg. (Nirrnheim, 1895, li-lii). Most payments were paid for in cash, but Von Geldersen also made use of payments on credit. (Nirrnheim, 1895, xxix-xxxi).
- Industry:
- Shipping: Shipowning: Vicko von Geldersen was a member of several shipping companies, consisting of several merchants who purchased a ship together, and whereby each of the members was allowed to load goods according to his share in the ship. (Nirrnheim, 1895, xliv-xlv).

Network of Vicko Von Geldersen:

Vicko von Geldersen purchased cloth in the Low Countries, which was sold to merchants from the Elbe region. (Nirrnheim, 1895, xlix). Vicko von Geldersen mostly carried out business on his own account. Probably he also made use of commission. (Nirrnheim, 1895, xxvii). In most cases, Von Geldersen and his representatives mutually represented each other for the trade of their merchandise. (Nirrnheim, 1895, xxvii). On the one hand, Von Geldersen sold his goods in Hamburg itself (to citizens of Hamburg and to clients who came to Hamburg from elsewhere), on the other hand, representatives of Von Geldersen travelled to other markets for sale of cloth. Von Geldersen himself appears to have stayed

mostly in Hamburg during the period of the account book. (Nirrnheim, 1895, xxvii-xxviii). Von Geldersen was a member of the town council of Hamburg and did not have time to travel abroad regularly. Business trips were normally made by his business friends or Diener. Business transactions abroad were for example concluded by his business friends Albert Luneborch, Nicolaus Von Geldersen, etc. (Nirrnheim, 1895, xxvii-xxviii). Diener represented Von Geldersen in Hamburg and abroad for the collection of debts, transport of merchandise, etc. Von Geldersen also made use of bookkeepers and Scholer, the latter of whom also operated as Diener. (Nirrnheim, 1895, xxvii-xxviii). Von Geldersen also made use of a kind of *commenda* trade, whereby Von Geldersen together with other merchants freighted a ship, and gave attorney to the shipper, who obtained a share in the profits, to ship the goods, sell them, and purchase return goods. (Nirrnheim, 1895, xliv-xlv). Imported large quantities of Flemish cloth, which he sold retail to his customers in the little towns of the Elbe and the Lower Weser (Dollinger, 1970, 160).

Table A..1. Network of Vicko Von Geldersen, 1367 – 1391

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Hamburg		8	4	3	1		Headquarters. (Nirrnheim, 1895, xi, xlix). The most important sales were transacted in Hamburg, especially at the fairs of St. Veit (15 June), St. Michael (29 September) and St. Felicianus (20 October). (Nirrnheim, 1895, xxviii-xxix). Albert Luneborch, uncle of Vicko Von Geldersen, was active for the company in Flanders and Hamburg. (Nirrnheim, 1895, xliv).	
Bruges		4	2	2	1	>1369-1378<	Representatives of Vicko von Geldersen regularly visited Bruges. Von Geldersen carried out regular business with Flanders. Business connections and friends were every year given order to carry out exchange transactions for Von Geldersen in Flanders. (Nirrnheim, 1895, xlix-l). Albert Luneborch, uncle of Vicko Von Geldersen, was active for the company in Flanders and Hamburg. (Nirrnheim, 1895, xliv). Vicko von Geldersen sent coins of different currencies for sale to the fairs of Bruges (1-18 May). He also made use of bills of exchange for trade between Hamburg and Flanders. (Nirrnheim, 1895, xxxix-xl). A certain “juncvrowen Thyzen” may have been the innkeeper of Vicko von Geldersen in Bruges. (Nirrnheim, 1895, xxxix-xl). Active in Bruges. (Dollinger, 1970, 160). Von Geldersen himself probably never visited Bruges. He had an account with Joncvrouw Thyze, hosteller in Bruges for at least three years, between 1375 and 1378. (Murray, 2005, 243). Partnership of Von Geldersen with Albrecht Lunenborch between 1370 and 1379. Lunenborch was in Bruges at least three times between 1369 and 1372, lodging with the hosteller Evraerd Goederic.	

							(Murray, 2005, 243).	
Lübeck		4	2	2	1		Regular and important business connections of Vicko von Geldersen with Lübeck. (Nirrnheim, 1895, liii). Immediately after the death of Vicko von Geldersen, his sons Johannes and Vicko the younger invested 300 mark lubisch in a company with a Lübeck merchant. (Nirrnheim, 1895, xlvii).	
Lüneburg		4	2	2	1		Lüneburg an der Ilmenau (middle Elbe) was an important sales market for Vicko von Geldersen. Von Geldersen had close family ties with Lüneburg. He still owned rents here. Several of his friends and relatives lived in Lüneburg. Vicko Von Geldersen had several clients in Lüneburg, e.g. the duke of Braunschweig-Lüneburg. Representatives of Von Geldersen regularly visited the fairs of Lüneburg. (Nirrnheim, 1895, li-lii). Von Geldersen once went to Lüneburg for a relatively large settlement of accounts with a business friend. (Nirrnheim, 1895, xxvii-xxviii). Nicolaus von Geldersen (d. 1399) was perhaps a representative of Vicko von Geldersen in Lüneburg. (Nirrnheim, 1895, xiii-xiv).	
Braunschweig		3	2	2	1		Braunschweig (Weser-area) is mentioned in the account book of Vicko von Geldersen. (Nirrnheim, 1895, lii). Braunschweig appears to have been of some importance for the business of Von Geldersen. (Nirrnheim, 1895, lii).	
England		3	2	2	1		Cloth import from England, as well as export of linen to England. (Nirrnheim, 1895, xlix-l).	
Hannover		3	2	2	1		Hannover (Weser-area) is mentioned in the account book of Vicko von Geldersen. (Nirrnheim, 1895, lii). Hannover appears to have been of some importance for the business of Von Geldersen. (Nirrnheim, 1895, lii).	
Itzehoe		3	2	2	1		Vicko von Geldersen had for several years close connections with citizens of Itzehoe (lower Elbe). On the one hand, representatives of Von Geldersen went to Itzehoe, while on the other hand merchants of Itzehoe did business with Von Geldersen in Hamburg. (Nirrnheim, 1895, l-li).	
Kiel		3	2	2	1		Connections of Von Geldersen with Kiel (Schleswig-Holstein). (Nirrnheim, 1895, lii-liii). In Schleswig-Holstein, Von Geldersen was especially active in Kiel. Several town councillors and citizens of Kiel were clients of Vicko von Geldersen. Kiel is mentioned several times in the account book of Von Geldersen. (Nirrnheim, 1895, lii-liii). Members of the rural nobility and peasantry of Holstein were among the clients of Von Geldersen. (Nirrnheim, 1895, lii-liii). With the exception of Kiel, connections of Von Geldersen with the Baltic were very weak. (Nirrnheim, 1895, liii).	

Lauenburg an der Elbe		3	2	2	1		Vicko von Geldersen had clients in Lauenburg (middle Elbe), who came to Hamburg to purchase goods traded by Von Geldersen. Von Geldersen had connections with several noblemen of Lauenburg. He provided a loan to duke Erich the younger of Sachsen-Lauenburg. Important clients of Lauenburg were several members of the Schroder family, who were for several years among his best clients. (Nirrnheim, 1895, li-lii).	
Stade		3	2	2	1		Vicko von Geldersen had for several years close connections with citizens of Stade. On the one hand, representatives of Von Geldersen went to Stade, while on the other hand merchants of Stade did business with Von Geldersen in Hamburg. (Nirrnheim, 1895, l-li).	
Amsterdam		2	2	1	0		Connections with Amsterdam. (Nirrnheim, 1895, xlix-l).	
Buxtehude		2	2	1	0		Sporadic connections with Buxtehude (lower Elbe). (Nirrnheim, 1895, l-li).	
Dannenberg		2	2	1	0		Connections of Vicko von Geldersen with Dannenberg (middle Elbe) were somewhat more important than with Boitzenburg. (Nirrnheim, 1895, li-lii).	
Dömitz		2	2	1	0		Connections of Vicko von Geldersen with Dömitz (middle Elbe) were somewhat more important than with Boitzenburg. (Nirrnheim, 1895, li-lii).	
Gadesbünden (Heemsen)		2	2	1	0		Gadesbünden (Weser-area) is mentioned in the account book of Vicko von Geldersen. (Nirrnheim, 1895, lii).	
Ghent		2	2	1	0		Occasional connections with Ghent. (Nirrnheim, 1895, xlix-l).	
Herford		2	2	1	0		Herford an der Werre (Weser-area) is mentioned in the account book of Vicko von Geldersen. (Nirrnheim, 1895, lii).	
Hitzacker		2	2	1	0		Vicko von Geldersen had clients in Hitzacker (middle Elbe), who came to Hamburg to purchase goods traded by Von Geldersen. (Nirrnheim, 1895, li-lii).	
Kampen		2	2	1	0		Occasional connections with Kampen. (Nirrnheim, 1895, xlix-l).	
Krempe		2	2	1	0		Sporadic connections with Krempe (lower Elbe). (Nirrnheim, 1895, l-li).	
Lüchow		2	2	1	0		Connections of Vicko von Geldersen with Lüchow (middle Elbe) were somewhat more important than with Boitzenburg. (Nirrnheim, 1895, li-lii).	
Mölln		2	2	1	0		Connections with Mölln. (Nirrnheim, 1895, liii).	
Neumünster		2	2	1	0		Connections of Von Geldersen with Neumünster (Schleswig-Holstein). (Nirrnheim, 1895, lii-liii). Neumünster is mentioned several times in the account book of Von Geldersen. (Nirrnheim, 1895, lii-liii). Members of the rural nobility and peasantry of Holstein were among the clients of Von Geldersen. (Nirrnheim, 1895, lii-liii).	

Salzwedel		2	2	1	0		Connections of Vicko von Geldersen with Salzwedel (middle Elbe) were somewhat more important than with Boitzenburg. (Nirrnheim, 1895, li-lii).	
Schwerin		2	2	1	0		Connections with Schwerin. (Nirrnheim, 1895, liii).	
Soltau		2	2	1	0		Soltau an der Böhme (Weser-area) is mentioned in the account book of Vicko von Geldersen. (Nirrnheim, 1895, lii).	
Stralsund		2	2	1	0		Connections with Stralsund are mentioned sporadically in the account book of Vicko von Geldersen. Connections with the Baltic were weak. (Nirrnheim, 1895, liii).	
Trittau		2	2	1	0		Connections with Trittau. (Nirrnheim, 1895, liii).	
Uelzen		2	2	1	0		Vicko von Geldersen had clients in Ülzen (middle Elbe), who came to Hamburg to purchase goods traded by Von Geldersen. (Nirrnheim, 1895, li-lii).	
Verden		2	2	1	0	>1389-1390<	Verden an der Aller (Weser-area) is mentioned in the account book of Vicko von Geldersen. (Nirrnheim, 1895, lii). An important client in Verden was bishop Otto. Von Geldersen supplied him with cloth, fish and spices from 1389-90. (Nirrnheim, 1895, lii). Von Geldersen probably carried out trade in commission for bishop Otto of Verden in 1389. (Nirrnheim, 1895, xxvii).	
Wittingen		2	2	1	0		Wittingen (Weser-area) is mentioned in the account book of Vicko von Geldersen. (Nirrnheim, 1895, lii).	
Boitzenburg		1	1	1	0		Vicko von Geldersen had two clients from Boitzenburg (middle Elbe). (Nirrnheim, 1895, li-lii).	
Danzig		1	1	1	0		Connections with Danzig are only mentioned once in the account book of Vicko von Geldersen (also one mention of Prussia). Connections with the Baltic were weak. (Nirrnheim, 1895, liii).	
Flensburg		1	1	1	0		Connections of Von Geldersen with Flensburg (Schleswig-Holstein). (Nirrnheim, 1895, lii-liii). Flensburg is mentioned only very occasionally in the account book of Von Geldersen. Members of the rural nobility and peasantry of Holstein were among the clients of Von Geldersen. (Nirrnheim, 1895, lii-liii).	
Lenzen an der Elbe		1	1	1	0		Lenzen an der Löcknitz (middle Elbe) is only rarely mentioned in the account book of Vicko von Geldersen. (Nirrnheim, 1895, li-lii).	
Magdeburg		1	1	1	0		Magdeburg (middle Elbe) is only rarely mentioned in the account book of Vicko von Geldersen. (Nirrnheim, 1895, li-lii).	
Meyn		1	1	1	0		Connections of Von Geldersen with Meyn (Schleswig-Holstein). (Nirrnheim, 1895, lii-liii). Meyn is mentioned only very occasionally in the	

							account book of Von Geldersen. Members of the rural nobility and peasantry of Holstein were among the clients of Von Geldersen. (Nirrnheim, 1895, lii-liii).	
Neustadt (Lower Elbe)		1	1	1	0		Connections with Neustadt (lower Elbe) are only mentioned once in the account book of Vicko von Geldersen. (Nirrnheim, 1895, l-li).	
Parchim		1	1	1	0		Parchim an der Elbe (middle Elbe) is only rarely mentioned in the account book of Vicko von Geldersen. (Nirrnheim, 1895, li-lii).	
Perleberg		1	1	1	0		Perleberg an der Stepnitz (middle Elbe) is only rarely mentioned in the account book of Vicko von Geldersen. (Nirrnheim, 1895, li-lii).	
Rendsburg		1	1	1	0		Connections of Von Geldersen with Rendsburg (Schleswig-Holstein). (Nirrnheim, 1895, lii-liii). Rendsburg is mentioned only very occasionally in the account book of Von Geldersen. Members of the rural nobility and peasantry of Holstein were among the clients of Von Geldersen. (Nirrnheim, 1895, lii-liii).	
Schleswig		1	1	1	0		Connections of Von Geldersen with Schleswig (Schleswig-Holstein). (Nirrnheim, 1895, lii-liii). Schleswig is mentioned only very occasionally in the account book of Von Geldersen. (Nirrnheim, 1895, lii-liii).	
Seehausen (Altmark)		1	1	1	0		Seehausen am Aland (middle Elbe) is only rarely mentioned in the account book of Vicko von Geldersen. (Nirrnheim, 1895, li-lii).	
Werben (Elbe)		1	1	1	0		Werben (middle Elbe) is only rarely mentioned in the account book of Vicko von Geldersen. (Nirrnheim, 1895, li-lii).	
Wismar		1	1	1	0		Connections with Wismar are only mentioned once in the account book of Vicko von Geldersen. Connections with the Baltic were weak. (Nirrnheim, 1895, liii).	

+ Most of the connections of Von Geldersen mentioned in the table were clients of Von Geldersen. As such they have been attributed a score 2-2-1-0, with the exception of those that appear to have been more important (4/3-2-2-1) or weak (1-1-1-0).

WOLTER VON HOLSTEN, ca. 1565 – 1575

Wolter von Holsten came originally from Stadlohn in Westphalia. Later he moved to Lübeck, although he never had a fixed residence here, since he travelled very regularly between Livonia, Lübeck and the Low Countries. (Pelus, 1981, 14-17). Wolter von Holsten moved to Lübeck in the middle of the 1550s, when he was apprentice of a Lübeck merchant. (24). Wolter von Holsten started his career as apprentice and later "Diener" in the service of Johann Kampferbeke and Willem Ambsing. He was in Narva from the mid 1560s until ca. 1572, when he moved to Lübeck (Pelus, 1981, 24-27). Already from the middle of the 1560s he started conducting business on his own account (Pelus, 1981, 35). The association with Albert Reimers since mid 1560s, and with Albert and Jost Reimers since 1572 formed the main part of the business of Wolter von Holsten. Personal trade on his own or for other associations was much smaller than for the company with the Reimers (Pelus, 1981, 36). The Reimers brothers were not originally from Lubeck. Only after his marriage in 1575 with the daughter of Carsten Harder, a large shopkeeper, Albert Reimers became a burgher of Lubeck. Probably, the Reimers came originally from Reval (Pelus, 1981, 36-37). After the death of Wolter von Holsten, the Reimers remained actif in trade, and kept on doing business with each other. In 1576, Albert and Thomas traded with Riga. In beginning 17th c., Albert also traded with Pskov, but his trade with Narva disappeared after the death of Wolter von Holsten. In 1578, he possessed a share in a ship, allowing him to trade in salt and other merchandise with France and Lisbon. Albert Reimers' career was not very brilliant. From 1602 until his death in 1613, he was manager of the Lubeck tile and brick factory. Jost Reimers became member of the Rat of Riga in 1592, and died in 1593. Nothing known about Thomas Reimers (Pelus, 1981, 38-39). Wolter von Holsten provided the capital in the company with the Reimers brothers, who borrowed his money and repaid him with their labour. Wolter von Holsten was the leading member of the company (Pelus, 1981, 39). At the end of his life, Wolter von Holsten also developed new connections with the Low Countries and the Iberian Peninsula, but by the time of his death they were not very strong yet (Pelus, 1981, 40). Enterprise of Von Holsten was of average or even above average size in trade with Narva and Riga, but was modest in geographical span. The large hanseatic enterprises were characterised by their radiation in all directions (Pelus, 1981, 117). Enterprise of Von Holsten can be characterised as a small enterprise, relatively specialised in one geographic area. Realised considerable turnover in one of the oldest and most solid sectors of Hanseatic commerce: sector of exchange with Russia via the Livonian ports (Pelus, 1981, 118). Wolter von Holsten stood not at the head of a centralised and unified company. Rather, he was situated at the point of intersection of a series of small enterprises in which he participated in different functions (Pelus, 1981, 119). Enterprise of Wolter von Holsten was very dispersed: trade in Iberian salt, trade with the Low Countries and Germany, trade with Livonia: different sub-level enterprises, each independent of each other: personal trade of Von Holsten, trade with commissionaries, temporary associations with diverse persons, associations with the Reimers for trade with Narva and Riga. This fragmentation is a result of a care for a fragmentation of the risks. Typical for Hanseatic enterprises, who were clearly different from the unified and centralised southern German firms. No strict head of the company: Albert as well as Jost Reimers operated independently, and their activities can be seen as independent enterprises on their own (Pelus, 1981, 145-146). Family enterprise: from 1572, the trade with the west was in hands of the von Holsten (Wolter and his nephew Bernd), trade with the east in hands of the Reimers: Albert, Jost, with help of Thomas and Kattrina (Pelus, 1981, 146-147). The association was juridically not clearly defined: most contracts were made orally, and were easily modifiable. As a result, the enterprise was very fluid and flexible. One of the

main reasons of the flexibility was the use of commission merchants (Pelus, 1981, 147-151). Johann Kampferbeke had invested 2,000 m. lub. in the business of Wolter von Holsten (Widerlegung). (34-35, 47-48). Probably Wolter von Holsten died relatively young (at an age of ca. 35 ?). (Pelus, 1981, 21). Wolter von Holsten died in 1575. (3). Decentralisation of decision taking: Wolter von Holsten largely in charge of his own personal trade, but only a passive role in trade with Narva and Riga, which were directed by the Reimers. Coordination between Lubeck and Livonia assured by an abundant correspondence. Lubeck merchant in 2nd half 16th c. Active in Livonian trade.

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Source material:

A number of account books and diverse papers as well as the will of Wolter von Holsten have been preserved. The contract of association with the Reimers brothers of 1574 has been preserved as well. No correspondence has survived however, with the exception of a number of letters without great interest. Most of these data focus upon the Livonian trade rather than on the western trade of Wolter von Holsten. (Pelus, 1981, 3-4, 128).

Size: Small

Wolter von Holsten started with almost no money as an apprentice, but gathered a relatively large amount of capital by the end of his life. By the end of his life he had a capital of ca. 20,000 m. lub. according to his will. This was a medium-sized fortune in late 16th c. Lübeck, typical for the middle bourgeoisie of Lübeck (Pelus, 1981, 41-44). Average annual profit between 1560 and 1575 amounted to ca. 6.6% (Pelus, 1981, 48-49). The company of Wolter von Holsten was small or medium-sized. (Pelus, 1981, 5-6).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Almost the totality of the fortune of Wolter von Holsten was invested in commerce. (Pelus, 1981, 45-47, 85). For his own account Wolter von Holsten especially traded in high value goods of low volume: furs, textiles, precious metals. (Pelus, 1981, 120-121). Livonian trade of Von Holsten: especially export to Livonia of cloth and herring. In smaller amounts also salt, sugar, silks,… (Pelus, 1981, 205-207). Imports from Livonia: leather and hides, flax, tallow, wax, furs, hemp, … (Pelus, 1981, 220-221).

- Finance: Small investments of his money in loans. Von Holsten lent money to family members, friends and business partners. These loans were not advanced for profit since interest rates were absent or low. (Pelus, 1981, 45-47, 85, 92-94).
- Industry:
- Shipping: Small investments of his money in shares of ships. (Pelus, 1981, 45-47, 85-92).

Network of Wolter von Holsten:

Wolter von Holsten was not active in England. He had some rare English clients, but they all resided in Lübeck (Pelus, 1981, 95). Wolter von Holsten had no connections with Bergen, Marstrand, Aalborg, Iceland (Pelus, 1981, 100). No correspondents in Danzig (Pelus, 1981, 117). Wolter von Holsten was clearly specialised in Livonian trade. (85). No relations in Hamburg, Emden or Bremen. (99-100). Wolter van Holsten was not at the head of a unified or centralised company, but at the intersection of a number of small enterprises, in which he participated in diverse functions. (119). The enterprise of Wolter von Holsten was legally not strictly defined, instead it was very fluid and flexible, especially thanks to the use of commission. (Pelus, 1981, 147-148). Absence of a head of the company, management tasks were in hands of different people: decentralisation of decision making. (152). Abundant use of correspondence. (152-153).

Table A..1. Network of Wolter von Holsten, ca. 1565 – 1575

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Lübeck		8	4	3	1	c.1565-1575	Wolter von Holsten returned to Lübeck in the autumn of 1572 the latest (Pelus, 1981, 26). Association between Wolter von Holsten and Albert Reimers, a young merchant of Lübeck, since mid 1560s, for trade between Narva and Lübeck. Reimers was in Lübeck (Pelus, 1981, 35-36). Thomas Reimers, brother of Albert and Jost, was apprentice of Wolter von Holsten, and later became his factor in Narva, and served the company in Lübeck and Riga (Pelus, 1981, 36). Wolter von Holsten and his associates seem not to have been represented in other places in Germany than Lübeck, Coesfeld and Frankfurt. They met their clients and suppliers from Cologne, Minden, Eschwege, Göttingen, Salzwedel and Pritzwalck in Lübeck. No relations with Leipzig or southern Germany (Pelus, 1981, 98-99). Trade of Wolter von Holsten and his associates in Germany was concentrated in Lübeck, and partly also in the neighboring hanseatic towns: Rostock, Wismar (Pelus, 1981, 99). No relations with Hamburg (some clients in Lübeck came from Hamburg), Bremen or Emden. The branch in Riga had a client in Stade (Pelus, 1981, 99-100). Compared to other hanseatic firms, the import-export	

							trade of Von Holsten-Reimers in Riga and Lübeck was relatively large (Pelus, 1981, 115). Trade with a client from Königsberg in Lübeck (Pelus, 1981, 117, 286). Middeldorp borrowed money from Von Holsten in 1573 and 1574. As creditor and associate, Von Holsten had an account with Middeldorp. Von Holsten lived in the house of Middeldorp from March 1575 until his death (Pelus, 1981, 66). Wolter von Holsten temporarily stayed in Lübeck sometime in the period 1572-75. (491). Partners of Wolter von Holsten. (491). The company Von Holsten-Reimers did not possess any houses, ships,… Albert Reimers rented 3 basements in Lübeck, one since 1572, another since 1573, a third since beginning 1574. (Pelus, 1981, 140).	
Narva		**8** 4	**4** 2	**3** 2	**1** 1	c.1565- c.1571/72 1572-1575	From the middle of the 1560s, Wolter von Holsten, then in Narva, started to conduct business on his own account. He remained in Narva until ca. 1571-1572 (Pelus, 1981, 24-26, 35). From 1572, he was represented in Narva by a "Diener", and by a commissionary, Hermann Oldenhof (Pelus, 1981, 26). Thomas Reimers, brother of Albert and Jost, was apprentice of Wolter von Holsten, and later became his factor in Narva, and served the company in Lübeck and Riga (Pelus, 1981, 36). The trade between Lübeck and Narva boomed in the 1560s (Pelus, 1981, 40). In the 1560s, until ca. 1572, the trade with Narva was the main source of the fortune of Wolter von Holsten (Pelus, 1981, 101). In 1574-75, Wolter von Holsten, in association with Albert Reimers, financed 4 expeditions to Narva. The first one was commissioned to Hermann Oldenhof, the 2nd and 3rd to Hinrick Wever, the 4th to Karsten Grashorn. In 1575, another expedition to Narva, together with Detmar Middeldorp, commissioned to Hinrick Harmers (Pelus, 1981, 101). This Hinrick Harmers was the associate in Narva of Jurgen Kock, who was himself an associate of Detmar Middeldorp. Von Holsten lent money at a low interest rate of 6% to Kock in 1574, who offered Von Holsten and Middeldorp the free services of his associate Harmers in Narva (Pelus, 1981, 63-64). In 1574-1575, trade with Riga occupied ca. 74-78%, with Narva ca. 22-26% of the Livonian trade of the company Von Holsten - Reimers. The individual trade of Von Holsten with Narva may have been a little bit larger than with Riga, but this personal trade was much smaller than the trade in association (Pelus, 1981, 101-104). Trade with Narva in the 1570s organised via short term expeditions, using commissionaries. The trade with Narva was more incertain than the trade with Riga: piracy of Sweden and Reval,…	

							(Pelus, 1981, 110-111). Narva trade of Wolter von Holsten in 1574-1575 was medium sized or even more, compared to other Hanseatic firms (Pelus, 1981, 117). Detmar Middeldorp in Lübeck was associate of Wolter von Holsten in 1575 for several expeditions to Narva (Pelus, 1981, 65-66). Hermann Oldenhof and Andreas Hagenouw in Narva also carried out trade in commission for Wolter von Holsten personally (Pelus, 1981, 120). Thomas Reimers was the factor of Wolter von Holsten in Narva in 1572, but returned afterwards to Lubeck, first in the service of Von Holsten, in 1574-75 in the service of the Von Holsten-Reimers enterprise (Pelus, 1981, 121). Trade with Narva in three types of associations: (1) Temporary association for one expedition to Narva and back: e.g. with Detmar Middeldorp in 1575, directed to the commissionary Hinrick Harmers in Narva. Middeldorp and Von Holsten invested each half of the capital and shared equally in profits or losses. Purchases and sales in Lübeck were carried out by Middeldorp and Jurgen Kock, of whom Harmers was the associate (Pelus, 1981, 122). (2) The association with Albert Reimers: long duration: from 1567 until the death of Von Holsten in 1575. The commerce of this association in 1574-75 took place under the form of a series of distinct expeditions to Narva, confied to different commissionaries. For each of these expeditions a separate account. Von Holsten and Reimers invested each half of the capital and shared equally in profits or losses. Most of the labour in Lübeck was carried out by Albert Reimers (purchases, sales, expedition and reception of merchandise, accountancy), while labour in Narva was carried out by commissionaries. Result of fact that Von Holsten was creditor of Reimers. After each expedition, the profits/losses were shared, for each expedition another mark,... (Pelus, 1981, 124). (3) Mixed associations: from time to time, Von Holsten and Reimers associated themselves with a third associate for an expedition to Narva. Capital and profits divided half-half between Von Holsten-Reimers and the third associate, e.g. Hermann Oldenhof for a shipment of thyme to Narva in 1567. Other example: association with Detmar Middeldorp in 1574 for another expedition to Narva (Pelus, 1981, 125-126). These three types of association were very similar, very primitive, but also very flexible, well adapted to trade with Narva, where barter was important and role of credit limited. Trade took the shape of outward and backward journeys. Form of association also well adapted to political and	

							military instability of trade with Narva (Pelus, 1981, 126-127). In 1567-1571/1572, the association between Reimers and Von Holsten was probably of the more advanced form of a “Ferngesellschaft auf Gegenseitigkeit”, with one associate in Lübeck, another in Narva. This structure changed with the return of Thomas Reimers to Lubeck at the end of 1572 (Pelus, 1981, 127-128). A very large majority of the ships on which goods of Von Holsten were loaded, went to Narva or Riga (1567-1581). (451-457). Use of commissionary/ies on several occasions for personal trade of Wolter von Holsten in Narva. (491). Frequent use of commissionaries by Wolter von Holsten and his partners in Narva. (491).	
Riga		6	3	2	1	1572-1575	In autumn 1572, foundation of an association between Wolter von Holsten and the brothers Albert and Jost Reimers for trade with Riga (Pelus, 1981, 26). From the beginning of the 1570s, the company of Von Holsten and Albert Reimers extended to commerce with Riga, where Jost Reimers, brother of Albert, became factor or commissionary, and from August 1572 partner in the company (Pelus, 1981, 36). Thomas Reimers, brother of Albert and Jost, was apprentice of Wolter von Holsten, and later became his factor in Narva, and served the company in Lübeck and Riga (Pelus, 1981, 36). Jost Reimers lived as a foreigner in Riga in 1572-1575 (Pelus, 1981, 37). From 1572, the centre of gravity of the commerce of Von Holsten was transferred from Narva to Riga. Jost Reimers represented the company in Riga (Pelus, 1981, 101). In 1574-1575, trade with Riga occupied ca. 74-78%, with Narva ca. 22-26% of the Livonian trade of the company Von Holsten - Reimers. The individual trade of Von Holsten with Narva may have been a little bit larger than with Riga, but this personal trade was much smaller than the trade in association (Pelus, 1981, 101-104). Probably the Reimers had connections in Riga and Reval thanks to their origin (Pelus, 1981, 107). Trade with Riga organised as a permanent enterprise with continuous trade, whereby the members were established permanently in Lübeck and Riga (Pelus, 1981, 110). Compared to other hanseatic firms, the import-export trade of Von Holsten-Reimers in Riga and Lübeck was relatively large (Pelus, 1981, 115). Wolter von Holsten maybe operated in commission for Gretke von der Heide of Riga (Pelus, 1981, 119-120). First commerce with Riga in April 1572. Until 20-8-1572, Jost Reimers was only commissionary of Wolter von Holsten and Albert Reimers. At that time, trade with Riga still	

							weak, mostly barter. Started as a tributary of Narva trade of Von Holsten and Albert Reimers. Very soon however, from 20-8-1572, a new association with three partners is founded, specialised in trade with Riga: Wolter von Holsten, Albert Reimers, Jost Reimers: each paid 1/3 of the costs, received 1/3 of profits and losses. Association founded by oral agreement at a moment when Jost Reimers was temporary in Lübeck. Started at the moment when Jost Reimers returned to Riga. Nevertheless, sometimes Jost Reimers remains active as commission merchant of Von Holsten and Albert Reimers, e.g. for purchase of flax in Pernau in 1574. Use of a unique trademark for commerce of the three associates with Riga since 1572 (the family mark of the Reimers brothers). Wolter von Holsten was passive associate, the Reimers brothers were active associates (Pelus, 1981, 128-130). Contract of 20-12-1574, after a settlement of accounts in Lübeck in December 1574. This contract was a written contract between the three associates, in which they agreed to found a “geselschop offte masschopia” to send merchandise and money from Lübeck to Riga and vice versa. Albert will take care of business in Lübeck, Jost in Riga. Wolter von Holsten invested 5,000 Taler in the association, while Albert and Jost promised to invest the profits they made previously in the association as well. Albert and Jost were not allowed to conduct trade outside of this association with the exception of Albert’s trade for the company with Von Holsten to Narva. This contract did not change much of the operation of the association. Only difference was that capital of 5,000 Taler was divided equally between Riga and Lübeck. For the first time, Jost Reimers disposed of other capital than the merchandise and money sent him every time from Lübeck (Pelus, 1981, 130-132). The association had two seats, one in Lübeck, one in Riga, of which the seat in Lübeck had some preeminence since here the final liquidation of accounts had to take place. No fixed duration of the association was mentioned in the contract (Pelus, 1981, 132-133). The Riga-company had no salaried employees, only apprentices. Almost no use of commissionaries (Pelus, 1981, 135). Form of this association was a commenda or Widerlegung, whereby Wolter von Holsten was the investing partner, the Reimers brothers the laboring partners. Economically speaking, the association was a “Ferngesellschaft auf Gegenseitigkeit” (Pelus, 1981, 138-139). Capital of the Riga company at dissolution: Merchandise and commercial loans. The company did not	

							possess any houses, ships,… Albert Reimers rented 3 basements in Lübeck, one since 1572, another since 1573, a third since beginning 1574. Jost Reimers rented a house and three basements in Riga (Pelus, 1981, 140). In 1575, the company had almost no debts to third persons: almost no payments on credit (Pelus, 1981, 141). Capital of the Riga company: 60-62% invested in the first year of the association in 1572 by Wolter von Holsten from his profits of the Narva company (between 6,800 and 8,300 m. lub.) + 38-40% invested by each of the 3 partners: their profits in the Riga company 1572-1574. The 5,000 Taler of Von Holsten mentioned in the contract consisted of his initial investment and the reinvestment of his profits of 1572-1574. This sum of 5,000 Taler was only approximative (Pelus, 1981, 141-145). A very large majority of the ships on which goods of Von Holsten were loaded, went to Narva or Riga (1567-1581). (451-457). Use of commissionary on one occasion for personal trade of Wolter von Holsten in Riga. (491). Partners of Wolter von Holsten. (491).	
Coesfeld		3	2	2	1	>1573<	Wolter von Holsten purchased linens from his brother Johann in Coesfeld. Not clear whether these relations were occasional or regular. In October 1573, Wolter von Holsten travelled to Westphalia. Not clear whether this was for business or to visit his family (Pelus, 1981, 18-19, 98). Wolter von Holsten temporarily stayed in Westphalia sometime in the period 1572-75. (491). Wolter von Holsten and his associates seem not to have been represented in other places in Germany than Lübeck, Coesfeld and Frankfurt. (Pelus, 1981, 98-99).	
Pärnu		3	2	2	1	1573-1574	Occasional trade with Pärnu (Pernau). Jost Reimers made twice purchases in Pernau: Meat in 1573, sent directly from Pernau to Lübeck, in 1574 linen, sent to Lübeck via his sister Catherine in Reval. Pernau was also a port for loading merchandise purchased in Russia or Narva (Pelus, 1981, 104-105). Berent Alberding purchased meat for Jost Reimers in Pernau, and sent it to Lübeck (Pelus, 1981, 136). Von Holsten used Pernau as a transit port for goods purchased in Narva or Russia. (110-111). Four of the ships on which goods of Von Holsten were loaded went to Pernau or to Narva and Pernau in 1574, and one in 1573. (452-455). Partners of Von Holsten went occasionally to Pernau. (491). Occasional use of commissionaries by Wolter von Holsten and his partners in Pernau. (491).	
Reval		3	2	2	1	>1574<	Reval was largely absent from the Livonian trade of Von Holsten-Reimers.	

							Served occasionally as transit port for merchandise sent from Pernau to Lübeck, e.g. in 1574, when Catherine, sister of the Reimers brothers, took care of the reloading. Several clients of the partnership were burghers of Reval, but they came to Lübeck or Riga for purchasing or selling from/to the Von Holsten-Reimers association. Without passing the port of Reval, the commerce of Wolter von Holsten and his associates with burghers of Reval was relatively important. Albert Reimers e.g. was a correspondent in Lübeck of Gottschalk Becker of Reval (Pelus, 1981, 104-106). Probably the Reimers had connections in Riga and Reval thanks to their origin (Pelus, 1981, 107). Wolter von Holsten operated in commission for Herr Johann Moller of Reval (Pelus, 1981, 120). One of the ships on which goods of Von Holsten were loaded, went to Reval in 1574. (455). Supplier or client, debtor or creditor in Reval. (Pelus, 1981, 491). Occasional use of commissionaries by Wolter von Holsten and his partners in Reval. (491).	
Rostock		3	2	2	1		Albert Reimers purchased his cloth mostly in Lübeck, but also sometimes in Rostock, where he went in person or sent his brother or apprentice (Pelus, 1981, 99). Partners of Von Holsten went occasionally to Rostock. (491).	
Antwerp		2	2	1	0	1574	Wolter von Holsten apparently had trade relations with Antwerp, but the nature of these relations is not clear at all. In 1574, Jacques Abelinck advanced him the modest sum of 4 tlr. 4 s. in Antwerp, or spent this sum for Von Holsten: Did von Holsten go to Antwerp in 1574, or was Abelinck his correspondent in Antwerp? (Pelus, 1981, 95-96). Wolter von Holsten temporarily stayed in Antwerp sometime in the period 1572-75. (491). Use of commissionary on one occasion for personal trade of Wolter von Holsten in Antwerp. (491).	
Copenhagen		2	2	1	0	c.1575	In 1576, Swybrecht Knevell of Lübeck recovered in Copenhagen the rest of a debt to Albert Reimers and Wolter von Holsten from an unknown debtor. Copenhagen seemed to have been a relais between Lübeck and Narva. One of the ships used by Von Holsten and Detmar Middeldorp for transport to Narva made a stop in Copenhagen. This may have incited von Holsten to make some purchases or sales in Copenhagen. Most commerce of Von Holsten with the Danes took place in Lübeck however (Pelus, 1981, 100, 451). Two of the ships on which goods of Von Holsten were loaded went to Copenhagen and Narva (1575) (451, 454). Supplier or client, debtor or creditor in Copenhagen. (Pelus, 1981, 491).	

Dorpat		2	2	1	0		Dorpat was for Von Holsten and his associates a staple for merchandise traveling overland between Pskov and Pernau. The association had no representative in Dorpat, possibly as a consequence of the seizure of the city by the Russians in 1558. Nevertheless, in 1587, the executors of the will of Von Holsten payed 150 m. of the dowry of Catherine Krumhusen to Hans Moller, a burgher of Dorpat (Pelus, 1981, 105). Occasional use of commissionaries by Wolter von Holsten and his partners in Dorpat. (491).	
France		2	2	1	0	1574-1575	Small salt trade with the Atlantic coast (France, Spain, Portugal) with the ship in which Von Holsten had a 1/16 share in 1574-1575. This salt trade was carried out by the factor(s) of the company of shipowners of the ship the Abraham of captain Hartke Moller (Pelus, 1981, 96-97, 120). Supplier or client in France. (Pelus, 1981, 491).	
Jelgava		2	2	1	0		Wax and skins purchased by Marcus Mundt, a burgher of Narva, on the fairs of Jelgava (Mitau) for Jost Reimers (Pelus, 1981, 105). Supplier or client, debtor or creditor in Mitau. (Pelus, 1981, 491).	
Portugal		2	2	1	0	1574-1575	Small salt trade with the Atlantic coast (France, Spain, Portugal) with the ship in which Von Holsten had a 1/16 share in 1574-1575. This salt trade was carried out by the factor(s) of the company of shipowners of the ship the Abraham of captain Hartke Moller (Pelus, 1981, 96-97, 120).	
Pskov		2	2	1	0	1573	In February 1573, Hermann Oldenhof ordered Hans Kremer to go to Pskov to purchase linen for Wolter von Holsten and Albert Reimers (Pelus, 1981, 106-107, 151). Occasional use of commissionaries by Wolter von Holsten and his partners in Pskov. (491).	
Spain		2	2	1	0	1574-1575	Wolter von Holsten purchased a 1/16 share in the ship Abraham in 1574. The Abraham went to Spain for the purchase of salt. The purchases in Spain were probably carried out by the ship captain Hartke Moller, who belonged to the Spanienfahrer. (Pelus, 1981, 85-92). Small salt trade with the Atlantic coast (France, Spain, Portugal) with the ship in which Von Holsten had a 1/16 share in 1574-1575. This salt trade was carried out by the factor(s) of the company of shipowners of the ship the Abraham of captain Hartke Moller (Pelus, 1981, 96-97, 120). Supplier or client in Spain. (Pelus, 1981, 491).	
Stockholm		2	2	1	0	1575	Hinrick Wever, commissionary of Wolter von Holsten and Albert Reimers in Narva, was arrested by Swedish pirates on his return from Narva in 1575, and was forced to stay temporarily in Stockholm, where he sold some of the	

							merchandise. Wolter von Holsten also purchased two Swedish servants who were placed in Lübeck families (Pelus, 1981, 100-101). Occasional use of commissionaries by Wolter von Holsten and his partners in Stockholm. (491).	
Amsterdam		1	1	1	0		Supplier or client, debtor or creditor in Amsterdam. (Pelus, 1981, 491).	
Cologne		1	1	1	0		Supplier or client, debtor or creditor in Cologne. (Pelus, 1981, 491).	
Deventer		1	1	1	0		Hermen, brother of Wolter von Holsten, was sent 25 Taler in Deventer by Wolter via the Deventer burgher Johann van Dalen. Not clear whether this was a loan to his brother or a commercial transaction. Definitely no important commerce of Von Holsten in the Low Countries. One or two clients from Amsterdam or Kampen, but these resided in Lübeck or Riga. The Von Holsten-Reimers company had no factor in Holland (Pelus, 1981, 96). Supplier or client, debtor or creditor in Deventer. (Pelus, 1981, 491).	
Eschwege		1	1	1	0		Supplier or client, debtor or creditor in Eschwege. (Pelus, 1981, 491).	
Frankfurt am Main		1	1	1	0	1574	In 1574, Wolter von Holsten confied commissions to Jochim Wibbeking and Dionysius Oldenhof in Frankfurt for 200 Taler. Not clear whether Frankfurt am Main or Frankfurt an der Oder (Pelus, 1981, 97-98). Use of commissionary/ies on several occasions for personal trade of Wolter von Holsten in Frankfurt am Main or Frankfurt an der Oder. (491). Wolter von Holsten and his associates seem not to have been represented in other places in Germany than Lübeck, Coesfeld and Frankfurt. (Pelus, 1981, 98-99).	
Frankfurt an der Oder		1	1	1	0	1574	In 1574, Wolter von Holsten confied commissions to Jochim Wibbeking and Dionysius Oldenhof in Frankfurt for 200 Taler. Not clear whether Frankfurt am Main or Frankfurt an der Oder (Pelus, 1981, 97-98). Use of commissionary/ies on several occasions for personal trade of Wolter von Holsten in Frankfurt am Main or Frankfurt an der Oder. (491). Wolter von Holsten and his associates seem not to have been represented in other places in Germany than Lübeck, Coesfeld and Frankfurt. (Pelus, 1981, 98-99).	
Göttingen		1	1	1	0		Supplier or client, debtor or creditor in Göttingen. (Pelus, 1981, 491).	
Hamburg		1	1	1	0		Supplier or client, debtor or creditor in Hamburg. (Pelus, 1981, 491).	
Kampen		1	1	1	0		Supplier or client, debtor or creditor in Kampen. (Pelus, 1981, 491). One or two clients from Amsterdam or Kampen, but these resided in Lübeck or Riga. The Von Holsten-Reimers company had no factor in Holland (Pelus, 1981, 96).	
Koknese		1	1	1	0		Supplier or client, debtor or creditor in Koknese (Kokenhusen). (Pelus, 1981,	

							491). A client of Jost Reimers was Herr Hinrick Lugen, a member of the Rat of Kokenhusen, on the Dvina upstream from Riga (Pelus, 1981, 105).	
Königsberg		1	1	1	0		Supplier or client, debtor or creditor in Königsberg. (Pelus, 1981, 491).	
London		1	1	1	0		Supplier or client, debtor or creditor in London. (Pelus, 1981, 491).	
Minden		1	1	1	0		Supplier or client, debtor or creditor in Minden. (Pelus, 1981, 491).	
Pritzwalk		1	1	1	0		Supplier or client, debtor or creditor in Pritzwalk. (Pelus, 1981, 491).	
Salzwedel		1	1	1	0		Supplier or client, debtor or creditor in Salzwedel. (Pelus, 1981, 491).	
Stade		1	1	1	0		The Riga branch had a client in Stade. (Pelus, 1981, 99-100). Supplier or client, debtor or creditor in Stade. (Pelus, 1981, 491).	
Szczecin		1	1	1	0		Wolter Von Holsten purchased a horse in Szczecin via the intermediary of Hinrick Hulshorst, Diener of Hans Berens (Pelus, 1981, 99). Use of commissionary on one occasion for personal trade of Wolter von Holsten in Szczecin. (491).	
Wismar		1	1	1	0	1574	In December 1574, Albert Reimers and Wolter von Holsten together went to Wismar (Pelus, 1981, 99). Wolter von Holsten temporarily stayed in Wismar sometime in the period 1572-75. (491).	

KAMPFERBEKE & AMSINCK, ca. 1529 – after 1618

The Kampferbeke and Amsinck families were closely related to each other, and often traded together. There was also a Hendrick Camferbeck (the elder and the younger (b. 1586)): cooperation with Lambert van Tweenhuysen. (Wijnroks, 2003, 377, 379).

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Source material:

1. JOHANN KAMPFERBEKE, ca. 1529 – 1573 (network not used)

The Camferbeck were an important family of merchants and urban politicians. Members of the family had become members of the council of Lubeck, Zwolle and Reval. Johann Camferbeck was born in the German border town Veldhausen in the county of Bentheim. He was a member of the council of Lubeck from 1562 until his death in 1573. (Wijnroks, 2003, 65).

Herr Johann Kampferbeke (+ 29-5-1573). (Pelus, 1981, 29-31). Johann Kampferbeke was member of the Rat of Lubeck since 1562, important member of the Westphalian colony in Lubeck. He was born in Feldhusen, a small Westphalian town in the north west of Munster, but his family was probably originally from the Netherlands, from where they fled in the 1520s and 30s to Lubeck and Reval. Johann Kampferbeke is attested for the first time in Lubeck in 1529, trading between the Low Countries and Livonia. In 1543 he was cited in an Antwerp document, charged to take care of the business of a Dutch merchant in Reval. Johann Kampferbeke married to Elsebe Schlüter, which opened up the gates to the

Lubeck bourgeoisie (Pelus, 1981, 29-30). Trade of Johann Kampferbeke spanned more or less all directions of Lubeck and Hanseatic trade. Allowed him to conduct very profitable transactions on the Lubeck marketplace. He owned parts in different ships, and was an important creditor. Large (but not exceptionally) Hanseatic merchant (Pelus, 1981, 31). The association founded on 3-10-1554 by the Kampferbeke brothers and Evert Rottgers, burgher of Reval, was a Ferngesellschaft auf Gegenseitigkeit, in which each associate invested 5000 m. rig. and was responsible for a specific geographic sector (Pelus, 1981, 139). The Lubeck family Kampferbeck was active in the Portugaltrade in the 16th and 17th c. (Kellenbenz, 1954, 182). Ca. 1575, Willem Amsinck, son of Roeloff, and Rotgert and the heirs of the Ratmann Hans Kampferbeck were partowners in ships sailing to the Iberian peninsula. Another Hans Kampferbeck, born in Reval, was sent to Lisbon where he became Hanseatic consul. This Hans Kampferbeck had close business contacts in Hamburg with the Amsinck (Kellenbenz, 1954, 182). The Van Camferbeek family came originally from Zwolle, but members of the family later moved to Lubeck and Reval, where they became active in business. (Hart, 1973, 69). Network: 1529-1573. Headquarters: Lubeck. (Pelus, 1981, 29-31).

Also trade in salt with France and the Iberian Peninsula, whereto he also exported grain (Pelus, 1981, 31). Also trade with Emden and Norway (Pelus, 1981, 31).

Size: Medium-sized

Large (but not exceptionally large) Hanseatic merchant (Pelus, 1981, 31). The association founded on 3-10-1554 by the Kampferbeke brothers and Evert Rottgers, burgher of Reval, was a Ferngesellschaft auf Gegenseitigkeit, in which each associate invested 5000 m. rig. (Pelus, 1981, 139).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Salt trade. (Pelus, 1981, 31). Import of salt from Brouage to the Baltic. (Wijnroks, 2003, 68). Trade in salt with France and the Iberian Peninsula, whereto Kampferbeke also exported grain (Pelus, 1981, 31). Association between the Kampferbeke and Rotgers traded in tallow, linen, skins, ginger, salt, and cloth (Pelus, 1981, 30). Kampferbeke conducted trade in Narva with Wilhelm Ambsing and the Krumhusen in thyme, ironware and other merchandise. (Pelus, 1981, 24, 30).
- Finance: Kampferbeke was an important creditor. (Pelus, 1981, 31).
- Industry:
- Shipping: Johann Kampferbeke owned parts in different ships. (Pelus, 1981, 31).

Network of Johann Kampferbeke:

Table A..1. Network of Johann Kampferbeke, ca. 1529 – 1573 (especially 1554 – 1572)

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Lübeck		8	4	3	1	>1529-1573	1529-1573. Headquarters of Johann Kampferbeke. He was attested in Lubeck for the first time in 1529, and he died there in 1573 (Pelus, 1981, 29-30). Association concluded in 1554 for 6 years with Evert Rottgers, burgher of Reval, and his brother Hinrick Kampferbeke, who resided in the Low Countries. Johann Kampferbeke took care of the business in Lubeck, Hinrick in Antwerp and Amsterdam, Evert Rotgers of the Livonian market (Reval, Dorpat, Narva). This association lasted until September 1572, and traded in tallow, linen, skins, ginger, salt, and cloth (Pelus, 1981, 30). Hans (Johann) Kampferbeke was responsible for trade in Lubeck (Pelus, 1981, 139). The Van Camferbeek family came originally from Zwolle, but members of the family later moved to Lubeck and Reval, where they became active in business. (Hart, 1973, 69). Members of the family had become members of the council of Lubeck, Zwolle and Reval. (Wijnroks, 2003, 65).	
Reval		6	3	2	1	>1543-1572<	1554-1572. In 1543, Kampferbeke was charged with taking care of the business of a Dutch merchant in Reval (Pelus, 1981, 29-30). Reval was the centre of his Livonian trade, where he had as commissionary Roleff Schroder, merchant from Riga (1562) (Pelus, 1981, 30). Association concluded in 1554 for 6 years with Evert Rottgers, burgher of Reval, and his brother Hinrick Kampferbeke, who resided in the Low Countries. Johann Kampferbeke took care of the business in Lubeck, Hinrick in Antwerp and Amsterdam, Evert Rotgers of the Livonian market (Reval, Dorpat, Narva). This association lasted until September 1572, and traded in tallow, linen, skins, ginger, salt, and cloth (Pelus, 1981, 30). Evert Rottgers was responsible for the sector Livonia (Reval, Dorpat, Narva) and Russia (Pelus, 1981, 139). Johann Kampferbeke is attested for the first time in Lubeck in 1529, trading between the Low Countries and Livonia. (Pelus, 1981, 29-30). The Van Camferbeek family came originally from Zwolle, but members of the family later moved to Lubeck and Reval, where they became active in business. (Hart, 1973, 69). Members of the family had become members of the council of Lubeck, Zwolle and Reval. (Wijnroks, 2003, 65).	
Amsterdam		5	3	2	1	>1554-1572<	1554-1572. Association concluded in 1554 for 6 years with Evert Rottgers, burgher of Reval, and his brother Hinrick Kampferbeke, who resided in the Low Countries. Johann Kampferbeke took care of the business in Lubeck, Hinrick in Antwerp and Amsterdam, Evert Rotgers of the Livonian market	

							(Reval, Dorpat, Narva). This association lasted until September 1572, and traded in tallow, linen, skins, ginger, salt, and cloth (Pelus, 1981, 30). Hinrick Kampferbeke worked in the Low Countries (Holland, Zeeland, Amsterdam, Antwerp) (Pelus, 1981, 139). Johann Kampferbeke is attested for the first time in Lubeck in 1529, trading between the Low Countries and Livonia. (Pelus, 1981, 29-30).	
Antwerp		5	3	2	1	>1543-1572<	1554-1572. Association concluded in 1554 for 6 years with Evert Rottgers, burgher of Reval, and his brother Hinrick Kampferbeke, who resided in the Low Countries. Johann Kampferbeke took care of the business in Lubeck, Hinrick in Antwerp and Amsterdam, Evert Rotgers of the Livonian market (Reval, Dorpat, Narva). This association lasted until September 1572, and traded in tallow, linen, skins, ginger, salt, and cloth (Pelus, 1981, 30). Hinrick Kampferbeke worked in the Low Countries (Holland, Zeeland, Amsterdam, Antwerp) (Pelus, 1981, 139). In 1543 Kampferbeke was cited in an Antwerp document, charged to take care of the business of a Dutch merchant in Reval. (Pelus, 1981, 29-30). Johann Kampferbeke is attested for the first time in Lubeck in 1529, trading between the Low Countries and Livonia. (Pelus, 1981, 29-30). Ca. 1564 Hans Camferbeck became Diener of the Antwerp company of Ogerijn in Lubeck. (Wijnroks, 2003, 66).	
Dorpat		5	3	2	1	>1554-1572<	1554-1572. Association concluded in 1554 for 6 years with Evert Rottgers, burgher of Reval, and his brother Hinrick Kampferbeke, who resided in the Low Countries. Johann Kampferbeke took care of the business in Lubeck, Hinrick in Antwerp and Amsterdam, Evert Rotgers of the Livonian market (Reval, Dorpat, Narva). This association lasted until September 1572, and traded in tallow, linen, skins, ginger, salt, and cloth (Pelus, 1981, 30). Evert Rottgers was responsible for the sector Livonia (Reval, Dorpat, Narva) and Russia (Pelus, 1981, 139). Johann Kampferbeke is attested for the first time in Lubeck in 1529, trading between the Low Countries and Livonia. (Pelus, 1981, 29-30).	
Narva		5	3	2	1	>1554-1572<	1554-1572. Association concluded in 1554 for 6 years with Evert Rottgers, burgher of Reval, and his brother Hinrick Kampferbeke, who resided in the Low Countries. Johann Kampferbeke took care of the business in Lubeck, Hinrick in Antwerp and Amsterdam, Evert Rotgers of the Livonian market (Reval, Dorpat, Narva). This association lasted until September 1572, and traded in tallow, linen, skins, ginger, salt, and cloth (Pelus, 1981, 30). At the	

							same time, Kampferbeke conducted trade in Narva with Wilhelm Ambsing and the Krumhusen in thyme, ironware and other merchandise. Wolter von Holsten was representative of Kampferbeke and Ambsing in Narva (ca. 1565-1570). Evert Rotgers was also in relation with the Krumhusen of Narva. Michel Krumhusen was in Narva, Jochim Krumhusen in Lubeck (Pelus, 1981, 24, 30). Wilhelm Ambsing in Narva from early 1560s as factor or commissionary of the association of Kampferbeke and Rottgers. In 1566-67, Willem Ambsing traded for his own account, but in connection with Johann Kampferbeke and Wolter von Holsten in Narva with the Krumhusen (Pelus, 1981, 32-33). Evert Rottgers was responsible for the sector Livonia (Reval, Dorpat, Narva) and Russia (Pelus, 1981, 139). Amsinck was Diener in the early 1560s of the company Camferbeck-Rottgers in Narva. (Wijnroks, 2003, 66). Wolter von Holsten started his career as apprentice and later "Diener" in the service of Johann Kampferbeke and Willem Ambsing. He was in Narva from the mid 1560s until ca. 1572, when he moved to Lübeck (Pelus, 1981, 24-27).	
Brouage		3	2	2	1		Also trade in salt with France and the Iberian Peninsula, whereto he also exported grain (Pelus, 1981, 31). Hans Camferbeck and Willem Amsinck also traded in grain. Import of salt from Brouage to the Baltic. (Wijnroks, 2003, 68).	
Emden		3	2	2	1		Also trade of Johann Kampferbeke with Emden and Norway (Pelus, 1981, 31).	
Lisbon		3	2	2	1	1557	1557. Export of grain to Lisbon in 1557. The ship didn't pass the Sont however and had to return (Pelus, 1981, 31 n. 33). Also trade in salt with France and Iberian Peninsula (Pelus, 1981, 31). The Lubeck family Kampferbeck was active in the Portugal trade in the 16th and 17th c. (Kellenbenz, 1954, 182).	
Norway		3	2	2	1		Also trade of Johann Kampferbeke with Emden and Norway (Pelus, 1981, 31).	
Zeeland		3	2	2	1	>1554-1572<	1554-1572. Association concluded in 1554 for 6 years with Evert Rottgers, burgher of Reval, and his brother Hinrick Kampferbeke, who resided in the Low Countries. Johann Kampferbeke took care of the business in Lubeck, Hinrick in Antwerp and Amsterdam, Evert Rotgers of the Livonian market (Reval, Dorpat, Narva). This association lasted until September 1572, and traded in tallow, linen, skins, ginger, salt, and cloth (Pelus, 1981, 30).	

							Hinrick Kampferbeke worked in the Low Countries (Holland, Zeeland, Amsterdam, Antwerp) (Pelus, 1981, 139).	
Zwolle		2	2	1	0		The Van Camferbeek family came originally from Zwolle, but members of the family later moved to Lubeck and Reval, where they became active in business. (Hart, 1973, 69). Members of the family had become members of the council of Lubeck, Zwolle and Reval. (Wijnroks, 2003, 65).	

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2. ROTGERT KAMPFERBEKE, before 1564 – 1589 (network not used)

Rotgert Kampferbeke. Rotgert Kampferbeke was a relative of Johann Kampferbeke (KAMP), but their exact family ties remain unclear. Rotgert came originally from Zwolle, but went to Lubeck where he became member of the Rat in 1588. He died in 1589. Rotgert Kampferbeke was a very large merchant and shipowner. He had a number of sons, among which one was called Rotgert Kampferbeke (Pelus, 1981, 95, 95 n. 7, n. 8).
Ca. 1571. Rotgert Kampferbeke sent merchandise to Zeeland, Holland, Bruges, Emden, Marstrand. He was shipowner of different Spanienfahrer, and participated actively in salt trade (Pelus, 1981, 95 n. 7). Ca. 1575, Willem Amsinck, son of Roeloff, and Rotgert and the heirs of the Ratmann Hans Kampferbeck were partowners in ships sailing to the Iberian peninsula. Another Hans Kampferbeck, born in Reval, was sent to Lisbon where he became Hanseatic consul. (Kellenbenz, 1954, 182).
Since mid 1564, close cooperation between the company Ogerijn-Wouters-Amsinck, and the company of the Camferbecks, Caspar Mentsinck and Jacques Abelin. Head of this latter company was Richard (or Rutghert or Rottger) Camferbeck. Abelin (b. ca. 1531) and Mentsinck were Diener of the firm, owning shares in the company. Camferbeck lived originally still in Zwolle, Abelin in Antwerp, and Mentsinck was factor in Narva. (Wijnroks, 2003, 65-66). From 1564, Abelin was also Diener of Ogerijn (Antwerp). Mentsinck died of plague in Stockholm in 1565. End of the 1560s, marriage between Abelin and a daughter of Ogerijn. From then on, company between Wouters, Ogerijn and Abelin, which maintained strong ties with the Camferbecks. In 1569 Ogerijn and Abelin sent Balthasar van der Lippe, a merchant from Coevorden, over land to Narva with a large amount of merchandise. (Wijnroks, 2003, 66).

Size: Medium-sized or large

Rotgert Kampferbeke was a very large merchant and shipowner. (Pelus, 1981, 95, 95 n. 7, n. 8).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Rotgert Kampferbeke participated actively in salt trade (Pelus, 1981, 95 n. 7). Rotgert Kampferbeke was a very large merchant. (Pelus, 1981, 95, 95 n. 7, n. 8).
- Finance:

- Industry:
- Shipping: Rotgert Kampferbeke was a very large shipowner. (Pelus, 1981, 95, 95 n. 7, n. 8). He was shipowner of different Spanienfahrer (Pelus, 1981, 95 n. 7). Ca. 1575, Willem Amsinck, son of Roeloff, and Rotgert and the heirs of the Ratmann Hans Kampferbeck were partowners in ships sailing to the Iberian peninsula. (Kellenbenz, 1954, 182).

Network of Rotgert Kampferbeke:

Table A..2. Network of Rotgert Kampferbeke, ca. 1571

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Lübeck		8	4	3	1	>1571-1589	Ca. 1571. Rotgert Kampferbeke was a very large merchant in Lubeck. He came originally from Zwolle. He died in Lubeck in 1589 (Pelus, 1981, 95 n. 7).	
Reval		6	3	2	1	>1571<	Ca. 1571. Rotgert Kampferbeke founded a commercial company with his cousin Everth Kampferbeke in Reval, who became member of the Rat of Reval in 1579-1592. Closure of the accounts of this company in 1571, gave way to a very long lawsuit (Pelus, 1981, 95 n. 7).	
Antwerp		4	2	2	1	>c.1564<	Rotgert Kampferbeke conducted important commerce in Antwerp (Pelus, 1981, 95 n. 7). Company of the Camferbecks, Caspar Mentsinck and Jacques Abelin (ca. 1564). Head of this company was Richard (or Rutghert or Rottger) Camferbeck. Abelin (b. ca. 1531) and Mentsinck were Diener of the firm, owning shares in the company. Camferbeck lived originally still in Zwolle, Abelin in Antwerp, and Mentsinck was factor in Narva. (Wijnroks, 2003, 65-66). From 1564, Abelin was also Diener of Ogerijn (Antwerp). (Wijnroks, 2003, 66).	
Narva		4	2	2	1	>c.1564-1571<	Ca. 1571. Associated with his cousin in Reval, Rotgert Kampferbeke also traded in Riga and especially Narva. He was Frachtherr of the Narva-fahrer in 1571 (Pelus, 1981, 95 n. 7). Company of the Camferbecks, Caspar Mentsinck and Jacques Abelin (ca. 1564). Head of this company was Richard (or Rutghert or Rottger) Camferbeck. Abelin (b. ca. 1531) and Mentsinck were Diener of the firm, owning shares in the company. Camferbeck lived originally still in Zwolle, Abelin in Antwerp, and Mentsinck was factor in Narva. (Wijnroks, 2003, 65-66). Mentsinck died of plague in Stockholm in 1565. In 1569 Ogerijn and Abelin sent Balthasar van	

							der Lippe, a merchant from Coevorden, over land to Narva with a large amount of merchandise. (Wijnroks, 2003, 66).	
Bruges		3	2	2	1		Rotgert Kampferbeke sent merchandise to Zeeland, Holland, Bruges, Emden, Marstrand (Pelus, 1981, 95 n. 7).	
Emden		3	2	2	1		Rotgert Kampferbeke sent merchandise to Zeeland, Holland, Bruges, Emden, Marstrand (Pelus, 1981, 95 n. 7).	
Holland		3	2	2	1		Rotgert Kampferbeke sent merchandise to Zeeland, Holland, Bruges, Emden, Marstrand (Pelus, 1981, 95 n. 7).	
Marstrand		3	2	2	1		Rotgert Kampferbeke sent merchandise to Zeeland, Holland, Bruges, Emden, Marstrand (Pelus, 1981, 95 n. 7).	
Riga		3	2	2	1		Associated with his cousin in Reval, Rotgert Kampferbeke also traded in Riga and especially Narva. He was Frachtherr of the Narva-fahrer in 1571 (Pelus, 1981, 95 n. 7).	
Spain		3	2	2	1	>c.1575<	Rotgert Kampferbeke was shipowner of different Spanienfahrer, and participated actively in salt trade (Pelus, 1981, 95 n. 7). Ca. 1575, Willem Amsinck, son of Roeloff, and Rotgert and the heirs of the Ratmann Hans Kampferbeck were partowners in ships sailing to the Iberian peninsula. (Kellenbenz, 1954, 182).	
Zeeland		3	2	2	1		Rotgert Kampferbeke sent merchandise to Zeeland, Holland, Bruges, Emden, Marstrand (Pelus, 1981, 95 n. 7).	
Zwolle		~~8~~ *3*	~~4~~ *2*	~~3~~ *2*	~~1~~ *1*	>c.1564<	Company of the Camferbecks, Caspar Mentsinck and Jacques Abelin (ca. 1564). Head of this company was Richard (or Rutghert or Rottger) Camferbeck. Abelin (b. ca. 1531) and Mentsinck were Diener of the firm, owning shares in the company. Camferbeck lived originally still in Zwolle, Abelin in Antwerp, and Mentsinck was factor in Narva. (Wijnroks, 2003, 65-66).	

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3. WILLEM AMSINCK, early 1560s – 1618

Two brothers Amsinck, Roeloff (who became burgomaster of Zwolle) and Johann, married into the Lubeck family Kampferbeck in the 16th century. Roeloff's son Willem (born in Deventer, d. 1618) established himself in Lubeck, where he became part owner with Rotgert and the heirs of Hans Kampferbeck in several ships sailing to the Iberian peninsula ca. 1575. In 1576, Willem went to Hamburg, where he was one of the founders of several welfare foundations for immigrants from the Low Countries. His two sisters were married to Dutch merchants active in the

trade with Spain and Portugal. Willem's son Rudolf was a shipowner in Hamburg active in traffic to the Iberian peninsula in the early 17th century. In 1619, he delivered salt to the counts of Schauenburg (Kellenbenz, 1954, 182-183). After Willem's death in 1618, the business was taken over by his two sons Rudolf (born 1577, married with Isabeau de Hertoghe in 1601) and Arnold (married to Francina Berenberg in 1609). Their sister Sara was married to Hans de Hertoghe in 1616. The children of Rudolf Amsinck married also with members of important Spain and Portugal merchants of Hamburg (Kellenbenz, 1954, 182-184). The Amsinck came originally from Zwolle, but later became active in business in Lubeck and Hamburg. (Hart, 1973, 69).

Willem Ambsing: 1560s-1604. Central nodes: Lubeck, Narva. (Pelus, 1981, 32-34). Willem Ambsing came from a family from Zwolle. He established himself in Lubeck and later in Narva in the service of Johann Kampferbeke. He was factor or commissionary of Kampferbeke in Narva since the early 1560s (Pelus, 1981, 32). In Lubeck, Ambsing was a large shipowner. Did not become a member of the Rat, but was semi-officially the representative of the city of Reval in Lubeck. (Pelus, 1981, 33-34).

Willem Amsinck came from the German border town Veldhausen in the county of Bentheim. He belonged to a network of merchants of Overijssel and Westphalia trading from Antwerp with Narva. To this network belonged also Cornelis Ogerijn, François Wouters, Jacques Abelin, Caspar Mentsinck, and several members of the Camferbeck family. Wouters and Ogerijn were citizens of Antwerp. (Wijnroks, 2003, 65). Company of Cornelis Ogerijn, Francois Wouters and Willem Amsinck, headed by Ogerijn and Wouters. Amsinck had to accompany the goods of the company to the Baltic. He often stayed in Reval, where he was assisted by Hem Busscherof. This company traded with Russia since Autumn 1563. Their fixed factor in Narva was Wolter von Holsten. Gheerbrant Dominicus was their agent in Amsterdam. Amsinck was Diener in the early 1560s of the company Camferbeck-Rottgers in Narva. (Wijnroks, 2003, 66). Since mid 1564, close cooperation between the company Ogerijn-Wouters-Amsinck, and the company of the Camferbecks, Caspar Mentsinck and Jacques Abelin. Head of this latter company was Richard (or Rutghert or Rottger) Camferbeck. Abelin (b. ca. 1531) and Mentsinck were Diener of the firm, owning shares in the company. Camferbeck lived originally still in Zwolle, Abelin in Antwerp, and Mentsinck was factor in Narva. (Wijnroks, 2003, 65-66). From 1564, Abelin was also Diener of Ogerijn. Hans Camferbeck became Diener of Ogerijn's company in Lubeck. Their agent in Narva remained Wolter von Holsten, but sometimes also use of the services of Mentsinck. However, Mentsinck died of plague in Stockholm in 1565. End of the 1560s, marriage between Abelin and a daughter of Ogerijn. From then on, company between Wouters, Ogerijn and Abelin, which maintained strong ties with the Camferbecks. In 1569 Ogerijn and Abelin sent Balthasar van der Lippe, a merchant from Coevorden, over land to Narva with a large amount of merchandise. (Wijnroks, 2003, 66).

Hans Camferbeck and Willem Amsinck also traded in grain. Import of salt from Brouage to the Baltic. (Wijnroks, 2003, 68).

Ca. 1575, Willem Amsinck, son of Roeloff, and Rotgert and the heirs of the Ratmann Hans Kampferbeck were partowners in ships sailing to the Iberian peninsula. Another Hans Kampferbeck, born in Reval, was sent to Lisbon where he became Hanseatic consul. This Hans Kampferbeck had close business contacts in Hamburg with the Amsinck (Kellenbenz, 1954, 182).

Size: Medium-sized or large

The account of the Amsinck had the highest turnover of all the accounts of the Hamburg bank in 1619, 1620 and 1621, in 1622 the 4th highest, in 1623 the 8th highest (Kellenbenz, 1954, 183). In Lübeck, Ambsing was a large shipowner. (Pelus, 1981, 33-34). One of the richest firms from the Southern Low Countries that had fled to Hamburg, was the firm of Rudolf and Arnold Amsink, sons of Willem, whose deposits in the Bank amounted to 641,000 marks in 1619 (Dollinger, 1970, 357).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Hans Camferbeck and Willem Amsinck traded in grain. Import of salt from Brouage to the Baltic. (Wijnroks, 2003, 68). After Ambsing settled in Lubeck, he kept on trading with Reval, especially in salt (Pelus, 1981, 33).
- Finance:
- Industry:
- Shipping: Willem became part owner with Rotgert and the heirs of Hans Kampferbeck in several ships sailing to the Iberian peninsula ca. 1575. Willem's son Rudolf was a shipowner in Hamburg active in traffic to the Iberian peninsula in the early 17th century. (Kellenbenz, 1954, 182-183). In Lubeck, Ambsing was a large shipowner. (Pelus, 1981, 33-34). Ca. 1575, Willem Amsinck, son of Roeloff, and Rotgert and the heirs of the Ratmann Hans Kampferbeck were partowners in ships sailing to the Iberian peninsula. (Kellenbenz, 1954, 182).

Network of Willem Amsinck:

After 1571, also trade with Norway and France. He was especially active as well in the exchange of salt for grain in the Iberian Peninsula (Pelus, 1981, 33).

Table A..3. Network of Willem Amsinck, 1571 – 1576

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
		3	2	2	1			
Lübeck		**8**	**4**	**3**	**1**	>c.1564- 1567< 1571-1576	Willem Amsinck was in Lubeck ca. 1575. The Amsinck were closely related to the Kampferbeck of Lubeck (Kellenbenz, 1954, 182). 1571-1604. In 1566-67, Ambsing traded on his own account, often in connection with Johann Kampferbeke in Lubeck. In 1571, Ambsing went to Lubeck, where he married in 1572. He installed himself from then on definitely in Lubeck, although he still made travels abroad (Pelus, 1981, 33). Willem established himself in Lubeck, where he became part owner with Rotgert and the heirs of Hans Kampferbeck in several ships sailing to the Iberian peninsula ca.	

							1575. In 1576, Willem went to Hamburg. (Kellenbenz, 1954, 182-183). The Amsinck came originally from Zwolle, but later became active in business in Lubeck and Hamburg. (Hart, 1973, 69). Willem Ambsing established himself in Lubeck and later in Narva in the service of Johann Kampferbeke. (Pelus, 1981, 32). In Lubeck, Ambsing was a large shipowner. Did not become a member of the Rat, but was semi-officially the representative of the city of Reval in Lubeck. (Pelus, 1981, 33-34). Hans Camferbeck became Diener of Ogerijn's company in Lubeck ca. 1564. (Wijnroks, 2003, 66).	
Narva		4 8 **4** 3	2 4 **2** 2	2 3 **2** 2	1 1 **1** 1	>1562-1563< early 1560s-1567< <1567-c.1572< >1577-1578<	Early 1560s – 1571. In 1566-67, Willem Ambsing was in Narva, conducting business on his own account, in connection with Johann Kampferbeke and Wolter von Holsten, with the Krumhusen (Pelus, 1981, 32). In 1577-78, he regularly sent merchandise to Narva (Pelus, 1981, 33). Willem Ambsing established himself in Lubeck and later in Narva in the service of Johann Kampferbeke. He was factor or commissionary of Kampferbeke in Narva since the early 1560s (Pelus, 1981, 32). Willem Amsinck belonged to a network of merchants of Overijssel and Westphalia trading from Antwerp with Narva. To this network belonged also Cornelis Ogerijn, François Wouters, Jacques Abelin, Caspar Mentsinck, and several members of the Camferbeck family. (Wijnroks, 2003, 65). Company of Cornelis Ogerijn, Francois Wouters and Willem Amsinck, headed by Ogerijn and Wouters. Amsinck had to accompany the goods of the company to the Baltic. He often stayed in Reval, where he was assisted by Hem Busscherof. This company traded with Russia since Autumn 1563. Their fixed factor in Narva was Wolter von Holsten. Gheerbrant Dominicus was their agent in Amsterdam. Amsinck was Diener in the early 1560s of the company Camferbeck-Rottgers in Narva. (Wijnroks, 2003, 66). Since mid 1564, close cooperation between the company Ogerijn-Wouters-Amsinck, and the company of the Camferbecks, Caspar Mentsinck and Jacques Abelin. Camferbeck lived originally still in Zwolle, Abelin in Antwerp, and Mentsinck was factor in Narva. (Wijnroks, 2003, 65-66). Their agent in Narva remained Wolter von Holsten, but sometimes also use of the services of Mentsinck. However, Mentsinck died of plague in Stockholm in 1565. In 1569 Ogerijn and Abelin sent Balthasar van der Lippe, a merchant from Coevorden, over land to Narva with a large amount of merchandise. (Wijnroks, 2003, 66). Ca. 1562-	

							63 Willem Amsinck lived in Reval, while his Diener lived in Narva. (Wijnroks, 2003, 130). Wolter von Holsten started his career as apprentice and later “Diener” in the service of Johann Kampferbeke and Willem Ambsing. He was in Narva from the mid 1560s until ca. 1572, when he moved to Lübeck (Pelus, 1981, 24-27).	
Reval		8 **4**	4 **2**	3 **2**	1 **1**	>1562-1563< >1565-1571<	From ca. 1565. In 1565, Ambsing traded with Reval, especially with Johann Moller (1570) (Pelus, 1981, 32-33). After Ambsing settled in Lubeck, he kept on trading with Reval, especially in salt (Pelus, 1981, 33). Ca. 1562-63 Willem Amsinck lived in Reval, while his Diener lived in Narva. (Wijnroks, 2003, 130). In Lubeck, Ambsing did not become a member of the Rat, but was semi-officially the representative of the city of Reval in Lubeck. (Pelus, 1981, 33-34). Company of Cornelis Ogerijn, Francois Wouters and Willem Amsinck, headed by Ogerijn and Wouters. Amsinck had to accompany the goods of the company to the Baltic. He often stayed in Reval, where he was assisted by Hem Busscherof. This company traded with Russia since Autumn 1563. (Wijnroks, 2003, 66).	
Amsterdam		3	2	2	1	>c.1563-1571<	After 1571, also trade with Norway, Marstrand (in Sweden), Emden, the Low Countries (Enkhuizen, Antwerp, Amsterdam) and France. He was especially active as well in the exchange of salt for grain in the Iberian Peninsula (Pelus, 1981, 33). Company of Cornelis Ogerijn, Francois Wouters and Willem Amsinck, headed by Ogerijn and Wouters. Gheerbrant Dominicus was their agent in Amsterdam. This company traded with Russia since Autumn 1563. (Wijnroks, 2003, 66).	
Antwerp		6 **3**	3 **2**	2 **2**	1 **1**	>c.1564< after 1571	After 1571, also trade with Norway, Marstrand (in Sweden), Emden, the Low Countries (Enkhuizen, Antwerp, Amsterdam) and France. He was especially active as well in the exchange of salt for grain in the Iberian Peninsula (Pelus, 1981, 33). Willem Amsinck belonged to a network of merchants of Overijssel and Westphalia trading from Antwerp with Narva. To this network belonged also Cornelis Ogerijn, François Wouters, Jacques Abelin, Caspar Mentsinck, and several members of the Camferbeck family. Wouters and Ogerijn were citizens of Antwerp. (Wijnroks, 2003, 65). Since mid 1564, close cooperation between the company Ogerijn-Wouters-Amsinck, and the company of the Camferbecks, Caspar Mentsinck and Jacques Abelin. Camferbeck lived originally still in Zwolle, Abelin in Antwerp, and Mentsinck was factor in Narva. (Wijnroks, 2003, 65-66). From	

							1564, Abelin was also Diener of Ogerijn. End of the 1560s, marriage between Abelin and a daughter of Ogerijn. From then on, company between Wouters, Ogerijn and Abelin, which maintained strong ties with the Camferbecks. (Wijnroks, 2003, 66).	
Brouage		3	2	2	1	after 1571	After 1571, also trade with Norway and France. (Pelus, 1981, 33). Hans Camferbeck and Willem Amsinck traded in grain. Import of salt from Brouage to the Baltic. (Wijnroks, 2003, 68).	
Emden		3	2	2	1	after 1571	After 1571, also trade with Norway, Marstrand (in Sweden), Emden, the Low Countries (Enkhuizen, Antwerp, Amsterdam) and France. He was especially active as well in the exchange of salt for grain in the Iberian Peninsula (Pelus, 1981, 33).	
Enkhuizen		3	2	2	1	after 1571	After 1571, also trade with Norway, Marstrand (in Sweden), Emden, the Low Countries (Enkhuizen, Antwerp, Amsterdam) and France. He was especially active as well in the exchange of salt for grain in the Iberian Peninsula (Pelus, 1981, 33).	
Hamburg		~~8~~ *3*	~~4~~ *2*	~~3~~ *2*	~~1~~ *1*	1576-1618<	In 1576, Willem Amsinck established himself in Hamburg. His son Rudolf Amsinck was a shipowner in Hamburg in the early 17th c., active in the traffic to Spain and Portugal (Kellenbenz, 1954, 183). The Amsinck came originally from Zwolle, but later became active in business in Lubeck and Hamburg. (Hart, 1973, 69).	
Lisbon		3	2	2	1	>c.1575-early 17th c.<	Willem established himself in Lubeck, where he became part owner with Rotgert and the heirs of Hans Kampferbeck in several ships sailing to the Iberian peninsula ca. 1575. His two sisters were married to Dutch merchants active in the trade with Spain and Portugal. Willem's son Rudolf was a shipowner in Hamburg active in traffic to the Iberian peninsula in the early 17th century. (Kellenbenz, 1954, 182-183). Ca. 1575, Willem Amsinck, son of Roeloff, and Rotgert and the heirs of the Ratmann Hans Kampferbeck were partowners in ships sailing to the Iberian peninsula. Another Hans Kampferbeck, born in Reval, was sent to Lisbon where he became Hanseatic consul. This Hans Kampferbeck had close business contacts in Hamburg with the Amsinck (Kellenbenz, 1954, 182). Willem Amsinck was especially active as well in the exchange of salt for grain in the Iberian Peninsula (Pelus, 1981, 33).	
Marstrand		3	2	2	1	after 1571	After 1571, also trade with Norway, Marstrand (in Sweden), Emden, the Low Countries (Enkhuizen, Antwerp, Amsterdam) and France. He was	

							especially active as well in the exchange of salt for grain in the Iberian Peninsula (Pelus, 1981, 33).	
Norway		3	2	2	1	after 1571	After 1571, also trade with Norway and France. (Pelus, 1981, 33).	
Riga		3	2	2	1	after 1571	After 1571, Ambsing also traded with Riga, where his brother Hans provided him with grain (Pelus, 1981, 33).	
East Indies		2	2	1	0		A young member of the Amsinck family went to the Indies (Kellenbenz, 1954, 300).	
Zwolle		2	2	1	0	from 1564	Since mid 1564, close cooperation between the company Ogerijn-Wouters-Amsinck, and the company of the Camferbecks, Caspar Mentsinck and Jacques Abelin. Camferbeck lived originally still in Zwolle, Abelin in Antwerp, and Mentsinck was factor in Narva. (Wijnroks, 2003, 65-66).	
San Lúcar		1	1	1	0	1599	François de Buck, married to Christine Amsinck (sister of Willem) was active in the trade with Spain: in 1599, he imported wine and Campeche-wood from San Lucar. François de Buck also worked together with Martin de Champ, who was married to Elisabeth, another sister of Willem Amsinck. Not known however whether they worked together with the Amsinck (Kellenbenz, 1954, 182-183).	

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LOITZ, mid 15th century – 1572

Atypical organisation for the Hanseatic area, more similar to southern German business organisations. (Papritz, 1957, 74). Company of Szczecin. (75). Double marriage between the Loitz and the Feldstedt of Danzig. Probably they came in contact with a more capitalist spirit in Danzig. (75). Hans (I) Loitz (d. 1448), probably from a family from Greifswald, went to Szczecin where he obtained citizenship in 1433. He became a partner in a company carrying out herring trade in Szczecin, and became member of the city council of Szczecin. (76-77). Son of Hans (I) was Michael (I) Loitz (ca. 1443-1494). He studied at the university of Greifswald and later became active as a merchant. Through his marriage with Margarethe Rosow, the widow of the merchant Albrecht Hohenholz, he rose in esteem and property. He became burgomaster of Szczecin in 1484. (77). The only son of Michael (I) was Hans (II) Loitz (d. 1539), under whom the business of the Loitz became very considerable. (78). Hans (II) became member of the council of Szczecin in 1509 and burgomaster in 1529. He married Anna, daughter of the burgomaster Hermann Glieneke. Hans (II) was exiled for three years from Szczecin. (78). Hans (II) founded a business company with Reinhold Feldstedt (d. 1529) of Danzig after 1497. (78-79). Reinhold was a son of the Danzig merchant Roloff Feldstedt (d. 1489), who became involved in commercial and financial business with the kings of Poland since ca. 1472. These activities were continued by Reinhold and later also by the Loitz. (79). Reinhold Feldstedt became alderman of Danzig in 1499 and member of the council in 1517. (79). After the death of Hans (II) in 1539, the Loitz business was continued by his widow Anna Glieneke, together with her four sons Michael (II), Simon (I), Stephan (I) and Hans (III). After the death of Anna ca. 20 years after her husband's death, the company was continued by the four brothers Michael (II), Simon (I), Stephan (I) and Hans (III). (80). Bankruptcy in 1572. (80). The most striking of the Loitz brothers was Stephan (I), who travelled all across Europe. (80-81). Bankruptcy of the Loitz was a result of the difficulties in obtaining repayment of loans to several princes, especially the Polish kings. The bankruptcy was also influenced by the financial crisis in western Europe. (89-90). Financial difficulties of the Loitz became acute in 1571. In 1572, Hans (III) Loitz fled from Szczecin to Poland for his creditors. This led to the bankruptcy and a large amount of lawsuits. (90). Michael (II) and Simon (I) had died already before the bankruptcy. At the time of the bankruptcy, the company was headed by the remaining brothers Stephan (I) and Hans (III), together with Hans (IV) in Danzig. Hans (III) died shortly after the bankruptcy. (90). Stephan (I) fled from Lüneburg to Poland a number of days after his brother Hans (III). (91). Stephan (I) Loitz died in 1584. (93). Main cause of the bankruptcy was the large involvement in loans to princes. (93). In what follows, the network will be reconstructed for the period from the association with the Feldstedt in Danzig after 1497 until the bankruptcy of 1572, and especially for the period after 1550, when the company was at its most active. (Dollinger, 1970, 352).

Loitz of Stettin. Very large Hanseatic firm of the 16th c. Organised as the big southern German and Italian firms (Dollinger, 1970, 168). Loitz firm of Stettin. Was at its most active in 1550-1575. It was a very important Hanseatic firm, the only one to compare with the great firms of south Germany and the Low Countries in the volume of its business, its monopolistic tendencies and its dealings with the princes, from whom it obtained many privileges. House of Loitz in business since mid 15th c. Grown rich over 32 generations in the herring trade. In mid 16th c., the firm was controlled by 4 brothers, and still retained its head-office in Stettin. But its main business was carried on in Danzig, and close contacts were maintained with south Germany. The firm's agents were scattered throughout central and northern Europe (Dollinger, 1970, 352). Loitz also

participated in the grain trade: maintained close contacts with the Pomeranian and Prussian nobility. Michael Loitz's daughter married a soldier of fortune, Colonel Reinhold von Krockow, who took part in some very risky speculations. Stephan Loitz obtained in 1556 a safe-conduct from Henry II of France for the transport to Marseille of a consignment of 2000 lasts of corn, some of which was put into warehouses. Because of their speculative enterprises and the large sums which they lent to monarchs, bad debtors all, the Loitzes were caught up in the wave of bankruptcies which broke over Europe at this time. In 1570 Krockow was owed half a million guilders by Charles IX of France, 200,000 thalers by the margrave of Brandenburg, 100,000 by the Pomeranian princes, and nearly 300,000 by the king of Poland. The Polish king's death in 1572 caused the firm to suspend payments. Its liabilities amounted to two million thalers. Stephan Loitz fled to Lüneburg, where he tried in vain to restore his fortunes (Dollinger, 1970, 353).

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Source material:

A large amount of data about the Loitz firm can be found, but they are all very fragmented. Important are a large number of documents on several lawsuits in which the Loitz were involved, especially before the Reichskammergericht. In the archives of Danzig, numerous business documents of the Loitz have been preserved: 36 cash books and statements, ca. 600 letters (among which 75 between the Loitz themselves). Data can be found in a large number of archives (e.g. Warsaw, Kraków), several of which have not been consulted yet. The company is also mentioned in several chronicles. (Papritz, 1957, 75-76). Data can be found in the archives of Szczecin, Gdańsk, Berlin, Hannover, Wetzlar, Kaliningrad, Warsaw, Kraków, and Stockholm. (94).

Size: Large

The capital of the Loitz company was much smaller than that of the large Augsburg firms of Fugger and Welser. (Papritz, 1957, 75). Margarethe Rosow invested 800 thaler in the business of her son Hans (II) Loitz. (78). The size of the capital of the Loitz company is not known. According to the taxes they paid, the family fortune amounted to 6,000 thaler under Hans (II) and to 16,000 thaler under his sons, but the capital must have been much higher, and probably they paid much less taxes than they should have. (80). The Loitz company was exceptionally large for a hanseatic firm, and was more similar to the southern German family firms. (74-75). Large loans were provided to several princes. E.g., the debt

of duke Albrecht of Prussia had risen to 198,000 thaler in 1566. (89). Loan to the Polish king for the war against Russia of 200,000 or 300,000 thaler. (89). The liabilities of the Loitz at the bankruptcy were estimated at 2,000,000 thaler. (90).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Commercial activities. (Papritz, 1957, 74). Herring trade already by Hans (I) Loitz, and still by Hans (II), and by his sons. (77-78, 80). Salt trade by Hans (II) Loitz. (79). The foundations of the commerce of the Loitz were the salt trade and the trade in Prussian grain. (79). The salt trade was increased by the sons of Hans (II). (80). The sons of Hans (II) attempted to obtain a monopoly in the salt trade of north east Europe. (82-83). The largest salt privilege they obtained was the distribution of 100,000 last of salt from Galicia. They maintained this privilege for some time after their bankruptcy, until it came in hands of their creditors. (83). Large grain trade of the Loitz. Important connections with the landed nobility (even family ties), who in this period were major grain suppliers. (83-86). In a later period, the sons of Hans (II) became involved in the trade in forest products such as wood, potash and tar. (86). Trade in a large variety of goods. (87). Trade in oxen between the prince-elector of Brandenburg and the prince of Wallachia. (87). The Loitz were suppliers of the courts of Poland, Brandenburg,…: trade in clothes, foodstuffs, wine, construction materials, jewels and gemstones, other luxuries, etc (87-88). Trade in weapons and beer for the Danish army (e.g. 1564), supply of a Polish fleet in Danzig, etc. (88). The Loitz firm attempted to capture the monopoly of salt import into the north-east: acquired privileges from the emperor for the sale of salt in Silesia, from the margrave of Brandenbug for transit through his territory, and from the king of Poland for the exploitation of the Galician rock-salt mines. Also important trade in metals, especially copper, for which they were in partnership with firms in the Harz and in Mansfeld. They also held concessions in Sweden and Transylvania. They were active in many other fields. For instance they had a monopoly of Icelandic sulphur, granted them by the king of Denmark, and a near-monopoly of the products of the Lithuanian forests (Dollinger, 1970, 352-353).
- Finance: Banking activities. (Papritz, 1957, 74). Financial business with the kings of Poland. (79). Investment in rents and real estate by Hans (II) Loitz. (79-80). From 1537, many complex exchange transactions of the Loitz with the prince-elector Joachim II of Brandenburg are known. (80). Important financial connections with several princes, such as the prince-electors of Brandenburg and the dukes of Pomerania. (81-82). Banking activities were carried out by the Loitz for the landed nobility of Prussia, Pomerania, etc. (84). The Loitz operated as bankers for several German Condottieri, such as Reinhold von Krockow, who was married with a daughter of Michael (II) Loitz. (84). Important loans for the financing of states and wars. (84). Connections with the Emperor and king Henry II of France. (82-83, 85-86). Financial business for the kings of Poland. (86). Connections with the king of Denmark (until 1568). (86-87). Connections with the Swedish king Gustav Wasa. (86). The Loitz, especially Stephan Loitz, were strongly involved in high level politics. (88). Investment in real estate from the Harz to Prussia and inner Poland. (88). The Loitz were the court bankers of the princes of Brandenburg, Poland, Denmark and Pomerania. They also had close ties to the dukes of Mecklenburg, duke Albrecht of Prussia (from ca. 1557), and the archbishop of Riga. Also business with several monasteries. (88). The Loitz had large problems obtaining repayment for their loans to princes, which in many cases did never take place. Nevertheless, their loans to princes provided them with important privileges, favours

and advantages. (89). In 1571, the new prince of Brandenburg, who had succeeded his father, refused to repay the loans of the Loitz. (89). In 1568, rupture with the king of Denmark, who had borrowed large sums from the Loitz. (89). After the death of the Polish king Sigismund August in 1572, repayment of the Polish loans became highly uncertain. (89).

- Industry: The Loitz company was involved in salt production, already under Hans (II) but increasingly under his son Stephan (I). (Papritz, 1957, 75, 82-83). Involvement in the copper mining business of Mansfeld, Transylvania, and Sweden. (86). Also interests in sulphur mining (Iceland), lead mining (England), alum mining (western Prussia). (86-87). Presumably the Loitz themselves produced gunpowder. (88).

Network of the Loitz:

The Loitz company was organised as a family firm, which existed for several generations. The exact relation between the capital of the four brothers Michael (II), Simon (I), Stephan (I) and Hans (III) is not clear, and in lawsuits they several times even denied the existence of a company between them. (80). Trade in a large variety of regions. (87). The Loitz company established a European network of branches (*Faktoreien*). (88).

Table A..1. Network of the Loitz, 1497 – 1572 (esp. 1539 – 1572)

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Szczecin		8	4	3	1	c.1433-1572	Headquarters. (Papritz, 1957, 75). Szczecin was an important grain market for the Loitz. (84). The Loitz owned houses in Szczecin, Danzig, Lüneburg, Warsaw, etc. (88). House of Loitz had been in business in Stettin since mid 15th c. In mid 16th c., the head-office was still located in Stettin, but the main business was carried out in Danzig (Dollinger, 1970, 352).	
Danzig		7	3	2	1	>1497-1572	Double marriage between the Loitz of Szczecin and the Feldstedt of Danzig. (Papritz, 1957, 75). A branch was established in Danzig under Hans (II) Loitz. (78). Connections with the Danzig merchant Reinhold Feldstedt (d. 1529) were established in 1497 the latest, which resulted in the foundation of a joint company. Michael (II) and Simon (I) Loitz, sons of Hans (II), married two daughters of Reinhold Feldstedt. (78-79). Michael (II) Loitz was in Danzig in 1530. (79). As a result Michael (II) and Simon (I) became active in Danzig. (79). Trade in French salt, especially from Danzig, by the sons of Hans (II). (81-82). Danzig was an important grain market for the Loitz. (84). In Danzig, the Loitz equipped a Polish war fleet. Several accounts related to this can be found in the account books of the Danzig	

							branch. (88). The Loitz owned houses in Szczecin, Danzig, Lüneburg, Warsaw, etc. (88). After the death of Michael (II) and Simon (I), the business in Danzig was taken over by Hans (IV) Loitz, who died in 1579. (90). The main business of the firm was carried on in Danzig in the second half of the 16th century. (Dollinger, 1970, 352). In mid 16th c., the head-office was still located in Stettin, but the main business was carried out in Danzig (Dollinger, 1970, 352).	
Lüneburg	S	7	3	2	1	>1539-1572<	Under Hans (II), the Loitz became involved in salt production in Lüneburg. (Papritz, 1957, 79). Stephan (I) moved to Lüneburg where he obtained citizenship. Stephan (I) increased the involvement in the salt production of Lüneburg, especially after his marriage with Beata van Dassel of Lüneburg. Nevertheless, he was not allowed to become personally active in the salt production (even after several lawsuits). Instead, he was represented here by family members. After the death of his wife in 1568, he left Lüneburg. His possessions in Lüneburg were given in hands of his nephew David Braunschweig the younger. (81, 91). The Loitz owned houses in Szczecin, Danzig, Lüneburg, Warsaw, etc. (88). In 1571-1572, Stephan (I) Loitz travelled to Lüneburg in an attempt to safe parts of the inheritance of his daughter. (90-91). The firm was anxious to capture the monopoly in the import of salt into the north-east. Stephan Loitz therefore settled in Lüneburg and tried, without success, to corner the output of its salt-pans (Dollinger, 1970, 352). Around 1572, Stephan Loitz fled to Lüneburg for his debts, where he tried in vain to restore his fortunes (Dollinger, 1970, 353).	
Antwerp		6	3	2	1	from end 15th c.	Important *Faktorei*. (Papritz, 1957, 88). Transfer of money by Hans (II) Loitz and his stepbrother Jakob Hohenholz to Antwerp and Bergen op Zoom. (Papritz, 1957, 78). Regular and frequent connections with the financial markets of Nürnberg, Antwerp and Leipzig. (Papritz, 1957, 88). The firm's agents were scattered throughout central and northern Europe, in Cracow, Breslau, Leipzig, Prague, Frankfurt-on-the-Oder, Lübeck, Hamburg, Antwerp, Copenhagen and Kalmar (Dollinger, 1970, 352).	
Copenhagen		6	3	2	1	>1561-1568	Important *Faktorei*. (Papritz, 1957, 88). In 1561, the Loitz concluded an agreement with the Danish king in Copenhagen for the monopoly trade of sulphur of Iceland. (Papritz, 1957, 87). The sons of Hans (II) Loitz temporarily obtained a salt monopoly in Denmark. Probably this monopoly was lost ca. 1568, when a serious conflict broke out between the Loitz and	

							the king of Denmark. (Papritz, 1957, 82-83). The firm's agents were scattered throughout central and northern Europe, in Cracow, Breslau, Leipzig, Prague, Frankfurt-on-the-Oder, Lübeck, Hamburg, Antwerp, Copenhagen and Kalmar (Dollinger, 1970, 352).	
Frankfurt am Main		6	3	2	1		Important *Faktorei*. (Papritz, 1957, 88). Frankfurt on the Oder according to Dollinger, 1970, 352.	
Hamburg		6	3	2	1		Important *Faktorei*. (Papritz, 1957, 88). The firm's agents were scattered throughout central and northern Europe, in Cracow, Breslau, Leipzig, Prague, Frankfurt-on-the-Oder, Lübeck, Hamburg, Antwerp, Copenhagen and Kalmar (Dollinger, 1970, 352).	
Kalmar		6	3	2	1		Important *Faktorei*. (Papritz, 1957, 88). The firm's agents were scattered throughout central and northern Europe, in Cracow, Breslau, Leipzig, Prague, Frankfurt-on-the-Oder, Lübeck, Hamburg, Antwerp, Copenhagen and Kalmar (Dollinger, 1970, 352). The Loitz obtained a privilege for the exploitation of a copper mine in Sweden from the Swedish king Gustav Wasa, before 1563. (Papritz, 1957, 86).	
Kraków		6	3	2	1	>end 15th c.-1572<	Important *Faktorei*. (Papritz, 1957, 88). Business connections of the Feldstedt (since ca. 1472) with the Polish kings and their court in Kraków, which were later (at least from 1530) continued by the Loitz. (Papritz, 1957, 79). The Loitz were suppliers of the Polish court. (87). The sons of Hans (II) Loitz temporarily obtained a salt monopoly in Poland. (Papritz, 1957, 82-83). The firm's agents were scattered throughout central and northern Europe, in Cracow, Breslau, Leipzig, Prague, Frankfurt-on-the-Oder, Lübeck, Hamburg, Antwerp, Copenhagen and Kalmar (Dollinger, 1970, 352).	
Leipzig		6	3	2	1		Important *Faktorei*. (Papritz, 1957, 88). Regular and frequent connections with the financial markets of Nürnberg, Antwerp and Leipzig. (Papritz, 1957, 88). The firm's agents were scattered throughout central and northern Europe, in Cracow, Breslau, Leipzig, Prague, Frankfurt-on-the-Oder, Lübeck, Hamburg, Antwerp, Copenhagen and Kalmar (Dollinger, 1970, 352).	
Lübeck		6	3	2	1		Important *Faktorei*. (Papritz, 1957, 88). The firm's agents were scattered throughout central and northern Europe, in Cracow, Breslau, Leipzig, Prague, Frankfurt-on-the-Oder, Lübeck, Hamburg, Antwerp, Copenhagen and Kalmar (Dollinger, 1970, 352).	

Prague		6	3	2	1		Important *Faktorei*. (Papritz, 1957, 88). The firm's agents were scattered throughout central and northern Europe, in Cracow, Breslau, Leipzig, Prague, Frankfurt-on-the-Oder, Lübeck, Hamburg, Antwerp, Copenhagen and Kalmar (Dollinger, 1970, 352).	
Wrocław		6	3	2	1		Important *Faktorei*. (Papritz, 1957, 88). The sons of Hans (II) Loitz temporarily obtained a salt monopoly in Silesia. (Papritz, 1957, 82). The firm's agents were scattered throughout central and northern Europe, in Cracow, Breslau, Leipzig, Prague, Frankfurt-on-the-Oder, Lübeck, Hamburg, Antwerp, Copenhagen and Kalmar (Dollinger, 1970, 352).	
Amsterdam		5	3	2	1		Branch in Amsterdam. A financial statement of this branch has been preserved. (Papritz, 1957, 88).	
Bydgoszcz	S	4	2	2	1	1560-1572<	The sons of Hans (II) Loitz became involved in the salt production of Toruń and Bydgoszcz (Bromberg) in 1560. In 1569, they obtained the “Salzkammern” of Toruń and Bromberg. (Papritz, 1957, 83). Salt factor in Bromberg was Hans Ept. (83). The salt production of Toruń and Bromberg remained in hands of the Loitz after the bankruptcy in 1572. (92).	
Falsterbo		4	2	2	1	>end 15th c.-1540<	Herring trade of Hans (II) Loitz in Falsterbo at the southern tip of Schonen. (Papritz, 1957, 78). In 1540, the sons of Hans (II) (especially Stephan) were still involved in the herring trade in Falsterbo, which was even increased in this year. Their possessions in Falsterbo were much larger than those of the other merchants of Szczecin. Their factor was Elias Schlecker. (80).	
Słupsk		4	2	2	1	<1539-1571<	Słupsk (German: Stolp), located in the middle of the residences and estates of the large grain producers and condottieri of Pomerania and western Prussia, was developed by the Loitz as a financial centre for their banking business with the north German nobility. (Papritz, 1957, 85). The transfers to Stolp operated at a loss from ca. 1569. By 1571, problems became acute. (90).	
Toruń	S	4	2	2	1	1560-1572<	The sons of Hans (II) Loitz became involved in the salt production of Toruń and Bromberg in 1560. In 1569, they obtained the “Salzkammern” of Toruń and Bromberg. (Papritz, 1957, 83). Factor for the salt production in Toruń was Bernd Eringer. (87). The salt production of Toruń and Bromberg remained in hands of the Loitz after the bankruptcy in 1572. (92).	
Berlin		3	2	2	1		Business connection of the Loitz in Berlin was Lindholz. (Papritz, 1957, 87). In Berlin, Michael (II) and Hans (III) Loitz claimed compensation for their losses due to the cancellation of the oxen venture between the prince-elector	

							of Brandenburg and the prince of Wallachia. However, they were temporarily put in prison by the prince-elector. (87). The Loitz were suppliers of the Brandenburg court in Berlin. (87). The Loitz supplied the fortress of Spandau near Berlin with gunpowder, canon balls, etc. (88). The shop of Andreas Lindholz, business friend of the Loitz in Berlin, was confiscated. The correspondence between the Loitz and Lindholz which was confiscated at that moment, has been preserved. (89). The sons of Hans (II) Loitz temporarily obtained a salt monopoly in Brandenburg. (Papritz, 1957, 82-83).	
Iceland		3	2	2	1	1561-1568	In 1561, the Loitz obtained a privilege from the Danish king to send two ships to Iceland for the export of sulphur, and the same year they obtained the monopoly over the sulphur export of Iceland. The sulphur was mostly sold in the Low Countries. The Loitz fell out of favour with the Danish king in 1568, which also meant the end of the Iceland sulphur monopoly. (Papritz, 1957, 86-87).	
Lithuania		3	2	2	1	<1539-1564<	Export of salt to Lithuania by the sons of Hans (II) Loitz. (Papritz, 1957, 82-83). Already before 1564, the Loitz became very influential in the export of forest products from Lithuania. (86).	
Lyon		3	2	2	1	>1556-1557<	Partnership for the export of wheat via Marseille with the brothers Hans and David Weyer in Augsburg and Lyon in 1556. This venture led to the bankruptcy of the Weyer in 1557, and also brought the Loitz in great difficulties. Grain was shipped to and warehoused in Lyon for this venture. (Papritz, 1957, 85-86). The Loitz were active on the financial market of Lyon, where they made profits up to 30 %. (88).	
Mansfeld (county)	M	3	2	2	1	<1539	Involvement in copper mining in Mansfeld and Transylvania (Hungary). The Loitz had close connections with the counts of Mansfeld, who controlled several copper mines in the Harz mountains. They invested 300,000 thaler in a copper mining enterprise in the Harz together with the Manlich, and 500,000 Gulden in a second enterprise. These mining activities were not very successful and resulted in losses. (Papritz, 1957, 86). For their business in copper, they were in partnership with firms in the Harz and in Mansfeld (Dollinger, 1970, 352).	
Narva		3	2	2	1		The Loitz imported furs from Narva. (Papritz, 1957, 88).	
Nürnberg		3	2	2	1		Regular and frequent connections with the financial markets of Nürnberg, Antwerp and Leipzig. (Papritz, 1957, 88).	

Paris		3	2	2	1	>1556-1557<	Jürgen Obrecht was a business connection of the Loitz in Paris and Strasbourg. He was apparently involved in the grain venture of the Loitz with Lyon and Marseille ca. 1556. (Papritz, 1957, 86).	
Strasbourg		3	2	2	1	>1556-1557<	Jürgen Obrecht was a business connection of the Loitz in Paris and Strasbourg. He was apparently involved in the grain venture of the Loitz with Lyon and Marseille ca. 1556. (Papritz, 1957, 86).	
Augsburg		2	2	1	0	1556-1557	Partnership for the export of wheat via Marseille with the brothers Hans and David Weyer in Augsburg and Lyon in 1556. This venture led to the bankruptcy of the Weyer in 1557, and also brought the Loitz in great difficulties. (Papritz, 1957, 85).	
Bourgneuf		2	2	1	0		The branch in Danzig was active in the trade in “Bayen”salt from the Bay of Bourgneuf or Brouage in France. (Papritz, 1957, 79). Trade in French salt, especially from Danzig, by the sons of Hans (II). (81-82).	
Brouage		2	2	1	0		The branch in Danzig was active in the trade in “Bayen”salt from the Bay of Bourgneuf or Brouage in France. (Papritz, 1957, 79). Trade in French salt, especially from Danzig, by the sons of Hans (II). (81-82).	
England	M	2	2	1	0		Presumably, the Loitz were also involved in the lead mining industry of England. They supplied English lead in large quantities, e.g. to the smelting works of Joachimsthal. (Papritz, 1957, 87).	
Frankfurt an der Oder		2	2	1	0	<1507	Investment in a rent of Frankfurt an der Oder shortly after 1507. Loan to Frankfurt an der Oder of 2,000 taler. (Papritz, 1957, 80). The firm's agents were scattered throughout central and northern Europe, in Cracow, Breslau, Leipzig, Prague, Frankfurt-on-the-Oder, Lübeck, Hamburg, Antwerp, Copenhagen and Kalmar (Dollinger, 1970, 352) => probably an error: Papritz mentions Frankfurt am Main.	
Jáchymov		2	2	1	0		The Loitz supplied English lead e.g. to the smelting works of Joachimsthal. (Papritz, 1957, 87).	
Kołobrzeg	S	2	2	1	0	>1539<	As a result of the marriage between Caecilia Loitz, daughter of Hans (II), with David Braunschweig, later burgomaster of Szczecin, the Loitz became involved in the salt production of Kołobrzeg (Kolberg). (Papritz, 1957, 79). This was continued by his sons. The salt production of Kolberg was rather small. (82).	
Koszalin	M	2	2	1	0	1552-	The sons of Hans (II) were involved in alum mining in Koszalin (Poland). (Papritz, 1957, 83). The Loitz were involved in alum mining in western Prussia. These mines were discovered by their factor Bernd Eringer in 1552.	

							(87).	
Lvov		2	2	1	0	<1539	Oxentrade with the prince of Wallachia, who promised to supply 15,000 oxen to Lvov, where they were to be taken over by Stephan Loitz for delivery to the prince-elector of Brandenburg. For the payment, Stephan Loitz transferred 16,000 thaler to Lvov. However, the purchase transaction was cancelled after a conflict between Loitz and the representatives of the prince-elector of Brandenburg, who were captured by the prince of Wallachia. (87).	
Marseille		2	2	1	0	1556-1557	In 1556, Stephan Loitz obtained a privilege from the French king Henry II for the export of 2,000 last wheat through Marseille. (Papritz, 1957, 85). Stephan Loitz obtained in 1556 a safe-conduct from Henry II of France for the transport to Marseille of a consignment of 2,000 lasts of corn, some of which was put into warehouses (Dollinger, 1970, 353).	
Transylvania	M	2	2	1	0	<1539	Involvement in copper mining in Mansfeld and Transylvania (Hungary). The mining activities in Transylvania appear to have been more successful than those in the Harz. (Papritz, 1957, 86).	
Wieliczka	S	2	2	1	0	>1539-1572<	Under Hans (II), the Loitz became involved in salt production in the Galician saltmines near Kraków. (Papritz, 1957, 79). Large involvement in the salt production of Wieliczka near Kraków and other salt mines in Galicia by the sons of Hans (II). (Papritz, 1957, 82-83). The largest salt privilege they obtained was the distribution of 100,000 last of salt from Galicia, which came in their hands around the time of their bankruptcy. They maintained this privilege for some time after their bankruptcy, until it came in hands of their creditors. (83).	
Bergen-op-Zoom		1	1	1	0	end 15th c.	Transfer of money by Hans (II) Loitz and his stepbrother Jakob Hohenholz to Antwerp and Bergen op Zoom. (Papritz, 1957, 78).	
Königsberg		1	1	1	0	1507	Investment in a rent of Königsberg in 1507. (Papritz, 1957, 80).	
Medemblik		1	1	1	0	1495	In 1495 Hans (II) Loitz made a business journey to Holland, where he is known to have carried out business with Medemblik. (Papritz, 1957, 78).	
Ückermünde		1	1	1	0	1559	In 1559, the Loitz exported the grain produced in the Uckermark through Ückermünde instead of Szczecin to avoid popular unrest. Large protest against this by the towns of Anklam, Stralsund, Szczecin, Greifswald, Demmin and Pasewalk. (Papritz, 1957, 85).	
Warsaw		1	1	1	0		The Loitz owned houses in Szczecin, Danzig, Lüneburg, Warsaw, etc. (88).	

+ The list of *Faktoreien* in Papritz (1957, 88) is not complete (he only mentions the most important ones). It is not entirely clear whether these *Faktoreien* were full-fledged branches. Dollinger (1970, 352) for example only speaks about agents.

RINCK, before 1423 – after 1511

The Rinck were among the most important families of Cologne between 1450 and 1550. (Irsigler, 1973, 303). The Rink came originally from Korbach, which was a member of the German Hanse since the 14th century. Already in Korbach, the Rinck became active in long distance trade. They were among the leading families of Korbach ca. 1400. (Irsigler, 1973, 313). Ca. 1441, Johann (I) (d. 1466) and Conrad (I) Rinck, perhaps brothers, traded with England. Johann (I) Rinck was the first member of the family who obtained citizenship in Cologne, in 1432. In 1440, a Rutger Rinck (d. after 1466) obtained citizenship in Cologne as well, followed by Hermann (I) Rinck (d. 1495), nephew of Johann and perhaps son of Conrad (I), in 1458. (313). Johann (I) Rinck probably went to Cologne already before 1423. (314). As a result of the seizure of English cloth sent by Rutger Rinck on an English ship to Prussia by a pirate of Lübeck in 1450, and a number of other set-backs, Rutger Rinck apparently went bankrupt before 1466. (315). Apogee of the business of Johann (I) Rinck: 1450. (315). In the 1450s, Johann (I) Rinck retired from active trade. He was succeeded by his son-in-law Johann Dass the younger, and by his nephew Hermann Rinck. (316). Hermann Rinck was active as merchant from 1451 the latest. (316). Hermann Rinck married Druitgin van Dalen, sister of Elisabeth, who was married to his business partner Gotthard Hauwyser. (317). The four sons of Hermann (I), Johann (II) (1458-1516), Hermann (II) (d. after 1528), Conrad (II) (d. 1531) and Alf (1472-1541) continued the business of their father. (317). The company Rinck-Hauwyser existed for more than two decades, exceptionally long for a Cologne company. (317). Other partners of the Rinck were Jakob Schirl and Robert Blitterswich. (317). After the death of Hermann (I), his four sons together continued his business (as was stipulated in Hermann's will). Hermann (II) left the business before 1511. (322). In 1511, Johann (II) Rinck left the family company as well. (322). Hermann (III) and Johann (III), sons of Johann (II) Rinck, were destined for a career in the university, but nevertheless they remained somewhat active in business. (323). Hermann (I) Rinck became burgomaster of Cologne. He was one of the most important personalities in the political and economic life of Cologne in the second half of the 15th century. (313, 324). Hermann Rinck also represented Cologne several times in negotiations with the German Hanse. (324). The Rinck were important Maecenae in Cologne. (325-327). The sons of Hermann (I) Rinck became increasingly involved in urban politics and honorary offices in Cologne in the early 16th century. (325). The Rinck were important patricians and merchants of Cologne. (Thimme, 1912, 389).

References:

Irsigler, F., 1973. "Hansekaufleute. Die Lübecker Veckinchusen und die Kölner Rinck". In: *Hanse in Europa. Brücke zwischen den Märkten 12.-17. Jahrhundert. Ausstellung des Kölnischen Stadtmuseums 9. Juni – 9. September 1973*. Cologne, Kölnisches Stadtmuseum, 313-327.

I did not consult:

Source material:

Source material on the Rinck is fragmented and limited. No account books or correspondence have been preserved. (Irsigler, 1973, 303).

Size: Medium-sized or large

One of the most important business families of Cologne in the 15th century. (324).

Main activities:

- Commerce: In 1439, fustians of Johann (I) Rinck were robbed near Antwerp. (Irsigler, 1973, 314). In 1447, the Danes seized goods from the Rinck in the Sound: copper, ash, furs, linen, etc. (314-315). English cloth, weapons, ship rigging of Johann (I) Rinck were seized. (315). Hermann Rinck traded in English cloth, fustians from Augsburg and Ulm, linen from Lake Constance,… (316). Hermann (I) Rinck also traded in steel, Rhinewine, salt, madder, spices, furs, silk,…. (316-317). In Antwerp, Hermann (I) Rinck and sons traded in alum, madder, spices, soap, Rhinewines and wines from the south, copper, wheat, firearms, butter, salt, olives, cheese, fish, and especially English cloth. (319). In Cologne, Hermann (I) Rinck and sons especially traded in fustians, wine and wax. (319). In 1447, the Rinck traded in copper from Smolník. (Von Stromer, 1973, 339). Trade in English cloth. (Thimme, 1912, 389).
- Finance: Hermann (II) became active as counsellor of the emperor and the English king in the early 16th century, and he left the company of his brothers before 1511. He organised a money transfer from the English king to Emperor Maximilian of 10,000 lb. st. (322).
- Industry: Hermann (II) Rinck married to Grietgin Struyss, principal heiress of Heinrich Struyss, an important owner of copper mines. (317).
- Shipping: Apparently the Rinck were also shipowners. They owned a ship ca. 1490, sailing from England to Zeeland. (Irsigler, 1973, 319).

Network of the Rinck:

The network of Johann (I) Rinck reached from England over the north-French and Flemish coast to the Baltic, and via Frankfurt am Main to Upper Germany. (315). Johann (I) Rinck employed several factors, such as Johann van Aa and Reynart Moelner. (315). Hermann Rinck was apparently not active anymore in the Baltic, but he strengthened and expanded the connections with southern Germany. (316). Hermann (I) Rinck worked closely together with his sons Johann (II), Hermann (II), Conrad (II) and since the 1490s also with Alf. (321).

Table A..1. Network of the Rinck, 1423 – 1511

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Cologne		8	4	3	1	>1423-1511<	Headquarters. (Irsigler, 1973, 303). In Cologne, Johann (I) Rinck was represented by his wife Geirtgin van Blitterswich (d. 1439) when he was away on business trips. (314). In Cologne, Johann (I) Rinck often traded in	

							partnership with Johann Dass the elder. His daughter Geirtgin Rinck married with Johann Dass the younger. (314). Hermann (I) Rinck exported English cloth to Flanders, Antwerp and Cologne and to the fairs of Frankfurt. (316). When residing in London, the sons of Hermann (I) Rinck regularly travelled to Antwerp, Calais and Cologne. (319). Johann (I) Rinck was the first member of the family who obtained citizenship in Cologne, in 1432. In 1440, a Rutger Rinck (d. after 1466) obtained citizenship in Cologne as well, followed by Hermann (I) Rinck (d. 1495), nephew of Johann and perhaps son of Conrad (I), in 1458. (313). Johann (I) Rinck probably went to Cologne already before 1423. (314).	
London		6	3	2	1	>1423-1495<	Johann (I) (d. 1466) and Conrad (I) Rinck, perhaps brothers, traded with England. In 1441, they were involved in a lawsuit in London against an English business associate. (Irsigler, 1973, 313). Hermann (I) Rinck exported fustians, linen, etc. from Frankfurt am Main to Brabant and London. (316). Hermann (I) Rinck imported Rhinewine, salt, spices, madder, furs, and silk in London. (317). Branch in London: permanent representatives (definitely since 1468) were Heinrich Hauwyser and Johann Ruyschendorp, who had large powers of attorney. Representatives in the London branch in 1484 were the three eldest sons of Hermann (I), Johann (II), Hermann (II) and Conrad (II). (317-318). Johann (II) was active in London since at least 1478, Hermann (II) since at least 1484. From 1484, Johann (II) and Herman (II) resided in London, from ca. 1490 Hermann (II) and Conrad (II). In 1495, Alf Rinck went to London as well. (319). Shortly before 1490, Johann (II), Hermann (II) and Conrad (II) Rinck were all in the Stalhof in London. (319). Johann (I) married with Geirtgin van Blitterswich, who belonged to a family of Cologne merchants trading with England. (314). In 1423, Johann (I) Rinck, Johann Dass the elder and Ertmarus Swarte transferred 1,000 Mark for the English king from England to Ludwig, duke of Bavaria. (314). In 1435, goods of Johann (I) Rinck on two ships coming from England were confiscated in Middelburg, where the ships were held up. (314). In 1447, Johann (I) Rinck lost goods on a ship coming from England, which was pillaged by the pirate Johann Pillison. (314). In 1447, the company of Johann (I) Rinck and Johann Dass the elder, and their factors Thomas Hoewech and Reynart Moelner, shipped goods from Danzig to England on three ships,	

							which were seized by the Danes in the Sound. With help of Danzig, the Rinck recovered their goods. (Irsigler, 1973, 314). In 1448, weapons and ship rigging of Johann (I) Rinck were robbed by English ships near Colchester. (315). Rutger Rinck (same generation as Johann (I)) also traded with England. (315). Johann (I) Rinck for the last time went personally to England in 1444. (315). In 1451, Johann (I) Rinck was the spokesman of the "gemeyne geselsschaft in Englant verkerende, zo Franckffort wesende". (315). Johann (I) Rinck's business activities reached to England. (315). From 1451, Hermann Rinck is known to have been active in England and Flanders trade. (316). Main business activity and business travels of Hermann Rinck: England, Flanders, northern France. (316). Hermann Rinck exported large amounts of steel to England, e.g. in 1472. (316). Godart and Heinrich Kannengieβer and Eberhard Sudermann, sons-in-law of Hermann (I) Rinck, traded with England. (317). Hermann (I) Rinck was leader of the Cologne "Englandfahrer" together with Hermann von Wesel and his son Gerhard. (324). The Rinck traded from London via Antwerp to the southern German market. (Thimme, 1912, 389).	
Antwerp		3	2	2	1	>1444-1509<	Hermann (I) Rinck exported English cloth to Flanders, Antwerp and Cologne and to the fairs of Frankfurt. (316). Hermann (I) Rinck and his sons made frequently use of the harbours of Calais, Antwerp and Middelburg. (317). In 1488 and 1493-95, the coasts of Flanders and Zeeland were closed for English goods. At that time Hermann (I) Rinck made use of the harbour of Hamburg. (317). Until 1509, Hermann (I) Rinck especially exported wine to Antwerp, from 1509 also large quantities of copper. (317). When residing in London, the sons of Hermann (I) Rinck regularly travelled to Antwerp, Calais and Cologne. (319). Hermann (I) Rinck and his sons sent cloth,… from Antwerp to Frankfurt and Leipzig, together with the Augsburg merchant Wilhelm Höchstätter. (Irsigler, 1973, 319). Hermann (I) Rinck and his sons had debtors in Antwerp, Mechelen, Wesel, Soest, Worms, Eβlingen, Zürich and Freiburg i. Üchtland. (Irsigler, 1973, 319). Hermann (III), son of Johann (II) Rinck, was born in Antwerp. (323). After 1444, Johann (I) Rinck limited his travelling activity to regular visits of the fairs of Brabant and Frankfurt. (315). Hermann (I) Rinck exported fustians, linen, etc. from Frankfurt am Main to Brabant and London. (316). The Rinck traded from London via Antwerp to the southern German market. (Thimme, 1912, 389).	

Calais		3	2	2	1	>1460-1495<	Hermann (I) Rinck and his sons made frequently use of the harbours of Calais, Antwerp and Middelburg. (317). Johann (I) Rinck's business activities reached to the northern French and Flemish coast. (315). In 1488 and 1493-95, the coasts of Flanders and Zeeland were closed for English goods. At that time Hermann (I) Rinck made use of the harbour of Hamburg. (317). When residing in London, the sons of Hermann (I) Rinck regularly travelled to Antwerp, Calais and Cologne. (319). Main business activity and business travels of Hermann Rinck: England, Flanders, northern France. (316). Johann (I) Rinck's business activities reached to the northern French and Flemish coast. (315).	
Danzig		3	2	2	1	>1447-1450<	In 1447, the company of Johann (I) Rinck and Johann Dass the elder, and their factors Thomas Hoewech and Reynart Moelner, shipped goods from Danzig to England on three ships, which were seized by the Danes in the Sound. With help of Danzig, the Rinck recovered their goods. (Irsigler, 1973, 314). Difficulties for Johann (I) Rinck in 1450 sending English cloth via Hamburg to Danzig due to the conflict between England and Lübeck. (315). In 1450, Johann (I) and Rutger Rinck sent English cloth and other goods with an English ship to Prussia (accompanied by Rutger Rinck), which was seized by the pirate Rutger van dem Bure of Lübeck. Negotiations about restitution of the goods lasted until 1466. (315). Johann (I) Rinck's business activities reached to the Baltic. (315). In 1449, Johann (I) Rinck sent cloth from Frankfurt via his innkeeper in Lübeck to Danzig. (315). In Danzig, Thomas Hoewech was the factor and principal business connection of Johann (I) Rinck before 1450. (315). Hermann (I) Rinck was apparently not active anymore in the Baltic. (316).	
Flanders		3	2	2	1	>1451<	From 1451, Hermann Rinck is known to have been active in England and Flanders trade. (316). Main business activity and business travels of Hermann Rinck: England, Flanders, northern France. (316). Johann (I) Rinck's business activities reached to the northern French and Flemish coast. (315). Hermann (I) Rinck exported English cloth to Flanders, Antwerp and Cologne and to the fairs of Frankfurt. (316).	
Frankfurt am Main		3	2	2	1	>1444-1495<	After 1444, Johann (I) Rinck limited his travelling activity to regular visits of the fairs of Brabant and Frankfurt. (315). In 1451, Johann (I) Rinck was the spokesman of the "gemeyne geselsschaft in Englant verkerende, zo Franckffort wesende". (315). Johann (I) Rinck's business activities reached	

							to Upper Germany via Frankfurt am Main. (315). Johann (I) Rinck had outstanding debts in Strasbourg and Trier for English cloth that was sold at the Frankfurt fairs. (315). In 1449, Johann (I) Rinck sent cloth from Frankfurt via his innkeeper in Lübeck to Danzig. (315). In 1446, Johann (I) Rinck negotiated with 6 other Cologne merchants in Frankfurt about tolls. (316). Hermann (I) Rinck exported English cloth to Flanders, Antwerp and Cologne and to the fairs of Frankfurt. (316). Hermann (I) Rinck had connections with southern German merchants in Frankfurt am Main. (316). Druitgin, daughter of Hermann (I) Rinck married to Johann van Melem, member of an important business family of Frankfurt am Main. (317). Frank Palm, son-in-law of Hermann (I) Rinck, traded especially with Frankfurt am Main and Upper Germany. (317). Hermann (I) Rinck and his sons sent cloth,… from Antwerp to Frankfurt and Leipzig, together with the Augsburg merchant Wilhelm Höchstätter. (Irsigler, 1973, 319). Hermann (I) and his sons had a special account book (debtors book) in Frankfurt for their numerous Upper German business partners. (319-320). In the 1470s, Hermann (I) Rinck represented the financial interests of Cologne at the fairs of Frankfurt. (324).	
Hamburg		3	2	2	1	>1450<, >1488<, >1493-1495<	Difficulties for Johann (I) Rinck in 1450 sending English cloth via Hamburg to Danzig due to the conflict between England and Lübeck. (315). In 1488 and 1493-95, the coasts of Flanders and Zeeland were closed for English goods. At that time Hermann (I) Rinck made use of the harbour of Hamburg. (317, 319).	
Leipzig		3	2	2	1		Hermann (I) Rinck and his sons sent cloth,… from Antwerp to Frankfurt and Leipzig, together with the Augsburg merchant Wilhelm Höchstätter. (Irsigler, 1973, 319).	
Lübeck		3	2	2	1	>1449<	In Lübeck, Johann (I) Rinck was represented by the innkeeper Heinrich von Minden. In 1449, Johann (I) Rinck sent cloth from Frankfurt via his innkeeper in Lübeck to Danzig. (315). Hermann (I) Rinck was apparently not active anymore in the Baltic. (316). In 1476, Hermann (I) Rinck went to Lübeck together with the burgomaster and secretary of Cologne for negotiations about the readmission of Cologne in the German Hanse. (324).	
Middelburg		3	2	2	1	>1435-1495<	In 1435, goods of Johann (I) Rinck on two ships coming from England were confiscated in Middelburg, where the ships were held up. (314). In 1437, goods of Johann (I) Rinck and his partner Hermann van Wesel were seized	

							in Zeeland. (314). Johann (I) Rinck's business activities reached to the northern French and Flemish coast. (315). Hermann (I) Rinck and his sons made frequently use of the harbours of Calais, Antwerp and Middelburg. (317). In 1488 and 1493-95, the coasts of Flanders and Zeeland were closed for English goods. At that time Hermann (I) Rinck made use of the harbour of Hamburg. (317).	
Nürnberg		3	2	2	1	>1447-1495<	Johann (I) Rinck's business activities reached to Upper Germany via Frankfurt am Main. (315). In Upper Germany, his representative was the Nürnberg merchant Andreas Jordan in 1447, who also collected debts for Johann (I) Rinck. (315). Under Hermann Rinck, the connections with southern Germany became more important. (316). Frank Palm, son-in-law of Hermann (I) Rinck, traded especially with Frankfurt am Main and Upper Germany. (317). Hermann (I) Rinck and his sons had connections with the Holzschuher of Nürnberg, who were saffron suppliers. (319). Hermann (I) and his sons had a special account book (debtors book) in Frankfurt for their numerous Upper German business partners. (319-320).	
Augsburg		2	2	1	0		Hermann (I) Rinck and his sons sent cloth,… from Antwerp to Frankfurt and Leipzig, together with the Augsburg merchant Wilhelm Höchstätter. (Irsigler, 1973, 319).	
Bergen-op-Zoom		2	2	1	0	>1444<	After 1444, Johann (I) Rinck limited his travelling activity to regular visits of the fairs of Brabant and Frankfurt. (315). Hermann (I) Rinck exported fustians, linen, etc. from Frankfurt am Main to Brabant and London. (316).	
Esslingen am Neckar		2	2	1	0		Hermann (I) Rinck and his sons had debtors in Antwerp, Mechelen, Wesel, Soest, Worms, Esslingen, Zürich and Fribourg. (Irsigler, 1973, 319).	
Fribourg		2	2	1	0		Hermann (I) Rinck and his sons had debtors in Antwerp, Mechelen, Wesel, Soest, Worms, Eβlingen, Zürich and Fribourg. (Irsigler, 1973, 319).	
Korbach		2	2	1	0	>c.1400-1490<	The Rinck originated from the Hanse town Korbach. Conrad (I) Rinck still traded partly from Korbach. Johann (I) Rinck still had connections with Korbach through a "Memorienstiftung" for his deceased parents. Hermann (I) Rinck owned real estate in Korbach (still in 1490). (313).	
Mechelen		2	2	1	0		Hermann (I) Rinck and his sons had debtors in Antwerp, Mechelen, Wesel, Soest, Worms, Eβlingen, Zürich and Fribourg. (Irsigler, 1973, 319).	
Soest		2	2	1	0		Hermann (I) Rinck and his sons had debtors in Antwerp, Mechelen, Wesel, Soest, Worms, Eβlingen, Zürich and Fribourg. (Irsigler, 1973, 319).	
Strasbourg		2	2	1	0	before 1460	Johann (I) Rinck had outstanding debts in Strasbourg for English cloth that	

							was sold at the Frankfurt fairs. (315).	
Trier		2	2	1	0	before 1460	Johann (I) Rinck had outstanding debts in Trier for English cloth that was sold at the Frankfurt fairs. (315).	
Wesel		2	2	1	0		Hermann (I) Rinck and his sons had debtors in Antwerp, Mechelen, Wesel, Soest, Worms, Eβlingen, Zürich and Fribourg. (Irsigler, 1973, 319).	
Worms		2	2	1	0		Hermann (I) Rinck and his sons had debtors in Antwerp, Mechelen, Wesel, Soest, Worms, Eβlingen, Zürich and Fribourg. (Irsigler, 1973, 319).	
Zürich		2	2	1	0		Hermann (I) Rinck and his sons had debtors in Antwerp, Mechelen, Wesel, Soest, Worms, Eβlingen, Zürich and Fribourg. (Irsigler, 1973, 319).	
Colchester		1	1	1	0	>1447<	Rutger Rinck (of the same generation as Johann (I)) owned in 1447 a house in the English cloth producing town of Colchester. (315).	

TEUTONIC ORDER, early 14th century – ca. 1466

The Teutonic Order was founded as a religious order of knighthood in 1198, and was from very early on engaged in long distance trade. (Maschke, 1970, 70-71). In Prussia, the Teutonic Order developed wholesale trade activities surprisingly quickly. In 1294, goods of the Teutonic Order were for the first time mentioned explicitly in long distance trade, notably in Copenhagen. (72). The specific business organisation of the Teutonic Order in Prussia originated in the first third of the 14th century at the latest. (73, 75; Böhnke, 1962, 35). Not only the Prussian branch of the Teutonic Order, but also other branches were involved in long distance trade, such as the house in Palermo (already in the 13th century), the house in Cologne (purchase of a large amount of furs in Bruges in 1409), or the branch in Livonia (which had a representative in Lübeck, and was involved in shipping). (71, 73). The commerce of the Prussian branch of the Teutonic Order was more considerable than that of the other branches of the Order. The business of most of the houses of the Order was limited to purchases for the supply of the house and sales of surplus production. (73-74). By the 1530s, the trade of the Teutonic Order was in decline. (90). Complaints by the Prussian Hanse cities against the trade of the Teutonic Order already in the late 14th century. These complaints became stronger and more frequent after 1410. (101). As a result of the Thirteen Years War (1454-66), the business organisation of the Teutonic Order disappeared. (102-103). The profits of the business of the Teutonic Order declined sharply in the 15th century, but its business organisation remained intact until the 1450s. The last Groβschäffer, Retenberg, was appointed in 1451. He remained active during the Thirteen Years War. (102).

Teutonic Order was a member of the Hansa. Engaged in commercial activities certainly from the end of the 13th c. onwards. Its organisation at the end of the 14th and beginning of the 15th c. is fairly well-known, thanks to accounts which have been preserved. At this period, capital of about 35,000 pounds of Flemish groschen. (Dollinger, 1970, 168). It had two great treasuries (Grosschäfferei) at Marienburg and Königsberg, whose directors, monks or laymen, were appointed and controlled the first by the Treasurer (Ordenstressler) and the second by the Marshal of the Order. Subordinate to the treasuries were representatives (Lieger), usually appointed annually, who had full authority to accept goods, sell them as they thought best, and buy and dispatch other goods. They were obliged to present their accounts on demand. More numerous were the depositaries (Wirte), who, independent of the Order, were responsible for the goods deposited with them, but not authorised to transact business on their own initiative. Lastly, general liaison was maintained by the clerks (Diener), who accompanied the goods, made purchases on behalf of the Order and were also empowered to do business on their own account. Up to the Battle of Tannenberg the commerce of the Order flourished; afterwards it declined, though it did not disappear entirely. Trade organisation of the Order lasted for more than 200 years, cannot be considered typical of Hanseatic undertakings (Böhnke, 1962, 35-37; Dollinger, 1970, 168). Grossschafferei in Konigsberg. Sent furs to Flanders between 1390 and 1405. Also export of wax and amber, import of Flemish cloth (Spufford, 2002, 336). Teutonic Order very strong around 1400. However, defeated by the Polish in 1410 in the Battle of Tannenberg, rebellion of the Prussian nobles and towns. Order restored its power over Prussia however with the Treaty of Thorn in 1411. However, the Order was seriously weakened: next 50 years, wars with Poland and Lithuania, the Prussian nobles and towns. These conflicts ruined the finance and commerce of the Order. A league of Prussian towns and nobles declared war on the Order in 1454, Order defeated in 1466: ruin of the Teutonic State. 2nd Treaty of Thorn in 1466: West Prussia under Polish

Sovereignty. Order moved its headquarters to Königsberg, and Grand Master became the vassal of the king of Poland (Dollinger, 1970, 291-293). Very strict organisation, exceptional for Hanseatic trade (Irsigler, 1985, 79).

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Source material:

Several accounts and accountbooks of the business of the Teutonic Order have been preserved, and have been partly published by Sattler in 1887 and Forstreuter in 1956. (Maschke, 1970, 72-73 n. 25). The oldest business accounts which have been preserved date from 1356-57. (73). A complete account book of Johann Plige, Lieger of the Teutonic Order in Bruges in 1391-99, has been preserved. (93). Four account books of the Groβschäfferei Marienburg have been preserved for 1399-1418, and nine account books of the Groβschäfferei Königsberg for 1400-1423, as well as the account books of two of the Lieger in Flanders (1391-1409 and 1409-1434). (Eikenberg, 1976, 13-14).

Size: Large

In the 14th century, the Teutonic Order became the largest long distance trade organisation of the Hanseatic territory. (Maschke, 1970, 72). The Groβschäfferei Marienburg had a capital of 19,958 mr. in 1376, 51,295 mr. in 1404, 48,415 mr. in 1405, and 46,042 mr. in 1406. (Böhnke, 1962, 37-38). The capital of the Groβschäfferei Königsberg totalled 24,000 mr. before 1393; 26,000 mr. in 1393-1396, and 30,000 mr. in 1396. (Böhnke, 1962, 38 n. 91). The capital of the Groβschäfferei Königsberg totalled 20,909 mr. in 1379, 24,000 mr. in 1392, 30,280 ½ mr. in 1393, 56,544 ½ mr. in 1402, 60,031 mr. in 1403, 64,000 mr. in 1404, and 76,913 ½ mr. in 1406. After the battle of Tannenberg in 1410, the capital of the Groβschäffereien declined drastically. (Böhnke, 1962, 38).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Export of amber. Amber was the first and most important export good of the Teutonic Order in Prussia. (Maschke, 1970, 75). Export of grain, especially by the Groβschäfferei of Marienburg. Import of cloth from western Europe. (76). Also trade in furs, wax, salt,… (92, 98, 100). The Teutonic Order lost its privileged connection with the amber working guild of Lübeck in 1454. (102-103). Trade in furs, amber and wax. Import of cloth from Flanders (Spufford, 2002, 336). In Prussia itself trade in grain, flour, meat, fish, horses, cattle, etc. (Böhnke, 1962, 26, 39). Import of wood, wax, metals (copper), spices from the east, and salt, cloth from the west. (Böhnke, 1962, 26-27, 34-35, 39-41). Important grain export of the Teutonic Order. (Böhnke, 1962, 32-33).
- Finance: The Groβschäffer carried out loan and real estate transactions. (Maschke, 1970, 87).
- Industry: The Groβschäffer were responsible for a number of industrial establishments such as a malthouse and several "Schneidemühlen". (Maschke, 1970, 87).
- Shipping: The Groβschäffer were involved in shipowning (the Teutonic Order owned its own ships, but also shares in other ships). (Maschke, 1970, 87).

Network of the Teutonic Order:

The trade of the Prussian branch of the Teutonic Order was carried out by "Schäffer" (latin: procurator), "Groβschäffer", "Lieger", "Diener", "Wirte", etc. The "Schäffer" and "Groβschäffer" were members of the Order who managed the business and kept the accounts, but were also involved in the trade in merchandise and money. The "Lieger", "Diener", etc were merchants who carried out most of the sales and purchases for the Order. (Maschke, 1970, 74). Originally, the Teutonic Order did not have specialised functionaries for the business activities of its houses: the "Schäffer" are only mentioned for the first time in the 1310s and 1320s. (74-75). The activities of most of the "Schäffer" were limited to purchases for the supply of their house and / or sales of surplus production. (74-75). Schäffer of other houses were not subordinated to the Groβschäffer of Königsberg or Marienburg. (76). The Teutonic Order traded from Scotland and Flanders in the west, to Novgorod and Lvov

in the east. (87). The Groβschäffer kept the account books, settled accounts with Lieger, Diener, etc., and carried out business, especially loan business. (87). The Lieger were the principal representatives who were responsible for the business of the Teutonic Order in the main centres of the Hanseatic trade. (90). The Diener were especially responsible for business trips for the Order abroad. (90). The Wirte represented the business of the Teutonic Order in the smaller towns. (90). The Lieger received a yearly wage for their services, while at the same time they formed partnerships with the Groβschäffer in which each of them had a share of 50 % in profits and losses. (91). Lieger and Diener of the Teutonic Order had several advantages (e.g. interest free loans from the Order). (91). The Lieger and Diener not only traded for the Teutonic Order but also carried out business for their own account. (91). Most of the Lieger came from the Prussian cities. (91). Several Lieger and Diener of the Teutonic Order were family members or brothers. (91-92). The Lieger were a combination of factors, commissionaries and partners of the Groβschäffer. (91). Connections existed between several families of Lieger and Diener of the Teutonic Order. (96). Network of Great Treasuries, representatives (Lieger), depositaries (Wirte), and clerks (Diener) of the Teutonic Order at the end of the 14th-beginninng of the 15th c. (Dollinger, 1970, 168). The Lieger, Diener and Wirte were mostly merchants, who received an income from the Groβschäffer, but also were allowed to carry out business on their own account. They often concluded partnerships with the Groβschäffer (Widerlegung). (Böhnke, 1962, 37). In Prussia itself, the trade activities of the Teutonic Order were largely limited to the Weichsel region. (Böhnke, 1962, 44-45). In the cities where the Teutonic Order was represented by Lieger, the Order had permanent warehouses. The Diener were sent to places where the Order did not have permanent establishments. (Böhnke, 1962, 47).

Table A..1. Network of the Teutonic Order, early 14th century – ca. 1466 (especially ca. 1400)

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Königsberg		8	4	3	1	>1329-1455<	Groβschäffer. (Maschke, 1970, 74-75). The Schäffer of Königsberg and Marienburg were originally not different from the other Schäffer, but they became Groβschäffer as a result of their importance for the long-distance trade of the Order. (75). Königsberg was an important centre for the trade in amber, which was monopolised by the Teutonic Order. (75). Ludeco de Kekheym was Schäffer in Königsberg in 1329. (75, 78 n. 78). Johann von Pferdsdorf was Groβschäffer in Königsberg in 1356/57-78, Walter von Nedirhofe in 1389-1393, Konrad von Muren in 1393-1402, Michael Küchmeister in 1402-1405, Johann Demeker in 1404-05, Konrad Sefeler in 1405-06, Konrad von Remchingen in 1406-07, Georg von Wirsberg in 1408-11, Gieselbrecht von Buchsecke in 1411, Gerhard Voisan in 1411-15, Hermann Vogeler in 1416-23, Hans von Moos in 1423-30, Heinrich von Retenbach in 1430-32, Michael Tessenfelder in 1433-34, Hans Reppin in 1441-47, Winrich Manstein after 1447. (76-79, 83-84, 87-89). Bernhard	Böhnke, 1962, 35-36

							Scherping was Wirt in Königsberg-Kneiphof. (90-91 n. 219). The last Groβschäffer was Retenberg, appointed in 1451, and still active in 1455. (102). Great treasury (Grosschäfferei), directors (monks or laymen) appointed and controlled by the Marshal of the Order (Dollinger,1970, 168). The Teutonic Order had Großschäffereien in Marienburg and Konigsberg, and Lieger in Bruges, London, Lubeck, Danzig and Riga (Irsigler, 1985, 79). The Großschäffer of Königsberg are almost completely known for the period from 1360 until 1433. (Böhnke, 1962, 36).	
Marienburg		8	4	3	1	>1360-1414<	Groβschäffer. (Maschke, 1970, 74-75). The Schäffer of Königsberg and Marienburg were originally not different from the other Schäffer, but they became Groβschäffer as a result of their importance for the long-distance trade of the Order. (75). The Groβschäffer of Marienburg was especially responsible for the grain trade of the Teutonic Order. (76). Eberhard Wirmynnen was Groβschäffer in Marienburg in 1376, Heinrich von Allen in 1379-1386 (?), Johann Tiergart in 1390-1404, Johann von Sachsenheim in 1404-07, Johann von Techwitz in 1407 and 1410, Johann von Dittenhofe in 1408-09, Ludike Palzad in 1412-14 or 1415-16. (76-79, 81-82, 88, 78 n. 78). Trysigmark, goldsmith, was Wirt in Marienburg (trade in wax). (90-91 n. 219). Great treasury (Grosschäfferei), directors (monks or laymen) appointed and controlled by the Treasurer (Ordenstressler) (Dollinger, 1970, 168). The Teutonic Order had Großschäffereien in Marienburg and Konigsberg, and Lieger in Bruges, London, Lubeck, Danzig and Riga (Irsigler, 1985, 79). The Großschäffer of Marienburg are known for the period from 1360 until 1414, with several gaps. (Böhnke, 1962, 36).	Böhnke, 1962, 35-36
Bruges		6	3	2	1	>1360-1446<	Amber sold by the Königsberg Groβschäfferei via the Lieger to the rosary makers in Lübeck and Bruges. (75). Lieger of the Königsberg Groβschäfferei in Bruges in 1391-99 was Johannes Plige. (76). Lieger in Bruges, e.g. Gerhard Voisan (1408-1411). (78). Business journey to Bruges by Gerhard Voisan in 1401, who was Diener in Elbing at that time. (79). Lieger of the Königsberg Groβschäffer in Bruges in 1360 was Johann von Thunen. (81 n. 111). Lieger in Bruges in 1392 was Mathies Diergart, Thomas Schenkendorf ca. 1442-45. (82). Michael Küchmeister, Groβschäffer in Königsberg, travelled to Bruges (1402 or 1403). (87). Konrad von Muren and Georg von Wirsberg (1409), Groβschäffer in	Böhnke, 1962, 36; Lambert, 2006, 157

							Königsberg, travelled to Bruges. (87). Bruges and Lübeck, with their rosary maker guilds, were important markets for the amber of the Teutonic Order. (87). Heinrich von Allen, Groβschäffer of Marienburg, travelled to Flanders. (87). The Königsberg and Marienburg Groβschäffer both had a Lieger in Bruges. (90, 100). Johann Plige was Lieger in Flanders in 1391-99, Johann Valprecht in 1399-1409, Jakob Valprecht in 1408/09, Detmar Bluwel until 1391, Johann von Geseke in 1411-19, Albrecht Kannel in 1383, Albrecht Keyser in 1360, Thomas Schenkendorp in 1442-46, Gobel Castorp in 1438-40. (91, 93, 95-99, 96 n. 296). Albrecht Keyser was Lieger of the Marienburg Groβschäfferei from 1360. (93). Hermann von der Beke was a Lieger in Flanders. (99). Representatives (Lieger), usually appointed annually, in Bruges, London, Scotland, Lübeck, Danzig and Riga (Dollinger, 1970, 168). The Teutonic Order had Großschäffereien in Marienburg and Konigsberg, and Lieger in Bruges, London, Lubeck, Danzig and Riga (Irsigler, 1985, 79). Amber export to Lübeck, Bruges and Lvov. (Böhnke, 1962, 39).	
Danzig		6	3	2	1	>1395-1410<	Lieger in Danzig, e.g. Gerhard Voisan (1405-1408), Ludike Palzad (1410). (Maschke, 1970, 78-79). The Groβschäffer travelled several times to Danzig (e.g. Konrad von Muren, Hermann Vogeler, Gerhard Voisan), where they had a room at their disposal. (87). The Königsberg and Marienburg Groβschäffer both had a Lieger in Danzig. (90, 100). Johannes Huxer was Lieger in Danzig in 1395-1400. (92, 94-95). Herbrot Plige was Diener in Danzig. (93). Diener / Lieger in Danzig in 1401 was Johannes Knoke. (98). Hermann Schurmann was Lieger in Danzig ca. 1400. (98). Ludeke von der Heyden was Diener in Danzig. (98). Christophorus Lobeschitz was Diener in Danzig in 1402-04. (98). Representatives (Lieger), usually appointed annually, in Bruges, London, Scotland, Lübeck, Danzig and Riga (Dollinger, 1970, 168). The Teutonic Order had Großschäffereien in Marienburg and Konigsberg, and Lieger in Bruges, London, Lubeck, Danzig and Riga (Irsigler, 1985, 79).	Böhnke, 1962, 36, 42-44
Elbing		6	3	2	1	>1395-1411<	Diener of the Königsberg Groβschäfferei in Elbing in 1401-04 was Gerhard Voisan. (78-79). Nikolaus Roder (1395), Bartholomäus Glisentaler (1401), and Peter Vincke (ca. 1400) were Schäffer of the Königsberg Groβschäffer in Elbing. (86 n. 170). The Groβschäffer travelled several times to Elbing, e.g. in 1411. (87). The Königsberg and Marienburg Groβschäffer both had a	Böhnke, 1962, 36, 42-44

							Lieger in Elbing. (90, 100). Godike von der Pforten was Lieger / Diener in Elbing in 1400-02. (92). Lieger in Elbing. (Böhnke, 1962, 29).	
Lübeck		6	3	2	1	>1368-1440s<	Amber sold by the Königsberg Groβschäfferei via the Lieger to the rosary makers in Lübeck and Bruges. (75). Lieger in Lübeck before 1368 was Tidemann von Allen. (81 n. 113). Michael Küchmeister, Groβschäffer in Königsberg, travelled to Lübeck (1399). (87). Konrad von Muren, Groβschäffer in Königsberg, travelled to Lübeck. (87). Bruges and Lübeck, with their rosary maker guilds, were important markets for the amber of the Teutonic Order. (87). The Königsberg Groβschäffer had a Lieger in Lübeck. (90, 100; Böhnke, 1962, 36). Gottschalk Birman was Lieger in Lübeck in 1397-1402. (91, 99). Johannes Huxer was Lieger in Lübeck in 1403-06, Heinrich Keyser in 1411-12, Ditmar Keyser in 1423-mid 1440s, Albrecht Kannel in 1380, Hermann Warendorp in 1368-80, Tiedemann von Allen (before 1368). (92-96, 99, 99 n. 335). Representatives (Lieger), usually appointed annually, in Bruges, London, Scotland, Lübeck, Danzig and Riga (Dollinger, 1970, 168). The Teutonic Order had Großschäffereien in Marienburg and Konigsberg, and Lieger in Bruges, London, Lubeck, Danzig and Riga (Irsigler, 1985, 79). Amber export to Lübeck, Bruges and Lvov. (Böhnke, 1962, 39).	
Reval		6	3	2	1	>1399-1403<, >1411<	The Königsberg Groβschäffer had a Lieger in Livonia. (90). Ludeke von der Heyden travelled as Diener several times to Novgorod and Livonia between 1399 and 1403. (98). The only named Lieger in Livonia was Heinrich Wattenscheidt (1411). (100). Wattenscheidt was established as Lieger in Reval. (100).	
Toruń		6	3	2	1	>1399-1422<	The Groβschäffer travelled several times to Toruń (e.g. Gerhard Voisan), where they had a room at their disposal. (87). The Königsberg and Marienburg Groβschäffer both had a Lieger in Toruń. (90, 100). A Lieger in Toruń was Hermann Huxer, in 1400-04 (for the Groβschäffer in Königsberg) and in 1405-11 (for the Groβschäffer in Marienburg). (91-92, 94). Jakob Valprecht was Lieger in Toruń in 1417-22, Heinrich von der Pforten was Diener (from 1400) and Lieger (from 1413/14) in Toruń. (91, 95). Hermann von der Pforten was Lieger in Toruń in 1420, Hermann Kywe in 1399-1404, Ludeke Rudolf in 1410-11, Klaus Lumpe in 1405. (92, 97).	Böhnke, 1962, 36, 42-44
Dzierzgoń		5	3	2	1	>1324-1441<	Schäffer. The Schäffer of Dzierzgoń (Christburg) is mentioned several times in the business accounts of the Groβschäfferei of Königsberg ca. 1400 (e.g.	

							Ludolf von Weberlingen in 1406). A Schäfferei existed already in Christburg in 1324 and still in 1441. (Maschke, 1970, 75, 86 n. 170). The Komtur of Christburg sold wheat to English merchants in Danzig. (102 n. 356). In addition to the Groβschäffereien, the Teutonic Order also had a Schäfferei in Christburg. (Böhnke, 1962, 36).	
Dobrzyn		4	2	2	1		Important sales of the Großschäfferei Königsberg in Dobrzyn (Dobrin), especially sale of cloth. (Böhnke, 1962, 43).	
London		4	2	2	1	until 1430s	Diener of the Marienburg Groβschäffer were active in England and Scotland, still in the 1430s, e.g. Johann von Stroelen. (Maschke, 1970, 90, 100). Representatives (Lieger), usually appointed annually, in Bruges, London, Scotland, Lübeck, Danzig and Riga (Dollinger, 1970, 168). The Teutonic Order had Großschäffereien in Marienburg and Konigsberg, and Lieger in Bruges, London, Lubeck, Danzig and Riga (Irsigler, 1985, 79). The Marienburg Groβschäffer had closer connections with England than the Königsberg Groβschäffer. (Böhnke, 1962, 38). Maschke (1970) mentions the activity of a Diener of the Order in England, but he does not mention the exact place. About a Lieger in London, nothing can be found by Maschke or Böhnke (1962).	
Lubawa		4	2	2	1		Important sales of the Großschäfferei Königsberg in Lubawa (Löbau). (Böhnke, 1962, 43). Sale of spices in Löbau. (Böhnke, 1962, 43).	
Lvov		4	2	2	1	until 1400	The Teutonic Order traded with Lvov. (87). Gerike Smithusen was Wirt in Lvov (trade in amber). (90-91 n. 219). Heinrich von der Pforten, Diener in Toruń, travelled with amber to Lvov. (92). The Teutonic Order owned an amber depot in Lvov. In 1400, its assets in Lvov, in property and outstanding debts, represented a value of 3,200 Prussian marks. The Teutonic Order sold its property in Lvov in 1400. Decline due to the invasions of Timur,… (Dollinger, 1970, 231). The Teutonic Order imported spices from Lvov. (Böhnke, 1962, 27, 43). Diener travelled to Lvov with amber. (Böhnke, 1962, 37). Amber export to Lübeck, Bruges and Lvov (e.g. in 1400). (Böhnke, 1962, 39). Sales of cloth of the Großschäfferei Königsberg in Lvov. (Böhnke, 1962, 43). The Großschäfferei Marienburg had no representative in Lvov. (Böhnke, 1962, 43).	
Nidzica		4	2	2	1		The Groβschäffer travelled several times to Nidzica (Neidenburg). (87, 87 n. 178). Purchase of ash in Neidenburg. (Böhnke, 1962, 44). Purchase of wood by the Groβschäfferei Königsberg in Neidenburg. (Böhnke, 1962, 44).	

Novgorod		4	2	2	1	>1399-1409<	Henning Demeker, Diener of the Groβschäffer of Königsberg, yearly travelled to Novgorod in 1399-1401 for the purchase of wax and furs for the Order and for his own account. (Maschke, 1970, 83). The Teutonic Order traded with Novgorod. (87). Diener of the Teutonic Order travelled regularly to Novgorod. (90, 100). Henning Demeker went as Diener to Novgorod in 1399 and 1400. (91). Ludeke von der Heyden travelled as Diener several times to Novgorod and Livonia between 1399 and 1403. (98). Heinrich Wattenscheidt travelled as Diener to Novgorod in 1406-09. (100). Diener travelled to Novgorod for purchase of furs. (Böhnke, 1962, 37).	
Scotland		4	2	2	1	>1402-1430s	Business journey to Scotland by Gerhard Voisan in 1402, who was Diener in Elbing at that time. (79). The Teutonic Order traded with Scotland. (87). Diener of the Marienburg Groβschäffer were active in England and Scotland, still in the 1430s, e.g. Johann von Stroelen. (Maschke, 1970, 90). Representatives (Lieger), usually appointed annually, in Bruges, London, Scotland, Lübeck, Danzig and Riga (Dollinger, 1970, 168).	
Skarszewy		4	2	2	1		Important business of the Großschäfferei Marienburg in Skarszewy (Schöneck). (Böhnke, 1962, 43).	
Warsaw		4	2	2	1		Heinrich von der Pforten, Diener in Toruń, travelled with cloth to Warsaw, where he purchased wax and furs. (92). Important sales of the Großschäfferei Königsberg in Warsaw, especially sale of cloth. (Böhnke, 1962, 43, 46). Purchase of ash in Warsaw. (Böhnke, 1962, 44).	
Włocławek		4	2	2	1		Important sales of the Großschäfferei Königsberg in Włocławek, especially sale of cloth. (Böhnke, 1962, 43).	
Bartoszyce		3	2	2	1		Sales of the Großschäfferei Königsberg in Bartoszyce (Bartenstein) near Königsberg. (Böhnke, 1962, 42). Trade of the Großschäfferei Marienburg in Bartenstein. (Böhnke, 1962, 43).	
Brodnica		3	2	2	1		Sales of the Großschäfferei Königsberg in Brodnica (Strasburg). (Böhnke, 1962, 43). Purchase of wood by the Groβschäfferei Königsberg in Strasburg. (Böhnke, 1962, 44).	
Chełmno		3	2	2	1		Sales of the Großschäfferei Königsberg in Chełmno (Kulm). Cloth trade of the Großschäfferei Marienburg in Kulm. (Böhnke, 1962, 43).	
Chojnice		3	2	2	1		Trade of the Großschäfferei Marienburg in Chojnice (Konitz). (Böhnke, 1962, 43).	
Dąbrówno		3	2	2	1		Trade of the Großschäfferei Marienburg in Dąbrówno (Gilgenburg). (Böhnke, 1962, 43).	

Działdowo		3	2	2	1		Trade of the Großschäfferei Marienburg in Działdowo (Soldau). (Böhnke, 1962, 43). Purchase of ash in Soldau. (Böhnke, 1962, 44). Purchase of wood by the Groβschäfferei Königsberg in Soldau. (Böhnke, 1962, 44).	
Głubczyce		3	2	2	1		Sales of cloth of the Großschäfferei Königsberg in Głubczyce (Leobschütz). (Böhnke, 1962, 43). Cloth trade of the Großschäfferei Marienburg in Leobschütz. (Böhnke, 1962, 43-44).	
Gniew		3	2	2	1		Limited sales of the Großschäfferei Königsberg in Gniew (Mewe). (Böhnke, 1962, 43). Purchase of grain by the Großschäfferei Königsberg in Mewe. (Böhnke, 1962, 44).	
Grudziądz		3	2	2	1		Johannes Kemmerer was Wirt in Grudziądz (Graudenz) (trade in flour). (90-91 n. 219). Sales of the Großschäfferei Königsberg in Graudenz. (Böhnke, 1962, 43). Cloth trade of the Großschäfferei Marienburg in Graudenz. (Böhnke, 1962, 43). Purchase of grain by the Großschäfferei Marienburg in Graudenz. (Böhnke, 1962, 44). Purchase of flour by the Großschäfferei Königsberg in Graudenz. (Böhnke, 1962, 44).	
Hungary		3	2	2	1		Sales of cloth of the Großschäfferei Königsberg in Hungary. (Böhnke, 1962, 43).	
Kalisz		3	2	2	1		Sales of cloth of the Großschäfferei Königsberg in Kalisz (Kalisch). (Böhnke, 1962, 43).	
Kaunas		3	2	2	1	from 1398	In 1398, the Teutonic Order obtained from the Grand Duke of Lithuania permission to trade in his dominions and the right to found an establishment in Kaunas (Kovno). This factory expanded despite initial difficulties, and from the beginning was dominated by Danzig merchants. Kovno became one of the essential centres of Danzig's trade (Dollinger, 1970, 231). Maschke (1970) and Böhnke (1962) do not mention the business of the Teutonic Order with Kovno however.	
Kętrzyn		3	2	2	1		Sales of the Großschäfferei Königsberg in Kętrzyn (Rastenburg) near Königsberg. (Böhnke, 1962, 42).	
Kornewo		3	2	2	1		Sales of the Großschäfferei Königsberg in Kornewo (Zinten) near Königsberg. (Böhnke, 1962, 42).	
Kraków		3	2	2	1		Sales of cloth of the Großschäfferei Königsberg in Kraków. (Böhnke, 1962, 43).	
Kwidzyn		3	2	2	1		Johann Kunczel was Wirt in Kwidzyn (Marienwerder) (trade in cloth). (90-91 n. 219). Limited sales of the Großschäfferei Königsberg in Marienwerder. (Böhnke, 1962, 43). Cloth trade of the Großschäfferei Marienburg in	

							Marienwerder. (Böhnke, 1962, 43). Purchase of grain by the Großschäfferei Marienburg in Marienwerder. (Böhnke, 1962, 44). Purchase of grain by the Großschäfferei Königsberg in Marienwerder. (Böhnke, 1962, 44).	
Łasin		3	2	2	1		Cloth trade of the Großschäfferei Marienburg in Łasin (Lessen). (Böhnke, 1962, 43).	
Legnica		3	2	2	1		Sales of cloth of the Großschäfferei Königsberg in Legnica (Liegnitz). (Böhnke, 1962, 43). Cloth trade of the Großschäfferei Marienburg in Liegnitz. (Böhnke, 1962, 43-44).	
Lidzbark Warmińsky		3	2	2	1		Trade of the Großschäfferei Marienburg in Lidzbark Warmińsky (Heilsberg). (Böhnke, 1962, 43). Sales of the Großschäfferei Königsberg in several places in Warmia (Ermland) near Königsberg. (Böhnke, 1962, 42).	
Lublin		3	2	2	1		Heinrich von der Pforten, Diener in Toruń, had business connections with Lublin. (92). Sales of cloth of the Großschäfferei Königsberg in Lublin. (Böhnke, 1962, 43).	
Masovia (not including Warsaw)		3	2	2	1	>1389-1415<	Diener travelled to Masovia with cloth. They purchased wood in the forests of Masovia, e.g. in 1389-1415. (Böhnke, 1962, 37, 40, 43-44).	
Neumarkt		3	2	2	1		Peter Mölner was Wirt in Neumarkt. (90-91 n. 219).	
Nowe		3	2	2	1		Sales of the Großschäfferei Königsberg in Nowe (Neuenburg). (Böhnke, 1962, 43). Purchase of grain by the Großschäfferei Königsberg in Neuenburg. (Böhnke, 1962, 44).	
Opava		3	2	2	1		Sales of cloth of the Großschäfferei Königsberg in Opava (Troppau). (Böhnke, 1962, 43). Cloth trade of the Großschäfferei Marienburg in Troppau. (Böhnke, 1962, 43-44).	
Orneta		3	2	2	1		Trade of the Großschäfferei Marienburg in Orneta (Wormditt). (Böhnke, 1962, 43).	
Paris		3	2	2	1	early 1440s	Heinrich von Allen, Groβschäffer of Marienburg, travelled to Paris to the court of Charles VI. (87). In the early 1440s, representatives of the Teutonic Order went regularly to Paris to collect money owed to the Order. Probably the French napery travelled via Bruges from Paris to the Grand Master's table (Dollinger, 1970, 256).	
Pawlowo		3	2	2	1	>c.1406<	Amber was collected by trustees (Pfleger) of the order in Pawlowo (Lochstädt) and exported by the Schäffer of Königsberg. (75). Pfleger in Pawlowo (Lochstädt) after 1406 was Konrad Sefeler. (77).	

Poznań		3	2	2	1		Sales of cloth of the Großschäfferei Königsberg in Poznań. (Böhnke, 1962, 43).	
Primorsk		3	2	2	1		Sales of the Großschäfferei Königsberg to the bishop in Primorsk (Fischhausen) (near Königsberg), who also supplied amber. (Böhnke, 1962, 42).	
Radom		3	2	2	1		Sales of cloth of the Großschäfferei Königsberg in Radom. (Böhnke, 1962, 43, 46).	
Reszel		3	2	2	1		Trade of the Großschäfferei Marienburg in Reszel (Röβel). (Böhnke, 1962, 43). Sales of the Großschäfferei Königsberg in several places in Warmia (Ermland) near Königsberg. (Böhnke, 1962, 42).	
Riga		3	2	2	1		Representatives (Lieger), usually appointed annually, in Bruges, London, Scotland, Lübeck, Danzig and Riga (Dollinger, 1970, 168). The Teutonic Order had Großschäffereien in Marienburg and Konigsberg, and Lieger in Bruges, London, Lubeck, Danzig and Riga (Irsigler, 1985, 79). Maschke (1970) and Böhnke (1962) do not mention a Lieger of the Teutonic Order in Riga. There was a Lieger in Livonia, but Maschke situates this in Reval.	
Scharpau		3	2	2	1		The “Fischmeisters” of the Teutonic Order in the Scharpau were involved in business and supplied amber to the Königsberg Groβschäfferei. (Maschke, 1970, 77-78).	
Sępopol		3	2	2	1		Sales of the Großschäfferei Königsberg in Sępopol (Schippenbeil) near Königsberg. (Böhnke, 1962, 42). Trade of the Großschäfferei Marienburg in Schippenbeil. (Böhnke, 1962, 43).	
Słupsk		3	2	2	1		Trade of the Großschäfferei Marienburg in Słupsk (Stolp). (Böhnke, 1962, 43).	
Świecie		3	2	2	1	>1400<	Cloth trade of the Großschäfferei Marienburg in Świecie (Schwetz). (Böhnke, 1962, 43). Purchase of grain by the Großschäfferei Königsberg in Schwetz. (Böhnke, 1962, 44). Debtor in Schwetz in 1400: Johannes Grupitz. (Böhnke, 1962, 47 n. 120).	
Tczew		3	2	2	1		Nickel Grüning was Wirt in Tczew (Dirschau) (trade in grain). (90-91 n. 219). Limited sales of the Großschäfferei Königsberg in Dirschau. (Böhnke, 1962, 43). Purchase of grain by the Großschäfferei Königsberg in Dirschau. (Böhnke, 1962, 44).	
Warmia		3	2	2	1		Sales of the Großschäfferei Königsberg in several places in Warmia (Ermland) near Königsberg. (Böhnke, 1962, 42).	
Wrocław		3	2	2	1		Sales of cloth of the Großschäfferei Königsberg in Wrocław. (Böhnke, 1962,	

							43).	
Dordrecht		2	2	1	0	1391	Walter von Nedirhofe, Groβschäffer in Königsberg, travelled to Dordrecht in 1391, where at that time the Kontor of Bruges was relocated. (Maschke, 1970, 87).	
Rheden		2	2	1	0		Limited sales of the Großschäfferei Königsberg in Rheden. (Böhnke, 1962, 43).	
Weichselburg		2	2	1	0		Limited sales of the Großschäfferei Königsberg in Weichselburg. (Böhnke, 1962, 43).	
Wismar		2	2	1	0	1406	In 1406, the Groβschäffer of Marienburg had connections with the merchant family Vogeler in Wismar. (Maschke, 1970, 83).	

VECKINCHUSEN, ca. 1390 – 1422

In the 14th century, merchants with the name Veckinchusen can be found in many Hanseatic cities, such as Lübeck, Dortmund, Soest, Bruges, Riga, Reval and Dorpat. The family originated in Westphalia. The exact family ties between these different Veckinchusen of the 14th century are not clear. (Irsigler, 1973, 304). Sievert Veckinchusen died in 1433. (305, 307). Hildebrand Veckinchusen died in 1426 or 1427. (305). End 1418, Sievert wanted to give up trade, but in the end he continued his business activities. (306). In 1431, Sievert became a member of the patrician Zirkelgesellschaft of Lübeck. (307). In the beginning, the business of Hildebrand Veckinchusen appears to have been successful. However, after a number of years, his business became less profitable, and he made several losses in risky business ventures. (307). In 1419, Hildebrand became alderman for the Lübeck third of the Hanse in Bruges. This shows that at this time, Hildebrand was still considered solvent in Bruges. (308). In 1421, Hildebrand wanted to flee from his creditors in Bruges, but in the end he stayed. In 1422, he was imprisoned in Bruges as a debtor, and he was only released in 1425. In 1426 he returned to Lübeck, where he died shortly afterwards. (308). The bankruptcy of Hildebrand was not only a result of his risky speculations, but also of the unfavourable economic and political circumstances of the period. (308). The Veckinchusen brothers Sievert and Hildebrand traded mostly in partnership with other merchants in several companies at the same time. Moreover, the Veckinchusen made use of commission agents, and traded in commission for other merchants themselves. (308). Partners of the Venedische Gesellschaft in 1407 were (1) Hinrich and Hermann opme Orde (Hinrich in Bruges); (2) Hartwig Krakau with Martin Ossenbrugge and Tideman Brekelvelde; (3) Peter Karbow the elder and his son with the same name; (4) Hans van Minden; (5) Hildebrand and Sievert Veckinchusen. Later also Heinrich Slyper of Cologne (with 200 Mark l.) and a number of young partners with small investments were included. (311). The Venedische Gesellschaft was originally successful, but later came in difficulties, as a result of a too high turnover and problems of credit. (312). Probably the Venedische Gesellschaft had a lack of experience in the use of bills of exchange compared to Italians and South Germans, and their accounting system (single entry bookkeeping) was probably not complex enough for the scale of their activities. Also lack of trust between the partners, some of whom traded too recklessly (e.g. the Karbow in Venice). By 1417 the latest, the company was dissolved. (312). The foundation of the business of Hildebrand and Sievert Veckinchusen was a “selschop” founded between Hildebrand and Sievert in 1401. This was a very loose organisation in which both were independent merchants. This can be seen as a Ferngesellschaft auf Gegenseitigkeit. (Lesnikov, 1974, 40-41). In 1403-06, the partnership of Hildebrand and Sievert concluded partnership agreements with business friends in Danzig, Riga and Dorpat. (Lesnikov, 1974, 41). Venedische Gesellschaft was founded in 1407. (Lesnikov, 1974, 43). The Venedische Gesellschaft was founded independently from the company between Hildebrand and Sievert Veckinchusen. The business of the Venedische Gesellschaft was separate from the other business of Sievert and Hildebrand Veckinchusen. (Lesnikov, 1974, 44). The Venedische Gesellschaft was exceptional in the number of shares (5), whereby moreover each of the shares was in hands of 2 or 3 partners. (Lesnikov, 1974, 45).

Large loan to Emperor Sigismund of Luxemburg, who failed to repay the loan in 1416 (3,000 kronen together with 5 other hanseatic merchants). Sigismund also forbade trade with Venice (Spufford, 2002, 337; Mertens, 1996, 60). Active in Bruges. Imprisoned in Bruges in February 1422 for 3 years because of unpaid debts (Mertens, 1996, 60). Hildebrand Veckinchusen made use of bills of exchange: beginning 1408 (in little more

than 2 months), he drew 9 bills of exchange for a total of 216 pounds groschen on his brother Sievert, payable at Hamburg or Lübeck. In 1408-1409, he effected five transfers in a year, amounting to 3,979 ducats or 576 pounds groschen, in favour of his partner Karbow in Venice (Dollinger, 1970, 165-166). Most abundant documentation of all Hanseatic merchants preserved for Sievert and Hildebrand Veckinchusen. 11 account books and hundreds of business letters preserved. Both born about 1370, place unknown: maybe Dortmund, since the family was Westphalian of origin. More probably born in a Livonian town. A third brother, Caesar, became councillor and burgomaster of Reval. It was in Reval that Hildebrand and Sievert probably started their business. Last decade of 14th c.: regularly to Bruges. Hildebrand elected as alderman of the Livonian third in 1394 and 1398, Sievert in 1399. Hildebrand first married to the sister of a burgomaster of Dortmund, and in 1398 to the daughter of a rich Riga merchant. Went to Lübeck, where he became a citizen. Soon he settled in Bruges where he remained almost to his death in 1426 (except for short travels elsewhere). Sievert set up in Lübeck around 1400, left the town from 1408 to 1418 due to revolt against the patriciate, and lived in Cologne for 10 years. Returned to Lübeck in 1418 and remained there until his death in 1433. Although they each had their own business, the two brothers were often partners in large-scale enterprises. Their letters show that their business relations extended not only throughout the Hanseatic zone from Novgorod to London, with the exception of Scandinavia, but also into southern Germany, Italy, northern France, Bordeaux and Bayonne. Beginning 15th c., trade principally to Livonia, to which they exported cloth, salt and spices, and where they bought wax and furs. Fur trade seems to have been particularly prosperous around 1400. Expanded their fur-business but suffered serious losses. 1406: partnership with Heinrich Tyte of Reval and Woesten of Dorpat, with a capital of 100 pound groschen. In 1412, loss of 48 pounds. Most important undertaking: Venetian company, equally unsuccessful. Set up in 1407, capital of 5,000 marks, divided into 5 shares. Chief partners were Hildebrand Veckinchusen in Bruges and Peter Karbow in Venice. Karbow exported spices, cotton and silk to the north, received from Bruges English cloth, amber, rosaries and above all furs. In 1409 the capital was raised to 11,000 marks. After 1411 many reverses: Karbow made rash purchases of spices, drawing too many bills of exchange on his partner. In Germany, one of the partners was robbed of 1,700 guilders and imprisoned. Partners quarrelled among themselves, there was a lawsuit and the partnership was wound up, involving losses. Hildebrand continued to launch into new enterprises. In October 1418, he bought on credit more than 11,000 furs in 10 days. In 1420 massive purchases of French salt, hearing that there was a shortage in the east, however, without the profits he had expected. Suffered losses on damaged consignments of figs and rice. In 1417 he contributed to a loan of 3,000 crowns to Emperor Sigismund, repayment of which was long delayed. Unsuccess of Hildebrand: primarily due to his imprudence, but also unfavourable state of affairs in the 2nd decade of the 15th c.: political crisis in Lübeck, ban on trade with Venice decreed by Sigismund in 1417, Hispano-Hanseatic conflict after 1419. Everywhere the market was saturated: difficulties of selling the goods, many complaints in the letters of the Veckinchusen: furs and amber in Venice; Russian wax and Norwegian fish in Frankfurt, which the clerks had to try and sell further afield in Mainz and Strasbourg; southern fruits and spices in Reval and Novgorod; cloth and alum in Lübeck and Danzig. In 1419, Hildebrand elected alderman of the Bruges Kontor for the Lübeck third. But his situation deteriorated rapidly, had to borrow from Lombards in Bruges. In 1422, Hildebrand was arrested and imprisoned for debt. Not released until three years later: neither his family, nor Lübeck, nor the Kontor appear to have been ready to go bail for him. Ruined and embittered against his relatives, he returned to Lübeck, where he died a short time later (Dollinger, 1970, 173-176). Sievert was a much more careful merchant. On his return in Lübeck in 1418, he bought investment property, a share in a salt mine at Oldesloe, and made a number of profitable business deals, in particular by joining

the monopolistic guild of the rosary-makers. Admitted to the patrician circle society in 1431 (Dollinger, 1970, 173-176). Largest preserved private commercial correspondence of the Hanseatic world in late Middle Ages: ca. 600 letters, published by W. Stieda. Also at least 13 account books preserved, published for 1399-1415 by M. P. Lesnikov. All these sources preserved in the Town Archives of Reval (Irsigler, 1985, 75-76). Members of the Veckinchusen family lived in numerous Hanseatic cities from Westphalia to Livonia at end 14th c. Sivert was born shortly before 1370, Hildebrand around 1370, maybe in Riga or Reval, maybe in Dortmund where they spent their childhood. Did their apprenticeship probably in Livonia, and concentrated then on trade in Flanders (Irsigler, 1985, 80). Already in begin 15th c., Sivert and Hildebrand Veckinchusen were well to do merchants, and sought after business partners (Irsigler, 1985, 81-82). Trade of Hildebrand Veckinchusen in the beginning of the 15th c. (until 1407-1408) was still very prosperous. No problems of obtaining credits,… (Irsigler, 1985, 84). In 1407/1408: 2 important changes. (1) Foundation of the Venedische Gesellschaft. Not only trade with relatives anymore, but also with strangers; (2) Sivert had to leave Lubeck for Cologne in 1408 (Irsigler, 1985, 84-85). Initiative for foundation of the Venedische Gesellschaft: Hildebrand and Peter Karbow. Five associations joined in as partners in the larger Gesellschaft, each investing a capital of 1,000 M. lub.: (1) The brothers Heinrich and Hermann opme Orde, the first of them in Bruges; (2) Hartwig Krakau with Martin Ossembrugge and Tideman Brekelvelde, the last in Lubeck; (3) Hans van Minden, Herman Platenschleger and Claus Gronhagen, a Lubeck-Luneburg partnership; (4) Hildebrand and Sivert Veckinchusen; (5) Peter Karbow and his son Peter Karbow in Venice. Later new members were added: Heinrich Slyper, member of the Rat of Cologne, who invested 200 M. lub., and some younger merchants with smaller shares, most still with status of Dieners (Irsigler, 1985, 85). By 1415, the relations between Hildebrand and Sivert worsened. Hildebrand refused to give full account of his business to Sivert. Hildebrand wanted to continue Venetian trade, while Sivert wanted to return to the classic Hanseatic trade (Irsigler, 1985, 90). After his return to Lubeck in 1419, new economic and social rise of Sivert: purchase of land, participated in a monopoly company in trade of amber and rosaries from 1424, participation in saline of Oldesloe in 1430, and membership of the Lubeck Zirkelgesellschaft, springboard to the Rat (Irsigler, 1985, 91). After the dissolution of the Venedische Gesellschaft, out of which Hildebrand escaped relatively well, he didn't want to give up the trade with Venice. In 1417/18 speculation on large fustian trade, in which Sivert refused to participate. In 1418 two bills of exchange drawn from London, but bankruptcy still could be avoided. Sivert refused to help his brother with money (Irsigler, 1985, 91-92). After 1419, the pressure of creditors on Hildebrand became harder. Trade with Venice in difficulties due to the blockade of Emperor Sigismund. Participation in a loan to Sigismund in 1416 of 3,000 Kronen: Hildebrand had to wait years for repayment. Speculation on French sea salt in 1420 failed, and irritated Hildebrand's Livonian partner heavily (Irsigler, 1985, 92). In 1420, the relationship between Sivert and Hildebrand was bad. Hildebrand complained that Sivert has deserted him (Irsigler, 1985, 92). Hildebrand fled from the Bruges creditors in Spring 1421, but returned to Bruges by Autumn 1421 (Irsigler, 1985, 92-93). In Bruges, he hoped to come to terms with his creditors, counting on the support of his Lubeck connections (Irsigler, 1985, 93). In February 1422, the Genoese banker Joris Spinghel/Spinola, one of Hildebrand's creditors, lost his patience and Hildebrand was imprisoned in Bruges, for more than 3 years (Irsigler, 1985, 93). In autumn 1424, Hildebrand managed to get his fierced creditor Joris Springhel imprisoned himself. From then, support from relatives and friends in Lubeck but especially from elsewhere became bigger again (Irsigler, 1985, 97-98). On 14 or 15 April 1425, Hildebrand free again. He remained in Bruges until May 1426, where he started trading again to be able to repay his friends

in Bruges. He returned to Lubeck in May 1426, where he died in July (Irsigler, 1985, 98). Hildebrand Veckinchusen: Hanseatic merchant (° ca. 1370 - + 1426).
Venedische Gesellschaft: Hildebrand and Sivert Veckinchusen, Heinrich and Hermann opme Orde, Hartwig Krakau, Martin Ossembrugge, Tideman Brekelvelde, Hans van Minden, Hermann Platenschleger, Claus Gronhagen, Peter Karbow (father and son). Each partner invested 1,000 Lubeck Marks (Seifert, 2000, 49). Venedische Gesellschaft: 1407/08 – 1415. (Seifert, 2000, 49-50).
Trade very prosperous until April 1409: Capital of the company was enlarged to 20,000 M. lub., 4,000 m. for each partnergroup (Slyper joined the Karbow). The organisation followed the typical form of a Hanseatic company with partners of equal importance, sitting in all the important places (Irsigler, 1985, 85). Optimism dwindled soon. Venetian branch was the weak branch: oversupply of furs created by the company in Venice. Turnover of the company was much too high compared to the capital of the company. By 1411, the turnover had still increased: Venetian goods for ca. 70,000 ducats, hanseatic goods for ca. 53,000 ducats. Karbow drew too many bills of exchange on his partners. Some unforeseen difficulties. Slyper died between 1411 and 1415/16. Mistrust between the partners increased. The Gesellschaft was dissolved in 1415/16 (Irsigler, 1985, 86). By the end of 1410, the crisis of the Venedische Gesellschaft was already clear (Irsigler, 1985, 89). Went bankrupt because of uncontrolled commerce of partners in Venice.
Hildebrand Veckinchusen, Sievert Veckinchusen (became a member of the Lubeck patriciate), brothers (Spufford, 2002, 336-337). Company between Hildebrand and Sievert ended in 1418.
Hildebrand and Sievert started a company at the end of the 14th c. Split up in 1418 because Hildebrand kept on sending furs to Sievert in Cologne, who could not sell them (Spufford, 2002, 336-337). Built up a larger company with Peter Karbow in Venice in 1407 (Spufford, 2002, 336). Veckinchusen family came originally from Westfalen, but established themselves ca. 1340 in Estonia: in the 14th c., members of the family became members of the town council and mayors in Reval and Riga (Mertens, 1996, 55). Company between Sievert and Hildebrand Veckinchusen. Also in association with other merchants and family members: Johannes Bokel or vander Bokel, cousin of Hildebrand; T. Swarte; Buggendal (Mertens, 1996, 57). Hildebrand Veckinchusen was born ca. 1370 (Lesnikov, 1973, xxii).

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Source material:

Hildebrand Veckinchusen is the best documented of the medieval Hanse merchants. Eleven or twelf account books (1399-1420) and several hunderts (ca. 550) of letters are still extant. Most of the letters, which are being preserved in the town archives of Tallinn, have been published by W. Stieda. (Irsigler, 1973, 303; Lesnikov, 1974, 40). The data are most abundant for the period 1401-1412. (Lesnikov, 1974, 40). Account books have been preserved for 1399-1420, partly published by Lesnikov (1973) (Lesnikov, 1973, xi). Thirteen account books and ca. 600 letters (mostly sent to Hildebrand Veckinchusen) have been preserved in the Town Archives of Tallinn. (Lesnikov, 1973, xxi).

Size: Medium-sized or large

The business of the Veckinchusen was large, but not exceptional for a hanseatic company of the early 15th century. The business of several other large Hanseatic merchants of Lübeck, Cologne or Dortmund was at least as large of even larger than that of the Veckinchusen. (Irsigler, 1973, 308). Venedische Gesellschaft: 1407: 5 partners each invested a capital of 1,000 Mark l. (311). In 1409, the capital of the Venedische Gesellschaft totalled ca. 20,000 M.l. (311). Highest turnover of the Venedische Gesellschaft in 1411: in that year, Peter Karbow wrote he had received merchandise for 53,000 ducats, and sent goods for 70,000 ducats. (312). Company between Hildebrand and Sievert Veckinchusen of 1401: each invested 150 lb. gr. (Lesnikov, 1974, 41). The Venedische Gesellschaft was the largest hanseatic company. (Lesnikov, 1974, 43). Capital of the Venedische Gesellschaft: 1,000 mk. Invested by each of the 5 partners in the company. (Lesnikov, 1974, 44). 1,000 Lubeck Marks invested by each partner at the beginning of the company (Seifert, 2000, 49)

Main activities:

- Commerce: Cloth, wine. (Irsigler, 1973, 304). Rice, silk, furs, dried cod. (306). In 1424, Sievert Veckinchusen became partner in a company carrying out monopolistic trade in rosaries. (306). Hildebrand Veckinchusen was much more inclined to speculation than most Hanseatic merchants. (308). Trade in cloth from the Low Countries and England. (309). Along the axis Livonia-Lübeck-Bruges, trade in furs and wax from the east, Flemish cloth, in smaller amounts also import of silver, wine and salt in Livonia. Also trade in rye, linen, brass, sulphur, saltpetre, sugar, spices and other goods from the Levant. (310). In Lübeck, the Veckinchusen mostly purchased furs, but also wax, fish, and amber rosaries. (310). Trade by Hildebrand and Sievert in Flemish cloth, return goods were butter, herring, beer, and from mid 1403 especially furs and wax. (Lesnikov, 1974, 41, 43). Export to Venice of the Venedische Gesellschaft consisted especially of furs and amber, in much lesser degree also English cloth and English wool. (Lesnikov, 1974, 44-45). Venedische Gesellschaft: Fur, wool, spices, Flemish cloth, gold, amber rosaries, leather, leather trousers. (Seifert, 2000, 49-50). Company of Hildebrand and Sievert Veckinchusen: Trade in furs as core business (also Mertens, 1996, 57), but also trade in cloth, spices, wax, fish (Spufford, 2002, 336). Mostly Baltic products, furs, also salt from France (Mertens, 1996, 57). Trade with the Baltic, trade with Venice. No grain trade.
- Finance: Hildebrand Veckinchusen made frequent use of bills of exchange. (Irsigler, 1973, 307). Use of bills of exchange, e.g. for return of the profits of sale of Flemish cloth by Sievert to Hildebrand in Bruges. (Lesnikov, 1974, 41). Large loan to Emperor Sigismund of Luxemburg, who failed to repay the loan in 1416 (3,000 kronen together with 5 other hanseatic merchants). (Spufford, 2002, 337; Mertens, 1996, 60). Participation in a loan to Sigismund in 1416 of 3,000 Kronen: Hildebrand had to wait years for repayment. (Irsigler, 1985, 92).
- Industry: In 1430, Sievert obtained shares in the salt production of Oldesloe. (306-307). On his return in Lübeck in 1418, Sievert bought a share in a salt mine at Oldesloe. (Dollinger, 1970, 173-176). Early 15th c.: Sivert develops connections (putting-out system) with the Lubecker silk workers guild (Irsigler, 1985, 82).

Network of the Veckinchusen:

During the years in Cologne, Sievert had to travel very frequently. (Irsigler, 1973, 306). After his return to Bruges in 1400, Hildebrand did not travel very much any more, only for closing accounts with his partners or for the visit of fairs. (307). The principal business connections of Hildebrand Veckinchusen were family members. (307). The Veckinchusen had widespread international connections which were exceptional for Hanseatic merchants of the time. The Veckinchusen brothers had connections in all corners of the Hanseatic territory from Novgorod over Bruges to London, but also in High Germany, Bohemia and Austria, northern Italy and the French north and northwest coast as far as Bordeaux and Bayonne. Less connections with Scandinavia. The Veckinchusen network reflected the general Hanseatic network. (308). Hildebrand Veckinchusen made use of a large variety of forms of business organisation: Widerlegung, Sendeve (although not mentioned by this name in the sources), Gesellschaft, commission, travelling factors. (Lesnikov, 1974, 40).

Table A..1. Network of the Veckinchusen, ca. 1390 – 1422 (especially ca. 1399 – 1422)								
City	**R**	**Score**				**Period**	**Type of presence**	**References**
Bruges		8	4	3	1	c.1393-1426	Hildebrand Veckinchusen spent most of his life as an active merchant in Bruges. (Irsigler, 1973, 303). In the 14th century, merchants with the name Veckinchusen can be found in many Hanseatic cities, such as Lübeck, Dortmund, Soest, Bruges, Riga, Reval and Dorpat. (304). Perhaps Hildebrand and Sievert Veckinchusen learnt the art of business as apprentices in Flanders. (304). In 1393 and 1398, Hildebrand was alderman of the Hanse in Bruges, in 1399 succeeded by Sievert. Both were aldermen for the Gotland-Livonian Third. In 1395, Sievert owned real estate in Bruges. Sievert and Hildebrand were among the most important Hanseatic merchants in Bruges at the end of the 14th century. (304). In 1398, Hildebrand went to Riga, while at the end of the 14th century, Sievert went to Lübeck. In 1400, Hildebrand went back to Bruges, where he remained until 1426 (with the exception of several short journeys). (305). From 1419, Sievert limited his trade largely to the traditional hanseatic trade with England, Flanders, Prussia and Livonia. (307). In 1402, Hildebrand rented a house in Bruges, with Kontor, warehouse and living quarters. (307). In Bruges, Hildebrand was represented by the innkeeper Schotteler. (308). Ca. 1400 and in the first years of the 15th c., the Veckinchusen traded especially along the axis Novgorod – Lübeck – Hamburg – Bruges. (310). In 1400, Hildebrand was back in Bruges. (310). In 1400, a Widerlegung between Hildebrand and the Bruges merchant Bodo van Stochem, in which Hildebrand invested 2,800 Mark L. (310). In 1406, a company was founded between the Veckinchusen and the children of Johann Woestens in Bruges, and Heinrich Tyte in Livonia (Dorpat), which existed until 1412. The capital amounted to 200 lb. grote. This was a small or medium sized company, but it was not the only one in which the Veckinchusen were involved. The company made a small loss in the end. (310). Sale of furs, wax, fish and amber rosaries (purchased in Lübeck) in Bruges, Cologne and Frankfurt am Main ca. 1418-19. Sales in Cologne were not a success: the furs, wax and fish had to be sent on to Frankfurt, the fish even to Mainz, Speyer and Strasbourg. (311). Venedische Gesellschaft founded in 1407, esp. by Hildebrand in Bruges and Peter Karbow the elder in Venice. (311). Hinrich	Lesnikov, 1973, xxii; Murray, 2005, 244

							and Hermann opme Orde were partners of the Venedische Gesellschaft in 1407. Hinrich was active in Bruges. (311). For transfer of bills of exchange, the Venedische Gesellschaft made use of the Florentine bank of the Vitzis in Bruges. (311). Hildebrand as partner of the company Hildebrand-Sievert Veckinchusen in Bruges. The company Hildebrand-Sievert exported Flemish cloth from Bruges to Lübeck, where it was sold by Sievert in Lübeck and Stralsund (1401). (Lesnikov, 1974, 41). Venedische Gesellschaft was established for the trade between Bruges, Lübeck and Venice. (Lesnikov, 1974, 43). In the Venedische Gesellschaft, the partners in Lübeck and Cologne played a more central role than Hildebrand in Bruges. (Lesnikov, 1974, 44). Active in Bruges. Imprisoned in Bruges in February 1422 for 3 years because of unpaid debts (Mertens, 1996, 60). Last decade of 14th c.: regularly to Bruges. Hildebrand elected as alderman of the Livonian third in 1394 and 1398, Sievert in 1399. Soon Hildebrand settled in Bruges where he remained almost to his death in 1426 (except for short travels elsewhere). (Dollinger, 1970, 173-176). In 1419, Hildebrand elected alderman of the Bruges Kontor for the Lübeck third. But his situation deteriorated rapidly, had to borrow from Lombards in Bruges. In 1422, Hildebrand was arrested and imprisoned for debt. Not released until three years later. Ruined and embittered against his relatives, he returned to Lübeck, where he died a short time later (Dollinger, 1970, 173-176). Partners in the Venedische Gesellschaft: The brothers Heinrich and Hermann opme Orde, the first of them in Bruges; Hildebrand and Sivert Veckinchusen. (Irsigler, 1985, 85). Hildebrand fled from the Bruges creditors in Spring 1421, but returned to Bruges by Autumn 1421 (Irsigler, 1985, 92-93). In Bruges, he hoped to come to terms with his creditors, counting on the support of his Lubeck connections (Irsigler, 1985, 93). In February 1422, the Genoese banker Joris Spinghel/Spinola, one of Hildebrand's creditors, lost his patience and Hildebrand was imprisoned in Bruges, for more than 3 years (Irsigler, 1985, 93). In autumn 1424, Hildebrand managed to get his fierced creditor Joris Springhel imprisoned himself. From then, support from relatives and friends in Lubeck but especially from elsewhere became bigger again (Irsigler, 1985, 97-98). On 14 or 15 April 1425, Hildebrand free again. He remained in Bruges until May 1426, where he started trading again to be able to repay	

							his friends in Bruges. He returned to Lubeck in May 1426, where he died in July (Irsigler, 1985, 98). Hildebrand Veckinchusen in Bruges since 1394 at the latest (became alderman of the Livonian third of the Hanse in Bruges in 1394 and 1398) (according to Mertens, 1996, 55-56: in 1393-1398 active in Bruges: signed an act of 1393 in Bruges concerning the weights used by the Hanseats in Bruges); Sivert Veckinchusen: since before 1395 (owned part of a house in Bruges), stayed in Bruges until 1400. Left Bruges for Lubeck in 1400-1402. In 1402 back to Bruges (Seifert). Mertens, 1996, 56: Hildebrand Veckinchusen back in Bruges from 1401 (rented a house from 1402). Returned to Lübeck in 1425 (Mertens, 1996, 56). In Bruges, Hildebrand had contacts with brokers such as Jacop van den Walle (furs, payments in Antwerp,...), Hannekin van Ryssele, Jacop Scotelaere (ginger, furs). Also contacts with Willem Barvoyt (brewer), Hendrik van Staden (fur trade), Jan Heldebolle, Thomas Bonin (guarantee for bills of exchange with Venice), Thomas van den Bussche (Mertens, 1996, 58). Sivert possessed a house in Bruges already before 1395. Hildebrand was alderman of the Gotland-Livonian Third in Bruges in 1394 and 1398, Sivert in 1399 (Irsigler, 1985, 80). After a dispute with his father in law ca. 1399, Hildebrand left Riga and went with his wife to Lubeck, until he settled in Bruges in 1402 (Irsigler, 1985, 81). In 1400 a partnership between Sivert Veckinchusen and the Bruges merchant Bodo van Stochem (Widerlegung): Sivert invested 2,800 m. lub. (Irsigler, 1985, 81). In 1402, Hildebrand rented in Bruges a large house, containing the living space for his family, office space and basement for storing goods (Irsigler, 1985, 82). In 1414, Kornelius Veckinchusen, son of Sivert, was sent to Hildebrand in Bruges, where he learned writing,… (Irsigler, 1985, 88-89). After 1420, Kornelius, the son of Sivert, was a partner of Hildebrand, operating as connection agent in Cologne and Augsburg between Venice and Bruges (Irsigler, 1985, 89). In 1418, Hildebrand temporarily to Lubeck. Returns to Bruges in 1419 without wife and kids. Became alderman of the Lubeck Third of the Bruges Kontor (Irsigler, 1985, 92). In Spring 1421, Hildebrand stayed at the Antwerp Pinkster fair to flee the Bruges creditors. In June he went to Lubeck, in July to Cologne, and then back to Lubeck, returning to Bruges in autumn 1421 via Cologne and Antwerp on the request of his Bruges	

							innkeeper Jakob Schotteler (Irsigler, 1985, 92-93). On 14 or 15 April 1425, Hildebrand free again. He remained in Bruges until May 1426, where he started trading again to be able to repay his friends in Bruges. He returned to Lubeck in May 1426, where he died in July (Irsigler, 1985, 98). Venedische Gesellschaft in Bruges sent furs, imported from Reval, to Venice (Spufford, 2002, 337). Partners: Hildebrand Veckinchusen, Heinrich & Hermann opme Orde. (Seifert, 2000, 49). Hildebrand to Bruges around 1400 (Spufford, 2002, 336-337). Hildebrand active in Bruges in 1393-1398, 1401-1425 (Mertens, 1996, 55-56). Trade especially with Danzig, Bruges and Lübeck (Mertens, 1996, 57). Bruges was the most important city in the account books of Hildebrand Veckinchusen. (Lesnikov, 1973, xiii-xiv). Hildebrand Veckinchusen was active at the fairs of Antwerp, Bruges, Kortrijk, Torhout, Ieper, St. Denis (Paris (?)) and Frankfurt am Main. (Lesnikov, 1973, xxv-xxvi).	
Lübeck		**8** 6 **8**	**4** 3 **4**	**3** 2 **3**	**1** 1 **1**	c.1399-1408 1408-1419 1419-1433	Hildebrand and Sievert Veckinchusen obtained citizenship in Lübeck, and considered themselves as Lübeck merchants. (Irsigler, 1973, 303). In the 14th century, merchants with the name Veckinchusen can be found in many Hanseatic cities, such as Lübeck, Dortmund, Soest, Bruges, Riga, Reval and Dorpat. (304). Gertrud, daughter of Hildebrand Veckinchusen, married in 1418 with Everd Moyelik, a member of the new town council of Lübeck. (305). At the end of the 14th century, Sievert Veckinchusen went to Lübeck where he obtained citizenship. (305). He was soon followed by Hildebrand, who also obtained citizenship in Lübeck. He married off Talleke (daughter from his first marriage) with Peter van dem Damme of a family of Lübeck town councillors. In 1400, Hildebrand went to Bruges again. However, his wife and children remained in Lübeck, and he retained his citizenship of Lübeck. (305). In 1409, Sievert had to leave Lübeck as a result of the political trouble. (305). In 1419, Sievert returned to Lübeck. (306). After his return to Lübeck, Sievert's business became very successful. Ca. 1420/21, he remarried with Mette van Lune of Lübeck. (306). Business connection of Hildebrand Veckinchusen in Lübeck was his brother Sievert. (307). In 1417, Hildebrand Veckinchusen drew for large amounts bills of exchange on his business friends in Hamburg, Lübeck, Danzig and London. (Irsigler, 1973, 308). In 1426 Hildebrand returned to Lübeck, where he died shortly afterwards. (308). Ca. 1400 and in the first years of the 15th c., the	Lesnikov, 1973, xxii; Murray, 2005, 244

							Veckinchusen traded especially along the axis Novgorod – Lübeck – Hamburg – Bruges. (310). In 1400, Hildebrand sent Flemish cloth from Bruges to Livonia. With the returns of the sales, Hildebrand van den Bokel, brother-in-law in Dorpat, purchased furs which were sent to Hildebrand Veckinchusen via Lübeck. (310). Sievert Veckinchusen was partner in the Venedische Gesellschaft, first in Lübeck, later in Cologne. (311). Sievert as partner of the company Hildebrand-Sievert Veckinchusen in Lübeck (1401). (Lesnikov, 1974, 41). Venedische Gesellschaft was established for the trade between Bruges, Lübeck and Venice. (Lesnikov, 1974, 43). In the Venedische Gesellschaft, the partners in Lübeck and Cologne played a more central role than Hildebrand in Bruges. (Lesnikov, 1974, 44). Hildebrand Veckinchusen made use of bills of exchange: beginning 1408 (in little more than 2 months), he drew 9 bills of exchange for a total of 216 pounds groschen on his brother Sievert, payable at Hamburg or Lübeck. (Dollinger, 1970, 165-166). Ca. 1398, Hildebrand went to Lübeck, where he became a burgess. Sievert set up in Lübeck around 1400, left the town from 1408 to 1418 due to revolt against the patriciate, and lived in Cologne for 10 years. Returned to Lübeck in 1418 and remained there until his death in 1433. (Dollinger, 1970, 173-176). Unfavourable state of affairs in the 2nd decade of the 15th c.: difficulties of selling the goods, many complaints in the letters of the Veckinchusen: furs and amber in Venice; Russian wax and Norwegian fish in Frankfurt, which the clerks had to try and sell further afield in Mainz and Strasbourg; southern fruits and spices in Reval and Novgorod; cloth and alum in Lübeck and Danzig. (Dollinger, 1970, 173-176). In 1422, Hildebrand was arrested and imprisoned for debt. Ruined and embittered against his relatives, he returned to Lübeck, where he died a short time later (Dollinger, 1970, 173-176). Sievert: return in Lübeck in 1418, he bought investment property, a share in a salt mine at Oldesloe, and made a number of profitable business deals, in particular by joining the monopolistic guild of the rosary-makers. Admitted to the patrician circle society in 1431 (Dollinger, 1970, 173-176). Sivert had to leave Lubeck for Cologne in 1408 (Irsigler, 1985, 84-85). Partners in the Venedische Gesellschaft: Hartwig Krakau with Martin Ossembrugge and Tideman Brekelvelde, the last in Lubeck; Hans van Minden, Herman Platenschleger and Claus Gronhagen, a Lubeck-Luneburg partnership; Hildebrand and	

							Sivert Veckinchusen. (Irsigler, 1985, 85). After his return to Lubeck in 1419, new economic and social rise of Sivert: purchase of land, participates in a monopoly company in trade of amber and rosaries from 1424, participation in saline of Oldesloe in 1430, and membership of the Lubeck Zirkelgesellschaft, springboard to the Rat (Irsigler, 1985, 91). In Bruges, Hildebrand hoped to come to terms with his creditors, counting on the support of his Lubeck connections (Irsigler, 1985, 93). In autumn 1424, Hildebrand managed to get his fierced creditor Joris Spinghel imprisoned himself. From then, support from relatives and friends in Lubeck but especially from elsewhere became bigger again (Irsigler, 1985, 97-98). On 14 or 15 April 1425, Hildebrand free again. He remains in Bruges until May 1426, where he starts trading again to be able to repay his friends in Bruges. He returns to Lubeck in May 1426, where he died in July (Irsigler, 1985, 98). Sivert Veckinchusen to Lubeck in 1400-1408. Hildebrand in Lubeck in 1400-1402 (according to Mertens, 1996, 56: 1399-1401. Hildebrand also became citizen of Lübeck). Sivert had to flee to Cologne from 1408 to 1416. Sivert went back to Lubeck in 1416. In 1408-1416 contacts with Lubeck via members of Venedische Gesellschaft. Ca. 1416 Sivert back to Lubeck. In 1418 and 1421, Hildebrand traveled to his family in Lubeck (Seifert). In 1425, Hildebrand back to Lübeck, where he died in 1426 (Mertens, 1996, 56). Drude Veckinchusen married twice, with members of the Lubecker families Vyncke and Woesten. Her sons became long-time partners of Sivert and Hildebrand. Around 1400, Hildebrand married off his daughter Talleke, with Peter van dem Damme from a Lubecker patriciate family, who later settled in Bruges. Sivert and Hildebrand both obtained citizenship in Lubeck (Irsigler, 1985, 81). Sivert's wife Lyseke probably came from a Lubecker merchant family. Before 1400, Sivert settled with his wife in Lubeck (Irsigler, 1985, 80). After a dispute with his father in law ca. 1399, Hildebrand leaves Riga and goes with his wife to Lubeck, until he settles in Bruges in 1402 (Irsigler, 1985, 81). Early 15th c.: Sivert develops connections (putting-out system) with the Lubecker silk workers guild (Irsigler, 1985, 82). Sivert had to leave Lubeck in 1408 because he was a supporter of the old Patriciate that lost power in 1408. He went to Cologne. As a result, the Veckinchusen lost a	

							very important link in the Hanseatic tradenetwork. For many years, the Veckinchusen had no adequate presence in Lubeck. Sivert could not use his capital and stocks of goods in Lubeck any more (Irsigler, 1985, 84-85). After Sivert's wife left Lubeck end 1409, Hans van Minden represented Sivert in Lubeck (Irsigler, 1985, 87). The old patriciate in Lubeck is restored in 1416, but Sivert only returned to Lubeck three years later: first he had to liquidate the current business, and in 1418, his wife became ill and died in October. Return to Lubeck only in 1419 (Irsigler, 1985, 90-91). In 1420/21 Sivert married the Lubecker Mette van Lune. However, in 1421, Sivert was most of the time in Cologne again (Irsigler, 1985, 91). In 1418, Hildebrand temporarily back to Lubeck, where he left his wife and kids, before returning to Bruges (Irsigler, 1985, 92). In Spring 1421, Hildebrand stays at the Antwerp Pinkster fair to flee the Bruges creditors. In June he went to Lubeck, in July to Cologne, and then back to Lubeck, returning to Bruges in autumn 1421 via Cologne and Antwerp on the request of his Bruges innkeeper Jakob Schotteler (Irsigler, 1985, 92-93). Peter van den Damme, married to Hildebrand's daughter Talleke, lived in Bruges and supported Hildebrand in 1424 (Irsigler, 1985, 97). On 14 or 15 April 1425, Hildebrand free again. He remains in Bruges until May 1426, where he starts trading again to be able to repay his friends in Bruges. He returns to Lubeck in May 1426, where he died in July (Irsigler, 1985, 98). Partners of Venedische Gesellschaft in Lubeck: Hartwig Krakau, Martin Ossembrugge, Tideman Brekelvelde. (Seifert, 2000, 49). Headquarters (1400-1408). Sievert in Lubeck from 1400 to 1408, in overall charge of the operations (Spufford, 2002, 336). Hildebrand in Lübeck in 1399-1401 (Mertens, 1996, 56). Trade especially with Danzig, Bruges and Lübeck (Mertens, 1996, 57). After Bruges, Lübeck and Danzig were the most important centres for the trade of Hildebrand Veckinchusen, according to the account books. (Lesnikov, 1973, xiv-xv). The leading role in the business activities in which Hildebrand Veckinchusen participated was played by a group of merchants in Lübeck. (Lesnikov, 1973, xvi).	
Cologne		2 ~~**8**~~ ***7*** 3	2 **4** ***3*** 2	1 ~~**2**~~ ***2*** 2	0 ~~**1**~~ ***1*** 1	before 1408 1408-1419 after 1419	Sievert Veckinchusen resided several years in Cologne. (Irsigler, 1973, 303). In 1409, Sievert Veckinchusen went to Cologne, where he obtained citizenship in 1411. The first years in Cologne were very hard for Sievert, since he was not able to get a hold of his capital in Lübeck. (305).	Murray, 2005, 244

							Nevertheless, he managed to obtain credit from merchants from Dortmund. (306). In 1414, Sievert gave up his citizenship of Cologne. He remained in Cologne until 1419. (306). Heinrich Slyper was a partner of the Veckinchusen in the Venedig-Gesellschaft in Cologne. (306). Business connection of Hildebrand Veckinchusen in Cologne was his brother Sievert. (307). Sale of furs, wax, fish and amber rosaries (purchased in Lübeck) in Bruges, Cologne and Frankfurt am Main ca. 1418-19. Sales in Cologne were not a success: the furs, wax and fish had to be sent on to Frankfurt, the fish even to Mainz, Speyer and Strasbourg. (311). Heinrich Slyper of Cologne became a partner in the Venedische Gesellschaft. (311). Sievert Veckinchusen was partner in the Venedische Gesellschaft, first in Lübeck, later in Cologne. (311). Heinrich Slyper travelled regularly for the Venedische Gesellschaft. (312). Several goods were sent by Sievert in Lübeck to Hildebrand in Bruges via Cologne (period before the Venedische Gesellschaft). (Lesnikov, 1974, 43). In the Venedische Gesellschaft, the partners in Lübeck and Cologne played a more central role than Hildebrand in Bruges. (Lesnikov, 1974, 44). Sievert set up in Lübeck around 1400, left the town from 1408 to 1418 due to revolt against the patriciate, and lived in Cologne for 10 years. Returned to Lübeck in 1418 and remained there until his death in 1433. (Dollinger, 1970, 173-176). Sivert had to leave Lubeck for Cologne in 1408 (Irsigler, 1985, 84-85). Partners in the Venedische Gesellschaft: Hildebrand and Sivert Veckinchusen; later new members were added: Heinrich Slyper, member of the Rat of Cologne, who invested 200 M. lub. (Irsigler, 1985, 85). Slyper died between 1411 and 1415/16. (Irsigler, 1985, 86). Contacts through the family of Hildebrand's first wife in Cologne. In 1408-1416: Sivert Veckinchusen in Cologne. In 1421: Hildebrand traveled to Cologne. (Seifert, 2000, 47). In 1408, Sivert was banned from Lubeck to Cologne (Irsigler, 1985, 76). The family of Hildebrand's first wife (from Dortmund) had a strong presence in Cologne (Irsigler, 1985, 80). In 1408, Sivert left Lubeck and settled in Cologne (Irsigler, 1985, 84-85). Sivert had difficult times in Cologne. He had to build up a new business along the Cologne Rhine trade between Frankfurt and Antwerp. Trade in Cologne was determined not by arrival of fleets, but by the fixed dates of the Fairs of Brabant and Frankfurt. He had not many connections in Cologne: the Swarte	

							family, Arnd Wachendorp, who also had fled Lubeck, Heinrich Slyper. Sivert had to rent a house in Cologne. In 1409, Sivert's wife joined him in Cologne (Irsigler, 1985, 86-87). Sivert remained 8 years in Cologne. He obtained citizenship of Cologne in 1411, but gave this up in 1414. Difficulties in obtaining credit in Cologne for Sivert (Irsigler, 1985, 88). After 1420, Kornelius, the son of Sivert, was a partner of Hildebrand, operating as connection agent in Cologne and Augsburg between Venice and Bruges (Irsigler, 1985, 89). The old patriciate in Lubeck was restored in 1416, but Sivert only returned to Lubeck three years later: first he had to liquidate the current business, and in 1418, his wife became ill and died in October. Return to Lubeck only in 1419 (Irsigler, 1985, 90-91). In 1421, Sivert was most of the time in Cologne again (Irsigler, 1985, 91). In Spring 1421, Hildebrand stayed at the Antwerp Pinkster fair to flee the Bruges creditors. In June he went to Lubeck, in July to Cologne, and then back to Lubeck, returning to Bruges in autumn 1421 via Cologne and Antwerp on the request of his Bruges innkeeper Jakob Schotteler (Irsigler, 1985, 92-93). Heinrich Slyper (junior partner), joined later. Sivert Veckinchusen since 1408 (had to flee from Lubeck) (Seifert, 2000, 49). Sievert in Cologne by 1418 (Spufford, 2002, 337). Data about the trade of Hildebrand Veckinchusen with Cologne in the account books are limited to a short period. (Lesnikov, 1973, xvi).	
Danzig		6	3	2	1	>1403-1419<	In 1417, Hildebrand Veckinchusen drew for large amounts bills of exchange on his business friends in Hamburg, Lübeck, Danzig and London. (Irsigler, 1973, 308). In 1419, the Veckinchusen had connections with the Danzig merchant Ludeke von der Heyden. (Maschke, 1970, 98). Gerwin Marschede was a correspondent of Hildebrand Veckinchusen in Danzig in 1417. (Maschke, 1970, 101). In 1403-06, Hildebrand and Sievert concluded partnership agreements with business friends in Danzig, Riga and Dorpat. (Lesnikov, 1974, 41). In 1403, a partnership agreement between Hildebrand and Sievert with the company of the Danzig merchants Gosschalk von den Bokele and Ludwig Buggendal. (Lesnikov, 1974, 41-42, 46). Unfavourable state of affairs in the 2nd decade of the 15th c.: difficulties of selling the goods, many complaints in the letters of the Veckinchusen: furs and amber in Venice; Russian wax and Norwegian fish in Frankfurt, which the clerks had to try and sell further afield in Mainz and Strasbourg; southern fruits	

							and spices in Reval and Novgorod; cloth and alum in Lübeck and Danzig. (Dollinger, 1970, 173-176). Sold cloth in Danzig (Spufford, 2002, 336). Trade especially with Danzig, Bruges and Lübeck (Mertens, 1996, 57). From 1419, Sievert limited his trade largely to the traditional hanseatic trade with England, Flanders, Prussia and Livonia. (307). After Bruges, Lübeck and Danzig were the most important centres for the trade of Hildebrand Veckinchusen, according to the account books. (Lesnikov, 1973, xiv-xv).	
Dorpat		6	3	2	1	>1400-1412<	Before 1385, Caesar, brother of Hildebrand and Sievert Veckinchusen, perhaps resided in Dorpat. (Irsigler, 1973, 304). In the 14th century, merchants with the name Veckinchusen can be found in many Hanseatic cities, such as Lübeck, Dortmund, Soest, Bruges, Riga, Reval and Dorpat. (304). Ludwig, brother of Hildebrand and Sievert, was a clergyman in Dorpat. (305). Dedeken, sister of Hildebrand and Sievert Veckinchusen, married Hildebrand van den Bokel of Dorpat. (305). Hildebrand, son of Hildebrand Veckinchusen, became member of the council of Dorpat. (305). From 1419, Sievert limited his trade largely to the traditional hanseatic trade with England, Flanders, Prussia and Livonia. (307). Business connection of Hildebrand Veckinchusen in Dorpat was a brother-in-law. (307). In 1400, Hildebrand sent Flemish cloth from Bruges to Livonia. With the returns of the sales, Hildebrand van den Bokel, brother-in-law in Dorpat, purchased furs which were sent to Hildebrand Veckinchusen via Lübeck. (310). In 1406, a company was founded between the Veckinchusen and the children of Johann Woestens in Bruges, and Heinrich Tyte in Livonia (Dorpat), which existed until 1412. The capital amounted to 200 lb. grote. This was a small or medium sized company, but it was not the only one in which the Veckinchusen were involved. The company made a small loss in the end. Hildebrand already conducted business with Heinrich Tyte from 1404. (310). In 1403-06, Hildebrand and Sievert concluded partnership agreements with business friends in Danzig, Riga and Dorpat. In 1406, a partnership agreement was established with Heinrich Tyte and the children of Woesten. (Lesnikov, 1974, 41-43, 46). 1406: partnership with Heinrich Tyte of Reval and Woesten of Dorpat, with a capital of 100 pound groschen. In 1412, loss of 48 pounds. (Dollinger, 1970, 173-176). In Dorpat, Ludwig Veckinchusen, brother of Hildebrand, a clergyman, and his sister Dedeke, married to Hildebrand van den Bokel. Their son Johann became a long-time	Murray, 2005, 244

							partner of Hildebrand and Sivert (Irsigler, 1985, 81). Company with Heinrich Tyte from Reval and Woesten from Dorpat in 1406-1412: Start capital of 100 pounds grote; loss of 48 pounds (Mertens, 1996, 57). Importance of Livonian trade of Hildebrand Veckinchusen according to the account books of Hildebrand. (Lesnikov, 1973, xiv-xv).	
Reval		6	3	2	1	>1399-1424<	A certain Bertold Veckinchusen was member of the town council of Reval in 1342-1353, and later became burgomaster. (Irsigler, 1973, 304). In the 14th century, merchants with the name Veckinchusen can be found in many Hanseatic cities, such as Lübeck, Dortmund, Soest, Bruges, Riga, Reval and Dorpat. (304). From 1419, Sievert limited his trade largely to the traditional hanseatic trade with England, Flanders, Prussia and Livonia. (307). In 1399, Hildebrand made a voyage to Novgorod, where he sold cloth of Ypres and purchased furs. The furs were sent to Lübeck via a business friend in Reval. (310). Export by the Veckinchusen to Reval. (310). A third brother, Caesar, became councillor and burgomaster of Reval. It was in Reval that Hildebrand and Sievert probably started their business. (Dollinger, 1970, 173-176). 1406: partnership with Heinrich Tyte of Reval and Woesten of Dorpat, with a capital of 100 pound groschen. In 1412, loss of 48 pounds. (Dollinger, 1970, 173-176). Unfavourable state of affairs in the 2nd decade of the 15th c.: difficulties of selling the goods, many complaints in the letters of the Veckinchusen: furs and amber in Venice; Russian wax and Norwegian fish in Frankfurt, which the clerks had to try and sell further afield in Mainz and Strasbourg; southern fruits and spices in Reval and Novgorod; cloth and alum in Lübeck and Danzig. (Dollinger, 1970, 173-176). In Reval, Hans Veckinchusen, brother of Hildebrand, and Hans's son Caesar (Irsigler, 1985, 81). In 1424, Hildebrand van den Bokel, brother in law of Hildebrand, in Reval. Hanseke, son of Hildebrand, sent to him in 1424 (Irsigler, 1985, 96-97). Hildebrand Veckinchusen imported furs from Reval to Bruges, and sent them to Venice (Spufford, 2002, 337). Headquarters (end 14th c.). Hildebrand and Sievert founded a firm at Reval at the end of the 14th c. Principal business: export of furs. Diversification of the business: also export of Russian wax and furs from Reval, in return importing cloth, salt and spices. When Hildebrand went to Bruges and Sievert to Lubeck, a new partner was installed in Reval (Spufford, 2002, 336). Members of the Veckinchusen family became members of the town	Murray, 2005, 244

							council of Riga and Reval in the 14th c. (Mertens, 1996, 55). Company with Heinrich Tyte from Reval and Woesten from Dorpat in 1406-1412: Start capital of 100 pounds grote; loss of 48 pounds (Mertens, 1996, 57). Importance of Livonian trade of Hildebrand Veckinchusen according to the account books of Hildebrand. (Lesnikov, 1973, xiv-xv). One of Hildebrand's brothers became a member of the "Rat" in Reval. (Lesnikov, 1973, xxii).	
Riga		6	3	2	1	>1398-1415<	Caesar, brother of Hildebrand and Sievert Veckinchusen became member of the council of Riga in 1385, and burgomaster in 1402-1408. (Irsigler, 1973, 304-305). In the 14th century, merchants with the name Veckinchusen can be found in many Hanseatic cities, such as Lübeck, Dortmund, Soest, Bruges, Riga, Reval and Dorpat. (304). Hildebrand Veckinchusen married with Margarete Witte from Riga in 1398 (his second marriage). (305). In 1398, Hildebrand married Margarete, daughter of the rich Riga merchant Engelbrecht Witte. For a short while, Hildebrand resided in Riga where he was active in the firm of his father-in-law. (305). From 1419, Sievert limited his trade largely to the traditional hanseatic trade with England, Flanders, Prussia and Livonia. (307). Business connections of Hildebrand Veckinchusen in Riga were his brother Caesar and his father-in-law Witte. (307). Export by the Veckinchusen to Riga. Associates of the Veckinchusen in Riga were the brothers Stenhus. (310). In 1403-06, Hildebrand and Sievert concluded partnership agreements with business friends in Danzig, Riga and Dorpat. In Riga, a partnership agreement was established with Hartwig Stenhus and Gottschalk Stenhus in 1405. (Lesnikov, 1974, 41-43, 46). Hildebrand first married to the sister of a burgomaster of Dortmund, and in 1398 to the daughter of a rich Riga merchant. (Dollinger, 1970, 173-176). Caesar Veckinchusen, brother, in Riga. Family of Hildebrand's second wife in Riga: Engelbrecht de Witte (Seifert, 2000). Members of the Veckinchusen family became members of the town council of Riga and Reval in the 14th c. (Mertens, 1996, 55). Hildebrand in Riga in 1398-1399 (Mertens, 1996, 56). Caesar Veckinchusen, brother of Sivert and Hildebrand, lived in Riga, where he was member of the Rat since 1385 and burgomaster in 1402-1408. In 1398, the widowed Hildebrand remarried with Margarete Witte from a Riga family (Irsigler, 1985, 80-81). In 1398-ca.	Lesnikov, 1973, xxii; Murray, 2005, 244

							1399, Hildebrand stayed in the house of his father in law Engelbrecht Witte (Irsigler, 1985, 81). Engelbrecht Witte, father in law of Hildebrand had invested apparently more than 1000 m. in the trade with Hildebrand. Despite the dispute over money, trade between Hildebrand and Engelbrecht until death of Engelbrecht (after 1406). E.g. Engelbrecht sent several shipments of wax and furs to Hildebrand (Irsigler, 1985, 83-84). By 1415, the conflict between Hildebrand and his Riga family is renewed: negative effects on Hildebrand's Livonian connections (Irsigler, 1985, 90). Importance of Livonian trade of Hildebrand Veckinchusen according to the account books of Hildebrand. (Lesnikov, 1973, xiv-xv).	
Venice		**6** 4	**3** 2	**2** 2	**1** 1	1407-1417> >1417-1426<	Trade with Venice already before Sievert went to Cologne in 1409. This Venetian trade was continued after Sievert went to Cologne. The Venetian business resulted in losses however. (Irsigler, 1973, 306). Sievert remained involved in Venetian trade after his return to Lübeck in 1419, although on a smaller scale. (307). Representative of Sievert in Venice in 1418-1424 was his son Kornelius. (307). Business connection of Hildebrand Veckinchusen in Venice from 1418 was his nephew Kornelius. (307). Hildebrand was a member of the Venedische Gesellschaft, which was not very successful however, and had to be given up. (307). In 1417, Hildebrand sent for several 1,000s of ducats cloth to Venice, which was not successful. (307). The trade with Venice became even more difficult after the prohibition on trade with Venice by emperor Sigismund in 1417. (308). Export of amber rosaries to Venice ca. 1418-19. (Irsigler, 1973, 310). Venedische Gesellschaft founded in 1407, esp. by Hildebrand in Bruges and Peter Karbow the elder in Venice. (311). Venice trade was continued by Sievert after the end of the Venedische Gesellschaft. In 1418, he traded with his son Kornelius in Venice. (312). Venedische Gesellschaft was established for the trade between Bruges, Lübeck and Venice. (Lesnikov, 1974, 43). Partner of the Venedische Gesellschaft in Venice was Peter Karbow. (Lesnikov, 1974, 45). Peter Karbow was a hanseatic merchant who had probably gone to Venice only recently. (Lesnikov, 1974, 45). In 1408-1409, Hildebrand effected five transfers in a year, amounting to 3,979 ducats or 576 pounds groschen, in favour of his partner Karbow in Venice (Dollinger, 1970, 165-166). Venetian company, equally unsuccessful. Set up in 1407, capital of 5,000 marks, divided into 5 shares.	

							Chief partners were Hildebrand Veckinchusen in Bruges and Peter Karbow in Venice. (Dollinger, 1970, 173-176). Unfavourable state of affairs in the 2nd decade of the 15th c.: difficulties of selling the goods, many complaints in the letters of the Veckinchusen: furs and amber in Venice; Russian wax and Norwegian fish in Frankfurt, which the clerks had to try and sell further afield in Mainz and Strasbourg; southern fruits and spices in Reval and Novgorod; cloth and alum in Lübeck and Danzig. (Dollinger, 1970, 173-176). Partners in the Venedische Gesellschaft: Peter Karbow and his son Peter Karbow in Venice. (Irsigler, 1985, 85). After the dissolution of the Venedische Gesellschaft, out of which Hildebrand escaped relatively well, he didn't want to give up the trade with Venice. (Irsigler, 1985, 91-92). After 1419, trade with Venice in difficulties due to the blockade of Emperor Sigismund. (Irsigler, 1985, 92). Contact with the Peter Karbows in Venice from 1408 to 1415. Afterwards he kept on doing business with Venice. (Seifert, 2000, 49-50). After 1420, Kornelius, the son of Sivert, is a partner of Hildebrand, operating as connection agent in Cologne and Augsburg between Venice and Bruges (Irsigler, 1985, 89). In 1426, Kornelius Veckinchusen himself in Venice (Irsigler, 1985, 89 n. 63). Partners: Peter Karbow (father and son). (Seifert, 2000, 49). The Venedische Gesellschaft in Venice sent ginger, nutmeg, mace and cloves, cotton and silk to Hildebrand in exchange for furs sent by Hildebrand from Bruges (Spufford, 2002, 337). Trade of the Veckinchusen (through the Venedische Gesellschaft) with Venice according to the account books of Hildebrand Veckinchusen. (Lesnikov, 1973, xiii, xv-xvi).	
Lüneburg		5	3	2	1	1407-1417>	Conflict between the partners of the Venedische Gesellschaft resulted in a lawsuit (arbitration) in Lüneburg in 1412, which was still going on in 1415. (Irsigler, 1973, 312). Partners in the Venedische Gesellschaft: Hans van Minden, Herman Platenschleger and Claus Gronhagen, a Lubeck-Luneburg partnership. (Irsigler, 1985, 85). Partners: Hans van Minden, Hermann Platenschleger, Claus Gronhagen (Lubeck-Luneburg) (Seifert, 2000, 49).	
Aachen		3	2	2	1	1424	Jost, son of Hildebrand and Margarete, was sent as apprentice to the goldsmith Meister Wilhelm van Bergen in Aachen in 1424 (Irsigler, 1985, 82 n. 31). The Prior of Aachen supported Hildebrand financially in 1424 (Irsigler, 1985, 97).	

Antwerp		3	2	2	1	>1421-1422<	In 1421, Hildebrand wanted to make use of the fairs of Antwerp to flee from his creditors, but in the end he withdrew from this plan. (Irsigler, 1973, 308). In Bruges, Hildebrand had contacts with brokers such as Jacop van den Walle (furs, payments in Antwerp,...). (Mertens, 1996, 58). Payments and receipts in Antwerp via the Bruges broker Jacop van den Walle (Mertens, 1996, 58). Furs sold in Bruges to Joris Storms from Ghent, partly paid in Bruges, partly in Antwerp. Contact in Antwerp was Wouter van Espemde, innkeeper of "De Gans" on the Koornmarkt of Antwerp (Mertens, 1996, 58-59). Hildebrand in Antwerp in 1422, probably to avoid difficulties in Bruges (Mertens, 1996, 60). In Spring 1421, Hildebrand stayed at the Antwerp Pinkster fair to flee the Bruges creditors. In June he went to Lubeck, in July to Cologne, and then back to Lubeck, returning to Bruges in autumn 1421 via Cologne and Antwerp on the request of his Bruges innkeeper Jakob Schotteler (Irsigler, 1985, 92-93). Hildebrand Veckinchusen was active at the fairs of Antwerp, Bruges, Kortrijk, Torhout, Ieper, St. Denis (Paris (?)) and Frankfurt am Main. (Lesnikov, 1973, xxv-xxvi).	
Augsburg		3	2	2	1	>1412-1420<	Sievert intended to use Augsburg as an important export market of the Venedische Gesellschaft on the overland route from Bruges via Cologne to Venice. (311). After 1420, Kornelius, the son of Sivert, was a partner of Hildebrand, operating as connection agent in Cologne and Augsburg between Venice and Bruges (Irsigler, 1985, 89). The Venedische Gesellschaft used Augsburg as a consuming market for Venetian goods, while avoiding Nurenberg and the Nurenberg merchants. Also along the Rhine furs, rosaries, and Levant goods were distributed by the Gesellschaft (Irsigler, 1985, 85). Sivert travelled to Augsburg in 1412 (Irsigler, 1985, 89). Trade with High Germany ca. 1411. (Irsigler, 1973, 306, 308).	
Austria		3	2	2	1		Connections with Austria. (Irsigler, 1973, 308).	
Bayonne		3	2	2	1		Connections with Bayonne. (Irsigler, 1973, 308). The letters of Hildebrand and Sievert show that their business relations extended not only throughout the Hanseatic zone from Novgorod to London, with the exception of Scandinavia, but also into southern Germany, Italy, northern France, Bordeaux and Bayonne. (Dollinger, 1970, 173-176). The Veckinchusen sent ships for purchase of salt to the Atlantic Coast of France and to Portugal. (Lesnikov, 1973, xvi).	

Bohemia		3	2	2	1		Connections with Bohemia. (Irsigler, 1973, 308).	
Bordeaux		3	2	2	1		Connections with Bordeaux. (Irsigler, 1973, 308). The letters of Hildebrand and Sievert show that their business relations extended not only throughout the Hanseatic zone from Novgorod to London, with the exception of Scandinavia, but also into southern Germany, Italy, northern France, Bordeaux and Bayonne. (Dollinger, 1970, 173-176). The Veckinchusen sent ships for purchase of salt to the Atlantic Coast of France and to Portugal. (Lesnikov, 1973, xvi).	
Dortmund		3	2	2	1	>1390<, >c.1409<	Perhaps, Hildebrand and Sievert Veckinchusen came originally from Dortmund. (Irsigler, 1973, 304). In the 14th century, merchants with the name Veckinchusen can be found in many Hanseatic cities, such as Lübeck, Dortmund, Soest, Bruges, Riga, Reval and Dorpat. (304). In first marriage, Hildebrand Veckinchusen married a sister of Claus Swarte, member of the town council and burgomaster of Dortmund. (304). In 1390, Hildebrand had cloth and wine at the staple in Dortmund. (304). Sievert had contacts in Dortmund ca. 1409, which provided him with credit to establish his business in Cologne. (306). Hildebrand first married to the sister of a burgomaster of Dortmund, and in 1398 to the daughter of a rich Riga merchant. (Dollinger, 1970, 173-176). Claus Swarte, brother of Hildebrand's wife was mayor and counsillor in Dortmund (Seifert, 2000, 47; Mertens, 1996, 56). First marriage of Hildebrand with the sister of Claus Swarte, a member of the Rat and Burgomaster in Dortmund (Irsigler, 1985, 80).	Murray, 2005, 244
Frankfurt am Main		3	2	2	1	c.1411, 1412, c.1418-1419	Sievert Veckinchusen vainly attempted to sell rice at the fairs of Frankfurt ca. 1411. (Irsigler, 1973, 306). Sale of furs, wax, fish and amber rosaries (purchased in Lübeck) in Bruges, Cologne and Frankfurt am Main ca. 1418-19. Sales in Cologne were not a success: the furs, wax and fish had to be sent on to Frankfurt, the fish even to Mainz, Speyer and Strasbourg. (311). Unfavourable state of affairs in the 2nd decade of the 15th c.: difficulties of selling the goods, many complaints in the letters of the Veckinchusen: furs and amber in Venice; Russian wax and Norwegian fish in Frankfurt, which the clerks had to try and sell further afield in Mainz and Strasbourg; southern fruits and spices in Reval and Novgorod; cloth and alum in Lübeck and Danzig. (Dollinger, 1970, 173-176). In 1412, Sivert had a debt to be repaid on the Frankfurter Autumn fair of 1412 (Irsigler, 1985, 89). Sold	

							Russian wax and Norwegian fish at the Frankfurt Fairs (Spufford, 2002, 336). Hildebrand Veckinchusen was active at the fairs of Antwerp, Bruges, Kortrijk, Torhout, Ieper, St. Denis (Paris (?)) and Frankfurt am Main. (Lesnikov, 1973, xxv-xxvi).	
Hamburg		3	2	2	1	c.1400, 1408, 1417	In 1417, Hildebrand Veckinchusen drew for large amounts bills of exchange on his business friends in Hamburg, Lübeck, Danzig and London. (Irsigler, 1973, 308). Ca. 1400 and in the first years of the 15th c., the Veckinchusen traded especially along the axis Novgorod – Lübeck – Hamburg – Bruges. (310). A large number of shipments by Hildebrand in Bruges to Sievert in Lübeck went via Hamburg, where their intermediary was the "Kranmeister" of Hamburg. (Lesnikov, 1974, 42). Furs and wax were sent by Sievert to Hildebrand in Bruges via Hamburg (period before the Venedische Gesellschaft). (Lesnikov, 1974, 43). Hildebrand Veckinchusen made use of bills of exchange: beginning 1408 (in little more than 2 months), he drew 9 bills of exchange for a total of 216 pounds groschen on his brother Sievert, payable at Hamburg or Lübeck. (Dollinger, 1970, 165-166).	
Ieper		3	2	2	1		Payments on the fairs of Ypres, Torhout and Mesen by Hildebrand Veckinchusen (Mertens, 1996, 59). Hildebrand Veckinchusen was active at the fairs of Antwerp, Bruges, Kortrijk, Torhout, Ieper, St. Denis (Paris (?)) and Frankfurt am Main. (Lesnikov, 1973, xxv-xxvi).	
Kortrijk		3	2	2	1		Hildebrand Veckinchusen was active at the fairs of Antwerp, Bruges, Kortrijk, Torhout, Ieper, St. Denis (Paris (?)) and Frankfurt am Main. (Lesnikov, 1973, xxv-xxvi).	
Lille		3	2	2	1		Hildebrand Veckinchusen was active at the fairs of Lille. (Lesnikov, 1973, xxx-xxxii).	
Lisbon		3	2	2	1		The Veckinchusen traded as far as Lisbon. (Lesnikov, 1973, xi). The Veckinchusen sent ships for purchase of salt to the Atlantic Coast of France and to Portugal. (Lesnikov, 1973, xvi).	
London		3	2	2	1	>1417-1418<	In 1417, Hildebrand Veckinchusen drew for large amounts bills of exchange on his business friends in Hamburg, Lübeck, Danzig and London. (Irsigler, 1973, 308). The letters of Hildebrand and Sievert show that their business relations extended not only throughout the Hanseatic zone from Novgorod to London, with the exception of Scandinavia, but also into southern Germany, Italy, northern France, Bordeaux and Bayonne. (Dollinger, 1970,	

							173-176). In 1418 two bills of exchange drawn from London. (Irsigler, 1985, 91-92). From 1419, Sievert limited his trade largely to the traditional hanseatic trade with England, Flanders, Prussia and Livonia. (307). Trade with London according to the account books of Hildebrand Veckinchusen. (Lesnikov, 1973, xiii).	
Mesen		3	2	2	1		Payments on the fairs of Ypres, Torhout and Mesen by Hildebrand Veckinchusen (Mertens, 1996, 59). Hildebrand Veckinchusen was active at the fairs of Mesen. (Lesnikov, 1973, xxx-xxxii).	
North France		3	2	2	1		Connections with the north and north western coast of France. (Irsigler, 1973, 308). The letters of Hildebrand and Sievert show that their business relations extended not only throughout the Hanseatic zone from Novgorod to London, with the exception of Scandinavia, but also into southern Germany, Italy, northern France, Bordeaux and Bayonne. (Dollinger, 1970, 173-176). The Veckinchusen sent ships for purchase of salt to the Atlantic Coast of France and to Portugal. (Lesnikov, 1973, xvi).	
Novgorod		3	2	2	1	>1399<	Connections with Novgorod. (Irsigler, 1973, 308). Ca. 1400 and in the first years of the 15th c., the Veckinchusen traded especially along the axis Novgorod – Lübeck – Hamburg – Bruges. (310). In 1399, Hildebrand made a voyage to Novgorod, where he sold cloth of Ypres and purchased furs. The furs were sent to Lübeck via a business friend in Reval. (310). The letters of Hildebrand and Sievert show that their business relations extended not only throughout the Hanseatic zone from Novgorod to London, with the exception of Scandinavia, but also into southern Germany, Italy, northern France, Bordeaux and Bayonne. (Dollinger, 1970, 173-176). Unfavourable state of affairs in the 2nd decade of the 15th c.: difficulties of selling the goods, many complaints in the letters of the Veckinchusen: furs and amber in Venice; Russian wax and Norwegian fish in Frankfurt, which the clerks had to try and sell further afield in Mainz and Strasbourg; southern fruits and spices in Reval and Novgorod; cloth and alum in Lübeck and Danzig. (Dollinger, 1970, 173-176). In 1399, Hildebrand travels with the Novgorodfahrer to Novgorod (Irsigler, 1985, 81). Sold spices in Novgorod (Spufford, 2002, 336). Trade with cities as Novgorod and Pskov according to the account books of Hildebrand Veckinchusen, but not many data about this trade. (Lesnikov, 1973, xv).	

Pskov		3	2	2	1		Export by the Veckinchusen to Pskov. (Irsigler, 1973, 310). Trade with cities as Novgorod and Pskov according to the account books of Hildebrand Veckinchusen, but not many data about this trade. (Lesnikov, 1973, xv).	
Torhout		3	2	2	1		Payments on the fairs of Ypres, Torhout and Mesen by Hildebrand Veckinchusen (Mertens, 1996, 59). Hildebrand Veckinchusen was active at the fairs of Antwerp, Bruges, Kortrijk, Torhout, Ieper, St. Denis (Paris (?)) and Frankfurt am Main. (Lesnikov, 1973, xxv-xxvi).	
Dordrecht		2	2	1	0	1490	Hildebrand Veckinchusen: Member of the Hanseatic factory in Dordrecht: bought cloth and wine. 1490. Seifert, 2000, 46 n. 5	
Mainz		2	2	1	0	c.1418-1419	Sale of furs, wax, fish and amber rosaries (purchased in Lübeck) in Bruges, Cologne and Frankfurt am Main ca. 1418-19. Sales in Cologne were not a success: the furs, wax and fish had to be sent on to Frankfurt, the fish even to Mainz, Speyer and Strasbourg. (311). Unfavourable state of affairs in the 2nd decade of the 15th c.: difficulties of selling the goods, many complaints in the letters of the Veckinchusen: furs and amber in Venice; Russian wax and Norwegian fish in Frankfurt, which the clerks had to try and sell further afield in Mainz and Strasbourg; southern fruits and spices in Reval and Novgorod; cloth and alum in Lübeck and Danzig. (Dollinger, 1970, 173-176).	
Speyer		2	2	1	0	c.1418-1419	Sale of furs, wax, fish and amber rosaries (purchased in Lübeck) in Bruges, Cologne and Frankfurt am Main ca. 1418-19. Sales in Cologne were not a success: the furs, wax and fish had to be sent on to Frankfurt, the fish even to Mainz, Speyer and Strasbourg. (311).	
Stralsund		2	2	1	0	1401	The company Hildebrand-Sievert exported Flemish cloth from Bruges to Lübeck, where it was sold by Sievert in Lübeck and Stralsund (1401). (Lesnikov, 1974, 41).	
Strasbourg		2	2	1	0	c.1411, c.1418-1419	Sievert Veckinchusen vainly attempted to sell dried cod in Cologne or Strasbourg ca. 1411. (Irsigler, 1973, 306). Sale of furs, wax, fish and amber rosaries (purchased in Lübeck) in Bruges, Cologne and Frankfurt am Main ca. 1418-19. Sales in Cologne were not a success: the furs, wax and fish had to be sent on to Frankfurt, the fish even to Mainz, Speyer and Strasbourg. (311). Unfavourable state of affairs in the 2nd decade of the 15th c.: difficulties of selling the goods, many complaints in the letters of the Veckinchusen: furs and amber in Venice; Russian wax and Norwegian fish in Frankfurt, which the clerks had to try and sell further afield in Mainz and	

							Strasbourg; southern fruits and spices in Reval and Novgorod; cloth and alum in Lübeck and Danzig. (Dollinger, 1970, 173-176).	
Bad Oldesloe	M	~~2~~ *1*	~~2~~ *1*	~~1~~ *1*	~~0~~ *0*	from 1430	In 1430, Sievert obtained shares in the salt production of Oldesloe. (306-307). Sievert: return in Lübeck in 1418, he bought investment property, a share in a salt mine at Oldesloe, and made a number of profitable business deals, in particular by joining the monopolistic guild of the rosary-makers. (Dollinger, 1970, 173-176). After his return to Lubeck in 1419, new economic and social rise of Sivert: purchase of land, participates in a monopoly company in trade of and rosaries from 1424, participation in saline of Oldesloe in 1430, and membership of the Lubeck Zirkelgesellschaft, springboard to the Rat (Irsigler, 1985, 91).	
Paris		1	1	1	0		Hildebrand Veckinchusen was active at the fairs of Antwerp, Bruges, Kortrijk, Torhout, Ieper, St. Denis (Paris (?)) and Frankfurt am Main. (Lesnikov, 1973, xxv-xxvi).	
Radevormwald		1	1	1	0		Gottschalk Veckinchusen, brother of Hildebrand and Sievert Veckinchusen, acknowledged the partition of the inheritance before the town council of Radevormwald, which might have been the original place of residence of the parents of the Veckinchusen brothers. (Irsigler, 1973, 304-305).	
Scandinavia		1	1	1	0		Weak connections with Scandinavia. (Irsigler, 1973, 308). The letters of Hildebrand and Sievert show that their business relations extended not only throughout the Hanseatic zone from Novgorod to London, with the exception of Scandinavia, but also into southern Germany, Italy, northern France, Bordeaux and Bayonne. (Dollinger, 1970, 173-176).	
Soest		1	1	1	0		In the 14th century, merchants with the name Veckinchusen can be found in many Hanseatic cities, such as Lübeck, Dortmund, Soest, Bruges, Riga, Reval and Dorpat. (Irsigler, 1973, 304).	

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JOHANN WITTENBORG, ca. 1345 – 1363

Hermann Wittenborg was married to Margarete Grope. Their son was Johann Wittenborg, married with Elisabeth von Bardewik. (Mollwo, 1901, xxxi). Johann Wittenborg became member of the town council of Lübeck in 1350, and burgomaster in 1360. (Mollwo, 1901, xxxii). Johann Wittenborg was a son of Hermann. (lxiv).
Hermann Wittenborg (founder, member of a landed patrician family of Lübeck); Johann Wittenborg, son of Hermann (became burgomaster of Lubeck in 1360. Executed in 1363 because the fleet he had commanded had been defeated by Waldemar IV of Denmark) (Spufford, 2002, 335).

Lübeck company. (Spufford, 2002, 335). Johann Wittenborg was burgomaster of Lübeck in mid 14th c. (Dollinger, 1970, 160). Johann Wittenborg typifies the great Lübeck merchant, member of a patrician family, great property-owner, politician of first rank in his city (Dollinger, 1970, 169). Politician: in 1350, he became member of the council. Soon after, important role in diplomacy. In 1358, he represented Lübeck at the Hanseatic diet in Rostock. Became burgomaster in 1360. Supreme commander of the Hanseatic fleet dispatched in 1362 into the Sound for the war with Denmark: he committed the fatal blunder of landing troops to lay siege to Hälsingborg, allowing Valdemar IV to surpirse his fleet and capture 12 of his cogs. Arrested on his return to Lübeck, condemned to death by the council of Lübeck, beheaded in the market square (Dollinger, 1970, 169-171).

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Source material:

An account book of the Wittenborg has been preserved, containing records concerning the business of Hermann Wittenborg, and especially of his son Johann Wittenborg. (Mollwo, 1901, xxxiv-xxxv). Account books for 1338-1359 survive (Spufford, 2002, 335). Account-book, begun by Johann's father, also a merchant, in 1338. The account book covers the years 1346-1359. (Dollinger, 1970, 169-171). The preserved account book of Johann Wittenborg was definitely not the only account book he kept at that time: that is clear when the account book is compared to the records of Johann Wittenborg in the Schuldniederstadtbuch of Lübeck. (Rörig, 1971b, 219). Contains entries of Hermann Wittenborg from 1329, but mostly from Johann Wittenborg, 1346-1360. (Chroust & Proesler, 1934, xxxv-xxxvi; Eikenberg, 1976, 12).

Size: Medium-sized

The turnover of cloth, grain, malt, furs and wax in 1357 and 1358 amounted to 6,776 mark lub. (Mollwo, 1901, lxix). Credit purchases of cloth, grain, malt, furs and wax amounted to 6,776 marks in 1357-8. (Dollinger, 1970, 169-171). Johann Wittenborg typifies the great Lübeck merchant, member of a patrician family, great property-owner, politician of first rank in his city (Dollinger, 1970, 169).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Johann Wittenborg was a wholesale merchant. (Mollwo, 1901, xlix). Johann Wittenborg was a wholesale merchant, trading in horses, sheep, cattle, calfs, pigs, rye, wheat, barley, hay, wood, fish, butter, wine, spices, wax, beer, malt, wool, linen, cloth, gold, silver, iron, furs. Most important were malt, barley, furs and cloth. (Mollwo, 1901, lxvi). Large trade in malt and barley. (lxxi). Use of the malt in his own brewery and also sold to other brewers. (lxxi). Large wax trade. (lxxiii). Trade in furs (Novgorod, Livonia), … (Spufford, 2002, 335). Dealt principally in cloth, usually from Flanders, but also from Valenciennes and Louvain. Entries for 32 purchases of cloth: 308 pieces, value of 2,620 Lübeck marks. Furs, bought in Livonia, and dispatched to Flanders, turnover varied from year to year, maximum of 1,300 marks in 1358. In Livonia, he also bought wax for 727 marks in 1358. In Danzig, he bought large quantities of barley and malt to be used in the brewing of beer, which he then exported to Skania. Credit purchases of cloth, grain, malt, furs and wax amounted to 6,776 marks in 1357-8. (Dollinger, 1970, 169-171). In the account book of Johann Wittenborg, mention of 22 sales of cloth (308 1/2 pieces of cloth), on average 14 pieces of cloth sold during each transaction. High quality Flemish cloth. (Rörig, 1971b, 237). Furs, cloth, wax,…
- Finance: Active money trade: shipments of cash or bullion to make payments. Sometimes also use of bills of exchange. (Mollwo, 1901, lxvii). A certain Mako Wittenborg was money-changer in Lübeck. He also traded in partnership with other merchants, e.g. with Hermann Wittenborg. (Mollwo, 1901, lxvii). Investment in real-estate and fixed-interest securities (Spufford, 2002, 335). Striking is the frequent dispatch of silver bullion to settle outstanding accounts, particularly to Dorpat and Livonia, but also to Danzig and even Bruges, where Laurent van der Burse received commission from him amounting to nearly 200 Flemish guilders. Wittenborg also dealt largely in property. In the last years of his life he bought a great many annuities. According to his will, he owned four houses in Lübeck. (Dollinger, 1970, 169-171).

- Industry: Johann Wittenborg had a brewery in the “Beckergrube”, which was managed by Johann Eversbach. (Mollwo, 1901, lxxi). Wittenborg owned a brewery in Lübeck. (Dollinger, 1970, 169-171).

Network of Johann Wittenborg:

Johann Wittenborg conducted trade in *Gesellschaft* (company) with other merchants. Johann Wittenborg’s network spanned a large area, he made use of the service of other merchants. (Mollwo, 1901, xlix). Johann Wittenborg operated in the framework of companies with two or more partners, as well as of *sendeve*. These hanseatic companies were short term companies, established for single business ventures. (Mollwo, 1901, l). Typical form of company used by Johann Wittenborg was the wedderlegginge, whereby two or more partners bring a capital together, with which only one partner carries out business. Hereby Johann Wittenborg was the passive partner. (li-liii). Also use of the sendeve: an agreement between a merchant (Johann Wittenborg) and an employee or Diener (sendeve is a combination between commission and factorship). (lv-lviii, lxi). Johann Wittenborg regularly made use of the services of Bertold Wittenborg, a younger relative, or of his brother-in-law Arnold von Bardewik. They traded especially in sendeve for Wittenborg, although sometimes also a wedderlegginge was concluded. (lviii). Most of the sendeve concluded by Johann Wittenborg were concluded with relatives, who were sent abroad with merchandise of Wittenborg. (lxi). The representatives sent abroad in sendeve were often young men, learning the business. (lxiii). Johann Wittenborg made more frequently use of wedderlegginge than of sendeve, especially in the later period of his business activity, when he often concluded wedderlegginge with his previous sendeve-employees. Especially the experienced Diener were attracted to continued cooperation through the wedderlegginge. (lxiv). Johann Wittenborg was often involved in 5 or 6 partnerships at the same time. Over the years, he concluded partnerships with the same persons again and again, e.g. with Arnold von Bardewik (probably his brother-in-law), Bertold Wittenborg, Johann Laurensius, Johann Wullenpund, Wickedes, etc. All of these were Lübeck merchants. (lxiv). As a member of the council of Lübeck, Johann Wittenborg could only exceptionally leave Lübeck for longer periods. He made use of partners and attorneys for his business abroad. (lxx). A large number of clerks and associates were active in his affairs, of whom at least two were related to him. (Dollinger, 1970, 169-171).

Johann Wittenborg traded with the north and the east, and with Flanders in the west. (Mollwo, 1901, lxvi-lxvii). In the early period, dominance of trade with Flanders, in the latter period dominance of trade with the east, partly as a result of the blockade against Flanders in 1358-1361. (lxvi-lxvii). Large-scale business from Flanders and England in the west to Scania in the north, and Prussia, Livonia and Novgorod in the east. (Spufford, 2002, 335). Wittenborg’s business interests extended to almost every corner of the Hanseatic world: Flanders, England, Skania, Prussia, Livonia and Russia. (Dollinger, 1970, 169-171).

Table A..1. Network of Johann Wittenborg, 1346 – 1360

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Lübeck		8	4	3	1	>1346-1363	Headquarters. Wedderlegginge between Johann Wittenborg and Johann Woltvogel in Lübeck. (Mollwo, 1901, lxiii n. 5). Hermann Wittenborg,	

							father of Johann, only traded in Lübeck. (lxiv). In Lübeck, goods purchased in Danzig were often sold to Flemish merchants, or to Lübeck merchants trading with Flanders. (lxviii). Lübeck company. (Spufford, 2002, 335). Johann Wittenborg was burgomaster of Lübeck in mid 14th c. (Dollinger, 1970, 160). All merchandise bought by Wittenborg was sold in Lübeck. Wittenborg neither shipped Flemish cloth to Livonia, nor wax to Bruges. His trade centred on Lübeck, rather than on the great Hanseatic routes. (Dollinger, 1970, 169-171).	
Bruges		4	2	2	1	>1345-1358<	In 1351 Henneke Laurencius was sent with money to Bruges in sendeve. (Mollwo, 1901, lix). Johann Wittenborg had representatives abroad who traded for him in sendeve in Flanders. (Mollwo, 1901, lxii). Bertold Wittenborg, a younger relative of Johann, was active for Johann Wittenborg in Bruges, Schonen, England and Prussia (Danzig). (Mollwo, 1901, lxii-lxiii). Johann Laurensius traded in sendeve for Johann Wittenborg in Bruges, Prussia and Stralsund. (Mollwo, 1901, lxii-lxiii). Johann Witte was sent in sendeve to Laurens van der Borse (also in sendeve) in Bruges. (lxiii). Henneke Laurencius (for Wittenborg) and Bertram von Rostock (later Ghereke Woge) (for Woltvogel) operated in sendeve for the wedderlegginge of Johann Wittenborg and Johann Woltvogel in Flanders. (Mollwo, 1901, lxiii n. 5). Johann Wittenborg himself went to Flanders. (lxiv). Laurencius de Bursa, citizen of Bruges, operated in sendeve for Johann Wittenborg. (lxv). Dominance of trade with Flanders in the early period, from 1345. In the latter period less important, partly as a result of the blockade against Flanders in 1358-1361. (lxvi-lxvii). Trade of Johann Wittenborg with Flanders, England, Schonen, Prussia and Russia. (lxix). In Flanders, purchases of cloth in Diksmuide, Aardenburg, Poperinge, Bruges, Kortrijk, Valenciennes, Leuven and Wervik. (Mollwo, 1901, lxx). Albrecht Woltfogel was a partner of Wittenborg in Flanders. During the blockade of 1358-1361 he went to the new Kontor in Dordrecht. (Mollwo, 1901, lxxiii). Trade with Bruges and Flanders. (passim). Large-scale business from Flanders and England in the west to Scania in the north, and Prussia, Livonia and Novgorod in the east. (Spufford, 2002, 335). Wittenborg's business interests extended to almost every corner of the Hanseatic world: Flanders, England, Skania, Prussia, Livonia and Russia. (Dollinger, 1970, 169-171). Striking is the frequent dispatch of silver bullion to settle outstanding accounts,	Murray, 2005, 244

							particularly to Dorpat and Livonia, but also to Danzig and even Bruges, where Laurent van der Burse received commission from him amounting to nearly 200 Flemish guilders. (Dollinger, 1970, 169-171).	
Danzig		4	2	2	1		Bertold Wittenborg, a younger relative of Johann, was active for Johann Wittenborg in Bruges, Schonen, England and Prussia (Danzig). Bertold died in Danzig. (Mollwo, 1901, lxii-lxiii). Johann Laurensius traded in sendeve for Johann Wittenborg in Bruges, Prussia and Stralsund. (Mollwo, 1901, lxii-lxiii). Ghereke Woge and Hinrich Laurensius were sent in sendeve to Johann Laurensius (also in sendeve) in Prussia. (lxiii). Purchase of malt, spices, wax and furs in the east, especially in Danzig, where also Flemish cloth was sold. (Mollwo, 1901, lxvii). Purchases in Danzig were often made in cash. (lxviii). Trade of Johann Wittenborg with Flanders, England, Schonen, Prussia and Russia. (lxix). Purchase of malt in Prussia. (lxxi). Trade with Danzig and Prussia. (passim). Large-scale business from Flanders and England in the west to Scania in the north, and Prussia, Livonia and Novgorod in the east. (Spufford, 2002, 335). Wittenborg's business interests extended to almost every corner of the Hanseatic world: Flanders, England, Skania, Prussia, Livonia and Russia. (Dollinger, 1970, 169-171). Striking is the frequent dispatch of silver bullion to settle outstanding accounts, particularly to Dorpat and Livonia, but also to Danzig and even Bruges, where Laurent van der Burse received commission from him amounting to nearly 200 Flemish guilders. (Dollinger, 1970, 169-171).	
Dorpat		4	2	2	1	>1353-1359<	Johann Wittenborg had representatives abroad who traded for him in sendeve in Russia. E.g. Thidemann Wise in Russia (normally Reval and Dorpat) in 1353-1355, 1357-1359. (Mollwo, 1901, lxii, lxii n. 3). Arnold Bardewik and Johann Rokesberch were sent in sendeve to Russia to Thidemann Wise (also in sendeve). (lxiii). Trade of Johann Wittenborg with Flanders, England, Schonen, Prussia and Russia. (lxix). Wittenborg purchased furs mainly in Livonia. (lxxii). Trade with Dorpat. (passim). Large-scale business from Flanders and England in the west to Scania in the north, and Prussia, Livonia and Novgorod in the east. (Spufford, 2002, 335). Wittenborg's business interests extended to almost every corner of the Hanseatic world: Flanders, England, Skania, Prussia, Livonia and Russia. (Dollinger, 1970, 169-171). Striking is the frequent dispatch of silver bullion to settle outstanding accounts, particularly to Dorpat and Livonia, but also to	

							Danzig and even Bruges, where Laurent van der Burse received commission from him amounting to nearly 200 Flemish guilders. (Dollinger, 1970, 169-171).	
England		4	2	2	1		Bertold Wittenborg, a younger relative of Johann, was active for Johann Wittenborg in Bruges, Schonen, England and Prussia (Danzig). (Mollwo, 1901, lxii-lxiii). Trade of Johann Wittenborg with Flanders, England, Schonen, Prussia and Russia. (lxix). Purchase of cloth in England. (lxx). Trade with England. (passim). Large-scale business from Flanders and England in the west to Scania in the north, and Prussia, Livonia and Novgorod in the east. (Spufford, 2002, 335). Wittenborg's business interests extended to almost every corner of the Hanseatic world: Flanders, England, Skania, Prussia, Livonia and Russia. (Dollinger, 1970, 169-171).	
Reval		4	2	2	1	>1353-1359<	Johann Wittenborg had representatives abroad who traded for him in sendeve in Russia. E.g. Thidemann Wise in Russia (normally Reval and Dorpat) in 1353-1355, 1357-1359. (Mollwo, 1901, lxii, lxii n. 3). Arnold Bardewik and Johann Rokesberch were sent in sendeve to Russia to Thidemann Wise (also in sendeve). (lxiii). Trade of Johann Wittenborg with Flanders, England, Schonen, Prussia and Russia. (lxix). Wittenborg purchased furs mainly in Livonia. (lxxii). Thidemann Wise was sent in sendeve to Reval. (?). Large-scale business from Flanders and England in the west to Scania in the north, and Prussia, Livonia and Novgorod in the east. (Spufford, 2002, 335). Wittenborg's business interests extended to almost every corner of the Hanseatic world: Flanders, England, Skania, Prussia, Livonia and Russia. (Dollinger, 1970, 169-171).	
Scania		4	2	2	1		Johann Wittenborg had representatives abroad who traded for him in sendeve in Schonen. (Mollwo, 1901, lxii). Bertold Wittenborg, a younger relative of Johann, was active for Johann Wittenborg in Bruges, Schonen, England and Prussia (Danzig). Bertold died in Danzig. (Mollwo, 1901, lxii-lxiii). Trade of Johann Wittenborg with Flanders, England, Schonen, Prussia and Russia. (lxix). Trade with Schonen. (passim). Large-scale business from Flanders and England in the west to Scania in the north, and Prussia, Livonia and Novgorod in the east. (Spufford, 2002, 335). Wittenborg's business interests extended to almost every corner of the Hanseatic world: Flanders, England, Skania, Prussia, Livonia and Russia. (Dollinger, 1970, 169-171).	
Stralsund		4	2	2	1	>1359<	Johann Laurensius traded in sendeve for Johann Wittenborg in Bruges,	

							Prussia and Stralsund. (Mollwo, 1901, lxii-lxiii). In 1359, goods of Wittenborg and Laurensius were in Stralsund. (49).	
Dordrecht		3	2	2	1	1358-1361	Albrecht Woltfogel was a partner of Wittenborg in Flanders. During the blockade of 1358-1361 he went to the new Kontor in Dordrecht. (Mollwo, 1901, lxxiii). Trade with Dordrecht. (passim).	
Novgorod		3	2	2	1		Large-scale business from Flanders and England in the west to Scania in the north, and Prussia, Livonia and Novgorod in the east. (Spufford, 2002, 335). Wittenborg's business interests extended to almost every corner of the Hanseatic world: Flanders, England, Skania, Prussia, Livonia and Russia. (Dollinger, 1970, 169-171). Mollwo (1901) does not mention Novgorod however.	
Aardenburg		2	2	1	0		In Flanders, purchases of cloth in Diksmuide, Aardenburg, Poperinge, Bruges, Kortrijk, Valenciennes, Leuven and Wervik. (Mollwo, 1901, lxx).	
Diksmuide		2	2	1	0		In Flanders, purchases of cloth in Diksmuide, Aardenburg, Poperinge, Bruges, Kortrijk, Valenciennes, Leuven and Wervik. (Mollwo, 1901, lxx).	
Kortrijk		2	2	1	0		In Flanders, purchases of cloth in Diksmuide, Aardenburg, Poperinge, Bruges, Kortrijk, Valenciennes, Leuven and Wervik. (Mollwo, 1901, lxx).	
Leuven		2	2	1	0		In Flanders, purchases of cloth in Diksmuide, Aardenburg, Poperinge, Bruges, Kortrijk, Valenciennes, Leuven and Wervik. (Mollwo, 1901, lxx).	
Poperinge		2	2	1	0		In Flanders, purchases of cloth in Diksmuide, Aardenburg, Poperinge, Bruges, Kortrijk, Valenciennes, Leuven and Wervik. (Mollwo, 1901, lxx).	
Valenciennes		2	2	1	0		In Flanders, purchases of cloth in Diksmuide, Aardenburg, Poperinge, Bruges, Kortrijk, Valenciennes, Leuven and Wervik. (Mollwo, 1901, lxx).	
Wervik		2	2	1	0		In Flanders, purchases of cloth in Diksmuide, Aardenburg, Poperinge, Bruges, Kortrijk, Valenciennes, Leuven and Wervik. (Mollwo, 1901, lxx).	
Brandenbaum		1	1	1	0		Sale of cattle to Hinse van Gerben in Brandenbaum. (Mollwo, 1901, 38).	
Hamburg		1	1	1	0		Bertold Wittenborg, on his way to Flanders, was ordered to purchase coins in Hamburg. (Mollwo, 1901, 38).	
Lüneburg		1	1	1	0		Johann Wittenborg sent someone to Lüneburg for a rent of Arnold Bardewik in Lüneburg. (Mollwo, 1901, 21).	
Toruń		1	1	1	0	>1358<	Willeken Busch had to pay Johann Wittenborg in Toruń in 1358. (Mollwo, 1901, 45).	
Wismar		1	1	1	0	>1358<	A sale was made in Wismar in 1358. (Mollwo, 1901, 44).	

3. CENTRAL EUROPEAN FIRMS

BIMMEL / HAUG-LANGNAUER-LINCK, late 15th century – 1574

The Bimmel were originally members of the weavers' guild of Augsburg. However, at a certain point, the Bimmel became active as merchants, first in textiles, later also in other goods. Founder of the business house of the Bimmel was Hans Bimmel (ca. 1440-1504). The three sons of Hans enlarged the family business into one of the largest enterprises of Augsburg at the beginning of the 16th century. (Seibold, 1995, 27). Sons of Hans Bimmel: Leonhard (1467-1525), Anton (1475-1531) and Hans the younger (1476-1531). Leonhard and Anton had no sons, while the sons of Hans the younger were still minors in 1531. The Bimmel were related via marriage to Georg Herwart (son-in-law of Hans Bimmel the elder) and to Matthias Manlich (married with a daughter of Leonhard Bimmel). (Seibold, 1995, 27, 205). Augsburg family. The Bimmel were originally active as weavers, and from there developed into merchants, just like the Fugger, Ehem and Hämmerlein (Kellenbenz, 1990, 11).
In 1531, the Bimmel family business was continued by three factors of the Bimmel firm: Anton Haug (1474-1549), Hans Langnauer (1488-1542) and Ulrich Linck (1495-1560). (28). Two sons of Hans Bimmel the younger, Hans and Anton (still minors in 1531), had investments of respectively 12,000 and 4,000 fl. in the company. (28). Anton Haug was married with Anna Bimmel, a daughter of Leonhard. Hans Langnauer was married to Dorothea Manlich, sister of Matthias. Ulrich Linck was a nephew of Anton Haug (he was a son of Magdalena Haug, sister of Anton). By the middle of the 16th c. the Haug-Langnauer-Linck firm had become one of the most important Augsburg firms of its time. (28, 207). Melchior Manlich began his career in the Haug-Langnauer-Linck firm. (32-33). Melchior Manlich was married to Ursula Haug. (32-33). Melchior Manlich, brother of Matthias, was for many years a member of the Hans-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft. (92). The Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft was established in 1531. Principal partners were Anton Haug, Hans Langnauer and Ulrich Linck. (92). Other partners in the company in 1531 were among others Hans Rosenberger and Mang Dillherr. (92). Marriage ties existed between the Haug, Langnauer and Linck, as well as with the Rosenberger and the Manlich. (92-93). Melchior Manlich became a son-in-law of Anton Haug in 1540. (93). The Manlich regularly cooperated with the Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft in business activities. (93). The Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft went bankrupt in 1574. (93, 96, 132-133). Large profits in the early 1530s, which became much less after 1535, but improved again from the middle of the 1540s until the early 1560s. (93). Hans Langnauer died in 1542. Anton Haug the elder died in 1549. In the same year, Ulrich Linck decreased his investments in the company, and Mang Dillherr left the firm. (93-94). Since 1542 the latest, Melchior Manlich was a partner in the Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft. (94). In 1550, the firm had more than 18 partners. (94). From 1549 until 1553, when Ulrich Linck left the company, the firm was named Ulrich Linck, Anton Haug, and partners. (94). In 1553 also Anton Haug the younger and Lienhard Haug left the company. Of the sons of Anton Haug the elder, only David remained as a partner, together with the sons of his brother Ludwig. From 1553, the company was named David Haug, Melchior Manlich, Hans Langnauer (the younger) and partners. In 1555, Hans Bimmel left the company. In 1555, the company had only 8 partners left. Partners in 1560 were David Haug, Melchior Manlich, Hans Langnauer the younger and Melchior Linck, the latter of whom was not actively involved in the business. (94). End 1562 Melchior Manlich, who was probably the main managing

partner since ca. 1549, left the Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft. (96). The partnership between David Haug, Hans Langnauer the younger and Melchior Linck was renewed in 1569. David Haug died in 1570, and he was succeeded by the three sons of his brother Ludwig. (96).
Large Augsburg firm. Partnership of Anton Haug, Hans Langnauer, and Ulrich Link of Augsburg (Harreld, 2004, 73). Company with many partners, organised in Augsburg in 1531 (Harreld, 2004, 81). David Haug, Melchior Manlich, Hans Langnauer und Mitverwandte, 1544-1562. (Sayous, 1935, 392). Augsburg company. Successors of the Bimmel-company whose branches they took over. Melchior Manlich entered the company in 1544 and left it in 1562. Problems of the company during the war of Schmalkalden, and due to suspension of payments by the sovereigns of Spain, Portugal and especially France, of which the company was an important creditor. Also problems due to bankruptcies in Augsburg around 1560 (Sayous, 1935, 392-393). In 1543-1562, Melchior Manlich had a share in the Haug company (Ehrenberg, 1928, 161).
Augsburg firm (Ehrenberg, 1928, 163). On 1 September 1531, Anton Haug the elder, Hans Langnauer and Ulrich Link, founded a partnership for six years. The partnership counted in total 17 partners, among which a number of employees (Ehrenberg, 1928, 163). Many partners retired before a new partnership was begun in 1535 (Ehrenberg, 1928, 163). Very large profits in the period 1531-1535, after which a period of stagnation followed from 1535 to 1543 (Ehrenberg, 1928, 163-164). Hans Langnauer died between 1535 and 1543 (Ehrenberg, 1928, 164). In 1543, Melchior Manlich, and another Hans Langnauer entered the partnership (Ehrenberg, 1928, 164). The years 1543-1545 were very profitable again, but from then (period of the War of Schmalkalden) business became difficult (Ehrenberg, 1928, 164). The years 1545-1549 were again very profitable (Ehrenberg, 1928, 164). In 1549, the firm's name was Ulrich Link, Anton Haug and Relatives (Ehrenberg, 1928, 164). After 1553, Ulrich Link and Anton and Lienhard Haug left the firm, and invested their capital as deposits in the firm at an interest of 7½ % (Ehrenberg, 1928, 165). In 1555, Hans Pimel retired, so that only 8 partners remained. This number sank to four in 1560 (Ehrenberg, 1928, 165). After 1560, the company became involved in larger and more world-wide business activities. Profits in 1549-1561 were good (Ehrenberg, 1928, 165). At the end of 1562, Melchoir Manlich retired from the business, leaving only three partners: David Haug, Hans Langnauer and Melchior Link (Ehrenberg, 1928, 165-166). In 1574, the Haug had to suspend payment, partly as a result of the failure of their involvement in the English mining business, which was far beyond their means (Ehrenberg, 1928, 166). Anton Haug, Hans Langenauer and Ulrich Link were called "Regierer" (Schulte, 1923, I, 50).

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Source material:

Two account books of the Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft, covering the period 1532-1562 (with gaps), have been preserved in the town archives of Augsburg. (Seibold, 1995, 93). Chief books of the Haug company have been preserved (in the Augsburg archives) for a period of more than thirty years (Ehrenberg, 1928, 163).

Size: Large or very large

The three sons of Hans Bimmel enlarged the family business into one of the largest enterprises of Augsburg at the beginning of the 16th century. (Seibold, 1995, 27). By the middle of the 16th c. the Haug-Langnauer-Linck firm had become one of the most important Augsburg firms of its time. (28, 207). The capital of the Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft amounted to 90,815 fl. in 1531. (Seibold, 1995, 92). The capital rose to 144,061 fl. in 1533, 340,010 fl. in 1535, 529,149 fl. in 1549. (93). After 1549, the capital of the company decreased. (93). In 1551, the capital totalled 329,404 fl., in 1560 140,000 fl. (94). In 1561 the capital increased again to 243,691 fl., while a consortium of three members (Melchior Manlich, Matthäus Haug and Wolfgang Herwarth) also invested 201,429 fl. in the company for interest (fuori del corpo). (95-96). In 1531, 17 partners were members of the company, the total capital of which amounted to 90,815 fl. in 1531 (Ehrenberg, 1928, 163) (according to Schulte, 1923, I, 59: 106,184 fl. in 1531). Capital in 1533: 144,000 fl. (Ehrenberg, 1928, 163). Total assets on 25-8-1533: 410,000 fl., liabilities: 235,000 fl. (Ehrenberg, 1928, 163). Capital of the new partnership of 1535: 340,000 fl. (Ehrenberg, 1928, 163). Capital of the new company of 1543 was lower: 295,067 fl. (Ehrenberg, 1928, 164). Capital in 1545: 356,000 fl., in 1547: 365,000 fl. (Ehrenberg, 1928, 164). The capital was largely diminished in 1549, but most of the capital that was withdrawn was invested again in the company by way of deposits, especially the capital of the deceased partners (Ehrenberg, 1928, 164-165).

Main activities:

- Commerce: The sons of Hans Bimmel traded in fustians and linen in the early 16th century. (Seibold, 1995, 27). Originally, the Haug-Langnauer-Linck was only active in trade: commerce in a very large variety of goods, such as spices, cotton, silk, English cloth, linen and

metals. (Seibold, 1995, 94). Trade in mercury and cinnabar of Idria. Return goods purchased by the Haug-Langnauer-Linck which were shipped to Augsburg were among other wares English cloth, cotton, pepper, sugar, ginger, saffron, indigo, furs, silks, etc. (130). Copper trade of Haug-Langnauer-Link firm (Harreld, 2004, 136). Import of cotton from Italy, wool from England, silk from Lyon for the Cologne market, spices and other products from the Levant. Export of cloth from High Germany. (Sayous, 1935, 393). Increasing involvement in big financial business, while at the same time trade in goods became less important (Ehrenberg, 1928, 163). The firm obtained spices, silks and cotton from Venice, copper and silver from Schwaz, spices and English cloth from Antwerp. From Ulm and Augsburg, they sent fustians, mainly to Antwerp (Ehrenberg, 1928, 163). Silks mainly sold in Cologne (Ehrenberg, 1928, 163). After 1560, the trading of the company went into the background (Ehrenberg, 1928, 165). After 1560, the chief activities of the firm consisted of money transactions, involvement in the copper mining works at Schwaz, and the sale of copper (Ehrenberg, 1928, 165). After 1562, the company had a large control over the copper trade, due to the share they obtained on the produce of Hungarian copper in exchange for a loan to the Emperor (Ehrenberg, 1928, 166).

- Finance: Between 1542 and 1548, a consortium of Augsburg merchants, among whom the Fugger, Hans Baumgartner, the Haug, Neidhart and the Manlich, advanced several loans to the Habsburgs. (66). Originally, the Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft was not involved in financial business, but by 1543 the company had advanced 140,000 fl. to several debtors in Antwerp. (94-95). The Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft had financial ties with king Ferdinand and after 1547 also with the court of France. (95). The firm became increasingly involved in larger loans, while the capital base of the company decreased. (95). Increasing involvement in big financial business, while at the same time trade in goods became less important (Ehrenberg, 1928, 163). Provided loans to King Ferdinand, partly on their own, partly in conjunction with the Fugger and the Herwart (Ehrenberg, 1928, 163). By 1543, the financial business of the Haug in Antwerp had become considerable (Ehrenberg, 1928, 164). In the years after 1543, the financial transactions in Germany decreased, while those in Antwerp became more and more important. From 1547 also loans to the French Court (Ehrenberg, 1928, 164). After 1560, the chief activities of the firm consisted of money transactions, involvement in the copper mining works at Schwaz, and the sale of copper (Ehrenberg, 1928, 165). After 1562, the company had a large control over the copper trade, due to the share they obtained on the produce of Hungarian copper in exchange for a loan to the Emperor (Ehrenberg, 1928, 166).
- Industry: The Bimmel were involved in mining in Schwaz in the early 16th century. (Seibold, 1995, 27). The Bimmel took over parts of the shares of the Tänzl of Innsbruck in the mining industry of Tirol. (53). Only ca. 1553 the Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft became involved in the mining business. (94). In 1565, the Fugger, Haug-Langnauer-Linck, and Katzbeck-Manlich brought their Tirol mining activities together in a single company, the Jenbacher Gesellschaft, in which each of these three groups had a share of 1/3. (Seibold, 1995, 118-119). The Jenbacher Gesellschaft was managed by Marx Fugger, Hans Langnauer and Abraham Katzbeck. (Seibold, 1995, 120). From 1553 interests in mining (Sayous, 1935, 393). Involved in fustian industry of Ulm and Augsburg (Ehrenberg, 1928, 163). After 1560, the chief activities of the firm consisted of money transactions, involvement in the copper mining works at Schwaz, and the sale of copper (Ehrenberg, 1928, 165). After 1562, the company had a large control over the copper trade, due to the share they obtained on the produce of Hungarian copper in exchange for a loan to the Emperor (Ehrenberg, 1928, 166). In 1564, the Haug – Langnauer – Link

company also became involved in a large company for the improvement of the English mining industry through the import of more advanced German mining techniques. Of the 24 shares of this company, 11 were in hands of the Haug – Langnauer – Link firm, while Cecil, minister of Elisabeth I, and Lord Leicester each took two shares, and so on. The firm firstly operated copper mines at Keswick and lead mines at Colbeck (Ehrenberg, 1928, 166). In 1560-1573, the firm Haug-Langnauer-Link leased the copper mines of Neusohl. (Hildebrandt, 1996, 37 n. 117).

Network of the Bimmel / Haug-Langnauer-Linck:

Table A..1. Network of the Bimmel / Haug-Langnauer-Linck, early 16th century – 1574

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Augsburg		8	4	3	1	late 15th c.-1574	Headquarters. (Seibold, 1995, 27). In 1562, the Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft owned merchandise, cash and/or credit in Augsburg, which was used to pay the share of Melchior Manlich when he left the company. (Seibold, 1995, 96). The headquarters of the Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft were located in the Annastrasse in Augsburg in the first half of the 16th century. (98). The Haug-Langnauer-Linck sold mercury and cinnabar of Idria in Trieste, Venice, Florence, Bolzano, Innsbruck, Salzburg, Villach, Vienna (and from Vienna further to the east), Nürnberg, Augsburg, Lindau, Ulm, Frankfurt am Main, Antwerp, London, Lyon, Marseille (and from Marseille to Spain and Lisbon). In most of these centres, the company had warehouses, where return goods could temporarily be stored. (Seibold, 1995, 130). In 1574, the Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft had outstanding debts in Venice, Florence, Nürnberg, Augsburg, Marseille, Lyon, Antwerp, and Krakow. (Seibold, 1995, 132). Bimmel were represented in Augsburg. (Harreld, 2006, 10; Sayous, 1935, 393). Headquarters. Representative: Anton Haug. (Harreld, 2004, 73; Harreld, 2006, 9-10). Headquarters of the Haug-Langnauer-Linck. (Sayous, 1935, 393). Headquarters (Ehrenberg, 1928, 163). Assets in Augsburg in 1533: 111,000 fl. (Ehrenberg, 1928, 163).	
Antwerp		7	3	2	1	early 16th c.-1574	Branch of the Bimmel firm in early 16th century. (Seibold, 1995, 27). Branch of the Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft. (94). Antwerp was an important financial market for the Haug-Langnauer-Linck. The company advanced loans to several debtors in Antwerp. (94-95). In 1562, the Haug-Langnauer-	

							Linck Gesellschaft owned merchandise, cash and/or credit in Antwerp, which was used to pay the share of Melchior Manlich when he left the company. (Seibold, 1995, 96). The Haug-Langnauer-Linck sold mercury and cinnabar of Idria in Trieste, Venice, Florence, Bolzano, Innsbruck, Salzburg, Villach, Vienna (and from Vienna further to the east), Nürnberg, Augsburg, Lindau, Ulm, Frankfurt am Main, Antwerp, London, Lyon, Marseille (and from Marseille to Spain and Lisbon). In most of these centres, the company had warehouses, where return goods could temporarily be stored. (Seibold, 1995, 130). In 1574, the Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft had outstanding debts in Venice, Florence, Nürnberg, Augsburg, Marseille, Lyon, Antwerp, and Krakow. (Seibold, 1995, 132). Only Wolf Puschinger, Anton Haug, Wolf Reitweiser (all High Germans) and Jan Ghieten (of Cologne) exported for much more than 3500 £ Fl. from Antwerp to Frankfurt in 1543-45 (Harreld, 2004, 137). Anton Haug was the 5th biggest exporter from Antwerp to Germany in 1543-1545 (32,076 lb. fl.) (Brulez, 1959, 493; Puttevils, 2007, 144). Bimmel were represented in Antwerp. (Harreld, 2006, 10; Sayous, 1935, 393). Largest exporters of English cloth from Antwerp to Neurenberg in 1543-45 were Haug, Langnauer, Link (4630 £ Fl.) and Bartolomeo Jenisch (3094 £ Fl.), followed by Hartman Schmaltz, sometime Antwerp factor of William Smitmer of Nuremberg (Harreld, 2004, 144-145). Ulrich Hainhofer (factor), Anton Waryn (cloth measurer). (Harreld, 2006, 9-10). Considerable presence in Antwerp by the middle of the 16th c. In addition to its offices in Augsburg and Antwerp, the Haug-Langenauer-Link firm had offices in Nuremberg, Ulm, Cologne and Venice, but the Antwerp office was by far the largest (Harreld, 2004, 73). One of the largest German firms operating in Antwerp by mid 16th c. (Harreld, 2004, 81). The relative importance of Antwerp vis à vis the other cities in the network increased between 1533 and 1545 (Harreld, 2004, 100). The largest exporter of wool from Antwerp to Augsburg was Christoffel Hochstetter. Other important merchants in this trade were Anton Haug, the heirs of Lucas Rem, Conrad Rehlinger and Jan della Faille (Harreld, 2004, 152). Most important exporter of wool from Antwerp to Nuremberg was Willem van Montfort (993 £ Fl. or just over 41% of wool shipments to Nuremberg), followed by merchants like Anton Haug, the heirs of Lucas Rem and Christoffel Hochstetter (Harreld,	

							2004, 152). By 1551, the south German merchant firms Ulrick Link and Anton Haug, Lazarus Tucher, the Fuggers, Wolf Puschinger, Bartholomeo Welser, and Adrian Imhof had made short-term loans to the Fortificatiekas of the city of Antwerp (Harreld, 2004, 174). Branch office. (Harreld, 2006, 9-10). The Haug-Langnauer-Linck took over the agencies of the Bimmel (Sayous, 1935, 393). Agent/factory in 1531-1543 (Ehrenberg, 1928, 163). Assets in Antwerp in 1533: 86,000 fl. (Ehrenberg, 1928, 163).	
Cologne		6	3	2	1	early 16th c.-1545<	Branch of the Bimmel firm in early 16th century. (Seibold, 1995, 27). Haug-Langnauer-Linck: Import of silk from Lyon for the Cologne market. (Sayous, 1935, 393). The twelve most important merchants in the export trade from Antwerp to Cologne in 1543-45 accounted for ca. 47% of these exports. 3 of them were southern Germans (Anton Haug, Andries Imhoff and Bartholomeo Welser), while one, Willem van Montfort from Aachen, was an important agent for several South German firms (Harreld, 2004, 160). Bimmel were represented in Cologne. (Harreld, 2006, 10; Sayous, 1935, 393). In addition to its offices in Augsburg and Antwerp, the Haug-Langenauer-Link firm had offices in Nuremberg, Ulm, Cologne and Venice, but the Antwerp office was by far the largest (Harreld, 2004, 73). Branch office. (Harreld, 2006, 9-10). The Haug-Langnauer-Linck took over the agencies of the Bimmel (Sayous, 1935, 393). Agent/factory in 1531 (Ehrenberg, 1928, 163). Assets in Cologne in 1533: 25,000 fl. (Ehrenberg, 1928, 163). Factory in Cologne was given up sometime between 1535 and 1543 (Ehrenberg, 1928, 164).	
Nürnberg		6	3	2	1	early 16th c.-1574	Branch of the Bimmel firm in early 16th century. (Seibold, 1995, 27). Branch of the Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft. (94). In 1562, the Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft owned merchandise, cash and/or credit in Nürnberg, which was used to pay the share of Melchior Manlich when he left the company. (Seibold, 1995, 96). The Haug-Langnauer-Linck sold mercury and cinnabar of Idria in Trieste, Venice, Florence, Bolzano, Innsbruck, Salzburg, Villach, Vienna (and from Vienna further to the east), Nürnberg, Augsburg, Lindau, Ulm, Frankfurt am Main, Antwerp, London, Lyon, Marseille (and from Marseille to Spain and Lisbon). In most of these centres, the company had warehouses, where return goods could temporarily be stored. (Seibold, 1995, 130). In 1574, the Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft had outstanding debts in Venice, Florence, Nürnberg,	

							Augsburg, Marseille, Lyon, Antwerp, and Krakow. (Seibold, 1995, 132). Most important exporter of wool from Antwerp to Nuremberg was Willem van Montfort (993 £ Fl. or just over 41% of wool shipments to Nuremberg), followed by merchants like Anton Haug, the heirs of Lucas Rem and Christoffel Hochstetter (Harreld, 2004, 152). Largest exporters of English cloth from Antwerp to Neurenberg in 1543-45 were Haug, Langenauer, Link (4630 £ Fl.) and Bartolomeo Jenisch (3094 £ Fl.), followed by Hartman Schmaltz, sometime Antwerp factor of William Smitmer of Nuremberg (Harreld, 2004, 144-145). Bimmel were represented in Nürnberg. (Harreld, 2006, 10; Sayous, 1935, 393). Anton Haug's trade in English cloth from Antwerp was directed to Nuremberg (Harreld, 2004, 185). In addition to its offices in Augsburg and Antwerp, the Haug-Langenauer-Link firm had offices in Nuremberg, Ulm, Cologne and Venice, but the Antwerp office was by far the largest (Harreld, 2004, 73). Branch office. (Harreld, 2006, 9-10). The Haug-Langnauer-Linck took over the agencies of the Bimmel (Sayous, 1935, 393). Agent/factory in 1531-1543 (Ehrenberg, 1928, 163).	
Schwaz	M	6	3	2	1	early 16th c.-1562<	The Bimmel were involved in mining in Schwaz in the early 16th century. (Seibold, 1995, 27). Branch of the Bimmel firm in early 16th century. (Seibold, 1995, 27). Especially Schwaz was very important for the business of the Bimmel. In partnership with the Herwart, the Bimmel were involved in trade as well as mining in Schwaz (e.g. 1526). (27). Anton Haug was involved in the mining business of Schwaz in 1548. (51). In 1553, Matthias Manlich sold shares in the mining business of Schwaz, Sterzing and Gossensaβ to the Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft. (Seibold, 1995, 48, 57). In 1555, the Haug-Langnauer-Linck company was the third largest supplier of silver from Schwaz to the Mint of Hall. (62). Branch of the Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft. (94). In 1553, the Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft obtained shares in the mining industry of Tirol. (94). In 1562, the Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft owned merchandise, cash and/or credit in Schwaz, which was used to pay the share of Melchior Manlich when he left the company. (Seibold, 1995, 96). Bimmel were represented in Schwaz. (Harreld, 2006, 10; Sayous, 1935, 393). The Haug-Langnauer-Linck took over the agencies of the Bimmel (Sayous, 1935, 393). Agent/factory in 1531-1543 (Ehrenberg, 1928, 163). After 1560, the chief activities of the firm consisted among other things of involvement in the	

							copper mining works at Schwaz. (Ehrenberg, 1928, 165).	
Ulm		6	3	2	1	early 16th c.-1562<	Branch of the Bimmel firm in early 16th century. (Seibold, 1995, 27). Branch of the Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft. (94). In 1562, the Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft owned merchandise, cash and/or credit in Ulm, which was used to pay the share of Melchior Manlich when he left the company. (Seibold, 1995, 96). The Haug-Langnauer-Linck sold mercury and cinnabar of Idria in Trieste, Venice, Florence, Bolzano, Innsbruck, Salzburg, Villach, Vienna (and from Vienna further to the east), Nürnberg, Augsburg, Lindau, Ulm, Frankfurt am Main, Antwerp, London, Lyon, Marseille (and from Marseille to Spain and Lisbon). In most of these centres, the company had warehouses, where return goods could temporarily be stored. (Seibold, 1995, 130). Bimmel were represented in Ulm. (Harreld, 2006, 10; Sayous, 1935, 393). In addition to its offices in Augsburg and Antwerp, the Haug-Langnauer-Link firm had offices in Nuremberg, Ulm, Cologne and Venice, but the Antwerp office was by far the largest (Harreld, 2004, 73). Branch office. (Harreld, 2006, 9-10). The Haug-Langnauer-Linck took over the agencies of the Bimmel (Sayous, 1935, 393). Agent/factory in 1531-1543 (Ehrenberg, 1928, 163).	
Venice		6	3	2	1	early 16th c.-1574	Branch of the Bimmel firm in early 16th century. (Seibold, 1995, 27). Branch of the Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft. (94). The Haug-Langnauer-Linck sold mercury and cinnabar of Idria in Trieste, Venice, Florence, Bolzano, Innsbruck, Salzburg, Villach, Vienna (and from Vienna further to the east), Nürnberg, Augsburg, Lindau, Ulm, Frankfurt am Main, Antwerp, London, Lyon, Marseille (and from Marseille to Spain and Lisbon). In most of these centres, the company had warehouses, where return goods could temporarily be stored. (Seibold, 1995, 130). Mercury of the Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft was stored in Venice in 1573. (131). In 1574, the Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft had outstanding debts in Venice, Florence, Nürnberg, Augsburg, Marseille, Lyon, Antwerp, and Krakow. (Seibold, 1995, 132). The Hochstetters of Augsburg, the Ingolts of Strasbourg, and the Haug-Langenauer-Link company of Augsburg, and many others enjoyed commercial connections with Venice (Harreld, 2004, 187). Bimmel were represented in Venice. (Harreld, 2006, 10; Sayous, 1935, 393). In addition to its offices in Augsburg and Antwerp, the Haug-Langnauer-Link firm had offices in Nuremberg, Ulm, Cologne and Venice,	

							but the Antwerp office was by far the largest (Harreld, 2004, 73). Branch office. (Harreld, 2006, 9-10). The Haug-Langnauer-Linck took over the agencies of the Bimmel (Sayous, 1935, 393). Agent/factory in 1531-1543 (Ehrenberg, 1928, 163). Assets in Venice in 1533: 16,000 fl. (Ehrenberg, 1928, 163).	
Frankfurt am Main		4	2	2	1	>1543-1562<	Loan of Matthias Manlich and Anton Haug to Frankfurt in 1547 of more than 24,000 fl. (72, 82). In 1562, the Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft owned merchandise, cash and/or credit in Frankfurt am Main, which was used to pay the share of Melchior Manlich when he left the company. (Seibold, 1995, 96). The Haug-Langnauer-Linck sold mercury and cinnabar of Idria in Trieste, Venice, Florence, Bolzano, Innsbruck, Salzburg, Villach, Vienna (and from Vienna further to the east), Nürnberg, Augsburg, Lindau, Ulm, Frankfurt am Main, Antwerp, London, Lyon, Marseille (and from Marseille to Spain and Lisbon). In most of these centres, the company had warehouses, where return goods could temporarily be stored. (Seibold, 1995, 130). Only Wolf Puschinger, Anton Haug, Wolf Reitweiser (all High Germans) and Jan Ghieten (of Cologne) exported for much more than 3500 £ Fl. from Antwerp to Frankfurt in 1543-45 (Harreld, 2004, 137). Largest exporters of English cloth from Antwerp to Frankfurt in 1543-45 were Wolf Puschinger, Anton Haug, Wolf Reitweiser, Jan Ghieten and the Antwerp merchants Jan Alewyne and Jan de Haze. Together these 6 merchants exported over 50% of the English cloths to Frankfurt. (Harreld, 2004, 146-147). Anton Haug was responsible for almost 20% of the sayes export from Antwerp to Frankfurt in 1543-45, Jan Ghieten for 14% (Harreld, 2004, 150). Representative of the Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft. (Sayous, 1935, 393).	
Lyon		4	2	2	1	>1562-1574	In 1562, the Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft owned merchandise, cash and/or credit in Lyon, which was used to pay the share of Melchior Manlich when he left the company. (Seibold, 1995, 96). The Haug-Langnauer-Linck sold mercury and cinnabar of Idria in Trieste, Venice, Florence, Bolzano, Innsbruck, Salzburg, Villach, Vienna (and from Vienna further to the east), Nürnberg, Augsburg, Lindau, Ulm, Frankfurt am Main, Antwerp, London, Lyon, Marseille (and from Marseille to Spain and Lisbon). In most of these centres, the company had warehouses, where return goods could temporarily be stored. (Seibold, 1995, 130). In 1574, the Haug-Langnauer-Linck	

							Gesellschaft had outstanding debts in Venice, Florence, Nürnberg, Augsburg, Marseille, Lyon, Antwerp, and Krakow. (Seibold, 1995, 132). Ludwig and David Haug and Hans Langnauer traded with Lyon in 1572, where they had toll privileges. (Seibold, 1995, 139). Haug-Langnauer-Linck: Import of silk from Lyon for the Cologne market. (Sayous, 1935, 393). Representative of the Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft. (Sayous, 1935, 393). David Haug was a large importer of copper in Lyon (Gascon, 1971, 103). New factory established sometime between 1535 and 1543 in Lyon. Not mentioned by other authors however. (Ehrenberg, 1928, 164).	
Banská Bystrica	M	3	2	2	1	1560-1563	After the death of Matthias Manlich, the copper trade of Neusohl came in hands of the Haug-Langnauer-Linck company from 1560 until 1563. (77, 95, 133-134). In 1562, the Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft owned merchandise, cash and/or credit in Neusohl which was used to pay the share of Melchior Manlich when he left the company. (Seibold, 1995, 96). Representative of the Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft. (Sayous, 1935, 393). In 1560-1573, the firm Haug-Langnauer-Link leased the copper mines of Neusohl. (Hildebrandt, 1996, 37 n. 117).	
Biberach an der Riss		3	2	2	1	>1562<	In 1562, the Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft owned merchandise, cash and/or credit in Biberach, which was used to pay the share of Melchior Manlich when he left the company. (Seibold, 1995, 96). Representative of the Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft. (Sayous, 1935, 393).	
Bolzano		3	2	2	1		The Haug-Langnauer-Linck sold mercury and cinnabar of Idria in Trieste, Venice, Florence, Bolzano, Innsbruck, Salzburg, Villach, Vienna (and from Vienna further to the east), Nürnberg, Augsburg, Lindau, Ulm, Frankfurt am Main, Antwerp, London, Lyon, Marseille (and from Marseille to Spain and Lisbon). In most of these centres, the company had warehouses, where return goods could temporarily be stored. (Seibold, 1995, 130).	
Danzig		3	2	2	1		Representative of the Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft. (Sayous, 1935, 393).	
Florence		3	2	2	1	>1574	The Haug-Langnauer-Linck sold mercury and cinnabar of Idria in Trieste, Venice, Florence, Bolzano, Innsbruck, Salzburg, Villach, Vienna (and from Vienna further to the east), Nürnberg, Augsburg, Lindau, Ulm, Frankfurt am Main, Antwerp, London, Lyon, Marseille (and from Marseille to Spain and Lisbon). In most of these centres, the company had warehouses, where return goods could temporarily be stored. (Seibold, 1995, 130). In 1574, the	

							Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft had outstanding debts in Venice, Florence, Nürnberg, Augsburg, Marseille, Lyon, Antwerp, and Krakow. (Seibold, 1995, 132).	
Idrija	M	3	2	2	1	1566-1571<	The Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft was involved in the mercury mining business of Idrija. (Seibold, 1995, 92-93). In 1566, the Haug-Langnauer-Linck company became active in the mercury mining business of Idrija. (95). The Haug-Langnauer-Linck obtained the monopoly over the mercury trade of Idrija (Slovenia) in 1566. (128). Partners of the Haug-Langnauer-Linck in the mercury business of Idrija were the Katzbeck-Manlich. (Seibold, 1995, 129-130). The Idrija contract was renewed in 1571. (130).	
Innsbruck		3	2	2	1		The Haug-Langnauer-Linck sold mercury and cinnabar of Idria in Trieste, Venice, Florence, Bolzano, Innsbruck, Salzburg, Villach, Vienna (and from Vienna further to the east), Nürnberg, Augsburg, Lindau, Ulm, Frankfurt am Main, Antwerp, London, Lyon, Marseille (and from Marseille to Spain and Lisbon). In most of these centres, the company had warehouses, where return goods could temporarily be stored. (Seibold, 1995, 130).	
Kraków		3	2	2	1	>1562-1574	In 1562, the Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft owned merchandise, cash and/or credit in Krakow, which was used to pay the share of Melchior Manlich when he left the company. (Seibold, 1995, 96). In 1574, the Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft had outstanding debts in Venice, Florence, Nürnberg, Augsburg, Marseille, Lyon, Antwerp, and Krakow. (Seibold, 1995, 132). Representative of the Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft. (Sayous, 1935, 393).	
Krems		3	2	2	1	>1562<	In 1562, the Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft owned merchandise, cash and/or credit in Krems, which was used to pay the share of Melchior Manlich when he left the company. (Seibold, 1995, 96). Representative of the Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft. (Sayous, 1935, 393).	
Leipzig		3	2	2	1		Representative of the Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft. (Sayous, 1935, 393).	
Lindau		3	2	2	1		The Haug-Langnauer-Linck sold mercury and cinnabar of Idria in Trieste, Venice, Florence, Bolzano, Innsbruck, Salzburg, Villach, Vienna (and from Vienna further to the east), Nürnberg, Augsburg, Lindau, Ulm, Frankfurt am Main, Antwerp, London, Lyon, Marseille (and from Marseille to Spain and Lisbon). In most of these centres, the company had warehouses, where	

							return goods could temporarily be stored. (Seibold, 1995, 130).	
Linz		3	2	2	1	>1562<	In 1562, the Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft owned merchandise, cash and/or credit in Linz, which was used to pay the share of Melchior Manlich when he left the company. (Seibold, 1995, 96). Representative of the Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft. (Sayous, 1935, 393).	
London		3	2	2	1		The Haug-Langnauer-Linck sold mercury and cinnabar of Idria in Trieste, Venice, Florence, Bolzano, Innsbruck, Salzburg, Villach, Vienna (and from Vienna further to the east), Nürnberg, Augsburg, Lindau, Ulm, Frankfurt am Main, Antwerp, London, Lyon, Marseille (and from Marseille to Spain and Lisbon). In most of these centres, the company had warehouses, where return goods could temporarily be stored. (Seibold, 1995, 130). Haug-Langnauer-Linck: Import of wool from England. (Sayous, 1935, 393). Represented by the branch office of the Schorer in London. (Harreld, 2006, 9-10).	
Marseille		3	2	2	1	>1574	The Haug-Langnauer-Linck sold mercury and cinnabar of Idria in Trieste, Venice, Florence, Bolzano, Innsbruck, Salzburg, Villach, Vienna (and from Vienna further to the east), Nürnberg, Augsburg, Lindau, Ulm, Frankfurt am Main, Antwerp, London, Lyon, Marseille (and from Marseille to Spain and Lisbon). In most of these centres, the company had warehouses, where return goods could temporarily be stored. (Seibold, 1995, 130). In 1574, the Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft had outstanding debts in Venice, Florence, Nürnberg, Augsburg, Marseille, Lyon, Antwerp, and Krakow. (Seibold, 1995, 132). Raymond Hermann from Augsburg was agent for David Haug, Jean Langnauer and partners in Marseille, where he sold mercury and cinnabar for the company (Sayous, 1935, 401).	
Salzburg		3	2	2	1		The Haug-Langnauer-Linck sold mercury and cinnabar of Idria in Trieste, Venice, Florence, Bolzano, Innsbruck, Salzburg, Villach, Vienna (and from Vienna further to the east), Nürnberg, Augsburg, Lindau, Ulm, Frankfurt am Main, Antwerp, London, Lyon, Marseille (and from Marseille to Spain and Lisbon). In most of these centres, the company had warehouses, where return goods could temporarily be stored. (Seibold, 1995, 130).	
Teschen		3	2	2	1	>1562<	In 1562, the Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft owned merchandise, cash and/or credit in Teschen, which was used to pay the share of Melchior Manlich when he left the company. (Seibold, 1995, 96). Representative of the Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft. (Sayous, 1935, 393).	

Trieste		3	2	2	1		The Haug-Langnauer-Linck sold mercury and cinnabar of Idria in Trieste, Venice, Florence, Bolzano, Innsbruck, Salzburg, Villach, Vienna (and from Vienna further to the east), Nürnberg, Augsburg, Lindau, Ulm, Frankfurt am Main, Antwerp, London, Lyon, Marseille (and from Marseille to Spain and Lisbon). In most of these centres, the company had warehouses, where return goods could temporarily be stored. (Seibold, 1995, 130).	
Vienna		3	2	2	1	>1562<	In 1562, the Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft owned merchandise, cash and/or credit in Vienna, which was used to pay the share of Melchior Manlich when he left the company. (Seibold, 1995, 96). The Haug-Langnauer-Linck sold mercury and cinnabar of Idria in Trieste, Venice, Florence, Bolzano, Innsbruck, Salzburg, Villach, Vienna (and from Vienna further to the east), Nürnberg, Augsburg, Lindau, Ulm, Frankfurt am Main, Antwerp, London, Lyon, Marseille (and from Marseille to Spain and Lisbon). In most of these centres, the company had warehouses, where return goods could temporarily be stored. (Seibold, 1995, 130). Representative of the Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft. (Sayous, 1935, 393).	
Villach		3	2	2	1		The Haug-Langnauer-Linck sold mercury and cinnabar of Idria in Trieste, Venice, Florence, Bolzano, Innsbruck, Salzburg, Villach, Vienna (and from Vienna further to the east), Nürnberg, Augsburg, Lindau, Ulm, Frankfurt am Main, Antwerp, London, Lyon, Marseille (and from Marseille to Spain and Lisbon). In most of these centres, the company had warehouses, where return goods could temporarily be stored. (Seibold, 1995, 130).	
Wrocław		3	2	2	1		Representative of the Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft. (Sayous, 1935, 393).	
Colbeck	M	2	2	1	0	1564<	In 1564, the Haug – Langnauer – Link company became involved in a large company for the improvement of the English mining industry through the import of more advanced German mining techniques. The firm firstly operated copper mines at Keswick and lead mines at Colbeck (Ehrenberg, 1928, 166).	
Gossensaβ	M	2	2	1	0	from 1553	In 1553, Matthias Manlich sold shares in the mining business of Schwaz, Sterzing and Gossensaβ to the Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft. (Seibold, 1995, 48, 57).	
Jenbach	M	2	2	1	0	>1565<	The Haug-Langnauer-Linck were active in the metal industry of Jenbach. In 1565, they became members of the Jenbacher Gesellschaft. (Seibold, 1995,	

							118). In 1565, the Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft was engaged in the mining- and smelting business of Jenbach. (Seibold, 1995, 95).	
Keswick	M	2	2	1	0	1564-1565<	The Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft was involved in the mining business in England. (Seibold, 1995, 93). In 1564, the company became involved in copper and lead mining in England, notably around Keswick in Cumbria. In the English royal mining company, founded in 1565, the company had 12 of the 24 shares. (Seibold, 1995, 95, 129). In 1564, the Haug – Langnauer – Link company became involved in a large company for the improvement of the English mining industry through the import of more advanced German mining techniques. The firm firstly operated copper mines at Keswick and lead mines at Colbeck (Ehrenberg, 1928, 166).	
Lisbon		2	2	1	0		The Haug-Langnauer-Linck sold mercury and cinnabar of Idria in Trieste, Venice, Florence, Bolzano, Innsbruck, Salzburg, Villach, Vienna (and from Vienna further to the east), Nürnberg, Augsburg, Lindau, Ulm, Frankfurt am Main, Antwerp, London, Lyon, Marseille (and from Marseille to Spain and Lisbon). In most of these centres, the company had warehouses, where return goods could temporarily be stored. (Seibold, 1995, 130).	
Reutte	H	2	2	1	0	>1565<	In 1565, the Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft operated a smelting hut in Reutte in Tirol. (Seibold, 1995, 129).	
Spain		2	2	1	0		The Haug-Langnauer-Linck sold mercury and cinnabar of Idria in Trieste, Venice, Florence, Bolzano, Innsbruck, Salzburg, Villach, Vienna (and from Vienna further to the east), Nürnberg, Augsburg, Lindau, Ulm, Frankfurt am Main, Antwerp, London, Lyon, Marseille (and from Marseille to Spain and Lisbon). In most of these centres, the company had warehouses, where return goods could temporarily be stored. (Seibold, 1995, 130).	
Vipiteno	M	2	2	1	0	from 1553	In 1553, Matthias Manlich sold shares in the mining business of Schwaz, Sterzing and Gossensaβ to the Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft. (Seibold, 1995, 48, 57).	

CROMBERGER, 1504 – ca. 1560

The German Jacobo Cromberger was born in 1472 or 1473, perhaps in Nürnberg (Griffin, 1988, 20). By 1500, he had become a partner in the most thriving printing press of Sevilla (Griffin, 1988, 27). Initially Jacobo limited himself to printing (Griffin, 1988, 34). By 1504, the press in Sevilla had passed entirely in Jacobo's hands (Griffin, 1988, 34). Jacobo Cromberger combined printing with publishing, and printed only a relatively small number of works on commission (especially liturgical works) (Griffin, 1988, 36-37). At least from 1508, Jacobo Cromberger was also a bookseller on a large scale, and he built up an extensive network of outlets (Griffin, 1988, 38). Jacobo not only sold his own books, but also volumes which were not printed by himself (Griffin, 1988, 40). Ca. 1523, Jacobo's daughter Catalina married the German merchant Lázaro Nuremberger. Together with the conquest of Mexico by Cortés, this was an important incentive for Jacobo to become involved in commerce with the New World (Griffin, 1988, 56-57). In 1525, Lázaro and Jacobo obtained licences to trade with the New World (Griffin, 1988, 63). In 1525, the press was handed over to Juan Cromberger, son of Jacobo, while Jacobo increasingly shifted his attention towards his commercial activities (Griffin, 1988, 64). Jacobo Cromberger and Lázaro Nuremberger even invested in the voyage of discovery of Sebastian Cabot (Griffin, 1988, 65). Jacobo carried out trade in the New World in partnership with Lázaro, but also on his own account (Griffin, 1988, 65). Jacobo died in Lisbon in 1528 (Griffin, 1988, 69). Juan Cromberger (1500-1540), son of Jacobo, took over the business of his father after his death. Juan was active as a printer and a merchant (Griffin, 1988, 71). After Juan's death, his wife Brígida Maldonado took over the management of the business and the press, until their son Jácome was old enough to take over the firm (Griffin, 1988, 72). Juan continued to trade frequently in association with Lázaro Nuremberger (Griffin, 1988, 77). Juan Cromberger died in 1540 (Griffin, 1988, 97). Jácome and Tomás, sons of Juan, both followed in their father's footsteps. Tomás became a merchant, trading in Spain and the New World, while Jácome carried on the printing enterprise (Griffin, 1988, 99). Under Jácome, the Cromberger press declined from the late 1540s (Griffin, 1988, 103). In 1557, Jácome was imprisoned for debts. By that time, his career as a printer had come to an end. In 1559, Jácome went to the Americas, where he died ca. 1560. The Cromberger press was not continued after the death of Jácome (Griffin, 1988, 116-118). Thomas Cromberger died in 1574 in Nombre de Dios. (Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 29).

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Source material:

Account books and correspondence of the Cromberger have not been preserved. A large amount of source material can be found in the notarial archives in the Archivo de Protocolos of Sevilla however, in which the Cromberger left many documents: wills, real estate transactions, shipping documents, inventories, powers of attorney, etc (Griffin, 1988, vi). Other archives containing information on the Crombergers are the Archivo General de Indias and the Archivo de la Catedral in Sevilla, the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid, and the Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico City (Griffin, 1988, vii).

Size: Large

Jakob Cromberger was one of the most important printers, not only of Spain, but of the early Modern Times in general. (Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 19).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Booktrade. The major markets for the booktrade of Jacobo Cromberger were southern Spain, Portugal, and northern Castile. Copies of Cromberger books occasionally travelled further afield in Europe (Griffin, 1988, 39-40). In 1516, Jacobo Cromberger imported timber from Flanders (Griffin, 1988, 53). Juan Cromberger also traded in slaves with the New World (Griffin, 1988, 78; Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 26). Trade of general merchandise to the New World by Juan Cromberger (Griffin, 1988, 79).
- Finance: In 1513, Jacobo Cromberger engaged in some minor deposit banking (Griffin, 1988, 53). The Cromberger were not involved in large loans to the Habsburgs. (Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 54).
- Industry: The Cromberger were the most important printers of Sevilla in the first half of the 16th century (Griffin, 1988, v). From the 1530s, the Cromberger were also involved in silver mining in Mexico (mines of Sultepec and Taxco) (Griffin, 1988, 94-96, 101). The Cromberger were involved in mining in Mexico (Zultepeque (from 1536)) (Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 28).
- Shipping: By 1525, Jacobo Cromberger and Lázaro Nuremberger possessed a ship named the Santiago (Griffin, 1988, 61).

Network of the Cromberger:

Table A..1. Network of the Cromberger, 1500 – ca. 1560 (especially 1500 – 1540)								
City	**R**	**Score**				**Period**	**Type of presence**	**References**
Sevilla		8	4	3	1	>1500-c.1560	By 1500, Jacobo Cromberger was living in the commercial district of Sevilla (Griffin, 1988, 27). Sevilla itself was a major market on which Jacobo Cromberger sold his books (Griffin, 1988, 39). From 1511, the Cromberger press was located in the Calle de Marmolejos in the parish of San Isidoro, close to the business centre (Griffin, 1988, 48). In 1540, Sevilla still was an important market for the Cromberger press (Griffin, 1988, 75).	
México City (Mexico)		4 **6**	2 **3**	2 **2**	1 **1**	1523-1545< 1539-1540s	The young Genoese bookseller Guido de Labezaris was sent to Mexico in 1536 as factor of Juan Cromberger (Griffin, 1988, 28). In 1523, Diego de Mendieta was sent to Mexico to sell goods for Jacobo Cromberger. However, Mendieta died in Vera Cruz in 1524, and the venture as a result ended in a disaster (Griffin, 1988, 60-62; Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 21). After this venture of 1523, the Crombergers continued to dispatch goods to Hispaniola and Mexico (Griffin, 1988, 62). Fray Juan de Zumárraga, bishop-elect of Mexico, acted on occasion as agent of Jacobo in Mexico (Griffin, 1988, 65, 82). In 1528, Jacobo Cromberger had interests in Santo Domingo, Mexico City and Yucatan (Griffin, 1988, 65-66). In 1545, Mateo Carón was sent to Mexico as a representative of the Cromberger press (Griffin, 1988, 71). Juan traded with Mexico City, and the provinces of Peru, Cartagena and Santa Marta in the New World in the 1530s (Griffin, 1988, 78-79). In 1535, Hans Henschel of Basle was sent to Mexico as a factor of Juan and Lázaro (Griffin, 1988, 79; Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 26). Goods shipped by Juan Cromberger to Vera Cruz (the port of entry to Mexico) in 1536. With the ship, Guido do Labezaris was sent to become Juan Cromberger's agent in Mexico City (Griffin, 1988, 79; Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 27). In 1539, Juan Cromberger founded a press in Mexico City, which was set up by Giovanni Paoli (Griffin, 1988, 84). In the 1540s, the press was handed over to Paoli (Griffin, 1988, 88).	
Lisbon		4	2	2	1	>1508-early 1550s<	Afonso Lourenço provided one of Jacobo Cromberger's retail outlets in Lisbon ca. 1514 (Griffin, 1988, 28). Lisbon was an important market for the books sold by Jacobo Cromberger (Griffin, 1988, 39). Jacobo Cromberger supplied booksellers in Lisbon by 1508 the latest (Griffin, 1988, 42). The	Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 19

							Crombergers had a factor working for them in Lisbon as a distributor: Luis Rodrigo (Griffin, 1988, 43). Continuing interest of Jacobo in Portugal: he died in Lisbon in 1528 (Griffin, 1988, 47, 69). Lázaro Nuremberger traded actively with the German community in Lisbon, especially in gems and pearls (Griffin, 1988, 68). Market for the book trade of Juan Cromberger at the time of his death (1540) (Griffin, 1988, 75). By the early 1550s, Jácome Cromberger carried on trade with Lisbon (Griffin, 1988, 102).	
Medina del Campo		4	2	2	1	>1529<, >1540<, >1556<	Large sales were made by the firm of Jacobo Cromberger to booksellers attending the fairs at Medina del Campo. Apparently Jacobo or his son Juan regularly attended the fairs. Juan was certainly at Medina del Campo in 1529 (Griffin, 1988, 39, 77). Market for the book trade of Juan Cromberger at the time of his death (1540) (Griffin, 1988, 75). Juan de Espinosa, a book merchant of Medina del Campo, married Ana de Maldonado, daughter of Juan Cromberger (Griffin, 1988, 76). In 1556, Jácome sold books to Alonso de Huete, a book-merchant from Medina-del-Campo (Griffin, 1988, 109).	
Santo Domingo (Hispaniola)		4	2	2	1	>1512-1528<	In 1514, a resident of Hispaniola owed a debt to Jacobo Cromberger. Cromberger produced prints for the Caribbean market in 1512 (Griffin, 1988, 52-53). After the venture of 1523 to Mexico, the Crombergers continued to dispatch goods to Hispaniola and Mexico (Griffin, 1988, 62). Export of hides to Santo Domingo at one time in the 1520s (Griffin, 1988, 63). Juan Francisco, an old colleague of Jacobo Cromberger, went to Hispaniola as Jacobo's factor on the island. Jacobo also exported cloth to Santo Domingo (Griffin, 1988, 64). In 1528, Jacobo Cromberger had interests in Santo Domingo, Mexico City and Yucatan (Griffin, 1988, 65-66). Factor (and partner) of the Cromberger-Nürnberger in Santo Domingo in 1525 was Juan Francisco. (Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 19).	
Alcalá de Henares		3	2	2	1	>1528<, >1540<	Market for the book trade of Jacobo Cromberger at the time of his death (1528) (Griffin, 1988, 39). Market for the book trade of Juan Cromberger at the time of his death (1540) (Griffin, 1988, 75). Jacobo Cromberger arranged with Eguía, printer and bookseller in Alcala, to sell each other's editions (Griffin, 1988, 40).	
Burgos		3	2	2	1	>1528<	Market for the book trade of Jacobo Cromberger at the time of his death (1528) (Griffin, 1988, 39). Jacobo Cromberger had business connections with the Burgos printer Juan de Junta (Griffin, 1988, 40).	
Cartagena		3	2	2	1	>1530s<	Juan traded with Mexico City, and the provinces of Peru, Cartagena and	

province (Colombia)							Santa Marta in the New World in the 1530s (Griffin, 1988, 78-79).	
Peru		3	2	2	1	>1530s<	Juan traded with Mexico City, and the provinces of Peru, Cartagena and Santa Marta in the New World in the 1530s (Griffin, 1988, 78-79).	
Salamanca		3	2	2	1	>1528<, >1540<	Market for the book trade of Jacobo Cromberger at the time of his death (1528) (Griffin, 1988, 39). Dealings with the Caróns, book-merchants of Salamanca by Jacobo and Juan (Griffin, 1988, 71-72). Market for the book trade of Juan Cromberger at the time of his death (1540) (Griffin, 1988, 75).	
Santa Marta province		3	2	2	1	>1530s<	Juan traded with Mexico City, and the provinces of Peru, Cartagena and Santa Marta in the New World in the 1530s (Griffin, 1988, 78-79).	
Toledo		3	2	2	1	>1528<	Market for the book trade of Jacobo Cromberger at the time of his death (1528) (Griffin, 1988, 39). Jacobo Cromberger had business connections with the Toledo printer Ramón de Petras (Griffin, 1988, 40).	
Valencia		3	2	2	1		Jacobo Cromberger had business connections with the Valencian printer Jorge Costilla (Griffin, 1988, 40, 67). Debt owed by a Valencian bookseller to Juan Cromberger. Perhaps Juan had found a retail outlet in Valencia (Griffin, 1988, 75).	
Valladolid		3	2	2	1		Valladolid was an important market for the books of Jacobo Cromberger: substantial dealings with the booksellers of Valladolid (Griffin, 1988, 39).	
Veracruz		3	2	2	1	>1524<, >1536<, >1539<	The young Genoese bookseller Guido de Labezaris was sent to Mexico in 1536 as factor of Juan Cromberger (Griffin, 1988, 28). In 1523, Diego de Mendieta was sent to Mexico to sell goods for Jacobo Cromberger. However, Mendieta died in Vera Cruz in 1524, and the venture as a result ended in a disaster (Griffin, 1988, 60-62). After this venture of 1523, the Crombergers continued to dispatch goods to Hispaniola and Mexico (Griffin, 1988, 62). Fray Juan de Zumárraga, bishop-elect of Mexico, acted on occasion as agent of Jacobo in Mexico (Griffin, 1988, 65, 82). In 1545, Mateo Carón was sent to Mexico as a representative of the Cromberger press (Griffin, 1988, 71). In 1535, Hans Henschel of Basle was sent to Mexico as a factor of Juan and Lázaro (Griffin, 1988, 79). Goods shipped by Juan Cromberger to Vera Cruz (the port of entry to Mexico) in 1536. With the ship, Guido do Labezaris was sent to become Juan Cromberger's agent in Mexico City (Griffin, 1988, 79). In 1538-1539, Peter Marcus travelled to Mexico, among others with three slaves of Juan Cromberger. He arrived in Vera Cruz in March 1539. In April he returned with silver of the	

							Cromberger. (Kellenbenz & Walter, 28).	
Ayamonte		2	2	1	0	>1528<	Market for the book trade of Jacobo Cromberger at the time of his death (1528) (Griffin, 1988, 39).	
Azores		2	2	1	0	>1528<	Market for the book trade of Jacobo Cromberger at the time of his death (1528) (Griffin, 1988, 39).	
Córdoba		2	2	1	0	>1528<	Market for the book trade of Jacobo Cromberger at the time of his death (1528) (Griffin, 1988, 39).	
Écija		2	2	1	0	>1528<, >1540<	Market for the book trade of Jacobo Cromberger at the time of his death (1528) (Griffin, 1988, 39). Market for the book trade of Juan Cromberger at the time of his death (1540) (Griffin, 1988, 75).	
Évora		2	2	1	0	>1528<, >1540<	Market for the book trade of Jacobo Cromberger at the time of his death (1528) (Griffin, 1988, 39). Market for the book trade of Juan Cromberger at the time of his death (1540) (Griffin, 1988, 75).	
Flanders		2	2	1	0	1516	In 1516, Jacobo Cromberger imported timber from Flanders (Griffin, 1988, 53). Juan Cromberger had investments in northern Europe (Griffin, 1988, 97).	
Granada		2	2	1	0	>1528<, >1540<	Market for the book trade of Jacobo Cromberger at the time of his death (1528) (Griffin, 1988, 39). Market for the book trade of Juan Cromberger at the time of his death (1540) (Griffin, 1988, 75).	
Guimarães		2	2	1	0	>1540<	Market for the book trade of Juan Cromberger at the time of his death (1540) (Griffin, 1988, 75).	
Jaén		2	2	1	0	>1528<	Market for the book trade of Jacobo Cromberger at the time of his death (1528) (Griffin, 1988, 39).	
Jerez de la Frontera		2	2	1	0	>1528<, >1540<	Market for the book trade of Jacobo Cromberger at the time of his death (1528) (Griffin, 1988, 39). Market for the book trade of Juan Cromberger at the time of his death (1540) (Griffin, 1988, 75).	
Llerena		2	2	1	0	>1528<	Market for the book trade of Jacobo Cromberger at the time of his death (1528) (Griffin, 1988, 39).	
Málaga		2	2	1	0	>1528<, >1540<	Market for the book trade of Jacobo Cromberger at the time of his death (1528) (Griffin, 1988, 39). Market for the book trade of Juan Cromberger at the time of his death (1540) (Griffin, 1988, 75).	
Medina de Ríoseco		2	2	1	0	1529	In 1529, Juan Cromberger visited the fairs of Villalon and Medina de Rioseco (Griffin, 1988, 39, 77).	
Mérida		2	2	1	0	>1528<	Market for the book trade of Jacobo Cromberger at the time of his death (1528) (Griffin, 1988, 39).	

Porto		2	2	1	0	>1528<	Market for the book trade of Jacobo Cromberger at the time of his death (1528) (Griffin, 1988, 39).	
Sultepec		2	2	1	0	from 1536	From the 1530s, the Cromberger were involved in silver mining in Mexico (mines of Sultepec and Taxco) (Griffin, 1988, 94-96, 101). The Cromberger were involved in mining in Mexico (Zultepeque near Mexico City (from 1536)). The mine was purchased by Hans Henschel. (Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 28).	
Taxco de Alarcón		2	2	1	0	from 1530s	From the 1530s, the Cromberger were involved in silver mining in Mexico (mines of Sultepec and Taxco) (Griffin, 1988, 94-96, 101). The Cromberger were involved in mining in Mexico (Zultepeque (from 1536)) (Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 28).	
Villalón		2	2	1	0	1529	In 1529, Juan Cromberger visited the fairs of Villalon and Medina de Rioseco (Griffin, 1988, 39, 77).	
Yucatán		2	2	1	0	>1528<	In 1528, Jacobo Cromberger had interests in Santo Domingo, Mexico City and Yucatan (Griffin, 1988, 65-66).	
Zafra		2	2	1	0	>1528<	Market for the book trade of Jacobo Cromberger at the time of his death (1528) (Griffin, 1988, 39).	
Cologne		1	1	1	0	1522	A copy of an edition of Jacobo Cromberger was purchased in Cologne in 1522 (Griffin, 1988, 40).	

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DIESBACH-WATT-GESELLSCHAFT, ca. 1418 – ca. 1460

Definitely existed in 1420, but was perhaps older. Disappeared in 1460. Members of the company came from different towns: Sankt Gallen (Hug and Peter von Watt, Zwick), Bern (Diesbach, Schopfer, Brüggler), Basel, Nürnberg (Schulte, 1923, II, 12-13). At the head of the company: Nikolaus von Diesbach, later Nikolaus von Diesbach, Hug and Peter von Watt (Schulte, 1923, II, 13). In 1451, headed by Ludwig, Loys and Hans von Diesbach and Peter von Watt (Schulte, 1923, II, 13). In 1457, headed by Kaspar Wirt, Hugo von Watt and Otmar Zwick (Schulte, 1923, II, 13). The Diesbach withdrew from trade ca. 1450, while the von Watt remained active in business (Schulte, 1923, II, 13). The Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft was originally founded by the Diesbach of Bern. The first known member of the family was Niklaus (I) von Diesbach (ca. 1370/80-1436), also named Clewi Goldschmied. (Ammann, 1928, 17). At the end of his life, Niklaus von Diesbach had a lot of real estate in his possession: already evolution towards an aristocratic lifestyle. Niklaus von Diesbach became one of the most important citizens of Bern. (Ammann, 1928, 18-19). Niklaus von Diesbach began his career as a goldsmith in France. After his return to Bern, he began trading with France in the first decade of the 15th century. (Ammann, 1928, 19). Peter Brüggler was a brother-in-law of Niklaus (I) von Diesbach. He became a partner of Niklaus von Diesbach, and later also in the Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft. (Ammann, 1928, 21-22). The Von Watt are mentioned in Sankt Gallen since the end of the 14th century. Konrad (I) von Watt (mentioned for the first time in 1392, d. 1403) became burgomaster in Sankt Gallen. He must have been a rich citizen, but it is not known whether he was a merchant. (Ammann, 1928, 23). One of the three sons of Konrad (I) von Watt was Hug von Watt (d. 1460/61), who was one of the richest citizens of Sankt Gallen. (Ammann, 1928, 24). Peter von Watt (d. 1462) was a relative of Hug von Watt (perhaps a cousin). Peter von Watt went to Nürnberg ca. 1427, where he founded the Nürnberg branch of the von Watt family, and became member of the patriciate. (Ammann, 1928, 25). Hug and Peter von Watt were merchants, probably trading in linen of Sankt Gallen. They probably became active in commerce during the first or second decade of the 15th century. (Ammann, 1928, 26). Probably at some point, a company was established between Niklaus von Diesbach and Hug and Peter von Watt. Before, Niklaus von Diesbach had especially traded with the west, while the von Watt had focused upon trade with the east. Other partners in the new company were probably Kaspar Wirt of Sankt Gallen and Peter Brüggler of Bern. The company was probably headed by Niklaus von Diesbach. (Ammann, 1928, 30). The Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft definitely existed by 1428, but probably already before 1418. Perhaps the company already existed in the middle or first half of the 1410s, or even in the first decade of the 15th century. (Ammann, 1928, 30-31). At the time of its existence, the company was never called Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft: anachronistic name. (Ammann, 1928, 9). After the death of Niklaus von Diesbach, his fortune came in hands of his three sons Loy (ca. 1400-1451), Ludwig (1400-1452) and Hans (d. 1456), who became the most important partners in the company. However, they increasingly adopted an aristocratic lifestyle. Only Hans was perhaps active as a merchant during most of his life. Loy gave his name to the company, e.g. in 1443-1445, and was sometimes involved in the leadership of the firm. (Ammann, 1928, 32-38). In the 1450s, the company was mentioned less and less in the sources. Probably the Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft was dissolved ca. 1460. Several important partners died at the end of the 1450s: Kaspar Wirt (1457/58), Heinrich Zwick the younger (1458/59), Hug von Watt (1460/61), Ulrich Brendler (1461/62), Peter von Watt (1462). (Ammann, 1928, 110). The company probably existed for ca. 50 years. (Ammann, 1928, 111). The company was normally named after one or more partners, and was named differently in different regions: e.g. Kaspar von Watt, Loy von

Diesbach, Hans von Diesbach,... (Ammann, 1928, 102). The company had a large number of partners. Different partners played a different role in the company. Some were only investors in the company, but most were active as businessmen. (Ammann, 1928, 104). Nikolaus von Diesbach, merchant from Bern. (Aubin, 1940, 153). Ludwig von Diesbach from Bern (1448): head of a company that was the main competitor of the Grosse Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft (Schulte, 1923, I, 29). Ludwig von Diesbach was a member of the von Watt-Diesbach-Gesellschaft (Schulte, 1923, I, 30).

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Source material:

A family chronicle of the Diesbach family has been preserved, which was written by Christoph von Diesbach between 1596 and 1607, and later continued by other members of the family. This family chronicle is exceptionally reliable compared to other family chronicles. (Ammann, 1928, 12). Among the principal sources about the Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft are the toll book of the Germans in Barcelona (1425-1445), Aragon and Perpignan, and the letters of Peter Schopfer, one of the partners. (Ammann, 1928, 11). Additional, and very fragmentary data can be found in several archives: Bern, Sankt Gallen, Basel, Fribourg, Thun (contains the letters of Peter Schopfer), Freiburg im Breisgau, Konstanz, Frankfurt am Main, Nürnberg (e.g. four letters from the representatives in Wrocław and Kraków), Wrocław, Berlin, Kraków, Posen, Prague, and several Spanish archives. Only a very small amount of data of the Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft have been preserved (e.g. compared to the Grosse Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft). As a result, the activities of the Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft can be reconstructed only very partially. (Ammann, 1928, 14-16). Main sources about the Diesbach-Watt company are a family chronicle written by Christoph von Diesbach, and fragments of correspondence. (Petry, 1935, 1-2).

Size: Large

The Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft was the largest Swiss company of the 15th century. (Ammann, 1928, 9). Niklaus von Diesbach left a fortune of ca. 70,000 gulden at his death, being the richest citizen of Bern of the 15th century. In 1448, his three sons paid taxes on a property worth 70,000 Gulden. (Ammann, 1928, 19). Niklaus von Diesbach was one of the richest men of High Germany in the middle of the 15th c. (Aubin, 1940, 153).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Linen trade, trade in spices (Schulte, 1923, II, 13). The Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft traded in goods produced in Nürnberg and Sankt Gallen. (Ammann, 1928, 62). Main business activity of the Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft was the trade in linen of Sankt-Gallen. (62-63). Export of metal wares from Nürnberg. (63). Import in Barcelona of linen and fustians from lake Constance, as well as hats and metalwares, export from Barcelona of saffron, but also of coral, cotton, southern fruits and spices. (70-72). In Wrocław, the Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft purchased furs and wax from the northeast, and traded in linen, metalwares and cloth from Upper Germany. The company also traded in fustians from Wrocław. (Ammann, 1928, 83-84). In Kraków, the Diesbach-Watt company purchased wax and furs, and sold linen, fustians, and cloth from England, the Low Countries, Italy, the Rhineland and Upper Germany, as well as metal wares from Nürnberg. (Ammann, 1928, 84-85). Niklaus von Diesbach was active in commerce, finance and mining. (Ammann, 1928, 23).
- Finance: King Kasimir of Poland had a debt of 400 Gulden to the Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft in 1456. (Ammann, 1928, 85-86). The Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft had connections with the margrave of Brandenburg who made payments to Peter von Watt. (Ammann, 1928, 86). The Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft appears to have transferred important sums for the church in Wrocław. (Ammann, 1928, 82-83). In 1434 Rudiger transferred income of papal taxes from Posen to Wrocław for the papal collector in Posen. (Ammann, 1928, 87-88). The Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft had connections with the Polish court as well as with several members of the Polish nobility and their courts. (Ammann, 1928, 88-89). Important financial activities of Niklaus von Diesbach the elder, e.g. loans to Fribourg in 1424 and 1427. (Ammann, 1928, 18). Niklaus von Diesbach was active in commerce, finance and mining. (Ammann, 1928, 23).
- Industry: In 1416, Niklaus von Diesbach became involved in iron mining activities in the Haslital, together with three other partners. In 1422, he sold his shares in this mining activity. (Ammann, 1928, 20-21). Niklaus von Diesbach was active in commerce, finance and mining. (Ammann, 1928, 23).

Network of the Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft:

The main trade axis of the Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft ran from Spain in the southwest to Poland in the northeast, with secondary axes to the north (Rhine and northern France) and the south (Italy). (Ammann, 1928, 64). The Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft did have no connections with Hungary and Austria. (Ammann, 1928, 80). No indications for activities of the company in Erfurt or middle-northern Germany. (Ammann, 1928, 81-82). Peter von Watt and Kaspar Wirt became the main representatives in the eastern business. (Ammann, 1928, 82-83). No indications for

connections with Lvov or Upper Hungary. (Ammann, 1928, 86). No indications exist for activities of the Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft along the Rhine downstream of Frankfurt or in the Low Countries. Probably the Diesbach-Watt were not active in the Low Countries. (Ammann, 1928, 91). Most of the partners were active in the business of the company, and controlled the business abroad. In addition, the Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft had several employees: "Gesellen" and apprentices. Some of the employees, especially the older ones, invested in the company. (Ammann, 1928, 104-106).

"Es zeigt sich also auch hier die bekannte Tatsache, dass der mittelalterliche Handel nicht das gesamte erreichbare Gebiet erfasste, sondern sich auf einzelne Teile beschränkte. Die Schwierigkeiten, das Ganze zu übersehen und auszumützen, waren eben bei den damaligen Nachrichten- und Hilfsmitteln zu gross." (Ammann, 1928, 92-93).

Table A..1. Network of the Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft, ca. 1418 – ca. 1460

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Bern		**8** 7	**4** 3	**3** 2	**1** 1	c.1418-end 1440s from end 1440s	Headquarters under Nikolaus von Diesbach (Schulte, 1923, II, 13). Branch. (Ammann, 1928, appendix 5). The principal partners of the Diesbach-Watt-company were citizens of Sankt-Gallen, Bern and Nürnberg. (62). Permanent representative in Bern was Niklaus von Diesbach himself, later Peter Brüggler and Peter Schopfer the elder. The Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft especially imported goods in Bern. Bern was also the main centre for the Gesellschaft for trade with the west. (62). Niklaus von Diesbach owned rents in Basel, Freiburg im Breisgau, Schaffhausen and Bern. (Ammann, 1928, 18). The Diesbach were a family from Bern. (Ammann, 1928, 17). The headquarters of the Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft were located in Bern until the end of the 1440s. (Ammann, 1928, 30). Peter Brüggler of Bern was a partner of the company. (Ammann, 1928, 30). The headquarters were located in Bern until the 1440s. (Ammann, 1928, 107). Among the partners in Bern were Niklaus (I) von Diesbach, his sons Loys, Ludwig, and Hans, and later Niklaus (II) (1430-1475), son of Loys. Other partners in Bern were Peter Schopfer the elder and the younger, and Peter Brüggler. (Ammann, 1928, 103).	
Nürnberg		7	3	2	1	>1406-1427<	Branch according to the family chronicle (Schulte, 1923, II, 13). A branch of the Von Watt family moved to Nürnberg (Schulte, 1923, II, 13). Via Nürnberg, the Diesbach-Watt company had connections to central and eastern Europe. (Von Stromer, 1973, 337). Branch. (Ammann, 1928, appendix 5). The principal partners of the Diesbach-Watt-company were	

							citizens of Sankt-Gallen, Bern and Nürnberg. (62). Permanent representation in Nürnberg. Head in Nürnberg for several years was Peter von Watt. Another representative was Kaspar Wirt. Several partners came from or moved to Nürnberg, which had important trade privileges. For the company, Nürnberg was an important centre for trade with the east. (63). The business of the Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft with the north and the east took place via Nürnberg. (Ammann, 1928, 80-81). In the east, the principal centres for the Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft were Wrocław, Posen, Kraków, and temporarily also Prague. These branches always employed several Diener. Close connections existed between these eastern branches and Nürnberg. Letters and members of the company travelled between these branches. (Ammann, 1928, 89). In 1417-18, Niklaus von Diesbach was involved in a lawsuit in Bern against a merchant of Nürnberg from whom he had purchased silver. As a result of this conflict, goods of Niklaus von Diesbach were confiscated in Nürnberg. (Ammann, 1928, 21-22). Peter Brüggler traded with Eger and Nürnberg in 1406. (Ammann, 1928, 21-22). Peter von Watt went to Nürnberg ca. 1427, where he founded the Nürnberg branch of the von Watt family, and became member of the patriciate. (Ammann, 1928, 25). In 1419, Peter von Watt was in Nürnberg. (Ammann, 1928, 26). Partners in Nürnberg were Burkart Mufflinger and Kunz Guldenmund. (Ammann, 1928, 103).	
Sankt Gallen		**7** 8	**3** 4	**2** 3	**1** 1	c.1418-end 1440s end 1440s-1457<	Linen trade (Schulte, 1923, II, 13). Headquarters. (Von Stromer, 1973, 337). Branch. (Ammann, 1928, appendix 5). The principal partners of the Diesbach-Watt-company were citizens of Sankt-Gallen, Bern and Nürnberg. (62). Permanent representative in Sankt-Gallen. Probably, Sankt Gallen was the most important centre for the Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft. (62-63). The von Watt were a family from Sankt Gallen. (Ammann, 1928, 23-24). Kaspar Wirt of Sankt Gallen was a partner of the company. (Ammann, 1928, 30). The company was mentioned for the last time in Sankt Gallen in 1457. (Ammann, 1928, 110). Since the end of the 1440s until the end of the 1450s, the headquarters were located in Sankt Gallen. (Ammann, 1928, 107, 110). Partners in Sankt Gallen were Hug and Peter von Watt, Heinrich and Othmar Zwick, Kaspar Wirt, Ulrich Brendler. (Ammann, 1928, 103).	
Avignon		6	3	2	1	>1443<	Branch. (Ammann, 1928, appendix 5). Permanent representation in Avignon (e.g. in 1443). In 1443, 26 bales of linen were warehoused in Avignon. This	

							branch was only mentioned once. The branch was probably headed by a French citizen, although from time to time partners may have been in Avignon as well. (Ammann, 1928, 66-67). The Von Watt had a branch in Avignon (Schulte, 1923, I, 388).	
Barcelona		6	3	2	1	>1428-1449<	Diener: Kaspar Ruchenacker (Schulte, 1923, II, 13). Branch (Schulte, 1923, II, 13). Branch. (Ammann, 1928, appendix 5). The Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft made use of the maritime route Valencia – Barcelona – San Feliu – Port-de-Bouc – Genoa. (Ammann, 1928, appendix 5). Barcelona was the most important centre for trade of the Diesbach-Watt in Spain. The Diesbach-Watt Gesellschaft already had a branch in Barcelona under Niklaus von Diesbach, apparently headed by Kaspar Ruchenacker shortly before the death of Niklaus von Diesbach in 1436. Probably Kaspar Ruchenacker was the same as Gaspar de Vat (Kaspar of the Watt-company), who is mentioned regularly in the toll books of Barcelona between 1428 and 1445. (Ammann, 1928, 68-69). Hans, the youngest son of Niklaus von Diesbach, did his apprenticeship in Barcelona (sometime after 1430). In 1433, a “companya de Gaspar de Vat e Luys Destre” was mentioned in Barcelona. Also other mentions of a company of the Diesbach in Barcelona after 1440. (Ammann, 1928, 69-70). The Diesbach-Watt company was mentioned for the first time in Barcelona in 1428, but probably the firm was active in Barcelona already before. The company was mentioned without interruption in the toll books of Barcelona until 1445, when the toll books disappear for several years. Although the company probably remained active in Barcelona for a numer of years after 1445, it is not mentioned anymore in the next extant set of toll books, beginning in 1467. (Ammann, 1928, 70). For trade with Barcelona, the firm made use of land transport (pack animals) as well as ships: use of the Venetian galleys (1438-1440, 1443-1444), the Florentine galleys (1440-1441, 1444), ships from Nice (1443), Castilian ships (1443), etc. (Ammann, 1928, 72, 77-78). Four private letters of Schopfer were sent from Barcelona in 1442-43. In Barcelona the company had at least two representatives at the same time. Many visits by the partners, who accompanied shipments of wares to Barcelona (e.g. Peter Schopfer in 1442). (72). Other members of the company present in Barcelona were Polly Zwick (1442) and a certain Simon Sala. Heinrich von Wabern was in Barcelona in 1442. In 1442-43, Schopfer was in Barcelona,	

							first together with Polly Zwick, later with Heinrich von Wabern. (73). In 1444, Niklaus von Diesbach the younger was sent to Barcelona, where he stayed until 1449 (short absence in 1447). (73). The branch in Barcelona existed at least until 1449, and probably still in the 1450s. Barcelona was a very important centre for the Diesbach-Watt Gesellschaft. The Diesbach-Watt company was probably the second most important German firm in Barcelona. (74). From Barcelona, several production sites of saffron and smaller commercial centres of Catalunya were probably visited by members of the Diesbach-Watt company. (74). Hans von Diesbach, son of Niklaus (I), did his apprenticeship in Barcelona. In Spain, the company was still named after Hans von Diesbach in 1443. (Ammann, 1928, 32, 35).	
Basel		6	3	2	1	>1412-1454<	Branch. (Ammann, 1928, appendix 5). Basel was the place of origin of three important partners. In 1454 connections existed with Heinrich Halbysen in Basel. In 1444 a large amount of goods was robbed near Basel. (Ammann, 1928, 90). In 1412, Niklaus (I) von Diesbach was in Basel and at the fairs of Frankfurt. (Ammann, 1928, 17). Niklaus von Diesbach owned rents in Basel (purchased in 1412), Freiburg im Breisgau, Schaffhausen and Bern. (Ammann, 1928, 18, 21-22). Partners in Basel were Wernli Freidigman, Klaus Schmidlin, and Wernli von Kilchen. (Ammann, 1928, 103).	
Geneva		6	3	2	1	>1428-1450<	Branch according to the family chronicle (Schulte, 1923, II, 13). Branch. (Ammann, 1928, appendix 5). Permanent settlement. Perhaps the branch existed already under Niklaus von Diesbach (d. 1436), who travelled regularly to Geneva. Niklaus von Diesbach is known to have been active in Geneva in 1428, 1430 and 1431. Peter Schopfer visited the fairs of Geneva while being in Bern. In 1445 Peter Schopfer and a certain Wernli visited the fairs of Geneva for the Diesbach-Watt Gesellschaft. A number of other Diener travelled through Geneva (e.g. Konrad von Kilchen, Thomas Fischer). In 1445-46, Wernli Freidigmann, partner, had a sort of branch in Geneva. In 1447 the Diener Hans von Büren kept his books by an innkeeper in Geneva. Ca. 1450, the company suffered relatively large losses in Geneva. (Ammann, 1928, 64-65). Niklaus von Diesbach is known to have been active in Geneva since 1428. (Ammann, 1928, 22-23).	
Kraków		6	3	2	1	>1444-1457<	Branch (Schulte, 1923, II, 13). Branch. (Ammann, 1928, appendix 5). The Diesbach-Watt company had a branch in Kraków, the most important city of Poland, with important staple rights. In 1444, the branch was headed by	

							Hans Brendler of Sankt Gallen. However, this branch was probably much older than 1444. Three letters of Hans Brendler to his father (a partner in Sankt Gallen) and to Kaspar Wirt in Nürnberg have been preserved. It is not known whether the branch in Kraków had other personnel than Hans Brendler. From Kraków, the company had perhaps connections with Upper Hungary for the import of copper. (Ammann, 1928, 84-85). Hans Brendler remained at the head of the Kraków branch for several more years. In 1446 he was in debt to a citizen of Kraków. After 1451, Brendler is not known to have been in Kraków anymore. In 1452 he was in Posen, and subsequently he returned to Sankt Gallen. The new head in Kraków became Rudiger. King Kasimir of Poland had a debt of 400 Gulden to the Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft in 1456. In the 1440s and 1450s several persons had debts to the Diesbach-Watt firm in Kraków. In 1454, Rudiger sold the house of a debtor in Kraków. In case of absence of Rudiger, the company was represented in Kraków by Nicolaus Greydeler, citizen of Kraków, e.g. in 1456. Rudiger and the Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft ("Kaspar Wirt und Peter von Watt") are mentioned for the last time in Kraków in 1457. (Ammann, 1928, 85-86). In the east, the principal centres for the Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft were Wrocław, Posen, Kraków, and temporarily also Prague. These branches always employed several Diener. Close connections existed between these eastern branches and Nürnberg. Letters and members of the company travelled between these branches. (Ammann, 1928, 89). The company was mentioned for the last time in Kraków in 1457. (Ammann, 1928, 110). The Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft was active in Wrocław and Kraków in 1444. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 74).	
Poznań		6	3	2	1	>1432-1452<	Branch. (Ammann, 1928, appendix 5). In 1434 incomes of papal taxes were sent by a clergyman of Posen via Wrocław by Rudiger, representative of the Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft. (Ammann, 1928, 82-83). In 1452 Hans Brendler (previously head of the Kraków branch) was in Posen, and subsequently he returned to Sankt Gallen. (Ammann, 1928, 85-86). Branch in Posen. Posen was an important commercial centre. Already in 1432, Peter von Watt had several Diener in Posen. In 1434 Rudiger transferred income of papal taxes from Posen to Wrocław for the papal collector in Posen. In 1440, an agreement was concluded between Kaspar Wirt and two citizens of Posen for supply of oxen. In the same year, hides of the company were	

							seized near Posen. In 1444, Rudiger was in Posen again. Kunz Guldenmund as well as Rudiger were from time to time in Posen for the Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft. The Posen branch was probably as important as the branches in Wrocław and Kraków, although less is known about this branch. Sometime before 1449 goods of the company were transported to Posen. In 1450, Rudiger had a small debt to a citizen of Posen. In 1452, Rudiger and Hans Brendler appear in a lawsuit in Posen. After 1452 no indications can be found anymore about a branch in Posen, although it probably still existed in 1457. (Ammann, 1928, 87-88). In the east, the principal centres for the Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft were Wrocław, Posen, Kraków, and temporarily also Prague. These branches always employed several Diener. Close connections existed between these eastern branches and Nürnberg. Letters and members of the company travelled between these branches. (Ammann, 1928, 89). A branch of the Von Watt family moved to Posen (Schulte, 1923, II, 13). Von Watt company of Sankt Gallen had a representative in Posen. (Schulte, 1923, I, 453).	
Prague		6	3	2	1	>1436-1451<	Branch according to the family chronicle (Schulte, 1923, II, 13). Regularly visited by the company. (Ammann, 1928, appendix 5). Niklaus von Diesbach apparently had a factor in Prague, despite the Hussite war, which seriously hindered business. Perhaps the company already had a branch in Prague before 1436. In 1451 the Diener Kunz Rudiger of Sankt Gallen made his will in Prague. (Ammann, 1928, 80-81). In the east, the principal centres for the Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft were Wrocław, Posen, Kraków, and temporarily also Prague. These branches always employed several Diener. Close connections existed between these eastern branches and Nürnberg. Letters and members of the company travelled between these branches. (Ammann, 1928, 89).	
Valencia		6	3	2	1	>1445<	Branch. (Ammann, 1928, appendix 5). The Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft made use of the maritime route Valencia – Barcelona – San Feliu – Port-de-Bouc – Genoa. (Ammann, 1928, appendix 5). Probably, the Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft had a branch in Valencia. This branch was mentioned in a letter from Valencia to Barcelona in 1445. (Ammann, 1928, 76).	
Venice		6	3	2	1	>1431-1445<	Branch according to the family chronicle (Schulte, 1923, II, 13). Branch. (Ammann, 1928, appendix 5). Branch. Already a representative under Niklaus von Diesbach (d. 1436). In 1436 Giovanni Cherbini was a factor of	

							Peter von Watt in Venice. In 1431 Burkart Mufflinger was in Venice, but it is not known whether he was already active for the Diesbach-Watt company at that time. In 1445, Peter Schopfer expected losses for the company as a result of the bankruptcy of a Venetian banker. (Ammann, 1928, 78-79).	
Wrocław		6	3	2	1	>1418-1457<	Branch (Schulte, 1923, II, 13). Branch. (Ammann, 1928, appendix 5). The Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft carried out considerable business in Wrocław. One of the partners came from Wrocław. Her investment in the company was paid back in 1457. Already in 1418, Peter von Watt and company had outstanding debts in Wrocław. The fairs of Wrocław were regularly visited by the company in this period. In 1421, Kaspar Wirt had outstanding debts with two citizens of Wrocław. New mentions of activities in Wrocław only appear again in 1437: at that time Kaspar Wirt had a debt with a Lublin merchant in Wrocław. In this period, close connections existed between Kaspar Wirt and Nikolaus Gramis of Wrocław, papal collector in the east. The Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft appears to have transferred important sums for the church in Wrocław. E.g. in 1434 incomes of papal taxes were sent by a clergyman of Posen via Rudiger, representative of the Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft. Ca. 1441, Peter von Watt represented the Diesbach-Watt company in a lawsuit in Breslau against Nikolaus Gramis. (Ammann, 1928, 82-83). A letter of 1444 of the representative of the Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft in Wrocław to Kaspar Wirt in Nürnberg has been preserved. Head of the branch in Wrocław in 1444 was Ulrich Hör of Sankt-Gallen, who had succeeded Hans Nagel. Also a certain Rudi was in Wrocław for the company in 1444. The Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft had a temporary residence with a basement in Wrocław, belonging to the “Stoltzin”, a partner in the company. The fairs of Wrocław were of importance for the firm. (Ammann, 1928, 83-84). In 1446, Ulrich Hör still headed the branch in Wrocław. In 1450, Rudiger was in Wrocław for the company. The Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft was mentioned for the last time in Wrocław in 1457, when the investments of the Stoltzin, partner in Wrocław, were paid back. However, even after the dissolution of the Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft, former members of the company remained active in Wrocław. (Ammann, 1928, 84). In the east, the principal centres for the Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft were Wrocław, Posen, Kraków, and temporarily also Prague. These branches always employed several Diener. Close connections	

							existed between these eastern branches and Nürnberg. Letters and members of the company travelled between these branches. (Ammann, 1928, 89). In 1418, Peter von Watt was in Wrocław as representative of the Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft. (Ammann, 1928, 26). The company was mentioned for the last time in Wrocław in 1457. (Ammann, 1928, 110). Partner in Wrocław was Katharina Stolzynne. (Ammann, 1928, 103). The von Watt of Sankt Gallen had a branch in Wrocław (Schulte, 1923, I, 478). The Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft was active in Wrocław and Kraków in 1444. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 74).	
Zaragoza		6	3	2	1		Branch (Schulte, 1923, II, 13). Branch. (Ammann, 1928, appendix 5). Probably, the Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft had a branch in Zaragoza, especially for the saffron trade of Aragon. Several Diener of the company were active in trade with Aragon, e.g. Heinrich von Wabern. Niklaus von Diesbach the younger sometimes stayed in Zaragoza while residing in Spain. The company also had Aragonese representatives in Aragon. Increasingly, the business in Aragon became more important than the business of the company in Barcelona. (Ammann, 1928, 75).	
Frankfurt am Main		3	2	2	1	>1412-1454<	Regularly visited by the company. (Ammann, 1928, appendix 5). Members of the Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft probably regularly visited the fairs of Frankfurt, but not much is known about this. Many members of the company have been in Frankfurt, but it is not known whether they carried out business here for the company. Niklaus von Diesbach already went to Frankfurt in 1412, while at the same time also Heinrich Zwick of Sankt Gallen went to Frankfurt am Main. In 1416, Othmar Zwick (son or brother of Heinrich) was involved in a lawsuit with a citizen of Amberg in Frankfurt. Burkart Mufflinger, a partner from Nürnberg, was in Frankfurt in 1447. Ludwig von Diesbach also carried out business in Frankfurt. Only in 1451, the Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft itself was mentioned in Frankfurt. Apparently, the company had a warehouse or basement in Frankfurt at that time. In 1454, Halbysen the younger made a payment for the Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft in Frankfurt am Main. (Ammann, 1928, 90-91). In 1412, Niklaus (I) von Diesbach was in Basel and at the fairs of Frankfurt. (Ammann, 1928, 17, 21-22). Peter Watt was one of the main suppliers of the Mulich brothers at the fairs of Frankfurt in 1495 (Dollinger, 1970, 178).	
Frankfurt an		3	2	2	1	>1444-1449<	Regularly visited by the company. (Ammann, 1928, appendix 5). Frankfurt	

der Oder							an der Oder was regularly visited by members of the Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft. Frankfurt an der Oder was a market as well as an intermediary for the eastern trade of the company. In 1444, the Diener Hans Nagel stayed for a longer period in Frankfurt an der Oder. (Ammann, 1928, 86). In Frankfurt an der Oder, the company was represented by an innkeeper. In addition, members of the company (especially Hans Nagel) regularly visited Frankfurt an der Oder. In 1446, Hans Nagel had to pay a claim in Frankfurt an der Oder. A lawsuit was still being held about this claim in 1449. (87). Hans Nagel sent letters from Frankfurt an der Oder. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 75).	
Montpellier		3	2	2	1	>1442-1443<	In France, trade in Paris, Rouen, Lyon, Macon, Montpellier, Burgundy (Schulte, 1923, II, 13). Regularly visited by the company. (Ammann, 1928, appendix 5). Montpellier was mentioned several times in letters of Peter Schopfer. However, it is not entirely certain whether the company had business here. In 1442 Peter Schopfer sent a letter from Montpellier while on the road to Barcelona. Later the same year, goods were received by Schopfer in Montpellier. In 1443 Heinrich von Wabern was in Montpellier for the collection of confiscated wares of the company. (Ammann, 1928, 67).	
Nördlingen		3	2	2	1	>1428-1449<	Regularly visited by the company. (Ammann, 1928, appendix 5). The Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft was active at the fairs of Nördlingen. In 1428, Heinrich Zwick and Heinrich Schriber made a payment for wax in Nördlingen. In 1449 a Diener of Peter von Watt was at the fairs of Nördlingen. In 1449 also Othmar Zwick was at the Nördlingen fairs. Probably the fairs of Nördlingen were regularly visited by the Diesbach-Watt. (Ammann, 1928, 92).	
Perpignan		3	2	2	1	>1430-1444<	Regularly visited by the company. (Ammann, 1928, appendix 5). The firm transported merchandise between Spain and Germany via Perpignan (e.g. in 1439-40). Toll books of Perpignan mention the activity of the Diesbach-Watt company in Perpignan in 1430-1444. Most of the business of the company in Perpignan consisted of transit trade. No large business activities were carried out here. (Ammann, 1928, 74-75).	
Warsaw		3	2	2	1	>1440-1449<	Branch, not mentioned by Ammann however. (Schulte, 1923, II, 13). Regularly visited by the company. (Ammann, 1928, appendix 5). Connections from Posen, Kraków, Wrocław to eastern Poland, especially	

							Warsaw. The Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft had connections with a German merchant in Warsaw in 1440. Business letters of the company mention the Warsaw fairs in 1444. In 1444 Särry went from Kraków to Warsaw for the Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft, but he arrived too late for the fairs. In the same year, also a certain Pollay was in Warsaw for the company, while Guldenmund was in Warsaw shortly before. In 1445, the Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft was represented in a lawsuit in Warsaw by a certain Johannes (perhaps Hans Brendler or Hans Nagel). In 1449, Brendler was involved in lawsuit in Warsaw. Probably these connections with Warsaw remained after the 1440s. (88). Conz Guldenmund traded in Warsaw for the Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 76).	
Auxonne		2	2	1	0	>1426<	Occasional trade relations. (Ammann, 1928, appendix 5). Partners of the company were active in Lyon, Burgundy, Paris and Rouen (Niklaus von Diesbach), Salins (salt-trade of Peter Brüggler and the Schopfer, ca. 1456), Auxonne (1426) and Epinal (1440) (very close ties of Freidigmann with Epinal). Niklaus von Diesbach had also connections with Macon. (Ammann, 1928, 65-66).	
Berlin		2	2	1	0	>1432-1444<	Occasional trade relations. (Ammann, 1928, appendix 5). The Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft had connections with Brandenburg, especially with Berlin. Ca. 1432, the company was supported by the city of Berlin for the restitution of oxen to the Diesbach-Watt which were confiscated by the margrave of Brandenburg. In 1444, goods of the company were seized again, 3 miles from Berlin. The Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft had connections with the margrave of Brandenburg who made payments to Peter von Watt. (Ammann, 1928, 86).	
Burgundy		2	2	1	0		In France, trade in Paris, Rouen, Lyon, Macon, Montpellier, Burgundy (Schulte, 1923, II, 13). Partners of the company were active in Lyon, Burgundy, Paris and Rouen (Niklaus von Diesbach), Salins (salt-trade of Peter Brüggler and the Schopfer, ca. 1456), Auxonne (1426) and Epinal (1440) (very close ties of Freidigmann with Epinal). Niklaus von Diesbach had also connections with Macon. (Ammann, 1928, 65-66).	
Danzig		2	2	1	0	>1444<	Occasional trade relations. (Ammann, 1928, appendix 5). In 1444, Särry went from Warsaw to Prussia, especially to Danzig. These connections with Prussia were apparently rather regular. (Ammann, 1928, 89).	
Épinal		2	2	1	0	1440	Partners of the company were active in Lyon, Burgundy, Paris and Rouen	

							(Niklaus von Diesbach), Salins (salt-trade of Peter Brüggler and the Schopfer, ca. 1456), Auxonne (1426) and Epinal (1440) (very close ties of Freidigmann with Epinal). Niklaus von Diesbach had also connections with Macon. (Ammann, 1928, 65-66).	
Fribourg		2	2	1	0	>1417-1445<	Occasional trade relations. (Ammann, 1928, appendix 5). Already Niklaus von Diesbach (d. 1436) traded with Fribourg. In 1442, Peter Schofer travelled to Fribourg. In 1445 Peter Schopfer sent goods from Fribourg to his father. Fribourg was an important cloth producing centre. (Ammann, 1928, 64). Niklaus von Diesbach advanced loans to Fribourg in 1424 and 1427. (Ammann, 1928, 18). Niklaus von Diesbach is known to have been active in Fribourg since 1417. (Ammann, 1928, 22).	
Genoa		2	2	1	0	>1436<	Occasional trade relations. (Ammann, 1928, appendix 5). The Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft made use of the maritime route Valencia – Barcelona – San Feliu – Port-de-Bouc – Genoa. (Ammann, 1928, appendix 5). In 1436 goods from Genoa were imported in Barcelona by the Diesbach-Watt company. (Ammann, 1928, 70-72). In 1436, the branch in Barcelona received linen, fustians, gold thread and dyestuffs from Genoa. Although this is the only mention of Genoa in relation tot he Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft, Genoa was probably often visited by members of the company. Already Niklaus von Diesbach suffered a loss in Moncalieri (Piemont, south of Turin). (Ammann, 1928, 77-78).	
Haslital	M	2	2	1	0	1416-1422	In 1416, Niklaus von Diesbach became involved in iron mining activities in the Haslital, together with three other partners. In 1422, he sold his shares in this mining activity. (Ammann, 1928, 20-21).	
Konstanz		2	2	1	0	>1427-1428<	The Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft, as well as some of its partners (e.g. Othmar Zwick, 1427-1428; Heinrich Zwick the elder, 1428; Hug von Watt, 1427), were active in Konstanz. In 1428, the company had an outstanding debt of 300 Gulden in Konstanz. (Ammann, 1928, 91-92). Hug von Watt was in Konstanz in 1428 as partner of the Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft. (Ammann, 1928, 26).	
Leipzig		2	2	1	0		No direct indications for activity of the company in Leipzig. Nevertheless, the Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft probably had connections with Leipzig. After he left the firm, Kunz Guldenmund had a representative in Leipzig in 1452: Hans Vischer. (Ammann, 1928, 81-82).	
Lublin		2	2	1	0	>1437<	Occasional trade relations. (Ammann, 1928, appendix 5). In 1437 Kaspar	

							Wirt had a debt with a Lublin merchant in Wrocław. (Ammann, 1928, 82-83). In 1437, the Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft had a debt to a merchant of Lublin for goods he had supplied to the company. (Ammann, 1928, 88-89).	
Lyon		2	2	1	0		In France, trade in Paris, Rouen, Lyon, Macon, Montpellier, Burgundy (Schulte, 1923, II, 13). Partners of the company were active in Lyon, Burgundy, Paris and Rouen (Niklaus von Diesbach), Salins (salt-trade of Peter Brüggler and the Schopfer, ca. 1456), Auxonne (1426) and Epinal (1440) (very close ties of Freidigmann with Epinal). Niklaus von Diesbach had also connections with Macon. (Ammann, 1928, 65-66).	
Mâcon		2	2	1	0		In France, trade in Paris, Rouen, Lyon, Macon, Montpellier, Burgundy (Schulte, 1923, II, 13). Partners of the company were active in Lyon, Burgundy, Paris and Rouen (Niklaus von Diesbach), Salins (salt-trade of Peter Brüggler and the Schopfer, ca. 1456), Auxonne (1426) and Epinal (1440) (very close ties of Freidigmann with Epinal). Niklaus von Diesbach had also connections with Macon. (Ammann, 1928, 65-66).	
Paris		2	2	1	0		In France, trade in Paris, Rouen, Lyon, Macon, Montpellier, Burgundy (Schulte, 1923, II, 13). Occasional trade relations. (Ammann, 1928, appendix 5). Members of the company were active in Lyon, Burgundy, Paris and Rouen (Niklaus von Diesbach), Salins (salt-trade of Peter Brüggler and the Schopfer, ca. 1456), Auxonne (1426) and Epinal (1440) (very close ties of Freidigmann with Epinal). Niklaus von Diesbach had also connections with Macon. (Ammann, 1928, 65-66).	
Plzeň		2	2	1	0	1426	In 1426, connections (probably of Kaspar Wirt) existed with Neupilsen. (Ammann, 1928, 80-81).	
Port-de-Bouc		2	2	1	0	>1443<	Occasional trade relations. (Ammann, 1928, appendix 5). The Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft made use of the maritime route Valencia – Barcelona – San Feliu – Port-de-Bouc – Genoa. (Ammann, 1928, appendix 5). The Diesbach-Watt Gesellschaft made regular use of the harbour of Port-de-Bouc for transport to Spain (e.g. in 1443). Port-de-Bouc was also mentioned by Peter Schopfer. No mentions of the port of Aigues-Mortes however. (Ammann, 1928, 67).	
Romans-sur-Isère		2	2	1	0		Occasional trade relations. (Ammann, 1928, appendix 5). Probably connections with Romans on the route to Spain. Romans was mentioned twice by Peter Schopfer. (Ammann, 1928, 66).	
Rouen		2	2	1	0		In France, trade in Paris, Rouen, Lyon, Macon, Montpellier, Burgundy	

							(Schulte, 1923, II, 13). Occasional trade relations. (Ammann, 1928, appendix 5). Partners of the company were active in Lyon, Burgundy, Paris and Rouen (Niklaus von Diesbach), Salins (salt-trade of Peter Brüggler and the Schopfer, ca. 1456), Auxonne (1426) and Epinal (1440) (very close ties of Freidigmann with Epinal). Niklaus von Diesbach had also connections with Macon. (Ammann, 1928, 65-66).	
Salins		2	2	1	0	c.1456	Partners of the company were active in Lyon, Burgundy, Paris and Rouen (Niklaus von Diesbach), Salins (salt-trade of Peter Brüggler and the Schopfer, ca. 1456), Auxonne (1426) and Epinal (1440) (very close ties of Freidigmann with Epinal). Niklaus von Diesbach had also connections with Macon. (Ammann, 1928, 65-66).	
San Feliú de Guixols		2	2	1	0		Occasional trade relations. (Ammann, 1928, appendix 5). The Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft made use of the maritime route Valencia – Barcelona – San Feliu – Port-de-Bouc – Genoa. (Ammann, 1928, appendix 5). The Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft made use of ships from San Feliu de Guixols. At least once, goods were imported by the company via the port of San Feliu. (Ammann, 1928, 74).	
Vilnius		2	2	1	0		From Warsaw, the Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft had connections with a merchant from Vilnius, to whom they sent goods. (Ammann, 1928, 88-89).	
Como		1	1	1	0		Perhaps the Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft was active in business in Milan and/or Como (trade in cloth from Como), but nothing is known about this. (Ammann, 1928, 79-80).	
Cheb		1	1	1	0	1406	In 1406, connections existed with Eger. (Ammann, 1928, 80-81). Peter Brüggler traded with Eger and Nürnberg in 1406. (Ammann, 1928, 21-22).	
Freiburg im Breisgau		1	1	1	0	1428	Niklaus von Diesbach owned rents in Basel, Freiburg im Breisgau (purchased in 1428), Schaffhausen and Bern. (Ammann, 1928, 18, 21-22).	
Głogów		1	1	1	0	1451	Kunz Rudiger had debts in Glogau near Wrocław in 1451. (Ammann, 1928, 84).	
Kronach		1	1	1	0	1443	In 1443, goods (wax) of Kaspar Wirt were seized near Kronach. (Ammann, 1928, 81-82).	
Milan		1	1	1	0		Perhaps the Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft was active in business in Milan and/or Como (trade in cloth from Como), but nothing is known about this. (Ammann, 1928, 79-80).	
Moncalieri		1	1	1	0		Already Niklaus von Diesbach suffered a loss in Moncalieri (Piemont, south of Turin). (Ammann, 1928, 77-78).	

Ragusa		1	1	1	0	c.1441	Ca. 1441, goods of the Diesbach-Watt-company were seized by the Genoese on a Catalan ship near Ragusa. (Ammann, 1928, 78).	
Schaffhausen		1	1	1	0		Niklaus von Diesbach owned rents in Basel, Freiburg im Breisgau, Schaffhausen and Bern. (Ammann, 1928, 18).	
Toruń		1	1	1	0		In Warsaw, the Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft became involved in a conflict with a merchant from Torun. Connections with Prussia were apparently rather regular. (Ammann, 1928, 89).	
Upper Hungary		1	1	1	0		From Kraków, the company had perhaps connections with Upper Hungary for the import of copper. (Ammann, 1928, 84-85). No indications for connections with Lvov or Upper Hungary. (Ammann, 1928, 86).	
Vienna		1	1	1	0	1439	In 1439, three citizens of Sankt-Gallen, among whom Heinrich Zwick and his son Othmar, members of the Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft, gave order to confiscate the goods of a Nürnberg merchant in Vienna. It is not certain however whether the Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft had connections with Vienna. (Ammann, 1928, 80).	
Zeitz		1	1	1	0	1440	In 1440, goods (wax) of Kaspar Wirt were confiscated in Zeitz. (Ammann, 1928, 81-82).	

+ The network of the Diesbach-Watt Gesellschaft has been mostly taken over from Ammann, 1928, appendix 5, who made a distinction between branches (6-3-2-1), places that were regularly visited by the company (3-2-2-1), and occasional trade relations (2-2-1-0).

FUGGER, first half 15th century – 1640s

In 1367, the weaver Hans Fugger came to Augsburg from the village Graben. His sons Andreas and Jakob the elder became active as merchants in Augsburg. They were especially engaged in trade with Venice. In 1454, the enterprise of Andreas and Jakob the elder split up, and each of them went his own way. Andreas, the most enterprising of the brothers, was the founder of the branch that became later known as the Fugger vom Reh. However, by the end of the 15th century this branch of the family was heavily indebted and largely retired from long-distance trade and finance. Jakob, the other son, was the ancestor of the more successful branch of the Fugger von der Lilie. The Fugger von der Lilie established the famous Fugger firm which was to become the largest business enterprise of the 16th century. The company experienced a serious decline in the second half of the 16th century, but nevertheless the Fugger firm remained active until the middle of the 17th century. By 1648 however, the Fugger had largely retired from business, increasingly adopting an aristocratic lifestyle and living off their landed property. Simultaneously with the main Fugger firm, an independent partnership existed ca. 1586-1595 between Philipp Eduard and Octavianus Fugger (sons of Georg) and Matthäus, Paul and Markus Welser, which was involved in pepper trade on a large scale (see section on the Augsburg Welser below). This consortium was not very successful however (Ehrenberg, 1928, 64-65; Kalus, 2009, 9; Kellenbenz, 1989, 1010; Id., 1990, 11-12; Schulte, 1904, 2; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 23, 25, 29-30, 32, 42, 48, 286, 317-319, 321, 323, 337, 341). In what follows, the firms of the Fugger vom Reh and the Fugger von der Lilie will be treated separately.

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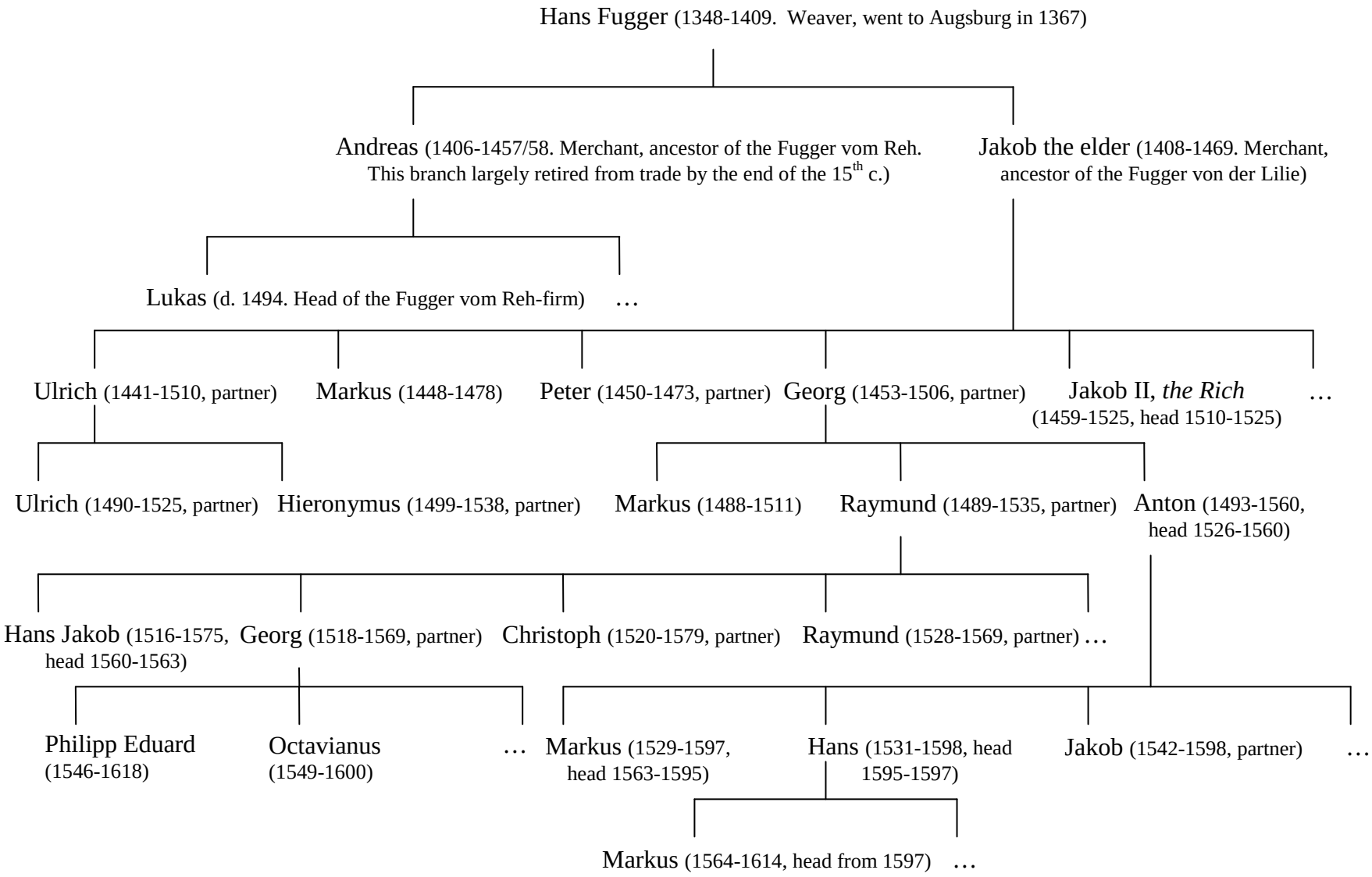
Source material:

Already in the 16th century, Hans Jakob Fugger wrote down the history of his family in his *Fuggerchronik* and *Fuggersche Ehrenbuch*, which have been preserved. Dispersed archival sources on the Fugger, several of which have been published, have been brought together in the Fugger Archives, now in Dillingen (see http://www.fugger.de/en/l2_fuggerarchiv.htm). The archives of the Fugger constitute the largest private German business archive of the Renaissance. Many other crucial sources on the Fugger are located in the archives of Innsbruck, Vienna,

Brussels, Lille, Sevilla, Simancas, Naples, the Vatican, Augsburg, Nürnberg, Ulm, Florence, Prague, Neusohl, Hungary, Poland, Königsberg, Dresden, Weimar, Copenhagen, Lyon, etc. (Ehrenberg, 1928, 137; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 327-329).

Fig. A..1. Selective Genealogy of the Fugger



1. FUGGER VOM REH, 1454 – 1499

Andreas Fugger (1406-1457/58), son of the weaver Hans, was the founder of the branch that became later known as the Fugger vom Reh. After 1454, he began doing business independently from his brother Jakob the elder, and he gathered a considerable fortune. His sons, especially Lukas, who succeeded his father as head of the business, expanded the business of the family. However, in 1499 the firm of the Fugger vom Reh went bankrupt as a result of risky credit transactions with Maximilian. Subsequently, they largely retired from long-distance trade and finance (Ehrenberg, 1928, 64-65; Kellenbenz, 1989, 1010; Schulte, 1904, 2; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 32, 38-39, 42, 341).

Size: Medium-sized or large

Andreas Fugger gathered a considerable fortune. Already in the 1470s, the firm of Lukas Fugger and his brothers was active on a European scale (Von Polnitz, 1960, 50).

Main activities:

- Commerce: The sons of Andreas Fugger traded especially in spices, silks and woollens with Venice (Ehrenberg, 1928, 64-65; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 32-33, 36-38).
- Finance: The firm of Lukas Fugger was active in finance. The enterprise was engaged in exchange transactions and provided loans to princes such as archduke Maximilian (Von Pölnitz, 1960, 36-38).
- Industry: ?

Network of the Fugger vom Reh:

Already in the 1470s, the firm of Lukas Fugger and his brothers was active on a European scale (Von Polnitz, 1960, 50).

Table A..1. Network of the Fugger vom Reh, 1454 – 1499

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Augsburg		8	4	3	1	1454-c.1500	Headquarters.	Von Pölnitz, 1960, 32
Venice		4	2	2	1		The firm of Lukas Fugger was active in the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi* in Venice. Venice was the principal commercial centre for the Fugger business.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 64-65; Kellenbenz, 1989, 1010; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 32-33
Antwerp		3	2	2	1		The firm of Lukas Fugger was active in Bruges and Antwerp.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 64-65; Kellenbenz, 1989, 1010; Von Pölnitz,

								1960, 34
Bolzano		3	2	2	1		Agent.	Von Pölnitz, 1960, 33
Bruges		3	2	2	1		The firm of Lukas Fugger was active in Bruges and Antwerp.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 64-65; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 34
Denmark		3	2	2	1		Some of Andreas' sons expanded the business activities of the family, and established relations with Leipzig, the Netherlands and Denmark.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 50, 64-65
Frankfurt am Main		3	2	2	1		The fairs of Frankfurt were visited by agents of Lukas Fugger.	Von Pölnitz, 1960, 34
Leipzig		3	2	2	1		Some of Andreas' sons expanded the business activities of the family, and established relations with Leipzig, the Netherlands and Denmark.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 64-65
London		3	2	2	1		The firm of Lukas Fugger corresponded with London. Lukas Fugger was one of the first south German merchants active there.	Kellenbenz, 1989, 1010; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 34-35
Milan		3	2	2	1		Milan was a node in Lukas Fugger's business network. He was one of the southern German merchants in favour of the establishment of a German *fondaco* in Milan.	Kellenbenz, 1989, 1010; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 33
Nürnberg		3	2	2	1		Nürnberg was the gateway to the eastern European business of Lukas Fugger.	Von Pölnitz, 1960, 34
Rome		3	2	2	1		Rome was a node in Lukas Fugger's business network.	Kellenbenz, 1989, 1010
Vienna		3	2	2	1		Vienna was a node in Lukas Fugger's business network.	Kellenbenz, 1989, 1010
Cologne		2	2	1	0		Probably, the firm of Lukas Fugger was active in Cologne, although there are no direct indications for this.	Von Pölnitz, 1960, 34

2. FUGGER VON DER LILIE, 1454 – 1640s

Jakob Fugger the elder (1408-1469) was the ancestor of the family branch of the Fugger von der Lilie. He founded his own business, independent from his brother, in 1454. This firm existed for almost 200 years. Originally Jakob traded especially in textiles, but following the example of Jakob's father-in-law Ulrich Bäsinger, master of the Mint of Hall in Tirol, the Fugger became interested in the trade in precious metals. After his death in 1469, Jakob's business was taken over by three of his sons, Ulrich (d. 1510), Peter (d. 1473) and Georg (d. 1506). After the death of Peter in 1473, Jakob II (1459-1525) joined his older brothers Ulrich and Georg as a partner in the Fugger firm. The first partnership contract

between these brothers dates from 1494. It was largely thanks to the business genius of this Jakob *the Rich*, who increasingly became the *de facto* head of the company, that the Fugger firm developed into one of the most important business enterprises of 16th-century Europe. In 1510, Jakob, being the only remaining brother, and having no children himself, brought his nephews Hieronymus (d. 1538), Ulrich (d. 1525), Raymund (d. 1535) and Anton (1493-1560) as partners in the firm, which he managed himself until his death in 1525. Jakob was succeeded by his nephew Anton Fugger as head of the family business in 1526, Raymund and Hieronymus being his partners. After the death of these partners, Anton took his nephews Hans Jakob, Georg, Christoph and Raymund into the business which from then on was called "Anton Fugger and Nephews". Anton remained in complete control of the business however. In 1547-50, Anton intended to liquidate the Fugger company, since none of his nephews were disposed to become businessmen, while his own sons were still too young. However, as a result of their large involvement in loans to the Habsburgs, they were permanently constrained to advance fresh money in order to be able to collect the sums due to them, and consequently, the business was continued. In the 1550s, several Fugger factors began operating more independently from the headquarters, and Anton's control over the business decreased. Partly as a result of this, the Fugger firm got into financial difficulties by 1553. At the Spanish state bankruptcy of 1557 the losses of the Fugger firm were huge. Despite these difficulties and the increasing competition of the Genoese at the Spanish court, Anton Fugger managed to keep the Fugger firm in good shape, at least to the outward eye, until his death in 1560. Anton's nephew Hans Jakob Fugger (d. 1575) however, was by no means capable to lead the family firm after the death of Anton. By 1563, the personal debts of Hans Jakob had become so large, that he was sold out of the firm which was by then in a very poor financial situation. Markus, son of Anton, took over the management of the firm as successor of Hans Jakob. Despite the difficult situation and the fact that he was a scholar and an aristocrat rather than a businessman, Markus managed the business of the firm carefully and not without some positive results. The Fugger survived the Spanish state bankruptcy of 1575 relatively well, and by 1577 the situation of the firm had considerably improved compared to 1563. By this time, Markus' brothers Hans and Jakob had replaced their nephews as partners in the company. In 1595, Markus handed over the management of the firm to his brother Hans, who was succeeded himself by his son Markus in 1597. The situation of the firm deteriorated again in the early 17th century, and the profits made by Anton's son Markus were largely lost. From then on, things got only worse. By 1630, the Fugger got in heavy financial difficulties in Spain, and had to be protected from their creditors by a moratorium. Several agents of the Fugger in Spain were even put into prison in 1637. By 1648, the Fugger had largely retired from business, increasingly living off their seigniorial properties (Ehrenberg, 1928, 65-66, 84-86, 97, 101-105, 109-115, 117-119, 123-125, 128-131; Hunt & Murray, 1999, 222-224; Kellenbenz, 1989, 1010-1011; Id., 1990, 12-13, 15-17; Schulte, 1904, 2-4; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 42-44, 48-51, 59, 103-105, 153-154, 158, 195, 223-224, 227-228, 232, 241-242, 255, 273-274, 278, 307, 309-310, 317, 319-321, 323).

Size: Very large

The Fugger firm was the biggest of the Augsburg houses of the 16th century and the largest firm of its time. The capital invested in the company consecutively amounted to 197,000 fl. in 1511; 1,600,000 fl. in 1527; 1,800,000 fl. in 1536; 2,200,000 fl. in 1539; 5,100,000 fl. in 1546; and 2,300,000 fl. in 1553 (Ehrenberg, 1928, 85, 94, 101-102, 104, 111; Goris, 1925, 198; Kellenbenz, 1990, 13, 15-16; Schulte, 1923, I, 60; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 105, 223).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Originally, the Fugger were textile merchants, importing cotton and other raw materials for the fustian industry, and exporting southern German fustians. As early as 1473, Ulrich Fugger furnished silk and cloth to emperor Frederick III of Habsburg. From the 1480s however, the Fugger became involved in the trade in metals. By 1500 the Fugger traded mainly in silver and copper (and other metals such as gold and mercury), often in cartel with other merchants. At the same time, the banking operations of the Fugger became increasingly important. Nevertheless, they were also engaged in the commerce of a wide range of other goods, such as pepper, salt, spices, fustians and other textiles, jewels, gemstones and other luxury goods, hides, furs, wax, wood, paper, foodstuffs. From 1536, the Fugger were active in the slave trade between Africa and America (Dollinger, 1970, 317-318; Ehrenberg, 1928, 64, 66, 68, 71, 103, 138; Goris, 1925, 198-201, 275; Hunt & Murray, 1999, 169, 222-224; Kellenbenz, 1989, 1011; Id., 1990, 13-14, 439; Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 59-62; Schulte, 1904, 3-4; Seibold, 1995, 78-79; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 42, 180, 286-288, 290, 361, 363, 365).
- Finance: Already in the 15th century, the Fugger advanced credit to weavers in Ulm and other south German textile centres. From the 1480s, the Fugger became involved in loans to the archdukes of Tirol, in exchange for control over parts of the mining output of Tirol. They had very strong financial ties with the Habsburg emperors Maximilian I, Charles V and Ferdinand I, providing them with the money for their ambitious politics (e.g. for the election of Charles V as Emperor, for the War of Schmalkalden). The Fugger also had important financial dealings with the Curia in Rome, king Henry VIII of England, the courts of Spain, Hungary, and the Netherlands, and several cities, among which Antwerp. In exchange for these loans, the Fugger obtained control over the output of several mines, and over some of the revenues of the Spanish crown (the Maestrazgos) from ca. 1525 until 1634 (with some interruptions). After the Spanish state bankruptcy of 1557, the Fugger suffered large losses. Nevertheless, they remained highly involved in Spanish state finance under Philip II and even in the first half of the 17th century. In order to finance their large loans the Fugger accepted deposits (e.g. from Melchior von Meckau around 1500, whose death in 1509 almost resulted in a bankruptcy of the Fugger), borrowed money on the Antwerp Bourse, and issued floating bonds. The Fugger also carried out a large scale trade in bills of exchange (Bullard, 1980, 95; Ehrenberg, 1928, 66-68, 70-78, 80-83, 86-90, 92-93, 95-101, 103-117, 120, 124-127, 130; Harreld, 2004, 176-177; Hunt & Murray, 1999, 169, 198, 214-215, 222-224; Kellenbenz, 1989, 1011; Id., 1990, 12-17, 438-441; Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 54-58; Müller, 1955, 5*, 23*; Schulte, 1904, 4-9; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 120-132, 149, 288-289, 309, 320, 343-369).
- Industry: The first Fugger in Augsburg were active as weavers. When they became merchants, they remained involved as investors in the fustian production through a putting-out system in the 15th and 16th century. Anton Fugger established a fustian weaving operation in Weissenhorn near Ulm, which was given up in 1555. However, the Fugger were especially active in the mining business. Jakob II was the first to engage the Fugger considerably in mining activities. Thanks to their loans to the archdukes of Tirol since the 1480s, the Fugger were able to establish control over the silver produced by the mines of Tirol. In 1494, the Fugger became involved in the trade in Slovakian copper, and soon they became active in the copper production itself, often in partnership with the Thurzo family of Cracow (until 1525). Together they operated copper and silver mines, mills and smelters. This Upper-Hungarian mining business became a

substantial business enterprise, employing several hundred workers. In Tirol, the Fugger became only active in the mining industry itself when they obtained several mines in 1522. From 1565 until 1577, the Fugger, Haug-Langnauer-Linck, and Katzbeck-Manlich brought their Tirol mining activities together in a single company, the Jenbacher Gesellschaft (managed by Markus Fugger, Hans Langnauer and Abraham Katzbeck), in which each of these three groups had a share of 1/3. The Fugger not only obtained the output of mines as a means of repayment of loans by princes, but also by the purchase of several mines in Tirol, Hungary, Silesia and Bohemia, and by farming the exploitation of mines from the state (e.g. in Spain) (Ehrenberg, 1928, 66-67, 82; Hunt & Murray, 1999, 169, 198, 223, 232; Kellenbenz, 1989, 1011; Id., 1990, 12-17; Schulte, 1904, 3-5; Seibold, 1995, 118-124; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 286-288).

Network of the Fugger:

The Fugger firm was a highly centralised company. Since 1510, the management was always strictly in the hands of one person, while partnership was limited to family members. From the early years, the firm was organised as a multi-branch company, having a very extensive and widespread network of branches (*Faktoreien*) and correspondents (the latter for example in the Hanseatic area) spanning most parts of Europe and even beyond. The Fugger branch network was a dynamic system. Some factories remained active almost during the whole period of existence of the Fugger firm. Others rose in response to *conjunctural* circumstances, played an important role for a while, but then quickly declined due to a changing geography of markets and trade routes, or to bad political conditions. The factories were managed by well-trained factors who played an important role despite the hierarchical organisation of the firm. These factors were given the opportunity to invest in the company, and they received a share in the profits. Under Jakob the Rich, the branches were subjected to frequent visits by auditors carrying out extensive examinations of accounts and balances. However, the factors increasingly began to operate on their own initiative, and under Markus Fugger the unity among the different branches and factors of the Fugger disappeared. The communication between the various branches of the Fugger firm was maintained by a private network of couriers, but the Fugger also made use of the public post organisation of the Habsburg empire. In the latter half of the 16th century, the Fugger routinely sent news back and forth between the branch offices through the use of newsletters, which developed into the so-called *Fuggerzeitungen*. Even governments made use of the information system of the Fugger (De Roover, 1948b, 31; Id., 1963, 85; Dollinger, 1970, 318; Ehrenberg, 1928, 139; Harreld, 2004, 46; Id., 2007, 66; Hunt & Murray, 1999, 222-224, 241; Kellenbenz, 1990, 15, 165-166; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 277-279, 281-282, 284-286, 290-291, 293-295, 316).

Already under Ulrich Fugger, the Fugger had connections with Antwerp, Italy, north eastern Germany, Hungary and Poland. By the early 16th century, the business relations of the Fugger reached from Hungary and Poland to Spain and from Antwerp to Naples, although they were not very active in France, due to their Habsburg connections. The Fugger also established agents in the East-Indies and the New World. However, during the 1540s and 1550s, the business of the Fugger in northern and eastern Europe, as well as in the East- and West-Indies, was largely given up. By 1560, the Fugger concentrated their activities mainly in Spain and Antwerp. The Spanish business of the Fugger was only liquidated from ca. 1639 (Ehrenberg, 1928, 83, 123; Kellenbenz, 1990, 12, 17; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 55, 78, 283, 263, 293, 321).

Table A..2. Network of the Fugger, ca. 1545								
City	**R**	**Score**				**Period**	**Type of presence**	**References**
Augsburg		8	4	3	1	1454-1640s	Headquarters. The headquarters in Augsburg contained office space, warehouses, etc. The Fugger headquarters were almost always located in Augsburg. However, around 1533 Anton resided temporarily in Weiβenhorn, and in 1546-1547 the Fugger temporarily left Augsburg due to the War of Schmalkalden.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 165, 530; Spufford, 2002, 385; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 172, 209, 218, 290, 303, inside cover
Antwerp		3 **7**	2 **3**	2 **2**	1 **1**	1470s-1494 1494-c.1584	- Already around the 1470s, Ulrich Fugger established connections with Antwerp. - The Fugger branch in Antwerp was founded in 1494. From 1508, the Fugger firm owned a large house in the Steenhouwersvest next to the Scheldt river, containing a garden and stables (1527). Being part of the Habsburg territories, Antwerp became one of the main centres of the Fugger business. Antwerp factors of the Fugger were, among others, Konrad Meuting (1494, 1507); Varnbühl (ca. 1503/04); Felix Hanolt (1510-1513); Bernhard Stecher (1512-1520); Wolfgang Haller (who was highly favoured by Charles V) (1519-1522); Veit Hörl (ca.1536-1546); Christoph Wolff (1546-1548); Matthias Örtel (1548-1557). After the Antwerp branch had become in difficulties due to the financial transactions of the factor Matthias Örtel with the Habsburgs, Anton sent his son Hans Fugger to Antwerp in 1557. The Fugger remained in Antwerp after the sack of 1576, but it appears that they left Antwerp after 1584.	Dollinger, 1970, 317; Ehrenberg, 1928, 67, 71, 74, 89, 105, 114-115, 127, 175, 71 n. 4; Harreld, 2004, 5, 72, 90-91, 132-133, 181, 178 n. 18; Jeannin, 1963a, 86; Kellenbenz, 1990, 12, 14, 165-166, 168, 172-173, 437-448, 530; Schulte, 1923, I, 415; Spufford, 2002, 385; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 72-73, 230, 257-258, 291, 309, 371, 375, inside cover
Banská Bystrica	M	7	3	2	1	1491-1546	Important branch and mining business in Banská Bystrica (Neusohl) in Upper Hungary (now Slovakia), where the Fugger owned a complex of houses, smelters and quarries. In 1491, the Fugger became involved in the mining activities of the Thurzo in and around Banská Bystrica (e.g. also in Zvolen (Altsohl)). After popular unrest against the Thurzo and Fugger in Hungary in 1524, the possessions of the Fugger in Banská Bystrica were confiscated in 1525. However, in 1526 the mining activities of the Fugger in Hungary were restored. In 1546, Anton Fugger abandoned the lease of the Banská Bystrica mines. Nevertheless, several places in Slovakia remained	Dollinger, 1970, 317, 319; Ehrenberg, 1928, 89; Hildebrandt, 1996, 37 n. 117; Kellenbenz, 1990, 14-16, 165, 450, 530; Seibold, 1995, 74-75; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 75-76,

							important for the Fugger business even afterwards.	291, 355, inside cover
Madrid		7	3	2	1	1519-1639<	Important branch. The Fugger established their main branch ("*Hauptfaktorei*") in Spain at the Spanish court, which did not have a permanent residence in the first half of the 16th century. Valladolid was the preferred location, but the court also resided frequently in Toledo, Madrid, Burgos, and Aranda de Duero, until it became permanently established in Madrid later in the 16th century. Factors of the Fugger at the Spanish court successively were Wolf Haller (1519, again in 1522); Veit Hörl (until 1531, in Madrid in 1533); Kaspar Weiler (1532-1538 the latest); Sebastian Kurz (until 1539); Jörg Stecher (from 1537, in Madrid in 1546); Christoph Fugger, a nephew of Anton (c.1540-1544); Jobst Walther (ca. 1542-1558); Christoph Hörmann (from 1557, Madrid); Thomas Miller (1575-1578, Madrid); Andreas Hyrus (c. 1626-1630). Veit Hörl negotiated a licence for colonial trade for the Fugger in 1530/31. Ca. 1540, the Fugger had 4 representatives at the Spanish court: a head factor, a bookkeeper, a cashier, and a copyist. Moreover, the factory also employed a number of lesser servants. From 1639, the Fugger business in Spain was liquidated.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 82, 126, 130-131; Kellenbenz, 1954, 297; Id., 1990, 168-174, 232-233, 530; Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 40, 49-50, 57, 40 n. 145, 47-48 n. 198, 57 n. 240; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 120, 129, 141, 168, 292, inside cover
Nürnberg		7	3	2	1	>1473-1550s<	Branch in Nürnberg. The branch in Nürnberg was the first Fugger branch in middle and eastern Germany. In the beginning, it was headed by Peter Fugger (d. 1473). Anton Fugger was temporarily active in Nürnberg before he took over the general management of the Fugger firm. The branch in Nürnberg was an important intermediary towards Antwerp and towards middle and eastern Germany. Factors in Nürnberg were successively Jörg Hoffmann, Dietrich Heufler, and Konrad Hel (in the last years of Anton Fugger). Under Anton Fugger, the Nürnberg branch became almost a second headquarters of the Fugger firm.	Bauer, 1936, 34-35; Ehrenberg, 1928, 88-89; Kellenbenz, 1989, 1011; Id., 1990, 165, 448, 450, 530; Schulte, 1904, 4; Spufford, 2002, 385; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 55, 156, 278, 290, inside cover; Von Stromer, 2002, 216
Rome		4	2	2	1	c.1471-1478	- By 1471, Markus Fugger, a son of Jakob the elder, had become a member of the Roman Curia.	Bullard, 1980, 95; Ehrenberg, 1928, 69-70, 72; Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 3, 13-14, 180; Kellenbenz, 1989, 1010-1011; Id., 1990, 12, 165, 459-
		3	2	2	1	1478-1495	- After the death of Markus in 1478, the contacts of the Fugger with the Curia temporarily became weaker. They were represented in Rome by agents, such as the Florentine Jacobus de Doffis in the 1490s.	
		7	**3**	**2**	**1**	1495-c.1545<	- Important branch. The Fugger opened a branch in Rome in 1495. This branch became especially involved in financial business with the Curia.	

							Between 1495 and 1515, and again in 1522-23, the Fugger controlled the papal Mint. Factors of the Fugger in Rome were Johannes Zink (ca. 1500), Engelhard Schauer, and Markus Fugger the younger (from 1503). Before becoming the head of the firm, Anton Fugger was temporarily active in the Rome branch. In 1527, the Rome branch was temporarily closed. From then, Naples became increasingly more important for the Fugger compared to Rome.	460, 530; Schulte, 1904, 9; Spufford, 2002, 385; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 44-45, 56, 82, 87, 90, 129, 156-158, 160-161, 290, 341, 343, 347, inside cover
Venice		7	3	2	1	1470s-1559<	Important branch. Venice was the first market abroad were the Fugger were active. During the 1470s, they were represented in Venice by Georg and Jakob II Fugger, the latter of whom did his apprenticeship in Venice. By 1484, the Fugger had a permanent warehouse in the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi*, and in 1505 they had two of the five rooms at the first floor at their disposal. Factors in Venice were Georg Spengler in 1516, Georg Uttinger in 1534, Christoph Müelich in 1550. The Fugger used Venice to do business on the local market, as an intermediary to other centres in Italy and to their metal business in the Alps and Slovakia, and as a market for luxury goods. The Fugger also carried out important exchange transactions between Venice and Antwerp. In 1559, the Fugger spice trade went via Venice.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 64-65, 89, 109; Kellenbenz, 1989, 1011; Id., 1990, 165, 458-459, 530; Schaper, 1973, 190-191, 249; Schulte, 1904, 3-4; Spufford, 2002, 385; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 49, 57, 290, 343, 377, inside cover
Almadén	M	6	3	2	1	c.1525-1645	The Fugger established an important branch in Almadén, where they obtained control over the output of the mercury mines ca. 1525 (and permanently since 1538). The Fugger also invested in the mining industry of Almadén. Until 1645, the Fugger controlled the mining and marketing of mercury in Almadén.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 82; Kellenbenz, 1990, 271-272, 530; Seibold, 1995, 127; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 149, 292, 321, inside cover
Almagro	M	6	3	2	1	c.1525-1647	The Fugger established an important branch in Almagro, where they obtained control over the output of the mercury mines ca. 1525. Since 1647, the Fugger were no partners anymore in the farming of the Spanish quarries and properties. Principal factor in Almagro until 1555 was Hans von Schüren. He was succeeded by Johann Schedler, who was active in Almagro until 1580.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 82; Kellenbenz, 1990, 317-323, 530; Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 57, 51 n. 224-225; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 149, 292, 321, inside cover

Amsterdam		6	3	2	1	c.1495-c.1545<	Branch. The Fugger made already shipments of copper to Amsterdam via the Baltic ca. 1495-1504. Later in the 16th century, the Fugger were represented in Amsterdam by Hans Hunger, a merchant from Nürnberg.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 89; Gelderblom, 2000, 122; Harreld, 2004, 131; Kellenbenz, 1990, 165, 530; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 78, 111, inside cover
Frankfurt am Main		6	3	2	1	>1496-1567<	Branch. Already in the early 1490s, the Fugger purchased saltpetre at the Frankfurt fairs. At the end of the 15th century, they were among the more important southern German merchants at the Frankfurt fairs. By 1496, they definitely were represented in Frankfurt, and from then on the Fugger had almost always a representative at the Frankfurt fairs. In the 16th century the Fugger did business in Frankfurt with Joseph, a Jew belonging to the Goldschmidt family, from whom they borrowed a large sum, which was only repaid by 1567.	Dietz, 1921, II, 6; Ehrenberg, 1928, 89; Kellenbenz, 1990, 165, 448-449, 530; Schaper, 1973, 203; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 61, 81, 292, inside cover
Fuggerau	H	6	3	2	1	1495-1548	Branch. The Fugger established themselves in Fuggerau in 1495. They were strongly involved in the local copper metallurgy industry (smelting business), but in 1548 the Fugger sold their shares in the Fuggerau business.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 89; Kellenbenz, 1989, 1011; Id., 1990, 165, 530; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 77, 347, 369, inside cover
Hall	M	6	3	2	1	c.1488-1547<	Branch. After 1444, Bäsinger, the father-in-law of Jakob Fugger the elder, became master of the Mint of Hall in Tirol. Ca. 1488, the Fugger themselves, following in the footsteps of Bäsinger, controlled the Mint of Hall. Originally, the Fugger especially concentrated on the distribution of the metals (silver and copper) produced in the mines in Tirol, but in the first half of the 16th century they also became involved in the mining industry itself. From ca. 1547, the Fugger began to dissolve their mining interests in Tirol, although they retained some of their shares in Tirol mines until the middle of the 17th century.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 65, 89; Hunt & Murray, 1999, 223; Kellenbenz, 1990, 165, 530, 17; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 59, 264, 290, 320-321, 369, 377, inside cover
Hamburg		6	3	2	1	1490s-c.1546	Branch. Shipments by the Fugger to Hamburg are known already in the 1490s, and during the first half of the 16th century the Fugger exported copper via this city. Under Anton Fugger, the traffic on the Elbe via Hamburg became increasingly important. However, by 1546 the Fugger gradually withdrew from business in Hamburg.	Dollinger, 1970, 317, 319; Kellenbenz, 1954, 153-155, 160; Id., 1990, 165, 530; Von Pölnitz, 1960,

								78, 291, inside cover
Hohenkirchen	H	6	3	2	1	1495-1548	Branch. In Hohenkirchen (Thuringia), the Fugger were especially active in the smelting business (of copper from Slovakia and Mansfeld) which was founded ca. 1495. The Fugger withdrew from smelting in Hohenkirchen in 1548 however.	Kellenbenz, 1989, 1011; Id., 1990, 165, 530; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 77, 291, 347, 369, inside cover
Innsbruck		6	3	2	1	>1485-c. 1545<	According to Von Pölnitz (1960), the Fugger had a *Grossfaktorei* in Innsbruck. Kellenbenz (1990, 530) however attributes less importance to the position of Innsbruck in the Fugger network. Already in 1485, Jakob II Fugger headed the Fugger branch in Innsbruck. One of the factors in Innsbruck was Georg Hörl. Innsbruck was one of the places of residence of the court of Ferdinand, brother of Charles V.	Kellenbenz, 1989, 1011; Id., 1990, 165, 171-172, 450, 530; Spufford, 2002, 385; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 290, 343, inside cover
Kraków		6	3	2	1	late 15th c.-1546<	Branch. The Fugger were active in Kraków from the end of the 15th c. Anton Fugger was active in this branch before taking up the general management of the Fugger firm. Factor in Kraków ca. 1522 was Georg Högel. In Kraków, the Fugger had contacts with the Polish court.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 104; Kellenbenz, 1990, 165, 170, 530; Spufford, 2002, 385; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 68, 156, 278, 291, inside cover
Leipzig		6	3	2	1	end 15th c.-1550s<	Branch. The Fugger already had a branch in Leipzig by the end of the 15th century. Under Jakob the Rich, the Fugger were represented in Leipzig by Andreas Mattstedt. The branch in Leipzig was reduced in size during the 1550s.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 73, 89; Kellenbenz, 1990, 12, 16-17, 165, 449-450, 530; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 291, inside cover
Lisbon		6	3	2	1	c.1505-1558<	Branch. The branch in Lisbon was the oldest Fugger branch on the Iberian peninsula. Already ca. 1505, the Fugger were represented in Lisbon by Marcus Zimmermann, who was replaced by Hans von Schüren in 1511. The branch in Lisbon was especially involved in the spice trade, but became less important when the centre of the Portuguese spice trade was increasingly removed to Antwerp. Nevertheless, the Fugger remained active in Lisbon, since it was a centre for the pearl- and jewels trade. Moreover, the Portuguese king was a customer of the Fugger copper. Between the 1520s and 1540s, the Fugger apparently had no permanent factor in Lisbon, but made use of several representatives. Factor in the middle of the 16th century	Ehrenberg, 1928, 71; Harreld, 2004, 140; Kellenbenz, 1954, 160, 291; Id., 1990, 166-167, 363-367, 438, 530; Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 49, 57 n. 240; Spufford, 2002, 385; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 104,

							was Hans Bechler (after 1547, 1551). In 1552, he was replaced by Thomas Miller who left Lisbon in 1558. From then, the Fugger were represented by Hans Heinrich Muntprat, factor of the Welser.	292-293, inside cover
Naples		6	3	2	1	>1525-1550s<	Branch. Originally, the Fugger business in Naples was conducted by Engelhard Schauer, factor in Rome, but later a branch was established in Naples. Factors in Naples were Jakob Rehlinger (1529-1530), Christoph Müelich (ca. 1532), Christoph Vogel (before 1540), Ludwig Hörmann (ca. 1539), and Matthias Örtel (until 1548). In the 1550s, Anton Fugger was represented in Naples by the firm of Lorenz van der Heiden and Gillis van den Boghaert.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 82-83; Kellenbenz, 1965, 363; Id., 1990, 165, 172, 444, 460-461, 530; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 290, inside cover
Schwaz	M	6	3	2	1	1487-1578<	Branch. After a loan to archduke Sigismund of Tirol in 1487, the Fugger obtained control over the silver and copper production of Schwaz, and again in 1506 over the silver output of Schwaz, Primör, Gossensaβ, Schneeberg and other places in Tirol. After the bankruptcy of Martin Paumgartner, Jakob Fugger obtained shares in several mines in Schwaz, Rattenberg, Lienz, in the Pustertal near Riednaun, and in the Lafatsch- and Vompertal. Consequently, the Fugger became involved in the mining industry of Schwaz. In 1557, the Fugger also removed their fustian production from Weissenhorn to Schwaz. In 1546-1547, during the war of Schmalkalden, the headquarters of the Fugger were temporarily relocated from Augsburg to Schwaz. Factor in Schwaz in 1540 was Valentin Mayr. The mining property of the Fugger in Schwaz, Vipiteno and Gossensaβ was estimated at 80,000 fl. in 1564. In 1578, the Fugger and the archduke of Tirol were the only entrepreneurs in the mining industry of Schwaz.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 89; Kellenbenz, 1990, 12, 14, 165, 530; Seibold, 1995, 50-51, 56, 123-124; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 156-158, 209, 218, 257, 290, 367, 375, inside cover
Sevilla		6	3	2	1	>1520s-1560<	Branch. The branch in Sevilla was dependent upon the Fugger branch at the Spanish court. Sevilla was the gateway for the Fugger business with the New World. Already in the 1520s, the Fugger branch in Sevilla was of some importance. Factor in Sevilla in 1527 was Diego Dias, from ca. 1534 Jörg Stecher, from 1537 Jobst Walther. In the 1540s and 1550s, factor in Sevilla was Christoph Raiser, who was succeeded by Thomas Miller in 1558, and later by Jobst Huter. By the end of the 16th century, the branch in Sevilla was dissolved.	Griffin, 1988, 78; Kellenbenz, 1954, 294; Id., 1990, 166, 173-174, 238, 323-360, 530; Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 17 n. 56, 39-51; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 292, inside cover
Toledo		6	3	2	1	1519-1554<	Important node or branch. The Fugger established their main branch (“Hauptfaktorei”) in Spain at the Spanish court, which did not have a	Ehrenberg, 1928, 82, 126, 130-131;

							permanent residence in the first half of the 16th century. Valladolid was the preferred location, but the court also resided frequently in Toledo, Madrid, Burgos, and Aranda de Duero, until it became permanently established in Madrid later in the 16th century. Toledo, seat of an important archbishopric, was an important seat of government, especially when Charles V was not in Spain. Toledo was also an important market for mercury. Members of the family La Fuente represented the Fugger in Toledo (e.g. Hernan Perez de la Fuente in the 1530s). The Fugger also made use of Genoese connections in Toledo (e.g. 1549, 1550, 1554). Christoph Raiser, Fugger factor in Sevilla, travelled to Toledo in 1554.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 168-174, 232-233, 361, 530; Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 40, 45-46, 49; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 120, 129, 141, 168, 292
Valladolid		6	3	2	1	1519-1530s<	Important node or branch. The Fugger established their main branch ("Hauptfaktorei") in Spain at the Spanish court, which did not have a permanent residence in the first half of the 16th century. Valladolid was the preferred location, but the court also resided frequently in Toledo, Madrid, Burgos, and Aranda de Duero, until it became permanently established in Madrid later in the 16th century. Factor at the court in Valladolid in the 1530s was Kaspar Weiler (until 1538).	Ehrenberg, 1928, 82, 126, 130-131; Kellenbenz, 1990, 168-174, 232-233, 530; Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 40, 40 n. 145; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 120, 129, 141, 168, 292
Vienna		6	3	2	1	>1527-1550s<	Branch. Before taking up the general management of the Fugger firm, Anton Fugger was temporarily active in the branch in Vienna. After the liquidation of the Fugger business in Hungary ca. 1546, Vienna became the most south eastern point of the Fugger network. Vienna was a temporary residence of the court of emperor Ferdinand, as well as an intermediary for the Slovakian business of the Fugger. Factor in Vienna ca. 1544 was Meylin. An important factor of Anton Fugger around the 1550s was Jakob Sauerzapf.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 89; Kellenbenz, 1990, 165, 443, 448, 450, 530; Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 51 n. 225; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 156, 292, inside cover
Wrocław		6	3	2	1	1480s-1550s<	Branch. The Fugger became active in Wrocław (Breslau) from very early on, and they had a branch here from the 1480s. In the beginning, they were associated with Kilian Auer in Wrocław. In the early 16th century, Anton Fugger was active in the Wrocław branch. A factor of the Fugger in Wrocław in the early 16th century was Lenard Vogel. However, the branch was reduced in size in the 1550s.	Bauer, 1936, 34-35; Dollinger, 1970, 317; Ehrenberg, 1928, 88-89; Kellenbenz, 1990, 12, 16-17, 165, 530; Petry, 1935, 45; Schulte, 1904, 4; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 56, 68,

								156, 278, 291, 345, inside cover
Bolzano	M	5	3	2	1	>c.1524-c.1545<	Important node or branch according to Kellenbenz (1990, 530) and Seibold (1977b, 341), *Agentur* according to Von Pölnitz (1960, inside cover). The Fugger were also involved in the mining industry in Bolzano.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 89; Kellenbenz, 1990, 530; Seibold, 1977b, 341; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 150, 290, inside cover
Buda (Ofen)		5	3	2	1	end 15th c.-c.1547<	*Faktorei* according to Von Pölnitz (1960, inside cover) and Spufford (2002, 385). However, less important node according to Kellenbenz (1990, 530). Anton Fugger was temporarily active in the branch in Budapest ca. 1514. In Hungary, the Fugger were represented by Georg Thurzo, who returned to Augsburg however, where he died in 1521. His brother and successor Alexis Thurzo was less able than Georg, and especially his activities as Mint master caused unrest in Hungary. Popular unrest broke out against the Fugger in 1524, which resulted in the confiscation of the possessions of the Fugger and the arrest of their factor in 1525. However, in 1526 the Fugger were restored in their possessions. The Fugger representatives in Budapest had connections with the Hungarian court. Around 1547, the Fugger reduced their business in Hungary.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 12, 14-15, 530; Spufford, 2002, 385; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 152, 156, 158-159, 200, 221-222, 291, 355, 365, 367, inside cover
Genoa		5	3	2	1	>1516-1552<	According to Von Pölnitz (1960), the Fugger had a very important branch (*Grossfaktorei*) in Genoa. Kellenbenz (1990, 530) on the other hand attributes a much less important role to the Genoese activities of the Fugger. Between 1516 and 1520, Mathias Schwarz, bookkeeper of Jakob Fugger, was trained in the Fugger offices in Genoa, Venice and Milan. In the 1530s, the Fugger apparently had no permanent representative in Genoa. They made use, among others, of the agents of the Welser, and worked together with the Grimaldi, Centurione and Spinola in Genoa. In 1546, the assets of the Fugger in Genoa amounted to 22,390 fl. In 1551, according to Hans Fugger himself, the Fugger had since long no business with Genoa anymore. Around 1552, Genoa became much more important again for the Fugger business, and the factor Sebastian Kurz, as well as Markus and Hans Fugger, sons of Anton, were in Genoa at that time.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 165, 457-458, 530; Spufford, 2002, 385; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 290, inside cover
London		5	3	2	1	>c.1513-c.1579<	*Faktorei* according to Von Pölnitz (1960, inside cover). However, less important node according to Kellenbenz (1990, 530). The Fugger were	Ehrenberg, 1928, 104; Kellenbenz,

							probably represented in London from ca. 1513, perhaps by Hanseatic agents. From ca. 1579, the London branch of the Fugger continually had to resolve problems with the English, whose privateers often seized German ships.	1990, 165, 530; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 112, 118-119, 291,318, inside cover
Lübeck		5	3	2	1	1496-c.1546	*Faktorei* according to Von Pölnitz (1960, inside cover). However, less important node according to Kellenbenz (1990, 530). In 1496, the Fugger established a bank in Lübeck, managed by citizens of Lübeck such as Godert Wiggernick, which was at first exclusively concerned with financial operations and transactions on behalf of the papacy, but soon embarked on commercial ventures as well. In the first half of the 16th century, the Fugger exported copper via Lübeck. The Lübeck branch also undertook large scale commercial activities in the east, especially in wax. Lübeck, however, wanted to keep the Fugger out of the Hanse area, and a dispute arose between the Hanse city and the Fugger in 1511. From 1546, the Fugger gradually withdrew from northern Europe.	Dollinger, 1970, 317-319; Kellenbenz, 1954, 153, 155, 160; Id., 1990, 165, 530; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 108-109, 112, 291, inside cover
Milan		5	3	2	1	before 1490-c.1545<	*Faktorei* according to Von Pölnitz (1960, inside cover) and Spufford (2002, 385). However, less important node according to Kellenbenz (1990, 530). Already before 1490, the Fugger were active in Milan. Matthias Schwarz, bookkeeper of Jakob the Rich, was trained in the branches in Venice, Milan and Genoa between 1516 and 1520. Under Anton Fugger, the Fugger were represented in Milan by other south German firms.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 165, 459, 530; Schulte, 1904, 4; Spufford, 2002, 385; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 66, 290, inside cover
Pest		5	3	2	1	>c. 1514-c.1547	*Faktorei* according to Von Pölnitz (1960, inside cover). However, less important node according to Kellenbenz (1990, 530). Anton Fugger was temporarily active in the branch in Budapest ca. 1514. In Hungary, the Fugger were represented by Georg Thurzo, who returned to Augsburg however, where he died in 1521. His brother and successor Alexis Thurzo was less able than Georg, and especially his activities as Mint master caused unrest in Hungary. Popular unrest broke out against the Fugger in 1524, which resulted in the confiscation of the possessions of the Fugger and the arrest of their factor in 1525. However, in 1526 the Fugger were restored in their possessions. The Fugger representatives in Budapest had connections with the Hungarian court. The Fugger decreased their business in Hungary around 1547.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 14-15, 530; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 152, 156, 158-159, 200, 221-222, 291,365, 367, inside cover
Cologne		4	2	2	1	>c.1504-1590<	*Faktorei* according to Von Pölnitz (1960, inside cover). However, less important node according to Kellenbenz (1990, 530). Representatives of the	Ehrenberg, 1928, 89; Kalus, 2009, 12;

							Fugger in Cologne were the merchants Herlin and later Pastor (ca. 1547). Since 1590, Hans Gering represented the Fugger in Cologne. For a number of years, Anton's cousin Hieronymus lived in Cologne.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 448-449, 530; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 91, 292, inside cover
Danzig		4	2	2	1	1490s-c.1546	Important node or branch according to Kellenbenz (1990, 530), *Agentur* according to Von Pölnitz (1960, inside cover). From the 1490s, the Fugger shipped Hungarian copper via Danzig to Antwerp. Via Danzig, the Fugger also exported to Scandinavia and Russia. Representative of the Fugger in Danzig was the Danzig copper merchant Jacob Vetter. From 1546, the Fugger gradually withdrew from northern Europe.	Dollinger, 1970, 317, 319; Ehrenberg, 1928, 67, 104; Harreld, 2004, 131; Kellenbenz, 1990, 165, 530; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 78, 291, inside cover
Erfurt		4	2	2	1	>c.1545<	Important node or branch according to Kellenbenz (1990, 530), *Agentur* according to Von Pölnitz (1960, inside cover).	Ehrenberg, 1928, 104; Kellenbenz, 1990, 16, 165, 530; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 291, inside cover
Gastein	M	4	2	2	1	>c.1480-c.1545<	*Faktorei* in Gastein according to Von Pölnitz (1960, inside cover). The metal production in the area of Gastein, Rauris, Schladming and Rottenmann (Tauern) came in hands of the Fugger ca. 1480, due to loans to small entrepreneurs in the mining-industry, who in the end were not able to repay their debts: their silver- and goldmines were taken over by the Fugger. These Tauern-mines were the first to come in hands of the Fugger.	Von Pölnitz, 1960, 56-57, inside cover
Lüneburg		4	2	2	1	1490s-c.1546	Important node or branch according to Kellenbenz (1990, 530), *Agentur* according to Von Pölnitz (1960, inside cover). The Fugger were active in Lüneburg from the 1490s. In the first half of the 16th century, copper was exported via Lüneburg. From 1546, the Fugger gradually withdrew from northern Europe.	Dollinger, 1970, 319; Kellenbenz, 1954, 153; Id., 1990, 165, 530; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 78, 291, inside cover
Lyon		4	2	2	1	1490s-c.1545<	Important node according to Kellenbenz (1990, 530), *Agentur* according to Von Pölnitz (1960, inside cover). The Fugger had no official branch in Lyon, but were represented there by other firms. In the 1490s, Jakob Fugger had connections with Paris and Lyon, perhaps via the Florentine representative of the Fugger in Rome. Ca. 1528, the interests of the Fugger in Lyon were represented among others by Lazarus Tucher from Antwerp.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 143; Kellenbenz, 1990, 165, 456, 530; Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 57; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 82-83,

							Since the 1530s, the Fugger made use of the services of the brothers Weyer and Sigmund Niklas, and also of the Nürnberg and Augsburg Welser. Representatives in 1544 were Sigmund Niklas and Hans Richter, in 1545 Lorenzo Pasquali and the Salviati.	165, 184, 292, 329, inside cover
Medina del Campo		4	2	2	1	>1530s-1540<	Important node. At the fairs of Castile, especially in Medina del Campo, the Fugger rented offices (e.g. 1540). At the fairs of Castile, the Fugger had no fixed branch, but were represented by staff from the branch at the Spanish court. Kaspar Weiler, factor at the Spanish court in the 1530s, regularly visited the fairs of Medina del Campo, Medina de Ríoseco and Villalón.	Denucé, 1934, 27-28; Kellenbenz, 1990, 175-177, 360-361, 530; Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 40 n. 145
Medina de Ríoseco		4	2	2	1	>1530s<	Important node. At the fairs of Castile, especially in Medina del Campo, the Fugger rented offices. At the fairs of Castile, the Fugger had no fixed branch, but were represented by staff from the branch at the Spanish court. Kaspar Weiler, factor at the Spanish court in the 1530s, regularly visited the fairs of Medina del Campo, Medina de Ríoseco and Villalón.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 175, 360-361, 530; Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 40 n. 145
Sibiu	M	4	2	2	1	1527-c.1547	*Faktorei* in Sibiu (Hermannstadt) according to Von Pölnitz (1960, inside cover). However, less important node according to Kellenbenz (1990, 530). In 1527, the Fugger obtained the lease of saltworks in Transsylvania. The Fugger were involved in metal- and salt-mining in Sibiu. Around 1547, the Fugger business in Transsylvania was liquidated.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 165, 530; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 163-164, 292, inside cover
Speyer		4	2	2	1		Important node or branch. The Fugger were represented at the *Reichstage* between the Emperor and the estates of Germany. These *Reichstage* were held in Nürnberg, Augsburg, Worms, Speyer and Regensburg, the three latter of which were of limited economic importance compared to Augsburg and Nürnberg. However, Speyer was the seat of the *Reichskammergericht*. Temporarily, the Fugger had a factor in Speyer.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 448-449, 530
Strasbourg		4	2	2	1	>c.1545<	Important node or branch according to Kellenbenz (1990, 530), *Agentur* according to Von Pölnitz (1960, inside cover). In Strasbourg, the Fugger were represented by the Prechter.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 448-449, 451, 530; Von Pölnitz, 1960, inside cover
Villalón		4	2	2	1	>1530s-1558<	Important node. At the fairs of Castile, especially in Medina del Campo, the Fugger rented offices. At the fairs of Castile, the Fugger had no fixed branch, but were represented by staff from the branch at the Spanish court. In 1533, Lazarus Nürnberger was active for the Fugger at the fairs of Villalón. Kaspar Weiler, factor at the Spanish court in the 1530s, regularly	Kellenbenz, 1990, 175, 360-361, 530; Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 40, 58, 40 n. 145

							visited the fairs of Medina del Campo, Medina de Ríoseco and Villalón. In 1558 Thomas Miller, factor in Sevilla, travelled to the fairs of Villalón.	
Alicante		3	2	2	1		Less important node.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530
Ancona		3	2	2	1		Less important node.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530
L'Aquila		3	2	2	1	>c.1545<	*Agentur* in L'Aquila around 1545.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530; Von Pölnitz, 1960, inside cover
Avignon		3	2	2	1		Less important node.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530
Baia Mare		3	2	2	1		Less important node in Baia Mare (Frauenseifen, Neustadt, Nagybanya).	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530
Banská Stiavnica		3	2	2	1	>c.1545<	*Agentur* in Banská Stiavnica (Schemnitz) around 1545.	Von Pölnitz, 1960, inside cover
Barcelona		3	2	2	1	>1519<, >1535<	*Agentur* in Barcelona around 1545. Barcelona did not play an important role in the Fugger network. The firm was especially represented here when Charles V was in Barcelona, such as in 1519 (by Wolf Haller and Jorge Reihing), and in 1535 (by Kaspar Weiler).	Kellenbenz, 1990, 363, 530; Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 40 n. 145; Von Pölnitz, 1960, inside cover
Basel		3	2	2	1		Less important node.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530
Belgrade		3	2	2	1		Less important node.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530
Benin Empire		3	2	2	1		The Fugger obtained a licence from the Portuguese for shipments of messing to western Africa (Benin).	Von Pölnitz, 1960, 369
Bilbao		3	2	2	1		Less important node. Bilbao was a transit harbour for goods coming from the Low Countries to Spain (fustians, textiles from the Low Countries), and for gemstones to be sent to the Low Countries. Perhaps representatives here were the del Barco and Juan Martínez de Recalde.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 362, 530
Bologna		3	2	2	1	>c.1545<	*Agentur* in Bologna around 1545.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530; Von Pölnitz, 1960, inside cover
Bordeaux		3	2	2	1		Less important node.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530

Bratislava		3	2	2	1	end 15th c.-c.1545<	*Agentur* in Bratislava (Pressburg) around 1545. The Fugger were already active in Bratislava at the end of the 15th century.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 12, 530; Von Pölnitz, 1960, inside cover
Braunschweig		3	2	2	1		Less important node.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530
Bressanone		3	2	2	1		Less important node.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530
Bruges		3	2	2	1		Less important node.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530
Brussels		3	2	2	1		The Fugger were represented at the court in Brussels. Representative in 1549 was Christoph Hörmann. Later, the Fugger were represented here by Christoph Wolff, or the Antwerp factor Örtel.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 445
Burgos		3	2	2	1	1520s	Less important node. In Burgos, the Fugger especially had connections with Cristóbal de Haro in the 1520s.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 361, 530
Cádiz		3	2	2	1	>1545-1552<	Less important node. In Cádiz, the Fugger were represented by local merchants, such as the Basks Iñigo de Melluygui (e.g. 1545, 1548) and Francisco de Mariaca. In 1547 tin of the Fugger, destined for Italy, was seized in Cádiz. In 1552, the Fugger shipped bullion from Cádiz to Antwerp.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 361-362, 530; Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 43, 46, 48, 56, 61
Calais		3	2	2	1		Less important node.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530
Callao		3	2	2	1	1531/32-1550s	Connection with Callao. Ca. 1531-32, the Fugger obtained important concessions for trade with Peru and Chile. From Sevilla, Fugger stations were founded on the islands and the mainland of Central and South America, none of which existed for very long or became of a more than modest size. By the end of the 1550s, the Fugger had given up their American business.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 532; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 168-171, 177, 293, 359
Canary Islands		3	2	2	1	>1547-1549<	Business with the Canary Islands from Sevilla. For connection with the Canaries, the Fugger often made use of the services of Genoese merchants.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 360, 532; Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 46
Chincha Alta		3	2	2	1	1531/32-1550s	Connection with Chincha. Ca. 1531-32, the Fugger obtained important concessions for trade with Peru and Chile. From Sevilla, Fugger stations were founded on the islands and the mainland of Central and South America, none of which existed for very long or became of a more than modest size. By the end of the 1550s, the Fugger had given up their	Kellenbenz, 1990, 532; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 168-171, 177, 293, 359

							American business.	
Chiusa		3	2	2	1		Chiusa (German: Klausen) was one of the nodes of the Fugger in the Alps.	Von Pölnitz, 1960, 290
Cluj-Napoca	M	3	2	2	1	1527-c.1545<	*Agentur* in Cluj-Napoca (Klausenburg) around 1545. In 1527, the Fugger obtained the lease of saltworks in Transsylvania. The Fugger were involved here in metal- and salt-mining.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 165, 530; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 163-164, inside cover
Copenhagen		3	2	2	1	1490s-1567>	The Fugger had a representative in Copenhagen. They also were represented along the Sound. The Fugger shipped goods to Copenhagen in the 1490s. Later, the representation in Copenhagen disappeared. Hans Jakob Fugger intended to restore the connections with Denmark in 1567, but this was not a success. The Fugger links with Scandinavia via the Baltic were among the first connections of the Fugger firm. The Fugger represented the papal interests in Scandinavia, and exported copper and silver from Hungary via the Baltic, since the connection with the Mediterranean was blocked by the Ottomans. Through his mediation with the Danish king, Jacob Vetter, the representative of the Fugger in Danzig, obtained business facilities for the Fugger in the Sound (1515) and Scandinavia.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 89; Kellenbenz, 1990, 530; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 78, 291, 316
Córdoba		3	2	2	1	>1552<	In Córdoba, the Fugger branch in Sevilla operated together with bishop Don Leopoldo de Austria, and with Matías Muntenhoamer. The Fugger also made use of the Genoese in Córdoba (e.g. in 1552).	Kellenbenz, 1990, 361-362; Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 45-46
Coro		3	2	2	1	1531/32-1550s	Connection with Coro. Ca. 1531-32, the Fugger became active in South America. From Sevilla, Fugger stations were founded on the islands and the mainland of Central and South America, none of which existed for very long or became of a more than modest size. By the end of the 1550s, the Fugger had given up their American business.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 532; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 168-171, 177, 293
Donauwörth		3	2	2	1	1536-c.1545<	*Agentur* in Donauwörth around 1545. The Fugger obtained Donauwörth in 1536. This gave them the control over the most important crossing of the Danube in southern Germany.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 180, 361, inside cover
Elbing		3	2	2	1		Less important node.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530
Florence		3	2	2	1	>1508-c.1545<	*Agentur* in Florence around 1545. Anton Fugger for a while did business with Cosimo de' Medici, but this mostly took place via Venice.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 69, 104; Kellenbenz,

								1990, 459, 530; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 290, inside cover
Frankfurt an der Oder		3	2	2	1	>1490s-c.1545<	*Agentur* in Frankfurt an der Oder around 1545. Shipments by the Fugger from Frankfurt an der Oder are known for the 1490s.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 78, 291, inside cover
Geneva		3	2	2	1		Less important node.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530
Goslar		3	2	2	1	1490s<	The Fugger became represented in Goslar in the 1490s.	Von Pölnitz, 1960, 78
Granada		3	2	2	1	>1555<	Less important node. In 1555, the Fugger had to pay a sum to Pedro de Vivaldi in Granada.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530; Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 46
Halle		3	2	2	1		Less important node.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530
Helsingør		3	2	2	1	>c.1545<	*Agentur* in Helsingør around 1545. The Fugger links with Scandinavia via the Baltic were among the first connections of the Fugger firm. The Fugger represented the papal interests in Scandinavia, and exported copper and silver from Hungary via the Baltic, since the connection with the Mediterranean was blocked by the Ottomans. Through his mediation with the Danish king, Jacob Vetter, the representative of the Fugger in Danzig, obtained business facilities for the Fugger in the Sound (1515) and Scandinavia.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530; Von Pölnitz, 1960, inside cover
Huancavelica		3	2	2	1	1563/64-	Connection with Huancavelica. Ca. 1531-32, the Fugger obtained important concessions for trade with Peru and Chile. From Sevilla, Fugger stations were founded on the islands and the mainland of Central and South America, none of which existed for very long or became of a more than modest size. By the end of the 1550s, the Fugger had given up their American business. Important mercury mines were discovered in Huancavelica in 1563/64.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 532; Seibold, 1995, 128; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 168-171, 177, 293, 359
Ivangorod		3	2	2	1	c.1513-c.1545<	*Agentur* in Ivangorod around 1545. Ivangorod became a commercial gateway to Russia since ca. 1513. The Fugger established their business very strongly in Ivangorod around this period.	Von Pölnitz, 1960, 88, 111, inside cover
Jablunkov Pass		3	2	2	1		Less important node in the Jablunkov Pass.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530

Jáchymov	M	3	2	2	1	>1529-1550<	*Berg- u. Hüttenwerke* in Jáchymov (St. Joachimsthal) around 1545. In 1529, the mines of the Hochstetter in Jáchymov were sold to the Fugger. In 1549-50, the Fugger were represented in Jáchymov by Mathias Paler.	Hildebrandt, 1996, 25 n. 53; Schaper, 1973, 196 n. 785; Von Pölnitz, 1960, inside cover
Jeseník	M	3	2	2	1	>c.1545<	Less important node. The Fugger were involved in mining in Jeseník (Freiwaldau).	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 291, inside cover
Kaunas		3	2	2	1		Less important node.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530
Königsberg		3	2	2	1		Less important node.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530
Košice		3	2	2	1		Less important node.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530
Kremnica		3	2	2	1	>1546<	Less important node.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 104; Kellenbenz, 1990, 530
Krupina		3	2	2	1	>c.1545<	*Agentur* in Krupina (German: Karpfen) around 1545.	Von Pölnitz, 1960, inside cover
Kutná Hora		3	2	2	1		Less important node.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530
Laredo		3	2	2	1		Less important node. In 1557, a shipment of the Fugger went via Laredo, where Nicolás Arnao del Hoyo and Fernando de Saldú are mentioned as representatives of the Fugger.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 362, 530; Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 57
Lima		3	2	2	1	1531/32-1550s	Connection with Lima. Ca. 1531-32, the Fugger obtained important concessions for trade with Peru and Chile. From Sevilla, Fugger stations were founded on the islands and the mainland of Central and South America, none of which existed for very long or became of a more than modest size. By the end of the 1550s, the Fugger had given up their American business.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 532; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 168-171, 177, 293, 359
Lindau		3	2	2	1	>c.1545<	*Agentur* in Lindau around 1545.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530; Von Pölnitz, 1960, inside cover
Linz		3	2	2	1		Less important node.	Kellenbenz, 1990,

								530
Livorno		3	2	2	1	>c.1545<	*Agentur* in Livorno around 1545.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530; Von Pölnitz, 1960, inside cover
Ljubljana		3	2	2	1	>c.1545<	*Agentur* in Ljubljana (Laibach) around 1545.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530; Von Pölnitz, 1960, inside cover
Lvov		3	2	2	1	c.1500-c.1545<	*Agentur* in Lvov (Lemberg) around 1545. The Fugger expanded their business towards Lvov around 1500.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 165, 530; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 88, inside cover
Mainz		3	2	2	1	>c.1545<	*Agentur* in Mainz around 1545. Mainz was an important transit place between river- and overland transport.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 448-449, 530; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 292, inside cover
Málaga		3	2	2	1		Less important node. In Málaga, the Fugger made use of the service of local merchants, such as Baptista Salvago, a naturalised Genoese.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 363, 530
Malmö		3	2	2	1	>c.1545<	*Agentur* in Malmö around 1545. The Fugger links with Scandinavia via the Baltic were among the first connections of the Fugger firm. The Fugger represented the papal interests in Scandinavia, and exported copper and silver from Hungary via the Baltic, since the connection with the Mediterranean was blocked by the Ottomans. Through his mediation with the Danish king, Jacob Vetter, the representative of the Fugger in Danzig, obtained business facilities for the Fugger in the Sound (1515) and Scandinavia. Between 1538 and 1541, the Fugger made some attempts to establish a branch in Sweden and to get involved in the Norwegian mining industry. However, probably due to a rupture between the Habsburgs and the Swedish royal house of Wasa, the plan for a Scandinavian settlement was never put into practice.	Von Pölnitz, 1960, inside cover
Maribor		3	2	2	1	>c.1545<	*Agentur* in Maribor around 1545.	Von Pölnitz, 1960, inside cover
Marseille		3	2	2	1		Less important node.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530
Memmingen		3	2	2	1		Less important node.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530

México		3	2	2	1	1531/32-1550s	Connection with México City. Ca. 1531-32, the Fugger became active in South America. From Sevilla, Fugger stations were founded on the islands and the mainland of Central and South America, none of which existed for very long or became of a more than modest size. By the end of the 1550s, the Fugger had given up their American business.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 532; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 168-171, 177, 293
Munich		3	2	2	1	>c.1545<	*Agentur* in Munich around 1545.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530; Von Pölnitz, 1960, inside cover
Nantes		3	2	2	1		Less important node.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530
Narbonne		3	2	2	1		Less important node.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530
Narva		3	2	2	1	>c.1510-c.1545<	*Agentur* in Narva around 1545. The Fugger were already active in Narva around 1510.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 110, inside cover
Novgorod		3	2	2	1	>c.1545<	*Agentur* in Novgorod around 1545.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 165, 530; Von Pölnitz, 1960, inside cover
Nysa		3	2	2	1		Less important node.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 291
Opole		3	2	2	1		Less important node.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530
Padua		3	2	2	1		Less important node.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530
Panamá		3	2	2	1	1531/32-1550s	Connection with Panamá. Ca. 1531-32, the Fugger became active in South America. From Sevilla, Fugger stations were founded on the islands and the mainland of Central and South America, none of which existed for very long or became of a more than modest size. By the end of the 1550s, the Fugger had given up their American business.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 532; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 168-171, 177, 293
Paris		3	2	2	1	1490s-c.1545<	*Agentur* in Paris around 1545. The Fugger had no official branch in Paris, but were represented there by other southern German and Italian firms instead. Already in the 1490s, Jakob Fugger had connections with Paris and	Kellenbenz, 1990, 165, 451, 530; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 82,

							Lyon, perhaps via the Florentine representative of the Fugger in Rome.	292, inside cover
Portobelo		3	2	2	1	1531/32-1550s	Connection with Portobelo. Ca. 1531-32, the Fugger became active in South America. From Sevilla, Fugger stations were founded on the islands and the mainland of Central and South America, none of which existed for very long or became of a more than modest size. By the end of the 1550s, the Fugger had given up their American business.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 532; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 168-171, 177, 293
Potosi		3	2	2	1	1531/32-1550s	Connection with Potosi. Ca. 1531-32, the Fugger obtained important concessions for trade with Peru and Chile. From Sevilla, Fugger stations were founded on the islands and the mainland of Central and South America, none of which existed for very long or became of a more than modest size. By the end of the 1550s, the Fugger had given up their American business.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 532; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 168-171, 177, 293, 359
Poznań		3	2	2	1	>1491-c.1545<	*Agentur* in Poznań around 1545. Already in 1491, the Fugger were engaged in financial dealings and the sale of cloth in Poznań.	Dollinger, 1970, 317; Kellenbenz, 1990, 530; Von Pölnitz, 1960, inside cover
Prague		3	2	2	1	>c.1545<	*Agentur* in Prague around 1545. Prague was a temporary residence of the court of Ferdinand, the brother of Charles V.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 450, 530; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 291, inside cover
Ptuj		3	2	2	1	>c.1545<	*Agentur* in Ptuj (Pettau) around 1545.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530; Von Pölnitz, 1960, inside cover
Regensburg		3	2	2	1	>c.1545<	*Agentur* in Regensburg around 1545. The Fugger were represented at the *Reichstage* between the Emperor and the estates of Germany. These *Reichstage* were held in Nürnberg, Augsburg, Worms, Speyer and Regensburg, the three latter of which were of limited economic importance compared to Augsburg and Nürnberg. Regensburg was a transit harbour at the Danube. The Fugger did not have a branch in Regensburg. In 1532, they were represented here by Konrad Mair.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 448-449, 530; Von Pölnitz, 1960, inside cover
Reval		3	2	2	1	>c.1545<	*Agentur* in Reval around 1545.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 165, 530; Von Pölnitz, 1960, inside cover
Riga		3	2	2	1	>c.1545<	*Agentur* in Riga around 1545.	Kellenbenz, 1990,

								165, 530; Von Pölnitz, 1960, inside cover
Rijeka		3	2	2	1		Less important node in Rijeka (Fiume).	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530
Rosenheim		3	2	2	1	>c.1545<	*Agentur* in Rosenheim around 1545.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530; Von Pölnitz, 1960, inside cover
Ružomberok		3	2	2	1	>c.1545<	*Agentur* in Ružomberok (Rosenberg) around 1545.	Von Pölnitz, 1960, inside cover
Salzburg		3	2	2	1	1480s-c.1545<	*Agentur* in Salzburg around 1545. The Fugger were already involved in mining in the area of Salzburg from the 1480s, even before they became active in Tirol.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 12, 530; Von Pölnitz, 1960, inside cover
San Lúcar		3	2	2	1		Less important node.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530
Santa Marta		3	2	2	1	1531/32-1550s	Connection with Santa Marta. Ca. 1531-32, the Fugger became active in South America. From Sevilla, Fugger stations were founded on the islands and the mainland of Central and South America, none of which existed for very long or became of a more than modest size. By the end of the 1550s, the Fugger had given up their American business.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 532; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 168-171, 177, 293
Santander		3	2	2	1		Less important node.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 362, 530
Santo Domingo		3	2	2	1	1531/32-1550s	A Fugger agent was stationed in Santo Domingo. Ca. 1531-32, the Fugger became active in South America. From Sevilla, Fugger stations were founded on the islands and the mainland of Central and South America, none of which existed for very long or became of a more than modest size, not even in Santo Domingo. By the end of the 1550s, the Fugger had given up their American business.	Von Pölnitz, 1960, 168, 171, 177, 293
Segovia		3	2	2	1		Less important node.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530
Senj		3	2	2	1	>c.1545<	*Agentur* in Senj (Zengg) around 1545.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530; Von Pölnitz, 1960, inside cover
Szczecin		3	2	2	1	>1502-c.1546	*Agentur* in Szczecin around 1545. By 1502, the Fugger had gained a firm foothold in Szczecin. However, from 1546 the Fugger gradually withdrew	Dollinger, 1970, 317, 319; Kellenbenz,

							from northern Europe.	1990, 530; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 291, inside cover
Teschen		3	2	2	1	>c.1545<	*Agentur* in Teschen around 1545.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 104; Von Pölnitz, 1960,291, inside cover
Topusko		3	2	2	1		Less important node.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530
Toruń		3	2	2	1	>c.1545<	*Agentur* in Toruń around 1545.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 291, inside cover
Toulouse		3	2	2	1		Less important node.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530
Trento		3	2	2	1	>c.1545<	*Agentur* in Trento (Trient) around 1545.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530; Von Pölnitz, 1960, inside cover
Treviso		3	2	2	1		Less important node.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530
Trieste		3	2	2	1		Less important node.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530
Turda		3	2	2	1		Less important node.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530
Ulm		3	2	2	1		Less important node.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530
Valencia		3	2	2	1		Less important node. In Valencia, the Fugger were represented by the Dadda, who came originally from Milan.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 363, 530
Veracruz		3	2	2	1	1531/32-1550s	Connection with Veracruz. Ca. 1531-32, the Fugger became active in South America. From Sevilla, Fugger stations were founded on the islands and the mainland of Central and South America, none of which existed for very long or became of a more than modest size. By the end of the 1550s, the Fugger had given up their American business.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 532; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 168-171, 177, 293
Verona		3	2	2	1		Less important node.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530

Vicenza		3	2	2	1		Less important node.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530
Villach	H	3	2	2	1	>c.1545<	*Agentur* in Villach around 1545. In Villach, the Fugger were involved in copper metallurgy.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 165, 530; Von Pölnitz, 1960, inside cover
Vilnius		3	2	2	1		Less important node.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530
Vipiteno	M	3	2	2	1	>c.1545-1564<	*Agentur* in Vipiteno (Sterzing) around 1545. The Fugger were engaged in silver mining near Vipiteno. The mining property of the Fugger in Schwaz, Vipiteno and Gossensaβ was estimated at 80,000 fl. in 1564.	Seibold, 1995, 56; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 290, inside cover
Warsaw		3	2	2	1	>c.1545<	*Agentur* in Warsaw around 1545.	Von Pölnitz, 1960, inside cover
Wasserburg am Inn		3	2	2	1		Less important node.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530
Weissenhorn	T	3	2	2	1	>1507-1555	*Agentur* in Weissenhorn around 1545. Kirchberg, Weissenhorn and Biberbach came in hands of Jakob Fugger as a security for a loan to the Habsburgs in 1507. Anton Fugger obtained the seigniorial rights over these territories and established a fustian business in Weissenhorn and surroundings. In 1555, the fustian production in Weissenhorn was given up due to a conflict with Ulm, and removed to Schwaz. Around 1533, Anton resided temporarily in Weissenhorn.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 16-17; Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 62; Seibold, 1995, 106; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 98, 172, 257, 287, 349, 361, 375, inside cover
Wiener Neustadt		3	2	2	1	>c.1545<	*Agentur* in Wiener Neustadt around 1545.	Von Pölnitz, 1960, inside cover
Worms		3	2	2	1		Less important node. The Fugger were represented at the *Reichstage* between the Emperor and the estates of Germany. These *Reichstage* were held in Nürnberg, Augsburg, Worms, Speyer and Regensburg, the three latter of which were of limited economic importance compared to Augsburg and Nürnberg. Nevertheless, Worms was the seat of a fair, which connected the fairs of Frankfurt with those of Strasbourg. Temporarily, the Fugger had a factor in Worms.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 448-449, 530
Würzburg		3	2	2	1		Less important node.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530
Zagreb		3	2	2	1	>c.1545<	*Agentur* in Zagreb (Agram) around 1545.	Kellenbenz, 1990,

								530; Von Pölnitz, 1960, inside cover
Zaragoza		3	2	2	1		Less important node.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530
Zilina		3	2	2	1	>c.1545<	*Agentur* in Zilina (Sillein) around 1545.	Von Pölnitz, 1960, inside cover
Złoty Stok	M	3	2	2	1	1511-c.1545<	Less important node. The Fugger were involved in mining activities in Złoty Stok (Reichenstein), where they obtained in 1511 shares in the mining business from their debtors Hans Starzedel and Otto Ruβwurm.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530; Schaper, 1973; 172-173; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 291, inside cover
Bad Oldesloe	H	2	2	1	0		Christian II of Denmark granted the Fugger his protection and gave them the right to build a copper mill at Bad Oldesloe near Lübeck.	Dollinger, 1970, 319
Besançon		2	2	1	0		To send capital from Spain to the Low Countries or Germany, the Fugger from time to time made use of the fairs of Lyon, and when these were boycotted by Charles V, the Fugger turned to the fairs of Besançon.	Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 57
Bleiberg	M	2	2	1	0	>c.1545<	*Berg- u. Hüttenwerke* in Bleiberg around 1545.	Von Pölnitz, 1960, inside cover
Buenos Aires		2	2	1	0	1536	The Fugger participated in the expedition of Pedro de Mendoza to the Río de la Plata in 1536.	Kellenbenz, 1974, 78; Id., 1990, 532;
Calicut		2	2	1	0	1505-1506	In 1505-06 the Fugger and Welser were involved in the expedition of Francisco de Almeida from Lisbon to the East Indies. Due to obstacles put in place by the Portuguese, direct trade of the Fugger with the East Indies was given up afterwards.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 71; Kellenbenz, 1990, 532; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 91
Cannanore		2	2	1	0	1505-1506	In 1505-06 the Fugger and Welser were involved in the expedition of Francisco de Almeida from Lisbon to the East Indies. Due to obstacles put in place by the Portuguese, direct trade of the Fugger with the East Indies was given up afterwards.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 71; Kellenbenz, 1990, 532; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 91
Cochin		2	2	1	0	1505-1506	In 1505-06 the Fugger and Welser were involved in the expedition of Francisco de Almeida from Lisbon to the East Indies. Due to obstacles put in place by the Portuguese, direct trade of the Fugger with the East Indies was given up afterwards.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 71; Kellenbenz, 1990, 532; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 91
Constantinople		2	2	1	0	After 1530-1555<	*Agentur* in Constantinople around 1545. Around 1530, the Fugger had no business in Constantinople yet. Hans Dernschwam, previously a factor of the Fugger, made a journey to Turkey in 1553/55.	Von Pölnitz, 1960, 167, 373, inside cover

La Coruña		2	2	1	0	1525	In 1525, the Fugger and Welser were involved in an expedition from La Coruña to the Moluccas, headed by García de Loaysa. For the organisation of the expedition the Fugger were represented by Cristóbal de Haro.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 165, 167, 169; Lohmann Villena, 1968, 15, 35
Fiera di Primiero	M	2	2	1	0	>1506<	After a loan to archduke Sigismund of Tirol in 1506, the Fugger obtained control over the silver output of Schwaz, Primör, Gossensaβ, Schneeberg and other places in Tirol.	Von Pölnitz, 1960, 209
Goa		2	2	1	0	1505-1506	In 1505-06 the Fugger and Welser were involved in the expedition of Francisco de Almeida from Lisbon to the East Indies. Due to obstacles put in place by the Portuguese, direct trade of the Fugger with the East Indies was given up afterwards.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 71; Kellenbenz, 1990, 532; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 91
Gossensaβ	M	2	2	1	0	>1506<, >1564<	After a loan to archduke Sigismund of Tirol in 1506, the Fugger obtained control over the silver output of Schwaz, Primör, Gossensaβ, Schneeberg and other places in Tirol. The mining property of the Fugger in Schwaz, Vipiteno and Gossensaβ was estimated at 80,000 fl. in 1564.	Seibold, 1995, 56; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 209
Guadalcanal	M	2	2	1	0	from c.1525	From c.1525 the Fugger obtained control over the revenues from the silver mines of Guadalcanal.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 81-82
Jenbach	H	2	2	1	0	1526/27-1565<	The *Hüttenwerk* of Jenbach was obtained by Anton Fugger in 1526/27 from Ambrosius Hochstetter. In 1565, they became members of the Jenbacher Gesellschaft, together with the Haug-Langnauer-Linck and the Katzbeck-Manlich.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 15; Seibold, 1995, 118
Kilwa Kisiwani		2	2	1	0	1505-1506	In 1505-06 the Fugger and Welser were involved in the expedition of Francisco de Almeida from Lisbon to the East Indies. Due to obstacles put in place by the Portuguese, direct trade of the Fugger with the East Indies was given up afterwards.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 71; Kellenbenz, 1990, 532; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 91
Lützelfelden	H	2	2	1	0		The Fugger had a smelting hut in Lützelfelden near Kitzbühel in Tirol.	Seibold, 1995, 115
Mechelen	H	2	2	1	0	c.1548	Copper was processed for the Fugger in a copper foundry in Mechelen.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 444
Moluccas		2	2	1	0	1525	In 1525, the Fugger and Welser were involved in an expedition from La Coruña to the Moluccas, headed by García de Loaysa. The Fugger invested 10,000 ducats in the expedition. For the organisation of the expedition the Fugger were represented by Cristóbal de Haro.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 165, 167, 169; Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 30; Lohmann Villena, 1968, 15, 35
Mombasa		2	2	1	0	1505-1506	In 1505-06 the Fugger and Welser were involved in the expedition of	Ehrenberg, 1928, 71;

							Francisco de Almeida from Lisbon to the East Indies. Due to obstacles put in place by the Portuguese, direct trade of the Fugger with the East Indies was given up afterwards.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 532; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 91
Mozambique		2	2	1	0	1505-1506	In 1505-06 the Fugger and Welser were involved in the expedition of Francisco de Almeida from Lisbon to the East Indies. Due to obstacles put in place by the Portuguese, direct trade of the Fugger with the East Indies was given up afterwards.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 71; Kellenbenz, 1990, 532; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 91
Polotsk		2	2	1	0		Less important node (Polotsk is situated wrongly on the map in Kellenbenz (1990, 530) at the position of Pskov. Consequently, it is not entirely sure whether Polotsk or Pskov is meant) .	Kellenbenz, 1990, 530
Porcuna		2	2	1	0	>1543-1556<	Joseph Eser of Bolzano was a representative of the Fugger in Porcuna, one of the Maestrazgo provinces, for the collection of grain (tax farming). He depended on the branch in Sevilla. In 1554, factors in Porcuna were Eser and Carlos de Ballesteros. Last mention of Eser in 1556.	Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 41
Quilon		2	2	1	0	1505-1506	In 1505-06 the Fugger and Welser were involved in the expedition of Francisco de Almeida from Lisbon to the East Indies. Due to obstacles put in place by the Portuguese, direct trade of the Fugger with the East Indies was given up afterwards.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 71; Kellenbenz, 1990, 532; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 91
Schneeberg	M	2	2	1	0	>1506<	After a loan to archduke Sigismund of Tirol in 1506, the Fugger obtained control over the silver output of Schwaz, Primör, Gossensaβ, Schneeberg and other places in Tirol.	Von Pölnitz, 1960, 209
Sofala		2	2	1	0	1505-1506	In 1505-06 the Fugger and Welser were involved in the expedition of Francisco de Almeida from Lisbon to the East Indies. Due to obstacles put in place by the Portuguese, direct trade of the Fugger with the East Indies was given up afterwards.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 71; Kellenbenz, 1990, 532; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 91
Thaya	M	2	2	1	0	>c.1545<	*Berg- u. Hüttenwerke* in Thaya around 1545.	Von Pölnitz, 1960, inside cover
Zanzibar		2	2	1	0	1505-1506	In 1505-06 the Fugger and Welser were involved in the expedition of Francisco de Almeida from Lisbon to the East Indies. Due to obstacles put in place by the Portuguese, direct trade of the Fugger with the East Indies was given up afterwards.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 71; Kellenbenz, 1990, 532; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 91
Zvolen	M	2	2	1	0		The Fugger were involved in mining activities in Zvolen (Altsohl) near Neusohl in Slovakia.	Von Pölnitz, 1960, 291
Aachen		1	1	1	0		The Fugger perhaps had connections with Aachen via the Schetz and Nikolaus von Rechterghem.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 439

Berlin		1	1	1	0	1513	The Blankenfelde of Berlin were in debt to the Fugger in 1513.	Schaper, 1973, 195
Kiev		1	1	1	0	c.1500-c.1545<	Around 1500, the Fugger expanded their business network to Ivangorod and Lemberg, and perhaps even to Kiev and Moscow.	Von Pölnitz, 1960, 88, inside cover
Moscow		1	1	1	0	c.1500<	Around 1500, the Fugger expanded their business network to Ivangorod and Lemberg, and perhaps even to Kiev and Moscow.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 165; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 88
Norway		1	1	1	0		The Fugger links with Scandinavia via the Baltic were among the first connections of the Fugger firm. The Fugger represented the papal interests in Scandinavia, and exported copper and silver from Hungary via the Baltic, since the connection with the Mediterranean was blocked by the Ottomans. Through his mediation with the Danish king, Jacob Vetter, the representative of the Fugger in Danzig, obtained business facilities for the Fugger in the Sound (1515) and Scandinavia. Between 1538 and 1541, the Fugger made some attempts to establish a branch in Sweden and to get involved in the Norwegian mining industry. However, probably due to a rupture between the Habsburgs and the Swedish royal house of Wasa, the plan for a Scandinavian settlement was never put into practice.	Dollinger, 1970, 317; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 108-109, 184-186, 193, 292, 361, 363
Sweden		1	1	1	0		The Fugger links with Scandinavia via the Baltic were among the first connections of the Fugger firm. The Fugger represented the papal interests in Scandinavia, and exported copper and silver from Hungary via the Baltic, since the connection with the Mediterranean was blocked by the Ottomans. Through his mediation with the Danish king, Jacob Vetter, the representative of the Fugger in Danzig, obtained business facilities for the Fugger in the Sound (1515) and Scandinavia. Between 1538 and 1541, the Fugger made some attempts to establish a branch in Sweden and to get involved in the Norwegian mining industry. However, probably due to a rupture between the Habsburgs and the Swedish royal house of Wasa, the plan for a Scandinavian settlement was never put into practice.	Dollinger, 1970, 317; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 108-109, 184-186, 193, 292, 361, 363

+ This table has been based especially upon the map of the network of the Fugger firm under Anton Fugger in Kellenbenz (1990, 530), and upon the map of the Fugger network ca. 1545 in Von Pölnitz (1960, inside cover), which correspond to a large measure. The maps have been confronted with each other and scores have been attributed as follows (with several exceptions):

Von Pölnitz (1960, inside cover)	**Kellenbenz (1990, 530)**		
	Wichtige Stützpunkte und Faktoreien	*Weniger wichtige Plätze*	Not mentioned
Grossfaktorei	7/6-3-2-1	5/6-3-2-1	-

Faktorei	6-3-2-1	4/5-3/2-2-1	4-2-2-1
Agentur	4/5-3/2-2-1	3-2-2-1	3-2-2-1
Berg- u. Hüttenwerke	6-3-2-1	3-2-2-1	2-2-1-0
Not mentioned	6-3-2-1	3-2-2-1	-

GROSSE RAVENSBURGER HANDELSGESELLSCHAFT AND RELATED COMPANIES, ca. 1380 – 1530

The origin of the Grosse Ravensburger Gesellschaft goes back to ca. 1380, and resulted from the association between the Humpis family of Ravensburg, and the Mötteli family, originally from Buchhorn (nowadays Friedrichshafen). Probably already before 1408, but definitely by 1434, the Muntprat family of Konstanz, who simultaneously appears to have operated its own company, joined the Grosse Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft. At several moments in the history of the company, one or more partners left the company and founded competing firms. In 1437 for example, a new company was founded by the former partners Ulrich Brock, Hans Zürcher, Ital Humpis the younger and Hans Schriber. A similar thing happened in 1453, when several partners left the Grosse Ravensburger Gesellschaft and established the Mötteli Gesellschaft, and in 1477 when the Ankenreute Gesellschaft separated itself from the mother company. When the latter company was dissolved in 1510, some of the members returned to the Grosse Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft. Perhaps in 1520 another company split off, which was founded by Georg Besserer (an illegitimate son of Lütfried Besserer), Hans Hillenson and Jörg Wolpertshofer. The Grosse Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft itself was finally dissolved in 1530 (Schulte, 1923, I, 16-17, 21-23, 44; II, 1, 6, 12, 224-225). Below, the networks of the Grosse Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft, as well as those of the Muntprat family, and those of the disjoined Mötteli and Ankenreute companies will be treated.

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Source material:

Fragments of the archives of the Grosse Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft for the period between 1427 and 1527 (especially 1472-1480 and 1497-1527) have been preserved (accounts, letters, bills of exchange, etc). They have been published – together with other sources concerning the Ravensburger Gesellschaft – by Aloys Schulte (1923, III). As a result, the Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft is one of the best documented German business firms of the late Middle Ages, although not much is known about the early history of the company. Concerning the

early trade of the Muntprat, the “Buch des Ammannsgerichtes” of Konstanz for the years 1423-1429, and a “Formelbuch” for an earlier period have been preserved (Eikenberg, 1976, 17; Schulte, 1923, I, 2-3, 7, 16-23, 26).

1. MUNTPRAT, ca. 1410 (not used network)

The Muntprat of Konstanz probably were partners in the Grosse Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft from before 1408 (definitely by 1434). Nevertheless, it is not entirely clear whether the Muntprat company in this early period was still independent or not; they appear to have managed the branch in Konstanz more or less autonomously. Almost nothing is known about the business of the Grosse Ravensburger Gesellschaft itself for the early 15th century (Schulte, 1923, I, 21-23, 26).

Size: ?

Main activities:

- Commerce: The Muntprat exported linens and fustians, and also trade in pepper, indigo, etc. (Schulte, 1923, I, 26-27).
- Finance: ?
- Industry: The Muntprat made use of the bleaching industry of Konstanz (Schulte, 1923, I, 27).

Network of the Muntprat:

The Muntprat company was represented abroad by *Diener*, who probably were partners rather than salaried factors (Schulte, 1923, I, 27).

Table A..1. Network of the Muntprat, ca. 1410

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Konstanz		8	4	3	1	>1425-1428<	Headquarters. The Muntprat probably managed the branch in Konstanz more or less independently. In 1425-1428, the company in Konstanz was called “Lütfried Muntprat und Gesellschaft”.	Schulte, 1923, I, 22-23
Bruges		6	3	2	1		*Gelieger* (branch or factor) in Bruges. *Diener* in Bruges were Johann Slatter and Lütfrid Bettminger.	Schulte, 1923, I, 26-27, 400
Venice		4	2	2	1	>1404<, >1425-1426<	The Muntprat had a permanent representative in Venice, definitely in 1404. One of their *Diener* in Venice was Werlin Aenslinger. In 1425-26, the Muntprat were involved in transactions in bills of exchange with Venice.	Schulte, 1923, I, 26-27, 135, 237

							The Muntprat carried out a large trade with Ulrich Imholz, also from Konstanz, but established in Venice in 1424-1432.	
Frankfurt am Main		3	2	2	1		The Muntprat carried out payments at the fairs of Frankfurt and Nördlingen.	Schulte, 1923, I, 26
Nördlingen		3	2	2	1	>1426<	The Muntprat carried out payments at the fairs of Frankfurt and Nördlingen. In 1426, a bill of exchange is known which was sent by the Muntprat between Konstanz and Nördlingen.	Schulte, 1923, I, 26, 135
Barcelona		2	2	1	0	1408	The Muntprat organised a shipment to the Spanish east coast (probably Barcelona) in 1408.	Schulte, 1923, I, 26, 318-319
Avignon		1	1	1	0		The Muntprat perhaps had a representative in Avignon.	Schulte, 1923, I, 26
Genoa		1	1	1	0	>1417<	Lütfrid Muntprat perhaps went to Genoa to negotiate a privilege for the German merchants in Genoa in 1417.	Schulte, 1923, I, 261-263

+ Philipp Nater was *Diener* of the Muntprat in an unknown location (Schulte, 1923, I, 27).

2. GROSSE RAVENSBURGER HANDELSGESELLSCHAFT, ca. 1380 – 1530

The Grosse Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft was an association consisting of a large number of partners from about ten different cities and towns in Upper Swabia, but with its headquarters in the small town of Ravensburg, north of Lake Konstanz. Partnerships were always agreed for short term periods (e.g. six years in 1477), but were renewed many times, and as a result the company existed for about 150 years in total. Especially the Humpis of Ravensburg, the Mötteli, who came originally from Buchhorn (present-day Friedrichshafen), and the Muntprat of Konstanz, all backed by sufficient capital, played a central part in the business of the company. Probably, the Grosse Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft originated around 1380 as an association between the former two families, while the Muntprat joined later (probably before 1408). The company was headed by three *Regierer*, who operated from the headquarters in Ravensburg. In the early period Henggi Humpis (d. 1429), Rudolf Mötteli the elder (d. after 1426), and Lütfried Muntprat may all have been *Regierer* at one time or another. Later, first *Regierer* were consecutively Jos Humpis the elder (at least from 1426, d. 1454/55), his son Jos II Humpis (at least from 1454/55 until 1462, and from 1474 to 1477), Friedrich Humpis (brother of Jos II) (1466-1471), Onofrius Humpis (1477-1496), Hans Humpis (1496- at least 1511), and Konrad Humpis (until 1530). This *erste Regierer* was the principal head of the company. Nevertheless, in the later period (under Hans and Konrad Humpis) the *de facto* leadership was in hands of the *zweite* (second) *Regierer*, at that time Hans Hinderofen (d. 1527). The *dritte Regierer* was the main accountant of the firm. During the first 60 years of its existence the Grosse Ravensburger Gesellschaft was very profitable, but by 1477 the decline had set in. By 1525, the liquidation of the company was considered. After the death of Hans Hinderofen in 1527, the Grosse Ravensburger Gesellschaft remained active for another couple of years, but around 1530 it was finally dissolved. The decline was especially a

result of the growing competition of a number of successful new south German firms, and of the lack of ability to adapt to new circumstances (Schulte, 1923, I, 16-17, 21-23, 27-28, 30-31, 40-41, 48-54, 60-61; II, 224-229; Spufford, 2002, 23-24, 254).

Size: Large or very large

The Grosse Ravensburger Gesellschaft was probably the largest medieval German trade company. At certain times, the company counted more than 50 merchants among its members. In 1497, the firm had 38 active partners (3 *Regierer* and 12 partners in Ravensburg, 6 partners on the road, and 17 in the branches. The total capital invested in the company amounted to ca. 117,000 fl. (Rhenish gulden) before 1510, and ca. 130,000 fl. in 1514 (Schulte, 1923, I, 3, 5, 49, 58, 56 n. 2).

Main activities:

- Commerce: The Grosse Ravensburger Gesellschaft traded in a large variety of goods, mostly in wholesale, but for a small part also in retail. Sometimes, the company carried out commission trade for other merchants as well. The Ravensburger Gesellschaft probably more or less obtained a monopoly over the long distance trade of Ravensburg and the smaller imperial cities of Upper Swabia (Schulte, 1923, I, 4, 49, 87, 95, 137; II, 73-223).
- Finance: Only sporadically, the Grosse Ravensburger Gesellschaft carried out banking activities. With some exceptions (such as a loan to king René of Provence, loans to the bishop of Konstanz in the first half of the 15th century, loans to the town of Ravensburg) no loans were provided to princes or towns. The Ravensburger Gesellschaft made use of bills of exchange, but largely as a means of payment and money transfer, rather than as a means of credit in itself. The company's trade in precious metals was rather limited, one of the reasons why the *Gesellschaft* was not very active in financial activities (Schulte, 1923, I, 24-25, 49, 131-132, 134-137, 389-390, 485).
- Industry: The Grosse Ravensburger Gesellschaft was not involved in industrial activities, with the exception of some sugar refining in Valencia (Schulte, 1923, I, 92, 297).

Network of the Grosse Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft:

The Grosse Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft was a multi-branch company, bringing together in one company under a strong leadership of *Regierer* a large number of partners coming from different cities and towns of Upper Swabia, notably from the linen weaving region from Konstanz to Kempten, and from Biberach to Sankt Gallen. These *Gesellen*, most of whom were active partners, received a renumeration for their labour for the company. The *Gesellschaft* was represented abroad by ca. 13 *Gelieger* (branches), each of which was headed by an *Obman*, who was a partner of the company and had a power of attorney. He was assisted by *Prokuristen* (managing clerks) and a bookkeeper. The staff of the branches consisted of partners and unpaid apprentices, while the company apparently did not have purely salaried employees. The personnel of the branches either lived in the *Gelieger* or with the *Obman*, or rented a space to live. The branches were controlled by travelling partners who visited the *Gelieger*, drawing up reports in the form of a *Rekordanz*. Moreover, balance sheets were produced more or less every three years, whereby each of the branches sent a representative to the headquarters. In several places where the firm did not have its own branch, it was

represented for shorter periods by agents, often working on commission (Schulte, 1923, I, 5-6, 40-41, 56-58, 65-67, 71, 76, 80, 86-88, 93-94, 97-99).

Table A..2. Network of the Grosse Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft, ca. 1420 – ca. 1530

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Ravensburg		8	4	3	1	c.1380-c.1530	Headquarters. The firm's headquarters probably always were located in Ravensburg. The headquarters, containing warehouses, were located on the Marktstrasse. The three *Regierer* had to reside in Ravensburg. A large number of partners (ca. 39 known) were citizens from Ravensburg.	Schulte, 1923, I, 17, 46-48, 54, 97, 209-210
Antwerp		4	2	2	1	>1447-1480<	- The fairs of Antwerp were of great importance for the Ravensburger Gesellschaft. Originally, the fairs were visited by staff from the Bruges branch (e.g. Andreas Sattler in 1478). Moreover, in 1447 the company was represented by Johann van Lair, innkeeper in Antwerp.	Schulte, 1923, I, 97, 136-140, 401, 403, 413, 420-421, 416 n. 1; II, 224
		6	**3**	**2**	**1**	<1480s-1527<	- The Ravensburger Gesellschaft left Bruges for Antwerp during the war between Maximilian and Bruges in the 1480s. It is not entirely clear whether the company returned temporarily to Bruges afterwards, or remained permanently in Antwerp. By 1505, the company definitely had a branch in Antwerp, and was represented by Hans Ernlin (until 1512). Other representatives in Antwerp were Konrad Täschler and Moritz Hürus. The branch still existed in 1527.	
Avignon		6	3	2	1	>1420s-1525>	Branch. The Avignon branch was especially involved in the traffic of goods between Geneva or Lyon and Spain or the Mediterranean ports of France. In the 1420s, Rudolf Mötteli was an apprentice in the branch in Avignon. Head of the branch in 1474 was Hans Homps. At that time, Homps had no partners or apprentices in Avignon, and the branch was only of minor importance. The branch was still in existence in 1497, but was given up before 1525.	Schulte, 1923, I, 58, 97, 116-117, 386-389, 391; II, 225
Barcelona		**6**	**3**	**2**	**1**	>1426-1497>	- Branch. Already in 1426, the Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft traded with Barcelona. The firm had a major share in the trade from Germany and Savoy to Barcelona (51.9 % in 1425-40; 33.1 % in 1467-80). The branch was headed by Johann Franch (1436, 1439-1440), Peter Christian (1437-1438). By 1467-80, business in Barcelona was in decline due to the crisis and civil war in Aragón. The branch was dissolved between 1481 and 1497.	Ammann, 1928, 74; Schulte, 1923, I, 58, 97, 116-117, 326-329, 336-337; II, 225
		3	2	2	1	>1495<,	- Nevertheless, Hans Hinderofen was in Barcelona for the company in 1495,	

						>1504<	and Hans Olbrich in 1504.	
Bruges		6	3	2	1	>1433-1480s<	Branch. The Ravensburger Gesellschaft was probably represented in Bruges by 1433. In 1477-80, the representative in Bruges was the partner Andreas Sattler. Apparently, the company had its own house in Bruges. A correspondence book of the Bruges branch has been preserved for the period 5-7-1477 to 29-4-1478, containing 95 letters. The partners of the company left Bruges for Antwerp in the 1480s, during the war between Maximilian and Bruges. It is not clear whether they returned to Bruges afterwards.	Schulte, 1923, I, 58, 76, 97-98, 113, 401, 403, 408, 411, 413; II, 257
Geneva		**6** 3	**3** 2	**2** 2	**1** 1	>1454-1478> <1478-1515<	- Branch. The Ravensburger Gesellschaft definitely was active in Geneva by 1454. Factor in 1458 was Nikolaus Stoss. In 1478, the company still rented a room in Geneva. By this time, no permanent branch existed anymore in Geneva, although partners were sent temporarily to the fairs. - After 1478, the firm was represented by commission merchants in Geneva, such as the innkeeper Glan de Ravanell, and Ulrich Emmler (1507-1515).	Schulte, 1923, I, 45, 76, 97, 116-117, 208, 367-368
Genoa		6	3	2	1	>1431-1527<	Branch. Sometimes the branch in Genoa was temporarily dissolved due to plague or war, such as in 1504. Probably a partner was sent to Genoa in 1424/25 to negociate about privileges. There was definitely a branch in Genoa in 1431. Factors in Genoa were Otmar Schläpfer (1447), Heinrich Frey (ca. 1464-66). The Ravensburger Gesellschaft for a while made use of the services of the Centurione (Alvise or Luigi), who operated as commission merchants, but by 1477 the branch in Genoa was reopened. Hans Kloter was head of the branch in Genoa ca. 1497. He was the most highly paid factor of the company after Hans Hinderofen, which shows the importance of the Genoese branch. The importance of the branch in Genoa declined between 1497 and 1507, and it was temporarily dissolved in 1507, after which period the firm was especially represented by Vicencio de Wine in Genoa. The branch was reopened again later, and still existed in 1527.	Schulte, 1923, I, 44, 58, 79-80, 97-98, 130, 208, 264-266, 271-274, 283-284; II, 224, 257.
Konstanz		**6** 3	**3** 2	**2** 2	**1** 1	>1425-1497 <1500-1530<	- Branch. According to the balance sheet of 1497 there was a branch in Konstanz. In the early 15th century, the branch in Konstanz was probably managed by the Muntprat. Ca. 1480, the branch was headed by Wilhelm Richenbach. Many partners (ca. 24 known) were citizens of Konstanz. - In the first decade of the 16th century, there was no branch anymore in Konstanz. In this period, the company was represented by Moritz Hürus and Klaus im Steinhaus.	Schulte, 1923, I, 22-23, 58, 72, 97, 210-212, 501-502
Lyon		6	3	2	1	>1474-1515<	Branch. The Lyon branch was not very important for the *Gesellschaft*: the	Grote, 1961, 35;

							company was not active in finance, and most goods traded on the fairs of Lyon were of lesser importance for the firm. The Ravensburger Gesellschaft obtained a free conduct for trade at the Lyon fairs by 1477 the latest. A branch definitely existed in Lyon in 1478-80. Managers of the Lyon branch were Lamparter the elder (before 1474, 1480), Philipp Fechter (1474-1515, not sure whether he was a partner or a commission merchant), Klaus Frauenfeld (1479). By 1497, the Lyon branch was not permanently staffed anymore, and by 1507-1515, it was not active anymore in purchase and sale transactions, but only in the organisation of transport, liquidation of debts, etc. Nevertheless, a room was still rented in Lyon in 1513. The representative at that time was Wolf Apotheker. In that year, Marx Rusch traded in commission for the company. The branch was given up before 1525. Nevertheless, representatives were sent to the fairs of Lyon even after the dissolution of the branch.	Schulte, 1923, I, 43-44, 58, 76, 97, 116-117, 138, 208, 369, 372-376, 379, 382-383; II, 225
Memmingen		6	3	2	1	>1497-1515<	Branch. In Memmingen, the Ravensburger Gesellschaft was represented by partners and/or commission agents. In 1476-1480, the company was not active in Memmingen however. A commissionary probably represented the firm from the beginning of the 16th century. In 1507, Memmingen became the seat of a purchase agency of the company. In 1515, the Grosse Ravensburger Gesellschaft took over the business of Ulrich Gessler in Memmingen: it was managed for the company by Hans Weyer. Perhaps Gessler already conducted business for the *Gesellschaft* from as early as 1497/98. Some of the partners (ca. 7 known) were citizens of Memmingen, especially in the beginning of the 16th century.	Schulte, 1923, I, 97, 208, 213, 494-497, 503
Milan		6	3	2	1	>c.1412-1527< except 1507-1510	Branch. Perhaps there existed already contacts with Milan in 1402, and there was at least a branch from the period 1412-1447. Known representatives in Milan were Henricus Franch de Constantia (1447), Ulrich Frei (1451), Lionardo Franco (1459), and Thomas im Steinhaus (1463-65). The branch was temporarily dissolved between 1507 and 1510 due to the war between Maximilian I and Louis XII. After the reopening, factor was Polai Hinderofen (1520).	Schulte, 1923, I, 43, 58, 97-98, 239-240, 243-247, 249, 283; II, 224
Nürnberg		6	3	2	1	>1427-1527<	Branch. The Nürnberg branch was involved in the purchase of metals and metal products, and especially in the sale of southern European products. Probably, there was already a branch in Nürnberg in 1427. At least between 1444 and 1478, the Nürnberg branch was located in the house of the	Grote, 1961, 35; Neukam, 1967, 209, 197 n. 202, 209 n. 338, 213 n. 382, 213

							Nürnberg merchant Ulrich Stark. Representatives in Nürnberg were Jörg von Kur (1437), Burkart Geltwyler (1437), Oswald Morgen (1448), Hans Hillenson (1448), Lutz Gessler (1483), Hans Sälder (1483), Jörg Bader (1510), Jos Mayer (*Obmann*). An account has been preserved of the Nürnberg branch for 1479-80. Several partners of the Grosse Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft originated from Nürnberg, e.g. Hans Albrecht (1437) and Jörg Koler (1474-1481). By 1504, the branch was in a bad condition. Nevertheless, it still existed in 1527.	n. 384; Schulte, 1923, I, 58, 76, 97-98, 103, 214, 428, 430, 452-458, 461, 465; II, 224; Von Stromer, 1973, 337
Sankt Gallen		6	3	2	1	>1474-1484<	Branch. From at least 1474 to 1484, Ottmar Schläpfer, partner, represented the company in Sankt Gallen. Some of the partners (ca. 6 known) were citizens of Sankt Gallen.	Schulte, 1923, I, 45, 97, 213, 512-513
Valencia		6	3	2	1	>1445-1526<	Branch. By 1445, the Ravensburger Gesellschaft had a permanent settlement in Valencia. In Valencia the company not only had a branch, but also a Bodega for retail trade. Moreover, until ca. 1477 the firm was involved in sugar refining in Valencia. At the end of the 1470s, the trade of the branch and the Bodega were temporarily not very successful.	Schulte, 1923, I, 43, 58, 95, 97-98, 106, 116-117, 267, 289, 294-295, 316; II, 225
Venice		6	3	2	1	>1448<, >1474-1497<	Branch. The Grosse Ravensburger Gesellschaft definitely had a branch in Venice by 1448 (factor was Hans Griesinger). In 1474/75, the company still had a room in the Fondaco dei Tedeschi, but no permanent staff anymore: a partner from time to time visited Venice, while a local representative received letters and shipments for the company. In 1497, the assets of the company in Venice were very small. Contacts with Venice were rather weak, especially in the later period.	Schulte, 1923, I, 58, 97, 236-239; II, 225
Vienna		6	3	2	1	>1440-1449<, >1507-1527<, not >1476-1480<	Branch. The earliest indications for a branch in Vienna go back to 1440 and 1449. Factor in 1440 was Hans Lüglin. However, by 1476-1480, there was no branch in Vienna anymore. A branch existed again in 1507, organised by Heinrich im Steinhaus. This branch was headed by Gabriel Gessler in 1511-1514. The Vienna branch still existed in 1527. From Vienna, the Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft traded especially with Hungary.	Neukam, 1967, 213 n. 380; Schulte, 1923, I, 80-81, 97-98, 364, 470, 472-473; II, 224
Zaragoza		6	3	2	1	>1430-1527<	Branch. Already in 1430, the Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft was engaged in the saffron trade with Zaragoza. Representatives in 1430 were Peter Cristan, Wilhelm Sevill (probably a Spanish commissionary), and Hans Frei. Cristan and Frei were also active in Barcelona however. Only later, the personnel became more permanent. The staff resided in an inn. The branch in Zaragoza was several times in difficulties, and had to be given up	Schulte, 1923, I, 58, 70, 76, 79, 97-98, 106, 117, 130, 214, 304-306, 308, 310-311, 313, 316; II, 6-8, 225

							more than once (it was for example taken over by the Ankenreute Gesellschaft in 1477). By 1523-26, the business of the Zaragoza branch was in serious decline. A small number of partners (ca. 2 known) were citizens of Zaragoza.	
Como		5	3	2	1	>1475<	A subsidiary of the Milan branch was located in Como. Nevertheless, the company was not permanently represented in Como: from time to time, a partner or commission agent resided in Como for the Ravensburger Gesellschaft.	Schulte, 1923, I, 97, 225
Isny		5	3	2	1	>1497-1504<	In Isny, the company was more or less permanently represented by a partner (e.g. in 1503/04). Moreover, the factor of the company in Memmingen from time to time made purchases in Isny. Some of the partners (ca. 8 known) were citizens of Isny. The Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft played an important part in the long distance trade of Isny.	Schulte, 1923, I, 58, 212, 497, 504
Lindau		5	3	2	1	>1497-1507<	In Lindau, the firm was represented by active partners of the company, such as Oswald Kröll and Bernhard Hünlin. In 1497-1507 transport in Lindau was organised by Hans Öler, afterwards by Oswald Kröll. Some of the partners (ca. 11 known) were citizens of Lindau.	Schulte, 1923, I, 212, 503-504
Wangen im Allgäu		5	3	2	1	>1497-1504<	In Wangen, the company was more or less permanently represented by a partner (e.g. in 1503/04). Some of the partners (ca. 5 known) were citizens of Wangen. The Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft played an important part in the long distance trade of Wangen.	Schulte, 1923, I, 58, 212, 504
Aigues-Mortes		4	2	2	1	>1479<, >1507<, >1515<	In Aigues-Mortes, the Ravensburger Gesellschaft was represented by commission agents (e.g. Jan Dobert), although from time to time a younger partner was sent here as well.	Schulte, 1923, I, 208, 389, 392
Biberach an der Riss		4	2	2	1	>1507-1520<	In 1507 Biberach became the seat of a purchase agency of the company, which was headed by Frick Brandenburg (ca. 1510, 1514, 1517, 1520). A small number of partners (ca. 3 known) were citizens of Biberach.	Schulte, 1923, I, 213, 494, 503
Bourg-en-Bresse		4	2	2	1	>c.1476-1479<	Representative. The company had no *Gelieger* in Bourg-en-Bresse. Nevertheless, the company was represented here by a younger partner (Klaus Bützel, ca. 1476-1477) or a commission merchant (Pero de Francia, ca. 1476-1479).	Schulte, 1923, I, 76, 97, 208, 383
Frankfurt am Main		4	2	2	1	>1429-1527<	The Grosse Ravensburger Gesellschaft was very active at the fairs of Frankfurt, where a room was rented on a regular basis during the fairs. The company never had a branch in Frankfurt however, but was represented here by partners from the headquarters in Ravensburg and the Nürnberg branch.	Neukam, 1967, 211-212, 213 n. 384; Schulte, 1923, I, 76, 101, 114-115, 132-

							Moreover, the firm sometimes made use of the services of a commission merchant, e.g. Wolf Blum. Already in 1429, the Ravensburger Gesellschaft regularly visited the Frankfurt fairs. The fairs of Frankfurt were visited by Hans Hillenson (1478-79), Oswald Kröll and Gabriel Gessler (1500, autumn fair), Hans Hinderofen and Gabriel Gessler (1503, Lent fair), Gabriel Gessler and Oswald Kröll (1503, autumn fair), Gabriel Gessler and Hans Her (1507, Lent fair). The Frankfurt fairs were of great importance for the Ravensburger Gesellschaft.	133, 136-140, 208, 428, 431, 437-438, 442-444; II, 224
Perpignan		4	2	2	1	>1425-1448<	The Ravensburger Gesellschaft was represented by local merchants in Perpignan, who traded on commission (e.g. 1425-45). There are some indications of the existence of a branch in Perpignan in 1448, but this is not very clear. Later, definitely no branch existed in Perpignan.	Schulte, 1923, I, 97, 339-341
Port-de-Bouc		4	2	2	1	>1475-1479<	In Port-de-Bouc, the Ravensburger Gesellschaft was represented by commission agents and younger partners. Never a branch was established here. Representatives were Friedrich Grünenberg (1475-76), Klaus Bützel (1479). On the other hand, the company had no branch or correspondent in nearby Marseille.	Schulte, 1923, I, 97, 208, 389, 391
Ulm		4	2	2	1	>1476-1510<	In Ulm, the Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft was represented by commission merchants such as Hans Wurm (1476), Ital Werlin, Hans Koch (ca. 1507-1510), Steffen Leschenbrand (1510). In 1507, Ulm became the seat of a purchase agency of the company. A small number of partners (ca. 2 known) were citizens of Ulm. However, from ca. 1460 citizens of Ulm were not allowed anymore to become partners in the Grosse Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft.	Schulte, 1923, I, 114, 208, 213, 493-494, 503
Wrocław		4	2	2	1	>1443<	A representative, Ulrich Stoss, and perhaps even a branch was established in Wrocław (Breslau) in 1443. However, by 1448 the Ravensburger Gesellschaft was not active in Wrocław anymore.	Schulte, 1923, I, 478; Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 74
Alicante		3	2	2	1	>c.1480<	Commission agents: Nicola Franca, Antonio Myngott (ca. 1480). A representative of the Ravensburger Gesellschaft in Alicante was Jodokus Schedler.	Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 51 n. 224; Schulte, 1923, I, 97, 208, 285-286, 302, 317
L'Aquila		3	2	2	1	>1465-1479<	L'Aquila was yearly visited by partners (especially from Milan) for the purchase of saffron (e.g. in 1465). Moreover, the company was sometimes	Schulte, 1923, I, 208, 238, 257

							represented by a commission agent in L'Aquila, such as Angelo in 1479.	
Barbastro		3	2	2	1		Partners of the company sent linen to the fairs of Barbastro in Aragón. The fairs are mentioned in some of the letters of the company.	Schulte, 1923, I, 138-140, 313-314
Belleville		3	2	2	1	>1507<	In Belleville (Beaujolais), the Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft was represented by commission agents such as Glado Merlo, and Johan de Roaw (1507).	Schulte, 1923, I, 208, 383, 385
Bern		3	2	2	1	>1453-1484<	Agent. In Bern, the Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft was represented by commission merchants such as Hans Fränkli (1453-ca. 1477), Hermann Stettlinger (1478), or Benedikt Kramer (1482, 1484).	Schulte, 1923, I, 45, 97, 208, 454, 513-514
Bilbao		3	2	2	1	>1504<	In Bilbao the Grosse Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft was represented by commission agents (Jan de Zarucha in 1504). Moreover, from time to time partners travelled to Bilbao to organise the shipment of goods. With the exception of Bilbao, the Grosse Ravensburger Gesellschaft was never active in the kingdoms of Castile or Portugal.	Schulte, 1923, I, 97, 208, 314, 353-354
Buda		3	2	2	1	>1511<	Connections with Buda (Ofen) were maintained by the Vienna branch. In 1511, Heinrich im Steinhause travelled from Vienna to Ofen for the sale of saffron. The company intended to open a branch in Ofen or Pest. However, this plan was never carried out.	Schulte, 1923, I, 97, 471-473, 477
Cologne		3	2	2	1	>1447-1507<	The Ravensburger Gesellschaft was permanently represented in Cologne by commission merchants, such as Johann van Becke (1447), Johann van Lendrichusen (1464, 1468), Peter Lützenkirchen (1500-1503). In 1503-1507 Hans Her, a partner from the Antwerp branch, was temporarily in Cologne. A small number of partners (ca. 2 known) were citizens of Cologne.	Schulte, 1923, I, 97, 208, 214, 401, 421, 423-425
Kaufbeuren		3	2	2	1		The factor in Memmingen made purchases in Kaufbeuren.	Schulte, 1923, I, 497
Kempten (Allgäu)		3	2	2	1	>1497-1520<	Ca. 1503-20, the company was represented in Kempten by the commission agent Gordian Seuter (or Sutter). Moreover, the factor of the company in Memmingen from time to time made purchases in Kempten. A small number of partners (ca. 3 known) were citizens of Kempten.	Schulte, 1923, I, 58, 212, 497, 505
Leipzig		3	2	2	1		Jos Mayer, Obmann of the Nürnberg branch made business trips to Leipzig from Nürnberg.	Neukam, 1967, 213 n. 384
Linz		3	2	2	1	>1514<	Commission agent in Linz was Michel Tyrolt (1514).	Schulte, 1923, I, 208, 473
London		3	2	2	1	>1436-1478<	The Grosse Ravensburger Gesellschaft from time to time intended to establish a branch in London (already before 1456 – until ca. 1473), but this was never put into practice. Perhaps the company was represented in London	Schulte, 1923, I, 114-115, 421-422

							by Piero Spidelin in 1436-1437. Letters were sent by the Bruges branch to London in 1477-1478.	
Maastricht		3	2	2	1		Commission agent in Maastricht was the innkeeper Heinrich or Hans Surbrand.	Schulte, 1923, I, 208, 427
Mainz		3	2	2	1	>1503<	Commission agents in Mainz were Petter von Effen and Claus Pfaytt (1503).	Schulte, 1923, I, 208, 428
Mallorca		3	3	2	1	>1434<	In 1434, the Ravensburger Gesellschaft had a *Prokurator* in Mallorca.	Schulte, 1923, I, 303
Martigues (Ile de)		3	2	2	1		In l'Ile de Martigues, the Ravensburger Gesellschaft was represented by a local commission agent.	Schulte, 1923, I, 208, 391
Montluel		3	2	2	1		Commission agent in Montluel (Savoy) was Louis Gitzart.	Schulte, 1923, I, 208, 383, 385
Munich		3	2	2	1		Commission merchant in Munich was Lorenz Rain.	Schulte, 1923, I, 208, 473, 497
Nördlingen		3	2	2	1	>1429-1481<	The fairs of Nördlingen were regularly visited by partners of the Grosse Ravensburger Gesellschaft (especially from the headquarters in Ravensburg or the Nürnberg branch), already in 1429. In 1480, the fairs were visited by Hans Hillenson and Hans Selder. One partner is known to have been citizen of Nördlingen.	Neukam, 1967, 211-212, 213 n. 384; Schulte, 1923, I, 138, 213, 428, 434, 467-468
Orihuela		3	2	2	1		An unnamed commission merchant is known to have represented the Grosse Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft in Orihuela.	Schulte, 1923, I, 208
Oudenaarde		3	2	2	1		An unnamed commission merchant is known to have represented the Grosse Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft in Oudenaarde.	Schulte, 1923, I, 208
Pest		3	2	2	1		The fairs of Pest played a role in the business of the Grosse Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft. Connections with Pest were maintained by the Vienna branch. The company intended to open a branch in Buda or Pest. However, this plan was never carried out.	Schulte, 1923, I, 97, 138-140, 472-473, 477
Tortosa		3	2	2	1	>1450<, >1508<, >1515<	In Tortosa (harbour of Zaragoza, especially used for the export of Spanish wool), the Grosse Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft was represented by commission agents (perhaps Antoni Albrach in 1508). Moreover, from time to time partners travelled to Tortosa to organise the shipment of goods (e.g. Wilhelm Sevill in 1450).	Schulte, 1923, I, 97, 208, 314, 316
Toulouse		3	2	2	1		The Ravensburger Gesellschaft was represented by local merchants in Toulouse, who traded on commission.	Schulte, 1923, I, 97, 208, 392
Würzburg		3	2	2	1		A commission merchant in Würzburg was named Assmus.	Schulte, 1923, I, 208
Alcañiz		2	2	1	0		In Aragón, the fairs of Alcañiz played a role in the business of the Grosse	Schulte, 1923, I, 138-

							Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft. The fairs are mentioned in some of the letters of the company.	140, 314
Augsburg		2	2	1	0		The Genoese branch of the Ravensburger Gesellschaft represented Gossembrot of Augsburg in Genoa.	Schulte, 1923, I, 137
Basel		2	2	1	0		No commissionary in Basel. For transport through Basel, the company made use of the services of business friends such as Andres Bischoff.	Schulte, 1923, I, 506
Bayonne		2	2	1	0	>1480<	Partners sometimes travelled to Bayonne to receive or ship goods. In 1480, goods of the firm were located in Bayonne.	Schulte, 1923, I, 314, 317
Bergen-op-Zoom		2	2	1	0	>1459<	The Grosse Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft from time to time was active at the fairs of Bergen op Zoom, e.g. in 1459.	Schulte, 1923, I, 138-140, 401
Daroca		2	2	1	0		In Aragón, the fairs of Daroca played a role in the business of the Grosse Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft.	Schulte, 1923, I, 138-140
Florence		2	2	1	0	>1470s<	Florence was occasionally visited on the way to L'Aquila, and purchases were made here. Moreover, bills of exchange between Venice and L'Aquila went via Florence.	Schulte, 1923, I, 256
Fuenterrabía		2	2	1	0	>1474<	The Ravensburger Gesellschaft did business with Fuenterrabía in 1474.	Schulte, 1923, I, 317
Huesca		2	2	1	0		Partners of the company sent copper to Huesca.	Schulte, 1923, I, 313
Immenstadt		2	2	1	0	>1497<	The Ravensburger Gesellschaft was represented by a commissionary in the principality of Staufen, perhaps in the town of Immenstadt.	Schulte, 1923, I, 58, 505
Lodi		2	2	1	0		A shipment of wool to Lodi for sale is known.	Schulte, 1923, I, 254
Lucca		2	2	1	0		Purchase of silks in Lucca.	Schulte, 1923, I, 256
Middelburg		2	2	1	0		The Grosse Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft from time to time was active in Middelburg.	Schulte, 1923, I, 138-140
Mistelbach		2	2	1	0		In Austria, the fairs of Mistelbach played a role in the business of the Grosse Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft.	Schulte, 1923, I, 138-140
Poreč		2	2	1	0	>1449<	In 1449, the Genoese factor of the Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft sent Spanish wool to Poreč (Parenzo) and Ragusa.	Ammann, 1928, 78; Schulte, 1923, I, 239
Ragusa		2	2	1	0	>1449<	In 1449, the Genoese factor of the Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft sent Spanish wool to Poreč (Parenzo) and Ragusa.	Ammann, 1928, 78; Schulte, 1923, I, 239
Regensburg		2	2	1	0		Occasionally, the fairs of Regensburg were visited by members of the company.	Schulte, 1923, I, 138
Rome		2	2	1	0		The company had no representation in Rome. Some payments were made via bills of exchange through Rome.	Schulte, 1923, I, 256-257
Savona		2	2	1	0	>1431<	A shipment from Savona to Perpignan is known in 1431.	Schulte, 1923, II, 257
Stein am		2	2	1	0		A small number of partners (ca. 3 known) were citizens of Stein am Rhein.	Schulte, 1923, I, 213

Rhein								
Strasbourg		2	2	1	0		No commissionary in Strasbourg. For transport through Strasbourg, the company made use of the services of business friends such as Jakob Ingold.	Schulte, 1923, I, 506
Vercelli		2	2	1	0	>1507<	In Italy, the fairs of Vercelli played a role in the business of the Grosse Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft, although it is not clear whether these fairs were ever visited by members of the company. In 1507, lamb skins of the firm were sold in Vercelli.	Schulte, 1923, I, 138-140, 254
Watta		2	2	1	0	>1511<	In 1511, the partner Heinrich im Steinhause went to the market in Watta (Hungary).	Schulte, 1923, I, 138-140, 471
Zürich		2	2	1	0		A small number of partners (ca. 3 known) were citizens of Zürich.	Schulte, 1923, I, 213
Buchau		1	1	1	0		One family of partners is known to have been citizens of Buchau.	Schulte, 1923, I, 212
Buchhorn		1	1	1	0		One family of partners is known to have been citizens of Buchhorn (now Friedrichshafen). The company's business in Buchhorn was often organised directly from Ravensburg.	Schulte, 1923, I, 212, 503
Freiburg im Breisgau		1	1	1	0		One partner is known to have been citizen of Freiburg im Breisgau.	Schulte, 1923, I, 214
Fribourg (Switzerland)		1	1	1	0		Some indications of trade with Fribourg. One partner is known to have been citizen of Fribourg.	Schulte, 1923, I, 214, 515
Leutkirch		1	1	1	0		One partner is known to have been citizen of Leutkirch.	Schulte, 1923, I, 212
Luzern		1	1	1	0		One family of partners is known to have been citizens of Luzern.	Schulte, 1923, I, 213
Markdorf		1	1	1	0		One partner is known to have been citizen of Markdorf.	Schulte, 1923, I, 214
Poznań		1	1	1	0	>c.1448<	Poznań was probably visited by members of the company ca. 1448.	Schulte, 1923, I, 453-454
Schwäbisch Gmünd		1	1	1	0		One family of partners is known to have been citizens of Schwäbisch Gmünd.	Schulte, 1923, I, 213
Überlingen		1	1	1	0		One family of partners is known to have been citizens of Überlingen.	Schulte, 1923, I, 213

+ Not much is known about the trade of the Grosse Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft in the period before 1420. As a result, the network outlined in the table only covers the period after 1420 (Schulte, 1923, I, 27).

Table A..3. Network of the Grosse Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft, 15th century (ca. 1420 – 1500)

City	**R**	**Score**				**Period**	**Type of presence**	**References**
Ravensburg		8	4	3	1	c.1380-c.1530	Headquarters. The firm's headquarters probably always were located in Ravensburg. The headquarters, containing warehouses, were located on the	Schulte, 1923, I, 17, 46-48, 54, 97, 209-

							Marktstrasse. The three *Regierer* had to reside in Ravensburg. A large number of partners (ca. 39 known) were citizens from Ravensburg.	210
Avignon		6	3	2	1	>1420s-1525>	Branch. The Avignon branch was especially involved in the traffic of goods between Geneva or Lyon and Spain or the Mediterranean ports of France. In the 1420s, Rudolf Mötteli was an apprentice in the branch in Avignon. Head of the branch in 1474 was Hans Homps. At that time, Homps had no partners or apprentices in Avignon, and the branch was only of minor importance. The branch was still in existence in 1497, but was given up before 1525.	Schulte, 1923, I, 58, 97, 116-117, 386-389, 391; II, 225
Barcelona		**6**	**3**	**2**	**1**	>1426-1497>	- Branch. Already in 1426, the Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft traded with Barcelona. The firm had a major share in the trade from Germany and Savoy to Barcelona (51.9 % in 1425-40; 33.1 % in 1467-80). The branch was headed by Johann Franch (1436, 1439-1440), Peter Christian (1437-1438). By 1467-80, business in Barcelona was in decline due to the crisis and civil war in Aragón. The branch was dissolved between 1481 and 1497.	Ammann, 1928, 74; Schulte, 1923, I, 58, 97, 116-117, 326-329, 336-337; II, 225
		3	2	2	1	>1495<, >1504<	- Nevertheless, Hans Hinderofen was in Barcelona for the company in 1495, and Hans Olbrich in 1504.	
Bruges		6	3	2	1	>1433-1480s<	Branch. The Ravensburger Gesellschaft was probably represented in Bruges by 1433. In 1477-80, the representative in Bruges was the partner Andreas Sattler. Apparently, the company had its own house in Bruges. A correspondence book of the Bruges branch has been preserved for the period 5-7-1477 to 29-4-1478, containing 95 letters. The partners of the company left Bruges for Antwerp in the 1480s, during the war between Maximilian and Bruges. It is not clear whether they returned to Bruges afterwards.	Schulte, 1923, I, 58, 76, 97-98, 113, 401, 403, 408, 411, 413; II, 257
Geneva		**6**	**3**	**2**	**1**	>1454-1478>	- Branch. The Ravensburger Gesellschaft definitely was active in Geneva by 1454. Factor in 1458 was Nikolaus Stoss. In 1478, the company still rented a room in Geneva. By this time, no permanent branch existed anymore in Geneva, although partners were sent temporarily to the fairs.	Schulte, 1923, I, 45, 76, 97, 116-117, 208, 367-368
		3	2	2	1	<1478-1515<	- After 1478, the firm was represented by commission merchants in Geneva, such as the innkeeper Glan de Ravanell, and Ulrich Emmler (1507-1515).	
Genoa		6	3	2	1	>1431-1527<	Branch. Sometimes the branch in Genoa was temporarily dissolved due to plague or war, such as in 1504. Probably a partner was sent to Genoa in 1424/25 to negociate about privileges. There was definitely a branch in Genoa in 1431. Factors in Genoa were Otmar Schläpfer (1447), Heinrich Frey (ca. 1464-66). The Ravensburger Gesellschaft for a while made use of the services of the Centurione (Alvise or Luigi), who operated as	Schulte, 1923, I, 44, 58, 79-80, 97-98, 130, 208, 264-266, 271-274, 283-284; II, 224, 257.

							commission merchants, but by 1477 the branch in Genoa was reopened. Hans Kloter was head of the branch in Genoa ca. 1497. He was the most highly paid factor of the company after Hans Hinderofen, which shows the importance of the Genoese branch. The importance of the branch in Genoa declined between 1497 and 1507, and it was temporarily dissolved in 1507, after which period the firm was especially represented by Vicencio de Wine in Genoa. The branch was reopened again later, and still existed in 1527.	
Konstanz		**6** 3	**3** 2	**2** 2	**1** 1	>1425-1497< <1500-1530<	- Branch. According to the balance sheet of 1497 there was a branch in Konstanz. In the early 15th century, the branch in Konstanz was probably managed by the Muntprat. Ca. 1480, the branch was headed by Wilhelm Richenbach. Many partners (ca. 24 known) were citizens of Konstanz. - In the first decade of the 16th century, there was no branch anymore in Konstanz. In this period, the company was represented by Moritz Hürus and Klaus im Steinhaus.	Schulte, 1923, I, 22-23, 58, 72, 97, 210-212, 501-502
Lyon		6	3	2	1	>1474-1515<	Branch. The Lyon branch was not very important for the *Gesellschaft*: the company was not active in finance, and most goods traded on the fairs of Lyon were of lesser importance for the firm. The Ravensburger Gesellschaft obtained a free conduct for trade at the Lyon fairs by 1477 the latest. A branch definitely existed in Lyon in 1478-80. Managers of the Lyon branch were Lamparter the elder (before 1474, 1480), Philipp Fechter (1474-1515, not sure whether he was a partner or a commission merchant), Klaus Frauenfeld (1479). By 1497, the Lyon branch was not permanently staffed anymore, and by 1507-1515, it was not active anymore in purchase and sale transactions, but only in the organisation of transport, liquidation of debts, etc. Nevertheless, a room was still rented in Lyon in 1513. The representative at that time was Wolf Apotheker. In that year, Marx Rusch traded in commission for the company. The branch was given up before 1525. Nevertheless, representatives were sent to the fairs of Lyon even after the dissolution of the branch.	Grote, 1961, 35; Schulte, 1923, I, 43-44, 58, 76, 97, 116-117, 138, 208, 369, 372-376, 379, 382-383; II, 225
Milan		6	3	2	1	>c.1412-1527< except 1507-1510	Branch. Perhaps there existed already contacts with Milan in 1402, and there was at least a branch from the period 1412-1447. Known representatives in Milan were Henricus Franch de Constantia (1447), Ulrich Frei (1451), Lionardo Franco (1459), and Thomas im Steinhaus (1463-65). The branch was temporarily dissolved between 1507 and 1510 due to the war between Maximilian I and Louis XII. After the reopening, factor was Polai	Schulte, 1923, I, 43, 58, 97-98, 239-240, 243-247, 249, 283; II, 224

							Hinderofen (1520).	
Nürnberg		6	3	2	1	>1427-1527<	Branch. The Nürnberg branch was involved in the purchase of metals and metal products, and especially in the sale of southern European products. Probably, there was already a branch in Nürnberg in 1427. At least between 1444 and 1478, the Nürnberg branch was located in the house of the Nürnberg merchant Ulrich Stark. Representatives in Nürnberg were Jörg von Kur (1437), Burkart Geltwyler (1437), Oswald Morgen (1448), Hans Hillenson (1448), Lutz Gessler (1483), Hans Sälder (1483), Jörg Bader (1510), Jos Mayer (*Obmann*). An account has been preserved of the Nürnberg branch for 1479-80. Several partners of the Grosse Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft originated from Nürnberg, e.g. Hans Albrecht (1437) and Jörg Koler (1474-1481). By 1504, the branch was in a bad condition. Nevertheless, it still existed in 1527.	Grote, 1961, 35; Neukam, 1967, 209, 197 n. 202, 209 n. 338, 213 n. 382, 213 n. 384; Schulte, 1923, I, 58, 76, 97-98, 103, 214, 428, 430, 452-458, 461, 465; II, 224; Von Stromer, 1973, 337
Sankt Gallen		6	3	2	1	>1474-1484<	Branch. From at least 1474 to 1484, Ottmar Schläpfer, partner, represented the company in Sankt Gallen. Some of the partners (ca. 6 known) were citizens of Sankt Gallen.	Schulte, 1923, I, 45, 97, 213, 512-513
Valencia		6	3	2	1	>1445-1526<	Branch. By 1445, the Ravensburger Gesellschaft had a permanent settlement in Valencia. In Valencia the company not only had a branch, but also a Bodega for retail trade. Moreover, until ca. 1477 the firm was involved in sugar refining in Valencia. At the end of the 1470s, the trade of the branch and the Bodega were temporarily not very successful.	Schulte, 1923, I, 43, 58, 95, 97-98, 106, 116-117, 267, 289, 294-295, 316; II, 225
Venice		6	3	2	1	>1448<, >1474-1497<	Branch. The Grosse Ravensburger Gesellschaft definitely had a branch in Venice by 1448 (factor was Hans Griesinger). In 1474/75, the company still had a room in the Fondaco dei Tedeschi, but no permanent staff anymore: a partner from time to time visited Venice, while a local representative received letters and shipments for the company. In 1497, the assets of the company in Venice were very small. Contacts with Venice were rather weak, especially in the later period.	Schulte, 1923, I, 58, 97, 236-239; II, 225
Vienna		6	3	2	1	>1440-1449<, >1507-1527<, not >1476-1480<	Branch. The earliest indications for a branch in Vienna go back to 1440 and 1449. Factor in 1440 was Hans Lüglin. However, by 1476-1480, there was no branch in Vienna anymore. A branch existed again in 1507, organised by Heinrich im Steinhaus. This branch was headed by Gabriel Gessler in 1511-1514. The Vienna branch still existed in 1527. From Vienna, the Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft traded especially with Hungary.	Neukam, 1967, 213 n. 380; Schulte, 1923, I, 80-81, 97-98, 364, 470, 472-473; II, 224
Zaragoza		6	3	2	1	>1430-1527<	Branch. Already in 1430, the Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft was	Schulte, 1923, I, 58,

							engaged in the saffron trade with Zaragoza. Representatives in 1430 were Peter Cristan, Wilhelm Sevill (probably a Spanish commissionary), and Hans Frei. Cristan and Frei were also active in Barcelona however. Only later, the personnel became more permanent. The staff resided in an inn. The branch in Zaragoza was several times in difficulties, and had to be given up more than once (it was for example taken over by the Ankenreute Gesellschaft in 1477). By 1523-26, the business of the Zaragoza branch was in serious decline. A small number of partners (ca. 2 known) were citizens of Zaragoza.	70, 76, 79, 97-98, 106, 117, 130, 214, 304-306, 308, 310-311, 313, 316; II, 6-8, 225
Como		5	3	2	1	>1475<	A subsidiary of the Milan branch was located in Como. Nevertheless, the company was not permanently represented in Como: from time to time, a partner or commission agent resided in Como for the Ravensburger Gesellschaft.	Schulte, 1923, I, 97, 225
Isny		5	3	2	1	>1497-1504<	In Isny, the company was more or less permanently represented by a partner (e.g. in 1503/04). Moreover, the factor of the company in Memmingen from time to time made purchases in Isny. Some of the partners (ca. 8 known) were citizens of Isny. The Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft played an important part in the long distance trade of Isny.	Schulte, 1923, I, 58, 212, 497, 504
Lindau		5	3	2	1	>1497-1507<	In Lindau, the firm was represented by active partners of the company, such as Oswald Kröll and Bernhard Hünlin. In 1497-1507 transport in Lindau was organised by Hans Öler, afterwards by Oswald Kröll. Some of the partners (ca. 11 known) were citizens of Lindau.	Schulte, 1923, I, 212, 503-504
Wangen im Allgäu		5	3	2	1	>1497-1504<	In Wangen, the company was more or less permanently represented by a partner (e.g. in 1503/04). Some of the partners (ca. 5 known) were citizens of Wangen. The Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft played an important part in the long distance trade of Wangen.	Schulte, 1923, I, 58, 212, 504
Aigues-Mortes		4	2	2	1	>1479<, >1507<, >1515<	In Aigues-Mortes, the Ravensburger Gesellschaft was represented by commission agents (e.g. Jan Dobert), although from time to time a younger partner was sent here as well.	Schulte, 1923, I, 208, 389, 392
Antwerp		**4** 6	**2** 3	**2** 2	**1** 1	>1447-1480 <1480s-1527<	- The fairs of Antwerp were of great importance for the Ravensburger Gesellschaft. Originally, the fairs were visited by staff from the Bruges branch (e.g. Andreas Sattler in 1478). Moreover, in 1447 the company was represented by Johann van Lair, innkeeper in Antwerp. - The Ravensburger Gesellschaft left Bruges for Antwerp during the war between Maximilian and Bruges in the 1480s. It is not entirely clear whether	Schulte, 1923, I, 97, 136-140, 401, 403, 413, 420-421, 416 n. 1; II, 224

							the company returned temporarily to Bruges afterwards, or remained permanently in Antwerp. By 1505, the company definitely had a branch in Antwerp, and was represented by Hans Ernlin (until 1512). Other representatives in Antwerp were Konrad Täschler and Moritz Hürus. The branch still existed in 1527.	
Bourg-en-Bresse		4	2	2	1	>c.1476-1479<	Representative. The company had no *Gelieger* in Bourg-en-Bresse. Nevertheless, the company was represented here by a younger partner (Klaus Bützel, ca. 1476-1477) or a commission merchant (Pero de Francia, ca. 1476-1479).	Schulte, 1923, I, 76, 97, 208, 383
Frankfurt am Main		4	2	2	1	>1429-1527<	The Grosse Ravensburger Gesellschaft was very active at the fairs of Frankfurt, where a room was rented on a regular basis during the fairs. The company never had a branch in Frankfurt however, but was represented here by partners from the headquarters in Ravensburg and the Nürnberg branch. Moreover, the firm sometimes made use of the services of a commission merchant, e.g. Wolf Blum. Already in 1429, the Ravensburger Gesellschaft regularly visited the Frankfurt fairs. The fairs of Frankfurt were visited by Hans Hillenson (1478-79), Oswald Kröll and Gabriel Gessler (1500, autumn fair), Hans Hinderofen and Gabriel Gessler (1503, Lent fair), Gabriel Gessler and Oswald Kröll (1503, autumn fair), Gabriel Gessler and Hans Her (1507, Lent fair). The Frankfurt fairs were of great importance for the Ravensburger Gesellschaft.	Neukam, 1967, 211-212, 213 n. 384; Schulte, 1923, I, 76, 101, 114-115, 132-133, 136-140, 208, 428, 431, 437-438, 442-444; II, 224
Perpignan		4	2	2	1	>1425-1448<	The Ravensburger Gesellschaft was represented by local merchants in Perpignan, who traded on commission (e.g. 1425-45). There are some indications of the existence of a branch in Perpignan in 1448, but this is not very clear. Later, definitely no branch existed in Perpignan.	Schulte, 1923, I, 97, 339-341
Port-de-Bouc		4	2	2	1	>1475-1479<	In Port-de-Bouc, the Ravensburger Gesellschaft was represented by commission agents and younger partners. Never a branch was established here. Representatives were Friedrich Grünenberg (1475-76), Klaus Bützel (1479). On the other hand, the company had no branch or correspondent in nearby Marseille.	Schulte, 1923, I, 97, 208, 389, 391
Wrocław		4	2	2	1	>1443<	A representative, Ulrich Stoss, and perhaps even a branch was established in Wrocław (Breslau) in 1443. However, by 1448 the Ravensburger Gesellschaft was not active in Wrocław anymore.	Schulte, 1923, I, 478; Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 74
Alicante		3	2	2	1	>c.1480<	Commission agents: Nicola Franca, Antonio Myngott (ca. 1480). A	Kellenbenz & Walter,

							representative of the Ravensburger Gesellschaft in Alicante was Jodokus Schedler.	2001, 51 n. 224; Schulte, 1923, I, 97, 208, 285-286, 302, 317
L'Aquila		3	2	2	1	>1465-1479<	L'Aquila was yearly visited by partners (especially from Milan) for the purchase of saffron (e.g. in 1465). Moreover, the company was sometimes represented by a commission agent in L'Aquila, such as Angelo in 1479.	Schulte, 1923, I, 208, 238, 257
Barbastro		3	2	2	1		Partners of the company sent linen to the fairs of Barbastro in Aragón. The fairs are mentioned in some of the letters of the company.	Schulte, 1923, I, 138-140, 313-314
Belleville		3	2	2	1	>1507<	In Belleville (Beaujolais), the Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft was represented by commission agents such as Glado Merlo, and Johan de Roaw (1507).	Schulte, 1923, I, 208, 383, 385
Bern		3	2	2	1	>1453-1484<	Agent. In Bern, the Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft was represented by commission merchants such as Hans Fränkli (1453-ca. 1477), Hermann Stettlinger (1478), or Benedikt Kramer (1482, 1484).	Schulte, 1923, I, 45, 97, 208, 454, 513-514
Bilbao		3	2	2	1	>1504<	In Bilbao the Grosse Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft was represented by commission agents (Jan de Zarucha in 1504). Moreover, from time to time partners travelled to Bilbao to organise the shipment of goods. With the exception of Bilbao, the Grosse Ravensburger Gesellschaft was never active in the kingdoms of Castile or Portugal.	Schulte, 1923, I, 97, 208, 314, 353-354
Cologne		3	2	2	1	>1447-1507<	The Ravensburger Gesellschaft was permanently represented in Cologne by commission merchants, such as Johann van Becke (1447), Johann van Lendrichusen (1464, 1468), Peter Lützenkirchen (1500-1503). In 1503-1507 Hans Her, a partner from the Antwerp branch, was temporarily in Cologne. A small number of partners (ca. 2 known) were citizens of Cologne.	Schulte, 1923, I, 97, 208, 214, 401, 421, 423-425
Leipzig		3	2	2	1		Jos Mayer, Obmann of the Nürnberg branch, made business trips to Leipzig from Nürnberg.	Neukam, 1967, 213 n. 384
London		3	2	2	1	>1436-1478<	The Grosse Ravensburger Gesellschaft from time to time intended to establish a branch in London (already before 1456 – until ca. 1473), but this was never put into practice. Perhaps the company was represented in London by Piero Spidelin in 1436-1437. Letters were sent by the Bruges branch to London in 1477-1478.	Schulte, 1923, I, 114-115, 421-422
Maastricht		3	2	2	1		Commission agent in Maastricht was the innkeeper Heinrich or Hans Surbrand.	Schulte, 1923, I, 208, 427
Mallorca		3	3	2	1	>1434<	In 1434, the Ravensburger Gesellschaft had a *Prokurator* in Mallorca.	Schulte, 1923, I, 303

Martigues (Ile de)		3	2	2	1		In l'Ile de Martigues, the Ravensburger Gesellschaft was represented by a local commission agent.	Schulte, 1923, I, 208, 391
Memmingen		3	2	2	1	>1497-1515<	Branch. In Memmingen, the Ravensburger Gesellschaft was represented by partners and/or commission agents. In 1476-1480, the company was not active in Memmingen however. A commissionary probably represented the firm from the beginning of the 16th century. In 1507, Memmingen became the seat of a purchase agency of the company. In 1515, the Grosse Ravensburger Gesellschaft took over the business of Ulrich Gessler in Memmingen: it was managed for the company by Hans Weyer. Perhaps Gessler already conducted business for the *Gesellschaft* from as early as 1497/98. Some of the partners (ca. 7 known) were citizens of Memmingen, especially in the beginning of the 16th century.	Schulte, 1923, I, 97, 208, 213, 494-497, 503
Montluel		3	2	2	1		Commission agent in Montluel (Savoy) was Louis Gitzart.	Schulte, 1923, I, 208, 383, 385
Munich		3	2	2	1		Commission merchant in Munich was Lorenz Rain.	Schulte, 1923, I, 208, 473, 497
Nördlingen		3	2	2	1	>1429-1481<	The fairs of Nördlingen were regularly visited by partners of the Grosse Ravensburger Gesellschaft (especially from the headquarters in Ravensburg or the Nürnberg branch), already in 1429. In 1480, the fairs were visited by Hans Hillenson and Hans Selder. One partner is known to have been citizen of Nördlingen.	Neukam, 1967, 211-212, 213 n. 384; Schulte, 1923, I, 138, 213, 428, 434, 467-468
Orihuela		3	2	2	1		An unnamed commission merchant is known to have represented the Grosse Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft in Orihuela.	Schulte, 1923, I, 208
Oudenaarde		3	2	2	1		An unnamed commission merchant is known to have represented the Grosse Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft in Oudenaarde.	Schulte, 1923, I, 208
Tortosa		3	2	2	1	>1450<, >1508<, >1515<	In Tortosa (harbour of Zaragoza, especially used for the export of Spanish wool), the Grosse Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft was represented by commission agents (perhaps Antoni Albrach in 1508). Moreover, from time to time partners travelled to Tortosa to organise the shipment of goods (e.g. Wilhelm Sevill in 1450).	Schulte, 1923, I, 97, 208, 314, 316
Toulouse		3	2	2	1		The Ravensburger Gesellschaft was represented by local merchants in Toulouse, who traded on commission.	Schulte, 1923, I, 97, 208, 392
Ulm		3	2	2	1	>1476-1510<	In Ulm, the Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft was represented by commission merchants such as Hans Wurm (1476), Ital Werlin, Hans Koch (ca. 1507-1510), Steffen Leschenbrand (1510). In 1507, Ulm became the	Schulte, 1923, I, 114, 208, 213, 493-494, 503

							seat of a purchase agency of the company. A small number of partners (ca. 2 known) were citizens of Ulm. However, from ca. 1460 citizens of Ulm were not allowed anymore to become partners in the Grosse Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft.	
Würzburg		3	2	2	1		A commission merchant in Würzburg was named Assmus.	Schulte, 1923, I, 208
Alcañiz		2	2	1	0		In Aragón, the fairs of Alcañiz played a role in the business of the Grosse Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft. The fairs are mentioned in some of the letters of the company.	Schulte, 1923, I, 138-140, 314
Augsburg		2	2	1	0		The Genoese branch of the Ravensburger Gesellschaft represented Gossembrot of Augsburg in Genoa.	Schulte, 1923, I, 137
Basel		2	2	1	0		No commissionary in Basel. For transport through Basel, the company made use of the services of business friends such as Andres Bischoff.	Schulte, 1923, I, 506
Bayonne		2	2	1	0	>1480<	Partners sometimes travelled to Bayonne to receive or ship goods. In 1480, goods of the firm were located in Bayonne.	Schulte, 1923, I, 314, 317
Bergen-op-Zoom		2	2	1	0	>1459<	The Grosse Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft from time to time was active at the fairs of Bergen op Zoom, e.g. in 1459.	Schulte, 1923, I, 138-140, 401
Biberach an der Riss		2	2	1	0	>1507-1520<	A small number of partners (ca. 3 known) were citizens of Biberach. In 1507 Biberach became the seat of a purchase agency of the company, which was headed by Frick Brandenburg (ca. 1510, 1514, 1517, 1520).	Schulte, 1923, I, 213, 494, 503
Buda		2	2	1	0	>1511<	Connections with Buda (Ofen) were maintained by the Vienna branch. In 1511, Heinrich im Steinhause travelled from Vienna to Ofen for the sale of saffron. The company intended to open a branch in Ofen or Pest. However, this plan was never carried out. Only 16th c.??	Schulte, 1923, I, 97, 471-473, 477
Daroca		2	2	1	0		In Aragón, the fairs of Daroca played a role in the business of the Grosse Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft.	Schulte, 1923, I, 138-140
Florence		2	2	1	0	>1470s<	Florence was occasionally visited on the way to L'Aquila, and purchases were made here. Moreover, bills of exchange between Venice and L'Aquila went via Florence.	Schulte, 1923, I, 256
Fuenterrabía		2	2	1	0	>1474<	The Ravensburger Gesellschaft did business with Fuenterrabía in 1474.	Schulte, 1923, I, 317
Huesca		2	2	1	0		Partners of the company sent copper to Huesca.	Schulte, 1923, I, 313
Immenstadt		2	2	1	0	>1497<	The Ravensburger Gesellschaft was represented by a commissionary in the principality of Staufen, perhaps in the town of Immenstadt.	Schulte, 1923, I, 58, 505
Kempten (Allgäu)		2	2	1	0	>1497-1520<	A small number of partners (ca. 3 known) were citizens of Kempten. Ca. 1503-20, the company was represented in Kempten by the commission agent Gordian Seuter (or Sutter). Moreover, the factor of the company in	Schulte, 1923, I, 58, 212, 497, 505

							Memmingen from time to time made purchases in Kempten.	
Lodi		2	2	1	0		A shipment of wool to Lodi for sale is known.	Schulte, 1923, I, 254
Lucca		2	2	1	0		Purchase of silks in Lucca.	Schulte, 1923, I, 256
Middelburg		2	2	1	0		The Grosse Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft from time to time was active in Middelburg.	Schulte, 1923, I, 138-140
Mistelbach		2	2	1	0		In Austria, the fairs of Mistelbach played a role in the business of the Grosse Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft.	Schulte, 1923, I, 138-140
Pest		2	2	1	0		The fairs of Pest played a role in the business of the Grosse Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft. Connections with Pest were maintained by the Vienna branch. The company intended to open a branch in Buda or Pest. However, this plan was never carried out. Only 16th c.??	Schulte, 1923, I, 97, 138-140, 472-473, 477
Poreč		2	2	1	0	>1449<	In 1449, the Genoese factor of the Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft sent Spanish wool to Poreč (Parenzo) and Ragusa.	Ammann, 1928, 78; Schulte, 1923, I, 239
Ragusa		2	2	1	0	>1449<	In 1449, the Genoese factor of the Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft sent Spanish wool to Poreč (Parenzo) and Ragusa.	Ammann, 1928, 78; Schulte, 1923, I, 239
Regensburg		2	2	1	0		Occasionally, the fairs of Regensburg were visited by members of the company.	Schulte, 1923, I, 138
Rome		2	2	1	0		The company had no representation in Rome. Some payments were made via bills of exchange through Rome.	Schulte, 1923, I, 256-257
Savona		2	2	1	0	>1431<	A shipment from Savona to Perpignan is known in 1431.	Schulte, 1923, II, 257
Stein am Rhein		2	2	1	0		A small number of partners (ca. 3 known) were citizens of Stein am Rhein.	Schulte, 1923, I, 213
Strasbourg		2	2	1	0		No commissionary in Strasbourg. For transport through Strasbourg, the company made use of the services of business friends such as Jakob Ingold.	Schulte, 1923, I, 506
Zürich		2	2	1	0		A small number of partners (ca. 3 known) were citizens of Zürich.	Schulte, 1923, I, 213
Buchau		1	1	1	0		One family of partners is known to have been citizens of Buchau.	Schulte, 1923, I, 212
Buchhorn		1	1	1	0		One family of partners is known to have been citizens of Buchhorn (now Friedrichshafen). The company's business in Buchhorn was often organised directly from Ravensburg.	Schulte, 1923, I, 212, 503
Freiburg im Breisgau		1	1	1	0		One partner is known to have been citizen of Freiburg im Breisgau.	Schulte, 1923, I, 214
Fribourg (Switzerland)		1	1	1	0		Some indications of trade with Fribourg. One partner is known to have been citizen of Fribourg.	Schulte, 1923, I, 214, 515
Kaufbeuren		1	1	1	0		The factor in Memmingen made purchases in Kaufbeuren. 16th c.??	Schulte, 1923, I, 497
Leutkirch		1	1	1	0		One partner is known to have been citizen of Leutkirch.	Schulte, 1923, I, 212

Linz		1	1	1	0	>1514<	Commission agent in Linz was Michel Tyrolt (1514).	Schulte, 1923, I, 208, 473
Luzern		1	1	1	0		One family of partners is known to have been citizens of Luzern.	Schulte, 1923, I, 213
Mainz		1	1	1	0	>1503<	Commission agents in Mainz were Petter von Effen and Claus Pfaytt (1503).	Schulte, 1923, I, 208, 428
Markdorf		1	1	1	0		One partner is known to have been citizen of Markdorf.	Schulte, 1923, I, 214
Poznań		1	1	1	0	>c.1448<	Poznań was probably visited by members of the company ca. 1448.	Schulte, 1923, I, 453-454
Schwäbisch Gmünd		1	1	1	0		One family of partners is known to have been citizens of Schwäbisch Gmünd.	Schulte, 1923, I, 213
Überlingen		1	1	1	0		One family of partners is known to have been citizens of Überlingen.	Schulte, 1923, I, 213
Vercelli		1	1	1	0	>1507<	In Italy, the fairs of Vercelli played a role in the business of the Grosse Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft, although it is not clear whether these fairs were ever visited by members of the company. In 1507, lamb skins of the firm were sold in Vercelli.	Schulte, 1923, I, 138-140, 254
Watta		1	1	1	0	>1511<	In 1511, the partner Heinrich im Steinhause went to the market in Watta (Hungary).	Schulte, 1923, I, 138-140, 471

3. MÖTTELI GESELLSCHAFT, ca. 1453 – 1481 (not used network)

The Mötteli Gesellschaft broke away from the Grosse Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft ca. 1453. Originally, the company was headed by Rudolf Mötteli (d. before 1458). After the death of his illegitimate son Lütfried in 1481, the Mötteli company was dissolved. The capital of the Mötteli company was completely in hands of the Mötteli family. The other members of the firm were employees instead of partners (Schulte, 1923, II, 1-3, 5).

Size: Medium-sized or large

Main activities:

- Commerce: Especially trade between Spain and Germany. Large trade in silk of Almería, sugar, saffron,… There are no indications of trade of the Mötteli Gesellschaft in Italy (Schulte, 1923, II, 4).
- Finance: ?
- Industry: ?

Network of the Mötteli-Gesellschaft:

Table A..4. Network of the Mötteli-Gesellschaft, ca. 1453 – 1481								
City	**R**	**Score**				**Period**	**Type of presence**	**References**
Sankt Gallen		8	4	3	1		Headquarters. Lütfried Mötteli was citizen of Sankt Gallen.	Schulte, 1923, I, 512; II, 4
Avignon		6	3	2	1	>1478<	Branch in 1478.	Schulte, 1923, I, 388; II, 4
Barcelona		6	3	2	1	>1478<	Branch, still in 1478.	Schulte, 1923, II, 4
Granada		6	3	2	1	>1479<	Branch in 1479.	Schulte, 1923, I, 302-303; II, 4
Valencia		6	3	2	1		Branch.	Schulte, 1923, II, 4
Zaragoza		6	3	2	1		Branch.	Schulte, 1923, II, 4
Almería		4	2	2	1	>1479<	Representative in 1479. Erhart was factor in Almería.	Schulte, 1923, I, 302-303; II, 4-5
Bruges		3	2	2	1		Shipments from Valencia to Bruges.	Schulte, 1923, II, 4
Frankfurt am Main		3	2	2	1		The Mötteli Gesellschaft was active on the fairs of Frankfurt.	Schulte, 1923, II, 4
Geneva		3	2	2	1		The Mötteli Gesellschaft was active on the fairs of Geneva and Lyon.	Schulte, 1923, II, 4
Lyon		3	2	2	1		The Mötteli Gesellschaft was active on the fairs of Geneva and Lyon.	Schulte, 1923, II, 4
Martigues (Ile de)		2	2	1	0	>1476<	In 1476, the Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft supplied the Mötteli firm with goods at L'Ile de Martigues.	Schulte, 1923, II, 4

4. ANKENREUTE GESELLSCHAFT, 1477 – 1510 (not used network)

Several partners broke away from the Grosse Ravensburger Gesellschaft in 1477, establishing the Ankenreute Gesellschaft. In Spain, this firm was called the little company (*companya chica*), to distinguish it from the Grosse Ravensburger Gesellschaft. Managers of the company were Klemens Ankenreute the elder (head of the firm), Diepold Bucklin, Hans Wiesland, and Hans Täschler, who later were succeeded by their sons. Head of the company from 1492 to 1506 was Konrad Ankenreute, son of Klemens. *Regierer* in 1510 was Hans Gäldrich. In 1510, the

Ankenreute firm was dissolved, and some of the partners returned to the Grosse Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft (e.g. Klemens (III) Ankenreute, Konrad Täschler) (Schulte, 1923, II, 6, 8-9, 257).

Size: ?

Main activities:

- Commerce: Trade in sugar, saffron, wool, hemp textiles, cloth from the Low Countries, linen from Swabia, fustians,… (Schulte, 1923, II, 8-9).
- Finance: ?
- Industry: ?

Network of the Ankenreute Gesellschaft:

Table A..5. Network of the Ankenreute-Gesellschaft, 1477 – 1510

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Ravensburg		8	4	3	1		Headquarters.	Schulte, 1923, II, 9
Zaragoza		6	3	2	1	1477-1495<	The Ankenreute Gesellschaft took over the Zaragoza branch from the Grosse Ravensburger Gesellschaft. Anton Ankenreute managed the branch in Zaragoza from 1477. Klemens Ankenreute was in Zaragoza in 1495. The activities of the Ankenreute Gesellschaft in Zaragoza were considerable.	Schulte, 1923, I, 149, 350; II, 6-8
Alicante		4	2	2	1	>c.1494/95<	The Ankenreute Gesellschaft perhaps had a branch in Alicante ca. 1494/95.	Schulte, 1923, I, 302
Lyon		4	2	2	1		The Ankenreute Gesellschaft was active in Lyon, where the partner Hans Täschler represented the company.	Schulte, 1923, I, 201, II, 8
Valencia		4	2	2	1		Considerable activities in Valencia.	Schulte, 1923, II, 8
Bruges		3	2	2	1		The Ankenreute Gesellschaft was active in Bruges.	Schulte, 1923, II, 8
Frankfurt am Main		3	2	2	1	>1480<	The Ankenreute Gesellschaft was active in Frankfurt. The firm was represented at the Lent fair of 1480 by Hans Täschler.	Schulte, 1923, I, 201; II, 8
Genoa		3	2	2	1	>1492<	The Ankenreute Gesellschaft was active in Genoa: first indication in 1492.	Schulte, 1923, II, 8
Milan		3	2	2	1	>1504<	The Ankenreute Gesellschaft was active in Milan: first indication in 1504.	Schulte, 1923, II, 8
Nürnberg		3	2	2	1		The Ankenreute Gesellschaft was active in Nürnberg.	Schulte, 1923, II, 8

Sankt Gallen		3	2	2	1		The Ankenreute Gesellschaft was active in Sankt Gallen.	Schulte, 1923, II, 9
Tortosa		3	2	2	1		In Tortosa, the Ankenreute Gesellschaft made use of the same agents as the Grosse Ravensburger Gesellschaft.	Schulte, 1923, II, 8

HIRSCHVOGEL, early 15th century – ca. 1537

The Hirschvogel of Nürnberg are first mentioned as merchants in the early 15th century. Ulrich Hirschvogel (d. 1436) presumably began his business career in the firm of the Kreβ of Nürnberg, who traded especially with Venice. Already in the first decade of the 15th century, he started his own business, probably working together with his brother Heinrich. Partners in this company were perhaps Hans Süssel, Sigmund Stromer zur Rosen, Marx Prünster and/or Cristan Armbauer (d. 1447). After the death of Ulrich in 1436, the management of the firm came in the hands of Heinrich until the latter died himself four years later. As a result, the company was taken over in 1440 by the sons of Ulrich, Lienhard (I) (ca. 1400-1490), Deokarus (1405-1493), Wilhelm (d. 1449) and Bartholomäus (d. 1486). The eldest brother Lienhard became head of the firm until ca. 1468. After the death of Michael Behaim in 1449, Lienhard Hirschvogel also took over the management of the Behaim firm of Nürnberg, until Michael's son Lienhard Behaim (1433-1486) became old enough to assume management of his father's business in 1457. By that time, disputes had arisen in the Hirschvogel family, and in 1460 a split occurred between Lienhard on the one hand and Deokarus and Bartholomäus on the other hand. Around 1468, the business of the Hirschvogel came in hands of Lienhard (II) (1440-1525), son of Lienhard (I), although the latter remained very influential in the business affairs of his son. Under Lienhard (II), who was assisted by his brothers Franz (1450-1505), Bernhardin (1452-1516), Ulrich (1446-1485), Hans (1447-1477), and Sebald (1464-1504), the Hirschvogel company experienced its largest expansion. After Lienhard (II)'s death in 1525 however, when the company came in hands of his son Endres (I) (1489-1537) and his nephew Lienhard (III) (1504-1549), the business of the Hirschvogel went into decline, and by 1537, when the firm was inherited by Endres (II), son of Endres (I), the company was a only shadow of its former self and about to be completely dissolved (Schaper, 1973, ix, 34, 36-37, 50-51, 54, 94-96, 100, 103-104, 106, 108-109, 161-162, 271, 274, 294).

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Source material:

Correspondence (with some exceptions, especially a number of letters from members of the Behaim family) and account books of the Hirschvogel have not survived. A family chronicle and a "Salbuch" are the only still extant documents written by the Hirschvogel. Several fragmented pieces of information on the Hirschvogel can be found in a large number of archives in Nürnberg and elsewhere (Augsburg, Munich, Frankfurt, Cologne, Antwerp, Bressanone, Innsbruck, Rome, Venice, etc). A much larger amount of data has been preserved for the period after ca. 1468 than for the earlier years (Schaper, 1973, x, 96, 103-104, 161-162, 179, 224, 296-298).

Size: Large

During the 15th century, the Hirschvogel company was a typical Nürnberg medium-sized enterprise. The Hirschvogel firm experienced its largest expansion under the management of Lienhard (II) from ca. 1468. Ca. 1500, the Hirschvogel were among the richest families of Nürnberg. A source of 1507 estimated the yearly turnover of Franz Hirschvogel in Venice between 1480 and 1525 at 50,000 to 80,000 ducats. The size of the Hirschvogel activity at the fairs of Frankfurt indicates that they were among the leading merchants of Nürnberg in this period (Schaper, 1973, 161-162, 164, 180-181, 234; Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 8).

Main activities:

- Commerce: During the 15th century, the Hirschvogel were especially involved in commerce between Venice, western and central Europe. They traded in cotton, wool, textiles, leather, spices, silver, gold, rosaries, soap, cattle, southern fruits, wine, sugar, etc. In the 16th century, the Hirschvogel became engaged in the Portuguese spice trade, and they were specialised in the commerce of gemstones from India. Moreover, in this period they traded in cotton, wool, textiles among which linen, woollens and fustians, books, gall-nuts, bresilwood, furs, guns, etc. (Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 20; Schaper, 1973, 43-47, 51-54, 98-99, 102-105, 108, 169-170, 179, 191, 206, 208, 212, 220, 223, 233-234, 278, 282).
- Finance: Not much is known about the financial activities of the Hirschvogel. They were involved in exchange business, e.g. in the transfer of the Annates of Melchior von Meckau, bishop of Bressanone, to Rome. The Hirschvogel also advanced loans, e.g. to several Tyrolers who paid back their debts in silver. The Habsburgs several times requested the Hirschvogel for a loan (e.g. in 1507, 1525). However, it is not known whether any of these requests were met by the company. Especially in Venice, the Hirschvogel were involved in financial activities (Schaper, 1973, 98-99, 162-165, 170-171, 181, 184-185, 210).
- Industry: The Hirschvogel may have invested in the fustian business, since several fustian weavers became debtors of the company. Linen was produced for the Hirschvogel in Schleusingen ca. 1517. They also obtained shares in mines in Saxony, Bohemia and Silesia from several of their debtors (Schaper, 1973, 173, 192, 234).

Network of the Hirschvogel:

The Hirschvogel firm was organised as a centralised multi-branch company. Several members of the Hirschvogel family played an important role in the business of the company as representatives in the branches abroad. However, by the early 16th century most of the brothers

of Lienhard (II) Hirschvogel had died, while he had only one son. As a result, the firm became increasingly dependent upon the activity of factors who did not belong to the family. Several of these factors were employed in one of the branches of the company, while others travelled around in large territories for the collection of debts or the conclusion of business transactions. The factors not only received a salary for their labour, but some of them also invested in the Hirschvogel business. Major decisions (on purchases and sales, appointment of personnel, etc) were made in the headquarters, based on information sent by the branches. The dispatch of correspondence between the different branches of the Hirschvogel firm was well organised (even the council of Nürnberg from time to time made use of the mail system of the Hirschvogel). However, as a result of the slowness of communications, the factors had a large degree of autonomy. The branches were visited regularly by way of control, e.g. by Lienhard (III) Hirschvogel after 1525 (Schaper, 1973, 162, 165-166, 168-169, 226, 271).

In the 15th century, the Hirschvogel company was mainly active in the Main-Rhine region, Austria, Bohemia, Silesia, Venice and the Low Countries (since ca. 1480). Ca. 1500, the Hirschvogel expanded their trade to Spain and Portugal. Possibly, they were influenced in this decision by their relative Martin Behaim, who participated in travels of discovery of the Portuguese along the Atlantic Coast of Africa ca. 1484-85 (Schaper, 1973, 36, 161-163; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 71, 169).

Table A..1. Network of the Hirschvogel, begin 15th century – ca. 1537 (especially ca. 1468 – ca. 1525)

City	**R**	**Score**				**Period**	**Type of presence**	**References**
Nürnberg		8	4	3	1	Begin 15th c.-c.1537	Headquarters. The house of the Hirschvogel in Nürnberg was located at the Barfüβerbrücke.	Schaper, 1973, 9-15, 162
Antwerp		6	3	2	1	>1484-first half 1530s	Branch. The Hirschvogel became active in Antwerp in the last quarter of the 15th century. Martin (II) Behaim (b. 1459), a relative of the Hirschvogel, was in Antwerp in 1479. In 1484 the latest, he traded in merchandise for the Hirschvogel here, but later that year he went to Portugal. The connections of the Hirschvogel with Antwerp become more clear from 1488. In this year, Lienhard (II) himself went to Antwerp. By 1490, the business of the Hirschvogel in Antwerp must have been considerable, and probably they already had a branch here. Factors were Georg Rammler (1490-94, 1505-08), Anton Ullstadt (1491), Hans Fridach (1494), Stefan Krauβberger (1507, 1518), Jacob Humprecht (1511-1515), Sebastian Winβ (1512), Joachim Prunner (1512), Friedrich Krauβberger (from 1513, 1519-1521), Georg Pock (1517), Hans Behmer (1522), and Michael Erckel (ca. 1525-1530). The Hirschvogel branch in Antwerp was located in the house “Witte Valck” in the Cammenstraat. By 1529, the Hirschvogel had sold their house in Antwerp however. During the first half of the 1530s, the business of the Hirschvogel in Antwerp died out.	Grote, 1961, 36; Schaper, 1973, 161-162, 187, 194, 205-217, 223, 225, 235-239, 241-242, 246, 248-251, 276-278, 283

Leipzig		2 **6**	2 **3**	1 **2**	0 **1**	>1414<, >1416<, >1490< >1510-1529<	- Already in 1414 and 1416, goods of the Hirschvogel were confiscated perhaps on the road to Saxony. In 1490, the Hirschvogel were creditors of Stefan Protzel, merchant of Leipzig. - In the 16th century, the Hirschvogel probably had a branch in Leipzig. Factors in Leipzig were Sebastian Winβ (1510, 1513), Joachim Prunner (1513, 1518), Christoph Spaidel (1515, 1516), Steffen Hackpenner (1516), Friedrich Krauβberger (1516, 1518-21), and Hans Beyer (1529). Moreover, the Hirschvogel had several debtors in Leipzig: Bernhard Kottwich (1503, 1510), Michael Scheffler (1508), Hans Keller (1516), and Hans Hartwich (1517).	Schaper, 1973, 42, 166, 192-194, 238, 241, 248-249, 251, 274
Lisbon		6	3	2	1	>1505-1532<	Branch. The Hirschvogel were perhaps already represented in Lisbon around 1505 by Ulrich Imhoff. In 1506, Wolfgang Behaim, brother of Martin (II), was sent by the Hirschvogel as factor to Lisbon. Both Imhoff and Behaim died in Lisbon in 1507. Factor in Lisbon from 1507 was perhaps Clas Humprecht, Ulrich Ehinger, or Sebald Kneussel. Later factors were Ulrich Nenndinger (1514), Lazarus Nürnberger (1515-16, 1518, 1520), Joachim Prunner (1517-18), Georg Pock (ca. 1517-1520), Friedrich Löner (1520-ca. 1525), Hans Meurl (perhaps 1527), Jobst Tetzel (1530), Benedikt Meurl (1530) and Andrea Alantse (1532). After 1532, the Hirschvogel are not mentioned anymore in Lisbon.	Griffin, 1988, 57-58; Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 20-21; Schaper, 1973, 166, 168, 209-210, 212, 219-226, 229-230, 236-237, 240, 243, 246-248, 278-281, 283-285; Seibold, 1977b, 350
Venice		6	3	2	1	>1409-1537	Branch. Venice was a main centre for the Hirschvogel business. Ulrich Hirschvogel was already active in Venice by 1409, and his sons Lienhard and Deokarus were sent as apprentices to Venice sometime after 1415. In this early period, the business of the Hirschvogel with Venice was often hampered by the conflict between Venice and king Sigismund however, and more than once they were ordered to leave Venice or punished by the Nürnberg council for illicit trade with Venice (e.g. in 1418, 1420). In the 1420s and 1430s, the Hirschvogel were represented in Venice by Georg Derrer (in 1436) and Lienhard (I). In 1442, Lienhard and Deokarus were in Venice, but by the end of the year Deokarus was replaced by Bartholomäus Hirschvogel. By this time, the Hirschvogel probably had an office in the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi*. Ca. 1456, the Hirschvogel were represented in Venice by Martin Behaim, who made several trips to Venice, and by Michael Vischer (factor of the Behaim) and Heinz Eberhart. From ca. 1465, the Hirschvogel were more or less permanently represented by one, and later	Pohl, 1967-1968, 111 n. 179; Schaper, 1973, 35-36, 40-41, 43-49, 51, 95-97, 99-100, 105, 161-162, 170, 174-181, 184-192, 207, 216, 248-249, 274-275, 284-285

							even two, of the sons of Lienhard (I), Lienhard (II) and Franz, the former of whom was replaced by Bernhardin ca. 1471. In addition, Georg Rammler was in Venice as a factor of the Hirschvogel. From the 1480s, the Hirschvogel appear to have played an increasingly important role in Venice. Franz became consul of the Germans in Venice in 1504-1505. In the new *Fondaco dei Tedeschi*, built in 1505, the Hirschvogel obtained one of the 5 rooms at the first floor, as well as a storage room in the basement. Not much is known about the business of the Hirschvogel in Venice after 1505. Nevertheless, they remained active here (e.g. Bernhardin in 1506, Endres (I)). Representatives in Venice under Endres (I) were Johann Spaidel and Anton Muffel. The Hirschvogel establishment in Venice was dissolved in 1537.	
Vienna		6	3	2	1	>1420s-1436<, >c.1462-1485<	Branch. Vienna was of great importance for the business of the Hirschvogel in the 15th century, and they established a branch here. In the 1420s, Georg Derrer worked in the *Faktorei* in Vienna, and perhaps he became branch manager in 1429, when he married a daughter of Ulrich (I) Hirschvogel. However, after the death of Ulrich in 1436 Derrer began an independent business in Austria, and it is not known whether the Hirschvogel continued their own business here afterwards. Ca. 1462, the Hirschvogel definitely were represented again in Vienna, notably by Ulrich (II), who was later joined by his brother Hans (died in Vienna in 1477). After the death of Ulrich in 1485, the branch in Vienna was probably staffed by factors. Perhaps Bernhard Hirschvogel became involved in business with the east as well in this period.	Schaper, 1973, 43, 51, 177, 197-198
Frankfurt am Main		4	2	2	1	>1407-1536	Throughout the existence of their enterprise, the Hirschvogel were very active at the fairs of Frankfurt. Ulrich Hirschvogel was mentioned in the "Schöffenbuch" of Frankfurt am Main in 1407; and his brother Heinrich, who made many business trips to western Europe, in 1417. In 1413, Heinrich Hirschvogel was a creditor of Hans Lemchin of Frankfurt. In 1429, Ulrich personally went to Frankfurt for the renewal of the Nürnberg toll privileges. Respectively in 1443 and 1458, Wilhelm and Lienhard (I) Hirschvogel were in Frankfurt. Between 1482 and 1516, the Hirschvogel are known to have been very frequently present at the fairs of Frankfurt. They appear to have been among the most important Nürnberg merchants in Frankfurt in this period. Among the factors who attended the fairs for the	Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 20; Schaper, 1973, 37-39, 95, 100-101, 202-204, 242, 244, 272

							company were Stefan Kraußberger (1502) and Lazarus Nürnberger (1519). Under Endres (I), business at the Frankfurt fairs was continued. Still in 1535-36, Lienhard (III) Hirschvogel and the factor Sebald Rosenzweid were active in Frankfurt.	
Sevilla		4	2	2	1	1520-1526	Already in 1508, Eberhart Bassat made a journey for the Hirschvogel to Spain. In 1518 the factor Lazarus Nürnberger went from Lisbon to Andalusia. In 1520 he was sent to Sevilla, where he was a factor for the Hirschvogel at least until 1526. Although he later began working for other companies and for his own account, Nürnberger was still in contact with Endres (II) Hirschvogel after the dissolution of the Hirschvogel company.	Griffin, 1988, 57-58; Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 20; Schaper, 1973, 230, 235, 244-245, 281
Bressanone		3	2	2	1	>1482<, >1518<	The Hirschvogel had connections with Georg Golser, bishop of Bressanone, and especially with his successor Melchior von Meckau. In 1482, Bernhardin Hirschvogel gave power of attorney to the clergyman Christian Thurner in Bressanone for the collection of 2,000 gold gulden. Also the lawyer Anton Baumgartner (1451-1492) was perhaps a representative of the Hirschvogel here. In 1518, Marx Dernschwamb of Bressanone was a debtor of the Hirschvogel.	Schaper, 1973, 182, 192
Calicut		3	2	2	1	1505-1506, 1517-1518	In 1505-06, the Hirschvogel (together with the Welser, Fugger, Hochstetter, Imhoff, etc) took part in the expedition of Francisco de Almeida from Antwerp and Lisbon to the Indies, especially to Calicut. The Imhoff and Hirschvogel (who invested 2,000 ducats) were represented at this expedition by Ulrich Imhoff. In 1517-18, Lazarus Nürnberger went to the Indies as factor of the Hirschvogel with the fleet of António de Saldanha, which traded in Goa, Calicut and Cochin.	Griffin, 1988, 57-58; Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 20; Schaper, 1973, ix, 161-162, 209, 218-220, 223, 230-231, 240, 244
Cochin		3	2	2	1	1517-1518, >1522<	In 1517-18, Lazarus Nürnberger went to the Indies as factor of the Hirschvogel with the fleet of António de Saldanha, which traded in Goa, Calicut and Cochin. Georg Pock, factor of the Hirschvogel in India from 1520 until his death in 1529, sent a letter from Cochin in 1522.	Griffin, 1988, 57-58; Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 20-21; Schaper, 1973, 161-162, 168, 223, 229-233, 244, 246
Cologne		5	3	2	1	>1408-1441<	- In the first half of the 15th century, the Hirschvogel were very active in Cologne. Probably, they even had a *Faktorei* here. In Cologne and Frankfurt, the Hirschvogel were especially represented by Heinrich Hirschvogel, brother of Ulrich, and later by Wilhelm Hirschvogel, brother of Lienhard (I). Already in 1408, Bartholomäus von Bunne had a debt to Ulrich	Schaper, 1973, 37-40, 53, 95, 100, 212 n. 845

		3	**2**	**2**	**1**	>1503<	Hirschvogel in Cologne. Ca. 1419-20, Heinrich Hirschvogel was involved in business with Cologne. In 1429, 1430, 1431, 1435 and 1436, Ulrich Hirschvogel personally went to Cologne for the annual renewal of the Nürnberg toll privileges. After 1436 (1437-39, 1441), this practice was continued by Ulrich's son Wilhelm, who also later represented the company in the Rhineland. - Nothing is known about the activities of the Hirschvogel in Cologne after the death of Wilhelm in 1449, but probably some connection remained. In 1503, Georg Rammler, factor in Antwerp, ordered Anthon Fonck of Cologne to recover goods of the Hirschvogel in Cologne.	
Florence		3	2	2	1	>1460-1465<, >1477<	The Hirschvogel had business friends in Florence. Franz Hirschvogel was sent to Florence as an apprentice in 1460-65. In 1477, Marcus Hirschvogel, destined for a career as clergyman, sent books for Hans Praun from Perugia to Florence.	Pohl, 1967-1968, 113; Schaper, 1973, 179
Innsbruck		3	2	2	1	>1487<	The Hirschvogel had connections with the court in Innsbruck. In 1487, money and goods of the Hirschvogel were confiscated in Innsbruck.	Schaper, 1973, 199
London		3	2	2	1	>1505<, >1508<, >1511<, >1524<	In 1508 the factor Gerhard Booβ obtained a procuration for a business journey to France, Portugal and England, while in 1511 the Hirschvogel were represented in London by the Florentine merchant Giovanni Cavalcanti. Already in 1505 Robbrecht Silvester, merchant of London, was in debt to the Hirschvogel. In 1524, the Hirschvogel sent a letter to king Henry of England.	Schaper, 1973, 218, 237-238, 218 n. 863
Rome		3	2	2	1	>1478<, after 1525	In 1478, Lienhard (II) Hirschvogel became a member of the fellowship of the Holy Spirit in Rome. Under Endres (I), the Hirschvogel did business with Rome.	Schaper, 1973, 180, 182-183, 276
Salzburg		3	2	2	1	>1455-1457<, 1496-1499<, >c.1508<	In Salzburg the Hirschvogel had connections with the Behaim, who had a branch here since the first half of the 15th century. In 1455-57 Martin (I) Behaim was regularly in Salzburg. In 1455, the factor of the Behaim in Salzburg was Michael Vischer. A letter of Vischer to Lienhard Hirschvogel and Lienhard and Martin Behaim is known from 1455. Franz Hirschvogel had close connections with Stefan Kaser of Salzburg in Venice. In 1496/97 and 1499, disputes in business matters arose between the Hirschvogel and several citizens of Salzburg. Goods of Lienhard Hirschvogel were robbed ca. 1508, probably on the road from or to Salzburg. Presumably, Bernhardin had stayed for a while in Salzburg during his life, since he left 20 fl. to the	Schaper, 1973, 103-104, 198-199

							poor of Salzburg in his will.	
Wrocław		3	2	2	1	>1436-1444<, >1510<, >1522<	Connections existed with Wrocław. Ca. 1436-1440, Heinrich and Lienhard (I) were responsible for the Hirschvogel business in Silesia and Bohemia. In 1438 and 1441, Ivo Meltzer in Wrocław was in debt to the Hirschvogel. An agent of Lienhard Reutheimer was instructed to collect these debts in Wrocław. In 1444, the Hirschvogel sold wool and luxury textiles in Wrocław. At this time, they had connections with Heinrich Toppler the younger, Andres Zeringer and Hermann Preutigam, all active in business with Wrocław. In 1510, the factor Sebastian Winβ obtained procuration for trade with Silesia. In 1522, Jobst Wagner was sent to Wrocław for the sequestration of the goods of Hans Haller, who was in debt to the Hirschvogel.	Schaper, 1973, 42-43, 53, 101-103, 106, 196-197, 250
Annaberg	M	2	2	1	0	>1505<	Together with other creditors, the Hirschvogel obtained shares in the mines of Annaberg as a means of repayment of the debts of Bernhard Kottwich of Leipzig in 1505. The creditors appointed Wolf Ortl as their representative and factor for the mining business.	Schaper, 1973, 193
Augsburg		2	2	1	0	>1520-1529<	From 1520 to 1529, the Hirschvogel and the firm of Christoph Herwart of Augsburg jointly traded in India through their factor Georg Pock.	Schaper, 1973, 279-280
Berlin		2	2	1	0	>c.1518-1520<	Probably, the Hirschvogel had connections with Berlin and Brandenburg. Marx Prünster, perhaps a partner of Ulrich (I) Hirschvogel, was active in Brandenburg. In 1414, goods were seized in “markgräflichen Geleit” (Brandenburg?), perhaps on the road to Saxony. Sebastian Winβ and Joachim Prunner, both factors of the Hirschvogel, came originally from Berlin. Ca. 1518-1520, Paul Blankenfelde of Berlin was a debtor of the Hirschvogel. Ca. 1520, the Hirschvogel intended to send a factor to Berlin for the settlement of this debt.	Schaper, 1973, 36-37, 42, 105, 194-195, 250
Bohemia	M	2	2	1	0	>1411-1412<, >c.1436-1440<, after 1468	In 1411, goods sent by Heinrich Hirschvogel were seized in western Bohemia, perhaps on the road to Prague. One year later a clerk of Ulrich Hirschvogel, Markart, was captured in Bohemia. Ca. 1436-1440 (after the end of the Hussite revolt), Heinrich and Lienhard (I) were engaged in business in Silesia and Bohemia. Much later, Lienhard (II) Hirschvogel had shares in tin mines in Bohemia.	Schaper, 1973, 41-42, 52-53, 192
Bologna		2	2	1	0	>1477-1478<	The Hirschvogel sent books for Hans Praun to Bologna in 1477-1478. Perhaps the Hirschvogel were represented here by Alessandro Bianchini.	Pohl, 1967-1968, 113; Schaper, 1973, 179

Copenhagen		2	2	1	0	1506	In 1506, Georg Rammler, factor in Antwerp, gave power of attorney to Arnd Harck, citizen of Copenhagen, for the collection of 70 fl. which were owed to the Hirschvogel by the sculptor Aert van Aerschot, who had died in Denmark.	Schaper, 1973, 217, 239
France		2	2	1	0	>1508<	Details about the Hirschvogel trade with France are not known. However, in 1508 the factor Eberhart Bassat made a business journey to Portugal, Spain, France and Flanders, and in the same year Gerhard Booβ obtained a procuration for a business journey to France, Portugal and England as factor of the Hirschvogel.	Schaper, 1973, 235, 237
Geyer	M	2	2	1	0	>1505<	Together with other creditors, the Hirschvogel obtained shares in the mines of Geyer as a means of repayment of the debts of Bernhard Kottwich of Leipzig in 1505. The creditors appointed Wolf Ortl as their representative and factor for the mining business.	Schaper, 1973, 193
Goa		2	2	1	0	1517-1518	In 1517-18, Lazarus Nürnberger went to the Indies as factor of the Hirschvogel with the fleet of António de Saldanha, which traded in Goa, Calicut and Cochin.	Griffin, 1988, 57-58; Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 20; Schaper, 1973, 161-162, 223, 231, 244
Loreto		2	2	1	0	after 1525	Under Endres (I), the Hirschvogel did business with Loreto (near Ancona). Perhaps their factor in Loreto was Michael Erckel.	Schaper, 1973, 180, 192, 276
Perugia		2	2	1	0	>1477<	In 1477, Marcus Hirschvogel, destined for a career as clergyman, sent books for Hans Praun from Perugia, where he studied at this time, to Florence.	Pohl, 1967-1968, 113-114; Schaper, 1973, 179
Sankt Jörgenstollen	M	2	2	1	0	1490-1499	In 1490 the Hirschvogel obtained shares in the mines of St. Jörgenstollen (Saxony) from Stefan Protzel, debtor, apparently for nine years.	Schaper, 1973, 192
Schleusingen	T	2	2	1	0	c.1517	Linen was produced for the Hirschvogel in Schleusingen ca. 1517.	Schaper, 1973, 234
Schwaz	M	2	2	1	0	>c.1484<	The Hirschvogel were probably involved in the mining business in Schwaz. Hans Salfelder (d. 1481), son-in-law of Lienhard (I) Hirschvogel, owned shares in the mining business of Schwaz, which were inherited by Hans' wife Ursula Hirschvogel ca. 1484. Lucas Hirschvogel, brother of Lienhard (II), was buried in Schwaz in 1475. Another relative of the Hirschvogel, Peter Rummel, resided in castle Sigmundslust near Schwaz since 1495. The Hirschvogel also had business connections with Florian von Waldauf, a nobleman from Tirol.	Schaper, 1973, 199-202, 248
Vijayanagar		2	2	1	0	>1521<,	Georg Pock, factor of the Hirschvogel in India from 1520 until his death in	Schaper, 1973, 161-

						>1529	1529, was in Vijayanagar in 1521. At the time of his death in 1529, Georg Pock owned goods in Vijayanagar.	162, 168, 229-233, 246-247
Arnemuiden		1	1	1	0	1531	In Arnemuiden, Endres Hirschvogel was represented by the Antwerp merchant Philipp Mackel in 1531.	Schaper, 1973, 277, 283
Calcutta		1	1	1	0	>1529	At the time of his death Georg Pock, factor of the Hirschvogel in India, owned goods in Calcutta.	Schaper, 1973, 161-162, 168, 229-231, 233, 246-247
Dresden		1	1	1	0	>c.1492<	Ca. 1492, Albrecht Neudeck (Neydeck) of Dresden was in debt to Lienhard Hirschvogel.	Schaper, 1973, 192
Hungary		1	1	1	0	>c.1422-1436>, >1455-1457<	The Hirschvogel are mentioned to have been active in Hungary ca. 1422. They were represented here by Georg Derrer (factor in the Vienna branch) before 1436. In 1455-57 Martin Behaim, nephew of Lienhard I Hirschvogel, continuously travelled between Salzburg, Carinthia, Hungary and Venice.	Schaper, 1973, 43, 51, 103-104
Maastricht		1	1	1	0	1433	In 1433, Cristan Armbauer, perhaps a partner of the Hirschvogel firm, went with merchandise of the Hirschvogel to Maastricht.	Schaper, 1973, 40, 205
Magdeburg		1	1	1	0	>1525<	In 1525, Hans Jung of Magdeburg was a debtor of the Hirschvogel.	Schaper, 1973, 194
Mainz		1	1	1	0	1429	In 1429, Ulrich Hirschvogel personally went to Mainz for the renewal of the Nürnberg toll privileges.	Schaper, 1973, 39
Mechelen		1	1	1	0	1477	In 1477 Martin (II) Behaim, who later became a representative of the Hirschvogel in Antwerp, was in Mechelen.	Schaper, 1973, 205, 235
Ptuj		1	1	1	0	>1455<	Lienhard (I) Hirschvogel appears to have been interested in the oxen trade of Ptuj (Pettau). In 1455, he ordered Martin Behaim to purchase oxen hides in Ptuj.	Schaper, 1973, 104-105
Radkersburg		1	1	1	0	>1455<	In 1455, Martin Behaim intended to visit the fairs of Radkersburg and St. Veit in Hungary.	Schaper, 1973, 104
Rothenburg ober der Tauber		1	1	1	0	Before 1468	Lienhard (I) Hirschvogel and Hans and Paulus Lauber took over a debt of the town of Rothenburg. Deokarus Hirschvogel married into a patrician family of Rothenburg.	Schaper, 1973, 107
Sankt Veit		1	1	1	0	>1455<	In 1455, Martin Behaim intended to visit the fairs of Radkersburg and St. Veit in Hungary.	Schaper, 1973, 104
Speyer		1	1	1	0	1429	In 1429, Ulrich Hirschvogel personally went to Speyer for the renewal of the Nürnberg toll privileges.	Schaper, 1973, 39
Vipiteno		1	1	1	0	>1444<	Hans Nock represented the Hirschvogel in Vipiteno (Sterzing) in 1444.	Schaper, 1973, 98-99
Völkermarkt		1	1	1	0	>1455<, >1457<	In 1455 and 1457, Martin Behaim travelled to Völkermarkt in Carinthia, from where he sent letters to Lienhard Hirschvogel.	Schaper, 1973, 104

Worms		1	1	1	0	1429	In 1429, Ulrich Hirschvogel personally went to Worms for the renewal of the Nürnberg toll privileges.	Schaper, 1973, 39
Złoty Stok	M	1	1	1	0	c.1510	For a short time, the Hirschvogel obtained shares in the mines of Złoty Stok (Reichenstein) in Silesia.	Schaper, 1973, 193, 196
Zwickau		1	1	1	0	>1494<	Mathias Engel in Zwickau was in debt to Lienhard Hirschvogel in 1494.	Schaper, 1973, 192 n. 769

Table A..1. Network of the Hirschvogel, 15th century (begin 15th century – ca. 1500) (especially from ca. 1468)

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Nürnberg		8	4	3	1	Begin 15th c.-c.1537	Headquarters. The house of the Hirschvogel in Nürnberg was located at the Barfüβerbrücke.	Schaper, 1973, 9-15, 162
Antwerp		6	3	2	1	>1484-first half 1530s	Branch. The Hirschvogel became active in Antwerp in the last quarter of the 15th century. Martin (II) Behaim (b. 1459), a relative of the Hirschvogel, was in Antwerp in 1479. In 1484 the latest, he traded in merchandise for the Hirschvogel here, but later that year he went to Portugal. The connections of the Hirschvogel with Antwerp become more clear from 1488. In this year, Lienhard (II) himself went to Antwerp. By 1490, the business of the Hirschvogel in Antwerp must have been considerable, and probably they already had a branch here. Factors were Georg Rammler (1490-94, 1505-08), Anton Ullstadt (1491), Hans Fridach (1494), Stefan Krauβberger (1507, 1518), Jacob Humprecht (1511-1515), Sebastian Winβ (1512), Joachim Prunner (1512), Friedrich Krauβberger (from 1513, 1519-1521), Georg Pock (1517), Hans Behmer (1522), and Michael Erckel (ca. 1525-1530). The Hirschvogel branch in Antwerp was located in the house "Witte Valck" in the Cammenstraat. By 1529, the Hirschvogel had sold their house in Antwerp however. During the first half of the 1530s, the business of the Hirschvogel in Antwerp died out.	Grote, 1961, 36; Schaper, 1973, 161-162, 187, 194, 205-217, 223, 225, 235-239, 241-242, 246, 248-251, 276-278, 283
Venice		6	3	2	1	>1409-1537	Branch. Venice was a main centre for the Hirschvogel business. Ulrich Hirschvogel was already active in Venice by 1409, and his sons Lienhard and Deokarus were sent as apprentices to Venice sometime after 1415. In this early period, the business of the Hirschvogel with Venice was often hampered by the conflict between Venice and king Sigismund however, and more than once they were ordered to leave Venice or punished by the Nürnberg council for illicit trade with Venice (e.g. in 1418, 1420). In the	Pohl, 1967-1968, 111 n. 179; Schaper, 1973, 35-36, 40-41, 43-49, 51, 95-97, 99-100, 105, 161-162, 170, 174-181, 184-192, 207, 216, 248-

							1420s and 1430s, the Hirschvogel were represented in Venice by Georg Derrer (in 1436) and Lienhard (I). In 1442, Lienhard and Deokarus were in Venice, but by the end of the year Deokarus was replaced by Bartholomäus Hirschvogel. By this time, the Hirschvogel probably had an office in the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi*. Ca. 1456, the Hirschvogel were represented in Venice by Martin Behaim, who made several trips to Venice, and by Michael Vischer (factor of the Behaim) and Heinz Eberhart. From ca. 1465, the Hirschvogel were more or less permanently represented by one, and later even two, of the sons of Lienhard (I), Lienhard (II) and Franz, the former of whom was replaced by Bernhardin ca. 1471. In addition, Georg Rammler was in Venice as a factor of the Hirschvogel. From the 1480s, the Hirschvogel appear to have played an increasingly important role in Venice. Franz became consul of the Germans in Venice in 1504-1505. In the new *Fondaco dei Tedeschi*, built in 1505, the Hirschvogel obtained one of the 5 rooms at the first floor, as well as a storage room in the basement. Not much is known about the business of the Hirschvogel in Venice after 1505. Nevertheless, they remained active here (e.g. Bernhardin in 1506, Endres (I)). Representatives in Venice under Endres (I) were Johann Spaidel and Anton Muffel. The Hirschvogel establishment in Venice was dissolved in 1537.	249, 274-275, 284-285
Vienna		6	3	2	1	>1420s-1436<, >c.1462-1485<	Branch. Vienna was of great importance for the business of the Hirschvogel in the 15th century, and they established a branch here. In the 1420s, Georg Derrer worked in the *Faktorei* in Vienna, and perhaps he became branch manager in 1429, when he married a daughter of Ulrich (I) Hirschvogel. However, after the death of Ulrich in 1436 Derrer began an independent business in Austria, and it is not known whether the Hirschvogel continued their own business here afterwards. Ca. 1462, the Hirschvogel definitely were represented again in Vienna, notably by Ulrich (II), who was later joined by his brother Hans (died in Vienna in 1477). After the death of Ulrich in 1485, the branch in Vienna was probably staffed by factors. Perhaps Bernhard Hirschvogel became involved in business with the east as well in this period.	Schaper, 1973, 43, 51, 177, 197-198
Cologne		**5**	**3**	**2**	**1**	>1408-1441<	- In the first half of the 15th century, the Hirschvogel were very active in Cologne. Probably, they even had a *Faktorei* here. In Cologne and Frankfurt, the Hirschvogel were especially represented by Heinrich	Schaper, 1973, 37-40, 53, 95, 100, 212 n. 845

		3	2	2	1	>1503<	Hirschvogel, brother of Ulrich, and later by Wilhelm Hirschvogel, brother of Lienhard (I). Already in 1408, Bartholomäus von Bunne had a debt to Ulrich Hirschvogel in Cologne. Ca. 1419-20, Heinrich Hirschvogel was involved in business with Cologne. In 1429, 1430, 1431, 1435 and 1436, Ulrich Hirschvogel personally went to Cologne for the annual renewal of the Nürnberg toll privileges. After 1436 (1437-39, 1441), this practice was continued by Ulrich's son Wilhelm, who also later represented the company in the Rhineland. - Nothing is known about the activities of the Hirschvogel in Cologne after the death of Wilhelm in 1449, but probably some connection remained. In 1503, Georg Rammler, factor in Antwerp, ordered Anthon Fonck of Cologne to recover goods of the Hirschvogel in Cologne.	
Frankfurt am Main		4	2	2	1	>1407-1536	Throughout the existence of their enterprise, the Hirschvogel were very active at the fairs of Frankfurt. Ulrich Hirschvogel was mentioned in the "Schöffenbuch" of Frankfurt am Main in 1407; and his brother Heinrich, who made many business trips to western Europe, in 1417. In 1413, Heinrich Hirschvogel was a creditor of Hans Lemchin of Frankfurt. In 1429, Ulrich personally went to Frankfurt for the renewal of the Nürnberg toll privileges. Respectively in 1443 and 1458, Wilhelm and Lienhard (I) Hirschvogel were in Frankfurt. Between 1482 and 1516, the Hirschvogel are known to have been very frequently present at the fairs of Frankfurt. They appear to have been among the most important Nürnberg merchants in Frankfurt in this period. Among the factors who attended the fairs for the company were Stefan Kraußberger (1502) and Lazarus Nürnberger (1519). Under Endres (I), business at the Frankfurt fairs was continued. Still in 1535-36, Lienhard (III) Hirschvogel and the factor Sebald Rosenzweid were active in Frankfurt.	Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 20; Schaper, 1973, 37-39, 95, 100-101, 202-204, 242, 244, 272
Bressanone		3	2	2	1	>1482<, >1518<	The Hirschvogel had connections with Georg Golser, bishop of Bressanone, and especially with his successor Melchior von Meckau. In 1482, Bernhardin Hirschvogel gave power of attorney to the clergyman Christian Thurner in Bressanone for the collection of 2,000 gold gulden. Also the lawyer Anton Baumgartner (1451-1492) was perhaps a representative of the Hirschvogel here. In 1518, Marx Dernschwamb of Bressanone was a debtor of the Hirschvogel.	Schaper, 1973, 182, 192
Florence		3	2	2	1	>1460-1465<,	The Hirschvogel had business friends in Florence. Franz Hirschvogel was	Pohl, 1967-1968,

						>1477<	sent to Florence as an apprentice in 1460-65. In 1477, Marcus Hirschvogel, destined for a career as clergyman, sent books for Hans Praun from Perugia to Florence.	113; Schaper, 1973, 179
Innsbruck		3	2	2	1	>1487<	The Hirschvogel had connections with the court in Innsbruck. In 1487, money and goods of the Hirschvogel were confiscated in Innsbruck.	Schaper, 1973, 199
Salzburg		3	2	2	1	>1455-1457<, 1496-1499<, >c.1508<	In Salzburg the Hirschvogel had connections with the Behaim, who had a branch here since the first half of the 15th century. In 1455-57 Martin (I) Behaim was regularly in Salzburg. In 1455, the factor of the Behaim in Salzburg was Michael Vischer. A letter of Vischer to Lienhard Hirschvogel and Lienhard and Martin Behaim is known from 1455. Franz Hirschvogel had close connections with Stefan Kaser of Salzburg in Venice. In 1496/97 and 1499, disputes in business matters arose between the Hirschvogel and several citizens of Salzburg. Goods of Lienhard Hirschvogel were robbed ca. 1508, probably on the road from or to Salzburg. Presumably, Bernhardin had stayed for a while in Salzburg during his life, since he left 20 fl. to the poor of Salzburg in his will.	Schaper, 1973, 103-104, 198-199
Wrocław		3	2	2	1	>1436-1444<, >1510<, >1522<	Connections existed with Wrocław. Ca. 1436-1440, Heinrich and Lienhard (I) were responsible for the Hirschvogel business in Silesia and Bohemia. In 1438 and 1441, Ivo Meltzer in Wrocław was in debt to the Hirschvogel. An agent of Lienhard Reutheimer was instructed to collect these debts in Wrocław. In 1444, the Hirschvogel sold wool and luxury textiles in Wrocław. At this time, they had connections with Heinrich Toppler the younger, Andres Zeringer and Hermann Preutigam, all active in business with Wrocław. In 1510, the factor Sebastian Winβ obtained procuration for trade with Silesia. In 1522, Jobst Wagner was sent to Wrocław for the sequestration of the goods of Hans Haller, who was in debt to the Hirschvogel.	Schaper, 1973, 42-43, 53, 101-103, 106, 196-197, 250
Berlin		2	2	1	0	>c.1518-1520<	Probably, the Hirschvogel had connections with Berlin and Brandenburg. Marx Prünster, perhaps a partner of Ulrich (I) Hirschvogel, was active in Brandenburg. In 1414, goods were seized in “markgräflichen Geleit” (Brandenburg?), perhaps on the road to Saxony. Sebastian Winβ and Joachim Prunner, both factors of the Hirschvogel, came originally from Berlin. Ca. 1518-1520, Paul Blankenfelde of Berlin was a debtor of the Hirschvogel. Ca. 1520, the Hirschvogel intended to send a factor to Berlin for the settlement of this debt.	Schaper, 1973, 36-37, 42, 105, 194-195, 250

Bohemia	M	2	2	1	0	>1411-1412<, >c.1436-1440<, after 1468	In 1411, goods sent by Heinrich Hirschvogel were seized in western Bohemia, perhaps on the road to Prague. One year later a clerk of Ulrich Hirschvogel, Markart, was captured in Bohemia. Ca. 1436-1440 (after the end of the Hussite revolt), Heinrich and Lienhard (I) were engaged in business in Silesia and Bohemia. Much later, Lienhard (II) Hirschvogel had shares in tin mines in Bohemia.	Schaper, 1973, 41-42, 52-53, 192
Bologna		2	2	1	0	>1477-1478<	The Hirschvogel sent books for Hans Praun to Bologna in 1477-1478. Perhaps the Hirschvogel were represented here by Alessandro Bianchini.	Pohl, 1967-1968, 113; Schaper, 1973, 179
Leipzig		**2** 6	**2** 3	**1** 2	**0** 1	>1414<, >1416<, >1490< >1510-1529<	- Already in 1414 and 1416, goods of the Hirschvogel were confiscated perhaps on the road to Saxony. In 1490, the Hirschvogel were creditors of Stefan Protzel, merchant of Leipzig. - In the 16th century, the Hirschvogel probably had a branch in Leipzig. Factors in Leipzig were Sebastian Winβ (1510, 1513), Joachim Prunner (1513, 1518), Christoph Spaidel (1515, 1516), Steffen Hackpenner (1516), Friedrich Krauβberger (1516, 1518-21), and Hans Beyer (1529). Moreover, the Hirschvogel had several debtors in Leipzig: Bernhard Kottwich (1503, 1510), Michael Scheffler (1508), Hans Keller (1516), and Hans Hartwich (1517).	Schaper, 1973, 42, 166, 192-194, 238, 241, 248-249, 251, 274
Perugia		2	2	1	0	>1477<	In 1477, Marcus Hirschvogel, destined for a career as clergyman, sent books for Hans Praun from Perugia, where he studied at this time, to Florence.	Pohl, 1967-1968, 113-114; Schaper, 1973, 179
Rome		2	2	1	0	>1478<, after 1525	In 1478, Lienhard (II) Hirschvogel became a member of the fellowship of the Holy Spirit in Rome. Under Endres (I), the Hirschvogel did business with Rome.	Schaper, 1973, 180, 182-183, 276
Sankt Jörgenstollen	M	2	2	1	0	1490-1499	In 1490 the Hirschvogel obtained shares in the mines of St. Jörgenstollen (Saxony) from Stefan Protzel, debtor, apparently for nine years.	Schaper, 1973, 192
Schwaz	M	2	2	1	0	>c.1484<	The Hirschvogel were probably involved in the mining business in Schwaz. Hans Salfelder (d. 1481), son-in-law of Lienhard (I) Hirschvogel, owned shares in the mining business of Schwaz, which were inherited by Hans' wife Ursula Hirschvogel ca. 1484. Lucas Hirschvogel, brother of Lienhard (II), was buried in Schwaz in 1475. Another relative of the Hirschvogel, Peter Rummel, resided in castle Sigmundslust near Schwaz since 1495. The Hirschvogel also had business connections with Florian von Waldauf, a nobleman from Tirol.	Schaper, 1973, 199-202, 248

Dresden		1	1	1	0	>c.1492<	Ca. 1492, Albrecht Neudeck (Neydeck) of Dresden was in debt to Lienhard Hirschvogel.	Schaper, 1973, 192
Hungary		1	1	1	0	>c.1422-1436>, >1455-1457<	The Hirschvogel are mentioned to have been active in Hungary ca. 1422. They were represented here by Georg Derrer (factor in the Vienna branch) before 1436. In 1455-57 Martin Behaim, nephew of Lienhard I Hirschvogel, continuously travelled between Salzburg, Carinthia, Hungary and Venice.	Schaper, 1973, 43, 51, 103-104
Maastricht		1	1	1	0	1433	In 1433, Cristan Armbauer, perhaps a partner of the Hirschvogel firm, went with merchandise of the Hirschvogel to Maastricht.	Schaper, 1973, 40, 205
Mainz		1	1	1	0	1429	In 1429, Ulrich Hirschvogel personally went to Mainz for the renewal of the Nürnberg toll privileges.	Schaper, 1973, 39
Mechelen		1	1	1	0	1477	In 1477 Martin (II) Behaim, who later became a representative of the Hirschvogel in Antwerp, was in Mechelen.	Schaper, 1973, 205, 235
Ptuj		1	1	1	0	>1455<	Lienhard (I) Hirschvogel appears to have been interested in the oxen trade of Ptuj (Pettau). In 1455, he ordered Martin Behaim to purchase oxen hides in Ptuj.	Schaper, 1973, 104-105
Radkersburg		1	1	1	0	>1455<	In 1455, Martin Behaim intended to visit the fairs of Radkersburg and St. Veit in Hungary.	Schaper, 1973, 104
Rothenburg ober der Tauber		1	1	1	0	Before 1468	Lienhard (I) Hirschvogel and Hans and Paulus Lauber took over a debt of the town of Rothenburg. Deokarus Hirschvogel married into a patrician family of Rothenburg.	Schaper, 1973, 107
Sankt Veit		1	1	1	0	>1455<	In 1455, Martin Behaim intended to visit the fairs of Radkersburg and St. Veit in Hungary.	Schaper, 1973, 104
Speyer		1	1	1	0	1429	In 1429, Ulrich Hirschvogel personally went to Speyer for the renewal of the Nürnberg toll privileges.	Schaper, 1973, 39
Vipiteno		1	1	1	0	>1444<	Hans Nock represented the Hirschvogel in Vipiteno (Sterzing) in 1444.	Schaper, 1973, 98-99
Völkermarkt		1	1	1	0	>1455<, >1457<	In 1455 and 1457, Martin Behaim travelled to Völkermarkt in Carinthia, from where he sent letters to Lienhard Hirschvogel.	Schaper, 1973, 104
Worms		1	1	1	0	1429	In 1429, Ulrich Hirschvogel personally went to Worms for the renewal of the Nürnberg toll privileges.	Schaper, 1973, 39
Zwickau		1	1	1	0	>1494<	Mathias Engel in Zwickau was in debt to Lienhard Hirschvogel in 1494.	Schaper, 1973, 192 n. 769
Annaberg	M	0	0	0	0	>1505<	Together with other creditors, the Hirschvogel obtained shares in the mines of Annaberg as a means of repayment of the debts of Bernhard Kottwich of Leipzig in 1505. The creditors appointed Wolf Ortl as their representative and factor for the mining business.	Schaper, 1973, 193

Arnemuiden		0	0	0	0	1531	In Arnemuiden, Endres Hirschvogel was represented by the Antwerp merchant Philipp Mackel in 1531.	Schaper, 1973, 277, 283
Augsburg		0	0	0	0	>1520-1529<	From 1520 to 1529, the Hirschvogel and the firm of Christoph Herwart of Augsburg jointly traded in India through their factor Georg Pock.	Schaper, 1973, 279-280
Calcutta		0	0	0	0	>1529	At the time of his death Georg Pock, factor of the Hirschvogel in India, owned goods in Calcutta.	Schaper, 1973, 161-162, 168, 229-231, 233, 246-247
Calicut		0	0	0	0	1505-1506, 1517-1518	In 1505-06, the Hirschvogel (together with the Welser, Fugger, Hochstetter, Imhoff, etc) took part in the expedition of Francisco de Almeida from Antwerp and Lisbon to the Indies, especially to Calicut. The Imhoff and Hirschvogel (who invested 2,000 ducats) were represented at this expedition by Ulrich Imhoff. In 1517-18, Lazarus Nürnberger went to the Indies as factor of the Hirschvogel with the fleet of António de Saldanha, which traded in Goa, Calicut and Cochin.	Griffin, 1988, 57-58; Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 20; Schaper, 1973, ix, 161-162, 209, 218-220, 223, 230-231, 240, 244
Cochin		0	0	0	0	1517-1518, >1522<	In 1517-18, Lazarus Nürnberger went to the Indies as factor of the Hirschvogel with the fleet of António de Saldanha, which traded in Goa, Calicut and Cochin. Georg Pock, factor of the Hirschvogel in India from 1520 until his death in 1529, sent a letter from Cochin in 1522.	Griffin, 1988, 57-58; Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 20-21; Schaper, 1973, 161-162, 168, 223, 229-233, 244, 246
Copenhagen		0	0	0	0	1506	In 1506, Georg Rammler, factor in Antwerp, gave power of attorney to Arnd Harck, citizen of Copenhagen, for the collection of 70 fl. which were owed to the Hirschvogel by the sculptor Aert van Aerschot, who had died in Denmark.	Schaper, 1973, 217, 239
France		0	0	0	0	>1508<	Details about the Hirschvogel trade with France are not known. However, in 1508 the factor Eberhart Bassat made a business journey to Portugal, Spain, France and Flanders, and in the same year Gerhard Booβ obtained a procuration for a business journey to France, Portugal and England as factor of the Hirschvogel.	Schaper, 1973, 235, 237
Geyer	M	0	0	0	0	>1505<	Together with other creditors, the Hirschvogel obtained shares in the mines of Geyer as a means of repayment of the debts of Bernhard Kottwich of Leipzig in 1505. The creditors appointed Wolf Ortl as their representative and factor for the mining business.	Schaper, 1973, 193
Goa		0	0	0	0	1517-1518	In 1517-18, Lazarus Nürnberger went to the Indies as factor of the Hirschvogel with the fleet of António de Saldanha, which traded in Goa,	Griffin, 1988, 57-58; Kellenbenz & Walter,

							Calicut and Cochin.	2001, 20; Schaper, 1973, 161-162, 223, 231, 244
Lisbon		0	0	0	0	>1505-1532<	Branch. The Hirschvogel were perhaps already represented in Lisbon around 1505 by Ulrich Imhoff. In 1506, Wolfgang Behaim, brother of Martin (II), was sent by the Hirschvogel as factor to Lisbon. Both Imhoff and Behaim died in Lisbon in 1507. Factor in Lisbon from 1507 was perhaps Clas Humprecht, Ulrich Ehinger, or Sebald Kneussel. Later factors were Ulrich Nenndinger (1514), Lazarus Nürnberger (1515-16, 1518, 1520), Joachim Prunner (1517-18), Georg Pock (ca. 1517-1520), Friedrich Löner (1520-ca. 1525), Hans Meurl (perhaps 1527), Jobst Tetzel (1530), Benedikt Meurl (1530) and Andrea Alantse (1532). After 1532, the Hirschvogel are not mentioned anymore in Lisbon.	Griffin, 1988, 57-58; Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 20-21; Schaper, 1973, 166, 168, 209-210, 212, 219-226, 229-230, 236-237, 240, 243, 246-248, 278-281, 283-285; Seibold, 1977b, 350
London		0	0	0	0	>1505<, >1508<, >1511<, >1524<	In 1508 the factor Gerhard Booβ obtained a procuration for a business journey to France, Portugal and England, while in 1511 the Hirschvogel were represented in London by the Florentine merchant Giovanni Cavalcanti. Already in 1505 Robbrecht Silvester, merchant of London, was in debt to the Hirschvogel. In 1524, the Hirschvogel sent a letter to king Henry of England.	Schaper, 1973, 218, 237-238, 218 n. 863
Loreto		0	0	0	0	after 1525	Under Endres (I), the Hirschvogel did business with Loreto (near Ancona). Perhaps their factor in Loreto was Michael Erckel.	Schaper, 1973, 180, 192, 276
Magdeburg		0	0	0	0	>1525<	In 1525, Hans Jung of Magdeburg was a debtor of the Hirschvogel.	Schaper, 1973, 194
Schleusingen	T	0	0	0	0	c.1517	Linen was produced for the Hirschvogel in Schleusingen ca. 1517.	Schaper, 1973, 234
Sevilla		0	0	0	0	1520-1526	Already in 1508, Eberhart Bassat made a journey for the Hirschvogel to Spain. In 1518 the factor Lazarus Nürnberger went from Lisbon to Andalusia. In 1520 he was sent to Sevilla, where he was a factor for the Hirschvogel at least until 1526. Although he later began working for other companies and for his own account, Nürnberger was still in contact with Endres (II) Hirschvogel after the dissolution of the Hirschvogel company.	Griffin, 1988, 57-58; Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 20; Schaper, 1973, 230, 235, 244-245, 281
Vijayanagar		0	0	0	0	>1521<, >1529	Georg Pock, factor of the Hirschvogel in India from 1520 until his death in 1529, was in Vijayanagar in 1521. At the time of his death in 1529, Georg Pock owned goods in Vijayanagar.	Schaper, 1973, 161-162, 168, 229-233, 246-247
Złoty Stok	M	0	0	0	0	c.1510	For a short time, the Hirschvogel obtained shares in the mines of Złoty Stok (Reichenstein) in Silesia.	Schaper, 1973, 193, 196

Table A..3. Network of the Hirschvogel, 16th century (ca. 1500 – ca. 1537) (especially before ca. 1525)								
City	**R**	**Score**				**Period**	**Type of presence**	**References**
Nürnberg		8	4	3	1	Begin 15th c.-c.1537	Headquarters. The house of the Hirschvogel in Nürnberg was located at the Barfüßerbrücke.	Schaper, 1973, 9-15, 162
Antwerp		6	3	2	1	>1484-first half 1530s	Branch. The Hirschvogel became active in Antwerp in the last quarter of the 15th century. Martin (II) Behaim (b. 1459), a relative of the Hirschvogel, was in Antwerp in 1479. In 1484 the latest, he traded in merchandise for the Hirschvogel here, but later that year he went to Portugal. The connections of the Hirschvogel with Antwerp become more clear from 1488. In this year, Lienhard (II) himself went to Antwerp. By 1490, the business of the Hirschvogel in Antwerp must have been considerable, and probably they already had a branch here. Factors were Georg Rammler (1490-94, 1505-08), Anton Ullstadt (1491), Hans Fridach (1494), Stefan Krauβberger (1507, 1518), Jacob Humprecht (1511-1515), Sebastian Winβ (1512), Joachim Prunner (1512), Friedrich Krauβberger (from 1513, 1519-1521), Georg Pock (1517), Hans Behmer (1522), and Michael Erckel (ca. 1525-1530). The Hirschvogel branch in Antwerp was located in the house "Witte Valck" in the Cammenstraat. By 1529, the Hirschvogel had sold their house in Antwerp however. During the first half of the 1530s, the business of the Hirschvogel in Antwerp died out.	Grote, 1961, 36; Schaper, 1973, 161-162, 187, 194, 205-217, 223, 225, 235-239, 241-242, 246, 248-251, 276-278, 283
Leipzig		2 **6**	2 **3**	1 **2**	0 **1**	>1414<, >1416<, >1490< >1510-1529<	- Already in 1414 and 1416, goods of the Hirschvogel were confiscated perhaps on the road to Saxony. In 1490, the Hirschvogel were creditors of Stefan Protzel, merchant of Leipzig. - In the 16th century, the Hirschvogel probably had a branch in Leipzig. Factors in Leipzig were Sebastian Winβ (1510, 1513), Joachim Prunner (1513, 1518), Christoph Spaidel (1515, 1516), Steffen Hackpenner (1516), Friedrich Krauβberger (1516, 1518-21), and Hans Beyer (1529). Moreover, the Hirschvogel had several debtors in Leipzig: Bernhard Kottwich (1503, 1510), Michael Scheffler (1508), Hans Keller (1516), and Hans Hartwich (1517).	Schaper, 1973, 42, 166, 192-194, 238, 241, 248-249, 251, 274
Lisbon		6	3	2	1	>1505-1532<	Branch. The Hirschvogel were perhaps already represented in Lisbon around 1505 by Ulrich Imhoff. In 1506, Wolfgang Behaim, brother of Martin (II), was sent by the Hirschvogel as factor to Lisbon. Both Imhoff and Behaim	Griffin, 1988, 57-58; Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 20-21; Schaper,

							died in Lisbon in 1507. Factor in Lisbon from 1507 was perhaps Clas Humprecht, Ulrich Ehinger, or Sebald Kneussel. Later factors were Ulrich Nenndinger (1514), Lazarus Nürnberger (1515-16, 1518, 1520), Joachim Prunner (1517-18), Georg Pock (ca. 1517-1520), Friedrich Löner (1520-ca. 1525), Hans Meurl (perhaps 1527), Jobst Tetzel (1530), Benedikt Meurl (1530) and Andrea Alantse (1532). After 1532, the Hirschvogel are not mentioned anymore in Lisbon.	1973, 166, 168, 209-210, 212, 219-226, 229-230, 236-237, 240, 243, 246-248, 278-281, 283-285; Seibold, 1977b, 350
Venice		6	3	2	1	>1409-1537	Branch. Venice was a main centre for the Hirschvogel business. Ulrich Hirschvogel was already active in Venice by 1409, and his sons Lienhard and Deokarus were sent as apprentices to Venice sometime after 1415. In this early period, the business of the Hirschvogel with Venice was often hampered by the conflict between Venice and king Sigismund however, and more than once they were ordered to leave Venice or punished by the Nürnberg council for illicit trade with Venice (e.g. in 1418, 1420). In the 1420s and 1430s, the Hirschvogel were represented in Venice by Georg Derrer (in 1436) and Lienhard (I). In 1442, Lienhard and Deokarus were in Venice, but by the end of the year Deokarus was replaced by Bartholomäus Hirschvogel. By this time, the Hirschvogel probably had an office in the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi*. Ca. 1456, the Hirschvogel were represented in Venice by Martin Behaim, who made several trips to Venice, and by Michael Vischer (factor of the Behaim) and Heinz Eberhart. From ca. 1465, the Hirschvogel were more or less permanently represented by one, and later even two, of the sons of Lienhard (I), Lienhard (II) and Franz, the former of whom was replaced by Bernhardin ca. 1471. In addition, Georg Rammler was in Venice as a factor of the Hirschvogel. From the 1480s, the Hirschvogel appear to have played an increasingly important role in Venice. Franz became consul of the Germans in Venice in 1504-1505. In the new *Fondaco dei Tedeschi*, built in 1505, the Hirschvogel obtained one of the 5 rooms at the first floor, as well as a storage room in the basement. Not much is known about the business of the Hirschvogel in Venice after 1505. Nevertheless, they remained active here (e.g. Bernhardin in 1506, Endres (I)). Representatives in Venice under Endres (I) were Johann Spaidel and Anton Muffel. The Hirschvogel establishment in Venice was dissolved in 1537.	Pohl, 1967-1968, 111 n. 179; Schaper, 1973, 35-36, 40-41, 43-49, 51, 95-97, 99-100, 105, 161-162, 170, 174-181, 184-192, 207, 216, 248-249, 274-275, 284-285
Frankfurt am		4	2	2	1	>1407-1536	Throughout the existence of their enterprise, the Hirschvogel were very	Kellenbenz & Walter,

Main							active at the fairs of Frankfurt. Ulrich Hirschvogel was mentioned in the "Schöffenbuch" of Frankfurt am Main in 1407; and his brother Heinrich, who made many business trips to western Europe, in 1417. In 1413, Heinrich Hirschvogel was a creditor of Hans Lemchin of Frankfurt. In 1429, Ulrich personally went to Frankfurt for the renewal of the Nürnberg toll privileges. Respectively in 1443 and 1458, Wilhelm and Lienhard (I) Hirschvogel were in Frankfurt. Between 1482 and 1516, the Hirschvogel are known to have been very frequently present at the fairs of Frankfurt. They appear to have been among the most important Nürnberg merchants in Frankfurt in this period. Among the factors who attended the fairs for the company were Stefan Krauβberger (1502) and Lazarus Nürnberger (1519). Under Endres (I), business at the Frankfurt fairs was continued. Still in 1535-36, Lienhard (III) Hirschvogel and the factor Sebald Rosenzweid were active in Frankfurt.	2001, 20; Schaper, 1973, 37-39, 95, 100-101, 202-204, 242, 244, 272
Sevilla		4	2	2	1	1520-1526	Already in 1508, Eberhart Bassat made a journey for the Hirschvogel to Spain. In 1518 the factor Lazarus Nürnberger went from Lisbon to Andalusia. In 1520 he was sent to Sevilla, where he was a factor for the Hirschvogel at least until 1526. Although he later began working for other companies and for his own account, Nürnberger was still in contact with Endres (II) Hirschvogel after the dissolution of the Hirschvogel company.	Griffin, 1988, 57-58; Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 20; Schaper, 1973, 230, 235, 244-245, 281
Bressanone		3	2	2	1	>1482<, >1518<	The Hirschvogel had connections with Georg Golser, bishop of Bressanone, and especially with his successor Melchior von Meckau. In 1482, Bernhardin Hirschvogel gave power of attorney to the clergyman Christian Thurner in Bressanone for the collection of 2,000 gold gulden. Also the lawyer Anton Baumgartner (1451-1492) was perhaps a representative of the Hirschvogel here. In 1518, Marx Dernschwamb of Bressanone was a debtor of the Hirschvogel.	Schaper, 1973, 182, 192
Calicut		3	2	2	1	1505-1506, 1517-1518	In 1505-06, the Hirschvogel (together with the Welser, Fugger, Hochstetter, Imhoff, etc) took part in the expedition of Francisco de Almeida from Antwerp and Lisbon to the Indies, especially to Calicut. The Imhoff and Hirschvogel (who invested 2,000 ducats) were represented at this expedition by Ulrich Imhoff. In 1517-18, Lazarus Nürnberger went to the Indies as factor of the Hirschvogel with the fleet of António de Saldanha, which traded in Goa, Calicut and Cochin.	Griffin, 1988, 57-58; Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 20; Schaper, 1973, ix, 161-162, 209, 218-220, 223, 230-231, 240, 244
Cochin		3	2	2	1	1517-1518,	In 1517-18, Lazarus Nürnberger went to the Indies as factor of the	Griffin, 1988, 57-58;

						>1522<	Hirschvogel with the fleet of António de Saldanha, which traded in Goa, Calicut and Cochin. Georg Pock, factor of the Hirschvogel in India from 1520 until his death in 1529, sent a letter from Cochin in 1522.	Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 20-21; Schaper, 1973, 161-162, 168, 223, 229-233, 244, 246
Cologne		5 **3**	3 **2**	2 **2**	1 **1**	>1408-1441< >1503<	- In the first half of the 15th century, the Hirschvogel were very active in Cologne. Probably, they even had a *Faktorei* here. In Cologne and Frankfurt, the Hirschvogel were especially represented by Heinrich Hirschvogel, brother of Ulrich, and later by Wilhelm Hirschvogel, brother of Lienhard (I). Already in 1408, Bartholomäus von Bunne had a debt to Ulrich Hirschvogel in Cologne. Ca. 1419-20, Heinrich Hirschvogel was involved in business with Cologne. In 1429, 1430, 1431, 1435 and 1436, Ulrich Hirschvogel personally went to Cologne for the annual renewal of the Nürnberg toll privileges. After 1436 (1437-39, 1441), this practice was continued by Ulrich's son Wilhelm, who also later represented the company in the Rhineland. - Nothing is known about the activities of the Hirschvogel in Cologne after the death of Wilhelm in 1449, but probably some connection remained. In 1503, Georg Rammler, factor in Antwerp, ordered Anthon Fonck of Cologne to recover goods of the Hirschvogel in Cologne.	Schaper, 1973, 37-40, 53, 95, 100, 212 n. 845
London		3	2	2	1	>1505<, >1508<, >1511<, >1524<	In 1508 the factor Gerhard Booβ obtained a procuration for a business journey to France, Portugal and England, while in 1511 the Hirschvogel were represented in London by the Florentine merchant Giovanni Cavalcanti. Already in 1505 Robbrecht Silvester, merchant of London, was in debt to the Hirschvogel. In 1524, the Hirschvogel sent a letter to king Henry of England.	Schaper, 1973, 218, 237-238, 218 n. 863
Rome		3	2	2	1	>1478<, after 1525	In 1478, Lienhard (II) Hirschvogel became a member of the fellowship of the Holy Spirit in Rome. Under Endres (I), the Hirschvogel did business with Rome.	Schaper, 1973, 180, 182-183, 276
Wrocław		3	2	2	1	>1436-1444<, >1510<, >1522<	Connections existed with Wrocław. Ca. 1436-1440, Heinrich and Lienhard (I) were responsible for the Hirschvogel business in Silesia and Bohemia. In 1438 and 1441, Ivo Meltzer in Wrocław was in debt to the Hirschvogel. An agent of Lienhard Reutheimer was instructed to collect these debts in Wrocław. In 1444, the Hirschvogel sold wool and luxury textiles in Wrocław. At this time, they had connections with Heinrich Toppler the	Schaper, 1973, 42-43, 53, 101-103, 106, 196-197, 250

							younger, Andres Zeringer and Hermann Preutigam, all active in business with Wrocław. In 1510, the factor Sebastian Winβ obtained procuration for trade with Silesia. In 1522, Jobst Wagner was sent to Wrocław for the sequestration of the goods of Hans Haller, who was in debt to the Hirschvogel.	
Annaberg	M	2	2	1	0	>1505<	Together with other creditors, the Hirschvogel obtained shares in the mines of Annaberg as a means of repayment of the debts of Bernhard Kottwich of Leipzig in 1505. The creditors appointed Wolf Ortl as their representative and factor for the mining business.	Schaper, 1973, 193
Augsburg		2	2	1	0	>1520-1529<	From 1520 to 1529, the Hirschvogel and the firm of Christoph Herwart of Augsburg jointly traded in India through their factor Georg Pock.	Schaper, 1973, 279-280
Berlin		2	2	1	0	>c.1518-1520<	Probably, the Hirschvogel had connections with Berlin and Brandenburg. Marx Prünster, perhaps a partner of Ulrich (I) Hirschvogel, was active in Brandenburg. In 1414, goods were seized in “markgräflichen Geleit” (Brandenburg?), perhaps on the road to Saxony. Sebastian Winβ and Joachim Prunner, both factors of the Hirschvogel, came originally from Berlin. Ca. 1518-1520, Paul Blankenfelde of Berlin was a debtor of the Hirschvogel. Ca. 1520, the Hirschvogel intended to send a factor to Berlin for the settlement of this debt.	Schaper, 1973, 36-37, 42, 105, 194-195, 250
Bohemia	M	2	2	1	0	>1411-1412<, >c.1436-1440<, after 1468	In 1411, goods sent by Heinrich Hirschvogel were seized in western Bohemia, perhaps on the road to Prague. One year later a clerk of Ulrich Hirschvogel, Markart, was captured in Bohemia. Ca. 1436-1440 (after the end of the Hussite revolt), Heinrich and Lienhard (I) were engaged in business in Silesia and Bohemia. Much later, Lienhard (II) Hirschvogel had shares in tin mines in Bohemia.	Schaper, 1973, 41-42, 52-53, 192
Copenhagen		2	2	1	0	1506	In 1506, Georg Rammler, factor in Antwerp, gave power of attorney to Arnd Harck, citizen of Copenhagen, for the collection of 70 fl. which were owed to the Hirschvogel by the sculptor Aert van Aerschot, who had died in Denmark.	Schaper, 1973, 217, 239
France		2	2	1	0	>1508<	Details about the Hirschvogel trade with France are not known. However, in 1508 the factor Eberhart Bassat made a business journey to Portugal, Spain, France and Flanders, and in the same year Gerhard Booβ obtained a procuration for a business journey to France, Portugal and England as factor of the Hirschvogel.	Schaper, 1973, 235, 237
Geyer	M	2	2	1	0	>1505<	Together with other creditors, the Hirschvogel obtained shares in the mines	Schaper, 1973, 193

							of Geyer as a means of repayment of the debts of Bernhard Kottwich of Leipzig in 1505. The creditors appointed Wolf Ortl as their representative and factor for the mining business.	
Goa		2	2	1	0	1517-1518	In 1517-18, Lazarus Nürnberger went to the Indies as factor of the Hirschvogel with the fleet of António de Saldanha, which traded in Goa, Calicut and Cochin.	Griffin, 1988, 57-58; Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 20; Schaper, 1973, 161-162, 223, 231, 244
Loreto		2	2	1	0	after 1525	Under Endres (I), the Hirschvogel did business with Loreto (near Ancona). Perhaps their factor in Loreto was Michael Erckel.	Schaper, 1973, 180, 192, 276
Salzburg		2	2	1	0	>1455-1457<, 1496-1499<, >c.1508<	In Salzburg the Hirschvogel had connections with the Behaim, who had a branch here since the first half of the 15th century. In 1455-57 Martin (I) Behaim was regularly in Salzburg. In 1455, the factor of the Behaim in Salzburg was Michael Vischer. A letter of Vischer to Lienhard Hirschvogel and Lienhard and Martin Behaim is known from 1455. Franz Hirschvogel had close connections with Stefan Kaser of Salzburg in Venice. In 1496/97 and 1499, disputes in business matters arose between the Hirschvogel and several citizens of Salzburg. Goods of Lienhard Hirschvogel were robbed ca. 1508, probably on the road from or to Salzburg. Presumably, Bernhardin had stayed for a while in Salzburg during his life, since he left 20 fl. to the poor of Salzburg in his will.	Schaper, 1973, 103-104, 198-199
Schleusingen	T	2	2	1	0	c.1517	Linen was produced for the Hirschvogel in Schleusingen ca. 1517.	Schaper, 1973, 234
Vijayanagar		2	2	1	0	>1521<, >1529	Georg Pock, factor of the Hirschvogel in India from 1520 until his death in 1529, was in Vijayanagar in 1521. At the time of his death in 1529, Georg Pock owned goods in Vijayanagar.	Schaper, 1973, 161-162, 168, 229-233, 246-247
Arnemuiden		1	1	1	0	1531	In Arnemuiden, Endres Hirschvogel was represented by the Antwerp merchant Philipp Mackel in 1531.	Schaper, 1973, 277, 283
Calcutta		1	1	1	0	>1529	At the time of his death Georg Pock, factor of the Hirschvogel in India, owned goods in Calcutta.	Schaper, 1973, 161-162, 168, 229-231, 233, 246-247
Magdeburg		1	1	1	0	>1525<	In 1525, Hans Jung of Magdeburg was a debtor of the Hirschvogel.	Schaper, 1973, 194
Złoty Stok	M	1	1	1	0	c.1510	For a short time, the Hirschvogel obtained shares in the mines of Złoty Stok (Reichenstein) in Silesia.	Schaper, 1973, 193, 196
Bologna		0	0	0	0	>1477-1478<	The Hirschvogel sent books for Hans Praun to Bologna in 1477-1478. Perhaps the Hirschvogel were represented here by Alessandro Bianchini.	Pohl, 1967-1968, 113; Schaper, 1973,

								179
Dresden		0	0	0	0	>c.1492<	Ca. 1492, Albrecht Neudeck (Neydeck) of Dresden was in debt to Lienhard Hirschvogel.	Schaper, 1973, 192
Florence		0	0	0	0	>1460-1465<, >1477<	The Hirschvogel had business friends in Florence. Franz Hirschvogel was sent to Florence as an apprentice in 1460-65. In 1477, Marcus Hirschvogel, destined for a career as clergyman, sent books for Hans Praun from Perugia to Florence.	Pohl, 1967-1968, 113; Schaper, 1973, 179
Hungary		0	0	0	0	>c.1422-1436>, >1455-1457<	The Hirschvogel are mentioned to have been active in Hungary ca. 1422. They were represented here by Georg Derrer (factor in the Vienna branch) before 1436. In 1455-57 Martin Behaim, nephew of Lienhard I Hirschvogel, continuously travelled between Salzburg, Carinthia, Hungary and Venice.	Schaper, 1973, 43, 51, 103-104
Innsbruck		0	0	0	0	>1487<	The Hirschvogel had connections with the court in Innsbruck. In 1487, money and goods of the Hirschvogel were confiscated in Innsbruck.	Schaper, 1973, 199
Maastricht		0	0	0	0	1433	In 1433, Cristan Armbauer, perhaps a partner of the Hirschvogel firm, went with merchandise of the Hirschvogel to Maastricht.	Schaper, 1973, 40, 205
Mainz		0	0	0	0	1429	In 1429, Ulrich Hirschvogel personally went to Mainz for the renewal of the Nürnberg toll privileges.	Schaper, 1973, 39
Mechelen		0	0	0	0	1477	In 1477 Martin (II) Behaim, who later became a representative of the Hirschvogel in Antwerp, was in Mechelen.	Schaper, 1973, 205, 235
Perugia		0	0	0	0	>1477<	In 1477, Marcus Hirschvogel, destined for a career as clergyman, sent books for Hans Praun from Perugia, where he studied at this time, to Florence.	Pohl, 1967-1968, 113-114; Schaper, 1973, 179
Ptuj		0	0	0	0	>1455<	Lienhard (I) Hirschvogel appears to have been interested in the oxen trade of Ptuj (Pettau). In 1455, he ordered Martin Behaim to purchase oxen hides in Ptuj.	Schaper, 1973, 104-105
Radkersburg		0	0	0	0	>1455<	In 1455, Martin Behaim intended to visit the fairs of Radkersburg and St. Veit in Hungary.	Schaper, 1973, 104
Rothenburg ober der Tauber		0	0	0	0	Before 1468	Lienhard (I) Hirschvogel and Hans and Paulus Lauber took over a debt of the town of Rothenburg. Deokarus Hirschvogel married into a patrician family of Rothenburg.	Schaper, 1973, 107
Sankt Jörgenstollen	M	0	0	0	0	1490-1499	In 1490 the Hirschvogel obtained shares in the mines of St. Jörgenstollen (Saxony) from Stefan Protzel, debtor, apparently for nine years.	Schaper, 1973, 192
Sankt Veit		0	0	0	0	>1455<	In 1455, Martin Behaim intended to visit the fairs of Radkersburg and St. Veit in Hungary.	Schaper, 1973, 104
Schwaz	M	0	0	0	0	>c.1484<	The Hirschvogel were probably involved in the mining business in Schwaz.	Schaper, 1973, 199-

							Hans Salfelder (d. 1481), son-in-law of Lienhard (I) Hirschvogel, owned shares in the mining business of Schwaz, which were inherited by Hans' wife Ursula Hirschvogel ca. 1484. Lucas Hirschvogel, brother of Lienhard (II), was buried in Schwaz in 1475. Another relative of the Hirschvogel, Peter Rummel, resided in castle Sigmundslust near Schwaz since 1495. The Hirschvogel also had business connections with Florian von Waldauf, a nobleman from Tirol.	202, 248
Speyer		0	0	0	0	1429	In 1429, Ulrich Hirschvogel personally went to Speyer for the renewal of the Nürnberg toll privileges.	Schaper, 1973, 39
Vienna		0	0	0	0	>1420s-1436<, >c.1462-1485<	Branch. Vienna was of great importance for the business of the Hirschvogel in the 15th century, and they established a branch here. In the 1420s, Georg Derrer worked in the *Faktorei* in Vienna, and perhaps he became branch manager in 1429, when he married a daughter of Ulrich (I) Hirschvogel. However, after the death of Ulrich in 1436 Derrer began an independent business in Austria, and it is not known whether the Hirschvogel continued their own business here afterwards. Ca. 1462, the Hirschvogel definitely were represented again in Vienna, notably by Ulrich (II), who was later joined by his brother Hans (died in Vienna in 1477). After the death of Ulrich in 1485, the branch in Vienna was probably staffed by factors. Perhaps Bernhard Hirschvogel became involved in business with the east as well in this period.	Schaper, 1973, 43, 51, 177, 197-198
Vipiteno		0	0	0	0	>1444<	Hans Nock represented the Hirschvogel in Vipiteno (Sterzing) in 1444.	Schaper, 1973, 98-99
Völkermarkt		0	0	0	0	>1455<, >1457<	In 1455 and 1457, Martin Behaim travelled to Völkermarkt in Carinthia, from where he sent letters to Lienhard Hirschvogel.	Schaper, 1973, 104
Worms		0	0	0	0	1429	In 1429, Ulrich Hirschvogel personally went to Worms for the renewal of the Nürnberg toll privileges.	Schaper, 1973, 39
Zwickau		0	0	0	0	>1494<	Mathias Engel in Zwickau was in debt to Lienhard Hirschvogel in 1494.	Schaper, 1973, 192 n. 769

IMHOFF, mid 14th century – ca. 1635

The Imhoff family (also Incuria, etc), originally from Lauingen, where they are mentioned already in the 13th century, was an important merchant and political family of Nürnberg from the middle of the 14th until the beginning of the 18th century. Due to the decline of Lauingen as a commercial centre, several members of the Imhoff family moved to Nürnberg in the course of the 14th century. In the second half of the 14th century, the brothers Hans (II) (1330-1389) and Heinrich Imhoff became active as businessmen, respectively in Nürnberg and Lauingen. The family business was continued by the sons of Hans (II), especially Hans (III) (d. 1398) and Conrad (I) Imhoff (d. 1396), who founded a partnership in 1381. This partnership was very successful, although several older Nürnberg companies (such as the Mendel, Kress, Pirckheimer and Stromer, the latter of whom appears to have employed several members of the Imhoff family up to the early 15th century) at this period were in difficulties. After the death of Conrad (I) and Hans (III), the business came in the hands of Conrad (II) Imhoff (d. 1449), son of Conrad (I), who maintained close ties with the sons of Hans (III). By the middle of the 15th century, the Imhoff firm was taken over by the sons of Conrad (II) Imhoff, Conrad (III) (d. 1486), Hans (IV) (1419-1499), Paulus and Ludwig, who established a new partnership. While Conrad (III) was frequently on the move to Venice and Central Europe, his brother Hans (IV) took care of the management of the company in Nürnberg. After the death of Hans (IV) in 1499, his sons Peter, Hans (V), Ludwig, Hieronymus, Franz and Simon continued the firm under the name "Peter Imhoff und Gebrüder". Nevertheless, the *de facto* manager of the company was not Peter (1444-1528), but his younger brother Hans (V) (1461-1522). Andreas Imhoff the elder (1491-1579), son of Hans (V), who became active in the Imhoff company at a very young age, took over the management of the firm after the death of his father in 1522. In 1528, the partnership changed its name into "Andreas Imhoff und Mitverwandte". Under Andreas the elder, who was a very talented businessman, the Imhoff firm reached its apogee. Large losses were suffered in 1562 however. Andreas the elder was succeeded as head of the company by his son Andreas (II) (1529-1597) ca. 1570 and later by his grandson Andreas (III) (1562-1637). The Imhoff business was largely dissolved ca. 1635. By this time the brothers Wilhelm (I) and Andreas (III) had increasingly become rentiers rather than merchants. Nevertheless, an Imhoff company was still active in Nürnberg under Johann Christoph von Imhoff (1659-1736) around 1700 (Ehrenberg, 1928, 168-169, 172; Seibold, 1977a, 30, 47; Id., 1977b, 165-166; Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 8; Von Imhoff, 1975, 1-4, 6-9, 17-19, 21, 23-27, 31-33, 39-40).

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Source material:

Information on the Imhoff has been preserved in several archives of Nürnberg, especially in the Imhoff Familienarchiv in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum of Nürnberg. Among the most interesting documents that have been preserved are a secret account book (1519-1527) of Andreas the elder, a family history – the Genealogia Imhofiana – begun by Andreas the elder in 1565, and a number of private letters written by Andreas the elder and Gabriel Imhoff in Lyon to Friedrich Behaim (1516-1521) (Müller, 1916, 154-156; Von Imhoff, 1975, 2 n. 5).

Size: Large

The Imhoff, who began their career in the shadow and the framework of other southern German firms (especially the Stromer firm), became independent from these links with other companies under Conrad (II) in the first half of the 15th century. From then on, the Imhoff firm was one of the largest companies of Nürnberg for more than 150 years. During the next three generations, the business experienced a marked growth. At the end of the 15th firm, the Imhoff and Tucher firms were the two largest firms of Nürnberg. Ca. 1500, the social capital of the firm amounted to 50,000 to 60,000 fl. By the middle of the 16th century, the capital of the Imhoff company totalled between 150,000 and 200,000 fl. (Seibold, 1977a, 30; Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 8; Von Imhoff, 1975, 21, 32, 33 n. 95).

Main activities:

- Commerce: During the 14th century, Hans (II) Imhoff traded especially in textiles (e.g. linen of Lauingen), spices, cotton and other raw materials, and finished products from Nürnberg, as well as in salt (together with his brother Heinrich in Lauingen). Since the second half of the 15th century the Imhoff became heavily involved in the saffron trade. Nevertheless, in the 16th century the Imhoff mainly traded in the same goods as 150 years before: spices (especially pepper and saffron), textiles (silks, velvet, linen from Lauingen), woad, alum, leather, hides, wine from the Main region and southern Europe, southern fruits, precious metals, mining products, weapons, finished products from Nürnberg, paper, etc. Compared to several other large Nürnberg firms, the Imhoff for a longer time remained active in commerce rather than finance, and under Andreas (II) and Andreas (III) the Imhoff trade in raw materials even expanded (Ehrenberg, 1928, 168; Harreld, 2004, 75, 140-141; Müller, 1916, 161; Schaper, 1973, 169-170; Von Imhoff, 1975, 8, 16, 27, 33-34).
- Finance: Under Andreas the elder, the Imhoff became increasingly involved in financial activities. They became creditors of the German Emperor and the kings of Spain and Portugal, while the Augsburg branch of the family supplied money to the French kings. Loans were also provided to the court of Brussels and the towns of Nürnberg and Antwerp. Andreas (I) was careful enough however to remove his profits from the capital of the firm and to reinvest them in the form of deposits, or even to withdraw them completely from the business. Andreas the elder was also engaged in speculation in bills of exchange, which provided him with large profits (Ehrenberg, 1928, 168-172; Harreld, 2004, 174, 176-177; Von Imhoff, 1975, 32-33).
- Industry: The Imhoff were strongly engaged in the mining industry of eastern Europe. They were members of the Gräfenthaler Saigerhandelsgesellschaft. (Seibold, 1977a, 26-45; Von Imhoff, 1975, 18).

Network of the Imhoff:

Hans (II) Imhoff (1330-1389) was active in the area between Prague, Strasbourg, Frankfurt and Cologne, where he visited in person many large and small fairs, and where he conducted most of the trade himself. The sons of Hans (II) carried out business together and founded a partnership: Hans (III) – establishing the eastern business of the Imhoff – represented the company in Central Europe, Conrad (I) was active in the south (especially Venice), and Ulrich visited Cologne and Venice. The fourth brother Niklas, burgomaster of Nürnberg, represented the business interests of his brothers in the sphere of urban politics. Already before the end of the 15th century, the Imhoff enterprise was organised as a multi-branch company, whereby correspondence and accountancy were organised according to Italian examples. Around 1500, when the company increasingly removed its activities from Central Europe to the west and even the Indies, the firm of Hans (V) became large enough to employ several members of the family (brothers, sons and nephews) in the branches (Schaper, 1973, 163; Von Imhoff, 1975, 11, 16-20, 25-27, 30).

Table A..1. Network of the Imhoff, mid 14th century – end 16th century (especially ca. 1499 – ca. 1570)

City	R	Score	Period	Type of presence	References

Nürnberg		8	4	3	1	mid 14th c.-c.1635	Hans (II) Imhoff went to Nürnberg ca. 1350, where he became active in long-distance trade in the second half of the 14th century. The headquarters of the Imhoff in Nürnberg were located subsequently near the St. Lorenz church (under Hans (III) and Conrad (I)), and on the Egidienberg (from ca. 1500).	Ehrenberg, 1928, 168; Müller, 1916, 154; Von Imhoff, 1975, 7, 15-16, 19, 27, 33
Amsterdam		6	3	2	1	16th c.	The Imhoff established a branch in Amsterdam in the course of the 16th century.	Von Imhoff, 1975, 27
Antwerp		6	3	2	1	>1503-1555<	Ulrich Imhoff, son of Conrad (III), did his apprenticeship in Venice and Antwerp at the end of the 15th century. A branch was established in Antwerp in the early 16th century. A certain Conrad Imhoff bought a house in the "Vlamincstrate" in Antwerp in 1503, and was owner of a large house "opt Clapdorp" in 1527. Ca. 1508, Hans Imhoff represented the interests of the Nürnberg merchants in Antwerp. In 1512, he still represented the firm of Peter Imhoff here. Later factors of the Imhoff in Antwerp were Hans Haussner (ca. 1518), Sebald Kneussel (1519), a certain Bair (?), and Paul Behaim (1549). The Imhoff were the sixth largest exporters from Antwerp to Germany in 1543-45. In 1553-55, they still had an agent in Antwerp. In Antwerp the Imhoff were especially active as large-scale pepper merchants (they dominated the spice trade between Antwerp and Nürnberg) and as financiers on the Antwerp Bourse.	Ammann, 1928, 6-7; Ehrenberg, 1928, 147, 169-171, 175; Harreld, 2004, 74-75, 80, 140-141, 174, 176-177; Kellenbenz, 1990, 437; Müller, 1916, 164; Puttevils, 2007, 144; Schaper, 1973, 212, 225, 228; Von Imhoff, 1975, 25, 27
L'Aquila		6	3	2	1	c.1500-1546<	Ca. 1500, the Imhoff established a branch in L'Aquila, which was especially involved in the saffron trade. Andreas the elder very frequently stayed in L'Aquila between 1509 and 1514. The *Faktorei* in L'Aquila still existed in 1546. Representative in 1545-46 was Hieronymus Imhoff.	Müller, 1916, 159, 161-162, 175-179; Von Imhoff, 1975, 27
Bari		6	3	2	1	c.1500-1522<	Ca. 1500, the Imhoff established a branch in Bari, which was especially involved in the saffron trade. The main representative of the Imhoff in Bari was Ludwig Imhoff (1466-1533), brother of Hans (V). Andreas the elder several times went to Bari (1510-1511, 1521-1522).	Müller, 1916, 159, 175-179; Von Imhoff, 1975, 27, 31
Brno		6	3	2	1	from before 1500	In Brno (Brünn), the Imhoff established a branch before ca. 1500.	Von Imhoff, 1975, 27
Linz		6	3	2	1	from before 1500	In Linz, the Imhoff established a branch before ca. 1500.	Von Imhoff, 1975, 27
Lisbon		6	3	2	1	>c.1500-1519<	A branch was established by the Imhoff in Lisbon ca. 1500. The first representative of the Imhoff in Lisbon was Ulrich Imhoff (d. 1507 in Lisbon), son of Conrad (III), who perhaps was already active here in 1494.	Ammann, 1928, 6-7; Harreld, 2004, 140; Schaper, 1973, 221,

							Factor of the Imhoff in 1518-19 was Michael Imhoff.	225-226, 226 n. 885; Seibold, 1977b, 350; Von Imhoff, 1975, 13, 25, 27, 31
Lyon		6	3	2	1	c.1500-1571<	Ca. 1500, the Imhoff established a branch in Lyon, which was strongly involved in the trade in spices and in saffron from southern France. Andreas the elder and Gabriel Imhoff were regularly in Lyon between 1514 and 1521 (several of their letters from Lyon to their brother-in-law Friedrich Behaim have been preserved for the years 1516-1521). The main representative of Hans (V) and later also of Andreas (I) Imhoff in Lyon was Hans Kleeberger. Still in 1571 Andreas Imhoff (Incuria) paid taxes in Lyon. The Imhoff and the Tucher were seen as the main representatives of the Germans in Lyon.	Ammann, 1928, 6-7; Ehrenberg, 1928, 168, 184; Gascon, 1971, 223, 360; Grote, 1961, 34; Müller, 1916, 156, 160-168; Von Imhoff, 1975, 27, 35
Messina		6	3	2	1	from c.1500	Ca. 1500, the Imhoff established a branch in Messina, which was especially involved in the saffron trade.	Ammann, 1928, 6-7; Von Imhoff, 1975, 27
Naples		6	3	2	1	c.1500-1522<	Ca. 1500, the Imhoff established a branch in Naples, which was especially involved in the saffron trade. In 1521 and 1522, Andreas the elder stayed for three short periods in Naples.	Müller, 1916, 179; Von Imhoff, 1975, 27
Olomouc		6	3	2	1	from before 1500	In Olomouc (Olmütz), the Imhoff established a branch before ca. 1500.	Von Imhoff, 1975, 27
Prague		6	3	2	1	from before 1500	A certain Ludwig Imhoff carried out business in Prague already in 1367. In Prague, a branch existed from before 1500.	Von Imhoff, 1975, 27, 4 n. 13
Salzburg		6	3	2	1	from before 1500	In Salzburg, the Imhoff established a branch before ca. 1500.	Von Imhoff, 1975, 27
Venice		4	2	2	1	>1387-1441	- Already from the second half of the 14th century, the Imhoff had a strong position in Venice. In 1387 they carried out business in Venice with Rudolf Gundelfinger. In the latter part of the 14th century, Conrad (I) Imhoff especially represented the firm in Venice, while also his brother Ulrich visited the city. In addition to Conrad (II) Imhoff (d. 1449), who succeeded his father in Venice, other representatives in the first half of the 15th century were Conrad Pirckheimer and Heinrich Imhoff (1404), the sons of Hans (III) Imhoff and Rudolf Gundelfinger (1406), and another Conrad Imhoff (d. 1463), belonging to the Augsburg branch of the family (1440).	Ammann, 1928, 6-7; Müller, 1916, 157, 160, 173-179; Schaper, 1973, 174-177, 180, 184, 186-188, 185 n. 740, 186 n. 744; Von Imhoff, 1975, 27, 10, 12, 18, 21, 23, 18 n. 58
		6	**3**	**2**	**1**	1441-1594<	- In 1441, Conrad (II) Imhoff obtained half of the office of the Mendel in the Fondaco dei Tedeschi. Soon after, also the other half of this office came in hands of the Imhoff. Under Conrad (III), who was successor to his father	

							Conrad (II) as representative in Venice, the business in Venice became of international importance. In 1434, Conrad (III) was among the founding office holders of the St. Sebaldus fraternity of the Nürnberg merchants in Venice. In the 3rd quarter of the 15th century, the main representative of the Imhoff in Venice was Peter (at least 1465-1476), who was succeeded by his brother Hans (V) from 1480 to 1505. Other members of the family who were active in this period were Paulus (1475), Berthold (1477), Ludwig (1486, 1488), Hieronymus (1487-88, 1490, 1494, 1498, 1501), Sebastian (1502), Franz (1496-97), and Veit. Several of them became consuls in the Fondaco dei Tedeschi: Guido (Veit) (1492), Sebastian (1493), Jeremias (1494), Guido (1495), Franz (1498), and Peter (1499). Between ca. 1509 and 1522 Andreas (I), who did his apprenticeship in Venice between 1504 and 1508, travelled regularly to Venice where he was the main representative of the Imhoff. Still at the end of the 16th century, Michael Imhoff was consul of the German nation in Venice (1594).	
Zaragoza		6	3	2	1	from c.1500	Ca. 1500, the Imhoff established a branch in Zaragoza.	Schulte, 1923, I, 449; Von Imhoff, 1975, 27
Augsburg		4	2	2	1	>1394-1553<	Members of the Imhoff family can be found as citizens in Augsburg already at the end of the 14th and still in the 16th century. A certain Conrad Imhoff (d. 1463) was married into the Augsburg Wahraus family in 1432, and subsequently became active in their important business firm. The Imhoff of Augsburg married into the main Augsburg business families, and as a result they developed close ties with firms such as the Welser-Vöhlin and the Fugger. The Imhoff business in Augsburg was increasingly absorbed by the firm of the Nürnberg Imhoff. Although this first Augsburg branch of the Imhoff family died out in the 1530s, new ties with Augsburg were developed by Simon (1476-1557) and Hieronymus Imhoff (1467-1539), brothers of Hans (V), who became members of the Augsburg council. Around the middle of the 16th century, Hieronymus Imhoff (1512-1577), a son of Sebastian and grandson of Peter (I) Imhoff, established himself in Augsburg, where he not only represented the partnership between himself and Sebastian Imhoff, but also the Nürnberg firm of Andreas the elder.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 169-170; Müller, 1916, 155; Von Imhoff, 1975, 8, 10-11, 14, 19, 30-32
Frankfurt am Main		4	2	2	1	>1482-1555<	The Imhoff were very active in Frankfurt. Important purchases were made at the Frankfurt fairs by Hans (V) Imhoff between 1482 and 1499, and by Conrad (IV) between 1500 and 1516. In 1543-45, the Imhoff exported	Dietz, 1921, II, 5-6; Ehrenberg, 1928, 170-171; Harreld,

							ginger, cloves and cinnamon from Antwerp to Frankfurt. In 1553-55, Paul Behaim, factor of the Imhoff in Antwerp, went to Frankfurt am Main to borrow money at the fairs. He made use of the services of several brokers in Frankfurt, especially of those of a Jew named Joseph (a member of the Goldschmidt family).	2004, 140-141; Schaper, 1973, 203, 204 n. 819; Schulte, 1923, I, 425; Von Imhoff, 1975, 28
Leipzig		4	2	2	1	>1490<, >1516<	The Imhoff either had a branch in Leipzig or were regularly represented here. In 1490 the Imhoff were creditors of Stefan Protzel, merchant of Leipzig. In 1516 Conrad Imhoff was sent to Leipzig by the council of Nürnberg to come to an agreement with Hans Keller, who was in debt to several Nürnberg merchants.	Ammann, 1928, 6-7; Schaper, 1973, 192, 194; Seibold, 1977b, 323-324
Rothenburg ober der Tauber		4	2	2	1	>1486-early 16th c.	Georg Imhoff (d. 1508), citizen of Rothenburg since 1486 and a member of the Rothenburger Handelsgesellschaft, represented the business interests of the Imhoff of Nürnberg in Rothenburg. Sebastian, son of Georg, continued the business of his father for a number of years, apparently without success however. Increasingly, the Imhoff enterprise in Rothenburg was incorporated in the Nürnberg business of the Imhoff. After the death of Sebastian in the early 16th century, the family branch of the Imhoff in Rothenburg disappeared.	Von Imhoff, 1975, 11-12, 14, 19
Albigeois		3	2	2	1	1515-1518	While being stationed in Lyon, Andreas Imhoff the elder travelled regularly to the saffron fairs of Albigeois (1515, 1516, 1517, 1518).	Müller, 1916, 176-179
Cologne		2 **3**	2 **2**	1 **2**	0 **1**	end 14th c. >1508<, >1543-1545<	- Already at the end of the 14th century, Ulrich Imhoff, son of Hans (II), visited Cologne for business purposes. - Nothing is known about the activities of the Imhoff in Cologne during the 15th century, but by the 16th century they had interests here again. In 1508 Hans (V) Imhoff joined a protest of South German merchants against a new law in Cologne, which decreed that the factors of the large companies in Cologne had to obtain citizenship of Cologne. In 1543-45, Andreas Imhoff was among the twelve largest exporters from Antwerp to Cologne.	Harreld, 2004, 160; Schulte, 1923, I, 425; Von Imhoff, 1975, 18
East Indies		3	2	2	1	1505-1537<	Three members of the Imhoff family went to the East Indies in the first half of the 16th century, all of whom had connections with Andreas Imhoff the elder. In 1505-06, the Imhoff invested 3,000 ducats in the expedition of Francisco de Almeida. They sent Ulrich Imhoff, son of Conrad (III), as their representative on this expedition. In the 1520s, Servatius Imhoff from Lauingen went to the East Indies where he died in 1526 as a representative of the Herwart firm of Augsburg. Finally, Georg Imhoff (d. 1537) travelled	Schaper, 1973, 218-221, 230, 240-241; Seibold, 1977b, 165-166; Von Imhoff, 1975, 14, 25-26, 31-32, 17 n. 57

							twice to the Indies in the 1530s.	
Medina del Campo		3	2	2	1	>1550s<	During the 1550s, Hans Bechler, factor of the Fugger at the Spanish court, carried out business for Endres Imhoff and Brothers at the Spanish fairs.	Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 57 n. 240
Medina de Ríoseco		3	2	2	1	>1550s<	During the 1550s, Hans Bechler, factor of the Fugger at the Spanish court, carried out business for Endres Imhoff and Brothers at the Spanish fairs.	Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 57 n. 240
Ulm		3	2	2	1	>1433-1477<, >1511<	The merchant Heinrich Imhoff, a descendant of Heinrich Imhoff of Lauingen, obtained citizenship of Ulm in 1433. His business was increasingly absorbed by the Imhoff company of Nürnberg. The Imhoff family branch in Ulm is mentioned for the last time in 1477. Business connections with Ulm were maintained also afterwards. Hans (V) temporarily fled to Ulm for the plague at the end of the 15th century. In June 1511, Andreas the elder for a short time went to Ulm.	Müller, 1916, 176; Von Imhoff, 1975, 8, 10, 14, 19, 28, 11 n. 38
Valencia		3	2	2	1		The Imhoff were active in Valencia.	Schulte, 1923, I, 449
Villalón		3	2	2	1	>1550s<	During the 1550s, Hans Bechler, factor of the Fugger at the Spanish court, carried out business for Endres Imhoff and Brothers at the Spanish fairs.	Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 57 n. 240
Calicut		2	2	1	0	1505-1506	In 1505-06, the Imhoff invested 3,000 ducats in the expedition of Francisco de Almeida, which was especially destined for Calicut. They sent Ulrich Imhoff, son of Conrad (III), as their representative on this expedition.	Schaper, 1973, 209
Casalmaggiore		2	2	1	0	1508-1509, 1511	Andreas Imhoff the elder travelled to Casalmaggiore (near Cremona) for the purchase of saffron in 1508-1509 and in 1511.	Müller, 1916, 157, 173, 175
Donauwörth		~~4~~ *2*	~~2~~ *2*	~~2~~ *1*	~~1~~ *0*	c.1400-end 15th c.	Ca. 1400, a branch of the Imhoff moved to Donauwörth, where during almost the whole of the 15th century they had their own businesshouse, which was headed successively by three members of the family who were all named Michael. The first of them, who probably became familiar with commercial practice in Nürnberg, established himself in Donauwörth ca. 1432. The firm in Donauwörth represented the business interests of the Imhoff company of Nürnberg, into which it was increasingly absorbed.	Von Imhoff, 1975, 8, 10, 12-13, 19
Esslingen am Neckar		2	2	1	0	c.1483	Ca. 1483, Hans (V) established business contacts with Esslingen.	Von Imhoff, 1975, 28
Florence		2	2	1	0	1509-1511	Andreas Imhoff the elder regularly stayed for short times in Florence during his business travels to Italy between 1509 and 1511.	Müller, 1916, 175-179
Hungary		2	2	1	0	early 15th c.	Pankratius Imhoff, son of Hans (III), was active in trade with the south east, e.g. in trade in horses in Hungary.	Von Imhoff, 1975, 17 n. 57
Lauingen		~~4~~ *2*	~~2~~ *2*	~~2~~ *1*	~~1~~ *0*	mid 14th c.-end 15th c.	In the second half of the 14th century, Heinrich Imhoff, a merchant in Lauingen, carried out business together with his brother Hans (II) in	Von Imhoff, 1975, 5, 7, 9, 13-14, 19-20, 6-

							Nürnberg. By the end of the 14th century, the sons of Hans (II) had incorporated the Imhoff company of Lauingen into their own enterprise. In the 16th century Lauingen did not play a role in the Imhoff business anymore, although the family still owned real estate here.	7 n. 23
Mansfeld (county)	M	2	2	1	0	c.1483-1619<	Ca. 1483, Hans (V) became active in the copper mining industry of Mansfeld. Still at the end of the 16th century and until 1619, Andreas (II) and Andreas (III) Imhoff were involved in copper and silver mining in Mansfeld as members of the Gräfenthaler Saigerhandelsgesellschaft.	Seibold, 1977a, 27-29, 32, 39, 42-43, 46; Von Imhoff, 1975, 28-29, 34
Memmingen		~~4~~ *2*	~~2~~ *2*	~~2~~ *1*	~~1~~ *0*	15th century	In the 15th century, the Imhoff were represented in Memmingen by Balthasar Imhoff (1420-ca. 1483), who had his own enterprise for trade with Central Europe and Italy. The business of Balthasar Imhoff was increasingly incorporated in the Nürnberg company of the Imhoff. Contacts still existed with Memmingen at the end of the 15th century, although no members of the family were citizens of Memmingen anymore at this time.	Von Imhoff, 1975, 8, 10-11, 14, 19, 28
Milan		2	2	1	0	1509-1511, 1514	Andreas Imhoff the elder regularly stayed for short times in Milan during his business travels to Italy between 1509 and 1514.	Müller, 1916, 175-179
Nördlingen		2	2	1	0	15th c. ?	A member of the Imhoff family apparently carried out business in Nördlingen, which was increasingly absorbed by the Imhoff firm of Nürnberg.	Von Imhoff, 1975, 19
Ravensburg		~~3~~ *2*	~~2~~ *2*	~~2~~ *1*	~~1~~ *0*	>c.1429<, end 15th c.	Several of the descendants of Heinrich Imhoff of Lauingen became citizens of Ravensburg. Another Heinrich Imhoff was a member of the Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft and a representative of the business interests of his family members from Nürnberg, Augsburg and Lauingen ca. 1429. Still at the end of the 15th century, Hans (V) had business contacts with Ravensburg.	Von Imhoff, 1975, 8, 10-11, 19, 28-29
Reutlingen		2	2	1	0	c.1483	Ca. 1483, Hans (V) established business contacts with Reutlingen.	Von Imhoff, 1975, 28
Rome		2	2	1	0	>1479<, >1510-1521<	In 1479 Balthasar Imhoff (who was a citizen and merchant of Memmingen) became a member of the “Heiligenbruderschaft” in Rome. Between 1510 and 1521 Andreas Imhoff the elder stayed several times in Rome during his business travels in Italy.	Müller, 1916, 160, 175-179; Von Imhoff, 1975, 11
Toulouse		2	2	1	0	1516, 1518	While being stationed in Lyon, Andreas Imhoff the elder travelled to Toulouse in the autumns of 1516 and 1518.	Müller, 1916, 177-179
Wrocław		~~4~~ *2*	~~2~~ *2*	~~2~~ *1*	~~1~~ *0*	before 1457	Caspar, Melchior and Balthasar Imhoff, sons of Sebald and grandsons of Hans (III), established a business in Wrocław. Conrad (II) traded with these relatives in Silesia. Melchior Imhoff died in Wrocław in 1457. In the middle	Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 74; Von Imhoff,

							of the 15th century, the Imhoff founded an altar in the Elisabeth church in Wrocław.	1975, 20-21, 17 n. 57, 20 n. 62
Aigues-Mortes		1	1	1	0	1515	While being stationed in Lyon, Andreas Imhoff the elder travelled to Montpellier, Aigues-Mortes, Marseille, Tarascon, Avignon, etc, in March and April 1515.	Müller, 1916, 176-179
Avignon		1	1	1	0	1515	While being stationed in Lyon, Andreas Imhoff the elder travelled to Montpellier, Aigues-Mortes, Marseille, Tarascon, Avignon, etc, in March and April 1515.	Müller, 1916, 176-179
Bayreuth	M	1	1	1	0	early 15th c.	Johannes, son of Hans (III) Imhoff, obtained interests in the Upper Franconian mining business of Bayreuth, which were continued by his son. The descendants of Ulrich Imhoff, son of Hans (II), settled in Bayreuth as well.	Von Imhoff, 1975, 20, 17 n. 57, 20 n. 62
Eisfeld	H	1	1	1	0	>1629<	The Imhoff were members of the Eisfelder Saigerhandelsgesellschaft, which operated a smelting hut in Eisfeld.	Seibold, 1977a, 27, 44
Gräfenthal	H	1	1	1	0	1581-1619	The Imhoff were members of the Gräfenthaler Saigerhandelsgesellschaft, which operated a smelting hut in Gräfenthal. They were probably the most important partners in the Gesellschaft.	Seibold, 1977a, 26, 28-32, 39-40, 42-43
Kulmbach	M	1	1	1	0	early 15th c.	Descendants of Hans (III) Imhoff established themselves in Kulmbach and around. Johannes, a son of Hans (III), obtained interests in the Upper Franconian mining business of Kulmbach and Bayreuth.	Von Imhoff, 1975, 20, 17 n. 57
Lecce		1	1	1	0	1521-1522	While being stationed in Bari in the winter of 1521-22, Andreas Imhoff the elder went to Lecce.	Müller, 1916, 175-179
Ludwigsstadt	H	1	1	1	0	1603-1619	From 1603 the Gräfenthaler Saigerhandelsgesellschaft exploited a smelting hut in Luderstadt (Ludwigsstadt). Representative ca. 1617-1618 was Daniel Frank. The smelting hut in Ludwigsstadt came in hands of the town of Leipzig in 1619.	Seibold, 1977a, 40, 42-43
Marseille		1	1	1	0	1515	While being stationed in Lyon, Andreas Imhoff the elder travelled to Montpellier, Aigues-Mortes, Marseille, Tarascon, Avignon, etc, in March and April 1515.	Müller, 1916, 176-179
Montpellier		1	1	1	0	1515	While being stationed in Lyon, Andreas Imhoff the elder travelled to Montpellier, Aigues-Mortes, Marseille, Tarascon, Avignon, etc, in March and April 1515.	Müller, 1916, 176-179
Sankt Jörgenstollen	M	1	1	1	0	1490-1499	In 1490 the Imhoff obtained shares in the mines of St. Jörgenstollen (Saxony) from Stefan Protzel, debtor, apparently for nine years.	Schaper, 1973, 192
Schneeberg	M	1	1	1	0	>1479<	Conrad (III) became involved in the silver mining of Schneeberg by 1479.	Ehrenberg, 1928,

								134; Von Imhoff, 1975, 23
Tarascon		1	1	1	0	1515	While being stationed in Lyon, Andreas Imhoff the elder travelled to Montpellier, Aigues-Mortes, Marseille, Tarascon, Avignon, etc, in March and April 1515.	Müller, 1916, 176-179

+ In the consulted literature, the business and branch network of the Imhoff is not very extensively treated. Consequently, the picture given by the table is not entirely accurate.

KAMERER & SEILER, 1385 – 1440

The Kamerer & Seiler Gesellschaft was a mixed concern. (Von Stromer, 1973, 339). Ulrich Kamerer is mentioned as a Nürnberg merchant in 1385. His origins are unknown however. The Seiler probably came from Sankt Gallen. Other partners came from Gundelfingen (e.g. the brothers Kessinger) or Ravensburg (e.g. Konrad Segelbach). Another partner was Niclas Ammann von Wendelstein of Nürnberg. (339). Burkhart Seiler founded in 1388 the "Reiches Almosen" of Nürnberg, and married to Agnes Haller. (339).

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Source material:

Size: Medium-sized or large

Main activities:

- Commerce: Wholesale trade. (Von Stromer, 1973, 339).
- Finance: Banking. Finance of princes. Connections with the courts of the imperial houses of Wittelsbach and Luxemburg. Ulrich Kamerer was in the service of king Sigismund since 1396, and he became his *vicecomes camerae* in 1422. (Von Stromer, 1973, 339).
- Industry: Mining (of metals and precious metals) and smelting works in the Carpathians. Use of new mining and smelting techniques. (Von Stromer, 1973, 339).

Network of the Kamerer & Seiler:

Table A..1. Network of the Kamerer & Seiler, 1385 – 1440								
City	**R**	**Score**				**Period**	**Type of presence**	**References**
Košice		8	4	3	1		Headquarters. Transactions with bills of exchange. (Von Stromer, 1973, 335). Is this an error on the map in Von Stromer (1973, 335)?	
Nürnberg		8	4	3	1		Headquarters. Transactions with bills of exchange. (Von Stromer, 1973, 335).	
Cologne		6	3	2	1	>1412-1413<	Branch (Gelieger). Transactions with bills of exchange. (Von Stromer, 1973, 335, 339). The mining and smelting business of the Kamerer-Seiler Gesellschaft was partly financed by the Von Sechten firm of Cologne. (339). Factors in Cologne, Leuven and Bruges were Fritz Mager from Frankfurt and the brothers Klaus, Walter and Wilhelm Kesinger. (Von Stromer, 1973, 339). Factor in Cologne in 1412-13 was Walter Kesinger. (339-340).	
Frankfurt am Main		6	3	2	1		Branch (Gelieger). Transactions with bills of exchange. (Von Stromer, 1973, 335).	
Kraków		6	3	2	1		Branch (Gelieger). Transactions with bills of exchange. (Von Stromer, 1973, 335, 339).	
Leuven		6	3	2	1		Branch (Gelieger). (Von Stromer, 1973, 335, 339). Factors in Cologne, Leuven and Bruges were Fritz Mager from Frankfurt and the brothers Klaus, Walter and Wilhelm Kesinger. (Von Stromer, 1973, 339).	
Venice		6	3	2	1	>c.1390<	Branch (Gelieger). Transactions with bills of exchange. (Von Stromer, 1973, 335, 339). Commissionary in Venice was Hilpolt Kress ca. 1390. (339).	
Bruges		4	2	2	1	>1399<	"*Station*". Connection from Danzig to Flanders in 1399. Transactions with bills of exchange. (Von Stromer, 1973, 335, 339). Factors in Cologne, Leuven and Bruges were Fritz Mager from Frankfurt and the brothers Klaus, Walter and Wilhelm Kesinger. (Von Stromer, 1973, 339).	
Bologna		3	2	2	1		"*Station*". (Von Stromer, 1973, 335).	
Bratislava		3	2	2	1		"*Station*". (Von Stromer, 1973, 335).	
Brno		3	2	2	1		"*Station*". (Von Stromer, 1973, 335).	
Brzeg		3	2	2	1		"*Station*". (Von Stromer, 1973, 335).	

Buda		3	2	2	1		"*Station*" in Ofen (= Buda). (Von Stromer, 1973, 335, 339). Since 1396, Ulrich Kamerer was in Hungary, in the service of king Sigismund. (339).	
Danzig		3	2	2	1	>1399<	"*Station*". Connection from Danzig to Flanders in 1399. (Von Stromer, 1973, 335).	
Florence		3	2	2	1		"*Station*". (Von Stromer, 1973, 335). The mining and smelting business of the Kamerer-Seiler Gesellschaft was partly financed by the Medici. (339).	
The Hague		3	2	2	1		"*Station*". Transactions with bills of exchange. (Von Stromer, 1973, 335).	
Heidelberg		3	2	2	1		"*Station*". (Von Stromer, 1973, 335).	
Konstanz		3	2	2	1		"*Station*". (Von Stromer, 1973, 335).	
Liège		3	2	2	1		"*Station*". (Von Stromer, 1973, 335).	
Lucca		3	2	2	1		"*Station*". (Von Stromer, 1973, 335).	
Luzern		3	2	2	1		"*Station*". (Von Stromer, 1973, 335).	
Maastricht		3	2	2	1		"*Station*". (Von Stromer, 1973, 335).	
Milan		3	2	2	1		"*Station*". (Von Stromer, 1973, 335).	
Nördlingen		3	2	2	1		"*Station*". Transactions with bills of exchange. (Von Stromer, 1973, 335).	
Padua		3	2	2	1		"*Station*". (Von Stromer, 1973, 335).	
Prague		3	2	2	1		"*Station*". Transactions with bills of exchange. (Von Stromer, 1973, 335, 339).	
Sankt Gallen		3	2	2	1		"*Station*". (Von Stromer, 1973, 335). The Seiler probably came originally from Sankt Gallen. (Von Stromer, 1973, 339).	
Speyer		3	2	2	1		"*Station*". (Von Stromer, 1973, 335).	
Strasbourg		3	2	2	1		"*Station*". (Von Stromer, 1973, 335).	
Straubing		3	2	2	1		"*Station*". (Von Stromer, 1973, 335).	
Toruń		3	2	2	1		"*Station*". (Von Stromer, 1973, 335, 339).	
Vienna		3	2	2	1		"*Station*". (Von Stromer, 1973, 335).	
Włocławek		3	2	2	1		"*Station*". (Von Stromer, 1973, 335).	
Wrocław		3	2	2	1		"*Station*". (Von Stromer, 1973, 335, 339).	
Banská Bystrica	M	2	2	1	0		Copper and lead mining ("Bergbau"). (Von Stromer, 1973, 335).	
Banská Stiavnica	M	2	2	1	0		Smelting works ("Hütten") and silver mining ("Bergbau"). (Von Stromer, 1973, 335).	
Gastein	M	2	2	1	0		Silver mining ("Bergbau"). (Von Stromer, 1973, 335).	
Gelnica	M	2	2	1	0		Copper mining ("Bergbau"). (Von Stromer, 1973, 335).	
Gundelfingen		2	2	1	0		Some partners came from Gundelfingen (e.g. the brothers Kessinger). (Von	

							Stromer, 1973, 339).	
Jihlava	M	2	2	1	0		Copper mining (“Bergbau”). (Von Stromer, 1973, 335).	
Kremnica	M	2	2	1	0		Gold mining (“Bergbau”). (Von Stromer, 1973, 335).	
Kutná Hora	M	2	2	1	0		Copper mining (“Bergbau”). (Von Stromer, 1973, 335).	
Livonia		2	2	1	0		Connections with Livonia from Danzig. (Von Stromer, 1973, 335).	
Olkusz	M	2	2	1	0	>1406-1412<	Lead mining (“Bergbau”). (Von Stromer, 1973, 335). In 1406-1412 the Kamerer & Seiler company obtained control of the lead mines of Lesser Poland. (339).	
Ravensburg		2	2	1	0	>1393<	Some partners came from Ravensburg (e.g. Konrad Segelbach). Segelbach was involved in the establishment of the paper mill of Ravensburg in 1393. (Von Stromer, 1973, 339).	
Sławków	M	2	2	1	0	>1406-1412<	Lead mining (“Bergbau”). (Von Stromer, 1973, 335). In 1406-1412 the Kamerer & Seiler company obtained control of the lead mines of Lesser Poland. (339).	
Smolník	M	2	2	1	0	>1421-1439<	Copper mining (“Bergbau”). (Von Stromer, 1973, 335). Together with the Prussian-Hanseatic mining company of Falbrecht-Morser-Rosenfeld-Stroβberg, the Kamerer & Seiler company largely increased the copper production of Smolník (Schmölnitz) between 1421 and 1439. (339).	
Trzebinia	M	2	2	1	0	>1406-1412<	Lead mining (“Bergbau”). (Von Stromer, 1973, 335). In 1406-1412 the Kamerer & Seiler company obtained control of the lead mines of Lesser Poland. (339).	
Wieliczka	M	2	2	1	0		Salt mining (“Bergbau”). (Von Stromer, 1973, 335).	

MANLICH, 1465 – 1636

The Manlich were active in Augsburg from 1465 until 1636. (Seibold, 1995, 197). The Manlich probably moved to Augsburg in the course of the 15th century. It is possible that they came originally from Oberehnheim in Alsace. (Seibold, 1995, 9). First mention of members of the Manlich family (Matthias and Bartholomäus) in the Steuerbücher of Augsburg in 1465. Probably Matthias (d. 1492/93) was the first Manlich who established himself permanently in Augsburg, while Bartholomäus apparently left the city again ca. 1469/70. In the house in which Matthias resided, lived a member of the Manlich family until 1568. Through his marriage with Anna Ott, Matthias Manlich came in contact with a circle of important Augsburg merchants. (10-11). Already by the end of his life, Matthias Manlich was among the most highly taxed citizens of Augsburg. (11). Sons of Matthias Manlich were Simon (1471-1517) and Hans Manlich (1475-1527/28). (15-17, 201). Through marriage, Simon and Hans Manlich were related to the Stuntz, Lauginger and Regel. (17). Hans and Simon Manlich carried out business together at least until 1506. Probably the brothers split up their business after the marriage of Hans in 1506, although also later the brothers worked together in several business ventures. (18). In 1513, Simon Manlich took over the business of his father-in-law Melchior Stuntz. However, after the death of Simon in 1517, Melchior Stuntz again assumed management of his business in name of his grandson. (21). In the early 1520s, Matthias (1499-1559), son of Simon Manlich, became involved in the Manlich family business. (21). Sons of Simon: Matthias (1499-1559), Melchior (1513-1576) and Simon (d. 1546/47); sons of Hans: Hans (1509-1529), Leonhard (d. 1556), Christoph (1512-1574), David (d. 1586) and Anton (1520-1587). The sons of Simon and Hans were active as merchants just as their fathers. Most capable of this generation were Matthias and Melchior Manlich. (29, 203-204). Matthias Manlich inherited the Manlich family business (including the business of his grandfather Melchior Stuntz, while Melchior Manlich began his career in the Haug-Langnauer-Linck firm. (32-33). Melchior Manlich was married to Ursula Haug. (32-33). Only in 1562, Melchior Manlich began his own business house. (34). Nothing is known about the business of Simon Manlich, the younger brother of Matthias and Melchior. He died relatively young. (34). The Manlich were surprisingly inactive in official functions in Augsburg, as well as in interest in art. (37). Matthias Manlich probably became head of the Manlich firm after the death of his grandfather Melchior Stuntz in 1528. (42). At the death of Hans Manlich (1527/28), his sons were still too young to take over his business. As a result, his business was apparently dissolved or sold. Only later his sons Christoph, Leonhard, David and Anton, who probably had acquired knowledge about business in the company of their cousin Matthias Manlich, founded a business organisation, perhaps in 1541 (in 1548 the latest). The company was named after the oldest brother, Christoph Manlich and brothers. (87).

The Manlich were mercers in Augsburg in the 15th c. Originally merchants with close ties to the guilds. From 1518, Hans Manlich had interests in copper mines, active in Antwerp in 1525. The reputation of the family was especially established by Matthias Manlich, the richest member of the family. (Sayous, 1935, 391-392). The Manlich of Augsburg were important traders, and they remained wholesale merchants proper until their fall (Ehrenberg, 1928, 161). Just like almost all the other merchants of Augsburg, they could not resist the temptation of taking part in the business of lending to princes, which brought them down (Ehrenberg, 1928, 161).

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Source material:

No private archives of the Manlich have been preserved. Data about the Manlich can be found in a large number of archives, most importantly in Augsburg and Innsbruck, but also in Amberg, Aystetten, Bern, Hammel, Isny, Jenbach, Konstanz, Lausanne, Munich, Nürnberg, Strasbourg, Stuttgart, Vienna, Lisbon, Venice, etc. (Seibold, 1995, 8, 213). Hans Ulrich Kraft of Ulm made a business journey for the firm of Melchior Manlich to the Levant. His travel descriptions have been preserved. (144).

1. MATTHIAS MANLICH AND PREDECESSORS, late 15th century – 1581

In the early 1520s, Matthias (1499-1559), son of Simon Manlich, became involved in the Manlich family business. (Seibold, 1995, 21). Matthias Manlich was never appointed to a public function in Augsburg (probably he did not have time for this. (30). Melchior took much more risk in his business ventures than his elder, more prudent brother Matthias. (31-32). Matthias Manlich inherited the Manlich family business (including the

business of his grandfather Melchior Stuntz. (32-33). Matthias Manlich probably became head of the Manlich firm after the death of his grandfather Melchior Stuntz in 1528. (42). Matthias Manlich did not establish a family company. He was the only partner in his firm (although he enlarged his capital via loans from others), but regularly he carried out business together with other merchants, among whom his uncle Hans Manlich, and later with Hans' sons. (42). Matthias Manlich carried out several business activities in association with Hans Baumgartner (d. 1549), especially in the 1540s. (59-60). Matthias and his brother Melchior Manlich almost never worked together in business activities. A much closer connection existed between Matthias and his cousins Christoph, Leonhard, David and Anton. (89). Matthias Manlich died in 1559. His only surviving son Matthias the younger (d. 1569) (another son Marx had died in 1558), did not play an important role in the business house of his father, neither before nor after the death of Matthias the elder. After the death of Matthias the elder, his business was especially continued by his sons-in-law. (100-101). Abraham Katzbeck (b. 1525), was a son of Benedikt Katzbeck, who had been active in the mining industry of Tirol together with the Manlich in the early 16th century. Abraham married Maria Manlich, daughter of Matthias. Abraham Katzbeck probably worked for a while for the Manlich, before marrying Maria. (102). Already in the early 1560s, intentions existed among the heirs of Matthias Manlich to liquidate his business. (102). After the death of Matthias Manlich, his business was continued by the heirs, and managed by Anton Hörmann and Abraham Katzbeck (d. 1568), sons-in-law of Matthias the elder. The firm was named *Katzbeck und Manlichsche Erben Gesellschaft*: apparently the business of the Katzbeck (Abraham and his brother Michael) was at least partly merged with the Manlich business. (104). Large parts of the business of Christoph Manlich and brothers were taken over by the heirs of Matthias Manlich after the bankruptcy of the former in 1564. (111-112). The Katzbeck-Manlich company, which succeeded the business of Matthias Manlich after his death, was established in 1559. (113). After the establishment of the Katzbeck-Manlich firm, the Katzbeck maintained some of their own business activities separately from this Katzbeck-Manlich company, e.g. in Karinthia and Steiermark. (115). After the death of Abraham Katzbeck (1568) and Matthias Manlich the younger (1569), the heirs of Matthias Manlich the elder were represented by Georg Sulzer. Increasingly, the heirs attempted to liquidate the business of Matthias Manlich. A final division of the heritage only took place in 1581 however. (154-155). Matthias Manlich, most important merchant of the Manlich family (Sayous, 1935, 392).
The reputation of the family was especially established by Matthias Manlich, the richest member of the family. Association with Carl Neidhart, Hans-Paul Herwart, Melchior Manlich father and son in 1555: attempt to get control over the copper market, without success. Left a complicated situation after his death in 1559, even aggravated by his son Christophe Manlich. (Sayous, 1935, 391-392).

Size: Large or very large

Matthias Manlich paid 280 fl. taxes in 1540, and 600 fl. in 1558. (Sayous, 1935, 391-392).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Not known in which goods Matthias Manlich (d. 1492/93) traded. (Seibold, 1995, 12). Jacques Manlich in Geneva was involved in copper trade. (14). Simon and Hans Manlich became involved in the copper trade from ca. 1509. (18-19).

Matthias Manlich (d. 1559) traded especially in metals. His involvement in trade in spices, saffron, etc. was rather limited. (42-43). Matthias Manlich was one of the most important copper merchants on the German market. (44-45). Matthias Manlich traded in weapons and ammunition, e.g. with the Habsburgs. (45). The Manlich were involved in the supply of the labourers in the mining industry of Tirol and their families. (63). The Manlich imported grain in Tirol. (64). Cartel between Anton Fugger and Matthias Manlich for the copper trade in 1548-1560. (78-79). Trade in copper. (Sayous, 1935, 392). Copper, mercury,… (Sayous, 1935, 392).

- Finance: Loan by Simon Manlich together with Ulrich Weiβ and company to Maximilian I in 1510. (Seibold, 1995, 18). From then on, the Manlich regularly provided credit to Maximilian in exchange for privileges in the Tirol mining industry. (18-19). Hans Manlich provided loans. (22).

The brothers Matthias and Melchior Manlich became Imperial counsillors, probably a honorary function. (30-31). Matthias Manlich was very active in advancing loans. (43). Matthias Manlich advanced loans to queen Maria, governor of the Low Countries, and was via Lazarus Tucher involved in loans to the Spanish crown. (45). Loans to the Habsburgs: e.g. loan by Hans Baumgartner to the Emperor in 1547 of 80,000 fl. in which Matthias Manlich was involved for 40 %. (60). The Manlich had close financial connections with Charles V and his brother Ferdinand I, to whom they supplied loans in exchange for silver. Loans of the Manlich to Ferdinand e.g. in 1527, 1530, 1531 etc. (64-65). In 1541, a loan was advanced to Ferdinand by a consortium of Anton Fugger, Hans Baumgartner and Matthias Manlich. (66). Between 1542 and 1548, a consortium of Augsburg merchants, among whom the Fugger, Hans Baumgartner, the Haug, Neidhart and the Manlich, advanced several loans to the Habsburgs. (66). By 1555, the Manlich became more important than the Fugger in loans to the Habsburgs. (68). Nevertheless, Matthias Manlich was less hit by the state bankruptcies of Spain, Portugal and France of 1557 than several other large Augsburg business houses. (69). Matthias Manlich was especially a banker of the Habsburgs, much less of other princes, aristocrats, etc. (69). In exchange for the copper of Neusohl, Matthias Manlich had to pay several debts of Ferdinand. (76-77). Loans to the Habsburgs continued after the death of Matthias Manlich by the Katzbeck-Manlich firm, mostly in exchange for copper. (113-114). In 1555, Matthias Manlich took a lease of the copper output from Neusohl in Hungary, and granted a new loan to King Ferdinand. New loan of the Manlich to Ferdinand in 1559 (Ehrenberg, 1928, 161). Loan to Ferdinand I in Antwerp in 1543. (Sayous, 1935, 392). Loans to the Netherlands government and to King Ferdinand in 1543, in conjunction with the Paumgartner and the Haug (Ehrenberg, 1928, 161).

- Industry: The Manlich became involved in the mining industry of Tirol from 1507. (Seibold, 1995, 18-20). The Manlich probably became involved in the Tiroler mining industry due to their family ties with Melchior Stuntz (father-in-law of Simon). The Stuntz operated a smelting hut in Tirol since the 1480s and had a representative in Schwaz. Melchior Stuntz played an important role in the mining industry and metals trade of Tirol in the early 16th century. Melchior Stuntz also operated a smelting hut in Kitzbühel in 1519, where he was also involved in mining activities. In relation to his mining business, he had business connections with Maximilian I. Melchior Stuntz was involved in the silver production of Schwaz in 1507-1513. (19-20). From 1518, Hans Manlich had interests in copper mines. (Sayous, 1935, 391-392).

Until the 1550s, the Tiroler mining business of the Manlich was much smaller than that of the Fugger. (20). Matthias Manlich was very active in mining and smelting business. (43). Copper kartel with the Fugger in 1548, which attributed each of the partners to a sphere of influence

for their copper business. (46). The Manlich took over the Neusohl mining business from the Fugger. (46). Matthias Manlich was one of the most important entrepreneurs in the mining business of Tirol, in metal production as well as marketing. (51). Matthias Manlich took over the Tiroler mining business of the Tänzl of Innsbruck in 1552. The Manlich and Tänzl were related: Marx Manlich (d. 1558), son of Matthias, was married to Genoveva Tänzl, daughter of Kaspar Joachim. (54-55). Matthias Manlich, together with his cousins Leonhard, Christoph, Anton and David Manlich and with Hans Dreyling (d. 1573), took over the business of the Stöckl, who went bankrupt in 1551. The Stöckl had an important mining and smelting business in Tirol. From the Stöckl, the Manlich and Dreyling took over several mines in Tirol and a smelting hut in Mehrn. The company between the Manlich and Dreyling was dissolved by 1559. (60-61). By the 1550s, the Manlich became more important than the Fugger in the mining business. (68). Active in mining in the Tyrol, where he was associated with the Fugger (Sayous, 1935, 392). Association with Carl Neidhart, Hans-Paul Herwart, Melchior Manlich father and son in 1555: attempt to get control over the copper market, without success. (Sayous, 1935, 391-392). In 1565, the Fugger, Haug-Langnauer-Linck, and Katzbeck-Manlich brought their Tirol mining activities together in a single company, the Jenbacher Gesellschaft, in which each of these three groups had a share of 1/3. The Katzbeck-Manlich group consisted of the company of the Katzbeck brothers (2/3) and the heirs of Matthias Manlich (1/3). (Seibold, 1995, 118-119). The Jenbacher Gesellschaft was managed by Marx Fugger, Hans Langnauer and Abraham Katzbeck. (Seibold, 1995, 120). The heirs of Matthias Manlich withdrew from the Jenbacher Gesellschaft in 1575. (123).

Network of Matthias Manlich and predecessors:

When establishing business activities abroad, members of the Manlich family often moved their residence to the new place, and founded here new family branches (e.g. through marriage with members of the local patriciate), e.g. in Ulm, Nürnberg, Prague, Switzerland, Portugal and the Low Countries. (Seibold, 1995, 8). Matthias Manlich (son of Simon) made use of a network of branches at the most economically strategic points as well as in the mining areas. Moreover, he was represented at the principal fairs. (43). Matthias Manlich often made use of agents abroad, who often simultaneously were active for other firms or for their own account as well. (43). Nothing is known about business of Matthias Manlich in Spain or Italy. (43). Matthias Manlich shipped copper through the Sound in mid 1540s. (46). The business of Matthias Manlich was largely limited to the Habsburg territories, due to his connections with the Habsburgs as banker. (69). Cartel between Anton Fugger and Matthias Manlich for the copper trade in 1548-1560. Matthias Manlich obtained control over the copper trade in Silesia, Poland, Prussia, and France, while both the Fugger and the Manlich were allowed to sell copper in the Low Countries. The Fugger obtained control over the copper trade in Spain, Portugal and Italy. (78-79).

Not much is known about the organisation of branches abroad by the Manlich. In many cases, the interests of the Manlich abroad were represented by merchants residing in the foreign centre. Only in the centres that were of major importance for the business of the Manlich, warehouses or offices were installed in rented or purchased buildings. In many places the interests of the Manlich were represented, without establishing a real branch however. Nature of the business and size of the branches is almost never known. (Seibold, 1995, 197). Most of the representatives of the Manlich also represented other merchants at the same time, or carried out busines on their own account. (199).

Table A..1. Network of Matthias Manlich and predecessors, late 15th century – 1581 (especially ca. 1528 – 1559)								
City	**R**	**Score**				**Period**	**Type of presence**	**References**
Augsburg		8	4	3	1	1465-1581	Headquarters. (Seibold, 1995, 7-8). Matthias Manlich, and later his sons Simon and Hans, lived in the house “vom Rappolt” in Augsburg. (18). Members of the family lived in this house until 1568. (33). In the house “vom Ulrich Artzt” lived members of the Manlich family from 1491 until the 1580s, and in the house “in der Krotenaw” from 1528 until the end of the 16th century. (33-34). The headquarters of Matthias Manlich (head from 1528) were located in Augsburg. (43). Due to the conflict between the Manlich and the counts of Mansfeld, Mansfeld copper was confiscated at the order of the Manlich in Cologne, Frankfurt, Augsburg and Saxony ca. 1560. (85).	
Antwerp		6	3	2	1	>1525-1552<	The Manlich had interests in Antwerp. (Seibold, 1995, 8). In 1525, Hans Manlich lent money to carters from Frammersbach in Antwerp to finance their return journey. (21). Representative of Hans Manlich in Antwerp was Lazarus Tucher, who had established himself in Antwerp in 1519. (21). The principal stronghold of the Manlich in the Atlantic sphere was Antwerp, where the Manlich were permanently active (e.g. under Matthias). (43). The representative of Matthias Manlich in Antwerp was Lazarus Tucher (d. 1563). Lazarus Tucher carried out commerce as well as financial business for Matthias Manlich. In 1552, the factor of Matthias Manlich in Antwerp was Karl Cocquiel, a brother-in-law of Lazarus Tucher. (45). Cinnabar and mercury of Idrija were exported by the company of Hans Baumgartner (in which Matthias Manlich was involved) via Lyon to Antwerp, and also to Marseille and Cologne, and especially to Nürnberg and Venice in the 1540s. (60). Matthias Manlich exported copper from Neusohl via Cracow and Danzig to Antwerp. (75). According to the copper cartel between Matthias Manlich and Anton Fugger in 1548-1560, both the Manlich and the Fugger were allowed to trade in copper in the Low Countries, and more specifically in Antwerp and Amsterdam. (Seibold, 1995, 79). Branch/representative from 1525 the latest. (197-198). Representative in Antwerp in 1552 was Karl Cocquiel. (199). Loan to Ferdinand I in Antwerp in 1543. (Sayous, 1935, 392). Hans Manlich was active in Antwerp in 1525 (mentioned in an	

							Antwerp notary contract). (Sayous, 1935, 391-392). The firm of Matthias Manlich, an Augsburg merchant, occupied a house in Antwerp. In 1535, Lazarus Tucher obtained a house next to that of Matthias Manlich (Harreld, 2004, 48 n. 22). The Manlich firm had an office in Antwerp, which seems to have played only a minor role. However, Lazarus and Bartolomeo Tucher of Nuremberg were the Manlich agents in Antwerp and conducted much of the firm's business (Harreld, 2004, 73). Lazarus Tucher had a house on the Keiserstraat next to the house of Matthias Manlich (Harreld, 2004, 91). Manlich were relatively important in Antwerp and Lyon around 1526-1528 (Ehrenberg, 1928, 161). In 1543, Matthias Manlich provided loans in Antwerp to king Ferdinand and to the Netherlands government (Ehrenberg, 1928, 161). Lazarus Tucher was an agent and broker for the Fugger, Hochstetter, Welser and Manlich in Antwerp. (Grote, 1961, 37).	
Kraków		6	3	2	1	>1548-1550<	The Manlich were active in Cracow. (Seibold, 1995, 8). From Leipzig, the firm of Matthias Manlich maintained connections with the east: Wrocław, Cracow, Torun and Danzig. (Seibold, 1995, 43). The Manlich probably had a branch in Cracow with warehousing space for the Neusohl mining industry, perhaps already before they took over the Neusohl mining business from the Fugger in 1548. (46). Matthias Manlich exported copper from Neusohl via Cracow and Danzig to Antwerp. For this, the Manlich had a branch in Cracow. (75). Matthias Manlich obtained control over the copper trade in Cracow, Wroclaw, Danzig and Torun due to the copper cartel with Anton Fugger in 1548-1560. (79). Branch/representative at least between 1548 and 1550. (197-198). Representative in Krakow in 1548-1550 was Lorenz Kurz. (199). Interests in Poland in 1548. (Sayous, 1935, 392).	
Nürnberg		6	3	2	1	>1527-1559<	Members of the Manlich family established themselves permanently in Nürnberg, and founded a new family branch there. (Seibold, 1995, 8). The Manlich (e.g. Matthias Manlich, son of Simon) were represented in Nürnberg and Frankfurt am Main. (Seibold, 1995, 43). The Nürnberg representative of Matthias Manlich was Bernhard Glock or Glaz (1527), and later Michel Hitzler (from 1529 until his death in 1559). Hitzler was a merchant from Ulm. (43). The Nürnberg branch of the Manlich was active in Frankfurt am Main, e.g. in 1527-1535. (44). Matthias Manlich supplied copper to Nürnberg in 1535. Matthias Manlich appears to have been a very	

							important copper merchant at the Nürnberg market. Also weapons- and ammunition trade of Matthias Manlich with Nürnberg. (45). In 1539, Matthias Manlich made use of the Fugger branch in Nürnberg for payments from Lyon. (46). Cinnabar and mercury of Idrija was exported by the company of Hans Baumgartner (in which Matthias Manlich was involved) via Lyon to Antwerp, and also to Marseille and Cologne, and especially to Nürnberg and Venice in the 1540s. (60). A business friend of Matthias Manlich in Nürnberg in the 1550s was Bonaventura Furtenbach. (70). The Nürnberg factor of the Manlich in 1559 was Hans Rassel (Raspel). (84). Branch/representative from 1527 the latest. (197-198). Representative in Nürnberg in 1527 was Bernhard Glock (Glaz), in 1529-1559 Michel Hitzler. (199).	
Schwaz	M	6	3	2	1	>1507-1575<	The Manlich were first mentioned in the mining business of Tirol in 1507, when they had connections with Veit Jakob Tänzl. (Seibold, 1995, 18). The Manlich probably became involved in the Tiroler mining industry due to their family ties with Melchior Stuntz (father-in-law of Simon). The Stuntz operated a smelting hut in Tirol since the 1480s and had a representative in Schwaz. Melchior Stuntz played an important role in the mining industry and metals trade of Tirol in the early 16th century. Melchior Stuntz was involved in the silver production of Schwaz in 1507-1513. (19-20). In 1513, Simon took over the business from his father-in-law Melchior Stuntz. However, after the death of Simon, Melchior again assumed management of the business. (21). Hans Manlich was involved in copper mining and trade in Schwaz. In relation to this, he was mentioned in 1521 and following years in the Prozessbücher of Tirol. (22). In the mining business of Schwaz, Matthias Manlich often operated in association with his uncle Hans Manlich, and later with Hans's sons, e.g. in 1528, in the early 1530s and in 1551. (42). Schwaz, Mansfeld and Neusohl were centres of the mining activity of Matthias Manlich, and probably he was permanently represented here. (Seibold, 1995, 43). Matthias Manlich had good connections with Tirol. (44-45). In 1547-48, Matthias and Christoph Manlich were involved in the mining business of Schwaz, the principal mining area of Tirol. (50-51). Representative of Matthias Manlich in Schwaz was Benedikt Katzbeck (ca. 1520-1531). He was succeeded by Hans Auslasser after the death of Katzbeck in 1531. Auslasser was factor of the Manlich in Schwaz until his	

							death in 1542. At the same time, another factor of the Manlich in Schwaz was Hans Kleepichler. Perhaps Michael (b. 1523) and later Abraham (b. 1525) Katzbeck became factors of Matthias Manlich in Schwaz after the death of Auslasser. In 1547, Abraham Katzbeck became son-in-law of Matthias Manlich. Other factors of Matthias Manlich in Schwaz were Valentin Mayr (before 1540) and Hans Steinberger. Representative of the Manlich in Schwaz in 1561 was David Hagn. (51-52). In 1552, Matthias Manlich took over the mining shares and smelting huts, houses, mills, stocks of wares, etc. of the Tänzl in Tirol (Mittenwald, Schwaz, Rattenberg, Kitzbühel, Hall, Imst, Sterzing, Klauzen and Terlan). (Seibold, 1995, 55). In 1553, Matthias Manlich sold shares in the mining business of Schwaz, Sterzing and Gossensaβ to the Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft. (Seibold, 1995, 48, 57). In 1555, the company Manlich-Dreyling was the largest supplier of silver from Schwaz to the Mint of Hall. (62). The Manlich had a branch in Schwaz. They were owners of the buildings in which the branch was located in 1552-1564, after which they came in hands of the Katzbeck until 1622. (fig. 21-23). After the bankruptcy of Christoph Manlich and brothers in 1564, their Tirol business (especially in Schwaz) was taken over by the heirs of Matthias Manlich. (111-112). The Katzbeck-Manlich company continued the mining activities in Schwaz after the death of Matthias Manlich in 1559. (113). In 1565, the Katzbeck-Manlich put their shares in the mining business in Schwaz, Schneeberg, Imst, Gossensass, Klausen and Terlan in the Jenbacher Gesellschaft. (119). In 1565, the Katzbeck-Manlich had goods (among which ores) in Sterzing, Klausen, Terlan, Hall, Imst, Schwaz, Rattenberg, Achenrain and Jenbach. (120). Branch/representative, at least between 1507 and 1575. (197-198). Representatives in Schwaz were Benedikt Katzbeck (1520-1531), Hans Auslasser (1531-1542), Hans Kleepichler (ca. 1535), Valentin Mair (before 1540), Michael Katzbeck (ca. 1542), Georg Anichhofer (1542-1544), Abraham Katzbeck (ca. 1547), David Hagn (1561). (199). Representatives in Tirol were Konrad Deisnseer (1561), Georg Lang (1562). (199).	
Vipiteno	M	6	3	2	1	>1551-1565<	The Manlich had a house in Sterzing, from where they organised their mining business here. The Manlich also operated a smelting hut in Sterzing. (Seibold, 1995, 48). In 1553, Matthias Manlich sold shares in the mining business of Schwaz, Sterzing and Gossensaβ to the Haug-Langnauer-Linck	

							Gesellschaft. (Seibold, 1995, 48, 57). In 1552, Matthias Manlich took over the mining shares and smelting huts, houses, mills, stocks of wares, etc. of the Tänzl in Tirol (Mittenwald, Schwaz, Rattenberg, Kitzbühel, Hall, Imst, Sterzing, Klauzen and Terlan). (Seibold, 1995, 55). The Manlich (Matthias and his cousins Leonhard, Christoph, Anton and David) and Hans Dreyling took over the business of the Stöckl in 1551, among which a house in Sterzing. (Seibold, 1995, 61-62). Matthias Manlich and Hans Dreyling concluded an agreement with Sterzing in 1556 for 5 years for the supply of Sterzing with daily consumer goods. (63). The Katzbeck-Manlich had a smelting hut in Sterzing in 1565. (119). In 1565, the Katzbeck-Manlich had goods (among which ores) in Sterzing, Klausen, Terlan, Hall, Imst, Schwaz, Rattenberg, Achenrain and Jenbach. (120). Branch/representative ca. 1553. (197-198).	
Wrocław		3 **6**	2 **3**	2 **2**	1 **1**	>1511-1548 1548-1557<	The Manlich carried out business in Wrocław since the early 16th century. (Seibold, 1995, 20). From Leipzig, the firm of Matthias Manlich maintained connections with the east: Wrocław, Cracow, Torun and Danzig. (Seibold, 1995, 43). In 1548, Matthias Manlich took over the Silesian metal trade from the Fugger. He concluded a three year agreement with the Rat of Wroclaw in 1548, later extended to 6 years, for establishing a *Faktorei* for this trade. (46). Matthias Manlich obtained control over the copper trade in Cracow, Wroclaw, Danzig and Torun due to the copper cartel with Anton Fugger in 1548-1560. (79). Branch/representative, at least between 1511 and 1557. (197-198). Interests in Poland in 1548. (Sayous, 1935, 392).	
Banská Bystrica (Neusohl)	M	**4** 2	**2** 2	**2** 1	**1** 0	1548-1560, 1563-1565	Schwaz, Mansfeld and Neusohl were centres of the mining activity of Matthias Manlich, and probably he was permanently represented here. (Seibold, 1995, 43). Matthias Manlich had good connections with the mining business of Slovakia. (44-45). The Manlich took over the mining business from the Fugger. (46). Matthias Manlich took over the marketing of the copper of the mines of Neusohl from the Fugger in 1548. (75). After the death of Matthias Manlich, the copper trade of Neusohl came in hands of the Haug-Langnauer-Linck company in 1560. (77). The Neusohl mining business was given up in 1560. (113). In 1563-65, the Katzbeck-Manlich were partners of Melchior Manlich in the copper business of Neusohl. (134-135). Branch/representative at least between 1548 and 1560. (197-198). In 1555, Mathias Manlich took a lease of the copper output from Neusohl in	

							Hungary, and granted a new loan to King Ferdinand. (Ehrenberg, 1928, 161). The copper mines of Neusohl were leased by Mathias Manlich in 1548-1560, and by Melchior Manlich and Abraham Katzbeck in 1563-1569. (Hildebrandt, 1996, 37 n. 117).	
Chiusa	M	4	2	2	1	>1552-1565<	The Manlich were involved in the mining business in Klausen. Their factor in Klausen in 1560 was Georg Galser. (Seibold, 1995, 48). In 1552, Matthias Manlich took over the mining shares and smelting huts, houses, mills, stocks of wares, etc. of the Tänzl in Tirol (Mittenwald, Schwaz, Rattenberg, Kitzbühel, Hall, Imst, Sterzing, Klauzen and Terlan). (Seibold, 1995, 55). In 1565, the Katzbeck-Manlich put their shares in the mining business in Schwaz, Schneeberg, Imst, Gossensass, Klausen and Terlan in the Jenbacher Gesellschaft. (119). In 1565, the Katzbeck-Manlich had goods (among which ores) in Sterzing, Klausen, Terlan, Hall, Imst, Schwaz, Rattenberg, Achenrain and Jenbach. (120). Branch/representative ca. 1560. (197-198). Representative in Klausen in 1560 was Georg Galser. (199).	
Danzig		4	2	2	1	1553-1568	From Leipzig, the firm of Matthias Manlich maintained connections with the east: Wrocław, Cracow, Torun and Danzig. (Seibold, 1995, 43). Since 1553 the latest, the Manlich were present in Danzig, where they were represented by Franz Müller. (46). Matthias Manlich exported copper from Neusohl via Cracow and Danzig to Antwerp. (75). Matthias Manlich obtained control over the copper trade in Cracow, Wroclaw, Danzig and Torun due to the copper cartel with Anton Fugger in 1548-1560. (79). Representative of Matthias Manlich in Danzig was Franz Müller. Dispute between Müller and the heirs of Matthias Manlich ca. 1566-68. (117). Branch/representative from 1553 the latest. (197-198). Representative in Danzig in 1553-1568 was Franz Müller. (199).	
Frankfurt am Main		4	2	2	1	>1527-1562<	The Manlich (e.g. Matthias Manlich) were represented in Nürnberg and Frankfurt am Main. (Seibold, 1995, 43). The Nürnberg branch of the Manlich firm was active at the fairs of Frankfurt am Main (often the Lent- as well as the autumn fair), e.g. in 1527-1535, 1548. Nevertheless, the Manlich appear to have been less active here than others. (44). Loan of Matthias Manlich and Anton Haug to Frankfurt in 1547 of more than 24,000 fl. (72, 82). Due to the conflict between the Manlich and the counts of Mansfeld, Mansfeld copper was confiscated at the order of the Manlich in Cologne, Frankfurt, Augsburg and Saxony ca. 1560. (85). Branch/representative, at	

							least between 1527 and 1562. (197-198).	
Kitzbühel	M	4	2	2	1	>1522-c.1570<	Melchior Stuntz, father-in-law of Simon Manlich, operated a smelting hut in Kitzbühel in 1519, where he was also involved in mining activities. (Seibold, 1995, 19). Since 1522, the Manlich were present in the mining business of Kitzbühel. (47). Matthias Manlich was one of the principal partners of the Kirchbergische Gesellschaft (other partners were Michael and Abraham Katzbeck, heirs of Benedikt, and Martin Strasser of Salzburg), which was active in the mining business of Kitzbühel since 1544. This Gesellschaft had a smelting hut in Kirchberg. From 1551, the Gesellschaft farmed a smelting hut near Kitzbühel. Diener of the Kirchbergische Gesellschaft was Sigmund Neussl. After the death of Matthias Manlich in 1559, the principal partners in this company were the Katzbeck. (Seibold, 1995, 47). In 1552, Matthias Manlich took over the mining shares and smelting huts, houses, mills, stocks of wares, etc. of the Tänzl in Tirol (Mittenwald, Schwaz, Rattenberg, Kitzbühel, Hall, Imst, Sterzing, Klauzen and Terlan). (Seibold, 1995, 55). The Kirchberger Gesellschaft supplied iron wares etc. to Kitzbühel. (63). Increasing activity in the mining business of Kitzbühel after the death of Matthias Manlich under influence of Abraham Katzbeck. The Manlich were involved in this business since the 1520s, but for most of the time this part of their business was only of minor importance. The Manlich as well as the Katzbeck were members of the Kirchberger Gesellschaft. Representative of the Kirchberger Gesellschaft from ca. 1550 until the early 17th century was Hans Steinberger (114). Branch/representative, at least from 1522 until ca. 1570. (197-198).	
Mansfeld (county)	M	4	2	2	1	1557-1561	The Manlich were involved in the copper mines of Mansfeld. (Seibold, 1995, 8). Schwaz, Mansfeld and Neusohl were centres of the mining activity of Matthias Manlich, and probably he was permanently represented here. (Seibold, 1995, 43). Matthias Manlich was the only Augsburg merchant who managed to play an important role in the copper mining business of Mansfeld, which was largely controlled by Nürnberg merchants. (81). Matthias and Christoph (together with David and Anton) Manlich obtained control over a part of the Mansfeld copper in 1557. (82-83). It is not known from which smelting huts the Manlich obtained their Mansfeld copper, perhaps Eisfeld and Ludwigstadt. (83). The Manlich were represented in the Mansfeld copper business by their Diener Conrad Reiser, Arnt Pastor and	Seibold, 1977a, 29, 46

							Christoph Empel. (83). In 1559, a conflict arose between the Manlich and the counts of Mansfeld, and the Manlich lost their position in the Mansfeld copper trade. (84). Felix Rehm, son-in-law of Matthias Manlich, conducted negociations with the counts of Mansfeld for Matthias in 1558. (101-102). The Mansfeld mining business was given up in 1561. (113). Branch/representative in Mansfeld, at least between 1557 and 1561. (197-198). Representative in Mansfeld in 1557-1560 was Christoph Empel. (199). Together with the Loitz of Szczecin, the Manlich invested 300,000 thaler in a copper mining venture in the Harz (under control of the counts of Mansfeld). (Papritz, 1957, 86).	
Rauris	M	4	2	2	1	>1540-1544<	In 1540, Matthias Manlich was involved in the mining business of Rauris in the archbishopric of Salzburg. (Seibold, 1995, 70). Matthias Manlich and his cousin Christoph Manlich were involved in the mining business of Rauris from 1540 to 1544. Their representative was Georg Anichhofer. (87). Branch/representative, at least between 1542 and 1544. (197-198).	
Vienna		4	2	2	1	>1553<	Matthias Manlich made use of the services of the Fugger for exchange transactions from and to Vienna. (Seibold, 1995, 46). In 1553, Matthias Manlich's Diener Hans Helferich made a payment in Vienna for archbishop Ernst of Salzburg. (71). Representative of the Katzbeck-Manlich in Vienna was Matthäus Steinhard. (133). Branch/representative ca. 1553. (197-198). Diener in Vienna in 1553 was Hans Helferich. (199).	
Geneva		3	2	2	1	>1504-1517<	Members of the Manlich family (Jacques and Mathieu) established themselves in Geneva in the early 16th century. In Geneva, the Manlich had a house in the Rue des Allemands (now Rue de la Confédération), which was obtained by Jacques and Mathieu in 1531. (Seibold, 1995, 13). Simon and Hans Manlich in Augsburg had connections with Geneva already before 1517. Jacques Manlich was perhaps the representative of Simon and Hans in Geneva. (14). Close connections of Jacques and Mathieu Manlich with the Tucher in Geneva. (14). Mathieu Manlich was at least in Geneva until 1554. (14). In 1516, Simon and Hans Manlich sold copper in Geneva to Gex. (20). In 1504, Hans Manlich was a member of the German fraternity in Geneva. (20). A branch of the Manlich family was established in Geneva before the reformation, and remained there after the reformation, known as "Maly". (Sayous, 1935, 391 n. 1, 395). A branch of the Manlich family existed in Geneva. (Grote, 1961, 33).	

Idrija	M	3	2	2	1	1539-1548, from 1566	Matthias Manlich was indirectly involved as investor in the mercury and cinnabar business of Hans Baumgartner in Idrija. In the next generation, the Manlich became directly involved in the mining business of Idrija. (Seibold, 1995, 43). Matthias Manlich had a 40 % share (capital of 40,000 fl.) in the mercury and cinnabar business of Hans Baumgartner in Idrija (Slovenia) since 1539 (renewed in 1544). Near the end of the 1540s, Manlich became the head of the mercury and cinnabar enterprise. In 1548, the mercury monopoly was taken over by the Herwarth. (60). Partners of the Haug-Langnauer-Linck in the mercury business of Idrija were the Katzbeck-Manlich (since 1566). (Seibold, 1995, 129-130).	
Innsbruck		3	2	2	1		The Manlich were active in Innsbruck for a long period. (Seibold, 1995, 8). Negotiations of the Manlich with the Habsburgs normally took place at the court of Innsbruck. (65). The copper business with Innsbruck was continued after the death of Matthias Manlich by the Katzbeck-Manlich firm. (113).	
Leipzig		3	2	2	1		From Leipzig, the firm of Matthias Manlich maintained connections with the east: Wrocław, Cracow, Torun and Danzig. (Seibold, 1995, 43).	
Lisbon		3	2	2	1		Members of the family were active in Lisbon. (Seibold, 1995, 8). The Manlich were present in Lisbon for decades (e.g. under Matthias). (43).	
Lyon		3	2	2	1	1515-1540s	Trade of Simon and Hans Manlich with Lyon in 1515. (Seibold, 1995, 20). The Manlich were present in Lyon for decades (e.g. under Matthias). (43). In 1539, Matthias Manlich made use of the Fugger branch in Nürnberg for payments from Lyon. (46). Cinnabar and mercury of Idrija was exported by the company of Hans Baumgartner (in which Matthias Manlich was involved) via Lyon to Antwerp, and also to Marseille and Cologne, and especially to Nürnberg and Venice in the 1540s. The company had large warehouses in Venice and Lyon. (60). Manlich had an agent in Lyon in 1528 (Ehrenberg, 1928, 155). Manlich were relatively important in Antwerp and Lyon around 1526-1528 (Ehrenberg, 1928, 161).	
Salzburg		3	2	2	1	>1550-1554	Matthias Manlich had connections with Ernst of Bavaria, bishop of Salzburg, who revived the goldmines of Salzburg. Matthias Manlich was one of the principal purchasers of the gold of Ernst of Bavaria, especially in 1551-1554. (Seibold, 1995, 70). Matthias Manlich provided loans to Ernst of Bavaria in Salzburg, e.g. in 1550, 1551, 1552. (70-71). Matthias Manlich also supplied the court of Ernst of Bavaria in Salzburg, e.g. with pepper, sugar and ginger from Antwerp in 1553. Matthias Manlich supplied news	

							about the political situation elsewhere in Europe to Ernst of Bavaria. The connection with Ernst of Bavaria disappeared after the end of his career as archbishop in 1554. (71).	
Toruń		3	2	2	1		From Leipzig, the firm of Matthias Manlich maintained connections with the east: Wrocław, Cracow, Torun and Danzig. (Seibold, 1995, 43). Matthias Manlich obtained control over the copper trade in Cracow, Wroclaw, Danzig and Torun due to the copper cartel with Anton Fugger in 1548-1560. (79).	
Venice		**3** 6	**2** 2	**2** 2	**1** 1	>1540s<, >1575	Members of the family were active in Venice. (Seibold, 1995, 8). Melchior Manlich was in Venice in 1536, perhaps for business. (32). Probably, the Manlich (e.g. under Matthias Manlich) were active in Venice. (43). Cinnabar and mercury of Idrija was exported by the company of Hans Baumgartner (in which Matthias Manlich was involved) via Lyon to Antwerp, and also to Marseille and Cologne, and especially to Nürnberg and Venice in the 1540s. The company had large warehouses in Venice and Lyon. (60). The Katzbeck-Manlich firm was active in Venice. They appear to have had one room and a half as well as a basement in the Fondaco dei Tedeschi which they gave over to Sebastian Pfaffenberger in 1575. (117).	
Achensee	H	2	2	1	0	>1551-1565<	The Katzbeck-Manlich had a smelting hut near the Achensee in 1565. (Seibold, 1995, 119-120). In 1565, the Katzbeck-Manlich had goods (among which ores) in Sterzing, Klausen, Terlan, Hall, Imst, Schwaz, Rattenberg, Achenrain and Jenbach. (120). The Manlich (Matthias and his cousins Leonhard, Christoph, Anton and David) and Hans Dreyling took over the business of the Stöckl in 1551, among which a smelting hut in Mehrn near Brixlegg and the woodlands bordering the Achensee. (Seibold, 1995, 61-62).	
Amsterdam		2	2	1	0	<1548-1560>	According to the copper cartel between Matthias Manlich and Anton Fugger in 1548-1560, both the Manlich and the Fugger were allowed to trade in copper in the Low Countries, and more specifically in Antwerp and Amsterdam. (Seibold, 1995, 79).	
Cologne		2	2	1	0	1540s, c.1560	Cinnabar and mercury of Idrija was exported by the company of Hans Baumgartner (in which Matthias Manlich was involved) via Lyon to Antwerp, and also to Marseille and Cologne, and especially to Nürnberg and Venice in the 1540s. The company had large warehouses in Venice and Lyon. (60). Due to the conflict between the Manlich and the counts of	

							Mansfeld, Mansfeld copper was confiscated at the order of the Manlich in Cologne, Frankfurt, Augsburg and Saxony ca. 1560. (85).	
Genoa		2	2	1	0	>1551<	In 1551, Matthias Manlich concluded exchange transactions with Milan and Genoa for the Habsburgs. (Seibold, 1995, 67).	
Gossensaβ	M	2	2	1	0	>1551-1565<	The Manlich were active in mining in Gossensaβ. In 1553, Matthias Manlich sold shares in the mining business of Schwaz, Sterzing and Gossensaβ to the Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft. (Seibold, 1995, 48, 57). The Manlich and Hans Dreyling took over the mining business of the Stöckl in Schneeberg and near Gossensaβ in 1551. (63). In 1565, the Katzbeck-Manlich put their shares in the mining business in Schwaz, Schneeberg, Imst, Gossensaβ, Klausen and Terlan in the Jenbacher Gesellschaft. (119).	
Hall	M	2	2	1	0	>1552-1565<	The Manlich were involved in copper mining in Hall (Tirol) from when they took over the property of the Tänzl the latest. (Seibold, 1995, 47). In 1552, Matthias Manlich took over the mining shares and smelting huts, houses, mills, stocks of wares, etc. of the Tänzl in Tirol (Mittenwald, Schwaz, Rattenberg, Kitzbühel, Hall, Imst, Sterzing, Klauzen and Terlan). (Seibold, 1995, 55). In 1565, the Katzbeck-Manlich had goods (among which ores) in Sterzing, Klausen, Terlan, Hall, Imst, Schwaz, Rattenberg, Achenrain and Jenbach. (120).	
Hopfgarten (Haslau)	H	2	2	1	0	after 1544	The Kirchbergische Gesellschaft established a smelting hut in Scheffau (Kufstein), and near Hopfgarten (Haslau) after 1544. (Seibold, 1995, 47).	
Imst	M	2	2	1	0	>1552-1565<	The Manlich were involved in copper mining in Imst (Tirol) from when they took over the property of the Tänzl the latest. (Seibold, 1995, 47). In 1552, Matthias Manlich took over the mining shares and smelting huts, houses, mills, stocks of wares, etc. of the Tänzl in Tirol (Mittenwald, Schwaz, Rattenberg, Kitzbühel, Hall, Imst, Sterzing, Klauzen and Terlan). (Seibold, 1995, 55). The Jenbacher Gesellschaft, in which the Manlich participated, supplied grain to Imst. (63). In 1565, the Katzbeck-Manlich put their shares in the mining business in Schwaz, Schneeberg, Imst, Gossensass, Klausen and Terlan in the Jenbacher Gesellschaft. (119). In 1565, the Katzbeck-Manlich had goods (among which ores) in Sterzing, Klausen, Terlan, Hall, Imst, Schwaz, Rattenberg, Achenrain and Jenbach. (120).	
Jenbach	H	~~4~~ *2*	~~2~~ *2*	~~2~~ *1*	~~1~~ *0*	>1565-1575<	The Katzbeck-Manlich were active in the metal industry of Jenbach. In 1565, they became members of the Jenbacher Gesellschaft. (Seibold, 1995,	

							118). The Katzbeck-Manlich had a smelting hut in Jenbach in 1565. (119-120). In 1565, the Katzbeck-Manlich had goods (among which ores) in Sterzing, Klausen, Terlan, Hall, Imst, Schwaz, Rattenberg, Achenrain and Jenbach. (120). Branch/representative, at least between 1565 and 1575. (197-198).	
Kirchberg	H	2	2	1	0	1544-1587>	Matthias Manlich was one of the principal partners of the Kirchbergische Gesellschaft (other partners were Michael and Abraham Katzbeck, heirs of Benedikt, and Martin Strasser of Salzburg). This Gesellschaft had a smelting hut in Kirchberg near Kitzbühel (since 1544). (Seibold, 1995, 47). The smelting hut of Kirchberg was not in use anymore by the Kirchbergische Gesellschaft by 1587. (114-115).	
Kutná Hora	M	2	2	1	0	c.1550s	Ca. 1550s, Matthias Manlich was apparently involved in a monopoly of the tin of Bohemia (Kuttenberg), together with the Fugger and Conrad Mair. (79-80).	
Marseille		2	2	1	0	>1540s<	Cinnabar and mercury of Idrija was exported by the company of Hans Baumgartner (in which Matthias Manlich was involved) via Lyon to Antwerp, and also to Marseille and Cologne, and especially to Nürnberg and Venice in the 1540s. (60).	
Mehrn	H	2	2	1	0	>1551<	The Manlich (Matthias and his cousins Leonhard, Christoph, Anton and David) and Hans Dreyling took over the business of the Stöckl in 1551, among which a smelting hut in Mehrn near Brixlegg and the woodlands bordering the Achensee. (Seibold, 1995, 61-62).	
Milan		2	2	1	0	>1551<	In 1551, Matthias Manlich concluded exchange transactions with Milan and Genoa for the Habsburgs. (Seibold, 1995, 67).	
Mittenwald	M	2	2	1	0	>1552<	In 1552, Matthias Manlich took over the mining shares and smelting huts, houses, mills, stocks of wares, etc. of the Tänzl in Tirol (Mittenwald, Schwaz, Rattenberg, Kitzbühel, Hall, Imst, Sterzing, Klauzen and Terlan). (Seibold, 1995, 55).	
Munich		2	2	1	0	>1545<	Matthias Manlich had connections with the court of Bavaria in Munich. He advanced a loan to duke Wilhelm of Bavaria in 1545. (Seibold, 1995, 69).	
Naples		2	2	1	0	1538/39	In 1538/39, the Fugger carried out business for the Manlich in Naples. (Seibold, 1995, 46).	
New World		2	2	1	0	after 1522	Hans Manlich invested 600 ducats in an overseas venture from Spain after 1522, together with other Augsburg merchants. (Seibold, 1995, 22).	
Rattenberg	M	2	2	1	0	>1552-1565<	In 1552, Matthias Manlich took over the mining shares and smelting huts,	

							houses, mills, stocks of wares, etc. of the Tänzl in Tirol (Mittenwald, Schwaz, Rattenberg, Kitzbühel, Hall, Imst, Sterzing, Klauzen and Terlan). (Seibold, 1995, 55). In 1565, the Katzbeck-Manlich had goods (among which ores) in Sterzing, Klausen, Terlan, Hall, Imst, Schwaz, Rattenberg, Achenrain and Jenbach. (120).	
Rosenegg	H	2	2	1	0	before 1587	Before 1587, the Kirchbergische Gesellschaft made use of a smelting hut in Rosenegg near Fiebersbrunn, together with the Rosenberger. (Seibold, 1995, 115).	
Scheffau	H	2	2	1	0	>1545<	The Kirchbergische Gesellschaft established a smelting hut in Scheffau (Kufstein), and near Hopfgarten (Haslau) after 1544. In 1545, the Gesellschaft obtained rights on use of the wood in the Preyerwald near Scheffau. (Seibold, 1995, 47).	
Schneeberg	M	2	2	1	0	>1551-1565<	The Manlich and Hans Dreyling took over the mining business of the Stöckl in Schneeberg (near Sterzing) and near Gossensaβ in 1551. (63). In 1565, the Katzbeck-Manlich put their shares in the mining business in Schwaz, Schneeberg, Imst, Gossensass, Klausen and Terlan in the Jenbacher Gesellschaft. (119).	
Terlano	M	2	2	1	0	>1552-1565<	In Terlan, Matthias Manlich took over shares in the mining business from the Tänzl. (Seibold, 1995, 48). In 1552, Matthias Manlich took over the mining shares and smelting huts, houses, mills, stocks of wares, etc. of the Tänzl in Tirol (Mittenwald, Schwaz, Rattenberg, Kitzbühel, Hall, Imst, Sterzing, Klauzen and Terlan). (Seibold, 1995, 55). In 1565, the Katzbeck-Manlich put their shares in the mining business in Schwaz, Schneeberg, Imst, Gossensass, Klausen and Terlan in the Jenbacher Gesellschaft. (119). In 1565, the Katzbeck-Manlich had goods (among which ores) in Sterzing, Klausen, Terlan, Hall, Imst, Schwaz, Rattenberg, Achenrain and Jenbach. (120).	
L'Aquila		1	1	1	0	>1513/1514<	The Manlich were involved in the saffron trade of L'Aquila since 1513/14. (Seibold, 1995, 20). Later, Matthias Manlich was not very active as a saffron merchant. (43).	
Donauwörth		1	1	1	0	1553-1557	Loans of Matthias Manlich to Sylvester Raid of Donauwörth between 1553 and 1557. This led to a lawsuit until at least 1572. (Seibold, 1995, 117).	
Eisfeld	H	1	1	1	0	1557-1561	It is not known from which smelting huts the Manlich obtained their Mansfeld copper (1557-1559), perhaps Eisfeld and Ludwigstadt. (83).	
Fribourg		1	1	1	0	1493	Already in 1493, Simon Manlich is mentioned in Fribourg. (Seibold, 1995,	

							20).	
Gex		1	1	1	0	1516	In 1516, Simon and Hans Manlich sold copper in Geneva to Gex. (Seibold, 1995, 20).	
Ludwigsstadt	H	1	1	1	0	1557-1561	It is not known from which smelting huts the Manlich obtained their Mansfeld copper (1557-1559), perhaps Eisfeld and Ludwigstadt. (83).	
Lützelfelden	H	~~2~~ *1*	~~2~~ *1*	~~1~~ *1*	~~0~~ *0*	1587	In 1587, the Kirchbergische Gesellschaft established a smelting hut in Lützelfelden. (Seibold, 1995, 114-115).	
Moson-magyaróvár		1	1	1	0		The Fugger at some point transferred for Matthias Manlich his share in the "Dreissigsten" of Mosonmagyaróvár (Ungarisch-Altenburg). (Seibold, 1995, 46).	
Prague		1	1	1	0		Members of the Manlich family established themselves permanently in Prague, and founded a new family branch there. (Seibold, 1995, 8).	
Ulm		1	1	1	0	>1496/97<	Members of the Manlich family established themselves permanently in Ulm, and founded a new family branch there. (Seibold, 1995, 8). In 1496/97 Simon Manlich had outstanding debts in Ulm. For collection of the debt, Simon made use of the service of his brother-in-law Hans Weyer. (20).	

+ Centres indicated on the map in Seibold (1995, 198) represent either branches or agents of the Manlich. I have attributed them a score 6-3-2-1 when other evidence indicates the existence of a branch here, a score 4-2-2-1 otherwise.

2. CHRISTOPH MANLICH AND BROTHERS, ca. 1541 – 1564 (not used network)

Sons of Hans Manlich: Hans (1509-1529), Leonhard (d. 1556), Christoph (1512-1574), David (d. 1586) and Anton (1520-1587) (Seibold, 1995, 203-204). At the death of Hans Manlich (1527/28), his sons were still too young to take over his business. As a result, his business was apparently dissolved or sold. Only later his sons Christoph, Leonhard, David and Anton, who probably had acquired knowledge about business in the company of their cousin Matthias Manlich, founded a business organisation, perhaps in 1541 (in 1548 the latest). The company was named after the oldest brother, Christoph Manlich and brothers. (Seibold, 1995, 87). The firm of Christoph Manlich and brothers had close connections with Matthias Manlich. (Seibold, 1995, 87-90). A contract of association has been preserved of this company for 1548, but probably the company already existed before (perhaps since 1541). (87). In 1556, Leonhard Manlich died. (91).Bankruptcy in the mid 1560s. By this time, only Christoph and David Manlich were partners in the company, while Anton (d. 1587) had withdrawn his partnership before this time (although he still was a silent partner). (91). The company went bankrupt in 1564. (91). The firm of Christoph Manlich and brothers went bankrupt in 1564. (108). Bankruptcy was a result of too many long-term investments. (109). Large parts of the business of Christoph Manlich and brothers were taken over by the heirs of Matthias Manlich after the bankruptcy. (111-112).

Size: Medium-sized

The company of Christoph Manlich and brothers was much smaller than the business of Matthias Manlich. This firm was only a firm of second order in Augsburg. The geographical area in which the company was active was rather limited. (Seibold, 1995, 89). In 1564, the corpo of the firm amounted to 63,360 fl. Above, more than 100,000 fl. was invested in the company by partners and others through loans, on which an interest of 5-8 % had to be paid. (109).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Trade in silk with Leipzig. (Seibold, 1995, 89).
- Finance:
- Industry: The firm of Christoph Manlich and brothers was especially involved in the mining business, almost always in association with Matthias Manlich. (Seibold, 1995, 89).

Network of Christoph Manlich and brothers:

Table A..2. Network of Christoph Manlich and brothers, ca. 1541 – 1564

City	**R**	**Score**				**Period**	**Type of presence**	**References**
Augsburg		8	4	3	1	c.1541-1564	Headquarters. (Seibold, 1995, 89).	
Antwerp		3	2	2	1	>1541-1545<	The firm of Christoph Manlich and brothers had business connections with Venice, Nürnberg, Lyon and Antwerp. (Seibold, 1995, 89). Christoph Manlich and brothers had outstanding debts in Antwerp, Nürnberg, Venice and elsewhere since 1541. (111). Sebastian Neidhart, Hans Rucker, Lucas Rem, Hartman Schmaltz, Christoffel Manlich were all involved in the spice trade from Antwerp to Germany in 1543-45, but not as large as the very biggest spice traders (Schetz, Imhoff, Puschinger, Welser, van Montfort, Rem, de la Faille,…) (Harreld, 2004, 140-141).	
Leipzig		3	2	2	1		The firm of Christoph Manlich and brothers regularly traded in silk to Leipzig. (Seibold, 1995, 89).	
Lyon		3	2	2	1		The firm of Christoph Manlich and brothers had business connections with Venice, Nürnberg, Lyon and Antwerp. (Seibold, 1995, 89). Business activities in Lyon, probably purely financial activities. Business associates in the Lyon business were their relatives Georg, Sebastian and Leonhard Weyer. (110-111).	

Mansfeld (county)	M	3	2	2	1	1557-1561	Christoph Manlich and brothers were involved in the copper business of Matthias Manlich in Mansfeld. (Seibold, 1995, 89, 110-111). Matthias and Christoph (together with David and Anton) Manlich obtained control over a part of the Mansfeld copper in 1557. (82-83). It is not known from which smelting huts the Manlich obtained their Mansfeld copper, perhaps Eisfeld and Ludwigstadt. (83). The Manlich were represented in the Mansfeld copper business by their Diener Conrad Reiser, Arnt Pastor and Christoph Empel. (83). In 1559, a conflict arose between the Manlich and the counts of Mansfeld, and the Manlich lost their position in the Mansfeld copper trade. (84). The Mansfeld mining business was given up in 1561. (113).	
Memmingen		3	2	2	1	>1564	In 1564, the firm of Christoph Manlich and brothers had business associates in Ulm, Wroclaw and Memmingen. (Seibold, 1995, 89).	
Nürnberg		3	2	2	1	>1541<	The firm of Christoph Manlich and brothers had business connections with Venice, Nürnberg, Lyon and Antwerp. (Seibold, 1995, 89). Christoph Manlich and brothers had outstanding debts in Antwerp, Nürnberg, Venice and elsewhere since 1541. (111).	
Rauris	M	3	2	2	1	1540-1544	The Manlich brothers were involved in the mining industry of Rauris since 1540. (Seibold, 1995, 110). Matthias Manlich and his cousin Christoph Manlich were involved in the mining business of Rauris from 1540 to 1544. Their representative was Georg Anichhofer. (87).	
Schwaz	M	3	2	2	1	>1543-1551<	In 1543, the firm of Christoph Manlich and brothers became involved in the mining business of Schwaz: they were involved for 1/3 in the business of Matthias Manlich in Schwaz. Their representative in Schwaz was Veit Wittich. (Seibold, 1995, 89). In 1551, Christoph Manlich and brothers took over the mining business of the brothers Stöckl of Schwaz, together with Matthias Manlich and Hans Dreyling. (89). Christoph Manlich and his brothers were involved in the mining business of Schwaz, Klausen and Terlan. (Seibold, 1995, 110-111).	
Ulm		3	2	2	1	>1564	In 1564, the firm of Christoph Manlich and brothers had business associates in Ulm, Wroclaw and Memmingen. (Seibold, 1995, 89).	
Venice		3	2	2	1	>1541<	The firm of Christoph Manlich and brothers had business connections with Venice, Nürnberg, Lyon and Antwerp. (Seibold, 1995, 89). Christoph Manlich and brothers had outstanding debts in Antwerp, Nürnberg, Venice and elsewhere since 1541. (111).	
Wrocław		3	2	2	1	>1564	In 1564, the firm of Christoph Manlich and brothers had business associates	

							in Ulm, Wroclaw and Memmingen. (Seibold, 1995, 89).	
Chiusa	M	2	2	1	0		Christoph Manlich and his brothers were involved in the mining business of Schwaz, Klausen and Terlan. (Seibold, 1995, 110).	
Terlano	M	2	2	1	0		Christoph Manlich and his brothers were involved in the mining business of Schwaz, Klausen and Terlan. (Seibold, 1995, 110).	
Banská Bystrica	M	1	1	1	0	1548-1560	Christoph Manlich and brothers had investments in the Neusohl mining business of Matthias Manlich, although they were not actively involved in the business as partners. (Seibold, 1995, 89).	
Eisfeld		1	1	1	0	1557-1561	It is not known from which smelting huts the Manlich obtained their Mansfeld copper, perhaps Eisfeld and Ludwigstadt. (83).	
Frankfurt am Main		1	1	1	0		Frankfurt am Main had a debt with Christoph Manlich and brothers. (Seibold, 1995, 111).	
Ludwigsstadt		1	1	1	0	1557-1561	It is not known from which smelting huts the Manlich obtained their Mansfeld copper, perhaps Eisfeld and Ludwigstadt. (83).	

3. MELCHIOR MANLICH, 1562 – 1574

Melchior Manlich (1513-1576) went bankrupt in 1574. (Seibold, 1995, 96). Melchior Manlich temporarily came in difficulties after the bankruptcy of the firm of Christoph Manlich and brothers in 1564. (Seibold, 1995, 109). Principal partners of Melchior Manlich were not his sons, but his sons-in-law. Firm Melchior Manlich and partners was established in 1562. Partners were his sons Simon, Melchior and Anton, and his sons-in-law Philipp Welser (d. 1571) and Carl Neidhart, the two latter of whom played a more important role than Melchior's sons. (Seibold, 1995, 124). Melchior Manlich left the Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft apparently not in conflict. (124). The company of Melchior Manlich increasingly appears to have taken over the economic position of the company of his brother Matthias Manlich (d. 1559). (124-125). Investors in the Levant trade of Melchior Manlich were not only his partners Welser and Neidhart, but also David von Dettighofen of Memmingen, and his associates Raphael Sättelin and David von Kirch. (Seibold, 1995, 412-143). The bankruptcy of Melchior Manlich had several causes, such as the religious wars in France; credit being held in long-term investments and need for large amounts of capital, e.g. for the Levant trade, resulting in dependency on external creditors; investment in alchemy as a last solution; perhaps also other, unknown causes. (146-148). Among the principal creditors of Melchior Manlich in 1574 were Hans Paul Herwarth, Otto Lauginger, Hieronymus Rehm and Oswald Seng. (148). Since the assets of the company were much larger than the liabilities at the time of the bankruptcy, the direct cause of the bankruptcy was probably a problem of liquidity. (153). After the bankruptcy, Melchior Manlich fled to his estate Winden in Bavaria, and Carl Neidhart fled to Lyon. Both died in 1576. (154). Ruin of the Manlich rather result of their French financial transactions (Ehrenberg, 1928, 161). Crash of the Manlich at the end of 1573 or

beginning of 1574 (Ehrenberg, 1928, 161-162). 1562-1574. (Sayous, 1935, 389-411). Melchior took much more risk in his business ventures than his elder, more prudent brother Matthias. (Seibold, 1995, 31-32).

Company from Augsburg. Melchior Manlich was born in Augsburg in 1513. Became partner in the company of Ulrick Linck, Anton Haug und Mitverwandte, after his marriage to Ursula Haug in 1544, when the company became David Haug, Melchior Manlich, Hans Langnauer und Mitverwandte. Capital involvement of Melchior Manlich in the company was never very large: 1545-1555: fluctuated between 1098 and 2921 fl. Melchior Manlich did not realise a large capital: taxes he paid in 1559: 180 fl., in 1561: 145 fl. (Sayous, 1935, 392-393). In 1562, Manlich left the company with Haug and Langnauer. He founded a new company with his relatives. Partners were among others: Simon Manlich (II) in 1564; Philippe Welser (born in 1532, apprentice in the Lyon branch of the Welser, married in 1539 a daughter of Melchior Manlich, died in 1571), 1568; Carl Neidhart (son of Sebastian Neidhart, family originating from Ulm); Melchior Manlich the younger (Sayous, 1935, 393-395). Trade in spices and metals (copper, tin, mercury). Company in difficulties by 1570, among others due to bankruptcies of Genoese in Lyon and Antwerp (Sayous, 1935, 395). From 1562 to 1574, Manlich paid 250 fl. taxes in Augsburg (Sayous, 1935, 395-396). Even before 1571, the Manlich were in a difficult situation: because they didn't spread their risks, they became in difficulties, losses due to loans to sovereigns, due to their fruitless attempts to control the copper market, and due to the capture of one of their pepper loads by the enemy. Received a large loan from Hans-Paul Herwart, which allowed them to continue their trade (Sayous, 1935, 408). In response to the bad situation, the Manlich started their activities in Marseille. Not clear whether they improved or worsened the situation of the company. According to Krafft, some large profits on transactions in Syria. But the situation worsened with the end of the war between Venice and the Ottoman empire in 1573. Marseille couldn't compete with Venice. Finally bankrupt on 21 june 1574. To avoid arrest, Melchior Manlich the elder went to Bavaria, Carl Neidhart to Lyon, and Melchior Manlich the younger went to Marseille. Difficulties in settlement of the bankruptcy: hard to coerce the debtors to pay their debts to the company (Sayous, 1935, 408-410). Bankruptcy declared on 21 June 1574 (Gascon, 1971, 885). In 1543-1562, Melchior Manlich had a share in the Haugs (Ehrenberg, 1928, 161). The copper mines of Neusohl were leased by Mathias Manlich in 1548-1560, and by Melchior Manlich and Abraham Katzbeck in 1563-1569. (Hildebrandt, 1996, 37 n. 117). The Manlich traded with several places in the Levant (e.g. Constantinople) from Marseille, hereby they were supported by the Dettighofer firm of Memmingen. (Kellenbenz, 1965, 362).

Size: Large

In 1574 (bankruptcy), the assets of the firm of Melchior Manlich totalled ca. 1,114,000 fl., and the liabilities 729,832 fl. (Seibold, 1995, 149, 152-153).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Trade in goods. (Seibold, 1995, 124). Development of a considerable Levant trade, which became more important than the mining business of Melchior Manlich. (124). Trade in copper, silks in Leipzig. (Seibold, 1995, 125). Trade in pepper. (Seibold, 1995,

126). Export of ironware, metals and Upper Swabian linen to the Levant. Import of raisins, dates, medicines, cotton, silks, tapestries, pearls, gemstones etc. from the Levant. (140). By 1574, more than 50 % of the capital of Melchior Manlich's firm was invested in the Levant trade. (153). Metals (copper from Neusohl, mercury from Idrija, tin from Germany), merchandise (spices,…). (Sayous, 1935, 389-411). In Marseille: Trade in textiles such as English kerseys, textiles from Germany and Constanz, metals and tin from Germany and England, mercury and cinnabar from Idrija, rosaries in amber, leather,… (Sayous, 1935, 406). Import from Egypt: pepper, ginger, linen, cotton,…, import from Syria: tapestries, cotton, silk, pearls,… (Sayous, 1935, 406).

- Finance: Financial business, especially with the Habsburgs. This was often connected to the mining activities of the company. (Seibold, 1995, 124). Later also important loans to the French crown. (124, 150, 152). Financial activities appeared to have been less important for Melchior Manlich than the other branches of his business. (125). Loans of Melchior Manlich to the Portuguese crown. (151-153). By 1574, the investment of the firm of Melchior Manlich in loans was rather limited compared to his brother Matthias earlier. (153). Manlich were active in maritime insurance in Marseille: insured other merchants, and insured their own merchandise. Manlich also collected some of the gabelles in Marseille (Sayous, 1935, 407-408).
- Industry: Mining business. (Seibold, 1995, 124). The mining business of Melchior Manlich was rather limited by 1574. (153).
- Shipping: In 1572, investment in the construction of two ships at the order of Melchior Manlich. He had 14 shares (more than 50 %) in the total investment. (Seibold, 1995, 141). At least five and half ships were owned by Melchior Manlich in 1574, among whom the Griffon, the Falcon, and the Saint Esprit. Moreover, several ships were chartered by Melchior Manlich for his Levant-trade. (142).

Network of Melchior Manlich:

Connections of Melchior Manlich with the north and east were weaker than with the west and south. (Seibold, 1995, 125). Melchior Manlich made use of representatives abroad, often factors, some of whom only had power of attorney for a specific place, while others had much wider responsibilities, e.g. Hans Ott for the whole of Germany in 1571, Johann Welser for the Roman Empire of Germany in 1573. (Seibold, 1995, 126). Hans Ulrich Kraft of Ulm made a business journey for the firm of Melchior Manlich to the Levant in 1573-1574. His travel memorials have been preserved. (144, 199). Levant agent of the Manlich: Hans Ulrich Krafft (Ehrenberg, 1928, 162).

Not much is known about the organisation of branches abroad by the Manlich. In many cases, the interests of the Manlich abroad were represented by merchants residing in the foreign centre. Only in the centres that were of major importance for the business of the Manlich, warehouses or offices were installed in rented or purchased buildings. In many places the interests of the Manlich were represented, without establishing a real branch however. Nature of the business and size of the branches is almost never known. (Seibold, 1995, 197). Most of the representatives of the Manlich also represented other merchants at the same time, or carried out busines on their own account. (199).

Table A..3. Network of Melchior Manlich, 1562 – 1574

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Augsburg		8	4	3	1	1562-1574	Since 1557, Melchior Manlich lived with his family in the Annastraβe in Augsburg, which he had taken over from Anton Haug the younger after his death in 1556. In 1574, the buildings in the Annastraβe came in hands of the Fugger. (Seibold, 1995, 98-99). One or more merchants in Augsburg were creditors of Melchior Manlich in 1574. (Seibold, 1995, 150). At the time of bankruptcy, Melchior Manlich owned merchandise which was stored in Augsburg, Steyr, Ulm, Biberach, Kaufbeuren, Lindau, Memmingen, Danzig, Amsterdam and other places. (Seibold, 1995, 152). Trade from Augsburg. (Sayous, 1935, 389-411).	
Lyon		6	3	2	1	>1563-1574	Important financial activities in Lyon. (Seibold, 1995, 125). Philipp Welser as well as Carl Neidhart, sons-in-law and partners of Melchior Manlich, had good connections with Lyon. (138). Melchior Manlich traded with Lyon in 1572, where he had toll privileges. (Seibold, 1995, 139). Financial and commercial activities of Melchior Manlich in Lyon. (139). Branch in Lyon, headed by the factor Oswald Seng, who apparently also carried out business in his own name. (139, 153 n. 292). By 1569, Melchior Manlich was already represented in Lyon for several years. (140). Representative of the creditors of Melchior Manlich in Lyon after the bankruptcy was Matthäus Span. (149). One or more merchants in Lyon were creditors of Melchior Manlich in 1574. (Seibold, 1995, 150). Copper transactions with the Paller and Weiβ in Lyon. (150). Business of Melchior Manlich with Hans Paul Herwarth in Lyon and Antwerp. (150). Branch/representative, at least between 1563 and 1574. (197-198). Manlich had an agent in Lyon: Oswald Seng, who represented different German companies in Lyon (Sayous, 1935, 395, 404). Oswald Seng, agent of the Manlich in Lyon. In 1564-67, he managed the syndicate which represented the interests of the south German creditors at the French Court (Ehrenberg, 1928, 161). In November 1573, shortly before the bankruptcy, Adam Hartlieb, since a short time in the service of Melchior Manlich the elder, went to Lyon with Carl Neidhart, Melchior's son-in-law and partner, to rescue there what could be rescued (Ehrenberg, 1928, 161). For Melchior Manlich, Lyon was an important centre for his Levant trade. (Seibold, 1995, 43).	
Marseille		6	3	2	1	>1571-1575	Anton Manlich (d. 1573), a son of Melchior, was representative in Marseille.	

							He was succeeded after his death by Caspar Fleckheimer, originally from Munich. (Seibold, 1995, 126). Branch in Marseille. (139). After liquidating his Hungarian copper business in 1569, Melchior Manlich became active in the trade in Marseille and the Levant. In Marseille, Melchior Manlich was especially active in commercial activities. (140). The Manlich are known to have been active in Marseille since 1571. However, probably Melchior Manlich already before participated indirectly in the Levant trade of Marseille. Representative of Melchior in 1571 was his son Anton Manlich. He rented a house in the Rue du Port. Earlier that year, Johann Welser and Georg Bronnenmayer operated as attorneys for the Manlich in Marseille. In 1572, both invested in the construction of two ships at the order of Melchior Manlich. They had 14 shares (more than 50 %) in the total investment. (141). The factor of Marseille coordinated the goods traffic with the branches in the Levant. This factor had a key function. (142). Also financial activities in Marseille: in 1574 a loan to Marseille in exchange for the farm of the salt tax. (142). In the period 15-4-1572 to 2-3-1574, 23 ships were sent from Marseille to the Levant, in which David von Dettighofen participated. (144). Anton Manlich headed the branch in Marseille until his death in 1573. After his death he was temporarily succeeded by his brother Melchior the younger, until later in 1573 Caspar Fleckheimer was appointed as branch manager of Marseille. (144). After the bankruptcy of Melchior Manlich, his Diener in Marseille were imprisoned. (145). After the bankruptcy, the creditors of Melchior Manlich were represented in Marseille by Georg Bronnenmayer, before a representative of Manlich in Marseille. (149). In 1574, Melchior Manlich had Levantine goods in store in Marseille, Alexandria and Tripoli. (Seibold, 1995, 152). Large amounts of Levant goods belonging to Melchior Manlich at the time of the bankruptcy in 1574 were located in several ships, mostly destined for Marseille and Rouen. (152). Branch/representative, at least between 1571 and 1575. (197-198). Representative in Marseille in 1573 was Caspar Fleckheimer, in 1574 Georg Bronnenmayer. (199). Trade in the Mediterranean and Marseille (1571-1574). (Sayous, 1935, 389-411). Established a branch in Marseille in September 1571 as an answer to the difficulties of the company. Antoine Manlich, son of Melchior the elder, was representative of the Manlich in Marseille. From October 1571 Antoine	

							Manlich rented a house in Marseille. From 1-4-1572, the Manlich had two "procureurs" in Marseille: Jehan Welser (married to a daughter of Christophe Manlich, the son of Mathias), George Bronnmayer (established in Lyon ca. 1560 and later in Marseille, had a brother in Geneva), both from Augsburg (Sayous, 1935, 398-400). Originally they operated through maritime loans. From 1572 they bought shares in ships (Sayous, 1935, 399-400). In May 1573, Anthoine dies in Marseille, replaced by Melchior Manlich the Younger, but in reality by Gaspard Fleckheimer, from Augsburg. Working for Fleckheimer in Marseille were Georges Bronnmayer, Jean Grüber, from Augsburg, factor of the Manlich, Josué Stroelin, from an important firm from Ulm, François Guiguillet, from Marseille, who accomplished missions abroad for the company (Sayous, 1935, 402). In 1573, the trade becomes more organised, not only maritime loans, but also trade for own account, important share in ships, role in maritime transport (Sayous, 1935, 402-403). Close relationship of the Manlich in Marseille with François de Brumont. Originally from a family of Auch, but went with his father to Geneva for religious reasons. Went to Lyon, where he was formed as a merchant (Sayous, 1935, 404). Just before their bankruptcy, the Manlich set up an unusually important direct trade by sea to the Levant with their own ships from Marseille, where they had set up a factory. This had been done by no other German trading house (Ehrenberg, 1928, 161). Melchior Manlich carried out business with the Levant from Marseille. (Seibold, 1995, 43).	
Tripoli (Syria)		6	3	2	1	>1573-1574	Branch in the early 1570s. The branch in Tripoli was of a certain importance. Here, at least 5 persons worked in the service of Melchior Manlich, headed by Ludwig Lutz from Kaufbeuren. Other staff were Elias Manhofer from Augsburg, Salvacana, from France, and two other Frenchmen. Probably a number of rooms were rented from where a representative, who was also active for other merchants or for his own account, operated and temporarily warehoused the goods. (Seibold, 1995, 141-142). In 1573, Hans Ulrich Kraft went in the service of Melchior Manlich on the ship Santa Croce to Tripoli, where he sold the goods of the Manlich shipped with the same vessel, and purchased goods which were sent back to Marseille. He went to Aleppo in 1574. Later that year he returned to Tripoli. Here, he was imprisoned after the bankruptcy of the	

							Manlich. He only obtained his freedom again in 1577. (144-145). Ludwig Lutz and Salvacana died in prison. (145). In 1574, Melchior Manlich had Levantine goods in store in Marseille, Alexandria and Tripoli. (Seibold, 1995, 152). Branch/representative, at least between 1573 and 1574. (197-198). Representative in Tripoli in 1573 were Ludwig Lutz and Elias Manhofer. (199). Agents in Syria and Egypt: living on a fixed place, but circulating in a large region (Sayous, 1935, 404-405). Hans-Ulrich Krafft, representative and factor of the Manlich in Tripoli, Syria, since 1572. Krafft wrote his memoirs about his travels to and stay in Tripoli (Sayous, 1935, 389-390, 405). Krafft had personnel in Tripoli: Ludwig Lütz, German; Georg Rauwolf; Elias Manhoffer, from Augsburg; Guillaume, a young man from France; Salvacana, shipper from Marseille (Sayous, 1935, 405). François Guiguillet was active for the company in Syria as well (Sayous, 1935, 405). Tripoli in Syria was a regular destination of merchandise sent by the company from Marseille (Sayous, 1935, 406).	
Aleppo		5	3	2	1	>1573-1574	Branch in the early 1570s. Not very large. Probably a number of rooms were rented from where a representative, who was also active for other merchants or for his own account, operated and temporarily warehoused the goods. (Seibold, 1995, 141). Diener in Aleppo was Lazari de Scallis. (142). In 1574, Hans Ulrich Kraft, Diener of Melchior Manlich, travelled from Tripoli to Aleppo. (145). Branch/representative, at least between 1573 and 1574. (197-198). Agents in Syria and Egypt: living on a fixed place, but circulating in a large region (Sayous, 1935, 404-405).	
Alexandria		5	3	2	1	>1572-1574	Branch in the early 1570s. Not very large. Probably a number of rooms were rented from where a representative, who was also active for other merchants or for his own account, operated and temporarily warehoused the goods. (Seibold, 1995, 141). In 1574, Melchior Manlich had Levantine goods in store in Marseille, Alexandria and Tripoli. (Seibold, 1995, 152). Branch/representative, at least between 1573 and 1574. (197-198). Agents in Syria and Egypt: living on a fixed place, but circulating in a large region (Sayous, 1935, 404-405). Regular destination from Marseille of merchandise and ships of the Manlich between 1572 and 1574 (Sayous, 1935, 405-406).	
Constantinople		5	3	2	1	>1572-1574	Branch in the early 1570s. Not very large. Probably a number of rooms were rented from where a representative, who was also active for other merchants or for his own account, operated and temporarily warehoused the goods.	

							(Seibold, 1995, 141). Branch/representative, at least between 1573 and 1574. (197-198). The Manlich traded with several places in the Levant (e.g. Constantinople) from Marseille, hereby they were supported by the Dettighofer firm of Memmingen. (Kellenbenz, 1965, 362). Less regular destination from Marseille of merchandise and ships of the Manlich between 1572 and 1574 (Sayous, 1935, 405-406).	
Famagusta (Cyprus)		5	3	2	1	>1572-1574	Branch in the early 1570s. Not very large. Probably a number of rooms were rented from where a representative, who was also active for other merchants or for his own account, operated and temporarily warehoused the goods. (Seibold, 1995, 141). Branch/representative, at least between 1573 and 1574. (197-198). Cyprus was a regular destination from Marseille of merchandise and ships of the Manlich between 1572 and 1574 (Sayous, 1935, 405-406).	
Antwerp		4	2	2	1	>1573-1574	Johann Heinrich Mundbrot was the representative in Antwerp of Melchior Manlich in 1573. (Seibold, 1995, 125-126). Representatives of the creditors of Melchior Manlich in Antwerp after the bankruptcy were Matthäus Jenisch and Lorenz Krafter. (149). One or more merchants in Antwerp were creditors of Melchior Manlich in 1574. (Seibold, 1995, 150). Business of Melchior Manlich with Hans Paul Herwarth in Lyon and Antwerp. (150). Branch/representative, at least until 1573. (197-198). Agent in Antwerp. (Sayous, 1935, 395).	
Banská Bystrica	M	4	2	2	1	1563-1569	In 1563, Melchior Manlich took over the mining business of Neusohl from the Haug-Langnauer-Linck Gesellschaft. (Seibold, 1995, 95, 125, 134). In the Neusohl copper business, partners of Melchior Manlich were successively the Katzbeck-Manlich (1563-1565), and Philipp Welser (from 1565). (134-135). The Hungarian copper business was given up by Melchior Manlich in 1569. (135, 140). Branch/representative, at least between 1563 and 1569. (197-198). The copper mines of Neusohl were leased by Melchior Manlich and Abraham Katzbeck in 1563-1569. (Hildebrandt, 1996, 37 n. 117).	
Danzig		4	2	2	1	>1573-1574	In 1573, Melchior Manlich gave power of attorney to Philipp Reuter in Danzig, to collect all outstanding debts in Danzig and its hinterland. (Seibold, 1995, 125). In 1575, the creditors of Melchior Manlich negotiated with Hieronymus Angerer about goods belonging to Melchior Manlich in Danzig. (149). At the time of bankruptcy, Melchior Manlich owned	

							merchandise which was stored in Augsburg, Steyr, Ulm, Biberach, Kaufbeuren, Lindau, Memmingen, Danzig, Amsterdam and other places. (Seibold, 1995, 152). Branch/representative, at least until 1573. (197-198).	
Genoa		4	2	2	1	>c.1570<	Genoa was an important centre for the business of Melchior Manlich. Representative in Genoa was Hieronymus Manlich, a son of Melchior's cousin Leonhard. (Seibold, 1995, 126). Branch/representative ca. 1570. (197-198). Representative: Christophe Rem (Sayous, 1935, 404).	
Leipzig		4	2	2	1	>1567-1572<	Factor in Leipzig in 1572 was Martin Kirsten, who succeeded Wolf Kirsten. Via the Kirsten, Manlich had connections with the Heugel in Leipzig. Kirsten sold silks and Hungarian copper for Melchior Manlich in Leipzig. (Seibold, 1995, 125). Branch/representative ca. 1572. (197-198). Representative in Leipzig in 1567-1569 was Wolf Kirsten, in 1572 Martin Kirsten. (199).	
Lisbon		4	2	2	1	>1568-1576	Shipments from Marseille to Lisbon. (Seibold, 1995, 142). Branch/representative, at least between 1568 and 1576. (197-198). Representatives in Lisbon in 1568 were Jeremias Gundelfinger and Sebaldus Lins, in 1576 Jakob Fischer. (199). Regular destination from Marseille of merchandise and ships of the Manlich between 1572 and 1574 (Sayous, 1935, 405-406). In 1568, the company of Melchior Manlich was represented in Portugal by Jeremias Gundelfinger of Nürnberg, and later the same year by Sebaldus Lins. (Seibold, 1995, 126).	
Nürnberg		4	2	2	1	>1565-1574	Representative in Nürnberg was the Nürnberg merchant Lienhart Dillherr. Via Dillherr, Melchior Manlich worked together with Wilhelm Werthemann and brothers, Sebastian Unterholzer, and others, in Nürnberg. (Seibold, 1995, 125). The council of Augsburg intervened for the creditors of Manlich after the bankruptcy in Nürnberg and Ulm. (Seibold, 1995, 149). Apparently, the firm of Melchior Manlich had assets with the Imhoff in Nürnberg at the time of the bankruptcy. (Seibold, 1995, 149). Branch/representative, at least until 1565. (197-198). Representative in Nürnberg ca. 1565 was Lienhart Dillherr. (199).	
Venice		4	2	2	1	>1571-1575	Venice was an important centre for the business of Melchior Manlich. Representative in Venice was David Ott. (Seibold, 1995, 126). Branch/representative, at least between 1571 and 1575. (197-198). David Otto. Became the regular agent of the Manlich in Venice from 16-12-1573 (Sayous, 1935, 404, 404 n. 4).	

Alger		3	2	2	1	1572-1574	Regular destination from Marseille of merchandise and ships of the Manlich between 1572 and 1574 (Sayous, 1935, 405-406).	
Beirut		3	2	2	1	1572-1574	Regular destination from Marseille of merchandise and ships of the Manlich between 1572 and 1574 (Sayous, 1935, 405-406).	
Cádiz		3	2	2	1	1572-1574	Shipments from Marseille to Cadiz, and from there further to England via Rouen. (Seibold, 1995, 142). Regular destination from Marseille of merchandise and ships of the Manlich between 1572 and 1574 (Sayous, 1935, 405-406). Melchior Manlich had connections with Spain. (Seibold, 1995, 126).	
Cap de Galiet		3	2	2	1	1572-1574	In 1573 a ship, the Nostra Dama della Guardia, carrying goods of Melchior Manlich from Marseille to Cap de Galiet (Barbary), sank near Gibraltar. (Seibold, 1995, 141). Regular destination of merchandise from Marseille in 1572-1574: Morocco, cape de Galhet, Barbary Coast (Sayous, 1935, 406).	
Chios		3	2	2	1	1572-1574	Shipments from Marseille to Chios. (Seibold, 1995, 142). Regular destination from Marseille of merchandise and ships of the Manlich between 1572 and 1574 (Sayous, 1935, 405-406).	
Innsbruck		3	2	2	1		Close connection with the court of the archduke of Tirol in Innsbruck, especially via Philipp Welser. (Seibold, 1995, 125).	
Izmir		3	2	2	1	1572-1574	Regular destination from Marseille of merchandise and ships of the Manlich between 1572 and 1574 (Sayous, 1935, 405-406).	
Livorno		3	2	2	1	>1574	Goods of the Levant trade of Melchior Manlich were warehoused in Pisa and Livorno in 1574. They were sequestrated by the creditors of the Manlich in 1574. (Seibold, 1995, 149). Regular return destination of ships sent by the company from Marseille (Sayous, 1935, 406).	
Memmingen		3	2	2	1	>1571-1574	One or more merchants in Memmingen were creditors of Melchior Manlich in 1574. (Seibold, 1995, 150). At the time of bankruptcy, Melchior Manlich owned merchandise which was stored in Augsburg, Steyr, Ulm, Biberach, Kaufbeuren, Lindau, Memmingen, Danzig, Amsterdam and other places. (Seibold, 1995, 152). The Manlich traded with several places in the Levant (e.g. Constantinople) from Marseille, hereby they were supported by the Dettighofer firm of Memmingen. (Kellenbenz, 1965, 362). Investors in the Levant trade of Melchior Manlich were not only his partners Welser and Neidhart, but also David von Dettighofen of Memmingen, and his associates Raphael Sättelin and David von Kirch. (Seibold, 1995, 412-143).	
Morocco		3	2	2	1	1572-1574	In 1573 a ship, the Nostra Dama della Guardia, carrying goods of Melchior	

							Manlich from Marseille to Cap de Galiet (Barbary), sank near Gibraltar. (Seibold, 1995, 141). Regular destination of merchandise from Marseille in 1572-1574: Morocco, cape de Galhet, Barbary Coast (Sayous, 1935, 406).	
Naples		3	2	2	1		Regular return destination of ships sent by the company from Marseille (Sayous, 1935, 406).	
Phocaea		3	2	2	1	1572-1574	Regular destination from Marseille of merchandise and ships of the Manlich between 1572 and 1574 (Sayous, 1935, 405-406).	
Rouen		3	2	2	1	1572-1574	Shipments from Marseille to Cadiz, and from there further to England via Rouen. (Seibold, 1995, 142). Large amounts of Levant goods belonging to Melchior Manlich at the time of the bankruptcy in 1574 were located in several ships, mostly destined for Marseille and Rouen. (152). Less regular destination from Marseille of merchandise and ships of the Manlich between 1572 and 1574 (Sayous, 1935, 405-406).	
Sankt Gallen		3	2	2	1		Melchior Manlich had business connections with Hans Jakob Zilli and brothers in Sankt Gallen. (Seibold, 1995, 125).	
Sicily		3	2	2	1		Regular return destination of ships sent by the company from Marseille (Sayous, 1935, 406).	
Amsterdam		2	2	1	0	>1574	Attorney of the creditors of Melchior Manlich in Amsterdam after the bankruptcy was Bartholomäus Scheurl. (Seibold, 1995, 149). At the time of bankruptcy, Melchior Manlich owned merchandise which was stored in Augsburg, Steyr, Ulm, Biberach, Kaufbeuren, Lindau, Memmingen, Danzig, Amsterdam and other places. (Seibold, 1995, 152).	
Biberach an der Riss		2	2	1	0	>1574	At the time of bankruptcy, Melchior Manlich owned merchandise which was stored in Augsburg, Steyr, Ulm, Biberach, Kaufbeuren, Lindau, Memmingen, Danzig, Amsterdam and other places. (Seibold, 1995, 152).	
Bramberg	H	2	2	1	0	>1572-1574	In 1572, Melchior Manlich operated a smelting hut in the upper Pinzgau near the village Bramberg, west from Mittersill, together with Frantisek Neroti and Christoph Valorsy. (Seibold, 1995, 136-137). In 1574, the Manlich had shares in the mining industry of Pinzgau for a value of ca. 60,000 fl. (Seibold, 1995, 152).	
Cologne		2	2	1	0	>1574	One or more merchants in Cologne were creditors of Melchior Manlich in 1574. (Seibold, 1995, 150).	
Damietta		2	2	1	0	1572-1574	Less regular destination from Marseille of merchandise and ships of the Manlich between 1572 and 1574 (Sayous, 1935, 405-406).	
Esslingen		2	2	1	0	>1574	One or more merchants in Esslingen were creditors of Melchior Manlich in	

							1574. (Seibold, 1995, 150).	
Florence		2	2	1	0	>1577	Goods belonging to the firm of Melchior Manlich in Florence were sequestrated by Melchior Amhofer in 1577 for the creditors of Melchior Manlich. (Seibold, 1995, 149).	
Geneva		2	2	1	0		Melchior Manlich the younger was in Geneva for business in name of his father Melchior the elder. (Seibold, 1995, 144). Jean Brunemair, citizen of Geneva, was the brother of the representative of the Manlich in Marseille, François de Brumont, who was an associate of the Manlich in different affairs. He was a citizen of Geneva like his father (Sayous, 1935, 391 n. 1, 395).	
Le Havre		2	2	1	0	1572-1574	Less regular destination from Marseille of merchandise and ships of the Manlich between 1572 and 1574 (Sayous, 1935, 405-406).	
Kaufbeuren		2	2	1	0	>1574	At the time of bankruptcy, Melchior Manlich owned merchandise which was stored in Augsburg, Steyr, Ulm, Biberach, Kaufbeuren, Lindau, Memmingen, Danzig, Amsterdam and other places. (Seibold, 1995, 152).	
Kempten		2	2	1	0	>1574	One or more merchants in Kempten were creditors of Melchior Manlich in 1574. (Seibold, 1995, 150).	
Kitzbühel		2	2	1	0		Melchior Manlich became active in Kitzbühel, perhaps via the Ligsalz, who were related to Melchior Manlich (his sister-in-law Sybilla Haug was married to Erasmus Ligsalz since 1546). (Seibold, 1995, 97).	
Lindau		2	2	1	0	>1574	At the time of bankruptcy, Melchior Manlich owned merchandise which was stored in Augsburg, Steyr, Ulm, Biberach, Kaufbeuren, Lindau, Memmingen, Danzig, Amsterdam and other places. (Seibold, 1995, 152).	
London		2	2	1	0	1572-1574	In 1573, Melchior Manlich exported grapes to England. (Seibold, 1995, 126). Shipments from Marseille to Cadiz, and from there further to England via Rouen. (Seibold, 1995, 142). London was a less regular destination from Marseille of merchandise and ships of the Manlich between 1572 and 1574 (Sayous, 1935, 405-406).	
Malta		2	2	1	0	1572-1574	Less regular destination from Marselle of merchandise and ships of the Manlich between 1572 and 1574 (Sayous, 1935, 405-406).	
Munich		2	2	1	0	>1574	One or more merchants in Munich were creditors of Melchior Manlich in 1574. (Seibold, 1995, 150).	
Pisa		2	2	1	0	>1574	Goods of the Levant trade of Melchior Manlich were warehoused in Pisa and Livorno in 1574. They were sequestrated by the creditors of the Manlich in 1574. (Seibold, 1995, 149).	

Salzburg		2	2	1	0	>1568-1574<	Outstanding debts to Christoph Berner in Salzburg in 1568. (Seibold, 1995, 125). One or more merchants in Salzburg were creditors of Melchior Manlich in 1574. (Seibold, 1995, 150).	
Savoie		2	2	1	0	>1566<	In 1566, connections existed with Savoie. (Seibold, 1995, 126).	
Steyr		2	2	1	0	>1571-1574	Melchior Manlich exported iron from Steyr in 1571. (Seibold, 1995, 136). At the time of bankruptcy, Melchior Manlich owned merchandise which was stored in Augsburg, Steyr, Ulm, Biberach, Kaufbeuren, Lindau, Memmingen, Danzig, Amsterdam and other places. (Seibold, 1995, 152).	
Strasbourg		2	2	1	0	>1574	One or more merchants in Strasbourg were creditors of Melchior Manlich in 1574. (Seibold, 1995, 150).	
Ulm		2	2	1	0	>1574	The council of Augsburg intervened for the creditors of Manlich after the bankruptcy in Nürnberg and Ulm. (Seibold, 1995, 149). One or more merchants in Ulm were creditors of Melchior Manlich in 1574. (Seibold, 1995, 150). At the time of bankruptcy, Melchior Manlich owned merchandise which was stored in Augsburg, Steyr, Ulm, Biberach, Kaufbeuren, Lindau, Memmingen, Danzig, Amsterdam and other places. (Seibold, 1995, 152).	
Vienna		2	2	1	0	>1574	One or more merchants in Vienna were creditors of Melchior Manlich in 1574. (Seibold, 1995, 150).	
Horní Slavkov		1	1	1	0	1570	Debt of Hans Gwinner in Schlaggenwald to the firm of Melchior Manlich in 1570. (Seibold, 1995, 149).	
Poznań		1	1	1	0	>1566<	In 1566, a client of the company of Melchior Manlich in Poznan was mentioned. (Seibold, 1995, 125).	
Schwäbisch Gmünd		1	1	1	0	>1574	Apparently, the firm of Melchior Manlich had assets in Schwäbisch Gmund at the time of the bankruptcy. (Seibold, 1995, 149).	

+ Centres indicated on the map in Seibold (1995, 198) represent either branches or agents of the Manlich. I have attributed them a score 6-2-2-1 when other evidence indicates the existence of a branch here, and a score 4-2-2-1 otherwise.

OESTERREICHER, before 1538 – ca. 1618

(Or Österreicher). From modest beginnings, the firm of the Augsburg Oesterreicher family expanded largely shortly after the mid-16th century. Georg Oesterreicher, burgomaster of Augsburg in 1548, had a firm in Augsburg, but being a protestant he had to remove his business to Saxony. Georg was especially active in the trade in textiles from Saxony and financial business. After his death in 1566, his nephew Hans Oesterreicher took over parts of Georg's capital. The Augsburg enterprise of Hans Oesterreicher was very successful and experienced a remarkable growth up to his death in 1590, when the company was taken over by his sons Hans Georg (1558-1606), Daniel (d. 1612) and Hans Jakob Oesterreicher (d. 1613), and their brother-in-law Hans Steininger (1552-1634) under the name "Hans Oesterreicher sel. Erben". The wealth of the family decreased rapidly from the beginning of the Thirty Years War (1618). (Häberlein, 1999, 462-463; Kellenbenz, 1954, 168).

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Source material:

Size: Medium-sized or large

Capital in 1590: 600,000 gulden (Kellenbenz, 1954, 168). From modest beginnings, the firm of the Augsburg Oesterreicher family expanded largely shortly after the mid-16th century. The Augsburg enterprise of Hans Oesterreicher was very successful and experienced a remarkable growth up to his death in 1590. (Kellenbenz, 1954, 168). Hans Oesterreicher was among the richest inhabitants of Augsburg already in the 1570s. (Häberlein, 1999, 462-463). The total capital of the firm amounted to a maximum of ca. 850,000 Gulden in 1608. This capital consisted almost entirely of capital invested by the partners and their family members and employees. (Häberlein, 1999, 462-463).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Import of Italian silks and velvet, export of fustians, linen and bombasin from Oberschwaben and Chemnitz. Also trade in products of the Nurnberg industry, especially knives (Kellenbenz, 1954, 168-169). Less active in trade in spices and overseas products (Kellenbenz, 1954, 169). Georg Oesterreicher was especially active in the trade in textiles from Saxony and financial business. The firm "Hans Oesterreicher sel. Erben" traded especially in German and Italian textile products. Important oxen trade. (Häberlein, 1999, 462-463).
- Finance: Georg Oesterreicher was especially active in the trade in textiles from Saxony and financial business. (Häberlein, 1999, 462-463).
- Industry: Georg Oesterreicher was part-owner of a smelting hut in Grünthal (Saxony) in 1538. (Häberlein, 1999, 462-463).

Network of the Oesterreicher:

The firm of the sons and son-in-law of Hans Oesterreicher (from 1590) was active in trade in Germany, Austria, Italy, the Low Countries, and sporadically also on the Iberian peninsula. (Häberlein, 1999, 462-463).

Table A..1. Network of the Oesterreicher, ca. 1590 – ca. 1618

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Augsburg		8	4	3	1	>1590-1618<	Headquarters (Kellenbenz, 1954, 168). The main centres of the business of the Oesterreicher were Augsburg and Vienna (Kellenbenz, 1954, 168). The Oesterreicher were especially active in Italy and Southern Germany (Kellenbenz, 1954, 168).	
Florence		6	3	2	1	<1590-1618>	The firm "Hans Oesterreicher sel. Erben" had large branches in Vienna, Genoa and Florence. (Häberlein, 1999, 462-463).	
Genoa		6	3	2	1	<1591-1618>	Contacts with Barcelona and Zaragoza via Genoa (Kellenbenz, 1954, 168-169). In Genoa, the Oesterreicher had more assets than in the North Sea ports in 1591-1618 (Kellenbenz, 1954, 169). The Oesterreicher were especially active in Italy and Southern Germany (Kellenbenz, 1954, 168). The firm "Hans Oesterreicher sel. Erben" had large branches in Vienna, Genoa and Florence. (Häberlein, 1999, 462-463).	
Vienna		6	3	2	1	<1590-1618>	The main centres of the business of the Oesterreicher were Augsburg and Vienna (Kellenbenz, 1954, 168). The firm "Hans Oesterreicher sel. Erben" had large branches in Vienna, Genoa and Florence. (Häberlein, 1999, 462-463).	
Amsterdam		3	2	2	1	<1591-1618>	The Oesterreicher had assets in Amsterdam in 1591-1618, and exported via	

							Amsterdam in 1591-1618 (Kellenbenz, 1954, 169). In Bolzano, Amsterdam, Middelburg, Hamburg, and a number of High German cities, the firm “Hans Oesterreicher sel. Erben” was represented by commissionaries. (Häberlein, 1999, 462-463).	
Antwerp		3	2	2	1	<1591-1618>	Business of the Oesterreicher in Antwerp. The Oesterreicher exported via Antwerp in 1591-1618 (Kellenbenz, 1954, 168).	
Barcelona		3	2	2	1	>1591-1592<	Business connections with Barcelona (Kellenbenz, 1954, 168). Saffron from Aragon imported by the Oesterreicher from Barcelona in 1591-92 (Kellenbenz, 1954, 169).	
Bolzano		3	2	2	1	<1590-1618>	In Bolzano, Amsterdam, Middelburg, Hamburg, and a number of High German cities, the firm “Hans Oesterreicher sel. Erben” was represented by commissionaries. (Häberlein, 1999, 462-463).	
Chemnitz		3	2	2	1		Trade in fustians and linen from Chemnitz (Kellenbenz, 1954, 168). Export of fustians, linen and bombasin from Oberschwaben and Chemnitz. (Kellenbenz, 1954, 168-169). The Oesterreicher were active in east middle Germany (Kellenbenz, 1954, 168).	
Hamburg		3	2	2	1	<1591-1618>	Business of the Oesterreicher in Hamburg (Kellenbenz, 1954, 168). No factors in Hamburg, but representation by the agents of other firms (Kellenbenz, 1954, 169). In Hamburg, the Oesterreicher had more assets than in the other North Sea ports in 1591-1618 (Kellenbenz, 1954, 169). In Bolzano, Amsterdam, Middelburg, Hamburg, and a number of High German cities, the firm “Hans Oesterreicher sel. Erben” was represented by commissionaries. (Häberlein, 1999, 462-463).	
Leipzig		3	2	2	1		In Leipzig, very close business cooperation with the firms of Thomas Lebzelter and the Schwendendörfer (Kellenbenz, 1954, 168). The Oesterreicher were active in east middle Germany (Kellenbenz, 1954, 168).	
Lisbon		3	2	2	1	>1607-1608<	Business connections with Lisbon (Kellenbenz, 1954, 168). Export of knives to Lisbon in 1607-08 (Kellenbenz, 1954, 169).	
Lyon		3	2	2	1	last 3rd 16th c.	In last 3rd of the 16th century, the Oesterreicher were active in Lyon (Kellenbenz, 1954, 383 n. 29).	
Middelburg		3	2	2	1	<1590-1618>	Business of the Oesterreicher in Middelburg (Kellenbenz, 1954, 168). In Bolzano, Amsterdam, Middelburg, Hamburg, and a number of High German cities, the firm “Hans Oesterreicher sel. Erben” was represented by commissionaries. (Häberlein, 1999, 462-463).	
Nürnberg		3	2	2	1		Export of products of the Nurnberg industries (Kellenbenz, 1954, 168). In	

							Bolzano, Amsterdam, Middelburg, Hamburg, and a number of High German cities, the firm “Hans Oesterreicher sel. Erben” was represented by commissionaries. (Häberlein, 1999, 462-463).	
Rotterdam		3	2	2	1		Business of the Oesterreicher in Rotterdam (Kellenbenz, 1954, 168).	
San Lúcar		3	2	2	1		Business connections with San Lucar (Kellenbenz, 1954, 168).	
Sevilla		3	2	2	1	>1605-1606<	Business connections with Sevilla (Kellenbenz, 1954, 168). Export of knives to Sevilla in 1605-06 (Kellenbenz, 1954, 169).	
Stade		3	2	2	1		Business of the Oesterreicher in Stade (Kellenbenz, 1954, 168).	
Venice		3	2	2	1	until 1600	Import of pepper and “kermes” through Venice until 1600 (Kellenbenz, 1954, 169). The Oesterreicher were especially active in Italy and Southern Germany (Kellenbenz, 1954, 168).	
Zaragoza		3	2	2	1		Business connections with Zaragoza (Kellenbenz, 1954, 168).	

PALER AND WEIβ, 1547 – 1624/1629

Paler: Augsburg family. *Homines novi* of the 16th century. (Hildebrandt, 1996, 22). Mathias (I) Paler (ca. 1464-1506) came from Vienna to southern Germany around 1500 in the service of the Emperor. One of his sons, Matthias (II) established himself in Joachimsthal, while Wolf (I) (ca. 1504-1582), another son, resided in Augsburg. (25). In 1547, Wolf (I) Paler and Konrad Herbst (d. 1559) founded a firm in Augsburg. (27). This firm was closely related to the Augsburg firm of Lienhard (II) Weiβ (1503-1547), which was continued by his sons under the name "Lienhard Weiβ sel. Erben" in 1547, which still existed in 1586. (27). The Augsburg families Weiβ, Paler, Wagner and Herbst formed a single financial group. Only the Weiβ counted among the established merchant families of Augsburg already by the early 16th century. (28). Franz (I) Wagner (d. 1530) was a representative for the Paumgartner in Schwaz, ca. 1508-1516. He was married to Magdalena Weiβ. After his death in 1530, his daughters married into the Paler and Herbst families. (28-29). Close connection between the Paler-Herbst and Weiβ firms until the end of the 16th century. (29). After the death of Konrad Herbst in 1559, the firm was continued by Wolf (I) Paler on his own. (29). Hans Herbst remained probably as a silent partner attached to the firm, but he died in 1573. (29). In 1585 the latest, Franz (II) Wagner (d. 1604) became a partner in the firm of Wolf Paler. (30). By 1585, the firm was named Wolf (II) Paler and Franz (II) Wagner. By 1582, Franz (II) Wagner occupied a leading function in the firm. (30 n. 75). In 1593/94, the cooperation between the Paler, Wagner and Weiβ ended as a result of the death of David (1531-1593) and Daniel Weiβ (d. 1594), sons of Lienhard (II), and the division of their fortune among their heirs. After the death of Franz (II) Wagner in 1604, his heirs did not continue his business activities either. (30-31). While the Herbst family died out, the Paler, Wagner and Weiβ entered the patriciate of Augsburg. (31). After 1593/94, Wolf (II) Paler (1545-1622) continued farming the copper trade of Neusohl with a new partner, Bartholomäus Castell. Nevertheless, the capital of the firm was not large enough anymore to support the farming of the mining business of Neusohl, for which large advances of money were necessary. (31). Wolf (II) Paler was not able to liquidate his interests in this business, since many of the debts owed to him could not be collected in the short term. (32). From 1602, a new partner for farming the Neusohl copper trade was found in Lazarus Henckel the elder (d. 1624), who was backed by sufficient capital and had good connections with the imperial court. (32). In 1601 and 1602, the Paler became strongly connected through marriage with the Rehlinger: Hieronymus (III) Rehlinger (1572-1649) married Rosina Paler in 1601, and in 1602 Marx Conrad Rehlinger (1575-1642) married Magdalena Paler. (32). Marx Conrad Rehlinger became active in the Paler firm, where he soon obtained an influential position. (32). In 1612, Marx Conrad Rehlinger became manager of the firm. (32-33). Through the marriages with the Rehlinger, Wolf (II) Paler became related to the financially strong families Bodeck in Frankfurt and Imhoff in Nürnberg, as well as to Zacharias Geizkofler. Connections with the Jenisch existed already before. (33). This new financial group of Paler, Jenisch, Rehlinger, Bodeck and Imhoff had much stronger international connections as well as political influences. (33). After the death of Wolf (II) Paler in 1622, the firm was taken over not by his son Leonhard Paler, but by Marx Conrad Rehlinger. (35). In 1630, the possessions of Marx Conrad Rehlinger were confiscated by the Emperor, and he fled to Switzerland in 1629. (34-35, 41). Due to a new 3-year agreement for the copper trade of Neusohl in 1624, the Paler firm began to retire from this branch of the business, which finally also resulted in the dissolution of the firm. (36-37). After he fled to Switzerland in 1629, Marx Conrad Rehlinger remained involved in merchant-

banking until his death in 1642. (37, 41). In what follows, only the network until ca. 1600 (before the marriages between Paler and Rehlinger) will be reconstructed.

In the early 16th century, the Weiβ were involved in the saffron trade with L'Aquila. (Seibold, 1995, 20). Leonhard Weiβ (d. 1547) had 6 sons, who traded in a large variety of goods. One of them, Daniel, was married to Maria, a daughter of Melchior Manlich. Another son, Elias, established himself in Hamburg, while Tobias (married to Jakobine Manlich, niece of Melchior) went to Vienna. (Seibold, 1995, 98, 135-136).

References:

Hildebrandt, R., ed., 1996. *Quellen und Regesten zu den Augsburger Handelshäusern Paler und Rehlinger 1539-1642. Wirtschaft und Politik im 16./17. Jahrhundert. Teil 1: 1539-1623*. Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag (Deutsche Handelsakten des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit, 19).

I did not consult:

Source material:

Familienarchiv der Freiherren von Rehlingen in the Staatsarchiv of Munich (especially for the first half of the 17th century, notably for the business activities of Wolf Paler the younger and his son-in-law Marx Conrad Rehlinger). Source material on the Paler can be found in more than twenty archives and libraries in Germany and elsewhere. (Hildebrandt, 1996, 13-14). Information about the business of the Paler family can be found in the Hofkammerarchiv of Vienna, the town archives of Augsburg. (38-39).

Size: Large

For their involvement in the copper trade of Neusohl, the Paler and Weiβ had to advance yearly the huge sum of 120,000 fl. (Hildebrandt, 1996, 30). By 1604, the Neusohl copper trade had 108,000 fl. debts to Wolf (II) Paler. (32). The Paller and Weiss from Augsburg were the largest traders in Hungarian copper in the 2nd half of the 16th century (Kellenbenz, 1954, 170-171).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Main business of the firm of Wolf Paler and Konrad Herbst were banking and commercial activities for Ferdinand I. (Hildebrandt, 1996, 27). Trade in copper of Neusohl. (28, 30). Trade in oxen of Hungary (decline ca. 1574), English cloth, copper of Tirol (declined early 17th c.): these all declined as a result of the strong involvement of the firms Paler and Weiβ in the copper business of Neusohl since 1569. (30). Increasing concentration on metals trade after 1569. (30). The Paller and Weiss from Augsburg were the largest traders in Hungarian copper in the 2nd half of the 16th century (Kellenbenz, 1954, 170-171).

- Finance: Already in 1510, Ulrich Weiβ and partners of Augsburg provided a loan to Maximilian I. (Seibold, 1995, 18). Main business of the firm of Wolf Paler and Konrad Herbst were banking and commercial activities for Ferdinand I. Especially credit was advanced to support the war against the Ottomans. In relation to this, important financial activities at the European fairs. (Hildebrandt, 1996, 27-28). Increasing concentration on banking and metals trade after 1569. (30).
- Industry: Important involvement in the copper business of Neusohl: lease of the copper mines of Neusohl. (28, 30). Also involved in tin mining in Altenberg. (30).

Network of the Paler and Weiβ:

The involvement in the Neusohl copper consortium since 1569 resulted in the decline of the other branches of the Paler and Weiβ businesses. Increasingly, the activities of the company were concentrated in Central and Eastern Europe. (Hildebrandt, 1996, 30).

Table A..1. Network of the Paler and Weiβ, 1547 – ca. 1600 (especially ca. 1575 – ca. 1600)

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Augsburg		8	4	3	1	1547-1629	Headquarters. (Hildebrandt, 1996, 27). In the early 17th c., the Paler were represented in Augsburg by the Paler, Jenisch, Hainhofer and Zobel (Martin). (Hildebrandt, 1996, 33). Headquarters ca. 1575-1600. (452).	
Amsterdam		6	3	2	1	>c.1575-early 17th c.<	Faktorei ca. 1575-1600. (452). In the early 17th c., the Paler were represented in Amsterdam by the Jenisch. (Hildebrandt, 1996, 33).	
Banská Bystrica	M	6	3	2	1	1569-1624<	Faktorei ca. 1575-1600. (452). The Paler were involved in the copper trade of Neusohl. (Hildebrandt, 1996, 28). In 1569, the Paler and Weiβ firms had founded a consortium (each 50 % investment) for the control of the copper trade of Neusohl. (30). Participation in the copper consortium of Neusohl: 1569-1593: Paler and Weiβ 50 % each; 1593-1602: Paler and Castell 50 % each; 1602-1607: Wolf (II) Paler and Lazarus Henckel 25 % each, and Castell 50%; 1607-1622: Wolf (II) Paler and Lazarus Henckel 50 % each. (31 n. 84). Due to a new 3-year agreement for the copper trade of Neusohl in 1624, the Paler firm began to retire from this branch of the business, which finally also resulted in the dissolution of the firm. (36-37). In 1569, the Weiβ together with the Paler (Wolf Paller) took over the Neusohl copper business as successor of Melchior Manlich and partners. The Weiβ and Paler remained involved in the Neusohl copper business respectively until 1603 and 1622. (Seibold, 1995, 98, 135-136).	

Danzig		6	3	2	1	>c.1575-c.1600<	Faktorei ca. 1575-1600. (452).	
Kraków		6	3	2	1	>c.1575-c.1600<	Faktorei ca. 1575-1600. (452).	
Leipzig		6	3	2	1	>c.1575-early 17th c.<	Faktorei ca. 1575-1600. (452). In the early 17th c., the Paler were represented in Leipzig by the Lebzelter. (Hildebrandt, 1996, 33).	
Lisbon		6	3	2	1	>c.1575-c.1600<	Faktorei ca. 1575-1600. (452).	
Lyon		6	3	2	1	>1574-c.1600<	Faktorei ca. 1575-1600. (452). Copper business with Melchior Manlich in Lyon before 1574. (Seibold, 1995, 150).	
Teschen		6	3	2	1	>c.1575-c.1600<	Faktorei ca. 1575-1600. (452).	
Vienna		6	3	2	1	c.1547-early 17th c.<	Faktorei ca. 1575-1600. (452). Factor in Vienna of Wolf Paler and Konrad Herbst for many years was Hieronymus von der Au (ca. 1547-1560). (Hildebrandt, 1996, 27 n. 64). Factor of Wolf (I) Paler in Vienna in 1574: Mathias Steinherr. (30 n. 76). Tobias Weiβ, brother of David and Daniel, represented the copper consortium in Vienna (before 1584/88). (30 n. 81). In the early 17th century, Marx Conrad Rehlinger carried out difficult negociations in Prague and Vienna for the Paler firm. (32). In the early 17th c., the Paler were represented in Vienna by the Henckel (Lazarus) and Bair (Elias). (Hildebrandt, 1996, 33). Tobias Weiβ (married to Jakobine Manlich, niece of Melchior) went to Vienna. (Seibold, 1995, 98, 135-136).	
Bolzano		3	2	2	1	>c.1575-c.1600<	Commissionary ca. 1575-1600. (452).	
Frankfurt am Main		3	2	2	1	>c.1575-early 17th c.<	Commissionary ca. 1575-1600. (452). In the early 17th c., the Paler were represented in Frankfurt am Main by the Bodeck (Hans). (Hildebrandt, 1996, 33). The firm of Marx Rehlinger regularly visited the fairs of Frankfurt. (Dietz, 1921, II, 311).	
Hamburg		3	2	2	1	>1569-early 17th c.<	Commissionary ca. 1575-1600. (452). The Paler imported English cloth via Hamburg and Nürnberg. This branch of their trade declined after 1569. (Hildebrandt, 1996, 30). Elias Weiβ, brother of David and Daniel, temporarily resided in Hamburg. (30 n. 81). In the early 17th c., the Paler were represented in Hamburg by the Jenisch. (Hildebrandt, 1996, 33). Elias, a son of Leonhard Weiβ, established himself in Hamburg. (Seibold, 1995, 98, 135-136). Gilis de Greve had connections with the Paler & Weiss in the	

							1570s. (Kalus, 2009, 16).	
London		3	2	2	1	>c.1575-c.1600<	Commissionary ca. 1575-1600. (452).	
Lübeck		3	2	2	1	>c.1575-c.1600<	Commissionary ca. 1575-1600. (452).	
Marseille		3	2	2	1	>c.1575-c.1600<	Commissionary ca. 1575-1600. (452).	
Nürnberg		3	2	2	1	>1569-early 17th c.<	Commissionary ca. 1575-1600. (452). The Paler imported English cloth via Hamburg and Nürnberg. This branch of their trade declined after 1569. (Hildebrandt, 1996, 30). In the early 17th c., the Paler were represented in Nürnberg by the Imhoff (Andreas). (Hildebrandt, 1996, 33).	
Venice		3	2	2	1	>c.1575-c.1600<	Commissionary ca. 1575-1600. (452).	
Wrocław		3	2	2	1	>c.1575-c.1600<	Commissionary ca. 1575-1600. (452).	
Africa		2	2	1	0	>c.1575-c.1600<	Connections with Africa via Lisbon. (452).	
Altenberg	M	2	2	1	0	16th c.	Involved in tin mining in Altenberg (together with Martin Zobel and Melchior Hainhofer). The company remained active in Altenberg in the latter part of the 16th century. (30).	
Asia		2	2	1	0	>c.1575-c.1600<	Connections with Asia via Lisbon. (452).	
Eastern Mediterranean		2	2	1	0	>c.1575-c.1600<	Connections with the Levant via Marseille. (452).	
Prague		1	1	1	0	early 17th c.	In the early 17th century, Marx Conrad Rehlinger carried out difficult negociations in Prague and Vienna for the Paler firm. (32).	

POPPLAU, first half 15th century – 1515

Three successive generations of the Popplau family were active in commerce in Wrocław during the 15th and early 16th centuries. The brothers Hans (d. 1455) and Hieronymus (d. 1451) Popplau, sons of Nikolaus (d. 1428) and their cousins Nickel and Andreas (d. 1465), sons of Paul (d. 1441/54) were merchants in Wrocław in the first half of the 15th century. Nickel and Andreas came originally from Liegnitz, but went to Wrocław in the 1440s, where they became of importance very quickly. (Petry, 1935, 2-3). In the second half of the 15th century, the business of the Popplau was in hands of Kaspar (d. 1499) and Nikolaus (d. ca. 1490), sons of Hans, and of Markus (d. 1506) and Andreas (d. 1507), sons of Andreas the elder. During this generation, the Popplau business kept on growing. At the same time, the family began to divert some of its investments in landed property. After the death of Markus in 1506, the firm was continued by Hans Popplau (d. 1537), son of Kaspar, but he gave up the business after 1515, and retired to his landed estates. His children got into debts and lost the property of the family. The Popplau family extinguished in the male line around 1600. (Petry, 1935, 2-4).

The principal partners in the Popplau firm were the two branches of the Popplau family, as well as members of the Rotichen family. Partners at the end of the 15th century for example were Kaspar Popplau, Markus and Andreas Popplau, and Hans Rotichen. After his death in 1499, Kaspar was replaced as a partner by his wife and children. (Petry, 1935, 75-76). Markus Popplau and Hans Rotichen died in 1505/06. Andreas Popplau died two years later. After his death, this branch of the Popplau family was not represented anymore in the company. Hans Rotichen was replaced as a partner by his son Kaspar in 1506, and in 1507 by his daughter Barbara and her husband Ambrosius Jenkwitz. Later, Nickel Jenkwitz, brother of Ambrosius, also became a partner in the firm. (Petry, 1935, 76). Normally the company was headed by two partners: Kaspar and Markus Popplau in 1498; then Markus Popplau and Hans Rotichen; in 1506 Hans Popplau, sometimes together with Kaspar Rotichen, and from 1509 together with Nickel Schebitz. The first head was the real manager of the company, while the second head replaced the first one when he was away on business travel. (Petry, 1935, 76-77).

The Popplau came originally from Liegnitz (Legnica), where they are mentioned for the first time at the end of the 14th century. Nikolaus Popplau was an alderman of Liegnitz in 1399. The brothers Nikolaus and Paul Popplau were merchants of Liegnitz. (Petry, 1935, 98-99). The brothers Hieronimus (d. 1451) and Niklas (d. before 1451) remained in Liegnitz. Their brothers Hans and Paul Popplau gave up their citizenship of Liegnitz in 1433. Hans Popplau, the most important member of the family during this generation, established himself in Wrocław. (Petry, 1935, 103-104).

References:

Petry, L., 1935. *Die Popplau. Eine schlesische Kaufmannsfamilie des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*. Wrocław, M. & H. Marcus (Historische Untersuchungen, 15).

I did not consult:

Radzikowski, P., 2008. *Reisebeschreibung Niclas von Popplau, Ritters, Burtig von Breslau*. Kraków, Trans-Krak.

Source material:

An account book of the Popplau firm has been preserved. (Petry, 1935, 2). An account book has been preserved covering the years 1502-1516 (the last years of activity of the company). It has been preserved, together with some other sources about the Popplau, in the archives of Wrocław. (Petry, 1935, 4, 27). Additional data about the Popplau can be found in the archives of Liegnitz, Frankfurt an der Oder, Danzig, Stettin, Cracow, Görlitz, Leipzig, Nürnberg, Frankfurt am Main, and the Low Countries. (Petry, 1935, 34-39).

Size: Small or medium-sized

The size of the capital of the Popplau firm is not known. In the early 16th century it probably amounted to at least 10,000 or 15,000 fl. (Petry, 1935, 84-85). Between 1500 and 1510, the annual turn-over of the Popplau ranged probably between 9,000 and 22,000 hungarian florins (Jeannin, 1963a, 53).

Main activities:

- Commerce: The Popplau were largely wholesale cloth merchants, although they also sold small amounts of cloth in retail at the fairs of Wrocław. (Petry, 1935, 47-48). The Popplau traded almost entirely in cloth, mostly luxury cloth from England and the Low Countries (cloth from Bruges, Leuven, Mechelen, Brussels, Hondschoote, Valenciennes, Arras,…), and in much smaller quantities also cloth from the Rhineland (Aachen and Speyer). Not much is known about the other commercial activities of the Popplau. They also appear to have traded in other goods such as amber, horses, pepper and other spices, wax, wine, linen, silk, herring, etc., but in much smaller quantities. (Petry, 1935, 49, 53, 55-60). In the period before 1450, the Popplau of Liegnitz traded in silver, cloth, linen, herring, and perhaps also in spices, wax, etc. (Petry, 1935, 100-101).
- Finance: The Popplau normally sold their cloth on credit. (Petry, 1935, 47-48). Nothing is known about any involvement of the Popplau in the money trade. (Petry, 1935, 67 n. 138).
- Industry:

Network of the Popplau, mid 15th century (not used network):

Table A..1. Network of the Popplau, mid 15th century

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Wrocław		3 **8**	2 **4**	2 **3**	1 **1**	>1417-c.1430s c.1430s-1515	Headquarters. (Petry, 1935, 2-3, map). The Popplau of Liegnitz had close ties with Wrocław. They were active at the fairs of Wrocław (e.g. in 1417, 1425). (Petry, 1935, 100). Hans Popplau was the first member of the family	

							to establish himself in Wrocław. (Petry, 1935, 103-104).	
Danzig		3	2	2	1	c.1450	In the middle of the 15th century, the Popplau traded in partnerships with citizens of Frankfurt an der Oder, Danzig and Stettin. (Petry, 1935, 35). The Popplau had (a) debtor(s) in Danzig ca. 1450. (Petry, 1935, 156, map).	
Frankfurt an der Oder		3	2	2	1	>1433- c.1450<	In the middle of the 15th century, the Popplau traded in partnerships with citizens of Frankfurt an der Oder, Danzig and Stettin. (Petry, 1935, 35). The Popplau had (a) debtor(s) in Frankfurt an der Oder ca. 1450. (Petry, 1935, 156, map). In the early 15th century the Popplau had connections with Frankfurt an der Oder and Stralsund (e.g. 1433). (Petry, 1935, 98-99).	
Legnica		8 **3**	4 **2**	3 **2**	1 **1**	early 15th c.- c.1430s c.1430s-1451<	The brothers Nickel and Andreas Popplau came originally from Liegnitz, but established themselves in Wrocław in the 1440s. (Petry, 1935, 2-3). The Popplau had (a) debtor(s) in Liegnitz ca. 1450. (Petry, 1935, 156, map). The brothers Nikolaus and Paul Popplau were merchants of Liegnitz at the beginning of the 15th century. (Petry, 1935, 98-99). The brothers Hieronimus (d. 1451) and Niklas (d. before 1451) remained in Liegnitz. (Petry, 1935, 103-104).	
Szczecin		3	2	2	1	>1407- c.1450<	In the middle of the 15th century, the Popplau traded in partnerships with citizens of Frankfurt an der Oder, Danzig and Stettin. (Petry, 1935, 35). The Popplau had (a) debtor(s) in Stettin ca. 1450. (Petry, 1935, 156, map). Nikolaus and Paul Popplau, merchants of Liegnitz, had connections with Stettin in the early 15th century. They were creditors to citizens of Stettin (e.g. in 1407/08, 1410, 1421, 1440, 1449).	
Görlitz		2	2	1	0	c.1450	The Popplau had (a) debtor(s) in Görlitz ca. 1450. (Petry, 1935, 156, map). In the period 1405-1424, the Popplau of Liegnitz had connections with Görlitz, Glogau, Sprottau and Crossen. These connections were limited to public loans in the form of purchases of rents. (Petry, 1935, 100, 102).	
Graz		2	2	1	0	c.1450	The Popplau had (a) debtor(s) in Graz ca. 1450. (Petry, 1935, 156, map).	
Kraków		2	2	1	0	>1440- c.1450<	The Popplau had (a) debtor(s) in Kraków ca. 1450. (Petry, 1935, 156, map). A debtor of the Popplau was mentioned for the first time in Kraków in 1440. (Petry, 1935, 99-100).	
Prague		2	2	1	0	c.1450	The Popplau had (a) debtor(s) in Prague ca. 1450. (Petry, 1935, 156, map).	
Regensburg		2	2	1	0	c.1450	The Popplau had (a) debtor(s) in Regensburg ca. 1450. (Petry, 1935, 156, map).	
Sopron		2	2	1	0	c.1450	The Popplau had (a) debtor(s) in Ödenburg ca. 1450. (Petry, 1935, 156, map).	

Stralsund		2	2	1	0	>1433-c.1450<	The Popplau had (a) debtor(s) in Stralsund ca. 1450. (Petry, 1935, 156, map). In the early 15th century the Popplau had connections with Frankfurt an der Oder and Stralsund (e.g. 1433). (Petry, 1935, 98-99).	
Toruń		2	2	1	0	c.1450	The Popplau had (a) debtor(s) in Thorn ca. 1450. (Petry, 1935, 156, map).	
Vienna		2	2	1	0	c.1450	The Popplau had (a) debtor(s) in Vienna ca. 1450. (Petry, 1935, 156, map).	
Wiener Neustadt		2	2	1	0	c.1450	The Popplau had (a) debtor(s) in Neustadt ca. 1450. (Petry, 1935, 156, map).	
Zittau		2	2	1	0	c.1450	The Popplau had (a) debtor(s) in Zittau ca. 1450. (Petry, 1935, 156, map).	
Głogów		1	1	1	0	>1405-1424<	In the period 1405-1424, the Popplau of Liegnitz had connections with Görlitz, Glogau, Sprottau and Crossen. These connections were limited to public loans in the form of purchases of rents. (Petry, 1935, 100, 102).	
Krosno		1	1	1	0	>1405-1424<	In the period 1405-1424, the Popplau of Liegnitz had connections with Görlitz, Glogau, Sprottau and Crossen. These connections were limited to public loans in the form of purchases of rents. (Petry, 1935, 100, 102).	
Szprotawa		1	1	1	0	>1405-1424<	In the period 1405-1424, the Popplau of Liegnitz had connections with Görlitz, Glogau, Sprottau and Crossen. These connections were limited to public loans in the form of purchases of rents. (Petry, 1935, 100, 102).	

Network of the Popplau, 1502 – 1512:

The customers of the Popplau mostly purchased on credit. (Petry, 1935, 40). The Popplau sold their goods mostly to clients from Silesia and the surrounding regions, especially coming from an area east of Wrocław (mostly Poland). (Petry, 1935, 41). The customers of the Popplau mostly purchased cloth on credit from the Popplau firm at the fairs of Wrocław. Payment took place normally a year later, at the same fairs. These clients were mostly merchants themselves, rather than consumers. (Petry, 1935, 45-48). The Popplau imported cloth from the west to Wrocław. It is not known whether they carried out a corresponding east-west trade. (Petry, 1935, 55-60). Business travels were made by members of the company for purchases of cloth in the west, to the fairs of Frankfurt and Leipzig, and for collection of debts from customers in the east. Purchases in the west were mostly made by younger members of the company, while claims to the debtors in the east were normally made by the head of the company himself. (Petry, 1935, 77-78).

Table A..2. Network of the Popplau, 1502 – 1512

City	**R**	**Score**				**Period**	**Type of presence**	**References**
Wrocław		8	4	3	1	first half 15th c.	Headquarters. (Petry, 1935, 2-3, map). According to the account book the	

						-1515	Popplau had 38 clients in Wrocław between 1502 and 1512. They purchased for a total of 60,636 1/8 fl. (Petry, 1935, 40, 156-157, map). Customers in Wrocław were often family members of the Popplau, or members of the company, such as Hans and Kaspar Rotichen, Hans, Baltasar and Wenzel Hornig, Kaspar Krewitz, Mathis and Melchior Lebe, and Ambrosius Jenkwitz. Other clients were the Uthmann, Niklas Schneider, etc. (Petry, 1935, 44).	
Antwerp (Brabant)		4	2	2	1	>1473-1512<	The Popplau established several foundations and gifts for the poor in Antwerp and Brabant (e.g. in 1502, 1503, 1505 and 1508). (Petry, 1935, 63-64). It is almost certain that the Popplau had direct connections with Brabant (Antwerp). Whether the company purchased its English cloth in England itself or in Antwerp is unknown. (Petry, 1935, 65). Members of the company travelled to Antwerp. (Petry, 1935, 73). The Popplau especially purchased cloth in Brabant, Frankfurt am Main and Leipzig. (Petry, 1935, 61). Between 1502 and 1512 several members and employees of the company travelled to Brabant. Several young members of the company were sent to Brabant to learn the art of business, such as Hans Schebitz in 1505, Hans and Nickel Schebitz in 1506, Nickel Schebitz in 1509, Andreas Heugel in 1509, Nickel Jenkwitz in 1511, Ignatius Jenkwitz in 1514. Andreas Heugel later operated as a factor of the Popplau in Brabant, where he purchased cloth for the firm. Probably already before him the company had representatives in Brabant. (Petry, 1935, 62-63). The Popplau established several foundations and gifts for the poor in Antwerp and Brabant (e.g. in 1502, 1503, 1505 and 1508). (Petry, 1935, 63-64). Probably Kaspar Rotichen, partner of the Popplau firm since 1506, purchased cloth for the Popplau in Brabant, since he also had a company with Peter Rindfleisch for trade with Brabant and England. (Petry, 1935, 64). In personal accounts of partners of the Popplau company purchases of Brabant goods (not only cloth) are mentioned. (Petry, 1935, 64-65). It is almost certain that the Popplau had direct connections with Brabant (Antwerp). Whether the company purchased its English cloth in England itself or in Antwerp is unknown. (Petry, 1935, 65). Members of the company made business travels to Brabant, while others resided there for longer periods. (Petry, 1935, 69). Already in 1473, Markus Popplau travelled to the Low Countries. (Petry, 1935, 73).	

Kraków		4	2	2	1	>1490s-1512>	According to the account book the Popplau had 28 clients in Kraków between 1502 and 1512. They purchased for a total of 60,176 1/8 fl. (Petry, 1935, 40, 156-157, map). 1/3 of all customers of the Popplau came from Kraków. Many of them belonged to the patriciate and played an important role in the commerce of the city, such as the Crüppek, Ryer, Karle, Georg Thurzo, Niklas Schilling, Lenard Vogelweder, and Markus Denewolf (already a connection in the 1490s). (Petry, 1935, 42-43). Ambrosius Jenkwitz, partner of the Popplau firm, went several times to Kraków for the collection of debts from customers. The company also had business friends in Kraków. (Petry, 1935, 77-78).	
Buda		3	2	2	1	<1502-1512>	According to the account book the Popplau had 2 clients in Ofen between 1502 and 1512. They purchased for a total of 3,317 fl. (Petry, 1935, 40, 156-157, map). An important customer in Ofen was Ruprecht Haller. (Petry, 1935, 43-44).	
Frankfurt am Main		3	2	2	1	>1504-1507<	Kaspar Rotichen, partner of the Popplau firm since 1506, was also factor of Klaus Scheid, a merchant of Frankfurt am Main. (Petry, 1935, 36-37, 67). The Popplau especially purchased cloth in Brabant, Frankfurt am Main and Leipzig. (Petry, 1935, 61). The Popplau purchased Rhine wine in Frankfurt am Main. Indirect indications exist for purchases by the Popplau in Leipzig, Nürnberg and Frankfurt am Main. The Popplau received payments in these places. Payments were received by the company in Frankfurt am Main in 1504, and 1506-1507. Wine was purchased in Frankfurt, but perhaps also cloth from Speyer, linen, spices, etc. (Petry, 1935, 59, 66-67). Members of the company made business travels to the fairs of Frankfurt am Main and Leipzig. (Petry, 1935, 77-78).	
Leipzig		3	2	2	1	>1503-1508<	According to the account book the Popplau had 2 clients in Leipzig between 1502 and 1512. They purchased for a total of 40 ¼ fl. In reality these were not customers of the Popplau, but carriers. The Popplau imported goods from Leipzig via these carriers. (Petry, 1935, 40-41, 156-157, map). The Popplau especially purchased cloth in Brabant, Frankfurt am Main and Leipzig. (Petry, 1935, 61). Indirect indications exist for purchases by the Popplau in Leipzig, Nürnberg and Frankfurt am Main. The Popplau received payments in these places. Payments were received in Leipzig in 1503-04. Payments were also made to the Popplau in Leipzig via bills of exchange, such as in 1505 and 1508. No direct indications exist however for purchases	

							by the Popplau in Leipzig. (Petry, 1935, 66-68). The company made use of carriers from Leipzig. (Petry, 1935, 69-70). Members of the company made business travels to the fairs of Frankfurt am Main and Leipzig. (Petry, 1935, 77-78).	
Lvov		3	2	2	1	<1502-1512>	According to the account book the Popplau had 1 client in Lvov between 1502 and 1512. He purchased for a total of 1,037 ½ fl. (Petry, 1935, 40, 156-157, map).	
Nowy Sącz		3	2	2	1	<1502-1512>	According to the account book the Popplau had 7 clients in Neu Sandec between 1502 and 1512. They purchased for a total of 2,857 ¾ fl. (Petry, 1935, 40, 156-157, map). Important customers in Neu Sandec were the Librant. (Petry, 1935, 43-44).	
Nürnberg		3	2	2	1	>1504-1506<	Indirect indications exist for purchases by the Popplau in Leipzig, Nürnberg and Frankfurt am Main. The Popplau received payments in these places. Payments were received in Nürnberg in 1504. Payments were also made to the Popplau in Nürnberg via bills of exchange, such as in 1504 and 1506. No direct indications exist however for purchases by the Popplau in Nürnberg. (Petry, 1935, 66-68). Lorenz Heugel, brother-in-law of Hans Popplau, came from Nürnberg. (Petry, 1935, 69).	
Poznań		3	2	2	1	<1502-1512>	According to the account book the Popplau had 2 clients in Posen between 1502 and 1512. They purchased for a total of 3,872 ½ fl. (Petry, 1935, 40, 156-157, map). An important customer in Posen was Hans Groditzky. (Petry, 1935, 43-44).	
Warsaw		3	2	2	1	<1502-1512>	According to the account book the Popplau had 3 clients in Warsaw between 1502 and 1512. They purchased for a total of 1,874 ¾ fl. (Petry, 1935, 40, 156-157, map).	
Brno		2	2	1	0	<1502-1512>	According to the account book the Popplau had 1 client in Brünn between 1502 and 1512. He purchased for a total of 204 fl. (Petry, 1935, 40, 156-157, map).	
Kežmarok		2	2	1	0	<1502-1512>	According to the account book the Popplau had 1 client in Käsmarkt between 1502 and 1512. He purchased for a total of 444 ¾ fl. (Petry, 1935, 40, 156-157, map). An important customer in Käsmarkt was Peter Topprezet. (Petry, 1935, 43-44).	
Kościan		2	2	1	0	<1502-1512>	According to the account book the Popplau had 2 clients in Kosten between 1502 and 1512. They purchased for a total of 286 3/8 fl. (Petry, 1935, 40, 156-157, map).	

Legnica		2	2	1	0	<1502-1512>	The brothers Nickel and Andreas Popplau came originally from Liegnitz, but established themselves in Wrocław in the 1440s. (Petry, 1935, 2-3). According to the account book the Popplau had 3 clients in Liegnitz between 1502 and 1512. They purchased for a total of 446 1/8 fl. (Petry, 1935, 40, 156-157, map). The Popplau family came originally from Liegnitz. In the early 16th century, the family still had connections with Liegnitz. In this period the Popplau made several religious gifts and foundations in Liegnitz. (Petry, 1935, 89-90).	
Olomouc		2	2	1	0	<1502-1512>	According to the account book the Popplau had 2 clients in Olmütz between 1502 and 1512. They purchased for a total of 788 fl. (Petry, 1935, 40, 156-157, map).	
Sandomierz		2	2	1	0	<1502-1512>	According to the account book the Popplau had 1 client in Sandomir between 1502 and 1512. He purchased for a total of 252 ¾ fl. (Petry, 1935, 40, 156-157, map).	
Henryków		1	1	1	0	<1502-1512>	According to the account book the Popplau had 1 client in Heinrichau between 1502 and 1512. He purchased for a total of 13 ¾ fl. (Petry, 1935, 40, 156-157, map).	
Kalisz		1	1	1	0	<1502-1512>	According to the account book the Popplau had 1 client in Kalisch between 1502 and 1512. He purchased for a total of 47 ½ fl. (Petry, 1935, 40, 156-157, map).	
Nysa		1	1	1	0	<1502-1512>	According to the account book the Popplau had 1 client in Neiβe between 1502 and 1512. He purchased for a total of 17 fl. (Petry, 1935, 40, 156-157, map).	
Opole		1	1	1	0	<1502-1512>	According to the account book the Popplau had 1 client in Oppeln between 1502 and 1512. He purchased for a total of 6 fl. (Petry, 1935, 40, 156-157, map).	
Swidnica		1	1	1	0	<1502-1512>	According to the account book the Popplau had 2 clients in Schweidnitz between 1502 and 1512. They purchased for a total of 65 fl. (Petry, 1935, 40, 156-157, map).	
Toruń		1	1	1	0	<1502-1512>	According to the account book the Popplau had 1 client in Thorn between 1502 and 1512. He purchased for a total of 89 ½ fl. (Petry, 1935, 40, 156-157, map). An important customer in Thorn was Mathis Korner. (Petry, 1935, 43-44).	
Weisselitz		1	1	1	0	<1502-1512>	According to the account book the Popplau had 1 client in Weisselitz between 1502 and 1512. He purchased for a total of 28 fl. (Petry, 1935, 40,	

							156-157, map).	
Wieluń		1	1	1	0	<1502-1512>	According to the account book the Popplau had 1 client in Wielun between 1502 and 1512. He purchased for a total of 34 fl. (Petry, 1935, 40, 156-157, map).	
Zabkowice		1	1	1	0	<1502-1512>	According to the account book the Popplau had 1 client in Frankenstein between 1502 and 1512. He purchased for a total of 8 fl. (Petry, 1935, 40, 156-157, map).	

+ 109 clients of the Popplau are mentioned in the account book. The place of origin of six of these customers (with total purchases of 435 ¾ fl.) is unknown. (Petry, 1935, 40, 157).

+ Classification of places with clients in 1502-1512: purchases for more than 10,000 fl.: 4-2-2-1; 1,001-10,000 fl.: 3-2-2-1; 101-1,000 fl.: 2-2-1-0; 100 fl. or less: 1-1-1-0.

HANS PRAUN, before 1452 – 1492

Hans Praun (or Braun) (1432-1492) was a Nürnberg merchant. (Pohl, 1967-1968, 78, 83). The Praun family appeared in Nürnberg in 1363. Business activities of the family in Italy are known since 1429. (83). A certain Ulrich Praun of Nürnberg obtained a cellar in Vienna in 1386, and a Piero Praun was a client of the Soranzo in Venice in 1418/19. (84). Friedrich Praun (1366-1452), father of Hans. (84). The Praun family established international economic, political and cultural connections. (84). For several years, Hans Praun lived in Italy. (89). Hans Praun was a very active, energetic and solid merchant, with international connections. (88-89). Hans Praun was a member of a business company. (93). Hieronymus, brother of Hans Praun, born in 1437, was very often involved in the business activities of Hans Praun. (107). Hans Praun belonged to a company. (120). Members of the company were Hans and Hieronymus Praun, Peter Betz (from Lauingen), and probably also Christoff Eschenloer (d. 1506). (121).
Still in the 16th century, members of the family were active in business, e.g. Hans (III) Praun (1556-1608), who was a friend of Bartholomäus Viatis. Hans (III) was active in business in Nürnberg, Bologna and Florence. (85). The Italian business of the Praun reached its apogee in the early 16th century, but declined as a result of the papal Inquisition between 1593 and 1627. (86).

References:

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Will, G. A., 1772. *Geschlechtsregister der Nürnbergischen adeligen Familien von Praun, von Wölckern und Schlaudersbach*. Altdorf.

Source material:

A private account book with calculations (*Rechnungsnotizbuch*) of Hans Praun for the period 1471-1478 has been preserved in the Stadtbibliothek of Nürnberg. The account book contains information on credits and loans, payments, rents, etc. and also gives a sketchy and incomplete picture of the business activities of Hans Praun. (Pohl, 1967-1968, 78, 90, 107). Other data about the Praun family of Nürnberg can be found in the Archiv der Herren von Praun in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nürnberg. (83). Account books of the company to which Hans Praun belonged, have not been preserved. (120).

Size: Medium-sized

Hans Praun's company must have been relatively large, since at least two main account books were kept at the same time. (120).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Commercial activities. (Pohl, 1967-1968, 90). In 1473, Hans Praun was a saffron inspector in Nürnberg. (91). Trade in silver. (91-92). Trade in local products of Nürnberg and its hinterland (perhaps only for own use): honey, wax, flax, wood, stone. (108). Trade in beer, wine, herring. (108). Trade in glass, brass, metal. (110). Trade in cloth, linen, fustians, and other textiles. (110). Trade in textile products from Amsterdam, Bruges, Florence, Milan and Bologna. (110). Trade in precious metals. (113). Trade in metal, cloth, clothes and books with Florence. (113-114). Trade in cloth and mirrors with Bologna, purchase of ginger, sugar, spices, glass, etc in Venice, as well as probably figs, raisins, lemons, rice,… (114). Trade in weasel hides. (114-115). Occasionally relative important trade in books between Italy and Germany. (115-116).
- Finance: Investment of his capital in other enterprises as well as in annuities and rents. (Pohl, 1967-1968, 90). Hans Praun carried out money transfers and exchange transactions. (108). No money trade by Hans Praun. (117).
- Industry:

Network of Hans Praun:

As a merchant, Hans Praun had important regional and international contacts. (Pohl, 1967-1968, 88). Agnes Fröler, wife of Hans Praun, often acted as his substitute. When Hans Praun was on business travel, his wife took care of smaller businesses at home. (93). This network is probably strongly biased. We only have data on the network of one of the partners (Hans Praun), who was member of a larger company. Praun appears to have been responsible for the Italian business. Perhaps other partners were active in other territories (Central and Eastern Europe, the Low Countries and the Rhineland,…).

Table A..1. Network of Hans Praun, 1471 – 1478

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Nürnberg		8	4	3	1	>1452-1492	Headquarters. (Pohl, 1967-1968, 83).	
Bologna		4	2	2	1	>1429<, >1477-1478<, 16th c.	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (40 pages). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 119, 118-120 n. 226). Active ("Niederlassungen" (?)) in Florence, Ferrara and especially Bologna since 1429. (Pohl, 1967-1968, 83). In 1477, Hans Praun was represented in Bologna by his son Francesco (Franz?) Praun. (89). In Italy, ties with Bologna were the strongest. (111). From June 1477 to March 1478 (9 months), Hans Praun sent 47 letters to Italy: 17 to Bologna (to his son Franz Praun (4), Alessandro Bianchini (6), H. Fürleger (1), Hans Schott (2), Hans Praun the younger (4, perhaps one of	

							these to Bergamo instead of Bologna)), 9 to Venice (to Bernhard Hirschvogel (9)), 3 to Bressanone (to Christan Melchior, father of Praun's servant Ambros (2), to Ambros Melchior (1)), 7 to Rome (to Hermann Gatz (4), Franz Praun (3)), 9 to Florence (Corrado (2), Pandolfo (7)), 2 to Ferrara (to Dant[in]o (1), Jörg Pruner (1)). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 111 n. 179). Hans Praun had very strong ties with Bologna. Probably, German merchants were attracted to Bologna by German students studying at the university of Bologna. Franz Praun, son of Hans, was a student in Bologna. (111-112). The most important representative of Hans Praun in Bologna was the Bologna merchant Alessandro Bianchini. In total, Hans Praun had business connections with a large number of merchants in Bologna (more than 18 names are mentioned in the account book of Hans Praun). (112). Marcus Hirschvogel sent books from Perugia to "Corado Haubenscherer" in Florence, who sent them to Alessandro Bianchini in Bologna for Franz Praun. (Pohl, 1967-1968, 113). Hans Praun sent precious metals to Bologna for sale, e.g. in 1477 (there was a Mint in Bologna). (113). Trade in books with Bologna, Erfurt, Venice. (116). For trade with Bologna, often cooperation with merchants such as Cyriax Hofmann. (112). Sales in Florence and Bologna for Hans Praun by Hans Schott in 1477. (118). In the 16th century, the main branch of a Praun company was located in Bologna. (120). The company to which Hans Praun belonged is mentioned in his business with Erfurt, Nördlingen, Bologna, Venice, Florence, etc. (121). Books sent to Bologna for Hans Praun by Bernhardin Hirschvogel. (Schaper, 1973, 179).	
Arles		3	2	2	1	<1471-1478>	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (7 pages). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 119, 118-120 n. 226). Stefan Lochner was intermediary for trade in almonds with the Provence. (114).	
Augsburg		3	2	2	1	>1477<	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (11 pages). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 119, 118-120 n. 226). Linen and fustians imported from Augsburg. (Pohl, 1967-1968, 110). In 1477, goods were sent by Hans Schott for Hans Praun to Augsburg. (117-118).	
Bamberg		3	2	2	1	<1471-1478>	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (4 pages). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 119, 118-120 n. 226). Regular trips of Hans Praun, his brother Hieronymus, and his son Franz to Nördlingen, Forchheim, Bamberg and Coburg. (Pohl, 1967-1968, 108). Bamberg and Coburg were located along	

							the main road from Nürnberg to Erfurt. (109).	
Coburg		3	2	2	1	<1471-1478>	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (4 pages). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 119, 118-120 n. 226). Regular trips of Hans Praun, his brother Hieronymus, and his son Franz to Nördlingen, Forchheim, Bamberg and Coburg. (Pohl, 1967-1968, 108). Bamberg and Coburg were located along the main road from Nürnberg to Erfurt. (109).	
Erfurt		3	2	2	1	>1472<	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (21 pages). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 119, 118-120 n. 226). In 1472, Hans Praun travelled to Erfurt with his brother-in-law Simon Fröler. (Pohl, 1967-1968, 87, 89). Trips to Erfurt were made on horseback. (89). Agnes Fröler, wife of Hans Praun, belonged to a family from Erfurt. A dispute arose between Hans Praun and the Fröler about the interest of a loan to Hans Praun by the Fröler. (106). Business connections in Erfurt with Heinrich Trebner, Jörg Folklant, Cunz Steinmetz and Cunz Fuxzagel. (108). Cooperation from Dr. Hermann Steinberg, Hans von Hailsprunn and the notary Johannes Kreytter in Hans Praun's business with Erfurt. Erfurt was an intermediary in the trade between Nürnberg and the Hanse towns. (109). Trade in books with Bologna, Erfurt, Venice. (116). The company to which Hans Praun belonged is mentioned in his business with Erfurt, Nördlingen, Bologna, Venice, Florence, etc. (121).	
Florence		3	2	2	1	>1429<, >1452-1492	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (15 pages). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 119, 118-120 n. 226). Active ("Niederlassungen" (?)) in Florence, Ferrara and especially Bologna since 1429. (Pohl, 1967-1968, 83). Hans Praun died in 1492 in Florence, where he had gone for business. (87-88). Already in 1452, Hans Praun conducted business with Florence. (89). In 1478, Hans Praun was in Florence and Rome. (89). In 1474, Hans Praun travelled to Florence. (93). From June 1477 to March 1478 (9 months), Hans Praun sent 47 letters to Italy: 17 to Bologna (to his son Franz Praun (4), Alessandro Bianchini (6), H. Fürleger (1), Hans Schott (2), Hans Praun the younger (4, perhaps one of these to Bergamo instead of Bologna)), 9 to Venice (to Bernhard Hirschvogel (9)), 3 to Bressanone (to Christan Melchior, father of Praun's servant Ambros (2), to Ambros Melchior (1)), 7 to Rome (to Hermann Gatz (4), Franz Praun (3)), 9 to Florence (Corrado (2), Pandolfo (7)), 2 to Ferrara (to Dant[in]o (1), Jörg Pruner (1)). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 111 n. 179). Marcus Hirschvogel sent books from Perugia to "Corado	

							Haubenscherer” in Florence, who sent them to Alessandro Bianchini in Bologna for Franz Praun. (Pohl, 1967-1968, 113; Schaper, 1973, 179). Close ties with Florence (almost as close as with Venice). Connections here were Hans Kromer (also named Hans Schott), Conrad Haubenscherer, and the Italians Pandolfo, Corado, and Leonardo Paris. (Pohl, 1967-1968, 113). Hans Praun himself went to Florence in 1474 and 1478. (114). Sales in Florence and Bologna for Hans Praun by Hans Schott in 1477. (118). The company to which Hans Praun belonged is mentioned in his business with Erfurt, Nördlingen, Bologna, Venice, Florence, etc. (121).	
Forchheim		3	2	2	1	<1471-1478>	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (2 pages). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 119, 118-120 n. 226). Regular trips of Hans Praun, his brother Hieronymus, and his son Franz to Nördlingen, Forchheim, Bamberg and Coburg. (Pohl, 1967-1968, 108). Purchase of cloth in Forchheim. (110).	
Frankfurt am Main		3	2	2	1	>1471-1484<	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (4 pages). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 119, 118-120 n. 226). Frequent business connections with Frankfurt am Main. (Pohl, 1967-1968, 110). Business connection in Frankfurt was Sebolt von Moren. (110). At the end of Hans Praun’s account book, a list with wholesale prices at the fairs of Frankfurt in 1471 is added. (123). Hieronymus Praun is known to have done business at the Frankfurt Lent fair of 1484, Hans at the autumn fair of 1475 and the Lent fair of 1476. (123).	
Nördlingen		3	2	2	1	>1447<, >1472<	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (2 pages). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 119, 118-120 n. 226). In 1472, Hans Praun travelled to Nördlingen. (Pohl, 1967-1968, 89). Regular trips of Hans Praun, his brother Hieronymus, and his son Franz to Nördlingen, Forchheim, Bamberg and Coburg. (Pohl, 1967-1968, 108). Payment at the fair of Nördlingen in 1472. (115). A certain Praun of Nürnberg was already active at the fairs of Nördlingen in 1447. (115). Hans Praun had connections with the fairs of Nördlingen. (115). The company to which Hans Praun belonged is mentioned in his business with Erfurt, Nördlingen, Bologna, Venice, Florence, etc. (121).	
Rome		3	2	2	1	>1477-1478<	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (5 pages). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 119, 118-120 n. 226). In 1478, Hans Praun was mentioned among the *cives et mercatores Norimbergi* in Rome. (Pohl, 1967-1968, 87). In 1477, Hans Praun was represented in Rome by his son Franz Praun. (89).	

							In 1478, Hans Praun was in Florence and Rome. (89). Payment in Rome in 1477. (108). From June 1477 to March 1478 (9 months), Hans Praun sent 47 letters to Italy: 17 to Bologna (to his son Franz Praun (4), Alessandro Bianchini (6), H. Fürleger (1), Hans Schott (2), Hans Praun the younger (4, perhaps one of these to Bergamo instead of Bologna)), 9 to Venice (to Bernhard Hirschvogel (9)), 3 to Bressanone (to Christan Melchior, father of Praun's servant Ambros (2), to Ambros Melchior (1)), 7 to Rome (to Hermann Gatz (4), Franz Praun (3)), 9 to Florence (Corrado (2), Pandolfo (7)), 2 to Ferrara (to Dant[in]o (1), Jörg Pruner (1)). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 111 n. 179). Connections in Rome with Franz Praun, son of Hans, and with Hermann Gatz. (114).	
Schwabach		3	2	2	1	<1471-1478>	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (21 pages). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 119, 118-120 n. 226). Beer was purchased by Hans Praun from his brother-in-law Erhard Risenleutter in Schwabach. (Pohl, 1967-1968, 90). Purchase of beer in Schwabach, from Erhard Risenleutter and Conz Rerer. Risenleutter purchased herring from Hans Praun (108).	
Venice		3	2	2	1	>1476-1478<, >1495<	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (14 pages). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 119, 118-120 n. 226). Goods transported from Venice to Nürnberg for Hans Praun. (Pohl, 1967-1968, 110-111). From June 1477 to March 1478 (9 months), Hans Praun sent 47 letters to Italy: 17 to Bologna (to his son Franz Praun (4), Alessandro Bianchini (6), H. Fürleger (1), Hans Schott (2), Hans Praun the younger (4, perhaps one of these to Bergamo instead of Bologna)), 9 to Venice (to Bernhard Hirschvogel (9)), 3 to Bressanone (to Christan Melchior, father of Praun's servant Ambros (2), to Ambros Melchior (1)), 7 to Rome (to Hermann Gatz (4), Franz Praun (3)), 9 to Florence (Corrado (2), Pandolfo (7)), 2 to Ferrara (to Dant[in]o (1), Jörg Pruner (1)). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 111 n. 179). In Italy, Venice was the second most important centre for the trade of Hans Praun. Especially close connections with Bernardin Hirschvogel in Venice. (113). Trade in books with Bologna, Erfurt, Venice. (116). In 1495, a *Zuan Bruno et compagni* is mentioned in Venice. This was perhaps the son of Hans Praun. (120). The company to which Hans Praun belonged is mentioned in his business with Erfurt, Nördlingen, Bologna, Venice, Florence, etc. (121). In 1476, Kunz Marstaller purchased sugar, ginger, etc for Hans Praun in Venice. The payment took place via Bernhardin Hirschvogel. Hans Praun sent 9 letters to	

							Bernhardin Hirschvogel between June 1477 and February 1478. (Schaper, 1973, 179).	
Arras		2	2	1	0	<1471-1478>	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (3 pages). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 119, 118-120 n. 226).	
Bressanone		2	2	1	0	>1477-1478<	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (2 pages). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 119, 118-120 n. 226). From June 1477 to March 1478 (9 months), Hans Praun sent 47 letters to Italy: 17 to Bologna (to his son Franz Praun (4), Alessandro Bianchini (6), H. Fürleger (1), Hans Schott (2), Hans Praun the younger (4, perhaps one of these to Bergamo instead of Bologna)), 9 to Venice (to Bernhard Hirschvogel (9)), 3 to Bressanone (to Christan Melchior, father of Praun's servant Ambros (2), to Ambros Melchior (1)), 7 to Rome (to Hermann Gatz (4), Franz Praun (3)), 9 to Florence (Corrado (2), Pandolfo (7)), 2 to Ferrara (to Dant[in]o (1), Jörg Pruner (1)). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 111 n. 179).	
Bruges		2	2	1	0	<1471-1478>	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (3 pages). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 119, 118-120 n. 226). Trade in cloth of Bruges. (110).	
Cheb		2	2	1	0	<1471-1478>	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (1 page). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 119, 118-120 n. 226). Represented in Cheb (Eger) by Caspar Simon. (Pohl, 1967-1968, 110).	
Eichstätt		2	2	1	0	<1471-1478>	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (2 pages). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 119, 118-120 n. 226).	
Eppenheim		2	2	1	0	<1471-1478>	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (2 pages). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 118-120 n. 226).	
Eppingen		2	2	1	0	<1471-1478>	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (2 pages). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 119, 118-120 n. 226).	
Ferrara		2	2	1	0	>1429<, >1477-1478<	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (2 pages). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 119, 118-120 n. 226). Active ("Niederlassungen" (?)) in Florence, Ferrara and especially Bologna since 1429. (Pohl, 1967-1968, 83). From June 1477 to March 1478 (9 months), Hans Praun sent 47 letters to Italy: 17 to Bologna (to his son Franz Praun (4), Alessandro Bianchini (6), H. Fürleger (1), Hans Schott (2), Hans Praun the younger (4, perhaps one of these to Bergamo instead of Bologna)), 9 to Venice (to Bernhard Hirschvogel (9)), 3 to Bressanone (to Christan Melchior, father of Praun's servant Ambros (2), to Ambros Melchior (1)), 7 to Rome (to Hermann Gatz (4), Franz Praun (3)), 9 to Florence (Corrado (2), Pandolfo (7)), 2 to Ferrara	

							(to Dant[in]o (1), Jörg Pruner (1)). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 111 n. 179).	
Feucht		2	2	1	0	<1471-1478>	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (5 pages). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 119, 118-120 n. 226).	
Kornburg		2	2	1	0	<1471-1478>	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (3 pages). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 118-120 n. 226). Stone was supplied from Kornburg. (108).	
Leipzig		2	2	1	0	1475	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (1 page). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 119, 118-120 n. 226). Goods sent by Paul Locker (probably in commission) to Leipzig for Hans Praun in 1475, where they were sold by Locker. (Pohl, 1967-1968, 109).	
Letten		2	2	1	0	<1471-1478>	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (3 pages). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 118-120 n. 226).	
Munich		2	2	1	0	<1471-1478>	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (2 pages). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 119, 118-120 n. 226). Linen imported from Munich. (Pohl, 1967-1968, 110).	
Perugia		2	2	1	0	<1471-1478>	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (1 page). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 119, 118-120 n. 226). Marcus Hirschvogel sent books from Perugia to “Corado Haubenscherer” in Florence, who sent them to Alessandro Bianchini in Bologna for Franz Praun. (Pohl, 1967-1968, 113; Schaper, 1973, 179). Connections with Marcus Hirschvogel in Perugia. (Pohl, 1967-1968, 114).	
Poppenreuth		2	2	1	0	<1471-1478>	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (2 pages). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 118-120 n. 226). Money transfer to Rome for Jörg Hörlein of Poppenreuth, near Nürnberg. (Pohl, 1967-1968, 108).	
Regensburg		2	2	1	0	<1471-1478>	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (2 pages). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 119, 118-120 n. 226).	
Röthenbach		2	2	1	0	<1471-1478>	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (2 pages). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 118-120 n. 226).	
Schongau		2	2	1	0	<1471-1478>	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (1 page). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 119, 118-120 n. 226). Represented in Schongau by Hans Kromer. (Pohl, 1967-1968, 110).	
Verona		2	2	1	0	<1471-1478>	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (2 pages). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 119, 118-120 n. 226).	
Weissenburg in Bayern		2	2	1	0	<1471-1478>	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (1 page). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 119, 118-120 n. 226). Christoff Eschenloer of Nürnberg (d. 1506) was sent to Weissenburg by Hans Praun. (Pohl, 1967-1968, 108).	

Altdorf		1	1	1	0	<1471-1478>	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (1 page). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 119, 118-120 n. 226).	
Amsterdam		1	1	1	0	<1471-1478>	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (1 page). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 119, 118-120 n. 226). Trade in cloth of Amsterdam. (110).	
Baiersdorf		1	1	1	0	<1471-1478>	Beiersdorf is mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (1 page). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 118-120 n. 226). Purchases in several of the villages near Nürnberg, either for own consumption or for resale. (Pohl, 1967-1968, 107-108).	
Bergamo		1	1	1	0	>1477-1478<	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (1 page). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 119, 118-120 n. 226). From June 1477 to March 1478 (9 months), Hans Praun sent 47 letters to Italy: 17 to Bologna (to his son Franz Praun (4), Alessandro Bianchini (6), H. Fürleger (1), Hans Schott (2), Hans Praun the younger (4, perhaps one of these to Bergamo instead of Bologna)), 9 to Venice (to Bernhard Hirschvogel (9)), 3 to Bressanone (to Christan Melchior, father of Praun's servant Ambros (2), to Ambros Melchior (1)), 7 to Rome (to Hermann Gatz (4), Franz Praun (3)), 9 to Florence (Corrado (2), Pandolfo (7)), 2 to Ferrara (to Dant[in]o (1), Jörg Pruner (1)). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 111 n. 179).	
Donauwörth		1	1	1	0	<1471-1478>	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (1 page). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 119, 118-120 n. 226).	
Emskirchen		1	1	1	0	<1471-1478>	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (1 page). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 118-120 n. 226).	
Eschenbach in der Oberpfalz		1	1	1	0	<1471-1478>	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (1 page). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 118-120 n. 226).	
Faenza		1	1	1	0	<1471-1478>	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (1 page). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 119, 118-120 n. 226).	
Genoa		1	1	1	0	<1471-1478>	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (1 page). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 119, 118-120 n. 226).	
Herentals		1	1	1	0	<1471-1478>	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (1 page). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 119, 118-120 n. 226).	
Lodi		1	1	1	0	<1471-1478>	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (1 page). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 119, 118-120 n. 226).	
Mainz		1	1	1	0	<1471-1478>	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (1 page). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 119, 118-120 n. 226).	
Mechelen		1	1	1	0	<1471-1478>	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (1 page). (Pohl,	

							1967-1968, 119, 118-120 n. 226).	
Milan		1	1	1	0	<1471-1478>	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (1 page). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 119, 118-120 n. 226). Trade in fustians from Milan. (110).	
Moosbach		1	1	1	0	<1471-1478>	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (1 page). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 118-120 n. 226).	
Petten		1	1	1	0	<1471-1478>	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (1 page). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 118-120 n. 226).	
Piavore		1	1	1	0	<1471-1478>	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (1 page). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 118-120 n. 226).	
Prague		1	1	1	0	<1471-1478>	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (1 page). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 119, 118-120 n. 226).	
Rothenburg ober der Tauber		1	1	1	0	<1471-1478>	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (1 page). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 119, 118-120 n. 226).	
Rückersdorf		1	1	1	0	<1471-1478>	Purchases in several of the villages near Nürnberg, either for own consumption or for resale. (Pohl, 1967-1968, 107-108).	
Schwäbisch Hall		1	1	1	0	<1471-1478>	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (1 page). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 119, 118-120 n. 226).	
Schweinau		1	1	1	0	<1471-1478>	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (1 page). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 118-120 n. 226). Purchases in several of the villages near Nürnberg, either for own consumption or for resale. (Pohl, 1967-1968, 107-108).	
Speyer		1	1	1	0	<1471-1478>	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (1 page). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 119, 118-120 n. 226).	
Steinach		1	1	1	0		Connections with Sebolt Rotthan and his smeltworks in the Thuringian forest near Steinach. (Pohl, 1967-1968, 109, 109 n. 185).	
Steyr		1	1	1	0	<1471-1478>	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (1 page). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 119, 118-120 n. 226).	
Voltlein		1	1	1	0	<1471-1478>	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (1 page). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 119, 118-120 n. 226).	
Wöhrd		1	1	1	0	<1471-1478>	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (1 page). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 119, 118-120 n. 226).	
Würzburg		1	1	1	0	<1471-1478>	Mentioned in the account book (1471-1478) of Hans Praun (1 page). (Pohl, 1967-1968, 119, 118-120 n. 226).	

+ Scores are attributed to places according to the number of pages on which they are mentioned in the account book of Hans Praun: 1 page: 1-1-1-0; 2 to 5 pages: 2-2-1-0; more than 5 pages: 3-2-2-1 (Pohl, 1967-1968, 118-120 n. 226).

OTT RULAND, before 1442 – after 1464

Large business firm of Ulm, had different branches. (Eikenberg, 1976, 17). Ott Ruland was the head of an important business house of Ulm of the 15th century. (Pfeiffer, 1843, v).

References:

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I did not consult:

Bastian, 1944, vol. 1, pp. 238-246, 293-309.

Holbach, R., 1994. *Frühformen von Verlag und Großbetrieb in der gewerblichen Produktion*. Stuttgart (VSWG Beihefte 10).

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Source material:

A small account book for 1444-1463 has been preserved. (Eikenberg, 1976, 17). Most of the entries in the account book date from 1444 to 1458, but some go back to 1442 or are from a later date (until 1464). This account book only contains fragments of the total business activity of the firm of Ott Ruland. (Chroust & Proesler, 1934, xxxvii; Pfeiffer, 1843, vi; Rothmann, 1998, 513). The account book has been preserved in the town library of Stuttgart. (x).

Size: Medium-sized

The capital of the firm consisted mostly of private capital of Ott Ruland, supplemented with loans and investments (with share in profits and losses) from private persons. (Pfeiffer, 1843, viii-ix). Ott Ruland carried out many and important business transactions for the period. (ix). Purchases of cloth at the Frankfurt fairs amounted up to 3,000 fl. for one fair. (Rothmann, 1998, 514). Large business firm of Ulm, had different branches. (Eikenberg, 1976, 17). Ott Ruland was the head of an important business house of Ulm of the 15th century. (Pfeiffer, 1843, v).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Trade in cloth of the Low Countries, Arras, Ulm, Venice, linen from Ulm and Augsburg, fustians, gloves,… Trade in metals (tin), metal helmets, knives, wine from Württemberg, horses, pigs, oats, rosaries, woodcuts,... (Pfeiffer, 1843, vii). Sales of goods were made in large quantities, but sometimes also to retailers or shopkeepers. (viii). Trade in woollen cloth from Venice, Ulm, Aachen, Cologne, linen from Ulm and Augsburg, fustians, gloves, metals (from tin to finished metalwares), rosaries, etc. (Rothmann, 1998, 513).
- Finance: Ott Ruland gave credit to other merchants. He regularly made use of bills of exchange. (Pfeiffer, 1843, viii-xi). Ott Ruland almost never purchased goods on credit. Rather, he paid in advance for goods he ordered with producers at the Frankfurt fairs. His sales on the other hand were mostly on credit, whereby his clients paid normally at the next fair. (Rothmann, 1998, 514). Use of bills of exchange. (Rothmann, 1998, 515).
- Industry:

Network of Ott Ruland:

Ott Ruland especially had connections with the east and the west, less with the north and the south. (Pfeiffer, 1843, viii). Ott Ruland was especially active in Swabia, and from there in Bavaria and Austria. Most other contacts went via the fairs of Frankfurt. (Rothmann, 1998, 514).

Table A..1. Network of Ott Ruland, 1444 – 1458

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Ulm		8	4	3	1		Headquarters. (Eikenberg, 1976, 17; Pfeiffer, 1843, v). Sales at the Frankfurt fairs to merchants from Aachen, Augsburg, Basel, Frankfurt, Cologne, Mainz, Nürnberg, Strasbourg, Schwäbisch Gmünd, Tournai, Ulm, Wunsiedel, Zurich. Most important were Frankfurt, Strasbourg, Nürnberg, Augsburg, and especially Cologne. (Rothmann, 1998, 513-514). Headquarters. (Rothmann, 1998, 514). Creditors, debtors and clients in Strasbourg, Aachen, Ulm, Salzburg, Nürnberg, Basel, Speyer, Kempten, Augsburg, Braunau, Mainkirchen, Vienna, Veldsberg, Weil, Cologne, Wepperstorff, Tournai, Frankfurt, Wesel, Landshut, Zürich, Eckenfelden, Lauterbach, etc. (Rothmann, 1998, 516-528 (missing pages: 517-519, 522, 526, 528)). Business activities of Ott Ruland in Frankfurt, Augsburg, Salzburg, Braunau, Nördlingen, Ulm, Vienna, Krems, Venice, Nürnberg, Regensburg, etc. (Rothmann, 1998, 516-528 (missing pages: 517-519, 522, 526, 528)). Payments at Frankfurt, Braunau, Ulm, Kempten, Vienna, Augsburg, Nördlingen, Cologne, Salzburg, Linz, etc. (Rothmann, 1998, 516-528 (missing pages: 517-519, 522, 526, 528)).	

Braunau am Inn		6	3	2	1	>1458<	Debt of the brothers Jörg Ochsenfues, citizen of Ekkenfelden, Ulrich Ochsenfues, citizen of Braunau, and Bartolome Ochsenfues, citizen of Pfarrkirchen, to Ott Ruland in 1458. (Pfeiffer, 1843, v). The firm of Ott Ruland had a “commandite” in Braunau. (vi). Connections with Braunau. (Pfeiffer, 1843, viii). “Commanditen” in Frankfurt am Main, Augsburg, Braunau and Vienna, the most important of which was the one in Vienna. These “commanditen” were the principal nodes of the business of Ott Ruland’s firm. (viii). In Braunau, Ott Ruland’s firm was represented by a chaplain in absence of the head of the company. (x). “Niederlassung” in Braunau. (Rothmann, 1998, 514). Branches in Braunau and Vienna. (Rothmann, 1998, 514). Creditors, debtors and clients in Strasbourg, Aachen, Ulm, Salzburg, Nürnberg, Basel, Speyer, Kempten, Augsburg, Braunau, Mainkirchen, Vienna, Veldsberg, Weil, Cologne, Wepperstorff, Tournai, Frankfurt, Wesel, Landshut, Zürich, Eckenfelden, Lauterbach, etc. (Rothmann, 1998, 516-528 (missing pages: 517-519, 522, 526, 528)). Business activities of Ott Ruland in Frankfurt, Augsburg, Salzburg, Braunau, Nördlingen, Ulm, Vienna, Krems, Venice, Nürnberg, Regensburg, etc. (Rothmann, 1998, 516-528 (missing pages: 517-519, 522, 526, 528)). Payments at Frankfurt, Braunau, Ulm, Kempten, Vienna, Augsburg, Nördlingen, Cologne, Salzburg, Linz, etc. (Rothmann, 1998, 516-528 (missing pages: 517-519, 522, 526, 528)).	
Vienna		6	3	2	1		Hans Ruland, cousin of Ott Ruland, was a citizen of Vienna. (Pfeiffer, 1843, v). Hans Ruland was the head of the “commandite” of Vienna. (Pfeiffer, 1843, vi). Connections with Vienna. (Pfeiffer, 1843, viii). “Commanditen” in Frankfurt am Main, Augsburg, Braunau and Vienna, the most important of which was the one in Vienna. These “commanditen” were the principal nodes of the business of Ott Ruland’s firm. (viii). E.g. exchange transaction with Hans Ruland in Vienna, payment by Hans Krag in Munich. (ix). Ott Ruland himself was regularly in Vienna. (viii). Long-term business contracts with producers in Vienna, Salzburg and elsewhere. (Rothmann, 1998, 513). “Niederlassung” in Vienna. (Rothmann, 1998, 514). Branches in Braunau and Vienna. (Rothmann, 1998, 514). Creditors, debtors and clients in Strasbourg, Aachen, Ulm, Salzburg, Nürnberg, Basel, Speyer, Kempten, Augsburg, Braunau, Mainkirchen, Vienna, Veldsberg, Weil, Cologne, Wepperstorff, Tournai, Frankfurt, Wesel, Landshut, Zürich, Eckenfelden,	

							Lauterbach, etc. (Rothmann, 1998, 516-528 (missing pages: 517-519, 522, 526, 528)). Business activities of Ott Ruland in Frankfurt, Augsburg, Salzburg, Braunau, Nördlingen, Ulm, Vienna, Krems, Venice, Nürnberg, Regensburg, etc. (Rothmann, 1998, 516-528 (missing pages: 517-519, 522, 526, 528)). Payments at Frankfurt, Braunau, Ulm, Kempten, Vienna, Augsburg, Nördlingen, Cologne, Salzburg, Linz, etc. (Rothmann, 1998, 516-528 (missing pages: 517-519, 522, 526, 528)).	
Augsburg		4	2	2	1		"Commanditen" in Frankfurt am Main, Augsburg, Braunau and Vienna, the most important of which was the one in Vienna. These "commanditen" were the principal nodes of the business of Ott Ruland's firm. (Pfeiffer, 1843, viii). Sales at the Frankfurt fairs to merchants from Aachen, Augsburg, Basel, Frankfurt, Cologne, Mainz, Nürnberg, Strasbourg, Schwäbisch Gmünd, Tournai, Ulm, Wunsiedel, Zurich. Most important were Frankfurt, Strasbourg, Nürnberg, Augsburg, and especially Cologne. (Rothmann, 1998, 513-514). Business activities in Augsburg, Krems, Nördlingen, Nürnberg, Regensburg and Venice are mentioned in the account book. (Rothmann, 1998, 514). Creditors, debtors and clients in Strasbourg, Aachen, Ulm, Salzburg, Nürnberg, Basel, Speyer, Kempten, Augsburg, Braunau, Mainkirchen, Vienna, Veldsberg, Weil, Cologne, Wepperstorff, Tournai, Frankfurt, Wesel, Landshut, Zürich, Eckenfelden, Lauterbach, etc. (Rothmann, 1998, 516-528 (missing pages: 517-519, 522, 526, 528)). Business activities of Ott Ruland in Frankfurt, Augsburg, Salzburg, Braunau, Nördlingen, Ulm, Vienna, Krems, Venice, Nürnberg, Regensburg, etc. (Rothmann, 1998, 516-528 (missing pages: 517-519, 522, 526, 528)). Payments at Frankfurt, Braunau, Ulm, Kempten, Vienna, Augsburg, Nördlingen, Cologne, Salzburg, Linz, etc. (Rothmann, 1998, 516-528 (missing pages: 517-519, 522, 526, 528)).	
Frankfurt am Main		4	2	2	1		Large quantities of cloth from the Low Countries were purchased every year at the fairs of Frankfurt. (Pfeiffer, 1843, vi). Export of rosaries to Middle Germany and the Rhine region. (vii). Woodcarving was exported to Middle Germany and the Low Countries. (viii). Connections with Frankfurt am Main. (Pfeiffer, 1843, viii). "Commanditen" in Frankfurt am Main, Augsburg, Braunau and Vienna, the most important of which was the one in Vienna. These "commanditen" were the principal nodes of the business of Ott Ruland's firm. (viii). In Frankfurt, Ott Ruland's firm was represented by	

							a “Wirt” in absence of the head of the company. (x). Purchase of cloth from Aachen and Cologne, sale of rosaries, etc. at the Frankfurt fairs. (Rothmann, 1998, 513). Sales at the Frankfurt fairs to merchants from Aachen, Augsburg, Basel, Frankfurt, Cologne, Mainz, Nürnberg, Strasbourg, Schwäbisch Gmünd, Tournai, Ulm, Wunsiedel, Zurich. Most important were Frankfurt, Strasbourg, Nürnberg, Augsburg, and especially Cologne. (Rothmann, 1998, 513-514). Clients in Frankfurt am Main were among others the Nurnberg merchant Fritz Wagner, Heinrich Pödel, Henchen Sibenhar and Matheus Wittich from Cologne, and Endres Paternosterer from Frankfurt, who were his clients during several fairs. (Rothmann, 1998, 514). Creditors, debtors and clients in Strasbourg, Aachen, Ulm, Salzburg, Nürnberg, Basel, Speyer, Kempten, Augsburg, Braunau, Mainkirchen, Vienna, Veldsberg, Weil, Cologne, Wepperstorff, Tournai, Frankfurt, Wesel, Landshut, Zürich, Eckenfelden, Lauterbach, etc. (Rothmann, 1998, 516-528 (missing pages: 517-519, 522, 526, 528)). Business activities of Ott Ruland in Frankfurt, Augsburg, Salzburg, Braunau, Nördlingen, Ulm, Vienna, Krems, Venice, Nürnberg, Regensburg, etc. (Rothmann, 1998, 516-528 (missing pages: 517-519, 522, 526, 528)). Payments at Frankfurt, Braunau, Ulm, Kempten, Vienna, Augsburg, Nördlingen, Cologne, Salzburg, Linz, etc. (Rothmann, 1998, 516-528 (missing pages: 517-519, 522, 526, 528)).	
Cologne		3	2	2	1		Connections with Cologne. (Pfeiffer, 1843, viii). Ott Ruland ordered cloth from producers of Aachen and Cologne. (Rothmann, 1998, 513). Sales at the Frankfurt fairs to merchants from Aachen, Augsburg, Basel, Frankfurt, Cologne, Mainz, Nürnberg, Strasbourg, Schwäbisch Gmünd, Tournai, Ulm, Wunsiedel, Zurich. Most important were Frankfurt, Strasbourg, Nürnberg, Augsburg, and especially Cologne. (Rothmann, 1998, 513-514). Clients in Frankfurt am Main were among others the Nurnberg merchant Fritz Wagner, Heinrich Pödel, Henchen Sibenhar and Matheus Wittich from Cologne, and Endres Paternosterer from Frankfurt, who were his clients during several fairs. (Rothmann, 1998, 514). Ruland purchased cloth of Cologne and Aachen from Jan von Hagen of Aachen at the fairs of Frankfurt. (Rothmann, 1998, 514). Creditors, debtors and clients in Strasbourg, Aachen, Ulm, Salzburg, Nürnberg, Basel, Speyer, Kempten, Augsburg, Braunau, Mainkirchen, Vienna, Veldsberg, Weil, Cologne, Wepperstorff, Tournai,	

							Frankfurt, Wesel, Landshut, Zürich, Eckenfelden, Lauterbach, etc. (Rothmann, 1998, 516-528 (missing pages: 517-519, 522, 526, 528)). Payments at Frankfurt, Braunau, Ulm, Kempten, Vienna, Augsburg, Nördlingen, Cologne, Salzburg, Linz, etc. (Rothmann, 1998, 516-528 (missing pages: 517-519, 522, 526, 528)).	
Krems		3	2	2	1		Business activities in Augsburg, Krems, Nördlingen, Nürnberg, Regensburg and Venice are mentioned in the account book. (Rothmann, 1998, 514). Business activities of Ott Ruland in Frankfurt, Augsburg, Salzburg, Braunau, Nördlingen, Ulm, Vienna, Krems, Venice, Nürnberg, Regensburg, etc. (Rothmann, 1998, 516-528 (missing pages: 517-519, 522, 526, 528)).	
Nördlingen		3	2	2	1		The firm of Ott Ruland was active at the fairs of Nördlingen. (Pfeiffer, 1843, 1-36). Business activities in Augsburg, Krems, Nördlingen, Nürnberg, Regensburg and Venice are mentioned in the account book. (Rothmann, 1998, 514). Business activities of Ott Ruland in Frankfurt, Augsburg, Salzburg, Braunau, Nördlingen, Ulm, Vienna, Krems, Venice, Nürnberg, Regensburg, etc. (Rothmann, 1998, 516-528 (missing pages: 517-519, 522, 526, 528)). Payments at Frankfurt, Braunau, Ulm, Kempten, Vienna, Augsburg, Nördlingen, Cologne, Salzburg, Linz, etc. (Rothmann, 1998, 516-528 (missing pages: 517-519, 522, 526, 528)).	
Nürnberg		3	2	2	1		Connections with Nürnberg. (Pfeiffer, 1843, viii). Sales at the Frankfurt fairs to merchants from Aachen, Augsburg, Basel, Frankfurt, Cologne, Mainz, Nürnberg, Strasbourg, Schwäbisch Gmünd, Tournai, Ulm, Wunsiedel, Zurich. Most important were Frankfurt, Strasbourg, Nürnberg, Augsburg, and especially Cologne. (Rothmann, 1998, 513-514). Clients in Frankfurt am Main were among others the Nurnberg merchant Fritz Wagner, Heinrich Pödel, Henchen Sibenhar and Matheus Wittich from Cologne, and Endres Paternosterer from Frankfurt, who were his clients during several fairs. (Rothmann, 1998, 514). Business activities in Augsburg, Krems, Nördlingen, Nürnberg, Regensburg and Venice are mentioned in the account book. (Rothmann, 1998, 514). Creditors, debtors and clients in Strasbourg, Aachen, Ulm, Salzburg, Nürnberg, Basel, Speyer, Kempten, Augsburg, Braunau, Mainkirchen, Vienna, Veldsberg, Weil, Cologne, Wepperstorff, Tournai, Frankfurt, Wesel, Landshut, Zürich, Eckenfelden, Lauterbach, etc. (Rothmann, 1998, 516-528 (missing pages: 517-519, 522, 526, 528)). Business activities of Ott Ruland in Frankfurt, Augsburg, Salzburg,	

							Braunau, Nördlingen, Ulm, Vienna, Krems, Venice, Nürnberg, Regensburg, etc. (Rothmann, 1998, 516-528 (missing pages: 517-519, 522, 526, 528)).	
Regensburg		3	2	2	1		Connections with Regensburg. (Pfeiffer, 1843, viii). Business activities in Augsburg, Krems, Nördlingen, Nürnberg, Regensburg and Venice are mentioned in the account book. (Rothmann, 1998, 514). Business activities of Ott Ruland in Frankfurt, Augsburg, Salzburg, Braunau, Nördlingen, Ulm, Vienna, Krems, Venice, Nürnberg, Regensburg, etc. (Rothmann, 1998, 516-528 (missing pages: 517-519, 522, 526, 528)).	
Salzburg		3	2	2	1		Connections with Salzburg. (Pfeiffer, 1843, viii). Long-term business contracts with producers in Vienna, Salzburg and elsewhere. (Rothmann, 1998, 513). Creditors, debtors and clients in Strasbourg, Aachen, Ulm, Salzburg, Nürnberg, Basel, Speyer, Kempten, Augsburg, Braunau, Mainkirchen, Vienna, Veldsberg, Weil, Cologne, Wepperstorff, Tournai, Frankfurt, Wesel, Landshut, Zürich, Eckenfelden, Lauterbach, etc. (Rothmann, 1998, 516-528 (missing pages: 517-519, 522, 526, 528)). Business activities of Ott Ruland in Frankfurt, Augsburg, Salzburg, Braunau, Nördlingen, Ulm, Vienna, Krems, Venice, Nürnberg, Regensburg, etc. (Rothmann, 1998, 516-528 (missing pages: 517-519, 522, 526, 528)). Payments at Frankfurt, Braunau, Ulm, Kempten, Vienna, Augsburg, Nördlingen, Cologne, Salzburg, Linz, etc. (Rothmann, 1998, 516-528 (missing pages: 517-519, 522, 526, 528)). Ott Ruland had business agreements with woodcutters in Tirol. (Pfeiffer, 1843, viii).	
Strasbourg		3	2	2	1		Connections with Strasbourg. (Pfeiffer, 1843, viii). Sales at the Frankfurt fairs to merchants from Aachen, Augsburg, Basel, Frankfurt, Cologne, Mainz, Nürnberg, Strasbourg, Schwäbisch Gmünd, Tournai, Ulm, Wunsiedel, Zurich. Most important were Frankfurt, Strasbourg, Nürnberg, Augsburg, and especially Cologne. (Rothmann, 1998, 513-514). Creditors, debtors and clients in Strasbourg, Aachen, Ulm, Salzburg, Nürnberg, Basel, Speyer, Kempten, Augsburg, Braunau, Mainkirchen, Vienna, Veldsberg, Weil, Cologne, Wepperstorff, Tournai, Frankfurt, Wesel, Landshut, Zürich, Eckenfelden, Lauterbach, etc. (Rothmann, 1998, 516-528 (missing pages: 517-519, 522, 526, 528)).	
Venice		3	2	2	1		Connections with Venice. (Pfeiffer, 1843, viii). E.g. exchange transaction with Lucas Welser in Venice. (ix). Business activities in Augsburg, Krems, Nördlingen, Nürnberg, Regensburg and Venice are mentioned in the account	

							book. (Rothmann, 1998, 514). Business activities of Ott Ruland in Frankfurt, Augsburg, Salzburg, Braunau, Nördlingen, Ulm, Vienna, Krems, Venice, Nürnberg, Regensburg, etc. (Rothmann, 1998, 516-528 (missing pages: 517-519, 522, 526, 528)).	
Aachen		2	2	1	0		Connections with Aachen. (Pfeiffer, 1843, viii). Ott Ruland had connections with the business house of Johann Hagen of Aachen in the Low Countries. (Pfeiffer, 1843, vi; Rothmann, 1998, 513). Ott Ruland ordered cloth from producers of Aachen and Cologne. (Rothmann, 1998, 513). Sales at the Frankfurt fairs to merchants from Aachen, Augsburg, Basel, Frankfurt, Cologne, Mainz, Nürnberg, Strasbourg, Schwäbisch Gmünd, Tournai, Ulm, Wunsiedel, Zurich. Most important were Frankfurt, Strasbourg, Nürnberg, Augsburg, and especially Cologne. (Rothmann, 1998, 513-514). Ruland purchased cloth of Cologne and Aachen from Jan von Hagen of Aachen at the fairs of Frankfurt. (Rothmann, 1998, 514). Creditors, debtors and clients in Strasbourg, Aachen, Ulm, Salzburg, Nürnberg, Basel, Speyer, Kempten, Augsburg, Braunau, Mainkirchen, Vienna, Veldsberg, Weil, Cologne, Wepperstorff, Tournai, Frankfurt, Wesel, Landshut, Zürich, Eckenfelden, Lauterbach, etc. (Rothmann, 1998, 516-528 (missing pages: 517-519, 522, 526, 528)).	
Basel		2	2	1	0		Connections with Basel. (Pfeiffer, 1843, viii). Sales at the Frankfurt fairs to merchants from Aachen, Augsburg, Basel, Frankfurt, Cologne, Mainz, Nürnberg, Strasbourg, Schwäbisch Gmünd, Tournai, Ulm, Wunsiedel, Zurich. Most important were Frankfurt, Strasbourg, Nürnberg, Augsburg, and especially Cologne. (Rothmann, 1998, 513-514). Creditors, debtors and clients in Strasbourg, Aachen, Ulm, Salzburg, Nürnberg, Basel, Speyer, Kempten, Augsburg, Braunau, Mainkirchen, Vienna, Veldsberg, Weil, Cologne, Wepperstorff, Tournai, Frankfurt, Wesel, Landshut, Zürich, Eckenfelden, Lauterbach, etc. (Rothmann, 1998, 516-528 (missing pages: 517-519, 522, 526, 528)).	
Kempten		2	2	1	0		Creditors, debtors and clients in Strasbourg, Aachen, Ulm, Salzburg, Nürnberg, Basel, Speyer, Kempten, Augsburg, Braunau, Mainkirchen, Vienna, Veldsberg, Weil, Cologne, Wepperstorff, Tournai, Frankfurt, Wesel, Landshut, Zürich, Eckenfelden, Lauterbach, etc. (Rothmann, 1998, 516-528 (missing pages: 517-519, 522, 526, 528)). Payments at Frankfurt, Braunau, Ulm, Kempten, Vienna, Augsburg, Nördlingen, Cologne,	

							Salzburg, Linz, etc. (Rothmann, 1998, 516-528 (missing pages: 517-519, 522, 526, 528)).	
Linz		2	2	1	0		Connections with Linz. (Pfeiffer, 1843, viii). Payments at Frankfurt, Braunau, Ulm, Kempten, Vienna, Augsburg, Nördlingen, Cologne, Salzburg, Linz, etc. (Rothmann, 1998, 516-528 (missing pages: 517-519, 522, 526, 528)).	
Mainz		2	2	1	0		Connections with Mainz. (Pfeiffer, 1843, viii). Sales at the Frankfurt fairs to merchants from Aachen, Augsburg, Basel, Frankfurt, Cologne, Mainz, Nürnberg, Strasbourg, Schwäbisch Gmünd, Tournai, Ulm, Wunsiedel, Zurich. Most important were Frankfurt, Strasbourg, Nürnberg, Augsburg, and especially Cologne. (Rothmann, 1998, 513-514).	
Schwäbisch Gmünd		2	2	1	0		Sales at the Frankfurt fairs to merchants from Aachen, Augsburg, Basel, Frankfurt, Cologne, Mainz, Nürnberg, Strasbourg, Schwäbisch Gmünd, Tournai, Ulm, Wunsiedel, Zurich. Most important were Frankfurt, Strasbourg, Nürnberg, Augsburg, and especially Cologne. (Rothmann, 1998, 513-514).	
Tournai		2	2	1	0		Connections with Tournai. (Pfeiffer, 1843, viii). Woodcarving was exported to Middle Germany and the Low Countries. (viii). Sales at the Frankfurt fairs to merchants from Aachen, Augsburg, Basel, Frankfurt, Cologne, Mainz, Nürnberg, Strasbourg, Schwäbisch Gmünd, Tournai, Ulm, Wunsiedel, Zurich. Most important were Frankfurt, Strasbourg, Nürnberg, Augsburg, and especially Cologne. (Rothmann, 1998, 513-514). Cloth of Arras was purchased at the Frankfurt fairs from Kaspar von Dorneck, a merchant from Tournai. (Rothmann, 1998, 514). Creditors, debtors and clients in Strasbourg, Aachen, Ulm, Salzburg, Nürnberg, Basel, Speyer, Kempten, Augsburg, Braunau, Mainkirchen, Vienna, Veldsberg, Weil, Cologne, Wepperstorff, Tournai, Frankfurt, Wesel, Landshut, Zürich, Eckenfelden, Lauterbach, etc. (Rothmann, 1998, 516-528 (missing pages: 517-519, 522, 526, 528)).	
Wunsiedel		2	2	1	0		Connections with Wunsiedel. (Pfeiffer, 1843, viii). Sales at the Frankfurt fairs to merchants from Aachen, Augsburg, Basel, Frankfurt, Cologne, Mainz, Nürnberg, Strasbourg, Schwäbisch Gmünd, Tournai, Ulm, Wunsiedel, Zurich. Most important were Frankfurt, Strasbourg, Nürnberg, Augsburg, and especially Cologne. (Rothmann, 1998, 513-514).	
Zürich		2	2	1	0		Connections with Zürich. (Pfeiffer, 1843, viii). Sales at the Frankfurt fairs to	

							merchants from Aachen, Augsburg, Basel, Frankfurt, Cologne, Mainz, Nürnberg, Strasbourg, Schwäbisch Gmünd, Tournai, Ulm, Wunsiedel, Zurich. Most important were Frankfurt, Strasbourg, Nürnberg, Augsburg, and especially Cologne. (Rothmann, 1998, 513-514). Creditors, debtors and clients in Strasbourg, Aachen, Ulm, Salzburg, Nürnberg, Basel, Speyer, Kempten, Augsburg, Braunau, Mainkirchen, Vienna, Veldsberg, Weil, Cologne, Wepperstorff, Tournai, Frankfurt, Wesel, Landshut, Zürich, Eckenfelden, Lauterbach, etc. (Rothmann, 1998, 516-528 (missing pages: 517-519, 522, 526, 528)).	
Eggenfelden		1	1	1	0	1458	Debt of the brothers Jörg Ochsenfues, citizen of Ekkenfelden (Eggenfelden?), Ulrich Ochsenfues, citizen of Braunau, and Bartolome Ochsenfues, citizen of Pfarrkirchen, to Ott Ruland in 1458. (Pfeiffer, 1843, v). Creditors, debtors and clients in Strasbourg, Aachen, Ulm, Salzburg, Nürnberg, Basel, Speyer, Kempten, Augsburg, Braunau, Mainkirchen, Vienna, Veldsberg, Weil, Cologne, Wepperstorff, Tournai, Frankfurt, Wesel, Landshut, Zürich, Eckenfelden, Lauterbach, etc. (Rothmann, 1998, 516-528 (missing pages: 517-519, 522, 526, 528)).	
Haag		1	1	1	0		Connections with Haag (west of Ulm). (Pfeiffer, 1843, viii).	
Klosterneuburg		1	1	1	0		Connections with Klosterneuburg. (Pfeiffer, 1843, viii).	
Landshut		1	1	1	0		Connections with Landshut. (Pfeiffer, 1843, viii). Creditors, debtors and clients in Strasbourg, Aachen, Ulm, Salzburg, Nürnberg, Basel, Speyer, Kempten, Augsburg, Braunau, Mainkirchen, Vienna, Veldsberg, Weil, Cologne, Wepperstorff, Tournai, Frankfurt, Wesel, Landshut, Zürich, Eckenfelden, Lauterbach, etc. (Rothmann, 1998, 516-528 (missing pages: 517-519, 522, 526, 528)).	
Lauterbach		1	1	1	0		Creditors, debtors and clients in Strasbourg, Aachen, Ulm, Salzburg, Nürnberg, Basel, Speyer, Kempten, Augsburg, Braunau, Mainkirchen, Vienna, Veldsberg, Weil, Cologne, Wepperstorff, Tournai, Frankfurt, Wesel, Landshut, Zürich, Eckenfelden, Lauterbach, etc. (Rothmann, 1998, 516-528 (missing pages: 517-519, 522, 526, 528)).	
Mainkirchen		1	1	1	0		Creditors, debtors and clients in Strasbourg, Aachen, Ulm, Salzburg, Nürnberg, Basel, Speyer, Kempten, Augsburg, Braunau, Mainkirchen, Vienna, Veldsberg, Weil, Cologne, Wepperstorff, Tournai, Frankfurt, Wesel, Landshut, Zürich, Eckenfelden, Lauterbach, etc. (Rothmann, 1998, 516-528 (missing pages: 517-519, 522, 526, 528)).	

Munich		1	1	1	0		E.g. exchange transaction with Hans Ruland in Vienna, payment by Hans Krag in Munich. (ix).	
Pfarrkirchen		1	1	1	0	1458	Debt of the brothers Jörg Ochsenfues, citizen of Ekkenfelden, Ulrich Ochsenfues, citizen of Braunau, and Bartolome Ochsenfues, citizen of Pfarrkirchen, to Ott Ruland in 1458. (Pfeiffer, 1843, v).	
Sankt Pölten		1	1	1	0		Connections with St. Pölten. (Pfeiffer, 1843, viii).	
Speyer		1	1	1	0		Connections with Speyer. (Pfeiffer, 1843, viii). Creditors, debtors and clients in Strasbourg, Aachen, Ulm, Salzburg, Nürnberg, Basel, Speyer, Kempten, Augsburg, Braunau, Mainkirchen, Vienna, Veldsberg, Weil, Cologne, Wepperstorff, Tournai, Frankfurt, Wesel, Landshut, Zürich, Eckenfelden, Lauterbach, etc. (Rothmann, 1998, 516-528 (missing pages: 517-519, 522, 526, 528)).	
Veldsberg		1	1	1	0		Creditors, debtors and clients in Strasbourg, Aachen, Ulm, Salzburg, Nürnberg, Basel, Speyer, Kempten, Augsburg, Braunau, Mainkirchen, Vienna, Veldsberg, Weil, Cologne, Wepperstorff, Tournai, Frankfurt, Wesel, Landshut, Zürich, Eckenfelden, Lauterbach, etc. (Rothmann, 1998, 516-528 (missing pages: 517-519, 522, 526, 528)).	
Weil		1	1	1	0		Creditors, debtors and clients in Strasbourg, Aachen, Ulm, Salzburg, Nürnberg, Basel, Speyer, Kempten, Augsburg, Braunau, Mainkirchen, Vienna, Veldsberg, Weil, Cologne, Wepperstorff, Tournai, Frankfurt, Wesel, Landshut, Zürich, Eckenfelden, Lauterbach, etc. (Rothmann, 1998, 516-528 (missing pages: 517-519, 522, 526, 528)).	
Weissenburg in Bayern		1	1	1	0		Connections with Weissenburg. (Pfeiffer, 1843, viii).	
Wels		1	1	1	0		Connections with Wels. (Pfeiffer, 1843, viii).	
Weppersdorf		1	1	1	0		Creditors, debtors and clients in Strasbourg, Aachen, Ulm, Salzburg, Nürnberg, Basel, Speyer, Kempten, Augsburg, Braunau, Mainkirchen, Vienna, Veldsberg, Weil, Cologne, Wepperstorff, Tournai, Frankfurt, Wesel, Landshut, Zürich, Eckenfelden, Lauterbach, etc. (Rothmann, 1998, 516-528 (missing pages: 517-519, 522, 526, 528)).	
Wesel		1	1	1	0		Connections with Wesel. (Pfeiffer, 1843, viii). Creditors, debtors and clients in Strasbourg, Aachen, Ulm, Salzburg, Nürnberg, Basel, Speyer, Kempten, Augsburg, Braunau, Mainkirchen, Vienna, Veldsberg, Weil, Cologne, Wepperstorff, Tournai, Frankfurt, Wesel, Landshut, Zürich, Eckenfelden, Lauterbach, etc. (Rothmann, 1998, 516-528 (missing pages: 517-519, 522,	

							526, 528)).	
Znojmo		1	1	1	0		Connections with Znojmo (Znaim) (in Moravia). (Pfeiffer, 1843, viii).	

+ The account book does not give a full account of the business volume and scope of the network of Ott Ruland. (Rothmann, 1998, 513).

RUNTINGER, before 1370 – after 1407

The Runtinger were a family from Regensburg. The Runtinger firm was headed by Wilhelm Runtinger and later by his son Matthäus Runtinger (b. ca. 1345). Matthäus was a more experienced businessman than his father. (Eikenberg, 1976, 25-26). The Runtinger business was for a while conducted by Wilhelm and Matthäus in partnership (1365 the earliest-1389). Hereby, the son was apparently the motor of the company. (26). Death of Wilhelm Runtinger in 1389: end of the partnership between Wilhelm and Matthäus. Business continued by Matthäus on his own. Only for a number of risky ventures, Matthäus traded in participation with one of his Diener. (27). Partnership between father and son until the death of Wilhelm Runtinger in 1389. From then, the business was continued by Matthäus alone. (150). The partnership was probably a commenda, whereby Wilhelm was the socius stans (the sedentary partner) and Matthäus the travelling partner, who also invested capital in the company (153-160). The Runtinger firm existed definitely in 1370. (181-182).

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Source material:

A major account book of the Runtinger has been preserved, containing accounts of the period 1383-1407, which has been published by Franz Bastian (1935, II). This is the most complete surviving German account book for the period before 1450. (Chroust & Proesler, 1934, xxxvii; Eikenberg, 1976, 15-16).

Size: Medium-sized

After the death of his father in 1389, Matthäus Runtinger was the richest man in Regensburg, at that time still one of the richest cities of southern Germany. (Eikenberg, 1976, 27). The business of the Runtinger was not exceptionally large in Regensburg. In 1340/41, fourteen

Regensburg family firms had invested as much or even more in purchases than the Runtinger in 1383, year of their largest purchases. (67). Although Matthäus Runtinger was the richest merchant of Regensburg in 1390 (with a capital of 18,000 Gulden), in previous and later times several Regensburg merchants were as rich or even richer than Matthäus. (67-68). Capital of the Runtinger firm in 1383: ca. 11,000-12,000 Gulden. (151-152, 152 n. 4). The number of permanently employed factors was small: never more than 3 at the same time. (168).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Trade in a large variety of goods: spices from the Indies, silks from Venice, cotton from Egypt, textiles from Brabant. (Eikenberg, 1976, 64). Principal wares traded by the Runtinger were spices, silks, silkthread, cotton, cloth from the Low Countries and western Germany, and silver from Bohemia. (65). Also sale of wine produced on the own estates. (67). Textile trade: velvet and silks from Venice, cotton, fustians, woollens. (88). In the Low Countries purchase of woollens from Brabant (Brussels, Leuven, Mechelen) and Liège (Maastricht, Sint Truiden). (92). In Frankfurt also purchase of German woollens from Cologne, Düren, Frankfurt, Mainz, Weilburg, Wetzlar, Butzbach, Treysa and Limburg. (99). Silks, cotton textiles, pearls and velvet stored in the branch in Prague in 1383. (102). Goods sent to Prague: fustians, velvets, silks, saffron,… Most important good sent to Prague in the 1380s: fustians. Spices and Venetian silks were somewhat less important. In the 1390s and 1400s: decline of fustian shipments to Prague. Instead mostly spices: saffron, pepper and ginger. (103-105). In Bohemia, purchase of silver. (112). Sale of cloth in Vienna. (116). Not many purchases in Vienna. Sometimes purchases of Austrian wine. (119). Trade in Venetian goods: silks, cotton and fustians, spices (pepper, saffron, ginger,…), precious metals (gold, silver), cloth, coral, grain, wine and iron. (120-149).
- Finance: Matthäus Runtinger was the largest creditor of Regensburg. He farmed the salt and iron taxes on the Danube since 1384. (Eikenberg, 1976, 28, 157). Matthäus was very influential in the financial politics of the dukes of Bavaria and the city of Regensburg (especially from 1392). From 1392, Matthäus Runtinger controlled the minting of pennies and money changing (exchange bank) in Regensburg. (28). Already before 1399, the minting of pennies and the exchange bank were located in the Runtingerhouse at the Fishmarket. (64). Not only trade in wares, but also money trade, purchase and sale of rents, tax farming. (67).
- Industry: Cloth from cotton was produced for the Runtinger firm in Regensburg (Putting-out system). (Eikenberg, 1976, 65, 88). Wine produced on the estates of the Runtinger. (67).

Network of the Runtinger:

In the headquarters in Regensburg all business ventures were planned and prepared. From the headquarters, employees left to the purchase markets and fairs, couriers were sent to the commission agents, etc. Many goods passed through the headquarters, where they were often temporarily stocked. (Eikenberg, 1976, 64). The head of the firm (Wilhelm, later Matthäus) never travelled for business purposes. Purchases and sales were made by employees and commission agents. Transport of the merchandise was entrusted to independent transporters, who were frequently accompanied by a servant of the firm. (65). For closing the balances, the factors travelled from the branches to the

headquarters. (102). Transport was organised by carriers, who were often accompanied by a servant of the company. (103, 108). From ca. 1392, Matthäus Runtinger remained permanently in Regensburg, since he had to take care of the money-changing business as well as of his political offices. (117). Partnership between father and son until the death of Wilhelm Runtinger in 1389. From then, the business was continued by Matthäus alone. (150). During the partnership with his father, Matthäus made many business journeys, while Wilhelm stayed in Regensburg. (150). After the death of his father, Matthäus concluded some short-term partnerships (*commendae*) for cloth trade with some of his factors, notably with Erhard and Hans Lettel. (160-166). The Runtinger firm made use of the service of *Diener* (factors) and less frequently of commissionaries. (167, 182-183). Ulrich Furtter, factor in Prague, went more or less every half year to Runtinger for closing of the accounts and to renew his powers of attorney. (168). Factors and commission agents carried out purchases and sales abroad, banking activities, and collection of debts. (182, 191). Factors and commission agents had a large degree of independence. (191).

Table A..1. Network of the Runtinger, 1383 – 1407

City	**R**	**Score**				**Period**	**Type of presence**	**References**
Regensburg		8	4	3	1	>1383-1407<	Headquarters. (Eikenberg, 1976, 15). Originally, the headquarters of the Runtinger were located in the “Augsburger Hof” near St. Kassian. In 1367, the Runtinger purchased a house at the Fishmarket near the Danube harbour, which became their new headquarters. It contained warehousing space, offices, and residential spaces for family members and employees. The house next door of the Runtinger house was purchased in 1399, and connected to the main house which had become too small. (62-64). Principal market for the Runtinger. (65). Retail sale of cloth in Regensburg by Erhard Lettel, as partner of Matthäus Runtinger. (162, 178). The factor Hans Ernst was responsible for the exchange bank of the Runtinger in Regensburg. Ernst was factor in Regensburg from 1386 to 1401. (168, 177-178).	Bastian, 1944, I, 39
Prague		**6**	**3**	**2**	**1**	>1381-1387	- Branch in Prague. (Eikenberg, 1976, 64, 102). Principal market for the Runtinger. (65). The branch in Prague existed already in 1383. Diener in Prague in 1383 was Ulrich Furtter. (102). In 1384, Diener were Furtter and Albrecht Fronauer. From 1385, Furtter was the only factor in Prague. When Furtter was away from Prague, he was often represented here by Matthäus Runtinger. The branch and warehouse in Prague were located in the house of Hans Lautmitzer, innkeeper. (102, 174). Branch in Prague until 1387. (106 n. 25). Branch in Prague was liquidated in 1387, due to war. (114-115). Factor in Prague from 1381 the latest until 1386: Ulrich Furtter. He resided more or	Bastian, 1944, I, 39

		4	2	2	1	<1387-1404<	less permanently in Prague. (168, 176). Albrecht Fronauer: factor in Prague from Winter 1383 to Winter 1384. (173-174). - After the end of the war, business in Prague was continued. The branch was not re-established however. Instead, factors of the firm travelled to Prague. Also use of commission agents for the sale of goods. (115). The brothers Lettel made several business trips to Prague as factors in the early 15th century. (117, 178). Several commission agents represented the Runtinger in Prague: Ott Graf (1399), Ulrich Heller (1394), Philipp Groβ (1383), Kienberger (1401). (201, 190 n. 1).	
Vienna		3 **6**	2 **3**	2 **2**	1 **1**	>1384-1393< 1401-1407<	- In the 1380s, a number of shipments of fustians to Vienna: not very successful. (116). Several commission agents represented the Runtinger in Vienna: Konrad Griesbeck (1384), Ulrich Lind (1393), Ulrich Rössel (1386), Heinrich Dürrenstetter (1384). (200-201, 190 n. 1). - Branch in Vienna. (Eikenberg, 1976, 64, 102). Principal market for the Runtinger. (65). First shipment of woollens to Vienna in 1401. (116). From 1401, the Runtinger became very active in Vienna, at least until 1407. (116-117). In 1401-1402, especially Erhard Lettel took care of the sales in Vienna. From 1402, his brother Hans Lettel became the most important factor for the Vienna trade of the Runtinger, and he stayed often for longer periods in Vienna (e.g. 60 weeks ca. 1404). (117, 160, 178, 117 n. 54). Later, the Lettel became increasingly active in Prague, and were replaced in Vienna by Wenzel Lech, son-in-law of Runtinger. (117). Hans Lettel regularly stayed in Vienna for several weeks or months, and once even for more than a year. He stayed in an inn when in Vienna. (164, 180). Hans Lettel left the Runtinger firm in 1407. (181).	Bastian, 1944, I, 39
Frankfurt am Main		4	2	2	1	>1401-1407<	Principal market for the Runtinger. (Eikenberg, 1976, 65). Ca. 1400, Frankfurt became an important market for textiles from the Low Countries. (97). The Runtinger regularly visited the Lent (1402, 1404-1407) and autumn (1401-1405) fairs of Frankfurt. (97 n. 30). Cloth purchases in Frankfurt from 1400 by Erhard Lettel. (160, 178). Journeys to the fairs of Frankfurt: 1401 (1), 1402 (2), 1403 (1), 1404 (2), 1405 (2), 1406 (1), 1407 (1). (Bastian, 1944, I, 38).	
Venice		4	2	2	1	>1383-1400<	Matthäus Runtinger was active in Venice. (Eikenberg, 1976, 27). Principal market for the Runtinger. (65). First journey to Venice by Matthäus Runtinger mentioned in the account book: 1383. In that year he purchased	

							for an exceptional amount of ca. 5,500 ducats in Venice. Definitely, the Runtinger had been in Venice before. In 1383, three journeys to Venice: two by Matthäus Runtinger, one by an employee, Heinrich Taffersdorfer. These three journeys are explained by the fact that the Venetian fleets from Alexandria arrived two or three times a year. (71-72). Journey to Venice in 1395. (75 n. 29). Probably, Matthäus Runtinger did his apprenticeship in Venice. (87). Journey to Venice in 1398 by the commission agent Egloff. (87). Regular connection with Venice. (96). Spices were purchased in Venice by Erhard Lettel. (178). Several commission agents represented the Runtinger in Venice: Heinrich Taffersdorfer (1383, 1385), Ott Graf (1394-1395), Sigmund Graf (1398-1399), Egloff (1395, 1398-1399), Erhard Lech (1400). (201, 190 n. 1). Journeys to Venice: 1395 (3), 1398/99 (2), 1399 (1), 1400 (2). (Bastian, 1944, I, 38).	
Nürnberg		3	2	2	1	>1395-1404<	Purchase of cloth in Nürnberg by Erhard Lettel in 1404, when he was on the way back from Frankfurt to Regensburg. (162). Erhard Lettel went to Nürnberg for the sale of merchandise. (178). Several commission agents represented the Runtinger in Nürnberg: Ulman Stromer (1395), Niklaus Ebenburger (1399-1400). (195-196, 200, 190 n. 1). In 1404, purchase of cloth in Nürnberg (together with Erhard Lettel. (Bastian, 1944, I, 38).	
Wrocław		3	2	2	1	<1390-1404<	After ca. 1390, factors of the firm travelled a number of times from Regensburg to Wrocław to sell Venetian goods there. Also use of commission agents in Wrocław. (115). The factor Erhard Lettel travelled to Wrocław to sell merchandise. (178). Several commission agents represented the Runtinger in Wrocław: Ulrich Heller (1399-1400), Schwarzhofer-Rüschstroh (1404). (201, 190 n. 1).	Bastian, 1944, I, 39
Amberg		2	2	1	0	1386-1387	Sale of silver to the Mint of Amberg in 1386 and 1387. (112).	
Barcelona		2	2	1	0	1399	Purchase of corals in Barcelona by the factor Erhard Lettel. (178). In 1399, the Runtinger made use of the service of the commission agent Heinrich Taffersdorfer in Barcelona. (190 n. 1). One venture to Barcelona: purchase of coral and saffron: the business journey was made by the factor Erhard Lettel and the commission merchant Heinrich Taffersdorfer (1398). (195). Journeys to Barcelona: 1399 (1). (Bastian, 1944, I, 38).	
Brussels		2	2	1	0	1395, 1403	The Brabant towns were a principal market for the Runtinger. (Eikenberg, 1976, 65). The connections with the towns in the Low Countries were not regular or permanent. (96). Journey to Brabant for the purchase of woollens	

							in 1395. This was the first journey for the Runtinger to Brabant (88-90). The journey in 1395 was made by Hänslein Ernst (factor) and Lieblein Ringheim (commissionary). (90). First Brabant business journey (1395) by factor Hans Ernst, with the commissionary Lieblein von Ringheim. (176-177, 190 n. 1). Journey to Brabant in 1403. (98, 97 n. 30). Cloth purchases in Brabant after 1400 by Erhard Lettel. (160, 178). Journeys to Brabant: 1395 (1), 1403 (1). (Bastian, 1944, I, 38). Journey to Brabant in 1395: purchases in Brussels and Leuven. (90-91). 2nd journey to Brabant in 1403: purchases in Brussels, Leuven, Mechelen, Maastricht and Sint Truiden. (92-94, 93 n. 17).	
Frankfurt an der Oder		2	2	1	0	1384	In 1384, Ulrich Furtter made a business trip to an unknown location with a number of goods to be sold as profitable as possible. He was ordered to go to Frankfurt an der Oder, Szczecin, Öresund (the Sound) or anywhere else. (119). In 1384, Ulrich Furtter travelled to Frankfurt an der Oder for several weeks. (171-172, 175 n. 26).	
Leuven		2	2	1	0	1395, 1403	The Brabant towns were a principal market for the Runtinger. (Eikenberg, 1976, 65). The connections with the towns in the Low Countries were not regular or permanent. (96). Journey to Brabant for the purchase of woollens in 1395. This was the first journey for the Runtinger to Brabant (88-90). The journey in 1395 was made by Hänslein Ernst (factor) and Lieblein Ringheim (commissionary). (90). First Brabant business journey (1395) by factor Hans Ernst, with the commissionary Lieblein von Ringheim. (176-177, 190 n. 1). Journey to Brabant in 1403. (98, 97 n. 30). Cloth purchases in Brabant after 1400 by Erhard Lettel. (160, 178). Journeys to Brabant: 1395 (1), 1403 (1). (Bastian, 1944, I, 38). Journey to Brabant in 1395: purchases in Brussels and Leuven. (90-91). 2nd journey to Brabant in 1403: purchases in Brussels, Leuven, Mechelen, Maastricht and Sint Truiden. (92-94, 93 n. 17).	
Maastricht		2	2	1	0	1403	The Brabant towns were a principal market for the Runtinger. (Eikenberg, 1976, 65). The connections with the towns in the Low Countries were not regular or permanent. (96). Journey to Brabant in 1403. (98, 97 n. 30). Cloth purchases in Brabant after 1400 by Erhard Lettel. (160, 178). Journeys to Brabant: 1395 (1), 1403 (1). (Bastian, 1944, I, 38). 2nd journey to Brabant in 1403: purchases in Brussels, Leuven, Mechelen, Maastricht and Sint Truiden. (92-94, 98, 93 n. 17).	
Mechelen		2	2	1	0	1403	The Brabant towns were a principal market for the Runtinger. (Eikenberg, 1976, 65). The connections with the towns in the Low Countries were not	

							regular or permanent. (96). Journey to Brabant in 1403. (98, 97 n. 30). Cloth purchases in Brabant after 1400 by Erhard Lettel. (160, 178). Journeys to Brabant: 1395 (1), 1403 (1). (Bastian, 1944, I, 38). 2nd journey to Brabant in 1403: purchases in Brussels, Leuven, Mechelen, Maastricht and Sint Truiden. (92-93, 98, 93 n. 17).	
Sint Truiden		2	2	1	0	1403	The Brabant towns were a principal market for the Runtinger. (Eikenberg, 1976, 65). The connections with the towns in the Low Countries were not regular or permanent. (96). Journey to Brabant in 1403. (98, 97 n. 30). Cloth purchases in Brabant after 1400 by Erhard Lettel. (160, 178). Journeys to Brabant: 1395 (1), 1403 (1). (Bastian, 1944, I, 38). 2nd journey to Brabant in 1403: purchases in Brussels, Leuven, Mechelen, Maastricht and Sint Truiden. (92-94, 98, 93 n. 17).	
Domažlice		1	1	1	0	>1383<	Factors of the company in 1383 often accompanied carriers to Prague until Domažlice (Taus), and then returned to Regensburg. (103).	
Öresund		1	1	1	0	1384	In 1384, Ulrich Furtter made a business trip to an unknown location with a number of goods to be sold as profitable as possible. He was ordered to go to Frankfurt am Oder, Szczecin, Öresund (the Sound) or anywhere else. (119).	
Szczecin		1	1	1	0	1384	In 1384, Ulrich Furtter made a business trip to an unknown location with a number of goods to be sold as profitable as possible. He was ordered to go to Frankfurt am Oder, Szczecin, Öresund (the Sound) or anywhere else. (119).	

ULRICH STARCK, ca. 1426 – ca. 1435

The Starck family presumably came originally from Weissenburg. (Neukam, 1967, 179). Perhaps in 1387, a certain Hans Starck (d. 1427) obtained citizenship in Nürnberg. His son Ulrich Starck became a member of the town council of Nürnberg and died in 1478. (Neukam, 1967, 179-181). Head of the company in 1426-1463 was Ulrich Starck. (182). Ulrich Starck appeared to have participated in business of other merchants (especially of relatives) as well: e.g. several loans to members of the Tracht family (especially to his uncle Hans Tracht), and to his uncle Hans Kraft and his son Hans Kraft the younger. (183-184). Ulrich Starck had also interests in the business of the Landauer company, in which his son Hans was active. (182-183, 185). Probably, Ulrich Starck had his own business enterprise at least between 1426 and 1435. It is not sure however whether he still managed a commercial enterprise in the period 1436-1463. (189, 208). In the period 1436-1463, Ulrich Starck ran an inn in Nürnberg for foreign merchants from a large variety of places who stayed in Nürnberg for a longer or shorter period. Probably, Starck conducted business with his guests. Probably, in this period he gave up active trade. (209). The main business friends of Ulrich Starck were Hans Kraft (uncle), Hans Tracht (uncle), Hermann Kammermeister and Otto Sulmeister (son-in-law). (218). Ca. 1427-1440, a company Stark-Kraft-Locheim existed in Nürnberg, in which the Stromer were silent partners. Among the members of this firm was Hans Tracht. (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 99).

References:

Neukam, W. G., 1967. “Ulrich Starck, ein Nürnberger Handelsherr und Unternehmer (+1478)”. In: *Beiträge zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte Nürnbergs*. Nürnberg, Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, vol. 1, 177-220 (Beiträge zur Geschichte und Kultur der Stadt Nürnberg, 11/1).

I did not consult:

Köberlin, A., 1901. “Aus dem Hausbuch eines Nürnberger Kaufherrn im 15. Jahrhundert”. *Beil. zur Allgemeinen Zeitung*, Munich, 5ff.

Source material:

Seven account books of the Starck family of Nürnberg have been preserved in the Staatsarchiv of Nürnberg for the period 1426-1546. Especially the first three account books (1426-1435, 1444-1453, 1454-1463) contain much information about the commercial activities of the Starck, and allow to reconstruct the business network of the merchant Ulrich Starck. (Chroust & Proesler, 1934, xxxvii; Eikenberg, 1976, 16-17; Neukam, 1967, 177). For the period 1426-1435, relatively abundant information can be found about the commercial and financial activities of Ulrich Starck. In the later account books, much less data are recorded, and it is not sure whether his commercial enterprise still existed in this period (1436-1463). It is possible however that in this later period his commercial activities were recorded in separate account books which have been lost. (208).

Size: Small or medium-sized

The Starck family was a rich Nürnberg family, which carried out a considerable business. (Neukam, 1967, 178-179). Total expenses for the wine trade of Ulrich Starck in 1433 amounted to 700 fl. (Neukam, 1967, 206).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Especially trade in wine, grain and cattle. (Eikenberg, 1976, 16). Trade in pepper, saffron, ginger and other spices, Rhine wine, cloth, pearls and wool in 1426. (Neukam, 1967, 186-187, 194). Trade in coral strings (1433). (187). Trade in Hungarian ducats (1431, 1432). (188, 192, 198), a horse (1433). (188), saffron (1430). (188), oxen (1432). (190), almonds, figs, grapes, raisins, rice, oil, fish, sugarloaf, etc. (190-191), rings (1431). (191), wine (1429, 1430, 1432). (191), ginger, armour, saffron, gloves, hats. (1431). (192), fish. (1433). (192), diamond (1431). (193), armour, rings (1431). (193), a horse (1432). (193), Augsburg cloth, corals, a ruby (1430). (193), pearls, coral strings (1433). (193), wine (1435). (194, 198), squirrel furs (1431). (194), wine (1434). (194), a horse (1429, 1433). (194-195), diamond rings (1431). (195 n. 160), wine (1434). (195), wine (1433). (196, 199), cloth (1426, 1432). (197), wine (1431). (198), horses (1429, 1433). (198), wine. (198), ginger, fustians (1426). (198), Rhine wine (1431). (199), fustians (1430). (199), cloth from Mechelen (1433). (199), goblet (1432). (199), wine (1435). (200, 203), lead (1429). (200), nutmeg (1426). (200), Augsburg cloth (1430). (200), oats, hay (1431/32). (201), diamond (1432). (201), hops (1429). (201), oxen (201), wine (1434) (202), cloth (1426) (203), cattle, horse (203), iron (1429) (203), wine (1429) (203), knives (1432) (203), Augsburg cloth (1426) (204), hay (1444) (204), grain (1444) (205 n. 297). Not only financial activities, but also sales and purchases. Starck used his income from real estate for investment in trade and rents, and sold much of the produce of his real estate (205). Sale of grain from his estates. (205). Considerable wine trade, especially Austrian and Rhine wines, but also Franconian wines. (206). Wholesale trade in oxen from Hungary and Bohemia for supply of Nürnberg. (206). Also a number of more small-scale purchases of cattle. (207). Also occasional trade in horses. (207). Trade in cloth from Augsburg, Aachen, Cologne and Mechelen. (207). Trade in metal wares, e.g. armour, horseshoes (207). Trade in fish of his own ponds. (208). In the period 1436-1463, only commerce in grain, meat and foodstuffs is known. (208). Trade in spices, cloth, fish, lead, iron, beer, wine, cattle, corals, gemstones, sugar, figs, raisins, flour, armour. (218).
- Finance: Financial activities, such as providing credit in the form of loans. (Eikenberg, 1976, 16). Investments in rents and annuities. (Neukam, 1967, 178-179). Several loans to family members, as well as deposits by family members and others in the business of Ulrich Starck. (183-184). Large investment in real estate. (178, 185, 178 n. 5). Loans and deposits. (189). Financial business, transactions and loans, also to small artisans and entrepreneurs: considerable business of Starck. (205).
- Industry: Large estates, the produce of which (grain, hay, fish, etc.) he used in his inn or for trade. (Neukam, 1967, 205-206, 208, 219). Later the Starck were involved in the copper smelting business: they had a smelting hut in Eisfeld since 1479 which was managed by Endres (III) Tucher (1453-1531). (Grote, 1961, 32; Seibold, 1977a, 27).

Network of Ulrich Starck:

The firm was headed by Ulrich Starck. Nevertheless, other members of the family were involved in the business as well. (Neukam, 1967, 182). Ulrich Starck did not travel frequently, he mostly stayed in Nürnberg. (185). Ulrich Starck carried out business from the headquarters in Nürnberg and made use of agents or factors as representatives for his business abroad. (185). In the account books nowhere a mention of a Handelsgesellschaft of Ulrich Starck. Nevertheless, he was an active businessman, carrying out commerce for his own account. (185). Ulrich Starck had several *Diener*, who took care of purchase and sale of goods abroad. He also made use of the services of several commissionaries and agents. (186-189). The driving force behind the business was Ulrich Starck: he managed, planned and financed the business from the headquarters in Nürnberg. He almost did not travel, but sent his Diener abroad or was in contact with commission agents. (189). Large trade in 1426-35, carried out by intermediaries or his factors. (204).

Table A..1. Network of Ulrich Starck, 1426 – 1435

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Nürnberg		8	4	3	1	>1426-1478	The business house of Ulrich Starck in Nürnberg also served as an inn for foreign merchants. (Eikenberg, 1976, 16). The house of Hans Starck was located near the market and the weighing house. (Neukam, 1967, 209). Headquarters. (218).	
Bamberg		3	2	2	1	>1426-1458<	Trade with Bamberg. (Neukam, 1967, 218). Ulrich Starck had purchased annuities and other rents in Bamberg, Nürnberg, Eger and Weissenburg, which were paid to him twice a year (payments known for period 1430-1458). (Neukam, 1967, 178-179, 179 n. 6). Hans Kraft, uncle of Ulrich Starck, traded with Bamberg. (183-184 n. 41). Sale of ginger for Ulrich Starck by the commission agent Hermann Kammermeister in Bamberg in 1426. (186-187). In 1432, Starck sent his *Diener* Konrad to Bamberg for the purchase of wine. (206).	
Frankfurt am Main		3	2	2	1	>1426-1460<	Trade with Frankfurt am Main. (Neukam, 1967, 218). Hans Kraft, uncle of Ulrich Starck, sold cloth in commission for Ulrich at the autumn fair of Frankfurt in 1426. (Neukam, 1967, 187). Purchase of Rhine wine at the fairs of Frankfurt from Jörg von Kur in 1426 or 1431. (187, 199). Payments by Ulrich Starck (through bills of exchange) at the fairs of Frankfurt in 1432, 1434. (190, 192). Payment by Thoma Fischer to Starck at the autumn fair of Frankfurt in 1426. (197-198). Ulrich Starck was involved in a transaction with a bill of exchange at the fairs of Frankfurt ca. 1432. (201 n. 249). Payment of debt to Starck at the Frankfurt Lent fair ca. 1435. (207). Hans	

							Starck, son of Ulrich, traded from Nürnberg to Frankfurt am Main, Leipzig, Nördlingen, and Poznań in 1459. Otto Sulmeister, son-in-law of Ulrich Starck, traded from Nürnberg to Frankfurt am Main, Leipzig, Nördlingen and Poznań in 1458-1460. (Neukam, 1967, 216-217). Several guests in the inn of Ulrich Starck traded with Frankfurt am Main during their stay. (210-211, 214, 218, 213 n. 384).	
Hungary		3	2	2	1	>c.1430-1432<	Trade with Hungary. (Neukam, 1967, 218). Sales and purchases in Hungary by Jorg Pirckheimer for Ulrich Starck in 1431. (Neukam, 1967, 191). Sale of a diamond in Hungary by Hans Kraft the elder for Ulrich Starck in 1431. (193). Sale of a goblet in Hungary ca. 1432. (199). Sale of Augsburg cloth in Hungary ca. 1430. (200). Hungarian ducats brought by Hans Studenecker (by order of Hans Hermann) from Hungary to Ulrich Starck. (201). Gold and Hungarian ducats were brought from Hans Kraft (probably in Hungary) to Ulrich Starck by Paulus Wechsler in 1432. (204).	
Nördlingen		3	2	2	1	>1433-1460<	Trade with Nördlingen. (Neukam, 1967, 218). Otto Sulmaister, son-in-law of Ulrich Starck, travelled for the business of Ulrich Starck to Nördlingen in 1456. (Neukam, 1967, 183). Ulrich Starck visited the fairs of Nördlingen in 1447. (185). In 1433 Konrad Täschler sold a horse for Ulrich Starck at the fair of Nördlingen. (188, 195). Business connections with Hans Hereller from Nördlingen (1426-1430). (198-199). Payment to Starck at fair of Nördlingen in 1444. (204 n. 297). Hans Starck, son of Ulrich, traded from Nürnberg to Frankfurt am Main, Leipzig, Nördlingen, and Poznań in 1459. Otto Sulmeister, son-in-law of Ulrich Starck, traded from Nürnberg to Frankfurt am Main, Leipzig, Nördlingen, and Poznań in 1458-1460. (Neukam, 1967, 216-218). Several guests in the inn of Ulrich Starck traded with Nördlingen during their stay. (210-211, 214, 218, 213 n. 384).	
Ravensburg		3	2	2	1	>1434<	Trade with Ravensburg. (Neukam, 1967, 218). In 1434, Konrad Täschler carried out business for Ulrich Starck in Ravensburg. In the same year, Konrad, a *Diener* of Starck, went to Ravensburg. (Neukam, 1967, 196).	
Ulm		3	2	2	1	>1429-1434<	Trade with Ulm. (Neukam, 1967, 218). Business connections with Konrad Täschler and company in Ulm (1429-1434). (Neukam, 1967, 194-196).	
Venice		3	2	2	1	>1430<, >1431<, >1440<	Trade with Venice. (Neukam, 1967, 218). In 1440, Ulrich Starck was in the Fondaco dei Tedeschi in Venice. (Neukam, 1967, 180 n. 17). Business connections with Hermann Reck, who was active in Venice. In 1430, Starck gave 54 fl. to Reck who brought them to Venice for Konrad Zil. (201, 204).	

							In 1431, Kunrad Schampach sent coins (for exchange in ducats) to Venice for Ulrich Starck. (202).	
Vienna		3	2	2	1	>1433-c.1434<	Trade with Vienna. (Neukam, 1967, 218). Jorg Pirckheimer sold coral strings for Ulrich Starck in Vienna in 1433. (Neukam, 1967, 187, 187-188 n. 78). Ulrich Granetel brought Hungarian ducats from Vienna (where they were given him by Hans Kraft) to Ulrich Starck. (198). Sale of cloth in Vienna by Klos Desschler for Ulrich Starck ca. 1434. (207).	
Ansbach		2	2	1	0		Trade with Ansbach. (Neukam, 1967, 218). One of the guests staying in the inn of Ulrich Starck traded with Ansbach. (Neukam, 1967, 210).	
Augsburg		2	2	1	0	1426	Hans Pernhard purchased cloth in Augsburg for Ulrich Starck in 1426. (Neukam, 1967, 187, 194).	
Basel		2	2	1	0	1433	Hans Kraft, uncle of Ulrich Starck, sold pearls and a coral string in Basel for Ulrich in 1433. (Neukam, 1967, 187, 193).	
Eichstätt		2	2	1	0	>1433<	Trade with Eichstätt. (Neukam, 1967, 218). Sales by Ulrich Starck to the nobleman Friedrich Pflanz in Eichstätt in 1433. (Neukam, 1967, 190, 190 n. 101). One of the guests staying in the inn of Ulrich Starck traded with Eichstätt. (Neukam, 1967, 210, 218).	
Konstanz		2	2	1	0	1434	The Diener Hainz went to Konstanz in 1434 with merchandise, which was sold to a certain Kandelgieβer. (Neukam, 1967, 194).	
Leipzig		2	2	1	0	>1458-1460<	Trade with Leipzig. (Neukam, 1967, 218). Hans Starck, son of Ulrich, traded from Nürnberg to Frankfurt am Main, Leipzig, Nördlingen, and Poznań in 1459. Otto Sulmeister, son-in-law of Ulrich Starck, traded from Nürnberg to Frankfurt am Main, Leipzig, Nördlingen and Poznań in 1458-1460. Both stayed at the inn of Ulrich Starck. (Neukam, 1967, 216-217). Also another guest staying in the inn of Ulrich Starck traded with Leipzig. (213 n. 384).	
Poznań		2	2	1	0	>1458-1460<	Trade with Poznań. (Neukam, 1967, 218). Hans Starck, son of Ulrich, traded from Nürnberg to Frankfurt am Main, Leipzig, Nördlingen, and Poznań in 1459. Otto Sulmeister, son-in-law of Ulrich Starck, traded from Nürnberg to Frankfurt am Main, Leipzig, Nördlingen and Poznań in 1458-1460. Both stayed at the inn of Ulrich Starck. Also Burkard Sulmeister, brother of Otto, stayed in the inn of Ulrich Starck in 1458-1460, and traded with Poznań in this period. (Neukam, 1967, 216-217).	
Regensburg		2	2	1	0	1432	Business connection with Paumgartner in Regensburg in 1432. (Neukam, 1967, 190, 190 n. 95).	
Rome		2	2	1	0	1450	Trade with Rome. (Neukam, 1967, 218). Ulrich Starck went to Rome in	

							1450. (Neukam, 1967, 185).	
Sankt Gallen		2	2	1	0		Trade with Sankt Gallen. (Neukam, 1967, 218).	
Schwabach		2	2	1	0		Trade with Schwabach. (Neukam, 1967, 218). One of the guests staying in the inn of Ulrich Starck traded with Schwabach. (Neukam, 1967, 210).	
Wendelstein		2	2	1	0	>1432<, >1435<	Knives supplied from Wendelstein to Hans Kraft, which were paid for by Ulrich Starck in 1432. Another payment in 1435. (203).	
Zürich		2	2	1	0	>1434<	Trade with Zürich. (Neukam, 1967, 218). 25 fl. owed by Starck to Konrad Täschler were to be paid back by Kunz Goppolt in Zürich. (Neukam, 1967, 196). Loans to Kunz Goppolt in 1434, which were paid back by Goppolt in Zürich. (198).	
Cheb		1	1	1	0	>1430-1462<	Ulrich Starck had purchased annuities and other rents in Bamberg, Nürnberg, Cheb (Eger) and Weissenburg, which were paid to him twice a year (payments known for period 1430-1462). (Neukam, 1967, 178-179, 179 n. 6).	
Erfurt		1	1	1	0		Two of the guests staying in the inn of Ulrich Starck traded with Erfurt. (Neukam, 1967, 210).	
Weissenburg in Bayern		1	1	1	0	>1430-1462<	Ulrich Starck had purchased annuities and other rents in Bamberg, Nürnberg, Eger and Weissenburg, which were paid to him twice a year (payments known for period 1430-1462). (Neukam, 1967, 178-179, 179 n. 6). Loan to Weissenburg ca. 1430. (201).	

STROMER, ca. 1340 – 1430/34

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Source material:

The principal source about the Stromer firm is the "Püchel von meim geslecht und von abenteur", written by Ulman Stromer in 1385-1407. This Püchel contains notes about the Stromer family history and about German history, about the construction of the first German paper mill, the construction of the Stromer business house in Nürnberg, trade routes and commercial practices in foreign markets. (Chroust & Proesler, 1934, xxxvii; Eikenberg, 1976, 15; Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 11; Von Stromer, 1990, 21-23). Further only two letters of 1383/85 of the Stromer firm have been preserved, as well as a number of charters concerning the firm. (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 83, 83 n. 6).

1. STROMER, before 1340 – 1406/07

Ulman Stromer played a very important role in the political and economic life of Nürnberg for half a century. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 7). Firm "Gebrüder Peter, Andreas and Ulman Stromeir und Gesellschaft". (11). The Stromer played a leading role in the town council of Nürnberg. (12). Members of the Stromer firm were Ulman Stromer and his brothers Peter and Andreas, their sons and sons-in-law, as well as more distant relatives. Other members, who often had marriage ties to the Stromer, were Leopold Groβ, the brothers Conrad and Peter Mendel,

Berthold Pfinzing (d. 1405) and his son Sebald. (12). Later partners of the Stromer came often from Lauingen and established themselves in Nürnberg: Pirckheimer, Imhoff, and Aislinger in the middle of the 14th century, followed by the Gruber in the first quarter of the 15th century. (12). In 1406/07 eight partners belonging to the Stromer family (among whom Ulman Stromer) as well as a large number of partners and factors belonging to other families died from the plague. The only surviving son of Ulman Stromer, Jörg Stromer, established a new company with his father-in-law, Hans Aislinger, and with Hans Ortlieb (a relative of Aislinger). (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 13). Ulman Stromer belonged to the patriciate of Nürnberg. He was born in 1329 in Nürnberg. (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 81).

From Nürnberg. Stromer import-export house, founded ca. 1340. One of the first wave of large southern German business houses. Grew up on trade with north Italy and Flanders combined with the exploitation of mineral wealth, first of the Upper Palatinate, and then of all Central Europe. (Spufford, 2002, 258). The international businesses of the Mendel, Kress, Stromer and Pirckheimer of Nürnberg declined at the end of the 14th century (Von Imhoff, 1975, 19). Ulman Stromer apparently spent several years as an apprentice in northern Italy, especially in the area Genoa – Milan, as an apprentice in the business house of the Stromer family. (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 82). The Stromer business house was already in existence before 1340. Ca. 1370, it was headed by the brothers Ulman, Peter and Andreas Stromer. After the death of Peter and Andreas in 1388 and 1393, Ulman became the sole head of the Stromer firm. In 1407, Ulman Stromer died from the plague, together with many members of the family and company. (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 82). From the middle of the 14th century, the Stromer family played a leading role in Nürnberg. (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 82). The name of the firm changed regularly, often named after the leading partners. Abroad the firm was often named after one of the representatives there. Before 1407, all members of the Stromer family carrying out long-distance trade belonged to the same firm, as well as a number of collateral branches such as the Ortolf-branch, the Stromer zur goldenen Rose, and the Stromer von Auerbach. Among the members of the firm were Hans Ayslinger (Eiβlinger, 1400/1420), Ulirch Eisvogel (Hirschvogel?) (1370/90), Ulrich Groland (1360/1406), Leupolt Groβ (1380/90), Heinrich Kraft (1376), Fritz Lengenfelder (1372), Konrad, Peter and Marquard Mendel (1380/1406), Conrad Nützel (1341), and Herman Steiner (1380/1420). (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 99 n. 19). From 1360, Ulman Stromer was one of the heads of the Stromer business. From 1388/89 until 1407 he was the first politician of Nürnberg. (Von Stromer, 1990, 15). The Stromer family provided several members of the urban government of Nürnberg, especially between 1348 and 1426. It was one of the most powerful families of Nürnberg, and they had close ties with the Imperial Court. (Von Stromer, 1990, 15). The Stromer firm was first mentioned in a document of 1341. However, the company was definitely older. (Von Stromer, 1990, 16). The Stromer firm was a horizontal and vertical concern, consisting of different entrepreneurs and enterprises. The Mendel, Haug, Imhoff, Aislinger, Gruber, etc. began as daughtercompanies of the Stromer concern. (Von Stromer, 1990, 19). Ulman Stromer was mentioned for the first time in a document of 1360. By that time, he was already a head of the Stromer firm and a political ally of Karl IV. (Von Stromer, 1990, 20). Ulman Stromer was born in 1329. He was a son of Heinrich Ulman (d. 1347). Most of the sons of Heinrich were involved in the business of the Stromer firm. (Von Stromer, 1990, 20). Heads of the firm became Peter (son of the first marriage of Heinrich Ulman) and Ulman and Andreas (sons of the second marriage). (Von Stromer, 1990, 20). Ulrich Stromer died from plague in 1407. Many of Ulman's daughters married Nürnberg businessmen, such as Fritz Ammann, one of the heads of the Stromer firm. (Von Stromer, 1990, 20). Under Ulman Stromer, Nürnberg became a

member of the Rheinisch-Schwäbische Städtebund in 1384. By that time, he was the leading politician of Nürnberg. From 1371, the Stromer family controlled the Innere Rat of Nürnberg. (Von Stromer, 1990, 24).

Size: Large or very large

The firm of Ulman Stromer was one of the dominant Nürnberg firms of the 14th century. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 7).

Main activities:

- Commerce: The Stromer firm traded in spices, medicins, textiles, metal wares and raw materials. (Stromer von Recihenbach, 1963, 11-12). Stromer import-export house. Among other things import of Italian paper. (Spufford, 2002, 258). The Stromeir were involved in the trade in saffron (Von Stromer, 2002, 217). Paper of the Stromer firm was sold at the chancelleries of the Empire and of king Ruprecht. (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 99). The Stromer firm obtained a leading position in the European metal trade. (Von Stromer, 1990, 16). The Stromer traded in fustians from Lombardy via the Swiss Alps to the Rhineland. (Von Stromer, 1990, 24). Involved in the weapons trade. (Von Stromer, 1990, 16).
- Finance: Papal banking. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008; Spufford, 2002, 258). The Stromer had close ties with the principal ruling houses of Germany, the Luxemburger and Wittelsbacher, for whom they operated as money lenders, councillors, etc. (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 82). Played an important role in the money and financial business, as a result of their trade in precious metals. (Von Stromer, 1990, 16). Use of bills of exchange and book transfers. (Von Stromer, 1990, 16-19). The Stromer speculated on the money market. (Von Stromer, 1990, 16-19).
- Industry: The Stromer firm was involved in the metals industry of Nürnberg via putting-out system. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 12). The Stromer also exploited several water-mills, especially along the Pegnitz. (12, 12 n. 12). Exploitation of mineral wealth, first of the upper Palatinate, and then of all Central Europe. In 1390, Ulman Stromer founded the first paper mill north of the Alps just outside Nürnberg. Continued to be run by the Stromer firm until 1463, when it was taken over by the city of Nürnberg. (Spufford, 2002, 258). One of the key firms in the early development of capitalist silver-mining in central Europe (Spufford, 2002, 363-364). In 1360, Ulman Stromer traded in ore of the iron industry of the Upper Palatinate. (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 81). The firm and her members possessed several mills in and near Nürnberg. The Stromer were involved in mining activities. (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 83). From 1336 the latest, the Stromer firm was involved in industry, notably in the metals industry. Under Ulman Stromer, the firm became engaged in mining in Saxony, Bohemia and Hungary. The firm made use of new mining technology. (Von Stromer, 1990, 16). The Stromer firm invested in the Nürnberg weapons industry via the putting-out system. (Von Stromer, 1990, 16).

Network of the Stromer:

Very important ties with northwestern Italy under the brothers Peter, Ulman and Andreas Stromer. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 69). The business network of the Stromer firm spanned almost the whole of Europe. (11-12). Grew up on trade with north Italy and Flanders.

(Spufford, 2002, 258). The firm of the Stromeir of Nurnberg had spanned almost whole Europe and even towards the Near East between 1340 and 1440 (Von Stromer, 2002, 216-217). The firm and the branches kept their own correspondence, and several clerks were employed by the firm. (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 83). Paper of the Stromer firm was sold at the markets of eastern and northeastern Europe, in the Swabian cities, etc. (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 99). The network of the Stromer firm spanned the European continent. (Von Stromer, 1990, 15). The Stromer business spanned the whole of Europe from the Black Sea tot the Atlantic, from the Mediterranean to the Baltic. It consisted of a dense network of branches. Thanks to diplomatic missions for the city and the emperor, the Stromer obtained additional commercial privileges for Nürnberg and for their firm in Austria, Stiermarken, Karinthia, Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, Galicia, Genoa and its colonies, and in the Spanish kingdoms. (Von Stromer, 1990, 16). Use of correspondence and bookkeeping. (Von Stromer, 1990, 16-19).

Table A..1. Network of the Stromer, ca. 1300 – 1407 (especially 1341 – 1407)

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Nürnberg		8	4	3	1	before 1340-1407	Headquarters. The Stromer built a business house on the “Hauptmarkt” of Nürnberg in 1368. (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 97; Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 11; Von Stromer, 1990, 22-23). The Stromer operated a mill in Nürnberg in 1326. They were involved in the metals industry of Nürnberg. (12, 12 n. 12). In 1390, Ulman Stromer founded the first paper mill north of the Alps just outside Nürnberg. Continued to be run by the Stromer firm until 1463, when it was taken over by the city of Nürnberg. (Spufford, 2002, 258). Leupolt Groβ, member of the Stromer firm ca. 1380/90, was mint master of Nürnberg, Frankfurt, Schwäbisch Hall and Ulm. (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 99 n. 19). Headquarters. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28). In Nürnberg, the Stromer possessed a complex of houses, consisting of offices, warehouses, shops, stables, living quarters, and inns, where clergymen, princes, diplomats and business partners could stay. Some of these buildings were later used by the Welser. (Von Stromer, 1990, 16-19). Ulman Stromer founded a paper mill in Nürnberg in 1390. (Von Stromer, 1990, 24).	
Barcelona		6	3	2	1	>1360-1390<	The Stromer firm and her representatives can be found to have been active in Barcelona in 1380/90. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 11-12). By 1390 business stretching as far away as Barcelona, the Crimea, Lübeck and Rome. (Spufford, 2002, 258). In his Püchel, Ulman Stromer wrote about commercial practices in distant and for High German trade of that period	

							unusual places, such as Barcelona, Genoa, Kraków, Lvov, Asow. The Stromer firm had connections with these and many other places. (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 82). The Stromer firm was active in Barcelona. (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 99). Connection with Barcelona in 1390. Connections with Barcelona according to Ulman Stromer's Püchel. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28). Thanks to diplomatic missions for the city and the emperor, the Stromer obtained additional commercial privileges for Nürnberg and for their firm in Austria, Stiermarken, Karinthia, Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, Galicia, Genoa and its colonies, and in the Spanish kingdoms. (Von Stromer, 1990, 16). Before 1360, Ulman stayed in the main branches abroad: Barcelona, Genoa, Milan and Kraków. (Von Stromer, 1990, 20). In his Püchel, Ulman Stromer wrote about the business habits in Catalunya, Lombardy and Poland. (Von Stromer, 1990, 22-23).	
Genoa		6	3	2	1	>1360-1383<	The Stromer firm and her representatives can be found to have been active in Genoa in 1380/90. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 11-12). Ulman Stromer apparently spent several years as an apprentice in northern Italy, especially in the area Genoa – Milan, as an apprentice in the business house of the Stromer family. (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 82). In his Püchel, Ulman Stromer wrote about commercial practices in distant and for High German trade of that period unusual places, such as Barcelona, Genoa, Kraków, Lvov, Asow. The Stromer firm had connections with these and many other places. (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 82). Connection with Genoa in 1383. Connections with Genoa according to Ulman Stromer's Püchel. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28). Thanks to diplomatic missions for the city and the emperor, the Stromer obtained additional commercial privileges for Nürnberg and for their firm in Austria, Stiermarken, Karinthia, Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, Galicia, Genoa and its colonies, and in the Spanish kingdoms. (Von Stromer, 1990, 16). Before 1360, Ulman stayed in the main branches abroad: Barcelona, Genoa, Milan and Kraków. (Von Stromer, 1990, 20).	
Kraków		6	3	2	1	>1360-1376<	Ulman Stromer was active in spice trade in Kraków during the last quarter of the 14th century. In the early 15th century the Groβ, partners of the Stromer, were trading in Kraków. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 72). The Stromer firm and her representatives can be found to have been active in Kraków. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 11-12). In his Püchel, Ulman	

							Stromer wrote about commercial practices in distant and for High German trade of that period unusual places, such as Barcelona, Genoa, Kraków, Lvov, Asow. The Stromer firm had connections with these and many other places. (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 82). Connection with Kraków in 1376. Connections with Kraków according to Ulman Stromer's Püchel. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28). Thanks to diplomatic missions for the city and the emperor, the Stromer obtained additional commercial privileges for Nürnberg and for their firm in Austria, Stiermarken, Karinthia, Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, Galicia, Genoa and its colonies, and in the Spanish kingdoms. (Von Stromer, 1990, 16). Before 1360, Ulman stayed in the main branches abroad: Barcelona, Genoa, Milan and Kraków. (Von Stromer, 1990, 20). In his Püchel, Ulman Stromer wrote about the business habits in Catalunya, Lombardy and Poland. (Von Stromer, 1990, 22-23).	
Mainz		6	3	2	1	>1350-1351<	From 1350 the Stromer firm had permanent business connections with Mainz, where the firm had a branch. Ulman, his brothers and relatives went often to Mainz and Strasbourg. Close business and political ties with the Jungen family of Mainz. (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 100-101). Connection with Mainz in 1351. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28). In the cities along the Upper Rhine and in Cologne, the Stromer firm was permanently represented, in Mainz since 1351, in Strasbourg from 1377. (Von Stromer, 1990, 24).	
Milan		6	3	2	1	>1357<	The Stromer firm and her representatives can be found to have been active in Milan in 1357. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 11-12). Ulman Stromer apparently spent several years as an apprentice in northern Italy, especially in the area Genoa – Milan, as an apprentice in the business house of the Stromer family. (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 82). Connection with Milan in 1357. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28). Before 1360, Ulman stayed in the main branches abroad: Barcelona, Genoa, Milan and Kraków. (Von Stromer, 1990, 20). One of the sons of Heinrich Ulman died in Milan in 1357. (Von Stromer, 1990, 20). In his Püchel, Ulman Stromer wrote about the business habits in Catalunya, Lombardy and Poland. (Von Stromer, 1990, 22-23). Agent in Milan. The son of the Stromer agent in Milan, Rudolf Steiner, was one of the first entrepreneurs of a metal wire mill. (Von Stromer, 1990, 30).	
Strasbourg		6	3	2	1	>1377<	From at least 1377, the Stromer firm had permanent business connections	

							with Strasbourg, where the firm had a branch. Ulman, his brothers and relatives went often to Mainz and Strasbourg. Ulman Stromer and Herman Ebner had ties with the Heilmann family of Strasbourg. (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 100, 101 n. 24). Connection with Strasbourg in 1377. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28). In the cities along the Upper Rhine and in Cologne, the Stromer firm was permanently represented, in Mainz since 1351, in Strasbourg from 1377. (Von Stromer, 1990, 24).	
Cologne		4	2	2	1	>1377<	Connection with Cologne in 1377. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28). In the cities along the Upper Rhine and in Cologne, the Stromer firm was permanently represented, in Mainz since 1351, in Strasbourg from 1377. (Von Stromer, 1990, 24).	
Venice		4	2	2	1	>1337-1375<	The Granetel were probably factors of the Stromer in Venice. (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 99-100). Connection with Venice in 1375. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28). 9 Nürnberg merchants, 5 of whom belonged to the Stromer firm, were mentioned in a merchant book of Venice in 1337. (Von Stromer, 1990, 16).	
Aigues-Mortes		3	2	2	1	>1380/90<	The Stromer firm and her representatives can be found to have been active in Aigues-Mortes in 1380/90. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 11-12).	
Avignon		3	2	2	1	>1348<, >1372<	The Stromer firm and her representatives can be found to have been active in Avignon in 1348. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 11-12). Connection with Avignon in 1372. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28). The Stromer were involved in Papal banking. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008; Spufford, 2002, 258).	
Banská Bystrica	M	3	2	2	1	>1387<	The Stromer firm had a large involvement in the copper trade of Neusohl. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 12). The Stromer were engaged in the Carpathians and Hungary (Von Imhoff, 1975, 18). Mining in Neusohl in 1387. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28). Under Ulman Stromer, the firm became engaged in mining in Saxony, Bohemia and Hungary. (Von Stromer, 1990, 16).	
Bruges		3	2	2	1	>1362-1399<	The Stromer firm and her representatives can be found to have been active in Bruges in 1380/90. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 11-12). The Stromer obtained commercial privileges in Bruges in 1362. (Bolton & Guidi Bruscoli, 2008). Connection with Bruges in 1362, 1399. Connections with Bruges according to Ulman Stromer's Püchel. Connection with Flanders in 1359. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	
Como		3	2	2	1	>1346<	The Stromer firm and her representatives can be found to have been active	

							in Como in 1346. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 11-12). Connection with Como in 1346. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28). One of the sons of Heinrich Ulman was killed in 1346 on the Maloia pass and was buried in Como. (Von Stromer, 1990, 20).	
Frankfurt am Main		3	2	2	1	>1360<	Leupolt Groβ, member of the Stromer firm ca. 1380/90, was mint master of Nürnberg, Frankfurt, Schwäbisch Hall and Ulm. (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 99 n. 19). The fairs of Frankfurt were an important market for the Stromer paper. (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 99). Connection with Frankfurt am Main in 1360. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	
Kärnten		3	2	2	1	>1358<	Connection with Karinthia in 1358. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28). Thanks to diplomatic missions for the city and the emperor, the Stromer obtained additional commercial privileges for Nürnberg and for their firm in Austria, Stiermarken, Karinthia, Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, Galicia, Genoa and its colonies, and in the Spanish kingdoms. (Von Stromer, 1990, 16).	
Kutná Hora	M	3	2	2	1	>1388<	The Stromer firm had a large involvement in the copper trade of Kuttenberg. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 12). Mining in Kuttenberg in 1388. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28). Under Ulman Stromer, the firm became engaged in mining in Saxony, Bohemia and Hungary. (Von Stromer, 1990, 16).	
Lübeck		3	2	2	1	>1381<	By 1390 business stretching as far away as Barcelona, the Crimea, Lübeck and Rome. (Spufford, 2002, 258). Connection with Lübeck in 1381. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	
Lvov		3	2	2	1	>1365<	Ulman Stromer was active in Lvov in 1365. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 74-75). The Stromer firm and her representatives can be found to have been active in Lvov. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 11-12). In his Püchel, Ulman Stromer wrote about commercial practices in distant and for High German trade of that period unusual places, such as Barcelona, Genoa, Kraków, Lvov, Asow. The Stromer firm had connections with these and many other places. (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 82). Connection with Lvov in 1365. Connections with Lvov according to Ulman Stromer's Püchel. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28). Thanks to diplomatic missions for the city and the Emperor, the Stromer obtained additional commercial privileges for Nürnberg and for their firm in Austria, Stiermarken, Karinthia, Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, Galicia, Genoa and its colonies, and in the Spanish kingdoms. (Von Stromer, 1990, 16).	
Maastricht		3	2	2	1	>1392<	The Stromer firm and her representatives can be found to have been active	

							in Maastricht. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 11-12). Connection with Maastricht in 1392. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	
Mechelen		3	2	2	1		The Stromer firm and her representatives can be found to have been active in Mechelen. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 11-12).	
Naples		3	2	2	1	>1380/90<	The Stromer firm and her representatives can be found to have been active in Naples in 1380/90. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 11-12). Connections with Naples. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	
Ofen		3	2	2	1	>1357<	The Stromer firm and her representatives can be found to have been active in Ofen in 1357. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 11-12). The Stromer were engaged in the Carpathians and Hungary (Von Imhoff, 1975, 18). Connection with Ofen in 1357. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28). Thanks to diplomatic missions for the city and the emperor, the Stromer obtained additional commercial privileges for Nürnberg and for their firm in Austria, Stiermarken, Karinthia, Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, Galicia, Genoa and its colonies, and in the Spanish kingdoms. (Von Stromer, 1990, 16).	
Pera		3	2	2	1		Between 1340 and 1490 indications of business activities of the Stromer can be found anywhere in Europe between Lisbon, Riga, Pera and London. (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 82 n. 4). Connection with Pera. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	
Prague		3	2	2	1	>c.1300-1357<	The Stromer firm and her representatives can be found to have been active in Prague. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 11-12). Connection with Prague in 1357. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28). Thanks to diplomatic missions for the city and the Emperor, the Stromer obtained additional commercial privileges for Nürnberg and for their firm in Austria, Stiermarken, Karinthia, Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, Galicia, Genoa and its colonies, and in the Spanish kingdoms. (Von Stromer, 1990, 16). The Stromer had already connections with Bamberg, Eger and Prague around 1300: the Stromer established marriage ties with leading families in these cities. (Von Stromer, 1990, 16).	
Riga		3	2	2	1	>1401-1407<	The Stromer firm and her representatives can be found to have been active in Riga in 1407. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 11-12). Between 1340 and 1490 indications of business activities of the Stromer can be found anywhere in Europe between Lisbon, Riga, Pera and London. (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 82 n. 4). Connection with Riga in 1401. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	

Rome		3	2	2	1	>1355-1390<	The Stromer firm and her representatives can be found to have been active in Rome in 1355. Friedrich Scheffein, a relative of Ulman Stromer died on a business trip or pilgrimage to Rome. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 11-12, 11 n. 47). By 1390 business stretching as far away as Barcelona, the Crimea, Lübeck and Rome. (Spufford, 2002, 258). Connection with Rome in 1355. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	
Steiermark		3	2	2	1	>1358<	Connection with Stiermarken in 1358. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28). Thanks to diplomatic missions for the city and the emperor, the Stromer obtained additional commercial privileges for Nürnberg and for their firm in Austria, Stiermarken, Karinthia, Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, Galicia, Genoa and its colonies, and in the Spanish kingdoms. (Von Stromer, 1990, 16).	
Tana		3	2	2	1	>c.1395<	The Stromer firm and her representatives can be found to have been active in Asow (in the empire of the Golden Horde) in 1380/90. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 11-12). By 1390 business stretching as far away as Barcelona, the Crimea, Lübeck and Rome. (Spufford, 2002, 258). The Nürnberg business house Ulman Stromer had connections with Tana at the Black Sea. Also the company of Lienhard Reutheimer, former factor of the Stromer, had connections as far as the Bosporus (Kellenbenz, 1965, 362). In his Püchel, Ulman Stromer wrote about commercial practices in distant and for High German trade of that period unusual places, such as Barcelona, Genoa, Kraków, Lvov, Asow. The Stromer firm had connections with these and many other places. (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 82). Connection with Tana (Asow) ca. 1395. Connections with Tana according to Ulman Stromer's Püchel. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	
Toruń		3	2	2	1	>1389-1390<	The Stromer firm and her representatives can be found to have been active in Thorn in 1390. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 11-12). Connection with Thorn in 1389. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	
Vienna		3	2	2	1	>1358<	The Stromer firm and her representatives can be found to have been active in Vienna. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 11-12). Connection with Vienna in 1358. Connections with Vienna according to Ulman Stromer's Püchel. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28). Thanks to diplomatic missions for the city and the emperor, the Stromer obtained additional commercial privileges for Nürnberg and for their firm in Austria, Stiermarken, Karinthia, Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, Galicia, Genoa and its colonies, and in the Spanish kingdoms. (Von Stromer, 1990, 16).	

Wrocław		3	2	2	1	>1348<	The Stromer firm and her representatives can be found to have been active in Wrocław. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 11-12). Connection with Wrocław in 1348. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	
Aalen		2	2	1	0	>1378<	Connection with Aalen in 1378. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	
Amberg		2	2	1	0	>1358<	Connection with Amberg in 1358. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28). The Stromer firm had a large involvement in the iron-ore mining and smelting industry and trade in the area Amberg-Sulzbach-Auerbach. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 12). Exploitation of mineral wealth, first of the Upper Palatinate, and then of all Central Europe. (Spufford, 2002, 258). In 1360, Ulman Stromer traded in ore of the iron industry of the Upper Palatinate. (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 81). Under Ulman Stromer, the firm became engaged in mining in Saxony, Bohemia and Hungary. (Von Stromer, 1990, 16).	
Auerbach	M	2	2	1	0	>1358<	Mining in Auerbach in 1358. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28). The Stromer firm had a large involvement in the iron-ore mining and smelting industry and trade in the area Amberg-Sulzbach-Auerbach. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 12). Exploitation of mineral wealth, first of the Upper Palatinate, and then of all Central Europe. (Spufford, 2002, 258). In 1360, Ulman Stromer traded in ore of the iron industry of the Upper Palatinate. (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 81). Under Ulman Stromer, the firm became engaged in mining in Saxony, Bohemia and Hungary. (Von Stromer, 1990, 16).	
Augsburg		2	2	1	0	>1379<	Connection with Augsburg in 1379. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	
Basel		2	2	1	0	>1372<	Connection with Basel in 1372. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28). A conflict arose between the Stromer firm and Basel about the trade in Lombardian fustians of the Stromer, since Basel attempted to develop its own fustian industry. (Von Stromer, 1990, 24).	
Brno		2	2	1	0	>1318<	The Stromer firm and her representatives can be found to have been active in Brünn. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 11-12). Connection with Brünn in 1318. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	
Chiavenna		2	2	1	0	>1378<	Connection with Chiavenna in 1378. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	
Danzig		2	2	1	0	>1399<	Connection with Danzig in 1399. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	
Ehrenbreitstein		2	2	1	0	>1381<	Connection with Ehrenbreitstein in 1381. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	
Erfurt		2	2	1	0	>1401<	Connection with Erfurt in 1401. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	
Friedberg		2	2	1	0	>1407<	Connection with Friedberg in 1407. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	
Geneva		2	2	1	0		Connections with Geneva. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	

Ghent		2	2	1	0	>1362<	Connection with Ghent in 1362. Connections with Ghent according to Ulman Stromer's Püchel. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	
Heidelberg		2	2	1	0	>1377<	Connection with Heidelberg in 1377. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	
Heilbronn		2	2	1	0	>1382<	Connection with Heilbronn in 1382. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	
Konstanz		2	2	1	0	>1383<	Connection with Konstanz in 1383. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	
Košice		2	2	1	0	>1406<	Connection with Kaschau in 1406. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	
Laufenburg		2	2	1	0	>1380<	Connection with Laufenburg in 1380. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	
Lauingen		2	2	1	0		Several partners of the Stromer came from Lauingen and established themselves in Nürnberg: Pirckheimer, Imhoff, and Aislinger in the middle of the 14th century, followed by the Gruber in the first quarter of the 15th century. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 12).	
Lohr		2	2	1	0	>1378<	Connection with Lohr in 1378. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	
Luzern		2	2	1	0	>1371<	Connection with Luzern in 1371. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	
Magdeburg		2	2	1	0	>1390<	Connection with Magdeburg in 1390. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	
Meissen		2	2	1	0	>1375<	Connection with Meissen in 1375. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	
Nördlingen		2	2	1	0	>1384<	Connection with Nördlingen in 1384. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	
Olkusz		2	2	1	0		The Stromer and Groβ purchased lead from Olkusz near Kraków. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 72).	
Passau		2	2	1	0	>1401<	Connection with Passau in 1401. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	
Pavia		2	2	1	0	>1375<	Connection with Pavia in 1375. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	
Rothenburg ober der Tauber		2	2	1	0	>1383<	Connection with Rothenburg in 1383. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	
Schwäbisch Hall		2	2	1	0		Leupolt Groβ, member of the Stromer firm ca. 1380/90, was mint master of Nürnberg, Frankfurt, Schwäbisch Hall and Ulm. (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 99 n. 19).	
Speyer		2	2	1	0	>1378<	Connection with Speyer in 1378. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	
Spiš		2	2	1	0	>1406<	Connection with Zips in 1406. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	
Straubing		2	2	1	0	>1390<	Connection with Straubing in 1390. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	
Sulzbach	M	2	2	1	0		Ulman Stromer's father-in-law, Ulrich Hegnein, was a mining entrepreneur in Sulzbach. His possessions were confiscated by Karl IV, but Ulman and his brothers were able to recover the possessions for the children of Hegnein. (Von Stromer, 1990, 20). The Stromer firm had a large involvement in the iron-ore mining and smelting industry and trade in the	

							area Amberg-Sulzbach-Auerbach. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 12). Exploitation of mineral wealth, first of the Upper Palatinate, and then of all Central Europe. (Spufford, 2002, 258). In 1360, Ulman Stromer traded in ore of the iron industry of the Upper Palatinate. (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 81). Under Ulman Stromer, the firm became engaged in mining in Saxony, Bohemia and Hungary. (Von Stromer, 1990, 16).	
Ulm		2	2	1	0	>1376<	Leupolt Groβ, member of the Stromer firm ca. 1380/90, was mint master of Nürnberg, Frankfurt, Schwäbisch Hall and Ulm. (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 99 n. 19). Connection with Ulm in 1376. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	
Uri		2	2	1	0	>1371<	Connection with Uri in 1371. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	
Zucz		2	2	1	0	>1372<	Connection with Zucz in 1372. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	
Bamberg		1	1	1	0	>1312<	Connection with Bamberg in 1312. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28). The Stromer had already connections with Bamberg, Eger and Prague around 1300: the Stromer established marriage ties with leading families in these cities. (Von Stromer, 1990, 16).	
Cham		1	1	1	0	>1305<	Connection with Cham in 1305. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28). The Stromer firm had a large involvement in the iron-ore mining and smelting industry and trade in the area Amberg-Sulzbach-Auerbach. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 12). Exploitation of mineral wealth, first of the Upper Palatinate, and then of all Central Europe. (Spufford, 2002, 258). In 1360, Ulman Stromer traded in ore of the iron industry of the Upper Palatinate. (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 81). Under Ulman Stromer, the firm became engaged in mining in Saxony, Bohemia and Hungary. (Von Stromer, 1990, 16).	
Cheb		1	1	1	0	>1313<	Connection with Eger in 1313. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28). The Stromer had already connections with Bamberg, Eger and Prague around 1300: the Stromer established marriage ties with leading families in these cities. (Von Stromer, 1990, 16).	
Landshut		1	1	1	0	>1328<	Connection with Landshut in 1328. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	
Regensburg		1	1	1	0	>1328<	Connection with Regensburg in 1328. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	

+ The organisation of the Stromer network is barely known. It is unclear where branches were located, where the firm made use of the services of other firms or merchants, etc. As a result, I have attributed a score 3-2-2-1 to most nodes, with the exception of those that are only mentioned in the map in Von Stromer, 1960, 28 (2-2-1-0, since it is not entirely clear whether these were nodes in the Stromer business network or places where Stromer paper was traded), and a small number of nodes that appear to have been particularily important for the firm (4-2-2-1 or 6-3-2-1).

2. STROMER-ORTLIEB, 1406/07 – 1430/34 (network not used)

The Stromer-Ortlieb company went bankrupt in 1430/34. This bankruptcy was partly a result of the flight of Hans Ortlieb, one of the partners. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 1). Stromer-Ortlieb(-Aislinger)-Gesellschaft. (68). Georg Stromer went bankrupt in 1434. (72). Among the successors of the Stromer-Ortlieb firm were the Gruber-Podmer-Stromer firm and the Reutheimer-Rudolf-Gesellschaft. (74). In 1406/07 eight partners belonging to the Stromer family (among whom Ulman Stromer) as well as a large number of partners and factors belonging to other families died from the plague. The only surviving son of Ulman Stromer, Jörg Stromer, established a new company with his father-in-law, Hans Aislinger, and with Hans Ortlieb (a relative of Aislinger). (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 13). The firm was named Stromer-Ortlieb-Gesellschaft. Among the partners of the firm were also other members of the Stromer family, especially Andreas (a son of Georg), as well as relatives of Aislinger and Ortlieb from Nürnberg and Lauingen. (13). In the 1420s the Stromer-Ortlieb firm was again of large importance. Large business activities of the firm are known in 1428. (13-14). Decline between 1430 and 1434: large losses due to reprisals in London and Copenhagen, and robbery in the east, the Hussite war, the economic war of Sigismund against Venice and Poland, the dissolution of befriend firms such as the Kress, and especially by the unloyalty of Hans Ortlieb, who fled in 1430, leaving large debts. (14; Von Stromer, 1990, 32). In 1433, Georg Stromer had to give up his citizenship in Nürnberg, since he was not able to pay his debts anymore. He died in Koblenz in 1437. (14; Von Stromer, 1990, 32). The Stromer-Ortlieb firm was succeeded by the Imhoff, the Gruber-Podmer-Stromer, and the firm of Lienhard Reutheimer and Andreas Rudolf. (14).
Political and later also economical difficulties of the Stromeier (Stromer)-Ortlieb firm ca. 1480s. This favored the development of the Imhoff firm. (Von Imhoff, 1975, 18). Ulman Stromer the younger, brother of Georg, died before his father. (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 96). Partner of Georg Stromer was the Nürnberg town counsillor Hans Ortlieb, a relative of Hans Ayslinger, father-in-law of Georg Stromer, and also partner in the company. Difficulties of the company as a result of the Hussite war, and robberies and confiscations in eastern Europe, England and Denmark. In 1430, Ortlieb fled, leaving large debts to Stromer and others. (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 97). Bankruptcy of Georg Stromer in 1431. (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 97). Nevertheless, the Stromer managed to save several of their properties out of the bankruptcy, such as their business house in Nürnberg and the paper mill, which came in hands of Georg's sons Peter (d. 1431) and Andreas (d. 1449). (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 97-98; Von Stromer, 1990, 32). Among the members of the Stromer-Ortlieb firm were Hans Ayslinger (1420), Lamprecht Groβ (1413/30), Hans Gruber (1410), Ludwig Gruber (1420), Hans Ortlieb (1410/31), and Herman Steiner (1420). (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 99 n. 19). After the death of Ulman Stromer in 1407, his wife Agnes Groland, who died five years later) inherited the Stromer business, and carried out banking and business with Bohemia and Cologne. (Von Stromer, 1990, 29). Jörg Stromer, son of Ulman, took over the leadership of the firm. He took his father-in-law, Hans Aislinger, as partner in the company. (Von Stromer, 1990, 29-30). Several families of Lauingen played an important role in the branches of the Stromer-Ortlieb firm, such as the Imhoff, Gruber, Scheurl, Rosshaupter and Aislinger. (Von Stromer, 1990, 29-30). After the bankruptcy of the Stromer-Ortlieb firm, the firm was succeeded by several daughter firms (thanks to the hidden transfers of possessions of the firm to Georg's sons and to several previous members

of the firm). An agreement was found with the creditors. The previous factors Gruber, Reutheimer and Imhoff became heads of their own daughterfirms, while the sons of the previous heads and principal partners now became factors, such as Andreas Stromer, Hans Ortlieb the younger and Hans Aislinger the younger. (Von Stromer, 1990, 33-34).

Size: Medium-sized or large

In the 1420s the Stromer-Ortlieb firm was again of large importance. Large business activities of the firm are known in 1428. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 13-14). The Gruber firm appears to have been smaller than its predecessor, the Stromer-Ortlieb firm. (68).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Trade. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 13).
- Finance: The Stromer-Ortlieb firm provided large loans to king Sigismund and several other princes. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 13-14). Close ties between Georg Stromer and king Sigismund. (Von Stromer, 1990, 32).
- Industry: The paper mill of Ulman Stromer was inherited by Georg Stromer. (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 96). Hans Aislinger was an entrepreneur in the fustian industry. (Von Stromer, 1990, 29-30). The Stromer-Ortlieb firm was strongly involved in the fustian industry. The firm also built several metal wire mills in Nürnberg and around. (Von Stromer, 1990, 30).

Network of the Stromer-Ortlieb:

The Stromer-Ortlieb-Gesellschaft had claims in the German Empire, Poland, Ruthenia, Prussia, Austria and Brabant, and also in Hungary. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 68). The Stromer-Ortlieb firm had connections with northwestern Italy. (69). The company counted several partners, and in addition also a number of factors, such as Conrad Imhoff. (13).

Table A..2. Network of the Stromer-Ortlieb, 1406/07 – 1434

City	**R**	**Score**				**Period**	**Type of presence**	**References**
Nürnberg		8	4	3	1	1406/07-1434	Among the partners of the firm were relatives of Aislinger and Ortlieb from Nürnberg and Lauingen. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 13). The Stromer-Ortlieb firm traded in Nürnberg. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 13). When he fled in 1430, Hans Ortlieb left large debts, e.g. in Nürnberg, Lauingen and Kraków. (14). Georg Stromer took over the business house of his father on the main square of Nürnberg. Hans Aislinger built his own palace opposite of that of the Stromer. (Von Stromer, 1990, 29-30).	
Kraków		4	2	2	1	>1424-1433<	The Stromer-Ortlieb company had a factor in Kraków in 1431: Hans Meier. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 68). Kraków was the principal node of the	

							eastern trade of the Stromer-Ortlieb firm. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 71). In 1424-1433, Hans Meier was permanently in Wrocław and Kraków for the Stromer-Ortlieb. (71). Between 1424 and 1433 Kraków was the centre of the eastern trade of the Stromer-Ortlieb-Gesellschaft. (72). At the bankruptcy of Georg Stromer in 1434, the firm had large debts in Kraków. (72). When he fled in 1430, Hans Ortlieb left large debts, e.g. in Nürnberg, Lauingen and Kraków. (14). The Stromer-Ortlieb firm traded in Poland. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 13). The Hussite war blocked the trade routes of the firm to Hungary, Bohemia, Silesia and Poland. (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 97). In 1426-1431, Mathias Ruprecht was factor of the Stromer in Silesia and Poland. (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 100). The Stromer-Ortlieb-Gesellschaft had claims in the German Empire, Poland, Ruthenia, Prussia, Austria and Brabant, and also in Hungary. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 68).	
London		4	2	2	1	>1426-1430<	In 1430, a factory of the Stromer-Ortlieb company is mentioned in London, which apparently existed there already for several years. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 13-14). The Stromer firm and her representatives can be found to have been active in London in 1430. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 11-12). Between 1340 and 1490 indications of business activities of the Stromer can be found anywhere in Europe between Lisbon, Riga, Pera and London. (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 82 n. 4). Confiscations in Denmark and England. (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 97). Connection with London in 1426. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28). Active in London. (Von Stromer, 1990, 29-30).	
Magdeburg		4	2	2	1	>1408-1412<	Following Hans Aislinger, Georg Stromer, Hans and Ulrich Gruber became active in Magdeburg for the Stromer-Ortlieb firm. Perhaps they were attracted here by the copper of Mansfeld-Eisleben, or did they hope for a revival of the copper mining industry of Goslar. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 70). The Stromer-Ortlieb firm traded in Magdeburg in 1412. The Stromer-Ortlieb firm was probably connected with Magdeburg via Hans Aislinger, who was already active in Magdeburg in 1390, 1408 and 1409. In 1412, Hans Gruber was Diener of Georg Stromer in Magdeburg. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 13). Representative in Magdeburg before Hans Gruber was Thomas Ratgeb, a relative of Aislinger, who obtained citizenship in Magdeburg. (13 n. 62). The Stromer-Ortlieb firm traded in	

							Eastern Germany. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 13).	
Venice		4	2	2	1		The Stromer-Ortlieb firm traded in Venice. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 13). Hans Geyger was probably the branch manager in Venice. (Von Stromer, 1990, 32).	
Vienna		4	2	2	1		Factor of the Stromer-Ortlieb in Vienna was Flugengel. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 9). The Stromer-Ortlieb firm traded in Vienna. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 13). The Stromer-Ortlieb-Gesellschaft had claims in the German Empire, Poland, Ruthenia, Prussia, Austria and Brabant, and also in Hungary. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 68).	
Wrocław		4	2	2	1	>1424-1433<	The Stromer-Ortlieb firm had permanent representatives in Wrocław. In 1424-1433, Hans Meier was permanently in Wrocław and Kraków for the Stromer-Ortlieb. Other representatives in Wrocław were Mathias Ruprecht, Lienhart Reutheimer, Hans Engelhardt, Hans Gruber, and Ludwig Gruber. There were also a number of lesser Diener in Wrocław. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 71). The Hussite war blocked the trade routes of the firm to Hungary, Bohemia, Silesia and Poland. (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 97). In 1426-1431, Mathias Ruprecht was factor of the Stromer in Silesia and Poland. (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 100).	
Colmar		3	2	2	1	>1422<	The Stromer-Ortlieb firm traded in Colmar. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 13). Connection with Colmar in 1422. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	
Cologne		3	2	2	1		After the death of Ulman Stromer in 1407, his wife Agnes Groland, who died five years later) inherited the Stromer business, and carried out banking and business with Bohemia and Cologne. (Von Stromer, 1990, 29).	
Copenhagen		3	2	2	1	>1428<	In 1428, the Stromer-Ortlieb firm carried out business between Mechelen and Copenhagen. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 13-14). The Stromer firm and her representatives can be found to have been active in Copenhagen in 1428. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 11-12). Confiscations in Denmark and England. (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 97). Connection with Copenhagen in 1428. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28). Active in Copenhagen. (Von Stromer, 1990, 29-30).	
Genoa		3	2	2	1		The Stromer-Ortlieb firm traded in Lombardy, especially Milan and Genoa. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 13). The Stromer-Ortlieb firm had connections with northwestern Italy. (69).	
Lauingen		3	2	2	1	>1430<	Among the partners of the firm were relatives of Aislinger and Ortlieb from	

							Nürnberg and Lauingen. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 13). When he fled in 1430, Hans Ortlieb left large debts, e.g. in Nürnberg, Lauingen and Kraków. (14). Hans Ayslinger came from a family of Lauingen and Nürnberg. (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 97). Werner Roβhaupter of Lauingen-Ulm was one of the creditors of the firm at the bankruptcy. (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 97). Aislinger came from Lauingen. (Von Stromer, 1990, 29-30).	
Lvov		3	2	2	1	>1425<	The Stromer-Ortlieb firm traded in Lvov. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 74-75). The Stromer-Ortlieb firm traded in Lvov. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 13). Connection with Lvov in 1425. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28). Active in Galicia. (Von Stromer, 1990, 29-30). The Stromer-Ortlieb-Gesellschaft had claims in the German Empire, Poland, Ruthenia, Prussia, Austria and Brabant, and also in Hungary. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 68).	
Mechelen		3	2	2	1	>1423-1428<	The Stromer-Ortlieb firm traded in Mechelen. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 13). In 1428, the Stromer-Ortlieb firm carried out business between Mechelen and Copenhagen. (13-14). Connection with Mechelen in 1423. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28). The Stromer-Ortlieb-Gesellschaft had claims in the German Empire, Poland, Ruthenia, Prussia, Austria and Brabant, and also in Hungary. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 68).	
Milan		3	2	2	1		The Stromer-Ortlieb firm traded in Lombardy, especially Milan and Genoa. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 13). The Stromer-Ortlieb firm had connections with northwestern Italy. (69).	
Pécs (Fünfkirchen)		3	2	2	1	>1408<	Connection with Fünfkirchen in 1408. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28). The Stromer-Ortlieb firm traded in Hungary. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 13). The Hussite war blocked the trade routes of the firm to Hungary, Bohemia, Silesia and Poland. (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 97). The Stromer-Ortlieb-Gesellschaft had claims in the German Empire, Poland, Ruthenia, Prussia, Austria and Brabant, and also in Hungary. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 68).	
Plzeň		3	2	2	1	>1412<	Connection with Pilsen in 1412. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28). The Hussite war blocked the trade routes of the firm to Hungary, Bohemia, Silesia and Poland. (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 97). After the death of Ulman Stromer in 1407, his wife Agnes Groland, who died five years later) inherited the Stromer business, and carried out banking and business with	

							Bohemia and Cologne. (Von Stromer, 1990, 29).	
Prussia		3	2	2	1		The Stromer-Ortlieb firm was active in Prussia. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 76). Active in Prussia. (Von Stromer, 1990, 29-30). The Stromer-Ortlieb-Gesellschaft had claims in the German Empire, Poland, Ruthenia, Prussia, Austria and Brabant, and also in Hungary. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 68).	
Baltic region		2	2	1	0		Active in the Baltic. (Von Stromer, 1990, 29-30).	
Bratislava		2	2	1	0	>1408<	Connection with Pressburg in 1408. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	
Caffa		2	2	1	0	>1412<	Connection with Caffa in 1412. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	
Erfurt		2	2	1	0	>1404<	In 1404 Heinrich Eyslinger (Aislinger), a relative of Hans Aislinger, had become citizen in Erfurt. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 70). In 1404, Heinrich Eyslinger became citizen in Erfurt. (13 n. 62). The Stromer-Ortlieb firm traded in Middle Germany. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 13).	
Geneva		2	2	1	0	>1422<	Connection with Geneva in 1422. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	
Ingolstadt		2	2	1	0	>1414<	Connection with Ingolstadt in 1414. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	
Kiliya		2	2	1	0	>1418<	Connection with Chilia in 1418. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	
Leipzig		2	2	1	0	>1409<	Connection with Leipzig in 1409. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28). The Stromer-Ortlieb firm traded in Eastern Germany. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 13).	
Nördlingen		2	2	1	0		The Aislinger were active in Nördlingen (1420). (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 70).	
Nysa		2	2	1	0	>1427<	Connection with Neisse in 1427. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	
Ravensburg		2	2	1	0	>1423<	Connection with Ravensburg in 1423. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	
Salzburg		2	2	1	0	>1409<	Connection with Salzburg in 1409. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	
Sweden		2	2	1	0		Active in South Sweden. (Von Stromer, 1990, 29-30).	
Asia		1	1	1	0	1410	Jakob Haug, of one of the Stromer daughter firms, went in 1410 to Central Asia (to the Timurids) and Kathay (China) for a trade mission and as ambassador for Sigismund. (Von Stromer, 1990, 29-30).	
Bergen-op-Zoom		1	1	1	0	1428	Heinrich Gulchsheymer and his Diener Peter Meyer appear to have shipped goods for the Stromer-Ortlieb from Dordrecht to Bergen-op-Zoom in 1428. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 76-77).	
Dordrecht		1	1	1	0	1428	Heinrich Gulchsheymer and his Diener Peter Meyer appear to have shipped goods for the Stromer-Ortlieb from Dordrecht to Bergen-op-Zoom in 1428. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 76-77).	
Ulm		1	1	1	0		Werner Roβhaupter of Lauingen-Ulm was one of the creditors of the firm at	

							the bankruptcy. (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 97).	

+ The organisation of the Stromer-Ortlieb network is barely known. For most nodes, it is unclear whether these were branches, agencies, etc. As a result, I have attributed a score 3-2-2-1 to most nodes, with the exception of those that are only mentioned in the map in Von Stromer, 1960, 28 (2-2-1-0, since it is not entirely clear whether these were nodes in the Stromer-Ortlieb business network or places where Stromer paper was traded), and a small number of nodes where factors of the firm were located (4-2-2-1).

3. GRUBER-PODMER-STROMER, 1427/33 – ca. 1472

The Gruber-Podmer-Stromer company was one of the successors of the Stromer-Ortlieb-Gesellschaft. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 1). The firm was normally named after its senior partner: first Hans Gruber, later Ludwig Gruber, often together with Lienhard Podmer. (62). Most important partners were Hans and Ludwig Gruber and Lienhard Podmer. The share of Hans Gruber was later taken over by his sons-in-law Ortolf Stromer and Karl Holzschuher. Another partner who only later joined the company was Conrad Gruber. (64). Apparently, the centre of the eastern business of the Gruber-Podmer-Stromer moved from Wrocław to Kraków when in 1449 Albrecht Scheurl left the company and founded his own firm in Wrocław together with a group of Salzburg merchants, also taking several members of the Gruber firm, such as his brother Bartholomäus, Marquard Kurn, and Hans Aislinger, with him. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 72). The Gruber-Podmer-Stromer firm came into existence sometime between 1427 and 1433. (19-22). Hans Gruber died in 1443. (25). Ludwig Gruber died in 1464. (37). The death of Ludwig Gruber resulted in the decline of the Gruber-Podmer-Stromer firm. The company was continued by his sons for some more years, but came into large difficulties. Subesequently, several members of the firm had to give up their citizenship of Nürnberg and to leave the city because of their difficulties: Conrad, a son of Ludwig, in 1464; Hans, another son, in 1470, and finally Lienhard Podmer, at a very old age by then, in 1472. By 1472, the firm must have been dissolved. (37). The Gruber firm was the successor of the Stromer firm, whereby several members of the Stromer family and even the son of Hans Ortlieb were partners in the firm, first hidden, later openly. Hans and Ludwig Gruber were originally factors of the Stromer firm. (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 100).

References:

Stromer von Reichenbach, W., 1963. *Die Nürnberger Handelsgesellschaft Gruber-Podmer-Stromer im 15. Jahrhundert*. Nürnberg, Verein für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg (Nürnberger Forschungen. Einzelarbeiten zur Nürnberger Geschichte, 7).

I did not consult:

Source material:

No archives of the Gruber firm have been preserved. However, the history of this company can be reconstructed via a large number of fragmented sources, mostly from the Nürnberg archives. The principal sources are: (1) a volume of ca. 50 merchant letters from eastern Germany of 1444 (containing 8 letters of the Gruber firm), preserved in the Staatsarchiv of Nürnberg; (2) the notes of Christoph Scheurl about his grandfather Albrecht Scheurl, who was a factor of the Gruber-Podmer firm in Wrocław; (3) the archives of a lawsuit between Erhard Kellner of Isny and the Gruber firm; (4) several documents about the older Stromer firms. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 9-11). Several sources have been published in Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 104-174.

Size: Medium-sized or large

The amount of capital invested in the Gruber firm is unknown. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 65). The Gruber firm appears to have been smaller than its predecessor, the Stromer-Ortlieb firm. (68). The Gruber-Podmer-Stromer firm, as most 15th century Nürnberg firms, was not as large as the Fugger, Welser or Grosse Ravensburger Gesellschaft, neither was it as big as the Nürnberg Stromer firm ca. 1400, or the Imhoff company around 1500. The Nürnberg firms of the 15th century where rather medium sized. (6, 8).

Main activities:

- Commerce: In Venice, the Gruber firm purchased oriental goods, spices and medicins, luxury textiles and paper. The company sold metal wares of Nürnberg and furs in Venice. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 69). Involved in copper trade. (69). Trade in linen and fustians from the area between the Danube and Lake Constance. (69). Trade in wax. (69). In Leipzig, the Gruber traded in copper from Mansfeld, woad from Erfurt, ginger, etc. (70). Trade in wholesale, but also in retail (e.g. in Wrocław). (71). In Kraków the Gruber-Gesellschaft sold goods from the east (purchased in Italy), luxury textiles, linen, fustians, Nürnberg metal wares, and purchased wax, furs and hides. (72). Trade in wax. (74). The Gruber firm traded in paper produced by the paper mill of the Stromer. (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 100). The Gruber traded in paper from Venice and metal wire from Nürnberg. (Von Stromer, 1990, 33-34).
- Finance: Hans Luβmer, factor in Kraków, lent 1,813 fl. ung. to the Polish king. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 72-73). Lusmer, one of the Diener, had connections with the Polish king. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 63). The Polish royal court, king Kasimir and Queen Mother Sophia belonged to the clients and debtors of the Gruber in Kraków. (72).
- Industry: Involved in copper mining. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 69). The Gruber-Podmer-Stromer firm was involved in the metals industry of Nürnberg. (76).The Gruber firm probably took over the Stromer paper mill. (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 100).

Network of the Gruber-Podmer-Stromer:

The company was headed by a head or Regierer, sometimes more than one at the same time. Other members only represented the head (via a power of attorney). Nevertheless, representatives abroad or accompanying transports of wares had a large freedom in reality. They decided about large business transactions and even large loans. The principal branches kept their own accountancy. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 63). Members of the company (partners and branch managers) went from time to time back to the Nürnberg headquarters or moved between the

different nodes of the network. Especially younger partners were very mobile: they typically remained for circa half a year at the same place. (63-64). At important commercial centres, the company had two representatives at the same time. In addition, extra partners came from the headquarters during busy periods such as big fairs. (64). Even Ludwig Gruber travelled around, even at a high age. Only Hans Gruber perhaps remained permanently in the headquarters. (64). Often one of the representatives in the branch remained there, while the other travelled around in the trade area serviced from the branch. (64). Among the employees of the firm were “Knechte” and “Diener”, the latter of whom probably had larger responsibilities than the former. (64). The Diener obtained an annual salary, presents, and often also a share in the profits (and losses). (64-65). Accounts were kept in the headquarters and the principal branches. (66). Correspondence played an important role in the Gruber-Podmer-Stromer company. The dispatch of letters was apparently organised by several firms together: letters were given to a member of one of the firms going abroad. (66-67).

The network of the Gruber firm appears to have been smaller than that of the Stromer-Ortlieb company before. We have no indications about connections of the Gruber-Podmer-Stromer with Flanders, Brabant, the Lower Rhine area, Austria, or Hungary. (68). Connections with the north-west and south-east appear to have disappeared under the Podmer-Gruber-Stromer firm. Connections with the south-west are not entirely certain in this period either. (68). Perhaps there was no shrinking in reality, and is this just a reflection of a lack of source material, but probably this shrinking was real: the Gruber apparently decided to decrease the size of the business, and they took over the part of the business with which they were familiar already thanks to their activity in the Stromer business. (68-69). The Gruber were especially active in middle and eastern Germany and in Poland. (70). Probably the Gruber-Podmer-Stromer had no connections with Flanders and Brabant, and with the Rhine region. (76).

Table A..3. Network of the Gruber-Podmer-Stromer, 1427/33 – ca. 1472

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Nürnberg		8	4	3	1	1427/33-c.1472	Headquarters. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 63-64). According to Christoph Scheurl, grandson of Albrecht Scheurl, the trade area of the Gruber-Podmer firm consisted of Venice, Nürnberg, Salzburg, Meiβen, Silesia, Poland, Lvov, Ruthenia, and Prussia. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 68). The Gruber firm traded between Nürnberg and Venice. (69). Headquarters. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 72-73 map).	
Kraków		5 **6**	3 **3**	2 **2**	1 **1**	>1444-1449/51 1449/51-1459<	Lusmer became citizen of Kraków. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 62-63). Two representatives in Kraków in 1459: Matthias Scheppach and Ulrich Freidung. (64). According to Christoph Scheurl, grandson of Albrecht Scheurl, the trade area of the Gruber-Podmer firm consisted of Venice, Nürnberg, Salzburg, Meiβen, Silesia, Poland, Lvov, Ruthenia, and Prussia.	

							(Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 68). Albrecht Scheurl was especially active in Wrocław, and from there also in Leipzig and Kraków. (68). At least until 1449/51, when Albrecht Scheurl became independent from the Gruber firm, Wrocław was the centre of the eastern business of the company. Only later, the emphasis was removed increasingly to Kraków. (71). From Wrocław, connections were maintained with the rest of Silesia: Görlitz, Neiβe, Hirschberg, but also with Leipzig, Frankfurt an der Oder, Berlin and Kraków. Albrecht Scheurl travelled frequently between these places to organise transports of goods, collection of debts, etc. (71). Under Scheurl (until 1449/51), Kraków was included in the Wrocław accountancy. (71). Goods which could not be sold in Wrocław were forwarded to Kraków or Frankfurt am Main. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 71). Apparently, the centre of the eastern business of the Gruber-Podmer-Stromer moved from Wrocław to Kraków when in 1449 Albrecht Scheurl left the company and founded his own firm in Wrocław. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 72). In 1444, the Gruber had only a less important representative in Kraków, named Konz. At that time the branch in Kraków was not permanently staffed. Konz went to the Wrocław fairs in Summer and Autumn; apparently he was dependent upon Albrecht Scheurl. An important traffic existed between Wrocław and Kraków, e.g. in 1444, when Konz travelled between both places. Kraków remained dependent upon Wrocław until the split of Scheurl in 1449/51. In the 1450s business in Kraków became more important than that in Wrocław. Even the Polish royal court, king Kasimir and Queen Mother Sophia belonged to the clients and debtors of the Gruber in Kraków. (72). At least since 1456 the Gruber-Podmer-Gesellschaft had a permanent representative in Kraków: Hans Luβmer, nephew of Lienhard Podmer. Luβmer became citizen of Kraków in 1456. However, in the end Luβmer proved unloyal to the company. (72-73). In 1458 Luβmer was replaced by Mathias Scheppach, a relative of Ludwig Gruber. In 1458, Sebald Holzschuher became representative in Kraków as well, followed by Ulrich Freydung in 1459. The last known factor in Kraków was Hans Stromer. (73). In Kraków the Gruber firm was in a delicate situation, since foreign merchants were often discriminated by local merchants. (73). Close ties existed between Wrocław and Kraków: representatives were often active in both places: Scheurl, Luβmer, Scheppach, Freydung, and Hans Stromer.	

							Even two decades after the death of Ludwig Gruber and several years after the dissolution of the Gruber firm, Ludwig Gruber the younger still had business connections with Kraków, Frankfurt an der Oder and Wrocław. (73). Sebald Holzschuher was in Kraków for the Gruber together with Mathias Scheppach in 1458. (75-76). Branch (Gelieger). (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 72-73 map).	
Leipzig		6	3	2	1		Scheurl travelled around between Wrocław, Leipzig, Görlitz, and Frankfurt an der Oder. (64). Albrecht Scheurl was especially active in Wrocław, and from there also in Leipzig and Kraków. (68). Centre of the Middle German business of the Gruber was Leipzig. The Gruber were among the earliest merchants active in Leipzig. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 70). The Gruber traded directly between Leipzig and Wrocław. Albrecht Scheurl travelled between Leipzig and Wrocław. In Leipzig, payments were made, as well as purchases and sales. In periods of unsafety of the roads, goods destined for Wrocław went via Leipzig and Görlitz. (70). The road from Nürnberg to Leipzig went via Hof, Plauen and Zwickau. (70). From Wrocław, connections were maintained with the rest of Silesia: Görlitz, Neiβe, Hirschberg, but also with Leipzig, Frankfurt an der Oder, Berlin and Kraków. Albrecht Scheurl travelled frequently between these places to organise transports of goods, collection of debts, etc. (71). Branch (Gelieger). (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 72-73 map).	
Poznań		6	3	2	1	>1438-1464<	The Gruber firm had connections with Posen via Leipzig and Frankfurt an der Oder. Already in 1438, goods of the Gruber-Podmer went to Posen via Leipzig and Sagan. In 1463 Ulrich Holzschuher held a claim against the goldsmith Georg in Posen. In 1464 also Ulrich's brothers Sebald (who was in Kraków for the Gruber together with Mathias Scheppach in 1458) and Fritz were in Posen. Presumably the Holzschuher were in Posen as representatives for the Gruber firm. Probably the Gruber had a permanent representative in Posen. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 75-76). Branch (Gelieger). (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 72-73 map). Connection with Posen in 1438. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	
Venice		6	3	2	1	>1440s-1450s<	Frequent mail connections existed for example with Wrocław and Venice. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 66-67). According to Christoph Scheurl, grandson of Albrecht Scheurl, the trade area of the Gruber-Podmer firm consisted of Venice, Nürnberg, Salzburg, Meiβen, Silesia, Poland, Lvov,	

							Ruthenia, and Prussia. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 68). The Gruber firm traded between Nürnberg and Venice. (69). In Venice, the Gruber had a permanent branch in the Fondaco dei Tedeschi. Their principal representative in Venice in the 1440s was Endres Ketzel, in the 1450s Peter Podmer. (69). Branch (Gelieger). (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 72-73 map). The Gruber firm exchanged metal wire for cotton with Andrea Barbarigo in Venice. (Von Stromer, 1990, 30). Trade in paper from Venice. (Von Stromer, 1990, 33-34). Fritz Hiltprand traded for the Gruber firm in Venice. (Von Stromer, 1990, 34).	
Wrocław		**6** 5	**3** 3	**2** 2	**1** 1	>1444-1449/51 1449/51-1452<	Scheurl became citizen of Wrocław. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 62-63). Scheurl became independent in 1449. (63). Branch in Wrocław. (63). Two representatives in Wrocław in 1447: Scheurl and Matthias Scheppach. (64). Andreas Ketzel went to the Wrocław autumn fair in 1444. (64). Scheurl travelled around between Wrocław, Leipzig, Görlitz, and Frankfurt an der Oder. (64). Albrecht Scheurl left the company ca. 1449/51 and established an independent firm in Wrocław (the Scheurl-Venediger Gesellschaft). (64-65, 68). Frequent mail connections existed for example with Wrocław and Venice. (66-67). According to Christoph Scheurl, grandson of Albrecht Scheurl, the trade area of the Gruber-Podmer firm consisted of Venice, Nürnberg, Salzburg, Meiβen, Silesia, Poland, Lvov, Ruthenia, and Prussia. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 68). Albrecht Scheurl was especially active in Wrocław, and from there also in Leipzig and Kraków. (68). The Gruber traded directly between Leipzig and Wrocław. Albrecht Scheurl travelled between Leipzig and Wrocław. In periods of unsafety of the roads, goods destined for Wrocław went via Leipzig and Görlitz. (70). The road from Nürnberg to Wrocław went via Hof, Plauen, Zwickau, Chemnitz, Freiberg, Dresden, Bautzen, Görlitz, Bunzlau and Liegnitz. In 1449, Hans Müllner (operating as courier) took an alternative route via Eger and Neustadt. (70). At least until 1449/51, when Albrecht Scheurl became independent from the Gruber firm, Wrocław was the centre of the eastern business of the company. Only later, the emphasis was removed increasingly to Kraków. (71). From Wrocław, connections were maintained with the rest of Silesia: Görlitz, Neiβe, Hirschberg, but also with Leipzig, Frankfurt an der Oder, Berlin and Kraków. Albrecht Scheurl travelled frequently between these places to organise transports of goods,	

							collection of debts, etc. (71). Goods which could not be sold in Wrocław were forwarded to Kraków or Frankfurt am Main. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 71). In Wrocław, the firm was represented by two representatives at the same time. In autumn 1444, Scheurl and Ketzel were in Wrocław. At the Lent fairs of 1445 Lienhard Podmer also intended to go to Wrocław. In 1447 Scheurl and Scheppau were in Wrocław. The business of the Gruber in Wrocław was blooming in the middle of the 15th century. The Gruber sold luxury products in Wrocław, wholesale as well as retail. The branch in Wrocław was perhaps located in the house of Kürschner Mikolasch. (71). Apparently, the centre of the eastern business of the Gruber-Podmer-Stromer moved from Wrocław to Kraków when in 1449 Albrecht Scheurl left the company and founded his own firm in Wrocław. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 72). Konz, representative in Kraków, went to the Wrocław fairs in Summer and Autumn; apparently he was dependent upon Albrecht Scheurl. An important traffic existed between Wrocław and Kraków, e.g. in 1444, when Konz travelled between both places. Kraków remained dependent upon Wrocław until the split of Scheurl in 1449/51. In the 1450s business in Kraków became more important than that in Wrocław. (72). In 1444, Hans Luβmer began his career in the Gruber-Podmer-Stromer firm as an apprentice in Wrocław. (72-73). Mathias Scheppach representative in Wrocław in 1447-1452. Ulrich Freyding, later active in Kraków, worked in Wrocław before. (73). Close ties existed between Wrocław and Kraków: representatives were often active in both places: Scheurl, Luβmer, Scheppach, Freydung, and Hans Stromer. Even two decades after the death of Ludwig Gruber and several years after the dissolution of the Gruber firm, Ludwig Gruber the younger still had business connections with Kraków, Frankfurt an der Oder and Wrocław. (73). Branch (Gelieger). (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 72-73 map).	
Frankfurt an der Oder		5	3	2	1	>1444<	Scheurl travelled around between Wrocław, Leipzig, Görlitz, and Frankfurt an der Oder. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 64). From Wrocław, connections were maintained with the rest of Silesia: Görlitz, Neiβe, Hirschberg, but also with Leipzig, Frankfurt an der Oder, Berlin and Kraków. Albrecht Scheurl travelled frequently between these places to organise transports of goods, collection of debts, etc. (71). Even two decades after the death of Ludwig Gruber and several years after the dissolution of	

							the Gruber firm, Ludwig Gruber the younger still had business connections with Kraków, Frankfurt an der Oder and Wrocław. (73). Frankfurt an der Oder was an important centre for the Gruber business. It was located on the route to Prussia, Posen and Warsaw. In 1444, Albrecht Scheurl was in Frankfurt an der Oder. The branch in Frankfurt an der Oder was dependent upon the Wrocław branch. Representatives in Frankfurt an der Oder were Peter Weymann and Cunz Lutz. (75). Branch (Gelieger). (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 72-73 map). Connection with Frankfurt an der Oder in 1444. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	
Augsburg		3	2	2	1		The Gruber firm does not appear to have made regular use of the road along Landsberg am Lech and Augsburg between Nürnberg and Venice: only one instance is known. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 69). The Gruber firm was active in trade in the linen and fustian producing region between the Danube and Lake Constance. Albrecht Scheurl imported Augsburg fustians and linen to Wrocław via Nürnberg. Gilg Alpershofer, the Ketzel, and perhaps Hans Müllner came from Augsburg. The Ketzel traded in brass in or via Augsburg. (69). Connection. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 72-73 map).	
Berlin		3	2	2	1	>1444<	From Wrocław, connections were maintained with the rest of Silesia: Görlitz, Neiβe, Hirschberg, but also with Leipzig, Frankfurt an der Oder, Berlin and Kraków. Albrecht Scheurl travelled frequently between these places to organise transports of goods, collection of debts, etc. (71). Connection. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 72-73 map). Connection with Berlin in 1444. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	
Chemnitz		3	2	2	1		From Leipzig, the Gruber carried out business with Halle and Chemnitz. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 70). The road from Nürnberg to Wrocław went via Hof, Plauen, Zwickau, Chemnitz, Freiberg, Dresden, Bautzen, Görlitz, Bunzlau and Liegnitz. In 1449, Hans Müllner (operating as courier) took an alternative route via Eger and Neustadt. (70). Connection. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 72-73 map).	
Frankfurt am Main		3	2	2	1		Goods which could not be sold in Wrocław were forwarded to Kraków or Frankfurt am Main. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 71). The Gruber-Podmer-Stromer firm had direct connections with Frankfurt am Main from Nürnberg and from Wrocław. (76). Branch (Gelieger). (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 72-73 map).	

Görlitz		3	2	2	1	>1444<	Scheurl travelled around between Wrocław, Leipzig, Görlitz, and Frankfurt an der Oder. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 64). In periods of unsafety of the roads, goods destined for Wrocław went via Leipzig and Görlitz. (70). The road from Nürnberg to Wrocław went via Hof, Plauen, Zwickau, Chemnitz, Freiberg, Dresden, Bautzen, Görlitz, Bunzlau and Liegnitz. (70). From Wrocław, connections were maintained with the rest of Silesia: Görlitz, Neiβe, Hirschberg, but also with Leipzig, Frankfurt an der Oder, Berlin and Kraków. Albrecht Scheurl travelled frequently between these places to organise transports of goods, collection of debts, etc. (71). Connection. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 72-73 map). Connection with Görlitz in 1444. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	
Halle		3	2	2	1	>1444<	From Leipzig, the Gruber carried out business with Halle and Chemnitz. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 70). Connection. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 72-73 map). Connection with Halle in 1444. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	
Isny		3	2	2	1		The Gruber firm was active in trade in the linen and fustian producing region between the Danube and Lake Constance. Erhart Kellner of Isny purchased wax from the Gruber in exchange for linen. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 69). The Gruber firm was involved in a lawsuit with Erhard Kellner of Isny. (9-10). Connection. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 72-73 map).	
Jelenia Góra		3	2	2	1		From Wrocław, connections were maintained with the rest of Silesia: Görlitz, Neiβe, Hirschberg, but also with Leipzig, Frankfurt an der Oder, Berlin and Kraków. Albrecht Scheurl travelled frequently between these places to organise transports of goods, collection of debts, etc. (71). Connection. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 72-73 map).	
Lauingen		3	2	2	1		Several of the principal partners of the company came originally from Lauingen. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 69). Branch (Gelieger). (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 72-73 map).	
Lvov		3	2	2	1		According to Christoph Scheurl, grandson of Albrecht Scheurl, the trade area of the Gruber-Podmer firm consisted of Venice, Nürnberg, Salzburg, Meiβen, Silesia, Poland, Lvov, Ruthenia, and Prussia. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 68). Other sources do not mention the Gruber in Lvov, but since the Stromer-Ortlieb-firm (its predecessor) as well as the Scheurl firm (which split off from the Gruber firm) were active in Lvov, the Gruber-	

							Podmer-Stromer-Gesellschaft probably carried out business here. Perhaps the representative of the Gruber in Lvov was Hans Aislinger. (74-75). Branch (Gelieger). (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 72-73 map).	
Magdeburg		3	2	2	1		Hans and Ulrich Gruber became active in Magdeburg for the Stromer-Ortlieb firm. Perhaps they were attracted here by the copper of Mansfeld-Eisleben, or did they hope for a revival of the copper mining industry of Goslar. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 70). Branch (Gelieger). (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 72-73 map).	
Meissen		3	2	2	1		According to Christoph Scheurl, grandson of Albrecht Scheurl, the trade area of the Gruber-Podmer firm consisted of Venice, Nürnberg, Salzburg, Meiβen, Silesia, Poland, Lvov, Ruthenia, and Prussia. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 68). Connection. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 72-73 map).	
Nysa		3	2	2	1		From Wrocław, connections were maintained with the rest of Silesia: Görlitz, Neiβe, Hirschberg, but also with Leipzig, Frankfurt an der Oder, Berlin and Kraków. Albrecht Scheurl travelled frequently between these places to organise transports of goods, collection of debts, etc. (71). Connection. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 72-73 map).	
Salzburg		3	2	2	1		According to Christoph Scheurl, grandson of Albrecht Scheurl, the trade area of the Gruber-Podmer firm consisted of Venice, Nürnberg, Salzburg, Meiβen, Silesia, Poland, Lvov, Ruthenia, and Prussia. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 68). When trading with Venice, the Gruber normally sent their goods via Salzburg, the Tauern, Spittal, Tarvis, the Piave river and Treviso. (69). Branch (Gelieger). (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 72-73 map).	
Cheb		2	2	1	0		Connection. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 72-73 map). The road from Nürnberg to Wrocław went via Hof, Plauen, Zwickau, Chemnitz, Freiberg, Dresden, Bautzen, Görlitz, Bunzlau and Liegnitz. In 1449, Hans Müllner (operating as courier) took an alternative route via Eger and Neustadt. (70).	
Erfurt		2	2	1	0		The Gruber traded in woad from Erfurt. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 70). Connection. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 72-73 map).	
Goslar	M	2	2	1	0	>1445<	Connection. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 72-73 map). Mining in Goslar in 1445. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	
Kempten		2	2	1	0		Connection. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 72-73 map).	
Lisbon		2	2	1	0		The Gruber-Podmer-Stromer Gesellschaft traded with Lisbon in the 15th c.	

							(Seibold, 1977b, 350). Between 1340 and 1490 indications of business activities of the Stromer can be found anywhere in Europe between Lisbon, Riga, Pera and London. (Sporhan-Krempel & Von Stromer, 1960, 82 n. 4). Connection with Lisbon in 1490. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28). Not mentioned by Stromer von Reichenbach (1963) however.	
Lublin		2	2	1	0	1442	No data exist about activities of the Gruber-Podmer-Gesellschaft in Warsaw, but it is possible that the firm was active here or elsewhere in this area of Poland. Lienhard Reutheimer, a relative of the Gruber and head of another company that came out of the bankruptcy of the Stromer-Ortlieb firm, had a permanent representative in Lublin. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 76). Connection of the Stromer with Lublin in 1442. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	
Nördlingen		2	2	1	0		No sources mention the Gruber to have been active in Nördlingen, but probably they carried out business at the fairs here. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 70). Connection. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 72-73 map).	
Passau		2	2	1	0		Connection. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 72-73 map).	
Plauen		2	2	1	0		Connection. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 72-73 map). The road from Nürnberg to Wrocław went via Hof, Plauen, Zwickau, Chemnitz, Freiberg, Dresden, Bautzen, Görlitz, Bunzlau and Liegnitz. In 1449, Hans Müllner (operating as courier) took an alternative route via Eger and Neustadt. (70).	
Sankt Gallen		2	2	1	0		The daughter of Ludwig Gruber was married with Lienhard Merz, merchant in Sankt Gallen. The marriage was probably concluded to reinforce or establish a business connection with this merchant in Sankt Gallen. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 69-70). Connection. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 72-73 map).	
Schweinfurt		2	2	1	0		Connection. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 72-73 map).	
Spittal an der Drau		2	2	1	0		Connection. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 72-73 map). When trading with Venice, the Gruber normally sent their goods via Salzburg, the Tauern, Spittal, Tarvis, the Piave river and Treviso. (69).	
Stralsund		2	2	1	0	>1444<	Connection with Stralsund in 1444. (Von Stromer, 1990, 28).	
Toruń		2	2	1	0		According to Christoph Scheurl, grandson of Albrecht Scheurl, the trade area of the Gruber-Podmer firm consisted of Venice, Nürnberg, Salzburg, Meiβen, Silesia, Poland, Lvov, Ruthenia, and Prussia. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 68). No other direct indications about activities of the Gruber in Prussia. However, the Stromer-Ortlieb (predecessors of the	

							Gruber firm) and the Scheurl-Venediger firm, which split off from the Gruber firm, were both active in Prussia. (76). Connection with Thorn. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 72-73 map).	
Waldhut		2	2	1	0		Connection. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 72-73 map).	
Zwickau		2	2	1	0		Connection. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 72-73 map). The road from Nürnberg to Wrocław went via Hof, Plauen, Zwickau, Chemnitz, Freiberg, Dresden, Bautzen, Görlitz, Bunzlau and Liegnitz. In 1449, Hans Müllner (operating as courier) took an alternative route via Eger and Neustadt. (70).	
Bautzen		1	1	1	0		The road from Nürnberg to Wrocław went via Hof, Plauen, Zwickau, Chemnitz, Freiberg, Dresden, Bautzen, Görlitz, Bunzlau and Liegnitz. In 1449, Hans Müllner (operating as courier) took an alternative route via Eger and Neustadt. (70).	
Bolesławiec		1	1	1	0		The road from Nürnberg to Wrocław went via Hof, Plauen, Zwickau, Chemnitz, Freiberg, Dresden, Bautzen, Görlitz, Bunzlau and Liegnitz. In 1449, Hans Müllner (operating as courier) took an alternative route via Eger and Neustadt. (70).	
Danzig		1	1	1	0		Perhaps indirect connection via the Müllner or the Stromer. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 72-73 map).	
Dresden		1	1	1	0		The road from Nürnberg to Wrocław went via Hof, Plauen, Zwickau, Chemnitz, Freiberg, Dresden, Bautzen, Görlitz, Bunzlau and Liegnitz. In 1449, Hans Müllner (operating as courier) took an alternative route via Eger and Neustadt. (70).	
Freiberg		1	1	1	0		The road from Nürnberg to Wrocław went via Hof, Plauen, Zwickau, Chemnitz, Freiberg, Dresden, Bautzen, Görlitz, Bunzlau and Liegnitz. In 1449, Hans Müllner (operating as courier) took an alternative route via Eger and Neustadt. (70).	
Geneva		1	1	1	0		Perhaps indirect connection via the Müllner or the Stromer. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 72-73 map).	
Hof		1	1	1	0		The road from Nürnberg to Wrocław went via Hof, Plauen, Zwickau, Chemnitz, Freiberg, Dresden, Bautzen, Görlitz, Bunzlau and Liegnitz. In 1449, Hans Müllner (operating as courier) took an alternative route via Eger and Neustadt. (70).	
Legnica		1	1	1	0		The road from Nürnberg to Wrocław went via Hof, Plauen, Zwickau, Chemnitz, Freiberg, Dresden, Bautzen, Görlitz, Bunzlau and Liegnitz. In 1449, Hans Müllner (operating as courier) took an alternative route via Eger	

							and Neustadt. (70).	
Levoča		1	1	1	0	1458	In 1458, the Kraków factor of the Gruber firm carried out business in Upper Hungarian copper with a merchant of Leutschau in der Zips. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 68).	
Lübeck		1	1	1	0		Perhaps indirect connection via the Müllner or the Stromer. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 72-73 map).	
Lyon		1	1	1	0		Perhaps indirect connection via the Müllner or the Stromer. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 72-73 map).	
Milan		1	1	1	0		No direct indications exist about activities of the Gruber-Podmer company in Milan and north western Italy. However, Hans Müllner, who had close ties to the Gruber firm, traded in copper ore in Milan. Since the Gruber-Podmer-Stromer company was involved in copper mining and trade, a connection is possible. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 69). Perhaps connection with Milan via the Müllner. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 72-73 map).	
Neustadt an der Waldnaab		1	1	1	0		The road from Nürnberg to Wrocław went via Hof, Plauen, Zwickau, Chemnitz, Freiberg, Dresden, Bautzen, Görlitz, Bunzlau and Liegnitz. In 1449, Hans Müllner (operating as courier) took an alternative route via Eger and Neustadt. (70).	
Olkusz		1	1	1	0		Perhaps the Gruber purchased lead from Olkusz near Kraków. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 72).	
Tarvisio		1	1	1	0		When trading with Venice, the Gruber normally sent their goods via Salzburg, the Tauern, Spittal, Tarvis, the Piave river and Treviso. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 69).	
Treviso		1	1	1	0		When trading with Venice, the Gruber normally sent their goods via Salzburg, the Tauern, Spittal, Tarvis, the Piave river and Treviso. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 69).	
Warsaw		1	1	1	0		No data exist about activities of the Gruber-Podmer-Gesellschaft in Warsaw, but it is possible that the firm was active here or elsewhere in this area of Poland. Lienhard Reutheimer, a relative of the Gruber and head of another company that came out of the bankruptcy of the Stromer-Ortlieb firm, had a partner, Conz Guldenmund, who traded before in Warsaw for the Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 76).	

+ This network is especially based on the map in Stromer von Reichenbach (1963, 72-73 map), which makes a distinction between branches (Gelieger) (6/5-3-2-1), direct connections (3-2-2-1 or 2-2-1-0), and indirect connections via the Müllner or the Stromer (1-1-1-0). I did not completely follow the map in

Stromer von Reichenbach however, since I believe that it overstates the importance of several nodes in which the map situates a branch of the firm (notably Salzburg, Lvov, Frankfurt am Main, Magdeburg and Lauingen).

TUCHER, ca. 1350 – 1646

The Tucher were among the principal merchant families of Nürnberg from the early 14th century until the middle of the 17th century. During this period, members of the family regularly participated in the government of the city. (Grote, 1961, 5). The Tucher only retired from trade in the middle of the 17th century. (5). Heads of the Tucher business were Anton (II) (1458-1524), his son Linhart (1487-1568). (6). Also the sons of Linhart were active in business. (6). The first known business transaction by a member of the Tucher family dates from 1350, when a certain Konrad Tucher, perhaps a brother of Berthold, supplied a large amount of pepper. (29). Berthold (I) Tucher (1310-1379) established a company with Conrad Wagner. (29). Several members of the Tucher family did not work for the Tucher company, but traded on their own account or were partners in other southern German firms, such as Endres Tucher who had invested in the company of his brother-in-law Paumgartner with the Kress family. (30). A Tucher family company is only mentioned in the sources from 1471, but probably existed already before. Partners in this company were Anton (I) (1412-1477) and the brothers Berthold (IV) (1424-1494) and Hans (VI) Tucher (1428-1491). In 1487, Hans (IX) Tucher (1452-1521) entered the partnership. (30). From the end of the 15th century, the company was successively headed by Anton (II) and Hans (IX) Tucher (e.g. 1499), Linhart, son of Anton (II) (e.g. 1528, 1554), and Paul (IV) (1524-1603) and Herdegen (IV) (1533-1614), sons of Linhart (e.g. 1595). (30). Hans (IX) Tucher was a very successful businessman and gathered a fortune thanks to his business activities. (34). Last period of apogee of the Tucher firm under Linhart Tucher. In his business, Linhart was assisted by seven sons, who were all sent at a young age abroad as apprentices. (36). Paul (IV) Tucher (1524-1603), son of Linhart, took over the family business of the Tucher after the death of Linhart in 1568. Since 1550, Paul IV had been involved in the general management of the Tucher firm. (39). Later, the company was continued by Paul's sons Anton (IX) and Thomas Tucher. After the death of Thomas in 1646, the Tucher firm was dissolved. By then, the company was in decline due to factors such as the Thirty Years War, and the younger members of the family were not inclined anymore to become active in business. Disputes arose inside the family about repayment of the invested capital. Nevertheless, the Tucher were one of the last patrician Nürnberg families to remain active in business after the end of the 16th century. (39).

Nurnberg firm (Müller, 1916, 162). Tucher was a family with a heavy involvement in both European and world-wide trade (like Fugger, Welser and Hochstetter (Harreld, 2004, 135). The Tucher were the only great Nuremberg trading house which kept off from loans to the great Powers. They were very solid wholesale traders in the 16th c. (Ehrenberg, 1928, 167). Anton Tucher (1457-1524), chief burgomaster of Nuremberg since 1505, carried on a considerable trade in conjunction with his cousins, Hans and Martin, chiefly with Lyon. The business was continued by his son Lienhard Tucher (1524-1568), with his cousin Lorenz. Under Lienhard, the business was considerably extended, especially by establishing a factory at Antwerp. By means of the factories they carried on a very considerable trade in goods (Ehrenberg, 1928, 167-168). In 1545, the Tucher avoided involvement in the loan to the French king in Lyon, and also later, the Tucher avoided involvement in financing of princes. The Tucher business suffered only relatively small in the credit crisis of 1557-62 (Ehrenberg, 1928, 168). Lienhard Tucher also was for many years "Losunger" (burgomaster) of Nuremberg (Ehrenberg, 1928, 168). Lazarus Tucher was a distant collateral relative of the Tucher of Nuremberg (Ehrenberg, 1928, 168). About Lazarus Tucher, who was not a member of the Tucher firm, see Ehrenberg, 1928, 177-183: Lazarus Tucher

belonged to the Endres line, who had separated from the Hans line 3 generations earlier (Ehrenberg, 1928, 177). In 1510, the Tucher brought silver for the Grosse Ravensburger Gesellschaft to Lyon (Schulte, 1923, II, 17). Wolfgang Behaim was a factor of Anton and Hans Tucher from 1493 until ca. 1498. He sent letters from Lyon and Geneva as a factor of the Tucher in 1494-98 (Schaper, 1973, 236). Linhart Rottengatter (d. 1569) was factor of Linhart Tucher (1487-1568) in Antwerp. (Schaper, 1973, 276). Letters of Rottengatter from Antwerp to Tucher in 1529 (Schaper, 1973, 277).

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Source material:

Rich source material about the Tucher. (Grote, 1961, 5). A “Hausbüchlein” of Anton (II) Tucher (1458-1524) has been preserved, in which he recorded his household expenses for a period of 16 years. (6). No correspondence or account books have been preserved for the period before the middle of the 15th century. (30). A statement of Hans (IX) Tucher about the Tucher trade in Lyon and Geneva has been preserved. (34). A number of letters of the sons of Linhart Tucher have been preserved. They are mostly concerned with the saffron trade. (35). Among the

sources are a Tucherbuch of 1592, the "Memorial" of Endres Tucher (1421-1440), another "Memorialbuch" of 1386-1454, and the "Haushaltsbuch" of Anton Tucher. (95). "Memorialbucher" have been preserved (16th century copy) of the brothers Berthold (III) (1386-1454) and Endres Tucher (d. 1440). These two memorials consisted of a set of historical notes (cfr. chronicles). They were not merchant books. (Chroust & Proesler, 1934, xxxvii; Eikenberg, 1976, 16).

Size: Large

At the end of the 15th century, the Tucher and the Imhoff firms were the largest enterprises of Nürnberg. (Stromer von Reichenbach, 1963, 8).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Long distance trade was the foundation of the riches of the Tucher family. (Grote, 1961, 5). Most of the Tucher limited their economic activities to commerce. (Grote, 1961, 7). Almost all Tucher were active in long distance trade. (28). Not known which goods were traded by the company of Berthold (I) Tucher and Conrad Wagner. (30). Retail sale in Nürnberg. (30). Import and export trade. Trade in products of the Nürnberg metal industry: copper, tin, brass, wire, needles, etc. (31). Also important trade in spices, but almost no textile trade. In addition trade in a large variety of goods, such as books, jewels, and other luxury goods. (31). The Tucher imported spices from Venice. (32). In Geneva and Lyon, trade in spoons, knives, Spanish silks, rings, gemstones, furs, needles, compasses, wire, etc (1484). (34). Import of metals to western Europe, especially copper, tin, brass and silver. (34-35). From western Europe, the Tucher especially imported spices, drugs, and southern fruits: pepper, saffron, ginger, raisins, almonds, sugar,... (35). Important saffron trade. (35). The Tucher also traded in dyes, especially woad. (35). In Antwerp, the Tucher mostly imported metals and haberdashery, and exported pepper and other spices, but they also traded in a large number of other goods when they saw fit. (36). Trade in saffron,… (Müller, 1916, 162)
- Finance: Only one of the members of the Tucher family became involved in transnational finance at a European scale. Most of the Tucher limited their economic activities to commerce. (Grote, 1961, 7). Berthold (I) Tucher was involved in the money trade. Together with Peter von Auffenheim, he lent 3,000 fl. to the "Burggraf von Oedenkirchen". (29). The Tucher were involved in money trade. (31). The Tucher made use of bills of exchange. (35). Linhart Tucher did not participate in loans of the German merchants in Lyon to the king of France. (36-37). Lazarus Tucher was the only member of the Tucher family who became heavily involved in international finance. He was a talented financier, active in speculation, in banking and at the Bourse. (37).
- Industry: Probably, the Tucher were already involved in the metal industry in the early 15th century. In 1471, the Tucher obtained a wire drawing mill in Wöhrd and later a grinding mill near Nürnberg. (31). Already Herdegen (I) Tucher (d. 1462) established a smelting hut near Nürnberg ca. 1460. (31). Later, the Tucher remained strongly involved in the mining and smelting industry. (31-32, 34).

Network of the Tucher:

Younger members of the family travelled around for the Tucher company or were employed as Diener in the headquarters or the branches. They accompanied shipments of merchandise, brought over letters, made purchases, etc. (Grote, 1961, 29). After the end of their apprenticeship, several younger members of the family worked for a number of years in the branches, and several members of the family died abroad. (30). Not only family members, but also factors, Diener, etc. worked for the company, sometimes in leading functions. (30).

Table A..1. Network of the Tucher, ca. 1471 – 1600

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Nürnberg		8	4	3	1	>1350-1646	Headquarters. (Grote, 1961, 5). Among the employees who worked in the headquarters of the Tucher company were Virgilius Ehinger and Sebastian Kamerer. (30). In Nürnberg the books were kept, goods were stored, packed and shipped. Retail sales in Nürnberg took place in the headquarters and at the market. (30). Hans (IX) had debtors in Geneva (Georg and Hans Lett), Nürnberg, Erfurt, Lyon, Troyes, Paris and Würzburg (1484). (34). Headquarters. Linhart Tucher, head of the Tucher in Nürnberg (Müller, 1916, 162).	
Antwerp		6	3	2	1	>1521-1529<	Branch. (Grote, 1961, 5, 28). Among the employees of the Antwerp branch was Christoph Kurz. (30). As a result of the Portuguese discovery of the sea route to the East Indies, the Tucher, who were specialised in the spice trade, had to establish themselves in Antwerp. (36). The Tucher established a branch in Antwerp, which was located in the Cammenstraat from 1529. (36). Already in 1521, Albrecht Dürer stayed in the house of Lorenz Tucher in Antwerp. (36). The Tucher were represented in Antwerp by family members and factors such as Christoph Kurz. (37). Lazarus Tucher (1492-1563) went to Antwerp in 1519. He was an agent for the Fugger, Hochstetter, Welser and Manlich in Antwerp. Later he began to work for his own account. Lazarus Tucher was a leading figure at the Antwerp bourse. (Grote, 1961, 37; Seibold, 1995, 22). Cashier of Lazarus Tucher was his brother-in-law Carl Coquiel. His main accountant was Hieronymus (II) Tucher. (38). Lazarus Tucher in Antwerp maintained connections with his family members in Nürnberg, and he never gave up his citizenship of Nürnberg. However, Lazarus Tucher was not a member of the Tucher firm. (38). Two of the brothers of Lazarus Tucher went to Antwerp as well: Andreas and Bartholomäus. One of the sons of Bartholomäus, Paul (V) was one of the	

							financiers of the defence of Antwerp in the mid-1580s. (38-39). Under Lienhard, the business was considerably extended, especially by establishing a factory at Antwerp. (Ehrenberg, 1928, 167-168). Linhart Rottengatter (d. 1569) was factor of Linhart Tucher (1487-1568) in Antwerp. (Schaper, 1973, 276). Letters of Rottengatter from Antwerp to Tucher in 1529 (Schaper, 1973, 277). Lazarus Tucher, who came to Antwerp as a merchant from Nuremberg obtained a house in 1535 next to the house occupied by the firm of Mathias Manlich, an Augsburg merchant (Harreld, 2004, 48 n. 22). Lazarus and Bartolomeo Tucher of Nuremberg were the Manlich agents in Antwerp and conducted much of the Manlich's business (Harreld, 2004, 73). Lazarus Tucher became very involved in the social and political life of Antwerp. Lazarus Tucher appears first in the Antwerp sources in 1518, married Jakobina de Cocquiel, daughter of a well-known Antwerp merchant. Lazarus was best known as a financier and often associated with the commercial affairs of the Affaitadi family. Lazarus was also involved in real estate speculation, most notably the purchase of some polder land along with his brother-in-law Karl de Cocquiel, Jean Baptista de L'Affaitadi, Bartholomeo Welser, and Balthasar Miegh. Lazarus Tucher's involvement in politics as a counsellor in the Emperor's high court in Mechelen was unusual for a German merchant in Antwerp. Lazarus often represented other Germans before the court such as Siebold Openfelder of Nuremberg (Harreld, 2004, 88-89). Lazarus Tucher had a house on the Keiserstraat next to the house of Mathias Manlich (Harreld, 2004, 91). Lazarus Tucher contracted with the Antwerp shipmaster Jan Wouterssone for his services and for his ship named Joris de Groot to go to Bordeaux and under the direction of Karl Strelen, Tucher's German factor, load the ship with pastel dyes and return to Antwerp. Wouterssone agreed that no other goods or wares would be loaded onto his ship except as directed by Strelen. Some months later, once the ship had arrived in Antwerp, Lazarus Tucher renegotiated the shipping contract with Jan Wouterssone for his ship the Joris de Groot and again under the direction of his factor, Karel Strelen, shipped to England 1044 bales of pastel dyes he had obtained in Bordeaux (Harreld, 2004, 111-112). By 1551, the south German merchant firms Ulrick Link and Anton Haug, Lazarus Tucher, the Fuggers, Wolf Puschinger, Bartholomeo Welser, and Adrian	

							Imhof had made short-term loans to the Fortificatiekas of the city of Antwerp (Harreld, 2004, 174). Lazarus Tucher was a Nurnberger who had settled in Antwerp and operated among others as agent for the Hochstetter, Welser and Manlich in big transactions, especially in pepper. Ca. 1528, he was the chief-agent for south German speculation in Antwerp (Ehrenberg, 1928, 154). Lazarus Tucher came into continued business relations with the government of the Netherlands from ca. 1528. He came in difficulties in 1528 due to a loan of the Hochstetter to the Court of Brussels in quicksilver and cinnabar, which Lazarus sold for the government (Ehrenberg, 1928, 154). In 1528-29, the Tucher of Nuremberg had another agent in Antwerp than Lazarus (Ehrenberg, 1928, 154). The Tucher founded a factory in Antwerp after 1524 (Ehrenberg, 1928, 167-168). Lazarus Tucher had no close business relations with the Tucher firm of Nuremberg (Ehrenberg, 1928, 168).	
Geneva		6	3	2	1	mid 15th c.-17th c.	Branch. (Grote, 1961, 5, 28). Among the employees of the Geneva branch were Friedrich and Caspar (or Leonhard) Rottengarter. (30). The Tucher began to visit the fairs of Geneva and Lyon from the middle of the 15th century. (33). Hans (IX) Tucher did his apprenticeship in Geneva and Lyon ca. 1465. (33). Despite the decline of the fairs of Geneva as a result of the rise of those of Lyon, the Tucher maintained their connections with Geneva. (33). The Tucher rented a house in the “Rue des Allemands” (now “Rue de la Confédération”) in Geneva since 1491 (also Seibold, 1995, 13). In 1520, another Tucher firm had a branch in Geneva as well, headed by Erasmus Tucher (1493-1528). Both Tucher firms were also involved in retail trade in Geneva. (33). Connections of Erasmus and Sebald Tucher with Jacques Manlich in Geneva. (Seibold, 1995, 14). Factors of the Tucher in Geneva were Hieronymus, Wolf, Gabriel, Lorenz and Christoph Tucher. Sebald (X) Tucher was the longest in Geneva. He obtained citizenship in Geneva in 1530. The connections of the Tucher with Geneva remained intact until the 17th century. (33). A statement of Hans (IX) Tucher about the Tucher trade in Lyon and Geneva has been preserved. (34). Hans (IX) was especially interested in the trade with Lyon and Geneva. (34). Hans (IX) had debtors in Geneva (Georg and Hans Lett), Nürnberg, Erfurt, Lyon, Troyes, Paris and Würzburg (1484). (34). In 1500-1501, the Tucher exported for 5,000 fl. silver to the Mint of Geneva. (35). Wolfgang Behaim was a factor of Anton	

							and Hans Tucher from 1493 until ca. 1498. He sent letters from Lyon and Geneva as a factor of the Tucher in 1494-98 (Schaper, 1973, 236).	
Lyon		6	3	2	1	mid 15th c.-1579<	Branch. (Grote, 1961, 5, 28). The trademark of the Tucher company can be found in the records of the city of Lyon in 1579. (30). Jakob Reuter worked in the Lyon branch at the end of the 15th century, Vinzenz Pirckheimer ca. 1550. (30). The Tucher began to visit the fairs of Geneva and Lyon from the middle of the 15th century. (33). Hans (IX) Tucher did his apprenticeship in Geneva and Lyon ca. 1465. (33). The Tucher established a branch in Lyon in a house of their own. The Tucher and the Imhoff were seen as the main representatives of the Germans in Lyon. The Tucher were among the governors of the German fraternity in Lyon. (34). A statement of Hans (IX) Tucher about the Tucher trade in Lyon and Geneva has been preserved. Hans (IX) was especially interested in the trade with Lyon and Geneva. (34). Hans (IX) had debtors in Geneva (Georg and Hans Lett), Nürnberg, Erfurt, Lyon, Troyes, Paris and Würzburg (1484). (34). Under Linhart Tucher, the branch in Lyon was in hands of Linhart's sons Gabriel and Paul (IV). (36). Anton Tucher (1457-1524), chief burgomaster of Nürnberg since 1505, carried on a considerable trade in conjunction with his cousins, Hans and Martin, chiefly with Lyon. (Ehrenberg, 1928, 167-168). In 1510, the Tucher brought silver for the Grosse Ravensburger Gesellschaft to Lyon (Schulte, 1923, II, 17). Wolfgang Behaim was a factor of Anton and Hans Tucher from 1493 until ca. 1498. He sent letters from Lyon and Geneva as a factor of the Tucher in 1494-98 (Schaper, 1973, 236). Factor of the Tucher in Lyon: Wolf Tucher, 1525 (Müller, 1916, 162). Agent of the Tucher in Lyon in 1528 (Ehrenberg, 1928, 154-155). The Tucher had a factory in Lyon already before 1524, and still in 1545 (Ehrenberg, 1928, 167-168).	
Venice		6	3	2	1	c.1400-1575	Branch. (Grote, 1961, 5, 28). The Tucher are mentioned in Venice for the first time ca. 1400: in this period Berthold (III) (1386-1454) was sent as an apprentice to Venice. (32). Endres (I) Tucher was in Venice in 1437, while Anton (I) and Herdegen (I) traded with Venice since 1440. (32). Endres (III) Tucher was as apprentice in Venice from ca. 1463 to ca. 1470. (32). The Tucher permanently rented rooms and warehouse space in the Fondaco dei Tedeschi in Venice from 1440 until 1575. They were among the founders of the altar for Saint Sebaldus in the San Bartolomeo church in Venice. (32-	

							33). Especially Hans (VI) Tucher (1428-1491) and later his sons and grandsons took care of the business with Venice. (33). Several members of the Tucher family were officials of the St Sebaldus foundation in Venice, e.g. Anton Tucher (1473, 1475), Hans Tucher (1477), Martin Tucher (1487). (Schaper, 1973, 177-178, 184). Younger members of the family were sent on business journeys to Spain, England, Hungary, and Italy. (Grote, 1961, 29).	
L'Aquila		3	2	2	1		Purchase of saffron in Catalunya and Aragon, where the Tucher had their own representative, in Limoges and Larochefoucauld in southern France, and in L'Aquila. (Grote, 1961, 35). Younger members of the family were sent on business journeys to Spain, England, Hungary, and Italy. (Grote, 1961, 29).	
Avignon		3	2	2	1		Sons of the Tucher family were sent for their apprenticeship not only to the branches of the company, but also to Bourges, Macon, Avignon, Carcassonne, Toulouse or Vienne. (Grote, 1961, 28-29). The Tucher established business connections with the cities of Burgundy, Savoy, the Rhone-region and Aquitania from the middle of the 15th century. (Grote, 1961, 33).	
Bourges		3	2	2	1		Sons of the Tucher family were sent for their apprenticeship not only to the branches of the company, but also to Bourges, Macon, Avignon, Carcassonne, Toulouse or Vienne. (Grote, 1961, 28-29). The Tucher established business connections with the cities of Burgundy, Savoy, the Rhone-region and Aquitania from the middle of the 15th century. (Grote, 1961, 33).	
Carcassonne		3	2	2	1		Sons of the Tucher family were sent for their apprenticeship not only to the branches of the company, but also to Bourges, Macon, Avignon, Carcassonne, Toulouse or Vienne. (Grote, 1961, 28-29). The Tucher established business connections with the cities of Burgundy, Savoy, the Rhone-region and Aquitania from the middle of the 15th century. (Grote, 1961, 33).	
Catalunya		3	2	2	1		Purchase of saffron in Catalunya and Aragon, where the Tucher had their own representative, in Limoges and Larochefoucauld in southern France, and in L'Aquila. (Grote, 1961, 35). Younger members of the family were sent on business journeys to Spain, England, Hungary, and Italy. (Grote, 1961, 29). The Tucher traded with Spain via France. (33).	

Erfurt		3	2	2	1	>1484<	Hans (IX) had debtors in Geneva (Georg and Hans Lett), Nürnberg, Erfurt, Lyon, Troyes, Paris and Würzburg (1484). (34). The Tucher purchased woad in Erfurt. (35).	
Frankfurt am Main		3	2	2	1		The Tucher regularly visited the principal German fairs, where they traded their wares and settled their accounts with their clients. (Grote, 1961, 32).	
Leipzig		3	2	2	1	>c.1484<	The Tucher regularly visited the principal German fairs, where they traded their wares and settled their accounts with their clients. (Grote, 1961, 32). Purchase of furs in Leipzig or Wrocław, which were sent to Lyon for the easter fair of 1484. (Grote, 1961, 34).	
Limoges		3	2	2	1		Purchase of saffron in Catalunya and Aragon, where the Tucher had their own representative, in Limoges and Larochefoucauld in southern France, and in L'Aquila. (Grote, 1961, 35).	
Mâcon		3	2	2	1		Sons of the Tucher family were sent for their apprenticeship not only to the branches of the company, but also to Bourges, Mâcon, Avignon, Carcassonne, Toulouse or Vienne. (Grote, 1961, 28-29). The Tucher established business connections with the cities of Burgundy, Savoy, the Rhone-region and Aquitania from the middle of the 15th century. (Grote, 1961, 33).	
Nördlingen		3	2	2	1		The Tucher regularly visited the principal German fairs, where they traded their wares and settled their accounts with their clients. (Grote, 1961, 32).	
La Rochefoucauld		3	2	2	1		Purchase of saffron in Catalunya and Aragon, where the Tucher had their own representative, in Limoges and La Rochefoucauld in southern France, and in L'Aquila. (Grote, 1961, 35).	
Toulouse		3	2	2	1	>1525<	Sons of the Tucher family were sent for their apprenticeship not only to the branches of the company, but also to Bourges, Macon, Avignon, Carcassonne, Toulouse or Vienne. (Grote, 1961, 28-29). The Tucher established business connections with the cities of Burgundy, Savoy, the Rhone-region and Aquitania from the middle of the 15th century. (Grote, 1961, 33). The Spanish trade route of the Tucher went through Toulouse. (35). Purchase of woad from the producers in the Garonne region (e.g. 1525). (35).	
Vienne		3	2	2	1		Sons of the Tucher family were sent for their apprenticeship not only to the branches of the company, but also to Bourges, Macon, Avignon, Carcassonne, Toulouse or Vienne. (Grote, 1961, 28-29). The Tucher established business connections with the cities of Burgundy, Savoy, the	

							Rhone-region and Aquitania from the middle of the 15th century. (Grote, 1961, 33).	
Zaragoza		3	2	2	1		Purchase of saffron in Catalunya and Aragon, where the Tucher had their own representative, in Limoges and Larochefoucauld in southern France, and in L'Aquila. (Grote, 1961, 35). The first saffron transport from Zaragoza was carried out by a factor of the Ravensburger Gesellschaft for the Tucher. (35). Younger members of the family were sent on business journeys to Spain, England, Hungary, and Italy. (Grote, 1961, 29). The Tucher traded with Spain via France. (33).	
Eisleben		2	2	1	0		Berthold (V), son of Berthold (IV), resided for a long time in Eisleben, the centre of the Mansfeld copper mining industry. (Grote, 1961, 32, 37).	
Ellingen	H	2	2	1	0		The guardians of the heirs of Herdegen (I) Tucher established a smelting works near Ellingen, which was not very successful. (30).	
England		2	2	1	0		Younger members of the family were sent on business journeys to Spain, England, Hungary, and Italy. (Grote, 1961, 29).	
Hungary		2	2	1	0		Younger members of the family were sent on business journeys to Spain, England, Hungary, and Italy. (Grote, 1961, 29).	
Ilmenau	M	2	2	1	0	from c.1524	Linhart Tucher exploited the mine Sturmheit in Ilmenau in partnership with seven other citizens of Nürnberg since ca. 1524. (Grote, 1961, 32).	
Mögeldorf	H	2	2	1	0	from c.1460	Herdegen (I) established a smelting works near Mögeldorf (now part of Nürnberg) ca. 1460. (Grote, 1961, 31).	
Paris		2	2	1	0	>1484<	Hans (IX) had debtors in Geneva (Georg and Hans Lett), Nürnberg, Erfurt, Lyon, Troyes, Paris and Würzburg (1484). (34).	
Schneeberg	M	2	2	1	0	after 1476	The Tucher invested in the silver mines of Schneeberg after 1476. Berthold (IV) Tucher (1424-1494) made large losses when the Schneeberg mining industry collapsed. (Grote, 1961, 32).	
Troyes		2	2	1	0	>1484<	Hans (IX) had debtors in Geneva (Georg and Hans Lett), Nürnberg, Erfurt, Lyon, Troyes, Paris and Würzburg (1484). (34).	
Wöhrd	H	2	2	1	0	from 1471	In 1471, the Tucher obtained a wire drawing mill in Wöhrd. (Grote, 1961, 31, 34). Probably, the Tucher had investments in the dyeing and cloth producing industry of Wöhrd. (35).	
Wrocław		2	2	1	0	>c.1484<	Purchase of furs in Leipzig or Wrocław, which were sent to Lyon for the easter fair of 1484. (Grote, 1961, 34).	
Würzburg		2	2	1	0	>1484<	Hans (IX) had debtors in Geneva (Georg and Hans Lett), Nürnberg, Erfurt, Lyon, Troyes, Paris and Würzburg (1484). (34).	

Alexandria		1	1	1	0		During a journey to Jerusalem, Hans (VI) Tucher (1428-1491) stayed for several weeks in the Venetian fondaco in Alexandria, where he informed himself about the Egyptian spice trade. (Grote, 1961, 33).	
Kutná Hora		1	1	1	0		Hans (II) Tucher (ca. 1389-1449) was brother-in-law of Valzner, who farmed the Mint of Kutná Hora (Kuttenberg) and controlled the mining industry of Bohemia. (Grote, 1961, 31).	

Connections of Lazarus Tucher						
Augsburg					Hieronymus (II) Tucher, bookkeeper of Lazarus Tucher, had connections with a company in Augsburg, due to his marriage with Anna Maria Ehem. (Grote, 1961, 38).	
Brussels					Lazarus Tucher became a financial agent of the court in Brussels. (Grote, 1961, 37). Johann Tucher, relative of Lazarus, became imperial secretary in Brussels. (38).	
Nombre de Dios					Hans Tucher, a brother of Lazarus, went to Nombre de Dios (Peru) in 1536, where he and a number of other German and Flemish merchants intended to establish a branch. (Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 27).	
Tournai					Lazarus Tucher married the daughter of Coquiel, an important merchant from Tournai. (Grote, 1961, 37).	

Table A..2. Network of the Tucher, 15th century (ca. 1471 – ca. 1500)

City	**R**	**Score**				**Period**	**Type of presence**	**References**
Nürnberg		8	4	3	1	>1350-1646	Headquarters. (Grote, 1961, 5). Among the employees who worked in the headquarters of the Tucher company were Virgilius Ehinger and Sebastian Kamerer. (30). In Nürnberg the books were kept, goods were stored, packed and shipped. Retail sales in Nürnberg took place in the headquarters and at the market. (30). Hans (IX) had debtors in Geneva (Georg and Hans Lett), Nürnberg, Erfurt, Lyon, Troyes, Paris and Würzburg (1484). (34). Headquarters. Linhart Tucher, head of the Tucher in Nürnberg (Müller, 1916, 162).	
Geneva		6	3	2	1	mid 15th c.-17th c.	Branch. (Grote, 1961, 5, 28). Among the employees of the Geneva branch were Friedrich and Caspar (or Leonhard) Rottengarter. (30). The Tucher began to visit the fairs of Geneva and Lyon from the middle of the 15th	

							century. (33). Hans (IX) Tucher did his apprenticeship in Geneva and Lyon ca. 1465. (33). Despite the decline of the fairs of Geneva as a result of the rise of those of Lyon, the Tucher maintained their connections with Geneva. (33). The Tucher rented a house in the "Rue des Allemands" (now "Rue de la Confédération") in Geneva since 1491 (also Seibold, 1995, 13). In 1520, another Tucher firm had a branch in Geneva as well, headed by Erasmus Tucher (1493-1528). Both Tucher firms were also involved in retail trade in Geneva. (33). Connections of Erasmus and Sebald Tucher with Jacques Manlich in Geneva. (Seibold, 1995, 14). Factors of the Tucher in Geneva were Hieronymus, Wolf, Gabriel, Lorenz and Christoph Tucher. Sebald (X) Tucher was the longest in Geneva. He obtained citizenship in Geneva in 1530. The connections of the Tucher with Geneva remained intact until the 17th century. (33). A statement of Hans (IX) Tucher about the Tucher trade in Lyon and Geneva has been preserved. (34). Hans (IX) was especially interested in the trade with Lyon and Geneva. (34). Hans (IX) had debtors in Geneva (Georg and Hans Lett), Nürnberg, Erfurt, Lyon, Troyes, Paris and Würzburg (1484). (34). In 1500-1501, the Tucher exported for 5,000 fl. silver to the Mint of Geneva. (35). Wolfgang Behaim was a factor of Anton and Hans Tucher from 1493 until ca. 1498. He sent letters from Lyon and Geneva as a factor of the Tucher in 1494-98 (Schaper, 1973, 236).	
Lyon		6	3	2	1	mid 15th c.-1579<	Branch. (Grote, 1961, 5, 28). The trademark of the Tucher company can be found in the records of the city of Lyon in 1579. (30). Jakob Reuter worked in the Lyon branch at the end of the 15th century, Vinzenz Pirckheimer ca. 1550. (30). The Tucher began to visit the fairs of Geneva and Lyon from the middle of the 15th century. (33). Hans (IX) Tucher did his apprenticeship in Geneva and Lyon ca. 1465. (33). The Tucher established a branch in Lyon in a house of their own. The Tucher and the Imhoff were seen as the main representatives of the Germans in Lyon. The Tucher were among the governors of the German fraternity in Lyon. (34). A statement of Hans (IX) Tucher about the Tucher trade in Lyon and Geneva has been preserved. Hans (IX) was especially interested in the trade with Lyon and Geneva. (34). Hans (IX) had debtors in Geneva (Georg and Hans Lett), Nürnberg, Erfurt, Lyon, Troyes, Paris and Würzburg (1484). (34). Under Linhart Tucher, the branch in Lyon was in hands of Linhart's sons Gabriel and Paul (IV). (36). Anton Tucher (1457-1524), chief burgomaster of Nürnberg since 1505,	

							carried on a considerable trade in conjunction with his cousins, Hans and Martin, chiefly with Lyon. (Ehrenberg, 1928, 167-168). In 1510, the Tucher brought silver for the Grosse Ravensburger Gesellschaft to Lyon (Schulte, 1923, II, 17). Wolfgang Behaim was a factor of Anton and Hans Tucher from 1493 until ca. 1498. He sent letters from Lyon and Geneva as a factor of the Tucher in 1494-98 (Schaper, 1973, 236). Factor of the Tucher in Lyon: Wolf Tucher, 1525 (Müller, 1916, 162). Agent of the Tucher in Lyon in 1528 (Ehrenberg, 1928, 154-155). The Tucher had a factory in Lyon already before 1524, and still in 1545 (Ehrenberg, 1928, 167-168).	
Venice		6	3	2	1	c.1400-1575	Branch. (Grote, 1961, 5, 28). The Tucher are mentioned in Venice for the first time ca. 1400: in this period Berthold (III) (1386-1454) was sent as an apprentice to Venice. (32). Endres (I) Tucher was in Venice in 1437, while Anton (I) and Herdegen (I) traded with Venice since 1440. (32). Endres (III) Tucher was as apprentice in Venice from ca. 1463 to ca. 1470. (32). The Tucher permanently rented rooms and warehouse space in the Fondaco dei Tedeschi in Venice from 1440 until 1575. They were among the founders of the altar for Saint Sebaldus in the San Bartolomeo church in Venice. (32-33). Especially Hans (VI) Tucher (1428-1491) and later his sons and grandsons took care of the business with Venice. (33). Several members of the Tucher family were officials of the St Sebaldus foundation in Venice, e.g. Anton Tucher (1473, 1475), Hans Tucher (1477), Martin Tucher (1487). (Schaper, 1973, 177-178, 184). Younger members of the family were sent on business journeys to Spain, England, Hungary, and Italy. (Grote, 1961, 29).	
L'Aquila		3	2	2	1		Purchase of saffron in Catalunya and Aragon, where the Tucher had their own representative, in Limoges and Larochefoucauld in southern France, and in L'Aquila. (Grote, 1961, 35). Younger members of the family were sent on business journeys to Spain, England, Hungary, and Italy. (Grote, 1961, 29).	
Avignon		3	2	2	1		Sons of the Tucher family were sent for their apprenticeship not only to the branches of the company, but also to Bourges, Macon, Avignon, Carcassonne, Toulouse or Vienne. (Grote, 1961, 28-29). The Tucher established business connections with the cities of Burgundy, Savoy, the Rhone-region and Aquitania from the middle of the 15th century. (Grote,	

							1961, 33).	
Bourges		3	2	2	1		Sons of the Tucher family were sent for their apprenticeship not only to the branches of the company, but also to Bourges, Macon, Avignon, Carcassonne, Toulouse or Vienne. (Grote, 1961, 28-29). The Tucher established business connections with the cities of Burgundy, Savoy, the Rhone-region and Aquitania from the middle of the 15th century. (Grote, 1961, 33).	
Carcassonne		3	2	2	1		Sons of the Tucher family were sent for their apprenticeship not only to the branches of the company, but also to Bourges, Macon, Avignon, Carcassonne, Toulouse or Vienne. (Grote, 1961, 28-29). The Tucher established business connections with the cities of Burgundy, Savoy, the Rhone-region and Aquitania from the middle of the 15th century. (Grote, 1961, 33).	
Catalunya		3	2	2	1		Purchase of saffron in Catalunya and Aragon, where the Tucher had their own representative, in Limoges and Larochefoucauld in southern France, and in L'Aquila. (Grote, 1961, 35). Younger members of the family were sent on business journeys to Spain, England, Hungary, and Italy. (Grote, 1961, 29). The Tucher traded with Spain via France. (33).	
Erfurt		3	2	2	1	>1484<	Hans (IX) had debtors in Geneva (Georg and Hans Lett), Nürnberg, Erfurt, Lyon, Troyes, Paris and Würzburg (1484). (34). The Tucher purchased woad in Erfurt. (35).	
Frankfurt am Main		3	2	2	1		The Tucher regularly visited the principal German fairs, where they traded their wares and settled their accounts with their clients. (Grote, 1961, 32).	
Leipzig		3	2	2	1	>c.1484<	The Tucher regularly visited the principal German fairs, where they traded their wares and settled their accounts with their clients. (Grote, 1961, 32). Purchase of furs in Leipzig or Wrocław, which were sent to Lyon for the easter fair of 1484. (Grote, 1961, 34).	
Limoges		3	2	2	1		Purchase of saffron in Catalunya and Aragon, where the Tucher had their own representative, in Limoges and Larochefoucauld in southern France, and in L'Aquila. (Grote, 1961, 35).	
Mâcon		3	2	2	1		Sons of the Tucher family were sent for their apprenticeship not only to the branches of the company, but also to Bourges, Mâcon, Avignon, Carcassonne, Toulouse or Vienne. (Grote, 1961, 28-29). The Tucher established business connections with the cities of Burgundy, Savoy, the Rhone-region and Aquitania from the middle of the 15th century. (Grote,	

							1961, 33).	
Nördlingen		3	2	2	1		The Tucher regularly visited the principal German fairs, where they traded their wares and settled their accounts with their clients. (Grote, 1961, 32).	
La Rochefoucauld		3	2	2	1		Purchase of saffron in Catalunya and Aragon, where the Tucher had their own representative, in Limoges and La Rochefoucauld in southern France, and in L'Aquila. (Grote, 1961, 35).	
Toulouse		3	2	2	1	>1525<	Sons of the Tucher family were sent for their apprenticeship not only to the branches of the company, but also to Bourges, Macon, Avignon, Carcassonne, Toulouse or Vienne. (Grote, 1961, 28-29). The Tucher established business connections with the cities of Burgundy, Savoy, the Rhone-region and Aquitania from the middle of the 15th century. (Grote, 1961, 33). The Spanish trade route of the Tucher went through Toulouse. (35). Purchase of woad from the producers in the Garonne region (e.g. 1525). (35).	
Vienne		3	2	2	1		Sons of the Tucher family were sent for their apprenticeship not only to the branches of the company, but also to Bourges, Macon, Avignon, Carcassonne, Toulouse or Vienne. (Grote, 1961, 28-29). The Tucher established business connections with the cities of Burgundy, Savoy, the Rhone-region and Aquitania from the middle of the 15th century. (Grote, 1961, 33).	
Zaragoza		3	2	2	1		Purchase of saffron in Catalunya and Aragon, where the Tucher had their own representative, in Limoges and Larochefoucauld in southern France, and in L'Aquila. (Grote, 1961, 35). The first saffron transport from Zaragoza was carried out by a factor of the Ravensburger Gesellschaft for the Tucher. (35). Younger members of the family were sent on business journeys to Spain, England, Hungary, and Italy. (Grote, 1961, 29). The Tucher traded with Spain via France. (33).	
Eisleben		2	2	1	0		Berthold (V), son of Berthold (IV), resided for a long time in Eisleben, the centre of the Mansfeld copper mining industry. (Grote, 1961, 32, 37).	
Ellingen	H	2	2	1	0		The guardians of the heirs of Herdegen (I) Tucher established a smelting works near Ellingen, which was not very successful. (30).	
England		2	2	1	0		Younger members of the family were sent on business journeys to Spain, England, Hungary, and Italy. (Grote, 1961, 29).	
Hungary		2	2	1	0		Younger members of the family were sent on business journeys to Spain, England, Hungary, and Italy. (Grote, 1961, 29).	

Mögeldorf	H	2	2	1	0	from c.1460	Herdegen (I) established a smelting works near Mögeldorf (now part of Nürnberg) ca. 1460. (Grote, 1961, 31).	
Paris		2	2	1	0	>1484<	Hans (IX) had debtors in Geneva (Georg and Hans Lett), Nürnberg, Erfurt, Lyon, Troyes, Paris and Würzburg (1484). (34).	
Schneeberg	M	2	2	1	0	after 1476	The Tucher invested in the silver mines of Schneeberg after 1476. Berthold (IV) Tucher (1424-1494) made large losses when the Schneeberg mining industry collapsed. (Grote, 1961, 32).	
Troyes		2	2	1	0	>1484<	Hans (IX) had debtors in Geneva (Georg and Hans Lett), Nürnberg, Erfurt, Lyon, Troyes, Paris and Würzburg (1484). (34).	
Wöhrd	H	2	2	1	0	from 1471	In 1471, the Tucher obtained a wire drawing mill in Wöhrd. (Grote, 1961, 31, 34). Probably, the Tucher had investments in the dyeing and cloth producing industry of Wöhrd. (35).	
Wrocław		2	2	1	0	>c.1484<	Purchase of furs in Leipzig or Wrocław, which were sent to Lyon for the easter fair of 1484. (Grote, 1961, 34).	
Würzburg		2	2	1	0	>1484<	Hans (IX) had debtors in Geneva (Georg and Hans Lett), Nürnberg, Erfurt, Lyon, Troyes, Paris and Würzburg (1484). (34).	
Alexandria		1	1	1	0		During a journey to Jerusalem, Hans (VI) Tucher (1428-1491) stayed for several weeks in the Venetian fondaco in Alexandria, where he informed himself about the Egyptian spice trade. (Grote, 1961, 33).	
Kutná Hora		1	1	1	0		Hans (II) Tucher (ca. 1389-1449) was brother-in-law of Valzner, who farmed the Mint of Kutná Hora (Kuttenberg) and controlled the mining industry of Bohemia. (Grote, 1961, 31).	
Antwerp		0	0	0	0	>1521-1529<	Branch. (Grote, 1961, 5, 28). Among the employees of the Antwerp branch was Christoph Kurz. (30). As a result of the Portuguese discovery of the sea route to the East Indies, the Tucher, who were specialised in the spice trade, had to establish themselves in Antwerp. (36). The Tucher established a branch in Antwerp, which was located in the Cammenstraat from 1529. (36). Already in 1521, Albrecht Dürer stayed in the house of Lorenz Tucher in Antwerp. (36). The Tucher were represented in Antwerp by family members and factors such as Christoph Kurz. (37). Lazarus Tucher (1492-1563) went to Antwerp in 1519. He was an agent for the Fugger, Hochstetter, Welser and Manlich in Antwerp. Later he began to work for his own account. Lazarus Tucher was a leading figure at the Antwerp bourse. (Grote, 1961, 37; Seibold, 1995, 22). Cashier of Lazarus Tucher was his brother-in-law Carl Coquiel. His main accountant was Hieronymus (II) Tucher. (38).	

							Lazarus Tucher in Antwerp maintained connections with his family members in Nürnberg, and he never gave up his citizenship of Nürnberg. However, Lazarus Tucher was not a member of the Tucher firm. (38). Two of the brothers of Lazarus Tucher went to Antwerp as well: Andreas and Bartholomäus. One of the sons of Bartholomäus, Paul (V) was one of the financiers of the defence of Antwerp in the mid-1580s. (38-39). Under Lienhard, the business was considerably extended, especially by establishing a factory at Antwerp. (Ehrenberg, 1928, 167-168). Linhart Rottengatter (d. 1569) was factor of Linhart Tucher (1487-1568) in Antwerp. (Schaper, 1973, 276). Letters of Rottengatter from Antwerp to Tucher in 1529 (Schaper, 1973, 277). Lazarus Tucher, who came to Antwerp as a merchant from Nuremberg obtained a house in 1535 next to the house occupied by the firm of Mathias Manlich, an Augsburg merchant (Harreld, 2004, 48 n. 22). Lazarus and Bartolomeo Tucher of Nuremberg were the Manlich agents in Antwerp and conducted much of the Manlich's business (Harreld, 2004, 73). Lazarus Tucher became very involved in the social and political life of Antwerp. Lazarus Tucher appears first in the Antwerp sources in 1518, married Jakobina de Cocquiel, daughter of a well-known Antwerp merchant. Lazarus was best known as a financier and often associated with the commercial affairs of the Affaitadi family. Lazarus was also involved in real estate speculation, most notably the purchase of some polder land along with his brother-in-law Karl de Cocquiel, Jean Baptista de L'Affaitadi, Bartholomeo Welser, and Balthasar Miegh. Lazarus Tucher's involvement in politics as a counsellor in the Emperor's high court in Mechelen was unusual for a German merchant in Antwerp. Lazarus often represented other Germans before the court such as Siebold Openfelder of Nuremberg (Harreld, 2004, 88-89). Lazarus Tucher had a house on the Keiserstraat next to the house of Mathias Manlich (Harreld, 2004, 91). Lazarus Tucher contracted with the Antwerp shipmaster Jan Wouterssone for his services and for his ship named Joris de Groot to go to Bordeaux and under the direction of Karl Strelen, Tucher's German factor, load the ship with pastel dyes and return to Antwerp. Wouterssone agreed that no other goods or wares would be loaded onto his ship except as directed by Strelen. Some months later, once the ship had arrived in Antwerp, Lazarus Tucher renegotiated the shipping contract	

							with Jan Wouterssone for his ship the Joris de Groot and again under the direction of his factor, Karel Strelen, shipped to England 1044 bales of pastel dyes he had obtained in Bordeaux (Harreld, 2004, 111-112). By 1551, the south German merchant firms Ulrick Link and Anton Haug, Lazarus Tucher, the Fuggers, Wolf Puschinger, Bartholomeo Welser, and Adrian Imhof had made short-term loans to the Fortificatiekas of the city of Antwerp (Harreld, 2004, 174). Lazarus Tucher was a Nurnberger who had settled in Antwerp and operated among others as agent for the Hochstetter, Welser and Manlich in big transactions, especially in pepper. Ca. 1528, he was the chief-agent for south German speculation in Antwerp (Ehrenberg, 1928, 154). Lazarus Tucher came into continued business relations with the government of the Netherlands from ca. 1528. He came in difficulties in 1528 due to a loan of the Hochstetter to the Court of Brussels in quicksilver and cinnabar, which Lazarus sold for the government (Ehrenberg, 1928, 154). In 1528-29, the Tucher of Nuremberg had another agent in Antwerp than Lazarus (Ehrenberg, 1928, 154). The Tucher founded a factory in Antwerp after 1524 (Ehrenberg, 1928, 167-168). Lazarus Tucher had no close business relations with the Tucher firm of Nuremberg (Ehrenberg, 1928, 168).	
Ilmenau	M	0	0	0	0	from c.1524	Linhart Tucher exploited the mine Sturmheit in Ilmenau in partnership with seven other citizens of Nürnberg since ca. 1524. (Grote, 1961, 32).	

Table A..3. Network of the Tucher, 16th century

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Nürnberg		8	4	3	1	>1350-1646	Headquarters. (Grote, 1961, 5). Among the employees who worked in the headquarters of the Tucher company were Virgilius Ehinger and Sebastian Kamerer. (30). In Nürnberg the books were kept, goods were stored, packed and shipped. Retail sales in Nürnberg took place in the headquarters and at the market. (30). Hans (IX) had debtors in Geneva (Georg and Hans Lett), Nürnberg, Erfurt, Lyon, Troyes, Paris and Würzburg (1484). (34). Headquarters. Linhart Tucher, head of the Tucher in Nürnberg (Müller, 1916, 162).	

Antwerp		6	3	2	1	>1521-1529<	Branch. (Grote, 1961, 5, 28). Among the employees of the Antwerp branch was Christoph Kurz. (30). As a result of the Portuguese discovery of the sea route to the East Indies, the Tucher, who were specialised in the spice trade, had to establish themselves in Antwerp. (36). The Tucher established a branch in Antwerp, which was located in the Cammenstraat from 1529. (36). Already in 1521, Albrecht Dürer stayed in the house of Lorenz Tucher in Antwerp. (36). The Tucher were represented in Antwerp by family members and factors such as Christoph Kurz. (37). Lazarus Tucher (1492-1563) went to Antwerp in 1519. He was an agent for the Fugger, Hochstetter, Welser and Manlich in Antwerp. Later he began to work for his own account. Lazarus Tucher was a leading figure at the Antwerp bourse. (Grote, 1961, 37; Seibold, 1995, 22). Cashier of Lazarus Tucher was his brother-in-law Carl Coquiel. His main accountant was Hieronymus (II) Tucher. (38). Lazarus Tucher in Antwerp maintained connections with his family members in Nürnberg, and he never gave up his citizenship of Nürnberg. However, Lazarus Tucher was not a member of the Tucher firm. (38). Two of the brothers of Lazarus Tucher went to Antwerp as well: Andreas and Bartholomäus. One of the sons of Bartholomäus, Paul (V) was one of the financiers of the defence of Antwerp in the mid-1580s. (38-39). Under Lienhard, the business was considerably extended, especially by establishing a factory at Antwerp. (Ehrenberg, 1928, 167-168). Linhart Rottengatter (d. 1569) was factor of Linhart Tucher (1487-1568) in Antwerp. (Schaper, 1973, 276). Letters of Rottengatter from Antwerp to Tucher in 1529 (Schaper, 1973, 277). Lazarus Tucher, who came to Antwerp as a merchant from Nuremberg obtained a house in 1535 next to the house occupied by the firm of Mathias Manlich, an Augsburg merchant (Harreld, 2004, 48 n. 22). Lazarus and Bartolomeo Tucher of Nuremberg were the Manlich agents in Antwerp and conducted much of the Manlich's business (Harreld, 2004, 73). Lazarus Tucher became very involved in the social and political life of Antwerp. Lazarus Tucher appears first in the Antwerp sources in 1518, married Jakobina de Cocquiel, daughter of a well-known Antwerp merchant. Lazarus was best known as a financier and often associated with the commercial affairs of the Affaitadi family. Lazarus was also involved in real estate speculation, most notably the purchase of some polder land along with his	

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Geneva		6	3	2	1	mid 15th c.-17th c.	Branch. (Grote, 1961, 5, 28). Among the employees of the Geneva branch were Friedrich and Caspar (or Leonhard) Rottengarter. (30). The Tucher began to visit the fairs of Geneva and Lyon from the middle of the 15th	

							century. (33). Hans (IX) Tucher did his apprenticeship in Geneva and Lyon ca. 1465. (33). Despite the decline of the fairs of Geneva as a result of the rise of those of Lyon, the Tucher maintained their connections with Geneva. (33). The Tucher rented a house in the "Rue des Allemands" (now "Rue de la Confédération") in Geneva since 1491 (also Seibold, 1995, 13). In 1520, another Tucher firm had a branch in Geneva as well, headed by Erasmus Tucher (1493-1528). Both Tucher firms were also involved in retail trade in Geneva. (33). Connections of Erasmus and Sebald Tucher with Jacques Manlich in Geneva. (Seibold, 1995, 14). Factors of the Tucher in Geneva were Hieronymus, Wolf, Gabriel, Lorenz and Christoph Tucher. Sebald (X) Tucher was the longest in Geneva. He obtained citizenship in Geneva in 1530. The connections of the Tucher with Geneva remained intact until the 17th century. (33). A statement of Hans (IX) Tucher about the Tucher trade in Lyon and Geneva has been preserved. (34). Hans (IX) was especially interested in the trade with Lyon and Geneva. (34). Hans (IX) had debtors in Geneva (Georg and Hans Lett), Nürnberg, Erfurt, Lyon, Troyes, Paris and Würzburg (1484). (34). In 1500-1501, the Tucher exported for 5,000 fl. silver to the Mint of Geneva. (35). Wolfgang Behaim was a factor of Anton and Hans Tucher from 1493 until ca. 1498. He sent letters from Lyon and Geneva as a factor of the Tucher in 1494-98 (Schaper, 1973, 236).	
Lyon		6	3	2	1	mid 15th c.-1579<	Branch. (Grote, 1961, 5, 28). The trademark of the Tucher company can be found in the records of the city of Lyon in 1579. (30). Jakob Reuter worked in the Lyon branch at the end of the 15th century, Vinzenz Pirckheimer ca. 1550. (30). The Tucher began to visit the fairs of Geneva and Lyon from the middle of the 15th century. (33). Hans (IX) Tucher did his apprenticeship in Geneva and Lyon ca. 1465. (33). The Tucher established a branch in Lyon in a house of their own. The Tucher and the Imhoff were seen as the main representatives of the Germans in Lyon. The Tucher were among the governors of the German fraternity in Lyon. (34). A statement of Hans (IX) Tucher about the Tucher trade in Lyon and Geneva has been preserved. Hans (IX) was especially interested in the trade with Lyon and Geneva. (34). Hans (IX) had debtors in Geneva (Georg and Hans Lett), Nürnberg, Erfurt, Lyon, Troyes, Paris and Würzburg (1484). (34). Under Linhart Tucher, the branch in Lyon was in hands of Linhart's sons Gabriel and Paul (IV). (36). Anton Tucher (1457-1524), chief burgomaster of Nürnberg since 1505,	

							carried on a considerable trade in conjunction with his cousins, Hans and Martin, chiefly with Lyon. (Ehrenberg, 1928, 167-168). In 1510, the Tucher brought silver for the Grosse Ravensburger Gesellschaft to Lyon (Schulte, 1923, II, 17). Wolfgang Behaim was a factor of Anton and Hans Tucher from 1493 until ca. 1498. He sent letters from Lyon and Geneva as a factor of the Tucher in 1494-98 (Schaper, 1973, 236). Factor of the Tucher in Lyon: Wolf Tucher, 1525 (Müller, 1916, 162). Agent of the Tucher in Lyon in 1528 (Ehrenberg, 1928, 154-155). The Tucher had a factory in Lyon already before 1524, and still in 1545 (Ehrenberg, 1928, 167-168).	
Venice		6	3	2	1	c.1400-1575	Branch. (Grote, 1961, 5, 28). The Tucher are mentioned in Venice for the first time ca. 1400: in this period Berthold (III) (1386-1454) was sent as an apprentice to Venice. (32). Endres (I) Tucher was in Venice in 1437, while Anton (I) and Herdegen (I) traded with Venice since 1440. (32). Endres (III) Tucher was as apprentice in Venice from ca. 1463 to ca. 1470. (32). The Tucher permanently rented rooms and warehouse space in the Fondaco dei Tedeschi in Venice from 1440 until 1575. They were among the founders of the altar for Saint Sebaldus in the San Bartolomeo church in Venice. (32-33). Especially Hans (VI) Tucher (1428-1491) and later his sons and grandsons took care of the business with Venice. (33). Several members of the Tucher family were officials of the St Sebaldus foundation in Venice, e.g. Anton Tucher (1473, 1475), Hans Tucher (1477), Martin Tucher (1487). (Schaper, 1973, 177-178, 184). Younger members of the family were sent on business journeys to Spain, England, Hungary, and Italy. (Grote, 1961, 29).	
L'Aquila		3	2	2	1		Purchase of saffron in Catalunya and Aragon, where the Tucher had their own representative, in Limoges and Larochefoucauld in southern France, and in L'Aquila. (Grote, 1961, 35). Younger members of the family were sent on business journeys to Spain, England, Hungary, and Italy. (Grote, 1961, 29).	
Avignon		3	2	2	1		Sons of the Tucher family were sent for their apprenticeship not only to the branches of the company, but also to Bourges, Macon, Avignon, Carcassonne, Toulouse or Vienne. (Grote, 1961, 28-29). The Tucher established business connections with the cities of Burgundy, Savoy, the Rhone-region and Aquitania from the middle of the 15th century. (Grote,	

							1961, 33).	
Bourges		3	2	2	1		Sons of the Tucher family were sent for their apprenticeship not only to the branches of the company, but also to Bourges, Macon, Avignon, Carcassonne, Toulouse or Vienne. (Grote, 1961, 28-29). The Tucher established business connections with the cities of Burgundy, Savoy, the Rhone-region and Aquitania from the middle of the 15th century. (Grote, 1961, 33).	
Carcassonne		3	2	2	1		Sons of the Tucher family were sent for their apprenticeship not only to the branches of the company, but also to Bourges, Macon, Avignon, Carcassonne, Toulouse or Vienne. (Grote, 1961, 28-29). The Tucher established business connections with the cities of Burgundy, Savoy, the Rhone-region and Aquitania from the middle of the 15th century. (Grote, 1961, 33).	
Catalunya		3	2	2	1		Purchase of saffron in Catalunya and Aragon, where the Tucher had their own representative, in Limoges and Larochefoucauld in southern France, and in L'Aquila. (Grote, 1961, 35). Younger members of the family were sent on business journeys to Spain, England, Hungary, and Italy. (Grote, 1961, 29). The Tucher traded with Spain via France. (33).	
Erfurt		3	2	2	1	>1484<	Hans (IX) had debtors in Geneva (Georg and Hans Lett), Nürnberg, Erfurt, Lyon, Troyes, Paris and Würzburg (1484). (34). The Tucher purchased woad in Erfurt. (35).	
Frankfurt am Main		3	2	2	1		The Tucher regularly visited the principal German fairs, where they traded their wares and settled their accounts with their clients. (Grote, 1961, 32).	
Leipzig		3	2	2	1	>c.1484<	The Tucher regularly visited the principal German fairs, where they traded their wares and settled their accounts with their clients. (Grote, 1961, 32). Purchase of furs in Leipzig or Wrocław, which were sent to Lyon for the easter fair of 1484. (Grote, 1961, 34).	
Limoges		3	2	2	1		Purchase of saffron in Catalunya and Aragon, where the Tucher had their own representative, in Limoges and Larochefoucauld in southern France, and in L'Aquila. (Grote, 1961, 35).	
Mâcon		3	2	2	1		Sons of the Tucher family were sent for their apprenticeship not only to the branches of the company, but also to Bourges, Mâcon, Avignon, Carcassonne, Toulouse or Vienne. (Grote, 1961, 28-29). The Tucher established business connections with the cities of Burgundy, Savoy, the Rhone-region and Aquitania from the middle of the 15th century. (Grote,	

							1961, 33).	
Nördlingen		3	2	2	1		The Tucher regularly visited the principal German fairs, where they traded their wares and settled their accounts with their clients. (Grote, 1961, 32).	
La Rochefoucauld		3	2	2	1		Purchase of saffron in Catalunya and Aragon, where the Tucher had their own representative, in Limoges and La Rochefoucauld in southern France, and in L'Aquila. (Grote, 1961, 35).	
Toulouse		3	2	2	1	>1525<	Sons of the Tucher family were sent for their apprenticeship not only to the branches of the company, but also to Bourges, Macon, Avignon, Carcassonne, Toulouse or Vienne. (Grote, 1961, 28-29). The Tucher established business connections with the cities of Burgundy, Savoy, the Rhone-region and Aquitania from the middle of the 15th century. (Grote, 1961, 33). The Spanish trade route of the Tucher went through Toulouse. (35). Purchase of woad from the producers in the Garonne region (e.g. 1525). (35).	
Vienne		3	2	2	1		Sons of the Tucher family were sent for their apprenticeship not only to the branches of the company, but also to Bourges, Macon, Avignon, Carcassonne, Toulouse or Vienne. (Grote, 1961, 28-29). The Tucher established business connections with the cities of Burgundy, Savoy, the Rhone-region and Aquitania from the middle of the 15th century. (Grote, 1961, 33).	
Zaragoza		3	2	2	1		Purchase of saffron in Catalunya and Aragon, where the Tucher had their own representative, in Limoges and Larochefoucauld in southern France, and in L'Aquila. (Grote, 1961, 35). The first saffron transport from Zaragoza was carried out by a factor of the Ravensburger Gesellschaft for the Tucher. (35). Younger members of the family were sent on business journeys to Spain, England, Hungary, and Italy. (Grote, 1961, 29). The Tucher traded with Spain via France. (33).	
Eisleben		2	2	1	0		Berthold (V), son of Berthold (IV), resided for a long time in Eisleben, the centre of the Mansfeld copper mining industry. (Grote, 1961, 32, 37).	
Ellingen	H	2	2	1	0		The guardians of the heirs of Herdegen (I) Tucher established a smelting works near Ellingen, which was not very successful. (30).	
England		2	2	1	0		Younger members of the family were sent on business journeys to Spain, England, Hungary, and Italy. (Grote, 1961, 29).	
Hungary		2	2	1	0		Younger members of the family were sent on business journeys to Spain, England, Hungary, and Italy. (Grote, 1961, 29).	

Ilmenau	M	2	2	1	0	from c.1524	Linhart Tucher exploited the mine Sturmheit in Ilmenau in partnership with seven other citizens of Nürnberg since ca. 1524. (Grote, 1961, 32).	
Alexandria		0	0	0	0		During a journey to Jerusalem, Hans (VI) Tucher (1428-1491) stayed for several weeks in the Venetian fondaco in Alexandria, where he informed himself about the Egyptian spice trade. (Grote, 1961, 33).	
Kutná Hora		0	0	0	0		Hans (II) Tucher (ca. 1389-1449) was brother-in-law of Valzner, who farmed the Mint of Kutná Hora (Kuttenberg) and controlled the mining industry of Bohemia. (Grote, 1961, 31).	
Mögeldorf	H	0	0	0	0	from c.1460	Herdegen (I) established a smelting works near Mögeldorf (now part of Nürnberg) ca. 1460. (Grote, 1961, 31).	
Paris		0	0	0	0	>1484<	Hans (IX) had debtors in Geneva (Georg and Hans Lett), Nürnberg, Erfurt, Lyon, Troyes, Paris and Würzburg (1484). (34).	
Schneeberg	M	0	0	0	0	after 1476	The Tucher invested in the silver mines of Schneeberg after 1476. Berthold (IV) Tucher (1424-1494) made large losses when the Schneeberg mining industry collapsed. (Grote, 1961, 32).	
Troyes		0	0	0	0	>1484<	Hans (IX) had debtors in Geneva (Georg and Hans Lett), Nürnberg, Erfurt, Lyon, Troyes, Paris and Würzburg (1484). (34).	
Wöhrd	H	0	0	0	0	from 1471	In 1471, the Tucher obtained a wire drawing mill in Wöhrd. (Grote, 1961, 31, 34). Probably, the Tucher had investments in the dyeing and cloth producing industry of Wöhrd. (35).	
Wrocław		0	0	0	0	>c.1484<	Purchase of furs in Leipzig or Wrocław, which were sent to Lyon for the easter fair of 1484. (Grote, 1961, 34).	
Würzburg		0	0	0	0	>1484<	Hans (IX) had debtors in Geneva (Georg and Hans Lett), Nürnberg, Erfurt, Lyon, Troyes, Paris and Würzburg (1484). (34).	

BARTHOLOMÄUS (I) VIATIS AND PARTNERS, 1569 – 1729

Bartholomäus (I) Viatis (1538-1624) was the son of Bernardo, a merchant active in the Fondaco dei Tedeschi in Venice. Bartholomäus became an apprentice in Nürnberg and Lyon for Hans Wollandt of Nürnberg from 1550 to 1561. After he finished his apprenticeship, Bartholomäus Viatis was active in a number of smaller companies as employee or partner between 1561 and 1569. In the latter year he became a citizen of Nürnberg, and founded a company with Melchior Lang for trade between Nürnberg and Wrocław. In 1570, the partnership was dissolved and a new company was founded between Viatis, Lang and Georg Forst (1535-1600), which was continued for another ten years after Melchior Lang had left the firm in 1581. After the dissolution of the partnership with Georg Forst in 1591, Bartholomäus Viatis established a new company with his son-in-law and former *Diener* Martin Peller (1559-1629). This firm was continued after the death of Viatis and Peller by their heirs, and was only dissolved in 1729. Below, an outline will be given of the network of the Forst-Lang-Viatis company and that of the Viatis-Peller company until 1609, year in which Bartholomäus (II) Viatis (b. 1573), son of Bartholomäus (I), joined the enteprise as a partner (Aubin, 1940, 147-148, 157; Seibold, 1977b, 7-14, 16-17, 21, 28-29, 31-32, 63, 69-71, 78, 80, 82-83, 86-87, 97, 114, 176, 378, 2 n. 1, 64 n. 1).

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Source material:

While no business records of the Forst-Lang-Viatis company are extant, the documentation on the Viatis-Peller company is somewhat more abundant. Fragments of the business archives of the Peller have been preserved in the Nürnberg town archives. The archives of the Nürnberg Handelsvorstand (also in the town archives) contain important source material as well. Among the most interesting documents are a

secret account book of the private household of Bartholomäus (I) Viatis from 1579-1598, and an account book of Martin Peller (1587-1629) (Seibold, 1977b, i-ii, 3-4, 34, 37, 43, 96-97).

Size: Medium-sized or large (Viatis-Forst-Lang); Large (Viatis-Peller)

The Viatis-Peller Gesellschaft was the largest Nürnberg firm at the end of the 16th century. While the capital of the Forst-Lang-Viatis firm amounted to 75,000 fl. in 1575 and more than 120,000 fl. in 1586, the *corpo* of the Viatis-Peller company already totalled ca. 190,000 fl. in 1591, and rose to almost 280,000 fl. in 1595 and ca. 757,000 fl. in 1609. By the time of his death in 1624, Bartholomäus Viatis was by far the richest man of Nürnberg (Aubin, 1940, 148-149, 153-156; Seibold, 1977b, vi, 11, 32, 87-88).

Main activities:

- Commerce: The Forst-Lang-Viatis company and especially the Viatis-Peller Gesellschaft were specialised in the linen trade. In 1581-1591, the Forst-Viatis firm was also involved in the commerce of saffron (probably purchased in Venice), wine (especially from Württemberg), wool, wax, oxen, chamois leather, feathers, etc. After 1591, the trade in linen (especially from Saxony, Silesia and Bohemia) became even more dominant, although the trade in other goods (e.g. oxen) was not given up. Involvement in the metals trade was apparently very limited (Aubin, 1940, 149-152; Seibold, 1977b, 34-36, 64-68, 92, 98, 142, 288-289, 291).
- Finance: The companies of Bartholomäus Viatis were engaged in financial activities, and already in 1581-1591 credit transactions were among the main business of the Forst-Viatis Gesellschaft. The Viatis-Peller company carried out financial activities at the fairs, and advanced loans to nobles (e.g. Ferdinand of Tirol, count Gallas) and cities (e.g. Wels). In Nürnberg the firm also accepted deposits on which an interest was paid (1586-1591) (Seibold, 1977b, 34-36, 88, 98, 286, 318-320, 336, 357-358).
- Industry: Already in the 1580s, linen was dyed for the Forst-Viatis firm in Nürnberg. Since the late 1590s, the Viatis-Peller company invested in the linen industry of eastern central Germany through the putting-out system (Aubin, 1940, 149-152; Seibold, 1977b, 64-68, 132-164).

Network of the Forst-Lang-Viatis company (not used network):

The partners of the Forst-Lang-Viatis Gesellschaft each represented the business of the company in a certain region. Bartholomäus Viatis, established in Nürnberg, was responsible for the business west of the Oder and the Neisse, while Forst and Lang, residing in Wrocław, were active in the east (especially Poland). Moreover, the firm made use of the service of several *Diener*, a kind of factors operating for the company but in addition also trading on their own account. After 1580 the number of *Diener* increased considerably (Seibold, 1977b, 32-35, 59-60, 66).

Table A..1. Network of the Forst-Lang-Viatis company, 1570 – 1591

City	R	Score	Period	Type of presence	References

Nürnberg		8	4	3	1	1570-1591	Bartholomäus (I) Viatis, one of the partners, was established in Nürnberg. In 1569, he purchased the "Viatis house" in Nürnberg.	Aubin, 1940, 148-152; Seibold, 1977b, 22, 30, 68
Wrocław		8	4	3	1	1570-1591	Melchior Lang and Georg Forst, partners, were established in Wrocław (Breslau). The company had connections with Hans Pietner, Valtemer Sebisch and Paulus Wuttig in Wrocław in 1586/87.	Aubin, 1940, 148-152; Seibold, 1977b, 29-31, 63, 68-69
Frankfurt am Main		4	2	2	1	>1573-1591<	Bartholomäus Viatis visited the autumn fair of Frankfurt ca. 1585. Frankfurt am Main was among the most important commercial centres for the Forst-Viatis Gesellschaft. Bartholomäus Viatis belonged to a group of 82 merchants who founded the Bourse of Frankfurt in 1585.	Seibold, 1977b, 34, 68, 286-288
Leipzig		4	2	2	1	>c.1585-1587<	Leipzig was among the most important commercial centres for the Forst-Viatis Gesellschaft. Bartholomäus Viatis visited the Michaelis fair of Leipzig ca. 1585. The company had connections with Georg Osterlant in Leipzig in 1586/87. Martin Brauer of Leipzig supplied chamois leather to the Gesellschaft.	Seibold, 1977b, 34, 68-69, 292-293
Venice		4	2	2	1	>c.1581-c.1591<	Martin Peller was *Diener* of the Forst-Viatis company in Venice ca. 1581-1591. In 1588, he became a consul in the Fondaco dei Tedeschi. From time to time, Martin Peller was also sent to other places however. Perhaps also Matthäus Weiss, brother-in-law of Bartholomäus (I) Viatis, represented the Forst-Viatis company in Venice until his death in 1586.	Seibold, 1977b, 68, 80, 82, 347-348
Augsburg		3	2	2	1	>1579-1580<, >1584<, >1588<	The company had an account with Christoph Welser of Augsburg in 1579-1580. In 1584, goods were sent by Viatis to Paulus Schneider in Augsburg. Lawsuit against Jacob von Hacht of Augsburg in 1588.	Seibold, 1977b, 35, 64, 66-67
Bautzen		3	2	2	1		Business with the linen weavers of Bautzen. Representative in Bautzen was Hans Keller, a relative of Georg Forst.	Seibold, 1977b, 145-146
Bolzano		3	2	2	1	>1587<	Martin Peller regularly visited the fairs of Bolzano for the Forst-Viatis company, at least since 1587.	Seibold, 1977b, 80, 291-292, 341
Cologne		3	2	2	1	>c.1570-c.1581<	Business connection of Bartholomäus Viatis with Ursula de Crediger from Cologne ca. 1570-81.	Seibold, 1977b, 36
Frankfurt an der Oder		3	2	2	1	>1586/87<	Connections with Andreas Duticius and Hans Ziriacus in Frankfurt an der Oder in 1586/87.	Seibold, 1977b, 69
Görlitz		3	2	2	1	>1586/87<	Connections with Michael Schmidt in Görlitz in 1586/87, and possibly already since 1573.	Seibold, 1977b, 69, 147
Milan		3	2	2	1	>1586/87<	Connections with Francesco Carpano in Milan in 1586/87.	Seibold, 1977b, 69
Poznań		3	2	2	1		Connections with Lucas Raseck , who was perhaps the same as Lucas Erb,	Seibold, 1977b, 68-69

							the commissionary in Poznań who was active for the Viatis-Peller company in 1597.	
Salzburg		3	2	2	1	>1589-1591<	Since 1589, there were contacts with Stefan Hueber in Salzburg.	Seibold, 1977b, 339
Strasbourg		3	2	2	1	>1586/87<	Connections with Heinrich Röhner in Strasbourg in 1586/87.	Seibold, 1977b, 69
Verona		3	2	2	1	>c.1570-c.1581<	Business connection of Bartholomäus Viatis with Hans Possenzweig from Verona ca. 1570-81.	Seibold, 1977b, 36
Wittenberg		3	2	2	1		Connections with Caspar Krüger in Wittenberg.	Seibold, 1977b, 68-69
Buttstädt		2	2	1	0	>c.1585<	Bartholomäus Viatis visited the oxen fair of Buttstädt ca. 1585.	Seibold, 1977b, 34
Erfurt		2	2	1	0	>1573<	Diverse goods were sold to Hans Borkart of Erfurt. Already in 1573, the feather maker Thomas Pecker of Erfurt was a debtor of Bartholomäus Viatis (personal trade).	Seibold, 1977b, 35, 33 n. 1
Halle		2	2	1	0		Chamois leather was supplied to Niclaus Hertzbach of Halle.	Seibold, 1977b, 34
Antwerp		1	1	1	0	1579, 1586, 1591	Peter Schmaltz and Adrian Tarquet, both merchants born in Antwerp, are mentioned in the secret account book of the private household of Bartholomäus Viatis (1579-1598), Schmaltz as debtor in 1579, 1586 and 1591, and Tarquet as creditor in 1586 and 1591.	Seibold, 1977b, 53, 56-59, 61-62
Bamberg		1	1	1	0	>1583<	Lawsuit of Viatis against Philipp Schmid and Hans Bräutigam of Bamberg in 1583.	Seibold, 1977b, 67
Braunau am Inn		1	1	1	0		Debts of one or more debtors from Braunau were taken over by Georg Forst from his previous company with Sauermann and Schilling when he entered the Forst-Lang-Viatis company in 1570.	Seibold, 1977b, 30
Chemnitz		1	1	1	0		Debts of one or more debtors from Chemnitz were taken over by Georg Forst from his previous company with Sauermann and Schilling when he entered the Forst-Lang-Viatis company in 1570.	Seibold, 1977b, 30
Eisleben		1	1	1	0		Albrecht Gugel of Eisleben was a debtor of the company.	Seibold, 1977b, 34
Gryfów Śląski		1	1	1	0	>c.1575<	Already ca. 1575, business agreements existed with the weavers of Gryfów Śląski.	Seibold, 1977b, 153, 327
Hildburghausen		1	1	1	0		Debts of one or more debtors from Hildburghausen were taken over by Georg Forst from his previous company with Sauermann and Schilling when he entered the Forst-Lang-Viatis company in 1570.	Seibold, 1977b, 30
Jáchymov		1	1	1	0	>1581<	Lawsuit of Stefan Voitlender of Jáchymov against Viatis in 1581.	Seibold, 1977b, 67
Jena		1	1	1	0		Debts of one or more debtors from Jena were taken over by Georg Forst from his previous company with Sauermann and Schilling when he entered the Forst-Lang-Viatis company in 1570.	Seibold, 1977b, 30

Kraków		1	1	1	0	>1570<	Debts of one or more debtors from Kraków were taken over by Georg Forst from his previous company with Sauermann and Schilling when he entered the Forst-Lang-Viatis company in 1570.	Seibold, 1977b, 30
Lauban		1	1	1	0	>1582-1583<	In 1582-83, Georg Forst had contacts with the masters of the linen weaver guild of Lauban. In this period, the connections with the linen weaver towns probably intensified.	Seibold, 1977b, 64, 154
Lesko		1	1	1	0	>1589<	A payment was made to Elias Madalinski of "Liskorne" (probably Lisko in Galicia, eastern Europe) in 1589.	Seibold, 1977b, 69
Linz		1	1	1	0		Debts of one or more debtors from Linz were taken over by Georg Forst from his previous company with Sauermann and Schilling when he entered the Forst-Lang-Viatis company in 1570.	Seibold, 1977b, 30
Lvov		1	1	1	0		Stentzel Augustinowicz from Lvov was a debtor of the company.	Seibold, 1977b, 35
Melk		1	1	1	0		Debts of one or more debtors from Melk were taken over by Georg Forst from his previous company with Sauermann and Schilling when he entered the Forst-Lang-Viatis company in 1570.	Seibold, 1977b, 30
Regensburg		1	1	1	0	>1583<	Lawsuit of Viatis against Johann Nuss of Regensburg in 1583.	Seibold, 1977b, 67
Steyr		1	1	1	0		Debts of one or more debtors from Steyr were taken over by Georg Forst from his previous company with Sauermann and Schilling when he entered the Forst-Lang-Viatis company in 1570.	Seibold, 1977b, 30
Swidnica		1	1	1	0	>1570s<	The company traded in linen from Swidnica (German: Schweidnitz) already in the 1570s.	Seibold, 1977b, 155
Udine		1	1	1	0	1579, 1586, 1591	Martino de Marchesi of Udine is mentioned as a debtor in the secret account book of the private household of Bartholomäus Viatis (1579-1598) in 1579, 1586 and 1591.	Seibold, 1977b, 53, 58, 61

+ Due to a lack of source material, the network of the Forst-Lang-Viatis company cannot be reconstructed completely (Seibold, 1977b, 68-69).

Network of the Viatis-Peller Gesellschaft:

After he split up with Georg Forst in 1591, Bartholomäus Viatis gave up his rights on the trade with Poland and Silesia until the death of Forst in 1600, while the latter gave his rights in Venice, Bolzano, Frankfurt am Main, Leipzig and Hamburg over to Viatis. As a result, Görlitz was the most eastern trade place in the network of the Viatis-Peller company until ca. 1600 (Seibold, 1977b, 69-71).

The Viatis-Peller Gesellschaft had a network of *Faktoreien* and *Unterfaktoreien* (mostly in the larger linen producing towns) abroad, which were headed by factors. These factors sometimes were employees of the company, but in other cases (especially in eastern central Germany) they were only commission agents. Some of the factors, such as Georg Gößwein, were not allocated to a single location, but were

active in different places. The *Faktoreien* were normally located in rented accommodations or in buildings belonging to the factors. Martin Peller probably visited several fairs for the company and controlled the *Faktoreien* (Seibold, 1977b, 91, 322-323).

Table A..2. Network of the Viatis-Peller Gesellschaft, 1591 – 1609

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Nürnberg		8	4	3	1	1591-1729	Headquarters.	Aubin, 1940, 148-152; Seibold, 1977b, 91, 321-322
Gryfów Śląski		7	3	2	1	1599-1673<	*Oberfaktorei* in the linen producing area (after 1644 removed to Zittau). Commercial agreements with the weavers of Gryfów Śląski (German: Greiffenberg) were concluded between 1599 and 1610. In 1599 the company was represented in Gryfów Śląski by Sebastian Eber, the factor from Wrocław, and in the following years by Georg Gösswein. In 1603, Johann Christan (d. 1644) was sent as factor to Gryfów Śląski. The branch was probably located in the house of Christan. The production (via putting-out system) and export of linen from eastern central Germany was organised from Gryfów Śląski.	Seibold, 1977b, 142, 152-153, 321-322, 327-329
Leipzig		6	3	2	1	>1591-1647<	*Faktorei*. Factors in Leipzig were Georg Kress (from 1593), Hieronymus Reckleben (1606-1615). From 1599, the firm also had a bookkeeper in Leipzig. In 1606, the two houses of Joachim Finolt in Leipzig came in hands of the Viatis-Peller company. The fairs of Leipzig played a considerable role in the business of the firm, and they were frequently visited by Martin Peller between 1591 and 1601 (e.g. in 1592).	Aubin, 1940, 148-152; Pönicke, 1929, 46; Seibold, 1977b, 91, 142, 284-285, 291-293, 321, 324-327
Salzburg		6	3	2	1	1589-1627<	Since 1589, contacts existed with Stefan Hueber in Salzburg, who became a factor of the Viatis-Peller Gesellschaft. By 1594, there was a *Faktorei* with warehouse in Salzburg. Hueber represented the firm at least until 1614. The Salzburg fairs were of lesser importance for the Viatis-Peller Gesellschaft, although they were visited by Martin Peller between 1591 and 1601.	Seibold, 1977b, 91, 285, 321, 336, 339-340
Venice		6	3	2	1	>1591-1684<	*Faktorei*. Martin Peller managed the Venetian branch for several years (1591-1600). Other factors in Venice were Martin Abt (consul of the Fondaco dei Tedeschi in 1595), and Georg Walter (consul in 1603, 1604 and 1612).	Aubin, 1940, 148-152; Seibold, 1977b, 91, 321, 323, 341, 346-350
Wrocław		6	3	2	1	1591-1640s	*Faktorei*. Hans Guntzlein represented the Viatis-Peller Gesellschaft in	Aubin, 1940, 148-

							Wrocław after 1591. In 1593, he purchased a house, perhaps for the establishment of a *Faktorei*. Guntzlein probably traded in commission for the firm in 1597. Around 1600, Guntzlein was replaced as factor by Sebastian Eber. The Wrocław fairs were of lesser importance for the Viatis-Peller Gesellschaft.	152; Seibold, 1977b, 142, 147, 285, 321, 327, 332-334
Bautzen		5	3	2	1	>1591-1618<	*Unterfaktorei* in Bautzen. Hans Keller, brother-in-law of Georg Forst, was factor of Viatis in Bautzen from 1591 to 1598. From 1598, the company was represented for more than 20 years by Hans Borsche.	Seibold, 1977b, 71, 142, 145-146, 322
Görlitz		5	3	2	1	>1601-1611<	*Unterfaktorei* in Görlitz. Pornitus was a factor in Görlitz in the early 17th century. Probably Georg Heldreich, burgomaster of Görlitz, became in 1601 the representative of the Viatis-Peller Gesellschaft. Business agreements were concluded with the weavers of Görlitz in 1601-05 and in 1607-11 (in the latter period concluded by Georg Gösswein).	Seibold, 1977b, 147-148, 322-323
Swidnica		5	3	2	1	>1594-1615	*Unterfaktorei* in Swidnica (Schweidnitz). In 1594-1619, linen from Swidnica was stored in the Nürnberg warehouse of the firm. In 1615, the branch in Swidnica was transferred elsewhere.	Seibold, 1977b, 142, 155, 322
Bolzano		4	2	2	1	>1591-1715<	It can be assumed that the firm had a *Faktorei* in Bolzano, but no direct evidence exists for this. In 1590, Jeremias Schön and Martin Peller visited the fairs of Bolzano. From then on the fairs of Bolzano, which were among the most important for the company, were attended more or less continuously for ca. 140 years. The representative in Venice and Bolzano ca. 1591-1601 was Martin Peller (e.g. at the fairs of 1592). In 1599-1604, the Viatis-Peller Gesellschaft had connections with the merchant David Wagner in Bolzano.	Seibold, 1977b, 91, 284-285, 291-292, 321, 340-343
Cologne		4	2	2	1	>1590s<	Matthes Diesterloh from Cologne was among the most important business relations of the Viatis-Peller company in the 1590s. He carried out linen and fur trade with Bartholomäus Viatis in 1591-92.	Seibold, 1977b, 69, 324
Hamburg		4	2	2	1	>1596-1662<	Business contacts with Hamburg were very intensive, and perhaps even a *Faktorei* existed here. In 1596, the firm was represented in Hamburg by Hans Friedrich Cunrad. Since 1599 Georg Gösswein, factor of the Viatis-Peller company, was represented by Hans de Hertoghe in Hamburg. Contacts with the De Hertoghe are also known for 1609 and after.	Seibold, 1977b, 321, 332, 354-355
Innsbruck		4	2	2	1	1590-1600<	Business contacts with Innsbruck were very intensive, and perhaps even a *Faktorei* existed here. Since 1590, Martin Peller in Venice had connections with Archduke Ferdinand of Tirol in Innsbruck, for whom money transfers	Seibold, 1977b, 321, 357-358

							were carried out. In 1600, contacts also existed with the chancellor of Tirol. In the same year goods of the company were confiscated in Innsbruck.	
Wels		4	2	2	1	1593-c.1653	There are some indications for continuous connections with Wels since 1593. Representative in 1608-09 was Augustin Amend. However, it is not clear whether he was a factor or a commission merchant. A *Faktorei* was established in Wels definitely from 1616, but perhaps already from 1608.	Seibold, 1977b, 163-164, 321, 335-338
Buttstädt		3	2	2	1		The Viatis-Peller company was regularly represented at the cattle fairs of Buttstädt near Weimar, which were visited by partners or *Diener* of the company.	Seibold, 1977b, 284-285, 288
Frankfurt am Main		3	2	2	1	>1591-1729	The Viatis-Peller company was regularly represented at the fairs of Frankfurt am Main, which were visited by partners or *Diener* of the company. Nevertheless, the fairs of Frankfurt were not of extreme importance for the firm. In 1591-1601, Martin Peller from time to time visited the Frankfurt fairs. In 1600-1613, the company represented a number of Polish cattle traders (Franz von Ossmanek and Martin Chotek) at the fairs of Frankfurt.	Aubin, 1940, 148-152; Dietz, 1921, II, 311; Seibold, 1977b, 91, 284-289
Linz		3	2	2	1	>1591<	The Viatis-Peller company was regularly represented at the fairs of Linz, which were visited by partners or *Diener* of the company (probably from Wels). The *Diener* Jeremias Schön was in Linz in 1591.	Seibold, 1977b, 163, 284-285, 290
Löbau		3	2	2	1	>1597-1599<	Until 1597 the Viatis-Peller company was represented in Löbau (eastern Saxony) by Lorenz Enenkel from Nürnberg. In 1599 contacts existed between Hans Borsche, the representative in Bautzen, and the Rat of Löbau. After that, new indications of activity in Löbau appear only in 1629.	Seibold, 1977b, 149
Poznań		3	2	2	1	>1595-1597<	Lucas Erb was active for the Viatis-Peller company as a commissionary in Poznań in 1597. In 1595, a shipment of goods between Poznań and Nürnberg was organised by the firm.	Seibold, 1977b, 68-69
Sevilla		3	2	2	1	1st years 17th c.-1670>	Supposedly, the Viatis-Peller Gesellschaft began to trade with Sevilla – and had a permanent representative here – from the first years of the 17th century. There was definitely a branch in Sevilla around 1620.	Kellenbenz, 1954, 294; Seibold, 1977b, 321, 350-351
Vrchlabí		3	2	2	1	>c.1600<	Ca. 1600, Georg Puz was representative of the Viatis-Peller company in Vrchlabí (German: Hohenelbe) (Bohemia). Later, the representative became Tobias Stefan.	Seibold, 1977b, 157
Zittau		3	2	2	1	1606-1680s	Since 1606, the Viatis-Peller company had connections with Barthel Schultz in Zittau. Around 1610, a branch was founded in Zittau, headed by Martin Eichler. After 1644, Zittau became the main centre for the linen trade of the firm.	Seibold, 1977b, 142, 152, 321-322, 329-331

Antwerp		2	2	1	0		Occasional trade with Antwerp.	Seibold, 1977b, 351 n. 3
Genoa		2	2	1	0		Business contacts with Genoa must have been very intensive, and perhaps even a *Faktorei* existed here. Nevertheless, the sources only mention activity of the Viatis-Peller company in Genoa after 1623.	Seibold, 1977b, 321, 352
Lauingen		2	2	1	0	>1603-1615<	Purchases of textiles in 1603-1615 by the Viatis-Peller firm in Lauingen (southern Germany).	Seibold, 1977b, 161
Lyon		2	2	1	0		Business contacts with Lyon must have been very intensive, and perhaps even a *Faktorei* existed here. Nevertheless, the sources only mention activity of the Viatis-Peller company in Lyon from the middle of the 17th century, although it is known that Bartholomäus Viatis was in Lyon as an apprentice in 1558-59. Supposedly, the company was represented here by befriend merchants.	Seibold, 1977b, 321, 353
Milan		2	2	1	0		Occasional trade with Milan.	Seibold, 1977b, 351 n. 3
Nördlingen		2	2	1	0		The fairs of Nördlingen were visited by the company, but were of lesser importance for the company.	Seibold, 1977b, 285
Paris		2	2	1	0		Occasional trade with Paris.	Seibold, 1977b, 351 n. 3
Prague		2	2	1	0		Business contacts with Prague must have been very intensive, and perhaps even a *Faktorei* existed here. Nevertheless, not much is known about the business of the Viatis-Peller Gesellschaft in Prague before 1610. Probably the company in this period was creditor of a number of Prague merchants.	Seibold, 1977b, 321, 355-357
Stolpen		2	2	1	0		*Unterfaktorei* in Stolpen. A factor in Stolpen is only known from 1614.	Seibold, 1977b, 142, 151, 322
Augsburg		1	1	1	0	<1579-1598>	Johannes Gottlin, Andreas Mantz, Marx Rehlinger, and David Weiss seel. Erben, merchants of Augsburg, had accounts in the secret account book of the private household of Bartholomäus Viatis (1579-1598).	Seibold, 1977b, 42-43
Chemnitz		1	1	1	0	>1601<	Business agreements with the linen weaver guild of Chemnitz (western Saxony), e.g. in 1601.	Seibold, 1977b, 143-144
Dresden		1	1	1	0		Probably, business relations existed with the weavers of Dresden. However, no indications of this can be found in the sources.	Seibold, 1977b, 150
Elstra		1	1	1	0	>1602<, >1609<	Only indirect indications for contacts with Elstra (eastern Saxony): in 1602 and 1609 the company had linen from Elstra in stock.	Seibold, 1977b, 147
Frankenberg		1	1	1	0	>1589-1592<	Purchase of linen from the weavers in Frankenberg (western Saxony) by the	Seibold, 1977b, 144

							widow of Sebastian Conrad for the company, 1589-1592.	
Frýdlant		1	1	1	0	>1602-1609<	In 1602, the Viatis-Peller company became the most important purchaser of linen of Frýdlant (German: Friedland) (Bohemia), although there was some competition here from other firms. A business agreement with the weavers of Frýdlant is known for 1609, concluded by Georg Gösswein.	Seibold, 1977b, 156
Jablonné v Podještdí		1	1	1	0	<1607<	Probably connections developed with the weavers of Jablonné v Podještdí (Gabel) (Bohemia) after the decline of the Gewandschneider company (ca. 1607). No indications however.	Seibold, 1977b, 157
Jawor		1	1	1	0	>c.1610<	Ca. 1610, Georg Gösswein advanced money to one of the guilds of Jawor (German: Jauer) (Silesia).	Seibold, 1977b, 153-154
Kamienna Góra		1	1	1	0		Probably, contacts existed with the weavers of Kamienna Góra (German: Landeshut) (Silesia).	Seibold, 1977b, 153
Lauban		1	1	1	0	>1599-1610<	In 1599-1610 several commercial agreements were concluded with the linen weavers of Lauban (Silesia).	Seibold, 1977b, 154
Leisnig		1	1	1	0	>1598<, >1602<	Only indirect indications for contacts with Leisnig (western Saxony). In 1594, 1598, 1602 and 1620 the firm had linen from Leisnig in stock.	Seibold, 1977b, 144-145
Liberec		1	1	1	0	>1602-1672<	In 1602, the Viatis-Peller firm probably became the main purchaser of linen from Liberec (German: Reichenberg) (Bohemia). Competition from other firms from time to time in 1605-1639.	Seibold, 1977b, 158-159
Meissen		1	1	1	0	>1607<	Linen from Meissen (western Saxony) was purchased by the company (1607).	Seibold, 1977b, 145
Mittweida		1	1	1	0	>1602<	Trade in linen from Mittweida (western Saxony) in 1602, 1616, 1617.	Seibold, 1977b, 145
Naumburg		1	1	1	0	>1609<	The fairs of Naumburg were attended by the Viatis-Peller company in 1609.	Seibold, 1977b, 285
Nové Město pod Smrkem		1	1	1	0	1602<	Probably the company became an important purchaser of linen from Nové Město pod Smrkem (German: Neustadt) (Bohemia) since 1602.	Seibold, 1977b, 157
Osečná		1	1	1	0	>1593<	Linen of Osečná (German: Oschitz) (Bohemia) was stored in the Nürnberg warehouse in 1593.	Seibold, 1977b, 158
Ostritz		1	1	1	0	>c.1600-1640<	Business agreements with the weavers of Ostritz (eastern Saxony) existed already ca. 1600, but only after the decline of the Gewandschneider company in 1607 contacts with Ostritz, especially organised from the branch in Görlitz, became more permanent.	Seibold, 1977b, 150
Rochlitz		1	1	1	0	>1601<	Trade in linen from Rochlitz (western Saxony) in 1601, 1618.	Seibold, 1977b, 145
Sebnitz		1	1	1	0	>1593<	In 1593, the Viatis-Peller company claimed money from the weavers of Sebnitz (eastern Saxony). However, in Sebnitz, the Heugel were more	Seibold, 1977b, 151

							important than the Viatis-Peller.	
Speyer		1	1	1	0	<1579-1598>	Laux Frantz, merchant of Speyer, had an account in the secret account book of the private household of Bartholomäus Viatis (1579-1598).	Seibold, 1977b, 42-43
Steyr		1	1	1	0		The company was perhaps involved in the iron and steel trade of Steyr. However, no direct indications exist for this.	Seibold, 1977b, 290-191
Udine		1	1	1	0	<1579-1598>	Bartholome Merlo, merchant of Udine, had an account in the secret account book of the private household of Bartholomäus Viatis (1579-1598).	Seibold, 1977b, 42-43
Würzburg		1	1	1	0	>1591<	Philipp Haugk, merchant of Würzburg, had an account in the secret account book of the private household of Bartholomäus Viatis (1579-1598). He was a creditor of Viatis in 1591.	Seibold, 1977b, 42-43, 62
Zawidów		1	1	1	0	1602<	Probably the company became an important purchaser of linen from Zawidów (German: Seidenberg) (Bohemia) since 1602.	Seibold, 1977b, 157
Zwickau		1	1	1	0	<1607<	Probably connections developed with the weavers of Zwickau (Bohemia) after the decline of the Gewandschneider company (ca. 1607). No indications however.	Seibold, 1977b, 157

+ Only fragmentary data exist about the network of the Viatis-Peller partnership. Even data about the branches are incomplete (Aubin, 1940, 148-152; Seibold, 1977b, 321).

WELSER, ca. 1411 – 1614

The Welser were already active as merchants in Augsburg in the 14th century. The network of the Welser can be followed more or less in detail from ca. 1411, when Bartholomäus (III) Welser and his brother-in-law Johann Brun founded the Welser-Brun Gesellschaft. After the death of Brun ca. 1424/25, the business was continued by Bartholomäus Welser and later by his sons. From 1479, the Welser had close ties with the Vöhlin of Memmingen, and ca. 1496/98 a Welser-Vöhlin company was founded by Anton Welser (a grandson of Bartholomäus (III)) and Konrad Vöhlin. This company became one of the largest firms of Augsburg in the 16th century before going bankrupt in 1614. Jakob Welser, a brother of Anton, and a partner in the Welser-Vöhlin company, left the enterprise of his brother in 1517 and founded a new firm in Nürnberg, which became very big as well, and was finally dissolved in 1601/02 (Ehrenberg, 1928, 137-138, 140, 150; Geffcken, 2002, 45-47, 50-69; Kellenbenz, 1954, 165; Id., 1974, 75, 77, 94, 116; Kieβling, 1997, 2155-2156). The Welser companies of Augsburg and Nürnberg will be treated separately in what follows.

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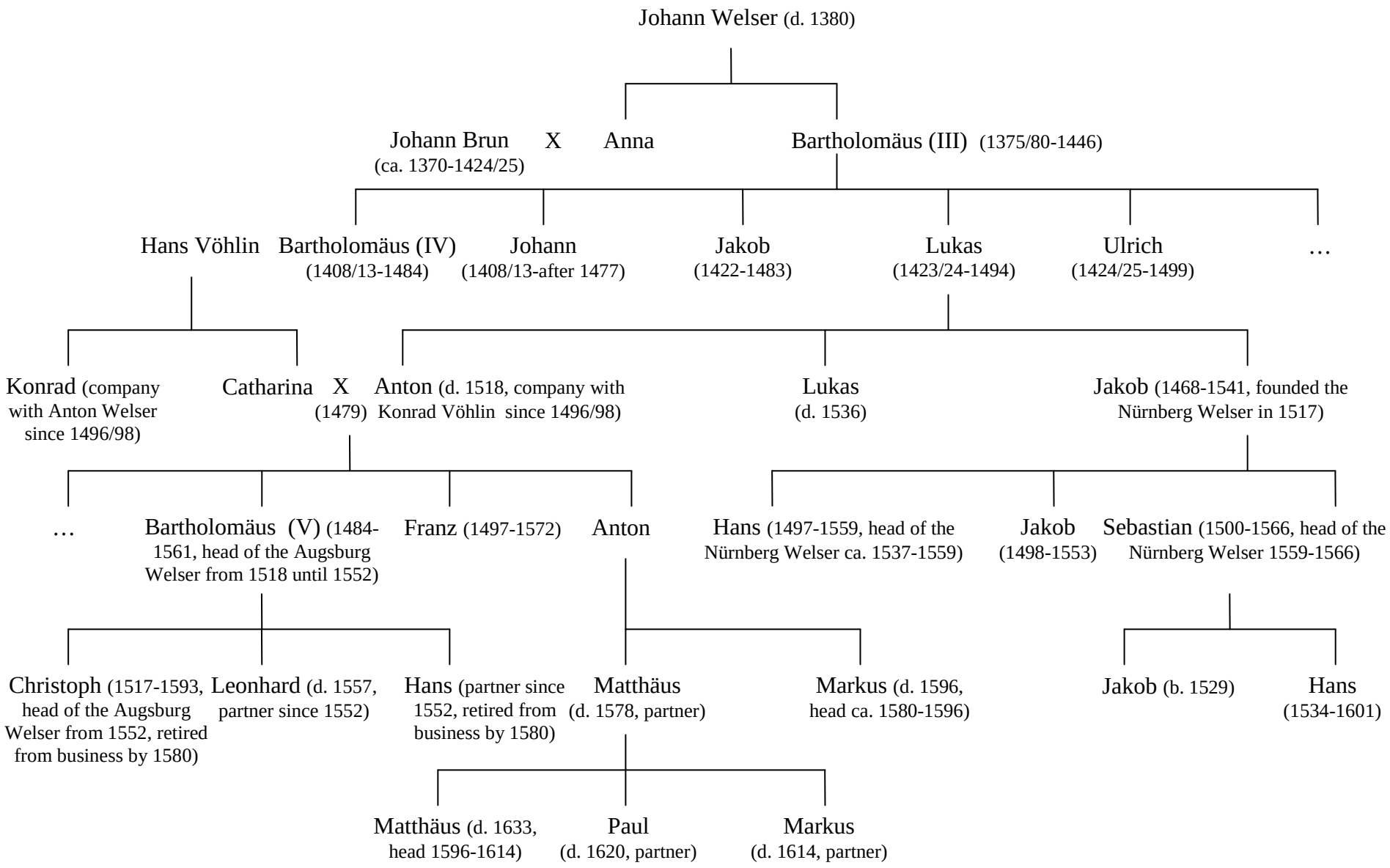
Source material:

The archives of the Welser were lost after the dissolution of their business. Some fragments have been preserved however, and have been brought together again by descendants of the Welser family in the Von Welsersches Familienarchiv in Schloss Neunhof. Important fragments of account books of the Augsburg Welser have survived for 1493-1510, 1554-1560, and 1579-80 (the latter an account book of the Nürnberg branch), as well as a number of business letters. An important document for the study of the Augsburg Welser is the *Tagebuch* of Lucas Rem, a German merchant who began his career around 1500 as a factor of the Welser (Lucas Rem was a nephew of Anton Welser). Concerning the Nürnberg Welser, a printed copy of the merchant manual of Lorenz Meder has been preserved which belonged to the Nürnberg Welser, and which contains several additions and calculations made in the Welser firm, especially between the 1560s and 1580s (Ehrenberg, 1928, 137, 139, 144 n. 1; Harreld, 2004, 72-73; Kellenbenz, 1954, 355, 358; Id., 1974, 75-76, 93; Kieβling, 1997, 2156).

Fig. A..1. Selective Genealogy of the Welser



1. WELSER OF AUGSBURG, ca. 1411 – 1614

Bartholomäus (III) Welser (ca. 1375/80-1446) and his brother-in-law Johann Brun (ca. 1370-1424/25), both members of the Egen company of Augsburg, founded an independent Welser-Brun Gesellschaft ca. 1411. After the death of Johann Brun, Bartholomäus Welser continued the company together with his sons until his own death in 1446, when his son Bartholomäus (IV) Welser took over the leadership of the Welser firm. In 1473, the brothers Bartholomäus (IV), Jakob, Lukas and Ulrich established a partnership. Bartholomäus was head of this company until he died in 1484. From that year, his brothers Lukas (until 1494) and Ulrich (until ca. 1496) consecutively managed the company for another twelve years. Since 1479 the Welser were closely associated with the firm of Hans Vöhlin in Memmingen. Ca. 1496/98 the Welser and Vöhlin firms were united. The new company, with headquarters in Augsburg, was headed by Anton Welser, son of Lukas, and his brother-in-law Konrad Vöhlin, son of Hans. After a dispute in 1517, several partners left the company, among whom Jakob Welser, who founded his own firm in Nürnberg (see below). The division in 1517 considerably weakened the capital of the Welser firm, but the company was nevertheless continued after Anton's death in 1518 by his son Bartholomäus (d. 1561) who himself retired from business in 1552. Subsequently, the business came in hands of his sons Christoph (who became the head of the company), Leonhard (d. 1557) and Hans, later joined by their cousins Matthäus (d. 1578) and Markus Welser. After 1557, the Welser firm went into decline. By 1580 Christoph and Hans appear to have retired completely from business, which was then headed by their cousin Markus, who took into partnership his nephew Matthäus. The company got into serious difficulties again in 1587, and by 1590 the Welser intended to dissolve the firm. This was prevented however by difficulties in collecting outstanding debts. Consequently, after the death of Markus in 1596, the business was carried on for another 18 years by Matthäus Welser and his brothers Markus and Paul (who had been partners in the company from ca. 1585). After Markus' death in 1614, the Welser were declared bankrupt. The liabilities of the Welser by this time had become much larger than their assets, and a large share of the existing assets consisted of questionable and bad debts. Matthäus and Paul Welser were imprisoned and died several years later in complete poverty (Ehrenberg, 1928, 137-140, 142, 148-151; Geffcken, 2002, 68-69, 80-145; Jeannin, 1963a, 82-83; Kellenbenz, 1954, 157, 159, 161, 165; Id., 1974, 93-94; Kieβling, 1997, 2155-2156; Schulte, 1923, II, 14).

Size: Medium-sized or large (15th century) – Very large (ca. 1496/98 – 1586) – Large (after 1586)

In the first half of the 16th century, the firm of the Augsburg Welser became the second largest of the south German merchant-banking houses (after the Fugger). The company counted 18 partners in 1508. The capital of the Augsburg Welser amounted to ca. 250,000 fl. in 1508, and to 667,000 fl. in 1554. By the time of the bankruptcy in 1614, the debt of the Augsburg Welser totalled almost 600,000 fl. (Ehrenberg, 1928, 137, 139-140; Goris, 1925, 198; Kellenbenz, 1954, 165; Id., 1974, 93-94; Kieβling, 1997, 2156; Schulte, 1923, II, 14).

Main activities:

- Commerce: In the early 15th century, the Welser-Brun Gesellschaft traded especially in cotton and fustians. Probably, they were also involved in the wool and woollen cloth trade. In the latter part of the 15th century, the Welser became involved in the metals trade in imitation of the Meuting, to whom they were related. They were especially active in the trade in silver of Tirol. During the 16th century, the Welser were not only financiers, but also very large merchants. In the early 16th century, in addition to the silver business, the Welser became involved in the Portuguese spice/pepper trade, especially between Lisbon, Antwerp and southern Germany, and for a short time ca. 1505 even in the direct trade with the East Indies. Other important goods marketed by the Welser during the 16th century were copper and saffron. Moreover, the Welser were engaged in the commerce of linen and fustians, English and Flemish cloth, silks and other luxury textiles, dyes, wax, sugar, diamonds, soap, slaves, etc. The last large-scale business venture of the Welser consisted in a consortium together with Philipp Eduard and Octavianus Fugger for trade in pepper with the Indies, which was established in 1586 (Denucé, 1934, 19-20; Ehrenberg, 1928, 138-140, 142-143; Geffcken, 2002, 70-72; Goris, 1925, 157; Harreld, 2004, 132-133, 136; Kellenbenz, 1954, 159; Id., 1974, 93; Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 59; Kieβling, 1997, 2155-2156; Müller, 1916, 162; Schulte, 1923, II, 15).
- Finance: The Welser became important financiers since 1508, and especially after the death of Anton Welser in 1518. They had very strong financial connections with the Habsburgs, to whom they advanced several large loans (e.g. for the imperial election of Charles V), always in association with the Fugger. The Welser also provided loans to the kings of France and England, the court of Brussels, the cities of Antwerp and Lyon, etc. Moreover, they were active in financial dealings with the Roman Curia. To obtain the money needed for such large-scale loans, the Welser for example made use of deposits, and borrowed heavily on the Antwerp Bourse. In 1603-1608, Matthäus Welser was appointed as imperial treasurer, lending large sums to the Emperor again (Ehrenberg, 1928, 75, 138, 140, 142-144, 146-150; Gascon, 1971, 256; Goris, 1925, 393-394; Harreld, 2004, 174-177, 182; Kellenbenz, 1954, 161, 165; Id., 1974, 93; Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 54-55; Kieβling, 1997, 2156; Schulte, 1904, 9).
- Industry: The Welser were involved in mining, but on a much smaller scale than the Fugger (Kieβling, 1997, 2156).

Network of the Welser-Brun and Welser Gesellschaft, ca. 1411 – ca. 1496:

Table A..1. Network of the Welser Gesellschaft, ca. 1411 – ca. 1496

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Augsburg		8	4	3	1	>c.1411-c.1496<	Headquarters.	Geffcken, 2002, 70-71, 158-160
Nürnberg		6	3	2	1	>1422-1438<, >1448-1478<, >1493<	Branch. The Welser-Brun Gesellschaft did business in Nürnberg. In the 1420s, exchange transactions were carried out with several Nürnberg companies. In 1429, Bartholomäus Welser had a representative in Nürnberg.	Geffcken, 2002, 70-73, 158-160; Kieβling, 1997, 2156;

							Jakob Welser was active in the Nürnberg branch from 1493.	Von Stromer, 2002, 218
Venice		6	3	2	1	>1419-1439<, >1446-1491<	Branch. The Welser-Brun Gesellschaft already traded especially along the axis Venice – Augsburg – Frankfurt. Bartholomäus (III) Welser represented the company in Venice before his death in 1446.	Geffcken, 2002, 159-160
L'Aquila		3	2	2	1	>1478-1482<	The Welser had contacts with L'Aquila.	Geffcken, 2002, 159-160
Bergen-op-Zoom		3	2	2	1	>1447-1485<	The Welser had contacts with Bergen-op-Zoom.	Geffcken, 2002, 159-160
Bruges		3	2	2	1	>1448-1477<	The Welser had contacts with Bruges.	Geffcken, 2002, 159-160
Cologne		3	2	2	1	>1461-1465<	The Welser had contacts with Cologne.	Geffcken, 2002, 159-160
Florence		3	2	2	1	>1461-1478<	The Welser had contacts with Florence.	Geffcken, 2002, 159-160
Frankfurt am Main		3	2	2	1	>1413-1442<, >1455-1487<	The Welser-Brun Gesellschaft traded especially along the axis Venice – Augsburg – Frankfurt. Johann Brun visited the fairs of Frankfurt in 1413 and 1417. Also later, the Welser had contacts with Frankfurt am Main.	Geffcken, 2002, 70-73, 158-160
Goldkronach		3	2	2	1	>1481-1483<	The Welser had contacts with Goldkronach.	Geffcken, 2002, 159-160
Memmingen		3	2	2	1	>c.1479<, >1481-1482<	The Welser were associated with the company of Hans Vöhlin in Memmingen since ca. 1479. Anton Welser established himself in Memmingen in 1479.	Geffcken, 2002, 159-160; Kieβling, 1997, 2156; Schulte, 1923, II, 14
Nördlingen		3	2	2	1	>1414-1433<	The Welser-Brun Gesellschaft did business at the fairs of Nördlingen. Johann Brun, who took care of the northern and north eastern business of the company, traded in fustians at the fairs of Nördlingen in 1414, 1415 and 1417. After the death of Johann Brun, Bartholomäus Welser became active at the Nördlingen fairs, e.g. in 1427-28.	Geffcken, 2002, 70-73, 158, 160
Rome		3	2	2	1	>1487-1491<	The Welser had contacts with Rome.	Geffcken, 2002, 159-160
Ulm		3	2	2	1	>1434<, >1446<	The Welser-Brun company had contacts with Johann Knoll in Ulm. Also later, the Welser had contacts with Ulm.	Geffcken, 2002, 70-71, 158-160
Zwickau		3	2	2	1	>1476-1484<, >1494<	In 1494 Sebastian, son of Bartholomäus (IV) Welser, went to Zwickau for the mining business of Schneeberg. Sebastian's brother Peter founded his	Geffcken, 2002, 159-160; Kieβling, 1997,

							own business in Zwickau.	2156
Antwerp		2	2	1	0	>1492<	The Welser had contacts with Antwerp (known only for one year).	Geffcken, 2002, 159-160
Bologna		2	2	1	0	>1478<	The Welser had contacts with Bologna (known only for one year).	Geffcken, 2002, 159-160
Casalmaggiore		2	2	1	0	>1482<	The Welser had contacts with Casalmaggiore near Cremona (known only for one year).	Geffcken, 2002, 159-160
Freiberg	M	2	2	1	0	>c.1450<	The Welser were involved in mining in Freiberg (Saxony) ca. 1450.	Kieβling, 1997, 2156
Fribourg		2	2	1	0	>1491<	In 1491, the Vöhlin (associates of the Welser) purchased cloth in Fribourg on a large scale.	Schulte, 1923, II, 14
Geneva		2	2	1	0	>1461<	The Welser had contacts with Geneva (known only for one year).	Geffcken, 2002, 159-160
Innsbruck		2	2	1	0	>1479<	The Welser had contacts with Innsbruck (known only for one year).	Geffcken, 2002, 159-160
Leipzig		2	2	1	0	>1486<	The Welser had contacts with Leipzig (known only for one year).	Geffcken, 2002, 159-160
Lyon		2	2	1	0	>1482<	The Welser had contacts with Lyon (known only for one year).	Geffcken, 2002, 159-160
Mantua		2	2	1	0	>1482<	The Welser had contacts with Mantua (known only for one year).	Geffcken, 2002, 159-160
Milan		2	2	1	0	>1475<	The Welser had contacts with Milan (known only for one year).	Geffcken, 2002, 159-160
Naples		2	2	1	0	>1487<	The Welser had contacts with Naples (known only for one year).	Geffcken, 2002, 159-160
Perugia		2	2	1	0	>1426/27<	The Welser had contacts with Perugia in 1426 or 1427 (known only for one year).	Geffcken, 2002, 158, 160
Puglia		2	2	1	0	>1481<	The Welser had contacts with Puglia (known only for one year).	Geffcken, 2002, 159-160
Schneeberg	M	2	2	1	0	>1479<	By 1479 Lukas Welser in Augsburg held some shares in the silver mining works at the Schneeberg in Saxony.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 134; Geffcken, 2002, 159-160; Kieβling, 1997, 2156
Stolberg		2	2	1	0	>1486<	The Welser had contacts with Stolberg (known only for one year).	Geffcken, 2002, 159-160
Vienna		2	2	1	0	>1454<	The Welser had contacts with Vienna (known only for one year). Hans	Geffcken, 2002, 159-

							Vöhlin of Memmingen, who later became associated with the Welser, was active in Vienna in 1456 and 1457.	160; Schulte, 1923, I, 470
Zaragoza		2	2	1	0	>1482<	The Welser had contacts with Zaragoza (known only for one year).	Geffcken, 2002, 159-160
Basel		1	1	1	0	>c.1434<	Possibly, the Welser had contacts with Basel ca. 1434.	Geffcken, 2002, 158, 160

+ Data on the 15th century business network of the Welser are very fragmentary.

Network of the Augsburg Welser from ca. 1496/98 until the pepper consortium of 1586:

The firm of the Augsburg Welser was a centralised multi-branch company. Before 1517, the company counted a large number of partners, mostly from Augsburg, Memmingen, Nürnberg and Ulm. Many of the employees working in the branches, family members or not, were entitled to a share in the profits. As a result of the fusion with the Vöhlin company ca. 1496/98, several of the branches of the Vöhlin were taken over. The branches were frequently visited by individual members of the firm for inspection. Regular correspondence was sent between the branches and the headquarters, containing also information on the economic and political situation. Philipp Hensler, factor in Hamburg in the early 17th century, weekly sent letters to Augsburg for example (De Roover, 1948b, 31; Ehrenberg, 1928, 139-140; Kellenbenz, 1954, 162; Kieβling, 1997, 2156).

The Augsburg Welser, who remained catholic, had business interests in the Habsburg Empire as well as in France, and as a result they attempted to keep a neutral position between France and the Empire, as well as in the religious conflicts. The Welser were not only active all over Europe, but temporarily they even were involved in business with the Americas and the East Indies (Ehrenberg, 1928, 143-144, 150).

Table A..2. Network of the Augsburg Welser, 1496/98 – 1586

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Augsburg		8	4	3	1	>1496/98-1586<	Headquarters. From 1546 until the end of the War of Schmalkalden, Bartholomäus Welser temporarily left Augsburg for Arbon, at Lake Constance, to keep his neutral position.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 138, 144; Jeannin, 1963a, 69; Kieβling, 1997, 2156
Antwerp		7	3	2	1	1503-1580	Main branch. The Welser had a branch in Antwerp since 1503. In 1509, they bought a large house on the Groenplaats near the cathedral, “De Gulden Roose”. Later, the Welser also purchased property in Antwerp as a speculative investment. Factors of the Welser in Antwerp were Lucas Rem (1509-ca. 1517), Gabriel Studelin (1521), Alexius Grimel (1525-1530),	Denucé, 1934, 51, 58-59; Ehrenberg, 1928, 140, 147-149; Goris, 1925, 198-201, 375; Harreld, 2004, 5, 72-

							Hieronymus Seiler, Conrad Bayr (1549-ca. 1554). The property of the Welser in Antwerp was sold in 1580.	73, 90, 178, 181, 185-186; Jeannin, 1963a, 69; Kellenbenz, 1974, 93; Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 33; Kieβling, 1997, 2156
Lisbon		7	3	2	1	1503-end 16th c.	Main branch. The Welser had a branch in Lisbon at least since 1503, when the branch was headed by Simon Seitz, who had obtained privileges for the Welser in Lisbon in the same year. At that time (until 1509), Lucas Rem was employed in the Welser branch as well. A later factor in Lisbon was Hans Heinrich Muntprat (1548-ca. 1558).	Ehrenberg, 1928, 138; Harreld, 2006, 8; Kellenbenz, 1974, 93; Id., 1990, 167, 241, 367; Kieβling, 1997, 2156
Lyon		7	3	2	1	>1499-1580<	Main branch. Already in 1510, Anton Welser imported spices from Antwerp to Geneva via Lyon. The Welser already had to pay taxes in Lyon in 1516. After 1540, the imports of spices to Lyon by the Welser decreased. In 1499, Lucas Rem was in Lyon for the Welser; Michael Seiler represented the Welser in Lyon from 1553 to 1580.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 140, 143, 148, 160; Gascon, 1971, 223, 229, 230, 360, 363-364; Jeannin, 1963a, 69, 82; Kellenbenz, 1974, 93; Id., 1990, 456; Kieβling, 1997, 2156
Nürnberg		7	3	2	1	>1493-1580<	Main branch. The Welser already had a branch in Nürnberg since the 15th century. From 1493 until 1517, the branch was managed by Jakob Welser. A book of debts of the Nürnberg branch has been preserved for 1579/80.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 77, 140; Jeannin, 1963a, 69; Kellenbenz, 1974, 77, 93-94; Kieβling, 1997, 2156
Venice		7	3	2	1	15th c.-c.1600<	Main branch. In 1530, Bartholomäus Welser imported spices from Venice via Chieri to Lyon.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 140; Gascon, 1971, 230; Jeannin, 1963a, 69; Kellenbenz, 1974, 93; Kieβling, 1997, 2156
L'Aquila		6	3	2	1	>1545<	Branch. In 1545, the Augsburg Welser purchased saffron for the Nürnberg Welser in L'Aquila.	Kellenbenz, 1974, 81; Kieβling, 1997, 2156
Barcelona		6	3	2	1	>1554-1560<	Branch.	Kellenbenz, 1974, 93

Bern		6	3	2	1	from before 1517-1520s<	Branch. Bartholomäus May was the representative of the Welser-Vöhlin in Bern.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 140; Jeannin, 1963a, 69; Kieβling, 1997, 2156; Schulte, 1923, I, 515
Cologne		6	3	2	1	>c.1500-1545<	Branch. Ca. 1500-1503, Peter Lützenkirchen was the representative of the Welser-Vöhlin in Cologne. In 1508 the Welser-Vöhlin, together with several other south German merchants, protested against a new commercial law in Cologne. In 1543-45, the Augsburg Welser were among the twelve most important merchants in the export trade from Antwerp to Cologne.	Harreld, 2004, 160; Kieβling, 1997, 2156; Schulte, 1923, I, 425
Frankfurt am Main		6	3	2	1	>1508-1560<	Branch, at least until 1560.	Harreld, 2004, 140-141; Kellenbenz, 1974, 93; Kieβling, 1997, 2156; Schulte, 1923, I, 425
Fribourg		6	3	2	1	from before 1517-1520s<	Branch.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 140; Jeannin, 1963a, 69; Kieβling, 1997, 2156
Genoa		6	3	2	1	from before 1517	Branch.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 140
Leipzig		6	3	2	1	>1508<	Branch. The factor of the Welser in Leipzig from ca. 1508 was Hieronymus Walther. In 1579/80, the Nürnberg branch of the Augsburg Welser carried out business in Leipzig.	Kellenbenz, 1974, 93; Id., 1990, 174; Kieβling, 1997, 2156
Mainz		6	3	2	1		Branch.	Kieβling, 1997, 2156
Milan		6	3	2	1	from end 15th c.-1520s<	Branch. Bartholomäus May of Bern was active for Konrad Vöhlin in Milan at the end of the 15th century.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 140; Jeannin, 1963a, 69; Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 38; Kieβling, 1997, 2156
Rome		6	3	2	1	from before 1517-c.1528<	Branch. Around 1528, Matthias Örtel was factor of the Welser in Rome. In 1527, the Welser factor in Rome was thrown into prison.	Bullard, 1980, 95; Ehrenberg, 1928, 140, 143; Jeannin, 1963a, 69; Kieβling, 1997, 2156; Schulte, 1904,

								238
Santo Domingo		6	3	2	1	1526-1537<	Branch. Ca. 1525, the Welser had contacts with the Genoese in Santo Domingo. From 1526, Lazarus Nürnberger sent agents of German nationality to the West Indies, who were mainly engaged in setting up the Welser branch in Santo Domingo. Factor in Santo Domingo was Ambrosius Dalfinger in 1526-1528, Sebastian Rentz in 1530-32, Pedro Jacome Gazio in 1532-37, and Juan Soderini from 1536. Permission for the establishment of such a branch had been given by Charles V in 1522. Ca. 1530, Heinrich Ehinger, Spanish factor of the Welser, was also responsible for the Welser business in Santo Domingo and Venezuela.	Griffin, 1988, 65; Kellenbenz, 1961a, 22; Id., 1990, 532; Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 22-23, 30-31, 34-35, 54, 59, 23 n. 83, 34-35 n. 114, 37 n. 129, 62 n. 245; Kieβling, 1997, 2156; Lohmann Villena, 1968, 21; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 167, 353
Ulm		6	3	2	1	>1546-1560<	Branch. In 1546-47, Christopher Peutinger was sent by Bartholomäus Welser to the imperial court, at that time in Ulm. The Welser definitely had a branch in Ulm ca. 1554-60. Several of the partners of the Welser firm came from Ulm.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 100-101; 144; Kellenbenz, 1974, 93; Kieβling, 1997, 2156
Valladolid		6	3	2	1	c.1518-1560<	Branch at the Spanish court in Valladolid. The Welser were represented at the Spanish court, which resided in the first half of the 16th century especially in Valladolid, but frequently also in Madrid, Toledo, etc. Ca. 1518, Heinrich Ehinger and Sebastian Schöpperlin were sent to Spain for negotiations with Charles V. In the 1520s, the factors of Fugger and Welser at the Spanish court worked closely together. Heinrich Ehinger was the main factor of the Welser in Spain in the 1520s, but at this time the Welser were represented as well by Hieronymus Seiler (since 1523) and Alberto Cuon, the latter of whom resided in Valladolid. In 1530 Ehinger left the Welser firm. Factors at the Spanish court ca. 1553 were Konrad Mair and Alberto Cuon. In 1537-1545, the Welser did not have their own branch in Spain, but made use of the services of the Fugger factor Jörg Stecher. Ca. 1553, Jakob Meyer was factor of the Welser. In the second half of the 16th century, the Welser had business connections with the bank of Francisco de Espinosa in Valladolid.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 75, 143, 148; Fagel, 1996, 84 n. 311; Kellenbenz, 1961a, 22; Id., 1974, 85, 93; Id., 1990, 171, 227, 456; Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 30, 33, 41, 54, 61, 13-14 n. 35, 36 n. 122; Lohmann Villena, 1968, 112
Zaragoza		6	3	2	1	c.1503-1560<	Branch. Several partners of the Welser firm were active in Zaragoza already in 1503, and the Welser definitely had a branch here in 1510. Lucas Rem,	Ehrenberg, 1928, 140; Harreld, 2006, 8;

							who was employed by the Welser in Lisbon between 1502 and 1509, travelled to Zaragoza for the Welser business. The representatives of the Welser in 1519 were Heinrich Ehinger and Sebastian Schöpperlin, in 1558 Hans Schütz. The branch in Zaragoza was especially involved in the saffron trade.	Jeannin, 1963a, 69; Kellenbenz, 1974, 93; Id., 1990, 241, 363, 456; Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 29, 54, 13-14 n. 35; Kieβling, 1997, 2156; Schulte, 1923, II, 14-15
Zürich		6	3	2	1	from before 1517-1520s<	Branch.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 140; Jeannin, 1963a, 69
Madrid		5	3	2	1	>c.1518-1560<	Branch at the Spanish court in Madrid (see Valladolid). Alberto Cuon, factor of the Welser with residence in Valladolid, was also active in Madrid. Representatives at the Spanish court in Madrid in 1528 were Heinrich Ehinger and Hieronymus Seiler.	Fagel, 1996, 86; Kellenbenz, 1974, 93; Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 30-31
Coro		4	2	2	1	1528-1553<	In 1528, the Welser were given a licence for the colonisation of Venezuela from Charles V. They obtained an extensive territory in Venezuela, but in the end their South American activities were not a success, and they were given up in 1546. Ca. 1530, Heinrich Ehinger, Spanish factor of the Welser, was also responsible for the Welser business in Santo Domingo and Venezuela. In 1528 Ehinger and Hieronymus Seiler became governors of the provinces of Venezuela and Cabo de la Vela. This office was carried out for them by Ambrosius Dalfinger, previously Welser factor in Santo Domingo. After the death of Dalfinger, he was replaced as governor and Welser factor in Venezuela in 1534 by Jörg Hohermut. From 1536 and at least until 1553 Melchior Grubel was active for the Welser in Venezuela. Grubel was established in Coro, which was the principal hub for the expeditions of the Welser in Venezuela.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 142; Kellenbenz, 1961a, 22; Id., 1990, 532; Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 31, 33, 38, 54, 13-14 n. 35, 61 n. 244; Kieβling, 1997, 2156; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 167, 357, 367
Danzig		4	2	2	1	until 1512	Branch. In 1512, the Welser gave up the shipping trade and closed down the factory at Danzig.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 140; Kieβling, 1997, 2156
Sevilla		4	2	2	1	>1520-1550<	The Welser carried out important business in Sevilla. They obtained storage and shipyard space in Sevilla for their business with the New World ca. 1528. Lazarus Nürnberger represented the Welser in Sevilla between 1520 and 1528. Hieronymus Seiler was in Sevilla in 1526. Heinrich Gessler was	Griffin, 1988, 65; Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 21, 23, 30-31, 33-35, 37-38, 23 n. 83

							factor of the Welser in Sevilla between at least 1528 and 1531. From 1540 (at least until 1545), representative in Sevilla was Pedro Jacome Gazio. The Welser also had close ties with several Genoese businessmen in Sevilla, e.g. ca. 1549-50.	
Arbon		3	2	2	1	1546-1547	From 1546 until the end of the War of Schmalkalden, Bartholomäus Welser temporarily left Augsburg for Arbon, at Lake Constance, to keep his neutral position.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 144
Burgos		3	2	2	1		The Spanish court resided from time to time in Burgos. In 1528, Heinrich Ehinger represented the Welser at the Spanish court in Burgos.	Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 30
Canary Islands	S	3	2	2	1	>1509-1545<	Lucas Rem, who was employed by the Welser in the Lisbon branch in 1502-1509, travelled to the Canaries for business. The Welser had their own sugar plantations and refineries on La Palma ca. 1509-13. In the 1540s, the Welser had connections with several Genoese on the Canary Islands via their factor in Sevilla.	Harreld, 2006, 8; Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 37; Kieβling, 1997, 2156
Madeira		3	2	2	1	<1502-1509>	The Welser were involved in the sugar trade with Madeira. Lucas Rem, who was employed by the Welser in the Lisbon branch in 1502-1509, travelled to Madeira for business.	Harreld, 2006, 8; Kieβling, 1997, 2156
Maracaibo		3	2	2	1	1528-1546	In 1528, the Welser were given a licence for the colonisation of Venezuela from Charles V. They obtained an extensive territory in Venezuela, but in the end their South American activities were not a success, and they were given up in 1546. Ca. 1530, Heinrich Ehinger, Spanish factor of the Welser, was also responsible for the Welser business in Santo Domingo and Venezuela. In 1528 Ehinger and Hieronymus Seiler became governors of the provinces of Venezuela and Cabo de la Vela. This office was carried out for them by Ambrosius Dalfinger, previously Welser factor in Santo Domingo. After the death of Dalfinger, he was replaced as governor and Welser factor in Venezuela in 1534 by Jörg Hohermut.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 142; Kellenbenz, 1961a, 22; Id., 1990, 532; Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 31, 33, 38, 54, 13-14 n. 35; Kieβling, 1997, 2156; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 167, 357, 367
Memmingen		3	2	2	1	1496/98-1517<	Several of the partners of the Welser firm were burghers of Memmingen (e.g. the Vöhlin).	Kieβling, 1997, 2156
Puerto Rico		3	2	2	1	After 1526	The Welser established themselves on the islands of Central America, e.g. in Puerto Rico.	Kellenbenz, 1990, 532; Von Pölnitz, 1960, 167
Santa Marta		3	2	2	1	1528	Heinrich Gessler, factor of the Welser, paid 6,000 ducats in 1528 for the colonisation of Santa Marta (now in Colombia). Governor of the province of	Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 31, 23 n. 83

							Santa Marta in 1528 was not a Welser factor however, but Garcia de Lerma.	
Toledo		3	2	2	1	>1529<	The Spanish court resided from time to time in Toledo. Factors of the Welser were at the Spanish court in Toledo in 1529.	Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 32
Valencia		3	2	2	1	since c.1503	Branch in Valencia since ca. 1503, according to Schulte (1923, II, 14-15). Not mentioned by other authors however.	Schulte, 1923, II, 14-15
Bergen-op-Zoom		2	2	1	0	>1509, 1511<	Lucas Rem, who was employed in the Antwerp branch of the Welser, took care of the affairs of the Welser at the fairs of Bergen-op-Zoom in 1509 and 1511.	Harreld, 2004, 72-73; Id., 2006, 8
Bohemia		2	2	1	0	>1579/80<	In 1579/80, the Nürnberg branch of the Augsburg Welser carried out business in Bohemia.	Kellenbenz, 1974, 93
Bruges		2	2	1	0	>1509, 1511<	Lucas Rem, who was employed in the Antwerp branch of the Welser, took care of the affairs of the Welser in Bruges in 1509 and 1511.	Harreld, 2006, 8
Calicut		2	2	1	0	1505-1506	In 1505-06 the Fugger and Welser were involved in the expedition of Francisco de Almeida from Lisbon to the East Indies, in which the Welser took a very prominent part. Representative of the Welser was Balthasar Sprenger. Due to obstacles put in place by the Portuguese, direct trade of the Welser with the East Indies was given up afterwards.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 71, 138-139; Kellenbenz, 1990, 532; Schaper, 1973, 219-220; Schulte, 1923, II, 15
Cannanore		2	2	1	0	1505-1506	In 1505-06 the Fugger and Welser were involved in the expedition of Francisco de Almeida from Lisbon to the East Indies, in which the Welser took a very prominent part. Representative of the Welser was Balthasar Sprenger. Due to obstacles put in place by the Portuguese, direct trade of the Welser with the East Indies was given up afterwards.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 71, 138-139; Kellenbenz, 1990, 532; Schaper, 1973, 219-220; Schulte, 1923, II, 15
Cochin		2	2	1	0	1505-1506	In 1505-06 the Fugger and Welser were involved in the expedition of Francisco de Almeida from Lisbon to the East Indies, in which the Welser took a very prominent part. Representative of the Welser was Balthasar Sprenger. Due to obstacles put in place by the Portuguese, direct trade of the Welser with the East Indies was given up afterwards.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 71, 138-139; Kellenbenz, 1990, 532; Schaper, 1973, 219-220; Schulte, 1923, II, 15
La Coruña		2	2	1	0	1525	In 1525, an expedition was organised from La Coruña to the Moluccas, in which the Fugger (10,000 ducats) and Welser (2,000 ducats) were involved.	Lohmann Villena, 1968, 15, 35
Geneva		2	2	1	0	>1510<	In 1510, Anton Welser imported spices from Antwerp to Geneva via Lyon.	Gascon, 1971, 229
Goa		2	2	1	0	1505-1506	In 1505-06 the Fugger and Welser were involved in the expedition of Francisco de Almeida from Lisbon to the East Indies, in which the Welser took a very prominent part. Representative of the Welser was Balthasar Sprenger. Due to obstacles put in place by the Portuguese, direct trade of the Welser with the East Indies was given up afterwards.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 71, 138-139; Kellenbenz, 1990, 532; Schaper, 1973, 219-220; Schulte, 1923, II, 15

Isny		2	2	1	0		The Welser purchased linen in Kempten and Isny.	Schulte, 1923, II, 15
Jáchymov	M	2	2	1	0	From 1516	The Welser were involved in mining in Jáchymov (Joachimsthal) from 1516.	Kieβling, 1997, 2156
Kempten		2	2	1	0		The Welser purchased linen in Kempten and Isny.	Schulte, 1923, II, 15
Kilwa Kisiwani		2	2	1	0	1505-1506	In 1505-06 the Fugger and Welser were involved in the expedition of Francisco de Almeida from Lisbon to the East Indies, in which the Welser took a very prominent part. Representative of the Welser was Balthasar Sprenger. Due to obstacles put in place by the Portuguese, direct trade of the Welser with the East Indies was given up afterwards.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 71, 138-139; Kellenbenz, 1990, 532; Schaper, 1973, 219-220; Schulte, 1923, II, 15
Kraków		2	2	1	0	>1579/80<	In 1579/80, the Nürnberg branch of the Augsburg Welser carried out business in Kraków.	Kellenbenz, 1974, 93
Medina del Campo		2	2	1	0	>late 1520s<	Alberto Cuon represented the Welser at the fairs of Castile during the late 1520s.	Fagel, 1996, 93; Kellenbenz, 1961a, 22
Medina de Ríoseco		2	2	1	0	>late 1520s<	Alberto Cuon represented the Welser at the fairs of Castile during the late 1520s.	Kellenbenz, 1961a, 22
Middelburg		2	2	1	0	>1509, 1511<	Lucas Rem, who was employed in the Antwerp branch of the Welser, took care of the affairs in Middelburg in 1509 and 1511.	Harreld, 2006, 8
Moluccas		2	2	1	0	1525	In 1525, an expedition was organised from La Coruña to the Moluccas (headed by Garcia de Loaysa), in which the Fugger and Welser were involved. The Welser invested 2,000 ducats in this expedition.	Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 30, 54; Lohmann Villena, 1968, 15, 35
Mombasa		2	2	1	0	1505-1506	In 1505-06 the Fugger and Welser were involved in the expedition of Francisco de Almeida from Lisbon to the East Indies, in which the Welser took a very prominent part. Representative of the Welser was Balthasar Sprenger. Due to obstacles put in place by the Portuguese, direct trade of the Welser with the East Indies was given up afterwards.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 71, 138-139; Kellenbenz, 1990, 532; Schaper, 1973, 219-220; Schulte, 1923, II, 15
Mozambique		2	2	1	0	1505-1506	In 1505-06 the Fugger and Welser were involved in the expedition of Francisco de Almeida from Lisbon to the East Indies, in which the Welser took a very prominent part. Representative of the Welser was Balthasar Sprenger. Due to obstacles put in place by the Portuguese, direct trade of the Welser with the East Indies was given up afterwards.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 71, 138-139; Kellenbenz, 1990, 532; Schaper, 1973, 219-220; Schulte, 1923, II, 15
Poznań		2	2	1	0	>1579/80<	In 1579/80, the Nürnberg branch of the Augsburg Welser carried out business in Poznań.	Kellenbenz, 1974, 93
Quilon		2	2	1	0	1505-1506	In 1505-06 the Fugger and Welser were involved in the expedition of	Ehrenberg, 1928, 71,

							Francisco de Almeida from Lisbon to the East Indies, in which the Welser took a very prominent part. Representative of the Welser was Balthasar Sprenger. Due to obstacles put in place by the Portuguese, direct trade of the Welser with the East Indies was given up afterwards.	138-139; Kellenbenz, 1990, 532; Schaper, 1973, 219-220; Schulte, 1923, II, 15
Regensburg		2	2	1	0	>1579/80<	In 1579/80, the Nürnberg branch of the Augsburg Welser carried out business in Regensburg.	Kellenbenz, 1974, 93
Salzburg		2	2	1	0	>1579/80<	In 1579/80, the Nürnberg branch of the Augsburg Welser carried out business in Salzburg.	Kellenbenz, 1974, 93
Sofala		2	2	1	0	1505-1506	In 1505-06 the Fugger and Welser were involved in the expedition of Francisco de Almeida from Lisbon to the East Indies, in which the Welser took a very prominent part. Representative of the Welser was Balthasar Sprenger. Due to obstacles put in place by the Portuguese, direct trade of the Welser with the East Indies was given up afterwards.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 71, 138-139; Kellenbenz, 1990, 532; Schaper, 1973, 219-220; Schulte, 1923, II, 15
Vienna		2	2	1	0		The Welser were active in trade in Vienna according to Schulte (1923, II, 15). Not mentioned by other authors however.	Schulte, 1923, II, 15
Villalón		2	2	1	0	>late 1520s<	Alberto Cuon represented the Welser at the fairs of Castile during the late 1520s.	Kellenbenz, 1961a, 22
Warsaw		2	2	1	0	>1579/80<	In 1579/80, the Nürnberg branch of the Augsburg Welser carried out business in Warsaw.	Kellenbenz, 1974, 93
Wrocław		2	2	1	0	>1579/80<	In 1579/80, the Nürnberg branch of the Augsburg Welser carried out business in Wrocław (Breslau).	Kellenbenz, 1974, 93
Zanzibar		2	2	1	0	1505-1506	In 1505-06 the Fugger and Welser were involved in the expedition of Francisco de Almeida from Lisbon to the East Indies, in which the Welser took a very prominent part. Representative of the Welser was Balthasar Sprenger. Due to obstacles put in place by the Portuguese, direct trade of the Welser with the East Indies was given up afterwards.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 71, 138-139; Kellenbenz, 1990, 532; Schaper, 1973, 219-220; Schulte, 1923, II, 15
Brussels		1	1	1	0	>1511<	Lucas Rem, who was employed in the Antwerp branch of the Welser, went to Brussels in 1511 to visit the market there.	Harreld, 2006, 8
Chieri		1	1	1	0	>1530<	In 1530, Bartholomäus Welser imported spices from Venice via Chieri to Lyon.	Gascon, 1971, 230
Horní Slavkov		1	1	1	0		The Nürnberg branch of the Augsburg Welser purchased tin from Horní Slavkov (Schlackenwald).	Kellenbenz, 1974, 93
Leuven		1	1	1	0	>1511<	Lucas Rem, who was employed in the Antwerp branch of the Welser, went to Leuven in 1511 to visit the market there.	Harreld, 2006, 8
Mechelen		1	1	1	0	>1511<	Lucas Rem, who was employed in the Antwerp branch of the Welser, went	Harreld, 2006, 8

							to Mechelen in 1511 to visit the market there.	
Vlissingen		1	1	1	0	>1509<	Lucas Rem, who was employed in the Antwerp branch of the Welser, took care of the affairs of the Welser in Vlissingen in 1509.	Harreld, 2006, 8

Network of the Augsburg Welser since the pepper consortium of 1586 (not used network):

In 1586-1595, the Welser became involved for a 5/12 share (3/12 of which were given to Philipp Eduard and Octavianus Fugger) in a pepper contract with Johann Baptista Rovelasco. This was the last large scale business venture in which the Welser participated. However, it was not successful (Kalus, 2009, 9; Kellenbenz, 1954, 159; Id., 1974, 93).

Table A..3. Network of the Augsburg Welser since the pepper consortium, 1586 – 1614

City	**R**	**Score**				**Period**	**Type of presence**	**References**
Augsburg		8	4	3	1	>1586-1614	Headquarters.	Kellenbenz, 1954, 157
Lisbon		**6**	**3**	**2**	**1**	>1586-end 16th c.	- Branch. Factors in Lisbon during the 1580s and 1590s were Hans Christoph Manlich (ca. 1586-1594) and Philipp Manlich (after 1594). In 1591, the pepper consortium of Fugger and Welser was also represented in Lisbon by Joseph Hartlieb, who was later replaced by Johann Eberlein. By the end of the 16th century, the Manlich, Hartlieb and Eberlein all had left Portugal. Partners of the Welser in Lisbon in the pepper consortium of 1591-1592 were the Ximenes, the Rodrigues d'Evora and Luís Gomes Angel.	Kalus, 2009, 10-11; Kellenbenz, 1954, 159, 163-164, 291
		3	2	2	1	>c.1611<	- Ca. 1611, the Welser traded in Lisbon with the company of the Dutch merchant Hans Snel.	
Lyon		6	3	2	1	>1591-1595<	Branch.	Kalus, 2009, 10 n. 25
Nürnberg		**6**	**3**	**2**	**1**	>1493-1595<	- Branch. In the second half of the 16th century, Martin Enzesperger worked for the Nürnberg branch of the Welser. A book of debts of the Nürnberg branch has been preserved for 1579/80.	Kalus, 2009, 10 n. 25; Kellenbenz, 1954, 155, 157, 164
		3	2	2	1	>1595-1614<	- In 1595-1614, the Welser had no branch anymore in Nürnberg. Ca. 1611, they were represented in Nürnberg by local merchants.	
Ulm		6	3	2	1	<1584-1604>	Letters have been preserved of the Venice and Ulm branches (ca. 1584-ca. 1604).	Zirnbauer & Pröll, 1960
Venice		6	3	2	1	15th c.-1611<	Branch. Letters have been preserved of the Venice and Ulm branches (ca.	Kalus, 2009, 10-11;

							1584-ca. 1604). In 1586, the Welser traded with several Italian firms and the south German firm of the brothers Ott in Venice, to whom they sent pepper from Lisbon. Around 1600 (already ca. 1591), the factor of the Welser in Venice was Markus Manlich. Still in 1611, the Welser had contacts with Venice.	Kellenbenz, 1954, 159, 164; Zirnbauer & Pröll, 1960
Hamburg		4	2	2	1	>1580-1614	After the decline of Antwerp, the Welser traded with the Iberian peninsula via several harbours, of which Hamburg for a while was the most important. Martin Enzesperger (d. before 1600), connected to the Nürnberg branch of the Augsburg Welser, went to Hamburg shortly before 1580. Enzesperger had business connections with several firms in Hamburg. He was an important commission agent of the Welser. He not only represented the Welser, but also traded in commission for other High German firms. In the 1580s and 1590s, Enzesperger and Cornelis de Hertoghe represented the pepper consortium of Fugger and Welser in Hamburg. From 1595 until the bankruptcy in 1614, Philipp Hensler (ca. 1570-ca. 1638) was the factor of the Welser in Hamburg.	Kalus, 2009, 10-11; Kellenbenz, 1954, 155-157, 159-162, 165; Id., 1974, 94; Von Rauch, 1921, 142 n. 1, 177 n. 2
Amsterdam		3	2	2	1	>1586-1611<	After the decline of Antwerp, the Welser increasingly became active in Amsterdam, where they were represented by Hans Hunger ca. 1586-1595. Later, the Welser made use of the services of Heinrich Beckmann in Amsterdam.	Gelderblom, 2000, 40; Harreld, 2004, 182; Kalus, 2009, 10; Kellenbenz, 1954, 113, 159, 164
Antwerp		3	2	2	1	>1580-1595<	After 1580, the Welser were represented in Antwerp among others by the firm of the heirs of Johann Putz, and later by Matthäus Lang. Partners of the Welser in Antwerp in the pepper consortium of 1591-1592 were Giovanni Battista Rovelasco and the Ximenes.	Kalus, 2009, 10; Kellenbenz, 1954, 160
Cochin		3	2	2	1	>1586-1611<	In 1586, the Welser (together with Philipp Eduard and Octavianus Fugger) participated in a pepper consortium with Johann Baptista Rovelasco, in which they had a 5/12 share. Pepper was purchased in Cochin and Goa in the Indies by Ferdinand Cron. Still in 1611, the Welser had contacts with Cron in the Indies.	Kellenbenz, 1954, 159, 161-162, 164, 299; Id., 1974, 93
Frankfurt am Main		3	2	2	1	>1611<	Ca. 1611, the Welser still had connections with Frankfurt, notably with Johann Rodenburg.	Kellenbenz, 1954, 113, 164
Genoa		3	2	2	1	end 16th-early 17th c.	The representative of the Welser in Genoa at the end of the 16th and the early 17th century was Zacharias Jenisch. Genoa was an important intermediary for the Welser business with the Iberian peninsula.	Kellenbenz, 1954, 160

Goa		3	2	2	1	>1586-1611<	In 1586, the Welser (together with Philipp Eduard and Octavianus Fugger) participated in a pepper consortium with Johann Baptista Rovelasco, in which they had a 5/12 share. Pepper was purchased in Cochin and Goa in the Indies by Ferdinand Cron. Still in 1611, the Welser had contacts with Goa.	Kellenbenz, 1954, 159, 161-162, 164, 299; Id., 1974, 93
London		3	2	2	1	>1591-16th-early 17th c.	At the end of the 16th and in the early 17th century, the Welser were represented in London. Agent in London ca. 1591-1595 was B. Corsini. Correspondents of the heirs of Georg Fugger in London for the pepper consortium of 1591 were Sebastian Speidel and Bartholomäus Schorer.	Kalus, 2009, 10-11; Kellenbenz, 1954, 160
Lübeck		3	2	2	1	>1586-1611<	Correspondents of the Welser in Lübeck ca. 1586-1590 were Hans Tunemann and Heinrich Kerstens (or Carstens). They were involved in shipments of pepper from Lisbon to Lübeck. By the end of the 16th century, they were replaced by Bartholomäus Tunemann. At this time, the Welser imported southern European goods into and exported raw materials of Baltic origin from Lübeck. Moreover, they attempted to enter the trade with Russia from Lübeck in 1599. Ca. 1611, the Welser still had connections with Lübeck.	Jeannin, 1963, 53; Kalus, 2009, 10-11; Kellenbenz, 1954, 159-164
Madrid		3	2	2	1	>1591-1595<	Agents of the Welser in Madrid ca. 1591-1595 were Friedrich Endorfer and Daniel Steigner (probably they worked on commission). Factors of the heirs of Georg Fugger during the pepper contract of 1591 were Philipp Krel (d. 1595) and Hans Eberlin. Partners of the Welser in Madrid in the pepper consortium of 1591-1592 were Giraldo Paris and the Malvenda.	Kalus, 2009, 10-11
Middelburg		3	2	2	1	>1586-1595<	Correspondents of the Welser in Middelburg ca. 1586-1595 were Jeremias Jenisch and Kaspar Tradel. They were involved in shipments of pepper from Lisbon to Middelburg.	Kalus, 2009, 10-11; Kellenbenz, 1954, 159, 167
Sevilla		3	2	2	1	>1599-1611<	The Welser had contacts with Sevilla around 1600, e.g. in 1599 when they imported cochenille from Gerhard van Helmont and Diego de Herrera to Hamburg.	Kellenbenz, 1954, 161, 164
Livorno		2	2	1	0	>c.1611<	Philipp Hensler, factor in Hamburg, shipped goods to Livorno in 1611.	Kellenbenz, 1954, 163-164
Gallipoli (Italy)		1	1	1	0	>c.1611<	Contacts of Philipp Hensler, the factor of the Welser in Hamburg, with Gallipoli ca. 1611. Not known whether Gallipoli in Italy or in Turkey is meant.	Kellenbenz, 1954, 164
Gallipoli (Turkey)		1	1	1	0	>c.1611<	Contacts of Philipp Hensler, the factor of the Welser in Hamburg, with Gallipoli ca. 1611. Not known whether Gallipoli in Italy or in Turkey is meant.	Kellenbenz, 1954, 164

Russia		1	1	1	0	>1599<	In 1599, the Welser endeavoured to take part in the Russia trade via Lübeck.	Kellenbenz, 1954, 162

+ I have been able to reconstruct the network of the Welser for this period only very partially. As such, it is probably not very accurate.

2. WELSER OF NÜRNBERG, 1517 – 1601/1602

Jakob Welser (1468-1541), a younger brother of Anton, went to Nürnberg at the beginning of the 1490s where he represented the Augsburg Welser. At the same time, he began to trade on his own account and in partnership with Konrad Imhoff. From 1498 until 1502, he carried on the business of his father-in-law, Hans Thumer (d. 1498). After 1517, Jakob left the firm of his brother Anton and founded his own company in Nürnberg, which reached its apogee around 1545, and at that time became almost as large as the firm of the Augsburg Welser. In 1527 Jakob took his sons Hans, Jakob and Sebastian, as well as his son-in-law Hieronymus Fütterer, as partners in the firm. Later, Wolf Harstorfer, another son-in-law of Jakob, became a partner as well. In 1537, Jakob Welser retired from business, and his son Hans, who resided in Augsburg, took over the leadership of the firm until his death in 1559. In the meantime, Harstorfer (by 1545) and Fütterer (by 1547) had left the company. After the death of his two brothers, Sebastian Welser continued the business in Nürnberg until he died himself in 1566. His sons Jakob and Hans Welser carried on the enterprise, but after a dispute in the 1570s Jakob apparently left the company in 1579. The death of Hans Welser in 1601 resulted in the final dissolution of the firm of the Nürnberg Welser in 1601/1602. The Nürnberg branch of the Welser family retired to its landed estate (Ehrenberg, 1928, 140-142; Kellenbenz, 1974, 75, 77-79, 87-89, 91, 116; Seibold, 1977a, 50; Von Stromer, 2002, 216, 218).

Size: Large

Geographically, the firm of the Nürnberg Welser became almost as large as that of their Augsburg counterparts. The *corpo* of the Nürnberg Welser firm totalled 66,000 fl. ca. 1527, and 92,200 fl. in 1529. About the size of the capital of the company in 1545, Kellenbenz (1974) and Ehrenberg (1928) appear to disagree: while the former mentions a *corpo* of 86,400 fl., the latter speaks about 281,000 fl. (Ehrenberg, 1928, 140; Kellenbenz, 1974, 77-79; Schulte, 1923, I, 59; Von Stromer, 2002, 215, 218).

Main activities:

- Commerce: The Nürnberg Welser were merchants rather than bankers. They traded in a huge variety of goods, but especially in saffron (from L'Aquila, southern France, Aragón and Catalunya), copper (e.g. purchases of copper of Mansfeld during the 1560s), tin, pepper and spices (from Lisbon, Antwerp and Venice), pastel, woad, linen, kerseys, silk, jewels, etc. The Nürnberg Welser also supplied the courts of several noblemen with luxury goods such as soap, gold, silks, linen, olives, etc. (Ehrenberg, 1928, 141; Kellenbenz, 1974, 77, 81-85, 87, 89-90, 119-120; Kieβling, 1997, 2156; Seibold, 1977a, 29-30; Von Stromer, 2002, 217).

- Finance: The Welser of Nürnberg were less involved in finance than the Fugger or the Welser of Augsburg. Nevertheless, they participated in loans to the Habsburgs since 1522, which became increasingly large. They also were involved in financial relations with the kings of France in Lyon (Ehrenberg, 1928, 141-142; Kellenbenz, 1974, 77, 79-80; Von Stromer, 2002, 217).
- Industry: Mining was one of the main activities of the Nürnberg Welser. They were largely involved in the mining and smelting of copper, silver and tin in Thuringia (Leutenberg) and Bohemia (Schlackenwald and Joachimsthal). In 1581, Andreas and Jakob Imhoff, Hans Welser, the heirs of Martin Pfinzing, and Andreas Schmidtmair constituted the Gräfenthalsche Gesellschaft for the exploitation and metallurgy of copper in Gräfenthal. Parts of the Mansfeld copper exploitation also came in hands of this Gräfenthaler Gesellschaft. The Nürnberg Welser participated in the Gräfenthaler Gesellschaft until 1602. The Nürnberg Welser were moreover engaged in textile production: in the 1560s-1580s, English kerseys were dyed for the Welser in Antwerp, Mechelen and Nürnberg (Ehrenberg, 1928, 141; Kellenbenz, 1974, 77-78, 80, 91, 120; Kieβling, 1997, 2156; Von Stromer, 2002, 217-218).

Network of the Welser of Nürnberg:

The Nürnberg Welser primarily did business in Bohemia, Austria, High Germany, Italy, France, the Iberian Peninsula, western Germany and the Low Countries (Kellenbenz, 1974, 80).

Table A..4. Network of the Welser of Nürnberg, 1517 – 1601/1602

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Nürnberg		**8** 6	**4** 3	**3** 2	**1** 1	1517-1537 1537-1559	- Headquarters under Jakob Welser. - Hans Welser, head of the firm in 1537-1559, resided in Augsburg where he became burgomaster. At this time (at least after 1553), the firm was represented in Nürnberg by Hans' brother Sebastian. Factors in 1539 were Sebastian Welser, Hieronymus Fütterer, Benedikt Haydolff and Hieronymus Jacob.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 140, 142; Kellenbenz, 1974, 87, 120
		8	**4**	**3**	**1**	1559-1601/02	- Under Sebastian Welser, the headquarters were replaced to Nürnberg again. In the 1560s-1580s, English kerseys were dyed for the Welser in Nürnberg.	
Antwerp		7	3	2	1	>1524-1577<	Important branch. Already in 1524-1534, Jakob Welser was involved in exchange transactions from Leipzig and Naumburg with Antwerp. At the end of the 1520s, the Welser of Nürnberg were represented in Antwerp by Sebastian Kneyssl and Hieronymus Welser. Subsequently, Jakob the younger managed the branch from 1530, and at least until 1549. In the summer of 1531, five factors were active for the Nürnberg company in	Ehrenberg, 1928, 141, 148; Harreld, 2004, 74, 80, 125, 140-141; Kellenbenz, 1974, 78-81, 85-86, 101-105, 107-108, 120; Id.,

							Antwerp: Sebastian Kneyssl, Jakob Welser the younger, Hanslein Butz, Kunz Hausknecht and Aximus Schlüsselfelder. In 1537 and after, among the staff in Antwerp were Christoph Freyhamer (until 1547) and Wolf Pruner (until 1545), in 1541 joined by Joachim Funck. New factors in 1547 were Hieronymus Maier and Hans Ortt (responsible for the Spanish business in Antwerp between 1547 and 1550). New representatives joined again in 1549: Julius Römers, Philipp Welser, and the young Hans Welser. The Nürnberg Welser obtained their own house in Antwerp, purchased in 1549 by Jakob the younger. In the 1560s and 1570s, the Welser of Nürnberg were involved in Antwerp in the trade in spices, silk and English cloth. In the 1560s-1580s, English kerseys were dyed for the Welser in Antwerp.	1990, 440; Westermann, 2002, 247
Augsburg		**7** 8 **7**	**3** 4 **3**	**2** 3 **2**	**1** 1 **1**	>1524-1537 1537-1559 after 1559	- Important branch. Hans, son of Jakob Welser, managed the Augsburg branch of the company at least from 1530. Already in 1524-1534, Jakob Welser was involved in exchange transactions from Leipzig and Naumburg with Augsburg. - By 1537, the Augsburg branch had become more important than the branch in Nürnberg, and the headquarters were removed to Augsburg. - After the death of Hans Welser (1559), the headquarters were located in Nürnberg again.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 141-142; Kellenbenz, 1974, 78, 80, 87; Westermann, 2002, 247
Lyon		7	3	2	1	>1522-1563<	Important branch. From Lyon, the Welser of Nürnberg carried out important financial transactions with the French crown, were engaged in saffron trade, and maintained connections with the Iberian peninsula. In 1524-1534, Jakob Welser was involved in exchange transactions from Leipzig and Naumburg with Lyon. Already in 1522-26, the Nürnberg Welser imported saffron and spices to Lyon. In late 1529 and early 1530, Jakob Welser went to Lyon himself. Between 1531 and 1539, Wolf Harstorfer, one of the partners, played an important role in Lyon, to which city he travelled each year. Other representatives in this period were Sigmund Nyclas (1531, 1535) and Heinrich von Edt (1535). After 1539, Nyclas became the main factor in Lyon. In 1541, Peter Floris was appointed, in 1547 Christoph Freyhamer, in 1549 Joachim Funck and Philipp Welser. In 1551 the young Jakob Welser, son of Sebastian, was sent to Lyon. Still in 1563, the Welser of Nürnberg were involved in the import of spices in Lyon.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 141; Gascon, 1971, 223, 230-231; Kellenbenz, 1974, 79-80, 82-83, 113; Id. 1990, 456; Westermann, 2002, 247
L'Aquila		6	3	2	1	>1531-1580s<	Branch, especially involved in the saffron business. Representatives in Venice and L'Aquila were Hans Fütterer and Kaspar Haintzel in 1531;	Ehrenberg, 1928, 141; Kellenbenz,

							Kasper Kroller, Wilhem Haintzel (sent to L'Aquila in 1534) and Sebastian Welser in 1533; and Hans Putz and Jorg Behaim in 1539. In 1537, Hans Keck was active in L'Aquila for the Nürnberg Welser. From 1545, the saffron purchases for the Nürnberg Welser were carried out mostly by the Augsburg Welser. In 1549, the factor of the Nürnberg Welser in Naples became partly responsible for the trade in L'Aquila, while in 1551 Joachim Funck was appointed as the new representative in L'Aquila. In the 1560s-1580s, the Welser of Nürnberg remained involved in the saffron trade with L'Aquila. Purchases were made by Wolf Streng in 1579.	1974, 81, 89-90, 110
Cologne		6	3	2	1	>1524-1534<	Branch. In 1524-1534, Jakob Welser was involved in exchange transactions from Leipzig and Naumburg with Cologne. In 1529, the Nürnberg Welser intended to use Jan Pastor or Jörg Herlin as factor in Cologne. After 1529, Cologne is not mentioned anymore in the sources.	Kellenbenz, 1974, 86; Westermann, 2002, 247
Genoa		6	3	2	1	>1524-end 16th c.<	Branch. In 1524-1534, Jakob Welser was involved in exchange transactions from Leipzig and Naumburg with Genoa. In Genoa, the Nürnberg Welser were permanently represented by Christoph Rem since 1533 (at least until 1561). After 1566, Hans Welser maintained the good connections with Genoa. The factor in this period (until the end of the 16th century) was apparently Matthäus Fetzer.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 141; Kellenbenz, 1974, 81-82, 89, 100-101, 111-113; Id., 1990, 457; Westermann, 2002, 247
Horní Slavkov	M	6	3	2	1	>1537-1541<	Branch. In Horní Slavkov (Schlackenwald) in Bohemia the Nürnberg Welser obtained a participation in the silver and tin mines after lending money to the counts Schlich, who owned the mines. In 1537, the Welser were represented in large parts of Germany and in Schlackenwald by Benedikt Haydolff. The branch in Schlackenwald remained open after 1541.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 141; Kellenbenz, 1974, 78, 80, 87
Lisbon		6	3	2	1	>before 1524-1539<	Branch. In Lisbon, the Welser of Nürnberg traded in spices and jewels. This trade became less important in the 1530s. Factors in Lisbon were Jakob von Stratten (1537), Schwartzer and Hans Ortt (1539), Francisco Lobo (under Hans Welser). In 1524-1534, Jakob Welser was involved in exchange transactions from Leipzig and Naumburg with Lisbon.	Kellenbenz, 1974, 78, 85, 78 n.10; Westermann, 2002, 247
Milan		6	3	2	1	>1524-1534<, >1563<	Branch. In Milan, the Nürnberg Welser were represented by German factors, often three at the same time. The Welser of Nürnberg traded especially in metals and bullion here (e.g. in 1563). From Milan, transport to Lindau was organised. In 1524-1534, Jakob Welser was involved in exchange transactions from Leipzig and Naumburg with Milan.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 141; Kellenbenz, 1974, 81-82, 108-109; Westermann, 2002, 247

Prague		6	3	2	1	>1524-after 1541<	Branch. In 1524-1534, Jakob Welser was involved in exchange transactions from Leipzig and Naumburg with Prague. The branch in Prague was closed after the death of Jakob Welser.	Kellenbenz, 1974, 80; Westermann, 2002, 247
Venice		6	3	2	1	>1524-1578<	Branch. In Venice, the Nürnberg Welser were especially involved in the saffron trade with L'Aquila. Already in 1524-1534, Jakob Welser was involved in exchange transactions from Leipzig and Naumburg with Venice. Representatives in Venice and L'Aquila were Hans Fütterer (who died in Venice) and Kaspar Haintzel in 1531; Kasper Kroller, Wilhem Haintzel and Sebastian Welser in 1533; and Hans Putz and Jorg Behaim in 1539. Around 1537, especially Sebastian Welser appears to have been active in Venice. Later representatives in Venice were Hieronymus Mayer from 1543, and Jörg Klinger in 1551. Often, the Welser of Nürnberg had three factors at the same time in Venice. After 1566, the good connections with Venice were maintained by Hans Welser. In the 1560s and 1570s, especially spices and silks were purchased in Venice. In 1563, David Ott represented the Welser in Venice.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 141; Kellenbenz, 1974, 81-82, 89, 95-100, 104-105; Westermann, 2002, 247
Vienna		6	3	2	1	>1524-after 1541<	Branch. In 1524-1534, Jakob Welser was involved in exchange transactions from Leipzig and Naumburg with Vienna. The branch in Vienna was closed sometime after the death of Jakob Welser.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 141; Kellenbenz, 1974, 80; Westermann, 2002, 247
Frankfurt am Main		4	2	2	1	>1524-1549<	In 1524-1534, Jakob Welser was involved in exchange transactions from Leipzig and Naumburg with Frankfurt am Main. The Welser of Nürnberg regularly sent factors to the fairs of Frankfurt am Main, such as Sebastian Welser, Wolf Harstorfer and Hartmann in 1529, Benedikt Haydolff in 1537, Jörg Koler in 1543, Benedikt Haydolff and Thomas Freyhamer in 1549. In 1539, the branches of Nürnberg and Antwerp were responsible for the Frankfurt business of the Welser.	Harreld, 2004, 140-141; Kellenbenz, 1974, 80, 87; Westermann, 2002, 247
Leipzig		4	2	2	1	>1524-1534<, >1591<	Jakob Welser was involved in exchange transactions at the fairs of Leipzig in 1524-1534. Apparently, Jorg Raber was a factor of the Nürnberg Welser and the Imhoff in Leipzig in 1591. Probably, Raber was especially engaged in the copper trade of Hans Welser.	Kellenbenz, 1974, 90; Westermann, 2002, 247
Naples		4	2	2	1	>1524-1534<, >1549-1553<	In 1524-1534, Jakob Welser was involved in exchange transactions from Leipzig and Naumburg with Naples. Gabriel Hilleson was a factor in Naples in 1549-1553.	Kellenbenz, 1974, 81; Westermann, 2002, 247

Rome		4	2	2	1	>1524-1534<	In 1524-1534, Jakob Welser was involved in exchange transactions from Leipzig and Naumburg with Rome. In Rome, the Nürnberg Welser were represented by the Italian factor Formento.	Kellenbenz, 1974, 81; Westermann, 2002, 247
Barcelona		3	2	2	1	>1524-1534<	Exchange transactions from Leipzig and Naumburg with Barcelona in 1524-1534.	Westermann, 2002, 247
Castell		3	2	2	1	after 1566	Good connections of Sebastian and later Hans Welser with the counts in Castell.	Kellenbenz, 1974, 87, 91
Cervera		3	2	2	1	>1564<	Saffron in Catalunya was purchased in the producing villages, and then collected in places such as Cervera (e.g. 1564).	Kellenbenz, 1974, 114-115
Hamburg		3	2	2	1	> 1524-1534<, >1580s<	The Leutenberger Gesellschaft, in which Jakob Welser was a member (ca. 1524-34), had a factor in Hamburg. At this time, Jakob Welser was involved in exchange transactions from Leipzig and Naumburg with Hamburg. Spices were purchased for the Nürnberg Welser in Hamburg by Gillis de Greve in the 1580s.	Kellenbenz, 1954, 153-154; Id., 1974, 115-116, 120; Westermann, 2002, 247
London		3	2	2	1	>1524-1534<, >1560s-1580s<	Exchange transactions from Leipzig and Naumburg with London in 1524-1534. London was used from time to time as a market for the sale of pastel and saffron in the 1560s-1580s.	Kellenbenz, 1974, 120; Westermann, 2002, 247
Lüneburg		3	2	2	1	>1524-1534<	Exchange transactions from Leipzig and Naumburg with Lüneburg in 1524-1534.	Westermann, 2002, 247
Naumburg		3	2	2	1	>1524-1534<	Jakob Welser was involved in exchange transactions at the fairs of Naumburg in 1524-1534.	Westermann, 2002, 247
La Rochefoucauld		3	2	2	1	>1551<	The Nürnberg Welser traded in saffron in La Rochefoucauld (southern France), where they were represented by Ludwig Steydlin in 1551.	Kellenbenz, 1974, 83
Sevilla		3	2	2	1	after 1537	The Nürnberg Welser had interests in the America trade of Sevilla.	Kellenbenz, 1974, 78, 85
Toulouse		3	2	2	1	>1565<	In Toulouse, where the Nürnberg Welser traded in saffron and pastel, they had a warehouse for the storage of woad.	Kellenbenz, 1974, 84, 114
Valladolid		3	2	2	1	>1537-1549<	In Castile, the Nürnberg Welser were represented in 1537, and again from 1539 until ca. 1545, by the Fugger and by Alberto Cuon (previously a factor of the Augsburg Welser), who resided in Valladolid. From 1537 to 1539, they were also represented here by Hans Putz. Other agents in Spain were Peter Floris (1543), and Hans Ortt and Thomas Freihammer (1549).	Kellenbenz, 1961a, 22-23; Id., 1974, 85
Verona		3	2	2	1	>1563-1574<	In Verona, the Welser of Nürnberg purchased silk, which was mostly sent to Antwerp. In 1563, purchases were made by David Ott, who was established in Venice. In 1574 the Welser made use of the services of Pietro Antonius	Kellenbenz, 1974, 104-105

							and Giovanni Baptista Scandolini in Verona.	
Zaragoza		3	2	2	1	>1564<	Saffron in Aragón was purchased in the producing villages, and then collected in places such as Zaragoza (e.g. 1564).	Kellenbenz, 1974, 114-115
Bolzano		2	2	1	0		Bolzano was an intermediary place for the Italian trade of the Nürnberg Welser.	Kellenbenz, 1974, 81
Buenos Aires		2	2	1	0	1536	Jakob Welser participated in the expedition of Pedro de Mendoza to the Río de la Plata in 1536. One of the ships belonged to Jakob Welser and Sebastian Neithart.	Kellenbenz, 1974, 78
Cosenza		2	2	1	0	>1560-1561<	Purchases of silks from Cosenza and Messina for the Nürnberg Welser were made by Genoese and Venetian correspondents, such as the Venetian firm of Giovanni Battista Pini (which had a branch in Messina) in 1560-61.	Kellenbenz, 1974, 111-112
Eisfeld	H	2	2	1	0	from 1529	Together with several other merchants, Jakob Welser took over the smelting hut of Eisfeld from Ulrich Starck in 1529.	Seibold, 1977a, 29
Gräfenthal	H	2	2	1	0	1581-1602	From 1581 to 1602, Hans Welser was a member of the Gräfenthalsche Gesellschaft.	Kellenbenz, 1974, 91; Seibold, 1977a, 29-32, 40; Von Stromer, 2002, 218
Jáchymov	M	2	2	1	0	after 1516	Mining interests. A discovery of new rich silver deposits near the existing mines in Schlackenwald (Bohemia) in 1516 led to the flourishing of the town of Jáchymov (Joachimsthal). Here, the Nürnberg Welser obtained mining interests.	Ehrenberg, 1928, 141; Kellenbenz, 1974, 78
Leutenberg	M	2	2	1	0	1524-1534	Jakob Welser, being a member of the Leutenberger Gesellschaft, had copper mining and smelting interests in 1524-1534 in Leutenberg in Thuringia.	Kellenbenz, 1954, 153-154; Id., 1974, 77-78; Seibold, 1977a, 29; Von Stromer, 2002, 217
Lindau		2	2	1	0		From the branch in Milan, transport to Lindau was organised.	Kellenbenz, 1974, 81-82, 108-109
Mansfeld (county)	M	2	2	1	0	1581-1602	As a member of the Gräfenthaler Saigerhandelsgesellschaft, Hans Welser was involved in the exploitation and trade of copper of the copper mines of Mansfeld.	Seibold, 1977a, 27-29, 32, 39
Mechelen		2	2	1	0	>1560s-1580s<	In the 1560s-1580s, English kerseys were dyed for the Welser in Mechelen.	Kellenbenz, 1974, 120
Medina del Campo		2	2	1	0	>1550s<	During the 1550s, Hans Bechler, factor of the Fugger at the Spanish court, carried out business for Hans Welser and Brothers at the Spanish fairs.	Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 57 n. 240

Medina de Ríoseco		2	2	1	0	>1550s<	During the 1550s, Hans Bechler, factor of the Fugger at the Spanish court, carried out business for Hans Welser and Brothers at the Spanish fairs.	Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 57 n. 240
Messina		2	2	1	0	>1560-1561<	Purchases of silks from Cosenza and Messina for the Nürnberg Welser were made by Genoese and Venetian correspondents, such as the Venetian firm of Giovanni Battista Pini (which had a branch in Messina) in 1560-61.	Kellenbenz, 1974, 111-112
Villalón		2	2	1	0	>1550s<	During the 1550s, Hans Bechler, factor of the Fugger at the Spanish court, carried out business for Hans Welser and Brothers at the Spanish fairs.	Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 57 n. 240
Poznań		1	1	1	0	>1581<	In 1581, Hieronymus Rüd in Poznań was apparently arrested at the request of Hans Welser.	Kellenbenz, 1974, 90
Strasbourg		1	1	1	0	>c.1581<	Ca. 1581, the Nürnberg Welser exported copper plate to France via the Strasbourg merchant Nicolaus von Turck.	Kellenbenz, 1974, 91

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4. ATLANTIC FIRMS

4.1. CASTILIAN FIRMS

BERNUY, 1479 – 1569/70

The Bernuy were among the principal merchants of Burgos and Toulouse. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 323). The Bernuy family came originally from Avila. Possibly, they had Jewish origins. In the last third of the 15th century, members of the Bernuy family went to Burgos, Toulouse, Medina del Campo and Flanders. The two former groups attained the highest economic and social status. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 324; Mathers, 1988, 377). In 1479, a company was established between the brothers Fernando, Diego, Rodrigo and Cristóbal, and their father Diego de Bernuy and his brother. The company was very profitable and was dissolved after the death of the father in 1487. (Mathers, 1988, 377). Another brother was Juan de Bernuy, who later went to Toulouse. (Mathers, 1988, 377 n. 35). According to Mathers, 1988, 380, Juan de Bernuy died in 1540 and not in 1556. (Mathers, 1988, 380). In 1501 or later, Juan in Toulouse and Diego in Burgos formed a company. In 1506, Diego supplied Juan with capital. Until Diego's death in 1519, Juan and Diego remained in business together. (Mathers, 1988, 378-379). A company existed between the brothers Diego de Bernuy Dávila (d. 1519) in Burgos, Jean (d. 1566) in Toulouse, Hernando in Antwerp and Cristobal in London. (324-325). Diego de Bernuy Dávila and Jean de Bernuy (1465-1540) became among the principal citizens of Burgos and Toulouse, and were involved in politics. (325; Mathers, 1988, 377 n. 35). Diego de Bernuy Davila married Isabel Orense de la Mota. His first son was born in 1501 or 1502. (Mathers, 1988, 378). After the death of Diego in 1519, his business was continued by his widow Isabel de Orense de la Mota. Later, the management was taken over by their second son Diego de Bernuy Orense (d. 1563). Under him, the business of the Bernuy reached its apogee. Diego de Bernuy Orense was also very active in politics. He was member of the council of Burgos in 1529-1563. (325; Mathers, 1988, 379). In 1523, a partnership existed between Isabel de Orense de la Mota and Juan de Bernuy in France. She acted on her own in Burgos at least until 1529. (Mathers, 1988, 379). The company was reorganised in 1532: an agreement existed between Diego de Bernuy Orense and Juan de Bernuy, and between Diego and his mother, who still played an active role in the company. Documents from Burgos as late as 1546 and 1547 show mother and son acting together. (Mathers, 1988, 381). Partners in the company of Diego de Bernuy Orense were among others his brothers Pedro and Juan, his mother Isabel Orense de la Mota, Jean de Bernuy of Toulouse, Alvaro de Cuevas, Diego Ximénez and Pedro de San Estebán. (329). Isabel Orense (d. 1550) withdrew her capital in 1547, soon followed by her sons Juan and Pedro. (Mathers, 1988, 381). Bankruptcy of the heirs of Diego de Bernuy Orense in 1570. Several possible reasons for the bankruptcy: loans to the crown of Castile and deregulation of the payment system of the fairs of Castile; loss of the financial stability of the firm, e.g. due to the withdrawal of the capital of Isabel de Orense in 1546-47, or investment in non-commercial activities; disaster of the collection of the bull of the crusade from 1560; crisis of the Castilian trade in the gulf of Biscay from the 1560s; crisis of the pastel production of Toulouse, as well as arrival of a competing product: indigo from the Indies. (341). Diego de Bernuy Orense died between 1560 and 1563. (338, 341). Diego died in 1563. (Mathers, 1988, 381). Entrepreneurial dynamism and financial success. However, the partnership did not survive until the end of the 16th century. This was a result of the structural weaknesses of the family

partnership (kinship ties between heirs became more remote, capital of the partnership was subject to inheritance laws and social values that tended to divert capital into land or bonds), and of the changing commercial conditions (especially the Revolt of the Low Countries and the religious wars). (Mathers, 1988, 372). During the war with France, the company of Miguel de Zamora, in which Diego de Bernuy Orense was a partner, had a monopoly on the import from France to Castile in 1552-1556. (Mathers, 1988, 382). Apparently Diego de Bernuy withdrew from active involvement in the family business in 1558, leaving the management to his cousin Alvaro de Cuevas, and to Diego Ximénez. (Mathers, 1988, 383). Heir of Diego de Bernuy Orense was his son Diego de Bernuy Barba, who went bankrupt in 1569. (Mathers, 1988, 383). The Bernuy played a considerable role in the social and political life of Burgos. (Mathers, 1988, 389). This branch of the Bernuy probably did not have jewish origins. (Mathers, 1988, 396-397).

There were some large merchant dynasties from Burgos in the 16th c: the Maluenda, Miranda, Salamanca, Lerma, Astudillo, Quintanadueñas, Gauna, Pardo, Bernuy, Santa-Cruz, etc. (Lapeyre, 1955, 119-120). Bankruptcy of the son of Don Diego de Bernuy (who had died before) in 1570 as a result of his incapacity. He had made large loans to the king. His largest creditor was Jeronimo de Curiel of Flanders (Lapeyre, 1955, 485). Family of Burgos. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 221).

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Source material:

Two account books (journals) of Diego de Bernuy Orense have been preserved in the archives of the Consulate of Burgos (in the Archivo Diputación Provincial de Burgos), covering the years 1546-1555 (complete only for the first five years). (Casado Alonso, 1991, 323, 323 n. 6). A register of woad sales in Toulouse has been preserved of Juan de Bernuy covering the period 1518-1531. (Mathers, 1988, 379-380). Additional information about the Bernuy family can be found in notarial documents of Burgos, preserved in the Archivo de Protocolos Notariales of Burgos. (Mathers, 1988, 367 n. 1).

Size: Large or very large

At his death in 1519, Diego de Bernuy Dávila left a fortune of 31,850,393 mrs. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 325). The capital of the Bernuy consisted of the personal fortune of the Bernuy as well as of external capital (fuori del corpo) belonging to other members of the family as well as associates. (325). The movable property of Diego de Bernuy Orense was estimated at 211,534,457 mrs., while his real estate was very considerable as well. He was one of the richest merchants of Castile, and even of Europe. (325-327). Jean Bernuy was one of the richest merchants of Toulouse. (327). In 1547-1549, Diego de Bernuy handled a total of 29,532,128 mrs. in cash. Only the large wool companies of the Gallo and Matanza-de la Cadena handled a larger sum of cash in Burgos during this period. (328). Diego de Bernuy paid the highest sum (687,200 mrs.) of all Burgalese merchants in the levy for the royal treasury of 1543. At that time, the Bernuy were the most important business house of Spain. (329). The capital of the company of Diego de Bernuy Orense probably exceeded 200 million maravedis. (329). The company of Diego de Bernuy Orense was one of the largest of Spain and Europe. (329). The turnover of the Bernuy totalled approximately ca. 100 million mrs. in 1546 (= ca. 550,000 lb. tourn.). (335). The Bernuy were among the wealthiest individuals of Europe. (Mathers, 1988, 389).

Main activities:

- Commerce: The Bernuy were involved in commerce. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 324). Trade of Diego de Bernuy Dávila and Jean de Bernuy especially in pastel between Toulouse and Burgos ca. 1500. The Bernuy dominated the trade in pastel at the end of the 15th and beginning of the 16th century. (324). In addition, the Bernuy also traded in other goods. (325). In 1546-1555, the Bernuy traded in pastel, Castillan and foreign textiles, copper, grain, pepper, iron, silk, velvet, cattle, oil, wine, salt, wax, leather, olives, woad, etc. (332, 335-337). However, the Bernuy were no wool merchants, which is quite exceptional for merchants of Burgos. (333). The trade in pastel was the most important part of the business of the Bernuy (ca. 86 % of the total turnover in 1546). (336). The Bernuy were specialised in the commerce of woad which they purchased in Toulouse and sold in Spain. (Mathers, 1988, 372). Diego de Bernuy Orense traded in other

commodities than woad as well, e.g. wool, woollens from London, linen, copper, iron, Dutch linen. (Mathers, 1988, 382). Woad trade. (Vermaseren, 1973, 10).

- Finance: The Bernuy were involved in finance. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 324). Hernando de Bernuy in Flanders lent money to Charles V in partnership with Jerónimo de Salamanca. (327). In 1546-1555, the Bernuy speculated and invested in land, they provided loans to monarchs and private persons, they negotiated in rents, they collected taxes, they were active as maritime insurers, they traded in bills of exchange, etc. (332). Some members of the family worked for the Spanish court. (332). The Bernuy were involved in financial activities. (338). Loans to the king of Spain, and to private persons (merchants, clergymen, etc.). In 1546, Diego de Bernuy had advanced a total of 1,694,346 mrs. in loans. (338). Diego de Bernuy negotiated in juros (rents) on the alcabalas and the royal tercias. He collected tenths for the archbishop of Burgos. Diego de Bernuy was also administrator of the cruzados for Philip II in 1560, which resulted in large losses for the Bernuy, and was one of the causes of their bankruptcy. (338). Diego de Bernuy was active as a maritime insurer, as well as insurance broker. (338). Trade in bills of exchange by Diego de Bernuy. The Bernuy not only made payments for themselves via bills of exchange, but also for other firms. They operated as intermediaries in the transfer of bills of exchange. (338-339). Juan de Bernuy was the largest contributor to a forced loan of Toulouse to the French king Francis I in 1539. (Mathers, 1988, 380). Loan of Diego de Bernuy Barba, son of Diego de Bernuy Orense, to the Spanish crown in 1566. (Mathers, 1988, 383).
- Industry: The Bernuy branch in Toulouse controlled the production of woad. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 325). Diego de Bernuy Orense invested in the smithies of Guipúzcoa. (333). The Bernuy were involved in the production of woad. (336). The Bernuy revived the woad industry of Toulouse in the absence of local entrepreneurs. (Mathers, 1988, 372).

Network of the Bernuy:

The Bernuy made use of a network of associates, factors and agents of the company abroad, several of them being family members (often younger members of the family). (Casado Alonso, 1991, 324, 329). The Bernuy had representatives in the principal centres of Atlantic Europe, Lyon and Spain. (331). Another group of at least 19 persons (in 1546-1550) worked for the Bernuy as servants or employees in different functions: courier services, loading and unloading of ships, organisation of transport, bookkeeping, etc. (331 n. 25). Family partnership. At least one of the family partners resided abroad and established himself (as well as his children) as a leading citizen in the new city. (Mathers, 1988, 372).

Table A..1. Network of the Bernuy, 1479 – ca. 1501 (not used network)

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Ávila		8	4	3	1	1479-1487	In 1479, a company was established between Diego de Bernuy in Ávila, his brother in Flanders, and Diego's sons Fernando in Flanders, Diego in Burgos, and Cristóbal and Rodrigo in Medina del Campo. The company was	

							dissolved after the death of the father in 1487. (Mathers, 1988, 377).	
Antwerp		6	3	2	1	1479-begin 16th c.	In the last third of the 15th century, members of the Bernuy family went to Burgos, Toulouse, Medina del Campo and Flanders. The two former groups attained the highest economic and social status. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 324). At the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th century, Hernando de Bernuy, brother of Diego and Jean, was their associate in Antwerp. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 324). Hernando de Bernuy was a banker in Flanders. He lent money to Charles V in partnership with Jerónimo de Salamanca. (327). At least from 1493, merchants of Burgos, and especially the Bernuy, dominated the export of woad via the harbour of Bordeaux to London and Flanders. (336). In 1479, a company was established between Diego de Bernuy in Avila, his brother in Flanders, and Diego's sons Fernando in Flanders, Diego in Burgos, and Cristóbal and Rodrigo in Medina del Campo. The company was dissolved after the death of the father in 1487. (Mathers, 1988, 377). Fernando de Bernuy the elder married with Elizabeth (Liesbeth) van Bombergen. Fernando the elder was a brother of Diego de Bernuy Davila in Burgos, Jean de Bernuy in Toulouse and Cristobal de Bernuy in London. (Fagel, 1996, 108 n. 438). Fernando de Bernuy, father, only mentioned in the Antwerp sources after 1513 (Fagel, 1996, 108).	
Bruges		6	3	2	1	>1499<	Fernando de Bernuy was mentioned as a merchant of Spain, London, Calais and Bruges in 1499. (Mollat, 1970, 51). In 1479, a company was established between Diego de Bernuy in Avila, his brother in Flanders, and Diego's sons Fernando in Flanders, Diego in Burgos, and Cristóbal and Rodrigo in Medina del Campo. The company was dissolved after the death of the father in 1487. (Mathers, 1988, 377).	
Burgos		6	3	2	1	1479-1495<	In the last third of the 15th century, members of the Bernuy family went to Burgos, Toulouse, Medina del Campo and Flanders. The two former groups attained the highest economic and social status. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 324). At the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th century, Diego de Bernuy Dávila (d. 1519) was active in commerce in Burgos. (324). In 1479, a company was established between Diego de Bernuy in Avila, his brother in Flanders, and Diego's sons Fernando in Flanders, Diego in Burgos, and Cristóbal and Rodrigo in Medina del Campo. The company was dissolved after the death of the father in 1487. (Mathers, 1988, 377). Diego de Bernuy	

							Davila established himself permanently in Burgos only after 1495 (when he was in Toulouse). (Mathers, 1988, 378).	
London		6	3	2	1	>1493-early 16th c.	At the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th century, Cristobal de Bernuy, brother of Diego and Jean, was their associate in London. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 324). At least from 1493, merchants of Burgos, and especially the Bernuy, dominated the export of pastel via the harbour of Bordeaux to London and Flanders. (336). Members of the Bernuy family were active in London under the Catholic Kings. (Mollat, 1970, 51). Fernando de Bernuy was mentioned as a merchant of Spain, London, Calais and Bruges in 1499. (Mollat, 1970, 51).	
Medina del Campo		6	3	2	1	1479-1487	In the last third of the 15th century, members of the Bernuy family went to Burgos, Toulouse, Medina del Campo and Flanders. The two former groups attained the highest economic and social status. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 324). In 1479, a company was established between Diego de Bernuy in Avila, his brother in Flanders, and Diego's sons Fernando in Flanders, Diego in Burgos, and Cristóbal and Rodrigo in Medina del Campo. The company was dissolved after the death of the father in 1487. (Mathers, 1988, 377).	
Toulouse		6	3	2	1	1490-1501<	In the last third of the 15th century, members of the Bernuy family went to Burgos, Toulouse, Medina del Campo and Flanders. The two former groups attained the highest economic and social status. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 324). At the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th century, Jean de Bernuy was active in commerce in Toulouse. (324). In 1490 and 1491, Diego de Bernuy Davila purchased woad in Toulouse from the Boisson-Delfau-Hebrard company. In 1495, Diego appears to have been established in Toulouse. Later, Diego permanently settled in Burgos. (Mathers, 1988, 378).	
Calais		3	2	2	1	>1499<	Fernando de Bernuy was mentioned as a merchant of Spain, London, Calais and Bruges in 1499. (Mollat, 1970, 51).	
Bordeaux		2	2	1	0	>1493<	At least from 1493, merchants of Burgos, and especially the Bernuy, dominated the export of pastel via the harbour of Bordeaux to London and Flanders. (336).	

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Table A..2. Network of the Bernuy, ca. 1501 – 1569/70 (especially 1546 – 1555)								
City	**R**	**Score**				**Period**	**Type of presence**	**References**
Burgos		8	4	3	1	<1495-1569/70	The Bernuy were among the principal merchants of Burgos and Toulouse. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 323). At the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th century, Diego de Bernuy Dávila (d. 1519) was active in commerce in Burgos. (324). The Bernuy branch in Burgos controlled the sale of woad on the Iberian peninsula and, together with the branch in Toulouse, the sales elsewhere in Europe. (325). After the death of Diego in 1519, his business was continued by his widow Isabel de Orense de la Mota. Later, the management was taken over by their second son Diego de Bernuy Orense (d. 1563). Under him, the business of the Bernuy reached its apogee. (325). Headquarters of the company of Diego de Bernuy Orense were located in Burgos, with director Diego de Bernuy Orense, and in Toulouse, with director Jean de Bernuy (uncle of Diego). (329-330). Cashier of Diego in Burgos was Juan de Corcuera. (331). In 1546-1550, textiles were sold by the Bernuy in Sevilla, Burgos, Bilbao, and at the fairs of Medina del Campo, Medina de Rioseco and Villalon. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 337). Diego de Bernuy Davila established himself permanently in Burgos only after 1495 (when he was in Toulouse). He was a member of the council of Burgos in 1513-1515. (Mathers, 1988, 378). In 1519, Diego de Bernuy Davila traded in woad in Bilbao, Burgos and Segovia. (Mathers, 1988, 379). The Bernuy, who came from Spain, were established in Burgos, Antwerp and Toulouse (Lapeyre, 1955, 124). The Bernuy were a merchant family from Burgos (Lapeyre, 1955, 119-120).	Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 221
Toulouse		8	4	3	1	<1501-1565>	The Bernuy were among the principal merchants of Burgos and Toulouse. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 323). Jean Bernuy (d. 1566) was an important member of the Spanish colony of Toulouse ca. 1522. (Mollat, 1973, 427-428). At the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th century, Jean de Bernuy was active in commerce in Toulouse. (324). In 1501 or later, Juan in Toulouse and Diego in Burgos formed a company. In 1506, Diego supplied Juan with capital. Until Diego's death in 1519, Juan and Diego remained in business together. (Mathers, 1988, 378-379). The Bernuy branch in Toulouse controlled the production of woad, and, together with the branch in Burgos, the sales in Europe. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 325, 336).	Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 221; Vermaseren, 1973, 10

							Headquarters of the company of Diego de Bernuy Orense were located in Burgos, with director Diego de Bernuy Orense, and in Toulouse, with director Jean de Bernuy (uncle of Diego). (329-330). At some point between 1546 and 1555, Diego de Bernuy was in Toulouse for business. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 331). Trade with Toulouse in 1546. (335, 337). Trade in bills of exchange between the fairs of Antwerp, Bergen-op-Zoom, Lyon, Medina del Campo, Medina de Rioseco, and Villalon by Diego de Bernuy. Most important of these fairs for the Bernuy were the fairs of Lyon: from there, money was sent to Toulouse. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 338-339). In Toulouse and Bordeaux, the related families de Bernuy and López de Villanova assimilated very quickly in the local society. (Mollat, 1970, 48). The Bernuy were specialised in the commerce of woad which they purchased in Toulouse and sold in Spain. (Mathers, 1988, 372). In the 16th century, the Bernuy became the most important exporters of woad from Toulouse. (Mathers, 1988, 377). Juan de Bernuy is mentioned for the first time in Toulouse in 1501 as a customer of Denis Beauvoir. Presumably he took the place of his brother Diego. In 1501 or later, Juan in Toulouse and Diego in Burgos formed a company. By 1504, Juan was referred to as a merchant of Toulouse. Originally, he sold woad to merchants of Burgos who came to Toulouse. (Mathers, 1988, 378). A register of 1518-1531 contains information about woad purchases of Juan de Bernuy in and around Toulouse. (Mathers, 1988, 379). After the death of Juan de Bernuy in 1540, his business in Toulouse was carried on by his son Juan de Bernuy and by Pierre Saint-Etienne, who had been active in the enterprise of Juan since 1505. Connections with the Bernuy of Burgos remained in existence after the death of Juan in 1540. (Mathers, 1988, 380). In 1547, a new company was established between Diego de Bernuy Orense in Burgos and Pierre Saint-Etienne in Toulouse for woad trade. Juan de Bernuy the younger was apparently not involved in this company. The company lasted from 1548 until 1557, and was apparently renewed after, since only in 1565, after the death of Diego, Jean, son of Saint-Etienne, withdrew his capital from the company. (Mathers, 1988, 381). The Bernuy, who came from Spain, were established in Burgos, Antwerp and Toulouse (Lapeyre, 1955, 124). Jean de Bernuy lived in the Rue Peyrolières in Toulouse, in the university quarter. (Vermaseren, 1973, 10).	

Antwerp		6	3	2	1	end 15th c.-1570<	At the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th century, Hernando de Bernuy, brother of Diego and Jean, was their associate in Antwerp. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 324). Hernando de Bernuy was a banker in Flanders. He lent money to Charles V in partnership with Jerónimo de Salamanca. (327). Representative(s) of the Bernuy company in 1546-1550/55 in Antwerp: Antonio del Río. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 330-331, 336, 331 n. 25). In 1546-1555, the Bernuy negotiated bills of exchange between the fairs of Lyon, Antwerp and Medina del Campo. (332). In 1519, Diego de Bernuy Dávila exported 995 sacs of wool to Flanders and Florence. (333). Important trade with Flanders (Antwerp) in 1546. (335). Shipments of copper to Lisbon and of wax and textiles to Spain from Antwerp in 1546. (336). Textiles were purchased by the Bernuy in Segovia, Rioja, London, Flanders, Nantes and Rouen in 1546-1550. (337). Trade in bills of exchange between the fairs of Antwerp, Bergen-op-Zoom, Lyon, Medina del Campo, Medina de Rioseco, and Villalon by Diego de Bernuy. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 338). According to a Dominican friar in Sevilla, Diego de Bernuy Orense purchased fine Dutch linen in Antwerp for sale at Medina del Campo. (Mathers, 1988, 382). Fernando de Bernuy became aldermen of Antwerp in 1555 (Fagel, 1996, 108). Fernando de Bernuy was the son of Fernando de Bernuy and Elizabeth (Liesbeth) van Bombergen. Fernando the elder was a brother of Diego de Bernuy Davila in Burgos, Jean de Bernuy in Toulouse and Cristobal de Bernuy in London. From 1546 Antonio del Rio was the factor of the firm in Antwerp (Fagel, 1996, 108 n. 438). Fernando de Bernuy, father, only mentioned in the Antwerp sources after 1513 (Fagel, 1996, 108). Fernando de Bernuy purchased a house in the Hoogstraat in Antwerp. They purchased many houses and real estate in Antwerp (Fagel, 1996, 109, 109 n. 441). The Bernuy, who came from Spain, were established in Burgos, Antwerp and Toulouse (Lapeyre, 1955, 124). 2,280 lb. 15 s. of the capital of Pedro de Salamanca was kept by the Castilian merchant Fernando de Vermuy in Antwerp on 29-1-1524. (Marechal, 1985b, 133). A correspondent of the Bernuy in Antwerp ca. 1570 was Jerónimo de Curiel. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 219). Fernando de Bernuy in Antwerp. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 221). Fernando de Bernuy was a resident merchant in Antwerp ca. 1510. (Fagel, 2000, 96). A member of the Bernuy family became a municipal	Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 221

							official in Antwerp during the sixteenth century. (Fagel, 2000, 99).	
Ávila		3	2	2	1	>1546<	Diego de Ordoñez, nephew of Diego de Bernuy Orense, was a clergyman in Ávila, as well as a merchant in cloth and pastel in the beginning of the 16th century. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 327). The Bernuy sold pastel to several textile centres of Castile in 1546: Segovia, Rioja-Cameros, Toledo, Cuenca, Ávila, etc. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 337).	
Azores		3	2	2	1	>1546-1555<	Representative(s) of the Bernuy company in 1546-1550/55 on the Azores: Juan del Oyo Espinosa. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 330, 331 n. 25). The Bernuy dominated the pastel trade of the Azores, an important centre of production of pastel. (336).	
Bergen-op-Zoom		3	2	2	1		Trade in bills of exchange between the fairs of Antwerp, Bergen-op-Zoom, Lyon, Medina del Campo, Medina de Rioseco, and Villalon by Diego de Bernuy. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 338).	
Bilbao		3	2	2	1	>1519<, >1546-1555<	Representative(s) of the Bernuy company in 1546-1550/55 in Bilbao. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 330). In 1546 pastel, iron, oil and wine were shipped from Bordeaux, Bilbao and Cadiz to London. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 336). In 1546-1550, textiles were sold by the Bernuy in Sevilla, Burgos, Bilbao, and at the fairs of Medina del Campo, Medina de Rioseco and Villalon. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 337). In 1519, Diego de Bernuy Davila traded in woad in Bilbao, Burgos and Segovia. (Mathers, 1988, 379). Connections of Diego de Bernuy Orense and his mother with the ports of Bilbao and Santander in the 1540s. (Mathers, 1988, 381).	
Bordeaux		3	2	2	1	first decade 16h c., >1518-1531<, >1546-1555<	Representative(s) of the Bernuy company in 1546-1550/55 in Bordeaux: Juan de Santamaría. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 330-331, 331 n. 25). Purchase of grain in Bordeaux in 1546. (336). In 1546 pastel, iron, oil and wine were shipped from Bordeaux, Bilbao and Cadiz to London. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 336). The Bernuy shipped pastel via Bordeaux and Narbonne. (339 n. 47). In Toulouse and Bordeaux, the related families de Bernuy and López de Villanova assimilated very quickly in the local society. (Mollat, 1970, 48). Already in the first decade of the 16th century, Juan de Bernuy transported woad from Toulouse to Bordeaux, where he loaded the woad on ships for export. (Mathers, 1988, 378). Among the clients of Juan de Bernuy in Toulouse in 1518-1531 were merchants coming from Bordeaux or Bayonne. (Mathers, 1988, 380). In 1548, Diego de Bernuy Orense intended to send a shipment of woad with a ship chartered in Guipuzcoa or Biscay from	

							Bordeaux to Cartagena. (Mathers, 1988, 381).	
Cartagena		3	2	2	1	>1546-1555<	Representative(s) of the Bernuy company in 1546-1550/55 in Cartagena. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 330). In 1548, Diego de Bernuy Orense intended to send a shipment of woad with a ship chartered in Guipuzcoa or Biscay from Bordeaux to Cartagena. (Mathers, 1988, 381).	
Cuenca		3	2	2	1	>1546-1555<	Representative(s) of the Bernuy company in 1546-1550/55 in Cuenca: Mateo Pellejero. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 330-331, 331 n. 25). The Bernuy sold pastel to several textile centres of Castile in 1546: Segovia, Rioja-Cameros, Toledo, Cuenca, Avila, etc. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 337).	
Laredo		3	2	2	1	>1546-1555<	Representative(s) of the Bernuy company in 1546-1550/55 in Laredo. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 330).	
Lisbon		3	2	2	1	>1544-1555<	Representative(s) of the Bernuy company in 1546-1550/55 in Lisbon: Gregorio de Villegas, Juan del Oyo Espinosa. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 330-331, 331 n. 25). In 1544-1545, iron from the forges of San Sebastian was exported by the company to Lisbon, Nantes and London. (334). Purchase of pepper and oil in Lisbon in 1546. (336). Shipments of copper to Lisbon and of wax and textiles to Spain from Antwerp in 1546. (336). From Lisbon, pastel from the Azores was sent to Santander. Moreover, copper from Antwerp and iron were sent to Lisbon, and exchanged for oil and pepper. (337). Diego de Bernuy Orense exported iron from Biscay to London, Lisbon, and perhaps, via Cádiz, to the New World. (Mathers, 1988, 382).	
London		6 **3**	3 **2**	2 **2**	1 **1**	>early 16th c.< >1520-1526<, >1544-1555<	At the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th century, Cristobal de Bernuy, brother of Diego and Jean, was their associate in London. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 324). Representative(s) of the Bernuy company in 1546-1550/55 in London: Antonio de Guaras. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 330-331, 336, 331 n. 25). In 1544-1545, iron from the forges of San Sebastian was exported by the company to Lisbon, Nantes and London. (334). Important trade with London in 1546. (335). In 1546 pastel, iron, oil and wine were shipped from Bordeaux, Bilbao and Cadiz to London. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 336). Textiles were purchased by the Bernuy in Segovia, Rioja, London, Flanders, Nantes and Rouen in 1546-1550. (337). Members of the Bernuy family were active in London under the Catholic Kings. (Mollat, 1970, 51). In 1526, a client of Juan de Bernuy in Toulouse was Matthew Lambert, who arrived from London. Juan de Bernuy also had an agent in England from 1520 until 1526 at least: Fernand Ybarne, a	

							Basque. (Mathers, 1988, 380). Woollen cloth was imported from London for Diego de Bernuy Orense in the company of Alonso de Maluenda. (Mathers, 1988, 382). Diego de Bernuy Orense exported iron from Biscay to London, Lisbon, and perhaps, via Cádiz, to the New World. (Mathers, 1988, 382).	
Lyon		3	2	2	1	>1546-1555<	Representative(s) of the Bernuy company in 1546-1550/55 in Lyon. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 330-331). In 1546-1555, the Bernuy negotiated bills of exchange between the fairs of Lyon, Antwerp and Medina del Campo. (332). Trade with Lyon in 1546. (335). The main client of the Bernuy in Lyon was the firm of the Bonvisi, with whom they negotiated in bills of exchange, and to whom they sent velvet. (337). The Bernuy imported woad in Valencia, and distributed the woad in the kingdom of Valencia. Raw silk, velvet and other Levant goods were sent from Valencia to Toledo and Lyon. (337). Trade in bills of exchange between the fairs of Antwerp, Bergen-op-Zoom, Lyon, Medina del Campo, Medina de Rioseco, and Villalon by Diego de Bernuy. Most important of these fairs for the Bernuy were the fairs of Lyon: from there, money was sent to Toulouse. The Bernuy conducted business with two firms in Lyon: the firm of Antoine and Ludovic Bonvisi, and that of Bonaventure Michaeli and Géronimo Arnolfini. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 338).	
Medina del Campo		3	2	2	1	>early 16th c.-1555<	The Bernuy were not directly represented at the fairs of Medina del Campo in 1546-1550/55. Here, they made use of the services of the Santamaría, bankers of Burgos, the Ruiz, bankers of Medina del Campo, and the Zamora, bankers of Medina de Ríoseco. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 331). In 1546-1555, the Bernuy negotiated bills of exchange between the fairs of Lyon, Antwerp and Medina del Campo. (332). In 1546-1550, textiles were sold by the Bernuy in Sevilla, Burgos, Bilbao, and at the fairs of Medina del Campo, Medina de Rioseco and Villalon. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 337). Correspondence of Diego de Bernuy with Simon Ruiz in Medina del Campo. (338). Trade in bills of exchange between the fairs of Antwerp, Bergen-op-Zoom, Lyon, Medina del Campo, Medina de Rioseco, and Villalon by Diego de Bernuy. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 338). Payments by Burgalese merchants to Juan de Bernuy for woad from Toulouse were mostly made at the fairs of Medina del Campo in the early 16th century. (Mathers, 1988, 378). According to a Dominican friar in Sevilla, Diego de Bernuy Orense purchased fine Dutch linen in Antwerp for sale at Medina	

							del Campo. (Mathers, 1988, 382).	
Medina de Ríoseco		3	2	2	1	>1546-1555<	The Bernuy were not directly represented at the fairs of Medina del Campo in 1546-1550/55. Here, they made use of the services of the Santamaría, bankers of Burgos, the Ruiz, bankers of Medina del Campo, and the Zamora, bankers of Medina de Ríoseco. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 331). In 1546-1550, textiles were sold by the Bernuy in Sevilla, Burgos, Bilbao, and at the fairs of Medina del Campo, Medina de Rioseco and Villalon. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 337). Trade in bills of exchange between the fairs of Antwerp, Bergen-op-Zoom, Lyon, Medina del Campo, Medina de Rioseco, and Villalon by Diego de Bernuy. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 338).	
Murcia		3	2	2	1	>1546-1550<	In 1546-1550, the Bernuy purchased raw silk in Murcia and Valencia, which was sold to their partner Hernand Gómez de Acre in Toledo. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 337).	
Nantes		3	2	2	1	>1544-1555<	Representative(s) of the Bernuy company in 1546-1550/55 in Nantes: Miguel Márquez. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 330-331, 331 n. 25). In 1544-1545, iron from the forges of San Sebastian was exported by the company to Lisbon, Nantes and London. (334). Textiles were purchased by the Bernuy in Segovia, Rioja, London, Flanders, Nantes and Rouen in 1546-1550. (337).	
La Rioja		3	2	2	1	>1546-1550<	The Bernuy sold pastel to several textile centres of Castile in 1546: Segovia, Rioja-Cameros, Toledo, Cuenca, Avila, etc. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 337). Textiles were purchased by the Bernuy in Segovia, Rioja, London, Flanders, Nantes and Rouen in 1546-1550. (337).	
Rouen		3	2	2	1	>1522-1555<	Jean Bernuy was an important member of the Spanish colony of Toulouse ca. 1522. He had regular contacts with the Spanish colony of Rouen. (Mollat, 1973, 427-428). Representative(s) of the Bernuy company in 1546-1550/55 in Rouen: Luis de la Torre. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 330-331, 331 n. 25). Textiles were purchased by the Bernuy in Segovia, Rioja, London, Flanders, Nantes and Rouen in 1546-1550. (337).	
Saint-Jean-de-Luz		3	2	2	1	>1546-1555<	Representative(s) of the Bernuy company in 1546-1550/55 in Saint-Jean-de-Luz: Martín de Pelento. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 330, 331 n. 25).	
Santander		3	2	2	1	>1546-1555<	Representative(s) of the Bernuy company in 1546-1550/55 in Santander. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 330). From Lisbon, pastel from the Azores was sent to Santander. (337). Connections of Diego de Bernuy Orense and his mother with the ports of Bilbao and Santander in the 1540s. (Mathers, 1988, 381).	

Segovia		3	2	2	1	>1514-1525<, >1546-1555<	Representative(s) of the Bernuy company in 1546-1550/55 in Segovia: Mateo Barrón. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 330-331, 331 n. 25). The Bernuy sold pastel to several textile centres of Castile in 1546: Segovia, Rioja-Cameros, Toledo, Cuenca, Avila, etc. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 337). Textiles were purchased by the Bernuy in Segovia, Rioja, London, Flanders, Nantes and Rouen in 1546-1550. (337). The Bernuy transported woad from Burgos to Segovia in 1546. (Mathers, 1988, 378). In 1519, Diego de Bernuy Davila traded in woad in Bilbao, Burgos and Segovia. (Mathers, 1988, 379). Diego de Bernuy Davila was among the principal importers of woad in Segovia between 1514 and 1525. Sales mostly to Antonio Suárez, who resold it to artisans. (Mathers, 1988, 379). Isabel Orense de la Mota, widow of Diego de Bernuy Davila, exported woad to Segovia in the 1520s. (Mathers, 1988, 379). Diego de Bernuy Orense and his mother transported woad to Segovia in the 1540s. (Mathers, 1988, 381).	
Sevilla		3	2	2	1	>1546-c.1560<	Representative(s) of the Bernuy company in 1546-1550/55 in Sevilla: Pedro de la Torre. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 330-331, 331 n. 25). In 1546-1550, textiles were sold by the Bernuy in Sevilla, Burgos, Bilbao, and at the fairs of Medina del Campo, Medina de Rioseco and Villalon. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 337). Agent of Diego de Bernuy for collection of the *cruzados* in Sevilla (ca. 1560) was Gregorio de Valladolid. (338). The business of the Bernuy in Sevilla was rather limited. (341).	
Toledo		3	2	2	1	>1546-1555<	Representative(s) of the Bernuy company in 1546-1550/55 in Toledo: Hernand Gómez de Acre. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 330-331, 331 n. 25). At some point between 1546 and 1555, Diego de Bernuy was in Toledo for business. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 331). The Bernuy imported woad in Valencia, and distributed the woad in the kingdom of Valencia. Raw silk, velvet and other Levant goods were sent from Valencia to Toledo and Lyon. (337). The Bernuy sold pastel to several textile centres of Castile in 1546: Segovia, Rioja-Cameros, Toledo, Cuenca, Avila, etc. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 337). In 1546-1550, the Bernuy purchased raw silk in Murcia and Valencia, which was sold to their partner Hernand Gómez de Acre in Toledo. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 337).	
Valencia		3	2	2	1	>1546-1555<	Representative(s) of the Bernuy company in 1546-1550/55 in Valencia: Mosén Pero Roca. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 330-331, 337, 331 n. 25). Trade with Valencia in 1546. (335). The Bernuy imported woad in Valencia, and	

							distributed the woad in the kingdom of Valencia. Raw silk, velvet and other Levant goods were sent from Valencia to Toledo and Lyon. (337). In 1546-1550, the Bernuy purchased raw silk in Murcia and Valencia, which was sold to their partner Hernand Gómez de Acre in Toledo. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 337).	
Villalón		3	2	2	1	>1546-1550<	In 1546-1550, textiles were sold by the Bernuy in Sevilla, Burgos, Bilbao, and at the fairs of Medina del Campo, Medina de Rioseco and Villalón. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 337). Trade in bills of exchange between the fairs of Antwerp, Bergen-op-Zoom, Lyon, Medina del Campo, Medina de Rioseco, and Villalón by Diego de Bernuy. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 338).	
Zaragoza		3	2	2	1	>1546-1555<	Representative(s) of the Bernuy company in 1546-1550/55 in Zaragoza: Gabriel Çaporta. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 330-331, 331 n. 25). Trade with Zaragoza in 1546. (335). Pastel was shipped to Zaragoza. (337). In 1547, Gerónimo de Cifuentes was sent by Isabel Orense and Diego de Bernuy Orense to Zaragoza to sell 510 small bales of woad. (Mathers, 1988, 381).	
Barbadillo del Mercado	T	2	2	1	0		Diego de Bernuy Orense had a wash-house for wool in Barbadillo del Mercado. This was one of the preferred places for washing of wool by Burgalese merchants. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 333).	
Cádiz		2	2	1	0	>1546<	In 1546 pastel, iron, oil and wine were shipped from Bordeaux, Bilbao and Cádiz to London. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 336). Diego de Bernuy Orense exported iron from Biscay to London, Lisbon, and perhaps, via Cádiz, to the New World. (Mathers, 1988, 382).	
Escalquens		2	2	1	0	1501-1506<	Juan de Bernuy purchased woad in Escalquens near Toulouse since 1501, e.g. in 1505-1506. (Mathers, 1988, 378).	
Florence		2	2	1	0	>1519<	In 1519, Diego de Bernuy Dávila exported 995 sacs of wool to Flanders and Florence. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 333). In 1519, Diego de Bernuy had wool on hand destined for Florence. (Mathers, 1988, 372 n. 13). In 1519, Diego de Bernuy Davila had investments in trade with Florence, especially wool export. (Mathers, 1988, 379).	
Maurens		~~6~~ *2*	~~3~~ *2*	~~2~~ *1*	~~1~~ *0*	>1518-1531<	Ca. 1518-1531, Juan de Bernuy had founded a company with an inhabitant of Maurens near Toulouse for the purchase of woad near the village of Maurens. Juan de Bernuy contributed ¾ of the capital to this company. (Mathers, 1988, 379).	
Molina		2	2	1	0	1519, 1547	In 1519, Diego de Bernuy purchased wool in Molina. In 1547, his son was still buying wool in Molina. (Mathers, 1970, 372 n. 13). In 1547, Diego de	

							Bernuy Orense was arranging to buy wool from a citizen of Molina. (Mathers, 1988, 382).	
Naples		2	2	1	0	>1518-1531<	Juan de Bernuy of Toulouse had a factor in Naples ca. 1518-1531. (Mathers, 1988, 380).	
Narbonne		2	2	1	0	<1518-1531>	The Bernuy imported woad in Valencia, which was shipped from Narbonne. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 337). The Bernuy shipped pastel via Bordeaux and Narbonne. (339 n. 47). Between 1518 and 1531, Juan de Bernuy organised a large shipment of woad from Toulouse to Narbonne. (Mathers, 1988, 380).	
Oyarzun		2	2	1	0	1546	In 1546, Diego de Bernuy Orense purchased ore from several inhabitants of Oyarzun for his smithies in San Sebastian and for export. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 333-334).	
San Sebastián	M	2	2	1	0	1540-1547<	Diego de Bernuy Orense invested in the forges of Guipúzcoa. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 333). Diego had several forges in San Sebastián. (333-334). The forges of San Sebastián were obtained by the company in 1540 from the widow of Luis Cruzat for 1,260,000 mrs. (334). In 1547 Diego de Bernuy underwrote a maritime insurance for a shipper of San Sebastián, leaving for the New World (Canada). (338). In 1545, Diego de Bernuy was involved in ironworks in San Sebastián. (Mathers, 1988, 382 n. 53).	
Somport		2	2	1	0	<1546-1555>	At some point between 1546 and 1555, Diego de Bernuy was in Somport for business. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 331).	
Valladolid		2	2	1	0	<1546-1555>	At some point between 1546 and 1555, Diego de Bernuy was in Valladolid for business. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 331).	
Bayonne		1	1	1	0	<1518-1531>	Among the clients of Juan de Bernuy in Toulouse in 1518-1531 were merchants coming from Bordeaux or Bayonne. (Mathers, 1988, 380).	
New World		1	1	1	0		Diego de Bernuy Orense exported iron from Biscay to London, Lisbon, and perhaps, via Cádiz, to the New World. (Mathers, 1988, 382).	
Riaza		1	1	1	0	1540s	A small sale of woad to citizens of Santamara de Nieba and Riaza in the 1540s. (Mathers, 1988, 381).	
Santamara de Nieba		1	1	1	0	1540s	A small sale of woad to citizens of Santamara de Nieba and Riaza in the 1540s. (Mathers, 1988, 381).	

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DE CASTRO, last third 15th century – ca. 1550

Diego de Castro was a prior or consul of the consulado of Burgos in 1498-99. (Mathers, 1988, 371 n. 13). Entrepreneurial dynamism and financial success. However, the partnership did not survive until the end of the 16th century. This was a result of the structural weaknesses of the family partnership (kinship ties between heirs became more remote, capital of the partnership was subject to inheritance laws and social values that tended to divert capital into land or bonds), and of the changing commercial conditions (especially the Revolt of the Low Countries and the religious wars). (Mathers, 1988, 372). The Castro family came from Burgos. (Mathers, 1988, 373). Diego de Castro was active in the last third of the 15th century. (Mathers, 1988, 373). Business connections existed in Burgos between the De Castro and the Astudillo families. (374). A company existed between Juan de Castro the younger and Juan de Astudillo, which was afterwards called Juan de Castro and Heirs of Juan de Castro, and by 1546 Juan de Castro, Regidor (city counsillor), and Luis de Castro. Juan de Astudillo had kept his capital in this company until 1543, when it amounted to 3,299,129 maravedis. (374-375). Several members of the Astudillo family were in England as well: Diego (1520s), Alvaro (1530s), Diego (1540s). (375). Juan de Castro the elder, brother of Diego, died in 1535. At that moment the company was renamed Juan de Castro and Heirs of Juan de Castro. Later, the name "Juan de Castro, Regidor, and Luis de Castro", demonstrates that the management of the company was taken over by Juan, son of Diego the elder, and Luis, son of Juan the elder. (375). By the 1530s, the position of Spanish merchants in England had become difficult, and the situation became even worse after 1545. (375). Diego de Castro the elder and his brother Juan de Castro the elder (d. 1535). Son of Diego: Juan de Castro the younger (d. 1549/50), Regidor (city counsillor); sons of Juan the elder: Alvaro de Castro, Luis de Castro. (Mathers, 1988, 373-376). Juan de Castro left 6 children after his death in 1549 or 1550, including three sons, of whom two were minors. It is not known whether the company with Luis de Castro survived. (376). The De Castro played a considerable role in the social and political life of Burgos. (Mathers, 1988, 389). The Castro played a major role in the *consulado* of Burgos. (Mathers, 1988, 389). A Juan de Castro was active in Toledo near the end of the 16th century. Among his correspondents was Juan de Lago in Florence. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, x).

Francisco de Castres: Portuguese merchant: importer of spices to Lyon since 1558. Largest Portuguese importer of spices in Lyon (Gascon, 1971, 225). Diego de Castres from Portugal received a letter of naturalisation in Lyon (1578) (Gascon, 1971, 367). Diogo de Castro: Important Portuguese merchant-banking house in Lyon. Acted as intermediary for exchange transactions for Portuguese merchants (Lapeyre, 1955, 309). Enrique de Castro. Merchant in Antwerp in the 1580s-1590s. Trade with Valladolid and Madrid. He was in Holland in 1584. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 186).

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Source material:

Information about the De Castro family can be found in notarial documents of Burgos, preserved in the Archivo de Protocolos Notariales of Burgos. (Mathers, 1988, 367 n. 1).

Size: Medium-sized or large

Juan de Astudillo had kept his capital in the De Castro company until 1543, when it amounted to 3,299,129 maravedis. (374-375). The De Castro played a considerable role in the social and political life of Burgos. (Mathers, 1988, 389). The Castro played a major role in the *consulado* of Burgos. (Mathers, 1988, 389).

Main activities:

- Commerce: The Castro were still involved in the wool trade in the late 1540s. (Mathers, 1988, 372 n. 13). The Castro were specialised in the import of English cloth in Spain. (Mathers, 1988, 372). The Castro especially purchased English cloth in England. England was not an important market for Spanish wool. (Mathers, 1988, 373). In the late 15th century, Diego de Castro imported wine, iron, madder, soap, pitch, linen, Breton canvas, beaver furs, silk, saffron, etc. from Spain into England. (Mathers, 1988, 373). Trade in wool in 1546 by Juan and Luis de Castro. (375). Involved in trade in alum from the Papal States. (Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 172).
- Finance: The Castro advanced loans to the Spanish crown: in 1528, Juan de Castro the elder lent 90,000 ducats to Charles V. In 1528, he advanced 60,000 ducats together with other Burgalese merchants in a larger loan to the Spanish king. In 1535, Juan de Castro the elder and Juan de Astudillo were part of a consortium of Spanish merchants preparing a loan to the crown, which however did not take effect in the end. In 1537 and 1544, Juan de Castro the younger participated in other loans to the Spanish king.
- Industry:

Network of the De Castro:

Family partnership. At least one of the family partners resided abroad and established himself (as well as his children) as a leading citizen in the new city. (Mathers, 1988, 372). Not many data about the trade of the De Castro elsewhere than in England. (Mathers, 1988, 375).

Table A..1. Network of the De Castro, last third 15th century – ca. 1550 (especially after 1500)								
City	**R**	**Score**				**Period**	**Type of presence**	**References**
Burgos		8	4	3	1	>1498-1549<	The De Castro were a merchant family from Burgos. (Mathers, 1988, 373). Diego de Castro was a consul of the merchant guild of Burgos in 1498-99. (Mathers, 1988, 374). Juan de Castro, son of Diego, was a member of the city council of Burgos in 1533-1549. In 1539, he sold London cloths in Burgos. (374). The Castro were important Spanish merchant-bankers from Burgos. (Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 172).	
London		6	3	2	1	>1473-1520s<	Diego de Castro in London. (Mathers, 1988, 371 n. 13). The De Castro were active in London and Southampton in the late 15th century. (Mathers, 1988, 373). A Juan de Castro was trading with England in 1470, and at least sporadically from 1494 to 1516. Diego de Castro was established in London and active in English trade at least from 1473 to 1488. The brothers Diego and Juan de Castro were leading merchants in England in the last third of the 15th century. They were known in Burgos as Diego and Juan de Castro de Londres. (Mathers, 1988, 374). Juan de Castro, probably a son of Diego de Castro, may have been the representative of the de Castro in England in the first decades of the 16th century. (374). Alvaro de Castro, perhaps the son of Juan de Castro the elder, was in England in 1519, and resided in London in the 1520s. (374). In the last quarter of the 15th century, Diego de Castro regularly exported cloth and tin via London, Southampton, Sandwich and Bristol. (Mathers, 1988, 374). By 1530, the position of Spanish merchants in England became difficult and even worsened after 1545. (375). The Castro of Spain were active in London under the Catholic Kings, e.g. Juan de Castro. (Mollat, 1970, 50-51). Diego de Castro was in London in the late 15th century. (Power, 1924, 143).	
Rouen		6	3	2	1	>1540-1543<	The Castro established themselves in Rouen between 1520 and 1540. (Mollat, 1952, 510). Castro and Malvenda were important Spanish merchant-bankers from Burgos. They directly administered the export of alum from the papal states to the Atlantic Ports of France from Rouen from 1542-43. In 1542-43, Castro & Malvenda possessed a share of 3/4 of the alum trade to the Atlantic ports of France (Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 172). The	

							Castro were a Spanish merchant family active in Rouen under the Catholic Kings. (Mollat, 1970, 49).	
Bruges		4	2	2	1	late 15th c.-c.1546<	A Diego de Castro was in Bruges in 1507, selling Spanish wool and buying cloth. (Mathers, 1988, 371 n. 13). The Castro had close ties with the Spanish colony at Bruges in the late 15th century. (Mathers, 1988, 373). Ca. 1546, the company of Juan and Luis de Castro was represented in Flanders: factor in Flanders was Juan de Lerma. (Mathers, 1988, 375). A certain Alvaro de Castro was present at least for 19 years in Bruges between 1502 and 1555. (Fagel, 2000, 91). A certain Alonso de Castro was present at least for 10 years in Bruges between 1502 and 1555. In this period, he was consul of the Castillian nation of Bruges during three years. (Fagel, 2000, 93).	
Florence		3	2	2	1	c.1546	Ca. 1546, the company of Juan and Luis de Castro was represented in Florence: managers in Florence were Martín de Arriaga and Alvaro de Astudillo. (Mathers, 1988, 375).	
Papal States (alum export)		3	2	2	1	>1542-1543<	Castro and Malvenda were important Spanish merchant-bankers from Burgos. They directly administered the export of alum from the papal states to the Atlantic Ports of France from Rouen from 1542-43. In 1542-43, Castro & Malvenda possessed a share of 3/4 of the alum trade to the Atlantic ports of France (Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 172).	
Southampton		3	2	2	1	>1473-1553<	The Castro were active in London and Southampton in the late 15th century. (Mathers, 1988, 373). Diego de Castro appears for the first time in English records in 1473, exporting cloth from Southampton. (374). In the last quarter of the 15th century, Diego de Castro regularly exported cloth and tin via London, Southampton, Sandwich and Bristol. (Mathers, 1988, 374). By 1530, the position of Spanish merchants in England became difficult and even worsened after 1545. (375). In 1553, Luis de Castro shipped linen from Southampton to Cádiz. The linen was loaded in Southampton by the Florentine Bartolome Compane. (Mathers, 1988, 376).	
Toulouse		3	2	2	1	1500	Diego and Juan de Castro were active in Toulouse around 1500. In 1500, they purchased a large amount of woad together with García de Mazuelo in Toulouse. (Mathers, 1988, 377, 377 n. 33).	
Bristol		2	2	1	0	<1473-1500>	In the last quarter of the 15th century, Diego de Castro regularly exported cloth and tin via London, Southampton, Sandwich and Bristol. (Mathers, 1988, 374). By 1530, the position of Spanish merchants in England became difficult and even worsened after 1545. (375).	

Cádiz		2	2	1	0	>1544-1553<	In 1553, Luis de Castro shipped linen from Southampton to Cádiz. (Mathers, 1988, 376). At the end of 1544 the Grimaldi company sold 2,500 cantars of alum to a group of merchants from Burgos, destined for the ports of Cadiz and Seville: to the heirs of Girolamo de Castro; Giovanni (Juan) de Castro (Juan the younger); the heirs of another Giovanni de Castro (heirs of Juan the elder); Francesco, Luigi, Diego and Alfonso Malvenda and their procurator Martin Ayala (Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 175).	
Sandwich		2	2	1	0	<1473-1500>	In the last quarter of the 15th century, Diego de Castro regularly exported cloth and tin via London, Southampton, Sandwich and Bristol. (Mathers, 1988, 374). By 1530, the position of Spanish merchants in England became difficult and even worsened after 1545. (375).	
Sevilla		2	2	1	0	>1544<	At the end of 1544 the Grimaldi company sold 2,500 cantars of alum to a group of merchants from Burgos, destined for the ports of Cadiz and Seville: to the heirs of Girolamo de Castro; Giovanni de Castro; the heirs of another Giovanni de Castro; Francesco, Luigi, Diego and Alfonso Malvenda and their procurator Martin Ayala (Guidi Bruscoli, 2007, 175).	

+ Each of the different literatures used for the reconstruction of this network gives only a very fragmented picture. As such, the network in this table is probably strongly biased and incomplete.

ALONCE DE CIVILLE, 1484 – mid 16th century

Alonce de Civille was a Spanish merchant residing in Rouen under the Catholic Kings. (Mollat, 1970, 49). Alonce de Civille obtained naturalisation in France. (Mollat, 1970, 52). Probably, the Civille came originally from the village of Villacarriedo, not far from Burgos. (Brunelle, 1989, 204). Alonce I de Civille was naturalised in France in 1487, and bought letters of nobility in 1519. Throughout his life, he remained one of the most active and influential merchants in Rouen. (Brunelle, 1989, 205-206; Mollat, 1952, 521). Although Alonce II and Jacques, sons of Alonce I de Civille, were active in commerce as well, members of the 2nd and 3rd generation of the Civille in Rouen invested their wealth and energy increasingly in land and public offices. (Brunelle, 1989, 206-207). By the 2nd half of the 16th century, the Civille had largely withdrawn from commerce. (Brunelle, 1989, 207). Alonce II de Civille, son of Alonce I, was active as a merchant. (Brunelle, 1989, 217). The Civille came perhaps originally from Villacarriedo near Burgos. (Mollat, 1952, 510). Close connections between the Civille and the Saldaigne: Alonce de Civille the younger was married to Marie de Saldaigne. (Mollat, 1952, 512). Also connections with the Quintanadoines: Jean de Quintanadoines married Isabeau de Civille. (Mollat, 1952, 512). Alonce de Civille died in 1524. (Mollat, 1952, 521).

Important Spanish families in Rouen (also politically) were the Civille, Quintanadoine and Saldaigne, but also the Maluenda, Pardo,… (Lapeyre, 1955, 122). The most important Spanish merchants in Rouen were the Civille, Saldaigne and Quintanadoines. (Mollat, 1970, 49). In Rouen, Jean de Quintanadoines was married to Isabeau de Civille, while her brother Alonce de Civille was married to Marie de Saldaigne. (Mollat, 1970, 49). Alonce de Civille requested naturalisation after 5 years of residence in Rouen. Of the 6 children of Alonce de Civille, 4 married into Norman families. (Mollat, 1970, 49).

About Hernando de Sevilla (not known whether this is the same family as the Civille of Rouen) in Antwerp, see Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 226. Hernando de Sevilla traded with Lisbon, Sevilla, (factors were Alonso de Palma Carrillo in 1560 and Amador de Retes in 1574), Burgos (representatives were the heirs of Antonio de Santa Cruz), and Medina del Campo (representative was Antonio de Salazar). In 1578, Alonso de Palma Carrillo was factor of Hernando de Sevilla in Rouen. In 1582, Hernando de Sevilla resided in Paris. His factor in Antwerp in this period was Alonso de Palma Carrillo. By 1589 Hernando was back in Antwerp, where he was involved in the asientos business with Farnese together with Pedro de Isunza. In this period, he was involved in business in Florence, Sevilla, Paris and Castile. He died around 1598. Ca. 1566, his fortune was estimated at 150,000 ducats. After the death of Hernando, the firm was renamed “Isabel García and Juan Francisco de Sevilla and Co.” Among the partners of this company were the San Román of Medina del Campo. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 226). A Pedro de Sevilla resided in Lisbon in 1598 and Luis Jerónimo de Sevilla in Madrid in 1604. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 226).

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I did not consult:

Source material:

Size: Medium-sized or large

Throughout his life, Alonce de Civille remained one of the most active and influential merchants in Rouen. (Brunelle, 1989, 205-206; Mollat, 1952, 521). Throughout his life, he remained one of the most active and influential merchants in Rouen. (Brunelle, 1989, 205-206; Mollat, 1952, 521). The most important Spanish merchants in Rouen were the Civille, Saldaigne and Quintanadoines. (Mollat, 1970, 49).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Export of grain from France to Spain in periods when this was profitable by the Civille. (Mollat, 1970, 52). Alonce I de Civille imported and redistributed Castilian wool and exported French grain to Castile and Portugal. (Brunelle, 1989, 206). Also large trade of Alonce I and his sons in alum, pastel, salt and other commodities negotiated at the market of Rouen. (Brunelle, 1989, 206). Alonce I de Civille traded especially in wool, pastel, alum, grain and salt. (Brunelle, 1989, 217). Speculation on the salt trade by Alonce de Civille. (Mollat, 1952, 515). Important trade in Spanish wool. (Mollat, 1952, 516).
- Finance: Investment in public and private rents (disguised loans) by Alonce I and his descendants. (Brunelle, 1989, 207; Mollat, 1952, 515). Alonce I de Civille was a creditor of king Francis I ca. 1525. (Brunelle, 1989, 218). In 1524, loan to the French king by Alonce de Civille together with two other merchants. (Mollat, 1952, 516).
- Industry:
- Shipping: Alonce de Civille purchased ¼ in the ship *l'Esprit* of Honfleur. (Mollat, 1952, 516 n. 282).

Network of Alonce de Civille:

The Civille were at the forefront of opening Rouen to the markets in the Mediterranean, Africa and the New World. (Brunelle, 1989, 206).

Table A..1. Network of Alonce de Civille,1484 – mid 16th century (especially after 1500)								
City	**R**	**Score**				**Period**	**Type of presence**	**References**
Rouen		8	4	3	1	1484-mid 16th c.	Headquarters. (Mollat, 1970, 49). Alonce I de Civille emigrated to Rouen in 1484. (Brunelle, 1989, 204). Alonce de Civille arrived in Rouen before 1484, and was naturalised in 1487. (Brunelle, 1989, 217; Mollat, 1952, 511). Civille in Rouen since last decades of 15th c. (Mollat, 1952, 510). The Civille family was active in Bruges, Nantes and Rouen under the catholic kings. (Mollat, 1970, 50). Although Alonce II and Jacques, sons of Alonce I de Civille, were active in commerce as well, members of the 2nd and 3rd generation of the Civille in Rouen invested their wealth and energy increasingly in land and public offices. (Brunelle, 1989, 206-207). By the 2nd half of the 16th century, the Civille had largely withdrawn from commerce. (Brunelle, 1989, 207). Alonce II de Civille, son of Alonce I, was active as a merchant. (Brunelle, 1989, 217). The Civille (Sevilla) were strongly established in Rouen in the first half of the 16th century. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 226).	
Lisbon		4	2	2	1	>1522-1525<	Alonce de Civille had a permanent factor in Lisbon: Gonzalo Ortiz. (Mollat, 1970, 50). Alonce de Civille was a friend of the Portuguese Diego de Gouveia, head of the Parisian college of Sainte Barbe. Through Diego, Alonce carried out diplomatic services for the Portuguese king Manuel I. (Mollat, 1970, 52; Mollat, 1952, 518). Alonce I and his sons Alonce II and Jacques obtained the right to export grain to Lisbon from two successive Portuguese kings. (Brunelle, 1989, 206). Alonce II exported grain to Portugal. (Brunelle, 1989, 217). The Civille are mentioned in Lisbon. (Mollat, 1952, 510). Alonce I Civille and his son Alonce had regular contacts with Lisbon, Portugal, and the Islands under Portuguese control. (Mollat, 1952, 517). Alonce I and his son Alonce traded in grain with Lisbon, where they had a permanent factor, Gonsalez Ortiz (ca. 1522) and later Bernardino de Medina (ca. 1525) (which was allowed them by free-conduct of the kings Manuel and Jean III). (Mollat, 1952, 518, 518 n. 298). Alonce de Civille represented the Portuguese in Rouen and Normandy. (Mollat, 1952, 518).	
London		4	2	2	1	>1509<	Alonce exported cloth to England, where he had a permanent factor, Juan de	

							Castro, in London (1509). Alonce also had connections with Diego de Pardo, Francisco de Villegas and Martin de Guinea in London. (Mollat, 1970, 50; Mathers, 1988, 374 n. 18; Mollat, 1952, 519).	
Bilbao		3	2	2	1	>1512<	Alonce de Civille corresponded regularly with Burgos and Bilbao, from where he imported wool, iron and grain. (Mollat, 1970, 50). Alonce de Civille had connections with Bilbao which he supplied with grain and where he purchased anchors (1512). (Mollat, 1952, 516). The Civille and Saldaigne shipped grain to Bilbao in 1512. (Mollat, 1952, 516 n. 283).	
Bordeaux		3	2	2	1	>1524<	From Bordeaux, Antonio López de Villanova shipped pastel to Alonce de Civille in Rouen. (Mollat, 1970, 50). In 1524, Martin Boursier purchased pastel in Bordeaux for Antoine de Civille and Jean de Quintanadoines. (Mollat, 1952, 518-519 n. 305).	
Burgos		3	2	2	1		Alonce de Civille corresponded regularly with Burgos and Bilbao, from where he imported wool, iron and grain. (Mollat, 1970, 50).	
Nantes		3	2	2	1	>1503<	From Nantes, a Spanish merchant shipped linen to Alonce de Civille in Rouen. (Mollat, 1970, 50). In 1503, Alonce de Civille had linen in Nantes. (Mollat, 1952, 519 n. 306).	
Newfoundland		3	2	2	1		Alonce de Civille organised voyages to Newfoundland together with his son-in-law Jean Durand. (Brunelle, 1989, 217). The Civille were at the forefront of opening Rouen to the markets in the Mediterranean, Africa and the New World. (Brunelle, 1989, 206). Alonso de Civille co-financed the expedition of Roberval to Canada. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 226).	
Paris		3	2	2	1	>1484-1497<	Alonce de Civille was a friend of the Portuguese Diego de Gouveia, head of the Parisian college of Sainte Barbe. Through Diego, Alonce carried out diplomatic services for the Portuguese king Manuel I. Alonce had close ties with humanist circles in Paris. (Mollat, 1970, 52-53). In 1484, Alonce de Civille sent alum from Normandy to Paris. (Mollat, 1970, 511). Alonce de Civille married with Marguerite Petit of Paris. (Mollat, 1952, 511). Alonce de Civille associated himself partly with a Parisian merchant, Raullequin Féron, in 1497. (Mollat, 1952, 515).	
Antwerp		2	2	1	0	>c.1535	Loys de Sevilla/Civilia in Antwerp. (ca. 1535). Not known whether this was the same family as the Civille of Rouen. (Mollat, 1952, 519, 519-520 n. 315).	
Bayonne		2	2	1	0	>1526<	In 1526, pastel was purchased in Bayonne for Antoine de Civille and Jean de Quintanadoines. (Mollat, 1952, 518-519 n. 305).	

Bruges		2	2	1	0	>1462<	The Civille are mentioned in Bruges. (Mollat, 1952, 510). Alfonsus Gonsales de Siville was consul of Spain in Bruges (1462). Not known whether this was the same family as the Civille of Rouen. (Mollat, 1952, 519, 519-520 n. 315).	
Ceuta		2	2	1	0	>1519<	In 1519, a company was established between Jean Bonhons, Alonce de Civille and Pierre de Saldaigne in Rouen for trade with the Mediterranean. Their factor was Pierre Bar, who travelled by ship (la-Marie-de-Rhodes) with merchandise and money provided by the company from Honfleur, where the merchandise was loaded, to the Mediterranean. Sales were made in Tanger, Marseille and Lyon. Merchandise was left as well with Nicolas Disy in Ceuta. The ship, la-Marie-de-Rhodes, suffered damage in Marseille, and was not able to continue its journey, destined among others to Civitavecchia where alum should have been purchased. (Mollat, 1952, 416-417, 515). The Civille were at the forefront of opening Rouen to the markets in the Mediterranean, Africa and the New World. (Brunelle, 1989, 206).	
Honfleur		2	2	1	0	>1519<	In 1519, a company was established between Jean Bonhons, Alonce de Civille and Pierre de Saldaigne in Rouen for trade with the Mediterranean. Their factor was Pierre Bar, who travelled by ship (la-Marie-de-Rhodes) with merchandise and money provided by the company from Honfleur, where the merchandise was loaded, to the Mediterranean. Sales were made in Tanger, Marseille and Lyon. Merchandise was left as well with Nicolas Disy in Ceuta. The ship, la-Marie-de-Rhodes, suffered damage in Marseille, and was not able to continue its journey, destined among others to Civitavecchia where alum should have been purchased. (Mollat, 1952, 416-417, 515). Alonce de Civille purchased ¼ in the ship *l'Esprit* of Honfleur. (Mollat, 1952, 516 n. 282).	
Lyon		2	2	1	0	>1519<	In 1519, a company was established between Jean Bonhons, Alonce de Civille and Pierre de Saldaigne in Rouen for trade with the Mediterranean. Their factor was Pierre Bar, who travelled by ship (la-Marie-de-Rhodes) with merchandise and money provided by the company from Honfleur, where the merchandise was loaded, to the Mediterranean. Sales were made in Tanger, Marseille and Lyon. Merchandise was left as well with Nicolas Disy in Ceuta. The ship, la-Marie-de-Rhodes, suffered damage in Marseille, and was not able to continue its journey, destined among others to Civitavecchia where alum should have been purchased. (Mollat, 1952, 416-	

							417, 515). The Civille were at the forefront of opening Rouen to the markets in the Mediterranean, Africa and the New World. (Brunelle, 1989, 206).	
Marseille		2	2	1	0	>1519<	In 1519, a company was established between Jean Bonhons, Alonce de Civille and Pierre de Saldaigne in Rouen for trade with the Mediterranean. Their factor was Pierre Bar, who travelled by ship (la-Marie-de-Rhodes) with merchandise and money provided by the company from Honfleur, where the merchandise was loaded, to the Mediterranean. Sales were made in Tanger, Marseille and Lyon. Merchandise was left as well with Nicolas Disy in Ceuta. The ship, la-Marie-de-Rhodes, suffered damage in Marseille, and was not able to continue its journey, destined among others to Civitavecchia where alum should have been purchased. (Mollat, 1952, 416-417, 515). The Civille were at the forefront of opening Rouen to the markets in the Mediterranean, Africa and the New World. (Brunelle, 1989, 206).	
Shoreham		2	2	1	0	>1498<	In 1498, Alonce de Civille imported soap and canvas to Shoreham. (Mollat, 1952, 519 n. 308).	
Tanger		2	2	1	0	>1519<	In 1519, a company was established between Jean Bonhons, Alonce de Civille and Pierre de Saldaigne in Rouen for trade with the Mediterranean. Their factor was Pierre Bar, who travelled by ship (la-Marie-de-Rhodes) with merchandise and money provided by the company from Honfleur, where the merchandise was loaded, to the Mediterranean. Sales were made in Tanger, Marseille and Lyon. Merchandise was left as well with Nicolas Disy in Ceuta. The ship, la-Marie-de-Rhodes, suffered damage in Marseille, and was not able to continue its journey, destined among others to Civitavecchia where alum should have been purchased. (Mollat, 1952, 416-417, 515). The Civille were at the forefront of opening Rouen to the markets in the Mediterranean, Africa and the New World. (Brunelle, 1989, 206).	
Bernay		1	1	1	0		Alonce de Civille supplied the “greniers” of Bernay and Pont-de-l’Arche with salt. (Mollat, 1952, 515).	
Civitavecchia		1	1	1	0	>1519<	In 1519, a company was established between Jean Bonhons, Alonce de Civille and Pierre de Saldaigne in Rouen for trade with the Mediterranean. Their factor was Pierre Bar, who travelled by ship (la-Marie-de-Rhodes) with merchandise and money provided by the company from Honfleur, where the merchandise was loaded, to the Mediterranean. Sales were made in Tanger, Marseille and Lyon. Merchandise was left as well with Nicolas Disy in Ceuta. The ship, la-Marie-de-Rhodes, suffered damage in Marseille,	

							and was not able to continue its journey, destined among others to Civitavecchia where alum should have been purchased. (Mollat, 1952, 416-417, 515). The Civille were at the forefront of opening Rouen to the markets in the Mediterranean, Africa and the New World. (Brunelle, 1989, 206).	
Dieppe		1	1	1	0		One of the children of Alonce de Civille married into the Fumechon family, merchants of Dieppe. (Mollat, 1952, 512).	
Pont-de-l'Arche		1	1	1	0		Alonce de Civille supplied the "greniers" of Bernay and Pont-de-l'Arche with salt. (Mollat, 1952, 515).	

+ The network of the Civille is not known in much detail.

ESPINOSA, beginning 16th century – 1601

1. PEDRO DE ESPINOSA AND HEIRS, beginning 16th century – 1575

The Espinosa originated from a small village around Burgos, Espinosa de los Monteros. They established themselves in Medina de Rioseco in the early 14th century (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 27). Several members of the Espinosa family moved from Medina de Rioseco to Sevilla in the early 16th century (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 28). After several generations of commercial activity, the Espinosa tended to withdraw from business. They increasingly became rentiers, nobles, etc (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 28). The Espinosa of the 16th century constitute the offspring of Doña María Fernández de Espinosa from her first marriage with Alonso González Pimienta (d. 1430), and from her second marriage with Don Pedro de Medina, who was active as a merchant in Flanders and Andalusia (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 31). The only son from her first marriage, Don Juan de Espinosa Pimienta, married twice as well, consecutively with Doña Beatriz García de Medina and with Beatriz Rodríguez de Palacios (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 32-33). Pedro de Espinosa the elder, one of the sons from this first marriage, founded the Espinosa bank in Sevilla in the beginning of the 16th century, partly with money of his brother Juan (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 54). The first contacts with the New World date back to 1521 (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 54). By the time Pedro the elder had become old and almost blind, his nephew Melchor de Espinosa (son of his brother Juan) joined Pedro in the direction of the bank from 1536 (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 51, 56). Melchor de Espinosa was born ca. 1513 (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 50). After the death of Pedro the elder in 1543, Melchor and his brother Alonso took over the bank of their uncle (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 37, 51). After the death of Melchor in 1546 (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 51), Alonso became the only head of the Espinosa bank in Sevilla until 1553, when he associated himself with his brother Pedro (b. 1510). The bank from then on was named "Alonso y Pedro de Espinosa" (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 36-38, 51). Pedro the younger died in 1558 (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 48), and Alonso took a new partner, Gregorio de Espinosa (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 38). After the death of Alonso in 1560 or 1561, Gregorio was joined by the sons of Pedro the younger in the ownership of the bank, which became known as "Gregorio de Espinosa y herederos de Alonso y Pedro de Espinosa" until 1575 (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 38-39). At the death of Alonso in 1560 or 1561, the bank of the Espinosa was heavily in debt (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 39). Juan and Pedro (ca. 1540 – early 17th century) de Espinosa, sons of Pedro de Espinosa the younger, joined Gregorio de Espinosa in the management of the Espinosa bank in Sevilla ca. 1560-61, after the death of their uncle Alonso (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 48). Pedro, son of Pedro the younger, had to retire from business after he became blind (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 50). Financial difficulties of the Espinosa bank in Sevilla after the Spanish bankruptcy of 1575, since they were heavily involved in loans to the state via Juan Fernández de Espinosa (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 107). Sometime after the death of Alonso, the bank in Sevilla came in hands of another branch of the family, notably of Gregorio (a nephew of Pedro the elder), and his nephews Antonio (d. 1584) and Pedro de Espinosa, sons of Juan Fernández de Espinosa the elder. At that time, the bank was named "Gregorio de Espinosa y herederos de Alonso y Pedro de Espinosa (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 110). The Espinosa bank went bankrupt at the Spanish state bankruptcy of 1575 (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 111). Gregorio de Espinosa was born in 1520. In 1563, he was the head of the bank "Gregorio de Espinosa y herederos de Alonso y Pedro de Espinosa", together with his nephews Antonio and Pedro (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 113). Gregorio de Espinosa died before 1597 (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 115).

Public banker in 16th c. Seville (Pike, 1966, 91). The Espinosa bank was a family enterprise that existed for many years. The bank was patronised by the Genoese (Pike, 1966, 94). Failure in 1576. Three generations of the Espinosa family had performed banking operations in Seville. Founder of the Sevillan bank was Pedro, a New World shipper of the first decades of the 16th c. Styled public banker for the first time in 1525. In that time, Domingo de Çornoza, and Juan de Espinosa and Juan de Espinosa Salado, all merchants, were officials of the bank. Pedro's brother Alonso was also a partner. In 1537, a nephew, Melchor, became a member of the firm, from then until Pedro's death in 1543, the bank bore the names of both Pedro and Melchor. At Melchor's death in 1545, he was succeeded by his brother Alonso. In 1553, he was joined by his younger brother Pedro: bank of Alonso and Pedro de Espinosa. Not only active in banking, but also in trade, e.g. with the Indies (Pike, 1966, 94-95). In the 1st half of the century, the bank was independent from Genoese control, but this changed in the 2nd half of the century. Under the direction of the heirs of Alonso and Pedro, the bank became involved in royal financing. Need for large capital reserves: forced to seek the aid of the Genoese. The bank failed at the royal bankruptcy of 1574 (Pike, 1966, 95). The Espinosa were originally from Riosecco and were related by marriage to Fabio Nelli, the well-known banker of Valladolid. During the 16th c., several Espinosa appear as money-changers at the fairs of Medina del Campo (Pike, 1966, 189 n. 46). Originally from Medina de Ríoseco. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 221).

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I did not consult:

Source material:

Several transactions and activities of the Espinosa are recorded in the notarial archives in Sevilla (e.g. wills). Account books of the Espinosa have not been preserved (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 17-18). Other documents can be found in the Archivo General de Indias (Sevilla) (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 17). Data can be found in the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid, the Archivos Históricos de Protocolos in Madrid, Sevilla and Valladolid, the Archivo Nacional of Peru, the Archivos Generales de Indias and Simancas, the archives of the parish of San Ginés in Madrid, the Archivos de las Reales Chancillerías of Valladolid and Granada, the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, the Biblioteca Nacional of Peru, and the Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 30 n. 1).

Size: Large

In the 16th century, the Espinosa played a role of first order in the financial and commercial world of Sevilla and the New World (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 28). By the time of his death, Alonso de Espinosa had a fortune calculated at more than 400,000 ducats (150,000,000 maravédis) (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 38). The fortune of Pedro the younger at the time of his death was estimated at 200,000 ducats (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 48). In 1545, the bank of Melchor de Espinosa and his brothers was the largest bank of Sevilla (in total volume of capital) (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 51). At the bankruptcy in 1575, the passif of the company amounted to more than 2,000,000 ducats (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 111).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Large trade in cochenille, oil and leather in Antwerp (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 14). Commercial expeditions to the New World (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 55, 113). Trade in slaves with the New World (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 36, 40, 51, 64, 69, 76, 105-106, 113). Trade in precious metals from the New World (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 35, 37, 47, 51, 70, 113). Shipments of goods to the New World, such as oil, wine, soap, textiles, iron, etc (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 58, 64, 69, 70, 76). Also imports of sugar, wood, hides, etc from the New World (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 114). Trade in cochenille. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 221). Ca. 1539 Antonio de Espinosa in Sevilla had a shop for the sale of jewels and other merchandise, which he operated in association with Pedro the elder (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 93).
- Finance: The Espinosa bank (together with the Morga, the Lizzarrazas and others) played an important role in the distribution of precious metals from the New World to Europe (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 20). The Espinosa bank was one of the most prosperous banks in Spain in the 16th century (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 28). The Espinosa bank of Pedro the elder had several important clients, such as Juan de Berlanga, bishop of Tierra Firma (Panama) in 1535 (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 55). Credit transactions (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 55). Loans to the commune of Sevilla by Melchor de Espinosa (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 36). A client of the bank of Alonso de Espinosa in 1553 was Tomás Casillas, bishop of Chiapas (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 37). Financial transactions with the Spanish court in Valladolid, e.g. by Pedro the younger (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 46). A client of the bank of Pedro the younger was Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, bishop of Chiapas (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 47). Alonso de Espinosa, son of Pedro the younger, was in charge of the Depositería General of Sevilla in 1563 (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 49). Loan of 12,000 ducats to the commune of Sevilla by Melchor de Espinosa in 1545 (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 51). Juan Fernández de Espinosa was one of the most important personalities in Spanish public finance in the latter part of the 16th century. He was Treasurer-general of Spain from 1575 to 1584, and an important asentista, providing several large loans to the Spanish crown, often with money provided by the Espinosa bank in Sevilla (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 104-107). Deposito banking, exchange transactions (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 110). Powerful bankers. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 221). Jerónimo de Espinosa was involved in maritime insurance in Antwerp. (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 14).
- Industry: The Espinosa were involved in the production of wine, grain and oil on a large scale (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 16). Soap production in Sevilla. Pedro de Espinosa the elder obtained a monopoly of soap production in Sevilla (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 54). Pedro de Espinosa the younger obtained a monopoly for soap production in the archbishopric of Sevilla (including Cadiz). He built several soap manufacturies (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 47). Hernando de Rivadeneyra obtained a sugar mill in Orizaba (Tequila) in 1560 (Lohmann

Villena, 1968, 59). Descendants of the Espinosa in the New World were involved in mining, sugar production, grain production, and cloth manufacturing in the New World (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 59-60, 62, 64, 67-68, 73-75, 96).

- Shipping: In 1550, Alonso de Espinosa was part-owner of the ship San Vicente (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 36-38).

Network of the Espinosa:

The Espinosa were intermediaries between the trade of Spain and of the New World. A kind of diaspora, with a commanding centre in Sevilla (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 13). Active in all directions, especially to the New World, from the early 16th century (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 17). The agents and representatives in the New World were often members of the Espinosa family. The collaboration between family members on each side of the Atlantic, was among the most solid foundations of the family business of the Espinosa. The family members, spread over the principal markets and ports of the New World, cooperated closely with the main firm in Sevilla (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 19-20). Family members of the Espinosa were especially in Spain, Flanders and the New World (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 131).

Table A..1. Network of the Espinosa, beginning 16th century – 1575

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Sevilla		8	4	3	1	early 16th c.-1575	Centre of command of the diaspora of the Espinosa was Sevilla (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 13). Alonso de Espinosa, established in Sevilla (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 15). The bank of the Espinosa, established in Sevilla, was at the core of the various activities of the Espinosa family members who were spread over America (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 17). Several members of the Espinosa family moved from Medina de Rioseco to Sevilla in the early 16th century (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 28). The bank of the Espinosa in Sevilla was founded by Pedro de Espinosa the elder, who operated with money of himself and his elder brother Juan (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 54). The bank of Pedro the elder was located in the Calle de las Gradas (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 55). Factors working in the Sevilla bank of Pedro the elder were his nephews Juan de Espinosa de Carrión and Alonso de Melgar, another relative Juan de Espinosa Salado, and Domingo de Zornoza (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 55). Pedro the elder also owned several warehouses in Sevilla (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 55). From 1536, Melchor de Espinosa, son of Pedro the elder's brother Juan, joined Pedro as director of the bank (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 56). Juan de Espinosa (d. 1554), son of Francisco and grandson of Juan, worked together with his uncle Pedro (the younger) in	

							Sevilla (e.g. 1551). Juan established a company with his cousin Diego de Espinosa Bastida for business with New Spain, where their agent was their relative Hernando de Rivadeneyra (b. 1528) (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 34, 40, 46, 58). Alonso de Espinosa (b. 1501), son of Juan, went to Sevilla at a very young age, where he became an associate of his uncle Pedro the elder. He also traded on his own account, combining banking and commerce. Ca. 1534, he formed a company with his cousin Juan de Espinosa de Carrión for commerce with the Indies. Another company was formed by Alonso in 1546, with Gaspar de Espinosa, son of one of his cousins, for trade with the Indies, which continued until the death of Alonso. Alonso regularly received capital from the Indies (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 35-37, 69, 76). Pedro the elder and his nephew Alonso obtained licenses for sending slaves to the New World (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 36). After the death of Pedro the elder in 1543, his business was taken over by his nephews Alonso and Melchor, sons of Juan (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 36-38). Jerónimo de la Bastida, son of Ana de Espinosa, worked in the bank of his uncle Alonso in Sevilla after ca. 1550 (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 39). Diego de Espinosa Bastida (1527-1588), son of Ana de Espinosa, worked as cashier in the bank of his uncle Melchor de Espinosa in Sevilla. Between 1550 and 1552, he exported slaves to the New World (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 40). Fabio Nelli de Espinosa (ca. 1532-1611), son of Damiana de Espinosa (a sister of Alonso, Melchor and Pedro the younger), did his apprenticeship in the bank of his uncle Pedro the younger in Sevilla, and later became a very successful banker (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 43). Pedro the younger (b. 1510), son of Juan, and nephew of Pedro the elder, went to Sevilla ca. 1530 where he established a banking firm. He associated himself with his brother Alonso from 1553 (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 46). Pedro the younger traded regularly with the Indies (e.g. 1554, 1556, 1558) (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 46-47). Juan de Espinosa, son of Pedro the younger, worked from a very young age in the bank of his father in Sevilla. In 1548 and 1550, he made business trips to the Indies (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 48). Pedro de Espinosa, son of Pedro the younger, worked in the bank of his father in Sevilla (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 50). Melchor de Espinosa, son of Juan, worked in the bank of his uncle Pedro the elder from 1530. He played an increasingly important role in the bank (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 50-51). Juan de Espinosa Salado began	

							his career in the bank of his grand uncle Pedro the elder ca. 1525. Later, he became an independent merchant and financier, being involved in business with the New World. After 1540, he went to the New World himself (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 63). Juan de Espinosa de Carrión (d. before February 1542) began his business career in the bank of his uncle Pedro the elder. Later, he established his own business (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 75-76). Antonio de Espinosa, son of Antonio, half brother of Pedro the elder, began his business career in the bank of his uncle Pedro the elder. Later, he went to the New World (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 92). In 1537, Antonio de Espinosa, nephew of Pedro the elder, was in Lima, operating for his uncle Gaspar de Espinosa. By 1539, he was back in Sevilla, where he had a shop for the sale of jewels and other merchandise, which he operated in association with Pedro the elder (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 93). Antonio de Espinosa, nephew of Gregorio, worked in the bank in Sevilla from ca. 1566, together with his father (Juan Fernández de Espinosa the elder) and his brothers Luis (b. 1550) and Jerónimo (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 110-111). The Espinosa were especially established in Sevilla and Medina del Campo. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 221). In 1564, “Gregorio and heirs of Alonso and Pedro de Espinosa”. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 221).	
Antwerp		6	3	2	1	>1531-1611	Jerónimo de Espinosa, at the head of one of the largest firms in Antwerp. He was involved in maritime insurance in Antwerp. In 1563, Jerónimo became an associate of Alonso de Espinosa, who himself became an associate of Francisco de Espinosa in 1575. In 1574, bills of exchange were transacted with the Espinosa firm in Sevilla. This Antwerp firm was the representative of the Espinosa of Sevilla (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 14). After the death of Alonso de Espinosa in 1560 or 1561, Francisco de Aguilar Pérez was the Antwerp factor of the Espinosa bank of Sevilla (until ca. 1575) (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 38). Juan de Espinosa, son of Pedro the younger, was active as a merchant in Antwerp in 1560 (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 48). Melchor de Espinosa carried out an exchange transaction with Antwerp in 1538 (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 51). Alonso Fernández de Espinosa, father of Gregorio de Espinosa, was active in Antwerp in 1531 (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 103-104). Jerónimo de Espinosa, brother of Gregorio, was factor of the Sevilla bank of the Espinosa in Antwerp, where he lived between 1563 and 1574 (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 115). In Antwerp, presence of the	

							companies “Jerónimo and Alonso de Espinosa” in 1563, and “Francisco and Alonso de Espinosa” in 1575. Partners in this second company were among others Bernardino and Gaspar de Espinosa. Bernardino was in Antwerp in 1577. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 221, 221 n. 419). In 1590, a company between Baltasar de Espinosa and Gaspar de la Peña in Antwerp, headed by de la Peña. This company had a branch in Rouen, headed by Baltasar de Espinosa. This company went bankrupt in the same year it was established (1590). In 1611, bankruptcy of the firm Silvestre and Pedro de Espinosa in Antwerp. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 221, 223).	
Santo Domingo		4	2	2	1	>1533-1570<	Members of the Espinosa family established themselves in New Spain, Santo Domingo, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Potosí, Chili, etc. (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 12-13). In 1533, Antonio de Espinosa represented Pedro the elder in Santo Domingo (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 54-55). Commercial expeditions to Santo Domingo and Puerto Rico by the bank of Pedro the elder (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 55). Gaspar de Espinosa, half brother of Pedro the elder, was active in the New World, especially in Panama and in Santo Domingo (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 93, 135-243). In 1560, Gonzalo Báez Bello was the factor of Gregorio de Espinosa in Santo Domingo. In 1570, his factor was Hernando de Sepúlveda (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 113-114).	
Valladolid		4	2	2	1	>c.1512-1561<	Juan de Espinosa, elder brother of Pedro the elder, settled in Valladolid as a merchant. He had a company with Antonio Buoninsegni, but also traded on his own account, especially with Flanders. Juan was involved in the banking business of his brother Pedro in Sevilla (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 33, 54). Alonso de Espinosa, head of the Espinosa bank between 1543 and 1560/61, went several times to Valladolid for business, where he stayed at the Santa María Square, opposite the cathedral (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 38-39). Damiana de Espinosa, a sister of Melchor, Alonso and Pedro the younger, was married to the Sienese merchant Alfonso Nelli (ca. 1479 – before 1542), who established a bank in Valladolid ca. 1512 with a branch in Medina de Rioseco (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 43). Pedro the younger went regularly to Valladolid for his business transactions with the Spanish court (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 46). Pedro the younger possessed property in Valladolid (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 48). In 1527, Juan de Espinosa de Carríon, operating in his own name or in the name of his uncle Pedro the elder, gave	

							power of attorney for the collection of debts owed to him in Valladolid and Medina de Rioseco (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 76). Francisco de Espinosa (d. 1552), half brother of Pedro the elder, carried out commercial transactions for Pedro the elder and for his nephew Alonso in Valladolid, where he lived (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 87). Bank of Francisco de Espinosa (ca. 1520-1603), brother of Gregorio de Espinosa, in Valladolid (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 112). The Espinosa were related by marriage to Fabio Nelli, the well-known banker of Valladolid. (Pike, 1966, 189 n. 46). Diego de la Haya was the representative of Pedro the elder at the travelling Spanish court (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 56). Juan Fernández de Espinosa, nephew of Gregorio de Espinosa, was head of the Treasury of Spain in 1575-1584, and depositary general. He was an important asentista, providing several large loans to the Spanish crown. Much of the credit for the loans was provided by the Espinosa bank in Sevilla, which was at that time headed by his uncle and his brothers. He lost the favour of Philip II sometime after 1586. He died in 1593 (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 104-109).	
Bruges		3	2	2	1	1470, >1530-1532<	In 1470, a Fernando de Espinosa is known to have exchanged wool for skins in Bruges (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 14). Alonso de Espinosa, son of Juan, was active in Bruges in 1530-1532 (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 35). Alonso and Pedro de Espinosa, sons of Juan de Espinosa, were sent as agents of their father Juan on journeys to Flanders (Alonso in 1523, Pedro in 1532-33) (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 33, 35, 46). Pedro de Espinosa (b. ca. 1540), son of Pedro the younger, made business journeys to Flanders at a young age (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 50). Álvaro de Espinosa (d. before 1550), a son of Juan de Espinosa, made several journeys to Flanders as an agent of his father (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 50). Juan de Espinosa, (1490 – 1545/46), a son of Juan de Espinosa, was a clergyman. He invested in the business of his brothers in Flanders, especially of his eldest brother Francisco (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 52). Financial transactions of Juan de Espinosa Salado with Flanders (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 63). Commercial relations of Francisco de Espinosa, who had a bank in Valladolid, and his son Alonso (d. 1607) with Flanders (e.g. in 1578) (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 112). A certain Lorençio de Espinosa was in Bruges at least 19 years between 1502 and 1555. (Fagel, 2000, 91).	
Cape Verde		3	2	2	1	>1560-1562<	Export of slaves from Cabo Verde to the New World by Gregorio de	

Islands							Espinosa , e.g. in 1560, 1562 (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 113).	
Granada		3	2	2	1	1551, 1555	Pedro the younger invested 2,000 ducats in a bank established by Federico d'Alborgo in Granada in 1551 (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 47). In 1555, Pedro de Espinosa was involved in a payment for the Fugger in Granada. (Kellenbenz & Walter, 2001, 46).	
Lima		3	2	2	1	>1535-1594<	Juan Gómez de Espinosa, brother of Gaspar de Espinosa, travelled to Lima (e.g. in 1552). His factors in Lima were his son Juan and his brother Francisco Gómez de Espinosa. Juan was still in Peru in 1594 (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 73). Francisco Gómez de Espinosa was already in Lima in 1555, and again in 1579 (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 74). Francisco de Espinosa, nephew of Pedro the elder, went to Lima in 1537, where he sold slaves and merchandise purchased in Sevilla with capital provided him by Pedro the elder (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 90). In 1537, Antonio de Espinosa, nephew of Pedro the elder, was in Lima, operating for his uncle Gaspar de Espinosa. By 1539, he was back in Sevilla, where he had a shop for the sale of jewels and other merchandise, which he operated in association with Pedro the elder (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 93). Members of the Espinosa family established themselves in New Spain, Santo Domingo, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Potosí, Chili, etc. (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 12-13). In 1535, Alonso de Espinosa, son of Juan, was sent precious metals from Peru in four ships coming from Tierra Firma (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 35). Ca. 1540, Juan de Espinosa Salado had factors in Peru (Gómez de Léon) and New Spain (Juan de Canseco) (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 63). Juan de Espinosa, (1510-1536) was factor of his father Gaspar de Espinosa in Peru (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 93).	
Madrid		3	2	2	1	>1575-1586<	At the beginning of the 17th century, Alonso de Espinosa (b. 1537), a son of Pedro the younger, headed a bank in Madrid (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 49). Diego de la Haya was the representative of Pedro the elder at the travelling Spanish court (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 56). Juan Fernández de Espinosa, nephew of Gregorio de Espinosa, was head of the Treasury of Spain in 1575-1584, and depositary general. He was an important asentista, providing several large loans to the Spanish crown. Much of the credit for the loans was provided by the Espinosa bank in Sevilla, which was at that time headed by his uncle and his brothers. He lost the favour of Philip II sometime after 1586. He died in 1593 (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 104-109).	

Medina del Campo		3	2	2	1	>1577-1579<	Pedro the younger went regularly to Valladolid for business at the nearby fairs of Medina del Campo and Medina de Rioseco (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 46). Credit transactions with Medina del Campo by Juan Gómez de Espinosa (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 73). During the 16th c., several Espinosa appear as money-changers at the fairs of Medina del Campo (Pike, 1966, 189 n. 46). The Espinosa were especially established in Sevilla and Medina del Campo. In 1579, a company "Juan and Bernardino de Espinosa" was active in Medina del Campo, in partnership with Antonio de Urueña. Relations with the Espinosa in Sevilla are not known. In 1577, Gaspar de Espinosa was in Medina del Campo. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 221).	
Medina de Ríoseco		3	2	2	1	>c.1512-1527<	The Espinosa established themselves in Medina de Rioseco in the early 14th century (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 27). The Espinosa owned warehouses in Medina de Rioseco (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 26). Hernán López de Calatayud, married to Leonor de Fuentes y de la Bastida, a daughter of Ana de Espinosa (a sister of Melchor and Alonso) was a merchant in Medina de Rioseco, and a supplier to Charles V (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 41). Damiana de Espinosa, a sister of Melchor, Alonso and Pedro the younger, was married to the Sienese merchant Alfonso Nelli (ca. 1479 – before 1542), who established a bank in Valladolid ca. 1512 with a branch in Medina de Rioseco (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 43). Pedro the younger went regularly to Valladolid for business at the nearby fairs of Medina del Campo and Medina de Rioseco (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 46). In 1527, Juan de Espinosa de Carríon, operating in his own name or in the name of his uncle Pedro the elder, gave power of attorney for the collection of debts owed to him in Valladolid and Medina de Rioseco (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 76). The Espinosa were originally from Rioseco (Pike, 1966, 189 n. 46). The Espinosa came originally from Medina de Ríoseco. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 221).	
México (Mexico City)		3	2	2	1	>1536-1556<	Juan de Espinosa Salado was established in Mexico. He was sent slaves by his cousin Juan de Espinosa (son of Francisco, grandson of Juan) in Sevilla, who often worked together with his uncle Pedro the younger (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 34). After 1540, Juan de Espinosa Salado went from Sevilla to Mexico for the collection of several debts to him. He stayed in Mexico (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 63). In 1541, he began a retail business in wine and spices in Mexico, but soon his business expanded into wholesale trade,	

							mining, etc. (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 64). Juan de Espinosa Salado was also involved in slave trade with Alonso de Espinosa and Gaspar de Espinosa, e.g. in 1546 (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 69). Hernando de Rivadeneyra (b. 1528), grandson of Beatriz de Espinosa, a niece of Juan and Pedro the elder, established himself in Mexico in 1548 (under the protection of Juan de Espinosa Salado), where he became active in business, especially with his relatives in Sevilla, especially his cousin Gaspar de Espinosa who had a partnership with Alonso de Espinosa since 1546 (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 58, 69). Gaspar de Espinosa, grandson of a sister of Pedro the elder, went to New Spain, first to Veracruz, and from ca. 1536 to Mexico City. Gaspar de Espinosa especially traded for his uncle Juan de Espinosa de Carrión. After 1539, he returned to Sevilla (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 68). In 1556, payment orders from Mexico to Gaspar de Espinosa in Sevilla (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 70).	
Panamá		3	2	2	1	>1527-1557<	Members of the Espinosa family established themselves in New Spain, Santo Domingo, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Potosí, Chili, etc. (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 12-13). In 1535, Alonso de Espinosa, son of Juan, was sent precious metals from Peru in four ships coming from Tierra Firma (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 35). In 1558, capital was sent to Pedro the younger from Tierra Firma (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 47). In 1557, Juan Gómez de Espinosa (1530 – end 16th century) sent silver from Tierra Firma to his brother Gaspar in Sevilla. Juan was in Panama from ca. 1547. Juan had strong business connections in Panama. In 1594, he sent his son Salvador de Espinosa to Tierra Firma (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 70, 73, 74). In 1527, Antonio de Espinosa went to Tierra Firma and Nicaragua where he collected debts for his uncle Gaspar de Espinosa (half brother of Pedro the elder). In 1528, he was active in the city of Panama. Shortly after 1532, he returned to Sevilla, with large amounts of capital which had to be deposited in the bank of his uncle Pedro the elder (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 92). Gaspar de Espinosa, half brother of Pedro the elder, was active in the New World, especially in Panama and in Santo Domingo (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 93, 135-243).	
San Juan (Puerto Rico)		3	2	2	1	from 1521	First business connections of Pedro the elder with the New World in 1521: a transfer of money (50 pesos) from San Juan to Sevilla (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 54). Commercial expeditions to Santo Domingo and Puerto Rico by	

							the bank of Pedro the elder (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 55).	
Concepción (Chile)		2	2	1	0		Members of the Espinosa family established themselves in New Spain, Santo Domingo, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Potosí, Chile, etc. (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 12-13). Juan Gómez de Espinosa had correspondents in Concepción in Chile (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 73).	
Guinea		2	2	1	0		Expeditions to Guinea for slave trade by Gregorio de Espinosa, without permission from Portugal (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 114).	
Honduras		2	2	1	0	1555	In 1555, Pedro the younger gave a power of attorney for the collection of debts owed to him by Diego Ramos, who was in Honduras (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 47).	
Moluccas		2	2	1	0	1525	In 1525, Alonso de Espinosa, son of Juan, established in Sevilla, took part in the consortium which sent an expedition from La Coruña to the Moluccas. In this consortium, the Fugger and Welser were involved as well (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 15, 35).	
Nantes		2	2	1	0	16th c.	The Espinosa family was active in Nantes during the whole of the 16th century. They were important competitors of several Burgos merchants, such as the Astudillo, the Compludo, the Ruiz and the Medina (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 14). By the middle of the 16th century, the Espinosa obtained seats in the *Parlement* of Brittany, moving to Rennes, however without giving up their large estates in Nantes. In 1542, Bernardino de Espinosa founded a chapel in the convent of the Franciscans in Nantes, which was enriched five years later by his son Pedro. Connections with the Espinosa of Sevilla are uncertain. (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 15).	
Nicaragua		2	2	1	0	>1527<	Members of the Espinosa family established themselves in New Spain, Santo Domingo, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Potosí, Chili, etc. (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 12-13). In 1527, Antonio de Espinosa went to Tierra Firma and Nicaragua where he collected debts for his uncle Gaspar de Espinosa (half brother of Pedro the elder) (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 92).	
Nombre de Dios		2	2	1	0	>1535-1558<	The ship San Vicente, partly owned by Alonso de Espinosa (son of Juan) in 1550, sailed to Nombre de Dios. The profits made by Alonso on this voyage were to be administered by his associate Gonzalo Rodríguez Farfán (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 37). In 1558, a shipment of wine to Nombre de Dios by Gaspar de Espinosa (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 70). In 1535, Juan de Espinosa de Carrión sent slaves to Fernando de Frías and Antonio de Pastrana in Nombre de Dios (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 76).	

Potosi	M	2	2	1	0	>1574-1586<	Members of the Espinosa family established themselves in New Spain, Santo Domingo, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Potosí, Chili, etc. (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 12-13). In 1574, Juan Gómez de Espinosa travelled to Potosí where he had interests in the mining business (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 73). In 1586, Francisco Gómez de Espinosa was in Potosí (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 74-75).	
Rouen		2	2	1	0	Mid 16th c.-1593<	In the middle of the 16th century, Baltasar de Espinosa was active in wax production in Rouen. At the end of the 16th century, Baltasar – or a son of the same name – traded in bills of exchange and was active in commerce, e.g. as agent for a company in which Gaspar de la Peña was a member. Baltasar led de la Peña into bankruptcy in 1593 (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 14). In 1590, a company between Baltasar de Espinosa and Gaspar de la Peña in Antwerp, headed by de la Peña. This company had a branch in Rouen, headed by Baltasar de Espinosa. The company went bankrupt in the same year it was established (1590). Connections with the Espinosa of Sevilla are uncertain. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 221, 223).	
San Juan de Ulúa		2	2	1	0	>1553-1563<	In 1553, Andrés de Espinosa sent hides from San Juan de Ulúa to Gaspar de Espinosa in Sevilla (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 69). In 1563, Gregorio de Espinosa received important shipments of precious metals from San Juan de Ulúa, from Juan López de Sosa (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 113).	
Veracruz		2	2	1	0	>1536-c.1550<	Andrés de Espinosa was established in Veracruz, where he operated as a factor of Hernando de Rivadeneyra (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 58). Andrés de Espinosa, nephew of Pedro the elder, went to the New World in the 1530s. Ca. 1550, he established himself in Veracruz, where he became an intermediary between Gaspar de Espinosa and Hernando de Rivadeneyra, who was established in Mexico (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 75). Gaspar de Espinosa, grandson of a sister of Pedro the elder, went to New Spain, first to Veracruz, and from ca. 1536 to Mexico City. Gaspar de Espinosa especially traded for his uncle Juan de Espinosa de Carrión. After 1539, he returned to Sevilla (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 68).	
Augsburg		1	1	1	0		Close relationship between Francisco de Espinosa, brother of Gregorio, who had a bank in Valladolid in the second half of the 16th century, and the Welser in Augsburg (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 112).	
Orizaba (Tequila)	S	1	1	1	0	1560-c.1580	Hernando de Rivadeneyra obtained a sugar mill in Orizaba (Tequila) in 1560, which was sold ca. 1580 (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 59).	

Rennes		1	1	1	0	from mid 16th c.	By the middle of the 16th century, the Espinosa obtained seats in the *Parlement* of Brittany, moving to Rennes, however without giving up their large estates in Nantes (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 15).	

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2. JUAN CASTELLANOS DE ESPINOSA, 1580s – 1601 (not used network)

Family La Torre Espinosa and Castellanos de Espinosa, in Sevilla. They had important links with the main branch of the Espinosa, although the direct family relationship is unclear. They had an important banking house in the second half of the 16th century (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 116-117). By the 1580s, the brothers Juan and Sebastián Castellanos de Espinosa carried out banking activities (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 119). Juan Castellanos de Espinosa and his relatives were accused of counterfeiting in the late 1580s, but he had important connections at the Spanish Court and managed to escape a harsh punishment. The family became very important in banking again, but finally collapsed dramatically (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 119-120). In 1595, Juan Castellanos de Espinosa, associated with the rich Genoese banker Ambrosio Spinola, obtained a monopoly for opening a bank in Sevilla for ten years. The privilege was given to Adán de Vivaldo, another Genoese, but in reality it was carried out by Juan Castellanos (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 120-121). The bank was essentially an exchange bank, and had almost the status of a public bank (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 121). The bank in Sevilla was headed by Pedro de la Torre Espinosa (ca. 1550-1596), brother of Juan Castellanos de Espinosa, and by Agustín de Vivaldo and Pedro de Mallea, nephew of Pedro and Juan. In reality, the power was in hands of Juan Castellanos (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 121). After the death of Pedro de la Torre Espinosa, the bank was renamed "Banco de Pedro de la Torre Espinosa y Compañia", his widow taking over Pedro's share (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 121). Shipment of olives, wine, soap, etc. to the Indies (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 123). Bankruptcy in 1601 (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 123-125). Financial business with the Spanish state (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 123). In 1600, the widow of Pedro de la Torre Espinosa had sold her participation in the bank to the brothers Giácomo and Giovanni Francesco Mortedo, and to Martín de Aguirre. The bank then was renamed as "Jácome Mortedo y Compañia y consortes". It was still under control of Castellanos de Espinosa (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 124). At the time of the bankruptcy, the passive of the company amounted to 320,000 ducats (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 124). Juan Castellanos de Espinosa died shortly after the bankruptcy in 1601 (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 125). In reality, (according to an account of 1615) the passif totalled 380,000 ducats, while the active totalled only 92,392 ducats (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 126).
In 1595, the monopoly of public banking in Seville came in hands of the brothers Juan Castellanos de Espinosa and Pedro de la Torre Espinosa, descendants of the founder of the original Espinosa bank. After the death of Pedro, the Genoese Jacome Mortedo and Bautista Serra joined in 1600 with Juan de Castellanos Espinosa. It failed in 1601 (Pike, 1966, 96-97).

Size:

Main activities:

- Commerce:
- Finance:
- Industry:

Network of Juan Castellanos de Espinosa:

Table A..2. Network of Juan Castellanos de Espinosa, 1580s – 1601

City	Score			Period	Type of presence	References
Sevilla				1580s-1601	The bank of Juan Castellanos de Espinosa was established in Sevilla in 1595, and was named "Banco de Pedro de la Torre Espinosa (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 121). Juan Castellanos de Espinosa lived in Madrid until the death of his brother Pedro in 1596, when he returned to Sevilla (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 121).	
Madrid				>1596	Juan Castellanos de Espinosa lived in Madrid until the death of his brother Pedro in 1596, when he returned to Sevilla (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 121).	
Peru					Factor in Peru was Alonso Rodríguez de León (Lohmann Villena, 1928, 123).	
San Juan de Ulúa				1599	In 1599, large shipment by Castellanos de Espinosa to San Juan de Ulúa (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 122-123). Factors for this shipment were the brothers Diego López Doria and Leonardo Doria (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 123).	

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QUINTANADUEÑAS, late 15th century – early 17th century

Entrepreneurial dynamism and financial success. However, the partnership did not survive until the end of the 16th century. This was a result of the structural weaknesses of the family partnership (kinship ties between heirs became more remote, capital of the partnership was subject to inheritance laws and social values that tended to divert capital into land or bonds), and of the changing commercial conditions (especially the Revolt of the Low Countries and the religious wars). (Mathers, 1988, 372). The Quintanadueñas family came originally from the hamlet of Mahamud near Burgos, but moved to Burgos. (Mathers, 1988, 384). The fathers of the cousins Juan and Gómez de Quintanadueñas had been partners for 30 years. (Mathers, 1988, 384). After the death of their fathers, Juan and Gómez de Quintanadueñas carried on the business of their fathers. They founded a partnership, apparently in 1519. (Mathers, 1988, 384). Most of the children of Juan de Quintanadueñas married into the local French society. (Mathers, 1988, 385). The partnership between Juan and Gómez de Quintanadueñas lasted for 30 years. In 1546, Juan visited Burgos to settle accounts and renew the partnership. (Mathers, 1988, 387). Juan de Quintanadueñas died in 1550, and his cousin Gómez died in 1553. The partnership was not renewed by their descendants. (Mathers, 1988, 387). The share of the Quintanadueñas in the Rouen trade was apparently taken over by García and Miguel de Salamanca. (Mathers, 1988, 388). The Quintanadueñas played a considerable role in the social and political life of Burgos. (Mathers, 1988, 389). The Quintanadueñas played a major role in the consulado of Burgos. (Mathers, 1988, 389). The Quintanadueñas came originally from Burgos. (Brunelle, 1989, 204). Jean I de Quintanadoines had at least four sons, two of whom remained active in commerce. One of them, Samson, returned to Spain, while the other Fernandes, remained in Rouen. The Quintanadoines preserved an extremely close relationship with their relatives in Castile, who were wealthy, influential, and very numerous. (Brunelle, 1989, 211). Death of Samson ca. 1583. (Brunelle, 1989, 213). The Quintanadoines in Rouen consistently invested in commerce as late as the eighteenth century. (Brunelle, 1989, 219). Also Alonce, a brother of Fernandes and Samson, was active as a merchant in Rouen, until his death in the early 17th century. (Brunelle, 1989, 214, 219). Of the sons of Fernandes, Alonce and Jacques were active as merchants in Rouen, Alonce until ca. 1606, Jacques until shortly after the death of his father early in the 17th century. Jacques especially traded together with his father. (Brunelle, 1989, 219). Jean de Quintanadoines married Isabeau de Civille. (Mollat, 1952, 512). Father of Gomez de Quintanadueñas was Pedro de Quintanadueñas, father of Jean de Quintanadoines was Pedro's brother Fernando de Quintanadueñas. Brother of Pedro and Fernando was Francisco de Quintanadueñas, who was in Bruges in 1516. Father of Pedro, Francisco and Fernando was Fernandez Sanchez de Mahamud, married to Dona Maria de Quintanadueñas. (Mollat, 1952, 522). Of the sons of Jean de Quintanadoines, Fernand became consul of the merchants in Rouen in 1565, while Samson returned to Spain. (Mollat, 1952, 522). Samson, one of the sons of Jean I, returned to Spain. (Mollat, 1952, 517).

There were some large merchant dynasties from Burgos in the 16th c: the Maluenda, Miranda, Salamanca, Lerma, Astudillo, Quintanadueñas, Gauna, Pardo, Bernuy, Santa-Cruz, etc. (Lapeyre, 1955, 119-120). The Quintanaduenos became lords of Brétigny. (Mollat, 1970, 49-50).

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Source material:

Information about the Quintanadueñas family can be found in notarial documents of Burgos, preserved in the Archivo de Protocolos Notariales of Burgos. (Mathers, 1988, 367 n. 1).

Size: Medium-sized or large

The Quintanadueñas played a considerable role in the social and political life of Burgos. (Mathers, 1988, 389). The Quintanadueñas played a major role in the consulado of Burgos. (Mathers, 1988, 389). The most important Spanish merchants in Rouen were the Civille, Saldaigne and Quintanadoines. (Mollat, 1970, 49).

Main activities:

- Commerce: The Quintanadueñas were still involved in the wool trade in the late 1540s. (Mathers, 1988, 372 n. 13). The Quintanadueñas exported Spanish wool to Rouen and shipped woollen and linen cloth of Rouen, as well as various other goods, to many locations, including Spain and the New World. (Mathers, 1988, 372). The company of the fathers of Juan and Gómez de Quintanadueñas exported wool and imported woollen cloth and linen. (Mathers, 1988, 384). Large scale wool trade by the Quintanadueñas cousins. (Mathers, 1988, 385). The Quintanadueñas also exported alum and malaguena pepper from Spain, and traded in brazilwood. They had a spice contract for France. (Mathers, 1988, 385-386). Export of linen and canvas, as well as woollens, paper and playing cards from Rouen. (Mathers, 1988, 386). Fernandes de Quintanadoine imported large quantities of products of south America, such as cochenille, hides, pearls, and diamonds. He exported cloth and wine to the New World. (Brunelle, 1989, 213). Import of brazilwood by a partnership between Jean de Quintanadoines, Jean de Saldaigne and the Rouen merchant Thierry Tuvache in 1529. (Mollat, 1952, 516). Important trade in Spanish wool. (Mollat, 1952, 516).
- Finance: The Quintanadoines invested in public rents (hidden loans), often guaranteed on the incomes of urban taxes. (Mollat, 1952, 515).

- Industry:

Network of Gómez and Juan de Quintanadueñas:

Family partnership. At least one of the family partners resided abroad and established himself (as well as his children) as a leading citizen in the new city. (Mathers, 1988, 372).

Table A..1. Network of Gómez and Juan de Quintanadueñas, 1519-1550

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Burgos		8	4	3	1	1519-1553	Partnership between Gómez de Quintanadueñas in Burgos and Juan de Quintanadueñas in Rouen. (Mathers, 1988, 384). The Quintanadueñas cousins purchased wool on a large scale in the mountains of Castile, not far south of Burgos, to be shipped to Rouen and Nantes. (Mathers, 1988, 385). The partnership between Juan and Gómez de Quintanadueñas lasted for 30 years. In 1546, Juan visited Burgos to settle accounts and renew the partnership. (Mathers, 1988, 387). By 1547-49, Juan de Quintanadueñas the younger, son of Gómez, was a partner in the company as well. He was active in Burgos. (Mathers, 1988, 387). Jean I de Quintanadoines had close ties with the Quintanadoines of Spain and Antwerp. (Brunelle, 1989, 219; Mollat, 1952, 516). Close ties between the cousins Jean (Rouen) and Gomez (Burgos) de Quintanadueñas. Gomez was an important and successful merchant of Burgos. (Mollat, 1952, 516).	
Rouen		3 **8**	2 **4**	2 **3**	1 **1**	>1510< 1519-1550	The fathers of Gómez and Juan de Quintanadueñas exported wool in partnership to Bruges and perhaps to Rouen. (Mathers, 1988, 371 n. 13). The Quintanadueñas exported Spanish wool to Rouen and shipped woollen and linen cloth of Rouen to many locations. (Mathers, 1988, 372). Juan de Quintanadueñas established himself in Rouen. He came originally from Burgos. (Mathers, 1988, 384). Partnership between Gómez de Quintanadueñas in Burgos and Juan de Quintanadueñas in Rouen. (Mathers, 1988, 384). The fathers of Gómez and Juan de Quintanadueñas may already have been trading with Rouen. Juan himself was temporarily in Rouen in 1510, probably as a factor of his father. (Mathers, 1988, 384). Juan established himself in Rouen in 1519, obtained naturalisation in France in	

							1521, and married the daughter of Alonso de Civilia in 1527. (Mathers, 1988, 384-385). The Quintanadueñas cousins purchased wool on a large scale in the mountains of Castile, not far south of Burgos, to be shipped to Rouen and Nantes. (Mathers, 1988, 385). In 1529, Juan de Quintanadueñas and Jean de Saldaigne were associated with Thierry Tuvache of Rouen to import Brazilwood. (Mathers, 1988, 385-386). The partnership between Juan and Gómez de Quintanadueñas lasted for 30 years. In 1546, Juan visited Burgos to settle accounts and renew the partnership. (Mathers, 1988, 387). García de Quintanadueñas, son-in-law of Gómez, was a partner working in Rouen (by ca. 1547-1549). (Mathers, 1988, 387). Jean I de Quintanadoines appeared in Rouen in 1519. (Brunelle, 1989, 204). Jean I de Quintanadoines arrived in Rouen from Burgos in 1519, and was naturalised by 1521. He had close ties with the Civille and Saldaigne families of Rouen. (Brunelle, 1989, 219; Mollat, 1952, 512). The Quintanadoines established themselves in Rouen between 1500 and 1520. (Mollat, 1952, 510). Jean de Quintanadoines, son of Fernando, established himself in Rouen. (Mollat, 1952, 522). Branch in Rouen. (Mus, 1964, 92 n. 421). The most important Spanish merchants in Rouen were the Civille, Saldaigne and Quintanadoines. (Mollat, 1970, 49). In Rouen, Jean de Quintanadoines was married to Isabeau de Civille, while her brother Alonce de Civille was married to Marie de Saldaigne. (Mollat, 1970, 49). The Quintanaduenas family was active in Bruges, Nantes and Rouen under the catholic kings. (Mollat, 1970, 50).	
Antwerp		4	2	2	1	>1543-1545<	Jean I de Quintanadoines had close ties with the Quintanadoines of Spain and Antwerp. (Brunelle, 1989, 219). Garcia and Francisco de Quintanadoines circulated in the Low Countries, between Bruges, Antwerp and Middelburg, in the first half of the 16th century. (Mollat, 1952, 519). The Quintanadoines shipped tin from Antwerp to Rouen in 1545. (Mollat, 1952, 519). Import-trade from France to Antwerp in 1543-44 (Goris, 1925, 251).	
Bruges		4	2	2	1	>1510-1545<	The fathers of Gómez and Juan de Quintanadueñas exported wool in partnership to Bruges and perhaps to Rouen. (Mathers, 1988, 371 n. 13). In 1545, Juan de Quintanadueñas obtained permission from the magistrates of Bruges to export goods imported from Spain on two ships via the port of Sluis. (Mathers, 1988, 387). Francisco, brother of Pedro and Fernando de Quintanadueñas was in Bruges in 1516. (Mollat, 1952, 522). Jean de	

							Quintanadoines obtained Spanish wool in Bruges. (Mollat, 1952, 516 n. 284). Garcia and Francisco de Quintanadoines circulated in the Low Countries, between Bruges, Antwerp and Middelburg, in the first half of the 16th century. (Mollat, 1952, 519). Gomes de Quintanadoines was Spanish consul in Bruges in 1510, Garcia in 1538. (Mollat, 1952, 519 n. 313). Francesco, member of the family, in Bruges (Mus, 1964, 92 n. 421). The Quintanadueñas family was active in Bruges, Nantes and Rouen under the catholic kings. (Mollat, 1970, 50).	
Sevilla		4	2	2	1	>1547-1549<	The Quintanadueñas cousins exported linen, canvas, etc. from Rouen to the fairs of Medina del Campo, Lisbon, Sevilla and London. (Mathers, 1988, 386). Ca. 1547-49, Antonio de Arbieto was a factor of the company in Sevilla. (Mathers, 1988, 387).	
Brazil		3	2	2	1	>1529<	Early in the 16th century, the Quintanadoines had led efforts to open up a direct trade between the ports of Normandy and Brazil. These illicit trading expeditions were profitable. Especially trade in brazilwood as an important source of dye for the cloth industry in Normandy. (Brunelle, 1989, 211-212). Import of brazilwood by a partnership between Jean de Quintanadoines, Jean de Saldaigne and the Rouen merchant Thierry Tuvache in 1529. (Mollat, 1952, 516).	
Cartagena		3	2	2	1	>1547-1548<	In 1547-48, the Quintanadueñas shipped alum and malaguena pepper from Mazarron and Cartagena, where their agents were Luis Cruzate and Martín de Uriondo. (Mathers, 1988, 386).	
Lisbon		3	2	2	1		The Quintanadueñas cousins exported linen, canvas, etc. from Rouen to the fairs of Medina del Campo, Lisbon, Sevilla and London. (Mathers, 1988, 386).	
London		3	2	2	1		The Quintanadueñas cousins exported linen, canvas, etc. from Rouen to the fairs of Medina del Campo, Lisbon, Sevilla and London. (Mathers, 1988, 386).	
Mazarrón		3	2	2	1	>1547-1548<	In 1547-48, the Quintanadueñas shipped alum and malaguena pepper from Mazarron and Cartagena, where their agents were Luis Cruzate and Martín de Uriondo. (Mathers, 1988, 386).	
Medina del Campo		3	2	2	1		The Quintanadueñas cousins exported linen, canvas, etc. from Rouen to the fairs of Medina del Campo, Lisbon, Sevilla and London. (Mathers, 1988, 386).	
Middelburg		3	2	2	1	>1531/32<	Ca. 1531-1532, shipment by Jean and Gomez de Quintanadueñas to the	

							Canaries, with return destination Middelburg. (Mollat, 1952, 516). Garcia and Francisco de Quintanadoines circulated in the Low Countries, between Bruges, Antwerp and Middelburg, in the first half of the 16th century. (Mollat, 1952, 519).	
Nantes		3	2	2	1		The Quintanadueñas cousins purchased wool on a large scale in the mountains of Castile, not far south of Burgos, to be shipped to Rouen and Nantes. (Mathers, 1988, 385). The Quintanadueñas family was active in Bruges, Nantes and Rouen under the catholic kings. (Mollat, 1970, 50).	
Algarve		2	2	1	0	1531/32	Ca. 1531-1532, two shipments by Jean and Gomez de Quintanadueñas to Algarve. (Mollat, 1952, 516).	
Bayonne		2	2	1	0	1526	In 1526, pastel was purchased in Bayonne for Antoine de Civille and Jean de Quintanadoines. (Mollat, 1952, 518-519 n. 305).	
Bordeaux		2	2	1	0	1524	In 1524, Martin Boursier purchased pastel in Bordeaux for Antoine de Civille and Jean de Quintanadoines. (Mollat, 1952, 518-519 n. 305).	
Canary Islands		2	2	1	0	1531/32	Ca. 1531-1532, shipment by Jean and Gomez de Quintanadueñas to the Canaries, with return destination Middelburg. (Mollat, 1952, 516).	
Madeira		2	2	1	0	1529	In 1529, the Quintanadueñas imported goods from Madeira in a Portuguese ship. (Mathers, 1988, 386).	
Wales		2	2	1	0	1535	In 1535, Juan de Quintanadueñas sent a ship to Wales. (Mathers, 1988, 386).	
Harfleur		1	1	1	0	1528	Alvaro Pardo and Jean de Quintanadoines supplied the “grenier” of Harfleur with salt (1528). (Mollat, 1952, 515).	
Sluis		1	1	1	0	1545	In 1545, Juan de Quintanadueñas obtained permission from the magistrates of Bruges to export goods imported from Spain on two ships via the port of Sluis. (Mathers, 1988, 387).	

+ The different literatures used for the reconstruction of this network give only a very fragmented picture. As such, the network in this table is probably somewhat imprecise and incomplete.

Network of Fernandes de Quintanadueñas (not used network):

Fernandes de Quintanadoines traded with Brazil, Spain, Newfoundland, Flanders, Canaries, England and Hamburg. (Brunelle, 1989, 219).

Table A..2. Network of Fernandes de Quintanadueñas, 1550s – early 17th century

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Rouen		8	4	3	1	>1562-early 17th c.	In the 1560s, Antonio de Quintanadueñas, son of Gómez, was active in Rouen for Simón Ruiz. (Mathers, 1988, 388; Brunelle, 1989, 211). Fernandes de Quintanadoines, son of Jean I, was active in commerce and financial speculations in Rouen until his death in the early 17th century. (Brunelle, 1989, 214). Anthoine de Quintanadoines was forced to flee Rouen in 1562 for the protestant uprising. (Brunelle, 1989, 214). Anthoine de Quintanadoines spent several years of his youth in Rouen and was naturalised in 1547. He returned to Rouen as a factor for the Ruiz in 1562. In opposition to his family members, he did not assimilate into the society of Rouen however. (Brunelle, 1989, 216). Antonio de Quintanadueñas, from a family of Burgos, became the correspondent of Simon Ruiz in Rouen in 1563 (Lapeyre, 1955, 64). Of the sons of Jean de Quintanadoines, Fernand became consul of the merchants in Rouen in 1565, while Samson returned to Spain. (Mollat, 1952, 522). Still in 1551, Jean de Quintanadoines in Rouen (son of Gómez) was a partner of Jeronimo de Salamanca in Burgos. (Mollat, 1952, 517 n. 288).	
Sevilla		4	2	2	1	>1566-1576<	Sancho, son of Juan de Quintanadueñas of Rouen, established himself in Sevilla, where he became active in commerce. (Mathers, 1988, 388). Samson de Quintanadoines in Sevilla helped his brother Fernandes and his cousin Anthoine in Rouen engage in clandestine trade with Brazil. In 1566 five ships carrying consignments of goods belonging to the Quintanadoines of Rouen disappeared at sea while returning to Sevilla with the Spanish convoy from the Indies. In 1570, Samson, Fernandes and Anthoine settled their accounts for goods Samson had sent to the Indies for Anthoine's and Fernandes' account. In 1576, a shipment of cloth and wine which Fernandes had sent to Samson was stolen at sea by pirates. Fernandes sent numerous ships to the ports of Cadiz and Sevilla with merchandise that was probably on its way to the New World. Death of Samson ca. 1583. (Brunelle, 1989, 212-213). Sancho de Quentanadueñas was a very rich merchant in Sevilla. (Bennassar, 1957, 65).	
Antwerp		3	2	2	1	>c.1566-1605	Fernandes de Quintanadoines traded with Brazil, Spain, Newfoundland, Flanders, Canaries, England and Hamburg. (Brunelle, 1989, 219). Around 1591 a certain Antonio Gallo Salamanca in Antwerp had ties with Fernando de Quintanadueñas in Rouen. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 224). Alonce de	

							Quintanadoines, son of Fernandes, was active in commerce until about 1606. He speculated in bills of exchange with the bank of Strozzi, Zanobi and Mazzi in Antwerp. Failure of this bank almost resulted in the bankruptcy of Alonce in 1605. (Brunelle, 1989, 219). A correspondent in Antwerp of Antonio de Quintanadueñas of Rouen was Jerónimo de Curiel (ca. 1566-1570). (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 219).	
Brazil		3	2	2	1	>1564<	Samson de Quintanadoines in Sevilla helped his brother Fernandes and his cousin Anthoine in Rouen engage in clandestine trade with Brazil. (Brunelle, 1989, 212-213). Fernandes continued to sponsor individual expeditions to Brazil in the 1560s. In 1564 he sent the *Catherine* to Brazil with a full cargo of goods. The ship sunk in a storm. (Brunelle, 1989, 213). Fernandes traded with Brazil for brazilwood. (Brunelle, 1989, 219).	
Cádiz		3	2	2	1		Fernandes sent numerous ships to the ports of Cadiz and Sevilla with merchandise that was probably on its way to the New World. (Brunelle, 1989, 213).	
Canary Islands		3	2	2	1		Fernandes de Quintanadoines traded with the Canaries. (Brunelle, 1989, 219).	
England		3	2	2	1		Fernandes de Quintanadoines traded with Brazil, Spain, Newfoundland, Flanders, Canaries, England and Hamburg. (Brunelle, 1989, 219).	
Hamburg		3	2	2	1		Fernandes de Quintanadoines traded with Hamburg. (Brunelle, 1989, 219).	
Newfoundland		3	2	2	1		Fernandes de Quintanadoines traded with Newfoundland for fish. (Brunelle, 1989, 219).	
Spanish Americas		3	2	2	1	>1566-1583<	The Quintanadoines were interested in trade with the Spanish possessions in the New World via their relatives in Castile. (Brunelle, 1989, 211). In 1566 five ships carrying consignments of goods belonging to the Quintanadoines of Rouen disappeared at sea while returning to Sevilla with the Spanish convoy from the Indies. In 1570, Samson, Fernandes and Anthoine settled their accounts for goods Samson had sent to the Indies for Anthoine's and Fernandes' account. Fernandes sent numerous ships to the ports of Cadiz and Sevilla with merchandise that was probably on its way to the New World. Fernandes remained involved in trade with the Indies even after Samson's death ca. 1583. (Brunelle, 1989, 212-213). The Quintanadoines were deeply involved in trade with the New World. (Brunelle, 1989, 219).	
Bruges		2	2	1	0	from 1551	In 1551, Juan (in Rouen), son of Gómez de Quintanadueñas, established a partnership with Jerónimo de Salamanca (in Burgos) for trade with Bruges.	

							Connections with Fernandes not known however. (Mathers, 1988, 388). Fernandes de Quintanadoines traded with Brazil, Spain, Newfoundland, Flanders, Canaries, England and Hamburg. (Brunelle, 1989, 219).	
Burgos		2	2	1	0	>1551<	In 1551, Jean de Quintanadoines in Rouen (son of Gómez) was a partner of Jeronimo de Salamanca in Burgos. (Mollat, 1952, 517 n. 288). The Quintanadueñas played a considerable role in the social and political life of Burgos. (Mathers, 1988, 389). The Quintanadueñas played a major role in the consulado of Burgos. (Mathers, 1988, 389). The Quintanadueñas came originally from Burgos. (Brunelle, 1989, 204). Connections with Fernandes not known however.	

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RUIZ, ca. 1537 – ca. 1607

André Ruiz traded from time to time for his brother Simon, but no long term-contracts between them (Lapeyre, 1955, 49). Loppez and Diego-Rodriguez Ruiz, from Portugal, received a letter of naturalisation in Lyon (1578) (Gascon, 1971, 367).

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Archivo de Simon Ruiz, in: Archivo de la Universidad de Valladolid, Valladolid (Kellenbenz, 1954, 359). A huge business archive, mostly consisting of correspondence, of Simon and Cosme Ruiz of Medina del Campo has been preserved in the Archivo Histórico Provincial y Universitario de Valladolid. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, v). The correspondence of the Ruiz with Italy amounted to ca. 6,000 letters, of which 1,150 have disappeared. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, v). The correspondence of Simon and Cosme Ruiz with Lisbon, Antwerp and Florence has been published, respectively by José Gentil da Silva (1956, 1959), Valentín Vázquez de Prada (1960), and Felipe Ruiz Martín (1965). (Ruiz Martín, 1965, v). The business archives of Simon and Cosme Ruiz have been preserved in the Hospital founded by Simon Ruiz from 1632 until 1947, when they were relocated to the Historical Provincial Archives of Valladolid. The Ruiz archive contains ca. 50,000 letters, as well as bills of exchange, accounts, account books, notarial deeds, etc. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 18-19).

1. SIMON RUIZ, ca. 1545 – 1606

Simon Ruiz, born in Belorado in 1525 or 1526. Around 1550, Simon Ruiz leaves definitely Belorado to establish himself in Medina del Campo (Lapeyre, 1955, 60). Simon’s brother Vitores Ruiz, establishes himself already in 1545 in Medina del Campo, where he married María de Portillo, from which marriage he obtained a number of houses near the church of San Juan de Sardón (Lapeyre, 1955, 60-61). In 1551-53: association for commerce in merchandise from Bretagne between Simon Ruiz (3,000 ducats) and Juan de Orbea, treasurer of Aragon (9,000 ducats) (1/3 of profits to Simon, 2/3 to Juan). (Lapeyre, 1955, 61). In 1553-1557 partnership between Simon Ruiz (2,000 ducats, 2/9 of total) and two merchants of Burgos, Andrés Merino and Francisco de Zamora, for imports from France. (Lapeyre, 1955, 61-62). Around 1555, Simon operated in concert with his brother Vitores Ruiz and his cousin Francisco de la Presa (Lapeyre, 1955, 62). In 1556-1569 partnership between Simon Ruiz (1/3), Yvon Rocaz (Nantes) (+ 1569) and Jean Le Lou (Nantes) (+ 1566), not dissolved at death of Jean Le Lou, who was replaced by his son Michel. Only dissolved at death of Rocaz in 1569 (Lapeyre, 1955, 62). Settlement of accounts of the company of Simon Ruiz of 1560-1565 in July 1565 in Bayonne (Lapeyre, 1955, 66). Company of 1574-1581 of Simon Ruiz: accounts closed on 31-12-1583 (Lapeyre, 1955, 70). Cosme Ruiz, youngest son of Vitores I Ruiz, was raised in the house of his uncle Simon Ruiz. Cosme started to keep the accounts in 1578. Was sent to Nantes to settle some accounts in 1585. Simon Ruiz wanted him to stay for a while in Nantes to learn the business of factor, but he refused. Dispute with Simon. Finally the dispute was settled and Cosme returned to Medina del Campo: a new company is started between

Simon Ruiz, Cosme Ruiz and Lope de Arziniega (Lapeyre, 1955, 98-99). Profitable start of the company in 1586-87: large trade in cloth from Nantes, Rouen, Quimper. But in the following years the trade is less profitable. Less attention to trade with Nantes, increasing focus on exchange transactions with Lyon and more and more with Italy (Lapeyre, 1955, 99). In 1585 new company of Simon Ruiz with his nephew Cosme Ruiz (son of Vitores) and his employee Lope de Arziniega: Simon apports the capital and gets 1/3 of the profits, like his two partners. The actual direction of the company was in hands of Lope de Arziniega, but Simon is consulted for important affairs. Simon concentrates more and more on financial activities, while the company takes care of commerce. In 1592, new company of Simon and Cosme Ruiz. Simon is ill at that time and probably retires from business then. Builds a hospital during the last 5 years of his life. Simon Ruiz dies in 1597 (Lapeyre, 1955, 72-73). In 1561, Simon Ruiz married to Doña María de Montalvo, who died without leaving him children in 1571. He remarried in 1574 with Doña Mariana de Paz (Lapeyre, 1955, 75-76). Bankruptcy of Cosme Ruiz in 1606 (Lapeyre, 1955, 101; Bayard, 1971, 1255). Cosme died in 1618. Was able to put some order in his business again with help of his servant Andrés de Otaola, but never returned to business after his bankruptcy in 1606 (Lapeyre, 1955, 102). Simon Ruiz operated as an individual merchant between 1569 and 1585 (Lapeyre, 1955, 146). Company of Simon Ruiz (3,000 ducats) and Juan de Orbea (9,000 ducats) in 1551. In 1586, Simon Ruiz, Cosme Ruiz and Lope de Arziniega each bring in a capital of 12,000 ducats (Lapeyre, 1955, 147). Simon Ruiz invested “fuori del corpo” 3,147,000 maravédis from 30-10-1586 to 30-6-1589 for an interest of 7%, and 1,875,000 maravédis from 2-12-1586 to 30-6-1590 with 6% interest (Lapeyre, 1955, 148). The Ruiz liquidated their companies in 1577 and 1585 (Lapeyre, 1955, 152).

Size: Large

Fortune of Simon Ruiz at his death: 141,964,000 Maravédis, or 378,412 ducats. Ca. 405,000 florins (without the bad debts). Much less than the Fugger (4,700,000 florins in 1546), but more similar to the Haug (900,000 florins) or the heirs of Neidhart in 1570 (500,000 florins). Simon Ruiz’ fortune consisted of real estate, movables, rents, claims on debts to him of merchants and the state (Lapeyre, 1955, 81-83). Settlement of accounts of the company of Simon Ruiz of 1560-1565 in July 1565 in Bayonne: in total, for 162,134,843 maravédis of merchandise from Bretagne was sold (mostly linens and cards (kaarden)), and for 17,762,220 maravédis of merchandise from Rouen (Lapeyre, 1955, 66).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Settlement of accounts of the company of Simon Ruiz of 1560-1565 in July 1565 in Bayonne: in total, for 162,134,843 maravédis of merchandise from Bretagne was sold (mostly linens and cards (kaarden)), and for 17,762,220 maravédis of merchandise from Rouen (Lapeyre, 1955, 66). Before 1568: Simon Ruiz concentrated on trade in linen from Bretagne via Nantes to the fairs of Castile. From 1568, the trade in linen becomes less important and he is increasingly involved in speculation on exchange transactions: in 1571 and 1572 losses in the cloth trade, while large profits in speculation in 1570-1572. From a borrower, Simon Ruiz becomes a lender (Lapeyre, 1955, 67-68). In the 1570s, Simon Ruiz also extended his trade to other merchandise than linen cloths: saffron in 1571, grain in 1572, salt in 1575,… (Lapeyre, 1955, 68). In 1576, Simon Ruiz starts lending money to Philip II. However, he also continues his

commercial activities for his own account and in commission, and even extends them (Lapeyre, 1955, 69). From 1580, Simon Ruiz participates with some Lisbon merchants in sales of pepper in Valencia and Bilbao, bresilwood and indigo in Castile. In Spain he purchased scarlet cloths and silks in Valencia, scarlet cloths in Toledo, velvets, satins and cloth from Segovia. In Seville he purchased indigo destined for the dyers of Segovia, in San Sebastian he purchased copper from the north, destined for Lisbon. All these transactions were in limited quantities and were not frequently renewed (Lapeyre, 1955, 71). In the 1560s, the Ruiz traded especially in linens. (Bennassar, 1957, 66). Simon Ruiz imported olives and oil from Sevilla during the 1560s. (Bennassar, 1957, 67). Leather from the New World was purchased in Sevilla and exported to Rouen in 1569. (Bennassar, 1957, 68). Sales of grain in Sevilla, e.g. in 1568-1568. (Bennassar, 1957, 68-69).

- Finance: From 1568, the trade in linen becomes less important and he is increasingly involved in speculation on exchange transactions: in 1571 and 1572 losses in the cloth trade, while large profits in speculation in 1570-1572. From a borrower, Simon Ruiz becomes a lender (Lapeyre, 1955, 67-68). In 1576, Simon Ruiz starts lending money to Philip II: provides him with bills of exchange (thanks to his contacts in Antwerp, Portugal and Lyon) to pay the Spanish troops in Flanders. Start of his new career as financier. This gives him large influence: at the same level as the great financiers: the Lomellini, Spinola, Fugger. Strong connections with the Council of finance. (Lapeyre, 1955, 69). Simon Ruiz acted as maritime insurer in Burgos via Juan de Vitoria as intermediary. (Lapeyre, 1955, 238). In Antwerp, Simon Ruiz acted as maritime insurer via intermediary of Hernando de Frías (Lapeyre, 1955, 238). Important for the Asientos of Filips II.
- Industry:

Network of Simon Ruiz:

By far the largest amounts of letters preserved in the archives of Simon and Cosme Ruiz concern the correspondence between Medina del Campo / Valladolid and the cities of Castile and Aragon. However, this part of the correspondence has not been investigated in detail yet. (Bennassar, 1957, 60; Ruiz Martín, 1965, v). In addition, the Ruiz corresponded with France, Lisbon, Antwerp and Italy. Correspondence of Simon and Cosme Ruiz with Germany, Austria and America was sporadic and not very important. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, v).

Table A..1. Network of Simon Ruiz, ca. 1550 – 1597

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Medina del Campo		**8** 4 **8**	**4** 2 **4**	**3** 2 **3**	**1** 1 **1**	c.1550-1581 1581-1593 1593-1597	Headquarters. Around 1550, Simon Ruiz leaves definitely Belorado to establish himself in Medina del Campo (Lapeyre, 1955, 60). In 1581-1593, Simon Ruiz lived in Valladolid and only came to Medina del Campo during the fair periods (Lapeyre, 1955, 76). In 1593, Simon Ruiz definitely returned to Medina del Campo for the construction of his hospital (Lapeyre, 1955, 77). Simon Ruiz	Ruiz Martín, 1965, v

							lived in a house with a patio in the Calle de Avila in 1597 (Lapeyre, 1955, 77). Julien and André II Ruiz, sons of André, learned commerce in Spain with Simon Ruiz (Lapeyre, 1955, 83-84). Cosme Ruiz, youngest son of Vitores I Ruiz, was raised in the house of his uncle Simon Ruiz. (Lapeyre, 1955, 98-99). In Medina del Campo or Valladolid, Simon Ruiz seems not to have had more than 3 employees at the same time, one of them often a young apprentice from France. Employees of Simon Ruiz: Trabaz (1552-56), Gonzalo Nuñez (1555-67), Pedro Boleo (1557-61), Julien Ruiz (1558), Lope de Arziniega (1560-78), Julien Rocaz (1564), André II Ruiz (1565-67), Blandeo (1567), Francisco de San Juan (since at least 1573), Andrés de Otaola (at least since 1584) (Lapeyre, 1955, 152-153, 153 n. 60). When Simon Ruiz moved to Valladolid, he was represented by factors in Medina del Campo who had not much freedom of initiative (Lapeyre, 1955, 156).	
Valladolid		~~8~~ ***7*** 6	~~4~~ ***3*** 3	~~3~~ ***2*** 2	~~1~~ ***1*** 1	1581-1593 1593-1595	In 1581-1593, Simon Ruiz lived in Valladolid and only went to Medina del Campo during the periods of the fairs. Valladolid was not a commercial centre, but the seat of the Chancillería, of which the jurisdiction stretched over 3/4 of Castile. Simon Ruiz had to be there to defend his interests before the court (Lapeyre, 1955, 76). In Medina del Campo or Valladolid, Simon Ruiz seems not to have had more than 3 employees at the same time, one of them often a young apprentice from France. Employees of Simon Ruiz: e.g. Andrés de Otaola (at least since 1584) (Lapeyre, 1955, 152-153, 153 n. 60). Cosme Ruiz lived in Valladolid until 1595 (not known from what time. Definitely before 1592). Cosme moved to Madrid in 1595 (Lapeyre, 1955, 99-100).	Ruiz Martín, 1965, v
Burgos		6	3	2	1	>1553-1559<	In 1553-1557 partnership between Simon Ruiz (2,000 ducats, 2/9 of total) and two merchants of Burgos, Andrés Merino and Francisco de Zamora, for imports from France. (Lapeyre, 1955, 61-62). In 1559, Simon Ruiz associated himself with the Maluenda, large merchants of Burgos, for trade with Seville (Lapeyre, 1955, 64). Simon Ruiz acted as maritime insurer in Burgos via Juan de Vitoria as intermediary. (Lapeyre, 1955, 238).	Ruiz Martín, 1965, v n. 1
Nantes		3 4 **6** 4	2 2 **3** 2	2 2 **2** 2	1 1 **1** 1	c.1545-1550 1551-1556 1556-1569 1570-1587<	From ca. 1545, Simon Ruiz had trade relations with Yvon Rocaz of Nantes. In 1550 Yvon Rocaz sent Simon bales of cloth from Nantes which Simon sold at the fairs of Castile. Ca. 1550, Simon Ruiz also had relations with an Italian banker in Nantes, Marabotino Corbinelli (Lapeyre, 1955, 60). In 1551-53: association for commerce in merchandise from Bretagne between	

							Simon Ruiz (3,000 ducats) and Juan de Orbea, tresorier of Aragon (9,000 ducats) (1/3 of profits to Simon, 2/3 to Juan). Correspondent of the company in Nantes was André Ruiz. (Lapeyre, 1955, 61). In 1553-1557 partnership between Simon Ruiz (2,000 ducats, 2/9 of total) and two merchants of Burgos, Andrés Merino and Francisco de Zamora, for imports from France. Products sent from France by André Ruiz, difficult because of almost continuous wars (Lapeyre, 1955, 61-62). From 1554, Yvon Rocaz starts to send Simon cloth from Nantes again, in company with another merchant from Nantes, Jean Le Lou (Lapeyre, 1955, 62). In 1556-1569 partnership between Simon Ruiz (1/3), Yvon Rocaz (Nantes) (+ 1569) and Jean Le Lou (Nantes) (+ 1566), not dissolved at death of Jean Le Lou, who was replaced by his son Michel (+1586). Only dissolved at death of Rocaz in 1569 (Lapeyre, 1955, 62-63). Yvon Rocaz and Jean Le Lou belonged to the high bourgeoisie of Nantes. Yvon Rocaz probably not so much occupied with business, which was in hands of his principal employee Guillaume Saligot. Rocaz became alderman in 1565, mayor in 1566-1568. His son Julien married to the daughter of André Ruiz. His sons Julien and Jean became city magistrates, and Julien became also treasurer in Bretagne. One of the daughters of Rocaz married with Michel Le Lou, who became widower but remarried another woman in 1572, when he also became mayor of Nantes (Lapeyre, 1955, 62-63). In 1560, Simon Ruiz traveled to Nantes (Lapeyre, 1955, 65 n. 126). Commerce with Nantes remained important in the 1570s: profit of 3,866,291 maravédis on merchandise from Nantes in 1574-1581: mostly import of linen cloth, cards (kaarden) and some paper. Almost nothing sent from Spain to Nantes: some cochenille in 1575, sometimes spices from Portugal (Lapeyre, 1955, 69). Some merchandise from Flanders after 1576 came overland via Paris and Orléans, and then on the Loire, via Nantes to Spain (Lapeyre, 1955, 70). Trade with the French harbours: export of salt, import of grain. Large losses in 1581-1582 (Lapeyre, 1955, 70). After the death of Yvon Rocaz in 1569, Julien Ruiz, son of André, becomes representative of Simon Ruiz in Nantes. In 1575, Julien Ruiz starts his own business, but according to the rest of the family, he is not capable for this (Lapeyre, 1955, 84-85). New company of 1585: important trade in cloth of Nantes, Rouen, Quimper in 1586-87, but afterwards less profits: André II Ruiz in Nantes was too much occupied with his lawsuits to pay attention to	

							business which was left in hands of his employees: often merchandise of inferior quality was sent (Lapeyre, 1955, 99). In Nantes, in 1577, Julien Ruiz had 3 Spanish employees, coming from Bilbao or Burgos (Lapeyre, 1955, 153). In 1587, André II had 4 employees (Lapeyre, 1955, 153). Julien Ruiz was factor of Simon Ruiz, with large freedom of initiative. Even participated in another company, of Gamarra and Villamisar. Julien Ruiz received a higher salary than the factors in Bilbao and Medina del Campo (Lapeyre, 1955, 157).	
Antwerp		4	2	2	1	>1558-1597<	Extension of relations with Flanders in the 1570s. His correspondents in Antwerp until 1576 were members of the Spanish colony in Antwerp: Diego Pardo, Hernan de Frías Cevallos, Juan de Cuellar, the Portuguese Geronimo Lindo, the Lucchese Alessandro Bonvisi. They kept him informed about prices of merchandise and exchange rates, and informed him about the troubles that ravaged the country. In 1569, when direct trade between Flanders and Spain became interrupted, Simon planned to import merchandise from Flanders via his correspondent in Rouen Antonio de Quintanadueñas. But in general, Antwerp interested him more for exchange transactions (Lapeyre, 1955, 68-69). In 1576, Simon Ruiz decides to trade more actively with Rouen and Flanders. Due to the Anglo-Spanish war and the Revolt in the Low Countries, the Channel became less safe, and trade between Flanders and Spain passed increasingly in the port of Rouen. The correspondents of the Ruiz in Antwerp were the Portuguese André Ximenes and the Bonvisi, in Bruges Francisco Cruzat, originally from Navarra. They sent him sayes from Hondschoote, linens from Holland, cottons and tapestries. Almost nothing sent from Spain to Flanders (one shipment of pepper from Lisbon to Antwerp). This trade became more important than the trade with Nantes: profit of 5,141,616 maravédis in 1574-1581 (Lapeyre, 1955, 70). In 1580s, large profits on speculation on exchange transactions with the fairs of Lyon (4 times a year), Lisbon, Valencia, Florence, the Genoese fairs, Rouen and Antwerp (Lapeyre, 1955, 72). Correspondents of Simon Ruiz in Antwerp were Hernando de Frías (1566, 1568), or Luiz Alvares Caldera (1576) (Lapeyre, 1955, 115). In Antwerp, Simon Ruiz acted as maritime insurer via intermediary of Hernando de Frías (Lapeyre, 1955, 238). Correspondence with Antwerp was the second largest foreign correspondence of the Ruiz. Ca. 3,000 letters sent from Antwerp to the Ruiz	Ruiz Martin, 1965, v

							have been preserved for the period 1558-1606. The correspondence with Antwerp increased largely ca. 1574, and reached its maximum in 1588-89. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 19). The most important correspondent of Simon Ruiz in Antwerp was the Antwerp branch of the Bonvisi (1558-1590). Other correspondents were Fernando de Frías Ceballos (1567-1570), Juan de Cuéllar (1571-1576), Diego de Echávarri (1574-1578), Jeronimo Limdo (1573-1576), Luiz Alvares Caldeira (1576-1588), Estevao Nunes (1580-1585), the Ximenes (1576-1604), Felipe Jorge (1577-1606), Martín Pérez de Varrón (1583-1602), and the Balbani (1585-1598). More or less close connections existed in Antwerp as well with Manoel Enriques, the Rodrigues d'Evora, Alonso Camarena, the Peñas, etc. (especially concerning exchange transactions or commissions on the fairs of Castile). (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 19).	
Bilbao		3 **4** 3	2 **2** 2	2 **2** 2	1 **1** 1	>1551-1553< >1559-1565< >1572-1580<	In 1551-53: association for commerce in merchandise from Bretagne between Simon Ruiz (3,000 ducats) and Juan de Orbea, treasurer of Aragon (9,000 ducats). Correspondent of the company in Bilbao was Ochoa Lanier (Lapeyre, 1955, 61). Between 1572 and 1578, 4649 "fardeaux" sent from Nantes via Bilbao to Medina del Campo (Lapeyre, 1955, 69). From 1580, Simon Ruiz participates with some Lisbon merchants in sales of pepper in Valencia and Bilbao. These transactions were in limited quantities and were not frequently renewed (Lapeyre, 1955, 71). The factors of Simon Ruiz in Bilbao had not much freedom of initiative: they had to take care of the merchandise shipped from Nantes, and send them to Medina del Campo. The factors were Nicolas Fiot (1559-60), G. Saligot (1560-61), M. Bizeul (1562-65) (Lapeyre, 1955, 156, 156 n. 83).	
Florence		4	2	2	1	1577-1596	In 1580s, large profits on speculation on exchange transactions with the fairs of Lyon (4 times a year), Lisbon, Valencia, Florence, the Genoese fairs, Rouen and Antwerp (Lapeyre, 1955, 72). Ca. 3,500 letters sent from Rome, Florence, Genoa, Piacenza, Milan, Venice, Lucca, Pisa, Turin, Asti, Palermo and Malta to the Ruiz have been preserved, as well as copies of ca. 1,350 letters sent by the Ruiz to Italy. The Italian correspondence has especially been preserved for 1577-1596. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, v-vi). Connections of Simon Ruiz with the Castilian Baltasar Suárez in Florence. (Ruiz Martín,1965, vii). Connections with Florence since 1577. In Florence, Simon Ruiz was purely active as financier, not as merchant. (Ruiz Martín, 1965,	

							vii). From 1586 to 1596 Florence became less important for the financial business of Simon Ruiz, while Genoa and the Genoese fairs in Piacenza played an increasingly considerable role. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, vii). 849 letters received by Simon Ruiz from Florence between 1564 and 1596 (especially between 1577 and 1596) have been preserved. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, viii). The principal correspondents of Simon Ruiz in Florence were the Capponi, Andrés and Antonio Gutiérrez, Juan de Lago, Vicenzio de Ricci, Nicolás and Sebastián Ximénez, Camilo Suárez and Diego and Antonio Valderrama, and especially Baltasar Suárez. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, ix-xii, table between pp. viii-ix). Main correspondents were the Suárez: Baltasar Suárez, later (1590-1595) succeeded by his son Camilo Suárez, together with Diego and Antonio Valderrama. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, ix). Second most important correspondents in Florence were the heirs of Luigi Capponi: Luigi and Alessandro, and later Francesco and Nicola Capponi. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, ix).	
Genoa		4	2	2	1	1581-1596	Ca. 3,500 letters sent from Rome, Florence, Genoa, Piacenza, Milan, Venice, Lucca, Pisa, Turin, Asti, Palermo and Malta to the Ruiz have been preserved, as well as copies of ca. 1,350 letters sent by the Ruiz to Italy. The Italian correspondence has especially been preserved for 1577-1596. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, v-vi). Connections of Simon Ruiz with Genoa since 1581, and especially since 1583. These connections were purely financial. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, vii). From 1586 to 1596 Florence became less important for the financial business of Simon Ruiz, while Genoa and the Genoese fairs in Piacenza played an increasingly considerable role. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, vii). 618 letters received by Simon Ruiz from Genoa between 1577 and 1596 (especially between 1581 and 1596) have been preserved. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, viii, xiii). In Genoa and Piacenza Simon Ruiz corresponded preferably with non-Genoese, such as the Bonvisi, Balbani, Capponi, etc. In addition also with Genoese such as Filippo and Giacomo Cattaneo, etc. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, xiii).	
Lisbon		4	2	2	1	1563-1580s<	In 1573, first contacts of Simon Ruiz with Portugal: with the large Lisbon merchants Antonio Gomes d'Elvas and his son Luiz. Simon sold indigo for them and purchased blankets. From then on, Simon largely increases his contacts with Lisbon merchants for whom he carries out a lot of trade and financial activities in commission. Lisbon was dependent on Spain for its contacts with Lyon and Italy (Lapeyre, 1955, 68). In 1580, Philip II became	Ruiz Martín, 1965, v

							sovereign of Portugal. Simon Ruiz strengthened his contacts with Lisbon: large market of spices and dyestuffs. He is representative of Gomes d'Elvas or Hernando de Morales (Lapeyre, 1955, 71). From 1580, Simon Ruiz participates with some Lisbon merchants in sales of pepper in Valencia and Bilbao, bresilwood and indigo in Castile. In San Sebastian he purchased copper from the north, destined for Lisbon. All these transactions were in limited quantities and were not frequently renewed (Lapeyre, 1955, 71). In 1580s, large profits on speculation on exchange transactions with the fairs of Lyon (4 times a year), Lisbon, Valencia, Florence, the Genoese fairs, Rouen and Antwerp (Lapeyre, 1955, 72). Most important correspondents of the Ruiz in Lisbon in 1563-1578 were Antonio Gomes and his sons Luis and Manuel Gomes d'Elvas (Gentil Da Silva, 1959, vii). The Ruiz and Presa exported from mid. 16th c. gold and also silver from Lisbon, while importing French products. This trade got in difficulties around 1577. From then on, the Ruiz had numerous other correspondents in Lisbon than the Gomes d'Elvas, almost all related to the Gomes d'Elvas (Gentil Da Silva, 1959, xiii-xiv). The largest foreign correspondence of the Ruiz was the correspondence with Lisbon. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 19).	
Lyon		4	2	2	1	>1576-1587<	Simon Ruiz had definitely contacts in Lyon since 1576, but probably already long before. (Lapeyre, 1955, 69). The Bonvisi were Simon Ruiz' bankers in Lyon. Via the Bonvisi, Simon Ruiz also came in contact with the Balbani of Lucca (Lapeyre, 1955, 71). In 1580s, large profits on speculation on exchange transactions with the fairs of Lyon (4 times a year), Lisbon, Valencia, Florence, the Genoese fairs, Rouen and Antwerp (Lapeyre, 1955, 72). After 1587 less attention to trade with Nantes, increasing focus on exchange transactions with Lyon and more and more with Italy (Lapeyre, 1955, 99).	
Madrid		**4** 6	**2** 3	**2** 2	**1** 1	>1578-1595 1595-1597	In 1595, Cosme Ruiz moved from Valladolid to Madrid, which was by then the financial capital of Spain. Before, the company of the Ruiz was represented in Madrid by Francisco de Bovadilla (probably since 1590) (Lapeyre, 1955, 99-100, 100 n. 314). In 1585-1595, the firm of Cosme Ruiz and Lope de Arziniega was represented by the factor Francisco de Bovadilla, who had large freedom of initiative and received a high salary (Lapeyre, 1955, 157). Factor of Simon Ruiz before Francisco de Bovadilla was Lope de Arziniega, from 1578 to ca. 1585 (Lapeyre, 1955, 157).	

Rome		4	2	2	1	1570-1596	Ca. 3,500 letters sent from Rome, Florence, Genoa, Piacenza, Milan, Venice, Lucca, Pisa, Turin, Asti, Palermo and Malta to the Ruiz have been preserved, as well as copies of ca. 1,350 letters sent by the Ruiz to Italy. The Italian correspondence has especially been preserved for 1577-1596. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, v-vi). In addition, also ca. 100 letters from Rome have been preserved from before 1577, especially concerning private business of clergymen and laymen in Rome, as well as money transfers. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, vi). 1,135 letters received by Simon Ruiz from Rome between 1567 and 1596 (especially between 1570 and 1596) have been preserved. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, viii, xiv-xv). Among the correspondents of Simon Ruiz in Rome were Antonio and Jerónimo de Fonseca, Teotonio Núñez, Francesco della Casa, the heirs of Juan Enriquez and Simón Enriquez, Garcia Méndez, etc. Simon Ruiz operated especially as intermediary between Roman merchant-bankers and their representatives in Lisbon, who were responsible for the purchase of spices. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, xiv-xv).	
Rouen		4	2	2	1	c.1559-1591	Ca. 1559, activities of the company of Simon Ruiz and of the company of André Ruiz also extended to Rouen, to be able to import finer cloth than cloth from Bretagne. Representative of the Ruiz in Rouen in 1562-1563: Sancho de Arbieto, who returned in 1563 to Spain for the wars of religion. He was replaced by Antonio de Quintanadueñas of a family of high standing in Burgos. But in 1564 the position of the Ruiz in Rouen was not very solid anymore (Lapeyre, 1955, 64-65). In 1569, Antonio de Quintanadueñas was still his representative in Rouen (Lapeyre, 1955, 68-69). In 1576, Simon Ruiz decided to trade more actively with Rouen and Flanders. Due to the Anglo-Spanish war and the Revolt in the Low Countries, the Channel became less safe, and trade between Flanders and Spain passed increasingly through the port of Rouen. This trade became more important than the trade with Nantes: profit of 5,141,616 maravédis in 1574-1581 (Lapeyre, 1955, 70). In 1570, some shipments of pepper and oil from Andalusia to Rouen, but most shipments in other direction: cloth from Rouen to Spain. In 1571, Antonio de Quintanadueñas, who returned to Spain, was replaced by Pedro Ortiz de Valderrama (Lapeyre, 1955, 70). Trade with the French harbours: export of salt, import of grain. Large losses in 1581-1582 (Lapeyre, 1955, 70). In 1580s, large profits on speculation on exchange transactions with the fairs of Lyon (4 times a year), Lisbon, Valencia, Florence, the Genoese fairs,	

							Rouen and Antwerp (Lapeyre, 1955, 72). In 1586-87: profitable trade of the new company in cloth of Nantes, Rouen, Quimper. But after 1587 the profits in this trade went down (Lapeyre, 1955, 99). One of the correspondents of Simon Ruiz in Rouen was Francisco de Hontaneda (1588). Pedro Ortiz de Valderrama had two employees who had nothing to do half of the time (Lapeyre, 1955, 153). In Rouen, Simon Ruiz did not have a factor, instead he used commission merchants: Sancho de Arbieto (1562), Antonio de Quintanadueñas (1563-1571), Pedro Ortiz de Valderrama (1571-1582), Francisco de Hontaneda (1583-1591). In Rouen, Simon Ruiz acted as maritime insurer via intermediary of Antonio de Quintanadueñas and Pedro Ortiz de Valderrama (Lapeyre, 1955, 238). In the 1570s, the Ruiz of Nantes and Medina del Campo had business connections with Charles de Saldaigne in Rouen. (Brunelle, 1989, 209). Antoine de Quintanadoines acted as factor for the Ruiz of Nantes and Medina del Campo in Rouen. (Brunelle, 1989, 211). Anthoine de Quintanadoines went to Rouen as a factor of the Ruiz in 1562. (Brunelle, 1989, 216). Leather from the New World was purchased in Sevilla and exported to Rouen in 1569. (Bennassar, 1957, 68).	
Sevilla		3 **4** 3	2 **2** 2	2 **2** 2	1 **1** 1	1559 1560-1568 >1580<	In 1559, Simon Ruiz (2/3) and the Maluenda of Rouen (1/3) sent 389 pieces cloth to Seville to Francisco de Salinas who was doubtlessly the representative of the Maluenda in Seville. As a result of the success of this operation, Simon Ruiz established a permanent representative in Seville, from 1560 to 1565 Jéronimo de Valladolid, in 1565 succeeded by Francisco de Mariaca: sales in Seville for the company of Simon Ruiz, Rocaz and Le Lou (1/2) and for the company of Vitores and André Ruiz and F. de la Presa (1/2) (Lapeyre, 1955, 64). In 1566, Yvon Rocaz became worried about the trade with Seville, which was not certain enough according to him (Lapeyre, 1955, 66). Many bankruptcies in Seville in 1567, which brought the Ruiz in difficulties (Lapeyre, 1955, 66-67). By end 1568, Simon Ruiz travelled to Seville to attempt to recover the debts there, in which he seems to have succeeded largely. But after 1568, Simon Ruiz only had limited trade operations with Seville (Lapeyre, 1955, 67). From 1580, Simon Ruiz purchased indigo in Sevilla destined for the dyers of Segovia. These transactions were in limited quantities and were not frequently renewed (Lapeyre, 1955, 71). Factors of Simon Ruiz in Seville were Jéronimo de Valladolid (1560-1565) and Francisco de Mariaca (1565-1568), who worked	Ruiz Martín, 1965, v n. 1

							for the company of Simon and of André (Lapeyre, 1955, 157). A factor of Simon Ruiz in Seville in 1563 (Pike, 1966, 8). Factor of the Ruiz in Seville in 1563: Geronimo de Valladolid (Pike, 1966, 184). Juan de Espinosa Salado appears to have been a correspondent of Simon Ruiz in Sevilla (Lohmann Villena, 1968, 65-66). First correspondence of Simon Ruiz with Sevilla dates from 1560. This correspondence became abundant from 1565. (Bennassar, 1957, 60). Principal correspondents of Simon Ruiz in Sevilla in the 1560s were Géronimo de Valladolid and Francisco de Mariaca. (Bennassar, 1957, 60). Leather from the New World was purchased in Sevilla and exported to Rouen in 1569. (Bennassar, 1957, 68). Connections with the New World via Sevilla. (Bennassar, 1957, 60-70).	
Besançon		3	2	2	1	>c.1561<	Ca. 1561, Simon Ruiz conducted important exchange transactions with Besançon (Spaniards were forbidden to trade with Lyon since 1552). (Lapeyre, 1955, 373).	
Bruges		3	2	2	1	>1576<	In 1576, Simon Ruiz decided to trade more actively with Rouen and Flanders. Due to the Anglo-Spanish war and the Revolt in the Low Countries, the Channel became less safe, and trade between Flanders and Spain passed increasingly through the port of Rouen. The correspondents of the Ruiz in Antwerp were the Portuguese André Ximenes and the Bonvisi, in Bruges Francisco Cruzat, originally from Navarra. They sent him sayes from Hondschoote, linens from Holland, cottons and tapestries. This trade became more important than the trade with Nantes: profit of 5,141,616 maravédis in 1574-1581 (Lapeyre, 1955, 70; Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 229).	
Malta		3	2	2	1	1582-1591	Ca. 3,500 letters sent from Rome, Florence, Genoa, Piacenza, Milan, Venice, Lucca, Pisa, Turin, Asti, Palermo and Malta to the Ruiz have been preserved, as well as copies of ca. 1,350 letters sent by the Ruiz to Italy. The Italian correspondence has especially been preserved for 1577-1596. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, v-vi). 103 letters received by Simon Ruiz from Malta between 1575 and 1591 (especially between 1582 and 1591) have been preserved. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, viii, xxi-xxii). In Malta, Simon Ruiz corresponded with knights of the order of Saint John of Jerusalem, several of whom were clients of Simon Ruiz. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, xxi-xxii).	
Mérida		3	2	2	1	c.1563-c.1578	Ca. 1563-ca. 1578 the correspondents of Simon Ruiz in Merida (Extremadura) were the Morales (correspondence published by Gentil Da Silva). Sent Portuguese gold coins to Medina del Campo for the Ruiz (Gentil	

							Da Silva, 1959, xii).	
Milan		3	2	2	1	1586-1596	Ca. 3,500 letters sent from Rome, Florence, Genoa, Piacenza, Milan, Venice, Lucca, Pisa, Turin, Asti, Palermo and Malta to the Ruiz have been preserved, as well as copies of ca. 1,350 letters sent by the Ruiz to Italy. The Italian correspondence has especially been preserved for 1577-1596. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, v-vi). 97 letters received by Simon Ruiz from Milan between 1567 and 1596 (especially between 1586 and 1596) have been preserved. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, viii, xvii-xx). Correspondents in Milan were Cesare Negrollo, Juan Balbani and Ottaviano Casina, Juan Bautista Canobio, etc. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, xvii).	
Paris		3	2	2	1	>1581-1585<	Cosme Ruiz stayed in Paris for a while in 1585, in the house of the Portuguese Francisco Enriques, a correspondent of Simon Ruiz (Lapeyre, 1955, 98). Among the correspondents of Simon Ruiz in Paris were the Calvi in 1581 (Lapeyre, 1955, 115).	
Piacenza		3	2	2	1	1581-1596	Connections of Simon Ruiz with Piacenza since 1581, and especially since 1583. These connections were purely financial. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, vii). In 1580s, large profits on speculation on exchange transactions with the fairs of Lyon (4 times a year), Lisbon, Valencia, Florence, the Genoese fairs [probably Piacenza], Rouen and Antwerp (Lapeyre, 1955, 72). Ca. 3,500 letters sent from Rome, Florence, Genoa, Piacenza, Milan, Venice, Lucca, Pisa, Turin, Asti, Palermo and Malta to the Ruiz have been preserved, as well as copies of ca. 1,350 letters sent by the Ruiz to Italy. The Italian correspondence has especially been preserved for 1577-1596. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, v-vi). From 1586 to 1596 Florence became less important for the financial business of Simon Ruiz, while Genoa and the Genoese fairs in Piacenza played an increasingly considerable role. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, vii). 414 letters received by Simon Ruiz from Piacenza between 1565 and 1596 (especially between 1580 and 1596) have been preserved. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, viii, xiii). In Genoa and Piacenza Simon Ruiz corresponded preferably with non-Genoese, such as the Bonvisi, Balbani, Capponi, etc. In addition also with Genoese such as Filippo and Giacomo Cattaneo, etc. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, xiii).	
Valencia		3	2	2	1	1580s<	From 1580, Simon Ruiz participates with some Lisbon merchants in sales of pepper in Valencia and Bilbao. In Spain he purchased scarlet cloths and silks in Valencia, scarlet cloths in Toledo, velvets, satins and cloth from Segovia.	

							All these transactions were in limited quantities and were not frequently renewed (Lapeyre, 1955, 71). In 1580s, large profits on speculation on exchange transactions with the fairs of Lyon (4 times a year), Lisbon, Valencia, Florence, the Genoese fairs, Rouen and Antwerp (Lapeyre, 1955, 72).	
Venice		3	2	2	1	1578-1592	Ca. 3,500 letters sent from Rome, Florence, Genoa, Piacenza, Milan, Venice, Lucca, Pisa, Turin, Asti, Palermo and Malta to the Ruiz have been preserved, as well as copies of ca. 1,350 letters sent by the Ruiz to Italy. The Italian correspondence has especially been preserved for 1577-1596. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, v-vi). Simon Ruiz traded with Venice in 1578, but he did not continue these activities, since he became increasingly interested in finance rather than commerce. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, vii). 81 letters received by Simon Ruiz from Venice between 1578 and 1592 have been preserved. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, viii, xv-xvii). Simon Ruiz operated especially as intermediary between Lisbon and Venice. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, xvi-xvii).	
Austria		2	2	1	0		Correspondence of Simon and Cosme Ruiz with Germany, Austria and America was sporadic and not very important. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, v).	
Hamburg		2	2	1	0	1586	In 1586, Simon Ruiz imported diverse merchandise, including copper from Sweden and Hungary, from Hamburg. This was one of the latest commercial transactions of Simon Ruiz. At this time he was almost entirely occupied with financial activities (Lapeyre, 1955, 72). Correspondence of Simon and Cosme Ruiz with Germany, Austria and America was sporadic and not very important. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, v).	
Lucca		2	2	1	0	1585-1592	Ca. 3,500 letters sent from Rome, Florence, Genoa, Piacenza, Milan, Venice, Lucca, Pisa, Turin, Asti, Palermo and Malta to the Ruiz have been preserved, as well as copies of ca. 1,350 letters sent by the Ruiz to Italy. The Italian correspondence has especially been preserved for 1577-1596. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, v-vi). 9 letters received by Simon Ruiz from Lucca between 1585 and 1592 have been preserved. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, viii, xxii-xxiii).	
New World		2	2	1	0		Correspondence of Simon and Cosme Ruiz with Germany, Austria and America was sporadic and not very important. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, v). Connections with the New World via Sevilla. (Bennassar, 1957, 60-70).	
Pisa		2	2	1	0	1591-1594	Ca. 3,500 letters sent from Rome, Florence, Genoa, Piacenza, Milan, Venice, Lucca, Pisa, Turin, Asti, Palermo and Malta to the Ruiz have been preserved, as well as copies of ca. 1,350 letters sent by the Ruiz to Italy. The Italian	

							correspondence has especially been preserved for 1577-1596. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, v-vi). 11 letters received by Simon Ruiz from Pisa between 1564 and 1594 (especially between 1591 and 1594) have been preserved. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, viii, xxii-xxiii).	
San Sebastián		2	2	1	0	1580<	From 1580, Simon Ruiz purchased copper from the north in San Sebastian, destined for Lisbon. These transactions were in limited quantities and were not frequently renewed (Lapeyre, 1955, 71).	
Segovia		2	2	1	0	1580<	From 1580, Simon Ruiz purchased scarlet cloths and silks in Valencia, scarlet cloths in Toledo, velvets, satins and cloth from Segovia. In Seville he purchased indigo destined for the dyers of Segovia. All these transactions were in limited quantities and were not frequently renewed (Lapeyre, 1955, 71).	
Toledo		2	2	1	0	1580<	From 1580, Simon Ruiz purchased scarlet cloths and silks in Valencia, scarlet cloths in Toledo, velvets, satins and cloth from Segovia. All these transactions were in limited quantities and were not frequently renewed (Lapeyre, 1955, 71).	
Turin		2	2	1	0	1585-1586	Ca. 3,500 letters sent from Rome, Florence, Genoa, Piacenza, Milan, Venice, Lucca, Pisa, Turin, Asti, Palermo and Malta to the Ruiz have been preserved, as well as copies of ca. 1,350 letters sent by the Ruiz to Italy. The Italian correspondence has especially been preserved for 1577-1596. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, v-vi). 5 letters received by Simon Ruiz from Turin in 1585 and 1586 have been preserved. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, viii, xvii). Correspondent in Turin was a member of the court of the duke of Savoy: Don Cristóbal Briceño de Valderrábano. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, xvii, xx-xxi).	
Villalón		2	2	1	0	>1564<	In 1564, Géronimo de Valladolid, factor of Simon Ruiz in Sevilla, carried out exchange transactions with Villalon. (Bennassar, 1957, 65).	
Zaragoza		2	2	1	0	c.1556	Around 1556, Simon Ruiz sold for Gabriel de Zaporta from Zaragoza merchandise coming from Aragon (Lapeyre, 1955, 61).	
Asti		1	1	1	0	1582	Ca. 3,500 letters sent from Rome, Florence, Genoa, Piacenza, Milan, Venice, Lucca, Pisa, Turin, Asti, Palermo and Malta to the Ruiz have been preserved, as well as copies of ca. 1,350 letters sent by the Ruiz to Italy. The Italian correspondence has especially been preserved for 1577-1596. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, v-vi). 2 letters received by Simon Ruiz from Asti in 1582 have been preserved. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, viii, xvii, xxii-xxiii). Correspondence with Asti in 1582, when the fairs of Besançon were held in Asti. (Ruiz Martín,	

							1965, xvii).	
Palermo		1	1	1	0	1569, 1590	Ca. 3,500 letters sent from Rome, Florence, Genoa, Piacenza, Milan, Venice, Lucca, Pisa, Turin, Asti, Palermo and Malta to the Ruiz have been preserved, as well as copies of ca. 1,350 letters sent by the Ruiz to Italy. The Italian correspondence has especially been preserved for 1577-1596. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, v-vi). 2 letters received by Simon Ruiz from Palermo in 1569 and 1590 have been preserved. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, viii, xxii-xxiii).	

+ Places of origin of letters (in case number of letters sent is known) sent to Simon Ruiz have been scored as follows (8-point scale): 4: more than 500 letters; 3: 51-500 letters; 2: 3-50 letters; 1: 1-2 letters.

Network of Cosme Ruiz (not used network):

Correspondence of Cosme Ruiz (1595-1606). (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, pl. II (between pp. 2 and 3)). According to the map in Gentil Da Silva, 1956, pl. II. "Rapports de correspondance des Ruiz Embito. MEDINA DEL CAMPO; Madrid; Valladolid. Les grandes liaisons entre 1595 et 1606." "Cette carte n'est valable que pour les années en question. Des absences à remarquer : Rouen, Paris, Nantes, Séville; des présences presque abusives : Venise, Hambourg, Rome. […]" (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, pl. II). Simon Ruiz, founder of the fortune of the family, died in 1596. His nephew Cosme took over the business and went bankrupt in 1606 (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 1). Under Cosme, no correspondence anymore with Rouen, Paris, Nantes, Sevilla. Contacts with Venice, Hamburg and Rome were non-existent before 1595, but are probably exaggerated on the map (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, pl. II). After the economic difficulties of 1596-97, Cosme Ruiz became active in trade again, since exchange activities did not provide him any profits anymore. He imported grain from Antwerp or Messina when he expected bad harvests in Spain. He followed prices of cochenille in Florence or Antwerp, became interested again in the fleets coming from the New World, exported wool, he commanded wax in Hamburg,… Nevertheless, his attempts failed. Bankruptcy in 1606 (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 13-14). Via direct and indirect contacts, the Ruiz offered contacts with almost all Europe to their clients for exchange transactions (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 24).

Table A..2. Network of Cosme Ruiz, 1595 – 1606

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Madrid		~~8~~ *7*	~~4~~ *3*	~~3~~ *2*	~~1~~ *1*	1595-1601	Headquarters. Direct correspondence with Medina del Campo. (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, pl. II). In 1595, Cosme Ruiz moved from Valladolid to Madrid, which was by then the financial capital of Spain. (Lapeyre, 1955, 99-100, 100 n. 314). At the death of his uncle Simon Ruiz in 1597, Cosme Ruiz becomes head of the company (Lapeyre, 1955, 100). In 1601, the Court is moved from Madrid to Valladolid. Cosme follows the court and goes back to Valladolid (Lapeyre, 1955, 100).	
Medina del		~~8~~	~~4~~	~~3~~	~~1~~		Headquarters (most important). (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, pl. II). Cosme Ruiz	

Campo		*7*	*3*	*2*	*1*		gave credit to Pedro Gomes Reynel by drawing and redrawing bills of exchange between the fairs of Medina del Campo and Antwerp, Piacenza and Lisbon. Led to bankruptcy of Cosme Ruiz in 1606. (Lapeyre, 1955, 101-102).	
Valladolid		~~8~~ *7*	~~4~~ *3*	~~3~~ *2*	~~1~~ *1*	1601-1606	Headquarters. (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, pl. II). Cosme Ruiz lived in Valladolid until 1595 (not known from what time. Definitely before 1592). Cosme moved to Madrid in 1595 (Lapeyre, 1955, 99-100). In 1601, the court was moved to Valladolid. Cosme Ruiz followed the court, since he was heavily involved in asientos business, and moved back to Valladolid (Lapeyre, 1955, 100). Cosme Ruiz did some megalomanious business in 1604 (engaged for 300,000 ducats with Pedro Gomes Reynel who held asiento of the negros in 1594-1601) and 1605 (contract for maintenance of the galleys of Philip III for 10 years) (Lapeyre, 1955, 100).	
Antwerp		3	2	2	1	1598-1606	Correspondence from Porto (and Lisbon), and smaller flow of correspondence from Hamburg. (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, pl. II). One of the correspondents of Cosme Ruiz in Antwerp was Ibarra (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 20 n. 61). After 1596-97, Cosme became active in commerce again, e.g. with Antwerp: he commanded grain from Antwerp and Messina, and followed the cochenille prices in Antwerp and Florence (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 13). Cosme gave credit to Pedro Gomes Reynel by drawing and redrawing bills of exchange between the fairs of Medina del Campo and Antwerp, Piacenza and Lisbon. Led to bankruptcy of Cosme Ruiz in 1606 (Lapeyre, 1955, 101-102). Ca. 3,000 letters sent from Antwerp to the Ruiz have been preserved for the period 1558-1606. The correspondence with Antwerp decreased largely ca. 1600. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 19). Correspondents of Cosme Ruiz in Antwerp were the Ximenes (1576-1604), Felipe Jorge (1577-1606), Martín Pérez de Varrón (1583-1602), and the Balbani (1585-1598). (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 19).	
Badajoz		3	2	2	1		Direct correspondence with Medina del Campo. (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, pl. II).	
Florence		3	2	2	1	1598-1606	Direct correspondence to Genoa, and indirectly via Genoa to Lyon and Medina del Campo. (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, pl. II). When he became active in trade again after 1596-97, he followed the prices of cochenille in Antwerp and Florence (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 13). Cosme had no direct contacts with Rome or Messina, but he used his agents in Florence as intermediaries	

							(Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 23-24). For Cosme Ruiz, connections with Florence became more important again than those with Genoa and Piacenza, since he became more active again in commerce rather than finance. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, vii). 86 letters received by Cosme Ruiz from Florence between 1598 and 1606 have been preserved. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, viii). Principal correspondent of Cosme Ruiz in Florence was the firm of Camilo and Sebastián Suárez and Antonio Valderrama (1596-1606). (Ruiz Martín, 1965, ix, table between pp. viii-ix).	
Genoa		3	2	2	1	1598	Direct correspondence to Lyon and Medina del Campo. (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, pl. II). For Cosme Ruiz, connections with Florence became more important again than those with Genoa and Piacenza, since he became more active again in commerce rather than finance. (Ruiz Martín, 1965,vii). 10 letters received by Cosme Ruiz from Genoa between 1598 and 1603 (especially in 1598) have been preserved. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, viii, xiii).	
Lisbon		3	2	2	1		Direct correspondence with Medina del Campo, Porto and Badajoz. Via Porto to Antwerp. (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, pl. II). Correspondents of Cosme Ruiz in Lisbon were the Rodrigues d'Evora et Veiga (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 1-2). Cosme Ruiz gave credit to Pedro Gomes Reynel by drawing and redrawing bills of exchange between the fairs of Medina del Campo and Antwerp, Piacenza and Lisbon. Led to bankruptcy of Cosme Ruiz in 1606. (Lapeyre, 1955, 101-102).	
Lyon		3	2	2	1		Direct correspondence to Medina del Campo. (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, pl. II).	
Piacenza		3	2	2	1	1598-1601	Direct correspondence to Genoa, and indirectly via Genoa to Lyon and Medina del Campo. (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, pl. II). Cosme gave credit to Pedro Gomes Reynel by drawing and redrawing bills of exchange between the fairs of Medina del Campo and Antwerp, Piacenza and Lisbon. Led to bankruptcy of Cosme Ruiz in 1606 (Lapeyre, 1955, 101-102). For Cosme Ruiz, connections with Florence became more important again than those with Genoa and Piacenza, since he became more active again in commerce rather than finance. (Ruiz Martín, 1965,vii). 18 letters received by Cosme Ruiz from Piacenza between 1598 and 1601 have been preserved. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, viii, xiii).	
Porto		3	2	2	1		Direct correspondence with Medina del Campo and with Antwerp. (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, pl. II).	
Rome		3	2	2	1	1598-1600	Relatively small flow of direct correspondence to Genoa, and indirectly via	

							Genoa to Lyon and Medina del Campo. (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, pl. II). Cosme had no direct contacts with Rome or Messina, but he used his agents in Florence as intermediaries (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 23-24). The contacts of Cosme Ruiz with Hamburg, Rome and Venice were probably rather weak. (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, pl. II). 39 letters received by Cosme Ruiz from Rome between 1598 and 1605 (especially between 1598 and 1600) have been preserved. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, viii).	
Sevilla		3	2	2	1		Direct correspondence to Medina del Campo and Badajoz. (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, pl. II).	
Hamburg		2	2	1	0	after 1596/97	Relatively small flow of correspondence to Antwerp. (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, pl. II). When Cosme became active in commerce again after 1596-97, he imported among others wax from Hamburg. He also prospected the northern market of copper, hemp, cables, in Hamburg, but even in Cologne and Danzig (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 13). Cosme Ruiz had no direct contacts with Hamburg, but used his correspondents in Antwerp as intermediaries (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 24). The contacts of Cosme Ruiz with Hamburg, Rome and Venice were probably rather weak. (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, pl. II).	
Lucca		2	2	1	0	1599, 1605	5 letters received by Cosme Ruiz from Lucca between 1599 and 1605 have been preserved. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, viii).	
Messina		2	2	1	0	after 1596/97	Cosme Ruiz commanded grain in Antwerp and Messina after 1596-97 (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 13). Cosme had no direct contacts with Rome or Messina, but he used his agents in Florence as intermediaries (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 23-24).	
Milan		2	2	1	0	1600-1602	8 letters received by Cosme Ruiz from Milan between 1600 and 1602 have been preserved. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, viii).	
Palermo		2	2	1	0	1599	3 letters received by Cosme Ruiz from Palermo in 1599 have been preserved. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, viii).	
Venice		2	2	1	0		Direct correspondence to Genoa, and indirectly via Genoa to Lyon and Medina del Campo. (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, pl. II). The contacts of Cosme Ruiz with Hamburg, Rome and Venice were probably rather weak. (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, pl. II).	
Cologne		1	1	1	0	after 1596/97	When he became active in commerce again after 1596-97, Cosme imported among others wax from Hamburg. He also prospected the northern market of copper, hemp, cables, in Hamburg, but even in Cologne and Danzig (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 13).	

Danzig		1	1	1	0	after 1596/97	When Cosme became active in commerce again after 1596-97, he imported among others wax from Hamburg. He also prospected the northern market of copper, hemp, cables, in Hamburg, but even in Cologne and Danzig (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 13).	
Pisa		1	1	1	0	1599	1 letter received by Cosme Ruiz from Pisa in 1599 has been preserved. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, viii).	

+ Places of origin of letters (in case number of letters sent is known) sent to Cosme Ruiz have been scored as follows (8-point scale): 3: more than 10 letters; 2: 2-10 letters; 1: 1 letter.

2. ANDRÉ RUIZ, ca. 1537 – ca. 1607

André Ruiz (+ 1580), brother of Vitores and Simon Ruiz. Great merchant in Nantes (Lapeyre, 1955, 46-47). André Ruiz first signaled in Nantes in 1537. Maried ca. 1540 to Isabel de Santo Domingo, daughter of Francisco de Santo Domingo, a Spanish merchant in Nantes since 1522. Received letters of naturalisation in March 1546 (Lapeyre, 1955, 47-48). Mirande and De la Presse families in Nantes had family ties with the Ruiz (Lapeyre, 1955, 48). Company between André Ruiz and Jean de la Presse (+ 1567) in Nantes, Vitores Ruiz (+ 1566) in Medina del Campo, and Francisco de la Presa (+ 1576) in Burgos, for export of cloth. Despite the death of different partners, the company continued (Lapeyre, 1955, 48). Commission trade of André Ruiz took a lot of effort, but not much profit. André Ruiz also traded from time to time for his brother Simon, but no long term-contracts between them (Lapeyre, 1955, 49). Yvon Rocaz was the associate of Simon Ruiz in Nantes. Was mayor of Nantes in 1566-1568. Julien Rocaz, son of Yvon, married to Marie, daughter of André Ruiz (Lapeyre, 1955, 52). André Ruiz was de facto consul of Spain in Nantes (Lapeyre, 1955, 55). André Ruiz died on 14 July 1580 of an infectuous disease (Lapeyre, 1955, 59). Julien Ruiz, son of André, worked for his father (Lapeyre, 1955, 83-84). Death of André Ruiz in 1580. His sons Julien and André took over the business, headed by Julien, who was not very capable. However, Julien died in 1583, and André II Ruiz came at the head of the firm of his father in Nantes. André II Ruiz became involved in many lawsuits, and had large debts. His uncle Simon Ruiz had to provide him with money in 1586 and again in 1592 to safe him from bankruptcy (Lapeyre, 1955, 85-94). After 1596, André II Ruiz seems to have managed to restore his business: in 1598 he was visited by king Henri IV, and in 1601, he figured among the most important merchants in Nantes. He probably died in 1607, when his will was made (Lapeyre, 1955, 93). Pero Ruiz, son of Vitores, learned commerce with his uncle André in Nantes, but went back to Medina del Campo after the death of his father in 1566 (Lapeyre, 1955, 95).

Size: Medium-sized or large

The fortune of André Ruiz was estimated at 200,000 lb. in 1577 by his nephew Pero Ruiz, which may be somewhat optimistic: some bad debts. (Lapeyre, 1955, 51). Great merchant in Nantes (Lapeyre, 1955, 46-47). In 1601, André II Ruiz figured among the most important merchants in Nantes. (Lapeyre, 1955, 93). André Ruiz was de facto consul of Spain in Nantes (Lapeyre, 1955, 55).

Main activities:

- Commerce: André Ruiz exported products to Spain where he had business relations with importers in Bilbao, Burgos and Medina del Campo (Lapeyre, 1955, 48). The Spanish merchants in Rouen sent cloth to André Ruiz for their correspondents in Burgos in exchange for wool (Lapeyre, 1955, 49). Ca. 1559, activities of the company of Simon Ruiz and of the company of André Ruiz also extended to Rouen, to be able to import finer cloth than cloth from Bretagne. (Lapeyre, 1955, 64-65). The great paper merchants of Thiers sent André Ruiz considerable quantities of paper via l'Allier and the Loire. (Lapeyre, 1955, 48-49).
- Finance: André Ruiz was already very early more interested in finance than in commerce: many profits due to tax farming: from 1548: farmed the tax of one "denier pour livre" on merchandise entering Nantes, for which he paid 4,000 lb. In 1565, he was farmer of the "bail de la prévôté": administration of the customs (Lapeyre, 1955, 49). Important financial operations with the French crown in the last years of André Ruiz' life, when he farmed the taxes of Bretagne, including the incomes of the royal tolls in Bretagne (1576-1579). André Ruiz made large loans to the king, often in association with the Rocaz and the Fiot of Nantes. Loans to the city of Nantes were very small compared to the royal loans (Lapeyre, 1955, 49-50).
- Industry:

Network of André Ruiz:

Table A..3. Network of André Ruiz, ca. 1537 – ca. 1607

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Nantes		8	4	3	1	c.1537-c.1607	Headquarters. André Ruiz (+ 1580), brother of Vitores and Simon Ruiz. Great merchant in Nantes (Lapeyre, 1955, 46-47). André Ruiz first signaled in Nantes in 1537. Received letters of naturalisation in March 1546 (Lapeyre, 1955, 47-48). Company between André Ruiz and Jean de la Presse (+ 1567) in Nantes, Vitores Ruiz (+ 1566) in Medina del Campo, and Francisco de la Presa (+ 1576) in Burgos, for export of cloth. (Lapeyre, 1955, 48). André Ruiz possessed three houses in Nantes, the most important of which was the "Maison des Tourelles" on the Quai de la Fosse, in the merchant quarters of Nantes (Lapeyre, 1955, 51). The Ruiz family assimilated in Nantes. (Brunelle, 1989, 203).	
Burgos		6	3	2	1	>1566<	Company between André Ruiz and Jean de la Presse (+ 1567) in Nantes, Vitores Ruiz (+ 1566) in Medina del Campo, and Francisco de la Presa (+	

							1576) in Burgos, for export of cloth. Despite the death of different partners, the company continued (Lapeyre, 1955, 48). André Ruiz exported products to Spain where he had business relations with importers in Bilbao, Burgos and Medina del Campo (Lapeyre, 1955, 48). After the death of Vitores Ruiz in 1566, Francisco de la Presa moved to Medina del Campo for a while (Lapeyre, 1955, 95).	
Medina del Campo		6	3	2	1	>1566-1592<	Simon Ruiz (+ 1597), Vitores Ruiz (+ 1566), brothers. In Medina del Campo (Lapeyre, 1955, 46). André Ruiz traded from time to time for his brother Simon, but no long term-contracts between them (Lapeyre, 1955, 49). Company between André Ruiz and Jean de la Presse (+ 1567) in Nantes, Vitores Ruiz (+ 1566) in Medina del Campo, and Francisco de la Presa (+ 1576) in Burgos, for export of cloth. Despite the death of different partners, the company continued (Lapeyre, 1955, 48). André Ruiz exported products to Spain where he had business relations with importers in Bilbao, Burgos and Medina del Campo (Lapeyre, 1955, 48). After the death of Vitores Ruiz, his business is taken over by his associate Francisco de la Presa, who moved for a while from Burgos to Medina del Campo, and his heirs: "Francisco de la Presa y herederos de Vitores Ruiz" (Lapeyre, 1955, 95). In 1576, Francisco de la Presa died, and the company was taken over by Pero Ruiz, son of Vitores. Company renamed in 1579: "Herederos de Francisco de la Presa y Pero Ruiz". This company was still involved in the larger company with André Ruiz and Jean de la Presse. Pero Ruiz and Juan de la Presa, son of Francisco went to Nantes to settle the accounts (Lapeyre, 1955, 95-96). Pero Ruiz died in a duel in 1581 (Lapeyre, 1955, 96-97). Bankruptcy of Juan de la Presa in 1579 (Lapeyre, 1955, 491-492). André II Ruiz becomes involved in many lawsuits, and has large debts. His uncle Simon Ruiz has to provide him with money in 1586 and again in 1592 to safe him from bankruptcy (Lapeyre, 1955, 85-94).	
Antwerp		3	2	2	1	>c.1566-1574<	Jerónimo de Curiel was a correspondent of André Ruiz in Antwerp ca. 1566-1570. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 219). A business contact of the Ruiz of Nantes in Antwerp (until 1574) was Fernando de Frías Ceballos. (Vazquez de Prado, 1960, 216).	
Bilbao		3	2	2	1	>1587<	André Ruiz exported products to Spain where he had business relations with importers in Bilbao, Burgos and Medina del Campo (Lapeyre, 1955, 48). André II Ruiz had a bad debtor in Bilbao, the merchant Juan de Madariaga,	

							in 1587 (Lapeyre, 1955, 90). In Bilbao, André Ruiz often used commissionaries who were called “huespedes” (hosts): innkeepers. The innkeepers of Bilbao took charge of unloading or loading of merchandise and storing them in the warehouses. Innkeepers used by André Ruiz: Juan Bustinza, Martin Guemes (Lapeyre, 1955, 158).	
Lyon		3	2	2	1	>1586-1592<	André Ruiz worked as commission merchant for different merchants from Rouen, Lyon and Thiers. (Lapeyre, 1955, 48). Principal correspondents of André Ruiz in Lyon were the Bonvisi. André Ruiz had also contacts with the great booktraders of Lyon who sent him bales of books: Senneton, Giunta, Portonariis and Guillaume Rouile (Lapeyre, 1955, 48). André II Ruiz used the Bonvisi in Lyon for bills of exchange transactions, but because of his precarious financial situation the Bonvisi started to worry about his financial situation in 1586, and again protest his bills of exchange in 1590. Simon Ruiz had to intervene in 1586 and 1592 to restore the relations of André Ruiz with the Bonvisi and to safe him from bankruptcy (Lapeyre, 1955, 90-92). The Ruiz of Nantes drew a large number of bills of exchange on the Bonvisi in Lyon. (Bayard, 1971, 1249). André Ruiz in Nantes was a correspondent of Bernard Promontorio, a Genoese merchant in Lyon. (Gascon, 1971, 105).	
Madrid		3	2	2	1	>1579<	Pero Ruiz was often sent to Madrid for asientos affairs by his uncle André Ruiz. In 1579, Pero managed to conclude an asiento of 100,000 écus (Lapeyre, 1955, 96).	
Paris		3	2	2	1	>c.1577-1586<	André Ruiz had contacts with the Gondi at the royal court. In 1586, André II Ruiz paid sums of money in Paris to Albert de Gondi, via booktransfer in Nantes. This arrangement probably existed already for a long time. Also correspondence of André Ruiz with Jean-Baptiste de Gondi in Paris ca. 1577 (Lapeyre, 1955, 54). André II Ruiz, son of André, was not heavily interested in the life of a merchant. He represented his father in Paris at the court, and often resided with the Gondi. André II often travelled between Paris and Nantes (Lapeyre, 1955, 84-85). While Pero Ruiz, heir of Vitores Ruiz, went to Nantes to settle the accounts of the company with André Ruiz, he concluded via correspondence two large businesses concerning the asientos with Jéronimo de Curiel, representative of Don Juan of Austria in Paris (Lapeyre, 1955, 96). About the Gondi, see Ehrenberg, 1928, 219-220: Antonio Gondi had	

							emigrated to France from Florence in 1527: distinguished position at the Court of Henry II. His sons and grandsons obtained high positions at the French court and married with old French nobility (Ehrenberg, 1928, 219-220).	
Rouen		3	2	2	1	c.1559-1570s<	André Ruiz worked as commission merchant for different merchants from Rouen, Lyon and Thiers. (Lapeyre, 1955, 48). The Spanish merchants in Rouen sent cloth to André Ruiz for their correspondents in Burgos in exchange for wool (Lapeyre, 1955, 49). Ca. 1559, activities of the company of Simon Ruiz and of the company of André Ruiz also extended to Rouen, to be able to import finer cloth than cloth from Bretagne. Representative of the Ruiz in Rouen in 1562-1563: Sancho de Arbieto, who returned in 1563 to Spain for the wars of religion. He was replaced by Antonio de Quintanadueñas of a family of high standing in Burgos. But in 1564 the position of the Ruiz in Rouen was not very solid anymore (Lapeyre, 1955, 64-65). In the 1570s, the Ruiz of Nantes and Medina del Campo had business connections with Charles de Saldaigne in Rouen. (Brunelle, 1989, 209). Antoine de Quintanadoines acted as factor for the Ruiz of Nantes and Medina del Campo in Rouen. (Brunelle, 1989, 211). Anthoine de Quintanadoines went to Rouen as a factor of the Ruiz in 1562. (Brunelle, 1989, 216).	
Sevilla		3	2	2	1	1560-1568	Simon Ruiz established a permanent representative in Seville, from 1560 to 1565 Jéronimo de Valladolid, in 1565 succeeded by Francisco de Mariaca: sales in Sevilla for the company of Simon Ruiz, Rocaz and Le Lou (1/2) and for the company of Vitores and André Ruiz and F. de la Presa (1/2) (Lapeyre, 1955, 64). Many bankruptcies in Seville in 1567, which brought the Ruiz in difficulties (Lapeyre, 1955, 66-67). By end 1568, Simon Ruiz travelled to Seville to attempt to recover the debts there, in which he seems to have succeeded largely. But after 1568, Simon Ruiz only had limited trade operations with Seville (Lapeyre, 1955, 67). Factors of Simon Ruiz in Seville were Jéronimo de Valladolid (1560-1565) and Francisco de Mariaca (1565-1568), who worked for the company of Simon and of André (Lapeyre, 1955, 157). In 1566, 300 bales of paper were sent to André Ruiz in Nantes by two merchants of Thiers, for export to Sevilla, Cadiz, and Toledo (Gascon, 1971, 105).	
Thiers		3	2	2	1	>1566<	André Ruiz worked as commission merchant for different merchants from	

							Rouen, Lyon and Thiers. (Lapeyre, 1955, 48). The great paper merchants of Thiers sent André Ruiz considerable quantities of paper via l'Allier and the Loire: the Nevrèze, Ossandon, Fédit, Tolier, Bérault (Lapeyre, 1955, 48-49). In 1566, 300 bales of paper were sent to André Ruiz in Nantes by two merchants of Thiers, for export to Sevilla, Cadiz, and Toledo (Gascon, 1971, 105).	
Cádiz		2	2	1	0	1566	In 1566, 300 bales of paper were sent to André Ruiz in Nantes by two merchants of Thiers, for export to Sevilla, Cadiz, and Toledo (Gascon, 1971, 105).	
Toledo		2	2	1	0	1566	In 1566, 300 bales of paper were sent to André Ruiz in Nantes by two merchants of Thiers, for export to Sevilla, Cadiz, and Toledo (Gascon, 1971, 105).	

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GARCÍA DE SALAMANCA, before 1548 – after 1571

There were some large merchant dynasties from Burgos in the 16th c: the Maluenda, Miranda, Salamanca, Lerma, Astudillo, Quintanadueñas, Gauna, Pardo, Bernuy, Santa-Cruz, etc. (Lapeyre, 1955, 119-120). The Salamanca were merchants from Burgos who were active in England and Bruges in the last third of the 15th century. (Mathers, 1988, 373 n. 15). García de Salamanca was a merchant of Burgos around the middle of the 16th century. The cousins García and Miguel de Salamanca established a company in 1551. Very profitable enterprise: in 1560, each of the partners had a profit of almost 3 million maravedis. (Mathers, 1988, 388). Both partners had died by 1571, but their business was continued by the heirs of Miguel de Salamanca. (Mathers, 1988, 389). Death of García de Salamanca in 1566. Increasing amount of debts of García de Salamanca in the period before his death in 1566. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 341 n. 51). Bankruptcy of Jerónimo de Salamanca in February 1571 (October 1569 according to Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 224), due to large debts with the Genoese (Lapeyre, 1955, 486). The Salamanca were related to the Gallo, Pardo and Quintanadueñas. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 223).

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Source material:

Account books of the company of García de Salamanca have been preserved for 1548-1552 and 1552-1563 in the Archivo Diputación Provincial de Burgos. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 340). Town Archives of Bruges, family archive of the Salamanca (Copies of will of Pedro de Salamanca,…). (Marechal, 1985b, 129-155). 4 account books have been preserved (since 1551) of Miguel and Garcia de Salamanca in the Archives of the Diputación Provincial de Burgos. (Lapeyre, 1955, 343).

Size: Medium-sized or large

In 1565, García and Miguel de Salamanca each had 13 million maravedis in the company. (Mathers, 1988, 388-389). Capital of Pedro de Salamanca (19-1-1524): 29 lb. 8 s. in the office; 4,147 lb. 8 s. in the sleeping room, 2,280 lb. 15 s. in Antwerp with the Castilian merchant Fernando de Vermuy, 350 lb. in Spain with his cousin Alonso de Salamanca (Marechal, 1985b, 133).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Trade in Spanish wool, but also in French linen, woollens, playing cards, woad, Flemish wax, tapestries, oil, Breton linen, salted fish, etc. (Mathers, 1988, 388 n. 87). Sale of foreign cloth and Spanish wool, sugar and pepper. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 340). The Salamanca were great wool merchants (Lapeyre, 1955, 343). Jerónimo de Salamanca traded in wool and mercury. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 224).
- Finance:
- Industry:

Network of the Salamanca:

Table A..1. Network of the Salamanca, ca. 1548 – ca. 1563

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Burgos		8	4	3	1	>1548-1571<	Foundation of the trade of García and Miguel de Salamanca was the export of wool from Burgos to Rouen (e.g. in 1553, 1554, 1556, 1559, 1560). (Mathers, 1988, 388 n. 87). Headquarters. The Salamanca were merchants from Burgos who were active in England and Bruges in the last third of the 15th century. (Mathers, 1988, 373 n. 15). Jerónimo de Salamanca was associated with the Arriaga of Burgos and Madrid. Nothing is known about the connection between Jerónimo de Salamanca and García and Miguel de Salamanca. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 224). Around 1591 a certain Antonio Gallo Salamanca was factor in Antwerp of Alonso Díaz de Aguilar of Burgos. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 224).	

Bruges		4	2	2	1	end 15th c.-1529<, >1548-1570<	The company of García and Miguel de Salamanca had a factor in Flanders. (Mathers, 1988, 388). Miguel de Salamanca had the largest claim against the insurers in a large case concerning wool that had been loaded in 1570 and was seized by Dutch rebels in Middelburg in 1574. The wool was probably destined for Bruges. (Mathers, 1988, 389 n. 88). Involvement with Rouen, Nantes and Flanders. (Mathers, 1988, 388 n. 87). Sale of 508 sacs of wool by the company of García de Salamanca in Flanders in 1548-49, and 910 in 1549-50. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 340). Sale of cloth of Flanders in Castile by the company of García de Salamanca in 1549. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 340). Sale of pepper of Lisbon in Flanders and Rouen by the company of García de Salamanca in 1550-51. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 340). Pedro de Salamanca (lived for more than 30 years in Bruges, and was burried in the chapel of the Augustinian church), Francisco de Salamanca (lived for more than 26 years in Bruges) (Marechal, 1985b, 129-147). Francisco de Salamanca was born in Burgos in 1503, and was an apprentice of Pedro de Salamanca in Bruges (Marechal, 1985b, 145-147). Pedro de Salamanca had a house in Bruges that he let to Gaspar de Moxica (Castilian merchant); another house in Bruges in the “Spanjaardstraat”: La Casa Negra (“‘t Zwarte Huus”), where he lived at least between 1524 and 1529. He also owned the inn “ter Buerse” in the “Vlamingstraat”, where his cousin Alonso de Santagadea lived (Marechal, 1985b, 131-133). Pedro de Salamanca erected a chapel for the Pieta at the Church of the Augustinians in Bruges in 1513. Pedro de Salamanca (+ 21-2-1529), son of Francisco Garcia, grandson of Gonzalo Garcia. Trade in Castilian wool and bills of exchange. End 15th-early 16th c. (Marechal, 1985b, 129-155). Born citizen of Burgos, in Bruges since end 15th c., member of the nation of Castile-Leon: became 10 times consul in 1498-1515. Was a merchant of the Bruges exchange (Marechal, 1985b, 129-131). The Salamanca were merchants from Burgos who were active in England and Bruges in the last third of the 15th century. (Mathers, 1988, 373 n. 15). In 1551, Juan, son of Gómez de Quintanadueñas, established a partnership with Jerónimo de Salamanca for trade with Bruges. (Mathers, 1988, 388). The Salamanca were strongly represented in Bruges and Antwerp. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 223). A Gonçalo de Salamanca was in Bruges for at least 12 years between 1502 and 1555. In this period he also was consul of the Castilian nation of Bruges during four years. (Fagel, 2000, 92). A Pedro de	

							Salamanca was in Bruges for at least 15 years between 1502 and 1555. In this period he also was consul of the Castilian nation of Bruges during seven years. (Fagel, 2000, 92). A Diego de Santa Cruz Salamanca was in Bruges for at least 5 years between 1502 and 1555. In this period he also was consul of the Castilian nation of Bruges during three years. (Fagel, 2000, 93).	
Rouen		4	2	2	1	end 15th c. (?), >1548-1560s<	The company of García and Miguel de Salamanca had since 1551 a factor in Rouen: Andrés de Salamanca, apparently a nephew of Juan de Quintanadueñas of Rouen. Andrés had a salary of 28,500 maravedis per year, plus a one-third share of the profits or losses on the activities he undertook for the company. (Mathers, 1988, 388). Foundation of the trade of García and Miguel de Salamanca was the export of wool from Burgos to Rouen (e.g. in 1553, 1554, 1556, 1559, 1560). (Mathers, 1988, 388 n. 87). Involvement with Rouen, Nantes and Flanders. (Mathers, 1988, 388 n. 87). The company exported oil, cochineal (a red dye) and probably other products from the New World from Sevilla to Rouen. (Mathers, 1988, 388 n. 87). The trade of the Salamanca with Rouen remained important throughout the 1560s and later. (Mathers, 1988, 394). The Sallemengne (Salamanca?) resided in Rouen since the last decades of the 15th century. (Mollat, 1952, 510). In 1551, Jean de Quintanadoines in Rouen was a partner of Jeronimo de Salamanca in Burgos. (Mollat, 1952, 517 n. 288). Sale of 99 sacs of wool by the company of García de Salamanca in Rouen in 1548-49, and 109 in 1549-50. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 340). Sale of cloth of Rouen in Castile by the company of García de Salamanca in 1549-50. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 340). Sale of pepper of Lisbon in Flanders and Rouen by the company of García de Salamanca in 1550-51. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 340). Around 1591 a certain Antonio Gallo Salamanca in Antwerp had ties with Fernando de Quintanadueñas in Rouen. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 224).	
Sevilla		4	2	2	1	>1551-1566<	The company of García and Miguel de Salamanca had a factor in Sevilla, who was entitled to a commission of 1.5 % on his sales of woollen cloth. (Mathers, 1988, 388). Import of coarse linen to Bilbao and Sevilla in 1566. (Mathers, 1988, 388 n. 87). After 1565, the company invested largely in the export of cloth via Sevilla to the New World. The company insured woollen cloth consigned to Nombre de Dios for almost 3 million maravedis in 1565. In 1566, the Salamanca sent linen and woollen cloth from Sevilla to New Spain. (Mathers, 1988, 388, 388 n. 86). The company exported oil, cochineal	

							(a red dye) and probably other products from the New World from Sevilla to Rouen. (Mathers, 1988, 388 n. 87). Sale of sugar of Sevilla in Florence by the company of García de Salamanca in 1551. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 340). Around the 1580s, a Pedro de Salamanca was active in Sevilla. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 224).	
Antwerp		3	2	2	1	1524	2,280 lb. 15 s. of the capital of Pedro de Salamanca kept by the Castilian merchant Fernando de Vermuy in Antwerp on 29-1-1524 (Marechal, 1985b, 133). The company of García and Miguel de Salamanca had a factor in Flanders. The company was very active in Flanders. (Mathers, 1988, 388). Gregorio de Ayala was a representative of the Salamanca family in Antwerp during the first half of the 16th century. (Kellenbenz, 1990, 440-443). The Salamanca were strongly represented in Bruges and Antwerp. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 223). Jerónimo de Salamanca de Santa Cruz was a merchant in Antwerp in 1560. Nothing is known about the connection between Jerónimo de Salamanca and García and Miguel de Salamanca. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 224). Around 1591 a certain Antonio Gallo Salamanca was factor in Antwerp of Alonso Díaz de Aguilar of Burgos. Antonio had ties with Diego de Salamanca and Juan Bautista Gallo in Madrid, and with Fernando de Quintanadueñas in Rouen. A Francisco Gallo Salamanca was burgomaster in Antwerp in 1624-1626. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 224).	
Bayonne		3	2	2	1		The company of García and Miguel de Salamanca had agents or contacts in Paris, Nantes, Bayonne, Bordeaux, Lisbon, Bilbao, Laredo, Irun, Vitoria, and Medina del Campo. (Mathers, 1988, 388).	
Bilbao		3	2	2	1	>1566<	The company of García and Miguel de Salamanca had agents or contacts in Paris, Nantes, Bayonne, Bordeaux, Lisbon, Bilbao, Laredo, Irun, Vitoria, and Medina del Campo. (Mathers, 1988, 388). Import of coarse linen to Bilbao and Sevilla in 1566. (Mathers, 1988, 388 n. 87).	
Bordeaux		3	2	2	1		The company of García and Miguel de Salamanca had agents or contacts in Paris, Nantes, Bayonne, Bordeaux, Lisbon, Bilbao, Laredo, Irun, Vitoria, and Medina del Campo. (Mathers, 1988, 388).	
Irún		3	2	2	1		The company of García and Miguel de Salamanca had agents or contacts in Paris, Nantes, Bayonne, Bordeaux, Lisbon, Bilbao, Laredo, Irun, Vitoria, and Medina del Campo. (Mathers, 1988, 388).	
Laredo		3	2	2	1		The company of García and Miguel de Salamanca had agents or contacts in Paris, Nantes, Bayonne, Bordeaux, Lisbon, Bilbao, Laredo, Irun, Vitoria,	

							and Medina del Campo. (Mathers, 1988, 388).	
Lisbon		3	2	2	1	>1550-1551<	The company of García and Miguel de Salamanca had agents or contacts in Paris, Nantes, Bayonne, Bordeaux, Lisbon, Bilbao, Laredo, Irun, Vitoria, and Medina del Campo. (Mathers, 1988, 388). Sale of pepper of Lisbon in Flanders and Rouen by the company of García de Salamanca in 1550-51. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 340).	
Medina del Campo		3	2	2	1		The company of García and Miguel de Salamanca had agents or contacts in Paris, Nantes, Bayonne, Bordeaux, Lisbon, Bilbao, Laredo, Irun, Vitoria, and Medina del Campo. (Mathers, 1988, 388).	
Nantes		3	2	2	1	>1554<	The company of García and Miguel de Salamanca had agents or contacts in Paris, Nantes, Bayonne, Bordeaux, Lisbon, Bilbao, Laredo, Irun, Vitoria, and Medina del Campo. (Mathers, 1988, 388). Export of wool from Burgos to Nantes in 1554. (Mathers, 1988, 388 n. 87). Involvement with Rouen, Nantes and Flanders. (Mathers, 1988, 388 n. 87).	
Paris		3	2	2	1		The company of García and Miguel de Salamanca had agents or contacts in Paris, Nantes, Bayonne, Bordeaux, Lisbon, Bilbao, Laredo, Irun, Vitoria, and Medina del Campo. (Mathers, 1988, 388).	
Vitoria		3	2	2	1		The company of García and Miguel de Salamanca had agents or contacts in Paris, Nantes, Bayonne, Bordeaux, Lisbon, Bilbao, Laredo, Irun, Vitoria, and Medina del Campo. (Mathers, 1988, 388).	
Florence		2	2	1	0	>1551<	Sale of sugar of Sevilla in Florence by the company of García de Salamanca in 1551. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 340). Juan de Lago was a correspondent of the Burgalese firm Salamanca and Arriaga, and later of Jerónimo de Salamanca in Florence (late 16th century). (Ruiz Martín, 1965, x).	
Nombre de Dios		2	2	1	0	>1565<	After a while, the company of García and Miguel de Salamanca became involved in trade with the New World. After 1565, the company invested largely in the export of cloth via Sevilla to the New World. The company insured woollen cloth consigned to Nombre de Dios for almost 3 million maravedis in 1565. In 1566, the Salamanca sent linen and woollen cloth from Sevilla to New Spain. (Mathers, 1988, 388, 388 n. 86).	
London		1	1	1	0	end 15th c.	Sale of cloth of London in Castile by the company of García de Salamanca in 1548-49. (Casado Alonso, 1991, 340). The Salamanca were merchants from Burgos who were active in England and Bruges in the last third of the 15th century. (Mathers, 1988, 373 n. 15).	
Madrid		1	1	1	0		Jerónimo de Salamanca was associated with the Arriaga of Burgos and	

							Madrid. Nothing is known about the connection between Jerónimo de Salamanca and García and Miguel de Salamanca. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 224). Around 1591 a certain Antonio Gallo Salamanca in Antwerp had ties with Diego de Salamanca and Juan Bautista Gallo in Madrid. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 224).	

DIEGO DE SORIA, ca. 1460 – 1507

Diego de Soria began his career as a factor of the Pardo in Brittany ca. 1460. He became the most prominent Burgalese merchant in the last quarter of the 15th century. (Mathers, 1988, 371 n. 11). Diego de Soria was a capitalist merchant under the Catholic Kings. (Caunedo del Potro, 1985, 163). Diego de Soria established several mercantile companies with partners such as his brothers Martin and Gómez de Soria, Alonso de Lerma, A. Pardo, etc. (Caunedo del Potro, 1985, 164, 164 n. 1). Diego de Soria died in 1507. (Caunedo del Potro, 1985, 170 n. 43, 172 n. 60). Diego de Soria was involved in the urban politics of Burgos at a high level. (Caunedo del Potro, 1985, 171).

References:

Caunedo del Potro, B., 1985. "Los negocios de Diego de Soria, mercader Burgales". In: *La Ciudad de Burgos. Actas del Congreso de Historia de Burgos. MC Aniversario de la fundacion de la ciudad, 884-1984*. Madrid, Junta de Castilla y Leon, Consejería de Educación y Cultura, 163-172.

I did not consult:

Source material:

Several data about Diego de Soria can be found in the Archivo General de Simancas in Valladolid. (Caunedo del Potro, 1985, passim).

Size: Medium-sized or large

Diego de Soria became the most prominent Burgalese merchant in the last quarter of the 15th century. (Mathers, 1988, 371 n. 11).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Diego de Soria carried out mercantile activities. (Caunedo del Potro, 1985, 163). International commerce: export of raw materials: wool, iron, dyestuffs, oil, ..., import of woollens,.... (Caunedo del Potro, 1985, 163-164). Principal business of Diego de Soria was the export of wool and iron to Flanders and England. (Caunedo del Potro, 1985, 166, 166 n. 21). The Soria also carried out a limited amount of retail trade, especially the supply of the Spanish royal court. (Caunedo del Potro, 1985, 166).
- Finance: Diego de Soria was especially active in the money trade: international exchange transactions. (Caunedo del Potro, 1985, 163). Diego de Soria became increasingly active as a banker: deposit banking, exchange business, loans, etc. He became an expert in financial activities. He provided loans to the Spanish crown, the city of Burgos and private persons. (Caunedo del Potro, 1985, 167-168). Diego de Soria also became collector of the "Bula de Cruzada", etc. (Caunedo del Potro, 1985, 168). Diego de Soria invested in land and purchased rents at the end of his life. (Caunedo del Potro, 1985, 169-171).

- Industry:

Network of Diego de Soria:

Diego de Soria was active in the Mediterranean and above all on the route from the Channel to the Gulf of Biscay: Brittany, Flanders, England. (Caunedo del Potro, 1985, 164).

Table A..1. Network of Diego de Soria, last quarter of the 15th century

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Burgos		8	4	3	1		Headquarters. (Caunedo del Potro, 1985, 164). Diego de Soria obtained rents in Burgos and Sevilla, cities in which he was commercially active as well. (Caunedo del Potro, 1985, 170).	
Bruges		6	3	2	1	>1489-1495<	Gómez de Soria, brother of Diego, resided in Bruges ca. 1489-1495, where he represented the interests of the family company of the Soria. (Caunedo del Potro, 1985, 166). In 1495, Gómez de Soria contributed a large sum to a loan of the Spanish to the city of Bruges. He was one of the richest Castilian merchants in Bruges at that time. (Caunedo del Potro, 1985, 166). A house of Gómez de Soria in Bruges was sold to Bruges at the end of the 15th century and became the Spanish consulate in Bruges. (Caunedo del Potro, 1985, 166). Very regular shipments of wool to Flanders and England. (Caunedo del Potro, 1985, 166, 166 n. 21). Diego de Soria established several mercantile companies with partners such as his brothers Martin and Gómez de Soria, Alonso de Lerma, A. Pardo, etc. (Caunedo del Potro, 1985, 164, 164 n. 1). A Rodrigo de Soria was in Bruges for at least 20 years between 1502 and 1555. In this period he also was consul of the Castilian nation of Bruges during two years. (Fagel, 2000, 91). A Diego Perez de Soria was in Bruges for at least 14 years between 1502 and 1555. In this period he also was consul of the Castilian nation of Bruges during five years. (Fagel, 2000, 92).	
Bordeaux		4	2	2	1		Factors (factorías) of the companies of Diego de Soria were established in Florence, London, Lisbon, Bordeaux, Sevilla, etc. (Caunedo del Potro, 1985, 164).	
Florence		4	2	2	1	>1493-1495<	Factors (factorías) of the companies of Diego de Soria were established in	

							Florence (e.g. 1493, 1495), London, Lisbon, Bordeaux, Sevilla, etc. (Caunedo del Potro, 1985, 164, 164 n. 2).	
Lisbon		4	2	2	1	>1495<	Factors (factorías) of the companies of Diego de Soria were established in Florence, London, Lisbon, Bordeaux, Sevilla, etc. (Caunedo del Potro, 1985, 164).	
London		4	2	2	1	>1495<	Factors (factorías) of the companies of Diego de Soria were established in Florence, London, Lisbon, Bordeaux, Sevilla, etc. (Caunedo del Potro, 1985, 164, 165 n. 14). Factor in London was the Burgalese Alonso de Compludo, e.g. in 1495. (164). Diego de Soria frequently took care of the dispatch of the communication between the catholic kings of Spain and their ambassador in England. (Caunedo del Potro, 1985, 165). Very regular shipments of wool to Flanders and England. (Caunedo del Potro, 1985, 166, 166 n. 21). Transfer of money to the Spanish ambassador in England. (Caunedo del Potro, 1985, 168). Mention of instructions to factors in Scotland in a letter to his factor in London in 1495. (Caunedo del Potro, 1985, 164).	
Sevilla		4	2	2	1		Factors (factorías) of the companies of Diego de Soria were established in Florence, London, Lisbon, Bordeaux, Sevilla, etc. (Caunedo del Potro, 1985, 164). Diego de Soria obtained rents in Burgos and Sevilla, cities in which he was commercially active as well. (Caunedo del Potro, 1985, 170).	
Medina del Campo		3	2	2	1	>1493<	Diego de Soria especially purchased Castilian goods such as wool at the fairs of Medina del Campo. Long-standing connections of Diego and his brother Martín de Soria with Fernand Verde and Pero Bernal in Medina del Campo (1493). (Caunedo del Potro, 1985, 167 n. 24).	
Nantes		3	2	2	1	>1489<	Trade of Diego de Soria with Brittany, e.g. in saltpetre together with Martín de Aranda and Luis Mallant. The Aranda had strong interests in Nantes. (Caunedo del Potro, 1985, 165). These merchants had obtained a licence for export of war materials to France from the catholic kings. (Caunedo del Potro, 1985, 165). Exchange transactions between Castile and Brittany in 1489. (Caunedo del Potro, 1985, 168). Diego de Soria began his career as a factor of the Pardo in Brittany ca. 1460. (Mathers, 1988, 371 n. 11).	
Scotland		3	2	2	1	>1495<	Mention of instructions to factors in Scotland in a letter to his factor in London in 1495. (Caunedo del Potro, 1985, 164).	
Segovia		2	2	1	0		The Soria made use of retail merchants, especially from Segovia (e.g. Ruy López), Valladolid and Toledo, for the distribution of the wares they imported. (Caunedo del Potro, 1985, 166, 167 n. 22).	

Toledo		2	2	1	0		The Soria made use of retail merchants, especially from Segovia, Valladolid and Toledo (e.g. the brothers Fernando and Juan de Villareal), for the distribution of the wares they imported. (Caunedo del Potro, 1985, 166, 167 n. 22).	
Valladolid		2	2	1	0		The Soria made use of retail merchants, especially from Segovia, Valladolid and Toledo, for the distribution of the wares they imported. (Caunedo del Potro, 1985, 166). Loan of 320,000 mrs. by Diego de Soria to González del Portillo, merchant of Valladolid ca. 1480. (Caunedo del Potro, 1985, 167).	
Celada del Camino		1	1	1	0	>1489<	Small loans to several inhabitants of Celada de Camino, e.g. in 1489. (Caunedo del Potro, 1985, 167, 167 n. 25).	
Sicily		1	1	1	0	>1480<	In 1480, Diego de Soria had obtained a royal privilege for the supply of the Spanish troops in Sicily. (Caunedo del Potro, 1985, 165-166).	
Valencia		1	1	1	0	c. 1483	Debt of Juan de Albitrani, Valencian money changer, to Diego de Soria and Alonso de Lerma of 600,000 mrs. (Caunedo del Potro, 1985, 167).	

+ I have interpreted “factoría” as a locality were the firm had a factor, rather than as a branch.

4.2. PORTUGUESE FIRMS

LUIS ALVARES CALDEIRA, before 1576 – 1588

The Caldeira family was an important Portuguese family carrying out a considerable economic activity. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 209). Fernão Rodrigues and Manoel Caldeira (d. 1593) in Lisbon were sons of Manoel Rodrigues, who was treasurer of Doña Juana, sister of Philipp II in 1566. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 210, 210 n. 281). Luis Alvares Caldeira went bankrupt in 1588. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 225). Manoel Caldeira was a wealthy New Christian merchant of Lisbon. (Boyajian, 1993, 83-84).

References:

Vazquez de Prada, V., 1960. *Lettres marchandes d'Anvers. Tome I. Introduction*. Paris, S.E.V.P.E.N., 209-211 (École Pratique des Hautes Études – VIe section. Centre de Recherches Historiques. Affaires et Gens d'Affaires, 15).

I did not consult:

Source material:

The correspondence between Luis Alvares Caldeira with Simon Ruiz has been preserved. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 19, 210).

Size: ?

Main activities:

- Commerce: Until 1593, Manoel Caldeira was involved in the Portuguese spice contract. After his death in 1593, these shares went to his heirs. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 210). In 1584, Manoel Caldeira purchased 4,000 quintals of pepper from the Portuguese king. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 210 n. 285). Slave trade by the Caldeira of Lisbon. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 210). Luis Alvares Caldeira traded in grain to Lisbon, copper, wax, metal wares, etc. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 210-211). Flores de Notter sent sayes, wax, copper, etc. from Hamburg to Quintana in Laredo for Alonso de la Bárzena and Luis Alvares Caldeira. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 224-225).
- Finance: Ca. 1584, Manoel Caldeira was treasurer of Doña Juana, sister of Philipp II. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 210 n. 285).
- Industry:

Network of Luis Alvares Caldeira:

Table A..1. Network of Luis Alvares Caldeira, ca. 1576 – 1588								
City	**R**	**Score**				**Period**	**Type of presence**	**References**
Antwerp		8	4	3	1	>1575-1588	In Antwerp, Rodrigo Alvares Caldeira was established, as well as one of his nephews, Luis Alvares Caldeira, who was a factor of the Gomes of Lisbon. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 209). In 1578 Rodrigo Caldeira emigrated to Cologne, where he died in 1582. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 209-210). Luis Alvares Caldeira was married to a daughter of Jerónimo Limdo. When the latter died in 1576, he took care of the business of the widow and heirs of Limdo. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 210). Antonio Nunes Caldeira, brother of Luis Alvares Caldeira, resided successively in Antwerp (1575), Paris, Cologne and Madrid (1579). In Madrid, he was the partner of Giovanni Maria Corbari. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 210). Luis Alvares Caldeira exported grain from Antwerp, Rouen, London, Hamburg, and the Dutch harbours to Lisbon for the account of Hernando de Morales, Luis Gomes Nunes and Simon Ruiz. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 210-211). In 1576, Luis Alvares Caldeira took over the business of Jerónimo Limdo in name of his widow and heirs. Before, Luis Alvares Caldeira resided in the house of Jerónimo Limdo, and he was also involved in the business of the latter. Limdo represented several firms of Lisbon in Antwerp (Gomes d'Elvas, Morales, Rodrigues d'Elvas, Gomes Angel, etc.). He also corresponded with García de Xerez in Sevilla, and with Simon Ruiz in Medina del Campo (since 1573). Limdo carried out important exchange transactions with the fairs of Medina del Campo via his correspondents in Lisbon. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 214). In 1586, Alonso de la Bárzena was employee and factor of Luis Alvares Caldeira in Antwerp. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 224).	
Lisbon		6	3	2	1		In Antwerp, Luis Alvares Caldeira was a factor of the Gomes of Lisbon. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 209). Most of the members of the Caldeira family lived in Lisbon: Fernão Rodrigues Caldeira (uncle of Rodrigo Alvares Caldeira), Manoel Caldeira (father of Rodrigo), and the brothers and sisters of Rodrigo Alvares Caldeira, among whom Francisco and André. Francisco Nunes de Beja, a nephew of Manoel Caldeira, and father of Luis Alvares	

							Caldeira, Antonio Nunes Caldeira, Dionis Nunes Caldeira and Ramir Alvares Caldeira, resided in Lisbon as well. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 210). Luis Alvares Caldeira exported grain from Antwerp, Rouen, London, Hamburg, and the Dutch harbours to Lisbon for the account of Hernando de Morales, Luis Gomes Nunes and Simon Ruiz. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 210-211). In 1576, Luis Alvares Caldeira took over the business of Jerónimo Limdo in name of his widow and heirs. Before, Luis Alvares Caldeira resided in the house of Jerónimo Limdo, and he was also involved in the business of the latter. Limdo represented several firms of Lisbon in Antwerp (Gomes d'Elvas, Morales, Rodrigues d'Elvas, Gomes Angel, etc.). Limdo carried out important exchange transactions with the fairs of Medina del Campo via his correspondents in Lisbon. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 214).	
Madrid		4	2	2	1	>1579<	Antonio Nunes Caldeira, brother of Luis Alvares Caldeira, resided successively in Antwerp (1575), Paris, Cologne and Madrid (1579). In Madrid, he was the partner of Giovanni Maria Corbari. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 210). Luis Alvares Caldeira did business with Francisco de Bovadilla and Antonio Nunes Caldeira, his brother, in Madrid. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 210).	
Sevilla		4	2	2	1	>1580<	The Caldeira had a business house in Sevilla. In 1580 the account books of the Caldeira in Sevilla were claimed by the fiscal authorities. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 210). Luis Alvares Caldeira did business with Salvador Fernandes, Guillaume Dupont and his relatives in Sevilla. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 210). In 1576, Luis Alvares Caldeira took over the business of Jerónimo Limdo in name of his widow and heirs. Before, Luis Alvares Caldeira resided in the house of Jerónimo Limdo, and he was also involved in the business of the latter. Limdo represented several firms of Lisbon in Antwerp (Gomes d'Elvas, Morales, Rodrigues d'Elvas, Gomes Angel, etc.). He also corresponded with García de Xerez in Sevilla, and with Simon Ruiz in Medina del Campo (since 1573). (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 214).	
Hamburg		3	2	2	1		Luis Alvares Caldeira did business with Floris de Notter in Hamburg. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 210). Luis Alvares Caldeira exported grain from Antwerp, Rouen, London, Hamburg, and the Dutch harbours to Lisbon for the account of Hernando de Morales, Luis Gomes Nunes and Simon Ruiz. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 210-211). Flores de Notter sent sayes, wax, copper, etc. from Hamburg to Quintana in Laredo for Alonso de la Bárzena	

							and Luis Alvares Caldeira. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 224-225).	
Laredo		3	2	2	1		Flores de Notter sent sayes, wax, copper, etc. from Hamburg to Quintana in Laredo for Alonso de la Bárzena and Luis Alvares Caldeira. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 224-225).	
London		3	2	2	1		Luis Alvares Caldeira did business with Gerard de Malines in London. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 210). Luis Alvares Caldeira exported grain from Antwerp, Rouen, London, Hamburg, and the Dutch harbours to Lisbon for the account of Hernando de Morales, Luis Gomes Nunes and Simon Ruiz. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 210-211).	
Lyon		3	2	2	1		Luis Alvares Caldeira did business with Diogo Mendes, Ruy Lopes and Diogo Rodrigues, Diogo de Castro, the Bandini, Capponi, Manelli and Michaeli in Lyon. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 210).	
Medina del Campo		3	2	2	1	>1576-1582<	Correspondence between the Caldeira and Simon Ruiz in Medina del Campo and Valladolid, e.g. in 1576, 1580, 1582, 1586-1587. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 210 n. 278, n. 280-284, 214 n. 333-334). Luis Alvares Caldeira did business with Simon Ruiz in Medina del Campo. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 210). In 1576, Luis Alvares Caldeira took over the business of Jerónimo Limdo in name of his widow and heirs. Before, Luis Alvares Caldeira resided in the house of Jerónimo Limdo, and he was also involved in the business of the latter. Limdo represented several firms of Lisbon in Antwerp (Gomes d'Elvas, Morales, Rodrigues d'Elvas, Gomes Angel, etc.). He also corresponded with García de Xerez in Sevilla, and with Simon Ruiz in Medina del Campo (since 1573). Limdo carried out important exchange transactions with the fairs of Medina del Campo via his correspondents in Lisbon. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 214). Juan Diez de Elorriaga was factor of Luis Alvares Caldeira in Medina del Campo since 1582. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 224). Luis Alvares Caldeira was a correspondent in Antwerp of Simon Ruiz in 1576-1588 (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 19).	
Northern Low Countries		3	2	2	1		Luis Alvares Caldeira exported grain from Antwerp, Rouen, London, Hamburg, and the Dutch harbours to Lisbon for the account of Hernando de Morales, Luis Gomes Nunes and Simon Ruiz. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 210-211).	
Paris		3	2	2	1		Antonio Nunes Caldeira, brother of Luis Alvares Caldeira, resided successively in Antwerp (1575), Paris, Cologne and Madrid (1579). In Madrid, he was the partner of Giovanni Maria Corbari. (Vazquez de Prada,	

							1960, 210). Luis Alvares Caldeira did business with Isoardo Capello in Paris. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 210).	
Rouen		3	2	2	1		Luis Alvares Caldeira exported grain from Antwerp, Rouen, London, Hamburg, and the Dutch harbours to Lisbon for the account of Hernando de Morales, Luis Gomes Nunes and Simon Ruiz. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 210-211).	
Valladolid		3	2	2	1	1581-1588	Correspondence between the Caldeira and Simon Ruiz in Medina del Campo and Valladolid, e.g. in 1576, 1580, 1582, 1586-1587. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 210 n. 278, n. 280-284, 214 n. 333-334). Luis Alvares Caldeira was a correspondent in Antwerp of Simon Ruiz in 1576-1588 (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 19).	
Africa		2	2	1	0	>1595<	Manoel Caldeira participated in the Africa trade, as well as Dionis Nunes Caldeira (1595). Active involvement in the slave trade. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 210).	
Cologne		2	2	1	0	1578-1582	In 1578 Rodrigo Caldeira emigrated from Antwerp to Cologne, where he died in 1582. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 209-210). Antonio Nunes Caldeira, brother of Luis Alvares Caldeira, resided successively in Antwerp (1575), Paris, Cologne and Madrid (1579). In Madrid, he was the partner of Giovanni Maria Corbari. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 210). In 1579, Rodrigues Alvares Caldeira was established in Cologne in 1579. (Thimme, 1912, 404).	
Goa		2	2	1	0	1581-1583	A consortium of Manoel Caldeira and associates (Jacome Barde, Ventura de Frias, and Pedro de Noronha) obtained a contract from the Portuguese king for outfitting five carracks yearly between Lisbon and Goa for the transport of pepper and other cargo. (Boyajian, 1993, 19, 21).	
Granada		1	1	1	0	1587	In March 1587, Manoel Caldeira, Giovanni Maria Corbari and Antonio Nunes Caldeira negociated the farm of the rent of the silk in Granada, for 600,000 ecus. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 210).	

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MENDES, before 1512 – end 16th century

The Mendes family came originally from Spain. The Mendes were originally a Jewish family (Jewish name Benveniste), but as a result of the prosecutions of the Jews in Spain, the Mendes had to flee to Portugal, and to convert themselves into Christians. They became so-called Marranos: officially Christians, but Jews in practice. (Reznik, 1936, 29). The head of the family in Portugal was Francisco Mendes. In 1528, he married Beatrice de Luna (b. 1510), also a Marrano. Francisco had a banking house. (Reznik, 1936, 29; Roth, 1948, 12-13). Francisco Mendes died in 1536, leaving a daughter Reyna Mendez, who later married Joseph Nasi. (Reznik, 1936, 30; Roth, 1948, 14). After the death of her husband, Beatrice de Luna, also named Gracia Nasi, continued the business of her husband in Lisbon. (Reznik, 1936, 30; Roth, 1948, 14). However, in 1536 Doña Gracia fled to Antwerp. (Reznik, 1936, 31; Roth, 1948, 15-16). The Mendes worked closely together with the Affaitadi, and after the branch in Antwerp was opened in 1512, the Mendes began to play a prominent role in the economic life of northern Europe. (Roth, 1948, 23). Diogo Mendes, brother of Francisco, who had established himself in Antwerp, married Brianda, the sister of Doña Gracia. (Reznik, 1936, 31). Sudden death of Diogo Mendes. (Reznik, 1936, 32). A nephew of Doña Gracia was João Miguez, or Joseph Nasi. (Roth, 1948, 17). Joseph Nasi fled to Turkey, where he became openly Jewish again. He became duke of Naxos, and played an important role in the politics of the Turkish empire. (Reznik, 1936, 80). Joseph Nasi became head of the business house of the Mendes after the death of Diogo Mendes. He continued his business after he fled to Constantinople. (Reznik, 1936, 83). The brothers Francisco and Diogo Mendes were originally apparently dealers in precious stones. They obtained a considerable position in the commercial world of Lisbon. (Roth, 1948, 10-11). Diogo Mendes was a very capable businessman. After a while, he overshadowed his Italian partners. (Roth, 1948, 24). Beatrice Mendes came to Antwerp in 1536, together with her sister Brianda, who became the wife of Diogo Mendes. Doña Gracia was a talented business woman, and she began to be closely associated with Diogo in his commercial activities. (Roth,1948, 28). Many Marranos who fled to Antwerp found employment in the business house of the Mendes. (Roth, 1948, 30). Diogo Mendes was arrested for one day in February 1531 on suspicion of heresy. He was promptly released after appealing to the letters of safe conduct granted by the emperor. (Roth, 1948, 32). In July 1532, Diogo was arrested again. The council of Antwerp protested vigorously against this arrest of one of her most prominent inhabitants. Protest against the arrest from the consuls of Spain, Genoa, Florence and Lucca, the Portuguese factor, and even Henry VIII. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, lxii; Roth, 1948, 33-34). In September 1532, Diogo was released. Among his sureties was the Antwerp merchant Erasmus Schetz. (Roth, 1948, 35). Ca. 1540, the Mendes decided to leave Antwerp. However, before they managed to carry out this plan, Diogo died in 1542 or 1543. (Roth, 1948, 39). According to Diogo's will, Doña Gracia became the administrator of the fortune and the business of Diogo Mendes. As a result, she could not leave Flanders quickly anymore. More and more, she used the advice and help of her nephew João Miguez. João now began to travel about Europe for the affairs of the firm. He became a familiar figure in the main commercial cities. (Roth, 1948, 40). The firm of the "Heirs of Francis and Diogo Mendes" continued to flourish. (Roth, 1948, 41). In 1544, Doña Gracia left Antwerp and established herself in Venice. (Roth, 1948, 45). After their flight, their property in the Low Countries was sequestrated. Nevertheless, they managed to recover most of their possessions. (Roth, 1948, 46-49). Somewhat later (not before 1546), João Miguez also left the Low Countries. (Roth, 1948, 48-49).

Diogo Mendes: Portuguese jew, lived in Antwerp (Goris, 1925, 198-201; Denucé, 1934, 20-21). Arrested in Antwerp in 1532 for heresy, free again thanks to intervention of the Portuguese king with Charles V (Denucé, 1934, 21-22).
The leader of the Mendes family, christened João Miquez and better known by the Jewish name he took later, Joseph Nasi, shifted his centre of operations to Constantinople. Although by being circumcized he made impossible his own return to the West, he maintained the close business connections which the Mendes family had established among New Christians in Western cities. Joseph Nasi became the foremost financier and tax-farmer of the Ottoman emperor and was honored with the title of Duke of Naxos. He was considered a main instigator of the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1571 (Lane, 1973, 301). Joseph Nasi, born in Portugal. Christian name: Joao Miquez. Beatriz de Luna or Beatriz Mendes, came from a family that fled Spain in 1492 for Portugal, where she was born ca. 1510. She married Francisco Mendes of the international banking house of the Mendes. Her Jewish name was Gracia Nasi. Gracia Nasi was the aunt of Joseph Nasi. Gracia, her daughter, sister and 2 or 3 nephews (among whom Joseph) left Lisbon in 1536 for Antwerp, after the death of Francisco Mendes. The family had to flee Antwerp ca. 1544 for accusations of Judaism, among others against Diogo Mendes, brother-in-law of Gracia Nasi. Diogo Mendes was married to Gracia's sister Brianda. After Diogo's death (ca. 1544), Gracia Nasi and her nephew Joseph Nasi worked together to maintain the great Mendes financial empire. Ca. 1544, the family fled from Antwerp to Venice. Joseph Nasi's brother = Bernardo (Christian name), Samuel Nasi (Jewish name), fled Italy together with his brother, but returned to Ferrara where he resided until 1558. Joseph Nasi was never allowed to return to Venice again, after he had left the city in 1553. Gracia Nasi lived in Venice until 1549, and then moved to Ferrara. In 1553, she went to Turkey. In 1554, Joseph Nasi reached Turkey, where he married his cousin Reyna. Joseph Nasi became an advisor to the sultan and to his son and successor Selim II, who named him duke of Naxos (Rose, 1970, 330-344).
Fernão Dias Mendes de Brito de Carmo was a member of the Mendes family. In the 1590s, he was an agent for the Rodrigues d'Evora in Hamburg. (Kalus, 2009, 13). João Mendes, active in Antwerp at the end of the 16th century. Perhaps a brother of Diogo Mendes of Lyon. Trade with Luis Fernandes, Manoel Gomes da Costa and Pedro Godines in Lisbon, and with certain businessmen of Porto. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 216).

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Source material:

Size: Large

The capital of the Antwerp branch under Diogo Mendes was estimated at 300,000 or 400,000 florins. (Roth, 1948, 25). The biggest of the business organisations of the New Christians was that of the Mendes family. (Lane, 1973, 301). Together with the Mendes, the Ximenes were the most important Portuguese New Christian family of the 16th century. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 294-295).

Main activities:

- Commerce: The brothers Francisco and Diogo Mendes were originally apparently dealers in precious stones. (Roth, 1948, 10-11). The Mendes business house was involved in the purchase and sale of precious commodities, as well as the transmission of payments. Commercial operations were the principal interest of the Mendes. (Roth, 1948, 11-12). From 1525, the Mendes controlled the largest part of the Portuguese pepper and spice trade. They purchased pepper and spices directly from the Portuguese king, in very large quantities, and sold them to foreign merchants. Buying the spices for cash, the Portuguese king became financially dependent upon the Mendes.

(Roth, 1948, 23-24). In the pepper trade, Diogo Mendes exercised a virtual monopoly. (Roth, 1948, 24). The Ximenes, Rodrigues and especially the Mendes controlled large parts of the pepper and spice market of Portugal (Kellenbenz, 1954, 254). Diego Mendes: Control on trade of Portuguese spices in Antwerp, since around 1525 (Franco and Diego Mendes: Marranos), together with Affaitadi and Gabriel de Negro: very big monopoly. Bought all the spices in Antwerp from the Portuguese king (pepper, cloves, nutmeg, ginger): Mendes and Affaitadi monopolised the Low Countries market, merchants selling from them were obliged to export the spices to France, England, Germany,... (Denucé, 1934, 20-22; Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, lxi-lxiii). The Mendes controlled the European pepper market until the middle of the 16th century. (Kalus, 2009, 13-14).

- Finance: Buying the spices for cash, the Portuguese king became financially dependent upon the Mendes. (Roth, 1948, 23-24). The bank of Francisco Mendes played an important role in the transfer of capital for Jews who emigrated from Spain and especially Portugal. (Reznik, 1936, 29). The Mendes bank in Lyon provided a loan to king Henri II of France. This loan resulted in a conflict between Joseph Nasi and the king of France. (Reznik, 1936, 80). Joseph Nasi carried out important financial activities for the French king before his flight to Constantinople. (Reznik, 1936, 80-82, 82 n. 3). The Mendes business house was involved in the purchase and sale of precious commodities, as well as the transmission of payments. The Mendes also transferred money for their clients via bills of exchange, and were perhaps involved in deposit banking. Loans were provided to governments and private persons. (Roth, 1948, 11-12). Diogo Mendes became active as a financier at the Antwerp bourse. He collaborated with the Fugger. He provided 200,000 florins to the Portuguese king to support the Turkish War of Charles V. He also provided loans to the English treasury under Henry VIII. (Roth, 1948, 24-25, 34). Diogo Mendes had important relations with Henry VIII of England. (Roth, 1948, 34). After the death of Diogo, the Mendes firm continued to advance loans to governments on the continent and in England. (Roth, 1948, 41). After the death of Diogo, Doña Gracia loaned Charles V 100,000 ducats for two years. (Roth, 1948, 42). Joseph Nasi became the foremost financier and tax-farmer of the Ottoman emperor and was honored with the title of Duke of Naxos. He was considered a main instigator of the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1571. (Lane, 1973, 301). Joseph Nasi became an advisor to the sultan and to his son and successor Selim II, who named him duke of Naxos (Rose, 1970, 330-344). In 1544, the government of the Low Countries owed the heirs of Diego Mendes 16,666 2/3 lb. Fl. (Soly, 1974, 812).
- Industry: Joseph Nasi developed a commercial and industrial organisation among the Jews within the Ottoman empire. (Lane, 1973, 301). The Nasi family had interests in publishing in Venice and Ferrara. (Rose, 1970, 330-344).

Network of the Mendes:

The bank of Francisco Mendes in Portugal had connections with France, Flanders, and other countries. (Reznik, 1936, 29). The Mendes bank had branches in the large cities of Europe. (Reznik, 1936, 81). The business of Joseph Nasi extended itself all over the world: in Europe as far as Poland and Russia, and to the Balkan countries which were under Turkish control. His ships sailed across the Mediterranean and towards Africa and Asia. (Reznik, 1936, 81). From Constantinople, Joseph Nasi carried out business all over Europe, Asia and Africa. (Reznik, 1936, 83). The capital of the Mendes was dispersed over the different branches in different cities. (Reznik, 1936, 84). Diogo Mendes extended his

operations into Italy, France, Germany and even England. (Roth, 1948, 24). The house of Mendes under Diogo maintained an elaborate organisation all over Europe. (Roth, 1948, 30). The Mendes used their business network to help Marranos flee to the Low Countries, or even further, to Italy or Turkey, and to transfer their capital to their new destinations. (Roth, 1948, 30). Joseph Nasi shifted his centre of operations to Constantinople. Although by being circumcized he made impossible his own return to the West, he maintained the close business connections which the Mendes family had established among New Christians in Western cities. His commercial operations with their ramifications, stretching from Antwerp to Palestine, were a threat to the profits of Venetian merchants. His trade included the exchange of Levantine wares for those of western Europe and sought to bypass Venice whenever that was practical, making use of business connections in Ragusa, Ancona, Ferrara, and other cities in which there were either Jewish or New Christian colonies. (Lane, 1973, 301). The large trade to the Far East, Africa, and Brasil was in Lisbon in hands of a number of large houses, such as the Ximenes, the Mendes, the Gomes, the Evora, and some others (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 27). Thanks to their contact as mecenas with christian authors in Italy during the Italian stay of the Nasi, the family, when leaving Italy in 1553, left behind a number of respected, reliable Italians, who were Christians and not linked to commercial enterprises, and who were indebted to them, and who might help in the supervision of the family's business affairs. (Rose, 1970, 330-344).

Table A..1. Network of Francisco and Diogo Mendes and heirs, ca. 1512 – ca. 1553

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Antwerp		6 **8** 6	3 **4** 3	2 **3** 2	1 **1** 1	1512-1536 1536-c.1544 c.1544<	Diogo Mendes, brother of Francisco, was the head of the branch of the Mendes bank in Antwerp. This branch was established by Diogo sometime before 1536. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, lxi-lxii; Reznik, 1936, 30-31; Roth, 1948, 14). The branch in Antwerp carried out very important business. (Reznik, 1936, 31). In 1536 Doña Gracia left Portugal and went to Antwerp. (Reznik, 1936, 31; Roth, 1948, 15-16). After the sudden death of Diogo Mendes, Doña Gracia became the head of the Antwerp branch of the Mendes. (Reznik, 1936, 32). Joseph Nasi was a well-known personality in the business world of Antwerp and Venice. (Reznik, 1936, 82). Branch in Antwerp. (Reznik, 1936, 84). Diogo Mendes was sent by his brother Francisco to Antwerp in 1512 to establish a branch of the Mendes business house there. It was not long before the branch overshadowed the parent house. (Roth, 1948, 23). Antonio de la Ronha provided fleeing Marranos with bills of exchange on Antwerp. (Roth, 1948, 30). In 1544, Doña Gracia left Antwerp and established herself in Venice. (Roth, 1948, 45). João Miguez remained as representative in Antwerp. (Roth, 1948, 45). Headquarters. House on the Groenplaats of Diego Mendez (ca. 1538).	

							(Goris, 1925, 104-105). Since 1512 (Denucé, 1934, 20-21). Members of the Mendes family operated on a grandiose scale in Antwerp and Lyon as well as in Lisbon, already before the Portuguese inquisition in 1536 (Lane, 1973, 301). Diogo Mendes: Jewish merchant in Antwerp: export to Italy in 1543-1545 (Brulez, 1958, 177; Puttevils, 2007, 158). The bank of Francisco Mendes in Portugal had connections with France, Flanders, and other countries. (Reznik, 1936, 29). The heirs of Diego Mendez were the 39th largest exporters from Antwerp to Italy in 1544. (Puttevils, 2007, 333).	
Lisbon		**8** 6	**4** 3	**3** 2	**1** 1	>1512-1536 1536-	Francisco Mendes was the head of the business house of the Mendes in Portugal. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, lxii; Reznik, 1936, 29). After the death of Francisco in 1536, the business was continued by his widow, Doña Gracia. (Reznik, 1936, 30; Roth, 1948, 14). In 1536 Doña Gracia left Portugal and went to Antwerp. (Reznik, 1936, 31; Roth, 1948, 15-16). Headquarters in Lisbon. (Reznik, 1936, 32). Successful business of the Mendes in Lisbon. (Reznik, 1936, 81). Branch in Lisbon. (Reznik, 1936, 84). The brothers Francisco and Diogo Mendes were originally apparently dealers in precious stones. They obtained a considerable position in the commercial world of Lisbon. (Roth, 1948, 10-11). Members of the Mendes family operated on a grandiose scale in Antwerp and Lyon as well as in Lisbon, already before the Portuguese inquisition in 1536 (Lane, 1973, 301).	
Lyon		6	3	2	1	>1536-1543<	A Mendes bank existed in Lyon, which was improved by Joseph Nasi. The Mendes bank in Lyon provided a loan to king Henri II of France. This loan resulted in a conflict between Joseph Nasi and the king of France. (Reznik, 1936, 80). Joseph Nasi played an important role in the Mendes bank in Lyon. The Lyon bank was involved in financial activities. (Reznik, 1936, 80). During her stay in Venice, Brianda, sister of Doña Gracia, did have capital in Venice and Lyon. (Reznik, 1936, 84). Doña Gracia and her sister had capital in Venice and Lyon, which risked to be confiscated when they were charged for Judaism in Venice. (Reznik, 1936, 84-85, 87 n. 1). João Miguez began to travel around the trading cities of Europe for the Mendes business from ca. 1542/43. He especially became active in Lyon. (Roth, 1948, 40-41). The bank of Francisco Mendes in Portugal had connections with France, Flanders, and other countries. (Reznik, 1936, 29). Diogo Mendes & Fernan Dias: Important Portuguese merchant-banking	

							house in Lyon. Acted as intermediary for exchange transactions for Portuguese merchants (Lapeyre, 1955, 309). Members of the Mendes family operated on a grandiose scale in Antwerp and Lyon as well as in Lisbon, already before the Portuguese inquisition in 1536 (Lane, 1973, 301).	
Venice		3 ~~**8**~~ ***5***	2 ~~**4**~~ ***3***	2 ~~**3**~~ ***2***	1 ~~**1**~~ ***1***	>1543 1544-1553	Representative of Diogo Mendes in Venice was the Antwerp merchant and printer Daniel Bomberg, a printer of Hebrew books. Daniel received the property transmitted by the Mendes for Marranos settled in Italy, and forwarded it to the owners. (Roth, 1948, 31). Joseph Nasi established himself temporarily in Venice. (Reznik, 1936, 81). Joseph Nasi was a well-known personality in the business world of Antwerp and Venice. (Reznik, 1936, 82). Doña Gracia and her sister were imprisoned in Venice ca. 1551. At that time Joseph Nasi was already in Constantinople. (Reznik, 1936, 83). During her stay in Venice, Brianda, sister of Doña Gracia, did have capital in Venice and Lyon. (Reznik, 1936, 84). Doña Gracia and her sister had capital in Venice and Lyon, which risked to be confiscated when they were charged for Judaism in Venice. (Reznik, 1936, 84-85). The Turkish sultan sent a special ambassador to Venice for negotiations about the liberation of the sisters. (Reznik, 1936, 86). In 1544, Doña Gracia left Antwerp and established herself in Venice. (Roth, 1948, 45). Doña Gracia established the business in Venice. (Roth, 1948, 47). The Nasi family had interests in publishing in Venice and Ferrara. Joseph Nasi was never allowed to return to Venice again, after he had left the city in 1553. Gracia Nasi lived in Venice until 1549, and then moved to Ferrara. (Rose, 1970, 330-344).	
Ferrara		4	2	2	1	>1549-1553	The Nasi family had interests in publishing in Venice and Ferrara. Gracia Nasi lived in Venice until 1549, and then moved to Ferrara. In 1553, she went to Turkey. (Rose, 1970, 330-344).	
Africa		3	2	2	1		The business of Joseph Nasi extended itself all over the world: in Europe as far as Poland and Russia, and to the Balkan countries which were under Turkish control. His ships sailed across the Mediterranean and towards Africa and Asia. (Reznik, 1936, 81). The large trade to the Far East, Africa, and Brasil was in Lisbon in hands of a number of large houses, such as the Ximenes, the Mendes, the Gomes, the Evora, and some others (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 27).	
Asia		3	2	2	1		The business of Joseph Nasi extended itself all over the world: in Europe as far as Poland and Russia, and to the Balkan countries which were under	

							Turkish control. His ships sailed across the Mediterranean and towards Africa and Asia. (Reznik, 1936, 81). The large trade to the Far East, Africa, and Brasil was in Lisbon in hands of a number of large houses, such as the Ximenes, the Mendes, the Gomes, the Evora, and some others (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 27).	
Augsburg		3	2	2	1	>1544<	In 1544, when Doña Gracia fled to Venice, parts of the Mendes property was in custody of a number of German merchants. After Doña Gracia sequestered their goods in Venice, they handed over her money to the local agent of the Mendes firm in Augsburg, Jerome Zoller. (Roth, 1948, 46-47).	
Balkans		3	2	2	1		The business of Joseph Nasi extended itself all over the world: in Europe as far as Poland and Russia, and to the Balkan countries which were under Turkish control. His ships sailed across the Mediterranean and towards Africa and Asia. (Reznik, 1936, 81).	
Brussels		3	2	2	1		Doña Gracia and João Miguez had close connections with the Habsburg court in Brussels. (Roth, 1948, 42).	
London		3	2	2	1	>1540<	Diogo Mendes had agents in London and elsewhere in England. (Roth, 1948, 24). One of the agents of Diogo in London was Christopher Fernandes. He was commissioned to board the Portuguese spice ships arriving in Plymouth or Southampton. Another London representative was Antonio de la Ronha. Both helped Marranos attempting to flee from Portugal to the Low Countries via England. Antonio de la Ronha provided fleeing Marranos with bills of exchange on Antwerp. (Roth, 1948, 30). Antonio de la Ronha, agent of Diogo in London, was summoned to Antwerp in 1540 to attend a meeting between Diogo and others concerning measures against the Marranos in Milan. (Roth, 1948, 36-37). Gaspar Lopes, a relative of Diogo Mendes, was one of his representatives in London before 1540. (Roth, 1948, 37).	
Milan		3	2	2	1	>c.1540<	Representative of the Mendes business house in Milan ca. 1540 was Gonçales Gomes. (Roth, 1948, 37).	
Poland		3	2	2	1		The business of Joseph Nasi extended itself all over the world: in Europe as far as Poland and Russia, and to the Balkan countries which were under Turkish control. His ships sailed across the Mediterranean and towards Africa and Asia. (Reznik, 1936, 81).	
Rome		3	2	2	1	>c.1542-1543<	Joseph Nasi travelled around Europe for business and diplomatic missions, e.g. to Rome, Marseille, Sicily. (Reznik, 1936, 80-81). Agent of Diogo Mendes in Rome was Diogo Fernandes Netto. João Miguez began to travel	

							around the trading cities of Europe for the Mendes business from ca. 1542/43. He especially became active in Lyon. (Roth, 1948, 40-41).	
Russia		3	2	2	1		The business of Joseph Nasi extended itself all over the world: in Europe as far as Poland and Russia, and to the Balkan countries which were under Turkish control. His ships sailed across the Mediterranean and towards Africa and Asia. (Reznik, 1936, 81).	
Marseille		2	2	1	0	>c.1542-1543<	Joseph Nasi travelled around Europe for business and diplomatic missions, e.g. to Rome, Marseille, Sicily. (Reznik, 1936, 80-81). João Miguez began to travel around the trading cities of Europe for the Mendes business from ca. 1542/43. He especially became active in Lyon. (Roth, 1948, 40-41).	
Plymouth		2	2	1	0		Diogo Mendes had agents in London and elsewhere in England. (Roth, 1948, 24). One of the agents of Diogo in London was Christopher Fernandes. He was commissioned to board the Portuguese spice ships arriving in Plymouth or Southampton. (Roth, 1948, 30).	
Sicily		2	2	1	0	>c.1542-1543<	Joseph Nasi travelled around Europe for business and diplomatic missions, e.g. to Rome, Marseille, Sicily. (Reznik, 1936, 80-81). João Miguez began to travel around the trading cities of Europe for the Mendes business from ca. 1542/43. He especially became active in Lyon. (Roth, 1948, 40-41).	
Southampton		2	2	1	0		Diogo Mendes had agents in London and elsewhere in England. (Roth, 1948, 24). One of the agents of Diogo in London was Christopher Fernandes. He was commissioned to board the Portuguese spice ships arriving in Plymouth or Southampton. (Roth, 1948, 30).	

+ This network is only very fragmentarily known!!!!

Table A..2. Network of Joseph Nasi in Constantinople, after 1553 (not used network)

City	**R**	**Score**				**Period**	**Type of presence**	**References**
Constantinople		8	4	3	1	1553-1571<	Finally, Joseph Nasi established himself and his business in Constantinople. (Reznik, 1936, 81). Joseph Nasi continued to be the head of the Mendes business house after he established himself in Constantinople. (Reznik, 1936, 83). Joseph Nasi shifted his centre of operations to Constantinople. Although by being circumcized he made impossible his own return to the West, he maintained the close business connections which the Mendes family had established among New Christians in Western cities. At the same	

							time, he developed a commercial and industrial organisation among the Jews within the Ottoman empire. Joseph Nasi became the foremost financier and tax-farmer of the Ottoman emperor and was honored with the title of Duke of Naxos. He was considered a main instigator of the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1571. (Lane, 1973, 301). After leaving Italy in 1553 for Constantinople, the firm still had Marrano agents in Italy: In 1553, Gracia Nasi went to Turkey. In 1554, Joseph Nasi reached Turkey, where he married his cousin Reyna. Joseph Nasi became an advisor to the sultan and to his son and successor Selim II, who named him duke of Naxos (Rose, 1970, 330-344).	
Africa		3	2	2	1		From Constantinople, Joseph Nasi carried out business all over Europe, Asia and Africa. (Reznik, 1936, 83).	
Ancona		3	2	2	1		Joseph Nasi shifted his centre of operations to Constantinople. His trade included the exchange of Levantine wares for those of western Europe and sought to bypass Venice whenever that was practical, making use of business connections in Ragusa, Ancona, Ferrara, and other cities in which there were either Jewish or New Christian colonies. (Lane, 1973, 301).	
Antwerp		3	2	2	1		Joseph Nasi's commercial operations in Constantinople with their ramifications, stretching from Antwerp to Palestine, were a threat to the profits of Venetian merchants. (Lane, 1973, 301).	
Asia		3	2	2	1		The Mendes de Britto, heads of the Mendes Nasi in Lisbon, had a factor in the Orient, Duarte Gomes (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 27). From Constantinople, Joseph Nasi carried out business all over Europe, Asia and Africa. (Reznik, 1936, 83).	
Ferrara		3	2	2	1	1553-1558<	Joseph Nasi shifted his centre of operations to Constantinople. His trade included the exchange of Levantine wares for those of western Europe and sought to bypass Venice whenever that was practical, making use of business connections in Ragusa, Ancona, Ferrara, and other cities in which there were either Jewish or New Christian colonies. (Lane, 1973, 301). After leaving Italy in 1553 for Constantinople, the firm still had Marrano agents in Italy: Duarte Gomes and Grasia Nasi's nephew Agostino Enriques. They were seized in Ferrara in 1555 and in Venice in 1568, but were both times released again. Thanks to their contact as mecenas with christian authors in Italy during the Italian stay of the Nasi, the family, when leaving Italy in 1553, left behind a number of respected, reliable Italians, who were	

							Christians and not linked to commercial enterprises, and who were indebted to them, and who might help in the supervision of the family's business affairs. Joseph Nasi's brother = Bernardo (Christian name), Samuel Nasi (Jewish name), fled Italy together with his brother, but returned to Ferrara where he resided until 1558. Joseph Nasi was never allowed to return to Venice again, after he had left the city in 1553. (Rose, 1970, 330-344).	
Palestine		3	2	2	1		Joseph Nasi's commercial operations from Constantinople, with their ramifications, stretching from Antwerp to Palestine, were a threat to the profits of Venetian merchants. His trade included the exchange of Levantine wares for those of western Europe and sought to bypass Venice whenever that was practical. (Lane, 1973, 301).	
Ragusa		3	2	2	1		Joseph Nasi shifted his centre of operations to Constantinople. His trade included the exchange of Levantine wares for those of western Europe and sought to bypass Venice whenever that was practical, making use of business connections in Ragusa, Ancona, Ferrara, and other cities in which there were either Jewish or New Christian colonies. (Lane, 1973, 301).	
Venice		3	2	2	1	1553-1580s<	Joseph Nasi shifted his centre of operations to Constantinople. Although by being circumcized he made impossible his own return to the West, he maintained the close business connections which the Mendes family had established among New Christians in Western cities, including those with a cousin in Venice. His commercial operations with their ramifications, stretching from Antwerp to Palestine, were a threat to the profits of Venetian merchants. His trade included the exchange of Levantine wares for those of western Europe and sought to bypass Venice whenever that was practical, making use of business connections in Ragusa, Ancona, Ferrara, and other cities in which there were either Jewish or New Christian colonies. (Lane, 1973, 301). After leaving Italy in 1553 for Constantinople, the firm still had Marrano agents in Italy: Duarte Gomes and Grasia Nasi's nephew Agostino Enriques. They were seized in Ferrara in 1555 and in Venice in 1568, but were both times released again. Thanks to their contact as mecenas with christian authors in Italy during the Italian stay of the Nasi, the family, when leaving Italy in 1553, left behind a number of respected, reliable Italians, who were Christians and not linked to commercial enterprises, and who were indebted to them, and who might help in the supervision of the family's business affairs. Joseph Nasi was never allowed to return to Venice again,	

							after he had left the city in 1553. (Rose, 1970, 330-344). Heitor Mendes de Britto, head of the Portuguese branch of the Mendes Nasi, had direct contacts with Florence and Venice (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 25). Around the end of the 16th century (ca. 1580s), Heitor Mendes was a rich and important merchant in Lisbon. His relatives and factors in Venice were Fernando and Jorge Francisco Dias and Manuel Núñez. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, xv).	
Lisbon		2	2	1	0	c. 1580s	Heitor Mendes de Britto, large business man in Lisbon, was the head of the Portuguese branch of the Mendes Nasi. (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 25). Around the end of the 16th century (ca. 1580s), Heitor Mendes was a rich and important merchant in Lisbon. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, xv). Connections with Joseph Nasi are not certain.	
Florence		1	1	1	0		Heitor Mendes de Britto, large business man in Lisbon, was the head of the Portuguese branch of the Mendes Nasi. Heitor Mendes de Britto had direct contacts with Florence and Venice (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 25). Connections with Joseph Nasi are not entirely certain.	
Pisa		1	1	1	0	1591	Fernão de Dias collected some debts in Pisa for Heitor Mendes, head of the Mendes Nasi in Lisbon, in 1591. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, xxiii).	
Segovia		1	1	1	0	1590s	Representative of Heitor Mendes de Britto, head of the Mendes Nasi in Lisbon, in Segovia was Francisco Núñez. (1590s) (Ruiz Martín, 1965, xv).	

+ This network is only very fragmentarily known!!!! Do not use the network of Joseph Nasi after 1553: a not very European network anymore.

ESTEVÃO NUNES, before 1572 – 1585

Estevão Nunes was a Portuguese merchant. He was a factor and partner of the brothers Fernando and Tristão de Morales of Lisbon. Nunes was in Antwerp by 1572 the latest. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 201). Estevão Nunes went bankrupt in 1585. After his bankruptcy he went to Calais, where he continued his commercial activities. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 202).

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Source material:

Correspondence of Estevão Nunes with Simon Ruiz has been preserved. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 201-202).

Size:

Main activities:

- Commerce: Trade in pepper, cloves and cinnamon from Lisbon to Antwerp, Cologne, Zeeland, London, Livorno and Florence. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 201). Import of colonial products (spices) from Sevilla, as well as sugar and oil. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 201). Export of grain to Portugal and Spain in 1580-1585. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 201). From Hamburg, Estevão Nunes exported wax and copper to Spain. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 202). Purchase of 15,000 to 20,000 lb. mercury in Cologne in 1585. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 202).
- Finance: Estevão Nunes was active at the fairs of Lyon and Besançon, which he used for exchange transactions. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 202).
- Industry:

Network of Estevão Nunes:

The network of correspondents and factors of Estevão Nunes spanned all the principal commercial centres of Europe. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 202).

Table A..1. Network of Estevão Nunes, 1572 – 1585								
City	**R**	**Score**				**Period**	**Type of presence**	**References**
Antwerp		8	4	3	1	>1572-1585	Estevão Nunes was in Antwerp by 1572 the latest. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 201). Several relatives of Estevão Nunes were in Antwerp: his parents, perhaps his brothers (Salvator, who traded with Barbary in 1568, and Enrique, whose wife and children were in Tanger, from where he imported melasse to Antwerp). (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 201). Trade in pepper, cloves and cinnamon from Lisbon to Antwerp, Cologne, Zeeland, London, Livorno and Florence. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 201). Purchase of 15,000 to 20,000 lb. mercury from the Fugger in Cologne in 1585, which he exported via Antwerp. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 202). Estevão Nunes went bankrupt in 1585. After his bankruptcy he went to Calais, where he continued his commercial activities. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 202).	
Lisbon		6	3	2	1	>1580-1585<	Estevão Nunes was a Portuguese merchant. He was a factor and partner of the brothers Fernando and Tristão de Morales of Lisbon. Nunes was in Antwerp by 1572 the latest. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 201). Estevão Nunes had a brother in Lisbon, Gaspar de Mercado. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 201). After 1583, Estevão Nunes was associated with Manuel Palacios, Duarte and Manoel Furtado of Lisbon. Especially trade in pepper, cloves and cinnamon. Nunes participated for ¼ in the capital of the partnership. The trade of this partnership was considerable: in 1584 Palacios purchased 500 quintals of pepper from the Portuguese king, perhaps the total amount of pepper in hands of the Portuguese king. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 201). Export of grain to Portugal and Spain in 1580-1585. For this trade, he associated himself with Fernando de Morales (Lisbon), Salvador Fernandes and Simon Ruiz. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 201). In 1580-1585, Estevão Nunes exported grain to Lisbon (Morales), San Lúcar and Sevilla, Ayamonte, Palos, and Cádiz (Salvador Fernandes). (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 202). Most important trade of Estevão Nunes was with Porto and Lisbon, where he made use of commission agents, such as Pedro Freire and Manoel Gomes in Lisbon, who sent cinnamon to Nunes in Antwerp in 1584. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 202).	
Amsterdam		3	2	2	1	>1580-1585<	Purchases of grain in Amsterdam, through intermediary of Armand de	

							Rodenberge, in Hamburg, and in London, via Gérard de Malines (1580-1585). His factors participated in the profit of the ventures. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 202). In Amsterdam, Estevão Nunes was represented by Armand Rodenberge. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 202).	
Ayamonte		3	2	2	1	>1580-1585<	In 1580-1585, Estevão Nunes exported grain to Lisbon (Morales), San Lúcar and Sevilla, Ayamonte, Palos, and Cádiz (Salvador Fernandes). (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 202).	
Barbary		3	2	2	1	>1572<	Ca. 1572, Estevão Nunes traded with Barbary. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 201). Several relatives of Estevão Nunes were in Antwerp: his parents, perhaps his brothers (Salvator, who traded with Barbary in 1568, and Enrique, whose wife and children were in Tanger, from where he imported melasse to Antwerp). (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 201).	
Cádiz		3	2	2	1	>1580-1585<	In 1580-1585, Estevão Nunes exported grain to Lisbon (Morales), San Lúcar and Sevilla, Ayamonte, Palos, and Cádiz (Salvador Fernandes). (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 202).	
Calais		3	2	2	1	1585-1586<	Estevão Nunes went bankrupt in 1585. After his bankruptcy he went to Calais, where he continued his commercial activities. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 202).	
Cologne		3	2	2	1	>1585-1586<	Trade in pepper, cloves and cinnamon from Lisbon to Antwerp, Cologne, Zeeland, London, Livorno and Florence. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 201). Purchase of 15,000 to 20,000 lb. mercury from the Fugger in Cologne in 1585, which he exported via Antwerp. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 202). In Cologne, Estevão Nunes was represented by Francesco Cambi in 1585-1586. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 202).	
Florence		3	2	2	1		Trade in pepper, cloves and cinnamon from Lisbon to Antwerp, Cologne, Zeeland, London, Livorno and Florence. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 201).	
Hamburg		3	2	2	1	>1580-1585<	Purchases of grain in Amsterdam, through intermediary of Armand de Rodenberge, in Hamburg, and in London, via Gérard de Malines (1580-1585). His factors participated in the profit of the ventures. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 202). From Hamburg, Estevão Nunes exported wax and copper to Spain. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 202). Estevão Nunes had a factor in Hamburg, whose name is not known however. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 202).	
Livorno		3	2	2	1		Trade in pepper, cloves and cinnamon from Lisbon to Antwerp, Cologne, Zeeland, London, Livorno and Florence. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 201).	

London		3	2	2	1	>1580-1585<	Trade in pepper, cloves and cinnamon from Lisbon to Antwerp, Cologne, Zeeland, London, Livorno and Florence. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 201). Purchases of grain in Amsterdam, through intermediary of Armand de Rodenberge, in Hamburg, and in London, via Gérard de Malines (1580-1585). His factors participated in the profit of the ventures. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 202). The representative of Estevão Nunes in London was Gérard de Malines, who was previously an employee of Nunes. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 202).	
Lyon		3	2	2	1		Estevão Nunes was active at the fairs of Lyon and Besançon, which he used for exchange transactions. In Lyon, he was represented by the Capponi and the Bandini. In Besançon, he was represented by Giacomo Cattaneo. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 202).	
Madrid		3	2	2	1	>1585<	Correspondent of Estevão Nunes in Madrid was Francisco Giraldez (1585). (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 202).	
Medina del Campo		3	2	2	1	>1580-1585<	Estevão Nunes was a correspondent in Antwerp of Simon Ruiz from 1580 to 1585. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 19). Close ties between Estevão Nunes and Simon Ruiz since 1580: Nunes needed a correspondent in Medina del Campo to be able to carry out exchange transactions for the Morales brothers. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 201). Export of grain to Portugal and Spain in 1580-1585. For this trade, he associated himself with Fernando de Morales (Lisbon), Salvador Fernandes and Simon Ruiz. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 201). Correspondent of Estevão Nunes in Medina del Campo was Simon Ruiz. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 202).	
Moguer		3	2	2	1		Correspondent of Estevão Nunes in Moguer was Duarte Mendes. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 202).	
Palos de la Frontera		3	2	2	1	>1580-1585<	In 1580-1585, Estevão Nunes exported grain to Lisbon (Morales), San Lúcar and Sevilla, Ayamonte, Palos, and Cádiz (Salvador Fernandes). (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 202).	
Piacenza		3	2	2	1		Estevão Nunes was active at the fairs of Lyon and Besançon, which he used for exchange transactions. In Lyon, he was represented by the Capponi and the Bandini. In Besançon, he was represented by Giacomo Cattaneo. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 202). Between 1572 and 1585, the fairs of Besançon were not regularly held in Besançon anymore, but in places such as Poligny, Trento, Chur, Rivoli, Ivrea, Asti, La Spezia, and from 1579 mostly in Piacenza. (Lapeyre, 1955, 284).	

Porto		3	2	2	1		Most important trade of Estevão Nunes was with Porto and Lisbon, where he made use of commission agents, such as Pedro Freire and Manoel Gomes in Lisbon, who sent cinnamon to Nunes in Antwerp in 1584. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 202).	
San Lúcar		3	2	2	1	>1580-1585<	In 1580-1585, Estevão Nunes exported grain to Lisbon (Morales), San Lúcar and Sevilla, Ayamonte, Palos, and Cádiz (Salvador Fernandes). (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 202).	
Sevilla		3	2	2	1	>1580-1585<	Import of colonial products (spices) from Sevilla, as well as sugar and oil. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 201). In 1580-1585, Estevão Nunes exported grain to Lisbon (Morales), San Lúcar and Sevilla, Ayamonte, Palos, and Cádiz (Salvador Fernandes). (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 202). The correspondents of Estevão Nunes in Sevilla were successively Francisco Vos, Salvador Fernandes, and from 1584 Leonel de Quadros and Francisco Morovelli. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 202). Export of grain to Portugal and Spain in 1580-1585. For this trade, he associated himself with Fernando de Morales (Lisbon), Salvador Fernandes and Simon Ruiz. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 201).	
Zeeland		3	2	2	1		Trade in pepper, cloves and cinnamon from Lisbon to Antwerp, Cologne, Zeeland, London, Livorno and Florence. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 201).	
Tanger		1	1	1	0		Several relatives of Estevão Nunes were in Antwerp: his parents, perhaps his brothers (Salvator, who traded with Barbary in 1568, and Enrique, whose wife and children were in Tanger, from where he imported melasse to Antwerp). (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 201).	

+ Not much is known about the network of Estevão Nunes. Due to a lack of more detailed information, most connections have been attributed a score 3-2-2-1.

RODRIGUES D'EVORA, ca. 1506 – 1608

Dr. Emanuel Rodrigues or Manuel Rodrigues d'Evora was the father of Nicolas and Simon Rodrigues d'Evora, who represented the Rodrigues d'Evora firm in Antwerp. Manuel also was the brother-in-law of the father of Ferdinand and Rui Nunes Ximenes. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 293-294). Rui Nunes Ximenes was married to Gracia Rodrigues d'Evora; they had 13 children. Rui Nunes died in 1581. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 294-295).

Manuel Rodrigues d'Evora, father of Simão and his brothers, started his career as businessman in Lisbon (1506), moved to Lyon in 1548, and from Lyon to Antwerp ca. 1558 (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 23). Merchants in Lisbon. By 1595, the business of the Veiga family was in hands of four brothers: Simão, Nicolau, Lopo Rodrigues and Rodrigo Lopes d'Evora (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 3). Father of the four sons was Manuel Rodrigues d'Evora. He had 5 brothers (among which two medecins and a large merchant), and 1 sister, who married the important merchant Duarte Ximenes d'Aragão (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 4 n. 18). The Rodrigues d'Evora et Veiga were related to the Ximenes: Manuel da Veiga, son of Rodrigo Lopes, was brother-in-law of the Ximenes of Antwerp. In Lisbon, the Ximenes frequented the house of Lopo Rodrigues. (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 4). From the first years of the 17th c., the family Rodrigues d'Evora et Veiga abandoned business, in Lisbon as well as in Antwerp. Many members of the family started a career in the church, became rentiers, or left Lisbon for Madrid, where they served at the royal court (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 23). The Gomes d'Elva, Ximenes, and Rodrigues d'Evora were often related with each other through marriage. Were all three very important families. None of the companies in which they participated went bankrupt (Gentil Da Silva, 1959, vii-viii). These Portuguese firms did commerce, managed funds. Never operated alone: all their initiatives were shared by different companies, each consisting of different branches of related families. Family was the basis of these companies, but sometimes also beyond the family framework. The Gomes d'Elvas, Rodrigues d'Evora and Ximenes were allies. Often business associations between the 3 clans (Gentil Da Silva, 1959, viii). Rodrigues d'Evora, Gomes d'Elvas and Ximenes were sometimes competitors, but worked together in the most important businesses. Sometimes, also cooperation with other Lisbon merchants, such as Luis de Pinto, Ventura de Frias, Mendes de Britto, Martinez. Also association with Italian or German merchants: Lercaro, Lamberti, Revelasco, Jung, Rott (Gentil Da Silva, 1959, xi). Nicolau Rodrigues died in Antwerp in 1605. Simão was still alive in 1606. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 209).

Clients of the Affaitadi. (Denucé, 1934, 25).
A certain Benedicto Rodriguez: Portuguese merchant: importer of spices to Lyon since 1554 (Gascon, 1971, 225).
Nicolas and Andre Rodrigues d'Evora et Veiga.

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Source material:

Town archives of Cologne. (Thimme, 1912, 390). Correspondence of Simon Ruiz. (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, passim; Gentil Da Silva, 1959, passim).

Size: Large

The size of the capital of the Rodriguez firm is not known. (Thimme, 1912, 403). The Rodrigues d'Evora et Veiga belonged to the most important Portuguese merchants and financiers of their times, in 1595-1606. They had big business in their hands all over Europe (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 5).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Important spice trade. (Thimme, 1912, 397-400). Trade in gemstones. (Thimme, 1912, 400-401). The 2nd large pepper contract of 1593 was largely in hands of the Ximenes and Rodrigues d'Evora et Veiga (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 4). In the 1st half of the 16th c., the Rodrigues d'Evora et Veiga were very large sugar merchants, exporters of sugar from Sao Tomé. (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 27). The Evora became rich thanks to the distribution of sugar and pepper over Europe, and invested this money by transferring it through Europe. They were also involved in diamond trade and import from the Baltic (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 28). The large Portuguese firms knew only horizontal concentration: to increase possibilities and reduce risks. No vertical concentration however: not involved in manufacturing, only interested in large scale import and export of luxury goods and raw materials, and in exchange transactions. Trade in spices, gemstones, sugar. Never established plantations however. (Gentil Da Silva, 1959, viii). The large Portuguese companies were not specialised in trade in a specific commodity. Combined trade in different goods with international banking: exchange transactions (Gentil Da Silva, 1959, ix-x). Rodrigo Lopes and Lopo Rodrigues imported and re-exported gemstones, spices, pepper and sugar from Lisbon. Their brothers Simao and Nicolau sent them from Antwerp the profits of the sale of this merchandise. Also speculation on the exchange rates. (Gentil Da Silva, 1959, xii). The Ximenes, Rodrigues and especially the Mendes controlled large parts of the pepper and spice market of Portugal (Kellenbenz, 1954, 254). In 1592 Lopo Rodrigues d'Evora took over the share of the heirs of Georg Fugger in the European pepper contract of 1591. (Kalus, 2009, 9). The Rodrigues d'Evora participated in the Portuguese pepper contract. Also involved in trade in pearls and precious stones, sugar. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 209). The Rodriguez apparently not only imported goods from the East Indies, but also exported merchandise (presumably German and Dutch textiles) to the East Indies. (Thimme, 1912, 398). Trade in cloth and silk between the Rodriguez and their correspondents in Florence. (Thimme, 1912, 403, 403 n. 43).
- Finance: The Rodriguez advanced loans to the Spanish and Portuguese crown. At some point they had difficulties in obtaining repayment of a debt of 3,000 ducats from the royal treasurer Johannes de Lesture. (Thimme, 1912, 400). Profits of the Rodrigues d'Evora et Veiga were result of speculation on exchange transactions: they made profits on differences of exchange rates between two places in the opposite directions (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 6). Exchange transactions. (Gentil Da Silva, 1959, viii). The large Portuguese companies were not specialised in trade in a specific commodity. Combined trade in different goods with international banking: exchange transactions (Gentil Da Silva, 1959, ix-x). Rodrigo Lopes and Lopo Rodrigues imported and re-exported gemstones, spices, pepper and sugar from Lisbon. Their brothers Simao and Nicolau sent them from Antwerp the profits of the sale of this merchandise. Also speculation on the exchange rates. (Gentil Da Silva, 1959, xii). Active as asentistas at the end of the 16th century. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 209).
- Industry: The large Portuguese firms knew only horizontal concentration: to increase possibilities and reduce risks. No vertical concentration however: not involved in manufacturing. Never established plantations. (Gentil Da Silva, 1959, viii).

Network of the Rodrigues d'Evora:

Also representation in Italy (cities not mentioned). (Denucé, 1934, 25). The correspondence of the Rodrigues d'Evora et Veiga with the Ruiz Embito only give a partial view on the network of the Rodrigues d'Evora et Veiga, as a result their network is not completely known (Gentil

Da Silva, 1956, 23). Above, the main framework of activities of the Rodrigues d'Evora et Veiga was the overseas trade, rather than Europe. But almost no data about the overseas network of the Evora (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 26). The Rodrigues d'Evora had big business in their hands all over Europe (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 5). The large trade to the Far East, Africa, and Brasil was in Lisbon in hands of a number of large houses, such as the Ximenes, the Mendes, the Gomes, the Evora, and some others (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 27). The Rodrigues d'Evora never operated alone: all their initiatives were shared by different companies, each consisting of different branches of related families. Family was the basis of these companies, but sometimes also beyond the family framework. Representatives in different places were often brothers, brothers-in-law, nephews, or cousins. The decisions of the head of the family were undisputable. The head of the family was always established in the place that dominated the essential activities, often assisted by one or two relatives. The Gomes d'Elvas, Rodrigues d'Evora and Ximenes were allies. Often business associations between the 3 clans. (Gentil Da Silva, 1959, viii). The Ximenes, Rodrigues d'Evora, and Gomes d'Elvas all had agents outside of Europe and traded with the Atlantic Islands, the West-Indies and the Orient: trade in spices, gemstones, sugar. Never established plantations however. (Gentil Da Silva, 1959, viii).

Table A..1. Network of the Rodrigues d'Evora, mid 16th century – 1608 (especially ca. 1553 – ca. 1608)

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Antwerp		8	4	3	1	>1553-c.1602	Already in 1566 Ferdinand Ximenes and Dr. Emanuel Rodrigues (brother-in-law of the father of Ferdinand Ximenes) went from Antwerp to Cologne, where they probably had business friends. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 293-294). Nicolas and Simon Rodrigues d'Evora, sons of Manuel, represented the Rodrigues d'Evora firm in Antwerp in 1566. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 293-294). After 1566 Ferdinand Ximenes and Manuel Rodrigues d'Evora returned to Antwerp. Nevertheless, they maintained relations with Cologne. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 295). In 1578, Nicolas and Simon Rodrigues d'Evora and Ferdinand Ximenes left Antwerp for Cologne. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 295). After his return to Antwerp in 1581-1584, Ferdinand Ximenes was represented in Cologne by Nicolas Rodrigues d'Evora. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 296-297). Louis Rodriguez was a member of the Portuguese nation in Antwerp in 1573. (Thimme, 1912, 393). Gaspar Rodriguez was a member of the Portuguese nation in Antwerp in 1571. (Thimme, 1912, 393). Nikolaus and Simon Rodriguez went from Antwerp to Cologne. They obtained citizenship in Cologne in 1585. (Thimme, 1912, 397). Trade in gemstones with the Antwerp jewels trader Johannes Klamp. (Thimme, 1912, 401). Trade in gemstones with Johann Baptist Lagorio in Genoa, via Jakobus del	Kalus, 2009, 10

							Corte, factor of the Rodriguez. Lagorio had brothers in Antwerp and Cologne. (Thimme, 1912, 401). By 1591 (probably not before 1588), Simon and Nikolaus Rodriguez had returned from Cologne to Antwerp. (Thimme, 1912, 410). Mid 16th c.: Representation in Antwerp (Denucé, 1934, 25). By 1595, the brothers Simão and Nicolau were in Antwerp, their brothers Lopo Rodrigues and Rodrigo Lopes d'Evora were in Lisbon (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 3). Simão was the head of the company, which was called "Simão Rodrigues d'Evora e companhia". Headquarters were in Antwerp. Shows the growing importance of the North compared to Lisbon (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 3). Nicolau, son of Rodrigo Lopes, established himself in Antwerp, later traveled to Seville, and ended up in Segovia (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 3). The 2nd son of Lopo Rodrigues, Francisco de Veiga, established himself in Antwerp, where he married Gracia, daughter of Simão, probably ca. 1617. He died in 1642. From this marriage, the offspring became an important Belgian family (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 3-4). Simão was consul of the Portuguese Nation in Antwerp , e.g. in 1600 (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 22 n. 72). In 1602, Simão bought the Land of Rodes in Flanders (Land of Aalst), and he became Baron of Rodes (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 22). Manuel Rodrigues d'Evora, father of Simão and his brothers, started his career as businessman in Lisbon (1506), moved to Lyon in 1548, and from Lyon to Antwerp ca. 1558 (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 23). Contacts of the Evora with Antwerp started ca. 1560 due to the association between Manuel Rodrigues d'Evora and his nephew Fernando Ximenes (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 26). Simão was married to Ana Ximenes de Aragão (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 26). In Antwerp, the Rodrigues d'Evora were especially actif as pepper and diamond sellers (Gentil Da Silva, 1959, ix). Rodrigo Lopes and Lopo Rodrigues imported and re-exported gemstones, spices, pepper and sugar from Lisbon. Their brothers Simao and Nicolau sent them from Antwerp the profits of the sale of this merchandise. Also speculation on the exchange rates. (Gentil Da Silva, 1959, xii). Managers in Antwerp were Simão and Nicolau Rodrigues d'Evora. (Kalus, 2009, 10, 13). During the 1580s, Simão and Nicolau moved from Antwerp to Cologne, but by 1591 they had returned to Antwerp. (Kalus, 2009, 13). Already in 1553, Manoel Rodrigues d'Evora was in Antwerp, heading the firm "Manoel Rodrigues and sons". (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 208). In 1576, Manoel retired from active trade,	

							and the company was renamed “Nicolau and Simão Rodrigues d’Evora”, sons of Manoel. In 1576, Manoel and Nicolau left Antwerp for Cologne (via Cambrai and Paris), where they were established by 1578. In that year, they were joined in Cologne by Simão. In Antwerp, business was taken care of by Rodrigo Gomes, an employee. In 1580, Simão returned to Antwerp, while Nicolau and Manoel (d. 1581) stayed in Cologne. In 1585, Simão again went to Cologne, returning to Antwerp in 1587, whereto he was followed by his brother Nicolau in 1588. After 1590, the company between Simão and Nicolau was not renewed anymore. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 208).	
Lisbon		8	4	3	1	1506-1608	Rodericus Lopez and Lopo Rodriguez d’Evora were partners and relatives of Nikolaus and Simon Rodriguez in Lisbon. They received the goods sent from the East Indies, and forwarded them to the north. (Thimme, 1912, 398-399). Mid 16th c.: Headquarters (Denucé, 1934, 25). By 1595, the brothers Simão and Nicolau were in Antwerp, their brothers Lopo Rodrigues and Rodrigo Lopos d’Evora were in Lisbon (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 3). Not only company with their two brothers in Antwerp, headed by Simão, but also other companies: Rodrigo Lopes & Lopo Rodrigues d’Evora; and between 1595 and 1606, Rodrigo Lopes worked together with his sons Manuel, Antonio, Nicolau da Veiga and his daughters Catarina and Joana. Until 1598, also company between the brothers Manuel, Antonio and Nicolau, called “Manuel da Veiga e irmãos”. Around 1608, Manuel da Veiga abandoned trade, and invested all his belongings in his possessions in São Guilherme. In 1619, Manuel became a member of the royal court of Philippe III (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 3). Manuel and Nicolau, sons of Rodrigo Lopes, remained in Lisbon, but finally ended up at the Spanish court in Madrid (political careers), Manuel from 1619 (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 3). Belchior, son of Lopo Rodrigues, remained with his father in Lisbon (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 4). Manuel Rodrigues d’Evora, father of Simão and his brothers, started his career as businessman in Lisbon (1506), moved to Lyon in 1548, and from Lyon to Antwerp ca. 1558 (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 23). Lopo Rodrigues was married to a Coronel, of the family Gomes d’Elvas (Da Silva, 1956, 26). Rodrigo Lopes and Lopo Rodrigues imported and re-exported gemstones, spices, pepper and sugar from Lisbon. Their brothers Simao and Nicolau	Kalus, 2009, 10

							sent them from Antwerp the profits of the sale of this merchandise. Also speculation on the exchange rates. (Gentil Da Silva, 1959, xii). Manager in Lisbon ca. 1591-1595 was Lopo Rodrigues d'Evora. (Kalus, 2009, 10, 13). In Lisbon, the Rodrigues d'Evora company was managed by Ruy Lopes and Lope Rodrigues d'Evora, brothers of Nicolau and Simão. Connections also existed with the Gomes Angel in Lisbon. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 208-209).	
Cologne		3 ~~8~~ ***5***	2 ~~4~~ ***3***	2 ~~3~~ ***2***	1 ~~1~~ ***1***	1566-1578 1578-1588	Already in 1566 Ferdinand Ximenes and Dr. Emanuel Rodrigues (brother-in-law of the father of Ferdinand Ximenes) went from Antwerp to Cologne, where they probably had business friends. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 293-294). After 1566 Ferdinand Ximenes and Manuel Rodrigues d'Evora returned to Antwerp. Nevertheless, they maintained relations with Cologne. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 295). In 1578, Nicolas and Simon Rodrigues d'Evora and Ferdinand Ximenes left Antwerp for Cologne. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 295). After his return to Antwerp in 1581-1584, Ferdinand Ximenes was represented in Cologne by Nicolas Rodrigues d'Evora. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 296-297). Nikolaus and Simon Rodriguez went from Antwerp to Cologne. They obtained citizenship in Cologne in 1585. (Thimme, 1912, 397). Trade in gemstones with Johann Baptist Lagorio in Genoa, via Jakobus del Corte, factor of the Rodriguez. Lagorio had brothers in Antwerp and Cologne. (Thimme, 1912, 401). The Rodriguez lived in the Rheingasse in Cologne. (Thimme, 1912, 405). By 1591 (probably not before 1588), Simon and Nikolaus Rodriguez had returned from Cologne to Antwerp. (Thimme, 1912, 410). During the 1580s, Simão and Nicolau moved from Antwerp to Cologne, but by 1591 they had returned to Antwerp. (Kalus, 2009, 13). In 1576, Manoel and Nicolau left Antwerp for Cologne (via Cambrai and Paris), where they were established by 1578. In that year, they were joined in Cologne by Simão. In Antwerp, business was taken care of by Rodrigo Gomes, an employee. In 1580, Simão returned to Antwerp, while Nicolau and Manoel (d. 1581) stayed in Cologne. In 1585, Simão again went to Cologne, returning to Antwerp in 1587, whereto he was followed by his brother Nicolau in 1588. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 208).	
Amsterdam		3	2	2	1		The Evora had their own correspondents in Rome, Florence, Venice, Amsterdam, Sevilla, Frankfurt. Due to their direct contacts with the Ximenes and the Coronel they had indirect contacts with other places as well (Gentil	

							Da Silva, 1956, 25-26).	
Brussels		3	2	2	1	>1596-1607<	Simão negociated financial affairs with the courts in Brussels and Madrid, where he tried to compete with the Genoese (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 4-5). In Brussels, Simão negociated himself with the court, where he was favored by Archduke Ernest. He played an important role in providing finances to the government in the southern Low Countries between 1596 and 1607 (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 5).	
Calais		3	2	2	1	<1587-1607<	Nicolau da Veiga, established in Sevilla, sent in 1607 sugar from Lisbon to Calais and from Porto to Hamburg (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 5 n. 23). After 1587, a son of Simão Rodrigues established himself in Calais. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 209).	
East Indies		3	2	2	1	>1587<	In 1587, a Portuguese ship (the St. Philip) loaded with pearls and spices, coming from the East Indies to Lisbon was captured by the English privateer Francis Drake. Some of the pearls and spices belonged to the Ximenes, the Rodrigues d'Evora, and Diego Rodrigues d'Andrade. Nikolaus and Simon Rodriguez had ginger, indigo, and textiles on the ship. The ship was loaded in Mozambique with goods brought there by another Portuguese ship (St. Laurentius) coming from the East Indies. The shipment in Mozambique was organised among others by Anton Ferdinand Ximenes, a close relative of Ferdinand Ximenes. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 298-299; Thimme, 1912, 397-398). The Rodriguez apparently not only imported goods from the East Indies, but also exported merchandise (presumably German and Dutch textiles) to the East Indies. (Thimme, 1912, 398). Probably the Rodriguez were represented directly in the East Indies. (Thimme, 1912, 398). The large trade to the Far East, Africa, and Brasil was in Lisbon in hands of a number of large houses, such as the Ximenes, the Mendes, the Gomes, the Evora, and some others (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 27). The Ximenes, Rodrigues d'Evora, and Gomes d'Elvas all had agents outside of Europe and traded with the Atlantic Islands, the West-Indies and the Orient: trade in spices, gemstones, sugar. Never established plantations however. (Gentil Da Silva, 1959, viii).	
Florence		3	2	2	1	>1585<	Correspondents of Nicolaus and Simon Rodriguez in Florence in 1585 were "Nicolo Pagolant e Manvelli". Trade in cloth and silk between the Rodriguez and their correspondents in Florence. (Thimme, 1912, 403, 403 n. 43). The Evora had their own correspondents in Rome, Florence, Venice, Amsterdam, Sevilla, Frankfurt. Due to their direct contacts with the Ximenes and the	

							Coronel they had indirect contacts with other places as well (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 25-26).	
Frankfurt am Main		3	2	2	1		The Evora had their own correspondents in Rome, Florence, Venice, Amsterdam, Sevilla, Frankfurt. Due to their direct contacts with the Ximenes and the Coronel they had indirect contacts with other places as well (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 25-26).	
Genoa		3	2	2	1	>1580s<	Trade in gemstones with Johann Baptist Lagorio in Genoa, via Jakobus del Corte, factor of the Rodriguez in the 1580s. Lagorio had brothers in Antwerp and Cologne. (Thimme, 1912, 401).	
Hamburg		3	2	2	1	>1591-1595<, 1607	Nicolau da Veiga, established in Sevilla, sent in 1607 sugar from Lisbon to Calais and from Porto to Hamburg (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 5 n. 23). Factors/agents of Lopo Rodrigues d'Evora in Hamburg ca. 1591-1595 were Lukas Beckmann, Fernão Dias Mendes de Brito de Carmo, and Gilis de Greve. (Kalus, 2009, 10, 13). Correspondent in Hamburg was Lukas Beckmann. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 209).	
Lyon		~~8~~ *3*	~~4~~ *2*	~~3~~ *2*	~~1~~ *1*	1548-c.1558	Mid 16th c.: Nicolas, Andre (together with Affaitadi contracts for grain trade with Portuguese king), Manuel (and his son Simon), Michel Rodrigues d'Evora in Lyon. (Denucé, 1934, 44-45). Manuel Rodrigues d'Evora, father of Simão and his brothers, started his career as businessman in Lisbon (1506), moved to Lyon in 1548, and from Lyon to Antwerp ca. 1558 (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 23). Manoel Rodrigues resided for a while in Lyon. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 208).	
Madrid		3	2	2	1	>1599-1604<	Manuel and Nicolau, sons of Rodrigo Lopes, remained in Lisbon, but finally ended up at the Spanish court in Madrid (political careers), Manuel from 1619 (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 3). Simão negociated financial affairs with the courts in Brussels and Madrid, where he tried to compete with the Genoese. Pedro da Veiga, son of Vasco Martins da Veiga, married after 1599 with a daughter of Simão and worked in Madrid as a representative of Simão, until 1604 when he liquidated business in Madrid and returned to Lisbon (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 4-5). Via Cosme Ruiz, the Rodrigues d'Evora et Veiga had contacts with Medina del Campo, Madrid and Valladolid. Although we are best informed about these contacts thanks to the letters that have been preserved, they were not the most important connections of the Rodrigues d'Evora. (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 23).	
Medina del		3	2	2	1	>1576-1606<	Correspondents in Medina del Campo were the Ruiz (Cosme Ruiz), in 1595-	

Campo							1606 (Rodrigues d'Evora of Lisbon) (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 1-2). Via Cosme Ruiz, the Rodrigues d'Evora et Veiga had contacts with Medina del Campo, Madrid and Valladolid. Although we are best informed about these contacts thanks to the letters that have been preserved, they were not the most important connections of the Rodrigues d'Evora. (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 23). Relations with Medina del Campo for exchange transactions. The Evora lent money in Lisbon, where money was expensive. In exchange for the money they lent, they received bills of exchange on Castile, on a very favourable exchange rate. The exchange rate for the rechange was normally much higher, since normally there was abundance of money in Castile (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 93-94). Also the Rodrigues d'Evora in Antwerp corresponded with the Ruiz in Medina del Campo. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 19). In 1576, the Rodrigues d'Evora established contacts with Simon Ruiz. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 208). Correspondent in Medina del Campo was Simon Ruiz. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 209).	
New World		3	2	2	1		The large trade to the Far East, Africa, and Brasil was in Lisbon in hands of a number of large houses, such as the Ximenes, the Mendes, the Gomes, the Evora, and some others (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 27). The Ximenes, Rodrigues d'Evora, and Gomes d'Elvas all had agents outside of Europe and traded with the Atlantic Islands, the West-Indies and the Orient: trade in spices, gemstones, sugar. Never established plantations however. (Gentil Da Silva, 1959, viii).	
Porto		3	2	2	1	>1607<	Nicolau da Veiga, established in Sevilla, sent in 1607 sugar from Lisbon to Calais and from Porto to Hamburg. (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 5 n. 23). Correspondent in Porto was Vicente Fernandes. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 209).	
Rome		3	2	2	1		The Evora had their own correspondents in Rome, Florence, Venice, Amsterdam, Sevilla, Frankfurt. Due to their direct contacts with the Ximenes and the Coronel they had indirect contacts with other places as well. (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 25-26).	
São Tomé	S	3	2	2	1	1st half 16th c.<	In the 1st half of the 16th c., the Rodrigues d'Evora et Veiga were very large sugar merchants, exporters of sugar from Sao Tomé. They were also related to the lord of the isle of Príncipe (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 27). The large trade to the Far East, Africa, and Brasil was in Lisbon in hands of a number of large houses, such as the Ximenes, the Mendes, the Gomes, the Evora, and	

							some others (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 27). The Ximenes, Rodrigues d'Evora, and Gomes d'Elvas all had agents outside of Europe and traded with the Atlantic Islands, the West-Indies and the Orient: trade in spices, gemstones, sugar. Never established plantations however. (Gentil Da Silva, 1959, viii). The Rodrigues d'Evora owned sugar mills at Sao Tomé, managed by their factor Duarte Lemos. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 208).	
Sevilla		3	2	2	1	>1595-1611<	Nicolau, son of Rodrigo Lopes, established himself in Antwerp, later travelled to Sevilla, and ended up in Segovia (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 3). Nicolau sent goods from Sevilla to the north for the Rodrigues d' Evora e Veiga, at least until 1611. He sent sugar and other merchandise to Calais, Hamburg and other places in the north. At least from 1607 (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 5). The Evora had their own correspondents in Rome, Florence, Venice, Amsterdam, Sevilla, and Frankfurt. Due to their direct contacts with the Ximenes and the Coronel they had indirect contacts with other places as well (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 25-26). Correspondent in Sevilla was Salvador Fernandes. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 209). The Rodrigues d'Evora traded with Juan de la Carrera (ca. 1595) and Diogo Anriques Milão in Sevilla. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 209).	
Venice		3	2	2	1	>c.1580s<	Mutius Capeleti was a representative of the firm Nikolaus and Simon Rodriguez in Venice ca. 1580s. (Kalus, 2009, 13; Thimme, 1912, 401). The Evora had their own correspondents in Rome, Florence, Venice, Amsterdam, Sevilla, and Frankfurt. Due to their direct contacts with the Ximenes and the Coronel they had indirect contacts with other places as well (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 25-26).	
Paris		2	2	1	0	>1578<	According to Vazquez de Prada, Diogo Nunes d'Evora headed a Rodrigues d'Evora company in Paris in 1578. Connection with the firms of Simao and Nicolau, and of Lopo Rodrigues and Rodrigo Lopes not known however. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 209).	
Príncipe		2	2	1	0		In the 1st half of the 16th c., the Rodrigues d'Evora et Veiga were very large sugar merchants, exporters of sugar from Sao Tomé. They were also related to the lord of the isle of Príncipe (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 27). The large trade to the Far East, Africa, and Brasil was in Lisbon in hands of a number of large houses, such as the Ximenes, the Mendes, the Gomes, the Evora, and some others (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 27). The Ximenes, Rodrigues d'Evora, and Gomes d'Elvas all had agents outside of Europe and traded with the	

							Atlantic Islands, the West-Indies and the Orient: trade in spices, gemstones, sugar. Never established plantations however. (Gentil Da Silva, 1959, viii).	
Valladolid		2	2	1	0		Via Cosme Ruiz, the Rodrigues d'Evora et Veiga had contacts with Medina del Campo, Madrid and Valladolid. Although we are best informed about these contacts thanks to the letters that have been preserved, they were not the most important connections of the Rodrigues d'Evora. (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 23).	
Mozambique		1	1	1	0	1587	In 1587, a Portuguese ship (the St. Philip) loaded with pearls and spices, coming from the East Indies to Lisbon was captured by the English privateer Francis Drake. Some of the pearls and spices belonged to the Ximenes, the Rodrigues d'Evora, and Diego Rodrigues d'Andrade. Nikolaus and Simon Rodriguez had ginger, indigo, and textiles on the ship. The ship was loaded in Mozambique with goods brought there by another Portuguese ship (St. Laurentius) coming from the East Indies. The shipment in Mozambique was organised among others by Anton Ferdinand Ximenes, a close relative of Ferdinand Ximenes. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 298-299; Thimme, 1912, 397-398). The large trade to the Far East, Africa, and Brasil was in Lisbon in hands of a number of large houses, such as the Ximenes, the Mendes, the Gomes, the Evora, and some others (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 27).	
Segovia		1	1	1	0	after 1611	Nicolau, son of Rodrigo Lopes, established himself in Antwerp, later travelled to Sevilla, and ended up in Segovia (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 3).	

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XIMENES, before 1554 – after 1605

Sons of Dr. Duarte Ximenes (d. 1560): Ferdinand (Antwerp), Rui Nunes (Antwerp), Thomas (Lisbon), Emanuel (Jesuit in Rome), André (younger brother who is only known to have been active since the end of the 1570s), Duarte. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 294-295). Ferdinand Ximenes was married to Anna Lopes. They had no children. Rui Nunes was married to Gracia Rodrigues d'Evora; they had 13 children. Rui Nunes died in 1581. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 294-295). After the death of Rui Nunes in 1581, the firm was renamed "Fernão Ximenes e herdeiros de Rui Nunes". (Kellenbenz, 1970, 294-295). Ferdinand Ximenes died in Florence in 1596. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 300-301). Heirs of Ferdinand Ximenes were the sons of his brother Rui Nunes: Duarte, Emanuel, Fernando and Gonçalo. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 300-301). Ferdinand Ximenes was the most important of the Portuguese merchants going from Antwerp to Cologne. (Thimme, 1912, 393).
In Europe, the Ximenes were related to the Medici, Strozzi, Pazzi, Antinori, Bardi, Sergudi in Italy, and to the Van Eckeren, Rodrigues d'Evora, Andrade, Teixeira de Sampaio, Sivori in Antwerp (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 27 n. 93). The Gomes d'Elva, Ximenes, and Rodrigues d'Evora were often related with each other through marriage. Were all three very important families. None of the companies in which they participated went bankrupt (Gentil Da Silva, 1959, vii-viii). Never operated alone: all their initiatives were shared by different companies, each consisting of different branches of related families. Family was the basis of these companies, but sometimes also beyond the family framework. The Gomes d'Elvas, Rodrigues d'Evora and Ximenes were allies. Often business associations between the 3 clans (Gentil Da Silva, 1959, viii). Rodrigues d'Evora, Gomes d'Elvas and Ximenes were sometimes competitors, but worked together in the most important businesses. Sometimes, also cooperation with other Lisbon merchants, such as Luis de Pinto, Ventura de Frias, Mendes de Britto, Martinez. Also association with Italian or German merchants: Lercaro, Lamberti, Revelasco, Jung, Rott (Gentil Da Silva, 1959, xi). Under Ferdinand Ximenes, the Ximenes firm experienced its apogee. He died without children in 1600 (Kellenbenz, 1954, 254). The Ximenes were a New Christian family. (Kalus, 2009, 9). Fernão (b. 1525), Rui Nunes (1529-1581). (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 204).
For the Spanish family Ximenes (Andalusia), established among others in Middelburg, see Fagel, 1996, passim.

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Source material:

Source material about the Ximenes can be found in the Historische Archiv of Cologne and in the published correspondence of the Castilian banker Simon Ruiz. (Kellenbenz, 1970, passim). Town archives of Cologne. (Thimme, 1912, 390).

Size: Large

Together with the Mendes, the Ximenes were the most important Portuguese New Christian family of the 16th century. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 294-295). The size of the capital of the Ximenes firm is not known. (Thimme, 1912, 403).

Main activities:

- Commerce: The Ximenes were wholesale traders and bankers. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 294-295). In 1580, the Ximenes had 3 ½ of the 12 shares of the European spice trade of the Portuguese king in their hands. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 296). Ca. 1585, the Ximenes were active in the jewels trade. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 297-298). Trade in East-Indian goods and sugar, as well as American goods. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 298). Import of spices and pearls from the East Indies. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 298-299). Trade in grain, copper, wood, salt. (Kalus, 2009, 16-17; Kellenbenz, 1970, 299). Ferdinand Ximenes and company was one of the pepper “contractadores” in 1580, responsible for the re-export of Portuguese pepper from Lisbon. The firm obtained 3 ½ of the 12 shares of the pepper consortium of 1580. (Thimme, 1912,

399). Trade in gemstones. (Thimme, 1912, 400-401). Large-scale grain export from northern Europe to the Iberian peninsula by Ferdinand Ximenes. (Thimme, 1912, 401-402). Trade in wood from northern Europe to the Iberian peninsula. (Thimme, 1912, 402-403). Salt trade by the Ximenes. (Thimme, 1912, 403). The 2nd large pepper contract of 1593 was largely in hands of the Ximenes and Rodrigues d'Evora et Veiga (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 4). Ximenes did commerce, managed funds. Never operated alone: all their initiatives were shared by different companies, each consisting of different branches of related families. (Gentil Da Silva, 1959, viii). The large Portuguese firms knew only horizontal concentration: to increase possibilities and reduce risks. No vertical concentration however: not involved in manufacturing, only interested in large scale import and export of luxury goods and raw materials, and in exchange transactions. Trade in spices, gemstones, sugar. (Gentil Da Silva, 1959, viii). The large Portuguese companies were not specialised in trade in a specific commodity. Combined trade in different goods with international banking: exchange transactions (Gentil Da Silva, 1959, ix-x). In the 16th century, the Ximenes family played a crucial role in the Portuguese sugar trade, which they monopolised from time to time (Kellenbenz, 1954, 253). The Ximenes, Rodrigues and especially the Mendes controlled large parts of the pepper and spice market of Portugal (Kellenbenz, 1954, 254). Together with the Welser and others, the Ximenes were partners in the European pepper contract of 1591-1592. (Kalus, 2009, 9). Trade in spices and sugar. At least from 1579 until 1591 they participated in the European pepper contract with the Portuguese king. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 206). Trade in sugar, cloves, pepper, dye-stuffs (especially indigo), pearls, gemstones, grain, wood, textiles (especially linen from Holland), books (the Ximenes were befriended with the Antwerp printer Plantin), slaves, silks. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 206-207).

- Finance: The Ximenes were wholesale traders and bankers. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 294-295). Ferdinand Ximenes had advanced loans guaranteed by the toll of Lisbon (ca. 1588). (Thimme, 1912, 404). The large Portuguese firms were only interested in large scale import and export of luxury goods and raw materials, and in exchange transactions. Combined trade in different goods with international banking: exchange transactions (Gentil Da Silva, 1959, viii-x).
- Industry: The large Portuguese firms knew only horizontal concentration: to increase possibilities and reduce risks. No vertical concentration however: not involved in manufacturing. Never established plantations. (Gentil Da Silva, 1959, viii).

Network of the Ximenes:

The business network of the Ximenes included the Iberian peninsula, Italy, France, the North Sea area, the Baltic, the East-Indies, Africa and America. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 294-295). Also representation in Italy (cities not mentioned). (Denucé, 1934, 25). The Ximenes were active on all coasts of the Atlantic (See Denucé, 1937). (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 27 n. 93). The large trade to the Far East, Africa, and Brasil was in Lisbon in hands of a number of large houses, such as the Ximenes, the Mendes, the Gomes, the Evora, and some others (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 27). The Ximenes, Rodrigues d'Evora, and Gomes d'Elvas all had agents outside of Europe and traded with the Atlantic Islands, the West-Indies and the Orient: trade in spices, gemstones, sugar. Never established plantations however (Gentil Da Silva, 1959, viii).

Never operated alone: all their initiatives were shared by different companies, each consisting of different branches of related families. Family was the basis of these companies, but sometimes also beyond the family framework. Representatives in different places were often

brothers, brothers-in-law, nephews, or cousins. The decisions of the head of the family were undisputable. The head of the family was always established in the place that dominated the essential activities, often assisted by one or two relatives. (Gentil Da Silva, 1959, viii).

Table A..1. Network of the Ximenes, ca. 1563 – ca. 1605

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
		3	2	2	1			
Antwerp		**8**	**4**	**3**	**1**	>1553-c.1563> >c.1563-1604<	During the troubles in the Low Countries, the firm "Ferdinand Ximenes and heirs of Rui Nunes" left Antwerp and moved to Cologne. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 293). Already in 1566 Ferdinand Ximenes and Dr. Emanuel Rodrigues (brother-in-law of the father of Ferdinand Ximenes) went from Antwerp to Cologne, where they probably had business friends. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 293-294). The Antwerp branch of the Ximenes firm was managed by the brothers Ferdinand and Rui Nunes Ximenes, sons of Dr. Duarte Ximenes (d. 1560). (Kellenbenz, 1970, 294-295). After 1566 Ferdinand Ximenes and Manuel Rodrigues d'Evora returned to Antwerp. In 1576, Ferdinand Ximenes and Rui Nunes left Antwerp again. They went to Cambrai, then to Blois and Paris. From summer 1577 they returned to Antwerp, where their younger brother André now managed the business. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 295). In 1578, Nicolas and Simon Rodrigues d'Evora and Ferdinand Ximenes left Antwerp again for Cologne. André Ximenes remained in Antwerp where the core of the Ximenes business remained. In 1578, bills of exchange were transferred between Antwerp and Castile, in 1579 between Antwerp and Cologne, to Arnold Mylius, who sold books at the fairs of Castile: money was transferred for him by the Ximenes. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 295). In June 1581, Rui Nunes returned to Antwerp, while André went to Lisbon. Rui Nunes died of illness in Antwerp in October 1581. As a result Ferdinand Ximenes went to Antwerp at the end of 1581 to manage the business and to organise the inheritance of Rui Nunes. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 296). In 1583 Ferdinand Ximenes purchased a house on the Meir in Antwerp. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 296-297). In July 1584, Ferdinand Ximenes left Antwerp again. Duarte Ximenes, nephew of Ferdinand, became the new manager in Antwerp. Later, he was replaced by Juan Cachopin. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 297-298). In the late 1580s, financial transactions of the Ximenes in Cologne with Lisbon and Castile did not go via Antwerp anymore, but via Venice, Genoa, Florence	Kalus, 2009, 9-10

							and Lyon. The same representatives were used for transactions in bills of exchange as for commodity trade. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 300). In 1589, the Ximenes returned from Cologne to Antwerp. Ferdinand Ximenes was only from time to time in Antwerp. Occasionally he was in Hamburg. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 300-301). Duarte and Manuel Ximenes, sons of Rui Nunes and heirs of Ferdinand Ximenes, were in Antwerp in 1600. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 300-301). Ferdinand Ximenes was in Antwerp in 1573. (Thimme, 1912, 393). The firm “Ferdinandus Ximenes et haeredes Roderici Nones Ximenes” was one of the first Portuguese firms to move from Antwerp to Cologne. (Thimme, 1912, 397). Transport letters for the wood shipments of the Ximenes from northern Europe to the Iberian peninsula passed through Antwerp at the end of the 1580s. (Thimme, 1912, 402-403). Ximenes returned from Cologne to Antwerp in 1589. (Thimme, 1912, 410). Thomaso Ximenes of Lisbon was a client of the Affaitadi in Antwerp. (Denucé, 1934, 25). Ximenes were in Antwerp around 1595 (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 4). Two brothers, Tomás Ximenes and Jerónimo Duarte (Ximenes) were in Lisbon, two other brothers, Fernando Ximenes and Rui Nunes resided in the Low Countries (ca. 1563 - ca. 1578??) (Gentil Da Silva, 1959, xii). Antwerp and Lisbon were the main centres of the business network of the Ximenes: branches of the family were present in both cities in the 16th century (Kellenbenz, 1954, 253). Duarte Ximenes in Antwerp. (Gelderblom, 2000, 122). Thomaso Ximenes: Representation in Antwerp. (Denucé, 1934, 25). Duarte Ximenes: Portuguese merchant operating from Antwerp. In 1595 company with two Dutch merchants for trade with Archangel. (Gelderblom, 2000, 180). André Ximenes was a Portuguese merchant in Antwerp, correspondent of Simon Ruiz around 1576 (Lapeyre, 1955, 70). The Ximenes in Antwerp corresponded with the Ruiz of Medina del Campo between 1576 and 1604. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 19). Firm Fernão Ximenes e herdeiros de Rui Nunes in Antwerp ca. 1591-1595. Rui Nunes died in 1581. The headquarters of this firm moved to Hamburg and Cologne from time to time during the war in the Netherlands. One of the managers in Antwerp was Juan Cachopin. (Kalus, 2009, 10, 13). Already in 1553, a Francisco Ximenes exported textiles and tapestries from Antwerp to	

							Portugal. In 1572, the firm Fernão Ximenes and Ruy Nunes Ximenes was in Antwerp. Renewed after the death of Ruy Nunes in 1581 as Fernão Ximenes and heirs of Ruy Nunes Ximenes. At least until 1590. In 1576-1577, Fernão and Rui Nunes left Antwerp for Cambrai, Blois and Paris, and were represented in Antwerp by their younger brother André Ximenes. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 204). The Ximenes fled from Antwerp to Cologne in 1578. André Ximenes remained in Antwerp however. In 1580, Ruy Nunes returned to Antwerp. André went to Lisbon in 1581. Ruy Nunes died in 1581. Fernão returned from Cologne to Antwerp where he stayed until 1585. In that year he returned to Cologne. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 204-205). The firm stayed in Cologne until 1589, when Fernão went to Hamburg. He died in Hamburg in 1600, in the meantime regularly going back to Antwerp. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 205). From 1590, the firm "Duarte Ximenes and heirs of Ruy Nunes" in Antwerp. Duarte was a brother of Fernão. The firm was named "Andre, Duarte and Manoel Ximenes" in 1592, "Andre and Manoel Ximenes" in 1594, and "Duarte, Gonçalo and Manoel Ximenes" in 1600. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 205).	
Lisbon		8	4	3	1	>1580-1600<	Representative of the Ximenes in Lisbon was Thomas Ximenes, brother of Ferdinand and Rui Nunes Ximenes. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 294-295). Part of the banking network of the Ximenes. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 294-295). In June 1581, Rui Nunes returned to Antwerp, while André went to Lisbon. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 296). Ca. 1585, the Ximenes obtained East-Indian products and sugar in Lisbon. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 298). In the late 1580s, financial transactions of the Ximenes in Cologne with Lisbon and Castile did not go via Antwerp anymore, but via Venice, Genoa, Florence and Lyon. The same representatives were used for transactions in bills of exchange as for commodity trade. Representative in Lisbon was the Lisbon branch of the Ximenes. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 300). Thomas, Hieronymus, Eduard and Andreas Ximenes were partners and relatives of Ferdinand Ximenes in Lisbon. They received the goods sent from the East Indies, and forwarded them to the north. (Thimme, 1912, 398-399). Ferdinand Ximenes and company was one of the pepper "contractadores" in 1580, responsible for the re-export of Portuguese pepper from Lisbon. The firm obtained 3 ½ of the 12 shares of the pepper consortium of 1580. (Thimme, 1912, 399). In 1586, Airez Lopez in Venice was ordered to forward a shipment of pepper sent	Kalus, 2009, 9

							from Lisbon by Hieronymus, Eduard and Andreas on the ship the Stella, to Cologne. (Thimme, 1912, 399). End 1582 Andreas Ximenes, brother of Ferdinand, sent 163 rubies with a value of 1940 Portuguese crowns from Lisbon to Mutius Capeleti in Venice. (Thimme, 1912, 401). Egidius de Grave (=Gillis de Greve), factor of Ferdinand Ximenes in Hamburg, sent four ships with grain from Hamburg via Enkhuizen to Lisbon for the Ximenes in 1585. (Thimme, 1912, 402). Egidius de Grave sent two ships with wood from Denmark and Norway from Hamburg to Lisbon and two to San Lucar, to partners of the Ximenes company or their factors. (Thimme, 1912, 402). In 1589, the Danish merchant Simon von Salingen was ordered to send two ships with wood to Lisbon. (Thimme, 1912, 402). Ferdinand Ximenes had advanced loans guaranteed by the toll of Lisbon (ca. 1588). He was represented in this venture by his brother Thomas. (Thimme, 1912, 404). Sons of Thomas Ximenes were Eduard, Emanuel and Rodriguez Ximenes. (Thimme, 1912, 404). Thomaso Ximenes was a very important merchant of Lisbon. (Denucé, 1934, 25). Ximenes were present in Lisbon ca. 1595 (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 4). Two brothers, Tomás Ximenes and Jerónimo Duarte (Ximenes) were in Lisbon, two other brothers, Fernando Ximenes and Rui Nunes resided in the Low Countries (ca. 1563 - ca. 1578??) (Gentil Da Silva, 1959, xii). Antwerp and Lisbon were the main centres of the business network of the Ximenes: branches of the family were present in both cities in the 16th century (Kellenbenz, 1954, 253). Headquarters of Thomaso Ximenes. (Denucé, 1934, 25). Firm Tomas and Andrea Ximenes in Lisbon ca. 1591-1595. (Kalus, 2009, 10, 12). André Ximenes went to Lisbon in 1581. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 204-205). In Lisbon resided Tomás (brother of Fernão, Ruy Nunes, André and Duarte) with his sons Duarte and Antonio Fernandes Ximenes. In 1581, André Ximenes returned to Lisbon. Also other Ximenes firms in Lisbon: “Jeronimo and André Ximenes”, “Nicolas Ximenes and Francisco Duarte Ximenes”, “Fernão and Gonçalo Ximenes” (1600). Nicolas, Fernão and Gonçalo Ximenes were sons of Ruy Nunes. Francisco Duarte Ximenes was a son of Duarte. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 205). The Ximenes had settlements and branches in Lisbon, Medina del Campo, Sevilla, Cádiz, Florence, Venice, Hamburg and Goa among others. Several	

							of these branches are not mentioned by other authors however (perhaps "factor" is meant here rather than "branch"). (Göttler & Dupré, 2009).	
Florence		3 **6**	2 **3**	2 **2**	1 **1**	>1580-1589< >1591-1605<	Part of the banking network of the Ximenes. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 294-295). In 1580 the Ximenes sent Portuguese spices to Italy: to the firm of Ludwig and Alexander Capponi in Florence. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 296). In the late 1580s, financial transactions of the Ximenes in Cologne with Lisbon and Castile did not go via Antwerp anymore, but via Venice, Genoa, Florence and Lyon. The same representatives were used for transactions in bills of exchange as for commodity trade. Representatives in Florence were the Capponi, as well as Diego Lopes Alemán and Fernando Mendes de Saa. They moved to Venice in 1589 however. In Florence they were replaced by Niccolo, Paolo and Antonio Manelli. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 300). Early 1591, Ferdinand Ximenes was in Florence. Ferdinand Ximenes died in Florence in 1596. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 300-301). Ximenes were present in Florence and Venice where they represented the business interests of their family, around 1595 (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 4). Nicolás and Sebastián Ximénez were bankers in Florence. They were correspondents of Simon Ruiz in Medina del Campo in 1592-1594 and Cosme Ruiz in Valladolid in 1605. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, table between pp. viii-ix). The Portuguese increasingly fled the troubles in the Low Countries and France, and several fled to Italy. Some established themselves in Florence, e.g. Nicolás and Sebastián Ximenes, who were correspondents of Simon (1592-1594) and Cosme (1605) Ruiz. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, xii). Correspondents of the Ximenes in Florence were the Capponi and Baltasar Suárez, and from 1590 Antonio Gutiérrez and Lesmes de Astudillo. In 1592, the Ximenes established a branch in Florence. Until at least 1604, this branch was headed by Nicolau and Sebastiao Ximenes. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 205-206). The Ximenes had settlements and branches in Lisbon, Medina del Campo, Sevilla, Cádiz, Florence, Venice, Hamburg and Goa among others. Several of these branches are not mentioned by other authors however (perhaps "factor" is meant here rather than "branch"). (Göttler & Dupré, 2009). The Ximenes developed close ties to the Spanish courts in Brussels and Madrid, as well as to the Medici in Florence. (Göttler & Dupré, 2009). Fernão Ximenes established a bank in Florence, headed by his	

							nephew Nicolas. (Vermaseren, 1973, 21).	
Cologne		**5** 3 **5** 3 **5**	**3** 2 **3** 2 **3**	**2** 2 **2** 2 **2**	**1** 1 **1** 1 **1**	1566 1567-1578 1578-1581 1581-1585 1585-1589	During the troubles in the Low Countries, the firm “Ferdinand Ximenes and Heirs of Rui Nunes” left Antwerp and moved to Cologne. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 293). Already in 1566 Ferdinand Ximenes and Dr. Emanuel Rodrigues (brother-in-law of the father of Ferdinand Ximenes) went from Antwerp to Cologne, where they probably had business friends. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 293-294). After 1566 Ferdinand Ximenes and Manuel Rodrigues d’Evora returned to Antwerp. Nevertheless, they maintained relations with Cologne. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 295). In 1578, Nicolas and Simon Rodrigues d’Evora and Ferdinand Ximenes left Antwerp again for Cologne. André Ximenes remained in Antwerp where the core of the Ximenes business remained. In 1578, bills of exchange were transferred between Antwerp and Castile, in 1579 between Antwerp and Cologne, to Arnold Mylius, who sold books at the fairs of Castile: money was transferred for him by the Ximenes. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 295). In the early 1580s, the Ximenes sent spices to their representatives in Hamburg. Some spices were sent further from Hamburg to the Rhineland (e.g. three bales of pepper were sent from Hamburg to Cologne). (Kellenbenz, 1970, 296). In June 1581, Rui Nunes returned to Antwerp, while André went to Lisbon. Rui Nunes died of illness in Antwerp in October 1581. As a result Ferdinand Ximenes went to Antwerp at the end of 1581 to manage the business and to organise the inheritance of Rui Nunes. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 296). After his return to Antwerp in 1581, Ferdinand Ximenes was represented in Cologne by Nicolas Rodrigues d’Evora. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 296-297). In July 1584, Ferdinand Ximenes left Antwerp again. Ferdinand Ximenes went to Cologne, where he arrived in 1585, via Zeeland and Holland. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 297-298). In the late 1580s, financial transactions of the Ximenes in Cologne with Lisbon and Castile did not go via Antwerp anymore, but via Venice, Genoa, Florence and Lyon. The same representatives were used for transactions in bills of exchange as for commodity trade. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 300). In 1589, the Ximenes returned from Cologne to Antwerp. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 300-301). The firm “Ferdinandus Ximenes et haeredes Roderici Nones Ximenes” was one of the first Portuguese firms to move from Antwerp to Cologne. (Thimme, 1912, 397). In 1586, Airez Lopez in Venice was ordered to forward a shipment of pepper sent from Lisbon by Hieronymus, Eduard and	

							Andreas on the ship the Stella, to Cologne. (Thimme, 1912, 399). In 1587, 100 bales of ginger were shipped on the St. Victor from Sevilla to Venice, and had to be forwarded from Venice to the Ximenes in Cologne. (Thimme, 1912, 399). In the early 1580s, three bales of pepper were sent from Hamburg to Ferdinand Ximenes in Cologne. (Thimme, 1912, 400). The house of Ferdinand Ximenes in Cologne was located at the Neumarkt. (Thimme, 1912, 400). Ferdinand Ximenes lived in “Haus Godesberg” in the Schildergasse near the Neumarkt, and he (or his nephew of the same name) also rented several houses on the Neumarkt. (Thimme, 1912, 405). Ximenes returned from Cologne to Antwerp in 1589. (Thimme, 1912, 410). The headquarters of the Antwerp firm moved to Hamburg and Cologne from time to time during the war in the Netherlands. (Kalus, 2009, 13). The richest of the Portugese merchants in Cologne were the Ximenes brothers (ca. 1580). Close ties with Arnold and Johann Birckman, established in Cologne ca. 1571. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 188-189). The Ximenes fled from Antwerp to Cologne in 1578. André Ximenes remained in Antwerp however. In 1580, Ruy Nunes returned to Antwerp. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 204-205). Ruy Nunes died in 1581 in Antwerp . Fernão returned in 1581 from Cologne to Antwerp where he stayed until 1585. In that year he returned to Cologne. The firm stayed in Cologne until 1589, when Fernão went to Hamburg. He died in Hamburg in 1600, in the meantime regularly going back to Antwerp. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 205). Connections with printers in Cologne, such as Gottfried Brickmann and Arnold Müller. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 207).	
Hamburg		4 **5**	2 **3**	2 **2**	1 **1**	>1580-1589 1589-1600<	In the early 1580s, the Ximenes sent spices to their representatives in Hamburg. Some spices were sent further from Hamburg to the Rhineland (e.g. three bales of pepper were sent from Hamburg to Cologne). (Kellenbenz, 1970, 296). Factor in Hamburg in 1584 was Gillis de Greve. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 299). In 1589, the Ximenes returned from Cologne to Antwerp. Ferdinand Ximenes was only from time to time in Antwerp. Occasionally he was in Hamburg. Grain was shipped from Hamburg for the Ximenes by Johann Tunemann. Beer, horses, books and furs were supplied by Heinrich Rantzau. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 300-301). In the early 1580s, three bales of pepper were sent from Hamburg to Ferdinand Ximenes in Cologne.	

							(Thimme, 1912, 400). Egidius de Grave (=Gillis de Greve), factor of Ferdinand Ximenes in Hamburg, sent four ships with grain from Hamburg via Enkhuizen to Lisbon for the Ximenes in 1585. (Thimme, 1912, 402). Egidius de Grave sent two ships with wood from Denmark and Norway from Hamburg to Lisbon and two to San Lucar, to partners of the Ximenes company or their factors. (Thimme, 1912, 402). Johann Tunemann was factor of the Ximenes in Hamburg for the import of grain in Tuscany in 1590 and 1591 (Kellenbenz, 1954, 146). Ferdinand Ximenes went from Cologne to Hamburg, where he lived in 1590-1591. Then he returned to Antwerp (Kellenbenz, 1954, 242). Duarte Ximenes: Company with merchant in Amsterdam and Hamburg for trade with Archangel from 1595. (Gelderblom, 2000, 122). The Ximenes imported grain to Italy from Lübeck via Hamburg: representatives in Hamburg: Barthold Beckmann, merchant from Hamburg (Jeannin, 1973, 269). Agents of the Ximenes in Hamburg ca. 1591-1595 were Bartholomäus Beckmann, Dominikus van Uffeln, and Gilis de Greve. (Kalus, 2009, 10, 13). The headquarters of the Antwerp firm moved to Hamburg and Cologne from time to time during the war in the Netherlands. (Kalus, 2009, 13). Gilis de Greve represented the Ximenes in the grain trade. (Kalus, 2009, 17). Fernão Ximenes went to Hamburg in 1589. He died in Hamburg in 1600, in the meantime regularly going back to Antwerp. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 205). Correspondent in Hamburg was Egidius de Greve. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 206). Pepper export to Hamburg. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 206). Export of grain and other goods from Antwerp, Nantes, Amsterdam, Hamburg and Danzig to Portugal, Spain and Italy, especially between 1580 and 1583. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 207). The Ximenes had settlements and branches in Lisbon, Medina del Campo, Sevilla, Cádiz, Florence, Venice, Hamburg and Goa among others. Several of these branches are not mentioned by other authors however (perhaps “factor” is meant here rather than “branch”). (Göttler & Dupré, 2009).	
Cádiz		4	2	2	1	1590	Baltazar Ximenes, a son of Tomás Ximenes was active in Cádiz (1590). (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 205). The Ximenes had settlements and branches in Lisbon, Medina del Campo, Sevilla, Cádiz, Florence, Venice, Hamburg and Goa among others. Several of these branches are not mentioned by other	

							authors however (perhaps “factor” is meant here rather than “branch”). (Göttler & Dupré, 2009).	
Mozambique		4	2	2	1	>1587<	In 1587, a Portuguese ship (the St. Philip) loaded with pearls and spices, coming from the East Indies to Lisbon was captured by the English privateer Francis Drake. Some of the pearls and spices belonged to the Ximenes, the Rodrigues d’Evora, and Diego Rodrigues d’Andrade. Ferdinand Ximenes and his partners had pepper in the ship. The ship was loaded in Mozambique with goods brought there by another Portuguese ship (St. Laurentius) coming from the East Indies. The shipment in Mozambique was organised among others by Anton Ferdinand Ximenes, a close relative of Ferdinand Ximenes. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 298-299; Thimme, 1912, 397-398). The business network of the Ximenes included the East-Indies, Africa and America. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 294-295). The large trade to the Far East, Africa, and Brasil was in Lisbon in hands of a number of large houses, such as the Ximenes, the Mendes, the Gomes, the Evora, and some others (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 27).	
Sevilla		4	2	2	1	>c.1585-1591<	Ca. 1585, the Ximenes obtained American products in Sevilla. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 298). In 1587, 100 bales of ginger were shipped on the St. Victor from Sevilla to Venice, and had to be forwarded from Venice to the Ximenes in Cologne. (Thimme, 1912, 399). Factor of the Ximenes in Sevilla was Diogo Enriques de Léon, who married a daughter of Ruy Nunes Ximenes in Antwerp in 1591. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 205). The Ximenes had settlements and branches in Lisbon, Medina del Campo, Sevilla, Cádiz, Florence, Venice, Hamburg and Goa among others. Several of these branches are not mentioned by other authors however (perhaps “factor” is meant here rather than “branch”). (Göttler & Dupré, 2009).	
Venice		4	2	2	1	>1580-1596<	Part of the banking network of the Ximenes. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 294-295). In 1580 the Ximenes sent Portuguese spices to Italy: to the firm of Benedikt, Laurentius and Bernardinus Bonvisi & co. in Venice. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 296). A new correspondent in Venice in 1582 was Mutius Capelletti, who was still their correspondent in 1585. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 296-298). In 1584-1587, the representative of the Ximenes in Venice was the Portuguese Aires Lopes. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 298). In the late 1580s, financial transactions of the Ximenes in Cologne with Lisbon and Castile did not go via Antwerp	

							anymore, but via Venice, Genoa, Florence and Lyon. The same representatives were used for transactions in bills of exchange as for commodity trade. Representatives in Lyon and Venice were the Bonvisi. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 300). Diego Lopes Alemán and Fernando Mendes de Saa were representatives of the Ximenes in Florence. In 1589 they moved to Venice however. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 300). Representatives in Venice in 1596 were Mutio Capelletti, and Diego Lopes Romero. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 301 n. 57). Representatives of the Ximenes in Venice for the pepper trade in 1580 were Benedikt, Laurentius and Bernhardinus Bonvisi and Co. (Thimme, 1912, 399). 200 bales of pepper were sent by the Ximenes to Venice in 1580, with the ship Misericordia. (Thimme, 1912, 399). In 1586, Airez Lopez in Venice was ordered to forward a shipment of pepper sent from Lisbon by Hieronymus, Eduard and Andreas on the ship the Stella, to Cologne. (Thimme, 1912, 399). In 1587, 100 bales of ginger were shipped on the St. Victor from Sevilla to Venice, and had to be forwarded from Venice to the Ximenes in Cologne. (Thimme, 1912, 399). End 1582 Andreas Ximenes, brother of Ferdinand, sent 163 rubies with a value of 1940 Portuguese crowns from Lisbon to Mutius Capeleti in Venice. (Thimme, 1912, 401). Ximenes were present in Florence and Venice where they represented the business interests of their family, around 1595 (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 4). Agents of the Ximenes in Venice ca. 1591-1595 were Mutius Capelletti and Aires Lopes. (Kalus, 2009, 10, 13). Correspondent of the Ximenes in Venice was Diogo Lopes Alemão, a Portuguese merchant. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 206). Export of pepper to the Bonvisi of Venice in 1580. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 206). The Ximenes had settlements and branches in Lisbon, Medina del Campo, Sevilla, Cádiz, Florence, Venice, Hamburg and Goa among others. Several of these branches are not mentioned by other authors however (perhaps “factor” is meant here rather than “branch”). (Göttler & Dupré, 2009).	
Amsterdam		3	2	2	1	>1580-1595<	In 1581, the Ximenes sent spices to their representatives in Amsterdam (Cornelius and Wilhelm Petersen Hooft). (Kellenbenz, 1970, 296). In July 1584, Ferdinand Ximenes left Antwerp again. Ferdinand Ximenes went to Cologne, where he arrived in 1585, via Zeeland and Holland. (Kellenbenz,	

							1970, 297-298). Representative in Amsterdam in 1588 was Hans van Uffeln. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 299). Representatives in Amsterdam for some time were the brothers Cornelius and Wilhelm Petersenhoff. (Thimme, 1912, 400). In 1588, the Ximenes gave attorney to Hans van Uffelen in Amsterdam to collect salt from Johan Persyn in Amsterdam. (Thimme, 1912, 403 n. 42). Duarte Ximenes: Represented in Amsterdam by Cornelis Pieters Hooft (Mayor of Amsterdam). In 1595 company with merchant in Amsterdam and Hamburg for trade with Archangel. (Gelderblom, 2000, 122). Agent of the Ximenes in Amsterdam ca. 1591-1595 was Cornelius Peters Hooft, mayor of Amsterdam. (Kalus, 2009, 10, 13). Export of grain and other goods from Antwerp, Nantes, Amsterdam, Hamburg and Danzig to Portugal, Spain and Italy, especially between 1580 and 1583. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 207).	
Angola		3	2	2	1	>1615<	Purchase of slaves in Angola, in exchange for linen, silks and glass work. In 1615, Gonzalo Nunes de Sepulveda took care of the slave trade in Angola. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 207). The business network of the Ximenes included the East-Indies, Africa and America. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 294-295). The Ximenes were active on all coasts of the Atlantic (See Denucé, 1937). (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 27 n. 93). The large trade to the Far East, Africa, and Brasil was in Lisbon in hands of a number of large houses, such as the Ximenes, the Mendes, the Gomes, the Evora, and some others (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 27). The Ximenes, Rodrigues d'Evora, and Gomes d'Elvas all had agents outside of Europe and traded with the Atlantic Islands, the West-Indies and the Orient: trade in spices, gemstones, sugar. Never established plantations however (Gentil Da Silva, 1959, viii). Fernaõ Ximenes financed several voyages of discovery to Africa. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 184). Ca. 1585-1595 the Ximenes owned a large majority of shares in the "lugares de Africa". (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 206).	
Arkhangelsk		3	2	2	1	from 1595	Duarte Ximenes in Antwerp: In 1595 company with merchant in Amsterdam and Hamburg for trade with Archangel.(Gelderblom, 2000, 122). Duarte Ximenes: Portuguese merchant operating from Antwerp. In 1595 company with two Dutch merchants for trade with Archangel. (Gelderblom, 2000, 180). Duarte Ximenes was a member of the *Compagnie op Moscovië*, founded by Abraham Verbeeck (Antwerp merchant in Amsterdam) and English merchants for trade with Russia ca. 1596. (Gelderblom, 2000, 149).	

Brussels		3	2	2	1		The Ximenes developed close ties to the Spanish courts in Brussels and Madrid, as well as to the Medici in Florence. (Göttler & Dupré, 2009).	
Buenos Aires		3	2	2	1		Export of slaves from Angola to the American markets of Carthagena, Santo Domingo and Buenos Aires. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 207). The business network of the Ximenes included the East-Indies, Africa and America. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 294-295). The Ximenes were active on all coasts of the Atlantic (See Denucé, 1937). (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 27 n. 93). The Ximenes, Rodrigues d'Evora, and Gomes d'Elvas all had agents outside of Europe and traded with the Atlantic Islands, the West-Indies and the Orient: trade in spices, gemstones, sugar. Never established plantations however (Gentil Da Silva, 1959, viii).	
Cartagena (Colombia)		3	2	2	1		Export of slaves from Angola to the American markets of Carthagena, Santo Domingo and Buenos Aires. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 207). The business network of the Ximenes included the East-Indies, Africa and America. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 294-295). The Ximenes were active on all coasts of the Atlantic (See Denucé, 1937). (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 27 n. 93). The Ximenes, Rodrigues d'Evora, and Gomes d'Elvas all had agents outside of Europe and traded with the Atlantic Islands, the West-Indies and the Orient: trade in spices, gemstones, sugar. Never established plantations however (Gentil Da Silva, 1959, viii).	
Danzig		3	2	2	1	>1580-1595<	The Ximenes had representatives in Danzig in and before 1588: Johann and Gerhard Hooft. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 299). Long-time connections with Danzig in 1588. Representatives of Ferdinand Ximenes in Danzig were the brothers Johann and Gerhard Hooft. Grain trade from Danzig to the Iberian peninsula. (Thimme, 1912, 402). Agents of the Ximenes in Danzig ca. 1591-1595 were Johann and Gerhard Hooft. (Kalus, 2009, 10, 13). Correspondents in Danzig were Johan and Gerhard Hoof. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 206). Export of grain and other goods from Antwerp, Nantes, Amsterdam, Hamburg and Danzig to Portugal, Spain and Italy, especially between 1580 and 1583. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 207).	
Emden		3	2	2	1	>1582/83<	In 1583, the Ximenes sent spices to their representatives in Emden. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 296). In 1582, 33 sacks of pepper were shipped from Middelburg to Emden for the Ximenes. (Thimme, 1912, 400).	
Frankfurt am Main		3	2	2	1		The Ximenes exported their spices and jewels also to the inner-German market: contacts with Frankfurt, Leipzig, Naumburg, Strasbourg, Nürnberg	

							and other places. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 299).	
Genoa		3	2	2	1	>1580s<	In the 1580s, financial transactions of the Ximenes in Cologne with Lisbon and Castile did not go via Antwerp anymore, but via Venice, Genoa, Florence and Lyon. The same representatives were used for transactions in bills of exchange as for commodity trade. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 300).	
Goa		3	2	2	1	>1587-1592<	The Ximenes had settlements and branches in Lisbon, Medina del Campo, Sevilla, Cádiz, Florence, Venice, Hamburg and Goa among others. Several of these branches are not mentioned by other authors however (perhaps "factor" is meant here rather than "branch"). (Göttler & Dupré, 2009). In 1588-1592, a consortium of Jeronimo Duarte Ximenes, Jacome Gomes Gallegos, Manuel Mendes da Índia, Marcos de Gois and Manuel Jorge de Lisboa obtained a contract from the Portuguese king for outfitting five carracks yearly for the voyage between Lisbon and Goa. (Boyajian, 1993, 19). In 1587, a Portuguese ship (the St. Philip) loaded with pearls and spices, coming from the East Indies to Lisbon was captured by the English privateer Francis Drake. Some of the pearls and spices belonged to the Ximenes, the Rodrigues d'Evora, and Diego Rodrigues d'Andrade. Ferdinand Ximenes and his partners had pepper in the ship. The ship was loaded in Mozambique with goods brought there by another Portuguese ship (St. Laurentius) coming from the East Indies. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 298-299; Thimme, 1912, 397-398). The Ximenes probably not only imported goods from the East Indies, but also exported goods (presumably Dutch and German textiles) to the East Indies. (Thimme, 1912, 398). Probably the Ximenes were represented directly in the East Indies. (Thimme, 1912, 398). The business network of the Ximenes included the East-Indies, Africa and America. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 294-295). The large trade to the Far East, Africa, and Brasil was in Lisbon in hands of a number of large houses, such as the Ximenes, the Mendes, the Gomes, the Evora, and some others (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 27). The Ximenes, Rodrigues d'Evora, and Gomes d'Elvas all had agents outside of Europe and traded with the Atlantic Islands, the West-Indies and the Orient: trade in spices, gemstones, sugar. Never established plantations however. (Gentil Da Silva, 1959, viii). In 1589, the Ximenes (Jeronimo Duarte Ximenes) owned shares in the "contrato de la casa y naos de la India". (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 206).	

Leipzig		3	2	2	1		The Ximenes exported their spices and jewels also to the inner-German market: contacts with Frankfurt, Leipzig, Naumburg, Strasbourg, Nürnberg and other places. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 299).	
Lübeck		3	2	2	1		The Ximenes imported grain to Italy from Lübeck via Hamburg: representatives in Hamburg: Barthold Beckmann, merchant from Hamburg (Jeannin, 1973, 269). The Ximenes had connections with the Thunemann family in Lübeck for the grain trade. (Kalus, 2009, 17).	
Lyon		3	2	2	1	>1554-late 1580s<	Part of the banking network of the Ximenes. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 294-295). In the late 1580s, financial transactions of the Ximenes in Cologne with Lisbon and Castile did not go via Antwerp anymore, but via Venice, Genoa, Florence and Lyon. The same representatives were used for transactions in bills of exchange as for commodity trade. Representatives in Lyon and Venice were the Bonvisi. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 300). Fernando Ximenes: Portuguese merchant: importer of spices to Lyon since 1554 (Gascon, 1971, 225).	
Madrid		3	2	2	1		The Ximenes developed close ties to the Spanish courts in Brussels and Madrid, as well as to the Medici in Florence. (Göttler & Dupré, 2009).	
Medina del Campo		3	2	2	1	>1576-1594<	The Castilian fairs were part of the banking network of the Ximenes. Their correspondent at the Castilian fairs was Simon Ruiz (in Medina del Campo). (Kellenbenz, 1970, 294-295). In 1578, bills of exchange were transferred between Antwerp and Castile, in 1579 between Antwerp and Cologne, to Arnold Mylius, who sold books at the fairs of Castile: money was transferred for him by the Ximenes. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 295). In the late 1580s, financial transactions of the Ximenes in Cologne with Lisbon and Castile did not go via Antwerp anymore, but via Venice, Genoa, Florence and Lyon. The same representatives were used for transactions in bills of exchange as for commodity trade. Representative at the Castilian fairs was especially Simon Ruiz. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 300). Regular correspondence with the Ruiz in Medina del Campo in 1589. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 300-301). Correspondence with Simon Ruiz. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 183). Nicolás and Sebastián Ximénez were bankers in Florence. They were correspondents of Simon Ruiz in Medina del Campo in 1592-1594 and Cosme Ruiz in Valladolid in 1605. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, table between pp.	

							viii-ix). André Ximenes was a Portuguese merchant in Antwerp, correspondent of Simon Ruiz around 1576 (Lapeyre, 1955, 70). The Ximenes in Antwerp corresponded with the Ruiz of Medina del Campo and Valladolid between 1576 and 1604. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 19). Sales of books to merchants of Medina del Campo and Salamanca, such as the Giunta (Luca Antonio Giunta in Medina del Campo), Benoît Boyer, Pierre Landry, etc. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 207). The Ximenes had settlements and branches in Lisbon, Medina del Campo, Sevilla, Cádiz, Florence, Venice, Hamburg and Goa among others. Several of these branches are not mentioned by other authors however (perhaps "factor" is meant here rather than "branch"). (Göttler & Dupré, 2009).	
Middelburg		3	2	2	1	>1582-1595<	In July 1584, Ferdinand Ximenes left Antwerp again. Ferdinand Ximenes went to Cologne, where he arrived in 1585, via Zeeland and Holland. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 297-298). In 1587, a Portuguese ship loaded with pearls and spices, coming from the East Indies to Lisbon was captured by the English privateer Francis Drake. Some of the pearls and spices belonged to the Ximenes, the Rodrigues d'Evora, and Diego Rodrigues d'Andrade. Negotiations for the restitution of the goods were conducted by Ferdinand Ximenes with Queen Elisabeth, via Salvador de la Palma in Middelburg and Richard Maid and Emanuel de Metre in London. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 298-299). In 1582, 33 sacks of pepper were shipped from Middelburg to Emden for the Ximenes. (Thimme, 1912, 400). Agent of the Ximenes in Middelburg ca. 1591-1595 was Salvador de la Palma. He had to retrieve plundered goods from Elisabeth I. (Kalus, 2009, 10, 13).	
Nantes		3	2	2	1	>1580-1583<	Export of grain and other goods from Antwerp, Nantes, Amsterdam, Hamburg and Danzig to Portugal, Spain and Italy, especially between 1580 and 1583. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 207).	
Naumburg		3	2	2	1		The Ximenes exported their spices and jewels also to the inner-German market: contacts with Frankfurt, Leipzig, Naumburg, Strasbourg, Nürnberg and other places. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 299).	
Nürnberg		3	2	2	1		The Ximenes exported their spices and jewels also to the inner-German market: contacts with Frankfurt, Leipzig, Naumburg, Strasbourg, Nürnberg and other places. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 299).	
Porto		3	2	2	1	c.1574	In Porto, Jorge Fernandes took care of the business of the Ximenes. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 205).	

Salamanca		3	2	2	1		Sales of books to merchants of Medina del Campo and Salamanca, such as the Giunta (Luca Antonio Giunta in Medina del Campo), Benoît Boyer, Pierre Landry, etc. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 207).	
Santo Domingo		3	2	2	1		Export of slaves from Angola to the American markets of Carthagena, Santo Domingo and Buenos Aires. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 207). The business network of the Ximenes included the East-Indies, Africa and America. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 294-295). The Ximenes were active on all coasts of the Atlantic (See Denucé, 1937). (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 27 n. 93). The Ximenes, Rodrigues d'Evora, and Gomes d'Elvas all had agents outside of Europe and traded with the Atlantic Islands, the West-Indies and the Orient: trade in spices, gemstones, sugar. Never established plantations however (Gentil Da Silva, 1959, viii).	
Strasbourg		3	2	2	1		The Ximenes exported their spices and jewels also to the inner-German market: contacts with Frankfurt, Leipzig, Naumburg, Strasbourg, Nürnberg and other places. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 299).	
Valladolid		3	2	2	1	>1598-1605<	Nicolás and Sebastián Ximénez were bankers in Florence. They were correspondents of Simon Ruiz in Medina del Campo in 1592-1594 and Cosme Ruiz in Valladolid in 1605. (Ruiz Martín, 1965, table between pp. viii-ix). The Ximenes in Antwerp corresponded with the Ruiz of Medina del Campo and Valladolid between 1576 and 1604. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 19).	
Brazil		2	2	1	0		The business network of the Ximenes included the East-Indies, Africa and America. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 294-295). The Ximenes were active on all coasts of the Atlantic (See Denucé, 1937). (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 27 n. 93). The large trade to the Far East, Africa, and Brasil was in Lisbon in hands of a number of large houses, such as the Ximenes, the Mendes, the Gomes, the Evora, and some others (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, 27). The Ximenes, Rodrigues d'Evora, and Gomes d'Elvas all had agents outside of Europe and traded with the Atlantic Islands, the West-Indies and the Orient: trade in spices, gemstones, sugar. Never established plantations however (Gentil Da Silva, 1959, viii).	
Denmark		2	2	1	0	1589	Representative in Denmark in 1589 was Simon von Salingen. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 299). In 1589, the Danish merchant Simon von Salingen was ordered to send two ships with wood to Lisbon. (Thimme, 1912, 402).	
Livorno		2	2	1	0	c.1580	Export of pepper to Ludovico and Alessandro Capponi and Co. in Livorno	

							ca. 1580. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 206).	
Medina de Ríoseco		2	2	1	0		The Castilian fairs were part of the banking network of the Ximenes. Their correspondent at the Castilian fairs was Simon Ruiz (in Medina del Campo). (Kellenbenz, 1970, 294-295). In 1578, bills of exchange were transferred between Antwerp and Castile. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 295). In the late 1580s, financial transactions of the Ximenes in Cologne with Lisbon and Castile did not go via Antwerp anymore, but via Venice, Genoa, Florence and Lyon. The same representatives were used for transactions in bills of exchange as for commodity trade. Representative at the Castilian fairs was especially Simon Ruiz. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 300).	
Rome		2	2	1	0	>1572-1585<	Emanuel, brother of Thomas, Ferdinand and Rui Nunes Ximenes was a Jesuit in Rome. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 294-295). In 1585, Ferdinand Ximenes made use of the services of his brother Emanuel Ximenes, Jesuit in Rome, to claim back money from Johann Baptista Pompilio Luraghi and Bernhardino Roccio. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 300). Emanuel Ximenes, Jesuit in Rome, was a brother of Ferdinand Ximenes. (Thimme, 1912, 395 n. 12; Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 204).	
San Lúcar		2	2	1	0		Egidius de Grave sent two ships with wood from Denmark and Norway from Hamburg to Lisbon and two to San Lucar, to partners of the Ximenes company or their factors. (Thimme, 1912, 402).	
Villalón		2	2	1	0		The Castilian fairs were part of the banking network of the Ximenes. Their correspondent at the Castilian fairs was Simon Ruiz (in Medina del Campo). (Kellenbenz, 1970, 294-295). In 1578, bills of exchange were transferred between Antwerp and Castile. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 295). In the late 1580s, financial transactions of the Ximenes in Cologne with Lisbon and Castile did not go via Antwerp anymore, but via Venice, Genoa, Florence and Lyon. The same representatives were used for transactions in bills of exchange as for commodity trade. Representative at the Castilian fairs was especially Simon Ruiz. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 300).	
Blois		1	1	1	0	1576-1577	In 1576, Ferdinand Ximenes and Rui Nunes left Antwerp again. They went to Cambrai, then to Blois and Paris. From summer 1577 they returned to Antwerp, where their younger brother André now managed the business. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 295). In 1576-1577, Fernão and Rui Nunes left Antwerp for Cambrai, Blois and Paris, and were represented in Antwerp by their younger brother André Ximenes. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 204).	

Cambrai		1	1	1	0	1576-1577	In 1576, Ferdinand Ximenes and Rui Nunes left Antwerp again. They went to Cambrai, then to Blois and Paris. From summer 1577 they returned to Antwerp, where their younger brother André now managed the business. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 295). In 1576-1577, Fernão and Rui Nunes left Antwerp for Cambrai, Blois and Paris, and were represented in Antwerp by their younger brother André Ximenes. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 204).	
Ceuta		1	1	1	0	until 1619	The Ximenes supplied the fortresses of Ceuta and Tanger, at least until 1619, with foodstuffs (grain) and ammunition. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 206).	
Enkhuizen		1	1	1	0	1585	Egidius de Grave (=Gillis de Greve), factor of Ferdinand Ximenes in Hamburg, sent four ships with grain from Hamburg via Enkhuizen to Lisbon for the Ximenes in 1585. (Thimme, 1912, 402).	
London		1	1	1	0	1587	In 1587, a Portuguese ship loaded with pearls and spices, coming from the East Indies to Lisbon was captured by the English privateer Francis Drake. Some of the pearls and spices belonged to the Ximenes, the Rodrigues d'Evora, and Diego Rodrigues d'Andrade. Negotiations for the restitution of the goods were conducted by Ferdinand Ximenes with Queen Elisabeth, via Salvador de la Palma in Middelburg and Richard Maid and Emanuel de Metre in London. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 298-299).	
Paris		1	1	1	0	1576-1577	In 1576, Ferdinand Ximenes and Rui Nunes left Antwerp again. They went to Cambrai, then to Blois and Paris. From summer 1577 they returned to Antwerp, where their younger brother André now managed the business. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 295). In 1576-1577, Fernão and Rui Nunes left Antwerp for Cambrai, Blois and Paris, and were represented in Antwerp by their younger brother André Ximenes. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 204).	
Tanger		1	1	1	0	until 1619	The Ximenes supplied the fortresses of Ceuta and Tanger, at least until 1619, with foodstuffs (grain) and ammunition. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 206).	

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4.3. LOW COUNTRIES FIRMS

4.3.1. FLEMISH FIRMS

VON BODECK, 1553 – 1631

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Source material:

A printed death sermon for Johann von Bodeck at his funeral contains an overview of the life of von Bodeck. (Dietz, 1921, III, 256). Account book preserved of Cornelie Bormann, mother-in-law and partner of Johann von Bodeck, for 1602-1607. (258). Some of the account books of Johann von Bodeck have been preserved. (259).

1. BONAVENTURA VON BODECK, 1553 – 1591 (not used network)

Father of Johann von Bodeck, Bonaventura von Bodeck, belonged to an old family of Teutonic knights. In 1553, he went from Toruń to Antwerp where he became active in commercial speculation and financial business, which allowed him to gather a fortune. (Dietz, 1921, III, 256). By 1585, Bonaventura von Bodeck had settled in Lübeck. In 1590, he followed his son Johann to Frankfurt, where he died in 1591. (257). Bonaventura had two sons, Johann and Bonaventura the younger (d. 1627). The latter moved to Augsburg in 1586, where he increasingly lived off his real estate and became active in imperial service. His liquid money was managed by his brother Johann von Bodeck. (257).

Size: Medium-sized or large

Bonaventura von Bodeck left a fortune of ca. 250,000 thaler, which was an exceptional amount for Frankfurt at that time. (Dietz, 1921, III, 257).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Trade in copper. (Kellenbenz, 1954, 229).
- Finance: Large loan to the city of Lübeck. (Dietz, 1921, 257). Active in commercial speculation and financial business, which allowed him to gather a fortune. (Dietz, 1921, III, 256).
- Industry:

Network of Bonaventura von Bodeck:

The business of Bonaventura von Bodeck concentrated on the Hanseatic territory. (Dietz, 1921, III, 257).

Table A..1. Network of Bonaventura von Bodeck, 1553 – 1591

City	**R**	**Score**				**Period**	**Type of presence**	**References**
Antwerp		8	4	3	1	1553-1585>	Headquarters. Bonaventura von Bodeck went from Toruń to Antwerp in 1553. By 1585, he was not in Antwerp anymore. (Dietz, 1921, III, 256-257). Business with merchants in Antwerp. (Dietz, 1921, III, 257). One of Bonaventura's daughters married to the Antwerp merchant Hans Scholier in 1589. (257). Bonaventura Bodeck went to Antwerp, but when the crisis broke out he left Antwerp for Lubeck and Hamburg: trade in copper and trade with Spain. (Kellenbenz, 1954, 229). In 1540, a Bonaventur Boddeker became one of the representatives of a Spanish and an Antwerp merchant for a claim in Danzig. (Jeannin, 1963, 37 n. 72).	Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, cx
Hamburg		6	3	2	1		Branch in Hamburg, first in hands of Eberhard Essig, subsequently of Hans t' Kindt. (Dietz, 1921, III, 257). Business with merchants in Hamburg. (Dietz, 1921, III, 257). Bonaventura Bodeck went to Antwerp, but left Antwerp when the crisis broke out to Lubeck and Hamburg: trade in copper and trade with Spain. Later, the von Bodeck moved to Frankfurt. (Kellenbenz, 1954, 229).	
Lübeck		3 ~~8~~ ***5***	2 ~~4~~ ***3***	2 ~~3~~ ***2***	1 ~~1~~ ***1***	before 1585 >1585-1590	- Business with merchants in Lübeck. (Dietz, 1921, III, 257). - By 1585, Bonaventura von Bodeck had moved to Lübeck. (Dietz, 1921, III, 256-257). In 1590, he left Lübeck for Frankfurt am Main, where he died in 1591. (257). Bonaventura Bodeck went to Antwerp, but left Antwerp when the crisis broke out to Lubeck and Hamburg: trade in copper and trade with	

							Spain. Later, the von Bodeck moved to Frankfurt. (Kellenbenz, 1954, 229).	
Amsterdam		3	2	2	1		Business with merchants in Amsterdam. (Dietz, 1921, III, 257).	
Danzig		3	2	2	1		Connections with Hans von der Linden, and later with his three sons Niklas, Hans and Adrian von der Linden in Danzig. (Dietz, 1921, III, 257). Two of Bonaventura's daughters were married to the brothers Niklas and Hans von der Linden. (257). In 1540, a Bonaventur Boddeker became one of the representatives of a Spanish and an Antwerp merchant for a claim in Danzig. (Jeannin, 1963, 37 n. 72). In 1572-1577, a Bonaventura Bodicker was established as a merchant in Danzig. Not sure whether this is the same person as Bonaventura von Bodeck. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, xlvii, cx).	
Denmark		3	2	2	1		Business with merchants in Denmark. (Dietz, 1921, III, 257).	
Emden		3	2	2	1		Business with Jakob du Fray in Emden. (Dietz, 1921, III, 257).	
Frankfurt am Main		~~8~~ *3*	~~4~~ *2*	~~3~~ *2*	~~1~~ *1*	1590-1591	In 1590, he left Lübeck for Frankfurt am Main, where he died in 1591. (Dietz, 1921, III, 257). Bonaventura Bodeck went to Antwerp, but left Antwerp when the crisis broke out to Lubeck and Hamburg. Later, the von Bodeck moved to Frankfurt, from where they continued to trade with Spain via the north German and Low Countries harbours (Kellenbenz, 1954, 229). Bonaventura moved to Frankfurt in 1590, where he died in 1591. (Kellenbenz, 1954, 229).	
Holstein		3	2	2	1		Business with merchants in Holstein. (Dietz, 1921, III, 257).	
Lisbon		3	2	2	1		Business with Lucas Walther in Lisbon. (Dietz, 1921, III, 257). A certain Bonaventura Bodicker, merchant in Danzig, had a factor in Lisbon until ca. 1581: Gaspar Cunertorf. Not known whether this is the same Bonaventura. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, cx).	
Magdeburg		3	2	2	1		Business with Heinrich Rode in Magdeburg. (Dietz, 1921, III, 257).	
Spain		3	2	2	1		Bonaventura Bodeck went to Antwerp, but left Antwerp when the crisis broke out to Lubeck and Hamburg: trade in copper and trade with Spain. Later, the von Bodeck moved to Frankfurt, from where they continued to trade with Spain via the north German and Low Countries harbours (Kellenbenz, 1954, 229). In 1540, a Bonaventur Boddeker became one of the representatives of a Spanish and an Antwerp merchant for a claim in Danzig. (Jeannin, 1963, 37 n. 72).	
Paris		2	2	1	0	1572	After he finished his education, Johann von Bodeck, son of Bonaventura, made several business trips abroad, e.g. to Paris in 1572. (Dietz, 1921, III, 256).	

Leiden		1	1	1	0	c.1563	Bonaventura's oldest son, Johann von Bodeck, born in 1555, was sent to Leiden ca. 1563 and to Nürnberg ca. 1565 for schooling. (Dietz, 1921, III, 256).	
Nürnberg		1	1	1	0	c.1565	Bonaventura's oldest son, Johann von Bodeck, born in 1555, was sent to Leiden ca. 1563 and to Nürnberg ca. 1565 for schooling. (Dietz, 1921, III, 256).	

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2. JOHANN VON BODECK, ca. 1583 – 1631

Johann von Bodeck (1555-1631) went to Frankfurt am Main after the fall of Antwerp in 1585. He was the first important banker of Frankfurt. (Dietz, 1921, III, 255). Von Bodeck operated in an environment of mostly Antwerp merchants. (256). After the death of Bonaventura von Bodeck in 1591, his business was taken over by his son and son-in-law Johann von Bodeck and Hans Scholier. The firm was renamed as "Bonaventura Bodecker's seel. Erben Hans v. Bodeck & Hans Scholier". (Dietz, 1921, III, 257). Hans Scholier (originally Schuler), originated from an important Nürnberg family, which had gone to Antwerp and Deventer already generations before. Hans Scholier moved from Antwerp to Frankfurt am Main as well. Hans Scholier invested a large part of his fortune in the tin mines of Schlackenwald in Bohemia. The shares in these mines had lost most of their value by 1618. Nevertheless, his firm was continued by his son, and still existed ca. 1650 under the name "Hans Scholiers seel. Wittib und Erben."(258). Bonaventura's oldest son, Johann von Bodeck, born in 1555, was sent to Leiden ca. 1563 and to Nürnberg ca. 1565 for schooling. After he finished his education, he made several business trips abroad, e.g. to Paris in 1572. Ca. 1583 Von Bodeck married the daughter of the deceased Antwerp merchant Arnold Bormann, whose business he took over together with his mother-in-law. (256). During the siege of Antwerp by the duke of Parma, Von Bodeck went via Zeeland to his father in Lübeck, from where he moved to Frankfurt am Main after the capture of Antwerp in 1585. (256). From 1585 until 1607, Johann von Bodeck carried out his business in partnership with his mother-in-law, Cornelie Bormann (d. 1607). (258). The sons of Johann von Bodeck began their own business in 1614, named "Gebrüder Bonaventura, Johann & Arnold von Bodeck". This firm was continued by the sons of Johann the younger, Dominicus von Bodeck and his brothers, between 1650 and 1663. Johann the elder's sons traded with the Levant together with their brother-in-law Carl von Rehlingen (until 1625). In the 1630s, Johann and Arnold von Bodeck went to Utrecht, and left Johann de Famars and his son Jakob as their representatives in Frankfurt. Their factor in Strasbourg in 1639 was Reinhard Merkelbach. (263). They also had connections with Amsterdam and Middelburg. (264).

Merchant in Frankfurt. Came from an immigrated Dutch family. Left 1,067,000 fl. (from himself and his wife together) as heritage. Most of his capital consisted of obligations from princes and cities, from which his heirs could only recuperate 10 % (Aubin, 1940, 155). Largest Frankfurt merchant around 1600. (Seibold, 1977b, 288). Family von Bodeck came originally from Thorn. Most important representative of the family in 2nd half 16th c.: Bonaventura Bodeck. He went to Antwerp, but left Antwerp when the crisis broke out to Lubeck and Hamburg: trade in copper

and trade with Spain. Later, the von Bodeck moved to Frankfurt, from where they continued to trade with Spain via the north German and Low Countries harbours (Kellenbenz, 1954, 229). Johann von Bodeck, son of Bonaventura, had followed his father to Lubeck, but went already in 1585 to Frankfurt. Johann was at the head of the Frankfurt enterprise. Bonaventura moved to Frankfurt in 1590, where he died in 1591. The name of the company became "Bonaventura Bodeckers seel. Erben, Hans von Bodeck und Hans Scholier". Hans Scholier was a brother-in-law of Johann von Bodeck: he was married to a sister of Johann. International exchange and mercantile business. (Kellenbenz, 1954, 229).

Size: Large

In 1584, the capital of the company between Johann von Bodeck and his mother-in-law amounted to 108,590 thaler. By 1606, the capital invested by Cornelie Bormann in the company totalled 182,697 thaler. The total capital of the company was ca. 300,000 thaler in 1602 and 366,000 thaler in 1607. (Dietz, 1921, III, 258). Largest Frankfurt merchant around 1600. (Seibold, 1977b, 288).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Trade with the north sea, Iberian peninsula and Mediterranean. With Iberian Peninsula trade in spices, dyestuffs, indigo, cinnamon, ginger. Wax and iron e.g. via Hamburg to Bilbao. (Kellenbenz, 1954, 229).
- Finance: Johann von Bodeck was an important banker. He became head of the Frankfurt Bourse. (Dietz, 1921, III, 255). Loans to the princes of Saxony, the cities of Wrocław, Emden, Leipzig. (258-259, 262). The personal fortune of Johann von Bodeck amounted to ca. 667,000 fl. in 1630. (262). Loans to the emperor, e.g. for the war against the Ottomans. (262-263). Large loans and exchange transactions. (263).
- Industry: Investment in copper smelting business, which was not successful in the end. This business was liquidated in 1630. (Dietz, 1921, III, 261-262). Investment in mining in Mansfeld. (262).

Network of Johann von Bodeck:

Johann von Bodeck had connections with the most important bankers of Europe, thanks to his own and his wife's connections as well as through the marriages of his daughters. (Dietz, 1921, III, 259). Trade with the north sea, Iberian peninsula and Mediterranean. (Kellenbenz, 1954, 229).

Table A..2. Network of Johann von Bodeck, 1585 – 1631

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Frankfurt am Main		8	4	3	1	1585-1631	Headquarters since 1585. (Dietz, 1921, III, 255). Johann von Bodeck purchased a house on the Roβmarkt. (259). Johann von Bodeck: Frankfurt banker. (Kellenbenz, 1954, 206). Important role in exchange transactions	

							between Frankfurt, Antwerp, Amsterdam, Hamburg and Venice. (Kellenbenz, 1954, 206). Johann von Bodeck, son of Bonaventura, had followed his father to Lubeck, but went already in 1585 to Frankfurt. Johann was at the head of the Frankfurt enterprise. Bonaventura moved to Frankfurt in 1590, where he died in 1591 (Kellenbenz, 1954, 229).	
Amsterdam		4	2	2	1	>1602<	In 1602, Cornelie Bormann, mother-in-law and partner of Johann von Bodeck, had assets in Amsterdam. (Dietz, 1921, III, 258). Important role in exchange transactions between Frankfurt, Antwerp, Amsterdam, Hamburg and Venice. (Kellenbenz, 1954, 206).	
Antwerp		8 **4**	4 **2**	3 **2**	1 **1**	1583-1584 1584-1629<	- Headquarters 1583-1584. (Dietz, 1921, III, 256). - In 1602, Cornelie Bormann, mother-in-law and partner of Johann von Bodeck, had assets in Antwerp. (Dietz, 1921, III, 258). Johann von Bodeck owned several houses in Antwerp, two of which he sold in 1629. (259). Important role in exchange transactions between Frankfurt, Antwerp, Amsterdam, Hamburg and Venice. (Kellenbenz, 1954, 206).	
Hamburg		4	2	2	1	>1602<, >1617<	In 1602, Cornelie Bormann, mother-in-law and partner of Johann von Bodeck, had assets in Hamburg. (Dietz, 1921, III, 258). Johann's son Johann von Bodeck the younger married a daughter of the Hamburg banker Dominicus van Uffele in 1617. (260). Johann's daughter Maria married the Hamburg banker Dominicus van Uffele in 1617. (261). Agatha, daughter of Johann von Bodeck, married the Hamburg banker Kaspar van Uffele ca. 1624. (261). Very close family ties with the van Uffele family of Hamburg. (261). Important role in exchange transactions between Frankfurt, Antwerp, Amsterdam, Hamburg and Venice. In Hamburg, contacts with Dominicus van Uffeln and his sons, Gillis de Greve, Gillis Boermans and Hans 't Kindt, and later his son Peter 't Kindt. (Kellenbenz, 1954, 206). Among the contacts in Hamburg was the firm of Dominicus van Uffele (Kellenbenz, 1954, 229). Export of wax and iron e.g. via Hamburg to Bilbao. (Kellenbenz, 1954, 229). Close relation between the Von Bodeck and the Van Uffele: in 1617, marriage of Hans von Bodeck the younger (b. 1589), son of Johann, with Susanna, daughter of Dominicus van Uffele, and of Maria von Bodeck (b. 1595), daughter of Johann, with the eldest son of Dominicus van Uffele (Dominicus) (Kellenbenz, 1954, 229).	
Venice		4	2	2	1		Important role in exchange transactions between Frankfurt, Antwerp, Amsterdam, Hamburg and Venice. (Kellenbenz, 1954, 206).	

Cologne		3	2	2	1	>1602<, >c.1607<	In 1602, Cornelie Bormann, mother-in-law and partner of Johann von Bodeck, had assets in Cologne. (Dietz, 1921, III, 258). Ca. 1607: Johann von Bodeck, together with Peter von der Strassen in Cologne and Martin Zobel in Augsburg sent rye from Danzig to Augsburg (Kellenbenz, 1954, 224).	
Leipzig		3	2	2	1	>1609-1630<	Loans to Leipzig, which were not repaid in 1630 yet. (Dietz, 1921, III, 262). Already in 1609 loans to the entrepreneur Thomas Lebzelter of Leipzig. In 1613, money advanced to the "Ilmenauschen Saiger- und Messunghandlung" in which the Leipziger Lebzelter, Johann Mahieu (of Frankfurt), the Nurnberg-Leipzig house of the Schwendendörfer, and von Bodeck himself took part. Failure of Lebzelter in 1619, the city of Leipzig took over 4/5 of the Mansfeld copper mountain exploitation. Again von Bodeck advanced money to this enterprise (Kellenbenz, 1954, 230).	
Lübeck		3	2	2	1	1585-1590	Ca. 1585, Johann von Bodeck was in Lübeck, where he had fled from Antwerp. In 1585, he went to Frankfurt. Until 1590, Johann’s father Bonaventura had a firm in Lübeck. (Dietz, 1921, III, 257). Johann von Bodeck, son of Bonaventura, had followed his father to Lubeck, but went already in 1585 to Frankfurt. (Kellenbenz, 1954, 229).	
Middelburg		3	2	2	1	>1602<	In 1602, Cornelie Bormann, mother-in-law and partner of Johann von Bodeck, had assets in Middelburg. (Dietz, 1921, III, 258). Correspondents of Johann von Bodeck in Middelburg were Peter Haeck, and Levin de Mulnere and Co., later also Francois Haecx (Kellenbenz, 1954, 206).	
Nürnberg		3	2	2	1	>1602<, >1613<	In 1602, Cornelie Bormann, mother-in-law and partner of Johann von Bodeck, had assets in Nürnberg. (Dietz, 1921, III, 258). Already in 1609 loans to the entrepreneur Thomas Lebzelter of Leipzig. In 1613, money advanced to the "Ilmenauschen Saiger- und Messunghandlung" in which the Leipziger Lebzelter, Johann Mahieu (of Frankfurt), the Nurnberg-Leipzig house of the Schwendendörfer, and von Bodeck himself took part. (Kellenbenz, 1954, 230).	
Sevilla		3	2	2	1		The von Bodeck moved to Frankfurt, from where they continued to trade with Spain via the north German and Low Countries harbours (Kellenbenz, 1954, 229). Connections with Sevilla (Kellenbenz, 1954, 229).	
Augsburg		2	2	1	0	c.1607	Ca. 1607: Johann von Bodeck, together with Peter von der Strassen in Cologne and Martin Zobel in Augsburg sent rye from Danzig to Augsburg (Kellenbenz, 1954, 224).	

Bilbao		2	2	1	0		The von Bodeck moved to Frankfurt, from where they continued to trade with Spain via the north German and Low Countries harbours (Kellenbenz, 1954, 229). Export of wax and iron e.g. via Hamburg to Bilbao. (Kellenbenz, 1954, 229).	
Danzig		2	2	1	0	c.1607	Ca. 1607: Johann von Bodeck, together with Peter von der Strassen in Cologne and Martin Zobel in Augsburg sent rye from Danzig to Augsburg (Kellenbenz, 1954, 224).	
Emden		2	2	1	0		Loan to the city of Emden. (Dietz, 1921, III, 259).	
Horní Slavkov	M	2	2	1	0	>1618<	Hans Scholier invested a large part of his fortune in the tin mines of Schlackenwald in Bohemia. The shares in these mines had lost most of their value by 1618. Nevertheless, his firm was continued by his son, and still existed ca. 1650 under the name “Hans Scholiers seel. Wittib und Erben.”(Dietz, 1921, III, 258).	
Ilmenau	H	2	2	1	0	1613-1630	Important investments in the copper smelting business of Ilmenau in Thuringia. These amounted to 317,220 fl. in 1630. Von Bodeck had a 1/3 share in the smelting huts of Ilmenau. (Dietz, 1921, III, 261-262). Already in 1609 loans to the entrepreneur Thomas Lebzelter of Leipzig. In 1613, money advanced to the "Ilmenauschen Saiger- und Messunghandlung" in which the Leipziger Lebzelter, Johann Mahieu (of Frankfurt), the Nurnberg-Leipzig house of the Schwendendörfer, and von Bodeck himself took part. Failure of Lebzelter in 1619, the city of Leipzig took over 4/5 of the Mansfeld copper mountain exploitation. Again von Bodeck advanced money to this enterprise (Kellenbenz, 1954, 230). From 1613, Johann von Bodeck was a member of the Ilmenausche Saigerhandelsgesellschaft, founded among others by Thomas Lebzelter. (Seibold, 1977a, 40-41).	
Mansfeld (county)	M	2	2	1	0	from 1619	Johann von Bodeck invested in mining in Mansfeld, but made losses here. (Dietz, 1921, III, 262). Already in 1609 loans to the entrepreneur Thomas Lebzelter of Leipzig. In 1613, money advanced to the "Ilmenauschen Saiger- und Messunghandlung" in which the Leipziger Lebzelter, Johann Mahieu (of Frankfurt), the Nurnberg-Leipzig house of the Schwendendörfer, and von Bodeck himself took part. Failure of Lebzelter in 1619, the city of Leipzig took over 4/5 of the Mansfeld copper mountain exploitation. Again von Bodeck advanced money to this enterprise (Kellenbenz, 1954, 230).	
Wrocław		2	2	1	0		Loan to the city of Wrocław together with his brother-in-law Hans Scholier. (Dietz, 1921, III, 258-259).	

DESPARS COMPANY, 1478 – after 1505

"onse Compangnia Lixbone" (Mus, 1964, 16). Jacob Despars, Wouter Despars (brothers).
Sons of Marc Despars, who died in 1477. Company founded after the death of the father by Jacob and Wouter Despars, with the capital they inherited (Mus, 1964, 25-28). Start-phase: January 1478 - June 1480: Wouter Despars not involved yet, no own representative in Portugal: economic and political situation is precarious, no continuous trade (Mus, 1964, 30-35). Definite formation of the company with the journey of Jacob Despars to Portugal in 1480 (Mus, 1964, 36). Both partners invested capital and labour in the company. No central accountancy, no general leadership, idea of the existence of 2 different companies, each with own account books,… Both partners did not only work for the company, but also for themselves or for outsiders (Mus, 1964, 37-40). Three phases in activities of the company: 1480/81-1486/87; 1487-1491/92; 1496-1500. Company not active from 1492 to 1496. After each phase payments were settled between the partners (Mus, 1964, 44-45). Death of Jacob: 1/10/1500: end of the company (Mus, 1964, 44). Crisis in 1485: trade with Portugal impossible: replaced by trade in alum (1485), Spanish wool (1487) and especially woad (1485-1487). Woad imported together with the Portuguese Rodrigues from Picardy, and with Cornelio de Altoviti from Lombardy or Acquitaine. Sold by Gelein van der Banc (Mus, 1964, 53-56). In 1492, Wouter leaves the company, is replaced by Luis Gallant. End of the company with Gallant: August 1493 (Mus, 1964, 62-67). Period without activity from 1493 to 1496: Jacob in politics: tresorier of Bruges (Mus, 1964, 67-70). New company with Wouter from August 1496 until Jacob's death in 1500 (Mus, 1964, 70). After Jacob's death, Wouter continued trade between Lisbon and Antwerp: he purchased his own ship, for shipment of pepper a.o. for the Frescobaldi-Gualterotti in 1505,… (Mus, 1964, 71-72).

Jan Despars, brother of Jacob and Wouter. In 1477 active in Flemish cloth trade. In 1480-81 he takes over Jacob Despars accountancy while Jacob travels to Portugal. In 1483 he is active in the sugar trade. Moves to Portugal in 1484. Works together with his brother Wouter and the factor of the Bruges broker Joos van Doorlee (Anthuenis de Feyt) in Portugal. In 1498 back in Bruges, instead his son is in Portugal then (Mus, 1964, 89-90).

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Source material:

Register of Jacob Despars preserved for 1478-1498/1499. (Mus, 1964, 5-6).

Size: Small or medium-sized

Main activities:

- Commerce: Trade in sugar (from Madeira), melasse (from Madeira), oil (from Lisbon), fruits (Algarve) from Portugal, occasionaly grain (1489-90) and woad (1485-86), Flemish tapestries, Flemish woollens, sayettes, ropes, copper rings, bonnettes and fustians (from Ulm) between Bruges and Lisbon (Spufford, 2002, 309; Mus, 1964, 17-24, 40-42). Crisis in 1485: trade with Portugal impossible: replaced by trade in alum (1485), Spanish wool (1487) and especially woad (1485-1487). (Mus, 1964, 53-56).
- Finance:
- Industry: In 1478, Jacob delivered Spanish wool to drapers in Bruges and Bailleul in exchange for Flemish cloth, and lent money to them for the production of cloth. (Mus, 1964, 29).
- Shipping: After Jacob’s death, Wouter continued trade between Lisbon and Antwerp: he purchased his own ship, for shipment of pepper a.o. for the Frescobaldi-Gualterotti in 1505,… (Mus, 1964, 71-72).

Network of the Despars Company:

Table A..1. Network of the Despars Company, 1478 – 1500

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Bruges		8	4	3	1	1478-1500	Jacob Despars, partner, in Bruges (Spufford, 2002, 309). Register of Jacob Despars has been preserved (Mus, 1964, 5-6). In 1478, Jacob delivered Spanish wool to drapers in Bruges and Bailleul in exchange for Flemish cloth, and lent money to them for the production of cloth. Partner. 1478-1500 (Mus, 1964, 29).	
Lisbon		3 **6**	2 **3**	2 **2**	1 **1**	1478-1479 1480-1493	After Jacob’s death, Wouter continued trade between Lisbon and Antwerp: he purchased his own ship, for shipment of pepper a.o. for the Frescobaldi-Gualterotti in 1505,… (Mus, 1964, 71-72). January 1478 - June 1480: no	

							own representative in Portugal. (Mus, 1964, 30-35). Journey of Jacob Despars to Portugal in 1480 (Mus, 1964, 36). Crisis in 1485: trade with Portugal impossible. (Mus, 1964, 53-56). Partner. 1478-1500. Wouter Despars, partner, in Lisbon for 7 years in the 1480s (Spufford, 2002, 309). Jacob travels with Wouter to Portugal in mid 1480- mid 1481 (Mus, 1964, 16, 36). Before 1480, Jacob had no own representative in Lisbon. He used Gerard de Mil, factor of Michiel van Themseke (Mus, 1964, 29-30). Gerard de Mil was a commission merchant active in Bruges. He lived in Lisbon and was married to the Portuguese Catharina de Canoca. In 1478-1479, he worked for Michiel van Themseke, Jacob Despars, and probably as well for Hendrik van Wy. In 1493, he was in contact with the Bruges broker Jan Reubs, to whom he sent oil and wine. In 1496, he organised the Portuguese business of the Bruges merchant Jacob Bonnet, whose Portuguese factor had died. His daughter married to a member of the Quintanaduenas-family (Mus, 1964, 91-92). From 1480, Wouter Despars becomes the representative in Lisbon (Mus, 1964, 36). Wouter Despars temporarily back to Bruges in 1487 and 1492 (Mus, 1964, 44). Wouter probably resided in Lisbon (Mus, 1964, 47). Esmeraldo organises the shipments to Flanders in 1491/92, when Wouter is in Flanders (Mus, 1964, 49). In February 1492, Wouter Despars returns to Flanders, replaced by Luis Gallant, who was sent to Portugal in 1490. New company between Jacob Despars and Luis Gallant. Gallant is not treated on equal foot by Jacob: junior partner, who used to be an employee of the company (Mus, 1964, 62-64). Gallant back to Flanders in August 1492. Returns to Portugal from April 1493 to August 1493. Use of Jan de Boodt in February 1493 to send fruit from Portugal to Flanders (Mus, 1964, 67). No representative between 1494 and 1496. Nothing known about the organisation in Portugal in 1496-1500. (Mus, 1964, 70).	
Madeira		**4** 3	**2** 2	**2** 2	**1** 1	>1484-1490> >1494<	Joao Esmeraldo was representative of the Despars company on Madeira, the latest since 1484, for the purchase of sugar and melasse. Esmeraldo was probably not an employee anymore, but a partner of Wouter. Later he became an independent merchant (Mus, 1964, 47-48). In 1490, Esmeraldo probably not active in the company anymore (Mus, 1964, 66). In 1494 Theune Louf was sent to Madeira to buy sugar (Mus, 1964, 67).	
Antwerp		3	2	2	1	>1481-1492<	Joao Esmeraldo, employee of the firm, sold sugar for the company on the	

							Antwerp Bamismarket (October) 1481. Ambrosio de Gavio, employee of the company, was active on the Bamismarket 1483 in Antwerp (Mus, 1964, 46-47). Factor of the company in Antwerp and Middelburg in 1491-1492: Dieric Brassart (Mus, 1964, 60-61). After Jacob's death, Wouter continued trade between Lisbon and Antwerp: he purchased his own ship, for shipment of pepper a.o. for the Frescobaldi-Gualterotti in 1505,… (Mus, 1964, 71-72).	
Bergen-op-Zoom		3	2	2	1	>1478-1484<	Jan de Vleeschouwer, brother-in-law of Jacob Despars, traded in sugar for Jacob on the Easter Fair of Bergen-op-Zoom 1478 (Mus, 1964, 28); Ambrosio de Gavio, employee of the company, was active on the Bergen fair in 1483 (Mus, 1964, 47). In 1484, 107 boxes of sugar sent to the market in Bergen with the Catalan merchant Nicola Bertram (Mus, 1964, 51).	
London		3	2	2	1	>1484<, >1491<	In 1484: 100 and later another 26 boxes of sugar sent to England. Sold by the Genoese Lorenzo Grillo in London (Mus, 1964, 50-51). Purchase of English products in London in 1491 via Jacob Lombart (Mus, 1964, 65).	
Middelburg		3	2	2	1	1488-1494	In March 1488, Theune Louf, employee of Jacob Despars, is in Zeeland, to sell fruit, collect debts,… (Mus, 1964, 57). Factor of the company in Antwerp and Middelburg in 1491-1492: Dieric Brassart (Mus, 1964, 60-61). Even in 1493 and 1494, still fruit and sugar sent to Zeeland instead of Sluis (Mus, 1964, 61). Esmeraldo in Zeeland and Bruges in February-March 1488 (Mus, 1964, 62),	
Bailleul		2	2	1	0	>1478<	In 1478, Jacob delivered Spanish wool to drapers in Bruges and Bailleul in exchange for Flemish cloth, and lent money to them for the production of cloth (Mus, 1964, 29).	
Guyenne		2	2	1	0	1485-1487	Crisis in 1485: trade with Portugal impossible: replaced by trade in alum (1485), Spanish wool (1487) and especially woad (1485-1487). Woad imported together with the Portuguese Rodrigues from Picardy, and with Cornelio de Altoviti from Lombardy or Acquitaine. Sold by Gelein van der Banc (Mus, 1964, 53-56).	
Lombardy		2	2	1	0	1485-1487	Crisis in 1485: trade with Portugal impossible: replaced by trade in alum (1485), Spanish wool (1487) and especially woad (1485-1487). Woad imported together with the Portuguese Rodrigues from Picardy, and with Cornelio de Altoviti from Lombardy or Acquitaine. Sold by Gelein van der Banc (Mus, 1964, 53-56).	
Picardy		2	2	1	0	1485-1487	Crisis in 1485: trade with Portugal impossible: replaced by trade in alum	

							(1485), Spanish wool (1487) and especially woad (1485-1487). Woad imported together with the Portuguese Rodrigues from Picardy, and with Cornelio de Altoviti from Lombardy or Acquitaine. Sold by Gelein van der Banc (Mus, 1964, 53-56).	

DELLA FAILLE COMPANY

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Source material:

Parts of the business archive of the Della Faille company have been preserved: an account book of Jan the elder (1574-1578), a letter book (1585-1586) and an account book (1589-1594) of Maarten della Faille. (Brulez, 1959, x-xii). Situation in 1597 (+ Jacob della Faille the elder): Staat van Goed of Jacob della Faille the elder. Data about Jacob Della Faille the younger have been preserved in the business archive of the Van der Meulen family.

1. DELLA FAILLE COMPANY, ca. 1540 – 1594

Jan della Faille (ca. 1515-1582): Born in a Flemish village, became apprentice in Venice. Founded an international merchant house in Antwerp. Together with his brother Jacob della Faille until 1566 (split up because of dispute between the brothers since 1562). After Jan's death (1582)

succeeded by his son Maarten (1544/45-1594): from 1583 to 1594 trade in company between Maarten della Faille, Jan de Wale, Jan Borne and Thomas Coteels. (Brulez, 1959, passim; Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xliii-xliv).
Jan della Faille was involved in the export from Antwerp to Italy in 1543 (Goris, 1925, 248-250).
Jan della Faille was apprentice and later factor of Maarten de Hane, a merchant of Brussels established in Venice, until 1562. (Brulez, 1959, passim; Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xliii).
Jan della Faille was born in Wevelgem ca. 1515. He became apprentice of Maarten de Hane in Venice. Later, he became factor of De Hane in Antwerp. Soon Jan Della Faille also began trading for his own with capital of the De Hane firm, which resulted in a number of lawsuits between Jan Della Faille and the De Hane. From the late 1550s, Jan Della Faille began his own business house with his brother Jacob. Jan died in 1582. (Puttevils, 2007, 173). Jan della Faille began his own firm in Antwerp from ca. 1540. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xliii).

Size: Large

3rd biggest exporter (biggest Flemish exporter) from the Low Countries to Italy overland in 1543-1545 (20,348 lb. vl.) (Brulez, 1959, 467-469). Capital in 1558: 29,145 lb. Vl.; in 1562: 54,025.9.11 lb. Vl.; in 1574: 61,000 lb. Vl.; in 1579: 78,800 lb. Vl.; in 1583: 82,200 lb. Vl.; Profit in 1558-1561: 29,263.16.10 lb.Vl. (more than 100%); in 1574-1578: 28,840 lb. Vl. (10.1%/year); in 1579-82: 22,880 lb. Vl. (7.6%/year); in 1583-1594: 110,484 lb. Vl. (12.4%/year). (Brulez, 1959, passim). In 1574 and 1579, Jan and Jacob Della Faille were among the ten richest merchants of Antwerp. (Puttevils, 2007, 174). The della Faille firm was among the largest business firms of the 16th century. (Brulez, 1959, 343-344).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Especially trade in textiles (kerseys, silks, linen, sayettes,…), but also grain, wool, alum, Venetian mirrors, hides, knives, rice, wax, lead, tin, saffron, salmon, copper, fish, iron, oil, wine, salt, … (Brulez, 1959, passim).
- Finance: Financial activities of the Della Faille company were rather limited. Some speculation on the trade in bills of exchange, but mostly use of bills of exchange to support the commercial activities of the firm. The firm advanced a number of loans. Deposits were taken up by the firm to increase the capital. (Brulez, 1959, 112-120). For a short period in 1591, the della Faille firm was strongly active as a maritime insurer. (Brulez, 1959, 156-157).
- Industry: The della Faille were not involved in the textile production. Nevertheless, linen was bleached for the della Faille company by correspondents of the firm. (Brulez, 1959, 264-265). The branch in Verona was involved in the production of silk. (Brulez, 1959, 285-300).
- Shipping: In 1584, the della Faille purchased a ship, the Sint Jan. (Brulez, 1959, 125-127).

Network of the Della Faille Company:

Trade especially with Germany, England and Italy. Grain trade with the Mediterranean. (Brulez, 1959, passim). Maritime grain trade with Italy especially since the 1590s: “Straatvaart”. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xlvi).

Table A..1. Network of the Della Faille Company, ca. 1540 – 1594 (especially ca. 1558 – 1594)

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Antwerp		8	4	3	1	c.1540-1594	Headquarters. Headquarters (ca. 1540 - 1594). Jan della Faille, started his own trade in 1540 (Capital 11,500 lb. Vl. in 1558; 22,000 lb. Vl. in 1562) (+ 1582); Maarten della Faille (1582-1594) (Capital in contract of 1583: 34,000 lb. Vl.). Headquarters. House in the Huidevettersstraat. (Brulez, 1959, passim).	Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xliii-xlv
London		2 **6**	2 **3**	1 **2**	0 **1**	>1543-1545< >1558-1594	Branch (partner) (1583-1594). 1583-1594: Thomas Coteels, one of the four compagnons in 1583-1594 (Capital in contract of 1583: 2,600 lb. Vl.). (Brulez, 1959, passim). Branch (factor) (Between 1541 and 1558 - 1583): Jacob della Faille the elder, brother of Jan (Capital: 11,500 lb. Vl. in 1558, 22,000 lb. Vl. in 1562): until 1566 (started his own company); Pieter Samyn and Hans van den Brughe (since 1558); caissier since 1563: Herman Pottey from ‘s Hertogenbosch; factor since 1566 until 1574: Herman Pottey (+ 1574: the plague); Factor from 1574 to 1582: Maarten della Faille, son of Jan della Faille. Until 1566: rent of a house in Limestreet, afterwards on the Botelwharf. Purchase of a house in Saint Martin’s Lane by Jan della Faille. (Brulez, 1959, passim). Export to Italy (20,348 lb. Vl.). Also export to Germany (5,169 lb. vl.), Amsterdam (1,399 lb. vl.), England (1,293 lb. vl.) and Spain (40 lb. vl.) in 1543-1545. (Brulez, 1959, 483). Probably export to Germany in 1543-45 was already for the account of Jan Della Faille, rather than for Maarten De Hane. (Puttevils, 2007, 175).	Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xliii-xlvi
Venice		2 **6**	2 **3**	1 **2**	0 **1**	>1543-1545< >1557-1594	Representation during the 1580s. (Gelderblom, 2000, 112). Branch (partner) (1583-1592): Gillis van den Brughe (Gillio del Ponte) (since 1557); Anton van Neste (until 1577); Jan de Wale, cousin of Jan della Faille (1577-1592), one of the four compagnons in 1583-1594 (Capital in contract of 1583: 8,000 lb. Vl.); Jan della Faille, son of Karel (1592-1594). Important financial centre. Control over the other Italian branches. Rent of a house in the parish	Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xliii-xlvi

							of S. Aponal, close to the Rialto. (Brulez, 1959, passim). Branch (factor) (Between 1541 and 1557 - 1583; 1592-1594). (Brulez, 1959, passim). Trade: 674.5 bales. 10-2-1543 to 22-9-1545 (Brulez, 1959, 480). Probably export for Maarten de Hane for whom Jan Della Faille was a factor in this period. (Puttevils, 2007, 174-175).	
Verona		1 **5**	1 **3**	1 **2**	0 **1**	>1543-1545< >1557-1594	Branch, dependent upon Venice branch (partner) (1583-1589): Jan Borne (1557-1589), one of the four compagnons in 1583-1594 (Capital in contract of 1583: 8,000 lb. Vl.); Piat della Faille (1589-1594). Dependent upon Venice branch. (Brulez, 1959, passim). Branch, dependent upon Venice branch (factor) (Between 1541 and 1557 - 1583; 1589-1594): Jan Borne (1557-1589); Piat della Faille (1589-1594). Dependent upon Venice branche. (Brulez, 1959, passim). Trade: 55.5 bales. 10-2-1543 to 22-9-1545 (Brulez, 1959, 480). Probably export for Maarten de Hane for whom Jan Della Faille was a factor in this period. (Puttevils, 2007, 174-175).	Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xliii-xlvi
Hamburg		~~**6**~~ ***4*** 3	~~**3**~~ ***2*** 2	~~**2**~~ ***2*** 2	~~**1**~~ ***1*** 1	c.1570-1577 1577-1594	Branch (factor) (Ca. 1570-1577): Maarten della Faille: until 1574; Jan de Wale: 1574-1577. (Brulez, 1959, passim). Agent (1577-1594): Maarten Entzesprenger (1577-1594); Jan Berwins (family member) (1593-1594). Via Maarten Entzesprenger indirect contacts with Hans van Collen (1585-86) and Jochim Jordaens (1589-94) in Lüneburg. (Brulez, 1959, passim).	Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xliii-xlvi
Lisbon		~~**6**~~ ***4*** 3	~~**3**~~ ***2*** 2	~~**2**~~ ***2*** 2	~~**1**~~ ***1*** 1	1562-1570 c.1583-c.1594	Branch (factor) (1562 -1570): Andries Baston (from Kuurne). (Brulez, 1959, passim). Agent (Ca. 1583-ca. 1594): Koenraad Coymans (1585-1586); Otto Vogel (1591); Jan Baptist Rovelasco; Nicolaas Walschaert. (Brulez, 1959, passim).	Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xliii-xlvi
Naples		2 ~~**5**~~ ***4***	2 ~~**3**~~ ***2***	1 ~~**2**~~ ***2***	0 ~~**1**~~ ***1***	c.1574-1584 1584-1594	Representation during the 1580s. (Gelderblom, 2000, 112). Lesser correspondent (1574-1584): Gaspar Sgrevens (Gasparo de Scrittoris) (From ca. 1574). No financial transactions with Naples. (Brulez, 1959, passim). Branch, dependent upon the Venice branch (factor) (1584-1594). Geerard Corhase (1584-1589). Dependent upon branch in Venice. (Brulez, 1959, passim). Branch, dependent upon Venice branch (partner) (1589-1594): Jan Borne (1589-1594) and Joris della Faille (1589-1594), son of Maarten. Dependent upon branch in Venice. (Brulez, 1959, passim).	Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xliii-xlvi; Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 188

Narva		~~6~~ ~~*4*~~ 3	~~3~~ ~~*2*~~ 2	~~2~~ ~~*2*~~ 2	~~1~~ ~~*1*~~ 1	1562-1571 1571-1575	Branch (factor) (1562 -1571): Adriaan van Aferden (from Deventer) (+1571). (Brulez, 1959, passim). Trade (1571-1575): Trade in company with Robrecht van Eeckeren and Jan Pellicorne (Antwerp merchant). No agent in Narva anymore. (Brulez, 1959, passim).	Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xliii-xliv; Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 188
Sevilla		~~6~~ ~~*4*~~ 3	~~3~~ ~~*2*~~ 2	~~2~~ ~~*2*~~ 2	~~1~~ ~~*1*~~ 1	>1558-c.1570 c.1570-1594	Branch (factor) (Between 1553 and 1558 - ca. 1570): Robrecht van Eeckeren (Capital: 4,096.1.3 lb. Vl. in 1558; 8,776.14.10 lb. Vl. in 1562. Share of 1/3 in profit); Pieter de Molin (since 1558); Nicolaas Anteunis de jonge (since 1558). (Brulez, 1959, passim). Agent (Ca. 1570 -1594): Nicolaas Anteunis (ca. 1570-1594); Steven Coteels (Ca. 1584-1594) (brother of Thomas); Jan Cloribus (1585-86). (Brulez, 1959, passim). Export to Italy (20,348 lb. Vl.). Also export to Germany (5,169 lb. vl.), Amsterdam (1,399 lb. vl.), England (1,293 lb. vl.) and Spain (40 lb. vl) in 1543-1545 (Brulez, 1959, 483).	Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xliii-xlvi
Amsterdam		2 **3** 6	2 **2** 3	1 **2** 2	0 **1** 1	>1543-1545< 1585-1594 1594	Trade (1543-1545): Export of kerseys, sayes, cloth, linen, etc. 1,399 lb. vl. (Brulez, 1959, passim). Export of kerseys, sayes, cloth, linen, etc. 10-2-1543 to 22-9-1545. 1,399 lb. vl. (Brulez, 1959, 483-484). Probably export to Amsterdam in 1543-45 was already for the account of Jan Della Faille, rather than for Maarten De Hane. (Puttevils, 2007, 175). First agent: Hendrick Gillis, originally from Antwerp. From 1584 (Gelderblom, 2000, 112). Agent (1585-1594): Hendrik Gillis (1585-); Aart van Erpe (1590-1593); Joris Luickx; Anton Herinckhouck (1589-94). (Brulez, 1959, passim). Branch (partner) (1594): Jan de Wale (1594). (Brulez, 1959, passim).	Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xlv-xlvi
Augsburg		3	2	2	1	>1543-1594	Agent (Between 1541 and 1558 - 1594): Widhols (Jan, later his sons Jan Jacob and Jeronimo) (Ca. 1574-1594); Jan Walter (1585-1586). (Brulez, 1959, passim). The largest exporter of wool from Antwerp to Augsburg was Christoffel Hochstetter. Other important merchants in this trade were Anton Haug, the heirs of Lucas Rem, Conrad Rehlinger and Jan della Faille (Harreld, 2004, 152). Export of wool. 10-2-1543 to 22-9-1545 (Brulez, 1959, 484). Probably export to Germany in 1543-45 was already for the account of Jan Della Faille, rather than for Maarten De Hane. (Puttevils, 2007, 175).	Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xliii-xlvi
Aversa		3	2	2	1		Geraard Corhase, agent of the firm in Naples, sold merchandise for the Della	

							Faille at the fairs of Lanciano, Salerno, Nocera and Aversa. (Brulez, 1959, 301-303; Puttevils, 2007, 266). No agents.	
Bolzano		3	2	2	1	>1574-1578<	Sales by the Verona branch (mostly textiles) took place especially at the fairs of Bolzano (ca. 1574-1578). (Brulez, 1959, 283-285).	
Bruges		3	2	2	1	c.1574-c.1586	Agent (Ca. 1574 - ca. 1586): Jan Baptist Riebeke; Maarten Cloribus. (Brulez, 1959, passim).	Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xliii-xliv
Cologne		3	2	2	1	>1543-1594	Agent (Between 1541 and 1558 - 1594): Jan de Weert (Ca. 1574-ca. 1582); Rigo Minau (1574-1586); Hendrik Hofsleger (Ca. 1583 - 1594); for expedition: Heinrich Sop (for Jan della Faille); Nicolaas van den Broecke (for Maarten della Faille). (Brulez, 1959, passim). Pepper export. 10-2-1543 to 22-9-1545 (Brulez, 1959, 484). Probably export to Germany in 1543-45 was already for the account of Jan Della Faille, rather than for Maarten De Hane. (Puttevils, 2007, 175).	Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xliii-xlv
Emden		3	2	2	1	1585-1594	Agent (1585-1594): Samuel van Wingene (1585-1586); Gaspar Selos (1585-86). (Brulez, 1959, passim).	Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xlv-xlvi
Genoa		3	2	2	1	1590-1593	Trade (1590-1593): No agents; Frederik Libner with ship from Naples to Genoa in 1591. Sale of grain. (Brulez, 1959, passim). Important maritime trade with Genoa (ca. 1584-ca. 1594). (Brulez, 1959, 64).	Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 188
Ghent		3	2	2	1	c.1574-c.1594	Correspondent (Ca. 1574-ca. 1594): Gillio del Ponte (ca. 1574 - ca. 1582); Gillis Hebberecht (ca. 1583 - ca. 1594). Only for financial transactions, purchase of linen. (Brulez, 1959, passim).	
Haarlem		3	2	2	1	1585-1594	Joos de Vogele (1585-1594); Gaspar Losschaert (1585-1594); Margaretha Hogersteins (1585-86): Correspondents (1585-1594). Purchase of linen, sale of wool. Indirect contacts of the firm with Nicolaas David in Leiden, via Gaspar Losschaert. (Brulez, 1959, passim). Purchase of linen in Haarlem and Harlingen from the producers, esp. ca. 1589-1594. (Brulez, 1959, 248-250).	
Kortrijk		3	2	2	1	c.1574-c.1594	Correspondent (Ca. 1574-ca. 1594): Dierik de Jagere (married to a niece of Jan della Faille) (1574-78); Jacques de Wale (1589-1594). Only for financial transactions, purchase of linen. (Brulez, 1959, passim). Dierik de Jagere, correspondent in Kortrijk in 1574-1578 purchased linen in Kortrijk, Menen, Izegem and Hazebrouck for the Della Faille firm. (Brulez, 1959, 250-251).	Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 188
Lanciano		3	2	2	1	1584-1594	Geraard Corhase, agent of the firm in Naples, sold merchandise for the Della Faille at the fairs of Lanciano, Salerno, Nocera and Aversa. (Brulez, 1959, 301-303; Puttevils, 2007, 266). Lesser correspondent (1584-1594): Negrini;	

							Cornelio de Cordes (Flemish merchant). Correspondence via branch in Naples, for expedition. (Brulez, 1959, passim).	
Lille		3	2	2	1	>1558-1594	Agent (Between 1541 and 1558 - 1594): Walran Helbau (1574- + 1590); Michel Provay (1586); Lenaert van Driel (1585); Purchase of grosgrains: Rogier Claresse (1590-1594); Philips Doncker (1590-1594); Baltasar Boutens (1593-1594); Purchase of sayes: Pieter Van Wervick (1591-92); Pierre Cambier (1591-92). (Brulez, 1959, passim).	Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xliii-xlv
Middelburg		3	2	2	1	1578-1594	Agent (1578-1594): Jan Bernaerts (1578-94); Hubert Vasseur (1584-89); Aart van Erpe (1585-86); Jan Jacopsen Schot (1585-86); Salvador de la Palma (1589-94); Michiel de Foort (1589-94). (Brulez, 1959, passim).	Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xlv-xlvi
Nocera		3	2	2	1		Geraard Corhase, agent of the firm in Naples, sold merchandise for the Della Faille at the fairs of Lanciano, Salerno, Nocera and Aversa. (Brulez, 1959, 301-303; Puttevils, 2007, 266). No agents.	
Nürnberg		3	2	2	1	>1543-1594	Indirect agent (Between 1541 and 1558 - 1594): Erardo Behaim (1574-78); Jan Walter (1585-94). Indirect contacts via Widhols with Nürnberg. (Brulez, 1959, passim). Agent in Nürnberg ca. 1558-1569, 1574-1578, 1584-1594. (Brulez, 1959, 22, 36). Export of pepper, kerseys, sayes. In 1543-45, Jan della Faille exported for 3,087 £ Fl. of pepper from Antwerp to Frankfurt (largest pepper exporter to Frankfurt), and for 252 £ Fl. to Nürnberg (Harreld, 2004, 140-141). 10-2-1543 to 22-9-1545 (Brulez, 1959, 484). Probably export to Germany in 1543-45 was already for the account of Jan Della Faille, rather than for Maarten De Hane. (Puttevils, 2007, 175).	Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xliii-xlvi
Padovano		3	2	2	1		Purchase of raw silk from the producers by the branch in Verona in the Polesine, Padovano, and small part of the Veronese regions. Purchases by agents, filatori, retailers, or factors of the firm themselves. (Brulez, 1959, 292-294).	
Palma de Mallorca		3	2	2	1	c.1585-c.1594	Lesser correspondent (Ca. 1585-ca. 1594): Gabriel Ferragouti (Italian); Frederik Libner with ship from Naples to Mallorca in 1591. Purchase of oil (retour from Naples to the North); sale of grain (1590-1593). (Brulez, 1959, passim). Important maritime trade with Palma de Mallorca (ca. 1584-1594). (Brulez, 1959, 64).	Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xlv
Polesine		3	2	2	1		Purchase of raw silk from the producers by the branch in Verona in the Polesine, Padovano, and small part of the Veronese regions. Purchases by agents, filatori, retailers, or factors of the firm themselves. (Brulez, 1959,	

							292-294).	
Rouen		3	2	2	1	>1558-c.1574	Agent (Between 1541 and 1558 - ca. 1574): Agent. (Brulez, 1959, passim).	Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xliii-xliv
Salerno		3	2	2	1		Geraard Corhase, agent of the firm in Naples, sold merchandise for the Della Faille at the fairs of Lanciano, Salerno, Nocera and Aversa. (Brulez, 1959, 301-303; Puttevils, 2007, 266). No agents.	
Stade		~~6~~ *3*	~~3~~ *2*	~~2~~ *2*	~~1~~ *1*	1594	Branch (factor) (1594): Albert Cleinhans (expedition). (Brulez, 1959, passim).	
Veronese		3	2	2	1		Purchase of raw silk from the producers by the branch in Verona in the Polesine, Padovano, and small part of the Veronese regions. Purchases by agents, filatori, retailers, or factors of the firm themselves. (Brulez, 1959, 292-294).	
Alicante		2	2	1	0	<1589-1594>	Lesser correspondent (1589-1594): Marc-Antonio Muzeffi (Italian). Only one transaction. (Brulez, 1959, passim).	
Ancona		2	2	1	0	>1543-1545<, >1577<	Trade (1543-1545): 26 bales. (Brulez, 1959, passim). Trade: 26 bales. 10-2-1543 to 22-9-1545 (Brulez, 1959, 480). Probably export for Maarten de Hane for whom Jan Della Faille was a factor in this period. (Puttevils, 2007, 174-175). Exceptional sale of kerseys in Ancona in 1577 by the Venetian branch. (Brulez, 1959, 280-281).	
Bari		2	2	1	0	1584-1594	Lesser correspondent (1584-1594): Garbignati. Correspondence via branch in Naples and in Venice, for expedition. (Brulez, 1959, passim).	
Bristol		2	2	1	0		Lead was purchased by the London branch at the “Fiera di S. Bartolomeo” in Bristol. (Brulez, 1959, 271-272). Members of the London branch only rarely left London. (Brulez, 1959, 275).	
Brussels		2	2	1	0	1584-1594	Lesser correspondent (1584-1594): Christiaan van de Wiele ("procureur Raad van Brabant"). Expedition. (Brulez, 1959, passim). Friends at the court in Brussels. (Brulez, 1959, 242).	
Calais		2	2	1	0	c.1574-c.1593	Lesser correspondent (ca. 1574 - ca. 1593): Joris de Meel (ca. 1590-ca. 1593); Hans Gyse (1585-86); Hans van Ons (1574-75); Guillaume van de Wege (1574-75); Jan Petit (1586); Joris Segyn (1586). Joris de Meel bought grain for the della Faille in Calais. Went bankrupt. (Brulez, 1959, passim).	
Civitavecchia		2	2	1	0	1585-1587	Trade (1585-1587): No agents. Purchase of alum (retour from Naples to the North). (Brulez, 1959, passim). Minor maritime trade with Civitavecchia, ca. 1584-ca. 1594 (Brulez, 1959, 64).	

Danzig		2	2	1	0	1586-1594	Indirect correspondent (1586-1594): Karel Knevel, Frederik Libner with ship to Danzig (1586, 1589-1590). Contacts with Karel Knevel indirect via Maarten Entzesprenger (Hamburg). (Brulez, 1959, passim). Minor maritime trade with Danzig, ca. 1584-ca. 1594 (Brulez, 1959, 64).	
Dartmouth		2	2	1	0		Purchase of fish by the London branch in Exeter, Plymouth or Dartmouth (Brulez, 1959, 271-272).	
Dunkerque		2	2	1	0	1576-1592	Lesser correspondent (1576-1592): Adriaan Baten (1576-92); Jacques de Clerck (1586); Cornelis de Winter (1586). Expedition. (Brulez, 1959, passim).	
Exeter		2	2	1	0		Purchase of fish by the London branch in Exeter, Plymouth or Dartmouth (Brulez, 1959, 271-272).	
Ferrara		2	2	1	0	1584-1594	Lesser correspondent (1584-1594): Francesco Fiorini. Expedition. Correspondence via branch in Verona. (Brulez, 1959, passim).	
Frankfurt am Main		3 **2**	2 **2**	2 **1**	1 **0**	>1543-1545 >1574<, >1592<	Trade (1543-1545, 1574, 1592): Jan de Weert (1574); Hendrik Hofsleger (1592): correspondent in Cologne, visited the fairs of Frankfurt; for expedition: Jorien Hanscilt (for Jan della Faille). (Brulez, 1959, passim). Export of pepper and silk. In 1543-45, Jan della Faille exported for 3,087 £ Fl. of pepper from Antwerp to Frankfurt (largest pepper exporter to Frankfurt), and for 252 £ Fl. to Nürnberg (Harreld, 2004, 140-141). 10-2-1543 to 22-9-1545 (Brulez, 1959, 484). Probably export to Germany in 1543-45 was already for the account of Jan Della Faille, rather than for Maarten De Hane. (Puttevils, 2007, 175).	
Gemona del Friuli		2	2	1	0	1584-1594	Indirect correspondent (1584-1594): Bulfard Gropler; exceptionally also Franco Isnardis or Hans Remffen. Expedition. Indirect correspondence via Augsburg, also with branch in Venice. (Brulez, 1959, passim).	
Harlingen		2	2	1	0	>1589-1594<	Purchase of linen in Haarlem and Harlingen from the producers. (Brulez, 1959, 248-250).	
Hazebrouck		2	2	1	0	>1574-1578<	Dierik de Jagere, correspondent in Kortrijk in 1574-1578 purchased linen in Kortrijk, Menen, Izegem and Hazebrouck for the Della Faille firm. (Brulez, 1959, 250-251).	
Ieper		2	2	1	0	1576	Lesser correspondent (1576): Joos Basellen (1576), Pieter van Tuynen (1576). Expedition. (Brulez, 1959, passim).	
Innsbruck		2	2	1	0	1585-1594	Indirect correspondent (Before 1582-1594): Augustin Frelickx (1585-94), also for Jan della Faille. Only indirect contact via Widhols (Augsburg), also with branch in Verona, expedition. (Brulez, 1959, passim).	

Izegem		2	2	1	0	>1574-1578<	Dierik de Jagere, correspondent in Kortrijk in 1574-1578 purchased linen in Kortrijk, Menen, Izegem and Hazebrouck for the Della Faille firm. (Brulez, 1959, 250-251).	
Leiden		2	2	1	0	1585-1594	Indirect contacts of the firm with Nicolaas David in Leiden, via Gaspar Losschaert in Haarlem. (Brulez, 1959, passim). Indirect correspondent (1585-1594): Nicolaas David (1585-1594). Only indirect contacts via Gaspar Losschaert (Haarlem). (Brulez, 1959, passim).	
Livorno		2	2	1	0	1584-1594	No agents. Trade 1584-1594 (Brulez, 1959, passim). Minor maritime trade with Livorno, ca. 1584-ca. 1594 (Brulez, 1959, 64).	
Lüneburg		2	2	1	0	>1582-1594	Indirect correspondent (Before 1582-1594): Hans van Collen or van Ceulen (1585-86) (also for Jan della Faille); Jochim Jordaens (1589-94); expedition for Maarten della Faille: Daniel van Kollen; Herman Kuleman. Only indirect contacts via Maarten Entzesprenger (Hamburg). (Brulez, 1959, passim).	
Mainz		2	2	1	0	>1582-1594	Hans Ferer (for Jan della Faille); Jeronimo Cesta (1589-94): Lesser correspondents, used for expedition. (before 1582-1594) (Brulez, 1959, passim).	
Menen		2	2	1	0	>1574-1578<	Dierik de Jagere, correspondent in Kortrijk in 1574-1578 purchased linen in Kortrijk, Menen, Izegem and Hazebrouck for the Della Faille firm. (Brulez, 1959, 250-251).	
Namur		2	2	1	0	1561	Lesser correspondent (1561): Egemont Upenghieter (1561). Expedition. (Brulez, 1959, passim).	
Palermo		2	2	1	0	1584-1594	Joan Angelis: Lesser correspondent 1584-1594 (Brulez, 1959, passim). Minor maritime trade with Palermo, ca. 1584-ca. 1594 (Brulez, 1959, 64).	
Pesaro		2	2	1	0	1584-1594	Lesser correspondent (1584-1594): Giovanni Pauletti (Flemish merchant). Expedition. Correspondence via branch in Verona. (Brulez, 1959, passim).	
Plymouth		2	2	1	0	<1585-1586>	Exceptional correspondence (1585-1586): Jan Wigges. Exceptional contacts. (Brulez, 1959, passim). Purchase of fish by the London branch in Exeter, Plymouth or Dartmouth (Brulez, 1959, 271-272).	
Portogruaro		2	2	1	0	1584-1594	Indirect correspondent (1584-1594): Nicolo Romigay. Expedition. Indirect correspondence via Augsburg, also with branch in Venice. (Brulez, 1959, passim).	
Salzburg		2	2	1	0	1586-1594	Indirect correspondent (1586-1594): Wolf Paurenfriendt (1586-94). Only indirect contact via Widhols (Augsburg), expedition. (Brulez, 1959, passim).	
Valenciennes		2	2	1	0	1586-1592	Lesser correspondent (1586-1592): Simon Le Sas (1586); Pierre Le Mesureur (1591-92). Purchase of linen of Cambrai. (Brulez, 1959, passim).	

Arnemuiden		1	1	1	0	>1543-1545<	Export to Spain in 1543-45 via Arnemuiden. (Puttevils, 2007, 175). Export to Italy (20,348 lb. Vl.). Also export to Germany (5,169 lb. vl.), Amsterdam (1,399 lb. vl.), England (1,293 lb. vl.) and Spain (40 lb. vl) in 1543-1545 (Brulez, 1959, 483). Probably export to Spain in 1543-45 was already for the account of Jan Della Faille, rather than for Maarten De Hane. (Puttevils, 2007, 175).	
Bologna		1	1	1	0		In 1585, Jan de Wale, branch manager in Venice, is ordered to look for contacts in Bologna, Milan and Rome for the sale of linen. This was not carried out however. (Brulez, 1959, 282).	
Cádiz		1	1	1	0	<c.1585-c.1594>	Exceptional correspondence (Ca.1585- ca. 1594): Lorenzo Simay; Andries Cortoys. Exceptional contacts. (Brulez, 1959, passim).	
Milan		1	1	1	0		In 1585, Jan de Wale, branch manager in Venice, is ordered to look for contacts in Bologna, Milan and Rome for the sale of linen. This was not carried out however. (Brulez, 1959, 282).	
Rome		1	1	1	0		In 1585, Jan de Wale, branch manager in Venice, is ordered to look for contacts in Bologna, Milan and Rome for the sale of linen. This was not carried out however. (Brulez, 1959, 282).	
San Lúcar		1	1	1	0	<c.1585-c.1594>	Exceptional correspondence (Ca.1585- ca. 1594): Jan Heinsen; Laurens Adriansen. Exceptional contacts. (Brulez, 1959, passim).	

2. JACOB DELLA FAILLE THE ELDER, 1566 – 1597 (not used network)

Jacob della Faille the elder (+1597). (Brulez, 1959, 27-28). Brother of Jan della Faille, member of the Della Faille company until 1566, factor of Maarten De Hane. (Brulez, 1959, 27-28).

Size: ?

Main activities:

- Commerce: Trade in kerseys, English cloth, and linen with Venice. Import of silk from Verona, sold in Antwerp and London. Trade in knives, textiles, etc. with the Iberian Peninsula. Import of sugar, wine, indigo, soap, etc. from the Iberian Peninsula. (Brulez, 1959, 27-28).
- Finance:
- Industry:

Network of Jacob Della Faille the elder:

Trade with England, Italy, Iberia. (Brulez, 1959, 27-28).

Table A..2. Network of Jacob Della Faille the elder, ca. 1597								
City	**R**	**Score**				**Period**	**Type of presence**	**References**
Antwerp		8	4	3	1	c.1566-1597	Headquarters. Jacob della Faille the elder. Ca. 1566 (1570)-1597 (Brulez, 1959, 27-28).	
Lisbon		6	3	2	1	>1570-1597	Branch: Pauwel de Ruyter (until 1597), before Guilliam Pauwels and Symon de Cordes, also Otto Vogel. Ca. 1566 (1570)-1597 (Brulez, 1959, 27-28). In 1570 Jacob the elder obtained the Lisbon and London branches of the old company with his brother Jan. (Brulez, 1959, 26).	
London		6	3	2	1	>1570-1597	Branch: Pieter Samyn (until 1597). Ca. 1566 (1570)-1597 (Brulez, 1959, 27-28). In 1570 Jacob the elder obtained the Lisbon and London branches of the old company with his brother Jan. (Brulez, 1959, 26).	
Sevilla		6	3	2	1	>1570-1597	Branch: Hendrik Hoons (until 1597), assisted by Hans Lhermite and Hans della Faille. Ca. 1566 (1570)-1597 (Brulez, 1959, 27-28).	
Venice		6	3	2	1	>1570-1597	Branch: Anton van Neste (1577-1597). Also Hendrik van Eede, and later Jan de Cordes and Jacques de Castere. Ca. 1566 (1570)-1597 (Brulez, 1959, 27-28).	
Amsterdam		3	2	2	1	until 1597	Agent: Melchior van Eindhoven. After 1566-1597 (Brulez, 1959, 27-28).	
Canary Islands		3	2	2	1	until 1597	Agent on Gran Canaria; Cornelis Manacker (Flemish merchant) (until 1597). After 1566-1597 (Brulez, 1959, 27-28).	
Cologne		3	2	2	1	until 1597	Agent: Nicolaes de Groote (until 1597). After 1566-1597 (Brulez, 1959, 27-28).	
Dordrecht		3	2	2	1	until 1597	Agent: Hans Gameel. After 1566-1597 (Brulez, 1959, 27-28).	
Hamburg		3	2	2	1	until 1597	Agent: Andries Baston, later Hans Berwins (a cousin) (until 1597). After 1566-1597 (Brulez, 1959, 27-28).	
Lille		3	2	2	1	until 1597	Agent: Michiel Provay. After 1566-1597 (Brulez, 1959, 27-28).	
Middelburg		3	2	2	1	until 1597	Agent: Wouter van der Poort. After 1566-1597 (Brulez, 1959, 27-28).	
Palma de Mallorca		3	2	2	1	until 1597	Agent: Francisco Adriaensen (Flemish merchant) (until 1597). After 1566-1597 (Brulez, 1959, 27-28).	
Verona		3	2	2	1	until 1597	Agent: Augustin Bellagio (until 1597). After 1566-1597 (Brulez, 1959, 27-	

							28).	

3. JACOB DELLA FAILLE THE YOUNGER, 1583 – (not used network)

Jacob della Faille the younger, son of Jan della Faille, brother of Maarten della Faille. (Brulez, 1959, 63-65). Several plans existed for establishing a partnership between Jacob della Faille and the Van der Meulen. These plans were never carried out however, since Andries van der Meulen was not in favour of such a partnership. Jacob della Faille the younger went bankrupt in the end. His business activities were relatively risky. Jacob della Faille the younger died in Antwerp in 1615. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xlvii).

Size:

Main activities:

- Commerce:
- Finance:
- Industry:

Network of Jacob Della Faille the younger:

Emigrates to the Northern Netherlands, trade with Levant and Barbary. (Brulez, 1959, 63-65).

Table A..3. Network of Jacob Della Faille the younger

City	Score			Period	Type of presence	References
Haarlem					Since 1584, Jacob della Faille was established in Haarlem. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xlvii).	
London					Wouter Aertsen. Spied for Jacob della Faille at Maarten's branch in London. Ca. 1584. (Brulez, 1959, 127). In 1584, Jacob della Faille sent a ship from London to Venice. A new ship (Den Swerten Ruyter) was sent to Italy by Jacob in 1589. Daniel van der Meulen and several other merchants in Holland were involved in this latter venture. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xlvii-xlviii).	
Venice					In 1584, Jacob della Faille sent a ship from London to Venice. A new ship (Den Swerten Ruyter) was sent to Italy by Jacob in 1589. Daniel van der Meulen and several other merchants in Holland were involved in this latter venture.	

					(Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xlvii-xlviii).	

NICOLAS DE GROOTE, before 1584 – after 1620

Nicolas de Groote of Antwerp appears to have been the richest of the south Netherlanders in Cologne at the end of the 16th c. He settled in Cologne in 1584. He dealt in cloth and spices, the latter bought for him by agents in Lisbon and Venice. He settled permanently in Cologne, which was exceptional. His widow and then his sons carried on his business and his descendants played a notable part in the affairs of the city (Dollinger, 1970, 355). His son Balthasar de Groote returned to Antwerp in the 17th c., and headed the largest Antwerp firm of that time, and one of the largest of Europe (Brulez, 1960, 292). Nikolaus de Groote went from Antwerp to Cologne in 1584. Large trade with Portugal and Spain via the North Sea harbours (Kellenbenz, 1954, 205). The family De Groote came originally from Ghent. Nicolas was the son of an alderman of Ieper. He established himself in Antwerp as a merchant, but moved to Cologne in 1584. (Thimme, 1912, 456). From 1614, the business of Nicolas de Groote was continued by his widow, Maria de Bruseghem, from an Antwerp family. She continued the business without partners. (Thimme, 1912, 457). Nicolas de Groote operated as an individual merchant, not in partnership with others. This was rather exceptional in Cologne in this period. (Thimme, 1912, 457). Ca. 1620, the business was taken over by the sons of Nicolas de Groote, Heinrich and Jakob. They were especially active in the trade with Spain. (Thimme, 1912, 457).

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Thimme, H., 1912. “Der Handel Kölns am Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts und die internationale Zusammensetzung der Kölner Kaufmannschaft”. *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst*, 31 (4), 456-457.

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Klug, C., 1988. *Die Familie von Groote - über mehrere Jahrhunderte in Köln angesehen und einflußreich.* Hürth.

Trippen, P. P. *Die Familie von Groote.*

Source material:

Several documents concerning Nicolas de Groote have been preserved in the town archives of Cologne. (Thimme, 1912, 456-457). A document of 1602 has been preserved, in which Nicolas de Groote gives a list of his factors. This list gives a good indication of the business connections of De Groote beyond Germany. (Thimme, 1912, 456).

Size: Medium-sized or large

Nicolas de Groote of Antwerp appears to have been the richest of the south Netherlanders in Cologne at the end of the 16th c. (Dollinger, 1970, 355).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Nicolas de Groote dealt in cloth and spices. (Dollinger, 1970, 355). Export of Flemish cloth. Trade in spices. (Thimme, 1912, 456). Trade in medicines and cotton. (Thimme, 1912, 457).
- Finance:
- Industry:

Network of Nicolas de Groote:

Large trade with Portugal and Spain via the North Sea harbours (Kellenbenz, 1954, 205). Trade with Spain. (Thimme, 1912, 456).

Table A..1. Network of Nicolas de Groote, 1584 – 1614 (esp. 1602)

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Cologne		8	4	3	1	1584-1620<	Nicolas de Groote settled in Cologne in 1584. He settled permanently in Cologne, which was exceptional. His widow and then his sons carried on his business and his descendants played a notable part in the affairs of the city. (Dollinger, 1970, 355; Kellenbenz, 1954, 205; Thimme, 1912, 456). Nicolas de Groote of Antwerp established himself in Cologne in 1584, where he settled permanently. His business was later taken over by his widow and then by his sons (Dollinger, 1970, 355). Nikolaus de Groote, moved in 1584 from Antwerp to Cologne. (Kellenbenz, 1954, 204).	
Calais		3	2	2	1	>1602<	Factor in Calais in 1602 was Veit Eikhout. (Thimme, 1912, 456). Nicolas de Groote had agents in London, Emden, Hamburg, Calais, Lisbon, Seville, and Venice (Brulez, 1960, 292). Correspondent in Calais: Veit Eikhout (Kellenbenz, 1954, 205).	

Emden		3	2	2	1	>1600-1602<	Factors in Emden in 1602 were Peter Hain and Jakob de Fraye. (Thimme, 1912, 456). Shipment of 10 bales of bombasin via Bremen to Emden in 1600. (Thimme, 1912, 457). Nicolas de Groote had agents in London, Emden, Hamburg, Calais, Lisbon, Seville, and Venice (Brulez, 1960, 292). Correspondent in Emden: Peter Hain and Jacob de Fraye (Kellenbenz, 1954, 205).	
Hamburg		3	2	2	1	>1602<	Factor in Hamburg in 1602 was Arnold de Haesdunk. (Thimme, 1912, 456). Nicolas de Groote had agents in London, Emden, Hamburg, Calais, Lisbon, Seville, and Venice (Brulez, 1960, 292). Correspondent in Hamburg: Arnold van Haesdonck (Kellenbenz, 1954, 204).	
High Germany		3	2	2	1		In Germany especially trade with Upper Germany. (Thimme, 1912, 457). A preserved list with business connections of De Groote only mentions his connections outside of Germany. (Thimme, 1912, 456).	
Liège		3	2	2	1		Considerable export of cotton and medicines to Liège and Flanders. (Thimme, 1912, 457).	
Lisbon		3	2	2	1	>1588-1602<	Nicolas de Groote dealt in spices bought for him by agents in Lisbon and Venice. (Dollinger, 1970, 355). Factor in Lisbon was Johannes Vehl. He exported spices for Nicolas de Groote (e.g. probably to Venice in 1588). (Thimme, 1912, 456). Factor in Lisbon in 1602 was Johannes Vehl. (Thimme, 1912, 456). Spices were bought for de Groote by agents in Venice and Lisbon (Dollinger, 1970, 355). Nicolas de Groote had agents in London, Emden, Hamburg, Calais, Lisbon, Seville, and Venice (Brulez, 1960, 292). Correspondent in Lisbon: Johannes Vehl or Vel (Kellenbenz, 1954, 205, 291).	
London		3	2	2	1	>1602<	Factor in London in 1602 was Cyprian Gabri. Goods of De Groote were confiscated in England ca. 1602. An attorney was given to Cyprian Gabri to take care of the recovery of these goods. (Thimme, 1912, 456). Nicolas de Groote had agents in London, Emden, Hamburg, Calais, Lisbon, Seville, and Venice (Brulez, 1960, 292). Correspondent in London: Cyprian Gabri (Kellenbenz, 1954, 205).	
Sevilla		3	2	2	1	>1602<	Factor in Sevilla in 1602 was Hieronymus Jansson. (Thimme, 1912, 456). Nicolas de Groote had agents in London, Emden, Hamburg, Calais, Lisbon, Seville, and Venice (Brulez, 1960, 292). Correspondent in Sevilla: Hieronymus Jansen (Kellenbenz, 1954, 204-205).	
Venice		3	2	2	1	>1588<	Nicolas de Groote dealt in spices bought for him by agents in Lisbon and	

							Venice. (Dollinger, 1970, 355). Export of Flemish cloth to Venice. Factor of De Groote in Venice was Karl Gabri. Gabri stored his wares in the Fondaco dei Tedeschi in Venice. Nikolas de Groote had 36 bales of spices (total weight of 10,845 lb.) stored in Venice in 1588. (Thimme, 1912, 456). Spices were bought for de Groote by agents in Venice and Lisbon (Dollinger, 1970, 355). Nicolas de Groote had agents in London, Emden, Hamburg, Calais, Lisbon, Seville, and Venice (Brulez, 1960, 292). Correspondent in Venice: Karl Gabri (Kellenbenz, 1954, 205).	
Antwerp		2	2	1	0	before 1584	Nicolas de Groote was a merchant in Antwerp before 1584. In 1584, he moved to Cologne. (Thimme, 1912, 457). Considerable export of cotton and medicines to Liège and Flanders. (Thimme, 1912, 457).	
Zürich		2	2	1	0		Cinnamon trade with Conrad Rutlinger in Zürich. (Thimme, 1912, 457 n. 184).	
Amsterdam		1	1	1	0	1602	In 1602, 2,614 pieces of Brazilian Pernambuko wood (weight of 35,817 lb.) arrived in Amsterdam, and were requisitioned by a Diener of De Groote in Emmerich. (Thimme, 1912, 457).	
Bremen		1	1	1	0	1600	Shipment of 10 bales of bombasin via Bremen to Emden in 1600. (Thimme, 1912, 457).	
Emmerich		1	1	1	0	1602	In 1602, 2,614 pieces of Brazilian Pernambuko wood (weight of 35,817 lb.) arrived in Amsterdam, and were requisitioned by a Diener of De Groote in Emmerich. (Thimme, 1912, 457).	

+ Not much is known about the connections of Nicolas de Groote in Germany. As such, the network is biased. (Thimme, 1912, 456).
+ Thimme (1912, 456) describes the representatives of Nicolas de Groote abroad as factors, Brulez (1960) and Kellenbenz (1954) speak more generally about agents or correspondents however. I have followed the latter authors (score 3-2-2-1).

JAN VAN IMMERSEEL, ca. 1576 – 1639

The Van Immerseel of Antwerp belonged to an old patrician family, which however had lost most of its influence by 1550. A Willem van Immerseel had a modest cloth trading business in Antwerp around the middle of the 16th century (Stols, 1971, 196-197). Jan the elder (born 1550), one of the sons of Willem, built up his own firm in Antwerp (after 1574??-before 1584??) (Stols, 1971, 198). In 1611, Jan the elder became too old to manage the business. He suffered from gout. From then on, he included his son Crisostomo in the management of the firm, which became known as "Jehan et Crysostome van Immerseele" (Stols, 1971, 206). Soon Crisostomo became the only manager of the Van Immerseel firm (officially since 1611). Jan the elder died in 1612 (Stols, 1971, 207). In 1611, Guillermo, another son of Jan the elder, established his own firm in Sevilla (Stols, 1971, 211). In 1618, he got in difficulties and returned to the Low Countries. Bankruptcy of his firm in 1618. After this, he retired from business and became active in the Spanish court in Brussels (Stols, 1971, 217-219). Guillermo died in 1632 (Stols, 1971, 223). The business activities of Crisostomo had diminished largely in the 1630s and 1640s (Stols, 1971, 225). In 1639, Crisostomo was imprisoned in Sevilla for his debts (Stols, 1971, 225-226). Because of his nobility he was not declared bankrupt, but nevertheless he retired from business in 1639 (Stols, 1971, 226). Crisostomo died in 1652 (Stols, 1971, 227). Born in 1550, died in 1612. (Mees, 1984, 545, 550). Ca. 1576, Jan van Immerseel continued the cloth and madder trade of his father Willem van Immerseel (1509-1583). (Mees, 1984, 545).

Headquarters in Antwerp. Frequent correspondence with Spain, Holland, Hamburg. No foreign branches; trade through participation and commission. Frequent use of bills of exchange. Profit: 939 lb. fl. / year between 1588 and 1604. (Brulez, 1959, 356-358). Jan van Immerseele managed to expand his textile and madder dye business and build up an international network of commercial contacts after the fall of Antwerp and the closure of the Scheldt in 1585 (Van der Laan, 1988, 317-318). Son of his first marriage (with Suzanna Boutry) was Jan the younger. (Mees, 1984, 548). Sons of the second marriage (with Agneete Fasse) were Chrysostomos, Adriaen, Guillaume, Vincent, Gaspar, and Balthazar. (Mees, 1984, 549).

References:

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I did not consult:

Stols E., volume 2: appendices: probably a list of correspondence of Van Immerseel!!!!

Source material:

Business correspondence and a family chronicle of the Van Immerseel have been preserved in the archives of the "Insolvente Boedelkamer" in the Town Archives of Antwerp (Stols, 1971, 197). Source material has especially been preserved for the period 1585-1607. Town Archives Antwerp, Insolvente Boedelskamer. (Brulez, 1959, 356-358).

Size: Medium-sized

Jan van Immerseel probably belonged among the largest Antwerp merchants of the end of the 16th century. No accounts have been preserved to control this however (Stols, 1971, 202). Medium sized merchant. (Mees, 1984, 545).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Jan van Immerseel began a business in madder from Zeeland (Stols, 1971, 199). After 1586, he diversified and enlarged his business (Stols, 1971, 201). Van Immerseel began to trade in linen from Rouen, grain, metal wares from Nürnberg, etc. Colonial goods were purchased in Sevilla (Stols, 1971, 201-202). By the 1620s, the firm of Crisostomo van Immerseel had become specialised in trade in textiles with Spain (Stols, 1971, 221). Also trade in artworks in the 1620s and 1630s (Stols, 1971, 221, 225). Especially trade with Spain: linen from Rouen to Sevilla; cochenille, ginger, oil from Sevilla to Middelburg. Trade in grain. (Brulez, 1959, 356-358). Jan van Immerseele managed to expand his textile and madder dye business. (Van der Laan, 1988, 317-318). Important madder trade. (Mees, 1984, 545). Trade in linen, woollens and other textiles, Baltic grain, metal wares, dyes (cohenille, indigo, brazilwood), alum, hides, oil, spices (ginger), wine and fruits. (Mees, 1984, 546).
- Finance: Use of bills of exchange (Stols, 1971, 207). Frequent use of bills of exchange. (Brulez, 1959, 356-358). Crisostomo and Guillermo van Immerseel became active as maritime insurers together with Engelbert Borrekens in Antwerp and Sevilla (Stols, 1971, 214).
- Industry:

Network of the Van Immerseel:

Several of the nephews of Jan van Immerseel the elder played an important role as correspondents in his business network (Stols, 1971, 198). The representatives of Jan van Immerseel the elder worked for him on a commission basis (Stols, 1971, 202). Jan the elder had no partners in his business (Stols, 1971, 202). Several of the sons of Jan van Immerseel represented the firm of their father as commission merchants abroad (Stols, 1971, 202-206).

No branches, only use of commission and participation. (Brulez, 1959, 356-358). Headquarters in Antwerp. Frequent correspondence with Spain, Holland, Hamburg. No foreign branches; trade through participation and commission. (Brulez, 1959, 356-358). Jan van Immerseele managed to build up an international network of commercial contacts after the fall of Antwerp and the closure of the Scheldt in 1585 (Van der Laan, 1988, 317-318). Trade along the axis from North and Central Europe to Spain. (Mees, 1984, 546). A system of permanent but loose representation abroad: many friends, business relations and relatives abroad, who corresponded regularly with Jan the elder. (Mees, 1984, 546). Several correspondents participated in the profits of specific ventures, to reduce the risks. In many other occasions, they only traded in commission for Jan van Immerseel. Through his commissionaries, he came in contact with new business relations. (Mees, 1984, 546). Most of the correspondents and commissionaries of Jan van Immerseel were merchants of a similar size as Van Immerseel. Van Immerseel himself also carried out commission trade for his correspondents. (Mees, 1984, 546). Jan van Immerseel the elder had ca. 120 correspondents. (Mees, 1984, 547). The number of family members working for the firm (as commissionaries) was rather limited: in total three nephews or cousins, two brothers-in-law, and at some point three sons worked for Jan the elder. (Mees, 1984, 547).

Table A..1. Network of Jan Van Immerseel, ca. 1576 – 1612

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Antwerp		8	4	3	1	c.1576-1621	Headquarters of the Van Immerseel firm. Jan the elder lived in the Wolstraat in Antwerp (Stols, 1971, 199). In 1584-1586, Jan the elder travelled regularly between Antwerp and Zeeland. He married to Agnes Fasse, his second wife, in Middelburg in 1585. In 1586, Jan van Immerseele again was established permanently in Antwerp (Stols, 1971, 200). In Antwerp, Jan the elder was assisted by two or three apprentices and servants. In his absence from Antwerp, he was represented by Nicolas le Cat, an independent merchant (Stols, 1971, 202). After his apprenticeship, Gaspar van Immerseel worked in the firm of his brother Crisostomo in Antwerp (Stols, 1971, 209). In 1621, Crisostomo removed his headquarters from Antwerp to Sevilla (Stols, 1971, 221). The management of his property and the limited purchases for the firm of Crisostomo in Antwerp came in hands of Francisco Pérez (Stols, 1971, 221). After 1621 regular correspondence of Crisostomo with Jacques de Letter in Antwerp (Stols, 1971, 222). In 1627, business trip of Crisostomo to Antwerp (Stols, 1971, 222). Jan van Immerseele. Headquarters. (Brulez, 1959, 356-357). Associates of Jan the elder in Antwerp for the madder trade were Jacques Andries and	

							Chrysostomos Scholliers. Connections with dyers in Antwerp, such as Jan de Reyer and Jan de Maeyer. Jan van Immerseel was secretary of the company with Andries and Scholliers. (Mees, 1984, 545). Headquarters. (Mees, 1984, 546). Until 1595, Jan van Immerseele rented a house in Antwerp. In 1595, he purchased a house in the Keyzerstraat. (Mees, 1984, 549).	
Sevilla		4	2	2	1	>1603-1639<	Jan the elder had contacts with the Blommaert family in Amsterdam and Sevilla (Stols, 1971, 199). Contacts of Jan van Immerseel with the Rocha, Rademacher and Labermeyer families in Hamburg, Cologne, Sevilla and Italy via Barbara Gerardi (Stols, 1971, 199). Correspondents of Jan the elder in Sevilla were originally French representatives of Rouen families: Jehan de Cahagnes, Jacques Soning (in Sevilla between 1580 and 1609), Pierre Soning (d. 1616), Jacques Deshomets the younger, Jacques Behote (letter of 1605), and Miguel Damiens (letter of 1604) (Stols, 1971, 201). Later also use of correspondents who came from the southern Low Countries in Sevilla: Andres Plamont, Francisco de Smidt, Elias Sirman (Stols, 1971, 201-202). In 1603, Jan the younger went to Sevilla as an apprentice in the firm of Francisco de Smidt (Stols, 1971, 203). Already ca. 1603, Jan the younger carried out some business for his father in Sevilla. Already in 1604, he returned to Antwerp (Stols, 1971, 203). Crisostomo van Immerseel was in Sevilla from 1606 to 1611. He worked under Cristobal de Noviller until 1609, and from then resided in the house of Francisco de Smidt and others. Later he rented a house together with his relative Juan Valck (Stols, 1971, 204). Crisostomo also operated as a commission merchant for his father in Sevilla (Stols, 1971, 205). Crisostomo managed to establish his own business in Sevilla, trading in commission and for his own account (Stols, 1971, 205-206). After the return of Crisostomo to Antwerp in 1611, he and his father were represented in Sevilla by the Antwerp merchant Thomas de Letter. Thomas' brother Jacques was married with Françoise van Immerseel, a daughter of Jan the elder. Many complaints about Thomas de Letter. As a result, Jan the elder sent Guillermo, another son of his second marriage, to Sevilla in 1611 (Stols, 1971, 206). Baltasar van Immerseel went to Sevilla where he worked for Pedro Soning and later for his brother Guillermo van Immerseel (Stols, 1971, 210). Guillermo van Immerseel arrived in Sevilla in 1611, where he worked loosely together with Thomas de Letter, while at the	

							same time carrying out his own trade, among other things as commission merchant for his father and brother Crisostomo (Stols, 1971, 211). In 1612, Thomas de Letter returned to the Low Countries. Guillermo from then resided in the house of the Flemish merchant Guillen Clou, but both traded mostly independently from each other (Stols, 1971, 211-212). Later, Guillermo rented his own house, where later also an apprentice Nicolas Hertman, and Guillermo's brother Baltasar resided (Stols, 1971, 212). Guillermo was the correspondent of the Van Immerseel firm in Sevilla (on commission) and also traded for his own account (Stols, 1971, 212). Other correspondents of Crisostomo van Immerseel in Sevilla after his return to Antwerp were Pedro and Francisco Soning, Domingo Sanches Chaparro and Nicolas le Vigneron (Stols, 1971, 212). After the death of Jan the elder, the business relations between Crisostomo in Antwerp and Guillermo in Sevilla became less strong (Stols, 1971, 212-214). After a difficult start, Guillermo's firm in Sevilla became increasingly considerable (Stols, 1971, 216). Correspondent of Crisostomo in Sevilla in 1618 was Francisco Soning (Stols, 1971, 217). In 1618, Guillermo and Baltasar fled from Sevilla for their debts. Bankruptcy of Guillermo van Immerseel (Stols, 1971, 217). The firms of Crisostomo and Guillermo were independent firms (Stols, 1971, 220). In 1621, Crisostomo removed his headquarters from Antwerp to Sevilla (Stols, 1971, 221). In 1639, Crisostomo had debts in Sevilla to Diego Cocques and Levino Cornelio (Stols, 1971, 226). Trade in linen from Rouen to Sevilla; cochenille, ginger, oil from Sevilla to Middelburg. (Brulez, 1959, 356-358). Commission and participation trade. Van Immerseele had agents in Seville and Lisbon (Brulez, 1960, 297). Correspondent of Van Immerseel in Seville in 1610 was the Flemish merchant Elias Sirmans (Gentil da Silva, 1956, 5 n. 23). Commission: Andres Plamont; Francisco de Aguilar de la Molina; Jean de Cahaignes; C. Pamier; Participation: Michel d'Amiens; Jean de Cahaignes. Agent. (Brulez, 1959, 356-357). One of the sons of Van Immerseel worked in Sevilla for his own account as well as for his father. (Mees, 1984, 547). Francesco de Smidt, cousin of Jan the elder, was one of the earliest business connections of Van Immerseele in Sevilla. (Mees, 1984, 548). In 1606, Chrysostomos worked for Francesco De Smidt in Sevilla. In	

							the same year, he became for a short time a partner of his father Jan the elder. At the same time, Chrysostomos had his own business in Sevilla. In 1609, he returned to Antwerp to assist his ill father. (Mees, 1984, 549).	
Amsterdam		3	2	2	1	>1584-1621<	Jan the elder had contacts with Jan Boutry, a relative of his first wife, in Cologne, Nürnberg and Amsterdam (Stols, 1971, 199). Jan the elder had contacts with Hubert Brentens, son-in-law of Peter van Leyen, in Amsterdam (letter of 1601) and Middelburg (Stols, 1971, 199). Jan the elder had contacts with the Blommaert family in Amsterdam and Sevilla (Stols, 1971, 199). Contacts of Jan the elder with the Poulle family, members of which were established in Amsterdam, Utrecht, Middelburg and Rouen (Stols, 1971, 199). Contacts with Pierre Poulle in Amsterdam in 1584 (Stols, 1971, 200). Jan the elder's wife Suzanna Boutry fled to Amsterdam in 1584 with the children. She stayed in the house of the mother of Pierre Poulle, and died there in September 1584 (Stols, 1971, 200). Crisostomo had as correspondent in Amsterdam Hendrik Wijnen in 1618 and 1620 (Stols, 1971, 217, 219, 220). After 1621, some purchases in Amsterdam and Lille, but mostly in Rouen (Stols, 1971, 221). In 1592, Pierre Poulle represented Jan van Immerseel in a lawsuit in Amsterdam (Stols, 1971, 269). Guillaume van Aelst in Amsterdam was a correspondent of Guillermo van Immerseel in Sevilla ca. 1616 (Stols, 1971, 272 n. 125). Exceptional participation trade for grain trade from Danzig to Lisbon or Rouen. Poulle brothers of Amsterdam were partners of Van Immerseele in Danzig grain trade. Van Immerseele's wife, Susanne Boutry, member of a Lille mercantile family, died at the Poulle's house in Amsterdam in August 1584 (Van der Laan, 1988, 318). Correspondents in Amsterdam: Pieter and Germain Poulle (Brulez, 1960, 297). Participation: Pieter and Germain Poulle. Exceptional correspondent. (Brulez, 1959, 356-357). Temporary partnership with the Poulle brothers of Amsterdam in 1595-1611. The Poulle imported grain from Danzig. (Mees, 1984, 546-547). Suzanna, first wife of Jan the elder, fled to Amsterdam in 1584, together with her son Jan the younger. She stayed at the house of the Poulle brothers, where she died. (Mees, 1984, 548-549).	
Cologne		3	2	2	1	>1609<	Pablo van Immerseel, brother of Jan the elder, was a commission merchant in Cologne (Stols, 1971, 197). Jan the elder had contacts with Jan Boutry, a	

							relative of his first wife, in Cologne, Nürnberg and Amsterdam (Stols, 1971, 199). Jan the elder had contacts with the Tacquet family in Lille and Cologne (Stols, 1971, 199). Jan the elder had contacts with the Glaser family in Cologne (e.g. letter in 1609) (Stols, 1971, 199, 326 n. 277). Contacts of Jan van Immerseel with the Rocha, Rademacher and Labermeyer families in Hamburg, Cologne, Sevilla and Italy via Barbara Gerardi (Stols, 1971, 199). Jan the younger, son of Jan the elder, lived in the house of his uncle Pablo in Cologne, after the death of his mother Suzanna Boutry in 1584 (Stols, 1971, 200). Jan the younger lived during his early childhood in Cologne, in the houses of Pablo van Immerseel and Andreas Rademacher (Stols, 1971, 203). Gaspar, son of Jan the elder, became apprentice of Andreas Rademacher in Cologne in the early 17th c. (Stols, 1971, 209). Jacques Fasse, a cloth merchant from Lille who had settled in Cologne, was a relation of Van Immerseele (Van der Laan, 1988, 327). Jan the younger was raised by his grandmother in Cologne. (Mees, 1984, 549). Several of the sons of Jan the elder did their apprenticeship in Rouen or Cologne. (Mees, 1984, 550).	
Hamburg		3	2	2	1		Jan the elder had contacts with Isaac van Leyen, son of Peter, in Hamburg and even in Archangelsk (Stols, 1971, 199). Contacts of Jan van Immerseel with the Rocha, Rademacher and Labermeyer families in Hamburg, Cologne, Sevilla and Italy via Barbara Gerardi (Stols, 1971, 199). Still correspondents in Hamburg in 1611 (Stols, 1971, 206 n. 67). In 1639, Crisostomo had debts to Matheo Bode in Hamburg (Stols, 1971, 226). Correspondent of Crisostomo van Immerseel in Hamburg in 1617 was Jacques van Os (Stols, 1971, 344). Commission and participation trade. Commission: Carel Walraven; Participation: Hans de Velaer. Agent. (Brulez, 1959, 356-357).	
Lille		3	2	2	1	>1574-1585<	Jan the elder had contacts with Robert Boutry, a relative of his first wife, in Lille (Stols, 1971, 199). Jan the elder had contacts with the Tacquet family in Lille and Cologne (Stols, 1971, 199). Via his second wife, Agnes Fasse, Jan the elder established relations with the business world of Lille: the families Fasse, de Lobel, Castellain, Blondel, etc. The firms of these families had remained in Lille, and traded in wool and American dyestuffs from	

							Spain, which were exchanged for Flemish textiles (Stols, 1971, 201). In 1615, Crisostomo still had business relations in Lille (Stols, 1971, 214). After 1621, some purchases in Amsterdam and Lille, but mostly in Rouen (Stols, 1971, 221). Commission and participation trade. Commission: Jehan de la Fortrie. Agent. (Brulez, 1959, 356-357). Jan de la Fortrie was a connection of Jan the elder in Lille. (Mees, 1984, 546). Jan van Immerseele married Suzanna Boutry in 1574. Her family in Lille was an important business connection of Van Immerseel. (Mees, 1984, 548). In 1585, Jan the elder married Agneete Fasse, niece of a business connection of Lille. (Mees, 1984, 549).	
Middelburg		3	2	2	1	>1584-1612<	Jan the elder had contacts with Peter van Leyen, a relative of his first wife, in Middelburg and Haarlem (Stols, 1971, 199). Jan the elder had contacts with Hubert Brentens, son-in-law of Peter van Leyen, in Amsterdam and Middelburg (Stols, 1971, 199). Jan the elder had contacts with the Haeck family in Middelburg (Stols, 1971, 199). Contacts of Jan the elder with the Poulle family, members of which were established in Amsterdam, Utrecht, Middelburg and Rouen (Stols, 1971, 199). Jan the elder stayed regularly in Zeeland (Stols, 1971, 199). In 1584-1586, Jan the elder travelled regularly between Antwerp and Zeeland. He married to Agnes Fasse, his second wife, in Middelburg in 1585. In 1586, Jan van Immerseele again was established permanently in Antwerp (Stols, 1971, 200). A correspondent of Crisostomo van Immerseel in Middelburg in 1612 was Antonio de Huybrecht, son-in-law of Pieter Haeck (Stols, 1971, 290 n. 262). Hubert Brentens in Middelburg corresponded with Jan and Crisostomo van Immerseel in Antwerp in 1611 (Stols, 1971, 291). P. Haeck in Middelburg was correspondent of Jan and Crisostomo van Immerseel in Antwerp e.g. in 1609, 1611 (Stols, 1971, 308 n. 135). Trade in linen from Rouen to Sevilla; cochenille, ginger, oil from Sevilla to Middelburg. (Brulez, 1959, 356-358). Commission and participation trade. Correspondents in Middelburg: Laurens Consart, Jan van Loemel (Brulez, 1960, 297). Commission: Laurens Consart; Jan van Loemel. Agent. (Brulez, 1959, 356-357). Connections with Jan van Loemel in Middelburg, e.g. in 1598. (Mees, 1984, 547).	

Nürnberg		3	2	2	1	>1589<	Jan the elder had contacts with Jan Boutry, a relative of his first wife, in Cologne, Nürnberg and Amsterdam (Stols, 1971, 199). Commission and participation trade. Commission: Jean Bouttry (brother-in-law of van Immerseele). Another correspondent in Nürnberg was Peter van Leyen, his brother-in-law (1589) (Brulez, 1960, 294-295). Other correspondents of Van Immerseele in Nürnberg were the Antwerp merchants Jan de Ruyter, Niclaes de Sweerdt, Jan, Cornelis and Jacob de Meyer, Hendrik and Daniel van der Haghen, who all asked Van Immerseele certificates to prove their Antwerp citizenship (Brulez, 1960, 295). Agent. (Brulez, 1959, 356-357).	
Rouen		3	2	2	1	1586-1621<	Contacts of Jan the elder with the Poulle family, members of which were established in Amsterdam, Utrecht, Middelburg and Rouen (Stols, 1971, 199). Connections with Rouen through his business relations in Lille, especially after 1586. In the 1590s, Jan the elder increased his purchases in Rouen (Stols, 1971, 201). Jan the younger became an apprentice in Rouen, to learn the trade in linen of Rouen (probably until 1603) (Stols, 1971, 203). Crisostomo, son of Jan the elder from his second marriage, became an apprentice in the linen trade firm of Cristobal de Noviller in Rouen until 1606 (Stols, 1971, 203). Apprenticeship of Guillermo, son of Jan the elder from his second marriage, with Cristobal de Noviller in Rouen until 1610 (Stols, 1971, 206). Baltasar van Immerseel, son of Jan the elder from his second marriage, did his apprenticeship in the early 17th century in the firm of Ezechiël de Caen in Rouen (Stols, 1971, 210). In 1616, Guillermo van Immerseel wanted to send his brother Gaspar to Cadiz, together with Godefroy Corquen, a former servant of Jan the younger, or to Pedro Gaumond in Rouen, or to Guillermo van Gennip in Lisbon (Stols, 1971, 209-210). Crisostomo had correspondents (Th. de Bauquemare) in Rouen in 1618 (Stols, 1971, 217). Another correspondent of Crisostomo in Rouen in 1618 was C. de Noviller (Stols, 1971, 218). C. de Noviller, correspondent of Crisostomo in Rouen in 1618, 1620 (Stols, 1971, 220 n. 140). After the bankruptcy of Guillermo in 1618, Crisostomo lost some of his correspondents in Rouen or had difficulties with them, such as Jacques Hallé, Jehan Pavyot, Jehan Souplys, Jehan Papavoine, Jehan Michel (Stols, 1971, 221). After 1621, some purchases in Amsterdam and Lille, but mostly	

							in Rouen (Stols, 1971, 221). Trade in linen from Rouen to Sevilla; cochenille, ginger, oil from Sevilla to Middelburg. (Brulez, 1959, 356-358). Commission and participation trade. Grain from Danzig to Rouen: d'Amiens. Firm of Guy, Antoine and Pierre d'Amiens of Rouen sent its goods to Spain via Jan van Immerseele and Hans de Velaer (in Hamburg) during the war between Spain and France (Brulez, 1960, 297). Commission: Jehan Paniot; Participation: Guy, Antoine and Pierre d'Amiens; Jacques and Laurens Hallé. Agent. (Brulez, 1959, 356-357). Temporary partnership of Jan the elder with the brothers Hallé of Rouen for the export of linen of Rouen to Spain and the New World. (Mees, 1984, 547). Correspondent of Jan the elder in Rouen: Christoffel de Novilier. (Mees, 1984, 547). Business connection in Rouen was Jacques Deshommetz. The son of Deshommetz became an apprentice of Jan van Immerseel in 1602. (Mees, 1984, 547). Chrysostomos, son of Jan the elder, was apprentice in Rouen with business friends of the family in 1605. (Mees, 1984, 549). Several of the sons of Jan the elder did their apprenticeship in Rouen or Cologne. (Mees, 1984, 550).	
Arkhangelsk		2	2	1	0		Jan the elder had contacts with Isaac van Leyen, son of Peter, in Hamburg and even in Archangelsk (Stols, 1971, 199).	
Danzig		2	2	1	0	>1595-1611<	Indirect contact via Pieter and Germain Poulle (Amsterdam): grain trade from Danzig to Lisbon or Rouen. Participation: Isaac Poulle. Indirect correspondent. (Brulez, 1959, 356-357). Temporary partnership with the Poulle brothers of Amsterdam in 1595-1611. The Poulle imported grain from Danzig. (Mees, 1984, 546-547).	
Dunkerque		2	2	1	0	>1611-1644<	Letters from J. de Mayere from Dunkerque to Crisostomo van Immerseel in Antwerp in 1644 (Stols, 1971, 299 n. 57, 300 n. 64, n. 72, n. 73). Letters from R. Lenfant in Dunkerque to Crisostomo and Jan van Immerseel in Antwerp in 1611 (Stols, 1971, 308 n. 130, n. 131). Expeditors of Crisostomo van Immerseel in Dunkerque were Charles and René Lenfant, who disappeared in 1617 (Stols, 1971, 343).	
Haarlem		2	2	1	0		François van Immerseel, brother of Jan the elder, was a servant of a merchant in Haarlem (Stols, 1971, 197). Jan the elder had contacts with Peter van Leyen, a relative of his first wife, in Middelburg and Haarlem (Stols, 1971, 199).	

Italy		2	2	1	0		Contacts of Jan van Immerseel with the Rocha, Rademacher and Labermeyer families in Hamburg, Cologne, Sevilla and Italy via Barbara Gerardi (Stols, 1971, 199).	
Lisbon		2	2	1	0		In 1616, Guillermo van Immerseel wanted to send his brother Gaspar to Cadiz, together with Godefroy Corquen, a former servant of Jan the younger, or to Pedro Gaumond in Rouen, or to Guillermo van Gennip in Lisbon (Stols, 1971, 209-210). Correspondence between Guillermo van Gennip in Lisbon and Crisostomo van Immerseel in 1612, 1614, 1617, 1620 (Stols, 1971, 282 n. 193, 313 n. 176, 314 n. 183, 346 n. 402). Exceptional participation (grain from Danzig to Lisbon). Van Immerseele had agents in Seville and Lisbon (Brulez, 1960, 297). Participation: Loys Godines. Exceptional correspondent. (Brulez, 1959, 356-357).	
Madrid		2	2	1	0		Pedro van Immerseel, brother of Jan the elder, was a commission merchant in Madrid (Stols, 1971, 197). Phelipe Licher in Madrid was a correspondent of Crisostomo van Immerseel (Antwerp) in 1616 (Stols, 1971, 265 n. 79).	
New World		2	2	1	0		Temporary partnership of Jan the elder with the brothers Hallé of Rouen for the export of linen of Rouen to Spain and the New World. (Mees, 1984, 547). From ca. 1631 direct trade of Crisostomo with America, which was made possible by his naturalisation in Spain in 1631 (Stols, 1971, 223, 225).	
Paris		2	2	1	0		Jan the elder had contacts with the Despomereaulx family in Turnhout and Paris (Stols, 1971, 199). In the 1620s, Crisostomo carried out an important arts trade with his relatives Goetkins (Bonenfant) in Paris (Stols, 1971, 221).	
Rotterdam		2	2	1	0		Jan the elder had contacts with the Ymant van Luylant family in Rotterdam (Stols, 1971, 199).	
Turnhout		2	2	1	0	>1604<	Jan the elder had contacts with the Despomereaulx family in Turnhout and Paris (Stols, 1971, 199). In 1604, Jan the younger went to Turnhout, where he became active in the business of Jacques Despomereaulx, a relative of his mother. His role in the business of his father became limited in this period (Stols, 1971, 203). Jan the younger died in 1613 (Stols, 1971, 209). Jan the younger established himself in Turnhout, where he assisted his uncle De Pomeraulx in the textile trade. In this period, he did not have many contacts with his family in Antwerp. (Mees, 1984, 549).	
Utrecht		2	2	1	0		Contacts of Jan the elder with the Poulle family, members of which were established in Amsterdam, Utrecht, Middelburg and Rouen (Stols, 1971,	

							199).	
Carmona		1	1	1	0	1603-1604	Jan van Immerseel the younger visited the wool laundries of Carmona and Ecija in 1603-04 (Stols, 1971, 203).	
Dordrecht		1	1	1	0	1584	In 1584, Suzanna, wife of Jan the elder, fled with her son Jan the younger to Dordrecht, where she stayed with friends of the family. Later that year, she went from Dordrecht to Amsterdam. (Mees, 1984, 548-549).	
Écija		1	1	1	0	1603-1604	Jan van Immerseel the younger visited the wool laundries of Carmona and Ecija in 1603-04 (Stols, 1971, 203).	
Frankfurt am Main		1	1	1	0	>1610<	In 1610 a letter from M. Glaser from Frankfurt to Jan van Immerseel in Antwerp (Stols, 1971, 340 n. 366).	
Málaga		1	1	1	0	1603-1604	Jan van Immerseel the younger visited Malaga and Velez Malaga in 1603-04 (Stols, 1971, 203).	
Vélez Málaga		1	1	1	0	1603-1604	Jan van Immerseel the younger visited Malaga and Velez Malaga in 1603-04 (Stols, 1971, 203).	

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After 1612:
- Cadiz: In 1616, Guillermo van Immerseel wanted to send his brother Gaspar to Cadiz, together with Godefroy Corquen, a former servant of Jan the younger, or to Pedro Gaumond in Rouen, or to Guillermo van Gennip in Lisbon (Stols, 1971, 209-210).
- Vitoria: J. Troconis in Vitoria operated as an expedition agent of Crisostomo van Immerseel in 1628 (Stols, 1971, 279 n. 168).
- London: Correspondence between A. van Eynde in London and Crisostomo van Immerseel in Antwerp in 1617 (Stols, 1971, 281 n. 183).
- San Lucar: Nicolas Hertman, cashier of Guillermo van Immerseel in Sevilla, several times went to the Andalusian ports (e.g. San Lucar in 1615) for expedition, purchase and sale of merchandise, etc. (Stols, 1971, 288, 334 n. 323). Letter from N. le Vigneron in San Lucar to Crisostomo van Immerseel in Antwerp in 1619 (Stols, 1971, 318 n. 223).
- Venice: Letter from M. Hureau in Venice to Giovanni van Immerseel in Sevilla in 1615 concerning an exchange transaction (Stols, 1971, 326 n. 279).

COLLARD VAN MARKE, before 1366 – 1369

Money-changer of Bruges. Bankruptcy in the 1360s (Hunt & Murray, 1999, 161).

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Source material:

Five account books of Collard de Marke survive for the years 1366-1369. They can be found in the City Archives of Bruges. (Murray, 2000, 7, n. 19; Id., 2005, 96, 252).

Size: ?

Main activities:

- Commerce: Collard de Marke was involved in cloth trade with Hainault and northern France. (Murray, 2005, 249).
- Finance: Money-changer in Bruges. (Hunt & Murray, 1999, 161-163; Murray, 2005, 249).
- Industry:

Network of Collard van Marke:

Foreign merchants mentioned in the account books of Collard de Marke. 990 foreign merchants. Not a complete list: well-known foreign merchants not identified in the account books with their place of origin, so the list includes mostly short-term visitors to Bruges. The list also omits those merchants, such as the Italians, who were not usually customers of the moneychangers. From the Low Countries (chiefly Brabant): 125; Germany: 19; France (including Hainaut, Liege and Tournai: 233; Britain: 52; Italy: 20; Iberia: 128; Flanders: 413 (Murray, 2000, 7; Id., 2005, 96-97).

Dense network of regional money changers and innkeepers used by de Marke to provide financial services to his customers. Truly long-distance transactions were also possible, such as payments made in Prussia by western knights on crusade, ransoms collected for prisoners held in Spain, as well as more typical business paymnets made in Paris and London (Hunt & Murray, 1999, 163).

See Murray, 2005, 249-258, 264: correspondents in Hainault (Tournai, Mons, Valenciennes, Douai,…), northern France, Ghent, Antwerp, Geraardsbergen, London, Paris, Rome, Genoa,.... (Murray, 2005).

Table A..1. Network of Collard van Marke, 1366 – 1369

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Bruges		8	4	3	1	>1366-1369	Headquarters. (Hunt & Murray, 1999, 163).	
Antwerp		3	2	2	1		Regional network of money changers and innkeepers. (Hunt & Murray, 1999, 163). Personal contacts in Antwerp, where many of his customers had business interests. (Murray, 2005, 249). The customers of Van Marke needed access to their money held by Van Marke while visiting the fairs of Antwerp. To satisfy these demands, Van Marke cooperated with an Antwerp money changer or sent a representative to Antwerp to act in his name. He only offered such services in Antwerp during the period of the fairs. E.g. Collard van Marke sent a letter with his son to Pieter Sucrebouc, probably an Antwerp merchant or money changer, to make a payment in Antwerp for Bauduin de Meureville. (Murray, 2005, 253). Van Marke also had connections with the Antwerp money changer “Hermant”. (Murray, 2005,	

							253-254). In 1369, Van Marke sent his son to the Antwerp fairs both to market cloth and to represent the Van Marke exchange. In total Collard van Marke carried out business transactions with Antwerp for ca. 37 clients. (Murray, 2005, 254). Already in the 1360s, 37 of Collard de Marke's account holders demanded access to their money when visiting the fairs of Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom. (Lambert et al., 2008, 6). 1 (0.04 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Antwerp. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Douai		3	2	2	1		Regional network of money changers and innkeepers. (Hunt & Murray, 1999, 163). In Douai, Van Marke had a clearing account with the money changer Jakop Velaine. Jakop and his brother Adrien had accounts with Van Marke. (Murray, 2005, 255). 11 (0.47 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Douai. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Ghent		3	2	2	1		Regional network of money changers and innkeepers. (Hunt & Murray, 1999, 163). Personal contacts in Ghent, where many of his customers had business interests. (Murray, 2005, 249). Collard van Marke appears to have been the chief specialist in transport of coins between Bruges and the Mint in Ghent. He also made use of his balance with the mint-master of Ghent to make payments to customers and agents in Ghent. E.g. van Marke paid a debt for the Ghent merchant Jakob Wilbart in 1368 by drawing on his credit balance at the Ghent mint. A similar payment was made the following day for Martin de Scaus. Van Marke had a separate account book of his bullion transactions with the Mint, which has not been preserved. He also had a clearing account with the mint-master himself. (Murray, 2005, 250-251). Collard van Marke from time to time went to Ghent himself, or sent his son, Copin, to act on his behalf. Sometimes he made use of the services of money changers or hostellers in Ghent, such as Jehan Use or Lievin Zegres. The Ghent hosteller Zeger van Loeve had an account with Van Marke through his clerk, Bauduin de Winderote. (Murray, 2005, 252-253). 61 (2.60 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Ghent. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Leuven		3	2	2	1		Regional network of money changers and innkeepers. (Hunt & Murray, 1999, 163). 9 (0.38 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Leuven. (Lambert et al.,	

							2008).	
Mons		3	2	2	1		Regional network of money changers and innkeepers (Spufford, 2002, 206). Collard van Marke purchased cloth from Mons, Tournai and Valenciennes. (Murray, 2005, 254). In Mons, Van Marke had a clearing account with the money changer Lottart de Tournay. (Murray, 2005, 255). 17 (0.72 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Mons. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Tournai		3	2	2	1		Regional network of money changers and innkeepers. (Hunt & Murray, 1999, 163). Collard van Marke purchased cloth from Mons, Tournai and Valenciennes. (Murray, 2005, 254). The Tournai money changer Jehan dou Gardin had connections with Collard van Marke. (Murray, 2005, 255-256). 81 (3.45 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Tournai. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Valenciennes		3	2	2	1		Regional network of money changers and innkeepers. (Hunt & Murray, 1999, 163). Collard van Marke purchased cloth from Mons, Tournai and Valenciennes. (Murray, 2005, 254). By far the most important connection in Van Marke's long-distance network was the money changer Thierry Brochons of Valenciennes. They had clearing accounts for book transfers with each other, and worked together in exchange transactions as well as in trade in cloth and bullion. (Murray, 2005, 256). 27 (1.15 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Valenciennes. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Arras		2	2	1	0		31 (1.32 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Atrecht. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Bergen-op-Zoom		2	2	1	0		Already in the 1360s, 37 of Collard de Marke's account holders demanded access to their money when visiting the fairs of Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom. (Lambert et al., 2008, 6).	
Brussels		2	2	1	0		24 (1.02 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Brussels. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Damme		2	2	1	0		88 (3.75 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Damme. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Diksmuide		2	2	1	0		73 (3.11 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Diksmuide. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Dinant		2	2	1	0		27 (1.15 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Dinant. (Lambert et al., 2008).	

Genoa		2	2	1	0	1369	In 1369, the account of Ivo Fio Daviguolo with Van Marke was debited for 8lb. 12s., a portion of which was used in Genoa. Such transactions probably were exceptional. (Murray, 2005, 257). 27 (1.15 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Genoa. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Geraardsbergen		2	2	1	0	1369	Regional network of money changers and innkeepers. (Hunt & Murray, 1999, 163). The money changer Jehan de Lingina of Geraardsbergen had a single account with Van Marke in February 1369. (Murray, 2005, 255). 9 (0.38 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Geraardsbergen. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Germany		2	2	1	0		29 (1.24 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Germany. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
‘s Hertogenbosch		2	2	1	0		26 (1.11 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from ‘s Hertogenbosch. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Ieper		2	2	1	0		132 (5.63 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Ieper. (Lambert et al., 2008). Of the 2345 identifiable persons mentioned in the ledgers of the Bruges money changer Collard de Marke, active from 1366 to 1369, 132 (5,63 %) were drapers from Ypres, a centre of production for traditional Flemish cloth. (Lambert et al., 2008, 5).	
Ireland		2	2	1	0		64 (2.73 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Scotland/Ireland. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Kortrijk		2	2	1	0		148 (6.31 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Kortrijk. (Lambert et al., 2008). Of the 2345 identifiable persons mentioned in the ledgers of the Bruges money changer Collard de Marke, active from 1366 to 1369, 132 (5,63 %) were drapers from Ypres, a centre of production for traditional Flemish cloth. As to the secondary towns, 148 came from Courtrai (6,31 %), 69 from Wervick (2,94 %), 28 from Roulers (1,19 %), 20 from Poperinge (0,85 %) and 19 from Comines (0,84 %). (Lambert et al., 2008, 5).	
London		2	2	1	0		Long-distance payments possible in London (Hunt & Murray, 1999, 163). It appears that Van Marke could effect payments in London and Paris, although the evidence is only very fragmentary. (Murray, 2005, 257). 81	

							(3.45 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from England. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Mechelen		2	2	1	0		108 (4.61 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Mechelen. (Lambert et al., 2008). Bruges acted as an important market for the Brabantine textiles, as 108 people in de Marke's account books originated from the cloth town of Malines (4,61 %). (Lambert et al., 2008, 5).	
Oudenaarde		2	2	1	0		26 (1.11 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Oudenaarde. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Paris		2	2	1	0		Long-distance payments possible in Paris (Hunt & Murray, 1999, 163). It appears that Van Marke could effect payments in London and Paris, although the evidence is only very fragmentary. (Murray, 2005, 257). 12 (0.51 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Paris. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Portugal		2	2	1	0		30 (1.28 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Portugal. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
La Rochelle		2	2	1	0		30 (1.28 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from La Rochelle. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Roeselare		2	2	1	0		28 (1.19 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Roeselare. (Lambert et al., 2008). Of the 2345 identifiable persons mentioned in the ledgers of the Bruges money changer Collard de Marke, active from 1366 to 1369, 132 (5,63 %) were drapers from Ypres, a centre of production for traditional Flemish cloth. As to the secondary towns, 148 came from Courtrai (6,31 %), 69 from Wervick (2,94 %), 28 from Roulers (1,19 %), 20 from Poperinge (0,85 %) and 19 from Comines (0,84 %). (Lambert et al., 2008, 5).	
Scotland		2	2	1	0		64 (2.73 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Scotland/Ireland. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Sluis		2	2	1	0		55 (2.35 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Sluis. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Spain		2	2	1	0		180 (7.68 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Spain. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Wervik		2	2	1	0		69 (2.94 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Wervik. (Lambert et al., 2008). Of the	

							2345 identifiable persons mentioned in the ledgers of the Bruges money changer Collard de Marke, active from 1366 to 1369, 132 (5,63 %) were drapers from Ypres, a centre of production for traditional Flemish cloth. As to the secondary towns, 148 came from Courtrai (6,31 %), 69 from Wervick (2,94 %), 28 from Roulers (1,19 %), 20 from Poperinge (0,85 %) and 19 from Comines (0,84 %). (Lambert et al., 2008, 5).	
Aalst		1	1	1	0		9 (0.38 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Aalst. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Aardenburg		1	1	1	0		18 (0.77 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Aardenburg. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Abbeville		1	1	1	0		7 (0.30 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Abbeville. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Amiens		1	1	1	0		7 (0.30 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Amiens. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Bavay		1	1	1	0		6 (0.26 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Bavais. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Binche		1	1	1	0		10 (0.43 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Binche. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Cambrai		1	1	1	0		5 (0.21 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Cambrai. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Comines		1	1	1	0		19 (0.81 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Komen. (Lambert et al., 2008). Of the 2345 identifiable persons mentioned in the ledgers of the Bruges money changer Collard de Marke, active from 1366 to 1369, 132 (5,63 %) were drapers from Ypres, a centre of production for traditional Flemish cloth. As to the secondary towns, 148 came from Courtrai (6,31 %), 69 from Wervick (2,94 %), 28 from Roulers (1,19 %), 20 from Poperinge (0,85 %) and 19 from Comines (0,84 %). (Lambert et al., 2008, 5).	
Corbie		1	1	1	0		4 (0.17 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Corbie. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Delft		1	1	1	0		1 (0.04 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Delft. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Dendermonde		1	1	1	0		22 (0.94 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Dendermonde. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Dieppe		1	1	1	0		1 (0.04 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the	

							ledgers (1366-1369), came from Dieppe. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Diest		1	1	1	0		6 (0.26 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Diest. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Dordrecht		1	1	1	0		5 (0.21 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Dordrecht. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Eeklo		1	1	1	0		7 (0.30 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Eeklo. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Florence		1	1	1	0		5 (0.21 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Florence. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Herentals		1	1	1	0		4 (0.17 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Herentals. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Hesdin		1	1	1	0		3 (0.13 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Hesdin. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Langemark		1	1	1	0		17 (0.72 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Langemark. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Laon		1	1	1	0		9 (0.38 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Laon. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Liège		1	1	1	0		8 (0.34 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Liège. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Lier		1	1	1	0		8 (0.34 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Lier. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Lille		1	1	1	0		17 (0.72 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Lille. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Lucca		1	1	1	0		5 (0.21 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Lucca. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Menen		1	1	1	0		3 (0.13 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Menen. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Mesen		1	1	1	0		4 (0.17 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Mesen. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Parma		1	1	1	0		4 (0.17 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Parma. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Poperinge		1	1	1	0		20 (0.85 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Poperinge. (Lambert et al., 2008). Of the 2345 identifiable persons mentioned in the ledgers of the Bruges money changer Collard de Marke, active from 1366 to 1369, 132 (5,63 %) were	

							drapers from Ypres, a centre of production for traditional Flemish cloth. As to the secondary towns, 148 came from Courtrai (6,31 %), 69 from Wervick (2,94 %), 28 from Roulers (1,19 %), 20 from Poperinge (0,85 %) and 19 from Comines (0,84 %). (Lambert et al., 2008, 5).	
Reimerswaal		1	1	1	0		1 (0.04 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Reymerswaele. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Rome		1	1	1	0	1368	In 1368 the clerk of the nobleman Watier de Monstruelcourt secured a letter of credit from Van Marke to be redeemed in Rome at the office of the Galberti company. Such transactions probably were exceptional. (Murray, 2005, 257).	
Roosendaal		1	1	1	0		1 (0.04 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Roosendaal. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Saint-Omer		1	1	1	0		18 (0.77 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Saint-Omer. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Sint Truiden		1	1	1	0		1 (0.04 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Sint-Truiden. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Tielt (Brabant)		1	1	1	0		2 (0.09 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Tielt (Brabant). (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Tielt (Flanders)		1	1	1	0		15 (0.64 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Tielt (Flanders). (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Tienen		1	1	1	0		1 (0.04 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Tienen. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Torhout		1	1	1	0		5 (0.21 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Torhout. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Troyes		1	1	1	0		2 (0.09 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Troyes. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Utrecht		1	1	1	0		2 (0.09 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Utrecht. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Vilvoorde		1	1	1	0		17 (0.72 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Vilvoorde. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Zierikzee		1	1	1	0		1 (0.04 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Zierikzee. (Lambert et al., 2008).	
Zomergem		1	1	1	0		4 (0.17 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Zomergem. (Lambert et al., 2008).	

+ In the preserved account books of Collard van Marke a large number (2345) of account holders and contacts are mentioned. Often, the place of origin of these account holders or contacts has been mentioned. However, in the case of well-known foreign merchants, the place of origin is not mentioned in the ledgers. As a result, the place of origin of 316 of the 2345 account holders / contacts is unknown. (Murray, 2005, 96).
+ 67 (2.86 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Flanders. (Lambert et al., 2008). 12 (0.51 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from the Low Countries. (Lambert et al., 2008). 7 (0.30 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Hainaut. (Lambert et al., 2008). 4 (0.17 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Italy. (Lambert et al., 2008). 2 (0.09 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Brabant. (Lambert et al., 2008). 126 (5.37 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from France. (Lambert et al., 2008). 3 (0.13 %) of the account holders / contacts of Van Marke mentioned in the ledgers (1366-1369), came from Zeeland. (Lambert et al., 2008).
+ Cities of origin of account holders / contacts of Van Marke have been scored as follows: 2-2-1-0: more than 1 % of the account holders / contacts; 1-1-1-0: less than 1 % of the account holders / contacts.

VAN DER MEULEN, before 1563 – after 1607

Daniel van der Meulen was born in Antwerp in 1554. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xv). Jan van der Meulen (before 1520-1563/64), the father of Daniel van der Meulen, was a merchant in Antwerp. After his death in 1563, the business was taken over by his wife Elizabeth Zeghers (ca. 1520-1587). In 1572, four of the six children of Jan van der Meulen and Elizabeth Zeghers (among whom Daniel van der Meulen) moved to Cologne, followed by their mother in 1574. Daniel, the youngest son, became active in the family firm after the death of his eldest brother Jan (1547/48-1576) in 1576. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xxxvi). In 1581, a company was established between Elizabeth Zeghers (2/3) and François Pierens (an Antwerp merchant residing in Cologne) (1/3) called the "Oude Compagnie". Pierens married Anna van der Meulen in the early 1580s. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xxxviii). Elizabeth Zeghers returned to Antwerp in 1582. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xxxviii). Ca. 1584 Elizabeth Zeghers retired from business. Her share in the "Oude Compagnie" was taken over by her sons Andries (1549-1611) and Daniel (1554-1600): Andries (1/3), Daniel (1/3), François Pierens (1/3). (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xxxviii-xxxix). In 1585, Daniel had plans to trade with Italy. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xxxix-xl). In 1585, after the fall of Antwerp, Daniel (with his wife Hester della Faille, daughter of Jan the elder) and Andries van der Meulen went to Bremen. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xl). End 1585 the "Oude Compagnie" was dissolved, and was replaced by the "Nieuwe Compagnie". This "Nieuwe Compagnie" had four partners: Andries and Daniel van der Meulen (1/3), François Pierens (1/3) and Antoine Lempereur (1/3). Only the Van der Meulen were allowed to trade also for their own account. Lempereur (1552-1615), who was also bookkeeper of the company, had married Sara van der Meulen in Cologne in 1586. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xl-xli). Thanks to his marriage with Hester della Faille, Daniel van der Meulen could make use of the network of the Della Faille company, especially for trade with Italy. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xliii). During the 1590s, the Van der Meulen extended their trade to Italy. Shipping to the Mediterranean was very risky: danger of piracy, especially by English pirates, but also by privateers from France, Barbary, Turkey. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xlviii-l). Daniel van der Meulen died in 1600, Andries died in 1611. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, li). In 1594, the "Napelse Compagnie" was established between Andries and Daniel van der Meulen, and Jean Vivien and Nicolas de Malapert, brothers-in-law of Daniel, who lived in Germany and traded with Spain. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lii). The "Nieuwe Napelsche Compagnie lasted between 1594 and 1599. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, liii). In 1599 the "Napelse Compagnie" was dissolved. A new company was established, the "Nieuwe Compagnia van Negociën", which existed until 1604. Partners in this company were Andries and Daniel van der Meulen (1/2) and Nicolas de Malapert (1/2). After his death in 1600, Daniel's share was taken over by his wife Hester della Faille. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lv). Daniel van der Meulen was also politically active. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lxii-lxxi).
Daniel van der Meulen: Antwerp merchant, lived in Delft and Haarlem. Representative of the Estates of Brabant in Holland. (Gelderblom, 2000, 17, 36, 90, 95, 112). Family originally from Antwerp. Correspondence of Daniel van der Meulen published in Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986. (Gelderblom, 2000, 17, 36, 90, 95, 112; Puttevils, 2007, 214).

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Source material:

A large amount of business documents of the Van der Meulen companies has been preserved: correspondence (large gaps), accounts and account books, cash books, lists of goods, lists of prices, business contracts, insurance policies, shipping documents, etc. Several documents have been published by Gisela Jongbloet-Van Houtte. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lvi-lvii). The archives of Daniel van der Meulen have been preserved partly in the town archives of Leiden. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lxxxiv-xcviii). Other archives concerning the Van der Meulen firm have been preserved in Leiden, Utrecht, Belgium and elsewhere. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xcviii-cvii).

Size: Medium-sized or large

Between 1590 and 1620 Daniel van der Meulen was the 8th most important charterer of ships from Amsterdam to Italy (according to the preserved charter contracts in the Amsterdam notarial archives, in which a total of 1,419 charter contracts of 259 different charterers has been preserved): Daniel chartered 42 ships (one alone, 41 in partnership with others). (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, li).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Export of English and Flemish textiles from the Low Countries to Germany, sale of German and Italian goods in the Low Countries during the 1570s. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xxxvii). The "Oude Compagnie" traded in a large variety of goods: no specialisation. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xxxix). The "Nieuwe Compagnie" traded especially in textiles, grain and spices. Increasing specialisation in textile trade in the late 1580s, especially in linen and woollens from England and the Low Countries. On the German fairs, the "Nieuwe Compagnie" purchased German and Italian products, as well as spices imported via Italy. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte,

1986, xli-xlii). Overseas grain trade with Italy since the 1590s. Also overland export of textiles from Holland to Italy. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, li). Textile trade in the 1590s: especially trade in linen and sayettes from Holland and silk from Italy. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lii). The "Napelse Compagnie" exported silk and silks from Italy to the west, as well as mirrors and soap. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, liv-lv).

- Finance:
- Industry: The "Nieuwe Compagnie" organised the finishing of linen textiles (bleaching or dyeing) through putting-out system. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xli-xlii). In 1594-1599 Daniel van der Meulen in Leiden took care of the finishing of the textiles (bleaching and dyeing). (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, liii). The agents of the "Napelse Compagnie" in Italy were involved in the production of silk. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, liv).

Network of the Van der Meulen:

Headquarters in Bremen since 1585. Elsewhere, the Van der Meulen made use of the services of family members or capable agents who received a fixed annual salary or a commission of 2-3 %. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lv). Daniel van der Meulen had only one fixed partner: his brother Andries. All the other partners were only temporary. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lvi-lvii). The Van der Meulen had several hundreds of business correspondents: agents, factors, partners, often family members of the Van der Meulen. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lvii). Daniel van der Meulen was involved in several expeditions to newly discovered regions. He had connections with Balthasar de Moucheron for example. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lviii-lix). Letters of ca. 500 correspondents have been preserved in the Van der Meulen archive. Among them were important merchants such as Balthasar de Moucheron, Jacob della Faille, Isaac Le Maire, Jacques de Velaer, Johan van der Veken, Pieter van der Haghen, etc. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lix). Many of the business contacts and correspondents of Daniel van der Meulen were family members. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lxi).

Table A..1. Network of the Van der Meulen, ca. 1574 – 1600 (especially 1584 – 1600)

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Bremen		8	4	3	1	1585-1607	After the fall of Antwerp in 1585, Daniel and Andries van der Meulen moved to Bremen. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xl). The "Nieuwe Compagnie" sold goods purchased at the south German fairs in Southern Germany itself, or exported them to Northern Germany (Cologne, Bremen or Hamburg), and if the goods could not be sold there, to the Low Countries (Amsterdam, Middelburg), England (London), or the Iberian Peninsula (Lisbon or Sevilla). (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xlii-xliii). In 1591, Daniel van der Meulen went to Leiden, while Andries remained in Bremen. Bremen	

							had the advantage that it was a neutral harbour. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xlix). Baptista Oijens, agent in Amsterdam (1594-1599), shipped textiles for the “Napelse Compagnie” from Amsterdam to Hamburg, and sometimes also to Stade and Bremen. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, liii). In 1594-1599, Andries van der Meulen was in Bremen, where he took care of the correspondence with Italy and Holland. Also Nicolas de Malapert was probably active in Bremen for the “Napelse Compagnie”. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, liii). Bremen was not a market for Italian goods of the “Napelse Compagnie”. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, liv-lv). From 1585 the business operations of the Van der Meulen were organised and directed from Bremen. However, no merchandise was sent to Bremen by the company. Bremen was not an important transit port for merchandise. However, it was an important centre of information: a node for collection of political news. From Bremen, Andries gave instructions and information to his business associates elsewhere. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lv-lvi). In 1585-1591, Daniel and Andries lived together in Bremen. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lvi-lvii). Correspondence with Bremen ca. 1584-1600. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lvii). The most active correspondents of Daniel van der Meulen (in Leiden) in the 1590s were his correspondents in Venice, Naples, Amsterdam, Haarlem, Middelburg and Bremen. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lix). Peter Janssen van der Meulen corresponded with Daniel van der Meulen from Antwerp (1584-85, 5 letters preserved), Stade (1589), Middelburg (1591), England (Newbury and London) (1591-1592, 17 letters preserved), Leiden (1593), Emden and Bremen (1593), Amsterdam and Middelburg (1594), Stockholm (1594 and 1597), Middelburg (1597-1598), Bremen (1598), and Haarlem (from 1598). (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lx-lxi n. 240). Bremen: headquarters. Andries van der Meulen was in Bremen until 1607, Antoine Lempereur until 1598, François Pierens until 1618? Correspondence between Lempereur and Daniel van der Meulen since 1591 (ca. 100 letters preserved between 1591 and 1600). Correspondence between Daniel and Pierens (25 letters preserved between 1592 and 1597). (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lxi). Andries and Daniel van der Meulen (moved to Bremen in 1585). Origin of the flows (headquarters). Andries and Daniel van der Meulen (moved to Bremen in 1585). 1580s (Gelderblom, 2000, 112; Brulez, 1959, 183-184). Direct contact with Leyden. End 16th c.	

							(Gentil Da Silva, 1956, pl. xii)	
Leiden		6	3	2	1	1591-1600	In 1591, Daniel van der Meulen went to Leiden, where he became active in the “Straatvaart” (Mediterranean shipping trade). (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xlix). Daniel van der Meulen was in Leiden during the period of the “Napelse Compagnie” (1594-1599). He purchased sayettes and linen, especially in Haarlem and Leiden. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, liii). Correspondence with Leiden ca. 1584-1600. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lvii). The most active correspondents of Daniel van der Meulen (in Leiden) in the 1590s were his correspondents in Venice, Naples, Amsterdam, Haarlem, Middelburg and Bremen. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lix). Peter Janssen van der Meulen corresponded with Daniel van der Meulen from Antwerp (1584-85, 5 letters preserved), Stade (1589), Middelburg (1591), England (Newbury and London) (1591-1592, 17 letters preserved), Leiden (1593), Emden and Bremen (1593), Amsterdam and Middelburg (1594), Stockholm (1594 and 1597), Middelburg (1597-1598), Bremen (1598), and Haarlem (from 1598). (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lx-lxi n. 240). Headquarters. End 16th c. (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, pl. xii)	
Antwerp		8 6 ~~**8**~~ ***5*** 3	4 3 ~~**4**~~ ***3*** 2	3 2 ~~**3**~~ ***2*** 2	1 1 ~~**1**~~ ***1*** 1	>1574 1574-1582 1582-1585 1585-1600>	Headquarters until 1574. Representatives in Antwerp until 1576: Jan and Andries van der Meulen, after 1576: Andries and Daniel van der Meulen. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xxxvi-xxxvii). During the 1570s connections in Antwerp with François Pierens and Antoine Lempereur, who later married Anna and Sara van der Meulen respectively. In 1576, the company Pierens – Lempereur was established in Antwerp (François Pierens, Antoine Lempereur and Jan Lempereur). This company traded from Antwerp with the fairs of southern Germany. It was dissolved in 1580. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xxxvii-xxxviii). Representatives in Antwerp in 1574-1581 were Andries (or Daniel) Van der Meulen and Antoine Lempereur. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xxxvii). The “Oude Compagnie” of 1581-1585 was represented in Antwerp by Andries and Daniel van der Meulen, who had returned to Antwerp in 1579. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xxxviii). Elizabeth Zeghers returned to Antwerp in 1582. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xxxviii). Antoine Lempereur fled from Antwerp to Cologne before the fall of Antwerp in 1585. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xl-xli). For 1584-85, at least 101 letters have been preserved between Andries in Antwerp and Daniel in the northern Low Countries. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte,	

							1986, lvi-lvii). Correspondence with Antwerp ca. 1584-1600. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lvii). Peter Janssen van der Meulen corresponded with Daniel van der Meulen from Antwerp (1584-85, 5 letters preserved), Stade (1589), Middelburg (1591), England (Newbury and London) (1591-1592, 17 letters preserved), Leiden (1593), Emden and Bremen (1593), Amsterdam and Middelburg (1594), Stockholm (1594 and 1597), Middelburg (1597-1598), Bremen (1598), and Haarlem (from 1598). (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lx-lxi n. 240). Headquarters. Direct contact with Leyden. End 16th c. (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, pl. xii)	
Aachen		~~6~~ *4*	~~3~~ *2*	~~2~~ *2*	~~1~~ *1*	>1594-1599<	Jean Vivien, partner in the "Napelse Compagnie" (1594-1599), was established in Aachen. He purchased textiles in northern France. These textiles were transported via Cologne to Frankfurt am Main. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, liii). Correspondence with Aachen ca. 1584-1600. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lvii).	
Amsterdam		4	2	2	1	>1585-1600<	The "Nieuwe Compagnie" (1585-1591) did not only trade with Frankfurt and Strasbourg, but also with Hamburg, Cologne, Emden, Amsterdam, Middelburg and London. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xli). The "Nieuwe Compagnie" sold goods purchased at the south German fairs in Southern Germany itself, or exported them to Northern Germany (Cologne, Bremen or Hamburg), and if the goods could not be sold there, to the Low Countries (Amsterdam, Middelburg), England (London), or the Iberian Peninsula (Lisbon or Sevilla). (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xlii-xliii). Between 1590 and 1620 Daniel van der Meulen was the 8th most important charterer of ships from Amsterdam to Italy (according to the preserved charter contracts in the Amsterdam notarial archives, in which a total of 1,419 charter contracts of 259 different charterers has been preserved): Daniel chartered 42 ships (one alone, 41 in partnership with others). (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, li). Daniel van der Meulen sent cloth from Leiden to Amsterdam in 1594-1599. Agent in Amsterdam in this period was Baptista Oijens. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, liii). Italian goods were sent by the "Napelse Compagnie" (1594-1599) to Augsburg (Caspar Corona), Nürnberg (Hans de Stigher), Frankfurt (Hendrick Goyvaerts). The goods were sold in Frankfurt, or sent further north to Stade (François Bouduwijns), or Hamburg (Hans Berewijns or François Bouduwijns), or to the Low Countries: Amsterdam (Baptista Oijens), Middelburg (Pierre Maillet), Haarlem (Joos de Voghele),	

							Delft (Jacques Schot). Italian goods were also sent to London (Wouter Aertssen), Sevilla (Robert Noirot) or Lisbon (Charles Godin). (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, liv-lv). Correspondence with Amsterdam ca. 1584-1600. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lvii). The most active correspondents of Daniel van der Meulen (in Leiden) in the 1590s were his correspondents in Venice, Naples, Amsterdam, Haarlem, Middelburg and Bremen. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lix). Principal correspondents in Amsterdam were Jacques de Velaer (ca. 200 letters preserved for 1592-1600), and Baptista Oijens (more than 1,000 letters preserved between 1591 and 1600). (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lx). Peter Janssen van der Meulen corresponded with Daniel van der Meulen from Antwerp (1584-85, 5 letters preserved), Stade (1589), Middelburg (1591), England (Newbury and London) (1591-1592, 17 letters preserved), Leiden (1593), Emden and Bremen (1593), Amsterdam and Middelburg (1594), Stockholm (1594 and 1597), Middelburg (1597-1598), Bremen (1598), and Haarlem (from 1598). (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lx-lxi n. 240). Correspondence to Jacques Bernaerts and Fernando Oyens in Amsterdam. 1580s (Gelderblom, 2000, 112). Direct contact with Leyden. End 16th c. (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, pl. xii).	
Cologne		**6** 8 ~~**6**~~ ***4*** 3	**3** 4 ~~**3**~~ ***2*** 2	**2** 3 ~~**2**~~ ***2*** 2	**1** 1 ~~**1**~~ ***1*** 1	1572-1574 1574-1582 1582-c.1591 c.1591-1599<	Four of the children Van der Meulen in Cologne since 1572. Headquarters since 1574, when mother Elizabeth Zeghers moved to Cologne. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xxxvi). Trade between Antwerp and Germany via Cologne in the 1570s. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xxxvii). Representatives in Cologne in 1574-1581 were Elizabeth Zeghers and François Pierens (of the Antwerp firm Pierens – Lempereur). (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xxxvii). Elizabeth Zeghers returned to Antwerp in 1582. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xxxviii). Antoine Lempereur fled from Antwerp to Cologne before the fall of Antwerp in 1585. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xl-xli). The “Nieuwe Compagnie” (1585-1591) did not only trade with Frankfurt and Strasbourg, but also with Hamburg, Cologne, Emden, Amsterdam, Middelburg and London. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xli). The “Nieuwe Compagnie” sold goods purchased at the south German fairs in Southern Germany itself, or exported them to Northern Germany (Cologne, Bremen or Hamburg), and if the goods could not be sold there, to the Low Countries (Amsterdam, Middelburg), England (London), or the	

							Iberian Peninsula (Lisbon or Sevilla). (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xlii-xliii). Jean Vivien, partner in the “Napelse Compagnie” (1594-1599), was established in Aachen. He purchased textiles in northern France. These textiles were transported via Cologne to Frankfurt am Main. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, liii). Correspondence with Cologne ca. 1584-1600. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lvii). Anthoni Lempereur in Cologne (1580s), was married to Sara van der Meulen. (Gelderblom, 2000, 112). Direct contact with Leyden. End 16th c. (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, pl. xii). Antoine Lempereur (1552-1615), bookkeeper of the “Nieuwe Compagnie” (1585-1591), had married Sara van der Meulen in Cologne in 1586. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xl-xli).	
Frankfurt am Main		**4** 3	**2** 2	**2** 2	**1** 1	>1574-1591 1591-1599<	The Van der Meulen firm was active at the fairs of Frankfurt am Main (Easter, September) and Strasbourg (Christmas, June) during the 1570s. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xxxvii). Representatives at the German fairs in 1574-1581 were Daniel (or Andries) van der Meulen and Jan Lempereur (of the Antwerp firm Pierens – Lempereur). (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xxxvii). François Pierens regularly went to the southern German fairs in 1581-1585. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xxxviii). In the early 1580s, the firm was active at the fairs of Frankfurt am Main and Strasbourg. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xxxix). The “Nieuwe Compagnie” (1585-1591) traded especially with the fairs of Frankfurt and Strasbourg. Representatives at the fairs were Pierens and Lempereur. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xli). In 1594-1599, Daniel van der Meulen shipped textiles from Leiden to Frankfurt am Main. Agent in Frankfurt in this period was Hendrick Goyvaerts. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, liii). Jean Vivien, partner in the “Napelse Compagnie” (1594-1599), was established in Aachen. He purchased textiles in northern France. These textiles were transported via Cologne to Frankfurt am Main. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, liii). Hendrick Goyvaerts in Frankfurt sent most goods he received from the west via Nürnberg (agent: Hans de Stigher), Augsburg (agent: Caspar Corona), and the Brenner pass to Italy. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, liii-liv). Italian goods were sent by the “Napelse Compagnie” (1594-1599) to Augsburg (Caspar Corona), Nürnberg (Hans de Stigher), Frankfurt (Hendrick Goyvaerts). The goods were sold in Frankfurt, or sent further north to Stade (François Bouduwijns), or Hamburg (Hans Berewijns or François Bouduwijns), or to the Low Countries:	

							Amsterdam (Baptista Oijens), Middelburg (Pierre Maillet), Haarlem (Joos de Voghele), Delft (Jacques Schot). Italian goods were also sent to London (Wouter Aertssen), Sevilla (Robert Noirot) or Lisbon (Charles Godin). (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, liv-lv). Correspondence with Frankfurt ca. 1584-1600. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lvii). Direct contact with Leyden. End 16th c. (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, pl. xii)	
Haarlem		4	2	2	1	1584-1600<	Daniel van der Meulen purchased sayettes and linen, especially in Haarlem and Leiden. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, liii). Italian goods were sent by the "Napelse Compagnie" (1594-1599) to Augsburg (Caspar Corona), Nürnberg (Hans de Stigher), Frankfurt (Hendrick Goyvaerts). The goods were sold in Frankfurt, or sent further north to Stade (François Bouduwijns), or Hamburg (Hans Berewijns or François Bouduwijns), or to the Low Countries: Amsterdam (Baptista Oijens), Middelburg (Pierre Maillet), Haarlem (Joos de Voghele), Delft (Jacques Schot). Italian goods were also sent to London (Wouter Aertssen), Sevilla (Robert Noirot) or Lisbon (Charles Godin). (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, liv-lv). In 1584-85, Daniel van der Meulen was mostly in Delft or Haarlem. For 1584-85, at least 101 letters have been preserved between Andries in Antwerp and Daniel in the northern Low Countries. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lvi-lvii). Correspondence with Haarlem ca. 1584-1600. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lvii). The most active correspondents of Daniel van der Meulen (in Leiden) in the 1590s were his correspondents in Venice, Naples, Amsterdam, Haarlem, Middelburg and Bremen. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lix). Haarlem was an important textile centre. Daniel van der Meulen made large purchases here. Correspondent since 1584 was Jacob della Faille (ca. 650 letters preserved between 1584 and 1600). Other correspondents in Haarlem were Joos de Voghele (ca. 250 letters preserved for 1591-1600) and Peter Janssen van der Meulen, relative of Daniel (ca. 275 letters preserved). (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lx). Peter Janssen van der Meulen corresponded with Daniel van der Meulen from Antwerp (1584-85, 5 letters preserved), Stade (1589), Middelburg (1591), England (Newbury and London) (1591-1592, 17 letters preserved), Leiden (1593), Emden and Bremen (1593), Amsterdam and Middelburg (1594), Stockholm (1594 and 1597), Middelburg (1597-1598), Bremen (1598), and Haarlem (from 1598). (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lx-lxi n. 240). Hans Schot corresponded with	

							Daniel van der Meulen from Haarlem in 1593-1594. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lxi). Direct contact with Leyden. End 16th c. (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, pl. xii)	
Middelburg		4	2	2	1	>1585-1600<	The “Nieuwe Compagnie” (1585-1591) did not only trade with Frankfurt and Strasbourg, but also with Hamburg, Cologne, Emden, Amsterdam, Middelburg and London. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xli). The “Nieuwe Compagnie” sold goods purchased at the south German fairs in Southern Germany itself, or exported them to Northern Germany (Cologne, Bremen or Hamburg), and if the goods could not be sold there, to the Low Countries (Amsterdam, Middelburg), England (London), or the Iberian Peninsula (Lisbon or Sevilla). (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xlii-xliii). Italian goods were sent by the “Napelse Compagnie” (1594-1599) to Augsburg (Caspar Corona), Nürnberg (Hans de Stigher), Frankfurt (Hendrick Goyvaerts). The goods were sold in Frankfurt, or sent further north to Stade (François Bouduwijns), or Hamburg (Hans Berewijns or François Bouduwijns), or to the Low Countries: Amsterdam (Baptista Oijens), Middelburg (Pierre Maillet), Haarlem (Joos de Voghele), Delft (Jacques Schot). Italian goods were also sent to London (Wouter Aertssen), Sevilla (Robert Noirot) or Lisbon (Charles Godin). (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, liv-lv). Correspondence with Middelburg ca. 1584-1600. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lvii). The most active correspondents of Daniel van der Meulen (in Leiden) in the 1590s were his correspondents in Venice, Naples, Amsterdam, Haarlem, Middelburg and Bremen. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lix). Peter Janssen van der Meulen corresponded with Daniel van der Meulen from Antwerp (1584-85, 5 letters preserved), Stade (1589), Middelburg (1591), England (Newbury and London) (1591-1592, 17 letters preserved), Leiden (1593), Emden and Bremen (1593), Amsterdam and Middelburg (1594), Stockholm (1594 and 1597), Middelburg (1597-1598), Bremen (1598), and Haarlem (from 1598). (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lx-lxi n. 240). Correspondent in Middelburg in 1595-1597 was Hans Schot (d. 1597), relative of the Van der Meulen (189 letters preserved). After his death Hans Schot was succeeded as correspondent of the Van der Meulen by his brother Jacques Schot (more than 60 letters preserved between 1597 and 1600). Other correspondents in Middelburg were Everart and his son Samuel Becker (ca. 100 letters preserved of 1591-1600). (Jongbloet-Van Houtte,	

							1986, lxi). Direct contact with Leyden. End 16th c. (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, pl. xii)	
Naples		4	2	2	1	>1593-1600<	Between 1590 and 1620 Daniel van der Meulen was the 8th most important charterer of ships from Amsterdam to Italy (according to the preserved charter contracts in the Amsterdam notarial archives, in which a total of 1,419 charter contracts of 259 different charterers has been preserved): Daniel chartered 42 ships (one alone, 41 in partnership with others). (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, li). Many goods were sent by the "Napelse Compagnie" (1594-1599) overland to Venice, and from there via the Adriatic to the kingdom of Naples. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, liii-liv). Agents of the "Napelse Compagnie" (1594-1599) in Naples: Gerard Mahieu, Balthasar Noirot. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, liv, liv n. 204). Gerard Mahieu and Balthasar Noirot, agents in Naples, sold textiles of the "Napelse Compagnie" (1594-1599) at the fairs of the kingdom of Naples: Nocera (Lent, All Saints), Aversa (end March, end June), Lanciano (May, August), Naples (July), Salerno (end September). (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, liv). The "Napelse Compagnie" purchased silk and silks in the kingdom of Naples, Venice, Verona and Vicenza for export to the west. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, liv). Correspondence with Naples ca. 1584-1600. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lvii). The most active correspondents of Daniel van der Meulen (in Leiden) in the 1590s were his correspondents in Venice, Naples, Amsterdam, Haarlem, Middelburg and Bremen. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lix). A correspondent of Daniel van der Meulen in Naples in 1594-1595 was Melchior Noirot. Ca. 35 letters from Naples from Noirot have been preserved. Representative in Naples since 1593 was Gerardo Mahieu (ca. 170 letters preserved for 1593-1600). In 1594 he was joined by Balthasar Noirot, relative of Daniel. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lix-lx). Direct contact with Leyden and with Venice. End 16th c. (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, pl. xii)	
Strasbourg		**4** 3	**2** 2	**2** 2	**1** 1	>1574-1591 1591-1600>	The Van der Meulen firm was active at the fairs of Frankfurt am Main (Easter, September) and Strasbourg (Christmas, June) during the 1570s. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xxxvii). Representatives at the German fairs in 1574-1581 were Daniel (or Andries) van der Meulen and Jan Lempereur (of the Antwerp firm Pierens – Lempereur). (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xxxvii). François Pierens regularly went to the southern German fairs in	

							1581-1585. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xxxviii). In the early 1580s, the firm was active at the fairs of Frankfurt am Main and Strasbourg. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xxxix). The “Nieuwe Compagnie” (1585-1591) traded especially with the fairs of Frankfurt and Strasbourg. Representatives at the fairs were Pierens and Lempereur. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xli). Correspondence with Strasbourg ca. 1584-1600. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lvii).	
Venice		4	2	2	1	>1590-1600<	Agents of the “Napelse Compagnie” (1594-1599) in Venice: Francisco Van Eeckeren, Antonio Van Neste, Melchior Noirot, Balthasar Noirot, Jan de Wale. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, liii-liv, liv n. 204). The “Napelse Compagnie” purchased silk and silks in the kingdom of Naples, Venice, Verona and Vicenza for export to the west. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, liv). Correspondence with Venice ca. 1584-1600. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lvii). The most active correspondents of Daniel van der Meulen (in Leiden) in the 1590s were his correspondents in Venice, Naples, Amsterdam, Haarlem, Middelburg and Bremen. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lix). Ca. 160 letters have been preserved from Francisco Van Eeckeren in Venice to Daniel van der Meulen (1590-1597). Van Eeckeren was a relative of Hester della Faille. In 1597 Van Eeckeren went bankrupt. After 1597, the Van der Meulen were represented in Venice by Melchior Noirot, relative of Daniel van der Meulen. More than 300 letters from Noirot from Venice have been preserved (1593-1600). (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lix-lx). Direct contact with Leyden. End 16th c. (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, pl. xii)	
Augsburg		3	2	2	1	>c.1591-1599<	In the 1590s, export of textiles of Holland to Italy via Nürnberg and Augsburg. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, li). Hendrick Goyvaerts in Frankfurt sent most goods he received from the west via Nürnberg (agent: Hans de Stigher), Augsburg (agent: Caspar Corona), and the Brenner pass to Italy. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, liii-liv). Italian goods were sent by the “Napelse Compagnie” (1594-1599) to Augsburg (Caspar Corona), Nürnberg (Hans de Stigher), Frankfurt (Hendrick Goyvaerts). The goods were sold in Frankfurt, or sent further north to Stade (François Bouduwijns), or Hamburg (Hans Berewijns or François Bouduwijns), or to the Low Countries: Amsterdam (Baptista Oijens), Middelburg (Pierre Maillet), Haarlem (Joos de Voghele), Delft (Jacques Schot). Italian goods were also sent to London (Wouter Aertssen), Sevilla (Robert Noirot) or Lisbon (Charles Godin).	

							(Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, liv-lv). Correspondence with Augsburg ca. 1584-1600. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lvii).	
Brussels		3	2	2	1	<1584-1600>	Correspondence with Brussels ca. 1584-1600. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lvii).	
Calais		3	2	2	1	<1584-1600>	Correspondence with Calais ca. 1584-1600. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lvii).	
Delft		4 **3**	2 **2**	2 **2**	1 **1**	1584-1585 >1594-1599<	In 1584, Daniel van der Meulen went to the northern Low Countries, where he was sent by the Estates of Brabant and the government of Antwerp. In the meantime, he also represented the interests of the family firm, especially in periods when direct contact between Antwerp and Germany was disturbed. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xxxix). In 1585 Daniel was in Delft. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xl). Italian goods were sent by the "Napelse Compagnie" (1594-1599) to Augsburg (Caspar Corona), Nürnberg (Hans de Stigher), Frankfurt (Hendrick Goyvaerts). The goods were sold in Frankfurt, or sent further north to Stade (François Bouduwijns), or Hamburg (Hans Berewijns or François Bouduwijns), or to the Low Countries: Amsterdam (Baptista Oijens), Middelburg (Pierre Maillet), Haarlem (Joos de Voghele), Delft (Jacques Schot). Italian goods were also sent to London (Wouter Aertssen), Sevilla (Robert Noirot) or Lisbon (Charles Godin). (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, liv-lv). In 1584-85, Daniel van der Meulen was mostly in Delft or Haarlem. For 1584-85, at least 101 letters have been preserved between Andries in Antwerp and Daniel in the northern Low Countries. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lvi-lvii).	
Dordrecht		3	2	2	1	<1584-1600>	Correspondence with Dordrecht ca. 1584-1600. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lvii).	
Emden		3	2	2	1	>1585-1593<	The "Nieuwe Compagnie" (1585-1591) did not only trade with Frankfurt and Strasbourg, but also with Hamburg, Cologne, Emden, Amsterdam, Middelburg and London. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xli). Peter Janssen van der Meulen corresponded with Daniel van der Meulen from Antwerp (1584-85, 5 letters preserved), Stade (1589), Middelburg (1591), England (Newbury and London) (1591-1592, 17 letters preserved), Leiden (1593), Emden and Bremen (1593), Amsterdam and Middelburg (1594), Stockholm (1594 and 1597), Middelburg (1597-1598), Bremen (1598), and Haarlem (from 1598). (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lx-lxi n. 240).	
Genoa		3	2	2	1	>1594-1599<	Agent of the "Napelse Compagnie" (1594-1599) in Genoa: Jan Bukentop.	

							(Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, liv n. 204). Correspondence with Genoa ca. 1584-1600. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lvii). Direct contact with Leyden. End 16th c. (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, pl. xii)	
Ghent		3	2	2	1	<1584-1600>	Correspondence with Ghent ca. 1584-1600. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lvii).	
Hamburg		3	2	2	1	>1585-1599<	The “Nieuwe Compagnie” (1585-1591) did not only trade with Frankfurt and Strasbourg, but also with Hamburg, Cologne, Emden, Amsterdam, Middelburg and London. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xli). The “Nieuwe Compagnie” sold goods purchased at the south German fairs in Southern Germany itself, or exported them to Northern Germany (Cologne, Bremen or Hamburg), and if the goods could not be sold there, to the Low Countries (Amsterdam, Middelburg), England (London), or the Iberian Peninsula (Lisbon or Sevilla). (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xlii-xliii). Baptista Oijens, agent in Amsterdam (1594-1599), shipped textiles for the “Napelse Compagnie” from Amsterdam to Hamburg, and sometimes also to Stade and Bremen. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, liii). Italian goods were sent by the “Napelse Compagnie” (1594-1599) to Augsburg (Caspar Corona), Nürnberg (Hans de Stigher), Frankfurt (Hendrick Goyvaerts). The goods were sold in Frankfurt, or sent further north to Stade (François Bouduwijns), or Hamburg (Hans Berewijns or François Bouduwijns), or to the Low Countries: Amsterdam (Baptista Oijens), Middelburg (Pierre Maillet), Haarlem (Joos de Voghele), Delft (Jacques Schot). Italian goods were also sent to London (Wouter Aertssen), Sevilla (Robert Noirot) or Lisbon (Charles Godin). (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, liv-lv). Correspondence with Hamburg ca. 1584-1600. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lvii). Headquarters. Direct contact with Leyden. End 16th c. (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, pl. xii)	
Kortrijk		3	2	2	1	<1584-1600>	Correspondence with Kortrijk ca. 1584-1600. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lvii).	
Lille		3	2	2	1	<1584-1600>	Correspondence with Lille ca. 1584-1600. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lvii).	
Lisbon		3	2	2	1	>1585-1599<	The “Nieuwe Compagnie” sold goods purchased at the south German fairs in Southern Germany itself, or exported them to Northern Germany (Cologne, Bremen or Hamburg), and if the goods could not be sold there, to the Low Countries (Amsterdam, Middelburg), England (London), or the Iberian Peninsula (Lisbon or Sevilla). (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xlii-xliii).	

							Italian goods were sent by the “Napelse Compagnie” (1594-1599) to Augsburg (Caspar Corona), Nürnberg (Hans de Stigher), Frankfurt (Hendrick Goyvaerts). The goods were sold in Frankfurt, or sent further north to Stade (François Bouduwijns), or Hamburg (Hans Berewijns or François Bouduwijns), or to the Low Countries: Amsterdam (Baptista Oijens), Middelburg (Pierre Maillet), Haarlem (Joos de Voghele), Delft (Jacques Schot). Italian goods were also sent to London (Wouter Aertssen), Sevilla (Robert Noirot) or Lisbon (Charles Godin). (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, liv-lv). Correspondence with Lisbon ca. 1584-1600. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lvii).	
London		3	2	2	1	>1585-1599<	The “Nieuwe Compagnie” (1585-1591) did not only trade with Frankfurt and Strasbourg, but also with Hamburg, Cologne, Emden, Amsterdam, Middelburg and London. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xli). The “Nieuwe Compagnie” sold goods purchased at the south German fairs in Southern Germany itself, or exported them to Northern Germany (Cologne, Bremen or Hamburg), and if the goods could not be sold there, to the Low Countries (Amsterdam, Middelburg), England (London), or the Iberian Peninsula (Lisbon or Sevilla). (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xlii-xliii). Italian goods were sent by the “Napelse Compagnie” (1594-1599) to Augsburg (Caspar Corona), Nürnberg (Hans de Stigher), Frankfurt (Hendrick Goyvaerts). The goods were sold in Frankfurt, or sent further north to Stade (François Bouduwijns), or Hamburg (Hans Berewijns or François Bouduwijns), or to the Low Countries: Amsterdam (Baptista Oijens), Middelburg (Pierre Maillet), Haarlem (Joos de Voghele), Delft (Jacques Schot). Italian goods were also sent to London (Wouter Aertssen), Sevilla (Robert Noirot) or Lisbon (Charles Godin). (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, liv-lv). Correspondence with London ca. 1584-1600. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lvii). Peter Janssen van der Meulen corresponded with Daniel van der Meulen from Antwerp (1584-85, 5 letters preserved), Stade (1589), Middelburg (1591), England (Newbury and London) (1591-1592, 17 letters preserved), Leiden (1593), Emden and Bremen (1593), Amsterdam and Middelburg (1594), Stockholm (1594 and 1597), Middelburg (1597-1598), Bremen (1598), and Haarlem (from 1598). (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lx-lxi n. 240). Direct contact with Leyden. End 16th c. (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, pl. xii)	

Lübeck		3	2	2	1	<1584-1600>	Correspondence with Lübeck ca. 1584-1600. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lvii).	
Lyon		3	2	2	1	<1584-1600>	Correspondence with Lyon ca. 1584-1600. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lvii).	
Nantes		3	2	2	1	<1584-1600>	Correspondence with Nantes ca. 1584-1600. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lvii).	
Nürnberg		3	2	2	1	>1581-1599<	In the early 1580s, the "Oude Compagnie" had two agents in Nürnberg: Hans de Stigher and Johan Pipeler. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xxxix). In the 1590s, export of textiles of Holland to Italy via Nürnberg and Augsburg. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, li). Hendrick Goyvaerts in Frankfurt sent most goods he received from the west via Nürnberg (agent: Hans de Stigher), Augsburg (agent: Caspar Corona), and the Brenner pass to Italy. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, liii-liv). Italian goods were sent by the "Napelse Compagnie" (1594-1599) to Augsburg (Caspar Corona), Nürnberg (Hans de Stigher), Frankfurt (Hendrick Goyvaerts). The goods were sold in Frankfurt, or sent further north to Stade (François Bouduwijns), or Hamburg (Hans Berewijns or François Bouduwijns), or to the Low Countries: Amsterdam (Baptista Oijens), Middelburg (Pierre Maillet), Haarlem (Joos de Voghele), Delft (Jacques Schot). Italian goods were also sent to London (Wouter Aertssen), Sevilla (Robert Noirot) or Lisbon (Charles Godin). (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, liv-lv). Correspondence with Nürnberg ca. 1584-1600. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lvii).	
Paris		3	2	2	1	<1584-1600>	Correspondence with Paris ca. 1584-1600. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lvii).	
La Rochelle		3	2	2	1	<1584-1600>	Correspondence with La Rochelle ca. 1584-1600. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lvii).	
Sevilla		3	2	2	1	>1585-1599<	The "Nieuwe Compagnie" sold goods purchased at the south German fairs in Southern Germany itself, or exported them to Northern Germany (Cologne, Bremen or Hamburg), and if the goods could not be sold there, to the Low Countries (Amsterdam, Middelburg), England (London), or the Iberian Peninsula (Lisbon or Sevilla). (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, xlii-xliii). Italian goods were sent by the "Napelse Compagnie" (1594-1599) to Augsburg (Caspar Corona), Nürnberg (Hans de Stigher), Frankfurt (Hendrick Goyvaerts). The goods were sold in Frankfurt, or sent further north to Stade (François Bouduwijns), or Hamburg (Hans Berewijns or	

							François Bouduwijns), or to the Low Countries: Amsterdam (Baptista Oijens), Middelburg (Pierre Maillet), Haarlem (Joos de Voghele), Delft (Jacques Schot). Italian goods were also sent to London (Wouter Aertssen), Sevilla (Robert Noirot) or Lisbon (Charles Godin). (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, liv-lv). Correspondence with Sevilla ca. 1584-1600. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lvii).	
Stade		3	2	2	1	>1589-1599<	Baptista Oijens, agent in Amsterdam (1594-1599), shipped textiles for the "Napelse Compagnie" from Amsterdam to Hamburg, and sometimes also to Stade and Bremen. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, liii). Italian goods were sent by the "Napelse Compagnie" (1594-1599) to Augsburg (Caspar Corona), Nürnberg (Hans de Stigher), Frankfurt (Hendrick Goyvaerts). The goods were sold in Frankfurt, or sent further north to Stade (François Bouduwijns), or Hamburg (Hans Berewijns or François Bouduwijns), or to the Low Countries: Amsterdam (Baptista Oijens), Middelburg (Pierre Maillet), Haarlem (Joos de Voghele), Delft (Jacques Schot). Italian goods were also sent to London (Wouter Aertssen), Sevilla (Robert Noirot) or Lisbon (Charles Godin). (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, liv-lv). Correspondence with Stade ca. 1584-1600. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lvii). Peter Janssen van der Meulen corresponded with Daniel van der Meulen from Antwerp (1584-85, 5 letters preserved), Stade (1589), Middelburg (1591), England (Newbury and London) (1591-1592, 17 letters preserved), Leiden (1593), Emden and Bremen (1593), Amsterdam and Middelburg (1594), Stockholm (1594 and 1597), Middelburg (1597-1598), Bremen (1598), and Haarlem (from 1598). (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lx-lxi n. 240). Hans Schot corresponded with Daniel van der Meulen from Stade in 1593. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lxi).	
Stockholm		3	2	2	1	1594, 1597	Correspondence with Stockholm ca. 1584-1600. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lvii). Peter Janssen van der Meulen corresponded with Daniel van der Meulen from Antwerp (1584-85, 5 letters preserved), Stade (1589), Middelburg (1591), England (Newbury and London) (1591-1592, 17 letters preserved), Leiden (1593), Emden and Bremen (1593), Amsterdam and Middelburg (1594), Stockholm (1594 and 1597), Middelburg (1597-1598), Bremen (1598), and Haarlem (from 1598). (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lx-lxi n. 240).	
Valenciennes		3	2	2	1	<1584-1600>	Correspondence with Valenciennes ca. 1584-1600. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte,	

							1986, lvii).	
Verona		3	2	2	1	>1594-1599<	Agent of the “Napelse Compagnie” (1594-1599) in Verona: Agostino Bellazio. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, liv n. 204). The “Napelse Compagnie” purchased silk and silks in the kingdom of Naples, Venice, Verona and Vicenza for export to the west. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, liv). Correspondence with Verona ca. 1584-1600. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lvii). Direct contact with Venice. Indirect contact with Leyden via Venice. End 16th c. (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, pl. xii)	
Vicenza		3	2	2	1	>1594-1599<	Agent of the “Napelse Compagnie” (1594-1599) in Vicenza: Balthasar Minau. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, liv n. 204). The “Napelse Compagnie” purchased silk and silks in the kingdom of Naples, Venice, Verona and Vicenza for export to the west. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, liv). Correspondence with Vicenza ca. 1584-1600. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lvii).	
Angola		2	2	1	0		Daniel van der Meulen had business interests in western Africa (Sao Tomé, Guinea, Benin, Angola). Sporadically, Daniel van der Meulen received information about these places. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lvii).	
Antilles		2	2	1	0		Daniel van der Meulen had business interests in the West Indies. Sporadically, Daniel van der Meulen received information about these places. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lvii). Daniel van der Meulen was involved in ventures of exploration to Asia and America. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lvii). Gillis van Dornhoven (1563-1598) the first Dutch shipper who sailed to the West Indies (1595) was an acquaintance of Daniel van der Meulen. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lviii-lix).	
Aversa		2	2	1	0	>1594-1599<	Gerard Mahieu and Balthasar Noirot, agents in Naples, sold textiles of the “Napelse Compagnie” (1594-1599) at the fairs of the kingdom of Naples: Nocera (Lent, All Saints), Aversa (end March, end June), Lanciano (May, August), Naples (July), Salerno (end September). (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, liv).	
Benin Empire		2	2	1	0		Daniel van der Meulen had business interests in western Africa (Sao Tomé, Guinea, Benin, Angola). Sporadically, Daniel van der Meulen received information about these places. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lvii).	
Brazil		2	2	1	0		Daniel van der Meulen had business interests in Brazil. Sporadically, Daniel van der Meulen received information about these places. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lvii). Daniel van der Meulen was involved in ventures of	

							exploration to Asia and America. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lvii).	
East Indies		2	2	1	0		Daniel van der Meulen had business interests in the East Indies. Sporadically, Daniel van der Meulen received information about these places. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lvii). Daniel van der Meulen was involved in ventures of exploration to Asia and America. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lvii).	
Guinea		2	2	1	0		Daniel van der Meulen had business interests in western Africa (Sao Tomé, Guinea, Benin, Angola). Sporadically, Daniel van der Meulen received information about these places. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lvii).	
Lanciano		2	2	1	0	>1594-1599<	Gerard Mahieu and Balthasar Noirot, agents in Naples, sold textiles of the "Napelse Compagnie" (1594-1599) at the fairs of the kingdom of Naples: Nocera (Lent, All Saints), Aversa (end March, end June), Lanciano (May, August), Naples (July), Salerno (end September). (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, liv).	
Morocco (Barbary)		2	2	1	0		Daniel van der Meulen had business interests in Barbary (Morocco). Sporadically, Daniel van der Meulen received information about these places. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lvii).	
Nocera		2	2	1	0	>1594-1599<	Gerard Mahieu and Balthasar Noirot, agents in Naples, sold textiles of the "Napelse Compagnie" (1594-1599) at the fairs of the kingdom of Naples: Nocera (Lent, All Saints), Aversa (end March, end June), Lanciano (May, August), Naples (July), Salerno (end September). (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, liv).	
North Pole region		2	2	1	0	1596	Daniel van der Meulen was actively involved in the search for a north eastern passage to Asia in 1596. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lviii-lix n. 220).	
Rotterdam		2	2	1	0		Direct contact with Leyden. End 16th c. (Gentil Da Silva, 1956, pl. xii)	
Salerno		2	2	1	0	>1594-1599<	Gerard Mahieu and Balthasar Noirot, agents in Naples, sold textiles of the "Napelse Compagnie" (1594-1599) at the fairs of the kingdom of Naples: Nocera (Lent, All Saints), Aversa (end March, end June), Lanciano (May, August), Naples (July), Salerno (end September). (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, liv).	
São Tomé		2	2	1	0		Daniel van der Meulen had business interests in western Africa (Sao Tomé, Guinea, Benin, Angola). Sporadically, Daniel van der Meulen received information about these places. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lvii).	
Syria (Levant)		2	2	1	0		Daniel van der Meulen had business interests in the Levant (Syria).	

							Sporadically, Daniel van der Meulen received information about these places. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lvii).	
Utrecht		2	2	1	0	1598<	Antoine Lempereur went to Utrecht in 1598. (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lxi).	
Gabon		1	1	1	0	1598-1599	In 1598 and 1599, Daniel van der Meulen received two letters from Gabon (Cape Lopez) from Hans van de Corput, son of Anna Van der Meulen, and from Andries della Faille (son of Jan della Faille). (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lvii n. 219).	
Newbury		1	1	1	0	1591-1592	Peter Janssen van der Meulen corresponded with Daniel van der Meulen from Antwerp (1584-85, 5 letters preserved), Stade (1589), Middelburg (1591), England (Newbury and London) (1591-1592, 17 letters preserved), Leiden (1593), Emden and Bremen (1593), Amsterdam and Middelburg (1594), Stockholm (1594 and 1597), Middelburg (1597-1598), Bremen (1598), and Haarlem (from 1598). (Jongbloet-Van Houtte, 1986, lx-lxi n. 240).	

+ Especially the correspondence of Daniel van der Meulen in Leiden has been preserved, while the headquarters were located in Bremen. As a result, the table gives a somewhat biased picture of the network of the Van der Meulen firm.

VAN DER MOLEN, ca. 1509 – after 1554

The Van der Molen came originally from Haarlem, but settled as merchants in Antwerp. (Puttevils, 2007, 61). Daniel van der Molen was married to Catharina, a daughter of Maarten de Hane, a Brussels merchant living in Venice. (Puttevils, 2007, 188, 192). Daniel van der Molen was probably born before 1520. The father of Daniel and Pieter van der Molen was Frederik van der Molen, who died ca. 1537/38. (Puttevils, 2007, 192, 214). Frederik van der Molen traded in company with the Di Zanchi of Venice. This partnership was ended in 1540. (192). From 1540, a company was established between the brothers Van der Molen. (192). Daniel van der Molen died between 1554 and 1561. (193, 214). The Van der Molen carried out commission trade for a number of Italian firms. (200). Frederik van der Molen was born in Haarlem during the last quarter of the 15th century. He moved to Antwerp in 1510. (110-112). Frederik van der Molen obtained several houses and rents in Antwerp and on the countryside near Bergen-op-Zoom. By 1540, the family was already rich enough to live from the yields of rents and real estate. (212-213). Frederik and his wife Alijt had 5 children, probably all born before 1520, among whom four sons: Pieter (d. between 1549 and 1552), Ghijsbrecht (d. 1561), Cornelis and Daniel. (214). After Frederik's death, his business was taken over by his sons. (214). The sons of Frederik especially carried out commission trade for others: as the second generation of merchants in the family, they preferred the more secure commission trade. (215-216). Company between Frederik van der Molen and the Venetian merchant Bernardo di Zanchi from 1526 the latest. Pieter Waarloos, relative of Van der Molen, was a silent partner in this company in 1532-1540. (310-311). In 1540, the partnership between the Van der Molen and Di Zanchi was dissolved. (313-314). A new partnership was established between the van der Molen in Antwerp and Daniel Van der Molen in Venice in 1540. This partnership was renewed in 1544. (314). Pieter and Ghijsbrecht headed the branch in Antwerp, Daniel headed the branch in Venice. After the closure of the branch in Ancona in 1538, Cornelis appears to have been only passively involved in the business of the firm. (314).

Founder of the firm: Frederik van der Molen, Jacopszoone (+ 1538) (from Haarlem): Arrives in Antwerp ca. 1510. Pieter van der Molen, and his brothers (Cornelis, Gysbrecht, Daniel), exporter from Antwerp in 1543-45. Son of Daniel (Frederik, Federicho de Molin), trade in Venice with England and Low Countries a.o. via Maarten della Faille. Frederik (+ before 25-5-1577), son of Pieter, trade in company with Adam van Riebeke in Antwerp and Willem Waerloos in Venice. Brulez, (1959, 467-469, 479-485).

Frederik van der Molen: Trade with Italy in company (especially Venice). Pieter van der Molen and brothers: Trade in commission for other merchants, also own trade. Especially export to different cities in Italy, almost no trade with places outside of Italy. Ratio own trade / commission trade (in bales): 99 / 376.5 (1543-1545). (Brulez, 1959, 467-469, 479-485).

Trade in textiles in large variety, especially kerseys, cloth and sayes. Italian products imported in commission for Italian merchants: velvet, silk, coton, satin, angorawool, sugar, spices, cumin, gallnuts, etc. (Brulez, 1959, 467-469, 479-485).

Antwerp company. Operated especially as commission merchants for ca. 10 Italian companies (Brulez, 1958, 180).

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Source material:

A correspondence book of the Van der Molen has been preserved, containing copies of letters sent by the Van der Molen to their Italian clients for whom they carried out commission trade between 1538 and 1544. Letters to the branch in Venice, and to the suppliers of the Van der Molen, were apparently copied in other letter books, and have not been preserved. (Puttevils, 2007, 46). The correspondence book of Pieter van der Molen has been preserved in the town archives of Antwerp. (Puttevils, 2007, 58). The correspondence book contains more than 1,150 copies of letters written by Pieter van der Molen and his brothers to correspondents in Italy, Spain, France, England and the Low Countries. (Puttevils, 2007, 59-60). No other letters or accounts of the Van der Molen have been preserved. (60). In total, letters to 106 correspondents have been

preserved, among whom 62 correspondents only received one or two letters, and another 21 correspondents between 3 and 10 letters. Only 13 correspondents received more than 10 letters. (247).

Size: Medium-sized

Pieter van der Molen was the 18th biggest exporter from Antwerp to Italy in 1544. (Puttevils, 2007, 332). 13th biggest exporter (4th biggest Flemish exporter) from the Low Countries to Italy overland in 1543-1545 (10,273 lb. vl.). (Brulez, 1959, 467-469).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Export of textile products of the Low Countries as well as English cloth and kerseys to Italy. (Puttevils, 2007, 201). Only commercial business. (213). The sons of Frederik van der Molen were especially active in the commission trade for others. (215-216). In 1544, the Van der Molen especially exported kerseys, sayes, and cloth from England and the Low Countries to Italy. (217). Imports from Italy: velvet, satin, gemstones, spices (ginger, cinnamon, nutmeg,…), sugar, cotton, silk, etc. From Messina, imports of cumin, gallnuts and textiles. (220). The Van der Molen also sold goods in commission for several of their Italian clients, such as sugar, velvet, cotton, cumin, gallnuts, textiles from Italy and the Levant, ginger, cinnamon, etc. (234-235).
- Finance: No banking or financial activities. (Puttevils, 2007, 213).
- Industry:

Network of the Van der Molen:

It is possible that the Van der Molen had their own commission agents in several Italian cities. However, no letters of these have been preserved. (Puttevils, 2007, 215).

Table A..1. Network of the Van der Molen, 1510 – 1554 (especially 1538 – 1544)

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Antwerp		8	4	3	1	1510-1549<	Headquarters. Daniel van der Molen had connections with Jan della Faille in Antwerp. (Puttevils, 2007, 193). Purchases of English kerseys from the Merchant Adventurers at the fairs of Brabant. (208). Frederik van der Molen is mentioned for the first time in Antwerp in 1509. (211). He established himself in Antwerp in 1510. He rented a house with warehouse and basement along the Scheldt on the Burchtplein. (212). In 1525, Frederik purchased a house in the Lombardenstraat, where the Van der Molen family lived for a long time, and where the headquarters of the firm were located. It	

							contained warehouses, basements and a garden. This house was sold in 1549. (212). Ghijsbrecht was attorney of his brother Cornelis in Antwerp in the 1540s. (214). Purchase of kerseys on the fairs of Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom. (226). Agents in Antwerp, Bergen-op-Zoom, Arnemuiden (Piero di Negrino), Bruges (Adam van Riebeke), Hondschoote (Jacob van der Tombe, Anthonis Decker), Ieper, Armentieres, Lille, Amiens, Cambrai, Valenciennes, London (Martino di Federico, Maurizio de' Marini), Holland (family member of the Van der Molen). (227). Goods sent by Italian merchants for sale to the Van der Molen were mostly sold in Antwerp and at the fairs of Brabant. Some were sent to agents in Flanders (e.g. Bruges) or London. (264). The headquarters in Antwerp were headed by Pieter and Cornelis van der Molen. The headquarters employed also at least one clerk. (314-315). From ca. 1510, 10-2-1543 to 22-9-1545. Frederik van der Molen (from ca. 1510 until 1538). Since 1538: Pieter van der Molen, Cornelis van der Molen, Gysbrecht van der Molen. (Brulez, 1959, 479-482, 488-492).	
Venice		3 **6**	2 **3**	2 **2**	1 **1**	>1509-1526> >1526-1554<	Branch in Venice headed by Daniel van der Molen. (Puttevils, 2007, 46, 188, 201, 209, 263). Daniel van der Molen became head of the branch in Venice in 1540. He was already in Venice by 1537. (Puttevils, 2007, 192). Frederik van der Molen traded in company with the Di Zanchi family in Venice. Perhaps Daniel did his apprenticeship with the Di Zanchi, or with Maarten de Hane. (Puttevils, 2007, 192). Daniel was still active in Venice in 1554. (193). Frederik, the son of Daniel, remained active in Venice in trade with Antwerp. (193). By 1585, the Van der Molen in Venice (Frederik and his mother) were probably not very rich. (194). The Van der Molen had several clients in Venice. (201). Probably Frederik van der Molen already traded with Venice in 1509. (211). A correspondent and client (to whom the Van der Molen exported) of the Van der Molen in Venice in 1544 was Marino di Pierro di Marin. (215-216). A correspondent and client (for whom the Van der Molen sold goods in Antwerp) in Venice in 1544 was the company of Sauli and Vivaldo, a branch of the firm of Azeretto di Vivaldis of Genoa. (216, 216 n. 48). Export by the Van der Molen to Venice (ca. 600 lb. vl.), Ancona (ca. 600 lb. vl.), Ferrara (ca. 550 lb. vl.), and in smaller amounts also to Brescia (ca. 300 lb. vl.), Rome (ca. 250 lb. vl.), Verona (ca. 250 lb. vl.) and Trente (ca. 100 lb. vl.) in 1544. (Puttevils, 2007, 217-219). The	

							export of the Van der Molen to Ancona was larger in 1543 and 1545 than their export to Venice. (219-220). The Azeretto di Vivaldis sent wares to Antwerp from Genoa, Venice and Messina. (Puttevils, 2007, 234). Clients in Venice were Martino Bragadini, Martino (di) Zerchiari, the company of Juliano Cibo Donato, Stefano Sauli and Tommaso Vivaldi (a branch of the Azeretto di Vivaldis of Genoa), Agostino Contarini, Niccolò Dolze, Francesco da Fin, and Marino di Pierro di Marin. (236). Correspondence with Niccolò Dolze from 1538 to 1542 (38 letters, 0.7 per month). (236-238). Correspondence with Juliano Cibo Donato from 1538 to 1541 (39 letters, 1.1 per month). (238). In 1540, Stefano Sauli di Bargalio took over the management of the branch of the Azeretto di Vivaldis in Venice, in partnership with Tommaso Vivaldi, son of Jeronimo Azeretto di Vivaldis. (239-240). Sauli and Vivaldi received 39 letters between 1540 and 1544 from the Van der Molen of Antwerp (0.7 letters per month). (240). Correspondence with Martino Zerchiari from 1538 to 1542 (30 letters, 0.6 per month). (241-243, 252-253). Correspondence with Francesco da Fin from 1539 to 1541 (16 letters, 0.7 per month). (243-244). Correspondence with Agostino Contarini from 1538 to 1541 (16 letters, 0.4 per month). (244-245). Correspondence with Martino Bragadini from 1538 to 1539 (6 letters, 0.6 per month). (245, 253). Correspondence with Marino di Pierro di Marin in 1544 (4 letters, 0.4 per month). (246). In the first quarter of the 16th century, a partnership was established between Frederik van der Molen and the Venetian merchant Bernardo Di Zanchi. This partnership definitely existed by 1526. (310). In 1537/38 Bernardo Di Zanchi died, and the partnership was continued until 1540 by the sons of Frederik van der Molen and the heirs of Bernardo Di Zanchi, among whom Giovanni Battista Zanchi. (311). The partnership with the Zanchi was dissolved in 1540. (313). The branch in Venice was headed by Daniel van der Molen. (315). From before 1526, 10-2-1543 to 22-9-1545. Trade in company from before 1526 until 1540. Branch in Venice since 1540: Daniel van der Molen. Company with Bernardo di Zanchi (+ 1538), Venetian: before 1526, until 1540 (heirs). (Brulez, 1959, 479-482, 488-492). Branch in Venice (Brulez, 1959, 479-482). 99 bales exported from Antwerp to Venice between 10-2-1543 and 22-9-1545 (Brulez, 1959, 480). Trade in commission for merchant(s) in Venice (temporary). (Brulez, 1959, 489-490). At least 188	

							letters sent by the Van der Molen to Venice between 1538 and 1544.	
Ancona		6 **4**	3 **2**	2 **2**	1 **1**	1537-1538 1538-1545<	Correspondent and client (to whom the Van der Molen exported) in Ancona in 1544: Bernardo Morando. (Puttevils, 2007, 216, 218). Export by the Van der Molen to Venice (ca. 600 lb. vl.), Ancona (ca. 600 lb. vl.), Ferrara (ca. 550 lb. vl.), and in smaller amounts also to Brescia (ca. 300 lb. vl.), Rome (ca. 250 lb. vl.), Verona (ca. 250 lb. vl.) and Trente (ca. 100 lb. vl.) in 1544. (Puttevils, 2007, 217, 219). The Van der Molen had a branch in Ancona, which was closed in 1538 however as a result of the war with the Ottomans, which hindered trade with the Levant. (218, 272-273). Goods sent to Ancona were probably in part sent further from there to the Levant in 1544. (218). The export of the Van der Molen to Ancona was larger in 1543 and 1545 than their export to Venice. (219-220). Clients in Ancona were Bernardo Morando and Giovanni Senati, for whom the Van der Molen purchased as well as sold goods. (234). The Van der Molen corresponded for almost the whole period of the letter book, from 1338 to 1344, with Bernardo Morando. In that period, they sent 80 letters (1.1 letters per month). (235). The Van der Molen corresponded from 1338 to 1342 with Giovanni Senati. In that period, they sent 34 letters (0.8 letters per month). (235). Bernardo Morando had already made use of the services of Frederik van der Molen. (249-250). Joan Senati was a client of the Van der Molen in Ancona. (260). The Van der Molen temporarily had a branch in Ancona, headed by Cornelis van der Molen. The branch was closed in 1538. (315). After the closure of the branch in Ancona, the Van der Molen made use of the service of Joan Senati in Ancona. (315). Branch: 1537-1538. Branch in Ancona since 1537. Liquidation in 1538. (Brulez, 1959, 488-489). 186 bales exported from Antwerp to Ancona between 10-2-1543 and 22-9-1545 (Brulez, 1959, 480). Trade in commission for merchant(s) in Ancona. (Brulez, 1959, 489-490). At least 114 letters sent by the Van der Molen to Ancona between 1538 and 1544.	
Bruges		4	2	2	1	>1542<	Factor of the Van der Molen in Bruges was Adam van Riebeke, who was paid by the Van der Molen firm. (Puttevils, 2007, 222). Van Riebeke already cooperated with Frederik van der Molen in 1509. Perhaps Van Riebeke had been active in Italy. (222-223). Van Riebeke not only worked for the Van der Molen, but also carried out business on his own account. (223). Adam van Riebeke died in 1542. His position as factor was taken over by his son	

							Jan. (223). Agents in Antwerp, Bergen-op-Zoom, Arnemuiden (Piero di Negrino), Bruges (Adam van Riebeke), Hondschoote (Jacob van der Tombe, Anthonis Decker), Ieper, Armentieres, Lille, Amiens, Cambrai, Valenciennes, London (Martino di Federico, Maurizio de' Marini), Holland (family member of the Van der Molen). (227). Fixed agents of the Van der Molen in Bruges and Hondschoote. (255). The Van der Molen had a fixed agent in Bruges, who purchased cloth for them the whole year long. The agent was paid for his service by the Van der Molen. (261). A small number of letters of the Van der Molen to agents in Bruges, Hondschoote and London have been preserved. (262). Goods sent by Italian merchants for sale to the Van der Molen were mostly sold in Antwerp and at the fairs of Brabant. Some were sent to agents in Flanders (e.g. Bruges) or London. (264). Adam van Riebeke was an independent merchant, but at the same time also agent of the Van der Molen. He received a salary of the Van der Molen, and perhaps had a share in the capital of the company. Connections with Van Riebeke existed already under Frederik van der Molen. (308-309). Agent in Bruges. (Brulez, 1959, 489).	
Hondschoote		4	2	2	1	>1543<	The Van der Molen had a local agent in Hondschoote, Jacob van der Tombe. (Puttevils, 2007, 195). Factor in Hondschoote was Jacob van der Tombe. He purchased sayes for the company in Hondschoote. By 1543 Van der Tombe was replaced by Anthonis Decker. (223-224). Van der Tombe also purchased sayes for other Antwerp merchants. (108-109). Agents in Antwerp, Bergen-op-Zoom, Arnemuiden (Piero di Negrino), Bruges (Adam van Riebeke), Hondschoote (Jacob van der Tombe, Anthonis Decker), Ieper, Armentieres, Lille, Amiens, Cambrai, Valenciennes, London (Martino di Federico, Maurizio de' Marini), Holland (family member of the Van der Molen). (227). Fixed agents of the Van der Molen in Bruges and Hondschoote. (255). The Van der Molen had a fixed agent in Hondschoote, who purchased sayes for them the whole year long. The agent was paid for his service by the Van der Molen. (261). A small number of letters of the Van der Molen to agents in Bruges, Hondschoote and London have been preserved. (262). Van der Tombe and later Decker were agents of the Van der Molen, but at the same time also for other firms. Decker received a yearly salary from the Van der Molen. (309). Commission agent. (Brulez, 1959, 489).	

Arnemuiden		3	2	2	1	<1538-1544>	Commission agent of the Van der Molen in Arnemuiden was Piero di Negrino. He received a commission for taking care of the loading and unloading of merchandise of the Van der Molen in the harbour, sending the bills of lading to Antwerp, etc. (Puttevils, 2007, 225). Agents in Antwerp, Bergen-op-Zoom, Arnemuiden (Piero di Negrino), Bruges (Adam van Riebeke), Hondschoote (Jacob van der Tombe, Anthonis Decker), Ieper, Armentieres, Lille, Amiens, Cambrai, Valenciennes, London (Martino di Federico, Maurizio de' Marini), Holland (family member of the Van der Molen). (227). Piero di Negrino was paid a commission for his services. (309). Commission agent. (Brulez, 1959, 489).	
Bergen-op-Zoom		3	2	2	1	1509/10, <1538-1544>	Purchase of tapestries at the fairs of Bergen-op-Zoom by Frederik van der Molen in 1509 or 1510. (Puttevils, 2007, 211). The Van der Molen had connections with several merchants from different places in the Low Countries at the fairs of Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom. (225). Purchase of kerseys on the fairs of Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom. (226). Agents in Antwerp, Bergen-op-Zoom, Arnemuiden (Piero di Negrino), Bruges (Adam van Riebeke), Hondschoote (Jacob van der Tombe, Anthonis Decker), Ieper, Armentieres, Lille, Amiens, Cambrai, Valenciennes, London (Martino di Federico, Maurizio de' Marini), Holland (family member of the Van der Molen). (227). Sales by the Van der Molen for some of their Italian clients at the fairs of Bergen-op-Zoom. (239). Goods sent by Italian merchants for sale to the Van der Molen were mostly sold in Antwerp and at the fairs of Brabant. Some were sent to agents in Flanders (e.g. Bruges) or London. (264).	
Bologna		3	2	2	1	>1538-1544<	Correspondent and client (to whom the Van der Molen exported) in Bologna in 1544: Divizan. (Puttevils, 2007, 216, 219). Clients in Bologna were the brothers Joan Battista and Camillo Divizan. The Van der Molen purchased as well as sold merchandise for this company. (Puttevils, 2007, 235). The Van der Molen corresponded for the whole period of the letter book, from 1338 to 1344, with the Divizan. In that period, they sent 103 letters (1.3 letters per month). (235). Trade in commission for merchant(s) in Bologna. (Brulez, 1959, 489-490). At least 103 letters sent by the Van der Molen to Bologna between 1538 and 1544.	
Ferrara		3	2	2	1	>1538-1545<	Correspondent and client (to whom the Van der Molen exported) in Ferrara in 1544: the company of Julio Moro and Bastiano Del Baylo. (Puttevils,	

							2007, 216, 218). Export by the Van der Molen to Venice (ca. 600 lb. vl.), Ancona (ca. 600 lb. vl.), Ferrara (ca. 550 lb. vl.), and in smaller amounts also to Brescia (ca. 300 lb. vl.), Rome (ca. 250 lb. vl.), Verona (ca. 250 lb. vl.) and Trente (ca. 100 lb. vl.) in 1544. (Puttevils, 2007, 217, 219). Goods sent to Ferrara were probably in part sent further from there to southern Italy in 1544. (218). Clients in Rome, Ferrara, Mantua and Brescia, for whom the Van der Molen sent goods to Italy. Most of these clients were suppliers of princely courts. (228). Client and correspondent in Ferrara was the firm of Julio Moro and his brother-in-law Bastiano Del Baylo. Perhaps they supplied the court of the Este in Ferrara. (232). 88 letters to Moro and Del Baylo have been preserved, sent during the whole period of the letter book, 1538-1544 (1.1 letter per month). (233-234). 48.5 bales exported from Antwerp to Ferrara between 10-2-1543 and 22-9-1545 (Brulez, 1959, 480). Trade in commission for merchant(s) in Ferrara. (Brulez, 1959, 489-490). At least 88 letters sent by the Van der Molen to Ferrara between 1538 and 1544.	
Genoa		3	2	2	1	>1538-1544<	Correspondent and client (to whom the Van der Molen exported) in Genoa in 1544: Jeronimo Azeretto di Vivaldis. (Puttevils, 2007, 216, 219). The main client in Genoa was the firm of Jeronimo and Joan Agostino Azeretto di Vivaldis. The Van der Molen purchased as well as sold merchandise for this company. The Azeretto di Vivaldis sent wares to Antwerp from Genoa, Venice and Messina. (Puttevils, 2007, 234). The Van der Molen corresponded for the whole period of the letter book, from 1538 to 1544, with the Azeretto di Vivaldis. In that period, they sent 138 letters (1.7 letters per month). (235). Trade in commission for merchant(s) in Genoa (with branches in Ferrara, Venice, Messina, Palermo, Chios). (Brulez, 1959, 489-490). At least 138 letters sent by the Van der Molen to Genoa between 1538 and 1544.	
Holland		3	2	2	1	<1538-1544>	Linen of Holland was purchased for the Van der Molen by a relative, who purchased them especially in monasteries producing linen. (Puttevils, 2007, 224-225). Agents in Antwerp, Bergen-op-Zoom, Arnemuiden (Piero di Negrino), Bruges (Adam van Riebeke), Hondschoote (Jacob van der Tombe, Anthonis Decker), Ieper, Armentieres, Lille, Amiens, Cambrai, Valenciennes, London (Martino di Federico, Maurizio de' Marini), Holland (family member of the Van der Molen). (227). Commission agents in Holland. (Brulez, 1959, 479-482).	

Lille		3	2	2	1	<1538-1544>	The Van der Molen had an agent in Lille for the purchase of local textiles. (Puttevils, 2007, 225). Agents in Antwerp, Bergen-op-Zoom, Arnemuiden (Piero di Negrino), Bruges (Adam van Riebeke), Hondschoote (Jacob van der Tombe, Anthonis Decker), Ieper, Armentieres, Lille, Amiens, Cambrai, Valenciennes, London (Martino di Federico, Maurizio de' Marini), Holland (family member of the Van der Molen. (227). The contacts of the Van der Molen in Lille, Ieper, Armentieres, Valenciennes, Cambrai, and Amiens visited the fairs of Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom. (255). Merchants of Lille, Valenciennes, Cambrai, Armentieres, Amiens and Ieper visited the fairs of Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom, and did business with the Van der Molen on these fairs. (261). Commission agent. (Brulez, 1959, 489).	
London		3	2	2	1	>1539-1541<	The Van der Molen had agents in London for the purchase of kerseys. (Puttevils, 2007, 208). Limited export to England (only one instance known). (220). In 1539 and 1540, the Van der Molen made use of the services of the Genoese Martino di Federico, who traded in cloth in London. Martino di Federico, and his partner Vincenzio di Nadal in Venice, went bankrupt in 1541. After this bankruptcy, purchases for the Van der Molen in London were made by another Genoese, Maurizio de' Marini. Especially purchase of Winchcombe kerseys in London. (226, 259-260). Agents in Antwerp, Bergen-op-Zoom, Arnemuiden (Piero di Negrino), Bruges (Adam van Riebeke), Hondschoote (Jacob van der Tombe, Anthonis Decker), Ieper, Armentieres, Lille, Amiens, Cambrai, Valenciennes, London (Martino di Federico, Maurizio de' Marini), Holland (family member of the Van der Molen). (227). The Van der Molen had a fixed agent in London, who purchased kerseys for them the whole year long. The agent was paid for his service by the Van der Molen. (261). A small number of letters of the Van der Molen to agents in Bruges, Hondschoote and London have been preserved. (262). Goods sent by Italian merchants for sale to the Van der Molen were mostly sold in Antwerp and at the fairs of Brabant. Some were sent to agents in Flanders (e.g. Bruges) or London. (264). The London merchants operated for a commission for the Van der Molen. (309). Commission agent. (Brulez, 1959, 489). Export to Italy (10273 lb. vl.). Also export to England (12 lb. vl.) (Brulez, 1959, 483). The correspondence book (1538-1544) contains more than 1,150 copies of letters written by Pieter van der Molen and his brothers to correspondents in Italy, Spain, France,	

							England and the Low Countries. (Puttevils, 2007, 59-60).	
Rome		3	2	2	1	>1538-1545<	Correspondent and client (to whom the Van der Molen exported) in Rome in 1544: Francesco Formento. (Puttevils, 2007, 216, 218). Export by the Van der Molen to Venice (ca. 600 lb. vl.), Ancona (ca. 600 lb. vl.), Ferrara (ca. 550 lb. vl.), and in smaller amounts also to Brescia (ca. 300 lb. vl.), Rome (ca. 250 lb. vl.), Verona (ca. 250 lb. vl.) and Trente (ca. 100 lb. vl.) in 1544. (Puttevils, 2007, 217, 219). Clients in Rome, Ferrara, Mantua and Brescia, for whom the Van der Molen sent goods to Italy. Most of these clients were suppliers of princely courts. (228). Three clients in Rome: Francesco Formento, Vincenzio Cernuchio and company, and Baltasar Olgiato and co. Probably these were suppliers of the papal court of Paul III. Formento definitely had connections with the papal court. (228-229). 90 letters to Formento have been preserved, sent during the whole period of the letter book, 1538-1544 (1.1 letter per month). (231-232). 35 letters to Olgiato have been preserved, sent between 1539 and 1542 (1.1 letter per month). 23 letters to Cernuchio have been preserved, sent in 1538 and 1539 (1.5 letter per month). (231-232). 41 bales exported from Antwerp to Rome between 10-2-1543 and 22-9-1545 (Brulez, 1959, 480). Trade in commission for merchant(s) in Rome. (Brulez, 1959, 489-490). At least 148 letters sent by the Van der Molen to Rome between 1538 and 1544.	
Valenciennes		3	2	2	1	<1538-1544>	The Van der Molen had an agent in Valenciennes for the purchase of local textiles. (Puttevils, 2007, 225). Agents in Antwerp, Bergen-op-Zoom, Arnemuiden (Piero di Negrino), Bruges (Adam van Riebeke), Hondschoote (Jacob van der Tombe, Anthonis Decker), Ieper, Armentieres, Lille, Amiens, Cambrai, Valenciennes, London (Martino di Federico, Maurizio de' Marini), Holland (family member of the Van der Molen). (227). The contacts of the Van der Molen in Lille, Ieper, Armentieres, Valenciennes, Cambrai, and Amiens visited the fairs of Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom. (255). Merchants of Lille, Valenciennes, Cambrai, Armentieres, Amiens and Ieper visited the fairs of Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom, and did business with the Van der Molen on these fairs. (261). Commission agent. (Brulez, 1959, 489).	
Amiens		2	2	1	0	<1538-1544>	Purchase of yarn of Amiens from a French merchant. (Puttevils, 2007, 225). Agents in Antwerp, Bergen-op-Zoom, Arnemuiden (Piero di Negrino), Bruges (Adam van Riebeke), Hondschoote (Jacob van der Tombe, Anthonis Decker), Ieper, Armentieres, Lille, Amiens, Cambrai, Valenciennes, London	

							(Martino di Federico, Maurizio de' Marini), Holland (family member of the Van der Molen). (227). The contacts of the Van der Molen in Lille, Ieper, Armentieres, Valenciennes, Cambrai, and Amiens visited the fairs of Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom. (255). Merchants of Lille, Valenciennes, Cambrai, Armentieres, Amiens and Ieper visited the fairs of Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom, and did business with the Van der Molen on these fairs. (261).	
Armentières		2	2	1	0	<1538-1544>	Cloth of Armentieres and Ypres purchased from local merchants. (Puttevils, 2007, 225). Agents in Antwerp, Bergen-op-Zoom, Arnemuiden (Piero di Negrino), Bruges (Adam van Riebeke), Hondschoote (Jacob van der Tombe, Anthonis Decker), Ieper, Armentieres, Lille, Amiens, Cambrai, Valenciennes, London (Martino di Federico, Maurizio de' Marini), Holland (family member of the Van der Molen). (227). The contacts of the Van der Molen in Lille, Ieper, Armentieres, Valenciennes, Cambrai, and Amiens visited the fairs of Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom. (255). Merchants of Lille, Valenciennes, Cambrai, Armentieres, Amiens and Ieper visited the fairs of Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom, and did business with the Van der Molen on these fairs. (261).	
Bergues		2	2	1	0		The factor of the firm in Hondschoote also purchased sayes in Sint-Winoksbergen for the Van der Molen (since ca. 1539). (Puttevils, 2007, 224).	
Brescia		2	2	1	0	>1542-1545<	Correspondent and client (to whom the Van der Molen exported) in Brescia in 1544: Clemente and Battista di Viviani. (Puttevils, 2007, 216, 218). Export by the Van der Molen to Venice (ca. 600 lb. vl.), Ancona (ca. 600 lb. vl.), Ferrara (ca. 550 lb. vl.), and in smaller amounts also to Brescia (ca. 300 lb. vl.), Rome (ca. 250 lb. vl.), Verona (ca. 250 lb. vl.) and Trente (ca. 100 lb. vl.) in 1544. (Puttevils, 2007, 217, 219). Clients in Rome, Ferrara, Mantua and Brescia, for whom the Van der Molen sent goods to Italy. Most of these clients were suppliers of princely courts. (228). Client and correspondent in Brescia was the company of Battista, Clemente and Tommaso di Viviano. (232). 16 letters to the Di Viviano have been preserved, sent between 1542 and 1544. (0.6 letter per month). 49 bales exported from Antwerp to Brescia between 10-2-1543 and 22-9-1545 (Brulez, 1959, 480). Trade in commission for merchant(s) in Brescia. (Brulez, 1959, 489-490). At least 16 letters sent by the Van der Molen to	

							Brescia between 1538 and 1544.	
Brussels		2	2	1	0	<1538-1544>	Connections with tapestry weavers of Brussels, who visited the fairs of Brabant. (Puttevils, 2007, 238, 241, 255). Brussels tapestry weavers came to the fairs of Antwerp to sell their tapestries, e.g. to the Van der Molen. (261). The Van der Molen purchased tapestries directly from tapestry weavers in Brussels and Oudenaarde. (261, 265).	
Cambrai		2	2	1	0	<1538-1544>	Purchase of linen of Cambrai by the Van der Molen from a local merchant in Cambrai. (Puttevils, 2007, 225). Agents in Antwerp, Bergen-op-Zoom, Arnemuiden (Piero di Negrino), Bruges (Adam van Riebeke), Hondschoote (Jacob van der Tombe, Anthonis Decker), Ieper, Armentieres, Lille, Amiens, Cambrai, Valenciennes, London (Martino di Federico, Maurizio de' Marini), Holland (family member of the Van der Molen. (227). The contacts of the Van der Molen in Lille, Ieper, Armentieres, Valenciennes, Cambrai, and Amiens visited the fairs of Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom. (255). Merchants of Lille, Valenciennes, Cambrai, Armentieres, Amiens and Ieper visited the fairs of Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom, and did business with the Van der Molen on these fairs. (261).	
Haarlem		2	2	1	0		Frederik van der Molen came originally from Haarlem. (Puttevils, 2007, 210-211). Probably the Van der Molen still had connections with Haarlem in the 16th century. They traded in linen and cloth of Haarlem, and perhaps they had connections with the painter Maarten van Heemskerck, originally born near Haarlem. (228-230).	
Ieper		2	2	1	0		Cloth of Armentieres and Ypres purchased from local merchants. (Puttevils, 2007, 225). Agents in Antwerp, Bergen-op-Zoom, Arnemuiden (Piero di Negrino), Bruges (Adam van Riebeke), Hondschoote (Jacob van der Tombe, Anthonis Decker), Ieper, Armentieres, Lille, Amiens, Cambrai, Valenciennes, London (Martino di Federico, Maurizio de' Marini), Holland (family member of the Van der Molen). (227). The contacts of the Van der Molen in Lille, Ieper, Armentieres, Valenciennes, Cambrai, and Amiens visited the fairs of Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom. (255). Merchants of Lille, Valenciennes, Cambrai, Armentieres, Amiens and Ieper visited the fairs of Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom, and did business with the Van der Molen on these fairs. (261).	
Lyon		2	2	1	0	>1539<	Large loan by Daniel van der Molen to the Bonvisi of Lyon for a loan to the French king. However, the king in the end did not repay the interest on this	

							loan. Only in 1585, the Bonvisi repaid the loan to Frederik van der Molen, son of Daniel. (Puttevils, 2007, 193-194). Correspondence with Bernardini and Cenami and Co. in Lyon in 1539. (311 n. 11). The correspondence book (1538-1544) contains more than 1,150 copies of letters written by Pieter van der Molen and his brothers to correspondents in Italy, Spain, France, England and the Low Countries. (Puttevils, 2007, 59-60).	
Mantua		2	2	1	0	>1538-1545<	Correspondent and client (to whom the Van der Molen exported) in Mantua in 1544: Jeronimo Piperario. (Puttevils, 2007, 216, 218-219). Export to Mantua in 1543-45. (220). Clients in Rome, Ferrara, Mantua and Brescia, for whom the Van der Molen sent goods to Italy. Most of these clients were suppliers of princely courts. (228). Client and correspondent in Mantua was Jeronimo Piperario. He was a supplier of the court of Ercole Gonzaga. (232). 17 letters to Piperario have been preserved, one in 1538, all the others in 1543-44. (0.2 letter per month). (233-234). 4 bales exported from Antwerp to Mantua between 10-2-1543 and 22-9-1545. (Brulez, 1959, 480). Trade in commission for merchant(s) in Mantova. (Brulez, 1959, 489-490). At least 17 letters sent by the Van der Molen to Mantua between 1538 and 1544.	
Messina		2	2	1	0	>1544<	Correspondent of the Van der Molen in 1544. (Puttevils, 2007, 219). Imports from Messina. (220). The Azeretto di Vivaldis sent wares to Antwerp from Genoa, Venice and Messina. (Puttevils, 2007, 234). The Van der Molen sent cloth and kerseys to Messina for the Venetian branch of the Azeretto di Vivaldis. (239).	
Milan		2	2	1	0	>1543-1545<	Correspondent of the Van der Molen in 1544. (Puttevils, 2007, 219). Export to Milan in 1543-1545. (220). 4 bales exported from Antwerp to Milan between 10-2-1543 and 22-9-1545 (Brulez, 1959, 480).	
Oudenaarde		2	2	1	0	<1538-1544>	The Van der Molen ordered tapestries from a tapestry producer in Oudenaarde. (Puttevils, 2007, 232). The Van der Molen purchased tapestries directly from tapestry weavers in Brussels and Oudenaarde. (261).	
Palermo		2	2	1	0	>1544<	Correspondent of the Van der Molen in 1544. (Puttevils, 2007, 219).	
Spain		2	2	1	0	<1538-1544>	The correspondence book (1538-1544) contains more than 1,150 copies of letters written by Pieter van der Molen and his brothers to correspondents in Italy, Spain, France, England and the Low Countries. (Puttevils, 2007, 59-60).	
Trento		2	2	1	0	>1543-1545<	Export by the Van der Molen to Venice (ca. 600 lb. vl.), Ancona (ca. 600 lb. vl.), Ferrara (ca. 550 lb. vl.), and in smaller amounts also to Brescia (ca. 300	

							lb. vl.), Rome (ca. 250 lb. vl.), Verona (ca. 250 lb. vl.) and Trento (ca. 100 lb. vl.) in 1544. (Puttevils, 2007, 217-219). 28 bales exported from Antwerp to Trento between 10-2-1543 and 22-9-1545 (Brulez, 1959, 480).	
Verona		2	2	1	0	>1540-1545<	Export by the Van der Molen to Venice (ca. 600 lb. vl.), Ancona (ca. 600 lb. vl.), Ferrara (ca. 550 lb. vl.), and in smaller amounts also to Brescia (ca. 300 lb. vl.), Rome (ca. 250 lb. vl.), Verona (ca. 250 lb. vl.) and Trente (ca. 100 lb. vl.) in 1544. (Puttevils, 2007, 217-219). A shipment of cloth and kerseys was sent by the Van der Molen to Verona and from there to Vicenza for Agostino Contarini of Venice in 1540. (Puttevils, 2007, 245). 16 bales exported from Antwerp to Verona between 10-2-1543 and 22-9-1545 (Brulez, 1959, 480).	
Vicenza		1	1	1	0	>1540<	A shipment of cloth and kerseys was sent by the Van der Molen to Verona and from there to Vicenza for Agostino Contarini of Venice in 1540. (Puttevils, 2007, 245).	

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POULLE, ca. 1587 – ca. 1620

Amsterdam based (Van der Laan, 1988, 318). Family of Walloon origin, from Lille, linked by marriage to several other Walloon families, many of whom were business partners of the Poulle brothers (Van der Laan, 1988, 318). Pieter (Pierre) (Lille, 1562 - 1611) and Germain (d. Amsterdam, 1641) were partners of Van Immerseele. Other brothers, Isaac (d. Amsterdam, 1622) and Israel (Aachen, 1577 – Amsterdam, 1622), were also merchants, involved in the family firm (Van der Laan, 1988, 318). Reformed protestant family, fled from religious persecution in their home town (Van der Laan, 1988, 318). Parents of the Poulle brothers were Dominique Poulle (died before 1587) and Jenne de la Cambre, who fled from Lille to Aachen, and later to Antwerp (Van der Laan, 1988, 318-319). Sister Jenne Poulle (b. Antwerp, 1581), married to Guillaume van de Putte (Antwerp, 1569 – Amsterdam, 1644) (Van der Laan, 1988, 319). By 1587, the Poulle family had moved to Amsterdam, where they became members of the Walloon Church. Pieter Poulle became deacon in the Walloon Church in 1591 (Van der Laan, 1988, 319). Earliest traces of Pieter's commercial activities: 1587-1593. Common business between Pieter and Germain since at least 1593 (Van der Laan, 1988, 319, 321). Pieter Poulle married to Susanne du Gardin, daughter of the merchant François du Gardin (d. Amsterdam, 1620), also member of the Walloon Church of Amsterdam in 1587, and of Bonne Commelin. François du Gardin and Jan Commelin, brother of Bonne, both traded with Danzig. Marguerite, sister of Bonne and Jan Commelin, married to Jude Bonnenuit, who, with his brother Nicolas, was a trading partner of the Poulle. Susanne's brother Nicolas du Gardin (Emden, 1572 – Amsterdam, 1641) was also a trading partner of the Poulle (Van der Laan, 1988, 319-320). In 1592, Pieter Poulle involved in Baltic trade (Van der Laan, 1988, 320). From 1602 onwards, Israel Poulle joined Pieter in his commercial ventures, while Germain disappeared from the Amsterdam scene for a while (Van der Laan, 1988, 325). According to the will of Pieter Poulle and Susanne du Gardin (17-6-1601), the four brothers had formed a trading company, but no mention of how it was regulated (Van der Laan, 1988, 325). The Poulles owned shares in ships (Van der Laan, 1988, 326). Pieter Poulle died in Amsterdam in November 1611 from a grave illness (Van der Laan, 1988, 326-327). Between 1613 and 1620, Isaac Poulle traded often together with his brother-in-law Guillaume van de Putte. (Van der Laan, 1988, 327). Guillaume van de Putte, native of Antwerp, merchant, banker, shipowner and insurer. Settled originally in Cologne, where he and his brother Hans were trading in textiles in 1589. Also trade with Venice, where he was represented by his brother Peter van de Putte and Cornelis Hoons, another native of Antwerp (Van der Laan, 1988, 327). Van de Putte lived in Amsterdam in 1599, married to Jenne, sister of the Poulle brothers. Isaac married Marie, sister of Guillaume van de Putte (Van der Laan, 1988, 327). Guillaume van de Putte died in 1644 (Van der Laan, 1988, 329). Susanne du Gardin, widow of Pieter Poulle, carried on business after her husband's death (Van der Laan, 1988, 329). Some of the children and relatives of Pieter Poulle and Susanne du Gardin were still active as merchants in the early 18th century. (Van der Laan, 1988, 329). Not much is known about the activities of Germain Poulle after 1620. (Van der Laan, 1988, 329). Family originally from Lille (Stols, 1971, 199). Brothers Pieter and Germain Poulle: merchants in Amsterdam, originally from the southern Low Countries. (Gelderblom, 2000, 36, 153).

References:

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I did not consult:

Source material:

Much information in the Amsterdam notarial archives (especially charter contracts), and in the registers of baptisms, marriages and burials in the Amsterdam Municipal Archives (Van der Laan, 1988, 318, 322). Several letters between the Poulle brothers and Jan van Immerseel have been preserved in the town archives of Antwerp. (Gelderblom, 2000, 36, 153).

Size: Medium-sized or large

The preserved source material does not allow to reconstruct the size, turnover or profits of the business of the Poulle brothers. (Van der Laan, 1988, 330). In 1620, Guillaume van de Putte and Isaac Poulle were among the most substantial account holders from the southern Netherlands in the Amsterdam Exchange Bank (Van der Laan, 1988, 328).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Trade in salt. (Van der Laan, 1988, 322-323). Trade in herring, grain (especially rye, sometimes also wheat or barley), lead, pitch, flax, timber, salt, wine. (Van der Laan, 1988, 323). Pierre Poulle traded in all kinds of goods, including wax, brazil wood, wine. (Van der Laan, 1988, 326).
- Finance: Investment of capital via bottomry (*bodemerij*) in 1593 (Van der Laan, 1988, 320-321). In 1602 and 1610 investment of Pieter and Germain Poulle in shares in the Dutch East India Company’s Zeeland Chamber (Van der Laan, 1988, 324, 326). Active as maritime insurers (Van der Laan, 1988, 321-322, 325). In 1620, Guillaume van de Putte and Isaac Poulle were among the most substantial account holders from the southern Netherlands in the Amsterdam Exchange Bank (Van der Laan, 1988, 328). In 1612, Isaac Poulle was shareholder in the Amsterdam chamber of the VOC (Van der Laan, 1988, 328). Use of bills of exchange and letters obligatory. (Van der Laan, 1988, 320-321, 324-325).
- Industry:
- Shipping: The Poulles owned shares in ships (Van der Laan, 1988, 326).

Network of the Poulle brothers:

In most cases, the ships chartered by the Poulle brothers sailed to the Baltic or to France. (Van der Laan, 1988, 322). Most ships chartered by the Poulle made two-way voyages to the Baltic and the west, although occasionally ships were chartered for a single voyage to the west. (Van der Laan, 1988, 323). In the various ports with which they traded, the Poulle brothers had a clerk or factor who received the cargo, took care of the sale or delivery, loaded a return cargo, and informed the shipper about the next destination. The factor also paid the wage of the shipper. (Van der Laan, 1988, 323-324).

Table A..1. Network of the Poulle brothers, ca. 1587 – ca. 1611

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Amsterdam		8	4	3	1	>1587-1620<	Headquarters. At the latest in 1587 in Amsterdam (Pieter, Germain and Isaac Poulle). Isaac returned to Amsterdam in 1611 (Van der Laan, 1988, 318, 327). Guillaume van de Putte in Amsterdam in 1599, and again from 1606 (Van der Laan, 1988, 327). Germain Poulle back in Amsterdam since 1616 (Van der Laan, 1988, 328). Family members in Amsterdam, Utrecht, Middelburg and Rouen (Stols, 1971, 199). Pieter Poulle rented a warehouse in Amsterdam (data for 1593, 1607). (Van der Laan, 1988, 321). In 1595 Pieter and Germain Poulle insured goods with the Amsterdam merchant Roemer Visscher for a voyage from San Lucar de Barrameda or Cádiz to England, Middelburg or Amsterdam. (Van der Laan, 1988, 322). In 1596 the Poulle chartered a ship sailing in ballast from Amsterdam to Brouage, where salt was loaded. The ship then went to Danzig or Königsberg where the salt was unloaded and other merchandise loaded to be carried back to Amsterdam or to Dieppe and /or Rouen. (Van der Laan, 1988, 322-323). Some ships chartered by the Poulle sailed from Danzig not to France, but to Amsterdam, London, Lisbon, Porto, or San Lucar de Barrameda. (Van der Laan, 1988, 323). The Poulle chartered a number of ships from Amsterdam directly to France to load salt in La Rochelle, Brouage, Ile d'Oléron, or Ile de Ré (St Martin), e.g. in 1599 and 1601. (Van der Laan, 1988, 323). In 1600, the Poulle chartered a large ship of 260 tons from Amsterdam to Langesund or Larvik in Norway, and from there to La Rochelle or Bordeaux. Then the ship had to pick up salt in Brouage, Ile d'Oléron or Ile de Ré, which was to be transported to Danzig, Königsberg or Riga. Finally the ship had to head back to Amsterdam or London. (Van der Laan, 1988, 323). In	Van der Laan, 1988, 318-319

							1606, a ship was chartered by Pierre Poulle for an exceptional voyage from Enkhuizen to Königsberg, and from there to La Rochelle or Bordeaux. Then the ship was to go to Middelburg, Rotterdam or Amsterdam. (Van der Laan, 1988, 323). Two ships were chartered by Pierre Poulle to go directly from Amsterdam to Lisbon and Ayamonte. (Van der Laan, 1988, 323). The Poulle brothers were involved in bills of exchange transactions between Amsterdam and Danzig, e.g. in 1598-99, 1602. (Van der Laan, 1988, 324-325). Headquarters. (Gelderblom, 2000, 36, 153).	
Danzig		4	2	2	1	>1592-1620<	Pieter Poulle until 1592 represented in Danzig by Jacques Motte, an exchange dealer. (Van der Laan, 1988, 320). In 1592, Pieter Poulle and Nicolas Balestel owned two letters obligatory drawn on merchants in Danzig and Wrocław respectively. (Van der Laan, 1988, 320). Isaac Poulle made regular visits to Danzig, e.g. in 1599. Purchased grain for the Poulle brothers (Van der Laan, 1988, 324-325). Poulle were beneficiaries of bills of exchange drawn from Danzig on Amsterdam in 1598-99 and 1602 (Van der Laan, 1988, 324-325). 6 protests on bills of exchange drawn from Danzig with Pieter Poulle as beneficiary in 1610-1611. Pieter's connections with Danzig continued until the end of his life (Van der Laan, 1988, 326). Contacts were Nicolas and Jeronimus Grison in Danzig (1602, ca. 1613-1620) (Van der Laan, 1988, 325, 329). In 1618, representative in Danzig is Jeronimo Grison (Christensen, 1941, 235). Temporary partnership between Jan van Immerseel and the Poulle brothers of Amsterdam in 1595-1611. The Poulle imported grain from Danzig in 1595-1611. (Mees, 1984, 546-547). In 1596 the Poulle chartered a ship sailing in ballast from Amsterdam to Brouage, where salt was loaded. The ship then went to Danzig or Königsberg where the salt was unloaded and other merchandise loaded to be carried back to Amsterdam or to Dieppe and /or Rouen. (Van der Laan, 1988, 322-323). In 1597, the Poulle chartered two ships from Texel to Danzig, where a cargo of rice was loaded. From Danzig, the ships were to go to Dieppe or Rouen. (Van der Laan, 1988, 323). The Poulle chartered ships for the Baltic, especially to Danzig, but also to Königsberg, Riga, or Elbing. (Van der Laan, 1988, 323). In 1600, the Poulle chartered a large ship of 260 tons from Amsterdam to Langesund or Larvik in Norway, and from there to La Rochelle or Bordeaux. Then the ship had to pick up salt in Brouage, Ile d'Oléron or Ile de Ré, which was to be	

							transported to Danzig, Königsberg or Riga. Finally the ship had to head back to Amsterdam or London. (Van der Laan, 1988, 323). The Poulle brothers were involved in bills of exchange transactions between Amsterdam and Danzig, e.g. in 1598-99, 1602. (Van der Laan, 1988, 324-325). Isaac Poulle visited Danzig in 1599. (Van der Laan, 1988, 325). Pierre Poulle chartered the ship De Cat, in which the Poulle brothers had a share, for several voyages to Danzig and Riga (before 1607). (Van der Laan, 1988, 326). Six deeds of protest of 1610-1611, drawn up at Pierre Poulle's request, have been preserved. They all concern bills of exchange drawn from Danzig. (Van der Laan, 1988, 326). Fixed representative: Isaac Poulle (Brulez, 1959, 357; Gelderblom, 2000, 36, 153). Jan Commelin and François du Gardin, family members of the Poulle, traded with Danzig. (Van der Laan, 1988, 320).	
Middelburg		4	2	2	1	>1593-1611<	Members of the Poulle family regularly stayed in Middelburg for short periods (Van der Laan, 1988, 321, 324). Poulle brothers were beneficiaries of a bill of exchange drawn from Middelburg in 1593, which was protested. (Van der Laan, 1988, 321). Business connection in Middelburg was Arnoult le Clercq in 1593-1594, 1602 (Van der Laan, 1988, 321, 324). In 1602 and 1610 investment of Pieter and Germain Poulle in shares in the Dutch East India Company's Zeeland Chamber (Van der Laan, 1988, 324, 326). Isaac Poulle began his career as a merchant in Middelburg (Van der Laan, 1988, 324). Isaac Poulle lived in Middelburg in 1610 (Van der Laan, 1988, 326). In 1611, Isaac in Middelburg obtained power of attorney to collect Pieter Poulle's dividends from the Zeeland chamber of the East India company (Van der Laan, 1988, 326). In 1611, Isaac returned to Amsterdam (Van der Laan, 1988, 327). Guillaume van de Putte in Middelburg at least in 1602, until 1606 (Van der Laan, 1988, 327). Family members in Amsterdam, Utrecht, Middelburg and Rouen (Stols, 1971, 199). In 1595 Pieter and Germain Poulle insured goods with the Amsterdam merchant Roemer Visscher for a voyage from San Lucar de Barrameda or Cádiz to England, Middelburg or Amsterdam. (Van der Laan, 1988, 322). In 1606, a ship was chartered by Pierre Poulle for an exceptional voyage from Enkhuizen to Königsberg, and from there to La Rochelle or Bordeaux. Then the ship was to go to Middelburg, Rotterdam or Amsterdam. (Van der Laan, 1988, 323). In 1597, cochineal was sent from Sevilla via Van Immerseel to Middelburg,	

							and from there to Pierre Poulle in Amsterdam. (Van der Laan, 1988, 324). In 1606 Guillaume van de Putte, brother-in-law of the Poulle, lived in Middelburg. (Van der Laan, 1988, 327). Fixed representative. (Gelderblom, 2000, 36, 153).	
Rouen		4	2	2	1	>1596-1616<	Germain Poulle in Rouen in 1603 and 1609, presumably as a representative of the firm (Van der Laan, 1988, 325). Poulle had close links with Rouen: in 1606, Pieter transferred 2,589 guilders by bill of exchange to a Rouen merchant, Guillaume Bosquet (Van der Laan, 1988, 325). In 1616, Germain Poulle, his wife and two daughters returned from Rouen (Van der Laan, 1988, 328). Family members in Amsterdam, Utrecht, Middelburg and Rouen (Stols, 1971, 199). In 1596 the Poulle chartered a ship sailing in ballast from Amsterdam to Brouage, where salt was loaded. The ship then went to Danzig or Königsberg where the salt was unloaded and other merchandise loaded to be carried back to Amsterdam or to Dieppe and /or Rouen. (Van der Laan, 1988, 322-323). In 1597, the Poulle chartered two ships from Texel to Danzig, where a cargo of rice was loaded. From Danzig, the ships were to go to Dieppe or Rouen. (Van der Laan, 1988, 323). The return trip of ships chartered by the Poulle to the Baltic was normally destined for a harbour in north western France: Rouen, Dieppe, Le Havre (Hable Neuf), Honfleur, or Calais, and sometimes as far south as Bordeaux or Bayonne. (Van der Laan, 1988, 323). Fixed representative. (Gelderblom, 2000, 36, 153).	
Antwerp		3	2	2	1	>1584-1611<	Business contact in Antwerp was Jan van Immerseele. Van Immerseele's wife died at the house of the Poulle brothers in Amsterdam in 1584. (Van der Laan, 1988, 317-318, 320, 324). Close connections between the Poulle brothers (Pierre, Israel, Isaac and Germain) and Jan van Immerseel (Stols, 1971, 199). Temporary partnership between Jan van Immerseel and the Poulle brothers of Amsterdam in 1595-1611. The Poulle imported grain from Danzig. (Mees, 1984, 546-547). Walran Dragon, a merchant of Antwerp, had links with Pierre Poulle as early as 1592. Judith, daughter of Walran Dragon, was married to Israel Poulle. (Van der Laan, 1988, 327). Representative in Antwerp: Jan van Immerseele (participation trade) (Brulez, 1959, 357). Fixed representative. (Gelderblom, 2000, 36, 153).	Van der Laan, 1988, 317-318
Bayonne		3	2	2	1		The return trip of ships chartered by the Poulle to the Baltic was normally destined for a harbour in north western France: Rouen, Dieppe, Le Havre	

							(Hable Neuf), Honfleur, or Calais, and sometimes as far south as Bordeaux or Bayonne. (Van der Laan, 1988, 323).	
Bordeaux		3	2	2	1	>1600-1606<	The return trip of ships chartered by the Poulle to the Baltic was normally destined for a harbour in north western France: Rouen, Dieppe, Le Havre (Hable Neuf), Honfleur, or Calais, and sometimes as far south as Bordeaux or Bayonne. (Van der Laan, 1988, 323). In 1600, the Poulle chartered a large ship of 260 tons from Amsterdam to Langesund or Larvik in Norway, and from there to La Rochelle or Bordeaux. Then the ship had to pick up salt in Brouage, Ile d'Oléron or Ile de Ré, which was to be transported to Danzig, Königsberg or Riga. Finally the ship had to head back to Amsterdam or London. (Van der Laan, 1988, 323). In 1606, a ship was chartered by Pierre Poulle for an exceptional voyage from Enkhuizen to Königsberg, and from there to La Rochelle or Bordeaux. Then the ship was to go to Middelburg, Rotterdam or Amsterdam. (Van der Laan, 1988, 323).	
Brouage		3	2	2	1	>1596-1601<	In 1596 the Poulle chartered a ship sailing in ballast from Amsterdam to Brouage, where salt was loaded. The ship then went to Danzig or Königsberg where the salt was unloaded and other merchandise loaded to be carried back to Amsterdam or to Dieppe and /or Rouen. (Van der Laan, 1988, 322-323). The Poulle chartered a number of ships from Amsterdam directly to France to load salt in La Rochelle, Brouage, Ile d'Oléron, or Ile de Ré (St Martin), e.g. in 1599 and 1601. (Van der Laan, 1988, 323). In 1600, the Poulle chartered a large ship of 260 tons from Amsterdam to Langesund or Larvik in Norway, and from there to La Rochelle or Bordeaux. Then the ship had to pick up salt in Brouage, Ile d'Oléron or Ile de Ré, which was to be transported to Danzig, Königsberg or Riga. Finally the ship had to head back to Amsterdam or London. (Van der Laan, 1988, 323).	
Calais		3	2	2	1		The return trip of ships chartered by the Poulle to the Baltic was normally destined for a harbour in north western France: Rouen, Dieppe, Le Havre (Hable Neuf), Honfleur, or Calais, and sometimes as far south as Bordeaux or Bayonne. (Van der Laan, 1988, 323).	
Dieppe		3	2	2	1	>1596-1604<	In 1596 the Poulle chartered a ship sailing in ballast from Amsterdam to Brouage, where salt was loaded. The ship then went to Danzig or Königsberg where the salt was unloaded and other merchandise loaded to be carried back to Amsterdam or to Dieppe and /or Rouen. (Van der Laan, 1988, 322-323). In 1597, the Poulle chartered two ships from Texel to	

							Danzig, where a cargo of rice was loaded. From Danzig, the ships were to go to Dieppe or Rouen. (Van der Laan, 1988, 323). The return trip of ships chartered by the Poulle to the Baltic was normally destined for a harbour in north western France: Rouen, Dieppe, Le Havre (Hable Neuf), Honfleur, or Calais, and sometimes as far south as Bordeaux or Bayonne. (Van der Laan, 1988, 323). Pierre Poulle and Jan Commelin guaranteed a charter contract in 1604, whereby Thomas Estienne, a merchant from Dieppe, chartered a ship to go to Norway and back to Dieppe. (Van der Laan, 1988, 325).	
Elbing		3	2	2	1		The Poulle chartered ships for the Baltic, especially to Danzig, but also to Königsberg, Riga, or Elbing (Melving). (Van der Laan, 1988, 323).	
Le Havre		3	2	2	1	>1618<	The return trip of ships chartered by the Poulle to the Baltic was normally destined for a harbour in north western France: Rouen, Dieppe, Le Havre (Hable Neuf), Honfleur, or Calais, and sometimes as far south as Bordeaux or Bayonne. (Van der Laan, 1988, 323). Representative in Hable (?) in 1618: Jonas Langelois (Christensen, 1941, 235).	
Honfleur		3	2	2	1		The return trip of ships chartered by the Poulle to the Baltic was normally destined for a harbour in north western France: Rouen, Dieppe, Le Havre (Hable Neuf), Honfleur, or Calais, and sometimes as far south as Bordeaux or Bayonne. (Van der Laan, 1988, 323).	
Königsberg		3	2	2	1	>1596-1618<	Representative in Königsberg in 1618: Jacob Erlock (commis) (Christensen, 1941, 235). In 1596 the Poulle chartered a ship sailing in ballast from Amsterdam to Brouage, where salt was loaded. The ship then went to Danzig or Königsberg where the salt was unloaded and other merchandise loaded to be carried back to Amsterdam or to Dieppe and /or Rouen. (Van der Laan, 1988, 322-323). The Poulle chartered ships for the Baltic, especially to Danzig, but also to Königsberg, Riga, or Elbing. (Van der Laan, 1988, 323). In 1600, the Poulle chartered a large ship of 260 tons from Amsterdam to Langesund or Larvik in Norway, and from there to La Rochelle or Bordeaux. Then the ship had to pick up salt in Brouage, Ile d'Oléron or Ile de Ré, which was to be transported to Danzig, Königsberg or Riga. Finally the ship had to head back to Amsterdam or London. (Van der Laan, 1988, 323). In 1606, a ship was chartered by Pierre Poulle for an exceptional voyage from Enkhuizen to Königsberg, and from there to La Rochelle or Bordeaux. Then the ship was to go to Middelburg, Rotterdam or Amsterdam. (Van der Laan, 1988, 323).	

Lisbon		3	2	2	1	>1612<	Use of the agents of Van Immerseele for sale of grain from the Baltic (Van der Laan, 1988, 324). Israel Poulle (Utrecht) had a correspondent in Lisbon in 1612 (Stols, 1971, 264). Some ships chartered by the Poulle sailed from Danzig not to France, but to Amsterdam, London, Lisbon, Porto, or San Lucar de Barrameda. (Van der Laan, 1988, 323). Two ships were chartered by Pierre Poulle to go directly from Amsterdam to Lisbon and Ayamonte. (Van der Laan, 1988, 323).	
London		3	2	2	1	>1593-1600<	Poulle brothers were beneficiaries of a bill of exchange drawn from London in 1593, which was protested. (Van der Laan, 1988, 321). In 1594, Pieter Poulle stood surety for the charter of a vessel for a voyage to England and subsequently to ports in Spain. (Van der Laan, 1988, 321). In 1595 Pieter and Germain Poulle insured goods with the Amsterdam merchant Roemer Visscher for a voyage from San Lucar de Barrameda or Cádiz to England, Middelburg or Amsterdam. (Van der Laan, 1988, 322). Some ships chartered by the Poulle sailed from Danzig not to France, but to Amsterdam, London, Lisbon, Porto, or San Lucar de Barrameda. (Van der Laan, 1988, 323). In 1600, the Poulle chartered a large ship of 260 tons from Amsterdam to Langesund or Larvik in Norway, and from there to La Rochelle or Bordeaux. Then the ship had to pick up salt in Brouage, Ile d'Oléron or Ile de Ré, which was to be transported to Danzig, Königsberg or Riga. Finally the ship had to head back to Amsterdam or London. (Van der Laan, 1988, 323).	
Oléron (Ile d')		3	2	2	1	>1599-1601<	The Poulle chartered a number of ships from Amsterdam directly to France to load salt in La Rochelle, Brouage, Ile d'Oléron, or Ile de Ré (St Martin), e.g. in 1599 and 1601. (Van der Laan, 1988, 323). In 1600, the Poulle chartered a large ship of 260 tons from Amsterdam to Langesund or Larvik in Norway, and from there to La Rochelle or Bordeaux. Then the ship had to pick up salt in Brouage, Ile d'Oléron or Ile de Ré, which was to be transported to Danzig, Königsberg or Riga. Finally the ship had to head back to Amsterdam or London. (Van der Laan, 1988, 323).	
Porto		3	2	2	1		Some ships chartered by the Poulle sailed from Danzig not to France, but to Amsterdam, London, Lisbon, Porto, or San Lucar de Barrameda. (Van der Laan, 1988, 323).	
Riga		3	2	2	1	>1600<	The Poulle chartered ships for the Baltic, especially to Danzig, but also to Königsberg, Riga, or Elbing. (Van der Laan, 1988, 323). In 1600, the Poulle chartered a large ship of 260 tons from Amsterdam to Langesund or Larvik	

							in Norway, and from there to La Rochelle or Bordeaux. Then the ship had to pick up salt in Brouage, Ile d'Oléron or Ile de Ré, which was to be transported to Danzig, Königsberg or Riga. Finally the ship had to head back to Amsterdam or London. (Van der Laan, 1988, 323). Pierre Poulle chartered the ship De Cat, in which the Poulle brothers had a share, for several voyages to Danzig and Riga (before 1607). (Van der Laan, 1988, 326).	
La Rochelle		3	2	2	1	>1599-1606<	The Poulle chartered a number of ships from Amsterdam directly to France to load salt in La Rochelle, Brouage, Ile d'Oléron, or Ile de Ré (St Martin), e.g. in 1599 and 1601. (Van der Laan, 1988, 323). In 1600, the Poulle chartered a large ship of 260 tons from Amsterdam to Langesund or Larvik in Norway, and from there to La Rochelle or Bordeaux. Then the ship had to pick up salt in Brouage, Ile d'Oléron or Ile de Ré, which was to be transported to Danzig, Königsberg or Riga. Finally the ship had to head back to Amsterdam or London. (Van der Laan, 1988, 323). In 1606, a ship was chartered by Pierre Poulle for an exceptional voyage from Enkhuizen to Königsberg, and from there to La Rochelle or Bordeaux. Then the ship was to go to Middelburg, Rotterdam or Amsterdam. (Van der Laan, 1988, 323).	
Saint-Martin-de-Ré		3	2	2	1	>1599-1601<	The Poulle chartered a number of ships from Amsterdam directly to France to load salt in La Rochelle, Brouage, Ile d'Oléron, or Ile de Ré (St Martin), e.g. in 1599 and 1601. (Van der Laan, 1988, 323). In 1600, the Poulle chartered a large ship of 260 tons from Amsterdam to Langesund or Larvik in Norway, and from there to La Rochelle or Bordeaux. Then the ship had to pick up salt in Brouage, Ile d'Oléron or Ile de Ré, which was to be transported to Danzig, Königsberg or Riga. Finally the ship had to head back to Amsterdam or London. (Van der Laan, 1988, 323).	
San Lúcar		3	2	2	1	>1595<	In 1595 Pieter and Germain Poulle insured goods with the Amsterdam merchant Roemer Visscher for a voyage from San Lucar de Barrameda or Cádiz to England, Middelburg or Amsterdam. (Van der Laan, 1988, 322). Some ships chartered by the Poulle sailed from Danzig not to France, but to Amsterdam, London, Lisbon, Porto, or San Lucar de Barrameda. (Van der Laan, 1988, 323). In 1594, Pieter Poulle stood surety for the charter of a vessel for a voyage to England and subsequently to ports in Spain. (Van der Laan, 1988, 321).	
Szczecin		3	2	2	1	>1608<	Partnership of Pieter, Isaac and a third party with Paul Vleck of Stettin in 1608. Each chartered ¼ in two vessels in Zeeland, loaded with salt, barrels	

							and money. The ships were to sail for Stettin with a cargo of herring. Returns on this cargo were to be used by Vleck for the purchase of rye and wheat for return voyage (Van der Laan, 1988, 326). The Poulle chartered some ships for Stettin. (Van der Laan, 1988, 323). Fixed representative. (Gelderblom, 2000, 36, 153). Germain Poulle chartered ships to Szczecin. (Bogucka, 1973, 445).	
Ayamonte		2	2	1	0		Two ships were chartered by Pierre Poulle to go directly from Amsterdam to Lisbon and Ayamonte. (Van der Laan, 1988, 323).	
East Indies		2	2	1	0	>1602-1612<	In 1602 and 1610 investment of Pieter and Germain Poulle in shares in the Dutch East India Company's Zeeland Chamber (Van der Laan, 1988, 324, 326). In 1612, Isaac Poulle was shareholder in the Amsterdam chamber of the VOC (Van der Laan, 1988, 328).	
Enkhuizen		2	2	1	0	1606	In 1606, a ship was chartered by Pierre Poulle for an exceptional voyage from Enkhuizen to Königsberg, and from there to La Rochelle or Bordeaux. Then the ship was to go to Middelburg, Rotterdam or Amsterdam. (Van der Laan, 1988, 323).	
Sevilla		2	2	1	0	>1612<	Use of the agents of Van Immerseele for sale of grain from the Baltic (Van der Laan, 1988, 324). Correspondent of Israel Poulle in Sevilla in 1612: Guillermo van Immerseel (Stols, 1971, 264 n. 71). In 1597, cochineal was sent from Sevilla via Van Immerseel to Middelburg, and from there to Pierre Poulle in Amsterdam. (Van der Laan, 1988, 324).	
Texel		2	2	1	0	>1597<	In 1597, the Poulle chartered two ships from Texel to Danzig, where a cargo of rice was loaded. From Danzig, the ships were to go to Dieppe or Rouen. (Van der Laan, 1988, 323). Sometimes, shippers chartered by the Poulle were informed in Texel about the next destination of their ship. (Van der Laan, 1988, 324).	
Utrecht		2	2	1	0	>1612<	Family members in Amsterdam, Utrecht, Middelburg and Rouen (Stols, 1971, 199). Israel Poulle was in Utrecht (1612) (Stols, 1971, 264, 264 n. 71).	
Venice		2	2	1	0		Pieter Poulle had dealings with Peter van de Putte in Venice.	Van der Laan, 1988, 327
Cádiz		1	1	1	0	>1595<	In 1595 Pieter and Germain Poulle insured goods with the Amsterdam merchant Roemer Visscher for a voyage from San Lucar de Barrameda or Cádiz to England, Middelburg or Amsterdam. (Van der Laan, 1988, 322).	
Guinea		1	1	1	0	1600	In 1600, Pierre Poulle insured a ship sailing to Guinea, which was wrecked on the way. (Van der Laan, 1988, 325).	

Guyanas		1	1	1	0		Jan Commelin, relative of the Poulle, was one of the four directors of the company trading with Guyana and Oyapock in South America. It is not known whether Pierre Poulle was also involved in the company. (Van der Laan, 1988, 325-326).	
Langesund		1	1	1	0	1600	In 1600, the Poulle chartered a large ship of 260 tons from Amsterdam to Langesund or Larvik in Norway, and from there to La Rochelle or Bordeaux. Then the ship had to pick up salt in Brouage, Ile d'Oléron or Ile de Ré, which was to be transported to Danzig, Königsberg or Riga. Finally the ship had to head back to Amsterdam or London. (Van der Laan, 1988, 323).	
Larvik		1	1	1	0	1600	In 1600, the Poulle chartered a large ship of 260 tons from Amsterdam to Langesund or Larvik in Norway, and from there to La Rochelle or Bordeaux. Then the ship had to pick up salt in Brouage, Ile d'Oléron or Ile de Ré, which was to be transported to Danzig, Königsberg or Riga. Finally the ship had to head back to Amsterdam or London. (Van der Laan, 1988, 323).	
Öresund		1	1	1	0		Sometimes, the shipper was informed about the next destination on the return voyage from the Baltic in an inn near the Sound. (Van der Laan, 1988, 324).	
Rotterdam		1	1	1	0	1606	In 1606, a ship was chartered by Pierre Poulle for an exceptional voyage from Enkhuizen to Königsberg, and from there to La Rochelle or Bordeaux. Then the ship was to go to Middelburg, Rotterdam or Amsterdam. (Van der Laan, 1988, 323).	
Wrocław		1	1	1	0	1592	In 1592, Pieter Poulle and Nicolas Balestel owned two letters obligatory drawn on merchants in Danzig and Wrocław respectively. (Van der Laan, 1988, 320).	

+ 14 charter contracts in which Pieter and Germain Poulle appeared as charterers between 27 February 1596 and 4 April 1600. Pieter Poulle also sole charterer in 1597-98 (3 times) and 6 times between 21 July 1601 and 29 August 1606, in which time he terminated his cooperative arrangement with Germain. All these deeds were drawn up by the Amsterdam notary Jan Franssen Bruyningh. Not all charter contracts were recorded in the presence of a notary however, so no complete picture (Van der Laan, 1988, 322).

+ The trade of Isaac Poulle and Guillaume van de Putte (1613-1620), and of Germain Poulle in 1618 have not been included in the table above. Their trade networks were similar to that of Pierre Poulle before, but also included Italy (in the case of Isaac Poulle and Guillaume van de Putte). (Van der Laan, 1988, 327-328).

JEAN RESTEAU, 1569 – 1597

Jean Resteau was a merchant from Cambrai, who settled in Cologne in 1569. One of his account-books has been preserved. The firm had agents in many towns. It dealt mainly in silk, velvet and satin from Italy, as well as in English and Dutch cloth. In the 5 years which preceded its bankruptcy (1587-1592) the firm bought goods to the value of nearly 50,000 Flemish pounds in Cologne and Frankfurt, for resale chiefly in Stade and Middelburg (Dollinger, 1970, 354-355; Thimme, 1912, 454). The firm of Jean Resteau went bankrupt ca. 1597. The firm had debts to not less than 57 creditors. (Thimme, 1912, 455). The firm went bankrupt in 1597 (Brulez, 1960, 292).

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I did not consult:

Source material:

One of the account books of Jean Resteau has been preserved. (Dollinger, 1970, 354-355; Thimme, 1912, 455).

Size: Medium-sized or large

The firm of Jean Resteau was a large firm of Flemish origin in Cologne. (Thimme, 1912, 455).

Main activities:

- Commerce: The firm of Jean Resteau dealt mainly in silk, velvet and satin from Italy, as well as in English and Dutch cloth. (Dollinger, 1970, 354-355). Trade in satin, velvet, silks, fustians, damast, shoes, cotton, cloth, kerseys, bombasins, etc. (Thimme, 1912, 454).
- Finance:
- Industry:
- Shipping: The firm of Jean Resteau owned a number of ships, such as "Le chat noir" and "l'Espérance". (Thimme, 1912, 454).

Network of Jean Resteau:

Table A..1. Network of Jean Resteau, 1569 – 1597								
City	**R**	**Score**				**Period**	**Type of presence**	**References**
Cologne		8	4	3	1	1569-1597	Jean Resteau was a merchant from Cambrai who settled in Cologne in 1569. He went bankrupt in 1597 (Dollinger, 1970, 354-355). In the 5 years which preceded its bankruptcy (1587-1592) the firm bought goods to the value of nearly 50,000 Flemish pounds in Cologne and Frankfurt, for resale chiefly in Stade and Middelburg (Dollinger, 1970, 354-355). Resteau purchased most Italian wares from Italian merchants in Cologne and Frankfurt am Main. (Thimme, 1912, 454). Partner of Resteau in Cologne was Jean Merman. (Thimme, 1912, 454). In the period from 1 February 1587 until 10 September 1592, the firm of Jean Resteau purchased goods for a value of 46,898 lb. fl. 19s. 8d. in Cologne and Frankfurt. (Thimme, 1912, 454).	
Hamburg		6	3	2	1		Ca. 1619, business connections between Daniel Resteau in Cologne and Anton Engelbrecht in Hamburg (Kellenbenz, 1954, 198). According to Brulez, 1960, 292, Jean Resteau had connections with Venice, Hamburg, Stade, Nürnberg, Liège, Antwerp, Middelburg, Amsterdam, London, Rouen, Caen, La Rochelle (Brulez, 1960, 292). Partner of Resteau in Hamburg was Nikolaus Bernart. (Thimme, 1912, 454).	
Frankfurt am Main		4	2	2	1	>1587-1592<	In the 5 years which preceded its bankruptcy (1587-1592) the firm bought goods to the value of nearly 50,000 Flemish pounds in Cologne and Frankfurt, for resale chiefly in Stade and Middelburg (Dollinger, 1970, 354-355). Staff of the company of Johann Resteau of Cambrai, who had established his company in Cologne, and of his son Daniel Resteau, were regular visitors of the Frankfurt fairs. Johann Resteau went bankrupt in 1597. (Dietz, 1921, II, 311). Resteau purchased most Italian wares from Italian merchants in Cologne and Frankfurt am Main. (Thimme, 1912, 454). In the period from 1 February 1587 until 10 September 1592, the firm of Jean Resteau purchased goods for a value of 46,898 lb. fl. 19s. 8d. in Cologne and Frankfurt. (Thimme, 1912, 454).	
Middelburg		4	2	2	1	>1587-1592<	In the 5 years which preceded its bankruptcy (1587-1592) the firm bought goods to the value of nearly 50,000 Flemish pounds in Cologne and Frankfurt, for resale chiefly in Stade and Middelburg (Dollinger, 1970, 354-	

							355). According to Brulez, 1960, 292, Jean Resteau had connections with Venice, Hamburg, Stade, Nürnberg, Liège, Antwerp, Middelburg, Amsterdam, London, Rouen, Caen, La Rochelle (Brulez, 1960, 292). Factor of Resteau in Middelburg was Rolant Faulconnier. (Thimme, 1912, 454). In the period from 1 February 1587 until 10 September 1592, the firm of Jean Resteau sold goods for a value of 12,485 lb. fl. 10s. 6d. in Middelburg. (Thimme, 1912, 454).	
Stade		4	2	2	1	>1587-1592<	In the 5 years which preceded its bankruptcy (1587-1592) the firm bought goods to the value of nearly 50,000 Flemish pounds in Cologne and Frankfurt, for resale chiefly in Stade and Middelburg (Dollinger, 1970, 354-355). The firm of Jean Resteau had agents in Liège, Amsterdam, London, Stade, Nürnberg, Rouen, Caen and La Rochelle (Dollinger, 1970, 354). According to Brulez, 1960, 292, Jean Resteau had connections with Venice, Hamburg, Stade, Neurenberg, Liege, Antwerp, Middelburg, Amsterdam, London, Rouen, Caen, La Rochelle (Brulez, 1960, 292). Factor of Resteau in Stade was Anton Geyr. (Thimme, 1912, 454). In the period from 1 February 1587 until 10 September 1592, the firm of Jean Resteau sold goods for a value of 20,388 lb. fl. 6s. 7d. in Stade. (Thimme, 1912, 454).	
Amsterdam		3	2	2	1	>1587-1592<	The firm of Jean Resteau had agents in Liège, Amsterdam, London, Stade, Nürnberg, Rouen, Caen and La Rochelle (Dollinger, 1970, 354). According to Brulez, 1960, 292, Jean Resteau had connections with Venice, Hamburg, Stade, Neurenberg, Liege, Antwerp, Middelburg, Amsterdam, London, Rouen, Caen, La Rochelle (Brulez, 1960, 292). Factor of Resteau in Amsterdam was Georg Rintorp. (Thimme, 1912, 454). In the period from 1 February 1587 until 10 September 1592, the firm of Jean Resteau sold goods for a value of 7,792 lb. fl. 5s. 6d. in Amsterdam. (Thimme, 1912, 454).	
Antwerp		3	2	2	1		According to Brulez, 1960, 292, Jean Resteau had connections with Venice, Hamburg, Stade, Neurenberg, Liege, Antwerp, Middelburg, Amsterdam, London, Rouen, Caen, La Rochelle (Brulez, 1960, 292). Factor of Resteau in Antwerp was Jean Barrat. (Thimme, 1912, 454).	
Bordeaux		3	2	2	1		One of the ships of the firm of Jean Resteau, the Black Cat, plied between Königsberg and Bordeaux (Dollinger, 1970, 354-355). The ship “Le chat noir” of Resteau, sailed between Bordeaux and Königsberg. (Thimme, 1912,	

							454). The ship “l’Espérance” of Jean Resteau sailed to Bordeaux. (Thimme, 1912, 454).	
Caen		3	2	2	1		The firm of Jean Resteau had agents in Liège, Amsterdam, London, Stade, Nürnberg, Rouen, Caen and La Rochelle (Dollinger, 1970, 354). According to Brulez, 1960, 292, Jean Resteau had connections with Venice, Hamburg, Stade, Neurenberg, Liege, Antwerp, Middelburg, Amsterdam, London, Rouen, Caen, La Rochelle (Brulez, 1960, 292). Factor of Resteau in Caen was Samuel de la Forterie. (Thimme, 1912, 454).	
Königsberg		3	2	2	1		One of the ships of the firm of Jean Resteau, the Black Cat, plied between Königsberg and Bordeaux (Dollinger, 1970, 354-355). The ship “Le chat noir” of Resteau, sailed between Bordeaux and Königsberg. (Thimme, 1912, 454).	
Liège		3	2	2	1		The firm of Jean Resteau had agents in Liège, Amsterdam, London, Stade, Nürnberg, Rouen, Caen and La Rochelle (Dollinger, 1970, 354). According to Brulez, 1960, 292, Jean Resteau had connections with Venice, Hamburg, Stade, Neurenberg, Liege, Antwerp, Middelburg, Amsterdam, London, Rouen, Caen, La Rochelle (Brulez, 1960, 292). Factor of Resteau in Liège was Gilbert Henont. (Thimme, 1912, 454).	
London		3	2	2	1	>1587-1592<	The firm of Jean Resteau had agents in Liège, Amsterdam, London, Stade, Nürnberg, Rouen, Caen and La Rochelle (Dollinger, 1970, 354). According to Brulez, 1960, 292, Jean Resteau had connections with Venice, Hamburg, Stade, Neurenberg, Liege, Antwerp, Middelburg, Amsterdam, London, Rouen, Caen, La Rochelle (Brulez, 1960, 292). Factors of Resteau in London were Matthieu Sohier and Augustin de Beaulieu. (Thimme, 1912, 454). In the period from 1 February 1587 until 10 September 1592, the firm of Jean Resteau sold goods for a value of 8,817 lb. fl. 0s. 10d. in London. (Thimme, 1912, 454).	
Nürnberg		3	2	2	1		The firm of Jean Resteau had agents in Liège, Amsterdam, London, Stade, Nürnberg, Rouen, Caen and La Rochelle (Dollinger, 1970, 354). According to Brulez, 1960, 292, Jean Resteau had connections with Venice, Hamburg, Stade, Neurenberg, Liege, Antwerp, Middelburg, Amsterdam, London, Rouen, Caen, La Rochelle (Brulez, 1960, 292). Factors of Resteau in Nürnberg were Pierre Gabri and Pierre van Odurlo. (Thimme, 1912, 454).	
La Rochelle		3	2	2	1		The firm of Jean Resteau had agents in Liège, Amsterdam, London, Stade, Nürnberg, Rouen, Caen and La Rochelle (Dollinger, 1970, 354). According	

							to Brulez, 1960, 292, Jean Resteau had connections with Venice, Hamburg, Stade, Neurenberg, Liege, Antwerp, Middelburg, Amsterdam, London, Rouen, Caen, La Rochelle (Brulez, 1960, 292). Factor of Resteau in La Rochelle was Robert Bernart. (Thimme, 1912, 454).	
Rouen		3	2	2	1		The firm of Jean Resteau had agents in Liège, Amsterdam, London, Stade, Nürnberg, Rouen, Caen and La Rochelle (Dollinger, 1970, 354). According to Brulez, 1960, 292, Jean Resteau had connections with Venice, Hamburg, Stade, Neurenberg, Liege, Antwerp, Middelburg, Amsterdam, London, Rouen, Caen, La Rochelle (Brulez, 1960, 292). Factor of Resteau in Rouen was Daniel Loiseleur. (Thimme, 1912, 454).	
Venice		3	2	2	1		According to Brulez, 1960, 292, Jean Resteau had connections with Venice, Hamburg, Stade, Neurenberg, Liege, Antwerp, Middelburg, Amsterdam, London, Rouen, Caen, La Rochelle (Brulez, 1960, 292). Representative in Venice: Cornelius de Robiano. However, Resteau purchased most Italian wares from Italian merchants in Cologne and Frankfurt am Main. (Thimme, 1912, 454).	
Cambrai		1	1	1	0	before 1569	Jean Resteau was a merchant from Cambrai who moved to Cologne in 1569 (Dollinger, 1970, 354). Jean Resteau came in 1569 from Cambrai to Cologne. (Thimme, 1912, 454).	

+ Thimme (1912, 456) describes the representatives of Resteau abroad as factors, Brulez (1960) and Dollinger (1970) speak more generally about agents or connections however. I have followed the latter authors, attributing these connections a score 3-2-2-1 (4-2-2-1 in case of purchases/sales for more than 10,000 lb. vl. between 1587 and 1592).

SCHETZ, before 1515 – end 1570s

Erasmus Schetz: German immigrant to Antwerp (Limberger, 2001, 59). Export to Germany: English cloth to Leipzig, pepper. Also export to the northern Low Countries, and England and Spain. (Brulez, 1959, 493-496).
Headquarters: Antwerp. Enterprise of Erasmus Schetz and Sons. A family enterprise of German origin that was actually founded in Antwerp. Schetz could be considered to be from Antwerp, as many scholars have, since by the 1540s he had lived in Antwerp for a long time. However, Erasmus Schetz was born in the vicinity of Aachen to Koenraad van Schetzenberg and the daughter of a German copper merchant. His mother's uncle, named Rutger Kranz, who was living in Antwerp in the St. Joris parish and was apparently quite rich but had no children, said he would make Erasmus his heir if he would come to Antwerp and enter into his copper trade. His marriage to Ida van Richtergem, daughter of a merchant of Aachen resident in Antwerp, further solidified his ties to Germany. Schetz made his fortune as a result of this partnership with his great-uncle. Upon the death of Erasmus in 1550, the firm survived as Gaspar Schetz and brothers (Harreld, 2004, 81-82). The Schetz firm possessed sugar plantations in Brazil in the 2nd half of the 16th c. (Brulez, 1960, 298). "Aufstieg" of Erasmus Schetz in Antwerp in 1522 (Von Pölnitz, 1960, 355). Death of Erasmus Schetz in 1550. Succeeded by Gaspar Schetz (Von Pölnitz, 1960, 371). Erasmus Schetz was the son in law of Nikolaus van Rechterghen, merchant in Antwerp, originally from Aachen. In 1498, he bought a piece of land in Antwerp, on which he built his "Huis van Aken". In 1503/04, he was presumably the first merchant to have sold spices from Antwerp to High Germany. He died in 1515. His business was taken over by his son in law Erasmus Schetz, who became one of the most important merchants of Antwerp. (Schaper, 1973, 211, 211n. 842). Factor of Erasmus Schetz in London was the Spanish merchant Alvaro de Castro. (Mollat, 1970, 53). Erasmus Schetz "wordt vaak beschouwd als een Antwerpenaar maar is eigenlijk geboren in Aken. Volgens Lodovico Guicciardini was de familie Schetz afkomstig uit Maastricht. Hij volgde zijn grootoom Rutger Kranz op in diens koperhandel in Antwerpen. Schetz was een giovane of leerling-koopman in Lissabon en huwde met de dochter van de specerijenmagnaat Claes van Rechtergem, een stadsgenoot uit Aken gevestigd in Antwerpen. Zo verwierf hij waarschijnlijk heel wat knowhow over de specerijenhandel. Daarnaast was hij ook actief in de lakenhandel. Zijn drie zonen werden allemaal ook succesvolle zakenlui. Twee ervan hadden zelfs suikerplantages in Brazilië. Ze handelden ook voor grote sommen geld met het Iberisch schiereiland. In de jaren ’60 van de zestiende eeuw controleerde de familie Schetz de hele mijnbouw rond Aken. De familie was ook betrokken bij het bestuur van de Nederlanden onder Filips II. Gecombineerd met de religieuze problemen is die participatie waarschijnlijk de oorzaak voor het verval van de firma aan het einde van de jaren ’70". (Puttevils, 2007, 145).
Maybe SCHE is a member of the family. A member of SDNS belongs to SCHZ family. Widow of Jean Charles AFFA remarried Balthasar SCHZ (Denuce, 1934, 47). Gaspar SCHZ was a friend of Thomas GRES (Denuce, 1934, 47).
Gaspar Schetz, and his brother Balthasar Schetz (Denucé, 1934, 47). Export of diamonds from Antwerp to Stockholm, Reval, Danzig (with Pruynen) (Goris, 1925, 253-261); Gaspar Schetz was financial agent and tresorier of the court in the Low Countries, ambassador in England (Denuce, 1934, 47). Silver, diamonds (Goris, 1925, 255, 261).
The most visible of the Spanish merchants in Antwerp were the agents of the Habsburg rulers. These royal merchants represented the interests of the Spanish king in both the marketplace and in the Antwerp Bourse, and were forbidden to conduct any business other than for the king. While

the king's agent was usually a Spaniard, occasionally natives of Antwerp were appointed, as in the case of the Antwerp merchant Gaspar Schetz who held the post from 1555 to 1561 (Harreld, 2004, 57-58). Upon the death of Erasmus Schetz in 1550, the firm survived as Gaspar Schetz and brothers. The Schetz brothers (Gaspar, Balthasar and Melchior) expanded their business opportunities by entering into partnerships with other merchants. In one case they entered into an agreement with two of their factors, Christoffel Pruynen in Antwerp and their Leipzig factor named Adrian, for a period of 6 years. The partnership was divided into three equal shares with the Schetz' controlling one third. The Schetz brothers had no management responsibilities in this venture (Harreld, 2004, 81-82). As a result of the Schetz family involvement in the government of the Low Countries under Philip II and some disruption due to religious issues, the Schetz firm went into decline by the end of the 1570s (Harreld, 2004, 158). The Schetz had a representative at the Spanish court ca. 1557: Hans "Fleming" (Kellenbenz, 1990, 233). Gaspar Schetz was the son of Erasmus Schetz. In 1552, Gaspar Schetz became Rat of the emperor and imperial financial factor. In 1555, Schetz became factor of Philips II and was ordered to reside in Antwerp (Kellenbenz, 1990, 446). In 1553, Benedictus Gudermann was the factor of the Schetz in Hamburg. (Jeannin, 1963, 42 n. 91). Antwerp merchant family. Played a role in the import from Southern Europe to Antwerp in 1553. See especially also Soly, 1974, 822-835: Schetz active in Antwerp, Germany (Leipzig (Christoffel Pruynen, Adriaan van Hilst), Maastricht, Aachen, mines in Kelmis in Limburg, peat exploitation near Rhenen), Portugal, Spain (Mazzaron, Balthasar Schetz in Spain, Jan Vleminck in Spain), Brazil (sugar mill near Sao Vicente).

Konrad Schetz, Christoffel Pruenen. Trade with the Baltic. (Brulez, 1959, 452).
Company Schetz - De Negro – Spinola. Negron de Negro (Genoese merchant in Antwerp), J.-B. Spinola (Genoese merchant in Antwerp), Balthasar Schetz (Antwerp merchant), Conrad Schetz (Antwerp merchant). Alum trade: De Negro bought alum from Massaron (Spain) from the "markies" of Villena in Spain, for a period of 9 years. Spinola and Schetz became partners of De Negro. (Goris, 1925, 210-215). Had contacts with Spain. However, the sources are not clear about the cities they had contact with (See contract between De Negro and Spinola in Goris, 1925, 644-650).

Christoffel Pruenen: Pruynen (?) (Goris, 1925, 253-261). Wine trade from Bordeaux to Zeeland. Pruynen: export of diamonds from Antwerp to Stockholm, Revel, Dantzig (with Schetz) 1563. (Goris, 1925, 253-261). Ships chartered by Anthoni Godefroy (Flemish) in London. (Brulez, 1959, 453).

In 1511 Erasmus Schetz, originally from Maastricht, married a daughter of Nicolas van Rechterghem. In 1545, he became lord of Grobbendonck. His business was taken over by his sons Gaspar, Melchior, Baltazar and Conrad. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 184).
The Schetz firm was founded by Erasmus Schetz in the beginning of the 16th century. (Génard, 1883, 475). Erasmus Schetz obtained the large estate of Grobbendonck. (Génard, 1883, 476). Erasmus Schetz had four sons: Gaspar (“algemeen ontvanger” of the Low Countries), Melchior, Balthasar, Conrad. Three daughters: Marie, Isabelle, Jeanne. (Génard, 1883, 476). Gaspar, Melchior and Balthasar Schetz succeeded their father’s business. When they reached adulthood, they obtained a share in the business of their father, which was renamed as “Erasmus Schetz

ende sonen". (Génard, 1883, 477). Erasmus Schetz died in 1550. The firm was continued as Gaspar Schetz and brothers. (Génard, 1883, 477-478). The brothers Schetz did not have time anymore to manage the firm, and Christophe Pruynen became the principal administrator of the Schetz firm. (Génard, 1883, 478). A partnership between the Schetz, Pruynen in Antwerp and Adriaan van Hilst in Leipzig was established in 1553. (Génard, 1883, 478-479). In 1559, a new partnership contract was established: Conrad Schetz joined the partnership, while Gaspar left the company. His place was taken by Jan Vleminck (married to Isabella, daughter of Gaspar Schetz). Pruynen became treasurer of the city of Antwerp, and as a result had no time anymore to manage the Schetz business. This led to losses for the firm. (Génard, 1883, 480-481). The second association ended end 1562, but was renewed for another 6 years from 1563. As a result of the crisis, the firm made losses between 1565 and 1568. Nothing is known anymore about the firm after 1568, perhaps it was liquidated in 1569. (Génard, 1883, 481-482).

The Schetz firm was founded by Erasmus Schetz. (Soly, 1974, 822). Erasmus Schetz died in 1550. His business was taken over by his three eldest sons Gaspar, Melchior and Balthasar, who had become partners in the firm during the 1540s. (Soly, 1974, 823). Until 1552, the German business of the company was managed by Balthasar Schetz. In 1552, a partnership was established by the Schetz brothers with Christoffel Pruynen and Adriaan van Hilst, their principal factors in Antwerp and Leipzig for the trade with Germany. This company was originally established for 6 years. (Soly, 1974, 823-824). Melchior Schetz became treasurer and alderman of Antwerp in 1555. He used large amounts of money of the city for personal purposes. (Soly, 1974, 825). In 1555, Gaspar officially withdrew from the firm, because he was not allowed anymore to carry out personal business as factor of the Spanish king. The firm was renamed "Melchior and Balthasar Schetz". In reality, Gaspar remained involved in the firm. (Soly, 1974, 824-825). In 1558, the firm was renamed "Balthasar and Conrad Schetz". (Soly, 1974, 826). The company with Pruynen and Van Hilst was renewed for another six years in 1558. (Soly, 1974, 826). Problems for the Schetz firm due to the Spanish bankruptcy of 1557. (Soly, 1974, 826). Pruynen came in difficulties due to the Spanish alum contract. In 1569, the company between the Schetz and Pruynen was dissolved. Christoffel Pruynen went bankrupt in 1570. (Soly, 1974, 834-835). (Wijnroks, 2003, 82-84). Conrad Schetz went bankrupt as well. He left a debt of 750,000 florins. (Wijnroks, 2003, 84).

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Source material:

A partnership contract of the Schetz brothers with Christoffel Pruynen and Adrian, their factor in Leipzig, has been preserved in the Antwerp archives. (Génard, 1883, 478-479). The town archives of Antwerp contain an archive of the family Schetz, in which several interesting documents have been preserved. (Soly, 1974, 822 n. 97).

Size: Large

3rd biggest exporter from Antwerp to Germany in 1543-1545 (41,515 lb. vl.). Biggest Flemish exporter from Anwerp in general in 1543-1545. (Brulez, 1959, 493-496). The Schetz firm was among the most important business houses in Antwerp. (Génard, 1883, 475). The social capital of the partnership Schetz-Pruynen-Van Hilst amounted to 9,000 lb. gr. in 1553. In the next years, the capital of the company increased strongly, and totalled 24,777 lb. gr. in 1558. (Génard, 1883, 479-480; Soly, 1974, 824). Capital of 18,000 lb. vl. in 1558. (Soly, 1974, 826; Wijnroks, 2003, 83). Important economic power in Antwerp, largely based upon fraud however. (Wijnroks, 2003, 82).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Erasmus Schetz: Trade in English cloth, pepper. (Brulez, 1959, 493-496). Erasmus Schetz: Trade in spices, textiles, copper. (Puttevils, 2007, 145). Schetz brothers: Export of diamonds from Antwerp to Stockholm, Reval, Danzig (with Pruynen) (Goris, 1925, 253-261). Silver, diamonds (Goris, 1925, 255, 261). Erasmus Schetz was introduced in the traded in indigo from Portugal by Nicolas van Rechterghem. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 184). Trade in a large variety of goods with Germany: silver, copper, woollens, fustians, saffron, saltpetre, metal wares, weapons, Rhine wine. Export to Germany of jewels, pearls, spices, saffron, sugar, English cloth, sayes, tapestries, linen, etc. (Génard, 1883, 477). The Schetz family controlled the import of Spanish alum to Antwerp in the period 1559-1568. (Soly, 1974, 822). The Genoese Negrone di Negro operated as intermediary for the Schetz in the Spanish alum business. A contract for supply of alum to the Low Countries was agreed with the government in 1559. Di Negro obtained a monopoly for the import of Spanish alum in the Low Countries for a period of nine years. (Soly, 1974, 828). Grain trade between the Baltic and Lisbon. (Tracy, 1990, 101). Export of spices to Germany by Claes van Rechtergem, continued by his son-in-law Erasmus Schetz. (Wijnroks, 2003, 82). Involved in the alum trade since the late 1550s. (Wijnroks, 2003, 83).
- Finance: Erasmus Schetz lent money to Charles V. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 184). The Schetz firm was active in banking and maritime insurance. (Génard, 1883, 475). Gaspar Schetz carried out financial transactions for the Spanish king in Antwerp. (Génard, 1883, 478).

Erasmus Schetz was very active as a financier. (Soly, 1974, 823). Gaspar Schetz and brothers played an important financial role in the Low Countries and Spain. They advanced large sums of money to Charles V in 1551 and 1552, and concluded a large number of asiento contracts. (Soly, 1974, 823). Erasmus Schetz lent large sums of money to Charles V (Wijnroks, 2003, 82).

- Industry: The Schetz firm possessed sugar plantations in Brazil in the 2nd half of the 16th c. (Brulez, 1960, 298). Two of the sons of Erasmus Schetz owned sugar plantations in Brazil. (Puttevils, 2007, 145). Erasmus Schetz exploited the calamine mines of Limbourg. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 184). In the 1560s, the Schetz family controlled the mining industry around Aachen. (Puttevils, 2007, 145). From 1552, the sons of Erasmus Schetz, in company with Christoffel Pruynen and Adrian van Hilst, were involved in the production of copper ware and brass ware in Aachen, Galmei and the surrounding region, which they exported to Africa. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 184). In Brazil, near Santos, the Schetz owned sugar plantations. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 184). Exploitation of copper and silver mines in Germany. (Génard, 1883, 475). The Schetz owned sugar refineries in Brazil. (Génard, 1883, 475). Erasmus Schetz farmed the calamine mines of Kelmis in Limburg. (Soly, 1974, 822-823). Erasmus Schetz exploited a sugar mill near São Vicente in Brazil. (Soly, 1974, 823). Jan Vleminck, son-in-law and associate of Gaspar Schetz, owned shares in the calamine mines of Kelmis and in the peat exploitation of the Schetz near Rhenen. (Soly, 1974, 833 n. 142). Claes van Rechtergem obtained calamine mines in Kelmis in Limburg. The mines were taken over by Erasmus Schetz. (Wijnroks, 2003, 82). Sugar production in Brazil. (Wijnroks, 2003, 82).

Network of the Schetz firm:

Export of Erasmus Schetz from Antwerp to Germany. Numbers for the first 18 months only (destination known for 14938 lb. vl. of the total of 16829 lb. vl.). Total export of Schetz to Germany in 1543-1545: 41,515 lb. vl. Also export to the Northern Low Countries (16447 lb. vl.), England (4872 lb. vl.) and Spain (2988 lb. vl.). (Brulez, 1959, 495).

Especially trade with Germany. (Génard, 1883, 477).

Table A..1. Network of the Schetz firm, ca. 1515 – end 1570s

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Antwerp		8	4	3	1	>1515-end 1570s	Headquarters of the brothers Schetz. Factor in Antwerp: Christoffel Pruynen (Harreld, 2004, 82). Konrad Schetz, Christoffel Pruenen. 1563. Headquarters. (Brulez, 1959, 452). Headquarters: Antwerp. Enterprise of Erasmus Schetz and Sons. A family enterprise of German origin that was actually founded in Antwerp. Schetz could be considered to be from Antwerp, as many scholars have, since by the 1540s he had lived in Antwerp for a long time. However, Erasmus Schetz was born in the vicinity of	

							Aachen to Koenraad van Schetzenberg and the daughter of a German copper merchant. His mother's uncle, named Rutger Kranz, who was living in Antwerp in the St. Joris parish and was apparently quite rich but had no children, said he would make Erasmus his heir if he would come to Antwerp and enter into his copper trade. His marriage to Ida van Richtergem, daughter of a merchant of Aachen resident in Antwerp, further solidified his ties to Germany. (Harreld, 2004, 81-82). "Aufstieg" of Erasmus Schetz in Antwerp in 1522 (Von Pölnitz, 1960, 355). Erasmus Schetz was the son in law of Nikolaus van Rechterghen, merchant in Antwerp, originally from Aachen. In 1498, he bought a piece of land in Antwerp, on which he built his "Huis van Aken". In 1503/04, he was presumably the first merchant to have sold spices from Antwerp to High Germany.He died in 1515. His business was taken over by his son-in-law Erasmus Schetz, who became one of the most important merchants of Antwerp. (Schaper, 1973, 211, 211n. 842). In 1552, Gaspar Schetz became Rat of the emperor and imperial financial factor. In 1555, Gaspar Schetz became factor of Philips II and was ordered to reside in Antwerp (Kellenbenz, 1990, 446). In 1539, Erasmus Schetz constructed the “Huis van Aken” in Antwerp, where he hosted Charles V in 1545. (Génard, 1883, 476). Principal factor of the Schetz in Antwerp was Christophe Pruynen. (Génard, 1883, 477-478). The partnership between the Schetz, Pruynen in Antwerp and Adrien in Leipzig began in 1553. (Génard, 1883, 478-479). Company for trade with Germany was established between the Schetz brothers, Christoffel Pruynen and Adriaen van Hilst in the 1550s. Representative in Antwerp was Pruynen, in Leipzig van Hilst. (Wijnroks, 2003, 83).	
Leipzig		6	3	2	1	>1543-1569<	Export from Antwerp. Erasmus Schetz exported for 2412,50 £ Fl. of pepper to Frankfurt, for 6115,00 £ Fl. to Leipzig (37% of pepper exports to Leipzig), for 5778,20 £ Fl. to Nuremberg, and for 1527,12 £ Fl. to unspecified places in Germany (Harreld, 2004, 140-141). Exports of English cloth from Antwerp to Leipzig in 1543-45 were largely in hands of Erasmus Schetz whose total shipments of English cloth for 1543-1545 were valued at 11005 £ Fl. (Harreld, 2004, 147). Erasmus Schetz sent great quantities of Portuguese pepper from Antwerp to Leipzig (Harreld, 2004, 185). 11005 lb. vl. 1543-1544 (18 months). (Brulez, 1959, 495). Factor in Leipzig: Adrian (Harreld, 2004, 82). Export of English cloth to Leipzig. Also export to the	

							northern Low Countries, and England and Spain. (Brulez, 1959, 493-496). The Schetz brothers (Gaspar, Balthasar and Melchior) entered into an agreement with two of their factors, Christoffel Pruynen in Antwerp and their Leipzig factor named Adrian, for a period of 6 years. (Harreld, 2004, 81-82). The Schetz firm had a branch in Leipzig. (Génard, 1883, 475). Factor of the Schetz brothers in Leipzig was Adrien. (Génard, 1883, 477-478). The partnership between the Schetz, Pruynen in Antwerp and Adrien in Leipzig began in 1553. (Génard, 1883, 478-479). The company Schetz-Pruynen-Van Hilst owned a house in Leipzig. (Génard, 1883, 485-486). Adriaan Van Hilst sent his accounts from Leipzig to Antwerp. (Génard, 1883, 486). Until 1552, the German business of the company was managed by Balthasar Schetz. In 1552, a partnership was established by the Schetz brothers with Christoffel Pruynen and Adriaan van Hilst, their principal factors in Antwerp and Leipzig for the trade with Germany. (Soly, 1974, 823). Adriaan van Hilst lived in a house of the company in Leipzig. (Soly, 1974, 824). The company was dissolved in 1569. (Soly, 1974, 834-835). Company for trade with Germany was established between the Schetz brothers, Christoffel Pruynen and Adriaen van Hilst in the 1550s. Representative in Antwerp was Pruynen, in Leipzig van Hilst. (Wijnroks, 2003, 83).	
Lisbon		4	2	2	1		Erasmus Schetz did his apprenticeship as a merchant in Lisbon. (Puttevils, 2007, 145). Erasmus Schetz traded with Germany, Portugal and Brazil. (Soly, 1974, 822). Jan van Hilst (João Veniste), nephew and partner of Erasmus Schetz, was established in Lisbon. (Weber, 2009). Erasmus Schetz hired three large vessels in Middelburg to go in ballast to Bremen, and from there bring grain directly to Lisbon. (Tracy, 1990, 101).	
Spain		4	2	2	1	>1552-1561<	Export of English cloth to Leipzig. Also export to the northern Low Countries, and England and Spain. (Brulez, 1959, 493-496). Important financial transactions with the Iberian Peninsula. (Puttevils, 2007, 145). Gaspar Schetz was the representative of the Spanish king in Antwerp from 1555 to 1561 (Harreld, 2004, 57-58; Génard, 1883, 478). The Schetz had a representative at the Spanish court ca. 1557: Hans "Fleming" (Kellenbenz, 1990, 233). In 1552, Gaspar Schetz became Rat of the emperor and imperial financial factor. In 1555, Schetz became factor of Philips II and was ordered to reside in Antwerp (Kellenbenz, 1990, 446). Balthasar Schetz went to	

							Spain. (Génard, 1883, 478). By 1552, the financial activities of the Schetz for the emperor had become so important that Balthasar Schetz, who before had managed the German business of the firm, went to Spain to represent the firm there. (Soly, 1974, 823). Gaspar Schetz became royal factor of Philipp II in Antwerp in 1555. (Soly, 1974, 824). Jan Vleminck (d. 1568), son-in-law of Gaspar Schetz, was financial agent of Gaspar Schetz in Spain. (Soly, 1974, 833 n. 142). Export to the Northern Low Countries (16447 lb. vl.), England (4872 lb. vl.) and Spain (2988 lb. vl.). (Brulez, 1959, 495).	
Aachen	M	3	2	2	1	>1543-1560s<	Through his fortuitous marriage with Ida Richtergen in 1511, whose father was well established in the calamine industry in Aachen, Erasmus Schetz soon controlled Aachen's entire calamine business. Calamine was the principal product of the Aachen mines. The Schetz firm also controlled much of the copper from the region around Aachen. By the mid 1560s the Schetz familiy's entire Aachen mining business (controlled as it was from Antwerp) fell under the direction of Erasmus's youngest son, Conrad. There remain no records which provide any figures for the quantification of Antwerp's metal imports from Aachen. This trade must have been considerable seen the tremendous wealth of the Schetz family and the importance of its Huis van Aken in Antwerp's commercial circles (Harreld, 2004, 158). Export from Antwerp. 16 lb. vl. 1543-1544 (18 months). (Brulez, 1959, 495). Schetz could be considered to be from Antwerp, as many scholars have, since by the 1540s he had lived in Antwerp for a long time. However, Erasmus Schetz was born in the vicinity of Aachen to Koenraad van Schetzenberg and the daughter of a German copper merchant. His marriage to Ida van Richtergem, daughter of a merchant of Aachen resident in Antwerp, further solidified his ties to Germany. (Harreld, 2004, 81-82). In the 1560s, the Schetz family controlled the mining industry around Aachen. (Puttevils, 2007, 145). From 1552, the sons of Erasmus Schetz, in company with Christoffel Pruynen and Adrian van Hilst, were involved in the production of copper ware and brass ware in Aachen, Galmei and the surrounding region, which they exported to Africa. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 184).	
Africa		3	2	2	1		From 1552, the sons of Erasmus Schetz, in company with Christoffel Pruynen and Adrian van Hilst, were involved in the production of copper ware and brass ware in Aachen, Galmei and the surrounding region, which	

							they exported to Africa. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 184).	
Brazil	S	3	2	2	1	>1568<	The Schetz firm possessed sugar plantations in Brazil in the 2nd half of the 16th c. (Brulez, 1960, 298). Two of the sons of Erasmus Schetz owned sugar plantations in Brazil. (Puttevils, 2007, 145). In Brazil, near Santos, the Schetz owned sugar plantations. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 184). The Schetz owned sugar refineries in Brazil. (Génard, 1883, 475). Erasmus Schetz traded with Germany, Portugal and Brazil. (Soly, 1974, 822). Erasmus Schetz exploited a sugar mill near São Vicente in Brazil. (Soly, 1974, 823). Erasmus Schetz became active in the trade with, and the sugar production in Brazil. (Wijnroks, 2003, 82). The Schetz employed a factor at their sugar plantation and mill in Brazil (contract of 1568 preserved) (Jeannin, 1963a, 84-85).	
Cologne		3	2	2	1	>1543-1545<	Export from Antwerp. 750 lb. vl. 1543-1544 (18 months). (Brulez, 1959, 495).	
Danzig		3	2	2	1	>1561-1563<	Schetz brothers: Export of diamonds from Antwerp to Stockholm, Reval, Danzig (with Pruynen) (Goris, 1925, 253-261). Konrad Schetz, Christoffel Pruenen. Trade with the Baltic. (Brulez, 1959, 452). Pruynen: export of diamonds from Antwerp to Stockholm, Revel, Dantzig (with Schetz) 1563. (Goris, 1925, 253-261). In 1561 Melchior Volger (from northern Germany) was sent to Stockholm as representative of Conrad Schetz. At the same time, Conrad sent Laurens van Dremmen (from Lier) to Narva. Both were also expected to operate for Conrad Schetz in Königsberg, Wismar, Danzig, Kolberg, Stralsund, Rostock, Lübeck, Hamburg, and in the harbours of Gotland. These cities formed the trade direction of Conrad Schetz. (Wijnroks, 2003, 84). Personal trade of Christoffel Pruynen in Reval, Danzig and Stockholm in the 1560s. (Wijnroks, 2003, 87).	Jeannin, 1963a, 84
Frankfurt am Main		3	2	2	1	>1543-1545<	Export from Antwerp. Erasmus Schetz exported for 2412,50 £ Fl. of pepper to Frankfurt, for 6115,00 £ Fl. to Leipzig, for 5778,20 £ Fl. to Nuremberg, and for 1527,12 £ Fl. to unspecified places in Germany (Harreld, 2004, 140-141). 625 lb. vl. 1543-1544 (18 months). (Brulez, 1959, 495).	
Hamburg		3	2	2	1	>1553<, >1561<	In 1553, Benedictus Gudermann was the factor of the Schetz in Hamburg. (Jeannin, 1963, 42 n. 91). In 1561 Melchior Volger (from northern Germany) was sent to Stockholm as representative of Conrad Schetz. At the same time, Conrad sent Laurens van Dremmen (from Lier) to Narva. Both were also expected to operate for Conrad Schetz in Königsberg, Wismar,	

							Danzig, Kolberg, Stralsund, Rostock, Lübeck, Hamburg, and in the harbours of Gotland. These cities formed the trade direction of Conrad Schetz. (Wijnroks, 2003, 84).	
London		3	2	2	1	>1543-1545<	Export of English cloth to Leipzig. Also export to the northern Low Countries, and England and Spain. (Brulez, 1959, 493-496). Agent of Erasmus Schetz in London was the Spanish merchant Alvaro de Castro. (Mollat, 1970, 53). Gaspar Schetz was financial agent and tresorier of the court in the Low Countries, ambassador in England (Denucé, 1934, 47). Ships chartered by Anthoni Godefroy (Flemish) for Christoffel Pruenen in London. (Brulez, 1959, 453). Export to the Northern Low Countries (16447 lb. vl.), England (4872 lb. vl.) and Spain (2988 lb. vl.). (Brulez, 1959, 495).	
Lübeck		3	2	2	1	>1561<	In 1561 Melchior Volger (from northern Germany) was sent to Stockholm as representative of Conrad Schetz. At the same time, Conrad sent Laurens van Dremmen (from Lier) to Narva. Both were also expected to operate for Conrad Schetz in Königsberg, Wismar, Danzig, Kolberg, Stralsund, Rostock, Lübeck, Hamburg, and in the harbours of Gotland. These cities formed the trade direction of Conrad Schetz. (Wijnroks, 2003, 84). Representative in Lübeck was Gemeijner. (Wijnroks, 2003, 87). Nicolaes Verjuys the younger, merchant in Lübeck, took care of the administration of the business of Christoffel Pruynen and Jacques Compers (the latter apparently a silent partner in the Schetz firm under the name of Pruynen). (Wijnroks, 2003, 87 n. 89).	
Mazzarón	M	3	2	2	1	1559-1568	Company Schetz - De Negro – Spinola. Negron de Negro (Genoese merchant in Antwerp), J.-B. Spinola (Genoese merchant in Antwerp), Balthasar Schetz (Antwerp merchant), Conrad Schetz (Antwerp merchant). Alum trade: De Negro bought alum from Massaron (Spain) from the marquis of Villena in Spain, for a period of 9 years. Spinola and Schetz became partners of De Negro. (Goris, 1925, 210-215). Had contacts with Spain. (See contract between De Negro and Spinola in Goris, 1925, 644-650). In 1558, Balthasar Schetz began negociations with the marquis of Villena, the owner of half of the alum mines of Mazzaron. (Soly, 1974, 827). The Genoese Negrone di Negro operated as intermediary for the Schetz in the Spanish alum business. A contract for supply of alum to the Low Countries was agreed with the government in 1559. Di Negro obtained a monopoly for the import of Spanish alum in the Low Countries for a	

							period of nine years. (Soly, 1974, 828). In 1559, Negrone di Negro sent his servant Hannibal Cambi to Spain to conclude an agreement with the marquis of Villena about the alum of Mazzaron. This agreement was signed in Ascalon on 14 June 1559. (Soly, 1974, 829). Later in 1559, Di Negro left the Low Countries. Giovanni Battista Spinola took over the management of the shares of Di Negro in the alum contract. Representative in Spain became Giovanni Battista's father Francisco Spinola. The new intermediary for the Schetz for their shares in the alum contract was the broker Alberto Pinello (since 1560), later that year replaced by Christoffel Pruynen, although Pinello remained active for the Schetz in the sale of the alum in the Low Countries and the contacts with the marquis of Villena. (Soly, 1974, 829-832). The Schetz family controlled the import of Spanish alum to Antwerp in the period 1559-1568. (Soly, 1974, 822).	
Middelburg		3	2	2	1		Erasmus Schetz hired three large vessels in Middelburg to go in ballast to Bremen, and from there bring grain directly to Lisbon. (Tracy, 1990, 101). Christoffel Pruenen: Pruynen (?) (Goris, 1925, 253-261). Wine trade from Bordeaux to Zeeland. (Goris, 1925, 253-261). Export to the northern Low Countries, and England and Spain. (Brulez, 1959, 493-496). Export to the Northern Low Countries (16447 lb. vl.), England (4872 lb. vl.) and Spain (2988 lb. vl.). (Brulez, 1959, 495).	
Narva		3	2	2	1	>1561-1566<	The Schetz were associated with the Grammaye and other Italians from 1565 for trade with Sweden, Russia and Finland. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 184). The Schetz company was one of the first companies to send its ships to Narva. (Wijnroks, 2003, 84). After the bankruptcy of Conrad Schetz, the direct trade of the Schetz company with Russia and Sweden was ended. However, it appears that they continued their trade with Russia and Sweden under a different name. (Wijnroks, 2003, 84). In 1561 Melchior Volger (from northern Germany) was sent to Stockholm as representative of Conrad Schetz. At the same time, Conrad sent Laurens van Dremmen (from Lier) to Narva. Both were also expected to operate for Conrad Schetz in Königsberg, Wismar, Danzig, Kolberg, Stralsund, Rostock, Lübeck, Hamburg, and in the harbours of Gotland. These cities formed the trade direction of Conrad Schetz. (Wijnroks, 2003, 84). Hans Krumhusen was factor of Conrad Schetz in Narva. He died ca. 1566. (Wijnroks, 2003, 88-90).	
Northern Low		3	2	2	1	>1543-1545<	Export to the northern Low Countries, and England and Spain. (Brulez,	

Countries							1959, 493-496). Export to the Northern Low Countries (16447 lb. vl.), England (4872 lb. vl.) and Spain (2988 lb. vl.). (Brulez, 1959, 495).	
Nürnberg		3	2	2	1	>1543-1545<	Export from Antwerp. Erasmus Schetz exported for 2412,50 £ Fl. of pepper to Frankfurt, for 6115,00 £ Fl. to Leipzig, for 5778,20 £ Fl. to Nuremberg, and for 1527,12 £ Fl. to unspecified places in Germany (Harreld, 2004, 140-141). 2424 lb. vl. 1543-1544 (18 months). (Brulez, 1959, 495).	
Reval		3	2	2	1	>1563<	Schetz brothers: Export of diamonds from Antwerp to Stockholm, Reval, Danzig (with Pruynen) (Goris, 1925, 253-261). Konrad Schetz, Christoffel Pruenen. Trade with the Baltic. (Brulez, 1959, 452). Pruynen: export of diamonds from Antwerp to Stockholm, Revel, Dantzig (with Schetz) 1563. (Goris, 1925, 253-261). Personal trade of Christoffel Pruynen in Reval, Danzig and Stockholm in the 1560s. (Wijnroks, 2003, 87).	
Stockholm		3	2	2	1	>1561-1570<	Agents of Schetz and Pruenen: Melchior Volgher, Nicolaas Verjuys. 1563. (Brulez, 1959, 452). Schetz brothers: Export of diamonds from Antwerp to Stockholm, Reval, Danzig (with Pruynen) (Goris, 1925, 253-261). Konrad Schetz, Christoffel Pruenen. Trade with the Baltic. (Brulez, 1959, 452). Pruynen: export of diamonds from Antwerp to Stockholm, Revel, Dantzig (with Schetz) 1563. (Goris, 1925, 253-261). The Schetz were associated with the Grammaye and other Italians from 1565 for trade with Sweden, Russia and Finland. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 184). As soon as the Schetz began trading with Russia, they also became active in Sweden. (Wijnroks, 2003, 84). After the bankruptcy of Conrad Schetz, the direct trade of the Schetz company with Russia and Sweden was ended. However, it appears that they continued their trade with Russia and Sweden under a different name. (Wijnroks, 2003, 84). In 1561 Melchior Volger (from northern Germany) was sent to Stockholm as representative of Conrad Schetz. At the same time, Conrad sent Laurens van Dremmen (from Lier) to Narva. Both were also expected to operate for Conrad Schetz in Königsberg, Wismar, Danzig, Kolberg, Stralsund, Rostock, Lübeck, Hamburg, and in the harbours of Gotland. These cities formed the trade direction of Conrad Schetz. (Wijnroks, 2003, 84). Personal trade of Christoffel Pruynen in Reval, Danzig and Stockholm in the 1560s. (Wijnroks, 2003, 87). In 1567, Volger was replaced by Peter Rampaert in Stockholm. The latter was replaced ca. 1570 by Guillaume Danseville. (Wijnroks, 2003, 87).	Jeannin, 1963a, 84
Augsburg		2	2	1	0	>1543-1545<	Export from Antwerp. 1543-1544 (18 months). 40 lb. vl. (Brulez, 1959,	

							495).	
Bordeaux		2	2	1	0	>1563<	Commies of Christoffel Pruenen in Bordeaux: Pierre de Lestonac. 1563 (Brulez, 1959, 453). Christoffel Pruenen: Pruynen (?) (Goris, 1925, 253-261). Wine trade from Bordeaux to Zeeland. (Goris, 1925, 253-261).	
Bremen		2	2	1	0		Erasmus Schetz hired three large vessels in Middelburg to go in ballast to Bremen, and from there bring grain directly to Lisbon. (Tracy, 1990, 101).	
Galmei	M	2	2	1	0	>1552<	From 1552, the sons of Erasmus Schetz, in company with Christoffel Pruynen and Adrian van Hilst, were involved in the production of copper ware and brass ware in Aachen, Galmei and the surrounding region, which they exported to Africa. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 184).	
Gotland		2	2	1	0	>1561<	In 1561 Melchior Volger (from northern Germany) was sent to Stockholm as representative of Conrad Schetz. At the same time, Conrad sent Laurens van Dremmen (from Lier) to Narva. Both were also expected to operate for Conrad Schetz in Königsberg, Wismar, Danzig, Kolberg, Stralsund, Rostock, Lübeck, Hamburg, and in the harbours of Gotland. These cities formed the trade direction of Conrad Schetz. (Wijnroks, 2003, 84).	
Kelmis	M	2	2	1	0	>1515-1552<	Erasmus Schetz exploited the calamine mines of Limbourg. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 184). From 1552, the sons of Erasmus Schetz exploited the mines of Limbourg in company with Christoffel Pruynen and Adrian van Hilst. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 184). Erasmus Schetz farmed the calamine mines of Kelmis in Limburg. (Soly, 1974, 822-823). Jan Vleminck (d. 1568), son-in-law and associate of Gaspar Schetz, owned shares in the calamine mines of Kelmis and in the peat exploitation of the Schetz near Rhenen. (Soly, 1974, 833 n. 142). Claes van Rechtergem obtained calamine mines in Kelmis in Limburg. The mines were taken over by Erasmus Schetz. (Wijnroks, 2003, 82).	
Kempten		2	2	1	0	>1543-1545<	Export from Antwerp. 78 lb. vl. 1543-1544 (18 months). (Brulez, 1959, 495).	
Kołobrzeg		2	2	1	0	>1561<	In 1561 Melchior Volger (from northern Germany) was sent to Stockholm as representative of Conrad Schetz. At the same time, Conrad sent Laurens van Dremmen (from Lier) to Narva. Both were also expected to operate for Conrad Schetz in Königsberg, Wismar, Danzig, Kolberg, Stralsund, Rostock, Lübeck, Hamburg, and in the harbours of Gotland. These cities formed the trade direction of Conrad Schetz. (Wijnroks, 2003, 84).	
Königsberg		2	2	1	0	>1561<	In 1561 Melchior Volger (from northern Germany) was sent to Stockholm	

							as representative of Conrad Schetz. At the same time, Conrad sent Laurens van Dremmen (from Lier) to Narva. Both were also expected to operate for Conrad Schetz in Königsberg, Wismar, Danzig, Kolberg, Stralsund, Rostock, Lübeck, Hamburg, and in the harbours of Gotland. These cities formed the trade direction of Conrad Schetz. (Wijnroks, 2003, 84).	
Rhenen		2	2	1	0		Jan Vleminck (d. 1568), son-in-law and associate of Gaspar Schetz, owned shares in the calamine mines of Kelmis and in the peat exploitation of the Schetz near Rhenen. (Soly, 1974, 833 n. 142).	
Rostock		2	2	1	0	>1561<	In 1561 Melchior Volger (from northern Germany) was sent to Stockholm as representative of Conrad Schetz. At the same time, Conrad sent Laurens van Dremmen (from Lier) to Narva. Both were also expected to operate for Conrad Schetz in Königsberg, Wismar, Danzig, Kolberg, Stralsund, Rostock, Lübeck, Hamburg, and in the harbours of Gotland. These cities formed the trade direction of Conrad Schetz. (Wijnroks, 2003, 84).	
Stralsund		2	2	1	0	>1561<	In 1561 Melchior Volger (from northern Germany) was sent to Stockholm as representative of Conrad Schetz. At the same time, Conrad sent Laurens van Dremmen (from Lier) to Narva. Both were also expected to operate for Conrad Schetz in Königsberg, Wismar, Danzig, Kolberg, Stralsund, Rostock, Lübeck, Hamburg, and in the harbours of Gotland. These cities formed the trade direction of Conrad Schetz. (Wijnroks, 2003, 84).	
Vyborg		2	2	1	0	c.1558-1559	Shipment to Vyborg by Conrad Schetz in company with Herman Peper, presumably ca. 1558-1559. (Wijnroks, 2003, 87). The Schetz were associated with the Grammaye and other Italians from 1565 for trade with Sweden, Russia and Finland. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 184).	
Wismar		2	2	1	0	>1561<	In 1561 Melchior Volger (from northern Germany) was sent to Stockholm as representative of Conrad Schetz. At the same time, Conrad sent Laurens van Dremmen (from Lier) to Narva. Both were also expected to operate for Conrad Schetz in Königsberg, Wismar, Danzig, Kolberg, Stralsund, Rostock, Lübeck, Hamburg, and in the harbours of Gotland. These cities formed the trade direction of Conrad Schetz. (Wijnroks, 2003, 84).	

+ No good overall study exists about the business network of the Schetz firm. As a result, the reliability of the reconstructed network is rather limited.
+ It is hard to make a distinction between factors and commission agents. Both have been attributed a score 3-2-2-1.

HANS THIJS, 1584 – 1611

Hans Thijs was a son of the Antwerp merchant Christoffel Thijs. Christoffel Thijs, born in Mechelen, traded in jewels in Antwerp since the late 1540s. He died in 1591. (Gelderblom, 2000, 48-60). Hans Thijs became active in the company of his father-in-law, Augustijn Boel (born 1541). When Augustijn Boel retired from active trade in 1600, Hans Thijs took over his business in hides and leather. However, by 1603/04, Hans Thijs had given up this trade. (Gelderblom, 2000, 90-99, 111-112, 122-141). Together with his father-in-law, Hans Thijs was a member of the "Compangnye op Dansick" from 1581 to 1594. This company went bankrupt in 1594. (Gelderblom, 2000, 90-99, 124). Hans Thijs often worked together with his brother François Thijs (d. 1614). François Thijs was a jeweller who travelled through Middle and Eastern Europe to the courts of noblemen to sell his jewels. (Gelderblom, 2000, 168). Hans Thijs died in 1611. (Gelderblom, 2000, 122-144, 165-171). Hans Thijs (1556-1611) was an Antwerp merchant working in the Polish towns of Elbing and Danzig from 1585 to 1595, after which period he moved to Amsterdam. (Gelderblom, 2003, 610). In 1584 Hans Thijs moved to Amsterdam to marry the daughter of the Antwerp leather merchant Augustijn Boel. Shortly afterward he entered into partnership with Boel. In 1585 Thijs and Boel moved to Elbing and Danzig respectively. From there, they exported leather to Germany and Holland. In the beginning Hans Thijs only played a subordinate role in the partnership. In 1591, Thijs moved to Danzig. (Gelderblom, 2003, 611). Augustijn Boel returned to Amsterdam in 1594, followed by Hans Thijs in 1595. (Gelderblom, 2003, 613). Augustijn Boel retired from active trade ca. 1600. (Gelderblom, 2003, 616). After the death of Christoffel Thijs in 1591, Hans and François Thijs took over his jewelry trade. (Gelderblom, 2003, 617).

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Source material:

Biblioteca Thysiana: archive (register van verscheepte goederen 1582-1584; 'Outboeck' met rekeningen van debiteuren en crediteuren 1582-1586; Memoriael 1584-1586) (Augustijn Boel, Compangnye op Dansick). (Gelderblom, 2000, 90-99, 111-112, 122-141). Biblioteca Thysiana: business correspondence (brievenboeken) and 'grootboeken' of Hans Thijs. (Gelderblom, 2000, 122-144, 165-171). A large number of

business records of Hans Thijs has been preserved, including business letters and ledgers. (Gelderblom, 2003, 610). The archives of Hans Thijs have been preserved in the Biblioteca Thysiana of the University of Leiden. (Gelderblom, 2003, 639).

Size: Small or medium-sized

Capital of the company of Augustijn Boel and Hans Thijs in 1585 amounted to 12,000 fl. (Gelderblom, 2003, 627).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Augustijn Boel and Hans Thijs: Trade in hides between the Baltic and the Low Countries. Leather and hides: chamois-leather until 1595, Spanish leather (corduwanen) and elk hides since 1595. From 1598 to 1603 wine as return trade. (Gelderblom, 2000, 90-99, 111-112, 122-141; Gelderblom, 2003, 613). Hans Thijs gave up the leather trade in 1603, and he concentrated increasingly on his jewelry trade from this year. (Gelderblom, 2003, 616). Compangnye op Dansick: Cloth and dye-stuffs from Antwerp to Amsterdam. From Amsterdam to Hamburg and Danzig. Not much trade in opposite direction. Cloth and dye-stuffs. (Gelderblom, 2000, 90-99, 124). Hans Thijs: Trade in jewels, leather, hides, salt, wine. (Gelderblom, 2000, 122-144, 165-171). Hans Thijs not only traded in jewelry and leather, but also in other goods, such as salt, grain, pepper and ginger (in Poland). In Poland his trade in miscellaneous merchandise was rather limited however. (Gelderblom, 2003, 622-623). In Amsterdam, Hans Thijs' trade became more varied: also commerce of salt, wine, wool, dyestuffs, copper, hemp, wax, grain, spices, etc. (Gelderblom, 2003, 623).
- Finance: Intensive use of bills of exchange and bills obligatory by Hans Thijs. (Gelderblom, 2003, 627). From 1598 Hans Thijs borrowed increasing amounts of money from Amsterdam merchants for reinvestment in shipping and colonial ventures. After 1603, he borrowed annually between 50,000 and 70,000 fl. (Gelderblom, 2003, 628-629).
- Industry: Between 1595 and 1603, Augustijn Boel and Hans Thijs became involved in the production of leather in Amsterdam. Hides were put out to local artisans who were paid wages for the leather produced. (Gelderblom, 2003, 613-614). Hans Thijs was involved in the production of jewelry and gemstones in Danzig and Amsterdam: he paid wages to goldsmiths and diamond cutters in these cities. (Gelderblom, 2003, 615, 617-618, 620-621).
- Shipping: Between 1598 and 1603 Hans Thijs purchased shares in seven ships from the merchant Berent Berwijns. From 1600, Thijs also participated in other shipping companies. (Gelderblom, 2003, 625). In Elbing and Danzig, Hans Thijs was actively involved in the management of ships he partly owned. In Amsterdam he left the monitoring of his investments in shipping companies to specialised reders (ship owners). (Gelderblom, 2003, 625).

Network of Hans Thijs:

Agents of Hans Thijs (1585-1611). (Gelderblom, 2000, 165-171). Map in Gelderblom, 2000, 166: "Kaart 4.1 De vaste vertegenwoordiging van Hans Thijs in Europa (1585-1611)". "Bron: BT 119, Grootboeken (1589-1610) en Brievenboeken (1591-1598); De onderstreepte plaatsen vormen de kern van de vaste vertegenwoordiging in het buitenland". Two categories of places on the map (underlined -

not underlined). Underlined: Most important places, with continuity of representation. Important for financial transactions. Especially the cities at the French, German and Polish coast.

Table A..1. Network of Hans Thijs, 1584 – 1611

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Amsterdam		**8** 6 **8**	**4** 3 **4**	**3** 2 **3**	**1** 1 **1**	1584-1585 1585-1595 1595-1611	Network of Christoffel Thijs: From 1584 to 1585. Hans Thijs (eldest son). (Gelderblom, 2000, 48-60). Trade in hides of Augustijn Boel and Hans Thijs (1586-1603/04): Augustijn Boel in Amsterdam since 1582. Moved to Danzig in 1585, but remained in contact with merchants in Amsterdam, especially Jan Ijsbrants Blauhulck. Other partners in Amsterdam were Aert Tholinck, Peter de Stries, and Seger Boel. In 1594, Augustijn Boel returned to Amsterdam, followed by Hans Thijs in 1595 (Gelderblom, 2003, 613). Headquarters. From 1582. Headquarters since 1594. Bought leather in Amsterdam from 1593. Amsterdam artisans prepared Spanish leather for the company, Amsterdam artisans prepared chamois-leather from elk hides. (Gelderblom, 2000, 90-99, 111-112, 122-141; Gelderblom, 2003, 615). Use of the services of diamond cutters and Goldsmiths in Amsterdam (Gelderblom, 2003, 615). While in Elbing and Danzig, Augustijn Boel and Hans Thijs exported almost all their leather to Amsterdam. Agents in Amsterdam were a brother and cousin of Augustijn Boel. 2/3 of all the leather exported to Amsterdam was purchased by three local leather merchants. Thijs and Boel maintained a regular correspondence with their agents in Amsterdam. In 1591, Boel even travelled to Amsterdam. (Gelderblom, 2003, 612). Sales of leather to merchants in Amsterdam (more than 2/3), Haarlem, Utrecht and Gorcum ca. 1589-1594. (Gelderblom, 2003, 612). Compangnye op Dansick (1581-1594): Partner. From 1582. Augustijn Boel (5000 gulden), partner in the company. Born 1541. Eldest son of Willem Boel, Antwerp merchant. Augustijn moved from Antwerp to Amsterdam in 1582. Seger Boel to Amsterdam in 1585. (Gelderblom, 2000, 90-99, 124). Headquarters. Underlined on the map. Headquarters from 1595. Family in Amsterdam. Purchases of gemstones in Amsterdam from 1595. In Amsterdam, Thijs also	Gelderblom, 2000, 122-144, 165-171

							made use of the services of several goldsmiths and diamond cutters, for the latter until 1600 not directly however, but via Simon Van Middelgeest, who put out the finishing of diamonds to local artisans. (Gelderblom, 2003, 619-621). Headquarters. From 1584 to 1585 (Gelderblom, 2003, 611). Again from 1595. Hans Thijs in Amsterdam: 1584-1585. Moved back to Amsterdam in 1595. Sale of jewels of Hans Thijs by his sons after his death, 1611-1613: 1611-1613. Augustijn Thijs, oldest son. Hans Thijs (until 1613). (Gelderblom, 2000, 202). Most important correspondents of Hans Thijs between 1591 and 1597: correspondents receiving more than 5 letters a year: 1591-1597. Augustijn Boel, merchant, family member, 1593-1597, 15 letters/year; Seger Boel, merchant, family member, 1592-1594, 5 letters/year; Arent Teulinck, merchant, family member, 1591-1595, 5 letters/year. (Gelderblom, 2000, 284-286). Travels of François Thijs in 1596-1597: 1597. (Gelderblom, 2000, 168). Contacts of François Thijs, mentioned in the balance of his company: Agents having commodities of François Thijs in their deposit. Jewels and textiles. 13 March 1599. Balance of François Thijs, made in Halberstadt, 13 March 1599: Hans Thijs (jewels and gemstones, 1,305 f, grofgrein, 7,290 f). (Gelderblom, 2000, 292-293).	
Danzig		~~8~~ ***5*** 4	~~4~~ ***3*** 2	~~3~~ ***2*** 2	~~1~~ ***1*** 1	1585-1595 1595-1614	Trade in hides of Augustijn Boel and Hans Thijs (1586-1603/04): 1585: Augustijn Boel to Danzig (Gelderblom, 2003, 611). Moved back to Amsterdam in 1594. Hans Thijs to Danzig as well in 1591. Chamois-leather bought in Danzig. After 1593 still hides bought in Danzig, although less than before. Headquarters. From 1585. (Gelderblom, 2000, 90-99, 111-112, 122-141). Purchase of elk leather from business friends and relatives in Danzig and Hamburg in 1596-1597. (Gelderblom, 2003, 613 n. 20). In 1590-1591, small trade in ginger, which was sent by relatives from Hamburg or bought at the fairs of Torun, and sold in Danzig or Konigsberg. (Gelderblom, 2003, 623). Compangnye op Dansick (1581-1594): Partner. Guillam Boel (5000 gulden). Partner in the company. Central accountancy by Guillam Boel. In 1585, Augustijn Boel from Amsterdam to Danzig. Augustijn Boel left the	Gelderblom, 2000, 122-144, 165-171

							Compangnye op Dansick in 1586. (Gelderblom, 2000, 90-99, 124). Headquarters. Underlined on the map. Headquarters from 1591 to 1595. Family in Danzig. Govert Josephs, for Augustijn Boel (1584-1594); Hans op den Hoff (1592 in Thorn, until 1611 in Danzig); Hendrick van Sevenbergen (1595-1603); Andries Fagel (1595-1603 or earlier); Christoffel Pruynen (1595-1603 or later); Pieter Dragon (1604); Isack Alberts (1606-1611). Son of Andries Fagel was apprentice of Hans Thijs in Amsterdam in 1596. Headquarters. Since 1591. Hans Thijs in Danzig in 1591, came from Elbing. Later moved to Amsterdam. After he left to Amsterdam, Christoffel Pruynen and Hans op den Hoff traded in commission for Hans Thijs. Agent in Danzig since 1603. Trade with goldsmiths in Danzig during the early 1590s. (Gelderblom, 2003, 615, 617-618). Sales of jewelry by Hans Thijs in Danzig, Torun, Posen, Vilnius and Königsberg in 1591-1595. (Gelderblom, 2003, 618, 618 n. 31). Most important correspondents of Hans Thijs between 1591 and 1597: correspondents receiving more than 5 letters a year: 1595-1596. Andries Fagel, Merchant, 1595, 14 letters/year; Hendrick van Sevenbergen, merchant, 1595-1596, 5 letters/year. (Gelderblom, 2000, 284-286). Travels of François Thijs in 1596-1597: 1596 (Gelderblom, 2000, 168). Between 1595 and 1602, François Thijs sold 43,000 guilders of his brother's jewelry in Frankfurt, Leipzig, Copenhagen, Danzig, Königsberg, Warsaw, Kraków, Constantinople, Avignon, Paris, Brussels and Antwerp. (Gelderblom, 2003, 621). In 1595-1602, Hans Thijs consigned jewelry worth 11,000 guilders to various goldsmiths and merchants in Stettin, Danzig and Königsberg. (Gelderblom, 2003, 621). Business travel of François Thijs and the son of his brother, Augustijn Thijs. Business travel to the courts in central Europe. Both died during the trip. Jewel trade. 1613-1614. (Gelderblom, 2000, 203). Purchase of leather in Danzig by Augustijn Boel and Hans Thijs in 1585-1595. (Gelderblom, 2003, 611-612).	
Elbing		~~8~~ ***5*** 3	~~4~~ ***3*** 2	~~3~~ ***2*** 2	~~1~~ ***1*** 1	1585-1591 early 1590s	Network of Christoffel Thijs: From 1585. Hans Thijs. Trade with Northern Germany and Poland. (Gelderblom, 2000, 48-60; Gelderblom, 2003, 611). Hans Thijs was the representative in Poland of his father's jewelry business. (Gelderblom, 2003, 616-617). Trade in hides of Augustijn Boel and Hans Thijs (1586-1603/04): Hans	Gelderblom, 2000, 122-144, 165-171

							Thijs, son-in-law moved from Amsterdam to Elbing. In 1591, he went to Danzig. Chamois-leather bought in Elbing early 1590s. Agent. 1585-early 1590s. (Gelderblom, 2000, 90-99, 111-112, 122-141). Compangnye op Dansick (1581-1594): Agent. 1585-1591. Hans Thijs. Agent for Gilliam and Seger Boel. (Gelderblom, 2000, 90-99, 124). Headquarters. Not underlined on the map. Headquarters from 1585 to 1591. Personal presence. Headquarters. 1585-1591. Hans Thijs in Elbing from Amsterdam. Moved later to Danzig (1591), Elbing was not fit for personal and business life. Indirect contact, trade. Early 1590s. Steffen Haller sold jewels in Melving (Elbing). In 1589-1594, Hans Thijs repeatedly sent his servant Steffen Haller to Königsberg, Torún, Reval, Elbing (Melving), Kraków, Warsaw and even Stockholm for the sale of jewelry. On several visits to Kraków, Warsaw and Stockholm, Haller was accompanied by Hans' brother François Thijs. (Gelderblom, 2003, 618-619).	
Arkhangelsk		4	2	2	1	>1598-1610<	Important agent. Underlined on the map. 3 merchants sold jewels for Hans Thijs between 1598 and 1610: Berent van der Sande (1598-after 1603), Herman van der Goes (1603-1610?), Gommer Spranger (1607-1609?). (Gelderblom, 2003, 614-616 n. 25). Between 1596 and 1609, Hans Thijs asked merchants in Bordeaux, La Rochelle, Antwerp, Hamburg, Copenhagen, Stockholm and Archangel to sell his merchandise. Among these agents were many relatives. (Gelderblom, 2003, 622). Since ca. 1603. Agent in Archangel.	Gelderblom, 2000, 122-144, 165-171
Bordeaux		4	2	2	1	>1596-1623<	Trade in hides of Augustijn Boel and Hans Thijs (1586-1603/04): Fixed agent in Bordeaux. Agent. From 1595. (Gelderblom, 2000, 90-99, 111-112, 122-141). Relative in Bordeaux, who operated as agent for the leather trade of Boel and Thijs. (Gelderblom, 2003, 616). Important agent. Underlined on the map. First representative was a family member. Since 1596. Paulus Boel sold jewels for Hans Thijs in Bordeaux since 1596. (Gelderblom, 2003, 622). Agent in Bordeaux since ca. 1603. Between 1596 and 1609, Hans Thijs asked merchants in Bordeaux, La Rochelle, Antwerp, Hamburg, Copenhagen, Stockholm and Archangel to sell his merchandise. Among these agents were many relatives. (Gelderblom,	Gelderblom, 2000, 122-144, 165-171

							2003, 622). Attempt to sell some jewels of François Thijs by the son of his brother, Anthoni Thijs. No success. Use of agents in France: 1623 (still in 1631). Joan van Herler (probably family of Goijsen van Herler, who had worked together with Hans Thijs). (Gelderblom, 2000, 205).	
Frankfurt am Main		4	2	2	1	1586-1614	Network of Christoffel Thijs: From 1586 to 1591. Christoffel Thijs and three of his sons. Frankfurt became most important centre for trade in jewels and gemstones after the fall of Antwerp. (Gelderblom, 2000, 48-60). Christoffel Thijs moved to Frankfurt after the Spanish conquest of Antwerp in 1585. (Gelderblom, 2003, 616). Important agent. Underlined on the map. Family in Frankfurt. Later Cornelis van Daele, jeweller and friend of the family, agent for Hans and François. Bought and sold for them on the fairs of Frankfurt, and in Frankfurt and Leipzig. From 1591. Correspondence with jewellers in Frankfurt. François Thijs visited the fairs of Frankfurt to buy jewels. After the death of their father in 1591, François Thijs purchased jewelry at the fairs of Frankfurt am Main (twice a year). He provided 60 % of Hans Thijs' stock of gemstones between 1589 and 1594. (Gelderblom, 2003, 617). Sale of jewels of Hans Thijs by his sons after his death, 1611-1613: 1613. François Thijs, Hans Thijs (1613). (Gelderblom, 2000, 202). Travels of François Thijs in 1596-1597: 1596 (Gelderblom, 2000, 168). Between 1595 and 1602, François Thijs sold 43,000 guilders of his brother's jewelry in Frankfurt, Leipzig, Copenhagen, Danzig, Königsberg, Warsaw, Kraków, Constantinople, Avignon, Paris, Brussels and Antwerp. (Gelderblom, 2003, 621). Business travel of François Thijs and the son of his brother, Augustijn Thijs. Business travel to the courts in central Europe. Both died during the trip. Jewel trade. 1613-1614. (Gelderblom, 2000, 203). Contacts of François Thijs, mentioned in the balance of his company: Agents having commodities of François Thijs in their deposit. Jewels and textiles. 13 March 1599. Balance of François Thijs, made in Halberstadt, 13 March 1599: Cornelis van Daele (jewels and gemstones, 10,464 f, textiles, 1,080 f); Anthoni Mertens (jewels and gemstones, 3,970 f). (Gelderblom, 2000, 292-293).	Gelderblom, 2000, 122-144, 165-171

Hamburg		4	2	2	1	>1584-1611<	Trade in hides of Augustijn Boel and Hans Thijs (1586-1603/04): Represented by Hans Berwijns. Leather and skins bought in Hamburg. Agent. From 1593 (Gelderblom, 2000, 157). (Gelderblom, 2000, 90-99, 111-112, 122-141). Import of leather from a leather merchant in Hamburg after the return of Hans Thijs to Amsterdam in 1595. (Gelderblom, 2003, 613). Purchase of elk leather from business friends and relatives in Danzig and Hamburg in 1596-1597. (Gelderblom, 2003, 613 n. 20). In 1590-1591, small trade in ginger, which was sent by relatives from Hamburg or bought at the fairs of Torun, and sold in Danzig or Konigsberg. (Gelderblom, 2003, 623). Compangnye op Dansick (1581-1594): Trade. No representation in Hamburg, only trade with Hamburg. (Gelderblom, 2000, 90-99, 124). Important agent. Underlined on the map. Family in Hamburg. Guillam Boel, originally for Augustijn Boel (1584-1595); Hans Berwijns, originally for Augustijn Boel (1584-1603 or later); Bartolomeus Peltier (1589-1595+), brother-in-law of Hans Thijs, left a bankrupt firm after his death, bad reputation as merchant; Hans Rubbens (1593-1597); Arent Helman (1594); Jan Verpoorten (for Anna Thijs) (1596-1597); Nicolas van den Willigen (1597-1603 or later); Gilbert de Vos (1606-1611), Jan van de Wiel (1611). Sales of wine by Hans Thijs in Hamburg ca. 1601. (Gelderblom, 2003, 624). From 1591. Brother-in-law, the Antwerp merchant Bartolomeus Peltier, who was married to Anna Thijs in 1588, lived in Hamburg. Agent in Hamburg since ca. 1603. François Thijs bought jewels in Hamburg. Correspondence with jewellers in Hamburg. In 1595, Hans Thijs visited friends-merchants in Hamburg. Most important correspondents of Hans Thijs between 1591 and 1597: correspondents receiving more than 5 letters a year: 1591-1597. Bartolomeus Peltier, merchant, family member, 1591-1595, 12 letters/year; Hans Berwijns, merchant, 1595-1597, 10 letters/year; Anna Thijs, family member, widow B. Peltier, 1595-1597, 10 letters/year; Arent Helmont/Helman, merchant, 1593-1594, 7 letters/year; Nicolas van Willigen, merchant, 1597, 5 letters/year. (Gelderblom, 2000, 284-286). After 1591 Hans Thijs obtained gemstones from an Antwerp jeweller in Hamburg. Thijs also made purchases of gemstones in Hamburg when visiting relatives there. (Gelderblom, 2003, 617). Between 1596 and 1609, Hans Thijs asked merchants in Bordeaux, La	Gelderblom, 2000, 122-144, 165-171

							Rochelle, Antwerp, Hamburg, Copenhagen, Stockholm and Archangel to sell his merchandise. Among these agents were many relatives. (Gelderblom, 2003, 622). Travels of François Thijs in 1596-1597: 1596, 1597 (Gelderblom, 2000, 168). Contacts of François Thijs, mentioned in the balance of his company: Agents having commodities of François Thijs in their deposit. Jewels and textiles. 13 March 1599. Balance of François Thijs, made in Halberstadt, 13 March 1599: Hans Rubbens (jewels and gemstones, 300 f); Hans Berwijns (camelots, 1,080 f). (Gelderblom, 2000, 292-293).	
Königsberg		4	2	2	1	>1589-1603<	Trade in hides of Augustijn Boel and Hans Thijs (1586-1603/04): chamois-leather bought in Königsberg. Hans Thijs was not very positive about Königsberg. He wrote to his father-in-law and his brother, that the trade in 1594 was still the same as 8 years before (Gelderblom, 2000, 131). Trade. Early 1590s (Gelderblom, 2000, 131). (Gelderblom, 2000, 90-99, 111-112, 122-141). In 1590-1591, small trade in ginger, which was sent by relatives from Hamburg or bought at the fairs of Torun, and sold in Danzig or Konigsberg. Salt was purchased in Konigsberg by Hans Thijs or his local agent. (Gelderblom, 2003, 623). Important agent. Underlined on the map. Contacts with goldsmiths (Merten Schor in 1590) (Gelderblom, 2003, 615); from 1592 Fredrick Montfort, mayor of Königsberg, traded for Hans Thijs. Fredrick Montfort (1589-1598), Pieter Truyens (1592-1596), Adriaen Smitsaert (1593-1597), Didrich Swarts (1593-1603 or later). From 1590s. After 1595, Fredrick Montfort traded in commission for Hans Thijs. From 1598, Didrich Schwarts traded in commission for Hans Thijs as well. 1590s: Trade with goldsmiths in Königsberg. Hans Thijs visited the fairs of Königsberg. Steffen Haller sold jewels in Königsberg. Sales of jewelry by Hans Thijs in Danzig, Torun, Posen, Vilnius and Königsberg in 1591-1595. Connections with the Duchess of Prussia at the fairs of Königsberg . (Gelderblom, 2003, 618, 618 n. 31). In 1589-1594, Hans Thijs repeatedly sent his servant Steffen Haller to Königsberg, Torún, Reval, Elbing (Melving), Kraków, Warsaw and even Stockholm for the sale of jewelry. On several visits to Kraków, Warsaw and Stockholm, Haller was accompanied by Hans' brother François Thijs. (Gelderblom, 2003, 618-619).	Gelderblom, 2000, 122-144, 165-171

							Most important correspondents of Hans Thijs between 1591 and 1597: correspondents receiving more than 5 letters a year: 1596-1597. Andries Fagel, merchant, 1596-1597, 14 letters/year; Didrich Swerts, merchant, 1596-1597, 11 letters/year. (Gelderblom, 2000, 284-286). Travels of François Thijs in 1596-1597: 1596 (Gelderblom, 2000, 168). Between 1595 and 1602, François Thijs sold 43,000 guilders of his brother's jewelry in Frankfurt, Leipzig, Copenhagen, Danzig, Königsberg, Warsaw, Kraków, Constantinople, Avignon, Paris, Brussels and Antwerp. (Gelderblom, 2003, 621). In 1595-1602, Hans Thijs consigned jewelry worth 11,000 guilders to various goldsmiths and merchants in Stettin, Danzig and Königsberg. (Gelderblom, 2003, 621).	
Lübeck		4	2	2	1	>1589-1599<	Trade in hides of Augustijn Boel and Hans Thijs (1586-1603/04): chamois-leather sent to agents in Lübeck (early 1590s). Agent: Arent van Ceulen. From 1593, leather and skins bought in Lübeck. Agent. 1590s. (Gelderblom, 2000, 90-99, 111-112, 122-141). Some leather was shipped by Boel and Thijs to Lübeck during the period in which they resided in Danzig and Elbing. (Gelderblom, 2003, 612). Important agent. Underlined on the map. Contacts with goldsmiths in Lübeck. Originally family as well. Early 1590s. François Thijs traded jewels in Lübeck. Contacts of François Thijs, mentioned in the balance of his company: Agents having commodities of François Thijs in their deposit. Jewels and textiles. 13 March 1599. Balance of François Thijs, made in Halberstadt, 13 March 1599: Arendt van Ceullen (camelots, 1,080 f). (Gelderblom, 2000, 292-293).	Gelderblom, 2000, 122-144, 165-171
La Rochelle		4	2	2	1	>1593-1624	Trade in hides of Augustijn Boel and Hans Thijs (1586-1603/04): Augustijn Boel sent chamois-leather to his brother Matheus Boel in La Rochelle. Fixed representative: Paulus Boel. Agent. From 1594. (Gelderblom, 2000, 90-99, 111-112, 122-141). Augustijn Boel's two younger brothers moved to La Rochelle in late 1593. Augustijn Boel exported large amounts of leather to relatives in La Rochelle and Middelburg in 1594-1597. (Gelderblom, 2003, 613). Relative in La Rochelle, who operated as agent for the leather trade of Boel and Thijs. (Gelderblom, 2003, 616). Important agent. Underlined on the map. Originally family: Matheeus Boel (1593-1594); Paulus Boel, uncle (1595-1611 in Bordeaux); Daniel van den Eynden (1598), Jan Gilles (1598-1611).	Gelderblom, 2000, 122-144, 165-171

							Between 1596 and 1609, Hans Thijs asked merchants in Bordeaux, La Rochelle, Antwerp, Hamburg, Copenhagen, Stockholm and Archangel to sell his merchandise. Among these agents were many relatives. (Gelderblom, 2003, 622). Legal procedures were carried out for Hans Thijs by relatives and friends in La Rochelle, Cologne, Middelburg and The Hague. (Gelderblom, 2003, 634 n. 93). From 1596. Paulus Boel sold jewels for Hans Thijs in France: La Rochelle, Bordeaux, Rouen, Paris, Lyon, sometimes Montpellier. Gemstones sent to Paulus Boel in La Rochelle. (Gelderblom, 2003, 622). Purchases of cognac by the agent of Hans Thijs in La Rochelle in 1601. (Gelderblom, 2003, 624, 623 n. 58, 624 n. 61). Most important correspondents of Hans Thijs between 1591 and 1597: correspondents receiving more than 5 letters a year: 1596-1597. Paulus Boel, merchant, family member, 10 letters/year. (Gelderblom, 2000, 284-286). Attempt to sell some jewels of François Thijs by the son of his brother, Anthoni Thijs. No success. Use of agents in France: 1623-1624. Hendrick Vlaeminck (married to a daughter of Bartolomeus Peltier). (Gelderblom, 2000, 205).	
Rouen		4	2	2	1	>1595-1615<	Trade in hides of Augustijn Boel and Hans Thijs (1586-1603/04): Fixed representative in Rouen. Agent. From 1595. (Gelderblom, 2000, 90-99, 111-112, 122-141). Agent (Antwerp immigrant) in Rouen for the leather trade of Boel and Thijs. (Gelderblom, 2003, 616). Important agent. Underlined on the map. From 1596. Paulus Boel sold jewels for Hans Thijs in Rouen. (Gelderblom, 2003, 622). Sale of the jewels of François Thijs by Hans Thijs the younger, son of his brother Hans in 1615 (Gelderblom, 2000, 203).	Gelderblom, 2000, 122-144, 165-171
Aachen		3	2	2	1	>1597<	Agent. Not underlined on the map. Most important correspondents of Hans Thijs between 1591 and 1597: correspondents receiving more than 5 letters a year: 1597. Lenart Engelbrecht, merchant, 5 letters. (Gelderblom, 2000, 284-286).	Gelderblom, 2000, 122-144, 165-171
Antwerp		3	2	2	1	1584-1585 >1595-1613	Network of Christoffel Thijs: From the late 1540s to 1584. Christoffel Thijs. Headquarters. (Gelderblom, 2000, 48-60). Use of the services of Dirick and Abraham Pieters, diamond cutters of	Gelderblom, 2000, 122-144, 165-171

							Antwerp, in 1601-1603. (Gelderblom, 2003, 615, 620). Compangnye op Dansick (1581-1594): Partner. Until 1585. Seger Boel (10,000 gulden), partner in the company, Jan de Bitter (10,000 gulden), partner in the company. (Gelderblom, 2000, 90-99, 124). Agent. Not underlined on the map. Family and friends. A.o. Hendrick Kaers: lawsuit against the count of Durbi, a debtor of Hans Thijs who didn't want to pay his debts. From 1595. In 1595 Hans Thijs visited merchants-friends in Antwerp. Hans Thijs travelled to Antwerp, where he had clients since 1603. Between 1596 and 1609, Hans Thijs asked merchants in Bordeaux, La Rochelle, Antwerp, Hamburg, Copenhagen, Stockholm and Archangel to sell his merchandise. Among these agents were many relatives. (Gelderblom, 2003, 622). Business trip of Hans Thijs to Antwerp in 1596 for the purchase of gemstones. (Gelderblom, 2003, 619). Sale of jewels of Hans Thijs by his sons after his death, 1611-1613: 1612-1613. Anthoni (1612-1613); Augustijn (1612). (Gelderblom, 2000, 202). Most important correspondents of Hans Thijs between 1591 and 1597: correspondents receiving more than 5 letters a year: 1595-1597. Elias Bodaen, merchant, 1595-1596, 7 letters/year; Adrian van Rode, merchant, 1597, 5 letters/year. (Gelderblom, 2000, 284-286). Between 1595 and 1602, François Thijs sold 43,000 guilders of his brother's jewelry in Frankfurt, Leipzig, Copenhagen, Danzig, Königsberg, Warsaw, Kraków, Constantinople, Avignon, Paris, Brussels and Antwerp. (Gelderblom, 2003, 621).	
Bayonne		3	2	2	1	>1595-1603<	Trade in hides of Augustijn Boel and Hans Thijs (1586-1603/04): Fixed agent in Bayonne: Guillam Segersz Boel. Agent. From 1595. (Gelderblom, 2000, 90-99, 111-112, 122-141). Relative in Bayonne, who operated as agent for the leather trade of Boel and Thijs. (Gelderblom, 2003, 616). Agent. Not underlined on the map. Family: Guillam Segersz Boel (was the apprentice of Hans Thijs in Danzig in 1594). Had contacts with Bilbao.	Gelderblom, 2000, 122-144, 165-171
Brussels		3	2	2	1	>1596-1615	Agent. Not underlined on the map. Friends and family. Sale of the jewels of François Thijs by Hans Thijs the younger, son of his brother Hans in 1615 (Gelderblom, 2000, 203). Between 1595 and 1602, François Thijs sold 43,000 guilders of his brother's	Gelderblom, 2000, 122-144, 165-171

							jewelry in Frankfurt, Leipzig, Copenhagen, Danzig, Königsberg, Warsaw, Kraków, Constantinople, Avignon, Paris, Brussels and Antwerp. (Gelderblom, 2003, 621). Cloth purchased for Hans Thijs by his agent in Brussels in 1603. (Gelderblom, 2003, 624 n. 61).	
Copenhagen		3	2	2	1	>1596-1603<	Agent. Not underlined on the map. Since 1590s. Agent in Copenhagen since ca. 1603. François Thijs traded jewels in Copenhagen until 1598. Between 1596 and 1609, Hans Thijs asked merchants in Bordeaux, La Rochelle, Antwerp, Hamburg, Copenhagen, Stockholm and Archangel to sell his merchandise. Among these agents were many relatives. (Gelderblom, 2003, 622). Travels of François Thijs in 1596-1597: 1596 (Gelderblom, 2000, 168). Between 1595 and 1602, François Thijs sold 43,000 guilders of his brother's jewelry in Frankfurt, Leipzig, Copenhagen, Danzig, Königsberg, Warsaw, Kraków, Constantinople, Avignon, Paris, Brussels and Antwerp. (Gelderblom, 2003, 621).	Gelderblom, 2000, 122-144, 165-171
Delft		3	2	2	1	>1595-1603<	Trade in hides of Augustijn Boel and Hans Thijs (1586-1603/04): Clients - artisans in Delft. Clients. From 1595. (Gelderblom, 2000, 90-99, 111-112, 122-141). Agent. Not underlined on the map.	Gelderblom, 2000, 122-144, 165-171
Emden		3	2	2	1	>1601<	Agent. Not underlined on the map.	Gelderblom, 2000, 122-144, 165-171
Haarlem		3	2	2	1	1595-1603<	Trade in hides of Augustijn Boel and Hans Thijs (1586-1603/04): Clients - artisans in Haarlem. Clients. From 1595. (Gelderblom, 2000, 90-99, 111-112, 122-141). Sales of leather to merchants in Amsterdam (more than 2/3), Haarlem, Utrecht and Gorcum ca. 1589-1594. (Gelderblom, 2003, 612). Compangnye op Dansick (1581-1594): Partner. From 1585. Jan De Bitter, moved from Antwerp to Haarlem. Partner in the company. (Gelderblom, 2000, 90-99, 124). Agent. Not underlined on the map.	Gelderblom, 2000, 122-144, 165-171
Halberstadt		3	2	2	1	>1590-1599<	Agent. Not underlined on the map. Contacts of François Thijs, mentioned in the balance of his company: Agents having commodities of François Thijs in their deposit. Jewels and textiles. 13 March 1599. Balance of François Thijs, made in Halberstadt, 13 March	Gelderblom, 2000, 122-144, 165-171

							1599: François Thijs (jewels and gemstones, 2,835 f). (Gelderblom, 2000, 292-293).	
Kraków		3	2	2	1	>1589-1599<	Agent. Not underlined on the map. Old servant Steffen Haller. Since 1589. After 1595 Steffen Haller traded in commission for Hans Thijs. Steffen Haller: servant of Hans Thijs in Krakau. Steffen Haller sold jewels in Krakau. François Thijs sold jewels to Polish aristocracy in Krakau. In 1589-1594, Hans Thijs repeatedly sent his servant Steffen Haller to Königsberg, Torún, Reval, Elbing (Melving), Kraków, Warsaw and even Stockholm for the sale of jewelry. On several visits to Kraków, Warsaw and Stockholm, Haller was accompanied by Hans' brother François Thijs. (Gelderblom, 2003, 618-619). Travels of François Thijs in 1596-1597: 1596, 1597 (Gelderblom, 2000, 168). Between 1595 and 1602, François Thijs sold 43,000 guilders of his brother's jewelry in Frankfurt, Leipzig, Copenhagen, Danzig, Königsberg, Warsaw, Kraków, Constantinople, Avignon, Paris, Brussels and Antwerp. (Gelderblom, 2003, 621). Contacts of François Thijs, mentioned in the balance of his company: Agents having commodities of François Thijs in their deposit. Jewels and textiles. 13 March 1599. Balance of François Thijs, made in Halberstadt, 13 March 1599: Stensil Malina (jewels and gemstones, 11,123 f); Steffen Haller (jewels and gemstones, 2,266 f). (Gelderblom, 2000, 292-293).	Gelderblom, 2000, 122-144, 165-171
London		3	2	2	1	>1599-1603<	Agent. Not underlined on the map. Since 1603. Agent in London since ca. 1603.	Gelderblom, 2000, 122-144, 165-171
Middelburg		3	2	2	1	>1593-1611<	Trade in hides of Augustijn Boel and Hans Thijs (1586-1603/04): Goijsen van Herler, family member of Boel. Intermediate for trade with the French Atlantic coast. Agent. From 1593-1595. (Gelderblom, 2000, 90-99, 111-112, 122-141). Relative in Middelburg, who operated as agent for the leather trade of Boel and Thijs. (Gelderblom, 2003, 616). Agent. Not underlined on the map. Originally family. Goijsen van Herler (1596-1611); Isack Flamen, for François Thijs (1596-1597). Augustijn Boel exported large amounts of leather to relatives in La Rochelle and Middelburg in 1594-1597. (Gelderblom, 2003, 613). Since 1595. In 1595, Hans Thijs visited friends-merchants in Middelburg. Hans Thijs had clients in Middelburg since 1603. Most important correspondents of Hans Thijs between 1591 and 1597:	Gelderblom, 2000, 122-144, 165-171

							correspondents receiving more than 5 letters a year: 1596-1597. Goijsen van Herler, merchant, family member, 1596-1597, 27 letters/year; Isack Flamen, merchant, 1596-1597, 7 letters/year (correspondence in name of François Thijs). (Gelderblom, 2000, 284-286). Legal procedures were carried out for Hans Thijs by relatives and friends in La Rochelle, Cologne, Middelburg and The Hague. (Gelderblom, 2003, 634 n. 93). Contacts of François Thijs, mentioned in the balance of his company: Agents having commodities of François Thijs in their deposit. Jewels and textiles. 13 March 1599. Balance of François Thijs, made in Halberstadt, 13 March 1599: Goijsen van Herler (camelots, 756 f, Grofgrein, 4,050 f). (Gelderblom, 2000, 292-293).	
Paris		3	2	2	1	>1595-1623	Trade in hides of Augustijn Boel and Hans Thijs (1586-1603/04): Fixed agent in Paris. Agent. From 1595. (Gelderblom, 2000, 90-99, 111-112, 122-141). Agent. Not underlined on the map. Temporary participation with Jan van Lier, an Antwerp merchant living in Paris, for the purchase of cognac in 1601. Van Lier had been selling leather and jewelry for Thijs in Paris since 1598. (Gelderblom, 2003, 624). From 1595. Paulus Boel sold jewels for Hans Thijs in Paris from 1596. (Gelderblom, 2003, 622). François Thijs sold jewels for him and Hans Thijs in Paris between 1595 an 1598. Sale of jewels of Hans Thijs by his sons after his death, 1611-1613: 1612-1613. Anthoni Thijs. (Gelderblom, 2000, 202). Between 1595 and 1602, François Thijs sold 43,000 guilders of his brother's jewelry in Frankfurt, Leipzig, Copenhagen, Danzig, Königsberg, Warsaw, Kraków, Constantinople, Avignon, Paris, Brussels and Antwerp. (Gelderblom, 2003, 621). Sale of the jewels of François Thijs by Hans Thijs the younger, son of his brother Hans in 1615 (Gelderblom, 2000, 203). Attempt to sell some jewels of François Thijs by the son of his brother, Anthoni Thijs. No success. Use of agents in France: 1620-1623. (Gelderblom, 2000, 205).	Gelderblom, 2000, 122-144, 165-171
Poznań		3	2	2	1	>1589-1595<	Agent. Not underlined on the map. Contacts with goldsmiths. Early 1590s. Trade with goldsmiths. Sales of jewelry by Hans Thijs in	Gelderblom, 2000, 122-144, 165-171

							Danzig, Torun, Posen, Vilnius and Königsberg in 1591-1595. (Gelderblom, 2003, 618, 618 n. 31).	
Rotterdam		3	2	2	1	>1595-1603<	Trade in hides of Augustijn Boel and Hans Thijs (1586-1603/04): Clients - artisans in Rotterdam. Clients. From 1595. (Gelderblom, 2000, 90-99, 111-112, 122-141). Use of the services of diamond cutters in Rotterdam in 1600-1602 (Jaques Lermite and Hubrecht Bernaut). (Gelderblom, 2003, 615). Agent. Not underlined on the map.	Gelderblom, 2000, 122-144, 165-171
Stockholm		3	2	2	1	>1593-1605<	Trade in hides of Augustijn Boel and Hans Thijs (1586-1603/04): Stefan Haller bought chamois leather in Stockholm. Trade. Early 1590s. (Gelderblom, 2000, 90-99, 111-112, 122-141). Agent. Not underlined on the map. In 1593 Steffen Haller temporarily to Stockholm. Originally family. From 1590s. Since ca. 1603: agent in Stockholm. Steffen Haller sold jewels in Stockholm. François Thijs traded jewels in Stockholm. Between 1596 and 1609, Hans Thijs asked merchants in Bordeaux, La Rochelle, Antwerp, Hamburg, Copenhagen, Stockholm and Archangel to sell his merchandise. Among these agents were many relatives. (Gelderblom, 2003, 622). In 1589-1594, Hans Thijs repeatedly sent his servant Steffen Haller to Königsberg, Torún, Reval, Elbing (Melving), Kraków, Warsaw and even Stockholm for the sale of jewelry. On several visits to Kraków, Warsaw and Stockholm, Haller was accompanied by Hans' brother François Thijs. (Gelderblom, 2003, 618-619).	Gelderblom, 2000, 122-144, 165-171
Szczecin		3	2	2	1	>1585-1603<	Agent. Not underlined on the map. From 1598. From 1598: Jacques Simons traded in commission for Hans Thijs. Agent in Stettin since ca. 1603. In 1595-1602, Hans Thijs consigned jewelry worth 11,000 guilders to various goldsmiths and merchants in Stettin, Danzig and Königsberg. (Gelderblom, 2003, 621).	Gelderblom, 2000, 122-144, 165-171
Toruń		3	2	2	1	>1591-1614<	Agent. Not underlined on the map. Fairs of Thorn. From 1591. Hans Thijs visited the fairs of Thorn. Steffen Haller sold jewels in Thorn. In 1593, Hans Thijs purchased gems at the fairs of Torun. (Gelderblom, 2003, 617). Sales of jewelry by Hans Thijs in Danzig, Torun, Posen, Vilnius and Königsberg in 1591-1595. (Gelderblom, 2003, 618, 618 n. 31). In 1590-1591, small trade in ginger, which was sent by relatives from Hamburg or bought at the fairs of Torun, and sold in Danzig or Konigsberg.	Gelderblom, 2000, 122-144, 165-171

							(Gelderblom, 2003, 623). Business travel of François Thijs and the son of his brother, Augustijn Thijs. Business travel to the courts in central Europe. Both died during the trip. Jewel trade. 1613-1614. (Gelderblom, 2000, 203). In 1589-1594, Hans Thijs repeatedly sent his servant Steffen Haller to Königsberg, Torún, Reval, Elbing (Melving), Kraków, Warsaw and even Stockholm for the sale of jewelry. On several visits to Kraków, Warsaw and Stockholm, Haller was accompanied by Hans' brother François Thijs. (Gelderblom, 2003, 618-619).	
Utrecht		3	2	2	1	>1589-1606<	Trade in hides of Augustijn Boel and Hans Thijs (1586-1603/04): Clients - artisans in Utrecht. Clients. From 1595. (Gelderblom, 2000, 90-99, 111-112, 122-141). Sales of leather to merchants in Amsterdam (more than 2/3), Haarlem, Utrecht and Gorcum ca. 1589-1594. (Gelderblom, 2003, 612). Agent. Not underlined on the map. Since 1603. Hans Thijs had clients in Utrecht since 1603. Travel to Utrecht, The Hague and a number of other Dutch towns for sale of gemstones to goldsmiths. (Gelderblom, 2003, 622).	Gelderblom, 2000, 122-144, 165-171
Venice		3	2	2	1	early 1590s-1602<	Trade in hides of Augustijn Boel and Hans Thijs (1586-1603/04): Spanish leather sent to friends-merchants in Venice. Trade with befriend merchants. 1599. (Gelderblom, 2000, 90-99, 111-112, 122-141). Agent in Venice (Antwerp immigrant) for the leather trade of Boel and Thijs. (Gelderblom, 2003, 616). Agent. Not underlined on the map. For his trade in leather and hides. Indirect contact, trade. Early 1590s. François Thijs traded jewels in Venice.	Gelderblom, 2000, 122-144, 165-171
Antilles		2	2	1	0		Hans Thijs had shares in shipping ventures to the East Indies, the West Indies, Guinea and other places. (Gelderblom, 2003, 623 n. 59).	
Avignon		2	2	1	0	>1595-1598<	Indirect contact. 1595-1598. François Thijs sold jewels for him and Hans Thijs in Avignon. Between 1595 and 1602, François Thijs sold 43,000 guilders of his brother's jewelry in Frankfurt, Leipzig, Copenhagen, Danzig, Königsberg, Warsaw, Kraków, Constantinople, Avignon, Paris, Brussels and Antwerp. (Gelderblom, 2003, 621). Paulus Boel sold sometimes gemstones for Hans Thijs in Avignon. (Gelderblom, 2003, 622).	Gelderblom, 2000, 122-144, 165-171
Bilbao		2	2	1	0	from 1597	Indirect contact. Since 1597. Guillam Segersz Boel, representative in Bayonne (since 1597) from time to time went to Bilbao for Hans Thijs.	Gelderblom, 2000, 122-144, 165-171
Braunschweig		2	2	1	0	>1591-1597<	Most important correspondents of Hans Thijs between 1591 and 1597:	

							correspondents receiving more than 5 letters a year: 1591-1597. Andries Bacher and Magdalena Thijs, court physician in Braunschweig and sister of Hans Thijs, 6 letters/year. (Gelderblom, 2000, 284-286).	
Cologne		2	2	1	0	>1599<	Trade in hides of Augustijn Boel and Hans Thijs (1586-1603/04): Spanish leather sent to friends-merchants in Cologne. Trade with befriend merchants. 1599. (Gelderblom, 2000, 90-99, 111-112, 122-141). Legal procedures were carried out for Hans Thijs by relatives and friends in La Rochelle, Cologne, Middelburg and The Hague. (Gelderblom, 2003, 634 n. 93).	
Constantinople		2	2	1	0	>1595-1599<	Indirect contact. 1595-1598. François Thijs sold jewels for him and Hans Thijs in Constantinople. Between 1595 and 1602, François Thijs sold 43,000 guilders of his brother's jewelry in Frankfurt, Leipzig, Copenhagen, Danzig, Königsberg, Warsaw, Kraków, Constantinople, Avignon, Paris, Brussels and Antwerp. (Gelderblom, 2003, 621). Travels of François Thijs in 1596-1597: 1597 (Gelderblom, 2000, 168). Contacts of François Thijs, mentioned in the balance of his company: Agents having commodities of François Thijs in their deposit. Jewels and textiles. 13 March 1599. Balance of François Thijs, made in Halberstadt, 13 March 1599: Gillio ij Tomaso (jewels and gemstones, 2,273 f). (Gelderblom, 2000, 292-293).	Gelderblom, 2000, 122-144, 165-171
Dordrecht		2	2	1	0	from 1595	Trade in hides of Augustijn Boel and Hans Thijs (1586-1603/04): Clients - artisans in Dordrecht. Clients. From 1595. (Gelderblom, 2000, 90-99, 111-112, 122-141).	
East Indies		2	2	1	0	1598-1602	Hans Thijs had shares in shipping ventures to the East Indies, the West Indies, Guinea and other places. (Gelderblom, 2003, 623 n. 59). In 1598, Hans Thijs bought two shares in the "Oude Compagnie", trading with the East Indies. Between 1598 and 1602, Hans Thijs participated in eight different voyages of the "Voorcompagnieën" to the East Indies. Later, he invested also in the VOC. These investments were very lucrative. (Gelderblom, 2003, 626).	
Gorinchem		2	2	1	0	>1589-1594<	Sales of leather to merchants in Amsterdam (more than 2/3), Haarlem, Utrecht and Gorcum ca. 1589-1594. (Gelderblom, 2003, 612).	
Guinea		2	2	1	0	1599	Hans Thijs had shares in shipping ventures to the East Indies, the West Indies, Guinea and other places. (Gelderblom, 2003, 623 n. 59). Hans Thijs invested in the "Compagnie op Guinea" in 1599, trading with the west coast	

							of Africa. After this, he did not continue his investments in the African trade. (Gelderblom, 2003, 626).	
The Hague		2	2	1	0	>1595-1603<	Trade in hides of Augustijn Boel and Hans Thijs (1586-1603/04): Clients - artisans in The Hague. Clients. From 1595. (Gelderblom, 2000, 90-99, 111-112, 122-141). Clients, travel. From 1603. Hans Thijs travelled to The Hague where he had clients since 1603. Travel to Utrecht, The Hague and a number of other Dutch towns for sale of gemstones to goldsmiths. (Gelderblom, 2003, 622). Legal procedures were carried out for Hans Thijs by relatives and friends in La Rochelle, Cologne, Middelburg and The Hague. (Gelderblom, 2003, 634 n. 93).	Gelderblom, 2000, 122-144, 165-171
Kiel		2	2	1	0	early 1590s	Indirect contact, trade. Early 1590s. François Thijs traded jewels in Kiel.	Gelderblom, 2000, 122-144, 165-171
Leipzig		2	2	1	0	early 1590s	Indirect contact, trade. Early 1590s. François Thijs traded jewels in Leipzig. Cornelis Van Daele, representative in Frankfurt, traded for Hans and François Thijs in Leipzig. Between 1595 and 1602, François Thijs sold 43,000 guilders of his brother's jewelry in Frankfurt, Leipzig, Copenhagen, Danzig, Königsberg, Warsaw, Kraków, Constantinople, Avignon, Paris, Brussels and Antwerp. (Gelderblom, 2003, 621).	Gelderblom, 2000, 122-144, 165-171
Lyon		2	2	1	0	from 1596	Indirect contact, trade. From 1596. Paulus Boel sold jewels for Hans Thijs in Lyon.	Gelderblom, 2000, 122-144, 165-171
Montpellier		2	2	1	0	from 1596	Indirect contact, trade. Since 1596. Paulus Boel sometimes sold jewels for Hans Thijs in Montpellier. (Gelderblom, 2003, 622).	Gelderblom, 2000, 122-144, 165-171
Nürnberg		2	2	1	0	early 1590s-1596<	Indirect contact, trade. Early 1590s. François Thijs traded jewels in Nürnberg. Travels of François Thijs in 1596-1597: 1596 (Gelderblom, 2000, 168).	Gelderblom, 2000, 122-144, 165-171
Odense		2	2	1	0	>1593-1595<	Trade in hides of Augustijn Boel and Hans Thijs (1586-1603/04): Leather and skins bought in Odense. Trade. From 1593-1595. (Gelderblom, 2000, 90-99, 111-112, 122-141).	
Regensburg		2	2	1	0	early 1590s	Indirect contact, trade. Early 1590s. François Thijs traded jewels in Regensburg.	Gelderblom, 2000, 122-144, 165-171
Reval		2	2	1	0	early 1590s	Indirect contact, trade. Early 1590s. Steffen Haller sold jewels in Reval. In 1589-1594, Hans Thijs repeatedly sent his servant Steffen Haller to Königsberg, Torún, Reval, Elbing (Melving), Kraków, Warsaw and even	Gelderblom, 2000, 122-144, 165-171

							Stockholm for the sale of jewelry. On several visits to Kraków, Warsaw and Stockholm, Haller was accompanied by Hans' brother François Thijs. (Gelderblom, 2003, 618-619).	
Riga		2	2	1	0	1591	Trade in hides of Augustijn Boel and Hans Thijs (1586-1603/04): Augustijn Boel bought chamois-leather in Riga. Trade. 1591. (Gelderblom, 2000, 90-99, 111-112, 122-141).	
Rome		2	2	1	0	early 1590s	Indirect contact, trade. Early 1590s. François Thijs traded jewels in Rome.	Gelderblom, 2000, 122-144, 165-171
Toulouse		2	2	1	0	>1599-1602<	Trade in hides of Augustijn Boel and Hans Thijs (1586-1603/04): Hans Thijs received castilian wool and pastel as return trade from Toulouse. Trade. 1599-1602. (Gelderblom, 2000, 90-99, 111-112, 122-141).	
Vienna		2	2	1	0	early 1590s	Indirect contact, trade. Early 1590s. François Thijs traded jewels in Vienna.	Gelderblom, 2000, 122-144, 165-171
Vilnius		2	2	1	0	>1591-1595<	Trade in hides of Augustijn Boel and Hans Thijs (1586-1603/04): Augustijn Boel bought chamois leather in Wilna in 1591. Trade. 1591. (Gelderblom, 2000, 90-99, 111-112, 122-141). Indirect contact, trade. 1594-1595. Hans Thijs sold jewels in Wilna in 1594-1595. Sales of jewelry by Hans Thijs in Danzig, Torun, Posen, Vilnius and Königsberg in 1591-1595. (Gelderblom, 2003, 618, 618 n. 31).	Gelderblom, 2000, 122-144, 165-171
Warsaw		2	2	1	0	>1596-1614<	Indirect contact, trade. 1590s. Steffen Haller sold jewels in Warschau. François Thijs sold jewels to Polish aristocracy in Warschau until 1598. Between 1595 and 1602, François Thijs sold 43,000 guilders of his brother's jewelry in Frankfurt, Leipzig, Copenhagen, Danzig, Königsberg, Warsaw, Kraków, Constantinople, Avignon, Paris, Brussels and Antwerp. (Gelderblom, 2003, 621). Travels of François Thijs in 1596-1597: 1596, 1597 (Gelderblom, 2000, 168). Business travel of François Thijs and the son of his brother, Augustijn Thijs. Business travel to the courts in central Europe. Both died during the trip. Jewel trade. 1613-1614. (Gelderblom, 2000, 203). In 1589-1594, Hans Thijs repeatedly sent his servant Steffen Haller to Königsberg, Torún, Reval, Elbing (Melving), Kraków, Warsaw and even Stockholm for the sale of jewelry. On several visits to Kraków, Warsaw and Stockholm, Haller was accompanied by Hans' brother François Thijs. (Gelderblom, 2003, 618-619).	Gelderblom, 2000, 122-144, 165-171

Worms		2	2	1	0	>1584-1586<	Network of Christoffel Thijs: From 1584 to 1586. Christoffel Thijs left Antwerp in 1584, to Worms. After the death of his wife in 1586, he left to Frankfurt. (Gelderblom, 2000, 48-60). Hans Thijs was representative of the jewels trade of his father Christoffel Thijs.	
Moscow		1	1	1	0	1596	Travels of François Thijs in 1596-1597: 1596 (Gelderblom, 2000, 168).	
Prague		1	1	1	0	1596	Travels of François Thijs in 1596-1597: 1596 (Gelderblom, 2000, 168).	

+ This network has especially been based upon the map in Gelderblom, 2000, p. 166. Underlined places on the map have been attributed a score 4-2-2-1, and not underlined places a score 3-2-2-1, while places not mentioned on the map have been given a score 2-2-1-0.

+ Most important correspondents of Hans Thijs between 1591 and 1597: correspondents receiving more than 5 letters a year. Origin: Danzig (1591-1595) - Amsterdam (1595-1597). Also François Thijs, 12 letters a year between 1591 and 1597, but not located in a fixed place. (Gelderblom, 2000, 284-286).

DOMINICUS VAN UFFELE, ca. 1585 – 1623

Dominicus van Uffele, born in Antwerp ca. 1545. He lived in Hamburg by 1585 (Kellenbenz, 1954, 226). Dominicus van Uffele was one of the most important and the richest of the immigrants from the Low Countries in Hamburg (Kellenbenz, 1954, 230-231). Van Uffele died in 1623. The firm continued as "Dominicus van Uffeln seel. Erben", especially continued by his sons Dominicus (1584-1658), Johann, Peter and Nicolas. These sons obtained important real estate and landholdings (Kellenbenz, 1954, 231-232). Dominicus van Uffeln, born in 1545, Calvinist. Migrated to Zeeland in 1585 and to Hamburg at the end of the century. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 186).

Richest Flemish merchant in Hamburg. Played an important role in the Swedish copperindustry and -trade. Also trade in English cloth, he worked for the Portuguese peppermonopolists, exported woollens and wax to Lisbon and Bilbao, imported sugar, indigo, ginger,... from the Iberian Peninsula (Brulez, 1960, 291).

Company of Hendrick Broen and Van Uffelen: Company of the sons and son-in-law (Hendrick Broen, married to Anna Van Uffelen in 1603) of Hans Van Uffelen, who died in 1613. Trade with Portugal, Italy, Levant. (ca. 1613-ca. 1624). Source material: GAA NA 138/192v, NA 141/109; NA 622,29v (bevrachtingscontracten op Italië en Malta); Heeringa, 1910, nr. 361 (Levant); GAA 747/1019; Kellenbenz, 1954, 226-228 (Hamburg, Frankfurt, Keulen); Van Dillen, 1941, 15; ID., 1958, 211-212; GAA NA 140/53v (Frankrijk). Representatives in Hamburg, Frankfurt, Cologne, and in the late 1620s also Sweden. Two brothers of Hendrick Broen lived in France: contacts as well. (Gelderblom, 2000, 229-230).

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Source material:

Data can be found among others in the town archives of Antwerp, the Historisches Archiv of Cologne, and the Fugger archives (Kellenbenz, 1954, 386 n. 69).

Size: Medium-sized or large

Largest firm in Hamburg at the end of the 16th century (Kellenbenz, 1954, 226-227). At the end of his life, in the early 1620s, Dominicus van Uffele had the largest business in Hamburg (Kellenbenz, 1954, 231).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Around 1600, Dominicus van Uffele was one of the largest traders in English cloth of Hamburg. Ca. 1590, peppertrade. Around 1605, export of wax and “Bayen”. 8th-largest foreign sugar importer from the Iberian peninsula in Hamburg in 1612, and largest importer of indigo, “campeche-wood”, and ginger. Also large import of cinnamon. Also import of rice from Amsterdam and aniseed from Venice (Kellenbenz, 1954, 227). The van Uffele imported copper- and iron products (war materials) to Spain (Kellenbenz, 1954, 228). Close business connections with the von Bodeck in Frankfurt for the coppertrade (Kellenbenz, 1954, 229). Under the sons of Dominicus van Uffele, trade with the Iberian peninsula continued: especially sugar import and copper export (Kellenbenz, 1954, 231). Connections with the farmers of the European pepper contract. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 186). Especially trade in spices and colonial products, such as Brezilwood and indigo. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 186). Dominicus van Uffele traded in spices, English cloth and sugar. (Kalus, 2009, 13). Played an important role in the Swedish copperindustry and -trade. Also trade in English cloth, he worked for the Portuguese peppermonopolists, exported woollens and wax to Lisbon and Bilbao, imported sugar, indigo, ginger,... from the Iberian Peninsula (Brulez, 1960, 291). Large trade in English cloth. (Priotti, 2004, 173 n. 38).
- Finance: Together with Johann von Bodeck loans to the German copper production around Leipzig (in hands of Thomas Lebzelter and others until 1619) (Kellenbenz, 1954, 230). Large business with princes and nobles, e.g. Ernst von Schauenburg. Supply of tapestries from Brussels, salt and loans of money (Kellenbenz, 1954, 230). In the 1620s, loans to Sweden in exchange for Schwedisch copper (Kellenbenz, 1954, 231-232).
- Industry: Caspar van Uffele (together with Michael Heldevier) obtained 1/3 of the copper exploitation of Schönburg in Graslich in Bohemia (Kellenbenz, 1954, 230). The sons of Dominicus van Uffele remained involved in the copper exploitation of middle Germany, together with Johann von Bodeck and the Schwendendörfer (Kellenbenz, 1954, 231). Played an important role in the Swedish copperindustry and -trade. (Brulez, 1960, 291).

- Shipping: Dominicus and Nicolas van Uffele owned parts of the ship Salvator after the death of their father Dominicus (Kellenbenz, 1954, 232).

Network of Dominicus van Uffele:

Table A..1. Network of Dominicus van Uffele, 1585 – 1623

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Hamburg		8	4	3	1	>1585-1623<	Dominicus van Uffele in Hamburg by 1585 (Kellenbenz, 1954, 226-227). Dominicus van Uffele was a Flemish merchant who resided in Hamburg since 1585. He was the richest Flemish merchant in Hamburg (Brulez, 1960, 291). In 1613-1624, the business of Hans Van Uffelen (d. 1613) in Amsterdam was taken over by his sons and his son-in-law Hendrick Broen. This company had fixed representatives in Cologne, Frankfurt am Main and Hamburg, in Sweden (late 1620s), and in France (two brothers of Hendrick Broen). The company also traded with Portugal, Italy, Malta and the Levant. (Gelderblom, 2000, 229-230).	
Amsterdam		4	2	2	1	>1588-1612<	In 1612, import of rice from Amsterdam (Kellenbenz, 1954, 227). Hans, probably a brother of Dominicus, in Amsterdam in 1599. Later Jacob and Marcus van Uffele in Amsterdam. Carried out an important trade with Italy. The van Uffele family in Amsterdam was very active in the Dutch Levant company (Kellenbenz, 1954, 228). After 1600, Caspar van Uffele, perhaps a brother of Dominicus, temporarily in Amsterdam. Later (1610), he was in Frankfurt (Kellenbenz, 1954, 228, 386 n. 70). In the 1590s, connections between Dominicus van Uffele and the brass production of Barbara Rantzau in Stormarn. Van Uffele's factor in Amsterdam took care of the sale. Name of the Amsterdam factor not mentioned. This project in the end was not carried out, since it was not profitable (Kellenbenz, 1954, 228). Representative of the Ximenes in Amsterdam in 1588 was Hans van Uffeln. (Kellenbenz, 1970, 299). A Jan van Uffele in Amsterdam in 1592 (Brulez, 1960, 300). Dominicus van Uffele had three sons in Holland, Hans, Jacob, and Marcus van Uffele. They played an important role in the VOC (Brulez, 1960, 291). Hans van Uffelen was a son of Dominicus van Uffelen. He went from Antwerp to Amsterdam shortly after 1585. In the early 1590s, he	

							established a company with Herman Heesters for trade with Russia. Among the members of this company were the Brabant merchants François Rogiers, Jeronimus Heesters and Jeronimus L'Hermite, the former of whom went from Antwerp to Middelburg after 1585, and the latter two to Stade. (Wijnroks, 2003, 258). Dominicus van Uffelen traded with Amsterdam, Bilbao, Lisbon, Messina (where his son Daniel was established), Venice (where his son Dominicus was established). Jacques and Marcus, also sons of Dominicus van Uffele, were established in Holland. (Wijnroks, 2003, 259). Hans van Uffele, son of Dominicus, who was in Amsterdam, probably died before 1603. (Wijnroks, 2003, 261). In 1613-1624, the business of Hans Van Uffelen (d. 1613) in Amsterdam was taken over by his sons and his son-in-law Hendrick Broen. This company had fixed representatives in Cologne, Frankfurt am Main and Hamburg, in Sweden (late 1620s), and in France (two brothers of Hendrick Broen). The company also traded with Portugal, Italy, Malta and the Levant. (Gelderblom, 2000, 229-230).	
Cologne		4	2	2	1	>c.1590<, >c.1600<	Ca. 1590, Dominicus van Uffele carried out expedition business for Ulrich Bader from Cologne (Kellenbenz, 1954, 227). Around 1600, Caspar van Uffele in Cologne, who was perhaps a brother of Dominicus (Kellenbenz, 1954, 228, 386 n. 70). Pepper trade with Cologne. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 186). Gaspar van Uffele in Cologne and later in Frankfurt (Brulez, 1960, 291). In 1613-1624, the business of Hans Van Uffelen (d. 1613) in Amsterdam was taken over by his sons and his son-in-law Hendrick Broen. This company had fixed representatives in Cologne, Frankfurt am Main and Hamburg, in Sweden (late 1620s), and in France (two brothers of Hendrick Broen). The company also traded with Portugal, Italy, Malta and the Levant. (Gelderblom, 2000, 229-230).	
Frankfurt am Main		4	2	2	1	>1610-1624<	After 1600, Caspar van Uffele, perhaps a brother of Dominicus, temporarily in Amsterdam. In 1610, he was in Frankfurt (Kellenbenz, 1954, 228). Close connection with the von Bodeck in Frankfurt am Main (Kellenbenz, 1954, 229). In the 2nd decade of the 17th century, Dominicus van Uffele resided for a while in Frankfurt (Kellenbenz, 1954, 231). Johann von Bodeck's (Frankfurt) son Johann von Bodeck the younger married a daughter of Dominicus van Uffele in 1617. (Dietz, 1921, III, 260). Johann's daughter Maria married the Hamburg banker Dominicus van Uffele in 1617. (Dietz, 1921, III, 261). Agatha, daughter of Johann von Bodeck, married the	

							Hamburg banker Kaspar van Uffele ca. 1624. (261). Very close family ties between the von Bodeck family of Frankfurt with the van Uffele family of Hamburg. (Dietz, 1921, III, 261). Gaspar van Uffele in Cologne and later in Frankfurt (Brulez, 1960, 291). In 1613-1624, the business of Hans Van Uffelen (d. 1613) in Amsterdam was taken over by his sons and his son-in-law Hendrick Broen. This company had fixed representatives in Cologne, Frankfurt am Main and Hamburg, in Sweden (late 1620s), and in France (two brothers of Hendrick Broen). The company also traded with Portugal, Italy, Malta and the Levant. (Gelderblom, 2000, 229-230).	
Messina		4	2	2	1	After 1610	Shortly after 1610, David van Uffele in Messina (Kellenbenz, 1954, 228). Representative in Messina: his son Daniel van Uffele (Brulez, 1960, 291). Dominicus van Uffelen traded with Amsterdam, Bilbao, Lisbon, Messina (where his son Daniel was established), Venice (where his son Dominicus was established). (Wijnroks, 2003, 259).	
Venice		4	2	2	1	>1611-1612<	In 1612, import of aniseed from Venice (Kellenbenz, 1954, 227). In 1611, the oldest son of Dominicus van Uffele, Dominicus, in Venice. Only a few years later, Hieronymus van Uffele the younger and Lucas van Uffele in Venice (Kellenbenz, 1954, 228, 386 n. 70). Active in trade with Italy, where several of the family members of Dominicus van Uffele resided. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 186). Representative in Venice: his son Dominicus van Uffele (Brulez, 1960, 291). In the first half of the 17th c., Lucas van Uffel lived in Venice. He owned a famous art gallery, and was an important mecenas (Brulez, 1960, 303). Dominicus van Uffelen traded with Amsterdam, Bilbao, Lisbon, Messina (where his son Daniel was established), Venice (where his son Dominicus was established). (Wijnroks, 2003, 259).	
Antwerp		3	2	2	1	>c.1591-c.1595<	In the sugar trade, strong connection with the Antwerp firm of Louis Clarisse, who had relatives in Lisbon (after the death of Dominicus van Uffele ??) (Kellenbenz, 1954, 231). Dominicus van Uffele worked for the Ximenes in Lisbon and Antwerp (ca. 1591-ca. 1595). (Kalus, 2009, 10, 13).	
Bilbao		3	2	2	1	>1605<	In 1605, export of wax and woollens to Lisbon and Bilbao (Kellenbenz, 1954, 227). Active in trade with Bilbao. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 186). Export of woollens and wax to Lisbon and Bilbao, import of sugar, indigo, ginger,… from Iberian Peninsula (Brulez, 1960, 291). Dominicus van Uffeln was an important business connection of Alejandro de Echávarri in Bilbao.	

							(Priotti, 2004, 173). Dominicus van Uffelen traded with Amsterdam, Bilbao, Lisbon, Messina (where his son Daniel was established), Venice (where his son Dominicus was established). (Wijnroks, 2003, 259).	
Lisbon		3	2	2	1	>c.1590<, >1605<, >1612<	Ca. 1590, import for the Portuguese pepper monopolists. In 1605, export of wax and woollens to Lisbon and Bilbao (Kellenbenz, 1954, 227). Import of sugar, cinnamon and indigo from Lisbon in 1612 (Kellenbenz, 1954, 227). In the sugar trade, strong connection with the Antwerp firm of Louis Clarisse, who had relatives in Lisbon (after the death of Dominicus van Uffele ??) (Kellenbenz, 1954, 231). Pepper trade with Lisbon. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 186). Export of woollens and wax to Lisbon and Bilbao, import of sugar, indigo, ginger,… from Iberian Peninsula (Brulez, 1960, 291). Dominicus van Uffele worked for the Ximenes in Lisbon and Antwerp (ca. 1591-ca. 1595). (Kalus, 2009, 10, 13). Actif in import and export from and to the Iberian peninsula, worked for Portuguese peppermonopolists. (Brulez, 1960, 291). Dominicus van Uffelen traded with Amsterdam, Bilbao, Lisbon, Messina (where his son Daniel was established), Venice (where his son Dominicus was established). (Wijnroks, 2003, 259). In 1613-1624, the business of Hans Van Uffelen (d. 1613) in Amsterdam was taken over by his sons and his son-in-law Hendrick Broen. This company had fixed representatives in Cologne, Frankfurt am Main and Hamburg, in Sweden (late 1620s), and in France (two brothers of Hendrick Broen). The company also traded with Portugal, Italy, Malta and the Levant. (Gelderblom, 2000, 229-230).	
London		3	2	2	1		At the end of the 16th century, Dominicus van Uffele was among the largest importers of English cloth from London or Stade to Hamburg. (Priotti, 2004, 173 n. 38).	
Middelburg		3	2	2	1	1585	Emigrated to Zeeland in 1585. Factor in Zeeland of Martín Pérez de Varrón and Marcos Nuñez Perez. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 186). Dominicus van Uffele was factor in Zeeland of Martín Pérez de Varron in 1594. (Priotti, 2004, 173 n. 37). Is this the same Dominicus van Uffele as the one in Hamburg?? Hans van Uffelen was a son of Dominicus van Uffelen. He went from Antwerp to Amsterdam shortly after 1585. In the early 1590s, he established a company with Herman Heesters for trade with Russia. Among the members of this company were the Brabant merchants François Rogiers,	

							Jeronimus Heesters and Jeronimus L'Hermite, the former of whom went from Antwerp to Middelburg after 1585, and the latter two to Stade. (Wijnroks, 2003, 258). The company of Hans van Uffelen and Herman Heesters had close ties with the company of Aert Verbeeck and his son and son-in-law Abraham Verbeeck and Joris Bessels, the latter of whom lived in Middelburg. This company was dissolved in 1595. (Wijnroks, 2003, 258-259).	
Stade		3	2	2	1		At the end of the 16th century, Dominicus van Uffele was among the largest importers of English cloth from London or Stade to Hamburg. (Priotti, 2004, 173 n. 38). Hans van Uffelen was a son of Dominicus van Uffelen. He went from Antwerp to Amsterdam shortly after 1585. In the early 1590s, he established a company with Herman Heesters for trade with Russia. Among the members of this company were the Brabant merchants François Rogiers, Jeronimus Heesters and Jeronimus L'Hermite, the former of whom went from Antwerp to Middelburg after 1585, and the latter two to Stade. (Wijnroks, 2003, 258).	
Sweden		3	2	2	1	>1620s<	In the 1620s, loans to Sweden in exchange for Schwedisch copper (Kellenbenz, 1954, 231-232). Played an important role in the Swedish copperindustry and -trade. (Brulez, 1960, 291). Actif in Swedish copper trade. (Brulez, 1960, 291). Copper trade with Sweden. (Wijnroks, 2003, 259). In 1613-1624, the business of Hans Van Uffelen (d. 1613) in Amsterdam was taken over by his sons and his son-in-law Hendrick Broen. This company had fixed representatives in Cologne, Frankfurt am Main and Hamburg, in Sweden (late 1620s), and in France (two brothers of Hendrick Broen). The company also traded with Portugal, Italy, Malta and the Levant. (Gelderblom, 2000, 229-230).	
Eastern Mediterranean		2	2	1	0		The van Uffele family in Amsterdam was very active in the Dutch Levant company (Kellenbenz, 1954, 228). In 1613-1624, the business of Hans Van Uffelen (d. 1613) in Amsterdam was taken over by his sons and his son-in-law Hendrick Broen. This company had fixed representatives in Cologne, Frankfurt am Main and Hamburg, in Sweden (late 1620s), and in France (two brothers of Hendrick Broen). The company also traded with Portugal, Italy, Malta and the Levant. (Gelderblom, 2000, 229-230).	
East Indies		2	2	1	0		Dominicus van Uffele had three sons in Holland, Hans, Jacob, and Marcus van Uffele. They played an important role in the VOC (Brulez, 1960, 291).	

France		2	2	1	0	<1613-1624>	In 1613-1624, the business of Hans Van Uffelen (d. 1613) in Amsterdam was taken over by his sons and his son-in-law Hendrick Broen. This company had fixed representatives in Cologne, Frankfurt am Main and Hamburg, in Sweden (late 1620s), and in France (two brothers of Hendrick Broen). The company also traded with Portugal, Italy, Malta and the Levant. (Gelderblom, 2000, 229-230).	
Graslich (Schönburg)	M	2	2	1	0		Caspar van Uffele (together with Michael Heldevier) obtained 1/3 of the copper exploitation of Schönburg in Graslich in Bohemia (Kellenbenz, 1954, 230).	
Leipzig		2	2	1	0		Together with Johann von Bodeck loans to the German copper production around Leipzig (in hands of Thomas Lebzelter of Leipzig and others until 1619) (Kellenbenz, 1954, 230). The sons of Dominicus van Uffele remained involved in the copper exploitation of middle Germany, together with Johann von Bodeck and the Schwendendörfer (Kellenbenz, 1954, 231). Already in 1609 loans by Von Bodeck to the entrepreneur Thomas Lebzelter of Leipzig. In 1613, money advanced by Von Bodeck to the "Ilmenauschen Saiger- und Messunghandlung" in which the Leipziger Lebzelter, Johann Mahieu (of Frankfurt), the Nurnberg-Leipzig house of the Schwendendörfer, and von Bodeck himself took part. Failure of Lebzelter in 1619, the city of Leipzig took over 4/5 of the Mansfeld copper mountain exploitation. Again von Bodeck advanced money to this enterprise (Kellenbenz, 1954, 230).	
Malta		2	2	1	0	<1613-1624>	In 1613-1624, the business of Hans Van Uffelen (d. 1613) in Amsterdam was taken over by his sons and his son-in-law Hendrick Broen. This company had fixed representatives in Cologne, Frankfurt am Main and Hamburg, in Sweden (late 1620s), and in France (two brothers of Hendrick Broen). The company also traded with Portugal, Italy, Malta and the Levant. (Gelderblom, 2000, 229-230).	
Russia		2	2	1	0	from early 1590s	Hans van Uffelen was a son of Dominicus van Uffelen. He went from Antwerp to Amsterdam shortly after 1585. In the early 1590s, he established a company with Herman Heesters for trade with Russia. Among the members of this company were the Brabant merchants François Rogiers, Jeronimus Heesters and Jeronimus L'Hermite, the former of whom went from Antwerp to Middelburg after 1585, and the latter two to Stade. Among the representatives of Hans van Uffelen in Russia were Mathieu Spranger and Hans Berninck, the latter of whom only resided in Russia during the	

							summer months. (Wijnroks, 2003, 258, 261).	
San Lúcar		2	2	1	0	>1612<	Import of indigo, ginger and “Campeche-wood” from San Lucar in 1612 (Kellenbenz, 1954, 227).	
Sevilla		2	2	1	0	>c.1594<	Active in trade with Sevilla. Marcos Nuñez Perez sent merchandise from Sevilla to Dominicus van Uffeln ca. 1594. (Vazquez de Prada, 1960, 186).	
Stormarn (region in Schleswig-Holstein)		2	2	1	0	>1590s<	In the 1590s, connections between Dominicus van Uffele and the brass production of Barbara Rantzau in Stormarn. Goods to be exported were insured by Van Uffele. Van Uffele’s factor in Amsterdam took care of the sales. This project in the end was not carried out, since it was not profitable (Kellenbenz, 1954, 228).	

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4.3.2. DUTCH FIRMS

CLAES ADRIAENSZ. VAN ADRICHEM (ca. 1560 – ca. 1597)

Claes Adriaensz. van Adrichem was born in Delft. His father, Aryaen Claesz., was a prominent corn-merchant. Perhaps in 1560, when he was ca. 22 years old, Claes van Adrichem became active as well in the corn trade (Christensen, 1941, 112). In 1582, Van Adrichem became *thesaurier* of Delft, and in 1585 burgomaster, an office which he held with short intervals until his death. He also became active in the provincial government. From 1597 he largely seems to have withdrawn from his commercial activities since his public offices occupied much of his time (Christensen, 1941, 112-113). Partnership between Van Adrichem and his brother-in-law, Gerrit Fransz. Meerman, burgomaster in Delft sometime before Van Adrichem. Some accounts of their common business have been preserved for 1568-72 (Christensen, 1941, 190). They collaborated closely in the shipping trade, herring fisheries and a number of commercial undertakings as equal partners. However, the partnership comprised only parts of the activities of each of them. The partnership dated at least from 1567 (Christensen, 1941, 191). In 1568, Claes van Adrichem and Gerrit Meerman belonged to a larger partnership, in which they together owned ¼ part. The other members of the partnership were Pieter Jacopsz., Corstiaen Willemsz. and Gowert Willemsz. Brasser, each owning a share of ¼ in the partnership (Christensen, 1941, 191). No trace of this partnership anymore in 1569. Van Adrichem and Meerman became partners in new companies, in which their share was larger, e.g. with Hendrick Dircxsz. van Santen in 1569 (Christensen, 1941, 192). The connection between Van Adrichem and Meerman was continued after Meerman's return to Delft in 1572, but their partnership was never complete: each of them also carried out business individually. Their collaboration consisted of a large number of short-term partnerships, rather than a permanent company (Christensen, 1941, 193). Increasingly, Van Adrichem conducted more trade on his own account, and less business in partnership (Christensen, 1941, 200).

Claes van Adrichem. Merchant and mayor from Delft. Company between Nicolaas van Adrichem and Frans Gerritsz Meerman (brothers-in-Law). Both Delft merchants. Van Adrichem was head of the company (Van Gelder, 1916, 133-134; Id., 1919, 136).

Claes Adriaensz. van Adrichem was a son of Adriaen Claesz. (1503-1560), mayor of Delft between 1550 and 1554. Claes van Adrichem was born in 1538. He was mayor in Delft from 1585 to 1607 (with some interruptions). Claes died in 1607. (Winkelman, 1981, xxi).

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Source material:

The business archive of Claes van Adrichem has been partly preserved in the *Algemeen Rijksarchief* of The Hague. It contains incoming letters (1580-88, several printed in Van Gelder, 1919, 140-188), a register with copies of outgoing letters (1581-97, some published in Van Gelder, 1919), shipping accounts (1569-1598, mostly published in Van Gelder, 1917, 150-289), and various other business documents. For the years 1585-1597, the correspondence and shipping accounts have been published by Winkelman (1981). (Christensen, 1941, 468-469; Van Gelder, 1919, 136-137; Winkelman, 1981, xxi-xxii). The preserved archives of Van Adrichem include papers from both his public and private activities. The greater part of his business archives, however, seems to have been lost. Of his account books, only one *memoriael* is still extant. Likewise, the correspondence of Van Adrichem has only been preserved fragmentarily (Christensen, 1941, 113). Van Adrichem’s ledgers have been completely lost (Christensen, 1941, 189). Business documents only have been preserved for the period until 1597. For the period 1597-1606 only documents about the mayoralty of Van Adrichem have survived. (Winkelman, 1981, xxiii).

Size: Medium-sized

Claes van Adrichem was not among the greatest Dutch merchants of the end of the 16th century. The large merchants of Amsterdam (such as Isaac Lemaire) had much more wide-spread connections (Christensen, 1941, 179). Nevertheless, Van Adrichem’s business belonged to the elite of the Dutch maritime trade, and can be compared with the large commercial houses of Amsterdam (Christensen, 1941, 180). Annual turn-over of the Danzig factors for Van Adrichem: in 1584: ca. 3,500 gulden (= ca. 1,975 fl.). In 1590: ca. 13,000 gulden (Christensen, 1941, 233).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Claes van Adrichem began his career as a grain merchant. Originally, Van Adrichem traded only in regionally produced grain, but already before 1570 he extended his grain trade to importation from abroad. He also became interested in the herring and ship-owners trade. Van Adrichem obtained shares in many ships and cargoes, and became the central figure in a number of enterprises. Besides grain, he also imported timber, flax, hemp, cordage, etc from the Baltic, and exported salt from France and Portugal and Dutch herring to the Baltic. As late as 1600, after having withdrawn from most of his business activities in 1597, Van Adrichem still carried on speculative trade in corn from Holland, and until 1604 he had shares in the herring fishery companies (Christensen, 1941, 112-113). Export of salt and herring to the Baltic (Christensen, 1941, 156). Import of grain, and also timber, ash, flax, and hemp from the Baltic (Christensen, 1941, 156-157). Grain is the main cargo shipped from the Baltic. In addition also timber, pitch and tar, ashes, hemp and flax. From the south, most important cargo was salt. Wine and spices were much less important. From the Netherlands: export of herring or re-export of salt. With the exception of herring, Dutch products played almost no role (Christensen, 1941, 246-249). Leading aspect of the business of Van Adrichem was the trade in goods (Christensen, 1941, 394). Van Adrichem was especially a grain merchant. (Winkelman, 1981, xxi-xxii). Van Adrichem was especially involved in the grain trade from Danzig to the Low Countries. (Winkelman, 1981, xxiii-xxiv). Grain trade with Baltic, after 1572 more varied trade: between southern Europe (especially Portugal) and the Baltic: grain, fish and salt. (Van Gelder, 1916, 142-147). Trade in grain, salt, herring and wood. (Van Gelder, 1919, 137). Grain, herring, etc. to southern Europe from 1592. Salt from the south: used in the herring fishery. Herring fished by the company in North Sea, sold in Baltic or Norway. Grain bought in Baltic or Norway, sold in Portugal.
- Finance: Van Adrichem was involved in loans (e.g. bottomry loans), rents, and various other investments (Christensen, 1941, 113-114, 198). Use of bill of exchange, credit-operations, etc by Van Adrichem (Christensen, 1941, 182). Van Adrichem and his factors made frequently use of credit and bills of exchange to be able to make purchases and sales at the most profitable moments, and to exploit a favourable state of the market: more advanced business techniques than Cunertorf-Snel (Christensen, 1941, 388-393). Organical use of credit, bills of exchange, purchases on speculation, and business for future delivery, which were interwoven with his system of trade in goods (Christensen, 1941, 394). Credit arrangements and bills of exchange took up a much greater part of the business in the 1590s than the 1580s (Christensen, 1941, 394-395). Bottomry loans, used as a means of credit by the shipmasters declined on the other hand: high rate of interest charged (Christensen, 1941, 395). Van Adrichem made use of bills of exchange and was involved in money trade. (Winkelman, 1981, xxiv).
- Industry:
- Shipping: Van Adrichem owned shares in several merchant ships, perhaps already from 1568. Already before, Van Adrichem presumably participated in the ownership of herring vessels (Christensen, 1941, 114-119). The shipping companies of which Van Adrichem was a member were all family concerns, in which Van Adrichem himself was the most prominent member (Christensen, 1941, 123). In many

cases, Van Adrichem was the book-keeper of the shipping companies for one or more years. The book-keeper was "the *business manager* of the company, its representative and intermediary in relation to shipmaster, factor and other business connexions" (Christensen, 1941, 131). The position of the shipmasters in the shipping companies of Van Adrichem was almost that of an employee, although he was a partner and part-owner of the ship. The shipmaster had to obey the instructions of the company and its book-keeper (Christensen, 1941, 132). Letters with instructions were sent to the shipmaster directly, or to the factors or correspondents in the towns were the shipmaster had to load and unload, by the representative of the shipping company at home. (Christensen, 1941, 133). The shipmasters of the companies of Van Adrichem were frequently chartered by strangers (Christensen, 1941, 136). The ships of the shipping companies of Van Adrichem almost never were chartered out (only 4 cases). Most sailed with cargo of the company (39), part-freighting (the largest part-freighters were often individual ship-owners or business relations of Van Adrichem in Delft) (10), or a combination of both (61). 35 ships sailed in ballast (numbers for 149 transports from port to port) (Christensen, 1941, 155-157). Shipping between the Netherlands, the Baltic, and southwestern Europe (Christensen, 1941, 155). The ship-owners not only transported their wares on their own ships, but also on strange ships (Christensen, 1941, 157). This was done to distribute risks. Marine insurance at that time was not frequently used by Dutch merchants in the Baltic (Christensen, 1941, 171-176). Van Adrichem was a member of different companies of shipowners, involved in cargo-shipping and fishery in the Baltic, Spain, Portugal and Italy. (Winkelman, 1981, xxii). Shipowner. (Van Gelder, 1916, 142-147). Involved in the herring fishery from the late 1560s (Christensen, 1941, 116; Winkelman, 1981, xxii).

Network of Claes Adriaensz. van Adrichem:

Grain trade with Baltic, after 1572 more varied trade: between southern Europe (especially Portugal) and the Baltic: grain, fish and salt. (Van Gelder, 1916, 142-147). Van Adrichem was represented abroad by factors (fixed representatives) and shippers. (Van Gelder, 1919, 138).

Claes van Adrichem appointed permanent factors, often relatives, in a number of the most important home and foreign commercial centres. With those, and the masters of his ships, he carried on a lively and ever increasing correspondence, giving orders and receiving reports from the markets (Christensen, 1941, 112). For Van Adrichem, the shipping trade was only an organic link in an extensive commercial activity, in which the factor system became more and more predominant over time (Christensen, 1941, 179). Frequent correspondence between Van Adrichem and his factors (Christensen, 1941, 180). Van Adrichem partly carried out individual trade on his own account, partly in partnership with others, sometimes with a permanent partner for a prolonged period, sometimes in short-term companies (Christensen, 1941, 190, 193-196, 198). van Adrichem made use of factors and shipmasters who were closely connected with their employers: factors on the chief Baltic market, and shipowners in the Western European salt ports. Where there was a factor, he and not the shipmaster was in charge of the transactions. The shipmaster appears as a subsidiary factor, being in charge of the transactions only in places where Van Adrichem had no permanent connections of any kind. Independent local merchants in this case acted as exchange brokers and intermediaries for granting credit (Christensen, 1941, 223). The factor's relation to the employer was a free contract relation (Christensen, 1941, 223). Presumably the factors had written powers of attorney (Christensen, 1941, 224). The factors were professional factors, often representing several merchants. The factors exclusively dedicated themselves to factorage. Independent business however was not completely excluded (Christensen, 1941, 224). Many of the factors were young

relatives of the principals (Christensen, 1941, 226). The freedom of the factors was limited: they had to carry out the instructions and orders of Van Adrichem. Due to the distance and slowness of communications, the factor had in practice some freedom of action (Christensen, 1941, 226-227). The letters especially contained detailed reports on the market, with quotation of prices. Only in a minority of letters orders and reports on business done were the most important element of the letter (Christensen, 1941, 231). The Danzig factors were paid on commission (often a certain percentage of the turnover) or via reciprocity: the principal sometimes carried out transactions for the factor (Christensen, 1941, 227-228).

Table A..1. Network of Claes Adriaensz. van Adrichem, ca. 1560 – ca. 1597

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Delft		8	4	3	1	c.1560-c.1597	Headquarters (Christensen, 1941, 112). Representatives in Delft and Delfshaven (Christensen, 1941, 217). Sale of Baltic grain in Delft, Amsterdam and Antwerp (Christensen, 1941, 217). Headquarters. 1562(?)-1598(?). (Van Gelder, 1916, 133-148). Claes van Adrichem lived at the “Korenmarkt” in Delft. (Winkelman, 1981, xxi).	
Amsterdam		4	2	2	1	>1568-early 1570s, 1577-1594<	Letter(s) from Jan Jacobsz. Huydencop, correspondent, 1582 (Christensen, 1941, 469). Heindrick Hubertsz. van Rijnswijck, factor in Amsterdam, 1580-84 (Christensen, 1941, 469). Letter(s) from Jacque de Verne, 1583 (Christensen, 1941, 469). In 1568, grain transports by Van Adrichem from Danzig to Amsterdam on ships that did not belong to him (Christensen, 1941, 116). Factor in Amsterdam in 1590 (Christensen, 1941, 183). Heindrick Hubertsz. van Rijnswick factor in Amsterdam in 1578 (Christensen, 1941, 195). The Amsterdam factor sold pitch and tar from Danzig in 1579 (Christensen, 1941, 197). In Amsterdam, sales of cargoes of shipping companies in which Van Adrichem participated were often made by a factor (Christensen, 1941, 199, 199 n. 5). In 1577-78, Adriaen Thimansz. of Hamburg shipped some wheat to Amsterdam for Van Adrichem (Christensen, 1941, 217 n. 1). Factor in Amsterdam (Christensen, 1941, 217). Sale of Baltic grain in Delft, Amsterdam and Antwerp (Christensen, 1941, 217). In the 1590s, Amsterdam took over the role as market for bills of exchange for Van Adrichem (Christensen, 1941, 217). In Amsterdam, Van Adrichem seems to have had permanent connections from the beginning to the end. The role of Amsterdam as grain market for Van Adrichem became even more important after the fall of Antwerp in 1585	

							(Christensen, 1941, 218). As early as 1569, Van Adrichem had established relations with the Amsterdam grain market. However, the relations with Amsterdam were cut during the first years of the Revolt in the early 1570s. In 1577, the relations were restored: lasting relation with the factor Heindrick Hubertsz. van Rijnswick, which was weak in the beginning, but strong and permanent from 1581 (Christensen, 1941, 218-219). First extant letters of Van Rijnswick: 1580. Connection remained until the mid 1590s, when Van Rijnswick left Amsterdam. Small part of the correspondence preserved for 1580-85 and 1589. In reality, correspondence was much more regular and frequent. Van Rijnswick sent market reports, negotiated bills of exchange, sold and re-shipped grain from Danzig (Christensen, 1941, 219). In 1594, Hubertsz. was replaced as factor by Adriaen van der Goes. Little information has been preserved about his activities (Christensen, 1941, 220). Correspondent: Aper Jansz. (shipper for Van Adrichem: also in Danzig and travelling through the Sont). 1579. Grain from Danzig to Amsterdam. (Van Gelder, 1916, 135; Id., 1919, 138). One letter has been preserved from Claes van Adrichem to Heindrick Huberstz. in Amsterdam of 1589. (Winkelman, 1981, 467-531). Correspondent in Amsterdam: Aper Jansz. (Van Gelder, 1919, 140-191). Port of call of shipmaster Michiel Jansz. van Delfshaven (shipmaster of one of the shipping companies of Van Adrichem) in 1580 (1 time), in 1584 (1 time). Total: 2. (Christensen, 1941, 243-245).	
Antwerp		4	2	2	1	>1568-1582<	In Antwerp, sales of cargoes of shipping companies in which Van Adrichem participated were often made by a factor (Christensen, 1941, 199, 199 n. 5). In 1568, bills of exchange drawn between Antwerp and Danzig (Christensen, 1941, 208-209). Factor in Antwerp (Christensen, 1941, 217). Sale of Baltic grain in Delft, Amsterdam and Antwerp (Christensen, 1941, 217). In 1582, Huych Jansz. van Groenenwegen factor in Antwerp. Probably no regular representation in Antwerp however. Antwerp was especially used as a market of exchange in the 1570s and 80s (in the 1590s exchange transactions with Amsterdam come to the fore) (Christensen, 1941, 217). Bills of exchange were normally addressed to Antwerp. (Van Gelder, 1919, 139).	
Arnemuiden		4	2	2	1	>1571<, >1594-1596<	Factors in Walcheren (Middelburg and Arnemuiden) (Christensen, 1941, 217). In 1571, Van Adrichem sent a special representative to Arnemuiden to buy salt. Later he had permanent connections there. In 1578-81, Van	

							Adrichem was represented in Middelburg by Garbrant Warwijck as factor. In 1594-96, Cornelis van Heusden was factor in Arnemuiden. A factor in Zeeland in 1592 as well (Christensen, 1941, 220-221). The Walcheren factors were deputies paid on a commission basis. They especially traded in salt and obtained freights for the shipmasters (Christensen, 1941, 221). Walcheren was port of call of shipmaster Michiel Jansz. van Delfshaven (shipmaster of one of the shipping companies of Van Adrichem) in 1580 (1 time), in 1583 (1 time). Total: 2. (Christensen, 1941, 243-245).	
Danzig		4	2	2	1	>1568-1597<	Huyck Adriaensz., factor in Danzig 1581-85 (Christensen, 1941, 469). Frans Huyck Bruyns, factor in Danzig, 1581 (Christensen, 1941, 469). Adriaen Bartelmeesz. van der Burch, factor in Danzig, 1581-88. Frans Cornelisz., factor in Danzig, 1588 (Christensen, 1941, 469). First voyage of a ship of Van Adrichem to Danzig in 1569. Master of the ship was Lenert Pietersz. van Schiedam (Christensen, 1941, 116). In 1568, grain transports by Van Adrichem and Gerrit Fransz. Meerman, his brother-in-law, from Danzig to Amsterdam on ships that did not belong to them (Christensen, 1941, 116). Frans Hugensz., factor in Danzig, 1581 (Christensen, 1941, 127 n. 3, 135). Aper Jansz., factor in Danzig, 1589-1592 (Christensen, 1941, 135 n. 3, 180). Commissioned factor of the company of Van Adrichem, Meerman, etc in February to May 1568 was Willem Aemsz., of the family Van der Burch. Aemsz. probably was factor in Danzig of several Dutch merchants (Christensen, 1941, 191, 208-209). Sale of cloth in Danzig ca. 1570-1572 (Christensen, 1941, 192). In 1578, 11 grain cargoes from Danzig to Delft (Christensen, 1941, 193-195). Purchases of tar and pitch in Danzig in 1578 or 1579 (Christensen, 1941, 197). Purchase of timber in Danzig in 1578 or 1579 by Frans Cornelisz., factor (Christensen, 1941, 197-198).). In the early period (ca. 1570), not only trade with Danzig, but also with Königsberg and Riga (Christensen, 1941, 208). In 1568 exchange of herring for grain in Danzig (Christensen, 1941, 208). From 1569 to 1573, a new representative: Gerrit Jansz. He assisted the shipmasters of the Van Adrichem shipping companies in doing their business in Danzig. Jansz. was probably factor in Danzig of several Dutch firms (Christensen, 1941, 209-211). From 1575, Van Adrichem appointed a permanent factor in Danzig (Christensen, 1941, 212). Permanent factors in Danzig in 1578-97 (Christensen, 1941, 213). Frans Hugensz. (Bruynsz.), factor in Danzig. Hugensz. operated as	

							representative in 1575 in Danzig for the ship of shipmaster Willem Michielsz. Frans Hugensz. or Frans Huych Bruynsz. was a cousin of Van Adrichem. Hugensz. was sent again to Danzig in 1581 for a lawsuit (Christensen, 1941, 213-214). Huyck Adriaensz. was factor in Danzig already before 1578, replacing Frans Hugensz. He became the most active factor in Danzig for Van Adrichem and his shipping companies for about 10 years. Adriaensz. appears as factor in a number of shipping accounts of 1578-1584. Also regular correspondence with Van Adrichem: more than 100 letters to Van Adrichem in 1580-1585, 42 letters from Van Adrichem in the copy-book for 1581-86 (Christensen, 1941, 214 n. 4). Little evidence of Van Adrichem's relations with Danzig in 1586-1588: he became burgomaster in this period. New factor in 1589: Aper Jansz. Huyck Adriaensz. stayed in Danzig, probably occupied by factor activities for others. The new factor in 1589 had great difficulties collecting the debts from Huyck Adriaensz. to Van Adrichem (Christensen, 1941, 214-215). During Huyck Adriaensz.'s factorship, occasionally also use of other representatives: Jan Jacobsz. Recht, Adriaen Bartelmeesz. (Bartelsz.) Verburch (or Van der Burch) who went to Danzig in 1581. Verburch carried out transactions for Van Adrichem especially in 1581 and 1588, but still in the 1590s up to 1595 (Christensen,1941, 215). The successor of Huyck Adriaensz.in 1589 was Aper Jansz. Delft (for a short time in 1588 Frans Cornelisz. carried out some commissions for Van Adrichem in Danzig) (Christensen, 1941, 215). Aper Jansz. was previously a shipmaster from the Van Adrichem shipping companies. He remained factor at least until 1597. Letters from Van Adrichem to Aper Jansz. in Danzig preserved from 1589 on, in total nearly 80 letters (Christensen, 1941, 215-216, 216 n. 3). Danzig was the market to which Van Adrichem gave the most attention, since it was an important grain market (Christensen, 1941, 216). All Van Adrichem's factors in Danzig came from Delft (Christensen, 1941, 226). The Danzig factors were paid on commission (often a certain percentage of the turnover) or via reciprocity: the principal sometimes carried out transactions for the factor (Christensen, 1941, 227-228). The letters of Aper Jansz. have been lost, but the number of letters sent by him is known: in good periods about a letter each week. In 1589 (from the summer): 37, in 1590: more than 50, 1591: 42, 1592: 34, 1593: 18, 1594: 15 (Christensen, 1941, 230). Letters to Aper	

							Jansz. from Van Adrichem: 1589 (from May): 14, 1590: 23, 1591: 12, 1592: 10 (Christensen, 1941, 231). Aper Jansz. was factor in Danzig in 1589-1597 (Christensen, 1941, 394). Factor: Van der Burch or Adriaen Bartelmeesz. Verburch (cousin of Van Adrichem); Huych Adriansz. 1579, 1581-1597 (Van Gelder, 1916, 135, 141; Id., 1919, 138). 17 letters from Huych Adriaensz. in Danzig to Claes Adriaensz. have been preserved for the period from January to November 1585, as well as one letter in the opposite direction. 2 letters from Adriaen Bartholomeesz. Verburch in Danzig to Claes Adriaensz. have been preserved for June and October 1588, as well as one letter in the opposite direction. (Winkelman, 1981, xxii, 467-531). From 1585, the preserved outgoing correspondence of Van Adrichem was almost entirely directed to Aper Janssen, factor of Claes van Adrichem and others in Danzig. 76 letters to Aper Janssen have been preserved for the period from 16 May 1589 to 3 September 1597 (14 of 1589, 23 of 1590, 12 of 1591, 10 of 1592, 5 of 1593, 3 of 1594, 5 of 1595, and 4 of 1597). (Winkelman, 1981, xxiii, 467-531). Van Adrichem was especially involved in the grain trade from Danzig to the Low Countries. (Winkelman, 1981, xxiii-xxiv). Aper Jansz. had a certain amount of freedom, although Van Adrichem mostly specified which goods had to be purchased by Jansz. (Winkelman, 1981, xxiv). Aper Jansz. in Danzig also carried out business for his own account, or for other merchants. Jansz. left Delft in 1589. The last preserved letter to Aper Jansz. is dated 3 September 1597. Probably the cooperation between Van Adrichem and Jansz. continued after this date. (Winkelman, 1981, xxv). 1 letter from Frans Cornelisz. in Danzig to Claes Adriaensz. has been preserved for 1588, as well as two letters in the opposite direction. (Winkelman, 1981, 467-531). Correspondents of Van Adrichem in Danzig: Huych Adriaensz., Frans Huych Bruynsz., Adriaen Bartelmeesz. Verburch, Aper Jansz. (Van Gelder, 1919, 140-191). Factors in Danzig: Huych Adriaensz., Adriaen Bartelmeesz. Verburch. (Van Gelder, 1919, 138). Port of call of shipmaster Michiel Jansz. van Delfshaven (shipmaster of one of the shipping companies of Van Adrichem) in 1579 (1 time), in 1580 (1 time), in 1581 (2 times), in 1582 (3 times), in 1583 (2 times), in 1584 (1 time). Total: 10 (Christensen, 1941, 243-245). 22 return voyages of the ships of the Van Adrichem shipping companies between the Netherlands and Danzig, as well as 15 combined (*deurgaende*)	

							voyages Atlantic and Baltic which stopped in Danzig (according to the extant shipping accounts 1569-1597). In total, 37 known voyages to Danzig. (Christensen, 1941, 247, 247 n. 2).	
Emden		~~**6**~~ ***4*** 2	~~**3**~~ ***2*** 2	~~**2**~~ ***2*** 1	~~**1**~~ ***1*** 0	1568-1572 >1573<	Gerrit Fransz. Meerman in Emden in 1568-72. Close collaboration with Van Adrichem, as equal partners (Christensen, 1941, 190-191). Purchase of grain in Emden in 1569 (Christensen, 1941, 192). Purchase of cloth in Emden ca. 1570-1572 (Christensen, 1941, 192). After 1572, only a small number of exchange transactions with merchants from Emden. Aper Jansz.'s ship went to Emden in 1573 (Christensen, 1941, 217 n. 1).	
Lisbon		3 **4**	2 **2**	2 **2**	1 **1**	>1580-1584 >1593<	Pieter Dircxsz. Bugge, correspondent in 1584 (Christensen, 1941, 139 n. 1). Factor from 1593: Joest Jacobsz., nephew of Van Adrichem (Christensen, 1941, 221). Before, no permanent factors in the French or Portuguese salt ports. Trade here was carried out by the shipmasters as representatives of their ship-owners and freighters, although a number of other persons did business in these ports for Van Adrichem as well (Christensen, 1941, 221-223). E.g. Maerten Ariensz., shipmaster, to Lisbon in 1580. Sales by Maerten Ariensz. in Lisbon in 1581 as well (Christensen, 1941, 221). Port of call of shipmaster Michiel Jansz. van Delfshaven (shipmaster of one of the shipping companies of Van Adrichem) in 1580 (1 time), in 1583 (2 times). Total: 3. (Christensen, 1941, 243-245). 14 return voyages of the ships of the Van Adrichem shipping companies between the Netherlands and Lisbon and/or Setubal, as well as 6 combined (*deurgaende*) voyages Atlantic and Baltic which stopped in Lisbon and/or Setubal (according to the extant shipping accounts 1569-1597). In total, 20 known voyages to Lisbon and/or Setubal. (Christensen, 1941, 247).	
Middelburg		4	2	2	1	>1578-1581<	Letter(s) from Garbrant Warwijck, 1581 (Christensen, 1941, 469). In Middelburg, sales of cargoes of shipping companies in which Van Adrichem participated were often made by a factor (Christensen, 1941, 199, 199 n. 5). Factors in Walcheren (Middelburg and Arnemuiden) (Christensen, 1941, 217). In 1578-81, Van Adrichem was represented in Middelburg by Garbrant Warwijck as factor. In 1594-96, Cornelis van Heusden was factor in Arnemuiden. A factor in Zeeland in 1592 as well (Christensen, 1941, 220-221). The Walcheren factors were deputies paid on a commission basis. They especially traded in salt and obtained freights for the shipmasters (Christensen, 1941, 221). Factor in Zeeland (city not known): Cornelis van	

							Heusden (Van Gelder, 1916, 141). Maerten Ariensz. (only one letter published by H. E. Van Gelder, 1919) (Van Gelder, 1919). Correspondent in Middelburg: Maerten Ariensz. (Van Gelder, 1919, 140-191). Port of call in 1579 of shipmaster Michiel Jansz. van Delfshaven (shipmaster of one of the shipping companies of Van Adrichem). Total: 1. (Christensen, 1941, 243). Walcheren was port of call of shipmaster Michiel Jansz. van Delfshaven (shipmaster of one of the shipping companies of Van Adrichem) in 1580 (1 time), in 1583 (1 time). Total: 2. (Christensen, 1941, 243-245).	
Rotterdam		4	2	2	1	>1585-1596<	Letter(s) from Claes de Bye ver Joosten, 1585 (Christensen, 1941, 469). Factor in Rotterdam (Christensen, 1941, 217). Factors in Rotterdam: Claes de Bye ver Joesten (1585) and Pieter Lenertsz. Bosch (1596) (Christensen, 1941, 221). The Maas was mentioned as port of call of shipmaster Michiel Jansz. van Delfshaven (shipmaster of one of the shipping companies of Van Adrichem) in 1581 (1 time), in 1582 (3 times) (1 time sale of goods in Delft, 1 time in Antwerp), in 1583 (1 time), in 1584 (2 times). Total: 7. (Christensen, 1941, 243-245).	
Aveiro		3	2	2	1	>1584<	Port of call of shipmaster Michiel Jansz. van Delfshaven (shipmaster of one of the shipping companies of Van Adrichem) in 1584. Total: 1. (Christensen, 1941, 245). 2 return voyages of the ships of the Van Adrichem shipping companies between the Netherlands and Aveiro, as well as 1 combined (*deurgaende*) voyage Atlantic and Baltic which stopped in Aveiro (according to the extant shipping accounts 1569-1597). In total, 3 known voyages to Aveiro. (Christensen, 1941, 247).	
Bordeaux		3	2	2	1		1 return voyage of the ships of the Van Adrichem shipping companies between the Netherlands and Bordeaux, as well as 1 combined (*deurgaende*) voyage Atlantic and Baltic which stopped in Bordeaux (according to the extant shipping accounts 1569-1597). In total, 2 known voyages to Bordeaux. (Christensen, 1941, 247).	
Brouage		3	2	2	1	>1578-1582<	Purchases and shipments of salt from Brouage in 1578-79. Purchases arranged by the shipmasters or through a broker (Christensen, 1941, 197 n. 3). Purchase of salt by shipmaster Maerten Ariensz. in 1581 in Brouage (Christensen, 1941, 221). Michiel Renault, commission agent in La Rochelle, was used exceptionally in 1578, for purchase of salt in Brouage	

							(Christensen, 1941, 222). Port of call of shipmaster Michiel Jansz. van Delfshaven (shipmaster of one of the shipping companies of Van Adrichem) in 1579 (2 times), in 1582 (1 time). Total: 3 (Christensen, 1941, 243-244). 1 return voyage of the ships of the Van Adrichem shipping companies between the Netherlands and Brouage, as well as 9 combined (*deurgaende*) voyages Atlantic and Baltic which stopped in Brouage (according to the extant shipping accounts 1569-1597). In total, 10 known voyages to Brouage. (Christensen, 1941, 247).	
Cologne		3	2	2	1		Jacob Van Adrichem (younger brother of Claes van Adrichem) was for a while the representative of Van Adrichem in Cologne. (Van Gelder, 1919, 138).	
Delfshaven		3	2	2	1	>1579-1581<	Representatives in Delft and Delfshaven (Christensen, 1941, 217). Port of call of shipmaster Michiel Jansz. van Delfshaven (shipmaster of one of the shipping companies of Van Adrichem) in 1579 (2 times), in 1581 (1 time). Total: 3. (Christensen, 1941, 243-244). The Maas was mentioned as port of call of shipmaster Michiel Jansz. van Delfshaven (shipmaster of one of the shipping companies of Van Adrichem) in 1581 (1 time), in 1582 (3 times) (1 time sale of goods in Delft, 1 time in Antwerp), in 1583 (1 time), in 1584 (2 times). Total: 7. (Christensen, 1941, 243-245).	
Genoa		3	2	2	1	from 1593	Correspondent: Evert Spronck (Van Gelder, 1916, 141). Van Adrichem was among the first Dutch merchants to organise maritime voyages with Guinea (since 1592) and Italy (since 1593) (Christensen, 1941, 112). Voyages in the 1590s to Italy and Guinea. (Christensen, 1941, 247).	
Guinea		3	2	2	1	1594-1598	Trade with Guinea since 1594: ships to Guinea in 1594 and 1595 (one of the first Dutch ships to Guinea) (Van Gelder, 1916, 142-147). Van Adrichem was among the first Dutch merchants to organise maritime voyages with Guinea (since 1592) and Italy (since 1593) (Christensen, 1941, 112). Several ships sent by Van Adrichem to Guinea in 1596-1598. (Van Gelder, 1919, 136-137). Voyages in the 1590s to Italy and Guinea. (Christensen, 1941, 247).	
Königsberg		3	2	2	1	>1570-1573<, >1582<	Sale of cloth in Konigsberg ca. 1570-1572 (Christensen, 1941, 192). In the early period (ca. 1570), not only trade with Danzig, but also with Königsberg and Riga (Christensen, 1941, 208). Voyage by shipmaster Aper Jansz. to Königsberg in 1573. Transactions here were perhaps carried out by the local	

							merchant Frederick Montfoet, probably on commission (Christensen, 1941, 212). Purchases by shipmasters for Van Adrichem in Königsberg in 1582 (Christensen, 1941, 212). 1 return voyage of the ships of the Van Adrichem shipping companies between the Netherlands and Königsberg, as well as 3 combined (*deurgaende*) voyages Atlantic and Baltic which stopped in Königsberg (according to the extant shipping accounts 1569-1597). In total, 4 known voyages to Königsberg. (Christensen, 1941, 247, 247 n. 2).	
Norway		3	2	2	1	>1580<	Port of call of shipmaster Michiel Jansz. van Delfshaven (shipmaster of one of the shipping companies of Van Adrichem) in 1580. Total: 1. (Christensen, 1941, 243). 3 combined (*deurgaende*) voyages Norway and Spain of the ships of the Van Adrichem shipping companies (according to the extant shipping accounts 1569-1597). In total, 3 known voyages to Norway. (Christensen, 1941, 247).	
San Lúcar		3	2	2	1	>1580<	Port of call of shipmaster Michiel Jansz. van Delfshaven (shipmaster of one of the shipping companies of Van Adrichem) in 1580. Total: 1. (Christensen, 1941, 243). 2 return voyages of the ships of the Van Adrichem shipping companies between the Netherlands and San Lucar, as well as 3 combined (*deurgaende*) voyages Norway and Spain (according to the extant shipping accounts 1569-1597). In total, 5 known voyages to San Lucar. (Christensen, 1941, 247).	
Setúbal		3	2	2	1	>1579-1581<	Letter(s) from Jacques Lambegeois in Setubal (?) to Gerrit Fransz. Meerman, 1581 (Christensen, 1941, 469). Purchases and shipments of salt from Setubal in 1579. Purchases by the shipmasters (Van Adrichem not being owner of the ships (Christensen, 1941, 197 n. 3). Salt loaded at Setubal in 1580 (Christensen, 1941, 221). Salt from Setubal to Danzig: 1579 (Van Gelder, 1916, 135). Port of call of shipmaster Michiel Jansz. van Delfshaven (shipmaster of one of the shipping companies of Van Adrichem) in 1583 (2 times). Total: 2. (Christensen, 1941, 244-245). 14 return voyages of the ships of the Van Adrichem shipping companies between the Netherlands and Lisbon and/or Setubal, as well as 6 combined (*deurgaende*) voyages Atlantic and Baltic which stopped in Lisbon and/or Setubal (according to the extant shipping accounts 1569-1597). In total, 20 known voyages to Lisbon and/or Setubal. (Christensen, 1941, 247).	

Elbing		2	2	1	0	>1585<	Purchases by the Danzig factor Huyck Adriaensz. in Elbing in 1585 (Christensen, 1941, 212).	
Enkhuizen		2	2	1	0		Letter(s) from Lucas Jansz. Wagenaer, undated (Christensen, 1941, 469).	
Hamburg		2	2	1	0	>1577-1578<	In 1578, 1 grain cargo from Hamburg to Amsterdam (Christensen, 1941, 193-195). In Hamburg, Van Adrichem had commercial relations on rare occasions only (Christensen, 1941, 217). Some herring was shipped to Baptista Vijans of Hamburg, who arranged the sale for the Van Adrichem shipping company. In 1577-78, Adriaen Thimansz. of Hamburg shipped some wheat to Amsterdam for Van Adrichem (Christensen, 1941, 217 n. 1; Kellenbenz, 1954, 226).	
Le Havre		2	2	1	0		1 voyage of the ships of the Van Adrichem shipping companies via Le Havre (according to the extant shipping accounts 1569-1597). (Christensen, 1941, 247). 1 voyage of the ships of the Van Adrichem shipping companies via Abelneuff (France) (= Le Havre) (according to the extant shipping accounts 1569-1597). (Christensen, 1941, 247).	
Öresund		2	2	1	0	1583	Port of call of shipmaster Michiel Jansz. van Delfshaven (shipmaster of one of the shipping companies of Van Adrichem) in 1583. Total: 1. (Christensen, 1941, 244-245).	
Riga		2	2	1	0	>1569-1570<	Minor purchase of hemp at Riga in 1569 (Christensen, 1941, 192, 212 n. 1). In the early period (ca. 1570), not only trade with Danzig, but also with Königsberg and Riga (Christensen, 1941, 208). In 1570, Lenert Pietersz., shipmaster, went to Riga: herring exchanged for hemp and tar. The transactions were carried out by a native merchant, Harman van Ouerhagen, probably acting as a commission agent (Christensen, 1941, 211-212). 1 return voyage of the ships of the Van Adrichem shipping companies between the Netherlands and Riga (according to the extant shipping accounts 1569-1597). In total, 1 known voyage to Riga. (Christensen, 1941, 247, 247 n. 2).	
La Rochelle		2	2	1	0	>1578-1581<	In 1581, sales at La Rochelle by the shipmaster Maerten Ariensz. (Christensen, 1941, 221). Michiel Renault, commission agent in La Rochelle, was used exceptionally in 1578, for purchase of salt in Brouage (Christensen, 1941, 222).	
Saint-Martin-de-Ré		2	2	1	0		1 combined (*deurgaende*) voyage Atlantic and Baltic of the ships of the Van Adrichem shipping companies which stopped in Saint Martin (according to the extant shipping accounts 1569-1597). (Christensen, 1941, 247).	

Toruń		2	2	1	0		An intermediary purchased grain for Huych Adriaensz. from a nobleman in Thorn. (Van Gelder, 1919, 139).	

+ Also incoming letters of several shipmasters: Maerten Adriaensz., 1581; Jan Cornelisz., undated; Michiel Jansz., 1579-81 and 1583; Aper Jansz., 1580-84; Harmen Willemsz., 1582-83 and undated (Christensen, 1941, 469). Letter(s) from shipmaster Krijn Krijns to Gerrit Fransz. Meerman in 1579 (Christensen, 1941, 469).

+ Shipmasters of Van Adrichem's shipping companies were, among others, Aper Jansz. (1573-83), Maerten Jaspersz. (1589-97), Willem Michielsz. (1575-83), Michiel Jansz. (1579-85), Lenert Pietersz. (1569-74), Jan Cornelisz. (1581-85), Maerten Ariensz. (1581), Jan Florisz. (1592), Pieter Cornelisz. (1590-96), Cornelis Pietersz. den Deen (1593-98), Albrecht Cornelisz. Mol (1594-96), Lucas Michielsz. (1592) (Dates are from the preserved shipping acounts) (Christensen, 1941, 468). Jan Cornelisz. died in 1584 (Christensen, 1941, 136 n. 1).

+ Van Adrichem's connections are not known to their full extent. He had numerous factors and sources of information in the Netherlands and in foreign ports in the north and the south (Christensen, 1941, 179).

+ Michiel Jansz. was shipmaster of a ship in hands of one of Van Adrichem's shipping companies, probably from the beginning of the 1570s to the sale of the ship in 1584. Detailed and complete set of accounts for 1579 to 1584 (Christensen, 1941, 242-243). The ship in 1579-1584 made 13 voyages in total (Christensen, 1941, 245).

+ The routes of a total of 65 voyages, by 10 different shipmasters, are known more or less completely. Voyages in the 1590s to Italy and Guinea not included (Christensen, 1941, 247).

CUNERTORF & SNEL, ca. 1572 – 1585

A partnership (*societas*) was formed in 1577 between the Dutch merchants Gaspar Cunertorf and Hans Snel in Lisbon as employers, and Jan Jansz. van Campen as factor (Christensen, 1941, 202). Van Campen was entitled to a fixed salary of 50 ducats a year and a share of 1/8 in the profits of the company, which was increased to 1/3 in 1578 (Christensen, 1941, 202-203). Jan Jansz. was not allowed to carry out business on his own account (Christensen, 1941, 203 n. 2). The partnership was dissolved in 1582 (Christensen, 1941, 203 n. 3). Before, Jan Jansz. had been an apprentice in the company, probably since 1572 (Christensen, 1941, 203). Snel originally seems to have been a factor of Cunertorf, becoming his partner by 1572 the latest (Christensen, 1941, 203 n. 6). Difficulties of the Cunertorf-Snel partnership already in 1578. This partnership between Cunertorf and Snel was already dissolved in 1579. Fraud of Snel in 1585, which led Cunertorf into ruin (according to Cunertorf) (Christensen, 1941, 387). A Jan Snel the younger was still in Lisbon in 1611 (Kellenbenz, 1954, 163, 291). Firm of Cunertorf and Snel in Lisbon since ca. 1570 (Kellenbenz, 1954, 290).

Headquarters in Lisbon. Dutch merchants. Weak organisation: almost no correspondents: one travelling partner, one agent in Antwerp, headquarters in Lisbon. Correspondence not frequent, weak exchange of information. Travelling partner is not controlled, abuses the firm. Almost no use of bills of exchange (Brulez, 1959, 355-356).

Gaspar Cunertorf belonged to an old patrician family of Kampen. Son of Henrick Cunertorf. Henrick was an alderman of Kampen. He died in 1552. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, ix-x). Already in 1572, Cunertorf and Snel traded together in Lisbon. In 1577, a company was established with Jan Jansen van Campen. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, xi-xiii). Jan Jansen was sent to the Low Countries to trade for Cunertorf and Snel. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, xiii). Not much is known about Hans Snel. Probably he came from Deventer (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, xiii-xiv, xxxii-xxxiii). In 1577, Jan Jansen became engaged with Anna Galoa in Lisbon. She was a niece of Maria Galoa, wife of Cunertorf. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, xi, xvii-xviii). The company between Cunertorf-Snel and Jansen lasted until 1580. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, xxvii). Cunertorf proposed Jansen to establish a new company in 1585. However, this company was probably never started. Shortly after the proposal, a lawsuit began between Cunertorf and Jansen in Kampen (1586). (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, xxxi-xxxii, xciii). In 1577, the company of Cunertorf was established. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, xxxv-xxxvi). In 1580, the business house suffered from the military operation of Philips II in Portugal. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, xxxix). According to one of the correspondents, Gaspar Cunertorf was bankrupt in 1585. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, xciii). Gaspar Cunertorf was a factor of Bonaventura Bodicker, merchant in Danzig. In 1581, Cunertorf left the service of Bodicker. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, cx).

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I did not consult:

Source material:

Parts of the correspondence, accounts and various business documents of this company have been preserved due to a lawsuit between the members of the partnership, and have been published in Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904 (Christensen, 1941, 202). Ca. 90 letters of the company of Cunertorf and Snel have been preserved for the period 1572-1585 (especially for the years 1577-1581 and 1584-1585). (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, 1-422). No normal account books have been preserved, only a number of special accounts concerning the common trade of Cunertorf-Snel and Jansen. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, lxxxviii). [Only documents about the specific company between Cunertorf, Snel and Jan Jansz. have been preserved, not about the general partnership of Cunertorf and Snel].

Size: Small or medium-sized

The company of Cunertorf and Snel was not among the greatest Dutch enterprises of the end of the 16th century. The large merchants of Amsterdam (such as Isaac Lemaire) had much more wide-spread connections (Christensen, 1941, 179). Capital: 3,625 lb. fl. in 1572-1579 (Brulez, 1959, 343). In 1577, Cunertorf and Snel invested 10,000 gulden in the company, Jan Jansen 700 ducats. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, xiii).

Main activities:

- Commerce: The mechanism of exchange in the business of Cunertorf-Snel was rather primitive: in exceptional cases still use of barter (Christensen, 1941, 382-383). Commerce organised as "retorno" trade: wares sent from Lisbon to Danzig, and capital returned in wares from Danzig to Lisbon (often triangular trade with Antwerp, where bills of exchange complemented the cargo from Lisbon to Danzig) (Christensen, 1941, 383-388). Trade in spices (purchased in Lisbon) and grain (purchased in Danzig or Hamburg) (Christensen, 1941, 401-402). Trade in a large variety of goods, such as brezilwood, hides, grain, cotton, bells, oil, pearls, textiles (sayes, cloth, linen, etc), wood, rigging, spices (e.g. indigo, cinnamon, ginger, cloves, nutmeg, pepper,…), sugar, fruit, wax, wine, iron, and salt. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, xliv-lxxxiv). Especially trade in grain and spices. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, xlvi-l, lxv-lxvi).

- Finance: No use of maritime insurance. Risk were spreaded by distributing cargoes on several ships (Christensen, 1941, 176). Use of bills of exchange, but rather rigidly (Christensen, 1941, 383-388).
- Industry:

Network of Cunertorf and Snel:

Trade between Lisbon and the north. (Brulez, 1959, 355-359). One travelling partner (Jan Jansen) in Holland and northern Germany (especially Danzig). (Brulez, 1959, 355-359). Jan Jansen had to follow the orders of Cunertorf and Snel, but he had some freedom in purchasing and selling. He had to keep his masters informed. Jan Jansen obtained 1/8 of the profits as well as a wage of 50 ducats. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, xiii). Letters were normally sent along with ships, sometimes with the mail service. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, lxxxv-lxxxvi).

Table A..1. Network of Cunertorf and Snel, ca. 1572 – 1585 (especially 1577 – 1582)

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Lisbon		8	4	3	1	>1572-1585<	Gaspar Cunertorf and Jan Snel were Dutch merchants at Lisbon (Christensen, 1941, 175). Snel and Cunertorf were the managers of the company, Snel increasingly becoming the daily manager (Christensen, 1941, 203). Gaspar Cunertorf apparently carried out an extensive factor's business for Cornelis Loeffsen and several other merchants residing in Danzig (such as Michell Kerlle, Andris Steuer, and until ca. 1581 Van der Linde and Bonaventura Bodecker), besides his trade for his own account in partnership with Hans Snel (Christensen, 1941, 205-206). Cunertorf; Snel. Headquarters. (Brulez, 1959, 355-356). 49 letters from Lisbon have been preserved (from Gaspar Cunertorf, 1577-1585, Hans Snel, 1577-1580). (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, 1-422). 1 letter to Lisbon has been preserved (to Adriaan Speelman, 1578). (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, 1-422). Gaspar Cunertorf was the head of the business house in Lisbon. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, ix). Already in 1572, Gaspar Cunertorf was in Lisbon. He traded together with Hans Snel the younger, also in Lisbon. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, xi). Probably Jan Jansen van Campen already went to Lisbon in 1572. He lived in the house of Gaspar Cunertorf in 1577. In that year, a company was established with Jan Jansen. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, xi-xiii). Jansen was definitely in Lisbon in 1577. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, xiv). Trade between Lisbon and the north. (Brulez, 1959, 355-359).	

Amsterdam		4	2	2	1	>1577-1585<	Always permanent correspondent at Amsterdam (Christensen, 1941, 179). Partnership with Adriaen Pauw, independent merchant in Amsterdam (Christensen, 1941, 204 n. 4, 206). Adriaen Pauw died in 1578. New correspondent in Amsterdam was Berent Rotgersz., Jan Jansz.'s uncle (Christensen, 1941, 386). Jan Jansz. in Amsterdam in January 1579; again ca. October 1581 (Christensen, 1941, 387). 4 letters from Amsterdam have been preserved (from Berent Rotgerts, 1579-1585, Henrick van Wilsem, 1584-1585). (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, 1-422). 29 letters to Amsterdam have been preserved (to Jan Jansen, 1577-1578, from 1584). (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, 1-422). In 1577, Jansen was ordered to purchase rigging and ropes in Enkhuizen, Amsterdam or elsewhere. For this, he could make use of the services of Dirck van Neck in Gouda. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, xiv-xv). In 1577, Jansen went from Lisbon to Amsterdam (July), Antwerp (August), Kampen (January 1578), Enkhuizen (April 1578, where he stayed in the house of Jan ten Grotenhuis), again to Amsterdam (May to December 1578, he stayed in the house of Berent Rotgersen, in the Warmoesstraat). (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, xviii-xx). In October 1581, Jansen was temporarily in Amsterdam, in June 1582 in Kampen. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, xxvii). In 1584-1585, Jansen was in Amsterdam again. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, xxxii). Gaspar Cunertorf probably did his apprenticeship in Amsterdam with Cornelis Loeffsen, who later became a business friend of Cunertorf in Danzig. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, cxii). Adriaan Pauw was a business friend of Cunertorf-Snel in Amsterdam. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, cxiii). In 1577, Jan Janssen was ordered to purchase grain in Enkhuizen, Amsterdam or Emden. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, xlvii). Spices were sent by Adriaen Speelman from Antwerp to Arent Hudde in Amsterdam. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, lxvi). The company exported iron from Danzig via Amsterdam to Lisbon. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, lxxvi).	
Antwerp		4	2	2	1	>1577-1581<	Shipment of sugar from Lisbon to Antwerp (Christensen, 1941, 175). Factor in Antwerp (Christensen, 1941, 175-176). Shipment of Flemish cloth from Antwerp to Lisbon (Christensen, 1941, 175-176). Adriaen Speelman, factor at Antwerp, in 1577-1579 (Christensen, 1941, 178). Always permanent correspondent at Antwerp (Christensen, 1941, 179). Adriaen Speelman was permanent factor of Cunertorf and Snel in Antwerp (Christensen, 1941, 204 n. 4).	

							Jacques Abelinck was one of the factors of Cunertorf-Snel in Antwerp. Jan Snel sent him oil from Lisbon in 1581 for the account of Hans Van Elsen (Pelus, 1981, 96 n. 9). Agent in Antwerp. (Brulez, 1959, 355-356). 15 letters from Antwerp have been preserved (mostly from Adriaan Speelman, 1577-1581, also from Hendrick Rogman Junior, 1578, and Hans van Elssen, 1579). (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, 1-422). 11 letters to Antwerp have been preserved (mostly to Adriaan Speelman, 1577-1578, also to Jan Jansen, 1577-1578). (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, 1-422). Factor in Antwerp in 1577 was Adriaan Speelman (in case of absence of Speelman, he was replaced by Cornelis van Dalen). (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, xiv-xv). In 1577, Jansen went from Lisbon to Amsterdam (July), Antwerp (August), Kampen (January 1578), Enkhuizen (April 1578, where he stayed in the house of Jan ten Grotenhuis), again to Amsterdam (May to December 1578, he stayed in the house of Berent Rotgersen, in the Warmoesstraat). (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, xviii-xx). In 1577 Jan Jansen stayed in the house of the merchant Gaspar Pels in Antwerp. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, xxxv-xxxvi). Intention of Snel to send goods from Lisbon to Antwerp in 1578. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, xxxvii). Because of the Revolt of the Low Countries, Cunertorf and Snel did not trade much with the Low Countries in the period after 1580. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, xlii). Goan Philipe Denys was a business friend of Cunertorf-Snel in Antwerp. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, cxi). Luys Fernandez, member of the Portuguese nation in Antwerp, was a business friend of Cunertorf-Snel in Antwerp. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, cxi). Gabriel de Haze was a business friend of Cunertorf-Snel in Antwerp. He traded in sugar with Cunertorf-Snel. He owed money to Cunertorf-Snel in 1578 (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, cxi-cxii). Gillis Hooftman was a business friend of Cunertorf-Snel in Antwerp. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, cxii). Hans Huisman, a hanseatic merchant in Antwerp, was a business friend of Cunertorf-Snel in Antwerp. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, cxii). Pieter van den Moere was a business friend of Cunertorf-Snel in Antwerp. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, cxiii). Hans van Elsen was an agent in Antwerp. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, lii). Factor in Antwerp for the spice trade of the company was Adriaen Speelman, and in absence of Speelman Cornelis van Dalen. Sometimes the firm also made use of the services of Hans Scolir or Adriaen Cornelissen Cuper. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, lxv-lxvi).	

Danzig		4	2	2	1	>1579-1584<	Shipment of pepper from Lisbon to Danzig (Christensen, 1941, 175). Shipment of grain from Danzig to Lisbon (Christensen, 1941, 176). Always permanent correspondent at Danzig (Christensen, 1941, 179). Jan Jansz. van Campen was ordered to go to Danzig in 1578 (Christensen, 1941, 203 n. 1). Agent in Danzig before the arrival of Jan Jansz. was Cornelis Loeffsen, who had moved from Amsterdam to Danzig already in the early 1560s. Before, Cunertorf had been in the service of Loeffsen in Amsterdam (Christensen, 1941, 204-205, 205 n. 2). Cunertorf was actually the factor of Loeffsen in Lisbon, while Loeffsen represented Cunertorf for his own trade (Christensen, 1941, 205). Loeffsen and Cunertorf also participated in the same temporary partnerships (Christensen, 1941, 206). Jan Jansz. still in Danzig in 1580 (Christensen, 1941, 207-208). Jan Jansz. in Danzig from March 1579 to summer 1581 (Christensen, 1941, 386-387). 1 letter from Danzig has been preserved (from Cornelius Loeffsen, 1584). (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, 1-422). 31 letters to Danzig have been preserved (to Jan Jansen, 1578-1584). (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, 1-422). In April 1579, Jan Jansen was in Danzig, in the house of the merchant Cornelius Loeffsen. By September 1579, Jansen lived in the house of Harmen Igerman, originally from Kampen, who had moved to Danzig. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, xviii-xx). Jansen stayed in Danzig until June 1581. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, xxvii). In 1577, Hans Snel wanted Jan Jansen to go to Danzig or Königsberg. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, xxxv-xxxvi). In Danzig Jansen stayed temporarily in the house of Cornelis Loefsen. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, ci). Gaspar Cunertorf operated as a factor of the Danzig merchant Bonaventura Bodecker in Lisbon until ca. 1581. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, cx). Joachim Eler was a business friend of Cunertorf-Snel in Danzig. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, cxi). Cornelis Loeffsen was a business friend of Cunertorf-Snel in Danzig. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, cxii). Donat Muller was a business friend of Cunertorf-Snel in Danzig. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, cxiii). Andries Stuwer was a close business friend of Gaspar Cunertorf in Danzig. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, cxiv). One travelling partner (Jan Jansen) in Holland and northern Germany (especially Danzig). (Brulez, 1959, 355-359). Purchases of wax in Danzig and Königsberg. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, lxxiv). The company exported iron from Danzig via Amsterdam to Lisbon. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, lxxvi).	

Enkhuizen		3	2	2	1	>1577-1578<	In 1577, Jan Jansz. van Campen was factor in the Zuiderzee area (Enkhuizen, Kampen) (Christensen, 1941, 178). Occasionally a correspondent at Enkhuizen (Christensen, 1941, 179). In 1578, Jan Jansz. in Enkhuizen (Christensen, 1941, 181 n. 1). 5 letters to Enkhuizen have been preserved (to Jan Jansen, 1577-1578). (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, 1-422). In 1577, Jansen was ordered to purchase rigging and ropes in Enkhuizen, Amsterdam or elsewhere. For this, he could make use of the services of Dirck van Neck in Gouda. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, xiv-xv). In 1577, Jansen went from Lisbon to Amsterdam (July), Antwerp (August), Kampen (January 1578), Enkhuizen (April 1578, where he stayed in the house of Jan ten Grotenhuis), again to Amsterdam (May to December 1578, he stayed in the house of Berent Rotgersen, in the Warmoesstraat). (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, xviii-xx, xxxv-xxxvi). In 1577, Jan Janssen was ordered to purchase grain in Enkhuizen, Amsterdam or Emden. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, xlvii).	
Hamburg		3	2	2	1	>1572-1581<	Jan Jansz. in Hamburg in 1572 (Christensen, 1941, 178, 178 n. 5). Occasionally a correspondent at Hamburg (Christensen, 1941, 179). Jochim Gryp (or Grip) was presumably a representative of Cunertorf-Snel in Hamburg (Kellenbenz, 1954, 132-133, 289). Good connections with Hamburg (Kellenbenz, 1954, 290-291). 1 letter to Hamburg has been preserved (to Jan Jansen, 1572). (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, 1-422). Jan Jansen lived in Hamburg in 1572, in the house of Peter Touwslager. Probably he already worked for Cunertorf in this period. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, xiv). Gillis de Greve, a merchant from Antwerp, was a business friend of Cunertorf-Snel in Hamburg. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, cxi). Brezilwood of Cunertorf-Snel was stored with Gillis de Greve in Hamburg in 1578. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, xliv). Purchases of grain in Hamburg and Königsberg in 1577. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, xlvii). Sales of pearls of the company in Hamburg in 1581 by Jochem Gryp. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, liv). In 1579 some spices were sent by Adriaen Speelman from Antwerp via Hamburg to Lübeck, e.g. to Hans Spierinck in Hamburg to be forwarded to Carsten Petersz in Lübeck. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, lxvii). In 1572, Jan Janssen had to sell cloves in Hamburg. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, lxix).	
Kampen		3	2	2	1	>1577-1585<	In 1577, Jan Jansz. van Campen was factor in the Zuiderzee area	

							(Enkhuizen, Kampen) (Christensen, 1941, 178). Occasionally a correspondent at Kampen (Christensen, 1941, 179). Simon Wendelinck was a factor in Kampen (Christensen, 1941, 204 n. 4). 9 letters from Kampen have been preserved (from Henrick van Wilsem, 1584-1585). (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, 1-422). 3 letters to Kampen have been preserved (to Jan Jansen, until 1578 and again from 1584). (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, 1-422). Henrick van Wilsem was a nephew of Gaspar Cunertorf. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, x-xi). Perhaps there was an agent in Kampen before Jan Jansen: a certain Simon Wendelinck. In 1577, Jansen was ordered to take over the goods sent to Wendelinck before. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, xv-xvii). In 1577, Jansen went from Lisbon to Amsterdam (July), Antwerp (August), Kampen (January 1578), Enkhuizen (April 1578, where he stayed in the house of Jan ten Grotenhuis), again to Amsterdam (May to December 1578, he stayed in the house of Berent Rotgersen, in the Warmoesstraat). (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, xviii-xx). In October 1581, Jansen was temporarily in Amsterdam, in June 1582 in Kampen. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, xxvii). From July 1585, Jan Jansen was in Kampen, in the house of Hyllebrant Tellevoren. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, xxxii).	
Königsberg		3	2	2	1	>1577<	In 1577, Hans Snel wanted Jan Jansen to go to Danzig or Königsberg. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, xxxv-xxxvi). Purchases of grain in Hamburg and Königsberg in 1577. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, xlvii). Rigging imported from Königsberg. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, lvii). Purchases of wax in Danzig and Königsberg. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, lxxiv).	
Lübeck		3	2	2	1	>1578-1581<	Occasionally a correspondent at Lubeck (Christensen, 1941, 179). Carsten Pietersz. was an independent merchant in Lubeck who perhaps acted as an agent for Cunertorf and Snel (Christensen, 1941, 206). 9 letters from Lübeck have been preserved (from Kersten Petersen, 1578-1581). (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, 1-422). 1 letter to Lübeck has been preserved (to Jan Jansen, 1579). (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, 1-422). In February 1579, Jan Jansen was in Lübeck. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, xviii-xx). Sales by Jan Jansen to Kersten Petersen in Lübeck for the company. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, xcix-c, cviii). In 1579 some spices were sent by Adriaen Speelman from Antwerp via Hamburg to Lübeck, e.g. to Hans Spierinck in Hamburg to be forwarded to Carsten Petersz in Lübeck. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, lxvii).	

Arnemuiden		2	2	1	0	>1578<	Adrian Cornelissen Cuper was a business friend of Cunertorf-Snel in Arnemuiden. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, cxi). In 1578, Hans Snel sent brezilwood to Adriaen Cornelissen Cuper in Arnemuiden. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, xliv).	
Calais		2	2	1	0	>1572<	Occasionally a correspondent at Calais (Christensen, 1941, 179). 1 letter from Calais has been preserved (from Hans Snel, 1572). (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, 1-422).	
Ghent		2	2	1	0	c.1579	Ca. 1579 Hans van Elsen made purchases in Ghent for Cunertorf. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, lii).	
Middelburg		2	2	1	0	1578	Rigging was purchased by Adriaen Speelman from Gisbar Bauwesen in Middelburg in 1578. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, lvii).	
Rotterdam		2	2	1	0	>1577-1578<	Occasionally a correspondent at Rotterdam (Christensen, 1941, 179). 2 letters to Rotterdam have been preserved (to Jan Jansen, 1577-1578). (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, 1-422). Rigging occasionally imported from Rotterdam. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, lvii).	
Setúbal		2	2	1	0	>1576<	1 letter from Setubal has been preserved (from Dyrck Mertsz, 1576). (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, 1-422). The firm traded in salt from Setubal. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, lxxxiii-lxxxiv).	
Barcarena		1	1	1	0	>1580<	1 letter from Barquarena has been preserved (from Gaspar Cunertorf, 1580). (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, 1-422).	
Deventer		1	1	1	0	1581	In 1581 Adriaan Speelman had to order Snel's sister to purchase linen in Deventer. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, lv).	
Emden		1	1	1	0	1577	In 1577, Jan Janssen was ordered to purchase grain in Enkhuizen, Amsterdam or Emden. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, xlvii).	
Gouda		1	1	1	0	>1577<	In 1577, Jansen was ordered to purchase rigging and ropes in Enkhuizen, Amsterdam or elsewhere. For this, he could make use of the services of Dirck van Neck in Gouda. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, xiv-xv, lvii).	
Sentual		1	1	1	0	>1579<	1 letter from Sentual (?) has been preserved (from Gaspar Cunertorf, 1579). (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, 1-422).	

+ Only those connections of the Lisbon house of Cunertorf and Snel are known that are related to the activity of Jan Jansz. van Campen (Christensen, 1941, 179).
+ Partnerships with the independent merchants Hans van Elsen and Cornelis Rijser in the Dutch river area (Christensen, 1941, 204 n. 4: see Nann. Uitt., 249, 257, 347 ff).
+ 91 letters have been published by Nanninga Uitterdijk. The place of origin of all these letters is known, the destination is known for 84 letters. (Nanninga Uitterdijk, 1904, 1-422).

LAMBERT VAN TWEENHUYSEN, 1590 – 1627

Lambert van Tweenhuysen was born in Zwolle in 1565, and belonged to a patrician family of Zwolle. He married to Janneken Kampherbecke (1565-1630) of a family of Zwolle in 1591. (Hart, 1973, 67, 69, 79). Father of Lambert was Derk van Tweenhuysen. (79). Lambert van Tweenhuysen died in 1627. He was burried in Amsterdam. (79). Prominent Dutch merchant in the late 16th-early 17th c. Van Tweenhuysen was of north Netherlands origin (Van der Laan, 1988, 317).

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Geslacht Van Tweenhuysen.

Source material:

The business archives of Lambert van Tweenhuysen have not been preserved. His activities can be partially reconstructed via notarial sources however. (Bogucka, 1973, 433-434; Hart, 1973, 67).

Size: Medium-sized or large

Main activities:

- Commerce: Trade in spices. (Hart, 1973, 67). Trade in pearls. (69). Van Tweenhuysen traded in almost everything that was profitable, such as salt, grain, wine, wood, linseed, silk, textiles, cloth, indigo, paper, tobacco, ropes, tar, soap, furs, spices and pearls. (69). Export of lead, copper, wood, leather to La Rochelle. (71).
- Finance: Lambert van Tweenhuysen had connections with several princes, such as the count of Hessen. (Hart, 1973, 70).
- Industry:

- Shipping: Lambert van Tweenhuysen was a shipowner. He had shares in a large number of ships. (Hart, 1973, 69). Lambert van Tweenhuysen was active in whale-fishery. (72). Lambert van Tweenhuysen appears as ship-owner in a notarial declaration of 9 April 1615 (Christensen, 1941, 154 n. 2). Van Tweenhuysen was the head of an Amsterdam company involved in whale hunting. (Wijnroks, 2003, 276).

Network of Lambert van Tweenhuysen:

Lambert van Tweenhuysen was involved in overland trade with Germany (already long experience by 1600) as well as in maritime trade from Amsterdam. He was active in the Baltic, northern Russia, England, France, Spain, Portugal, north western Africa, Italy, Constantinople, Smyrna and northern America. (Hart, 1973, 69). Van Tweenhuysen was involved in the grain trade between the Baltic and the Mediterranean. (Wijnroks, 2003, 276).

Table A..1. Network of Lambert van Tweenhuysen, 1590 – 1627

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
Amsterdam		8	4	3	1	1590-1627	In 1590, Lambert van Tweenhuysen established himself in Amsterdam. (Hart, 1973, 69, 79). Lambert van Tweenhuysen died in 1627. He was burried in Amsterdam. (79).	
Arkhangelsk		3	2	2	1	>1605-1627<	In 1605, Lambert van Tweenhuysen sent the ship the *Christelijcke Ridder* with shipper Claes Jansz. to Arkhangelsk for a load of cables and other cordage to be shipped to Sevilla. (Hart, 1973, 71). Most ships sent by the Noordse Compagnie or by Van Tweenhuysen for whale fishery to the Arctic Ocean, also went to Archangel. (76). Lambert van Tweenhuysen was active in the Baltic, northern Russia, England, France, Spain, Portugal, north western Africa, Italy, Constantinople, Smyrna and northern America. (Hart, 1973, 69). Lambert van Tweenhuysen was active as an apprentice in Germany (a.o. Hamburg), Scandinavia, Poland and Russia. (Hart, 1973, 69). Lambert van Tweenhuysen and his relative Camferbeck freighted ships to Archangelsk until the death of Van Tweenhuysen in 1627. (Wijnroks, 2003, 279). Lambrecht van Tweenhuysen was active in Moscovia. Mentioned as merchant trading with Moscovia in 1627. (Wijnroks, 2003, 276-277). Connections with the Des Champs family. In 1600, Van Tweenhuysen and Jan Des Champs, residing in Antwerp, sent pearls to Russia. (Wijnroks, 2003, 277). Jan van Rheyde, a member of the first Dutch company trading	

							with northern Russia, was presumably a brother-in-law of Lambert van Tweenhuysen. (Wijnroks, 2003, 277).	
Brouage		3	2	2	1	from c.1600	Ca. 1600, Van Tweenhuysen removed a part of his salt trade from Portugal to France. (Hart, 1973, 70). Van Tweenhuysen sent several ships to Brouage, or the salt islands of Oléron and Ré. This trade was organised from La Rochelle, where Van Tweenhuysen had a factor or correspondent, and where goods on the ships were unloaded (e.g. lead, copper, wood, leather). (70-71). Lambert van Tweenhuysen was active in the Baltic, northern Russia, England, France, Spain, Portugal, north western Africa, Italy, Constantinople, Smyrna and northern America. (Hart, 1973, 69).	
Constantinople		3	2	2	1		Lambert van Tweenhuysen traded with Constantinople. (Hart, 1973, 69).	
Courland		3	2	2	1		Lambert van Tweenhuysen chartered several ships to Courland (western Latvia). (Bogucka, 1973, 443).	
Danzig		3	2	2	1	>1588-1613<	Helmich van Tweenhuysen, brother of Lambert, became active as a merchant in Lübeck, Danzig and Königsberg. (Hart, 1973, 69). Ca. 1589, Lambert van Tweenhuysen made a business travel to Danzig and Cracow for the sale of a necklace to the king of Poland. (Hart, 1973, 69). Lambert van Tweenhuysen shipped salt from Setubal to Danzig, Königsberg or Riga. The return freight to Amsterdam consisted mainly of grain. (Hart, 1973, 70). Salt from France shipped to Danzig or Königsberg. (71). In 1588 Lambert van Tweenhuysen was active as factor in Hamburg and Danzig. (79). Lambert van Tweenhuysen was active as an apprentice in Germany (a.o. Hamburg), Scandinavia, Poland and Russia. (Hart, 1973, 69). Joint trade of the brothers Lambert and Helmich Van Tweenhuysen with Konigsberg and Danzig. In 1613, the accounts of this joint trade were not closed yet. (Wijnroks, 2003, 276-277 n. 30). Before he established himself in Amsterdam in 1590, Lambert van Tweenhuysen stayed in Danzig and Hamburg. (Wijnroks, 2003, 277). Ca. 1588, Van Tweenhuysen went for his patron Marten des Champs to Danzig and Krakow to sell jewels to the Polish king. (Wijnroks, 2003, 277).	
Genoa		3	2	2	1		Van Tweenhuysen regularly exported wheat or rye to Genoa, Tuscany (Livorno, Viareggio, La Spezia) or Venice. (Hart, 1973, 71). Lambert van Tweenhuysen was active in the Baltic, northern Russia, England, France, Spain, Portugal, north western Africa, Italy, Constantinople, Smyrna and northern America. (Hart, 1973, 69).	

Hamburg		3	2	2	1	>1588<	Lambert van Tweenhuysen was active as an apprentice in Germany (a.o. Hamburg), Scandinavia, Poland and Russia. (Hart, 1973, 69). In 1588 Lambert van Tweenhuysen was active as factor in Hamburg and Danzig. (79). Lambert van Tweenhuysen was involved in overland trade with Germany (already long experience by 1600). (69). Before he established himself in Amsterdam in 1590, Lambert van Tweenhuysen stayed in Danzig and Hamburg. (Wijnroks, 2003, 277). In 1588, Lambert van Tweenhuysen worked for Marten des Champs in Hamburg, in whose house he resided. Also later, the connections with the Des Champs were maintained. (Wijnroks, 2003, 277).	
Izmir		3	2	2	1		Lambert van Tweenhuysen traded with Izmir. (Hart, 1973, 69).	
Königsberg		3	2	2	1	>1613<	Helmich van Tweenhuysen, brother of Lambert, became active as a merchant in Lübeck, Danzig and Königsberg. (Hart, 1973, 69). Lambert van Tweenhuysen shipped salt from Setubal to Danzig, Königsberg or Riga. The return freight to Amsterdam consisted mainly of grain. (Hart, 1973, 70). Salt from France shipped to Danzig or Königsberg. (71). Lambert van Tweenhuysen was active in the Baltic, northern Russia, England, France, Spain, Portugal, north western Africa, Italy, Constantinople, Smyrna and northern America. (Hart, 1973, 69). Joint trade of the brothers Lambert and Helmich Van Tweenhuysen with Konigsberg and Danzig. In 1613, the accounts of this joint trade were not closed yet. (Wijnroks, 2003, 276-277 n. 30). Important trade of Lambert van Tweenhuysen with Ducal Prussia (especially Konigsberg). Van Tweenhuysen chartered several ships to Ducal Prussia. (Bogucka, 1973, 444).	
Lisbon		3	2	2	1	>1596<	In 1596, Lambert van Tweenhuysen sent the ship of Pieter Jaspersoon to Setúbal for purchase of salt. However, due to the war with Spain, he ordered the ship to go to Aveiro instead of Setubal. From Aveiro, the shipper had to travel himself to Lisbon to collect the money for the purchase of the salt from the factor of Van Tweenhuysen in Lisbon. (70). Ca. 1600, Van Tweenhuysen removed a part of his salt trade from Portugal to France. (Hart, 1973, 70). Cornelis Jansz. in Lisbon owned shares in a ship in which Van Tweenhuysen also owned parts. (71). Lambert van Tweenhuysen was active in the Baltic, northern Russia, England, France, Spain, Portugal, north western Africa, Italy, Constantinople, Smyrna and northern America. (Hart, 1973, 69).	

Livorno		3	2	2	1		Van Tweenhuysen regularly exported wheat or rye to Genoa, Tuscany (Livorno, Viareggio, La Spezia) or Venice. (Hart, 1973, 71). Lambert van Tweenhuysen was active in the Baltic, northern Russia, England, France, Spain, Portugal, north western Africa, Italy, Constantinople, Smyrna and northern America. (Hart, 1973, 69).	
Lübeck		3	2	2	1	>1590<	Helmich van Tweenhuysen, brother of Lambert, became active as a merchant in Lübeck, Danzig and Königsberg. (Hart, 1973, 69). Lambert van Tweenhuysen was involved in overland trade with Germany (already long experience by 1600). (69). Helmich van Tweenhuysen, brother of Lambert, was a business associate of Lambert van Tweenhuysen. In 1590, Helmich was established in Lubeck. (Wijnroks, 2003, 277).	
Marans		3	2	2	1		Van Tweenhuysen sent ships to Maran and Charantes (directly or via La Rochelle). (Hart, 1973, 71). Lambert van Tweenhuysen was active in the Baltic, northern Russia, England, France, Spain, Portugal, north western Africa, Italy, Constantinople, Smyrna and northern America. (Hart, 1973, 69).	
Morocco		3	2	2	1		Lambert van Tweenhuysen was active in the Baltic, northern Russia, England, France, Spain, Portugal, north western Africa, Italy, Constantinople, Smyrna and northern America. (Hart, 1973, 69). Van Tweenhuysen was involved in the trade with Morocco. (Wijnroks, 2003, 276).	
New Netherland (Hudson area)		3	2	2	1	1611-1623	After the discoveries in Northern America by Henry Hudson for the Dutch East India Company, a company was founded by Lambert van Tweenhuysen, Hans Unger (member of the VOC), the brothers Leonart and Francoys Pelgrom, Aernout Vogels, and the shipper Adriaen Courtsen Block. A ship, with Block as shipper, was sent to North America in 1611. He went to the north American east coast from Martha's Vineyard to the Hudson, sailed along the Connecticut and the Thames, and localised Long Island and Manhattan. He also discovered Block Island. (Hart, 1973, 77). Lambert van Tweenhuysen became "bewindhebber" of the Nieuw-Nederland Compagnie. This company explored the borders of the Delaware river in 1614-1616. A factory was established there (later fort Oranje was built here, near present-day Albany). (78). The Nieuw-Nederland Compagnie was active in 1614-1618. After 1618, her activities were continued by a company called Compagnie van Tweenhuysen.	

							Representative in Nieuw-Nederland was Jan Gijsen. This company was dissolved in 1623, since trade with the West-Indies came in hands of the West Indische Compagnie in 1621. Van Tweenhuysen was almost not involved in the WIC, in which he had only a small share. (79). Lambert van Tweenhuysen was active in the Baltic, northern Russia, England, France, Spain, Portugal, north western Africa, Italy, Constantinople, Smyrna and northern America. (Hart, 1973, 69). Van Tweenhuysen played an important role in the early trade of the Dutch with the Hudson area. (Wijnroks, 2003, 276). In 1619, Lambert van Tweenhuysen was among the charterers of a voyage of the ships “De Blijde Boodschap” and “De Bever” to New Netherland. (Wijnroks, 2003, 334 n. 22).	
North Pole region		3	2	2	1	from 1612	In 1612, Van Tweenhuysen founded a company for whale-fishery. In that year, he sent a first ship to the Arctic Ocean, with Willem Cornelisz. van Muyden (a partner in the company) as shipper. The ship sailed first to the Bereneiland, but then went to Fowlesound. This first journey was not very profitable. (Hart, 1973, 72-73). In 1613, Van Tweenhuysen sent two ships to Spitsbergen for whale-fishery. Head of the expedition was his partner Willem Cornelisz. van Muyden. The ships went to Prince Charles Foreland, Ice Sound, and the Bell Sound. However, the catch was confiscated by ships of the English Muscovy Company. (Hart, 1973, 73, 75). Van Tweenhuysen became “bewindhebber” of the Amsterdam chamber of the Noordse Compagnie, founded in 1614. The Noordse Compagnie was active in whale fishery. (76, 79).	
Oléron (Ile d’)		3	2	2	1	from c.1600	Ca. 1600, Van Tweenhuysen removed a part of his salt trade from Portugal to France. (Hart, 1973, 70). Van Tweenhuysen sent several ships to Brouage, or the salt islands of Oléron and Ré. This trade was organised from La Rochelle, where Van Tweenhuysen had a factor or correspondent, and where goods on the ships were unloaded (e.g. lead, copper, wood, leather). (70-71). Lambert van Tweenhuysen was active in the Baltic, northern Russia, England, France, Spain, Portugal, north western Africa, Italy, Constantinople, Smyrna and northern America. (Hart, 1973, 69). Van Tweenhuysen sent ships to Maran and Charantes (directly or via La Rochelle). (Hart, 1973, 71).	
Ré (Ile de)		3	2	2	1	from c.1600	Ca. 1600, Van Tweenhuysen removed a part of his salt trade from Portugal to France. (Hart, 1973, 70). Van Tweenhuysen sent several ships to Brouage,	

							or the salt islands of Oléron and Ré. This trade was organised from La Rochelle, where Van Tweenhuysen had a factor or correspondent, and where goods on the ships were unloaded (e.g. lead, copper, wood, leather). (70-71). Lambert van Tweenhuysen was active in the Baltic, northern Russia, England, France, Spain, Portugal, north western Africa, Italy, Constantinople, Smyrna and northern America. (Hart, 1973, 69). Van Tweenhuysen sent ships to Maran and Charantes (directly or via La Rochelle). (Hart, 1973, 71).	
Reval		3	2	2	1		Lambert van Tweenhuysen employed factors in Reval and advanced loans to merchants there. He played an important role in Amsterdam's trade with Reval. (Bogucka, 1973, 443).	
Riga		3	2	2	1	>c.1596<	Lambert van Tweenhuysen shipped salt from Setubal to Danzig, Königsberg or Riga. The return freight to Amsterdam consisted mainly of grain. (Hart, 1973, 70). Ca. 1596, Van Tweenhuysen shipped salt from Portugal to Riga in the ship of Pieter Jaspersoon. (70). Lambert van Tweenhuysen was active in the Baltic, northern Russia, England, France, Spain, Portugal, north western Africa, Italy, Constantinople, Smyrna and northern America. (Hart, 1973, 69). Lambert van Tweenhuysen played an important role in Amsterdam's Livonian trade (especially with Riga) in the first quarter of the 17th century. (Bogucka, 1973, 441).	
La Rochelle		3	2	2	1	>c.1600-c.1612<	Ca. 1600, Van Tweenhuysen removed a part of his salt trade from Portugal to France. (Hart, 1973, 70). Van Tweenhuysen sent several ships to Brouage, or the salt islands of Oléron and Ré. This trade was organised from La Rochelle, where Van Tweenhuysen had a factor or correspondent, and where goods on the ships were unloaded (e.g. lead, copper, wood, leather). (70-71). Van Tweenhuysen sent ships to Maran and Charantes (directly or via La Rochelle). (Hart, 1973, 71). The factor of Van Tweenhuysen in La Rochelle ca. 1612 was his nephew Jan van Breda. In La Rochelle, Van Tweenhuysen had connections with the merchants Jean Macain and Samuel Georges, already several years before 1612. (73-74, 76). Lambert van Tweenhuysen was active in the Baltic, northern Russia, England, France, Spain, Portugal, north western Africa, Italy, Constantinople, Smyrna and northern America. (Hart, 1973, 69). Connections with La Rochelle in 1607. (Wijnroks, 2003, 247).	
San Lúcar		3	2	2	1		Despite the war with Spain, Van Tweenhuysen sent ships to San Lucar de	

							Barrameda, Sevilla, and elsewhere. (Hart, 1973, 71). Lambert van Tweenhuysen was active in the Baltic, northern Russia, England, France, Spain, Portugal, north western Africa, Italy, Constantinople, Smyrna and northern America. (Hart, 1973, 69).	
Setúbal		3	2	2	1	>1596<	Lambert van Tweenhuysen shipped salt from Setubal to Danzig, Königsberg or Riga. The return freight to Amsterdam consisted mainly of grain. (Hart, 1973, 70). In 1596, Lambert van Tweenhuysen sent the ship of Pieter Jaspersoon to Setubal for purchase of salt. However, due to the war with Spain, he ordered the ship to go to Aveiro instead of Setubal. From Aveiro, the shipper had to travel himself to Lisbon to collect the money for the purchase of the salt from the factor of Van Tweenhuysen in Lisbon. (70). Ca. 1600, Van Tweenhuysen removed a part of his salt trade from Portugal to France. (Hart, 1973, 70). Lambert van Tweenhuysen was active in the Baltic, northern Russia, England, France, Spain, Portugal, north western Africa, Italy, Constantinople, Smyrna and northern America. (Hart, 1973, 69).	
Sevilla		3	2	2	1	>1605<	Despite the war with Spain, Van Tweenhuysen sent ships to San Lucar de Barrameda, Sevilla, and elsewhere. (Hart, 1973, 71). In 1605, Lambert van Tweenhuysen sent the ship the *Christelijcke Ridder* with shipper Claes Jansz. to Archangel for a load of cables and other cordage to be shipped to Sevilla. (Hart, 1973, 71). Lambert van Tweenhuysen was active in the Baltic, northern Russia, England, France, Spain, Portugal, north western Africa, Italy, Constantinople, Smyrna and northern America. (Hart, 1973, 69). Letter of Cornelis Jansen in Sevilla to Lambert van Tweenhuysen in 1605. (Wijnroks, 2003, 227).	
La Spezia		3	2	2	1		Van Tweenhuysen regularly exported wheat or rye to Genoa, Tuscany (Livorno, Viareggio, La Spezia) or Venice. (Hart, 1973, 71). Lambert van Tweenhuysen was active in the Baltic, northern Russia, England, France, Spain, Portugal, north western Africa, Italy, Constantinople, Smyrna and northern America. (Hart, 1973, 69).	
Szczecin		3	2	2	1		Lambert van Tweenhuysen was one of the most active Amsterdam merchants trading with Szczecin in the early 17th century. He chartered several ships to Szczecin, and he acted as agent for the mayor of Szczecin, Simon Giesebrecht, in the beginning of the 17th century. (Bogucka, 1973, 445).	
Venice		3	2	2	1		Van Tweenhuysen regularly exported wheat or rye to Genoa, Tuscany	

							(Livorno, Viareggio, La Spezia) or Venice. (Hart, 1973, 71). Lambert van Tweenhuysen was active in the Baltic, northern Russia, England, France, Spain, Portugal, north western Africa, Italy, Constantinople, Smyrna and northern America. (Hart, 1973, 69).	
Viareggio		3	2	2	1		Van Tweenhuysen regularly exported wheat or rye to Genoa, Tuscany (Livorno, Viareggio, La Spezia) or Venice. (Hart, 1973, 71). Lambert van Tweenhuysen was active in the Baltic, northern Russia, England, France, Spain, Portugal, north western Africa, Italy, Constantinople, Smyrna and northern America. (Hart, 1973, 69).	
Zwolle		3	2	2	1	>c.1590<	Ca. 1590, Van Tweenhuysen appointed Werner Amsinck, burgomaster of Zwolle, as his representative in Overijssel. Connections with Overijssel. (Wijnroks, 2003, 276-277). Helmich van Tweenhuysen, brother of Lambert, became burgomaster of Zwolle. (Wijnroks, 2003, 277 n. 30). Connections with Antwerp merchants in Overijssel. (Wijnroks, 2003, 276).	
Antwerp		2	2	1	0	>1600<	Connections with the Des Champs family. In 1600, Van Tweenhuysen and Jan Des Champs, residing in Antwerp, sent pearls to Russia. (Wijnroks, 2003, 277). Connections with Antwerp merchants in Overijssel. (Wijnroks, 2003, 276).	
Kraków		2	2	1	0	>c.1588/89<	Ca. 1589, Lambert van Tweenhuysen made a business travel to Danzig and Cracow for the sale of a necklace to the king of Poland. (Hart, 1973, 69). Lambert van Tweenhuysen was active as an apprentice in Germany (a.o. Hamburg), Scandinavia, Poland and Russia. (Hart, 1973, 69). Ca. 1588, Van Tweenhuysen went for his patron Marten des Champs to Danzig and Krakow to sell jewels to the Polish king. (Wijnroks, 2003, 277).	
Aveiro		1	1	1	0	1596	In 1596, Lambert van Tweenhuysen sent the ship of Pieter Jaspersoon to Setubal for purchase of salt. However, due to the war with Spain, he ordered the ship to go to Aveiro instead of Setubal. From Aveiro, the shipper had to travel himself to Lisbon to collect the money for the purchase of the salt from the factor of Van Tweenhuysen in Lisbon. (70).	
Bergen		1	1	1	0	1614	In 1614 Van Tweenhuysen, together with Barent Sweerts, equipped four ships for merchants of Bergen and Copenhagen, to be used for whale fishery. (Hart, 1973, 76). Lambert van Tweenhuysen was active as an apprentice in Germany (a.o. Hamburg), Scandinavia, Poland and Russia. (Hart, 1973, 69).	
Copenhagen		1	1	1	0	1614	In 1614 Van Tweenhuysen, together with Barent Sweerts, equipped four ships for merchants of Bergen and Copenhagen, to be used for whale fishery.	

							(Hart, 1973, 76). Lambert van Tweenhuysen was active as an apprentice in Germany (a.o. Hamburg), Scandinavia, Poland and Russia. (Hart, 1973, 69).	
Dartmouth		1	1	1	0	1605	In 1605, Lambert van Tweenhuysen sent the ship the *Christelijcke Ridder* with shipper Claes Jansz. to Archangel for a load of cables and other cordage to be shipped to Sevilla. If necessary, a neutral crew for the ship had to be hired in Plymouth or Dartmouth on the way to Sevilla. (Hart, 1973, 71-72). Lambert van Tweenhuysen was active in the Baltic, northern Russia, England, France, Spain, Portugal, north western Africa, Italy, Constantinople, Smyrna and northern America. (Hart, 1973, 69).	
East Indies		1	1	1	0		Van Tweenhuysen had only a small share in the VOC. (Hart, 1973, 79).	
Narva		1	1	1	0		Perhaps Van Tweenhuysen and Jacques Abelin, who was active in the trade with Narva, were relatives. (Wijnroks, 2003, 276 n. 129). Connections with the Abelin family, who was active in the trade with Moscovia. (Wijnroks, 2003, 277). Already in 1569, a certain Lambert van Tweenhuysen, merchant of Zwolle and perhaps a cousin of Lambert van Tweenhuysen, participated in a business venture with Narva. (Wijnroks, 2003, 66, 66 n. 8).	
Plymouth		1	1	1	0	1605	In 1605, Lambert van Tweenhuysen sent the ship the *Christelijcke Ridder* with shipper Claes Jansz. to Archangel for a load of cables and other cordage to be shipped to Sevilla. If necessary, a neutral crew for the ship had to be hired in Plymouth or Dartmouth on the way to Sevilla. (Hart, 1973, 71-72). Lambert van Tweenhuysen was active in the Baltic, northern Russia, England, France, Spain, Portugal, north western Africa, Italy, Constantinople, Smyrna and northern America. (Hart, 1973, 69).	

+ Van Tweenhuysen was often represented by factors abroad. However, not all factors of Van Tweenhuysen are known. As a result, I have attributed a score 3-2-2-1 to most places with which Van Tweenhuysen traded regularly, even when a factor is known to have resided there.

4.4. English firms

THOMAS BETSON, before 1475 – 1486

Thomas Betson was a merchant of the Staple in Calais. He was a friend of Elisabeth Rice, a merchant daughter married to William Stonor, a landowner with estates in the Chilterns and Cotswolds, on which sheep were kept. A partnership was established between Thomas Betson and William Stonor (in or after 1475). Stonor remained active in the export trade until 1479. Betson died in 1486. (Power, 1924, 116-117, 144). In 1479, the partnership between Betson and Stonor was ended, and the business was taken over by Thomas Betson. (Power, 1924, 128). By the time of his death, Betson was a member of the Fishmongers guild as well as a merchant of the Staple. (Power, 1924, 144).

References:

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Source material:

The remaining correspondence of the Stonor (among which many letters from and concerning Thomas Betson) has been published by Kingsford. The first preserved letter between Betson and Stonor dates from 1476. (Power, 1924, 117, 189).

Size: Small

Main activities:

- Commerce: Wool trade. (Power, 1924, 117, 128).
- Finance:
- Industry:

Network of Thomas Betson:

Table A..1. Network of Thomas Betson, ca. 1475 – ca. 1479								
City	**R**	**Score**				**Period**	**Type of presence**	**References**
London		8	4	3	1	>1476<	Thomas Betson sailed from London to Calais in 1476. He sent a letter to Stonor from London in 1476. (Power, 1924, 117). Thomas Betson travelled between Calais and London. (Power, 1924, 121-122). Thomas Betson had a house in London. (Power, 1924, 124). Betson purchased wools in the Cotswolds, and sent them from there to London. (Power, 1924, 129). Betson sent his wool to London where it was weighed. In London, Betson made use of the service of three apprentices of William Stonor: Thomas Henham, Goddard Oxbridge, and Thomas Howlake. These apprentices were sometimes at the Stonors' warehouse in London, and sometimes at their house in Calais. They oversaw the packing of wool in London as well as the sale in Calais. (Power, 1924, 133). Thomas Betson regularly travelled across the Channel, and he was almost as much at home in Calais as in London. (Power, 1924, 137).	
Calais		5	3	2	1	>1476<	Thomas Betson sailed from London to Calais in 1476. (Power, 1924, 117). Thomas Betson travelled between Calais and London. (Power, 1924, 121-122). Betson was a merchant of the staple in Calais. (Power, 1924, 117). Betson shipped wool to Calais. (Power, 1924, 132). Betson sent his wool to London where it was weighed. In London, Betson made use of the service of three apprentices of William Stonor: Thomas Henham, Goddard Oxbridge, and Thomas Howlake. These apprentices were sometimes at the Stonors' warehouse in London, and sometimes at their house in Calais. They oversaw the packing of wool in London as well as the sale in Calais. (Power, 1924, 133). Thomas Betson regularly travelled across the Channel, and he was almost as much at home in Calais as in London. (Power, 1924, 137). Sales of wool in Calais. (Power, 1924, 138).	
Antwerp		3	2	2	1		Thomas Betson visited the fairs of Antwerp. (Power, 1924, 140).	
Bruges		3	2	2	1		Among the best customers of Thomas Betson in Calais were Peter and Daniel van de Rade of Bruges. (Power, 1924, 138). Thomas Betson travelled	

							to the fairs of Bruges to sell wool. (Power, 1924, 139).	
Northleach		3	2	2	1		Betson was often at Northleach, for the purchase of Cotswold wool. (Power, 1924, 131). Thomas Betson went to Gloucestershire for the purchase of wool. (Power, 1924, 129). Betson purchased wools in the Cotswolds, and sent them from there to London. (Power, 1924, 129).	
Broadway		1	1	1	0		Thomas Betson purchased wool from Whyte of Broadway, a famous wool village. (Power, 1924, 129). Betson purchased wools in the Cotswolds, and sent them from there to London. (Power, 1924, 129).	
Henley		1	1	1	0		Thomas Betson purchased wool from John Elmes, a merchant from Henley. (Power, 1924, 129).	
Lamberton		1	1	1	0		Thomas Betson purchased wool fells from Robert Turbot of Lamberton. (Power, 1924, 129).	
Sandwich		1	1	1	0		Thomas Henham, apprentice, went from Sandwich by ship to Calais. (Power, 1924, 136).	

+

CELY, before 1449 – 1493

Wool merchants (Hanham, 1975, vii). Joint trading ventures between Richard Cely the younger and his brother George. Dispute between Richard and the widow of his brother George in 1489 about payment of the debts of their joint ventures: led to a lawsuit before the Court of Chancery. The preservation of the Cely papers is due to this trial (Hanham, 1975, viii). William and George Cely died in 1489 (Hanham, 1975, ix). In 1474, the family consisted of Richard Cely I, his wife Agnes, and their sons Robert, Richard and George. Richard I died in 1482. His son Richard inherited the principal properties and acted as chief executor (Hanham, 1975, x). John Cely (died before January 1483), brother of Richard I, was also a merchant of the Staple. He often acted as wool-gatherer for his brother. William Maryon, a grocer and merchant of the Staple, spent much of his time with the family. Loosely knit association, but no partnership between Richard and John Cely and William Maryon (Hanham, 1975, xi). Not known whether Richard I was a Londoner by birth (Hanham, 1975, xii). First reference to Richard I: 1449: already a wool merchant then. In 1481, he was a candidate for the function of sheriff of London: not successful (Hanham, 1975, xii). Richard I died in 1482 (Hanham, 1975, xii). Robert, probably the eldest son, seemed to have been continuously in debt. After 1480, he seems to have dropped out of the wool business (Hanham, 1975, xiii). Robert died in 1485 (Hanham, 1975, xiv). George died in 1489 (Hanham, 1975, xvi). By February 1492, Richard was heavily in debt. He died in 1493 (Hanham, 1975, xvii). London wool exporters (Spufford, 2002, 206). English wool merchants (Spufford, 2002, 337-338).

References:

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Thomas, J., 1999. “Business Writing in History: What Caused the Dictamen's Demise?” *Journal of Business Communication*, 36 (1), 40-54.

Source material:

The Cely papers are the only considerable surviving collection of medieval English merchant papers (Hanham, 1975, vii). Two volumes of correspondence and seven files of incoherent accounts and memoranda have been preserved. The 247 extant letters have been published by Alison Hanham (1975) (Hanham, 1975, viii-ix; Power, 1924, 116).

Size: Small or medium-sized

Very unreliable estimate of net annual incomes of the brothers’ joint venture: 100 £ sterling each (Hanham, 1975, xx).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Wool trade (Hanham, 1975, vii; Murray, 2005, 240). English wool merchants. Occasionally they imported fur from Bruges to England for their friends and contacts in England (Spufford, 2002, 337-338).
- Finance: Financial dealings: exchange transactions between Calais, the marts in the Low Countries and London: to support their commercial activities (Hanham, 1975, xviii-xix; Power, 1924, 142-143). Until the troubles in the Low Countries under Maximilian mostly with Merchant Adventurers, but due to the troubles, they had to make arrangements with Italian and Spanish merchants with connections in Antwerp or Bruges and London (Hanham, 1975, xix-xx). Some investments in land (Hanham, 1975, xx-xxi).
- Industry:
- Shipping: George Cely was a shipowner: after his death, he left 1/3 of a ship called Margaret Cely to his brother Richard (Hanham, 1975, xvi; Murray, 2005, 240). In 1486, the Cely purchased a Breton fishing vessel, and refitted it for carrying trade: the “Margaret Cely of London” (Hanham, 1975, xx; Power, 1924, 135).

Network of the Cely:

Table A..1. Network of the Cely, 1472 – 1488

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
London		8	4	3	1	>1472-1493	After his father's death (1482), George left Calais and moved to London, where he became the more active partner in running the wool business (Hanham, 1975, xiv). The purchased wool was sent to London, where it was weighed in the presence of seller and buyer (Hanham, 1975, xviii). 104 letters sent from London (30 by Richard Cely the elder (1474, 1477-1481), 41 by Richard Cely the younger (1476, 1478-1482), 11 by William Maryon (1476, 1478-1479, 1481-1482, 1484), 5 by Robert Cely (1476-1478, 1480), 5 by William Cely (1480-1481), 3 by John Cely (1480)) (1474, 1476-1482, 1484), 71 letters sent to London (24 ½ to George Cely (1478-1479, 1481-1484, 1487-1488), 9 to Richard Cely the elder (1476, 1478-1481), 3 ½ to Richard Cely the younger (1482-1484), 33 to Richard the younger and George Cely (1482-1484, 1487-1488)) (1472, 1476, 1478-1484, 1487-1488) (Hanham, 1975, 1-249). 1 letter sent from Clerkenwell (1481) (Hanham, 1975, 1-249). Headquarters (London wool exporters) (Spufford, 2002, 206). Usually, the senior members of the family stayed in England, buying the wool and seeing to its packing and shipping. Assistance of apprentices (Hanham, 1975, xi). 1 letter sent to England (1482) (Hanham, 1975, 1-249). William Cely was a cousin of George and Richard Cely, and their agent in London in 1481. (Power, 1924, 117). The Cely shipped wool from London in 1480 and in 1481. (Power, 1924, 130-131, 133-134). The Cely regularly travelled across the Channel, and they were almost as much at home in Calais as in London. (Power, 1924, 137).	Murray, 2005, 240
Calais		6	3	2	1	>1472-1489<	Usually, a younger member represented the firm in Calais, hereby helped by apprentices (Hanham, 1975, xi). Thomas Kesten, associate who represented the company in Calais from at least 1472 to 1476. He was assisted by Robert, and from 1473 by George Cely (Hanham, 1975, xi). The representative at Calais also handled wool on behalf of William Maryon and John Cely (Hanham, 1975, xi). From 1476 to his death in 1489, George in Calais operated a genuine partnership with his brother Richard, besides representing his father and other members of the family (Hanham, 1975, xi). By 1478, George was in charge in Calais, assisted by the apprentice William Cely (Hanham, 1975, xi). George did his apprenticeship at Calais. He left Calais after his father's death (1482), leaving William Cely in charge at	Murray, 2005, 240

							Calais (Hanham, 1975, xiv). Richard the younger occasionally helped at Calais at busy times (Hanham, 1975, xiv). In 1486-1489, the “Margaret Cely of London” went to Bordeaux for wine in the late autumn, to the Bay of Bourgneuf for salt, to Calais, and on to Zeeland with wheat and other grain. Further to Antwerp on at least one occasion (Hanham, 1975, xx). 99 letters sent from Calais (8 by George Cely (1476, 1478-1481), 10 by John Dalton (1478-1479, 1481-1482), 60 by William Cely (1481-1484, 1487-1488), 3 by John Roosse (1479), 2 by Thomas Kesten (1479, 1484)) (1476, 1478-1484, 1487-88), 99 1/3 letters sent to Calais (3 ½ to Richard Cely the younger (1476, 1478), 90 5/6 to George Cely (1476-1482, 1484)) (1474, 1476-1482, 1484) (Hanham, 1975, 1-249). Cely regularly used the same inns in Calais and Bruges (Spufford, 2002, 206). George Cely in Calais in 1486. (Power, 1924, 117). George Cely was in Calais in 1480. (Power, 1924, 130-131). William Cely was agent in Calais. (Power, 1924, 137). The Cely regularly travelled across the Channel, and they were almost as much at home in Calais as in London. (Power, 1924, 137).	
Antwerp		3	2	2	1	>1476-1482<	Account with banker in Antwerp (Hanham, 1975, xix). In 1486-1489, the “Margaret Cely of London” went to Bordeaux for wine in the late autumn, to the Bay of Bourgneuf for salt, to Calais, and on to Zeeland with wheat and other grain. Further to Antwerp on at least one occasion (Hanham, 1975, xx). 2 letters sent from Antwerp (by George Cely) (1476, 1480), 1 ½ letters sent to Antwerp (to George Cely) (1478, 1480) (Hanham, 1975, 1-249). 13 ½ letters were sent to the mart (to George Cely) (1479-1482) (probably the markets of Bruges and the fairs of Antwerp or Bergen-op-Zoom) (Hanham, 1975, 1-249). (Hanham, 1975, 1-249).	Murray, 2005, 240
Bordeaux		3	2	2	1	<1486-1489>	In 1486-1489, the “Margaret Cely of London” went to Bordeaux for wine in the late autumn, to the Bay of Bourgneuf for salt, to Calais, and on to Zeeland with wheat and other grain. Further to Antwerp on at least one occasion (Hanham, 1975, xx). The “Margaret Cely” sailed to Zeeland, Flanders and Bordeaux. (Power, 1924, 135).	
Bourgneuf		3	2	2	1	<1486-1489>	In 1486-1489, the “Margaret Cely of London” went to Bordeaux for wine in the late autumn, to the Bay of Bourgneuf for salt, to Calais, and on to Zeeland with wheat and other grain. Further to Antwerp on at least one occasion (Hanham, 1975, xx).	
Bruges		3	2	2	1	>1478-1487<	Illness of George in Bruges (Hanham, 1975, xiii). Account with banker in	Murray, 2005, 240

							Bruges (Hanham, 1975, xix). 1 letter sent from Bruges (1487), 23 1/3 letters sent to Bruges (to George Cely) (1478-1482) (Hanham, 1975, 1-249). 13 ½ letters were sent to the mart (to George Cely) (1479-1482) (probably the markets of Bruges and the fairs of Antwerp or Bergen-op-Zoom) (Hanham, 1975, 1-249). (Hanham, 1975, 1-249). Occasionally they imported fur from Bruges to England for their friends and contacts in England (Spufford, 2002, 337-338). Cely regularly used the same inns in Calais and Bruges (Spufford, 2002, 206). Among the best customers of the Cely in Calais were Peter and Daniel van de Rade of Bruges. (Power, 1924, 138).	
Northleach		3	2	2	1	>1480-1482<	Correspondent: William Midwinter (Hanham, 1975, xxiii). Richard the younger in the Cotswolds (Northleach) to pack wool in 1482 (Hanham, 1975, xv). 1 letter sent from Northleach (1482) (Hanham, 1975, 1-249). Northleach was an important centre of wool production in the Cotswolds (Origo, 1963, 70). In Northleach, there was a wool fair (Origo, 1963, 359 n. 24). In 1480, Richard the younger sent to the Cotswolds to buy wool (Hanham, 1975, xiv). Richard the younger in the Cotswolds (Northleach) to pack wool in 1482 (Hanham, 1975, xv). Northleach was an important meeting place of staplers and wool dealers in the Cotswolds. (Power, 1924, 129). The Cely purchased their wool chiefly from two Northleach wool dealers, William Midwinter and John Busshe. (Power, 1924, 129). Richard Cely was in Northleach in 1480 for the purchase of wool. (Power, 1924, 130-131).	
Zeeland		3	2	2	1	<1486-1489>	In 1486-1489, the “Margaret Cely of London” went to Bordeaux for wine in the late autumn, to the Bay of Bourgneuf for salt, to Calais, and on to Zealand with wheat and other grain. Further to Antwerp on at least one occasion (Hanham, 1975, xx). The “Margaret Cely” sailed to Zeeland, Flanders and Bordeaux. (Power, 1924, 135).	
Bergen-op-Zoom		2	2	1	0	1479-1482	2 letters sent from Bergen-op-Zoom (1479, 1481), 3 1/3 letter sent to Bergen-op-Zoom (to George Cely) (1479, 1482). 13 ½ letters were sent to the mart (to George Cely) (1479-1482) (probably the markets of Bruges and the fairs of Antwerp or Bergen-op-Zoom) (Hanham, 1975, 1-249).	
Essex		2	2	1	0	1479-1481, 1487	5 letters sent from Essex by Richard Cely the elder (2) and Richard Cely the younger (3) (1479-1481, 1487) (Hanham, 1975, 1-249).	
Aveley		1	1	1	0	1480	1 letter sent from Aveley (1480) (Hanham, 1975, 1-249).	
Dover		1	1	1	0	1480	1 letter sent from Dover (1480) (Hanham, 1975, 1-249).	

Guînes		1	1	1	0	<1472-1488>	1 letter sent from Guines (no date) (Hanham, 1975, 1-249).	
Langham		1	1	1	0	1482	1 letter sent from Langham (1482) (Hanham, 1975, 1-249).	
Leicester		1	1	1	0	>1478<	Correspondents: the Dalton family (Hanham, 1975, xxiii). 1 letter sent from Leicester (1478) (Hanham, 1975, 1-249).	
Mechelen		1	1	1	0	1477	1 letter sent from Mechelen (1477) (Hanham, 1975, 1-249).	
Rome		1	1	1	0	1481	1 letter sent from Rome (1481) (Hanham, 1975, 1-249).	

+ The Cely correspondence has been preserved fragmentarily. 247 letters are extant for the years from 1472 to March 1488. However, for the period before 1476, only two letters survive, one each for 1472 and 1474. There are other major gaps for November 1482 – November 1483 (only one extant letter), and for the years 1485 and 1486 (Hanham, 1975, IX).
+ Up to his death in 1482, the correspondence is dominated by Richard the elder (Hanham, 1975, XIII).
+ Letters with ambiguous destination (e.g. to Calais or Bruges) have been counted as ½ for each of these destinations. The place of origin of 25 letters and the destination of 34 letters are not mentioned.

JOHN GOLDBETER AND PARTNERS, 1336 – 1370/71

John Goldbeter, belonging to an important group of York merchants, collaborated with the farmers of the English customs in 1347-49. (Fryde, 1983a, XI 3, XI 10). Nearly 1/6 of the 126,000 £ raised by Walter Chiriton and Co. (the farmers of the English customs in 1347-49) for the king in 1346-49 came from Goldbeter and his partners. In repayment they received revenue from the customs, as well as permission to export considerable quantities of wool free of charge. (Fryde, 1983a, XI 4). Associates of John Goldbeter in 1347-49 were Thomas York, William Acastre (d. 1350/52), John Rouston, William Skelton, Thomas Lindsey, Adam Lutrington, Roger Hovingham, and William Haxby. They were long-term business associates. The three principal partners, Goldbeter, Acastre and York, were associates in a number of transactions as far back as 1339-41. The same is true for Lindsey and Skelton. (Fryde, 1983a, XI 4-XI 5). In 1336 Goldbeter was summoned to a merchant assembly at Nottingham. (XI 5). John Goldbeter conducted several unlawful acts as well as illegal exports. (XI 5). John Goldbeter was active at least between 1336 and 1364. He was a relative of Henry Goldbeter, mayor of York in 1346. John Goldbeter was a daring, much-travelled, ingenious, but somewhat unscrupulous merchant. (XI 6). John Goldbeter frequented Bruges from as early as 1337 until after 1370. (Murray, 2005, 218). John Goldbeter died ca. 1370/71. (Murray, 2005, 270-271).

References:

Fryde, E. B., 1983a. “Some business transactions of York merchants: John Goldbeter, William Acastre and Partners, 1336-1349”. In: Fryde, E. B. *Studies in medieval trade and finance*. London, The Hambledon Press, XI 3-XI 27 (History Series, 13) (first published in 1966 in *St. Anthony’s Hall Publications*, 29).

Murray, J. M., 2005. *Bruges, cradle of capitalism, 1280-1390*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 265-272.

I did not consult:

Fryde, E. B., 1959. “The English Farmers of the Customs, 1343–51”. *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fifth Series, 9, 1-17.

Source material:

Several documents have been preserved of the lawsuit in 1352-53 between John Goldbeter and the farmers of the English customs, and the lawsuit in 1367 between Goldbeter and Richard Barry of York. (Fryde, 1983a, XI 3-XI 4). The private records of these York merchants have not been preserved. (Fryde, 1983a, XI 6).

Size: Medium-sized

In 1347-1348, John Goldbeter and his associates advanced at least 20,000 £ to the farmers of the English customs. (Fryde, 1983a, XI 6, XI 15). Goldbeter died as a wealthy merchant, establishing a burial chapel in one of the most aristocratic churches of Bruges. (Murray, 2005, 271-272).

Main activities:

- Commerce: John Goldbeter and his associates were wool exporters. (Fryde, 1983a, XI 4; Murray, 2005, 219, 239). Wool exports of John Goldbeter in 1343-45. (XI 5, XI 10). Wool exports in 1339-40, as well as smuggling of wool in this period. (XI 8). In 1341-42, Goldbeter, Acastre, Lindsey and Skelton purchased 664 sacks of royal wool valued at 4,188 £. (XI 9). Illegal wool exports to Flanders by Goldbeter in 1353-56. (Fryde, 1983a, XI 21). Smuggling of wool in 1338-1340. (Murray, 2005, 267). Wool trade in 1341. (Murray, 2005, 267). Illegal wool trade ca. 1353-1356. (Murray, 2005, 270). Still interested in the wool trade in the late 1360s. (Murray, 2005, 270).
- Finance: Loans of Goldbeter and several of his later partners to the English king in 1338-1341, totalling at least 5,220 £. (especially from 1340). (Fryde, 1983a, XI 7, XI 9). Loans brokered by Goldbeter for the English king ca. 1346-1348. (Murray, 2005, 239-240, 267-268). John Goldbeter was a financier of Edward III's continental adventures. (Murray, 2005, 219). Goldbeter contracted loans at the Bruges money market. (Murray, 2005, 241). Goldbeter provided loans to Edward III in 1338-1340. (Murray, 2005, 267). Interests in bullion trade and finance. (Murray, 2005, 270). Large advances to the duchess of Brittany in the Spring of 1366. (Murray, 2005, 270). Goldbeter also had personal ties with the count of Flanders. (Murray, 2005, 272).
- Industry:
- Shipowner (Murray, 2005, 269-270).

Network of John Goldbeter and Partners:

Table A..1. Network of John Goldbeter and Partners, ca. 1337 – ca. 1370 (especially 1346 – 1348)

City	**R**	**Score**				**Period**	**Type of presence**	**References**
York		8	4	3	1	>1339-1340<	John Goldbeter was a merchant of York. (Fryde, 1983a, XI 3). Goldbeter, Acastre, Lindsey and some others obtained control over the customs of York ca. 1339-1340. (XI 7-XI 8, XI 23). Last record of Goldbeter in England in 1364. (Murray, 2005, 270).	Murray, 2005, 238, 265
Bruges		**5** 8	**3** 4	**2** 3	**1** 1	>1337-1360 c.1361-1370	In 1346-47 John Goldbeter and his associates disposed of funds in Bruges or were able to borrow there. (Fryde, 1983a, XI 4). In 1347-48 Goldbeter and York were active in Flanders. (XI 5). In 1337, John Goldbeter was probably imprisoned in Bruges as a result of the general seizure of English merchants	

							and their goods in Flanders since 1336. (XI 5). Long-established connection of John Goldbeter with the export of wool to Bruges. (XI 11). In 1346-48 John Goldbeter was in Bruges. (XI 11-XI 12, XI 16). Several payments were made in Bruges and London by the company of Goldbeter via letters of account. (XI 14-XI 15). In 1361, John Goldbeter was governor of the king's merchants in Flanders. (XI 21). Illegal wool exports to Flanders by Goldbeter in 1353-56. (Fryde, 1983a, XI 21). In 1347-1348, John Goldbeter repaid several loans of the farmers of the English customs in Bruges and Flanders. (XI 24-XI 27). John Goldbeter frequented Bruges from as early as 1337 until after 1370. (Murray, 2005, 218). Goldbeter had an intimate knowledge of the credit market in Bruges and Flanders. (Murray, 2005, 239). Goldbeter had an account with Collard de Marke, money-changer in Bruges (1366-1370). (Murray, 2005, 270, 264 n. 20, 270-271 n. 48). In 1370, Goldbeter established a chapel in St. Donatian's church in Bruges which served as the burial place of John Goldbeter and his wife. (Murray, 1995, 279-285; Murray, 2005, 265, 271-272, 271 n. 49). Goldbeter was imprisoned in Bruges in 1337. (Murray, 2005, 265). In 1337 sale of English wool destined for Dordrecht in Bruges by the agents of Goldbeter in Bruges, against a royal prohibition. (Murray, 2005, 266). In 1346-1348, Goldbeter brokered a number of loans at the Bruges money market. (Murray, 2005, 268-269). By the 1360s, Goldbeter appears to have taken up more or less permanent residence in Bruges. In 1361 he was named governor of the king's merchants in Flanders. As such, he became agent of the king in Flanders. (Murray, 2005, 269). In 1361, Goldbeter was active in trade from Nantes to Bruges. (Murray, 2005, 269). By 1362, Bruges had become the residence of Goldbeter. (Murray, 2005, 270). Goldbeter married into an important Bruges family. (Murray, 2005, 272). Frequent travel to Bruges: spent at least half the year in Bruges by the 1360s, in a considerable residence with his wife and household. He held an account with the money-changer Collard de Marke, and established a chapel in St. Donatian church as a final resting place for himself and his wife in case either should die in Bruges (Murray, 2000, 5).	
Kings Lynn		3	2	2	1	>1348<	Agent of John Goldbeter at Lynn was Richard Barry of York. (Fryde, 1983a, XI 4, XI 14-XI 15, XI 18). In 1348, Goldbeter obtained control of the customs of Lynn. (XI 14, XI 26). Assignments on the customs at Lynn,	

							Hartlepool, Hull, Boston and Newcastle to Goldbeter and partners ca. 1348 in repayment of loans to the farmers of the English customs. (Fryde, 1983a, XI 26-XI 27). Last record of Goldbeter in England in 1364. (Murray, 2005, 270).	
Kingston-upon-Hull		3	2	2	1	>1337-1348<	John Goldbeter exported a small amount of wool from Hull to Dordrecht in 1337. He sold the wool to Flemish merchants, against the royal prohibition to sell to Flemish merchants at that time. (Fryde, 1983a, XI 6-XI 7). Smuggling of wool from Hull ca. 1340 or before. (XI 8). In 1348, John Goldbeter had an agent at Hull. (XI 14). Export of wool from Hull by Acastre and Lindsey in 1347-48. (XI 18). Assignments on the customs at Lynn, Hartlepool, Hull, Boston and Newcastle to Goldbeter and partners ca. 1348 in repayment of loans to the farmers of the English customs. (Fryde, 1983a, XI 26-XI 27). Last record of Goldbeter in England in 1364. (Murray, 2005, 270).	
London		3	2	2	1	>1346-1348<	In 1347-48 Acastre repeatedly concluded agreements in London for the association. (Fryde, 1983a, XI 5). In 1346-47, John Goldbeter in Bruges was in contact with Walter Chiriton and Thomas Swanland in London, farmers of the English customs. Goldbeter often acted as a guarantor of loans contracted by the farmers for the king in Flanders. (XI 11). In August 1348, an agreement was concluded in London between Goldbeter and Chiriton and Swanland for a loan of 1,000 £. (XI 13). Several payments were made in Bruges and London by the company of Goldbeter via letters of account. (XI 14-XI 15). Loans by Goldbeter and Company to the farmers of the English customs in London in 1347-48. (XI 27). Last record of Goldbeter in England in 1364. (Murray, 2005, 270).	
Boston		2	2	1	0	>1347-1348<	In 1347, the farmers of the English customs granted William Acastre an assignment on the customs of Boston. They also gave him permission to export from Boston 1,500 sacks (of himself or of other merchants), paying customs only for 1,000 sacks. (Fryde, 1983a, XI 17). Assignments on the customs at Lynn, Hartlepool, Hull, Boston and Newcastle to Goldbeter and partners ca. 1348 in repayment of loans to the farmers of the English customs. (Fryde, 1983a, XI 26-XI 27). Last record of Goldbeter in England in 1364. (Murray, 2005, 270).	
Calais		2	2	1	0	>1347-1348<, >1363<	In 1347-48 Thomas Lindsey made payments at the royal camp before Calais. (Fryde, 1983a, XI 5). In the last days of the siege of Calais one of	

							Goldbeter's partners delivered 333£ 6s. 8d. to the receiver of the king's chamber in the camp outside Calais. (XI 11, XI 27). Roger Hovingham, former partner of Goldbeter, was one of the aldermen of the English merchants at Calais in 1363. (Fryde, 1983a, XI 21 n. 126). After the capture of Calais by the English, John Goldbeter received a property in Calais from Edward III in 1347. (XI 11). In the second half of the 1340s, Goldbeter received land in Calais from the king. (Murray, 2005, 269).	
Ghent		2	2	1	0	>1346-1348< >1357<	In 1346-1348, John Goldbeter brokered a loan for the English king with three drapers from Ghent. (Murray, 2005, 239-240, 268-269). In 1357, Goldbeter delivered bullion to the comital mint of Flanders in Ghent. (Murray, 2005, 270).	
Antwerp		1	1	1	0	1338	John Goldbeter was in Antwerp in October 1338. (Murray, 2005, 266).	
Dordrecht		1	1	1	0	1337	John Goldbeter exported a small amount of wool from Hull to Dordrecht in 1337. He sold the wool to Flemish merchants, against the royal prohibition to sell to Flemish merchants at that time. (Fryde, 1983a, XI 6-XI 7; Murray, 2005, 265-266).	
Hartlepool		1	1	1	0	>1348<	Two agents of Goldbeter were in Hartlepool on 28 September 1348. (Fryde, 1983a, XI 14). Assignments on the customs at Lynn, Hartlepool, Hull, Boston and Newcastle to Goldbeter and partners ca. 1348 in repayment of loans to the farmers of the English customs. (Fryde, 1983a, XI 26-XI 27). Last record of Goldbeter in England in 1364. (Murray, 2005, 270).	
Leicester		1	1	1	0	1348	In 1348, Goldbeter and company received 2,000 £ in wool at Leicester as repayment for a loan by Walter Chiriton and Company, farmers of the English customs. (Fryde, 1983a, XI 26).	
Nantes		1	1	1	0	>1361<	By 1361, Goldbeter also traded with France. In that year a ship carrying goods worth 20,000 £ belonging to Goldbeter and two associates, was attacked on the way from Nantes to Flanders. (Fryde, 1983a, XI 21). In 1361, Goldbeter was active in trade from Nantes to Bruges. A ship he owned in partnership with an Englishman and a Fleming was captured by pirates on its return voyage in 1361. (Murray, 2005, 269). Large advances to the duchess of Brittany in the Spring of 1366. (Murray, 2005, 270).	
Newcastle upon Tyne		1	1	1	0	>c.1348<	Assignments on the customs at Lynn, Hartlepool, Hull, Boston and Newcastle to Goldbeter and partners ca. 1348 in repayment of loans to the farmers of the English customs. (Fryde, 1983a, XI 26-XI 27).	

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GILBERT MAGHFELD, before 1367 – 1397

Gilbert Maghfeld was an ironmonger and merchant of London during the reign of Richard II. He obtained the favour of Richard II, and became sheriff of London in 1392. (James, 1956, 364-365). In 1367, Maghfeld acted as attorney to Richard Every, another London ironmonger. (364). No details of his early life have been traced. (Veale, 2004). His business probably expanded rapidly during the 1370s. (364). Maghfeld appears to have prospered quickly, in particular as a merchant in wholesale and overseas trade. (Veale, 2004). Maghfeld died in 1397. (365, 365 n. 7). From 1383 onwards, Maghfeld was almost constantly in the service of the king. (365). At the time of his death, his prosperity had declined: his goods and possessions were seized by the king for arrears on the returns of the London customs. (366, 373; Veale, 2004). Decline of Maghfeld's trade after 1392. (371-373; Veale, 2004).

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Source material:

A ledger of Gilbert Maghfeld has been preserved, covering the years 1390-1397 (but especially 1390-1395). A previous ledger for the years 1372-1390 has not been preserved. The ledger contains especially details about the activities of Maghfeld as a wholesale distributor, but relatively little about his overseas trade. (James, 1956, 364, 366; Veale, 2004).

Size: Medium-sized

Around 1390, the assets of Maghfeld must have been around 1,200 to 1,500 £. Probably, his assets were larger in the late 1370s or 1380s. In the 1390s, his business further declined. (James, 1956, 374). By the time of his death, his fortune had decreased to ca. 500 £. (Veale, 2004).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Trade in a wide range of miscellaneous merchandise, with a specialisation in the trade in iron. (James, 1956, 364). Import and distribution of iron, export of grain and cloth. Additional import of wine, beaver, saffron, licorice, and other products of south-western Europe. (366). Moreover, he traded in wax, linen, copper, millstones, ginger, woad, alum, herring, silk, lead, furs, … (James, 1956, 367-

368). Trade in iron, wines and other products with south-west Europe. (Veale, 2004). Import of fish, woad, alum and other raw materials. (Veale, 2004).

- Finance: Use of credit: most of the merchandise of Maghfeld was sold on credit. He also made many purchases on credit. (James, 1956, 368-369; Veale, 2004). Maghfeld's activities as money lender increased from 1392. Especially loans to royal officials and knights and magnates associated with the king. (372-373). Loan to the king in 1396. (373). From 1383, Maghfeld was active on royal business, especially as collector of the customs in Boston, Southampton and London. (Veale, 2004).
- Industry:
- Shipping: In 1395, Maghfeld bought a ship and its gear. (Veale, 2004).

Network of Gilbert Maghfeld:

Gilbert Maghfeld employed a clerk and three valets in his business enterprise. A large part of the business was handled by Maghfeld personally. Affairs overseas were conducted by subordinate merchants. (James, 1956, 365). For overseas ventures, Maghfeld often formed partnerships with other merchants. (370). He concluded an important partnership with Richard Honyman, fellow ironmonger, with whom he made considerable investments in the overseas market. (371). Important trade with south-west Europe. (Veale, 2004).

Table A..1. Network of Gilbert Maghfeld, ca. 1372 – 1397 (especially 1390 – 1395)

City	R	Score				Period	Type of presence	References
London		8	4	3	1	>1372-1397	In 1372, Maghfeld leased an extensive property, containing several shops and a wharf, in London. In 1386 he rented extra property, containing shops and dwellings. Most of this property was located in the parish of St Botulph's Billingsgate. (James, 1956, 364-365). Headquarters located in Maghfeld's house and wharf in London. (365). The most prominent of the overseas agents of Maghfeld was Thomas Craft, citizen and merchant of London. (365). Between 1385 and 1397, Maghfeld was successively royal customer at Southampton, Boston and London. (James, 1956, 365-366). Sales of iron mostly to London merchants (more than 50 %), and to merchants of the home counties and even further afield (Suffolk and Hampshire) (ca. 1/3). (367, 375). The largest sales market for Maghfeld was London. (368). Sales of fish in London and the home counties. (368). Sales of iron especially to Londoners (ca. 61%). In addition also sales of iron to merchants from outside London, especially from Suffolk, Essex, Kent and Hampshire. (James, 1956, 375). Gilbert Maghfeld leased a property with a	

							wharf in St Botolph parish. (Veale, 2004). London was the chief market of Maghfeld. (Veale, 2004). From 1383, Maghfeld was active on royal business, especially as collector of the customs in Boston, Southampton and London. (Veale, 2004).	
Bayonne		4	2	2	1		The chief agent on the spot in Bayonne of Maghfeld was Stephen Angevin, citizen and merchant of Bayonne. (James, 1956, 365). Angevin, agent in Bayonne, and Craft, another overseas agent of Maghfeld, themselves acted closely together. (365 n. 8). Maghfeld imported iron from the Bayonne-Bilbao area rather than from Sweden and the Baltic. (James, 1956, 366). Export of grain and cloth to Bayonne. (366). Stephen Angevin purchased wine in the area of Bayonne for Maghfeld and his partners. (366, 366 n. 7). Import of wine from Bayonne. (367). Export of grain to Bayonne. (368). Grain and cloth shipped to Bayonne. (Veale, 2004). Agents in south-west Europe, who purchased iron, wines and other products. Especially trade with south-west Europe. (Veale, 2004).	
Boston		3	2	2	1	<1385-1397>	Between 1385 and 1397, Maghfeld was successively royal customer at Southampton, Boston and London. (James, 1956, 365-366). Purchase of stockfish from Boston importers, which Maghfeld shipped along the coast from Boston to London. (James, 1956, 368). From 1383, Maghfeld was active on royal business, especially as collector of the customs in Boston, Southampton and London. (Veale, 2004).	
Flanders		3	2	2	1		A certain John Barleborough negotiated on behalf of Maghfeld in Flanders. (James, 1956, 365). Delivery of money by Maghfeld and his partner Richard Honeyman to John Barleborough to pay for merchandise in Flanders. (371).	
Scania		3	2	2	1		Cloth of Maghfeld was exported to Skania, and there exchanged against herring. (James, 1956, 367).	
Brittany		2	2	1	0		Purchase of canvas from travelling Breton merchants visiting London. (James, 1956, 367).	
Essex		2	2	1	0		Sales of iron especially to Londoners (ca. 61%). In addition also sales of iron to merchants from outside London, especially from Suffolk, Essex, Kent and Hampshire. (James, 1956, 375). Sales of iron mostly to London merchants (more than 50 %), and to merchants of the home counties and even further afield (Suffolk and Hampshire) (ca. 1/3). (James, 1956, 367). Sales of fish in London and the home counties. (368).	
Genoa		2	2	1	0		Maghfeld and his associate Richard Honeyman shared in a freight of woad	

							from Genoa. (James, 1956, 371).	
Hadleigh		2	2	1	0	>1390-1395<	Sale of woad to the drapers and dyers of the cloth making regions of Hadleigh, Suffolk and of Salisbury. (James, 1956, 367). Maghfeld had an individual account with John Smith, dyer of Hadleigh, for the purchase of cloth. (369, 369 n. 3). Personal account between Maghfeld and John Kempston of Hadleigh, 1390-1395. (369-370). Sales of iron mostly to London merchants (more than 50 %), and to merchants of the home counties and even further afield (Suffolk and Hampshire) (ca. 1/3). (367). Sales of iron especially to Londoners (ca. 61%). In addition also sales of iron to merchants from outside London, especially from Suffolk, Essex, Kent and Hampshire. (James, 1956, 375). Contacts as far away as Suffolk and Hampshire. (Veale, 2004).	
Hampshire		2	2	1	0		Sales of iron mostly to London merchants (more than 50 %), and to merchants of the home counties and even further afield (Suffolk and Hampshire) (ca. 1/3). (James, 1956, 367). Sales of iron especially to Londoners (ca. 61%). In addition also sales of iron to merchants from outside London, especially from Suffolk, Essex, Kent and Hampshire. (James, 1956, 375). Contacts as far away as Suffolk and Hampshire. (Veale, 2004).	
Kent		2	2	1	0		Sales of iron especially to Londoners (ca. 61%). In addition also sales of iron to merchants from outside London, especially from Suffolk, Essex, Kent and Hampshire. (James, 1956, 375). Sales of iron mostly to London merchants (more than 50 %), and to merchants of the home counties and even further afield (Suffolk and Hampshire) (ca. 1/3). (James, 1956, 367). Sales of fish in London and the home counties. (368). He obtained valuable manors in Kent. (Veale, 2004).	
La Rochelle		2	2	1	0		Travelling La Rochelle merchants were hosted with Maghfeld year by year. From them he purchased wine of La Rochelle. (James, 1956, 367). Special account for his business with John Tentenard of La Rochelle. (369 n. 4).	
Salisbury		2	2	1	0	>c.1380<, >c.1391<	Nicholas Taylor of Salisbury was a business associate of Maghfeld ca. 1380. (James, 1956, 366). Sale of woad to the drapers and dyers of the cloth making regions of Hadleigh, Suffolk and of Salisbury. (James, 1956, 367). Maghfeld had an individual account with Henry Cays, dyer of Salisbury, for the purchase of cloth (ca. 1391). (369, 369 n. 3).	
Sandwich		2	2	1	0		In partnership with John Hill, a fishmonger of London, Maghfeld shipped	

							imports of herring down from Scarborough to Sandwich. (James, 1956, 367).	
Scarborough		2	2	1	0		In partnership with John Hill, a fishmonger of London, Maghfeld shipped imports of herring down from Scarborough to Sandwich. (James, 1956, 367).	
Bilbao		1	1	1	0		Maghfeld imported iron from the Bayonne-Bilbao area rather than from Sweden and the Baltic. (James, 1956, 366).	
Bristol		1	1	1	0		One sale of woad to a merchant of Bristol. (James, 1956, 367).	
Southampton		1	1	1	0	<1385-1397>	Between 1385 and 1397, Maghfeld was successively royal customer at Southampton, Boston and London. (James, 1956, 365-366). From 1383, Maghfeld was active on royal business, especially as collector of the customs in Boston, Southampton and London. (Veale, 2004).	

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THOMAS MYDDELTON, ca. 1582 – 1631

Thomas Myddelton came from a Welsh family. (Dodd, 1961, 250). In 1575 Thomas became an apprentice of Ferdinando Poyntz, a London grocer who traded with the Low Countries. He finished his apprenticeship by 1582. (Dodd, 1961, 250-251). Ca. 1578-1582, Thomas Myddelton was factor of the London grocer Poyntz in Vlissingen. (Dodd, 1961, 250-251). Probably ca. 1585-86, Myddelton established his own sugarhouse in Mincing Lane in London, in partnership with Nicolas Farrar and Erasmus Harby. On Harby's death in 1593, Edmund Walden, brother-in-law of Thomas Myddelton, became a new partner. Ca. 1596, Myddelton left the company and was replaced by his younger brother Robert. (Dodd, 1961, 251-252). Thomas' father-in-law was governor of the Merchant Adventurers by 1588. (254). Thomas Myddelton died as a merchant and financier. He does not appear to have had political ambitions, although he carried out several civic offices in London. (266). After the death of Elizabeth I, Myddelton became knight and lord mayor of London. He died in or shortly after 1630. (280-281). Born ca. 1549/56, died in 1631. He was a son of Richard Myddelton (died ca. 1578). (Welch & Dickie, 2004). Myddelton was admitted to the London Grocers Company in 1582. (Welch & Dickie, 2004). Many-sided career, first as a merchant and manufacturer, then as a surveyor of the customs, an investor in privateering voyages, a financier, and finally as a landowner in Denbigshire and Essex. (Welch & Dickie, 2004). Rapid expansion of Myddelton's wealth and political influence ca. 1590s. Elected lord-mayor of London in 1613. (Welch & Dickie, 2004).

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Source material:

A ledger of Thomas Myddelton has been preserved, with entries starting in 1583 until the end of the reign of Elizabeth I. The ledger contains both receipts and expenditures (even household expenses). It contains 1772 entries. More detailed ledgers of his business (with one exception) have not been preserved. (Dodd, 1961, 251). A detailed ledger kept by Myddelton as treasurer of an expedition to the West Indies in 1592 has been preserved as well. (257). Not much is known about the activities of Myddelton after the reign of Elisabeth I, for which period no ledger has been preserved. (281).

Size: Medium-sized or large

Main activities:

- Commerce: In 1582-83, Thomas Myddelton almost exclusively traded in sugar, with some small trade in jewels in addition. (Dodd, 1961, 251). Myddelton and his company exported kerseys and fustians to Stade, and exchanged them for Italian wares. (252). Also trade in flax, dyestuffs (cochineal and brazilwood), etc. (253). He became also involved in the trade in haberdashery. (254). Myddelton sold many wares that were caught by acts of privateering, such as sugar, pepper, dried fish, train oil, iron, silks, hides, wax, etc. (255-257). Export of sayes, linen and German copper to Spain. (260). From the mid 1590s, Myddelton became increasingly active in finance, at the expense of commercial activities. (261). Sugar trade. (Welch & Dickie, 2004). Export of kerseys, import of Italian mercery wares, flax, dyestuffs and brazilwood. Also export of fish. (Welch & Dickie, 2004). Sale of iron seized by Ralegh from ships in the Bay of Biscay. Part of a syndicate which bought pepper from Queen Elisabeth. (Welch & Dickie, 2004).
- Finance: Use of barter and promissory notes or bills as means of payment. Less use of cash. (Dodd, 1961, 252-253). Myddelton became a collector of the customs by 1587. (254). Myddelton invested in several reprisal expeditions against Spain. He seems to have acted as treasurer of the expedition to the Azores in 1591. (256). From the mid 1590s, Myddelton became increasingly active in finance, at the expense of commercial activities. (261). Several loans to family members, business friends and public figures (often from puritan circles) from ca. 1585. His biggest advances were to courtiers and officials. (261-262). Several loans were advanced on the security of jewels and other pawns. (262-263). Money was invested by others in Myddelton's business. Myddelton sometimes was debtor, sometimes creditor to the government. (264). Large investments in estates in Wales. (266-274). Increasing priority to financial activities and investments in land when Myddelton's political connections became stronger. (Welch & Dickie, 2004). Appointed as collector of the customs in 1587. (Welch & Dickie, 2004). After 1593, substantial loans to government officials and the landed elites. (Welch & Dickie, 2004).
- Industry: From 1596, Myddelton was involved in mining activities. However, the mining venture failed and appears to have been dissolved in 1603. (Dodd, 1961, 260). Manufacturing enterprises in England and Wales, developed between 1583 and 1588. (Welch & Dickie, 2004). Sugar refinery in Mincing Lane, London, operated with two partners. He invested in and directed the manufacture of copper in Neath in Wales and the processing of calamine in Lambeth. (Welch & Dickie, 2004).
- Shipping: From 1590, the company of Myddelton and his partners owned a ship for the trade with Stade, the Hare. (Dodd, 1961, 252). Investment in several buccaneering ships ca. 1588-1596, and again in 1602. (254-256, 258-259). Purchases of shares in numerous privateering voyages directed against Spain and her colonial possessions. (Welch & Dickie, 2004).

Network of Thomas Myddelton:

Thomas Myddelton employed several members of staff in his business. (Dodd, 1961, 265). Several members of the Myddelton family and of the family of his previous employer Poyntz were employed by Thomas Myddelton. (280).

Table A..1. Network of Thomas Myddelton, 1585/86 – ca. 1603								
City	**R**	**Score**				**Period**	**Type of presence**	**References**
London		8	4	3	1	c.1585-c.1630	Thomas Myddelton became apprentice of a London grocer from before 1578 until 1582. By 1582, he was trading in Antwerp for a London firm. (Dodd, 1961, 250-251). By 1585, Myddelton was back in London. (Dodd, 1961, 251). Probably ca. 1585-86, Myddelton established his own sugarhouse in Mincing Lane in London, in partnership with Nicolas Farrar and Erasmus Harby. (Dodd, 1961, 251-252). William Stone, the London agent of the Stade trade of Myddelton, became a partner of Myddelton in the Stade company. (252). A customer of Myddelton was Gerard de Malynes, a native of Antwerp, but English by extraction and adoption. He also became a commissionary of Myddelton for trade with the Low Countries (perhaps since 1585). (253). Thomas Myddelton carried out many ventures in partnership with Richard Saltonstall, his father-in-law, and a merchant of London. (253). Another business associate in London was Robert Tailor, stepfather of Thomas' second wife. (253). By the mid 1590s, Myddelton increasingly became a sleeping partner in the London sugarhouse. (261). In 1595, Thomas Myddelton moved to a new house in Tower Street. He rarely left this house for long, except on business journeys to the country. Mincing Lane remained his chief business address, but his visits there grew rarer as he became more involved in finance than commerce. (265). Manager of the sugarhouse from 1593 was Robert Bateman, agent and partner of Thomas Myddelton in many deals. (269). Sugar refinery in Mincing Lane, London, operated with two partners. (Welch & Dickie, 2004).	
Caen		6	3	2	1	1591-1594	A French depôt for continental sales, presumably of cloth, was opened in Caen for three years between 1591 and 1594. His associates or agents in Caen were his brothers Robert and Peter and his brother-in-law Edmund Walden. (Dodd, 1961, 260). Export of broadcloth and kerseys to Caen. (Welch & Dickie, 2004).	
Stade		6	3	2	1	>1588-1600<	In 1588, the company opened a depôt at Stade. This opened a wide range of trade in Germany and beyond. Agent of Myddelton at Stade for seven years was Thomas Pettyt. Although apparently still an apprentice, he carried out large business transactions for Myddelton, and had to make important	

							decisions. After the end of his apprenticeship and after the death of Erasmus Harby in 1593, Thomas Pettyt (and for a time also his brother) became a partner in a Stade partnership with Thomas Myddelton, and with William Stone, agent in London. The partnership lasted for seven years, until it was dissolved by Myddelton. From 1590, the company owned a ship, the Hare, for the trade with Stade. (Dodd, 1961, 252). Investment of Myddelton in the Roselyon in 1594, which was first used for trading to Stade, but then turned to privateering. (258). In the middle of the 1590s, Thomas Myddelton increasingly became a sleeping partner in the Stade partnership. (261). In 1588, Thomas Myddelton established a depot in Stade, evidence of his long-standing commerce through this harbour. (Welch & Dickie, 2004). The company of Myddelton imported Italian wares from Stade. (Dodd, 1961, 252).	
Middelburg		5	3	2	1	1585-1597<	Between 1585 and 1591, and occasionally later, Middelburg was used as a depôt by the company, and from time to time resident agents were kept there, e.g. Robert Myddelton, brother of Thomas; John Ducket, stepson of Thomas. (Dodd, 1961, 252). Ca. 1589, Myddelton and his partners obtained the cargo of a Spanish ship, which they sold in Middelburg. (255). Ca. 1590, Myddelton was associated with Daniel Poyntz in shipping sayes and linen produced in the Low Countries from Hamburg to Spain, where they were exchanged for Andalusian oil. This trade was resumed in 1595-97, this time in partnership with Edmund Walden, his brother-in-law, and with Middelburg as depôt. (Dodd, 1961, 260). Robert, younger brother of Thomas, was his commission agent in Middelburg. (Welch & Dickie, 2004).	
Antwerp		3	2	2	1	1582-1586	In 1582, Thomas Myddelton was trading in sugar in Antwerp as a member of a London firm. He stayed in Antwerp until August 1583. In 1585, Myddelton returned for a short visit to Antwerp. He maintained business with the sugarbakers of Antwerp until 1586. (Dodd, 1961, 251). A customer of Myddelton was Gerard de Malynes, a native of Antwerp, but English by extraction and adoption. He also became a commissionary of Myddelton for trade with the Low Countries (perhaps since 1585). (253). In 1575-1582, Thomas Myddelton was an apprentice of the London grocer Fernandino Poyntz, whom he served in the sugar trade in Vlissingen and Antwerp. (Welch & Dickie, 2004).	
Denbigh		3	2	2	1	>1588-1595<	The company of Myddelton imported Italian wares from Stade. These were	

							sold to retailers not only in London, but as far north as Edinburgh and as far west as Bristol, as well as to places as Ruthin and Denbigh, in Myddelton's home county in Wales. (Dodd, 1961, 252). Supplies raised in Denbigshire by Myddelton to supply the army in Ireland in 1595. (Dodd, 1961, 259). Loans to townsmen of Denbigh (from 1588). (262, 268, 273). Thomas Myddelton made travels from London to Wales, Lincolnshire, and the ports. (265). Thomas Myddelton inherited and purchased properties in and around Denbigh. (266-270). After a while, Myddelton lent money to a substantial part of the landowners of North Wales.(269). From 1595, Foulk, brother of Thomas Myddelton, became his agent in Denbigh for the recovery of the Welsh debts. (269). Dealings with the craftsmen and retail traders of Denbighshire and Pembrokeshire. (275). Acquisition of land in Denbigshire by purchase and through defaults on loans. (Welch & Dickie, 2004).	
East Indies		3	2	2	1	from 1599	Investment by Thomas Myddelton in the East India company when it was established in 1600. (Dodd, 1961, 264). Investment in the first trading voyage to Asia in 1599. Founding member of the East India company in 1600. Also investment in the second voyage of the East India Company, headed by his kinsman Henry Middleton. (Welch & Dickie, 2004).	
Plymouth		3	2	2	1	>c.1588-1598	From ca. 1588, Thomas Myddelton had a long and lucrative business connection with Sir John Hawkins, the treasurer of the Queen at Plymouth. (Dodd, 1961, 255). Myddelton was active in the export of fish from Plymouth, in association with eight partners, including his brother Peter and his brother-in-law Weych, as well as Nicolas Farrar. For a while two ships were employed in this trade. This business was not profitable however, and was dissolved. Later, in 1597-98, the fish trade from Plymouth was taken up again for a short period, now in association with Weych and Poynts. (260, 260 n. 4). Export of fish from Plymouth to the Mediterranean. (Welch & Dickie, 2004).	
Spain		3	2	2	1	>c.1590-1597<	Apparently, Myddelton invested in several buccaneering expeditions against Spain ca. 1588-96, which brought him large profits. (Dodd, 1961, 254-256). Ca. 1590, Myddelton was associated with Daniel Poyntz in shipping sayes and linen produced in the Low Countries from Hamburg to Spain, where they were exchanged for Andalusian oil. This trade was resumed in 1595-97, this time in partnership with Edmund Walden, his brother-in-law, and with Middelburg as depot. (Dodd, 1961, 260). Export of fish from Plymouth	

							to the Mediterranean. (Welch & Dickie, 2004). Purchases of shares in numerous privateering voyages directed against Spain and her colonial possessions. (Welch & Dickie, 2004). Sale of iron seized by Ralegh from ships in the Bay of Biscay. (Welch & Dickie, 2004).	
Wales		3	2	2	1	>1597-1601<	In relation to his increasing loans and properties in Wales, Myddelton established agents in Chirkland from at least 1597. (Dodd, 1961, 269, 272-273). In relation to his increasing loans and properties in Wales, Myddelton established agents in Montgomeryshire by 1601. (Dodd, 1961, 269, 272). Dealings with the craftsmen and retail traders of Denbighshire and Pembrokeshire. (275).	
Weymouth		3	2	2	1	>c.1588-1593<	Ca. 1588, Robert Myddelton, brother of Thomas, was established at Weymouth. In the same period, Thomas acted on behalf of the master of a vessel at Weymouth. (Dodd, 1961, 255). In 1593, Myddelton invested in the equipment of several ships in Weymouth. (257-258).	
Antilles		2	2	1	0	>1591-1602<	Thomas Myddelton had a share in the *Dainty*, which sailed to the Indies ca. 1591. It brought in valuable booty. (Dodd, 1961, 256). In 1592, Myddelton was treasurer to a West Indian expedition commanded by Frobisher. (257, 276). In 1602, Myddelton invested in two privateering voyages of the *Vineyard* to the West Indies. This was a very profitable investment. (259). Purchases of shares in numerous privateering voyages directed against Spain and her colonial possessions. (Welch & Dickie, 2004). Myddelton was treasurer of a syndicate that financed the expedition of Martin Frobisher and Sir Walter Ralegh to the West Indies in 1592. (Welch & Dickie, 2004).	
Azores		2	2	1	0	>1591-1595<	Thomas Myddelton appears to have acted as treasurer of a privateering expedition to the Azores in 1591. (Dodd, 1961, 256). In 1594-95, Myddelton was treasurer of the Azores expedition led by Drake and Hawkins. (258). Myddelton was treasurer of an expedition of Hawkins and Sir Francis Drake to the Azores in 1594. (Welch & Dickie, 2004).	
Bristol		2	2	1	0		The company of Myddelton imported Italian wares from Stade. These were sold to retailers not only in London, but as far north as Edinburgh and as far west as Bristol, as well as to places as Ruthin and Denbigh, in Myddelton's home county in Wales. (Dodd, 1961, 252).	
Edinburgh		2	2	1	0		The company of Myddelton imported Italian wares from Stade. These were sold to retailers not only in London, but as far north as Edinburgh and as far west as Bristol, as well as to places as Ruthin and Denbigh, in Myddelton's	

							home county in Wales. (Dodd, 1961, 252).	
Ghent		2	2	1	0	from 1570s/80s	William Myddelton, older brother of Thomas, established himself as a merchant in Ghent in the 1570s or 1580s, where he stayed for the rest of his life. (Dodd, 1961, 250). Thomas maintained family relations with his catholic brother William in Ghent. (279-280; Welch & Dickie, 2004).	
Hamburg		2	2	1	0	>c.1590<	Ca. 1590, Myddelton was associated with Daniel Poyntz in shipping sayes and linen produced in the Low Countries from Hamburg to Spain, where they were exchanged for Andalusian oil. (Dodd, 1961, 260).	
Lambeth	M	2	2	1	0	1597-1598	Ca. 1597-98, Myddelton embarked on calamine production at Lambeth. (Dodd, 1961, 260). He invested in and directed the manufacture of copper in Neath in Wales and the processing of calamine in Lambeth. (Welch & Dickie, 2004).	
Neath	M	2	2	1	0	1596-1603	In 1596, Myddelton shipped copper ore to be smelted at Neath. This led to his acquisition of a fifth share in the copper works of Neath. He also leased the Cadoxton copper mines near Neath from the Crown. (Dodd, 1961, 260, 275). However, the mining venture failed and appears to have been dissolved in 1603. (Dodd, 1961, 260). He invested in and directed the manufacture of copper in Neath in Wales and the processing of calamine in Lambeth. (Welch & Dickie, 2004).	
Ruthin		2	2	1	0		The company of Myddelton imported Italian wares from Stade. These were sold to retailers not only in London, but as far north as Edinburgh and as far west as Bristol, as well as to places as Ruthin and Denbigh, in Myddelton's home county in Wales. (Dodd, 1961, 252).	
Vlissingen		2	2	1	0	1575-1582	In 1575-1582, Thomas Myddelton was an apprentice of the London grocer Fernandino Poyntz, whom he served in the sugar trade in Vlissingen and Antwerp. (Welch & Dickie, 2004). Ca. 1578-1582, Thomas Myddelton was factor of the London grocer Poyntz in Vlissingen. (Dodd, 1961, 250-251).	
Boston		1	1	1	0	from 1590	In 1590, Thomas Myddelton became active in farming. He leased farmland at Long Sutton in Lincolnshire. He installed one of his relatives living in Boston as bailiff over the estate. This however was only a very minor activity of Myddelton. (Dodd, 1961, 260-261).	
Dartmouth		1	1	1	0		The *Madre de Dios*, an East Indian carrack that was captured by the English, was brought to Dartmouth. Myddelton was sent to Dartmouth as an assistant to safeguard and assess the cargo. (Dodd, 1961, 257).	
Haverfordwest		1	1	1	0		Connections with Haverfordwest in South Wales. Robert Bateman, an agent	

							and partner of Myddelton, originally came from Haverfordwest. (Dodd, 1961, 269). William, nephew of Robert Bateman, was a London merchant with whom Thomas Myddelton and his partners sometimes did business. William retained a strong connection with Haverfordwest. Thomas' sister Alice married two successive husbands from Haverfordwest. The most important South-Wales client of Myddelton was John Philipps of Picton. (269).	
Ireland		1	1	1	0	1595	Myddelton contracted to supply the army in Ireland in 1595. (Dodd, 1961, 259, 276).	
Long Sutton		1	1	1	0	from 1590	In 1590, Thomas Myddelton became active in farming. He leased farmland at Long Sutton in Lincolnshire. He installed one of his relatives living in Boston as bailiff over the estate. This however was only a very minor activity of Myddelton. (Dodd, 1961, 260-261). Thomas Myddelton made travels from London to Wales, Lincolnshire, and the ports. (265).	
North America		1	1	1	0	1609	In 1609, Myddelton supported the first attempts to colonise North America by buying a share in the Virginia Company. (Welch & Dickie, 2004).	

+ It is not very clear what Dodd (1961) means with "depot" (in Caen, Middelburg, Stade). I have interpreted this as "branch".

WILLIAM DE LA POLE, ca. 1317 – after 1354

William de la Pole was a merchant of Hull. Nothing is known about the beginning of his career. His main partner was his elder brother Richard. (Fryde, 1988, 1). William de la Pole was the first English financier to rival in importance the Italian bankers of the English kings. (Fryde, 1988, 2). Michael, eldest son of William de la Pole, embarked on a very successful political career. (Fryde, 1983b, IX 4; Id., 1988, 2). Thanks to William de la Pole and a number of his associates, the English wool exporters were organised into a Wool Company in 1337, to finance the war against France. This company collapsed very soon (early 1338). (Fryde, 1983b, IX 5-IX 6; Id., 1988, 3, 82). After he lent large amounts of money to Edward III in 1338 and 1339, he fell into disgrace with Edward III, and spent more than two years in prison between 1340 and 1342, being charged for the failure of the English wool company. (Fryde, 1988, 3-4, 55). In 1343-45, de la Pole established a company to exploit the farm of the English wool customs, but he withdrew from this in 1345. (Fryde, 1988, 6). In 1353, a trial was started against William de la Pole to force him to abandon all his claims on the English crown. (Fryde, 1988, 7). Before 1331, William de la Pole often acted together with his brother Richard. Their partnership was dissolved in 1331, probably as a result of some frictions between both. By that time, they had been trading together for a long time. A third brother, John, occasionally cooperated with William and Richard. (Fryde, 1988, 9, 21). It is not known what was the occupation of the father of William de la Pole. Perhaps he was a Yorkshire merchant. (Fryde, 1988, 9). By 1317 the latest, William and Richard de la Pole acted together. In that year, they were appointed as the deputies of the king's chief butler and they were entrusted with the purchasing of wine in Hull. From 1321 until 1327 Richard was one of the collectors of the customs at Hull. In 1321-1324, William and Richard were responsible for the town finances of Hull. (Fryde, 1988, 11, 13-14). Richard was probably born ca. 1290 or even earlier. William was probably slightly younger than Richard. (Fryde, 1988, 11-12). In 1316, Richard obtained a royal safe-conducted to import grain and foodstuffs from overseas to England. (Fryde, 1988, 12). In 1332, 1333 and 1335 William de la Pole was mayor of Hull. (17, 38). William de la Pole invested large amounts in urban property and country estates. (28). In 1343 Henry Tideswell of Stamford, a very important wool merchant, became William de la Pole's principal deputy in the English Company for the farm of the customs. (30-32). Between 1336 and 1340, and again for a few years after 1343, William de la Pole was the leading personality among English merchants who followed him into several major enterprises. (31). William de la Pole was the founder and principal associate in the English Company farming the customs at the main English harbours between 1343 and 1345. (32). An English wool company was set up in 1337 by a representative group of the leading English wool merchants (especially northerners: merchants from Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire), headed by William de la Pole. This company obtained a monopoly on the export of wool to the Low Countries. (57-58, 62-63). In April 1343 William de la Pole launched the English Company, entrusted with the customs. This resulted in a partial recovery of Pole as one of the richest English merchants. (180). After 1345 Pole withdrew from large-scale business and royal banking. He remained active in the export of wool and privately advanced loans to the king, but the latter were only limited in size. A new set of lawsuits was started against him in 1353-54. (199-200). After 1345 Pole appears to have withdrawn from large-scale business. (212). In 1354, William de la Pole was still involved in (illegal) wool export. (227). Pole died in 1366. (229).

Merchant family of Hull. Deserted their enterprise for the earldom of Suffolk (Hunt & Murray, 1999, 53). William de la Pole acquired privileged status (Hunt & Murray, 1999, 79). William de la Pole was a wool and textile merchant on a very large scale. Led a powerful consortium of English merchants, rather than manage a complex organization under his own control (Hunt & Murray, 1999, 102). Lent huge sums of money to Edward III for the war with France, raised for the king by mobilizing the surplus funds of many smaller English merchant concerns (Hunt, 1994, 197).

Monopoly company for export of wool to the Low Countries, established by Edward III in July 1337: a group of leading English wool merchants. Had to grant the king a loan of 200 000 £ out of the sale of 30 000 sacks of wool over which it had been awarded monopoly control (Hunt, 1994, 191). Collapse early 1338 after the conference at Geertruidenberg in December 1337 (Hunt, 1994, 198 n. 53).

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Source material:

Most of the business records of William de la Pole have not been preserved. However, some documents about successive trials of de la Pole in the court of the Exchequer are still extant. As a result, our knowledge about the career of William de la Pole is largely limited to his relations with the English royal government. (Fryde, 1988, ix).

Size: Large

William de la Pole was one of the most influential businessmen in England during the first half of the reign of Edward III. (Fryde, 1983b, IX 3-IX 4; Id., 1988, 1). In 1338-39, Edward III had a debt of at least 111,000 £ to William de la Pole. (Fryde, 1988, 2). In 1331, the total fortune of William and Richard de la Pole together amounted to over 11,200 £. (Fryde, 1988, 22). William de la Pole was by far the highest taxed citizen of Hull in 1332. (38). In 1337 William de la Pole shipped 350 sacks of wool abroad as part of the scheme of the English wool company. This was the third largest consignment sent abroad by any English merchant in that period. (54-55; Fryde, 1983b, IX 9). In 1338-1339, Pole advanced almost as much money to the English king as the Bardi and Peruzzi, and much more than the rest of the English business community. (122).

Main activities:

- Commerce: Trade in wine in 1317. (Fryde, 1988, 11, 14). Trade in grain and foodstuffs in 1316. (12). Trade in wool and lead in 1322. (13-14). Increase in the wool exports of the de la Pole, especially William, from ca. 1321. (14). Supply of grain, flour, hay, salt and wine to the English armies in Scotland in 1333-1337. (25, 45). The wool trade is the best documented part of the commercial activities of William de la Pole. (26). William de la Pole was an experienced wine trader. (44). Supply of lead and Spanish iron for the repair of siege engines. (45). After 1345, Pole continued to be active in the wool trade. (200). Pole traded in all the important commodities available in England: metals, corn, wine, salt, wax, and especially wool. (Fryde, 1983b, IX 6, IX 8). Wool trade. (Murray, 2005, 238).
- Finance: William de la Pole was an important banker of the English Crown (Murray, 2005, 238-239). He provided loans to the English king from 1327-28, and especially in 1338-39. (Fryde, 1988, 2). In 1338-39, William de la Pole lent very large sums to the English king. In 1343-45, William de la Pole was among the first English merchants to farm the English customs, a scheme that was developed by Pole himself. (Fryde, 1988, 3). First known loans of William de la Pole to the English king took place in 1325. (15). In 1327, Richard de la Pole was made chief butler of Edward III. (16). William de la Pole became a regular lender to the crown in 1327-1329. (17-20). William and Richard de la Pole were involved in money-lending activities to various people. (22). Most of the sums William de la Pole advanced to the king, were borrowed by de la Pole himself from various creditors. (30). Pole lent money to the king and others, supplied foreign coinages to the government. (Fryde, 1983b, IX 6). Credit trade between England, Bruges and Brabant. (Murray, 2005, 238). William de la Pole contracted loans at the Bruges money market. (Murray, 2005, 241).
- Industry:
- Shipping: Ship-owning. William de la Pole owned two ships, which were quite large. He owned “La Blome” of Hull since 1334 the latest. He also owned a merchant galley. Both ships were sequestrated by Edward III in 1340. (Fryde, 1983b, IX 6; Id., 1988, 28).

Network of William de la Pole:

Wool was purchased for William de la Pole by five agents in 1336 (among whom Richard Sletholm), who received a commission of 3s. 4d. for each sack bought by them. (Fryde, 1988, 26-27).

Table A..1. Network of William de la Pole, ca. 1317 – ca. 1347 (esp. 1336 – 1345)								
City	**R**	**Score**				**Period**	**Type of presence**	**References**
Kingston-upon-Hull		8	4	3	1	>1317-1347<	Headquarters. (Fryde, 1988, 1, 39). William and Richard de la Pole had a strong position in Hull. (15). After 1330, Hull remained the principal base of William de la Pole. (21). De la Pole apparently did not own any warehouses for the storage of wool himself. He rented warehouses in Hull. (27; Fryde, 1983b, IX 10). Most of the creditors of William de la Pole were probably merchants from Hull and from northern England in general. (30). William de la Pole obtained urban properties at Hull and London, as well as various estates in the countryside, largely as a by-product of his money lending activities. (33). In 1333, Pole freighted six ships for supplying the army at the siege of Berwick. Five of these ships came from Hull, the sixth was from Yarmouth. (45). The English wool company of 1337 was headed by William de la Pole of Hull and Reginald Conduit of London. Pole was main effective leader of the company. (55). The wool of the English wool company of 1337 was shipped from the harbours of London, Boston, Hull, Newcastle, and Sandwich. (Fryde, 1988, 73). Robert Denton, long-time agent of William de la Pole, was controller of the customs in Hull in 1337. Denton was also a creditor of Pole. (81, 92). In March 1338, Pole regained control over the customs at the northern harbours from Newcastle to Boston. The royal receipts from the customs at Newcastle, Hartlepool, Hull and Boston were formally assigned to him. (91, 93, 99). In 1338, Robert Denton was one of Pole's two attorneys in Hull and Boston. Denton had been closely connected with the de la Pole's since the late 1320s at least. He was controller of the customs at Hull between 1334 and 1341. (100). In 1339, Pole exported royal wool in a series of shipments from Newcastle, Hull, Boston, Lynn and Yarmouth. (106). In 1347, Hull was still the main centre of Pole's interests. (206). Shipment of wool from Hull and Boston in 1337. (Fryde, 1983b, IX 10).	Murray, 2005, 238
Antwerp		4	2	2	1	>1336-1340<	Sometime before 1338, the merchant galley of William de la Pole had brought royal wool to Antwerp. (Fryde, 1988, 28). In 1336 de la Pole was granted letters patent for secret loans to the king disbursed at Antwerp and	Murray, 2005, 238-239

							elsewhere in Brabant. (47, 50-51). In 1338 William de la Pole went to Antwerp in the company of the king. (87, 94). In 1338 Pole became the first mayor of the English wool staple in Antwerp. (98, 120). Sales of royal wool by Pole in Antwerp and Bruges in 1338-1340. (103, 108). William de la Pole was in the Low Countries in the following of king Edward III in 1338-1339. There are repeated mentions of him at Antwerp and Brussels. (119-120). Payments for the king at Antwerp and elsewhere in Brabant. (131). In 1339-40, Pole sold wool in Antwerp and Bruges. (Fryde, 1983b, IX 11-IX 12). Sale of Lincolnshire wool in Bruges and Antwerp in 1339-40 by William de la Pole. (Fryde, 1983b, IX 30-IX 31). Pole maintained several agents in the Netherlands. (119). In 1338 Pole did not have a long-established business branch in the Low Countries yet. (123). Pole made a number of payments to the king in the Low Countries through his attorneys in 1340. Among these attorneys were John Bole, Hugh Ulseby and Robert Denton. (154-155). William de la Pole was financing Edward III in Brabant in 1338-1339. (Fryde, 1988, 29). William de la Pole had special interests in Brabant. (31). De la Pole carefully monitored the fluctuations in wool prices between Antwerp and Bruges in order to improve his profits. (Murray, 2005, 239, 239 n. 106).	
Bruges		4	2	2	1	>1338-1345<	In 1339-1340, William de la Pole hired eight houses in Bruges for 65 weeks for storing and selling in Flanders 2,409 sacks of wool assigned to him by Edward III. (Fryde, 1983b, IX 11; Id., 1988, 28, 103 n. 75). Apparently, William de la Pole had a special relationship with a group of Hanseatic merchants led by men of Dortmund, who were active in Bruges and England between 1338 and the 1350s. A considerable proportion of the loans advanced by the Hanseats to Edward III in 1338-1340 was handled by William de la Pole. Later on De la Pole was befriend with Tidemann Lemberg, who gradually became the most important of these hanseatic creditors of the English king. Pole bought property from Lemberg and more than once acted as his surety. (31). Sales of royal wool by Pole in Antwerp and Bruges in 1338-1340. (103, 108). In March 1339, William de la Pole was in Bruges, perhaps in order to arrange the sales of the royal wool entrusted to him. He had maintained three agents at Bruges since the beginning of February 1339. The agents were still there in December 1339. (107-108). In 1338-1339, William de la Pole may have been at Bruges on	Murray, 2005, 238-239

							various occasions. (119-120). In 1340, Pole supplied the royal agent in Bruges with grain. He also exported wool to the staple in Bruges in that year. His attorney for these transactions in Bruges was Richard Sletholm. (142, 155, 163). In 1340, a loan of 3,000 £ was advanced to the royal agent in Bruges by Robert Denton and Hugh Ulseby on behalf of William de la Pole. (164). Hugh Ulseby was Pole's attorney in Flanders in 1340, and mayor of the staple at Bruges. (186-187). Thomas Melchebourn, one of the partners of Pole in the wool company of 1343-1345, was at the same time mayor of the staple in Bruges. (191). In 1339-40, Pole sold wool in Antwerp and Bruges. (Fryde, 1983b, IX 11-IX 12). In 1339-40 Pole originally had three agents in Bruges, later two. In 1338-39, Pole made repeated visits to Bruges. (Fryde, 1983b, IX 11). Sale of Lincolnshire, Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire wool in Bruges in 1339-40 by William de la Pole. (Fryde, 1983b, IX 30-IX 31). Hugh Ulseby was attorney of William de la Pole in the Low Countries. (30). Pole maintained several agents in the Netherlands. (119). In 1338 Pole did not have a long-established business branch in the Low Countries yet. (123). Pole made a number of payments to the king in the Low Countries through his attorneys in 1340. Among these attorneys were John Bole, Hugh Ulseby and Robert Denton. (154-155). William de la Pole rented warehouse space in Bruges to store his wool, and maintained three agents there. De la Pole carefully monitored the fluctuations in wool prices between Antwerp and Bruges in order to improve his profits. (Murray, 2005, 239, 264, 239 n. 106). Occasional visits of William de la Pole to Bruges, e.g. in 1339. (Murray, 2005, 239, 239 n. 108).	
London		4	2	2	1	>1333-1346<	After 1330, when he split up with his brother William, Richard de la Pole resided mainly in London. He was alderman of Bishopsgate between 1330 and 1340. In his will of 1345 he calls himself a citizen of London. (Fryde, 1988, 21). Some of the creditors of William de la Pole probably were merchants from London. In August 1340, Sir John Pulteney, a leading London financier, was repaying some of Pole's debts. Later, Pulteney continued to have dealings with de la Pole. He was one of the larger creditors of the English Company headed by William de la Pole in 1343-45. (30). William de la Pole obtained urban properties at Hull and London, as well as various estates in the countryside, largely as a by-product of his money lending activities. (33). In 1335, William de la Pole advanced a loan	

							of 4,000 £ for maintaining the royal household. Some of the payments were made in London, where William's brother John acted as his deputy. (46). The English wool company of 1337 was headed by William de la Pole of Hull and Reginald Conduit of London. Conduit represented the important group of Londoners in the English wool company. (55). The wool of the English wool company of 1337 was shipped from the harbours of London, Boston, Hull, Newcastle, and Sandwich. (Fryde, 1988, 73, 81). In 1339, Pole obtained control of the customs at all the English ports, including London. (99-100). For his business, William de la Pole needed a base in London. By October 1333 at the latest, he had a house in Lombard Street. (113-115, 157). Close connections between William de la Pole and Sir John Pulteney, an influential London financier, e.g. connections in 1340. (153-154, 157). Walter Chiriton, merchant of London, was one of Pole's associates in the English company formed in 1343. Later he developed in a rival and enemy of Pole. (156). William de la Pole's principal active partners in 1344-1345 in the English Wool company overseeing and later farming the customs were Henry Tideswell of Stamford, who had been a business friend of Pole before, Roger Wolesthorp of Grantham, Thomas and William Melchebourn, large merchants of Lynn, Walter Prest of Melton Mowbray and Walter Chiriton of London. (Fryde, 1988, 156, 183, 187-190). In 1344, the English Company combined with Henry Picard of London and with Matthew Cavaceon, an Italian from Asti, but based in Mechelen. (Fryde, 1988, 192). 59 % of the debts of the English Company of 1343-45 were due to Londoners. One of the most prominent creditors was Sir John Pulteney. (200). Pole's property in the Lombard Street in London was taken from him in 1341, but was restored to him in 1346. (178-179, 202). Pulteney died in 1349. (209).	
York		4	2	2	1	>1322-1338<	Connections with the Exchequer in York in 1322. (Fryde, 1988, 14). In 1336, wool (113 ½ sacks) was purchased by William de la Pole in the upland parts of North Riding of Yorkshire. They were then shipped from York down the Ouse. (27; Fryde, 1983b, IX 10). The main departments of the royal government (the Chancery and the Exchequer) were temporarily located in York from ca. 1332 until 1336/38. In this period, William de la Pole probably had contacts with the centre of government in York. (41). York was the second centre of activities of William de la Pole in Yorkshire	

							(after Hull). He had a local base there for his business interests, which were especially large when the central departments of the royal government resided at York, such as during much of the 1330s. Some time before March 1338 he had acquired houses in “Conyngstrete” in York. (113).	
Boston		3	2	2	1	>1325-1344<	In 1325, William gave a receipt to the collectors of customs at Boston for the repayment of some loans he had made to the king before. (Fryde, 1988, 15). The wool of the English wool company of 1337 was shipped from the harbours of London, Boston, Hull, Newcastle, and Sandwich. (Fryde, 1988, 73, 81). In March 1338, Pole regained control over the customs at the northern harbours from Newcastle to Boston. The royal receipts from the customs at Newcastle, Hartlepool, Hull and Boston were formally assigned to him. (91, 93, 99). Thomas Gouk and William Caiser, collectors of the customs at Boston in 1338, were creditors of William de la Pole. (92). In 1338, Robert Denton was one of Pole’s two attorneys in Hull and Boston. Denton had been closely connected with the de la Pole’s since the late 1320s at least. (100). In 1339, Pole exported royal wool in a series of shipments from Newcastle, Hull, Boston, Lynn and Yarmouth. (106). The merchants of Boston and the East Anglian harbours continued to be prominently associated with Pole in 1344. (158). Pole had an attorney in Boston in 1336. (209). Some of the wool of Pole was exported from Boston in 1337. Perhaps Henry Tideswell of Stamford, or other merchants closely connected to Pole, may have purchased and exported this wool from Boston on Pole’s behalf. (Fryde, 1983b, IX 7). Shipment of wool from Hull and Boston in 1337. (Fryde, 1983b, IX 10).	
Dordrecht		3	2	2	1	1336-1338	In 1337, 350 sacks of wool of William de la Pole were shipped to Dordrecht by the English Wool Company. (Fryde, 1983b, IX 10-IX 11, IX 15; Id., 1988, 27). In 1337, the English wool staple was located in Dordrecht. The English wool company of 1337 shipped almost all its wool to Dordrecht. (66, 74, 80, 157). William’s representative at that time in the Low Countries was his brother John. (75). Pole’s agents had to hire houses of diverse size and value in Dordrecht for the export of wool to this town in 1337-38. They rented 5 houses for half a year. (Fryde, 1983b, IX 11). Sale of Lincolnshire, Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire wool in Dordrecht in 1336-37 by William de la Pole. (Fryde, 1983b, IX 30-IX 31). Export of wool to the Low Countries in 1336-37. (Fryde, 1988, 25).	

English wool region		3	2	2	1		William de la Pole purchased wool in several wool producing counties in England, e.g. in Lincolnshire, Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire in 1337. (Fryde, 1983b, IX 9; Id., 1988, passim, e.g. 154). Ca. 1337, Pole employed five agents, among whom Richard Sletholm, for the purchase of wool in England. (Fryde, 1983b, IX 11). Purchase of lead and wool of the confiscated properties of Thomas, earl of Lancaster, in Derbyshire ca. 1322. (Fryde, 1988, 13-14).	
Kings Lynn		3	2	2	1	>1339-1345<	In 1339, Pole had an attorney at Lynn. This attorney had to be ordered by the Royal Council in England to permit the shipment of 66 sacks of royal wool consigned to Paul de Monte Florum, one of the king's principal financial agents abroad. (Fryde, 1988, 100). In 1339, Pole exported royal wool in a series of shipments from Newcastle, Hull, Boston, Lynn and Yarmouth. (106). The merchants of Boston and the East Anglian harbours continued to be prominently associated with Pole in 1344. (158). William de la Pole's principal active partners in 1344-1345 in the English Wool company overseeing and later farming the customs were Henry Tideswell of Stamford, who had been a business friend of Pole before, Roger Wolesthorp of Grantham, Thomas and William Melchebourn, large merchants of Lynn, Walter Prest of Melton Mowbray and Walter Chiriton of London. (Fryde, 1988, 156, 183, 187-190).	
Barton-upon-Humber		2	2	1	0	1336	The biggest consignment of wool (205 sacks) purchased by William de la Pole in 1336 came from northern Lincolnshire. Purchases here were concentrated in Barton on Humber, the harbour of which was possibly at that time in Pole's personal custody. From there, the wool was shipped across the Humber to Hull. (Fryde, 1988, 27, 36).	
Berwick-upon-Tweed		2	2	1	0	>1336-1337<	Supply of the army besieging Berwick in 1333. (Fryde, 1988, 44-45). In 1336 and 1337, de la Pole dispatched wine and salt to Berwick, by that time in hands of Edward III. (46).	
Great Yarmouth		2	2	1	0	>1333-1344<	In 1333, Pole freighted six ships for supplying the army at the siege of Berwick. Five of these ships came from Hull, the sixth was from Yarmouth. (Fryde, 1988, 45). In 1339, Pole exported royal wool in a series of shipments from Newcastle, Hull, Boston, Lynn and Yarmouth. (106). The merchants of Boston and the East Anglian harbours continued to be prominently associated with Pole in 1344. (158).	
Newcastle		2	2	1	0	>1337-1339<	The wool of the English wool company of 1337 was shipped from the	

upon Tyne							harbours of London, Boston, Hull, Newcastle, and Sandwich. (Fryde, 1988, 73). In March 1338, Pole regained control over the customs at the northern harbours from Newcastle to Boston. The royal receipts from the customs at Newcastle, Hartlepool, Hull and Boston were formally assigned to him. (91, 93, 99). In 1339, Pole exported royal wool in a series of shipments from Newcastle, Hull, Boston, Lynn and Yarmouth. (106).	
Scotland		2	2	1	0	1333-1337	Supply of grain, salt and wine to the English armies in Scotland in 1333-1337. (Fryde, 1983b, IX 4; Id., 1988, 25, 44-46, 51). William de la Pole had wide connections with other northern merchants. (44).	
Bawtry		1	1	1	0	1336	In 1336, 31 ½ sacks of wool were purchased by William de la Pole in Nottinghamshire. This wool was collected in Bawtry, and from there shipped along the Trent. (Fryde, 1983b, IX 10; Id., 1988, 27).	
Brussels		1	1	1	0	>1338-1339<	William de la Pole was in the Low Countries in the following of king Edward III in 1338-1339. There are repeated mentions of him at Antwerp and Brussels. (Fryde, 1988, 119). In 1339, William de la Pole made a payment in Brussels to Thomas Hatfield, receiver of the king's Chamber. (120). William de la Pole was financing Edward III in Brabant in 1338-1339. (Fryde, 1988, 29). William de la Pole had special interests in Brabant. (31). In 1336 de la Pole was granted letters patent for secret loans to the king disbursed at Antwerp and elsewhere in Brabant. (47, 50-51). Payments for the king at Antwerp and elsewhere in Brabant. (131).	
Dortmund		1	1	1	0	>1338-1352<	Apparently, William de la Pole had a special relationship with a group of Hanseatic merchants led by men of Dortmund, who were active in Bruges and England between 1338 and the 1350s. A considerable proportion of the loans advanced by the Hanseats to Edward III in 1338-1340 was handled by William de la Pole. Later on De la Pole was befriend with Tidemann Lemberg, who gradually became the most important of these hanseatic creditors of the English king. Pole bought property from Lemberg and more than once acted as his surety. (Fryde, 1988, 31). Tidemann Lemberg, a Hanseatic merchant of Dortmund, was closely connected with William de la Pole, probably already in early 1345. (191-192). One of the most prominent creditors of the English Company of 1343-45 was Tidemann Lemberg from Dortmund. After 1345 Pole may privately have backed Tidemann Lemberg, who operated as a crown banker in this period. (200). Tidemann and Pole continued to be closely connected to each other until the 1350s. (205, 210-	

							211). In proceedings at the Exchequer in 1352 Pole repeatedly acted as Tidemann's attorney. (210). In 1338-1340, William de la Pole had connections with a group of Dortmund merchants in Bruges, among others with Johann, Henry and Hilderbrand Suderman, as well as Johan Clippinc. (Murray, 2005, 239, 239 n. 107).	
Durham		1	1	1	0	>1335-1336<	William de la Pole had links with the Cathedral Priory of Durham. In 1335-36, de la Pole provided a loan to the priory. In those years, he visited the priory personally. (Fryde, 1988, 35).	
Ghent		1	1	1	0	>1339-1340<	In March 1339 Pole was in Ghent, negotiating with James van Artevelde and other leaders of the pro-English faction. (Fryde, 1988, 119). Payment of 2,000 £ to the keeper of the king's wardrobe in Ghent in 1340 by John Bole, Pole's attorney in Flanders. (163).	
Grantham		1	1	1	0	>1344-1345<	William de la Pole's principal active partners in 1344-1345 in the English Wool company overseeing and later farming the customs were Henry Tideswell of Stamford, who had been a business friend of Pole before, Roger Wolesthorp of Grantham, Thomas and William Melchebourn, large merchants of Lynn, Walter Prest of Melton Mowbray and Walter Chiriton of London. (Fryde, 1988, 156, 183, 187-190).	
Hartlepool		1	1	1	0	>1338<	In March 1338, Pole regained control over the customs at the northern harbours from Newcastle to Boston. The royal receipts from the customs at Newcastle, Hartlepool, Hull and Boston were formally assigned to him. (Fryde, 1988, 91, 93, 99).	
Lincoln		1	1	1	0	>1336<	Purchases of wool in Lincolnshire by Pole in 1336 were concentrated at Lincoln. (Fryde, 1983b, IX 9).	
Mechelen		1	1	1	0	>1344<	In 1344, the English Company combined with Henry Picard of London and with Matthew Cavaceon, an Italian from Asti, but based in Mechelen. (Fryde, 1988, 192). William de la Pole was financing Edward III in Brabant in 1338-1339. (Fryde, 1988, 29). William de la Pole had special interests in Brabant. (31). In 1336 de la Pole was granted letters patent for secret loans to the king disbursed at Antwerp and elsewhere in Brabant. (47, 50-51). Payments for the king at Antwerp and elsewhere in Brabant. (131).	
Melton Mowbray		1	1	1	0	>1344-1345<	William de la Pole's principal active partners in 1344-1345 in the English Wool company overseeing and later farming the customs were Henry Tideswell of Stamford, who had been a business friend of Pole before, Roger Wolesthorp of Grantham, Thomas and William Melchebourn, large	

							merchants of Lynn, Walter Prest of Melton Mowbray and Walter Chiriton of London. (Fryde, 1988, 156, 183, 187-190).	
Middelburg		1	1	1	0	>1337<	A small amount of the wool exported by the English wool company in 1337 was left at Middelburg. (Fryde, 1983b, IX 21; Id., 1988, 74).	
Sandwich		1	1	1	0	>1337<	The wool of the English wool company of 1337 was shipped from the harbours of London, Boston, Hull, Newcastle, and Sandwich. (Fryde, 1988, 73).	
Sluis		1	1	1	0	>1339<	Pole's shipments of royal wool in 1339 were destined directly for Sluis. (Fryde, 1988, 107).	
Southampton		1	1	1	0	>1339<	In 1339, Pole obtained control of the customs at all the English ports, including Southampton. (Fryde, 1988, 124).	
Stamford		1	1	1	0	>1344-1345<	William de la Pole's principal active partners in 1344-1345 in the English Wool company overseeing and later farming the customs were Henry Tideswell of Stamford, who had been a business friend of Pole before, Roger Wolesthorp of Grantham, Thomas and William Melchebourn, large merchants of Lynn, Walter Prest of Melton Mowbray and Walter Chiriton of London. (Fryde, 1988, 156, 183, 187-190).	