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**Book**

## Message in a Bottle: Merchants' letters, merchants' marks and conflict management in 1533-34. A source edition

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MESSAGE IN A BOTTLE

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STUDIES IN EUROPEAN URBAN HISTORY  
(1100-1800)

VOLUME 57

*Series Editors*

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*Ghent University*

# Message in a Bottle

*Merchants' letters, merchants' marks  
and conflict management in 1533-34  
A source edition*

*edited by*

STUART JENKS AND JUSTYNA WUBS-MROZEWICZ

BREPOLS



Cover illustration: Merchants' letters from AHL ASA,  
Externa Anglicana 476 in their unopened state.  
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# Rolf Hammel-Kiesow 1949-2021

*Wer ihn nicht gekannt hat, hat echt was verpaßt im Leben*



## Foreword

It will perhaps puzzle readers that this edition is accompanied by three introductions and a separate diplomatic note, written by two editors. This invites explanation.

One of the great pleasures of collaborating on editing a single corpus of texts was that we found ourselves confronted by different historiographical and – especially – editorial traditions. Entirely by serendipity, we discovered that scholars in Germany and the Low Countries had each developed their own traditions independently of one another. Initially, we felt that if we were going to collaborate on a single volume, we would have to at least attempt to achieve a unitary approach. Consequently, each of us was forced to try to understand why the other side edited texts and wrote history in its own way, however wrong-headed this might have seemed at first sight. This had the salutary effect that – in the course of long discussions – we were forced to re-think old assumptions, which had, perhaps, become a bit too comfortable and unquestioned. In the end, we came to the conclusion that each tradition had its merits.

The clash of editorial traditions was most apparent. In the more austere German tradition, editors are expected to do no more than provide the reader with the knowledge necessary to make optimal use of the source texts, in addition to satisfying the need for clarification of technical details. Most definitely, editors are not to provide their own interpretations or try to guide future research. It is simply not the done thing: Editors have to rely on readers to make their own, sensible use of the source texts. The Low Countries' tradition, it seems to us, hews much closer to the Anglosphere. Here, editors are expected to engage with the current scholarly literature and, indeed, contribute to it in their introductions. In particular, introductions are felt to be there to provide context and map out ramifications and perspectives. Clarification of niggly little technical points is considered to be a secondary concern.

In the end, we decided that it was not only impossible to homogenize both traditions, it was undesirable. After all, somebody has to make the bricks before others can begin to erect castles in the air. If you don't get the technical details right, the castles have no substance. But if you concentrate exclusively on the technical aspects, your work will remain forever arid and bear no fruit. In fact, it seems to us, we need both approaches. Ideally, the acolytes of both traditions should work hand-in-hand, achieving, in the end, a healthy symbiosis.

So the introductions to this volume incorporate two traditions. And, as explained in the 'Diplomatic Notes,' each of us stuck to our respective national editorial conventions. There is a deeper reason for this than one might suspect. We are, in fact, trying to serve two separate constituencies, each of which has its perspective and, in consequence, its own expectations of an edition. And these constituencies, despite all our fond hopes, are likely to be completely disinterested in those aspects which do not meet their expectations.

Those pursuing conflict management on a global scale will not find it useful to wade through mind-numbing technical details of sixteenth-century administration. Those interested in casting light on the era of Wullenwever – neglected for far too long and ripe for re-consideration – will be more attracted to the narrative of events.

Therefore, we decided it was best to give each beast the meat it craves, while making a virtue out of this. After all, the texts are in themselves heterogenous, ranging from letters written by various senders to the administrative details of conflict management. Hence, we offer a number of approaches to them, and the introductions reflect this. They also illuminate a number of novel aspects, for instance, the merchants' marks in the printed and digital versions and innovative research on the folding and locking of merchants' letters. Think of the edition as a smorgasbord: no lack of hearty yeoman's fare at the far end of the room, but plenty of canapés to snack on while you wend your way.

# Introduction (I)

## Archival find and historiography

It is not often that a scholar stumbles across an ancient document which no one has ever seen since the writer laid his pen aside. However, when I was in the Lübeck civic archives (Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck) in 1994, I chanced to see an entry in the guide to the archives pointing to merchants' letters and ordered the piece up. It proved to be a folder containing 29 unopened letters from English and Low Countries' merchants, written in Antwerp in late July 1533 and destined for England.<sup>1</sup> They never arrived, since the ship to whose skipper (Adrian Johnson of Antwerp) they had been consigned for delivery in London was taken off the Downs by Lübeck privateers on 19 August 1533. Along with the cargo, the mailbag was hauled off to Lübeck, where its contents were sequestered by the town fathers and consigned to their archive. There they remained, utterly forgotten, for nearly 500 years.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps not a message in a bottle as defined by statute, but close enough to suggest a cheeky title for this edition.

The question which, of course, battles its way to the forefront is: How could these letters have been so utterly neglected for so long? After all, even if we restrict ourselves to the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, merchants' letters are rarer than hens' teeth. Given how revealing they can be (when compared to our other, rather dry sources such as customs accounts), it would stand to reason that these letters would surely have excited scholarly interest at some point in the past. But nothing of the sort occurred.

It is, however, not merely the letters which have been forgotten. Equally neglected by most scholars is the Lübeck privateers' attack on Adrian Johnson's ship on 19 August 1533 – not to mention the capture of two ships from Spain and three further vessels from the Low Countries – and the voluminous administrative paper trail the entire incident generated.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> These letters were originally part of a huge class – Acta Anglicana, Appendix 2 – put together by the Lübeck archivist Dreyer in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. When that class was broken up into individual numbers (each notionally dealing with one matter), the letters were reclassified as Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck (henceforth AHL) Externa Anglicana No. 1606. They have since been reclassified yet again as AHL Externa Anglicana No. 476.

These letters have been opened in the meantime, and thereon hangs a tale. When the letters were produced, I, of course, noticed that they were still unopened, which, needless to say, made reading them rather difficult. In all innocence, I asked the invigilating archivist if I might borrow a pair of scissors. This, naturally, prompted the question of why I might need a pair of scissors. My explanation – that I wanted to cut open the letters – induced, as may be surmised (but which I did not anticipate) a major-league fit of the vapors. After the archival mind had ceased to reel, negotiations ensued, which led to an agreement that the letters would be photographed in their original state, then opened and a microfilm produced for me. This was done with laudable speed.

<sup>2</sup> We have no information whatsoever as to why the letters were not opened at the time (although one (no. 9), the only one sent by a Hanseatic merchant, indeed was) or forwarded to their addressees. All we can say is that it didn't happen.

<sup>3</sup> Those scholars who, while dealing with Wullenwever and Meyer, fail to mention the incident in the English Channel in Aug. 1533 at all are: Georg Waitz, *Lübeck unter Jürgen Wullenwever und die europäische Politik*, 3 vols.



- The magisterial *Lübeckische Geschichte* restricts itself to stating that part of a Lübeck fleet sailing in the Baltic in the spring of 1533 was dispatched to the North Sea under the command of Marcus (Marx) Meyer to prey on Dutch shipping,<sup>4</sup> but ran into difficulties with the English when it captured (neutral) English goods being transported in (hostile) Dutch bottoms. Shortly thereafter, Meyer incautiously ventured onto shore, where he was arrested as a pirate.<sup>5</sup>
- The only scholar to have delved into the matter in any depth is Nils Jörn.<sup>6</sup> Given his topic (Marx Meyer), he largely (and rightly) restricts himself to tracing Meyer's activities, which means that he loses sight of developments proceeding from the incident in the Channel after Meyer's arrest. Even so, he does take note of the fact that a Lübeck fleet sailed into the North Sea in order to prey on Dutch shipping. Having captured 'several' ships, the fleet landed on the English coast to take on victuals. The Lübeckers were allowed to purchase provisions on the condition that they left English waters as soon as possible. While Meyer was thus occupied on land, he learned that a Dutch

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(Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1855); Georg Waitz, 'Meyer, Marx', in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (1885, online version); Dietrich Schäfer, 'Die Historie von Marcus Meyer', *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, 7 (1890-1891), 164-72; Dietrich, Schäfer, 'Wullenwever, Jürgen', in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (1898, online version); Rudolf Häpke, *Der Untergang der hansischen Vormachtstellung in der Ostsee (1531-1544)*, (Leipzig: Ducker und Humblot, 1912); Gottfried Wentz, 'Der Prinzipat Jürgen Wullenwevers und die wendischen Städte', *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, 56 (1931/1932), 83-111; Hans Nirnheim, 'Hamburgs Gesandtschaft an König Heinrich VIII. von England im Jahre 1534', *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Hamburgische Geschichte*, 40 (1949), 26-62; Klaus Friedland, 'Kaufmannstum und Ratspolitik im späthansischen Lübeck', *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, 43 (1963), 5-17; Klaus Friedland, 'Das wirtschaftspolitische Erbe Jürgen Wullenwevers', *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, 89 (1971), 26-40; Günter Korell, *Jürgen Wullenwever. Sein sozial-politisches Wirken in Lübeck und der Kampf mit den erstarkenden Mächten Nordeuropas*, Abhandlungen zur Handels- und Sozialgeschichte 19 (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1980); Erich Hoffmann, *Spätmittelalter und Reformationszeit*, Geschichte Schleswig-Holsteins, vol. 4/2, (Neumünster: Karl Wachholtz, 1990). The treatments of the incident in J.M. Lappenberg, 'Der Hamburger Grobschmidt Marx Meyer', *Zeitschrift des Hamburgischen Geschichtsvereins*, 5 (1866), 13-31 and C.F. Wurm, *Die politischen Beziehungen Heinrichs VIII. zu Marcus Meyer und Jürgen Wullenwever erläutert aus den Cotton'schen Handschriften im britischen Museum*, Vorlesungen am Hamburgischen akademischen Gymnasium 1852/53 (Hamburg: Johann August Meissner, 1852), based on contemporaneous chronicles as they are, are so riddled with errors that they may be safely neglected. The discussion of the incident by Häpke, *Der Untergang*, pp. 102-3 is so brief as to amount to a non-mention. He states only that a Lübeck fleet was dispatched into the North Sea at the end of July 1533 which managed to bottle up a fleet of 15 ships of Holland transporting salt. When Marcus Meyer went on land at Rye to ask for permission to set up cannons to harry the Dutch ships, he was arrested.

- 4 We need to clear up a terminological difficulty here. Wolf-Dieter Hauschild, 'Frühe Neuzeit und Reformation: Das Ende der Großmachtsstellung und die Neuorientierung der Stadtgemeinschaft', in *Lübeckische Geschichte*, ed. by Antjekathrin Graßmann, (Lübeck: Schmidt-Römhild, 2008, 4<sup>th</sup> revised edition), pp. 351-442 and Nils Jörn, 'Marcus Meyer die Karriere eines Hamburgers im Konzept englischer Regierungspolitik', in *Akteure und Gegner der Hanse. Zur Prosopographie der Hansezeit*, Hansische Studien 9 (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1998), pp. 183-201 use the words 'Niederlande' (the Netherlands) and 'Holland' interchangeably to mean the same thing. This accords with modern German usage, in which the country to the northwest of Germany is commonly called 'Holland' and is inhabited by people who speak 'Holländisch'. Needless to say, this is inaccurate. However, it must be pointed out that (as we shall see in Introduction II, section on conflict management), the Lübeck privateers sometimes tended to interpret their remit broadly to include Zealand and Brabant, i.e. the Burgundian Netherlands in their entirety (cf. LP VI, no. 1018). So 'Dutch' is not all that inaccurate.
- 5 Hauschild, 'Frühe Neuzeit und Reformation', p. 407.
- 6 Jörn, 'Marcus Meyer', pp. 183-37; Nils Jörn, 'With money and blood'. *Der Londoner Stallhof im Spannungsfeld der englisch-hansischen Beziehungen im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, Quellen und Darstellungen zur Hansischen Geschichte NF 50 (Cologne: Böhlau, 2000), pp. 212-14 is just a summary of Jörn, 'Marcus Meyer'.

fleet would be landing in Rye shortly. Seeking permission from the locals and ‘the commander of the harbor’ to position cannons on land in order to harry the Dutch more effectively,<sup>7</sup> he was arrested by Sir Edward Guldeford.<sup>8</sup> In the interim (and in Meyer’s absence), the Lübeck fleet had captured two Spanish ships with ‘goods for the English king on board.’<sup>9</sup> Thomas Cromwell,<sup>10</sup> Henry VIII’s right-hand man (and, in the view of many, his unprincipled henchman), recently named chancellor of the Exchequer, whom Guldeford had informed of the incident, threatened the Hanseatic merchants in the London Counter with the seizure of their goods if they failed to press Lübeck for compensation. On the very next day, the Steelyard sent two representatives to confer with Meyer, but it was understandably loathe to stand surety for any losses, much less to pay compensation in cold cash. Meanwhile, the Lübeck captains sailed home, abandoning Meyer to his fate. Having little choice but to cooperate, Meyer undertook to press for compensation for all English and Spanish losses, if he were but allowed to depart for Lübeck on his own recognizance. King and council refused this petition, but did order (on 15 September) that ‘a man of the city of Lübeck’<sup>11</sup> should be sent there to press for restitution. On 1 October 1533, the Lübeck council – which must have been in communication with Meyer and the Steelyard – wrote two separate letters to Henry VIII, expressing its mortification at the losses English merchants had incurred, stressing that this had occurred without its knowledge or approval, and promising restitution, asking only for respite until the winter had passed and grace for Meyer in the meantime. With that, Jörn abandons the incident in the Channel and turns to his attention to Meyer’s diplomatic and military career on the continent.

In short, the scholarly literature leaves us almost totally in the dark on the specifics of the incident in the Channel in August 1533 and its aftermath. How many Lübeck ships were involved? Under whose command were they? How many ships of what origin were taken where and when? What goods, in particular, did the merchants who had freighted these ships lose? What was the fate of the ships and goods once they had been taken? Was

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- 7 This was, one might comment, not an entirely insensible idea. As the Wikipedia article ‘Rye’ states, the ancient town of Rye lay on rocky heights constituting the outermost reaches of the high land of the Weald and overlooking a large, sheltered harbor. However, this harbor, and particularly its entrance, had been silting up since the late 13<sup>th</sup> century. How much of it was still unblocked in 1533 is consequently not easy to say. Hence, it is something of an open question whether a Dutch salt fleet could enter Rye harbor at all.
  - 8 Jörn does not identify Guldeford, but he was the captain of Dover Castle and the Warden of the Cinque Portes (Dover, Romney, Hythe, Hastings, Sandwich to which Winchelsea and Rye had subsequently been added) and, as such, equivalent to the sheriff of a county. On the Cinque Portes generally see K.M.E. Murray, *The Constitutional History of the Cinque Ports* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1935).
  - 9 This is a misstatement. Henry VIII was, as the imperial envoy Chapuys reported on 23 Aug. 1533, much displeased at the capture of the Spanish ships in his waters (LP VI, no. 1018), but there is no indication in the lists of damages edited here that the monarch himself owned any goods which the Lübeckers took or that any of these were destined for him.
  - 10 On whom see the magisterial biography of Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cromwell. A Revolutionary Life* (New York: Viking, 2018). Jörn could, of course, not possibly have known this work.
  - 11 This is an error. Jörn misread his source (LP VI, no. 1125). The council decided that the king should ‘send a man to [not ‘of’] the city of Lübeck’ for this purpose.

restitution of the goods in fact made and/or compensation actually paid? If so, how was this done administratively?

It is not entirely surprising that the scholarly literature should have largely ignored these matters. After all, we are badly served by the published sources. The relevant volume of the *Hanserecesse* (HR IV 1) says almost nothing about the incident in the Channel in August 1533,<sup>12</sup> nor does Häpke's *Niederländische Akten und Urkunden zur Geschichte der Hanse und zur deutschen Seegeschichte*.<sup>13</sup> The published inventories of Hanseatic sources in the archives of Danzig and Cologne<sup>14</sup> are entirely silent on the matter, even though Cologne merchants (as we shall see) suffered losses. Although Hamburg surely incurred costs in this context, it failed to record them in its chamberlains' accounts, which restrict themselves to detailing the expenses of Hamburg councillors dispatched to mediate a truce between Lübeck and Holland<sup>15</sup> and the wages of its couriers carrying missives back and forth.<sup>16</sup> Although there were (as we shall see) Venetian losses, the *Calendar of State Papers Venice* is entirely silent on the matter. Despite the capture of two Spanish ships, the *Calendar of State Papers Spain* does little but re-print (with corrections) what was first calendared in the *Letters and Papers* of Henry VIII.<sup>17</sup> Volumes VI and VII of that series do contain much fuller information, but the documents calendared there deal primarily with the diplomatic and administrative efforts of the crown to recover lost English goods, not with the incident itself.

However, a more cogent reason, I deeply suspect, that previous scholars have neglected the incident in the Channel is that they had bigger fish to fry. The context in which the incident took place – the period of Jürgen Wullenwever's ascendancy in Lübeck (roughly 1532–37)<sup>18</sup> – can be described without undue exaggeration as one of the most momentous in European history. Putting this as succinctly as possible (since these events are not germane to this edition), this was first of all the time in which the fate of the Reformation was decided in Lübeck – Wullenwever was a leading advocate of Lutheranism against the staunchly Catholic ecclesiastical hierarchy in Lübeck and the equally Catholic

12 While the negotiations between Lübeck and Holland in Hamburg in March 1534 which lead to a truce, are recorded faithfully (and extensively), there are only glancing references to the Spanish ships and losses of the Hanseatic merchant based in Antwerp (Gotschalk von Remlinckrade) who had insured them. On the reasons for this, see my co-editor's introduction.

13 Aside from a glancing reference to Remlinckrade's difficulties (no. 151), the NAU<sup>1</sup> include only a report of a Burgundian spy, covering the period 8 Sept. to 31 Oct. 1533, who reported that the five Lübeck ships which had been sent out had returned to the Elbe in the meantime, bearing with them two ships they captured off the English coast (NAU 1, no. 132).

14 *Danziger Inventar*; *Kölnar Inventar*.

15 *Hamburg Kämmererechnungen*, pp. 498–9 (1533), 531–3 (1534). Lübeck had declared war on the county of Holland on 29 Mar. 1533 (NAU 1, no. 88). A truce was signed on 29 Mar. 1534 (NAU 1, no. 173).

16 *Hamburg Kämmererechnungen*, pp. 500–1 (1533).

17 LP VI and VII.

18 The standard narrative is Erich Hoffmann, *Spätmittelalter und Reformationszeit*, Geschichte Schleswig-Holsteins, vol. 4/2, (Neumünster: Karl Wachholtz, 1990), pp. 394–469, although Waitz' biography (Waitz, *Lübeck unter Jürgen Wullenwever*, vol. I) is still highly regarded. For the sake of completeness, Korell, *Jürgen Wullenwever*, should be mentioned, although it is heavily Marxist in orientation, as witness his programmatic statement on p. 26: 'Die Arbeit setzt sich weiterhin das Ziel, ausgehend von den Erkenntnissen der marxistisch-leninistischen Geschichtswissenschaft über Ziele, Aufgaben und Triebkräfte der frühbürgerlichen Revolution in Deutschland, das Wirken des Lübecker Bürgermeisters [sc. Wullenwever] in der Zeit, in der die revolutionäre Bewegung im Abklingen ist, zu sehen und zu werten.'

town council and rural nobility of the region – and arguably in all of Scandinavia. The reluctance of the still-Catholic councillors to countenance Lutheran preaching sparked a constitutional revolution in Lübeck, which swept aside the old, comfortable order in which the established, ‘patrician’ clans – united in three powerful guilds,<sup>19</sup> out of whose ranks the council co-opted its members, who served for life – had hitherto dominated the town. The council’s exercise of important powers<sup>20</sup> was massively reined in, as it was forced to accept the ‘advice’ of citizens’ committees dominated by Wullenwever and his cronies. But there was more to it than that. Wullenwever was one of the leading lights of the formally constituted corporation of Lübeck traders with Novgorod,<sup>21</sup> which almost within living memory had suffered a body blow when the Hanseatic Counter there had been closed in 1494 – thus transferring the Russia trade to the Livonian cities of Dorpat, Riga and Reval/Tallinn – and which lived under the continuous threat that the Dutch would displace them there and elsewhere in the Baltic. In order to counter this threat, Wullenwever and his allies attempted to instrumentalize foreign policy, throwing Lübeck’s military and diplomatic weight behind one of the three pretenders to the currently vacant Danish crown<sup>22</sup> (himself, handily, staunchly Protestant) on the condition that, once he had clambered onto the throne, he would grant Lübeck privileges which would hamper Dutch trade in the Baltic. This rapidly involved Lübeck’s direct overlord, the rabidly anti-Protestant emperor Charles V, father-in-law of yet another of the Danish pretenders (who, in a singular display of religious cynicism, had re-converted to Catholicism for tactical reasons). This again drew in Henry VIII of England, who was at this very moment desperate to gain the support of a future General Council of the Church to which he had appealed against his excommunication by Pope Clement VII. The pope, in turn, was implacably opposed to Henry’s divorce from Catherine of Aragon.<sup>23</sup> She, in turn, was Charles V’s aunt, a fact which determined the Emperor’s attitude towards Henry’s divorce. Not only was Henry interested in building up a coalition to support him morally and theologically in his Great Matter, he was also desperately afraid that an imperial invasion of England might be launched from Habsburg Burgundy and was consequently as happy to foment any opposition to the emperor there as he was anxious to prevent (still Catholic) Denmark from falling into line with the (equally Catholic) emperor.<sup>24</sup> This played into Lübeck’s hands. Indeed, Meyer – as silver-tongued a charmer as ever talked his way off a scaffold – dangled the Danish crown before Henry’s eyes and was sent off – newly knighted<sup>25</sup> – at the end of the year 1533 to arrange, if possible, an Anglo-Hanseatic alliance, one which held out the promise of military aid. Nothing much came of that, but Henry and his diplomats remained anxious to scuttle the truce negotiations between Lübeck and Holland being

19 The Zirkelgesellschaft (Junker-Kompanie), the Kaufleutekompanie and the Greveradenkompanie.

20 Notably decisions on foreign policy, finance and taxation, defence, legal jurisdiction and the ecclesiastical administration: Hauschild, ‘Frühe Neuzeit’, p. 398.

21 Friedland, ‘Das wirtschaftspolitische Erbe’, p. 33.

22 The Danish crown had been vacant since the death of Fredrick I on 10 Apr. 1533.

23 On 29 June 1533 Henry appealed to a general council in the event he should be excommunicated by the pope. A fortnight later, Clement did excommunicate him, albeit provisionally: MacCulloch, *Thomas Cromwell*, p. 227.

24 MacCulloch, *Thomas Cromwell*, pp. 226–7. As early as Sept. 1533 the English crown was worried that an alliance between Denmark and the emperor would be agreed: Jörn, Markus Meyer, p. 188.

25 LP VI no. 1510 (9 Dec. 1533).

conducted in Hamburg under the good offices of that town. Anything that kept the Low Countries and the Burgundian government worried about Lübeck also served to distract them from invading England.<sup>26</sup>

With such momentous matters to discuss, it is small wonder that previous scholars ignored what must, understandably, have appeared to them to be an insignificant sideshow in the Channel. But I think there is another, perhaps equally cogent reason. Notoriously, from its inception, scholarly investigation of Hanseatic history was in thrall to contemporary events. In particular, the Second German Empire (1871-1918) cast a long, baleful shadow.<sup>27</sup> In the wake of the frothy enthusiasm occasioned by unification of the German nation in 1871, the medieval and early modern Hanse was unquestioningly, indeed almost breathlessly held to be the avatar of the First (Holy Roman) Empire (800-1806) in the North (where the Empire's rulers in fact seldom set foot after 1250) and the forerunner of the German fleet of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, growing mightier by the day.<sup>28</sup> One corollary to this glorification, it seems to me, is that the Hanse, with Lübeck at its head, was predestined to be seen by scholars as a Great Power, one which represented the Glory of the German Empire and exercised its powers in the North.<sup>29</sup> A further consequence was that neither Lübeck nor the Hanse could be seen by scholars to have done anything really reprehensible. It was, therefore, fatally easy to focus on international diplomacy and great power politics in the Wullenwever era<sup>30</sup> and, by the same token, to play down or ignore altogether the more shameful episodes. Only MacCulloch – unencumbered by these historiographical traditions – calls a spade a spade: The incident in the Channel in 1533 was, in his words, 'blatant piracy by Lübecker shipping against Habsburg vessels.'<sup>31</sup> By way of contrast, for most Hanseatic scholars, piracy was something only the Hanse's opponents stooped to. They tended to downplay Hanseatic piracy, if they could not ignore it altogether.<sup>32</sup>

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- 26 Jörn, 'Marcus Meyer', pp. 190, 192-3. The negotiations took place between 13 Feb. and 20 Mar. 1534. The proceedings are printed in HR IV 1, pp. 166-232.
- 27 This has been acutely observed by Carsten Jahnke, 'The City of Lübeck and the Internationality of Early Hanseatic Trade', in *The Hanse in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, The Northern World 60, ed. by Justyna Wubs-Mrozewicz and Stuart Jenks (Leiden: Brill, 2013), p. 37.
- 28 This has been a constant theme of modern Hanseatic historiography: Stephan Selzer, *Die mittelalterliche Hanse* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2010), pp. 6-9; Thomas Hill, 'Vom öffentlichen Gebrauch der Hansegeschichte und Hanseforschung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert', in *Ausklang und Nachklang der Hanse im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Hansische Studien 12, ed. by Antjekathrin Graßmann (Trier: Porta Alba, 2001), pp. 75-8; Rolf Hammel-Kiesow, *Die Hanse* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2008 4<sup>th</sup> revised ed.), pp. 7-8; Carsten Jahnke, *Die Hanse* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2014), pp. 12-15; Justyna Wubs-Mrozewicz, 'The Hanse in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: An Introduction', in *The Hanse in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, The Northern World 60, ed. by Justyna Wubs-Mrozewicz and Stuart Jenks (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 20-2.
- 29 The reader will note that I do not endorse these views. I am simply trying to fairly represent the views of Schäfer and others. On Schäfer as a historian, see the eminently sage essay by Ernst Pitz, 'Dietrich Schäfer als Hanseforscher', *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, 114 (1996), 141-66.
- 30 Note, by way of confirmation, the full title of Häpke, *Der Untergang (The Decline of the Hanse as a Leading Power in the Baltic 1531-1544)*.
- 31 MacCulloch, *Thomas Cromwell*, p. 263.
- 32 A striking example of this is provided by Ahasver von Brandt, 'Die Hansestädte und die Freiheit der Meere', in *Städtewesen und Bürgertum als geschichtliche Kräfte. Gedächtnisschrift für Fritz Röhrig*, ed. by Ahasver von Brandt, Wilhelm Koppe (Lübeck: Schmidt-Römhild, 1953), p. 189, where he discusses the novel (and nefarious) legal principle first espoused by Danzig and Bremen, but then adopted by Lübeck around 1500, namely that enemy goods in neutral ships were legitimate prizes of war, as were neutral goods in enemy ships and any goods in any ship sailing from an enemy port. Then he abruptly turns to the counter-arguments put forth by the Netherlanders

Hence, thus the argument here, there was a powerful incentive to ignore the incident in the Channel.<sup>33</sup>

## The English letters and the administrative sources

Nonetheless, the incident in the Channel is important. In order to buttress this assertion, let us first take a look at the merchants' letters. Happily, they are what statisticians would call an unbiased sample. While the information contained in many, perhaps even most of the larger collections of commercial correspondence we know must be presumed to suffer from selection bias – after all, they largely consist of letters sent to one firm alone, so that the information they contain is likely to have been conditioned by its relevance to that firm –, the letters printed here are a random sample of the correspondence dispatched from Antwerp to London in the summer of 1533. As such, they are in a position to inform us more generally – and, being unbiased, more reliably – about conditions then and there. And they spotlight a number of aspects which I think are very significant.<sup>34</sup>

- It was the skipper who delivered the mail which had been consigned to his keeping during the voyage. Several letters mention explicitly that the addressee would receive the letter from Adrian Johnson personally.<sup>35</sup>
- It was the skipper who made introductions between merchants and thus facilitated commercial networking<sup>36</sup> between men who had had no previous contact. This is

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that the seas were open to all, starting with the negotiations in 1534 (which produced a truce between Lübeck and Holland) and running up to Hugo Grotius. What von Brandt fails to mention in this context (or indeed anywhere else in his essay) is that Lübeck had put the nefarious principle *viande gud maket viande boddem, viande boddem maket viande gut* into brutal practice just the year before in the Channel, seizing neutral goods in enemy bottoms. And the piquant irony is that von Brandt – active as an archivist in Lübeck from 1936 and head archivist there from 1949 to 1962 (Klaus Friedland, 'Ahasver von Brandt. Berlin 28.9.1909 Heidelberg 18.3.1977. Leben und Werk', in *Lübeck, Hanse, Nordeuropa. Gedächtnisschrift für Ahasver von Brandt*, ed. by Klaus Friedland, Rolf Sprandel (Cologne: Böhlau, 1979), p. 7) – cannot have failed to have been aware of this. After all, when I first saw them in 1994, the letters edited here were contained in a folder annotated in none other than his very own hand. To put it in Holmesian terms: he saw, but he did not observe. My contention is that he was reluctant to do so. If the sociologists are right in pointing out that an observer tends to see what he expects to see, then it is surely also true that observers tend to overlook what they would really prefer not to see.

33 While it is utterly immaterial to this argument whether the incident in the Channel was 'really' piracy or not, readers who wish to pursue the question are directed to Wilfried Ehbrecht ed., *Störtebeker 600 Jahre nach seinem Tod*, Hansische Studien 15, (Trier: Porta Alba Verlag, 2005) and Thomas Heebøll-Holm, Philipp Höhn and G. Rohmann eds, *Merchants, Pirates and Smugglers. Criminalization, Economics, and the Transformation of the Maritime World (1200-1600)* (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2019).

34 Let it be noted that we only know about the letters which were in Adrian Johnson's keeping. If letters were sent along with the other ships which were captured, they have left no trace.

35 See documents no. 6, 15, 30, 33, 35.

36 There is an immense literature on mercantile networks. Stuart Jenks, 'The London Steelyard's certifications of membership 1463-1474', in *The Hanse in Late Medieval Europe*, The Northern World 60, ed. by Justyna Wubs-Mrozewicz and Stuart Jenks (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 255-61, surveys the literature and discusses the problems of historical network studies. It would, however, be remiss of me to fail to refer the reader to the best book on historical networks: Mike Burkhardt, *Die Geschichte des Bergenhandels im Spätmittelalter. Handel – Kaufleute – Netzwerke, Quellen und Darstellungen zur hansischen Geschichte NF 60*, (Cologne: Böhlau, 2009). For those with no German, Burkhardt has provided a detailed English-language summary: *ibid.* pp. 375-96. See also Andrea Caracausi and Christof Jeggle eds, *Commercial Networks and European Cities, 1400-1800* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2016).

illustrated to a nicety by document no. 35, in which the London grocer John Smyth, one of the overseers of the Merchant Adventurers in Antwerp, makes bold to address John Dawes of Malden (Essex) and to suggest doing business together. In so doing, he makes use of the good offices of *my frende* Adrian Johnson, who was not only charged with delivering Smyth's letter, but was *vere well aquented* with Dawes.<sup>37</sup>

*Sir, I wollde haweff wrett to yow dyvares tymes or thes tyme, bott I collde nott knowe howe that my lettars schollde be conveyd to yow, bott that thes my frende Areane Johnsson dos schowe me that he ys vere well aquented with yow. Sir, thes brengar cane schowe yow more off my mynde, for he dos knowe me well. Sir, thos I ame bolde to wry[t]e to yow at thes tyme: I troste yt schalle be for your proffett and myne.*

This provides a crucial piece of evidence which helps to clear up one of the most difficult issues in historical network theory, namely the problem of how an individual obtained entree to another network. This problem is particularly acute since historical business networks were based on mutual trust, and were, in turn, frequently built on pre-existing social networks, be they ethnic (Jews, Cornishmen, Welshmen) or religious minorities (Quakers, Methodists) in the diaspora or united by kinship or common culture. These unifying elements generated a higher level of trust among members of the business network. But if the insiders trusted one another, the logical corollary was that they regarded outsiders with a certain degree of suspicion, unless someone on the inside could vouch for them. And it is precisely this process upon which Smyth's letter casts a brilliant light, since Smyth stresses the fact that Adrian Johnson is his friend and is also well acquainted with Dawes and hence can vouch for him. In a word: establish trust.

- Another method of gaining entree and establishing trust – not to mention maintaining networks – was to give gifts.<sup>38</sup> Several of the letters published here illuminate this practice of gift-giving,<sup>39</sup> sturgeon being a particular favorite.<sup>40</sup> Flanking the giving of gifts is the not infrequent request to extend hearty greetings to various people in London.<sup>41</sup> Had we but enough merchants' letters of this sort, we would be able to reconstruct a number of contemporaneous merchant networks.
- As one would expect from commercial correspondence, many of the letters published here contain current market information. This is of two types: Information on the prices

37 It is unfortunate that this cannot be confirmed on the basis of the London customs accounts. TNA: PRO, E122/83/4B (to be published as LCA IV 16), a tunnage and poundage supervisor's roll covering the period 29 Sept. 1531 to 29 Sept. 1532 (i.e. in the year immediately preceding the incident in the Channel), contains no reference to John Dawes whatsoever. While the account makes it clear that Adrian Johnson was running a more or less regular shuttle service between London and Antwerp, John Smyth does not appear to have shipped anything with him.

38 On this subject generally see Avner Offer, 'Between the gift and the market: the economy of regard', *Economic History Review*, 50 (1997), 450–76.

39 no. 2, 15, 20, 23, 28, 32.

40 no. 2, 4, 15, 20, 32.

41 no. 2, 4, 8, 16, 32.

of various goods at the moment in Antwerp<sup>42</sup> and information on expected movements of prices there.<sup>43</sup> Occasionally, this information is written in code,<sup>44</sup> should the letter by mischance fall into the wrong hands.

- A number of the letters are addressed to the wives of the writers.<sup>45</sup> All of them contain explicit commercial instructions or at least permit the conclusion that the wife was herself heavily involved in buying and selling. The instructions usually revolved around the disposition of merchandise which was being shipped to London in Adrian Johnson's ship. Moreover, one of the letters (no. 5) contains price information written in code.

Now, there is not the slightest indication that the husbands are talking down to their wives. These wives are, to all appearances, equal partners in commerce, charged with important tasks in London while the husband is detained in Antwerp and upon whose business sense he relies. And any woman who can decipher 28 prices written in code and act sensibly upon that information is definitely not the little woman who sees staying at home and baking cookies as the ultimate fulfillment of her life. Nor is she the oppressed victim of male paternalism.

Those interested in gender studies, in particular those who attempt to reconstruct the 'role' of women in the past are invited to ponder these letters. At length.

- Having said that, it must be pointed out that the husbands' letters to their wives are not all business. At least some of these merchants unquestionably felt great tenderness towards their wives and children. In this context, I would like to spotlight letter no. 32, written by the London mercer William Colsell, who was a very substantial merchant indeed, having imported goods worth at least £632 15s the previous year.<sup>46</sup> In his letter, he addresses his *welbelovyd* wife Kate in the tenderest of terms. Unable, for lack of time, to fulfil her request, included in her letter to him (note that she could read and write) for *semmys*,<sup>47</sup> he continues, almost flirtatiously, *for feer of a sower looke, I wold a said a schrew looke, I dare do none other to do my best as moche as I can*. No less tender are his feelings for his sons, particularly *the littille pigge in the panyer*. Those interested in the history of childhood are encouraged to ponder this letter.

42 no. 3, 5, 6, 9, 13, 16, 18, 21, 22, 28, 29, 31, 33, 35.

43 no. 3, 9, 13, 16, 20, 21, 24, 26, 31.

44 no. 5, 9, 16, 18. I might add that the encoding is sophisticated enough that it has defeated my every attempt to break it.

45 no. 4, 5, 13, 14, 20, 28, 30, 32.

46 TNA: PRO, E122/83/4B. It is essential to note that, of the original 42 membranes of this supervisor's roll, only 30 have survived. In view of this fact, it would be remarkable if Colsell's true turnover was not much higher. Colsell, it might be noted, came from a well-established, venerable clan of mercers, being himself the son of one William Colshill (admitted 1507: Anne Sutton, *The Mercery of London: Trade, Goods and People, 1130-1578*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), p. 223 n. 102). Our William was warden of the mercers' company in 1531 (Sutton, *The Mercery*, p. 559) and had three sons, George, Nicholas and Thomas (evidently the *boyys* he greets in his letter), who followed in their father's footsteps (Sutton 2005, p. 467 n. 143). On his trade with Antwerp at this time see Oskar De Smedt, *De engelse Natie te Antwerpen in de 16e eeuw (1496-1582)*, vol. 2 (Antwerpen: de Sikkell, 1954), pp. 342, 429.

47 *Semmys* are 'an embellished seaming used in joining costly fabrics; an ornamental strip of material inserted in or laid over a seam; also, material for this purpose': OED s.v. seam n.<sup>1</sup> 1c.



Not only the letters, but also the other documents in the case are of considerable interest, particularly since they give detailed lists of imports of continental goods into England<sup>48</sup> and of exports from England to the continent.<sup>49</sup>

- Let us take the exports of English cloth first. The lists of losses in the two Spanish ships which had weighed anchor in London, the *Christofer de los Moros* (Muros) of Galicia (skipper Joan de Lusis) and the *Maria de Gadelope* (skipper Johannes de Calegio) (nos 66, 69-76, 78) are notable first of all for their detailed descriptive lists of goods taken, principally English cloth. Typically, the descriptions of these cloths specify the length of each individual piece and the color it was dyed. Now, this is vital information. The English, and therefore also the London customs accounts as good as never reveal the exact length or the color of exported shortcloths (or, indeed, of any other cloths), since cloth was only customed by the notional piece, defined by statute as a standard cloth measuring  $1.5 \times 24$  yards, all other cloths of a different size (e.g. kerseys, which were one third the size of a standard cloth) being converted silently into cloths of assize. Each individual piece of standard cloth was then customed depending on whether it had been dyed using kermes, a red dye-stuff,<sup>50</sup> exclusively (*cum grano, de scarleta*), partly (*de dimidio grano*) or not at all (*sine grano*). Since the overwhelming majority of exported English cloths were recorded as *sine grano*, it is impossible to say what color they had been dyed or, indeed, if they had been dyed at all. Hence, the detailed information in the schedules of damages is welcome indeed.
- The other exports from London lost when the Spanish ships were taken are few in number – flax, oil of Lisbon and sea salt of Brouage (nos 69 & 71);<sup>51</sup> raw silk of Talish, a district of Azerbaijan on the west coast of the Caspian Sea<sup>52</sup> (nos 52, 55-57) – but are welcome in any event, since by 1533 the London customs accounts had long since abandoned giving a detailed, piece by piece description of cargoes, much less recording the price of each individual good.<sup>53</sup> Instead, they had begun to summarize miscellaneous merchandise,<sup>54</sup> naming only one or two individual goods and then tacking on a little *et aliis*, rounding off the entry with a statement of the total value of a merchant's goods whether specified or not. It is, of course, impossible to know what

48 no. 40-45, 47-50, 51 III & IV, 52, 54-57, 59-61, 63-64, 73, 79-82.

49 no. 66-76, 82.

50 Kermes consisted 'of the dried bodies of the pregnant female of the insect *Coccus ilicis*, taken from a species of evergreen oak in South Europe and North Africa': OED s.v. kermes.

51 no. 69 states that these goods were taken in the *Christofer*, but no. 71 indicates that they were taken from the *hoyas*, two of which (that of Johan Williamson of Middelburg and an unnamed ship of Zierikzee) were demonstrably brought to Hamburg. It would make sense if salt and oil had been transported in the ship of Johan Williamson (cf. no. 47, 50, 79, 82) and salt in the unnamed ship of Zierikzee (no. 81), since Brouage salt was transported in both ships and, in addition, oil in Williamson's ship. Note also that if the oil and salt were in these ships, that would make them imports into London, particularly since Cromwell stated unequivocally on 24 May 1534 that the ship of Zierikzee had been taken off Sandwich on her way from Arnemuiden in Zealand (LP VII no. 707). However, this cannot be confirmed by the records.

52 Pegolotti, p. 430.

53 For a discussion of this issue see LCA IV 8, p. ix-xi. The entire edition of the London customs accounts is published online: <https://www.hansischergeschichtsverein.de/london-customs-accounts?seite=1>. For context see <https://medievallondoners.ace.fordham.edu/resources/documentary-sources/trade/>.

54 This is the common term used to designate all goods customed *ad valorem*, rather than by piece, such as cloth.

merchandise might be lurking behind this *et aliis* phrase. It is therefore impossible to state with any confidence just how much of a particular product might have been imported or exported during the period covered by a customs account. All we can say is how much was recorded, of necessity leaving open the possibility that there may have been more, in some cases very much more.<sup>55</sup> Hence, any details furnished by the documents edited here are welcome indeed.

- Equally welcome are the records of the merchandise which was to have been imported into England in the ship of Adrian Johnson and three other Low Countries' vessels, namely those skippered by Johan Williamson of Middelburg (no. 79) and Adrian van Sterre of Vlissingen (no. 80) and an unnamed shipmaster of a ship of Zierikzee (no. 81).<sup>56</sup> Not only do the lists of lost cargo provide us with details of the goods themselves which the *et aliis* phrase would have kept locked away from us in the London customs accounts, they also provide us with price information. This is particularly important since the customers in London (and elsewhere in England) had long since abandoned the practice of valuing incoming cargoes according to their cost at first purchase (as stated by a merchant under oath), relying instead on so-called books of rates, the first of which was imposed on them by Henry VII in 1507.<sup>57</sup> These books of rates listed standard values for a broad gamut of import and export goods, but, despite being revised from time to time (1507, 1532, 1545, 1550 etc.), clearly had only the loosest connection with current market prices in any given year.<sup>58</sup> Hence, any information provided by the lists of lost cargo is welcome indeed, particularly since they name a current price (in Antwerp) for each piece of merchandise.
- Document no. 68 provides us with a list of goods found in the 'chests of the Spanish,' taken from the *Christopher de Moria* (Muros)<sup>59</sup> in Hamburg and consigned to the custody of Korth Meyneke there. All in all, 22 chests were inventoried, being individuated by letters (chest A, chest B etc.). Now, these goods can only be the sailors' portage,<sup>60</sup> given that few mariners would have personal need of 40 small tin vessels (no. 68, W) or even 8 larger ones (no. 68, K). Now, this is welcome information, since sailors' portage was, by definition, free of customs and consequently never recorded in the English customs accounts. This list shows us first of all that, even at this relatively late date, the crew of a ship was still being paid, at least in part, by being provided with cargo space rather than being remunerated wholly in cash. This, again, is significant because portage is believed to have all but died out on the cusp of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>55</sup> LCA IV 11, p. xvi.

<sup>56</sup> Note that all of the Low Countries' ships which were taken came from Brabant or Zealand, not from the county of Holland, against which Lübeck had declared war on 29 Mar. 1533: NAU 1, no. 88.

<sup>57</sup> On this see *Book of Rates*, pp. xx-xliii.

<sup>58</sup> By sheer magic, the values were set so that the customs charges – 5% *ad valorem* for poundage and 1.25% for petty customs on miscellaneous merchandise – were easy to calculate. The necessity of making the harried customers' lives as simple as possible obviously skewed the values assigned to the various goods, thus pushing them all that much farther away from current market prices.

<sup>59</sup> Document no. 68 shows this, since it lists as lost 20 chests belonging to the shipmaster (Joan de Lusis) and the mariners containing goods and clothing, Document no. 66 identifies de Lusis as the skipper of the *Christopher*.

<sup>60</sup> On this subject see Ward, *The World of the Medieval Shipmaster. Law, Business and the Sea c. 1350-c. 1450* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2009), pp. 107-13. On mariners' personal kit, which was very modest at the best, see *ibid.* p. 117.

<sup>61</sup> Robin Ward, *Medieval Shipmaster*, p. 112.

- Finally, document no. 77 details the costs incurred by Kordt Meyneke in Hamburg in taking custody of the goods seized in the Spanish ships, beginning with the cost of having them off-loaded from the ship and ending with various customs charges. Again, this is information seldom revealed by our other sources. At best, Hanseatic merchants will state that a particular good cost thus-and-so-much including all *unkosten* (ancillary costs), but not detailing those costs. So the information document no. 77 provides on such tangible transaction costs is welcome indeed.

## The incident in the Channel

Having established the importance of these sources, our most pressing task is to reconstruct the chronology of events, since there is immense confusion in the accounts the chronicles offer and, consequently, also in the scholarly literature.

The first piece of news about the incident in the Channel is provided by Emperor Charles V's ambassador to England, Eustace Chapuys, who wrote to the emperor on 23 August 1533, reporting that about ten days previously seven ships of Lübeck,<sup>62</sup> fully armed and manned by 2200 men, had arrived in 'the Downs of Dover'<sup>63</sup> (see map). That would place the arrival of the Lübeck fleet at around 13 August. The king, Chapuys goes on to say, allowed the Lübeckers to purchase victuals, on the condition that they then sail away as soon as possible, the reason given by Cromwell being English reluctance to endanger the Anglo-Spanish alliance.

Information about the immediately subsequent events is provided by the interrogation of Adrian Johnson and the Lübeck captain Heinrich Cron<sup>64</sup> by the Lübeck councillors Heinrich Kerkring<sup>65</sup> and Hermann Schute<sup>66</sup> in the Lübeck chancery on 25 September 1533.<sup>67</sup> According to Cron, he was lying off Dover with his ship on the night of 18/19 August, having become separated from the remainder of the Lübeck fleet. On the morning of the 19<sup>th</sup>, after high tide, he sailed to the Downs in the hope of joining up with it, but was unable to locate it. Hence he sailed along (in a westerly direction) until he came upon 26 large ships lying at anchor. These proved not to belong to the Lübeck fleet, so that Cron beat a hasty retreat (presumably to the east). Initially, he encountered 'a Middelburg man' – this can only be the ship of Johan Williamson with the goods of John Hampton and his partner John Bryngborne, both of Faversham, on board, which was sailing for Faversham and was captured off Camber in Sussex (no. 79) – and forced him to strike his sails. Coming upon the ship of Adrian Johnson (the *James* of Antwerp), lying three sea miles off the coast – and

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62 Chapuys was in error in regard to the number of Lübeck ships, as he recognized in his letter of 3 September 1533 to the emperor (LP VI no. 1069): of the seven ships he mentioned, two were captured Spanish vessels. This is confirmed by the report of a Burgundian spy: *Que les cinq navyres de guerre de ceulx de Lubecq avec les deux marchandesques, qu'elles avoient prins sur la couste d'Angleterre*: NAU 1, no. 132 § 5.

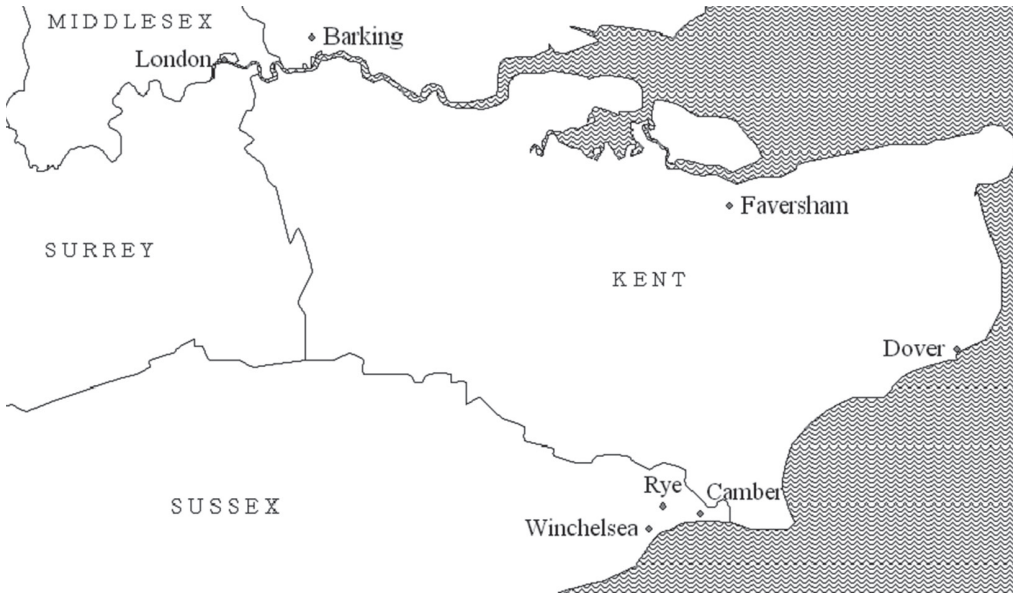
63 LP VI, no. 1018.

64 Cron's role in the incident has gone entirely unnoticed by the previous literature. All that was previously known is that he was a citizen of Lübeck: HR IV 1, no. 185.

65 *Ratslinie* no. 609.

66 *Ratslinie* no. 619.

67 no. 37-39.



intending, as Johnson states, to run his ship aground there in order to salvage the goods on board<sup>68</sup> –, between 10 and 11 AM on 19 August 1533, Cron shot a cannon ball through the sail of Johnson's ship (Cron waters this down to the anodyne statement that his was a warning shot which flew over the sail). As his ship was full of water and Johnson was worried about its seaworthiness, since he had had to run it aground in the previous year in Ostende in Flanders and had been forced to undertake repairs with wainscot, he struck his sails. With that, Cron tells us, he rowed over to the *James* and came on board between 10 and 11 AM. Whether by agreement or *force majeure*, the cargo was removed to Cron's ship, an operation which took until midnight. Asked by the Lübeck councillors about any money which, as they suspected, might have been on board, Johnson stated that there were two purses, one in steerage by the ship's smith, which he left there, hiding the other, which he believed belonged to a man of Cologne, in his sleeve until he was forced to hand it over to Cron. Both Cron and Johnson agreed that the money in the second purse was counted immediately, but disagreed about how much it was: Cron says 31 English angels and 4 double ducats, Johnson 34 or 25 gold coins.

With that, it would appear, Cron sailed off to Lübeck, carrying the freight he had taken on board, together with Adrian Johnson himself and Johan Williamson.<sup>69</sup> He must have arrived before 13 September 1533, when an inventory of the goods taken from Johnson's ship

68 Clearly, Johnson's ship was in trouble, even before Cron came upon the scene. Cron, of course, puts things in a light more favorable to him: Johnson's ship, he states, was foundering when he came upon it, and Johnson would have been completely unable to rescue any goods at all if Cron had not come to his assistance (*wer he nicht by em gekamen, he hadde nicht eyn stücke gudes mogen berghenn, so wul waters wurd dath schipp van deß middages ahn beth jegen den aventh*).

69 Williamson witnessed the interrogation of Johnson and Cron on 25 Sept. 1533: no. 37 § 3.

and loaded onto Cron's *bogerde*<sup>70</sup> was conducted in the presence of the Lübeck councillors Nicholas Bardewick<sup>71</sup> and Hermann Schute (nos 41 & 42).

With that, the narrative moves a few miles westward and Marcus Meyer enters the picture again. On 21 August 1533, Sir Edward Guldeford, the constable of Dover castle and Warden of the Cinque Portes, informed Thomas Cromwell from Rye by letter (this missive is in parlous shape and in large parts illegible) that ships had been taken by Lübeck privateers. His information seems to be based on the complaints made to him in Rye by the English and Spanish victims, one of whom was a London fishmonger. Despite the parlous condition of the letter, it does show us first of all that the two Spanish ships – which are unnamed in Guldeford's letter but which we know from the documents edited here (nos 66 and 72) to have been the *Christofer de le Moros* (Muros) in Galicia (skipper Johannes Shewards or Joan de Lusia) and the *Maria de Gatolope* (skipper Johannes de Calegio) – had been taken in the meantime, most probably off Rye. Two days later, Chapuys informed Charles V that one of these ships was Galician and the other from Biscay.<sup>72</sup> One of them, he tells the Emperor, the Lübeck privateers had released with all hands, handing over to them letters directed to the Portuguese consul in Antwerp, who was to compensate those who had freighted the Spanish ship for their losses by way of repayment of claims which one of the 'captains' of the Lübeck fleet had against the Portuguese.<sup>73</sup> The fishmonger's complaint, of which Guldeford writes, can only be that of the London fishmonger Humphrey Knyght, who stated on 20 September 1533 that he had lost 9 of 14 barrels of salt fish which had been in the custody of his apprentice Thomas Wakeham in the *scuta* of *Flusshyng* (Vlissingen), skippered by Adrian van Sterre.<sup>74</sup> This is confirmed by John Coke, the secretary of the Merchant Adventurers in Antwerp, who wrote to Cromwell on 24 August 1533, stating that Lübeck privateers had taken 'certain *hoys*<sup>75</sup> and two Spaniards.'<sup>76</sup> The identity of the second *hoy* is revealed by combining the anonymous 'information from Flanders' communicated on 1 September 1533 – namely that 8 days previously (i.e. roughly on 25 August) the Easterlings had taken two ships of Flanders laden with herring – and document no. 81, which reveals that one William Gilbancke of Colchester (Essex) had, among other things, lost 12 tuns of salted cod, *eyn halve hundert Ylandesche vische, 3 hodesuckers noch dre lange vische langen genandt* in a ship of Zierikzee. Since the Lübeckers, as the 'information from Flanders' goes on to state, gave a bill in payment to the Flemings, directed to the Bruges Counter, which had cashed it in the meantime, the two ships were retained to assist the Easterlings, eventually being brought to Hamburg.<sup>77</sup>

70 A *bogerde* is a small ship with a single mast: Schiller-Lübben s.v. *bojer*, *boyert*.

71 *Ratslinie* no. 618.

72 LP VI, no. 1018. Here one ship is designated as a 'galley', which is unquestionably an error for 'Galician,' as the superior summary in CalStP Spain vol 4, pt. 2, no. 1117 shows.

73 CalStP Spain, vol. 4, pt. 2, no. 1123 and LP VI, no. 1069 (imperial envoy Eustace Chapuys to Charles V on 3 Sept. 1533). Unfortunately, the Lübeck captain in question remains unnamed. Note, however, that on 23 Aug. Chapuys had stated that the Lübeckers had excused 'the capture of the said Spanish ships by some wrong that a certain Spaniard had done to one of their company, for which he had been unable to obtain redress at Antwerp.'

74 no. 80 § 1. See also no. 82 § 2.

75 A *hoy* is 'a small vessel, usually rigged as a sloop, and employed in carrying passengers and goods, particularly in short distances on the sea-coast' (OED s.v. *hoy*).

76 LP VI, no. 1029.

77 Let it be pointed out that we have no information whatsoever as to why some ships were brought to Hamburg, while others were hauled off to Lübeck.

Pausing to take count, it is clear that the Lübeck fleet had, between 19 and 21 August 1533, taken a total of six ships:

- Two (skippered by Adrian Johnson and Johan Williamson) taken by Heinrich Cron which were now being sailed to Lübeck.
- Four further ships, namely the two Spanish ships, one of which had been released, and the two Low Countries' vessels, one from Vlissingen (skippered by Adrian van Sterre) and the other from Zierikzee (whose skipper remains unnamed), which had been retained by the Lübeckers. These three ships soon departed for Hamburg.

Having identified the two Spanish ships – the *Christofer de le Moros*, from Muros in Galicia (skipper Johannes Shewards or Joan de Lusi) and *Maria de Gatolope* (skipper Johannes de Calegio) – which the Lübeckers had captured in the Channel, we now need to determine which of them was allowed to sail to Antwerp and which was hauled off to Hamburg, an issue left unresolved by the printed documents. Now, the quitclaims of the Spanish victims, issued by their representatives Alphons de Sancto Johan, a Spaniard resident in London, and the skipper Joan de Lusi himself in Hamburg on 7 April 1534 (nos 69-71), demonstrate without doubt that it was the *Christofer* which was brought to Hamburg. This ship – still replete with its canon (*geschutte*) – was still in good shape and riding at anchor in the inner harbor of Hamburg (*bynnenn bames up der Elve yn guder vorwaringe*) on 2 November 1533,<sup>78</sup> but by 7 April 1534 it had been sold for 1230 marks.<sup>79</sup>

## Recovery of lost cargo

Efforts to recover lost goods or at least obtain compensation for them began immediately, and, perhaps surprisingly, were initiated by the Lübeckers themselves. As Guldeford states in his letter to Cromwell on 21 August 1533, the 'captains' of the Lübeck fleet instantly promised restitution of goods taken from English subjects.<sup>80</sup> Hence, Guldeford sent the captains and the victims (the Spaniards in particular) to his lieutenant at Dover castle. The Lübeckers had no objection to this, Guldeford states, since their ships were near there and they themselves well treated. Guldeford was particularly impressed by Marcus Meyer, the military commander of the expedition, in charge of the soldiers, whom Guldeford characterizes as 'a godly yong man, and well spoken.'<sup>81</sup> Meyer, for his part, was already positioning himself, leaving Guldeford with the impression that he was one of the 24 councillors of Lübeck (which he was not) and, presumably, possessed of considerable influence in high circles there. Finally, Guldeford suggested that representatives of the

<sup>78</sup> no. 67.

<sup>79</sup> no. 69.

<sup>80</sup> LP VI no. 1012. A damaged portion of the same letter reads *for recompense whereof to be made by the Stylyarde ... wrote to the Stylyard, and the said Stylyarde will ...* but it is unclear whether this is a demand made by the victims or an offer made by the Lübeckers themselves.

<sup>81</sup> Jörn, 'Marcus Meyer', p. 186 quoting from British Library, Cotton Otho IX, f. 27. Note that LP VI no. 1012 errs in transcribing the word 'godly' as 'goodly', which is quite a different matter altogether.

Hanseatic Counter in London be dispatched to Dover to meet with the Spanish and the other victims.

However, on the next day, Guldeford had to report to Cromwell that – before the Lübeck captains had been able to reach Dover – the Lübeck ships had departed for destinations unknown without making restitution.<sup>82</sup> For the moment, the Lübeck captains remained in Dover castle. In the meantime, it had become apparent that the two representatives of the London Steelyard whom Cromwell had dispatched to Rye were not disposed in the slightest to discuss matters of restitution with Meyer (at least no one in authority in Rye was aware of anything of the sort), but preferred to make merry with him, as Guldeford somewhat sourly remarks.

At this point, the story becomes confusing, principally because we are forced to rely on the imperial envoy Chapuys for our information. Chapuys was good at buttonholing people (particularly members of the king's council) and picking up rumors, but very bad at evaluating them.<sup>83</sup> And he contradicts not only our other, official sources, but even himself. At any rate, he reported to Charles V on 23 August<sup>84</sup> that Henry VIII was exceptionally displeased at the depredations of the Lübeckers in English waters and had ordered the London Counter to intercept the Lübeck fleet, which was at that very moment departing, and force it to restore the goods it had taken. In addition, Chapuys reports, the king had sent a message to a neighboring port (obviously Rye) where 15 Dutch hulks loaded with salt had arrived, ordering the inhabitants to resist the Lübeck fleet (which, he said, was lying in wait for the Dutch fleet). Finally, he reports that the Lübeckers had stated that they 'had no enmity against any of your Majesty's [i.e. Charles V's] subjects, except the said Hollanders, Zealanders, and Brabanters.' Ten days later, on 3 September 1533, however, Chapuys put an entirely different spin on the story.<sup>85</sup> The Lübeck fleet, he now states, which was lying in wait for the Dutch hulks in Rye harbor, sent one of its captains (Meyer, obviously) ashore to request permission to place cannon on land, the better to harrass the Dutch. However, having received royal orders ('granted at my solicitation', Chapuys adds in an obsequious little aside) to resist the Lübeckers, the locals refused this request and arrested Meyer. At this, the Lübeck ships 'astonished, drew down their flags, and hoisted sail for their own country, leaving their captain prisoner.' He, in turn, promised restoration of all goods taken from the English and the Spanish, provided he be allowed to proceed to Lübeck on his own recognizance. King and council refused this request, instead requiring him to actuate the Hanseatic merchants in the London Counter either to pay compensation for any and all losses or at least stand surety for such repayment.

Consider the contradictions. On 23 August, Chapuys states that the Lübeck fleet was leaving English waters at that very moment, but on 3 September he writes that the Lübeck ships were lying in wait off Rye for the Dutch salt fleet. On 23 August he says that the Dutch salt fleet had arrived, but on 3 September it appears the Dutch had not yet done so. On

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82 LP VI no. 1013.

83 Note that the royal government bamboozled Chapuys into believing that Christopher Mont's approach to the (Protestant) League of Schmalkalden with a view to an alliance had been a rousing success, whereas in fact it had been an abject failure: Jörn, 'Marcus Meyer', p. 191, citing LP VI no. 1510, dated 9 Dec. 1533.

84 LP VI, no. 1018.

85 LP VI, no. 1069.

23 August he reports statements by the Lübeckers (one wonders how he made contact with them), but on 3 September he asserts they had left England, astonished at the arrest of Meyer. Indeed, the letter of 3 September contains the first mention that Meyer had gone ashore, the first mention of his intention to erect cannon on land and the first mention of his arrest. Chapuys was clearly sucking up every rumor that came his way.

The contradictions between Chapuys' account and Guldeford's reports are even more breathtaking. On 3 September Chapuys locates Meyer in Rye, but Guldeford puts him in Dover, roughly 50 km away. Again, on 3 September Chapuys reports that the Lübeck fleet was off Rye, but Guldeford locates it off Dover. Finally, Chapuys relates that Meyer was arrested in Rye on royal orders (i.e. that he was detained against his will), while Guldeford states that Meyer was more than happy to proceed to Dover of his own free will (and was treated well there).

Leaving these issues to one side, we come to a momentous discovery among the documents archived in Lübeck,<sup>86</sup> namely the holograph letter Marcus Meyer wrote to the Lübeck council on 9 September 1533 (no. 36). In the first place, this letter confirms Jörn's suspicion – for which he had no proof – that Meyer and the London Counter had been in communication with Lübeck.<sup>87</sup> Document no. 36 is proof positive that this was, in fact, the case.<sup>88</sup> Moreover, it clears up a mystery which Jörn was unable to solve, namely where Meyer was detained before being granted royal leave to depart from England on 8/10 December 1533.<sup>89</sup> Meyer dates his letter *in Lunden, den 9. dach Semtembri*, which is proof enough. At this time, however, he was clearly subject to some form of restriction of movement. Again, let us quote his letter to the Lübeck council: *de olderman Hans Molenbeke sampt des kopmans rat hebben allen flyt vorghewent, dat se mi gerne up freyge fote ghehat hadden, den yt mochte mi nycht ghebaren, aver ick mach wol gan un stan, wor ick wil, den ut dem lande mach ick nycht*. This formulation makes it clear that he was not being held in prison, but had been released from custody on some form of bail or mainprise. In view of the efforts being undertaken by the alderman and the council of the London Counter on his behalf (which he mentions), his most likely place of abode is the Steelyard itself. Had he been among those in the sanctuary of the abbot of Westminster, for whom Lübeck interceded with the king shortly thereafter,<sup>90</sup> it is inconceivable that he would have dated his missive *in Lunden* when Westminster would have been correct.

The contents of Meyer's letter are no less revelatory. First, he notes that the Lübeck war fleet (*unser feide schepe*) had seized certain goods belonging to the English – note that he does not say he had any role in this – and that he and the London Counter were being summoned daily into the royal presence and pelted with English complaints, so that he and the Steelyard were acutely uneasy about what course of action the king's council

86 Let it be noted that the Lübeck archive was apparently unaware that it housed this document. When Jörn was preparing his article on Meyer 25 years ago, he enquired of the archive if it had any holdings on Meyer. The archive replied that it did not (private communication 1 Dec. 2020).

87 Jörn, 'Marcus Meyer', p. 186.

88 That the Steelyard had also been in contact with Lübeck is demonstrated by Meyer's statement that it had written to Lübeck on 9 Sept.: *Gy magen dyt bet vorstan, wo ick gheschreven hebe de olderman sampt dem ghemenen kopman, de hebben ju ock alle umsstendych heyt wol gheschreven*.

89 *ibid*.

90 LP VI, no. 1203, undated but undoubtedly 1 Oct. 1533.



might resolve upon. At the moment, the council was pressing for immediate compensation from the London Counter. Therefore, Meyer urgently requests the Lübeck council not to break up any English merchandise which might chance to turn up there, since it is not contraband. Among the goods taken were silk cloth (*syden ghewant*) and travelling funds (*zergelt*), a fact which exercised Meyer greatly, lest they disappear into the hands of the skippers and mariners. Meyer reminds the council that if merchandise and/or money should go astray, Lübeck would have to compensate the rightful owners, if it did not wish to endanger the Hanse's privileges in England (*so ferne gy den Stalhof nicht sonder Hense myt der freyheyte enberen willen*). Further, he tells the council in Lübeck that a Spanish ship had been taken off the Downs, *welcker vorgunt ys, also Gasck Remradt tho hulpe tho synen rechte tho komen*. This is a clear reference to Gottschalk Remlinkrad, who was born in Lübeck, but later moved to Riga and then to Antwerp, who had insured the Spanish ship and its cargo.<sup>91</sup> In view of Henry VIII's fury at the taking of this ship in his waters, Meyer urges the Lübeck council to return it and negotiate a mollifying fine with the king for the outrage. Finally, Meyer urgently requests the council to write a grovelling apology to Henry VIII, flanking this with oral representations to be made by a Lübeck secretary in the royal presence. In closing, he once again underlines the necessity of warding off any threat to the Steelyard and its privileges.

This letter, hitherto unknown, meshes effortlessly with what Chapuys tells Charles V. On 6 September 1533,<sup>92</sup> the imperial envoy states, the royal council convened to discuss what was to be done about the Spanish merchandise plundered by the Lübeckers. After much discussion, the council resolved that the king should send an envoy to Lübeck to demand the return of the goods taken in English waters and 'redress of the outrage done to his authority, and that with him should go the captain here detained [*viz.* Meyer],<sup>93</sup> who promised to make restitution, or return here prisoner; and for this the merchants of the Steelyard have given surety.' Given the role which the royal council envisaged for him on 6 September, the conclusion is inescapable that Meyer did not write his letter on 9 September by sheer chance. Quite the contrary: The council clearly saw in him its best chance of obtaining the return of the goods which the Lübeckers had taken from the English and Spanish merchants, and Meyer was anything but loathe to take on this role. Nor can the council have been unaware of the contents of Meyer's letter. On the very next day (10 September 1533), the imperial envoy Chapuys was summoned for the morrow (11 September) before the privy council to determine the best method of recovering the goods taken from the Spanish ships. By 15 September 1533, the council had determined upon an appropriate course of action, since on that day it showed Chapuys the letter which the king had written to the Lübeck council (which was to be delivered by an express messenger) in case Chapuys should wish to suggest corrections (he had none to suggest).

91 NAU 1, no. 151 (15 & 28 Dec. 1533), HR IV 1, p. 168 (13 Feb. to 20 Mar. 1534), HR IV 1, no. 228 § 26-27 (1-27 Mar. 1534), HR IV 1, no. 230 § 5 (19 Mar. 1534), HR IV 1, no. 231 (19 Mar. 1534), HR IV 1, no. 233 § 8 (26 Mar. 1534), HR IV 1, no. 255. On Remlinkrad's activities as a maritime insurer in Antwerp see Adolf Hofmeister, 'Eine hansische Seeverversicherung aus dem Jahre 1531', *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, 5 (1886), 169-77. On his later career see Wilhelm von Bippen, 'Gotschalk Remlinkrad als Seeräuber, 1537-1539', *Bremisches Jahrbuch*, 15 (1889), 77-95.

92 LP VI, no. 1125 (15 Sept. 1533).

93 This, of course, did not transpire. Meyer only received leave to depart from England on 10 Dec. 1533 (LP VI, no. 1595).

Note that the decision to send an express messenger (accompanied by Meyer) to Lübeck fell on 6 September, that Meyer wrote to the Lübeck council on 9 September, that the council summoned Chapuys on 10 September, determined an appropriate course of action on the following day and that the express messenger was dispatched on or shortly after 15 September. Nor did the urgent representations of the English crown fall on deaf ears. On 1 October 1533 the Lübeck council grovellingly wrote to Henry VIII that it had received his letter of complaint and that it was altogether mortified. The incident in the Channel, the council stated, had occurred without its knowledge and, indeed, in violation of its express commands, as the king may judge for himself by the enclosed [copies of the] letters given to the captains of the Lübeck fleet, 'commanding them to spare your subjects, the Spaniards, the Lusitanes [i.e. the Portuguese] and Frenchmen.' The council closes by affirming that the guilty will be punished and restitution made 'as soon as winter is passed and the seas more calm.'<sup>94</sup> On the same day, the Lübeck councillors wrote a separate letter to Henry VIII, requesting that he pardon Meyer and grant him leave, 'as they have no doubt it is manifest that he was not present when that bold crime was committed.'<sup>95</sup>

Those who had suffered losses lost no time in putting in their claims. On 18 September 1533, John Hampton and John Bryngborne, both of Faversham (Kent), appeared before the London notary John Devereux to lodge a formal claim to goods taken in the ship of Johan Williamson of Middelburg which had been sailing towards Faversham.<sup>96</sup> Two days later, the Londoners Humphrey Knyght and Thomas Blancke appeared before the same notary to claim merchandise taken in the ship of Adrian Sterre of Vlissingen.<sup>97</sup> On the same day, Robert Paget, Thomas Gale, Robert Wilford and Ralph Foxley of London appeared before Devereux to claim goods taken in the *Christofer de le Moros* (Muros; skipper Joan de Lusi),<sup>98</sup> and Thomas Cole and Simon Briganden of London employed Devereux's services to claim the goods they had lost in the taking of the *Maria de Gatolope* (skipper Johannes de Calegio).<sup>99</sup> On 1 October 1533, those who had lost goods in either of the Spanish ships submitted a list of their losses to the duke of Norfolk, stating that these had amounted to £515 16s 8d altogether, including the costs of sending messengers to Dover and Rye.<sup>100</sup> Somewhere around this time,<sup>101</sup> Hieronimus Molhusen, a Lübeck merchant resident in London but recently returned to Lübeck,<sup>102</sup> wrote to the Lübeck councillor Hermann Schute to report that two Hanseatic merchants – Roleff Vos of Deventer and

94 LP VI, no. 1200.

95 LP VI, no. 1201.

96 no. 79.

97 no. 80.

98 no. 66.

99 no. 72.

100 LP VI, no. 1202.

101 The letter (no. 64) is undated, but it must have been written before Meyer's departure to Lübeck on 10 Dec. 1533, since one merchant, Richard Engelbarth of Wesel, nominated Meyer as his attorney for the recovery of his goods.

102 Klaus Friedland, 'Kaufmannstum und Ratspolitik im späthansischen Lübeck', *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, 43 (1963), 11-12, errs in asserting that Molhusen can only be proven to have traded with England in 1537. Document no. 64 demonstrates beyond the shadow of a doubt that he was a resident of the Steelyard in 1533. His imports into London are, as Friedland states, in fact documented in 1537: LCA IV 18, p. 71 (flax, furs, lanterns), 74 (850 wainscot, not 8½ *centena* of salt, as Friedland states), 91 (tar, which Friedland overlooked), 94 (buckram, not 'Batist' (a fine sort of cloth) as Friedland states). Moreover, Friedland errs in stating that Molhusen is not to be found trading with England after 1537. The petty customs export account

Richard Engelbarth of Wesel<sup>103</sup> – had suffered losses of merchandise in the taking of Adrian Johnson's ship. On 6 October 1533, Cologne wrote to Lübeck, naming the Cologne merchants who had suffered losses of merchandise in the taking of Adrian Johnson's ship and informing Lübeck that these merchants had appointed Jacob van Mulheim as their plenipotentiary envoy for the recovery of the goods in question.<sup>104</sup>

Even small-time merchants claimed losses. In fact, one was first off the mark. On 25 August 1533, the English chancellor, Sir Thomas Audley, wrote to Cromwell to request his aid 'for the bearer, a very poor man, co-partner in a ship which, coming out of Flanders, was taken by the Lubecks off the Downs.'<sup>105</sup> Despite a promise of restitution, embodied in a letter from the (Lübeck) captain to the English admiral, nothing of the sort transpired. Now, despite the fact that Audley names neither the merchant nor the ship, we can identify both. The merchant was one William Gilbancke of Colchester (Essex), and he did indeed have to wait a long time for compensation, and, worse yet, had to travel to Lübeck himself to obtain it. Finally, on 9 June 1534, nearly a year later, he took custody of 2½ cwt of salt which had been taken from a ship of a Zierikzee (and had remained since then in the custody of the Lübeck council).<sup>106</sup> In compensation for other goods he claimed to have lost, Lübeck offered him 125 Lübeck marks in cash, which he accepted. What links Audley's letter to Cromwell with Gilbancke's quitclaim is the fact that, when in Lübeck, Gilbancke claimed to be a servant of the chancellor of England, Thomas 'Artey' (*nu thor tydt, so he sede, des erbaren und hochgelerten heren Thomas Artey kon[ik]liker ma[jesta]t tho Engelandt cancelers dener*).<sup>107</sup>

Lübeck did not wait for these schedules of losses of merchandise to arrive before beginning preparations for the return of the merchandise taken by its warships. This was a complicated business, since some of the goods had been brought to Lübeck in the ship of Heinrich Cron, while the rest had fetched up in Hamburg. Moreover, it was necessary to draw up separate schedules for English, Venetian, Hanseatic and Spanish merchants' losses. It will facilitate matters if we deal with these schedules separately.

### **English losses (Goods in Lübeck)**

When Cron arrived in Lübeck, no one knew which bundle of merchandise belonged to whom. Consequently, when, at the behest of the council, councillors Nicholas Bardewick and Hermann Schute drew up the first inventories of these goods on 13 and 15 September 1533 – this was done with immense care in the presence of a notary – they could do no better than list the various bundles, sacks, packs, vats and other packing units containing merchandise and record such merchants' marks as were visible.<sup>108</sup> As comparison with

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for 1544/45 (TNA: PRO, E122/81/40) records Molhusen's exports of cloth, starting in March 1545: no. 1370, 1457-9, 1968-9, 2009, 2820, 2890-3, 2953-5, 3227, 3281. This account will be published as LCA IV 19.

103 Molhusen does not name Engelbarth in this letter, but he can be identified by his merchant's mark.

104 no. 58.

105 LP VI, no. 1033.

106 no. 81.

107 Audley was chancellor from 26 Jan. 1533 to his death on 22 Apr. 1544: HBC p. 88.

108 no. 41 (original) and no. 42 (copy for internal use). Goods inventoried in document no. 41 § 6, § 9, § 14, § 34, § 45-48, § 50, § 61-2, § 65-75 (no. 42, § 9, § 14, § 34, § 45-8, § 50, § 61-2 and § 65-75) were not marked with any merchant's mark.

the merchants' marks in later inventories shows, this was not much more than a first-sight recording of what Cron had brought along. After all, the inventories drawn up on 13 and 15 September 1533 include the goods of Cologne<sup>109</sup> and other Hanseatic merchants<sup>110</sup> among the merchandise belonging to Englishmen.<sup>111</sup>

That, of course, was just the beginning. Restitution of lost merchandise depended on separating out those goods belonging to one group of merchants or the other: English, Spanish, Hansards etc. This commenced just a month later, when two visitors arrived in Lübeck who were vitally interested in drawing up inventories of the goods particular groups of merchants had lost when Adrian Johnson's ship was taken. One of these visitors was a certain William Ashe (Ayshe), an Englishman who had been 'specially deputed by his friends in England' (*von sinen frunden uth Engelant dartho deputert*). In his presence, an inventory of five items was drawn up on 19 October 1533.<sup>112</sup> Note that this inventory displays the same state of ignorance about the rightful owners of the goods in question as those drawn up by Bardewick and Schute in the previous month, since it records only the packing unit (pack, vat etc.) and the visible merchants' marks.<sup>113</sup> The other visitor was Henning Kulemeyer, the secretary of the London Counter, who, again in the presence of Bardewick and Schute, inventoried the contents of a vat on the very next day.<sup>114</sup> Once again, no one was aware of who the owner of the goods might have been, so that the inventory only specifies the packing unit (a vat) and the merchants' marks found on the outside and on a small purse containing money which was found inside it.

Now, these minor inventories are a bit of a puzzle. There was no obvious need to record, yet again on 19 & 20 October 1533, packing units which had been inventoried in mid-September (nos 41 & 42), as the table shows, but whose owners remained unknown to Bardewick and Schute when they set to work.

Nonetheless, these two minor inventories do bear witness to some very quick footwork indeed on the part of people in London. Of particular note is the alacrity with which the London Counter dispatched its secretary to Lübeck.<sup>115</sup> This underscores the acute discomfort of the Steelyard (which Marcus Meyer's letter had painted in lurid colors),

109 Dirick Horner (no. 41 mark 41, no. 42 mark 39; no. 61 mark 1), Johan Borne (no. 41 mark 6; no. 42 mark 4; no. 61 mark 2); Johann Kamman (no. 41 mark 8; no. 42 mark 7; no. 61 marks 3 & 5); a poor young man (no. 42 mark 6; no. 61 mark 4); Peter Slotkyn (no. 41 marks 26 and 53; no. 42 marks 25 and 51; no. 61 mark 6). Note that no. 61, which identifies the Cologne merchants by name and merchant's mark, was drawn up on 6 Nov. 1533.

110 Namely Roleff Vos of Deventer (no. 41, marks 21 & 42, no. 42, marks 7 & 20) and Richard Engelbarth of Wesel (no. 41, marks 13 & 49 and no. 42 marks 12 & 47) – see no. 64 – and Heinrich Houwide and Albert Kreien of Bremen: no. 63.

111 It is worth emphasizing that the merchants' letters are not mentioned in the inventories drawn up in Lübeck and Hamburg.

112 no. 44.

113 On the basis of the merchants' marks, these items can be identified as the property of Randall Atkinson (no. 44 § 1), John Edward (§ 2) and Richard Dene (§ 4). It is reasonably likely that the goods listed in § 3 and § 5 also belonged to Dene, since it is marked with a cross and Robert Hobbes, writing to Dene from Antwerp on 23 July 1533, mentions that he has, among other things, shipped bolt canvas and a half barrel of crossbow thread *markyd with a crosse* to Dene in Johnson's ship (no. 26).

114 no. 60.

115 If Kulemeyer was in Lübeck on 20 Oct. 1533 at the latest, then he must have departed from the Steelyard considerably earlier. It is tempting to think that he travelled with the express messenger, who was sent off around 15 Sept. 1533 to deliver the letter which the king had written to the Lübeck council (LP VI, no. 1125), but there is no proof positive that this was so.

no. 44 (Owner of goods) 19 Oct. 1533	no. 41 13 Sept. 1533	no. 42 13/15 Sept. 1533
§ 1: Randall Atkinson	mark 15 (§ 16)	mark 14 (§ 16)
§ 2: John Edwards	mark 17 (§ 18)	mark 16 (§ 18)
§ 3: [Robert Dene]		mark 13 (§ 13)
§ 4: Robert Dene	mark 14 (§ 15)	mark 13 (§ 13)
§ 5: Robert Dene	mark 3 (§ 1)	

under daily pressure from the privy council and, in view of Henry VIII's fury, fretting that its privileges might be rescinded at any moment if the matter failed to be cleared up quickly and to the entire satisfaction of the monarch. No less worrying was the privy council's threat to force the London Counter to pay compensation for English losses.

Nonetheless, the minor inventory no. 44 is a puzzle, the solution to which may be provided by document no. 46. On 24 February 1534, the authorities in Bergen op Zoom (*borgermeysters, schepen ende radt der stat van Bergen opten Zom*) informed Lübeck that 37 English merchants who had suffered losses in the taking of Adrian Johnson's ship had appeared in person before them, the English having previously complained to Henry VIII, who had written to Lübeck on their behalf and dispatched Thomas Gigges, a merchant, to present the king's letters and request return of their goods. However, since Gigges had fallen seriously ill in Bergen and was unable to travel on to Lübeck, the merchants had replaced him with Richard Plumpton, as Bergen op Zoom certifies. Now, first of all, it was not an accident that this document was written on precisely 24 February 1534. De Smedt,<sup>116</sup> utterly unaware of the incident in the Channel in August 1533, provides (from an Amsterdam source) a list of twenty-six persons who were present at a Court of the Merchant Adventurers in Bergen on that very day. In addition to the governor (and, presumably, his deputy), twenty-four Assistants of the Court attended. Of these, William Locke, William Gresham, Robert Laurence, Robert Deane and Richard Wilson had lost merchandise when Adrian Johnson's ship was taken. It does not take much imagination to realize what was at the top of the agenda for the Merchant Adventurers' meeting. But there is a still greater significance to the Bergen certification. It states that Henry VIII had originally named Thomas Gigges to deliver his letters to Lübeck and request the return of the goods which had been taken. Now, Gigges was a fairly prominent mercer and Merchant Adventurer, resident in Antwerp,<sup>117</sup> and therefore a logical choice to present the demands of the English victims of the Lübeck privateers. Given that he was their first choice of attorney, it is banally self-evident that his nomination must have happened some time earlier. How much earlier – and where – he had been named as the Englishmen's attorney is, of course, an unanswerable question, but Gigges' nomination does suffice to show that, among the English victims, the Merchant Adventurers had begun their preparations for reclaiming their merchandise earlier than 24 February 1534, perhaps a good deal earlier. Now, it is tempting to think that Ashe's inventory (no. 44), drawn up in Lübeck on 19 October 1533,

<sup>116</sup> De Smedt, *Engelse natie*, vol. 2, p. 60 n. 33.

<sup>117</sup> Sutton, *Mercery*, p. 412; De Smedt, *Engelse natie*, vol. 2, pp. 12-17, 295, 430, 589-90.

was the first tangible result to emerge from these preparations.<sup>118</sup> It is equally possible that he was the express messenger Henry VIII sent off to Lübeck to request return of the Englishmen's goods. But it cannot be demonstrated to have been so: I have been unable to find even a scrap of evidence linking Ashe to the royal administration, the Merchant Adventurers, Antwerp or the Steelyard.

Be that as it may, the emergency meeting<sup>119</sup> of the Governor and Assistants of the Merchant Adventurers in Bergen op Zoom on 24 February 1534 marks the beginning of the wholesale recovery of the Englishmen's goods. It is overwhelmingly likely that Plumpton, having been nominated by 37 English merchants who had lost merchandise, was provided with the detailed list of goods lost in Adrian Johnson's ship edited here as no. 40, and probably also William Mery's individual schedule (no. 43). This was, of course, the key to resolving the matter. Baring that, Lübeck had only the bundles of merchandise with their merchants' marks, but did not know what belonged to whom. The list provided by the English side (no. 40), linked the merchants' marks to the owners of the goods and stated the contents and value of each cargo.

After that, things went very quickly. By 1 April 1534, Plumpton was not only in Lübeck, but had already drawn up – acting in consort with the Lübeck councillors Hermann Schute and Godeke Engelsteden – a list specifying which packing unit with which merchant's mark belonged to which merchant and how much it was worth (no. 47 in Low German). On 9 April 1534, the whole matter was wrapped up in a formal notarial instrument (nos 48 & 49 in Latin, but without merchants' marks). Just a few days later, on 18 April, Plumpton acknowledged receipt of the goods of the Londoners William Casselyn and Hammond Hamcottes<sup>120</sup> which had been taken from the ship of Johan Williamson of Middelburg (no. 50). These goods had been included in the Latin inventory (nos 48, 49), but not in the Low German one (no. 47). A Low German version of both quitclaims was produced for internal use shortly thereafter (no. 51 III & IV). By 12 May 1534, the goods of the London merchants had safely arrived at Antwerp, as John Coke, the secretary of the Merchant Adventurers in Antwerp, was able to assure Cromwell.<sup>121</sup>

Restoring the goods of William Gilbancke proved to take more time. Recall that we last glimpsed this 'very poor man' in the letter chancellor Sir Thomas Audeley had directed to Cromwell on 25 August 1533,<sup>122</sup> complaining of losses which had not been recompensed, although such had been promised. Nothing came of this, apparently. Finally, on 24 May

<sup>118</sup> While calculating travelling times in the era of sailing ships is notoriously unreliable, reaching Lübeck from London in four weeks' time sounds about right. After all, Marcus Meyer, who was free to leave England and return to Lübeck on 10 Dec. 1533 (LP VI, no. 1595: the licence was issued on 8 Dec., but only delivered into Meyer's hands on 10 Dec.), arrived in Hamburg on 18 Jan. 1534: Lappenberg 1866, p. 21.

<sup>119</sup> For the sake of perfect accuracy, I should emphasize that this is an inference on my part. That the meeting took place in Bergen and that it was well attended is attested by the list of attendees published by De Smedt, *Engelse natie*, vol. 2, p. 60 n. 33. The fact that it took place long after the Cold Mart (which ended before Christmas) and long before the Easter Mart (which would have begun on 2 April 1534) leads me to the conclusion that it was called together hurriedly.

<sup>120</sup> The Lübeck scribes, to whom English names were a mystery, had particular problems with this merchant's name, spelling it Homont Hammetrettes (no. 50) or Hamont Hammetrottes (no. 51 IV). The usual spelling in the London customs accounts is Hamond(us) Hamcottes or Amcottes.

<sup>121</sup> LP VII, no. 650.

<sup>122</sup> LP VI, no. 1033.

1534, Cromwell found himself compelled to address the Lübeck council once again on his behalf. Gilbancke, Cromwell stated, had lost goods worth £33 sterling when a ship, skippered by Hugh Ship.. (the letter is damaged and the skipper's name only partially legible),<sup>123</sup> making its way from *Harmywe* (Arnemuiden in Zealand), was taken off Sandwich, the goods being subsequently hauled off to Lübeck.<sup>124</sup> This letter produced the desired result, even if Gilbancke had to travel to Lübeck himself to obtain redress.<sup>125</sup> On 23 June 1534, he acknowledged receipt of 2½ cwt of salt which had been taken by Lübeck privateers off of a ship of Zierikzee in the previous year and which had been in the custody of the Lübeck council ever since (no. 81). Moreover, Gilbancke claimed a number of other goods, which had not been returned. Thereupon, Lübeck offered him 125 Lübeck marks in compensation for these goods and in reimbursement of all of his losses and costs (*scaden, kost, theeringhe und interesse*), which he accepted, issuing the corresponding quitclaim.

None the less, there remained some unfinished business. Thomas Brown, a London mercer, claimed as lost in the ship of Adrian Johnson 2 *chestes with aperelle and a lytylle cofer and a fardelle with a fetherbed* (no. 40 § 22). Although Plumpton took custody of various items for him in early April 1534 (no. 47 § 24 & § 26; no. 48 § 26 & § 28; no. 49 § 26 & § 28; no. 51 III § 24 & § 26; cf. no. 40 § 22), Brown complained to Cromwell in June 1534 that not all goods had been restored, despite an appeal to the Lübeck ambassadors currently in England.<sup>126</sup> Whether this had the desired effect is not known.

### **Venetian losses (Goods in Lübeck)**

The restitution of the goods Venetian merchants lost in the taking of Adrian Johnson's ship was altogether straightforward. No list of merchandise was dispatched to Lübeck, but it wasn't really necessary to do so, since on 3 February 1534 the only Venetian to have suffered a severe loss – Martin de Federigo, a prominent Venetian merchant resident in London – appeared before the London notary Edward Barbour and – in the presence of witnesses, also from Venice – nominated Anthonio Oberomiza, himself a merchant of Venice (albeit a far less prominent one), as his plenipotentiary for the recovery of goods taken from the ship of Adrian Johnson by Lübeck privateers (no. 52). In so doing, Federigo specified what had been taken, namely a bale of crude silk of Talish (a district of Azerbaijan on the west coast of the Caspian sea) weighing 164 English pounds at 16 oz./lb. and marked with his mark. In addition, a small fardel containing 2 dozen gloves had been taken. All in all, these goods were worth approximately £70 sterling. As an additional precaution, the mayor of London certified under the seal of the city that Barbour's notarial instrument was genuine (no. 53). With these documents in his baggage, Oberomiza proceeded to Lübeck, where Nicholas Bardewick and Hermann Schute, both Lübeck councillors, inventoried the goods in his presence on 12 March 1534. Thereupon Oberomiza issued a quitclaim, acknowledging the receipt of Federigo's merchandise and of some, but not all of his own

123 It should be added that a skipper of this name does not show up in the surviving London customs accounts for a decade before or after the incident in the Channel.

124 LP VII, no. 707.

125 Indeed, Gilbancke's claims featured among Cromwell's 'remembrances' for June 1534: LP VII, no. 923.

126 LP VII, no. 918.

personal goods (which were much more modest) on the same day (no. 54, translation into Low German). Since, however, as Oberomiza added, Johnson's ship had sunk on the occasion of Cron's attack, he had lost further goods (or perhaps they had been abstracted by the Lübeck mariners). Hence, the Lübeck council – here represented by Godeke Engelsteden and Albert Clever – offered him 25 RhFl in cash by way of compensation, which he accepted, issuing separate quitclaims in Low German in his own name (no. 54) and that of his principal (no. 55) and a combined quitclaim in Latin (no. 56 (original) & 57 (contemporaneous copy)). And that was the end of the matter.

### ***Hanseatic losses: Cologne (Goods in Lübeck)***

The restoration of the losses Cologne merchants had suffered in the taking of Adrian Johnson's ship was also straightforward, even if one small mystery needs to be cleared up. When we last dealt with this matter, we noted that Cologne had written to Lübeck, naming the Cologne merchants who had suffered losses of merchandise when Adrian Johnson's ship was taken and informing Lübeck that these merchants had nominated Jacob van Mulheim (Mulln) – who was to convey the Cologne council's missive to Lübeck – as their plenipotentiary for the restitution of the said goods (no. 58). But Lübeck had moved first, even before receiving Cologne's letter. With commendable alacrity – and in the presence of (and surely at the behest of) Henning Kulemeyer, the secretary of the London Counter –, <sup>127</sup> Lübeck charged its councillors Nicholas Bardewick and Hermann Schute with the task of inventorying the goods of merchants from the Cologne Third of the Hanse, <sup>128</sup> a task which they completed on 19 October 1533 (no. 59). On the next day, a vat, which had numbered among those which had been inventoried on the previous day (no. 59 § 8), was broken open and its contents inventoried (no. 60). Note that these two schedules were drawn up in ignorance of the names of the merchants from the Cologne Third who were the rightful owners of the individual bales, bundles and other packing units. This situation was rectified on 6 November 1533, when another, final inventory (no. 61) – which restricted itself to the goods of merchants from Cologne itself – was drawn up in the presence of the Cologne merchants' attorney Jacob von der Mulln, who had obviously only recently arrived in Lübeck (Kulemeyer having travelled on to Hamburg in the meantime). This time, it proved possible to link packing units, merchants' marks and the names of the owners of the goods. That completed the process.

However, there is a mystery involved here. In document no. 62, an unnamed merchant requests Johannes Borne of Cologne – once he arrives in Lübeck – to assist in the recovery of a tun containing various goods which belong to an apprentice (*gesellen*), Borne's factor, who had recently settled in England. Borne had directed this fellow to write a letter which was sent along by *unse herren* (the Cologne council, presumably). When Borne arrives in

<sup>127</sup> If van Mulheim had been present in Lübeck on 19 and 20 Oct. 1533, it is inconceivable that the Lübeck councillor's inventories would have failed to assign the names of the Cologne merchants to their bundles of merchandise. Therefore Cologne's letter of 6 Oct. cannot yet have been presented by van Mulheim. That leaves only Kulemeyer as the *primum movens* of the inventory.

<sup>128</sup> The Hanse was at this time notionally divided into three Thirds. The westernmost of these was the Cologne Third, which it took its name from its chief town. Among other things, Cologne was tasked with distributing letters from Lübeck to the towns in its Third.



Lübeck, the letter writer continues, he should demand return of the tun. The writer then lists its contents, chiefly clothing, and closes by saying that Borne should hand this present letter over to 'the factor of my principal' (*meynes herrn diener*), who is well known in Lübeck and will doubtless prove to be helpful. In closing, he advises Borne to make his inquiries after this fellow in the Lübeck wine cellar. This, we may note, argues for viewing the Lübeck wine cellar as a center for the dissemination of commercially significant information.<sup>129</sup> Other, oenophilic interpretations are, of course, not to be ruled out of court altogether.

Now, we can come somewhat closer, but only tantalizingly so, to identifying Johan Borne's factor by consulting the final inventory of Cologne merchants' goods, drawn up on 6 November 1533 (no. 61). The fourth item in the list – a small tun – is said to belong to 'a poor young man' (*einem armen jungen*) and the merchant's mark copied there exactly matches the one in the letter to Johan Borne (no. 62). Furthermore, the inventory states that Jacob von der Mulln (the representative charged with the recovery of the Cologne merchants' merchandise in no. 58) is to obtain a certification of the merchant's mark and present it to the Lübeck council, whereupon the small tun will be handed over. That is the purport of the letter to Borne, but equally clearly it is not what was required for the return of the goods. Only a certification from the Cologne council would suffice. If Cologne produced such a certification (which is very likely indeed), it has not survived.

### **Other Hanseatic losses (Goods in Lübeck)**

Cologne merchants were not the only Hansards to have suffered losses in the taking of Adrian Johnson's ship. Also numbered among the victims were Roleff Vos of Deventer and Richard Engelbarth of Wesel. Reconstructing the recovery of these goods is difficult, because the identification of the parties has to proceed from merchants' marks. The first explicit information we hear about these merchants' goods is contained in a letter from Hieronymus Molhusen, a Lübeck merchant active in London, to Hermann Schute, one of the Lübeck councillors charged with inventorying and returning captured goods to their rightful owners (no. 64). This letter initially presents difficulties because it bears no date, but it can be approximately dated to 19 October/6 November 1533.<sup>130</sup> It is chiefly interesting because it illustrates the three stages of inventorying the goods taken in Johnson's ship. As the table below shows, both Vos' and Engelbarth's goods were included in the initial, rough-and-ready inventory of merchandise Heinrich Cron had hauled off to Lübeck, which was drawn up on 13 and 15 September 1533 (nos 41 & 42). They were also included in the (second) inventory of goods from the Cologne Third, drawn up on 19 October 1533 (no. 59). Between these two dates, clearly, a method had been found to distinguish Hanseatic from English goods, even if the Lübeck councillors Bardewick and Schute were as yet unable to assign a name to any of the bales and other packing units. It is more than likely that the arrival of Henning Kulemeyer, the secretary of the London Counter, was the deciding

129 It will be borne in mind that even in the mid-seventeenth century Samuel Pepys went to the Royal Exchange every day and to taverns nearly as often to pick up information from foreign merchants on what was happening in Europe: J.H. Plumb, 'The Commercialization of Leisure', in *The Birth of a Consumer Society. The Commercialization of Eighteenth-century England*, ed. by Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, J.H. Plumb (London: Europa Publications, 1982), p. 268.

130 As elucidated in the description of the piece (no. 64).

Merchant (no. 64) Molhusen's letter	3rd inventory (6 Nov.)	2nd inventory (19 Oct.)	1st inventory (13/15 Sept.)
Roleff Vos	–	no. 59, mark 8	no. 41, mark 21
			no. 42, mark 20
Richard Engelbarth	–	no. 59, mark 4	no. 41, mark 13
			no. 42, mark 12

factor here, although it is difficult to imagine why he had been dispatched by the Steelyard with a schedule of losses which included merchants' marks but no names. Finally, Vos and Engelbarth were excluded from the (third) inventory of Cologne merchants' goods drawn up on 6 November 1533 (no. 61). Clearly, two things had occurred in the meantime. First, Cologne must have dispatched a schedule of the losses of its merchants (including the corresponding merchants' marks), so that Vos and Engelbarth (who were from towns in the Cologne Third, but not from Cologne itself) could be eliminated from the final Cologne list. Second, it is clear that Schute had heeded Molhusen's request to keep an eye out for Vos' and Engelbarth's goods, marked with their particular marks, and had seen to it that they were excluded from the inventory of 6 November 1533.

How Vos's goods were restored to him is a mystery, but Lübeck hit upon a clever method for returning Engelbarth's merchandise. On 31 May 1534, Gerhard Odingborg and Johann van Elpen (Elphram) had been accredited as Lübeck's ambassadors to England.<sup>131</sup> On the following day, councillor Hermann Schute, acting at the behest of the entire Lübeck council, consigned a dry vat and an iron-bound chest belonging to Richard Engelbarth<sup>132</sup> to the care of the Lübeck secretary Johan Vorhorde, who, Schute states, had been ordered to accompany the two Lübeck ambassadors.<sup>133</sup> Once he got to England, Vorhorde was to deliver the vat and the chest to Engelbarth. Whether this occurred is unknown.

However, not every restoration of Hanseatic merchandise can be cleared up so neatly. On 27 September 1533, Henrich Houwide, a citizen of Bremen, acknowledged receipt in Lübeck of two lots of goods from the Lübeck councillors Nicholas Bardewick and Hermann Schute, namely 11 bales of unspecified goods with one merchant's mark and two bales of almonds belonging to Albert Kreien of Bremen with a second mark (no. 63). These marks do, as one would expect, show up in the two rough-and-ready inventories drawn up by Bardewick and Schute on 13 and 15 September 1533, as the table shows.

Since Houwide acknowledged receipt of these goods on 27 September 1533, it makes good sense that the marks in question do not show up in any later inventories. However,

<sup>131</sup> LP VII, no. 737, printed Foedera, vol. 14, pp. 539–40. On this embassy, see J.M. Lappenberg, 'Actenstücke über die Verhandlungen König Heinrich VIII mit Lübeck und Hamburg 1533 fgd.', *Zeitschrift des Hamburgischen Geschichtsvereins*, 3 (1851); Pastor Mönckeberg, 'Aepin's Reise nach England 1534', *Zeitschrift des Hamburgischen Geschichtsvereins*, 3 (1851), 179–87; Waitz, *Lübeck unter Jürgen Wullenwever*, vol. 2, pp. 110–1 and Korell, *Jürgen Wullenwever*, p. 96. As Lappenberg, 'Actenstücke', pp. 188–89, notes, most of the documents relating to this embassy were burned in the catastrophic inferno which destroyed most of Hamburg in 1842. What survives is what Lappenberg transcribed for the benefit of the Record Commission in England.

<sup>132</sup> His merchant's mark was copied in the margin of Schute's transfer protocol (no. 65). It exactly matches the copy in Molhusen's letter (no. 64) and in the inventories of 13 & 15 Sept. (no. 41–42) and 19 Oct. 1533 (no. 59).

<sup>133</sup> Note that this is the only indication we seem to have that Vorhorde accompanied the two accredited ambassadors.

Receipt no. 63 (27 Sept. 1533)	Inventory no. 41 (13 Sept.)	Inventory no. 42 (13/15 Sept.)	Commodity
mark 1 § 1 (Houwide: 11 packs of unspecified goods)	mark 4 § 2	mark 2 § 2	5 packs of linen cloth
	mark 26 § 27	mark 25 § 27	1 small vat
	mark 48 § 54	mark 46 § 54	6 packs
	mark 53 § 59	mark 51 § 59	1 pack of linen cloth
mark 2 § 2 (Kreien: 2 bales of almonds)	mark 29 § 30		10 small packs of almonds
		mark 28 § 30	2 small packs

the goods inventoried on 13/15 September 1533 do not match the goods handed over to Houwide on 27 September: neither do Houwide's inventoried 12 packs of linen cloth and one small vat match the 11 packs of unspecified goods handed over to him at the end of the month, nor do Kreien's inventoried 12 small packs of almonds correspond to the 2 bales of almonds Houwide received for him. Obviously, there is something missing here. Clearly, Bremen must have dispatched some form of certification to Lübeck, including a schedule of losses of merchants from Bremen and naming Houwide as agent for their recovery. If such a certificate survives, it has eluded my searches.

However, the fact that this merchandise was shipped from Antwerp in Adrian Johnson's ship does at least mesh with what we know of Houwide and Kreien. Both were from Bremen and were active in the Antwerp trade, having had goods arrested there (as Lübeck contraband) in the second half of June 1532.<sup>134</sup> However, there is no trace of either merchant in the London customs accounts for the period.

### ***Spanish losses (Goods in Hamburg)***

The restitution of the goods which had been brought to Hamburg presented particular difficulties, not merely for those responsible at the time, but also for the present editor. The chief problem for contemporaries was that the goods in both Spanish ships, in the ship of Adrian van Sterre (of Vlissingen) and some (but not all) of the goods in the ship of Johan Williamson (of Middelburg)<sup>135</sup> were brought to Hamburg. Lübeck was, of course, ultimately responsible for the restitution of these goods, but until then Hamburg was responsible for their safe-keeping. That meant that Lübeck had to keep a sharp eye out, lest goods go astray in Hamburg and, in addition, defray the expenses of those in Hamburg who had taken these goods under their wing. This occasioned a good deal of administrative activity. In particular, representatives of the Lübeck council had to be present in Hamburg whenever goods were inventoried or consigned to someone's custody.

Our second problem with the goods in Hamburg is that not all of the paperwork has survived. Notoriously, large parts of the Hamburg archive were lost in the catastrophic fire of 1842 (which destroyed much of the town), so that we now have only the paperwork

<sup>134</sup> NAU 1, no. 58 § 12 & 14. On Houwide see also NAU 1, no. 343.

<sup>135</sup> Williamson himself, as noted above, was in Lübeck.

which was sent along to Lübeck. Clearly, then, the record is incomplete, and the gaps between the surviving documents are not always easy to bridge.

The final problem with the goods in Hamburg is that the authorities there were not as careful as were their colleagues in Lübeck in keeping goods from each particular ship separate. The merchandise from the four ships noted above was consigned to the custody of two Hamburg citizens, Kurt (Kordt) Meyneke and Mathew van Ryne. Roughly speaking, the Spanish merchants' goods were entrusted to van Ryne and the English merchants' to Meyneke, but no consistent attempt was made to ensure that all of the goods from any particular ship (and nothing else) were in the custody of one these two fellows and none of them in the other's. Worse yet, lists were drawn up in Hamburg which included merchandise from more than one ship. We can only keep track of which goods belonged to whom and in which ship they had been transported by examining the merchants' marks and matching cargoes. Sometimes this works, but it is fraught with difficulty in the case of the Spanish ships which were exporting English cloth. The fact that, at some point, a consolidated list of all the English merchants' goods in Hamburg's custody was drawn up, listing claims by individual merchants, specifying cargoes and (usually) including the merchant's marks (no. 73), helps to some degree, but does not solve all problems, since the Spanish merchants were not listed.

The first task to be undertaken by those in authority in Hamburg was, of course, to inventory the goods which had been taken from Spanish merchants and had fetched up in Hamburg. What made this a little more difficult than it would ordinarily have been was the fact that Lübeck was responsible for restitution, but that the goods were in Hamburg. A second difficulty was that the *Christofer of Moros* (or *Moria*; modern Muros) in Galicia had been insured – together with the Spanish merchants' goods on board – by Gottschalk Remlinckrade, who had been born in Lübeck, but had since removed (via Riga) to Antwerp. These problems were solved by having a Lübeck official well-versed in financial matters, Johan Hoper,<sup>136</sup> actually draw up the inventory of the goods in the custody of Mathew van Ryne of Hamburg, while the Lübeck mayor Hans Sengestake and Remlinckrade served as witnesses. The first inventory, completed on 2 November 1533, was a very rough-and-ready inventory of all Spanish merchants' goods in van Ryne's custody (no. 74). Contenting himself initially with a mere count of the numbers of large and small bundles of cloth (13 and 67 respectively, 80 in all), hides (48 dickers)<sup>137</sup> and flax (1 small pack), Hoper's prime concern was to provide a basis for Lübeck's quarterly payments to van Ryne in order to defray his expenses in keeping these goods safe and sound. Of the two parts of the indenture, Hoper retained one (destined for Lübeck) and van Ryne the other.

On the same day, Hoper drew up a more detailed inventory of the goods of Spanish merchants in van Ryne's safe-keeping (no. 75) in the presence of the same witnesses. This time, he listed each of the large and small bundles of cloth in two separate columns (one for large bundles, the other for small), copying the merchants' marks and detailing the merchant's numbering of all of the individual packs marked with his mark. Thus, the first of these small packs of cloth was comprised of 19 units under one merchant's mark

<sup>136</sup> Magister. Previously Lübecker Schloßschreiber, Rentmeister on Gotland. Both these positions involved the collection of revenue.

<sup>137</sup> A dicker is a counting unit and corresponds to 10 pieces.

(no. 9), which the merchant himself had numbered N° 88, 74, 73, 91, 90, 81, 151, 100, 76, 78, 86, 87, 89, 84, 83, 79, 82, 92, 77 (in Arabic numerals). Below this two-columned list, Hoper also recorded the 48 dickers of oxhides under merchant's mark no. 15 and summed up the number of individual packs (80 in all). The purpose of the inventory is clearly stated: the goods are to be kept together until the sailing season opens again in the spring (*bethe tho bequemer tzit der segelacien scholen entholden werden*). This accords well with Lübeck's assurance on 1 October 1533 that the goods which had been taken would be returned 'as soon as winter is passed and the seas more calm.'<sup>138</sup>

In fact, it was less the opening of the sailing season than the truce between Lübeck and Holland, which was signed on 26 March 1534,<sup>139</sup> which expedited the return of the Spanish merchants' goods. That agreement had mandated in no uncertain terms that *de vorschreven van Lubeck geholden sullen wesen, tho restitueren und wedderthogeven al solliche schepen und guderen, als se van den Spannieren genamen hebben*.<sup>140</sup> After that, neither Lübeck nor Hamburg (which had brokered the truce) lost much time.

It is precisely because of Hoper's careful counting that we can link up the inventories drawn up on 2 November 1533 with the quitclaims issued on 7 April 1534 (nos 69–71). These are only superficially confusing. Let us list them first and then explain them.

The first quitclaim (no. 69), was drawn up in the presence of the Hamburg mayor Johannes Hulpp, the ubiquitous Johan Hoper (specially deputized by the Lübeck council) and the Lübeck councillors Joachim Gerkens and Johannes de Lennepe. Here, Joan de Lusi (the skipper of the *Christofer*) and Alphonse de Sancto Johan, acting as attorneys for Albert de Astudillo, Ferdinand de Verdese, Johannes de Arabiano and Johannes de Bewariis, acknowledged receipt of the following goods and renounced all further claims in their own names as well as those of their principals.

- no. 69a) 83 packs of cloth
- no. 69b) 48 dickers of hides
- no. 69c) an unspecified amount of flax
- no. 69d) 10 pewter vessels
- no. 69e) 20 chests belonging to the shipper and the mariners<sup>141</sup>
- no. 69f) 20 vats of Lisbon oil
- no. 69g) 1 cwt of Brouage salt

In addition, the quitclaim notes that Alphonse de Sancto Joan and Joan de Lusi had sold de Lusi's ship, the *Christofer*, in Hamburg for 1230 Lübeck marks. Finally, de Lusi complained that certain articles of clothing, chests and goods belonging to him and his mariners (no. 69e, details in no. 68) had been taken, for which Lübeck compensated him with a lump-sum payment of 100 Lübeck marks in cash.

The second quitclaim (no. 70) was drawn up – again in the presence of Gerkens and Lennepe – by de Sancto Joan and de Lusi, but solely in their capacity as attorneys for

<sup>138</sup> LP VI, no. 1200.

<sup>139</sup> NAU 1, no. 173. Cf. the Lübeck version of the treaty HR IV 1, no. 233.

<sup>140</sup> HR IV 1, no. 233 § 8. Cf. NAU 1, no. 173 § 6.

<sup>141</sup> These are clearly the chests whose contents are listed in no. 68, although 22 chests are inventoried there.

Joan de Bewariis, an inhabitant of the town of *Morys* (Muros) in Galicia (as was de Lusis), for the following goods:

no. 70a) 1 bale of cloth

no. 70b) 11 chests containing 7 cloths, tin, clothing and other goods

Note that the bale of cloth (no. 70a) is part of no. 69a and the 11 chests (no. 70b) of no. 69e (as noted above).

Finally, a third quitclaim (no. 71) was drawn up on the same day – again in the presence of Gerkens and Lennepe – by de Sancto Joan alone, here acting in his capacity as attorney of Albert de Astudillo, Ferdinand de Verdesse and Johannes de Arabiano. As such, he acknowledged receipt of the following goods:

no. 71a) 79 bales of cloth

no. 71b) 1 bale of flax

no. 71c) 40 dickers of hides

no. 71d) 9 chests of clothing

no. 71e) In the *hoyas* [i.e. the ships of Johan Williamson and Adrian van Sterre]: 20 vats of Lisbon oil, 1 cwt of Brouage salt

Now, it will be noted that the 79 bales of cloth (no. 71a) are part of no. 69a, the flax (no. 71b) corresponds to no. 69c, the hides (no. 71c) approximately to no. 69b,<sup>142</sup> the chests of clothing (no. 71d) to no. 69e and the Lisbon oil and the Brouage salt (no. 71e) to no. 69f and no. 69g.<sup>143</sup> All in all, the two separate quitclaims no. 70 and 71 list the same merchandise belonging to the same merchants as did no. 69, with only minor variations.<sup>144</sup>

Therefore, the question cannot be avoided: What was the point of recording the return of merchandise to the agent(s) of its rightful owners twice? Now, it is clear that the first quitclaim (no. 69) was intended for the Lübeck council, since it named all the goods restored to the Spanish merchants and thus extinguished Lübeck's responsibility for their return. Needless to say, this was all that interested Lübeck. On the other hand, the quitclaims nos 70 and 71 were patently intended for different recipients, the first for Joan de Lusis' fellow inhabitant of *Morys* (Muros) in Galicia, while the second was intended for the principals for whom Alphonse de Sancto Joan, a Spaniard residing in London, was acting as procurator: Albert de Astudilla, Ferdinand de Verdesse and Johannes de Arabiano. Where they might have resided – whether in London or somewhere in Spain – is not

<sup>142</sup> There is a discrepancy between the number of dickers of oxhides recorded in no. 69 (48) and in no. 71 (40).

<sup>143</sup> It would make sense if the salt and oil had been transported in the ship of Johan Williamson (cf. no. 48 § 33-34, 50, 73 § 1, 79, 82 § 1) and/or the salt in the unnamed ship of Zierikzee (no. 81), since Brouage salt was transported in both ships and, in addition, oil in Williamson's ship. Note also that if the oil and salt were in these ships, that would make them imports into London, particularly since Cromwell stated unequivocally on 24 May 1534 that the ship of Zierikzee had been taken off Sandwich on her way from Arnemuiden in Zeeland (LP VII no. 707). However, this cannot be confirmed by the records.

<sup>144</sup> no. 69 states that 83 packs of cloth were received, whereas the cloth specified in no. 70 and no. 71 only adds up to 80 bales. That, however, is the number of bales inventoried by Johan Hoper on 2 Nov. 1533 (no. 75).

mentioned, although Albert de Astudillo<sup>145</sup> and Ferdinand de Verdesse<sup>146</sup> were quite active in the London trade in these years.<sup>147</sup>

### **English losses (Goods in Hamburg)**

The restitution of the English merchants' goods which the Lübeck privateers had taken from the *Christofer* of *Moria* (Muros) and the *Maria* of *Gatolope* began conventionally enough with notarized schedules of losses on 20 September 1533 (nos. 66 and 72), as noted above. These schedules were presumably brought first of all from London to Lübeck by William Ashe or Henning Kulemeyer, the secretary of the London Counter, both of whom were present when the minor inventories of English goods were drawn up in Lübeck on 19 and 20 October 1533. Thereafter, both men travelled to Hamburg, where they were witnesses at the first two inventories, drawn up on 2 November 1533 (nos 67 and 76), of those goods which had been entrusted to Kordt Meyneke, a citizen of Hamburg, for safe-keeping. There is also a third inventory (no. 82) which is undated but must have been drawn up on the same day. These inventories are confusing, particularly since they frequently mingle goods from more than one ship (as the table below shows). There are also gaps in the coverage: Robert Wilford's three packs (or fardels) of cloth (claimed on 20 September 1533 in no. 66 § 3 and 73 § 8) are nowhere to be found in any of these three inventories.<sup>148</sup> Included in the table below is also Meyneke's bill for some of his custodial costs (no. 77), which he submitted on 2 June 1534.<sup>149</sup>

Now, it will be apparent that there is no obvious principle underlying the distribution of the goods of various merchants over these inventories. Neither does one inventory record one particular kind of merchandise such as cloth, while another restricts itself to miscellaneous merchandise, nor are the goods in the various ships kept separate from one another. Worst of all, there is no complete list of all the English goods entrusted to Meyneke.

Nonetheless, these inventories do tell us some things. First of all, in his undated (but presumably of 2 November 1533) inventory (no. 82), Johan Hoper states that the goods listed are being kept *in vormeldunge der certificacen unde instrumenten kysten den Engelsken guderen*.<sup>150</sup> Therefore, the claims of the English merchants (nos 66, 72, 79, 80) cannot have

<sup>145</sup> LCA IV 17, p. 25, 27, 28, 29, 70, 85, 114, 124, 135, 148, 150, 153, 155, 156, 158, 159, 161, 191, 198, 199, 201, 211, 220, 248, 263, 264, 270, 273, 287. Astudillo is also recorded as exporting hides in 1531/32 (E122/204/6) and miscellaneous merchandise in the same year (E122/73/4B). These accounts will be published in LCA IV 16.

<sup>146</sup> LCA IV 17, p. 148, 159, 180, 248, 263, 264, 272, 274, 278, 286. De Verdesse also is recorded as exporting hides in 1531/32 (E122/204/6).

<sup>147</sup> Joan de Lusiis is seemingly mentioned only once in the contemporary London customs accounts: LCA IV 17, p. 139.

<sup>148</sup> The case of Robert Wilford's three packs of cloth is very obscure. In no. 66 § 3, he claims three fardels, each marked with their own marks (marks 4-7; in the Low German translation no. 73 § 8, marks 8-11). However, the first of these marks is also used to indicate separate bales of cloth which Thomas Gale (no. 66 § 2: one pack) and Ralph Foxley (no. 66 § 4: two packs) claim. The last three marks under which Wilford claimed losses appear nowhere in any inventory.

<sup>149</sup> It is worth mentioning that Meyneke itemized his expenses, while Mathew van Ryne settled for a lump sum predicated on the size of the bundles in his custody. I have no explanation for this.

<sup>150</sup> Note that, among the pieces transmitted in AHL ASA, Ext. Anglicana 476 is an unnumbered double sheet of paper inscribed on the outside by a contemporaneous hand *Dyt sint instrumenten unde quitancien belangende der benamtēden Hispaniscken unde Engelschen guderen dorch my Hans van Lennep den ersamen her Hermen Schuten over*

Inventories of goods entrusted to Kort Meyneke in Hamburg			
no. (date)	Ship	Merchants (goods)	Witnesses
67 (2 Nov. 1533)	<i>Christofer of Moria</i> (Muros)	William Wilford (pewter vessels)	Hans Segesaken, Henning Kulemeyer
75 (2 Nov. 1533)	<i>Christofer of Moria</i> (Muros)	Thomas Gale (cloth) William Wilford (flax, cloth, russet)	Hans Segestaken Henning Kulemeyer William Ayshe
	<i>Maria of Gatolope</i>	Thomas Cole (cloth) Simon Bryganden (cloth)	
82 (undated)	<i>Christofer of Moria</i> (Muros)	Geoffrey Vaughan, apprentice of Ralph Foxley (chest with money and personal belongings) Ralph Foxley (1 fardel of unnamed, lost goods)	
	Johan Williamson	John Hampton, John Bryngborne (salt, pavingstone, chest with accounts and clothing)	
	Adrian van Sterre	Humphrey Knyght (salt fish) Thomas Blanke (silk girdles and cash)	
77 (2 June 1534)	<i>Christofer of Moria</i> (Muros)	Thomas Gale (cloth) Robert Wilford (cloth) <sup>151</sup> Ralph Foxley (cloth) Robert Paget (flax)	received from Gottschalk Remlinckrade
	<i>Maria of Gatolope</i>	Thomas Cole (cloth) William Wilford (pewter vessels, 1 cloth)	

been communicated to him yet. In particular, the consolidated list of all English goods held in safe-keeping in Hamburg (no. 73, translated into Low German) cannot have been available. By way of confirmation, Hoper's inventory of 2 November 1533 (no. 76) tells us that the goods in question are to be held in safe-keeping until the sailing season opens in the spring (*botte tho bequemer tzit der segelacien scholen entholden werden*).

None the less, some goods had already been restored to their rightful owners or their representatives. Of Thomas Gale's six packs of cloth (no. 76 § 1), one, numbered no. 4, had been handed over to Gale's servant Nicolaus Raschew, who had taken it back to England. Furthermore, 7½ yards of russet belonging to William Wilford (no. 73 § 10) had been sold to the scribe (*menserscriver*) Johan van Horen for three gold crowns. In addition, Meyneke's bill of expenses dated 2 June 1534 (no. 77) states that Wilford's goods had – by

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*antwort anno 1541 Letare.* This cannot have contained anything other than the claims and quitclaims of the English and Spanish merchants edited here, as received from Hamburg. Therefore the *certificacien unde instrumenten* can only be the schedules of damages and notarial instruments relating to the Englishmen's goods.

151 See note 148 *supra*.



order of the Lübeck councillors Gerd Odingborg and Johan van Lennep – been handed over to the Lübeck councillor Joachim Gercken and Johan Hoper for shipment in the ship of Heinrich Moller. Finally, the bill states that a black cloth<sup>152</sup> belonging to Wilford had been handed over to the Hamburg councillor Heinrich Rademaker.

This all might seem a bit high-handed, but the inventory of 2 November 1533 was countersigned by William Ashe, who took charge of the remainder of William Wilford's goods in Hamburg on 9 June 1534 (no. 78), this being witnessed by two councillors from Lübeck (Gerd Odingborg and Johan van Lennep) and two more from Hamburg (Joachim Wullenwever and Heinrich Rademaker). Now, the roles of Odingborg and Rademaker are crucial here. It was, after all, by order of Odingborg that Wilford's goods were handed over to Gercken and Hoper for shipment. But Odingborg was one of Lübeck's ambassadors who sailed for England shortly thereafter.<sup>153</sup> For his part, Rademaker, who took charge of Wilford's black (puke) cloth on 2 June 1534, was one of the witnesses when the cloth was handed over to William Ashe a week later (no. 78). Therefore, Wilford's cloth merely passed through his hands before being transferred to the custody of Ashe, who was acting for Wilford.

Finally, these indentures reflect the acute concerns of the London Counter. Its secretary, Henning Kulemeyer, had travelled from Lübeck to Hamburg to witness the two inventories of English goods drawn up on 2 November 1533 (nos 67, 76). These inventories, moreover, were cast in the form of indentures, one copy of which went (for obvious reasons) to Lübeck, while the other was to be conveyed to the Steelyard by Kulemeyer. In view of Henry VIII's rage and the continuous pressure exerted by the privy council on the London Counter in August and September 1533, this was an eminently prudent measure. At any rate, the combined Lübeck-Hamburg embassy arrived in London in two ships around mid-June 1534.<sup>154</sup>

With that, the documents transmitted in the Lübeck Civic Archives are exhausted. There remained minor concerns about restoration of merchandise and compensation,<sup>155</sup> but these petered out in June 1534. And that was the end of the matter. It had taken less than a year for all the goods taken in six ships in August of the previous year to be returned to their rightful owners.

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<sup>152</sup> The color designation of this cloth in the English lists of damages is 'puke,' which is an inky, dark-blue color. Those responsible in Lübeck and Hamburg just call it 'black'.

<sup>153</sup> While it is likely that it was in Heinrich Moller's ship that the combined Lübeck-Hamburg embassy made its way to England, there is no evidence to demonstrate that this was so.

<sup>154</sup> LP VII, no. 871.

<sup>155</sup> LP VII, no. 918 (Thomas Browne), LP VII, no. 923 (Cromwell's remembrances regarding the claims of the Spanish merchants and the Englishmen Thomas Blanke, Humphrey Knight and John Copinger as well as William Gilbancke of Colchester).

## Introduction (II)

### Between Antwerp and London

Would the ship of Adrian Johnson have completed its journey from Antwerp to London if it had not been taken by a Lübeck privateer? The depositions (nos 37-39) disclose that it had been seriously damaged at an earlier date and, Johnson feared, was not presently seaworthy.<sup>1</sup> If the goods and letters had not been transferred to another ship, they would have gone down with the ship and never reached their destination. In that case, we would know nothing of the cargo – belonging to merchants from England, Venice, Deventer and Cologne – which the Lübeck privateers seized. Nor would we be able to read the correspondence of merchants from Brabant and England, directed to business associates, family members and friends in London. So we can count ourselves lucky that the Lübeck privateers came along (even if Adrian Johnson and those who freighted his ship in 1533 may well have felt differently). These letters reveal new details about the connections between two of the most important metropolises of this time in Europe, and about the people who established this connection.

Between the early fifteenth century and the late sixteenth, London and Antwerp stood in a close symbiotic relationship to one another. Located astride the eastern outlet of the English Channel, both were blessed with deep-water harbors (the estuaries of the Thames and the Scheldt) more than adequate for anchorage of the large ships which were coming to dominate international commerce. Antwerp's attraction for London lay, of course, in its two fairs – held at Whitsuntide and St Bavo (6 Oct.) –, although Antwerp's booming cloth-finishing industry should not be neglected, particularly as it attracted massive amounts of English textiles. London's attraction for Antwerp lay not in its fairs – it held none of significance – but in its role as the English distribution center par excellence. Home to 90% of English foreign trade from the cusp of the sixteenth century onwards, London was, to put it quite simply, the funnel through which exports destined for the English market had to pass.<sup>2</sup> There has been a spate of research on both cities in recent years which has sharpened our perspective. These studies need to be reviewed, however briefly.

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- 1 No. 37: 'Doen sede de schipper, dat schip wurd so vul waters, dat idt nicht mogelick waß tho reddende'; no. 38: 'Adrianus Johansen respondit et dixit, quod pro redemptione bonorum in dicta sua navi existencium hoc fecisset, quia navis sua adeo aquosa et aquis impleta suffecta fuerat, quod ei impossibile foret, bona ista redimere.'
  - 2 Stuart Jenks, 'Die "Gildhall Certificates" und ihre Aussage zum Danziger Englandhandel 1463-1474', in 'kopet uns werk by tyden'. Beiträge zur hansischen und preußischen Geschichte. Festschrift für Walter Stark zum 75. Geburtstag, ed. by Nils Jörn, Detlef Kattinger, Horst Wernicke (Schwerin: Thomas Helms Verlag, 1999), pp. 153-74; Jenks, 'The London Steelyard's certifications'; Stuart Jenks, 'Die Distributionsrevolution des 15. Jahrhunderts', *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, 132 (2014), 47-78; Stuart Jenks, 'The Missing Link: The Distribution Revolution of the 15<sup>th</sup> Century', *Textiles and the Medieval Economy. Production, Trade and Consumption of Textiles, 8<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, ed. by Angela Ling Huang and Carsten Jahnke, (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2015), pp. 230-52.

Antwerp in 1533 was a booming city. In terms of population, it had witnessed rapid growth, expanding from c. 10,000 inhabitants at the beginning of the fifteenth century to c. 55,000 by the end of the first quarter of the sixteenth century. Among the causes of this population explosion are numbered regional migration (into Antwerp) and the settlement of foreigners. Both were remarkable by contemporary standards.<sup>3</sup> And Antwerp was en route to greater glories, sheltering around 100,000 souls by 1550. It was only the impact of the Eighty Years War (1568 – 1648), in particular the fall of Antwerp in 1585, that brought Antwerp's soaring trajectory to an end.<sup>4</sup>

Many aspects of the development of Antwerp in this period have excited scholarly interest. There are new publications appearing at frequent intervals, and the city's history is the point of departure for, or integral part of, new research projects, e.g. on material culture, economic shifts, urban government or memory in the Low Countries and beyond.<sup>5</sup> In particular, Antwerp plays a pivotal role in the current debates on what impact urban governments (alongside guilds and overlords) had on the commercial growth of western Europe on the cusp of the early modern period. Of course, posing this question invites comparison, and accordingly Antwerp has been compared with Bruges, Amsterdam and London.<sup>6</sup> Flanking this line of inquiry, scholars have also investigated the position of foreigners in Antwerp, in particular the English, Spanish, Italians, southern Germans as well as Hansards (who removed from Bruges to Antwerp by stages in the early sixteenth century).<sup>7</sup> Focusing on the English, De Smedt's seminal publication (1954) has since

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- 3 According to Eric Mielants, 'It is estimated that between 1526 and 1542, there was an annual influx of more than 2,000 immigrants, huge by sixteenth century standards,' see Eric Mielants, 'Early Modern Antwerp: The First "World City"?', *Journal of Historical Sociology* 30/2 (2017), 262-83, here p. 264. Compare Jan De Meester, *Gastvrij Antwerpen? Arbeidsmigratie naar het zestiende-eeuwse Antwerpen* (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Antwerp, 2011) and Jeroen Puttevils, *Merchants and Trading in the Sixteenth Century: The Golden Age of Antwerp* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2016).
  - 4 Recent overviews of literature in Oscar Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce: The Institutional Foundations of International Trade in the Low Countries, 1250-1650* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013) and Puttevils, *Merchants and Trading in the Sixteenth Century*. For the economic and commercial development, see the seminal work of H. Van der Wee, *The Growth of the Antwerp Market and the European Economy*, 3 vols. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1963) and the volume *International Trade in the Low Countries (14th-16th Centuries)*. *Merchants, Organisation, Infrastructure. Proceedings of the International Conference Ghent-Antwerp, 12th-13th January 1997*, ed. by Peter Stabel, Bruno Blondé, and Anke Greve (Leuven: Garant, 2000).
  - 5 Recent studies include: *Antwerp in the Renaissance*, ed. by Bruno Blondé and Jeroen Puttevils (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020); *City and Society in the Low Countries, 1100-1600*, ed. by Bruno Blondé, Marc Boone, and Anne-Laure Van Bruaene (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018). See also Jeroen Puttevils, 'The Urban History of the Medieval Low Countries: Research Trends and New Perspectives (2011-2018)', *Urban History* 46/3 (2019), 542-54.
  - 6 Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce* and the special issue on the book: *TSEG - The Low Countries Journal of Social and Economic History*, 11/4 (2014). From a different angle: Janna Everaert, 'Power in the Metropolis: The Impact of Economic and Demographic Growth on the Antwerp City Council (1400-1550)', *Urban History*, 47/4 (2020), 589-609. Bram van Hofstraeten et al., 'The Organization of Mercantile Capitalism in the Low Countries: Private Partnerships in Early Modern Antwerp (1480-1620)', *Tijdschrift voor Sociale en Economische Geschiedenis*, 13/2 (2016), 1-24.
  - 7 See for instance Bruno Blondé, Oscar Gelderblom, and Peter Stabel, 'Foreign Merchant Communities in Bruges, Antwerp and Amsterdam, c. 1350-1650', in *Cultural exchange in early modern Europe* vol. 2, ed. by Donatella Calabi and Stephen Turk Christensen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 154-74; *Internationale handelsnetwerken en culturele contacten in de vroegmoderne Nederlanden*, ed. by Maartje van Gelder and E. Mijers (Maastricht: Shaker, 2009); Donald J. Harrel, *High Germans in the Low Countries: German Merchants and Commerce in Golden Age Antwerp* (Leiden: Brill, 2004); Francis Brumont and Jean-Philippe Priotti, 'Identités

been supplemented by further research. These studies have shown that relations with the English had been vital since the 14<sup>th</sup> century. In particular, the English formed a distinct group in Antwerp in the sixteenth century - even though some of the Englishmen were only present during the fairs,<sup>8</sup> when some 300-600 English merchants were active in Antwerp.<sup>9</sup> The sources edited here contribute to our understanding of the commercial, political and social history of the English in Antwerp – and of Antwerp itself. In particular, they shed light on the activities of Antwerp and Brabantine traders and their families who had ties with England.

The commercial history of London in the late medieval and early modern period – and the role the ‘Dutch’<sup>10</sup> played in it – has generated a very extensive literature. Only some aspects can be highlighted here. London’s population grew apace with that of Antwerp, expanding from c. 80,000 in the early sixteenth century to c. 120,000 by 1600.<sup>11</sup>

London’s rapid development in the late medieval and early modern period was predicated on the maritime networks which connected it to continental Europe.<sup>12</sup> Maryanne Kowaleski has pointed out that many of the characteristics of early modern London were rooted in medieval activities: apart from the crucial role in the export of wool and cloth, ‘the concentration of commercial capital and banking in the city, high wage differentials with the rest of the country, distinctive patterns of consumption, superior transport and commercial facilities, and its role linking rural hinterlands and provincial ports with overseas markets’ are characteristics which all emerged before 1500.<sup>13</sup> This attracted foreign merchants, who were responsible for a large share of London’s overseas trade. Alongside Hanseatic, Italian and Iberian traders, merchants – and craftsmen – from the Low Countries

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marchandes. Merciers et hommes d'affaires dans le commerce entre les Pays-Bas et l'Espagne (1533-1556)', *Bulletin de la Commission royale d'Histoire*, 180/11 (2014), 139-360.

8 De Smedt, *De Engelse Natie*; Anne F. Sutton, 'The Merchant Adventurers of England: Their Origins and the Mercers' Company of London', *Historical Research*, 75/187 (2002), 25-46; Vanessa Harding, 'Cross-Channel Trade and Cultural Contacts: London and the Low Countries in the Late Fourteenth Century', in *England and the Low Countries in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. by C. M. Barron and N. Saul (Stroud, UK: Alan Sutton, 1995), pp. 153-68; Ralph Davis, 'The Rise of Antwerp and Its English Connection, 1406-1510', in *The Rise of Antwerp and its English Connection. Trade, Government, and Economy in Pre-Industrial England: Essays Presented to F. J. Fisher*, ed. by D. C. Coleman and Arthur H. Hohn (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1976), pp. 2-20.

9 Puttevils, *Merchants and Trading in the Sixteenth Century*, p. 22.

10 In English contemporary sources, 'Dutch' is a linguistic descriptor and collective term for people from the Low Countries and Germany, see Bart Lambert, Mark Ormrod and Jonathan Mackman, *Immigrant England, 1300-1550* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019), pp. 102-10. In this edition, it means mostly Brabantine traders and their families, and the language variation they used in their letters. In the modern context, 'Dutch' is the official term used for the language spoken in the Netherlands and parts of Belgium nowadays ('Nederlands'). 'Flemish' refers nowadays to dialects spoken in Flanders, and sometimes includes the standard Dutch.

11 Maryanne Kowaleski, 'The Maritime Trade Networks of Late Medieval London', in *The Routledge Handbook of Maritime Trade around Europe 1300-1600*, ed. by Wim Blockmans, Mikhail Krom, Justyna Wubs-Mrozewicz (London: Routledge, 2017), pp. 383-410, here p. 383. See also Vanessa Harding, 'The Population of London, 1550-1700: A Review of the Published Evidence', *The London Journal*, 15/2 (1990), 111-28, especially on p. 112 she demonstrates the difficulty in determining the population, which heavily depends on the method used. If suburbs are included, for instance, then mid-sixteenth century population was c. 120,000 and jumped up to c. 200,000 around 1600.

12 See for the discussion of the vast literature: Kowaleski, 'The Maritime Trade Networks' and Wendy R. Childs, 'England's Maritime and Commercial Networks in the Late Middle Ages', in *Maritime Networks as a Factor in European Integration* (Florence: University of Florence Press, 2019), pp. 89-116.

13 Kowaleski, 'Medieval London', pp. 384, 396.

frequented London and settled there.<sup>14</sup> Many of the Dutch newcomers were artisans and servants. Much recent research has been devoted to this influx, among other things leading to the creation of a database of immigrants to England (EIDB), which will, in turn, surely stimulate further research.<sup>15</sup> The sources edited here, in particular the letters, illuminate this process of immigration: the Dutch addressees living in London were merchants, basketmakers, a tailor and a female innkeeper.<sup>16</sup> Possibly, one basketmaker (no. 29) can be identified with the EIDB database.<sup>17</sup> The sources edited here provide information which complements existing English sources on immigration. Among other things, the letters indicate how commonplace it was to send all kinds of information and goods, and expect them to reach their destination in a relatively short time.<sup>18</sup>

Adrian Johnson's ship, the *James of Antwerp*, was one of many plying the Antwerp-London route. It was a hoy, a one-masted ship of middle or small size which was typical for transport between the Low Countries and England.<sup>19</sup> There is a body of research on the variety of ships, large and small, making the journey between the harbours.<sup>20</sup> The length of this journey depended on favourable winds and tides, but can be estimated at three to a maximum of ten days.<sup>21</sup> Of course, there could be delays or the ships never reached

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- 14 Kowaleski, 'Medieval London', pp. 397-8, 400-02; John R. Oldland, 'The Expansion of London's Overseas Trade from 1475 to 1520', in *The Medieval Merchant: Proceedings of the 2012 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by C. M. Barron and Anne F. Sutton (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2012), pp. 55-92. In passing, one should note that, at this time, migration was nothing out of the ordinary: Maija Ojala-Fulwood, *Migration and Multi-Ethnic Communities: Mobile People from the Late Middle Ages to the Present* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co KG, 2018).
  - 15 <https://www.englishimmigrants.com/> accessed in March 2021; W. Mark Ormrod, 'England's Immigrants, 1330-1550: Aliens in Later Medieval and Early Tudor England', *Journal of British Studies*, 59/2 (2020), 245-63. Lambert, Ormrod, and Mackman, *Immigrant England; Resident Aliens in Later Medieval England; Resident Aliens in Later Medieval England*, ed. by Nicola McDonald, Mark Ormrod and Craig Taylor (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017); Lien Bich Luu, *Immigrants and the Industries of London, 1500-1700* (London: Routledge, 2016). See also the older study of Sylvia Thrupp, 'A Survey of the Alien Population of England in 1440', *Speculum*, 32 (1957), 262-73, which shows artisans from the Low Countries comprised a significant portion of London's mid fifteenth-century population, perhaps as much as 5 percent.
  - 16 See below for the specific addresses. Miri Rubin discusses how 'familiar strangers', e.g. Flemish weavers in London, lived there as an 'embedded and distinct entity' in the city, apparently feeling safe to do so. Miri Rubin, *Cities of Strangers: Making Lives in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), p. 46.
  - 17 Jasper Arnoldson (33497). The first name, provenance, occupation and dating overlap, see <https://www.englishimmigrants.com/person/33497>.
  - 18 The range of goods mentioned in the sources edited here is very broad: addressing them all (and in some cases, identifying) lies beyond the scope of these introductions. For a helpful general overview, see De Smedt, *Engelse natie*, vol. 2, pp. 378-424.
  - 19 'Heude' or 'heu' in Dutch and resembling the cog, see De Smedt, *Engelse Natie*, vol. 2, pp. 289-91; Gustaaf Asaert, *De Antwerpse scheepvaart in de XVe eeuw, (1394-1480): bijdrage tot de economische geschiedenis van de Stad Antwerpen* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1973), here pp. 57-58. Variations of the term 'hoy' appear in several of the documents edited here (e.g. 39, 49, 60), supplementing the general term 'Adrian Johnson's ship', which was named only once (no. 30): the *James of Antwerp*. The three other ships in the edition, from the Low Countries, are also of the smaller type ('schuten') and go unnamed. The Spanish ships, on the other hand, were called *Christofer de Moros* and *Maria de Gatolope*, and were probably larger.
  - 20 Both harbours could welcome large ships, see Asaert, *De Antwerpse scheepvaart*, p. 137; De Smedt, *Engelse natie* vol. 2. Contextualized: Louis Sicking and Arno Neele, "'The Goodlyest Haven Not of the Lowe Countries Only but of All Christendome": The Scheldt Estuary as a Gateway System 1300-1600', in *The Routledge Handbook of Maritime Trade around Europe*, pp. 366-82; Kowaleski, 'Medieval London', pp. 384-91.
  - 21 The distance is 196 nautical miles, see <https://sea-distances.org/>. Asaert, *De Antwerpse scheepvaart*, p. 216 mentions a nine-day journey between London and Antwerp in 1547, framing it as unusually long. Angela Ling Huang and Carsten Jahnke, 'Bermudadreieck Nordsee: Drei Hamburger Schiffe 1481 auf dem Weg nach London',

their destination. Recent research has focused on the matter of risk in the shipping for vessels and crews, ranging from natural disasters to hijacking and war, which could then result in shipwreck or jettison.<sup>22</sup> The case study of the ships captured in 1533 shows how such a risky encounter took place and was reacted to, given the specific circumstances and stakeholders in England (as discussed in Introduction I) and in the Low Countries. For the addressees of the letters, the incident meant they never received them – but we did.

## Merchants' letters in Dutch: context and highlights

The publication of the merchants' letters written in Middle Dutch<sup>23</sup> in 1533 in this volume requires us first and foremost to attempt to place them in the context of the surviving mercantile correspondence. Then we must highlight the more important aspects of these missives, in particular those letters written by women.

Premodern merchants' letters are a highly interesting type of source, disclosing not only commercial information, but also political news or the social aspects of life, or of true affection of merchants to their wives and children, as discussed in Introduction (I).<sup>24</sup> At the same time, medieval or even early modern letters of individuals are actually quite rare, in comparison to the records generated by urban governments and rulers' chanceries or by the various law courts.<sup>25</sup> Their survival has depended often enough on their relevance for these institutions, either being copied into the record of legal proceedings (or included in a file with other evidence), or less often, sewn into a volume.<sup>26</sup> The preservation of

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*Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, 130 (2012), 59–91, here p. 68 estimate that the journey could take ten days at the most. By way of comparison, they state that the Hamburg-Amsterdam journey (c. 200 nautical miles) took 3 to 5 days, and Hamburg-London (c. 460 nautical miles) has been estimated at 6.5 days under favourable conditions, and up to 19 days under unfavourable ones, see *ibidem* p. 65 and 68. As a side note: among the goods carried on Johnson's ship were a couple of compasses and probably maps (no. 68).

- 22 Going beyond the traditional focus on insurance, and including General Average, see Gijs Dreijer, 'Maritime Averages and the Complexity of Risk Management in Sixteenth-Century Antwerp', *TSEG-The Low Countries Journal of Social and Economic History*, 17/2 (2020), 31–54. See also Albrecht Cordes, 'Lex Maritima? Local, Regional and Universal Maritime Law in the Middle Ages', in *The Routledge Handbook of Maritime Trade around Europe*, pp. 69–85.
- 23 The letters were written in the Duchy of Brabant, in the identifiable cases in Antwerp and in Brussels. As discussed above, we use the term 'Dutch' as a collective for the various dialects used in 1533 in the Low Countries. It coincides with the official term used for the language spoken in parts of Belgium nowadays (Nederlands). Historically, 'Flemish' referred to dialects spoken in the County of Flanders, e.g. Bruges and Gent. Nowadays, 'Flemish' refers to modern dialects spoken in parts of Belgium (and sometimes includes the standard Dutch).
- 24 Which stands in an interesting contrast to the *Selbstzeugnisse* discussed by Martha Howell, 'Merchant Masculinity in Early Modern Northern Europe', *Cultural and Social History* (preprint) 2020, 1–22.
- 25 Jeroen Puttevils is compiling a list of published premodern merchant correspondence for his ERC project on the expectations of the future, see <https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/851053>. Concerning northern Europe, see also Mika Kallioinen, 'Medieval Merchants' Letters in Northern Europe: Functions and Conventions', *Scandinavian Journal of History*, 44/1 (2019), 53–76. It has been pointed out that merchant letters were crucial in the circulation of news and connected to the rise of diplomacy, see Mario Infelise, 'From Merchants' Letters to Handwritten Political Avvisi: Notes on the Origins of Public Information', in *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe, III, Correspondence and Cultural Exchange in Europe 1400–1700* ed. by F. Bethencourt and F. Egmond, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 33–52.
- 26 Mary Garrison, 'Send More Socks: On Mentality and the Preservation Context of Medieval Letters', in *New Approaches to Medieval Communication*, ed. by Marco Mostert and Michael T. Clanchy (Turnhout: Brepols,

whole collections of merchants' correspondence is altogether exceptional. However, such cases do occur, as exemplified by the letters to and from Hildebrand Veckinchusen (a late fourteenth and early fifteenth-century Hanseatic merchant), which were found in a wooden box under a layer of pepper in the archive in Tallinn (Reval) in the nineteenth century.<sup>27</sup> A further case in point is the family archives of the Celys (1472-88), which contain the correspondence of a family involved in the wool trade between England and the Calais staple.<sup>28</sup> The most famous medieval collection are the Datini letters (late fourteenth to early fifteenth century), which were found in 1870 in a stairwell in Prato near Florence. They include a stunning 150,000 letters and papers of Francesco di Marco Datini and his network.<sup>29</sup> The writings are a perfect example of how mercantile professional and private lives blended with each other, how intense contacts could be and, perhaps most significantly for the purpose of this edition, how utterly commonplace it was for merchants and their families to grab a piece of paper and start writing. Sometimes several times a day. They wrote about important business and the need of fresh shirts, or passed on gossip. And merchants were not necessarily exceptional in this: archaeological finds of medieval missives written on rune sticks or birch bark indicate that we must have lost enormous amounts of such written evidence on everyday life and communication.<sup>30</sup> The discovery of the Geniza papers in Cairo, spanning the 9<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, provides another example of medieval mercantile correspondence, stemming in this case from the Jewish diaspora.<sup>31</sup> For the early modern period, the scholarly good luck of stumbling across exceptional sources, including mercantile letters, is mostly associated with the Prize Papers (17<sup>th</sup> - 19<sup>th</sup> centuries), which includes 160,000 undelivered letters, both commercial and private. They are kept in the National Archives of the UK. Overall, the documents in the Prize Papers collection, which have been studied in several connected projects, cover an impressive linguistic breadth.<sup>32</sup> The National Archives also hold some 1,700 eighteenth-century

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1999), pp. 69-99; Joel T. Rosenthal, 'Letters and Letter Collections', in *Understanding medieval primary sources: using historical sources to discover medieval Europe*, ed. by Joel T. Rosenthal (London: Routledge, 2014), pp. 72-85.

- 27 Hildebrand Veckinchusen: *Briefwechsel eines deutschen Kaufmanns im 15. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Wilhelm Stieda (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1921); Francesca Trivellato, 'Merchants' Letters and the Legal and Social Sources of Business Cooperation in the Early Modern Period', [http://public.econ.duke.edu/~staff/wrkshop\\_papers/2007-08Papers/Trivellato.pdf](http://public.econ.duke.edu/~staff/wrkshop_papers/2007-08Papers/Trivellato.pdf), accessed April 2021; Kallioinen, 'Medieval Merchants'.
- 28 The Cely letters survived because they were used as evidence in a lawsuit, see Alison Hanham, *The Celys and Their World: An English Merchant Family of the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
- 29 Along with almost 600 account books, see Iris Origo, *The Merchant of Prato: Francesco Di Marco Datini* (London: J. Cape, 1957); Francesco Bettarini and Helen Bradley, 'Mercantile Communication and Foreign Exchange in Medieval Europe: Evidence from the Datini Archive', *European Review of Economic History*, 4 (2000), 265-72; Giampiero Nigro, *Francesco Di Marco Datini: The Man the Merchant* (Florence: Fondazione Istituto Internazionale di Storia Economica F. Datini, 2010).
- 30 Garrison, 'Send More Socks', pp. 69-99; Kristel Zilmer, 'Runic Sticks and Other Inscribed Objects from Medieval Bergen: Challenges and Possibilities', *Maal og Minne*, 112/1 (2020), 65-101, here 77 with such everyday messages as the often-quoted 'Gyða says that you: go home!'; Jos Schaeken, *Voices on Birchbark: Everyday Communication in Medieval Russia* (Leiden: Brill, 2018).
- 31 For the period of a millennium, 400,000 fragments of Jewish manuscripts have been preserved. The part which covers trade relations in North Africa and the (eastern) Mediterranean in the 10<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> century has been used intensively for historical and economic research, see Jessica L. Goldberg, 'The Use and Abuse of Commercial Letters from the Cairo Geniza', *Journal of Medieval History*, 38/2 (2012), 127-54.
- 32 <https://www.prizepapers.de/what-is-the-price-papers-collection>: Dutch, French, English, Spanish, Portuguese, German, Italian, Danish, Swedish, Russian, Basque, Yiddish, Ladino, Latin, Hebrew, Arabic, Persian, Armenian,

Armenian mercantile letters, which were seized by the British Navy in the Indian Ocean.<sup>33</sup> Another important undelivered letter collection is the Brienne collection, kept in the Hague.<sup>34</sup> A large portion of these letters has never been opened, and new technological developments will allow us to read them without having to open them.<sup>35</sup> The post-1600 period may seem blessed with large numbers of letters, but again, it is only a tiny fraction of the millions of documents to be found in archives and libraries (not to mention what must have once existed). All scholars working on premodern mercantile letters are acutely aware of having in their hands sources which are unique, but which at the same time represent but a small part of a much greater whole.

This certainly also holds true for the nine letters in Dutch which are edited and published here. Even though the sample is small, it is also unbiased, like the English letters discussed in Introduction I. The Dutch letters fill in blanks in a number of ways. Most importantly, as Jeroen Puttevils has noted, early sixteenth-century Antwerp is ‘poorly endowed’ when it comes to documentation – including letters – of merchants.<sup>36</sup> So our letters go some way to filling a huge gap. But we can map the white space to some extent in order to better demonstrate the uniqueness of the letters. Starting with the business affairs: they were, of course, discussed, for instance goods kept in London (no. 8) or information on merchandise received (no. 14). Also *busy-ness* is a common topic, for instance in no. 10, where Jan van Espen writes that he would have come himself, had he not so much work to do. With an almost audible sigh, he adds that there was so much work that he could find no peace at home. This echoes the Datini exchanges, where Francesco Datini was accused of workaholism (and did his level best to deserve the accusation).<sup>37</sup> Many of the Dutch and English letters mention ‘writing in haste’. There is some information on the political context and ongoing war, currently causing trouble for merchants as harbours were closed to them (no. 10). The same letters show that business was intertwined with private matters, for instance no. 14. There is a letter (in particularly daunting handwriting) where the line between business and private is very blurred: a nephew offers any service whatsoever (‘heenijgheen dienst’) if only he might be in his uncle’s good graces again, thus hinting at past discord, now very much regretted. It could also be read as a cautious request for money, or in any case as a token of trust after a long period with no contact. Some letters, in particular those of Jan van Espen, bear a particular air of directness, close

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Mandarin, Hindi. There have also been projects on the Dutch letters (Sailing Letters, see <https://www.nationaalarchief.nl/onderzoeken/zoekhulpen/sailing-letters> and <https://prizepapers.huygens.knaw.nl/>).

- 33 Sebouh Aslanian, “‘The Salt in a Merchant’s Letter’: The Culture of Julfan Correspondence in the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean”, *Journal of World History*, 19/2 (2008), 127–88 (p. 129).
- 34 The Brienne collection is central for the *Signed, Sealed and Undelivered* project, see [www.brienne.org](http://www.brienne.org). The undelivered letters are kept in the Sound and Vision Museum in the Hague.
- 35 Jana Dambrogio et al., ‘Unlocking History through Automated Virtual Unfolding of Sealed Documents Imaged by X-Ray Microtomography’, *Nature Communications*, 12/1 (2021), 1–10: a letter from the Brienne collection has been opened digitally.
- 36 Puttevils, *Merchants and Trading in the Sixteenth Century*, p. 171. On the Van der Molen letters from the 1540s, see Florence Edler - De Roover, ‘The Market for Spices in Antwerp, 1538–1544’, *Revue Belge de Philologie et d’Histoire*, 17/1 (1938), 212–21 and Jeroen Puttevils, ‘Klein Gewin Brengt Rijkdom in. De Zuid-Nederlandse Handelaars in de Export Naar Italië in de Jaren 1540’, *TSEG-The Low Countries Journal of Social and Economic History*, 6/1 (2009), 26–52.
- 37 *Letters to Francesco Datini*, ed. by Carolyn James and Antonio Pagliaro (Toronto, Ont.: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2012), e.g. letter no. 10.



relations with his addressees and a good sense of humour. Especially no. 25, a short and somewhat cryptic note: the main information is that one Willem de Vlemmick has finally managed to shed his fat belly, and that the recipient should greet all of van Espen's drinking buddies in London. Either this is a literal message on someone's decreased abdominal circumference, for some reason relevant for Van Espen and his addressee? Or it is actually a code for a different message, for instance, say, that a business deal had fallen through? The letter was folded, locked and sealed in a way which suggests great care about security issues.<sup>38</sup> We will probably never know, but we can read between the lines that Jan had great fun passing the information.

The letters from and to women in Dutch in this edition deserve particular attention. First and foremost, we have to attempt to see them in context. Now, there are letters (in Dutch) with religious content from the Low Countries, written, for instance, by the thirteenth-century Brabantine mystic Hadewijch.<sup>39</sup> In addition, the letters of elite women, like Margaret, the regent of the Low Countries, have been preserved and studied due to their importance for state matters and political history.<sup>40</sup> In general, the writings of medieval women of the highest social echelons in Europe have had a far better chance of survival and of gaining attention from scholars than the writings of premodern women from mercantile circles.<sup>41</sup> But these letters are not really comparable to the women's letters edited here. These are not religious in content, nor were they written by elite women.

Moving into mercantile circles, but broadening the geographical horizon, we can point to the vivid correspondence of Margherita Datini, both dictated and written by her own hand, which has only relatively recently received scholarly attention and been translated and published.<sup>42</sup> Other examples are letters from and to Margarethe Veckinchusen,<sup>43</sup> the Englishwoman Agnes Cely,<sup>44</sup> and, more broadly, of the Pastons, a Norfolk gentry family.<sup>45</sup> The extant evidence of merchant women writing is slim, but it is there – and the tone and content of the letters show that while their survival was exceptional, their existence was not. The fact that no secular correspondence of 'ordinary' women has been preserved

38 Personal communication with Jana Dambrogio and Daniel Starza Smith of letterlocking.org, see also the discussion below.

39 Frits van Oostrom, *Stemmen op schrift: geschiedenis van de Nederlandse literatuur vanaf het begin tot 1300* (Amsterdam: B. Bakker, 2006), pp. 433–38. Another female author from the Low Countries, writing in Dutch, was Beatrijs of Nazareth, see ibidem on her treatise 'Van seven manieren van heileger minne', pp. 404–14.

40 Susan Broomhall and Jennifer Spinks, *Early Modern Women in the Low Countries: Feminizing Sources and Interpretations of the Past* (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 17–44.

41 Erin Anne Sadlack, 'In Writing It May Be Spoke': *The Politics of Women's Letter-Writing, 1377–1603*, (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation: University of Maryland, 2005); Eleanor Hubbard, 'Reading, Writing, and Initialing: Female Literacy in Early Modern London', *Journal of British Studies*, 54/3 (2015), pp. 553–77; Diane Watt, *Medieval Women's Writing* (Cambridge: Polity, 2007); Rebecca Krug, *Reading Families: Women's Literate Practice in Late Medieval England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008). For the early modern period, compare *Early Modern Women's Letter Writing, 1450–1700*, ed. by James Daybell (Houndsmills: Palgrave, 2001).

42 Ann Morton Crabb, "'If I Could Write': Margherita Datini and Letter Writing, 1385–1410', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 60 (2007), 1170–1206; Carolyn James, 'A Woman's Path to Literacy: The Letters of Margherita Datini, 1384?–1410', in *Practices of Gender in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Megan Cassidy-Welch, Peter Sherlock (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), pp. 43–56; James and Pagliaro, *Letters to Francesco Datini*.

43 Hildebrand Veckinchusen, ed. by Stieda.

44 Alison Hanham, *The Celys and Their World: An English Merchant Family of the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

45 Roger Dalrymple, 'Reaction, Consolation and Redress in the Letters of the Paston Women', in *Early Modern Women's Letter Writing, 1450–1700*, ed. by James Daybell (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2001), pp. 16–28.

from this period (up to the early sixteenth century), for Antwerp or the Low Countries in general, makes the letters edited here unique and important.<sup>46</sup>

However, the question irresistibly arises: Why are there so few letters from women in the Low Countries? After all, the pre-conditions were fulfilled: We know that primary education for girls, geared towards literacy and numeracy, was widespread. They attended school together with the boys. Even secondary schooling was not unusual.<sup>47</sup> In an often-repeated quote, the Italian merchant and writer Ludovico Guicciardini marveled at the levels of literacy in the Low Countries.<sup>48</sup> So it would stand to reason that the women from that area would also be engaged in mercantile – and private – correspondence. It is just bad luck that it seems to have vanished.

How can we characterize these missives? Three of the Dutch letters published here were written or dictated by women, and a further one was written to a woman. Letter no. 14 was written by Liesbet Raens, probably in her own hand, and directed to her husband Claes in London. Unfortunately, her signature (or the merchant's mark she used) has been cut off in the lower right-hand corner of the letter. However, there are at least three reasons for assuming that this was a holograph letter: the handwriting does not look professional, but is nonetheless well-practiced; she starts the letter in quite an intimate way 'gescreven aen u mijn alder liefst maen Claes Raes' (written to you, my most beloved husband, Claes Raes), without further formalities; and ends with 'gescreven metter haest bij mij Liesbet Raens' (written by me Liesbet Raens in haste). Interwoven with confirmation of news received and mercantile information passed on, Liesbet also admonishes her husband to take care of his health ('Ende vaechet u vel, dat ghie niet sick en voert'). The letter is phrased in a direct and matter of fact way, which suggests frequent communication and argues against subordination to her husband.<sup>49</sup> Notably, Liesbet was a busy woman (not unlike the male traders discussed above) and clearly proficient at her business, suggesting that a gift should be made instead of a sale.<sup>50</sup> The letter was obviously handed over to Adrian Johnson before he left Antwerp, but it is not clear that Liesbet actually lived in Antwerp.<sup>51</sup>

46 Jelle Haemers, *Wijvenwereld: vrouwen in de middeleeuwse stad* (Antwerpen: Uitgeverij Vrijdag, 2019). Compare An Kint, *The Community of Commerce: Social Relations in Sixteenth-Century Antwerp* (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis: Columbia University, 1996), where the perspective of women is absent.

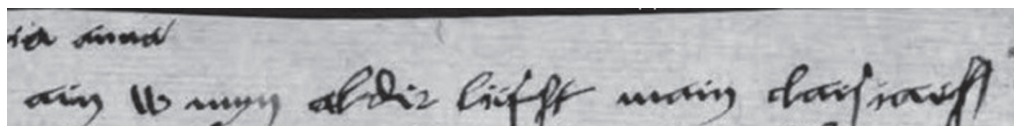
47 Hildegard Symoens, 'Education and Literacy in the Burgundian-Habsburg Netherlands', *Canadian Journal of Netherlandic Studies*, 16/1 (1995), 6-21; Haemers, *Wijvenwereld*, p. 32; Annemarieke Willemsen, *Back to the Schoolyard: The Daily Practice of Medieval and Renaissance Education* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), pp. 15-29.

48 Willemsen, *Back to the Schoolyard*, p. 15: 'the common people mostly have some grounding in grammar, and nearly all - even peasants in countrymen - can at least read and write'. In the English translation, Lodovico Guicciardini, *The Description of the Low Countreys: London, 1593* (Norwood, N.J.: W.J. Johnson, 1976).

49 See also the English letters discussed in Introduction (I). Compare Glenn D. Burger, *Conduct Becoming: Good Wives and Husbands in the Later Middle Ages* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017).

50 On the position of women in (family) business in the sixteenth century, see Martha Howell, 'The Gender of Europe's Commercial Economy, 1200-1700', *Gender & History*, 20/3 (2008), 519-38; Martha C. Howell, *Women, Production, and Patriarchy in Late Medieval Cities* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009). For the earlier period see for instance S. Hutton, *Women and Economic Activities in Late Medieval Ghent* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); M. Kowaleski, 'Women's work in a market town: Exeter in the late fourteenth century', in *Women and work in pre-industrial Europe*, ed. by B. A. Hanawalt (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), pp. 145-64 and for the later period Danielle van den Heuvel, *Women and Entrepreneurship. Female Traders in the Northern Netherlands, c. 1580-1815* (Amsterdam: Aksant, 2007). Richard Goddard, 'Female Merchants? Women, Debt, and Trade in Later Medieval England, 1266-1532', *Journal of British Studies*, 58/3 (2019), 494-518 posited that the share of women in these activities was smaller than thought in research: the sources here suggest otherwise.

51 Also two of the letters of Jan van Espen (nos 8 and 10) were written in Brussels, but there might have been a direct connection to Antwerp. Eric H. Wijnroks, *Handel tussen Rusland en de Nederlanden, 1560-1640: een netwerkanalyse*



One of the two letters by Katline (Katrijne) Tsaselaren (no. 27, dated 27 May 1533) was written in Brussels, apparently dictated to the not very well trained hand of one Jan Speekaert. The other one (no. 17) was written five days earlier, in an unknown place, possibly in her own hand, though the handwriting is actually better than in no. 27. These two are very direct, private letters of a mother to her son Marten, living in London with his wife and household. The contents of the two overlap, suggesting that she had written twice and planned to send the two missives by separate ships to make sure at least one reached him. The letters are affectionate, being directed to 'mynen lieven ende zere bemynden zoen', which is apparently more than a formulaic address since she stresses he is her 'alder liefste zone'.<sup>52</sup> She expresses regret at not having met his wife and household, and states a heartfelt wish to see him again before her death ('myn beminde zoen, ic soude u so zeer gheren noch eens seen vor my dot, wart moeghelyck'). Specifically, she was anxious to disclose a secret to him which she had kept locked in her heart ('Ende weet dat ic ou noch een wat zondelinghes te spreken ende zegghen hebbe dat ic altoors in mijn herte secretelijc gehouden hebbe'). We can only guess what that was all about, and whether Marten ever came to know the secret. Apparently, written correspondence was not deemed appropriate or safe enough to reveal it, or perhaps it was a way of a mother to persuade her son to come and visit.<sup>53</sup> The rest of the letter contains news about family and friends, including a lament that her daughter, Marten's sister, was still unmarried, and greetings from friends or neighbours. Previous letters are mentioned. Again, the impression is that corresponding was nothing out of the ordinary for Katline.

Finally, we have a letter from the aforementioned Jan van Espen (no. 8) to his 'lieve werdinne' Liuken van Brussel, staying in the 'Swan' in St Katharine's just east of the Tower of London.<sup>54</sup> This suggests Liuken was an innkeeper and possibly his landlady, when he

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*van de Antwerpse en Amsterdamse kooplieden, handelend op Rusland* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2003), p. 417 mentions a 1563 petition of traders from Antwerp trading in Oostland who complained about difficulties, and it includes an Anthonie Raes.

- 52 The letters are interesting addition to research on mother-son relations in mercantile circles, see for instance Kathryn L. Reyerson, *Mother and Sons, Inc.: Martha de Cabanis in Medieval Montpellier* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017); Dalrymple, 'Reaction, Consolation and Redress'.
- 53 On secrecy in writing, also in reference to the codes used in the English letters, see for instance James Daybell, 'Secret Letters', in *The Material Letter in Early Modern England: Manuscript Letters and the Culture and Practices of Letter-Writing, 1512-1635*, ed. by James Daybell (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2012), pp. 148-74 and Nadine Akkerman, 'Enigmatic Cultures of Cryptology', in *Cultures of Correspondence in Early Modern Britain*, ed. by James Daybell and Andrew Gordon (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), pp. 69-84, here pp. 70 and 75. The examples in this edition show that secrecy was not restricted to elites, but very much part of a mercantile and urban exchange, compare Michael Jucker, 'Urban Literacy and Urban Secrecy? Some New Approaches to an Old Problem', in *New Approaches*, pp. 15-22.
- 54 In medieval London itself, there were at least six taverns called the Swan, see Barrie Herbert Cox, 'Some London Inn and Tavern Names, 1423-1426', *Journal of the English Place Name Society* 30 (1998 1997), p. 37. It is not clear where Liuken's Swan would be located.

came from the Low Countries. (His other letters, no. 10 and 25, show he had an extensive network there). Van Espen's short note concerns goods stored, and otherwise contains greetings to and from various people. Apparently, it is a response to information she had passed on to him. Now, this fits into a pattern: quite generally, innkeepers were vital for commerce, acting as brokers, providers of storage space for merchandise, information, new contacts or as moneychangers.<sup>55</sup> Here, we have a woman performing this role, apparently independently – though a man called Machielen is also greeted at the end. Recent research on immigrant women in fifteenth-century England, drawing on the returns of the alien survey of 1440, has shown that their vocational opportunities were more limited than immigrant men's or denizen women.<sup>56</sup> Liuken might have been an exception – or times have changed somewhat by the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The Dutch letters contain many references to women (sisters, cousins, nieces, wives of friends) mentioned in greetings or news. Jan van Espen takes special care to greet the wives of his friends, suggesting he knew them well (nos 10, 25). Letter no. 12 refers to a recent marriage of a young woman from the Low Countries to an Englishman.<sup>57</sup> All in all, the letters from, to and about women show they were as much part of the social communities of merchants as men were, and many of them participated in the business.

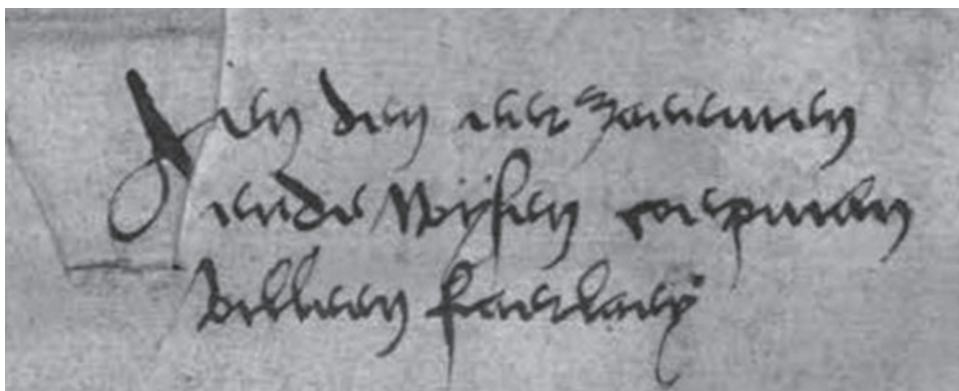
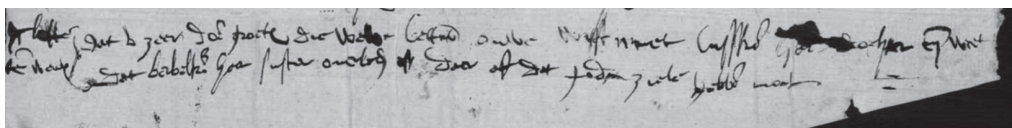
What other aspects of the Dutch letters should be highlighted here?

- They were written in the period from late April 1533 (no. 12) to July 25<sup>th</sup> (no. 14), in Antwerp, Brussels or in an undisclosed location. This stands in contrast to the English letters, which were all penned in July 1533 in Antwerp.
- The letters contain the usual salutations of the time, though they are sometimes kept brief. Altogether, they convey a directness of relations, and frequent exchanges. This is not unlike the English letters, where one husband assured his wife 'I will write more tomorrow' (no. 32), or the Datini letters.
- The letters edited here were most often holographs. Only one, letter 27, was written by someone to whom it was dictated, even if he was not a professional scribe. Compared to administrative records compiled by scribes, or the letters penned by them, the holographs here show a broad variety of handwriting styles and orthography. An excerpt from letter no. 27 may serve as an illustration of the editorial challenges:

55 See for instance Anke Greve, 'Herberge, Wirte und Handel in Brügge im Spätmittelalter', in *Vergleichende Ansätze in der Hansischen Geschichtsforschung*, ed. by Rolf Hammel-Kiesow and Wolfgang Frischman (Trier: Porta Alba, 2002), pp. 223-35; *The World of the Tavern: Public Houses in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Beat Kümin and B. Ann Tlusty (London: Routledge, 2017).

56 Bart Lambert, 'Double Disadvantage or Golden Age? Immigration, Gender and Economic Opportunity in Later Medieval England', *Gender & History*, 31/3 (2019), 545-64; Judith M. Bennett, 'Women (and Men) on the Move: Scots in the English North c. 1440', *Journal of British Studies*, 57/1 (2018), 1-28.

57 Intermarriage, as Andrea Ruddick has recently argued on the basis of fifteenth and sixteenth century sources from England, was accepted and quite widespread, see Andrea Ruddick, 'Immigrants and Inter-Marriage in Late Medieval England', in *Resident Aliens in Later Medieval England*, ed. by Nicola McDonald, Mark Ormrod and Craig Taylor (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), pp. 181-200. She discusses how the topic of intermarriage poses challenges both in quantitative and qualitative terms.



On occasion, merchants betrayed their awareness of the inconvenience they could cause with their sloppy handwriting: one of the English letters here (no. 7) contains an apology about a previous one, which was written so hastily 'I thynke yow cowlde scarcely rede yt'. Sometimes the handwriting of the letters in Dutch was regular, clearly well-practiced and even decorative, but still challenging, for instance in no. 12:

- When it comes to the addresses of the merchants from the Low Countries in London, we can see they stayed in the Tower Wharf (letter no. 10), 'Sommerstran' (probably Sommer's Key, see the discussion of the residences in Appendix I) (no. 18); St Katharine's parish east of the Tower (nos 8 and 25) or close to St Andrew's church (no. 29).<sup>58</sup> Most of the letters, however, were simply addressed to a recipient living in 'London'.
- The Dutch letters, just like the English ones, were carefully folded, locked and sealed in a variety of ways. Both men and women employed these techniques. This makes these letters interesting subjects for study by a new branch of research on premodern correspondence, namely letterlocking. Clearly, in mercantile circles in 1533, there was a lot of knowhow on how to make the contents of a letter secure. The interplay between the contents of the letters, and the ways of securing them, is a very promising and exciting research topic.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>58</sup> See <http://www.historictownsatlas.org.uk/content/medieval-london>. Compare Justin Colson, 'Alien Communities and Alien Fraternities in Later Medieval London', *The London Journal*, 35/2 (2010), 111-43.

<sup>59</sup> I thank Jana Dambrogio and Daniel Starza Smith of [letterlocking.org](http://letterlocking.org) for going through the whole collection of letters edited here with me, which opened my eyes to a new way of looking at medieval and early modern correspondence.

## The 1533-34 incident, the Low Countries and conflict management

The 1533-34 case itself was remarkable in many respects. As discussed in Introduction I, unravelling the seizure of the goods took altogether less than a year, starting a couple of weeks after the incident in the Channel (19/20 Aug. 1533) and ending with the settlement of the last claims in the following June. The speed with which Lübeck proceeded with the inventarisation of the merchandise, the return of goods and reimbursement of losses is astonishing by contemporary standards. In the early sixteenth century, prize cases like this could take years, or even decades, if you were really unlucky.<sup>60</sup> Why did things move so rapidly in this case?

Certainly, the fact that a significant part of the cargo belonged to English merchants and that Henry VIII (together with Thomas Cromwell) put intense pressure on the Steelyard, played an essential role. But the conflict should also be seen from the perspective of the Low Countries, in particular in the context of their relations with Lübeck. The intricacies of these relations, and the urgency contemporaries felt to settle the conflict, must have also propelled it to the top of the agenda. The case is a fine example of conflict management.<sup>61</sup>

As noted in Introduction I, the incident in the Channel involved the taking of six ships from Antwerp, Zealand and Spain. The goods on board belonged to merchants from England, Spain, Venice, Brabant and the Hanse.<sup>62</sup> They were taken in the context of a conflict between Lübeck and Holland (1533-34), which ended in March 1534 with a truce.<sup>63</sup> Given the parties to the conflict, the merchandise of the English, of fellow Hansards and of Venetians should have been seen as neutral.<sup>64</sup> This also applied to the Spanish, even though Holland (and the Low Countries in general) as well as Spain shared the same overlord, Charles V. As for the Brabanters and Zeelanders, the situation appears to have been more

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- 60 Karl-Heinz Böhringer, *Das Recht der Prise gegen Neutrale in der Praxis des Spätmittelalters* (Hamburg: Alfred Metzner, 1972); Louis Sicking, 'Prijzrechtspraak in de Nederlanden. De Admiraliteiten van Veere, Duinkerke en Gent, 1488-1568', in *Van oud en nieuw recht*, ed. by Dirk Heirbaut and Daniël Lambrecht (Antwerpen: Kluwer Rechtswetenschappen, 1998), pp. 67-88; Justyna Wubs-Mrozewicz, 'Neutrality before Grotius: A City, a State and Seven Salt Ships in the Baltic (1564-1567)', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 22/6 (2018), 446-74.
- 61 For a general discussion and the Hanse area see Justyna Wubs-Mrozewicz, 'Conflict Management and Interdisciplinary History', *TSEG-The Low Countries Journal of Social and Economic History*, 15/1 (2018), 89-107; Philipp Höhn, *Kaufleute in Konflikt. Rechtspluralismus, Kredit und Gewalt im spätmittelalterlichen Lübeck* (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2021); Florian Dirks, *Konfliktaustragung im norddeutschen Raum des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts. Untersuchungen zu Fehdewesen und Tagfahrt*, Nova Mediaevalia 14, (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2015). Compare Louis Sicking and Alain Wijffels eds, *Conflict Management in the Mediterranean and the Atlantic 1000-1800. Actors, Institutions and Strategies of Dispute Settlement* (Leiden: Brill, 2020). In these publications, several prize cases are discussed.
- 62 No Brabantine goods are mentioned in the overviews, but they are present in letters. The reason is surely that Lübeck felt justified in seizing these goods, having declared war. There was consequently no reason to return the merchandise or record the fact of restitution. The value of the Low Countries' merchants' goods taken is unknown.
- 63 NAU 1, nos 88 and 177; HR IV 1, no. 198, 233; Hanno Brand, 'Habsburg and Hanseatic Diplomacy during the Sound Controversy of 1532', in *The dynamics of economic culture in the North Sea- and Baltic Region: in the late Middle Ages and early modern period*, ed. by Hanno Brand and Leos Müller (Hilversum: Verloren, 2007).
- 64 Koen Stapelbroek, 'The Rights of Neutral Trade and Its Forgotten History', *COLLeGIUM: Studies across disciplines in the humanities and social sciences* vol. 10, 1-13; Eric Schnakenbourg, 'From "Hostile Infection" to "Free Ship, Free Goods": Changes in French Neutral Trade Legislation (1689-1778)', in *Neutrality of Commerce*, ed. Stapelbroek, p. 96.

complex. In the sources edited here, it is clear that they were perceived as adversaries, just like the Hollanders. It is unclear whether this was voiced when fears arose that the conflict would escalate, or that opinions were divided within Lübeck.<sup>65</sup> In any case, there is further evidence of enmity and the capture of ships and goods on both sides.<sup>66</sup> The taking of Adrian Johnson's Brabantine ship, and of the ships of the three Zealanders, would thus seem to follow this pattern. However, several sources of 1533 show that Lübeck was at pains to define its adversary more narrowly, as Holland only.<sup>67</sup> Other Hansards also tended to look at it in the same way.<sup>68</sup> This perspective was clearly chosen to counter Hollandish attempts to obtain the backing of the whole of the Low Countries in the conflict, and the emperor's support too, if possible.<sup>69</sup> If Lübeck wanted to avoid such an escalation, it had to frame its definition of adversary in such a way that all other 'Dutch' traders and skippers were let off the hook. This might explain the speed with which Lübeck proceeded with the case involving Adrian Johnson and the Zealanders. Possibly, too, it explains why the incident in the Channel was not broached during the truce negotiations between Lübeck and Holland in 1534, in the course of which the focus was resolutely restricted to Holland alone. The truce itself ended the argument, defining the conflict as a matter to be resolved between Lübeck and Holland.<sup>70</sup>

From the point of view of dealing with conflicts, there are several aspects which need to be highlighted here. They fit into the broad definition of premodern conflict management, which went beyond conflict resolution and allowed room for various tactics and actors.<sup>71</sup> The speed of the procedure of the case can be seen as a very efficient tactic aimed at de-escalation. Marcus Meyer, in particular, was in no doubt about the value of Hanseatic privileges in England and the danger of failing to resolve the matter quickly (no. 36). The alacrity with which the problem was settled probably kept it off the table in the truce negotiations in Hamburg in March 1534. Still, it is remarkable that the parties negotiating the truce between Lübeck and Holland seemingly took great pains to keep the incident in the Channel off the agenda. In these negotiations, English diplomats were entirely absent, and the representatives of the regent of the Low Countries focused on the Holland aspect

65 Although Antwerp (as well as Bruges and Middelburg) were informed by Lübeck in the end of March 1533 that the war pertained to Hollanders, see NAU 1, no. 88.

66 HR IV 1, no. 229, no. 238 § 6.

67 HR IV 1, no. 228 § 9; no. 238 § 3

68 HR IV 1, no. 227 §§ 3, 7; no. 228 § 6

69 Holland found itself in a complex situation, having given support (reluctantly) in 1531 to Christian II of Denmark, an adversary of Lübeck but also brother in law of emperor Charles V. See also HR IV 1, no. 228 § 19 and Brand, 'Controversy', pp. 103-05, 111. For the broader context of the relations, see James D. Tracy, *Holland under Habsburg rule: 1506-1566* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); Laetitia Gorter-Van Royen, 'Denmark and Habsburg: the Netherlands between Dynastic and European Policies in the Beginning of the 16th Century', in *Baltic Affairs. Relations between the Netherlands and North-Eastern Europe 1500-1800*, ed. by J.Ph.S. Lemmink and J.S.A.M.van Koningsbrugge (Nijmegen: Institute for Northern and Eastern European Studies, 1990), pp. 75-96; Louis Sicking, *Zeemacht en onmacht. Maritieme politiek in de Nederlanden 1488-1558* (Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw, 1998); Rudolf Häpke, *Die Regierung Karls V. und der europäische Norden* (Lübeck: Max Schmidt, 1914).

70 For the rest of the Low Countries, it was agreed that wartime actions were to stop, which was a marked difference, see HR IV 1, no. 233; NAU 1, no. 177.

71 For a discussion on this approach to conflicts, see Justyna Wubs-Mrozewicz, 'Conflict Management and Interdisciplinary History', *TSEG-The Low Countries Journal of Social and Economic History*, 15/1 (2018), 89-107 and Justyna Wubs-Mrozewicz, 'The Late Medieval and Early Modern Hanse as an institution of Conflict Management', *Continuity and Change*, 32/1 (2017), pp. 59-84.

alone.<sup>72</sup> Hanseatic cities like Hamburg and Danzig acted as mediators in the truce talks, and it is clear that the Polish king (whose interest in the matter was very carefully modulated), the emperor and the regent all wished to keep the conflict narrowly confined in scope.<sup>73</sup>

Lübeck's overriding interest, once the town council realized what a hornet's nest it had stirred up, was, of course, to avoid all responsibility (particularly financial) for the incident. In effect, Lübeck quickly resolved to act as a neutral party in this case, one which not only acted as a trustee for the victims, but took care to demonstrate for all to see that it was doing so. Lübeck's disavowal of its own privateers, as evidenced by the council's grovelling letter of 1 Oct. 1533 to Henry VIII, which stated in no uncertain terms that the incident had occurred without its knowledge and, indeed, in violation of its express commands, was only the beginning.<sup>74</sup> Action had to follow words. Therefore, it was necessary, first of all, to interrogate the parties involved (as evinced by the depositions of Adrian Johnson and Hinrick Cron (nos 37-39)), in order to obtain an objective account of the incident. The next step was to produce a scrupulous inventory of the victims' goods which had fetched up in Lübeck and Hamburg. The purpose of these measures was, of course, to obtain the victims' representatives' quitclaims in which they formally certified – in the presence of a notary – that all goods had been returned (or adequate compensation paid) and that their principals had no further claims against Lübeck.

Conflict management was not solely a matter which concerned governments. It also took place on an individual level, independent of any large-scale conflict. The documents edited here illustrate this. They offer glimpses of how existing and potential clashes with trading partners or family members were dealt with. For instance, in letter no. 2, a gap in the flow of information from a third party was signaled, and the letter was formulated in such a way as to probe whether this was intentional or not. Thus, this letter might be seen as an attempt to ward off a conflict, or if need be, initiate one.<sup>75</sup> In letter no. 12, a past falling out with an uncle is hinted at, and the whole letter is worded as a cautious step towards making amends and restoring contact. William Pratt instructed his wife (letter no. 13) to 'trust no one but those who you are sure of', clearly in order to ward off any potential trouble. Conflict prevention was also the objective of letter no. 24, in which an apprentice wrote to his master stating that he was unable to repay his debt, admitting that 'yt ys no small sum'. Yet he assured the addressee that 'I trust sometyne to cover ye'. The choice for transparency was probably to avert the danger of relational rupture or being fired. These instances add another dimension to other sources which have been preserved on individual mercantile conflicts in premodern northern Europe, in particular court proceedings. The added value of the letters here is that they are personal, and that no institutions are involved in the conflict management. But the letters edited here, both the English and Dutch ones, offer even more.

<sup>72</sup> HR IV 1, no. 227 § 8, no. 228.

<sup>73</sup> HR IV 1, no. 198, 202, 204, 208, 213, 223, 227 § 11, 228 § 13, no. 264.

<sup>74</sup> LP VI, no. 1200.

<sup>75</sup> 'And alleso I maruelle that Thomas Wilson send me not the letter that he delyveryd to Antony Vyvaldes clarke to copye, which letter I have resseived be my brother John Gresham which cam to þis towne the Monday after ther departyng frome London' (no. 2).





## Introduction (III)

### Merchants' marks

One of the truly captivating aspects of the sources edited here, both the correspondence and the administrative documents, are the merchants' marks. They were graphic emblems intended for self-identification and to identify property, consisting of strokes, geometrical figures and letters (as discussed in more detail below). There are 297 occurrences of merchants' marks here, edited in tables, 108 of them being unique marks (symbols in the database).<sup>1</sup> They belonged to merchants from England, the Low Countries, Spain and Venice, as well as two Hanseatic cities. They were recorded in the inventories of goods captured by the Lübeck privateers in the ship of Adrian Johnson, in the other ships from the Low Countries and in the Spanish ships. Sometimes the owner of a merchant's mark can be identified by name, but the majority of the recorded names mentioned in connection with the marks were probably communicated by commercial agents who were responsible for sending and receiving merchandise.

Hence, the marks they record – when sending goods marked with thus-and-such a mark – do not always indicate that they owned these marks. In many cases, actually, the owner of the mark is unknown and the mark is depicted solely in connection to goods. This explains why one and the same mark can be linked to more than one name. Consequently, it is often the case that the only people we can in fact feel confident in linking to the marks were claimants of the goods, which shows how important merchants' marks were for the identification of property not merely in claiming goods at quayside, but also during a conflict. The inventories disclose that the marks were placed on a range of goods, from Lisbon oil to expensive cloth. They were prominently displayed on the packing units such as barrels and packs. Of course, not all goods were always marked – the inventories edited here show that some bundles were unmarked. We can guess that this might have led to identification problems. The contents of the unmarked bundles were described in far more detail, which suggests that the marks functioned effectively as a shorthand in identification.

Analyzing the marks recorded in the 1533-34 case brings several aspects of economic and social history to the fore: networks spanning large parts of Europe, migration of people and goods, the use of ships by various groups of merchants, the exchange of information between individuals and institutions, and how identification through marks was a vital part of the diplomatic and legal proceedings, in particular conflict management, as discussed above.

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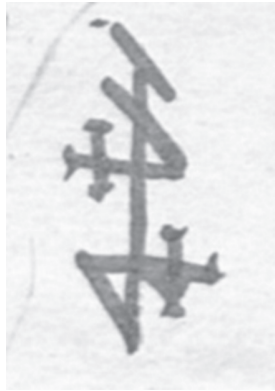
<sup>1</sup> We reproduce all occurrences in the edition as a photo. These occurrences are connected to data and the unique merchant's mark symbol in the database (see [premodernconflictmanagement.org](http://premodernconflictmanagement.org)). Some of the symbols thus occur repeatedly. In some cases, the distinction between symbols has posed difficulties, due to the various styles of redrawing the mark in the documents which result in minor differences. Possibly, additional information might lead to adjusting the number of symbols in the database, for instance when an overlap in users or the type of goods traded under a mark suggest that it is the same mark symbol. Sometimes, a mark is accompanied by a number which refers to a bundle, and is not part of the mark itself.

Merchants' marks were also part of the premodern visual symbolic culture, like urban seals or coats of arms. However, they had to be simpler in form (since they had to be chiseled onto a barrel or painted onto a bundle). But what they lacked in elaboration, they made up for in occurrence, connections to other signs and function. Merchants' marks were prominently visible on houses, in tombs or in personal seals. They were placed in churches, on goods hauled from decks of ships or letters, sometimes in paintings, and not to forget, in official records in urban northern Europe in the Middle Ages and early modern period.

Merchants' marks were part of a long-lived and truly global tradition of marking all kinds of items in order to link them to their makers or rightful owners. In their graphic simplicity, they bear resemblance to marks used in the past by various professional groups like masons, potters or fishermen. They also resemble cloth seals or – to use a still widespread example – cattle brands.<sup>2</sup> Often, these makers' and owners' marks were used for generations and were more connected to households than to individuals, being passed down from father to son. In German and Dutch, they are therefore often called 'household marks' (*Hausmarken*, *huismerken*), and the more generic term also covers merchants' marks in these languages.<sup>3</sup> This terminology is somewhat misleading because merchants' marks were usually individualized when fathers, sons, brothers, cousins and nephews traded simultaneously.<sup>4</sup>

When entered into citizens' books or used in correspondence, they were treated as the mark of an individual.<sup>5</sup> Apart from demonstrating ownership of goods in long-distance

- 2 *Traditional Marking Systems: A Preliminary Survey*, ed. by Joám Evans Pim et al. (London: Dunkling Books, 2010); Jennifer S. Alexander, 'Masons' Marks and Stone Bonding', in *The Archaeology of Cathedrals*, ed. by T. Tatton-Brown and J. Munby (Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 1996), pp. 219–36; Jennifer S. Alexander, 'The Introduction and Use of Masons' Marks in Romanesque Buildings in England', *Medieval Archaeology*, 51/1 (2007) pp. 63–81; John Cherry, 'The Cloth Seal: A Mark of Quality, Identification, or Taxation?', *The Medieval Globe*, 4/1 (2018), pp. 167–92.
- 3 In English the standard terminology is 'merchants' marks', see John Paul Rylands et al., *Merchants' Marks and Other Medieval Personal Marks* (Edinburgh: Ballantyne, 1910) and especially F. A. Girling, *English Merchants' Marks: A Field Survey of Marks Made by Merchants and Tradesmen in England between 1400 and 1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964). The term in French is 'marques de marchands', Évelyne Bermond-Picot, *À vos marques: les marques de marchands du XIII<sup>e</sup> au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Villenave d'Ornon: Éditions GLL, 2020). Compare Karin Czaja, 'Hausmarken: Praxis und Genese', in *Das Siegel. Gebrauch und Bedeutung*, ed. by Gabriel Stoukalov-Pogodin and Gabriela Signori (Darmstadt: Darmstadt Wiss. Buchges., 2007), pp. 175–79; A. Pathuis, *Groninger Gedenkwaardigheden. Teksten, Wapens En Huismerken van 1298-1814* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1977).
- 4 If it were exactly the same mark, it would cause problems with the identification of goods. See examples of the variations in *Die Handelsbücher des Hildebrand Veckinchusen: Kontobücher und übrige Manuale*, ed. by Michail P. Lesnikov, Walter Stark, and Albrecht Cordes (Cologne: Böhlau, 2013). See also the examples of the Vasan family in Thorn/Toruń in the article by Jan Wroniszewski, 'Herb i Gmerki Rodziny Vasanów. Z Problematyki Późnosredniowiecznej Sfragistyki Mieszczańskiej', in *Miasta, ludzie, instytucje, znaki. Księga jubileuszowa ofiarowana Profesor Bożenie Wyrozumskiej w 75. rocznicę urodzin*, ed. by Zenon Piech (Kraków: Wydawn. Tow. Naukowego Societas Vistulana, 2008), pp. 779–88, esp. p. 785, and examples within the Giese family in Danzig/Gdańsk, Justyna Wubs-Mrozewicz, 'Maritime Networks and Premodern Conflict Management on Multiple Levels: The Example of Danzig and the Giese Family', in *Maritime Networks*, pp. 385–405.
- 5 E.g. in the *Digestum Vetus* in Kampen, Hanno Brand and Edda Frankot, 'Das Kampener Stadtbuch 'Digestum Vetus' als Spiegel der städtischen Normierungspolitik', in *Gelebte Normen im urbanen Raum? Zur sozial- und kulturgeschichtlichen Interpretation rechtlicher Quellen in mitteleuropäischen Städten des Mittelalters (13. bis 16. Jahrhundert)*, ed. by Hanno Brand, Sven Rabeler, and Harm von Seggern (Hilversum: Verloren, 2014), pp. 45–61; see also <https://www.stadsarchiefkampen.nl/meer-weten-over/pronkstukken/item/pronkstukken-merktokens>, accessed March 2021.



Jan van Espen's mark, letters nos 8, 10, 25.



Merchant's mark of Georg Giese on a stamp, depicted in the painting by Hans Holbein, Gemäldegalerie Berlin, my tracing. This is an example of a mark used as the iconographic element of a seal.



Merchant's mark of William Gresham, letter no. 5.



Hildebrand Veckinchusen



Sivert Veckinchusen



Zerghes Veckinchusen

[Merchant marks belonging to two brothers and a nephew, from *Die Handelsbücher des Hildebrand Veckinchusen*, ed. by Lesnikov, Stark and Cordes, p. LXXV]. Reproduced with permission.

trade or in legal proceedings, merchants' marks were used as signatures and implicitly, as a token of quality of the products traded.<sup>6</sup>

Given the vital role of merchants' marks, one would expect them to have been studied intensively. Yet compared to seals or coats of arms, the field of merchants' marks has been spared the scholar's plough. To be sure, they have received passing attention since the nineteenth century, and were even fashionable as a topic for a time in the early twentieth century. Often explicitly linked to Germanic culture, they were sometimes turned into elements of propaganda in Nazi Germany. The connections to runes, graphically seemingly quite similar, have been explored. Especially the interest which the Nazi scholars evinced in the subject during WW II might well have hampered later engagement with the topic.<sup>7</sup> In the second half of the twentieth century, relatively little has been written about merchants' marks.<sup>8</sup> Only recently has a revival begun. This renewed interest sometimes arose from archaeological finds,<sup>9</sup> but it also proceeded from developments in book research, heraldry, sphragistics or more generally urban culture. The focus is on their widespread occurrence on all kinds of objects and structures, and on their versatile functions.<sup>10</sup> They are depicted,

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- 6 Though the aspect of intellectual property is lacking in the medieval context, there was an idea of uniqueness of certain products, which had to be protected by secret, see e.g. on beer recipes Justyna Wubs-Mrozewicz, 'Van wie is dit biertje? Import, consumptie en productie van bier in middeleeuws Amsterdam', *Jaarboek van het Genootschap Amstelodamum*, 111 (2019), 11-37.
  - 7 Andreas Ludwig Jacob Michelsen, *Die Hausmarke: eine germanistische Abhandlung* (Jena: Frommann, 1853); C. G. Homeyer, *Die Haus- und Hofmarken* (Berlin: Verlag der königlichen geheimen Ober-Hofbuchdruckerei, 1870). In the 1930s and 1940s, there were for instance the publications by Karl Konrad August Ruppel and Hermannus Reydon (the latter in the Netherlands). On the influence of WW II on topics studied, like the Hanse, see Volker Henn, 'Wege und Irrwege der Hanseforschung und Hanserezeption in Deutschland im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert', in *Geschichtliche Landeskunde der Rheinlande: Regionale Befunde und raumübergreifende Perspektiven*, ed. by Marlene Nikolay-Panter et al. (Cologne: Böhlau, 1994); Thomas Hill, 'Vom öffentlichen Gebrauch der Hansegeschichte und Hanseforschung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert', in *Ausklang und Nachklang der Hanse im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Antjekathrin Graßmann (Trier: Porta Alba, 2001), pp. 67-88.
  - 8 Girling, *Merchants' marks* and Edward Mars Elmhirst and Leslie Dow, *Merchants' Marks* (London: Harleian Society, 1959), did appear after the war: apparently, the connection to propaganda was not made in the English context. An important publication in German from the 1990s is Evamaria Engel, 'Signum Mercatoris - Signum Societas. Zeichen und Marke im Wirtschaftsleben deutscher Städte des Spätmittelalters', in *Symbole des Alltags, Alltag der Symbole. Festschrift für Harry Kühnel zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by Gertrud Blaschitz (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1992), pp. 209-31. Renée Doehaerd, *Études anversoises: documents [in the Stadsarchief] sur le commerce international à Anvers, 1488-1514* (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N, 1963) contains merchants' marks from the Antwerp area.
  - 9 Current research by the archaeologist Jeroen Oosterbaan, Leiden University, see for instance Jeroen Oosterbaan et al., *Van vissersdorp tot havenstad: 750 jaar stadsvorming aan de Groote Markt te Vlissingen* (Zevenaar: Archeodienst BV, 2015). I thank him for the references to Sarah Fawsitt, *Casks & 16th Century Trade in Northern Europe: A Study of the Cargo from the Drogheda Boat* (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis: University of Esbjerg, 2010), pp. 60-66; Michael Rief, 'Eingekerbte Hausmarken auf baltischen Wagenschott-Brettern des 14. - 16. Jahrhunderts', *Zeitschrift für Kunsttechnologie und Konservierung*, 20/2 (2006), 309-25.
  - 10 Marcus Meer, 'Reversed, Defaced, Replaced: Late Medieval London and the Heraldic Communication of Discontent and Protest', *Journal of Medieval History*, 45/5 (2019), 618-45; Thomas Kittel, 'Early Modern Merchant's Marks in Medieval English Manuscripts', *Renaissance Studies*, 34/2 (2020), 208-27. There is also interest in Poland: Bogdan Bobowski, 'Gmerki oraz pieczęcie herbowe mieszczan (Uwagi w związku z odnalezieniem na terenie badań archeologicznych w Gdańsku przy ulicy 3 Maja dwóch nieznanych dotychczas zabytków sfragistyki mieszczkańskiej)', *Studia Zachodnie*, 19 (2017), 9-16; Kamila Follprecht, 'Gmerki mieszczan krakowskich', *Krakowski Rocznik Archiwalny*, 9 (2003), 46-62. See also Czaja, 'Hausmarken: Praxis und Genese', pp. 175-79 and Kathrin Stutz, 'Die Hausmarke. Zur Genese eines Rechtsbegriffs', in *Häuser, Namen, Identitäten. Beiträge*, pp. 31-42. See also the discussion on merchants' marks in Anna Paulina Orlowska, *Johan Pyre. Ein*



Brouwershaven fishers' marks: Stedelijke musea Zierikzee, inv.no. 1236, from: Oosterbaan et al., *Van vissersdorp*, p. 255.

sometimes briefly described, and, when possible, connected to owners. Most commonly, however, they are relegated to the sidelines of broader research projects.

Many researchers working on trade and urban culture take note of their existence, but run into problems when they try to systematize or identify them, particularly if the marks had originated in different places. Attempts to create an overview have therefore mostly been confined to local occurrences, e.g. in Graubünden in Switzerland.<sup>11</sup> These overviews in fact echo the premodern situation: urban authorities made lists of marks and their owners in their citizen books and other administrative documents. For instance, Brouwershaven publically displayed panels with the marks of its fishermen.<sup>12</sup>

When needed, information was passed on in correspondence and inventories, as was done in the Lübeck case documented in this edition. The ad hoc and local approach in contemporary sources is mirrored in the research, which also tends to be local. This becomes a problem when you are dealing with long-distance traders (as we are here), since the marks traveled far afield together with the goods and therefore quickly burst the bounds of a particular region. In such cases, the regional approach is simply useless.

The overall picture of merchants' marks in Europe thus remains very fragmented. Worse yet, there is scarcely any discussion on a methodological approach to the field. How can we find more information about an unknown mark, and how are we to describe an image and systematize the contextual information? Again, this is in stark contrast with sigillography or heraldry, fields which pride themselves on a rich tradition of creating overviews and developing appropriate research methods.<sup>13</sup> In recent years, both the sphragistic and heraldic overviews and the methodologies employed have been made

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*Kaufmann und sein Handelsbuch im spätmittelalterlichen Danzig. Darstellung und Edition* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2022, forthcoming).

11 <https://www.gr.ch/DE/institutionen/verwaltung/ekud/afk/sag/dienstleistungen/bestaende/hauszeichensammlung/Seiten/default.aspx>, accessed in March 2021.

12 Oosterbaan, *Van vissersdorp*, p. 255.

13 There is, however, a distinct tendency to concentrate on the seals and coats of arms of the powerful, especially men, see Stuart Jenks, 'Frauensiegel in den Würzburger Urkunden des 14. Jahrhunderts', *Zeitschrift Für Bayerische Landesgeschichte*, 45 (1982), 541-53.

accessible in the form of numerous databases, systematizing the description of the images and their context.<sup>14</sup>

Nothing of the sort exists for merchants' marks. The database I have created in connection with my project on premodern conflict management, using the collection in this 1533-34 case as a point of departure and pilot study, is thus a bottom-up attempt and draws upon many traditions and practical solutions. A survey of the standardized ways of describing seals or coats of arms, both in publications and in databases, shows that, unfortunately, they are not very helpful. This is first and foremost due to the difference in the types of image in these fields. The graphic lines of a merchant's mark are difficult to compare to the often very complex elements in coats of arms and seals.<sup>15</sup> On the other hand, the graphically similar runes constitute an alphabet, and are classified and encoded as such, so there is no need for scholars to focus on their graphic elements.<sup>16</sup> More helpful are attempts to systematize watermarks and masons' marks, by breaking them down into their visual elements in order to facilitate a search in a database. However, search possibilities are limited and current projects have little to offer by way of contextual information.<sup>17</sup> Modern cattle brand databases or pottery databases take a similar approach. Here selected elements are employed to narrow down the visual search, but little more is provided.<sup>18</sup> Worse yet, the repetition of the same elements, very common in merchants' marks, is not taken into account in this type of database. By way of contrast, this aspect is very well accounted for and used as a search aid in the case of kanjis, the Chinese characters in Japanese. When attempting to decipher an unknown kanji, either in a physical or digital dictionary, one of the methods used is to count the number of strokes of which the character consists. Establishing that a character is made by five strokes, following Japanese calligraphy rules, enables you to locate it within the group of such characters.<sup>19</sup>

The pilot merchants' marks database, which grew out of this source edition, combines and complements these approaches and has been designed to make sufficient room available for historical contextualization. Flexibility and future scalability are also important goals. In order to achieve it, we make use of nodegoat, a database and visualization software designed by and for historians, which takes into account chronology, ambiguity and spatial distribution.<sup>20</sup>

So how do you systematize the wealth of information on merchants' marks? First of all, by making the database searchable through descriptions of the marks. When we enter

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- 14 Phillip R. Schofield, *Seals and Their Context in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2015); Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, *Seals: Making and Marking Connections Across the Medieval World* (Leeds: Arc Humanities Press, 2019); <http://www.sigilla.org/>. See also <https://www.sigillvm.net/>.
  - 15 Even though it has to be noted that some of the merchants' marks introduced elements from heraldry, like the escutcheon (shield). This was especially the case when merchants became ennobled.
  - 16 See ISO 15924.
  - 17 <https://www.piccard-online.de/start.php>, accessed 12.04.2021 (I thank Dr Anna Orłowska for the reference) and <http://www.masonsmarkproject.org.uk>, accessed 11.02.2021.
  - 18 See for instance <http://www.tscrabands.com/>, <https://www.themarksproject.org/home>. There is also an initiative to systematize marks on paintings, sculptures and furniture, see <https://rkd.nl/nl/projecten-en-publicaties/projecten/124-nieuw-ontwikkelde-marks-on-art-database>, accessed in March 2021.
  - 19 Either of the kanji itself, or the radical which is its part. I would like to thank Professor Katarzyna Ćwierotka (Modern Japanese History, Leiden University) for a crash course in this matter.
  - 20 See nodegoat.net.



the images of the marks, we break them down into their visual elements – like horizontal or vertical strokes or circles –,<sup>21</sup> which are then counted.<sup>22</sup> Since no list of appropriate classifications or nomenclature like the GND exists for merchants' marks, the list and terms are made bottom-up.<sup>23</sup> This means that the list of elements was drawn up on the basis of an analysis of the marks published in this volume, and of a survey of publications of images of marks from various parts of Europe.<sup>24</sup> The list is easily adaptable and expandable. The database can then be searched when an unknown mark is unearthed in a source. In order to check whether a mark, say, with two horizontal and three vertical strokes, as well as a circle, can be found.<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, all available information on when, where and in which circumstances the mark occurred, is entered in the database.<sup>26</sup> Specifically, data on locations, dates, institutions involved, actors (owner, sender, recipient, skipper in whose ship the goods were carried), the goods marked, whether this was in the context of a conflict, the materiality of the mark (paper or wood),<sup>27</sup> and the function(s) of the mark, e.g. identification, signature, authentication in citizen book. References to the sources where the marks were found, as well as image variations and notes are included.<sup>28</sup>

The flexibility of the data model, and its experimental nature, open this pilot project to broad discussion and collaboration. It can be a point of departure for research on merchants' marks as physical tokens of migration patterns, flows of goods, networks or family relations. For now, the database will be placed on the project website and made Open Access with a public interface. The data can be easily exported, and will be stored as backup on the server of a Dutch research repository.<sup>29</sup>

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- 21 Right now the list is constituted by: horizontal strokes; vertical strokes; diagonal strokes; wavy strokes; lemniscate (infinity sign); half of lemniscate (infinity sign); dots; circles; semi-circles; escutcheon (shield); arrows; hearts; squares; barrel shape; tools; stars; animals; plants; letters integrated in mark; numbers integrated in mark.
  - 22 Like the kanji, the strokes are counted as one when they are crossed, i.e. a + consists of one horizontal and one vertical stroke, following the movement of a quill pen, knife or chalk etc. which was used to make the mark. Still, interpretations may vary, e.g. whether to see a shape as a star or diagonal strokes.
  - 23 GND: [https://www.dnb.de/EN/Professionell/Standardisierung/GND/gnd\\_node.html#doc147904bodyText1](https://www.dnb.de/EN/Professionell/Standardisierung/GND/gnd_node.html#doc147904bodyText1).
  - 24 Bermond-Picot, *À vos marques*, p. 12 mentions some elements: la croix, le quatre, l'étoile, geometrie elementaire; sometimes initials of the owner.
  - 25 In the future, more marks can be added, expanding the foundation provided by the pilot study.
  - 26 Each merchant's mark symbol and its occurrences has its own, separate identifiers in the database.
  - 27 Currently, the list after the preliminary survey of published marks consists of paper, parchment, embroidery, metal, glass, cloth, wax, ceramics, stone, wood, textile (embroidery) or being part of a painting. There is also the possibility of embedded reference, i.e. when the historian finds a mark on paper, but it refers to a mark set on wooden barrels.
  - 28 Data entry has been done in collaboration with Dr Anna Orlowska.
  - 29 Currently on the server of the University of Amsterdam, project website [premodernconflictmanagement.org](http://premodernconflictmanagement.org). If the merchants' marks collection evolves and expands, it might be moved. Later it will be deposited in the repository of Data Archived and Networked Services, <https://dans.knaw.nl/nl>.

# Diplomatic notes on the form of the edition

The documents edited here are not presented in the order into which they were cast by the Lübeck archive, since that was completely artificial. They have been re-arranged and re-classified so many times over the centuries that no vestige of their original order remains. Rather, they are presented here in logical order, starting with the merchants' letters. There is obviously no sense in attempting to arrange these in any sort of order, since they were never in any particular order, originally being all jumbled together in the same mailbag. It seems easiest to print the texts of the letters in the (completely artificial) order they were numbered by the Lübeck archive.

As for remaining documents, it seems best to print them in the following logical order:

- Losses in the ship of Adrian Johnson

  - Depositions on the capture

  - English losses

  - Venetian losses

  - Hanseatic losses

    - Cologne

    - Other Hanseatic towns

  - Spanish losses

  - Low Countries' losses

Within these groupings the sources are printed chronologically. A table of the sources which were copied into the booklet (of 34 folios) preserved under the shelf mark AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, no. 23 in the order in they were entered there has been provided at the end of this introduction.

## Latin texts (Stuart Jenks)

The transcriptions of Latin documents in this edition observe the conventions of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. The source texts (and all variants) are reproduced in normal type, while editorial intrusions are printed without exception in italics (e.g. 'for follows, struck through HL'). Unambiguous abbreviations are expanded silently, without using square brackets or italics to indicate missing letters. The letters u/v and i/j have been regularized silently to accord with pronunciation: thus *vniuersalis* in the source text is rendered *universalis*, while 'i' is transcribed if the letter is pronounced as a vowel (*imperii*), and 'j' if the letter is pronounced as a consonant, i.e. like the 'y' in 'you' (*majestas*), even if the source writes *imperij* and *maiestas*.

Otherwise, following the MGH convention that orthography is part of the source<sup>1</sup> and is not to be ‘corrected’ retroactively by an editor in order to conform with strict and unbending rules, I have retained the spelling used in sources (reproducing *nacio*, if so written, rather than correcting it to *natio*).

The punctuation of the texts edited here is artificial and ignores all medieval periods, commas and so forth. Since Latin is a syntactic language (like German), the sensible MGH convention – namely to employ punctuation (according to the pre-reform German rules) to mark up the grammatical structure of the sentence – has been employed here.

Roman numerals are reproduced as Arabic numerals. Arabic numerals which occur in the source texts are indicated by bold type.

Following the convention in German, I have used a full stop after a number to indicate the ordinal rather than the cardinal, if a number is not written out. Thus, *27. die Januarii* is to be understood as *vicesimo septimo die Januarii*,<sup>2</sup> rather than *viginti septem die Januarii*.

Personal names and place names are transcribed exactly as written and only regularized in the Index of People and Places.

When transcribing, both editors have numbered the documents consecutively in italics in square brackets. The individual paragraphs of longer texts have also been numbered in the same way for ease of reference.

All dates and cross references in the source texts have been resolved in italics in square brackets in the text of the edition, rather than in footnotes.

Certain variants have been suppressed to avoid inflating the text-critical apparatus. In general, I have limited the notation of textual variants to those cases in which the variant spelling of a word changes the pronunciation.

## English texts (Stuart Jenks)

There does not seem to be a generally agreed set of rules for transcribing English texts written in the vernacular. In particular, the Early English Text Society, from which one might expect such a canon, if only for use in its own publications,<sup>3</sup> has published nothing of the sort. Every editor seems to do what seems best, setting out the ground rules for his own edition in question very briefly (usually one short paragraph suffices), but without referring to a given standard. Let us take as an example the EETS edition related most closely to our edition, namely Alison Hanham’s *The Cely Letters 1472-1488*,<sup>4</sup> which also prints letters in vernacular English. Hanham notes that she has expanded abbreviations (but prints the expansions in italics, e.g. *wythyn* for “w<sup>t</sup> yn” in the original, *and* for the Latin abbreviation for “et” in the original p. 244), supplied letters lost to damage in square brackets ([ ... ]) and signaled letters and words omitted by the writer but supplied by the

1 Horst Fuhrmann, ‘Über Ziel und Aussehen von Texteditionen’, *Mittelalterliche Textüberlieferungen und ihre kritische Aufarbeitung* (Munich: MGH, 1976), pp. 12-27, here pp. 17-23.

2 Purists will bear in mind that *dies* is consistently masculine in internal use in England, only becoming feminine (as it is in Classical Latin) when writing to an overseas addressee.

3 However, let it be noted that the EETS is principally interested in the linguistic aspects of the (overwhelmingly literary) texts its editors publish.

4 Alison Hanham, *The Cely Letters 1472-1488* (Early English Text Society 273), Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975.

editor in angle brackets [<...>]. Interlineations are indicated by half brackets above the first and last letters (e.g.  $\neg$  they  $\neg$  p. 243). And that is that.

Nor does Hunnisett's sage and magisterial *Editing Records for Publication*<sup>5</sup> clear matters up. Hunnisett essentially leaves all decisions up to the editor, while setting out the advantages and disadvantages of each approach with great clarity.

Now, given that there is no general consensus in Great Britain on how to transcribe vernacular documents in English, it seems best to apply the rules set out above for the transcription of Latin texts to the vernacular English ones.

## Middle Low German and Middle Dutch texts (Stuart Jenks)

How Middle Low German and Middle Dutch documents should be transcribed is an exceedingly vexing problem. As editors of the present volume, we are in a quandry about two specific issues: what to do about pleonastic consonants<sup>6</sup> and how to transcribe ij, y and ÿ in Middle Low German and Middle Dutch. It seems to me that there are some fundamental issues which need to be discussed before getting down to brass tacks.

First and foremost, we must bear in mind that there is a vast difference between Latin, which was a language taught in the schools, and the vernacular. Latin does have orthographic rules,<sup>7</sup> even if they change over time (*natio* is increasingly spelled as *nacio* as the Middle Ages move on), but are fairly stable if one does not range too widely in time or space. It is therefore possible to erect stricter rules for the transcription of Latin, so that a certain degree of standardization is permissible in modern editions, since it merely reflects the standardization which was the (fairly) consistent practice of the schools.

However, one can overdo it. We are all agreed, for instance, that to adhere to the hoary convention that, from antiquity to the Renaissance, 'proper' Latin orthography remained unchanged and that it therefore behoves editors to correct retroactively the 'barbarous' spellings found in medieval sources (e.g. rejecting the medieval *eterna* in favor of the Classical *aeterna*) to conform to the classical model is to go a step too far in standardizing. On the other hand, excessive fidelity to the orthography of the manuscript text simply makes an edition of a Latin text hard to read without providing a counterbalancing heuristic gain. The apogee of this approach was reached, I suspect, when, in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, the English began to produce editions printed in record type, which reproduced the medieval contractions as they appeared in manuscript.<sup>8</sup> By 1900, everyone was agreed that this only makes the edition hard to read, without serving any purpose other than hidebound antiquarianism.

So every edition is a compromise between fidelity to the manuscript and utility, that is readers' ease of use. Hence, our case-by-case judgement on this matter will always be

5 R. F. Hunnisett, *Editing Records for Publication*, British Records Association Archives and the User 4, London 1977.

6 These are double consonants which cannot conceivably have affected the pronunciation of a word, for instance, spelling the word 'haben' (to have) as 'habenn'.

7 These were literally beaten into schoolchildren, as witness TNA: PRO, KB27/667 m 71. Apparently Latin is easier to grasp if you first assume the position.

8 L.C.Hector, *The Handwriting of English Documents* (Dorking: Kohler and Coombes, 1980), pp. 35-6.

tempered by considering the prospective audience of the edition. Editors with historians in mind will tend a bit more to utility, while historical linguists will lean a bit more to fidelity. But no edition will ever satisfy everyone.

Let us now turn to the problem at hand, namely how to transcribe Middle Low German and Middle Dutch texts written in 1533/34. This is something people have been pondering for quite some time. In Hanseatic circles, 19<sup>th</sup> century editors increasingly tended to standardize their texts.<sup>9</sup> The more modern guides to transcription, while backtracking from this, do not give us very much help with our two problems in transcribing these texts, namely what to do about pleonastic consonants and how to transcribe *ij/y/ÿ*. In 1962, Schultze<sup>10</sup> pleaded for simplifying pleonastic consonants where they are without significance for the pronunciation of a word (e.g. a double-n at the end of a word or before consonants).<sup>11</sup> On *ij/y/ÿ* he is less helpful. On the one hand, he lays down the rule that ‘j’ and ‘v’ are only to be employed as consonants and ‘i’ and ‘u’ only as vowels. If the source text departs from this rule, the editor is required to emend it silently when transcribing. Therefore, as I understand him, a word like *tijt* (time) should be transcribed as ‘tiit’. On the other hand, as a general rule, Schultze goes on to say, all readings which can be understood as being relevant for the pronunciation of a word are to be retained, and in names ‘y’ is to be retained in order to avoid confusion with ‘ij’, as is ‘ij’ for a long ‘i’. Therefore, as I understand him, an editor would be justified in transcribing *tijt* as ‘tijt’ or ‘tyt’. In 1978, Heinemeyer<sup>12</sup> permitted simplification of pleonastic consonants, if it is clear that they are irrelevant for the pronunciation of the word, but said nothing about *ij/y/ÿ* other than that source texts are to be transcribed as written, with the exception that ‘j’ and ‘v’ are only to be used as consonants and ‘i’ and ‘u’ as vowels, which was Schultze’s rule.

Now, in recent years, there has been something of a revolt against this.<sup>13</sup> In particular, Heckmann calls for the retention of pleonastic consonants, since they may reflect peculiarities of the region or the age,<sup>14</sup> that is to say that there may be some heuristic value to reproducing them in a printed edition. But that is merely to apply Schultze’s rule, leavened with a heavy suspicion that any doubled consonant might conceivably have some significance for the pronunciation of the word and therefore needs to be retained in the transcription. In other words, Heckmann prefers to err on the side of caution. On the other hand, he lays down as a rule (but without explanation) that before 1500 ‘ij’ is to be transcribed as ‘ii’ (except in proper names) and thereafter as ‘y’ (because of scribal laziness).<sup>15</sup> On the other hand,

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- 9 Carsten Jahnke, ‘Die Reliquien jener grossartigen Bewegung. “Die Recesse und andere Akten der Hansetage” sowie das “Hansische Urkundenbuch”’, *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, 137 (2019), 1-42 (pp. 28-30).
- 10 Johannes Schultze, ‘Richtlinien für die äußere Textgestaltung bei Herausgabe von Quellen zur neueren deutschen Geschichte’, *Blätter für deutsche Landesgeschichte*, 98 (1962), 1-11 (pp. 8-9).
- 11 Helpfully, Schultze provides some examples: ‘inn’ is to be corrected to ‘in’, ‘unnd’ to ‘und’ and ‘dorff’ to ‘dorf’.
- 12 Walter Heinemeyer, ‘Richtlinien für die Edition mittelalterlicher Amtsbücher’, in *Richtlinien für die Edition landesgeschichtlicher Quellen* (Marburg: Selbstverlag des Gesamtvereins der deutschen Geschichts- und Altertumsvereine, 1978), p. 19.
- 13 Dieter Heckmann, ‘Leitfaden zur Edition deutschsprachiger Quellen (13.-16. Jahrhundert)’, *Preußenland. Mitteilungen der Historischen Kommission für Ost- und Westpreussische Landesforschung und aus den Archiven der Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz*, NF 3 (2012), 7-13; Jahnke, ‘Die Reliquien’, pp. 30-31.
- 14 Heckmann, ‘Leitfaden’, p. 10: ‘da diese [viz. die Konsonantenhäufung] Ausdruck von zeittypischen oder landschaftlichen Erscheinungsformen sein kann.’
- 15 Heckmann, ‘Leitfaden’, p. 10: ‘auf Grund des geschwundenen Schreiberbewusstseins.’

dot(s) above the letter ‘y’ (e.g. ‘ÿ’) are to be silently suppressed. Other diacritical signs are either to be silently suppressed or dealt with in a summary footnote (e.g. ‘this scribe consistently writes ‘u’ with a superscribed ‘o’: ü’), but not reproduced in the edition. Jahnke seconds Heckmann, arguing that editors should reproduce their texts letter by letter, not excepting pleonastic consonants.<sup>16</sup>

In practice, however, despite the publication of three separate guides to editorial principles for late medieval and early modern German within 40 years,<sup>17</sup> the editorial pendulum has swung wildly between high fidelity, letter-by-letter reproduction of the source text and fairly heavy-handed orthographical standardization, as evinced by Heckmann’s analysis of the editions of the Kulm/Chelmno urban registers (*Stadtbücher*) from 1927 to 2017.<sup>18</sup> This chaos, let the reader note, erupted among editors undertaking to transcribe just one genre of texts produced by just one urban chancery, chiefly within the ambit of just one century, the fifteenth.

To someone as fundamentally sceptical as I am, this does not seem tragic as it clearly does to German *ordo-palaeographers*. Ideally, transcription, while striving to follow (at least internally) consistent palaeographical rules, will do well not to stray too far from the orthography of the text(s) being edited. Nor will it neglect, in the name of standardization, any palaeographical evidence which might mean something, even if its meaning remains unclear to the editor. But I remain doubtful that one box of tools will suffice to deal with a vast gamut of texts, not least because scribes writing Middle Low German or Middle Dutch (not to mention the writers of private letters in the vernacular) were not internally consistent themselves.<sup>19</sup> As Jahnke notes, common clerks in North German urban chanceries could not have cared less about Middle Low German orthography.<sup>20</sup> People writing private letters were – from our point of view – even sloppier. We have no choice but to conclude that, in the case of Middle Low German, there simply was no such thing as the ‘right’ way to spell a given word, however much individual (urban or royal) chanceries might develop a certain consistency in practice. Therefore, it is something of a lost cause to attempt to impose hard-and-fast rules on what was, effectively, well-tempered anarchy. Nor can you herd cats.

In the case of Middle Low German and Middle Dutch texts, the problem gains immeasurably in complexity from the fact that Luther’s Bible translation appeared in 1534, making it an exact contemporary of the texts edited here. Luther’s translation was, of course, the big bang that set German on a divergent course from Dutch and relegated Low German to second-class status, good enough for peasants in muddy boots, but not to be countenanced in polite urbane society. Now, as Dutch and German diverge, it is only to be expected that the palaeographic rules applicable to each corpus of texts will also diverge. One box of tools simply can no longer deal consistently with both languages.

16 Jahnke, ‘Die Reliquien’, p. 31.

17 Schultze, ‘Richtlinien’; Heinemeyer, ‘Richtlinien’, pp. 17–23; Heckmann, ‘Leitfaden’, merely reproduces in print the statement of editorial principles published on his website in 2000.

18 Dieter Heckmann, ‘Die Edition der Kulmer Stadtbücher’, *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, 137 (2019), 65–79.

19 Notoriously, William Shakespeare signed his own name six times (as far as we know), but never spelling his name the same way. Nor do any of Shakespeare’s six variants on the spelling of his own name correspond to the modern spelling of the bard’s moniker.

20 Jahnke, ‘Die Reliquien’, p. 28.

The question we have to answer is, then, when do these two languages begin to diverge from one another to a sufficient degree that applying common rules ceases to make sense? Specifically, how you transcribe ij/y/ÿ in a Middle Dutch text of 1533 depends on your view of how far early modern Dutch has evolved towards its present-day form, in which 'ij' is a vowel and is one letter (and hence capitalized 'IJ', not 'Ij'). This would seem to constitute a clarion call to the historical linguists to clarify the situation. However, I suspect that the crack made about economists also applies to historical linguists, namely that if you laid them all down in a long line, it still would not suffice to reach a conclusion. I note in passing, but with malicious glee that there does not even seem to be a consensus on the question of whether present-day Dutch is an independent language or merely a dialect of German. Much less, I would surmise, will we ever be able to reach a consensus on this question in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century.

So we are left on our own. The classical German palaeographical tradition would counsel humility. If you are not sure, transcribe what you see, on the principle that it is much easier to be certain about what you see than about what it means.<sup>21</sup> This craven abdication of editorial responsibility, of course, leaves the problem up to the reader. This, in all humility, is probably the best, if not the most satisfying of solutions. *Non liquet ex fontibus*, as my old mentor Dietrich Kurze was fond of remarking, is often enough the most honest answer a historian can give: The sources simply do not suffice to provide an answer to the question you posed.

Therefore, the rules observed here when editing Middle Low German texts are as follows:

- Pleonastic consonants are simplified in accord with Schultze and Heinemeyer, pace Heckmann and Jahnke.
- ij, y and ÿ are transcribed as written. A 'y' with a single dot above the letter is transcribed as 'y' in accordance with Heckmann.
- The guides to the transcription of German texts do not speak with one voice on the question of diacritical marks above the letter 'u'.
  - o Schultze states that marks which only serve to distinguish the letter 'u' from 'n' are to be silently suppressed.<sup>22</sup> This does not apply to unambiguously superscribed letters which are to be reproduced as written.
  - o Heinemeyer states that the letter 'u' with a superscribed breve ('Bogen': ũ) or an inverted breve ('Dach') is to be reproduced as written, providing that such diacritical marks constitute evidence of pronunciation ('falls dadurch Lautbesonderheiten gekennzeichnet werden sollen').<sup>23</sup> He does not deal with the question of a macron (ū) or caron (ů).
  - o Heckmann agrees. Superscribed letters are to be reproduced as written, unambiguous diacritical marks such as the breve and the double accent aigue are to be silently suppressed.<sup>24</sup>

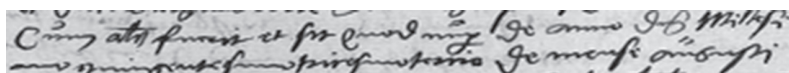
21 The astute reader will have recognized that this sentence is merely a reformulation of the palaeographical doctrine of *lectio difficilior*.

22 Schultze, 'Richtlinien', p. 8.

23 Heinemeyer, 'Richtlinien', p. 19.

24 Heckmann, 'Leitfaden', p. 11.

- Note that the recommendations to suppress or reproduce crucially depend on the question of whether a diacritical mark constitutes evidence of pronunciation. Now, it is absolutely clear that this is not the case with the Middle Low German documents edited here. It lies beyond all reasonable doubt that these diacritical marks have no significance whatsoever for the pronunciation of a given word. The proof of this assertion is very simple: The very same Lübeck scribe who scatters double accent aigues, breves, carons and macrons hither and yon in his Middle Low German texts also employs exactly these diacritical marks liberally when writing in Latin – in the same booklet and at the same time –, as may be seen in no. 48, written in Latin, which employs a double accent aigue and a breve to signal the letter ‘u’, as the diplomatic transcription below shows.



Cūm alias fuerit et sit, quod nūper de anno Domini millesimo quinquagestimo tricesimo tercio de mense Aūgusti

Now, it is inconceivable that, in using these diacritical marks, the scribe meant to signal a different pronunciation of the words *cum*, *nuper* and *Augusti* in Latin. Therefore, he cannot have intended to signal a different pronunciation when he turned to Middle Low German. Consequently, these diacritical marks are suppressed silently in this edition. However, for the guidance of any historical linguists who may want to investigate these matters themselves, I have supplied a footnote to each document which uses such diacritical marks, specifying which marks are employed in that particular piece. It is easy enough to search for AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 476 on the web and call up the images.

## Middle Low German and Middle Dutch texts (Justyna Wubs-Mrozewicz)

The transcriptions of the letters in the late medieval/early modern Dutch (Brabantine) follow the guidelines established in the Netherlands and Belgium for source editions.<sup>25</sup> It is largely the critical-normalizing method, which in most instances coincides with the MGH conventions. However, one significant difference between the German and Dutch instructions is how the letter(s) *ii*, *y*, *ÿ* are transcribed in Dutch. According to Dutch standards, the spelling is regularized if a corresponding modern word exists. For instance, ‘mogeliic’ becomes ‘mogelijk’, ‘wy’ (we) becomes ‘wij’; ‘vÿffenvychtych’ (55) becomes

<sup>25</sup> *Richtlijnen voor het uitgeven van historische bescheiden* (The Hague: Nederlands Historisch Genootschap, 1988); ‘Normes générales pour la présentation de travaux à la Commission royale d’Histoire - Algemene normen voor het aanleveren van kopij bij de Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis’, *Bulletin de la Commission royale d’Histoire*, 182/1, (2016), 304-27. See also the extensive, practical guide at <http://www.cartago.nl/nl/wie-helpt/handleiding>, which is connected to a cooperative project editing pre-1600 acts from the archives in Groningen, the Drents Archief and the *Große Urkundensammlung of the Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv*. Several of the examples below are from [cartago.nl](http://www.cartago.nl).



‘vijffenvijchtych’ (in modern Dutch: ‘vijfenvijftig’, the last vowel and whole syllable are thus spelled differently). In these cases, the Dutch instructions diverge from the German rules by reason of their more rigorous standardization. On the other hand, according to Dutch norms, Roman numerals are transcribed as such. Here, I follow the standard established by my co-editor.

For the rest,

- punctuation is according to current use, wherever possible and logical;
- capital letters are according to current use;
- pleonastic consonants at the beginning of the word are reduced to one (‘ffallen’ becomes ‘fallen’);
- no accents, umlauts or tremas which differ from current use are used (‘mögen’ becomes ‘mogen’);
- unambiguous abbreviations are expanded silently;
- word spacing is adapted to current use (‘hetwoord’ becomes ‘het woord’);
- i and j are transcribed to accord with pronunciation: ‘i’ when the letter is pronounced as a vowel, ‘j’ when it is pronounced as a consonant, so ‘jngaen’ becomes ‘ingaen’ and ‘iaer’ becomes ‘jaer’;
- the same is true of v and u: ‘blijuen’ becomes ‘blijven’; ‘vnde’ becomes ‘unde’
- vu, uv, uu, vv and w are also adapted to current use: they become ‘u(u)’ when pronounced as vowels, and ‘v’ or ‘w’ when pronounced as consonants, i.e. ‘vutgaen’ and ‘wtgaen’ become ‘uutgaen’; ‘vvaerheit’ becomes ‘waerheit’; ‘wt’ becomes ‘uut’;
- special cases: the 2nd person singular is always ‘juu’ or ‘ju’ (not ‘iw’ or ‘iu’) and the 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural is always ‘synt’ or ‘synnen’.

## Conclusion: How to transcribe documents

As the astute reader will already have concluded for himself, both editors of this volume have agreed to disagree on how to transcribe ij (ii), y and ÿ in Middle Low German and Middle Dutch. Each of us follows the German and Dutch instructions respectively. In so doing, we are in good company. In the course of preparing his ‘Guidelines for editing medieval official documents’ (*Richtlinien für die Edition mittelalterlicher Amtsbücher*) up through the fifteenth century, Walter Heinemeyer convened an illustrious conference in Saarbrücken on 21 June 1973 for a final discussion of the issues (one which did, indeed, reach some momentous conclusions). The participants included ten German scholars, two Austrians and one Swiss.<sup>26</sup> But no one from the Low Countries was listed as a participant.<sup>27</sup>

Both of us, as editors, find this state of affairs somewhat disconcerting. Neither in the period which was under consideration in Saarbrücken (the late Middle Ages) nor in our period (1533) was there a linguistic boundary between present-day Germany and its

<sup>26</sup> Heinemeyer, ‘*Richtlinien*’, p. 18.

<sup>27</sup> To be sure, Prof. Verhulst (Gent) had participated in preliminary conferences held in Stuttgart in 1966 and in Marburg the following year: Heinemeyer, ‘*Richtlinien*’, p. 17.

neighbors to the west in the Netherlands. Nor is there one today.<sup>28</sup> Moreover, there was no political boundary until 1648. Why the 'Guidelines' should apply to 'German' texts all the way out to the outermost bounds of Low German in the Baltic and High German elsewhere,<sup>29</sup> but come to a shuddering stop at the present-day border between the Federal Republic and the Netherlands is, for us, difficult to fathom.

Now, of course, we cannot solve this problem. And it would be folly if we were to attempt, on our own, to homogenize both sets of instructions. Nonetheless, it seems to both of us that this is an issue which ought to be discussed at greater length, in the open and with participants from both sides. We do not have to agree, but each side, in our view, should be aware of how the other side transcribes and of its reasons for so doing.

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<sup>28</sup> One of our colleagues, who grew up in Xanten (right on the border between the Netherlands and Germany) was fond of telling the story of riding his bicycle across the border as a young boy and finding – to his astonishment – that his local dialect, which he was forbidden to speak in school, was the national language on the other side.

<sup>29</sup> It is worth mentioning that the present-day borders between Germany and France (regarding German texts from Alsace and Lorraine) and between Austria and Italy (regarding German texts from South Tirol) had no such effect on the Saarbrücken deliberations or the final version of the guidelines.



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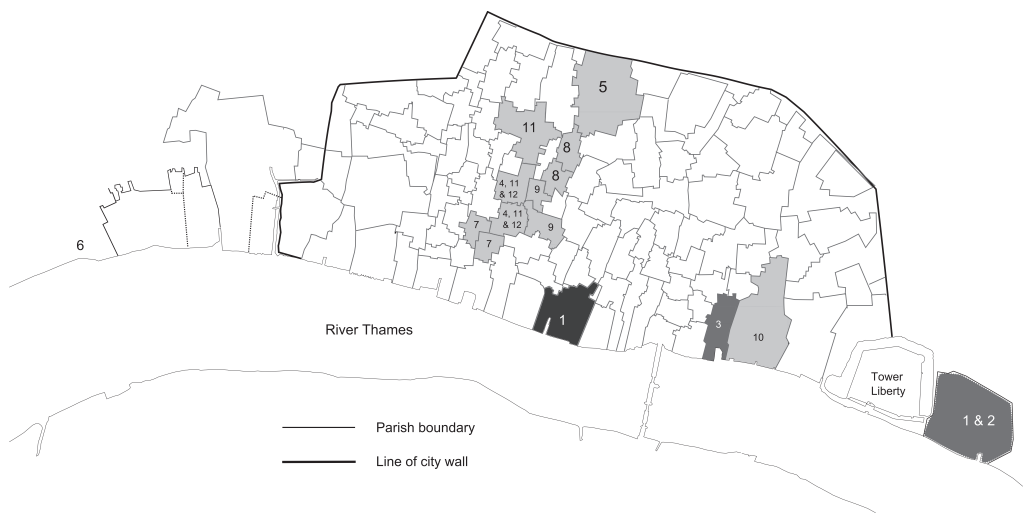
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# Appendix I



**Map.** residences of addressees (letters nos 1-35); English, Dutch and Hanseatic

Based on Tudor London (1520) by The Historic Towns Trust

English (light grey background)

Number in Map	Recipient (Letter no.)	Address in Letter	Street/Parish/Ward	1541 Subsidy <sup>1</sup> no. (residence recorded there)
1	Thomas Abraham (33)	<i>in Chepesyde</i>	Cheapside/-/Cheap	66 (St Mary Le Bowe, in Cheap ward)
2	Richard Doune's wife (28)	<i>at the Covefase in Chepe Syde</i>	in the inn called The Covefase Cheapside/-/Cheap	35 (2) (St Mary le Bow, Cheap ward)
3	William Gresham's wife (5)	<i>at þe Red Balle in Chepe</i>	in the inn called The Red Balle -/-/Cheap	77 (St Mary le Bow in Cordwainer ward)

<sup>1</sup> Source for 1541 subsidy: R. G. Lang (ed.), *Two Tudor Subsidy Assessment Rolls for the City of London: 1541 and 1582* (London Record Society Publication 29), London 1993.

Number in Map	Recipient (Letter no.)	Address in Letter	Street/Parish/Ward	1541 Subsidy <sup>1</sup> no. (residence recorded there)
4	William Gresham's wife (2)	<i>in Bowe Lane</i>	Bow Lane (Cheapside)/St Mary Le Bowe & St Mary Aldermay <sup>2</sup> /–	77 (St Mary le Bow, Cordwainer ward)
5	William Butler (23 & 30)	<i>in Collman strete</i>	Coleman Street/St Stephen Coleman Street/Coleman Street	70 (St Mildred Poultry, Cheap ward)
6	Edward Saunders (7)	<i>in the Mydle Temple</i>	Middle Temple/extra parochial/Farringdon Without	70 (St Mildred Poultry, Cheap ward)
7	John Copynger's wife (4)	<i>in Holldn Fyssche stret</i>	Old Fish Street/St Mildred Bread Street & Holy Trinity the Less/Bread Street	(not recorded)
8	William Colsell (32)	<i>yn the Old Jure</i>	Old Jewry/St Olave Olde Jewry & St Mary Colechurch/Coleman Street & Cheap	(not recorded)
9	Richard Wilson (21)	<i>in Soper Lane</i>	Soper Lane/St Pancras & St Anthonlin/Cordwainer	78 (St Pancras Soper Lane & St Benet, Cordwainer ward)
10	William Chamberlain (31)	<i>in Sent Donstons in the Est over agenst the Dyce Keyes by Bellengesgat</i>	Dyce Key near Billingsgate/St Dunstan's in the East/Tower	122 (St Sepulchre in ward Farringdon Without)
11	James Bolney (20)	<i>in Sent Laurens Lane</i>	St Laurence Lane/St Laurence Jewry & St Mary Le Bowe/–	(not recorded)
12	Christopher Meryng (1)	<i>in Saynt Lawrence Lane</i>	St Laurence Lane/St Laurence Jewry & St Mary Le Bowe	69 (St Martin Pomeroy in Cheap ward)
13	Harry Austen (15)	<i>att þe syne of þe Blew Anker in Temstrett</i>	in the inn called The Blue Anchor in Thames Street <sup>3</sup>	24 (St Botolph Billingsgate, Billingsgate ward)

<sup>2</sup> There is a second Bow Lane in London, namely Bow Lane Dowgate Hill in the parish of St Michael Paternoster Row.

<sup>3</sup> Thames Street runs from west to east through the parishes St Andrew by the Wardrobe, St Benet Paul's Sharf, St Peter Paul's wharf, St Mary Somerset, St Michael Queenhithe and St James Garlickhithe. The address cannot therefore be localized.

Dutch (mid-grey background)

Number in Map	Recipient (Letter no.)	Address in Letter	Street/Parish/Ward	1541 Subsidy no. (residence recorded there)
1	Liuken van Brussel (8)	<i>op Sante Quarteyns in de Zwane</i>	in the inn called The Swan/St Katharine's by the Tower (to the east of the Tower, outside the city of London)	(not recorded)
2	Bernard de Bordverweche (25)	<i>op Sinte Quateryns</i>	St Katherine's by the Tower (to the east of the Tower, outside the city of London)	(not recorded)
3	William van Tongen (18)	<i>op Sommerstran</i>	Sommer's Key <sup>4</sup> /St Mary at Hill/–	(not recorded)
4	Jasper der manedemuker (29)	<i>bij sint Andries kerck</i>	near St Andrew's church <sup>5</sup>	not recorded)
5	Marten de cleermaker van Mallort (10)	<i>up Tourwerck</i>	–/–/Tower	(not recorded)

Hansards (black background)

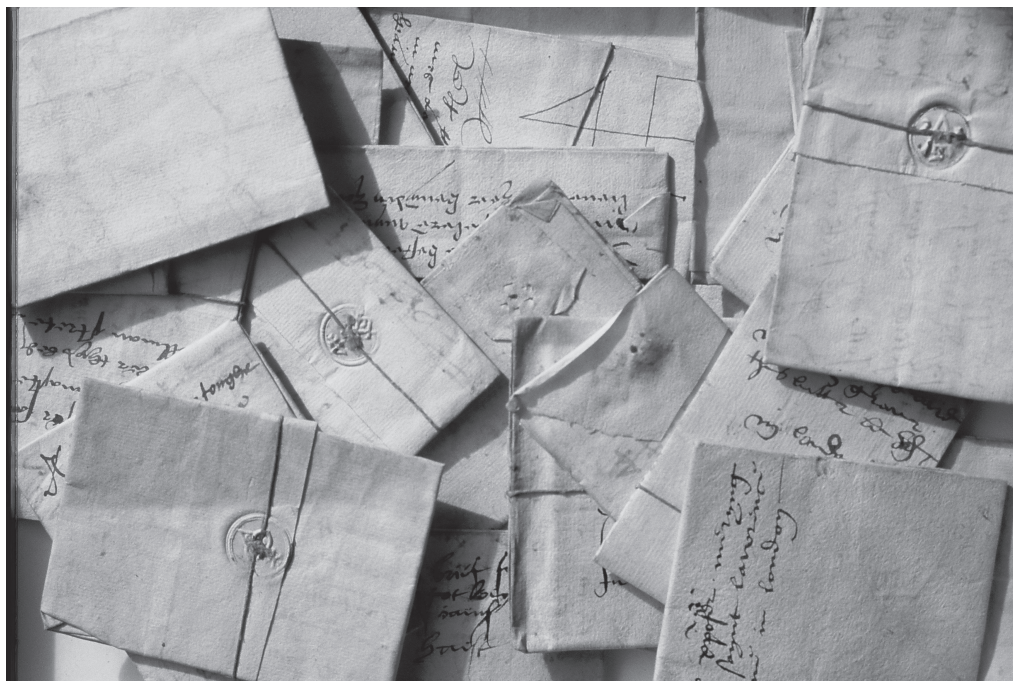
1	Heinrich Schelt (19)	<i>up dem Stayll Hoff</i>	Steelyard/All Hallows the Great/Dowgate	(not recorded)
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4 This identification goes out on a limb in two ways. The first is the identification of *Sommerstran* with Sommer's Key. Bearing in mind that all parties involved here were Dutch and that the Dutch merchants trading with Bergen (Norway) called the street and the harbour area where they lived 'Strand', this seems plausible, particularly as the survey of legal quays in 1584 (Dietz 1972, p. 161) notes that it was wholly inhabited by Flemings and used for their merchandise. The second is the assumption that Sommer's Key was denoted as such in 1533. The earliest sources to mention Sommer's Key are the colophons of books printed by the Antwerp-born reformist translator and publisher Walter (Gwalter) Lynne who was 'dwellyng on somers kaye by Byllynges gate', see Early English books Online, <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebogroup/>. We would like to thank Vanessa Harding for the reference. Another source is the survey of London harbor in 1559 (LCA 21, p. lxi).

5 There are too many churches called St Andrew's for this entry to be localized.

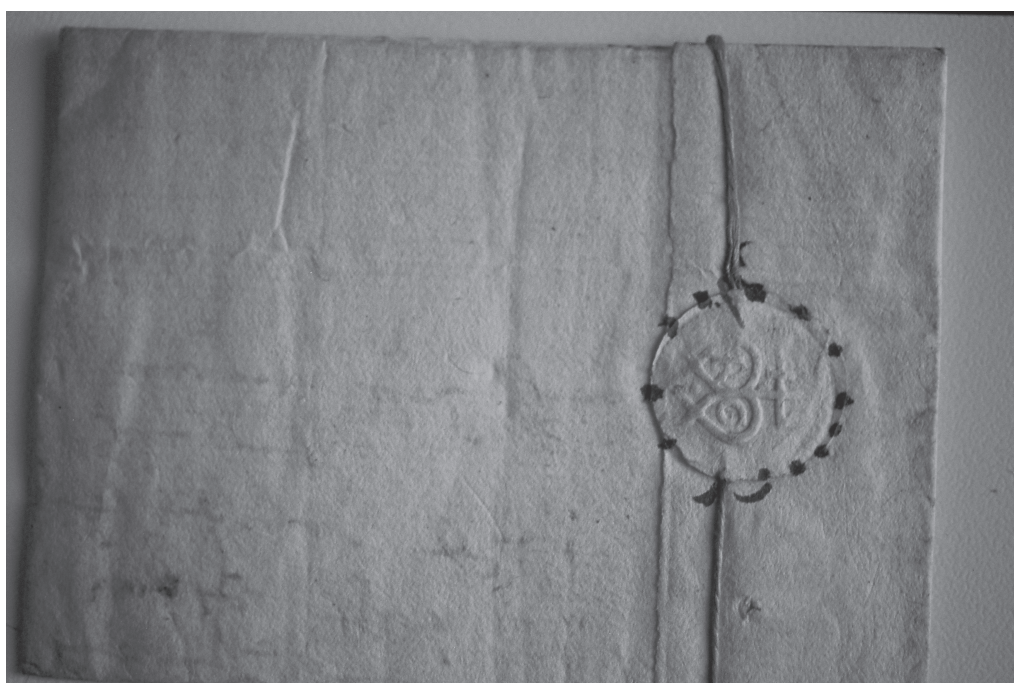


## Appendix II













Source edition

## I: Merchants' letters (1533)

[1.] *Christopher Meryng to Christopher Meryng in London. — (undated).*

HL AHL, ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, Folder with letters, no. 1 (original classification by Dreyer: Acta Anglicana, Appendix 2; later reclassified as ASA, Externa Anglicana no. 1606). Original holograph letter. Paper. Sealed closed with the signet of the writer in red wax. On the dorse: To Cristofer Meryng in Saynt Lawrence Lane in London.

Recomendyd etc. Ye shalle receive owte of this brynger Adryane Johnsone my male marked with my mark with a rede stone.

[signed] per me Cristofer Meryng

[2.] *William Gresham in Antwerp to his cousin Ellen in care of his wife in London. — 1533 Juli 21. Antwerp.*

HL AHL, ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, Folder with letters, no. 2 (original classification by Dreyer: Acta Anglicana, Appendix 2; reclassified as ASA, Externa Anglicana no. 1606). Original holograph letter. Paper. Sealed closed with the signet of the writer in red wax. On the dorse: To the wyffe of William Gresham this be delivered in Bowe Lane.

+ ade 21. de Julii anno 1533 in Andwarpe

Cossyn Elyne with alle my hartt I recomend me unto yow, glad to here of yowr good helthe etc. Yow schalle resseive in the howy of Peter Cole 2 litille barrelles with sturgyne under this marke. The grettest (which is n<sup>o</sup> 1<sup>a</sup>) is for yow and for goode frynddes, wherein is 10 peces sturgyne, of the which ther be 2 halfe jollis, so that I wolde Rowlond Schakerley schulde have one halfe jolle, my dowghter Wilson may not be forgottyn with one rond, mester Lock one ronde. And yf yow theying it best to master Botry one<sup>b</sup> ronde and to Thomas Abraham the older one ronde. And as towchyng the<sup>c</sup> other littille barrell (which is n<sup>o</sup> 2), it is for my lorde of Rutlond<sup>d</sup> which I wolde schulde be conveyyd to Enffyld to hym as sone as is possybylle<sup>d</sup>. Wherefor I wold that Thomas Wilson schulde enquire for some of my sayd lorddes servandes at Holywelle, he schalle not faylle to have some of them and that he se it may be suerly conveyd to Enffyld aftyr the best maner, for I sopose ther lythe my lord. When God send it, I wold ther schulde be no tyme lost in þe delyverans of<sup>e</sup> it<sup>e</sup>, thowe Thomas Wilson schulde take þe more payne in my name to se it delivered.

Merten Albryght is cum, in whome have resseived one carettele of ale with 4 pastis of venyson, which I perseyve þat Roger Manyngton did gyff me þe holle buck, for the which I thancke hym hartely, fyndyng myselfe moche in his dett. I prey yow remember hym or mestres Manyngton with a rond of sturgyne tylle I may recumpensse hym better.

---

1 Thomas Manners (Lord Ros), earl of Rutland 1525-43: HBC p. 480.

And frome mestres Looke I have resseived 2 pastis venyson. And thus I rest in good helthe to Godes pleasure. Howe kepe yow.

[signed] Yowr William Gresham

[dorse]

And alleso I marvelle that Thomas Wilson send me not the letter that he delyveryd to Antony Vyvaldes clarke to cople, which letter I have resseived be my brother John Gresham which cam to þis towne the Monday after ther departyng frome London' and master Locke with other etc.

I trust yow have resseived the sturgyn þat I sent yow fyrst and that one barrelle is delyveryd to master Cromwelle acordyng as I dyd wryghte

+ the 23. day of theis present [23 July 1533]

And whereas afore is wretyn þat yow schulde resseive the 2 litille barrelles with sturgyn in Peter Cole, now this is only to avyse yow that yow schalle resseive it in Awdryan Johnson and order it as afore is sayd. And thus I recomend me to yow etc.

<sup>a</sup> to follows, interlined and struck through HL. <sup>b</sup> 1 follows, struck through HL. <sup>c</sup> Corrected in HL from othe[r]. <sup>d</sup> for follows, struck through HL. <sup>e-e</sup> Interlined HL.

[3.] William Laund, apprentice, to his master William Mery, grocer, in London. — 1533 July 22. Antwerp.

HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, Folder with letters, no. 3 (original classification by Dreyer: Acta Anglicana, Appendix 2; reclassified as ASA, Externa Anglicana no. 1606). Original holograph letter. Paper. Sealed closed with the signet of the writer in red wax. On the dorse: Unto hes worshepfulle master Wylliam Mery groser thes be delivered in London'; n° 23.

I deseyer yowr maistershepe to exepe mey wrytyng, allthow yt be not so well has I wold yt wer, and conten yowr maistershepe with Steven and never hortt yowr seleff for heme, for he dowted he wyll do welle. Yt is no nother lyke for alle thes. He is yong and has wett has myche has is poseybell. I thoug in my mynd that he has greved yowr maistershepe mor at the hartt than alle the godes that evar yowr maister[shepe] hathe lost. But let all thes pase: he wyll begen a new leyffe and bey the grase of God he wyll do well in shortt spase.

[signed] By yowr power aprentes William Lawnd

[p. 2]

+

The 22. day of July 1533

Ryght worshepefalle syr, my lowlest maner that I cane I recomend me unto yowr maisterschepe, trewesteyng in the Lord that yowr maistershepe is in helthe, with the same dew unto my mistress. Has thes day I have resseived from yowr maistershepe 2 letares dated the 8. day and the 17. day of July. And werhas yowr maisterschepe wryttes of Charles Benche, yt is the gretest pete that I hard sene I came in to thes land, but agayntes the evelle chanes of the world<sup>a</sup>, hape is he that cane wythstand yt. Yt hes a grett ynsampell to alle

men, but yt is grett pete that yt was proffed by hem, for ther was never a fayeffolder man lyvyng. Grett pete yt is, but I pray Jhesus (wyche all theng sendes) forgeffe heme hes mesededes and have marsey of is soll and alle Cresten solls amen.

Thes day I have bowt of John van den Gyr gynger 2 bages at 20d, nottes 2 bages Venys at 3s 6d, clovys 1 bag at 5s 8d and 1 at 5s 7d, maces larg 1 bag at 9s 6d. The gynger hes resen thes day 2d in a lb., peper ½d [in a] lb. and hes lyke to reyes mor. Therfor yffe yowr maisterschepe have stor, make myche therof or ells by same, for yt is lyke to ryse. Quyksylver 12d, vermylond at 16d. I have haleff at a bagen with a man to bey 10 or 20 bages of new ryse. Yff I can have them for 10s to pay at the Cold Martt,<sup>2</sup> I wyll toke 10 bages, for I think that thay wyll be no betour chepe thes, ere thay ben sold for 9s 6d at thes owr.

Yowr maistershepe dothe wryt for to bey a bag middle crocus. Yt is her at a grett pryse and het they wyll sell now for lese they sell grett crocus with the hother. Therfor yt wer betour to proffeyd yffe yt wer posybell at howr.

Yowr maisterschepe shall resseve by the grase of God in Awdryan Janson acordyn has I have wreten in dyvers letters corans 5 buttes and to of the peper and mor 1 small trewse that is lyke a trewse of werynger with yowr marke and therin 36 lb. cynamon wyche cost 6s 6d.<sup>3</sup> Therfor you had ned sell yt betour thayn 4s 8d. Has yowr maisterschep prayes, it is sold. Make myche therof. Large ys at 7s 6d and wylle be deer. I have 200 the careseys yffe thay wer to 200 at thes owr, thay wold nott be resseved, for ther is grett war, werhas thay schold go and therfor careseys at a grett scap and is nott lyke to be well sold, nott thes 3 marttes. And the reson therof makes spycces to ryse, has I shall serten for yowr maisterschep by the next leter than I wyll send. And then God wylyng I wyll com home with the forst how or schep or ells by land. I demande of Steven for the money that you have paid for hem with dyvers hother materes then yowr maisterschepe. He sayes that Harry Myles most pay for the haleff of them, for he had the most partt of them without money. I kold gett non mor wares. The trewthe is, has for has I cane se, he has no wares nor no grett stor of money. Therfor to gettett by aney menes, yt wer grett hendrans to hem beyng her, but has I have sewed hem betewexst hem and me that yt is nott poseybell that ever he shall prosper or go forward in desevelyng you afftour thes maner, has he has don so maney tymes and nevar wyll lesse. I told hem that I kold take yt no nother wayes but that he dowes yt to shorten yowr leyffe or ells he wold ever dow, has he dowes so<sup>b</sup> hofften tymes. And therwythe he wepte that with dyvers hother thenges wyche wer to long to wryt at thes tyme. And thes the Lord be with yowr maisterschepe and my mistress, yowr brother with all the rest of yowr good frendes.

<sup>a</sup> wrold HL, in error. <sup>b</sup> fo follows, struck through HL.

[4.] John Copynger, fishmonger to his wife. — [1533] July 17.

HL AHL, ASA, *Externa Anglicana* 476, Folder with letters, no. 4 (original classification by Dreyer: *Acta Anglicana*, Appendix 2; reclassified as ASA, *Externa Anglicana* no. 1606). Original holograph letter. Paper. Sealed

<sup>2</sup> In 1533, the Cold Mart in Bergen op Zoom began on 6 Nov. and ended four to six weeks later.

<sup>3</sup> These goods were signalled as taken by Lübeck freebooters in the list of English damages: no. 40 § 3 below.

*closed with the signet of the writer in red wax (paper seal). On the dorse:*  
 Wannto þe whyff of John Copynger fysschemonger off Londen' in  
 Holldn Fyssche stret thys be delyvered with sped.

Bysly I recomend me home to yow and to alle good neybwres, trwstyng ye be in good  
 hellth, with alle my chylddyrene and howsolld and alle other as I had reherst them be name  
 alle. So ye schalle wndyrstond I hawe resewyd yowyr letter þat Rabard Parys whort to  
 me be master Kemp and towychyng for who schalle hawe from as sone as God send hyt  
 hom her and as for barelle for her hys asder as hys in Londwn' yet bwt I trwst who schalle  
 hawe beter schep schortly.

Allso the kawse of my whyrytyng to yow hys þat ye schalle resewywe of a hoye of Anwharp  
 a wesselle of frasche stwrgyne markyd with thys my mark [*merchant's mark no. 1 follows*].  
 The mastyr's name wndyr God hys Awdryane Jounswyn. Paye hym for the freyct off hyt 6d  
 and sond hyt to my lord. Hyt <sup>a</sup>hys<sup>a</sup> not so gret for as I hawe sene bwt hyt <sup>a</sup>hys<sup>a</sup> wery gwd.  
 And whylle I hawe sene 20 sens I kame and ther whas newer when to my mynd affore  
 now. For owther they prowyd rede in the sethyng or elles they krombylled and mollyd  
 awhey that I had no fanssy to them.

Alleso I praye yow hawe me recomendedyd to mastyr Lark and mastyr Steward and  
 mastyr Kwntrrollarth. Alleso I praye yow loke whelle to yowyr <sup>a</sup>fowkys<sup>a</sup> and so they stond  
 nott ydylly in no whysse. And gether in yowyr deters, for I mwst paye<sup>b</sup> moche mony when  
 I come home. I trwst so and the f' come I loke for. Allso let yowyr fowkys make me no  
 dettyres bwt that they may gother hwphone Satyrday at nytte in no whysse. I praye yow  
 let þe Gwdman stone, so yowyr bylle and þe next. I trwst who schall whyryt, who schalle  
 haweswmer f' and þe whynde whylle win abowt. No more to yow at theys tyme, bwt Jhesu  
 kepe yow. Whrytyn at Anwharpe þe 17<sup>o</sup> day of Jwly.

[*signed*] Be me John Copynger

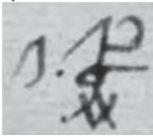
Her the mark hyr betyr made and my name how þe tother hed

[*merchant's mark no. 1 follows*]

So yow schalle resewyve 2 koper boketys of tynn.

<sup>a-a</sup> *Interlined HL.*    <sup>b</sup> *my follows, struck through HL.*

1)



[5.] William Gresham, haberdasher, in Antwerp to his wife in London. — (undated).<sup>4</sup>

HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, Folder with letters, no. 5 (original  
 classification by Dreyer: Acta Anglicana, Appendix 2; reclassified as  
 ASA, Externa Anglicana no. 1606). Original holograph letter. Paper.  
 Sealed closed with the signet of the writer in red wax (paper seal). On the

<sup>4</sup> Note that Gresham indicates the prices of the goods listed in this letter in code.

*dorse:* Thys letter be delyverd wnto Wylham Gressent haburdascher dwelling at þe Red Balle in Chepe; N° Eg.

Ryght well belowyd wyffe, I hartyly recomend me unto you, trusting in Jhesu that yow be in good helthe with all my howsold, thanke it by God. Also you shall receive by the grasse of God in Rycharde Rede of Mylton Shore a dry fat, <sup>a</sup>a truse<sup>b</sup>, a barrell with shepe belles with thys marke [*merchant's mark no. 1 in the left margin*].

Item 6 payntyde clothes

Item 27 dosen [lb.] inkelles at price

Item more a sacke of inkell under the same marke

Item 3 dosen [lb.] Ownter thred<sup>c</sup> at pp C s.

Item dosen [lb.] Ownter therd<sup>c</sup> at ppp C s.

Item 4 lb. Ownter thred<sup>c</sup> at ppp C s.

Item 1½<sup>d</sup> dosen golde chekes<sup>e</sup> at p C s.

Item 3 bages anlettes wayng 202 lb. at Ed gr. ob'

Item 3 gros hawke hendes at p Ed s.

Item 9 lb. inkelles at p C gr./lb.

Item 4½ dosen, 1 d bredes says pp C s.

Item <sup>f</sup>5<sup>f</sup> dosen 1 d bredes sayes at pp Er s.

Item 18 dosen new sayes at ppr s.

Item ½ dosen sayes at pp C s.

Item 3 gros rassures at p Er s.

Item [1] gros bosses at E s.

Item 12,000 packe neddilles at Er s. p Er gr.

Item 7 dosen fyne chekes with golde at<sup>g</sup> p Er s./dosen

Item 3½ dosen myddell sayes at p Er s.

Item 6 dosen bey sylke at p C s. p

Item 5 boxses with myny kynces at p Es gr.

Item [1] gros brase belles at p Er s.

Item ½ gros brase belles at p s.

Item 7 dosen lether at Er s. p C

More in the same shyppe a sacke inkelle wayng 500 [lb.] at p E ½ gr.

More in the same shype a truse with 13<sup>h</sup> dosen lether at Er s. p C

Item 8½ dosen of pay[n]ted clothes at p s.

Item more 100 remes paper at p ½ gr.

Item 50 remes of broune paper dowbylle at pr gr.

The fraythe of all is

Item a barrell of sheppe belles content 4200 at C s.

[p. 2]

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By the Grace of Jhesu more in Petter Colle of Andwarpe

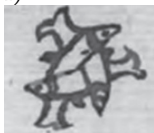
Item 2 barrells storgon continentes 16 rondes and 6 golles at E £ p s. p C gr.

Under thys marke [*merchant's mark no. 2 in the left margin*] freyght

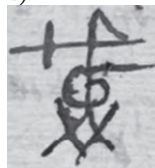
<sup>a-a</sup> Interlined above 2, struck through HL. <sup>b</sup> truses HL, in error. <sup>c</sup> therd HL, in error. <sup>d</sup> Corrected in HL from 1. <sup>e</sup> with follows, struck through HL.

<sup>f</sup> Interlined above 4, struck through HL. <sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> follows dosen, struck through. <sup>s</sup> pp follows, struck through HL. <sup>b</sup> Corrected in HL from 12.

1)



2)



[6.] Ryner Grover to Edward Morton, grocer. — 1533 July 18. Antwerp.

HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, Folder with letters, no. 6 (original classification by Dreyer: Acta Anglicana, Appendix 2; reclassified as ASA, Externa Anglicana no. 1606). Original holograph letter. Paper. Sealed closed with the signet of the writer in red wax (paper seal). On the dorse: To his maister Edward Morton grocer this letter be delivered in London.

+ 1533 le 18. day Jully

Ryght worshyppfull sir, i[n] the lowest maner I hartfully recomend me unto yow, trustyng in God that yow ar merry etc. Ser, yow shall receive now by the grace of God by the brynger hereof, hose name is Audryan Johnson of Andwarpe, under this marke [merchant's mark no. 1 follows] large mayces 1 barell containing 42<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> lb. and<sup>a</sup> 1 C barell succade, 2 lyttyl bareles orynges floris containing all an 186 lb. cc' at 5d/lb.

Item a tros with my weryng gown.

And he moste have for his freight 2s.

The inwarde is markyd wythe this marke [merchant's mark no. 2 follows].

No more to yow at this tyme, but owre Lord have yow in his kipyng.

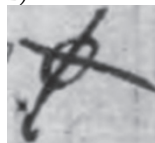
[signed] per me your servant Ryner Grover

<sup>a</sup> 1 barell and follows, struck through HL.

1)



2)



[7.] Blase Saunders to his brother Edward Saunders. — 1533 July 21. Antwerp.

HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, Folder with letters, no. 7 (original classification by Dreyer: Acta Anglicana, Appendix 2; reclassified as ASA, Externa Anglicana no. 1606). Original holograph letter. Paper. Sealed closed with the signet of the writer in red wax (paper seal). On the dorse: Unto hys worshyppfull brother Edward Saunders in the Mydle Temple thys be delyveryd in London.



+ 1533 +

In Anwerpe the 21. day of Julye

Ryght worshypfull and well beloved brother my dutye rememberyd. I hertelye recommend me unto yow, trustyng in God that yow be in good helthe, which I pray God longe may contyniu to hys plesure and after yowr hertys moste desyre etc. Sertefyeng yow that I have sente yow a letter and a dosyn<sup>a</sup> lutyng stryngs which I truste yow have resevyd er thys tyme and I desyer gretlye to know yf they be good or bad. Yf they be nowght, I know where ys sume makyng that be fyner and belyke better then<sup>b</sup> those I sent yow. Therefore yf yow wyll have any more, sende me mone<sup>c</sup> ynowgh and yow shall have stryngys ynowgh.

Also my letter which I sente yow was so hastely wrytten that I thynke yow cowlde scarce rede yt. Howbeyt the tyme was so shorte, I cowlde wryte yt no better.

Allso I desyer yow to have me recommendyd unto my father and my mother and desyer her of her blesyng<sup>d</sup> and to all my brothers and susters with all my other frendys. I wolde have wrytten to my mother at thys tyme but for to wryte for her blesyng. I truste yt shall not nede. Therefore as sone as I can, I wylle wryte here a letter that she shalle know how I bestow my tyme. By the grase of Jesu who ever preserve yow and kepe yow and alle other goode frendys amen. Wrytten in haste by the hande of yowr lovyng brother.

[signed] Blase Saunders

<sup>a</sup> lactyyng follows, struck through HL. <sup>b</sup> Corrected in HL from them. <sup>c</sup> yp follows, struck through HL. <sup>d</sup> I follows, struck through HL.

[8.] Jan van Espen in Brussels to Liuken van Brussel in London. — 1533 May 26. Brussels. HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, Folder with letters, no. 8 (original classification by Dreyer: Acta Anglicana, Appendix 2; later reclassified as ASA Externa Anglicana no. 1606). Original holograph letter. Paper. Sealed closed with the signet of the writer in red wax (paper seal). On the dorse: Sij gegeven Liuken van Brussel op Sante Quarteyns [St Katharine's by the Tower] in de Zwane tot Lonnen.

Vrindtlycke groete voirscreven. Liuken van Brussel mijn lieve werdinne. Ic, Jan van Espen, vernomen hebbe daervan, ghij mij last gaeft te wetene Peter Nene van goet, dat tot sinte Joos ten hoede leggen soude. Ende ghij die moete doen woudt alhier tot Brussel te commen. Aen het selve goet soudi wel geraken. Ende ic hope u cortelingen te comen besoecken. Ende Wouter in de nobele doet u zeere groeten. Ende ic gebiede mij zeere tot Machielen ende tot allen mijn goeden vrinden. Hiermit blyft God bevolen. Gescreven te Brussel mitter haest opten 26<sup>den</sup> dach van Meye anno [15]33.

Die al uwe onderdanige diener

[signed] Jan van Espen

(merchant's mark no. 1 follows)

1)



[9.] William Lawson to his master Thomas Dichfield. — 1533 July 12.

HL AHL ASA, *Externa Anglicana* 476, Folder with letters, no. 9 (original classification by Dreyer: *Acta Anglicana*, Appendix 2; later reclassified as ASA, *Externa Anglicana* no. 1606). Original holograph letter. Paper. Sealed closed with the signet of the writer in red wax. On the dorse: Unto my master Thomas Dychefelde thys letter be delyverede in London.<sup>5</sup>

At Andwarpe the 12. day of July anno 1533

Sir and please you to understonde that by Godes grace you shall receive in Audryan Johnson a dry fat containing as folowiht

24 dosens fygugurs H<sub>3</sub>H at 24s the dosen

25 dosens de doble larg + at 18s 6d

20 dosens de large Ø H<sub>3</sub>H at 9s

20 dosens de oultre fyn + at 11s

15 dosens de large bygare at 7s

10 dosens de fin bygare at 6s

10 dosens fyn 1d brede fin<sup>a</sup> at 9s 3d

8 dosens 1d brede fin at 7s 10d

5 dosens de fygure Ø H<sub>3</sub>H at 18s

for the fat and nelles 2s

The wiche fat drawys to £89 -s 8d

ande is for the doble large and the oultre large. Colin dide sende hys brother a letter of hit ande hys broder sende hym worde agen that hee sholde not selle the doble larger under 19s ande the oultre large under 11s 6d for why the yarin costen 6d mandes more then it did before. Ande Colin saythe is for thos 2 perselles a cannot bac nothing of bac thos that a can bak a has bak you. Moreover you shall understande<sup>b</sup> that Colin is sore sycke ande has ben thys 5 days ande a coms not owt of hys bede. Ande hee ande I have not recovede yeet ande as for Andryas Sallman, hee saythe that a has a supina of the emperour that noo man shall have money of hym thys threy yere. Moreover you shall understande<sup>c</sup> that there is shiping in Clas Frys 175 bondelles paper wiche<sup>d</sup> cost<sup>d</sup> £2 16s 8d the 100 s[hetes]

<sup>5</sup> Note that the essential information in this letter is written in code, which I have reproduced as well as possible.

ande now a can by non for £3. No more unto you at this tyme, but °Jhesu° have you in hys kepinghe.

[signed] By your servaunt William Lawson

<sup>a</sup> fff HL. <sup>b</sup> Corrected in HL from undershall. <sup>c</sup> Corrected in HL from undersha[ll]. <sup>d-d</sup> Interlined HL. <sup>e-e</sup> Struck through, but obviously not meant to be deleted HL.

[10.] Jan van Espen to Marten. — 1533 July 7.

HL AHL ASA, *Externa Anglicana* 476, Folder with letters, no. 10 (original classification by Dreyer: *Acta Anglicana*, Appendix 2; reclassified as ASA *Externa Anglicana* no. 1606). Original holograph letter. Paper. Sealed closed with the signet of the writer in red wax. On the dorse: *Sij gegeven Marten die cleermake[r] van Mallort fratre wonende up Tourwerck tot Longuen.*

Marten, ic gebiede mij zeer tot u ende ic laet u weten, dat ic een bode gesonde hebbe nae Longuen. Ende hij es geweest tot Grevelingen, ende hij seyde, dat men nyet passeren en mochte mits der belegen. Ende alsoe hebb ic moet ic<sup>a</sup> patientie hebben. Ende hebbec sint nae vernomen ende hebbe verstaen, dat men wet daer passeren <sup>b</sup>mach<sup>b</sup>, sonder yemant toe te seggen.

Marten, soe bidd ic u vrindelyck, dat ghij wilt eenen scepper spreken van kennesse, dat hij u 'tgelt geven wilt, dat u commen mach. Ende laet hem wegen het dwerck het 'tgeven, dat ghij <sup>a</sup>van<sup>a</sup> mij hebt, ende ic sal die selve scepper, die dat dan soude wel en dueghdes constenteren, maer en gheefft nyet, sonder eenen brieff met te bringen, oft ten es wel versekert, want ic van stonden aen sijn gelt geven sal ende oick betaelen sijn arbeyt. Ic soude selve gecomen hebbe, maer hebbe soe vele werckx, dat ic nyet en mach vrij ten <sup>a</sup>huys<sup>a</sup> sijn.

Marten, ic gebiede mij zeer tot u lieve huysvrouwe ende seynde huer een Jhesus ges<sup>c</sup> zij <sup>b</sup>mij<sup>b</sup> gebeden hadde. Willet 'tselve in dancke ontfangen. Ic dancke van uwer goeder dueght. Mach ic den tijt eens leven, ic hoepe wederom aen u te verdienen. Gescreven mit haesten op ten 7<sup>den</sup> daech van Julius anno [15]33.

[signed] die al uwe Jan van Espen u diener ende vrunde [merchant's mark no. 1 follows]

<sup>a</sup> Sic. Gramatically, 'moeten' would have made more sense, but the handwriting is clearly 'ic'. <sup>b-b</sup> Interlined HL. <sup>c</sup> Reading uncertain HL. Only ges is legible.

1)



[11.] Christopher Fysher to his master William Windleff. — 1533 July 20. Antwerp.

HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, Folder with letters, no. 11 (original classification by Dreyer: Acta Anglicana, Appendix 2; later reclassified as ASA, Externa Anglicana no. 1606). Original holograph letter. Paper. Sealed closed with the signet of the writer in red wax. On the dorse: + To hys worshupfull master Wylliam Windleff so it delyvered in London.

+ the 20. jour July 1533

Ryght worshypfull syr, my dewty lowly consederred so etc. Syr, ye shall receive by the grace of God in Awdryan Johnson a furkyne [*merchant's mark no. 1 in the left margin*] with 10 rondes sturgene etc. So Jhesus be with yow, amen.

[*signed*] by yowr servant Christoffer Fysher

1)



[12.] Edward Faerlaey to his uncle Willem Faerlaey. — 1533 July 23. Antwerp.

HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, Folder with letters, no. 12 (original classification by Dreyer: Acta Anglicana, Appendix 2; later reclassified as ASA Externa Anglicana no. 1606). Original holograph letter. Paper. Sealed closed with the signet of the writer in red wax (paper seal). On the dorse: Aen den eerzaeemen ende wysen coepman Villeen Faerlaey.

+

Vriendelicke groetenesse voerscreven aen hu mij lieve ende zeer bemijnden hooem. Ic ghebiede mij alsoee heertelic, alst mij moegelic ees, in hu ghoeude ende amiabele graeesy. Min lieve ende zeer beminde hooem hu sal believe te mercken, dat mij soee zeer verlaut ain heenijge bij dinge van hu te hoeeren vant ic in soee langhe van hu niet ghehoert en hebbe et welck mij een groet verdriet ees, vant ic hebbe hu soe veel brieven ghescreven ende ic en horee gheen andtvorde, maer ic moet pasieensy hebben tot ter tijt, dat hu mijn lieve hooem beelyft. Mijn lieve ende zeer beminde hooem, ic gebiede mij ende ic recomandere mij in hu goede ende amiabele grasy. Ende ic bidde hu min lieve hoiem, dat ghij toch vylt peensien om alle voerleeden saken et soude hu lyttel scaden ende mij aerm bloet veel helpen. Aldus bydd ic hu, min lieve hooem, vylt doch mins gedincken. Veet min lieve hooem, dat ic hier 'tAnnerpen eenen Heijnghels man gesproken hebbe, naer dat ic verstae, soee heef hij hu dochter ghetrou, ende dye eft mij gezeet, dat ghij noch fraeij ende gesonnt vart et velck mij zeer lief om hoeeren was. Aldus bydd ic hu, mijn lieve hoom, dat ic toch in hu memory mach staeen niet meer op deen tijt, min lieve hooem, dan God verleene hu en al hu geselschap een lanck leeven ende gesonnde. Mijn lieve hoem, kann ic hu hier heenygheen dyenst gedoen, dat villic gheerne ende ghevillych doen. Ic

bidde hu, mijn lieve hoem, dat hu vil ghelieven mij andtworde te senden, hoe dat met hu ees. Gescreven met haestten tot Antwerpen den 23<sup>sten</sup> Julijus anno 1533.

[signed] dee al hu dienæer Edewaert Faerlaey

[13.] *William Pratt, grocer, to his wife. — 1533 July 15. Antwerp.*

*HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, Folder with letters, no. 13 (original classification by Dreyer: Acta Anglicana, Appendix 2; later reclassified as ASA, Externa Anglicana no. 1606). Original holograph letter. Paper. Sealed closed with the signet of the writer in red wax. On the dorse: + To Wylliam Pratt of London grocer be delivered London.*

+

Att Andwarp the 15<sup>th</sup> de July anno 1533; N<sup>o</sup> 1<sup>a</sup>

I trust by God you be all in gode helthe etc. Serteffyeng you thatt I have sentt Edward into Zelland to come home with the fyrst wynde. Than, I wold you applyed your buyssynes and to tak syche monny as schalle fortune to fall. And thow you sell the better schep for monny, lett alleways atte the leste be twane in the schep. I wold you bowght a bollyne of quyksylver, so you may have ytt for 9d atte the most, as I thynk you schalle better schep and selle away the almondes and you can mak no store of no warre you have exseptt the 2 balles of mader, wyche I wold have 15s 6d for 1 C redy monny att the lest.

You may schow Edward Mewrelle thatt my nosteys saythe sche lentte hyme a fetther bed and<sup>a</sup> a gowne wyche sche mervellythe he hathe nott sentt ageyne. If he hathe, lest ytt onny wherre, byd<sup>b</sup> hyme fynd same provyssyen thatt ytt may be sentt hether with spede, for sche says she schalle elles pay for ytt.

And ytt was no mervelle thatt Edward Marttens servantt sold the bag of peper untto you, for ther was nott so myche in Andworp thys 7 yere att owne tyme.

Therfor ryde ytt away and you can and yf you have made me over<sup>c</sup> no monny by exchange, make over now.

Peper ys chere at 27d and 3 myttes les, cloz 5s 6d and therffore mak no store bowtt sell and ytt be possybell. Take hede to your bemes and skalles and wayttes thatt you be nott dessevede in no wys and se thatt your comfettes and orradoes be made as sooune as Edward comynth home. In ony vys I ferre me lest my cottons be to a yll markett. Than schalle I nott save my costes. And loke you truste nonne <sup>d</sup>bowtt<sup>d</sup> thatt you know be surre or elles thatt you have gode surtty. All owther warres kepethe ther prysses as they dyde affore. By owther letteres sentt by Edward gowne and thys fare you well.

[signed] Your hosbande Wylliam Pratt g[entleman]

<sup>a</sup> and repeated HL, in error. <sup>b</sup> he follows, struck through HL. <sup>c</sup> One illegible letter follows, struck through HL. <sup>d-d</sup> Interlined HL.

[14.] *Liesbet Raens to her husband Claes Raens in London. — [1533] July 25.*

*HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, Folder with letters, no. 14 (original classification by Dreyer: Acta Anglicana, Appendix 2; later reclassified as ASA, Externa Anglicana no. 1606). Possibly holograph letter. Paper. Sealed*

*closed with the signet of the writer in green wax. On the dorse:* Desen brief sal men geven tot Loenen aen Claes Raens in haest.

+ Jhesus Maria Anna

Vryndelijke groete gescreven aen u mijn alder liefst maen Claes Raes. Ick laet u veten, hoe dat ick vel te paessen ben en aellen mien huessien, aels ick hoeppen, dat ghie oeck sijt.

Ende ick hebbe w brief oentfaenghen en wel wersstaen. Ghee scieft mijn vaen Machiel Dammasch hues. Wet, Claes Raes, hoe dat Jan<sup>a</sup> Braeckaet die Veeven getroeut heet, soe duechel ick, dat sye niet vercoepen en soellen, maer schenken.

Bernaet, die het ock en maen ghenomen ende syen en sael daer ni[e]<sup>t</sup><sup>b</sup> blieden voenen, want sie en wel die coemcaeppen niet d[oen]<sup>b</sup>, soe moech ghi biessen. Oeft sien dat<sup>c</sup> wercoepen werden.

Ende Aendries, den daener, die ies coemmen ende cloeck ende gesoent. Ende ghie en scieft niet, waet die hoepe ghelt, want ghie Paeuleus Coernelys gheloeft haet. Ende Diellyes vain Goek, dye het toet roellen vech. Ende ick hebbe daet gelt oentfaenc 30s Vlemes net, soe hebbe ick noech in roellen toet mijn huessen. Ende oef ghie vesset coecht coept tuec scoen svaert ende dat goet ies vaet ten ies ael daech niet te beten. Ende vaechet u vel, dat ghie niet sick en voert in maer goe die sieren. Niet mer opt desen tijt daen God ghespaer u en mij in dochden.

Gescreven metter haest bij mij Liesbet Raens u hoesfroeu oep sient Jaecoep dach.

[a rectangle in the lower right hand corner of the letter, containing the writer's signature, has been cut away]

<sup>a</sup> Corrected in HL from Ien. <sup>b</sup> Hole in the paper HL. <sup>c</sup> vre follows, struck through HL.

[15.] Harry Austen to his wyff in London. — [1533] July 24. Antwerp.

HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, Folder with letters, no. 15 (original classification by Dreyer: Acta Anglicana, Appendix 2; later reclassified as ASA, Externa Anglicana no. 1606). Original holograph letter. Paper. Sealed closed with the signet of the writer in green wax. On the dorse: +; unto Harre Austen att þe syne of þe Blew Anker in Temstrett this be delivered att London; N° F.

Jhesus

att Andwarpp the 24. day off July

Welbelovyd wyff, I hartely recomend unto yow, trustyng in Jhesu thatt yow be in good hellthe and alle your howsolld. Certeffeyng yow thatt yow shalle receive off thys bryngger Clayse de Fryse 3 lyttle fyrkyns storgyon markyd with my marke wyche yow shalle delyver the gretyst off them to master Blanke and the<sup>a</sup> second gretyst wyche ys markyd with a fygure of <sup>b</sup>4<sup>b</sup>. I wold yow made a letter with all and send hyt to Coventre for therein ys 4 rondes for your mother won and eche of your brethren, allso <sup>c</sup>won<sup>c</sup> a pes. And the lest of all has 2<sup>d</sup> rondes wyche I geve unto yow to make merry with. And lett Harre goo to master Hylle for to aske lysens to take hyt upp. And lett hym show hym the letter, yff he wyll nott geve yow lysens, for hyt ys alle to geve awaye.

Thus Jhesu preserve yow in longe lyff to hys pleasure.

By your husband  
[signed] Harre Austen

[on the dorse, hidden when the letter is folded up] And whereas I have wrytton þat yow shalle receive the storgyon in Clayse de Fryse, yow shalle resseyve hyt in Adryan Jonson þe brynger here off.

<sup>a</sup> fat follows, struck through HL. <sup>b-b</sup> Interlined above 4 (iiij), struck through HL. <sup>c-c</sup> Interlined HL. <sup>d</sup> Two illegible words follow, struck through HL.

[16.] John Blundell to John Petey, servant of Sir Thomas Baldry, alderman. — 1533 July 24. Antwerp.

HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, Folder with letters, no. 16 (original classification by Dreyer: Acta Anglicana, Appendix 2; later reclassified as ASA, Externa Anglicana no. 1606). Original holograph letter. Paper. Sealed closed with the signet of the writer in red wax. On the dorse: +; To John Petey servant with syr Thomas Baldry alderman soytt delivere in London.

+

In Andwerp le 24. jour de July anno 1533; n° 1

John Petey, I recomend me unto yowe, trustyng that my master, my lady with all the howshold be yn good helthe wherof I praye God of contenance, desyryng yowe I maye be recomendyd to all my frendes and felowes not so muche butt to master Nycholl, prayng hym to remember my gowne for to have ytt to Wylliam Pages fuller for to dresse and to dey yn a pewke. Wyche done I praye yowe bydd hym to fetche yt home and bydde Hanyngton the taylor to make yt me ayenst my comyng home and cawse hym to ruffe the sleeves above etc.

Item at my departyng at Belyngsgate, I borrowed of John Bennett 20s sterling for my costes and Nycolas was ther with my bowghet and I browght hym ynto Tower Strette, were I shuld receive of a armorar 24s wiche was redy, butt he was owtt of the waye, werffor I prayed yowe to receive the same 24s of the seyd armorar – his name ys Symond Cowper – and to geve hym a qwyttans yn my name and nede bee. And of that to geve to John Bennet the 20s I borrowed of hym, so that I trust ye have received ytt and geven yt hym or ells and I wyste the contrary, I wold apoynte hym wher he shuld receive the same 20s.

Item this ys the effecte of my letter: Ye shall receive owtt Adryan Johnsons hooye of Antwerp halffe a sturgeon for my master under his marke wiche cost clere aborde with all maner of charges 39s, payeng for freyght 8d.

Other newes I have nowt to wryght, butt that here is a shreud martte and all maner of warns be here onresonably dere and owt of the waye. Whyt ware ys very dere. Holmes fusteans g p £ lf, Osborns CC £ lpf, mather lRs and better peper gsg and all other warns very dere and spechially all maner of mercery warns, soo that men knowe not wheryn to bestowe thur money. And yet they have<sup>a</sup> bowght yt very dere. And thus owr Lord kepe yowe. In hast.

[signed] by your John Blundell

<sup>a</sup> Corrected in HL from thave.

[17.] *Katline Tsaseleren to her son Marten Tsaseleren. — 1533 May 22.*

*HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, Folder with letters, no. 17 (original classification by Dreyer: Acta Anglicana, Appendix 2; later reclassified as ASA, Externa Anglicana no. 1606). Paper. Sealed closed with the signet of the writer in red wax (paper seal). On the dorse: Desen brief sal men bestellen aen Marten Tsaseleren mynen lieven ende zere bemynden zoen.*

Jhesus Maria Anna

Sij u ghescreven vor een zaleghe groete aen u mijnn alder liefste zone. U belieft te weten, hoe dat ic groet verlanghen heb, om te weten, hoe dat mit u ende uwer huysffrouwe zijn mach, want ic en langhen van u niet vernomen en heb. Ende belyeft u te weten van mij, ic ben in redeliken poente na mijnen ouden staet. Mijn beminde zoen, ic soude u so zeer gheren noch eens seen vor mijn doot, wart moeghelyck.

U brueder Peter, die ghebiet hem zeer met zijnder huysfrouwe toet u. Ende hij woent nou ter Woeren in den moelen. God gheef der hem spoet mede. Ende Marie u suster, die en es noch <sup>a</sup>niet<sup>a</sup> ghehout. Ic woude, dat sij enen goeden man hadde. Dat kint God, die u, mijn alder liefste zoen, bewaren en ghesparen wyl toet enen zaleghen ende.

Ghescreven<sup>b</sup> op den Assencioens dach anno 1533 bij mij

u goet wylleghe moeder  
[signed] Katline Tsaseleren

Laet mij weten, oft ghij desen brief ontfanghen hebt.

<sup>a-a</sup> *Interlined HL.* <sup>b</sup> *den follows, struck through HL.*

[18.] *Unnamed writer to Wyllem van Tonghen in London. — 1533 July 24. Antwerp.*

*HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, Folder with letters, no. 18 (original classification by Dreyer: Acta Anglicana, Appendix 2; later reclassified as ASA, Externa Anglicana no. 1606). Original holograph letter. Paper. Sealed closed with the signet of the writer in red wax. On the dorse: Aen Wyllem van Tonghen op Sommerstran detur littere a Londres; [merchant's mark no. 1 follows]; (in the lower left corner of the letter as it was folded up) Adrian Janson.*

Laus Deo

Antvers tho 24. Jully anno 1533

per Adrian Janson N° 32

Wet Wyllem, dat wij wel tepasse sin alls ic hoepe by Dey gracia goed, dat ock met u ys.

Wet, dat ghij ontfange sole ut Adrian Janson scepper van Antwerpen 2 corfferkin continentes 11 hout 2s 2 [gr.]; noch een hocsoet continente 8 dosin ende 4 lb. scefne garen ende 4 dosin [lb.] garen dolees rondt van couleurs coechst 7s 6d doussin; noch in desen selve sack den selve tonne, dat te incamen<sup>a</sup> 11 houtte van Dornich tot 1s stuck, dat ys 12s dosin; noch 3 stuck gheheten sayen croiset tot 2os Vle[m]s stuc. Sij si lang 14½ gierde af dreem intrent; 1 carpet van sae draet tot 22s Vle[m]s; 6 dousin figuren 25s 6d; 4 grosse coroy tot 3s 6d; 4 dosin large ap 19s; Noch 1 fardelle mer besaen continente 22 dossin lert



tot 6s; 12 dossin tot 5s 6d, 15 dosin tot 4s; noch een paken 6 tapijte sarpelier; noch 43 dosin tapitte tot 22s 8d; 23 doubles Yperlin tot 16s 6d dosin.

<sup>b</sup>12s 6 s 5s 1s

⊕ O C<sup>c</sup> 1s

ende soe alavenate<sup>b</sup>

Noch 12 dosin lints Brussel tot 15s 2d

6 dosin tot 13s 6d dosin

Noch dry stuc<sup>d</sup> kippe, 1 stuck 30s,

1 stuc 28s, 1 stuc 26s. De marck ys [*merchant's mark is lacking*]

Noch een pack van Valechy haelf ossen stuc 37<sup>ti</sup>

5 stuck tot 21s 8d

3 stuck tot 20s 8d

7 stuck tot 19s 8d

6 stuck tot 18s 8d

<sup>e</sup>5<sup>e</sup> stuck tot 17s 8d

3 stuck tot 16s 8d

2 stuck tot 15s 8d

1 stuck tot 15s

1 stuck tot 14s

2 stuck<sup>f</sup> 13s 8d

2 say stuck 12s 8d

Noch sal ghij hebben in desem 1 corve met drij hubeken crest, 9 steres, 15 hade, 8 usin doer soe crest deon.

<sup>a</sup> 1 tappit serigel *follows, struck through HL.* <sup>b-b</sup> Entered in the left margin HL. <sup>c</sup> 3 *follows, struck through HL.* <sup>d</sup> ki[ppe] *follows, expunged HL.* <sup>e</sup> Interlined above 6, *struck through HL.* <sup>f</sup> 18 *follows, struck through HL.*

1)



[19.] Dietrich Hoerner to Heinrich Schelt, Hanseatic merchant in the Steelyard in London.  
— 1533 July 17. Cologne.

HL AHL ASA, *Externa Anglicana* 476, Folder with letters, no. 19 (original classification by Dreyer: *Acta Anglicana*, Appendix 2; later reclassified as ASA, *Externa Anglicana* no. 1606). Original holograph letter. Paper.

*Sealed closed with the signet of the writer in green wax. On the dorse: Dem ersamen Heynrych Schelt zo Londen in Engellant up dem Stayll Hoff to geven [merchant's mark no. 1 follows]. In another hand, upside down: Dusser breff hefft Hynrik Cron upbraken, ßo he sede.*

+ Jhesus Maria anno 1533 ad 17. July in Coln +

Saluttem in Domino myt vermoygen. Wyss, Heynrych goyde frunt, dat ich dye ad 14. dieto eyn bryff geschryben hayb und ways gans verdrossen, dat du myr dyn rechenyng nytt schyckttes. Und so synt myr up datum 2 bryff van dyr geschryffen worden datum 20. Juny und primo July. Und so dû schryffs, dat du ethich kronen van Arnt Byrckman intf[angen] hayst, und dy sall ich im betallen mytt kronen und im wyderum so fyll doyn. Dem sall so geschyen, wylt Gott. Arnt und Johan van Gangell sall ich dy £30 sterling zo dang betallen und besyen, off ich mytt invorderen mocht all yr gelt, van in zo haven, dat sy dess jaysr int lant untf[angen] in des, dat sy sycher synt, yr wessell gelt zo bezallen etc.

Fort so du schryffs, dat ich dyr noch umtrynt 20. Mayssen [20 May] goltz solt senden, und du hayffs noch sylffers genoych, hyr yss nytt eyn mass um gelt zo bekomen. Dy goltsleger wyllen der nytt myr maychen. Ich hayn der bestalt zo maychen tegen Remyge [1 Oct.] 25. Vur der zytt sall ich nytt wall wat zo wegen brengen. Dy merzer synt gemaycht, lygen bey myr haym, dar nytt bey zo pagcken. So layss ich sy lygen, byss war darbey zo packen kompt.

Fortt, so du schryffs, du wolt myr 3 blauwen koppen mytt smallen lysten, so balt der upkomen. Ich bedarff der blaewen nyt, ytt sy dan dat sy sat von der farffen synt und nyt stryffych, ouch nytt der wysser hoyr in hant, dan sy moyssen blau syn van blaû zo blyffen etc.

Ich hayn nu geltz genoch bekomen up wessell up Antwerppen zo bezallen, Gott loff, so dyr Otto wol schryffen sall, und versyn mych, wyrtt dyr nytt myn dan £400 sterling offer Maychen tegen Bartholmeyer [24 Aug.]. So wylt doch flys an kyren um goytt gemeyn wyssen, darvur zo koppen, und eyn pack goyder roden und 2 fyn rossett van goyder farben und dat mytt den yrsten, dat moychlychen yss. Und so balt du dyn gelt bestaytt hayst, so wolt offer komen. Ich wolt woll, dat du in der myssen wyrs, so ytt moychlychen wyr. So nyt, so moyss ich mych beheppen, wy ich be kan. Wylt Gott, dan so balt du dat gelt bestaytt hayst, so kom offer per awysso.

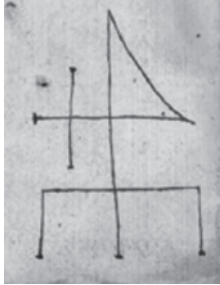
So du schryffs, dyn rechenyck nytt offer gesant hayst, um dat ich dyr nytt geschryffen hayff, war dar golt kost, so hayst du dat nytt zo boych konnen stellen, so besuych dyn vurbryff, wan ych dyr golt off sylffer gesant hayn, wyes du wayll fynden, wat ytt gekost haytt und wyr des nytt, so suls du gedayn hayn, als du byssher gedayn hayst und stellen zo boch, wat darvan komen yss. Wan wir tzamen quemen, solt sych wayll fonden hayn, wat wayssdoms darvan komen. Wyr hayn ich dyr den waysdom darvan zo gesaycht, dat wyll dyr ouch holden, wy byllych ytt yss. Darum nytt gesaycht, dat ich nytt wyssen sall, wat respondyrtt, dan dat du mych gantz mytt dyner rekenyck. Darum haystu ungelych in wyll, dat ytz layssen berestes.

Ich hayn eyn bryff intf[angen] datum 6. July. Darin besynt ich dyn rekenyck in dat kortt somarie geslotten, wan myr dy rekenyck in percellen wyrtt, wy sych behoertt, und ich dy parzellen tegen de mynen recht befynnen, wy sych behoertt. Asdan wyll ich dych quytteren, wy byllych, und mynem zosagen fort naekomen. Ich wyll affer ungepant van dyr syn per awysso, myt dem zyn wylt layssen berestes.

Fortt so hayn ich dyssen daych eyn groyss flach pack geladen up Antwerppen. Gott der Her layss ytt dyr mytt leve werden etc. Hyrmytt byss Gott dem Hern befolhen etc.

[signed] Derych Hoernner

1) (on the dorse)



[20.] James Bolney, mercer, to his servant William Hobson. — 1533 July 25. Antwerp.

HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, Folder with letters, no. 20 (original classification by Dreyer: *Acta Anglicana*, Appendix 2; later reclassified as ASA, Externa Anglicana no. 1606). Original holograph letter. Paper. Sealed closed with the signet of the writer in red wax. On the dorse: To William Hobson servaunt with Jamys Bolney<sup>6</sup> inne in Sent Laurens Lane this letter be delyvered in London.

+

At Andwerp, le 25. jour de Julii anno 1533

Ye shall receive of the brynger herof Audryen Janson of Andworp<sup>a</sup> a barrell under thys marc [merchant's mark no. 1 in the left margin] with half a sturgon therein pakyd containing 14 rondes and the half jolle, which ys for my neyghbour Laurens and for me equally to be devydyd, that ys to wytt 7 rondes apez. And the jolle to be sold to mistress Joones in case she wyll have yt. She spake unto me to bye a jolle, as I remember. As so far as she wyll have yt for the pris, we shalle agre welle. I nowghe further ye shall understond I sent by Umffre Lewssys servaunt 5 ferkyns elles and ½ of seames for to be delyvered unto my wyffe for a shett. The other, which was myche better, ys sold, as I understond by master Wylson servaunt, wherefore she must be contentyd with yt. As so far as the tyme can not be prolongyd, there was none other to be gotten, how be yt I have bespoken another which I trust shalle be redy tyme I nowghe. Wherefore I wold my wyffe showld not be to hasty in occupying of yt, for I have respyt betwene thys and the next marte whether I wyll have yt or not. In case I have yt, I must pay 12 gr. for a nelle whiche ys to myche. Therefore let my wyff kepe yt tell she hyre further.

Moreover, I pray yow shew unto mistress Jarvys I sent her 2 half bundles onward for 2 shertes by William, Robert Stokfysh sone in law, at the watter syde by Byllynggate whiche brought yow a letter as trustying she hath<sup>b</sup> received yt or thys tyme. Yt twas all that I cowlde gett: they were never soo gesson in Andworp as knowith God.

<sup>6</sup> James Bolney, mercer, admitted 1521.

Wryten in hast ut supra

[signed] By me Jamys Bolney

Furthermore ye shalle understand I have sent you 2 letters before overland which I trust be cum unto your handes longe er thys tyme. And accordyng to the tenour of them, I wyll ye doo the best ye can and dyspache and com over with the fyrst shyp that comes yt thys chargable comyng overland. I intend not to tarry fore long after your commynge over for dyverse causys wherefore I wyll ye make said etc.

Copynger the fysshmonger has the other half in the sayd ship.

<sup>a</sup> One illegible letter follows, struck through HL. <sup>b</sup> it follows, struck through HL.

1)



[21.] John Dene to his brother Richard, servant of Richard Wilson, mercer. — 1533 July 23. Antwerp.

HL AHL ASA, *Externa Anglicana* 476, Folder with letters, no. 21 (original classification by Dreyer: *Acta Anglicana*, Appendix 2; later reclassified as ASA, *Externa Anglicana* no. 1606). Original holograph letter. Paper. Sealed closed with the signet of the writer in red wax. On the dorse: To Rycard lyver servantt unto Rycard Wylsson mercer thys be delivered att London in Soper Lane.

Att Andwarp the 23. day July 1533

Brother Rycard, I harttely recommend me unto yow, trustyng to Jhesus thatt my mystress with all the howsseold be in good helthe, the wyche I beseke Jhesus long to contynnu too hys plessure etc. Sertyffyng yow thatt my master has received yowar lettar by master John Gresham dattyd the 19. day off thys monythe. And whereas yow wrytt unto my master off master Bolyngar's clothes and yff thatt a cum to Lundon ageyne beffore my master cum home, yow must by them off hym off sum resonabulle prysse for £25 10s or as yow se they be worthe off goodnes. And geve hym £10 or £12 apon them tyll my master cummyng home and then a schall have the rest. And yff ther cum anny worc[tedys] to the halle thatt be good and off enny ressonabulle prysse, yow must prove and ye can gette them partt for mony and tyme. Also consarnyng the Sentte Mas worstedys, yow must abatte no mony off the prysse thatt ys sett on them. And as for the fustyans thatt yow wrytt, for my master can by none to serve hym off thatt prysse. Holmys be worth £25 and Orburnys off the grape £22 10s and bostyans 21s 6d genys. I can here off none butt the pryse ys<sup>a</sup> namyd 16s there ys<sup>b</sup> no manar off ware here to by thatt can be sold att home to make 26s the £ off.

Rycard, and yff thatt master Lynche cum for anny mony, yow must pay hym none before my master cummys home. As knoythe Jhesus who have yow in hys keepyng.

By yowar felow  
[signed] John Dene

Rycard, my master has bowtt 5 balys bevarnell off the grape, the wyche cost £22. You must sell them for £17 13s 4d or bettar and ye can, for here be none to gett and scho yow must schow hym thatt byys them. Yow must nott be knowne butt off 2 or 3 balys they be packyd in canvas bycawsse they<sup>c</sup> schold nott be knowne whatt they ar. Yow schalle receive them by the grasse of God in a hey of Andwarp off Adryan Johnssons undar thys marke [merchant's mark N° 1 entered in the margin].

Rycard, rather then feyle feethen for £17 10s a bale. Also my master has bowtt 20 peces bastyans. Yow must sel them<sup>d</sup> for 17s to be delyvard att the cummyng home of the schypys or else before. And yff thatt there cum anny schyp away befor thenn, Ricard, yow must sel them away, for they wyl be bettar chepe schorrtly. Butt yow may schow the fostyan scheras ther be none to gett.

[dorse] Yow schall receive in thys schyp butt 4 off them, butt ye must make the bargin to delyvar the 1 bale off thatt prysse as ye sell the 4 balys rather then feyle, sel them for £17, for they wylle fawle.

<sup>a</sup> many follows, struck through HL.    <sup>b</sup> nomar follows, struck through HL.    <sup>c</sup> scho nott follows, struck through HL.    <sup>d</sup> hym follows, struck through HL.

1)



[22.] Robert Hobbes to his master Robert Dene, grocer. — 1533 July 23. Antwerp.

HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, Folder with letters, no. 22 (original classification by Dreyer: Acta Anglicana, Appendix 2; later reclassified as ASA, Externa Anglicana no. 1606). Original holograph letter. Paper. Sealed closed with the signet of the writer in red wax. On the dorse: +; To Robert Dean grocer this by delyveryd at London.

+ 1533 le 23 jour de July at Andwarp

Wurshipfull syr, my dewty consedryd, I lowly recommend me unto yow, lettyng yow to understand thatt yow shall receive by the grace of God in good safte in Adrean Johnson hopis 9 sakes, ponderantes 574, 750, 538, 464, 604, 500, 524, 516, 500 at 6s 9d the C, gum epoporeak by lb. at 5s, nygillo Romany 8 lb. at 6d, sangloys 14 lb. at 12d, lapis totte by lb. at 18d, armedactulus 6 lb. at 14d, seny 24¼ lb. at 18d in the seny, 1 lb. turbyt at 8s and

the armedactulus settoalle 3 lb. at 9s 6d the lb. All thesse small parsselles be losse in the schipp. Bolt canvas 12 rolles, 1 halff barelle of crosbow thred. The be markyd with a crosse as knowth Jhesu who ever presserve yow amen.

By your sarvan  
[signed] Robert Hobbes

[23.] *Blase Saunders to Christopher Salway, apprentice to William Butler, [mercator]. — 1533 July 21. Antwerp.*

*HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, Folder with letters, no. 23 (original classification by Dreyer: Acta Anglicana, Appendix 2; later reclassified as ASA, Externa Anglicana no. 1606). Original holograph letter. Paper. Sealed closed with the signet of the writer in red wax (paper seal). On the dorse: To Crystofer Sallway prentys with master Wylliam Butler<sup>7</sup> thys be deliveryd in Collman strete in London.*

+ 1533 +

In Anwerpe the 21. day of Julye

Brother Chrystofer, I hertelye recomende me unto yow etc., sertefyeng you that at the makyn hereof my master and I were in goode helthe, God be thankyd. Also yow shall receve by Adryan Jonsun of Anwerpe 5 lytle tonekeys – 2 with sturgyn, 2 with olyves and capers and another with socate – which were shyppeyd at Anwerpe the day above sayd and markyd wyth tys [merchant's mark N<sup>o</sup> 1 follows] my master's marke.

Allso I have resevyd my pake and Rycard Ponters bogets of Martyne Allbroke. Allso I have sente bye master Prat groser a letter<sup>a</sup> and a dosyn loutynge strynges which<sup>b</sup> truste yow have delyveryd<sup>c</sup>. Also I pray yow sende me worde how he dothe lyke them<sup>d</sup>. Also at the makynge hereof my master cannot tell where I<sup>e</sup> shal be, for he, which I showlde have bene with, hathe bereyd hys wyfe and ys in howse with hys sone. Therefore he wylle not have me with hym and thus fare yow well. In haste by yowr

[signed] Blase Saunders

<sup>a</sup> w[hich] follows, struck through HL. <sup>b</sup> try follows, struck through HL. <sup>c</sup> and follows, struck through HL. <sup>d</sup> and yf he welle have onyones follows, expunged HL. <sup>e</sup> shube follows, struck through HL.

1)



<sup>7</sup> William Butler, mercator, admitted 1512.

[24.] Stephen Bodington to his master William Mery, grocer. — 1533 July 23. Antwerp.  
 HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, Folder with letters, no. 24 (original  
 classification by Dreyer: Acta Anglicana, Appendix 2; later reclassified  
 as ASA, Externa Anglicana no. 1606). Original holograph letter. Paper.  
 Sealed closed with the signet of the writer in red wax. On the dorse: +; To  
 his worshippingfull master William Merey grocer of London at [room left  
 for completion] in London.

+

Jhesu 1533 the 23. daye of July in Andwarp

Ryght worshipfull and my synguler good master, in the lowelest maner that I can, I  
 recomend me unto yow, trustyng in Jhesu that yow be in good hilt, the wich I pray Jhesu  
 long to conteneu to his plesure with the same dew to my mystres etc., sertyffyyng yow  
 that as yesterday I received letters from London wherby I do perseve that yow have ben  
 in Darby shire, wheras I trust yow have prosperyd woll or ells I wold be sory, as yt shall  
 become me so to do.

And as for your mony that I am in debet to<sup>a</sup> yow, yt ys no small sum. Notwithstondyng  
 yt ys not as yet my power to pay, but I trust sometyme to cover ye. Shall bee thorow your  
 goodnes.

And as tochyng the sales that has byn, this shoo day hast past whas never worse, for  
 yor servaunt hold never ane cloth nor no mor did a gret mony mor than I.

Syr, this daye ther ys letters come from Venes, wherby gynger ys resson. Therfor  
 yf<sup>b</sup> yow have any stor at home, sell yt well or kep yt stell, for that that yow shall by, for  
 hendesforth shall be deror.

Syr, tochyng your 2 bills that I have of yow, I shall se them deliveryd to yow within  
 this 14 days, God willyng. And as for the 54s sterling that yow have paid to mistress Hall,  
 yow most have of Harry Mylles for 475<sup>c</sup> lb. in ledyn wayghtes of the same reconyng and  
 the rest I most geve yow or your servant.

Other news [t]her ys none but gret mermerying of the dyth of the 2 strangers of the  
 gret myssfortewn, from which I pray Jhesu kep every Crystyn man from. Wryten in hast  
 the day above ut supra.

[dorse]

+

Syr, this day ther shall be de cort holdyn her. And men thynkes that ther shall be a  
 schipyng agayn now at this Barbers Mart. Yf yt so be, thain for well good sales of clothes  
 this sevyn yer. I canot as yt wryt the truth tell afrnawn. And this the Holy Gost preserve  
 yow and all yours amen.

[signed] Per your servaunt Stevyn Bodyngton<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> yow HL, in error. <sup>b</sup> ys HL, in error. <sup>c</sup> 4 C iij quarter HL. <sup>d</sup> Interlined  
 above goder, struck through HL.

[25.] Jan van Espen to Bernard de Bordverwerche in London. — 1533 May 26.  
 HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, Folder with letters, no. 25 (original  
 classification by Dreyer: Acta Anglicana, Appendix 2; later reclassified as

ASA, *Externa Anglicana* no. 1606). Original holograph letter. Paper. Sealed closed with the signet of the writer in red wax. On the dorse: *Sij gegeven Bernardt de Bordverwerche wonende op Sinte Quateryns tot Lonnen.*

Bernaert, ic gebiede mij zeer tot u ende tot u lieve huysvruwen Maeyken. Ic laet u weten, dat Willem de Vlemmick synen veytten buyc afgeleet heeft. Soe verkeert, dat ghij nyet kunnen en soudt. Ende gruet mij zeer den swarten Peter ende alle die bordverwerckers ende droncken coppeken unvergeten ende alle die goeden vrunden. Hier mit blijft God bevolen. Gescreven mit haesten den 26<sup>den</sup> dach van Meije anno [15]33.

die al uwe vrunt

[signed] Jan van Espen  
[merchant's mark no. 1 follows]

1)



[26.] Henry Brinklow to George Conyars. — 1533 July 23. Antwerp.

HL AHL ASA, *Externa Anglicana* 476, Folder with letters, no. 26 (original classification by Dreyer: *Acta Anglicana*, Appendix 2; later reclassified as ASA, *Externa Anglicana* no. 1606). Original holograph letter. Paper. Sealed closed with the signet of the writer in red wax. On the dorse: +; To his welbeloved George Conyars etc. in London; M.

+ Jhesus Maria le 23. jour July 1533 in Andwerp  
4° T. Brace and his compani in London 2° M +

My last is yght by us for default convayans and £100 sterling in gold. We shall go by the next. Wherefore yf ye receive anithyng from Newberi now, then ye can sett content. Ye may dissir then to be content for 8 aors or 10, for to this £400 sterling trust and send soche thynges as ye have with diligens. Seale all thynges with our seale and lett not all thynges goo to London stond but parte<sup>a</sup> ther part at the waters syde.

The feckt of this is only ye shall receive by Godes grace in this shep Adryan Johnson 1 litle trus under the marke in margent, content 1 covarlit de Lys. Delyver hit to mistress Smyng. More half pece lawne de Naf. Lett mistress Whale have hit for nys. More<sup>b</sup> half pece lawne cost mys. Yf she will have it, sell hit no lese then mys sterling. It is half<sup>c</sup> for price. Yf she wyll not, show it mistress Shakeley. More 1 payr of tables for Henre Brynklow.

Do your besines secretly with diligence.

[signed] Per me Henri Brynklowe in hast

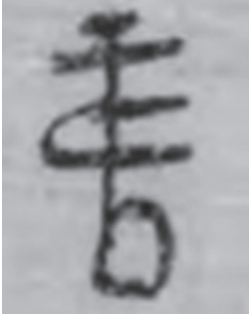


Spare not to send [*merchant's mark* (1) follows]

<sup>d</sup>100,000 oy partes in o shep, videlicet Ely in o f' <sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> ut follows, struck through HL. <sup>b</sup> One illegible word follows HL. <sup>c</sup> Reading uncertain HL. <sup>d-d</sup> Reading uncertain HL.

1)



[27.] *Katrijne Tehaselare in Brussels to her son Marten Tehaselare. — [1533] May 27. Brussels. HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, Folder with letters, no. 27 (original classification by Dreyer: Acta Anglicana, Appendix 2; later reclassified as ASA, Externa Anglicana no. 1606). Original letter, dictated. Paper. Sealed closed with the signet of the writer in red wax (paper seal). On the dorse: [Disen brief sij] ghegeven M[erten] Thaselare.*

Vrundelycke groetenisse voerscreven aen u Merten Diehaselare <sup>a</sup>mijn beminde vrunt<sup>a</sup>. U sal believeen te weten, hoe dat ic Katrijne uwe moeder in redelycke pointe ben op desen tijt. Alsoe ic hope bij der gratien Goeds, dat ghij oock zijt met ouwer huysvrouwen ende ouwe huysghesinde, waeraf dat ick me gheen kinnesse en hebbe, dat welcke mij hertlijcke laedt es.

Marten, mijn sone, ick late u te weten, hoe dat ic een groote crackte ghehadt hebbe, alsoe dat <sup>b</sup>ic<sup>b</sup> meynde nimmermeer meer ou te siene te hebben. Maer Godt die heere, die moet ghedancet sijn, het es nu ghebetert.

Ik late u te weten, hoe dat ic verstaen hebbe, dat ghij mij eenen tabbart laken ghesonden hebt, waeraf ic <sup>b</sup>u<sup>b</sup> hertelyc dancke.

Maerten, es mij noyt ter hart ghecommen gheweest, alsoe ghij ghemeyten hadt, dattet ter rechter hant thuys souwe ghecommen hebbe. Marten, ic late u weten, hoe dat ic Kathrynna ouwe moeder groete begheerte hebbe, om u noch eens <sup>b</sup>te<sup>b</sup> siene met mijnen levende lijve, eer ic eertrijcke sceyde. Ende weet, dat ic ou noch een wat zondelinghes te spreken ende zegghen hebbe, dat ic altoors in mijn herte secretelijc gehouden hebbe.

Anders niet op desen tijt, dan dat Godt sij mit om in alder tijt. Ghescreven [bi]j mij Jan Speeckaert te Bruesel den 27<sup>ten</sup> dach vanden Meyen.

[*later addition, very hasty handwriting*]

Item, Merten, mijn beminde vrunt<sup>c</sup>. Ic lette ten weeten dat u zeer doen groeten die wewe Bettulen ouwe wiff met Lussken hoer dochter. Ende weet dat Babelken hoer suster overleden es; daer af dat God ... ziele hebben moet.

<sup>a-a</sup> Interlined with catchmark HL. <sup>b-b</sup> Interlined HL. <sup>c</sup> ick weete and several illegible words follow, struck through HL. <sup>d</sup> two illegible words follow, struck through HL.

[28.] Richard Donne to his wife in London. — [1533] July 23. Antwerp.

HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, Folder with letters, no. 28 (original classification by Dreyer: Acta Anglicana, Appendix 2; later reclassified as ASA, Externa Anglicana no. 1606). Original holograph letter. Paper. Sealed closed with the signet of the writer in green wax (paper seal). On the dorse: +; To the wyff of Recard Doune at the Covefase in Chepe Syde in London thes letter be deleveryd; N° Y.

+

I grett you well and all ounour, trostyng in God thatt he be in good helthe alle. And so I wasse at the makkyng heroff. Be the grasse of God he schall reseve in Adrean Gonson ys howye of Andwarp – sche ys kallyd the Games of Andwarp – to maundys trencheores. In the on mawnd ys 3000 and ode trencheors at 7s a the thousand and in the tother ys 3000 trencheores, cost 2s in the thousand. And he schall reseve of hem a flore bake and in hem ther ys a dosen sleys<sup>a</sup> and 6 dosen 3 penys for settyls<sup>b</sup>. They cost all 4s 6d F[lemes']. They be for my gossep John Nundeth. Let hem pay for the sleys and 4s sterling and for the penys alle 3s sterling.

I send yow to letters, on of John Don ys makeng. I troust he have reseved them. And I send you a letter<sup>c</sup> with Harode ys schepp and a smalle dry fat. I troust he have reseved thes ger or thes tyme her ys dyvers men he come bout. I have no letter as hyt of none of them, wereof I mervelle how he<sup>d</sup> have don with the wares that I send you with Petter Classon. I her no theng of hyt. I have her in an helle casse for mone, for I have not gotton <sup>e</sup>non<sup>e</sup> as hyt. Nor I can get no grawnt of master Davusse sarvant as hyt bout a dryveyth<sup>f</sup> me off to the paymentte. And I ferre me thatt a well desseve. And I have forrecallyd on for the ould mone and I have not sould halff my nettes as hyt. I can not make the mone they cost and therfor bey no mor of them bot yff they be verre good <sup>e</sup>and<sup>e</sup> folle of florre. Therfor in anne wysse do your best and make mone. Sell awye thatt do gon, for I fere lyst I be trobold her. Be the next letter he schalle know more no more bout. Jhesu spede you well. Wrettyn in Andwarp the 23. day of July.

[signed] by your Recard Doune

<sup>a</sup> for follows, struck through HL. <sup>b</sup> Corrected in HL from settys. <sup>c</sup> Corrected in HL from aletter. <sup>d</sup> ve follows, struck through HL. <sup>e-e</sup> Interlined HL. <sup>f</sup> Corrected in HL from dyveth.

[29.] Jheronimus to his brother Jasper. — [1533] July 15.

HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, Folder with letters, no. 29 (original classification by Dreyer: Acta Anglicana, Appendix 2; later reclassified as ASA, Externa Anglicana no. 1606). Original holograph letter. Paper. Sealed closed

*with the signet of the writer in red wax. On the dorse:* Desen brief sal men gheven an Jasper den manedemuker<sup>8</sup> bij sint Andries kerck tot Lonnen.

+

Weet het, lieve broeder, dat ic u heb ghesonden mit Peter Kalssen en 100 klyen vannen, kosten <sup>a</sup>15 ven<sup>a</sup> stuvers ende een halven. Alsoe hebbe ic u 6 noebelen benalt ende 10 stuvers meer dan u ghelt. Also hebbe ic u noch ghesonden een half doesijn hant scriyen, kosten 21 stuvers ende noch 5 hant scriyen 20 stuvers ende noch dry dousenen waeijers ende 7, dy kosten 14 stuvers, dar en vasser op dat pas niet een meer. Ende noch hebt ghy ghehat dry koeken, kosten 6 stuvers. Ende noch hebt ghij gehat een helgher, kosten dry stuvers. Ende ock een pont gars dry stuvers. Ende den kors <sup>a</sup>6½<sup>a</sup> stuvers ende den tol van twe hondert wannen 24 stuvers met scep te don ick betalt hier. Al darom en gheft ghij niet. Ende hij hebt mij ens twe stuvers ghesonden ende ic hebbe eens twe gulden ontfanghen van Peter Tijs moeder mar ic<sup>b</sup> en sal dar niet mer hebben vant sijn mijn mosste, waant dy ic heb alsoe en vet ic met var ghij dy brieven sult bestellen, dat ick mocht ontfanghen. Ende vort soe en ick dy mossen niet min krijghen dan 10 stuvers. Alsoe werden sij ghesocht, om dat in de mert is. Aalsoe hebt ic overlet, dat mij coemen sal 10s ende 5 stuvers, als ghij dyt hondert groete wannen te hus hebt. Ende nu hebbe ic een noebel ontfanghen van Jan Peters, ende ic sal u alle dynghen bestellen in God.

Wit, lieve broeder, het is mij alte let, dat ghij soe langhe hebt ghevacht, mar ons Her wet, dat ic dat ghelt niet en koste bij<sup>c</sup> bringhen, mar ic vant noch een frynt ghevonden, dy mij lenden dat vaten. Dy alder mostten klijen vannen, dy in de stat vaten in der warheijt, also hebbe ic betalt an dy klijen vannen 10 stuvers meer dan u 6 noebelen also overlegt solvet vat ic uut hebbe ghelet met cost verdelft sal ic u ander goet sinden in God belieft.

Ghescreven op Alder Appostelen dach bij mij Jheronimus u broeder altos beret tot uen besten groet ons Katrin onse suster<sup>d</sup> in font ende Merten ende Anne onse nicht ende Cornelis ende Anne Banckers mit alden anderen wrunden. Hubert verkoept ock bier.

[*on the dorse, hidden when the letter was sealed*] Ic sinde u met met Knapkout 10 bonden grote vannen.

<sup>a-a</sup> Reading uncertain HL. <sup>b</sup> s[al] follows, struck through HL. <sup>c</sup> by follows, struck through HL. <sup>d</sup> c follows HL.

[30.] William Butler in Antwerp to his wife Brigit in London. — 1533 July 21. Antwerp. HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, no. 6 (original classification by Dreyer: Acta Anglicana, Appendix 2; later reclassified as ASA, Externa Anglicana no. 1606). Original holograph letter. Paper. Sealed closed with the signet of the writer in red wax (paper seal). On the dorse: +; To his welbeloveyde wyffe Brigitt Butler this be delivered in Collman st[r]ett in London.

+

Jhesus in Andwarpe the 21. daye of Julye anno 1533

8 Possibly, this was Jasper Arnoldson, see <https://www.englandsimmigrants.com/person/33497>.

Bedffello, I hartely recommend me unto you, sertyffying you that by the brynger off this letter Adryan Johnson, master of a shipp nameyd the Jamys of Andwarpe, I send 2 frykynges with sturgine, item 3 lytill firkynges mor, oon with olyves, a other with kapers, another with sukatt which be in all 5 peces all markeyd in blake with this marke in the margent [*merchant's mark (1) entered in the margin*]. And ye must paye for fraught 12d, as by shippers boke doyth apee. And as oon of the barelles of sturgine and the sukatt, lett yt be opennyd for to<sup>a</sup> chice your gossoppis with all at your lying in, praying God to send you welle therto, which shuldbe gretly to my comfort to her off.

Farther ye shall understand that syns my comyng hither, I did send you a better by my cosine Pratt, wherwith I did send you a token whytch shortly I trust ye shall receive. And as shortly as I can I will bryng you a token my sollsse by the grace of God who have you in his mercyfull gouernence.

your bedffellow  
[signed] William Butler<sup>9</sup>

<sup>a</sup> 1 follows, struck through HL.

1)



[31.] Harry Maye to his master William Chamberlain, draper. — 1533 July 23. Antwerp.  
HL AHL ASA, *Externa Anglicana* 476, no. 7 (original classification by Dreyer: *Acta Anglicana*, Appendix 2; reclassified as ASA, *Externa Anglicana* no. 1606). Original holograph letter. Paper. Sealed closed with the signet of the writer in red wax. On the dorse: +; To hys worshipfulle master William Chambeyrlyn draper in Sent Donstons in the Est over agenst the Dyce Keyes by Bellengesgat soytt delevered in London with hast; n° d s  
+ Jhesus at Andwerpe the 23. day of Juley anno 1533

Ryght worschipfull master, my dewty consedryd I hartely recomend me unto you, glad for to her of yowr good welfare wyche I pray Jhesu long to conteneu to his pleser and to yowr hartes<sup>a</sup> most desyr, sartefing yow that at the makeng herof my master was in good helthe thankyd by Jhesus. And so he trosteythe that yow be with alle his howshold etc. Sartefing yow that of a latt my master hathe sent yow 1 letter bownd with master Larens letters of all hys holle mynd. And at the makeng herof he reseved 1 letter of master Thomas hond by the post. Also yow schalle reseve owt of Adryan Johnson of Andwerpe 4 pokes

<sup>9</sup> William Butler, mercer, admitted 1512.

of hoppes cost 7s 8d the C. The furst peny yow most paye for frayght of 18 C – so I have wretton in his boke – at 4d the C and premanus beseydes.

Yow schalle understond that John Maye hathe bowght at Armew 3 C of Baye saltt cost £10 4s [the] C and every hondert ys 10 waye. Yt is redy to departe hens with the next wynd that blowythe at the est and so ys Adryan Johnson. My master trostythe yow schalle yt for 8d a boschell and by the way for 25s. He praythe yow for to sell ytt aforhand yf yow cane. Saltt ys resson at Armew within thys 4 days to £11 5s a C. Thus John Maye hathe wretton to my master.

And as towcheng to the hoppes, iron and naylles, my master prayethe yow to ryde them to the most proffett at ther comyng to yow. Hones iron ys her at 32 stevers the C and Namys iron at 28 stevers and halfe and 29 stevers Flemysche. Mader ys at 19s a C and 19s 6d suche as my master is won to bey and the 4<sup>th</sup> kewers at 17s and 17s 8d the C yf yt be good. And hopes 7s the C and 6s 8d the worst. Latyn wyar the C 32s, blake sope the barell 23s 8d and 24s. Large massys the lb. 10s 6d, clovys the lb. 6s 8d, peper the lb. 2s 3d. Her ys myche scort of allam and wyght sope come in.

My master prayth yow to wryght hym 1 letter of yowr mynd<sup>b</sup> as schortly as yow cane and whether yow<sup>c</sup> wylle have onny sope bowght and what wars yow thenke ys best to by. He hathe mych mony leyng her and wolle not apon what ware he schal bestow hys mony one to do onny proffett. In all thinges ys so der her and good chepe in England which greythe schrowdly. Also my master intendency the to<sup>d</sup> dyspatche and to come home schortly. He hathe sold alle hys clothes and dossens, saveng 2 wyghttes and 4 dossens. No more to yow at thys tyme butt Jhesus have yow in hys kepeng amen.

By yowr sarvand  
[signed] Harry Maye

<sup>a</sup> hattes HL, in error. <sup>b</sup> w follows, struck through HL. <sup>c</sup> ha[ve] follows, struck through HL. <sup>d</sup> dyspath follows, struck through HL.

[32.] William Colsell, mercer, to his wife Kate. — 1533 July 24. Antwerp.

HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, no. 8 (original classification by Dreyer: Acta Anglicana, Appendix 2; reclassified as ASA, Externa Anglicana no. 1606). Original holograph letter. Paper. Sealed closed with the signet of the writer in red wax. On the dorse: +; To his welbelovyd wyffe Katteryn Colsell ynn the Old Jure in London' this bille be delyverd with speed; n° B.

At<sup>a</sup> Andwarp the 24<sup>th</sup> day of Juyly anno 1533

My Kayt, as harttely as I can, I recommend me unto you, glad to hire of your good wellfare with all my boyys. And so I send alle my boyys Goddes blessing and myn. And that master Dicke schalle have more tomorowe or I dyen. And yt amongst alle other recommend me unto the littille pigge in the panyer. And so recommend me unto master FigtRamys and to good mestres FigtRamys. And I have reseved a letter from hym, the wiche I well understand, as this day and schortly as I can, I schall send her fyne pece of cloth home.

And so, Kayt, I have reseved a letter from you, the wiche well understand ye have wrytten to me for semmys and yt ys to layt to wryte now, howebhit yf I bryng them

not myself. Nycolas, when he cumyth, schall bryng them. Ye chude no agevyn me then when I was ther myself and then I had browght them with me. Never the leessee for feer of a sower looke, I wold a said a schrew looke, I dare do none other to <sup>b</sup>do<sup>b</sup> my best as moche as I can etc.

And so Kait, I have sentt you a greett barrelle of styrgyn in a hoye of Andwarp callid Adryan Johnson. In the said barrelle ys 13 peces with 13<sup>c</sup> jollys in the said barrelle. Also ye schalle reseve<sup>d</sup> yn the said schip a littille barrelle of stergyn for master Ressenner, in the wiche barrelle ys 12<sup>e</sup> joylles and 16<sup>f</sup> ronddes. And so when yt schall pleasee God that ye schalle reseve his letter, hit be delyverd unto master Ressenner and schew hym hit ys vere good.

Also ye wrytte me that I schuld send you word to heer the bille of payment was from Denssy. I delyverd the said bille of Dynseys unto master Danelle in my cowntter. And that he knowetes fulle well how be hit. I knawe his mynde: he lookkith<sup>g</sup> for hys rewarde. I trust in God to be att home schortly and paye hym myself.

And now Kayt, I wold I weer at homme. Seyng my syyd grevith me vere soor. I cannot tell what I schalle saye unto hit, for yf your venyson cum not schortly, I thynke I schall get noone of hit, as<sup>h</sup> Crist knoweth who ever kepe you and yours amen.

[signed] Yours ever William Colsell mercer 2

Wrytten in hast. Tomorowe I will wrytte you more, for then ys holy day Saynt James day.

<sup>a</sup> Londo[n] follows, struck through HL. <sup>b-b</sup> Interlined L. <sup>c</sup> 3<sup>ten</sup> HL. <sup>d</sup> s[chip] follows, struck through HL. <sup>e</sup> ij<sup>th</sup> HL. <sup>f</sup> 6<sup>ten</sup> HL. <sup>g</sup> he follows, struck through HL. <sup>h</sup> Kr[ist] follows, struck through HL.

[33.] John Westbury to his master Thomas Abraham, sen. — 1533 July 2. Antwerp.

HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 781 (misfiled and misunderstood as 'customs rates' ("Zollsätze")). Original holograph letter. Paper. Sealed closed with the signet of the writer in red wax (paper seal). On the dorse: +; To the worshypfull Thomas Abram pe Oldre sott detur in Chepesyde at London'

+

At Andwerpe le 2<sup>de</sup> jour de July anno 1533

Ryght worshypfulle syr, my dewty done, I recomende me to your mastership. Syr, yow shall reseve by the grace of God owt of Adryan Johnson of <sup>a</sup>Andwerpe<sup>a</sup>, the brynger hereof, a trusse containing 58 peces seyes [merchant's mark no. 1 in the left margin] sortyd as shalle apere by thys bylle. Freyght 3s sterling.

n° 1: 1 pece sey at 22s

n° 2: 1 pece pore sey 23

n° 3: 2 peces at 24

n° 4: 2 peces at 25

n° 5: 3 peces at 26

n° 6: 2 peces at 27

n° 7: 4 peces at 28

n° 9: 3 peces at 29

n° 10: 4 peces at 30

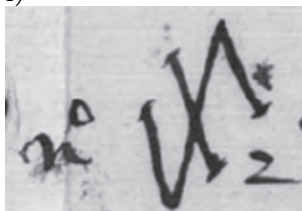
n° 11: 5 peces at 31  
 n° 12: 5 peces at 32  
 n° 13: 4 peces at 33  
 n° 14: 4 peces at 34s  
 n° 15: 3 peces at 35s  
 n° 16: 3 peces at 36  
 n° 17: 3 peces at 37  
 n° 18: 3 peces at 38  
 n° 19: 1<sup>b</sup> pece<sup>c</sup> at 39  
 n° 20: 1 pece at 40s  
 n° 21: 1 pece at 45s  
 n° 22: 2 peces at 54s  
 n° 23: 1 pece at 60s

Summa 58 peces amont to [£]95 7s besyde þe costes wyche yow shalle know by my letter by londe. In hast by yowrs

[signed] John Westbery

<sup>a-a</sup> *Interlined HL.*    <sup>b</sup> *Corrected in HL from 2.*    <sup>c</sup> *peces HL, in error (cf. variant b).*

1)



[34.] John Westbery's cargo in the ship of Adrian Johnson. — (undated).

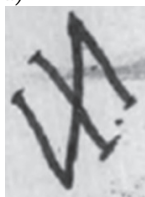
*HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 481a, f. 3 (unaccountably filed together with two letters from the Antwerp/Bruges Counter to its counterpart in London, dated 15 Oct. and 18 Nov. 1572, dealing with matters of exchange). Original. Slip of paper. Unsealed.*

A le 2<sup>de</sup> de July anno [15]33

n° [merchant's mark no. 1 follows] 2<sup>us</sup>.

John Westbery in Adryan Johnson of Andwerpe a trusse under thys marke. Freyght 3s st.

1)



- [35.] *John Smyth in Antwerp to John Dawes of Maldon/Essex. — 1533 July 22. Antwerp.*  
 HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 481a, f. 3 (unaccountably filed together with  
 two letters from the Antwerp/Bruges Counter to its counterpart in London,  
 dated 15 Oct. and 18 Nov. 1572, dealing with matters of exchange). Original  
 holograph letter. Paper. Sealed closed by the writer's signet in green wax. On  
 the dorse: To the worschepefwlle John Dawes marchand off Malldon  
 in Essex thes be delivered in Malldon [merchant's mark no. 1 follows].

Jhesus

In Andwarpe the 22. day of July anno 1533

Ryght worschopefull master Dawses, I recommend me unto yow as yett me knowe,  
 bott I troste in God within schorte tyme to be bettar aquented with yow etc.

Sir, the cawese of my wrytenge to yow at thes tyme ys to scarteffy yow thatt master  
 Flege, my good mastar and frende, hathes dyvars tymes schewed me of yowr goodnesce  
 and good, trowe dellenge and owse that ye wollde haweffe heme to scend scartene wares  
 that ye haweff aveses<sup>a</sup> heme by your lettares wretten to heme as I do parscaueff by your  
 laste lettar ye scente heme by thes brengar Areane Johnsson schepemane of Andwarpe,  
 the weche lettar ys dattet the fereste Monday in Lente [3 Mar. 1533] etc. Sir, master Flege  
 hathes so moche to do here with hes marchandys off stall, off clothes, that he hathe no  
 grett mynde to ocopy into Yengland. Syr, therefor that I haweff scene hes lettars scent by  
 yow to heme and that ye wold be glade to schowe hes scarvand the proffettes off your  
 contre. I at thes tyme haweff hyard a howye and haweff bowthe thes wares follenge and  
 do porpos to be with yow within thes monethe afftar the wrytenge off thes lettar.

Thes be the wares: 4000 [lb.] yeren of Names at 4s 3d a C, 2000 pottes at 3s 4d<sup>b</sup> a  
 C; 20,000<sup>c</sup> payffarenge tykelles at 3s 6d, 4400 [lb.] hopes at 7s a C in smaylle pokes and  
 fare and 2 C Baye scallte at £12 a C (the C ys 10 waye and a hallfe London mesor), 24  
 banelles of fostes at 12s the barell and 12 banelles wyte scallte and 1 haweff lade yerneste of  
 1000 stapell festher bolles as yett thar ys none come into Scellande. Allso I schall bringe  
 with me a C mayde floxes and hande baskettes and lantornes and some bellowses and a  
 thousand trenchares. Allso I schalle bringe with me a smaylle barelle storgone to make  
 aquentanes with.

Sir, I praye yow to schowe to your aquintanes that ye haweff sthos wares comenge,  
 for I well do. Ye scholde staye thes wares be your owne, wane thay come and, Sir, yff ye  
 collde make ane provegone for a C or 2 C waye of cheses and bottar at a resonaybelle  
 prys, I wollde haweff yt at my comenge yff I methe [dorse] haweff lysanes for yt. I praye  
 yow do your beste aganes my comenge and thane ye schalle knowe more off my mynde.

Sir, yff ye cane, by ane mostard scede for 8s or 10s or 12s a quartour, yt were here good;  
 allso tallowe and bagone and mallte and barle with dyvares odor goodes.

Sir, I wollde haweff wrett to yow dyvares tymes or thes tyme, bott I collde nott knowe  
 howe that my lettars scholde<sup>d</sup> be<sup>d</sup> conveyd to yow, bott that thes my frende Areane Johns-  
 son dos schowe me that he ys vere well aquented with yow. Sir, thes brengar cane schowe  
 yow more off my mynde, for he dos knowe me well. Sir, thos I ame bolld to wry[t]e to  
 yow at thes tyme: I troste yt schalle be for your proffett and myne. Allso by Godes grays  
 we prosarveffe in hellthe and stond me well to Mallden.



By your owne to hes powre John Smythe grocer and one off the  
oveffescars to the marchandes aventorares in Andwarpe and haweff  
bene thes ten yere.

<sup>a</sup> Corrected in HL from a vs vesed. <sup>b</sup> Corrected in HL from 3d. <sup>c</sup> Corrected  
in HL from 20. <sup>d-d</sup> Interlined HL.

1)



[36.] Marx Meyer to the Lübeck council. — 1533 Sept. 9. London.

HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 461 (formerly classified as Anglicana II App. 1512-33). Bl. 28-29. Original holograph letter. Paper. Unsealed. On the dorse: Den erbern unde wol wisen heren borghemeisteren unde rat der stat Lübe mynen gunstigen frunde g[egeben]; much lower down: Marx Meier. Lübeck chancery entry in the upper left-hand corner on the verso of the first page: Hanße Angl. 1533.<sup>10</sup>

Mynen fruntlichgen grut tho voren etc. B[esondere], groth, gunstygen h[erren] unde guden frunde, ick kann juwen wisheyden nicht verbargen, wo ick faren bin unde noch dachlichges fare, angande myt den Engelschen. Den sulven sin yclicke guder ghenamen in unser feide schepe, welck sorghe unde moeige ick sampt dem ghemeinen koppman up dem Stalhave darfan hebbe. Ys juw nicht tho schryven, se hebben uns <sup>a</sup>allen<sup>a</sup> dach vor dem kanyche unde bryngen ere<sup>b</sup> klacht an, wo se tho rade werden unde alwat se vorbringen, moth recht syn sunder jyngerleyge insage, so dat ick dat aver in groter moeyge si sampt dem kopman. Se willen de goder sunder resspyt van dem kopman betalt hebben. So ys myn beger, dat en. Erbr. wil dartho trachten, dat sadane goth, alse in den hoeigen mach sin, alde wi ghenamen hebben, mach by enander blyven unde nicht ghebuttet werden, wenthe yt syn nene feygende goder. Dar ys mangerleige goth inne, alse zergelt unde syden ghewant, dar mi ser lede vor ys, dat sodane got schentlich wil vorruckket wenden durch de botlude unde schypperen, de doch nicht thobernen laten unde stellen ut dem weghe, wat se konen, den en. Erbr. sy dar frey tho vor vordacht, wes so vorruckket <sup>a</sup>wert<sup>a</sup>, mate gy wol<sup>c</sup> bethalen, so ferne gy den Stalhof nicht sonder Hense myt der freyheyt enberen willen. Vel beter weren 10 centena goldes vorlaren<sup>d</sup>, den sodane freyheyt. Denack vorsen en. Erbr. wert so in de sake sen, dat yt nycht wert not synde.

Ock, gunstygen heren, ys dar en Spangert anghetastet, welcker vorgunt ys, alse Gasck Remradt<sup>e</sup> tho hulpe tho synen rechte tho komen. So en. Erbr. thoradeble wol bewosst

10 Note that in this piece, the letter 'u' is signalled by two superscribed dots (ü) or a breve (û) in order to distinguish it from two minims. Since this has no effect on the pronunciation of the word, 'ü' and 'û' transcribed as 'u'.

ys, dat sulve schyp, welck so den Spangerden ghenamen ys, ys ghenamen in der Dunse. Dat sulve wil de kanyneck van Enghelant vor synen strom vorbydden. Datsulve schyp wil ik framlyck ock wedderumme ghegheven hebben unde dartho vorgulden hebben, wes<sup>f</sup> he [*sc. Henry VIII*] dencklet darvor tho hebben, dat wi sodane schyp up synen strome ghenamen hebben. So ys myn fruntlych ghebede, dat dat sulve gut maghe byenander bleven. Unde ofte de boglude unde dat ander folck dar wes afghenamen hadden, dat yt dar wedder by frame edder niemot yt ock tho dem durresten pennyck betalen.

Wyder, gunstygen heren, ys van noden, dat en. Erbr. anghesyctes dusses breves enen bref vorramet, so juw wol konen, unde wer wol nodych, dat dar en beredet, man mede qweme van unsen seckkerteren darsulvest byschreven unde ock muntlich werven leten, dat wy uns sunck ens <sup>g</sup>tho<sup>g</sup> syner kannychlyck dorchlughtychheyt nycht vorsen hadden, dat he so scholde myt den unsen hebben umghegan de wyle wy dyt ganse jar den synen hebben myt aller barlychheyt<sup>h</sup> vorghegan unde nergen myt vorhyndert, dat uns<sup>i</sup> bejegend ys, dardorch uns nadel ghekamen ys, so dat wy unsen feyden wolden wol enen groten afbrack ghedan hebben, dat nergen dorch vorhyndert ys alsoe dar dorch, dat ick dar byn an lant gheholden, so gy dat wol bettofferen<sup>j</sup> werden, wo ick schryve.

Gunstygen heren! Gy mogen dyt bet vorstan, wo ick gheschreven hebe de olderman sampt dem ghemenen kopman, de hebben ju ock alle umsstendych heyt wol gheschreven, unde de olderman Hans Molenbeke sampt des kopmans rat hebben allen flyt vorghevent, dat se mi gerne up freyge fote ghehat hadden, den yt mochte mi nycht ghebaren, aver ick mach wol gan un stan, wor ick wil, den ut dem lande mach ick nycht, den ick vorhape mi en. Erbr. wyl syck de sake so behertegen unde vorschryven, dat ick maghe los werden, unde de kopman mage unbemoeyget blyve. Datum in Lunden, den 9. dach Semtembri [15]33.

[signed] Marx Meyger  
Jw d[ener]

<sup>a-a</sup> Interlined HL. <sup>b</sup> *sclach follows, struck through HL.* <sup>c</sup> *so follows, struck through HL.* <sup>d</sup> *Corrected in HL from vorlasen.* <sup>e</sup> *tho entered between Gasckrem and radt and struck through HL.* <sup>f</sup> *heb follows, struck through HL.* <sup>g-g</sup> *Interlined above war, struck through HL.* <sup>h</sup> *h[egen] follows, struck through HL.* <sup>i</sup> *bege[nt] follows, struck through HL.* <sup>j</sup> *Corrected in HL from bet stofferen.*

## II: Capture of the ship of Adrian Johnson off England 19 Aug. 1533

[37.] *Interrogations of Adrian Johnson and Hinrik Crôn regarding the capture of Johnson's ship off the south coast of England on 19 Aug. 1533. — [15]33 Sept. 25. Lübeck.*

*HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, no. 23, f. 8<sup>v</sup>-9<sup>v</sup>. (original classification by Dreyer: Acta Anglicana, Appendix 2; later reclassified as ASA, Externa Anglicana no. 1606). Paper booklet bound in a notarial instrument drawn up by Michael Petri in 1525, indictione tercia, Monday 23 ...<sup>11</sup>*

Copia examinationis et depositionis Adriani Johanßen naute etc.  
pro spectabili senatu Lubicensi

[1.] Anno etc. 33<sup>o</sup> in der 6. indiction am 25. dage des mântes Septembris sinth uth furderynge eynes erbaren rades eyn schipper von Andorpp mit nhamen Adrian Johnßen und Hinrick Crôn vhan heren Hinrick Kerchrinck und Hermen Schute vom erbaren rade dartho vorordenth des morgens tho 7 uren up de cantzellye, umbe ße to examinerende unde to vorhorende, jodoch eynen yderen in sunderheit vorbodeschupp wurden.

[2.] Item vor erst gaff heren Hinrick Karkrinck dem schipper von Andorpen vor, wor her, wat heyme und worhen he mit dem schepe dachte to synde. Darupp de schipper geanthwordet, he horde to Andorpe tho huß, were darsulvest eyn borger und dachte myt dem schepe uth furderinge des kopmans nha Engelandt to synde. Wyder wurt dem schipper gefragt, wanner und up wat tydt Hinrick Croen de hovetman by em in de see gekamen wer. Darup sede de schipper, he wer by em under Engellant ummetrent am 19. dage des mântes Augusti up den vormiddach umbe 10 edder umbe 11 uren, wor 3 weke sees vhom strande. Und wer Hinrick Croen nicht by ehm gekamen, so wolde he dat schippe in den strandt gelopen hetten und also des kopmannß gudt samptlick geburghet. Furder wurdt dem schipper gefragt, up wat wyße Crôn by em quam und wat he em dede. Antworde de schipper, he dede my sunderlinx nicht, sunder dat he man eynen schote wol hoch inth segel dede. Doen hedde he vort gestreken wyder dem schipper gefragt, wanner und worumme he dat gudt uth syneme schepe in Crôns borgerde muste schepen. Doen sede de schipper, dat schip wurdt so vul waters, dat idt nicht mogelick waß tho reddende, wenthe ick lepp tho jar dat schipp to Ostende in Flanderen up de grunth, worvon dat schipp eyne schorynge greth ock also seer, dat he de borde mith wagenschotte muste wedder vorfullen laten, woruth he sick befruchtete, dat schip upt nyge eyne schanferynge hadde gekregen und dhoen dat schipp nicht to reddende stundt. Doen wurt dat gudt wol hart jegen den avent wenthe schyr na midtnachten uth dem schepe in Kronß bogerde gehysset. Thon lesten wurth dem schipper ernstlick und uppt scharpeste na gelde gefragt, so he ock in syneme schepe scholde gehat hebben und wen idt tohorde. Darup anthworde de schipper

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11 Note that in this piece, the letter 'u' is signalled by two superscribed strokes (û) or a breve (Û) in order to distinguish it from two minims. Since this has no effect on the pronunciation of the word, 'û' and 'Û' are transcribed as 'u'.

und soede, in dar was gelt in twe klene sokelen, worvan den eyn seckelyn int schipp by de pumpen dall smethen, und also idt noch umbe middach uthen waß, vormende he sick noch beyde schip und gudt to beholdende. Men den anderen seckelyn droch he by sick inde mouwen, beth dat he den Hinrick Crôn doen muste. Und he tellede, dat forth waß ummetrenth 34 edder 25 stücke goldes. Unde dat sulvige gelt, so he mende, horde eynem Kolner tho. Dat worden de breve wol uthwyßen, men sust wuste he von genem gelde mer. [3.] Thom anderen wardt Hinrick Krôn gefraget, wo he by den schipperen gekamen were. Darup Hinrick Krôn hefft geanthwordet, he sy myth <sup>a</sup>dem<sup>a</sup> bogade uth bevell der flute hinder gebleven, de nucht under Dawerin gelegen. Darsulvet deß morgens tho segel gegün, vormende na afscheyde der flute de Dunße to finden, do se dar nicht weren, sochte he vorth under idt vorlandt, dar wol 26 marßen schepe legen, aver de ern nicht, darmyt he nu von dar gelopen fogede he ersten den Middelburgschen <sup>b</sup>manne<sup>b</sup> und dwanck ohne tho strikende und dhoen wurth vort eyn schote dem Andorpeschen manne Adrian Johanßen syn segel wol hoch vhom dem holschepeß geschaten dede ock vorth stricken und quam ihn mytten bote he ehm thoschyckede an borth. Dat wart umbtrent up den dach to 10 offte 11 uren. Unde de schipper mochte wol seggen, wat he wil, wer he nicht by em gekamen, he hadde nicht eyn stücke gudes mogen berghen, so wul waters wurdt dath schipp van deß middages ahn beth jegen den aventh. Wyder sede ock Hinrick Crôn, wo he den schipper genodigett hadde umbe ethlich gelt, so in deme schepe sin scholde, van sick to donde, des hefft ohme dhe schipper eyn kleyn seckelyn eyns vingers lang uth der mouwen gedaen und vorth in jegenwordicheit des schippers getelt weren 31 engelluthen und 4 dubbelden ducaten etc. Geschreven bynnen Lubeck up der cantzelye darsulvest ahm jar, dage, mǎnte und indiction, wo baven berort etc.

Tuge: Johan Wilmessen und Johann Hußer alle burger to<sup>c</sup> Middelburch

Nicolaws Clone notarius ad premissa legitime requisitus manu propria scripsit.

Auscultata et collacionata est presens copia per me Michaellem Petri clericum Szwerrinnensis diocesis publicum apostolica et imperiali auctoritatibus notarium et cum suo originali concordat teste manu propria.

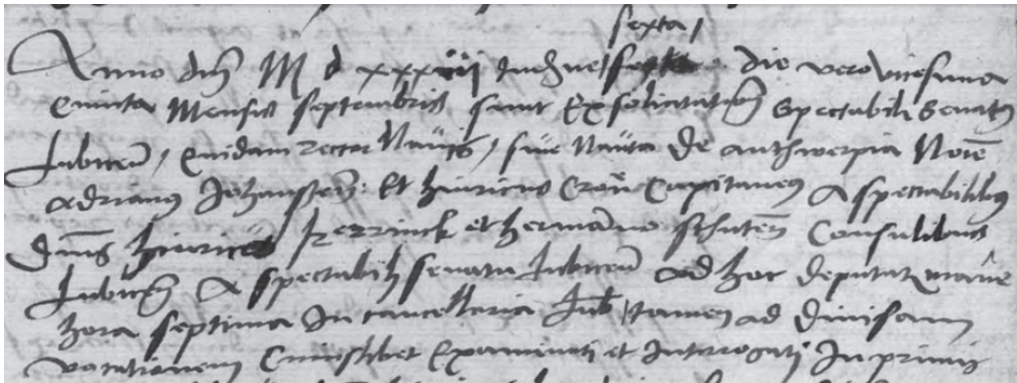
<sup>a-a</sup> Interlined HL.    <sup>b-b</sup> Interlined above whane, struck through HL.    <sup>c</sup> Miller follows, struck through HL.

*Editorial note: Although the translations of the depositions of Adrian Johnson and Hinrik Kron into Latin printed here as no. 38 and 39 are substantially identical, it is sensible to print both separately, particularly since no. 38 is clearly intended for internal use (being copied into a paper booklet with other documents), while the intended use of no. 39 (a stand-alone document) is unclear.<sup>12</sup> However, given how no. 39 is written – in a clear Renaissance hand on well-spaced lines<sup>13</sup> – it must have had a particular function. Compare no. 38, closely written in a cursive*

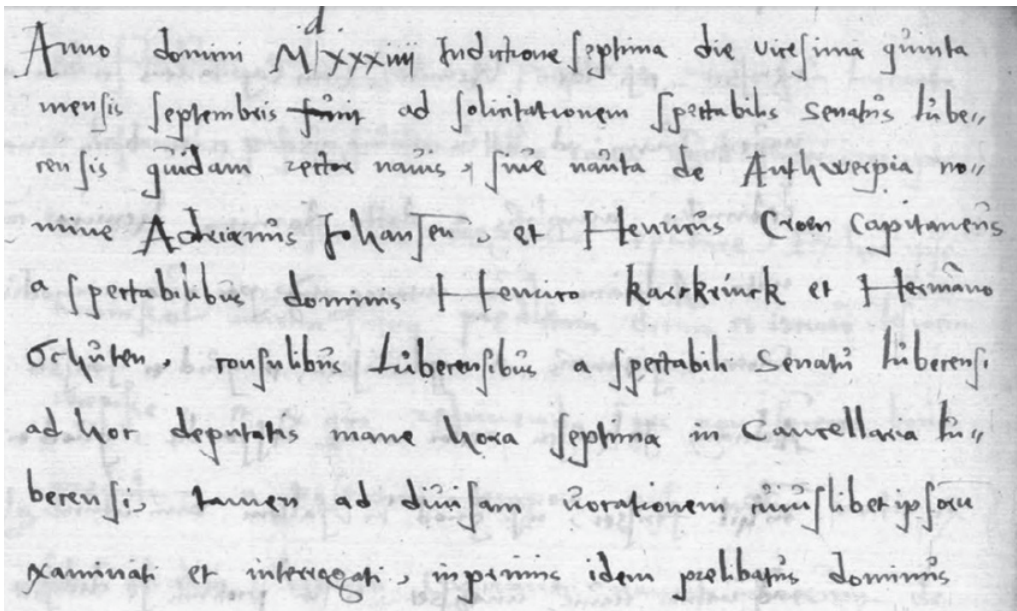
<sup>12</sup> Note that no. 39 is mis-dated by exactly one year.

<sup>13</sup> no. 39 takes six size 4 pages to transcribe substantially the same text which no. 38 manages to cram into just three pages.

Gothic hand, with closely-spaced lines clearly designed to contain as much text as possible on the page without sacrificing legibility



with the same lines in no. 39, written in an eminently clear hand, the lines being generously spaced



[38.] Translation of the depositions of Adrian Johnson and Hinrik Kron into Latin. — 1533 Sept. 25. Lübeck.

HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, no. 23, f. 10<sup>r</sup>-11<sup>r</sup> (original classification by Dreyer: Acta Anglicana, Appendix 2; reclassified as ASA, Externa Anglicana no. 1606). Contemporaneous copy. Paper booklet bound in a notarial instrument drawn up by Michael Petri in 1525, indictione tercia, Monday 23 ... Unsealed.

Translata fuit, ut sequitur, huiusmodi examinationis et depositionis  
copia

[1.] Anno Domini 1533, indictione <sup>a</sup>sexta<sup>a</sup>, die vero vicesima quinta mensis Septembris sunt ex sollicitatione spectabili senatus Lubicensis quidam rector navis sive nauta de Anthwerpia nomine Adrianus Johansen et Hinricus Crōn capitaneus a spectabilibus dominis Hinrico<sup>b</sup> Kerrinck et Hermannō Schuten consulibus Lubicensibus a spectabili senatu Lubicensi ad hoc deputatis mane hora septima in cancellaria Lubicensi tamen ad divisam vocationem cujuslibet examinati et interrogati.

[2.] In primis idem prelibatus dominus Hinricus Kerckrinck predictum Adrianum rectorem navis interrogavit, unde aut ex qua patria esset et quo navigare intendisset. Ad hec idem Adrianus respondit et dixit fore ex Anthwerpia et inibi se esse civem fuissetque intentionem ad sollicitationem mercatorum ad Angliam navigandi. Ulterius fuit idem Adrianus interrogatus, quando et quo tempore Hinricus Croen Lubicensis capitaneus <sup>c</sup>in mari ad navem suam<sup>c</sup> ad eum venisset et seu ei applicuisset. Ad hoc idem Adrianus rector navis respondit et dixit, quod ad navem ejus sub limitibus seu confinibus Anglie die decima nona mensis Augusti citra decima vel undecima horis ante meridiem tria miliaria maris a litore venisset. Et si idem Hinricus Crōn capitaneus ei non applicuisset, extunc navem suam ad litus navigasset et ita bona mercatorum insimul <sup>c</sup>vellet<sup>c</sup> redimisse. Amplius dictus Adrianus a dicto domino Hinrico consule interrogabatur, per quem modum Hinricus Crōn capitaneus ei applicuisset et quid ei fecisset. Ad quod dictus Adrianus Johanson nauta respondit, quod ei singulariter nihil fecisset, nisi quod ei saltem unum ictum globuli satis alte ad velum navis injecisset et sic protinus se dedisset. Adhuc idem Adrianus nauta ulterius de dicto domino Hinrico consule fuit interrogatus et examinatus, quando et quare ipse bona sua sibi commissa de dicta sua hoyā exonerasset et navi Hinrici Crōns capitanei reimposuisset. Tunc Adrianus Johansen respondit et dixit, quod pro redemptione bonorum in dicta sua navi existentium hoc fecisset, quia navis sua adeo aquosa et aquis impleta suffecta fuerat, quod ei impossibile foret, bona ista redimere. Nam anno preterito dictam hoyam suam nuncupatam ad Orientem in Flandria ad fundum navigasset, et propterea navis huiusmodi laterata et lesionem passa fuisset, adeo etiam quod superiores partes ejus certi asseribus cogeatur reparare. Ex hoc ipse timmisit navem predictam de novo ac iterato lesionem recepisse. Et ex qua redimenda spes non fuerit bona predicta a vespertino tempore post medium nocte ex sua ad dicti Hinrici capitanei navem fuerunt deducta et reposita. Postremo fuit idem Adrianus solemniter et acute examinatus et interrogatus de certis pecuniis in dicta hoyā, ut dicebatur, existentibus et ad quem pecunie iste pertinebant. Ad quam interrogationem sepedictus Adrianus respondit et dixit, verum esse et nonnullas pecunias in duobus parvis sacculis fuisse, quorum unum ex dictis sacculis ad aquehaustum dicte navis basse preterisset. Et cum in meridie fuisset, sperasset adhuc navem et bona retinere. Reliquum vero sacculum penes se in manica obtinuisset, quousque Hinrico<sup>b</sup> Croen capitaneo cogeatur porrigere. Et statim pecuniam istam de dicto sacco numeravit et numero fuisse referebat triginta quatuor vel viginti quinque aureos (ut ipse verius credebat), spectantes ad quendam Coloniensem. Et quod littere bene demonstrarent et sic de nullis aliis pecuniis amplius furet.

[3.] Item deinde examinatus et interrogatus fuit predictus Hinricus Crōn, quomodo ipse ad predictum Adrianum rectorem navis venisset seu ei applicuisset. Ad quod idem Henricus

Crōn capitaneus respondit et dixit, quod ipse cum sua navi bogerde vulgariter nuncupata ex commissione classis Lubicensis se juxta noctem postergasset et penes Daveren moram habuisset. Et inibi de mane se navigaturum et ad velum preparasset, existimando juxta recessum classis portum de Dunse aggressum. Et cum classem suam inibi non repperit, ulterius ante littus juxta terram quesivisset. Et aliam classem 26 numero navium et non suam invenit. Et cum hoc abinde navigasset invenissetque primitus virum de Middelborg, ipsumque velum relaxandi coegit et consequenter tunc unus ictus bombarde ad Adriani Johnsen viri de Anthwarpia velum navis eum satis alte a certis projectus fuit, qui eum ad statim se dedisset, et parva navicula sibi obviam venisset in die ad decimam vel undecimam horam adjungendo eum, quod dictus Adrianus diceret, quod vellet, si ei non applicuisset, minimam partem suorum bonorum, ex quo dicta sua navis a meridie usque ad vesperum adeo aquosa et aquis impleta fuisset, redimisset. Item ulterius idem Hinricus Crōn dixit et allegavit, quod ipse predictum Adrianum rectorem navis tradendo de se certas pecunias in dicta navi existentes angariaverat recepissetque ab eo ex manica sua sacculum longitudinis unius digiti numerasseque dictas pecunias de dicto sacco in presentia dicti rectoris navis fuisse numero in eodem triginta unum florenos aureos Anglicanos vocatos engellotten et quatuor duplices ducatos sive dupiones.

[4.] Actum Lubice, in cancellaria Lubicensi ibidem anno, indictione, die, mense supradictis, presentibus ibidem Johanne Wilemessen et Johanne Huster civibus de Middelborg testis vocatis atque rogatis.

Nicolaus Clone notarius ad premissa legitime requisitus manu propria scripsit

Auscultata, collacionata ac diligenter translata est presens copia per me Michaellem Petri clericum Szwerinensis diocesis publicum sacris apostolica et imperiali auctoritatibus notarium et cum suo originali in effectum concordat, quod attestor manu propria.

<sup>a-a</sup> *Interlined above septima, struck through HL.* <sup>b</sup> *Corrected in L from Hinricus.* <sup>c-c</sup> *Entered in the left margin with catchmark HL.*

[39.] *Interrogation of Adrian Johnson and Hinrik Croen regarding the capture of Johnson's ship off the coast of England on 19 Aug. 1533. — 1534 Sept. 25. Lübeck.*<sup>14</sup>

*HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, no. 16. Contemporaneous copy. Paper. Unsealed.*

[1.] Anno Domini 1534<sup>a</sup>, indictione septima, die vicesima quinta mensis Septembris sunt ad sollicitationem spectabilis senatus Lubecensis quidam rector navis sive nauta de Anthwerpia nomine Adrianus Johansen et Henricus Croen capitaneus a spectabilibus dominis Henrico Karckrinck et Hermanno Schuten consulibus Lubecensibus a spectabili sentatu Lubecensi ad hoc deputatis mane hora septima in cancellaria Lubecensi tamen ad divisam vocationem cujuslibet ipsorum examinati et interrogati.

[2.] In primis idem prelibatus dominus Henricus Karckrinck prædictum Andrianum rectorem navis interrogavit, unde aut ex qua patria esset et quo navigare intendisset. Ad

14 Note that the document is falsely dated by exactly one year.

hec respondit et dixit fore ex Anthwerpia et inibi se esse civem fuissetque intentione ad sollicitationem mercatorum ad Angliam navigandi. Ulterius<sup>b</sup> idem Adrianus rector navis fuit interrogatus, quando et quo tempore Henricus Croen Lubecensium capitaneus ad naven suam venisset et se ei applicuisset. Ad hoc idem Adrianus nauta respondit et dixit, quod ad navem ejus sub limitibus seu confinibus Anglię decima nona die mensis Augusti vel quasi decima vel undecima ejusdem diei horis ante meridiem tria miliaria maris a litore venisset, nisi idem Henricus Croen capitaneus ei non applicuisset. Extunc navem suam ad littus navigasset, et ita bona mercatorum vellet redimisse. Amplius a dicto domino Henrico consule prenominato Adriano fuit interrogatus, per quem modum Henricus Croen capitaneus ei applicuisset et quid ei fecisset. Ad quod idem Adrianus Johansen rector navis respondit, quod ei singulara nihil fecisset, nisi quod ei saltem unum ictum globuli satis alte ad velum navis injecisset et sic protinus se dedisset. Adhuc idem Adrianus rector navis ulterius de dicto domino Henrico consule Lubicensi fuit interrogatus et examinatus, quando et quare ipse sua bona sibi commissa de dicta sua navi<sup>c</sup> exonerasset et navi Henrici Croens capitanei reinposuisset. Tunc Adrianus respondendo dixit, hoc pro redemptione bonorum in dicta sua navi existentium fecisse, quia navis sua adeo aquosa et aquis impleta suffecta fuerat, quod ei impossibile foret bona ista redimere. Nam anno preterito dictam hoyam suam nuncupatam ad Orientem in Flandria ad fundum navigasset, et propterea navis sua lacerata et lesionem passa fuisset, adeo eciam quod superiores partes ejus certis asseribus cogeatur reparare. Ex hoc ipse timmisset navim suam predictam denuo et iterato lesionem recepisse et ex quo redimenda spes non fuerit<sup>d</sup> bona predicta a vespertino tempore post medium noctis ex sua ad dicti Henrici capitanei navem fuerunt deducta et deposita. Postremo fuit idem Adrianus acute interrogatus de certis pecuniis in dicta sua navi, ut dicebatur, existentibus et ad quem pecunię hujusmodi pertinebant. Ad quam interrogationem sepedictus Adrianus respondit et dixit, verum esse nonnullas pecunias in duobus parvis sacculis fuisse, quorum unum ex dictis sacculis ad aquehaustum dictę navis basse projecisset et cum in meridie fuisset, sperasset adhuc navem et bona retinere. Reliquum vero sacculum penes se in manica obtinuisset, quousque Henrico Croon capitaneo cogeatur porrigere. Et statim pecuniam istam numeravit et numero fuisse referebat triginta quatuor vel viginti quinque aureos, ut ipse verius credebat, spectantem ad quendam Coloniensem et quod hoc litterę bene demonstrarent et sic de nullis aliis pecuniis sciret.

[3.] Item deinde examinatus et interrogatus fuit p̄dictus Henricus Croen capitaneus, quomodo ipse ad p̄dictum Adrianum rectorem navis venisset seu ei applicuisset. Ad quod idem Henricus Croen capitaneus respondit et dixit, quod ipse sua navi bogerde vulgariter<sup>e</sup> nuncupata ex commissione classis Lubecensis se juxta noctem postergasset et penes Daveron pernoctasset et inibi de mane navigaturum et ad velum preparasset existimando<sup>f</sup> juxta<sup>f</sup> recessum classis portum de Dunse aggressuros et cum classem Lubicensem inibi non reperit, ulterius ante littus juxta horam quesivisset et aliam classem viginti<sup>f</sup> sex<sup>f</sup> numero navium vidit et suam classem non invenit et cum hac abinde navigasset invenissetque primitus virum de Middelborch<sup>g</sup> ipsumque velum relaxandi coegit et consequenter tunc unus ictus bombardę ad Adriani Johansen viri de Anthwerpia velum navis satis alte a certis projectus fuit, qui eciam ad statim se dedisset et parva navicula sibi obviam venisset in die ad decimam vel undecimam horas dicendo eciam dictus Adrianus diceret, quid vellet, si ei non applicuisset, minimam partem suorum bonorum, ex quo dicta sua navis a meridie



usque ad vesperam adeo aquosa et aquis impleta fuisset, non redimeret. Item ulterius idem Henricus Croen dixit et allegavit, quod ipse predictum Adrianum Johansen rectorem navis tradendo de se certas pecunias in dicta navi existentes sollicitasset recepissequ ab eo et ex manica sua parvum sacculum longitudinis unius digiti numerasse dictas pecunias de dicto sacco in pręsencia dicti rectoris navis fuisseque numero in eodem triginta unum florenos aureos Anglicanos angelottes et quatuor duplices ducatus sive dupiones.

[4.] Acta fuerunt hec Lubeck in cancellaria Lubicensi ibidem<sup>h</sup> anno, indictione, die, mense supradictis, presentibus ibidem Johanne Wilmessen et Johanne Husser civibus de Mildelborch testibus vocatis atque rogatis.

Nicholaus Clove notarius ad premissa testatur requisitus manu propria significat.

Auscultata, collocinata ac diligenter translata est presens copia per me Michaelem Petri clericum Zwerinensem diocesis publicus sacris apostolica et imperiali auctoritatibus notarium et cum suo originali in effectum concordat, quod attestatur manu propria.

<sup>a</sup> *Corrected in HL from 1034 (M xxxiiij).* <sup>b</sup> *idem follows, struck through HL.* <sup>c</sup> *exonera follows, struck through HL.* <sup>d</sup> *Corrected in HL from fuerat.* <sup>e</sup> *Corrected in HL from vulgariter.* <sup>f-f</sup> *Interlined HL.* <sup>g</sup> *Corrected in HL from Mildelborch.* <sup>h</sup> *Johanne follows, struck through HL.*

### III: Losses in the ship of Adrian Johnson (1533): English losses

[40.] *Schedule of losses suffered by English merchants on the occasion of the taking of the ship of Adrian Johnson of Antwerp off the South English coast by Lübeck freebooters. — [1533 c. Sept. 8]. London.*

HL AHL ASA, *Externa Anglicana* 695, no. 36 (originally classified as *Acta Anglicana* vol. 2; later reclassified as AHL ASA, *Externa Anglicana* no. 1606). Original. Paper. Unsealed.

[1.] WILLIAM LOK MERCER<sup>15</sup>

Item shipped in Audryan Johnson 1 bale content 65 peces of chamlettes, wherof 50 peces tawny and 15 peces blakke. The bale ys marked with this marke [*merchant's mark no. 1 in the left margin*].

My servauntt bad the shipman enter it into his boke in the name of Peter Welsser for feare of metyng wyth eny Scottes shippes.

[2.] ROBERT MEREDYTH MERCER<sup>16</sup>

Item shpped in Adrian Johnson of Antewarpe 1 bale of sayes content 70 peces under this marke in the margent wryttyn [*merchant's mark no. 2 in the left margin*] in his boke.

[3.] WILLIAM MERY GROGER

In Awdrian Johnson

Corans 3 buttes: N° 1, N° 5, N° 7

a pype content peper 2 bagges

a small trusse content cinamon 36 lb.

under this marke in the margent [*merchant's mark no. 3 in the left margin*]).

ANNO 1533 [*at the top of the page*]

[4.] Laden by me John Proctor of London' marchant taylor in Adryan Johnson of Andewarpe a bale sayes of a° 3 content 38 peces under this marke in the margent [*merchant's mark no. 4 in the left margin*] of the numberes and prises as folowes:

a° 1: a pece of 17s 2d

a° 2: a pece of 18s 2d

a° 3: a pece of 19s 2d

a° 4: a pece of 20s 2d

a° 5: a pece of 21s 2d

a° 6: a pece of 22s 2d

a° 7: a pece of 23s 2d

a° 8: a pece of 24s 2d

a° 9: a pece of 25s 2d

a° 10: a pece of 26s 2d

a° 11: a pece of 27s 2d

a° 12: a pece of 28s 2d

a° 13: a pece of 29s 2d

a° 14: a pece of 30s 2d

a° 15: a pece of 31s 2d

a° 16: <sup>b</sup>2<sup>b</sup> peces of £3 4s 4d

a° 17: a pece at 33s 2d

a° 18: 2 peces at £3 8s 4d

a° 19: 2 peces at £3 10s 4d

a° 20: 2 peces at £3 12s 4d

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<sup>15</sup> Admitted 1507.

<sup>16</sup> Admitted 1525.

Somme £10 16s 8d Flemes'

Paid for pakkyng, canvas shetes,  
portage, caryage, costum 6s 2d  
So amountes that thes bale sayes  
stonde me in aborde the sayd  
Adryan Johanson with the costes  
£62 19s 4d Flemes'. I sende no  
letter with the shipper nor wryte in  
hys<sup>a</sup> boke because of the Scottes.

Somme £22 14s 4d

a° 21 a pece at 37s 2d  
a° 22 <sup>b</sup>2<sup>b</sup> peces at £3 16s 4d  
a° 23 2 peces at £2 18s 4d  
a° 24 2 peces at £4 4d  
a° 25 2 peces at £4 2s 4d  
a° 26 a pece at £2 2s 2d  
a° 27 a pece at 44s 2d  
a° 28 a pece at £2 5s 2d  
a° 29 a pece at 46s 2d  
a° 30 a pece [at] £2 10s 2d  
Somme £29 2s 2d

[5.] + AT LONDON' BE 8. DAY OF SEPTEMBER ANNO 1533

Shipped by me John Westbery mercer in Adryan Johnson of Andwarpe a trusse under this marke n° 2 [*merchant's mark no. 5 in the left margin*] content 58 peces sayes whiche 58 peces sayes cost me in the towne of Andwarpe £95 7s F[lemes'] beside 2 carpettes and 8 elles canvas to pakk them with and other costes and þe freyght of them is 3s st[erling].

per me John Westbery

[6.] Sheped by me Harry Bechar in Awdrian Johnson of Anwarpe one sakke content with 530 lb. wayght of ynkell thred under this marke [*merchant's mark no. 6 in the left margin*]; cost the sacke. Somme: £19 17s 6d

[7.] Sheped by John Popam in Adrian Johnson of Anwarpe: Item 8 sackes hoppes under this marke [*merchant's mark no. 7 follows*]. More laden by the same John Popam a dry fatt content 20 dossen quarteryng sayes, 25 dossen hattes, 3 dossen chekes, 12 dossen gerdeling sayes of the newe makyng; 4 gros knyves, 6000 alblades, 12 dossen worthe ynkell. Some of the goodes in the dry fatt besyde the hoppes in valew £68 and thys the marke of the fatt.

[8.] Shipped by me John Ambrose at Andewarpe a trusse contentt 4 bages under this marke [*merchant's mark no. 8 in the left margin*].

[9.] Shipped be Thomas Dichffylde of London' in Adryan Johnson of Andewarpe a dry fatt content 127<sup>c</sup> dossen cramare of dyvers sortes unde this marke in the margent [*merchant's mark no. 9 in the left margin*], whiche goodes cost me the fyrst peny £89 8d Flemys'.

[10.] Item sheped in Audreyan Johnson by me Richard Travea 561 dudes content amez jame, content in worththe £17,176 F[lemes'].<sup>17</sup>

[11.] Shipped by me William Chamberlayne in Adryan Johnson of Andwarpe 4 sackes hoppes wayng 2140 lb., cost with the costes £7 5s 4d; and a reame of wrytyng paper cost 4s; and 2 peyer of carved bellows, the tone paynted, cost 3s 4d: £7 12s 8d [*merchant's mark no. 10 in the left margin*].

Jhesus [*at the top of the page*]

17 This entry makes no sense whatsoever. The readings *dudes* and *amez jame* are palaeographically unassailable, but not recorded anywhere in the London customs accounts or documented in the OED. The alleged value of the cargo is absurdly high. Neither the merchant nor the goods are mentioned anywhere else in the documentation of the incident.

[12.] Shipped in Adrian Jonson by me Harry Austen a fardel under this marke [*merchant's mark no. 11 in the left margin*] content 68 peces Holandes.

Item more in the sayd shyppe under this marke [*merchant's mark no. 12 in the left margin*] 3 litille fyrkyns of storgione.

[13.] Shipped in Adryan Johnson for me John Edwardes a dry fatt content this parcellle foloyng<sup>d</sup> 15 dossen [lb.] Owtnorth, 8 dossen hattes, a gros canstyk, 20 lb. rede wyre, 4½ dossen saye ryben, 1½ dossen nedylles, 2 gros, 2 dossen knyvyys, 6 lb. frenge, 4 dossen dagars, 4 dossen chek peces, 3 dossen yngkylle ryben, 3 dossen glasses. The somme of this goodes as it cost: £39<sup>e</sup>.

[14.] Shipped in Adryan Johnson of Andwarpe by Robert Raynoldes content as foloys [*merchants' marks no. 13 and no. 14 in the left margin*]:

Item 23 pocattes of hoppes

Item 25 bondelles of ketell bondes

Item 4 sakes of hempe

[15.] Shypped in Audrian Johnson at Andewarpe the 5. day de July for me Robert Dene: hoppes 9 sakkes waying 4970 [lb.] under this marke [*merchant's mark no. 15 in the left margin*] £17 for

gume	£6	20s
Nygola Romana	£8	4s
Sanguis draconys	£14	14s
Lapis toto	£6	6s
Armatlus	£6	7s
Comus	£47	57s
In this bage fyn torbet	£1	8s

[16.] Shipped in Adrian Johnson by me Rychard Doune 2 mandes of trenchers under this marke [*merchant's mark no. 16 in the left margin*].

[17.] Shipped in Adrian Johnson by Thomas Marston, factour for Mathew Dale of London' haberdassher, a trosse of this marke [*merchant's mark no. 17 in the left margin*] content 22 peces Saynt Thomas wo[r]sted.

per me Mathew Dale

[18.] Shipped for Richard Wylson mercer by Corneles Wyllyamson in Adryan Johnson 3 bales Osburnys fustyans of the grape in 2 trusses under this marke [*merchant's mark no. 18 in the left margin*].

per me Ricard Wyllson

[19.] Shipped for William Mery grocer in Adrian Johnson 2 buttes corans and 1 pipe content 2 bages peper and a smalle trusse content 36 lb. cynamon and therwith 2 froyes frokkes under this marke [*merchant's mark no. 19 in the left margin*].

per me William Mery

[20.] Laden by me Wyllyam Gressham<sup>18</sup> in Adryan Johnson 4 barelles with storgon wherofys 2 barelles marked with this marke [*merchant's mark no. 20 follows*] and 2 barelles

<sup>18</sup> Mercer, admitted 1511.

with this marke [*merchant's mark no. 21 follows*], as yt apperithe in the shippes boke, whiche storgon cost £9 10s Fl[emes'].

per me William Gresham

+ [*at the top of the page*]

[21.] Shipped in Adryan Johnson of Anwarpe for me Nycholas Tycheborn grocer of London' one trusse conteynng thre bages of drye peper and twoo chestes of suger under this [*merchant's mark no. 22 follows, repeated in the left margin*], 1 say, 3 bagges peper and 2 chestes of suger.

by me Nicholas Tychebourne

[22.] Item shipped in Adrian Johnson 2 chestes with aperelle and a lytylle cofer and a fardelle with a fetherbed.

by me Thomas Broun<sup>19</sup>

[23.] Item shipped in Adrian Johnson 3 tonne of Sevelle oyle marked with this marke [*merchant's mark no. 23 follows*].

by me William Ristlayn marcer

[24.] Robert Laurens draper shepyd in Audrian Johnson 2 chestes bound and in the same 2 chestes, 12 brestes and 12 backes of harnes and 19 peyer harniskyns harnes and 5 dossen of made shyrttes and 7 fyne made shyrttes and a dossen of fyn napkyns of fyne diaper and a sclyd carpet. All this parcelles be in this 2 bonde chestes and with this marke [*merchant's mark no. 24 follows, repeated in the left margin, but mirror image*] and more 2 halff barelles of storgeon.

[25.] Shipped in Adryan Johnson of Andwarpe for Edward Morton grocer of London' one barell of large maces content 42½ lb. marked with this marke [*merchant's mark no. 25 in the left margin*].

Item more 3 barelles succad content in all 200 [lb.] marked with this marke [*merchant's mark no. 26 follows*].

Item more 30 dossen empty barelles.

[26.] Shipped in Adryan Johnson of Andwarpe for William Cowsett<sup>20</sup> mercer of London' thes parcelles: 1 barelle content one hole sturgeon and another barell content halff a storgyn and a lytell barell salet oylle and a lytyll barell capars and a lytyll barelle olyves [*merchant's mark no. 27 in the left margin*].

<sup>a</sup> Corrected in HL from thys. <sup>b-b</sup> Interlined above a, struck through HL. <sup>c</sup> one C xxvij HL. <sup>d</sup> 38 follows, struck through HL. <sup>e</sup> Repeated in the right margin and bracketed to the entire entry HL. <sup>f</sup> 7s follows, struck through HL.

*The following merchants' marks occurrences in the source refer to the same symbol: (5 and 24); (6, 11, 13). Nos 18 and 27 resemble each other, but are not identical in the source.*

<sup>19</sup> Mercer, admitted 1510.

<sup>20</sup> William Cost mercer, admitted 1503.



- [41.] *The Lübeck councillors Nicolaus Bardewick<sup>21</sup> and Herman Schute<sup>22</sup> inventory the goods taken from the ship of Adrian Johnson and brought to Lübeck by Hinrik Kron in his bogarde (inventory authenticated by the notary Nicolaus Clone). — 1533 Sept. 13. Lübeck. HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, no. 2. Original booklet of 4 pages. Paper. Unsealed. On the back cover: Instrumentum perceptorum bonorum Hinrici Kröns. Anno 1533.<sup>23</sup>*

<sup>21</sup> *Ratslinie* no. 618. Councillor since 1527.

<sup>22</sup> *Ratslinie* no. 619. Councillor since 1528.

<sup>23</sup> Note that in this piece, the letter 'u' is signalled by a superscribed breve (ü), macron (ū) or inverted breve in order to distinguish it from two minims. Since these have no effect on the pronunciation of the word, these characters are transcribed as 'u'.

Anno etc. 33° in der 6. indiction ahm 13° dage des mānts Septembris sinth durch furderunge der ersamen hern her Nicolaus Bardewick unde her Hermen Schuten vhom erbarn rade dartho vorordent, vhon my apengar notario unde der hir undergescreven tugen, de gudere inventariert unde boscreven worden, de welcke uth Adrian Johansen sineme schepe <sup>a</sup>gelosset<sup>a</sup> unde vorth in Hinrick Kron sineme bōgerde gehisset unde gheschepet weren etc.

Item vorerst uth dem bōgerde in den prām gehisset

- [1.] Item 1 packen louwendes gemarket aldus [*merchants' marks no. 1, 2 and 3 in the right margin*].
- [2.] Item noch 5 packen [*merchant's mark no. 4 in the right margin*].
- [3.] Item noch 2 secke [*merchant's mark no. 5 in the right margin*].
- [4.] Item noch 1 vath [*merchant's mark no. 6 in the right margin*].
- [5.] Item noch 1 vath [*merchant's mark no. 7 in the right margin*].
- [6.] Item noch 1 droge tunneken is ungemarket
- [7.] Item 2 packen [*merchant's mark no. 8 in the right margin*].
- [8.] Item noch 1 pack sagen [*merchant's mark no. 9 in the right margin*].
- [9.] Item 1 Prussesche kiste myt sucker sunder marck.
- [10.] Item 1 vath myt brode [*merchant's mark no. 10 in the right margin*].
- [11.] Item noch 1 packen myt witter siden [*merchant's mark no. 11 in the right margin*].
- [12.] Item noch 1 vat is nath [*merchant's mark no. 12 in the right margin*].
- [13.] Item noch 1 vath [*merchant's mark no. 13 in the right margin*].
- [14.] Item noch 2 besclagen kisten myt ledder botagen.
- [15.] Item noch 1 laken is myt brenden bonegelt [*merchant's mark no. 14 in the right margin*].

Summa 22

Tuge: Hans Vaget unde Peter vom Hagen

Ita est ut supra, quod ego Nicolaus Clone meo cyrographo attestor etc.

Item in eodem anno et in eadem indictione, die vero 15. mensis Septembris [15 Sept. 1533] sinth dusse navolgende guder uth dem vorgeanten Heinrick Krōns sinem bōgerde in den pram gehisset etc.

- [16.] Item 1 packen [*merchant's mark no. 15 in the right margin*].
- [17.] Item 1 packen [*merchant's mark no. 16 in the right margin*].
- [18.] Item noch 1 vath [*merchant's mark no. 17 in the right margin*].
- [19.] Item noch 1 vath [*merchant's mark no. 18 in the right margin*].
- [20.] Item noch 1 packen [*merchant's mark no. 19 in the right margin*].
- [21.] Item 1 korff mith steinen kroßen [*merchant's mark no. 20 in the right margin*].
- [22.] Item 1 kleine tunne [*merchant's mark no. 21 in the right margin*].
- [23.] Item noch 2 packen [*merchant's mark no. 22 in the right margin*].
- [24.] Item noch 1 packen [*merchant's mark no. 23 in the right margin*].
- [25.] Item noch 3 kleine packen [*merchant's mark no. 24 in the right margin*].
- [26.] Item noch 2 secke [*merchant's mark no. 25 in the right margin*].
- [27.] Item noch 1 klein vath [*merchant's mark no. 26 in the right margin*].

- [28.] Item noch 1 packen [*merchant's mark no. 27 in the right margin*].  
 [29.] Item noch 1 packen [*merchant's mark no. 28 in the right margin*].  
 [30.] Item 10 kleine packen mith maldelen [*merchant's mark no. 29 in the right margin*].  
 [31.] Item noch 2 bosclagen kisten [*merchant's mark no. 30 in the right margin*].  
 [32.] Item noch 4 kleine packen [*merchants' marks no. 31 and 32 in the right margin*].  
 [33.] Item noch 1 klein packen [*merchant's mark no. 33 in the right margin*].  
 [34.] Item 1 smale tunne mit<sup>b</sup> kråmgude  
 [35.] Item noch 1 klein pakkeschen [*merchant's mark no. 34 in the right margin*].  
 [36.] Item noch 3 kleine tunnekens [*merchant's mark no. 35 in the right margin*].  
 [37.] Item noch 1 klein tunnekens [*merchant's mark no. 36 in the right margin*].  
 [38.] Item noch 1 klein påkschen [*merchant's mark no. 37 in the right margin*].  
 [39.] Item noch 2 kleine tunnekens [*merchant's mark no. 38 in the right margin*].  
 [40.] Item noch 1 klein tunneken [*merchant's mark no. 39 in the right margin*].  
 [41.] Item noch 1 klein tunneken [*merchant's mark no. 40 in the right margin*].  
 [42.] Item noch 1 klein kistken [*merchant's mark no. 41 in the right margin*].  
 [43.] Item noch 1 klein tunneken [*merchant's mark no. 42 in the right margin*].  
 [44.] Item noch 1 klein tunneken [*merchant's mark no. 43 in the right margin*].  
 [45.] Item 2 missinges emmher  
 [46.] Item 2 kleine kistken ane marck  
 [47.] Item 26 stücke missinges drades  
 [48.] Item 8 stücke kanefas  
 [49.] Item 1 klein pungken [*merchant's mark no. 44 in the right margin*].  
 [50.] Item 1 klein pungken dat is roth also bolus.  
 [51.] Item 3 secke vûl pepers [*merchant's mark no. 45 in the right margin*].  
 [52.] Item noch 1 packen [*merchant's mark no. 46 in the right margin*].  
 [53.] Item noch 1 klein tunneken [*merchant's mark no. 47 in the right margin*].  
 [54.] Item noch 6 packen [*merchant's mark no. 48 in the right margin*].  
 [55.] Item noch 1 packen [*merchant's mark no. 49 in the right margin*].  
 [56.] Item noch 1 klein packen [*merchant's mark no. 50 in the right margin*].  
 [57.] Item noch 1 klein vath [*merchant's mark no. 51 in the right margin*].  
 [58.] Item noch 1 klein packen [*merchant's mark no. 52 in the right margin*].  
 [59.] Item noch 1 packe lynen [*merchant's mark no. 53 in the right margin*].  
 [60.] Item 1 klein tunneken [*merchant's mark no. 54 in the right margin*].  
 [61.] Item 1 klein vâtken mit kråmgude.  
 [62.] Item 1 droge tunne.  
 [63.] Item 1 klein tunneken [*merchant's mark no. 55 in the right margin*].  
 [64.] Item 1 klein packen [*merchant's mark no. 56 in the right margin*].  
 [65.] Item ½ tunneken ane marck.  
 [66.] Item 2 secke is ringe von werden.  
 [67.] Item 1 bulte darinne 2 stücke linnenwandes, 2 rocke, 1 illykes foder, 2 witte stücke  
 twernes unde 4 deken  
 [68.] Item 1 klein bultken mit bundelen  
 [69.] Item 1 droge tunneken myt kanneell  
 [70.] Item 1 ledderen wath sack  
 [71.] Item 1 bedde unde 1 vedderdeke



[72.] Item 5 stücke iserbandes

[73.] Item 200 unde 20 stücke isern drath, darvon welcke sclagen 3 tunnen

[74.] Item 1 kleine vormält ladeken

[75.] Item 1 kock iseren

Summa 97

Tuge ut supra

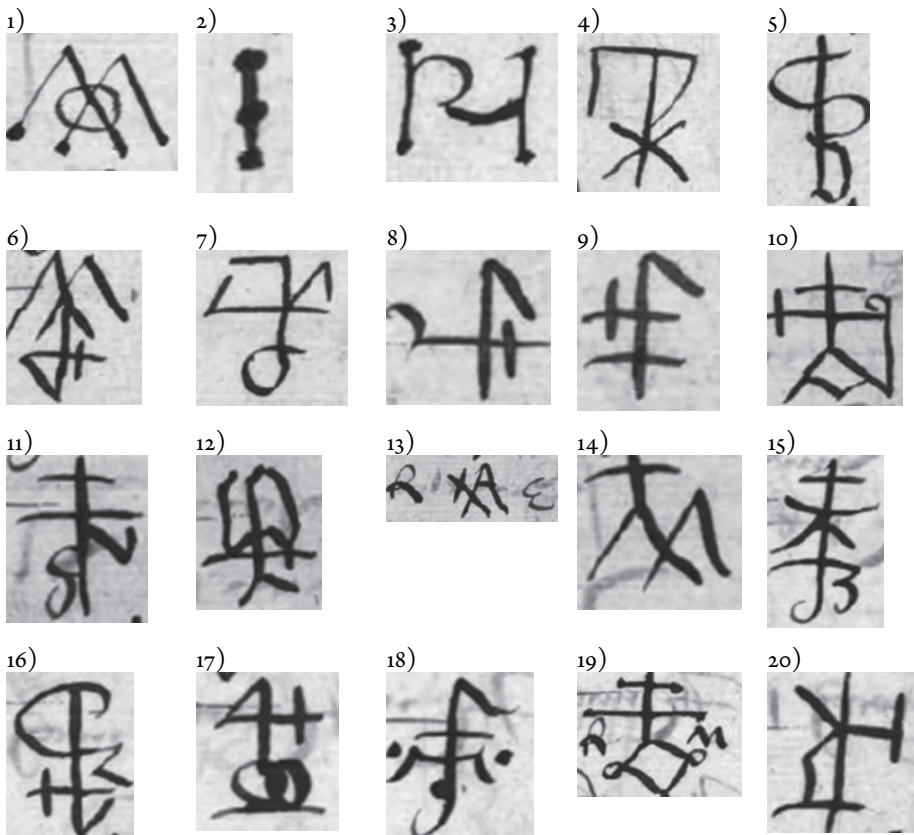
Ita est etc., quod ego Nicolaus Clone clericus Ratzeburgensis diocesis  
imperiali auctoritate notarius protestor hac manu mea propria.

Summa summarum omnium perceptorum 119 possell

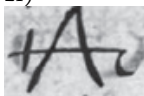
<sup>a</sup> Interlined above unde gehisset, struck through HL. <sup>b</sup> brodt follows, struck through HL.

*Nos 2 and 3 are added to mark 1, but are not its elements.*

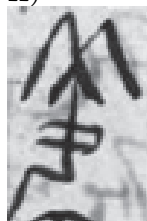
*The following merchants' marks occurrences in the source refer to the same symbol: (1,46); (4, 48); (26, 53), (27, 30). Nos 13 and 49 resemble each other, but are not identical in the source.*



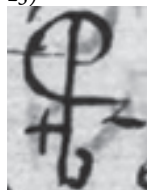
21)



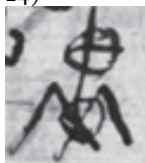
22)



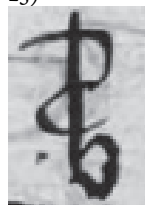
23)



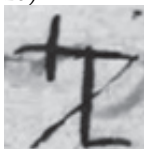
24)



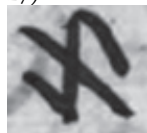
25)



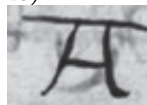
26)



27)



28)



29)



30)



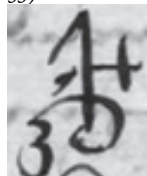
31)



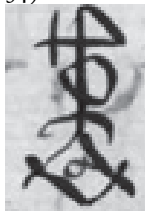
32)



33)



34)



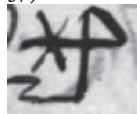
35)



36)



37)



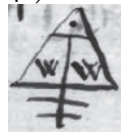
38)



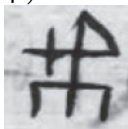
39)



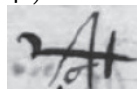
40)



41)



42)



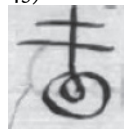
43)



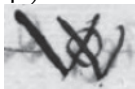
44)



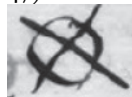
45)



46)



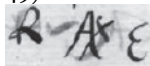
47)



48)



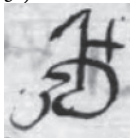
49)



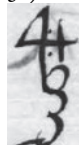
50)



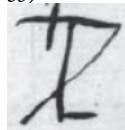
51)



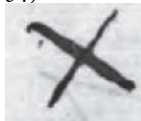
52)



53)



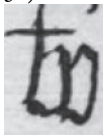
54)



55)



56)



[42.] *Nicholas Bardewick and Herman Schuten, town councillors in Lübeck, by the council's mandate, in the presence of a notary and witnesses, inventoried the goods taken from the ship of Adrian Johanßen skipper of Antwerp by Hinrik Krons of Lübeck in his bogerde. — 1533 Sept. 13 & 15. Lübeck.*

*HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, no. 23, f. 2<sup>r</sup>-5<sup>r</sup>. (original classification by Dreyer: Acta Anglicana, Appendix 2; later reclassified as ASA, Externa Anglicana no. 1606). Paper booklet bound in a notarial instrument drawn up by Michael Petri in 1525, indictione tercia, Monday 23 ... Contemporaneous copy. Unsealed.<sup>24</sup>*

Anno 1533, in der 6. indiction, ahm 13. dage des mants Septembris sinth durch furderung der ersamen hern her Nicolaus Bardewick und her Hermen Schuten radtmannen<sup>a</sup> alhir tho Lubgk vhom erbarn rade dartho verordent vhon my apenbar notario und in jegenwardicheit der hir undergescreven tuge alle dusse nafolgende gudere inventariert und boscreven worden, de welck uth Adrian Johanßen ein schipper vhon Andorppe sinem schepe gelosset und vorth in Hinrick Krõns von Lubgk sinem bogerde geheset und geschepet weren etc.

#### Actores ut supra

- [1.] Item ein packen louwendes gemarcket [*merchant's mark no. 1 in the right margin*].
- [2.] Item noch viif packen [*merchant's mark no. 2 in the right margin*].
- [3.] Item noch twee seecke [*merchant's mark no. 3 in the right margin*].
- [4.] Item noch ein vattken [*merchant's mark no. 4 in the right margin*].
- [5.] Item noch ein vath [*merchant's mark no. 5 in the right margin*].
- [6.] Item noch ein droge tunneken [*merchant's mark no. 6 in the right margin*].
- [7.] Item noch twee packen [*merchant's mark no. 7 in the right margin*].
- [8.] Item noch ein pack mith sagen oft arsch [*merchant's mark no. 8 in the right margin*].
- [9.] Item noch ein Prussesche kisten mith sucker sunder marck.
- [10.] Item noch ein vath mith brode [*merchant's mark no. 9 in the right margin*].
- [11.] Item noch ein packen [*merchant's mark no. 10 in the right margin*].
- [12.] Item noch ein vath is nath [*merchant's mark no. 11 in the right margin*].
- [13.] Item noch ein vath is nath [*merchant's mark no. 12 in the right margin*].
- [14.] Item noch twee bosclagen schipkisten mith rugem ledder botagen
- [15.] Item noch ein klein swarth laken myt brenden bongelt [*merchant's mark no. 13 in the right margin*].

Tuge: Hans Vaget und Peter Hagenouw

Ita est etc., quod Nicolaus Klõne meo cyrographo attestor

Item in eodem anno et eadem indictione, die vero [15] mensis  
Septembris

- [16.] Item noch ein pack gemarcket aldus [*merchant's mark no. 14 in the right margin*].<sup>25</sup>
- [17.] Item noch ein pack [*merchant's mark no. 15 in the right margin*].

<sup>24</sup> Note that in this piece, the letter 'u' is signalled by a superscribed breve (ü) in order to distinguish it from two minims. Since this has no effect on the pronunciation of the word, this character is transcribed as 'u'.

<sup>25</sup> This is the mark of John Proctor, merchant tailor.

- [18.] Item noch ein vath [merchant's mark no. 16 in the right margin].<sup>26</sup>  
 [19.] Item noch ein vath [merchant's mark no. 17 in the right margin].  
 [20.] Item noch ein pack [merchant's mark no. 18 in the right margin].<sup>27</sup>  
 [21.] Item noch einen korff myt steinen krosen [merchant's mark no. 19 in the right margin].  
 [22.] Item noch ein klein tunneken [merchant's mark no. 20 in the right margin].  
 [23.] Item noch ein pack [merchant's mark no. 21 in the right margin].  
 [24.] Item noch ein pack [merchant's mark no. 22 in the right margin].  
 [25.] Item noch drie kleine packen [merchant's mark no. 23 in the right margin].<sup>28</sup>  
 [26.] Item noch twee secke [merchant's mark no. 24 in the right margin].  
 [27.] Item noch ein klein vath [merchant's mark no. 25 in the right margin].  
 [28.] Item noch ein packen [merchant's mark no. 26 in the right margin].<sup>29</sup>  
 [29.] Item noch ein packen [merchant's mark no. 27 in the right margin].<sup>30</sup>  
 [30.] Item noch twen kleine packen [merchant's mark no. 28 in the right margin].  
 [31.] Item noch twe boslagen schipkisten [merchant's mark no. 29 in the right margin].<sup>31</sup>  
 [32.] Item noch veer kleine packen [merchant's mark no. 30 in the right margin].  
 [33.] Item noch ein klein packen [merchant's mark no. 31 in the right margin].  
 [34.] Item noch ein small tunneken myt ethliche kramgude.  
 [35.] Item noch ein klein packschen [merchant's mark no. 32 in the right margin].  
 [36.] Item noch drie kleine tunnekens [merchant's mark no. 33 in the right margin].<sup>32</sup>  
 [37.] Item noch ein klein tunneken [merchant's mark no. 34 in the right margin].  
 [38.] Item noch ein klein packschen [merchant's mark no. 35 in the right margin].  
 [39.] Item noch twee kleine tunnekens [merchant's mark no. 36 in the right margin].  
 [40.] Item noch ein klein tunneken [merchant's mark no. 37 in the right margin].  
 [41.] Item noch ein klein tunneken [merchant's mark no. 38 in the right margin].  
 [42.] Item noch ein klein kistken [merchant's mark no. 39 in the right margin].  
 [43.] Item noch ein klein tunneken [merchant's mark no. 40 in the right margin].  
 [44.] Item noch ein klein tunneken [merchant's mark no. 41 in the right margin].  
 [45.] Item noch twee missinges emmcher.  
 [46.] Item twee kleine kistkens ungemarket.  
 [47.] Item sossundtwintich stucke missingk drades.  
 [48.] Item achte stucke kaniphas.  
 [49.] Item noch ein klein pungken [merchant's mark no. 42 in the right margin].  
 [50.] Item noch ein klein pungken is also bolus.  
 [51.] Item noch drie secke vull pepers [merchant's mark no. 43 in the right margin].  
 [52.] Item noch ein packen [merchant's mark no. 44 in the right margin].  
 [53.] Item noch ein klein tunneken [merchant's mark no. 45<sup>b</sup> in the right margin].  
 [54.] Item noch söss packen [merchant's mark no. 46 in the right margin].  
 [55.] Item noch ein packen [merchant's mark no. 47 in the right margin].

<sup>26</sup> This is the mark of John Edwart.

<sup>27</sup> This is the mark of Robert Meredyth, mercer.

<sup>28</sup> This is the mark of Robert Reynoldes.

<sup>29</sup> This is the mark of Robert Laurens, draper.

<sup>30</sup> This is the mark of John Ambrose.

<sup>31</sup> This is the mark of Robert Laurens, draper.

<sup>32</sup> This is the mark of William Calsel.

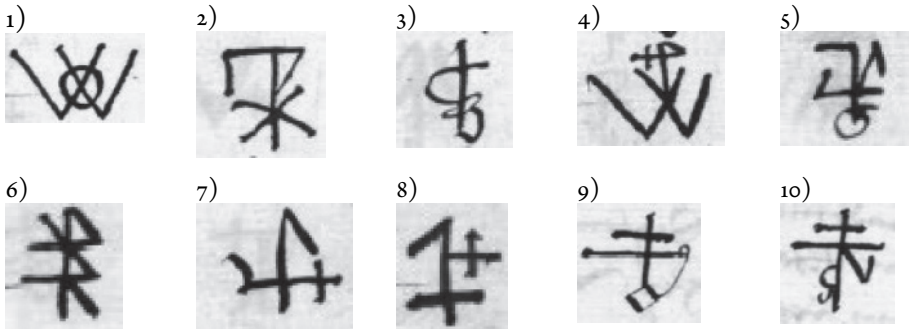
- [56.] Item noch ein klein packen [merchant's mark no. 48 in the right margin].  
 [57.] Item noch ein klein<sup>c</sup> vath [merchant's mark no. 49<sup>b</sup> in the right margin].  
 [58.] Item noch ein klein packen [merchant's mark no. 50 in the right margin].  
 [59.] Item noch ein pack lynen [merchant's mark no. 51 in the right margin].  
 [60.] Item noch ein klein tunneken [merchant's mark no. 52 in the right margin].  
 [61.] Item noch ein klein vatken myt kråmgude.  
 [62.] Item hoch ein kleine droge tunneken.  
 [63.] Item noch ein kleine tunneken mith lowende botas [merchant's mark no. 53 in the right margin].<sup>33</sup>  
 [64.] Item noch ein klein packen [merchant's mark no. 54 in the right margin].  
 [65.] Item noch ein klein halff tunneken ane marck.  
 [66.] Item twe secke ringe von werden.  
 [67.] Item in einem bulte twee rock, twee stuck lynnen wandes, ein illykes foder, twee stuck wittes twernes und veer decken.  
 [68.] Item ein klein bulte mit bendeln.  
 [69.] Item ein droge tunneken myt kanneell.  
 [70.] Item einen leddern wath sâck.  
 [71.] Item ein bedde und ein veddern decke.  
 [72.] Item noch viff stuck iserbandes.  
 [73.] Item noch twee hundert und twynttich stücke iserdrades, darvon welck gesclagen in tunnen.  
 [74.] Item ein kleine vormalde lade.  
 [75.] Item ein kôck isern.

Tuge: Hans Vaget und Peter Hagenow

Ita est ut supra, quod ego Nicolaus Klône meo cyrographo attestor.

<sup>a</sup> tho follows, struck through HL. <sup>b</sup> Before that, the scribe entered the same mark, was obviously dissatisfied with his reproduction and struck it through HL. <sup>c</sup> p[acken] follows, struck through HL.

The following merchants' marks occurrences in the source refer to the same symbol: (1, 44), (2, 46), (12, 47), (15, 31), (25, 51), (26, 29). Nos 20 and 40 resemble each other, but they are not identical. The same applies to 3, 24, 36.

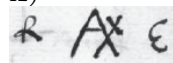


33 This is the mark of Edward Merton, grocer.

11)



12)



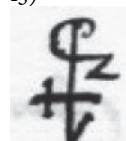
13)



14)



15)



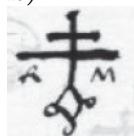
16)



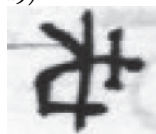
17)



18)



19)



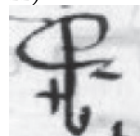
20)



21)



22)



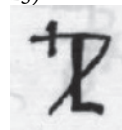
23)



24)



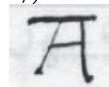
25)



26)



27)



28)



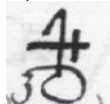
29)



30)



31)



32)



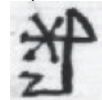
33)



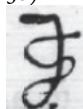
34)



35)



36)



37)



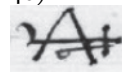
38)



39)



40)



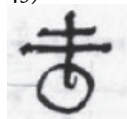
41)



42)



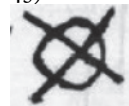
43)



44)



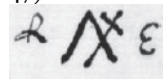
45)



46)



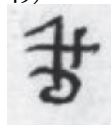
47)



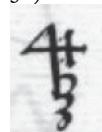
48)



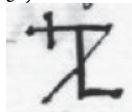
49)



50)



51)



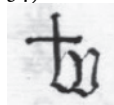
52)



53)



54)



[43.] *Schedule of the goods shipped by William Mery, grocer, in the hoy of Adrian Johnson of Antwerp. — (undated).*

HL AHL ASA, *Externa Anglicana* 476, no. 15. Original. Paper. Unsealed.

Schedep by me Wylliam Mery grocer onder thys mark [merchant's mark no. 1 in the left margin] in Adrian Jonson of Anwarpe

A dri pype continente peper, 2 bagges ponderantes 519 lb. at 27d the 1 lb.

Flemiche mone. Summa

£58 7s 9d

Corans 3 butes ponderantes 4514 lb. at 29s the C Flemish money. Summa

£543s

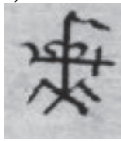
Cynamon M<sup>d</sup> 1 smale bagg ponderante 36 lb. whereof I have reseived bot 18 lb. It chost 6s 4d the 1 lb. Flemish. Summa of the halfe

£5 14s

Summa totalis

£118 4s 9d

1)



[44.] *Inventory of English goods lost in the taking of the ship of Adrian Johnson, drawn up in the presence of William Ashe, attorney of those who lost goods. — 1533 Oct. 19. Lübeck.*

HL AHL ASA, *Externa Anglicana* 476, no. 23, f. 6<sup>v</sup>. (original classification by Dreyer: *Acta Anglicana*, Appendix 2; later reclassified as ASA, *Externa Anglicana* no. 1606). Paper booklet bound in a notarial instrument drawn up by Michael Petri in 1525, indictione tercia, Monday 23 ... Contemporaneous copy. Unsealed.<sup>34</sup>

Item ahm sulvig jar, indiction, dage und mǎnte sinth ock dusse nascreven marck in berurtter wiße besichtiget worden. Duth durch fundering Wylhelm Asche, von sinen frunden uth Engelant dartho deputert etc.

[1.] Item ein klein packeschen mith seiem gemarcket aldus [merchant's mark no. 1 in the right margin].

[2.] Item ein vath gemarcket aldus [merchant's mark no. 2 in the right margin].

[3.] Item ein vath gemarcket aldus [merchant's mark in the no. 3 right margin].

[4.] Item ein klein laken mith breiden bonegelt aldus gemarcket [merchant's mark no. 4 in the right margin].

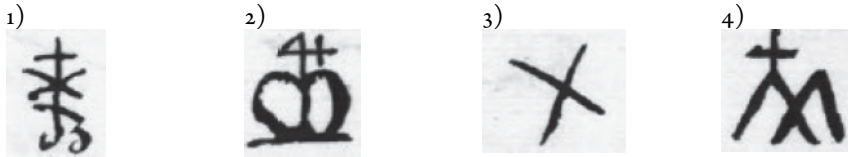
[5.] Item noch soss stucke kanifas gefunden.

Testes: ut supra [her Hinrick Kordes und Tyle Lutguwe]

Nicolaus Klone manu propria scripsit

34 Note that in this piece, the letter 'u' is signalled by a superscribed breve (ü) in order to distinguish it from two minims. Since this has no effect on the pronunciation of the word, this character is transcribed as 'u'.





[45.] Losses incurred by English merchants in the taking of the ship of Adrian Johnson.  
— (undated).

HL AHL ASA, *Externa Anglicana* 476, no. 5. Original. Paper. Unsealed.<sup>35</sup>

+

[1.] Item Jhon Edeward hefft geschepet in Adryan Jhonsen van Antwerpen 1 fat gemarket aldus [merchant's mark no. 1 in the right margin].

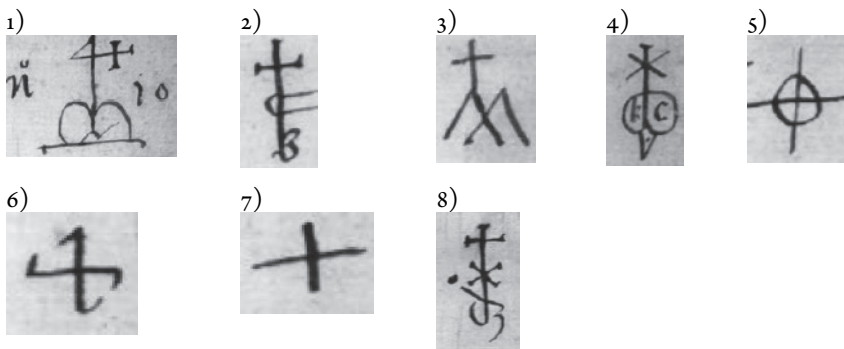
[2.] Item Jurgen Conÿnk und Hinrick Brÿnklave hebben geschepet in Adryan Jhonsen van Antwerpen eÿn klein packelken under eyn van dÿssen 3 marken, se weten nÿcht welkes it ÿs [merchants' marks no. 2, 3 and 4 in the right margin].

[3.] Item Robert Dene hefft geschepet in Adryan Jhonsen van Antwerpen int ersten 9 secke hoppen gemarket aldus [merchant's mark no. 5 in the right margin].

[4.] Item in velen klenen purselen so to der apotheken gehort under dit marck [merchant's mark no. 6 in the right margin].

[5.] Item noch 12 bolten kanÿffas und ein terling gemarket aldus [merchant's mark no. 7 in the right margin].

[6.] Item Randall Atkensen hefft geschepet in Adryan Jhonson 1 bale, darÿnne 38 stuck arsch. De bale ÿs gemarket aldus [merchant's mark no. 8 in the right margin].



[46.] Bergen op Zoom to Lübeck: 37 English merchants who had suffered losses in the taking of the ship of Adrian Johnson in August 1533 have appeared before council of Bergen; the English having complained to Henry VIII, who wrote on their behalf and sent Thomas Gigges, a merchant, to present the king's letters and request return of the goods; but since

<sup>35</sup> Note that in this piece, the letter 'n' is occasionally signalled by a superscribed inverted breve. In addition, the letter 'u' is occasionally signalled by a superscribed breve (ÿ) in order to distinguish it from two minims. Since these marks have no effect on the pronunciation of the word, these characters are transcribed as 'n' and 'u' respectively



*Gigges fell ill in Bergen and was unable to travel, he was replaced by Richard Plumpton, as Bergen op Zoom herewith certifies. — 1533/34 Feb. 24. Bergen op Zoom.*<sup>36</sup>

*HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, no. 23, f. 17<sup>rv</sup>. (original classification by Dreyer: Acta Anglicana, Appendix 2; later reclassified as ASA, Externa Anglicana no. 1606). Paper booklet bound in a notarial instrument drawn up by Michael Petri in 1525, indictione tercia, Monday 23 ... Contemporaneous copy (certified as accurate by the notary Michael Petri). Unsealed.*<sup>37</sup>

### Eyn copie Richgart Plunthon constitutionis

Allen den ghenen, dien dese onse tegenwordige litteren van certificacien ghetornt zullen worden ende besundere den ersamen ende wysen heren borgermeysteren ende radt van Lubeck onsen beminden vrunden, borgermeysters, schepen ende radt der stat van Bergen opten Zom saluut. Doen te weten, orconden ende certificeren wurhafftich zinde, dat opten dach van huden ondergeschreven by ons gewest ende personelick gecompareret zyn in notabilen getalle zekere bestadige coopluden van den koningrick natien van den rycke van Ingelandt verkerende ende gaven te kennen, dat nu in den sommere lest geleden 37 luden met heren medeplegeren geladen ende geschipt hebben in der stadt van Antwerpen in eyn schip tobehornde Adrian Johanßen zeker diversche copmanschappen van groter estimacien ende weerden, om die met denzelven schepe int vorgescreven konnyckryck van Ingelandt gebracht te vorderden. Ende commen Zeylandt ommtrent den limiten van denzelve lande, zyn aldaye gearrivet ende an bort gecomen die schepen van oerlogen van der vorscreven<sup>a</sup> stadt van Lubeck die voirscreven scip mit allen den vorscrevenen copmanschappen met fortsshen ende gewelt genomen hebben, in sulcker wegen, offt zy vianden gewest hadden, van den vorscreven connickryck etlicke goeden ende coopmanschappen zy ontsloepen in her schepen, ende dar mede ze sigelt nat Lubke voirscreven ende dat daromme deselve beschadige coopluden zey gecomen by die connicklike m[ajestat] van Ingelandt voirscreven etselve, hem clarlick te monstren, also dat zyn conniglike gnade hefft verleent syne beslatenen bryven ende voort geordinert met denzelven bescadigen coopluden eyen coopman van derzelve nacen geheten Thomas Gigges, om dezelve brive te thoen ende te presenteren ende voort te moegen heyschen ende ontfangen dezelve affgenomen goeden al nat inhouden ent mit den tenore van den zelven bryven, ende also zy vertheraden, dat dezelve Thomas Gigges in der stadt alhier zer zieck leght ende nytt gestelt, om te reysen, so hebben zy vor ons wettelick geordineret ende constitueret, ordinerden ende constiterden mit desen in de plaitse van denzelve Thomas eyen anderen geheten Ritsart Plompton, om dezelve connicklike bryven to presenteren denzelven radt van Lubecke, ent vort te mogen exigeren ende ontfangen vrÿ ende vranck de voirscreven affgenomen goeden al

36 It was not by sheer chance that this letter was written in Bergen op Zoom on this day. De Smedt, *Engelse natie*, vol. 2, p. 60 n. 33 quotes Gemeentearchief Amsterdam, Amsterdams Handschrift f. 58<sup>v</sup> (written by Jan Oem Janszoen), provides a list of those persons (26 in number) who attended a General Court of the Merchants Adventurers in Bergen on that day, cited from de Smedt II, p. 60 n. 33. Of the 24 Assistants attending, William Locke, William Gresham, Robert Laurence, Robert Deane and Richard Wilson had lost merchandise when Adrian Johnson's ship was taken.

37 Note that in this piece, the letter 'u' is signalled by two superscribed strokes (û) or a macron (ü) in order to distinguish it from two minims. Since this has no effect on the pronunciation of the word, both are transcribed as 'u'.

mit uthwysen denzelven bryve: ende hebben voort voor ons geweset in goeden trouwen te houden vor Got vast ende buy worden des hierinne by denzelven Richsart Plompton gedaen sal worden opte vorbintnisse van hen selven ende alle huere goeden ruerem ende on averende jegenwordich ende totcommen sonder argelist. Des to orconden hebbe wy den zegel teir zaken der voirscreven stadt van Bergen hyr onden andhoen uthhangen opten 24. dach Februarii anno etc. driendertich more Brabant.

C. de Mera

Ausculata et collocionata est presens copia per me Michaellem Petri clericum Zwerinensis diocesis publicum sacri apostolica et imperiali auctoritatibus notarium et cum suo vero originali concordat teste manu propria.

<sup>a</sup> voirirs' HL, in error.

[47.] On 1 Apr. 1534 in Lübeck, the Lübeck town councillors Hermann Schute and Gottke Engelstede (acting at the behest of the whole council of Lübeck) in the presence of the undersigned notary and the witnesses noted below and of Richard Plunthon from England, in his capacity as secretary and attorney of the English merchants (des gemenen kopmans darsulvest, so he sede, secretarius und also eyn fulmechtiger), to take custody of the goods itemized below which were taken in the past year from the hoyge of Adrian Johanßen on the high seas in the course of the war with the Hollanders without the authority of the Lübeck council.

There follows a list of goods returned to the English through Richard Pluntson (John Westborre worth £96 Flemish, Robert Meredi<sup>38</sup> worth £136 Flemish, John Edwart worth £39 Flemish, John Gerholt worth £54 Flemish, Richard Wilsun worth £86 Flemish, John Practor worth £62 13s 4d Flemish, Henry Augustin worth £89 15s 2d Flemish, William Lock<sup>39</sup> worth £84 10s Flemish, William Colsel<sup>40</sup> worth £6 Flemish, William Grossen worth 20 marks, Anthonio Serens worth £30 sterling, Robert Laurens of London worth £17 7s 8d Flemish, Richard Ousborne worth £100 2s 3d Flemish, Henry Beyer worth £19 17s 5d Flemish, Nicholas Lysborne (no value given), Edward Mortson (no value given), (no owner, no value given), Robert Reyneholt (no value given), William Bateman worth £51 5s Flemish, William Meri worth £11 8s plus 12s groth Flemish, Robert (no family name, no value given), Thomas Dystfelt worth £89 8d Flemish, Ralph Warunthun (no value given), Thomas Bruns (no value given), Augustin Hindt (no value given), Thomas Bruns (no value given), John Martyn's wife (no value given), John Pappham (no value given), Maryn Capella worth £13 sterling, Nicholas Lysborne (no value given). — 1534 Apr. 1. Lübeck.

Postscript (on or after 9 Apr. 1534) the goods were handed over to Plumpton, as witnessed by a notarial instrument (No. 48).

HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, no. 23, f. 28<sup>r</sup>-31<sup>r</sup>. (original classification by Dreyer: Acta Anglicana, Appendix 2; later reclassified as ASA, Externa

38 Robert Meredith, mercer, admitted 1525.

39 William Lock, mercer, admitted 1507.

40 William Colshill, mercer, admitted 1507.

*Anglicana no. 1606). Paper booklet bound in a notarial instrument drawn up by Michael Petri in 1525, indictione tercia, Monday 23 ... Contemporaneous copy (certified as accurate by the notary Michael Petri). Paper. Unsealed.<sup>41</sup>*

Am jar 1534<sup>o</sup> in der soveden indiction midwekens des ersten dages des maentes Aprylis [1 Apr. 1534] hebben de erbarne vorsichtygen und wyse heren her Hermen Schute und Gottke Engelstede rathmanne to Lubeck uth bovele des erbaren rades darsulvest to Lubeck und in mynes apentliken notarien und undergeschrevenen thugen hyrto sunderlix geescheet und gebeden jegenwordicheit dem erhafftygen manne Richgart Plunthon uth Engellandt und des gemenen kopmans darsulvest, so he sede, secretarius und also eyn fulmechtiger, dusser nabeschrevenen guder und portzele to entfangende, gemechtiget umme reverentie, gnadt und gunst des durchluchtigesten, grothmechtigesten, hohgebornen fursten und heren heren Hinrickes konnynges to Engellandt etc. avergelevert, vorreket und wedder voranthwordet, welcher ock forth de obgenante Richgart Plunthon also eyn fulmechtiger und bevelhebber des kopmans in Engellandt in syne were wedder hefft angenamen und entfangen. Duse nageschrevene guder und portzele were dorch der Lupeschen vorordenthen in dem Hollander cryge in vorgangen jar upper apenbar se, ydoch buten des erbaren rades to Lubeck bovele angenamen und sint in schipper Adrian Johanßen hoyge geschepet gewesen.

Ita est ut supra Michael Petri notarius ad premissa requisitus manu propria scripsit

De obgnanten vorordenthen heren des rades alhyr tho desser wedderleverynge sint bereith und erbodich gewesen, alle dussen nageschreven packen Richgart Plunthon, so he dar wan to hebben mochte, tho apenen etc., welcker Richgart tor noge wedder entfangen hefft und ane apenyngne dar mit wol gefredyget geweset.

Ita est ego idem, qui supra, notarius requisitus Michael Petri attestor manu propria

[1.] Thom ersten eyn grote packe hebben se Richart geleveret und welcker he entfangen hefft: dar was inne 58 stucke sayen gemarket aldus [*merchant's mark no. 1 in the left margin*] und kostet £96 1s Vlames und hort to Johan Westborre.

[2.] Item Richgart Plunthen geleveret und welcker he entfangen hefft 1 grote packe arsch, darinne 70 stucke; kosten in all £136 punt Vlames; hort Rubbert Meredi aldus gemarket [*merchant's mark no. 2 in the left margin*].

[3.] Item noch Richgart geleveret und welcker he entfangen hefft eyn droge fat; dar weren inne vele clene porgete; hort to Johan Eduwart; gemarket aldus [*merchant's mark no. 3 in the left margin*] und stan tosamende £39 Vlames.

[4.] Item noch hebben se Richgart geleveret und welcker he entfangen hefft eyn clene kyste; dar was inne 16 bunt sypperkost; hort to Johan Gerholt; gemarket aldus [*merchant's mark no. 4 in the left margin*] und staet £54 sterlinges.

[5.] Noch hefft Richgart entfangen 2 packen; hyrinne 4 balen sardokes; horen to Richgart Wilsun; gemarkett aldus [*merchant's mark no. 5 in the left margin*] und staen £86 Vlames.

41 Note that in this piece, the letter 'u' is occasionally signalled by a superscribed double accent aigue (û) or a breve (Û) in order to distinguish it from two minims. Since this has no effect on the pronunciation of the word, both are transcribed as 'u'.

- [6.] Item noch hefft Richgart entfangen, welcker em de heren gelevet hebben, eyn bale; dar was inne 38 stücke sagen und hort to Johan Practor, gemarket aldus [*merchant's mark no. 6 in the left margin*]. Kostet mith allem ungelde £62 19s 4d Vlames.
- [7.] Item noch hebben de heren Richgart Pluntson gelevet und welcker he entfangen hefft eyn packen; hort to Hinrick Augustin; darinne 68 stücke Hollandesch louwent gemarket aldus [*merchant's mark no. 7 in the left margin*]. Kostet £89 15s 2d Vlames.
- [8.] Item noch hefft Richgart van den obgenanten heren entfangen eyn bale; hort to Wilhelm Lock; dar was inne 65 stücke kammelottes, darunder 50 tannete und 15 swarte gemarket aldus [*merchant's mark no. 8 in the left margin*], und kosten £84 10s.
- [9.] Item noch em avergelevet 2 clene tunne stors gemarktt aldus [*merchant's mark no. 9 in the left margin*]; horen to Wilhelm Colsel. Kosten £6 Vlames.
- [10.] Item noch hebben de heren Richgart<sup>a</sup> Phunton wedder averlevet 3 clene tunne stors, horen to Wilhelm Grossen van twygerleyge marke vormarket aldus [*merchant's mark no. 10 and 10a in the left margin*].
- [11.] Item noch hefft Richgart entfangen 2 ruge beslagene kysten van ledder, darinne etlike cleder und breve; wart tosamande geschattet up £30 sterlinges ungemarket. Horen tho Anthonio Serene.
- [12.] Item noch hebben de heren Richgart wedder gelevet 2 swarte beslagene kysten; wurden geapent und fulgefunden, so se wesen scholden, also dat Riggart se to fuller noge wedder entfangen hefft; und horden to Rubbort Laurens van Lunden. Und dar by gelevet 2 missingen eimer. Duth to hope geschattet ungeferlich up £17 grote 7s 8d Vlames. Gemarket aldus [*merchants' marks no. 11 and 12 in the left margin*].
- [13.] Item noch hefft Richgart Plunthen van den heren wedder entfangen und welcker em gelevet ist 4 secke pepers gemarket aldus [*merchant's mark no. 13 in the left margin*] und welcker tohort und geschepet hefft Richgart Ousborne und hebben gewogen 892 punt. Dat punt kostet 2s 3d Vlames: is £100 2s 3d Vlames.
- [14.] Item noch hebben de heren Richgart wedder gelevet und voranthwordet eyn sack garns, welcker tohort und geschepet hefft Hinrick Beger. Dusse sack hefft gewogen 530 punt. Dat punt kostet 9d Vlames und ist vormarket aldus [*merchant's mark no. 14 in the left margin*]. Summa ist to hope £19 17s 5d Vlames.
- [15.] Item noch hefft Richgart van den heren entfangen und welck em gelevet is eyne bale pepers; darinne 3 sacke pepers; wogen in al 751 punt, 12 untzen und hort Nicolaus Tysborne und was gemarket aldus [*merchant's mark no. 15 in the left margin*].
- [16.] Item noch hebben de heren Richgart Plunthen wedder avergelevet und welckes he entfangen hefft eyne halve tunne bereven myt kannefast, welcker tohort und geschepet hefft Eduwart Morthon, gemarket aldus [*merchant's mark no. 16 in the left margin*], und hyr was inne 42½ punt muscat blomen.
- [17.] Item noch hebben de heren Richgart Plunthon gelevet eyn kleyn packschen mit knechte clederen gemarkett aldus [*merchant's mark no. 17 in the left margin*] und welck he entfangen hefft.
- [18.] Item noch hebben de heren Richgart gelevet und voranthwordett 3 secke hennepes gemarket aldus [*merchant's mark no. 18 in the left margin*], de tohort und geschepet hefft Rubbert Reyneholt. Item em ock darby gelevet 5 bunt ketelhenge offte ketelbande.
- [19.] Item noch hebben se Richgart gelevet und averanthwordet 4 halve balen Olmer sardock; de horen to Wilhelm Bateman; gemarket aldus [*merchant's mark no. 19 in the left margin*] und in icliker bale 25 halve stücke. Summa £51 5s.

[20.] Item noch hefft Richgart van den heren entfangen, welcker se em avergelevert hebben und dat thohort und geschepett hefft Wilhelm Meri, eyn sack canneles wecht 36 punt; kostet etlich punt 6s 4d; geslagen in 2 swarte rocke van frese gemakett. Kostet 12s groten und was in eyner tunnen ungemarkett.

[21.] Item noch hefft Richgart Plunthen van den heren wedder entfangen, und welck se em gelevet hebben, 7 stücke kannifast und 1 clene tunne garne, item eyn cleynen bundel myth rothsteen und eyn clenen sack mit bladen, welcker thohort Rubbert Den; gemarket aldus [*merchant's mark no. 20 in the left margin*].

[22.] Item de heren hebben Richgart noch gelevet, welck he entfangen hefft, eyn grote droge cramfaet; darinne was cramwerck, welcker tohort und geschepet hefft Thomas Dystfelt, vormarket aldus [*merchant's mark no. 21 in the left margin*]; und kostet in all £89 8d Flames.

[23.] Item noch hefft Richgart van den heren entfangen eyn ledderen watsack myt clederen ungemarket; und hort to Raff Warynthun.

[24.] Item hoch hebben de heren Richgart Plunthon vorlevert und averanthwordet eyn packeschens; darinne 3 bunt sickeltun; item eyn grote Vlamesche deken; item eyn elck foder; item eynen roden fruwen rock. Duth alle horde to der fruwen Thomas Bruns.

[25.] Item noch hefft Richgart van den heren entfangen eynen mans rock; hort to Augustin Hindt.

[26.] Item noch hefft Richgart Plunthon van den heren entfangen eyn bedde, twe kysten und eyn conferken; hort ock tho der sulvigen <sup>b</sup>fruwen<sup>b</sup> Thomas Bruns.

[27.] Item noch hebben de heren Richgart averanthwordet und gelevet, und welck he entfangen hefft, 2 stücke louwent, 2 stücke garne gemarket aldus [*merchant's mark no. 22 in the left margin*]; und hort to Johan Martyns frouwe.

[28.] Item noch hefft Richgart van den heren entfangen, und welckes em gelevet is, eyn groth droge cramfaet gemarket aldus [*merchant's mark no. 23 in the left margin*]; und dar was inne cramerrye und hort tho Johan Pappham.

[29.] Item noch is Richgart van den <sup>b</sup>heren<sup>b</sup> averanthwordet und wedder gelevet 3 bundeken syden gemarket aldus [*merchant's mark no. 24 in the left margin*]; und kosten £13 sterlynges; hort to Maryn Capella.

[30.] Item noch hebben de heren Richgart Plunthon vorrekett und wedder gelevet 36 hode suckers; horen tho Nicolaus Tysborne; gemarket aldus [*merchant's mark no. 25 in the left margin*].

[31.] Hiran und aver sint jegenwordich gewesen de ersamen und vorsichtigen manne Hinrick Warnboke und Jasper van Dalen bosetene borger to Lubeck thüge hyrto sunderlix geescheet und gebeden.

Ita est ut supra, quod ego Michael Petri publicus sacris apostolica et imperialia auctoritatibus notarius manu propria attestor.

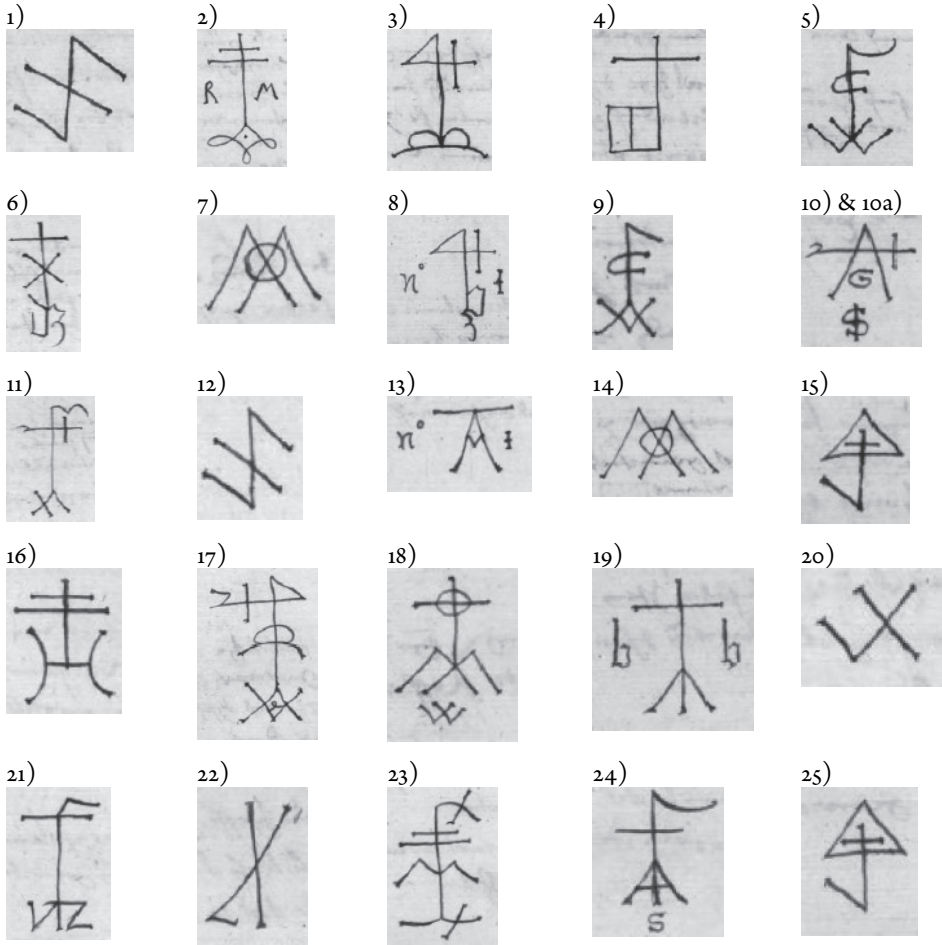
[*Postscript, dating from 9 Apr. 1534 or shortly thereafter*]

Dusse vorgeschrevene guder und portzele hefft gedachte Richgart vortekent und beswaren und wo billich darvan eyn erbar rat to Lubeck und alle de jenen, de das to donde hebben, deger und alle vorlaten und quiteret, wo wyder in eynem apenbar instrument daraver gemaket, vorbreydet und vorzalt ist [*No. 48*], alles ane geferde und argelist.

Ita est ut supra idem Michael notarius, qui infra manu propria scripsit.

<sup>a</sup> Richgart repeated HL, in error. <sup>b-b</sup> Interlined HL.

The following merchants' marks occurrences in the source refer to the same symbol:  
(1, 12), (7, 14), (15, 25).



*Editorial note: Although no. 48 and no. 49 are in substance identical, there are significant differences (particularly in regard to the notary's subscription), so that printing both texts seems justified.*

[48.] In August 1533, at the time of the war between Lübeck and Holland, milites stipendiarii of Lübeck took certain goods on the high seas from a hoy of Antwerp captained by Adrian Johansen without any authorization by the Lübeck council. When these goods arrived in Lübeck, the council caused them to be taken into custody non alias quam pro commodo et utilitate communium mercatorum and kept safely. Then there appeared before the council in Lübeck in the council chamber (in the presence of the undersigned notary and the witnesses) Richard Plunthon of London in England in

his capacity as secretary and procurator, as he stated, deputized by various English merchants (communiumque mercatorum ibidem, ut asseruit, secretarius, a diversis mercatoribus predicti regni Anglie legitimus procurator) whose goods had been in the said ship, to petition for the return of these goods. Thereupon, on 1 April, the council appointed the councillors Hermann Schute and Godehard Engelsteden to return all the goods and merchandise which had been taken by the said milites stipendiarii of Lübeck of the coast of England within the last year, first unam magnam balam sive sarcinam belonging to John Westborri worth £96 1s Flemish; unam aliam magnam balam sive sarcinam worth £136 Flemish belonging to Robert Meredi; in these bales there was a great variety of merchandise; quodam vas magnum et siccum belonging to John Eduart with various goods and merchandise worth £39 Flemish. Richard Plunthon also acknowledges receipt of a chest worth £54 sterling belonging to John Gerholt; two bales sive sarcinas belonging to Richard Wilsun worth £80 Flemish; one bale sive sarcinam belonging to John Practor worth £62 19s 4d Flemish (including his expenses); another bale sive sarcinam belonging to Henry Augustin worth £89 15s 2d Flemish; another bale sive sarcinam belonging to William Lock worth £84 10s; two small tuns of rumbi belonging to William Kolsel worth £6 Flemish; three small tuns of rumbi belonging to William Gressen; two locked iron chests (ferreatas cistas) which the said Lübeck councillors caused to be opened to make sure that they were as they should be, which Richard acknowledged, and which belonged to Robert Laurence of London and contained two venis de auricalco worth £17 7s 8d Flemish in toto; two other locked iron leather chests (ferreatas cistas de corio) which contained various pieces of clothing and many letters worth £30 sterling belonging to Anthony Schreve; 4 sacks of pepper worth £100 2s 3d Flemish altogether belonging to Richard Ausborne; 1 sack of thread belonging to Henry Betzer worth £19 7s 5d Flemish; one bale seu sarcinam of pepper containing 3 sacks of pepper belonging to Nicholas Tisborne weighing 70 lb. 12 oz.; one half tun of linen cloth bound up on the outside, in which there were certa aromata, videlicet quadraginta semitres libre floris muscatorum belonging to Edward Morthon; 1 small sarcinam containing various pieces of clothing belonging to a servant (quendam famulum); three sacks of hemp (canabis) belonging to Robert Reygenholt and 5 fasciculos ferreos spectantes ad caldarios; 4 medium bales seu sarcinas worth £51 5s belonging to William Bateman; 1 sack containing certa aromata namely cinnamon weighing 30 lb, worth 6s 4d/lb.; this sack was contained in a tun without a merchant's mark and belonged to Robert Meri; seven fasciculos of rough linen cloth called kannefast and 1 small tun with linen thread and a small sack with red stones; one small sack containing certa folia valentia ad colorem belonging to Robert Den; 1 large dry vat containing various merchandisable goods worth £89 8d belonging to Thomas Distfelt; 1 leather sack containing certain items of clothing belonging to Ralph Warinthun; 1 small bale sive sarcinam containing certain goods, furs and clothing belonging to the wife of Thomas Bruns; 1 tunic belonging to Augustin Hindt; one bed, two chests and one coverlet (confetire) belonging to the said wife of Thomas Bruns; 2 fasciculos rotundos of linen cloth and two fasciculos of thread belonging to the wife of John Martini; one large dry vat containing various merchandisable goods belonging to John Pappham; three fasciculos bissi crudi worth £13 sterling belonging to Maryn Capella; 36 capita succari belonging to Nicholas Tisborn.

*The said Richard Plunthon acknowledges receipt from the Lübeck councillor Tilemann Tegetmeyer, specially deputized hereunto by the Lübeck council, of one large vat of oil and three tuns sive vasa of oil, commonly designated as pipes, belonging to William Cassellin; 15 other small tuns of rape oil and three sacks humili belonging to the London citizen Hamnoth Hammekottes.*

*The said Richard Plunthon swears in the name of his principals that none of the goods itemized above belong to any enemies of Lübeck, but only to subjects of England and that all their claims are herewith satisfied.*

*Acting for the whole Lübeck council, proconsul Joachim Gerkens sen. requested that the undersigned notary draw up a notarial instrument (or notarial instruments) recording the above. Done in Lübeck in the town hall in the presence of the town councillors on the date recorded above [9 Apr. 1534]. Witnesses Hermann Iserhell, Conrad Cock, both citizens of Lübeck. The usual notary's entry follows. — 1534 Apr. 9. Lübeck.*

*HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, no. 11. Original notarial instrument drawn up by Michael Petri, cleric of the diocese of Schwerin, with his notary's mark (see below).*

[1.] In nomine Domini amen. Per hoc presens publicum instrumentum cunctis pateat evidenter et sit notum, quod anno a nativitate Ejusdem millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo quarto, indictione septima, die vero jovis nona mensis Aprylis [9 Apr. 1534], imperante gloriosissimo invictissimoque ac catholico principe et domino domino Karolo Quinto divina favente clementia Romanorum imperatore semper augusto ac Germanie, Hispaniarum, utriusque Sicilie, Hierusalem, Hungarie, Dalmacie, Croatie etc. rege, archiduce Austrie, duce Burgundie etc. anno imperii quinto decimo, cum alias fuerit et sit, quod nuper de anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo tertio de mense Augusti tempore guerrarum et inimicitiarum inter Lubicenses ex una et Hollandinos partibus ex altera spectabiles domini de senatu civitatis Lubicensis inter alia nonnulla bona in quadam navi – hoya vulgariter nuncupata – ville Anthwerpie, cujus patronus sive rector erat Adrianus Johanßen tunc existentia, et per deputatos dictorum Lubicensium milites stipendiarios in publico mari sine tamen consensu et mandato dictorum dominorum de senatu Lubicensi apprehensa et que bona, dum ad civitatem Lubicensem advenissent seu confluissent, prelibatus senatus Lubicensis non alias quam pro commodo et utilitate communium mercatorum ad se recepissent et fideliter conservari fecissent. Idcirco coram eisdem prudentibus ac spectabilibus viris dominis proconsulibus et consulibus predictae civitatis Lubicensis in sede et loco consulari consulariter congregatis in meique notarii publici ac testium infrascriptorum ad hoc specialiter vocatorum et rogatorum presentia personaliter et presentialiter constitutus commendabilis vir Richardus Plunthon incola civitatis Lunden' in regno Anglie communiumque mercatorum ibidem, ut asseruit, secretarius a diversis mercatorum predicti regni Anglie legitimus procurator, prout de suo procuracione mandato fidem fecit legitimam, diversa bona ad suos principales pertinere et spectare in dicta hoya fuisse designavit, non vi, dolo, metu, fraude vel sinistra machinatione seductus vel coactus, sed mera, libera et propria voluntate confessus fuerat ac in veritate palam et publice recognovit et confitebatur tam proprio quam omnium principalium suorum constituencium nominibus se antea prima die prefati mensis Aprylis [1 Apr. 1534] a spectabilibus viris dominis Hermanno Schuten et Godehardo Engelsteden consulibus



Lubicensibus ad hoc a spectabili senatu Lubicensi deputatis ipsa bona ac merces, que et quas predicto proxime elapso anno et mense sub conterminis et portubus regni Anglie dicti milites stipendiarii classibus sive navibus bellicis et seu hostilibus dicte civitatis Lubicensis expediti suis principalibus rapuerant, receperant et abduxerant rehabuisse ac realiter et cum effectu recepisse.

[2.] Et primo unam magnam balam sive sarcinam spectantem ad quendam Johannem Westborri valoris novaginta sex librarum et unius solidi Flamingi.

[3.] Item adhuc unam aliam magnam balam sive sarcinam centum triginta sex librarum Flamingi spectantem ad quendam Rubertum Meredi. In hiis balis seu sarcinis consistebant varie et multe preciose res et merces.

[4.] Item quoddam vas magnum et siccum spectans ad quendam Johannem Eduart, in quo varie erant portiones et mercantie valoris insimul, ut estimabatur, triginta novem librarum Flamingi.

[5.] Item adhuc recepit et se recepisse confitebatur idem Richardus Plunthon unam cistam quinquaginta quatuor librarum sterlingorum valoris spectantem et pertinentem ad quendam Johannem Gerholt.

[6.] Item adhuc idem Richardus rehabuisse confessus fuit duas balas sive sarcinas spectantes et pertinentes ad quendam Richardum Wilsun et constant octuaginta sex libras Flamingi.

[7.] Item adhuc unam balam sive sarcinam spectantem et pertinentem ad quendam Johannem Practor valoris cum omnibus expensis sexaginta duarum librarum, decem et novem solidorum ac quatuor denariorum Flamingi.

[8.] Item adhuc aliam balam sive sarcinam spectantem ad quendam Henricum Augustin et constat octuaginta novem libras, quindecim solidos et duos denarios Flamingi.

[9.] Item adhuc unam aliam balam sive sarcinam spectantem et pertinentem ad quendam Wilhelmum Lock valoris octuaginta quatuor librarum et solidorum decem.

[10.] Item adhuc recepisse et rehabuisse attestatus fuit idem Richardus Plunthon duas parvas tunnas rumbi spectantes ad quendam Wilhelmum Kolsel valoris insimul sex librarum Flamingi.

[11.] Item adhuc tres alias parvas tunnas rumbi spectantes ad quendam Wilhelmum Grossen.

[12.] Item adhuc rehabuisse et recepisse a dictis dominis consulibus idem Richardus referbebat duos ferreatas cistas, quas predicti domini consules sibi aperiri fecerunt et fuerunt ydonee, ut esse debebant, reperte et quas ipse Richardus pro sufficienter recepisset, spectantes ad quendam Rubertum Laurentii de civitate Lunden' cum duabus urnis de auricalco taxatis insimul ad valorem decem et septem librarum, septem solidorum et octo denariorum Flamingi.

[13.] Item adhuc alias duas ferreatas cistas de corio, in quibus erant certa vestimenta et nonnullae littere, insimul taxatas ad triginta libras sterlingorum spectantes et pertinentes ad quendam Anthonium Sehrene.

[14.] Item quatuor saccos piperis ponderantes insimul ad centum libras, duos solidos et tres denarios Flamingi, spectantes et pertinentes ad quendam Richardum Ausborne.

[15.] Item adhuc unum saccum filorum sive cum filis spectantem et pertinentem ad quendam Hinricum Betzer ponderatum et taxatum ad decem et novem libras et decem et septem solidos et quinque denarios Flamingi.

[16.] Item prefatus Richardus Plunthon adhuc rehabuisse et recepisse publice confessus fuit unam balam seu sarcinam piperis, in qua tres sacci piperis continebantur, spectantem et pertinentem ad quendam Nicolaum Tisborne taxatam et ponderatam ad septingentas 51 libras et duodecim uncias.

[17.] Item adhuc unam mediam tunnam lineis pannis ab extra ligatum, in qua erant certa aromata, videlicet quadraginta semities libre florum muscatorum, spectantem et pertinentem ad quendam Eduardum Morthon.

[18.] Item adhuc unam parvam sarcinam, in qua erant certa vestimenta spectantia ad quendam famulum.

[19.] Item tres saccos canapis spectantes et pertinentes ad quendam Rubertum Reygenholt et quinque fasciculos ferreos spectantes ad caldarios.

[20.] Item adhuc quatuor medias balas seu sarcinas valoris quinquaginta unius libre et quinque solidorum spectantes et pertinentes ad quendam Wilhelmum Bateman.

[21.] Item adhuc saccum unum, in quo erant certa aromata, videlicet cinamomum, ponderantia ad triginta sex libras et valet qualibet libra sex solidos quatuor denarios. Erat saccus huiusmodi in una tunna sine signo, spectans et pertinens ad quendam Rubertum Meri.

[22.] Item adhuc sepedictus Richardus Plunton recepisse confessus fuit septem fasciculos cujusdam grossi linteï panni vulgo kannefast et unam parvam tunnam cum linteis filis et parvum saccum cum rubeis lapidibus.

[23.] Item adhuc parvum saccum, in quo erant certa folia valentia ad colorem, hec pertinebant ad quendam Rubbertum Dene.

[24.] Item adhuc magnum vas siccum, in quo erant varie res et portiones mercandiliarum, taxatum ad octuaginta novem libras et octo denarios, spectans et pertinens ad quendam Thomam Distfelt.

[25.] Item quendam corium saccum cum certis vestibis pertinentes ad quendam Rodolphum Warinthon.

[26.] Item adhuc unam parvam balam seu sarcinam cum certis rebus pellibus et vestibis spectantibus ad uxorem cujusdam Thome Bruns.

[27.] Item adhuc unam tunnam spectantem ad quendam Augustinum Hindt.

[28.] Item adhuc sepedictus Richardus Plunthon recepisse attestatus fuit unum lectum, duas cistas et unum consolier spectantes ad eandem uxorem Thome Bruns.

[29.] Item duos fasciculos rotundos linei panni et duos fasciculos filorum spectantes ad uxorem cujusdem Johannis Martini.

[30.] Item adhuc magnum vas siccum, in quo erant varie res mercantiarum, spectantes et pertinentes ad quendam Johannem Pappham.

[31.] Item tres fasciculos bissi crudi valoris tredecim librarum sterlingorum, spectantes ad quendam Maryn Capella.

[32.] Item adhuc triginta sex capita succari, spectantes ad quendam Nicolaum Tisborn.

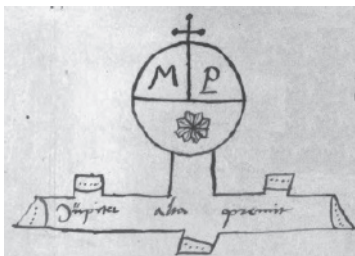
[33.] Item adhuc sepedictus Richardus Plunthon rehabuisse et recepisse publice confessus fuit a spectabili domino Tilemanno Tegetmeyger consule Lubicensi tanquam ad hoc a spectabili senatu Lubicensi deputato unum magnum vas olei et tres tunnas sive vasa olei – pypen vulgariter nominata –, spectancia ad quendam Wilhelmum Cassellin.

[34.] Item adhuc quindecim parvas alias tunnas olei raparum et tres saccos humili, spectantes et pertinentes ad quendam Hammoth Hammekrottes civem Lunden.

[35.] Quarum mercium et bonorum restitutionem petendi causa sive occasione idem Richardus Plunthon se ad civitatem Lubicensem suorum principalium nominibus contulerat et a magnifico ac spectabili senatu Lubicensi omnia et singula suprascripta bona tam magnas quam parvas balas sive sarcinas quamlibet sub suo signo notatatis et specificatis juxta tenorem cujusdam certificationis desuper exhibite cum rebus etiam parvis quam magnis introclusis nihil ex hiis direptis sive abstractis liberali mente et favorabiliter sibi fore ac esse bona hujusmodi reddita, restituta et consignanta, ut premittitur, palam et publice coram eisdem dominis de senatu Lubicensi confessus fuit juravitque extenso brachio primoribusque erecta digitis corporali juramento ad sancta Dei evangelia supradicta bona ad suos supranominatos principales prelibati regni Anglie regnicolas et ad nullos alios, dictorum Lubicensium hostes spectare et pertinere et pro tam legali restitutione et reali expeditione suprascriptorum bonorum dictis dominis de senatu Lubicensi gratias dixit et egit. Et de quibus omnibus et singulis prenarratis bonis, rebus mercandiliis tam parvis quam magnis sic restitutis, receptis et consignatis sepedictus Richardus Plunthon omnium suorum principalium ac eorundem heredum nominibus prefatos proconsules, consules totumque senatum civitatis Lubicensis <sup>a</sup>universosque cives et inquilinos dicte [civitatis]<sup>a</sup> omnesque alios et singulos, quorum interest aut interesse poterit quomodolibet in futurum, quietavit, liberavit penitus de dictis bonis perceptis et absolvit eisque finem, quitationem ac pactum perpetuum de ulterius semel rem habitam non petendo fecit, renuntiando etiam exceptionem dictorum bonorum sic per eum receptorum non habitorum seu non receptorum et spei future habitationis et numerationis, quibus contra premissa vel aliquod premissorum se defendere posset quomodolibet vel lucri, adeo quod neque dictus senatus neque eorum cives seu inquilini post hac inperpetuum harum atque mertium sive bonorum, ut prefertur, direptionum occasione amplius conveniri, vexari, inquietari et molestari in judicio nec extra possint et debent, sed super hiis immunes, indemnes, innoxios, absolutos, emancipatos prestare et observare volens solemnī stipulatione interveniente ac sub hypotheca et obligatione omnium et singulorum bonorum suorum mobilium et immobilium presentium et futurorum ac qualibet alia juris et facti renunciatione ad hec necessaria pariter et cautela. Ac omnia premissa se ac suos principales firmiter et involabiliter observaturos sub pena reatus perjurii jurejurando tactis scripturis sacrosanctis ad sancta Dei evangelia juravit, de et super quibus omnibus et singulis premissis spectabilis ac prudens vir dominus Joachim Gerkens senior proconsul Lubicensis nomine totius senatus Lubicensis per me notarium publicum infrascriptum unum vel plura publicum seu publica fieri petiit instrumentum et instrumenta.

Acta fuerunt hec in sepedicta civitate Lubicensi, ibidem in domo consulari et coram dominis de senatu anno, indictione, die, mense et aliis quibus supra. Presentibus ibidem providis et honestis viris Hermanno Iserhell et Conrado Kock civibus Lubicensibus testibus ad premissa vocatis specialiter atque rogatis.

Approbo ego Michael notarius apposita ob errorem omissa. Similiter ego idem notarius infrascriptus approbo rasuram in verbis septingentas quinquaginta unam libras in tricesima quarta linea a principio hujus instrumenti computando commissam, quod attestor manu propria.



Notary's mark of Michael Petri

Et ego Michael Petri clericus Szwerinnensis diocesis publicus sacris apostolica et imperiali auctoritatibus notarius quia hujusmodi confessioni, quitationi, promissioni, renuntiatione et juramenti prestationi omnibusque aliis et singulis premissis, dum, sicut premititur, fierent et agerentur unacum prenominationis testibus presens interfui eaque sic fieri vidi et audivi ac in notum sumpsit, ideo hoc presens publicum instrumentum manu alterius me interim aliis preposito negotiis fideliter scriptum et ex notis meis extractum exinde confeci subscripsi publicavi et in hanc publicam formam redegei signoque nomine et cognomine meis solitis et consuetis signavi, roboravi et communivi in fidem, robur et evidens testimonium omnium et singulorum premissorum rogatus et requisitus.

<sup>a-a</sup> Entered at the bottom of the text with catchmark HL.

[49.] Goods of English merchants received by Richard Plumpton in Lübeck. — 1534 Apr. 1/9. Lübeck.

HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, no. 23, f. 20<sup>r</sup>-23<sup>r</sup> (original classification by Dreyer: Acta Anglicana, Appendix 2; later reclassified as ASA, Externa Anglicana no. 1606). Paper booklet bound in a notarial instrument drawn up by Michael Petri in 1525, indictione tertia, Monday 23 ... Contemporaneous copy (certified as accurate by the notary Michael Petri). Unsealed.<sup>42</sup>

Alia copia instrumenti quietancie et confessionis diversorum  
notabilium receptorum bonorum Richgardi Plonthon pro spectabili  
senatu Lubicensi

[1.] In nomine Domini amen. Per hoc presens publicum instrumentum cunctis pateat evidenter et sit notum, quod anno a nativitate Ejusdem millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo quarto, indictione septima, die vero jovis nona mensis Aprylis [9 Apr. 1534], imperante gloriosissimo invictissimoque ac catholico principe et domino Karolo Quinto divina favente clemencia Romanorum imperatore semper augusto ac Germanie, Hispaniarum, utriusque Sicilie, Hierusalem, Hungarie, Dalmacie etc. rege, archiduce Austrie et duce Burgundie etc. anno imperii quinto decimo, cum alias fuerit et sit, quod nuper de anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo tercio de mense Augusti tempore guerrarum et inimicitiarum inter Lubicenses ex una et Hollandinos partibus ex altera spectabiles domini de senatu civitatis Lubicensis inter alia nonnulla bona in quadam navi – hoyā vulgariter

<sup>42</sup> Note that in this piece, the letter 'u' is occasionally signalled by a superscribed double accent aigue (ü), a caron (ũ) or a breve (ŭ) – also inverted – in order to distinguish it from two minims. Since this has no effect on the pronunciation of the word, these are all transcribed as 'u'. In addition, the letter 'n' is occasionally signalled by a superscribed inverted breve. Again, this is ignored in the transcription.

nuncupata – ville Anthwerpie, cujus patronus sive rector erat Adrianus Johansen (tunc existente), et per deputatos dictorum Lubicensium milites stipendiarios in publico mari sine tamen consensu et mandato dictorum dominorum de senatu Lubicensi apprehensa et que bona, dum ad civitatem Lubicensem advenissent seu confluissent, prelibatus senatus Lubicensis non alias quam pro commodo et utilitate communium mercatorum ad se receperant et fideliter conservari fecissent. Idcirco coram eisdem prudentibus ac spectabilibus viris dominis proconsulibus et consulibus predictae civitatis Lubicensis in sede et loco consulari consulariter congregatis<sup>a</sup> in meique notarii publici testimonioque infrascriptorum et ad hoc specialiter vocatorum et rogatorum presentia personaliter et presentialiter constitutus commendabilis vir Richgardus Plunthon incola civitatis Lunden' in regno Anglie communiumque mercatorum ibidem, ut asseruit, secretarius a certis diversis mercatoribus predicti regni Anglie legitimus procurator, prout de suo procuracione mandato fidem facit litteram, diversa bona ad suos principales pertinere et spectare in dicta hoya fuisse designavit, non vi, dolo, metu, fraude vel sinistra machinatione coactus vel seductus, sed mera, libera et propria voluntate confessus fuerat et in veritate palam et publice recognovit<sup>b</sup> et<sup>b</sup> confitebatur tam proprio quam omnium principalium suorum<sup>b</sup> constituencium<sup>b</sup> nominibus se antea prima die prefati mensis Aprylis [1 Apr. 1534] a spectabilibus viris dominis Hermannno Schuten et Godehardo Engelsteden consulibus Lubicensibus ad hoc a spectabili senatu Lubicensi deputatis ipsa bona ac merces, que et quas predicto proximo elapso anno et mense sub conterminis et portibus regni Anglie dicti milites stipendiarii classibus sive navibus bellicis et seu hostilibus dicte civitatis Lubicensis expediti suis principalibus rapuerant, receperant et abduxerant prehabuisse ac realiter et cum effectu recepisse.

[2.] Et primo unam 'magnam' balam sive sarcinam spectantem ad quendam Johannem Westborri valoris novaginta sex librarum et unius solidi Flammingensium.

[3.] Item adhuc unam aliam magnam balam sive sarcinam valoris centum triginta sex librarum Flammingensium, spectantem ad quendam Rubbertum Meredi. In hiis balis sive sarcinis consistebant varie et multe preciose res et merces.

[4.] Item quoddam vas magnum et siccum spectans ad quendam Johannem Eduwart, in quo varie erant portiones et mercantie valoris insimul, ut estimabatur, triginta novem librarum Flammingensium.

[5.] Item adhuc recepit et se recepisse confitebatur idem Richgardus Plunthon unam cistam quinquagintarum quatuor librarum sterlingorum valoris, spectantem et pertinentem ad quendam Johannem Gherholt.

[6.] Item adhuc idem Richgardus rehabuisset confessus fuit duas balas sive sarcinas spectantes et pertinentes ad quendam Richgardum Wilsun et constant octuaginta sex libras Flammingensium.

[7.] Item adhuc unam balam sive sarcinam spectantem et pertinentem ad quendam Johannem Practor, valoris cum omnibus expensis sexaginta duarum librarum, decem et novem solidorum ac quatuor denariorum Flammingensium.

[8.] Item adhuc aliam balam sive sarcinam spectantem ad quendam Hinricum Augustyn, et constat octuaginta novem libras, quindecim solidos et duos denarios Flammingensium.

[9.] Item adhuc unam aliam balam sive sarcinam spectantem et pertinentem ad quendam Wilhelmum Lock, valoris octuagintarum quatuor librarum et solidorum decem.

[10.] Item adhuc recepisse et rehabuisse attestatus fuit idem Richardus Plunthon duas parvas tunnas rumbi spectantes ad quendam Wilhelmum Kolsel, valoris insimul sex librarum Flamingensium.

[11.] Item adhuc tres alias parvas tunnas rumbi, spectantes ad quendam Wilhelmum Grossen.

[12.] Item adhuc rehabuisse et recepisse predictis dominis consulibus idem Richgardus refeberebat duos ferreatas cistas, quas predicti domini [con]siliu aperiri fecerunt et fuerunt ydonie, ut esse debebant, repertas, et quas ipse Richgardus pro sufficienter recepisset, spectantes ad quendam Rubbertum Laurentii de civitate Lundon' cum duabus urnis de auriculco taxatis insimul ad valorem decem et septem librarum, septem solidorum et octo denariorum Flamingensium.

[13.] Item adhuc duas alias ferreatas cistas de coreo, in quibus erant certa vestimenta et nonnullae littere, insimul taxatas ad triginta libras sterlingorum, spectantes et pertinentes ad quendam Anthonium Serene.

[14.] Item quatuor saccos piperis ponderantes insimul ad centum libras, [ad] duos solidos et tres denarios Flamingensium [pro libra], spectantes et pertinentes ad quendam Richgardum Ousborne.

[15.] Item adhuc unum saccum filorum sive cum filis, spectantem et pertinentem ad quendam Hinricum Betzer, ponderatum et taxatum ad decem et novem libras<sup>d</sup> et decem et septem solidos et quinque denarios Flamingensium.

[16.] Item prefatus Richgardus Plunthon adhuc rehabuisse et recepisse publice confessus fuit unam balam sive sarcinam piperis in quatuor<sup>e</sup> sacci<sup>e</sup> piperis continebantur, spectantem et pertinentem ad quendam Nicolaum Tysborne, taxatum et ponderatum ad septingentas quinquaginta unum libras et duodecim uncias.

[17.] Item adhuc unam mediam tunnam lineis pannis ab extra ligatam, in qua erant certa aromata, videlicet quadraginta semities libre florum muscatorum, spectantem et pertinentem ad quendam Eduwartus Morthon.

[18.] Item adhuc unam parvam sarcinam, in qua erant certa vestimenta spectantia ad quendam famulum.

[19.] Item tres saccos canapis spectantes et pertinentes ad quendam Rubbertum Reygenholt et quinque fasciculos ferreos spectantes ad caldarios.

[20.] Item adhuc quatuor medias balas sive sarcinas valoris quinquagintarum unius libre et quinque solidorum spectantes et pertinentes ad quendam Wilhelmum Bateman.

[21.] Item adhuc saccum unum, in quo erant certa aromata, videlicet cinamomum ponderatum ad triginta sex libras et valet qualibet libra sex solidos 4 denarios. Erat saccus huiusmodi in una tunna sine signo, spectans et pertinens ad quendam Rubbertum Meri.

[22.] Item adhuc sepedictus Richgardus Plunton recepisse confessus fuit septem fasciculos cuiusdam grossi lineii panni wulgo kannefust et unam parvam tunnam cum lineis filis et parvum saccum cum rubeis lapidibus.

[23.] Item adhuc parvum saccum, in quo erant certa folia valentia ad colorem. Hoc pertinabat ad quendam Rubbertum Dene.

[24.] Item adhuc magnum vas siccum, in quo erant varie res et portiones mercandilinites<sup>e</sup> taxatum ad novem et octuaginta libras et octo denarios, spectans et pertinens ad quendam Thomam Dystfelt.

- [25.] Item quendam coreum saccum cum certis vestibus pertinentes ad quendam Rodolphum Warynthun.
- [26.] Item adhuc unam parvam balam seu sarcinam cum certis <sup>b</sup>rebus<sup>b</sup> pellinibus et vestibus spectantes ad uxorem cujusdam Thome Bruns.
- [27.] Item adhuc unam tunnam spectantem ad quendam Augustinum Hindt.
- [28.] Item adhuc sepedictus Richgardus Plunthon recepissee attestatus fuit unum lectum, duas cistas et unum confor spectantes ad eandem uxorem Thome Bruns.
- [29.] Item duos fasciculos rotundos linnei panni et duos fasciculos filorum spectantes ad uxorem cujusdem Johannis Martini.
- [30.] Item adhuc magnum vas siccum, in quo erant varie res mercantiarum, spectans et pertinens ad quendam Johannem Pappham.
- [31.] Item tres fasciculos bissi crudi valoris tredecim librarum sterlingorum, spectantes ad quendam Maryn Capella.
- [32.] Item adhuc triginta sex capita succari, spectantes ad quendam Nicolaum Tisborne.
- [33.] Item adhuc sepedictus Richgardus Plunthon rehabuisse et recepissee publice confessus fuit a spectabili domino Tylemanno Thegetmeyger consule Lubicensi tanquam ad hoc a spectabili senatu Lubicensi deputato unum magnum vas olei et tres tunnas sive vasa olei – pypen vulgariter nominata –, spectancia ad quendam Wilhelmum Cassellyn.
- [34.] Item adhuc quindecim parvas<sup>f</sup> alias tunnas olei raparum et tres saccos humili, spectantes et pertinentes ad quendam Hammot Hammetrottes civem Lunden', quarum mercium et bonorum restitutionem petendi causa sive occasione.
- [35.] Idem Rigghardus Plunthon se ad civitatem Lubicensem suorum principalium nominibus contulerat et a magnifico ac spectabili senatu Lubicensi omnia et singula suprascripta bona, tunnas, magnas quam<sup>g</sup> parvas balas sive sarcinas quibuslibet sub suo signo notatatis et specificatis juxta tenorem cujusdam certificationis desuper exhibite cum rebus etiam parvis quam magnis introclusis nihil ex hiis directis sive abstractis liberali mente et favorabile sibi fore ac esse bona hujusmodi reddita, restituta et consignanter, ut premittitur, palam et publice coram eisdem dominis de senatu Lubicensi confessus fuit juravitque extenso brachio primoribusque erectis digitis corporaliter juramento ad sancta Dei evangelia sepedicta bona ad suos supranominatos principales prelibati regni Anglie regnicolas et ad nullos alios, dictorum Lubicensium hostes, spectare et pertinere et pro tam legali restitutione et reali expeditione dictorum suprascriptorum bonorum dictis dominis de senatu Lubicensi gratias dixit et egit. Et de quibus omnibus et singulis prenarratis<sup>h</sup> bonis, rebus mercandiliniis tam parvis quam magnis sic restetutis<sup>e</sup>, receptis et consignatis idem sepedictus Richgardus Plunthon omnium suorum principalium ac eorundem heredum nominibus prefatos proconsules, consules totumque senatum universosque cives ac inquilinos dicte civitatis Lubicensis omnesque alios et singulos, quorum interest aut interesse poterit, quolibet in futurum quietavit, liberavit penitus de dictis perceptis bonis et absolvit eisque fynem, quitationem ac pactum perpetuum de ulterius semel rem habitam non petendo fecit, renuntiando etiam exceptionem dictorum bonorum sic per eum receptorum non habitorum seu non receptorum et spei future habitationis et jurationis, quibus contra premissa vel aliquod premissorum se defendere posset quomodolibet vel lucri, adeo quod neque dictus senatus neque eorum cives seu inquilini post hoc inperpetuum harum atque mertium sive bonorum, ut prefertur, direptionis occasione amplius conveniri, vexari, inquietari et molestari in iudicio<sup>i</sup> nec extra possint et

debent, sed super hiis immunes, indempnes, innoxios, absolutos, emancipatos prestare et observare volens solemnī stipulationis intervenientes ac sub hipoteca et obligacione omnium et singulorum bonorum suorum mobilium et immobilium presentium et futurorum ac qualibet alia juris et sacri renunciacione ad hec necessaria pariter et cautela. Et omnia premissa se ac suos principales firmiter et involabiliter observatura sub pena reatus perjurii jurejurando tactis scripturis sacrosanctis ad sancta Dei evangelia juravit, de et super quibus omnebus<sup>e</sup> et singulis premissis spectabilis ac prudens vir dominus Joachim Gherkens senior proconsul Lubicensis nomine totius senatus Lubicensis per me notarum publicum infrascriptum unum vel plura publicum seu publica fieri petiit instrumentum et instrumenta.

Acta fuerunt hec in sepedicta civitate Lubicensi, ibidem in domo consulari et coram dominis de senatu anno, indictione, die, mense et aliis quibus supra. Presentibus ibidem providis et honestis viris Hermanno Iserahel et Conrado Kock civibus Lubicensibus testibus ad premissa vocatis specialiter atque rogatis.

Et ego Michael Petri clericus Szwerinensis diocesis publicus sacris apostolica et imperiali auctoritatibus notarius omnia hujusmodi confessioni, quitationi, promissioni, renunciacionis et juramenti prestationi omnibusque aliis et singulis premissis, dum, sicut premittitur, fierent et agerentur unacum prenominationis testibus presens interfui eaque sic fieri vidi et audiui ac in notum sumpsi. Ideo hoc presens publicum instrumentum manu propria scriptum et ex notis meis extractum exinde confeci, subscripsi, publicavi et in hanc publicam formam redegi signoque nomine et cognomine meis solitis et consuetis signavi, roboravi et communivi in fidem, robur et evidens testimonium omnium et singulorum premissorum rogatus et requisitus.

Ausculata et collocionata est presens copia per me eundem Michaellem Petri clericum et notarium suprascriptum. Et cum suo originali concordat, quod attestor manu propria.

<sup>a</sup> congregata follows, struck through HL. <sup>b-b</sup> Interlined HL. <sup>c-c</sup> Entered in the left margin with catchmark HL. <sup>d</sup> libras repeated HL, in error. <sup>e</sup> Sic HL. <sup>f</sup> aliases follows, struck through HL. <sup>g</sup> quas HL, in error. <sup>h</sup> preenaratis L, in error. <sup>i</sup> juh<sup>o</sup> HL.

[50.] Richard Plunthen acknowledges receiving from the Lübeck councillor Tyle Thegetmeyger by order of the Lübeck council the following goods: 1 great vat of oil and 8 pipes of oil belonging to William Cassellyn (merchant's mark no. 1 in the left margin);<sup>43</sup> 15 small tuns of rape oil and 3 sacks of hops belonging to Homont Hametrettes of London (merchant's mark no. 2 in the left margin). These goods were shipped in the ship of Johan Wilmesson. Hir van hefft velegedachte Richgart den erbar rat tho Lubeck und alles, de des tho donde hebben, genßlich vorlaten und quiteret; ock de baven

43 William Castelyn, mercer, admitted 1519.



geschreve guder betekent und beswaren nach lude eynes instruments war wyder  
avergematleth alles ane geferde und argelist.

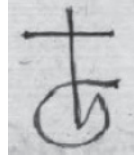
Ita est ut supra Michael Petri notarius manu propria scripsit. — 1534 Apr. 18.  
[Lübeck].

HL AHL ASA, *Externa Anglicana* 476, no. 23, f. 31<sup>v</sup>. (original classification  
by Dreyer: *Acta Anglicana*, Appendix 2; later reclassified as ASA, *Externa*  
*Anglicana* no. 1606). Paper booklet bound in a notarial instrument drawn up  
by Michael Petri in 1525, indictione tercia, Monday 23 ... Contemporaneous  
copy (certified as accurate by the notary Michael Petri). Unsealed.<sup>44</sup>

1)



2)



[51.] Contemporaneous copy of the quitclaims of Anthonius Oberomiza, Martinus de  
Federigo and Richard Plunthon for the goods lost in the taking of the ship of Adrian  
Johnson, translated into Middle Low German for the Lübeck council. — 1534 after  
Apr. 1. Lübeck.

HL AHL ASA, *Externa Anglicana* 476, no. 12. Paper booklet of 8 folios.  
Contemporaneous copy (certified as accurate by the notary Michael Petri).  
Unsealed.<sup>45</sup>

Copia <sup>a</sup>pro spectabili senatu Lubicensi<sup>a</sup> restitutionis certorum  
bonorum restitutorum

[I] Anthonius Oberomiza

Am jar 1534, indictione 7., donnerdages des twolfften des mānts Martii hebbe de  
erbarne und hochwyse heren her Clawes Bardewick und her Hermen Schute rathmanne  
to Lubeck uth bovele des erbaren rades darsulvest to Lubeck und vor ein openbare notario  
und undergeschrevenen thugen hyrto sunderlix geeschet unde gebeden jegenwordicheit  
dem erhafftygen mane Anthonio Oberomiza Venecianer to Lunden in Engellant wanende  
alse eynen hovetmanne to em sulvest horende dusser nageschrevene guder und portzele  
nicht tu plicht, sunder uth gunst und umme reverencie und gundt konichlicher werde  
van Engellandt mildichliken wedder gegeven, vorrekett und avergeleverth und welcker  
de obgenante Anthonius uth sulcker averleverynge hefft myt danckbarkeit wedder  
entfangen, de ock specificert und designeret und dar beneffens stavedes edes to Gade  
und synen helligen geswaren, dat dusse nageschrevenen portzele to em sulvest und susten

44 Note that in this piece, the letter 'u' is occasionally signalled by a superscribed double accent aigue (û) in order to distinguish it from two minims. Since this has no effect on the pronunciation of the word, 'û' is transcribed as 'u'.

45 Note that in this piece, the letter 'u' is occasionally signalled by a superscribed double accent aigue (û) or a breve (ũ) in order to distinguish it from two minims. Since this has no effect on the pronunciation of the word, both are transcribed as 'u'.

nenem Hollander, Brabander offte Zelander tobehoren und dat ock nemant van den dar deel offte antpart ane hebbe etc. Nach lude eynes apenbaren instrumentes darwider avergemakett etc. und dusse portzele sint in schipper Adrian Johansen hoyge geschepet gewesen und weren in schyrst vorgangen sommer dorch der Lūpeschen uthligger tegenst de Hollander upp apenbar see, idoch buten des erbaren rades to Lubeck bovele undt consent angenamen.

Actum Lubeck und darsulvest dhaen Anthonius den eth dede upp cancellaria und to averkennynge und wedder entfangenge der portzele in Hinrick Cordes borgers to Lubeck huse in jegenwardicheit der ersamen manner Laurens Wellmes, Hermen Mollirs und her Ghert Falcken bosetene borgers to Lubeck hyrto sampt und besundergen geescheet und gebedeen.

Ita est ut supra, quod ego Michael Petri publicus apostolica et imperiali auctoritatibus notarius ad premissa requisitus attestor manu propria.

Item dusse nageschrevenen portzele hebben de genannten heren Anthonio Oberomiza averanthwordet und welcker he entfangen

Negen dossyne stenene potte

6 dossyne tynnene potte und 9 potte

Item 5 dossyn klocken und 5 clocken

Item 10 spegel

Item eyn bilde offte hyllige

Item 8 schottelen

Item 10 luchter

Item 6 nascheen myt swyne bosten

Item 4 marck cirkel und 4 cyrkel

Item 26 hamer

Item 8 tangen

Item desse vorgeschrevene portzele weren in eynem groten korve.

Dewyle denne desulvege Hollandesche hoyge, dar des vorgeschrevenen Anthonius Oberomiza gudt is inne geschepett geweset, is gesuncken und susten vorsweket, also dat sick desulvege Anthonius beclagete, dat he noch sulvige guder offte portzele, welcker em weren vorsuncken offt dorche de Lūpeschen crygeslude affhendich gemaket noch missede etc., szo hefft dorch darna<sup>b</sup> de erbar radt to Lubeck dorch ere vorordenthen uth sunderger woldaet sick to fullenkamen ende genslich deger und alle mit dem obgnanten Anthonio aller guder und portzele halven, de em vorsunken offte affhendich gemaket weren und he noch myssede, gudt vorengenamen summe geldes, welcker he van Gottken Engelsteden und her Albert Clever rathmanne to Lubeck darto vorordenthen up eynen dach und tydt vor my apenbar notario und thugen dartho int sunderge geescheett thor nage in getelledem gelde wul und wol to dancke entfangen hefft und hefft dhaen forth den vorbenomeden erbar "radt"<sup>a</sup> ock alle und gemene borger und inwaner der stadt Lubeck vor sick und syne erven van allen baven geschrevenen entfangenen vorsunckenen und genamen guder und portzele ock van allen, wes he noch missede, ock van trost, schad und therynge, wynst und interesse deger und alle quidt, leddich, los und fry van alle thosprake quiteret und vorlaten und alles rechten renuntieret etc. Ock geswaren eyn witlich eth vor sick und syne erven,

darumme nummer to spreckende offte manende etc., also dat eyn erbar radt und de stadt Lubeck scal myt eyner betalynge quidt, fry, leddich und los wesen.

Nach lude eyns apenbaren instrumentes daraver gemaket dar sodans wyder ist anne vorhalt, ane geferde und argelyst.

Ita est ut supra, quod ego Michael Petri publicus apostolica et imperiali auctoritatibus notarius ad premissa requisitus manu propria attestor.

[II] Martinus de Federigo

Am dem sulvigen jar 1534 in der sevenden indiction donnerdages des twolfften des mānts Martii hebbe de erbaren und hochwyse heren her Clawes Bardewick und her Hermen Schute rathmanne to Lubeck dartho vorordenthe dem velegedachten Anthonio Oberomiza vor my apenbar notario und undergeschrevenen thugen dartho geeschet und gebeden alse eynem warhafftygen und ungetwyfelden procurator und bevelhebber des erhafftigen mannes Martini de Federigo Venedieschen kopmanns syns principals vorrekt avergelevert und averanthwordet eyne packe syden gemarket aldus [*merchant's mark no. 1 in the left margin*] und welcke packe dem gnanten Martino de Federigo tobehort und welcke de obgenanten Anthonius Oberomiza van synent wegen myt danckbarkeit hefft wedder entfangen und den vorgemelten erbar radt, alle und gemene borger und inwaner und gantz keyserlike stadt Lubeck darvan genslich vorlaten und quitiret. Ock in synes principales sele geswaren, dar nummer wyder umme to spreckende, also dat de erbar radt und stadt Lubeck mydt eyner averleverynge quid, fry, leddich und los wesen scholde und alles rechtes van synes hovetmans wegen und aller syner erven vorthygelt und renunciert ludes eynes<sup>c</sup> apenbaren instrumentes daraver gemaket, wor sodans is, inne wyder vorhalt und vorbreydet alles ane geferde und argelist. Dusse packe syden is ock in schipper Adrian Johansen hoyge geschepet gewesen.

Gescheen tho Lubeck nach des edes swerynge upper canzellarie und des packen entfanginge in Hinrick Cordes huse in bywesende und gegenwordicheit der erhafftygen manner Laurens Willmes, Herman Moller und Gert Falcken besetenen borgers to Lubeck alse thugen hyrto intsunderge<sup>d</sup> sampt und besunderen geescheet und geboden.

Ita est ut supra, quod ego Michael Petri publicus sacris apostolica et imperiali auctoritatibus notarius ad premissa requisitus manu propria attestor.

[III] Richgardus Plunthon

Am jar 1534 in der soveden indiction midtwekens des ersten dages des māntes Aprylis [*1 Apr. 1534*] hebbe de erbare, vorsichtigen und wyse heren her Hermen Schute und Gotke Engelstede rathmanne to Lubeck uth bovele des erbaren rades darsulvest to Lubeck und in mynes apentliken notarien und undergeschrevenenen thugen hyrto sunderlix geeschet und gebeden gegenwordicheit dem erhafftygen manne Richgart Plunthon uth Engellandt und des gemenen kopmans darsulvest, so he sede, secretarius und alse eyn fulmechtyger dusser nabeschrevenen guder und portzele to entfangende gemechtigett umme reverentia, gnade und gunst des durchluchtigesten, grothmechtigesten, hochgebornen fursten und heren heren

Hinrickes coningen to Engellandt etc. avergelevert, vorreket und wedder averanthwordtet, welcker ock forth de obgenanten Richgart Plunthon alse eyn fulmechtiger und bevelhebber des kopmans in Engelandt in syne were wedder hefft angenamen und entfangen. Dusse nabeschreven guder und portzele weren dorch der Lupeschen vorordenthen in dem Hollander cryge in vorgangen jar upper apenbar see, idoch buten des erbaren rades tho Lubeck bevele angenamen und sint in schipper Adrian Johansen hoyge geschepet geweset.

Ita est ut supra, [quod ego] Michael Petri notarius ad premissa requisitus manu propria scripsit.

De obgenanten vorordenthen heren des rades alhyr to desser wedderleverynge sint bereith und erbodich gewesen, alse dusse nabeschrevenen packen Richgart Plunthon, so he dar wan to hebben mochte, to apenen etc., welcker Richgart tor noge wedder entfangen hefft und ane apenyng darmit wol gef[r]edigeet gewesett.

Ita est, [quod] ego idem Michael Petri, qui supra notarius ad premissa requisitus attestor manu propria.

[1.] Thom ersten eyn grote packe hebben se Richgart Plunthon geleveret und welcker he van den obgenanten heren entfangen hefft. Dar was inne 58 stücke sagen gemarket aldus [*merchant's mark no. 2 in the left margin*] und kostet £96 1s Vlames und hort to Johan Westborre.

[2.] Item so hebben noch de heren Richgart Plunthon geleveret und welck he entfangen hefft 1 grote packe arsch darinne 70 stücke. Kosten in all £136 5s Vlams aldus gemarket [*merchant's mark no. 3 in the left margin*] und hort to Rubbert Meredi.

[3.] Item noch Richgart geleveret und welcker he entfangen hefft eyn groth droge cramfaet. Dar weren inne vele clene porzele gemarket aldus [*merchant's mark no. 4 in the left margin*] und hort to Johan Eduwarth und staen to samende £39 Vlames.

[4.] Item noch hebben se Richgart geleveret und welcke he entfangen hefft eyne clene kyste. Dar was inne 16 bunt sipperkost. Hort to Johan Gerholt. Gemarket aldus [*merchant's mark no. 5 in the left margin*] und staet £54 sterlynges.

[5.] Noch hefft Richgart entfangen 2 packen. Hyrinne 4 balen sardokes. Horen to Richgart Wilsun. Gemarket aldus [*merchant's mark no. 6 in the left margin*] und staen £86 Vlames.

[6.] Item noch hefft Richgart entfangen, welcker em de heren geleveret hebben, eyn bale. Dar was inne 38 stücke sagen und hort to Johan Practor gemarket aldus [*merchant's mark no. 7 in the left margin*]. Kostet myt allem ungelde £62 19s 4d Vlames.

[7.] Item noch hebben de heren Richgart Plunthon geleveret und welcker he entfangen hefft eyn packe. Hort to Hinrick Augustyn, darinne 68 stücke Hollandesch louwent gemarket aldus [*merchant's mark no. 8 in the left margin*]. Kostet £89 15s 2d Vlames.

[8.] Item noch hefft Richgart van den obgnanten heren entfangen eyn bale. Hort to Wilhelm Lock. Dar was inne 65 stücke kammelottes, darunder 50 tannete und 15 swarte, gemarket aldus [*merchant's mark no. 9 in the left margin*] und kosten £84 10s.

[9.] Item noch em avergelevert 2 clene tunnen stors gemarket aldus [*merchant's mark no. 10 in the left margin*]. Horen to Wilhelm Colsen. Kosten £6 Vlames.

[10.] Item noch hebben de heren Richgart Plunthon wedder avergelevert 3 clene tunne stors. Horen to Wilhelm Grosshen van twygerleyge marke vormarket aldus [*merchant's mark no. 11 and 11a in the left margin*].

[11.] Item noch hefft Richgart van den heren entfangen 2 ruge bslagene kysten van ledder. Darinne etlike cleider und breve. Wert to samende geschattet up £30 sterlinges. Ungemarket. Horen to Anthonio Serene.

[12.] Item noch hebben de heren Richgart Plunthon wedder geleverd 2 swarte bslagene kysten. Und ward geapent und fulgefunden, so se naesen scholden, also dat Richgart se to fuller noge wedder entfangen hefft. Und horden tho Rubbert Laurens van Lunden. Und dar by geleverd 2 myssenge emmer. Duth to hope geschattet ungeferlich up £17 grote und 7s 8d Vlames. Gemarket aldus [*merchant's marks no. 12 and 13 in the left margin*].

[13.] Item noch hefft Rechgart Plunthon van den heren wedder entfangen, und welcker em geleverd is, 4 secke pepers gemarket aldus [*merchant's mark no. 14 in the left margin*] und welcker hort und geschepet hefft Richgart Außborne und hebben gewagen 891 punt. Dat punt kostet 2s 3d Vlames. Is £100 2s 3d Vlames.

[14.] Item noch hebben de heren Richgart wedder geleverd und voranthwordet eyn sack garns, welcker tohort und geschepet hefft Hinrick Beger. Dusse sacke hefft gewugen 530 punt. Dat punt kostet 9d Vlames und is vormarket aldus [*merchant's mark no. 15 in the left margin*]. Summa is to hope £19 17s 5d Vlames.

[15.] Item noch hefft Richgart van den heren entfangen, und welcker em geleverd is, eyn bale pepers, darinne 3 secke pepers. Wagen in all 751 punt, 12 untzen und hort Nicolaus Tisborne und was gemarket aldus [*merchant's mark no. 16 in the left margin*].

[16.] Item noch hebben de heren Richgart Plunthon wedder avergelevert, und welckes he entfangen hefft, eyn halve tunne bereven myt kannefast, welcker tobhort und geschepet hefft Eduwartus Mortson, gemarket aldus [*merchant's mark no. 17 in the left margin*] und hyr was inne 42½ punt muscaten blomen.

[17.] Item noch hebben de heren Richgart Plunthon geleverd eyn kleyn packschen myt knechte clederen gemarket aldus [*merchant's mark no. 18 in the left margin*] und welcker he entfangen hefft.

[18.] Item noch hebben de heren Richgart geleverd und voranthwordet 3 secke hennepes gemarket aldus [*merchant's mark no. 19 in the left margin*], de thohort und schepet hefft Rubbert Reyneholt. Item em ock darby geleverd 5 bunt ketelhenge ofte ketelbande.

[19.] Item noch hebben se Richgart geleverd und voranthwordet 4 halve balen Olmer sardock, de horen to Wilhelm Bateman, gemarket aldus [*merchant's mark no. 20 in the left margin*] und in idelyker bale 25 halve stücke. Summa £51 Vlames.

[20.] Item noch hefft Richgart van den heren entfangen, welcker se em geleverd hebben, und dat thohort und geschepet hefft Wilhelm Meri eyn sack cannels wecht 36 punt. Kostet etlick punt 6s 4d. Geslagen in 2 swarte rocke van frese gemaket. Kostet 12s grote und was in eyner tunnen ungemarket.

[21.] Item noch hefft Richgart Plunthon van den heren wedder entfangen, und welck se em geleverd hebben, 7 stücke kannefast und 1 clene tunne garne. Item eyn cleyne bundel myt roth steen und eyn cleyne sack myt bladen, welcker tohort Rubbert Den, gemarket aldus [*merchant's mark no. 21 in the left margin*].

[22.] Item de heren hebben Richgart noch geleverd, welck he entfangen hefft, eyn groth droge cramfaet. Darinne was cramwerck, welcker tohort und geschepet hefft Thomas

Dystfelt. Vormerket aldus [*merchant's mark no. 22 in the left margin*]. Und kostet in all £89 8d Flames.

[23.] Item noch hefft Richgart van den heren entfangen eynen ledderen watsack myt clederen ungemarket und hort tho Raff Warynthun.

[24.] Item noch hebben de heren Richgart Plunthon avergelevert und voranthwordet eyen pascheens, darinne dre bunt sickelthun, eyn grote Vlamesche deken. Item elck foder. Item eyn roden frouwen rock. Duth alle hort to der fruwen Thomas Bruns.

[25.] Item noch hefft Richgart van den heren entfangen eyn mans rock. Hort to Augustin Hindt.

[26.] Item noch hefft Richgart Plunthon van den heren entfangen eyn bedde, twe kysten und eyn conferken. Hort ock to dersulvigen fruwen Thomas Bruns.

[27.] Item noch hebben de heren Richgart averanthwordet, gelevet und welck he entfangen hefft 2 stücke lowwent, 2 stuck garne gemarket aldus [*merchant's mark no. 23 in the left margin*]. Und hort to Johan Martins fruwe.

[28.] Item noch hefft Richgart van den heren entfangen, und welck em gelevet is, eyn groth droge cramfaet gemarket aldus [*merchant's mark no. 24 in the left margin*], und dar was inne cramerrye und hort to Johan Pappham.

[29.] Item noch ist Richgart van den heren averanthwordet und wedder gelevet 3 bundelken syden gemarket aldus [*merchant's mark no. 25 in the left margin*] und kosten £13 sterlinges. Hort to Maryn Capella.

[30.] Item noch hebben de heren Richgart Plunthon vorrekett und wedder gelevet 36 hode suckers. Horen to Nicolaus Tysborne. Gemarket aldus [*merchant's mark no. 26 in the left margin*].

Hiran und aver sint jegenwordich gewesen de ersame und vorsichtyge manne Hinrick Warmbake und Jasper van Dalen bosetene borgers to Lubeck thuge hyrto sunderlix geescheet und gebeden.

Ita est ut supra, quod ego Michael Petri publicus apostolica et imperiali auctoritatibus notarius attestor manu propria.

Dusse vorgeschrevene gudere und portzele hefft vele gedachte Richgart Plunton vortekent und besworen und wo billich darvan den erbar radt to Lubeck und alle de jenen, de des to donde hebben, deger und alle vorlaten und quitiret, wo wyder in eynen apenbar instrumenth daraver gemaket, vorbreydet und vorhalt is alles ane geferde und argelist.

Ita est ut supra, [quod] idem Michael notarius qui supra manu propria scripsit.

#### IV

Item noch so hefft vele dedachte Richgart Plunton van her Thyle Thegetmeyger rathmanne to Lubeck uth bovele des erbaren rades to Lubeck wedder entfangen und welcker em gelevet is.

[1.] Item int erste eyn grôot fat myt boem olye und noch 3 pypen olyes, de de thohoren Wilhelm Cassellen, gemarket aldus [*merchant's mark no. 27 in the left margin*].

[2.] Item noch hefft Richgart van obgnannten <sup>a</sup>her<sup>a</sup> Thylen entfangen 15 clene tunne rap olye und 3 secke hoppen gemarket aldus [*merchant's mark no. 28 in the left margin*] und horen to Hamont Hammetrottes van Lunden.

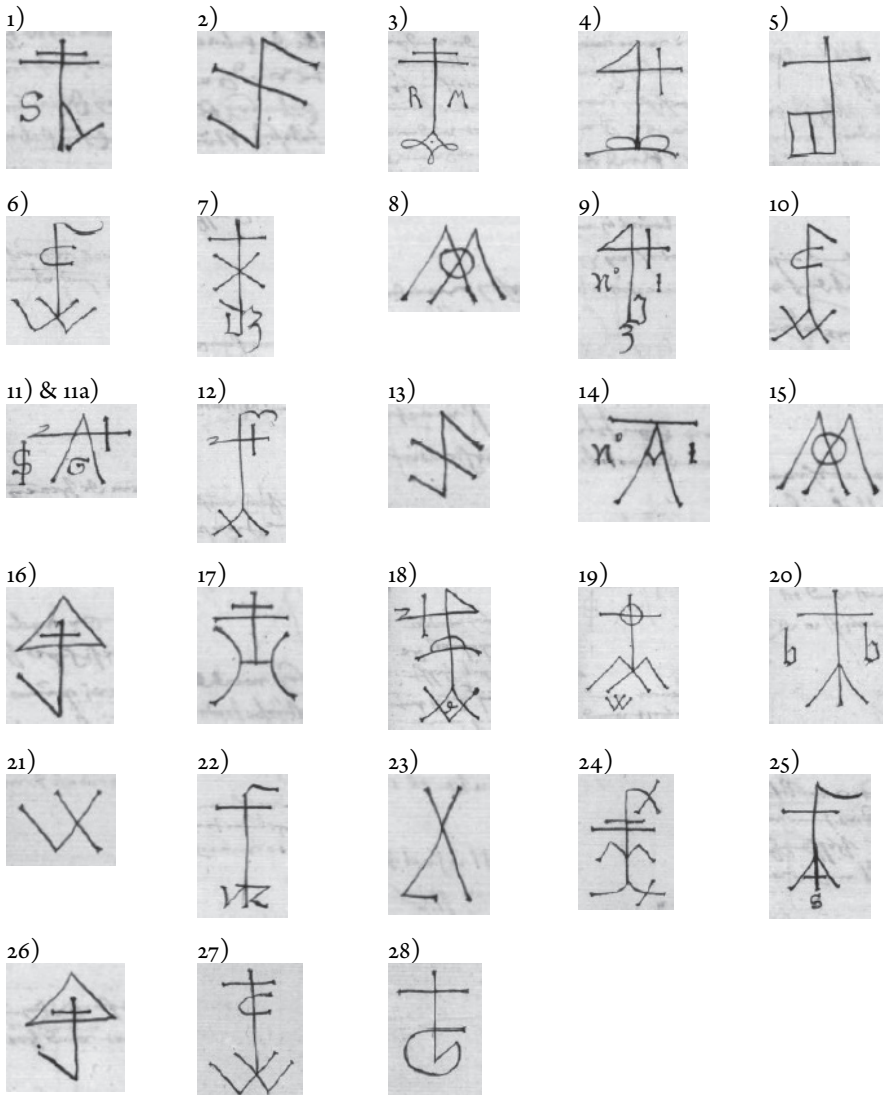
Item hyr van hefft ock Richgart Plunthon den erbar radt to Lubeck deger und alle vorlaten und vor my apenbar notario quitiret etc.

Item duch gudt is geschepet gewesen in schipper Johan Wilmessen schipp.

Ita est ut supra, [quod] Michael Petri notarius manu propria scripsit.

<sup>a-a</sup> *Interlined HL.* <sup>b</sup> *Corrected in HL from na.* <sup>c</sup> *erbaren rades follows, struck through HL.* <sup>d</sup> *Corrected in HL from int insunderge.*

*The following merchants' marks occurrences in the source refer to the same symbol: (2, 13), (8, 15), (16, 26).*



## IV: Goods taken from Venetian merchants in the ship of Adrian Johnson (19 Aug. 1533)

[52.] *Martin de Federigo, merchant of Venice, names Anthonio Ob[e]romiza, merchant of Venice, as his plenipotentiary for the recovery of goods taken from the ship of Adrian Johnson by Lübeck privateers (notarial instrument). — 1533/34 Feb. 3. London.*

*HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, no. 23, f. 15<sup>r</sup>-16<sup>r</sup>. (original classification by Dreyer: Acta Anglicana, Appendix 2; later reclassified as ASA, Externa Anglicana no. 1606). Paper booklet bound in a notarial instrument drawn up by Michael Petri in 1525, indictione tercia, Monday 23 ... Contemporaneous copy of the notarial instrument drawn up by the notary Edward Barbour. Unsealed.<sup>46</sup>*

### Copia constitutionis Martini de Federigo

In Dei nomine amen. Per hoc presens publicum instrumentum cunctis evidenter appareat, quod anno Domini ab incarnatione secundum cursum et computationem ecclesie Anglicane millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo tercio,<sup>47</sup> indictione septima, pontificatus vero sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri domini Clementis divina providente pape Septimi anno undecimo, mensis <sup>a</sup>vero<sup>a</sup> Februarii, die tercia infra domum habitationis mei notarii publici subscripti situate in vico publico de Lombardestrete in parochia Beate Marie Wolnoth civitatis London' in meique ejusdem notarii et testium infrascriptorum presentia personaliter constitutus egregius vir Martinus de Frederigo mercator de Venetiis sponte et sui certa scientia omnibus viis, modo, jure, causa et forma, quibus magis melius et efficacius potuit et potest, fecit, constituit, creavit, nominavit et solemniter ordinavit ac presentis publici instrumenti tenore facit, constituit, creat, nominat et ordinat discretum virum Anthonium Obromiza mercatorem etiam de Venetiis, licet absentem, sed tamquam presentem suum verum, legitimum et indubitatum procuratorem, actorem, factorem et negotiorum suorum gestorem ac nuntium specialem, videlicet specialiter et expresse pro dicto domino constituyente et ejus vice ac nomine petendum, exigendum, levandum, recuperandum et recipiendum ac recepisse et habuisse confitendum in judicio et extra iudicium de omnibus et singulis personis quibuscumque, quarum interest, intererit aut interesse poterit quomodolibet in futurum, quamdam balam bissi crudi vocate Talanna ponderantem centum sexaginta et quatuor libras ponderis Anglie ad rationem sexdecim unciarum pro libra vel marca cum signo in margine presentis publici instrumenti ostendito signatam cum numero<sup>b</sup> ac etiam parvum ferdellum cum duobus duodenis manutegiorum valoris in totum librarum septuaginta sterlingorum vel circa, que nuper violenter capta fuerunt in mare per Lubicenses maris piratos in costeris Anglie in quadam schuta ville

<sup>46</sup> Note that in this piece, the letter 'u' is occasionally signalled by a superscribed double accent aigue (û) or an inverted breve or two dots (ü) in order to distinguish it from two minims. Since this has no effect on the pronunciation of the word, these are all transcribed as 'u'.

<sup>47</sup> The English church used the Annunciation Style in dating, which meant that the new year began on Annunciation Day, 25 March, after our New Year.



Antwerpie, unde erat magister Adrianus Johansen, ipsasque personas captas sive detentas predictae bale bissi crudi ac manutergiorum ad hujusmodi consignationem et deliberationem vel ad condignam satisfactionem pro eisdem, cum omnibus et singulis dampnis, expensis, amissis et interesse quibuscumque ea occasione habitis, factis et sustentatis ac habendis, fiendis et sustinendis per personas suarum mancipationem et incarcerationem bonorum suorum arrestationem, venditionem et distractionem etiam per censuras ecclesiasticas et per omnem alium compulsionem modum debitum et opportunum compellendum et compelli requirendum et desuper cum predictis personis et cum earum qualibet vel aliqua ratione premissorum, si eidem procuratori visum fuerit, ad tractandum, componendum, concordandum, transigendum et compromittendum de receptis habitis et recuperatione ac super fine et concordia quacumque in ea parte quitandum, liberandum, finiendum et absolvendum et litteras quietanciarum, finis et absolutionis dandum, faciendum et porrigendum cum pacto de aliquid amplius exinde inperpetuum non petendum saisimenta, sequestrationem, proclamationem precepta bannia detentum et arresta tam personarum quam bonorum, si necesse fuerit fieri, faciendum et causandum atque cum tempus fuerit relaxari, tolli et remitti mandandum et pro premissis et infrascriptis, si opus fuerit, coram quibuscumque dominis, admirallis, majoribus, ballivis, vicecomitibus, officialibus, auditoribus, juratis, iudicibus, legislatoribus, locatenentibus ceterisque iudicibus et iusticie ministris tam ecclesiasticis quam secularibus quarumque auctoritate sive iurisdictione fungentibus et quorumque nomine censeantur in iudicio et extra iudicium comparendum, respondendum, agendum et defendendum libellum seu libellos et quascumque petitiones oretenus vel in scriptis dandum, faciendum et offerendum, oblati et producti exadverso respondendum, conveniendum, reconveniendum, excipiendum et replicandum litem et lites contestandum de calumpnia et veritate<sup>c</sup> dicenda tam in animam quam super animam dicti constituentis iurandum, ponendum et articulandum, positionibus et articulis parti adverse respondendum, testes iurare videndum, testes, litteras<sup>d</sup> et alia quolibet munimenta producendum in testis et alia contra eos producta dicandum crimina et defectus opponendum, summaciones, insinuationem, denunciationem protestandum et requestis faciendum in causa et causis, concludendum iudicis officium implorandum, jus interlocutorias et diffinitivas suas audiendum et ab ea vel eis et a quolibet gravamine appellandum et provocandum, provocaciones et appellationes spirituales prosequendum et insinuandum et juris, si libuerit, renunciandum, apostolicam instanciam ac expensis litis petendum et obtinendum et luxari requirendum et super illis iurandum et ad substituendum loco suo semel et pluries unum seu plures procuratorem seu procuratores, qui consimilem vel minorem habeat seu habeant auctoritatem et potestatem ac eum vel eos sic substitutum vel substitutos revocandum, cassandum et destituendum ac eo seu eis sic revocato vel revocatos negotium presentis procuratorii in se reassumendum presenti mandato<sup>b</sup> in suo robore duraturo necnon ad omnia alia et singula instandum, faciendum, procurandum et exercendum, que in premissis omnibus et singulis et ab eis dependentibus, emergentibus, contingentibus, assessoriiis, annexis et connexis fuerint necessaria et omnimet opportuna et que juris ordo et earum merita postulant et requirunt et que dictus constituens facere posset exequi et adimplere, si presens rebus adesset, etiam si talia forent, que mandatis de jure usu stylo aut consuetudine locis exigerent magis speciale, dans et concedens predictus constituens prefato suo procuratori ac substituto vel substituendo ab eo in premissis omnibus et singulis et ab eis dependentia supra plenum, amplium, largum, liberum et

generale mandatum cum plena, ampla, larga, libera et generali administratione, potestate et bailia, promittens dictus constituens mihi notario publico infrascripto tamquam persone publice officio publico stipulans et recipiens vice et nomine omnium et singulorum, quorum interest, intererit aut interesse poterit quomodolibet in futurum se perpetuo ac omni tempore <sup>e</sup>habiturum<sup>e</sup>, observaturum, ratum, gratum, validum et firmum omne idt et totum quicquid et quantum per dictum suum procuratorem et quemcumque et quoscumque ab eo substituendum vel substituendos in premissis omnibus et singulis et ab eis dependentibus ut supra actum, gestum seu quomodolibet fuerit procuratum sub ypotheca et obligatione omnium et singulorum bonorum suorum presentium et futurorum. Et volens dictum suum procuratorem et quemcumque et quoscumque ab eo substituendum vel substituendos relevare ab omni onere satisfaciendi promisit et solemniter convenit mihi dicto et infrascripto notario, quo supra, nomine scripti <sup>a</sup>et<sup>a</sup> <sup>f</sup>stipulari<sup>f</sup> de iudicio sisti et iudicatum solvendum cum omnibus suis clausis, nisi fuerint pronotus, supra quibus premissis omnibus et singulis sic actis predictus constituens petiit et instanter requisivit sibi fieri et tradi instrumentum publicum unum vel plura per me notarium subscriptum.

Acta fuerunt hec London<sup>i</sup>, prout supra scribuntur et recitantur, presentibus tunc ibidem prudentibus viris Johanne Anthonio Negro et Hieronimo de Mezi mercatore de Venetiis testibus ad premissa vocatis specialiter et rogatis.

Et quia ego Edwardus Barbour clericus, civis civitatis Londen<sup>i</sup>, publicus sacra apostolica auctoritate notarius prefati, procuratori, constitutioni, ordinationi, potestas dationi, necnon ceteris premissis omnibus et singulis, dum sic, ut premittitur, agerentur et fierent, unacum prenominationis testibus presens personaliter interfui eaque sic fieri vidi et audivi, igitur hoc instrumentum me aliunde expedito per alium scribi feci, signoque et nominibus meis solitis et consuetis signavi, rogatus et requisitus. Et constat mihi dicto notario de rasura horum verborum ac manutergione ad hujusmodi in decima septima linea que apperto vitium scriptoris.

<sup>a-a</sup> Interlined HL. <sup>b</sup> One word, struck through and illegible, follows HL. <sup>c</sup> veritate HL. <sup>d</sup> Corrected in L from oras. <sup>e-e</sup> Entered in the margin with catchmark HL. <sup>f-f</sup> Interlined HL. scripti follows, struck through.

[53.] Notarial certification in London (from the mayor) that an attached notarial instrument (designation of attorney by Martin de Federigo, no. 52 above) is genuine. — 1533/34 Feb. 4. London.

HL AHL ASA, *Externa Anglicana* 476, no. 23, f. 16<sup>v</sup>. (original classification by Dreyer: *Acta Anglicana*, Appendix 2; reclassified as ASA, *Externa Anglicana* no. 1606). Paper booklet bound in a notarial instrument drawn up by Michael Petri in 1525, *indictione tercia*, Monday 23 ... *Contemporaneous copy* (certified as accurate by the notary Michael Petri). Unsealed.<sup>48</sup>

48 Note that in this piece, the letter 'u' is occasionally signalled by a superscribed double accent aigue (û) or a breve (ü) or two dots (ü) in order to distinguish it from two minims. Since this has no effect on the pronunciation of the word, these are all transcribed as 'u'.

## Littera legalitatis hujusmodi instrumenti

Universis et singulis sancte matris ecclesie filiis presentes litteras visuris, lecturis vel auditoris Christoferus Ascue miles, major et aldermannus civitatis London' in inclito Anglie regno salutem in Domino sempiternam. Quia quem morum exornat probitus et conversatio illustrat aliave in vite merita laudabiliter suffraguntur approbare, debemus et de eo veritate testimonium prohibere veluti tenemur, ut in suis negotiis verabiliter peragendis et fides adhibentur creditiva et errores cujuscumque causa penitus extirpetur<sup>a</sup>, hinc est, quod universitati vestre tenore presentium innotessimus, quomodo dilectus convicinus noster Eduwardus Barboure clericus Londonensis diocesis civisque civitatis Londen' publicus sacra apostolica auctoritate notarius, qui quoddam instrumentum presentibus annexum [No. 52] manu propria scripsit, publicavit et in publicam formam redegit ac signo et nomine suis solitis et consuetis signavit, est publica auctoritate apostolica notarius, qui inter nos artem<sup>b</sup>, offitium et facultatem tabellionatus de diu fideliter exercuit et pro presenti exercet et ad quem tamquam ad personam publicam et auctenticam pro quibuscumque negotiis hominum conscribendum et instrumenta conficiendum indies reveritur per quoscumque ejusque scriptura et instrumenta tam in juditio quam extra judicium adhibetur et adhiberi consuevit ab omnibus plena fides. Quocirca universitatem vestram attente requirimus et rogamus, quatinus instrumento predicto presenti, ut predicitur, annexum ubique locorum monstratur vel monstrandum fidem velitis credulam adhibere.

Scripto London' predicto sub sigillo offitii nostri majoratis civitatis predictae quarto die 'mensis' Februarii anno domini secundum cursum et computationem ecclesie Anglicane millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo tercio<sup>49</sup> annoque regni Hinrici Octavi Dei gracia Anglie et Francie regis, fidei defensoris et domini Hibernie vicesimo quinto.

Ausculate et collocionate sunt presentes bine copie per me Michaellem Petri clericum Szwerinensis diocesis publicum sacris apostolica et imperiali auctoritatibus notarium et cum eorum veris originalibus concordant teste manu propria.

<sup>a</sup> *Corrected in HL from extipetur.* <sup>b</sup> *suum follows, struck through HL.* <sup>c</sup> *Marginated with catchmark HL.*

[54.] *Quitclaim of Anthonius Oberomiza, merchant of Venice, for his own goods taken in the capture of the ship of Adrian Johnson. — 1534 Mar. 12. Lübeck.*

*HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, no. 23, f. 12<sup>r</sup>-13<sup>r</sup>. (original classification by Dreyer: Acta Anglicana, Appendix 2; reclassified as ASA, Externa Anglicana no. 1606). Paper booklet bound in a notarial instrument drawn up by Michael Petri in 1525, indictione tercia, Monday 23 ... Contemporaneous copy (certified as accurate by the notary Michael Petri). Unsealed.<sup>50</sup>*

49 The English church used the Annunciation Style in dating, which meant that the new year began on Annunciation Day, 25 March.

50 Note that in this piece, the letter 'u' is occasionally signalled by a superscribed double accent aigue (û) or a breve (ũ) in order to distinguish it from two minims. Since this has no effect on the pronunciation of the word, these are all transcribed as 'u'.

## Anthonius Oberomiza

Am jar 1534, indiction 7, donnerdages des twolfften des mântes Martii hebben de erbare und hochwyse heren her Clawes Bardewick und her Hermen Schute rathmanne to Lubeck und uth bovele des erbaren rades darsulvest to Lubeck und vor my apenbar notario und underghescrevenen thuges hyrto sunderlix gebaden und <sup>a</sup>geeschett<sup>a</sup> jegenwordicheit: dem erhafftigen manne Anthonio Oberomiza, Venetianer, to Lunden in Engellandt wanende, alse eynem hovetmanne to em sulvest horende dusser nagescrevene guder und portzele nicht uth plicht, sunder uth gunst und umme reverencie und gundt konnichlicher werde van Engelant mildichlichen weddar gegeven, vorrekett und avergelevert und welcker de obgenannte Anthonius uth sulcker averleverynge hefft myth danckbarkeit wedder entfangen, de ock specificert und designeret und dar beneffens stavedes edes to Gude und synen hilligen geswaren, dat dusse nageschreven portzele to em sulvest und susten nenem Hollander, Brabander offt Zelander tobehoren und dat ock nemant van den dar deel offte anpart ane hebben nach lude eynes apenbaren instrumentes dar wyder avergemakett etc. Und dusse portzele sint in schipper Adrian Johanßen hoyge gescheper gewesen und weren in schyrst vorgangen sommer dorch der Lupeschen uthligger tegenst de Hollander upper apenbar see, ydoch buten des erbaren rades to Lubeck bovele und consentt angenamen.

Actum Lubeck und darsulvest dhoen Anthonius den edt dede up der cancellaria und tho averleverynge und wedder entfanginge der portzele in Hinrick Cordes borgers to Lubeck huße in jegenwordicheit der ersamen manner Laurens Wilmers, Hermen Mollers und Gerth Falcken besetene borgers to Lubeck alse thugen hirto sampt und bsunderges geeschett und gebeden.

Ita est ut supra, quod ego Michael Petri publicus apostolica et imperiali auctoritatibus notarius ad premissa requisitus attestor manu propria.

Item dusse nagescreven portzele hebben de gnannten heren Anthonio Oberomiza averanthwordett und welcker he entfangen.

Negen dossyne stenene potte  
 6 dossyne tynnene potte und 9 pottes  
 Item 5 dossin klokken und 5 klokken  
 Item 10 spegel  
 Item eyn bilde offte hillige  
 Item 8 schottelen  
 Item 10 luchter  
 Item 6 naschen myt swyne bosten  
 Item 4 marck cyrkel und 4 cirkel  
 Item 26 hamer  
 Item 8 tangen  
 Item desse vorgeschreven portzele weren in eynem grote korve

De wyle denne de sulvige Hollandesche hoyge dar des vorgeschreven Anthonius <sup>b</sup>gudt<sup>b</sup> is in gescheper gewesen, is gesuncken und susten vorsweket, also dat sick desulvige Anthonius beclagede, dat he noch summige guder und portzele, welcker em weren vorsuncken offt dorch der Lupeschen crygeslude affhendich gemakett, noch missede etc., so hefft doch

darna de<sup>c</sup> erbar rath to Lubeck uth besundeger woldaet sick to fullenkamen ende genslich deger und alle mit dem obgenannten Anthonio aller guder und portzele halven, de em vorsuncken offte affhendich gemaket weren und he noch missede, gудtlick vor eyn gnanten summe geldes, welcker he van her Gotken Engelsteden und her Albert Clever rathmanne to Lubeck dartho vorordenen<sup>d</sup> up eynen dach und eidt vor my apenbar notario und thugen dartho int sunderge geescheett thor noge in getelledem gelde wal und wol entfangen hefft und hefft doen fort den vorbenomeden erbar radt ock alle und gemene borger und inwoner der stadt Lubeck vor sick und syne erven van allen bavengeschreven entfangenen, vorsunckenen und genammenen guder und portzele, ock van allen, wes he noch missede, ock van kost, scaden, therynge, wynst und interesse deger und alle quidt, leddich, los und fry und aller thosprake quiteret und vorlaten und alles rechten renunctiret etc. Ock geswaren eyn witlick eydt vor sick und sine erven daromme, nummer tho sprekende offte manende etc., also dat eyn erbar radt und de stadt Lubeck <sup>b</sup>sint<sup>b</sup> myth eyner betalynge quidt, fry, leddich und los wesen nach luden eynes apenbaren instrumentes daraver gemakett dar sodans is inne alle vorhalt und vorbreydet ane geferde und argelist.

Ita est ut supra, quod ego Michael Petri publicus apostolica et imperiali auctoritatibus notarius ad premissa requisitus manu propria attestor.

<sup>a-a</sup> Entered in the left margin with catchmark HL. <sup>b-b</sup> Interlined HL. <sup>c</sup> Corrected in HL from der. <sup>d</sup> Corrected in HL from vorordenten.

[55.] *Quitclaim of Anthonius Oberomiza in the name of his principal Martin de Federigo, merchant of Venice resident in London, for de Federigo's goods taken in the capture of the ship of Adrian Johnson. — 1534 Mar. 12. Lübeck.*

HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, no. 23, f. 13<sup>v</sup>. (original classification by Dreyer: Acta Anglicana, Appendix 2; later reclassified as ASA, Externa Anglicana no. 1606). Paper booklet bound in a notarial instrument drawn up by Michael Petri in 1525, indictione tercia, Monday 23 ... Contemporaneous copy (certified as accurate by the notary Michael Petri). Unsealed.<sup>51</sup>

### Martinus Federygo

Am dem sulvigen jar 1534, in der soveden indiction, donnerdages des twolfften des māntes Martii hebben de erbarne und hochwysse heren her Clawes Bardewick und her Hermen Schute rathmanne to Lubeck darto vorordenthe dem vele gedachten Anthonio Oberomiza vor my openbar notario und undergeschrevenen thugen dartho geeschet und gebeden, alse eynem warhafftygen und ungetwyfelden procurator und bevelhebber des erhafftygen mannes Martini de Federygo Venedieschem kopmans syns principals vorreket, avergelevert und averanthwordett eyne packe syden gemarkett aldus [*merchant's mark no. 1 in the left margin*] und welcke packe dem genannten Martino de Federigo tobehort und welck de obgenannte Anthonius Obezomiza van synent wegen mit danckbarkeit hefft wedder entfangen und den vorgemelten erbar radt, alle und gemene borger und

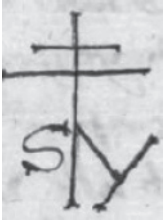
51 Note that in this piece, the letter 'u' is occasionally signalled by a superscribed double accent aigue (û) or an inverted breve in order to distinguish it from two minims. Since this has no effect on the pronunciation of the word, these are all transcribed as 'u'.

inwaner und gantz keyserlike stadt Lubeck darvan genslich vorlaten und quiteret. Ock in synes principals sele geswaren, dar nimmer wider umme to sprekende, also dat de erbar radt und stadt Lubeck myt eyner averleverynge quidt, fry, leddich und loß wesen schal und alles rechten van synes hovetmannes wegen und aller syner erven vorthygett und renunctieret ludes eynes apenbaren instrumentes daraver gemaket, wor sodans is inne wider vorhalt und vorbreydet, alles ane geferde und argelyst. Dusse packe syden is ock in schipper Adrian Johanßen hoyge geschepet gewesen.

Gescheen to Lubeck nach des edes sweryng upper cantzellarye und des packen entfanginge in Hinrick Cordes huße in bywesende und jegenwordigheit der erhafftygen manner Laurens Wilmes, Herman Moller und Ghert Falcken bosetenen borgers to Lubeck alße tugen int sunderge hyrto geescheett und gebeden sampt und bsunder.

Ita est ut supra, quod ego Michael Petri publicus sacris apostolica et imperiali auctoritatibus notarius ad premissa requisitus manu propria attestor.

1)



*Editor's note: The following two documents are in terms of their content identical. However, there are some discrepancies, notably the fact that the copy (no. 57) claims that the notary, Michael Petri, wrote the instrument with his own hand, whereas the original (no. 56), states that he – distracted by other business – had the original written by someone else. It therefore seems justified to publish both texts in full.*

[56.] On 31 Mar. 1534 the notary Michael Petri drew up a notarial instrument regarding events which took place in August 1533 at the time of the war between Lübeck and Holland, at which time goods were taken from the *hoya* of Adrian Johansen of Antwerp by milites stipendiarios of Lübeck on the high seas without the permission or mandate of the Lübeck council. Afterwards, the goods were brought to Lübeck. The Lübeck council, seeking only the good of all merchants, took the goods into its safekeeping, had the bundles opened up in the presence of the councillors Godehard Engelstede and Albert Clever in the upper story of the town hall in the presence of the said notary and of Anthonius Overomiza, a Venetian merchant resident in London in England, who claimed a number of goods as his property, in addition to a bale of *bissi crudi Talama* weighing 164 English lb. at 16 ounces to the pound, which was the property of his principal Martin de Federigo, also a Venetian merchant, which he had entrusted to Anthonius and which he had loaded onto the said *hoya*. Earlier, on 12 March [1534], Nicolas Bardewick and Hermann Schute, Lübeck councillors especially deputized by the council, out of reverence for the English king Henry [VIII], had inventoried and then turned over these goods, which had been taken off the coast of England by milites stipendiarii of Lübeck the previous year, to

*Oberomiza, who had been deputized by Federigo to receive his property [No. 52 supra], namely the bale of silk and 9 dozen stoneware pots, 6 dozen and 9 tin pots (pocula), 7 dozen small bells and 7 campanellas, 10 mirrors and an image, 8 tin schutellas sive tarschas, 10 candelabras, 6 scrinia setarum ex crinibus porcorum, 4 ferreos circulos signorum et adhuc tres ferreos circulos, 26 iron hammers (malleos ferreos), 8 iron tongs (ferreas tenellas). These goods were contained in one magno canistro. In order to obtain their restitution Anthonius Overomisa had travelled to Lübeck, where the councillors returned them to him, since he acknowledged by oath that they belonged to him and his principal, the said Martin de Federigo, and not to any enemies of Lübeck. And since Anthonius also complained that certain goods of his own, which had been loaded on the said hoy, had been abstracted or gone astray, he requested compensation for his losses and costs. For this, the Lübeck councillors Godehard Engelstede and Albert Clever paid Anthonius 25 Rhfl in the presence of the said notary and the witnesses. Anthonius declared himself (also in the name of Martin de Federigo) to be content and any further claims to be null and void.*

*Done in Lübeck in the upper storey of the town hall. Witnesses: Johannes Proth,<sup>52</sup> Joachim Sevelt,<sup>53</sup> Lübeck priests, Johannes Vorhorde layman of Cologne, Thomas Dusterhusen and Simon Schulrin citizens of Lübeck. — 1534 Mar. 31. Lübeck.*

*HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, no. 9. Original notarial instrument drawn up by Michael Petri, cleric of the diocese of Schwerin. Parchment. Unsealed (with notarial mark, see below).<sup>54</sup>*

In nomine Domini amen. Per hoc presens publicum instrumentum cunctis pateat evidenter et sit notum, quod anno a Nativitate ejusdem Domini millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo quarto, indictione septima, die vero marti, tricesima prima et ultima mensis Martii, imperante gloriosissimo invictissimoque ac catholico principe et domino Karolo Quinto divina favente clementia Romanorum imperatore semper augusto ac Germanie, Hispaniarum, utriusque Sicilie, Hierusalem, Hungarie, Dalmatie, Croatie rege etc., archiduce Austrie et duce Burgundie etc., anno imperii quinto decimo, cum aliter fuerit et sit, quod nuper de anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo tertio de mense Augusti tempore guerrarum et inimicitiarum inter Lubicensis ex una et Hollandinos partibus ex altera spectabiles domini de senatu Lubicensi inter alia nonnulla bona in quadam navi hoy vulgariter nuncupata ville Antwerpie, cujus patronus sive rector erat Adrianus Johansen (tunc existentia), et per deputatos dictorum Lubicensium milites stipendiarios in publico mare sine tamen consensu et mandato dictorum dominorum de senatu Lubicensi apprehensa et que bona, dum ad civitatem Lubicensem advenissent seu confluissent, prelibatus senatus non alias quam pro commodo et utilitate communium mercatorum ad se receperunt et fideliter conservari fecerunt. Idcirco coram spectabilibus et prudentibus viris dominis Godehardo Engelsteden et Alberto Clever consulibus Lubicensibus tamquam ad hoc a spectabili senatu Lubicensi deputatis et propter actum

52 Johannes Proth had a number of vicarages in the Lübeck cathedral, St Mary's and St Peter: UBBL no. 2448 line 142, no. 2463 line 864, no. 2471, lines 253, 221, 389, 503-4, 753, no. 2489 line 155, no. 2490 line 71, no. 2491 line 39, no. 2501, lines 63, 140, 146, 249, no. 2501 § 8-9, no. 2504 lines 5941, 5962 and 5988.

53 Joachim Sevelt had a vicarage in the Lübeck church St Ägidien: UBBL no. 2471, lines 873, 880.

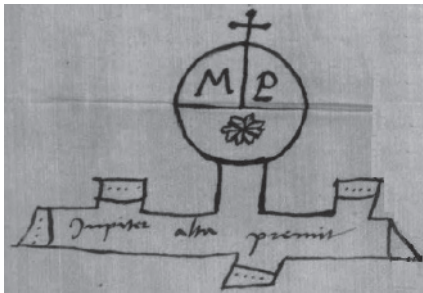
54 Note that in this piece, the letter 'u' is occasionally signalled by a superscribed double accent aigue (ũ) or a breve (Û) in order to distinguish it from two minims. Since this has no effect on the pronunciation of the word, these are all transcribed as 'u'.

hujusmodi in domo consulari Lubicensium superiori insimul congregatis in meique notarii publici testiumque infrascriptorum et ad hec specialiter vocatorum et rogatorum presentia presens et personaliter constitutum providus vir Anthonius Oberomiza, Venetus, in regno Anglie et civitate Lunden', ut asseruit, residens, presentis principaliter pro se ipso nonnulla bona ad se ipsum tamquam principalem et unam balam bissi crudi Talanna vocati ponderantem centum sexaginta quatuor libras ponderis Anglie ad rationem sedecim uncearum pro libra et uncea ad providum virum Martinum de Federigo etiam mercatorem Venetum, principalem suum, respective spectare et pertinere in dicta hoya fuisse designavit, non vi, dolo, metu, fraude seu sinistra machinatione coactus vel seductus, sed mera, libera, spontanea et propria voluntate confessus fuerat et in veritate palam et publice recognovit et confitebatur tam proprio quam predicti Martini principalis sui ab eo ad hoc legitimo mandato suffultus nominibus antea duodecimo die prefati mensis Martii ob favorem et reverentiam serenissimi principis et domini domini Henrici regis Anglie a spectabilibus et prudentibus viris dominis Nicolao Bardewick et Hermanno Schute consulibus Lubicensibus ad hoc a spectabili senatu Lubicensi deputatis primo tamquam legitimus et constitutus procurator dicti Martini de Federigo principalis sui, prout de suo procuracione mandato fidem fecit legitimam rehabuisse realiter et cum effectu recepisse predictam balam bissi crudi superius designatam et ad ipsum Martinum principalem suum spectantem et ipsa bona ac merces mercandilicias, que et quas predicto elapso anno et mense sub conterminis et portubus regni Anglie dicti milites stipendarii classibus sive navibus bellicis seu hostilibus dicte civitatis Lubicensis expediti sibi Anthonio Oberomiza rapuerant, receperant et abduxerant, videlicet novem duodenas lapideum figulorum et seu poculorum, item sex duodenas stanneorum poculorum et novem stannea pocula. Item septem duodenas parvarum campanarum et seu campanellarum et septem campanellas. Item decem specula et quandam imaginem. Item octo stanneas schutellas sive tarschas. Item decem candelabra. Item sex scrinea setarum ex crinibus porcorum. Item quatuor ferreos circulos signorum et adhuc tres ferreos circulos. Item viginti sex malleos ferreos. Item octo ferreas tenellas. Premissa bona insimul in uno magno canistro fuisse referebat. Et quorum bonorum restitutionem petendi causa sive occasione idem Anthonius Oberomisa se ad civitatem Lubicensem contulerat et bona ipsa sibi liberaliter reddita, restituta et consignata per prenomatos dominos consules fore ac esse palam et publice confessus fuerat juravitque idem Anthonius extenso brachio primoribusque erectis digitis corporali iuramento ad sancta Dei evangelia supradicta bona ad se et balam bissi crudi ad predictum Martinum et ad nullos alios dictorum Lubicensium hostes spectare et pertinere. Et cum idem Anthonius conquestus adhuc fuerat certa bona seu merces ad se pertinere de dicta hoya abstracta, alienata seu ex quo dicta navis naufragium passa fuit submersa adhuc defuere et pro eorundem recompensatione ac omnibus aliis damnis et quibuscumque expensis propterea passis ac omnibus interesse et lucris cessantibus iidem domini Godehardus Engelstede et Albertus Clever consules antedicti nomine tocius senatus Lubicensis liberali mente et favorabiliter in presentia mei notarii et testium infrascriptorum eidem Anthonio Oberomiza viginti quinque florenos Renenses in moneta in prompta et numerata pecunia assignarunt et persolverunt et quos viginti quinque florenos pro actione sua gratanter acceptavit et pro tam legali satisfactione et reali expeditione se bene pagatum, persolutum et absolutum dixit et gratias egit. Et de quibus omnibus et singulis prenarratis bonis et bala bissi crudi et de dictis viginti quinque florenis et aliis alienatis, abstractis, direptis aut submersis bonis restitutum, receptum et exsolutum se predictus Anthonius Oberomiza pro se



totaliter et dicto Martino Federigo<sup>a</sup> ratione predictae bale bissi crudi et eorumdem heredum nominibus prelibatos senatum, magistratum, senatores universosque cives et inquilinos Lubicenses quietavit, liberavit, penitus et absolvit eisque finem, quietationem ac pactum perpetuum de ulterius rem habitam non petendo fecit renunciando etiam exceptione dictorum bonorum restitutorum et solutorum et pecuniarum summa hujusmodi non habitorum seu non receptorum et spei future habitationis, munerationis et persolutionis, quibus contra premissa vel aliquod premissorum se defendere posset quomodolibet vel tueri, adeo quod neque dictus senatus neque eorum cives seu inquilini post hac in perpetuum horum atque omnium bonorum receptorum, persolutorum, directorum aut submersorum atque de dicta pecuniarum summa occasione amplius conveniri, vexari, inquietari etiam molestari in iudicio nec extra possent et debent, sed super hiis immunes, innoxios et indemnos, absolutos, emancipatos prestare et observare volens solemni stipulatione interveniente ac sub hipoteca et obligatione omnium bonorum suorum mobilium et immobilium presentium et futurorum ac qualibet alia juris et facti renuntiatione ad hec necessaria pariter et cautela et omnia premissa se ac dictum Martinum ratione predictae bale bissi crudi firmiter et inviolabiliter observaturos sub pena reatus perjurii jurejurando tactis sacrosanctis ad sancta Dei evangelia juravit, de et super quibus omnibus et singulis premissis predictis dominus Godehardus Engelstede nomine totius senatus Lubicensis per me notarium publicum infrascriptum unum vel plura publicum seu publica fieri petiit instrumentum et instrumenta.

Acta fuerunt hec in prelibata civitate Lubicensi ibidem in domo consulari superiori, anno, indictione, die et aliis quibus supra, presentibus ibidem honorabilibus viris dominis Johanne Proth et Joachim Szevelt presbiteris Lubicensibus necnon providis et honestis viris Johanne Vorhorde, layco Coloniensi, et Thoma Dusterhusen et Simone Schulren civibus Lubicensibus testibus ad premissa vocatis specialiter atque rogatis.



*Notarial sign of Michael Petri*

Et ego Michael Petri clericus Szwerinensis diocesis publicus sacris apostolica et imperiali auctoritatibus notarius, quia hujusmodi confessioni, quietationi, promissioni, renuntiationi et juramenti prestationi omnibusque aliis et singulis premissis, dum sic, ut premittitur, fierent et agerentur unacum prenominationis testibus presens interfui, eaque sic fieri vidi et audiui ac in notam sumpsit, ideo hoc presens publicum instrumentum manu alterius me interim aliis prepedito negotiis fideliter scriptum et ex notis meis extractum exinde confeci, subscripsi, publicavi et in hanc publicam formam redege signoque, nomine et cognomine meis solitis et consuetis signavi, roboravi et communeri in fidem, robur et evidens testimonium omnium et singulorum premissorum rogatus et requisitus.

<sup>a</sup> Federizo HL, in error.

[57.] On 31 Mar. 1534 the Lübeck councillors Godehard Engelsteden and Albert Clever inventoried the goods taken in August 1533 at the time of the Holland-Lübeck war on the occasion of the capture of the ship of Adrian Johanßen of Antwerp on the high seas by Lübeck milites stipendiarii, but without the consent of the Lübeck council; the goods were then brought to Lübeck. They were claimed by Anthonius Oberomiza, a Venetian merchant resident in London, as property which Martin de Federigo, Venetian merchant, had entrusted to him. The goods were inventoried in the presence of Oberomiza and are listed here. Oberomiza requested restitution (together with his expenses), was paid 25 Rhfl in cash and accepted that as compensation for his goods, declaring all further claims to be null and void (notarial instrument). — 1534 Mar. 31. Lübeck.

HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, no. 23, f. 18<sup>r</sup>-19<sup>v</sup>. (original classification by Dreyer: Acta Anglicana, Appendix 2; later reclassified as ASA, Externa Anglicana no. 1606). Paper booklet bound in a notarial instrument drawn up by Michael Petri in 1525, indictione tertia, Monday 23 ... Contemporaneous copy of the instrument (originally executed by the notary Michael Petri) and certified by him here as accurate. Unsealed.<sup>55</sup>

Copia instrumenti quietantie et confessionis  
receptorum bonorum Anthonii Oberomeza  
pro spectabili senatu Lubicensi

In nomine Domini amen. Per hoc presens publicum instrumentum cunctis pateat evidenter et sit notum, quod anno a Nativitate ejusdem Domini millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo quarto, indictione septima, die vero marti tricesima prima et ultima mensis Martii, imperante gloriosissimo, invictissimoque ac catholico principe et domino domino Karolo Quinto divina favente clementia Romanorum imperatore semper augusto ac Germanie, Hispaniarum, utriusque Sicilie, Hierusalem, Hungarie, Dalmatie, Croatie rege etc., archiduce Austrie et duce Burgundie etc., anno imperii quinto decimo, cum aliter fuerit et sit, quod nuper de anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo tercio de mense Augusti tempore guerrarum et inimicitiarum inter Lubicenses ex una et Hollandinos partibus ex altera spectabiles domini de senatu Lubicensi inter alia nonnulla bona in quadam nave hoya vulgariter nuncupata ville Anthwerpie, cujus patronus sive rector erat Adrianus Johansen (tunc existens), et per deputatos dictorum Lubicensium milites stipendiarios in publico mari sine tamen consensu et mandato dictorum dominorum de senatu Lubicensi apprehensa et que bona, dum ad civitatem Lubicensem advenissent seu confluissent, prelibatus senatus non alias quam pro commodo et utilitate communium mercatorum ad se recepissent et fideliter conservari fecissent. Idcirco coram spectabilibus ac prudentibus viris dominis Godehardo Engelsteden et Alberto Clever consulibus Lubicensibus tamquam ad hoc a spectabili senatu Lubicensi deputatis et propter actum hujusmodi in domo consulari Lubicensium superiori insimul congregatis in meique notarii publici testiumque infrascriptorum et ad hec specialiter vocatorum et rogatorum

<sup>55</sup> Note that in this piece, the letter 'u' is occasionally signalled by a superscribed double accent aigue (û) or a breve (ü) or a caron (ů) in order to distinguish it from two minims. Since this has no effect on the pronunciation of the word, these are all transcribed as 'u'.

presentia presens et personaliter constitutus providus vir Anthonius Oberomeza, Venetus, in regno Anglie et civitate Lunden', ut asseruit, residens, presenti personaliter pro se ipso nonnulla bona ad se ipsum tamquam principalem et unam balam bissi crudi Talanna vocati ponderantem centum sexaginta quatuor libras ponderis Anglie ad rationem sedecim uncearum pro libra et uncea ad providum virum Martinum de Federigo, etiam mercatorem Venetum, principalem suum, respective spectare et pertinere in dicta hoya fuisse designavit, non vi, dolo, metu, fraude seu sinistra machinatione coactus vel seductus, sed mera, libera, spontanea et propria voluntate confessus fuerat et in veritate palam et publice recognovit et confitebatur tam proprio quam predicti Martini principalis sui ab eo ad hoc legitimo mandato suffultus nominibus antea duodecimo die prefati mensis Martii ob favorem et reverentiam serenissimi principis et domini domini Henrici regis Anglie a spectabilibus et prudentibus viris dominis Nicolao Bardewick et Hermanno Schute consulibus Lubicensibus ad hoc a spectabili senatu Lubicensi deputatis primo tamquam legitimus et constitutus procurator dicti Martini de Federigo principalis sui, prout de suo procuracione mandato fidem fecit legitimam rehabuisse realiter et cum effectu recepisse predictam balam bissi crudi superius designatam et ad ipsum Martinum principalem suum spectantem et ipsa bona ac merces mercandilicias, que et quas predicto elapso anno et mense sub conterminis et portubus regni Anglie dicti milites stipendarii classibus sive navibus bellicis seu hostilibus dicte civitatis Lubicensis expediti sibi Anthonio Oberomiza rapuerant, receperant et abduxerant, videlicet novem duodenas lapideum figulorum et seu poculorum, item sex duodenas stanneorum poculorum et novem stannea pocula. Item septem duodenas parvarum campanarum et seu campanellarum et septem campanellas. Item decem specula et quandam hymaginem. Item octo stanneas schutellas sive tarschas. Item decem candelabra. Item sex scrinea setarum ex crinibus porcorum. Item quatuor ferreos circulos signorum et adhuc tres ferreos circulos. Item viginti sex ferreos malleos. Item octo ferreas tenellas. Premissa bona insimul in uno magno canestro fuisse referebat. Et quorum bonorum restitutionem petendi causa sive occasione idem Anthonius Oberomiza se ad civitatem Lubicensem contulerat et bona ipsa sibi liberaliter reddita, restituta et consignata per prenomatos dominos consules fore ac esse palam et publice confessus fuerat juravitque idem Anthonius extenso brachio primoribusque erectis digitis corporali iuramento ad sancta Dei evangelia supradicta bona ad se et balam bissi crudi ad predictum Martinum et ad nullos alios dictorum Lubicensium hostes spectare et pertinere. Et cum idem Anthonius conquestus adhuc fuerat certa bona seu merces ad se pertinere de dicta hoya abstracta, alienata<sup>a</sup> seu ex quo dicta navis naufragium passa fuit submersa adhuc defuere et pro eorundem recompensatione ac omnibus aliis dampnis et quibuscumque expensis propterea passis ac omnibus interesse et lucris cessantibus iidem domini Goddehardus Engelstede et Albertus Clever consules antedicti nomine totius senatus Lubicensis liberali mente et favorabiliter in presentia mei notarii et testium infrascriptorum eidem Anthonio Oberomiza viginti quinque florenos Renenses in moneta<sup>b</sup> in<sup>b</sup> prompta et numerata pecunia assignarunt et persolverunt et quos viginti quinque florenos pro actione sua gratanter acceptavit et pro tam legali satisfactione et reali expeditione se bene pagatum, persolutum et absolutum dixit et gratias egit. Et de quibus omnibus et singulis prenarratis bonis et bala bissi crudi et de dictis viginti quinque florenis et aliis alienatis, abstractis, direptis aut submersis bonis restitutum, receptum et exsolutum sepe dictus Anthonius Oberomeza

pro se totaliter et dicto Martino Federigo ratione predictae bale bissi crudi et eorumdem heredum nominibus prelibatos senatum, magistratum, senatores universosque cives et inquilinos Lubicensis quietavit, liberavit, penitus et absolvit eisque fynem, quietationem ac pactum perpetuum de ulterius rem habitam non petando fecit renuntiando etiam exceptione dictorum bonorum restitutorum, solutorum et pecuniarum summa hujusmodi non habitorum seu non receptorum et spei future habitationis, munerationis et persolutionis, quibus contra premissa vel aliquod premissorum se defendere posset quomodolibet vel tueri, adeo quod neque dictus senatus neque eorum cives seu inquilini post hac in perpetuum horum atque omnium bonorum receptorum, persolutorum, directorum aut submersorum atque de dicta pecuniarum summa occasione amplius conveniri, vexari, inquietari etiam molestari in iudicio nec extra possint et debent, sed super hiis immunes, innoxios et indemnos, absolutos, emancipatos prestare et observare volens solemnem stipulationem, intervencione ac sub hypotheca et obligatione omnium bonorum suorum mobilium et immobilium presentium et futurorum ac qualibet alia juris et facti renuntiatione ad hec necessaria pariter et cautela et omnium premissa se ac dictum Martinum ratione predictae bale bissi crudi firmiter et inviolabiliter observaturos sub pena reatus perjurii iurejurando tactis sacrosanctis ad sancta Dei evangelia iuravit, de et super quibus omnibus et singulis premissis predictis dominus Goddehardus Engelstede nomine totius senatus Lubicensis per me notarium publicum infrascriptum unum vel plura publicum seu publica fieri petiit instrumentum et instrumenta.

Acta fuerunt hec in prelibata civitate Lubicensi ibidem in domo consulari superiori, anno, indictione, die et aliis quibus supra, presentibus ibidem honorabilibus viris dominis Johanne Proth et Joachim Szevelt presbiteris Lubicensibus necnon providis et honestis viris Johanne Vorhorde, layco Coloniensi, et Thoma Dusterhusen et Symone Schulren civibus Lubicensibus testibus ad premissa vocatis specialiter atque rogatis.

Et ego Michael Petri clericus Zwerinensis diocesis publicus sacris apostolica et imperiali auctoritatibus notarius, quia hujusmodi confessioni, quietationi, promissioni, renuntiationi et juramenti prestationi omnibusque aliis et singulis premissis, dum sic, ut premittitur, fierent et agerentur unacum prenominationis testibus presens interfui, eaque sic fieri vidi et audiui ac in notam sumpsimus, ideo hoc presens publicum instrumentum manu propria scriptum et ex notis meis extractum exinde confeci, subscripsi, publicavi et in hanc publicam formam redegi signoque, nomine et cognomine meis solitis et consuetis signavi<sup>c</sup>, roboravi et communeri in fidem, robur et evidens testimonium omnium et singulorum premissorum rogatus et requisitus.

Auschultata et collocionata fuit et est presens copia per me eundem Michaellem Petri clericum et notarium suprascriptum et cum suo originali concordat, quod attestor manu propria.

<sup>a</sup> sex follows, struck through HL. <sup>b-b</sup> Interlined HL. <sup>c</sup> et follows, struck through HL.

## V: Hanseatic losses in the taking of Adrian Johnson's ship

### GOODS BELONGING TO COLOGNE MERCHANTS

[58.] *Cologne to Lübeck: The Cologne merchants who had goods in the ship of Adrian Johnson which have ended up in Lübeck have appointed Jacob van Mulheim as their plenipotentiary envoy for the recovery of the said goods. Cologne requests Lübeck's cooperation in this matter.* — [15]33 Oct. 6. Cologne.

HL AHL ASA, *Externa Anglicana* 476, no. 3. Original. Paper. With fragments of a seal in green wax closing the letter. On the dorse: Den eirsamen und wysen bürgermeistern und raitmannen der stat Lûbeke unsren besûnderen günstigen, guden frûnden.

Unse frûntlicke groite und wat wy gûdes vermoigen! Ersame und wyse, besûnder gûnstige, gûde frûnde! Unse mede raidesfrûnde une bûrgere mit namen Johann Campman, Peter Heynebach, Hermann Suyderman, Direith Horner, Peter Slookenn und Johann Borner hebben uns angehaget und to kennen gegeven, wie sie vergangener tydt eynem schypmann genant Adriaan Janssoon vast gûdere in ein schip verfracht, umb in Engelant to fûrren und to brengen, wilcke gudere, als sie verstain und geven to weten, worden ungestym weders halven so in der see gewesen bynnen jwe eirsameheid stat Lûbeke ankomen und in gûde gewarnsam angenomen, wie dann jwe eirsamheid gegenwordigen Jacob van Mûlheim, den sie mit tegenwordigen brieve under unser stat siegell besiegelt mit volkomen bericht und befeill umb dieselve gûdere van irentweigen to vertheden, idt sy mit eyde ader anders, als jwe eirsamheid van demselven vornemend werden, affgeferdiget und uns dairby gebeden hebben, wy derglycken van macht der Hansen doin und denselven fûrderlick to wesen, alsdan redelick und billick, wie jwe eirsameheid to gûder maten weeten sick dat heeten und gebûren will. Oick angesien wy uns tot jûwen eirsamheid alle gûnstelick fûrdernis und vruntschap versien und vertroisten, so syn wy fruntelickes vlytes biddende und begerende, dat juwe eirsamheit uns to frûntlicken gefallen und den vursescrevenen unseren bûrgeren to gûde sick tegen den gemelten Jacob ihren befeilhebbere in syner werbungen der vurgeroirter gûdere halven volkomen geloiven geven und also gûnstelick, fûrderlick und behûlpelick wesen willen, wairby die unsere vûrscreven aen alle entgeltenis to iren gûderen komen und verholpen werdeen moigen, als jwe eirsamheit im gelycken van uns gerne gethain hetten und wy des und alles guden mitsamt gunst und vrientschap in sûnderheit gentzlick well to betruwen denselven jwen eirsamheit, die unser herre Got in aller gluckseliger wailart und regimente lange tydt bewaren will. Geschreven am 6<sup>den</sup> dage Octobris anno etc. [15]33°.

Bürgermeistere und rait der stade Coelne

[59.] *Inventory of the goods of Hanseatic merchants from the Cologne Third<sup>56</sup> trading with England lost in the taking of the ship of Adrian Johnson, drawn up in the presence of Henning Kulemeiger, the secretary of the London Counter, and the Lübeck councillors Nicholas Bardewick and Hermann Schute and authenticated by the notary Nicholas Klöne. — 1533 Oct. 19. Lübeck.*

*HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, no. 23, f. 6<sup>rv</sup>. (original classification by Dreyer: Acta Anglicana, Appendix 2; later reclassified as ASA, Externa Anglicana no. 1606). Paper booklet bound in a notarial instrument drawn up by Michael Petri in 1525, indictione tercia, Monday 23 ... Contemporaneous copy. Unsealed.<sup>57</sup>*

Item anno Domini 1533 in der 6<sup>ten</sup> indiction ahm 19. dage des mants Octobris sinth dusse nascreven marck up den vorscreven baln unde gude vortekent, welch gudt in Adrian Johanßen vorbenannt sinem schepe is geweßen, in biwesend hern Nicolaus Bardewick und her Hermen Schutenn<sup>a</sup> besichtiget und affgetekent worden gelick we hir nafolget, jodoch durch furderinge des achtbarn hern magister Hennyngus Kulemeiger clerich eins ersamen kopmans tho Lunden in<sup>b</sup> Engelanth upt Stallhoff residerund secret duth sulvige uth gunst und vorlove eins erbarn radmann alhir tho Lubgk den koppluden des Kolschen durdendels thom besten gescheen etc.

[1.] Item twee Oustburger fustewn baln gemarcket aldus [merchant's mark no. 1 in the right margin] und sossuntwinttich stucke missing drades aldus gemarcket [merchant's mark no. 2 in the right margin]

[2.] Item ein pack mitth sagen offte arsch aldus gemarcket [merchant's mark no. 3 in the right margin].

[3.] Item ein vath mith kramgude gemarcket aldus [merchant's mark no. 4 in the right margin].

[4.] Item ein vatken mith siden gemarcket aldus [merchant's mark no. 5 in the right margin].

[5.] Item ein packen gemarcket aldus [merchant's mark no. 6 in the right margin].

[6.] Item ein klein kistken aldus gemarcket [merchant's mark no. 7 in the right margin].

[7.] Item ein tunnicken gemarcket aldus [merchant's mark no. 8 in the right margin].

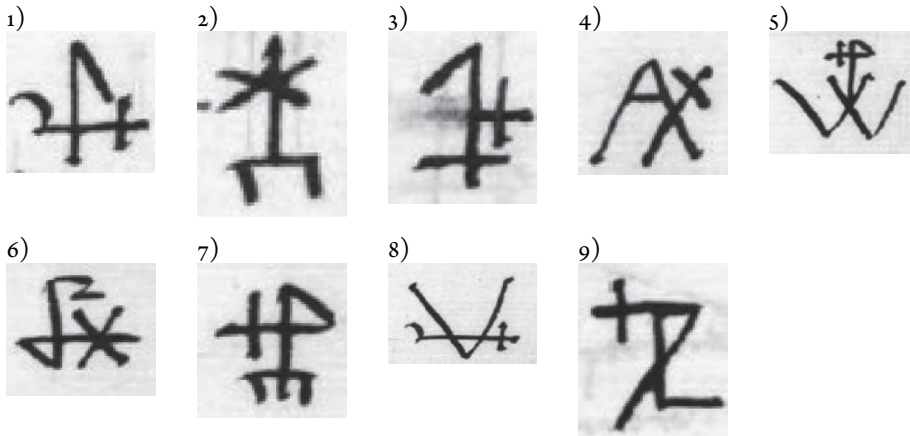
[8.] Item noch vath gemarcket aldus [merchant's mark no. 9 in the right margin].

Tuge: her Hinrick Kordes und Tyle Lutguwe  
Nicolaus Klone manu propria scripsit

<sup>a</sup> befest follows, struck through HL.    <sup>b</sup> erge follows, struck through L.

<sup>56</sup> As the name suggests, these merchants were from the western Third of the Hanse. Note that this list includes not only goods of Cologne merchants, but also of one from Deventer (Roleff Vos § 7) and another from Wesel (Richard Engelbarth § 3). These two towns belonged to the Cologne Third.

<sup>57</sup> Note that in this piece, the letter 'u' is occasionally signalled by a superscribed breve (ü) in order to distinguish it from two minims. Since this has no effect on the pronunciation of the word, it is transcribed as 'u'.



[60.] *Inventory of a vat [belonging to the Cologne merchant Peter Slotkyn]<sup>58</sup> taken in Adrian Johnson's ship, drawn up in the presence of Henning Kulemeier [secretary of the London Counter] and the Lübeck councillors Nicholas Bardewick and Hermann [Schute] and authenticated by the notary Nicholas Klõne. — [15]33 Oct. 20. Lübeck.*

*HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, no. 23, f. 7<sup>r</sup>. (original classification by Dreyer: Acta Anglicana, Appendix 2; later reclassified as ASA, Externa Anglicana no. 1606). Paper booklet bound in a notarial instrument drawn up by Michael Petri in 1525, indictione tercia, Monday 23 ... Contemporaneous copy. Unsealed.<sup>59</sup>*

Item anno etc. 33 den 20<sup>ten</sup> dach Octobris is durch furderinge des achtbarn hern magister Hennnyngus Kulemeier<sup>60</sup> vorbonantt und ock in bywesende hern Nicolaus Bardewick und her Hermen ein vath gemarket aldus [*merchant's mark no. 1 follows*] upgeslagen unde bosichtigtet worden, worinne gefunden ethliche flocken myt pappir gewunden darmidden manck ein klein lynnen pungeken myt gelde. Dat sulvige mith dussem marck [*merchant's mark no. 2 follows*] vorsegelt, bovestuget und bekrefftigtet worden.

Tuge: Marcus Luthmar, Siverth Kõck, Clawes Haselouwe

Dusse boßetn burgers alle hir to sunderlinx geeschet und geboden.

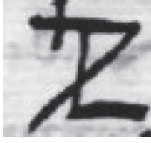
Ita est ut supra, quod ego Nicolaus Klõne meo cyrographo attestor.  
Actum in Lubegk anno Domini ut supra, ad id notarius rogatus et requisitus.

<sup>58</sup> This is demonstrated by the merchant's marks. Mark no. 1 here is identical with No 42 marks 25 & 51, no. 43 marks 26 & 43, no. 62 mark 9 and no. 63 mark 6, where Slotkyn is named. Mark no. 2 here is identical with no. 63 Mark 7, where Slotkyn is named.

<sup>59</sup> Note that in this piece, the letter 'u' is occasionally signalled by a superscribed breve (ü) in order to distinguish it from two minims. Since this has no effect on the pronunciation of the word, it is transcribed as 'u'.

<sup>60</sup> Secretary of the London Counter.

1)



2)



- [61.] *Inventory of goods of Cologne merchants taken in the ship of Adrian Johnson, drawn up in the presence of Jacob von der Mulln and the Lübeck councillors Nicolas Bardewick and Hermann Schute and authenticated by the notary Nicholas Klône. — 1533 Nov. 6. Lübeck.*

*HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, no. 23, f. 7<sup>v</sup>-8<sup>r</sup>. (original classification by Dreyer: Acta Anglicana, Appendix 2; later reclassified as ASA, Externa Anglicana no. 1606). Paper booklet bound in a notarial instrument drawn up by Michael Petri in 1525, indictione tercia, Monday 23 ... Contemporaneous copy. Unsealed.<sup>61</sup>*

Item anno 1533 in der 6<sup>ten</sup> indiction, ahm 6<sup>ten</sup> dage des mǎnts Novembris hefft Jacob von der Mulln uth vorlove eins erbarn ratmann, ock in byweßende der ersamen hern her Nicolaus Bardewick und her Hermenn Schutenn dusse nascreven gudere entfangen, de welck uth Adrian Johanßen sinem schepe gelosset und vort in Hinrick Krons bowede under Engelantes gehisset wern.

[1.] Item ein klein kistken mith glesen und einen schlachdock Dirick Horner thohorich aldus gemarcket [*merchant's mark no. 1 in the right margin*].

[2.] Item viffundveerttich butzen mith siden Johan Borne thobehorunde aldus gemarcket [*merchant's mark no. 2 in the right margin*].

[3.] Item noch twee baln mith sardoke Johann Kamman thobehorende aldus gemarcket [*merchant's mark no. 3 in the right margin*].

[4.] Item noch ein klein tunneken hort einem armen jungen tho aldus gemarcket [*merchant's mark no. 4 in the right margin*] und von duth marck schall Jacob vorbenannt dem erbarn rade alhir tho Lubk ein certification schaffen und thon handen kamen lathen.

[5.] Item noch sossundtwinttich stuck kopperdraden Johann Kamman thobehorunde gemarcket aldus [*merchant's mark no. 5 in the right margin*] und von duth marck schall ock de vorbenande Jacob certification schaffen etc.

[6.] Item noch ein vath mith sosstich butzen und ein schlachline gemarcket aldus [*merchant's mark no. 6 follows*] Peter Sclotzke thobehorund, dar midden manck den vorgerurden butzen einen lynnen bundell gemarcket aldus [*merchant's mark no. 7 follows*], darinne veer hunder sunnen kronen Peter Heinebach thobehorund. In dem sulven budel noch ein klein ander pungeken gefunden aldus gemarcket [*merchant's mark no. 8 follows*], darinne gefunden tweeundverttigest halve engellutthen Hermen Suderman thobehorund.

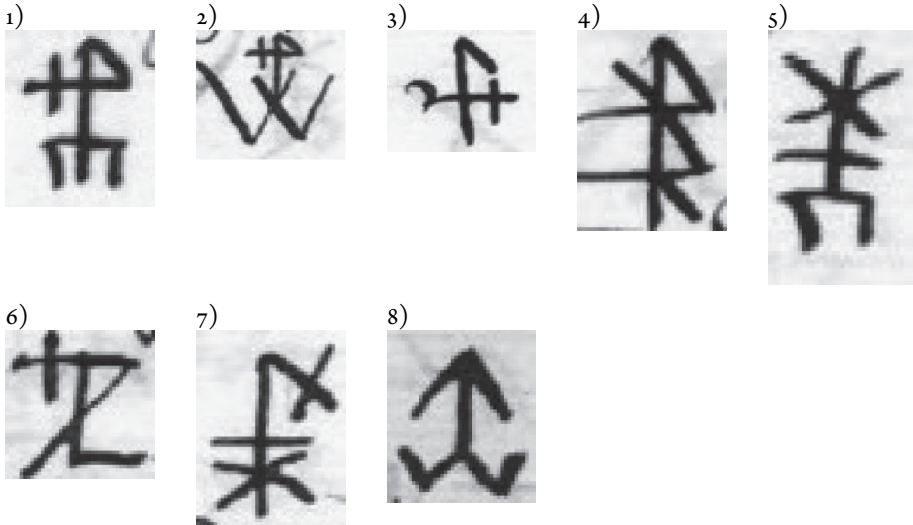
Tuge<sup>a</sup>: Her Albert Kleve und Adrian Johanßen

61 Note that in this piece, the letter 'u' is occasionally signalled by a superscribed breve (ü) in order to distinguish it from two minims. Since this has no effect on the pronunciation of the word, it is transcribed as 'u'.



Ita est ut supra, quod ego Nicolaus Klōne meo cyrographo attestor.  
Actum in Lubgk anno Domini ut supra ad id notarius rogatus et  
requisitus.

<sup>a</sup> Herman follows, struck through HL.



[62.] Unnamed [Cologne] merchant to Johannes Borne [of Cologne]: Requests his assistance, when he arrives in Lübeck, in the recovery of a tun containing clothing and other goods belonging to [a poor young merchant of Cologne, recently settled in England]. — s.d., s.l.  
HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, no. 4. Original holograph letter. Paper.  
Unsealed. On the dorse: Jan Borne.<sup>62</sup>

Laus Deo

Wussett liebe Johann goette freuntt, als ihr in Lubeck komfft, soe wiltt doch mitt nach dýner tonnen fraghen. Daer sientt kleýder in gewest, und die tonne ist gemercktt mitt dieser marke [merchant's mark no. 1 in the right margin]. Gehurt einem gesellen, zu der ist nun kurtzlig ihn Engellantt gezogen und ist Johan Borne diener. Der hatt auch etlich goett daer beý. Soe hatt sich Johann Born mitt ihn den brieff laessen schryven, den unse herren daerhyn senden werden, und watt vor goett daerbey hatt, soe hain mir dise nichts gewyst, das unse herren umb das goett geschreven hain, soe doett ihr doch das beste und fordertt daer nach, das man es weder mocht kryghen. Ist sach, das es weder zun henden komfft, sal man euch einen goett drinck pennig schencken.

Item nemlich sientt diese kleider daer ihn gleich hier nach geschreven  
ein tannetten Engellythe underrock  
ein swartz worstein wambûs  
ein swartz sardoigs wambus  
zwey parr swartzer hoesens

62 Note that in this piece, the letter 'u' is occasionally signalled by a superscribed inverted breve in order to distinguish it from two minims. Since this has no effect on the pronunciation of the word, it is transcribed as 'u'.

ein cotten cammellott culler  
 einen swartzen ledderen culler  
 Item noch zwey swartzer vell und funff hembder  
 noch zwey parr schoen  
 noch zwein scheffen koecken und anders etlich dings mer als buecher und suneftucher  
 und anders mer, das gelts werth ist.

Liebe Johann, so wilt doch das beste doen. Man soll euch woll daer von loenen.

Diesen brieff sultt ihr zu Lubeck gheven meynes herrn diener. Der ist daer waell bekannt.  
 Der sal euch auch woll behulplich sein. Ihr sultt ihm wynkeller nach ihm fragen. Daer  
 sullen sei euch woll bescheid.

1)



#### GOODS BELONGING TO OTHER HANSEATIC MERCHANTS

[63.] *Heinrich Houwide, citizen of Bremen, acknowledges receipt of goods taken in Adrian Johnson's ship from Nicholas Bardewick and Hermann Schute, acting for the Lübeck council. — [15]33 Sept. 27. [Lübeck].*

*HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, no. 23, f. 5<sup>v</sup>. (original classification by Dreyer: Acta Anglicana, Appendix 2; later reclassified as ASA, Externa Anglicana no. 1606). Paper booklet bound in a notarial instrument drawn up by Michael Petri in 1525, indictione tercia, Monday 23 ... Contemporaneous copy. Unsealed.<sup>63</sup>*

[1.] Item anno etc. 33 den 27<sup>ten</sup> dach des mants Septembris don entfencck Hinrick Houwide burger tho Bremen von dussen vorscreven guder<sup>a</sup> [*namely those in Adrian Johnson's ship: no. 42*] elven stücke balun al gemarcket aldus [*merchant's mark no. 1 follows*] uth vorlous eins erbarun rades.

[2.] Item noch entfencck Hinrick Houwide vorbenannt von demsulven vorscreven gude in namen und stadt Albert Kreiens twen balun myt mandelun gemarcket aldus [*merchant's mark no. 2 follows*] dut sulve is ock geschen uth vorlous eins erbarn rades und in byweswescende der ersamen hern her Nicolaus Bardewick und her Hermen Schuten.

Tuge: her Hinrick Kordes und Tyle Lutzouwe

Nicolaus Klone manu propria scripsit

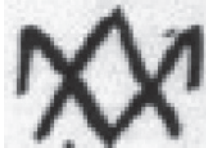
<sup>a</sup> twolff stücke *follows, struck through L.*

63 Note that in this piece, the letter 'u' is occasionally signalled by a superscribed breve (ü) in order to distinguish it from two minims. Since this has no effect on the pronunciation of the word, it is transcribed as 'u'.

1)



2)



[64.] Hieronymus Molhusen [of Lübeck] to Hermann Schute, town councillor of Lübeck, regarding losses of Hanseatic merchants in the taking of Adrian Johnson's ship. — [1533 Oct. 17/Nov. 6. Lübeck].

HL AHL ASA, *Externa Anglicana* 476, no. 1. Original. Paper. Unsealed.

*Dating:* This letter, although undated, must be fairly early, since Molhusen records the fact that Richard Engelbarth had named Marcus Meyer as his attorney for the recovery of his goods. Meyer, however, was arrested on or before 21 Aug. 1533 (LP VI, no. 1012) and initially brought to Dover. He was still in custody (if by now in London) on 8 Sept. (No. 35 *supra*) and was granted leave to depart from England on 10 Dec. 1533 (LP VI, no. 1595 (9)). Clearly, Molhusen was in London when this happened, since he records the fact that Roleff Vos nominated him in the presence of the inhabitants of the London Counter (*vor dem copmanne tho Lunden*) as his attorney for the recovery of his goods. Equally clear, however, is that Molhusen at the time of writing was in Lübeck, since he states that Hynrick im Wynckel, *eyn fulmechtyger van Collen*, had been *hyr tho Lubeck*. It is tempting to identify Molhusen with the 'man of the city of Lübeck,' whom Jörn 1998, p. 186 states Henry VIII at the instigation of his council on 7 Sept. 1533 intended to send to Lübeck to demand the return of the English goods. However, this is not the case. Jörn misread his source (LP VI, no. 1125). The council decided that the king should 'send a man to [not 'of'] the city of Lübeck' for this purpose. However, goods with these two merchants' marks in this letter were included in the inventories of goods taken in Johnson's ship on 13 & 15 Sept. (Mark 1 here = no. 41, mark 20, § 22; no. 42, mark 21, § 22; Mark 2 here = no. 41, mark 12, § 12, no. 42 mark 13 § 13). They were also included in the list of the goods of merchants of the Cologne Third drawn up on 19 Oct. (No. 59, mark 8, § 7, and mark 4, § 3). By the time Lübeck had been advised of the names of the Cologne merchants (on or shortly before 6 Nov. 1533), they no longer were included in the inventory, a clear indication that Schute had heeded Molhusen's request to keep an eye out for goods with these marks and excluded them from the inventory drawn up on 6 Nov. because they were not Cologne goods (as Molhusen states). Therefore Molhusen's letter must have been written between 19 Oct. and 6 Nov. 1533, and probably closer to the later date.<sup>64</sup>

64 Note that in this piece, the letter 'u' is occasionally signalled by a superscribed double accent *aigue* (*ü*) or a breve (*ũ*) in order to distinguish it from two minims. Since this has no effect on the pronunciation of the word, they are transcribed as 'u'.

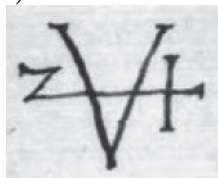
Ersame und vorsycthyge her Harmen Schute! Juwer ersamheyth gelevet tho weten, dat dorch unse uthlyggers under Engelanth ane hoy Adrian Johansen genommet is angetastet worden, worinne eyne geselle, in der Hansa van Deventer gebaren, Roleff Vos genommet 1 droge vatken myt dyssem mercke [*merchant's mark no. 1 in the left margin*] gehat heft. Darinne scholen syn 37 stücke Bruggesch settyt, wo denne de verwe und tere genochsam na wysende wert ene fulmacht, de ick hebbe van dem ersamen copmanne in Engelanth residerende, dem geliken dessulven Roleff Vos sine egen hantschrift.

Noch sal darinne gewest syn ene kyste und eyne vatken [*merchant's mark no. 2 in the left margin*] enem manne van Wesel, int lant tho Cleve gebaren, nu averst in Engelanth wanend,<sup>65</sup> tokomen, worvan her Marcus Meyger ock bevel heft, so averst de lude nu horen, den luden ere guder wedder ghegeven werden und darup eyne fulmechtyger van Collen myt namen Hynrick im Wynckel hyr tho Lubeck gewest is und de guder am dele entfangen heft weten averst nycht eft ere guder ock mede loes ghegeven und van<sup>a</sup> dem vulmechtyger entfangen syn. Heft derhalven de bavengescreven Roleff Vos my vor dem copmanne tho Lunden, syne güder tho entfangen, vulmechtych gemaket, de ander averst heft her Marcus Meyger und my dar beneven syne guder tho<sup>b</sup> vorende gebeden. In dem nu sodane guder van bavengescreven mercken noch vorhanden weren und eyne ersam rath sampt juwer leve dartho geneget weren, wolde ick juwe ersamheyth fruntlick gebeden hebben, ghy so wol wolden gedan hebben und na sodanen mercken sen wolden und my dar eyne gudtlyck andtwert up geven wolden. Wor ick juwer ersamheyth wedder tho denste und wyllen syn kan, wyl ick na mynem vormoge alle tydt gudtwyllych gefunden werden. Wyl Godt, dem ich juwe ersamheyth bevele.

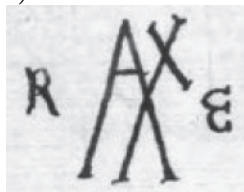
[*signed*] Jheronimus Molhusen

<sup>a</sup> Corrected in *L* from *vande*. <sup>b</sup> erst follows, struck through *L*.

1)



2)



[65.] On 1 June 1534 Hermann Schute, councillor of Lübeck,<sup>66</sup> at the behest of the Lübeck council, dem erhafttychen und furnemen manne m[agister] Johan Vorhorde – de wyle de sulve myt den erbarnen, vorsichtigen und hochwyßen heren her Gerth Odingborg<sup>67</sup> und her Hans van Elphram<sup>68</sup> ock rathmanne to Lubeck also gesandte legaten an konincklike majestat to Engellandt myth geschichten secretario – vorreket,

65 As the merchant's mark in the margin shows, this was Richard Engelbarth.

66 *Ratslinie* no. 619, councillor from 1528.

67 *Ratslinie* no. 629. He had previously belonged to the Committee of 64 (Wullenwever's power base) and was elected to the council on 27 Apr. 1531.

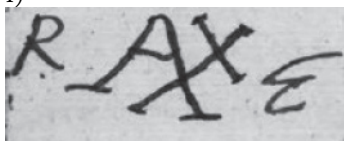
68 *Ratslinie* no. 640 (Johann von Elpen). He had previously belonged to the Committee of 64 (Wullenwever's power base) and was elected to the council on 21 Feb. 1533.

averanthwordet und geleveret eyn droge cram <sup>a</sup>fat<sup>a</sup> dor czum gude inne was und eyn verkanthe grothe kyste offt packe gemarket aldus (*merchant's mark no. 1 in the left margin*), dat thohorde Richgart Engelbarth eyn Ludeschen kopman wanende im konninckrycke tho Engellant<sup>b</sup>.<sup>69</sup> Duth droge cromfaet und verkanthe kyshte effte packe hefft obgenannte m[agister] Johanne Vorhorde also van her Hermen Schuten entfangen und de sulvige Richgart Engelbarth wedder to leverende und tor handen to schaffen gelavet. Actum Lubeck sub anno et die, prout supra. — 1534 June 1. Lübeck.

HL AHL ASA, *Externa Anglicana* 476, no. 23, f. 32<sup>r</sup>. (original classification by Dreyer: *Acta Anglicana*, Appendix 2; later reclassified as ASA, *Externa Anglicana* no. 1606). Paper booklet bound in a notarial instrument drawn up by Michael Petri in 1525, indictione tercia, Monday 23 ... Superscribed: Johannes Vorhorde. Contemporaneous copy. Unsealed.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>a-a</sup> Interlined HL. <sup>b</sup> Two expunged words follow HL.

1)



69 Odingborg and Elphram had been accredited as Lübeck's ambassadors to England on 31 May 1534 (LP VII, no. 737, printed *Foedera*, vol 14, p. 539-40). Lübeck's instructions for its representatives, which prior to World War II were held in the Lübeck Civic Archives (AHL ASA, *Externa Anglicana* no. 047) have gone missing (Simon 2010, p. 13). The accreditation makes no mention of Vorhonde.

70 Note that in this piece, the letter 'u' is occasionally signalled by a superscribed double accent aigue (û) or an inverted breve in order to distinguish it from two minims. Since this has no effect on the pronunciation of the word, they are transcribed as 'u'.

## VI: Goods taken in Spanish ships

A) CHRISTOFER OF GALICIA (JOAN DE LUSIS, SKIPPER)

- [66.] On 20 Sept. 1533 in London in the presence of the undersigned notary (John Devereux of London) there appeared Robert Pagiet, citizen and alderman of London, Thomas Gale, citizen and habderdasher, 57 years old or thereabouts, as he said, Robert Wilford, 36 years old or thereabouts, and Ralph Foxley, 26 years old or thereabouts, all of good fame, to make a deposition of the truth of their own free will about their losses in the taking of the Chrisopher de le Moros by Lübeck privateers. — 1533 Sept. 20. London. HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, no. 17. Original notarial instrument with notary's mark (John Devereux cleric, citizen of London). Parchment. Unsealed.

In Dei nomine amen. Per hoc presens publicum instrumentum cunctis evidenter appareat, quod anno Domini ab incarnatione millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo tercio, indictione sexta, pontificatus vero sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri domini Clementis, divina providencia hujus nominis pape septum, anno decimo, mensis vero Septembris, die vicesima [20 Sept. 1533] in mei notarii publici subscripti testiumque infrascriptorum presentia personaliter constituti providi viri Robertus Pagiet, civis et aldermannus civitatis London', Thomas Gale civis et habirdassher ejusdem civitatis etatis, ut asseruit, quinquaginta et septem annorum vel circiter, Robertus Wilford etatis triginta sex annorum vel incirca et Radulphus Foxley etatis triginta et septem annorum vel circiter, ambo cives et mercatores antedictae civitatis, ac Willelmus Wilford, civis et grocerus ejusdem civitatis, etatis viginti et sex annorum vel circiter, omnes viri bone fame ac conversationis illese, non vi, dolo, metu, fraude seu aliqua machinatione sinistra inducti, seducti, coacti, decepti vel circumventi, ut evidenter appareat, sed ex eorum meritis, liberis, puris et spontaneis voluntatibus ad futuram rei memoriam et pro rei veritatis infrascriptę declaratione ad conservacionem et defensionem jurium suorum, ipsorum et cujuslibet ipsorum, dixerunt, deposuerunt et certificaverunt mihi notario publico subscripto per eorum separalia juramenta facta ad et super sancta Dei evangelia modo et forma subsequentibus, videlicet

[1.] In primis predictus Robertus Pagiet aldermannus animo deliberato dixit, deposuit et certificavit mihi notario publico subscripto per juramentum suum factum ad et super sancta Dei evangelia tactis per eum manu sua dextera corporali scripturis verum fuisse et esse, quod idem Robertus Pagiet deponens in mense Augusti jam proxime preterito [Aug. 1533] ante datam presentis publici instrumenti de bonis suis propriis carrigari et onerari fecit in portu civitatis London' in quadam nave vocata le Christofer de le Moros in partibus Galicie, de qua Johannes Shewards sub Dei potestate tunc erat magister, duas paccas lini, unde utraque earundem cum marca ipsius Roberti Pagiet primo in margine presentis publici instrumenti facta fuit marcata [merchant's mark no. 1 in the left margin].

[2.] Item predictus Thomas Gale vive vocis oraculo dixit, deposuit et certificavit michi notario publico subscripto per juramentum suum factum ad et super sancta Dei evangelia tacta per eum manu sua dextera corporale scripturis verum fuisse et esse, quod idem Thomas

Gale deponens de bonis suis propriis in dicto mense Augusti [Aug. 1533] in supradicto portu et in predicta nave vocata le Christofer, unde predictus Johannes Shewars tunc fuit magister, carcari et onerari fecit unam paccam de numero 4 in se continentem sexdecim pannos laneos curtos ac duodecim pecias de statutis blodii coloris pro volvatura ejusdem super canabadium cum cum secunda marca in margine [*merchant's mark no. 2 in the left margin*] presentis instrumenti facta marcata existentibus colorum et longitudinem ut sequitur: a violet 24<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> virge, a vesse 24<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> virge, a redde 25<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>, a muster 24<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>, a grene medley 24<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>, a muster 24<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>, a violet 24<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>, a blue 24, a blue 24<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>, a blue 24. Et ulterius idem Thomas Gale deponens dixit, deposuit et certificavit mihi dicto notario per juramentum suum forma ut supra factum verum fuisse et esse, quod singula peciatam hujusmodi sexdecim pannorum laneorum quam dicta 12 pecia de statuto ipsius deponentis tertia marca in margine [*merchant's mark no. 3 in the left margin*] presentis publici instrumenti facta et in plumbo impressa cuilibet ipsorum pannorum et statutorum affixum marcata est.

[3.] Item predictus Robertus Wilford animo deliberato dixit, deposuit et certificavit mihi notario publico subscripto per juramentum suum factum ad et super sancta Dei evangelia tacta per eum manu sua dextera corporali scripturis verum fuisse et esse, quod idem Robertus Wilford deponens in predicto mense Augusti [Aug. 1533] onerari et carigari fecit in dicta nave in predicto portu civitatis London' tres fardell pannorum laneorum curtorum cum volvatura eorumdem prefato Roberto Wilford et fratribus suis spectancium et pertinencium, unde quelibet fardell earundem ab extra super canabadium marca quarta in margine [*merchant's mark no. 4 in the left margin*] presentis instrumenti facta marcatum erat et quarum prime de numero 1 in se continente sexdecim pannos fuit numerorum, colorum et longitudinum subsequencium, videlicet: **297** bleue 24<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> virge, **298** blewe 24<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>, **283** blewe 23<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>, **284** blewe 24<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>, **245** blewe 24<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>, **259** vesse 25<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>, **272** vesse 25, **165** medley 24<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>, **173** medley 25, **299** redde 24<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>, **224** russet 25, **175** russet 25<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>, **54** muster 25, **172** muster 25, **171** muster 25<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>, **277** plonkit 26. Summa hujusmodi sexdecim pannorum in longitudine 400 virge et unum quarter una cum tribus peciis de cottons pro volvaturis ejusdem fardell de numero 1 in se continentis, ut sequitur: a grene 21<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> goodes, grene 21<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> goodes, grene 20<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> goodes, unde singula pecia hujusmodi sexdecim pannorum laneorum marcata cum marca quinta in margine [*merchant's mark no. 5 in left margin*] presentis instrumenti in plumbo impressa cuilibet ipsorum affixa marcata erat. 2<sup>a</sup> fardell earundem trium in se continet novem vannos coloris subsequentis, de quibus sunt 4<sup>or</sup> blodii coloris et unum russet, unde quilibet pannus ipsorum quinque est cum sexta marca in margine [*merchant's mark no. 6 in the left margin*] presentis publici instrumenti facta in cera impressa et residuum quatuor pannorum in eadem 2<sup>a</sup> fardella de numeris, colore et longitudine sequentibus: 1 a violet 28<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> virge, 3 a tawney 26, 5 a medlay 25 virge, a pluncket 22<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> cum duabus peciis de Northern dosseyens, a russet 12 virge, 1 russet pro involvatura ejusdem et quod quilibet ipsorum pannorum cum septima marca in margine [*merchant's mark no. 7 in the left margin*] presentis instrumenti facta in plumbo impressa marcata fuit. Et 3<sup>a</sup> fardella ipsorum in se continet 35 pecias de Northern dosseyens et quatuor pecias pro involvatura dicte 3<sup>cie</sup> fardelle.

[4.] Item supradictus Radulphus Foxley vive vocis oraculo dixit, deposuit et certificavit mihi notario publico subscripto per juramentum suum factum ad et super sancta Dei evangelia tacta per eum corporali scriptura verum fuisse et esse, quod ipse Radulphus deponens in supradicto mense Augusti [Aug. 1533] carcari et onerari fecit de bonis suis

propriis in predicta nave vocata le Christofer duas paccas pannorum laneorum vocatorum Northern dosseyens diversorum colorum, unde una ipsarum duarum pacca signata ab extra super canabase cum numero 5 et mercata cum octava marca in margine [*merchant's mark no. 8 in left margin*] presentis instrumenti facta in se continente pecias 36 cum octo peciis hujusmodi duodenariarum pro volvatura ejusdem pacci et altera inde pacca ab extra super canabase ejusdem signata cum numero 5 et similiter cum prefata marca proxima antea marcata fuit, in se continente alias 26 pecie cum 8 peciis hujusmodi duodenararum pro volvatura ejusdem pacce et unde quelibet pecia ipsarum duodenarum impressa fuit in plumbo cum le pellycan.

[5.] Item predictus Willelmus Wilford dixit, deposuit et certificavit mihi dicto notario per juramentum suum factum ad et super sancta Dei evangelia tacta per eum manu sua dextera corporali scriptura verum fuisse et esse, quod idem Willelmus Wilford in predicto mense Augusti [*Aug. 1533*] onerari fecit in dicta navi unum pannum factum coloris puke in se continentem 22 virgas ac unum remanentem russeti continentem 7 virgas cum dimidia mensura Anglie inclusum in tilleta de buckeram ac unum bargelot factum in Hispania cum certis rebus in eorum clausis ad valorem £4 sterlingorum ascendentem.

[6.] Item predictus Radulphus Foxley jurando ut supra dixit, deposuit et certificavit mihi dicto notario verum fuisse et esse, quod Galfridus Vaughan apprenticius suus habuit in dicta nave tempore captionis ejusdem in pecuniis numeratis et aliis rebus ac apparatibus sibi spectantibus ascendentibus ad valorem £4 13s 4d sterlingorum.

[7.] Et ulterius supradicti Thomas Gale, Robertus Wilford, Radulphus Foxley et Willelmus Wilford jurando ut supra dixerunt, deposuerunt et certificaverunt mihi dicto notario verum fuisse et esse, quod ipsi et eorum quilibet fieri causaverunt separales cokkettas in nomine dicti Johannis Sewars solummodo ob metum Scotorum et navium armatarum eorundem.

Acta fuerunt hec, prout suprascriptuntur et recitant, presentibus tunc ibidem discretis viris Johanne Joyce et Ricardo Gryg civibus et mercatoribus civitatis London' predictae, videlicet infra domum mei notarii presenti subscripti situata in vico publico de Lombard strete ejusdem civitatis testibus ad premissa vocata specialiter et rogata.

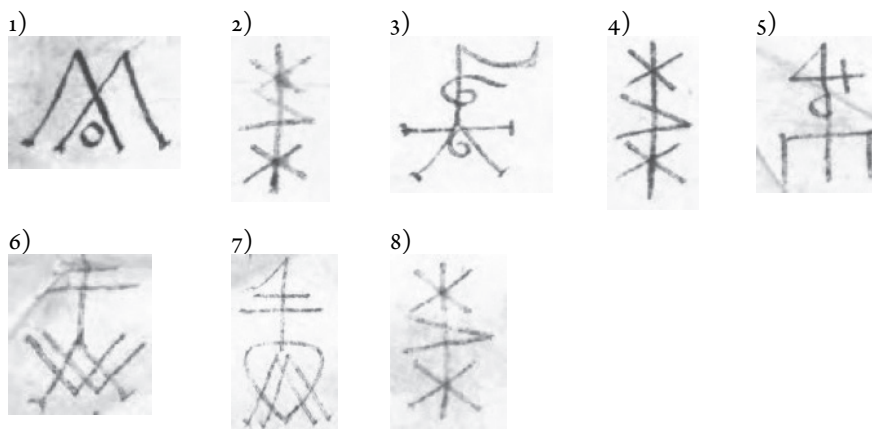


[Notary's mark of John Devereux of London]

Et quia ego Johannes Devereux clericus, civis civitatis London', publicus sacris apostolica et imperiali auctoritatibus notarius, predictis dictionibus, depositionibus et certificationibus prefatorum deponencium per eorum separalia juramenta forma ut supra facta necnon ceteris premissis omnibus et singulis, dum, sicut premititur, agebantur et fiebant unacum testibus prenominatis presens personaliter interfui eaque omnia et singula sic fieri vidi et audivi, igitur hoc instrumentum – me aliunde prepedito – per alium scribi feci signoque et nomine meis solitis et consuetis signavi in fidem et testimonium omnium et singulorum premissorum.

*The following merchants' marks occurrences in the source refer to the same symbol: (2, 4, 8).*





[67.] *Inventory of goods (taken in the presence of the Lübeck councillor Hans Sengesaken and the secretary of the London Counter Henning [Kulemeyer]) from the Spanish ship [the Christopher de Moria], presently in the inner harbor of Hamburg, in the custody of Kort Meyneken; one copy of the indenture goes to Lübeck, the other to the London Counter. — 1533 Nov. 2. Hamburg.*

*HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, no. 22c, f. 2<sup>r</sup>. Original. Paper. Unsealed.<sup>71</sup>*

Dusse nagescreven guder syn by Kort Meyneken yn vorwaringe.

Item 1 pecsken bereven darynne 9 sagen

Item 10 <sup>a</sup>grote<sup>a</sup> tynnen vathe wegen

Item 14 bunt flasses wegen

Item 1 korff unde etlyke kysten; wes darynne ys my nicht bewust

In dat Hyspanieske schipp myt synem geschutte licht vor Hamborg bynnen bames up der Elve yn guder vorwaringe.

Dusse guder unde packen, we bavengescreven, heben mede besichtiget de erbar her Hans Sengesakenn [*councillor of Lübeck*] unde de wolgelerde magister Hennyngus [Kulemeyer] des kopmans secreterer thu Lunden sampt anderen loffwerdigen luden werden des tugenusse geven, wor des nodic werth syn. Unde tho merer orkunde syn dusser schriffte 2 gemaket gehales ludes unde ynholdes myt des erbaren hern Hans Segestaken egen hant underscreven, de eyne by dem erbarn rade tho Lubeck, de ander myt des kopmans secreterer nha Lunden gesant. Geven unde screven Hamborg, den 2. Novembris anno 1533.

[*signed*] Hans Senghstake

<sup>a-a</sup> *Entered in the left margin with catchmark HL.*

[68.] *Goods found in chests of the Spanish [probably the mariners' portage from the Christopher de Moria] and which are presently in the custody of Korth Meyken of Hamburg. — (undated).*

*HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, no. 22e. Paper booklet of 2 folios. Unsealed.<sup>72</sup>*

<sup>71</sup> Note that in this piece, the letter 'u' is occasionally signalled by a superscribed breve (ü) in order to distinguish it from two minims. Since this has no effect on the pronunciation of the word, it is transcribed as 'u'.

<sup>72</sup> See note 70.

Dusse nagescreven guder syn erfunden yn der Hyspannier kysten, wylke by Korth  
Meyken ynwonaringe tho Hamborg.

Uth dusser husen schepe.

A

7 stuvén Engels wantes  
13 par knotter mowen  
1 plaw Engels mantel  
2 hemmede

B

1 stuve graw Engels  
1 rock myt knelingk gesoders  
1 paxken sagen  
1 hemedé  
6 salser tynnen  
2 kompase

C

1 stuve pel want  
3 stuve ruddock  
2 graue rocke  
1 olt par hosen  
1 bereet  
1 swarte olde Spanske cappe  
1 kastylipper  
1 tynnen kanne  
1 karte  
1 compas  
3 carnateny yn golde

Uth Reymer Otten

D

3 grawe mantel  
2 palt rocke  
1 par witter wantbuxsten

E

2 klene stuvén wandes  
3 wambose  
1 swart rock  
2 koken  
1 stuve graw schottes  
6 hemde  
3 par older hasen  
1 graw mantel  
1 parney

2 Engelske keste

½ halve hesken myt synem rescup

F

1 swarte olde Spanske kappe  
3 klene stuvén blaw want  
2 kleyne tynnen kannen  
1 kastilipper  
1 par older hosen  
3 olde bonnithe<sup>a</sup>

G

3 grote tynnen wasse  
27 tynnen segalen  
25 tynnen klene wates  
2 tynnen kannen  
2 mysinges luchter  
1 mysynges moser  
1 rooth banir  
4 par knotter hosen  
1 stuve Engels want  
1 neye sagen wames  
4 par neyer hosen  
1 with hosen laken  
2 swarte nye kappen  
2 nye pub rocke  
1 ulle swart Engels  
2 par nyer scho

H

2 tynnen kannen  
1 klene korff myt pluserye

J

3 tynnen spyse warte  
26 tynnen schelen  
2 kynder berode  
3 ullen wathwellelynd<sup>a</sup>  
1 Spanske kappe  
1 spegel  
1 par olde hosen  
1 olt wames  
1 par kleyner kynder scho

## K

2 tynnen kannen  
 8 tynnen wathe  
 8 tynnen schalen  
 1 tynnen soltwar  
 4 hemedede

## L

3 tynnen spyse wathe fyn yn o

## M

1 swart Spansken goder  
 2 par krussen<sup>a</sup>  
 1 par buxsen  
 2 olde hemedede

## N

1 nye swart liffroock ys yn o

## O

1 swarte Spanske kappe  
 1 swart palt rock  
 2 grawe liffroocke  
 1 stuve wites wantes  
 1 stuve pel wantes  
 1 par roder hosen  
 1 berates

## P

1 klene kastylier  
 unde ander pluserye myt mer wades

## Q

1 nye palt rock  
 4 packen so gesneden kledingen edder  
 schrotarwick<sup>a</sup>

## R

1 Spanske kappe myt 1 witte cruce  
 1 swart rock laken  
 1 blaw rock laken  
 4 par witter hosen  
 2 liffroocke

1 pale rock  
 1 kompas  
 2 stund<sup>a</sup> pluse  
 1 karte  
 4 bonithe

## S

2 stuve blaw wantes  
 1 brun hosen laken  
 1 stuve woldeck  
 1 Spanske kappe  
 3 par hosen  
 1 graw mantel  
 3 hemde  
 3 kastilier  
 6 par scho  
 3 rokens beke

## T

1 grou rock laken  
 1 swarte stuve wandes  
 2 palt rocke  
 3 stucke dwolkes  
 1 blaw parney

## U

1 par hosen

## V

4 par nedder hosen  
 1 kastylier  
 2 par krassen  
 2 spegel

## W

1 stuve wandes danetes  
 1 stuve roetes Engels  
 1½ ullen wit Engels  
 1 Spanske kappe  
 1 olt wammes  
 40 tynnen kleine vathe  
 1 tynnen wynkanne  
 4 Spanske bagen

Uth duster hosen bereven korffen

<sup>a</sup> Reading uncertain HL.

[69.] On 7 Apr. 1534, in the presence of the undersigned notary (Johannes Kloth alias Platen), Johannes Hulpp, proconsul of Hamburg in the diocese of Bremen, specially deputized by the Hamburg council, there appeared Alphonsus de Sancto Johan, a Spanish merchant residing in London in England, and Joan de Lusi, of the Galician town of Muros, in their capacity as plenipotentiary deputies of Albert de Astudillo, Ferdinand de Verdesse, Johannes de Arabiano and Joannes de Bewariis, also present being magister Johannes Hoper, specially deputized by the Lübeck council, to settle claims in their own names as well as those of their principals and fully recover goods which, in the summer of 1533 off the coast of England, were taken by milites stipendarii of Lübeck who with their warships seized the Spaniards' ship, stole these goods and brought them (rapuerant, receperant et abduxerant) to Hamburg, for the restitution of which the Spaniards have come to Hamburg. There, in the presence of Joachim Gherkens, proconsul,<sup>73</sup> and Johannes de Lennepen,<sup>74</sup> the Spaniards were – by the explicit command and assent of the Lübeck council – satisfied of the value of (1) 83 magnis quam parvis sarcinis panni, as itemized (with their merchants' marks) in a certified schedule which was publically displayed, (2) 48 dickers of hides, (3) 1 small congeriem of flax, (4) 10 vascula stannea with 20 chests belonging to the shipmaster and the mariners containing goods and clothing, (5) 20 vasa sive botas of Lisbon oil, (6) 1 centena of Brouage (Bruwase) salt estimated to be worth 96 mr. lub. The ship (navis corbitam sive kraveel vocatam vulgari nomine Almanice) Christofer captained by the said Joan de Lus, together with certain goods and merchandise belonging to him, which ship the said procurators Alphonsus de Sancto Joan and Joan de Lusi sold for 1230 mr. lub. in Hamburg. The said Joan de Lusi complained that certain articles of clothing, chests and goods belonging to him and his mariners had been taken, for which the Lübeck council compensated him with 100 mr. lub. in cash. The plenipotentiaries Alphonsus de Sancto Joan and Joan de Lusi acknowledge, by oath, receipt of adequate compensation, wherewith all their claims and those of their principals (and their heirs) against Lübeck are deemed to have been satisfied. Witnesses: Jodocus Burhorne, Sebastianus de Winthen, citizens of Hamburg. Notary: Johannes Kloth alias Platen, cleric of the diocese of Bremen. This true copy of the notarial instrument is attested by Michael Petri, cleric of the diocese of Schwerin. — 1534 Apr. 7. Hamburg.

HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, no. 10. Contemporaneous notarial copy of a notarial instrument. Paper. Unsealed.<sup>75</sup>

[70.] The rector navis Johannes de Lusi, dwelling in the town of Morys (Muros) in Galicia, and Alphonus de Sancto Joan, dwelling the the city of London in England, both Spaniards, acting as the procurators and commissioners of Joan Bewariis, dwelling in the said town of Morys, acknowledge receipt (for themselves and their principals and their heirs) in dieta Hamburgensi from the Lübeck proconsul Joachim Gherkens

<sup>73</sup> Ratslinie no. 605.

<sup>74</sup> Not listed in Ratslinie.

<sup>75</sup> Note that in this piece, the letter 'u' is occasionally signalled by a superscribed double accent aigue (û) or a breve (ü) in order to distinguish it from two minims. Since this has no effect on the pronunciation of the word, they are transcribed as 'u'.

and the Lübeck council member Johannes de Lennepen (acting at the behest of the entire council) of compensation for all the goods taken by those of Lübeck in a ship called Christophorus, skippered by the said Joan de Lusi, off the coast of England last summer, namely one bale seu sarcina of cloth and 11 chests containing all in all 7 cloths, clothing, tin and other goods, namely 100 marks of Lübeck and declare all claims to be satisfied. Sealed with the signets of de Lusi and de Sancto Joan in Hamburg 7 Apr. 1534. Translated from the German and attested as a true copy by Michael Petri, cleric of the diocese of Schwerin, notary. — 1534 Apr. 7. Hamburg.

HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, no. 13. Contemporaneous copy. Paper. Unsealed.<sup>76</sup>

- [71.] Alphonsus de Sancto Joan, a Spaniard residing in London in England, acting as procurator of Albart de Astudilla, Ferdinand de Verdese and Johannes de Arabiano, acknowledges (also in the name of his principals) receipt of the goods taken in the previous year by milites stipendarii of Lübeck off the coast of England, having come to Hamburg to receive them from Joachim Gherkens proconsul and Johannes de Lennepen councillor of Lübeck, namely 79 large and small bales sive sarcinas of cloth, one bale of flax, 40 dickers of hides, 10 vasa of tin, 9 chests with clothing and other things and all other goods taken off England. As for the goods taken from ships called hoyges, namely 20 vasa of oil of Lisbon and 1 cwt of salt of Brouage (Bruwasie), he acknowledges receipt of 96 mr. lub. representing the full value of these goods. He declares all claims to have been satisfied. In testimony whereof he has sealed this quitclaim with his own signet and signed it with his full name. Done in Hamburg, 7 Apr. 1534. Translated from the German and attested by Michael Petri, cleric of the diocese of Schwerin, notary. — 1534 Apr. 7. Hamburg.

HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, no. 14. Contemporaneous copy. Paper. Unsealed.<sup>77</sup>

B) MARIA DE GATOLOPE (SKIPPER JOHANNES DE CALEGIO)

- [72.] On 20 Sept. 1533 in the house of the underscribed notary (John Devereux) in Lombard Street in the parish of St Mary Wolnoth in London, there appeared in the presence of the notary and the witnesses one Thomas Cole, citizen and merchant taylor of London, 64 years old or thereabouts, Simon Briganden, citizen and merchant taylor of London, 28 years old or thereabouts, both of good fame, and deposed under oath in regard to their losses in the taking of the Maria de Gatolope. — 1533 Sept. 20. London.

HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, no. 20. Original notarial instrument with notary's mark of John Devereux cleric and citizen of London (see below). Parchment. Unsealed.

76 Note that in this piece, the letter 'u' is occasionally signalled by a superscribed double accent aigue (û) or a breve (ũ) in order to distinguish it from two minims. Since this has no effect on the pronunciation of the word, they are transcribed as 'u'.

77 Note that in this piece, the letter 'u' is occasionally signalled by a superscribed double accent aigue (û) or a breve (ũ) in order to distinguish it from two minims. Since this has no effect on the pronunciation of the word, they are transcribed as 'u'.

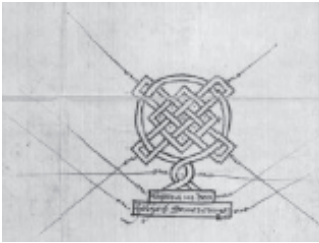
In Dei nomine amen. Per hoc presens publicum instrumentum cunctis evidenter appareat, quod anno Domini ab incarnatione millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo tercio, indicione sexta, pontificatus vero sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri domini Clementis, divina providencia hujus nominis pape septum, anno decimo, mensis vero Septembris, die 20<sup>a</sup> [20 Sept. 1533], infra domum habitacionis mei notarii publici subscripti situatam in vico publico de Lombard Strete in parochia Beate Marie Wolnoth, civitatis London', in meique ejusdem notarii ac testium infrascriptorum presencia personaliter constituti prudentes viri Thomas Cole, civis et mercator scissor ejusdem civitatis, etatis, ut asseruit, 64<sup>or</sup> annorum vel circiter, et Simon Briganden, etiam civis et mercator scissor civitatis predictae, etatis, ut recolit, viginti et octo annorum vel incirca, homines bone fame et conversationis illese, non vi, dolo, metu, fraude seu aliqua machinatione sinistra inducti, seducti, coacti, decepti vel circumventi, sed ex eorum meris, liberis, puris et spontaneis voluntatibus ad futuram rei memoriam et pro rei veritatis infrascripte declaracione, ut evidenter apparuit et ut palam et publice fatebantur et confessi fuerunt et eorum alter fatebatur et confessus fuit, ad defensionem et conservationem jurium ipsorum et eorum alterius, dixerunt, deposuerunt et certificaverunt mihi notario publico subscripto per eorum separalia juramenta facta modo et forma subsequentibus, videlicet

[1.] In primis dictus Thomas Cole animo deliberato dixit, deposuit et certificavit mihi notario publico subscripto per juramentum suum factum ad et super sancta Dei evangelia tactis per eum manu sua dextera corporaliter scripturis verum fuisse et esse, quod ipse Thomas Cole deponens in mense Julii jam proxime preterito ante presentem publicum instrumentum in quadam nave tunc vocata <sup>a</sup>Maria de Gatolope<sup>a</sup>, de qua Johannes de Calegio sub Dei potestate fuit magister, tres fardellas pannorum laneorum in eis continentes 30 pannos et 6 pecias cottons pro voluatura ipsorum, unde quilibet pannus et quilibet pecia cottons in eisdem in plumbo cum marca propria ipsius deponentis prima in margine hujus instrumenti facta [*merchant's mark no. 1 in left margin*] ad finem cujuslibet eorum fuit marcata et ab extra super canabaso cujuslibet ipsorum secunda marca in margine presentis instrumenti [*merchant's mark no. 2 in left margin*] posita fuit in portu civitatis London' de bonis suis propriis carcari et onerari fecit et quod longitudo cujuslibet earundem apparet per quandam schedulam manu propria ipsius Thome scriptam desuper filatam et colorum subsequentem, videlicet prima fardella in se continet, ut sequitur: a grene 26 $\frac{1}{4}$  virge, a vesse 24 $\frac{3}{4}$  virge, a vesse 24 $\frac{1}{2}$ , a grene medley 25, a redde 26, 1 redde 26, a redde 26, a redde 26, a redde 26 cum duabus voluaturis, a horseflesshe 22 $\frac{1}{2}$  goodes, a russet 26 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Secunda fardella in se continet a tawney 24 $\frac{1}{2}$ , a blewe 24 $\frac{1}{4}$ , a blewe 24, a muster 25, a muster 25, a russet 25 $\frac{3}{4}$ , a violet 24 $\frac{1}{4}$ , 1 violet 24 $\frac{3}{4}$ , a grene medley 24, a vesse 25 cum duabus voluaturis, a russet 22 $\frac{1}{4}$  goodes, a yelow 22 $\frac{1}{2}$  goodes. Et tertia fardella in se continet a russet 24 $\frac{1}{2}$ , a pluncket 25 $\frac{3}{4}$ , a violet 24 $\frac{3}{4}$ , a blew 24 $\frac{1}{2}$ , a blew 24 $\frac{3}{4}$ , a grene medley 25, a vesse 24 $\frac{1}{2}$ , a tawney 24 $\frac{1}{2}$ , a muster 25 $\frac{1}{4}$ , a muster 25 $\frac{1}{4}$  cum duabus voluaturis, a kenet 23 goodes and a grene 22 goodes. Item dictus Thomas deponens per dictum suum juramentum ut supra dixit, deposuit et certificavit mihi notario publico subscripto verum fuisse et esse, quod ipse deponens scribi et subscribi fecit separales schedulas cognosciamenti carcationis hujusmodi 3 fardellarum pannorum concernentes in nomine Francisci Maswelle alienigene solummodo ob metum Scotorum et navium armatarum eorundem.

[2.] Item predictus Symon Briganden vive vocis oraculo dixit, deposuit et certificavit mihi dicto notario publico subscripto per juramentum suum factum ad et super sancta

Dei evangelia tactis per eum manu sua dextera corporaliter scripturis verum fuisse et esse, quod ipse Simon deponens in predicto mense Julii de bonis suis propriis in predicta nave et in dicto portu London' unam paccam pannorum laneorum ab extra marca propria ipsius Simonis in margine presentis instrumenti 3<sup>o</sup> facta [*merchant's mark no. 3 in left margin*] de numero 3 etiam super eandem facto colorum et longitudinum subsequencium, videlicet a vesse 25½ virge, 1 meddley 26, a blew 24¼, a russet 24, a light grene 26¾, a muster 25½, a medley 25½, a vesse 25¼, a blew 24¼, a light grene 26, a pluncket 24¾, a pluncket 25½, 3 gyngs, 5 russettes of Northe, 10 yards of fyne brown grene carcari et onerari fecit. Item dictus Simon jurando ut supra dixit, deposuit et certificavit mihi dicto notario publico subscripto verum fuisse et esse, quod idem Simon deponens scribi et subscribi fecit separaliles schedulas cognosciamenti carcacionis hujusmodi fardellarum de numero 3 ipsius deponentis concernentes in nomine Petri de Berevey alienigene solummodo ob metum Scotorum et navium armatarum eorundem.

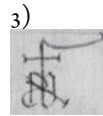
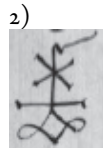
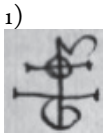
Acta fuerunt hec, prout suprascibuntur et recitantur, presentibus tunc ibidem discretis viris Johanne Banckes et Radulpho Foxley, civibus et mercatoribus antedictae civitatis London' testibus ad premissa vocatis specialiter atque rogatis.



*Notary's mark of John Devereux*

Et quia ego Johannes Devereux clericus, civis civitatis London', publicus sacris apostolica et imperiali auctoritatibus notarius, predictis dictionibus, depositionibus et certificationibus prefatorum deponentium et eorum alterius per juramenta sua separalia forma ut supra facta necnon ceteris premissis omnibus et singulis, dum, sicut premititur, agebantur et fiebant unacum testibus prenominatis presens personaliter interfui eaque omnia et singula sic fieri vidi et audiui, igitur hoc instrumentum – me aliunde prepedito – per alium scribi feci signoque et nomine meis solitis et consuetis signavi in fidem et testimonium omnium et singulorum premissorum rogatus et requisitus

<sup>a-a</sup> *Entered by a different hand in a gap left by the notary for completion of the entry HL.*



[73.] *Middle Low German translation of the depositions of John Hampton, Humphrey Knight, Thomas Blancke, Thomas Kole, Simon Bryganden, Robert Pagiet, Thomas Gale, Robert Wilfort, Ralph Voxley, William Wilfort. — (undated).<sup>78</sup>*

<sup>78</sup> These goods were shipped in different vessels, and indeed some contained imports into England (§ 1-3) and others exports from England to the continent (§ 4-11), but they form a unity because they were all brought to Hamburg.

*HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, no. 21. Contemporaneous copy. Paper.  
Unsealed.*<sup>79</sup>

[1.] Johannes Hampton hefft mýt synem geswarede beholden und wargemaket, dath he beyde vor syck und in namen Johannis Bryngborne, dewelke gedachten Johannis masschopper is<sup>a</sup>, eyne schuten, darup Johannes Wylyyamson van Middelborch in Holandt schipper is<sup>b</sup>, gewest hebbe<sup>c</sup> mýt dussen synen navolgenden gudern in Zelandt ghefrachtet, also myt 32 wage bruns soltes Engelscher mathe und myt 5½ dusent castrickstene<sup>d</sup> und eyne kisten myt der resschup und kledern so dar beÿ den gedachten factor hefft gewest und syn de guder werdt gewest 40 punt sterlinges.

[2.] Humfridus Knÿcht hefft myt synem ede beholden, dat sÿn factor Thomas Wakeham in eyne schuten to Flussching to hus behorende, darup Adrian van Sterre<sup>e</sup> schipper is gewest, hebbe geschepet 14 tunen soltes vissches, darvan ein etlik tun also [*merchant's mark no. 1 follows*] is gemarket, so syn der Lubschen orlage schepe der gemelten schuten bojegent und hebben dar 9 tunen vissches uthgenamen, derhalven he genante Humfridus so gudt als 6 punt und 6s Flamisscher grote in schaden gekamen sampt der expensen.

[3.] Thomas Blancke hefft mýt synem ede beholden, dat syn factor Gÿlbertus Pervissche eine kleÿne trusse, darinne 48<sup>f</sup> dossyn<sup>f</sup> sÿden gordel syn beslaten gewest in obgemelten schuten hebbe geschepet und dat desulve<sup>g</sup> klein pacskens<sup>g</sup> trusse sy werdt gewest 14 punt und 16s Flamisscher grote, baven den tollens, de syck<sup>h</sup> belopt up 8s Flamissch.

[4.] <sup>i</sup>Thomas Kole hefft mýt sÿnem ede erholden und wargemaket, dath he hebbe geschepet in ein schip geheten Maria van Gatalope, darup Johannes van Calegio is schipper gewest, 3 packen wullen laken. In densulven syn gewest 30 laken und 6 stücke cotton vor ummeslege, darvan ein etlik laken und stücke cottons mýt gedachter Thomas marke am rande in bleÿ gedruckti, am ende eÿnes etliken dersulven is gemarket und van buten upp dem ummeslage myt dem andern marke gemarket [*merchant's marks no. 2 und 3 in the left margin*] und de lenge dersulven laken erschint durch ein zedel myt syner egen hanth geschreven und daraver her geneyet van navolgender verwe, also de erste packe hefft in syck ein gron van 26 garden 1 quarter<sup>k</sup>, 1 visse van 24 garden 3 quarter, 1 visse 24 garden 2 quarter, 1 duncker gron 25 garden, 1 rodt 26 garden, 1 rodt 26 garden, 1 rodt 26 garden, 1 rodt 26 garden, 1 rodt 26 garden myt 2 ummeslegen van horseflessche so genant 22 gudes 2 quarter, 1 russet 26 garden 2 quarter. De ander packe helt in syck 1 tannet 24 garden 2 quarter, 1 blaw 24 garden 1 quarter, 1 blaw 24 garden, 1 musterfyllre 25 garden, 1 musterfyllir 25 garden, 1 russet 25 garden 3 quarter, 1 violen 24 garden 1 quarter, 1 violen 24 garden 3 quarter, 1 duncker gron 24 garden, 1 visse 25 garden myt 2 ummeslegen, 1 russet 22 gudes 1 quarter, 1 geel 22 gudes 2 quarter. Und de drytte packe holt in syck 1 russet 24 garden 2 quarter, 1 licht blaw 25 garden 3 quarter, 1 violen 24 garden 3 quarter, 1 blaw 24 garden 2 quarter, 1 blaw 24 garden 3 quarter, 1 duncker gron 25 garden, 1 visse 24 garden 2 quarter, 1 tannet 24 garden 2 quarter, 1 muster 25 garden 1 quarter, 1 muster 25 garden 1 quarter myt 2 ummeslegen, 1 ekemut 23 gudes und 1 gron 22 gudes. Item de gemelte

<sup>79</sup> Note that in this piece, the letter 'u' is occasionally signalled by a superscribed breve (ü) in order to distinguish it from two minims. Since this has no effect on the pronunciation of the word, it is transcribed as 'u'. In addition, the scribe has employed a superscribed breve to signal the letter 'w' (blew, verwe, louwande). This is transcribed as 'w'.



Thomas hefft myt demsulven ede wargemaket, dat he hebbe laten schryven besundere zede<sup>l</sup> van wegen und in namen Francisci Maswello eynes fromdtlinges alleyn umme fruchten wyllen der Schotten und ehrer orlage schepe to eyner erckentnisse und teken der vorfrachtunge der 3 packen.

[5.] <sup>m</sup>Item Simon Brÿganden hefft myt synem ede wargemaket und erholden, dat he in dath gemelte schip Maria van Gatalope van synen egen propren gudern heft geschepet 1 packen wullen laken van buten myt synem egen marcke am rande [*merchant's mark no. 4 in the left margin*] also dem drydden gemarket dat drydde des tales ock upp desulven packen der nachvolgenden verwe und lenge gemarket, also 1 visse 25 garden 2<sup>n</sup> quarter, 2 myddelmelich<sup>o</sup> 26 garden, 1 blaw 24 garden 1 quarter, 1 russet 24 garden, 1 licht gron 26 garden 3 quarter, 1 musteryfillir<sup>p</sup> 25 garden 2 quarter, 1 myddelmelich<sup>o</sup> 25 garden 2 quarter, 1 visse 25 garden 1 quarter<sup>l</sup>, 1 blaw<sup>r</sup> 24 garden 1 quarter, 1 licht gron 26 garden, 1 pluncket<sup>s</sup> also genant 24 garden 3 quarter, 1 pluncket 25 garden 2 quarter, 3 gÿnges also genompt, 5 russet an der northseden gemaket 10 garden, offt fÿn brun growe.

[6.] Rubertus Pagiet alderman uns hefft myt synem geswaren ede wargemaket, dath he 2 packen vlasses in ein schip genompt le Christoffer van Le ein Moria in dem grensen Galitie, darup Johannes Shewars is schipper gewest, hebbe geschepet, darvan albeyde dersulven packen myt Robertus marke am rande is gemarket [*merchant's mark no. 5 in the left margin*].

[7.] Item Thomas Gale hefft myt synem ede wargemaket, dath he in obgemelten schip <sup>f</sup>1 packen<sup>f</sup> im tale dat verde<sup>t</sup> hebbe geschepet in sick holdende 16<sup>u</sup> korte laken und 12 stücke de statutes blodii<sup>v</sup> verwe also genompt vor ummeslege myt anderm marke [*merchant's mark no. 6 in the left margin*] up <sup>w</sup>dem<sup>w</sup> lynnewande gemarket van verwe und lenge, wo volget, 1 violen 24 garden 3 quarter, 1 visse 24 garden 1 quarter, 1 rodt 25 garden und 1 [quarter], 1 musteryfillre van 24 garden 3 quarter, 1 duncker gron van 24 garden 1 quarter, 1 musteryfillre van 24 garden 3 quarter, 1 violen van 24 garden 1 quarter, 1 visse van 24 garden 3 quarter, 1 duncker gron van 24 garden 3 quarter, 1 russet van 24½ garden, 1 russet van 24 garden 1 quarter, 1 blaw van 24 garden 3 quarter, 1 blaw van 25½ garden, 1 blaw van 24 garden<sup>x</sup>, 1 blaw van 24½ garden, 1 blaw van 24 garden. Und vortes heft desulve Thomas Gale by dem vorigen ede wargemaket, dat emhe so wol alle dusse<sup>y</sup> 16 stücke sodaner wullen laken egen tobehren also <sup>z</sup>de<sup>z</sup> vorigen 12 stücke van statuten der verwe so genompt myt dem derden marke am ra[n]de<sup>aa</sup> [*merchant's mark no. 7 in the left margin*] in bley gedrukt eynem etliken laken angehefftet.

[8.] Item Robertus Wilfordt hefft myt synem ede beholden, dat he in vilgedachte schip 3 packen<sup>ab</sup> korter wullen laken myt dersulven laken ummeslage genant Robertus und synen brodern proper und egentlich tokamen, darvan 1 etlick packe dersulven van buten up dem darummege<sup>slagen</sup> louwande myt dem verden marcke so am rande steit [*merchant's mark no. 8 in the left margin*], is gemarket und dath erste dersulven stücke holt in syck 16 laken van tale, verwe und lenge, wo volget, also **297** blawe<sup>ac</sup> van 24 garden 3 quarter, **298** blawe van 24 garden 2 quarter, **293** blawe van 23 garden 3 quarter, **284** blawe van 24 garden 2 quarter, **245** blawe van 24 garden 2 quarter, **259** visse van 25 garden 1 quarter, **272** visse van 25 garden, **165** myddelmetige van 25 garden 2 quarter, **173** myddelmetige van 25 garden, **299** rode van 25 garden 3 quarter, **224** russet van 25 garden, **175** russet van 25 garden 1 quarter, **34** musteryfillre van 25 garden, **172** musteryfillre van 25 garden, **171** musteryfillre van 25 garden 2 quarter, **277** pluncket so genompt van<sup>ad</sup> 26 garden. Nach dusser 16 laken

lenge 400 garden und 1 quarter myt 3 stucken van cotton vor ummeslege dessulven packen dat erste im tale erholt in syck, wo folget: 1 gron<sup>ae</sup> van 21 gudes 1 quarter, 1 grone van 21<sup>af</sup> gudes 3 quarter, 1 grone van 20 gudes 3 quarter, darvan<sup>ah</sup> ein islik stücke sodaner korten laken myt dem vofften marke am rande [*merchant's mark no. 9 in the left margin*] in bley gedruckt und eynem idern dersulven laken angehefftet is gemarket, de ander packe dersulven<sup>ai</sup> dryer erholt in syck 9 laken der volgenden verwe, van welchen synt 4 blodii verwe so genompt und 1 russet, darvan ein etlik laken der 5 is myt dem sesten marke am rande [*merchant's mark no. 10 in the left margin*] in was gedruckt gemarket und de reste der 4 laken in demsulven andern pack van navolgender tale, verwe und lenge: 1 violen van 28 garden 1 quarter, 3 tannetes van 26 garden, 5 myddelmetige van 25 garden, 5 pluncket van 22 garden 3 quarter myt 2 stucken an de northseden gemaket dosseyñs genompt, 1 russet van 12 garden, 1 russet<sup>aj</sup> tom ummeslage dessulven und dat ein etlik der 4 laken myt dem hovenen marke am rande [*merchant's mark no. 11 in the left margin*] in bley gedruckt is gemarket. Und de 3 packe holt in syck 35 stücke an der northsyden gemaket dosseyñs genompt und 4 stücke vor ummeslage der genanten 3 packen.

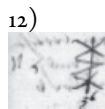
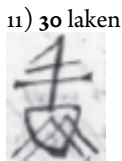
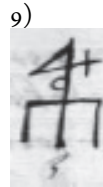
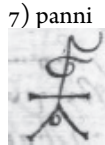
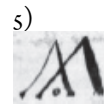
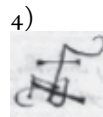
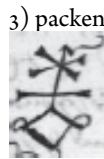
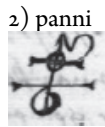
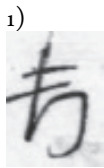
[9.] Item Radulphus Voxley<sup>ak</sup> hefft myt synem geswaren ede beholden, dath he in dath vorgedachten schip van synen egen und properen gudern 2 packen<sup>al</sup> wullen laken genompten Northern dosseyñs man niperley vor we<sup>f</sup>geschepet hebbe<sup>f</sup> darna 1 dersulven 2 packen is getekent van buten up dem ummegeßlagen louwean des vofften tales und achten marke am rande [*merchant's mark no. 12 in the left margin*] und heft in sick 30 stücke und 6 myt 8 stucken sodaner dosseyñs vor ummeslege dersulven packen und<sup>am</sup> darvan de packen van buten up dem ummegeßlagen louwande is getekent dat soste im tale und des geliken my dem<sup>an</sup> vorgerurten marke is gemarket und erholt in syck 36 stücke myt 8 stucken sollicher 12 dossyne vor ummeslage dersulven packen und einem etlick stücke der 12 dossyne is ein pellican in bley gedruckt angehefft<sup>ao</sup>.

[10.] Item Wylhelmus Wylfordt heft myt synem geswaren ede wargemaket, dath he in vilgedachte schip geschepet hefft 1 fin laken van der verwe pucke geheten hefft in sick 22 garden und 1 stufen russet hefft in syck 7½ garden Engelscher math geslagen in buckeram<sup>ap</sup> so genompt<sup>aq</sup> und ein bargelot gemaket in Hispannie myt sunderliken resschuppe in datsulve bargelot, dat kistken so genompt geslagen is werdt gewest 4 punt sterlinges.

[11.] Ock hefft de vilgedachte Radulphus Foxley myt synem ede wargemaketh, dath sin knecht Galfridus Vaugan hebbt gehat in demsulven schepe also idt genamen is worden, in getaldem gelde sampt andern dingen und resschup ehme eigentlich tobohorich so gudt also £4, 13s und<sup>ar</sup> 4d sterlinges.

[12.] Item dusse vorbenompt Thomas Gale, Robertus Wylfordt, Radulphus Foxley und Wylhelmus Wylfordt myt ehrem vorigen ede wargemaket, dat se hebben sunderlike tollen breve under dem namen des gedachten Johanns Sewars alleyn umme fruchten der Schotten und ehrer orlage schepen schreven laten, darmyt desulven ehre gudere desto sekerer mochten averkamen.

*The following merchants' marks occurrences in the source refer to the same symbol: (6, 8, 12).*



<sup>a</sup> inn follows, struck through HL. <sup>b</sup> gesch[reven] follows, struck through HL. <sup>c</sup> gesschepet he[fft] follows, struck through HL. <sup>d</sup> myt follows, struck through HL. <sup>e</sup> Hiterre L, in error. <sup>f-f</sup> Entered in the left margin with catchmark HL. <sup>g-g</sup> Marginated HL. eyn entered before it, struck through. schute follows, struck through. <sup>h</sup> beh follows, struck through HL. <sup>i</sup> recepit marginated against this entry HL. <sup>j</sup> is gemarket follows, struck through HL. <sup>k</sup> 1 vesse follows, struck through HL. <sup>l</sup> to follows, struck through HL. <sup>m</sup> recepit marginated against this entry and struck through HL. <sup>n</sup> 1 quarter follows, struck through HL. <sup>o</sup> Corrected in HL from myddelmechtich. <sup>p</sup> Corrected in HL from muster. fyllir entered in the left margin with catchmark. <sup>q</sup> 1 blaw follows, struck through HL. <sup>r</sup> 20 follows, struck through HL. <sup>s</sup> 4 follows, struck through HL. <sup>t</sup> packen follows, struck through HL. <sup>u</sup> laken follows, struck through HL. <sup>v</sup> blaw interlined above this word HL. Recepit vor Hamborg marginated against this line. <sup>w-w</sup> Interlined above dath, struck through HL. <sup>x</sup> 1 blaw follows, struck through HL. <sup>y</sup> stucke follows, struck through HL. <sup>z-z</sup> Interlined HL. <sup>aa</sup> gemarket follows, struck through HL. <sup>ab</sup> kortn follows, struck through HL. <sup>ac</sup> 24 follows, struck through HL. <sup>ad</sup> van repeated HL, in error. <sup>ae</sup> van follows, struck through HL. <sup>af</sup> garden follows, struck through L. <sup>ag</sup> garden follows, struck through HL. <sup>ah</sup> abbe follows, struck through HL. <sup>ai</sup> dryy follows, struck through HL. <sup>aj</sup> van follows, struck through HL. <sup>ak</sup> myt follows, struck through HL. <sup>al</sup> 2 marginated against this entry HL. <sup>am</sup> de afder follows, struck through HL. de ... marginated with catchmark and expunged. <sup>an</sup> vorg follows, struck through HL. <sup>ao</sup> ock hefft follows, struck through HL. <sup>ap</sup> laken hunen bakeram genomt entered beneath this word HL. <sup>aq</sup> vorkofft Johann van Horen vor 5 golden kronen marginated against this entry HL. At the top of the following page 2 grote russken is entered. <sup>ar</sup> 4s follows, struck through HL.

[74.] *Indenture (drawn up in the presence of the mayor of Lübeck, Johann Sengestake,<sup>80</sup> and Gosslick Remmynctotes<sup>81</sup>) accompanying the inventory of the goods from 'the Spanish ship' [probably the Christopher de Moria], presently in the custody of Mathias van Ryne. — 1533 Nov. 2. Hamburg.*

*HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, no. 22b. Original indenture. Paper. Unsealed. On the dorse: Van guder by Mathis van Ryne copie.<sup>82</sup>*

Ick Johann Hoper<sup>83</sup> bekenne offentlich myt dusser myner eigen hantschrifft, dat de erbar her Johann Segestaken unde Gosslick Remmynctotes syn avereyn gekomen myt dem ersamen Mathia van Ryne, de Hispaniessken <sup>a</sup>guder<sup>a</sup> yn syne behusinghe<sup>b</sup> trower vorwaringe tho nemen. Des schal unde wyl de erber rath der stat Lubeck des ferndel jars van ywelyken groten packen laken, der ym tale syn **13**, geven **4s** lub' unde von ywelyken klenen packen, der ym tale **67** syn, ock vom ywelyken deker velle, der ym tale **48** syn, unde 1 klene packen flasses **2s** lub' geven. Dar ock dit guet awer 1 fertel jares ynt ander by ergemelten Mathia vam Ryne stunde, so schal desulve hues <sup>c</sup>huer<sup>c</sup> enen vortganck hebben unde nar dat fertel jar gelick deme voregeven wollen betalinge doen, des schal ergenannte Matheas dem erbaren rade der stat Lubeck yn dusse 3 gude eyne trowehant holden immant anders tho levelende ane eynes erbarn der stat Lubeck sunderlyke bevelig ane alle geferde. Tho orkunde und thugenisse syn dusser schriffte **2** lykes ludes unde inheldes beramet uthenander gesneden, de eyne by Johann Hoper, de ander by Mathia van Ryne yn vorwaringe. Geven unde screven Hamborg, den **2. Nove[m]**bris anno **1533**.

<sup>a-a</sup> *Interlined HL.* <sup>b</sup> *Corrected in HL from behusinthe.* <sup>c-c</sup> *Entered in the left margin with catchmark HL.*

[75.] *Inventory drawn up by Johann Hoper (in the presence of the Lübeck councillor Hans Sengestaken and Goslick Rennerelickrath [Reminckrode]) of packs of cloth in the captured Spanish ship, which goods are presently in the custody of Mathias van Ryne in Hamburg. — [1533 Nov. 2]. Hamburg.*

*HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, no. 22c. Paper. Unsealed. On the dorse: Inventarium der Hispanesken guder den erbaren rade in Lubeck tho behendigen.<sup>84</sup>*

Ick Johann Hoper bekenne offentlick myt dusser myner egen hant schrifft, dat ick uth bevele eynes e[rbaren] r[ades] der keyserlyken stat Lubeck myner hern hebbe besichtiget

80 *Ratslinie* no. 638. He had previously belonged to the Committee of 64 (Wullenwever's power base) and was elected to the council on 21 Feb. 1533.

81 Merchant and shipowner of Reval, originally from Lübeck, who had insured the goods of the Spanish merchants: NAU 1 no. 151; HR IV 1, p. 168, no. 228 § 26-7, 35, p. 186 n. 4, no. 230 § 5, no. 231 § 2, no. 233 § 8, no. 255.

82 Note that in this piece, the letter 'u' is occasionally signalled by a superscribed double accent aigue (û) or a breve (ü) in order to distinguish it from two minims. Since this has no effect on the pronunciation of the word, they are transcribed as 'u'.

83 Magister. Previously Lübecker Schloßschreiber, Rentmeister auf Gotland.

84 Note that in this piece, the letter 'u' is occasionally signalled by a superscribed breve (ü) in order to distinguish it from two minims. Since this has no effect on the pronunciation of the word, it is transcribed as 'u'.

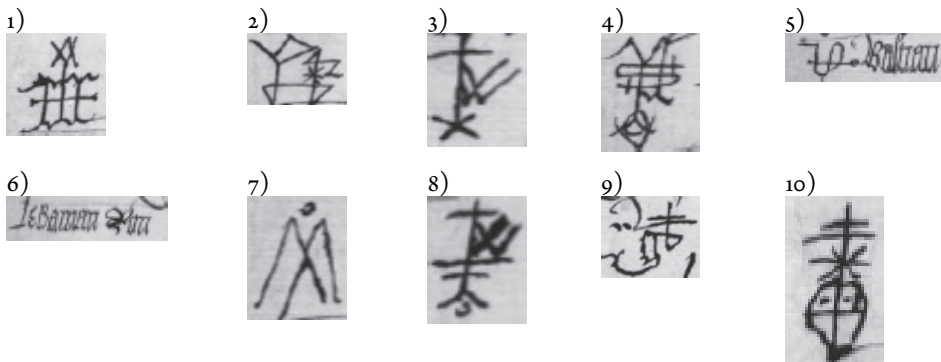
und gefunden by den ersamen Mathias van Ryne borger in Hamborch dorch den erbarn Hans Sengestaken<sup>85</sup> unde Goslick Rennerelickrath<sup>86</sup> unde de uthliggers der Lubesken orlages schepe eytlyke Hyspanieske guder, wylke dem patron tho besten by ergenanten Mathia van Ryne, bethe tho bequemer tzeit der segelacien scholen entholden werden.

In groten packen	Klene packen
[merchant's mark no. 1] 1 packe laken N° 2	[merchant's mark no. 9] 19 klene packen laken N° 88, 74, 73, 91, 90, 81, 151, 100, 76, 78, 86, 87, 89, 84, 83, 79, 82, 92, 77
[merchant's mark no. 2] 1 packen laken N° 1	[merchant's mark no. 10] 10 klene packen N° 96, 95, 99, 98, 104, 97, 94, 103, 101, 102
[merchant's mark no. 3] 3 <sup>a</sup> packen N° 5, 6, 7	[merchant's mark no. 11] 4 klene packen N° 21, 23, 24, 22
[merchant's mark no. 4] 2 packen N° 12, 13	[merchant's mark no. 12] 4 klene packen N° 1, 2, 3, 4
[merchant's mark no. 5] N° 13: 1 packen	[merchant's mark no. 13] 18 klene packen N° 1, 2, 3, 5, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 47, 51, 52, 49, 46, 48, 50
[merchant's mark no. 6] [N°] 13: 1 packen	[merchant's mark no. 14] 12 klene packen N° 22, 27, 26, 25, 24, 29, 33, 28, 30, 32, 33, 31
[merchant's mark no. 7] 1 packen N° 1	
[merchant's mark no. 8] 2 packen laken N° 3, 4	
Item nog 1 packen laken dat marck kan me nicht kennen	

[merchant's mark no. 15 follows] Under dussen marke 48 deker gelagede ossen hude. Summa der packen kleyn unde groth 80.

<sup>a</sup> Corrected in HL from 13.

No. 5 is a combination of a mark and a name. no. 6 is a name, not a mark, but it is used in a similar way in the source.



85 Johann Sengestake, elected councillor on 21 Feb. 1533 and an associate of Wullenwever: *Ratslinie* no. 638.

86 Merchant and shipowner of Reval, originally from Lübeck, who had insured the goods of the Spanish merchants: NAU 1 no. 151; HR IV 1, p. 168, no. 228 § 26-7, 35, p. 186 n. 4, no. 230 § 5, no. 231 § 2, no. 233 § 8, no. 255.

11)



12)



13)



14)



15)



[76.] Report of Johan Hoper, under orders from the Lübeck council, on the goods taken by Lübeck privateers which were in the custody of Kort Meyneken, citizen of Hamburg, and which he (together with Hans Segestaken, councillor of Lübeck, and master Hennyng [Kulemeyer], secretary of the London Counter, inventoried. — 1533 Nov. 2. Hamburg. HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, no. 22g. Original indenture. Paper. Unsealed. On the dorse: Inventarium der Engelschen guder.<sup>87</sup>

Ick Johan Hoper bekenne vor idermenichlick, dat ick uth bevel des erbaren rades der keyserlyken stat Lubeck myner heren hebbe besichtiget unde gefunden by dem ersamen Kort Meyneken borger bynnen Hamborch dorch den erbarn Hans Segestaken radesheren unde uthligers der Lubeken orloges schepe yn trewe vorwaringe gedaen etlykke der gelikke guder, wylke den parten thom besten by ergenanten Kort Meyneken botte tho bequemer tzeit der segelacien scholen enthalten werden.

[1.] under dussem marke  
[merchant's mark no. 1]<sup>88</sup>

1 packen laken N° 1  
1 packen laken N° 2  
1 packen laken N° 3  
1 packen laken N° 5  
1 packen laken N° 6

[2.] under dussem marck  
[merchant's mark no. 2]<sup>89</sup>

1 packen laken N° 1  
1 packen laken N° 2  
1 packen laken N° 3

[3.] under der marck  
[merchant's mark no. 3]<sup>90</sup>

1 packen laken N° 3

[4.] under der marck  
[merchant's mark no. 4]<sup>91</sup>

2 packen flasses  
1 swart fyn puck laken  
2 grote rusken edder wesker vor pitzert

Des ersten marck kyst 1 packen laken numero 4 hefft Nicolaus Raschew, Thomas Galen dener, up de Elve vor Hamborg weder entfangen unde myt sick in Engellant genamen. Unde

<sup>87</sup> Note that in this piece, the letter 'u' is occasionally signalled by a superscribed breve (ü) in order to distinguish it from two minims. Since this has no effect on the pronunciation of the word, it is transcribed as 'u'.

<sup>88</sup> These goods were in the *Christofer de Moria*.

<sup>89</sup> These goods were in the *Maria de Gatalope*.

<sup>90</sup> These goods were in the *Maria de Gatalope*.

<sup>91</sup> These goods were in the *Christofer de Moria*.

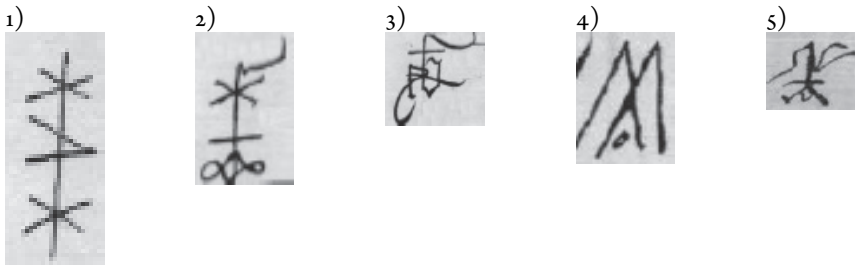
1 stuven russet van 7½ garden Engels hefft he vorkofft Johann van Horen menserscriver vor 3 gold kronen.

Dusse guder unde packen, wo vor gescreven, hebben mede besichtiget de erbar her Hans Segestaken unde de wolgelerde magister Henningus [Kulemeyer] des kopemans sekreterer<sup>a</sup> tho Lunden werden des tugenusse geven, wor des nodig werth syn. Tho merer orkunde syn dusser schriffte 2 gemaket gelykes ludes unde inholdes utheynander gescreven unde myt unser twyer namen unde egen hantschrifft underscreven, de eyne by dem e[rbar] r[ath] tho Lubeck, de ander by des kopmans sekreterer tho Lunden gesant. Geven unde screven Hamborg, 2. Novembris anno 1533.

[Signed] Wyllem Aysche, Ynglys [merchant's mark no. 5 follows below]

[signed] Johanne Hoper sc[ripsit]

<sup>a</sup> Corrected in HL from schetere.



[77.] Costs incurred by Kordt Meyneke in taking custody of the goods seized in the Spanish ship and delivered to him by Gotschalk Remelckrade and out of the second Spanish ship. The delivery of these goods to Lübeck and Hamburg councillors is noted. — 1534 June 2. Hamburg.

HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, no. 22d. Original. Single sheet of paper. Unsealed.<sup>92</sup>

[1.] Item entfangen van Gotschalck Remelckraden, dat yn dem Spanyschen schepe gewest ys, 5 packen laken aldus [merchant's mark no. 1 in the left margin],<sup>93</sup> noch 2 packen flas aldus [merchant's mark no. 2 in the left margin].

Geven, dut gudt van der schullawer ut dem schepe tho halen bet by den kran to brýngen ys 5 mr.

[2.] Noch entfangen 3 packen laken, aldus [merchant's mark no. 3 in the left margin].<sup>94</sup> Noch 1 packen laken, aldus [merchant's mark no. 4 in the left margin]. Noch 1 kýsten, 1 korff, 10 grote týnnen fate, 1 swart Engels laken.

Geven krane gelt 11½s

Ýn unde ut hus tho foren 2 mr. 4s

Hus hur 2 mr. 8s

<sup>92</sup> Note that in this piece, the letter 'u' is occasionally signalled by a superscribed breve (ü) in order to distinguish it from two minims. Since this has no effect on the pronunciation of the word, it is transcribed as 'u'.

<sup>93</sup> These goods were in the *Christofer de Moria*.

<sup>94</sup> These goods belonged to Thomas Cole and were shipped in the *Maria de Gatolope*.

Geven, de laken up unde tho slande	1 mr. 7½s
Geven vor 1 lynÿen	5s
Geven, dat flas up den hoff tho brÿngen	8s
Hoff hur	8s
Van dem have tho bryngen	4s
Geven, dat flas up unde tho slande unde tho drogen	11s
De laken unde dat flas tho schepe tho foren	13s
[ <i>dorse</i> ] Thollen up dat rathus	6 mr. 2s
Des haerttÿgen thollen	12s
mÿn gelt	3 mr.
Summa ÿn als ÿs	24 mr. 14s

Alle tydt tho guder rekenschap alle mÿt<sup>a</sup> rekont ÿs keyne betalynge gade befallen.  
Geschreven tho Hamborg den 2. Yunyus anno 1534.

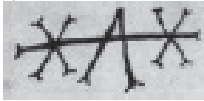
[signed] Kordt Meÿneke

[3.] [*recto side, 2<sup>nd</sup> column*] Gelevert her Yochÿm Gerken<sup>95</sup> unde mester Yohan Hoper hyr yn mÿnen hus 1 kÿst, 1 korff, 10 fate geschepet yn Hÿnrÿck Moller dorch heten her Gerdt Oldenborch<sup>96</sup> unde her Yohan van Lennep<sup>97</sup> unde Yohan van Horen dusse yegenische 9 packen laken.

[4.] Gelevert her Hynrÿck Rademaker [*councillor of Hamburg*] yn mÿnen hus 1 swart Engels laken [*see no. 78*]

<sup>a</sup> mys HL, in error.

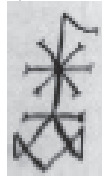
1)



2)



3)



4)



[78.] On 9 June 1534, in Hamburg, the procurator or attorney William Ayshe, an Englishman, and Gerde Oldenbarch<sup>98</sup> and Johan van Lennep,<sup>99</sup> councillors and authorized representatives of the Lübeck council, appeared before representatives of the Hamburg council, namely Jochim Wullewevere and Hinrick Rademaker, to arrange the return of a black English cloth.<sup>100</sup> The cloth was inspected by Ayshe and found to be still packed in the same way it was when he saw it in England, as he affirmed by oath. The packing of the cloth was opened and the cloth unfolded by Ayshe in the presence of all, since money was suspected as having been packed within it, but none was found, nor was

<sup>95</sup> Elected to the Lübeck council 1514: *Ratslinie* no. 605.

<sup>96</sup> Gerhard Odingborg, elected to the council on 27 Apr. 1531: *Ratslinie* no. 628.

<sup>97</sup> Councillor of Lübeck: NAU 1 no. 173.

<sup>98</sup> Gerhard Odingborg, elected to the council on 27 Apr. 1531: *Ratslinie* no. 628.

<sup>99</sup> Councillor of Lübeck: NAU 1 no. 173.

<sup>100</sup> This was the property of William Wilford and had been transported in the *Christopher de Moria*.



*anything else. Also a sealed leather bag was handed over to Ayshe. Written by his own hand and witnessed by the notary Henricus Veddersen. Done in the house of Kordt Meyncken, a citizen of Hamburg, in the year and on the day recorded above. — 1534 June 9. Hamburg.*

*HL AHL ASA, Externa Anglicana 476, no. 22f. Contemporaneous copy. Paper. Unsealed.<sup>101</sup>*

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<sup>101</sup> Note that in this piece, the letter ‘u’ is occasionally signalled by a superscribed breve (ũ) in order to distinguish it from two minims. Since this has no effect on the pronunciation of the word, it is transcribed as ‘u’.

## VII: Goods taken from ships of the Low Countries

A) JOHAN WILLIAMSON OF MIDDELBURG

[79.] On 18 Sept. 1533 in the house of the underscribed notary (John Devereux) in Lombard Street in the parish of St Mary Wolnoth in London, there appeared before the notary and the witnesses John Hampton from Faversham (co. Kent), 60 years old or thereabouts, and deposed under oath in his own name as well as in that of John Bryngborne, also from Faversham (co. Kent), who was his business partner, that a certain scuta owned and captained by Johannes Willyamson of Middelburg in Zeeland, sailing towards Faversham and loaded by Hampton and Bryngborne's factor with 32 ways of brown salt, 5500 paving tiles and a chest containing the said factor's belongings and clothing, had been captured by armed ships of Lübeck off Camber [co. Sussex]. The said goods belonged exclusively to the said John Hampton and John Bryngborne and were worth £40. — 1533 Sept. 18. London.

HL AHL ASA, *Externa Anglicana* 476, no. 19. Original notarial instrument with notary's mark of John Devereux, cleric and citizen of London. Parchment. Unsealed.

In Dei nomine amen. Per hoc presens publicum instrumentum cunctis evidenter appareat, quod anno Domini ab incarnatione millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo tercio, indictione sexta, pontificatus vero sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri domini Clementis, divina providentia hujus nominis pape septum, anno decimo, mensis vero Septembris, die 18<sup>a</sup> [18 Sept. 1533] infra domum habitationis mei notarii publici subscripti situatam in vico publico de Lombard Strete in parochia Beate Marie Wolnoth civitatis London', in meique ejusdem notarii ac testium infrascriptorum presencia personaliter constitutus discretus vir Johannes Hampton de Feversham in comitatu Kancie partium regni Anglie mercator, etatis sexaginta annorum vel circiter, tam nomine suo proprio quam vice et nomine prudentis viri Johannis Bryngborne etiam de eadem villa mercatoris, qui cum eodem Johanne Hampton, ut asseruit, in factis mercantilibus est consors, non vi, dolo, metu, fraude seu aliqua machinatione sinistra inductus, seductus, coactus, deceptus vel circumventus, ut evidenter apparuit, sed ex sua mera, libera, pura et spontanea voluntate ad conservacionem et defensionem jurium ipsorum Johannis Hampton et Johannis Bryngborne dixit, deposuit et certificavit mihi notario publico subscripto per juramentum suum factum ad et super sancta Dei evangelia tactis per eum manu sua dextera corporaliter scripturis verum fuisse et esse, quod quedam scuta, de qua Johannes Willyamson de Middilburgh in Zelandia proprietarius et magister sub Dei potestate prefuit, in navigando versus dictam villam de Feversham et per factorem ipsorum Johannis Hampton et Johannis Bryngborne in Zelandia predicta cum bonis sequentibus, scilicet triginta et duabus weyes de brown salt mesure Anglie, quinque millibus cum dimidio de pavyngtyles et una cista cum apparatu et vestibis ipsius factoris onusta et dictis Johanni Hampton et Johanni Bryngborne pleno jure spectantibus et pertinentibus, per certas naves armatas de Lubic circa costeras de

Cambir [*Camber, co. Surrey*] partium dicti regni Anglie nuper capta fuit et quod omnia predicta bona tempore captionis ejusdem scute usque ad integram onerationem dicte scute fuerunt propria bona ipsorum Johannis Hampton et Johannis Bryngborne et quod fuerunt tunc valoris quadraginta librarum sterlingorum.

Acta fuerunt hec, prout suprascripte et recitantur, presentibus tunc ibidem discretis viris Johanne God et Ricardo Braunche civibus et mercatoribus ejusdem civitatis testibus ad premissa vocatis specialiter atque rogatis.



*Notary's mark of John Devereux of London*

Et quia ego Johannes Devereux clericus, civis civitatis London', publicus sacris apostolica et imperiali auctoritatibus notarius, predictis dictionibus, depositionibus et certificationibus prefati deponentis per juramentum suum factum forma ut supra necnon ceteris premissis omnibus et singulis, dum, sicut premittitur, agebantur et fiebant unacum testibus predictis presens personaliter interfui eaque sic fieri vidi et audivi, igitur hoc instrumentum – me aliunde prepedito – per alium scribi feci signoque et nomine meis solitis et consuetis signavi rogatus in fidem omnium premissorum.

#### B) ADRIAN VAN STERRE OF VLISSINGEN

[80.] On 20 Sept. 1533 in the house of the underscribed notary (John Devereux) in Lombard Street in the parish of St Mary Wolnoth in London, there appeared Humphrey Knyght, citizen and fishmonger, 57 years old or thereabouts, as he stated, and Thomas Blancke, citizen and haberdasher, 47 years old or thereabouts, both of good fame, to make their depositions under oath before the notary and witnesses. They claim the following goods taken by armed ships of Lübeck in the scuta of Adrian van Sterre of Vlissingen while it was sailing towards London: 9 barrels of saltfish worth £6 6s gr. (Knyght) and a truss containing 48 dozen of diaper silker ryband in the care of his apprentice Gilbert Pervisshe worth £14 16s gr. together with 16s gr. paid for customs (Blancke). — 1533 Sept. 20. London.

HL AHL ASA, *Externa Anglicana* 476, no. 18. Original notarial instrument with notary's mark (John Devereux cleric and citizen of London, below). Parchment. Unsealed.

In Dei nomine amen. Per hoc presens publicum instrumentum cunctis evidenter appareat, quod anno Domini ab incarnatione millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo tercio, indictione sexta, pontificatus vero sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri domini Clementis, divina providencia pape septum, anno decimo, mensis vero Septembris, die vicesima [20 Sept. 1533] infra domum habitacionis mei notarii publici subscripti situatam in vico publico de Lombard Strete in parochia Beate Marie Wolnoth civitatis London', in meique ejusdem notarii et testium infrascriptorum presencia personaliter constituti prudentes viri Humfridus Knyght, civis et piscenarius ejusdem civitatis, etatis, ut asseruit,

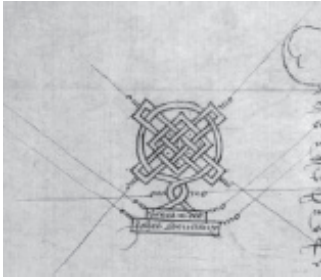
quingenta et septem annorum vel incirca, et Thomas Blancke, civis et habirdassher civitatis predictae, etatis, ut meminit, quadraginta et septem annorum vel circiter, homines bone fame et conversationis illese, non vi, dolo, metu, fraude seu aliqua machinatione sinistra inducti, seducti, coacti, decepti vel circumventi, ut evidenter apparuit, sed ex eorum meritis, liberis, puris et spontaneis voluntatibus ad futuram rei memoriam et pro rei veritatis infrascripte declaratione ad conservationem et defensionem iurium ipsorum Humfridi Knyght et Thome Blancke et eorum alterius, dixerunt, deposuerunt et certificaverunt mihi notario publico subscripto per eorum separalia iuramenta facta ad et super sancta Dei evangelia modo et forma subsequentibus, videlicet

[1.] In primis predictus Humfridus Knyght vive vocis oraculo dixit, deposuit et certificavit mihi notario publico subscripto per iuramentum suum factum ad et super sancta Dei evangelia tactis per eum manu sua dextera corporaliter scripturis verum fuisse et esse, quod quidam Thomas Wakeham apprenticius ipsius Humfridi, ut asseruit, in quadam scuta de Flusshyng, unde Adrianus van Sterre fuit nauta sive conductor, in partibus transmarinis numerum quatuordecim barillos piscium salsorum, unde quodlibet barillus huiusmodi tali marca [*marchant's mark no. 1 follows*] propria ipsius Humfridi erat marcatu, tanquam bona propria ejusdem Humfridi nuper onerari et carcari feci et quod dicta scuta in sequendo suum viagium versus portum predictae civitatis certe naves armate de Lubic obviam fecit dicte scute et abstulerunt extra eandem novem barillos ex huiusmodi quatuordecim barillis piscium salsorum prefato Humfrido spectantes et cum eisdem adduxerunt ad dampnum ipsius Humfridi attingens usque ad summam librarum sex et solidorum sex monete grossorum Flandrie simul cum expensis eorundem novem barillorum sic captorum ut supra.

[2.] Item predictus Thomas Blancke animo deliberato dixit, deposuit et certificavit mihi notario publico subscripto per iuramentum suum factum ad et super sancta Dei evangelia <sup>a</sup>tactis<sup>a</sup> per eum manu sua dextera corporaliter scripturis verum fuisse et esse, quod quidam Gilbertus Pervisshe ipsius Thome, ut fertur, apprenticius parvum trusse, in quo quadraginta et octo duodenas de diaper silke ryband clausa fuit in supradicta scuta ejusdem Adriani van Sterre de Flusshyng oneravit et carcavit et quod idem trusse de diaper rybandes extra dictam scutam per quasdam naves armatas de Lubic supradictas captum fuit et secum conductum ad dampnum ipsius deponentis.

[3.] Et ulterius idem Thomas deponens jurando ut supra dixit, deposuit et certificavit mihi dicto notario, quod idem trusse erat valens tempore carcationis ejusdem in eadem scuta quatuordecim librarum ac sexdecim solidorum grossorum Flandrie <sup>a</sup>ultra<sup>a</sup> customas ipsius deponentis extendentes ad summam solidorum octo eorundem grossorum Flandrie.

Acta fuerunt hec, prout suprascribuntur et recitantur, presentibus tunc ibidem venerabile viro Waltero Champion, cive et aldirmanno predictae civitatis, ac discreto viro Willelmo Sawndirson, cive et piscenario ejusdem civitatis, testibus ad premissa vocatis specialiter et rogatis.



Notary's mark of John Devereux  
of London

Et quia ego Johannes Devereux clericus, civis civitatis London', publicus sacris apostolica et imperiali auctoritatibus notarius, predictis dictionibus, depositionibus et certificationibus per eorum separalia juramenta forma factis necnon ceteris premissis omnibus et singulis, dum, sicut premittitur, agebantur et fiebant, unacum testibus predictis presens personaliter interfui eaque sic fieri vidi et audivi, igitur hoc instrumentum manu mea propria scriptum inde confeci signoque et nomine meis solitis et consuetis signavi in fidem et testimonium omnium et singulorum premissorum rogatus et requisitus.

<sup>a-a</sup> *Interlined HL.*



C) AN UNNAMED SHIP OF ZIERIKZEE

[81.] On 23 June 1534, in the presence of the undersigned notary and witnesses, de erhafftyge man William Gilbancke of Colchester (Kolkyster) in England appeared in his role, as he said, of servant to the chancellor of England Thomas Artey [Audley] and took custody of the 2½ cwt of salt taken by Lübeck privateers (de Lupeschen uthligger) out of a ship of Sircksee in the feud with Holland last year and since then in the custody of the Lübeck council. Gilbancke acknowledges receipt of the salt, but in addition claims the following goods which he alleges have not been released: 12 pieces of halve sayen, 12 tuns of soltes kabbelauwen, 2 verondell stors, 60 ells of canvas (kannefust), 12 ells of Holland linen cloth (Hollundesche lowent), 2 vedderbedde in eynem korve, eyn halve hundert Ylandesche vische, 3 hodesuckers noch dre lange vische langen genandt und 6 spegel. Lübeck offered him 125 Lübeck marks as compensation for these goods and as rebursement of all of his expenses, losses and costs. Having accepted this sum from the Lübeck councillor Thyle Thegetmeyger, acting on behalf of the whole council, Gilbancke declared himself by oath in the presence of the notary and the witnesses to be content and all further claims to be null and void. Notarial instrument witnessed by Ciriacus Wolmerstorp, cleric of the diocese of Lübeck and notary,<sup>102</sup> and the Junkers Jheronimus

102 Ciriacus Wolmerstorp is well attested as a vicar in the Lübeck cathedral and in St Mary, St Peter, St Jacob: UBBL no. 1400/199, no. 2163, no. 2180, no. 2405/169, no. 2470/330, no. 2471/104, 485, 719, 805, no. 2478/26R, no. 2491/126, no. 2504, no. 5960.

van Bromse and Jurgen van Ehelenleys of the diocese of Münster. Contemporaneous copy of the notarial instrument drawn up by the notary Michael Petri, cleric of the diocese of Schwerin. — 1534 June 23. Lübeck.

HL AHL ASA, *Externa Anglicana* 476, no. 23, f. 33<sup>r</sup>-34<sup>r</sup> (original classification by Dreyer: *Acta Anglicana*, Appendix 2; later reclassified as ASA, *Externa Anglicana* no. 1606). Paper booklet bound in a notarial instrument drawn up by Michael Petri in 1525, *indictione tercia, Monday 23 ...*<sup>103</sup>

### Wilhelm Gilbancke

Am jar 1534°, in der soveden indiction, des 23. dages des maents Junii [23 June 1534] is in mynes opentliken notarien und undergescrevenen thugen dartho sunderlix geescheet und gebeden gegenwordicheit personelick erschenen de erhafftyge man Wilhelm Gilbancke uth der stadt Kolkyster in Engelandt belegen und nu thor tydt, so he sede, des erbaren und hochgelerten heren Thomas Artey konenliker majestat tho Engelandt cancelers dener, und hefft in der besten wyse, wege, forme und gestaltenisse, also he to rechte best scolde, konde und mochte, uth frygen willen, wolberaden mode bekandt, toegestaen und gesecht, dat em sodane 2½ C soltes, also ehme dorch de Lupeschen uthligger tegenst de Hollander in vorgangen jare upp dem schepe van Sircksee affhendich gemaket hedden, were em dorch den erbar rat der stadt Lubeck mildichlich und gunstig wedder gegeven und welcker he myt aller danckbarheit und fuller noge wol wedder entfangen hedde. De wyle denne de obgenante Wilhelm Gilbancke dusse nabescreven portzele – also 12 stucke halve sagen, 12 tunne soltes kabbelauwen, 2 verondell stors, 60 elen kannefust<sup>a</sup>, 12 elen Hollandesch louwent, 2 vedderbedde in eynem korve, eyn halve hundert Ylandesche vische, 3 hodesuckers, noch dre lange vische langen genandt und 6 spiegel – noch entbore und missede und dorch de obgnanten Lupeschen uthligger ock genamen und affhendich gemaket weren, so hedde doch de erbar radt der stadt Lubeck umme sunderge reverencie, gnadt und gunst kon. mat. to Engelandt und des vorbenanten heren Thomas Artey wolgefalle demsulvigen Wilhelm Gilbancke vor de bavengeschrevenen portzele, ock vor allen scaden, kost, theringhe und interesse, dat he darumme gedaen hedde, eyn hundert und 25 marck lub. wol to dancke eyns vor alle vornuget gulden und betalt, welcker he ock myth aller danckbarheit fullenkamen und in getelledem gelde van heren Thylen Thegetmeyger rathmanne to Lubeck also dartho vam gantz erbar rade tho Lubeck vorordenthen, entfangen, upgeboren und tho gantzer entschup by sick beholden. Hyrumme hefft velegedachte Wilhelm Gilbancke in mynes apentlyken notarien und undergeschrevenen thugen dartho sunderlix geescheet und gebaden gegenwordicheit dem vorbemelten erbar radt und gantz stadt Lubeck ock alle ohre borger und inwaner und alle de jennen, de des to donde hebben offt in thokumpftigen tyden to donde mogen crygen, vor sick und alle syne erven gebaren und ungebaren der vorgeschrevenen 2½ C soltes und ander bavengenanten portzele halven, ock vorkost, scaden, therynghe, interesse, winst und vorlust, deger und genslick eyns<sup>b</sup> vor alle<sup>b</sup> thosprake und utgemanent quidt, fry, leddich und los vorlathen und quiteret, ock alles gheystlykes und werlickes rechtes und alles behelpes, wo dat jenyger gestalt whanne hebben mochte

<sup>103</sup> Note that in this piece, the letter 'u' is occasionally signalled by a superscribed double accent aigue (ü) or a breve (ÿ) in order to distinguish it from two minims. Since this has no effect on the pronunciation of the word, they are transcribed as 'u'.

renuntieret, by also dat de erbar radt ock alle und yder borger und inwaner to Lubeck und de jennen, den duth anfechten mochte mitt sodaner gedanener enyger betalynghe eyns vor alle und stedes to ewigen tyd quidt, fry, leddich, los van em und synen erven blyven scolen. Darbeneffens hefft desulvige Wilhelm Gilbancke vor mi notario und mynen hand, angeroret de Hillige Scrifft, und tho Gade dem Almechtegen, tho synen hilligen und dem hilligen evangelio myt opgerichteden armen und uthgestreckeden vingeren stavedes edes witliken geswaren, dat noch he offt syne erven to nenen tyd darwyder scolen und willen <sup>c</sup>umme<sup>c</sup> sprecken offt willen sprecken offt nhamanen sub pena reatus perjurii ipso facto jurejurando etc., wo wyder eyn apenbar instrumenth daraver to makende in bringeste wert vorbreyden alles ane geferde und argelist. De et super quibus etc.

Actum Lubeck darsulvest up dem neddersten rathuse in bywesenden und jegenwordicheit des wolgelerten und furnamen Ciriaci Wolmerstorp, Lupeschen stiftes clerick und apenbar notario, ock der eddelen und erbaren junckeren Jheronimus van Bromse und Jorgen van Ehelenleys Monstersches stiftes also thugen hyrto sampt und besunder geescheet und gebeden.

Ita est ut supra Michael Petri clericus Zwerinensis diocesis publicus sacris apostolica et imperiali auctoritatibus notarius ad premissa requisitus manu propria scripsit.

<sup>a</sup> 6o elen kannefust *follows, struck through HL*. <sup>b-b</sup> Repeated (written more clearly) in the left-hand margin, with catchmark HL. <sup>c</sup> Entered in the left-hand margin with catchmark HL.

[82.] *Goods lost in the taking of the ships of Johan Williamson, Adrian van Sterre and the Maria of Gatalope [recte Christopher de Moria] and taken into safe-keeping [in Hamburg], as ordered by Johan Hoper [of Lübeck]. — (undated).*

HL AHL ASA, *Externa Anglicana* 476, no. 22a. Original. Paper. Unsealed.<sup>104</sup>

[1.] <sup>a</sup>In vormeldunge der certificacen unde instrumenten kysten den Engelsken guderen in schipper Wyllyamson van Mydelborch.<sup>105</sup>

32 wage Barwases solt Engelsken maathe

5½ dussent astrickes steynen

1 kysten my[t] eren rescup unde kle[de]ren so guet alse £40 sterlings

[2.] <sup>b</sup>In schipper Adrian van Sterre continente solt vyskes so guet alse £8 unde 6s Flames grote

1 kleyn pexken, darynne 48 syden girdelen so guet alse £14 unde 16s Flames groten unde den tollen up 8s Flames peymentes<sup>106</sup>

<sup>104</sup> Note that in this piece, the letter 'u' is occasionally signalled by a superscribed breve (ü) in order to distinguish it from two minims. Since this has no effect on the pronunciation of the word, it is transcribed as 'u'.

<sup>105</sup> These goods belonged to John Hampton and John Bryngborne of Faversham.

<sup>106</sup> These goods belonged to Thomas Blancke and were transported by his factor Gilbert Purfish in the ship of Adrian van Sterre.

[3.] In Maria van Gatalope, dar Johann van Calessio schipper was,<sup>107</sup> kist yn gelde, huesgerade unde anderen dingen so guet alse £4 13s unde 4d sterlinges.<sup>108</sup>

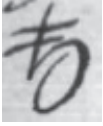
[4.] In wes enem anderen collesken ende der pelykeam fremden guderen up genamen schepeng unde deme dar gesuncken ys noch unbewost werden tho eren gudern darumme fardele werd.

Dusse dinge sampt anderen mer yn guder acht tho hebben, umme wyderum schaden tho vormyden, ys fast geraden, dat ick j. v. guder menyngge geve tho erkennen.

[signed] Johann Hoper

<sup>a</sup> hoye 1 *marginated against this entry HL.* <sup>b</sup> hoye 2 *and merchant's mark no. 1 marginated against this entry HL.*

1)



<sup>107</sup> This is an error: these goods were in the *Christofer* of Moria.

<sup>108</sup> These goods belonged to Ralph Foxley's servant Geoffrey Vaughan.





# Index of people and places

In accordance with current usage, the first names of Englishmen and -women have been standardized to their current forms. Thus Willelmus in the accounts is indexed as William and so forth. Italian and Spanish first names are given in the 'ablative' (Andrea, Beaceo, Roderigo rather than Andreas, Beaceus, Roderigus). The first names of other foreigners, who are largely Dutch and German, are normally indexed in something approaching their modern forms, e.g. Johannes, Jacob, Herman, Hugo rather than Hugh (which would indicate an Englishman). However, it is not possible to be entirely consistent. Take, as an example, Willelmus. Is one to index Hanseatic merchants as Wilhelm, but Dutch merchants and shippers as Willem or Wim and the Dinanters as Guillaume? To do so would simply be to introduce incredible confusion, entirely leaving aside the intractable problem of distinguishing between merchants of Dutch and Hanseatic origin. Therefore, in a number of cases I have indexed Dutch and German merchants' first names in the current English form: e.g. Paul, William, Laurence, Andrew, Henry.

Family names have been grouped, where possible, in the index, with cross references leading the reader from the variants to the main entry, which records all variant spellings in parentheses. However, given the inconsistency of the customers' scribes, I have found it impossible to resolve all doubts and have therefore tried to steer a middle course between the splitters and the lumpers. There are cases where there can be no doubt that divergent spellings denote one and the same merchant. On the other hand, there are cases where I am all but certain that variant spellings denote one person, yet am troubled by nagging doubts. In these cases I record the names separately and refer back and forth ('see also N.N.').

The order of the family names in the index is phonological, so that, for instance, 'y' is alphabetized as 'i'.

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# Index of subjects

The index is structured so as to serve as a glossary. Hence, the main entry is under the word as it appears in the sources (*zinziber*). If a term is in one of the vernaculars, the plural form is also given (e.g. *alle hafte*, -s); if in Latin, the genitive (e.g. *allec*, -ecis). More than one reference per page is not noted.

Words containing a 'y' are alphabetized according to how the letter is pronounced. If a vowel (*ynkelle*), the word is recorded under 'I'. If a consonant (*yarin*), under 'Y'.

Other consonants are more difficult. Notoriously, 'c' and 'k' are all but interchangeable in Middle Low German. For instance, cinnamon can be spelled *cannel(e)* or *kanneell*. Historical dictionaries (e.g. Lübben-Walther) avoid this difficulty by subsuming all words beginning with an explosive 'c' (e.g. *credencie*) under 'k' and those beginning with a sibilant 'c' (e.g. *cirke*) under 's'. This is all well and good if you are only dealing with one language. However, this edition includes documents in four languages: Latin, Middle English, Middle Dutch and Middle Low German. Erecting hard and fast rules for alphabetizing entries would serve no purpose other than to confuse the reader. Therefore, we have not tried to do so. Rather, we have attempted to identify the most common form a particular word takes, use this as the main entry and guide the reader to the main entry by means of cross-references.

Worse yet – from a purist's point of view – is the fact that a fair number of the documents edited in this volume are translations in and out of Latin. It would, to take but one example, be patently absurd to collect all the references to English cloths of assize in Latin under *pannus*, but ban all other (Middle Dutch, Middle Low German) references to *want* or *laken*. Therefore, all references to woollens have been collected under *pannus*, while referring the reader from *want* and *laken* to *pannus*. This, however, leaves us with the problem that the main entry amalgamates references to words in more than one language, leaving the reader in a quandry as to which form to search for on a particular page. This problem has been solved by marking up the page references. Thus, in the entry for *pannus*

*pannus laneus* (*curtus*) ((*korte*) *laken*\*, (*wullen*) *laken*\*\*, *wand*\*\*\*) English woollen cloth of assize (24 × 1.5 yards) (see also *Northern dosseyens*, *russets*, *vesse* for other kinds of English cloth) 20, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 119, 122, 128, 131, 202, 205\*\*\*, 207, 208, 209, 211\*\*, 212\*, 215\*, 216\*, 217\*, 218\*, 219\*

the lack of an asterisk alerts the reader to look for *pannus* on p. 202, the triple asterisk to look for *wand* on p. 205 and the double asterisk to look for *laken* on p. 211.

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- Willan:** T.S. Willan (ed.), *A Tudor Book of Rates*, Manchester 1962

## – A –

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- allam alum*, a mordant a mordant for fixing dyes to cloth 128
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- amez jame* meaning unknown 142
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- aperelle* apparel, clothing (see also *cleder*) 144
- armedactulus* (*armatulus*) clearly some kind of container, since *settoalle* (q.v.) is shipped in it, but the exact meaning is unknown 120, 121, 143

- armor and weaponry** see *brestes and backes of harnes, crosbow thred, dagar, geschutte, harniskyns, wambose*
- arsch* see *saye*
- astrickes steynen* see *pavyngtyle*

## – B –

- bag(g)*, -es packing unit of no particular size or weight 104, 106, 112, 141, 143, 144  
*smale* 154
- bagen*, *Spanske* clearly something manufactured in Spain, but meaning unknown 206
- bagone* bacon 131
- bala*, -e *sive sarcina*, -e (*bal(l)e*, -s, *bal*, -ys, *bale*, -n, *balun\**) a packing unit of no particular size or weight 34, 37, 38, 40, 41, 112, 120, 141, 142, 143, 158, 159, 164, 166, 175, 176, 179, 187, 190, 195, 197\*, 207, 208
- magna* large 168
- media* half 169

- halve* half-bale of Augsburg fustian  
(containing 25 pieces each) 193  
*halve* half-bale of Ulm fustian (containing  
25 half pieces each) 159, 176  
*parva* small 170  
*Barbers Mart* almost surely the Bavo Mart  
in Antwerp (since the letter writer  
expresses his confidence – in Antwerp in  
July – that shipping will open up by the  
next *Barbers Mart*) 122  
*bargelot gemaket in Hispannie myt  
sunderliken resschuppe in datsulve bargelot,  
dat kistken so genompt* clearly, as the  
entry states, a small box or chest of  
Spanish manufacture, but the term is not  
recorded in the standard dictionaries.  
*resschuppe* is the Lübeck scribe's Middle  
Low German translation of *certe res*  
(‘certain things’) (Schiller-Lübben s.v.  
*redeschop* (rêschap) ‘Gerätschaft’) 213  
*barle* barley 131  
*barrell*, -es (*barillus*, -i) barrel, a packing  
unit of no particular size 103, 106, 107, 118,  
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*greett* large 129  
*lytyll* (*lytell*, *lit(t)ille*) small 102, 103, 107,  
129, 144  
*empty* as an article of commerce 144  
*Barwases solt* see *solt*  
*bastyan*, -s a cotton fabric of foreign  
manufacture, used for waistcoats and for  
certain church vestments; here described  
as a species of fustian (OED s.v. *bustian*)  
120  
*Baye saltt* (*scallte*) see *solt*  
*bedde* (*lectum*, -i\*) bed, a stuffed sack or  
mattress (as distinct from the bed-stead)  
(OED s.v. *bed*, n.) 152, 160, 162\*, 165\*,  
170\*, 177  
*belles*, *brase* brass bells 106  
*bellowes* 131  
*carved, the tone paynted* clearly a pair  
of bellows – carved and partially  
painted –, but the meaning of *tone* is  
unknown 142  
*bendel*, -n (*bundel*, -n\*) a piece of clothing  
to be bound around the body (Grimm<sup>2</sup>  
s.v. *bendel*, cf. Lübben-Walther s.v.  
*bendel*, UBStL s. v. *bendel*) 147\*, 152  
*berate*, -s (*beret*\*, *berode*\*\*) cap (Grimm<sup>2</sup>  
s.v. *barett*) (cf. *kappe(n)*) 205\*, 206  
*kynder* for children 205\*\*  
*besaen* tanned leather, cordwain  
(MNW/O s.v. *besaen*) 115  
*bevarnell* see *fostyan*  
*bier* beer 126  
*bygare*, *bredes fin* meaning unknown 109  
*fin* 109  
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*bilde offte hillige* (*imago*, *hymago*) a  
representation of some sacred personage,  
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*bille of payment* 129  
*bissus* see *siden*  
*bladen* see *folia*  
*bogerde* (*bôgerde*, *borger(de)*, *bogade*, *bowede*  
see ship types  
*bollyne* a measure of quicksilver (mercury)  
(OED s.v. *bullion*<sup>1</sup>) 112  
*bolt*, -s (*bolt*, -en) a roll of woven fabric,  
generally of a definite length (OED  
s.v. *bolt* n.<sup>1</sup> 8), here of canvas (the *bolt*  
in MLG being equivalent to the *roll* in  
ME)<sup>1</sup> 121, 155  
*bonde*, -n see *bunt*  
*bondelle*, -s bundle 109, 143  
*bonithe* bonnet 206  
*olde* 205

1 However, one and the same shipment was described as 7 *stucke kannifast* (No. 47 § 21, p. 160, No. 51 § 21, p. 176) and *septem fasciculi cuiusdam grossi lineii panni vulgo kannefast* (No. 48 § 22, p. 165, No. 49 § 23, p. 169). Given that the mark (described in No. 22, p. 121, recorded in No. 47 § 21 and No. 51 § 21) and the merchant (Robert Dene) are identical, the confusion between 7 (vij) and 12 (xij) looks very much like a Lübeck scribal error.

Book of Rates, list of standard valuations of goods for the use of English customers 21

*bordverwercker* basketmaker (MNW s.v. *borduerwerken*, MNW/O s.v. *borde*<sup>III</sup>) 123

*boschell* a measure of capacity used for corn, fruit, here salt, containing four pecks or eight gallons (OED s.v. *bushel*, n.<sup>1</sup>) 128

*bosse*, -s one of the metal knobs on each side of the bit of a bridle (OED s.v. *boss* n.<sup>1</sup> 3a; Willan 9: *bosses for bridles*) 106

*bostyan*, -s a cotton fabric of foreign manufacture, used for waistcoats and for certain church vestments; here described as a kind of fustian (OED s.v. *bustian*) 119

*bottar* butter 131

*brestes and backes of harnes* breasts: the piece of armor covering the breast (OED s.v. *brest* n. 2b); backs: armor protecting the back; a back-plate (OED s.v. *back* n.<sup>1</sup> 8a) harness: the defensive or body armour of a man-at-arms or foot-soldier; all the defensive equipment of an armed horseman, for both man and horse (OED s.v. *harness* n.) 144

*brun solt* see *solt*

*Bruwase salt* see *solt*

*buckeram* buckram, originally a fine linen or cotton fabric (originally from Bukhara), later coarse gummed linen used for linings (OED s.v. *buckram*, n.), here used as wrapper 213

*bult* bundle, a packing unit of no particular size or weight (OED s.v. *bolt* n.<sup>1</sup> 8, MED s.v. *bolt* n. 4a/b, Lübben-Walther s.v. *bulte*) 147, 152

*bultken, klein (klein bulte)* small 147, 152

*bundel* bundle, a packing unit of no particular size or weight (equivalent to a *parvus saccus*\*) 160, 165\*, 176

*bundel* see also *bendel*

*bunt*, (*fasciculus*\*, *bonden*\*\*) bundle, a packing unit of no particular size or weight 126\*\*, 158, 159, 160, 165\*, 175, 176, 177, 204

large 39

*bunde(l)ken (fasciculus\*)* small, here of silk 39, 160, 165\*, 170\*, 177

*but(t)e, -s (butze, -n\*)* cask, a packing unit for dry goods 104, 141, 143, 154, 195\*

*buxsen* (in pairs) clothing for the leg, in particular the thigh (Schiller-Lübben s.v. *brök* with cross-reference from *boxe*, Grimm<sup>2</sup> s.v. *buxen*) 206

# – C (cf. K) –

C (cwt) hundredweight 34, 40, 41, 128, 207, 208, 225

*campana, campanella* see *klocken*

*canabis, -is (canapis, hempe\*, hennepes\*\*)*

hemp 143\*, 159\*\*, 162, 165, 169

*kanne (kannen), tynne* pewter pitcher 205, 206

*cannel(e)s, kanneell* see *cinamon*

*canstyk* candlestick (OED s.v. *canstick*) 143

*kanifas (kan(n)efas(t), kannefast, kannifast, kanjffas, kaniphas)* canvas 147, 151, 154, 155, 159, 160, 162, 165, 169, 176, 224, 225

*canvas (canabase\*, canabaso\*)* as packing material 120, 142, 203\*, 209\*

*kappe(n) (cappe), swarte nye* head-dress of men and boys: commonly applied to every kind of ordinary male head-dress which is not called a 'hat', from which it is distinguished by not having a brim, and by being usually of some soft material (OED s.v. *cap*, n.<sup>1</sup> 4a), here new and dyed black (cf. *berates*) 205

*Spanske* manufactured in Spain 205, 206

*swarte Spanske* dyed black 206

*swarte olde Spanske (kappe)*, old 205

*Spanske, myt 1 witte cruce* with a white cross 206

*capers (kapers\*)* capers, a shrub (*capparis spinosa*) abundant in South Europe; the flower buds of this plant are used in pickling (OED s.v. *caper* n.<sup>1</sup>) 121, 127\*, 144

*caresey, -s* kersey, a kind of coarse narrow cloth, woven from long wool and usually ribbed (originally produced in Kersey in Suffolk) (OED s.v. *kersey*) 104

*caretelle* quart, a measure of capacity,  
equivalent to ¼ gallon 102

*carnateny yn golde* meaning unknown 205

*carpette*, -s carpet, coverlet, hanging, used to  
cover tables, beds (OED s.v. carpet n.) 142

*carpet van sae draet* clearly some kind of  
carpet, but exact meaning unknown 115

*carpett, sclyd* clearly some kind of carpet,  
but exact meaning unknown 144

*castrickstene* see *pavyngtyle*

*centena* see *C*

*chamlette*, -s, *blakke (swarte kammelotte(s)\*)*  
camlet, a beautiful and costly eastern  
fabric, originally made of camel's hair  
and silk (OED s.v. camlet, MED s.v.  
chamelet), here dyed black 141, 159\*, 175\*  
*tawny (tannete kammelotte(s)\*)* brown in  
color with a preponderance of yellow  
or orange (OED s.v. tawny, a. and n.)  
141, 159\*, 175\*

*cheke*, -s a fabric woven or printed with  
a check pattern, i.e. with cross lines  
forming small squares (OED s.v. check,  
n.<sup>2</sup> 2) 142, 143

*golde* 106

*fyne*, with *golde* 206

*chese*, -s cheese 131

*chest*, -es a large box or case in which certain  
commodities, here sugar, are packed for  
transport; hence used as a measure of  
quantity of sugar (OED s.v. chest n.<sup>1</sup> 6) 144

*kyste, verkanthe grothe, offt packe* large,  
square (Lübben-Walther s.v. *vêrkant*,  
*vierkantig*, *viereckig*) 200

*keste, Engelske* of English manufacture 205

*kistken, klein* small 147, 151

*cinamon (cynamon, cynmon, cannel(e)s\*,  
kanneell\*\*)* cinnamon, a spice 104, 141, 143,  
147\*\*, 152\*\*, 154, 160\*, 162, 165, 169, 176\*

*cyrkel (cirkel, ferreos circulos signorum,  
compas\*, kompas, -e\*)* An instrument for  
taking measurements and describing  
circles, consisting (in its simplest form)  
of two straight and equal legs connected  
at one end by a movable joint (OED s.v.

compass n.<sup>1</sup> III 4.a) 173, 183, 186, 187, 190,  
205\*, 206\*

*cleder, -en (cleider, kleder, vestimenta\*)*  
clothing (see also *aperelle*) 41, 43, 159,  
160, 162\*, 164\*, 169\*, 176, 177, 211

*kledingen, gesnede edder schrotarwick*  
tailored clothing (Schiller-Lübben s.v.  
*schrôtwerk*) 206

**cloth** see *bastyen, bostyan, buckeram,  
caresey, chamlette, cheke, cotton, dwolkes,  
fostyan, froyes, Hollandes, Yperlin, koppen,  
lawne de Naf, Northern dosseyens, pannus  
laneus, pannus lineus, parney, ryben,  
rossett, ruddock, saye, schottes, settyn,  
sickelt(h)un, vesse, worsted*

**clothing** see *aperelle, bendel, berate, bonithe,  
buxsen, kappe(n), cleder, elck foder, frenge,  
girdle, gowne, grape, hatte, hosen, hout(te),  
liff rock(e), mantel, manutegium, mowen,  
ryben, rock, shyrt, scho, tunic, underrock,  
wades, wambose, weryng gown, werynger*

*clovys (cloz)* cloves, a spice 34, 104, 112, 128

*cofer, lytylle* chest, strong-box for money or  
valuables (OED s.v. coffer), here small  
34, 144

coins (gold)

*dubbelde ducaten (duplices ducatos sive  
dupiones)* double ducat (most probably  
of Venice) (North s.v. *Dukat*) 135, 138

*engellut(t)hen (florenos aureos Anglicanos  
vocatos engellotten (angelottes))* English  
coin, valued at 3s 4d sterling or half a  
George noble 135, 138, 195

*sunnen kronen* a French gold coin (North  
s.v. *Krone*) 195

*Cold Martt* Cold Mart at Bergen op Zoom,  
a fair 104

**comestibles** see *almondes, bagone, bier,  
bottar, chese, comfette, corans, koecken,  
oleum, olyve, orynges floris, pastis,  
ryse, salet oylle, solt, solt vissch, soltes  
kabbelauwen, succad(e), sucker, venyson*

*comfette*, -s a sweetmeat made of some kind  
of fruit or root etc. and preserved with  
sugar (OED s.v. *comfit*, n.) 112



*compas* see *cyrkel*  
*comus* see *semy*  
*confetire* (*conferken\**, *consolier\*\**, *confor\*\*\**)  
 almost certainly a coverlet (despite the many variant spellings, all these entries record the exact same goods) (cf. *covarlit*)  
 160\*, 162, 165\*\*, 170\*\*\*, 177\*  
*covarlit de Lys* bed-cover, counterpane, coverlet (OED s.v. coverlet), here manufactured in Lys (cf. *confetire*) 123  
 conflict management, premodern 58, 59  
*congeries*, small, congeries, a collection of things merely massed or heaped together; a mass, heap (OED s.v. congeries), here small 207  
*corans* currants 104, 141, 143, 154  
*corbita* see ship types  
*coroy* meaning unknown 115  
 correspondence, mercantile, Dutch 49  
*cotton*, -s a woollen fabric of the nature of frieze, in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries largely manufactured in Lancashire, Westmorland, and Wales (OED s.v. cotton, n.<sup>2</sup> Obs.) 112  
 as wrapper (*ummeslege*, *pro volvatura*) 209, 211  
 grene as wrapper 202  
*covarlit* see *confetire*  
*cramare* (*cramerrye\**, *cramwerck\*\**, *kråmgude*, *kramgude*<sup>†</sup>) Merchandise, such goods as are usually sold by a pedlar (OED s.v. cramery) 142, 147<sup>†</sup>, 151<sup>†</sup>, 152<sup>†</sup>, 160\*\*, 176\*\*, 177\*, 193<sup>†</sup>  
*cramfaet*, *cromfaet* see *tunne*, *droge*  
*crocus* saffron (middle, great) 104  
*crosbow thred* string for a crossbow, attested in the Book of Rates (Willan 20) 121  
*krosen*, *steinen* (*kroßen*) earthenware pitcher, jug (Lübben-Walther, s.v. krôs, krûs) 146, 151  
*krussen* pitcher, jug 206  
*culler*, *cotten commellott* clearly a material made of soft chamlet (q.v.), but the meaning of *culler* is unknown 197

*swartze ledderen* clearly something made of leather and black in color, but the meaning of *culler* is unknown 197  
*customs in Flanders* 142

## – D –

*dagar*, -s dagger 143  
*de(c)ke*, -n blanket (Grimm<sup>2</sup> s.v. decke, cf. UBStL s.v. Decke) 147, 152  
*grote Vlamesche* large, of Flemish manufacture 160, 177  
*woldeck* made of wool 206  
*deker* (*dicker*) a measure of quantity, 10 pieces, here of oxhides 39, 40, 41, 207, 208, 216  
 documents, English, transcription rules 70, 71  
 Latin, transcription rules 69, 70  
 Middle Low German, Middle Dutch, transcription rules for Middle Low German 71, 72, 73, 74, 75  
 Middle Low German, Middle Dutch, transcription rules for Middle Dutch 75, 76  
*dossens*, *dosseyens* see Northern *dosseyens*  
*drad*, missing (*missinges drad*, -es, *kopperdraden*) brass wire 147, 151, 193, 195  
*dri pype*, *droge fat* see *tunna*  
*dudes* meaning unknown 142  
*duodena*, -e a dozen yards, here of diaper silk ribbon 223  
*dwolkes* some kind of cloth (MNW/O s.v. dwale<sup>1</sup> 'doek') 206  
**dyestuffs** see *kermes*, *mader*, *vermylond*

## – E –

Eighty Years War (1568-1648) 46  
*eimer*, *missingen* (*missinges*, *myssenge*; *emmcher*, *emmher*, *emmer*, *urna*, -e *de auricalco\**) bronze bucket 147, 151, 159, 164\*, 169\*, 176  
*elck foder* (*illykes foder\**) a lining for garments made of polecat fur (UBStL s.v. Pelzwerk (cross reference from elk)

'Iltis' = polecat; Schiller-Lübben s.v.  
 voder 'Unterfutter, Futteral' = lining for  
 clothing) 147\*, 152\*, 160, 177  
*elle*, -s eel, a fish 118  
*ele*, -n ell, a measure of length, in England  
 45 in., in Flanders 27 in. (OED s.v. ell<sup>1</sup> 1a)  
 142, 225  
 England, female immigration into, 15<sup>th</sup>  
 century 55

– F –

**fairs** see *Barbers Mart, Cold Martt*  
*fardel(le)* (*fardella*, -e, *ferdellum*, -i\*) fardel,  
 a bundle, a little pack; a parcel, used for  
 packing dry goods (OED s.v. fardel, n.<sup>1</sup>  
 arch.) 34, 43, 115, 143, 144, 202\*, 209\*  
*parvum* small 179\*  
*fasciculus*, -i see *bundel*  
*fat* see *tunna*  
*ferkyn*, -s (*furkyne*, -s, *fyrkyng*, -es, *firkyng*, -es,  
*fyrkyn*, -s) firkin, a small cask for liquids,  
 fish, butter etc. (originally equivalent  
 to ½ kilderkin or ¼ barrel) (OED s.v.  
 firkin, n.) 111, 118, 127  
*lytill* (*litille*, *lyttle*) 113, 127, 143  
*ferreos spectantes ad caldarios* see *ketelhenge*  
*fether bolles* feather balls 131  
*fet(t)herbed* (*vedderbedde*\*, *vedderdeke*\*,  
*veddern dekke*\*) featherbed 34, 112, 144,  
 147\*, 152\*, 224\*, 225\*  
*figure*, -n (*fygure*, *fygugur*) a small statue,  
 probably religious in nature (MNW s.v.  
 figure) 109, 115  
*large* 109  
*doble larg* 109  
*oultre fyn* 109  
*filum*, -i (*twerne*\*) thread (see also  
*Owtnorth*) 162, 164, 165, 169  
*witte* white 147\*, 152\*  
*lineum* linen thread 162, 165, 169  
**fish** see *elle*, *vische*, *jolle*, *storgeon*  
*vische*, *lange* 224, 225  
*Ylandesche* fish from Iceland 24, 224, 225  
 Fishers' marks, Brouwershaven 66

*flass* (*linum*, -i\*, *lynen*\*\*) flax 20, 39, 41,  
 147\*\*, 152\*\*, 201\*, 204, 207, 208, 217, 219  
*flore bake* clearly some sort of packing unit,  
 but exact meaning unknown 125  
*flores muscatorum* see *mac(c)es*  
*folia valentia ad colorem* (*bladen*\*) meaning  
 unknown 160\*, 162, 165, 169, 176\*  
*fostes* meaning unknown 131  
*fostyan*, -s (*fustean*, -s, *sardoke*, -s\*) fustian,  
 cloth woven of flaxen warp and cotton  
 woof (OED s.v. fustian, n. and a.) 119,  
 158\*, 175\*, 195\*  
*bevarnell off the grape* fustian of the third  
 highest quality (grape), geographic  
 origin unknown 120  
*Holmys* (*Holmes fustean*, -s, *Olmer*  
*sardock*\*) fustians of Ulm 114, 119, 159\*,  
 176\*  
*Orburnys* (*Osborns fustean*, -s, *Oustburger*  
*fustewn*\*) fustians of Augsburg 114, 119,  
 193\*  
*Osburnys fustians of the grape*, i.e. of the  
 third highest quality of fustians 143  
*Valechy haelf ossen* half fustians of the  
 highest quality (ox) manufactured in  
 Villach (Austria) 116  
 freight charges 105, 106, 107, 114, 127, 128,  
 129, 130, 142  
*frenge* an ornamental bordering, consisting  
 of a narrow band to which are attached  
 threads of silk, cotton, etc. either loose or  
 formed into tassels, twists etc. (OED s.v.  
 fringe n.) 143  
*froyes frieze*, a kind of coarse woollen cloth,  
 with a nap, usually on one side only  
 (OED s.v. frieze n.<sup>1</sup>) 143  
*frokke* see *rock*  
**furs, skins, hides** see *besaen*, *elck foder*, *vell*

– G –

*garde* see *yard*  
*garn*, *garen*, *gars* see *yarin*  
*geschutte* cannon 25, 204  
*gesnede kledingen* see *cleder*

*gynger* ginger, a spice 104, 122  
*girdle*, silk 43  
*glasses* (*glesen*) glasses (for drinking) 143, 195  
*goder*, *swart Spannske* clearly something of Spanish manufacture and black in color, but meaning unknown 206  
*gossep* godfather (OED s.v. gossip n.) 125  
*gowne* 112  
**grain** see *barle*  
*grape* the third highest quality of fustians 119  
*gros(se)* measure of quantity, comprising 144 pieces 106, 115, 142, 143  
*gume* (*gum epoporeak\**) Euphorbium, a gum resin obtained from certain succulent species of *Euphorbia*. It is an extremely acrid substance, formerly used as an emetic and purgative. The powder causes violent sneezing (OED s.v. Euphorbium, Cobb p. 179) 120\*, 143

– H –

*hade* meaning unknown 116  
*hamer* (*melleum*, *-i ferreum*) (iron) hammer 173, 183, 186, 187, 190  
*hande* *baskette*, -s a basket to be carried in the hand (OED s.v. hand basket) 131  
*hant scriyen* meaning unknown 126  
*harniskyns*, *harnes* (in pairs) harness (armor, equipment) the defensive or body armour of a man-at-arms or foot-soldier; all the defensive equipment of an armed horseman, for both man and horse (OED s.v. harness n.) 144  
*hatte*, -s hat 142, 143  
*hawke hendes* clearly some sort of equipment for a (captive) hawk, but exact meaning unknown 106  
*helgher* meaning unknown 126  
*hemde* (*hem(m)ede*, *hembd*, -er) see *shyrt*  
*hempe*, *hennepes* see *canabis*  
**herbs** see spices, herbs  
*hesken myt synem rescup* the meaning of *hesken* is unknown, but *rescup* is

‘personal effects’ (Schiller-Lübben s.v. *redeschop* (*rêschap*) ‘Gerätschaft’) 205  
*hides* 207, 208  
**hides** see furs, skins, hides  
*hode* of sugar (*capita succari\**) a loaf of sugar, sugar refined and moulded into a loaf or conical mass (OED s.v. loaf-sugar) 24, 160, 162\*, 165\*, 177, 224, 225  
*hoy* (*hooye*, *howy*, *hey*, *hoyge*) see ship types  
*Hollandes* cloth manufactured in Holland 143  
*Hollandesch lo(u)went* see *pannus lineus*  
*hop(p)es* (*hopis*, *hoppem*, *humilus*, -i\*) hops 120, 128, 131, 142, 143, 163\*, 165\*, 170\*, 171, 178  
*hosen* (*hoesen*, *hasen*) an article of clothing for the leg; sometimes reaching down only to the ankle as a legging or gaiter, sometimes also covering the foot like a long stocking (OED s.v. hose n.), usually in pairs 206  
*knotter* clearly some kind of hose, but the meaning of *knotter* is unknown 205  
*nedder* since this item is counted in pairs and reasoning from Schiller-Lübben s.v. *nedderhemde* ‘Unterhemd’ and *nedderklêt* ‘Unterkleid’, probably an article of clothing to be worn next to the skin, undercloths 206  
*neye* new 205  
*olde* old 205  
*olt par* a pair of old hose 205  
*rode* red 206  
*swartze* black 196  
*witte* white 206  
**household goods** see *bargelot*, *bedde*, *belles*, *bilde*, *bosse*, *kanne*, *canstyk*, *carpette*, *cofer*, *confetire*, *covarlit*, *cramare*, *krosen*, *krussen*, *de(c)ke*, *eimer*, *fether bolles*, *fet(t)herbed*, *figure*, *glasses*, *hande baskette*, *klocken*, *knyve*, *kock iseren*, *ladeken*, *lantorne*, *lapis*, *l(o)utynges* *strynges*, *luchter*, *moser*, *napkyn*, *nasche(e)n*, *nedylle*, *payntyd clothe*, *paper*, *pewter vessels*, *pluse*, *pluserye*, *porgete*, *potte*, *rassure*, *salser*, *schalen*, *schottelen*,

*soltwar, sope, spegel, tangen, tapitte*, tin vessels, *trencheor, vanne, vascula stannea*, *waeijer, wesselle, wynkanne*  
*hout(te)* hat, cap (MNW/O s.v. *hoet*<sup>1</sup>) 115  
*van Dornich* manufactured in Doornik 115  
*hubeken crest* meaning unknown 116  
*humilus* see *hop(p)es*

# – I (Y as a vowel) –

*Ylandesche vische* see *vische*  
*illykes foder* see *elck foder*  
**industrial, artisanal goods** see *alblade*, *allam, anlette, bellowes, canabis, kanifas, drad, filum, flass, hamer, hop(p)es, inkelle, iron, iserband, iserdrad, ketelhenge, latyn wyar, ledyn wayghtes, lint, mallte, mostard scede, naylles, nedylle, oleum, orynges floris, ossen hude, Owtnorth, pavyngtyle, penys for settyls, purselen, quyksylver, seam, shepe belle, siden, sope, tallowe, tangen, vermylond, volvatura, wagenschotte, wyre, yarin*  
*inkelle (yngkylle, ynkell)* *inkle*, a kind of linen tape, the linen thread or yarn from which *inkle* is manufactured (usually unwrought *inkle*) (OED s.v. *inkle*) 106  
*worthe* clearly some kind of *inkle*, but meaning of *worthe* is unknown 142  
*ryben* ribbon made of *inkle* 143  
*thred* the linen thread or yarn from which *inkle* is manufactured (OED s.v. *inkle* n. 2) 142  
*inn-keepers*, mercantile functions 55  
*insurance* of ships 28, 39  
*Yperlin, doubles serge*, manufactured in Ypres, probably of double weight (or thickness) 116  
*iron* 128  
*Hones* clearly some kind of *iron*  
produced on the continent, but exact meaning unknown 128  
*Namys* clearly some kind of *iron*  
produced on the continent, but exact meaning unknown 128  
*iserband* the hinges of a door or gate, especially long strips of *iron* extending

across the surface (OED s.v. *band*, n.<sup>1</sup> 3) 148, 152  
*iserdrad (isern drath)* *iron wire* 148, 152

# – J –

*jolle, half(e)* (*joll, -ys, joylle, -s, golle, -s\**) The head of a fish; hence (as a cut or dish), the head and shoulders of certain fish, as the salmon, sturgeon, and ling (OED s.v. *jowl, jole*, n.<sup>3</sup>), here of sturgeon 102, 106\*, 118, 129

# – K (see also C) –

*kammelotte(s)* see *chamlette, -s*  
*kanifas* see *canvas*  
*kanneell* see *cannel(e)s*  
*kapers* see *capers*  
*karte* map, probably a sea-chart, as suggested by the fact that it is always accomanied by a compass in the same mariner's portage 205, 206  
*kastilier (kastylier)* meaning unknown 206  
*klene* small 206  
*kastilipper (kastylipper)* 205  
*kermes*, the pregnant female of the insect *Coccus ilicis*, formerly supposed to be a berry; gathered in large quantities from a species of evergreen oak in Southern Europe and North Africa, for use in dyeing, and formerly in medicine; the red dye-stuff consisting of the dried bodies of these insects (OED s.v. *kermes*) 20  
*ketelhenge offte ketelbande (ketell bondes)* *iron band* around a cauldron, perhaps a handle 143, 176  
*ferreos spectantes ad caldarios* *iron band* around a cauldron 162, 165, 169  
*kynce, -s* meaning unknown 106  
*kippe* meaning unknown 116  
*keste, kyste, kistken* see *chest*  
*kleder, kleding* see *cloder*  
*klocken (campana, campanella)* bell 173, 183, 186, 187, 190  
*knyve, -s (knyv, -ys)* knife 142, 143

*kock iseren* (*kōck isern*) iron cooking utensils (e.g. pots etc.) 148, 152  
*koecken* (*ko(e)ken*) cake, a comparatively small flattened sort of bread, round, oval, or otherwise regularly shaped, and usually baked hard on both sides (OED s.v. cake n. 1a, MNW/O s.v. coeke) 126, 197, 205  
*kompas* see *cyyrkel*  
*koppen, blauwen, mytt smallen lysten* clearly some sort of blue cloth with broad lists, but exact meaning of *koppen* unknown 117  
*korff* basket, a packing unit of no particular size (OED s.v. corf) 146, 151  
*klene* (*korfferkin*) small 115, 205  
*kramgude* see *cramare*  
*krassen* (in pairs) meaning unknown 206  
*kraveel* see ship types  
*krussen* see *krosen* (under C)

## – L –

*ladeken, vormālt* (*lade, kleine vormalde*) small painted chest 148, 152  
*laken, (korte)* see *pannus laneus*  
*lantorne, -s* lantern 131  
*lapis, rubeus* (*roth steen\**) red crayon, red-chalk pencil (Lübben-Walther s.v. rōtstēn) 160\*, 162, 165, 169, 176\*  
*toto* (*totte*) clearly (judging from the other contents) some kind of medicinal drug, but exact meaning unknown 120, 143  
*latyn wyar* wire made of latten, a mixed metal of yellow color, either identical with, or closely resembling, brass (OED s.v. latten) 128  
*lawne de Naf* lawn, a kind of fine linen, resembling cambric (OED s.v. lawn, n.<sup>1</sup>), but as a place of manufacture *Naf* is not attested 123  
**leather and leather goods** see *hides, lether*  
*lectum* see *bedde*  
*ledyn wayghtes* a set of weights, made of lead 122

*lether* leather 106  
*letter-locking* 52, 56  
*liff rock(e)* a frock fitting close to the body (Grimm<sup>1</sup> s.v. Leibrock) 206  
*grawe* grey 206  
*nye swart* new, dyed black 206  
*lint, -s* *Brussel* tape, manufactured in Brussels (MNW/O s.v. lint) 116  
*linum* see *flass*  
*lynnen wand* (*lynnewande*) see *pannus lineus*  
*literacy, female, Low Countries* 53  
*London, economic development* 47  
     immigration into 47, 48  
     population 47  
*l(o)utynghe strynges* lute strings 108, 121  
*louwande* see *pannus lineus*  
*lowende botas* see *tunna*  
*luchter* (*candelabrum, -i\**) candlestick 173, 183, 186\*, 187\*, 190\*  
*mysinges* made of bronze 205  
*Luther, Martin, translation of the Bible* 73

## – M –

*mac(c)es* (*mayce, -s, massys, muscat/muscaten blomen\*, flores muscatorum\*\**) mace, a spice consisting of the dried outer covering of the nutmeg (OED s.v. mace, n.<sup>2</sup>) 104, 107, 144, 159\*, 162\*\*, 165\*\*, 169\*\*, 176\*  
*large* 128  
*mader* (*mather*) madder, herbaceous climbing plant, *Rubia tinctorum*, having rough hairy stems and bearing panicles of small yellowish flowers: cultivated, esp. in Holland and France, for the dye obtained from it, employed medicinally or as a dye-stuff yielding a red color (OED s.v. madder, n.<sup>1</sup>) 112, 114, 128  
*mayde floxes* meaning unknown 131  
*mandelen, mandelun* see *almondes*  
*mallte* malt 131  
*mande, -s* (*maund, -ys*) maund, a wicker or other woven basket with a handle or handles, hence basketful as a measure of capacity of no particular size (OED s.v. maund, n.<sup>1</sup>) 125, 143

*mantel, graw(e)* a loose sleeveless cloak of varying length (OED s.v. mantle n.), here grey in color 205, 206  
*plaw Engels* blue in color, of English manufacture 205

*manutegium, -i* glove 179, 180

**medicinal use** see *gume, nygillo Romany, sanguis draconys, settoalle, seny, turbyt*  
 merchants' marks (Ger. *Hausmarken*, Dutch *huismerken*) 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67  
 classification, methodology 67, 68  
 scholarly investigation of 65, 66

*mesor* of London, measure of Bay salt (= 2 cwt) 131

**metals and ores** see *quyksylver, tynn*

**metalware** see *alblade, anlette, bosse, kloeken, knyve, kock iseren, salser, schalen, segalen, schottelen, segalen, shepe belle, soltwar*  
*moser, mysynges* mortar, here made of brass 205

*mostard scede* mustardseed 131

*mowen, knotter* (in pairs) *mouwe* is a sleeve, particularly a broad one (Lübben-Walther s.v. *mouwe*), but the meaning of *knotter* is unknown 205

*muscat blomen* (*muscaten blomen*) see *mac(c)es*

**musical instruments** see household goods

# – N –

*napkyn, -s, fyne of fyne diaper* napkin, made of *diaper* a linen fabric (or an inferior fabric of 'union' or cotton) woven with a small and simple pattern, formed by the different directions of the thread, with the different reflexions of light from its surface, and consisting of lines crossing diamond-wise, with the spaces variously filled up by parallel lines, a central leaf or dot, etc. (OED s.v. *diaper*) 144  
*nasche(e)n myt swyne bosten* (*scrinia/scrinea setarum ex crinibus porcorum*) clearly a box containing silk, but the exact meaning of *myt swyne bosten* / *ex*

*crinibus porcorum* ('with hog bristles') is unknown (Lübben-Walther s.v. *nasch*, UBStL s.v. *nasch*) 173, 183, 186, 187, 190

*naylles* nails 128

*nedylle, -s* needle 143

*nygillo Romany* (*Nygola Romana*) *nigella*, a genus of ranunculaceous plants, having numerous black seeds, of which the Fennel-flower (*Nigella sativa*) is a common species; also, the seeds of this used for medicinal purposes (OED s.v. *nigella* Bot.) 120, 143

*Northern dosseyens* (*dossens, dosseyens an de northseden gemaket*\*) woollen cloth, produced in the North of England, being measured in dozen yards (hence the name) and half the width of a cloth of assize and as such corresponding to one quarter of a *pannus laneus de assisa* 128, 203, 213, 213\*  
*russet* reddish-brown in color 202

*nottes* nuts 104

# – O –

*oleum* (*oyle*\*) oil 163, 165, 170, 177\*  
*raparum* rape-seed oil 163, 165, 170, 171, 178\*  
 of Lisbon 20, 40, 41, 207, 208  
*Sevelle* of Seville 144\*  
*olyve, -s* olive 121, 127, 144  
*orradoes* since this item is mentioned in the same context as *comfits*, it is probably something similar, but the exact meaning of the term is unknown 112

*orynges floris* orange flowers, the white flowers of the orange tree, used in cooking and as perfume (OED s.v. *orange flower*) 107

*ossen hude* oxhides 39, 40, 41, 216

*Owtnorth* thread made in Oudenarde in Flanders; attested in the Book of Rates of 1582, but the 1558 Book read *Owtnarde* (Willan 61) (see also *filum*) 143  
*thred* (*therd*), *Ownter* 106

## – P –

*paccus*, -i, *pacca*, -e (*pack*) a packing unit of no particular size or weight 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 106, 116, 146, 147, 150, 151, 152, 159, 174, 175, 184, 193, 201, 202, 203, 205, 210, 211, 212, 213, 217, 218

*grote* large, of cloth 158, 175, 215, 216

*kleyn* (*klein*, *klene*; *packen*, *påkschen*, *packeschen*, *packelken*, *paxken*, *pexken*, *pecsken*) small 146, 147, 151, 154, 155, 160, 176, 205, 215, 216, 226

*bereven* bound 204

packing, of cloth and merchandise 142

**packing units** (of no particular size or weight) see *bag(g)*, *bala*, *barrell*, *bondelle*, *bult*, *bundel*, *bunt*, *but(t)e*, *congeries*, *fardel(le)*, *ferkyn*, *korff*, *mande*, *paccus*, *pungken*, *saccus*, *stuve*, *trus(s)e*, *tunna*, *tunne*, *tunneken*, *fat/vath*

*payntyde clothe*, -s a hanging for a room painted or worked with figures, mottoes or texts; tapestry (OED s.v. painted 5) 106

*pannus laneus* (*curtus*) ((*korte*) *laken*\*, (*wullen*) *laken*\*\*, *wand*\*\*\*) English woollen cloth of assize (24 x 1.5 yards) (see also *Northern dosseyens*, *russets*, *vesse* for other kinds of English cloth) 20, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 119, 122, 128, 131, 202, 205\*\*\*, 207, 208, 209, 211\*\*, 212\*, 215\*, 216\*, 217\*, 218\*, 219\*

by color

*blewe* (*bleue*, *blaw*, *blodii coloris*, *blodii verwe*, *blaw*) 202, 205, 206\*\*\*, 209, 210, 211\*\*, 212\*, 212\*\*, 213\*

*licht blaw* 211\*\*

*brun hosen* brown, for making hose 206

*ekemut* see *kenet*

*graw Engels* 205

*grene* (*gron*) 209, 211\*\*, 213\*

*grene* as wrapper 209, 211

*light grene* (*licht gron*) 210, 212\*\*

*duncker gron* dark green 211\*\*, 212\*\*

*fyne brown grene* (*fyn brun growe*) 210, 212\*\*

*horseflesshe* cloth of a reddish bronze color (OED s.v. horse-flesh), here as wrapper 209, 211

*kenet* (*ekemut*) a kind of grey cloth, here as wrapper (OED s.v. *kennet*<sup>2</sup> Obs.) 209, 211\*\*

*curtus plonkit* (*plunket*) shortcloth of varying texture, apparently of a grey or light blue colour (OED s.v. *plunket*, n.<sup>1</sup> and a. Obs.) 202, 209, 210, 212\*, 212\*\*, 213\*

*puck(e)* (black) (*fin laken van der verwe pucke*\*, *swart fyn puck laken*\*\*) *puke*, a superior kind of woollen cloth, of which gowns were made, dyed a bluish black or inky color (OED s.v. *puke*, n.<sup>1</sup> Obs.) 44, 213\*, 217\*\*

*red* (*redde*, *rode*, *rodt*) red 202, 206, 209, 211\*\*, 212\*, 212\*\*

*swart* black 205, 206\*\*\*, 218\*\*

*klein* (*swarth*), *mith brenden bonegelt* a small piece of (black) cloth with broad lists (note, however, that none of the standard dictionaries record the term *bonegelt*) 146\*\*, 150\*\*, 154\*\*

*violet* (*violen*) violet 202, 209, 211\*\*, 212\*\*, 213\*

*wit Engels* [cloth] white 206

*wites* white 206\*\*\*

*yellow* (*geel*) yellow 209, 211\*\*

by type

*gyng*, -s (*gynge*, -s) clearly some kind of English cloth, but exact meaning unknown 210, 212

*curtus med(d)ley* (*medlay*, *myddelmelich*, *myddelmetig*, *myddelmetig*) shortcloth woven with wools of different colors or shades (OED s.v. *medley*, n. and a.) 202, 210, 212\*\*, 213\*\*

*curtus grene medley* green shortcloth woven with wools of different colors or shades (OED s.v. *medley*, n. and a.) 202, 209

*curtus muster* (*musterfyllre*, *musterfyllir*, *mustervyllre*) a kind of mixed

- grey woollen cloth (OED s.v. *musterdevillers*) 202, 209, 210, 211\*\*, 212\*, 212\*\*
- for specific purposes
- buxsten*, *witte* cloth for making leggings (see *buxsen*), white in color 205\*\*\*
- pel* cloth for making cushions (MNW/O s.v. *pele*<sup>1</sup>) 205\*\*\*, 206\*\*\*
- rock*, *blaw* blue cloth for making a frock (q.v.) 206\*
- grou rock* grey cloth for making a frock (q.v.) 206\*
- swart rock* black cloth for making a frock (q.v.) 206\*
- tabbart* cloth for making a tabert, i.e. a garment of coarse material; 'a loose upper garment without sleeves' formerly worn out of doors by the lower classes, also by monks and foot-soldiers; a short surcoat open at the sides and having short sleeves, worn by a knight over his armour, and emblazoned on the front, back, and sleeves with his armorial bearings (OED s.v. *tabard*) 124\*\*
- with *hosen* white in color, for making hose 205\*\*
- unknown
- danetes* clearly some kind of cloth, but meaning of *danetes* is unknown 206\*\*\*
- pannus lineus* (*louwande*, *louwean*, *louwend*, *louwent*\*, *lowwent*\*, *lynnen wand*\*) linen cloth 38, 146\*, 147\*, 150\*, 152\*, 160\*, 162, 165, 169, 177\*
- louwande* (*louwean*, *lynnewande*) as wrapper 212, 213
- Hollandesch* (*Hollundesch*) linen cloth manufactured in Holland 159, 175, 224, 225
- paper* 106, 109
- broune dowbylle* 106
- wrytyng* 142
- parney* clearly some kind of cloth, but exact meaning unknown 205
- blaw* blue in color 206
- pastis of venyson* pie, consisting usually of venison or other meat seasoned and enclosed in a crust of pastry, and baked without a dish; a meat-pie (OED s.v. *pasty* n.) 102, 103
- pavyngtyle*, -s (*astrickes steynen*\*, *castrickstene*\*\*, *payffarenge tykelles*\*\*) paving tile 43, 131\*\*\*, 211\*\*, 221, 226\*
- pecsken bereven* see *paccus*
- pel want* see *pannus laneus*, for specific purposes
- penys for settyls* wooden or metal pins to fasten together a settle, something to sit on, e.g. a chair, bench, stool etc; specifically *long setylle* (*langsedyll*, *langcetel*, *longsetylle*) a long wooden bench, usually with arms and a high back and having a locker or box under the seat (OED s.v. *pin*, n.<sup>1</sup> & *settle*, n.<sup>1</sup> 2 & 3) 125
- peper* (*piper*, -*eris*) pepper, a spice 104, 112, 114, 128, 141, 143, 144, 147, 151, 154, 159, 162, 165, 169, 176
- pewter vessels (see also tin vessels, *vascula stannea*) 40, 43
- pexken*, *kleyen* see *paccus*
- pypen* pipe, half of a tun, a measure of capacity holding 252 gallons 177
- pluse* probably identical to *pluserye* (MNW/O s.v. *plusinge* 'klein huisraade, huiselijke benoodigheden') 206
- pluserye* a catch-all term for small wares, items of little value, haberdashery Lübben-Walther s.v. *pluserie* ('kleine Waaren'), cf. OED s.v. *haberdash*) 205, 206
- pocatte*, -s pokette, a measure of hops, consisting of 3 cwt at 112 lb. (Willan 33) 143
- poke*, -s a measure of hops (4 cwt at 112 lb.), equivalent to one half of a sack (Willan 33) 127
- smaylle* a measure of hops, a pokette 131
- porgete*, *clene* probably small wares, haberdashery, but exact meaning unknown 158



*portage* sailors' portage 21, 142  
*potte*, -s pot 131  
*stenene* (*lapideum figulorum seu poculorum*) earthenware pot 173, 183, 186, 187, 190  
*tynnene* (*poculum*, -i, *stanneum*\*) tin pot 173, 183, 186, 187\*, 190\*  
*pumpen* pump (of a ship, in this case a hoy) 135  
*pungen*, *klein* bag, a small sack (Lübben-Walther s.v. *punge*) 147, 151  
*purselen*, *klen* small purse or bag, as employed by pharmacists (MNW/O s.v. *purse*) 155

## - Q -

*quarter* quarter, a measure of volume consisting of 8 bushels (OED s.v. *quarter* n. 4) 131  
*quyksylver* mercury 104, 112

## - R -

*rap olye* see *oleum*  
*rassure*, -s razor 106  
*re(a)me* a measure of quantity of paper, consisting of 500 sheets 106, 142  
*ryben*, *saye* say ribbon 143  
*ryband*, *diaper silke* made of silk diaper, a fabric woven with a small and simple pattern, formed by the different directions of the thread, with the different reflexions of light from its surface, and consisting of lines crossing diamond-wise, with the spaces variously filled up by parallel lines, a central leaf or dot, etc. (OED s.v. *diaper*) 222, 223  
*ryse* rice 104  
*ringe von werden* meaning unknown 152

*rock*, -e (*frokke*, -s\*) an upper garment worn chiefly by men; a long coat, tunic, or mantle (OED s.v. *frock*, n.)<sup>2</sup> 143\*, 147, 152  
*myt knelingk gesoders* clearly some kind of knee-length frock, but the meaning of *gesoders* is unknown (Lübben-Walther s.v. *knellinges*) 205  
*rode fr(o)uwen* for wear by women, dyed red 160, 177  
*mans* for wear by men 160, 177  
*pale* (*palt*\*) long coat for protection against the rain (Schiller-Walter s.v. *paltrok* 'langer (faltiger) Überrock, Regenrock (nicht immer von groben Stoffen)') 205\*, 206, 206\*  
*swart palt* black 206  
*nye palt* new 206  
*nye pub* new, but the meaning of *pub* is unknown 205  
*graue* grey 205  
*swart* black 205  
*swarte, van frese* (*gemakett*) frock (q.v.) made of frieze (q.v.) 160, 176  
*rokens beke* meaning unknown 206  
*rolle*, -s roll of cloth, here of bolt canvas 121  
*rond(d)e*, -s, a measure (or portion) of sturgeon 102, 106, 111, 113, 118, 129  
*rooth banir* clearly a red banner, but the exact meaning is unknown, since it forms part of a mariner's portage 205  
*rossett* (*russet(t)*, -es\*) russet, a coarse homespun woollen cloth of a reddish-brown, grey or neutral color (OED s.v. *russet*, n. and a.) (see also *pannus curtus*) 43, 202\*, 209\*, 210\*, 211\*, 212\*, 213\*, 218\*  
*fyn* of superior quality 117  
*of Northe* (*russet an der northseden gemaket*) made in North England 210\*, 212\*

2 Rock and frock are identical, the first term being the Middle Low German and the second Middle English. This is demonstrated by the fact that the English schedule of damages (No. 40 § 19, p. 143) describes a small truss of cinnamon as being wrapped in 2 *froyes frokkes* (frocks made of frieze), which the Lübeck scribe, looking at exactly the same object, described as 2 *swarte rocke van frese gemakett*.

*goyder roden* red, of superior quality 117  
*tawney (tannet(es))* a composite colour, consisting of brown with a preponderance of yellow or orange (OED s.v. tawny, a. and n.) 202\*, 209\*, 211\*, 213\*  
*roth steen* see *lapis, rubeus*  
*ruddock* clearly some kind of cloth, since 3  
*stuve* (a piece of cloth not of the length of assize: Lübben-Walther s.v. *stuve*) are recorded, but exact meaning unknown 205  
*rumbus, -i* see *sturgeon*  
*rusken edder wesker vor pitzert* meaning unknown 217  
*russet* see *pannus curtus*

### – S –

*saccus, -i (sa(c)k\*, -es, secke\*\*)* a packing unit of no particular size or weight 106\*, 120, 142, 143, 146\*\*, 147\*\*, 150\*\*, 151\*\*, 155\*\*, 159\*, 159\*\*, 160\*, 164, 165, 169, 176, 176\*, 176\*\*, 178\*\*  
 of hemp, a measure of capacity, equivalent to 2 pokes 143\*, 159\*\*, 165\*\*, 176\*\*  
*saye, -s (saye, -n, seye, -s, sagan\*, seiem\*\*, arsch\*\*\*)* a cloth of fine texture resembling serge (OED s.v. say n.<sup>1</sup>), originally from the Low Countries; in the sixteenth century sometimes partly of silk (thereafter wholly of wool) 106, 129, 130, 141, 142, 144, 146\*, 150\*\*\*, 154\*\*, 155\*\*\*, 158, 158\*\*\*, 159\*, 175\*, 175\*\*\*, 193\*\*\*, 204\*, 205\*  
 new 106  
*halve* half the usual size 224, 225\*  
*myddell* 106  
*bredes* broad 106  
*croiset* clearly some kind of say, but exact meaning unknown 115  
*gerdeling* for making belts 142  
*quarteryng* clearly some kind of say, but exact meaning unknown 142  
*salet oylle* salad-oil, olive oil of superior quality, such as is used in dressing salads (OED s.v. salad-oil) 144

*salser, tynnen* salt-cellar, a small vessel used on the table for holding salt (OED s.v. salt-cellar), here made of pewter (cf. *soltwar*) 205  
*saltfish* see *solt vissch*  
*sanguis draconys (sangloys\*)* dragon's blood, a bright red gum or resin, an exudation upon the fruit of a palm, *Calamus Draco*, used medically (OED s.v. dragon's blood) 120\*, 143  
*sarcina* see *bala*  
*sardoke* see *fostyan*  
*schalen (schelen), tynne* bowl, made of pewter (Lübben-Walther s.v. *schale*) 205, 206  
*scallte* see *solt*  
**ships, shipping, shipbuilding** see *cyrkel, karte, pumpen*  
*shyrt, -es (hemde, hem(m)ede, hembder\*)*  
 shirt 197\*, 205\*, 206\*  
*olde* 206\*  
*made* ready-made shirt 144  
*fyne* made of higher quality 144  
*scho, -en* shoe 197, 206  
*nye* new 205  
*kleyne kynder* shoe for a child, small 205  
*schottelen (schutellas sive tarschas)* bowl or dish, here made of tin 173, 183, 186, 187, 190  
*schottes, graw* clearly some kind of cloth (since the item is recorded as 1 *stuve graw* *schottes*, i.e. a piece of cloth shorter than the norm), but exact meaning unknown 205  
*schuta (schute)* see ship types  
*segalen, tynne* clearly made of tin or pewter, but meaning unknown 205  
*settyen, Bruggesch* satin, produced in Bruges 199  
*settoalle* setwall, the root of the East Indian plant *Curcuma Zedoaria*, used as a drug (OED s.v. setwall) 120, 121, 143  
*seam, -es (semm, -ys)* an embellished seaming used in joining costly fabrics; an ornamental strip of material inserted in

or laid over a seam; also, material for this purpose (OED seam n.<sup>1</sup> 1c) 19, 118, 128

*secke* see *saccus*

*seny* (*comus*\*)<sup>3</sup> senna, a shrub of the genus *Cassia*, native in tropical regions, bearing yellow flowers and flat greenish pods; pharmaceutical use: the dried leaflets of various species of *Cassia*, used as a cathartic and emetic (OED s.v. senna) 120, 143\*

*shepe belle*, -s a bell hung on a sheep's neck, especially the leading sheep of a flock (OED s.v. sheep n. 8; bell-wether 1) 106

### ship types

*bogerde* (*bôgerde*, *borger(de)*, *bogade*, *bowede*) a small ship with a single mast (Schiller-Lübben s.v. boyer, boyert) 134, 138, 146, 150, 195

*corbita sive kraveel* (in German) a somewhat small, light, and fast ship, chiefly of Spain and Portugal, but also mentioned as French and English (OED s.v. carvel Naut.) 207

*hoy* (*hooye*, *howy*, *hey*, *hoya* (Latin), *hoyge*, *schuta* (Latin), *schute*) a one-masted ship of middle or small size, usually rigged as a sloop, used in carrying passengers and goods, particularly on short coastal voyages (OED s.v. hoy, n.<sup>1</sup>) 48, 102, 114, 120, 129, 137, 139, 161, 163, 167, 173, 174, 175, 179, 183, 186, 187, 199, 211

*siden* (*syden*) silk 160, 177, 184, 193, 195

*witter* white 146

*bissus crudus Talama* (*Talanna*) raw silk of Talish, a district of Azerbaijan on the west coast of the Caspian sea 20, 34, 162, 165, 170, 179, 180, 185, 187, 188, 190

*syлке*, *bey*, *bysilk*, a word attested in the Book of Rates, but not defined (Willan 8) 106

*ghewant* silk cloth 28

*girdelen* (*gordel*) silk belt 211, 226

*sickelt(h)un* ciclatoun, a precious material much esteemed in the Middle Ages; perhaps 'scarlet cloth'; in other cases it is cloth of gold or other rich material. Perhaps sometimes, a robe or mantle of this stuff (OED s.v. ciclatoun Obs.); ein mit Gold durchwirktes Seidenzeug, figurierter Seidenstoff (als Altardecke, Bettüberzug etc.) (Lübben-Walther s.v. sickeltûn) 160, 177

*sipperkost* (*sypperkost*) meaning unknown 158, 175

**skins** see furs, skins, hides

*sley*, -s meaning unknown 125

*solt* (*saltt*, *scallte*\*) salt 30, 34, 43, 225

*brun* 211, 221

*wyte* white salt 131\*

*Baye Bay* salt of the Bay of Bourgneuf 128, 131\*

*Bruwase* salt from Brouage (dép. Charante-Inf.), opposite La Rochelle 20, 40, 41, 207, 208, 226

*solt vissch* (*solt vyses*, *saltfish*, *piscis*, -is *salsus*\*) salt fish 24, 43, 211, 222, 223\*, 226

*soltes kabbelauwen* salted cod 24, 224, 225

*soltwar*, *tynne* probably a salt-cellar, a small vessel used on the table for holding salt (OED s.v. salt-cellar), here made of pewter (cf. *salser*, *tynnen*) 206

*sope* soap 128

*blake* black soap 128

*wyght* white soap 128

*spiegel* (*speculum*, -i) mirror 173, 183, 186, 187, 190, 205, 206, 224, 225

**spices, herbs** see *capers*, *cinamon*, *clovys*, *crocus*, *gynger*, *mac(c)es*, *peper*

*ster*, -es see *storgeon*

*storgeon* (*storgione*, *storgon(e)*, *storgyn*, *storgyon*, *sturgene*, *sturgine*, *sturgyn(e)*,

3 The list of Robert Dene's lost goods (No. 40 § 16) and the list of goods Robert Hobbes sent to him in Adrian Johnson's ship (No. 22) are identical in order. Therefore *comus* must correspond to *seny*.

*sturgon, stwrgyne, styrgyn, stergyn; ster, -es\*, stor, -s\*, rumbus, -i\*\**) a large fish of the family *Acipenseridae*, having an elongated, almost cylindrical, body protected by longitudinal rows of bony scutes and a long tapering snout, found widely distributed in the rivers and coastal waters of the north temperate zone; especially a fish belonging to either of the genera *Acipenser* and *Scaphirhynchops*, *A. sturio* being the common sturgeon of the Atlantic. It is esteemed as an article of food, and the source of caviar and isinglass (OED s.v. sturgeon) 18, 102, 105, 106, 111, 113, 114, 116\*, 118, 121, 127, 129, 131, 143, 144, 159, 164\*\*, 169\*\*, 175, 176, 224\*, 225\*

*stuve wandes* cloth not of the length of assize (Lübben-Walther s.v. *stuve*).

English sources call such cloths 'remnants' 205, 206, 213, 218

*succad(e)* (*sukatt, socate\**) fruit preserved in sugar, either candied or in syrup (OED s.v. *succade*) 107, 121\*, 127, 144

*sucker* (*suger, succarum, -i*) sugar 144, 146, 150, 160, 162, 165, 170, 177

*suneftucher* meaning unknown 197

## - T -

*tabbart laken* see *pannus curtus*

*tallowe* 131

*tangen* (*ferree tenelle\**) iron tongs 173, 183, 186\*, 187\*, 190\*

*tapitte*(*tapijte*) tapestry (MNW/O s.v. *tapijt*) 116

*sarpelier* tapestry made with coarse linen (MNW/O s.v. *tapijt, sarpeliere*) 116

*thred, therd* see *Owtnorth*

*tynn tin* 41, 105

*tin vessels* (see also *pewter vessels, vascula stannea*) 21

*tonne* see *tunna*

*torbet* see *turbyt*

*trenchor, -es* (*trecher, -s, trenchar, -es*)

trencher, a flat piece of wood (square or

circular) on which meat was served and cut up, a plate or platter of wood, metal or earthenware (OED s.v. *trencher*<sup>1</sup>) 125, 131, 143

*trus(s)e, -s* (*tros(se)*) a bundle, pack, a packing unit of no particular size or weight (OED s.v. *truss* n.) 104, 106, 107, 129, 130, 141, 143, 144, 211  
*trewse, small* (*kleyne trusse*) 104, 211

*tunic* 162, 165, 170

*tunna, -e* (*tonne, tune, -n; tunnas sive vasa, pypen vulgariter nominata, vas, -is sive bota\**) tun, a packing unit for liquid goods (oil, fish) 24, 40\*, 41\*, 144, 163, 165, 170, 207\*, 208\*, 211

*magnum, grôt* large 170, 171, 177

*media* (*halve*) half tun 159, 165, 169, 176

*parva* (*smale, clene tunne; lytle tonekeys, klein tunneken, small tunneken*) small tun 36, 121, 147, 151, 152, 154\*\*, 159, 160, 164, 169, 170, 171, 175, 176, 178

*tunne, droge* (*droge fat\*, dry fat(t)\*, dri pype\*\**) tun, a packing unit for dry goods of no particular size 37\*, 106, 109, 142, 143, 146, 147, 150, 152, 154\*\*, 158, 193\*

*cromfaet* (*cramfaet*), *droge vat* for dry goods 200

*grote droge* (*vas magnum et siccum\**) large 160, 164\*, 165\*, 168\*, 169\*, 170\*, 175, 176, 177

*tunneken, kleine droge* (*smalle dry fat\*, vatken* (*droge*)\*\*) small dry tun of no particular size 125\*, 152, 193\*\*, 199\*\*  
*mith lowende botas* (this very *tunneken* is described on p. 165 as *lineis pannis ab extra ligatum* and on p. 159 as *bereven myt kannefast*) bound with linen cloth/canvas 152

*fat/vath* tun, a packing unit (no indication of whether the goods were liquid or dry) 35, 146, 150, 151, 154, 155, 195  
*small* (*klein vath, klein vâtken, vat(t)ken*) 38, 146, 147, 150, 151, 152, 199

*turbyt* turpeth, jalop (emetic) a cathartic drug prepared from the root of the East

Indian jalap (*Ipomoea Turpethum*) (OED  
s.v. turpeth) 120  
*fyn torbet* of high quality 143

– U –

*ummesleg* see *pannus curtus*  
*underrock*, *tannette Engellyth* a frock  
fitting close to the body, of English  
manufacture, tawney in color (Lübben-  
Walther s.v. *underrok*) 196  
**unknown** see *amez jame*, *armedactulus*,  
*bagen*, *bygare*, *carnateny*, *coroy*, *culler*,  
*dudes*, *dwolkes*, *flore bake*, *folia valentia ad*  
*colorem*, *fostes*, *goder*, *hade*, *hant scriyen*,  
*hawke hendes*, *helgher*, *hesken*, *hubeken*  
*crest*, *kastilier*, *kynce*, *kippe*, *koppen*,  
*krassen*, *mayde floxes*, *orradoes*, *parney*,  
*porgete*, *ringe von werden*, *rozens beke*,  
*rooth banir*, *ruddock*, *rusken edder wesker*  
*vor pitzert*, *schottes*, *segalen*, *sipperkost*,  
*sley*, *suneftucher*, *usin*, *wades*, *wannen*,  
*wathwellelynd*, *werynger*  
*urna*, *-e de auricalco* see *eimer*, *missingen*  
*usin* meaning unknown 116

– V (see also F) –

*Valechy haelf ossen* see *fostyan*  
*vanne*, *-n*, *grote fans*, *large* (Smit 1448) (see  
also *waeyer*) 126  
*klyen* small 126  
*vas*, *vat(h)*, *vâtken* see *tunna*  
*vascula stannea* (*warte*<sup>\*</sup>, *wasse*<sup>\*\*</sup>, *wates*<sup>\*\*\*</sup>,  
*vathe*<sup>†</sup>, *fate*<sup>††</sup>, *wathe*<sup>†††</sup>) pewter vessels  
207, 208  
*tynne* pewter vessel 205<sup>\*\*</sup>  
*tynnen*, *grote* (*grote tynnen*) large pewter  
vessel 204<sup>†</sup>, 218<sup>††</sup>  
*vathe* (*wates*<sup>\*</sup>), *tynne kleine* small pewter  
vessels 205<sup>†</sup>, 206<sup>\*\*\*</sup>  
*spyse*, *tynne* a pewter bowl for eating 205<sup>\*</sup>  
*spyse*, *fyn*, *tynne* a pewter bowl for eating,  
of high quality 206<sup>†††</sup>  
*vedderbedde*, *vedderdeke* see *fet(t)herbed*  
*vell*, *swartzer* black hide or fur (MNW/O  
s.v. *vel*) 197

*venyson* venison 102, 103  
*vermylond* cinnabar or red crystalline  
mercuric sulphide, much valued on  
account of its brilliant scarlet colour,  
and largely used as a pigment or in the  
manufacture of red sealing-wax (OED  
s.v. *vermilion* n. and a.) 104  
*verondell* a measure of fish, here of sturgeon  
224  
*vesse* (*visse*) a kind of worsted fabric  
formerly made in Suffolk (OED s.v.  
*vesse*) (see also *pannus laneus*, *Northern*  
*dozens*, *russet* for other kinds of English  
cloth) 202, 209, 210, 211<sup>\*\*</sup>, 212<sup>\*</sup>, 212<sup>\*\*</sup>  
*vestimenta* see *clerder*  
*volutura*, *-e* wrapping 202

– W –

*wades* some sort of clothing (MNW/O s.v.  
*wade*<sup>1</sup> ‘kleedingstuk’) 206  
*waeyer*, *-s fan* (MNW/O s.v. *waeyer*) (see  
also *vanne*) 126  
*wage* see *waye*  
*wagenschotte* wainscot, a superior quality of  
oak from present-day Russia, Germany  
and Holland, chiefly used for fine panel-  
work (OED s.v. *wainscot*, n.) 134  
*waye* (*weye*, *-s*) a standard of dry-goods  
weight, varying with commodities (OED  
s.v. *wey*<sup>†</sup>), here in the case of Bay salt  $\frac{1}{10}$   
of a *centum* 128, 131, 211, 221, 226  
*wambose* (*wambus*, *wambûs*<sup>†</sup>, *wam(m)es*<sup>\*</sup>) a  
military tunic, worn especially in the 14<sup>th</sup>  
century, made of leather or thick cloth,  
sometimes padded; it covered the trunk  
and thighs, and was originally worn  
under the habergeon, to prevent chafing  
or bruises, but was sometimes used as  
a defence without other body-armor  
(OED s.v. *gambeson* Obs. exc. Hist.) 205  
*neye sagen* new, made of say 205<sup>\*</sup>  
*olt* old 205<sup>\*</sup>, 206<sup>\*</sup>  
*swartz sardoigs*, made of linsey-woolsey,  
dyed black (Lübben-Walther s.v.  
*sardôk*) 196<sup>†</sup>

*swartz worstein* made of worsted, dyed  
black 196<sup>†</sup>  
*wand, want* see *pannus laneus*  
*wannen* meaning unknown 126  
*wantbuxsten* see *pannus laneus*, for specific  
purposes  
*warte, wathe, wates, wasse* see *vascula stanea*  
*wathwellelynd* meaning unknown 205  
**weaponry** see armor and weaponry  
**weights and measures** (of a specific size or  
weight) see *bollyne, bolt, boschell, caretelle,*  
*chest, deker, duodena, ele, gros(se), hode,*  
*mesor, pypen, pocatte, poke, quarter, re(a)me,*  
*rolle, rond(d)e, verondell, waye, yard*  
*weryng gown* a gown to be worn (OED s.v.  
wearing, vbl. n.<sup>1</sup> 2b; cf Hanham 345 s.v.  
wheryng) 107  
*werynger* clothing of some sort 104  
*wesselle* vessel 105  
*wynkanne, tynnen* pitcher for pouring wine,  
here made of tin or pewter 206  
*wyre, rede* 143

**wood, wood products** see *wagenschotte*  
*woldeck* see *de(c)ken*  
*worsted, -(y)s, Saynt Thomas St Omer*  
worsteds 143  
*Sentte Mas St Omer* worsteds 119  
*wullen laken* see *pannus laneus*

– Y (as a consonant) –

*yard, -s (garde, -n, gierde\*)* yard (3 ft) 43,  
115\*, 212\*, 213\*  
*yarin (yeren, garn\*, gars\*\*)* yarn 109, 126\*\*,  
159\*, 160\*, 176\*, 177\*  
*of Names*, possibly manufactured in the  
province of Namen in Belgium (Smit  
1355) 131  
*dolees rondt van coulleurs* obviously yarn,  
but exact meaning unknown 115\*  
*scefne* obviously yarn, but exact meaning  
unknown 115\*

– Z –

*zergelt*, travelling funds 28







