

**A CASE-STUDY OF VENETIAN TRADE ACTIVITY IN THE BLACK SEA  
REGION AND IN THE BALKAN PENINSULA: GIACOMO BADOER'S  
ACCOUNT BOOK  
(1436-1437)**

by

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis is based on the account book kept by the Venetian merchant Giacomo Badoer during his stay in Constantinople, a few years before the capture of the city by the Ottomans (1436-1440). It was published in 1956, in Rome, with the title *Il libro dei conti di Giacomo Badoer (Costantinopoli, 1436-1440)*, by U. Dorini and Tommaso Bertele (*Il Nuovo Ramusio - Raccolta di viaggi, testi e documenti relativi ai rapporti fra Europa e l'Oriente*, edited by the Italian Institute for the Middle East, 3rd. volume).

Due to the lack of sources, Badoer's commercial register has a special importance, since it is the only one entirely written in Constantinople in the Byzantine epoch and almost completely preserved. Therefore, it is a basic document not only for the economic history of the Levant in the first half of the fifteenth century, but for the history of other two regions as well: the Black Sea area and the Balkan Peninsula.

We have also delimited our work in time by choosing to study only the first year and a half (September 1436-December 1437) of his stay in the Byzantine capital.

In only one year and a half, Giacomo Badoer created a dense network of commercial relations from Constantinople (still an important commercial centre) towards the Black Sea region and the Black Sea sector of the Balkan Peninsula: Tana, Caffa, Trebizond, Samsun, Sinope, Moncastro, Adrianople, Gallipoli.

Badoer's account book is an important source for studying the currencies of the Black Sea region and the part of the Balkans under Ottoman occupation, because of the relations it offers between various moneys, either Oriental (the asperi of Caffa, Samsun and Trebizond, the Ottoman Turkish asperi and ducats) or European (especially the Venetian gold ducat).

The data offered by Badoer's register in connection with weights and measures are also useful for the history of metrology, since some of them could be equalized to modern units on the basis of his accounts.

He was interested not only in long-distance trade, but also in an important inter-regional trade. The commodities he traded there were mainly local goods. Only part of them came to Constantinople from western Europe via Venice.

He had a profitable collaboration with many people of various origins: Venetians, Genoese, Greeks, Jews, Turks, Armenians.

It is true that these conclusions or other which already arose concerning goods or trade routes mentioned in Badoer's account book are not complete, because of the nature of the present study. But they can help us to understand better Venetian trade in the first half of the fifteenth century.

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### BIBLIOGRAPHY

# 1. INTRODUCTION

## a) General information on Badoer's account book

The Venetian Archives (*Archivio di Stato di Venezia*) preserve a manuscript that begins with these words:

*Al nome de Dio e de bon guadagno, libro de mi Jachomo Badoer del viazo da Costantinopoli, nel qual luogo zunsi a di' 2 setembre 1436 a mezo zorno chon le galie chapetanio miser Piero Chontarini.*<sup>1</sup>

It is the autograph account book kept by the Venetian merchant Giacomo Badoer while living in Constantinople from September 2, 1436 to February 26, 1440, one of the most remarkable documents of economic and social history which survived from the fifteenth-century Levantine world.

Originally it consisted of 418 folios (*carte*), but some of them were lost throughout the centuries and they were almost completely reconstructed by the Italian specialist in economic history, Federigo Melis, on the basis of the existing ones. Written in the Venetian dialect of the *Quattrocento* (the fifteenth century), Badoer's codex is one of the first account books in which the Arabic letters were used.<sup>2</sup>

The publication of the manuscript is due to Umberto Dorini (the director of the Archives of Florence), who assumed the task of transcribing the codex, and Tommaso Bertele (one of the greatest Italian numismatists of our century).<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>"In the name of Good and good earnings, the book of mine, Giacomo Badoer, of the voyage to Constantinople, to which place I arrived on September 2, 1436 at noon, with the galleys of captain miser Pietro Contarini".

<sup>2</sup>Usually, in the account books the numbers were expressed with Romanic letters until the sixteenth century. Although the Arabic letters have been known in Italy since 1288, it was believed that they could be easily falsified. Therefore, their usage in such commercial register was forbidden - see R. de Roover, "Aux origines d'une technique intellectuelle: la formation et l'expansion de la comptabilité a partie double," *Annales d'Histoire économique et sociale* (Paris, 1937): 191.

<sup>3</sup>The manuscript was known in Italy to some of those interested in the history of book-keeping and trade since the end of the last century. Thus, in 1898 Fabio Besta, while being the rapporteur of the Commission for the publication of the Republic of Venice's financial documents, signaled the importance of the document and the necessity to publish it. Nevertheless, it was published only in

According to their initial project, this volume was to be followed by another one containing essays written by various specialists (commentaries of the text, special studies of commercial techniques, monetary, financial and juridical problems of Badoer's commercial activity, Byzantine and Ottoman problems, grammatical studies and of the manuscript, Badoer's biography, index, etc.). However, this second volume has not appeared until now and studies on Badoer's commercial register or using the information it contains were very few, so that only a small part of it has been exploited by historians.<sup>4</sup>

The Badoers (Badoero, Badoaro) were a Venetian patrician family, who pretended once to descend right from Justinian the emperor, but without having any proof. It might be also doubtful that they descended from the Partecipazio family, who gave to Venice a certain number of doges in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The seventh of them, Pietro Partecipazio, added to his name that of Badoer, with which he is recorded on the doges' list from 939 to 942. However, the Badoer family was old and rich enough (and numerous also) to participate in leading Venice's destiny throughout the centuries.<sup>5</sup>

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1956, in Rome, with the title "Il libro dei conti di Giacomo Badoer (Costantinopoli, 1436-1440)," in the collection *Il Nuovo Ramusio - Raccolta di viaggi, testi e documenti relativi ai rapporti fra Europa e l'Oriente*, the third volume, edited by the Italian Institute for the Middle and Far East (*Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente*).

<sup>4</sup>The volume was preceded by an article written by T. Bertele, "Il libro dei conti di Giacomo Badoer," *Byzantion*, 21 (1951): 122-126. Other essays related to Badoer's account book were written by T. Bertele, "Il giro d'affari di Giacomo Badoer: Precisazioni e deduzioni," *Akten des XI Internationalen Byzantinistenkongresses, Munchen, 1958*, eds. Fr. Dolger and H.G. Beck (Munich, 1960): 48-57, and *idem*, "L'iperpero bizantino dal 1261 al 1453," *RIN*, 5 (1957): 1-21; G. Astuti, "Le forme giuridiche della attività mercantile nel Libro dei conti di Giacomo Badoer (1436-1440)," *Annali di storia del diritto*, XII-XIII (1968-1969); F. Babinger, "Contraffazioni ottomane dello zecchino veneziano nel XV secolo," *RIN*, 3 (1956): 83-99. See also B.N. Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires grecs et latins a Constantinople (XIII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles)* (Montreal-Paris, 1979).

Many studies were dedicated to Badoer's commercial register by M.M. Shitikov, for example "Konstantinopol' i venetsianskaya trgovlya v pervoy polovine XV v. po dannym knigi shchetov Dzhakomo Badoera [Constantinople and Venetian trade in the first half of the fifteenth century according to the information in Giacomo Badoer's account book]," *Viz. Vrem.*, 30 (1969): 48-62.

The most recent essay dealing with it was written by the Romanian historian E. Oberlander-Tarnoveanu, "Moldavian Merchants and Commerce in Constantinople in the 15th Century in the 'Books of Accounts' of Giacomo Badoer," *Etudes byzantines et post-byzantines*, 2 (Bucharest, 1991): 165-180.

<sup>5</sup>For the Badoer family see *Grande dizionario enciclopedico UTET*, 4th ed. (Turin, 1985), 2: 754, and *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (Rome, 1963), 5: 88-127.

Born<sup>6</sup> on February 18, 1403, in Venice, from Sebastiano and Agnesina, Giacomo Badoer was the last of three brothers, from whom Maffeo disappeared quite soon (1422) and Gerolamo (born in 1398) had a clear position in the Venetian political world. There is also mention of their sister, Maria, who married Pietro Giustinian di Giustinian (1412 or 1414). In 1425 Giacomo married Maria, the daughter of ser Moise' Grimani, and from her he had Sebastiano (1427) and Gerolamo (1428). At the time of his staying in Constantinople (1436-1440), Maria was already dead and his sons were given to Gerolamo, their father's brother. After he came back from Constantinople, he married in 1441 a daughter of ser Antonio Moro, who gave birth to Agnesina.

Giacomo Badoer's political career was a very modest one: in 1433 he was a member of the Council of the Forty (*Consiglio dei Quaranta*); in the next year one of the galleys to Alexandria was attributed to him *all'incanto* (a public contest for adjudging a good or service - in this case a galley - to the best solicitor). He arrived in Constantinople on September 2, 1436, and he was a witness to the renewal of the truce treaty between Venice and the Byzantine Empire (November 30, 1436). He stayed in Constantinople until February 1440, and on the April 13 he was already back in Venice. On May 16, 1441 he obtained the assignment of *podesta* and captain of Bassano; one year later, on May 22, his successor was already elected, although Badoer was still alive. Actually, the date of his death is not know, but in any case he died before December 1, 1445, as the contemporary documents show. He was buried in the Badoer family's tomb, which was in front of the church of San Francesco della Vigna. The tomb was destroyed in the sixteenth century, when the facade of the church was renewed according to Palladio's drawings.

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<sup>6</sup>For Giacomo Badoer's biography see R. Morozzo della Rocca, *Dizionario biografico ...* (Rome, 1963), 5: 109-113.

Giacomo Badoer's manuscript is a double-entry account book (*a partita doppia*), having on the left page the debt (*il dare*) and on the right one the credit (*il avere*). It contains hundreds of entries and shows day after day his commercial operations. Actually, this is his Badoer's ledger (*quaderno grande*), the account book on which a merchant using the double-entry bookkeeping system had to write the final form of his accounts (the first ones were the *memoriale* or *squartafaccio*, the first version of a merchant's records, and the *giornale* or diary).<sup>7</sup> It is sure that he wrote this account book on the base of a diary, because he referred to it several times (*come par notado in el mio zornal*).<sup>8</sup>

We learn from it Badoer' register that he left Venice on July 24, 1436, and after a voyage of 40 days he arrived to Constantinople on September 2, starting immediately his commercial operations, recorded from September 3. He registered them for about three years and half, until February 26, 1440, when he embarked for Venice.<sup>9</sup>

Badoer was one of the many Venetian merchants involved in long-distance trade, who went to the Levant to make his fortune (as Badoer says: *buon guadagno*). He was a sedentary (or resident) merchant, the centre of his commercial activity being Constantinople. From there Badoer created direct connections with the Black Sea region, with the Sea of Azov and Anatolia, the Aegean Sea and the Balkans, and also with Beirut, Alexandria, Saragossa, and Majorca. On the other hand, Venice was the intermediary with other parts of western Europe: Italian towns, Flanders, France, German towns.

<sup>7</sup>L. Paciolo, *Tratat de contabilitate in partida dubla* [Treatise on double-entry bookkeeping], bilingual ed. (Iassy, 1981), 25 (original version).

<sup>8</sup>For example, see *Badoer*, 80 and 82.

<sup>9</sup>In fact we know only a few things about Giacomo Badoer from his account book. Excepting the dates of his arrival to and departure from Constantinople, we learn that immediately after arriving there he lived provisorily in the neighbourhoods of the Genoese quarter of Pera, in a house owned by a Genoese, but after a short period of time he moved to Constantinople, in a Greek house, where he remained until he leaved the Byzantine capital.



Badoer's account book gives us many details about various goods, of Eastern origin, such as spices, wax, and silk, or of Western origin: fabrics, especially cloth, metals, etc. Concerning these goods, Badoer recorded every detail: the way of packing and piling them up on ships; their weights, measures and prices; the taxes for custody, brokerage, commissions; the expenses for embarking and debarking them; the taxes due to the Byzantine emperor or to the Venetian *bailo* of Constantinople; the profit and loss of Badoer's commercial operations, etc.

In his accounts the taxes (*premium*) for maritime insurance and for transport on ships are also recorded. On the other hand, he mentioned several times the usage of bills of exchange, many of them being sent from or to Venice.

Especially important are his notes about the measures and weights used in the Levant, and first of all about Oriental or European currencies (such as the Ottoman asperi, those of Caffa, Trebizond, Samsun or the Venetian gold ducats), which are always equalized to Byzantine hyperpera.

On the other hand, it results from Badoer's accounts that he had commercial relations with a small world of Venetians, Genoese, Florentines, Greeks, Jews, Turks, Armenians, etc.

Consequently, this commercial register offers us a very detailed image of Badoer's activity and it reveals us his affairs in their development, from the beginning to the end, so that we can evaluate both their mechanism and also their results. Therefore, it might represent an unit for measuring the commercial activity of the majority of other merchants from that time and also from previous epochs, because Badoer was a very active, but a medium and ordinary merchant and he had ordinary means at his disposal.

### **Purpose of research**

Due to the lack of sources,<sup>10</sup> Badoer's commercial register has a special importance, since it is the only one entirely written in Constantinople in the Byzantine epoch and almost completely preserved. Therefore, it is a basic document not only for the economic history of the Levant in the first half of the fifteenth century, but for the history of other two regions as well: the Black Sea area and the Balkan Peninsula.

We will also delimitate our work in time, since Badoer's account book was written during three and a half years and, consequently, it contains more than 800 printed pages. Therefore, we have chosen to study only the first year and a half (September 1436-December 1437), which means 360 pages. The main questions which we will try to answer are connected to: (1) the commercial geography of his business in this region; (b) the currencies, weights, and measures which are mentioned by Badoer as used there; (c) the commodities which were sold or bought and their prices; (d) Badoer's trading partners in the above mentioned area.

We shall try to find answers to these problems by consulting not only the specialized literature dealing with such topics, but contemporary sources as well.

### **b) Venice, the Black Sea region and the Balkans in the first half of the fifteenth century**

Venice, the island city, is unique not only environmentally and architecturally, but also historically. From the eleventh to the sixteenth century

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<sup>10</sup>Almost all the other documents written in Constantinople at that time were destroyed; only a few were saved among the Byzantine ones, namely those existing in the archives of some monasteries, but they mostly concern imobile goods (buildings); among the Italian ones - which should be a lot, since there were numerous Venetian merchants in Constantinople and Genoese ones in the neighbouring quarter of Pera - were preserved only few notarial papers and very few account books, which refer only occasionally to Constantinople and the nearby regions.

Venice was the great power of the Mediterranean world. Queen of the Adriatic, sovereign of the Oriental seas, she was, during this period, very rich and prosperous, she was *la Serenissima* ("the most serene" or "sublime"). Among the reasons of the power and glory of Republic of Saint Mark the most important were the establishment and organisation of a colonial empire and the care she took of the prosperity of her commerce.

Venice's colonial empire was founded in 1082, when the Byzantine emperor Alexis Comnen granted the Venetians a privilege (increased by his successors) as a reward for the help they gave him against the Normans. Consequently, he opened to them the Levant's gates and Venice's world-wide trade began in those days.<sup>11</sup> From then on, Venetian merchants were exempted from all the taxes due to the Byzantine emperor. Immense territories of the Byzantine empire became accessible to them. Almost at the same time, the Crusades offered to the Venetians the opportunity to penetrate another portion of the Levant: Syria and Palestine.

Thus, from the fourth crusade on (1204) Venice owned a colonial empire, increased later and created according to her image from supporting points, islands, archipelagos, ports, comptoirs.<sup>12</sup> This colonial empire of naval bases lay from the Black Sea (Tana, Moncastro) to the Adriatic, through Constantinople, Beirut, Negroponte, Creta, Modon, Coron, the Ionic islands, various towns in Dalmatia, Albania, Epir. Actually, the Venetian empire was modest in size, but it had a great strategic and commercial importance due to its position along the Levantine trade routes. Very active, the Venetians created a network of commercial relations in the whole Levantine world. For centuries Venice was a golden link in the trade between East and West.

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<sup>11</sup>Ch. Diehl, *La République de Venise*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1967); F. Lane, *Venice: A Maritime Republic*, 5th ed. (Baltimore and London, 1991); R. Cessi, *Storia della repubblica di Venezia*, 2nd ed. (Milano, 1968); J.J. Norwich, *A history of Venice*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (London, 1982); F. Thiriet, *La Romanie Venitienne. le développement et l'exploitation du domaine coloniale venitien (XIIe-XVe siècles)* (Paris, 1959, reprinted 1975).

<sup>12</sup>Y. Renouard, *Etudes d'histoire medievale*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1968), 1:188.

In the Balkans, as well as in the Aegean Sea, from the end of the fourteenth century a new-born power, the Ottomans, started to threaten Venice's interests.<sup>13</sup> Actually, from the moment when they entered Europe by conquering Gallipoli (c. 1356) their advance could not be stopped. From Adrianople, which became their capital in 1413 (transferred from Brussa), the Ottoman menace was directed not only to Constantinople, but more dangerously towards the Balkan Peninsula: Thrace (fallen piece by piece to the Ottomans, from the end of the fourteenth century up to 1453),<sup>14</sup> Thessaly (1394),<sup>15</sup> Bulgaria (1393-Trnovo, 1396-Vidin),<sup>16</sup> Serbia<sup>17</sup> (first incorporated in the Ottoman empire in 1439, for a short period of time, then in 1459) through which the Ottomans were in contact with the Adriatic.<sup>18</sup> At the same time, they advanced towards the south, to Albania and Epir,<sup>19</sup> threatening also a large part of the south-eastern Adriatic coast. They took from the Greeks the second market of the empire by occupying in 1387 Salonica, so that Venetian trade was strongly menaced. And also, from the beginning of the fifteenth century, many of the Latin seigniors in the Levant, the dynasts of Chios and Phoea, the dukes of Naxos, the marquises of Bodonitza had to pay tribute to the Sultan. It seemed that the end of Byzantium was not very far, when the Tatar leader Timur stopped them for a while by defeating the Ottoman army in 1402, at Ankara, and taking prisoner Sultan Bajazet.

Timur left as quickly as he had come, but years passed before the Ottomans could resume their conquests. At the beginning, in the struggle for power, the eldest of Bajazet's sons, Suliman, who was expected to govern the European provinces, asked for and obtained the help of the Greeks and the

<sup>13</sup>G. Luzzatto, *Storia economica di Venezia dall'XI al XVI secolo* (Venice, 1961), 152-155; H.J. Kissling, "Venedig und der islamische Orient bis 1500," *Venezia e il Levante fino al secolo XV*, 1: 361-387; R. Cessi, *Storia ...*, 1: 367-372 and 393-398.

<sup>14</sup>J.V.A. Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans* (Michigan, 1987), 503-504, 567.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid*, 346-357, 545, 561-562, 565, 572.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid*, 366-368.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid*, 499-500, 526, 554-556, 558, 561, 568-577.

<sup>18</sup>G. Luzzatto, *Storia economica ...*, 152.

<sup>19</sup>J.V.A. Fine, *The Late ...*, 28-29, 35-36, 370-373, 510-522, 595-604.

Latins from the Levant. As compensation, he conceded to all of them the freedom of trade within his possessions, and to the Greeks the restitution of Thessalonic and some other territories around Constantinople in the Sea of Marmara and Black Sea. He gave back all the territories that eventually Venice lost in the previous wars and conceded in plus a stripe of the coast in front of Negroponte. He also permitted the Republic to increase her possessions in Attica and in Morea, substituting her own direct domination to that of numerous local dynasts (Negroponte, Tynes, Myconos, Naxos, Andros, the duchy of Athens, Ftelia, Bodonitza, Argos, Nauplia).<sup>20</sup>

Nevertheless, the Ottomans were the chiefs of the Dardanelles and commanded, through the fortified Gallipoli, the route that went to Constantinople and the Black Sea. Therefore, the conflict between Venice and the Ottomans seemed to be inevitable. First time the Republic of San Marco was the winner in the naval fight of Gallipoli (1416) and demonstrated that she still had the superiority on sea. In 1422 the Venetians helped the small part which survived from the Byzantine empire to fight the Ottomans, who besieged Constantinople. An year after that, they obtained another victory in defending Thessalonic, also besieged by the Ottomans. As a compensation, the Venetians were rewarded with its possession, which lasted only seven years: in 1430 the Ottomans were the winners. But the Ottomans were aware of the fact that they could not equalize yet Venetian maritime power. Consequently, Sultan Murad gave the Venetians in exchange for Thessalonic the privileges contained in the peace treaty signed in the same year (1430), which assured for all the Venetian citizens free transit and trade within the whole Ottoman empire.

Consequently, after 1430 periods of truce or peace alternated with other conflicts. The fact that Morea recognized the Ottoman suzerainty was the biggest stroke for Venice in this period.<sup>21</sup> Nevertheless, the Venetians could

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<sup>20</sup>R. Cessi, *Storia ...*, 1: 339.

<sup>21</sup>J.V. A. Fine, *The Late ...*, 538-546.

preserve in Morea the main strategic points for their commerce, Lepanto in the north, Modon and Coron in the south, and all their possessions in the Archipelago as well. In 1446 they obtained from the Sultan Mohamed I the confirmation of the treaty concluded in 1430.

The Ottomans also threatened Venice's interests in **the Black Sea** by controlling the Dardanelle Straights.<sup>22</sup> However, it is important to underline that the Venetian-Ottoman conflicts did not interrupt a very long period of time the traffic through the Bosfor. Consequently, the traffic with Constantinople did not ever stop,<sup>23</sup> although the Byzantine empire was reduced at that time to a political and military corpse because of the weakness of its government; it was territorially diminished, financially almost insolvent, and its capital, menaced by all parts, was to fall, sooner or later, in the hands of the Ottomans, who controlled in the Bosfor the access from the Aegean and Black Seas. Despite all these facts, the imperial capital remained a centre of commercial exchanges in the Levantine area. A lot of Venetian merchants were living there,<sup>24</sup> together with many others of various origins, engaging themselves in a network of commercial relations with the whole Levant.<sup>25</sup>

Actually, Venice had not in the Black Sea the trade supremacy she enjoyed in the Adriatic. In the Black Sea Genoa carried the greater part of the prosperous trade in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries<sup>26</sup> and this was one of the most important reasons for the traditional rivalry between the two Italian republics. The Treaty of Turin (1381) concluded after the War of Chioggia (1378-1381) between Venice and Genoa settled their spheres of

<sup>22</sup>M. Nystazopolou Pelekidis, "Venise et la mer Noire du XIe au XVe siècle," *Venezia e il Levante* ..., 1: 572.

<sup>23</sup>G. Luzzatto, *Storia economica* ..., 155.

<sup>24</sup>The old privileges that the Venetians obtained from the Byzantine empire were renewed in 1406, 1412, 1419, 1423, 1431, 1436, 1447, 1450 (although in its state of extreme weakness the empire could offer only inconclusive favors in order to be helped in prolonging its agony) - see R. Cessi, *Storia* ..., 396.

<sup>25</sup>R. Cessi, *Storia* ..., 1: 394.

<sup>26</sup>S. Runciman, "Byzantine Trade and Industry," *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, 2 (*Trade and Industry in the Middle Ages*): 149.

influence in the Straits and in the Black Sea region: for Venice the southern and western basin of the Aegean, with Negroponte (Eubea) and Morea, and for Genoa the islands of the Asia Minor seacoast and the Black Sea basin.<sup>27</sup> However, in the first half of the fifteenth century Venice tried to have good relations with the enemies of Genoa in the Crimean Peninsula, the new Tatar khanate of Crimea separated in about 1430 from the Mongol empire of Kiptchak,<sup>28</sup> and the Greek principality of Theodoro-Mangup (also in Crimea), which reached its acme in the first half of the fifteenth century, under the prince Alexis.<sup>29</sup> At the same time, the Republic also established in 1436 a vice-consulate at Moncastro, on the western shores of the Black Sea (in the territories ruled by the Moldavian princes),<sup>30</sup> and continued to send galley convoys to Trebizond and Tana, her main trading posts in the region. Consequently, it is obvious that she did not intend to leave this region entirely to her rival - at that time her only real rival, excepting the Ottomans.

### **c) Venetian merchants in Giacomo Badoer's time. The long-distance trade**

#### **Venice's prosperity in the first half of the fifteenth century**

The Venice's miracle was made by her maritime trade,<sup>31</sup> consequently by her merchants involved in this trade, the great actors of the medieval economy.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>27</sup>G. Bratianu, "La mer Noire," *Societas Academica Dacoromana - Acta historica*, IX (Monachii, 1969): 307.

<sup>28</sup>*Ibid.*: 304.

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*: 305-307.

<sup>30</sup>N. Banescu, "Maurocastrum-Moncastro-Cetatea Alba," *Annales of the Romanian Academy, History-3rd series*, XX (1939): 310-322.

<sup>31</sup>Y. Renouard, *Etudes ...*, 1: 187.

<sup>32</sup>A. Sapori, *Le Marchand Italien au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1952), xi.

They were businessmen engaged in many activities and their affairs were made in the whole Peninsula or western Europe.<sup>33</sup> However, their trade with the Levant was the most profitable of all.<sup>34</sup>

These great merchants, not very numerous, were the leaders of the urban patriciate and, consequently, they had in their hands the government of the town. At the same time, they had the monopoly of the long-distance trade, since only they could fulfil the basic conditions of the penetration into the circuits of the great profit: sufficient capital, enough credit, good information, relations, agents in the key-places of the trade routes.<sup>35</sup>

Theoretically, the rule of the long-distance trade was to connect a market on which a merchandise exists in abundance with another market on which the same merchandise is rare. Practically, one had to be very prudent and well-informed. The long-distance trade implied exceptional risks, but also exceptional profits.

The objects of this trade were not only goods having a small volume and a very big price (spices, silk), as it is thought sometimes, but also heavy goods such as grain, salt, metals.<sup>36</sup>

Venetian merchants worked mainly alone or in temporary partnerships named *colleganza*, the analogous of Genoese *commenda* or Florentine *societas maris* (the name has little, if any, importance). The *colleganza* was a bilateral partnership agreement between a *socius stans*, the stay-at-home and investing partner, who supplied the largest part of the partnership capital (two-thirds or the whole sum), and a *socius tractator* (or *socius procertans*), the travelling

<sup>33</sup>C. Bec, *Les marchands écrivains. Affaires et humanisme à Florence 1375-1434* (Paris, 1952), 20.

<sup>34</sup>Actually, the Venetian merchants of that time were still interested in Levantine trade, despite the opinions asserting that the Ottoman threat in the Aegean and the Balkans and Venice's conquest of the *terra ferma* (mainland) in the first half of the fifteenth century made them to abandon this trade. Badoer's account book and similar documents from that time (such as Guglielmo Querini's *copiallettere*, the notebook containing his business letters, kept in Venice, 1428-1461) are a proof of this reality - see G. Luzzatto, *Storia economica ...*, 168-179.

<sup>35</sup>F. Braudel, *Jocurile schimbului* [The Games of the Exchanges] (Bucharest, 1985), 2:61.

<sup>36</sup>A. Saporì, *Le Marchand ...*, xl.



partner who took the risk of embarking upon a dangerous sea and had to endure all the discomforts that went with it. The latter was paid by receiving a percentage of the profits (one-half if he contributed one-third of the capital or one-fourth if he contributed only labour). The *colleganza* was concluded for a single venture of voyage, usually a round trip to the Levant, to Africa, etc.<sup>37</sup> This primitive form of Venetian partnership lasted several centuries.<sup>38</sup>

Beginning with the fourteenth century resident or sedentary merchants took the places of travelling merchants in much of western Europe and in the Mediterranean. When voyages became more regular and colonies were established in distant centres, traders no longer had to travel with their wares. With trade concentrated at familiar ports, it was no longer necessary to send special agents who would wander around looking for buyers and sources of supply. There were many Venetians at the eastern termini, at Tana, Trebizond, or Cyprus (and even in the west, in Bruges), who resided there for years on end, receiving wares consigned to them and sending shipments in return.<sup>39</sup>

A major problem of the resident merchant was to know people in the distant market places whom he could trust. One solution was family partnership (they were named *fraterne*)<sup>40</sup> in which one brother lived in Venice and other brothers overseas. Partnerships of this kind were so common in Venice, especially among the rich families, that at a father's death his sons became automatically members of such a partnership, unless they took specific legal steps to separate their inheritance.

Full partnerships between persons not of the same family were also common enough at Venice by 1300. Although less enduring than family

<sup>37</sup>Concerning Venetian *colleganza* see G. Luzzatto, *Storia economica ...* (Venice, 1961), 83-88; F. Lane, *Venice ...*, 52-53 and 138-139; R. de Roover, "The Organization of trade," *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, 4th ed. (1979), 3 (*Economic Organization and Policies in the Middle Ages*); 49-53.

<sup>38</sup>For the causes which contributed to the fact that there was in Venice a different type of commercial partnerships see G. Luzzatto, *Storia economica ...*, 79-80.

<sup>39</sup>F. Lane, *Venice ...*, 138; R. de Roover, "The Organization ...": 74.

<sup>40</sup>See G. Luzzatto, *Storia economica ...*, 90-93, and F. Lane, *Venice ...*, 138.

partnerships, these 'terminal partnerships' lasted for a term of years specified in the contract (three or five). However, Venetians did not contract together to form huge partnerships embracing many persons of various families for long periods as did the famous Florentine firms of the fourteenth century, such as the Bardi and Peruzzi. A Venetian family that felt it needed more capital or more personnel for its ventures was likely to employ agents on salaries or on commissions, or to form a temporary, limited kind of partnership which is best called a joint venture.

A kind of joint venture peculiar to Venice developed when the government began auctioning galleys for a particular voyage. Companies called galley companies were formed to pay the expenses and receive the freights of a galley for that voyage. Sometimes all the share owners of all the galleys in a convoy formed a single pool, what the Venetians called a *maona*.<sup>41</sup> The rapid changes in international trade and shipping gave the Venetians reason to prefer temporary and limited joint ventures of this character.

During the fourteenth century, the stay-at-home merchants turned increasingly from the *colleganze* to the use of commission agents, which tended to generalize only from the end of the sixteenth century. Instead of receiving a share of profits, like in the *colleganza*, a commission agent received a percentage (fixed commission of 1-5 per cent) of the turnover that he handled.<sup>42</sup> His reward was the same regardless of whether the man for whom he bought and sold was making a profit. He bought and sold on the account of men who sent him wares to sell and wares to buy, and he was bound to act according to the instructions sent him.

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<sup>41</sup>F. Lane, *Venice ...*, 138; R. Cessi, *Studi sulle maone medievali* (Rome, 1935).

<sup>42</sup>See Y. Renouard, *Les hommes d'affaires italiens du Moyen Age*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1968), 143; F. Lane, *Venice ...*, 139.

However, whatever was the form of merchants' agreements and collaboration, it required devotion, personal trust, exactness, respect for orders, from which a sort of strict merchant morals came out.<sup>43</sup>

The use of resident agents instead of travelling merchants was facilitated by a number of improvements in commercial technique. One of them was the system of double-entry bookkeeping, having as its main feature the placing of all debits on the left and of all credits on the right in parallel columns. The entries were organized under various 'Ventures' and the venture and merchandise accounts were closed into a 'Profit and Loss Account'. This way of grouping and checking the records of every transaction made it easier for a resident merchant to keep track accurately of what his partners or agents were doing. Tradition has assigned its invention to Venice:<sup>44</sup> but evidence is against that.<sup>45</sup> Earlier examples have been found in Genoa and Tuscany, even if in Tuscany books in which the debit faced the credit were said to be kept *alla veneziana* (according to the Venetian manner).<sup>46</sup> This kind of bookkeeping enabled the merchant operating simultaneously on many market places to know the extent of his liabilities and the extent and nature of his assets.

The double-entry bookkeeping, together with other two important commercial techniques which became common during the fourteenth century: the marine insurance and the bill of exchange, enabled a variety of different kinds of business to exist side by side.

Concerning marine insurance, in return for a premium payable in advance, the insurer promised to compensate for loss due to shipwreck or piracy. Many merchants thought insuring wares on the galleys was a waste - these vessels

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<sup>43</sup>F. Braudel, *Jocurile* ..., 1:168.

<sup>44</sup>R. de Roover, "Aux origines ...": 182.

<sup>45</sup>F. Melis, *Storia della ragioneria. Contributo alla conoscenza e interpretazione delle fonti piu' significative della storia economica* (Bologna, 1950).

<sup>46</sup>R. de Roover, "The Organization ...": 92; L. Paciolo, *Tratat* ..., 176 (*el modo di Venegia*).

were so secure - but they used insurance to cover cargoes on round ships (which were many in Venice) and the ships themselves.<sup>47</sup>

Of yet more importance was the bill of exchange, which enabled a resident merchant to send funds to his agent, and to receive quickly the proceeds of a sale without having to run the risks either of making a new investment in merchandise or of shipping bullion.<sup>48</sup>

The trade determined Venice's prosperity in the first half of the fifteenth century.<sup>49</sup> The Venetian gold ducat had replaced the florin of Florence as the monetary standard of the Mediterranean world; all the Levantine states, Christian or Muslim, the Ottoman themselves after the conquest of Constantinople, had minted coins that reproduced or imitated it.<sup>50</sup> Moreover, Venice was from 1430 to 1440 the most important monetary market of the southern Europe. The volume and value of the imported goods, the number and tonnage of Venetian vessels had not ever been bigger. The Realtin emporium remained a big market, where various people and goods met each other.<sup>51</sup> Doge Tommaso Mocenigo in the famous speech-testament attributed to him by Marino Sanudo<sup>52</sup> (in his *Le vite dei dogi*) enumerated in 1423 the figures which are a witness to Venice's prosperity. He offers numerous statistical data concerning the financial situation, the development of merchant shipping and international commerce.

Concerning financial matters, Mocenigo underlined the diminution of the public debts from 10 to 6 million. The entries of the dominant towns and those of the Dogado rose up to 774,000 ducats; those of *terraferma* (mainland) to

<sup>47</sup>F. Lane, *Venice ...*, 141; R. de Roover, "The Organization ...": 99; F. Edler de Roover, "Early Examples of Marine Insurance," *Journal of Economic History*, 5 (1945): 172-200; G. Stefani, *Insurance in Venice from the origins to the End of the Serenissima*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Triest, 1958).

<sup>48</sup>F. Lane, *Venice ...*, 140-141; R. de Roover, "The Organization ...": 95, and *idem*, *L'evolution de la lettre de change (XIV<sup>e</sup>-XVIII<sup>e</sup> siecles)* (Paris, 1953).

<sup>49</sup>Y. Renouard, *Etudes ...*, 1: 188.

<sup>50</sup>*Ibid*, 1: 300-301.

<sup>51</sup>R. Cessi, *Storia ...*, 1:402.

<sup>52</sup>See G. Luzzatto, *Storia economica ...*, 165-167.

464,000 ducats, and those of the maritime possessions to 376,000 ducats, in total 1,614,000 ducats. According to the last census, the value of the houses in Venice rose up to 7,050,000 ducats. The Zecca minted every year 1,200,000 gold ducats and silver coins for other 800,000 ducats.

The maritime traffic out of the Gulf represented 10 million ducats concerning exported goods and the same figure concerning imported goods. Consequently, the profit was equal to 4 million ducats.

Concerning vessels and sailors Mocenigo recorded the following figures: 45 big and small galleys, which were always on sea with 8,000 sailors; 300 galleys adapted to the maritime commerce, which had more than 200 *anfore* each (about 120 tones), with 8,000 sailors; 3000 ships from 40 to 200 *anfore* each (about 24-120 tones), with 17,000 sailors.

Concerning the main industries, the figures recorded are 6000 workers in ship-yards and 16,000 weavers in the industries of silk, cloth and fabrics of cotton and flax or hemp.<sup>53</sup>

Actually, a reason of this prosperity was the centralization of the commerce that determined all the Levantine goods to pass through Venice. Moreover, most of the Venetian galleys were state-owned, but they were chartered to private individuals who operated them at their own risk. A severe legislation fixed the rules of the Venetian trade: it was forbidden to the Venetians to buy or to sell in certain countries; to embark goods on vessels with other destination than Venice; to overload ships, for which they could be fined or their goods confiscated, etc. The state watched also the good organization of the maritime traffic. Twice a year, at almost fixed dates, galley convoys named *mude* - consisting of *galere da mercato* (commercial galleys) often escorted by

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<sup>53</sup>Even if this speech-testament is false, namely the text was invented by Sanudo or another previous chronicler, it would not lose its importance since it was demonstrated by statistical data that this is the result of a direct and sure knowledge of the official documents (see G. Luzzatto, *Storia economica ...*, 165).

war galleys - started up from Venice to various parts of the world. They were used for four main routes: (1) to Romania and the Black Sea, (2) to Cyprus or Syria, (3) to Alexandria, and (4) to Flanders.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>54</sup>Y. Renouard, *Les hommes ...*, 143; F. Lane, *Venice ...*, 131; R. de Roover, "The Organization ...": 100-101.

## 2. GIACOMO BADOER'S TRADE ACTIVITY

### a) Commercial geography of his affairs

*Events must be located to be understood: history has two eyes, chronology and geography.*  
(George Lincoln Burr)<sup>55</sup>

As already mentioned, in three and a half years Giacomo Badoer created from Constantinople a dense network of commercial relations. On one hand, he had direct connections with the Black Sea region, with the Sea of Azov and Anatolia, the Aegean Sea and the Balkans, and also with Beirut, Alexandria, Saragossa, and Majorca. On the other hand, Venice was the intermediary with other parts of western Europe: Italian towns, Flanders, France, German towns. Speaking in other terms, his business "travelled" on the most important trade routes of the Middle Ages. From this immense space we have chosen two regions to focus our attention on: the Black Sea region and the Balkan Peninsula.

#### **The Black Sea**

As a matter of fact, for centuries the Venetian fleet going to Romania and the Black Sea<sup>56</sup> had carried out coin and cloth and brought back silk, alum, and other wares from Constantinople. From the Black Sea, important quantities of grain, fish, hides, furs, and slaves came to Italy.

For example, wheat, salt fish, furs, and slaves<sup>57</sup> came to Venice from **Tana**,<sup>58</sup> which lies on the left bank of the Don River (east of the Sea of Azov).

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<sup>55</sup>F. Lane, *Venice ...*, viii.

<sup>56</sup>At the end of the fourteenth century there was established, in spite of variations and interruptions, an enduring pattern of four main routes for Venetian merchant galleys: (1) to Romania and the Black Sea, (2) to Cyprus or Syria, (3) to Alexandria, and (4) to Flanders.

<sup>57</sup>F. Lane, *Venice ...*, 133.

<sup>58</sup>E.C. Skrzinskaja, "Storia della Tana," *Studi veneziani*, X (1968): 3-45.

The Venetians were here from the late thirteenth century, and the Genoese also from the beginning of the next. In 1322, the admiral of the Romania fleet was ordered to detach two galleys which would go from Constantinople to Tana, while he went with the rest of the fleet to Trebizond.<sup>59</sup> Tana was so important for Venetians at that time because it was (like Caffa on the southern coast of the Crimean Peninsula) at the end of the great caravan routes coming to the West from China and Persia. The disruption of Mongol Asia followed with, between 1338 and 1345, the rupture of the great trans-asiatic link: the recession in Asian trade had repercussions in Tana and Caffa, and from then on these two towns restricted themselves to regional trade, which continued, though dwindling, until the occupation of the area by the Turks in 1475.<sup>60</sup>

However, the mentions of Tana in Badoer's account book concern bills of exchange<sup>61</sup> or terms of business: the return of the galleys from Tana (*al retorno de le galie da la Tana*).<sup>62</sup> A Venetian merchant who lives in Tana, Francesco Corner, receives from Badoer copper ("*rame*")<sup>63</sup> by the vessel of Mario Faggiol (*Faxuol*), who is one of the proprietors of ships which sail also from Constantinople to Caffa, another important trading place in Badoer's accounts.

At **Caffa** (Kaffa), situated on the southern coast of the Crimean Peninsula (and on the northern shore of the Black Sea), the Genoese established a colony (trading station) in the thirteenth century. In fact, through their commercial settlement at Pera (in the neighbouring region of Constantinople), their fortress at Caffa and their control of Chios and the nearby alum mines the Genoese gained a lead in the Aegean, the Black Sea, and the straits between.<sup>64</sup> At the beginning Caffa was under the supervision of the *podesta* of Pera, but after

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<sup>59</sup>F. Lane, *Venice ...*, 129.

<sup>60</sup>R. H. Bautier, *The Economic Development of Medieval Europe* (London, 1971), 142.

<sup>61</sup>*Badoer*, 56 and 60.

<sup>62</sup>*Badoer*, 217, 250, 252, 282, 305.

<sup>63</sup>*Badoer*, 155.

<sup>64</sup>F. Lane, *Venice ...*, 174-175.



1398-1399 its consul became the governor of the Genoese colonies of the Black Sea<sup>65</sup> (for their administration, a special council, *Officium Gazariae*, was established in Genoa).

However the Venetians also used this trading post,<sup>66</sup> as we can see from Badoer's account book. Caffa appears in his commercial register in connection with bills of exchange,<sup>67</sup> taking in this respect the second place after Venice, and with the premium (payments) that Badoer receives for maritime insurance (*segurta*) - actually, he is the insurer. One of these insurances is made for a vessel travelling from Caffa to Constantinople; another one is made for a vessel which comes to Caffa from the port of Zagora (*porto del Zagora*, in the Balkan Peninsula).<sup>68</sup> Badoer sells in Caffa through intermediaries (like Andrea da Cale *who lives in Caffa*)<sup>69</sup> iron wire (*fil de fero*), one transaction being mentioned several times. Badoer orders his intermediary in Caffa that the money he obtains from selling iron wire should be invested there in *semenzina* (seeds?), *seo* (tallow), or *zera* (wax), products which can obviously be found on the market in Caffa. Another transaction is of grain (*formento*),<sup>70</sup> which is sent by Giacomo Badoer to Andrea da Cale in order to be sold in Caffa. Despite the fact that, in general, grain came **from** the Black Sea to Italy, the situation described in Badoer's account book is not unusual: when grain was scarce in the Black Sea region, the Venetians and the Genoese were ready to bring it here from other parts, even from as far away as Italy.

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<sup>65</sup>Gh. Bratianu, "La mer Noire": 308.

<sup>66</sup>F. Lane, *Venice ...*, 19: The most famous mention of Venetian presence in Caffais that in the fall of 1347, a **Venetian galley returning from Caffa** already suffering from bubonic plague (after being besieged by the Tatar army which introduced the disease into the town by catapulting corpses into it) is signalized as bringing the rats and the plague into Italy.

<sup>67</sup>Badoer, 9, 59, 151, 153, 156, 159, 175, 345, 354.

<sup>68</sup>Badoer, 45.

<sup>69</sup>Badoer, 137, 160, 161, 310

<sup>70</sup>Badoer, 310.

On the opposite coast of the Black Sea there are **Trebizond**, **Samsun**, and **Sinope**, which Badoer also mentions in his accounts. These seaports were important for Venetian trade, because the merchant fleet received at Sinope and Trebizond the metals of Anatolia and the silks and other products of Armenia and Persia.<sup>71</sup>

**Trebizond** (on the southeastern shore of the Black Sea) is the terminus of the most practicable route over the mountains from Erzurum. For centuries it was on one of the leading trade routes between Europe and Central Asia, and prospered particularly after the thirteenth century, when it served as the chief port for Tabriz and western Iran.

After the sack of Constantinople by the crusaders in 1204, an independent offshoot of the Byzantine Empire was founded at Trebizond, with Prince Alexius Comnenus as emperor. The territories ruled by his successors, the Grand Comneni, were annexed to the Ottoman Empire in 1461. In 1319 Venice concluded a commercial treaty with the emperor of Trebizond and ordered the galleys of Romania to extend their voyage up to there. The Venetians built themselves a large fortified quarter in Trebizond, following the example of the Genoese.<sup>72</sup>

Badoer's commercial relations with Trebizond were very lively. There are in his account book several entries which mention the sending towards Trebizond of many goods, such as: cloth (*pani*)<sup>73</sup> - coming from western Europe (Flanders, for example) via Venice, grain (*formento*), millet (*meio*),<sup>74</sup> wool from Adrianople (*lane de Andrenopoi*),<sup>75</sup> sugar from Cyprus (*zuchari de*

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<sup>71</sup>F. Lane, *Venice ...*, 348.

<sup>72</sup>S.P. Karpov, "Osbornost razvitija pozdnevizantijskogo goroda-emporija, Trapezund v. XIII-XV [About the Development of Trebizond in the later Byzantine period]", *Vizantijskie Ocerki* III (1977): 79 ff.

<sup>73</sup>Badoer, 15, 50, 89.

<sup>74</sup>Badoer, 102-103, 131, 149.

<sup>75</sup>Badoer, 102-103, 235.

*Zipri*),<sup>76</sup> silver (*arzento*)<sup>77</sup> in plates (*piatine*) or in coins (*asperi*). At the same time, from Trebizond Badoer buys oriental commodities through his intermediaries: silk (*seda*)<sup>78</sup> - sent directly to Venice from Trebizond, white wax (*zera bianca de Trabexonda*)<sup>79</sup> - which is also sent to Venice via Candia, and kermes (*cremexe*).<sup>80</sup> Sometimes, when affairs are urgent (*perche la dita raxon spetava al dito ser Griguol*), the shorter route via Bursa and crossing the sea (*per via de Bursa e per pasazo per mar*) is preferred.<sup>81</sup>

In general, the voyages to **Samsun** and **Sinope** are connected with those to Trebizond and they appear in Badoer's accounts as the voyage to Samsun and Trebizond (*viazo de Simiso e Trabexonda*),<sup>82</sup> or the voyage to Sinope and Trebizond (*viazo de Sinopoi e Trabexonda*).

**Samsun** was known as Amisos under the Byzantines, but it was renamed Samsun by the Seljuq Turks when they took it in the second half of the twelfth century. Under Seljuq rule, it surpassed Sinope as a centre of trade between Europe and Central Asia; a large trading colony of Genoese was established there. Taken by the Ottoman sultan Bayezid I at the end of the fourteenth century, it reverted to the Turkmen Candar principality after the Ottoman defeat at the hands of the conqueror Timur (Tamerlane) in 1402. The city was burned by the Genoese before the Ottomans recaptured it in 1425.<sup>83</sup>

Because the voyages to Samsun are almost always mentioned together with those to Trebizond it is not very easy to understand which are the goods that Badoer's intermediaries handle there: it seems that the commodities sent on the occasion of these *voyages to Samsun and Trebizond* are sold mostly in the latter town. Nevertheless, there some are goods mentioned as sold in Samsun:

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<sup>76</sup>Badoer, 87-89, 102-103.

<sup>77</sup>Badoer, 133, 146, 147, 208, 209.

<sup>78</sup>Badoer, 15, 42, 166.

<sup>79</sup>Badoer, 42, 72, 308, 309.

<sup>80</sup>Badoer, 182.

<sup>81</sup>Badoer, 146.

<sup>82</sup>Badoer, 27, 29, 35, 87, 88, 102, 130.

<sup>83</sup>M. Berza, "La mer Noire a la fin du Moyen Age," *Balcania* IV (Bucharest, 1941, appeared in 1945): 248.

sultanas (*zebibo*), soap (*saponi*), probably coming from Ancona,<sup>84</sup> cloth (*pani*), fabrics of cotton and flax or hemp (*fostagni*),<sup>85</sup> and salt herrings (*sconbri saladi*)<sup>86</sup>. We have the same situation when goods are bought in Samsun, though sometimes Badoer does not specify them.<sup>87</sup> There is only a mention of a Ramadan of Samsun (*Ramadan de Simiso*)<sup>88</sup> who sells silk to Badoer in Constantinople (then the silk is sent to Venice).

**Sinope**, taken by the Seljuq Turks from the Comneni of Trebizond in 1214, was incorporated into the Ottoman Empire in 1458.<sup>89</sup>

Badoer has two intermediaries for voyages to Sinope and Trebizond (*viazo di Sinopoi e Trabexonda*),<sup>90</sup> Giacomo de Stefano (*Jachomo de Stefano*) and Antonio da Negroponte (who lives in Trebizond); they sell there Badoer's cloth (*pani*). The provenance of this cloth is not specified, but it is received by Badoer from western Europe through Venice.<sup>91</sup> Unfortunately, it is not always clear if these *pani* were sold in Sinope or in Trebizond.

Another trading post in the Black Sea mentioned by Badoer in his commercial register is **Moncastro** (on the southwestern shore of the Dniester estuary). The name of Moncastro is of Greek origin: the Byzantines built a castle there (*Maurokastron* or the Black Castle), probably in tenth century. In the fourteenth century the Genoese established there one of their factories on the Black sea shores.<sup>92</sup> Moncastro appears in Genoese documents from the next century as an autonomous city-state under Moldavian princes.<sup>93</sup> The Venetians became interested in this port in the first half of the fifteenth century: from 1435

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<sup>84</sup>Badoer, 86.

<sup>85</sup>Badoer, 87-89.

<sup>86</sup>Badoer, 89, 334.

<sup>87</sup>Badoer, 334.

<sup>88</sup>Badoer, 73, 144.

<sup>89</sup>M. Berza, "La mer Noire a la ...": 249.

<sup>90</sup>Badoer, 14, 27.

<sup>91</sup>Badoer, 26 and 27.

<sup>92</sup>Gh. Bratianu, *Recherches sur Vicina et Cetatea Alba* (Bucharest, 1935), 101-103.

<sup>93</sup>Gh. Bratianu, "La mer Noire": 297.

a galley was sent there and a vice-consul was appointed in 1436.<sup>94</sup> The town was stormed by the Turks in 1484.

In Badoer's account book, an entry mentions the sending of a bill of exchange towards Caffa *by way of Moncastro (per via de Monchastro)*, by the ship of the Genoese Giovanni Montaldo.<sup>95</sup> Although shorter, that route was more difficult than the other one along the shores of Anatolia, Caucasus and Crimea, because of navigation against the North-eastern currents and winds, so frequent in the Black Sea area. Most of the ships, including the Venetian *galia da Romania* visiting Moncastro after 1435,<sup>96</sup> preferred to sail along the route Constantinople - Samsun - Sinope - Trebizond - Tana - Caffa.<sup>97</sup>

We receive much more information about another merchandise coming from Moncastro, which is the object of a bargain recorded in Badoer's account book: he made a barter (*barato*) with Ser Aldobrandin di Giusti (*Aldrovandin di Zusti*) and offered him cloth of Valenciennes for *dry ox hides from Moncastro (... chuori de bo crudi da Moncastro)*. Badoer's account book mentions several transactions in connection with the evolution of that important affair<sup>98</sup>. A condition was specified: the hides had to be *of good quality and well dried (boni chuori e ben sechi)*.

<sup>94</sup>N. Banescu, "Maurocastrum-Moncastro-Cetatea Alba," *Annales of the Romanian Academy, History-3rd series*, XX (1939): 310-322.

<sup>39</sup>Badoer, 354.

<sup>96</sup>For the inclusion of Moncastro along the route of the galleys *da Romania* see S. Papacostea, "Venise et les Pays Roumains au Moyen Age," *Venezia e il Levante fino al XV secolo*, ed. A. Pertusi (Florence, 1973), 1 (*Storia-Diritto-Economia*): 601-602 and F. Thiriet, *Les Venitiens en Mer Noire. Organisation et traffics (XIII<sup>e</sup> - XV<sup>e</sup> siecles)*, *Archeion Pontou*, 35 (1979): 51-52. The port from the Dniester lagoon was visited by the Venetian galley in 1444 too, *idem*, *La Romanie Venitienne. Le developpement et l'exploitation du domaine coloniale venitien (XII<sup>e</sup> - XV<sup>e</sup> siecles)* (Paris, 1959), 373.

<sup>97</sup>E. Oberlander-Tarnoveanu, "Moldavian Merchants ...": 172.

<sup>98</sup>Badoer, 135, 346, 347.

The name of Moncastro appeared once more when Giacomo Badoer noted an insurance policy for Alvise da Riva, who was going to transport goods from Constantinople to Moncastro (... *de qui fin a Monchastro*).<sup>99</sup>

As a matter of fact, Moncastro is situated in the Black Sea sector of **the Balkan Peninsula**. We can find in Badoer's accounts mention of other places there: **Adrianople, Gallipoli, Wallachia, and Zagora**.

**Adrianople** - Its site and turbulent history were determined by its strategic position on the main route from Asia Minor to the Balkans. It fell to the Ottomans in 1362 and then served as the forward base for Ottoman expansion into Europe. The capital of the Ottoman Empire from 1413 until 1458, it flourished as an administrative, commercial, and cultural centre.

There are mentions of silken fabrics (*veli*),<sup>100</sup> fabrics of cotton and flax or hemp (*fostagni*),<sup>101</sup> and gold thread (*oro filado*) from Venice<sup>102</sup> that are sent by Badoer to be sold in Adrianople. At the same time, Adrianople is for our merchant a source of supplies of wool (*lane*).<sup>103</sup> Beside that, he buys from there various hides.<sup>104</sup>

The port for the Adrianople area was for centuries **Rodosto**, on the Sea of Marmara, which was taken by the Ottoman Turks in the second half of the fourteenth century. Badoer mentions Rodosto in connection with wool (*lana*),<sup>105</sup> which surely comes from Adrianople.

**Gallipoli** lies on a narrow peninsula where the Dardanelles opens into the Sea of Marmara. An important Byzantine fortress, it was the first Ottoman conquest (c. 1356) in Europe and was maintained as a naval base because of its

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<sup>99</sup>Badoer, 45.

<sup>100</sup>Badoer, 86-87, 114-115, 139, 180-181.

<sup>101</sup>Badoer, 86, 114, 144.

<sup>102</sup>Badoer, 180, 288-289.

<sup>103</sup>Badoer, 102, 115, 234, 348.

<sup>104</sup>Badoer, 122.

<sup>105</sup>Badoer, 202.

strategic importance for the defense of Istanbul. It was also a key transit station on the trade routes from Rumelia (Ottoman possessions in the Balkans) to Anatolia.

However, Badoer's main source of supply for wool (*lane*) is Gallipoli;<sup>106</sup> this wool is re-exported to Venice, sometimes directly, sometimes via Modon. The only good he sends to Gallipoli consists of silken fabrics (*veli*),<sup>107</sup> coming from Venice.

In another note, Badoer writes that he owed to the Genoese Tommaso Spinola a sum for wax from **Wallachia** (*zera de Vlahia*).<sup>108</sup> A certain quantity was bought also from Tommaso Spinola and sent to Venice on account of Gerolamo Badoer, Giacomo's brother.<sup>109</sup> The Badoer brothers are not the only clients of Spinola for Wallachian wax. A group of several merchants, whose names were not mentioned, purchased another quantity of wax.<sup>110</sup> It is probable that Tommaso Spinola bought the wax during his visit in Moncastro, in 1437, while on the ship of Giovanni Montaldo (the Spinola family was otherwise well known at that time as specialised in the wax trade).<sup>111</sup>

**Zagora** is a historic region of the Balkans; in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries it referred to northern Bulgaria. Badoer mentions the port of Zagora (*porto del Zagora*),<sup>112</sup> which is probably Varna.<sup>113</sup> As already mentioned, Zagora appears in Badoer's commercial register in connection with the premium he receives in Constantinople (he insures other people's vessels and goods): this time the vessel sails from *porto del Zagora* to Caffa (the goods it transports are not specified). The only commodity that Badoer imports from Zagora is wax

<sup>106</sup>Badoer, 80, 82, 110-111, 126, 127-179, 310.

<sup>107</sup>Badoer, 187, 252, 253, 323.

<sup>108</sup>Badoer, 283.

<sup>109</sup>Badoer, 283.

<sup>110</sup>Badoer, 175, 283.

<sup>111</sup>J. Heers, *Genes au XV<sup>e</sup> siecle. Activite economique et problemes sociaux* (Paris, 1961), 369.

<sup>112</sup>Badoer, 45.

<sup>113</sup>E. Oberlander-Tarnoveanu, "Moldavian Merchants ...": 173.

(*zere dal Zagora*,<sup>114</sup> written in general *zera zagora*), but it is the wax which can be seen most often in his accounts.

### **Conclusions:**

Giacomo Badoer had direct commercial connections by sea with the Black Sea region and with the Black Sea sector of the Balkan Peninsula. He was interested not only in long-distance trade, but also in an important inter-regional trade (as can be seen in Appendix 1).

From the total of 11 places analysed in this chapter, 6 were under Turkish occupation at that time (Adrianople, Rodosto, Gallipoli, Zagora, Sinope, Samsun). There are mentions in Badoer's accounts of other Turkish or Arab places: Brussa and Alexandria. Other 2 trading posts mentioned here are Genoese: Caffa and Moncastro, but Badoer has also good relations with these two towns. However, Trebizond is the commercial central which appears most often in his part of Badoer's account book.

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<sup>114</sup>Badoer, 60.



## b) Currencies. Weights and measures

### b. 1. Currencies

Giacomo Badoer's account book offers important information on the currencies used in the Levant at that time, either Oriental (*asperi* of Trebizond, Samsun, Ottoman Turkish *asperi*, Ottoman Turkish ducats, etc.), or European (especially Venetian gold ducats). All these currencies are equalised to the Byzantine *hyperpera* (sg. *hyperperon*), since one golden rule of the double-entry bookkeeping is to count all the sums in the Ledger (*Quaderno Grande*) in only one type of currency.<sup>115</sup> It is obvious that Badoer based his accounts on *hyperpera* because of the place (Constantinople) he was living in at that time.

In his account book, the relation between the Venetian gold ducats and the Byzantine *hyperpera* is approximately 1:3. Actually, 1 Venetian ducat is equal to 3 - 3 *hyperpera* 6 carats<sup>116</sup> (for the whole period, from 2 *hyperpera* 22 carats to 3 *hyperpera* 10 carats).

At first sight, the equation 1 gold ducat = 3 silver *hyperpera* seems to be strange, since the Byzantine *hyperperon* was for a long time a gold coin and until the beginning of the thirteenth century a standard currency on international market.<sup>117</sup> It was mentioned for the first time in documents in 1093, and in the numismatic collection there are coins from the eleventh-fourteenth centuries. At the beginning it had a theoretical weight of about 4.42 g and a high title (about 22-21 carats, namely 916-875/1000). With time, as the crisis of the Byzantine empire was deeper and deeper, its weight and title decreased. From the numismatic point of view, from 1347 to 1425 the *hyperperon* is almost unknown, being represented only by a coin minted in John V Paleolog's time and other three from Manuel II. For the years 1425-1453 (John VIII's and

<sup>115</sup>L. Paciolo, *Tratat ...*, 224 (original version).

<sup>116</sup>Badoer, 50, 56, 59, 228, 264.

<sup>117</sup>D.A. Zakythinos, *Crise monetaire et crise economique a Byzance du XIII<sup>e</sup> siecle au XV<sup>e</sup> siecle*, (Athens, 1948), 5.

Constantine XII's reigns) there is no evidence of this Byzantine gold coin. Consequently, from the end of the fourteenth century Byzantium turned itself towards monometallism - silver.<sup>118</sup> One can also come to this conclusion from Badoer's register. In this account book the gold hyperperon is not mentioned, but the Venetian gold ducats or even the Ottoman Turkish gold ducats appear. The *perperi grievi* (a little bit heavier) were sold as silver.<sup>119</sup>

One can also assert that the relation between the silver hyperperon and the Venetian gold ducat was worse and worse on the market of Constantinople from 1389 to 1427, from about 2 hyperpera to about 3 hyperpera per ducat. From 1427 to 1452 the exchange rate was of about 3 hyperpera per ducat,<sup>120</sup> as already mentioned in connection with Giacomo Badoer's register.

However, the sums mentioned as being in hyperpera cash (*chontadi*) did not necessarily mean that those sums were paid in hyperpera coins. It meant coins of the series on which the silver hyperperon of account was based.<sup>121</sup>

Other Byzantine coins mentioned in this part of Badoer's codex and in relation with the Balkan area and the Black Sea region are: *carati* (*charati*), *ducatelli* (*duchateli*), and *tornesi* (*tornexi*).

It is probable that those *charati* (in It. *carati*) were also money of account. At the beginning, the Byzantine hyperperon was divided into 24 parts, representing an equal number of small silver coins, named *siliquae* (in Latin) or *keratia* (in Greek). Unlike the gold coin (hyperperon) which remained unchanged for centuries, that of silver was replaced by other coins of different weights. Consequently, the small coin *keratia* disappeared, but its name and theoretical value (the 1/24 part of a hyperperon) continued to be in existence for

<sup>118</sup>See D.A. Zakythinos, *Crise monétaire* ..., 14, and T. Bertele, "L'iperpero ...": 12.

<sup>119</sup>Badoer, 362. Bertele found also a confirmation of this conclusion in *Pratica della mercatura* written by Giovanni di Antonio da Uzzano, which contains information valid until the first half of the fifteenth century: *il perpero e una moneta d'argiento e cosi lo carato, e carati 24 fanno uno perpero* (see T. Bertele, "L'iperpero ...": 14).

<sup>120</sup>See D.A. Zakythinos, *Crise monétaire* ..., 11, and T. Bertele, "L'iperpero ...": 15.

<sup>121</sup>F. Lane & R.C. Mueller, *Money and Banking in Medieval and Renaissance Venice* (London, 1985), 1 (*Coins and Moneys of Account*):423; T. Bertele, "Moneta veneziana ...": 3-146.

a long time and it was applied, observing the proportions, to other Byzantine coins.

The *ducatelli* were a real small silver coin, which appeared in other Venetian documents as *ducatopuli* (the exact translation of the Byzantine name of the coin).<sup>122</sup> One hyperperon was equal to 16 *ducatelli*, as we can learn from Badoer's register.<sup>123</sup>

The coins named by Badoer with a western term *tornexi* (in It. *tornesi*) were probably made from silver of low quality or copper; one *ducatello* was equal to 12 *tornesi*.<sup>124</sup>

Consequently, one can establish some relations between the above-mentioned coins:

1 carat = 8 tornesi

1 1/2 carat = 1 ducatello = 12 tornesi

24 carats = **1 hyperperon** = 16 ducatelli = 192 tornesi<sup>125</sup>

Besides the Byzantine coins Badoer mentions of many other Oriental currencies, which are also equalised to the hyperpera. They are either silver coins--*asperi de Chafa* (of Caffa), *asperi de Simiso* (of Samsun), *asperi de Trabexonda* (of Trebizond), and *asperi turchi* (or *turchesci*, namely Ottoman Turkish asperi), or gold coins--*duchatu turchi* (Ottoman ducats).

The asperi that have the least value are those of Trebizond, 1 hyperperon being equal to 33 1/3 - 40 asperi of this kind.<sup>126</sup> Those of Caffa and Samsun have almost the same value: 19-20 asperi per hyperperon.<sup>127</sup> The Ottoman

<sup>122</sup>*Ibid.*: 10.

<sup>123</sup>Badoer, 45 (in this part of his account book see 112).

<sup>124</sup>T. Bertele, "L'iperpero ...": 10.

<sup>125</sup>*Ibid.*: 12.

<sup>126</sup>Badoer, 14, 15, 89, 102, 103, 182, 307, 308.

<sup>127</sup>Badoer, 131, 161, 264, 310, 311, 355 (Caffa), 88, 89, 306, 307 (Samsun).

Turkish asperi, mentioned as used in Adrianople and Gallipoli, have the biggest value, since one hyperperon is equal to 10 1/2 asperi - 11 asperi 2 tornesi.<sup>128</sup>

Badoer uses also in his accounts the Ottoman gold ducats, which have almost a double value in comparison with the Byzantine hyperpera (1 Ottoman Turkish ducat is equal to 2 hyperpera and 1 1/3 carats). At the same time, one Turkish ducat is equal to 36 asperi of Samsun.<sup>129</sup>

In connection with bills of exchange sent to Caffa there is a mention about *somi* (It. *sommi*). Originally they were in Tana a special unit for weighting silver (1 *saum* - 197.97 g);<sup>130</sup> in Caffa they were equal to 213.371 g.<sup>131</sup> In Badoer's accounts the sommo is recorded as having a value of 9 hyperpera 6 carats or 9 hyperpera 13 carats.<sup>132</sup>

However, the most noble of the coins that appear in Badoer's register is the Venetian gold ducat (named later *zecchino*), minted from 1284 on (after Genoese one minted at the beginning of the century and after Florence in 1250); its value remained unchanged until the fall of the Republic. The gold ducat was the base of the Venetian complicated monetary system. The Republic was very keen in preserving its original weight (3.65 g) and the metal purity (the title was 1000/1000).<sup>133</sup> It was equal to 40 big *soldi* or 2 *livre*. The Venetian ducats had been always considered a currency of international trade and, consequently, it had a privileged position in the whole Levant. Moreover, in the fifteenth century all the Levantine states, Christian or Muslim, the Ottoman themselves after the conquest of Constantinople, had minted coins that reproduced or imitated it.<sup>134</sup>

As already mentioned, from Badoer's account book and from contemporary sources to it, we learn that 1 Venetian ducat was equal to about 3 Byzantine hyperpera. In Badoer's register, the gold ducats are often mentioned

<sup>128</sup>Badoer, 72, 73, 87, 110, 111, 112, 114, 115, 126, 180, 181, 234, 252, 253, 352.

<sup>129</sup>Badoer, 88, 89, 306.

<sup>130</sup>E. Schilbach, *Byzantinische Metrologie* (Munich, 1970), 194-195.

<sup>131</sup>*Ibid*, 196.

<sup>132</sup>Badoer, 354-355.

<sup>133</sup>See G. Luzzatto, *Storia economica ...*, p. 95, and T. Bertele, "Moneta veneziana ...": 53-58.

<sup>134</sup>F. Babinger, "Le contraffazioni ottomane ...": 83-99.

and appear mostly in connection with bills of exchange, which are mainly received or sent to Venice. The variation depended very much on the nature of the transaction, since some were in bills of exchange involving an extension of credit for a substantial period.<sup>135</sup>

## **b. 2. Weights and measures**

In the Middle Ages every town (commercial centre) had its own metrologic system. Units that seem to be the same (*cantars*, *libre*, etc.) may vary from place to place. The weights and measures followed the trade routes and they remained on the same place with the merchants from that town - for example, the cantar of Pera or Tana was the Genoese one. However, the areas where they were used in were not very large.

Therefore, it is difficult to use Badoer's account book without a table of weights and measures. Otherwise, the prices or the sums concerning the goods of a voyage would be very vague. We will try to sketch out such a table in this subchapter, examining each of the weights and measures found in his register and equalizing them to the modern units.

### **b. 2. 1. Weights. Traditional units**

The basic weight unit of Badoer's account book is the *livra* (pound). We learn from Badoer's account book, as well as from other sources, that all the merchandises were weighed either at the public Genoese balance in Pera or at the imperial one in Constantinople. On the other hand, the Constantinopolitan pound (*libra*) was equal to the Genoese one of Pera.<sup>136</sup> The weight of the Genoese libra was 317.664 g,<sup>137</sup> or according to other opinions 316.8 g,<sup>138</sup> so

<sup>135</sup>F. Lane & R.C. Mueller, *Money and banking* ..., 423.

<sup>136</sup>Fr. Balducci Pegolotti, *La Pratica della mercatura*, ed. A. Evans (Cambridge in Mass., 1936), 32.

<sup>137</sup>P. Rocca, *Pesi e misure antichi de Genova e del Genovesato* (Genova, 1871), 108, *apud* M. Balard, *La Romanie genoise (XII<sup>e</sup>-debut du XVI<sup>e</sup> siecle)* (Rome, 1978), 897.

<sup>138</sup>J. Heers, *Le livre de comptes de Giovanni Piccamiglio - homme d'affaires Genoises 1456-1459* (Paris, 1959), 15-27. Heers considers that, since in the *pratiche della mercatura* 100 libre of Genova were equal to 66 big libre (livre grosse) of Venice and one big libra of Venice was equal to 480 g (see

that we can accept an approximate weight of 317 g. Consequently, this is the libra which also appears in Badoer's account book.

The other weight units in Genova were:

1 *uncia* = 1/12 libra = 26.5 g

1 *centinaio* = 100 libre = 31.7 kg

1 *cantar* = 150 libre = 47.5 kg

The usage of these weights was regulated by precise traditions. The *pratiche della mercatura* contained specifications concerning the unit used for selling a merchandise: *a libbra*, *a centinaio*, or *a cantaro*.

The *uncia* was in general used for gold and silver, for pearls, etc. Badoer named it *onza* mentioned it as used for gold (*oro*) and silver (*arzento*).<sup>139</sup>

The *pratiche* mentioned that the libra was used for light Oriental goods, silk, and saffron (*espezerie sottile*, *seta e zaferanno*). However, many spices were also weighed in libre. Badoer mentioned the *livra* for silk (*seda*), sugar (*zucharo*), kermes (*cremexe*), and silver (*arzento*).<sup>140</sup>

The *centinaio* is not mentioned at all in this part of Badoer's account book. Actually, the *centinaio* seems to be not so much used in the fifteenth century. In the *pratiche* it appeared as the weight for common spices, called sometimes "the fortune of the Levant" (*l'avere di Levanto*), sugar, and kermes.

The *cantar*, named by Badoer *el chanter*, was reserved at the beginning for heavy merchandises. However, in the fifteenth century the cantar is the most common weight unit. The Genoese balance (*stadera* or *bilancione*) had as unit the cantar.<sup>141</sup> It was used for wool, cotton, metals, soap, food-stuff, etc. In Badoer's account book it appeared as used for ox hides (*chuori de bo*), wool

J. Sottas, *Messageries maritimes de Venise au XIV<sup>e</sup> et au XV<sup>e</sup> siecles* [Paris 1938], 39), it follows that one Genoese libra was equal to 316.8 g.

<sup>139</sup>Badoer, 133, 146, 180, 228.

<sup>140</sup>Badoer, 15, 42, 89, 102, 146, 166, 182, 308.

<sup>141</sup>P. Rocca, *Pesi e misure ...*, 18.

(*lane*), wax (*zera*), sultanas (*zebibo*), soap (*sapone*), low quality fabrics (*canevazo*), gold thread (*oro filado*), and sugar.<sup>142</sup>

There was also a sub multiple of the cantar, the *rottolo*, equal to 1/100 of it, so it had a weight of about 475 g (this means that one rottolo was also equal to 1.5 libre). In Badoer's register the prices for wool, wax, sultanas, soap, and low quality fabrics (*chanevazo*)<sup>143</sup> are counted in rottoli.

Some quantities were mentioned by Badoer as weighed in cantars, libre, etc., but they were those of Trebizond, Gallipoli or Adrianople.

Badoer recorded the libra of Trebizond, used for silk (*seda*)<sup>144</sup> and equal to 305.266 g.<sup>145</sup> The cantar of Gallipoli in his accounts is equal to 1.09 cantars of Constantinople, namely with 51.775 kg.<sup>146</sup> Probably that one from Adrianople, also used for wool (*lane*), had the same weight.<sup>147</sup>

#### *b. 2. 2. Units of volume*

The unit that appears in Badoer's accounts as used for cereals (grain, millet) is the *modius* or *moggio* (in his spelling: *mozo*, pl. *moza*). They were used for grain (*formenti*) and millet (*meio*).<sup>148</sup> In his register there is a mention of the *moggio* of Constantinople (or *Romania*), equal to 307.512 l,<sup>149</sup> of Trebizond, equal to 205.008 l,<sup>150</sup> and of Samsun, equal to 153.756 l (or 139.576 l).<sup>151</sup>

Another unit of volume is the *psomiaro* (in Greek *psomiarion*) of Trebizond, equal to 17.084 l (namely to one *thalassios modios*).<sup>152</sup>

<sup>142</sup>Badoer, 60, 62, 68, 70, 72, 88, 144, 164, 170, 189, 190, 192, 228, 254, 257, 266, 271, 274, 275, 283, 302, 306, 307, 346, 348.

<sup>143</sup>Badoer, 72, 88, 126, 283, 306, 349, 352.

<sup>144</sup>Badoer, 15, 42, 166, 308.

<sup>145</sup>E. Schilbach, *Byzantinische ...*, 193.

<sup>146</sup>Badoer, 126, 127.

<sup>147</sup>Badoer, 102, 234, 348.

<sup>148</sup>Badoer, 102, 103, 149, 306, 310.

<sup>149</sup>E. Schilbach, *Byzantinische ...*, 103-108, 123.

<sup>150</sup>*Ibid.*: 124, 128.

<sup>151</sup>*Ibid.*: 128 ff.

<sup>152</sup>*Ibid.*: 124, 126, 128.

Actually, Badoer gave three different values to the *moggio* and *psomiarion* of Trebizond:

a) 140 *moggia* of Constantinople (*Romania*) = 198 *moggia* of Trebizond,<sup>153</sup> which means that 1 *moggio* of Trebizond would be equal to 217.433 l (1 *moggio* of Constantinople being equal to 307.512 l)

b) 26 *moggia* of Constantinople = 37 5/6 *moggia* of Trebizond,<sup>154</sup> which means that 1 *moggio* of Trebizond would be equal to 211.330 l

c) 26 *moggia* of Constantinople = 492 *psomiaria* of Trebizond<sup>155</sup>  
and

1 *psomiarion* of Trebizond = 1/12 *moggio* of Trebizond, which means:

1 *moggio* of Trebizond would be equal to 195.012 l

1 *psomiarion* of Trebizond would be equal to 16.251 l.

Consequently, the average for the **moggio of Trebizond** would be 207.925 l and for the **psomiarion** 17.327 l, result that is not confirmed by the Byzantine sources. However, the relation between the *moggio* and the *psomiarion* of Trapezunt (1/12) found in Badoer's accounts was useful in establishing the volume of the *moggio* of Trapezunt (knowing already that the *psomiarion* was equal to the *thalassios modios* = 17.084 l).<sup>156</sup>

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<sup>153</sup>Badoer, 103.

<sup>154</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>155</sup>Badoer, 102.

<sup>156</sup>E. Schilbach, *Byzantinische ...*, 124.



### ***b. 2. 3. Units of length***

In Badoer's accounts, as well as in other sources, the prices of the fabrics are many times estimated per piece, especially cloth. However, the pieces of fabrics did not have a fixed measure and consequently they cannot be considered a unit of length. Actually, the length of a piece of cloth was variable according to its quality and origin.<sup>157</sup>

Nevertheless, the prices of fabrics were not estimated only per piece. There were also used for this reason the *picchi* or *braccia*, which formed a piece. Badoer mentioned in his accounts the picco (*picho*) or braccia (*braza*) of Constantinople (in Greek *pechys*), equal to 46.8 cm;<sup>158</sup> it was used for cloth (*pani*) and fabrics of cotton and flax or hemp (*fostagni*).<sup>159</sup> The low quality fabrics (*chanevazo*) coming from Gallipoli were recorded as measured in picchi of that town, which were equal to the Constantinopolitan ones (*pichi de chanevazo al picho de Garipoli che he' chome questo de Costantinopoli*).<sup>160</sup> Badoer also mentioned in his accounts the *pitami* of Trebizond (in Greek *spithami*),<sup>161</sup> used for cloth and equal to 23.43 cm.<sup>162</sup>

### ***b. 2. 4. Balle, fardi, etc.***

Badoer also mentioned in his register units of account which were used for estimating prices. In fact the merchandises were transported neither in cantars, nor in libre, but in various packings: *sachi* (sacks) for wool, wax, or grain;<sup>163</sup> *balle* (bales) for hides, cloth, and fabrics of cotton and flax or hemp;<sup>164</sup> *botte* (barrels) for sultanas or salt herings;<sup>165</sup> *fardi* for silk;<sup>166</sup> *cofe* for

<sup>157</sup>J. Heers, *Le livre ...*, 24.

<sup>158</sup>E. Schilbach, *Byzantinische ...*, 20-21, 49.

<sup>159</sup>Badoer, 14, 27, 50, 87, 305.

<sup>160</sup>Badoer, 126.

<sup>161</sup>Badoer, 15.

<sup>162</sup>E. Schilbach, *Byzantinische ...*, 45.

<sup>163</sup>Badoer, 42, 102, 115, 127, 144, 234, 348, 349.

<sup>164</sup>Badoer, 14, 27, 50, 88, 112, 115, 144, 310, 311.

<sup>165</sup>Badoer, 87, 88, 89, 334.

<sup>166</sup>Badoer, 15, 42, 166, 309.

copper;<sup>167</sup> *casse* for soap<sup>168</sup> and *cassette* for silken fabrics, etc. All these terms are part of the medieval commercial world.

It would be very useful to know what weights or quantities these packings correspond to. The history of prices can name them units of account. However, if somebody would try to evaluate the volume of a traffic, the activity of a partnership, etc., it would be not possible to do it since these *fardi* or *balle* cannot be understood. The research concerning this matter came to the conclusion that these packings did not have fixed values; the merchants packed their goods according to the transport necessities.<sup>169</sup>

### Conclusions:

Badoer's account book is an important source for studying the currencies of the Black Sea region and the part of the Balkans under Ottoman occupation, because of the relations it offers between various moneys (either Oriental or European).

Concerning the Byzantine monetary system, his commercial register is a source used for the conclusion that there were two metrologic systems in Byzantium at that time, one of them based on real coins, the other one abstract and overlapping them, consisting of hyperpera and carats as money of account.<sup>170</sup>

The data offered by Badoer's register in connection with weights and measures are also useful for the history of metrology, since some of them could be equalized to modern units (for example, the *moggio* of Trapezunt) on the basis of his accounts.

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<sup>167</sup>Badoer, 155.

<sup>168</sup>Badoer, 31, 86, 87, 88, 89, 114, 115, 139, 180, 181, 187, 252, 253, 323, 352.

<sup>169</sup>J. Heers, *Le livre ...*, 15-27. However, J. Heers tried to establish some very approximate relations. The only one which interests us here is 1 *fardo* of silk = 80 kg (see *ibid*, 25-26).

<sup>170</sup>T. Bertele, "L'iperpero ...": 10-12.

## b) Commodities and prices

### b. 1. Goods

Trade was Badoer's main activity, from which he obtained the largest part of his income. He cannot be considered a great merchant, but he was not a by-retail trader as well. Badoer had not huge capitals, but at the same time these capitals were not small and he was very active in handling them. The goods that he recorded in his account book were either his propriety and co-propriety or he received them in commission.

First of all he was interested in long-distance trade, re-exporting in the Levant western goods arrived to Constantinople via Venice or sending to Venice Oriental goods. Nevertheless, he engaged also in the regional trade in the Aegean, the Black Sea and the Balkans area.

Among the western goods traded by Badoer in this region the **fabrics** prevail in quantity and value, especially cloth. The most valuable cloth is that of Florence (*pani da Fiorenza*). Its price in Badoer's commercial register is usually of 200-210 hyperpera per bale, but here it is mentioned only an unspecified quantity in connection with a barter of 1980 hyperpera 21 carats made with wax from Zagora (*zera zagora*).<sup>171</sup>

Those called *pani loesti* (of Alost or Aalst, in Flanders) are also very often recorded by Badoer in his account book. In this part of his register some entries mention the selling of *pani loesti* in Sinope (6 bales at a total sum of 224 hyperpera 10 carats).<sup>172</sup> Other 4 bales were sold in Samsun, at 159 hyperpera 2 carats, and an unspecified quantity in Trebizond, at the equivalent of 222 hyperpera 5 carats. There is also a mention about a bale and something of this kind of cloth which was bought in Constantinople by Andrea Risa the Greek who lived in Adrianople; he paid for it 76 hyperpera 22 carats. The price for

<sup>171</sup>Badoer, 60,61.

<sup>172</sup>Badoer, 14, 15, 26, 27, 74, 88, 89.

these *pani loesti* specified by Badoer as valid for Constantinople was 37.5-47.5 hyperpera per bale, therefore an usual price for them in his accounts.

Another type of cloth very often mentioned by Badoer is that recorded as *pani valenzini* (of Valenciennes, in France). A quantity of 28 bales, 22 hyperpera per bale, was the object of a barter that Badoer made with dry ox hides from Moncastro (*chuori de bo crudi da Monchastro*).<sup>173</sup> Their price is also a usual one on the Constantinopolitan market of that year, as results from Badoer's accounts (18.5-25 hyperpera per bale), actually the inferior price limit for cloth.

The cloth of Flanders (*pani largi de Fiandra*) appears very rarely in this commercial register. Badoer mentioned here only 12 bales of such a cloth, which were sent back to Constantinople from Trebizond (their price was not specified).<sup>174</sup>

Other fabrics also came on galleys from Venice to Constantinople: silken fabrics (*veli*) together with fabrics of cotton and flax or hemp (*fostagni*).

As results from Badoer's accounts, the price of one box (*cassetta*) of silken fabrics amounts in general to 50-56 hyperpera. A part of them was sold in Gallipoli at a total sum of 429 hyperpera 19 carats (8 *cassette*, 51 and 54 hyperpera per *cassetta*). Other 3 *cassette* of *veli* (56 hyperpera per *cassetta*) were sold in Adrianople at a sum of 166.5 hyperpera, but Badoer lost 1 hyperperon 12 carats, because their price in Constantinople was, as he recorded in his accounts, 168 hyperpera. A second affair of this kind was more successful: 10 *cassette* amounting to 520 hyperpera in Constantinople were sold in Adrianople at 544 hyperpera 6 carats. Badoer's order to Giacomo Beniventi, his intermediary there, was to invest the money resulted from selling them in wax (*zera*).<sup>175</sup>

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<sup>173</sup>Badoer, 135, 346, 347.

<sup>174</sup>Badoer, 50.

<sup>175</sup>Badoer, 31, 86, 87, 114, 139, 181, 187, 252, 253, 323, 352.

The fabrics of cotton and flax or hemp (*fostagni*) which appear in Badoer's accounts are in small bales (*peze de le pichole*); they were imported especially from Cremona and their price was about 7 hyperpera per bale. Ten pieces of them were sent to Adrianople (6 hyperpera per bale); 7 of them were sold at a total sum of 46 hyperpera, but 3 were sent back to Badoer. Other 10 small pieces of *fostagni* were sent to Samsun, 7 hyperpera per bale, and they were sold at 62 hyperpera 8 carats.<sup>176</sup>

Other goods sold in this region that our merchant imported from western Europe were soap (*saponi*), paper (*charte*), and metals: gold thread (*oro filado*), silver (*arzento*), or iron wares (*fil de fero*).

The **soap** (*saponi*) came to Constantinople from Ancona and it was sold in Samsun at the equivalent of 10 hyperpera 18 carats per cantar, while in Constantinople its price was usually about 10 hyperpera 6 carats per cantar. The quantity sent to Samsun was of 9 cantars 10 rotoli.<sup>177</sup>

The only quantity of **paper** (*charte*) mentioned twice in this part of Badoer's account book is one bale amounting to 35 hyperpera, which was sent by him to Caffa, to Zaccaria Contarini.<sup>178</sup>

Small quantities of **golden thread** were also received from Venice. It was sent to Adrianople (10 *onze* of Constantinople, 3 hyperpera per *onza*); 7 *onze* were sold at a price of 21 hyperpera.<sup>179</sup>

In other entries Badoer noted the sending to Trebizond of 3 **silver ingots** (*piatine d'arzento*), weighing 24 libre 14 *onze* 8 *sazi*, and of **silver in asperi** (9 *onze*).<sup>180</sup>

The iron wares (*fil de fero*) came probably to Constantinople from Lombardy. The quantity of iron was amounting to 250 hyperpera 18 carats. Badoer's order (*ordene*) to Andrea da Cale was to invest the sum obtained from

<sup>176</sup>Badoer, 29, 86, 87, 88, 89, 114.

<sup>177</sup>Badoer, 87, 88, 89.

<sup>178</sup>Badoer, 354, 355.

<sup>179</sup>Badoer, 80, 81.

<sup>180</sup>Badoer, 133, 146, 209.

selling these iron wares in *semenzina* (seeds?), *seo* (tallow), or *zera* (wax), or to send him a bill of exchange to Constantinople.<sup>181</sup>

Concerning the **copper** (*rame*), which takes the first place among the imported metals, there are some doubts if it was, at least partially, of western origin. A quantity of copper was sent to Tana, but its quantity and price was not specified.<sup>182</sup>

Other goods that Badoer traded in the region came from the region itself or they were of Oriental origin (silk, sultanas). They were either re-exported by our merchant to other commercial centres of the region or they were sent to Venice.

One of the most important products of the region is **wax**. It came to Constantinople from Trebizond, Vlachia (*Wallachia*), Samsun, or Zagora.

Among the very many entries of Giacomo Badoer's commercial register concerning the beeswax transactions, the white wax from Trebizond (*zera bianca de Trebixonda*) represents only a very small part: only 1 cantar and 91 rotoli (23 hyperpera per cantar).<sup>183</sup> The wax from Wallachia (*zera de Vlachia*), is also recorded in a small quantity: 2 cantars and 8 rotoli, 27 hyperpera per cantar and it was sold to Giacomo Badoer (for his brother Giacomo) by Tommaso Spinola.<sup>184</sup> Another quantity of wax is mentioned as being sent to Venice is that sold by Ramadan of Samsun, weighing 9 cantars 78 rotoli; its value arose to 234 hyperpera with the expenses to send it directly to Venice or via Candia.<sup>185</sup>

However, the wax which appears most often in Badoers' accounts is that from Zagora (*zera zagora*). It is also the most expensive, its price varying from 25 hyperpera 5 carats to 27 hyperpera per cantar. The total amount purchased

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<sup>181</sup>Badoer, 137, 160, 161, 310.

<sup>182</sup>Badoer, 155.

<sup>183</sup>Badoer, 42, 72.

<sup>184</sup>Badoer, 283.

<sup>185</sup>Badoer, 73, 97, 144, 145.

in such a short period of time by various Badoer's clients is of about 258 cantars and 50 rotoli. The sum of hyperpera spent on buying and sending a part of this wax to Venice is also surprising: about 11602 hyperpera 12 carats (equal to 3867.5 Venetian gold ducats).<sup>186</sup>

The only **silk** (*seda*) that Badoer mentioned in this part of his register was received Trebizond, weighing 388 livre 15 onze. All this silk was sent to Venice, the total expense arising to the sum of 1807 hyperpera 22 carats.<sup>187</sup>

It is obvious that this was a year when grain was scarce in the Black Sea region, since Badoer sold there big quantities of *vituarie* (grain and other cereales). For example, moggia 2 of grain (*formento*) was sent to Caffa, 8 hyperpera 18 carats the moggio. Another quantity of grain was bought in Samsun (weighing moggia 26 of Samsun), but probably it was brought there from other regions; it was sold in Trebizond at a total sum amounting to about 142 hyperpera. Grain and millet (*meio*) were also sent to Trebizond by the ship of Polo da Loreda who lived in Corfu; the grain was weighing 140 moggia of Constantinople (1032 hyperpera 18 carats) and the millet 26 moggia of Constantinople, sold for a sum equal to 183 hyperpera 23 carats. (Badoer mentioned that at that time the price of one moggio of millet was in Constantinople 5 hyperpera 12 carats.)<sup>188</sup>

The **wool** (*lane*) was bought only from Gallipoli and Adrianople. The wool from Gallipoli seems to be more expensive, since 11 sacks weighing 23 cantars and 70 rotoli of Adrianople (26 cantars of Constantinople) were bought for the equivalent of 126 hyperpera 17 carats (acquisition price), while the 10 sacks of wool received from Adrianople and weighing 23 cantars of Adrianople (probably the cantar of Adrianople was equivalent to that of Gallipoli) costed only 89 hyperpera 15 carats. An unspecified quantity of wool from Gallipoli was

<sup>186</sup>Badoer, 60, 61, 62, 68, 69, 70, 164, 165, 170, 171, 172, 189, 190, 254, 257, 266, 271, 274, 302, 304.

<sup>187</sup>Badoer, 15, 42, 166, 308, 309.

<sup>188</sup>Badoer, 102, 103, 149, 308.

sent to Venice via Modon. On the other hand, the 10 sacks (netto 21 cantars and 96.5 rotoli) from Adrianople were sold in Trebizond at a sum of 279 hyperpera 17 carats (without expenses only 157 hyperpera 10 carats remained to Badoer). There is also a mention about 3 boats (*barche*) coming with wool from Rodosto, but the quantity and price are not specified.<sup>189</sup>

Badoer's register also offers some data concerning **hides**: lamb's hides (*montonine*), goat hides (*pelle de castron*), ox hides (*chuori de bo*), and buffalo hides (*cordoani*).

**Lamb's hides** and **buffalo hides** were received from Adrianople: 154 lamb's hides and 40 buffalo hides were bought at a sum of 96 hyperpera 23 carats. The price of one *montonina* is specified as being in Constantinople 10 carats. A part of these *montonine* (106 pieces) were sent directly to Venice, and other 40 pieces to Modon and Candia (probably for Venice as well). The whole quantity of 40 *cordoani* was also sent to Venice. However, other 90 *cordoani* were bought in Samsun at a sum equivalent to 35 hyperpera 17 carats and 57 of them were sold in Trebizond at a sum equivalent to 37 hyperpera 2 carats; 26 of them remained in Trebizond, in the hands of Badoer's intermediary there, Antonio da Negroponte (18 hyperpera).<sup>190</sup>

In other entries Badoer noted a transaction concerning 1000 **goat hides** received from Adrianople, weighing 33 cantars. The total sum for buying them arose to 194 hyperpera 7 carats and all of them were sent to Venice.<sup>191</sup>

**Ox hides** (*chuori de bo*) are mentioned only in connection with two transactions. One of them is a transaction of 33 tanned ox hides bought in Samsun at 35 hyperpera 12 carats and sold in Trebizond at the equivalent of 47 hyperpera 11 carats.<sup>192</sup> The other one concerns dry ox hides from Moncastro (*chuori de bo crudi da Monchastro*), weighing 68 cantars and 44 rotoli, which

<sup>189</sup>Badoer, 102, 111, 115, 126, 127, 202, 308, 310, 348, 349.

<sup>190</sup>Badoer, 80, 115, 123, 306, 307, 334, 335, 348.

<sup>191</sup>Badoer, 112, 113, 115.

<sup>192</sup>Badoer, 306, 307.



were the object of a barter with cloth of Valenciennes. The whole business arose to a total value of 616 hyperpera, they being evaluated at 9 hyperpera per cantar.<sup>193</sup> This price was an usual one on the Constantinopolitan market of that year, since we learn from Badoer's account book that, in general, the price for salt ox hides was of 7 hyperpera per cantar and for dry ones it was of 8 hyperpera per cantar.

Another commodity sold in Samsun was *zebibo* (**sultan**as), namely a quantity of 63 cantars 50 rotoli at a price equal to 3 hyperpera 6 carats or 3 hyperpera 21 1/2 carats per cantar.<sup>194</sup>

Among the various goods sent to Samsun, Badoer also mentioned **salt herings** (*sconbri saladi*), 19,000 pieces in two barrels (1 hyperpera 18 carats the thousand of them or *el mier*). One of the barrels was sold at various prices amounting to 16 hyperpera 20 1/2 carats; another bota (6,000 pieces arising to a value of 22 hyperpera 19 carats) remained to be sold by a Greek, Theodoro Singis, who had to give the money to Badoer's intermediary there, Antonio da Negroponte (through the agency of a Genoese, Paolo Morsono).<sup>195</sup>

On the other hand, from Samsun it was bought a type of low quality fabrics (*filado de chanevo*), weighing 13 cantars and 73 rotoli and sold in Trebizond at sum of 128 hyperpera 22 carats (in Samsun its value was of 104 hyperpera 5 carats).<sup>196</sup>

Another commodity came from the same region, namely from Trebizond: **kermes** (named by Badoer *cremexe di vini*), sent to Venice (290 livre 6 onze).<sup>197</sup>

<sup>193</sup>F. Thiriet, *La Romanie ...*, 373, and J. Heers, *Genes ...*, 365-366, give a list of goods exported from Moncastro which includes: grains, hides, furs, beeswax, honey and fish. Excepting for grains, no document is quoted in order to attest the trade with those products. Badoer confirms only the commerce with ox hides.

<sup>194</sup>Badoer, 87, 88, 89.

<sup>195</sup>Badoer, 88, 89, 306, 307, 334.

<sup>196</sup>Badoer, 306, 307.

<sup>197</sup>Badoer, 158, 182, 309.

Two merchandises came to this region from Candia and Cyprus: wine and sugar. Only one entry mentions the fact that **wine** from Candia was sold in Gallipoli, by the Greek Dimitrios Argytis.<sup>198</sup> Many other entries mention **sugar** from Cyprus (*zuchari da l'ixola de Zipri*),<sup>199</sup> which was sent to Trebizond in a quantity of 1 cantar 94 rotoli. A part of it was already sold (110.5 livre), arising to a value of 54 hyperpera 18 carats, but about 1 cantar (of Constantinople) of 62 hyperpera 14 carats was not sold yet.<sup>200</sup>

## b. 2. Bills of exchange

A part of Badoer's income came from exchange transactions. They were made with Tana, Caffa, or Gallipoli, although the sums obtained from such activity were very modest. Usually, the exchange transactions were made on others' account. He received three bills of exchange from Gallipoli in order to be paid, amounting together to a sum of 198 hyperpera 12 carats.<sup>201</sup> The bills of exchange from Tana had to be paid by Badoer; their value arose to a sum of 493 hyperpera 20 carats.<sup>202</sup> Those concerning Caffa were sent there from Constantinople and the total sum paid for them was of 1747 hyperpera 6

<sup>198</sup>Badoer, 252.

<sup>199</sup>Badoer, 86, 87, 88, 89, 102, 334, 348.

<sup>200</sup>Some prices of the goods mentioned above can be compared not only to the prices which appear in other parts of Badoer's account book, but also to the data offered by a letter sent from Constantinople to Venice by a Venetian merchant, Giovanni Morosini, on March 28, 1438. He wrote that at that time the price of the Florentine cloth (*pani Fiorenze*) was 130 hyperpera per bale and that of the cloth of Alost (*pani loesti*) 1 hyperperon (probably the *picco*); that for *veli* was 52 or 90 hyperpera per *cassetta*, depending on their type (*crespi* or *luzenti*). The soap from Venice (*savoni da Venexia*) had a value of 9 hyperpera per cantar. The prices for hides were recorded as follows: *martori* - 140 (?) hyperpera, *fuine* - 70 hyperpera (?), *chuori crudi* (dry hides) - 9 1/2 hyperpera per cantar, *chuori saladi* - 8 1/2 hyperpera per cantar (and there were not such salt hides on the market: *et non de sono*). The kermes (*cremexe rosescho*) was also missing at that time, its price being 2 hyperpera 6 carats per cantar. The silver (usually weighed in *libre*) had a value of 25 hyperpera. The cantar of grain (*formenti*) had a price of 8 hyperpera. The price of the Zagora wax (*zera iagora*) was 28 hyperpera (per cantar), but there was not such wax on the Constantinopolitan market at that time (... *et non de sono*), mention which is contrary to the big quantity handled by Badoer in the same period. He mentioned also that *semenzina* and *seda* (silk) could not be found on the market of Constantinople (... *a 'sti tenpi non se ne truova*) - see F. Melis, *Documenti per la storia economica dei secoli XIII-XVI, con una nota di paleografia commerciale a cura di Elena Cecchi* (Istituto internazionale di storia economica F. Datini, Prato - Pubblicazioni, seria I, Documenti) (Florence, 1972), 194.

<sup>201</sup>Badoer, 110, 150, 252, 253.

<sup>202</sup>Badoer, 56, 59, 60.

carats.<sup>203</sup> In general Badoer exacted a tax of 1 per cent for sending or paying bills of exchange. Consequently, his profit from this commercial activity was recorded in this part of his account book as amounting to 40 hyperpera and 18 carats.

### **b. 3. Premium insurance**

The marine insurance that Badoer made for ships sailing from Constantinople to various trading posts (*segurta che fazo in Costantinopoli*) may be also included among "commodities" (he was the insurer). Actually, Badoer earned only a small sum (19 hyperpera and 12 carats) from the insurances made in this period of time and for the region which we are interested in.<sup>204</sup>

One of them was made for Alvise da Riva, who was going with goods on Antonio Drago's ship from Constantinople to Moncastro. The insurance was made for 150 hyperpera and the *premium* for Badoer had to be 3 per cent, namely 4 hyperpera and 12 carats.

The second one was made for Tommaso Spinola on a ship travelling to Caffa from the port of Zagora. The *premium* was also 3 per cent, namely 6 hyperpera, since the insured sum was of 200 hyperpera.

Badoer also insured the small ship (*naveta*) of a Greek, Crysulis, who travelled with it from Constantinople to Caffa. This time the sum was more important, 300 hyperpera, but Badoer exacted the same 3 per cent as a premium, which meant 9 hyperpera.

### **Conclusions:**

Badoer was involved not only in a long-distance trade, but also in a regional trade in the Black Sea area and the part of the Balkans under Ottoman

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<sup>203</sup>Badoer, 345, 354, 355.

<sup>204</sup>Badoer, 45. In all the cases the broker was Pietro Cappello.

occupation. The commodities traded there were mainly local goods (wax, hides, salt herings, kermes). Only part of them came to Constantinople from western Europe via Venice, such as fabrics (mainly cloth), soap, golden thread, silver ingots, and paper. Other goods were of Levantine origin: silk, sultanas, wine, and copper.

Usually, the exchange transactions are mentioned in Badoer's account book as made with Venice, but bills of exchange also appear as used in this region (Caffa, Tana, Gallipoli).

His account book provides data concerning insurance taxes (premium) for vessels that sail from one trading post to another one in this region. The relative low amount of the premium, only 3 per cent,<sup>205</sup> indicates that these routes were considered to be safe enough, though it is also relevant that these were not very long routes.

All in all, Badoer's business in the Black Sea region and in the Balkan peninsula - in the first year and a half he lived in Constantinople - sums up a figure of affairs of about 24,000 hyperpera, equal to 8000 Venetian ducats (we took into account only the sums that he mentioned in his records). Obviously it is a rather modest sum, if we take into consideration that during the three and a half years of his stay in Constantinople, Giacomo Badoer handled goods, bills of exchange, and trade services amounting to a total of 2,640,000 hyperpera (880,000 Venetian ducats).<sup>206</sup>

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<sup>205</sup>The insurance for Venice is between 4 and 6 per cent, that for Ancona oscilates between 8 and 10 per cent, and that for Majorca and Saragossa is evaluated to 19 per cent (see *Badoer*, 45).

<sup>206</sup>T. Bertele, "Il giro d'affari ...":48-50.

#### **d) Profit and loss**

From an estimation made on the basis of the sums which appear in *dare* (debts) it results that the hyperpera invested by Badoer in his own business in the Black Sea region and Balkan peninsula in the first year and a half he lived in Constantinopol are amounting to 14,738 hyperpera (4912  $\frac{2}{3}$  Venetian ducats). On the other hand, the sums he spent in the same period are equal to 9296 hyperpera (3098  $\frac{2}{3}$  Venetian ducats). Consequently, it results that the affairs he handled there were very profitable for him, since his profit arose to 5442 hyperpera (1814 ducats), namely 58,5% of the invested sum.

## e) His trading partners. Business organization

### e. 1. Badoer's trading partners

Behind commodities and figures there is in Giacomo Badoer's account book a small world of people, more or less important, who move and meet each other in a network of contracts and affairs. Badoer supplied them with various goods and services (commissions, bills of exchange) and, on the other hand, he bought many goods or he received services from them (commissions, bills of exchange, bank operations, navigation, etc.).

The Venetians represented a large number of Badoer's trading partners. Some of them were living in the Venetian colony of Constantinople - which was the most numerous and the most active colony of western merchants there in the first half of the fifteenth century<sup>207</sup> - or in other commercial centres of the Levant.

Many Venetian merchants are mentioned as having business relation with Badoer, like Pietro Michiel (*Piero Michiel*)<sup>208</sup> and Pietro Soranzo (*Piero Soranzo*) who were by far Badoer's most important partners in the whole period he lived in Constantinople, Marino Barbo (*Marin Barbo*), Francesco and Giacomo Corner (*Franzesco and Jachomo Chorer*), Francesco Giorgio (*Franzesco Zorzi*), Lunardo and Marco Giustinian (*Lunardo and Marcho Justignan*), Bernardo Zane, Francesco Balbi (*Franzesco Balbi*), etc. These kind of merchants were selling in the region various western European goods received from Venice, and also buying Oriental merchandises which were sent to Venice. It is probable that many of them were living in Constantinople at that

<sup>207</sup>G. Luzzatto, *Storia economica ...*, 179.

<sup>208</sup>In order not to complicate the text, the pages in Badoer's register related to the names of his trading partners (who appear in the first part of the present subchapter) can be found in the *Appendix 2: INDEX OF NAMES* (see the *Table of Contents* of the present thesis). Moreover, following the same principle, only some of Badoer's trading partners are mentioned here, the rest being included in the above mentioned *Appendix 2*.

time (as already mentioned), but it is hard to understand whose business was analogous to that of Giacomo Badoer.<sup>209</sup>

Some of the Venetians who appear in Badoer's accounts were his agents in different commercial centres, like Gregorio Contarini (*Griguol Chontarini*) in 1437 in Trebizond, Giacomo and Tommaso Beniventi (*Jachomo* and *Tomaxo Beniventi*) who specialized in the trade between Constantinople and Adrianople,<sup>210</sup> or Andrea da Cale (*Andrea da Chale*) who was living in Caffa.

Some of them were also bankers - Carlo Cappello (*Charlo Chapello*) - or brokers (*sanseri*), such as Nicolo Pisani (*Nicholo Pixan*).

Another group of Venetians who appear in Badoer's commercial register are owners of ships sailing in the Black Sea or to Adrianople and Garipolli, besides the specialized galleys for *Romania* and the Black Sea. These ships were owned by Alvise Contarini (*Aluvixe Chontarini*), who specialized in the traffic with Trebizond, Matteo Fasolo (*Matio Faxuol*), involved in the traffic with Caffa and Tana, or Paolo da Loreda (*Polo da Loreda*), who lived in Corfu and sailed up to Trebizond, etc.

Badoer, who obviously had a trading office in Constantinople, with its warehouse, also mentioned two of his office assistants, both of patrician origin: Giorgio Morosini (*Zorzi Morexini*) and Lorenzo Tiepolo.

Other Italians mentioned as having commercial collaboration with Badoer are the Genoese. In his accounts, they are represented by the merchants Giovanni, Branca and Tommaso Spinola (*Zuan, Brancha* and *Toma' Spinola*),

<sup>209</sup>Actually, we do not know for sure how many of those Venetians living in Constantinople were involved in such trade at that time. This situation is due to the lack of information, since we have only a later source concerning these matters: N. Barbaro, "Giornale dell'assedio di Costantinopoli (1453)," *Monumenta Hungariae Historica*, F.A. Dethier ed., XII, 1st part (first published by Enrico Cornet, Vienna, 1856). On the p. 703 there is a list of 19 names of probable merchants; on p. 710 f.f. there are 30 names, of which 12 are already included in the previous list. In conclusion, there are 37 names of persons, but we do not know whether they were all of them involved in the same activity as Badoer.

<sup>210</sup>Tommaso Beniventi was also mentioned in Guglielmo Querini's *copialelettere* (the notebook containing copies of his business letters), kept in Venice, 1428-1461 - see G. Luzzatto, "L'attività commerciale di un patrizio veneziano del Quattrocento," *Studi di storia economica veneziana* (Padova, 1954): 178, 182, and 183 (first published in *Rivista di Storia Economica*, A.VIII [1943], under the pseudonym G. Padovan).

the last one being also a banker,<sup>211</sup> Bernaba Centurioni (*Bernaba Zenturion*), Marco Doria (*Marcho Doria*). Another Genoese banker who appears in this part of Badoer's register is Francesco de Drappieri (*Franzesco de Drapieri*). The ship owners who appear in this part of Badoer's account book are Galeotto Lomellini (*Galeoto Lumelin*), who used his ship for voyages to Trebizond, Samsun, and Caffa, Antonio Drago, mentioned in connection with his voyage from Constantinople to Moncastro, and Giovanni Montaldo (*Zuan Montaldo*), who transported goods to Caffa. Only two Genoese brokers appear here, Pietro and Giovanni dal Pozzo (*Piero and Zuan dal Pozo*).

There is also a mention in Badoer's accounts of a merchant who probably also came from the Italian Peninsula, namely from the town of Modena, Bartolomeo (*Bortolamio da Modena*). He was one of Badoer's intermediaries in Gallipoli, together with Badoer's office-assistant, Giorgio Morosini (*Zorzi Morexini*).

The Greeks mentioned by Badoer as his trading partners were from Byzantium, Trebizond, the Ottoman empire, or the Venetian possessions in *Romania* (such as Negroponte or Candia). They were merchants, such as Andreas Risas (*Andrea Rixa*) living in Adrianople, Dimitrios Argytis (*Dimitri Argiti*) from Candia (who sold wine in Gallipoli), Theodoros Singis (?) (*Todaro Xingi*) who lived in Samsun, etc.; ship owners, like Kyriakos Kakalopoulos (*Chiriacho Chachalopulo*) from Trebizond, who sailed with his ship (*nave*) from Constantinople to Trebizond, Krysulis (*Crisuli*) who was engaged in the traffic with Caffa, Baximadas (*Bacsimada*), who is mentioned as having a ship with which he sailed from Gallipoli to Modon. There is also a mention of two

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<sup>211</sup>Tommaso Spinola, who appears in Badoer's account book in connection with Wallachian wax, is mentioned in 1450 during a process between the two branches of the family, from Caffa and Pera, implying goods embarked at Moncastro (see J. Heers, *Genes* ..., 369). In 1452 he is involved in a request for reprisals licence against the subjects of the Polish king and the confiscation of the Moldavian Petre Manu's goods (see N. Iorga, *Acte si fragmente cu privire la istoria romanilor adunate din depozitele de manuscrise ale Apusului* [Acts and fragments regarding the History of the Romanians Collected from the Western Manuscript Stocks] (Bucharest, 1897), 3:28.



Greek bankers, Kaloianis Sophianos (*Chaloiani Sofiano*) and Nikolaos Sardinos (*Nichola Sardino*).<sup>212</sup>

Only a few Jewish names (of merchants and brokers) appear here.<sup>213</sup> For Badoer's business the most important of them are Shlomon (*Salaiman*), Pulisoto (*Pulixoto*), Eliahu Dedimari (?) (*Elia Dedimari*), and Abesalom, son of Cain (*Asalon fio de Cain*).

Although the political situation was precarious, Badoer also had business relations with Turkish merchants and handicraftsmen: Ramadhan (*Ramadan*) from Samsun, Yaqshie (*Jacsia*) and Sulia Misrini (?) the jeweller (*Sulia dal Mistrini charatier*), both from Adrianople.

Armenian merchants in general appear more rarely in Badoer's accounts, therefore it is not surprising that he had business relations in this region with only one Armenian merchant, Ildirimsi (?) (*Aldrisa' or Aldribsa'*).<sup>214</sup>

## e. 2. Business organization

On this point, it is necessary to mention that although Badoer had business relations with such a large number of people in a short period of time, he did not leave Constantinople meanwhile. He did not go even to Venice, since his brother, Girolamo, remained there and took care of the affairs of both, as Giacomo also did in Constantinople. He was continuously in correspondence with Girolamo, to whom he sent and from whom he received various goods. From time to time Giacomo also sent money to his brother through bills of

<sup>212</sup>Actually, Badoer mentioned many Greek bankers in the rest of his account book, whose names and activity were completely unknown before - see G. Luzzatto, *Storia economica ...*, 179.

<sup>213</sup>Actually, the statistics for the whole period he lived in Constantinople showed that the Jews were his most numerous trading partners of Levantine origin. The Greeks, the Turks, and the Armenians were in the following places - see G. Luzzatto, *Storia economica ...*, 174.

<sup>214</sup>In establishing the nationality of Badoer's trading partners we relied upon his own mentions (for example, *Andrea Rixa griego*, *Asalon fio de cain zudio*, *Martin Zenturion zenoexe*, etc.), sometimes on the mention of the place they were living in or on the similarity of Badoer's transcription of a few names with their original spelling (*Ramadan de Simiso*, *Chiriacho Chachalopulo*, *Elia de Davit*, etc.). For the delimitation between Venetians and Genoese we used F. Thiriet, *La Romanie Venitienne. Le developement et l'exploitation du domaine coloniale venitien (XII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siecles)* (Paris, 1959); J. Heers, *Genes au XV<sup>e</sup> siecle. Activite economique et problemes sociaux* (Paris, 1961), and *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 41 vols. (the last one: *Donaggio-Dugnani*) (Rome, 1960-1992).

exchange. Some of the deals that Giacomo made were concluded just not his own, but with Girolamo as an equal partner.<sup>215</sup>

Beside this partnership, which may be called a *fraterna*,<sup>216</sup> Badoer created other partnerships to trade in his own goods, usually using commission agents (he did not use *colleganze*). Some of these commission agents were already resident in various places, where they bought and sold on his account wares he gave or sent them. However, they were bound to act according to the instructions (*ordene*) Badoer sent them.<sup>217</sup> As another general rule (valid at that time for this kind of partnership), at the end of the voyages they gave him an account (*chonto*)<sup>218</sup> of what they had sold or bought.<sup>219</sup> In the case of commission agents, they were rewarded by a percentage (fixed commission) of the turnover that they handled; in other situations they received a salary or a percentage of the profits of the voyage. Badoer recorded these voyages as having been made by another person in his own interest (*viazo rechomadado de mia raxon*),<sup>220</sup> using special entries for each of them, as was the rule in double-entry account books.<sup>221</sup>

The commission agents that Badoer used were Gregorio Contarini - his intermediary in Trebizond in 1437, Giacomo de Stefano, sent to Trebizond and Sinope, Andrea da Cale, who was living in Caffa, Giacomo and Tommaso Beniventi, who specialized in the trade between Constantinople and Adrianople, Filippo de Giacomo, sent to Adrianople, and Agostino de Franchi - to Gallipoli. The commission they received for their job was 2-3 per cent for selling

<sup>215</sup>Badoer, 15, 113, 166, 228, 283, 309, 310.

<sup>216</sup>Y. Renouard, *Les hommes* ..., 293, and F. Lane, *Venice* ..., 138.

<sup>217</sup>Badoer, 86, 160.

<sup>218</sup>Badoer, 89, 103, 161, 234, 306, 307, 334, 352.

<sup>219</sup>L. Paciolo, *Tratat* ..., 211 (original version).

<sup>220</sup>Luca Paciolo divided the business voyages in two: personal voyages (*in sua mano*) and by recommendation (*rechomandato*) - see *ibid*, 211 (original version).

<sup>221</sup>Y. Renouard, *Les hommes* ..., 298-299.

(*provixion de vender*)<sup>222</sup> and 1-2 per cent for buying goods (*provixion de chonprar*).<sup>223</sup>

Another type of voyage was that made to Gallipoli by Bartolomeo da Modena and Badoer's shop-assistant, Giorgio Morosini,<sup>224</sup> in order to buy wool (*lane*). The voyage was at Badoer's expense, who paid everything, as is shown in his account of that voyage: their food (wine, bread, and other unspecified things), the ship for going to Gallipoli and coming back, two horses and a guide they used there, wagons and horses to carry the wool from the nearby acquisition place to Gallipoli, stevedores to unload them, the transportation of the wool to Constantinople. Moreover, Bortolamio da Modena received a salary for his 29 working days (2 Venetian ducats per month).

The partnership that Badoer concluded with Antonio da Negroponte (probably a Venetian living in Trebizond),<sup>225</sup> who was his intermediary in Trebizond and Samsun in 1436,<sup>226</sup> was different from the others, as is shown in Badoer's accounts. Antonio da Negroponte contributed 100 hyperpera in cash to the partnership's capital and he had to receive 1/3 from the profits and a percentage of his previous money back. However, he had to go, to stay, and to come back at his own expenses.

Nevertheless, the most long-lasting partnership Badoer concluded was that recorded by him in his accounts as *ser Piero Michiel e chonpagni* ("ser Pietro Michiel and the partners").<sup>227</sup> Actually, Piero Michiel had only a 1/3 share of this partnership (*chonpagnia*), Marino Barbo 1/3, Gerolamo Badoer 1/6 and Giacomo Badoer 1/6 (or the brothers together 1/3).<sup>228</sup> This partnership covered the whole period of the three and a half years he lived in Constantinople and was dealing with various goods, but in these pages of Badoer's account book

<sup>222</sup>Badoer, 50, 103, 161, 181, 349.

<sup>223</sup>Badoer, 112, 182, 234, 308.

<sup>224</sup>Badoer, 80, 82, 83, 110, 111, 126, 127.

<sup>225</sup>Negroponte was a Venetian possession in the Aegean Sea from 1205 to 1470.

<sup>226</sup>Badoer, 27, 72, 87, 88, 89, 102, 103, 131, 206, 306, 307, 308, 334, 335, 348, 349.

<sup>227</sup>For the first year and half see Badoer, 138, 139, 159, 165, 170, 171, 187, 245, 252, 266.

<sup>228</sup>Badoer, 138, 330.

there is only a mention about buying the wax of Zagora (*zera zagora*).<sup>229</sup> However, due to this partnership he was not supposed to go anywhere, since he had no freedom to sail (*non ho liberta de navegar de quel de la chonpagnia*).<sup>230</sup> This mention, even so short, could explain the obvious fact that in all the three and a half years he lived in the Byzantine capital he saw none of the various places mentioned in his account book.

Concerning the others' goods, he acted as a broker, buying or selling for his clients. Usually he exacted from them a tax (commission) of 1-2 per cent when buying<sup>231</sup> and of 2 per cent when selling various goods.<sup>232</sup> Concerning bills of exchange, the commission was 1 per cent<sup>233</sup> (or 0.25% when he was only the broker for that bill of exchange).<sup>234</sup>

### Conclusions

In only one year and a half, Giacomo Badoer created a dense network of commercial relations from Constantinople (still an important commercial centre) towards the Black Sea area and the Balkan Peninsula. As is shown in his accounts, he had a profitable collaboration with many people of various origins: Venetians, Genoese, Greeks, Jews, Turks, Armenians, who were living either in the Byzantine capital or in important trading posts such as Trebizond, Samsun, Caffa, Tana, Adrianople, Candia, and Corfu. The surprising number of these merchants, brokers, bankers, ship owners shows that the trade in the region was rather lively at that time, despite the Ottoman threat.

As can be seen in the statistics in Appendix 2, fifty per cent of Badoer's trading partners were represented by the Venetians. This situation illustrates the

<sup>229</sup>Badoer, 159, 165, 170, 171, 245, 266, 271.

<sup>230</sup>Badoer, 139.

<sup>231</sup>Badoer, 9, 60, 62, 68, 72, 170, 184, 190, 192, 254, 274.

<sup>232</sup>Badoer, 9.

<sup>233</sup>Badoer, 9, 151, 156.

<sup>234</sup>Badoer, 159.

fact that the Venetians - not only the Genoese - paid special attention to trade in the Black Sea area (and in the Balkans region as well).

The second place in number after the Venetians was occupied by the Greeks (17.5%). Part of them were from Byzantium, such a Veneto-Byzantine collaboration being mentioned for the first time in a medieval source.<sup>235</sup>

As a matter of fact, Badoer also had good business relation with many Genoese (15.7%), despite the traditional rivalry between them and the Venetians.

The Ottoman Turks (only 2.7% of Badoer's trading partners) did not seem to have obtained yet commercial advantages from their military and political conquests.<sup>236</sup>

The small-sized (bilateral) partnerships that Badoer made in general with these various merchants - a *fraterna* with his brother living in Venice, Girolamo, and other partnerships with his intermediaries in various commercial centres of the region - were the usual ones for Venetian traders at that time.

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<sup>235</sup>T. Bertele, "Il libro ...": 126.

<sup>236</sup>In any case, this is the time when Venice had the supremacy in Levantine trade (see E. Ashtor, "The Venetian Supremacy in Levantine Trade: Monopoly or Pre-Colonialism?," *Journal of European Economic History*, III [Rome, 1974]:5-53), not only over the Genoese and other Italians, but also over the Catalans and the Provensals (see G. Luzzatto, *Storia economica ...*, 179).

### 3. FINAL CONCLUSIONS

Due to the lack of sources, Badoer's commercial register has a special importance, since it is the only one entirely written in Constantinople in the Byzantine epoch and almost completely preserved. Therefore, it is a basic document not only for the economic history of the Levant in the first half of the fifteenth century, but for the history of other two regions as well: the Black Sea area and the Balkan Peninsula.

In only one year and a half, Giacomo Badoer created a dense network of commercial relations from Constantinople (still an important commercial centre) towards the Black Sea region and the Black Sea sector of the Balkan Peninsula: Tana, Caffa, Trebizond, Samsun, Sinope, Moncastro, Adrianople, Rodosto, Gallipoli, Wallachia, and Zagora. From the total of 11 places, 6 were under Turkish occupation at that time (Adrianople, Rodosto, Gallipoli, Zagora, Sinope, Samsun). Other 2 trading posts mentioned here are Genoese: Caffa and Moncastro, but Badoer has also good commercial relations with these two towns.

Badoer's account book is an important source for studying the currencies of the Black Sea region and the part of the Balkans under Ottoman occupation, because of the relations it offers between various moneys, either Oriental (the asperi of Caffa, Samsun and Trebizond, the Ottoman Turkish asperi and ducats) or European (especially the Venetian gold ducat).

The data offered by Badoer's register in connection with weights and measures are also useful for the history of metrology, since some of them could be equalized to modern units (for example, the moggio of Trapezunt) on the basis of his accounts.

He was interested not only in long-distance trade, but also in an important inter-regional trade. The commodities he traded there were mainly local goods (wax, hides, salt herings, kermes). Only part of them came to Constantinople

from western Europe via Venice, such as fabrics (mainly cloth), soap, golden thread, silver ingots. Other goods were of Levantine origin: silk, sultanas, wine, and copper.

Usually, the exchange transactions are mentioned in Badoer's account book as made with Venice, but bills of exchange also appear as used in this region (Caffa, Tana, Gallipoli), although their value is very modest.

His register provides data concerning insurance taxes (premium) for vessels that sail from one trading post to another one in this region. The relative low amount of the premium, only 3 per cent, indicates that these routes were considered to be safe enough, though it is also relevant that these were not very long routes.

It is true that Badoer's business in this region - in the first year and a half he lived in Constantinople - sums up a figure of affairs of about 24,000 hyperpera, (8000 Venetian ducats), a rather modest sum in comparison with the figure of 2,640,000 hyperpera (880,000 Venetian ducats) which results from his accounts in the three and a half years he lived in Constantinople. Nevertheless, his profit from the goods, bills of exchange, and trade services he handled in this region was 58.5% of the invested sum.

As is shown in his accounts, he had a profitable collaboration with many people of various origins: Venetians, Genoese, Greeks, Jews, Turks, Armenians, who were living either in the Byzantine capital or in important trading posts such as Trebizond, Samsun, Caffa, Tana, Adrianople, Candia, and Corfu. The surprising number of these merchants, brokers, bankers, ship owners shows that the trade in the region was rather lively at that time, despite the Ottoman threat.

Part of Badoer's trading partners were Greeks (17.5%) and many were living in Byzantium, such a Veneto-Byzantine collaboration being mentioned for the first in a medieval source.

As a matter of fact, Badoer also had good business relation with many Genoese (15.7%), despite the traditional rivalry between them and the

Venetians. On the other hand, the Ottoman Turks (only 2.7% of Badoer's trading partners) did not seem to have obtained yet commercial advantages from their military and political conquests.

Nevertheless, fifty per cent of them were represented by the Venetians. This situation illustrates the fact that the Venetians - not only the Genoese - paid special attention to trade in the Black Sea area (and in the Balkans region as well).

This commercial register offers us a very detailed image of Badoer's activity and it reveals us his affairs in their development, from the beginning to the end, so that we can evaluate both their mechanism and also their results. Therefore, it might represent an unit for measuring the commercial activity of the majority of other merchants from that time and also from previous epochs, because Badoer was a very active, but a medium and ordinary merchant and he had ordinary means at his disposal.

It is true that these conclusions or other which already arose concerning goods or trade routes mentioned in Badoer's account book are not complete, because of the nature of the present study. But they can help us to understand better Venetian trade in the first half of the fifteenth century.



## Appendix 1

### Commercial geography of his affairs

#### a) GOODS AND TRADE ROUTES

**Cloth and other fabrics:** (western Europe - Venice) - Constantinople - Trebizond  
 - Samsun  
 - Sinope  
 - Adrianople  
 - Gallipoli

**Copper:** (Levant? -) Constantinople - Tana

**Gold** (golden thread): Venice - Constantinople - Adrianople

**Grain:** Constantinople - Caffa

Constantinople - Trebizond

**Hides:** Moncastro - Constantinople (ox hides)

Adrianople - Constantinople (lamb's hides)

**Iron wire:** (Nuremberg - Venice) - Constantinople - Caffa

**Kermes:** Trebizond - Constantinople

**Silk:** Trebizond - Constantinople - Venice

Samsun - Constantinople - Venice

**Silver:** Constantinople - Trebizond

**Soap:** Ancona? - Constantinople - Samsun

**Sugar:** Cyprus - Constantinople - Trebizond

**Sultanas:** Constantinople - Samsun

**Wax:** Trebizond (-Candia) - Venice

Zagora - Constantinople - Venice

**Wool:** Adrianople (Rodosto) - Constantinople - Trebizond

Gallipoli (-Modon) - Venice

#### Bills of exchange

Constantinople - Caffa

Tana - Constantinople

Gallipoli - Constantinople

Constantinople - Moncastro - Caffa

**Other trade routes**

Constantinople - Bursa and crossing the sea - Trebizond

**b) FAVOURITE MARKETS**

<b><u>Place name</u></b>	<b><u>Number of mentions</u></b>
Trebizond	37
Adrianople	23
Caffa	18
Gallipoli	17
Samsun	14
Tana	11
Moncastro	5
Sinope	2
Wallachia	2
Zagora	2
Rodosto	1

### **c) PLACE NAMES**

**Adrianople** - present-day Edirne

**Caffa** - ancient Theodosia; present-day Feodosiya

**Gallipoli** - ancient Callipolis; present-day Gelibolu

**Moncastro** - ancient Tyras; Cetatea-Alba (in Romanian), Akkerman (in Turkish),  
Belgorod-Dnestrovsky (in Ukrainian)

**Rodosto** - present-day Tekirdag

**Samsun** - ancient Amisus; Byzantine Amisos

**Sinope** - present-day Sinop

**Tana** - formerly Azak

**Trebizond** - ancient Trapezus; present-day Trabzon (Turkey)

**Wallachia** - Romanian principality in the Middle Ages; present-day historical region in  
southern Romania

**Zagora** - historical region in northern Bulgaria

## Appendix 2

### Badoer's trading partners

#### a) INDEX OF NAMES

##### *VENETIANS*

- **Agustin de Franchi**- 111, 131, 187, 252, 253, 323, 352, 353.
- **Andrea da Chale** - 131, 160, 161, 264, 310, 311, 354, 355.
- **Antonio da Braze** - 144.
- **Antonio da la Cholona** - 304.
- **Arlati Vielmo** - 39, 184, 209.
- **Aste (d') Nicholoxo** - 305.
  
- **Badoer Jeronimo** - 15, 113, 166, 228, 283, 309, 310.
- **Balbi Franzesco** - 157, 159, 164, 189, 190, 192, 193.
- **Barbarigo Zuan** - 59.
- **Barbo Marin** - 50, 62, 70, 157, 159, 165, 245, 254, 255, 257, 275, 277.
- **Beniventi Jachomo** - 35, 80, 86, 87, 112, 114, 115, 123, 126, 139, 144, 180, 234.
- **Beniventi Tomaxo** - 60, 80, 87, 114, 115, 123, 234, 355.
- **Bertoldo Biagio** - 59, 60.
- **Bulgaro Aluvixe** - 70.
- **Buzardo Polo** - 299.
  
- **Chapello Charlo** - 56, 59, 72, 73, 110, 111, 112, 144, 153, 252.
- **Chapello Piero** - 45.
- **Chontarini Aluvixe** - 102, 103, 123, 133, 146, 166, 209, 235, 308, 309, 310.
- **Chontarini Chatarin** - 151, 282.
- **Chontarini Davit** - 133, 146, 147.
- **Chontarini Ferigo** - 184.

- **Chontarini Griguol** - 89, 102, 103, 131, 133, 146, 147, 149, 166, 182, 235, 299, 308, 309, 334, 335, 348, 349.
- **Chontarini Zacharia** - 354.
- **Chorner Franzesco** - 9, 56, 59, 151, 153, 155, 156, 159, 264, 280, 282, 311.
- **Chorner Jachomo** - 9, 56, 59, 60, 68, 69.
  
- **Dalega, Marcho** - 133, 146.
- **Donado, Zacharia** - 137, 160.
  
- **Faxuol, Matio** - 138, 137, 160, 155.
- **Franchi (di) Aluvixe** - 252, 253, 352.
- **Frixon, Domenego** - 113, 123.
  
- **Jachomo de Stefano** - 14, 15, 27, 42, 130.
- **Justignan, Lunardo** - 62, 245, 274, 275.
- **Justignan, Marcho** - 62, 245, 274, 275.
- **Justignan, Nicholo** - 126.
  
- **Marzello, Felipo** - 25.
- **Michiel, Piero** - 62, 68, 69, 70, 157, 159, 165, 170, 171, 172, 245, 254, 255, 257, 266, 271, 275, 277, 304.
- **Morexini, Zorzi** - 80, 82, 83, 102, 110, 111, 126.
  
- **Nicholo da la Cholla** - 126.
  
- **Pantalon, ?** - 252.
- **Philipo de Jachomo** - 87, 115, 180, 181, 202, 228, 229.
- **Pixan, Nicholo** - 135, 271, 346, 352.
- **Polo da Loreda** - 102, 103, 149.

- **Portela, Vielmo**- 180.

- **Quirini, Bortolamio** - 74, 75.

- **Soranzo, Polo** - 14.

- **Soranzo, Piero** - 68, 69, 302, 346.

- **Tiepolo, Lorenzo** - 228.

- **Venier, Franguli** - 126.

- **Venier, Franzesco** - 50.

- **Zane, Bernardo** - 157, 159, 164, 190.

- **Zen, Marin** - 80.

- **Ziba, Nicholoxo** - 179

- **Zorzi, Franzesco** - 60, 61, 62, 74, 75.

- **Zuan de Naldo** - 72.

- **Zusti (di) Aldrovandin** - 135, 346, 347.

### ***GREEKS***

- **Argiti Dimitri** - 252, 253, 352.

- **Bacsimada** - 310.

- **Cantofi Antonio?** - 252, 253, 352.

- **Chachalopulo Chiriacho** , probably also **Chiriacho trabexondeo** - 158, 182, 184, 309.

- **Chosta** - 15.

- **Crisuli** - 45.

- **Delitriano** - 86.

- **Ligiro Stefano** - 252.
- **Manoli de Luzian** - 86.
- **Pulachi Nicholo** - 354.
- **Rixa Andrea** griego - 74, 75.
- **Sachi Chiriaco** - 39, 102.
- **Sardino Nichola** - 137, 158.
- **Scutari** - 126.
- **Sofiano Chaloiani** - 59, 115.
- **Tepefto Jani** - 102.
- **Vatazi Chonstantin** - 68.
- **Xingi Todaro** griego - 89.
- **Zancharopulo** - 115.

### ***GENOESE***

- **Aluvixe da Riva** - 45.
- **Doria Marcho** - 217, 352.
- **Drago Antonio** - 45.
- **Drapieri (de) Franzesco** - 73, 102, 110, 153, 299.
- **Inperial de Grimaldo (?)** - 355.
- **Lumelin Galeoto** - 87, 88, 310.
- **Montaldo Zuan** - 354.
- **Morson (Marzion) Polo** zenoexe - 89, 344.
- **Palavexin Cristofal** - 346.
- **Piero dal Pozo** - 102, 144.
- **Spinola Zuan** - 354, 355.
- **Spinola Brancha** - 175, 354.
- **Spinola Toma'** - 45, 151, 175, 282, 283, 354.
- **Zenturion Martin** zenoexe - 354.
- **Zenturion Bernaba** - 254, 274, 275.

- **Zuan dal Gropo** - 305.
- **Zuan dal Pozo** - 102, 305.

### ***JEWS***

- **Anastaxo Danil** zudio - 170.
- **Asalon fio de Cain** zudio - 180, 229.
- **Cain** - 102, 180, 229.
- **Dedimari Elia**, probably also **maistro Elia** - 62, 189, 190, 192.
- **Elia de Davit** - 62.
- **Pulixoto** - 170, 254.
- **Salaiman** zudio - 165, 170, 254, 266, 271.

### ***TURKS***

- **Jacsia turcho** - 112.
- **Ramadan de Simiso** - 73, 97, 144.
- **Sulia dal Mistrini** - p. 112.

### ***ARMENIANS***

- **Aldribsa'** (or **Aldrisa'**) - 72.

### ***OTHER ORIGIN***

- **Antonio da Negroponte** - probably of Venetian origin - p. 27, 72, 87, 88, 89, 102, 103, 130, 131, 206, 306, 307, 308, 334, 335, 348, 349.
- **Bortolamio da Modena** - 72, 110, 111, 126, 127.
- **Chunba (Chonba) Zorzi** - unknown origin - 170, 257.
- **Ziaratani Zuan** - 181.
- **Zorzi de Famagosta** - probably of Genoese origin - p. 110, 111, 126.<sup>1</sup>
- **Zuan da Mar** - unknown origin - 59, 345, 354, 355.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Famagusta was the capital of Cyprus, Genoese possession from 1384 to 1464.



## b) STATISTICS

<u>Origin</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1) Venetians	50.9
2) Greeks	17.5
3) Genoese	15.7
4) Jews	6.4
5) Turks	2.7
7) Armenians	0.9
8) Other	5.5

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<sup>2</sup>The INDEX OF NAMES was made according to that one found in the Titles of Accounts (*Titoli dei Conti*), "Il libro dei conti di Giacomo Badoer...": 849-857.

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