

*From Melchior Manlich to Ferdinand Cron:
German Levantine and
Oriental Trade Relations
(Second Half of XVIth
and Beginning of XVIIth countries)*

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I

Towards the middle of the XVIth century the Mediterranean trade of southern Germany had two main directions: Venice and Genoa. In Venice there was little opportunity to combine overland trade with maritime expeditions. The existence of the Fondaco dei Tedeschi and its organization prohibited the German merchants from entering directly into maritime business from Venice. That was the rule. However we know that there were exceptions.

The prohibitive regulations of the Fondaco could be eluded by the assistance of Venetian merchants. We know that in the 1530s, Jacob Rehlinger from Augsburg, in company with an Antwerp group of merchants, traded with Istanbul in luxury goods with the assistance of the Venetian Marco di Nicolo. Interesting in the case of Rehlinger is the combination of trade relations with the service of political news which was a very typical combination at that time; we know about this from the *Fuggerzeitungen*.¹

Only scarce documentation exists regarding the possibility of maintaining overseas trade relations through Trieste, the rival of Venice.² Another way

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¹ HERMANN KELLENBENZ, JAKOB REHLINGER, ein Augsburger Kaufmann in Venedig, in: *Beiträge zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte, Festschrift für Hektor Amman*, (Wiesbaden, Steiner), 1965, 362-379.

² Idem., Relazioni commerciali tra il Levante ed i paesi d'Oltralpe, in: *Navigazioni mediterranee e commissioni continentali* (secoli XI-XVI), a cura di Rosalba Ragosta (Biblioteca di Storia economica, diretta da Luigi de Rosa, 2), (Napoli, Lucio Pironti Editore), 1982, pp. 301-314.

was offered through Genoa. It had old traditions and served especially for maritime contacts with Spain, with Calabria and Sicily, where good raw silk could be obtained. Towards the end of the XVIth and the beginning of the XVIIth century, when grain shipments from the Baltic and the North Sea flourished, a master of a Hanseatic port might have combined his voyage to Genoa, Leghorn, Naples and Messina with a trip to a port of the eastern Mediterranean, although we have little evidence about these kinds of adventurous voyages. Research in the archives of Greece, Turkey, Egypt and North Africa might help to reconstruct a better picture of this kind of adventurous maritime business.³

II

A third way existed for establishing contact with Mediterranean ports. This was by way of the old route through Switzerland to the Rhone valley and the Rhone down to Marseilles. This route gained importance in the periods when Venice (or Genoa) had difficulties in maintaining their own maritime trade. A famous case is that of the Augsburg firm of Melchior Manlich during the war of the Serenissima with the Ottoman Sultan from 1570 to 1573. Jakob Strieder and André E. Sayous have described the main features of the Manlich venture; therefore we may limit our exposition to some general observations.⁴ Melchior Manlich, born at Augsburg in 1513, the son of a merchant, spent some time in Venice in his youth where he had the opportunity to get acquainted with the various aspects of Levantine trade. For several years he was a partner in the company of "Antoni Haug, Langnauer und Linck". In 1562 he left the company, having previously founded his own company with his sons-in-law Philipp Welser and Carl Neidhart. He traded in metals (mercury, copper and tin) and was one of the creditors of the Crown of France. At Lyon he had an agent, Oswald Seng.

³ Idem., *Gens de mer nordiques dans la Méditerranée: le cas de Hambourg*, in: *Le genti del mare Mediterraneo*, a cura di Rosalba Ragosta, (Napoli, Lucio Pironti Editore), 1981, pp. 811-836.

⁴ JAKOB STRIEDER, MELCHIOR MANLICH, in: HEINZ FRIEDRICH DEINNINGER (ed.), *Das reiche Augsburg. Ausgewählte Aufsätze Jakob Strieders zur Augsburger und Süddeutschen Wirtschaftsgeschichte des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, (München, Duncker & Humblot), 1938, pp. 101-109; id., *Levantinische Handelsfahrten deutscher Kaufleute des 16. Jahrhunderts*, *ibid.*, pp. 167-189; ANDRÉ-E. SAYOUS, *Le commerce de Melchior Manlich et C^e d'Augsbourg à Marseille et dans toute la Méditerranée entre 1571 et 1574*, in: *Revue Historique* CLXXVI, 1935, pp. 389-411; FERNAND BRAUDEL, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*, (Paris 1949), pp. 228 et 433; RAYMOND COLLIER et JOSEPH BILLIQUOT, *Histoire du commerce de Marseille III, De 1480 à 1599*, (Paris 1951), pp. 210 s., 247 s.; HERMANN KELLENBENZ, *La banqueroute de Melchior Manlich en 1574 et ses repercussions en France*, in: *Villes, bonnes villes, cités et capitales. Mélanges offerts à Bernard Chevalier*, (Tours, Publications de l'Université de Tours), 1989, pp. 153-159.

When war began between Venice and Spain on the one hand and the Ottoman Empire on the other, the port of Marseilles was in a good position to favour those who had the intention of entering Levantine trade relations under the protection of France. In 1569 France obtained permission from Turkey to send ships of certain nations to the Levant under the French flag. Manlich sent his son Anton to Marseilles to manage the business there. He took possession of the house of the shipowner, Barthélemy Dupuy dit Servien. At the beginning of 1572 a ship was built in Toulon of which Manlich had 14 parts from 24 in all. Manlich and his company seem to have bought seven ships whereas others were chartered for carrying freight. With them he opened up commercial relations with as far away as Alexandria, Istanbul, Famagusta (Cyprus), Tripoli in Syria and Aleppo. At the same time he established contacts with Algier and Morocco, Cádiz and Lisbon, Le Havre, Rouen, Antwerp and London. He participated in the business of maritime loans and negotiated insurance contracts, especially in collaboration with David Dettigkhofer (or von Dettigkofen) from Memmingen and his company.

Anton Manlich developed a project which, if realized, would have directed a part of the trade from Istanbul to the Danube. The project found the assistance of two merchants from Marseilles, Niccolo Giustiniani and Claude Richelme. However before the Sultan's firman arrived in Marseilles, Anton Manlich died in May 1573. So Manlich sent his younger son, called Melchior like his father, to direct the business of the firm. In the middle of 1573 Hans Ulrich Krafft, the son of a patrician from Ulm, travelled to Marseilles in the service of Manlich with the intention of leaving with one of Manlich's ships for the Levant.

At that time Manlich's enterprise was still in full activity and Krafft knew about Manlich's seven ships. In July the Santa Cristina, which had left Tripoli in Syria on 25 April, arrived in the port of Marseilles with a good cargo of merchandise. Though the plague had ravaged Syria all of Manlich's servants were in good health and in company of several other ships, so the news left Tripoli that they would arrive any day.

Some days later they had news that the Falcon had safely arrived in Constantinople and the merchandise which the ship had on board had been sold profitably and other good and cheap freight had been taken on board. A third ship, built at Manlich's own expense and called the Griffon, had sailed to Lisbon shortly before Krafft arrived. From Lisbon the ship had sailed to Rouen and England. A fourth ship, La Siropa, which had also been built at Manlich's expense, sailed to Alexandria with a cargo of quicksilver and other merchandise and had, according to news from Venice, safely arrived in Egypt. A fifth ship, the bark St. Johann, had left Marseilles for Alexandria on 16 July, also bearing a considerable cargo. The news, spread by Italians, that the ship had been taken by pirates, proved to be a mystification, an outcome of competition.

The sixth ship, a small bark, called Santa Margareta, left Marseilles for

Cádiz at the beginning of August and arrived there safely. Meanwhile the seventh ship, the *Santa Croce*, took on freight during the month of August and was armed with 13 pieces of cannon on wheels.

It was intended that Dr. med. Leonhard Rauholf, a physician and botanist, should leave with this ship and take care of the agents of the company overseas, especially in Tripoli where a brother of Rauholf lived.

The documentation of the Augsburg notary Johannes Spreng which has been preserved in the archives of Augsburg shows that Manlich used a good deal of foreign capital for his enterprise. One of his most important contributors was the Memmingen merchant David Dettigkhofer and his company. Dettigkhofer speculated in sea-loans both for himself and for his company. As Jakob Strieder has shown, Dettigkhofer gave sea-loans for four of Manlich's ships in the years 1572 and 1574. These were the *Santa Magdalena* which went to Alexandria, the *St. Augustin* which went to Tripoli, the *Falcon* with the destination of "Konstantinopel" and the *St. Juan Bonaventura la Hulcka* which left Marseilles with "Ponente" as its destination. The whole sum invested amounted to about 6070 livres tournois. Strieder supposed that the *Santa Magdalena* had been chartered by Manlich. The *St. Augustin* seems to have been chartered, too, whereas the *Falcon* and the *St. Juan Bonaventura* were Manlich's property. Dettigkhofer did very good business because he gained not less than 30 and 26% for his investment.⁵

We know, too, the sums which were laid out by Dettigkhofer's company. For the autumn of 1572 the papers mention six ships, the *Santa Margareta* which left for Tripoli, the *Leon* which was going to Chios and Constantinople, the *Honorat* and the *Falcon* with the same destination, finally the *Santa Cristina* and the *Nodin* with the destination of Tripoli. The loans ranged from 480 to 5400 livres tournois. It is not sure if the *Santa Margareta* was the property of Manlich or if she had been chartered. The *Leon* was the property of Jehan Patte. The owner of the *Honorat*, called *Falcon*, was a Genoese Niccolò Justigniano (Giustiniani), ostensibly from a family which had old established relations with the island of Chios. The owner of the "*Nodin*" was a certain Flagioi, and the man who commanded the ship was Remond Tinard. The owner of the galleon *St. Trope* (Tropez) was Andre Martin, called Urteire. The *St. Trope* sailed to Chios and Istanbul in January 1573. The ship belonging to Jaume Ardisson called *St. Antonio* or le *Griffon* went west. She sailed together with the *Griffon* which Manlich owned himself. In the case of the *St. Antonio*, west meant the route to Cádiz, Lisbon, Rouen and England. We see (with this example) how Manlich tried to combine shipping within the Mediterranean with that on the Atlantic coast with the aim of widening

⁵ The investments of David Dettigkhofer or von Dettighofen cf. n. 4; RAIMUND EIRICH, *Memminges Wirtschaft und Patriziat von 1347 bis 1551*, Weissenhorn, A.H. KONRAD, 1971, pp. 224 s., does not produce new material.

⁶ Cf. Niccolò Giustiniani above.

the market for the goods he bought in the Levant and providing a rich cargo of merchandise, especially of manufactured goods, for the vessels that went to the Levant.

In April 1573 two other ships belonging to Manlich, *The Speranza* and the *Stella*, sailed to Tripoli in Syria. Meanwhile the *Nodin* had returned from Tripoli at the beginning of May 1573 after a voyage of about five months. *La Speranza* and *La Stella* returned in November of the same year. In October the *Santa Magdalena* returned from Alexandria. The profit made by the Dettigkhofer company was in two cases 30%, in two cases 32%. Contrary to these favourable investments the Dettigkhofer company suffered a heavy loss with the *Nostra Dama della Guardia*. The owners were Anthon Raynard, Estienne Paul, Melchior Ambert and Claude Morenus, all from Marseilles. The ship had left Marseilles towards the end of April 1573 with the "Cap de Galiet" in Barbaria as its destination. However the ship was stranded in the Straits of Gibraltar. Apparently the whole cargo was lost.

Meanwhile other ships sailed for the Dettigkhofer company. In July 1573 the *St. Augustin* left Marseilles for Tripoli in Syria and returned in December of the same year. A sea-loan was given by the company to the *Santa Croce*, a vessel we have already mentioned, which was owned by Manlich himself. It left Marseilles in August 1573 with Hans Ulrich Krafft on board. Four other ships left Marseilles in February 1574 and at the beginning of March: the *Falcon*, the *Santa Cristina*, the *St. Jan la Barcka* and the *St. Juan Bonaventura la Hulcka*. Dettigkhofer's company invested 21,000 livres in all and made a profit of 26% with two ships and 24% with the other two.

The *Santa Croce* with which Krafft had left the port of Marseilles for Tripoli in the month of August 1573 had more than 8,000 centners of "quincailles" on board. Quincailles were small articles of iron, lead, copper, tin and brass which were well known under the denomination of "Nürnbergger Kram". Most of the 48 passengers belonged to the crew. Besides Krafft and the physician and botanist Rauhwolff, two French merchants used the opportunity to travel to Tripoli on the same ship. Each of the passengers had to pay 10 crowns for a month's passage.

We mentioned that in 1569 France had obtained permission from Turkey to give her flag to other nations. In the capitulations invoking the French flag after 1581 the Genoese, English, Portuguese, Spaniards, Catalans, Sicilians, Anconitans and Ragusans are all mentioned. The Germans are missing in the list. We know that the vessels owned and chartered by Manlich made their voyages under the protection of the French flag, and in the Levant they used the help of the French consuls.

The most important places visited by Manlich's ships were Alexandria, Istanbul, Famagusta on Cyprus, Tripoli in Syria and Aleppo. Chios is men-

⁷ Town Archives Constance, H x 1314.

⁸ = La Siropa, see above.

tioned, too. One of the goods imported from Cyprus was cotton, which was important as a raw material for the Augsburg fustian industry. Tripoli was not so important as a market, but rather as a port for Aleppo in the hinterland which could be reached within about three days. Tripoli was able to maintain its position until about 1610, when it was replaced by Alexandrette (present-day Iskanderun). In Tripoli Manlich's representatives also received merchandise from Damas, especially big raisins called in German "Zibeben". In Manlich's factory they were prepared for shipment to Marseilles. Most of the merchandise imported into Tripoli by Manlich was transported to Aleppo by mule or camel, and there they were exchanged with products which were offered at that market. For that purpose Manlich's factors often made a trip to Aleppo. Moreover there was a resident representative of the firm. The most common articles sold there were cloth and wool, while Manlich's agents bought carpets, precious stones, pearls, spices from India and other oriental drugs, fine silk stuff, coloured cotton cloth and other articles which were interesting for the western buyer. The merchants the Germans traded with came from Armenian settlements, from Persia, Anatolia, Egypt, India and other countries. The description of the trade in precious stones at Aleppo is especially detailed.

When Krafft arrived in Tripoli, his most important task was to procure merchandise for the return freight. It was usual to warrant the credit of Manlich's company. Unfortunately Krafft had not considered the possibility of Manlich becoming bankrupt. It was in August 1574 when the Venetian merchants at Aleppo received the news via Candia that Manlich had become insolvent. Soon afterwards the news was confirmed by letters from Marseilles. The creditors urged the Turkish officials to put Krafft into prison, and all his property was taken away. It was three years before he was released. Thanks to Georg Bronnenmayer, Manlich's factor at Marseilles who secretly sent him money, Krafft was able to reach an accord with his creditors.

The concomitance of several unfortunate events explain how Manlich's bankruptcy had happened. In 1572 the company lost a shipment of pepper at Vlissingen to the value of 50,000 gulden. Another ship was lost in the Straits of Gibraltar, as we have already mentioned. In March 1573 Venice made peace with the Turks. The following month Anton Manlich died in Marseilles. In October Manlich the father still felt strong enough to offer the town of Marseilles a shipment of corn, and at the same time, Melchior Manlich the son farmed the "gabelle d'entrées du port" in Marseilles. Finally we should not forget the substantial loans given to the Crown of France.

On the XXIst of June 1574 Manlich found himself in a situation of illiquidity with a debt of about 700,000 gulden. He left Augsburg and placed himself under the protection of the Duke of Bavaria. Later he went to the Upper Palatinate where he died in the castle of Freudenberg which was owned by a friend.

The list of creditors and debtors shows in a very impressive way that se-

veral wealthy Augsburg citizens had given him their capital on deposit. Against his debts Manlich or rather his *curatores bonorum* set out the profits. These amounted to 817,000 Gulden, of which 383,000 Gulden — that is, more than half — derived from Levantine trade and transactions.

Georg Bronnenmayer in Marseilles had the task of rescuing as much as possible. Unfortunately the actual state of research does not give us clear details as to how much of the profits of Manlich's Levantine trade were rescued.⁹

One of the merchants of Marseilles with whom the Manlich firm collaborated at Tripoli, using his name there too, was François Guigillet who still ten years later protested against this kind of "supercherie." On 13 August 1585, an instrument of the Augsburg notary Johannes Spreng declares the ratification of an accord made "inter dictos curatores et Franciscum Guigillet Massiliae et Valentinum Holtzhaeuser Germanum mercatores Massiliae habitantes vigore instrumenti nona die mensis julij etc. 85 coram Petro Planckh notario regio Massiliensi de super confecti. "The same day, both of them, Holtzhaeuser and Guigillet, received the full power of the curatores.¹⁰

What became of the liquidation of Manlich's property we still do not know. In any case Manlich's name disappeared in the port of the Bouches du Rhône. However, as we shall see below, the name did not disappear from the Augsburg business world and remained connected with Levantine and Oriental trade.

It is interesting to see that besides Manlich's company other Augsburg merchants tried to use the favourable circumstances of Marseilles at the beginning of the seventies. Here we find Jeremy Hoechstetter from the famous family which had gone bankrupt in 1529, but which later regained its position in the Augsburg business world. We also find here Albert Baldinger as an agent of Herwart, at that time the representative of Hans Langnauer and Company and Raymond Hörmann, agent of David Haug. How far they were active in the trade with the Levant, is still to be clarified.¹¹

III

Another opportunity to establish contacts with the Levant was offered when the Welser company of Augsburg and a branch of the Fugger family, Philipp Eduard and his brother Octavian Secundus, participated in the Portu-

⁹ Cf. KELLENBENZ, *La banqueroute de Melchior Manlich* (as n. 4). Mrs Christina Dalhede who is working on the Spreng Papers in Göteborg was kind enough to put her findings concerning Manlich at my disposal.

¹⁰ Cf. n. 9. GUIGILLET: COLLIER/BILLIQUOD, *Histoire du commerce de Marseille* (as n. 4), pp. 211 and 247.

¹¹ COLLIER/BILLIQUOD, *Histoire du commerce de Marseille* (as n. 4), p. 248.

guese pepper trade in the eighties. A principal figure in "contractor-business" was the Milanese Giovanni Battista Rovelasca who collaborated with Geraldo Paris, a merchant from the region of Aachen. In February 1586 Paris stipulated a contract with King Philipp II of Spain, who at that time was in Valencia, in which he undertook the obligation to arm five ships yearly for the subsequent six years and to send them to India or Malacca, bringing back 30,000 quintals of pepper. The contract left open the possibility of other parties participating and in fact the Welser company, represented at that time by Marcus and his nephew Matthäus, took 5/12 parts of the contract. Soon afterwards the Fugger brothers, already mentioned, took another part, that is 3/12. As their representative in India they sent Ferdinand Cron, the son of a Augsburg Bürgermeister who took up his residence in Goa in 1587.¹² The principal agent of the Augsburg group at Lisbon was, until 1589, Hans Christoph Manlich. His brother was Marcus Manlich at Venice, the son of Anton Manlich. We suppose that he was the son of the Anton Manlich who had died in Marseilles in 1573. Marcus Manlich had a respectable position in the Fondaco dei Tedeschi; for some time he was German Consul there. He represented the Welser company and traded, among other things, with sugar and pepper which he received from Lisbon. Later he returned to Augsburg, but his family remained active in Venice. On 9 August 1601, Konrad (Corado) Manlich, son of the late Hans Manlich, together with Samuel Neuberger (Naipurgher), German merchants, on behalf of Christoph Helbrich (or Elbich), gave power of attorney to Zuane Degante in Candie to recover from Antonio de Anzoli an inhabitant of Canea, the supplement of 500 zecchins which Helbrich's company had sent him on 13 December of the previous year by the *marciliana* Rizzarda, master Zorzi Fuga. Unfortunately there is no other notarial instrument to complete the documentation and help us to reconstruct the nature of these relations between Venice and Candia involving a Manlich, who must have left Venice soon after, because the notary's papers of Brulez do not mention him any more. However a document of 30 August 1607 mentions a Juan Corado Manlich as brother-in-law to Christoffer Elbich, son of the late Mattia. On that day Elbich gives power of attorney to Henrico de Veidem, son of the late Henrico from Antwerp,¹³ on behalf of himself and the company of Elbich and Samuel Naibergher. Meanwhile Ferdinand Cron had established his position in Goa where he settled down. In 1592 he married Maria Leitão of a well-to-do Portuguese family

¹² HERMANN KELLENBENZ, *Der Pfeffermarkt um 1600 und die Hansestädte*, in: *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* 74, 1956, 28-49; REINHARD HILDEBRANDT, *Die "Georg Fuggerschen Erben". Kaufmännische Tätigkeit und sozialer Status 1555-1600* (Schriften zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte 6), (Berlin, Duncker & Humblot), 1966.

¹³ Cf. WILFRID BRULEZ, *Marchands flamands à Venise I (1568-1605)*, (Etudes d'Histoire Economique et Sociale publiées par l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome VI), (Bruxelles/Rome), 1965, index: Cron.

and was given citizenship of the town. He built up an enterprise of his own, keeping contact with markets as far away as Malacca and Macau. He combined trading in Oriental and European goods with banking and gave credit to the Vice-Roys. At the same time he maintained a news service corresponding with the Otti, one of the leading German houses in Venice, with the Welsers in Lyon and the Fuggers in Augsburg. Thus he could inform the Portuguese government in Goa about the activities of the Dutch who with the help of Jan Huyghen van Linschoten had discovered the Cape route to East India and tried to build up their own settlements there. A letter which left Augsburg in November 1597 reached him on 9 May 1598 on the route via Venice and Hormuz. The letters informed him that four Dutch ships had left for Malacca with the intention of discovering "el comercio del sur." Cron informed the Vice-Roy who sent a fleet against the Dutch in September. This information shows how useful the news service organized by Cron with the assistance of the Fuggers, Welsers (and other correspondents) was for the Portuguese government in India.¹⁴

As a consequence of the measures against the Dutch in Portugal's Indian dominions the government in Lisbon issued ordinances to prohibit any trade between the Portuguese merchants in India and foreigners, not only Dutch from the rebellious northern parts of the Netherlands, but French, Italians, Germans and Flemish who mostly came to India via Persian or Ottoman territory.

In connection with these measures against foreigners, Cron, though a citizen of Goa, was suspected of illegally collaborating with them. In fact Cron maintained correspondence with the important Flemish group of the Helmans (or Hellemans) represented in Venice by Carlo Helman. As already mentioned in my paper for the Congress in Munich in 1986, in September 1603 Carlo Helman and Domenico Pantaleo stipulated a contract for four years. Pantaleo was to travel to Hormuz or Goa with jewels which he was to sell there in exchange for other goods. The latter were to be sent back either via Hormuz and Aleppo (to Venice) or by carrack to Lisbon to the address of Sebastian Bader, a German correspondent of Cronys. If Pantaleo could not get permission to travel from Hormuz to Goa he was to send the jewels to Ferdinand Cron or, in his absence, to Sebastian Sumestre and in his absence to Jeronimo del Rio Ayala.

¹⁴ For this and the following cf. HERMANN KELLENBENZ, *Le front hispano-portugais contre l'expansion hollandaise dans l'Inde et le rôle d'une agence de renseignements au service de marchands allemands et flamands* (Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos), *Studia* 11, (Lisboa 1963), pp. 263-289.

¹⁵ *Idem.*, *Zur Geschichte der oberdeutschen und niederländischen Ostindienverbindungen auf dem Landweg um die Wende zum 17. Jahrhundert*, in: IV. Internationaler Kongress für türkische Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte (1071-1620), (München, 4. bis 8. August 1986) (in print).

This contract shows clearly that Cron was well known in the Venetian merchants' circle of the Helmans and that the Helmans had contacts with merchants in the rebellious Dutch provinces. Meanwhile Greta Devos and Wilfrid Brulez have published the second volume of documents taken from the notarial records at Venice. Thus it is possible to see how the contract between Carlo Helman and Domenico Pantaleo was executed. Pantaleo made the voyage from to 24 September 1603 to 4 July 1606. In Goa he left jewels in the hands of Cron to the value of 779 ducats. Meanwhile Helman had died and Gioan (Jan, Joannes) de Barlamont (Barleymont), commissary of the late Helman and tutor to his heirs, engaged Pantaleo for another trip to Hormuz or Goa. Pantaleo was to take jewels and (ostensibly) money with him, and on the way he was to receive more. If necessary he was to travel from Hormuz to Aleppo and immediately return to Hormuz, and he was to do this several times within the three years for which the contract was stipulated.¹⁶

If instructed by Barlamont, Pantaleo was to travel from Goa to Lisbon. During one year he received 1000 ducats beginning with his trip to Aleppo on the "*Reniera e Soderina*," master Zorzi Nefteri. He could travel in a caravan of merchants, in the company of cavaliers or in the company of important persons. He could take his salary in Goa or in Hormuz from the returns of the merchandise or from the money he had with him.

The same day Barlamont made a similar contract with Joannes Baptista 't Kint who was to recover all his debts, especially those with Jacobus Fava, in Isfahan in Persia, with Gasparus Balbi and his sons, with Joannes Baptista Garosi, Sebastianus Summestre, Hieronymus del Rio Ayala and Garcia de Mello in Goa and other places; such debts took the form of money, merchandise, jewels and pearls. If Cron died, 't Kint, could demand any debt from his heirs. However Cron himself was not obliged to give any account of the administration of Helman's goods except to Barlamont. 't Kint could order any kind of effects, merchandise, pearls and other things belonging to the house of the late Helman or his agents to be consigned to him in Goa, Hormur, Aleppo or any other place, whether by land or by sea.

In another notarial document of the same day 't Kint was obliged to travel to Goa via Aleppo, Faga (Baghdad?) and Hormuz and stay there during four years in order to fulfil the orders of the house of the late Carlo Helman. "Giovanni" de Barlamont promised him a yearly salary of 100 ducats plus a provision of 2% from all the merchandise and jewels he sold during his residence in Goa in company with Fernando Cron and 1% from all the

¹⁶ For this and the following see: GRETA DEVOS et WILFRID BRULEZ *Marchands flamands à Venise II (1606-1621)*, (Erudes d'Histoire Economique et Sociale, publiées par l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome IX), Bruxelles/Rome 1986, index: Cron.

Concerning the role of Aleppo in this period cf. S. FAROQHI, *The Venetian Presence in the Ottoman Empire*, in: *The Journal of European Economic History* 15, (Rome 1986), pp. 345-384.

purchases made there, beyond the provision given to Cron. Beyond that every year 't Kint could invest 2000 ducats from the merchandise or jewels of the house of the late Helman which had been sent to Venice in gold or effects. If Cron died 't Kint had the power of attorney to manage the business alone with a provision of 10%, 6% for the goods sold and 4% for the goods bought, without a salary, but with an allowance of 200 ducats every year for his costs.

If 't Kint could not get permission to travel to Goa from Hormuz as a consequence of the "placard" of the King of Spain (against foreigners), he was to send the merchandise to Cron who had to sell it and send the returns to the address of 't Kint in Hormuz, from where they were to be sent to Venice. During the time he stayed with Cron 't Kint was obliged to accept no engagements for third persons and was only to travel on behalf of the house of the late Helman. He was given travel costs for a servant. Every consignment of merchandise had to be accompanied by an account.

Giovanni Battista 't Kint made the trip according to the agreement and stayed in Goa. On 11 October 1607 "Zuanne" de Barlamont, acting as a commissary of the late Carlo Helman, gave power of attorney to Gilio (Gillis) Chint ('t Kint) to recover in Aleppo all money, jewels, pearls, spices, drugs and other products sent or to be sent by "Ferdinandus" Cron and Giovanni Battista 't Kint, brother of Gilio, especially from Francesco da Cà da Brazzo or other goods and money sent from East India to Aleppo or other places in Syria which had been consigned to Carlo Helman or in his name to Cà da Brazzo. A year later, Barlamont, again as a commissary of the late Carlo Helman, gave power of attorney to "Fernandus Chrom" in Goa to administer all the merchandise and all the effects of the house of the late Carlo Helman, to recover all debts in India, Persia, Syria and other countries of the Orient and to liquidate all the accounts. If Cron died, the power of attorney was to pass to Garcia de Melo and in the case of his death to "Hieronimo del Rio Aiala". The same day "Joannes" Baptista Quinte ('t Kint) received the same power of attorney for the same purpose, if Cron, de Melo or del Rio died.

This is the last reference to Ferdinand Cron in the publication of Devos/Brulez. However the business of the Flemish group with Cron went on. This is proved by a document of the Antwerp notary Gillis van den Bessche. It contains the copy of a letter written by Cron and Remond de Monte in Goa on 27 December 1612 concerning the shipment of four "fardos" and one case of Indian linen. These ought to have been sent earlier with the ship *Nossa Senhora do Carmo*, but the ship already had a full cargo, so the merchandise followed now with the *Nossa Senhora do Cabo*. The freight was addressed to Giovanni Battista Quinto in Lisbon and in his absence to Fernando Helman. Quinto was the same as the Flemish 't Kint. When in 1614 the carrack *Nossa Senhora do Cabo* arrived in Lisbon, 't Kint had meanwhile left the Portuguese capital and the firm was represented there by Pieter, Fernando Hel-

man's son. Pieter informed his father in Antwerp of the arrival in a letter written on 16 September 1614.¹⁷

A notarial document written in Antwerp in 1613 shows that Jan van Berlaymont (this was his Flemish name) had returned to Antwerp and together with Fernando Helman took account of the activity of 't Kint during the four years he had stayed in Goa. The document shows that Fernando Helman had inherited the firm of his late brother in law Carlo Helman and was now the actual owner of the enterprise.¹⁸

If there were further contacts between Cron and the Antwerp house and its agency and how such contacts were maintained in Venice we still do not know. Cron had a bad future before him. In 1619 he and one of his sons-in-law were cited in a law-suit. They were accused of having maintained contacts with the Dutch. How this story went on has already been described and has not to be repeated here.¹⁹ However another point must be stressed in this context. Until recent years, those doing research on trade relations between Europe and India concentrated their work on the trade in pepper and other spices and drugs. The trade in precious stones and pearls remained in the background. The reason is understandable. It was much more difficult to find sufficient source material on the trade in diamonds, sapphires or pearls. These were too often smuggled and so could be hidden from the control of the customs officials. Yet the trade in precious stones and pearls from India or Hormuz via Aleppo and Venice continued to be important and to rival the trade in these articles which was carried on by way of the Cape route.²⁰

¹⁷ KELLENBENZ, *Le front hispano-portugais* (as n. 14), pp. 287-289.

¹⁸ ROLAND BAETENS, *De Nazomer van Antwerpens Welvaart. De diaspora en het handelshuis De Grootte tijdens de eerste helft der 17^{de} eeuw*, I, Gemeentekrediet van België, Historische Uitgaven Pro Civitate, reeks in 8° n. 45, 1976, pp. 181.

¹⁹ Cf. KELLENBENZ, FERDINAND CRON (as n. 14), and C.R. BOXER, *Uma raridade bibliográfica sobre Fernão Cron*, in: *Boletim Internacional de Bibliografia Luso-Brasileira XII*, Lisboa, Fundação Caluste Gulbenkian, 1971, pp. 321-364.

²⁰ Concerning new research on the trade in precious stones and pearls cf. C.R. DE SILVA, *Peddling Trade, Elephants and Gems: Some Aspects of Sri Lanka's Trading Connections in the Indian Ocean in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries*, in: Eleventh IAHA Conference, International Association of Historians of Asia, Colombo, 1-5 August 1988, Session V A; G.D. WINIUS, *JEWEL TRADING IN PORTUGUESE INDIA IN THE XVIITH AND XVIIITH CENTURIES*, in: *INDICA* 25 n° 1, MARCH 1988, pp. 15-34; T.R. DE SOUZA, *Embassies and Surrogates. Case study of the Malacca Embassy in Siam in 1595*, *ibid.*, 26, n° 1 & 2, March/September 1989, pp. 39-55; EDDY STOLS and J. VERBROECK, *Aziatische Omswerwing*, Leuven 1989; H. KELLENBENZ, *Masse und Gewichte im Juwelen- und Perlengeschäft der frühen Neuzeit*. Paper presented to the V^{ème} Congrès International de Métrologie historique, Linz, 29. Sept./2. Oct. 1989 (in print).