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**LCA: Die Edition der ‚Particulars of Account‘
der Londoner Zollakten in ihrem Wert für die
Hanse- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte**

**von Albrecht Cordes, Angela Huang
und Christina Link**

c a l l i d u s .

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LCA: Die Edition der ‚Particulars of Account‘ der Londoner Zollakten in ihrem Wert für die Hanse- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte

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Die Geschichte der Hanse wurde und wird anhand einer großen Bandbreite verschiedener Quellen geschrieben. Die Hansischen Geschichtsblätter versuchen nicht zuletzt, neben der geographischen und chronologischen Weite auch die des historischen und archäologischen Materials und die verschiedenen Fächer und Methoden abzubilden. Unbestritten sind die Wirtschaftsgeschichte und vor allem die großen Warenströme im hansischen Wirtschaftsgebiet zentrale Themen hansischer Geschichte. Die hansische Tagfahrt und die daraus hervorgehenden Rezesse befassen sich durchgehend auch und vor allem mit den Angelegenheiten der Höfe bzw. Kontore des Deutschen Kaufmanns in London, Brügge, Bergen und Nowgorod.

Nicht alle Tage wird zu übergeordneten hansischen und wirtschaftshistorischen Fragen eine umfangreiche neue Quellenedition vorgelegt. Insbesondere Editionen serieller Rechnungs- und Zollquellen sind im Vergleich zu den bekannten alten Editionen von Verwaltungs- und Abrechnungsschriftgut in nur geringem Umfang überliefert und werden wenn überhaupt oftmals nur in Teilen ediert. Wie bereits die breite Nutzung der online veröffentlichten Sundzollverzeichnisse (1497–1857)¹ zeigt, wird eine solche Erschließungsarbeit von den Kolleginnen und Kollegen mit Freude begrüßt und mit intensiver Nutzung gewürdigt.

Deshalb ist es dem Hansischen Geschichtsverein eine besondere Freude, in diesem Jahr Stuart Jenks' Edition der ‚Particulars of Account‘ der London Customs Accounts in der Reihe der Quellen und Darstellungen zur hansischen Geschichte herausgegeben zu haben. Die insgesamt ungefähr 45 Bände starke Editionsreihe in vier nach den Königshäusern Plantagenet, Lancaster, York und Tudor benannten Serien dokumentiert den englischen Überseehandel von ca. 1280 bis 1550. Allein der einleitende Band (Series II

¹ <http://www.soundtoll.nl/index.php/en/over-het-project/sonttol-registers>, letzter Zugriff am 5. Dezember 2018.

[Lancaster], Part 9) wird auch im Druck erscheinen,² doch alle Bände werden der Forschung durch den Herausgeber und den Hansischen Geschichtsverein online frei zugänglich zur Verfügung gestellt.³

Die Londoner Zollakten bieten eine besonders dichte und detaillierte Überlieferung des seegehenden Warenverkehrs für den Londoner Hafen, der im 15. Jahrhundert der mit Abstand wichtigste englische Hafen werden sollte. Weitere Editionen zu englischen Häfen liegen vor,⁴ sind aber mit der Londoner Überlieferung, die bisher nur für das Rechnungsjahr 1480/81 aufgearbeitet wurde,⁵ nicht zu vergleichen. Der Wert, den diese detaillierten Londoner Zollakten, die Aufschluss geben über einzelne Schiffsladungen und Kaufleute, für die hansische Geschichtsforschung haben, muss kaum herausgestellt werden. Neben der Erforschung etwa des Textilexports von Hansestädten und seiner Bedeutung im Londonhandel, die bereits Jenks' Vorarbeiten zur Edition nutzen konnte,⁶ und weiteren Arbeiten zu Warenströmen wird die Edition der Londoner Zollakten in Zukunft auch neue Forschungen zu verschiedenen Kaufleutegruppen und Handelsgesellschaften im englischen Handel erlauben.

An dieser Stelle sollen die Bände selbst nicht en Detail vorgestellt werden. Dazu steht dem interessierten Publikum die Open Access-Edition jederzeit kostenlos zur Verfügung. Mit drei Stimmen aus der deutschen wie internationalen und englischen hanse- und wirtschaftshistorischen Forschung möchten wir jedoch einen Eindruck davon vermitteln, was für ein immenses Potential die Londoner Zollakten haben – und hoffen, damit zur breiten Nutzung der London Customs Accounts anzuregen.

1 Margaret Condon (University of Bristol)

Professor Jenks's work on the London Customs is a staggering achievement. For both Professor Jenks, and for the Hansischen Geschichtsverein, it is also a gesture of extraordinary altruism. In addition to one volume published in printed format (but also made available online as a pdf), the extant customs accounts for London from c. 1390 to the end of the archival series in the mid-sixteenth century are being digitally published in full transcript and on open access on the Association's website, www.hansischergeschichtsverein.de.

² Quellen und Darstellungen zur hansischen Geschichte, Band 74.

³ <https://www.hansischergeschichtsverein.de/london-customs-accounts>, letzter Zugriff am 5. Dezember 2018.

⁴ Carus-Wilson 1937; Childs 1986; Owen 1984; Rigby 2005; Wade 1995; Wilson 1969.

⁵ Cobb 1990, s. auch <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/london-record-soc/vol27>, letzter Zugriff am 5. Dezember 2018.

⁶ Etwa Huang 2015.

Following a recent revision of the website’s navigation, they are easily found as a subheading under the ‘Recherche’ tab. Twenty-three volumes have been posted to date (December 2018), covering a very much larger number of accounts prior to 1510. London was unique among the ports of medieval England. The largest and, in terms of royal revenues, most lucrative port in the kingdom, it was the only port in which each of the three main levies: on wool and hides; petty custom; and tonnage and poundage, the pro valorem tax on non-staple goods and wine, were collected and accounted for by separately appointed pairs of customers, each with a different controller keeping his separate roll as a countercheck.

The printed volume is no ordinary work. An extended introduction and appendices discuss both the nature of customs accounts and also the Exchequer’s processes of account and revenue collection. They form a major essay in their own right, running far beyond both the *English Government at Work*, now over eighty years old, or the elegant essay by Harry Cobb, prefacing an edition of the London customs accounts of 1480–1 that builds on the earlier work.⁷ Jenks’s essay has relevance far beyond customs accounts, and should be essential reading for anyone interested in the mechanisms of central government finance as practised in the English Exchequer. It is illustrated by examples in both full transcript and English abstract. Jenks modestly and drily remarks that, to the best of his knowledge, no-one has undertaken an empirical study of the accounting system used in the Exchequer in the later middle ages, although he notes with approval Roger Schofield’s work, based on his doctoral thesis, on early Tudor subsidy records.⁸ There is good reason for the long silence. For example, accounting, detailed local investigation, and final discharge of outstanding debt on one of the accounts cited by Jenks took the Exchequer some thirteen years to bring to completion (pp. lvii–lviii, an account for Kings Lynn). The historian seeking to follow these processes for any similar account must use both high-level documents such as the king’s remembrancer’s memoranda rolls (E159) and the engrossed audited accounts (E356); the documents produced by the customers themselves (E122), that is, particulars of account, drawn up in roll form in London but in ledgers elsewhere, and any subsidiary documents – the latter as rare as hens’ teeth in terms of survival, but including writs, receipts, and the paper slips from which the particulars were compiled; bundles of writs sent out by the Exchequer

⁷ Morris/Strayer/Dunham 1940–50, esp. Mabel Mills, ‘The Collectors of Customs’, ii, pp. 168–200; Cobb 1990, more recently digitised as *The Overseas Trade of London: Exchequer Customs Accounts, 1480–1*, ed. H S Cobb (London, 1990), British History Online <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/london-record-soc/vol27>, last accessed on 10.12.18.

⁸ Schofield 2004.

in vast bulk in each of the four terms of the legal year, (E202); subsidiary documentation produced in the king's remembrancer's office as part of the accounting process (E122, E207, E101 etc.); and auditors' comments scribbled on the customs particulars and meticulously noticed by Jenks in compiling his edition. Records of the Exchequer of Receipt (E401, E403) have also been used to elucidate the mechanisms by which the Crown authorised third party payments drawn on customs revenues. Such warrants are then traced through to both payment and audit. This is not antiquarianism. The customs revenues were a major source underpinning Crown finance, including the costs of the household, the defences of Calais and the Marches, repayments of debts, and a host of fees and annuities, as well as one-off payments. Effective payment at times acquires a political dimension: and what Professor Jenks has in practice done is to provide a transferable toolkit for interpreting some of the core financial documents of the medieval state. This conversation is continued in the rather shorter introductions to other volumes in the series. For example, Jenks's introduction to the accounts for 1461–1465 follows the auditing process through some apparent anomalies whose effect was to make customs revenues directly available for use in Calais; or to secure repayment of debts owed by the Crown, including loans. This last, although it would require further investigation, may also be the reason why a group of Italian merchants exported wool in the king's name. Cora Scofield long ago drew attention to Edward IV's forays into the wool market; with Professor Jenks' text so readily available, this under-explored aspect of the reign may now much more readily be explored.⁹

The physical labour undertaken by Professor Jenks should not be underestimated. Memoranda Rolls are around four feet when extended; and although now more accessible through the digitised images of the Anglo-American Legal Tradition project¹⁰ they are no easier to use. Enrolled accounts are even larger – well over two metres when extended, with the parchment of one late roll comprised of the skins of perhaps two hundred sheep. Customs particulars are often in poor condition, damaged by historic damp, rodents, and neglect, and frequently require the application of ultra violet light before their content becomes fully legible. This structural instability means that the long run of texts scrupulously produced in Jenks' edition is also a conservation measure. For the past century scholars have given increasing attention to the customs accounts. Already fragile, they continue to deteriorate with extended use.

⁹ Scofield 1923, S. 404–428.

¹⁰ <http://aalt.law.uh.edu/>, last accessed on 10.12.18.

Most users of the texts will, of course, concentrate on the raw data of the customs accounts. The edition of the 1445–6 accounts, the only one to appear in the dual format of a printed book and an online edition, is in practice in the minority among London accounts in including ships names and home port, whereas in Bristol in the same period, and in some other ports, the particulars record ships names, home port, and destination/port or place of departure, depending on the direction of travel. Masters names are always recorded: the ‘skipper’ of the index is something of an anachronism as a job description. The omission of ships names in many later accounts does make it more difficult to distinguish between Portuguese and Castilian vessels, and between those of Brittany and northern France, but that is not an issue restricted to London accounts. Crumbs from the economic historian’s table still constitute a feast for the student of the medieval marine. London’s trade was highly diverse, including small haberdashery, hardware, and paper goods, individually recorded in a strangled mix of Latin, English, and manufactured linguistic hybrid, all faithfully reproduced in these editions. Harry Cobb’s glossary-cum-index, included in his edition of the 1480–1 accounts, has long been my constant companion when working on customs accounts. It is now vastly supplemented, and at times corrected, by the similar glossary/indexes in Jenks’s editions. Although the student without Latin may find impenetrable some of the long transcripts from administrative documents, despite Professor Jenks’s frequently supplied and useful English precis, the formulaic nature of the customs entries presents fewer problems. Each merchant is named and identified as denizen, alien, or Hansard – the latter important in the accounting process, as well as economically, because the Hansards enjoyed highly favourable customs privileges, as well as being major traders in the port. The merchants’ goods are listed under each ship, sometimes in more than one entry, and each entry valued. If the particulars are those of the customer, then the amount of custom/subsidy due is also listed. The controllers’ particulars omit the excise payment. Since all this material is indexed, it is also possible to search for specific commodities – something this author has done laboriously direct from the manuscripts for the book trade, and with considerable gratitude direct from Professor Jenks’s editions for the alum trade. That the London customers had an irritating habit of aggregating in a single entry small items of haberdashery and hardware, giving the whole a single value, is a hazard of the accounts, although the large amount of data now presented may go some way to disentangling some of the inventory.

Historians of the later middle ages have long been short-changed on reliable texts for teaching palaeography. Professor Jenks’s numerous transcripts from the Memoranda Rolls, admittedly only one archival source written throughout

in a formal Exchequer hand, are thus greatly to be welcomed, since they can be used in conjunction with the open access images on AALT (Anglo-American Legal Tradition) homepage. The student new to customs accounts might be advised to begin by working through a portion of the 1480/1481 accounts, moving between Professor Jenks's full text and the calendar for the same year edited by Harry Cobb – but first having read and taken note of Professor Jenks amendments to and strictures on Cobb's text. No text comes near to the attention to detail given by Professor Jenks, and sadly it shows up some of the deficiencies of editions of accounts of another major port, Southampton, with the honourable exception of an earlier publication edited by Alwyn Ruddock and David Quinn.¹¹ Bristol's port is relatively well served with an edition of selected accounts, in calendar format, by Eleanor Carus-Wilson, who, as Professor Jenks notes, was a pioneer who did much to encourage the use of customs accounts as a source. In slightly adjusted but still calendared format Carus-Wilson's work was continued into the sixteenth century by Dr Evan Jones and Dr Susan Flavin. There are further Bristol accounts to come for the period 1461–c. 1495, including some newly identified accounts, but only two so far have found their way into the public domain.¹² In London, other than the staple trade to Calais, foreign merchants predominate. In Bristol the largest trading group were denizens, even if Iberian trade was an important feature of the port. Hanseatic trade through Bristol, in contrast to London, was vestigial. Professor Jenks's own introduction to 1445/6 includes a brief bibliography of trading interests by nationality. There is room for more.

In short, Professor Jenks's contribution through these volumes to English administrative and economic history and Anglo-European trade is immense. European colleagues with whom I have shared the url have been excited by the veritable data feast. It behoves me to conclude by offering my thanks both to Professor Jenks, and to the Hansischer Geschichtsverein, for bringing this magnificent and long-running project to fruition.

¹¹ James 1990; Quinn/Ruddock 1937–1938.

¹² Carus-Wilson 1937, PDF online at <https://www.bristol.ac.uk/Depts/History/bristolrecord-society/publications.htm>; Flavin/Jones 2009, raw data in excel spreadsheet form for this volume, and customs accounts for 1465–6, available via <https://research-information.bris.ac.uk/>. See also Professor Jenks's calendars of the enrolled customs accounts (E356) published by the List and Index Society.

2 Detlev Ellmers

Die von Stuart Jenks herausgegebenen London Customs Accounts (1445/46) sind durch mehrere Indices so gut erschlossen, dass man selbst Stecknadeln im Heuhaufen findet.¹³ Solche Stecknadeln sind die Koggeborde, die der Londoner Schiffer Alexander Stone 1445 auf seinem Schiff mitbrachte.¹⁴ Alexander Stone lief am 1. April 1446 mit dem Schiff *Margareta de London* von London im Pendelverkehr des Wollhandels nach Flandern aus. Vorher und nachher führten andere Schiffer dieses Schiff, das mindestens vier Fahrten im Jahr auf dieser kurzen Küstenroute machte.¹⁵ Diese *Margareta* kann also nicht das Schiff gewesen sein, mit dem Stone vor dem 30. September 1445 u. a. Koggeborde aus dem Ostseeraum importiert hatte. Auf diesem anderen Schiff hatte er die Waren von nicht weniger als 26 Kaufleuten nach London mitgebracht. Von diesen Kaufleuten sind neun als Engländer ausgewiesen und einer als Fremder, bei den übrigen Kaufleuten lassen die meisten Namen auch auf Engländer schließen. Die mit Zoll belegten Waren umfassten typische Exporte des Ostseeraumes, nämlich Wachs, *osmond* (Eisen aus Schweden) und anderes Eisen, Teer, Leinen, Asche und verschiedene Holzsorten, für die insgesamt der hohe Zoll von £12, 10s und 4d erhoben wurde.

Für diese Ostseefahrt hatte Stone demnach ein besonders großes Schiff übernommen – das war 1445 ein Holk, das damals größte Handelsschiff.¹⁶ In diesem Holk hatte der englische Kaufmann Simond Horne 30 *cogbordys* und 60 *delys* importiert und dazu 1 *lasto et 900 clapholt* sowie jeweils größere Mengen von Leinen, *osmond*, Asche und Wachs, wofür er insgesamt 44s Zoll zahlen musste. Auch der englische Kaufmann Johanne Brampton importierte in demselben Holk 25 *cogbord* und 1 *scok delys* (= 60) sowie größere Mengen von Leinen, *osmound*, anderem Eisen und Asche, wofür er insgesamt 31s und 6d zahlte.

Die Koggeborde waren eine seit 1292 schriftlich belegte Warenbezeichnung des Hansehandels. Unter Dielen (*delys*) wurden verschiedene dickere Hölzer zusammengefasst, u. a. auch Bodendielen. Die zusammen mit den Koggeborden genannten *delys* waren die Bodendielen eines Schiffes, in dem die Koggeborde die Seitenplanken bildeten. Auch bei der Bremer Kogge von 1380 waren die Bodendielen etwas dicker und viel schmaler (im Schnitt 5,3 cm dick und zwischen 45 und 49,5 cm breit) als die Koggeborde, die 5 cm dick und bis zu 65 cm breit waren.¹⁷ Bei der Bremer Kogge bildeten 24 Bo-

¹³ Jenks 2018.

¹⁴ Jenks 2018, S. 236.

¹⁵ Jenks 2018, S. 6, 16, 21, 84.

¹⁶ Ellmers 2014.

¹⁷ Ellmers 2018, S. 331.

dendielen und 48 Koggeborde die Außenhaut. Für den in England geplanten Schiffsneubau wurden 55 Koggeborde und 120 Bodendielen importiert. Aus der hohen Zahl der Bodendielen könnte man ableiten, dass der Neubau von zwei Schiffen geplant war. Doch die insgesamt nur 55 Koggeborde reichten nicht für die Beplankung der Seiten zweier Schiffe aus. In England war 1445 der Neubau einer Kogge nicht mehr gefragt; dort wurde der Holk als größtes Handelsschiff schon seit mehreren Jahrhunderten gebaut. Beim Holk sind die Bodendielen noch schmaler als bei der Kogge, sodass die hohe Zahl von 120 Bodendielen als typisch für einen besonders großen Holk gewertet werden muss.¹⁸ Da der Holk genauso wie die Kogge in Klinkertechnik gebaut wurde, brauchte man als Seitenplanken auch die gleichen breiten Planken wie bei der Kogge, sodass dafür deren Bezeichnung Koggeborde beibehalten wurde.

Auch die meisten anderen Bauteile für diesen großen Holk waren auf dem Schiff von Alexander Stone mitgebracht worden. Das Eisen für die Anker und für die Nieten in den Klinkernähten der englischen Holks sowie das Leinen für das große Rahsegel finden sich in den Warensendungen der beiden Kaufleute Simond Horne und Johanne Brampton, die auch die Koggeborde mitbrachten. Das *clapholt*, das der Kaufmann Simond Horne zusammen mit den Koggeborde und Dielen importierte, wird an anderer Stelle in den Londoner Accounts *clapboard* genannt.¹⁹ Deshalb sind es auch Schiffsplanken, die sich aber von den *cogbordys* und *delys* unterscheiden. Es sind die im anglo-skandinavischen Schiffbau benötigten schmalen und sehr dünnen Planken, die im Hansehandel seit 1292 ebenfalls zusammen mit Koggeborde und Dielen als *knarholt* überliefert sind.²⁰ In England wurde die hansische Bezeichnung *knarholt* nicht übernommen, weil man aus der eigenen Schiffbautradition dafür die Bezeichnungen *klapholt* und *clapboard* hatte. Für alle drei von Simond Horne importierten Schiffbauhölzer und die von ihm mitgebrachte Asche war die Stadtwiese von Danzig im 15. Jahrhundert der zentrale Holzmarkt des Deutschen Ordens,²¹ sodass er diese Waren auch dort geordert haben wird. Aus dem *knarholt* bzw. *clapholt* wurden u. a. die Beiboote des Holks angefertigt. Die Rundhölzer für Mast, Rah und Bugsprit werden in dem Zollverzeichnis des Holk von Alexander Stone nicht erwähnt, waren aber nicht zollfrei,²² sondern mussten vom englischen Schiffbauer aus anderen Quellen besorgt werden. Schließlich wurde noch Teer für den Außenanstrich des fertig gestellten Schiffskörpers benötigt, den die Kaufleute Thoma Bradschawe und Willelmo Salman ebenfalls in Stone's

¹⁸ Ellmers 2018.

¹⁹ Jenks 2018, S. 371.

²⁰ Ellmers 2014, S. 334.

²¹ Ellmers 2014, S. 335.

²² Jenks 2018, S. 92 für 4 *parvis mastes* wurde Zoll erhoben.

Holk aus dem Ostseeraum importierten. Zusammenfassend ist festzuhalten, dass 1445 für den Bau eines Holk in England (wahrscheinlich in London) die meisten Schiffbauteile aus dem Ostseeraum importiert wurden.

3 Alexandra Sapoznik (King's College London)

The English were the account-producers par excellence of the middle ages. Intent on capitalizing on all potential areas of revenue, an astounding array of financial records were produced by lords of all strata – not least the Crown itself, which created enormous series of accounts detailing the wide variety of sources of income to which it had access. Of course, the English were not alone in this pursuit of profit, and throughout Europe similar records abounded. Vagaries of time, centuries of conflict, disaster and discontinuity have meant that the English accounts are among the most complete surviving records from northern Europe. They provide us with a glimpse of a medieval administrative structure at its height, increasingly centralized, fixated on detail. It is in this context that the English customs accounts were created, and why they are such important documents not only for a study of England's international trade, but for European trade more generally.

Stuart Jenks has done a tremendous service to the discipline by transcribing and editing the London customs accounts from 1400/1 to 1509/10 in 45 parts for the Hansischen Geschichtsverein. This new series complements the enrolled customs accounts from 1279/80–1523/4, which Jenks had already edited for the List and Index Society. If, as Jenks wryly notes in the introduction to the documents, the customs accounts are “among the most spectacularly dull administrative documents the English monarchy produced in the middle ages”, one can only imagine how stultifying the task of editing them was. Yet how useful they are, accounting ship-by-ship for merchandise coming into England's largest and most important port. The seemingly straightforward nature of the accounts – essentially lists of goods, their values and consequent taxation – belies the complicated system of customs and subsidies from which the documents arose. The edited accounts include three categories of taxation: the wool customs and subsidy, tonnage and poundage and petty customs. In requiring Parliament's consent, subsidies, such as those on wool and tonnage and poundage, were often used as a tool of domestic and international politics. Although these were usually collected from alien merchants, denizens too were periodically liable (for example they paid tonnage and poundage, the taxation on goods measured by weight, between 1425 and 1427). The controlment accounts are also included in these edited volumes. These recorded the ships, their merchandise and its value, but without the taxation, so that the controller could check the work of the customers and ensure that all of the

goods moving through the port were properly accounted for – further insight into the obsessive fiscal policies of the Crown.

It is useful that Jenks includes specific information for the years covered in the introduction to each volume, for mistakes are easily made in determining who was paying what and when. The petty customs, agreed in 1303 between Edward I and alien merchants in exchange for the privileges outlined in the *Carta Mercatoria*, are rather more straightforward, and, in being outside the control of Parliament were a type of standing taxation.

To take an example of how the customs accounts may be used, particularly with reference to the Hanse, one may take the trade in wax revealed by the customs accounts. The total amount of wax imported by aliens into the numerous English ports is already to be found in the enrolled customs accounts. These show that, particularly from the fifteenth century, London was the preeminent port into which wax was imported. Thus it is particularly useful to have the records of the individual ships and merchants, along with the other goods which they were carrying. A further good fortune is that, because wax was taxed at a rate of 12d per hundredweight, the weights of the various pieces, balls, and other odd sizes are given in the accounts. From this, for example, we can see that on 19 December 1420 Albrecht Lyghtbeker imported five barrels of salmon, one last of linen yarn, one last of ashes, and 1½ lasts of osmund all of which was valued at £12 13s 4d, plus two pieces of wax weighing 7¾ quintals on the ship of Johann Prange. One can also see that Albrecht Lyghtbeker then imported two more pieces of wax weighing 7¾ quintals on 30 December of that year, in addition to a last of melted blubber (*smolt*), two barrels of salmon, four barrels, and three *meis* of red copper. On 7 May 1421 he imported 103 bundles of iron, 50 *meis* and seven barrels of red copper, two lasts of osmund, two barrels of linen yarn, tar, a fardel of canvas and one apparently very large piece of wax weighing 13¾ quintals. One can see how quickly a picture of the movement of goods builds, and the opportunities for creating time series of data for various commodities and people.²³ This is further helped by an index of people and places which lists all variant spellings, as well as a subject index with English translations of the commodities.

It should be noted that, despite their now easy to access form, certain difficulties and frustrations with the accounts themselves remain. The names

²³ Such information will be invaluable for the project 'Bees in the Medieval World: Economic, Environmental and Cultural Perspectives' (Leverhulme RPG-2018-080), in which we seek to explore the role of the production, trade and consumption of bee products within the medieval economy. The international trade in wax, which was meant largely for candles for Christian devotion, will be particularly examined to understand the impact of religious consumption within the medieval economy.

of ships and the ports from which they came were not recorded, so the volume of trade into London from different ports cannot be calculated, nor can ships' movements be traced. The matter of the hundredweight remains problematic in the edited customs accounts, and some caution must be used in the pound weights given, where C has been written as 100 and its multiples. The difficulties of efficiently and effectively transcribing such an enormous volume of material while dealing with the idiosyncrasies of medieval counting are clearly discussed in the introductions to the volumes.

These volumes make available for the first time in full the customs records for one of the great ports of medieval Europe. The significant presence of Hanseatic merchants throughout the accounts demonstrates how firmly embedded in the trading networks of the north London was, and the material here will allow for significant further analysis of late medieval trade with the Hanse and beyond.

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