TRADE FAIRS AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON TEXTILES IN CENTRAL EUROPE

10th THROUGH 15th CENTURIES

by

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APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis has been approved by the following committee of the Faculty of the Graduate School at the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, Greensboro, North Carolina.

Thesis Director

Oral Examination
Committee Members

Date of Examination

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Finally, the writer happily acknowledges her husband for deep understanding throughout the writing of the thesis.

M. M. F.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This is a study of trade fairs and their influence on textiles in Central Europe, to include Italy, France, Flanders and England, from the tenth through the fifteenth centuries.

> The tenth century marks the beginning of a long period of almost unbroken economic expansion of the Mediterranean peoples, an expansion of production and consumption in the home market, of overseas trade to the commercially advanced regions, of land commerce over formerly stagnant areas. . . . The Commercial Revolution caused tremendous changes in the political, social, religious, and artistic life of Europe and was, in turn, stimulated and influenced by these changes.[1]

The aim of this study is to show the development of fairs as a part of the economic growth of the period, and the kind and increased availability of textiles at the fairs. The changing character of the fairs and the exchange of national or regional design characteristics of the textiles will be considered as they become evident.

"The signification of the word Fair (French foire) is in the Latin forum a market-place, or feriae holidays."[2] Though the origin of fairs is involved in much obscurity, it is believed that they were associated with religious observances. "The first fairs were formed by the gathering of worshippers and pilgrims about sacred places, and

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[1]Robert S. Lopez and Irving W. Raymond, Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955), p. 50.

[2]Cornelius Walford, Fairs, Past and Present (London: Elliot Stock, 1883), p. 2.

especially within or about the walls of abbeys and cathedrals, on the Feast days of the Saints enshrined therin."[3]

Historians do not agree as to whether markets and fairs had the same origin. There are, however, distinct differences between the two.

> . . . As a rule, fairs are held only once, or at most on but few occasions, during the year, whereas markets are held once, if not on several days, in each week, or at any rate at short intervals measured by weeks. . . . If there be any other distinction, it is that the market is given over entirely to business, while amusements have a recognised place in the fair.[4]

The background material for this study dates from the fifth century, since "it is towards the close of the fifth century of the Christian era that we first find any authentic account of fairs specially designed as marts for commerce."[5]

Walford states that the materials for such an historical study are reasonably abundant upon diligent search. In the preface of his book, Fairs, Past and Present, he adds that "they do not lie upon the surface."[6] It is hoped that the findings from this research will be helpful to students of textiles and history alike.

Definition of Terms

Webster's New International Dictionary, second edition, unabridged, defines fairs as "a gathering of buyers and sellers at a

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[3] Ibid., p. 1.

[4] J. G. Pease and Herbert Chitty, A Treatise on the Law of Markets and Fairs (London: Knight and Co., 1899), p. 1.

[5] Walford, op. cit., pp. 6-7.

[6] Ibid., p. v.

particular place with their merchandise at a stated season, or by appointment, for trade." It is believed tnat this correctly interprets fairs as used in this study. Variations in activities at the fairs and in kinds of fairs will be cited in the presentation of data. Markets are defined in the same Webster's dictionary as "a meeting together of people, at a stated time and place, for the purpose of traffic by private purchase and sale, and, usually, not by auction; also, the people assembled at such a meeting; as a market is held in the town every week." Professor Henri Pirenne points out that "between the fair and the local market the contrast was not simply a difference in size, but a difference in kind."[7] This differentiation is applicable to this study. A market supplied provisions necessary for daily life to the population settled in a district. The fairs set out to attract the greatest possible number of people and of goods, independent of all local considerations.

Textiles, according to the Webster's New International Dictionary, are "that which is, or may be, woven; a woven fabric or a material for weaving." Textiles in this study are interpreted to include fibers or fabrics traded at the fairs. Varied terms are used by historians to refer to these fibers or fabrics. Included in these terms are cloth, English cloth, cloths from East and West, cloth of Flanders, linen cloth, woolen cloth, Lynnen clothe Sylke, Yorkshire Cloths, and woven stuffs of all sorts. Also, wool, Fleece wool, a Pocket of Wool, Cotton Wool, worsteds, fustians, muslins, cottons, and sackcloath. Woven silk-stuffs

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[7]Henri Pirenne, Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1937), p. 98.

is used, as are Italian silks, a bolt of red say (silk), stuffs with gold and silver broidery of Cyprus or Gold of Luke, taffetas, velvet, and Braderie.

Webster's New International Dictionary was also used as the source for defining gathering as "something gathered; a crowd; assembly; congregation." This study interprets the "something" gathered as being people.

The term kind, used in this study in reference to the textiles at the fairs, is defined in the Webster's dictionary cited above as "natural quality, character, state or form of anything; also, a natural characteristic or property." Its purpose here is to cite the variety in fiber, weave, color and design in the textiles traded at the fairs.

Plan of Procedure

Locating source material for this study required the use of The Library of Congress card catalogue and the assistance of The Library of Congress searching service in Washington, D. C. Cornelius Walford's, Fairs, Past and Present, and J. G. Pease and Herbert Chitty's, A Treatise on the Laws of Markets and Fairs, two works made available through The Library of Congress searching service and the cooperation of the inter-library loan service of the library of The Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, were valuable to this study.

While few historians have felt that "an institution, at once so popular and so universal as fairs"[8] merits an annalist, many have noted the impact of their occurrence, and have listed textiles as one of

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[8]Walford, op. cit., p. v.

the major commodities traded on a national and international basis. To supplement the details concerning the fairs discussed by Walford and by Pease and Cnitty, the views, however scanty, of other historians were consulted also. These additional works were available in the library of The Woman's College of the University of North Carolina. This research included the works of historians of the **medieval period** that dealt with economic, social and political history, textiles, migration of symbols, and medieval merchants. Also included were such sources as encyclopedias and periodicals.

Fairs have been associated with the development of commerce. The background information is intended to set the study historically. This includes a brief summary of the development of Central Europe, the most frequented trade routes to Europe, and the fairs and other gatherings of Italy, France, Flanders, and England in the fifth through ninth centuries.

The tabulation and interpretation of data are presented in two periods. The developmental period includes consideration of the character of fairs and textiles at the fairs, tenth through thirteenth centuries. The second period includes evidence of the changing character of fairs and textiles at the fairs, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The report of characteristics of the textiles in Central Europe, as evidence of migration of design, spans both periods, as does the chronological chart of fairs by countries.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Fairs, Past and Present, by Cornelius Walford, was published in London, England, in 1883. At that time, Mr. Walford was Barrister-at-Law and Vice President of Royal Historical Society. He refers to his book as a chapter in the history of commerce, portraying his feeling that fairs have played an important part in "the development of commerce in the nations of Europe - perhaps in the nations of the world."[1]

Mr. Walford traces the origin, development and decadence of what he considers the greatest fair in England, that of Sturbridge, by Cambridge, and of what he considers the greatest fair in London, that of St. Bartholomew, Smithfield. His stated reasons for choosing to record detailed histories of these fairs are that the fair of Sturbridge had prior to this time found no historian, and, that the two fairs "represent two really distinct pictures of old English manners."[2] In addition to his detailed presentation of the two English fairs, Walford includes the fairs of France. He writes that "it is to France that we must look if we would fully comprehend alike the splendour and importance of the fairs of Europe."[3] Some original documents forming a part of the records

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[1]Cornelius Walford, Fairs, Past and Present (London: Elliot Stock, 1883), p. v.

[2]Ibid., p. vi.

[3]Ibid., p. 244.

of the City of London are used in describing the most famous of the French fairs, those at Champagne and Brie. Concluding this book is an outline of the fairs of Russia, including the great fair of Nijni-Novgorod.

Fairs, Past and Present was vitally helpful in the preparation of this study. Mr. Walford's prolonged investigation revealed the changing character of fairs and the kinds of textiles traded at the fairs.

A Treatise on the Law of Markets and Fairs, with the principal statutes relating thereto, by J. G. Pease and Herbert Chitty, was published in 1899, in London, England. Since both authors were Barristers-at-Law, they were able to interpret legal definitions of terms relating to markets and fairs. Their aim was "to state in a book of moderate size the whole of the English law of markets and fairs."[4] Much of the information presented by Pease and Chitty concerns fairs held since the seventeenth century, thus limiting its use for this study. Some illustrations, however, of the law as understood in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are cited. Also, examined in detail, are the origin and purpose of the courts of "pie powder," the taking of toll, the right of creating a franchise to hold a market or fair, and the days and hours for holding markets and fairs. The reading of statutes relating to the fairs of the seventeenth century was of value in determining the continuing changes in the character of fairs.

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[4] J. G. Pease and Herbert Chitty, A Treatise on the Law of Markets and Fairs (London: Knight and Co., 1899), Preface.

Medieval Cities, by Professor Henri Pirenne of the University of Ghent, contains the substance of lectures which he delivered in several American universities in 1922. "It is an attempt to expound, in a general way, the economic awakening and the birth of urban civilization in Western Europe during the Middle Ages."[5] Pirenne writes of trade in textiles as a part of the economic activity of the period, and cites the establishment of fairs at some of the mercantile centers. "Thenceforth Flanders traded with the north of France the wines of which she exchanged for her cloths. . . . Fairs were instituted by the Counts of Thourout at Messines, Lille and Ypres."[6] Pirenne, an internationally known Belgian historian and a productive scholar for more than four decades, is considered one of the greatest authorities in the field of medieval history. His comments are regarded as extremely significant in this study.

A second book by Henri Pirenne, Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe, devotes an entire section to "The Fairs" in the chapter on"Commerce to the End of the Thirteenth Century."Pirenne writes that with the exception of the fair of Saint Denis, near Paris, which dates back to the Merovingian era, "the fairs date from the revival of trade."[7] This is in accord with his belief that trade was almost nonexistent in the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries. He does say, however, that fairs "increased in number, in proportion as trade in each country

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[5]Henri Pirenne, Medieval Cities (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1948), Preface.

[6]Ibid., p. 100.

[7]Henri Pirenne, Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1937), p. 98.

became more active and more important."[8] An active intercourse had been established between the fairs of Flanders and those of Champagne by the end of the first quarter of the twelfth century. The Flemings found in Champagne "a permanent market for their cloth, ... From Champagne, in return, the Flemings imported woven silk-stuffs, gold and silver goods. . . ."[9] Pirenne believes that the Champagne fairs owed much of their importance to the contact which they established at an early date between Italian commerce and Flemish industry, evidence of the importance of trade routes of the period. Because Pirenne relates his data to the role of fairs in the "character and general movement of the economic and social evolution of Western Europe from the end of the Roman Empire to the middle of the fifteenth century,"[10] it is extremely relevant to this study.

The Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, edited by Edwin R. A. Seligman and Alvin Johnson, is published in fifteen volumes. Volume Six contains a section on "Fairs," contributed by Joseph Kulischer of the University of Leningrad. He defines fairs as "institutions established to centralize supply and demand of merchandise at a particular place and a particular time."[11] Fairs arose not only because they offered facilities for trading, writes Kulischer, "but also because trade when

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[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid., p. 101.

[10] Ibid., p. xi.

[11] Joseph Kulischer, "Fairs," Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1931), VI, 58.

still little developed could not be carried on continuously but only at such times as quantities of goods had accumulated."[12] Kulischer agrees with other historians that from the middle of the twelfth until about the middle of the fourteenth century the most important fairs were those of Champagne. He states that "here merchants from Italy and southern France offered to those of northern Europe the drugs, spices and perfumes of the Orient in exchange for Flemish and, later, English Cloths, the linen of south Germany, ..."[13] This is an excellent reference as to the character of fairs during and since the seventeenth century. "In most European countries today," explains Kulischer, "fairs are managed by a bureau of public or semipublic character."[14] National governments have recently lent their assistance to the development of fairs.

"Trade and Industry in the Middle Ages" is the subject of Volume II of The Cambridge Economic History of Europe, edited by M. Postan and E. E. Rich. References to fairs are documented as to the date and place of occurrence, thereby showing more clearly their role in the development of trade. The chapters on Trade of Medieval Europe, by Michael Postan, Professor of Economic History in the University of Cambridge, and Robert S. Lopez, Associate Professor in Yale University, and the chapter on the Woollen Industry, by Eleanora Carus-Wilson, Reader in the University of London, were particularly useful

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[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid., p. 60.

[14] Ibid., p. 63.

in compiling data for this study. Specific references to commodities of trade, the professional merchants, expansion of home markets, and trade in textiles at the fairs were included in these chapters.

Eileen Power, Reader in Medieval Economic History in the University of London, translated Life and Work in Medieval Europe, Fifth to Fifteenth Centuries, written by P. Boissonnade. In her preface to this work, she states the belief that Boissonnade, Professor at the University of Poitiers and Corresponding Member of the Institute, presents the Middle Ages in their real aspect as one of the most brilliant and fruitful periods of the historic past. He notes this period as one of capital importance, and interprets the commercial activity carried on in the fairs to be so great that he calls it a characteristic feature of the period between the middle of the tenth and the middle of the fourteenth century. Boissonnade refers to the fairs as "sanctuaries of international trade,"[15] and cites trade in "woven stuffs of all sorts, woolens, silks, muslins, cottons, carpets, cloths from East and West."[16] He asserts that the fairs "mark one of the chief stages in the advance of Western Commerce."[17]

An Introduction to Medieval Europe, 300-1500, by James Westfall Thompson, Professor of European History, the University of California, and Edgar Nathaniel Johnson, Associate Professor of History, the

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[15] P. Boissonnade, Life and Work in Medieval Europe (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1927), p. 171.

[16] Ibid., p. 172.

[17] Ibid., p. 173.

University of Nebraska, includes a chapter on The Revival of Trade and Industry. The revived trade in wines and the new trade in textiles are cited as the lifeblood of western industry in this revival.[18] "Imports from the North and Baltic Seas through Flanders and Flemish and north French Woolens were exchanged for Mediterranean imports and Italian manufactures at the Champagne fairs."[19] Data concerning the social and recreational side of the fairs are also considered in this book.

The Economic History of England, by E. Lipson, Reader in Economic History in the University of Oxford, devotes an entire chapter to Fairs and Markets. "Their importance indeed can scarcely be over-estimated," declares Lipson, "for at a time when the stream of commerce was fitful and scanty they furnished what was commonly the sole opportunity for the purchase and sale of distant products."[20] Some smaller English fairs that dealt only in the sale of cloth are cited.

The Economic History of Europe, by Herbert Heaton, includes a chapter on Medieval Commercial and Financial Organization. A discussion of markets and fairs is a part of this chapter. Heaton, Professor of Economic History, University of Minnesota, comments that "of the hundreds

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[18]James Westfall Thompson and Edgar Nathaniel Johnson, An Introduction to Medieval Europe, 300-1500 (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1937), p. 566.

[19]Ibid., p. 567.

[20]E. Lipson, The Economic History of England (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929), p. 196.

of fairs scattered over Medieval Europe, many were known only locally but some won wide repute."[21] He cites the activity at the great wool fairs in England, and also states that trade in cloth, skins, and furs was most important at the Champagne fairs.[22]

Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World, by Robert S. Lopez, Associate Professor in Yale University, and Irving W. Raymond, Associate Professor of History in Brooklyn College, presents data concerning "Mediterranean Merchants at the International Fairs." Dr. Raymond, now Professor of History in Brooklyn College, is classed as a Medievalist. His professional competence is the early Middle Ages and history of Christianity. In relating their data to the development of markets, Lopez and Raymond discuss the importance of international fairs in the inland regions of Europe at the time of the Commercial Revolution which began in the tenth century. They explain that at the fairs of Champagne, "the presence of merchants from all parts of the Western world enabled them to become a sort of clearing house for merchandise and currency exchanges between the Mediterranean and the North Sea basin."[23]

Adele Coulin Weibel, Curator Emeritus of Textiles and Islamic Art, The Detroit Institute of Arts, is the author of Two Thousand Years of Textiles, the publication of which was made possible by grants of the Kresge Foundation. Weibel traces the development of textiles and the

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[21]Herbert Heaton, Economic History of Europe (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1948), p. 170.

[22]Ibid.

[23]Robert S. Lopez and Irving W. Raymond, Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955), p. 80.

evolution of textile designs during the period of this study. She states that "nothing in history surpasses in importance the early silk trade,"[24] and emphasizes the importance of this in her chapter on Byzantine silks. Her section on European Textiles, which included the woven fabrics of Sicily, Lucca, Venice, France and England, describes the outstanding characteristics of each weaving center.

The Encyclopedia of Textiles by Ernst Flemming, was edited and translated by Renate Jaques. This revised edition by Flemming, expert, lecturer, and Director of the Berlin Textile School, includes the decorative fabrics from Antiquity to the beginning of the 19th century. "The entire European development from the Eastern Mediterranean to Sicily, Italy, France and Spain is represented, so also is Eastern Asia (including China and Japan), Persia and Peru."[25]

The story of design in weaving is presented by Ethel Lewis in The Romance of Textiles. Religion and policies of government are presented as important influencing factors in the development of the great weaving centers of Italy and France. "The marvelous textiles made in Italy from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century cannot all be lumped together," writes Lewis, "for despite an underlying similarity they represented so many different ideals."[26] The textiles of Lucca, Florence, Venice and Genoa are presented separately.

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[24]Adele Coulin Weibel, Two Thousand Years of Textiles (New York: Pantheon Books, 1952), p. 33.

[25]Renate Jaques and Ernst Flemming, Encyclopedia of Textiles (New York: Frederick A. Praeger), Preface.

[26]Ethel Lewis, The Romance of Textiles (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1953), p. 151.


Member-towns of the Hanseatic League
Foreign Stations
Other places connected with the League, but not named
Towns of commercial importance
Fairs
Land trade routes
Genoese sea routes
Venetian sea routes
Hanseatic sea routes
Other sea routes
Textile growing & manufacturing areas
Thickly settled agricultural regions
Moderately settled agricultural regions
Thinly settled agricultural & grazing regions
Nomadic regions
Longitude
West
East
of
Greenwich
Bergen
Reval
Wisby
Riga
Mitau
Dunaburg
Vitebsk
HERRING
AMBER
FISH
Rostock
Stralsund
Greifswald
Lubeck
Hamburg
Wismar
Bremen
Brunswick
Stettin
Danzig
Elbing
Konigsberg
Thorn
Magdeburg
Breslau
Prague
Nuremberg
Ratisbon
SILVER
GOLD &
SILVER
WINE
Vienna
Pesth
Buda
Frankfort-on-Main
Strassburg
Basle
St. Gall
Geneva
York
Boston
Lynn
Stourbridge
Bristol
Winchester
Portsmouth
London
Bruges
Dordrecht
Amiens
Rouen
St. Malo
Paris
Orleans
Tours
Dijon
Angouleme
Limoges
Bordeaux
Bayonne
Toulouse
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Arles
Marseilles
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Barcelona
Lisbon
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Granada
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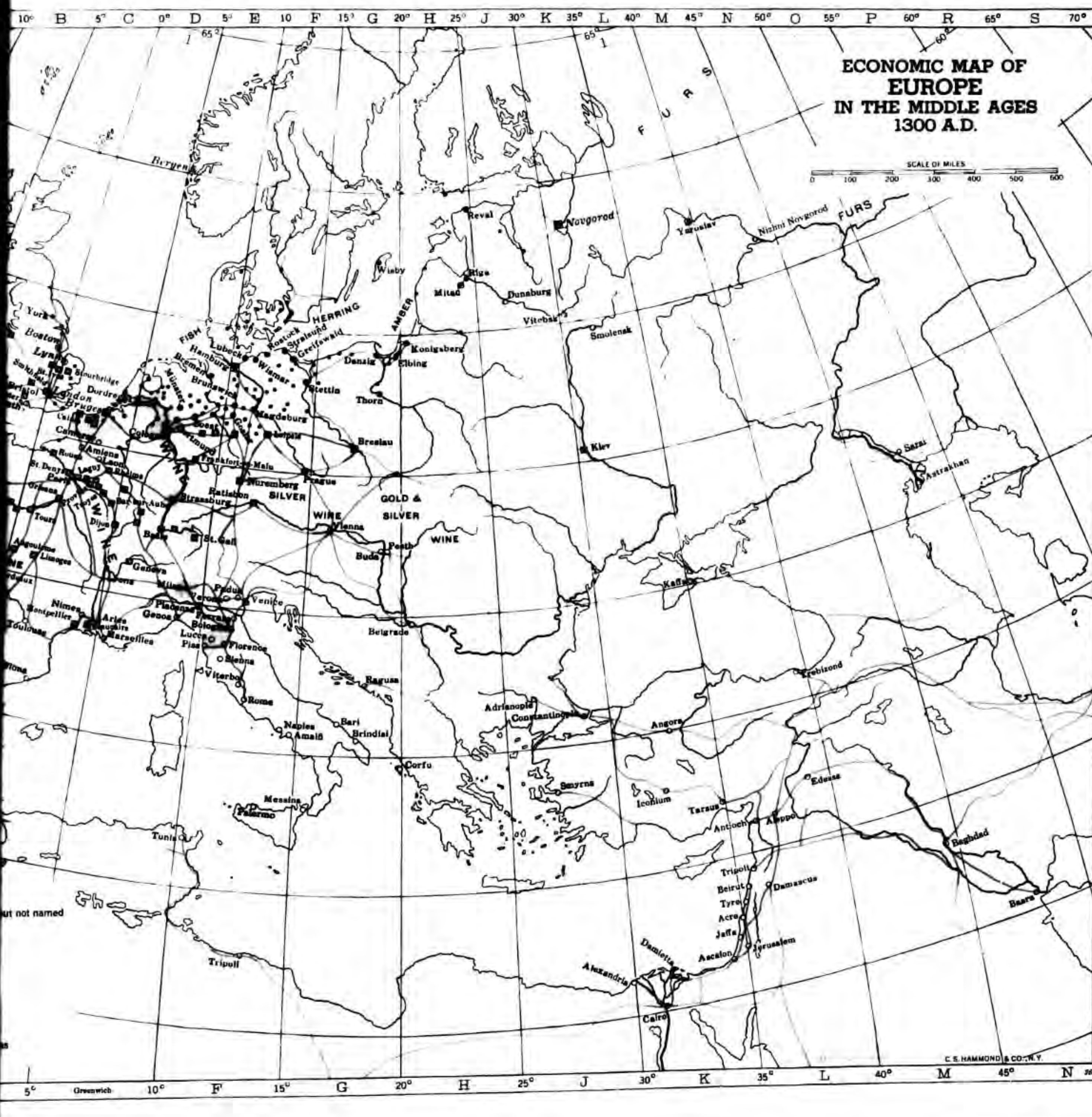
Milan
Verona
Padua
Venice
Genoa
Bologna
Lucca
Pisa
Florence
Sienna
Viterbo
Rome
Naples
Amalfi
Bari
Brindisi
Ragusa
Belgrade
Corfu
Adrianople
Constantinople
Messina
Palermo
Tunis
Tripoli


ECONOMIC MAP OF
EUROPE
IN THE MIDDLE AGES
1300 A.D.
SCALE OF MILES
FURS
HERRING
FISH
AMBER
SILVER
GOLD & SILVER
WINE
Bergen
Wisby
Reval
Riga
Mitau
Dunaburg
Novgorod
Yaroslav
Nizhni Novgorod
Vitebsk
Smolensk
Konigsberg
Elbing
Danzig
Thorn
Stettin
Lubeck
Hamburg
Bremen
Rostock
Stralsund
Greifswald
Wismar
Brunswick
Magdeburg
Leipzig
Breslau
Prague
Nuremberg
Ratisbon
Strassburg
Frankfort-on-Main
Vienna
Buda
Pesth
Kiev
Sarai
Astrakhan
Kaffa
York
Boston
Lynn
London
Bristol
Bruges
Dordrecht
Cologne
Amiens
Rouen
Paris
Tours
Dijon
Basle
St. Gall
Geneva
Limoges
Lyons
Milan
Verona
Padua
Venice
Genoa
Florence
Bologna
Pisa
Lucca
Sienna
Viterbo
Rome
Naples
Amalfi
Bari
Brindisi
Ragusa
Belgrade
Nimes
Arles
Montpellier
Marseilles
Toulouse
Palermo
Messina
Tunis
Tripoli
Corfu
Adrianople
Constantinople
Smyrna
Angora
Trebizond
Iconium
Tarsus
Antioch
Aleppo
Edessa
Baghdad
Basra
Tripoli
Beirut
Damascus
Tyre
Acre
Jaffa
Jerusalem
Ascalon
Damietta
Alexandria
Cairo
ut not named
Greenwich
C. S. HAMMOND & CO., N.Y.

H-17


ENGLISH POSSESSIONS IN FRANCE
Possessions of William the Conqueror:
Possessions of Henry II, about 1180:
Possessions of Henry III, 1272:
French Crown Lands, 1180:
Boundary of France in the 12th Century:
SCALE OF MILES
ENGLAND
WALES
FRANCE
NORMANDY
BRITTANY
MAINE
ANJOU
POITOU
AQUITAINE
(GUYENNE)
GASCONY
TOULOUSE
BURGUNDY
CHAMPAGNE
FLANDERS
PROVENCE
ARAGON
Channel
English
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
EMPIRE


FRANCE
at the Death of
Philip IV (the Fair), 1314
French Crown Lands:
English Possessions:
Other Vassal Lands:
SCALE OF MILES
ENGLAND
FRANCE
NORMANDY
BRITTANY
POITOU
GUYENNE
GASCONY
LANGUEDOC
BURGUNDY
CHAMPAGNE
FLANDERS
BRABANT
NAVARRE
PROVENCE
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
EMPIRE


ENGLAND
Channel
English
NORMANDY
BRITTANY
MAINE
FLANDERS
BRABANT
ARTOIS
CHAMPAGNE
EMPIRE


ENGLAND
Channel
English
NORMANDY
BRITTANY
MAINE
PICARDY
FLANDERS
CHAMPAGNE
EMPIRE


ENGLISH POSSESSIONS IN FRANCE
Possessions of William the Conqueror:
Possessions of Henry II, about 1180:
Possessions of Henry III, 1272:
French Crown Lands, 1180:
Boundary of France in the 17th Century:
SCALE OF MILES
FRANCE
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
POITOU
AQUITAINE
(GUYENNE)
GASCONY
ARAGON
TOULOUSE
PROVENCE
BURGUNDY


FRANCE
at the Death of
Philip IV (the Fair), 1314
French Crown Lands:
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Other Vassal Lands:
SCALE OF MILES
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
POITOU
GUYENNE
GASCONY
LANGUEDOC
PROVENCE
NAVARRE
BÉARN


FRANCE
at the
Peace of Bretigny, 1360
(The First English Invasion)
French Crown Lands:
English Possessions:
Other Vassal Lands:
ENGLAND
English Channel
FLANDERS
NORMANDY
BRITTANY
MAINE
ANJOU
FRANCE
POITOU
GUYENNE
GASCONY
LANGUEDOC
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
ARAGON


FRANCE
At the Death of
Henry V, 1422
Showing the Results of
The Second English Invasion
ENGLAND
English Channel
FLANDERS
PICARDY
NORMANDY
BRITTANY
MAINE
ANJOU
CHAMPAGNE
BURGUNDY
FRANCE
POITOU
GUYENNE
GASCONY
LANGUEDOC
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
ARAGON


Bordeaux
Dordogne
Lot
Garonne
ROUERGUE
URGEL
Rodez
Tarn
Albi
Avignon
Nîmes
Arles
PROVENCE
Bayonne
GASCONY
Toulouse
LANGUEDOC
NAVARRE
COMMINGES
FOIX
Narbonne
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
ARAGON
FRANCE
at the
Peace of Bretigny, 1360
(The First English Invasion)
French Crown Lands:
English Possessions:
Other Vassal Lands:
C.S. HAMMOND & CO., N.Y.
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 150
4° N 2° O 0° P 2° Q 4° R 6° S
44° 42° 18


Dordogne
Lot
ROUERGUE
Tarn
Avignon
Arles
PROVENCE
GASCONY
Toulouse
LANGUEDOC
Narbonne
BEARN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
ARAGON
FRANCE
At the Death of
Henry V, 1422
Showing the Results of
The Second English Invasion
Territory which recognized the English king as King of France:
Territory which remained loyal to the Dauphin:
French Allies of the English:
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 150
4° T 2° U 0° V 2° W 4° X 6° Y
44° 42° 24

CHAPTER III

REPORT OF THE STUDY

"It is towards the close of the fifth century of the Christian era that we first find any authentic account of fairs specially designed as marts for commerce."[1] The fifth through the ninth centuries are summarized briefly here since it was during these five centuries that the foundations were laid for the type of civilization which existed in the tenth century, the beginning of this study.

> With the fifth century there begins a long period of a thousand years known as the Middle Ages, in the course of which were accomplished some of the greatest social and economic changes in the whole history of labour. It begins with a catastrophe: the collapse of the Roman Empire as a result of the invasion and settlement of barbarian peoples. . . . The good order established by Rome never entirely died out, and it was upon the solid foundation of what remained that the new states of the early Middle Ages were destined to rear themselves.[2]

I. CENTRAL EUROPE - 5th THROUGH 9th CENTURIES

Certain changes occurred between the fifth and ninth centuries which distinguish that period from the more settled age that followed. "The great migrations began from about the end of the fourth and continued until the end of the sixth century, sometimes even longer."[3]

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[1] Cornelius Walford, Fairs, Past and Present (London: Elliot Stock, 1883), pp. 6-7.

[2] P. Boissonnade, Life and Work in Medieval Europe (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1927), p. 1.

[3] Ibid., p. 15.

Roman provinces were transformed into Germanic kingdoms, but maintained their Mediterranean character. It was during this period that the Roman Empire in the East became Byzantine, with its elegant and refined civilization. It was also during this period that "the world-order which had survived the Germanic invasions was not able to survive the invasion of Islam."[4]

The Christian religion did not originate in this period. Nevertheless, it was the most characteristic element of the Byzantine Empire. Constantine the Great established Constantinople as a "New Rome" in the fourth century, and his patronage of the church set Christianity well on its way to becoming the state religion. He granted toleration to Christians by the Edict of Milan (313). For approximately one thousand years Constantinople, as the capital of the eastern half of the Roman Empire or the Byzantine Empire, was the center for administrative affairs and culture. Here, "the Christian Church, which was gaining strength as the Roman Empire disintegrated, went on extending its spiritual and material authority."[5]

Monasticism aided the Church in the sixth and seventh centuries. In the Latin West, St. Benedict created a type of monasticism adapted to the needs of the Western Church. Under the Benedictine rule, based on monasticism's three fundamental vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, monks were bound to aid those who came to them for help.

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[4]Henri Pirenne, Medieval Cities (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1948), p. 23.

[5]Herbert Heaton, Economic History of Europe (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948), p. 60.

"Bishops and monks supported the renaissance of industrial centres, reorganized production in the monastic workshops, sought to promote and revive trade, and even took a direct share in organizing it."[6]

The Mohammedan religion, begun among the Arabs by Mohammed in the seventh century, became a rival of Christianity, and at the same time laid the foundations for an empire that by the ninth century included the Balearic Isles, Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily.[7] Persia took the place of Syria as the center of the empire and the capital was moved from Damascus to Bagdad. A Saracen civilization developed that was partly Arab, partly Persian, and was influenced by the other peoples of Islam. The civilization stimulated in the peoples of the West a desire for advances in literature, a pursuit of learning, a study of science, and a commerce that linked the whole Moslem world.

The beginnings of feudalism, a system which permeated the military, political, social, and economic aspects of life in the Middle Ages, paralleled the rise of strength in the Christian and Moslem faiths. Feudalism evolved in the Western European civilization where Charles, a German, was crowned as Emperor of the Roman Empire by Pope Leo III in 800. Charles the Great, Charlemagne, adopted a system of government that was appropriate to the needs of an agricultural society; "its economic basis was land--the king's land."[8] Following the destruction of the

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[6]Boissonnade, op. cit., pp. 65-66.

[7]Pirenne, Medieval Cities, p. 30.

[8]James Westfall Thompson and Edgar Nathaniel Johnson, An Introduction to Medieval Europe, 300-1500 (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1937), p. 248.

empire of Charles the Great, feudalism took more definite shape. The chief characteristic of this system of government "was the exercise by large landowners of sovereign rights formerly exercised by the monarch; the inseparable association, in other words, of landownership with powers of government."[9] "In fact," explains Pirenne, "the appearance of feudalism in Western Europe in the course of the ninth century was nothing but the repercussion in the political sphere of the return of society to a purely rural civilisation."[10]

Heaton states that "there was no violent or complete break between the ancient and medieval worlds. . . . The picture therefore is one of transition. . . ."[11] He refers to the fifth century through the seventh as the time that:

> . . . The migratory peoples settled down . . . and turned to the exploitation of the pastoral, agricultural, and industrial resources of their new homes. . . . After about A. D. 700 this process of settlement, development, and colonization was disturbed intermittenly for about three centuries by new migrations.[12]

It was in the later period, during the ninth century, that the invasions from Norway, Sweden, and Denmark were numerous. The western targets of the Northmen were the rich farm districts of the Rhine and French river valleys, the Low Countries, and England. Some towns were completely

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[9] Ibid., p. 290.

[10] Henri Pirenne, Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1937), p. 8.

[11] Heaton, loc. cit.

[12] Heaton, op. cit., pp. 60-61.

destroyed, as were some rural communities and abbeys. The economy of the area was injured, but not wrecked completely.[13]

Trade Routes to Europe - 5th through 9th centuries

"Like many other incidents associated with the history of commerce," the first traces of fairs specially designed as marts for commerce are found in Italy.[14] Some knowledge of the articles traded, the sources from which they came, and the routes over which they were carried to the ultimate consumers, may help explain why Italy took the lead in the development of migratory commerce from the sixth century.

The commercial revival of the West was a direct result of contact with Constantinople. The Mohammedans did not gain permanent control of Italy and the Adriatic, thus, even during the invasions, Eastern goods could be shipped to Italian towns. The Byzantines were, by now, famous as producers of luxury goods. "The Byzantine Empire was famous for the number and excellence of its manufactures of precious fabrics, particularly its silks and fine cloths."[15] Such wares of India and China as spices, sugar, precious stones, raw silk, cotton, dyestuffs, textiles of woolen and of silk, and fine china and glass could also be found in Constantinople.[16]

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[13]Heaton, op. cit., pp. 72-74.

[14]Walford, loc. cit.

[15]Boissonnade, op. cit., p. 48.

[16]Ellen L. Osgood, A History of Industry (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1921), p. 153.

There were three main trade routes over which these goods traveled west. [These trade routes are shown in Figure 1, page 15.] One followed the old Babylonian route. From the coast towns of India, little boats skirted the shore to the head of the Persian Gulf. From this point the route continued up the Tigris-Euphrates valley to the important trading center of Bagdad; afterwards, dividing into two branches, it reached the Mediterranean Sea through Antioch at St. Symeon and lead to Alexandria in Egypt. To the north of this, a second trade route led overland from China and northern India along the shores of the Caspian to the Black Sea and Constantinople; and from Constantinople, water routes connected to Rome and Genoa in Italy, on through the Mediterranean Sea to Lisbon in Portugal, and up to London in England. A third and southerly route had the advantage of being largely by water. From the East Indies, boats traveled along the coast of India and across the Arabian Sea to enter through the Red Sea en route to some point along the African coast, then by caravan overland to Alexandria. From Alexandria, water routes carried the goods to Venice in Italy and northward overland to Paris and Hamburg in Germany, and other northern cities.[17] Such raw materials as amber, skins, and furs from Central and Northern Europe reached Upper Italy also. These came by routes along the valleys of the Rhone, Rhine, Danube, Main, Scheldt, and Meuse Rivers, and across the passes of the Alps. Traveling these routes merchants met at the

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[17] Osgood, op. cit., pp. 153-154.

fairs, and frequently joined groups of pilgrims on their way to religious shrines.[18]

As Venice grew in importance, an overland route was established from Venice northward through the Brenner Pass, following along the Rhine valley to Bruges in the Low Countries of Belgium and Holland, then known as Flanders. Bruges was as important in the north as Venice in the south. Later, the Fleet of Flanders made the trip from Bruges to Venice by water once each year, stopping all along the route to sell its wares, thus taking a year for the trip.[19]

By the early eighth century Venetian traders were working up the valleys and going through the passes into France or Central Europe.[20] In the ninth century Piacenza, Italy, located where the Po was crossed by the Via Francigena route from Rome to France, had a rapid development in fairs.[21]

Fairs and Other Gatherings - 5th through 9th centuries

There are references in "The Books of the Prophets" pertaining to fairs as a part of the ancient commerce of the great city of Tyre. Ezekiel, chapter 27, verse 16 states that "Syria was thy merchant by reason of the multitude of the wares of thy making: they occupied in

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[18]Boissonnade, op. cit., p. 110.

[19]Osgood, op. cit., pp. 155-156.

[20]Heaton, op. cit., p. 82.

[21]M. Postan and E. E. Rich (eds.), The Cambridge Economic History of Europe (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1952), II, 264.

thy fairs with emeralds, purple, and broidered work, and fine linen, and coral, and agate."[22] It is, however,

> . . . Asserted by learned writers (Fosbroke and others) that fairs, as such, took their origin in ancient Rome. Romulus, Servius, Tullius, . . . are severally said to have instituted fairs, in order that the country people might come in every ninth day (nundinae) to hear the laws proclaimed, ...[23]

Suetonius records that Claudius Caesar "asked the consuls for permission to hold fairs on his private estates."[24]

Other gatherings of people, for political purposes or at sports events, also appeared to have fostered early fairs.

> It is supposed for instance that at the celebrated Greek games, such as those at Olympia, &c., trade was no entirely subordinate object; . . . . Cicero expressly states that . . . a great number of people attended the religious games for the special purpose of trading.[25]

One reason why the occurrence of fairs paralleled religious games or political assemblies was that during these, "all hostilities were suspended: and every person might go with his merchandise in safety to them, even through an enemy's country."[26]

> In the Middle Ages the greater part of the internal trade of the country was carried on at fairs and markets, and the history of their organization and growth occupies an important chapter in the development of mediaeval commerce. . . . They represent in fact a phase of commerce which can best be described as periodic; where distribution

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[22] The Holy Bible (New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons), p. 746.

[23] Walford, op. cit., p. 5.

[24] J. C. Rolfe (trans.), Suetonius: The Loeb Classical Library (London: William Heinemann, 1930), p. 25.

[25] Walford, op. cit., p. 3.

[26] Ibid., p. 4.

> and exchange take place at periodical gatherings and not in permanent centres.[27]

The earliest fairs and markets appeared as religious rather than as commercial institutions. "The first fairs were formed by the gathering of worshippers and pilgrims about sacred places, . . . on the Feast days of the Saints enshrined therin."[28] More people gathered than could be housed and fed in the sacred buildings, so it was necessary to provide tents for accommodation and stalls where provision dealers could provide food. These, at a later date, were used for more general purposes of trade.

One of the earliest specific references to trading at a religious gathering is in the fourth century.

> In the time of Constantine the Great (fourth century of Christian era) Jews, Gentiles, and Christians assembled in great numbers to perform their several rites about a tree reputed to be the oak mambre under which Abranam received the angels. At the same place, adds Zosimus, there came together many traders, both for sale and purchase of their wares.[29]

One of the earliest specific references to public fairs is in the sixth century. "St. Basil, towards the close of the sixth century, complained that his own Church was profaned by the public fairs held at the martyr's shrines."[30]

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[27] E. Lipson, The Economic History of England (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929), p. 196.

[28] Walford, op. cit., p. 1.

[29] Ibid., p. 2.

[30] Ibid.

There were advantages to holding fairs at religious gatherings. Merchants were assured of the presence of buyers in an age when population was scattered and seldom concentrated in large groups. The purpose for which the gathering was held "threw over the trader the cloak of religion, and ensured a degree of security. . . . The influence of the Church was undoubtedly a powerful factor in fostering the temporary peace to which the fair usually owed its rise."[31] "It is further said that the fairs were appointed to be held on Saints' days in order that trade might attract those whom religion could not influence."[32]

"It is towards the close of the fifth century of the Christian era that we first find any authentic account of fairs specially designed as marts for commerce. . . . About A. D. 493 several fairs were appointed."[33] These were in Italy, for the purpose of exchanging local produce with the merchandise of other countries. Amalfi, a leading port on the ankle of Italy, and other southern ports such as Bari, Naples, and Salerno, played an important role in this early trade. Rivals grew up farther north, at Genoa, Pisa, Lucca, Pavia, Milan and Venice.

> As markets expanded beyond the Alps in the Rhine and Danube valleys, in the Low Countries and northern France, these towns overshadowed their southern forerunners, for this overland trade between north and south became very important.[34]

Piacenza, located in northern Italy on the Via Francigena trade route that extended overland from Rome to Lucca to Paris, had a rapid

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[31] Lipson, op. cit., p. 197.

[32] Walford, op. cit., p. 6.

[33] Ibid., pp. 6-7.

[34] Heaton, loc. cit.

development in fairs in the ninth century. "Piacenza in 819 had only one fair lasting one day. Three fairs of eight days each were added in 872 and 873. A fifth fair held in the xenodochium of a monastery was granted in 896 and was to last 17 days."[35]

The earliest fairs in France appear to have developed in certain regions of the interior. "The fair of Troyes was in existence from the fifth century, that of Saint-Denis, or Lendit, was founded in the seventh (629), and drew an enormous gathering of traders during four months of the year."[36] ". . . King Dagobert founded the fair of St. Denis which Franks, Frisians and Saxons frequented."[37] Pirenne, who is said by some fellow historians to be extremely pessimistic in his view concerning the importance, amount and character of the development of trade[38] during these early centuries, writes that "only the fair of St. Denys, near Paris (the fair of Lendit), attracted once a year, among its pilgrims, occasional sellers and buyers from a distance."[39] "From the sixth century onwards Lombard merchants appeared at the fairs of Saint-Denis. . . ."[40] Though the fair of Saint Denis appears to have been

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[35]Postan and Rich, loc. cit.

[36]Boissonnade, op. cit., pp. 110-111.

[37]Postan and Rich, op. cit., p. 168.

[38]Robert S. Lopez and Irving W. Raymond, Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955), p. 18.

[39]Pirenne, Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe, pp. 10-11.

[40]Boissonnade, op. cit., p. 109.

more important, The Cambridge Economic History of Europe does record other early fairs in France.

> The documents show foreigners visiting the fairs of Northern France - St. Denis, Boulogne, Chartres, Compiegne - long before the fairs of Champagne rose to their fame. The ports of Northern France, Etaples (Quentovic) in the seventh and eighth centuries. . . .[41]

The location of Flanders gave it access to markets for the goods it produced. Situated at the mouth of the Rhine, Meuse, and Scheldt, the region was the "meeting point of great inland routes from east and south and of sea lanes from the British Isles, France and Scandinavia."[42] "The geographical situation of Flanders, indeed," writes Pirenne, "put her in a splendid position to become the western focus for the commerce of the seas of the north."[43] When Scandinavian merchants came down from the north with the products of their homelands, Flanders was close at hand and could supply cloth in exchange for their wares. "From the Roman era and probably even before that, the Morini and the Menapii had been making woollen cloths."[44] "Thus commerce and industry, the latter carried on locally and the former originating abroad, joined in giving Flanders, after the tenth century, an economic activity that was to continue developing."[45] Merchants from Italy, the German cities, and France

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[41]Postan and Rich, op. cit., p. 182.

[42]Heaton, op. cit., p. 112.

[43]Pirenne, Medieval Cities, pp. 96-97.

[44]Ibid., p. 98.

[45]Ibid., p. 100.

gathered in Flanders. The early fairs in the Low Countries, those before the tenth century, appeared at Thourout and Messines.[46]

Walford acknowledges the claim of some historians that the Anglo-Saxons founded fairs and markets in England. He does, however, interpret his investigations differently:

> I have no doubt whatever that the Romans first introduced the practice of holding markets and fairs in England. I find very distinct traces of fairs of Roman origin at Helston (Cornwall), at Barnwell (by Cambridge), at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and at several places along the line of the Roman wall in Northumberland.[47]

This is Walford's own interpretation of his investigation.

There is general agreement that the markets and fairs were largely recast during the Anglo-Saxon period, and Walford notes their reinstitution in the ninth century.

> The tithings held their sittings in their tithing or free-borough once a week, and many people coming thither to have their matters adjudicated upon, brought also their garden produce, corn, beasts, and id genus omne, for sale: because there they could meet one another, and buy and sell as their needs required, hence the commencement of a market weekly. . . . And as large numbers came together, a greater and better opportunity was afforded for selling their wares and goods, corn, beasts, stuffs, linens.[48]

"In this we can trace the origin of fairs, which were generally held twice a year, . . ." stated Mr. G. Lambert in a paper read before the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society.[49]

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[46]Boissonnade, op. cit., p. 111.

[47]Walford, op. cit., p. 13.

[48]Ibid.

[49]Ibid., pp. 13-14.

The early English fairs were regarded as secular institutions, however, "we get occasional glimpses of a religious origin in the case of some of the fairs," according to Lipson.[50] He cites an annual gathering at the feast of St. Cuthbert in the palatinate of Durham that was held before the Norman Conquest. From this gathering, sprang the great fair which took its name from this saint. Also, at St. Ives in Huntingdonshire, the discovery of the bones of the saint led to the institution of one of the greatest of English fairs. Lipson further states that "our knowledge of early English fairs and markets is, however, very scanty, and we have only slight indications as to their condition at the time of the Conquest."[51] Summarizing the somewhat conflicting views of the origin of English fairs, Walford states that "some of our fairs at least were established during the Roman occupation. These were probably largely added to during the Anglo-Saxon period. . . . It was by the Normans that the fairs of England were moulded into the shape with which we are most familiar."[52]

Domesday Book records the existence of forty-two markets, and their value varied considerably, but its references to fairs are extremely rare, nor is their value stated as it was of markets. "The silence of Domesday Book is no proof that fairs did not exist, and, moreover, many

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[50]Lipson, loc. cit.

[51]Lipson, op. cit., pp. 197-198.

[52]Walford, op. cit., p. 14.

important towns, London, Winchester and others, were omitted from the Survey."[53]

By the tenth century, fairs had developed in Italy, Flanders, France and England. The centuries that follow witness an increase in the number of fairs in these countries, and in the commercial activity carried on in the fairs. This activity became so great, it is considered "a characteristic feature of this period of the Middle Ages."[54]

II. DEVELOPMENTAL PERIOD 10th THROUGH 13th CENTURIES

M. Pirenne cites the tenth century as the time when "Europe ceased to be overrun by ruthless hordes. She recovered confidence in the future, and, with that confidence, courage and ambition."[55] He adds:

> Dark though the prospect still was, the tenth century nevertheless saw in outline the picture which the eleventh century presents. . . . The century which came in at that date is characterized, . . . by a recrudescence of activity so marked that it could pass for the vigorous and joyful awakening of a society long oppressed by a nightmare of anguish.[56]

Boissonnade declares:

> The development of trade now received a great stimulus, for everything was in its favour, the protection of feudal and monarchical states, interested in increasing their resources, the formation of urban republics, the prosperity of which was bound up with the progress of trade, the development of agricultural and industrial production, which furnished it with increasing elements of activity, the creation of new markets and great fairs,

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[53]Lipson, op. cit., p. 198.

[54]Boissonnade, op. cit., p. 170.

[55]Pirenne, Medieval Cities, p. 78.

[56]Ibid., p. 79.

> even the transformation of social life, which gave rise to the need for new comforts or luxuries. Commercial life blossomed into an activity hitherto unknown, ...[57]

"In all ways the fairs exercised an incomparable power of attraction, and mark one of the chief stages in the advance of Western commerce."[58] A chronology of fairs in Italy, Flanders, France and England, 10th through 15th centuries, is presented in Table 1 of the appendix. The location of the fairs is shown in Figure 1, page 15.

Italy - fairs and textiles

The commercial revival of the tenth century first appeared in Italy. Throughout the ninth century Venice had shipped native products to Constantinople and received in return the manufactured products which she sold to her neighbors in the Po valley. As long as the main trade-route led to Constantinople, which was itself highly industrialized, the markets were quite limited. Now, the coastal towns of western Italy accomplished the opening of new routes to new markets. The men of Genoa and Pisa began to use coastal routes toward France; their ports increased in importance due to the activity of the crusades.

"The revival of maritime commerce was accompanied by its rapid penetration inland."[59] Agriculture was stimulated by the demand for its produce and transformed by the exchange economy of which it now became a part. An increased export industry developed. "In both

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[57]Boissonnade, op. cit., p. 161.

[58]Ibid., p. 173.

[59]Pirenne, Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe, p. 34.

directions," states Pirenne, "the lead was taken by the Lombard plain, admirably situated as it was between the powerful commercial centres of Venice, Pisa and Genoa."[60] Country and towns shared in production, the former with its grain and wines, the latter with their linen and woollen stuffs. Lewis records that the weavers of Italy were busy at their looms, probably as early as the ninth century. The inland towns of northern Italy began to have some industry of their own, especially the weaving of cloth. The earliest textiles known to have been made in Italy were woolen, but the celebrated fabrics were of silk, or of silk used in combination with other fibers.[61] Weibel explains that:

> When the importation of silk fabrics from the Near East became increasingly unreliable because of the catastrophe of the Mongol invasions, Italy, long known for her excellent woolen fabrics, resorted to silk weaving. The raw material was obtained from the Levant and Spain, and sericulture quickly became an important industry in Italy.[62]

In the eleventh century, trade increased and spread northward through the Alpine passes.

> From Venice it reached Germany by the Brenner, the Saone and Rhine valleys by the Septimer and St. Bernard, and the Rhone valley by Mont Cenis. The St. Gothard was long impassable, but eventually a suspension bridge was slung from rock to rock across the gorge and it too became a route of transit.[63]

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[60] Ibid.

[61] Ethel Lewis, The Romance of Textiles (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1953), pp. 150-151.

[62] Adele Coulin Weibel, Two Thousand Years of Textiles (New York: Pantheon Books, 1952), p. 55.

[63] Pirenne, Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe, pp. 34-35.

Pirenne points out that in the second half of the eleventh century we find records of Italians in France. He believes it is more than probable that they were already frequenting the fairs of Champagne at this period.

"In the Mediterranean regions," declare Lopez and Raymond, "long-distance trade was so developed even at the beginning of the Commercial Revolution [tenth century] that very few international fairs of any importance were held."[64] However, they add:

> Giovanni Villani, the Florentine chronicler, points out that an attempt at creating fairs in his town in the fourteenth century failed because 'there always is a market in Florence,' that is, international trade is a daily occurrence in the city. Nevertheless, certain fairs in Italy played a fairly significant part in the first centuries of the Commercial Revolution; . . . .[65]

An "Exchange Transaction Posted in a Ledger," translated from the Italian and dated as 1211 in Florence, cites fairs in Bologna.[66] Another translation, from M. Amari's Italian version of The Book of the Routes and the Kingdoms, describes the textiles found at fairs in Naples and Amalfi in 977:

> . . . The territory of Amalfi borders on that of Naples. This is a fair city, but less important than Amalfi. The main wealth of Naples is linen and linen cloth. I have seen there pieces the like of which I found in no other country, and there is no craftsman in any other workshop in the world who is able to manufacture it. They are woven 100 dhira' [in length] by 15 or 10 [in width], and they sell for 150 ruba'i a piece, more or less.[67]

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[64] Lopez and Raymond, op. cit., p. 80.

[65] Ibid.

[66] Ibid., p. 165.

[67] Ibid., p. 54. The dhira' is the length from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger. The ruba'i was a coin worth one fourth of a dinar.

Boissonnade cites fairs at Bari, Lucca, and Venice during the period from the middle of the tenth to the middle of the fourteenth century.[68] M. Pirenne, however, disagrees with this statement and declares that "some towns of the first importance, like Milan and Venice, had none."[69] "By 1100 Lombards were visiting Flemish fairs," asserts Heaton, and "the Christmas fair in Venice was marked by the offering of the new supply of spices which had left India with the favorable monsoon winds of the previous spring."[70]

While historians do not agree as to the occurrence of fairs in Italy during this period of the Middle Ages, they do evidence similar beliefs concerning her cloth industry.

> In the weaving of fabrics, furniture, decoration, and art the West became the rival and soon the fortunate conqueror of the East. The conquest of this great industrial domain began with the cloth manufactures. Italy gained the leadership here, to the detriment of Byzantium, from which she snatched the monopoly of the production of fine cloths.[71]

Lucchese weavers were noted for their cloths of wool and of linen, their fine damasks, wondrous cloths of gold, and luxurious brocades and velvet. Mr. de Roover lists several prerequisites as essential to the success of of a luxury industry like the manufacture of silk goods: skilled artisans, high artistic standards, capital, and well-developed commercial organization both for the importation of the necessary raw materials and the

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[68]Boissonnade, op. cit., p. 170.

[69]Pirenne, Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe, p. 98.

[70]Heaton, op. cit., p. 170.

[71]Boissonnade, op. cit., p. 186.

exportation of the finished product. He explains that "by the twelfth century Lucca had all of these,"[72] and because the local market offered only limited possibilities, it became necessary to look for outlets abroad as soon as the industry achieved importance. Mr. de Roover explains:

> It is known that some foreign merchants - French and German - came to Lucca to buy silk. Nevertheless, the expansion of the Lucchese silk industry would have been arrested if the native merchants had not succeeded in building up a sales organization in foreign markets, especially at the fairs of Champagne in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and in Bruges and Paris in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[73]

The cloth industry was important in other Italian cities also during this period. "From the twelfth century Milan was said to employ 60,000 workers in this industry; a celebrated gild - that of the Umiliati - fostered the work there, and it spread to Venice, Bologna, Modena, and Verona."[74] "When silk was introduced in the thirteenth century the weavers took to it quickly and in a very few years were adept at weaving the symmetrical patterns borrowed from the east."[75] In addition to Lucca, silk weaving became an important industry in Genoa, Venice, and Florence. Also, in the thirteenth century, Florence had a great manufacture of cloths which were exported all over Christendom. By 1306, Florence was manufacturing in her 300 workshops more than 100,000

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[72]Elder de Roover, "The Beginnings and the Commercial Aspects of the Lucchese Silk Industry," Ciba Review, 80 (June, 1950), 2907.

[73]Ibid., pp. 2907-2908.

[74]Boissonnade, op. cit., p. 186. This is probably a gross exaggeration.

[75]Lewis, op. cit., p. 160.

pieces of woollen cloth, and by 1336, a third of the Florentine population drew their livelihood from this industry.[76]

Flanders - fairs and textiles

The Low Countries began to rival Italy from the twelfth century onwards. These two competitors, though separated by the breadth of Europe, were alike in that they were accessible to travelers by land or sea and had developed great centers of weaving, becoming known for their fine fabrics. Pirenne comments:

> Strange though it may seem, medieval commerce developed from the beginning under the influence not of local but of export trade. . . . In both parts of Europe where it started, Northern Italy and the Low Countries, the story is the same. The impetus was given by long-distance trade.[77]

Flanders was experienced in cloth manufacture and its export long before the tenth century. Pirenne writes that "their primitive cloth manufacture was perfected during the long Roman occupation, ... So rapid was its progress that in the second century Flanders was exporting cloth as far as Italy."[78] Among the causes of the commercial importance which so early characterized Flanders was the existence in that country of an indigenous wool industry. The fleece of the sheep raised on the humid meadows of the coast had a peculiar fineness. "The tunics (saga)

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[76]Boissonnade, op. cit., pp. 186-187.

[77]Pirenne, Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe, pp. 142-143.

[78]Ibid., p. 37.

and the cloaks (birri) which it produced were exported as far as beyond the Alps. . . ."[79] The industry was continued by the Franks, who invaded the region in the fifth century, and Frisian boatmen regularly carried cloths woven in Flanders along the rivers of the Low Countries. This export was interrupted by the Scandinavian invasions, "but when," declares Pirenne, "in the course of the tenth century, the pillagers became traders whose boats reappeared on the Meuse and the Scheldt in quest of merchandise, the cloth manufacture found a market once again."[80] These cloths, remarkable for their beautiful colors and for their softness, were ranked with the furs of the north and the Arab and Byzantine silk fabrics as sought-after export goods. "Nowhere else was it possible to equal the finish, the flexibility, the softness and the colours of these fabrics," declares Pirenne, "and it was this which made its success and assured its world-wide expansion."[81] He explains further that the means of transport were not sufficiently developed in this age to be adaptable to the circulation of cheap and heavy goods, thus the first place in international commerce belonged to merchandise of great value and medium weight. "In short, the success of Flemish cloths is to be explained, like that of spices, by their high price and the ease with which they could be exported."[82]

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[79] Pirenne, Medieval Cities, p. 98.

[80] Pirenne, Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe, p. 37.

[81] Ibid., p. 39.

[82] Ibid.

"At first the sales were mostly to the French," explains Walford, and "on account of the scarcity of coin the trade was mostly carried on by barter."[83] To facilitate this, Baldwin **III, Count of Flanders,**

> . . . Set up weekly markets, and established regular fairs at Bruges, Courtray, Torhout and Mont-Casel, at all which he exempted the goods sold or exchanged from paying any duties on being brought in or carried out. The new trade was thus greatly expanded, and it continued to flourish for several centuries - largely due to its being widely known through the fairs of Europe.[84]

To some, a Fleming was a weaver during this period.

> Saint-Omer, Douai, Lille, Bruges, Cambrai, Valenciennes, Louvain, Saint-Trond, Huy, Maestricht, Ypres, and Ghent sent forth to the great markets of the East and West their fine fabrics, serges, brunettes, striped, plain, or mixed cloths, dyed in bright colours, greens, reds, blues, and violets, and eagerly sought for everywhere. At Ypres the manufacture in 1313 had risen to 92,500 pieces. At Ghent 2,300 weavers worked at the cloth-looms.[85]

Cloth was the magnet which drew to Flanders the merchants of the world.[86] "As long as trade moved along the channels of high-road and river, the fairs were the real centres of trade. Foreign merchants bought Flemish cloth chiefly at the fairs of Thourout, Messines, Lille, Ypres, and Douai, ..."[87] Records indicate that Lombards were visiting Flemish fairs by 1100.[88]

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[83]Walford, op. cit., p. 8.

[84]Ibid.

[85]Boissonnade, op. cit., p. 187.

[86]Postan and Rich, op. cit., p. 184.

[87]"Historical Gleanings," Ciba Review, (October, 1938), 495.

[88]Heaton, op. cit., p. 170.

Bruges proved to be convenient as a port for commercial traffic between the Low Countries and England, and its trade expanded as the cloth industry of Flanders became increasingly dependent on English supplies of wool in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It was because Bruges had been the center of Anglo-Flemish trade that it became the center of German-Flemish trade also, and before long acquired many features of an international emporium.

> Bruges, the sea port and the seat of a great fair where the Germans and the English had been in the habit of going, now became also the port and the fair where the Bretons, the Normans, the Spaniards and later the Italians came to do their buying and selling.[89]

France - fairs and textiles

Merchants frequented the Flemish fairs of Ypres, Lille, Messines, Bruges, and Thourout from the beginning of the 12th century. "Then the centre of commercial exchanges shifted southwards," explains Pirenne, "and the great markets of the 12th and 13th centuries were the famous fairs of Champagne: Troyes, Bar, Provins, Lagny, Bar-sur-Aube."[90] "Champagne was a fertile area east and southeast of Paris, on or near the upper reaches of half a dozen navigable rivers. Through it passed the overland north-south route."[91] It was here that much of the European commerce of the Middle Ages was transacted. The busiest of these fairs were distributed geographically almost half-way along the great European

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[89]Postan and Rich, op. cit., p. 225.

[90]Henri Pirenne, A History of Europe (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1939), p. 209.

[91]Heaton, op. cit., p. 170.

routes that united the Mediterranean countries to the lands bordering the Channel and the North Sea. "These commercial gatherings attracted the wholesale merchants and small travelling traders of all the European nations from the Levantines, Italians, and Spaniards to the Flemings, Germans, and Scots, to say nothing of the French themselves."[92]

Many historians agree that the most famous fairs of Europe were those of Champagne. The success of these fairs, in part, has been credited to the Counts of Champagne, who offered special considerations to the merchants in an effort to secure the maximum advantage for their country. The growth of trade by merchants forced certain laws to become more flexible.[93]

> Judicial procedure, with its rigid and traditional formalism, with its delays, with its methods of proof as primitive as the duel, with its abuse of the absolutory oath, with its 'ordeals' which left to chance the outcome of a trial, was for the merchants a perpetual nuisance. They needed a simpler legal system, more expedious and more equitable. At the fairs and markets they elaborated among themselves a commercial code (jus mercatorum) of which the oldest traces may be noted by the beginning of the eleventh century.[94]

Pirenne explains that in all probability this was introduced into the legal practice very early, at least for suits between merchants, constituting for them a sort of personal law, the benefits of which the judges had no motive for refusing them.[95]

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[92]Boissonnade, op. cit., p. 171.

[93]Pirenne, Medieval Cities, p. 128.

[94]Ibid., pp. 128-129.

[95]Ibid., p. 129.

In addition to the commercial code established to expedite justice, the merchants were placed under the safeguard and the jurisdiction of the public authority. The Counts took measures against highwaymen, watching over the good conduct of the fairs and the security of the routes of communication. "In the eleventh century great progress had been made and the chroniclers state that there were regions where one could travel with a sack full of gold without running the risk of being despoiled."[96] Guides and escorts were supplied to caravans. "An official organization, under the direction of a Chancellor or garde des foires, assisted by sheriffs, notaries, brokers, measurers, criers, porters, and sergeants, secured the maintenance of privileges and good order."[97] This organization was known as the Wardens of the Privileges. It provided that:

> Every fair was to have two wardens, one chancellor to keep the seal, two lieutenants, forty notaries, and 100 serjeants. The wardens and chancellors were sworn in the Chamber of Accounts, Paris, where they were yearly to make their report of the state of the fairs. No judgement might be given during the fair but by two wardens, or when one was unavoidably absent, by one warden and the chancellor.[98]

Another privilege, designed to attract the greatest possible number of participants to the Champagne fairs, was the "franchise," which

> . . . Exempted merchants going to the fair from the right of reprisal for crimes committed or debts contracted outside it, and for the right of escheat, and which suspended lawsuits and measures of execution as long as the peace of the fair lasted. Most precious

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[96] Ibid., p. 128.

[97] Boissonnade, op. cit., p. 171.

[98] Walford, op. cit., p. 247.

> of all was the suspension of the canonical prohibition of usury (i.e., loans at interest) and the fixing of a maximum rate of interest.[99]

Walford points out that there seem to have been three grades of fairs: "1. Free fairs, to which all might come without restriction of toll or other limitation. 2. Fairs having their franchises restricted by some local right or usage. 3. Common fairs, without any special franchises whatever."[100] The Champagne fairs fall under the first of these definitions, free fairs.

To the towns of Champagne, at whose fairs much of the European commerce of the Middle Ages was transacted, came caravans of merchants.

> From far distant climes the Genoese transported thither bales of goods; . . . . Burgundy sent cloth, . . . and the Genoese and Florentines brought silks; while at all the seaports along their coasts vast cargoes were unshipped and placed on the backs of mules to wend their way to the place appointed for the fair.[101]

The Flemings found in Champagne a market for their cloth, and "from Champagne, in return, the Flemings imported woven silk-stuffs, gold and silver goods. . . . At each of the Champagne fairs the Flemish drapers had their 'tents,' grouped according to towns, where they exibited their cloth, ..."[102] Pirenne adds that Clerks of the fairs "rode without

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[99]Pirenne, Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe, pp. 99-100.

[100]Walford, op. cit., p. 245.

[101]Ibid., pp. 8-9.

[102]Pirenne, Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe, p. 101.

interruption between Champagne and Flanders, carrying the merchants' correspondence."[103]

These fairs would begin with the sale of cloth. "For the first period of twelve days woven stuffs of all sorts, woollens, silks, muslins, cottons, carpets, cloths from East and West, were sold or exchanged. Then the sergeants declared the cloth fair closed with cries of 'Hare! Hare!' (pack up)."[104] This was the first of the fixed order of sales, known as divisions. The next division included leathers or cordovans, skins and furs, and lasted eight days. During these two periods other transactions were carried on over "horses, cattle, wines, corn, herrings, salt, tallow, lard, and all kinds of merchandise which were sold by weight, as well as raw materials, wool, flax, hemp, raw silk, and above all, dye stuffs, medicinal drugs, spices, and sugar."[105]

Fairs which had considerable trade in woollen and other textile fabrics had state-appointed inspectors. It was their duty to inspect and mark the fabrics, and if deficient or not conformable to the authorized regulations, to seize them. These examinations, declares Walford, were "required to be made with great circumspection and reserve, and at hours suited to the convenience alike of buyers and sellers."[106] The judge of the police of manufactures, and the wardens and jurats of trades in the

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[103] Ibid.

[104] Boissonnade, op. cit., p. 172.

[105] Ibid.

[106] Walford, op. cit., p. 273.

respective places, usually accompanied the inspectors in the performance of this duty.

Another ruling affecting the sale of cloth at the Champagne fairs concerned the way in which goods were to be brought within the franchise.

> The drapers and traders of the seventeen cities of Champagne and Brie frequenting the fairs - that is to say those of the cities in which one of these seventeen fairs was held - might not sell their cloths or other stuffs, wholesale or retail, within or without the kingdom, unless first sent to one of the fairs and exposed for sale from the first day appointed for the sale of cloth until the sixth following, on pain of forfeiture; they being, however, at liberty to dispose of them, as they pleased, if not sold in that time.[107]

It was not only trade in merchandise which attracted people to the Champagne fairs. The settlements of accounts which took place there were so numerous that they were known as "the money market of Europe."[108] No money changed hands during the days of trade, but careful accounts were kept. Then, explains Walford, "in the middle of it all the great cry 'Ara' was raised, as a signal for the money-changers to take their seats, and for four weeks they sat for the benefit of the various nationalities who wished to realize their gains in their native coins."[109] Another fifteen days were spent in the liquidation of debts and the auditing of accounts from the opening of the fair. The official money of the fairs was the pound of Troyes. "It is said that this system of weights was brought from Cairo by the crusaders, and was first and permanently

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[107] Ibid., p. 247.

[108] Pirenne, Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe, p. 102.

[109] Walford, op. cit., p. 9.

adopted as the standard of weight in the dealings of the fairs of Troyes."[110]

The fairs of Champagne and Brie followed each other through the whole course of the year.

> First came the fair of Lagny-on-the-Marne in January, next on the Tuesday before mid-Lent that of Bar, in May the first fair of Provins, called the fair of Saint Quiriace, in June the 'warm fair' of Troyes, in September the second fair of Provins or the fair of Saint Ayoul, and finally, in October, to end the cycle, the 'cold fair' of Troyes.[111]

A second French trade center, the Ile-de-France, was universally famous for its fair of Saint-Denis which dated from the Merovingian era. Eileen Power, in Medieval People, takes her Frankish peasant Bodo to this fair in the ninth century, thus providing this study with its earliest glimpse of people attending a fair. For a week before the fair little booths and sheds sprang up, with open fronts in which the merchants could display their wares. The Abbey of Saint-Denis, which had the right to take a toll of all the merchants who came there to sell, saw to it that the fair was well enclosed with fences, and that all came in by the gates and paid their money. The streets of Paris became crowded with merchants bringing their goods, packed in carts and upon horses and oxen. On the opening day of the fair all regular trade in Paris stopped for a month, and every Parisian shopkeeper was in a booth somewhere inside the gates. Bodo's abbey probably had a stall in the fair and sold pieces of cloth woven by the serfs. The fair was so popular that

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[110] Ibid., p. 272. The Crusaders were never in possession of Cairo.

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Charlemagne had to give a special order to his stewards that they should be careful that their men do their work properly and that they do not waste their time running about to markets and fairs. Wealthy Frankish nobles bargained at the fair for purple and silken robes with orange borders; in exchange for their luxuries merchants took away with them Frisian cloth, which was greatly esteemed.[112]

In addition to the fairs of Champagne and the fair of Saint-Denis, other fairs developed in France. It appears probable, from the information available, that the fairs of Beaucaire, St. Laurence, and St. Germain were active during this period. Walford relates details of these fairs.

> Beaucaire (in Languedoc). An important town, whose chief manufacture consist of silks, red wines, taffetas, olive oil, and pottery. But its trade is chiefly due to its great fair, held annually between 1st and 28th July, ... This fair was established in 1217 by Raymond VI., Count of Toulouse, and was for many ages attended by merchants and manufacturers from all countries in Europe, and even from Persia and Armenia. . . . The trade in linen and cloth is very large.[113]

> St. Laurence (or St. Laurent). So called from its situation near St. Laurence's Church. It is so ancient that no date can be even approximately fixed for its origin. Its chief traders were goldsmiths and mercers, picture-painters, sempstresses, lemonade-sellers, toymen, eathernware people, ginger, bread bakers, &C. To it came people from Amiens, Beauvais, Rheims, and other places of Picardy and Champagne, with light fabrics, both plain and striped, and camlets of all sorts. . . . This fair seems originally to have lasted but one day; but the period gradually became extended to two months,

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[112]Eileen Power, Medieval People (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1924), pp. 34-36.

[113]Walford, op. cit., p. 262.

> commencing the day after St. James's day and ending at Michaelmas. It was proclaimed by sound of trumpet.[114]
>
> St. Germain. This fair was held in a large permanent building specially provided, constituting something like twin market halls, elegantly constructed of timber, and long regarded as models of construction. . . . The fair was opened the day after Candlemas Day. It was greatly frequented by traders from Amiens, Beaumont, Rheims, Orleans, and Nugent, with various sorts of cloth and textile fabrics. . . . There were brought to this fair, one year with another, some 1,400 bales of cloth and other woolen stuffs, of which the inspector of manufactures at the Custom-house, Paris, was required to keep a particular register. Two inspectors of the fair were required to be present at the opening of the bales of goods. There was also a further inspection made by the Masters and Wardens of the Guilds of Drapery and Mercery.[115]

Pirenne states that "cloth, more than any other manufactured product, was the basis of the commerce of the Middle Ages, . . ." and that "many of the towns of the north and the south of France, . . . were also engaged in it."[116] "No doubt the visits paid to the Champagne fairs by Italian merchants brought to their notice the superior quality of cloths from Flanders and France, and suggested the possibility of a profitable trade."[117] From the twelfth century onwards in the cloth industry "France, too, played an eminent part," writes Boissonnade, "and her cloth industry became her most important form of industrial industry." This wool industry in France, he continues,

> . . . Prospered in Picardy at Amiens and Saint-Quentin; in the Ile-de-France at Beauvais, Chartres, Senlis, Saint-Denis, and Paris; in Champagne at Provins (which had 3,200 looms at work in the thirteenth century), Rheims, Chalons, and Troyes; in Normandy at Rouen,

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[114] Ibid., p. 280.

[115] Ibid., pp. 278-279.

[116] Pirenne, Medieval Cities, p. 155.

[117] Pirenne, Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe, p. 146.

> Elbeuf, Pavilly, Montivilliers, Darnetal, Bernay, Honfleur, Vernon, Aumale, Les Andelys, and Caen; in central France at Bourges; in Languedoc at Toulouse, Carcassonne, Narbonne, Beziers, and Montpellier, which were beginning to export their manufactures to the Levant.[118]

Weibel records that "the history of the evolution of silk weaving in the countries north of the Alps is still a moot question"; nevertheless, "that there was a guild of silk weavers in Paris in the thirteenth century is positively documented by the Ordenance du mestier des ouvriers de drap de soye de Paris, dated 1260."[119] Weibel found that Cologne on the Rhine was a center of border weaving, and that "this industry flourished from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century."[120] Lewis cites the record of a silk weaver's guild being formed in Paris in the thirteenth century "which probably made bourrettes, those slightly rough silks with no lustre."[121] She asserts that "weaving did not get a really good start until Pope Clement V, moved from Rome (in 1309) and forced to live in Avignon, brought with him some of the exiled Italian weavers."[122]

Boissonnade explains that the manufacture of hemp and flax became extraordinarily active in the thirteenth century, on account of the growing use of body linen and the demands of trade. "This industry

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[118] Boissonnade, op. cit., p. 187.

[119] Weibel, op. cit., p. 63.

[120] Ibid.

[121] Lewis, op. cit., p. 183.

[122] Ibid., pp. 183-184.

flourished in France, in Champagne, Normandy, Maine, the Ile-de-France, and Burgundy, which exported their linens all over Christendom."[123]

England - fairs and textiles

The English fairs of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries rivalled the great French fairs of Champagne. Even before the Norman Conquest the kings had made grants for markets and fairs. The English law required a franchise, which could come only as a grant from the crown or the authority of parliament, if the market or fair was to be so recognized in the eye of the law. It was true that any person, so long as he did not interfere with existing market-rights, could make provision for a concourse of buyers and sellers upon his land. The owner of a franchise market or fair, however, enjoyed certain protections over such a mere concourse of buyers and sellers. The franchise provided that "he has the right to prevent the establishment, within seven miles of his market, of any rival market which will draw customers away from his own."[124] Walford explains that since the law recognized a reasonable day's journey as twenty miles,

> It is held reasonable that every man should have a market within one-third of a day's journey from his own home; that the day being divided into three parts, he may spend one part in going, another in returning, and the third in transacting his necessary business there.[125]

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[123]Boissonnade, op. cit., p. 188.

[124]J. G. Pease and Herbert Chitty, A Treatise on the Law of Markets and Fairs (London: Knight and Co., 1899), p. 2.

[125]Walford, op. cit., p. 17.

Walford attributes the first general measures for the regulation of commerce in England to the reign of Alfred the Great. In the latter half of the ninth century his regulation permitted royal authority for foreign merchants to attend English fairs. The Magna Carta in 1215 specified "that merchants shall have safety to go and come, buy and sell, without any evil tolls, but by ancient and honest customs."[126] The first Great Charter of Henry III, 1216, confirmed the provisions of Magna Carta as to merchants, except in the case of those who had been before publicly prohibited.

> The privileges thus accorded to foreign merchants were seven. (1) To come into England (2) To depart thereout (3) To remain (4) To travel by land or water (5) To buy and sell (6) To be free of evil tolls [The protection from 'evil tolls' was also a matter of great consequence. It was to be regarded as a security from paying so large a custom or imposition upon any goods that the fair profit is lost therein, and the trade thereby prevented.] (7) To enjoy the ancient customs. This last was of material consequence, and implied privileges not common to ordinary persons.[127]

Walford asserts that these privileges, which removed or greatly modified restrictions on merchants, aided the increase in number and importance of fairs. By the middle of the twelfth century, "the foreign trade was almost entirely conducted by foreign merchants"; and the great centres of trade at this period were the fairs held in various parts of the kingdom.[128]

"The importance of the fair is indicated not only in the attendance of foreign traders," declares Lipson, "but by the fact that the

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[126] Ibid., p. 20.

[127] Walford, op. cit., p. 22.

[128] Ibid., p. 21.

ordinary activities of municipal life were commonly suspended while the more important fairs were being held."[129] He continues, in explanation, that the significance of the fair lies deeper:

> It was a cosmopolitan gathering, and association with men from distant parts must have enormously broadened the horizon and widened the outlook of those who frequented it. As the common hearth of the nation it must have fostered mental progress, and stimulated a keen and active interest in the world that lay beyond.[130]

The Anglo-Saxon laws required the presence of witnesses for buying and selling, thus the witnessing of sales would be one of the matters for which the lord of the fair would have to provide. Disputes arising out of such sales would be referred to him or his deputy. Pease and Chitty believe that "to this may be ascribed the origin of courts of pie powder; that there would thus be most intimately connected with the holding of a market the exercise therein of a civil jurisdiction."[131] "These Courts, designated in the Latin tongue curia pedis pulverizati, in the Old French pied puldreaux, alike in each case, it is supposed, in reference to, or as typical of the dusty feet of the suitors."[132] Walford declares that there is no record or ordinance by which such court was called into existence in this country; that the courts came to us with the fairs, and they passed away with the decay of the commercial usages of fairs. He explains the peculiar constitution of the Court:

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[129] Lipson, op. cit., p. 222.

[130] Ibid.

[131] Pease and Chitty, op. cit., p. 3.

[132] Walford, op. cit., p. 26.

> It had jurisdiction only in commercial questions. It tried them before a jury of traders formed on the spot. . . . It could sit only during fair time; could take cognizance only of things happening during fair time, and within the fair. It could try a thief who had committed robbery in the fair only when he had been captured within its bounds. It might hold pleas for amounts, in later times, above forty shillings; and its judgements could be deferred and enforced at the next fair. So firmly indeed had custom defined the powers of these Courts, that it has been said, even the King himself if he were sitting as judge in such a Court, could not extend them.[133]

Lipson states that the "pie powder" court, and the law which it administered, merit considerable attention. He continues that "they must have contributed enormously to the consolidation of a body of mercantile law, which in its turn has been an important source of modern jurisprudence."[134]

By the thirteenth century, according to Pease and Chitty, the holding of a court had become incident to every market or fair, the mere gathering together of a concourse of buyers and sellers had ceased to be unlawful, and a grant from the king was necessary for the holding of a market or fair.[135] It was an essential condition of holding a market or fair that it should be open for all persons to frequent it for the purpose of buying and selling. In consideration of the provision of land for the use of the public "the crown frequently granted to lords of markets and fairs the right to take toll upon goods sold therein. But no

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[133] Ibid., p. 28.

[134] Lipson, op. cit., pp. 231-232.

[135] Pease and Chitty, op. cit., p. 4.

toll could be taken without a grant. Toll was not incident to a market or fair, and many of them were toll-free."[136]

> The legal definition of toll (in connection with a fair or market) is 'a reasonable sum of money due to the owner of the fair or market upon the sale of things tollable within the fair or market, or for stallage, piccage or the like,'. . . . Stallage is a satisfaction to the owner of the soil on which a market or fair is held for the liberty of placing a stall upon it or for standing room for cattle or goods within the market or fair; and if the soil be broken it is called piccage.[137]

Certain other tolls were connected with fairs and markets. One of these was tronage, a duty paid for weighing wool, and other heavy commodities. "Tolls, stallage, and the like, are usually paid in money; but by custom or prescription they may be payable in kind, as by taking a pint of every bushel of wheat exposed for sale."[138]

The thirteenth century brought other changes in regulations of the English fairs. "Prior to 1285 it was a common practice to hold fairs in churchyards, ... But the Statute of Winchester enacted that 'henceforth neither fairs nor markets be kept in churchyards, for the honour of the church'."[139] In early times any change of the market-day was unlawful. But in the thirteenth century the opinion began to prevail that Sunday marketing was wrong, "and consequently changes of

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[136] Ibid.

[137] Ibid., p. 55.

[138] Pease and Chitty, op. cit., p. 69.

[139] Ibid., p. 42.

market-days from Sunday to week-days were often allowed without payment of a fine, and at last they came to be regarded as lawful."[140]

The activity of the English fairs was at its height in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. That fairs were in existence prior to this time is cited by Lipson.

> . . . An early mention of a fair at Chester in connexion with a grant made to the Constable Nigel by Hugo, Earl of Chester, who came over with the Conqueror; and William I. conceded an annual fair to Malmesbury Abbey. Again at Arundel in 1071 Roger de Montgomery was seized of the town of Arundel with its fair and market, ... But the really important fairs - St. Giles, St. Ives, Stourbridge and Bartholomew - were founded in subsequent reigns.[141]

The fair of St. Giles came into existence at the beginning of the twelfth century. It became important as a center of traffic between France and the south of England. "The chief articles of merchandise here were cloth, woollen goods and all manner of foreign produce, and after the invention of printing there was a large sale of books; . . . ."[142] The fair of St. Ives was founded in 1110 by Henry I. It developed into an important center for hides, wool and cloth, and its situation on the Ouse attracted large numbers of native and foreign merchants.

"Bartholomew fair originated in a grant (1133) made by Henry I. to a monk Rayer, by whom the priory was founded."[143] This is believed

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[140] Ibid., p. 50.

[141] Lipson, op. cit., p. 198.

[142] Ibid., p. 232.

[143] Ibid.

to be the only fair, or certainly the only one of any note, ever held within the walls of the City of London. This fair became the chief cloth fair of England, and to it "the clothiers of all England and drapers of London repaired, and had their booths and standings within the Church Yard of this Priory. . . ." [A draper meant, originally, one who made the cloth he sold. It was the London designation for clothier.][144] Cloth and stuffs were among the chief articles of commerce at the fair about this period. The King's "firm peace," and the usual privileges were afforded those coming to the fair that "is much frequented at the feast of Saint Bartholomew."

> So that in those three days' space, namely, the eve of the feast, or the day itself, or the day following . . . from such comers, whether without the City or within, or in passing along the ways or over the bridges, no one shall require any customs, ...[145]

The first trace of the Sturbridge Fair is found in a charter granted about 1211 by King John to the Lepers of the Hospital of St. Mary Magdalen at Sturbridge, by Cambridge - "a fair to be held in the Close of the Hospital on the Vigil and Feast of the Holy Cross."[146] Walford writes that this fair became in a comparatively short time the most important fair held in Great Britain; and that some writers have declared it the most important in the world. The spelling of the name of this fair is a point of interest, since it has varied much at different periods. "The original designation was Steresbrigg, so called from the

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[144]Walford, op. cit., pp. 168, 194.

[145]Ibid., p. 175.

[146]Ibid., p. 54.

little river of Stere, or Sture flowing into the Cam, near Cambridge."[147] This study will follow the spelling of the authority under quotation. Sturbridge was one of four great wool fairs in England.

> . . . There for three weeks were gathered English wool or cloth merchants, Venetians and Genoese with oriental and Italian wares, Flemings with cloth and metal goods, Spaniards and Frenchmen with wine, Greeks with currants and raisins, and Hansards with fur, amber, and tar.[148]

Costly works of embroidery, velvets, silk and cloths of gold are cited by Lipson as among the commodities which made this fair renowned.[149]

Lipson cites other fairs of this period at Westminister, Northampton, Bristol, and St. Botolph was founded about 1200. This fair, exceptional in the fact that it was not owned by the church, attracted visitors from a great distance. It is said that here the canons of Bridlington laid in a stock of cloth for their convent. In addition to the fairs enumerated here, there were many smaller fairs, some of which were held for a particular object. The fair of Leeds, for example, was for the sale of cloth.[150]

> The fact that England was for a great part of the middle ages the largest and most important source of fine wool gave her a key position in the scheme of interdependence which united the cloth-producing and pasture-farming countries. A good part of the Italian cloth industry and almost the whole of the industry of the Low Countries depended on English wool.[151]

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[147] Ibid., p. 56.

[148] Heaton, op. cit., p. 170.

[149] Lipson, op. cit., p. 233.

[150] Lipson, op. cit., p. 234.

[151] Eileen Power, The Wool Trade in English Medieval History (London: Oxford University Press, 1941), p. 16.

In every part of England, an organized weaving industry was carried on during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In the thirteenth century, the cloth-producing towns of England formed themselves into merchant associations: "the early 'Hanse of London,' which managed the import trade in wool, and the 'Hanse of Seventeen Towns,' which managed the export of cloth to the Champagne fairs."[152] Gilds were established in London, Oxford, Lincoln, Huntington, Nottingham, Winchester and York. In Yorkshire the chief centre of the cloth trade was the city of York. At an early period Wakefield, Halifax and Bradford were connected with the woollen industry, showing that the textile manufactures were growing up in country places as well as in towns. In Norfolk the worsted trade was established at Worstead and Aylsham. In Suffolk, fullers were established at Bury St. Edmunds; cloth-dealers, dyers and weavers at Ipswich; and textile workers at Blackbourne. Even in the west of England the cloth trade developed. Lipson explains that evidence tends to show that a woollen manufacture was carried on in most parts of the realm at an early period, and "we are not without some knowledge of the different fabrics manufactured in England in the twelfth century, and their relative values."[153]

> In 1182 the sheriff of Lincolnshire purchased cloth for the King's need: and the Pipe Roll, on which the account was entered, shows that an ell of 'scarlet' cost six and eightpence, an ell of blanket three shillings, green say three shillings, and grey say one and eightpence.[154]

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[152] Ibid., pp. 10-11.

[153] Lipson, op. cit., pp. 391-394.

[154] Ibid., p. 394.

Though evidence is scanty, it does seem to indicate that large quantities of cloth were worked up for a market in numerous parts of the country during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and that weaving was carried on as a trade and not merely as a family or household occupation. The cloths of Stamford found a market at Venice as early as 1265, and English cloth was exported to Spain about this time. The Domesday Book of Ipswich enumerates some of the "cloths of England," which were bought in the country and came into merchants' hands at Ipswich, where they paid export duty "for to pass from the quay to the parts of the sea." "The list contains the coloured cloths of Beverly and Sudbury. These finer English cloths were also bought for the king's wardrobe; for example, in 1233 the king made large purchases of cloth from Lincoln, York, Beverly and Leicester."[155]

III. THE CHANGING CHARACTER OF FAIRS, 14th and 15th CENTURIES

M. Pirenne cites the decline of the Champagne fairs at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

> The essential cause was undoubtedly the substitution for peripatetic commerce of more sedentary practices, at the same time as the development of direct shipping from the Italian ports to those of Flanders and England. No doubt, too, the long war which set the County of Flanders and the kings of France by the ears from 1302 to 1320 also contributed to their decay, in depriving them of the most active group of their northern customers. A little later the Hundred Year's war dealt them the decisive blow.[156]

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[155] Ibid., pp. 394-396.

[156] Pirenne, Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe, p. 103.

The inauguration in 1317 by the Venetians of a direct route by sea from the Mediterranean to Flanders and England, caused buyers and sellers to gather where the ships came in, especially in Bruges, now the meeting place of southern and northern sea lanes.[157] "Bruges did not go to the world, the world came to Bruges, and in the last years of the thirteenth century she took the place of the Champagne fairs as the international money market and produce exchange."[158] The Venetians, Florentines, Catalans, Spaniards, Bayonnais, Bretons and Hansards all possessed depots or counting-houses there.

> It was they who fostered the activity of this great entrepot, which succeeded the Champagne fairs as the point of contact between the commerce of the North and that of the South, with this difference, that instead of being periodical, as it was at the fairs, the contact was now permanent. . . . The efflorescence of the cloth industry in the basin of the Scheldt was the chief reason why the Hansards as well as the Italians established themselves at Bruges.[159]

Records indicate that Italian firms now ceased to send representatives to Champagne and settled agents or partners in Bruges, where they found all the facilities of a fair but in addition could transact business all the year round. Heaton explains, however, that "the need for fairs as concentration points for goods and traders did not vanish."[160] Replacing the Champagne fairs, "others prospered in Italy, Switzerland, Germany and Spain, and in particular at Florence, where business to the

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[157]Heaton, op. cit., p. 171.

[158]Power, The Wool Trade in English Medieval History, p. 11.

[159]Pirenne, Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe, pp. 147-148.

[160]Heaton, op. cit., pp. 171-172.

amount of fifteen or sixteen million francs was transacted every year, and at Geneva, Cologne, Frankfort, and Bruges."[161]

The Hanseatic League, a trading alliance formed by a group of north German towns in the middle of the fourteenth century, fostered the development of trade routes rivalling those that formerly led to the fairs of Champagne. Alliances were formed with towns throughout Germany and an overland route from Italy developed. From Venice and Genoa merchants carried their goods over the Alpine passes to Ulm and Augsburg and on to the north, where the Hanseatic towns then distributed them along the coasts of the northern seas. The route up the Rhone was not entirely deserted, but now terminated at Lyons, the site of a great fair that to some extent replaced those once held in Champagne. The situation of Lyons, "at the confluence of the Saone and the Rhone, render it unrivalled for the facilities of water carriage through some of the richest parts of France."[162] The fairs of Lyons were established in 1420, and were held four times a year, in January, April, August, and November.

During the developmental period, the importance of a fair was independent of the place where it was set up, and, Pirenne explains:

> . . . This is easily understood, since the fair was nothing more than a periodic meeting-place for a distant clientele and attendance at it did not depend on the density of the local population. It was only in the second half of the Middle Ages that fairs were founded for the mere purpose of furnishing certain towns with supplementary resources, by attracting a temporary throng of people. But it is clear that in these cases considerations of

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[161]Boissonnade, op. cit., p. 287.

[162]Walford, op. cit., p. 266.

> local trade were paramount and that the institution was turned from its original and essential object.[163]

"It is difficult to determine with any degree of certainty," writes Lipson, "the period at which English fairs began to decline either in numbers or importance."[164] He cites records in 1335 that said foreigners do not come to St. Botolph's fair as they used to do, while in 1414 it was reported that St. Botolph's fair had ceased "now for many years past." Lipson believes that this means only that the tidal waves of commerce had receded from certain places, and now visited more convenient centers, and that while at different times one fair rose and another fell, no proof appears to have been adduced of a general decay in the fifteenth century of the system of periodical marts.[165] Some historians are of the opinion that the fairs of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries underwent a change in character, and were given up to purposes of amusement rather than to trade. According to Lipson, "this view is unsupported by any evidence, and it is certainly wrong to suppose that even at the close of the Middle Ages English fairs had lost their vitality as a commercial institution, or were attended merely by the local people who dwelt in their neighborhood."[166]

The continued importance of Sturbridge and Bartholomew fair is evidenced by Walford's investigation. It is not until the seventeenth

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[163]Pirenne, Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe, p. 99.

[164]Lipson, op. cit., p. 234.

[165]Ibid., pp. 234-235.

[166]Ibid., pp. 235-236.

century that he notes a decline in the importance of Sturbridge fair. That English fairs did experience character changes through the centuries is pointed out by Walford, who cites Henry Morley's "Memoirs of Bartholomew Fair":

> Bound once to the life of the nation by the three ties of Religion, Trade and Pleasure, first came a time when the tie of Religion was unloosened from it; then it was a place of Trade and Pleasure. A few more generations having lived and worked, Trade was no longer bound to it. The Nation still grew, and at last broke from it even as a pleasure fair. It lived for seven centuries or more, ...[167]

IV. TEXTILES IN CENTRAL EUROPE 10th THROUGH 15th CENTURIES

By the tenth century, "the oriental and occidental world were truly united by the Christian faith"[168] in Constantinople where the varied cultural patterns of different peoples became integrated. Constantinople, the capital city of the Byzantine Empire, became a textile center when Antioch and Alexandria fell into the hands of the Arabs late in the seventh century.

> Its metropolitan function caused it to develop a textile style typical of the Byzantine court and specialising in the so-called medallion design, varying from smaller to larger sizes. Lions, griffins, tigers, winged horses, eagles, and mythical animals appearing on fabrics, symbolised statuesquely imperial power, and continued to do so up to the 11th century.[169]

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[167] Walford, op. cit., p. 242.

[168] Renate Jaques and Ernst Flemming, Encyclopedia of Textiles (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1958), p. IX.

[169] Ibid.

Weibel describes Byzantine art as "a fusion of many elements, chiefly Greek idealistic, Syro-Semitic didactic, and Eastern formalistic; and it was exclusively Christian."[170] The style designated as Byzantine does not refer alone to the artistic endeavors within the city or within the Christian empire, for it included work done in the adjacent countries under the dominating influence of Constantinople. In turn, it must be acknowledged that the height of achievement attained in Byzantine textiles reflected the artistry of the ancient artisans in these adjacent countries. "Greece, Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia, Palestine, Egypt, and all the smaller countries that bordered the eastern Mediterranean were contained in the broader meaning of the word."[171]

It was following Emperor Justinian's introduction of sericulture in the sixth century that silk weaving became important in Byzantium. Weavers migrated from the various near-by countries to this newly established center, and there was an interaction with Sassanian art. The finest of Byzantine silks are said to have been woven in the imperial workshops during the tenth to twelfth centuries. A respect for the empty space, the outstanding contribution of the Byzantine textile design, was firmly rooted by that time. It is noticeable that the spandrel designs, the compact well-centered rosettes, and the lion and eagle silks made excellent use of the empty space.[172] The coloring of

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[170]Weibel, op. cit., p. 40.

[171]Lewis, op. cit., p. 104.

[172]Weibel, op. cit., p. 41.

the Byzantine silks was a great part of their beauty. An imperial purple was used only by the court, but the rich reds and violets and blues designed for lesser people were elegant also.

The Byzantine Empire lasted until it was attacked by the Turks in 1453, and was the prevailing cultural influence in the western world during the early centuries of this study. Sicily, "the halfway house between the powers of the eastern and western Mediterranean,"[173] was a part of the Byzantine Empire from 535 when Justinian reigned in Constantinople, to 827 when the Mohammedans conquered the island. Though their rule was of short duration in Sicily, Lewis and Glazier credit the Arabs with the establishment of silk weaving within the period, looms being set up in Palermo workshops early in their reign.[174] Von Falke expresses a different view.

> Ist [sic] is true that gold borders were made in Palermo under the Normans, and that the royal workshops managed by Arabians produced embroideries after the Islam style - but nothing in the way of silk textiles.[175]

"The characteristic elements of the specifically Arabian ornaments of the west-Islamic territory, are abstract arabesques, and geometric polygonal designs formed of folded and intersected bands."[176] The likeness of Sicilian to Byzantine design was due largely to the early

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[173] Ibid., p. 56.

[174] Lewis, op. cit., p. 141; Richard Glazier, Historic Textile Fabrics (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1923), p. 48.

[175] Otto von Falke, Decorative Silks (New York: William Helburn Inc., 1936), p. 23.

[176] Ibid., p. 21.

arrival of migratory weavers who came from Persia, Syria, Byzantium, and even India, to join the artisans in Sicily.

Late in the eleventh century, when the Normans conquered Sicily, Roger II brought Greek weavers to the mills in Palermo, and "weavers migrated there from all the great weaving centers, each bringing his own ideas as to intricate and pleasing textures, and what was to them the last word in design."[177] Persian and far-eastern influences continued to be reflected in textile designs that portrayed Sicilian legends or superstitions in a highly symbolic fashion. "The most outstanding characteristics are two--the use of a suggested ogival form and a horizontal movement that quite replaced the vertical effect that had been obvious for so many years."[178] At Palermo, "spots of lustrous gold thread were always introduced."[179] Dull blue, purple and red were the predominant colors, with the trend in later years directed toward delicate color harmonies.

Lewis records that in the twelfth century Sicily was acknowledged as the leader that had replaced Byzantium in the world of textiles, and cites her damasks and brocades and velvets as "worthy ancestors of the glorious fabrics that were to be created in the famous weaving centers of Italy."[180] However, von Falke writes "but we now know that the part Sicily played in the medieval silk textile art was greatly

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[177]Lewis, op. cit., p. 142.

[178]Lewis, op. cit., p. 145.

[179]Ibid.

[180]Lewis, op. cit., pp. 143, 149.

overestimated, and a thorough-going investigation of historical sources of Sicily's silk industry, has led to far more modest results."[181]

Italy increased the production of fine fabrics gradually during the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries. When the last of the line of Staufen lost both his reign and his life in Sicily, many expert weavers migrated from Palermo and settled in Lucca and Pisa,[182] and "the Italian silk weaving industry was in full swing by the 13th century."[183] The style used by most designers of early Italian silks was Byzantine or west-Saracenic. Some independent creations were produced by romanesque designers. "A new type of ornament marks a complete break with the earlier Sassanian-Byzantine inspired fabrics."[184] Patterned silks from China are cited as the inspiration for this new style:

> The traditional conventionalized vines, palmettes, and leaves were not entirely discarded, but lively animals and birds, restless motion, unsymmetrical planning, and the fine floral scrolls of the Chinese began to appear in Italian silk designs.[185]

Lucca had produced fine woolen cloth since Roman times; now Lucchese craftsmen took the lead in Italian silk-weaving. During the early Renaissance, Florence replaced Lucca in the textile field; and, in the

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[181] von Falke, loc. cit.

[182] Jaques and Flemming, op. cit., p. X.

[183] von Falke, op. cit., p. 29.

[184] 2000 Years of Silk Weaving (New York: E. Weyhe, 1944), p. viii.

[185] Pauline Simmons, Chinese Patterned Silks (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1948), pp. 22-23.

middle and later part of the Renaissance, the production of fine textiles moved to Genoa and Venice.[186]

Early Lucca fabrics reflected the style of Palermo and the techniques of Sicilian silk weavers. Gradually the weavers of Palermo and Lucca blended their ideas into fresh and original designs. Flaming rays and pseudo-Kufic lettering which reflected Palermitan influence were combined with the Gothic castles and heraldic emblems used by fourteenth century Lucchese weavers, and human figures with long flowing hair and faces woven with white silk represented an effort toward realism. From the fourteenth century, the Lucchese wove a diasprum cloth, at first in monochrome and in white, with silk threads of different twists for pattern and background, and their cloths of gold were famous. Lucca was one of the first textile centers in Europe to weave velvet in quantities of commercial importance, though most of the finest fabrics were brocades or damasks.[187] Patterns with religious subjects were woven here more often than in any other weaving center. A red background for either polychromatic designs or white patterns was a Lucchese favorite.

Florence was the successor to Lucca's position in the textile field. Her weavers had long produced fabrics of wool and linen, and there is a scant amount of documentary evidence which indicates that

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[186]Jaques and Flemming, op. cit., pp. X-XI.

[187]Lewis, op. cit., p. 157.

Florence had weavers working in the new technique of weaving velvet as early as the twelfth century.[188] Florence was a leader in dyeing in the fourteenth century, and weavers taken from Lucca during that century helped her to become the leader in silk weaving. "With the beginning of the fifteenth century came the early Renaissance which was almost entirely Florentine."[189] Fabrics became increasingly precious as the cultural and economic growth of the Medici period reached a climax.[190] Many of the sumptuous velvet patterns, on a ground of gold, were used for vestments of the Church.[191] "The new spirit which led to the renaissance in art and culture also led to the invention of a new textile design whose innumerably diversified expressions are summarized as 'the pomegranate pattern'."[192] The vase, originally used with the pomegranate, and the crown were important later motifs for patterned velvets and velvet brocades which were developed during the Renaissance.

Color was a vital part of the Florentine fabrics. Ruby red, sapphire blue or purple velvet patterns on backgrounds of gold were distinctly Italian in style but were reminiscent of Eastern design characteristics. White silk became important as damasks of cream or white were over-brocaded in greens, reds, pinks and blues. The small

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[188]Florence Lewis May, Silk Textiles of Spain (New York: The Hispanic Society of America, 1957), p. 120.

[189]Lewis, op. cit., p. 160.

[190]Jaques and Flemming, op. cit., p. XI.

[191]Glazier, op. cit., p. 60.

[192]2000 Years of Silk Weaving, op. cit., p. IX.

patterned fabrics used for costumes were usually dark against a light background.[193]

In the middle and later part of the Renaissance, the production of fine Italian textiles moved to Venice and Genoa, "which also in a political sense were the heirs of the Medici reign."[194] Silk weavers from Lucca migrated to Venice from the thirteenth century, and "there is no doubt that the advent of the Lucchese weavers resulted in a material improvement in the products of Venice and indeed raised the standard of Venetian silks to the eminence they attained."[195] Weibel cites lack of temperament, a greater stability, as the main characteristic distinguishing Venetian from Lucchese textiles: "the plant motifs are stronger, a highly individual palmette tree occurs repeatedly, generally in combination with almost naturalistic plants."[196] Venice produced velvets with large patterned designs, as well as small patterned velvets to serve the fashion element of the period. The design of her ferronnerie velvets was similar to designs for wrought iron work. Also, laces and fine table linens were included in the records of Venetian fabrics produced in this period.

> As a whole, Venetian woven fabrics, though they did not display quite that genius for original invention which was characteristic of the products of Lucca, were yet, throughout, of a magnificence

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[193]Lewis, op. cit., pp. 165-166.

[194]Jaques and Flemming, loc. cit.

[195]Cyril G. E. Bunt, Venetian Fabrics (England: F. Lewis, publishers, Ltd. Leigh-On-Sea, 1959), p. 10.

[196]Weibel, op. cit., p. 61.

> comparable with the fabrics of the Orient. They were among the most beautiful to be found contributing to the World's Heritage of Woven Fabrics.[197]

The finest Genoese textiles belong to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. "The early fifteenth century designs were formal and very impressive with their sinuous sweeping lines, often giving the effect of an elongated S."[198] Sixteenth century forms were heavier. Ciselé velvets showed a combination of cut and uncut loops, and some of the finest velvets were cut in delicate differentiation of height, pile on pile.[199] In addition to velvets, Genoese weavers produced flat silks, brocatelles, and Cologne bands woven of fine silk. Their linens and embroideries were comparable to the Venetian's, and cotton weaving, too, was known to the Genoese.[200]

Printing, an important decorative technique, "was introduced into Europe through Italy in about the 12th century."[201] Invented by the Chinese about the eighth century, the idea of block printing spread along the route of silk.

> We know that the craft was practiced in Italy from the sections devoted to it in Cennino Cennini's Libro dell'arte o trattato della pittura, written about 1400; and that it reached a very high level of technical excellence is shown by the famous printed textile from

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[197] Bunt, op. cit., p.12.

[198] Lewis, op. cit., p. 177.

[199] Weibel, op. cit., p. 67.

[200] Lewis, op. cit., p. 179.

[201] M.D.C. Crawford, 5000 Years of Fibers and Fabrics (Brooklyn: The Brooklyn Museum Press, 1946), p. 28.

> Sion, now in the Basle Museum, dating from the middle of the fourteenth century and Italian in origin.[202]

Fifteenth century Florentine and Genoese craftsmen are said to have been familiar with printing,[203] "but very few printed Italian stuffs survive from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and there is nothing to indicate the extent of the industry at that time."[204] Crawford cites this form of printing as having a direct relationship "to later printing with movable type on paper and also to the etched copper plates used in France in the 18th century and ultimately to the roller printing of today."[205]

Italy began tapestry-weaving in the fourteenth century as "weavers from the Low Countries and France were attracted thither singly or in small groups, and set up their looms where employment was offered to them."[206]

"The weaver's craft in the Low Countries became important at a very early date, and the weaving of haute-lisse tapestries is recorded to have been practised there as early as the beginning of the 14th century."[207] The Flemish craft of tapestry-weaving extended beyond the

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[202] European Printed Textiles (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1949), p. 2.

[203] Lewis, op. cit., p. 163.

[204] European Printed Textiles, loc. cit.

[205] Crawford, loc. cit.

[206] A. F. Kendrick, Catalogue of Tapestries (London: Printed under the Authority of the Board of Education, 1924), p. 60.

[207] Ibid., p. 23.

limits of the provinces of Flanders, and immigrant Flemish weavers were partly responsible for the work carried out in France.[208] The greatest tapestries of this century were woven in Flanders and France.

The importance of Flemish tapestries was due, in part, to such Flemish artists as the Van Eycks, Memling and others who made cartoons for weaving in wool, and to the patronage of the churches and wealthy noblemen. Tapestry weavers of Flanders are credited with originating a system of hatching whereby light and dark colors interlaced to create an intermediate hue, or a shaded effect.

Arras, which rivaled Paris in the early fourteenth century, and Tournai were weaving centers that developed distinctive styles.[209] The tapestries of Arras were small in scale, tended toward dark colors, and had small fragile figures. Historical events and legends dating from antiquity were among the favorite subjects for designs. The tapestries of Tournai, with figures of intermediate size, were in a more naturalistic style; the decorative background of flowers and leaves was similar in character to the mille fleurs of contemporary French tapestries. After the decline of Arras, Brussels became a major weaving center with productions that were distinctly influenced by the Italian Renaissance.

Flax was another indigenous product of Flanders, and documented evidence of "the immigration of Flemish linen weavers to Brandenburg,

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[208] Ibid., pp. 23, 48.

[209] Phyllis Ackerman, Tapestry The Mirror of Civilization (New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 1933), p. 109.

Saxony and Silesia around 1250"[210] would indicate that the Flemish linen weavers were active prior to this time. The weaving of linen damask for tablecloths and napkins that developed in the early sixteenth century continued to be a profitable industry in Flanders and Holland throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. "A special style of design was evolved, possibly by borrowing from the early woodcuts of the Flemish and German schools."[211]

"In Holland and Flanders, silk weaving was introduced in the thirteenth century by some wandering Italian weavers who settled down in Flanders."[212] The silk weaving centers of Ypres, Molmes and Ghent produced satins, gold brocades and velvets that in technique were equal to any in Europe. "Bruges satin was much esteemed in England for vestments, a favorite design being the Florentine pomegranate."[213] Master weavers from Tournai, Lille, Béthune and Lannoy introduced velvet weaving at Antwerp in the years after 1565; ". . . from Antwerp, the velvet industry spread to Holland at the end of the sixteenth century."[214]

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[210]Jaques and Flemming, op. cit., p. XIII.

[211]Weibel, op. cit., p. 68.

[212]Violetta Thurston, Decorative Textiles and Tapestries (London: Pepler and Sewell, 1934), p. 56.

[213]Ibid.

[214]"Velvet Production - Historical Aspects," Ciba Review, 96 (February 1953), 3454.

Tapestry and embroidery, rather than the woven fabrics, were the source of the earliest designs that can be credited to France.[215] "From its beginnings in the thirteenth century through its full flowering in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it is tapestry which reigns as the sovereign art, the art of the chefs d'oeuvre."[216] There were weavers of tapestry in many French towns which could not be considered centers of the art; ". . . perhaps there were itinerant weavers also."[217] The high warp loom, called haute lisse, has been in use without marked variation since the Middle Ages at Arras, Tournai, and Paris.[218]

"In the mid-thirteenth century, northern France was one of the principal flax processing and linen weaving areas."[219] In the same century, a silk weaver's guild was formed in Paris. Centers of silk weaving were established at Lyons and Tours in the fifteenth century. Louis XI invited Italian weavers to these centers, but the silks woven there in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries could not compete with Italian imports.[220] The religious wars of the sixteenth century almost

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[215]Lewis, op. cit., p. 183.

[216]Jean Cassou, "French Tapestries: The Style," Art News Annual, XLVI (November, 1947), 27.

[217]French Tapestries Mediaeval, Renaissance, and Modern (New York: 1947), p. 9.

[218]George Fontaine, "French Tapestries: The Craft," Art News Annual, XLVI (November, 1947), 39.

[219]"Linen Damasks," Ciba Review, 110 (June, 1955), 3985.

[220]Weibel, op. cit., p. 68; 2000 Years of Silk Weaving, op. cit., p. X.

annihilated silk weaving in France "until Henry IV assured freedom of belief to the many Huguenot silk weavers by the promulgation of the Edict of Nantes in 1598."[221]

French textile designs showed Italian influence until the seventeenth century, but "the vase of flowers became a bit finer when worked by French hands. The ogival frame gradually evolved into waving bands and the ever present crown was almost lost in a maze of foliage."[222] In about the fifteenth century, the French favored red backgrounds for their fabrics, with pattern colors in strong contrast.

England's major industry down to the nineteenth century was that of woollens and worsteds. "The greater part of the English cloth manufacture was exported undyed as it came from the loom until far into the seventeenth century, and was processed by the dyers and finishers of Flanders and Brabant."[223] The English weaving industry, carried on during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, was aided by Edward III who encouraged the immigration of craftsmen from Flanders, Zeeland and Brabant. The English scarlet, a fine quality flexible woollen fabric which was most beautiful when dyed red, encouraged fashion changes to the more closely fitted garments of the fourteenth century. ". . . At

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[221]Weibel, loc. cit.

[222]Lewis, op. cit., pp. 184-185.

[223]"Textiles Trades Under Queen Elizabeth," Ciba Review, 78 (February, 1950), 2859.

the close of the fourteenth century English cloth had won first place in the markets of Europe."[224] "In the fifteenth century, the town of Frankfort usually bought four kinds of cloth at the same time. . . . The Brabant and English cloth fetching more than four time the lowest price."[225] Fine cloths, friezes, kerseys and worsteds were woven throughout England, and a number of Englishmen were engaged in the finishing processes of the woollen industry, fulling and dyeing.[226]

Wool was England's chief native product, but linen was grown in Lincolnshire, and both cotton and silk were known. England's skillful embroiderers produced such hangings as the so-called Bayeux Tapestry, and her "embroideries continued to be more noteworthy than her woven textiles right up to the eighteenth century."[227]

> Though there are practically no examples of English domestic needlework earlier in date than Elizabethan times, except for a few heraldic pieces like the Black Prince's surcoat at Canterbury or the Calthorp purse in the museum, it was not necessarily non-existant. Domestic work, however, was overshadowed by the magnificent ecclesiastical embroidery made in England in the 13th and 14th centuries.[228]

English tapestry weaving was first recorded in the thirteenth century during the reign of Henry III. Edward III encouraged high quality in

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[224]"The Cloth Trade at the Frankfort Fairs," Ciba Review, 103 (April, 1954), 3699.

[225]Ibid.

[226]Lipson, op. cit., pp. 400, 392.

[227]Lewis, op. cit., pp. 223, 233.

[228]A Picture Book of English Embroideries (London: Published Under the Authority of the Board of Education, 1933), Introduction.

tapestry weaving by decreeing that only the best English and Spanish wools were to be used.

Edward III also endeavored to establish a firmly grounded silk weaving industry, however, "there was as yet no native art development and the mixture of pattern borrowed from all the more strongly artistic countries resulted in a melange not unlike the language that was evolving at the same time."[229] The revocation of the Edict of Nantes in the seventeenth century encouraged the migration of silk weavers to the village of Spitalfields, near London, where they were fairly prosperous all through the eighteenth century.[230]

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[229]Lewis, op. cit., pp. 223-224.

[230]Weibel, loc. cit.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study traced the development of trade fairs and their influence on textiles in Central Europe, including Italy, France, Flanders and England, from the tenth through the fifteenth centuries. It investigated: the development of fairs as a part of the economic growth of the period; the kind and increased availability of textiles at the fairs; the changing character of the fairs; and, the exchange of national or regional design characteristics of the textiles during these six centuries.

Reference works of the legal aspects and of the conduct of specific fairs were obtained through The Library of Congress searching service. Additional data were available in the library of The Woman's College of the University of North Carolina. These source materials included works of historians of the Medieval Period, encyclopedias of social and economic history, and periodicals relating to the history of textiles. The review of literature presents the special competence of each authority in the area about which he wrote, as well as his conclusions. Background information of the development of Central Europe from the fifth through the ninth centuries gives special emphasis to the most frequented trade routes and to fairs and other gatherings of this formative period.

The tabulation and interpretation of data were presented in two periods: (1) the developmental period, tenth through thirteenth

centuries, and (2) the changing character of fairs and textiles at the fairs, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The term textiles as used in this study means woven cloth, or, textile fibers which might be spun for weaving and that were offered at the fairs. Characteristics of the textiles in Central Europe were reported as a part of the investigation for evidence of migration of design, and spanned both periods. A chronological chart of fairs, classified by countries, cites the centuries and the cities in which fairs were recorded. An economic map of Europe in the Middle Ages illustrates the direction of trade routes and the location of fairs.

Fairs and Textiles at the Fairs

The earliest fairs appeared as religious rather than as commercial institutions. The church influenced the practice of observing a temporary peace to which the fair owed its success. One of the earliest specific references to trading at a religious gathering dates the occurrence of such activity as the fourth century. Other gatherings of people, for political purposes or at sports events, also appeared to have fostered early fairs. Because all hostilities were suspended during fairs and other gatherings, people with their merchandise could attend with safety.

The first fairs specially designed as marts for commerce were in the late fifth century. Certain changes occurred between the fifth and ninth centuries that influenced the type of civilization which existed in the tenth century, the beginning of this study. The Roman Empire in the East became the Byzantine Empire, with Christianity as its most characteristic element. Monasticism aided the revival and promotion of trade.

The Mohammedan religion became a rival of Christianity and laid the foundations for the development of a Saracen civilization which stimulated in the peoples of the West a desire for advances in literature, a pursuit of learning, a study of science, and more active commerce. The beginnings of feudalism, a system which permeated the military, political, social, and economic aspects of life in the Middle Ages, paralleled the rise of strength in the Christian and Moslem faiths. The ninth century invasions of the Northmen, whose western targets were the rich farm districts of the Rhine and French river valleys as well as the Low Countries and England, injured the economy of the area, but did not wreck it completely.

The first fairs specially designed as marts for commerce were held in Italy. Here, also, developed the conditions that gave Italy the leadership in the development of migratory commerce from the sixth century. Italy maintained a constant contact with the Byzantines, who were, by now, famous as producers of luxury goods and suppliers of the wares of India and China. Italy was accessible to the three main trade routes over which these goods traveled west, and Upper Italy was accessible to routes along the valleys of rivers and across the passes of the Alps. An overland route established from Venice northward through the Brenner Pass allowed Venetian traders access to the Low Countries, as did the annual trip made by the Fleet of Flanders.

Prior to the tenth century, fairs developed in Italy, Flanders, France and England. Amalfi, a leading port on the ankle of Italy, and other southern ports played an important role in this early form of exchange, with rivals appearing farther north at Genoa, Pisa, Lucca,

Pavia, Milan, and Venice. Piacenza, located on the Via Francigena trade route, witnessed a rapid development in fairs in the ninth century. Flanders, situated at the mouth of the Rhine, Meuse and Scheldt, was the meeting point of inland trade routes and of sea lanes. The early fairs in the Low Countries appeared at Thourout and Messines. Those in France appear to have developed in certain regions of the interior. The fair of Troyes was in existence from the fifth century, and that of Saint Denis was founded in the seventh. Some disagreement was noted among historians as to whether the Romans or the Anglo-Saxons founded fairs in England. There is general agreement, however, that the fairs were largely recast during the Anglo-Saxon period. The early English fairs were regarded as secular institutions, but a religious origin is reported in the case of some, such as the fairs of St. Cuthbert and St. Ives.

The tenth century in Europe was characterized by a commercial revival. The centuries that followed were characterized by an increase in the number of fairs and in the commercial activity carried on at the fairs. Italian fairs played a significant part in the early centuries of the commercial revolution. It was noted that the commercial revival of the tenth century first appeared in Italy, where five centuries earlier the first fairs appeared as marts for commerce. Naples, whose main wealth was counted in flax and linen cloth, had fairs in the tenth century. Amalfi, Bari, Lucca, and Venice continued to have fairs during the period from the middle of the tenth to the middle of the fourteenth century. Italy achieved the opening of new routes to new markets, and in the eleventh century, trade increased and spread northward. It is believed that Italians were frequenting the fairs of Champagne at this

period, and by 1100 were visiting Flemish fairs.

The weaving of fine textiles moved westward in the late Middle Ages, and again Italy gained the leadership. The earliest textiles known to have been made in Italy were woolen, but the celebrated fabrics were of silk, or of silk used in combination with other fibers. Florence was a great center for the weaving of woolen cloth in the thirteenth century. The weavers of Lucca were noted for their cloths of wool and of linen, their fine damasks, wondrous cloths of gold, and luxurious brocades and velvets. Because the local market offered only limited possibilities, it became necessary to look for outlets abroad. The expansion of the Lucchese silk industry would have been arrested if the native merchants had not succeeded in building up a sales organization in foreign markets, especially at the fairs of Champagne in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and in Bruges and Paris in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In addition to Lucca, silk weaving became an important industry in Venice, Florence, and Genoa.

The Low Countries began to compete with Italy from the twelfth century onward. Cloth was the magnet which drew to Flanders the merchants of the world, and the foreign merchants bought Flemish cloth chiefly at the fairs of Thourout, Messines, Lille, Ypres, and Douai. Historians mention that fairs were held in Flanders prior to the twelfth century; however, these fairs are not listed on the chronological chart since no specific locations were cited. Commerce in the Low Countries, which were accessible to travelers by land or sea, developed under the influence of long-distance trade as it had in Italy. Among the causes of the commercial importance which so early characterized Flanders was the

existence in that country of an indigenous wool industry. Woolen cloths, remarkable for their beautiful colors and for their softness, were the most sought-after export goods of Flanders. To facilitate this export trade of Flemish cloths, Baldwin III, Count of Flanders, established regular fairs at Bruges, Courtray, Tornout and Mont-Casel where goods sold or exchanged were exempted from paying any duties on being brought in or carried out. This economic motive resulted in trade being greatly expanded and continuing to flourish for several centuries, largely due to the publicity gained through the sale of Flemish goods at the fairs throughout Europe. Itinerant merchants had frequented the Flemish fairs from the beginning of the twelfth century, then the center for commercial exchanges shifted southward.

The great markets of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were the famous French fairs of Champagne. The fairs of Troyes, Bar, Provins, Lagny, Bar-sur-Aube followed each other through the whole course of the year. Investigation shows that the location of Champagne and the economic motive of the Counts of Champagne were vital to the unusual success of French fairs. Champagne was located on or near the upper reaches of half a dozen navigable rivers, and through it passed the overland north-south route. The Counts of Champagne offered special considerations to the merchants by: providing a special legal system for the fairs that was more expeditious and more equitable than the ordinary law of the province; watching over the good conduct of the fairs and the security of the routes of communication; and, supplying guides and escorts to caravans. Another privilege offered to participants at the Champagne fairs was the franchise which allowed special exemptions to merchants going to

the fairs. The Champagne fairs were free fairs to which all might come without restriction of toll or other limitation. A second French trade center, the Ile-de-France, was universally famous for its fair of Saint Denis. Other locations of French fairs which were active during this period were Beaucaire, St. Laurence and St. Germain.

As the Champagne fairs developed into great markets, the cloth industry became the most important form of industrial activity in France. The sale of cloth was the first of the fixed order of sales at the Champagne fairs. For the first twelve days woven goods of all sorts, woolens, silks and cottons, were sold or exchanged. These cloths came from Eastern as well as Western looms. Fairs which had considerable trade in woolens and other textile fabrics had inspectors appointed by the state. Visits to the Champagne fairs by Italian merchants brought to notice the superior quality of cloths from Flanders and France, and suggested the possibility of a profitable trade. The importance thus given to the sale of cloth at the Champagne fairs influenced the development of the textile industry in Central Europe by: increasing the demands of trade; contributing to the improved quality of textiles produced; and, encouraging exchanges in the kinds of textiles produced. The increased demands of trade were largely responsible for the prosperity of the wool, hemp and flax industries in Champagne, the Ile-de-France, Normandy, and other areas of France in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The border weaving industry at Cologne on the Rhine flourished from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century.

The English fairs of the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were the great centers of trade in various parts of the kingdom.

In England prior to the thirteenth century, a mere concourse of buyers and sellers upon an owner's land was permitted without a franchise from the crown, though such a franchise was to the owner's advantage. After that time, a grant from the king was required and the practice of holding fairs in churchyards was ruled unlawful. The economic importance of the English fairs is reflected in the privileges permitted by the Magna Carta in 1215. These exemptions removed or greatly modified restrictions on merchants, thereby aiding the increase in number and importance of fairs. The importance of English fairs is also indicated by the fact that the ordinary activities of municipal life were commonly suspended while the more important fairs were being held. The courts of "pie powder," which had jurisdiction in commercial questions at English fairs, contributed to the consolidation of a body of mercantile law which, in turn, has been an important source of modern jurisprudence. The right to take toll upon goods sold at fairs was frequently granted, but toll was not incident to a fair and many of them were toll-free. The earliest English fairs were at Chester, Malmesbury Abbey and Arundel, but the really important fairs at St. Giles, St. Ives, Sturbridge and Bartholomew were founded in the twelfth century, or later. Cloth was the chief article of merchandise at the fair of St. Giles, which became important as a center of traffic between France and the south of England. The fair of St. Ives developed into an important center for wool and cloth, its situation on the Ouse attracting large numbers of native and foreign merchants. Bartholomew fair became the chief cloth fair of England. The most important fair held in Great Britain was at Sturbridge. Here gathered English wool or cloth merchants, Venetians

and Genoese with oriental and Italian wares, Flemings with cloth, Spaniards and Frenchmen, Greeks and Hansards. Costly works of embroidery, velvets, silks and cloths of gold were among the commodities which made this fair renowned.

Evidence seems to indicate that England produced large quantities of cloth for a market in numerous parts of the realm during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a period that encompasses the height of activity of the English fairs. Two merchant associations formed in the thirteenth century attest to the organization of the weaving industry. The "Hanse of London" managed the import trade in wool, and the "Hanse of Seventeen Towns" managed the export of cloth to the Champagne fairs. Gilds were established in London, Oxford, Lincoln, Huntington, Nottingham, Winchester and York. England was for a great part of the Middle Ages the largest and most important source of fine wool. In addition to the production of large quantities of cloth, the worsted weavers, fullers, and dyers were active during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries witnessed changes in the character of fairs. The importance of the Champagne fairs declined from the fourteenth century. Some essential causes were: the substitution of more sedentary practices for peripatetic commerce; the development of direct shipping from the Italian ports to those of Flanders and England; and, the long war of the fourteenth century which deprived Flanders and France of the most active group of their northern customers. The Venetians inaugurated a direct route by sea from the Mediterranean to Flanders and England in 1317, and Bruges, now the meeting place of

southern and northern sea lanes, took the place of the Champagne fairs. The association between international merchants was now permanent instead of being periodic as it had been at the fairs. However, the need for fairs as concentration points for goods and traders did not vanish. The fairs of Bruges and Florence were among those that prospered in the fourteenth century. Lyons, situated at the confluence of the Saone and the Rhone, was the site of a great fair in the fifteenth century that to some extent replaced those of Champagne. It is difficult to determine the period at which English fairs began to decline either in number or in importance. At different times one fair rose and another fell, but it is incorrect to suppose that English fairs had lost their vitality as a commercial institution even at the close of the Middle Ages.

Design Characteristics of Textiles

The prevailing cultural influence in the western world during the early centuries of this study was that of the Byzantine Empire. Silk weaving became important in Byzantium following the introduction of sericulture in the sixth century, and weavers migrated there from the various near-by countries. Constantinople, the capital city of the Byzantine Empire, became a textile center in the seventh century. The style designated as Byzantine included work done in the adjacent countries of Greece, Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia, Palestine, Egypt, and all of the smaller countries that bordered the eastern Mediterranean. Up to the eleventh century, Byzantine textile style specialised in the so-called medallion design, with animals used to symbolize statuesquely imperial power. In the golden period of the Byzantine silks, the Persian style

was reflected in the animal motifs. The coloring of the Byzantine silks included Imperial purple, rich reds, violets, and blues, and was considered a great part of their beauty.

In the twelfth century, Sicily, located halfway between the powers of the eastern and western Mediterranean, replaced Byzantium as the leader in the world of textiles. Sicily was a part of the Byzantine Empire from 537 to 827, and it is possible that sericulture was introduced in Sicily during this period though actual proof is missing. Some textile historians credit the Arabs with the establishment of silk weaving during their short reign in Sicily. The likeness of Sicilian to Byzantine design was due largely to the arrival of migratory weavers who came from Persia, Syria, Byzantium, and even India. All in all, the Sicilian silks of the Norman period were a blending of Mohammedan and Byzantine motifs. The major design characteristics were the use of a suggested ogival form, and a horizontal movement that replaced the vertical effect which had been used for so many years.

The early Italian silks followed either the Byzantine or west-Saracenic style. Lucca took the lead in Italian silk-weaving and the early Lucchese fabrics reflected the style of Palermo as well as the techniques of Sicilian silk weavers. Gradually, fresh and original designs were produced. Flaming rays and pseudo-Kufic lettering were combined with the Gothic castles and heraldic emblems, and human figures represented an effort toward realism. The finest fabrics were brocades or damasks, but the Lucchese also wove diasprum cloths, cloths of gold, and velvets in quantities of commercial importance. A red background for either polychromatic designs or white patterns was a Lucchese

favorite. Weavers taken from Lucca during the fourteenth century helped Florence to become the successor to Lucca's position in the textile field. Florence had long produced fabrics of wool and linen, and probably had weavers producing velvet as early as the twelfth century. Also, Florence was a leader in dyeing in the fourteenth century, and, with the help of the Lucchese weavers, became the leader in silk weaving. The use of the pomegranate pattern and the development of patterned velvets and velvet brocades were recorded during the early Renaissance. Ruby red, sapphire blue or purple velvet patterns were used on backgrounds of gold, and white silk was over-brocaded in greens, reds, pinks and blues.

In the middle and later part of the Renaissance, the production of fine Italian textiles moved to Venice and Genoa. Lack of temperament and a greater stability distinguished Venetian from Lucchese textiles. Plant motifs were stronger, with repeated use of a highly individual palmette tree usually in combination with almost naturalistic plants. Venice produced velvets with large and small patterns, and <u>ferronnerie</u> velvets with designs similar to wrought iron work. Also, laces and fine table linens were included in the Venetian fabrics. The finest Genoese textiles belong to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Fifteenth century designs were formal, their sinuous sweeping lines often giving the effect of an elongated S. Ciselé velvets showed cut and uncut loops, and some of the finest velvets were cut in differentiation of height, pile on pile. Genoese weavers produced flat silks, brocatelles, Cologne bands, linens, and embroideries. Cotton weaving was known to the Genoese. The important decorative technique of printing, introduced into Europe through Italy about the twelfth century, was used by the fifteenth

century Florentine and Genoese craftsmen. However, few printed Italian fabrics survive, and the extent of the printing industry at that time is unknown.

The weaver's craft in the Low Countries included the use of wool and flax, which were indigenous, and silk. Silk weaving was introduced in Flanders and Holland by some wandering Italian weavers in the thirteenth century. The weaving centers of Ypres, Molmes and Ghent produced satins, gold brocades and velvets that were, in technique, equal to any in Europe. The Low Countries are best known during this period for their tapestries, with records of tapestry weaving there at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Flemish tapestry weavers migrated to Italy and France, and the greatest tapestries of the fourteenth century were woven in Flanders and France. Flemish weavers originated a system of hatching that created an intermediate hue or shaded effect in tapestries. The tapestry centers of Arras and Tournai developed distinctive styles, which helped to increase the demand for their work. The tapestries of Arras tended toward dark colors and were small in scale, using small fragile figures; while the tapestries of Tournai were in a more naturalistic style, using figures of intermediate size. Later, Brussels produced tapestries that were distinctly influenced by the Italian Renaissance. Records indicate that linen weavers were producing cloth prior to the thirteenth century, but the development of this industry into one of commercial importance occurred after the period of this study.

The earliest designs that were uniquely French are to be found in tapestry and embroidery, although tapestry reigned as the sovereign art from the thirteenth through the fifteenth century. Northern France was

a principal flax producing and linen weaving area in the mid-thirteenth century, the same century a silk weaver's guild was formed in Paris. Italian weavers were invited by Louis XI to the silk weaving centers of Lyons and Tours in the fifteenth century. However, the silks woven at these centers in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries could not compete with Italian imports. French textile designs showed Italian influence until the seventeenth century, but the French touch was evident as the ogival frame evolved into waving bands, and the crown was almost lost in a maze of foliage. Red backgrounds with pattern colors in strong contrast were favored by the French in about the fifteenth century.

The English weaving industry of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was aided by Edward III who encouraged the immigration of craftsmen from Flanders, Zeeland and Brabant. English woolen cloth had won first place in the markets of Europe at the close of the fourteenth century. Fine cloths, friezes, kerseys and worsteds were woven throughout England. Wool was England's chief native product, and both cotton and silk were known. Linen was grown in England, but it did not become important during the period of this study. Characteristic English designs were developed through embroideries which were more noteworthy than were the woven patterned textiles of England before the eighteenth century. English tapestry weaving, first recorded in the thirteenth century, was encouraged by Edward III. Also, he endeavored to establish a firmly grounded silk weaving industry which reached its peak after the fifteenth century.

The Influence of Fairs on Textiles

The prominence given to the sale of cloth at the fairs in Central Europe influenced the development of the textile industry by: increasing

the demands of trade; contributing to the improved quality of textiles produced; and, encouraging exchanges in the available kinds of textiles.

The investigation of textiles in Central Europe, tenth through fifteenth centuries, revealed changes in the types and increases in the quantity of textiles available through the period of this study. The investigation revealed no specific proof of textile design migration in the four countries studied during this period. It is believed, however, that a further search in records of the period might confirm the belief of such migration.

Fairs of the early Middle Ages were not established to further the economic goals of an individual or a political group: they provided periodic opportunities for trade. In the second half of the Middle Ages, additional fairs were founded and earlier fairs continued for the purpose of providing certain towns with supplementary resources. Also, in the later Middle Ages, the length of the fairs increased as did their frequency of occurrence. Fairs have continued to experience character changes through the centuries. Their history has been continuous to the present day, with two hundred sixty-five fairs listed on the 1961 Schedule of International Trade Fairs.

England's early industry of raw wool grew into an even more important industry, that of woolens and worsteds. Evidence indicates that England produced large quantities of cloth for a market in numerous parts of the realm during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a period that encompasses the height of activity of the English fairs. Cloth was the chief article of merchandise at many of the English fairs.

The exchange of design characteristics of textiles in Central Europe during the period of this study appears to be due to the migration

of weavers, rather than from influences that can be traced to fairs. Evidence of this belief was cited throughout the data on textiles, and was particularly notable in Sicily and Italy where the production of fine fabrics increased during the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries. Weavers migrated from Palermo and settled in Lucca and Pisa. The migration of Lucchese weavers to Venice resulted in a material improvement in Venetian fabrics. Weavers carried designs with them, rather than designs following the craftsmen. It is noted that the pomegranate pattern, a favorite of the Florentines during the Renaissance, had originated in the East. Italy began tapestry-weaving in the fourteenth century when weavers from the Low Countries and France were attracted to this new tapestry center. The provenance of numerous textiles and tapestries has not been definitely established because they have the characteristics of more than one weaving center.

Recommendations for Further Study

In addition to the data presented, investigation revealed related areas that could merit further research. This writer became partial to each country as studied, indicating that other students might accomplish fresh inquiry in other countries and in other centuries. It is believed that the suggestions listed below might be developed into useful studies.

1. A study of the psychological and sociological elements that underlay the success of trade fairs.
2. A study of cloth fairs as related to technological developments in England in the eighteenth century.
3. A study of fairs and textiles of Spain.
4. A study of the cloth fairs of Germany and Switzerland.

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APPENDIX

TABLE I

CHRONOLOGICAL CHART OF FAIRS BY COUNTRIES 10th THROUGH 15th CENTURIES

CENTURY	ITALY	FLANDERS	FRANCE	ENGLAND
10th	Piacenza[10a] Amalfi[6a] Naples[6a] Bari[1a] Lucca[1a] Venice[1a]		Saint-Denis[11a]	
11th	Bari[1a] Lucca[1a] Venice[1a]		Bar[7a] Troyes[7a] Lagny[7a] Provins[7a]	Chester[5a] Arundel[5a]
12th	Bari[1a] Lucca[1a] Venice[1a]	Bruges[10b] Ypres[9a] Lille[9a] Messines[9a] Thourout[9a]	Bar[9a] Troyes[9a] Lagny[9a] Provins[9a] Bar-sur-Aube[9a] Bar-on-the-Seine[7a] Chateau-Thierry[7b] Chalons-on-the-Marne[7b] Nogent-on-the-Seine[7b]	St. Giles[5b] St. Ives[5b] Bartholomew[12a] Chichester[4a] Hamdon[4b] Malmesbury[4c] Chertsey[4d] Bath[4e] Belvoir[4f] Canterbury[4g] Ely[4h] Newark[4i] St. Albans[4j] King's Lynn fair[4k] Nonancourt[13a] St. Laurence[13b] Caen[13c] Michaelmas[13d] Totnes[14a] St. Augustine[3a]

TABLE 1 (continued)

CENTURY	ITALY	FLANDERS	FRANCE	ENGLAND
13th	Bari[1a] Lucca[1a] Venice[1a]	Bruges[15a] Courtray[15a] Torhout[15a] Mont-Casel[15a] Lille[1a] Messines[1a] Ypres[1a]	Bar[9a] Troyes[9a] Lagny[9a] Provins[9a] Bar-sur-Aube[9a] Beaucaire[15b] St. Laurence[15c] St. Germain[15d]	Sturbridge[15f] Bartholomew[15f] St. Botolph[5c] Westminister[5c] Northampton[5c] St. James[5c] St. Edmund[2a] Glastonbury[16a]
14th	Bari[1a] Lucca[1a] Venice[1a] Florence[1b]	Bruges[1a] Lille[1a] Messines[1a] Ypres[1a]		Sturbridge[15f] Bartholomew[15f] Whitby[41] Gronewic[13e] Greenwich
15th	Florence[1b]	Bruges[1b] Ghent[8a]	Lyons[15e]	Sturbridge[15f] Bartholomew[15f]

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