

The Woman's College of  
The University of North Carolina  
LIBRARY



CQ  
no. 373

COLLEGE COLLECTION

Gift of  
Carol Elizabeth Kendall

TRADE GUILDS THAT INFLUENCED THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY OF  
WESTERN EUROPE, 12th THROUGH 14th CENTURIES

This thesis has been approved by the following committee of the  
Faculty of the Graduate School at the University of North Carolina at Greens-  
boro, Greensboro, North Carolina,

by

Carol Elizabeth Kendall

6864  
A Thesis Submitted to  
the Faculty of the Graduate School at  
the University of North Carolina at Greensboro  
in Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Master of Science in Home Economics

Greensboro  
June, 1964

270397  
Approved by

June 4, 1964  
Date of Examination  
c  
Helen K. L. Tally  
Director

# APPROVAL SHEET

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

Oral Examination  
Committee Members

Helmut K. Staley

Thesis Director

Pauline E. Keeney

Irwin V. Sperry

Savannah L. Day

John Berlin

270397

May 4, 1964  
Date of Examination

KENDALL, CAROL ELIZABETH. Trade Guilds That Influenced the Textile Industry of Western Europe, 12th through 14th Centuries. (1964) Directed by: Mrs. Helen K. Staley. pp. 113.

The development of trade guilds and their influence on the textile industry in four areas in Western Europe were traced from the twelfth through the fourteenth centuries. The selected areas were England, Italy, France and the Netherlands. Special emphasis was placed on the guilds of the textile industry in England, while surveys of guild history in each of the other three countries revealed contrasts and similarities to the English guild system. The study investigated: the role of trade guilds, their rise and growth, and their influence on the development of the textile industry; the changing character of the guilds; the varying types of organization and purposes of guilds in each of the four countries; and distinctive traits and innovations in the textile industry of Western Europe during these three centuries.

More areas of similarity than of difference were noted when comparing English and Continental guilds. Similarities of purpose, general type of organization, admission to membership, and eventual effect on the industry of the time became evident as the study progressed. The most striking contrasts were: the national standing of many of the Continental guilds, the separation of the craft guild and the religious fraternity on the Continent, the greater power obtained by the Continental weavers' guilds than by those in England, and the absence of a class in France comparable to the English journeyman.

A variety of factors appears to have contributed to the rise and growth of the guild system. Among these might be included: the desire to secure fame



and prestige for a certain city or area; the need of both merchant and craftsman for protection from unfair competition and subjection to the ruling classes; and man's natural tendency to join with his fellows in groups for the promotion of mutual well-being. In an era of political uncertainty and general unrest, the medieval guilds met an acute need precipitated by the lack of effective social and economic legislation in the four areas under investigation.

In the twelfth through the fourteenth centuries, the development of a system of trade guilds reached its apogee and influenced the textile industry of Western Europe in numerous ways. The passage and enforcement of stringent regulations covering every step in the production process was intended to insure the consumer a finished product of consistently high quality. It was noted that the development of guilds paralleled the rise in quality and quantity of textiles produced during the three centuries of this study. Certain technical innovations may be traced directly to guild origin, while others may be assumed to have originated from the guilds' desires to improve the quality of their products and to increase production.

The religious element, a major characteristic of the early guilds, became increasingly evident as the study progressed. The concepts upon which guilds were originally founded were expanded during the Middle Ages to include almost all phases of life, providing a degree of security which the craftsman could not find in any other organization of the period.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writer wishes to express her sincere appreciation to Mrs. Helen K. Staley, chairman of the thesis committee, for her keen interest and discerning guidance throughout the period of the study. Sincere appreciation is also extended to the members of the thesis committee: Dr. John H. Beeler, Dr. Pauline E. Keeney, and Mrs. Savannah Day, who gave their assistance and constructive criticisms in the writing of this thesis. Dr. Beeler's advice in the area of historical data was especially helpful.

Thanks are also extended to: the staff of the library of the University of North Carolina at Greensboro, whose aid in securing works through the inter-library loan service was particularly appreciated; and to Mrs. Marie Teague for diligence in the typing of the manuscript.

C.E.K.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. INTRODUCTION . . . . .	1
Classification of Guilds	
Definition of Terms	
Plan of Procedure	
II. HISTORIANS VIEW THE PROBLEM . . . . .	8
III. FOUNDATIONS FOR TRADE GUILDS IN EUROPE . . . . .	19
Western Europe - 9th Through 11th Centuries	
Commerce - 9th through 11th Centuries	
Trade Guilds - 9th through 11th Centuries	
IV. GUILDS AND THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY . . . . .	37
Developmental Period - 12th and 13th Centuries	
England - the Guilds of the Textile Industry	
The merchant guild	
The craft guild	
Italy - the Guilds of the Textile Industry	
France - the Guilds of the Textile Industry	
The Netherlands - the Guilds of the Textile Industry	
Growth and Spread of Trade Guilds - 14th Century	
Aspects of the Textile Industry in Western Europe -	
12th Through 14th Centuries	
The Textile Industry of Major Areas	
Byzantine	
Sicilian	
Lucchese	
Florentine	
Venetian	
Flemish and Netherlandish	
French	
English	

Chapter		Page
	CHAPTER I	
	Technical Innovations	
	Tapestry Weaving	
	Textile Printing	
	INTRODUCTION	

V. SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS . . . . .	89
--	----

Trade Guilds That Influenced the Textile Industry
Aspects of the Textile Industry
The Influence of Trade Guilds on the Textile Industry
Recommendations for Further Study

BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	107
------------------------	-----

finishing, and marketing processes performed by merchant and artisan guilds. Due to the wealth of material relating to English guild life, special emphasis will be placed on the guilds of the textile industry of England. A survey of guild history in each of the other three countries is designed to reveal contrasts and similarities to the English guild system. The aim of the study is to determine the role of trade guilds, their rise and growth, in relation to the development of the textile industry. The changing character of the guilds and their varying types of organization and purposes will be considered as they become apparent.

The background material of this study dates from the ninth century since "guilds existed in the ninth century in the Carolingian empire and also in Anglo-Saxon countries as associations for protection and defense."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Henri Pirenne, "European Guilds," *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, ed. Edwin R. A. Seligman and Alvin Johnson, VII (1932), 208.

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

This study of trade guilds and their influence on the textile industry of Western Europe will include England, Italy, France, and the Netherlands from the twelfth through the fourteenth centuries. Specifically, consideration will be limited to those aspects of the textile industry which pertain to the weaving, finishing, and marketing processes performed by merchant and artisan guilds. Due to the wealth of material relating to English guild life, special emphasis will be placed on the guilds of the textile industry of England. A survey of guild history in each of the other three countries is designed to reveal contrasts and similarities to the English guild system. The aim of the study is to determine the role of trade guilds, their rise and growth, in relation to the development of the textile industry. The changing character of the guilds and their varying types of organization and purposes will be considered as they become apparent.

The background material of this study dates from the ninth century since "guilds existed in the ninth century in the Carolingian empire and also in Anglo-Saxon countries as associations for protection and defense."<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Henri Pirenne, "European Guilds," Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, ed. Edwin R. A. Seligman and Alvin Johnson, VII (1932), 208.

Extraordinary guild activity has long been recognized as one of the characteristic features of medieval life and commerce. Trade guilds were not, however, a phenomenon of medieval society nor of Western Europe but have existed in one form or another for the benefit of various peoples for thousands of years. There are some indications that weavers' guilds were in existence as long ago as the ancient Babylonians, but these guilds exhibited such marked differences from the guilds of the period under consideration that they were not deemed relevant to the study. The industrial organizations of early Egypt and Greece and the ancient Roman collegia were also considered extraneous after investigation for characteristics common to the medieval trade guilds.

In her introduction to Toulmin Smith's English Gilds Lucy Toulmin Smith has explained:

The word 'gild' (with its varieties gield, geld, gyld) is of Saxon origin, and meant, . . . 'a rateable payment.' . . . How and when the word became applied to the brotherhoods or societies is not found in so many words; but that the brotherhoods, by their inherent power of making what internal rules they pleased, should be accustomed to gather a regular rate, or 'gilde,' from each one of their number for their common expenses, . . . seems a natural and certain explanation.<sup>2</sup>

Though the origin of guilds is lost in the misty ages, it is believed that the first of these associations were primarily religious in purpose. The view that "Christianity was the most important element entering into the origin of gilds"<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup>Lujo Brentano, "On the History and Development of Gilds," English Gilds, ed. Toulmin Smith and Lucy Toulmin Smith (London: Oxford University Press, 1892), p. xix.

<sup>3</sup>Charles Gross, The Gild Merchant (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1890), I, 169.



is generally accepted by many scholars as being the most plausible concept yet advanced. Brentano defends the theory that guilds emanated from the family. He writes that "as soon as the family could no longer satisfy the need for legal protection, unions of artificial family members were formed for this purpose."<sup>4</sup> This argument appears to have some merit and is promulgated by several authorities. Gross states, however:

It is not necessary to seek for the germ of guilds in any antecedent age or institution. They doubtless originated spontaneously among Christians for mutual support in things temporal and spiritual, --for the mutual promotion of well-being in this world and in the next.<sup>5</sup>

A survey of the influence of trade guilds on the textile industry should appeal to a wide range of interests. The little that has been written on this subject either fails to give a clear account or passes over it with only a vague reference. It is hoped that this study will serve to fill a definite void in a significant area of knowledge and will be of value to students of history and textiles alike.

#### Classification of Guilds

Due to the many apparent differences in guilds of various periods and locations, a system of categorizing them according to organization and purpose is desirable. Different authorities suggest different classifications, but the plan proposed by Dr. Gross, one of the foremost authorities of guild history, appears to be the most logical for the purposes of this study. He

---

<sup>4</sup>Brentano, op. cit., p. lxxx.

<sup>5</sup>Gross, op. cit., I, 176.



divides guilds into the following groups: "the ecclesiastical or calendar guilds, made up entirely or in great part of the clergy; social-religious guilds, established for the performance of religious exercises and good works, . . . trade guilds, which may be separated into merchant guilds and craft or artisan guilds."<sup>6</sup> To these three groups might also be added a fourth--the Anglo-Saxon cnihten guilds, which appeared in England as early as the ninth century. The status of the cnihtas remains uncertain, but it is probable that their associations were formed primarily for military purposes.<sup>7</sup> The ecclesiastical and social-religious guilds are pertinent to this study only as forerunners of the trade guilds which had major influence on the textile industry of this period and location. Merchant guilds appear to have preceded the craft guilds by about half a century. "The Gild Merchant of Western Europe is not mentioned before the eleventh century; and does not come into prominent notice before the twelfth century."<sup>8</sup> These associations of the entire merchant group of a particular place originated for the purpose of regulating and improving its commerce. They sold the goods produced by the craftsmen and, in some instances, may have sold goods which they themselves produced. The craft guilds were composed of members of a particular craft or trade and were established to promote the welfare of that craft and its members.

---

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., pp. 176-77.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., pp. 183-84.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 282.

### Definition of Terms

Webster's Third New International Dictionary, unabridged, defines guilds as "an association of men belonging to the same class, engaged in kindred pursuits or having common interests or aims." Bosworth's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary limits its definitions to the connotations assigned during the medieval period, defining a gild as "a guild, society, or club, to which payments were made for mutual protection and support, more extensive than our friendly societies." It is believed that these definitions may be correctly applied to guilds as interpreted by this study.

In The Romance of Textiles, Ethel Lewis defines a textile as "any stuff wrought on a loom."<sup>9</sup> Textiles as interpreted in this study include fibers and fabrics commonly produced and sold in Western Europe by the various trade guilds that performed the weaving, finishing, and marketing processes during this period.

The term industry, as used here in reference to the textile industry, is defined in the Webster's dictionary previously cited as "a group of productive or profit-making enterprises or organizations that have a similar technological structure of production." The organizations in this case are the trade guilds that produced and sold textile products.

The term growth is interpreted as meaning an increase in number of organizations and of members as well as an increase in authority and prestige.

---

<sup>9</sup>Ethel Lewis, The Romance of Textiles (New York: Macmillan Co., 1953), p. v.

Its purpose here is to cite the rapid rise in number and strength of trade guilds during this period and in these four European areas.

#### Plan of Procedure

Five works which appeared to be particularly relevant to the purposes of this study were located with the assistance of The Library of Congress searching service and the inter-library loan service of the library of the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. Of these, J. Malet Lambert's Two Thousand Years of Gild Life and Essays in Medieval Life and Thought, containing Sister Mary Ambrose's essay, "Statutes on Clothmaking: Toulouse, 1227," were especially valuable to this study. Lambert's work provided a broad background for study of guilds during the period under consideration, while Sister Mary Ambrose's essay was limited to an appraisal of the textile industry in a specific area in France.

Although much has been written concerning the development and significance of guilds, few historians have attempted to relate the growth of medieval trade guilds to a corresponding rise in quality and quantity of textiles produced. Such authorities as Gross, Brentano, and Smith have contributed excellent compilations of guild history. These more detailed accounts must be supplemented, however, by the works of other annalists who are concerned with trade guilds only as they affected the broad sweep of medieval history. Such works were obtained from the library of the University of North Carolina at Greensboro and included studies of political, social and economic conditions of the period as well as historic studies of the textile industry.

The information concerning foundations for trade guilds in Europe is intended to provide an historical background for understanding the development of the twelfth century trade guilds, and their importance in the development of the textile industry. It includes a brief summary of the development of Western Europe, socially, economically, and politically. The types of organization and the purposes of guilds were categorized for England, Italy, France, and the Netherlands in the ninth through the eleventh centuries.

In the report of the study the findings are presented in two periods: Part One, the developmental period and the growth period of trade guilds; Part Two, the development of the textile industry during these periods. The developmental period includes consideration of the character of trade guilds related to the textile industry in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The second period, the growth and spread of trade guilds, includes evidence related to the textile industry of the fourteenth century. The report of characteristics of the textile industry in Western Europe encompasses both periods and attempts to determine to what extent this industry was influenced by trade guilds.

## CHAPTER II

### HISTORIANS VIEW THE PROBLEM

The Gild Merchant, by Charles Gross, was published in 1890, in Oxford, England. At that time, Dr. Gross was Instructor in History at Harvard University. The work, which is contained in two volumes, "is based mainly on manuscript materials, and in it the author aspires to throw light on the development not merely of gilds but also of the municipal constitution."<sup>1</sup>

Volume One traces the English Gild Merchant from its inception to its virtual disappearance in some areas, relating the varying types of organization and functions, its influence on the municipal constitution, and the relationship of the merchant guilds to the craft guilds. Dr. Gross states that "craftsmen were freely admitted to the Gild Merchant in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. The term merchant, . . . was not in those days confined to large dealers but embraced all who traded."<sup>2</sup> A list of the names of all towns in which this institution existed, together with the date of the earliest reference to it, illustrates the extent to which the guild merchant prevailed in England during the Middle Ages. In addition to his detailed consideration of the English guilds, Gross includes chapters on the "Scotch Gild

---

<sup>1</sup>Gross, op. cit., I, v.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 107.



Merchant" and the "Continental Gild Merchant." He concludes that they require separate treatment, "because their development was different from that of the corresponding English institution, although most writers fail to notice this distinction."<sup>3</sup> Volume Two is composed almost entirely of guild statutes and charters.

The Gild Merchant was of considerable value in the preparation of this work, since it revealed the changing character of guilds and their varying types of organization and purposes. Dr. Gross's extensive research strongly supports the authority of his conclusions.

J. Malet Lambert, vicar of Newland, Hull, is the author of Two Thousand Years of Gild Life. He refers to his book as a history in outline of a form of union which has not been limited to any age, stating his belief that "the whole municipal, industrial, and social life of the Middle Ages, . . . moved in the circle of the Gild."<sup>4</sup>

Dr. Lambert bases this general consideration of the subject of guilds on the extant documents of the merchant and craft guilds of Kingston-upon-Hull. Hull, a town of great commercial importance, was from earliest times one of the wool staple centers. "Thus these records form a not unfitting basis for a summary of Gild history from the first traces of its appearance in the

---

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. v.

<sup>4</sup>J. Malet Lambert, Two Thousand Years of Gild Life (Hull: A. Brown & Sons, 1891), p. 2.

economic history of England."<sup>5</sup> In addition to his presentation of the statutes upon which his work is based, Lambert discusses current theories as to the origin of guilds and their position in Christian times and in Imperial Rome, tracing the appearance of the medieval guild of Central and Western Europe to that period between "the dissolution of the Roman Empire and the dawn of a new epoch in the 9th or 10th century."<sup>6</sup> Certain questions relating to the hanse and the Gilda Mercatoria, especially with respect to the influence of the Continental towns, are considered with some fullness.

Volume Three of The Cambridge Economic History of Europe, edited by M. M. Postan, E. E. Rich, and Edward Miller, is titled "Economic Organization and Policies in the Middle Ages." "The Gilds," a chapter by Sylvia L. Thrupp, Associate Professor in the University of Chicago, includes discussion of the guilds of Italy, France, England, Germany, and the Low Countries. "In Germany and central Europe," writes Thrupp, "the medieval gild movement is best known for its political record."<sup>7</sup> She credits the far-reaching influence of the guilds to their ability to lend themselves to the ordering of economic and political life in urban society, stating that "it was not until the latter part of the thirteenth century, when the expansion was

---

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 18.

<sup>7</sup>M. M. Postan, E. E. Rich, and Edward Miller (eds.), The Cambridge Economic History of Europe, Vol. III: Economic Organization and Policies in the Middle Ages (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1963), p. 242.



slowing down that they [the guilds] became at all widespread."<sup>8</sup> This is an excellent reference as to the political and economic implications of guild organization.

Volume Seven of the Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, edited by Edwin R. A. Seligman and Alvin Johnson, contains a section headed "Guilds." The division on "European Guilds," by Professor Henri Pirenne of the University of Ghent, was particularly useful in providing background material for this study. Pirenne, a Belgian historian and scholar whose works on medieval cities and social conditions have brought him international fame, is considered one of the greatest authorities in his field. He defines craft guilds as "privileged groups of artisans endowed with the exclusive right to practise a certain profession in accordance with regulations laid down by public authorities."<sup>9</sup> He agrees with other scholars that the free association of artisans is the most rational explanation of the origin of industrial guilds but adds that this theory "must not be allowed to obscure the part played simultaneously by the exercise of public authority."<sup>10</sup> Beginning with the eleventh century municipal authorities used the guilds as one means of regulating the industrial activity of the cities. Pirenne writes that the guilds "thus constituted essentially privileged bodies; they were based on protectionism and exclusiveness and represented a system as remote as possible from that of

---

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 230.

<sup>9</sup>Pirenne, op. cit., p. 211.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 210.

industrial liberty."<sup>11</sup> He considers the guild system the most striking feature of medieval urban economy and believes it to be distinguished by the same characteristics with which this economy was endowed. This is an unusually good reference as to the character of guilds during the Middle Ages.

Also important to this study is another work by Professor Pirenne, Medieval Cities, a compilation of lectures which he delivered in 1922 in several American universities. He describes his work as "an attempt to expound, in a general way, the economic awakening and the birth of urban civilization in Western Europe during the Middle Ages."<sup>12</sup> Cooperation for the mutual advantage of merchants and artisans is cited as a necessity in meeting the needs of the commerce and trade expansion during this period. The guilds of Flanders are accorded special recognition as exhibiting those features that were most characteristic of municipal growth. In Pirenne's opinion, "the gilds were, in the region of Flanders, the initiators of city autonomy."<sup>13</sup> He believes that the existence of the Gild of St. Omer, about 1050, indicates that similar associations probably existed at the same period in all the merchant colonies of Flanders. Trade in textiles is noted as an important aspect of the economy of the period.

Guilds in the Middle Ages, by Georges Renard, was translated by

---

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 211.

<sup>12</sup>Henri Pirenne, Medieval Cities (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1925), Preface.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 194.

Dorothy Terry and edited by G. D. H. Cole, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. In her introduction to this work, Miss Terry states the belief that M. Renard's position as a moderate French Socialist of the political school is a definite advantage, as it enables him to present the history of the guilds without a preconceived bias in their favor. "With the rise of town life and the beginnings of an industrial system," Renard asserts, "the Mediaeval Guilds found a defined sphere of function in the structure of Society and a defined relation to the mediaeval State."<sup>14</sup>

Based on his investigations of guild statutes, he maintains that the aims of the guilds were essentially three-fold: economic, social and moral, and political. The guild is referred to as "a self-regulating unit laying down the conditions under which production was to be carried on, and occupying a recognized status in the community."<sup>15</sup> The merits and defects of the guild system are examined in detail, together with external and internal causes of its decay.

The Guilds of Florence, by Edgcumbe Staley, was published in London, England, in 1906. Mr. Staley's subject-matter was drawn from manuscripts of the twelfth to sixteenth centuries, books and periodicals, letters from authorities and friends, and a personal knowledge of Florence and the Florentines. "The cumulative energies of the Florentines had their

---

<sup>14</sup> Georges Renard, Guilds in the Middle Ages, trans. Dorothy Terry (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1919), p. xiii.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p. xiv.

focus in the corporate life of the Trade-Associations," declares Staley, "and in no other Community was the Guild-system so thoroughly developed as it was in Florence."<sup>16</sup> His belief that the Florentine guilds originated in the ancient Roman collegia and rose in opposition to the power of the nobles is in direct disagreement with many other historians. Twenty-one of the more powerful Florentine guilds are examined in detail. The chapters dealing with "The 'Calimala' Guild," "The Guild of Wool," and "The Guild of Silk" were particularly relevant to this study. The fabrics produced by these guilds were characterized by their "beauty of design, richness of colouring, and fineness of workmanship."<sup>17</sup> Specific references to prices charged by guild members, guild regulations, markets for products, and trade in textiles by the guilds were included in these chapters.

The work, Essays in Medieval Life and Thought, includes an essay by Sister Mary Ambrose of Mundelein College concerning "Statutes on Clothmaking: Toulouse, 1227." It is based on a consular ordinance pertaining to the production of cloth in Toulouse and is dated November 21, 1227. The ordinance of 1227 attempted to relieve some of the dissensions in the woolens industry by drawing up regulations and standardizing the methods and practices of the trade. "Coming from a period which has left us but few industrial documents--and those tantalizingly scant in detail--the information

---

<sup>16</sup>Edgumbe Staley, The Guilds of Florence (London: Methuen & Co., 1906), p. v.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 222.

which this ordinance of 1227 offers on clothmaking and industrial practices is invaluable."<sup>18</sup>

English Gilds, with the original ordinances of more than one hundred early English guilds, edited by Toulmin Smith and his daughter, with a preliminary essay "On the History and Development of Gilds" by Lupo Brentano, was first published in London, England, in 1869. Dr. Brentano, who is commonly regarded as the chief authority on the general history of English guilds, proffers certain interesting but quite controversial theories concerning the origin and nature of guilds. His views have been challenged by some authorities and accepted by others but, nonetheless, must be taken into consideration by the student of guild history. Mr. Smith, a Fellow of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, based his work on selected and hitherto unused bundles of documents which he discovered while following up searches at the Public Record Office for the purposes of another work. His aim was "to put forth a true view of the early English Gilds, what they were, and what they did, by letting their own records speak for them."<sup>19</sup> Some of the documents, or ordinances, presented by Smith are concerned with guilds of the fifteenth century, thus limiting their use for this study. The explanatory notes and background information included with each ordinance enable the

---

<sup>18</sup>Sister Mary Ambrose, "Statutes on Clothmaking: Toulouse, 1227," Essays in Medieval Life and Thought, ed. John H. Mundy, Richard W. Emery, and Benjamin N. Nelson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955), pp. 171-72.

<sup>19</sup>Brentano, op. cit., p. xiv.



reader to examine them in greater depth than might otherwise be possible.

An Introduction to English Economic History and Theory, by William James Ashley, Professor of Political Economy and Constitutional History in the University of Toronto, devotes an entire chapter of Volume One to merchant and craft guilds. "So large a part of the manufacturing work of the country was arranged on the gild system," declares Ashley, "that that term may be fairly used to describe the whole organization of industry."<sup>20</sup> He credits the weavers' guilds of Western Europe with beginning and leading the struggle against the old governing bodies, or merchant guilds. "The manufacture of materials for clothing was the first industry in which a wide demand would make it worth while for men to entirely devote themselves to it, and therefore it was the first in which a special body of craftsmen appeared."<sup>21</sup> The development of merchant guilds from their inception in the eleventh century to their gradual replacement by craft guilds is cited, thus marking the transition from the family system of production to the artisan system.

Volume One of The Growth of English Industry and Commerce During the Early and Middle Ages, by W. Cunningham, Fellow of the British Academy and former lecturer on Economic History in Harvard University, includes a chapter on craft guilds. One theory advanced by Cunningham is that craft

---

<sup>20</sup>William James Ashley, An Introduction to English Economic History and Theory, Vol. I: The Middle Ages (London: Rivingtons, 1888), p. 96.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 81.

guilds may have been of foreign extraction and "were first introduced into this country [England] as royally authorised organisations among alien artisans settled in English towns."<sup>22</sup> The relationship between merchant and craft guilds and the rankings of members in craft guilds are also considered in this chapter.

Two Thousand Years of Textiles, by Adèle Coulin Weibel, Curator Emeritus of Textiles and Islamic Art, The Detroit Institute of Arts, traces the development of figured textiles of Europe and the Near East during the period of this study. Mrs. Weibel writes that "little is known concerning the evolution of textile design from the twelfth to the fourteenth century."<sup>23</sup> In her section on European textiles she endeavors to identify the types of textiles in American museums which were produced in Sicily, Lucca, Venice, and France, describing in detail the weaving techniques and fibers employed in these various centers. The influence of contemporary architecture and sculpture on textile design is emphasized.

Renate Jaques translated the Encyclopedia of Textiles, by Ernst Flemming, Director of the Berlin Textile School. This revised edition, which includes many textile originals discovered since publication of the first edition, throws light on the interaction between countries and continents.

---

<sup>22</sup>W. Cunningham, The Growth of English Industry and Commerce During the Early and Middle Ages (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1910), p. 337.

<sup>23</sup>Adèle Coulin Weibel, Two Thousand Years of Textiles (New York: Pantheon Books, 1952), pp. 55-56.



"Mutual trends from South to North, from East to West are clearly discernible."<sup>24</sup> Illustrations of decorative fabrics from Antiquity to the beginning of the nineteenth century are included.

The Romance of Textiles, by Ethel Lewis, expert, lecturer, and Associate Editor of Interior Design and Decoration, includes chapters on the development of the great weaving centers of Italy and France before and during the Renaissance. "It was a psychological time for the rise of Italy politically, commercially, and artistically."<sup>25</sup> Miss Lewis credits religion, commerce and politics with most noticeably affecting textile design during this period. The tapestries of France and Flanders are also considered in some detail.

---

<sup>24</sup>Ernst Flemming, The Encyclopedia of Textiles, trans. Renate Jaques (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, n.d.), p. v.

<sup>25</sup>Lewis, op. cit., p. 152.

### CHAPTER III

#### FOUNDATIONS FOR TRADE GUILDS IN EUROPE

"In the ninth and tenth century a new economic unit, Catholic Europe, was slowly emerging in place of the older Mediterranean unit."<sup>1</sup> This deduction by Lopez is supported by Pirenne's statement: "From whatever standpoint it is studied, the civilization of the ninth century shows a distinct break with the civilization of antiquity. . . . It marked a new orientation of the course hitherto followed by history."<sup>2</sup> The ninth through the eleventh centuries are summarized here as background for understanding the rise and growth of twelfth century trade guilds.

Historical evidence indicates that guilds existed in Western Europe in the ninth century under Charlemagne. Herman Vander Linden asserts that "les premiers documents qui mentionnent des associations de ce genre sont deux capitulaires, l'un de Charlemagne, l'autre de Carloman, fils de Louis le Germanique."<sup>3</sup> But it is Pirenne who states most concisely the unique place of

---

<sup>1</sup>M. Postan and E. E. Rich (eds.), The Cambridge Economic History of Europe, Vol. II: Trade and Industry in the Middle Ages (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1952), p. 272.

<sup>2</sup>Pirenne, Medieval Cities, p. 26.

<sup>3</sup>Herman Vander Linden, Les Gildes Marchandes dans les Pays-Bas au Moyen Age (Gand: Université de Gand, 1896), p. 3. The writer translates this statement as: "The first documents which mention associations of this type are two capitularies, one from Charlemagne, the other from Carloman, son of Louis the German."

the guild system in this society:

The guild system must be recognized as the only source of protection to the worker before the period of social legislation in the nineteenth century and as an institution which at the height of its development assured the craftsman an existence as satisfactory from the economic as from the social point of view.<sup>4</sup>

#### WESTERN EUROPE - 9th THROUGH 11th CENTURIES

The period from the ninth through the eleventh centuries presents a striking contrast to the Merovingian era which preceded it. One of the essential peculiarities of ancient civilization, its Mediterranean character, was abruptly changed by the entry of Islam to a dominant position. Moslem conquests of the eastern, southern, and western shores of the Mediterranean by the middle of the eighth century had virtually cut off Western Europe from this great sea. The Mediterranean, which for so long had united the East and West of Europe, suddenly became a barrier between them. "On these coasts, which had once maintained an intercourse based on community of manners, needs and ideas, two civilisations, or rather two foreign and hostile worlds, now faced one another, the worlds of the Crescent and the Cross."<sup>5</sup> Western Europe was for the first time forced to live by its own resources.

Although the Carolingians were able to prevent further Arab expansion north of the Pyrenees, they recognized their own inability to recover the sea and

---

<sup>4</sup>Pirenne, "European Guilds," p. 214.

<sup>5</sup>Henri Pirenne, Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1937), p. 3.

did not even attempt to do so. "The Frankish Empire, which included almost all that was left of Catholic Christian Europe, was thus left land-locked."<sup>6</sup>

Life during this period was inextricably bound by the two universal institutions of Western Christendom--the Church and feudalism. The first and most important place in this society belonged to the Church, which possessed both economic and moral dominance.

From the ninth to the eleventh century the whole business of government was, in fact, in the hands of the church, which was supreme here, as in the arts. The organisation of its estates was a model which the estates of the nobility sought in vain to equal, for only in the Church were there men capable of drawing up polyptycha, keeping registers of accounts, reckoning up receipts and expenditure, and, consequently, balancing them. Thus, the Church was not only the great moral authority of the age, but also the great financial power.<sup>7</sup>

Although the fundamental moral and religious concepts of the Church were older than the feudal system, its highest religious ideals were admirably adapted to the simple rural life of the peasant class. The monastic ideals of poverty, asceticism, and other-worldliness had been inherited from early Christianity. The functional theory of society, which divided the community of individuals into classes according to the function each performed by divine will, placed upon each man the religious duty of laboring contentedly in that field in which God had seen fit to place him. This theory made it relatively simple to justify the landed wealth of the nobles and clergy.<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>6</sup>Wallace K. Ferguson, The Renaissance (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1940), p. 14.

<sup>7</sup>Pirenne, Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe, p. 13.

<sup>8</sup>Ferguson, op. cit., p. 14.

Feudalism was bound by unquestioning faith to the divinely ordained church. It arose during the ninth century for complex reasons. Individual necessity and greed played no small part in its appearance, but "its immediate political cause was the collapse of effective central government with the dissolution of the Carolingian Empire."<sup>9</sup> The inability of the Carolingian rulers to protect their people from the raids of the Scandinavian Vikings and the wild Magyar horsemen forced them to seek protection from private lords. "By the ninth century, or possibly earlier, Western Europe had sunk back into a purely agricultural economy,"<sup>10</sup> resting on the economic basis of land ownership. The isolation of society was further intensified by the lack of adequate means of communication and the difficulties of travel, a combination that put almost insurmountable obstacles in the way of central government. After the death of Charlemagne, the monarchy grew steadily weaker and the power of the king passed into the hands of the aristocracy.

The population during the Carolingian epoch as compared to later periods was relatively small, due to the virtual extinction of the urban population and the wars and famines which seemingly occurred with regularity. Barbarian invasions from Sweden, Norway, and Denmark penetrated as far as the Rhine and ravaged Germany, Italy, the Low Countries, and England. Towns and abbeys were left destroyed in their wake.

Further proof of the general impoverishment of the era is furnished

---

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 10.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid.



by the reform of the monetary system, begun by Pepin le Bref and completed in the ninth century by Charlemagne. The substitution of the silver denarius for the gold solidus of Roman tradition was only another manifestation of the interruption of commerce with the Mediterranean.

#### Commerce - 9th through 11th Centuries

"In this Western society, where a natural economy prevailed, or where agricultural production was the foundation of existence, industrial production and exchange outside the limits of the domain held only a small, strictly limited place."<sup>11</sup> All of Europe was left in a unique economic condition from the ninth to the eleventh century by Moslem conquests and the raids of the Northmen. The effect of this on the land-locked Frankish Empire, as Pirenne points out, was that "the interruption of commerce brought about the disappearance of the merchants, and urban life, which had been maintained by them, collapsed at the same time."<sup>12</sup> The Roman cities continued to exist as centers of religious organization, but their economic significance was lost. "What little exchange of goods there was took place at local markets, by means of barter rather than cash."<sup>13</sup> Western European commerce was dominated largely by Jewish and Syrian merchants from the Moslem countries of the

---

<sup>11</sup>P. Boissonnade, Life and Work in Medieval Europe (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1927), p. 102.

<sup>12</sup>Pirenne, Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe, p. 5.

<sup>13</sup>James Westfall Thompson and Edgar Nathaniel Johnson, An Introduction to Medieval Europe 300-1500 (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1937), p. 562.

Mediterranean. The markets and fairs, which became increasingly numerous on the local level, failed to attract buyers and sellers from any great distance during this early period. "Each market catered almost exclusively to the needs of its surrounding area."<sup>14</sup>

England's industry during the Middle Ages was characterized by stability and lack of progress, and the most important industry was agriculture which centered around the manor. Almost all of the country's industry was carried on in the small cottages of the manor, as well as in the great house. During the latter part of the period, however, there was a gradual shifting in some branches of industry from this strictly household system to a system of specialization. Towns were few and small, and commerce was limited to such necessities as salt and iron plus a few precariously imported luxuries for use by the Church. The surplus of the manor could be exchanged with the traveling merchants who went about the country with their packs.

An impetus was given to English trade in the tenth century when the Danes conquered England, and commerce was further stimulated by the Norman conquest in the next century. The trade connections which the Normans had already formed with other countries of the Continent were continued and increased. Such raw materials as English wool, hides, tin, and lead were in demand abroad, and manufactured goods were imported to England from the

---

<sup>14</sup>Robert S. Lopez and Irving G. Raymond, Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955), p. 51.



Continent.<sup>15</sup> Trade associations of foreign merchants such as the London Hanse and the Hanseatic League were influences which affected England's foreign trade for many years.

"While commerce played a comparatively insignificant part in England, on the Continent it exercised a great influence on industry."<sup>16</sup> Although the list of goods entering into commerce was relatively short, Eastern products were in great demand among those who could afford to buy. Spices, sugar, and precious stones from China and India, raw silk from China and regions about the Caspian Sea, and dyestuffs, woolen and silk textiles, fine china, and glass from Egypt and Syria traveled west over the three main trade routes in use during the period.<sup>17</sup>

The tenth century brought relative stability and peace, but the commercial revival did not begin in earnest until the reopening of a lively trade between the Italian coast towns and the Byzantine Empire in the eleventh century. Nevertheless, historians remark that trade between Constantinople and the ports of Italy, France, and Spain had never been completely severed. "As early as the eighth and ninth centuries certain maritime towns of Italy began to vie with the Jews as intermediaries between the advanced Muslim and

---

<sup>15</sup>Ellen L. Osgood, A History of Industry (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1921), p. 141.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 152.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 153.

Byzantine economies and the backward Romano-Germanic Europe."<sup>18</sup> By allying herself with the Byzantines, Venice won a virtual monopoly of trade in the Adriatic, as did Pisa and Genoa in the Tyrrhenian Sea and the western Mediterranean.

The first of the Crusades at the end of the eleventh century started a chain of events that ". . . quickened the development of industry as well as of commerce. Europeans copied many of the eastern wares, improved their old industries, and set up new ones."<sup>19</sup> The Crusades also helped western industry by opening a market in the East for some of its wares. Three significant effects of the Eastern trade were: the opening of a wider market for special products of the district; the introduction of such new industries as the manufacture of cloth of gold, which came to Venice from Constantinople; and the introduction of such raw materials as silk.<sup>20</sup> These combined to make possible hitherto unknown industries which contributed to the growth and spread of trade guilds.

"The commercial expansion of the Western Mediterranean peoples was accompanied by far-reaching changes in the volume of trade, in the methods of business and in the spirit of the merchants."<sup>21</sup> Accompanying the revival of

---

<sup>18</sup>Lopez and Raymond, op. cit., p. 33.

<sup>19</sup>Herbert Heaton, Economic History of Europe (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1936), p. 144.

<sup>20</sup>Osgood, op. cit., p. 159.

<sup>21</sup>Postan and Rich, op. cit., p. 264.

commerce was a general renewal of town life, rising from the ruins of the old Roman towns or originating around a church, monastery, or castle. Merchants, skilled artisans, and manufacturers emerged as new social classes, free from feudal jurisdiction though bound by regulations of their own making. New fairs emerged as a result of the resumption of trade. Thus was a new era ushered into Western Europe. "The revival begun in the eleventh century lasted through the twelfth and thirteenth before quieting down into a steadier course."<sup>22</sup>

#### Trade Guilds - 9th through 11th Centuries

The principle of close association upon which the ancient guilds were based has permeated industry and commerce from time immemorial. "There is no institution which has had a wider distribution, or which reaches further back into the mists of ancient history."<sup>23</sup>

Available evidence seems to indicate that there existed at one time or another in Babylonia and Assyria ". . . merchants' associations of a local nature which performed certain administrative functions."<sup>24</sup> Lutz records the existence of a weavers' guild in ancient Babylonia. This guild was called the kişru ša išparê and was presided over by the chief of the weavers' guild, the râb kişir ša išparê. The weavers were separated into different classes according to their special work as: the canvas-cloth or bast-fiber weaver, the

---

<sup>22</sup>Thompson and Johnson, op. cit., p. 563.

<sup>23</sup>Lambert, op. cit., p. 11.

<sup>24</sup>Mariano San Nicolò, "Guilds In Antiquity," Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, ed. Edwin R. A. Seligman and Alvin Johnson, VII (1932), p. 205.

cloth weaver, the wool weaver, the linen weaver, and the weaver of variegated thread.<sup>25</sup> Lutz continues:

As was the custom in Babylonia and Egypt so in Palestine the weavers were gathered in trade unions. In order to identify him in the public as a weaver he wore as a badge a small piece of wool behind his ear.<sup>26</sup>

As towns developed in Egypt, members of the same trade began to group themselves in the same locality and to choose a leader or spokesman to intercede with the town authorities whenever one of the craftsmen committed an offense. Osgood maintains, however, that due to the prevailing idea of autocracy in Egypt, any resemblance these organizations may bear to the medieval craft guild ". . . is more fancied than real."<sup>27</sup>

Associations of traders and craftsmen appear to have been known quite early in Greece, ". . . for even the so-called law of Solon mentions along with religious and industrial organizations those of the emporoi, or traders."<sup>28</sup> The potters were the first to recognize the common interests which bound together the members of their craft, and "in the course of time they united into an association which held meetings to worship the patron god of their craft and to talk over matters of common interest."<sup>29</sup> Too, such associations served to

---

<sup>25</sup>Henry F. Lutz, Textiles and Costumes among the Peoples of the Ancient Near East (New York: G. E. Stechert & Co., 1923), p. 65.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., p. 69.

<sup>27</sup>Osgood, op. cit., p. 47.

<sup>28</sup>Nicolò, loc. cit.

<sup>29</sup>Osgood, op. cit., p. 78.

protect much valuable knowledge which might otherwise have been lost.

Lambert notes the existence of a "Gild of the Wool Weavers" at Ephesus. He deems it important as "the earliest also of the mediaeval Craft Gilds of Europe."<sup>30</sup>

"In Rome there is evidence of the existence of guilds (collegia) after 200 B.C."<sup>31</sup> Various known as collegia, scholae, and corpora opificum et artificum, they probably began as voluntary groups chiefly concerned with the religious and social welfare of their members. By the third century, however, growing costs of government caused the emperors to draw these groups increasingly under state control. Eventually this control so weakened them that "from the fall of the Roman Empire, . . . until well into the ninth century, the 'Scholae' seem to have suspended their benevolent operations."<sup>32</sup>

Some writers regard the collegia as forerunners of the medieval guilds of Western Europe, but there is little evidence of an unbroken continuity except perhaps in Italy, ". . . where the existence of guilds even under the Teutonic rulers can be proved."<sup>33</sup> Luzzatto suggests the possibility that "the late Roman guilds may have survived, not only in Byzantine Italy, where artisan corporations are known to have continued at Rome and Ravenna, but in Lombard

---

<sup>30</sup>Lambert, op. cit., p. 33.

<sup>31</sup>Heaton, op. cit., p. 59.

<sup>32</sup>Staley, op. cit., p. 35.

<sup>33</sup>Nicolò, op. cit., p. 206.



Italy as well."<sup>34</sup> In tenth century, Constantinople manufacturers and merchants of silk and linen were organized into guilds whose names indicate their ties to the guilds of earlier date.<sup>35</sup>

The religious aspect of guild life has played an important part in their history. They were accustomed to adopting a religious character from the first, taking the lead in the performance of good works and devotional exercises and embodying the name of a saint in their title.

Attendance at the funeral of deceased members, prayers for the dead, assistance to brethren in sickness, poverty and distress, 'alms-deeds and works of charity,' the settlement of quarrels, without litigation, by the Gild officers, and abstinence from slander and malicious imputations against the brethren, are some of the precepts inculcated by the guild statutes.<sup>36</sup>

These elements were somewhat less prominent in the merchant guilds than in most other guilds.

Chronologically, a survey of European guild history starts with Italy, ". . . for Italy offers the oldest evidence and the greatest variety of experience."<sup>37</sup> Some of the enterprises fostered by the collegia had been carried on rather fitfully by families or individuals working alone. In Ravenna, which had managed to preserve something of its earlier prosperity, there is evidence

---

<sup>34</sup>Gino Luzzatto, An Economic History of Italy, trans. Philip Jones (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1961), p. 30.

<sup>35</sup>A. E. R. Boak, "Late Roman and Byzantine Guilds," Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, ed. Edwin R. A. Seligman and Alvin Johnson, VII (1932), p. 208.

<sup>36</sup>Gross, op. cit., I, 34-35.

<sup>37</sup>Postan, Rich, and Miller, op. cit., p. 233.



that some of its various categories of artisans were already organized into guilds by the ninth century.<sup>38</sup> In other Italian cities guild life was not given renewed impetus until 825, when ". . . the Emperor Lothair issued his 'Constitutiones Olonenses,' wherein eight cities and towns of northern Italy were named as suitable centres of population for the establishment of new 'Collegia' or 'Scholae.'"<sup>39</sup> Rome availed herself of these provisions in 901, Ravenna in 990, and Ferrara in 1015.<sup>40</sup>

Amalfi, the leading Tyrrhenian port from the tenth to the twelfth century, Naples, Bari, and Gaeta rose to positions of commercial importance as seacoast towns. Their rivals in the race for commercial greatness were Venice, Milan, Pavia, Piacenza, Lucca, Genoa, and Pisa. "At Pavia, . . . and probably also at Piacenza, the evidence . . . makes it certain that toward the end of the tenth century there existed a group of professional and trade associations, controlled and taxed by the Crown, which in turn invested them with rights of monopoly."<sup>41</sup> The resemblance of this system to the Byzantine guild organization may be noted.

Some writers believe that the earliest references to guilds come from England. The evidences of a general system of guilds in Anglo-Saxon times may be found both in the laws and in the actual records of a few of the guilds

---

<sup>38</sup>Heaton, op. cit., p. 208.

<sup>39</sup>Staley, op. cit., p. 35.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., p. 36.

<sup>41</sup>Luzzatto, op. cit., p. 60.

which survive to the present day. The laws of Ine (A.D. 688-725) and Alfred (A.D. 871-901) speak of gegildan who practiced the brotherly guild spirit in regard to manslaughter of or by a guild member.<sup>42</sup>

The famous "Judicia Civitatis Lundoniae" of Athelstan's time (A.D. 924-940) contains ordinances for the keeping up of social duties in the Gilds, . . . of London. . . . The "Gild-ship" is also referred to in Edgar's Canons (A.D. 959-975). The laws of Henry I. repeat those of King Alfred . . . while in another place they refer to the Gild under its social aspect of good fellowship, enjoining what is afterwards found constantly insisted on--peace and good behaviour at the meetings.<sup>43</sup>

Certain documents have been preserved which illustrate the reaction of the country towards Athelstan's laws. The bishops and magnates of Kent wrote to thank him and to assure him of their obedience. Another memorandum records the establishment, according to the decrees of the king, of a "peace-gild" of which the leading members were the bishops and reeves of London.<sup>44</sup> Despite the evidence presented, Dr. Gross disagrees with other writers who trace the ancestry of medieval English guilds to the gegildan of Ine and Alfred. He refers to the "Judicia" as "simply a supplement to the general laws of the kingdom regarding theft. . . . The ordinances provide for a peculiar public police establishment, rather than for a close private association."<sup>45</sup>

". . . It must be left uncertain whether the ninth-century cnihtas of

---

<sup>42</sup>Brentano, op. cit., p. xvi.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., p. xvii.

<sup>44</sup>F. M. Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, Vol. II of The Oxford History of England, ed. G. N. Clark (Oxford: University Press, 1947), p. 350.

<sup>45</sup>Gross, op. cit., I, 179.

Canterbury were young members of landed families maintaining themselves by trade, or resident servants of lords with property in, or adjacent to, the civitas.<sup>46</sup> Circumstantial evidence indicates that they may have been the forerunners of later and more powerful merchant guilds.<sup>47</sup> In the time of Henry I there existed in London, Canterbury, and Winchester certain cnihten guilds.

Anglo-Saxon statutes that were observed among themselves by the brethren of four social-religious guilds flourishing at Cambridge, Abbotsbury, Exeter, and Woodbury still remain in effect. "These records probably date from the first half of the eleventh century, being the oldest gild statutes in existence."<sup>48</sup> The religious element was pre-eminent in the guilds at Abbotsbury, Exeter, and Woodbury.

Feasting, psalm-singing, escorting the dead to the grave, the solemn entrance-oath, fines for neglect of duty and for unseemly behaviour, contributions to a common purse, mutual assistance in distress, the gild-hall, periodical meetings called the 'morgen spaec'--in short, all the characteristics of later guilds, appear in the statutes of these four fraternities.<sup>49</sup>

The guilds of France are first mentioned in the eleventh century. As castles prospered and became towns, all the artisans of the household grouped themselves into corporations without distinction of trade. The confraternity of

---

<sup>46</sup>Cunningham, op. cit., pp. 129-30.

<sup>47</sup>Stenton, op. cit., p. 520.

<sup>48</sup>Gross, op. cit., I, 181-82.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., p. 183.

St. Euchere, founded at St. Trond between 1034 and 1055, provides an example of this type of association. Though not yet a trade society, this association of mutual help had corporate property, an administration, and a dean.<sup>50</sup>

A parallel movement with the working class grew and prospered among the urban lords of central and northern France, where urban industry was one of the means used to maintain feudal power. "The idea of spreading obligations over the whole of a trade within a lord's urban jurisdiction, . . . was an innovation that in France should possibly be credited to royal officials in Paris as early as the eleventh century."<sup>51</sup> Forced to fill the role of protector of the artisans of their households, they formed *hanses* or guilds to extend their enterprises long before it was possible for the artisans to group themselves into true trade associations.<sup>52</sup> "In France, the chief Gild, that of the merchants, *changeurs*, etc., was the association which in many towns prepared the way for a more advanced form of municipal government, and took the foremost position in the administration."<sup>53</sup>

"During the Carolingian era, the Netherlands had given evidence of a commercial activity not to be found anywhere else."<sup>54</sup> After the Northmen's

---

<sup>50</sup>Fr. Funck-Brentano, *The Middle Ages*, trans. Elizabeth O'Neill (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1922), p. 336.

<sup>51</sup>Postan, Rich, and Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

<sup>52</sup>Funck-Brentano, *op. cit.*, pp. 337-38.

<sup>53</sup>Lambert, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

<sup>54</sup>Pirenne, *Medieval Cities*, p. 96.

expeditions had restored security to the shores of the North Sea and commerce had begun to reappear there, the hanses or guilds of merchants originated.

"Les premières gildes marchandes dans les Pay-Bas remontent problemement au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle," according to Vander Linden.<sup>55</sup> Though tinged with a religious character, their aim was definitely worldly. "They had a common treasury, managed by self-elected aldermen; common rights, usually obtained from the lord of the land by pecuniary sacrifices; fixed festivals, as on the day of the saint to whom the guild was consecrated."<sup>56</sup> The trading cities of Utrecht, Muiden, Stavoren, and Tiel possessed merchant guilds during this period. Also, "Valenciennes, . . . in the eleventh century could show a strong merchants' guild"<sup>57</sup> The merchants of Ghent, Bruges, Ypres, Liege, Antwerp, Louvain, Brussels, Tirlemont, Namur, Huy, and Dinant had their rights confirmed in writing by counts and bishops.<sup>58</sup> "As early as the middle of the eleventh century the guild of St. Omer had a permanent headquarters, the Gildehalle, where the members (fratres) assembled, and it maintained a fund to care for its poor and sick."<sup>59</sup> The Friesian wool cloaks, ". . . as

---

<sup>55</sup>Vander Linden, op. cit., p. 6. This statement may be translated as: "The first merchant guilds in the Low Countries probably go back to the eleventh century."

<sup>56</sup>Petrus Johannes Blok, History of the People of the Netherlands, trans. Oscar A. Bierstadt and Ruth Putnam (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1898), p. 219.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid., p. 114.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid.

<sup>59</sup>Pirenne, "European Guilds," p. 208.

remarkable for their beautiful colors as for their softness, "60 were among the most valuable products exported from Flanders.

By the eleventh century, trade guilds had developed successively in Italy, England, France, and the Netherlands. The centuries that follow witness an increase in the number of trade guilds in these areas, and in their influence over commerce. This influence reached its peak as, ". . . with the rise of town life and the beginnings of an industrial system, the Mediaeval Guilds found a defined sphere and function in the structure of Society and a defined relation to the mediaeval State."61

---

<sup>60</sup>Pirenne, Medieval Cities, p. 102.

<sup>61</sup>Renard, op. cit., p. xiii.



## CHAPTER IV

### GUILDS AND THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY

Boissonnade cites the twelfth century as the period when "a teeming activity transformed the Western world."<sup>1</sup> He continues:

A multitude of artists and artisans created, regenerated, or developed the different varieties of industrial work, and tore the sceptre of industry from the Byzantine and Moslem East in its decadence, endowing the West with new sources of wealth. The commercial and industrial classes made their entry upon the stage of history; they were now ready to win for themselves a social position which corresponded to the growing importance of their rôle.<sup>2</sup>

The merchants and skilled artisans constituted a new class in medieval society. Relatively free of the taint of feudal servitude, they could more successfully direct commerce and industry, providing the necessary incentive for economic growth. "As for the producer," explains Pirenne, "he protected himself by the trade corporations or guilds which made their appearance as early as the 12th century."<sup>3</sup> By this time guilds had developed in England, Italy, France, and the Netherlands. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries witnessed an increase in number and strength of guilds in these countries until almost all areas of Europe's commerce had in some way been affected by them.

---

<sup>1</sup>Boissonnade, op. cit., p. 190.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Pirenne, Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe, pp. 224-25.

## I. DEVELOPMENTAL PERIOD - 12th AND 13th CENTURIES

England - the guilds of the textile industry

The merchant guild. --The merchant guild was, to all appearances, established in England after the Norman conquest. "The earliest distinct references to the Gild Merchant occur in a charter granted by Robert Fitz-Hamon to the burgesses of Burford (1087-1107), and in a document drawn up while Anselm was Archbishop of Canterbury (1093-1109)."<sup>4</sup> Charters of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries make frequent mention of guilds and enumerate privileges granted to them. "In almost every town of England in the 13th century was there a Merchant Gild including in its membership nearly all the principal inhabitants, exercising most important functions with respect to trade, and closely bound up with the municipal government."<sup>5</sup> Thus, it appears to have been a widespread institution of municipal life. Altogether, Gross lists about a hundred towns in England which are known to have contained a merchant guild.<sup>6</sup> This fact, together with the wealth of pertinent material available from the period, indicate the important position the guild must have held in the town life of the time. Some eminent historians have even advocated the theory that, both in England and on the Continent, the medieval town emanated from the guild. Gross disagrees, and states in regards to this theory:

---

<sup>4</sup>Gross, op. cit., I, 5.

<sup>5</sup>Lambert, op. cit., p. 2.

<sup>6</sup>Gross, op. cit., I, 9-16.

The subsidiary position of the Gild in the burghal administration and burghal community during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and the absence of all unmistakable traces of its earlier influence upon the other municipal institutions of that period, speak strongly in favour of the view that the Gild was a superinduced element, a separate growth from without, a powerful organism grafted upon the parent stem of the town constitution, but not the fertile germ to which the latter owed its existence.<sup>7</sup>

Merchant guilds all over England apparently had much the same type of organization. Each was presided over by an alderman, who was assisted by two or four wardens or échevins and sometimes by the stewards also. A small council of twelve or twenty-four was generally elected by the guild members. The duties of the alderman and wardens included summoning and presiding over meetings and festivities as well as management of the funds and other holdings of the society.<sup>8</sup>

Since the terms of membership were not uniform everywhere, it is difficult to determine with certainty who was eligible for membership. Surprisingly, however, it becomes evident from a study of guild statutes that not all members were great merchants. Gross states that:

It is necessary at the outset to emphasize the fact that, generally speaking, craftsmen were freely admitted to the Gild Merchant in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. The term merchant, . . . was not in those days confined to large dealers, but embraced all who traded.<sup>9</sup>

Merchants from other towns, lords of manors, and inhabitants of neighboring monasteries are frequently mentioned in guild rolls. "The charter granted to

---

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 85.

<sup>8</sup>Ashley, op. cit., p. 72.

<sup>9</sup>Gross, op. cit., I, p. 107.

Pembroke enacted that 'all merchants of the county of Pembroke by the decision of my burgesses may enter into their gild merchant.' The gild merchant of Ipswich admitted to its franchise many neighbouring landowners, . . . .<sup>10</sup> Ashley explains that women might inherit guild membership and elder sons of guildsmen could obtain free admission, while younger sons paid a smaller entrance fee than was required of others. Of the town inhabitants, who composed the bulk of the membership, evidence indicates that only those who held land within the town boundaries were admitted.<sup>11</sup>

The chief object of the guilds' existence was the promotion of the prosperity of the trades with which their members were associated. This promotion often took the form of ordinances for the improvement and maintenance of the quality of goods being produced as a means of upholding the guild's high reputation. A guild court enforced the ordinances and administered appropriate punishment to offenders.

The gild rolls of Leicester record how one, Roger Aldith, was convicted three times concerning a certain vermilion cloth made contrary to the rules of the gild, 'to wit, with the woof in the middle poorer and worse than at the ends'. His persistence in fraud met its due reward, and he was 'cut off from the gild and separated from the community' of the gild-brethren.<sup>12</sup>

In 1260, the same guild attempted to compel weavers and fullers to accept certain rules, ". . . the weavers undertaking to conceal no deceit in their work

---

<sup>10</sup>E. Lipson, The Economic History of England. Vol. I: The Middle Ages (12th ed.; London: Adam and Charles Black, 1959), p. 276.

<sup>11</sup>Ashley, op. cit., p. 73.

<sup>12</sup>Lipson, op. cit., p. 274.

and the fullers not to full 'unfaithful cloth'.<sup>13</sup> The records of the Guild of the Tailors at Exeter include mention of a complaint by a customer that some of the cloth given to a craftsman to make into a gown was found missing. The master and wardens found that no cloth had been stolen but that some had been wasted through the craftsman's lack of skill. He was forced to pay for the cloth and to keep the gown.<sup>14</sup> "The rolls contain numerous records of fines for dishonestly dyeing, for mixing bad wool with good, for short weight, for selling at more than the assize or fixed price, as well as for the offense of forestalling, . . . ."<sup>15</sup> It may be well to explain here that the forestaller bought goods wholesale, either outside the town or in the market itself, and then secured by means of monopoly a higher price than would otherwise have been paid. Manufacturers and merchants were sometimes members of the same weaving guild, but the merchants may also have been merchant converters, adding finishing touches to cloths in order to make them suitable for market. "The rules of weaving guilds were similar to those of guilds in general," asserts Ripley, "that is, a high standard of craftsmanship and of personal conduct was demanded, . . . and measures were strictly enforced to prevent price cutting, unfair distribution of raw materials or adulteration."<sup>16</sup>

---

<sup>13</sup>Ibid.

<sup>14</sup>Brentano, op. cit., p. 321.

<sup>15</sup>Ashley, op. cit., p. 75.

<sup>16</sup>Percy Ripley, "The English Wool Trade: Growth and Economic Development," Ciba Review, 130 (January, 1959), 10.



In return for these restrictions, however, the guildsman gained the benefit of protection and a certain degree of security. The religious element which permeated the intellectual life of the Middle Ages was one of the primary influences which led to the formation of guilds. Until the establishment of the guildhall, meetings were held in a church, hospital, or monastery whose saint was adopted as the patron saint of the guild. Masses were provided for the souls of deceased brethren, and the members mustered in force at their funerals. Regular contributions, or "quarterage," enabled the guilds to provide handsome funeral palls of gold fabric, several of which are still highly treasured today as works of art. Payments for candles and for the services of a chaplain made the relationship one of mutual advantage.<sup>17</sup>

Apart from their religious purposes, the concept of fraternal benevolence was inherent in guild organization. The ordinances of the merchant guild at Southampton provide an excellent illustration of this concept, as Lipson explains.

Its care for unfortunate brethren is seen in the rule that if a gildsman were ill, he should be given 'two loaves and a gallon of wine and one dish of cooked food', while two of the 'approved men' of the gild were to visit him 'and look to his condition'. If a gildsman were in prison in any place in England during a time of peace, the alderman with other officers of the gild were to go at the cost of the fraternity to procure his deliverance.<sup>18</sup>

Financial help was provided for those who had fallen into poverty, for old or

---

<sup>17</sup>Ernest Pooley, The Guilds of the City of London (London: William Collins of London, 1945), p. 8.

<sup>18</sup>Lipson, op. cit., p. 272.



infirm members, or for their widows and orphans. From the common fund also came loans to young men of good character and dowries for maidens.<sup>19</sup> Peace and amity among the brethren were emphasized at all times, and regular feasting further encouraged social fellowship and hospitality. One of the most valued privileges of the medieval trader, the right of "lot," enabled him to obtain a portion of any purchase made by a fellow guildsman at the original price of the commodity if he were present at the making of the bargain.<sup>20</sup>

As the merchant guilds grew and prospered, their monopolistic tendencies became more pronounced and, in some instances, even oppressive. "Thus competition was strictly limited and profits were held to prescribed levels. Advertising was forbidden, and even technical progress in advance of one's fellow guildsmen was considered disloyal."<sup>21</sup> Nevertheless, a new force was on its way which tended to diminish the former glory of the merchant guild. "Craft gilds are first mentioned during the reign of Henry I, [1100-1135] about a half a century after the first appearance of the Gild Merchant."<sup>22</sup> Though the craftsmen may have remained in the common merchant guild, the process of subdivision into craft guilds continually weakened and gradually destroyed the older organization.

---

<sup>19</sup>Pooley, op. cit., p. 12.

<sup>20</sup>Lipson, op. cit., p. 269.

<sup>21</sup>Robert L. Heilbroner, The Making of Economic Society (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1962), p. 37.

<sup>22</sup>Gross, op. cit., I, 114.

The craft guild. -- "The craft guilds were organizations of the craftsmen of each trade for mutual helpfulness and the advancement of the mystery or trade in which they were engaged."<sup>23</sup> In the Middle Ages, the term craft was not limited to manual labor as it is today. "It signified a trade or calling generally," states Unwin, "and the typical member of a craft was a well-to-do shopkeeper, a tradesman."<sup>24</sup> Commonly, the craft guilds were comprised of three classes of members -- the masters, the journeymen, and the apprentices. The masters received their title only after the completion of a "masterpiece" or after an apprenticeship of several years. Only they were allowed to hold office and assist in setting up guild regulations. They owned their own shops and supervised the work of the journeymen and apprentices. The journeymen, trained workmen who had already passed through their apprenticeships, could not open their own shops until they had accumulated some capital. They were occasionally allowed to vote though they could not hold a guild office. The apprentices were usually bound to their masters for a period of seven years, during which time the master was required to instruct them in the fundamentals of his craft, provide for their physical needs, and see to their schooling.<sup>25</sup> If the master failed to fulfill his obligations, the apprentice could withdraw from his service and find a new master.

---

<sup>23</sup>Osgood, op. cit., p. 30.

<sup>24</sup>George Unwin, The Gilds and Companies of London (London: Methuen & Co., 1908), p. 62.

<sup>25</sup>Osgood, op. cit., pp. 132-33.

The most minute details of the craftsman's life were regulated by the craft guild.

It embraced within its scope not only the strictly technical but also the religious, the artistic and the economic activities of mediaeval society. It was first and foremost undoubtedly an industrial organization, but the altar and the pageant, the care for the poor and the education of the young, were no less part of its functions than the regulation of wages and hours and all the numerous concerns of economic life.<sup>26</sup>

The many technical ordinances of the guilds were intended to protect both the consumer and the producer. The consumer could be assured that certain standards of size and quality had been followed in the production of any article made by a guild member. The rules in effect among the weavers of Bristol serve as illustration of the minute detail with which the responsibilities of the guildsman were set forth. "They fixed the width of the drapery, and directed that 'if the threads are deficient in the cloth or are too far apart, which the weavers called tosed, that cloth and the instrument on which it is worked ought to be burnt'; the same penalty was inflicted when the cloth was made of woollen thread called thrums, or if it were 'worse in the middle than at the sides'."<sup>27</sup> Even the quality of the wool which was to go into the coarse green dyed Kendal cloths of the fourteenth century was closely regulated. "The mixing of different qualities of wool in one cloth was prohibited; and as it was forbidden to mix English wool with Spanish, so was the use of flocks, or refuse wool, in ordinary cloth, except in the case of the cloth of Devonshire, in which, owing

---

<sup>26</sup>Lipson, op. cit., p. 328.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., p. 329.

to the coarseness of the wool, an admixture of flock was necessary."<sup>28</sup> To further insure the good quality of their wares, guild brethren were forbidden to work at night, on Sundays, or on certain holidays. They were frequently limited as to the number of apprentices or servants they might have and were forbidden to have dealings with one who was indebted to a brother.<sup>29</sup> Like the merchant guilds, they also were concerned with the religious welfare of their members. Masses and prayers for the dead, a concern for the economic and physical well-being of members' families, and regular gifts to churches constituted an integral part of guild life.

Many historians hold the opinion that the merchant guild was never an established institution in London.<sup>30</sup> The same was not true of craft guilds, however. It is difficult to find a medieval trade in England which was not represented among the city's guilds.<sup>31</sup> The twelve Great Companies held a dominant position in the city's industry. Below them were sixty-two minor Companies, which in some cases were as wealthy and powerful as the Great Companies.<sup>32</sup> No matter what its title, though, the ultimate goal of each

---

<sup>28</sup>L. F. Salzman, English Industries of the Middle Ages (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923), p. 207.

<sup>29</sup>Brentano, op. cit., pp. cxxx-cxxxi.

<sup>30</sup>Lipson, op. cit., p. 266.

<sup>31</sup>E. R. Yarham, "The City Guilds," Contemporary Review, CLXX (August, 1946), 116.

<sup>32</sup>P. H. Ditchfield, The Story of the City Companies (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1926), p. 47.

guild remained the same--to preserve an absolute monopoly over its craft. Despite their many vicissitudes and the verbal fetters with which some monarchs attempted to bind them, they seem to have succeeded in their purpose to a remarkable degree.

The Weaver's Company appears to have had one of the first charters of incorporation. It is known to have been in existence during the reign of Henry I and, about the middle of the twelfth century, received a charter of incorporation from the king. "Under that charter the guild was authorised to regulate the trade of clothworkers, drapers, tailors, and all the various crafts and misteries that belong to clothes."<sup>33</sup> Its growing power was later suppressed, and several different trades separated from it to form their own guilds. "From it arose the Drapers, the Clothworkers, the Fullers, Dyers, Burrellers, Hurere (or Hatters), and to a great extent the Haberdashers; and both the Merchants of the Staple and the later Merchant Adventurers were dealers in the same material in its various forms."<sup>34</sup> The Drapers are known to have been together as early as 1180 and were, during this period, ". . . makers as well as sellers of woollen cloth, and were associated more or less closely with the Weavers, the Taylors, the Shearmen, the Fullers, and the Dyers."<sup>35</sup> The Company of Woolmen formed themselves into a separate

---

<sup>33</sup> John Charles Thornley and George W. Hastings (ed.), The Guilds of the City of London and Their Liverymen (London: The London & Counties Press Association, Limited, n.d.), p. 101.

<sup>34</sup> Lambert, op. cit., p. 205.

<sup>35</sup> Thornley and Hastings, op. cit., p. 53.



fraternity towards the close of the thirteenth century. "Though existing only by prescription, the guild played an important and useful part in the promotion and regulation of the wool trade, especially as regards the handling of the raw material."<sup>36</sup> Many of these earlier companies were absorbed by more powerful bodies as the process of amalgamation began some two centuries later. Among these later bodies, the Clothworkers' Company stood twelfth in rank of the twelve Great Companies of London.

#### Italy - the guilds of the textile industry

The development of craft guilds was even more rapid on the Continent than in England, and the merchant guild played a much less important role. A sudden and rapid emergence of guilds occurred in Italy in the second half of the twelfth century. Most historians accept the conclusion that guild organization had continued to exist to a degree in certain towns of medieval Italy. Here, those guilds employed in work of importance to the state were granted rights of monopoly in return for dues paid to the government. The ancient custom by which tradesmen of the same craft produced and sold their goods in shops on the same street further encouraged the formation of guilds. "But, in spite of these relics from the past," Luzzatto explains, "the evidence leaves no doubt that the twelfth-century guilds were new institutions, created by conditions which only developed in the urban communes after their first foundation and

---

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., p. 219.



after the influx of people from the country."<sup>37</sup> It is probable that the first twelfth-century guilds or arti were composed of former feudal subjects who, having moved into town and adopted a new craft or trade, felt the need to unite in defense against their ancient masters.<sup>38</sup> It would thus appear that the first Italian guilds were composed of members from a somewhat lower socioeconomic class than the merchants and landed gentry of which the earliest English guilds of the period were largely comprised.

Towns all over central and northern Europe were gaining a somewhat precarious autonomy in the twelfth century. The numerous port towns of England offered fertile ground for the activities of merchant guilds, which seem to have profitted greatly from their proximity to the sea. In direct contrast, Italy's many inland towns with populations of up to 20,000 or 30,000 offered more scope for the specialized skills of craft guild members, and demand remained more stable there than in port towns dependent upon foreign markets and sources of supply. Skilled artisans and merchants could reach for, and attain, political influence and a voice in the local government.<sup>39</sup> Under these conditions the guilds organized production to meet the basic needs of the townspeople and to make them virtually independent of neighboring states.

The guild system of Florence was perhaps more thoroughly developed

---

<sup>37</sup>Luzzatto, op. cit., pp. 82-83.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., p. 83.

<sup>39</sup>Postan, Rich and Miller, op. cit., pp. 230-31.

than in any other area of Italy. The guilds were placed in two divisions and designated as "Greater" and "Lesser." Among the seven Greater Guilds, L'Arte della Lana, the clothmakers' guild, and L'Arte di Calimala, the guild of finishers of foreign-woven cloth, were in almost complete control of the Florentine cloth industry. Due to the similarity of the merchandise of the two guilds, rules were passed by their Councils to avoid competition between them.

L'Arte della Lana was almost certainly the first trade corporation in Florence. It was concerned with the treatment of raw wool, from both local and foreign sources, and the manufacture of cloth. Its membership included, besides the weavers, the dyers, fullers, and shearers, all of whom had a share in cloth refining.<sup>40</sup> The wealth of the guild enabled it to purchase the choice grade of wool offered at foreign fairs. However, according to Staley, one of the fabrics manufactured of native wool was of exceptionally fine texture.

It was called "Tintilano," --fine grained cloth, --made from the silky fleeces of young lambs, and was further distinguished as locchi, --still-born, --and moiana --soft and light. This woven material was greatly esteemed for the tight-fitting body hose and drawers worn by men, and is referred to by Boccaccio as thoroughly Florentine.<sup>41</sup>

"On the other hand cloth made up of inferior cardings was condemned to be burnt--a wise precaution against any temptation to force shoddy pieces upon the market."<sup>42</sup> Length and weight were standardized and any mixture of

---

<sup>40</sup>Weibel, op. cit., p. 24.

<sup>41</sup>Staley, op. cit., p. 161.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., p. 143.

fibers within the cloth was plainly marked on the label. Weibel states that the most modern methods of division of labor were used with as many as two dozen different workmen being required for the processing of wool alone.<sup>43</sup> It was as a division of the Wool Guild that the great Calimala Guild first originated.

The business of the Calimala ". . . was exclusively the re-dressing and finishing of foreign-woven woollen cloth."<sup>44</sup> There appears to have been no guild in England comparable to this one. Ease of obtaining raw materials was one of the greatest assets of the English woolen guilds, while the Calimala imported at great expense only the finest of foreign-woven cloths. Its label alone was considered a guarantee of quality. Textiles woven in Flanders, France, and England, after being finished and dyed by the Calimala, ". . . brought a higher price and found a readier sale than did unlabeled goods at the fairs in northern Europe."<sup>45</sup> Staley explained that the details of the industry were precisely regulated. By guild regulation, only the purest and most expensive vegetable dyes were used on the finest cloths. The blending of various shades was forbidden unless expressly stated upon the label, and new dyes were constantly being sought. Every yard of finished cloth was submitted to rigorous examination by the Inspectors of Spots and Blemishes, and inferior workmanship was heavily penalized.<sup>46</sup> So powerful did this guild become that,

---

<sup>43</sup>Weibel, loc. cit.

<sup>44</sup>Staley, op. cit., p. 107.

<sup>45</sup>Osgood, op. cit., p. 161.

<sup>46</sup>Staley, op. cit., p. 129.

by the end of the thirteenth century, "the 'Calimala' consuls obtained the authorization of the Government of the Republic to establish agencies in all the principal wool-producing and cloth-manufacturing centres."<sup>47</sup>

"The very earliest textiles made in Italy were woolen, but the celebrated fabrics were of pure silk, or of silk used in combination with other fibers."<sup>48</sup> According to Weibel, the Guild of Silk made its appearance in Florence before the end of the twelfth century.

The silk industry seems to be documented by a decree of the Emperor Henry VI, of 1187; in return for privileges granted, the city of Florence must supply annually a bolt of 'good velvet.' By the mid-thirteenth century the two silk guilds were founded: Arte di Por Santa Maria, that of the merchants, and Arte della Seta, the weavers' guild; by the fifteenth century the Florentine silk industry had practically a monopoly on the markets of northern Europe.<sup>49</sup>

Although dependent upon the importation of raw silk, the new industry was flourishing by the first decade of the thirteenth century. A large number of crafts were subordinated or affiliated to the Guild of Silk. Inspectors appointed by the guild visited regularly the workshops of all of these crafts and examined carefully the manufactured article in its various stages with respect to length, breadth, weight, and color. Notes of all new inventions or novel methods employed were also included in the reports of the inspectors.<sup>50</sup>

---

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., p. 131.

<sup>48</sup>Lewis, op. cit., p. 151.

<sup>49</sup>Weibel, loc. cit.

<sup>50</sup>Staley, op. cit., p. 210.

Thus, in a comparatively short time, beauty of design, richness of colouring, and fineness of workmanship raised the value of Florentine silk immeasurably. Just as in the case of foreign cloth, redressed by Florentine workpeople, the output of the silk looms of Florence commanded far and away better prices, in the European markets, than did the like produce of any other city or country.<sup>51</sup>

Florence was not alone in the production of fine cloths. Boissonnade reports a thriving cloth industry in other Italian cities.

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. In this last town in 1300 as many as 30,000 pieces of cloth were produced annually, irrespective of stockings and caps. Lucca, Siena, Pisa, Palermo, and Naples in their turn organized workshops, . . . .<sup>52</sup>

By the year 1200 Venice ". . . was reckoned an important textile center and by the middle of that century the weavers had a corporation of their own and statutes as to the grade of work that must be done."<sup>53</sup> Silk weaving continued at a high degree of perfection in Lucca and Venice from the twelfth century onward. "It was here that for the first time there arose a European style in silk design, its forms breathing the spirit of Gothic art, naturalistic and pre-occupied with animals and plants."<sup>54</sup> Lucca held the distinction of producing the first European velvets in quantities of commercial importance and in an infinite variety of designs and colors. "In Lucca and the other Italian towns in

---

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., p. 222.

<sup>52</sup>Boissonnade, op. cit., pp. 186-87.

<sup>53</sup>Lewis, op. cit., p. 169.

<sup>54</sup>M. Braun-Ronsdorf, "Silk Damasks," Ciba Review, 110 (June, 1955),



which the velvet and silk industries flourished, the putting-out system was practised, i.e. small master weavers, associated with the silk weaver's guilds, worked to order for merchants who took charge of the sale of the goods.<sup>55</sup> Guild authority was not firmly established over weaving in Genoa until the collapse of cloth export around the middle of the thirteenth century.<sup>56</sup>

#### France - the guilds of the textile industry

The trade societies which played so great a part in the commercial history of France do not date from a very remote period. Funck-Brentano states that the oldest of the true guild organizations dates only from the second half of the twelfth century.<sup>57</sup> In central and northern France they were at first organized by royal power or local lords simply as a means of handling trade disputes and keeping artisans under control. "The idea of spreading obligations over the whole of a trade within a lord's urban jurisdiction, . . . was an innovation that in France should possibly be credited to royal officials in Paris as early as the eleventh century."<sup>58</sup> These corporations of workmen, which at first included all the artisans of one estate without respect for their trades, soon became more specialized according to trade.

---

<sup>55</sup>A. Latour, "European Velvet Production--Historical Aspects," Ciba Review, 96 (February, 1953), 3453.

<sup>56</sup>Postan, Rich and Miller, op. cit., p. 269.

<sup>57</sup>Funck-Brentano, op. cit., p. 336.

<sup>58</sup>Postan, Rich and Miller, op. cit., p. 241.



Although a comparison of English and French guilds of the period reveals more areas of similarity than of difference, several striking contrasts may be noted. Whereas in England the guilds were local, on the Continent they were in many cases national. According to Lambert, "a journeyman went from North to South of France and found himself among the brethren of his own craft."<sup>59</sup> The overlapping of craft and religious guilds in England, where every craft guild had its religious side, was not so conspicuous in France. Here, ". . . the Gild of the craft and the fraternity for religious observance tended more to be kept separate, and the members of the one were often independently members of the other."<sup>60</sup> It is interesting to note that, due to the early separation of English weavers' guilds into several economic divisions or crafts, the weavers' guilds on the Continent attained a much more powerful and influential position than those in England.<sup>61</sup>

The organization of French guilds, though similar in many ways to that of England, exhibits one marked difference.

The masters or patrons are the industrial leaders of the period; the apprentices are their pupils and successors: they form the permanent and productive element in the middle classes. Beneath them, and under their direction, lives that which we call today the working class, those whom the statutes describe as the valets, or the sergents, or the *alloués*.<sup>62</sup>

---

<sup>59</sup>Lambert, *op. cit.*, p. 370.

<sup>60</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 24.

<sup>61</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 203.

<sup>62</sup>Funck-Brentano, *op. cit.*, p. 347.

There appears to have been no French class comparable to that of the English journeyman who had passed through an apprenticeship. Evidently, he was replaced by workmen, who may or may not have had formal training for their position.

That the cloth industry of France at an early date became one of her most important forms of industrial activity is pointed out by Boissonnade.

It prospered in Picardy at Amiens and Saint-Quentin; in the Île-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, Châlons, and Troyes; in Normandy at Rouen, Elbeuf, Pavilly, Montivilliers, Darnetal, Bernay, Honfleur, Vernon, Aumale, Les Andelys, and Caen; in Central France at Bourges; in Languedoc at Toulouse, Carcassonne, Narbonne, Béziers, and Montpellier, which were beginning to export their manufactures to the Levant. The drapery of Rousillon and Catalonia, of Lower Aragon, and of Valencia, arose to rival that of the South of France.<sup>63</sup>

Available records indicate that, in most of these towns, the textile industry was closely regulated by guilds during this period. The cloth weavers of Rouen are said to have been presented with their first cloth hall by Louis IX in 1256,<sup>64</sup> and from such halls large quantities of textiles found their way from Rouen into many foreign markets. By the middle of the thirteenth century in Marseilles ". . . there were a hundred guilds under systematic regulation with the aim of ensuring a satisfactory supply of goods and services at prices regarded as reasonable."<sup>65</sup> In Paris, by 1150, Heaton records five guilds

---

<sup>63</sup>Boissonnade, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

<sup>64</sup>H. Wescher, "The Medieval Cloth Trade," *Ciba Review*, 135, (December, 1959), 7.

<sup>65</sup>Postan, Rich and Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

working on leather, and "a century later the prefect of Paris compiled a register of the laws and customs of 101 guilds, . . . ."<sup>66</sup> A silk weavers' guild, recorded as having been formed in Paris in the thirteenth century, ". . . probably made bourrettes, those slightly rough silks with no lustre."<sup>67</sup> French tapestry weavers also exhibited great skill but did not reach their zenith until a later date. "As early as the middle of the thirteenth century a guild of dyers had been established with St. Maurice as their patron saint," writes Lewis, "but it is likely that most of their work was dyeing wool for tapestries rather than silk for shining robes."<sup>68</sup>

Regulations concerning measurements were very rigid and exacting. Cloth that was not of standard gauge and uniform finish was rejected as fit only for local sale. "At Chartres, lest the reputation of the town be endangered, defective cloth was assigned to be cut up for sale to the poorer local tailors."<sup>69</sup>

The archives of Toulouse have yielded several thirteenth century documents pertaining to clothmaking. These ordinances are particularly interesting as illustration of the development of the woolen industry in a major French textile center. Prohibitions concerning the use of inferior wools or dyes, legislation pertaining to the weighing of the wool and to the industrial

---

<sup>66</sup>Heaton, op. cit., p. 209.

<sup>67</sup>Lewis, op. cit., p. 183.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid.

<sup>69</sup>Postan, Rich and Miller, op. cit., pp. 266-67.

processes of weaving, dyeing, and fulling, and specifications as to the length, width, and marking of the cloth were outlined in detail.<sup>70</sup> Standard weights and measures were insisted upon, and mixed wools were prohibited for most types of cloth. Whether coarse or fine, every piece of cloth had to be clearly marked so that its quality could be recognized easily.<sup>71</sup> The weaving process was minutely regulated.

A dyer, fuller, or weaver safeguarded himself by immediately reporting spoiled or defective fleece to the owner. The weaver was to use good reeds or sleys of eight palmi in width. This insured weaves of approximately sixty inches wide. Standard lengths of eleven to thirteen canne approximated twenty-one to twenty-five yards to the bolt. Fabrication of cloth over thirteen canne was prohibited unless special permission was granted by the four custodians of the industry.<sup>72</sup>

It is surprising to note the amount of control exercised by municipal officials over Toulousan crafts. The ordinances seem to have had as their aim the prevention of the development of an independent guild with a monopoly and policies of its own. The large number of crafts involved in production and finishing of cloth bear evidence to the high degree of specialization which was encouraged in this city. Thus, the way was prepared ". . . for the closing decades of the thirteenth century, when artisans in each specific phase of the textile industry were to be strong enough to petition the consuls for statutes applicable to their individual task in the making of cloth."<sup>73</sup>

---

<sup>70</sup>Ambrose, op. cit., p. 168.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid., p. 171.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid., p. 170.

The Netherlands - the guilds of the textile industry

The merchant class appears to have been the most important group in the Netherlands in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The commerce in which they engaged was not local, but export trade. Such trade received a new stimulus at the beginning of the twelfth century as "the Netherlands became that meeting-place for the commerce of Italy and of the North which they were to remain until the end of the Middle Ages."<sup>74</sup> The increase of economic activity resulted in the creation of a considerable number of very rich men among the merchant class, who by this time were organized into guilds in most of the important trade centers.

Besides Utrecht, Muiden, Stavoren, and Tiel in the North, we may here mention Valenciennes, which in the eleventh century could show a strong merchants' guild. The merchants also of Ghent, Bruges, Ypres, Liege, Antwerp, Louvain, Brussels, Tirlemont, Namur, Huy, Dinant, and other places early possessed rights confirmed in writing by counts and bishops. Flanders, Brabant, and Liege especially saw, in the twelfth century, the rise of numerous merchants' guilds, caritates, hansae.<sup>75</sup>

In all of these centers, commerce and the woolen industry developed side by side and reacted on each other. From the end of the twelfth century the concentration of the woolen industry in the towns was an accomplished fact, and by the thirteenth century Bruges is said to have owned forty thousand looms.<sup>76</sup>

The weaving industry had begun to prosper even before the towns

---

<sup>74</sup>Henri Pirenne, "The Place of the Netherlands in the Economic History of Mediaeval Europe," Economic History Review, II (January, 1929), 28.

<sup>75</sup>Blok, op. cit., pp. 114-15.

<sup>76</sup>Lipson, op. cit., p. 487.



took definite form. "As it was the first so it remained the most important industry of the country. The finest and most beautiful woolen cloth of the time was made in the cities of the Low Countries and exported to all parts of Europe."<sup>77</sup> Only a very small number of these cloths, however, were intended for local consumption.

They were manufactured for export, and the result was that their importance continually increased as the export trade developed. From Bruges foreign merchants carried them more and more widely through Europe, and they were among the commodities to be found at all the markets in the interior and at all the ports from Smyrna to Dantzic.<sup>78</sup>

In contrast to the artisans of almost all the rest of Western Europe, who produced for a narrow market restricted to their own neighborhood, the artisans of the Netherlands produced for an international market which seemed to know no bounds.<sup>79</sup> The fine cloths of Flanders were admired and desired by the greatest and most sophisticated patrons, to whom no price was too high. Pirenne credits the development of commerce in the Low Countries to their easy accessibility by land and by sea routes. The fine fabrics produced in their great weaving centers were among those products most easily exported by sea for long distances.<sup>80</sup>

---

<sup>77</sup>Osgood, op. cit., pp. 175-76.

<sup>78</sup>Pirenne, "The Place of the Netherlands in the Economic History of Mediaeval Europe," p. 35.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid.

<sup>80</sup>Pirenne, Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe, pp. 142-43.



the length of the various qualities of cloth were closely regulated. Official examination accompanied each step of the production process. Through dyeing, which appears to have become the most highly-developed technical branch of the Flemish textile industry, they produced a wealth of colors greater than anything their rivals could produce.<sup>85</sup> "Ten red, six blue, and three green shades, several kinds of black, grey, and brown, as well as innumerable mixtures, all these offered a great deal of variety in an age which loved rich and brilliant colours."<sup>86</sup>

The newly rich merchants soon formed themselves into closed groups. "Such was the Hanse of London, with its capital at Bruges, which included seventeen towns, among which were Ypres and Lille, with the object of regulating trade, more especially the wool trade, with the British Isles."<sup>87</sup> The statutes of this hanse ". . . forbade entrance into the company to all retail dealers, as well as to 'those who have blue nails', that is to say, to workers in the cloth industry."<sup>88</sup> Thus, large-scale commerce was virtually monopolized by wealthy patricians who sought to keep the artisans dependent on them for raw materials and wages. The artisans had been ignored far too long, however. Already united in guilds of their own, by the end of the thir-

---

<sup>85</sup>Gutmann, op. cit., pp. 484-87.

<sup>86</sup>Ibid., p. 487.

<sup>87</sup>Boissonnade, op. cit., p. 163.

<sup>88</sup>Pirenne, Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe, p. 167.

teenth century they began to resist the domination of the patricians and to form a power which could not be dismissed. These guilds, organized on a pattern similar to that of the English craft guilds, awakened a spirit of freedom among Flemish guildsmen as they began to realize the results of strength created by union.<sup>89</sup> The close connection between England and Flanders, which no doubt included an exchange of ideas as well as products, might have contributed to the similarity noted in guild structure and development.

## II. GROWTH AND SPREAD OF TRADE GUILDS - 14th CENTURY

The fourteenth century is designated by M. Renard as the time when "... the Guilds Merchant had everywhere disappeared and the Craft Guilds were in possession of the field. Thus came into being the organization of industry generally known as the 'Mediaeval Guild System.'"<sup>90</sup> "In the first half of the fourteenth century, the gild system reached its highest point of efficiency."<sup>91</sup> By this time each branch of industry in every large town had its guild. Renard explains that the system reached its greatest perfection in those countries where town life was strongest.

The more commercial, the more industrial the town, the more numerous and full of life were the guilds; it was at Bruges or at Ghent, at Florence or at Milan, at Strasburg or at Barcelona, that they attained the height of their greatness; at all points, that is, where trade was already cosmopo-

---

<sup>89</sup>Blok, op. cit., pp. 253-54.

<sup>90</sup>Renard, op. cit., p. xvii.

<sup>91</sup>Ashley, op. cit., p. 92.

litan, and where the woollen industry, which was in those days the most advanced, had the fullest measure of freedom and activity.<sup>92</sup>

In England, the woollen industry continued to expand and to exert widespread influence over the economic and social life of the country.

In short, wool entered into every phase of English life in the middle ages. English economy, society and government reacted, each in its own way, to changes in the wool trade: its ebb and flow, its varying relations with the crown, and its continually changing organisation.<sup>93</sup>

Edward III's heavy taxation of exported wool, combined with a tolerant attitude toward foreign clothworkers, did much to stimulate the development of a native woollen industry. Hundreds of craftsmen from Flanders, Zeeland, and Brabant were induced, with the aid of the 1337 Act of Parliament, to come to England and impart their technical skill and knowledge to English artisans.<sup>94</sup> In little more than four decades, the number of these foreign workmen had grown so large that they were assigned meeting places of their own in London.<sup>95</sup>

The granting of royal charters to guilds was another aspect of Edward III's policy for encouraging home industries. According to Pooley, "by 1500, twenty-five guilds [in London] were thus formally equipped with corporate rights and powers of jurisdiction."<sup>96</sup> Of these, the Drapers'

<sup>92</sup>Renard, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

<sup>93</sup>Eileen Power, *The Wool Trade in English Medieval History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1941), p. 19.

<sup>94</sup>Lipson, *op. cit.*, p. 452.

<sup>95</sup>"Historical Gleanings," *Ciba Review*, 14 (October, 1938), 493.

<sup>96</sup>Pooley, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

Company of London, which was composed of makers and sellers of woolen cloth, practically obtained a monopoly of their trade after their formal incorporation in 1364. The high position which this company attained is attested by its third rank standing among the Twelve Great Companies of London.<sup>97</sup> Unlike the increasingly prosperous Drapers' Company, the Weavers' Guild was in a declining state throughout the fourteenth century. Also, in spite of the generally flourishing condition of the London cloth trade during the period, this once-powerful company did not even seek a new charter of incorporation.<sup>98</sup>

"The most remarkable body of traders in England during the Middle Ages were the Merchants of the Staple, who traded in wool."<sup>99</sup> Whereas the guild merchants were sometimes craftsmen as well as sellers of goods in the local market, the members of the Merchants of the Staple were primarily exporters of raw commodities. The Staple was one of the standard institutions of English commerce for at least four centuries, but it was not formally incorporated until 1354.<sup>100</sup> "The staplers were merchants who had the monopoly of exporting the principal raw commodities of the realm, especially wool, woolfels, leather, tin, and lead; wool figuring most prominently among these

---

<sup>97</sup>Thornley and Hastings, op. cit., p. 54.

<sup>98</sup>Frances Consitt, The London Weavers' Company (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1933), p. 98.

<sup>99</sup>Eileen Power, Medieval People (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1924), p. 112.

<sup>100</sup>Ibid.

'staple' wares."<sup>101</sup> In addition to Staple towns which served as trading centers in England, a Continental mart was chosen by the merchants as the exclusive port where the seat of Continental trade was to be established. Its location varied from time to time, but it was first fixed at Calais in 1363, and finally established there in 1423.<sup>102</sup> The system proved a convenient one for officials and merchants alike as a means of organizing trade and forcing it to operate through definite channels. The need for such an institution becomes evident when records reveal that, of the 50,000 cloths produced annually in England by the end of the fourteenth century, some 40,000 lengths were probably exported. "The last decade of Richard's reign [1389-99] was enjoying such industrial expansion as the country had never before known, the expansion of which Edward III may have dreamed."<sup>103</sup>

Also to the fourteenth century belongs one of the most colorful of guild customs--the wearing of livery on state and ceremonial occasions.

Pooley explains:

Guild Liveries are first mentioned in the middle of the fourteenth century, when their appearance was certainly distinctive. The gowns were parti-coloured, in bright hues, until the time of the Reformation when they became more subdued; the hoods are thus described: they 'were worn, the roundlets upon their heads, the skirts to hang behind on their necks to

---

<sup>101</sup>Gross, op. cit., I, p. 140.

<sup>102</sup>Power, loc. cit.

<sup>103</sup>H. L. Gray, "The Production and Exportation of English Woollens in the Fourteenth Century," English Historical Review, IXL (January, 1924), 29.



keep them warm, the tippet to lie on their shoulders or to wind about their necks.' They were originally in colours like the gowns, 'as red and blue, or red and purple, murrey, or as it pleased their masters and wardens to appoint.'<sup>104</sup>

In some of the earlier ordinances, the distinction is made between those members who wear only the hood and those who may wear the entire suit.<sup>105</sup> The wearing of livery thus appears to have been one indication of rank.

The close monopolies which the guilds tried to enforce produced much overlapping of kindred interests where several guilds were engaged in branches of the same industry. Until the large number of guilds was reduced by amalgamation or extinction, quarrels between guilds increased wherever they existed. So far as the records furnish evidence, the amalgamation movement began in London in 1345 when three groups of merchants united to form the Grocers' Company.<sup>106</sup> Other crafts, occasionally in England and more often on the Continent, recognized the advantages of combining interests and hastened to follow suit during the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. The weavers at Rouen, where the cloth trade attained its peak in the fourteenth century, evidently were among the first to be combined. Until about the middle of century they had been divided into two groups producing striped and plain cloths respectively. Then, in order to alleviate the inevitable quarrels, these

---

<sup>104</sup>Pooley, op. cit., p. 9.

<sup>105</sup>Unwin, op. cit., p. 190.

<sup>106</sup>Stella Kramer, The English Craft Guilds: Studies in Their Progress and Decline (New York: Columbia University Press, 1927), p. 20.

two bodies were ordered to combine as a single guild. The wisdom of this move is affirmed by the continuing prosperity of the guild. "A meeting in 1378, . . . is said to have been attended by more than a hundred master weavers. Even then, over a thousand persons gained a living from the cloth trade taken as a whole."<sup>107</sup>

In Florence, the Arte della Lana brought the small masters and workers in suburb, country, and subject cities under guild control. Heaton records that two hundred masters controlled twenty-five dependent occupations and thirty thousand small masters or journeymen in the middle of the fourteenth century.<sup>108</sup> Thus, nearly a third of the population was reduced to the status ". . . of an industrial proletariat entirely dependent on the wages paid them by the great wool merchants."<sup>109</sup> The weavers and their assistants made known their dissatisfaction with such financial dependence by repeated riots and insurrections. Weibel describes the most famous of these uprisings in Italy.

Best known is the tumulto dei ciompi in 1378, in which the wool carders, the ciompi, were joined not only by the thousands of other badly underpaid workers but also by some of the wealthier members of the guilds of cloth and silk weavers. This rebellion, like so many others, proved abortive; but it left the workers in a state of insecurity and restlessness.<sup>110</sup>

---

<sup>107</sup>Wescher, op. cit., p. 7.

<sup>108</sup>Heaton, op.cit., p. 220.

<sup>109</sup>Ferguson, op. cit., p. 47.

<sup>110</sup>Weibel, op. cit., p. 25.

By comparison to Florence, the subordination of the artisan to the merchant created a more serious situation in the cities of the Netherlands where a regular export industry had developed. "The whole of the fourteenth century was filled with the conflict of the grandi and the piccoli for the possession of municipal power."<sup>111</sup> The craft guilds fought bravely and with some success in certain areas, notably in Flanders.

By 1400 they had ended the plutocratic control of municipal affairs, and were making their own rigid rules. But they gained little benefit therefrom, for while weavers fought demarcation battles with fullers and wage earners quarreled with masters, the merchants turned elsewhere for their supplies. Production in Ghent, Ypres, and Bruges declined, but flourished in Hondschoote and other small places which, coming late to textile work, escaped guild control."<sup>112</sup>

The victory that was won appears to have been of a doubtful nature since merchants still maintained economic control.

Throughout the fourteenth century the craft guilds continued to uphold the quality of goods being produced. City officials who were also guild members were influential in enforcing city standards.

The guild system in the "small" crafts was at once a guarantee of, and a check on, production and sale. It endeavoured to insure and guard the consumer against adulteration, falsification, and dishonesty; to stamp goods with the character of finish, solidity, and relative perfection, thus giving to them something personal and therefore artistic; to keep within reasonable limits the profits of the manufacturer, who was also the merchant.<sup>113</sup>

---

<sup>111</sup>Henri Pirenne, A History of Europe (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., p. 1939), p. 110.

<sup>112</sup>Heaton, loc. cit.

<sup>113</sup>Renard, op. cit., p. 68.

### III. ASPECTS OF THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY IN WESTERN EUROPE

#### 12th THROUGH 14th CENTURIES

##### The Textile Industry of Major Areas

During the early Middle Ages, a monopoly of the international commerce of Christian Europe was held by the Byzantine Empire. "Technical skill and variety of form won for Byzantine industry during six centuries its unrivalled supremacy in the world."<sup>114</sup> The location of Byzantium at the meeting of all the great trade routes enabled her to carry on an extensive export trade which the Western areas could not hope to match. "An immense movement of exchange, the most active in the civilized world, was thus centered in the Byzantine Empire."<sup>115</sup>

Byzantine. --Constantinople, the capital of the Byzantine Empire, did not gain real importance as a textile center until the seventh century when its two great rivals, Antioch and Alexandria, succumbed to the Arab onslaught. "The first fabrics that were woven in Constantinople were undoubtedly of linen and wool, and some perhaps of cotton."<sup>116</sup> It was not until the introduction of sericulture by the Emperor Justinian in the sixth century that Constantinople became known for its silk weaving, though silks for the most valued fabrics continued to be imported from the East.

---

<sup>114</sup>Boissonnade, op. cit., p. 48.

<sup>115</sup>Ibid., p. 53.

<sup>116</sup>Lewis, op. cit., p. 106.

The greatest Byzantine silks were woven in the imperial workshops during the tenth to twelfth centuries.<sup>117</sup> For beauty of pattern and color and richness of texture these fabrics were unexcelled.

Byzantine ornament was both esthetic and symbolic and when worked out in the rich textures of brocades, damasks and velvets, the result was magnificent. The treatment of the pattern was always formal, always symmetrical within the design itself and in its repetition. The circular band or rondel was the dominant form. . . . The wedge-shaped spaces between were filled with similar patterns or with abstract forms of Moslem extraction.<sup>118</sup>

Gold and silver threads, produced in Byzantium by wrapping the flattened metal wires around a yellow silk core, were used extensively on heavy brocades and damasks.<sup>119</sup> A marked interaction with Sassanian design may be noted in the use of such Persian elements as the hippocamp, the elephant, and the winged horse. The colors, though always magnificent, were dark and somewhat somber, relying for their effectiveness on the use of many tones of one shade or the contrast of a dash of bright color against a dark background. Imperial purple was reserved for the nobility from an early date, but the rich violets, blues, and reds were no less elegant.

Sicilian. --The introduction of sericulture into Sicily, a Byzantine province from A.D. 525 to 827, could possibly be traced to the period of its Byzantine occupation, although Lewis says that the Arabs should be credited

---

<sup>117</sup>Weibel, op. cit., p. 41.

<sup>118</sup>Lewis, op. cit., p. 108.

<sup>119</sup>M. Braun-Ronsdorf, "Gold and Silver Fabrics from Medieval to Modern Times," Ciba Review, (1961/3), 6.



with this innovation.<sup>120</sup> Sicily was wrested from the Byzantine Empire in 827 by the Arabs, who encountered Byzantine art forms and successfully amalgamated them with their own.<sup>121</sup> She remained under Arab control until conquered by the Norman, Roger I, in the last half of the eleventh century. The tolerant policies of his son, Roger II, did much to make Sicily the textile center it was to become. After his conquest of Corinth, Thebes, and Athens in 1147, he brought Greek weavers to his mills in Palermo, and Arabian and Byzantine weaving traditions were joined again.<sup>122</sup> The "Hotel de Tiraz" or royal workshop which he set up in his palace was soon turning out an enormous variety of elaborate fabrics. So great was the king's pride in the products of his Greek and Saracen weavers that he allowed them to weave the name of the factory and the date of weaving on the borders of the textiles.<sup>123</sup> Sicily was famous as a weaving center from the tenth to the thirteenth century, ". . . but she reached her zenith in the twelfth century when she was acknowledged as the leader that had replaced Byzantium in the world of textiles."<sup>124</sup> An enormous variety of fabrics, from the sheerest of silks to heavy brocades, were produced. Spots of lustrous gold thread, interwoven into the fabric to form a bird's head or feet or simply to fill an empty space, became a trade-mark of

---

<sup>120</sup>Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

<sup>121</sup>Flemming, *op. cit.*, p. x.

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

<sup>123</sup>Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

<sup>124</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 143.

Palermo. The splendid brocades and damasks, which were unrivalled in Europe, were shipped to all the ports of France and Germany as well as the countries of the eastern Mediterranean.<sup>125</sup>

Lucchese. -- Sicily was conquered by Charles of Anjou in 1282, and many of the skilled silk weavers of Palermo migrated to Italy. Lucca, where silk weaving had been practised since the ninth century, thus became the center for the finest silk weaving.<sup>126</sup> Italian textile design was characterized by a new type of ornament which broke completely with the earlier Sassanian-Byzantine inspired designs, fusing the Gothic spirit of naturalistic representation with the Chinese spirit of aloofness.<sup>127</sup>

The new characteristic is a free disposition in diagonal rows; animals are still the preponderant element but they have lost their heraldic aspect, and instead of quietly confronting each other or marching in stately procession, they are now drawn realistically full of life and motion. They run, fly, rush in, assault or recoil, or face each other threateningly. The floral ornament also succumbs to caprice; palmettes and stylized tendrils are not entirely discarded, but with them appear twisted flowery sprigs with a variety of leaves and blossoms. The repertory of motifs is immensely enlarged; never before or since have there been textile designers of so much imagination and seemingly inexhaustible power of invention.<sup>128</sup>

"During the thirteenth century the Lucchese held premier place, taking the

---

<sup>125</sup>Ibid., p. 148.

<sup>126</sup>Violetta Thurstan, A Short History of Decorative Textiles and Tapestries (London: Pepler and Sewell, 1934), p. 44.

<sup>127</sup>Adèle Coulin Weibel, 2000 Years of Silk Weaving (New York: E. Weyhe, 1944), p. viii.

<sup>128</sup>Ibid.

initiative in the development of fresh and vivid patterns and exploiting the capabilities of their draw-loom to such a degree that even the modern Jacquard can hardly excel in achievement.<sup>129</sup> The same lavish use of gold thread that was so characteristic of Palermo may be found in Lucchese fabrics of this period. Designs arranged in an ogival form were a special type of Lucchese work, and Christian symbols gradually took the place of the Arabic inscriptions which separated the designs.<sup>130</sup>

To Lucca also belongs the distinction of producing the first European velvets in quantities of commercial importance and in an infinite variety of designs and colors.

The art of producing velvet with piles of varying height, and velvet in one or many shades or with gold and silver thread was fully developed in the fourteenth century, . . . . In Lucca and the other Italian towns in which the velvet and silk industries flourished, the putting-out system was practised, i.e. small master weavers, associated with the silk weaver's guilds, worked to order for merchants who took charge of the sale of the goods.<sup>131</sup>

The fame of the Lucchese silks and weavers spread throughout Europe. "The all-silk Italian diasper stuffs of the fourteenth century, for instance, were favourite models, north of the Alps, for copying, though their designs and

---

<sup>129</sup>Cyril G. E. Bunt, Sicilian & Lucchese Fabrics (Leigh-on-Sea, England: F. Lewis, Publishers, Ltd., 1961), p. 12.

<sup>130</sup>Thurstan, op. cit., p. 44.

<sup>131</sup>Latour, op. cit., p. 3453.

construction usually were coarsened in the process."<sup>132</sup> Many of the best Lucchese weavers were dispersed when Florence captured Lucca in 1315. They migrated to Bruges, Venice, and especially Florence, where their skill and their fine traditions soon secured for Florence the supremacy in silk weaving.<sup>133</sup>

Florentine. --Until the immigration of the Lucchese silk weavers, the manufacture of fine woolen cloth had been the chief textile industry of Florence. It has been said, in fact, that the Guild of Wool ". . . achieved probably the maximum labour-saving use of water power that could have been found in any medieval textile centre, along with supreme efficiency in standardizing quality at a high level."<sup>134</sup> By the early fourteenth century the looms of Florence were producing 100,000 pieces of moderate quality wool fabric yearly. By some thirty years later, production had dropped by about one-third, but the cloth had so improved in quality that it brought a price equal to or above that of the most highly prized fabrics of France and Flanders.<sup>135</sup> Admittedly, the power and wealth that Florence had obtained by the fourteenth century created an even greater local demand for these more beautiful and costly fabrics. With the arrival of the skilled Lucchese craftsmen began the production of the brocaded damasks for which Florence became so famous. "Florence owed part of her

---

<sup>132</sup>M. Braun-Ronsdorf, "Medieval Mixture Fabrics," Ciba Review, 141 (December, 1960), 14.

<sup>133</sup>Thurstan, op. cit., p. 45.

<sup>134</sup>Postan, Rich and Miller, op. cit., p. 170.

<sup>135</sup>Luzzatto, op. cit., pp. 97-98.

wealth to the fact that for long she alone knew the secret of making gold and silver brocade. "<sup>136</sup>

The technique of these is very complicated. The ground is damask satin. Over the damask is a secondary pattern in the same colour and material. The main pattern is brocaded or floated in with different coloured silks.<sup>137</sup>

"The Florentine weavers would seem to have been especially famed for their fine velvets, while another and more specialized branch of the trade was the weaving of orphreys and braids destined to adorn the borders of vestments and altar hangings."<sup>138</sup> It has been said that every change of fashion, every gradual development of a new style, was reflected in the motifs of the magnificent Italian velvets.<sup>139</sup> There is some evidence that velvet weaving was being practiced in Florence during the last quarter of the twelfth century, but the origin of the technique has never been satisfactorily established.<sup>140</sup> It is known, however, that the Velluti family, to whom the invention of velvet is sometimes credited, was already doing a thriving business in velvet in the thirteenth century.<sup>141</sup>

---

<sup>136</sup>Renard, op. cit., p. 36.

<sup>137</sup>Thurstan, op. cit., p. 35.

<sup>138</sup>Cyril G. E. Bunt, Florentine Fabrics (Leigh-on-Sea, England: F. Lewis, Publishers, Ltd., 1962), p. 10.

<sup>139</sup>A. Latour, "Ceremonial Velvets," Ciba Review, 96 (February, 1953), p. 3451.

<sup>140</sup>Florence Lewis May, Silk Textiles of Spain (New York: The Hispanic Society of America, 1957), p. 120.

<sup>141</sup>Staley, op. cit., p. 222.



Florentine silk merchants for nearly two centuries had been content to transport the eggs and cocoons of the silkworm from the East, together with immense consignments of mulberry leaves. As the sericulture industry became increasingly prosperous at the end of the fourteenth and early in the fifteenth century, many Provvisioni were passed by the Guild of Silk and approved by the State Council for increasing cultivation of the mulberry. The venture was marked by such immediate success that Florence was soon besieged by dealers who sought to buy the cocoons and raw silk for other weaving centers. One protective measure, the Provvisione of 1442, specifically forbade the export of everything connected with silk production and manufacture.<sup>142</sup>

Venetian. --The production of fine textiles moved from Florence to Venice and Genoa in the middle and later Renaissance.<sup>143</sup> Although the finest Genoese textiles belong to the fifteenth and sixteenth century,<sup>144</sup> Venice was already a great textile center by the early thirteenth century. She had been an important seaport and a great merchant city from her earliest history and, because of her strategic position, had controlled trade routes to the East for many years. For these reasons, "she had always seemed to belong more to the east than the west, . . ."<sup>145</sup> and Venetian fabric designs showed a strong

---

<sup>142</sup>Ibid., pp. 217-18.

<sup>143</sup>Flemming, op. cit., p. XI.

<sup>144</sup>Lewis, op. cit., p. 177.

<sup>145</sup>Ibid., p. 167.

Oriental influence. In her position as the most important European market for trade with the Orient, Venice became the principal import center for dyestuffs from the East.<sup>146</sup> "Venice was probably the first city in Italy to take up weaving," Lewis asserts, "and it was not long before her looms were turning out lustrous satins and damasks that were fair rivals to those of the east."<sup>147</sup> The guilds of Venice have been credited with maintaining such high standards of cloth production that they became in effect a guarantee of quality.<sup>148</sup>

The Venetian textile industry, like that of Florence, was greatly stimulated by the immigration of Lucchese weavers after the capture of Lucca by the Florentines. Indeed, it was due chiefly to the advent of these specialists in the velvet weaving technique that Venetian velvets attained such high quality.<sup>149</sup> With so varied an array of outside influences, Venetian design characteristics became a composite of the Oriental, the Eastern, the Gothic, and the spirit of the Crusades. It is no wonder that Venetian fabrics were distinguished by ". . . a confusion of ornament and an elaboration of design."<sup>150</sup> Many of the magnificent brocades in the large-scale patterns of the early Renaissance were worked with metal wire thread.

---

<sup>146</sup>A. Leix, "Medieval Dye Markets in Europe," Ciba Review, 10 (June, 1938), 326.

<sup>147</sup>Lewis, op. cit., p. 169.

<sup>148</sup>Cyril G. E. Bunt, Venetian Fabrics (Leigh-on-Sea, England: F. Lewis, Publishers, Ltd., 1959), p. 10.

<sup>149</sup>Ibid.

<sup>150</sup>Lewis, op. cit., p. 171.

The ground of the fabric is usually formed by gold and silver while outlines in velvet border the designs. In order to diversify the large areas of stiff, lustrous metal, various devices were resorted to such as slubs or loops of different sizes or crimping, but the velvet usually was left plain-coloured, especially in Venetian practice.<sup>151</sup>

Flemish and Netherlandish. --Silk weaving was not introduced into Holland and Flanders until the thirteenth century, when some wandering Italian weavers settled there.<sup>152</sup>

Bruges was famous for its silks and velvets, which in design, materials, and technical qualities of weaving were unsurpassed even by those of Florence; yet, having similar characteristics of material and patterning, it is difficult to differentiate between those of Italy and Flanders. Probably many of the more sumptuous velvets now called Florentine were produced at Bruges.<sup>153</sup>

Ypres, Malines, and Ghent gained fame for their satins, gold brocades, and velvets, which were equal in technique and design to any in Europe.<sup>154</sup> Both England and Holland owe their introduction to the weaving of velvets in the second half of the sixteenth century to immigrant Flemish weavers.<sup>155</sup>

The soil and climate of Flanders provided an especially appropriate location for the cultivation of a superior quality of flax. The immigration of Flemish linen weavers to the German clothmaking centers of Brandenburg,

---

<sup>151</sup>Braun-Ronsdorf, "Gold and Silver Fabrics from Medieval to Modern Times," p. 12.

<sup>152</sup>Thurstan, op. cit., p. 56.

<sup>153</sup>Richard Glazier, Historic Textile Fabrics (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1923), pp. 87-88.

<sup>154</sup>Thurstan, loc. cit.

<sup>155</sup>Latour, "European Velvet Production--Historical Aspects," p. 3454.

Saxony, and Silesia around 1250 provides evidence of the extent to which this industry had developed in Flanders by this time.<sup>156</sup> Ghent, Courtrai, Oudenarde, and Ypres were especially famous for their exquisite linen work. Early in the fifteenth century there were 40,000 weavers in Ghent engaged in making linen damasks, and 4,000 looms were in active use in Ypres.<sup>157</sup> Bruges served mainly as a shipping center for linen goods.

French. --The formation of a silk weavers' guild in Paris in the thirteenth century is one of the first indications of silk manufacture in France. Silk weaving was practiced, at least sporadically, in Avignon in the fourteenth century, and there is documented evidence that Lucchese weavers had already set up looms in Lyons at this time.<sup>158</sup>

It is typical of the Lyons silk industry that, from the very beginning, there were no merchant employers (*maîtres marchands*), but master weavers (*marchands fabricants*), who, being manufacturers and merchants at the same time, did not process all their goods in their manufactories, but put some out to be processed by their "*compagnons-ouvriers*".<sup>159</sup>

Unfortunately, real prosperity did not dawn for the French silk industry until the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. "This was a period during which were produced those rich fabrics which were destined eventually to outshine the productions of their Italian rivals, both in brilliance of design and

---

<sup>156</sup>Flemming, *op. cit.*, p. XIII.

<sup>157</sup>Glazier, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

<sup>158</sup>Cyril G. E. Bunt, *The Silks of Lyons* (Leigh-on-Sea, England: F. Lewis, Publishers, Ltd., 1960), p. 9.

<sup>159</sup>Latour, "European Velvet Production -- Historical Aspects," p. 3453.

quality, . . . .<sup>160</sup>

Northern France was one of the principal flax processing and linen weaving areas in the mid-thirteenth century. The finely woven linens of Rheims are often listed in medieval inventories as costly fabrics.

Two French weavers produced cloths of such superlative merit in their time that their names have survived to this day as the designations of special fabrics. Jean Batiste of Cambrai, in the thirteenth century, wove gossamer-thin linen materials and André Graindorge of Caën, together with his sons Richard and Michel, made "Grand Caen", a fine linen fabric.<sup>161</sup>

English. -- The wool trade was for centuries the main source of England's wealth, and a plump wool sack appears frequently at the feet of English merchants in the monumental brasses of the late Middle Ages. The industry was greatly advanced by the introduction of Flemish weavers into England in the fourteenth century, though this was not the beginning of the English cloth trade as some historians seem to believe. A large proportion of the native cloth was of a coarse type called burel, ". . . but at the other end of the scale were the scarlet cloths for which Lincoln and Stamford early attained fame."<sup>162</sup> Scarlet, a fine elastic material particularly suitable for making tights, was dyed in many colors. Red proved to be the most beautiful and popular, so the fabric took the name of that red.<sup>163</sup> Cloths produced in different areas usually

---

<sup>160</sup>Bunt, The Silks of Lyons, pp. 9-10.

<sup>161</sup>M. Braun-Ronsdorf, "Linen Damasks," Ciba Review, 110 (June, 1955), 3985.

<sup>162</sup>Salzman, op. cit., pp. 197-98.

<sup>163</sup>Millia Davenport, The Book of Costume (New York: Crown Publishers, 1948), p. 152.



possessed distinctive characteristics. "Between 1233 and 1235 we find the king buying russets of Oxford and of Leicester, burnets, 'powenacios' . . . , and blues of Beverley, and blankets and haubergets of Stamford--which were to be dyed scarlet."<sup>164</sup> In the early days, large quantities of English wool were sent to the Low Countries and then returned in the form of fine cloth that had been dyed red, green, and scarlet.<sup>165</sup> The town of Worsted created a new kind of hard-twisted yarn that still bears its name,<sup>166</sup> and this important industry was already established in Norfolk and Suffolk by the beginning of the fourteenth century.<sup>167</sup> The finer cloth was manufactured for export as well as for local use, finding markets in Italy, Spain, and other European countries.<sup>168</sup>

English wool was the most highly prized in Europe, and Flemish and Italian fabrics were woven of fine English or Spanish wool. Both Flemish and English wools were classified, not by breed of sheep but by district of origin. The improved quality of continental wool has, in the past, been ascribed to the introduction of English rams, and this increased demand eventually necessitated the prohibition of their export from England in 1338.<sup>169</sup>

---

<sup>164</sup>Salzman, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

<sup>165</sup>Thornley and Hastings, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

<sup>166</sup>Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

<sup>167</sup>Lipson, *op. cit.*, p. 488.

<sup>168</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 447-48.

<sup>169</sup>Charles Singer et al. (eds.), *A History of Technology*, Vol. II: *The Mediterranean Civilizations and the Middle Ages* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1956), p. 192.

"Though wool was the chief native product, linen was grown in Lincolnshire, and both cotton and silk were known."<sup>170</sup> Silk was highly prized in England at an early date, and there were several attempts to introduce silk weaving into the country. "John Garland writes that costly cloth of gold pieces were woven on small hand-loom in the thirteenth century by women."<sup>171</sup> Edward III is credited with establishing silk weaving in London,<sup>172</sup> but the industry did not reach any magnitude until groups of foreign weavers, mainly refugees from the Netherlands, settled in England in the sixteenth century.<sup>173</sup>

". . . England's embroideries continued to be more noteworthy than her textiles right up to the eighteenth century."<sup>174</sup> This craft, a type of surface ornament applied in thread over a woven base, had not been so generally practiced in the other European countries. By the thirteenth century, however, it had advanced to such a marked degree that England's embroideries of fine silk were known all over the Western world and were as highly prized as the valuable woven, patterned silks from the East.<sup>175</sup> One of the earliest and best-known embroideries attributed to England is the so-called Bayeux

---

<sup>170</sup>Lewis, op. cit., p. 223.

<sup>171</sup>Thurstan, op. cit., p. 52.

<sup>172</sup>Lewis, loc. cit.

<sup>173</sup>Thurstan, op. cit., p. 53.

<sup>174</sup>Lewis, op. cit., p. 233.

<sup>175</sup>Ibid., p. 222.

Tapestry which is believed by many historians to depict the Norman invasion of England, completely and authentically. This remarkable document holds a unique place as an historical record and as an example of the embroidery art of that age.

#### Technical Innovations

Two improved techniques for the treatment of wool originated during this period and resulted in a finer more uniform product. The first use of metal covered "cards" to loosen tangled wool is recorded in France in the thirteenth century. "In Flanders the use of carded wool was confined to the manufacture of coarse cloths and hats until 1377, when it was allowed for the weft of the finer cloths, in combination with a combed warp."<sup>176</sup> Although wool combing was probably practiced in France from the ninth century, there is no direct evidence of its general use in Europe as a regular technique of fiber preparation until the twelfth century, after which it became well known.<sup>177</sup> The careful preliminary treatment accorded to raw wool during the Middle Ages may account to some degree for the high quality of the tapestries, as well as the other fine fabrics produced from it.

The techniques used in the treatment of European flax appear to have been almost exactly those practiced in Egypt, although several innovations made during the Middle Ages helped to simplify and improve the process. In Coptic

---

<sup>176</sup>Singer, op. cit., p. 194.

<sup>177</sup>Ibid.

Egypt it has been noted that the woody tissues were broken and then removed by combing with iron combs. During the latter part of the Middle Ages, an intermediate process was introduced in which the broken stalks were laid over a bench and beaten with a flat wooden blade to loosen the flax fiber from both the core and the bark. The mechanical flax-breaker, which was probably invented in Holland in the fourteenth century, has continued in use until recent years as a means of breaking the woody tissues of the stalks.<sup>178</sup> Such careful and prolonged treatment resulted in the fine linens for which Flanders and France were so justly famous.

In the Middle Ages, the use of flax was widespread. It was cultivated throughout Europe and remained the most important vegetable fiber in the West until the eighteenth century.<sup>179</sup>

### Tapestry Weaving

Though the glorious period of tapestry weaving in Italy does not begin until the fifteenth century, it became important in the Low Countries at a much earlier date, ". . . and the weaving of haute-lisse tapestries is recorded to have been practised there as early as the beginning of the 14th century."<sup>180</sup> At this time the weavers of Arras gained such fame for making tapestries on the

---

<sup>178</sup>Ibid., p. 196.

<sup>179</sup>Ibid., p. 195.

<sup>180</sup>A. F. Kendrick, Catalogue of Tapestries (London: Printed under the Authority of the Board of Education, 1924), p. 23.

high-warp loom that in England and France the name of that town was used to signify tapestries in general. In Italy, they have been called "arazzi" for centuries.<sup>181</sup> The first record of genuine Arras tapestry occurs early in the fourteenth century, but other towns in Flanders soon started tapestry works of their own. Ypres, Lille, Tournai, and Valenciennes were making tapestries by the end of the fourteenth century. Arras did not lose its position of leadership, however, until it was besieged and captured by Louis XI in 1477 and Brussels slipped into first place for a period of two centuries.<sup>182</sup> By 1528, the tapestries of Brussels had reached such high standards that a law was passed requiring them all to be signed with the distinguishing mark of the town and the weaver. The Brussels mark was a red shield with a large B on either side.<sup>183</sup>

The greatest tapestries of the fourteenth century were woven in Flanders and France. By the beginning of the century, the manufacture of tapestries in France was centered in and near Paris. It is probable that high-warp looms were used here, as in Arras, instead of the horizontal ones with which the industry had started.<sup>184</sup> "As a rule the haute-lisse looms were only used for large wall hangings and panels representing figures and scenes. The basse-lisse, or horizontal looms were used for small pieces of work such as

---

<sup>181</sup>Thurstan, op. cit., p. 57.

<sup>182</sup>Kendrick, op. cit., p. 24.

<sup>183</sup>Thurstan, op. cit., p. 60.

<sup>184</sup>Lewis, op. cit., p. 206.



cushions, stool covers, and screens."<sup>185</sup>

English tapestry weaving may be traced back as far as the first half of the fourteenth century, but there appears to have been no factory system or attempts to organize the industry to supply more than local needs.<sup>186</sup> Tapestries for wealthy patrons in England were made from English wool sent to Flanders, woven there, and returned to England.<sup>187</sup> The decree of Edward III that only the best English and Spanish wools might be used in tapestries encouraged high quality in tapestry weaving.

### Textile Printing

Block printing, a technique thought to have been invented by the Chinese about the eighth century, followed the route of silk from China into the Mediterranean and ". . . was introduced into Europe through Italy in about the 12th century."<sup>188</sup> That the craft must have been rather widely practiced in Italy by the beginning of the fifteenth century may be deduced from the sections devoted to it in Cennino Cennini's Il Libro dell'Arte. The section dealing with "miscellaneous incidental operations" contains directions for block printing on cloth which is clearly intended to produce imitations of damask or brocade

---

<sup>185</sup>Thurstan, op. cit., p. 62.

<sup>186</sup>Kendrick, op. cit., p. 7.

<sup>187</sup>Thurstan, op. cit., p. 76.

<sup>188</sup>M. D. C. Crawford, 5000 Years of Fibers and Fabrics (Brooklyn: Museum Press, 1946), p. 28.

effects, but at a much lower cost than those made on the loom.<sup>189</sup> Though

Florence was the chief European city for the dyeing of beautiful fabrics, none of her prints have been preserved. However, at a later date ". . . we are slightly more fortunate with those of Genoa which are even more interesting."<sup>190</sup> A

direct relationship may be seen between this early and laborious form of printing and the mechanized roller printing of today.<sup>191</sup>

---

<sup>189</sup>Cennino d'Andrea Cennini, *The Craftsman's Handbook*, trans. Daniel V. Thompson, Jr. (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1933), p. 115.

<sup>190</sup>Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

<sup>191</sup>Crawford, *loc. cit.*

## CHAPTER V

### SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The development of trade guilds and their influence on the textile industry of four areas in Western Europe were traced from the twelfth through the fourteenth centuries. The selected areas were England, Italy, France, and the Netherlands. Special emphasis was placed on the guilds of the textile industry in England, while surveys of guild history in each of the other three countries revealed contrasts and similarities to the English guild system. The study investigated: the role of trade guilds, their rise and growth, and their influence on the development of the textile industry; the changing character of the guilds; the varying types of organization and purposes of guilds in each of the four countries; and distinctive traits and innovations in the textile industry of Western Europe during these three centuries.

Reference works concerning the history of the guild system and of the influence of guilds in specific areas were obtained through the Library of Congress searching service. Additional works were available in the library of the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. These sources included studies of political, religious, and socio-economic conditions of the medieval period, encyclopedias of social and economic history, and books and periodicals relating to the development of the textile industry. The review of literature

presents the qualifications of each author as an authority in a specific area, as well as his opinions and conclusions. Background information of the development of Western Europe socially, economically, and politically from the ninth through the eleventh centuries stressed the types of organization and purposes of guilds during this period.

The findings of the study were presented in two periods: Part One, the developmental period and the growth period of trade guilds; Part Two, the development of the textile industry during these periods. The report of characteristics of the textile industry in Western Europe spanned both periods and attempted to determine to what extent this industry was influenced by trade guilds. The term textiles was interpreted as any material that was commonly produced on a loom and sold in Western Europe by trade guilds.

#### Trade Guilds That Influenced the Textile Industry

It is believed that the earliest guilds were formed for religious rather than commercial purposes. The desire of Christians for mutual support in things both worldly and spiritual was one of the most important elements entering into guild origin. Masses for deceased brethren, selection of a patron saint for the guild, and care of the unfortunate are but a few indications of the spirit of fraternal benevolence which was inherent in guild organization.

Historical evidence indicates that guilds existed in the ninth century of the Carolingian Empire. Changing conditions in Western Europe between the ninth and eleventh centuries exerted a marked influence on the civilization

which emerged in the twelfth century, when this study begins. By the ninth century, Moslem conquests in the Mediterranean area had left Western Europe virtually land-locked. The Mohammedan religion of the Moslem Empire and the Christian religion of the Byzantine Empire were thus placed in a position of rivalry. Feudalism, which arose during the ninth century, was bound to the Church by ties of unquestioning faith. Resting on the economic basis of land ownership, this system permeated all aspects of life during the Middle Ages, compensating somewhat for the lack of effective central government which resulted after the death of Charlemagne. The ninth century barbarian invasions from Sweden, Norway, and Denmark penetrated as far as the Rhine, damaging the economy of the area but not completely destroying it.

Commerce in this Western society held a limited place. England's most important industry during the ninth century was agriculture. Production was centered in the small cottages of the manor, enabling each estate to be almost completely self-sufficient. Commerce was stimulated by the conquests of the Danes and the Normans in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Trade connections which they had already formed with the Continent were continued, and the demand for English raw materials brought about an exchange of these products for the manufactured goods of the Continent.

On the Continent, commerce exercised a much greater influence on industry. Luxury goods from the East were in great demand among those who could afford them. Trade between Constantinople and the ports of Italy, France, and Spain had never been completely severed, but by the eleventh



century a livelier trade had been reopened between the Italian coast towns and the Byzantine Empire. The Crusades helped to create a larger demand in the West for luxury products--those for which, by now, the Byzantines were famous. Also, these religious wars opened a market in the East for some of the Western wares. A phenomenon of this period, accompanying the revival of commerce, was a general renewal of town life and the emergence of merchants and skilled artisans as new social classes. Thus was a new era ushered into Western Europe; one which lasted through the twelfth and thirteenth centuries before quieting down into a steadier course.

Prior to the twelfth century, trade guilds had developed in Italy, England, France, and the Netherlands. There was some evidence that associations of craftsmen and traders existed in ancient Babylonia, Assyria, Egypt, and Greece, but it was not possible to establish any definite relationship between these and the medieval trade guilds. Disagreement was noted among historians as to whether some basis for medieval guilds might be found in the Roman collegia or the Anglo-Saxon cnihten guilds. There is general agreement, however, that the guilds were largely remodeled during the medieval period.

The eleventh century in Europe was characterized by a commercial revival, and cloth-working was becoming a major industry. The centuries that followed witnessed an increase in the number of trade guilds in Western Europe, and in their influence over commerce. Chronologically, a survey of medieval guild history would begin with Italy where the oldest evidence of guild activity may be found. Rome, Ravenna, and Ferrara had guilds by the early

eleventh century, and all Italian guilds played a significant role in the beginning of the commercial revival. Amalfi, the leading Tyrrhenian port from the tenth to the twelfth century, Naples, Bari, and Gaeta rose to positions of commercial importance as seacoast towns. Pavia and Piacenza, two other contenders in the race for commercial greatness, show evidence of the existence of trade associations by the end of the tenth century.

The Florentine guild system was, perhaps, more thoroughly developed than in any other area of Italy. Among the many guilds of Florence, the cloth-makers' guild called L'Arte della Lana and the guild of finishers of foreign-woven cloth called L'Arte di Calimala were in almost complete control of the city's cloth industry. The appearance of the Guild of Silk before the end of the twelfth century heralded the beginning of an industry which was flourishing by the first decade of the thirteenth century. The high standards of workmanship required by these guilds of their members raised the value of Florentine fabrics immeasurably. Textiles labeled by the Calimala brought a higher price and found a readier sale than did unlabeled goods at the trade fairs in northern Europe. Milan, Venice, Lucca, Genoa, and other Italian cities in which the cloth industry flourished also show evidence of trade guilds from the twelfth century onward.

Some writers believe that the earliest references to guilds come from England where evidence exists of a general system of guilds in Anglo-Saxon times. The religious element was pre-eminent here, though the status of their members remains uncertain. The earliest distinct references to the merchant

guild in England occur in the eleventh century. By the thirteenth century it appears to have become a widespread institution of municipal life. By that time, almost every town in England had a merchant guild composed of the town's principal inhabitants, though statutes indicate that not all members were great merchants. Craftsmen, lords of manors, merchants from other towns, and inhabitants of neighboring monasteries are frequently mentioned in guild rolls. The guilds' chief objective, that of promoting the prosperity of their respective trades, often took the form of ordinances which regulated the quality of goods being produced. A guild court enforced the ordinances and administered appropriate punishment to offenders. In return for these restrictions, the guildsmen gained the benefit of protection and a certain degree of religious and financial security.

The growing power of the merchant guilds caused them to develop monopolistic practices which tended to become oppressive. These were soon curbed, however, by a new force--the craft guild, which first appeared about half a century after the merchant guild. These new guilds were organizations of the craftsmen of each trade for mutual protection and the advancement of that trade. The masters, journeymen, and apprentices, of whom each guild was commonly composed, held varying degrees of responsibility and owed to each other certain obligations which made the relationship one of mutual benefit. Their many technical ordinances were intended to protect both consumer and producer and to uphold the high reputation of the guild. They attained their greatest power in London, where almost every trade was represented in the

city's guilds.

The oldest of the true guild organizations of France dates only from the second half of the twelfth century. These associations seem to have been first organized by royal power or local lords as a means of handling disputes and controlling the artisans, but they soon became more specialized and began to gain power in their own right. More areas of similarity than of difference were noted when comparing French and English guilds. Similarities of purpose, general type of organization, admission to membership, and eventual effect on the industry of the time became evident as the study progressed. The most striking contrasts were: the national standing of many of the Continental guilds, the separation of the craft guild and the religious fraternity in France, the greater power obtained by the Continental weavers' guilds than by those in England, and the absence of a class in France comparable to the English journeyman. The cloth industry of France, one of her most important forms of industrial activity from an early date, was closely regulated by guilds. Rouen, Marseilles, Paris, Chartres, and Toulouse show evidence of guild activity from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The export trade in which the Netherlands were engaged by the beginning of the twelfth century resulted in the creation of many rich men among the merchant class, who by this time were organized into guilds in most of the important trade centers. The woolen weaving and finishing industry was the most important in the country, and the beautiful fabrics of the Low Countries were produced for an international market which seemed to know no bounds.

The Flemings became especially famous for the extraordinary specialization practiced in their woolen industry and for the variety of colors produced by their dyers. Control of large-scale commerce gradually became concentrated in the hands of a small group of wealthy patricians who sought to keep the artisans under their control. United in guilds of their own, the artisans began to resist the domination of the patricians, and to form a powerful group which could not be easily dismissed.

The guild system reached its highest point of effectiveness in the first half of the fourteenth century. The merchant guild had virtually disappeared and the craft guilds had gained the power formerly possessed by their predecessors. Stimulated by Edward III's policies of taxing exported wool, encouraging the migration of foreign clothworkers, and granting royal charters to guilds, the English woolen industry continued to grow and expand. The incorporation of the Merchants of the Staple in 1354 marked the beginning of a system which proved convenient to both officials and merchants as a means of organizing trade and forcing it through definite channels. In addition to a Continental mart, which was finally established at Calais in 1423, staple towns were established in England as centers of trade for those dealing in the principal raw commodities of the realm. This system also proved a convenient one as a means of collecting the king's taxes.

One of the most colorful of guild customs, the wearing of livery on state and ceremonial occasions, developed in England about the middle of the fourteenth century. The wearing of these distinctive costumes appears to have



been one indication of rank and serves as an example of the sumptuary regulations which were so prevalent in Europe during this period.

The overlapping of kindred interests which resulted when several guilds were engaged in divisions of the same industry brought about another important fourteenth century development--the amalgamation movement. Dyeing, spinning, weaving, and finishing were the branches of the textile industry most commonly affected by this movement. Occasionally, in England and more often on the Continent, guilds recognized the advantages to be gained by combining interests and hastened to do so. This trend, which continued throughout the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, served as one means of eliminating quarrels and competition between guilds while insuring their continuing prosperity.

The continued growth of some of the more powerful guilds gradually reduced large percentages of the population to a position of financial dependence on the great merchants. In Florence and the cities of the Netherlands, the craftsmen made known their dissatisfactions by repeated riots and insurrections throughout the fourteenth century. Though they fought bravely and with some success in certain areas, the merchants were the ultimate victors as they continued to maintain economic control.

Craft guilds continued to uphold the quality of goods being produced throughout the fourteenth century. They served as a guarantee of, and a check on, production and sale, guarding both the consumer and the producer against dishonesty and falsification.

### Aspects of the Textile Industry

During the early Middle Ages, the Byzantine Empire held a position of leadership in the international commerce of Christian Europe. Constantinople, the capital city, gained importance as a textile center in the seventh century. Its earlier fabrics were of linen, wool, and cotton, but the introduction of sericulture by Justinian in the sixth century marked the beginning of the industry which produced the celebrated silks of the tenth to the twelfth centuries. These magnificent fabrics were unexcelled for beauty of pattern and color as well as for richness of texture. A notable interaction with Sassanian design was reflected in the animal motifs of the heavy brocades and damasks which were further enriched by extensive use of gold and silver threads. The treatment of the pattern was almost always stylized and symmetrical, and the rich violets, blues, and reds were considered an integral part of their elegance.

There is some disagreement among historians as to whether the introduction of silk into Sicily should be traced to the Byzantine control or the Arab occupation of that area. It was not until the Norman entry into the Mediterranean area in the eleventh century, however, that real importance as a textile center was realized. The tolerant policies of the Norman rulers and their pride in the products of their weavers' looms did much to make Sicily the leading textile center she had become by the twelfth century. Arabian, Greek, Sicilian, and Byzantine weavers worked side by side to produce an enormous variety of fabrics. The finer cloths from Palermo, the capital city of Sicily, were characterized by spots of lustrous gold thread that added greatly to the value of the

splendid brocades and damasks which were shipped to all the ports of France and Germany as well as the countries of the eastern Mediterranean.

Italian textile design after the ninth century was characterized by a new type of ornament which broke completely with the earlier Sassanian-Byzantine inspired designs. The immigration of many of the skilled silk weavers from Palermo helped the Lucchese to attain and hold first place in silk weaving throughout the thirteenth century. It was in Lucca that the first European velvets in quantities of commercial importance were produced, and, as in Palermo, these were often lavishly decorated with gold and silver thread. The fame of the Lucchese silks and weavers is attested by the frequency with which their products were copied in other countries. After the capture of Lucca by Florence in 1315, many of the best Lucchese weavers migrated to Bruges, Venice, and Florence. Thus, the benefits of Lucchese skill and knowledge of silk weaving were extended throughout Italy and to other textile centers in Western Europe.

Until the arrival of Lucchese silk weavers, the main textile industry of Florence had been the manufacture of fine woolen cloth. Technical advances and continued improvement in the quality being produced had raised these woolens to a price level equal to or above that of the most highly prized French and Flemish textiles. However, the wealth and power that Florence had obtained by the fourteenth century resulted in a ready market for the magnificent brocaded damasks produced by the Lucchese craftsmen. There is some evidence that velvet weaving was practiced in Florence as early as the twelfth century, but it is fairly certain that the industry was thriving by the mid-

thirteenth century, when two silk guilds had been founded. All branches of the increasingly prosperous sericulture industry, upon which velvet weaving was so dependent, were encouraged and safeguarded in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries by laws which promoted an increase in cultivation of the mulberry tree and protected the industry from possible competition from foreign dealers. Leadership in the production of fine textiles moved from Florence to Venice and Genoa in the middle and later Renaissance. Because of her strategic position in relation to Eastern trade routes, Venetian designs became a composite of many outside influences. Venice was probably the first city in Italy to take up weaving, but she gained fame as a velvet weaving center only after the advent of the skilled Lucchese weavers.

Silk weaving is thought to have been introduced into Holland and Flanders by wandering Italian weavers in the thirteenth century. The satins, brocades, and velvets of Bruges, Ypres, Malines, and Ghent were unsurpassed by any in Europe. Also, the superior quality of the flax grown in Flanders was basic to the formation of another industry which quickly developed to major proportions in certain areas. Ghent, Courtrai, Oudenarde, and Ypres had gained fame for their exquisite linen work by the early fifteenth century.

In France, one of the first indications of silk manufacture occurs in the thirteenth century, though the industry did not develop into one of commercial importance until the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Northern France gained renown also as a principal flax processing and linen weaving area in the mid-thirteenth century.

The wool trade was, for many centuries, the main source of England's wealth. By the close of the fourteenth century, almost every quality of fabric was being woven in England and exported to other European countries. Coarse burels, fine scarlets, and worsteds were listed among other kinds of cloth produced and sold. English wool was the most common fiber used locally and the most highly prized wool in Europe. Cotton and silk were also known, and linen became important at a later date. The art of embroidery continued to surpass that of textile weaving in England up to the eighteenth century. English embroideries were known and admired all over the Western world, and one of her best-known embroideries, the so-called Bayeux Tapestry, continues to hold its place as a unique historical record of the Norman invasion of England.

Several improved techniques for the treatment of wool and flax originated in Western Europe during this period and resulted in finer, more uniform, finished products. Wool combing became a regular technique of fiber preparation after the twelfth century. The first use of metal covered "cards" for loosening tangled wool is recorded in France in the thirteenth century and came into general use in Flanders in the fourteenth century. An intermediate process in the treatment of flax was introduced during the Middle Ages as a means of loosening the fiber from both the core and the bark. Another innovation, the mechanical flax-breaker, was probably invented in Holland in the fourteenth century and has continued in use until recent years as a means of breaking the woody tissues of the stalks.

The greatest tapestries of the fourteenth century were woven in



Flanders and France. The tapestry weavers of Arras gained such fame that the name of that town began to be used to designate tapestries in general. Other Flemish towns had started tapestry works of their own by the end of the fourteenth century, but Arras did not lose her position of leadership until the end of the fifteenth century when she was replaced by Brussels. Tapestry weaving in France was centered in and near Paris where, as in Arras, high-warp looms were used rather than the horizontal ones with which the industry had started. Though English tapestry weaving may be traced back as far as the first half of the fourteenth century, there appear to have been no attempts to supply more than local needs at this time. The weaving of tapestry as well as other branches of the textile industry was aided and encouraged by a number of the decrees of Edward III.

The technique of block printing, thought to have been invented by the Chinese in the eighth century, is believed to have been introduced into Europe through Italy in about the twelfth century. The sections devoted to it in Cennino Cennini's Il Libro dell'Arte would seem to indicate the widespread use of this decorative technique as a means of producing damask and brocade effects for those who could not afford the expensive silk products. Though few of these early printed fabrics survive, a close connection may be noted between this early form of printing and the mechanized roller printing of today.

### The Influence of Trade Guilds on the Textile Industry

A variety of factors appears to have contributed to the rise and growth of the guild system. Among these might be included: the desire to secure fame and prestige for a certain city or area; the need of both merchant and craftsman for protection from unfair competition and subjection to the ruling classes; and man's natural tendency to join with his fellows in groups for the promotion of mutual well-being. In an era of political uncertainty and general unrest, the medieval guilds met an acute need precipitated by the lack of effective social and economic legislation in the four areas under investigation. In the second half of the Middle Ages, additional guilds were founded and earlier guilds continued to function. Guilds have continued to undergo changes in character through the centuries, and their history may be traced to the present day. In this country, as well as those included in the study, a number of organizations may be identified as embodying the purposes and, in some instances, the names of medieval guilds.

In the twelfth through the fourteenth centuries, the development of a system of trade guilds reached its apogee and influenced the textile industry of Western Europe in numerous ways. The passage and enforcement of stringent regulations covering every step in the production process was intended to insure the consumer a finished product of consistently high quality. It was noted that the development of guilds paralleled the rise in quality and quantity of textiles produced during the three centuries of this study. In certain isolated instances, notably fourteenth century Florence, a decrease in cloth production was evi-

denced but was accompanied by a corresponding improvement in quality. The high standards of workmanship, demanded by guild regulations, instilled in the craftsman renewed pride in the products of his labors and furnished an incentive for even greater accomplishments in textile production. Certain technical innovations, such as the use of water power by the Wool Guild of Florence, may be traced directly to guild origin. Other changes may be assumed to have originated from the guilds' desires to improve the quality of their products and to increase production. The acceptance of women into guild membership in many areas marked a rise in their social status and recognition of the contributions which they were capable of making to the economy.

It should not be assumed, nevertheless, that all results of guild activity were necessarily favorable. As wealth and power came to be centered in the hands of a few, it became increasingly difficult for a qualified journeyman to attain the coveted rank of master. A direct relationship may be noted, especially in Italy and the Netherlands, between the increase of merchant wealth and power and a corresponding subordination of the artisan to merchant control. The continued growth experienced by some of the more powerful guilds brought with it, rather than increased benefits, a lowering of the status for the majority of members. Individual initiative and ingenuity were discouraged by a system which sought to secure equal trade opportunities for all by restricting the more imaginative members. One of the primary purposes of guild formation, the elimination of unfair competition, was gradually expanded to include all competition. The desirable incentive furnished by healthy competition was

thus destroyed.

The religious element, a major characteristic of the early guilds, became increasingly evident as the study progressed. The reading of guild statutes and ordinances revealed that religion permeated every aspect of guild activity. The concepts upon which guilds were originally founded were expanded during the Middle Ages to include almost all phases of life, providing a degree of security which the craftsman could not find in any other organization of the period.

#### Recommendations for further study

While accumulating data for this particular study, the writer discovered several related areas that appear to merit further research. It is believed that studies of the trade guilds of other countries and other centuries would provide informative comparisons to the present study. The suggestions listed below are but a few of the useful studies that might be developed on the general subject of guilds.

1. A study of present-day craft guilds as they exist in the United States, their background, standards of craftsmanship, organization, and influence on the folk arts of their particular areas.
2. A study of the guilds of Germany and Switzerland that influenced the textile industry in those countries from the twelfth through the fourteenth centuries.
3. A study of the psychological and sociological factors that underlay the formation and eventual success of trade guilds.
4. A study of trade guilds as related to technological developments in Western Europe from the fifteenth through the eighteenth centuries.
5. A comparative study of modern trade unions and the trade guilds of

the Middle Ages.

6. A study of the trade guilds or parallel organizations of the Orient.

BIBLIOGRAPHY



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### PRIMARY SOURCE

Cennino, Cennino d'Andrea. The Craftsman's Handbook. Translated by Daniel V. Thompson, Jr. New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1932.

### BOOKS

Ambrose, Sister Mary. "Sequences on Clothmaking: Toulouse, 1227." Essays in Medieval Life and Thought. Edited by John H. Mundy, Richard W. Emery, and Benjamin N. Nelson. New York: Columbia University Press, 1955.

Ashley, William James. An Introduction to English Economic History and Theory. Vol. I: The **BIBLIOGRAPHY** Working. Rivington, 1888.

Blok, Petrus Johannes. History of the People of the Netherlands. Translated by Oscar A. Bierstadt and Ruth Purnell. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1898.

Boissonnade, P. Life and Work in Medieval Europe. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1927.

Brentano, Lujo. "On the History and Development of Gilds." English Gilds. Edited by Toulmin Smith and Lucy Toulmin Smith. London: Oxford University Press, 1892.

Bunt, Cyril G. E. Florentine Fabrics. Leigh-on-Sea, England: F. Lewis, Publishers, Ltd., 1952.

\_\_\_\_\_. Sicilian and Luccanese Fabrics. Leigh-on-Sea, England: F. Lewis, Publishers, Ltd., 1961.

\_\_\_\_\_. The Silks of Lyons. Leigh-on-Sea, England: F. Lewis, Publishers, Ltd., 1960.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### A. PRIMARY SOURCE

Cennini, Cennino d'Andrea. The Craftsman's Handbook. Translated by Daniel V. Thompson, Jr. New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1933.

### B. BOOKS

Ambrose, Sister Mary. "Statutes on Clothmaking: Toulouse, 1227," Essays in Medieval Life and Thought. Edited by John H. Mundy, Richard W. Emery, and Benjamin N. Nelson. New York: Columbia University Press, 1955.

Ashley, William James. An Introduction to English Economic History and Theory. Vol. I: The Middle Ages. London: Rivingtons, 1888.

Blok, Petrus Johannes. History of the People of the Netherlands. Translated by Oscar A. Bierstadt and Ruth Putnam. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1898.

Boissonnade, P. Life and Work in Medieval Europe. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1927.

Brentano, Lujo. "On the History and Development of Gilds," English Gilds. Edited by Toulmin Smith and Lucy Toulmin Smith. London: Oxford University Press, 1892.

Bunt, Cyril G. E. Florentine Fabrics. Leigh-on-Sea, England: F. Lewis, Publishers, Ltd., 1962.

\_\_\_\_\_. Sicilian and Lucchese Fabrics. Leigh-on-Sea, England: F. Lewis, Publishers, Ltd., 1961.

\_\_\_\_\_. The Silks of Lyons. Leigh-on-Sea, England: F. Lewis, Publishers, Ltd., 1960.

- . Venetian Fabrics. Leigh-on-Sea, England: F. Lewis, Publishers, Ltd., 1959.
- Consitt, Frances. The London Weavers' Company. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1933.
- Crawford, M. D. C. 5000 Years of Fibers and Fabrics. Brooklyn: The Brooklyn Museum Press, 1946.
- Cunningham, W. The Growth of English Industry and Commerce During the Early and Middle Ages. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1910.
- Davenport, Millia. The Book of Costume. New York: Crown Publishers, 1948.
- Ditchfield, P. H. The Story of the City Companies. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1926.
- Flemming, Ernst. The Encyclopedia of Textiles. Translated by Renate Jaques. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1958.
- Ferguson, Wallace K. The Renaissance. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1940.
- Funck-Brentano, Fr. The Middle Ages. Translated by Elizabeth O'Neill. London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1922.
- Glazier, Richard. Historic Textile Fabrics. London: B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1923.
- Gross, Charles. The Gild Merchant. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1890.
- Heaton, Herbert. Economic History of Europe. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1936.
- Heilbroner, Robert L. The Making of Economic Society. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1962.
- Kendrick, A. F. Catalogue of Tapestries. London: Printed under the Authority of the Board of Education, 1924.
- Kramer, Stella. The English Craft Guilds: Studies in Their Progress and Decline. New York: Columbia University Press, 1927.
- Lambert, J. Malet. Two Thousand Years of Gild Life. Hull: A. Brown & Sons, 1891.

- Lewis, Ethel. The Romance of Textiles. New York: Macmillan Co., 1953.
- Lipson, E. The Economic History of England. Vol. I: The Middle Ages. 12th ed. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1959.
- Lopez, Robert S., and Raymond, Irving G. Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World. New York: Columbia University Press, 1955.
- Lutz, Henry F. Textiles and Costumes among the Peoples of the Ancient Near East. New York: G. E. Stechert & Co., 1923.
- Luzzatto, Gino. An Economic History of Italy. Translated by Philip Jones. New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1961.
- May, Florence Lewis. Silk Textiles of Spain. New York: The Hispanic Society of America, 1957.
- Osgood, Ellen L. A History of Industry. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1921.
- Pirenne, Henri. Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1937.
- \_\_\_\_\_. A History of Europe. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1939.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Medieval Cities. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1925.
- Pooley, Ernest. The Guilds of the City of London. London: William Collins of London, 1945.
- Postan, M., and Rich, E. E. (eds.) The Cambridge Economic History of Europe. Vol. II: Trade and Industry in the Middle Ages. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1952.
- Postan, M. M., Rich, E. E., and Miller, Edward (eds.) The Cambridge Economic History of Europe. Vol. III: Economic Organization and Policies in the Middle Ages. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1963.
- Power, Eileen. Medieval People. London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1924.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Wool Trade in English Medieval History. London: Oxford University Press, 1941.

- Renard, Georges. Guilds in the Middle Ages. Translated by Dorothy Terry. London: G. Bell & Sons, 1919.
- Salzman, L. F. English Industries of the Middle Ages. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923.
- Singer, Charles, et. al. (eds.) A History of Technology. Vol. II: The Mediterranean Civilizations and the Middle Ages. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1956.
- Staley, Edgcumbe. The Guilds of Florence. London: Methuen & Co., 1906.
- Stenton, F. M. Anglo-Saxon England. Vol. II of The Oxford History of England. Edited by G. N. Clark. Oxford: University Press, 1947.
- Thompson, James Westfall, and Johnson, Edgar Nathaniel. An Introduction to Medieval Europe 300-1500. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1937.
- Thornley, John Charles, and Hastings, George W. (eds.) The Guilds of the City of London and Their Liverymen. London: The London & Counties Press Association, Limited, n.d.
- Thurstan, Violetta. A Short History of Decorative Textiles and Tapestries. London: Pepler and Sewell, 1934.
- Unwin, George. The Gilds and Companies of London. London: Methuen & Co., 1908.
- Vander Linden, Herman. Les Gildes Marchandes dans les Pays-Bas au Moyen Age. Gand: Université de Gand, 1896.
- Weibel, Adèle Coulin. 2000 Years of Silk Weaving. New York: E. Weyhe, 1944.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Two Thousand Years of Textiles. New York: Pantheon Books, 1952.

### C. PERIODICALS

- Braun-Ronsdorf, M. "Gold and Silver Fabrics from Medieval to Modern Times," Ciba Review (1961/3), 2-16.



- \_\_\_\_\_. "Linen Damasks," Ciba Review, 110 (June, 1955), 3985-94.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Medieval Mixture Fabrics," Ciba Review, 141 (December, 1960), 8-15.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Silk Damasks," Ciba Review, 110 (June, 1955), 3975-82.
- Gray, H. L. "The Production and Exportation of English Woollens in the Fourteenth Century," English Historical Review, IXL (January, 1924), 13-35.
- Gutmann, A. L. "Technical Peculiarities of Flemish Cloth-Making and Dyeing," Ciba Review, 14 (October, 1938), 484-87.
- "Historical Gleanings," Ciba Review, 14 (October, 1938), 493-98.
- Latour, A. "Ceremonial Velvets," Ciba Review, 96 (February, 1953), 2447-52.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "European Velvet Production--Historical Aspects," Ciba Review, 96 (February, 1953), 3453-55.
- Leix, A. "Medieval Dye Markets in Europe," Ciba Review, 10 (June, 1938), 324-29.
- Pirenne, Henri. "The Place of the Netherlands in the Economic History of Mediaeval Europe," Economic History Review, II (January, 1929), 20-40.
- Ripley, Percy. "The English Wool Trade: Growth and Economic Development," Ciba Review, XI (January, 1959), 8-16.
- Wescher, H. "The Medieval Cloth Trade," Ciba Review, 135 (December, 1959), 7-9.
- Yarham, E. R. "The City Guilds," Contemporary Review, CLXX (August, 1946), 113-118.

#### D. ENCYCLOPEDIA ARTICLES

- Boak, A. E. R. "Late Roman and Byzantine Guilds," Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences. Edited by Edwin R. A. Seligman and Alvin Johnson. Vol. VII (1932), pp. 206-208.

Nicolò, Mariano. "Guilds in Antiquity," Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences.  
Edited by Edwin R. A. Seligman and Alvin Johnson. Vol. VII (1932),  
pp. 204-206.

Pirenne, Henri. "European Guilds," Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences.  
Edited by Edwin R. A. Seligman and Alvin Johnson. Vol. VII (1932),  
pp. 208-14.