

**Money Talks: Anglo-Norman, Italian and English language
contact in medieval merchant documents, c1200-c1450**

VOLUME I

Megan Mary Smales Tiddeman



Thesis presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

July 2016

Aberystwyth University

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Candidate's Surname / Family Name: Tiddeman

Candidate's Forenames: Megan Mary Smales

Candidate for the Degree of: PhD

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Money Talks: Anglo-Norman, Italian and English language contact in medieval merchant documents, c1200-c1450

Summary:

Current evidence for Anglo-Italian contact prior to 1500 is very rare and the major historical dictionaries contain only a handful of borrowings in either direction. However, given the huge role played by Tuscans, Venetians and the Genoese in the trade and finance of England in the later Middle Ages, conditions were ripe for a large-scale exchange of technical lexis. The thesis demonstrates that borrowing from and into Italian dialects occurred directly on English soil and that Anglo-Norman frequently played an important role in transmission, leading us to re-examine traditional assumptions about the agency of Continental French in the transfer of Italian vocabulary into Middle English. The study collates a glossary of 140 probable loanwords found in dictionaries and databases, as well as unpublished material from UK and Italian archives. These trade-related texts, dating from the 1200s to the 1400s, include Exchequer documents, port books, accounts, wills, contracts and inventories and offer evidence of reciprocal influence in the professional vocabularies of English and Italian merchants, especially in the semantic fields of luxury textiles, shipping, wool and the law. Key sources include Bradley's recent edition of the Anglo-Norman *Views of the Hosts of Alien Merchants* (1440-44), the London account books of the Gallerani of Siena (1305-08) and the Salviati of Florence (1448-51), and the writings of an Englishman overseeing a wool shipment in Tuscany (1450-51): the *Cantelowe Accounts*, transcribed in full for the first time. Until quite recently, non-literary material of this type has been largely overlooked by historical linguists in the UK and the effects of a foreign language, such as Italian, on the trilingual bureaucracy of English trade have not yet been examined. Overall, the thesis aims to emphasize the value of such sources and highlight the linguistic legacy of the Italian merchant presence in late medieval England.

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ABSTRACT

Current evidence for Anglo-Italian contact prior to 1500 is very rare and the major historical dictionaries contain only a handful of borrowings in either direction. This is in stark contrast to the huge amounts of evidence gathered for language contact between Continental French and Italian prior to 1500 and between English and Italian from 1500 onwards. However, Italians permeated many levels of English medieval society, including the top echelons of the royal Wardrobe and government Mints, London livery companies, wool-producing estates from the Cotswolds to Yorkshire and communities in major ports, such as Southampton. Given this role played by Tuscans, Venetians and the Genoese in the trade and finance of England in the later Middle Ages, conditions were ripe for a large-scale exchange of technical lexis.

The thesis demonstrates that borrowing from and into Italian dialects occurred directly on English soil and that Anglo-Norman frequently played an important role in transmission, leading us to re-examine traditional assumptions about the agency of Continental French in the transfer of Italian vocabulary into Middle English. We also reanalyse the stance taken by Italian scholars which (even today) overlooks Anglo-Norman's place at the centre of medieval English administration; this has led to studies on the earliest loanwords in Italian from England focusing solely on potential etyma from Middle English or Continental French.

This project collates a glossary of 140 probable loanwords found in dictionaries and databases, as well as unpublished material from UK and Italian archives. These trade-related texts, dating from the 1200s to the 1400s, include Exchequer documents, port books, accounts, wills, letters, contracts and inventories and offer evidence of reciprocal influence in the professional vocabularies of English and Italian merchants. Certain semantic fields emerge as of particular relevance, such as (from Italian) luxury textiles, sugar, spices, shipping and financial terminology; (into Italian) English administrative and legal lexis, profession names, units of measurement, wool and woollen cloths. Whilst statistical analysis is restrained by the small amount of data collected, we do see a peak period of language contact over the years 1300-1450: the period in which Italian influence on the medieval English economy was at its strongest.

Key sources include Bradley's recent edition of the Anglo-Norman *Views of the Hosts of Alien Merchants* (1440-44), a collection of bureaucratic documents testifying to the first official attempt by an English government to register immigrant workers. We also examine

the London account books of the Gallerani of Siena (1305-08) and the Salviati of Florence (1448-51) which offer valuable insight into the multilingual environment of these alien merchants, whose native Tuscan mingled with the already trilingual business lexis of the English capital. Finally, a full transcription and analysis is provided of the extraordinary multilingual writing of an Englishman overseeing a large wool shipment in Tuscany (1450-51): the *Cantelowe Accounts*. The author, John Balmayn, employs a (so far) unique mixed-language business code, combining Italian, Middle English, Latin and Anglo-Norman, as well as a near-modern use of Arabic numerals that is many decades ahead of his contemporaries back in London.

Until quite recently, non-literary material of this type has been largely overlooked by historical linguists in the UK and the effects of a foreign language, such as Italian, on the trilingual bureaucracy of English trade have not yet been examined. Overall, the thesis aims to emphasize the value of such sources and highlight the linguistic legacy of the Italian merchant presence in late medieval England.

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This thesis is dedicated to the memory of

Professor David Andrew Trotter

(1957 - 2015)

An inspirational scholar and a man of great wit, warmth and integrity.

Acknowledgements

This thesis would never have been completed without the help of Dr David Parsons of the University of Wales and Dr Geert De Wilde of the Anglo-Norman Dictionary who stepped in as my supervisors in September 2015. Their guidance and support, both practical and personal, in the difficult months following the loss of Professor David Trotter, have been invaluable and I shall be forever grateful to them.

I am also indebted to several scholars, in the UK and abroad, who have advised me on various aspects of my work. I would especially like to express my gratitude to Dr Roberta Cella (Università di Pisa) and Dr Ignazio Del Punta (Università di San Marino) for helping me navigate the bureaucracy of Italian academia and gain access to sources in the Scuola Normale Superiore, as well as for their advice on lexical and palaeographical matters. Dr Helen Bradley (London Records Society) has been most generous with her time throughout this project and happily answered all my questions about the *Views of the Hosts of Alien Merchants*, the Datini letters, merchant marks and more. I would like to thank Professor Francesco Guidi-Bruscoli (Queen Mary, University of London) for his very helpful advice on the Villani and Borromei London account books, wool-related lexis and expansion of Italian abbreviations. My thanks go also to Dr Susan Davies (Aberystwyth University) for her indispensable advice in first tackling the transcription of the *Cantelowe Accounts*.

In addition, I extend my gratitude to Dr Tony Moore (ICMA Centre, University of Reading) who kindly assisted me in tracking down Italian marginalia on Exchequer material in the National Archives; to Professor Adrian Bell (also of the ICMA Centre) for providing information on wool contracts between the Crown and Italian merchants; to Dr Angelo Nicolini (a retired historian in Savona) for sending me citations of Genoese boat names; to Dr José Miguel Alcolado Carnicero (Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha) for sharing his work on language use in the London Guilds; to Dr Laura Wright (University of Cambridge) for advising on textile lexis in fifteenth-century London; to Dr Rosella Mosti (Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche) for a list of *anglismi* in the TLIO corpus; to Dr Anne Thick for information about the Southampton Stewards' Books; to Professor Richard Macve (London School of Economics) and Dr Rebecca Tomlin (University of Cambridge) for advice on Arabic numeral use; to Dr Laura Pinnavaia (Università degli studi di Milano) for sending me her unpublished talk notes on Italianisms in the OED; and to Professor Mark Ormrod (University of York) for discussing the *England's Immigrants 1330-1550* project with me.

This doctoral project has taken six years part-time study and has been a huge commitment for my family as a whole. I have been entirely reliant throughout on the love and dedication of my amazing husband, Bernie Tiddeman, who, although a busy academic himself, has never wavered in his unselfish willingness to look after our three young children in the evenings and at weekends to allow me to write.

Finally, I thank the dynamic Professor Peter Read, now at the University of Kent, for first encouraging me as a St Andrews student back in 2002 to study for a PhD in linguistics. It has taken me a while to follow his advice but I have (hopefully) got there in the end.

Introduction

This thesis aims to examine the contribution made by Tuscan, Genoese and Venetian merchants to commercial lexis in medieval England and, conversely, to uncover evidence of contact with Anglo-Norman (AN) and Middle English (ME) in Italian records.

Any link between non-literary AN / ME and Italian is surprising to some at first but for over 200 years, the major driving force behind the English economy emanated from several key regions in the Italian peninsula. *Compagnie* based in Florence, Pisa, Siena, Lucca, Genoa and Venice were the corporate giants of their day and it is hard to overemphasize the importance of Italian bankers, traders and maritime experts to English merchant activity, right up to the end of the 1400s. Northern Italians had set up shop in the heart of London's financial district - known to this day as 'Lombard Street' - by the early 1300s when Edward I granted land to their goldsmiths and silversmiths. Italians financed the Crown for over a century (1272 to 1377), were at the epicentre of the lucrative English wool market and imported an impressive array of industrial supplies and luxury overseas goods into the country. This alien merchant presence has long provided scope for in-depth historical and economic research. Distinguished historians such as Edmund Fryde, George Holmes, Richard Kaeuper and Federigo Melis all devoted themselves to the financial history of the period and the meteoric rise and fall of various Crown Bankers has been extensively documented. Shipping routes, port expansion, export to and imports from Italy have been carefully investigated by Alwyn Ruddock in the 1950s and more recently by Michael Hicks and Helen Bradley, amongst others. *Credit Finance in the Middle Ages: Loans to the English Crown c1272-1334* (University of Reading)¹ and *England's Immigrants, 1330-1550: Resident Aliens in the Later Middle Ages* (University of York)² are just two recent examples of major projects in what is still a thriving field.

The linguistic facet of the prism is noticeably lacking, however. Given the extent to which Italians permeated English society at the time - from the most privileged echelons of court life to the docks at Southampton - it is remarkable that the lexical consequences of their presence have not yet been studied in any detail. The investigation of AN / ME-Italian language contact can therefore offer exciting new insights into medieval multilingualism. Practically unknown to English and Italian academia, the phenomenon fills in some of the

¹ The project (2007-2011) was directed by Dr Adrian Bell and Prof. Chris Brooks: <https://www.reading.ac.uk/economic-history/ceh-research-credit-finance.aspx> (accessed 16/02/2016).

² The project is currently being directed by Prof. Mark Ormrod: <http://www.englishimmigrants.com/> (accessed 16/05/2016).

linguistic gaps in England’s well-documented mercantile history and provides more evidence as to AN’s everyday role within trade and government well into the fifteenth century.

Throughout this study, the non-literary source is paramount. Overlooked for many decades, commercial documents are beginning to take their rightful place within historical linguistics. They are devoid of elaborate stylistic devices, rooted in tangible objects and we usually know exactly who was writing, when, where and why. These factors combine to offer a glimpse of deeply pragmatic language-mixing, fuelled not by artistic aspirations or elite tastes but by financial gain and practical necessity.

The project is divided into two volumes with the second volume intended as supporting material to be consulted when reading the main body of analysis. In Volume 1, Chapter 1 gives an overview of current evidence for early Anglo-Italian contact, set against the wider fields of study for both Franco-Italian borrowing and trilingual record-keeping in England. Chapter 2 places the sources analysed in their historical context by summarising the contribution made to the medieval English economy by the Italians in banking, shipping, imports and the wool and textile markets.

Throughout the remainder of the thesis, reference is made to four ‘Key Texts’ which provide important new evidence of Anglo-Italian contact and include recently published and previously unedited material from English and Italian archives:

Sources by English writers:		
<i>The Views of the Hosts of Alien Merchants</i> (1440-44)	AN-matrix with Italian loanwords	Chapter 3
<i>Cantelowe accounts</i> (1450-51)	Mixed-language ME / Italian with occasional AN and Latin lexis	Chapter 5
Sources by Italian writers:		
<i>Gallerani London accounts</i> (1304-08)	Siennese-matrix with AN and ME loanwords	Chapter 4
<i>Salviati London accounts</i> (1448-51)	Florentine-matrix with AN and ME loanwords	Chapter 4

Chapters 3 and 4 present a total of 140 probable loanwords, the vast majority of which are attested in texts written in England, either by locals or by Italians who lived and worked there between c1200 and c1450. These loanwords make up the main Glossary of the thesis which is divided into two parts: the first half contains Italianisms in AN / ME texts (Chapter

3: Imports Glossary) and the second, insular Gallicisms and Middle Anglicisms in Italian texts (Chapter 4: Exports Glossary). In addition, each loanword in the Glossary has its own detailed fiche, located in Volume 2, where a record of sources, citations and additional etymological information can be found. Furthermore, summaries of mercantile Italianisms in AN / ME attested between 1450 and 1500 and non-mercantile Italianisms attested between 1200 and 1500 can also be found in the Appendices to Volume 2. Chapter 5 concentrates on one intriguing mixed-language source from the mid-fifteenth century: *The Cantelowe Accounts*. A full transcript of this unpublished text is provided in Volume 2.

The concluding section of the thesis then brings together all these instances of reciprocal contact and emphasizes, amongst other things, the role played by late AN as a partner in direct contact with Italian dialects.

Notes on terminology:

1. ‘Italian’ is obviously an oversimplified term as the reality of a single Italian language was centuries away: in the 1950s, some would argue (Lepschy and Lepschy 1998). However, it is employed throughout this thesis, as in other studies, as a useful catch-all for dialects from the peninsula. On the whole, the project is dominated by Tuscan and nearly all the texts which make up the corpus of the Exports Glossary are written in Florentine, Siennese, Lucchese, Pisan, Pistoian and Pratese. There are some crucial exceptions, especially in the maritime lexis of the Imports Glossary, where Venetian and Genoese play a vital role as donor dialects. Where possible, I have tried to identify the dialects of etyma and source texts (see the dialects list, below) but it is beyond the scope of this project to include phonological or morphological analysis of dialectal variants. Nor does the project examine language contact of a very different historical and political nature: that of borrowing from Norman in the Kingdom of Sicily in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.³

2. ‘Anglo-Norman’ is used throughout this thesis: it is a long-established term in historical linguistics, enshrined in the name of the Anglo-Norman Dictionary (AND), and its continued use is defended by Rothwell (2005) and Trotter (2013: 141-42). It is not, however, without its critics who believe (justifiably) that it is inaccurate and alternatives such as ‘Anglo-French’

³ The greatest contribution to the field of Normanisms in Sicilian dialects was made by the late Alberto Varvaro. See, in particular, Varvaro 1972 / 1973 and his *Vocabolario Storico-Etimologico del Siciliano* (VSES) which was published the year of his death in 2014.

or the ‘French of England’ are increasingly being used (cf. Wogan-Browne *et al.* 2009: 1-10 / Durkin 2014: 230).

3. I refer to ‘England’ and ‘English’ sources throughout the project with the aim of clearly defining a corpus of texts to highlight language contact between Italian and AN / ME and not with other indigenous British languages. For this reason, I have avoided using ‘Britain’ and ‘British’ which may mislead the reader but this does not rule out the occasional citation in a Glossary fiche from a manuscript written in Wales or Scotland, as recorded by the historical dictionaries. Equally, whilst the vast bulk of our extant evidence on medieval Italian trade is undoubtedly from England (and especially London and Southampton), common sense suggests that some Italians also lived and worked in Welsh and Scottish towns and ports.

4. The terminology surrounding language contact can be complex and controversial. The thesis does not enter into the debate as to how best define ‘codeswitching’, ‘mixing’ and ‘borrowing’ or how to label the many guises these phenomena take, such as ‘single-lexeme switches’, ‘lexical fusion’, ‘merger’ or ‘substratum interference’ (cf. Thomason 2001, Winford 2010). Instead, I focus solely on presenting evidence of Italian lexical influence in English records and vice versa, whatever the form such influence takes at the written level. I use ‘lexical borrowing’ or ‘loanword’ most frequently throughout to refer to the practice of one (recipient) language adopting both the form and meaning of a word from another (donor) language. As we shall see, all but a tiny minority of these loanwords are ‘adapted’, i.e. changed to a certain extent by the morphological norms of the recipient language e.g. It. *aberdaciere* < ME *haberdasher*. In addition, a very small number of examples in the Glossary involve ‘semantic borrowing’ or ‘calques’ whereby an existing word in the recipient language takes on a new meaning based on usage in the donor language e.g. It. *scacchiere*, originally meaning ‘chessboard’, being influenced by AN *eschecker* to mean ‘Exchequer’. Even more rarely, we find ‘loan translations’ where a compound term in the donor language is replicated by the recipient using its own words: e.g. AN *fortune de meer* < It. *fortuna di mare*. ‘Language-mixing’ is used in Chapter 5 to describe the author’s use of lexemes or short segments from up to four languages (ME, Italian, AN and Latin) within a particular section: he employs ‘intra- and intersentential switching’ where language shift occurs within or between sentences.

Abbreviations:

AD	Archivio Datini
AN	Anglo-Norman
AND	Anglo-Norman Dictionary
ASV	Archivio di Stato di Venezia
BML	British Medieval Latin
CA	Cantelowe Accounts
CCA	Canterbury Cathedral Archives
CF	Continental French
CSP	Calendar of State Papers, Venice
DC	Du Cange: Glossarium mediæ et infimæ latinitatis.
DDG	Dizionario domestico genovese-italiano
DDV	Dizionario del dialetto veneziano
DEAF	Dictionnaire Étymologique de l’Ancien Français
DEI	Dizionario etimologico italiano
DMLBS	Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources
DMF	Dictionnaire du Moyen Français
FEW	Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch
GDC	Godefroy Complément: Dictionnaire de l’ancienne langue française
GDF	Godefroy: Dictionnaire de l’ancienne langue française
LEI	Lessico etimologico italiano
LCC	Lexis of Cloth and Clothing
LGR	Salviati Accounts: Libro Grande Rosso Segnato A
ME	Middle English
MED	Middle English Dictionary
MF	Middle French
OE	Old English
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
OF	Old French
OVI	Opera del Vocabolario Italiano
TL	Tobler-Lommatzsch: Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch
TLFi	Le Trésor de la Langue Française informatisé
TLIO	Tesoro della lingua Italiana delle Origini
VAC	Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca
VOH	The Views of the Hosts of Alien Merchants
VSES	Vocabolario Storico-Etimologico del Siciliano
VTO	Vocabolario Trecanni Online

Italian dialects:

Abbreviation	Dialect	City / region
Northern dialects		
gen.	<i>genovese</i>	Genoa
lig.	<i>ligure</i>	Liguria
mant.	<i>mantovano</i>	Mantua
padov.	<i>padovano</i>	Padua
rag.	<i>raguseo</i>	Ragusa
ven.	<i>veneziano</i>	Venice
ver.	<i>veronese</i>	Verona

Central dialects		
aret.	<i>aretina</i>	Arezzo
fior.	<i>fiorentino</i>	Florence
lucch.	<i>lucchese</i>	Lucca
perug.	<i>perugina</i>	Perugia
pis.	<i>pisano</i>	Pisa
pist.	<i>pistoiese</i>	Pistoia
prat.	<i>pratese</i>	Prato
rom.	<i>romano</i>	Rome
sen.	<i>senese</i>	Siena
tod.	<i>todino</i>	Todi
tosc.	<i>toscana</i>	Tuscany
Southern dialects		
mess.	<i>messinese</i>	Messina
napol.	<i>napoletano</i>	Naples
sic.	<i>siciliano</i>	Sicily
sirac.	<i>siracusano</i>	Siracusa

CHAPTER 1

The Linguistic Context: Language contact in mercantile sources in late medieval England

1. Introduction

2. Language contact between Anglo-Norman and Italian

- i) Tuscan marginalia in Exchequer sources*
- ii) Lexical borrowings identified in England*
- iii) Continental French and Italian prior to 1500*
 - a) Italianisms in Continental French*
 - b) Gallicisms in Italian*

3. Language contact between Middle English and Italian

- i) Italianisms in Middle English*
- ii) Middle Anglicisms in Italian*

4. Multilingual and mercantile sources from medieval England

- i) In Italian*
- ii) In Anglo-Norman, Middle English and Latin*
- iii) The value of the multilingual source*

1. Introduction

As we shall see, early Anglo-Italian language contact is an area which has received very little academic attention, although the presence of both Italian loanwords in Anglo-Norman (AN) Port Books and Italian annotations on Exchequer material was noted as early as 1913. Contact between Middle English (ME) and Italian is considered absolutely minimal in all major language histories, with only a tiny number of borrowings in either direction recorded in English and Italian dictionaries. This is in stark contrast to the huge amounts of evidence gathered for language contact between Continental French (CF) and Italian prior to 1500 and between English and Italian from 1500 onwards. A key question to investigate is AN's potential role as a mediator in the transmission of some commercial lexis. The overlooking of possible direct interaction between Italian and insular French has created two main problems (further expanded upon in Chapters 3 and 4): namely, the assumptions that nearly all Italianisms in ME were transmitted via CF and that all loanwords picked up by Italians in England originated either in ME or CF.

Italian scholarship has a long tradition of exploiting mercantile sources for linguistic study, including texts in its early native vernacular that have been conserved in English archives. Since the 1990s, however, the multilingual records of trade and administration in medieval England have also attracted increased attention. These studies tend to focus on the ever-changing 'internal' interaction between AN, ME and British Medieval Latin (BML) and the role such codeswitching played in the eventual emergence of early modern English; the effects of an 'external' language such as Italian on the trilingual bureaucracy of English trade have not yet been examined.¹

2. Language contact between Anglo-Norman and Italian

i) Tuscan marginalia in Exchequer sources

The earliest extant examples of the Italian vernacular written in England are housed in the Vatican and date from 1278: four short Tuscan statements countersigning a Latin notarial act

¹ The only 'foreign' (i.e. not indigenous Celtic or Anglo-Norse) language whose role in late medieval English records has been widely investigated is Hebrew: for recent examples, see Fudeman (2010) and De Visscher (2013). See also Meecham-Jones (2011) for the treatment of various Greek and Arabic medical terms in ME translations of Chauliac's *Chirurgia Magna*.

drawn up in New Temple, London (Palmieri 1889: xvii).² Examples of Italian annotations on AN manuscripts were unearthed over a century ago by the medieval historian, Emilio Re, in his ground-breaking paper, ‘Archivi inglesi e storia italiana’ (1913). This revealed to Italian academia the bounty of Tuscan material from the late twelfth to mid-thirteenth centuries, conserved in the (then) Public Record Office in London. All these sources, found amongst the Close and Patent Rolls of the Chancery, Exchequer Rolls or the King’s Remembrancer, were directly linked to the succession of Tuscan companies that acted as bankers to the English Crown: the Ricciardi of Lucca and the Frescobaldi, Peruzzi and Bardi of Florence (cf. Chapter 2.3). Re stresses the value of such commercial documents and places merchants at the heart of linguistic exchange in late medieval Europe: “[...] lo scambio dei vocaboli da linguaggio a linguaggio assume un interesse speciale. Uno scambio del quale gli agenti più attivi sono, con ‘cherici’ e poeti, ma prima di loro e più di loro, i mercanti che in ogni tempo hanno baratto da popolo a popolo merci, costume, idee, parole” (Re 1913: 273).

Two of the sources identified are written in the Italian vernacular and were almost certainly confiscated by the English authorities during the banks’ financial collapse: a section of Frescobaldi accounts (1311-13) and a bundle of letters sent to the Ricciardi London office from Lucca (1295-1303).³ Another main focus of Re’s article is the presence of Italian-language marginalia on twelve AN Exchequer warrants for the issue of money sent from Hugh Despenser the Younger to the Peruzzi between 1324 and 1326 e.g.:

Indentura intra noi e ser Giovanni de Vimondualde guardarobiere di messer Ugo Dispensiere il F[iglio] alla torre di Londra di quali demo per messer U. detto (Re 1913: 269) (E101/127/ 19 m.2)

Chitanza ke ser Guillelmo Davi kerchio ne fa di lb. L ster. gli demo per messer Ugo Dispensiere il F[iglio] de lo Scachiere (Re 1913: 271) (E101/127/19 m.4)⁴

Whilst being simple administrative notes, these marginalia, written in England, immediately reveal the presence of several Gallicisms.⁵ Re (1913: 262-63) is at pains to point out that *il francese* was the official language of the English court following the Norman Conquest and

² E.g. *E io Rainieri sopradito con la mia mano abo iscrito quie di soto e messo lo mio sugleo con quello de la compagnia* (Palmieri 1889: xvii).

³ These sources were later transcribed by Saporì (1947: 85-136) and Castellani and Del Punta (2005), respectively (see below).

⁴ Note that Re used the old-style PRO reference system in his article, using, for example, “Bundle 127, n. 19, m.4”.

⁵ In these two examples alone we find **guardarobiere** / **scacchiere** / **sterlino** (see Exports Glossary) and *cherico* / *chitanza* (see Table 2, Chapter 4.1ii).

the language of bureaucracy and law until the reign of Henry VII. Italian merchants, he stresses, were just as likely to write official letters to the King in French as they were in Latin and “la lingua francese ha dunque pieno vigore presso la corte d’Inghilterra”.⁶ However, it is clear that the author did not perceive AN as an independent entity, separate from CF, with its own forms and meanings that were unique to usage in England.⁷ This leads him to label the loanwords he finds in the archive material as either Gallicisms that the merchants had encountered “già in Francia” or (where the meaning is specific to English administration with no equivalent in France) as the “primi anglismi della lingua italiana”, borrowed directly from ME (Re 1913: 275-78). In reality, of course, insular French etyma for these borrowings offer a more convincing solution. Of Re’s assessment and a similar one made a century later by Cella (2007), Trotter remarks:

[...] the more important point is that they are ultimately Anglo-French in both form and semantics. They bear precise legal senses which evolved in Anglo-French and whilst they are undoubtedly ‘anglicisms’ in the sense of ‘word transported into Italian in England, from a language in use in England’, they do not necessarily come from English (Trotter 2011b: 217).

The presence of medieval Italian annotations on National Archive material is not limited to those discovered by Re. In 2009, Bell, Brooks and Moore of the International Capital Market Association (ICMA) Centre at the University of Reading edited forty-two Exchequer sources for their study, *Accounts of the English Crown with the Italian Merchant Societies 1272-*

⁶ Sadly, Re does not give any specific examples of such letters. I have been unable to find any evidence of AN (or CF) texts clearly written by a medieval Italian writer (i.e. in an Italian hand) in the National Archives. Presumably, Re is referring to AN petitions sent to the Crown which seem almost certainly to have been written on behalf of the Tuscan *compagnie* by local scribes in London (Trotter 2011a). Similarly, the archives of Canterbury Cathedral contain a letter from the Frescobaldi requesting payment (c1285) and written in standard, administrative AN (CCA/DCc/EC/IV/52). The basic point of *il francese* having sufficient ‘status’ to be used when corresponding with a monarch (or a bishop) still holds though. Conversely, there is an extant letter written in Italian in 1305 from Biagio Aldobrandini of the Gallerani to Sir Humphrey Cloveville of the papal Curia bank in London (Bigwood and Grunzweig 1961: 265). It is, of course, unsurprising that the recipient could read Italian, given his job, but the letter is still an extremely rare example of a medieval Italian text addressed to an Englishman.

⁷ This is not at all surprising given that the article was published in 1913. The status of AN has undergone a slow but radical overhaul over the last hundred years or so, from “ce langage barbare [...] au XIVE siècle en Grande-Bretagne” (Meyer 1907: 187), the “product of the individual caprices of writers” (Menger 1904: 4) or “a purely artificial language” (Prior 1924: xiv) to “a full and independent member of the extended family of Medieval French dialects” (Short 2007: 11). Even in the 1990s, late AN (post c1350) was deemed a “risible jargon” by Kibbee (1996: 16). Gradually, however, the orthodox views of French philology, rigidly “hierachisée selon trois cercles concentriques: Paris, la France et l’étranger” (Lusignan 2012: 2), have been transformed and this is in great part due to the work of two former AND editors, William Rothwell and David Trotter. The former was the first to stress on many occasions that “in circumstances involving power, money and even survival, no one in his right mind chooses to communicate in an unintelligible jargon” and that “Anglo-French was the only variety of medieval French apart from *francien* itself to become a widely-used language of record in a powerful independent kingdom” (Rothwell 1992: 24-26). For other defences of AN, especially in its later use as a language of national administration, see Rothwell 1985 / 1991 / 1993 / 1998 / 2001 and Trotter 1997 / 2003a / 2003b / 2003c / 2006b / 2008.

1345. They identified eight Tuscan marginalia, which would “repay further study”, on the manuscript E101/127/36, detailing allowances claimed by the Bardi and Peruzzi from Edward III in 1339-45 (Bell *et al.* 2009: 268).⁸ The authors also note that the only Arabic numerals in any of the Exchequer Rolls studied are found in some of the notes and running totals added, in Italian hand, to this document and to an earlier Frescobaldi receipt from 1309 (E101/126/9 m.1) (Bell *et al.* 2009: xvi).⁹

ii) Lexical borrowings identified in England

Italian loanwords in insular French were first identified in Port Books written by Robert Florys, the Water-Bailiff of Southampton: a city with a deep-water harbour which welcomed large amounts of Genoese and Venetian traffic and was at the heart of Anglo-Italian trade in the 1400s (see Chapter 2.5). Studer, editor of the AN-matrix Port Books from 1427-30, notes *fangot* (‘bundle of cloth’) as being of Italian origin, enthusing that “the word must have been quite familiar to Southamptonians of A.D. 1428, seeing that it was commonly applied to bundles of *exported* cloth (!)” (Studer 1913: 50, FN 6).¹⁰ In 1963, Foster edited the later *Local Port Book of Southampton* (1435-36) and briefly mentions that close trading connections with Italy were visible in other examples of insular French vocabulary: AN *cotegnate* < It. *cotognato* (‘quince jam’); AN *sarme* < It. *sarma* (‘a measure of capacity’);

⁸ Upon inspection, nearly all the Italian notes are very brief: *entrata come dice di sotto / questi non ci vogliono contare niente / entrata sotto la somma* etc. By far the longest annotation is found on E101/127/36 m.2 (see Figure 1, below) and deals with the amount of customs duties on various exports of wool for which the Tuscans should be cleared by the Crown in 1340. The Italian scribe notes that, by his calculations, the barons of the Exchequer (*i baroni*) are short-changing them (*ci ne tocha di danno*) by £752 16s. 9d. Loanwords aside, these annotations offer proof of an obvious yet important fact: that the Tuscan in question could read AN well enough to analyse complex accounts and record his opinions for his colleagues:

questa partita con un’ altra di sotto di lane che montano lb. viij^m ciiij s. vj d. x non volono i baroni tucto acetarene ma volonci carichare secondo che [...] varano altre lane vendute entrate ma e’ non ci vollono discharicare che di lb. vj^m ccxxij s. v tra’ Bardi e noi che ci tolsono lb. mdccclxxxij s.j d.x che ci ne tocha di danno a noi lb. dcclij s. xvj d. viiij si che ci discharicharono in altra parte lb. mmcccclxxxviiij s. xviiij [my transcription]

For a full transcription of the main document (not yet in the AND corpus), see Bell *et al.* (2009: 268-77). With the help of Dr Tony Moore of the ICMA (to whom I extend my grateful thanks), I also found other examples of short Italian marginalia on more Peruzzi indentures from 1325-26, absent from Re’s paper and housed in the Ancient Correspondence section of the National Archives, SC1/49/146-151 e.g. *Indentura di lb M ster. ke per Messer U. Dispensiere il figlio demo a Ser Riccardo Dinatibi, su chericho* (SC1/49/146Ad, see figure 2, below).

⁹ For more on Italians’ early use of the Arabic numerical system in their business writing, see Chapter 5.5.

¹⁰ See Imports Glossary sub **fangot**.

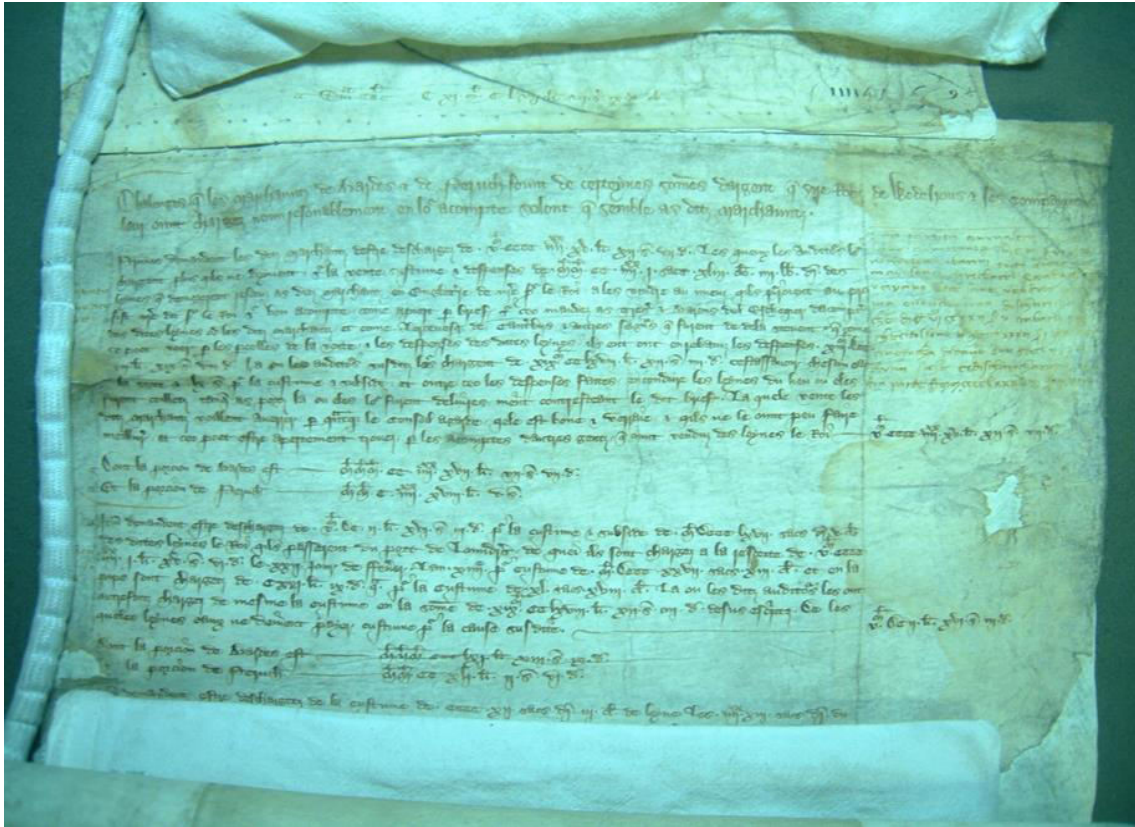


Fig. 1: An AN allowance claim on behalf of the Bardi and the Peruzzi from 1340 with a large annotation in Tuscan to the right (E101/127/36 m.2)

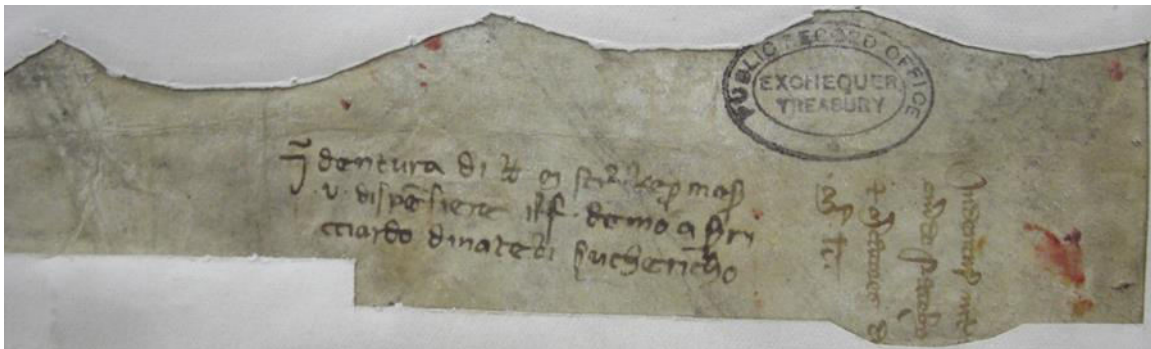
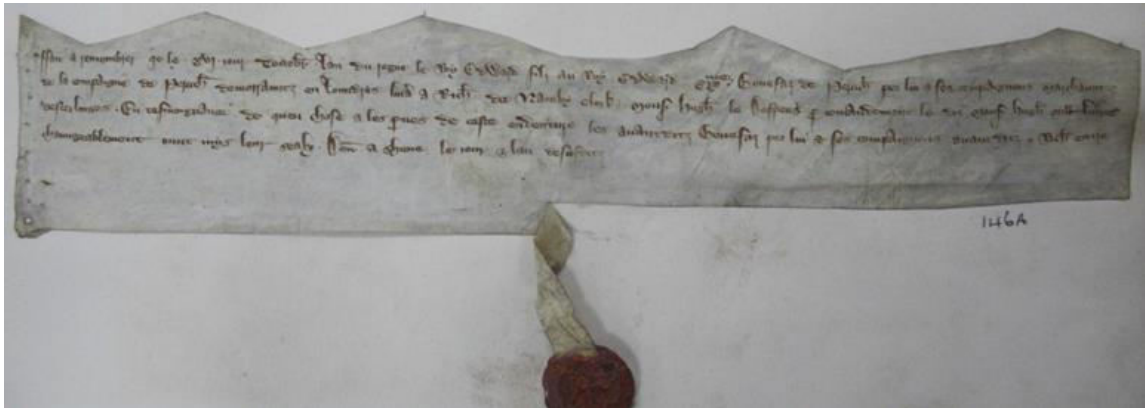


Fig. 2: An AN indenture from 1325 sent to the Peruzzi by Hugh le Despenser with an annotation in Tuscan (SC 1/49/146A +Ad)

AN *sport* < It. *sporta* ('a basket'); AN *comyt* < It. *comito* ('first officer on a galley') and AN *dosses* < It. *dossi* ('back skins') (Foster 1963: xiv).¹¹ Thirty-six years later, in 'Sugar and Spice and All Things Nice: From Oriental Bazar to English Cloister in Anglo-French', Rothwell discusses the shipments from Venice and Genoa into Southampton as listed in both the Port Books: exotic imports such as a range of sugars, gingers, Egyptian silks and even elephant tusks. Some of these luxuries would also find their way into the contemporary monastic accounts of Durham Abbey (Rothwell 1999: 650-52). However, the aim of his article is to underline the role of late, fifteenth-century AN as a language of commerce and not to examine potential lexical borrowings from Italian e.g. *suchre candy*, *gyngibre mekyn*, *gyngibre belendyn*, *sport de resins de Malik*.¹² He does hint, however, that AN represented a language of transmission, through which Italianisms could enter ME and BML: "French is the connection between Italian ships in Southampton and English monks in Durham" (Rothwell 1999: 652).¹³

Trotter later published two works in 2011 which consolidated both the concept of direct AN-Italian contact and the need for wider study on the topic. In 'Death, taxes and property: Some code-switching evidence from Dover, Southampton and York', he revisits the fifteenth-century Port Books as a prime example of a non-literary, multilingual source with, in this instance, the more unusual feature of Italianisms.¹⁴ Trotter discusses the loanwords outlined by Studer and Foster (above) in more detail, and dwells on their implication for the wider field of medieval code-switching: it is highly unlikely that the Southampton scribe, Robert Florys, had much command of the Italian language but this peppering of the accounts with vocabulary not native to England (with no 'switch-marking device')¹⁵ underlines the international dimension of maritime trade and how language contact was catalysed by real communicative situations (Trotter 2011d: 173-78). He also repeats his assertion that Italianisms could enter AN along a variety of transmission routes, including the royal

¹¹ See Imports Glossary sub **cotegnate / sarme / sport(in) / comyt**. The borrowing of *dosses* from Italian *dossi* is unconvincing. It seems much more likely to be a spelling variation of AN *dos* ('back'), especially since the two forms appear within a month of each other in the Port Book: *Cl dosses de grey / Ml dos de grey* (see AND2 sub **dos**). Trotter agrees (2011d: 166).

¹² See Imports Glossary sub **(suchre) candy / maykyn / belendin / sport(in) / Malik**.

¹³ In an earlier paper from 1993, Rothwell briefly comments on the importance of influential Italian banking companies like the Ricciardi and the Frescobaldi in England as part of the proliferation of the merchant class in general: this social change had wider, important linguistic consequences i.e. the widespread use of AN in business and administrative records (Rothwell 1993: 22-23).

¹⁴ The other two sources examined are the Dover Castle inventories (1344-61) and various wills from York (1316-1491) which exhibit better known patterns of late English language mixing: in this case, BML matrix with AN / ME lexemes or AN matrix with ME lexemes.

¹⁵ This phenomenon entails the use of an AN definite article (usually *le* or *lé / lez*) to signal language switch mid-sentence and it most commonly precedes an AN / ME lexeme in a BML-matrix administrative text. See also Trotter 2010a, Wright 2010 and Ingham 2011 / 2013.

dockyards at Rouen (the *Clos de Gallées*) where Genoese maritime terms (e.g. *calfater*)¹⁶ used by skilled immigrant craftsman were absorbed into Norman lexis and then crossed the Channel (ibid., p.170), see also Trotter 2003b / 2006c).¹⁷ Trotter believed that while proof of lexical borrowing from Italian in English records such as these required further investigation, “the vehicle for linguistic commerce (i.e. the language in which the trade took place) was almost certainly French, whether insular or continental” (ibid., p. 182).

In ‘Evidence of Language Contact in the Gallerani Accounts, 1305-1308’, Trotter examines the opposite side of Anglo-Italian contact: borrowings from AN, ME and (occasionally) BML - such as *costuma*, *tancardo* and *scacchiere*¹⁸ - in a set of Siennese accounts written in London in 1305-08. This *Libro dell’Entrata e dell’Escita*¹⁹ (fully presented in Chapter 4.2i) was until this point unknown to English historical linguistics but offers valuable insight into the multilingual environment of these alien merchants, whose native Tuscan mingled with the already trilingual business lexis of the English capital. Trotter is keen to stress how rare and important such sources are, even though “they are, very often, multilingual, in the sense that they mix languages with a careless abandon to which many traditionally-trained academics react with distrust and even distaste” (Trotter 2011b: 209).²⁰ He ends his article with a non-exhaustive list of forty-six Gallicisms found in the company accounts of the Gallerani in London and / or their sister branch in Paris e.g. *cioppino* (‘half-pint’: London only); *quitança* (< ‘discharge of debt’: London and Paris); *bolongiere* (‘baker’: Paris only) (Trotter 2011b: 217-22).²¹

¹⁶ See Imports Glossary sub **calfater**.

¹⁷ Note that Trotter (2006c: 1779) also highlights the important role of Provençal in transmitting Italian shipping lexis into CF.

¹⁸ See Exports Glossary sub **costuma / tancardo / scacchiere**.

¹⁹ For a useful guide to the numerous different kinds of ledger used in medieval Italian accounting, such as the *Libro Grande*, the *Libro dell’Entrata e dell’Uscita*, the *Libro segreto* and the *Quaderni di Cassa* see the website of the Datini Archive in Prato: <http://datini.archiviodistato.prato.it/libri-contabili/> (accessed 08/02/2016).

²⁰ Only a tiny number of private mercantile accounts have survived from England prior to 1450 and most of them are Italian. They are the BML accounts of William de la Pole from 1337-39 (Fryde 1964), the AN accounts of Gilbert Maghfelt (or Gybon Maufield) from 1390-94 (Rickert 1926, Wright 2002a / 2002b), the Frescobaldi London accounts from 1311-13 (Sapori 1947: 85-136), the Villani fragment from a1422-24 (Guidi-Bruscoli 2010), the Borromei ledger from 1436-39 (Guidi Bruscoli and Bolton 2007) and the Salviati London material (Cavallaro 1969, see also Chapter 4.2ii). The mixed-language *Cantelowe Accounts* from 1450-51 (edited in Chapter 5) do not strictly belong to this elite minority as they were written in Tuscany by an Englishman. For a recent overview of the emergence of the English-language merchant text in the second half of the fifteenth century, see Richardson’s *Middle Class Writing in Late Medieval London* (2015).

²¹ Only loanwords from the Gallerani London *libro* are included in the Exports Glossary, as part of a corpus of texts either written in or closely linked to England (cf. Chapter 4.1i). See Chapter 4.1ii for more examples of ‘General Gallicisms’ which are found in Italian sources written in England and France and have potential etyma in both AN and CF.

iii) Continental French and Italian prior to 1500

Insular French is, of course, a variant of a much larger dialectal group and it is challenging to identify links between AN and Italian specifically because of the broader context of borrowing between medieval French and Italian.²² Compared to the handful of loanwords above, the field of CF-Italian contact is vast. Although both languages have borrowed most heavily from English, this phenomenon dates back largely to the twentieth century; prior to this, the most frequent vernacular lender of lexis to French was Italian and vice versa (Schmitt 2003: 815, Schweikard 2008: 2851, 2854, Walter 1997: 17).²³ Throughout the Middle Ages, this cultural interaction seems to have ebbed and flowed in either direction, with periodic bursts of ‘gallomanie’ on one side or ‘italophilie’ on the other. In general, French - the dominant vernacular in Western European culture - had proportionally much more impact on Italian in the 1200s and 1300s. By the fifteenth century, there was a surge of borrowing in the opposite direction, in which prosperous Italy - the centre of both Humanism and commercial innovation - exported lexis to France (Hope 1971: 146-47, Lodge 1993: 133-35, Formisano 2006: 1758-59, 1767-69, Reutner 2008: 119-20). Hundreds of borrowings have been identified in both languages; precise totals from the medieval period can vary greatly depending on scholar and semantic field: see Schmitt 2003 and Schweickard 2008 for useful statistical breakdowns.

By far the most important overview of bi-directional contact remains Hope’s detailed study from 1971 - *Lexical Borrowing in the Romance languages: a critical study of Italianisms in French and Gallicisms in Italian from 1100 to 1900* - which identifies 183 Italianisms and 278 Gallicisms in its medieval sections. The two volumes contain not only a 500-page Franco-Italian glossary, divided into centuries, but also an important theoretical section which addresses several universal issues in historical borrowing.²⁴

²² Fifty-eight of the eighty Italianisms identified in the Imports Glossary are found in both AN and CF sources. Some Italian borrowings in England were undoubtedly ‘indirect’, in that they entered CF first before appearing in AN. However, this does not mean that the phenomenon of direct AN-Italian contact should be dismissed and in many cases, there is a strong argument for independent transmission of Italian lexis into English mercantile records, regardless of whether the borrowing is also attested in France. For a discussion of these issues, see Chapter 3.4iii.

²³ It is estimated that out of 4192 loanwords still in use in modern French, 1053 come from English and 698 from Italian (Walter 1997: 17). Conversely, a recent study of the entire lexis of modern Italian found 6105 (or 2.44%) lexemes were of English origin compared to 4173 (or 1.6%) lexemes of French origin (Schweikard 2008: 2851, 2854).

²⁴ In particular, Hope focuses on why borrowing occurs, patterns of interference and the neological process, arguing for a refinement of the distinction between ‘necessary’ and ‘luxury’ loans. His core argument is that “The point at issue is not whether words are adopted from an external source deliberately or casually, legitimately or unwarrantably, with reason, without reason or with greater reason in some cases than in others.

a) Italianisms in Continental French

In his chapter devoted to Italian influence on medieval French, Hope points out that while scholars have concentrated on the explosion of Italianisms from 1500 onwards, contact in the Middle Ages has been unfairly neglected:²⁵ “Medieval contacts in the lexicological sphere are substantial and varied,” he notes, providing “an interesting comment on the commercial, naval, military, diplomatic and social intercourse between two great civilisations of pre-Renaissance Europe” (Hope 1971: 53). His collection of Italianisms from 1100-1500 shows a steady increase in borrowing throughout the period examined, with almost half (ninety-one) being attested in the fifteenth century (1971: 64).²⁶ There are, in particular, many lexemes of ultimate Arabic origin, transmitted into France via the extensive trading links of the Venetians and the Genoese (cf. Chapter 2.5) (e.g. *arsenal*, *carat*, *candi*, *coton*, *douane*, *gabelle*, *magasin*, *sucre*), maritime lexis (e.g. *brigantin*, *corsair*, *esquif*, *galeace*, *grip*, *pilot*, *poupe*) and financial terms (*banque*, *banquier*, *chiffre*, *crédit*, *ducat*, *tare*, *zéro*).²⁷ Trotter (2006c: 1777) concurs with Hope’s findings that Italy’s place at the heart of commercial and navigational progress in the later Middle Ages meant that Italian acted as both a direct lender of lexis in these fields as well as a transmission route for oriental vocabulary (cf. Chapter 3.4v). Hope (1971: 58-60) also identifies a sizeable proportion of military terms from Italian in CF from the 1300s onwards as increasing numbers of Italian mercenaries (especially the Genoese) were recruited into French forces: e.g. *alarm*, *capeline*, *canon*, *cimeterre*, *escarmouche*, *escrime*, *janissaire*, *guidon*, *ligue*, *pavois*, *plastron*, *représaille*.²⁸

Each transferred term bears witness to an impulse, a stimulus which at the time of borrowing was sufficient for transfer to occur” (Hope 1971: 721). For a discussion of ‘necessary’ versus ‘luxury’ loans in the Imports and Exports sections, see Chapter 4.5.

²⁵ Nearly all studies on Italianisms in French before Hope begin in the sixteenth century: e.g. Kohlman (1901), Saarauw (1920), Wind (1928), Brunot (1905-38).

²⁶ The exact figures are: twelfth century (7) / thirteenth century (28) / fourteenth century (59) / fifteenth century (91).

²⁷ Whilst this thesis focuses on the Italian merchant presence in late medieval England (as detailed in Chapter 2) and its linguistic consequences, there was a similarly powerful network of (mainly) Tuscan banking societies established in France. Hope (1971: 55-56) emphasizes that “[...] both principles and vocabulary of mercantile practice spread hand in hand from the Italian peninsula [...] In matters of finance and exchange above all else Italian bankers were without serious rivals. From the Peruzzi and Frescobaldi of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to the Medici of the sixteenth, despite pogroms with confiscation of property and punitive levies in 1277, 1291, 1311, 1320 and at regular intervals in the Middle Ages, the ‘Lombard’ presided over the monetary transactions not only of private citizens but of the King of France himself.”

²⁸ Military terms of Italian origin attested in AN / ME between 1200-1500 are summarised in Table 2, Volume 2, Appendices. Note that numerous Italian military terms which entered CF in the 1300s and 1400s were also later borrowed into English in the sixteenth century e.g.:

OED2 **bricole** ‘catapult for battle’, att.1525 (< CF *bricole*, att. 1360 < It. *briccola*). Cf. Fennis (1995: 423), Hope (1971: 30).

OED3 **plastron** ‘a steel breastplate’, att. 1507 (< CF *plastron*, att. 1456, < It. *piastrone*). Cf. Hope (1971: 47).

The other landmark works on medieval Italianisms in CF come from Vidos and Fennis, both of whom focused on the large-scale assimilation of the language of ships and navigation: vessel types (*barcouse, caraque*), sails and riggings (*amante, arbo(u)rer, batayole, gumene*), manoeuvres and techniques (*accoster, alarguer, calfater, nolisement*) professions or functions (*argousin, bonne-voglie, nocher*), equipment (*bussole, falot*) and natural phenomena (*fortune, grec, sirocco*).²⁹ The famously meticulous Vidos (cf. Hope 1971: 5) provides 228 nautical etymologies in his 1939 monograph *Storia delle parole marinaresche italiane passate in francese: contributo storico-linguistico all'espansione della lingua nautica italiana* and in a collection of his articles published in 1965, in particular 'Contributo alla storia delle parole francesi di origine italiana' (pp.1-32) and 'Le bilinguisme et le mécanisme de l'emprunt' (pp. 295-310). In 1995, Fennis published an extensive review of 3911 lexemes relating to the French galley - the *Trésor du langage des galères* - gleaned from literary and non-literary sources and including a sizeable majority of loanwords from Italian dialects³⁰ (as well many other donor languages such as Catalan, Spanish, Greek, Dutch and Arabic). Hope, Vidos and Fennis all stress the "virtual monopoly exercised over Mediterranean sea-transport by Venice and Genoa" (Hope 1971: 61,³¹ see also Tomasin 2010: 265-66) and, as mentioned above, the importance of Italian naval expertise in the *Clos de Gallées* at Rouen, which acted as a linguistic 'melting pot' for Genoese and CF shipping lexis in the 1300s.³²

OED2 **squadron** 'a small body of men / soldiers lined up in a square formation', att. 1562 (< CF *escadron*, att. c1375, < It. *squadrone*).

²⁹ Maritime terms of Italian origin attested in AN / ME prior to 1450 are detailed in the Imports Glossary. Other examples, attested in ME between 1451-1500, are summarised in Table 1, Volume 2, Appendices. It is important to note again that there were a large number of Italian maritime terms that entered CF prior to 1500 which were not attested in English until the sixteenth century. Some examples include:

OED2 sub **arsenal** 'a dockyard', att. 1511 (< CF *arsenal*, att. 1266 < It. / Ven. *arzenà / arsenale* < Ar. *dār al-šinā'a*). Cf. Hope (1971: 23), Fennis (1995: 268), Vidos (1939: 198-206). Given the early attestation of this (ultimately Arabic) loanword in CF, it is not unthinkable that (as for *caravan*, Table 1, Volume 2 Appendices) unattested AN or ME forms did exist and that the term was transmitted before the early sixteenth-century.

OED2 sub **galisass** 'a large, heavy, low-built ship', att. 1544 (< CF *galéasse*, att. 1440-61, < It. / Gen. *galeazza*). See Fennis (1995: 986), Vidos (1939: 421-22), Hope (1971: 40). Note also an attestation in BML in 1478, DMLBS sub **galesia**, where it is labelled as an Italian loanword: *capitanei e patroni unis galeasie de Neapole in portu Southamptonie*.

OED2 sub **gripe**⁴ 'small, fast vessel used in the Levant', att. 1511 (< CF *grippe*, att. 1480, < It. / Ven. *grippe*). See Vidos (1939: 448-51), Hope (1971: 41).

³⁰ Some of the datings relating to Italianisms presented in Hope 1971 are subsequently corrected in Fennis 1995 (cf. Trotter 2006c: 1777).

³¹ In his study of Gallicisms in medieval Italian, Hope (1971:134) finds only two out of 278 that are maritime, a fact which offers "eloquent proof of Italy's ascendancy in the art of navigation."

³² As Trotter (2006c: 1780) notes "Que les Génois aient inventé une forme française qui sera ensuite adoptée par les Français (c'est l'argument de Vidos), ou ces derniers aient francisé un mot génois qu'ils entendaient, peu importe: à notre sens il n'est ni possible, ni même nécessaire, de trancher. L'essentiel, c'est que l'adaptation du mot en français a dû passer par des contacts linguistiques bien définis."

Finally, of particular relevance to the aims of this thesis is a recent study by Rainer (2014) which amply demonstrates the heavy influence Italian exerted on CF terminology relating to the bill of exchange: a system based on a letter guaranteeing a set sum of money, pioneered by Italian merchants in late medieval Europe.³³ Rainer presents eighty-seven financial terms calqued from Italian, which are either absent from the major dictionaries or antedated by up to 200 years in his investigation (Rainer 2014: 59-61). The vast majority of these calques are from the 1500s and 1600s but six are attested in CF between 1349 and 1449: CF *change* (att. 1349) < It. *cambio* ('exchange'); CF *lettre de change* (att. 1400-01) < It. *lettera di cambio* ('bill of exchange');³⁴ CF *protêt* (att. 1419) < It. *protesto* ('notice of protest' i.e. that money has been defaulted); CF *bailler à change* (att. 1419) < It. *pigliare a cambio* ('to deliver a sum of money which will be eventually transferred to a third party'); CF *faire le change* (att. 1419) < It. *fare il cambio* ('to carry out the profession of an exchange-agent'); CF *rechange* (att. 1419) < It. *ricambio* ('the repayment of a defaulted bill of exchange') (Rainer 2014: 62, 65, 67, 73).

b) Gallicisms in medieval Italian

As we have seen above, there was a huge influx of borrowing into Italian from French in the 1200s and 1300s which then rapidly declined, as the flow of lexical (and cultural) influence switched direction.³⁵ By far the biggest and most influential semantic field of contact prior to 1350 was that of literature. Old French and Old Provençal³⁶ provided high-status models of

³³ See De Roover (1948 / 1953) for what are still considered the definitive articles on the history of the bill of exchange. Rainer (2014: 63) also gives a very useful diagram summarising the four parties typically involved in the transactions.

³⁴ This calque is also found in the AND2 sub **change**: *iiij letrez de change, come il apiert par j bille endenté* (att. 1427-30). The text - the *Port Books of Southampton* - is a rich source of Italianisms in AN, as we shall see in Chapter 3.

³⁵ Hope finds the following number of loanwords: twelfth century (7), thirteenth century (161), fourteenth century (94), fifteenth century (16). He firmly believes (taking Latin evidence into account) that many Gallicisms attested in the Italian vernacular in the 1200s were actually borrowed much earlier and that "borrowing continued with increasing intensity from Frankish to the early Old French period, and so on through the twelfth century to reach a peak in the thirteenth" (Hope 1971: 146).

³⁶ The physical proximity of north-western Italy and Provence provided a richly fertile zone of cultural and commercial interaction in the Middle Ages. The language of the Provençal troubadours played a huge role in influencing the vocabulary of early Italian literature. Yet despite Dante's much cited claim that French was for narrative and Provençal for poetry, the reality was more ambiguous as Formisano (2006: 1760) underlines: "Soprattutto, ciò che è francesismo in un determinate contesto, può essere provenzalismo in un altro, per cui, in assenza di indizi sicuri, molti di prestiti solitamente contrassegnati come 'francesismi' o 'provenzalismi' andrebbero piuttosto raggruppati sotto l'etichetta generici di 'gallicismi'". Several other scholars have commented on the difficulties in separating etyma from the *langue d'oïl* and the *langue d'oc* for literary (and indeed, non-literary) loanwords e.g. Hope (1973) / (1971: 67-73), Cella (2003: xxiii), Trotter (2006c: 1778-79). Hope (1971: 67) takes a different stance to Formisano and is critical of Bezzola (1925) whose *Abbozzo di una*

prose and verse romance that the emerging innovators of literary *volgare* in the peninsula sought to emulate. Arthurian and Carolingian cycles were re-written by Minocchio da Padova and Niccolò da Verona in an ‘artificial’ hybrid known as *franco-veneto* (cf. Holtus 1998). The Florentine, Brunetto Latini, author of the encyclopaedia *Li Livres dou Tresor* (c1265) and the Venetian, Marco Polo, author of the travel narrative *Devisement du Monde* (1298), both composed their works in French.

Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Villani and De’ Crecenzi (who wrote in Latin) used Gallicisms abundantly in their writing (cf. Hope 1971: 137-44 / 1973, Morgana 1994: 676-84). Some borrowings were short-lived - *avvenente* (‘pretty, charming’), *ceffo* (‘muzzle, snout’), *damaggio* (‘damage’), *desinare* (‘to have lunch’), *frale* (‘frail’), *mentovare* (‘to mention’), *pitetto* (‘little’), *zambra* (‘room’) - but a great number were destined to become everyday features of modern Italian: e.g. *burro*, *fiertà*, *formaggio*, *leggero*, *giardino*, *giallo*, *mangiare*, *mestiere*, *ontà*, *ostello*, *saggio*, *troppo*, *villaggio*.

The embracing of ideals of French courtly culture (be they poetic fantasies or political reality, cf. Hope 1971: 173) led to the assimilation of chivalric vocabulary such as *addobbare*, *baccelliere*, *cavaliere*, *chintana*, *destriere*, *giostra*, *mislea*, *pruduomo*, *scudiere* and *valletto*. Similarly, we find loanwords related to pursuits such as falconry (*girfalco*, *laniere*, *malardo*, *smeriglio*), hunting (*daino*, *lievre*, *veltro*) and noble (or feudal) society in general (*baronaggio*, *bastardo*, *damigella*, *ciambellano*, *garzone*, *gentiluomo*, *ligio* (*ma*)*dama*, *monsignore*, *omaggio*). There were legal terms that entered the Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily under Norman rule (*assise*, *civanzare*, *consigliere*, *gaggio*, *guistiziere*, *retaggio*) and a notable sub-group of armoury and military equipment (*accetta*, *arciere*, *arnese*, *bacinetto*, *brocchiere*, *conestabile*, *dardo*, *freccia*, *giavellotto*, *loggia*, *salvocondotto*, *sergente*). Trade, by comparison, is not a major semantic field of Gallicisms in the sources examined by Hope (1971: 132-33), although a few examples do appear: most are French cloth types (*arazzo*, *cammellotto*, *celone*, *mosterolo*, *rensa*, *saia*, *sargia*, *stanforte*, *tanè*) but others are fur-related (*pellettiere*, *vaire*), coins (*provisino*, *tornese*), or financial terms (*profitto*, *quitanza*).

Cella’s monograph of 2003 - *I gallicismi nei testi dell’italiano antico (dalle origini alla fine del secolo XIV)* - represented the first major work in the field in nearly thirty years.³⁷ Using the (then) newly available digital corpus of medieval Italian (OVI) and its sister

storia dei gallicismi italiani nei primi secoli, 750-1300 (the first major study of its kind in the field) makes no distinction between loanwords from French and Provençal.

³⁷ Pfister (2004: 7) praises Cella’s study as ‘hervorragendes’ and revisits some of the Gallicisms in the Gallerani that she discusses, adding citations from newly published LEI entries.

dictionary (TLIO), Cella examines over 300 French and Provençal loanwords in Tuscan, central and southern dialects, as found in over 1500 sources. The bulk of these texts are literary but a significant minority of glossary entries have citations from ‘testi pratici’ such as statutes, accounts and letters. Cella includes detailed sections on presumed or misidentified Gallicisms³⁸ and borrowings from the eighth to the eleventh centuries from Frankish, the Latin of France or Old French. The key feature of Cella’s work, however, is to split her main glossary into two sections which roughly equate to ‘luxury’ and ‘necessary’ loans (cf. Cella 2003: xv): i.e. Gallicisms with an etymological doublet (*allotropo indigeno*) in Italian (e.g. *vallea* < OF *vallée* rather than It. *vallata*) and those without (e.g. It. *cornamusa* < OF *cornemuse*, It. *paladino* < OF *paladin* or It. *sorcotto* < OF *sorcot(t)e*).

In 2007, Cella published an article - ‘Anglismi e francesismi nel registro della filiale di Londra di una compagnia mercantile senese (1304-09)’ - which focused on language contact in the London accounts of the Gallerani of Siena and resulting loanwords such as *costuma*, *faldengo*, *gallone*, *locchi*, *moiana* and *pippa*.³⁹ This was the first article to present numerous mercantile borrowings written by Italians in England since Re in 1913. The presence of AN as an integral part of English administration is not really considered, however, nor is the AND used for possible etyma, two factors also mentioned by Trotter (2011b) in his analysis of the same source.⁴⁰ Cella went on to collate another mercantile glossary in 2010 - ‘Prestiti nei testi mercantili toscani redatti di là dale Alpi’ - which examines loanwords found in forty-one Tuscan texts written in France, Flanders and England, prior to 1350. Whilst, again, some etymologies have been revised here in the Exports Glossary using the AND, her work offers a significant contribution to loanword studies in Italy, moving away from the orthodox focus of literary Gallicisms and underlining the value of mercantile language contact, a pragmatic phenomenon “non regolata direttamente dal gusto, né dalla moda, né dal generico prestigio socio-culturale delle lingue in causa, ma

³⁸ A notable example is *ancora*, widely labelled as Gallicism < *encore* (e.g. Hope 1971: 76) but which Cella (2003: 7) and Castellani (2000:133) maintain evolved independently in medieval Italian.

³⁹ This text (first edited by Bigwood and Grunzweig in 1961) is a key source in the thesis and is presented fully in Chapter 4.2i. See also Exports Glossary sub **costuma / faldengo / gallone / locchi / moiana / pippa**.

⁴⁰ Cella (2007: 192) does briefly mention the context of an “ambiente sostanzialmente bilingue” and that “francese, lingua di prestigio e di commercio” was an official language of administration in the English court but this does not translate into a widespread inclusion of AN in her etymologies. In a typical example (Cella 2007: 202 / 2010: 82), she overlooks AN *moiene* in favour of CF *moyen* as an etymon for the English wool-type *moiana* when the insular variant is attested (both nominally and adjectivally) over fifty times in AN wool-related documentation (see Exports Glossary sub **moiana**). In her longer 2010 glossary, AN forms are included in the word histories for *atornato* and *mazero* but only because they appear in the relevant entries in the CF dictionaries and the OED (Cella 2010: 70-71, 85-86).

piuttosto assoggettata alla necessità - ancor prima che all'opportunità - di chiamare le cose con il loro nome in realtà alloglotte” (Cella 2010: 57).

The Gallerani material continues to offer new opportunities to examine Franco-Italian contact in early fourteenth-century trade and to contribute to Italian historical lexicography. A large number of previously unknown fragments were discovered by Cella in Belgium and partly transcribed in 2009 (cf. Chapter 4.2i). One item in the collection, a *quaderno di spese* from the company's Paris branch in 1306-08, is edited in Mosti (2011), with a loanword glossary published separately by the same author in 2012. The accounting notebook, which records some of the complex legal and administrative procedures the Siennese bankers employed to recoup their costs, is “un vero e proprio tesoro di tecnicismi giuridici” (Mosti 2011: 239) and contains numerous previously unattested legal borrowings from CF (e.g. *abbandonamento*, *aproposare*, *assegnare*, *attenta*, *ciambriere*, *ingreggiamento*, *guaggiamento*, *procacciare*, *proposo*, *rinforzamento*, *rogatòn*,⁴¹ *somonare*).

3. Language contact between Middle English and Italian

In English, it has long been noted that a surge in Italianisms did not begin until the mid-sixteenth century when Italian language learning became fashionable in noble circles during the Elizabethan period: the social and cultural achievements of the Renaissance were much admired and led to a rapid assimilation of borrowings in fields such as architecture (*cupola*, *duomo*, *piazza*), music and poetry (*duo*, *madrigal*, *violin*), science and mathematics (*algebra*, *romby*, *tariff*) and food and drink (*artichoke*, *mountflascon*, *pistachio*) (cf. Praz 1944: 27-37, Iamartino 2001: 22-28, Pinnavaia 2001: 155-64, Durkin 2014: 370-72).⁴² William Thomas, a clerk in the Privy Council who had lived in Italy, published the first Italian grammar and glossary in England as early as 1550: *Principal Rules of the Italian Grammar with a Dictionary for the better understanding of Boccace, Petrarca and Dante*. This was eclipsed in scope and reputation by the Italian-English dictionary *Worlde of Wordes* (published in 1598 and again in 1611, in a longer format) by John Florio, an Oxford graduate and language tutor to the royal family. The son of a Tuscan protestant refugee, he also wrote manuals of

⁴¹ This medieval loanword (< OF *rogaton*, ‘legal summons’; Mosti 2012: 60) is extremely unusual as it is not adapted morphologically to Tuscan (cf. Chapter 4.5).

⁴² Durkin (2014: 370-71), based on the OED3 corpus (A-ALZ and M-R-ZZ), shows a jump from twenty-two Italian loanwords attested in English in 1500-49 to 122 in 1550-99 which drops slightly to 98 in 1600-49. The same study shows that the two single biggest peaks in Italianisms as a proportion of all new words in English were in the second half of the sixteenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century. For an overview of borrowings from ‘L’Italiano nell’Ottocento inglese’, see Iamartino (2001: 34-39).

Italian grammar and conversation such as the imaginatively named *First Fruits, which yield Familiar Speech, Merry Proverbs, Witty Sentences and Golden Sayings* from 1578.⁴³

In Italian, ‘Anglomaniya’ did not begin for another 150 years and it was not until the eighteenth century that Anglicisms started to be widely attested, in parallel with an increased interest mainly in politics (*commissione, colizione, comitato, esecutivo, legislatura, mozione, opposizione, tory, whig*) but also other aspects of British society (*bistecca, club, commodoro, cottage, penny, plaid, punch, rum, terrier*) (cf. Zolli 1991: 72-77, Cartago 1994: 727-35, Iamartino 2001: 39-44, Schweikard 2008: 2854-55).⁴⁴ Nevertheless, Cartago (1994: 722) and Iamartino (2001: 21-22) both highlight the importance of an earlier study by Rando (1970) who found numerous political and legal English loanwords and calques in the writings of the Venetian ambassadors to London between 1498 and 1577: e.g. *alto tradimento* (‘high treason’), *banco del re* (‘King’s Bench’), *camera stellate* (‘Star Chamber’), *maestro de’ rotuli* (‘Master of the Rolls’), *miledi* (‘milady’), *mistris* (‘mistress’), *oratore* (‘Speaker’), *serifo* (‘sheriff’), *schire* (‘shires’).

In contrast, evidence of direct contact between English and Italian that predates 1500 is extremely rare. The Middle Ages are typically summarised in a few, short lines in language histories in Italy and the UK e.g.:

L’influsso inglese sull’italiano è sostanzialmente irrilevante fino al XVII secolo [...] Rari, per non dire eccezionali, gli anglismi attestati nei primi secoli (Zolli 1991:71).

The earliest records of linguistic contact between Britain and the Italian peninsula date back to the thirteenth century, in the form of occasional exchanges between merchants and diplomats. These exchanges introduced a few commercial English terms (the very first being *sterlino*, ‘pound sterling’) (Pulcini 2002: 151).

It is a known fact that in this period, prior to the English Renaissance, it was the Latin and French languages that dominated in England, leaving little room for any interest in Italy and Italian (Pinnavaia 2001: 155).⁴⁵

There are few secure instances of loanwords directly from Italian in Middle English. Dietz (2005) looks at some of the most frequently suggested cases and whittles the list down to very few indeed (Durkin 2014: 369).

⁴³ For an overview of the contributions of Thomas and Florio to English lexicography, see O’Connor (1972). For a relatively recent examination of Italian language learning in early modern England, see Lawrence’s monograph *Who the Devil Taught Thee so much Italian?* (2005).

⁴⁴ This is a phenomenon that would gain increasing momentum up until the present day. In a survey of the GRADIT (GRAnde Dizionario ITALiano dell’Uso) corpus, Anglicisms in Italian are totalled as follows: 1600s (13), 1700s (75), 1800s (540), 1900s (4107). Overall, borrowings from English represent 2.44% of the dictionary’s word list (Schweikard 2008: 2854-55).

⁴⁵ Iamartino’s (2001: 21) take on this is very different: “ [...] sebbene le lingue italiana e inglese non abbiano vincoli di parentela genetica, l’interazione linguistica può essere stata favorita dal fatto che il mondo inglese medievale è tanto francofono quanto anglofono (almeno negli stadi sociali intermedi e superiori) e che, inoltre, l’assunzione di prestiti italiani in inglese poteva essere favorita dalla presenza ormai integrata di numerosi prestiti latini e francesi.”

Only one major bi-directional overview of Anglo-Italian contact has been published to date: Iamartino's 'La Contrastività italiano-inglese in prospettiva storica' (2001). Whilst shorter than Hope's loanword study (see above), the 130-page article is, nonetheless, very similar in its organisation and aims: it consists of a glossary of Anglicisms and Italianisms, century by century (from earliest records to the 1990s), and extended theoretical sections on combining the methodologies inherent to historical and (modern) contrastive linguistics and analysing phonetic and morphological assimilation in borrowing. The brief section devoted to reciprocal contact before 1500 (Iamartino 2001: 18-21) cites only three loanwords from ME in Italian (*costuma* 'custom duty', *feo* 'fee' and *sterlino* 'sterling') and seven from Italian in ME (*cerial* 'adj. of an oak tree', *counter-tenor* 'voice lower than a tenor', *ducat*, 'gold or silver coin, *erratik* 'adj. erratic', *Lombard* 'native of Lombardy', *poeplich* 'adj. plebian' and *vecke* 'old woman') but, of these, only two are in fact secure, 'direct' borrowings.⁴⁶

Nevertheless, Iamartino's presentation stands out for its emphasis on the commercial semantic field as opposed to that of elite culture in early Anglo-Italian lexical contact. The later Middle Ages, he stresses, were characterised by a busy flow of trade and navigation⁴⁷ which "non possono non favorire lo scambio e l'influsso interlinguistico": the first cultural relations between Italian and England were forged at this stage and he concurs with Praz (1939) to stress that "la realtà era letteraria solo pel Chaucer nel Trecento; pel resto degl'inglesi era mercantile" (Iamartino 2001: 19-20).

i) Italianisms in Middle English

In his recent monograph *Borrowed Words: A History of Loanwords in English*, Durkin devotes only a single paragraph to Italianisms attested before 1500. There is, he confirms, but a tiny number of secure, direct borrowings in the current OED3. A graph of the corpus (A-ALZ / M-RZZ) indicates fifteen loanwords labelled as from Italian in the 1300s and 1400s

⁴⁶ *Vecke* and *cerial* are convincing literary borrowings from Italian in the ME works of Gower and Chaucer (see below). However, Chaucer's use of *erratik* and *poeplich* in *Troilus and Criseyde* most likely represent a borrowing from Latin or an English derivation from 'people', respectively: see OED2 sub **erratic** / OED3 sub **peoplich**. *Lombard* likely entered ME from AN (see AND2 sub **lombart**), as likely did *counter-tenor* (see Table 2, Volume 2, Appendices) and *ducat* (see Imports Glossary sub **ducat**) as well. Conversely, French (either insular or continental) was almost certainly involved in the transmission of the 'anglisimi' *costuma*, *feo* and *sterlino* into Italian: see Exports Glossary sub **costuma** / **sterlino** and Table 2, Chapter 4.1ii for *feo*.

⁴⁷ This notion of a (perhaps surprisingly) mobile and interconnected medieval trading world has also been recently emphasized by Hsy (2013: 8-9): "The fact that some medieval people could be so restlessly mobile may strike modern readers as counterintuitive, but sociologists like Georg Simmel have provocatively conjectured that merchants and scholars conducted more travel in the Middle Ages than their counterparts in the beginning of the twentieth century - presumably because modern postal systems, modes of transport, and technologies for mechanical reproduction dramatically lessened the imperative for people to physically move from one place to another in order to transport information and commodities."

(Durkin 2014: 371, fig 15.6)⁴⁸ but Durkin believes that the true total is much smaller. Three examples are positively identified: the earliest being the literary *vecke* ('old woman') from 1390, along with *solde* ('coin type') and *banca* ('place of money lending') from the second half of the fifteenth century (Durkin 2014: 369).⁴⁹ He goes on to highlight the role of French in transmitting Italian vocabulary into ME in some cases (e.g. *alarm*, *brigand*)⁵⁰ and the difficulties in distinguishing Romance inputs, in others (e.g. *mizzen*, 'a type of mast').⁵¹

Pinnavaia's survey (2001: 152) of the OED2 corpus finds 1934 headwords labelled as Italian borrowings up to the second half of the twentieth century. Of these, less than 1% are first attested between the late 1300s and 1500. Even this low percentage seems too high however, as upon closer examination, only three of these headwords appear to be direct Italian loanwords in ME: *cerrial* (adj. 'of an oaktree'),⁵² *cornuto* ('cuckold'), *vecke* ('old woman').⁵³ These are all literary borrowings in the works of either Gower, Chaucer or Lydgate, multilingual authors whose interest in the famed *Tre Corone* - Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio - has occupied scholars for centuries.⁵⁴ Of the other medieval Italianisms identified in the OED2, four seem highly unconvincing⁵⁵ and where the remainder are concerned, insular French certainly seems to have played a role in transmission. ME *counter-tenor* ('voice lower than a tenor') *dimity* ('coarse cloth'), *rafiote* ('meatball') could have been

⁴⁸ Note that the graph shows one Italian loanword attested in the first half of the fourteenth century in the OED3 corpus. This is misleading as the lexeme (which is presumably *allodge*, att. c1330) is clearly borrowed from OF *alogier* / AN *aloger* in its earliest uses and then reborrowed from It. *alloggiare* in 1598 (see OED3 sub **allodge**).

⁴⁹ Cf. *banca*, *solde* in Table 1 and *vecke* in Table 2 in Volume 2, Appendices. A convincing direct Italian borrowing in the OED3 which is not mentioned by Durkin is the graphic abbreviation *oz* ('ounce, ounces') < *onza*, first attested in ME in a pharmaceutical treatise, a1475 (OED3 sub *oz*). Cf. *oz* in Table 1, Volume 2, Appendices.

⁵⁰ Cf. *alarm* in Table 2, Volume 2, Appendices.

⁵¹ See Exports Glossary sub **mesan**.

⁵² Dietz (2005: 583-84) raises questions about an Italian etymon for *cerrial*, noting that it could be borrowed from Middle Latin or French. It seems he may be relying a little too much on the entry sub **cerrial** in the MED (whose etymologies can be misleading or inaccurate, cf. Durkin 2014: 255) as the term's use by Chaucer seems to be directly lifted from Boccaccio: *A corone of a grene ook cerial / Corona di querzia cereal* (see OED2 sub **cerrial**).

⁵³ Cf. *cerrial*, *cornuto*, *vecke* in Table 2 in Volume 2, Appendices.

⁵⁴ See for example, Hines and Yeager (2010), Mortimer (2005) and Boitani (1983). It is widely accepted that all three authors were influenced by contemporary (or near contemporary) works of Italian literature, especially Dante's *Divina Commedia* (c1308-30) and Boccaccio's *Decameron* (c1348-53). Note also the first appearance of the term *novel* (influenced by It. *novella*) to mean a collection of tales in the ME *Tales from Decameron*, c1500: *Bocas in cent nouellys witnessyth þe same* (OED3 sub **novel**, 4). Another, less well-known, figure in early Anglo-Italian literary interaction is the Milanese Stefano Surigone. The author lived in Oxford in the 1450s where he wrote a Latin prose tract which was illuminated by a local craftsman - John Bray - and exemplified "the ongoing attempts of Italian humanist scholars to introduce their taste to English readers". See James-Maddocks' online article from 2014: www.englishimmigrants.com/page/individual-studies/stefano-surigone (accessed 05/07/2016).

⁵⁵ These are *camerelle*, 'small room' (OED3 / MED sub **camerelle**); *disnature*, 'to be or to render unnatural' (OED2 sub **disnature**); *fust*, '?stick / clove' (OED2 sub **fust**² / MED sub **fust**) and *tavelin*, 'small package of skins' (OED2 / MED sub **tavelin**). Cf. Dietz (2005: 582, 591, 600).

borrowed directly from Italian or - it seems just as likely - indirectly via AN intermediaries.⁵⁶ Referring to the AND (which Pinnavaia does not), we can also formulate an argument for direct AN-Italian contact in the case of the trade-related terms *celestrine* (adj. ‘pale blue’), *cramoisy / crimson* (adj. /n ‘(fabric) of a deep red colour’), *garble* (‘to sift the refuse from spices’), *milan* (‘armour made of Milan steel’) and *tramontane* (‘the Pole star’).⁵⁷

Dietz (2005: 623) has also re-examined Pinnavaia’s findings and culls her list of direct Italian loanwords in the OED down to five. He, like Durkin, selects *bank* < *banca*, *sold* < *soldi* and *vecke* < *vecchia* but also adds *orchil* < *oricello*, ‘a red dye extracted from lichen’ and *marchpane* < *marzapane*, ‘marzipan’.⁵⁸ He also draws attention to two apparently direct Italian borrowings from the second half of the 1400s which are only listed as headwords in the MED: *bagantin* (‘an Italian copper coin’) < *bagatino* and *erbolate* (‘a kind of egg tart’) < *erbolato* (Dietz 2005: 581, 592).⁵⁹ Overall, however, Dietz (2005: 579-81) concludes that nearly all Italianisms in ME (e.g. *celestrine*, *cramoisy*, *garble*) are in actual fact, Gallicisms. Yet again, suggested transmission routes are very much focused on CF etyma with the possibility of direct AN-Italian contact, occurring in England, being overlooked.⁶⁰

Lastly, there are four noteworthy maritime terms from Italian to be found in the ME Southampton Stewards’ Books from 1487-88 and 1492-93, a source not included in the MED or current OED corpora. These accounts, a key part of local, civic administration along with the Port Books and Brokerage Books, were first studied by Ruddock. She (Ruddock 1944: 141) describes how records reveal that local men and Venetian galley crew cooperated to fell timber and build wooden derricks on the docksides to unload cargo, a collaboration that facilitated the borrowing of new, technical lexis: ME *arygon* (‘capstan, windlass’) < It. *àrgano* / Ven. *àrgana*; ME *barkeroll* (‘boatman’) < Ven. *barcharol*; ME *maregon* (‘ship’s carpenter’) < Ven. *marangóne*; ME *styves* (‘derricks for unloading cargo’) < Gen. *stivare*.⁶¹

⁵⁶ Cf. Imports Glossary sub **demyt** and *counter-tenor / rafiote* in Table 2, Volume 2, Appendices.

⁵⁷ Cf. Imports Glossary sub **celestrin / cramoisé / garbeler / tramountaine** and *milan* in Table 2, Volume 2, Appendices.

⁵⁸ Durkin (2014: 369) is unconvinced by the last two inclusions, pointing out that *orchil* may well have been transmitted via French and that *marchpane*’s attestation in English cannot be securely dated until 1516. His first point has since been confirmed by a new AND2 entry sub **orchel**: both *orchell* and *orchel* (a clearly different form from CF *orseille / orsolle*, att. a1425) are attested in an AN statute from the reign of Richard III (1483-84). Indeed this is the latest potential Italianism that I have found in the AN record: cf. *orchell* in Table 1, Volume 2, Appendices.

⁵⁹ Cf. *bagantin / erbolate* in Table 1 / 2, Volume 2, Appendices.

⁶⁰ Insular French is referred to once in Dietz’s study in the glossary entry sub *tramountaine* (Dietz 2005: 601).

⁶¹ Cf. *arygon / barkeroll / maregon / styves* in Table 1, Volume 2, Appendices.

ii) Middle Anglicisms in Italian

ME loanwords in medieval Italian texts - as currently documented in the major historical dictionaries, at least - are also very thin on the ground. According to Schweikard (2008: 2854), there are only six borrowings from ME attested in Italian between 1200 and 1500. The TLIO currently contains just three convincing direct Anglicisms: *fodero* < *fother*, ‘a cart-load (of lead)’, *locchi* < *locks*, ‘lowest grade quality wool’ and *tancardo* < *tankard*, ‘a large wooden vessel’. All of these were first attested in 1305-08 in the London accounts of the Gallerani of Siena, analysed by Cella in 2007 and 2010 (see above). Other loanwords from the same source are also labelled as possible *anglismi*, a typical example being the TLIO entry sub **potto**, ‘recipient for liquids.’ The commentary suggests two etyma, ME *pot(t)* or CF *pot*, adding “La natura dei testi che documentano la voce, scritti in Inghilterra, induce a preferire l’anglismo”, an analysis which fails to account for AN’s integral presence in the trilingual business world of England in the 1300s. Similarly sub **cocchetto**, ‘customs certificate of duty paid’ (attested c1340 in Pegolotti, see below), only the ME etymon *cocket* is suggested. While this transmission route is possible, we should not forget that the ME form derives from AN *coket* and that this may also be the direct source for the Italian word.⁶²

This pattern of analysis - at its core a failure to distinguish between ‘English’ and ‘languages of medieval England’ (cf. Trotter 2011b: 216-17) - is one that occurs frequently in the major Italian language histories. In ‘L’apporto inglese’, Cartago (1994: 721) brings together the following “più antichi anglismi italiani” listed in the main medieval loanword studies (Re 1913, Migliorini 1963, Zolli 1991). They stand out for two reasons: that they are all related to the lexis of trade or the law and that most of them are in fact, convincing insular Gallicisms: *attacciamiento* (‘sequestration’), *attacciare* (‘to sequest’), *attornato* (‘attorney’), *bigla* (‘bill’), *chierico* (‘clerk’), *cocchetto* (‘customs certificate’), *costuma* (‘customs duty’), *costumiere* (‘customs officier’), *feo* (‘fee’), *stanforte* (‘cloth from Stamford’) and *sterlini* (‘sterling’).⁶³ *Tancardo* (< ME *tankard*) is unusual in that it appears unproblematic as a direct Anglicism and that it has a (brief) article devoted to its attestation in an inventory of luxury goods smuggled out of London by the Frescobaldi in 1317: *Un termine inglese nel toscano trecentesco* (Peruzzi 1985).⁶⁴

⁶² Cf. Exports Glossary sub **potto** / **cocchetto**.

⁶³ Cf. Exports Glossary **attacc(i)amento** / **attacc(i)are** / **at(t)ornato** / **bi(l)gla** / **cocchetto** / **costuma** / **costumiere** / **stanforte** / **sterlino** and Table 2, Chapter 4.1ii for *feo* and *chierico*.

⁶⁴ Cf. Exports Glossary sub **tancardo**.

Finally, the recently completed *Deonomasticon Italicum: Derivati da nomi geografici* (ed. Schweikard 2002-13) is worthy of mention, providing a valuable new resource for the study of English (and indeed, French) place names in medieval Italian. Toponyms and how they are borrowed constitute a separate sub-field of loanword studies in their own right, yet citations are often difficult to find as geographical names do not usually form headwords in historical dictionaries. Place-names are not included in this thesis unless they are used metonymically to represent commodities (cf. Chapter 4.1iii) but Schweikard's work provides useful etymologies for textile loanwords such as: *carisea* ('cloth from Kersey in Suffolk'), *contisgualdi* ('cloth from the Cotswolds') and *stanforte* ('cloth from Stamford in Lincolnshire).

4. Multilingual and mercantile sources from medieval England

i) In Italian

Italy's archives boast the largest collection of medieval trade-related material in Europe⁶⁵ and its scholars have a long tradition of editing account books, inventories and business letters, especially in Tuscan dialects.⁶⁶ As Re first described in 1913 (see above), the National Archives in London contain a small but invaluable collection of Italian documents that were confiscated by the Crown during a period of recurring financial crisis between the King and his bankers (see Chapter 2.3). As well as marginalia on AN allowance claims and indentures mentioned in section 2i above, we also find:

- sixteen letters to the Ricciardi, sent from the company head office in Lucca to its London branch between 1295-1301 (Castellani and Del Punta 2005)

⁶⁵ For example, as Goldthwaite (2009: 88) highlights: "The Datini archive in Prato is a famous monument to the extent of the paper work generated by just one man's career at the end of the fourteenth century: 573 account books, 497 files of correspondence containing 125, 549 business letters and 27, 099 other letters and pages. The Salviati archive at the *Scuola Normale* at Pisa [cf. Chapter 4.2ii], probably the largest extant collection of a Florentine family's business papers, has vastly more account books documenting many generations of the family's business activity from the fifteenth century but little correspondence. The 1353 inventory of the papers of the bankrupt Acciaiuoli company [...] lists no fewer than 1501 account books, 125 large and small bags of correspondence, and 5 chests of several sizes (2 *cassette*, 1 *cassa*, 1 *cassone*, 1 *forziere*) filled with miscellaneous papers and account books."

⁶⁶ For a useful overview of the major works published in Italy since the 1960s - especially the numerous editions of the philological 'Tre Corone' (Arrigo Castellani, Frederigo Melis and Armando Saporì), see Tognetti 2012. Special mention must also be made of Edler's *Glossary of Medieval Terms of Business* (1934) which contains an extensive Italian word list of commercial terms (although no etyma are given) from 1200 to 1600 as well as a detailed guide to currency, weights and measures, book-keeping methods and the Italian silk and wool industries.

- a section of Frescobaldi accounts relating to business in London from 1311-13 (Sapori 1947: 85-136)
- nineteen letters to the Frescobaldi, sent from London, Florence, Bruges and Avignon between 1311 and 1313 (partially translated in Kaeuper 1973a, with a full edition currently being prepared by Ignazio Del Punta and Pär Larson)
- a letter from 1313 by Biagio Aldobrandini (factor to the London Gallerani company), to the Frescobaldi in Avignon (Del Punta 2008: 366-69)⁶⁷

Two other texts which are also important loanword sources for this thesis are not found in English archives but in Florentine ones; nevertheless, both medieval writers had direct experience of England. The first is the famous merchant handbook *La Pratica della Mercatura*, written by Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, c1335, and edited by Evans in 1935.⁶⁸ Amongst its tips for good business practice, commodity lists and foreign weights and measures are several sections dealing specifically with English trade; the author had lived in London for three years (1317-20) where he ran the Bardi company office, dealing directly, at times, with Edward II (Evans 1935: xvii-xx). The second text is less well known and absent from Italian dictionary corpora: Mallet's transcription of the diary of a galley captain, Luca di Maso degli Albizzi, which appears as part of a longer study, *The Florentine Galleys in the Fifteenth Century*. The Florentine, Albizzi, spent the winter of 1429-30 in the port of Southampton where he was hosted by a wealthy local shipowner, William Soper, and his wife Agnes (Mallett 1967: 255).

Much more recently, new studies have emerged on two sets of accounts belonging to Italian companies working in late medieval London. The *Villani frammento* is an incomplete eight folio manuscript from a1422-24 discovered in the London College of Arms by Guidi-Bruscoli, detailing the export mainly of raw wool, cloth and tin.⁶⁹ In contrast, the Borromei Bank project is an online resource which began in 2001 and aims to calendar and translate the extensive London and Bruges ledgers of the Borromei of Milan from 1436-38: it contains hundreds of entries listing luxury satins, velvets, jewels, spices as well as English woollens. However, as these sources are housed in a private family archive in Como, a transcription of

⁶⁷ There still remains some unedited Italian material in the National Archives that is certainly worthy of future investigation: the "Accounts of an Italian firm in London dealing in mercery" (E10/ 601 /11) from 1378-79 and "Three trading accounts of Hugh Clopton with Florentine merchants" (E314/82) from 1497.

⁶⁸ The work is now universally known as the *Pratica della Mercatura* but its original title was the *Libro di divisamenti di paesi e di misuri di mercatanzie e daltre cose bisognevoli di sapere a mercatanti*.

⁶⁹ The manuscript had been used as scrap paper and so the fragmented Tuscan records were half-hidden under painted English crests. After further investigation and cross-referencing in Italian archives, the editor pinned down the accounts to the London office of Domenico Villani (Guidi Bruscoli 2010: 375-79).

the original Italian text is not available, although there are indexes given of customers, currencies, ship names, place names and commodities.⁷⁰

ii) In Anglo-Norman, Middle English and Latin

Compared to Italy, ‘native’ mercantile records from late medieval England have only recently emerged as mainstream sources of etymological and socio-linguistic interest. We have already noted the rare private fourteenth-century accounts of William de la Pole in BML (Fryde 1964) and Gilbert Maghfelt in AN (Rickert 1926, Wright 2002a / 2002b). Works by Rothwell (1992), Jefferson and Rothwell (1997) and Jefferson (2000 / 2003 / 2009) on the accounts of the major London livery companies - furthered recently by Alcolado Carnicero (2014) - brought to light the trilingual administration of the Merchant Taylors, Goldsmiths, Mercers, Grocers and Drapers. Wright (2000 / 2002a / 2010 / 2012 / 2013) has focused on numerous mixed-language accounts (e.g. the Wardens’ Annual of London Bridge and the accounts of the Pewterers guild) and, in particular, their use of a ‘translingual’ short-hand or business code. Trotter has also widely analysed trade-related material: for example, the lexis of shipping records (2003b), vernacular evidence in BML Guild Rolls (2009b), the Exeter, Leicester and Rochester Bridge Accounts (2010a), or petitions sent to the King by alien merchants (2011a).

Several commercial records which are valuable sources of loanwords and etyma for this thesis have been edited by economic historians rather than historical linguists. These include the Southampton material mentioned above, especially the AN Oak Book (Studer 1910-11), Port Books (Studer 1913) and Local Port Book (Foster 1934) and ME Stewards’ Books (Ruddock 1944, Thick 1995). Bell *et al.* (2006 / 2009) have published transcriptions of AN and BML wool contracts and accounts drawn up between the Crown and Italian merchant societies in the late 1200s and 1300s. Even more recently in 2012, Bradley produced an edition (in English translation) of the AN and BML accounts of foreign merchants in London, Southampton and Hull: *The Views of the Hosts of Alien Merchants, 1440-1444* (see Chapter 3.2). Royal administration has also attracted textile historians such as Monnas (1989) who edited sections of the BML Great Wardrobe inventories from 1325-1462 for her investigation into silk types in the late Middle Ages. Similarly, a long-term project called *The Lexis of*

⁷⁰ The project is run by Prof. James Bolton and Prof. Francesco Guidi Bruscoli at Queen Mary, University of London: <http://www.queenmaryhistoricalresearch.org/roundhouse/default.aspx> (accessed 14/02/2016). See also Guidi Bruscoli and Bolton 2007.

Cloth and Clothing in Britain c.700-1450 has culminated in an online database of vocabulary from sources in the AND, MED and DMLBS, as well as a “multilingual sourcebook” of textile vocabulary (Sylvester *et al.* 2014) which includes previously unpublished wills, accounts, petitions and Rolls of Livery.⁷¹

iii) The value of the multilingual, mercantile source

An appreciation of the multilingual content of business records leads to the perception of Britain not as a monolingual island, but as a multilingual part of the European trading area (Wright 2000: 150).

Concepts such as monolingualism, language purity, and uniformity and correctness were absent and, in any case, pragmatically void. By contrast, concepts such as multilingualism, exploitation of material common to more than one language and accommodation (both lexical and grammatical) were essential for successful business practice (Wright 2002a: 487).

Commercial and legal records feature heavily in a recent wave of academic activity examining medieval England as a multilingual society.⁷² Several notable collections have been published which bring together articles on topics such as the teaching and transmission of late AN, its potential role as a maritime *lingua franca*, the syntactic and lexical development of early modern English from medieval language interaction and the application of modern code-switching principles to historical data: *Multilingualism in Later Medieval Britain* (ed. Trotter 2000), *Code-Switching in Early English* (eds. Schendl and Wright 2011), *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain, The French of England c1100-c1500* (eds. Wogan-Browne *et al.* 2009), *The Anglo-Norman Language and its Contexts* (ed. Ingham 2010) and *Multilingualism in Medieval Britain (c.1066-1520): Sources and Analysis* (eds. Jefferson and Putter 2013).

This thesis will present various facets of ‘mercantile multilingualism’: from lone commodity names in an inventory to the widespread adoption of foreign measurements or new financial terminology (Chapters 3 and 4) to inter- / intrasentential switching between AN, ME and Italian (Chapter 5). Wright’s comments, above (made in relation to ‘traditional’ trilingual business records), apply equally well to an investigation into evidence of early Anglo-Italian language contact: the essential point is to accept the intrinsically multilingual nature of trade lexis and record-keeping and move away from a rigid concept of language

⁷¹ The project (2006-2012) was directed by Prof. Gale Owen-Crocker at the University of Manchester: <http://lexisproject.arts.manchester.ac.uk/> (accessed 15/02/2016). See also Chambers and Sylvester (2010).

⁷² Mention should also be made of Hsy’s recent monograph, *Trading Tongues: Merchants, Multilingualism and Medieval Literature* (2013). It presents “busy, polyglot London” where “medieval city life was punctuated by cross-linguistic exchange” (Hsy 2013: 2) through the works of Gower, Chaucer, Kempe and Caxton, authors for whom the literary and mercantile worlds frequently overlapped.

labelling and separation. As we shall see, language contact was not constrained by national or linguistic borders and the key characteristic of the loanwords from and into Italian examined in the Glossary is the wide range of their transmission routes (or networks), involving AN, ME, BML and CF in a variety of combinations. Overall, much work has been done of late on the interplay between AN, ME and BML in non-literary material, along with a wider enthusiasm to understand the everyday multilingual realities of the late Middle Ages in England. Much scope remains, however, for investigating the role played by non-native, foreign languages and how these 'alien' loanwords were transmitted into and moved within this commercial culture.

CHAPTER 2

The Historical Context: An overview of Anglo-Italian trade (c1000-c1500)

1. Introduction

2. Evidence of early trade

3. Crown banking and the Tuscans

i) The Ricciardi of Lucca (1272-1294)

ii) The Frescobaldi of Florence (1299-1311)

iii) The Bardi and the Peruzzi of Florence (1327-1346)

4. The wool and cloth trades

5. Merchant shipping and imports

6. Trade after c1450

1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to place the mercantile sources and the loanwords they contain (Chapters 3, 4 and 5) within a clear historical framework, as well as to demonstrate the extent of Italian involvement in the English economy of the later Middle Ages. To this end, I have chosen to focus on the three major (and overlapping) areas of trade that provided an environment for potential language contact: Crown banking, the wool and textile industries and merchant shipping and imports. The nature of extant records entails an unavoidably London-centric approach but the port of Southampton also plays a vital role. On the Italian side, I deal with merchant societies from the city states which dominated trade in northern Europe at the time: mainly Florence, Lucca, Siena, Pisa, Genoa and Venice.

The roots of Anglo-Italian commerce go back much further than one might initially suppose and carried on for over five hundred years. The chapter starts and ends with summaries of trade links before c1250 and after c1450. The mid-thirteenth to the mid-fifteenth centuries are examined within the three broad categories of trade given above which portray the varied and sustained flow of Italian influence on English economic life. Italian merchants were by no means a perennially popular presence, as we shall see, but through their wealth, adaptability and innovation, they undoubtedly helped to shape the course of medieval English history.

2. Evidence of early trade

Archaeological evidence highlights the extent of early commercial activity between the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, the Mediterranean and far beyond.¹ An Englishman's commercial success abroad was encouraged, with the "rights and dignity of a thegn" granted to any man who crossed the sea three times to trade (Lloyd 1982: 2). We know that under the rule of King Offa of Mercia (d. 796), international connections stretched not just over the Channel² but significantly further afield and the ruler minted gold coins in imitation of the dinar of the Abbasid Caliphate (Spufford 1989: 50).

¹ Well known examples include Byzantine silk vestments found in the tomb of St Cuthbert who died in 687 (Harris 2007: 119) and pigments used to decorate the early ninth-century Book of Kells, made from *lapis lazuli* from a single mine in north-east Afghanistan (Ryan 1991: 139-42). A royal Saxon tomb in Essex from the seventh century and excavated in 2003, contained an iron folding stool thought to be from Lombardy or Asia Minor (Karkov and Howe 2006: 57).

² A letter written in the late 700s from Charlemagne to Offa of Mercia about a consignment of English cloaks offers one of the earliest written proofs of overseas trade (Owen-Crocker 2010: 179, Bell *et al.* 2007: 8).

The economic historian, Nightingale, has carried out extensive numismatic research into currency and weight standards from before the Norman Conquest. She argues that Cnut, upon his conquest of England in the early ninth century, replaced Æthelred's Scandinavian-based standard for coin-making with the weight of the Roman ounce, still used in the Byzantine Empire (Nightingale 1983). Crucially, she later claims that the protection of vital trade links between England and the Venetians at Pavia played a key role in Cnut's decision to maintain Byzantine weight standards for gold in his English possessions (Nightingale 2007: IV, 197-98).

Nightingale (2007: I, 373) also emphasizes how the steadily increasing wealth of the English economy (particularly after "unification" under the House of Wessex in 1042) and its relative success in international trade stimulated the growth of commerce "long before Italian merchants crossed the Alps". As we see below, the Italians have been credited with catalysing an economic revolution throughout late medieval Europe, thanks to their liquid capital, home-grown boom in the merchant profession and sophisticated business techniques. Even so, it is worth noting that the initial impetus in forging centuries of Anglo-Italian trade links came from the Anglo-Saxon side:

English merchants traded in Italy long before the Italians came to England. The accumulation in the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of gold, that could only have come from the Mediterranean, shows that from the eighth to the eleventh centuries the balance of trade was tilted in England's favour. The export of slaves may have accounted for this favourable balance, but England also exported cloth and metal goods before wool took over as the great source of its wealth (Nightingale 2007: I, 372).

The traditional view is that the lull in documentary evidence in the Norman period corresponds to a widespread decline in English trade abroad after the Conquest. Long-distance commerce then flourished again in the late 1100s, but this time, was dominated by alien merchants and Italians, in particular. Some rare sources have surfaced to challenge this perhaps simplistic assessment: for example, records of the London Pepperers provide a valuable glimpse into the city's earliest official mercantile guild which sent men to Spain and, very probably, to Genoa from the 1160s onwards (Nightingale 2007: VIII, 123-32).

On the Italian side, the surname *Lumbardus* first appears in documents from St Paul's c1110 and c1140 and then in a Pipe Roll of 1162-63 (Nightingale 2007: VIII, 125).³ In 'Alien Merchants in the High Middle Ages', Lloyd (1982: 168-69) notes that while Lombards are recorded in England in 1173 with a group of Flemish merchants and that King John employed

³ 'Lombard' was used generically in late medieval England to refer to natives of Genoa, Venice or Tuscany. In this early case, the men were probably Genoese.

Genoese men to take messages to the Holy Land in the early 1200s, continuous evidence for Italian trade really begins in the 1220s. Florentine activity is documented in London from 1223 and that of the Siennese from 1228 (Cella 2007: 191). Traders from Lucca sold fine cloths and richly embroidered liturgical vestments (orphreys) to the king from 1245 onwards (Kauemper 1973b: 5).

Once we move into the later 1200s and 1300s, we find a wealth of records of Italian *compagnie*⁴ with branches in England. The Italian-language London account book of the Gallerani of Siena dates from 1304 and that of the Frescobaldi of Florence from 1311 (cf. Chapters 1.2ii, 1.3ii, 4.2i). The first mentions in English administration of merchant societies from Genoa, Florence, Lucca, Piacenza, Pistoia and Bologna appear in the second half of the thirteenth century and from Padua, Pisa, Milan, Asti and Venice in the 1300s. In addition, there were numerous private merchants from the peninsula (some of whom acquired English citizenship) who worked on behalf of several companies or none (Lloyd 1982: 173-74).⁵

3) Crown Banking and the Tuscans

Tuscany was at the forefront of commercial innovation in late medieval Europe and the birthplace of the merchant-banking corporation. Its cities prospered through foreign trade: Pisa, with its great port, Lucca, the centre of silk manufacture, Siena, home to the earliest banks and Florence, a European capital of commerce, banking and industry (Goldthwaite 2009: 14-15).⁶ In England, this Italian expertise was widely used in exchange and coinage from the reign of

⁴ The early emergence of the *compagnia* was a key feature of Italian trade, originally “a small family partnership - between father and son, or several brothers - men who lived in the same house, who broke the same bread (as the word *compagno* implies)” (Origo 1963: 109). The system allowed merchants (who were often literally “in the same boat”) to pool commodities and borrow cash within a close circle of mutual acquaintance (Lopez 1979: 8).

⁵ As we see in Chapter 3, an important part of the lexical legacy of this Italian presence are loanwords in AN / ME records which we can roughly categorise as ‘financial’, be they commercial taxes (**avery**, **gabelle**), coin types (**ducat**, **florin**, **pecheline**), or terminology linked to money-lending (**creditour**, **milion**) and accounting (**net**, **tare**). Conversely, in Chapter 4, we find a number of AN / ME financial borrowings which entered the vocabularies of Italians who were living and working in England such as local fees and duties to be paid (**costuma baliaggio**, **cellaraggio**, **literaggio**, **ludimannaggio**, **primaggio**, **viscontaggio**), customs officials (**costumiere**), coin types (**sterlino**) and administrative lexis (**bilgla**, **cocchetto**, **scacchiere**).

⁶ Genoa and Venice would also follow as economic innovators: see Fratianni and Spinelli (2006) for the Florentine, Genoese and Venetian contributions made to “financial evolution”, such as commitment mechanisms, social insurance systems and the establishment of public banks. For a wider social examination of the shift of wealth and power from feudal lords to urban guilds and merchant families in medieval Italy, see ‘The Commercial Revolution’ in Jansen *et al.* (2010: 77-110).

Edward I (see below) and cutting-edge Italian book-keeping techniques can be seen to influence the recording of Wardrobe accounts in the 1300s (Prestwich 1979: 83).⁷

However, the best-known involvement of Italians in medieval English financial life was through their loans to a succession of monarchs, a subject which has inspired a considerable academic literature.⁸ The earliest loans on record, first discussed by Whitwell (1903), come from merchants based in Bologna: they petitioned Henry III in 1219 for the return of 300 marks sterling which they had lent to his uncle, Richard the Lionheart, during his reign of 1189-99. Richard's younger brother, King John, had also borrowed 1000 silver marks from a society in Piacenza in 1200. Later in his reign, Henry III turned to borrowing from Tuscan banking societies to fund his political ambitions: in particular, attempts to seize the Kingdom of Sicily and Apulia for his second son, Edmund Crouchback. Henry was unable to honour the large debts he owed to various Siennese and Florentine societies (£54,000 in 1255), despite the highly unpopular taxation of his domestic church (Whitwell 1903: 179-80).

The reigns of Edwards I, II and III (1272-1377) ushered in a new era of Anglo-Tuscan interaction, with vast sums of money borrowed from a succession of *compagnie* to cover a huge range of regal expenses. These ranged from the domestic (the daily running of the Wardrobe and the purchase of luxury clothing, jewels, wines and spices)⁹ to affairs of state (the payment of dowries and mercenary soldiers, the financing of wars and of diplomatic missions abroad). It is this period, when Italians moved at the highest levels of Court society, which provides some of the main Glossary sources of this thesis: be they written in AN (e.g. Queen Isabella's Inventory, the Great Wardrobe Accounts, the *Rotuli Parliamentorum* and Exchequer records of Italians' allowances) or in Italian (e.g. the Ricciardi Letters, the Peruzzi annotations and the Frescobaldi accounts).

For several decades, both monarch and merchant profited from a successful, symbiotic relationship. The king could alleviate his "perpetual cash-flow problem" (Hunt 1990: 152),

⁷ Bolton (1980: 348), Prestwich (1979: 99) and Nightingale (2007: I, 373) all make the case that the Italian influence in these areas would have been even more marked if exceptionally firm royal control had not stifled English banking development at this stage. Modern double entry book-keeping was pioneered by Italian merchants with the earliest fragmented examples being found in the Forolfi accounts in Florence in 1299 and the first complete system in the Messari accounts in Genoa in 1340 (Lauwers and Willekens 1994: 300). There is no record of an English merchant employing the technique until Thomas Howell, a cloth merchant based in Seville, did so for his ledgers in 1517-28 (Boyns and Edwards 2013: 86). However, the Venetian, Gabriel Corbizzi, who became Steward of the port of Southampton in the 1440s, overhauled the office accounting there along Italian lines (Thick 1995: 73-74, James 2015: 13).

⁸ Noteworthy examples include: Bond (1840), Whitwell (1903), Re (1914), Russell (1918), Saporì (1926 / 1947), Fryde (1949-50 / 1983 / 1984 / 1996), Holmes (1960), Kaeuper (1973a / 1973b), Goldthwaite (1973), Prestwich (1979), Lloyd (1982), Hunt (1990 / 1994), Del Punta (2004) and Bell *et al.* (2009).

⁹ As we see in section 5, below, these expensive goods were very often supplied to the Crown and nobles by Italian merchants from their international trading empire.

common to most medieval rulers, and rely on a steady income, rather than the slow and unreliable proceeds of taxation. In return, the Italians could expect repayments with interest¹⁰ or more importantly, royal favours, such as lucrative tax exemptions, rights to custom duties and grants of wool export monopolies. Societies were also granted use of the Exchequer's royal courts to sue wool-producers who could not meet their financial obligations (cf. section 4, below): a rare privilege. Most experts (e.g. Prestwich 1979: 87-90, Bolton 1980: 177, Hunt 1990: 151) agree that such special concessions were the principal motivation behind the companies' liaison with the Crown: money lending, whilst often politically expedient, was a sideline to their main profit-making from trade, even for the larger banking societies. The Bardi, for example, made over fifty percent of their income from wool and cloth export from England over the period 1330-32 (Hunt 1990: 151).

In their recent study of Crown accounts with Italians (cf. Chapter 1.2ii), Bell *et al.* offer a helpful summary of the major banking families associated with each king:

This period was of course not one of a continuous, smooth credit operation, but for simplicity of analysis, can be broken into three, or possibly four, more manageable segments. Firstly, the Ricciardi of Lucca provided credit to Edward I between 1272 and 1294, and secondly, after a break when lenders were hard to find, the Frescobaldi of Florence took up the mantle in 1299 and continued as royal bankers into the reign of his son, Edward II, ending this relationship in 1311. Thirdly, the Bardi, also of Florence, provided credit and services to Edward II and early in the reign of Edward III, although they were not integrated into the royal financial system to the same extent as the Ricciardi and the Frescobaldi had been. Finally, from 1336, the Bardi, joined by the Peruzzi, again of Florence, advanced large loans to Edward III, as the king began to prepare for war with France (Bell *et al.* 2009: 7).

These four main money-lenders - who feature in many of the Glossary sources - are examined individually below. However, it is essential to note the presence of numerous other small and medium-sized Italian firms which were involved to a much lesser extent with the Crown, as well as being engaged in other business ventures. Bolton (1980: 340), for instance, estimates that there were sixty-nine Italian firms represented in later thirteenth century England and

¹⁰ To the medieval mind, money was unavoidably connected to usury. Italians gradually replaced Jews as England's moneylenders but with the role came a long tradition of the taint of sin (Pearsall 1997: 53, Bolton 1980: 336). The adjective *lumbart* is used in *La vie de Saint Thomas Becket* (c1174) to mean 'characteristic of a usurer, greedy for money' (AND sub **lumbart**). Until the late 1200s in England, Italian creditors faced regular expulsion from the realm on charges of usury - in 1240 1245, 1251, 1253 and 1263, for example (Lloyd 1982: 171) - but a personal grudge on the part of the king, or just a wish to avoid repayment seem more likely causes than genuine moral outrage. The Third Lateran Council of 1179 had prohibited interest but not credit itself: the solution was usually to resort to hidden interest payments, levied as 'gifts' or 'damages' for late payment. For a discussion of overt and covert interest charges in Italian loans, see Prestwich's 'Italian Bankers in Late Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century England' (1979).

Lloyd (1982: 173) also stresses, “it would be too easy to give the impression that Italian trade in England was monopolized by the big companies, but this was far from being the case”.¹¹

i) The Ricciardi of Lucca (1272-1294)

The Ricciardi were the first *mercatores regis* and are generally considered much smaller than their Florentine successors by historians. However, Del Punta demonstrated in 2004 that the Ricciardi commercial network was not confined to northern Europe, as previously believed, but extended to Sicily and as far as modern-day Syria and Israel. The author also disputes assumptions about the Lucchese merchants’ relative share of the wool market, claiming that their “huge volume of illegal trade” masked the true extent of their profits (Del Punta 2004: 655-60).¹² Whatever the specific amounts involved, we know that the *Societas Riccardorum de Luka* amassed large amounts of capital through the export of English wool and were able to advance considerable sums to Edward I over a period of twenty-two years: an estimated £400,000 (Prestwich 1979: 79).¹³

Kaeuper’s *Bankers to the Crown: The Riccardi of Lucca and Edward I* (1973b) still stands as the original detailed work on the company and its relationship with a monarch who made the Italians the cornerstone of English state finance. More recently, all extant records of Ricciardi accounts with the Crown in Close and Exchequer Rolls have been transcribed in full by Bell *et al.* (2009: 2-46). We see that Lucchese money provided the backbone for Edward’s many military campaigns, both continental and insular. The king relied heavily on his “travelling treasury” whilst abroad and borrowed an enormous £103, 733 over a three-year stay in his own Duchy of Gascony in 1286-89 (Kaeuper 1973b: 92). Edward’s Welsh Wars (and construction of a chain of defensive castles) as well as his attempts to conquer Scotland were

¹¹ Lloyd (1982) gives a helpful summary of the earliest record in England of some other Tuscan societies and their city of origin:

Florence: Scala and Pulci-Rimbertini (pre 1265) / Cerchi (1268) / Falconieri (1272) / Mozzi (late 1270s) / Spini (1294) / Portinari (1303) / Acciaiuoli, Albertini and Buonaccorsi (precise arrival date in England unknown but they all had relatively large assets in English branches by the late 1330s)

Lucca: Bettri, Honesti and Cardelini (1270s) / Bellardi, Moriconi and Godela (1290s)

Piacenza: Scotti, Rustigaccio and Guadagnabene (late 1280s)

Pistoia: Ammanati (1270s) / Chiarenti and Corone (c.1295)

Siena: Bonsignori, Salimbene and Squarcialuppi (c.1300) and Gallerani (1304).

¹² Even legal export records show that the Ricciardi exported 1080 sacks of wool to the Bardi’s 700 in 1273 and 412 sacks to the Bardi’s ninety-nine in 1294 on the eve of the Anglo-French war. These are, as Del Punta (2004: 660) notes, the only two occasions that we have full data available for annual quantities exported.

¹³ For the sake of comparison, this is an average of around £18,180 lent a year, at a time when the annual income of the richest noble in the land was £6000, a knight, £40, and a labourer, £2 (Dyer 1989: 29-30).

financed largely by the Tuscans, as part of a “military revolution” which saw unprecedented numbers of paid men kept in the field for months on end (Prestwich 1979: 80).

Both the scale of the society’s involvement in royal finance and the rewards they reaped for their trouble were ground-breaking. Orlandino da Pagio, the chief Ricciardi representative in England, frequently accompanied the king abroad and was promoted to joint warden of the London and Canterbury Mints in 1279, an exceptional privilege for an alien merchant at the time. In the same year, his associate, James Orlandi of Lucca, became warden of the Durham Mint. Their company became an essential cog in the government machine, receiving payments from the Exchequer and providing a steady stream of cash to Wardrobe officials. The Ricciardi were also instrumental in the creation of England’s first maintainable customs system: the Ancient Custom set up in 1275. This allowed the Crown to successfully exploit the nation’s resources through taxation of trade and formed the main method of loan repayment to the Italians.¹⁴ Ricciardi factors were placed in every customs port as agents of the king and held one half of a special ‘cocket’ seal used to confirm payment of export duty on shipments of wool.¹⁵ Accounts from Pipe Rolls suggest that the firm’s personnel collected a yearly average of £9,950 in duties until 1294 when Edward I suddenly demanded the return of the royal cocket seals (Kaeuper 1973b: 164-68). Their wool, other goods and account books were sequestered and warrants for arrest issued.

The reasons for the Ricciardi’s failure, both as Crown Bankers and eventually, as a company, are not clear-cut. On the surface, it seems illogical that the king should destroy his links with the bankers who had funded his reign for over two decades. However, we do know that their liquid capital had been severely diminished by fines and confiscations imposed by Philip IV of France in 1291 and the recall of large deposits of papal taxes lent earlier to both French and English monarchs.¹⁶ Kaeuper’s hypothesis (1973b: 219) is that Edward lost patience with the Ricciardi and flew “into a purple rage” when war broke out over the possession of Gascony in 1294 and they were unable to provide the large sums he demanded. Lloyd’s theory (1977: 83) paints an approach that is more calculated than angry: “Confidence in the firm had recently been undermined by crises in its European branches, particularly in

¹⁴ For a detailed treatment of the technicalities of the Ancient Custom system and convincing evidence that it was created with precisely the Ricciardi in mind, see Kaeuper’s chapter devoted to the topic (1973b: 135-168)

¹⁵ In addition to London and Southampton, the customs ports of 1279-90 in England and Wales included Newcastle, Hull, Boston, Lynn, Yarmouth, Ipswich, Dunwich, Sandwich, Shoreham, Seaford, Chichester, Winchelsea, Weymouth, Exeter, Bodmin, Bristol and Haverford. In Ireland, duties were collected at Ross, Waterford, Drogheda, Dublin, Wexford, Youghal and Galway and all Ulster ports (Kaeuper 1973b: 151, 159).

¹⁶ Charles of Anjou had been granted the tenth for the conquest of Sicily and Edward, the sexennial crusade tenth: for a recent examination of Tuscan merchant societies and the Curia bank of Rome, see Del Punta (2010).

France. The English government now bankrupted the firm in an effort to recover what it could.”

Whatever the motives behind Edward’s decision, he was unrelenting. A series of letters sent to the Ricciardi in London from Lucca from 1295 to 1301 (cf. Chapter 1.2i / 1.4i) continues to express hope that the intimate financial relations with the Crown could be recovered.¹⁷ But the company, crippled by its struggles in England, France and Italy, had dissolved by 1307. Between 1294 and 1302, Edward was forced to borrow from a total of twelve Italian companies in a bid to secure capital. The majority were Florentine and included the Frescobaldi and the Bardi as well as the Spini, Ammanati, Cerchi Bianchi and Neri, Pulci, Rimbertyni and Mozzi. Small loans were also advanced by the Bellardi of Lucca and the Bonsignori of Siena (Allen 2002: 55). Eventually, however, the Crown began again to rely on a single society as *mercatores regis*: the Frescobaldi.

ii) The Frescobaldi of Florence (1299-1311)

The Frescobaldi’s time as Crown Bankers was much shorter than that of their Lucchese predecessors: they weathered the privileges and perils of such status for just over a decade. However, by 1299, the firm had already enjoyed a significant trading presence in England for over twenty-five years. In the 1270s and 80s, the Frescobaldi came a close second to the Ricciardi in terms of their domination of the early English wool market (see section 4, below) purchasing in advance a total of 1208 sacks to the latter’s 1461 (Bell *et al.* 2007: 157). The *compagnia* had lent small amounts to the Crown in the past (see above) but lending really took off in the period 1304-1310 in which the merchants paid Edward I and then his son, Edward II, around £15,300 a year (Lloyd 1982: 177-78). Under the terms of the *Carta mercatoria* (1303), all wool, woollfell and hide custom duties were allocated to the Frescobaldi.¹⁸ A new (but short-lived) relationship between the Crown and a single society was now firmly in place and to underline its significance, Bettino and Amerigo, the sons of the family patriarch, Berto Frescobaldi, took over the management of English affairs (Kaeuper: 1973a, 63-64).

¹⁷ These Lucchese dialect sources provide the earliest attestations of borrowed AN legal terminology which the Ricciardi picked up during their struggles within the English bureaucratic system: see Exports Glossary sub **atornato** (‘attorney’), **attacc(i)amento** (‘sequestration of goods’), **attacc(i)are** (‘to sequester goods’).

¹⁸ The *Carta Mercatoria* of 1303 underpinned Edward I’s official recognition of the value of alien trade: “all alien merchants in England [the two dominant groups being the Italians and the Hanseatics] were taken into the king’s protection, freed from certain local charges, permitted to sell wholesale to anyone and mercery by retail, and promised speedy justice in their law suits” (Bolton 1980: 327).

The company was also given a prominent role in running the recoinage process of 1299-1300, and control of one Irish and three English exchanges was delegated to Frescobaldi men, Taldo Janiani and Coppo Cotteni. As Allen (2002: 54) points out, this crackdown on the import of foreign coins (or pollards and crockards) was actually an excuse for the “Crown’s extortion of money from the Italian companies, but the subsequent recoinage provided ample opportunities for their profitable involvement in short-term, large-scale exchanging operations.” By contrast, the grant of custody of the royal silver mines in Devon from 1299 to 1301 proved to be an unrewarding enterprise for the Florentine firm.¹⁹

Edward II, one of medieval England’s most controversial rulers, ascended the throne in 1307 and the eventual Frescobaldi fall was linked to the political intrigues of his reign. He continued to shower his bankers with special privileges, enraging his growing band of baronial enemies. The appointment of Amerigo Frescobaldi as Warden of the London Mint in 1307, for instance, conveniently ousted Walter Langton, an enemy of the unpopular royal favourite, Piers Gaveston (Allen 2002: 56). The revolt crystallized into the publication of the Ordinances in 1311 and Edward’s powers were subjugated to those of a council of twenty-one barons (the Lords Ordainers) with dire consequences for the Frescobaldi. Not only was alien control of the customs abolished but all company agents in England and Gascony were to be arrested and their goods seized until legitimate receipts for all their assets were provided. Amerigo (just like Piers Gaveston) was banned from the realm and considered an enemy of the state.²⁰

The society as a whole was bankrupt by 1315 but details of its final years are fragmented. Exchequer accounts with Frescobaldi (transcribed in Bell *at al.* 2009: 54-146) only continue until 1310. Some private business documents confiscated by the Crown are conserved in the National Archives (cf. Chapter 1.4i) and include the accounts of Pepo Frescobaldi (Amerigo’s son) from 1311 (see Saponi 1947) and nineteen private letters between various colleagues in England, France and Italy from June 1311 to February 1313 (see Kaeuper

¹⁹ Cf. ‘Frescobaldi account for the Devonshire mine’ (E 372/154, r.43 m.2d) from 1299-1301 in Bell *at al.* (2009: 138-39). After just two years, the Frescobaldi had to give up on the project as they could no longer justify the royalties due to pay for custody of the mines. Miskimin (1975: 113) highlights the crisis in medieval mineral mining, exacerbated by technological stagnation in the 1300s and a plummet in profits: the annual silver yield at the above mines in Devon fell from £900 in the 1290s to just £70 in 1347. Kaeuper (1973a: 61) describes the ruthless abuses of power that the Florentine company resorted to in their attempt to work the mine. Following complaints, an official inquest in 1300 found that they destroyed hundreds of acres of woodland and pasture and forced the local abbey’s serfs and animals into service.

²⁰ It seems that Amerigo and his brother, Bettino, had already flown the country, escaping nine months previously (Kaeuper 1973a: 75). Fryde details their pre-emptive action in which they tried to rescue their assets in their English and Gascon branches (Fryde 1996: 108). Gaveston was not so lucky and was eventually executed in the summer of 1312.

1973a).²¹ From these, we learn that an orderly withdrawal, on the whole, was orchestrated from London to preserve as many of their assets as possible with stays at Bruges, the papal court at Vienna and Avignon.²² However, in October 1312, Walter Langton, who bore a grudge against the Florentine firm (see above), arrived at the Curia in France and ensured Bettino was arrested. Thanks to the efforts of his lawyers (who included, it seems, Petrarch's father) together with some good old-fashioned bribery, his imprisonment was not a long one. Kaeuper (1973a: 92) maintains that all members of the Frescobaldi family escaped the English political turmoil with their lives, if not their wealth.

The dangers of life at the top echelons of power are later hinted at in a poem attributed to Giovanni Frescobaldi (1436-95), entitled *Ricordo di chi passa in Inghilterra*. The poet warns his fellow merchants to dress and act humbly, keep on top of debt, avoid dealings with the Court, observe the commands of powerful men and cultivate good relations with other Florentines. His advice echoes in some ways the repentant tones of the bankrupt Abbot of Pipewell (see section 4, below) who also regrets his imprudent business relations:

Vestir basso color, essere umile,
 grosso in aspetto ed in fatto sottile;
 male sia all'inglese se t'attera;
 fuggi le cure e pur chi ti fa guerra;
 spendi con cuore e non ti mostrar vile ;
 pagare al giorno, a ricuoter gentile,
 mostrando che bisogno ti sotterra ;
 non far più inchiesta ch'abbi fondamento ;
 compera a tempo si ti mette bene
 né t'impacciar con uomini di corte ;
 osserva di chi può 'l comandamento,
 con tua nazione unirti t'appartiene,
 e far per tempo ben serrar le porte (Sapori 1947: 76-77).

The Frescobaldi's immediate successor was not Tuscan but Genoese. Long before his countrymen took centre-stage in the English shipping world (see section 5, below), Antonio Pessagno - Edward II's *carissimus Mercator noster* - enjoyed a brief but brilliant role at

²¹ Kaeuper's work contains a selection of extracts from these letters, translated into English. A full edition of the Frescobaldi letters is currently being prepared by Larson and Del Punta.

²² The merchants were certainly not above smuggling in an attempt to recoup their losses and managed to remove "a hoard of gold and silver vessels" from the Tower Of London within some bales of wool that were then shipped out of the country (Kaeuper: 1973a, 89). These are referred to in their account book: "Chè si trattave, in sostanza, di porre in salvo tra i morbidi e voluminosi fiocchi di quella già costosa material prima quanto di più prezioso e di meno ingombrante era stato possibile di fare uscire di contrabando dall'Inghilterra: 'Tra i quali entrarono nostre care cose' si legge nel libro" (Sapori 1947: 60). In a much more recent article, Tognetti (2014: 151, 156-57) edits an inventory of precious items deposited at the Bianca Fiorentina monastery on behalf of the Frescobaldi in 1317 which he believes to be the same treasure (cf. Chapter 4.1i).

Court.²³ He is noteworthy not only because of his nationality but because he acted alone to raise the large sums he lent the king in 1312 (Lloyd 1982: 179).

iii) The Bardi and the Peruzzi of Florence (1327-1346)

These “medieval super-companies” (cf. Hunt 1994), the two wealthiest in fourteenth-century Florence, were separate firms in their own right but allied as principal bankers to Edward III for several years. The Bardi, the bigger of the two, had a long history of English commerce behind them. They had been involved in papal banking and the wool market in England since 1267 and, in fact, lent money to all three Edwards; this began with modest amounts to Edward I and II, increasing significantly after the failure of their rivals, the Frescobaldi, in 1311.²⁴ The company survived political turmoil and upheaval in the realm: in 1326 their London office was attacked by an angry mob, disloyal to Edward II (Fryde 1988: 15).²⁵ After the violent deposition of the king, the Florentines lent money to Roger Mortimer, joint leader of the rebellion with his lover, Queen Isabella (Fryde 1983: IV, 198). Around 1327, the Bardi became official Crown bankers to Edward III until their collapse in 1346, providing finance for his Scottish campaigns in the 1330s, as the Ricciardi had done for his grandfather.

The Peruzzi became partners in royal lending in 1336 when the king needed even larger amounts of money for war in France (Bell *et al.* 2009: v) before going bankrupt themselves in 1343. Surviving Exchequer records for the two firms (including those with Italian marginalia, cf. Chapter 1.2i) are transcribed in Bell *et al.* (2009: 156-278). Both societies also acted (separately) as deposit bankers to nobles, notably Hugh Despenser the Younger who placed very large sums with them from 1322 until his execution in 1326 (cf. the examples of indentures in Chapter 1.2i).²⁶

²³ He was also a skilled political manoeuvrer and the Frescobaldi raised concerns about his enmity towards them in one of their private letters (Kaeuper 1973a: 82-83). For a detailed discussion of his colourful career and that of his brother, Manuele, see Arialdi (2006).

²⁴ From 1290-1310, they lent £4,900 to the Crown but from 1311-1326, £68,000 (Hunt 1990: 151)

²⁵ Anti-Italian sentiment in England would go on to increase, fueled by the emergence of what Bradley (2012: xii) calls a “rampant new Englishness”. The ME version of the romance *Bevis of Hampton* (c1324) sees the hero slaughter a group of Italian merchants in the streets of London, an episode which, interestingly, does not occur in the work’s earlier AN source text (cf. Ruddock 1951: 164-65, Pearsall 1997: 53, Rouse 2008: 123). Gower’s morality poem *Le Mirour de l’Omme*, from the 1390s, pins his nation’s political and economic woes on the deceitful ‘Lombards’, who not only empty the realm’s coffers in return for shoddy goods but also act as spies (cf. Ladd 2010: 49-76, Hsy 2013: 50-51, 99-105). The London Mercers were directly involved in brutal attacks on two Lombards in 1357 and in the murders of a Lucchese silk trader, Nicholas Sardouche, in 1370 and a Genoese merchant, Janus Imperial, in 1378 (Sutton 2005: 115-17). Violent rioting also broke out in 1456-57 with Italian offices in London burnt and looted by locals: see section 5, below and also Bolton (1986).

²⁶ Fryde (1983: II, 344) notes that this valuable contribution to early financial services has been wrongfully overlooked by scholars focusing on solely on loans to the Crown itself.

The joint Bardi-Peruzzi venture was brief but the sums involved were spectacular. The *compagnie* are thought to have pledged £71,522 to Edward III in the summer of 1338 alone (Hunt 1994: 200). Yet even these huge sums were not enough to meet the financial burden of his military campaigns and he was forced to borrow from smaller Italian societies such as the Leopardi of Asti, the Pisani of Venice and the Bartholomei of Lucca (Hunt 1990: 155).²⁷ The wealthy English merchant, William de la Pole, also advanced an enormous £111,000 between June 1338 and October 1339 (Fryde 1983: XII, 17). To subsidise his income even further, this “woolmonger extraordinary” (Lloyd 1977: 144), also embarked on an ambitious but unsuccessful mission to control the wool market in 1337 (see section 4, below).

By 1340, however, Edward III was bankrupt; in an ironic twist, he had even been forced to sell his own crown (Fryde 1983: VII, 1165). The ruin of the Bardi and the Peruzzi was not far behind, especially as their native Florence was suffering from a period of political riots, war with Pisa, famine and plague. Nearly a century ago, Russell (1918: 5) noted that evidence existed “to establish the opinion that the failure of the Italian financiers is not solely to be attributed to the perfidy of Edward of England”. Hunt (1990 / 1994) also questions the magnitude of the king’s debt to these Tuscan firms, challenging Fryde and Saporì’s assumption that he owed them over £230,000.²⁸ Whatever their final size, it is clear that Edward III never repaid his debts, although his grandson, Richard II, did make some attempts to repay the Bardi (Beardwood 1931: 9). It is also worth noting that Walter Bardi, a former chief representative of the company, not only remained in England but was reappointed master of the Mint by Richard in 1377 (Bradley 1992: 201).

Yet with the overall demise of the Bardi and the Peruzzi, the ‘boom and bust’ cycle of Crown banking finally ended. Whilst Italians would continue to provide financial (and diplomatic) services on a smaller scale well into the 1400s (Bradley 1992: 199-236), these were the last Tuscan merchant societies to entangle themselves as official moneylenders to a medieval English monarch. Having seen the fate of the Ricciardi and the Frescobaldi before them, it may seem incredible, to modern eyes, that they ever undertook such a role at all. But, as Kaeuper (1973b, 250) warns us, “reading history backwards makes it easy to imagine that we can see the later pattern of king and banker foreshadowed in its first exponents”. All of

²⁷ Fryde (1983: VI, 11) calls Edward’s plans for waging war with France - which involved bribing Flemish and German princes with over £124,000 to join him in a coalition - “exceptionally grandiose”.

²⁸ He believes they have been misled into over-estimating the size of Bardi-Peruzzi assets and have taken the highly inaccurate figures cited by medieval Florentine chronicler, Giovanni Villani, at face value (Hunt 1990: 150-54).

these Tuscan companies must have decided that the many opportunities offered by such a prestigious position ultimately outweighed the risks.

4. The wool and cloth trades

Wool was England's most precious commodity and the lifeblood of its export economy in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Its importance to the political histories of Western Europe cannot be overstated; a useful parallel is to consider it the oil of its day (Bridbury 1981: viii).²⁹ Sheep-farming was common to many countries but England³⁰ and Spain³¹ dominated as producers of the highest-quality grades of raw wool. Estimates of peak English exports at the time vary from 30,000 to 45,000 sacks per annum (Lloyd 1977: 311): this equaled the clip of around eight to twelve million sheep³² being shipped from England every year to sustain the Flemish and Florentine cloth industries.³³ These two major centres of cloth manufacture were reliant on the import of curly, Spanish merino wool and the softer English variety for the production of their famed fine cloths, aimed at the international luxury market.

Historians seem to agree (e.g. Power 1941: 53, Kaueper 1973b: 3, Bolton 1980: 176, Hunt: 1990: 152) that Tuscan merchants got an early foothold in the English wool market in the 1270s through their role as papal bankers and tax collectors. Their network of branches throughout the key trading centres of Europe allowed them to transfer money quickly and cheaply.³⁴ It also meant that they had almost unrivalled amounts of liquid capital available to invest in the wool trade before the funds returned to Rome. In this capacity, they were brought

²⁹ A well-known anecdote is that Richard the Lionheart's ransom was paid to Leopold V in 1194 with 50,000 sacks of wool (cf. Bell *et al.* 2007: 8)

³⁰ In Pegolotti's merchant handbook, the *Pratica della mercatura* (c.1339-43), the Bardi factor details yields and guide prices for 173 wool-producing ecclesiastical estates in England, compared to only 15 in Scotland and 12 in Wales (Evans 1935: 258-79). There is some evidence that Welsh and Irish wool was imported to Florence but it was considered too coarse to be suitable for luxury cloth production and was used instead for cheaper fabrics (Power 1941: 12-15). However, it should be noted that in the Irish case the sums involved could be significant, with the Ricciardi advancing £200 and £70 to the earl of Ulster in 1285 and the lord of Offlay in 1292, respectively (Bell *et al.* 2007: 22).

³¹ For the importance of merino wool to the Spanish economy in the late Middle Ages, see Phillips and Phillips Jr. (1997).

³² A sack (364lb) is estimated to contain the wool shorn from 260 sheep (Carus-Wilson and Coleman 1963: 13).

³³ It was in medieval Florence that the great guilds of cloth-making and finishing, the *Arte della Lana* and the *Arte di Calimala*, were born: the former guild was the largest buyer of English wool in Italy (Ruddock 1951: 17).

³⁴ Historians such as Goldthwaite (1973: 769) have also underlined the fact that merchants could exploit exchange rates for these international monetary transfers and make extra, "usury-proof" profit. Fluctuations in the volatile medieval market could also result in losses, of course: the Gallerani accounts give an instance of the florin almost doubling in value over just nine months in 1305 (Prestwich 1979: 89).

into initial contact with the great monastic orders of the day, lending papal money and being repaid in high quality, raw wool for export.³⁵

Such a vital chapter in England's economic history has inspired a large volume of scholarship but Power's *The Wool Trade in English Medieval History* (1941) and Lloyd's meticulous *The English Wool Trade in the Middle Ages* (1977) are still considered the authoritative works. More recently, the ICMA Centre has taken an interest in applying modern finance theory to the advance contracts used in the sale of wool, with the aim of highlighting the sophistication of the medieval economy. To this end, Bell, Brooks and Moore have analysed 203 advance BML / AN wool contracts between seventy-eight English producers and (mainly Tuscan) buyers and eleven AN wool crop schedules submitted to Edward I in 1294 by Italian merchant societies.³⁶ Their economic significance is examined in the monograph, *The English Wool Market, c1230-1327* (Bell *et al.* 2007), with transcriptions of the source material published separately (Bell *et al.* 2006). These reveal that whilst nearly all monastic orders in England at the time (e.g. the Cistercians, Augustinians, Benedictines and Knights Templar) were wool producers, nearly half of the extant contracts examined involved lay producers on aristocratic estates (Bell *et al.* 2007: 18). The authors (Bell *et al.* 2007: 19-20, 116) also demonstrate the clear dominance of Italians as wool buyers over any other nationality, including the English³⁷ and the Flemish:³⁸ 157 of the contracts were drawn up in favour of northern Italian societies with the Ricciardi and the Frescobaldi accounting for half the total wool contracted, spending £20,000 on around 4000 sacks. Other Tuscan wool buyers included the Bellardi, Bettori and Gotele of Lucca, the Bardi, Cerchi, Falconieri, Mozzi, Peruzzi and Spini of Florence, and the Ammanati of Pisa.

The financial commitment the Italians were prepared to invest, often many years in advance, to secure a reliable supply of wool, is also striking. They risked significant outlay to

³⁵ It is not surprising that many of the earliest examples (c1277 to 1305) of likely AN borrowings in Italian are linked to the wool trade e.g. Exports Glossary sub **coglietta** ('wool from many producers'), **pocca** ('182lb of wool'), **costumiere** ('Customs official'), **costuma** ('Customs duty on export'), **chivo** ('7-8lbs of wool'), **moiana** ('middle-grade wool').

³⁶ The authors stress that this collection of extant material from the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries represents only "a fraction of the national export" and that they believe that they have "only begun to scratch the surface of the potential surviving evidence" of the English medieval wool trade (Bell *et al.* 2007:17-18).

³⁷ English merchants secured only thirty-eight of the contracts (equaling 1100 sacks) and some of them were likely acting as middlemen for alien firms (Bell *et al.* 2007: 19). Bolton (1980: 177) identifies examples of the tiny elite of English merchants who, from the late 1270s to the 1290s, possessed the liquid capital to try and compete with the Tuscan societies: the Londoners, William de Combe Martin, Thomas de Basing and Robert Basing and, wealthiest of all, the Ludlow brothers from Shropshire.

³⁸ As Bell *et al.* admit (2007: 19), the surviving evidence for Flemish contracts is surprisingly low, given that these merchants had been the principal importers of English wool until the 1270s. For a detailed account of the Flemish ascendancy in the market, its decline due to political disputes and its eventual eclipse by Tuscan rivals, see Lloyd's two chapters on the topic (1977: 1-59).

guarantee a continued part in this lucrative export trade: two thirds of the documented producers were paid the full value of their future wool crop in advance. In the case of the Yorkshire monasteries, renowned for top-graded and professionally prepared wool, this involved huge payments and intense competition between Tuscan firms, vying to pin them down to a long-term partnership.³⁹ The Cistercian abbey at Rievaulx, for example, became one of medieval Britain's wealthiest through the links it forged with no fewer than six separate Italian societies (Bell *et al.* 2007: 22-24, 117).

Even so, the buyer-seller relationship was far from unproblematic and the harsh realities of wool production meant several estates teetered on the brink of ruin. Kaeuper (1973b: 36-41) and Del Punta (2004: 654) both cite the abbeys of Meaux in Holderness and St Swithun's in Winchester, estates which struggled to provide the Ricciardi with their promised wool crop and effectively mortgaged themselves for years in advance. For the Cistercian Order, this was a practice that had been previously forbidden by their own rules (Bell *et al.* 2009: 28). Now, desperate for cash for building improvements and royal and papal taxes, they became trapped in a cycle of spiraling debt and legal disputes through the Exchequer court: "Many monasteries failed to fulfill their contracts either through greed or, more usually, because their flocks were decimated by scab."⁴⁰ This resulted in a flurry of litigation" (Lloyd 1977: 292).

The most emotive evidence of the dangers of living on 'Lombard' credit comes from the abbot of Pipewell Abbey in Northamptonshire who warns the reader that *Leger est aprendre mes fort est arendre*. His estate's financial collapse in the early fourteenth century was first brought to light by Power (1941: 43-44) and later investigated in detail by Bell *et al.* (2005: 187-211 / 2009: 68-112) and his words offer a poignant picture of agricultural disaster and hardship:

Memorandum fratres carissimi patresque reverendi quod per predicas recogniciones et propter vij annorum sterilitates et per communem morinam bestiarum, bona domus de Pipewell' adeo fuerunt consumpta, que eorum residuum non sufficiebat ad exilem dicte domus monachorum sustentacionem, set aliquando sedebant in refectorio per iii vel iiij dies cum nigro pane et potagio tantum et aliquando emebant panem suum de foro ad

³⁹ Many contracts dictated that wool be delivered to merchants "*sine coch, garth, nigra, grisa, scabie et omni vili vellere* ('free from cot, gard, black or grey wool, scab, and all manner of coarse fibres')" (Bell *et al.* 2009: 50). The most expensive (and highly taxed) wool was *leyne brise* which, as well as having been carefully washed and dried, was well-pressed (Lloyd 1977: 296). Cf. Pegolotti's merchant handbook from c1335-43: "Buona lana si è la migliore quando si briscia" (Evans 1935: 16).

⁴⁰ The 1270s and 80s were plagued with regular outbreaks of scab which could wipe out an estate's flocks and its profits (Bell *et al.* 2007: 26). The disease is caused by a parasitic mite and still a danger in sheep-farming today. The quality of the fleece is ruined and the animal, especially if young, may die. The early 1300s were also hit not just by famine but by widespread sheep "murrain" (Bolton 1980: 186), an umbrella term for various diseases such as foot-and-mouth and anthrax.

forum, et hoc omnia pacienter sustinuerunt. Hinc est quod ego miser et precatore qui aliquando occupavi locum abbatis consulo, rogo, supplico, et quatenus possum moneo ne aliquis abbas de cetero ita profunde concidat in manus Lombardorum, quia gallice dicitur leger est aprendre mes fort est arendre. (Bell *et al.* 2005: 187)⁴¹

As detailed in section 3 above, the English Crown paid for its wars, diplomacy and everyday luxuries by the imposition of custom duties on wool, with Tuscan banking societies at the very heart of this taxation system. At times, this fiscal control of the market and the degree of foreign involvement in wool export provoked opposition from English subjects. In 1294, Edward I attempted to seize all the wool in England as a forced loan and then changed his tactics, imposing the “notorious *maltote*”, an unpopular tax of an extra three marks per sack exported (Lloyd: 1977, 76-77). His grandson, Edward III, also went to great lengths to exploit the nation’s most valuable asset: he formed a short-lived syndicate of English wool companies in 1337 (headed by William de la Pole and Reginald de Conduit), and granted it monopoly on all exports, with the aim of then sharing in its profits.⁴²

Although this venture was unsuccessful, it is generally accepted (e.g. Fryde 1983: V,19, Waugh 1991: 58, Bell *et al.* 2007: 9,13) that the burden of royal taxation on export instigated the growth of an English cloth industry which blossomed from the early fifteenth century as the wool export market waned. By the 1350s, the Italian presence in the wool trade was diminishing rapidly as English merchants increased their share of the market. At the same time, the total volume of English cloth shipped abroad increased gradually until, by the 1440s, it had overtaken that of the raw material (Bridbury 1982: viii). The alien wool export monopoly was abolished and transferred instead to denizen merchants at the establishment of the new Staple port at Calais in 1363. This has been described in ‘triumphalist’ tones by some historians (such as Bolton 1980: 389) who focus on the weakening of foreign control in England and the establishment of a flourishing native cloth industry to rival the looms of Flanders and Florence.

Other scholars, however, take a different stance. Fryde was the first to devote attention to the later Italian role from the 1350s onwards in two articles from 1972 (later republished as 1983, XVI) and 1976. He stresses that the English cloth trade relied entirely on the import of alum (a chemical dye-fixer) and the Genoese monopolized this trade for nearly two hundred

⁴¹ “Remember dearest brethren and reverend fathers that by the said recognisances and due to seven years of dearth and common murrain of beasts, the goods of the house of Pipewell had been so exhausted that nothing remained for the meagre sustenance of the monks; sometimes they sat in the refectory for three or four days with only black bread and potage, at other times they wandered from market to market to buy bread, and this they patiently endured. I, the wretch and sinner who have occupied the place of abbot, therefore counsel, ask, implore, and warn in as much as I am able, lest another abbot fall so deeply into the hands of Lombards, that they heed the French maxim *leger est aprendre mes fort est a rendre*” (Bell *et al.*: 2005: 187).

⁴² For a detailed description of this policy, see ‘Edward III’s Wool Monopoly of 1337: a fourteenth century royal trading venture’ (Fryde 1983: VI, 8-24).

years (Fryde 1976: 343).⁴³ Equally, they dominated the import of numerous dyes (such as madder, brasil, woad and grain) to colour the cloth. Their presence in London and, increasingly Southampton, tied in with the expansion of various textile centres in both hinterlands and whilst “the Genoese clearly did not originate the development of a woollen industry in south-western England [...] they played some part in promoting its further growth” (Fryde 1976: 347).⁴⁴ The Southampton specialist, Ruddock, puts this in even stronger terms: “Soon [the Genoese] presence in England became a virtual necessity for the continued expansion of the industry” (Ruddock 1951: 40). Finally, English cloth producers were able to penetrate new markets only through the unrivalled shipping networks of the Genoese and the Venetians (cf. section 5, below). Records suggest that the former group favoured the export of expensive coloured English cloths (worth about £3 to £4 each) and sent them as far away as North Africa and Asia Minor (Fryde: 1983 XVI, 352). The latter seemed to prefer mid-priced cloths, especially a unique kind from western England known as ‘bastard weave’ (two kinds of wool mixed together). Fryde’s theory is they opened up the market in Constantinople and the wider eastern Mediterranean to this English specialty which would go on to become a lucrative product in the 1500s and 1600s (Fryde 1983 XVI: 352 / 1976: 350-51, Fusaro 2015: 37).

In both his papers, Fryde laments the lack of a full edition of the *Views of the Hosts of Alien Merchants* which give an excellent idea of the state of the cloth market from 1440-44, a time when Italian export of English cloth was at its highest. Under a new statute at the time, Italian merchants were supposed to reside with an English host and records were produced of ‘hosting accounts’ in London, Hull and Southampton.⁴⁵ The regulations ultimately aimed to register all alien mercantile transactions with the Exchequer. Out of the sixteen Venetians documented, fifteen gleaned the vast majority of their profit from shipping cloth out of England and only one made significant purchases of wool (Fryde 1983, XVI, 348). Italian companies as a whole purchased cloth worth £46,360 between 1440 and 1443 and 88% of this considerable sum belonged to the Venetians (Fryde 1976: 349). All of the extant Views (in AN or BML) have since been fully transcribed and edited in English translation by Bradley (2012): they form a key source for the Imports Glossary (cf. Chapter 3.2) and provide evidence for

⁴³ Similarly, Mallet (1967: 126) notes that alum was one of the most important commodities of the Middle Ages, “no less necessary to the dyer than bread is to man”.

⁴⁴ An important example is that of Salisbury near the Cotswolds, home of some of the finest wool crops. We know that the city benefitted vastly from the Italian influx of colorants at Southampton and evolved into a major centre for fabric weaving and dyeing (Bridbury 1982: 76). The Genoese also employed large numbers of local craftsmen in Romsey near the port to dye and finish cloths bought in England or shipped in from Flanders (Fryde 1976: 353).

⁴⁵ The Southampton Views had been published by Ruddock (1946) who was very dismissive of their usefulness, discouraging transcription by fellow academics of the corresponding (and more detailed) London series (Fryde 1976: 346).

several new Italian loanwords in late medieval English records.⁴⁶ The major problem with the source is the near total lack of data relating to Genoese accounts as most of these merchants boycotted the government's hosting rules at the time (Ruddock 1946: xxxiii). However, records from Italian archives can give us some useful clues as to the extent of their involvement and the very high demand for fine English cloths in southern Europe: a Genoese shipment in 1460 was worth an exceptional £26,000 (Heers 1957: 115-118).

Bradley's doctoral study (1992) of merchant populations in London from 1350 to 1450 also challenges the assumption that Italian influence was no longer significant in England after the collapse of the Crown banking firms and the drying up of the liquid capital they had poured into the wool trade. She presents a changing community (one which was gradually more Genoese or Venetian than Tuscan) which not only continued to provide loans and luxury goods to the royal household but played an essential role in the burgeoning English cloth market. However, it would be wrong to assume that English wool held no more interest for Italian *compagnie* in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries or that Tuscans no longer had a foothold in English commerce. Bradley's recent article on trade routes between London and Southampton in 1430-1540 maintains that wool remained a key Italian export in the early 1400s; Florentine agents, such as Paolo Morelli and Bartolomeo Marmora, were permanently based in Southampton and also attended the Cotswold wool fairs where they paid cash advances to suppliers (Bradley 2015: 72). Holmes' article 'Anglo-Florentine Trade in 1451' (1994) details the shipment of a large cargo of 466 pokes (over 40 tons) of wool from Southampton to Pisa, an enterprise which would earn the business partners, William Cantelowe of London and Jacob Saliviati of Florence, over 20,000 florins in profit. The account books studied by Holmes are both key texts in this thesis and rich sources of Anglo-Italian language contact. *The Cantelowe Accounts* (1450-51), written by an English factor who accompanied the wool consignment to Tuscany, is edited in Chapter 5 and fully transcribed in the Appendices.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ These are nearly all words linked to the exotic fabrics imported into England on Genoese and Venetians carracks in the fifteenth century (see section 5, below): e.g. Imports Glossary sub **legea** ('raw silk from Lahijan'), **talany** ('raw silk from Talesh'), (**sat**) **velvetate** ('velvet-like'), **yndigo** ('deep blue-purple'). The *Views of the Hosts* also provides important evidence for the types of English cloth exported by the Italians, the names of which appear in borrowed form in their own private records e.g. Exports Glossary sub **carisea** ('cloth from Kersey'), **contisgualdo** ('cloth from the Cotswolds'), **loesti** ('Westerns, clothes from Gloucestershire, Wiltshire and Somerset'). As Bradley (2012: xlii) notes: "The primary focus of the Venetian interest in London was cloth. They bought both broadcloth and straits, including bastards, kerseys, worsted, russet and musterdevillers [...] The Westerns, Guildfords, Ludlows, Southamptons, Readings, Cotswolds and Northamptons, as well as Essex and Suffolk straits, sold to aliens in the Views were mostly bought from London wholesalers". See also Bradley (2015: 73-74).

⁴⁷ Amongst other features, the *Cantelowe Accounts* provide examples of new or very rare Italian commercial loanwords in ME (cf. Imports Glossary sub **avery**, **ditto**, **magasyne**, **net**, **n^o** and **tare**) and proof of very early Arabic numeral and fraction use by an English writer.

The *Libro Grandi Rosso* (1448-51) of the Salviati firm's London branch is presented in Chapter 4.2ii and offers evidence of a wide volume of trade mainly in raw wool, cloth and tin.⁴⁸ Furthermore, the same commodities are found listed in the incomplete business records of the Villani of Florence (cf. Chapters 1.4i / 4.1) who were also based in the capital in 1420s. Similarly, a Florentine state galley left Southampton in 1430 (as noted in its captain's diary: cf. Chapters 1.4i / 4.1) loaded with a huge 1028 pokes of wool, sixty-three large bales of local cloth as well as tin and lead (Mallett 1967: 138).⁴⁹ Such evidence suggests that while Tuscan merchants no longer eclipsed their rivals from Genoa and Venice in terms of influence on English soil post 1350, they still carried out large amounts of trade there.

5. Merchant shipping and imports

Merchant shipping was the longest lasting Italian stronghold in medieval England.⁵⁰ As we noted in Chapter 1, the Italians were at the forefront of maritime technology in the late Middle Ages and their lexical legacy in the fields of navigation and ship-building has long attracted scholarly attention (cf. Vidos 1939 / 1965, Hope 1971, Fennis 1995, Tomasin 2010).⁵¹ In the late 1270s the establishment of a direct sea route from Italy to England (via the Atlantic coast of Europe) opened up a new world of mercantile opportunity: transport by sea cost a mere quarter of its overland equivalent (Bolton 1980: 311). Such an innovation had been made possible by “the great outburst of maritime activity in the Italian seaports stimulated by the Crusades [...] and technical developments in shipbuilding, particularly in Genoa” (Ruddock 1951: 19). The first Genoese vessel recorded in England docked in London in 1281, followed by another in Sandwich in 1287 and then in Southampton in 1303. Venetian galleys arrived

⁴⁸ These lengthy Florentine-matrix accounts contain thirty-eight AN / ME borrowings of which sixteen have not been previously recorded: e.g. Exports Glossary sub **aberdaciere** ('habderdasher'), **blaccalleri** ('black-a-lyre cloth'), **broccore** ('broker'), **irmanghere** ('ironmonger'), **passalarghe** ('large skins or hides'), **viscontaggio** ('duty paid to the viscount'). In terms of wool lexis, they include not only the older English units of measurement for wool (**chivo** / **pocca**) but also **toddo**, a newer measurement only attested in England from 1415 onwards.

⁴⁹ The logbook of Luca di Maso degli Albizzi covers the winter of 1429-30 spent in Southampton where he was welcomed by local dignitaries (Mallett 1967: 262): his diary contains several loanwords that appear to be specific to England such as **batto** ('boat'), **cocchetto** ('cocket seal'), **costuma** ('Customs duty'), **costumiere** (Customs officer), **pocca** ('7-8lb of wool'). See also *mere* ('mayor') in Table 2: Chapter 4.1ii.

⁵⁰ The most comprehensive analysis to date on the number of Italian vessels docking at English ports focuses on the Genoese: Nicolini (2007: 291-317) lists all extant records of 260 Genoese carracks landing in England between 1280 and 1495, including port, ship name and patron name. His study also finds that the two main peaks in visiting Genoese maritime traffic were in the 1380s and the 1430s (*ibid*: 15).

⁵¹ In the Imports Glossary, we find fourteen maritime loanwords in AN / ME texts of probable Italian origin, including ship types (**carrak**, **galio**^t, **go(u)ndel**, **tarette**), crew members (**comyt**, **galio**ⁿ, **patron**), vessel parts and maintenance (**calfater**, **mesan**, **poupe**, **timon**), navigational lexis (**tramountaine**) and weather (**fortune de mer**).

later to English shores with the first visit to Southampton in 1314; from the 1380s, they concentrated mainly on docking in the English capital where their expensive⁵² wares could quickly reach the noble and royal markets (Ruddock 1951: 20-22, 51-52). The Florentines used other Italian or Catalan ships for their voluminous trade in and out of England until 1406, their conquest of Pisa then allowed them direct access to their own port of Porto Pisano. Florentine companies began to trade using their own vessels, arriving in London from 1411 and in Southampton from 1429 (cf. Ruddock 1951: 57-58, 62, Mallet 1967: 3-20, Goldthwaite 2009: 48).

Following the Crusades, the Republics of Venice and Genoa had both become powerful maritime states which established various rival colonies around the eastern Mediterranean, the Black Sea and the Levant: trading posts in Caffa and Tana (now Azov) in the Crimea were the doorways to China and India and the flow of spices and silks from the Middle East were controlled via *fondachi* (depots) in Cairo, Cyprus, Antioch and Constantinople (cf. Schmieder 2013: 396-97, Fusaro 2015: 64-88). This Italian shipping empire was late medieval England's only connection to a huge array of international commodities.⁵³ Even after the collapse of the Crown bankers and the end of peak wool export, the English continued to exhibit a "quasi-colonial" dependence on alien control of overseas trade (Waugh 1991: 73). Eventually, citizens of different Italian cities came to be associated with their typical imports, as we see in the *Libelle of Englyshe Polycye*, an anonymous political poem written c1436. The Genoese - their past alliances with the French apparently forgotten - are praised because of the 'useful' products they supply to the English cloth industry,⁵⁴ whereas the Venetians and the Florentines are condemned for their frivolous luxuries.⁵⁵ Despite such moral reservations, northern Italians still triggered what Bradley (1992: 102) terms a "consumer revolution" in the English capital, with their unrivalled range of exotic goods: these included silks, velvets, cottons, gold thread, grain (the costly red dye), Sicilian furs, ginger, sugar, pepper, nutmeg, cumin, cinnamon, aniseed, aloes, coconuts, licorice, treacle, dates, figs, fruits in syrup, candied peel, almonds,

⁵² For example, the cargo unloaded in London in 1410 from two Venetian galleys was valued at £5,421 (Ruddock 1951: 52).

⁵³ The earliest evidence of Italian lexical influence in English records reflects this fact as we see in the following examples from the Imports Glossary, all attested in England in the late 1100s and 1200s: cotton fabrics woven in Venice and Genoa (**cotun**), linens from Bukhara (**bokeram**), heavy brocades from Baghdad (**baldekin**), oriental-style silks woven in Lucca (**camaca**), the term for a bundle of cloth (**fangot**), a measurement for gold and jewels (**carat**), rice from China (**ris**), oranges and pomegranates from the Mediterranean (**pume d'orange / (pume)gernet**) and crystallized sugar from the Middle East (**suchre candi**).

⁵⁴ "Of woad grete plente, woll-oyle, wood-aschen by vessel in the see, Coton, roche-alum and gode golde of Jene" (Ruddock 1951: 80).

⁵⁵ "Apes and japes and marmusettes taylede, Nifles, trifles, that litell have availed, And thynges wyth whiche they fetely blere oure eye, Wyth thynges not enduring that we bye" (Ruddock 1951: 140).

pomegranates, raisins, rosewater, olive oil, wines, pearls, emerald and ruby jewellery, gold and silver cutlery, coral, sponges, ivory boxes and combs, quills, muskballs, arsenic, carpets, armour and helmets,⁵⁶ lion and leopard skins, ostrich feathers, monkeys and parrots (Bradley 1992: 105-7, Ruddock 1951: 72-75). The livelihoods of many London mercers, drapers, grocers, silkwomen and other workers in the “luxury crafts” depended on the galley visits and local merchants would form partnerships to do business with the Venetians; this dependency was at times, however, bitterly resented (Bradley 2012: xlii, xlvi-lix).

The Italians imported fabric from the Middle East and beyond⁵⁷ but increasingly from the 1300s onwards, silk types of Eastern origin were manufactured in Italy itself, especially in Lucca and Venice.⁵⁸ The complexity of the silk industries in these cities, including the dyeing and weaving processes and the Guild regulations which controlled them, are detailed in King and King (1988) and Molà (2001). The latter’s glossary highlights the range of suppliers to the Venetian market, listing no fewer than forty types of raw silk (e.g. *ablaca*, *belladonna*, *decara*, *mamodea*, *talani*, *tracazi*, *vallona*) imported into the Republic from Persia, Albania, Syria, Cyprus, Spain, Greece and Palestine as well as from other Italian cities (Molà 2001: 406-07). After its lengthy journey, the silk was by no means ready to use. Once imported into Italy, a *setaiolo* would send his batch to the winders (*maestre d’incannare*) to be wound onto spools and then on to the throwers (*torcitori*) who would twist it into even threads; Lucca led the way in developing a multi-spindle, water-powered throwing machine for this purpose. The silk thread then had to be boiled and dyed by the *tintori*, re-wound and fitted onto warpboards. Only then was it ready to be woven into cloth by the highly skilled and consequently, well-paid *tessitori di seta* (Jacks 2001: 83-85). The dense, soft silk type known as velvet was also invented in the weaving centres of medieval Italy and became one of noble Europe’s most sought-after products (see Monnas 1993).⁵⁹

The Italians were also at the centre of the sugar and spice trades. Ginger was an incredibly popular (and expensive) import into England in the Middle Ages and the Bardi factor, Pegolotti, described the three main grades in his handbook (c1335-43) with Indian *belledi* listed as best, followed by Indian *columbino* and then *micchino* from Mecca (cf. Evans

⁵⁶ Milan was “celebrated above all the other cities of Italy for fine armour and weapons” (Ruddock 1951: 74), so much so that the toponym came to be used to as a name for a suit of steel armour. Similarly chainmail collars from Pisa became known as ‘pisans’ and shields from Pavia as ‘pavises’. See *Milan / pisan / pavise* in Table 2: Appendices, Volume 2.

⁵⁷ See, for example, Imports Glossary sub **nak**, **nassik**, **legea**, **talany**.

⁵⁸ See, for example, Imports Glossary sub **attaby**, **baldekin**, **damaske**, **imperial**, **maramas**, **ragamas**, **sarzinett**, **satin**, **taffata**, **tartarin**.

⁵⁹ See also (**satin**) **velvetate** in the Imports Glossary

1935: 360, Bradley 1992: 112).⁶⁰ Sugar was also a sought-after luxury product,⁶¹ often for medicinal rather than culinary use: crystalized cane sugar first appears in England in the accounts of the King's Spicer in the 1240s and high-quality sugar loaves are recorded in the accounts of Durham Abbey from the 1340s.⁶² The Italians, and especially the Venetians, monopolized the sale of this commodity, with the finest grades being sourced in their trading colonies on Cyprus (Adamson 2004: 28). The Calendar State Papers of Venice tell us that a single Venetian merchant sold 11,000lb of sugar in London in 1319 alone (Smith *et al.* 1830: 426).

The Genoese, in contrast, were famed for a more utilitarian cargo. By far their greatest asset was the dye-fixing chemical alum, indispensable not just to the cloth trade (see section 4, above), but also to tanners, illuminators and painters. Goldthwaite (2009: 233-34) praises, in particular, the scale of business operations achieved by the Genoese Benedetto Zaccaria who founded a business empire exploiting the alum mines of Phocacea (in modern-day Turkey) that would monopolize the sale of the product in Europe for nearly 200 years.

Genoese carracks also supplied dyes (such as woad to give blue and weld and fustic to give yellow) and wood ashes used as a lye in the cloth dyeing process (Ruddock 1951: 82). It was not just their imports but their exports that were crucial to the English economy, however. The Genoese specialised in the export of large amounts of tin (Bolton 1980: 294) and (alongside the Venetians) were major exporters of English cloth from the fifteenth century onwards (Fryde 1983, XVI, 352). Whilst the chief Genoese colony remained in London, merchants of Genoa had come to rely increasingly on Southampton, rather than London, as their main port by the reign of Richard II (1377-99). Ever at the forefront of shipbuilding advances, they had gradually transformed their fleet into larger carracks to best transport their bulky cargo. The carrack's principal advantage as a mercantile vessel was its storage capacity: 950 metric tonnes compared to 300 metric tonnes of a standard galley from the 1200s and 1300s (Nicolini 2007: 227). The approach and harborage available at Southampton was much more suited to these enormous vessels, which could not venture safely up the Thames, unlike the Venetian and Florentine galleys (Ruddock 1951: 48, 55).

The port of Southampton has left unrivalled amounts of evidence of its medieval Italian links in the 1300s and 1400s and its City Archives contain a wealth of trade records that are of

⁶⁰ See Imports Glossary sub **beledin**, **columbin**, **maykyn**. The verb **garbeler** (<It. *garbellare*), meaning 'to sieve the refuse from spices', is a related technical term which appears widely in the accounts of the London Grocers in the 1390s and later in the Local Port Book of Southampton the 1430s.

⁶¹ When the Bishop of Exeter died in 1310, he left 77lb of sugar in his will, worth £3 17s 2d (Trease 1959: 3).

⁶² See Imports Glossary sub (**suchre**) **candi** / **caffatin** and also **cot**, a sugar grade derived from Italian.

great interest to historians of English maritime trade in England.⁶³ These include the famous Oak Book of Southampton from c1300 (with its AN copy of the laws of the sea: the Rolls of Oléron) and several Local Ports Books, Stewards' Books, and Books of Remembrance from the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.⁶⁴ As we saw in Chapter 1, some examples of Italian borrowings have already been found in several of these later sources (cf. Studer 1913, Ruddock 1944, Foster 1963, Rothwell 1999, Trotter 2011d). Ruddock's meticulous study, *Italian Merchants and Shipping in Southampton 1270-1600*, was long the definitive work on the economic fortunes of "one of the most cosmopolitan towns in medieval England" (Ruddock 1951: 10): she offers detailed insight into the rise (and fall) of the prosperous Italian colony in the port and the extent to which the fortunes of maritime trade were at the mercy of wider political dispute. Much more recently, the contents of the thirteen extant Latin Brokerage Books from 1430-1540 have been analysed in detail in *English Inland Trade* (Hicks 2015).⁶⁵

The first fleet of five state galleys from Venice docked in Southampton in 1314. In contrast to the Genoese carracks, who had begun visiting the port a decade earlier and were controlled by independent merchant groups, these Venetian galleys were captained by noblemen, elected by the State Senate.⁶⁶ They arrived, large and imposing, and laden with oriental silks, spices and jewels from across Venice's trading empire. However, their first visit was a diplomatic disaster and widespread fighting broke out between its crew and the townsfolk.⁶⁷ Ruddock (1951: 24-55) sees the brawling as part of a wider wave of general anti-Italian feeling which lingered in England from 1311, after the attack on Crown bankers, the Frescobaldi, and on Lombards in general by the Lords Ordainers (cf. section 3.ii, above). In the same year, a Venetian merchant was killed in Boston in Lincolnshire and a cargo of wool purchased by Florentines was plundered in 1320 on its way to Sandwich in Kent. These incidents and the resulting animosity halted the flow of ships from both Venice and Genoa to

⁶³ For a full idea of the extent of the Southampton corpus, see James' *Southampton Sources 1086-1900* (1983).

⁶⁴ Loanwords in the Imports Glossary of likely Italian origin attested in AN / BML Southampton material from the 1420s to the 1440s include sugars and sweetmeats (**cotegnate**, **confection**, (**suchre**) **candi**), exotic fruits (**pume d'orange**, (**pume**)**gernet**), ginger (**belendin**, **maykyn**), ships and crew members (**carrak**, **comyt**, **patron**), containers, bundles and measurements (**balet**, **casset**, **cassel**, **fangot**, **sarme**, **sport(in)**). Language contact continued in the second half of the fifteenth century with the borrowing of four Venetian / Genoese maritime terms in ME records from the Hampshire port: *arygon*, *barkeroll*, *maregon*, *styves* (Table 1: Volume 2, Appendices).

⁶⁵ These accounts are accessible via an online database at www.overlandtrade.org (accessed 12/04/2016).

⁶⁶ Southampton records detail the impressive entourage to which a Venetian fleet captain was entitled: a priest, a notary, two doctors, four musicians and two or three personal servants (Ruddock 1951: 23). However it is important to note that recent scholarship believes that the Republic's galley trade is over-represented in extant documentation, carefully conserved by Senate bureaucrats, and that large amounts of trade were also carried out by private Venetian vessels in northern Europe in the 1400s (Fusaro 2015: 36).

⁶⁷ Edward II and the Doge of Venice wrote to each other several times about the "affray", which was still brought up in Venetian sources sixty years later. The king tried unsuccessfully to repair relations by offering pardons and promises of future safe-conduct to the galley crews (Ruddock 1981: 26, 148).

Southampton which did not resume for twenty-one and sixty-five years, respectively.⁶⁸ The Florentine Bardi and Peruzzi firms still shipped wool from the port but they used French or Flemish vessels to do so and demanded royal letters of protection in 1320 (Ruddock 1951: 25-26).

The period 1337-43 saw dramatic events in the careers of these two Tuscan societies, as we have seen (cf. section 3iii). Now both officially royal bankers, their wool exports increased significantly at first out of Southampton as Edward III demanded ever increasing amounts of capital to fund his wars in France. Spanish and Majorcan ships had to be hired for the extra work - transporting nearly 2000 sacks of wool and 100 *miliaria* of tin by 1338 - as the Genoese had allied their fleet with the French side in the combat and would not assist their Italian neighbours (Ruddock 1951: 30-31).

Southampton faced near total ruin in these overtures to the Hundred Years War and was already in a deep economic depression when the Black Death struck a decade later. The French (aided by some Genoese forces) brutally attacked and sacked the town in October 1338 and all maritime trade, Italian or otherwise, was paralysed for a couple of years (Bolton 1980: 203). A single Bardi-Peruzzi wool shipment is recorded in 1341 but both the royal favourites were bankrupt and disgraced by 1346. From this point on, customs accounts and records at Southampton are fragmentary for the last three war-torn decades of Edward III's reign (Ruddock 1951: 35). At the start of his rule, his grandson, Richard II, actively tried to attract Italian merchants back to England in an attempt to combat the economic depression: the King sent Chaucer to Genoa on a trading mission in 1372 and to Milan in 1378 (Lerer 2006: 36).⁶⁹ Anglo-Genoese commercial relations were reinstated although they were still influenced by regular political disputes in northern Europe and within the Italian peninsula.⁷⁰ Nevertheless, between 1421 and 1458, accounts survive of around ten Genoese carracks a year docking at Southampton, a vital outpost for London with which it maintained a healthy flow of trade (Ruddock 1951: 61, Bradley 2012: xxviii).

⁶⁸ Genoese galleys did continue to bring alum into and wool out of London and Sandwich during the period 1319-1340. However, the Venetian state fleet did not return to English shores until 1384, preferring to dock at Sluys, in Flanders, and send on their luxury produce to England from there in English or Flemish ships (Ruddock 1951: 27-29, 40).

⁶⁹ It is believed that Chaucer first encountered the works of Dante and Boccaccio (which would become templates for some of his most famous works) during these diplomatic visits to Italy (Lerer 2006: 36, Childs 1983: 66-67)

⁷⁰ Trade suffered dislocation as each diplomatic row or full-scale war erupted, for example in 1395 and the period 1411-20 (Ruddock 1951: 53, 58-61). For a thorough examination of Genoa's political and economic history in the Middle Ages, see Epstein (1996).

6. Trade after c1450

The Italians' mercantile prominence would eventually fade towards the end of the 1400s (Bolton 1980: 306). Their success had once again provoked anti-alien hostilities as in 1311 and 1343; it was, as Bradley (2012: xlix) notes, "inconceivable to fifteenth-century Londoners that English and alien business might be interdependent and thrive together". Hostilities were fueled by the perception that the Italians made huge profits in the English wool and cloth markets and then sailed away home, rich in coin, without benefitting the local economy. The fifty or sixty or so resident 'Lombards' in London found themselves the victims of violent riots in 1456-57, with English jealousies enflamed by the superior wealth and perceived corrupt practice of the foreign companies (Bolton 1980: 312-13, Sutton 2005: 230-31). The era of Crown banking was long over but large Italian firms such as the Milanese Borromei (cf. Chapter 1.4ii) and the Florentine Salviati (cf. Chapter 4.2ii) and Medici⁷¹ still monopolized banking and exchange in the capital. For a time, Southampton benefited enormously from the attacks as she became the shipping headquarters for nearly all Italian (Genoese, Venetian and Florentine) vessels in the realm, but back in London, the Italian population became increasingly transient in the face of such extreme animosity; its permanent core - that had long served as a locus between denizens and aliens - gradually disappearing (Bradley 1992: 50).

The 1450s seemed to mark a watershed for the Genoese whose trade with England reduced rapidly over the next thirty years. They lost control of their alum monopoly in Turkey in 1455 and would go on to lose most of their other key trading posts to the Ottomans, Cypriots and Venetians (Epstein 2001: 273); the Florentines stepped in as England's alum suppliers for the next two decades, delivering supplies from the newly discovered mines at Tolfa in the Papal States (Ruddock 1951: 213). As Heers (1957) describes, the Genoese also faced dramatic reprisals for the Giuliano Gattilusio's pirating of Robert Sturmy of Bristol's ships, off the coast of Malta in 1458; 128 men died and, as punishment, all Genoese goods in England were confiscated and all merchants present were imprisoned. They paid £6,000 in compensation to the Crown and claimed to have lost over £16, 000 in sequestered assets (Fryde 1976: 355). Florentine shipping was also declining in the second half of the 1400s and the city never recovered after the destruction of its commercial system by the Pisan revolt of 1494 (Bolton 1980: 314-15). The London branch of the Medici bank was closed in 1478, the same year as

⁷¹ Although not as wealthy as their Florentine predecessors, the Bardi and the Peruzzi, the Medici established the largest banking company in Western Europe in the 1400s: see De Roover's *The Rise and Fall of the Medici Bank, 1397-1494* (1966).

the last Florentine state galley visit to Southampton, although a small number of private merchants from Florence - such as Cristoforo Ambruogi⁷² and later, Filippo Corsini⁷³ - did continue to work in England well into the 1500s (Bradley 2015: 132-37, Beale *et al.* 2011: 11). Conversely, some wealthy English wool merchants began to trade directly with Italy rather than leaving business to Italian middle-men and a small English colony was established in Pisa in the 1490s where Englishmen such as Hugh Clopton⁷⁴ and Thomas Hawes were known to have kept warehouses (Sutton 2005: 232-33).

The Venetians, still very much in control of spice and silk imports to northern Europe, carried on their maritime trade, albeit more sporadically, for much longer. Their state fleet was attacked by English ships in 1488 but they continued to stopover in Southampton until 1532 and, in London, until 1534. Even after this, there is evidence of private Venetian vessels trading in the capital in 1562, during the reign of Elizabeth I (Ruddock 1951: 232, James 2015: 140). Eventually, as detailed in Fusaro's recent *The Decline of Venice and the Rise of England, 1450-1700*, English ships would take the place of Venetian galleys and venture to Crete and the Ionian islands to source commodities, especially currants and wine, and - in a reversal of earlier times - a sizeable community of English merchants would settle in Venice itself in the sixteenth century (Fusaro 2015: 39-63, 202-35).

⁷² Cristoforo Ambruogi (Christopher Ambrose) of Florence was twice elected mayor of Southampton in 1486 and 1497: this was an exceptional privilege for an alien-born merchant at the time and proof that anti-Italian sentiment was not a permanent feature in English commercial communities (Ruddock 1951: 185-86).

⁷³ Filippo Corsini arrived in London in 1560 and set up a thriving business with his brother, Bartholomeo, importing (as Italians had done for centuries before them) cloth, spices, jewels and exporting fish and tin. Over 3500 letters addressed to the Corsini firm in England have survived, forming the largest merchant archive of the early modern period: these are written in Italian, English, Dutch, German, French, Portuguese and Spanish and were sent from within the British Isles, from Italy and other European countries and even from the island of São Tomé on the west African coast. See *The Corsini Letters* (Beale *et al.* 2011).

⁷⁴ As mentioned in Chapter 1.4i, three accounts, in Italian, dealing with Clopton's Florentine trade from 1497 have yet to be edited (E314/82).

CHAPTER 3

Imports Glossary:

Italian mercantile loanwords in Anglo-Norman and Middle English texts (c1200-c1450)

1. *Glossary overview: an introduction to the Imports and Exports sections*
 - i) *Sources used*
 - ii) *Attestation and transmission*
 - iii) *Semantic fields*

2. *Key text in the Imports Glossary: The Views of the Hosts of Alien Merchants (1440-44)*

3. *Main loanword summary: Imports from Italian*

4. *Imports Glossary discussion*
 - i) *Introduction*
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1. Glossary overview: an introduction to the Imports and Exports sections

The Glossary is divided into two parts: Italianisms in AN and ME texts (Chapter 3: Imports) and Anglo-Normanisms and Middle Anglicisms in Italian texts (Chapter 4: Exports). All of the headwords have attestations in sources closely tied to England: the vast majority are found in texts written in England itself and the remainder, in letters sent from Italian companies to their London offices, in an Italian merchant handbook dealing with English trade or in accounts kept by an Englishman working in Tuscany. These sources date from 1148 to 1451.¹ The Imports section examines eighty loanwords and the Exports section, sixty. The loanwords are summarised and discussed here in Volume 1 of the thesis; detailed records of citations and sources, together with further analysis of each word's history, can be found in Volume 2. A headword in bold in the discussion below refers the reader to the corresponding loanword fiche to be read in tandem with the analysis in this chapter.

The Glossary's goal is to offer a typology of trade-related loanwords within a certain corpus (see below) and it is therefore not exhaustive. That being said, it is hoped that the greatest possible number of probable mercantile borrowings on both sides currently found in the AND, MED, OED, TLIO and OVI have been identified and included here.

i) Sources used

	Anglo-Norman	Middle English	Continental French	Italian	Medieval Latin
Dictionaries	AND ²	MED OED	DEAF DMF FEW GDC GDF TL TLFi	DEI LEI TLIO VSES	DC DMLBS
Databases	AND corpus ³ LCC	LCC		AD OVI	LCC

¹ Out of the total 140 loanwords examined, only four are first attested in the twelfth century and all others date from 1200 onwards.

² At this point, it is important to acknowledge that the AND is not, strictly speaking, an historical dictionary as its entries are not consistently organised to list the earliest known attestation as the first citation. Note also that it is also possible to find AN lexemes in the MED, OED, DMLBS and CF dictionaries which, on occasion, are not found in the current AND corpus.

³ The 'AND corpus' refers to the 'Concordance to citations' search tool on the online dictionary which allows the reader to search for lexemes that may not yet have their own entry but which are present in citations listed under other headwords.

The analysis that follows is based on a corpus that I have collated: this needed to be sufficiently large to allow credible and rigorous research but not to an unrealistic point that prevented the project progressing. The Imports and Exports sections of the Glossary are notably very different in scope, given that the former technically covers any AN / ME trade-related source written in England prior to c1450 and the latter, a much smaller collection of twenty-six extant documents written by Italians closely linked to English trade.⁴ In both cases, however, the backbone of material is provided by the major historical dictionaries and databases in the field, to which I have added an important sub-group of unpublished or unedited texts.

As outlined in the thesis introduction, four “Key Texts”, of particular interest to the field of medieval Anglo-Italian language contact, are presented in detail in Chapters 3, 4 or 5. They are:

- *The Views of the Hosts of Alien Merchants, 1440-1444*. A collection of accounts submitted to the Crown and listing the imports and exports of foreign merchants in England. Edited in English translation by Bradley in 2012, this AN- matrix source is not yet in the AND corpus.
- *The Gallerani London accounts, 1304-09*. Edited by Bigwood and Grunzweig in 1961 with newly discovered material published by Cella in 2009. These Siennese dialect accounts are included in the TLIO / OVI corpora but loanwords from England are nearly always misclassified.
- *The Salviati London accounts, 1448-51*. Transcribed as part of an unpublished undergraduate thesis from 1969 by Maura Cavalloro: this lengthy Florentine account book is not currently found in the TLIO / OVI / LEI.
- *The Cantelowe Accounts, 1450-51*. Written by the Englishman, John Balmayn, when he was working as a factor in Tuscany on behalf of the Londoner, William Cantelowe. Chapter 5 is dedicated to this fascinating mixed-language text and a full transcription of the thirty-five folios is found in Volume 2. This source is not found in the OED / MED.

In numerous loanword fiches, there are also references to editions and articles which cite important sources, currently absent from the major dictionaries and databases. These new sources are presented in the comments section of the loanword fiche in question in Volume 2.

⁴ These are presented in Chapter 4.1i.

They can also be further grounded in their historical context by referring to Chapter 2. They are, principally: (in AN or BML), the Exchequer Rolls of Purchase, the Great Wardrobe Accounts, the Exchequer Wool Schedules of 1294, Advance Contracts for the Sale of Wool, Accounts of the English Crown with Italian Merchant Societies and the Southampton Stewards Books; and (in Italian), Florentine Guild Statutes, Venetian State Papers on English trade, the Villani account fragment, the Berengo letters, the ship's diary of Luca di Maso degli Albizzi and new Gallerani material from London, discovered in 2007.

Finally, it should be noted that while the focus of this project is very much on the non-literary source, literary citations from historical dictionaries are, of course, included in the Glossary where relevant. In real usage, loanwords do not always reside in hermetically sealed boxes but flow from one sector of society to another. Indeed, this multi-level frequency is usually a sign that the borrowing is widespread and more likely to endure. One of the oldest recorded loanwords from England in medieval Italian is the coin-name **sterlino** (1260) and it is attested not only in thirteenth-century account books and business letters but in the Tuscan poetry of Camillo Majorfi and Rustico Filippi. Similarly, the earliest AN-matrix citation anywhere in the Glossary comes from twelfth-century insular literature (*The Romance of Horn*, c1170) and refers to a fine, linen cloth (**bokeram**). It is not surprising to read the names of exotic imported silks and fruits, impressive Genoese carracks or Venetian gold coins in other works of AN and ME poetry and prose, nor to find evidence of later, fourteenth-century borrowing in the works of polyglot English authors such as Gower (e.g. AN *gabelle* / ME *milion*) and Chaucer (e.g. ME *damaske*, ME *taffata*, ME *malvesey*).

ii) Attestation and transmission

Lexeme attested in:	AN	ME	CF
Type 1a	✓	X	X
Type 1b	✓	X	✓
Type 2a	✓	✓	X
Type 2b	✓	✓	✓
Type 3a	X	✓	X
Type 3b	X	✓	✓

Each loanword in the Volume 2 fiches is given an attestation type, based on the languages in which it is found i.e. whether an Italian loanword is present in an AN and / or an ME text (Imports Glossary) or whether a loanword in an Italian text has a possible etymon in AN and / or ME (Exports Glossary).⁵ A secondary label of ‘a’ or ‘b’ indicates whether the lexeme is, respectively, absent from or present in CF prior to 1500.

These attestation types allow us to suggest a typology of three very broad categories of language contact in England: AN↔It. (Type 1), ME↔AN↔Italian / AN↔ME↔Italian (Type 2) and ME↔It. (Type 3). Such categorisation, of course, provides an overview at best; it is unavoidably circumstantial as the uncovering of any new citation in any of the languages involved can change the attestation type. Additional factors - the most important of which is the agency of CF - are discussed at the end of each fiche where the basis for the overall judgement of a loanword’s likely transmission is laid out in full.

In the Imports Glossary, for example, a Type 3 loanword such as **ditto** (‘aforementioned’), found only in the ME accounts of an English factor working in Tuscany, must be the result of direct ME-Italian contact. In other Type 3 examples, the nature of the loanword in question makes it seem likely that an unattested AN version of the borrowing also existed: this is surely the case with the widely-used Venetian gold coin, the **ducat**, evidence of which has only survived in ME sources. Further complications arise in cleanly separating late AN and ME vocabulary and in the latest AN-matrix source in the Imports Glossary (1440-44), Italianisms unattested elsewhere are labelled as Type 1 even though they could very well have been borrowed into ME by this stage (cf. section 2, below, on the *The Views of the Hosts*).

Similarly, in the Exports Glossary, the profession **schiniere** is labelled a Type 3 loanword in the Florentine Salviati accounts because it is not yet recorded in AN.⁶ But we cannot rule out the possibility that ME *skinner* permeated the vocabulary of those Tuscan merchants via the intermediary of insular French, especially as we have other professions of

⁵ Four Italian loanwords in the Imports Glossary are only found in BML-matrix sources prior to 1500. The exotic cloths **nak** and **nassik** (att. in BML in 1315 and 1324, respectively) are also found in contemporary CF inventories (c1316) but note that **nassik** seems to offer an independent insular variant (borrowed from Italian *nasicci*, compared to CF *nacis*). **Timon** (‘ship’s rudder’) is found in the BML *Accounts of the building of Galleys at Bayonne for Edward II* (1324) and we can argue that this maritime Italianism entered AN in the multilingual environment of the Gascon colony. The most logical solution in the confines of this analysis has been to consider these three vernacular loanwords as insular French and categorise them as Type 1b. **Go(u)ndel** (‘gondola’) is only found in the Latin-matrix enrolled customs accounts of Henry V and Henry VI (1417-1425), with one isolated CF attestation in an Italianising document linked to Genoa in 1246. Despite the lateness of its attestation, it too has been labelled as Type 1b; it seems very likely that the lexeme represents either an AN word in itself or an ME word derived from an AN variant that is unattested in earlier sources.

⁶ The absence of attestations in the AND could be due to the fact that all ‘S’ entries have yet to be updated from AND1 and therefore are gleaned from fewer sources.

ME origin in the same accounts - **aberdaciere** ('haberdasher'), **aldermanno** ('alderman') and **irmangere** ('ironmonger') - that are also borrowed into AN texts. The reverse problem exists for a sub-group of Type 2 profession loanwords borrowed into Italian around the mid-fifteenth century such as **broccore** ('broker'), **grossiere** ('grocer') or **stapoliere** ('merchant stapler'). These are clearly of AN origin but also widely attested in ME and designating a donor language into Italian in this, the latest time period of our corpus, is very difficult.

Labels are helpful but throughout our analysis, as with all historical linguistic research, we can only suggest what was probable (and in some cases, what was possible) in view of the data that we possess. All routes of transmission at the top of each fiche are hence speculative: in some cases the Italian or AN / ME contribution is unquestionable, in others, it is highly likely and in others still, it is simply a probable suggestion amongst other alternatives.

However, while we may not be able to definitively track the route of each loanword, the Glossary certainly succeeds in its overall aim and provides convincing evidence of reciprocal language contact in the mercantile and trade-related vocabularies of AN, ME and Italian.

iii) Semantic fields

Each headword is labelled with a semantic field. This is more problematic than it may first appear as there are nearly always some cases of overlap in meaning. To take four examples, the term **cramoisé** can refer to a colour produced by an expensive red dye or to a piece of silk dyed this colour: should it be classified specifically as 'dyestuff' or more generically under 'textile'? Can we include sweetmeats (i.e. prepared confections and preserves such as **cotegante**) along with sugar and spices, which were raw ingredients just as likely to be considered medicinal commodities as culinary ones by the medieval trader? Should **primaggio** ('payment to ship's crew for unloading cargo') be listed under 'maritime' or with other costs and taxes under 'financial'? Is **attornato** ('attorney') a profession name or a legal term? Different scholars would undoubtedly have different ways of dividing up these lists of words.⁷ One solution is to give headwords double, or even triple, semantic labels but as this glossary is not onomasiological, such a system would unnecessarily complicate the analysis which follows. My labels are therefore intended to give a general overview of the kinds of

⁷ For a fuller discussion of the problems intrinsic to semantic grouping in linguistic analysis, see Hope 1971: 17-23.

trade lexis involved in early Anglo-Italian contact and which categories seem the most prolific:

Semantic field categories used in the Glossary	
Imports Glossary:	Exports Glossary:
Administrative language	Administrative language
Containers / bundles	Containers / bundles
Financial	Financial
Fur	X
X	Legal
Maritime	Maritime
Other foodstuff	Other foodstuff
X	Other
X	Profession
Storage of goods	X
Sugar / spice / sweetmeat	X
Textile	Textile
Unit of measurement	Unit of measurement
Wine	X
X	Wool

2. Key Text in the Imports Glossary

The Views of the Hosts of Alien Merchants (1440-44)

Bradley's recent translation of the *Views of the Hosts of Alien Merchants* features a collection of ground-breaking bureaucratic documents from the early 1440s, first identified in Ruddock (1946) and Fryde (1972 / 1976) (cf. Chapter 2.4).⁸ The Views can, in fact, be seen as the first official attempt by an English government to register immigrant workers and “a comprehensive London-led attempt to bring the alien commodity trade throughout England under full supervision and control” (Bradley 2012: x). Rising anti-Italian sentiment in the face of economic gloom, coupled with a newly forged sense of English nationhood (cf. Chapter 2.3iii / 2.6), led to a Parliamentary decree that all alien merchants must live with a native English (*natif engloys*) host and send bi-annual reports, detailing all exports and

⁸ The original source material is not included in the published edition which is an English translation with commentary for economic and social historians. Helen Bradley very kindly sent me copies of her transcriptions of the original AN and BML manuscripts before the book's publication. They are now available for public view on the website of the Institute of Historical Research, University of London.: <http://www.history.ac.uk/projects/research/views-of-hosts> (accessed 15/12/2015). It should be noted that the transcriptions are in diplomatic style (i.e. they are not standardized to the modern editorial practices of AN / CF texts) and that I have cited directly from Bradley's work and made no attempt to change the transcription.

imports, to the Exchequer.⁹ Hosts were chosen by the city mayor from the local civic elite and included mercers, drapers, grocers, custom collectors, sheriffs and MPs.

There are seventy-four surviving Views which were sent from three English port cities: London, Southampton and Hull. Thirty-six are in Latin¹⁰ and thirty-eight in a late AN matrix. Most of these AN texts (nearly four fifths) deal with the expenses of Italian merchants, the vast majority being both Venetian and London-based.¹¹ Only two Italian Views were sent from Southampton and none at all from Hull. As Bradley (2012: xxxi) states: “the Italians - notably the Venetians - in London dominated the Views by the quantity and the value of their transactions. They were, it would seem, the real target of the exercise.”

Linguistically, the Views are of particular interest. We are not dealing with one giant, cohesive document but numerous texts written by different people in different places but all with one new and very specific administrative aim.¹² The insular French framework is crammed full of ME and BML lexemes as well as numerous foreign borrowings (from medieval Dutch, German and, most commonly, Italian), resulting in a “linguistic melting-pot” (Bradley 2012: liv). In the extract below from View 37, we see a typical AN template with frequent ME lexis underlined, a sprinkling of Latin highlighted in grey, and in red, a range of ‘intermediate’ vocabulary which is notoriously difficult to label neatly as ‘French’ or ‘English’ in a specific source:

De John Johnson le vij jour de **Decembere** lane suisdit xliij hoggis j **barelle** grese j **barelle** chynys & j petit **barelle** eris & fete du **porke** ij **boefs** demi salsis **price** de tout Cs

De William Prest le suisdit vij jour de **December** lane suisdit iiij weye talloughe ij **barellis** potteasshene **price** lxxs viijd

⁹ Immediately, the practicalities of such arrangements raise fascinating sociolinguistic questions. How did the English hosts and their Italian lodgers communicate? In a French dialect (be it AN or CF) as a commercial and maritime *lingua franca*? (cf. Kowaleski 2009). In a mixture of English and French with the odd Latin word thrown in? We can ask ourselves the same of the extended stay of the Florentine galley captain, Luca di Maso degli Albizzi, in the home of the shipowner, William Soper, in 1429-30 (Mallett 1967: 255). Similar questions also arise from the Southampton Stewards’ Books in the 1480s and 1490s which describe mixed teams of local men and Italian carpenters going on long expeditions to the New Forest to source wood to build cargo-loading equipment (Ruddock 1944:141, Thick 1995: liii-iv).

¹⁰ Due to the constraints of this thesis, the Latin-matrix Views have not been fully analysed but the Imports Glossary does contain four Italian loanwords from these BML sources that are also found elsewhere in other AN texts: see sub **carpet** / **malvesey** / (**suchre**) **candi** / **ore filado**. It is also worth pointing out that Latin View 73 (E101/ 128/31 r.49) apparently contains the unusual hapax *gumme* ‘a measure of needles’ (< It. *ghome*): *CC virgas panni linei j gumme acus mille ferra de swethir iij grossa cultellorum valent xli* (VOH 73:16, transcr. p.134, cf. Bradley 2012: 152).

¹¹ The nationalities of the merchants concerned in the AN Views are as follows: seventeen Venetian, eight Lucchese, three Italian (unspecified), one Florentine, one Florentine and Venetian, six ‘Doche’ (from the Low Countries, Rhineland and the Baltic), one Portuguese and one Breton. The Genoese refused to comply with the Crown’s hosting regulations (Ruddock 1946: xxxiii) and so records of their trade are sadly missing.

¹² Authors include the hosts themselves, their clerks or official Exchequer scribes. Matrix language and layout also varied depending on location in London, Southampton and Hull: see Bradley (2012: liv-lvi).

De Stephen atte Mede le v jour de **Februare** lane suisdit C **quarters** **avenis** 112 **price** vjli xiijs iiijd

De William Prest le vij jour de **September** lane suisdit iijj **weyes taloughe price** 113 lxiiijs

Et la **residue** de la dit **somme** le dit Oliver ad **expendez** **pro** **freighte** & **vitaille**¹³

As we know, mixed-language texts (even of the most prosaic nature) can cause a headache for the lexicographer (and the etymologist) (cf. Wright 2013: 130-34). The Views are technically AN sources and if a loanword is only attested here (e.g. *talany*) or here and in similar multilingual material (e.g. *tare* whose only other medieval source is the London Grocers accounts), it can be impossible to decide if a word represents an Italian borrowing in ME, AN or indeed both.¹⁴ This does not mean, however, that valuable clues concerning Italian lexical influence in England's merchant community cannot be found embedded within sources of this type.

Overall, there are twenty-nine potential Italianisms from the *Views of the Hosts of Alien Merchants* included in the Imports Glossary. Seven (all textile-related) are hapaxes and are not found in the other AN, ME or medieval CF sources analysed for this thesis:

ceta / legea / measane / ore filado / talany / velevetate / yndigo

Most of the other twenty-two loanwords are widely attested elsewhere, indeed several (in particular, *baldekin*, *cotun*, *ris*, *satin*) fall into the category of an 'international loanword' (cf. FN 30, below), widely attested across medieval Europe. Three clear exceptions are *belendin* (a type of Indian ginger), *cot* (referring to the refinement of sugar) and *net* ('amount or weight remaining'), which are all relatively rare in extant records. Again, it is noteworthy that no fewer than nine borrowings are fabric-based lexemes:

baldekin / belendin / calfater / carpet / carrack / cot / cotun / cramoisé / damaske / galiotⁱⁱ / garbeler / imperial / malvesey / net / patron / ris / satin / suchre candi / taffeta / tare / tartarin / vernage

The following extract shows a variety of textile loanwords (as well as typical AN-ME-BML language-mixing) found in View 16: the accounts of Sir William Estfield, host to the

¹³ E101/128/31 r.26; VOH 37: 70-77, transcr. p.97. Cf. Bradley 2012: 86

¹⁴ For a recent summary of the problems in identifying AN or ME lexemes in late BML and AN-matrix sources, see Durkin (2014: 290-95). For discussion on difficulty in attaching labels and language categories to lexemes in 'everyday' multilingual sources and the anachronistic pitfalls of doing so, see Trotter 2003b / 2006a / 2010a / 2010b.

Venetian merchants Bertucci and Tommaso Contarini in London in 1440. Examples of loanwords included in the Glossary are underlined:

Item viij papers misane
 Item j couple damaske dargent
 Item j couple damaske cremeson dore
 Item j couple velvet sur velvet cremeson dore [...]
 Item j couple damaske noir
 Item j couple damaske russet
 Item iiij peces damaske de Tartaria
 Item xj peces reforced satyn¹⁵
 Item xlvj peces tartaryn de diverses colours
 Item xxxviij drapz baldekyns dore de Luk
 Item xxiiij drapz ymperialles dore
 Item ix orfrayes dore enbraudred
 Item j couple damaske cremeson
 Item j couple damaske purpille [...]
 Item vj bales rawe silke videlicet j bale de purpea j de talanye & iiij de legea [...]
 Item a Robert Large le mesme iour xliiij peces tartaryns
 Item a William Bonyfait le xiiij iour d'Aprile xvij peces tartaryns [...]
 Item a John Olney le xxvij iour d'April v peces satyns yndigo¹⁶

Finally, it is important to note that the Views have many other (non-Italian related) features relevant to the study of trade-related language in mid-fifteenth century England. As the edition has been published in English translation only, this text is very much deserving of a full linguistic examination in a future study. In addition to its value as a late AN-matrix, non-literary source with a range of language-mixing, its ME vocabulary is also of lexicographical interest. To give just a few brief examples, we find new earliest vernacular attestations of *cannabis* ('hemp'),¹⁷ *hod* ('open receptacle'),¹⁸ *mother of pearl* ('shiny inner layer of shells')¹⁹ and *potash* ('fabric-bleaching compound')²⁰ which all antedate current OED entries by forty to 140 years. There are new attestations of very rare ME words such as *popper*

¹⁵ This is possibly a semantic loan < (*zetano*) *rifessi*; a term for heavy satins, meaning "woven in pairs, then divided" (Bradley 2012: 35).

¹⁶ E101/128/30 r.6; VOH 16: 6-73, transcr. p. 21. Cf. Bradley (2012: 35).

¹⁷ Three attestations, e.g. from 1440-41: *En primez le xx iour du May lan suisdit CCiiij quartres canabus v dossen glasses* (E101/128/32; VOH 3: 58, transcr. p. 146). Cf. Bradley (2012: 4). See OED2 sub **cannabis** (att. 1548), MED Ø, AND Ø.

¹⁸ Seven attestations, e.g. from 1440-41: *ij dossen sperys pur niefs & iij hode hoppys* (E101/128/32 ; VOH 3: 67, transcr. p. 146.) Cf. Bradley (2012: 4). See OED2 sub **hod** (att. 1573), MED Ø, AND Ø. Note that in the Views, *hods* are only used to carry hops, not bricks.

¹⁹ One attestation from 1440: *j pax bord of moder of perle garnished with gold & xvij rybies* (E101/128/30 r.6; VOH 16: 202, transcr. p.25). Cf. Bradley (2012: 40). See OED3 **mother-of-pearl** (att. 1547) / sub **mother-pearl** (att. 1500). MED Ø, AND Ø.

²⁰ One attestation from 1441-42: *iiij weye talloughe ij barellis potteasshene price lxx^s viij^d* (E101/ 128/31; VOH 37: 73, transcr. p. 97). Cf. Bradley (2012:86). See OED3 sub **potash** (att. 1504), MED Ø, AND Ø.

(‘small dagger’)²¹ and several kinds of eel (*pimpernel*, *stubble-eel*, *shaft-eel* and *middle-eel*).²² We also find a new AN-matrix citation of *pawtener* (‘beggar’s purse, small pouch’), a secondary meaning not yet listed in the AND (cf. AND1 sub **pautener**, ‘rogue, scoundrel’).²³ Lastly, the Views could offer valuable information into the etymology of *currant*, as both the longer name (*Raisins of Corans*, *resones de coraunce* etc.)²⁴ and the shorter one (*querens*)²⁵ are used frequently and interchangeably over the period 1440-44. As such, this source represents a sort of ‘missing link’ and further confirms Rothwell’s argument (1993: 44 / 1998: 8) that the abbreviated (and ultimately surviving) form emerged in AN earlier than the c1500 date given by the OED / MED.

3. Main loanword summary: Imports from Italian

The following table lists the eighty Italian mercantile loanwords collated from our corpus, c1200-1450 and corresponds to fiches 1-80 in Volume 2. An analysis of their overall significance is presented in section 4, below.

No.	Headword ²⁶ and gloss	Date / matrix language of first att. in England	Italian etymon	Attest- ation type	Semantic field
1	attaby (n.) ‘plain, tabby-weave silk’	1397 (AN)	<i>attabì</i>	2b	textile
2	avery (n.) ‘maritime tax’	1450 (ME)	<i>averie</i>	3b	financial

²¹ One attestation from 1440-41: *v dossen glasses iij dossen poppers xx dossen cultelles & diverse autre haberdassherie* (E101/128/32; VOH 3: 59, transcr. p. 146). Cf. Bradley (2012: 4). Only one other medieval British citation in Chaucer’s *Reeve’s Tale*, c1390. See OED3 / MED sub **popper**. AND Ø.

²² Over twenty attestations, e.g. from 1440-41: *Et j barelle rede ele j barelle pimpernellis ij barellis middel ele salsis valu liijs iij*⁴³. *Et viij barellis stubbibile j barel & viij petitiz eyghtendeles dez anguillis rougez valu ixli xs [...]* *Item a John Wellys iij barellis shafie ele* (E101/128/31 r22; VOH 49: 17-19 / 24, transcr.p. 89). Cf. Bradley (2012: 118). OED Ø, MED Ø, AND Ø. Stubble-eels, pimperneels and shaft-eels are also found in a BML-matrix civic record from 1411-12 and are discussed in *London Sources of English* (Wright 1996: 98-99). Middle-eels are unattested elsewhere.

²³ One attestation from 1440-41: *En primez le xiiije ioure de Janvare lan suisdit x dossen pawteners xx dossen quaterspelles C libres countres* (E101/128/32; VOH 3: 18, transcr. p. 145). Cf. Bradley (2012: 3) It seems in this case that the dozen pouches are intended to hold chequer pieces or similar. Note that the AND1 entry sub **pantener** does contain the word *pantener* (probably mistranscribed), glossed as ‘game bag?’ in a single citation from Walter of Henley’s treatise on estate management (c1285).

²⁴ Fifteen attestations, e.g. from 1440: *Item v barellez raisins de Corans* (E101/128/30 r.7; VOH 17: 10, transcr. p. 27). Cf. Bradley (2012: 43).

²⁵ Thirty-six attestations e.g. from 1441-42: *la moitee de xxiiij buttes de querens* (E101/128/30, r.1; VOH 48: 66, transcr. p. 2). Cf. Bradley (2012: 105). See OED2 sub **currant**, MED sub **corauns**, AND sub **raisin / Corinthe**. As mentioned above, see Rothwell’s ‘Anglo-Norman at the (Green)grocer’s’ (1998) for the importance of consulting AN sources in establishing the history of *currant* and other similar commodity names.

²⁶ The rationale behind choosing the form of headword for a borrowing is explained in the guide to the layout of the loanword fiches (see Volume 2, section 1i).

3	baldekin (n.) 'heavy, brocaded silk'	1218 (BML)	<i>baldacchino</i>	2b	textile
4	balet (n.) 'small bale of goods'	1427 (AN)	<i>balletta</i>	2b	containers / bundles
5	belendin (adj.) 'type of Indian ginger'	14 th c. (AN)	<i>belledi</i>	2a	sugar / spice / sweetmeat
6	bokeram (n.) 'fine linen fabric'	c1170 (AN)	<i>bucharama</i>	2b	textile
7	bukasin (n.) 'fine linen / cotton fabric'	1397 (AN)	<i>boccaccino</i>	2b	textile
8	caffatin (adj.) 'quality loaf sugar'	c1348 (AN)	<i>caffettino</i>	2b	sugar / spice / sweetmeat
9	calaber (n.) 'grey squirrel fur'	c1307 (AN)	<i>Calabria</i>	2b	fur
10	calfater (v.) 'to caulk (a ship)'	c1347 (AN)	<i>calafatare</i>	2b	maritime
11	camaca (n.) 'patterned silk'	c1275 (AN)	<i>cammocca</i>	2b	textile
12	camelin (n.) 'mixed-fibre fabric'	c1220 (AN)	<i>cammellino</i>	2b	textile
13	carat (n.) 'measure of gems / gold'	1267 (BML)	<i>carato</i>	2b	unit of measurement
14	carpet (n.) 'large, thick piece of fabric'	1328 (BML)	<i>carpeta</i>	2b	textile
15	carrak (n.) 'large, merchant ship'	1381 (BML)	<i>caracca</i>	2b	maritime
16	cassel (n.) 'chest / coffer'	1397 (AN)	<i>cassella</i>	2b	containers / bundles
17	casset (n.) 'small chest'	1435 (AN)	<i>cassetta</i>	1b	containers / bundles
18	celestrin (adj.) 'sky-blue coloured'	1396 (AN)	<i>cilestrino</i>	2a	textile
19	ceta (n.) 'silk'	c1441 (AN)	<i>seta</i>	1a	textile
20	columbin (adj.) 'type of Indian ginger'	1414 (AN)	<i>colombino</i>	2b	sugar / spice / sweetmeat
21	comyt (n.) 'galley commander'	c1435 (AN)	<i>còmito</i>	1b	maritime
22	confection (n.) 'preserve / sweetmeat'	c1384 (AN)	<i>confezione</i>	2a	sugar / spice / sweetmeat
23	cot (n.) 'sugar refining process'	c1440 (AN)	<i>cotta</i>	1a	sugar / spice / sweetmeat
24	cotegante (n.) 'quince marmalade'	c1399 (ME)	<i>cotognato</i>	2b	sugar / spice / sweetmeat
25	cotun (n.) 'fabric made from lint fibre'	1208 (BML)	<i>cotone</i>	2b	textile
26	cramoisé (adj. /n.) 'crimson coloured (silk)'	c1307 (AN)	<i>crèmissi</i>	2b	textile
27	creditour (n.) 'money-lender'	c1326 (AN)	<i>creditore</i>	2b	financial
28	damaske (n.) 'heavy, patterned silk'	c1390 (AN)	<i>damasco</i>	2b	textile
29	demyt (n.) 'coarse cotton cloth'	1330 (BML)	<i>dimito</i>	3a	textile
30	ditto (adj.) 'aforementioned'	1450 (ME)	<i>ditto</i>	3a	admin. language
31	ducat (n.) 'gold Venetian coin'	c1384 (ME)	<i>ducato</i>	3b	financial
32	fangot (n.)	1294 (BML)	<i>fangotto</i>	2a	containers /

	‘bundle of cloth’				bundles
33	florin (n.) ‘gold Florentine coin’	c1300 (AN)	<i>fiorino</i>	2b	financial
34	fortune (de mer) (n.) ‘storm at sea’	c1377 (AN)	<i>fortuna (di mare)</i>	1b	maritime
35	gabelle (n.) ‘tax on goods’	1376 (AN)	<i>gabella</i>	2b	financial
36	galio^I (n.) ‘small, fast galley’	1147 (BML)	<i>galeotta</i>	2b	maritime
37	galio^{II} (n.) ‘pirate / crew member’	1190 (BML)	<i>galeotto</i>	2b	maritime
38	garbeler (v.) ‘to sift refuse from spices’	1303 (BML)	<i>garbellare</i>	2b	sugar / spice / sweetmeat
39	goulf (n.) ‘large bay’	1356 (AN)	<i>golfo</i>	2b	maritime
40	go(u)ndel ‘gondola, small boat’	1417 (BML)	<i>gondola</i>	1b	maritime
41	imperial (n.) ‘heavy, brocaded silk’	c1178 (BML)	<i>imperiale</i>	2b	textile
42	legea (adj. / n.) ‘raw silk’	1440 (AN)	<i>leggi</i>	1a	textile
43	madrian (n.) ‘ginger sweetmeat / conserve’	1329 (BML)	<i>madria</i>	2b	sugar / spice / sweetmeat
44	magasyne (n.) ‘warehouse’	1450 (ME)	<i>magazzino</i>	3b	storage of goods
45	Malik (p.n.)²⁷ ‘Malaga in Spain’	c1325 (AN)	<i>Malica</i>	1a	other foodstuff
46	malvesey (n.) ‘sweet, Greek wine’	c1375 (AN)	<i>malvasia</i>	2b	wine
47	maramas (n.) ‘gold brocaded silk’	1330 (BML)	<i>maramato</i>	1b	textile
48	materas (n.) ‘mattress’	1208 (BML)	<i>materasso</i>	2b	textile
49	maykyn (adj.) ‘type of ginger from Mecca’	1414 (AN)	<i>micchino</i>	2b	sugar / spice / sweetmeat
50	measane (adj.) ‘medium-quality (silk)’	1440 (AN)	<i>mezzani</i>	1a	textile
51	mesan (n.) ‘mizzen mast’	c1341 (BML)	<i>mez(z)ana</i>	2b	maritime
52	million (n.) ‘100, 000 / one million’	1360 (AN)	<i>milione</i>	2b	financial
53	nak (n.) ‘patterned cloth of gold’	1315 (BML)	<i>nacchi</i>	1b	textile
54	nassik (n.) ‘patterned cloth of gold’	c1350 (BML)	<i>nasicci</i>	1b	textile
55	net (adj.) ‘remaining (weight / money)’	1418 (ME)	<i>netto</i>	2b	financial
56	n^o (n.) ‘abbreviation for <i>numero</i> ’	1450 (ME)	<i>n^o</i>	3a	admin. language
57	(oro) filado (n.) ‘gold thread’	1440 (AN)	<i>(oro) filado</i>	1a	textile
58	patron (n.) ‘ship’s captain / master’	1338 (BML)	<i>patrone</i>	2b	maritime
59	pecheline (n.)	?a1400 (ME)	<i>picciolino</i>	3a	financial

²⁷ This toponym is used only as a qualifier for figs and grapes in the AND entries sub **Malec** / **Malik**. It has been included in the Imports Glossary as it seems to have been borrowed into AN, via Italian, from Arabic. Note that Italian city names such as Florence, Venice and Genoa, although obviously attested in AN / ME sources, are not included in this thesis, nor are such lexemes usually given entries in historical dictionaries.

	‘low value Florentine coin’				
60	paunace (n.) ‘peacock-blue coloured’	1208 (BML)	<i>paonazzo</i>	2b	textile
61	poupe (n.) ‘ship’s stern’	1409 (AN)	<i>poppa</i>	2b	maritime
62	(pume d’)orange (n.) ‘Seville orange’	c1200 (AN)	<i>(pomo)rancio / (mel)arancia</i>	2b	other foodstuff
63	(pume)gernet (n.) ‘pomegranate’	13 th c. (AN)	<i>(pomo) granato</i>	2b	other foodstuff
64	ragamas (n.) ‘patterned, textured silk’	1349 (BML)	<i>raccamare</i>	2b	textile
65	ris (n.) ‘rice: the edible grain’	1205 (BML)	<i>riso</i>	2b	other foodstuff
66	sarme (n.) ‘unit of capacity’	1436 (AN)	<i>sarma</i>	1a	unit of measurement
67	sarzinett (n.) ‘light silk’	1365 (BML)	<i>saracinata</i>	2b	textile
68	satın (n.) ‘glossy type of silk’	1345 (AN)	<i>satino / zetano</i>	2b	textile
69	sport(in) (n.) ‘(small) basket’	1427 (AN)	<i>sporta / sportino</i>	1a	containers / bundles
70	(suchre) candi (n.) ‘crystallized cane sugar’	1242 (BML)	<i>(zucchero) candi</i>	2b	sugar / spice / sweetmeat
71	taffata (n.) ‘plain, tabby weave silk’	c1330 (BML)	<i>taffetta</i>	2b	textile
72	talany (n.) ‘raw silk’	1440 (AN)	<i>talani</i>	1a	textile
73	tare (n.) ‘deduction from gross weight’	c1379 (AN)	<i>tara</i>	2b	financial
74	tarette (n.) ‘long, flat merchant ship’	1342 (AN)	<i>tareta</i>	2b	maritime
75	tartarin (n.) ‘plain, tabby weave silk’	1339 (BML)	<i>tartarino</i>	2b	textile
76	timon (n.) ‘rudder / tiller’	1324 (BML)	<i>timone</i>	1b	maritime
77	tramontaine (n.) ‘the North Star’	a1282 (AN)	<i>tramontana</i>	2b	maritime
78	velvete (adj.) ‘like velvet’	1440 (AN)	<i>(zetani) vellutato</i>	1a	textile
79	vernage (n.) ‘wine from north-west Italy’	c1300 (AN)	<i>Vernaccia</i>	2b	wine
80	yndigo (adj.) ‘deep blue-purple coloured’	1440 (AN)	<i>indigo</i>	1a	textile

4. Imports Glossary discussion

i) Introduction

The earliest citation in the Imports Glossary is from 1147 sub **galio**ⁱ; this could be a direct Greek borrowing in Osbert of Bawdsey’s BML text or could be our earliest Italianism. There are three other loanwords first attested in the twelfth century, two in BML-matrix sources (**imperial** in c1178 and **galio**ⁱⁱ in 1190) and one in AN (**bokeram**, c1170). However, all other seventy-six headwords are attested in England between 1200 and 1450. The 1450 cut-

off point is convenient, of course, but was also chosen because I have not found any Italian loanwords in an AN text dating later than 1444 (*The Views of the Hosts*), with the notable exception of *orchell* in 1483-84.²⁸ This is to be expected, as the switch from AN to ME as a language of business and administration was well under way in the fifteenth century (cf. Durkin 2014: 229-30, Alcolado Carnicero 2014). Extending our corpus to 1450 encompasses the period in which commercial AN and ME can still reliably be assumed to be interacting and allows us to focus on direct loanwords in ME or ones that seems to stem from an unattested AN form. The role played by CF in the transmission of Italian loanwords into the mercantile languages of England must be carefully considered but this role is undoubtedly less dominant prior to 1450: see discussion below.

Given that this glossary is relatively small and non-exhaustive, any statistical analysis based upon it has to be carried out with a realistic sense of caution. Any historical linguistic data is, by its very nature, incomplete as there are always gaps in the record. We should be wary of jumping to conclusions when so many factors can skew the results. A lexeme may seem like a convincing Italian loanword in England based on the current available evidence but future research could offer proof that the etymon is actually Occitan, Portuguese or Spanish. An individual source may have an unusually high number of Italianisms that is far from typical in the merchant community. Similarly, a particular half-century may appear to show no new borrowing at all when, in fact, there are several mixed-language account books from that very period which have vanished or survive, undiscovered, in an archive. The late 1100s may seem to offer hardly any attestations compared to the 1300s but, of course, the extant corpus of material from the fourteenth century is much bigger than that of the twelfth. The same lexeme may have randomly survived in an AN text but not in an ME one or vice versa, affecting the accuracy of our transmission route theories. A loanword may also be used once and then disappear for a century to be re-borrowed later, in which case our earliest date of attestation may be misleading.

Problems can arise too when a loanword has either a tiny or very large number of attestations. A hapax, like **ceta**, attested only once in a single English source might simply represent a scribal (or indeed editorial) error and may not be an Italianism at all.²⁹ **Satin**, at

²⁸ See *orchell*, Table 1: Volume 2, Appendices.

²⁹ Vidos discussed loanwords hapaxes, particularly Italian technical terms in French, on many occasions. He warned against so-called *mots de dictionnaires* - such as the supposed Italianisms in CF *mesolaine* ('type of cloth') or *persiguine* ('colour of peach-blossom') - whose creation was due solely to errors on the part of the lexicographer, transcriber or printer. Equally however, he stressed at length the value of genuine *curiosité lexicologique* to the study of borrowing: "ce n'est que jusqu'à plus ample informé qu'un mot figurant une seule fois dans un texte peut être considéré comme un hapax. Et même si un mot ne se rencontre qu'une seule fois

the other extreme, is so widespread in the medieval mercantile records of England and France (not to mention the rest of Europe), that is almost impossible to quantify the role that Italian *satino / zettano* played in its propagation.³⁰ Even with less widely attested examples, it can be complicated to disentangle potential Romance etyma and the Glossary contains several examples where Occitan (e.g. **balet**, **fortune (de mer)**, **galiotⁱ**, **mesan**), Spanish (e.g. **bukasin**, **Malik**) or Portuguese (e.g. **carrak**) may well have been important contributors to a loanword's transmission. Furthermore, we have to be wary of oversimplifying the movement of vocabulary and accept that each extant citation has its own unique history: a borrowing may well be from Italian in one source but from Occitan in another, depending on the individual circumstances and interactions of the writer.³¹

With all these caveats in mind however, we can still clearly see several general patterns in the analysis of these eighty loanwords from c1200 to c1450 which offer valuable insight into the key areas of Italian trade-related language contact in England. Broadly speaking, three overlapping strategies were employed to identify these Italianisms as confidently as possible and justify their inclusion in the Imports Glossary:

a) Nature of source text and historical context

In many cases, there are clear, specific links between a document and Italian influence in England (as detailed in Chapter 2). The circumstances of these English texts' production entailed close contact with Italian bankers, merchants and galley captains, be they in government or royal circles, in port towns or London livery companies. In the case of the final example, below - the *Cantelowe Accounts* - we know that the author lived and worked

dans un texte, sa présence dans ce texte peut constituer un chaînon important dans son histoire [...] Les hapax ou les mots isolés dans les textes peuvent en outre avoir une importance non seulement linguistique, mais aussi historique et culturelle” (Vidos 1965: 358-61).

³⁰ Schendl and Wright (2011: 31) discuss this problem of pan-European commercial lexis in the later Middle Ages in *Codeswitching in Early English*: “As commodities emanating from a particular place were exported and traded in numerous other trading centres, this gave rise to simultaneous borrowings for the name of that item in various languages, begging the question as to whether such forms are best regarded as borrowings or whether they brought something of their original language (or code) with them, for example in pronunciation, or cultural connotations, and if so, for how long; or whether it is better not to regard them as part of the lexicon of individual languages at all, but as ‘international’ words?”

³¹ Similar issues are examined in detail by the former DEAF director, Frankwalt Möhren, in an article from 2010 which uses the etymological test case of *alum* (alum rock, a dye fixer) to stress the importance of a multilingual approach to multilingual vocabulary. He stresses the need to consult a wide range of sources from numerous national corpora, including previously overlooked commercial and legal documents. At the same time, we must embrace the fact that these ‘languages’ all blended together at the borders and were much less linguistically and politically defined than they are today.

in Tuscany for at least a year (see Chapter 5). In such instances, a convincing argument for the presence of an Italian loanword, in that source at the very least, can be made:

- Queen Isabella's Inventory (1307-08) e.g. **cramoisé, calaber, camaca, materas**.
- The Great Wardrobe Accounts (1360-1462) e.g. **attaby, baldekin, damaske, tartarin**.
- The Accounts of the Worshipful Company of Grocers (1345-1463)³² e.g. **balet, garbeler, maykyn, tare**.
- *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, Volumes 3 and 4 (1377-1437) e.g. **creditour, fortune, patron, satin**.
- The Southampton Ports Books and Local Port Books (1427-36) e.g. **confection, cotegnate, fangot, sport(in)**.
- The Views of the Hosts of Alien Merchants (1440-44) e.g. **ceta, cot, talany, yndigo**.
- The Cantelowe Accounts (1450-51) e.g. **avery, ditto, magasyne, net**.

As also discussed in Chapter 2, there were three general spheres of influence dominated by Italians in medieval England where language contact with AN / ME was very likely, if not inevitable:

- the import of sought-after luxury goods from the Mediterranean, Middle East and beyond which influenced lexis to describe exotic cloths and raw silks (e.g. **attaby, maramas, taffata, talany**), cottons (e.g. **bokeram, cotun**), dyes and fabric colours (e.g. **celestrin, cramoisé, paunace, yndigo**), spices (e.g. **belendin, columbin, garbeler**), grades of sugar (e.g. **caffatin, cot**) and wines (e.g. **vernage, malvesey**).
- currency, fiscal duties, banking and accounting techniques in which the Italians, especially the Tuscans, led advances in Europe e.g. **avery, creditour, ditto, ducat, florin, gabelle, net, n^o, pecheline, tare**.

³² It should be noted that this source (the facsimile edition of the archives of the Company of Grocers, edited by Kingdon in 1886) is notoriously difficult to consult, with only a handful of library copies available worldwide and no access to the text on the Internet Archive or Google Books (cf. Pagan 2012: 132). A recent study on the shift to ME in the Grocers Accounts does offer some useful information however; according to Alcolado Carnicero (2014: 3, 6), AN persists as a language of record in the company until the 1420s, much later than the suggested first appearance of ME in 1345, cited by earlier studies.

- shipping and navigation, an area dominated by the Venetians and the Genoese who brought not just goods but their own maritime lexis as they sailed into the ports of southern England e.g. **carrak**, **comyt**, **fortune (de mer)**, **patron**, **tramountaine** and **tarette**.

b) Languages of attestation and a loanword's form:

In some cases, based simply on the AN / ME lexeme's form, the direct influence of an Italian etymon is convincing, especially when there is no equivalent borrowing in medieval CF e.g. **ditto** is clearly derived from *ditto*, **talany** from *talani*, **sarme** from *sarma*, **sport(in)** from *sporta / sportino* and **yndigo** from *yndego*. Lexemes attested only in Italian and AN (Type 1a) or ME (Type 3a) offer the least problematic examples of direct borrowing such as AN (**satin**) **velvetate** from Italian (*zettani*) *vellutato* or ME **demyt** from Italian *dimito*. Furthermore, in several cases highlighted in section iii, below, such as **baldekin** and **tarette**, insular French has its own dominant variant of an Italian borrowing, strengthening the argument for a separate transmission route into England, independent of CF.

c) Prior academic consensus:

As discussed in Chapter 1, no thorough investigation has yet been undertaken into the presence of Italianisms in AN or into AN's specific role in transmitting these Italianisms into ME. However, a small number of lexemes from the OED / MED corpora have been identified as of Italian origin, either (depending on the scholar) directly, or indirectly via 'French'. These lexemes include the following nine trade-related loanwords from this glossary attested prior to 1450. *Demyt*, *ducat* and *go(u)ndel* are found only in ME and / or BML but the other six borrowings are also attested in AN sources:

Imports Glossary headword:	Pinnavaia (2001)	Dietz (2005)	Durkin (2014)
celestrin	p.312	pp.582-83	X
cramoisé	pp.274 / 312	pp.587-89	X
demyt	p.312	pp.589-90	X
ducat	X	X	p.370 ³³
florin	X	p.580	X

³³ Note that in Durkin's view, *ducat* is an Italian loanword that probably entered ME via BML. This is presumably because its first appearance in ME is in the translation of the BML *Polychronicon* (cf. Imports Glossary sub **ducat**).

garbeler	p.274	pp.591-92	X
go(u)ndel	X	p.592	X
million	X	p.580	p.369
tramontaine	p.306	p. 601	X

As we know, a much wider range of work has been undertaken on Italian loanwords in the languages of medieval France (cf. Chapter 1.2iii). Twenty-seven (approximately one third) of the words in the Imports Glossary have been identified as Italianisms in CF prior to 1500 by Vidos, Hope and / or Fennis, as shown below.³⁴ Unsurprisingly, given the nautical focus of both Vidos and Fennis' studies, ship types, maritime taxes and navigational terms predominate.

Imports Glossary headword	Vidos (1939)	Hope (1971)	Fennis (1995)
avery	pp.218-24	X	X
calfater	pp.265-66	p.32	pp.450-57
carat	X	p.33	p.486
carrak	pp.290-91	p.33	X
comyt	p.331	p.35	p.592
cotun	pp.336-38	p.35	p.644
ducat	X	p.37	X
fortune (de mer)	p.399-402	p.39	p.954
gabelle	X	p.40	X
galiot ⁱ	X	X	p.1000
galiot ⁱⁱ	X	X	p.998
goulf	Vidos 1965: 237-45	p.40	X
go(u)ndel	pp.430-34	X	p.36
magasyne	X	p.43	X
malvesey	X	p.43	X
materas	X	p.44	p.1213
mesan	p.482	p.44	p.1219
patron	X	X	pp. 1365-67
poupe	pp.543-44	X	p.1477
(pume)gernet	X	p.41	X
ris	X	p.49	X
(suchre) candi	X	p.32	X
taffata	X	p.51	p.1705
tare	X	p.51	X
tarette	y	X	y
timon	X	X	p.1751
tramontaine	pp. 588-90	p.51	p.1772

³⁴ There are five cases where these authors particularly stress the multilingual origins of a loanword in CF. They propose additional Romance etyma that very likely influenced borrowing in France alongside Italian dialects: from Occitan (**calfater**, **fortune de mer**, **galiotⁱ**, **poupe**) and from Catalan (**mesan**). Note also Durkin's comments on this last loanword in ME: "In some cases, such as the nautical term *mizzen* (1416), the mode of transmission is entirely unclear, and there is little to rule out transmission directly from Italian, although also nothing to rule out transmission via any of several other languages [i.e. AN / CF / Catalan / Occitan / Spanish / Portuguese]" (Durkin 2014: 370).

Whilst the works of these three authors have been most useful in identifying potential candidates to investigate for the Imports Glossary, an Italianism in CF should not be assumed to have entered AN ‘indirectly’ from France. In many cases, language contact seems to have been direct between an Italian dialect and insular French, as is discussed more fully in section iii, below.

Finally, the significance of the core corpus of eighty loanwords presented here in Chapter 3 is further strengthened by comparison with fifty-four additional borrowings, summarised in the thesis Appendices. Note that Graphs 1, 2 and 3, below, include these two key sets of data:

- Mercantile Italianisms attested in ME in the half-century immediately after our cut-off date i.e. 1450-1500 (see Table 1: Volume 2, Appendices)
- Non-mercantile Italianisms attested in AN / ME throughout the period 1200-1500 (see Table 2: Volume 2, Appendices)

ii) Semantic fields

Semantic field c1200-1450:	Number of loanwords:
Textile	30
Maritime	14
Sugar / spice / sweetmeat	10
Financial ³⁵	9
Containers / bundles	5
Other foodstuff	4
Wine	2
Administrative language	2
Unit of measurement	2
Storage of goods	1
Fur	1
Total	80

The pivotal role of the luxury fabric market in Anglo-Italian trade, especially in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, is clearly reflected in the borrowed lexis analysed from c1200-1450. By far the largest single semantic field (just over a third of loanwords) is that of textiles. Of these, 50% or fifteen lexemes are types of originally Middle Eastern or Oriental silks, the second largest semantic group in the Imports Glossary.

³⁵ This group includes coin types (**florin**, **ducat**, **pecheline**), duties and taxes (e.g. **avery**, **gabelle**, **tare**), numbers (**milion**) and the banking related terms, **creditour** and **net**.

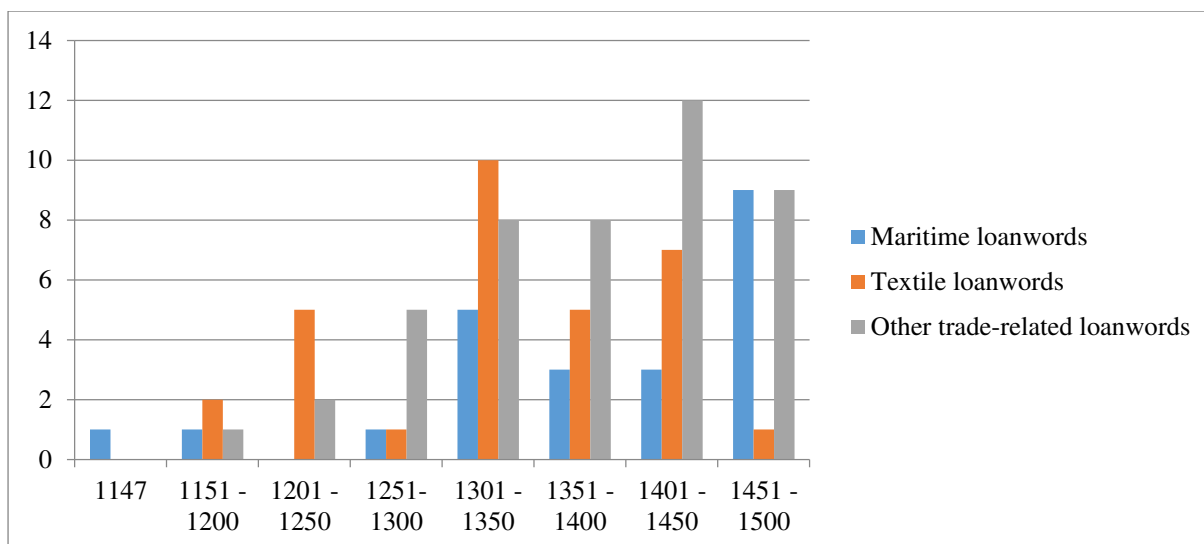
Silks		Cottons / linens	Wool mix	Descriptive terms	Colours and dyestuffs	Items made of fabric	Thread
attaby baldekin camaca ceta damaske imperial maramas nak	nassik ragamas sarzinett satin taffata talany tartarin	bokeram bukasin cotun demyt	camelin	legea measane velvetate	celestrin cramoisé paunace yndigo	carpet materas	ore filado

Nearly as prolific as exotic silks are maritime terms, with fourteen loanwords. The lexis (and lives) of the merchant, traveller and sailor frequently overlapped (Marco Polo being an obvious example) and this is mirrored in the proportion of nautical vocabulary. The undisputed dominance of the Venetians and Genoese both in shipping technology and trade in the eastern Mediterranean was inextricably linked to medieval Italian influence on mercantile AN / ME. In several key cases (notably **calfater**, **galiot**ⁱ, **poupe**, and **timon**), there is strong evidence for the transfer of Italian technical vocabulary into CF in the royal naval dockyards at Rouen, a known ‘melting pot’ of Italian and French technical vocabulary in the 1330s, from where it was passed on into AN (Vidos: 1965: 297-98, Trotter 2003b: 23-24 / 2011d: 170).

Naturally, ‘maritime’ indicates an extremely broad semantic category, covering diverse sub-groups of ships, people and equipment:

Ship type	Part of ship	Crew	Navigation	Weather	Processes
carrak galiot ⁱ go(u)ndel tarette	mesan poupe timon	comyt galiot ⁱⁱ patron	goulf tramontaine	fortune (de mer)	calfater

Combined, therefore, textile and maritime terminology clearly dominate the corpus, representing over half of our Italian loanwords. Textile-related lexis is attested in particularly high numbers (twenty-two out of the thirty examples) over the period 1301-1450. If we add, for comparison, the trade-related loanwords attested in ME between 1451 and 1500 (e.g. *arygon*, *bank*, *orchell* and *oz*.), we see a clear drop in new textile terminology which is overtaken for the first time by maritime borrowing.



Graph 1: Comparison over fifty year periods of maritime, textile and other trade loanwords from Italian in AN / ME texts (1147-1500)³⁶

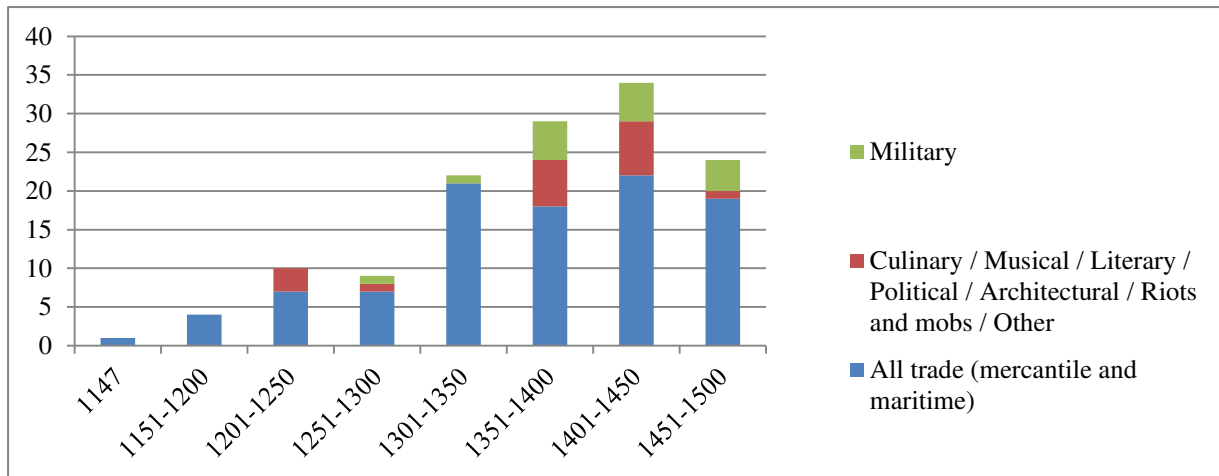
Whilst far from exhaustive, this useful comparative exercise shows that the numbers of new borrowings of Italian origin in English corpora remained roughly stable (nineteen in 1451-1500 as opposed to twenty-two in 1401-50 and sixteen in 1351-1400) but that the proportions of the semantic fields changed considerably, with only one textile term (*turkin*) but more maritime (e.g. *arygon*, *fust*, *skiff*) and financial (e.g. *bank*, *grosset*, *solde*) lexis in the second half of the fifteenth century.

Increase in other mercantile lexis from 1301 to 1400 is mainly due to the attestation of financial terms (e.g. **ducat**, **gabelle**, **milion**, **net**, **tare**) and those related to sugar, spices and sweetmeats (e.g. **belendin**, **cotegante**, **caffatin**, **garbeler**, **madrian**). Combined, these two semantic fields account for fourteen out of eighteen of the ‘other trade-related’ loanwords in the fourteenth century. In the first half of the fifteenth century, however, they account for only three out of eleven loanwords in the non -textile / non-maritime category. This period has the widest mix of semantic fields in the glossary with two administrative abbreviations (**ditto** and **n^o**), three types of containers / bundles (**balet** / **casset** / **sport(in)**), one lexeme relating to the storage of goods (**magasyne**) and one unit of measurement (**sarme**).

Not all Italianisms in medieval English sources were directly linked to merchant activity and dictionaries record thirty-five loanwords in AN / ME of probable Italian origin from the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, principally in the fields of warfare, cooking, music, politics, literature and architecture e.g. *alarm*, *salade*, *bemol*, *courtesan*, *vecke* and *gallerie*. It

³⁶ In the cases of (**pume**)**gernet** and **belendin** where the only attestation dates are “13th c.” and “14th c.”, respectively, attestation in the second half of the relevant century has been assumed for purposes of these graphs.

is useful to compare the main core of mercantile lexis in the Imports Glossary with these non-trade borrowings (listed in the Appendices). Even taking into account the high proportion of military vocabulary (sixteen loanwords), non-mercantile vocabulary of Italian origin in medieval England is still dwarfed by that in the fields of commerce and shipping. The following graph clearly demonstrates the overall dominance of trade as impetus for Anglo-Italian language contact prior to the sixteenth century:



Graph 2: A comparison of semantic field: loanwords of probable Italian origin in AN and /or ME (1147-1500)³⁷

iii) Attestation and transmission

One of the main aims of this thesis is to identify words of Italian origin in the AN corpus and this glossary shows that there are many of them. A more complex issue is deciding which are ‘direct’ Italianisms and which are ‘indirect’ or ‘Gallo-Italianisms’ (i.e. passed on via CF). Loanwords such as the colour **yndigo** attested in AN in 1440 but absent from CF until 1544 offer unproblematic evidence of direct contact. Yet nearly three quarters (fifty-eight out of eighty) of the lexemes in this glossary are also found in CF texts before 1500. This is unsurprising given that Italian trade, banking and shipping was also very widespread in late medieval France (cf. Hope 1971: 55-56 / Trotter 2006c). However, it would be wrong to assume that all Italianisms in the English mercantile records were first ‘filtered through’ CF. As we have seen, there was indeed a considerable influx of Italian military and maritime

³⁷ It is worth sounding a note of caution at this point; obviously, I have focused on the lexis of trade and not looked for additional sources, absent from dictionaries, in non-trade fields such as cookery or literature. However, given the strength and duration of commercial links between Italy and England in the later Middle Ages as detailed in Chapter 2, I do not think that such a focus has skewed the data on language contact, rather that the project’s findings mirror the reality of language contact in the period in question.

terms transmitted into early modern English via CF from the 1500s onwards (cf. Chapter 1.2iii,) but we should not automatically superimpose this model of language contact onto the trilingual trading lexis of late medieval England.

Given the exceptional and influential Italian presence in England from the mid-1200s to the mid-1400s, it would be illogical to suggest that all French-Italian interaction stopped at the Channel and that all Italian borrowings in AN relied solely on the agency of CF. The realities and complexities of the flow of trade and its lexis must have meant that this was only one of a range of routes of transmission. Such routes, or rather networks of language contact, included not just the medieval dialects of Italian and French but also ME and BML.³⁸ We need to accept the highly intricate nature of the borrowing process, the number of factors involved and find a balance that considers both AN's autonomy and its close relationship with CF.³⁹

There is no doubt that CF played a key role in introducing some Italian loanwords into insular French pre-1450. As mentioned above, we can confidently track the route of transmission of Genoese *poppa* ('stern of a ship') in the Rouen shipyards of the 1330s where northern Italian craftsmen were employed by the French king to build his fleet (Vidos 1965: 297-98, Trotter 2003b: 23-24 / 2011d: 170); CF *poupe* was then later passed on into AN as **poupe** and eventually became English *poop*. In the case of **carat** ('measure of weight for gold or jewels'), the dates of attestation clearly point to a technical term of Arabic origin passing into CF via the language of Italian goldsmiths and from CF into AN over a century later.⁴⁰

Even so, in numerous instances, we are surely dealing with a separate mercantile community with its own direct language contact with Italian dialects. Borrowing from Italian could well have happened independently (simultaneously or at different points in time) in

³⁸ In his recent wide-ranging study on loanwords in the OED3, Durkin (2014: 262) confirms that words borrowed from French peak in ME in the late fourteenth century and that more "French and /or Latin" vocabulary was absorbed into English over the period 1350-1450 than at any other time. Crucially, this represents "the tail end of a period of trilingualism, in which an individual might be called on to express the same concepts in English, French or Latin, either in speech and writing. It is therefore unsurprising that when English comes to be used as a written medium in functions where one or both of the other languages had previously been used, we find that this is very often done using precisely those words that were equivalent and familiar in both of the other languages of this trilingual society". Such a model of commercial lexis transfer could equally well have applied to originally 'foreign' lexemes such as Italianisms than were absorbed during this period into ME from AN (or BML).

³⁹ As we saw in Chapter 1.2i, the extent of AN's linguistic independence from continental dialects as well as the length and breadth of its usage within the British Isles have provided scholars with matter for debate for well over a century.

⁴⁰ Other examples where the agency of CF is likely are found in the Type 1b and 2b entries sub **calfater** / **carrak** / **casset** / **cotun** / **gabelle** / **galiot**ⁱⁱ / **goulf** / **madrian** / **maramas** / **milion** / **patron** / **(pume)gernet** / **tare** / **timon**. The relevant loanword fiches should be consulted for more details.

both in AN and CF. Arguably, the name for a sought-after luxury like crystalized sugar, (**suchre**) **candi**, infiltrated the commercial vocabularies of England and France separately, given that import was dominated by groups of Italian merchants (in particular, the Venetians, cf. Adamson 2004: 28) in both countries. We have earliest records of its purchase in the accounts of the English King's Spicer, c1242, whilst *candi* was first attested in CF almost concurrently in 1256 in a medical treatise by the bilingual scholar, Aldobrandino da Siena. In a similar vein, the dark grey fur of the Calabrian squirrel (**calaber**) was a popular product in the English and French royal courts and features in both the AN inventories of Queen Isabella (alongside several Italian silks) from c1307 and the CF inventories of Charles V in 1379. **Maykyn** ginger from Mecca - one of several types of the spice imported by Italian merchants - is listed by the Worshipful Company of Grocers, a royal livery company partly run by Italians in London from 1428 and where they trained English apprentices (Bradley 2012: xxi). Consequently, the attestations of this loanword are surely independent of parallel CF entries for "seize livres de meskin menu" in the *Comptes généraux de l'Etat bourguignon* from 1416-18.⁴¹ Overall, it is crucial to remember that every attestation has its own individual history and that a loanword's transmission pattern can vary from source to source.

Furthermore, as mentioned above, we can note distinct forms of Italian loanwords in insular and continental varieties of French which strengthen our argument for direct AN-Italian contact. The non-vocalised 'l' spelling of the patterned silk **baldekin** (< It. *baldacchino*) appears dozens of times in AN accounts from the 1300s and 1400s and as *baldekino* as early as 1218 in a BML Close Roll.⁴² This contrasts with the alternate vocalised form *baudekin* also found in citations in AN (from 1338) and CF (from c1200). Hence it seems credible that records in England show evidence of both direct Italian and 'Gallo-Italian' influence in the naming of this fabric. If we consider the boat name **tarette**, originally from Arabic *tarīdah*, we find two distinct paths from Italian dialects into AN and CF: in the former, the etymon is Venetian *tareta* and in the latter, Genoese *tarida*. Similarly, the presence of the borrowing **carpet** in fourteenth-century England only (as opposed to *carpite* in France) suggests that the insular variant could stem from Venetian *carpeta* rather than the

⁴¹ Similar arguments can be made for independent attestation in AN and CF in the following Type 2b entries: **balet / camaca / cassel / celestrin / columbin / garbeler / fangot / malvesey / materas / maykyn / nak / nassik / net / pume d'orange**. In some Type 2b cases however, it is very difficult (based on extant sources and dates of attestation) to gauge the extent to which CF was involved in loanword transmission: e.g. **attaby / bukasin / caffatin / camelin / comyt / cramoisé / creditour / florin / imperial / galiotⁱⁱ / mesan / paunace / ragamas / ris / sarzinett / satin / taffata / tartarin / tramountaine**. Again, please refer to the individual loanword fiches concerned.

⁴² *Baldekin* is a rare example of a term whose transmission from Arabic into AN via Italian is mentioned in a scholarly article (Schendl and Wright 2011: 31).

Ligurian *carpita*. Other Type 2b loanword pairs of particular interest in this regard include AN **bokeram** / CF *bouquerant* (It. *bucharame*), AN **damaske** / CF *damas* (It. *damasco*), and AN **vernage** / CF *grenache* (It. *vernaccia*).⁴³

The system of classification based on attestation in AN and /or ME, and presence and absence in CF, was explained above. It gives the following statistics for the Imports Glossary:

Type 1: Loanwords attested in AN but not in ME: 19

- Type 1a: AN only. No ME or CF (11)
- Type 1b: AN and CF. No ME (8)

Type 2: Loanwords attested in both AN and ME: 54

- Type 2a: AN and ME. No CF (4)
- Type 2b: AN, ME and CF (50)

Type 3: Loanwords attested in ME but not in AN: 7

- Type 3a: ME only. No AN or CF (4)
- Type 3b: ME and CF. No AN (3)

These figures raise the following useful points:

1. 24% of our loanwords are found in AN but not in ME (Type 1). Over half of this subgroup are lexemes also absent from CF: our most ‘uncomplicated’ evidence of direct AN-Italian contact but by no means the only evidence, as has been discussed. It should also be noted, however, that most (eight out of eleven) of these Type 1a loanwords are from the same late AN source, *The Views of the Hosts*. As mentioned, whilst their matrix-text is certainly AN, it is difficult to categorise such lexemes and they could have been AN, ME or indeed both or neither in the mind of the writer of this mixed-language business code.⁴⁴

2. The vast majority of Italianisms studied (over two thirds) are Type 2 and attested both in AN and (then later) in ME. If we add the number of cases in Type 3 where an unattested AN form of the loanword seems possible this percentage rises to nearly 73%. This suggests that in several cases AN played a role as a ‘buffer’ or language of transmission between Italian

⁴³ Note also **avery** (‘maritime tax’), found in an account book written by an Englishman working in Tuscany in 1450 (Chapter 5.4viii). *Avery* probably results from direct Italian-ME contact, although it could represent an AN form of the term (**averie*) with which the author was already familiar. In either case, the Italian etymon seems to be Tuscan *averie* rather than Genoese *avarria*, the latter having been borrowed into CF as *avarie*.

⁴⁴ In this way, there are similarities with the contemporary source, the *Cantelowe Accounts* (see Chapter 5) for which cast-iron language-labelling has also proved elusive.

dialects and ME. Such a role has been thus far overlooked by the major dictionaries which describe the loanwords in English as Gallicisms. While the label is technically correct, of course, this blanket term hides the reality of lexical transfer in merchant society and that more subtle distinctions need to be drawn: what we are dealing with (in many cases) is an Italianism entering a language in England (AN), before being passed onto another language in England (ME). If we are to accurately ascertain the extent of Italian language contact in late medieval England, we have to take this process into account.

3. By far the smallest group of loanwords (less than 10%) are found in ME but not in AN (Type 3). Even here, in four cases (**avery**, **demyt**, **ducat**, **pecheline**), the possibility of a missing AN intermediary form deserves consideration. The remaining three loanwords, all from the *Cantelowe Accounts* (1450-51), are undoubtedly the result of direct borrowing from Italian into ME (**ditto**, **magasyne**, **n^o**).

Finally, it is worth outlining the range of possible transmission routes for the eighty loanwords studied. There is, of course, no infallible link between the languages of extant attestation and a loanword's transmission, and it is rarely the case that we can establish transmission routes definitively. However, the following eleven etymologies are convincing enough to offer useful examples of the variety of types of borrowings in the corpus, based on languages and dates of attestation and source texts:

Typology of transmission routes in the Imports Glossary with examples:⁴⁵

1a	Attested in AN only / No ME or CF
AN < It. e.g. talany	The most obvious scenario is the most straightforward: a direct Italian borrowing (<i>talani</i>) in an AN-matrix text from 1440-42 which lists the imports of Venetian merchants resident in London.
1b	Attested in AN and CF / No ME
AN < CF < It. e.g. maramas	1. An Italian etymon is passed into AN via CF (such as the cloth of gold, <i>maramas</i> , where the continental variant appears in the 1200s and the insular one in the 1400s).
AN (+ CF) < It. e.g. casset	2. The Italianism is transmitted independently into AN and CF. <i>Casset</i> does appear first in CF from 1348 but appears in AN in 1427-36 in sections of the Southampton Port Books relating to the cargos of visiting Italian ships.

⁴⁵ These options seemed the most convincing given the data gathered for these loanwords. Naturally, other possible routes do exist, for instance, ME+AN+CF < It (where the same loanword is absorbed by English and both forms of French at the same time), AN < *CF < It. / ME < *CF < It. (where the CF form is missing in the record) or ME < CF < It (where ME is in direct contact with CF, bypassing AN).

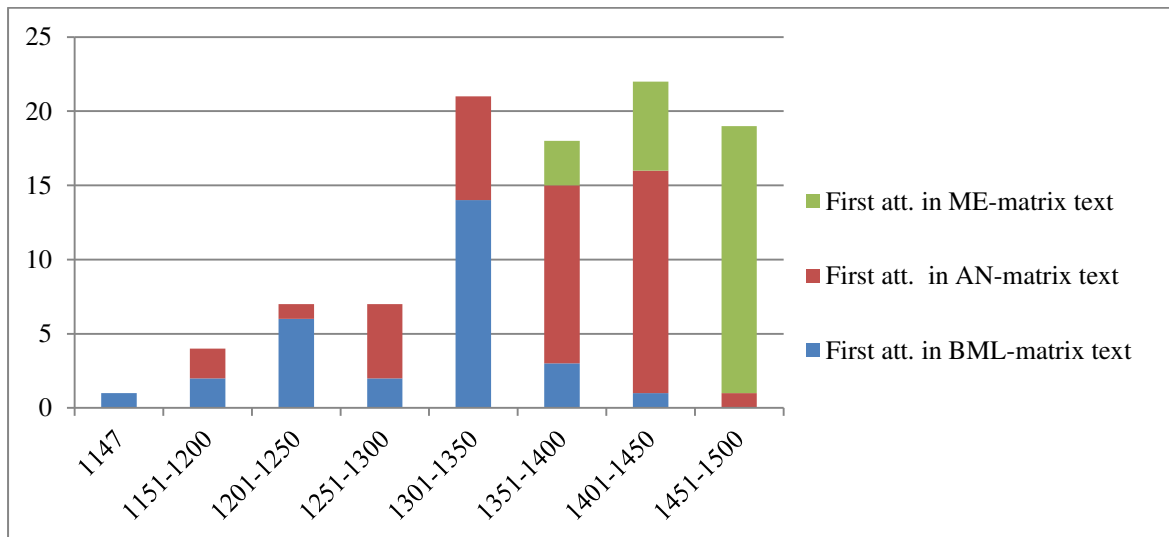
2a	Attested in AN and ME / No CF
ME < AN < It. e.g. belendin	1. An Italianism, unique to England, is passed into ME via the intermediary of AN e.g. the ginger, <i>belendin</i> , att. in AN in the 1300s and in ME, a1475.
ME + AN < It. e.g. cotegnate	2. A lexeme is borrowed separately from Italian into both AN and ME e.g. <i>cotegnate</i> , att. in an ME cookbook (a1399) and in AN, the <i>Local Port Book of Southampton</i> (an ‘Italianising’ source from 1436).
2b	Attested in AN, ME and CF
ME < AN < CF < It. e.g. (pume)gernet	1. A ‘Gallo-Italianism’ enters AN and then ME e.g. (<i>pume</i>) <i>gernet</i> is found in CF from c1160, AN from c1250 and ME from c1300.
ME + AN < CF < It. e.g. attaby	2. A ‘Gallo-Italianism’ enters AN and ME more or less concurrently. <i>Attaby</i> (att. in CF 1295) appears in AN and ME in 1397 and 1401, respectively.
ME < AN (+CF) < It. e.g. tarette	3. An Italian borrowing enters CF and AN independently via different Italian dialects e.g. CF <i>taride</i> (att. 1249) and AN <i>tarette</i> (att. 1342). The latter variant is then passed into ME.
3a	Attested in ME only / No AN or CF
ME < It. e.g. ditto	1. Direct borrowing of It. <i>ditto</i> into ME in the <i>Cantelowe Accounts</i> , written in ME in Tuscany (1450-51).
ME < *AN < It. e.g. pecheline	2. An unattested AN usage is possible: the low-value Italian coin <i>pecheline</i> (< It. <i>picciolino</i>) only appears in an ME text (a1400). However the AN hapax and adjective <i>pichelin</i> (glossed as ‘petit?’ by the DMF) does appear in Gower’s <i>Miroir</i> (c1376), where it is used to refer to a sin or transgression.
3b	Attested in ME and CF / No AN
ME (+CF) < It. e.g. magasyne	An Italian loanword is clearly borrowed separately in both ME and CF e.g. <i>magasyne</i> , attested in 1450 in the ME accounts of John Balmayn in Tuscany and in 1389 in the CF writings of Phillipe Mézières who had lived in Venice.

iv) Periods and language of attestation

There is a very clear general pattern split between two 150 year periods that are analysed in the Imports Glossary, as Graph 3 (below) demonstrates. Over three quarters (sixty-one) of the Italian loanwords are first found in an English source in the period 1301-1450 and the remainder are attested between 1147 and 1300. This means that there is, relatively, a sharp

rise from seven loanwords attested in 1251-1300 to twenty-one in 1301-1350 (see Graph 3, below).

Whilst reiterating the limits of such a small sample of data, such an increase in lexical borrowing does still seem significant given that it ties in with the widespread Italian mercantile influence in England that peaked from the fourteenth to the mid-fifteenth centuries, in tandem with a period of ‘maximum absorption’ of AN lexis into ME (cf. FN 38, above). This reinforces the fact that AN must still have been an active language of commerce in use in professional communities in England, well into the fifteenth century. Rather than moribund or barely comprehensible (cf. Chapter 1.2i), this loanword glossary suggests that AN remained a key part of the contact process. It was employed as a business *lingua franca*, certainly in writing and perhaps in some speech communities and absorbed commercial and maritime Italianisms directly (or from CF) before, in some cases, passing them on into ME. What is equally striking, of course, is the sudden and sharp switch from AN to ME as the predominant language of commerce from 1450s onwards (cf. Durkin 2014: 229-30, Alcolado Carnicero 2014) mirrored by the fact we have only one Italianism (*orchell*) found in an AN source in the last column of the graph.



Graph 3: Periods and language of attestation of trade-related Italian loanwords (1147-1500)

A final comment should be made here on the importance of Latin sources in finding and dating these Italian loanwords in England. Over half the loanwords analysed also have an

attested form in BML and over a third (35%) clearly have their earliest attestation⁴⁶ as vernacular words in a BML-matrix text.⁴⁷ It is not too surprising that eight out of the eleven Italianisms from the mid-twelfth to the mid-thirteenth century are first found in BML (e.g. **baldekin**, **ris**, **imperial**). But note also that fourteen out of twenty-four (such as **carpet**, **garbeler**, **madrian**, **mesan**, **ragamas**, **taffata**) appearing in English records from 1300 to 1350 are first attested in BML-matrix sources such as the Great Wardrobe Accounts, the Exchequer Rolls of Purchase and the Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham. Furthermore, in the cases of **timon**, **go(u)ndel**, **nak** and **nassik**, our only evidence from medieval England is found in BML-matrix texts: these have been included in the glossary as there is strong evidence that they are direct Italianisms or AN and / or ME lexemes with Italian roots (cf. FN 5, above).

All these facts highlight the great importance of referring to the DMLBS in creating this glossary. There are undoubtedly other Italianisms hidden away in this dictionary (many perhaps under a different headword) and a digital search of all DMLBS citations would constitute a fruitful future project.⁴⁸

v) Ultimate etyma

The loanwords collated in this corpus clearly show the importance of Italian as a language of transmission for words of non-Romance origin into AN and ME trade lexis. 49% of our Italianisms have a Latin root but another 47% comes from Italy's vast commercial empire that spread across the eastern Mediterranean, the Levant and beyond. Well over one quarter (28%) of our loanwords derive from Arabic, bearing testimony to a transmission route forged by the Saracen occupation of Sicily and southern Italy in the late ninth and tenth centuries and the enduring commercial contacts it created (cf. Schweikard 2008: 2852-53).⁴⁹ Crucially,

⁴⁶ By this I mean a clear, earliest example of a Italian vernacular loanword in a BML text and not a 'normal' medieval Latin lexeme, be it unique to Britain or more widespread: e.g. in the early Latin uses in the entries for **cassel** / **creditour** / **goulf** / **poupe** / **tramountaine** / **yndigo**.

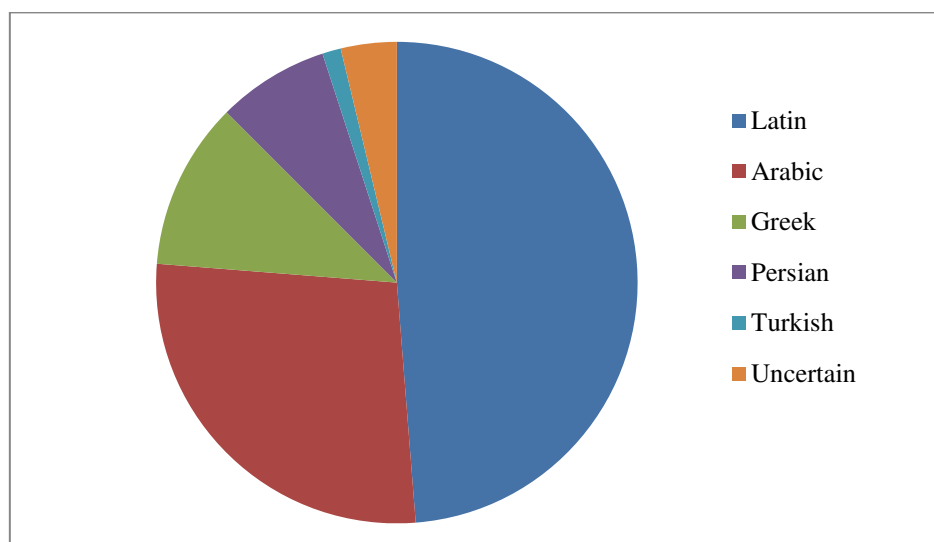
⁴⁷ See Trotter's comments (2006a: 74): "The *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* (DMLBS) reveals on every page that even this most prestigious language of record, British medieval Latin, is riddled with lexical items transparently imported from the supposedly derivative language, Anglo-Norman".

⁴⁸ The DMLBS has very recently been digitised and made available online at <http://www.dmlbs.ox.ac.uk/>; however, I am now too advanced in the writing of my thesis to include the results of a digital search.

⁴⁹ This work estimates that there are approximately 200 loanwords of Arabic origin recorded in Italian between 1100 and 1500. They fall into the following semantic categories: commerce, names for officials and dignitaries, maritime, foodstuff, furnishings, alchemy, astronomy and mathematics (Schweikard: 2852-53). Of course, not all Arabisms entered medieval French via Italian: for a reminder that direct French-Arabic contact was also a reality, see Minervini (2004) who examines Arabic borrowings in French-matrix texts written in the Levant and Cyprus from the 1100s onwards.

in this sub-group we find numerous textile terms: **cotun**, **cramoisé** and the silks **attaby**, **baldekin**, **camaca**, **maramas**, **ragamas** and **satin**. There are also ship types (**carrack**, **tarette**), duties and taxes (**avery**, **gabelle**, **tare**), several lexemes related to sugar and spices (**belendin**, **caffatin**, **garbeler**, **maykyn** and **suchre candi**), **carat**, **magasyne**, **materas** and the place-name **Malik**. An important minority of merchandise stems from Persian (again, mainly textiles - **bokeram**, **nak**, **nassik**, **taffata**, **talany** - plus **pume d'orange**) and Turkish (the linen cloth **bukasin**). Finally, Byzantine Greek (typically in closest contact with Venetian dialects) counts for a further 11% of etyma: the boat types **galiotⁱ**, **galiotⁱⁱ** and (probably) **go(u)ndel**, the textile terms **measane**, **damaske** and **demyt**, the unit of measurement **sarme**, the wine **malvesey** and the foodstuff **ris**.

Those loanwords which are of ‘home-grown’ Italian origin are certainly not restricted semantically, however, and are found in all sub-groups of the glossary except one (‘unit of measurement’): they include ultimate Latin etyma for precious silks (**imperial**, **sarzinett**, **tartarin**), fabric colours (**celestrin**, **paunace**, **yndigo**), fur (**calaber**), technical terms for textiles (**velvetate**) and sugar (**cot**), navigational lexis (**goulf**, **tramountaine**), parts of a ship (**poupe**, **timon**) and crew members (**comyt**, **patron**), coins (**florin**, **ducat**, **pecheline**) and financial terminology (**creditour**, **milion**, **net**), sweetmeats (**confection**, **cotegnate**) and types of spice (**columbin**), boxes (**cassel**, **casset**) and bundles (**balet**, **fangot**), wine (**vernage**) and fruit (**pumegernet**) and administrative language (**ditto**, **n^o**).



Graph 4: Ultimate origin of proposed Italian etymon in the Imports Glossary, c1200-c1450.

The semantic range of Italian loanwords of Romance and non-Romance origin in the Imports Glossary serves to underline a crucial point: this was a mercantile culture at the forefront of commercial innovation, an exporter of terminology and commodities from both its own city states and the furthest reaches of the known medieval world.

vi) Hapaxes

Out of eighty loanwords, only one sixth (twelve) are hapaxes, that is loanwords that are attested once or found in a single AN / ME source:

The Southampton Port Book of 1435-36 (AN): **comyt / sarme**

The Views of the Hosts of Alien Merchants, 1440-44 (AN): **ceta / legea / measane / ore filado / talany / velevetate / yndigo**

The Cantelowe Accounts, 1450-51 (ME): **avery / ditto / magasyne**

What is immediately evident is that all such sources are late within our corpus (1430s-50s). One could suggest that this reflects the tailing off of Italian influence in trade lexis as we approach the sixteenth century with new loanwords spreading less widely within local merchant communities. However, I believe it is equally likely that a ‘self-selecting’ process is at work: apart from the Southampton Port Books (which are already in the AND corpus), I specifically chose the other two sources to add to my study, precisely because they contained Italianisms. Logically, the more loanwords there are in a text, the more likely we are to encounter hapaxes and crucially, all four sources above also contain more common, non-hapax loanwords of Italian origin.

vii) Italian dialects

As stated at the beginning of the thesis, the aims of this research project do not include an in-depth study of the dialectal variations of Italian loanwords in England.⁵⁰ However, as dialectal variation can help trace transmission routes, it is certainly worth providing a general

⁵⁰ For useful summaries of maritime loanwords in CF from Italian dialects, especially Genoese and Venetian, see Fennis (1995: 10-12), Vidos (1939: 25-29) and, most recently, Tomasin’s article *Sulla diffusione del lessico marinaresco italiano* (2010).

overview of dialect in the glossary, where enough evidence is available.⁵¹ In many cases, it is not possible to identify a dialect of origin: for example, regional variants of the lexemes *belledi*, *bucharame*, *boccaccino* and *damasco* have early attestations in Rome, Venice and Tuscany (cf. **belendin**, **bokeram**, **bukasin**, **damaske**), *carpita* could come from Genoa or Venice or both (cf. **carpet**), *galeotto* (the pirate not the ship) could originate in Sicilian Neapolitan, Genoese or Venetian (cf. **galiot**ⁱⁱ) and *leggi* silks are found in both Lucchese and Venetian textile records (cf. **legea**).

The following lists the remaining forty-three AN / ME headwords with their Italian dialectal etyma⁵² and shows some clear and expected patterns. Genoese borrowings are entirely maritime, Tuscan ones (with the exceptions of **cotegante**, ‘quince jam’, **ditto** ‘aforementioned’ and the Florentine coins, **florin** and **pecheline**) are luxury fabrics and Venetian examples include both nautical and textile-related lexis. Loanwords that originally entered Italy via Sicily or a southern city such as Naples are nearly all of Arabic derivation:

Dialect	Loanword and etymon
Genoese	carrak < <i>caracca</i> calfater < <i>calfatore</i> fortune (de mer) < <i>fortuna (di mare)</i> patron < <i>patrone / padrone</i> poupe < <i>popa</i> timon < <i>timone</i>
Venetian	cassel < <i>cassella</i> cramoisé < <i>crèmsisi</i> demyt < <i>dimito</i> ducat < <i>ducato</i> galiot ⁱ < <i>galeotta</i> go(u)ndel < <i>gondola</i> malvesey < <i>malvasia</i> measane < <i>mezzani</i> milion < <i>millione</i> ore filado < <i>oro filado</i> tarette < <i>tareta</i> yndigo < <i>indigo / endego</i>

⁵¹ Note that even if a word is known to originate in a specific Italian dialect, it does not mean that it did not later transfer into AN / ME via other Italian dialects. As Fennis (1995: 13) notes, “l’itinéraire est souvent plus embrouillé, car il arrive fréquemment qu’un terme a été emprunté plusieurs fois à la même langue ou au même dialecte (y compris le latin), ou encore à des idiomes différents”. Genoese and Venetian in particular shared a role in transmitting several maritime borrowings; see, for example, the discussion following citations for *patron* in Fennis (1995: 1367).

⁵² In most cases, these dialects are confirmed in Vidos 1939, Hope 1971 and /or Fennis 1995 and, occasionally, the FEW. In other instances, all in the Tuscan and Venetian sections, I have nominally identified a dialect of origin based on the source texts for a lexeme in the TLIO / OVI / LEI and on evidence given in Bradley 2012.

Northern	comyt < <i>cómito</i> (pume)gernet < (<i>pomo</i>)grenato vernage < <i>vernaccia</i>
Tuscan (Florentine / Lucchese / Siennese)	baldekin < <i>baldacchino</i> camaca < <i>cammocca</i> camelin < <i>cammellino</i> cotegante < <i>cotognato</i> ditto < <i>ditto</i> florin < <i>fiorino</i> imperial < <i>imperiale</i> maramas < <i>maramato</i> nak < <i>nacchi</i> pecheline < <i>picciolino</i> paunace < <i>paonazzo</i> sarzinett < <i>saracinata</i> taffata < <i>taffeta</i> talany < <i>talani</i> tartarin < <i>tartarino</i>
Neapolitan	gabelle < <i>gabella</i>
Sicilian	materas < <i>materasso</i> (pume d)'orange < (<i>mel</i>)arancia ragamas < <i>raccamári</i> sarme < <i>sarma</i> (suchre) candi < (<i>zucchero</i>) candi

viii) Parts of speech

Unsurprisingly, out of eighty headwords in the Imports Glossary, by far the greatest majority (sixty-eight) are nouns; one of these is a proper noun (**Malik**). The nouns **calaber** and **vernage** are derived from Italian toponyms (*Calabria / Vernazza*) but are used metonymically in AN / ME to refer to squirrel fur and wine, respectively. A further nine are adjectives, including three adjectives of place for ginger (**belendin**, **columbin**, **maykyn**), two adjectives of colour (**celestrin**, **yndigo**), two related to fabric (**measane**, **velvetate**), one to sugar (**caffatin**) and two remaining administrative adjectives (**ditto**, ‘aforementioned (day/month)’, **net** ‘remaining (weight / amount)’. Two textile loanwords - **cramoisé** and **legea** - are used both adjectivally and nominally. Finally, we find just two verbs: **garbeler** (‘to sieve the refuse from spices’) and **calfater** (‘to caulk / make a ship watertight’).

In a recent large-scale study (*The Loanword Typology Project*) which analyses loanwords in forty-one modern and historical languages from all over the world, Tadmor *et al.* confirm the fact that it has “long been known that languages are more likely to borrow

more nouns than verbs”. In their database, the verb to noun ratio among loanwords is 1:5.5, in our case, the ratio is even more striking at 1:34. They also point out that “Interestingly, adjectives (and adverbs) are almost as hard to borrow as verbs - this is a much less well-known fact which has hardly received any attention so far” (Tadmor *et al.* 2012: 40). This thesis glossary is too small to provide any comparative data but it is worth pointing out that the expected predominance of nouns certainly holds true, even if we have more adjectives than verbs.

CHAPTER 4

Exports Glossary: Anglo-Norman and Middle English mercantile loanwords in Italian texts (c1233 - 1451)

1. Introduction to the Exports Glossary

- i) Corpus of texts*
- ii) General Gallicisms*
- iii) Geographical names*

2. Key texts in the Exports Glossary

- i) The Gallerani London accounts (1304-08)*
- ii) The Salviati London accounts (1448-51)*

3. Main loanword summary: Exports to Italian

4. Exports Glossary discussion

- i) Introduction*
- ii) Semantic fields*
- iii) Attestation and transmission*
- iv) Period of attestation*
- v) Ultimate etyma*
- vi) Hapaxes*
- vii) Parts of speech*

5. Conclusion to the Imports and Exports sections

1. Introduction to the Exports Glossary

Having established a body of evidence for lexical borrowing in AN and ME from medieval Italian (Chapter 3), this chapter aims to examine language contact in the opposite direction i.e. AN and ME loanwords which entered the vocabularies of Italian merchants living and working in England up until the 1450s. The same historical dictionaries and databases have been consulted, as well as several editions; however, given the specific typology of source, produced by a small, and ultimately temporary, linguistic community, the corpus of surviving texts is naturally much smaller than in the Imports Glossary. Even so, such texts form a crucial part of this thesis and have the advantage of providing convincing and unambiguous examples of borrowing.

i) Corpus of texts

As there are only twenty-six main mercantile sources under consideration, it is useful to summarise them below.¹ All of the sixty AN / ME loanwords examined in the Exports Glossary are found in one or more of the mercantile texts numbered 1-13 i.e. a ‘core corpus’ of sources written in England, letters sent to Italian offices in England or in sections relating to English trade in Pegolotti’s *Pratica della Mercatura*. A minority of loanwords (eleven) also appear in one or more of the texts numbered 14-26: a ‘secondary corpus’ consisting of commercial material and another handbook (*Zibaldone da Canal*), nearly all written in Italy.² The only two exceptions are sources 25 and 26 from the 1400s: a letter sent from Bruges to the Datini company and the accounts of the Venetian, Giacomo Badoer, written in Constantinople.

With regards to date, the seven earliest sources in the corpus (11, 12, 14-18) from the thirteenth century (c1233-95) all originate in the peninsula, with the first text (1) produced on English soil dating from 1304.³ The latest text in the corpus (10) also comes from London in

¹ Note, however, that this table does not include the huge number (over a hundred) of additional Italian sources from the peninsula and elsewhere which contain the English currency name **sterlino**. This ‘international loanword’, essential to any trade with England from the thirteenth century onwards, is the most widely used of all the borrowings in the Exports Glossary, with over 900 citations in the OVI corpus. As has been previously noted (Chapter 3.1i), it appears not only in commercial texts but in literary ones such as the writings of Tuscan poets, Camillo Majorfi and Rustico Filippi.

² An even smaller minority (only four) of the loanwords have their first attestations in the secondary corpus: these are the fabrics, **contisgualdo** and **stanforte**, the wool term, **coglietta**, and **batto** (‘small boat’).

³ As we saw in Chapter 2.2, widespread Tuscan commercial activity in England did not begin until the late 1200s, although Florentine and Siennese merchants are first recorded in England in the 1220s (Cella 2007: 191).

1448-51. Finally, it is also important to note that all but four documents in the corpus are written in Tuscan dialects (Florentine, Siennese, Lucchese, Pisan, Pistoian and Pratese), the exceptions being sources 9, 19 and 26 (Venetian) and 25 (Genoese).⁴

Source	Date	TLIO / OVI siglum	Edition	Notes
CORE CORPUS Sources written in England				
1. Gallerani London material	1304-08	Libro Gallerani di Londra / Doc. merc. Gallerani	Bigwood and Grunzweig 1961:5-122 / Cella 2009	Written in London
2. Frescobaldi accounts	1311-13	Doc. fior. 1311-13	Sapori 1947: 85-136	The accounts are first kept in London and then the book was taken abroad during the company's collapse
3. Letter from Gallerani factor, Biagio Aldobrandini	1313	Lett. sen. 1313	Del Punta 2008: 366-39	Sent from London to Bettino and Pepo Frescobaldi in Avignon
4. Peruzzi annotations	1324-26	Doc. tosc. 1263-1326	Re 1913	Written in England: marginalia on warrants for payment sent from Hugh Despenser
5. Letter sent to the Datini company	1398	X	Edler 1934: 93	Written in London
6. Villani accounts	a1422	X	Guidi Bruscoli 2010	Written in London
7. Albizzi diary	1429-30	X	Mallett 1967	Written by a Florentine state galley captain who spent the winter in Southampton
8. Borromei accounts	1436-40	X	Unavailable ⁵	Written in London
9. Letter from the merchant, Michele Morosini	1441	X	Melis 1972: 188	Sent from London to Venice

⁴ This is not surprising given the sheer amount of medieval Tuscan mercantile texts that have survived: for instance, there are more extant account books in the archives in Florence and Prato (over 2500) than in the rest of Europe combined (Tognetti 2014: 867). Note, however, that some fiches cite other Venetian texts that record cloths of English origin: Paxi's *Tariffa de pexi e mesure* of 1503 and the Berengo Letters of 1553-56 (**carisea**) and the Latin-matrix Calendar of State Papers of Venice from the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries (**contisgualdo, loesti, stanforte**).

⁵ As mentioned in Chapter 1.4i, there is no publically available transcription of the Borromei ledgers which are privately owned. The only citation included in the loanword fiches from this source was kindly sent to me by one of the Borromei Bank Project members, Prof. Francesco Guidi Bruscoli: see **cocchetto**. However, a list of commodities and units of measurements from the London ledger (1436-40) on the project website includes the following loanwords: *alle, coverchieri, tonello* and *scharpeliere* (see Table 2, below) and **chivo, contisgualdo, loesti** and **pippa**.

See: www.queenmaryhistoricalresearch.org/roundhouse/Sample%20Documents/ledger_listings.aspx#_wp07 (Accessed 30/01/2016).

10. Salviati accounts: <i>Libro Grande Rosso</i> (LGR)	1448-51	X	Cavallaro 1969 (unpublished <i>tesi di laurea</i>)	Written in London
Letters sent from Italy to England				
11. Letter from the merchant, Consiglio de' Cerchi	1291	Lett. fior. 1291	Castellani 1952: 593-99	Sent from Florence to London
12. Letters sent by the Ricciardi company	1295-1301	Lett. luch. 1295-1301	Castellani and Del Punta 2005	Sent from Lucca to London
Source written by an author who had lived in England				
13. Merchant handbook: the <i>Pratica della Mercatura</i>	c1335-43	Pegolotti Pratica	Evans 1936	Pegolotti worked for four years in London for the Bardi company (1317-21)
SECONDARY CORPUS Sources written outside England				
14. Mattasalà di Spinello accounts	c1233	Mattasalà, 1233-43	Unpublished ⁶	Written in Siena: earliest record of the English cloth, stanforte
15. Anonymous fragment of accounts from Pistoia	1240-50	Doc. pist. 1240-50	Manni 1982: 60-70	Written in Pistoia: records English cloth, stanforte
16. Letter from the merchant, Vicenti di Aldobrandino Vincenti	1260	Lett. sen. 1260	Castellani 1982:264-72	Written in Siena: earliest use of the English currency sterlino
17. Anonymous Sienese account book	1277-82	Doc sen. 1277-1282	Astuti 1934	Written in Siena: records English cloth, stanforte and earliest att. of the wool-type, coglietta
18. Stefano Soderini accounts	1278-79	Doc. fior. 1278-79	Castellani 1952: 459-69	Written in Pisa: records English cloth, stanforte
19. Merchant handbook: <i>Zibaldone da Canal</i>	1310-30	Zibaldone da Canal, 1310/30	Stussi 1967: 5-73, 75-101, 108-12	Written in Venice: records the English cloth, stanforte
20. Frescobaldi treasure inventory	1317	X	Tognetti 2014	Written in Florence: lists precious items smuggled out of London (tancardo)
21. Record of purchase of English wool by Duccio di Banchello and Banco Bencivenni	1336-39	Doc. fior.1336-39	Melis 1972: 388-90	Written in Florence: records purchases of wool (costuma / chiovi / impaccare)
22. Giovanni	a1348	Giovanni Villani (ed.)	Porta 1991	A twelve volume history

⁶ The OVI has access to an unpublished transcription of these accounts made by the late Arrigo Castellani.

Villani's <i>Nuova Cronica</i>		Porta)		of Florence including sections on England: earliest record of the maritime term batto
23. Goldsmiths' inventory	a1362-65	Doc. tosc., a1362-65	Piattoli 1931: 247-56	Written in Tuscany: uses <i>starlino</i> [sterlino] as a measurement for precious metals and the luxury hardwood, mazero
24. Anonymous Genoese invoice	1400	X	Melis 1972:294	Written in Genoa: earliest record of English cloth, contisgualdo
25. Letter sent from an Italian in Bruges to Datini company	1406	X	Edler 1934:93	Written in Bruges, refers to duties levied in England : costuma
26. Giacomo Badoer accounts	1436	X	Bertelè 1955	Written by a Venetian in Constantinople: records English cloth, loesti

Table 1. Summary of the Exports Glossary corpus: Italian mercantile texts with links to England, written between c1233 and 1451

ii) General Gallicisms

As discussed in Chapter 1, a huge number of Gallicisms have been identified in both the literary and non-literary works of medieval Italian, with over 500 loanwords attested between 1100 and 1500 (Schweickard 2008: 2851). The sixty loanwords presented in this half of the Glossary have been chosen to highlight AN / ME -Italian language contact as convincingly as possible: see section 4.i (below) for the rationale behind their selection. It is not surprising that the same texts selected for the Exports Glossary, all linked to commerce with England, also contain examples of what I have termed 'general Gallicisms': these are loanwords which also appear in other Italian sources, written in Italy and / or France, and where a potential etymon exists in both AN and CF. As outlined at length in Chapter 3, loanwords followed a range of transmission routes into the lexis of a mercantile community and it is perfectly reasonable to expect a writer to employ both terms from a wider OF lexis of international trade as well as specific terminology encountered whilst living and working in England. As Trotter (2011b: 217) comments on the evidence of language contact in the Gallerani accounts from 1304-08: "It is unclear whether these Gallicisms are unconscious uses of 'local terms',

re-uses of Gallicisms already by then incorporated into Tuscan commercial language or genuine loanwords.”⁷

The following is a summary of twenty-eight such general Gallicisms attested in at least one of the core corpus texts (1-12) but also in wider range of Italian-matrix sources. Their inclusion here serves to highlight the range and complexity of language contact in merchant material, as discussed by Trotter, and also to underline the fact that there are potentially more examples of AN-Italian contact than the sixty loanwords in the Exports Glossary imply. In some cases, Italian writers in England were using well-established borrowings from CF, dating from the 1200s, as an integral part of their professional vocabulary (e.g. *alla* ‘ell of cloth’, *quitanza* ‘discharge of debt’ or *piaggio* ‘guarantor’). Yet in others, AN (or indeed ME) influence is highly likely in a specific text (e.g. *bottigliere*, ‘butler’ in the Salviati accounts, *cancelleria*, ‘Chancery’ in the Gallerani accounts and the Peruzzi annotations or *mere* ‘mayor’ in Albizzi’s diary).

We also need to remember that there would have been a constant flow and exchange of French vocabulary of insular or continental origin as Italian merchants travelled (or sent letters) between their company offices on both sides of the Channel. It is certainly possible that an AN loanword could have entered the language of a Tuscan in England who then passed it on to compatriots in France: see, for example (*i*)*speciere* (‘spicer’) and *sororgio* (‘brother-in law’) which are only attested in the writings of the Gallerani branches in London and Paris.

Loanword:	TLIO	Cella	Attested in corpus texts n°	CF	AN
alla ‘ell, measure of cloth’ att. 1262	alla ² < OF <i>alne</i> , <i>aune</i>	X	1, 2, 6, 10, 13,19	TLFi aune att. c1100	AND2 aune ¹ att. c1150
baio ⁸ ‘bay (colour of	baio < Lat. <i>badius</i>	2003: 337 < OF / Occ.	10,17	TLFi bai	AND2 bai ¹

⁷ Trotter (2006a: 81) makes a parallel argument for the wide-scale inclusion of nouns of English origin in BML maritime texts from the same period (e.g. *Et in uno masto, uno longspret et j. L of Seilyerd*, att. 1294-95): “Here it is not necessary to formulate a general theory about the status and function of such items, whether they are appreciated by the author/reader/speaker as single-lexeme switches, as loanwords as traditionally understood, or considered to be integrated because not flagged by tags or explanatory comments. We shall probably never know the answer to that”.

⁸ See also LEI sub **badius** (4, p. 337) which notes “L’aspetto fonetico dell it. *baio* lo rivela probalmente come prestiti galloromanzo, entrato la prima volta con [Brunetto] Latini”. Cella (2003: 337) points out that the indigenous Italian form *badio* (directly from Lat. *badius*, ‘bay, chestnut-coloured’) was very rare with only two recorded attestations.

horse)’ att. c1277		<i>bai</i>		att. c1165	att. c1185
bottigliere ⁹ ‘butler, wine officer’ att. c1302	bottigliere < OF <i>botellier</i>	X	10	TLFi bouteiller ¹ att. 1160	AND2 botiller att. c1170
ciançelaria ¹⁰ ‘Chancery’ att. c1302	cancellerìa < OF <i>chancelier</i>	2003: 113 < OF <i>chancellerie</i>	1, 4	TLFi chancellerie att. 1174	AND2 chancelerie att. 1305
celliere ¹¹ ‘cellar’ att. 1235	celliere < OF <i>cellier</i>	X	10, 13	TLFi cellier att. c1100	AND2 celer ¹ att. c1175
chierico ¹² ‘clerk, scribe’ att. c1288	chiérico (sense 1.4) < Lat. <i>clericus</i>	2010: 72 calque < OF <i>clerc</i>	1, 3, 4, 12, 13	TLFi clerc att. 1275	AND2 clerc att. c1282
cordovaniere ‘leather-worker, shoe-maker’ att. 1263	cordovaniere < OF <i>cordanier</i>	2010: 73 < OF <i>cordovanier</i>	10	TLFi cordonnier att. 13 th c.	AND2 cordewaner att. 13 th c
covercieri ¹³ ‘kerchief, headscarf’ att. 1305	coverciero < OF <i>couvre-chiere</i>	2010: 80 < OF <i>cuevrechief</i>	1, 13	TLFi couvre-chef att. c1230	AND2 coverchef att. c1240
curataggio ‘brokerage’ att. 1263	curataggio < OF <i>courratage</i>	2010: 90 < OF <i>courratage</i>	1, 2, 10, 13	TLFi courtage att. 1248	AND2 courtage att. c1320
curatiere ‘broker’ att. 1263	curatiere < OF <i>cour(r)atier</i>	2010:74 < OF <i>cour(r)atier</i>	1, 2, 10, 13	TLFi courtier att. c1220	AND2 courtier att. c1320
diano	diano ²	2010:74	1, 16	TLFi	AND2

⁹ There are three citations of this Gallicism from the 1300s in the TLIO entry: two from Tuscany, glossed as ‘chi vende o mesce il vino’ and one from Venice, glossed as ‘fabbricante di contenitori per liquidi’. The use of the term in the Salviati *Libro Grande Rosso* (1448-51), referring to a royal wine officer, certainly seems influenced by local usage in England: e.g. *Ghulglielmo Biassis, bottigliere del re* (LGR: 2071, 16). See also OED2 sub **butler** / MED sub **boteler**.

¹⁰ It does seem particularly likely that the use of *Ciançelaria* in the Gallerani London books (1305) and *Cianzelleria* in the Peruzzi annotations (1325, E101/127/21m.2) represent a borrowing from AN, especially since they are used alongside other English administrative terms such as **scacchiere** and **guardarobiere**. As Cella (2010: 13) notes, “la grafia *ci* assicura la palatale, distinta nel testo della velare in grafia *ch* o *k*”.

¹¹ Cf. Hope (1971: 90).

¹² Note that the use of clerk to mean a ‘scribe or secretary’, rather than the original ‘clergyman’ (< Lat. *clericus*), is attested in an Anglo-Saxon chronicle as early as 1085: see OED2 sub **clerk**, sense 5. The use of *chierico* / *kericho* in this way in two texts linked to England (Pegolotti and the Peruzzi annotations) was first highlighted by Re (1913: 274-75) and then later by Cartago (1994: 721) who both considered it a borrowing from ME *clerk*.

¹³ Cf. Trotter (2011b: 220). He points out that there is nothing older than the Gallerani (London and Paris) as sources for this loanword (see also OED sub **coverchief**). It is also found in Pegolotti and in a Sicilian version of the *Aeneid* by Angelo di Capua where, according to Cella (2010: 84), it represents a borrowing of “origine angioina o normanna.”

‘dean’ att. 1260	< OF <i>dien</i>	< OF <i>dien</i>		doyen att. c1174	dean att. c1174
drappiere ‘draper’ att. c1260	drappiere < OF <i>drapier</i>	X	10	TLFi drapier att. c1254	AND2 draper att. c1150
fam(m)a ¹⁴ ‘wife’ att. 1304	famma < OF <i>femme</i>	2010: 75 < OF <i>femme</i>	1	TLFi femme att. c1100	AND2 femme c1170
feo / fio ¹⁵ ‘fee, payment’ att. 1219	fio ¹ (sense 2) < OF <i>fiu, fiou</i> / Longob. * <i>fehu</i>	2003: 43/ 48 < OF / Occ. feu, fiou < Longob. * <i>fehu</i>	12	TLFi fief c1100	AND2 fé ² c1155
ferlino ¹⁶ ‘farthing’ att. 1298	X	2003: 407 < OF <i>ferling</i> < OE <i>feordheling</i>	12	TLFi ferlin att. c1170	AND2 farthing att. c1280
(i)speciere ¹⁷ ‘spicer’ att. 1306	X	X	1	TLFi épicier att. 1241	AND2 especer ¹ att. 13 th c.
maestressa ¹⁸ ‘mistress’ att. 1348	X	X	10	TLFi maître ¹ / maîtresse att. c1180	AND2 mestresse att. c1170
merciere ¹⁹ ‘(textile)’	merciere < OF <i>mercier</i>	2010: 77 < OF <i>mercier</i>	1, 2, 10	TLFi mercier	AND2 mercier ¹

¹⁴ Cf. Trotter (2011b: 221). This Gallicism is only found in the Gallerani material written in London and Paris.

¹⁵ Cella (2003: 48) lists *feo / fio* amongst ‘gallicismi di antica introduzione’ and comments “La semantica denuncia la mediazione galloromana anche nel caso di alcuni termini germanici non franchi, come nel caso del got. FAIHU ‘patrimonio’ giunto all’it. *fio, feo* ‘feudo, tribute, salario’ per tramite galloromano (prov. e franc. ant. *feu, fiou*) sovrapponendosi a un longobardo *FIHU.” Cella and the TLIO entry do not record four citations of *feo* in Ricciardi Letters from 1300-01 (Castellani and Del Punta 2005: 86, 112, 139), the only examples in a text linked to England. These were first identified in Re (1913: 276) who argued that the term’s use to mean ‘compenso materiale e particolarmente di stipendio’, rather than a more moral compensation or duty, showed clear influence of English *fee* (AN *fé*, an obvious etymon, is not mentioned in his article). However, a century on, the TLIO now records eight other examples of *feo / fio* in this same sense of ‘salario’, attested in texts composed in Italy as early as 1219.

¹⁶ Cf. Hope (1971: 101). Cella (2003) does not record the use of *ferlino* in the Ricciardi letters, sent to London (Castellani and Del Punta 2005: 79), which were only published in their entirety two years after her study.

¹⁷ Note that *speciere* is not unique to the Gallerani London books as Trotter (2011b: 217, 219) claims. Together with the variant *ispeciere*, it is also found several times in fragments of separate company accounts from the annual trade fairs, written in Champagne and Brie (Bigwood and Grunzweig 1961: 224, 228, 232, 234 -35, 250-57, 260-62).

¹⁸ In the OVI corpus, there are four citations of *maestressa*, from Villani’s *Nuova Cronica*, (a1348), where it refers to a lady in the court of Naples, and a translation in Florentine of the Latin work, *Defensor pacis*, (1363), where it is used metaphorically to personify virtue and discipline. The three citations from the Salviati accounts in London (c1448-51) very likely represent a borrowing from AN *mestresse* or ME *mistress* e.g. *dalla maestressa di Gion Blacchaborno* (LGR 1871, 4). The term was used in England to mean not only a ‘woman in position of power’ or ‘governess’ but also ‘wife of a master craftsman’ (att.1399): see also OED3 sub **mistress** / MED sub **maistre**(se).

¹⁹ Cf. Trotter (2011b: 219). In the case of the England-related citations (i.e. the Gallerani, Frescobaldi and Salviati accounts), it is impossible to tell if the *merciere* in question is a general ‘merchant who deals mainly in textiles’ or, more specifically, ‘a member of the Worshipful Company of Mercers in London’: see also OED3 / MED sub **mercier**. Holmes (1993: 382) notes that the man in question in the Salviati material, *Giovanni Gottifort* (John Godeford?), is not recorded as belonging to the livery company.

merchant / Mercer' att. 1263				att. late 11 th c.	att. 1265
mere ²⁰ 'mayor' att. 1263	mere ³ < OF <i>maire</i>	2010:77 < OF <i>maire</i>	7	TLFi maire att. 1170	AND2 maieur att. c1200
mostavoliere ²¹ 'grey cloth from Montivilliers, Normandy'	X	X	10, 13	X	AND2 mustviler att. 1396
pellettiere ²² 'furrier, tawer' att. 1263	X	2010: 78-79 < OF <i>peletier</i>	1	TLFi pelletier att. c1165	AND1 peletier att. 1225
piaggio ²³ 'guarantor / guarantee' att. 1263	piaggio < OF <i>pleige</i> , <i>plege</i>	2010: 79-80 < Picard <i>plage</i> , <i>plaige</i> / OF OF <i>pleige</i> , <i>plege</i>	1, 2, 10	TLFi pleige att. c1100	AND1 plege att. c1275
sàrgia ²⁴ 'serge cloth' att. c1299	X	2003:533-34 < OF <i>sarge</i>	1	TLFi serge att. c1165	AND1 sarge att. c1175
scarpigliera ²⁵ 'canvas to wrap wool / bale of wool' att. c1277	scarpigliera / scarpiglia < OF <i>sarpillière</i> , <i>serpillière</i> /	X	2, 6, 10, 13,17, 21	TLFi serpillière c1180	AND1 sarpler att. c1321 AND1 sarpelgier

²⁰ It is probable that the usage by the visiting Florentine galley captain, Luca di Maso degli Albizi, who dined with the mayor of Southampton, was influenced by local vocabulary (AN / ME *maire*): *si fè uno bello convito in casa dove stava a' costumieri della villa et al mere con 6 de' più honorati della terra* (Mallett: 1967: 262). The same diary contains five other loanwords of insular origin: **batto** / **cocchetto** / **costuma** / **costumiere** / **pocca**. The only other two recorded sources for *mere* are much earlier, the Ugolini company accounts from the Champagne region (1263) and the Gallerani Paris material (1305-08).

²¹ This cloth name, based on its origins in the Norman abbey of Montivilliers, is attested in Pegolotti (Evans 1936: 279) and the Salviati of London, over a century later e.g. *tre mostavellieri e blacchalleri e l'altro rossetto*, (LGR 2267, 3). Schweikard (2009: 341-42) lists numerous other Italian citations of (*panni*) *mostavolieri* from a variety of accounts and inventories in the 1400s. The term also entered ME from 1407: see OED3 **musterdevillers** / MED **muster-de-vilers**. For an account of the cloth trade at Montivilliers in the 1300s and 1400s, see Concato 1975.

²² Cf. Hope (1971: 114), Trotter (2011b: 219).

²³ This loanword is widely attested in a range of Tuscan, Venetian and Sicilian sources in the TLIO / OVI but only three (the accounts of the Ugolini in Champagne and the Gallerani / Frescobaldi in London) use the variant *piag-* rather than *plei-* / *pelg-*. Cella (2010: 79-80) suggests that these forms show Picard or Lorrain influence from *plage* / *plaige* and that "i prestiti del tipo *pelgio* documentati in testi veneti [...] e siciliani [...] saranno dovuti a situazioni di contatto di altra natura, forse per via di commercio marittimo e, rispettivamente, per via angioina o normanna". Note that the variant *piaggio* is also attested in Italian over 150 later in the Salviati London ledger: *ci scrisson gli dovavano paghare per nolo e piaggio della nave di Bertolomeo Doria* (LGR 1681: 6) where it certainly seems to represent a well-established Gallicism: there are no *plaige* / *plage* forms of the lexeme in the AND corpus but dozens of citations containing *pleg(g)e*.

²⁴ Cf. Hope (1971: 119), Trotter (2011b: 220).

²⁵ Cf. Castellani 1952: 916. This Gallicism is present in six corpus texts but, based on the dates of attestation alone, a CF etymon is much more likely as AN *sarpler* is not recorded until around 140 years after the CF equivalent.

	Occ. <i>sarpeliera</i> , <i>serpelier</i>				att. c1350
sororgio 'brother-in-law' att. 1305	X	2010: 81 < OF <i>sororge</i>	1	TLFi serorge att. 1220	AND1 sororge att. c1170
tonello ²⁶ 'cask' att. 1263	tonello < OF <i>tonel</i>	2010:70 < OF <i>tonel</i>	1, 10, 13	TLFi tonneau att. c1150	AND1 tonel c1170
quitanza / chitanza ²⁷ 'discharge from debt' att. early 13 th c.	chitanza < OF <i>quittance</i>	2003: 515-16 < OF <i>quittance</i>	1, 2, 4, 10	TLFi quittance att. 1155	AND2 quittance att. c1150
uggia ²⁸ 'coffer / chest'	uggia < OF <i>huche</i>	2010: 87 < Picard, Walloon, French of Flanders <i>huche</i>	1, 3	TLFi huche att. 1164	AND2 huche ¹ c1175

Table 2: Examples of Gallicisms attested in both in the Exports Glossary corpus and in other medieval Italian texts

iii) Geographical names

English and Scottish place-names throughout the sources in this corpus are, as Trotter (2011b: 214) puts it, "cheerfully italianised": e.g. *Cupero*, 'Cupar', *Donfermillino*, 'Dunfermline', *Vicamo*, 'Wykeham' in Pegolotti (Evans 1936: 259 / 266); *Boriffortta*, 'Burford' and *Siricestri*, 'Cirencester' in the Villani accounts (Guidi-Bruscoli 2010: 396); *Sanducci* 'Sandwich', *Chonturbiere* 'Canterbury' and (the noteworthy calque) *Lombarda Strada*, 'Lombard Street', in the Salviati (LGR 672: 23 / 205: 4 / 269: 13).

Some adaptations are admittedly near unrecognisable to the modern eye: Trotter (2011b: 213) gives the examples of *Niobottoli*, 'Newbottle' and *Chilosola*, 'Culrose'. However, I disagree with Guido-Bruscoli's recent comment (2015: 130) in 'I mercanti

²⁶ Cf. Trotter (2011b: 220).

²⁷ Cf. Hope (1971: 116), Trotter (2011b: 220).

²⁸ Cella (2010: 87) does not consider an AN etymon even though four of the six sources of citations of *ug(g)ia* were written in London between 1304 and 1313 (*Libro nuovo Gallerani*, *Libro vecchio Gallerani* and *Consuntivo di cassa Gallerani* and a letter sent by Biagio Aldobrandini to the Frescobaldi). *Huche* was just as widely attested in insular French as CF and was also attested in ME from 1303: see MED sub **huche** / OED2 sub **hutch**.

italiani e le lingue straniere’, that, overall, such ‘mangled’ toponyms confirm a lack of knowledge in the local language(s) on the part of the Italians involved. All the Gallicisms and Anglicism found in medieval sources show phonological and morphological adaption to Italian and geographical names are no exception (see Cella 2003: xiv, Formisano 2006: 1762, Trotter 2011b: 213). Such transmogrified place-names are a common feature of language contact in the Middle Ages: the toponym is essentially a foreign loanword like any other which is adapted by settlers in a new area (Eichler 1996: 1027).²⁹ Where the Italianised spelling of a town in England or Scotland is difficult to identify, it seems unfair to immediately assume some form of linguistic deficiency on the part of the writer.³⁰

As in the Imports Glossary (cf. **calaber**, **vernage**), toponyms are only included as headwords when they refer to specific commodities: see **carisea** (< *Kersey*), **contisgualdo** (< *Cotswolds*), **loesti** (< *western*) and **stanforte** (< *Stamford*) for English place-names being used metonymically as woollen cloth types.

2. Key texts in the Exports Glossary

Two sets of Tuscan accounts - numbered 1 and 10 in the core corpus - are particularly rich sources of AN / ME loanwords and deserve a separate introduction here. Written in London over 140 years apart, they both provide compelling evidence of language contact between Italian and the languages of commerce in late medieval England. The loanwords from the early fourteenth-century Gallerani material are incorporated into the TLIO and / or OVI but very often, their etymological description is misleading, as we see below. The later Salivati ledger, from the mid-fifteenth century, is unpublished, and all borrowings from AN / ME are being presented here for the first time.

i) The Gallerani London accounts (1304-08)

The collection of documents belonging to the little known Gallerani company from Siena contain the second oldest examples of the Italian vernacular written on British soil, preceded only by four short Tuscan statements on BML notarial act signed in London in 1278 (cf.

²⁹ For a useful overview of foreign place-names in language contact, including processes of “linguistic nativization” and the use of toponyms as designators of commodities in medieval trade, see Eichler (1996: 1026-32).

³⁰ Such assumptions mirror the ‘ignorant scribe / learned editor’ paradigm detailed in Rothwell 2004b, available only online at <http://www.anglo-norman.net/articlesA/scribe.xml> (accessed 23/02/2016).

Chapter 1.2i). It dates from the early fourteenth century and includes account books, receipts and business letters from both their London and Paris branches. In England, we know that they were merchants dealing in horses, gems, lead and wool as well as offering banking services from their premises in Walbrook in central London (Cella 2007: 191, Nobes 1982: 303).

The Gallerani manuscripts have led a precarious life and it is only through luck that they have been preserved at all, spending centuries hidden in Belgium, unknown to Italian specialists. The London and Paris material was confiscated in 1309 along with other papers belonging to Tommaso Fini, a Gallerani partner, arrested for fraud by Count Robert III of Flanders. Over the next five hundred years, they were moved around various castle archives before finally coming to rest in a convent barn in Ghent in the 1800s (Cella 2009: 3-8). Transcription of the account books by the Belgian philologist, Georges Bigwood, began in the 1930s and was completed after his death by his colleague, Armand Grunzweig. Their finished edition, *Les livres des comptes des Gallerani*, was finally published in 1961 and was then used as one of hundreds of source texts by the Italian academic, Roberta Cella, in her detailed study from 2003, *I gallicismi nei testi dell'italiano antico (dalle origine alla fine del sec. XIV*. Overall, there is a wealth of loanwords to consider in these Siennese-matrix accounts, including at least thirty Gallicisms identified in the *Libro di Londra* which are also found in a wide range of Tuscan sources (many of them literary) from the 1200s and 1300s e.g. It. *ostello* > OF *ostel*, 'lodgings' (Cella 2003: 503-04); It. *ronçino* < OF *roncin*, 'work horse' (Cella 2003: 529-30 / Trotter 2011b: 220); It. *vermiglio* < OF *vermeil* 'bright red' (Cella 2003: 572-75).³¹

Whilst examining the Gallerani manuscripts in Ghent in 2007 as part of a study into their lexical borrowings, Cella found another hundred or so fragments, previously thought lost: these included the near-complete *Libro vecchio*, a second London account book from 1304 that precedes the *Libro dell'Entrata e dell'Escita*, already edited by Bigwood and Grunzweig (cf. Cella 2009: 91-92, 209-63). A selection of these additional sources were published in 2009 in *La Documentazione Gallerani-Fini nell'Archivio di Stato di Gent (1304-09)*. Examples of the newly expanded Gallerani London accounts were then included in an

³¹ Cella clearly distinguishes between the phenomena of mercantile borrowing, based on pragmatic need for communication, and that of Gallicisms mainly passed into Italian via literary writing, analysed at length in her 2003 study: "Loro caratteristica precipua è l'essere esclusivi e circoscritti all'insieme testuale individuato : le necessità comunicative che li determinano conferiscono loro coesione e al contempo li distinguono dal ben più vasto ed eterogeneo gruppo dei gallicismi documentati in italiano antico introdotti anche per via di scrittura e relativi ai più diversi ambiti semantici e testuali" (Cella 2010: 62-63).

article by Cella (2010), presenting loanwords from forty-one mercantile Italian texts, written prior to 1350 in England, France and Flanders.³²

The importance of Cella's discovery to Italian historical linguistics cannot be overstated: an exceptional resource in terms of quantity and age, albeit incomplete, it represents “una sorta di Pompei documentaria medievale” (Cella 2009: 8) and has tripled the number of non-literary medieval Siennese texts known to scholars. The Gallerani accounts are also not without interest to economic historians, as there is some debate as to whether they offer some very early, partial examples of double-entry bookkeeping (Cella 2009: 40-58, Nobes 1982: 303-10. See also Chapter 1.3).³³

The following section of London accounts is taken from the *Libro dell'Entrata e dell'Escita* in 1305 (Bigwood and Grunzweig 1961: 36-37). It records the purchase of wool by the company partner Biagio Aldobrandini³⁴ from William de la More, the last master of the Knights Templar of England, an organisation which held numerous lands and estates (Burgtorf *et al.* 2013: 219).³⁵ The entry shows several features, typical of the source, that are worthy of mention:

Item sono e' nostri avuti 585 lb. 13 s. 4 d. **sterl.**, che die avere frate **Guillelmo della Mora**, maestro dela cavallaria del Tempio d'Inghilterra, all Ternità 306.³⁶ Iscrivansi nel grande libro. I quali denari doveva avere da noi per rimanente di nove^C novanta e uno mar. e quaranta d. sterl. per sessanta e sette saccha due **picche** di lana che compramo da loro, di quella della **Bruiera** e d'**Ecli** e di **Villitona**.

³² The Gallerani London material edited by Bigwood and Grunzweig is found under three sigla in the TLIO / OVI corpora and I use these sigla in my own loanword fiches. Cella 2010 uses slightly different variations to refer to the same sources which are given in square brackets as follows: **Libro Gallerani di Londra** [**Libro nuovo Gallerani**]: *Libro nuovo dell'entrata e dell'uscita della filiale di Londra* (London, May 1305 to November 1308). In Bigwood and Grunzweig (1961: 5-122); **Doc. merc. Gallerani** [**Doc. Gallerani**]: *Documenti relativi all'attività commerciale dei Gallerani* (London, March 1304-1308). In Bigwood / Grunzweig (1961: 212-63); **Lett. sen. 1305 (2)** [**Lett. sen. 1305a**]: *Lettera aperta di cambio rilasciata da Biagio Aldobrandini* (London, 5th October 1305). In Bigwood and Grunzweig (1961: 265) and re-edited in Cella (2009: 291). Note that the newly edited Gallerani fragments from Cella 2009 are not yet in the TLIO / OVI corpora.

³³ As far as I am aware, Nobes' paper, in *The Accounting Review*, is the only one published in English dedicated to the Gallerani London books, apart from Trotter 2011b and Tiddeman 2012. The accounts are also a source of evidence for financial historians at the ICMA studying medieval exchange rates with two recent mentions by Bell *et al.* (2013: 99 / 2015: 20).

³⁴ The *Libro di Londra* was mainly written by the Siennese Biagio Aldobrandini, an associate partner of the Gallerani firm who worked closely with the Frescobaldi and was present at the coronation of Edward II (Cella 2007: 189, 191).

³⁵ These accounts show some of the last business the Knights Templar would do in England. William de la More would go on to be arrested by Edward II in early 1308 during the disbanding of his order (Burgtorf *et al.* 2013: 216-17).

³⁶ It is worth noting the very early use of Arabic numerals in this source, even for an Italian account book (cf. Chapter 5.5) In the Bigwood and Grunzweig edition, all figures are transcribed with Arabic numerals and the footnote “en chiffres arabes dans l'original” is added to signal where the scribe did not use Roman numerals. This is the case for the year ‘306’ (i.e. 1306) given in the extract above. Overall, there are more than fifty instances in the Gallerani *Libro di Londra* where the newer Arabic notation is used, principally (but not always) for writing dates.

Ciò ffu quarantette saccha due quarteroni di buona per diciotto marchi il sacco e diciessete saccha meço di **moiana** per nove marchi il sacco e sette saccha uno quarto di **locchi** per sette marchi il sacco. E ciento undici marchi diecie s. **sterl.** ne lo pagamo contanti com' appare per lo libro de' conti, fo. novantacinque.

Abattemoli inde e anone una riconosciença alo **Scacchiere** nela Ciançelaria d'otto ciento settantotto marchi meço, a pagare a detta Ternità, di Biagio Aldobrandini e d'Amerigo Frescobaldi, che ffu nostro piaggio.

- In bold: AN / ME lexical borrowings, specifically linked to lexis of trade and administration in medieval England, **sterlino** ('pound sterling'), **pocca** ('poke, measurement of wool'), **moiana** ('middle-grade wool'), **locchi** ('locks, lowest-grade wool') and **scacchiere**³⁷ ('Exchequer')
- Underlined: Two more widely-used Gallicisms - Ciançelaria³⁸ ('Chancery') and piaggio³⁹ ('guarantor') - attested in several other Italian-matrix sources, written within and outside the peninsula
- In red: typically Italianised English place-names - **Bruiera** ('Temple Bruer') **Ecli** ('Eagle') and **Villitona** ('Willoughton'), in this case all holdings of the Knights Templar in Lincolnshire - and personal names e.g. **Guillelmo della Mora** ('Guillaume de la More')

As we have noted (Chapter 1.2ii.b), Cella examines *prestiti lessicali* with a specific link to England from this source in her papers of 2007 and 2010 but overlooks any potential AN etyma in her analysis⁴⁰ and does not refer to the AND or its corpus. This leads her to class several Gallerani borrowings as *anglismi* when some of them are likely to derive directly or partly from AN (see **costuma**, 'customs tax'; **locchi**, 'low-grade wool'; **faldengo**, 'coarse woollen cloth'; **gallone**, 'liquid measure'; **goffriere**, 'cofferer'; **persona**, 'parson'; **potto**, 'pot'; **scacchiere**, 'Exchequer'; **tancardo**, 'tankard'). Similarly she labels as generic 'francesismi', lexemes which have a convincing insular French etymon (see **bacconi**, 'bacon'; **calengiare**, 'to accuse'; **ciarrea**, 'char (of lead)'; **cioppino**, 'liquid measure'; **moiana**, 'middle-grade wool'; **perriere**, 'jeweller'; **pippa**, 'pipe (of wine)'; **pocca**, 'poke (of wool)'). The Gallerani London material also contains two other loanwords of interest which

³⁷ As discussed in the loanword fiche sub **scacchiere**, this Anglo-Normanism may well have entered Tuscan via BML (Trotter 2011b: 216) or, equally, represent a semantic calque.

³⁸ See *ciançelaria* in Table 2, above.

³⁹ See *piaggio* in Table 2, above.

⁴⁰ In this, her examination of loanwords in Italian material from England closely mirrors that of Re (1913: 262-63), a century earlier: see Chapter 1.2i.a.

are not discussed in Cella: the Gallicism **pardisu**, ‘above-mentioned’ (first identified in Trotter 2011b: 215), and the Anglicism **fodero**, ‘a fother of lead’.

ii) The Salviati London accounts (1448-51)

The *Libro grande rosso segnato A* (LGR) is an extensive set of accounts belonging to the London branch of the Salviati company, a prominent noble banking family from Florence. Four staff members are named: chief *cassiere*, Giovanni degli Albizzi,⁴¹ who ran the firm on behalf of Jacopo Salviati, and his three subordinates, Giovanni di Prussia, Niccolo d'Antonio de Rabatta⁴² and “Giannino” (Holmes 1993: 379). There were also several *garzoni* or errand boys, confirming a large volume of trade (Cavallaro 1969: 79-80).⁴³ The records detail transactions with its sister offices in Pisa and Florence and dozens of fellow Italian *compagnie*, from famous banking giants like the Borromei of Milan and the Medici of Florence to less well-known merchant societies such as the Strozzi of Venice, Cambini of Roma or the Pozzobenelli of Genoa. The Salviati dealt largely in the typical commodities of the period: raw wool, cloth, luxury fabrics, dyes, hides, wine and metals, especially tin (Cavallaro 1969: 164-89). Their extant business contacts were based locally in London, Southampton, Sandwich and Cirencester, throughout northern and central Italy and in Valencia, Geneva and Bruges. We also know that Jacob Salviati embarked on an ambitious partnership with a wealthy local Londoner, William Cantelowe, to ship 466 pokes of English wool to Tuscany in the autumn of 1450, at a total profit of 22, 300 florins (see Chapter 5.2). The economic significance of the text is highlighted in ‘Anglo-Florentine Trade in 1451’,⁴⁴ where the medieval historian Holmes (1993: 381-83) comments:

Salviati’s London account book for 1448-51, which runs to 250 large *carte*, each a double folio page recording debts on one page and credits on the other, conveys the impression of a considerable amount of business [...] The interesting point is that no picture of this large-scale business in London could be constructed from English records, partly because the Salviati did not have direct dealings with the Crown. The scale of business would be largely concealed and unsuspected without the survival of the Salviati records at Pisa.

⁴¹ Albizzi was obviously a prominent member of the local Italian community; he is recorded as consul of the Florentine nation in London in 1450 (Holmes 1993: 379).

⁴² In a recent article, Bradley (2015: 126) suggests that this was the same *Nicholas de La Bate* who requested burial in Southampton (where there was a large Italian community) and left money to a church there in his will.

⁴³ Inexplicably, the version of Cavallaro’s thesis that I was able to view and photograph had no page numbers. All page references therefore equate to the file number of the digital copy of the photograph of the page in question. ‘Cavallaro 1969 + n^o’ refers to the first section of the thesis (i.e. Volume I, the introduction to the accounts) and ‘LGR + n^o + line’ refers to the transcription (i.e. Volumes 2-4).

⁴⁴ In this article, the author mainly discusses the financial details of the *Cantelowe Accounts* (AS Serie 1, 339), a source which is fully transcribed in the Appendices of this thesis and examined in Chapter 5.

The original manuscript (AS Serie 1, 336) is housed along with other Salviati documentation in the stunning medieval archives of the Scuola Normale in Pisa and is, as Holmes notes, an imposingly long document. Fortunately, I was able to carry out my search for loanwords in this source using a complete but unpublished transcription from 1969, housed nearby in a much less ornate secretarial office.⁴⁵ This was prepared by an undergraduate student, Maura Cavallaro, working for the eminent Italian economic historian, Federigo Melis. The transcription of over 2000 pages forms the bulk of her lengthy *tesi di laurea*, a four-volume work entitled *La compagnia di Jacopo di Alamanno Salviati di Londra negli anni 1448-51*. However, among the many pages devoted to merchants' operations and the capital they invested, there are only five lines of comment on the language of the accounts:

Il libro è scritto con grafia che a prima vista appare abbastanza chiara; ma essa si presenta talvolta impenetrabile, soprattutto per il largo impiego di abbreviazioni e il frequente ricorrere di nomi propri di paesi, di città forestiere e specialmente di persone straniere (Cavallaro 1969: 32).

Given the aims of Cavallaro's study, it is not too surprising that there seem to be occasional mistakes in the transcription where unfamiliar, 'foreign' terms are concerned e.g. **aldermanno** ('alderman') transcribed as *al dermanno* (e.g. LGR 1480: 7) and **atornato** ('attorney') written as a verbal form, *a tornado* (e.g. LGR 275: 9).⁴⁶

For the historical linguist however, the *Libro Grande Rosso* is a rich source of evidence for language contact in the mid-fifteenth century.⁴⁷ Like the earlier Gallerani material from London, the Salviati accounts contain three very broad categories of loanword: general Gallicisms, insular Gallicisms and Anglicisms, all of which can be seen in the following two extracts:

Giovanni Gottifort **merciere** de' avere a dì 9 d'aghosto 1451 lb. duecentosessantasette s.13 d. 3 di st. sono per saccha trenta e **chiovì** quarantaquattro di lana di più sorte a marchi tredici di st. e **chiovì** 32 di **locchi** a s. 1 per chiovo ragonato s. 8 d. 9 per 7 giorni.

⁴⁵ I am extremely grateful to Dr Roberta Cella of the University of Pisa for her help in tracking down and gaining access to these documents in January 2012.

⁴⁶ In addition, these profession loanwords are not listed beside the relevant people in her *Nomi di persone* index (Cavallaro 169: 88-147) whereas many others, such as *aberdaciere*, *drappiere*, *merciere* and *grossiere*, are. This seems to confirm the fact that she did not recognise the lexemes *aldermanno* and *atornato* as designators of profession in the original manuscript.

⁴⁷ Note that there is other unpublished material in the same archive written by the London Salviati from 1445-66 which is certainly worthy of future study: AS Serie I 333-345.

Gulglemo Breton che fu la **impachatura** in paexe oltre al doltere a d.15 il giorno e s.16 d.8 di st. per spese fatte a nettare le lane dell'abate di **Glovestri** di che se n'a fè e **chiov**i trentadue di **locchi** di sopra che tutti e sopradetti pregi furono messi e l'altre choxe guidichate per Maestro **Ghulglemo Chantolo**, **aldermanno** di Londra [...]

Pelli **passalarghe** balle 19 di pelli 480 per balla ci troviamo nelle de' Rondinelli di Vinegia acchomandate per loro Cristofano Cattano (LGR: 230-31)

E, a di 21 di luglio 1451 1b.undici s.10 di st. sono per pezze 30 di panni **loesti** ci trovamo averci charichi di ragione de' Pazzobonelli alla nave di Maurizio Chattani e' quali e' abbiamo chonti questo di da Francesco da Pazzobonello a s.8 la pezza, abatte s.10 per lo churataggio [...]

E, deono dare 1b. novanta una s.8 d.8 di st. che 1b.46.626. troviamo avere fatto a spese per in sino charichi in nave, a panni 25 larghi, 26 **chonsghualdi**, 118 **charisee**, 239 stretti e 30 da **loesti** e più verghe 8 di panno bianco di ragione a robe avute da Biligiardo de' Bardi (LGR: 2283)

- In bold: loanwords of AN / ME origin i.e. **chivo** ('clove , measurement of wool'), **locchi** ('locks, lowest-grade wool'), *impachatura* (cf. **impaccare**, 'to pack wool into bales'), **aldermanno** ('alderman'), **passalarghe** ('large lamb-skins'), **loesti** ('a cloth from western England'), **contisgualdo** ('a cloth from the Cotswolds'), **carisea** ('a cloth from Kersey in Suffolk')
- Underlined: Two Gallicisms that are found in numerous Italian sources and are impossible to identify as from CF or AN in this case: merciere⁴⁸ ('draper') and churataggio⁴⁹ ('brokerage')
- In red: as usual, we see Italianised English place-names - **Glovestri** ('Gloucester') - and personal names e.g. **Ghulglemo Chantolo** ('William Cantelowe')

Overall, the Salivati London accounts are the most prolific single source of loanwords in the Exports Glossary: thirty-eight out of the sixty AN / ME borrowings are attested in the *Libro Grande Rosso*, of which sixteen are 'new' and, so far, unique to this Florentine text of 1448-51. Hence, as the table below summarises, we are dealing with variation not just in semantic field but in loanword 'longevity'. In some cases, we can speculate that these are well-established terms that have been used by Italians in England for over a century and a half, such as the AN legal terms **atornato** and **attacc(i)mento** (first attested in correspondence of the Ricciardi of Lucca, 1295-1301) or local units of measurements such **fodero**, **gallone**, **pippa** and **pocca** (also found in the Gallerani accounts of 1305-08). In other cases, we have evidence that language contact between Italian and the languages of England is still actively

⁴⁸ See *merciere* in Table 2, above.

⁴⁹ See *curataggio* in Table 2, above.

taking place in the mid-fifteenth century with the discovery of previously unknown loanwords such as **follere** (‘cloth fuller’), **aberdaciere** (‘haberdasher’), **dicchero** (‘dicker (of hides)’), **passalarghe**, (‘extra-large sheepskins’). The difficulties in attributing an AN or an ME etymon in some of these late cases will be discussed below but the crucial point is that all Italianised lexemes were almost certainly born out of contact with commercial vocabulary in late medieval England.

Semantic field:	Found only in the Salviati accounts (1448-51)		Found also in other Italian sources (prior to 1500)	
	Loanwords of AN origin	Loanwords of ME origin	Loanwords of AN origin	Loanwords of ME origin
profession	broccore follere stapoliere	aberdaciere aldermanno irmanghere schiniere	atornato costumiere grossiere persona	baramanno
financial	baliaggio celleraggio litteraggio primaggio viscontaggio		bilgha costuma costumare sterlino	
unit of measurement		dicchero toddo	chiovo gallone pippa pocca	fodero
textile		blacchalleri		carisea contisgualdo loesti
wool	passalarghe		impaccare	locchi
legal			attacc(i)amento	
maritime			batto	
containers			potto	

Table 3. Loanwords in the *Salviati Libro Grande Rosso Segnato A* (Archivio Salviati Serie 1, 336)

3. Main loanword summary: Exports to Italian

This table provides an overview of the sixty AN / ME loanwords found in our corpus of Italian texts written in or closely linked to England. The numbers correspond to fiches 81-140 which are found in Volume 2 and where detailed records of attestations can be found.

No.	Headword and gloss	First attested in Italian	AN / ME etymon ⁵⁰	Attestation type ⁵¹	Semantic field
81	aberdaciere (n.) 'dealer in small wares'	1448-51	<i>haberdasher</i> (ME)	2a	profession
82	aldermanno (n.) 'civic official'	1448-51	<i>alderman</i> (ME)	2a	profession
83	atornato (n.) 'legal representative'	1301	<i>attorné</i> (AN)	2b	profession
84	attacc(i)amento (n.) 'sequestration of goods'	1295	<i>atachement</i> (AN)	2a	legal
85	attacc(i)are (v.) 'to sequester goods'	1295	<i>atacher</i> (AN)	2a	legal
86	bacconi (n.) 'cured pork meat'	1305	<i>bacon</i> (AN)	2b	other foodstuff
87	baliaggio (n.) 'duty paid on delivered goods'	1448-51	* <i>baillage</i> (AN)	1a	financial
88	baramanno (n.) 'bearer or porter'	c1335	<i>berman</i> (ME)	3a	profession
89	batto (n.) 'small boat'	a1348	<i>bat</i> (AN)	2a	maritime
90	bilgla (n.) 'receipt, note of charges'	c1325	<i>bille</i> (AN)	2b	financial
91	blacchalleri (n.) 'black cloth from Lier'	1448-51	<i>black-a-lyre</i> (ME)	3a	textile
92	broccore (n.) 'broker, agent'	1448-51	<i>brocour</i> (AN)	2a	profession
93	calengiare (v.) 'to accuse or claim'	1307	<i>calenger</i> (AN)	2b	legal
94	carisea (n.) 'cloth from Kersey'	a1422	<i>kersey</i> (ME)	2b	textile
95	celleraggio (n.) 'duty paid to store goods'	1448-51	<i>cellarage</i> (AN)	1b	financial
96	chivo (n.) '(of wool) 7-8lbs'	c1335	<i>clove</i> (AN)	2a	unit of measure.
97	ciarrèa (n.) '(of lead) approx. 1 ton'	1305	<i>char</i> (AN)	2a	unit of measure.
98	cioppino (n.) 'half-pint recipient'	1305	<i>chopin</i> (AN)	2b	unit of measure.
99	cocchetto (n.) 'sealed Customs certificate'	c1335	<i>coket</i> (AN)	2a	financial
100	coglietta (n.) 'wool from many producers'	c1277	<i>coillette</i> (AN)	1a	wool
101	contisgualdo (n./adj.) 'cloth from the Cotswolds'	1400	<i>coteswolde</i> (ME)	2a	textile
102	costuma (n.) 'Customs duty paid on exports'	1305	<i>custum</i> (AN)	2b	financial
103	costumare (v.) 'to pay Customs duties'	a1422	<i>customer</i> (v.) (AN)	2b	financial
104	costumiere (n.)	1296	<i>customer</i> (n.) (AN)	2b	profession

⁵⁰ In several cases, it is unclear whether the Italian is borrowed from AN or ME (e.g. **batto**, **broccore**, **follere**, **grossiere**, **locchi**, **primaggio**, **stapoliere**, **sterlino**) and the language in which the lexeme is first attested has been listed here in the etymon column. Note in addition that in the cases of **scacchiere** and **storo**, a BML etymon (*scaccarium* / *stauro*) seems to have played a particularly influential role.

⁵¹ Type 1: etymon attested in AN but not ME / Type 2: potential etyma attested in AN and ME / Type 3: etymon attested in ME but not AN. The sub-categories 'a' and 'b' mean that the lexeme is absent from or present in the CF record prior to 1500, respectively (cf. Chapter 3.1ii).

	‘Customs official’				
105	dichero (n.) ‘(of hides) ten’	1448-51	<i>dicker</i> (ME)	2a	unit of measure.
106	faldengo (n.) ‘rough woollen fabric or cloak’	1305	<i>falding</i> (ME)	2a	textile
107	fodero (n.) ‘(of lead) approx. 2100lbs’	1306	<i>fother</i> (ME)	2a	unit of measure.
108	follere (n.) ‘cloth fuller’	1448-51	<i>fullour</i> (AN)	2b	profession
109	gallone (n.) ‘(of liquids) 8 pints’	1305	<i>galun</i> (AN)	2b	unit of measure.
110	goffriere (n.) ‘Coffrer in Royal Wardrobe’	1306	<i>coffrer</i> (AN)	2a	profession
111	grossiere (n.) ‘grocer, dealer in bulk goods’	a1422	<i>groser</i> (AN)	2b	profession
112	guardarobiere (n.) ‘official in Royal Wardrobe’	1324-26	<i>guarderobier</i> (AN)	2b	profession
113	impaccare (v.) ‘to pack wool into bales’	1448-51	<i>enpacker</i> (v.) (AN)	2b	wool
114	irmanghere (n.) ‘ironmonger’	1448-51	<i>yrmonger</i> (ME)	2a	profession
115	litteragio (n.) ‘fee for straw to pack goods’	1450	* <i>litrage</i> (AN)	1b	financial
116	liverea (n.) ‘uniform worn by royal staff’	1326	<i>liveré</i> (AN)	2b	textile
117	locchi (n.) ‘lowest-grade wool’	1305	<i>lockes</i> (ME)	2b	wool
118	loesti (n. / adj.) ‘cloth from West Gloucestershire’	1448-51	<i>western</i> (ME)	2a	textile
119	ludimannaggio (n.) ‘payment to ship’s navigator’	c1335	<i>lodemanage</i> (AN)	2b	financial
120	ludumano (n.) ‘ship’s navigator’	c1335	<i>lodman</i> (ME)	2b	profession
121	mazero (n.) ‘maple-wood’	c1311	<i>mazer</i> (AN)	2b	other
122	moiana (n. / adj.) ‘middle-grade wool’	1305	<i>moiene</i> (AN)	1b	wool
123	nonnaria (n.) ‘nunnery, convent’	c1335	<i>nonerie</i> (AN)	2a	other
124	pardisu (adv.) ‘above(mentioned)’	1306	<i>pardesus</i> (AN)	1b	admin. language
125	passalarge (n.) ‘very large skins or hides’	1448-51	<i>passelarge</i> (AN)	1a	wool
126	perriere (n.) ‘jeweller’	1304	<i>perrier</i> (AN)	1b	profession
127	persona (n.) ‘parson, parish priest’	1305	<i>persone</i> (AN)	2b	profession
128	pippa (n.) ‘(of wine) approx. 63 gallons’	1305	<i>pipe</i> (AN)	2b	unit of measure.
129	pocca (n.) ‘(of wool) 182lbs’	1291	<i>poke</i> (AN)	2b	unit of measure.
130	potto (n.) ‘pot, receptient for liquids’	1305	<i>pot</i> (AN)	2b	containers / bundles
131	primaggio (n.) ‘duty paid for loading cargo’	1448-51	* <i>primage</i> (AN)	2a	financial
132	scacchiere (n.) ‘King’s Exchequer’	1305	<i>eschecker</i> (AN)	2b	financial
133	schiniere (n.)	1448-51	<i>skinner</i> (ME)	3a	profession

	‘skinner, tanner of hides’				
134	stanforte (n.) ‘cloth from Stamford’	c1233	<i>stanford</i> (ME)	2b	textile
135	stapoliere (n.) ‘merchant of the Staple’	1448-51	*(<i>e</i>) <i>staplier</i> (AN)	2b	profession
136	sterlino (n.) ‘sterling: English currency’	1260	(<i>e</i>) <i>sterling</i> (AN)	2b	financial
137	storo (n.) ‘wool from a single estate’	a1422	<i>stor(e)</i> (AN)	2a	wool
138	tancardo (n.) ‘tankard, recipient for liquids’	1305	<i>tankard</i> (ME)	2a	containers / bundles
139	todo (n.) ‘(of wool) 28lbs’	1448-51	<i>tod</i> (ME)	2a	unit of measure.
140	viscontaggio (n.) ‘duty paid to the viscount’	1448-51	<i>viscountage</i> (AN)	1b	financial

4. Exports Glossary discussion

i) Introduction

This selection of loanwords provides numerous, concrete examples of language contact between AN / ME and Italian. Whilst there exists a sizeable body of literature on Gallicisms in medieval Italian (as seen in Chapter 1.1ii), the recognition of AN as a lexical influence is virtually non-existent. This is mainly due fact that Italian scholarship has yet to embrace the concept of (late) AN as a vital language of record, with great influence in the trading lexis of England in the fourteenth and even fifteenth centuries. Several loanwords from England (particularly, those in the Gallerani London accounts, Peruzzi annotations, Ricciardi letters or in Pegolotti) have so far been incorrectly identified as either borrowings from ME or CF (Chapter 1.2iii / 1.3ii). Here, forty-three borrowings of insular French origin are either presented for the first time or re-examined using evidence from the AND and its corpus. They are joined by seventeen loanwords of clear ME origin, eleven of which have not been recorded before. Whilst we would expect presumed Anglo-Normanisms to outweigh presumed Anglicisms (and they do by 72% to 28%),⁵² this minority group offers crucial new examples of direct ME-Italian contact and almost triples the total number of (correctly identified) *anglismi* in medieval Italian. Furthermore, as discussed below in section 4.iii,

⁵² This concurs roughly with Trotter’s observation (2011b: 216) that there are nearly five times as many definite Gallicisms in the Gallerani London material as there are definite Anglicisms. This is certainly not surprising given both the status of ‘international language’ afforded to dialects of medieval French in trade in Western Europe and the lexical proximity of Italian to a fellow Romance language, rather than a Germanic one. Note, however, that Italian merchant vocabulary absorbed words from a host of language families, such as Arabic, Persian and Greek (cf. Chapter 3.4v) and Flemish (see, for example, the loanwords *lotto*, *utto* and *renenga* in Cella (2010: 68, 70, 93).

lexemes in late sources (such as the professions **broccore**, **follere** or **grossiere** in the Salviati ledger of 1448-51) could well have been borrowed from ME into Italian, even though the words are of AN origin.

Compared to the Imports Glossary, the role of CF in the etymologies of these loanwords is much less problematic. The selection of the corpus of texts written by Italians either in or closely linked to England means that insular Gallicisms are the natural focus as probable etyma. Nevertheless, it is important to note that just over half (thirty-four) of the sixty loanwords have an equivalent form in both insular and continental varieties of French (Types 1b and 2b). However, in most of these cases, one of the following applies:

- the Italian borrowing is used in a way that is specific to commercial or legal senses found only or mainly in England e.g. **atornato**, ‘attorney’, AN *aturné* rather than CF *atourné*, **impaccare**, ‘packing of wool into bales’, < AN *empaquer* rather than CF *empaquer*⁵³
- the CF variant itself comes ultimately from ME i.e. CF *lok* < ME *lockes*, ‘inferior-grade wool’ (**locchi**), CF *carise* < ME *kersey*, ‘cloth from Kersey’ (**carisea**) and CF *estanfort* < ME *stanford*, ‘cloth from Stamford’, (**stanforte**)
- the CF variant has a clearly different form to the AN one that has been borrowed into Italian e.g. AN *foleur* / CF *foulon*, ‘fuller of cloth’ (**follere**), AN *lodemanage* / CF *lamanage*, ‘fee for ship’s navigator’ (**ludimannaggio**) and AN *mazer* / CF *madre*, ‘maple-wood’ (**mazero**)

Overall, therefore, the identification of convincing AN / ME loanwords in Italian is considerably less complex than that of confirming Italianisms in AN / ME and is based on the following two criteria:

a) Nature of source text

All of the loanwords (apart from **sterlino**) fall into one of the following three groups:

1. Thirty-eight loanwords that have convincing AN / ME etyma which are only attested in the core corpus of texts written by Italians living in or working with England until c1450 e.g.

⁵³ Other examples include: **bilgla**, **broccore**, **calengiare**, **costuma**, **costumare**, **costumiere**, **garderobiere**, **literagio**, **moiana**, **pocca**, **scacchiere**, **stapoliere**, **sterlino** and **viscontaggio**.

bilgla < AN *bille* (attested in the Peruzzi annotations and the Salviati accounts) or **cocchetto** < AN *coket* (attested in Pegolotti, the Borromei London accounts and the Albizzi ship's diary).

2. Ten loanwords that have convincing AN / ME etyma which are attested in the core corpus and the secondary corpus (additional texts linked to England): e.g. **tancardo** < ME *tankard* (attested in the Gallerani London accounts but also in an inventory in Florence, detailing treasure which the Frescobaldi had smuggled out of London).

3. Eleven loanwords with equally likely etyma in both AN and CF but which are only attested in the core corpus. Inclusion of these loanwords is therefore based on their appearance in English sources alone:⁵⁴ e.g. **potto** < OF *pot* (only found in the London account books of three Tuscan companies, the Gallerani, the Frescobaldi and the Salviati) or **cioppino** < OF *chopin* (only found in the Gallerani London book).

This leaves us with a fourth group, already identified, which has not been included in the Exports Glossary. These are mercantile loanwords with potential etyma in both AN and CF found in the corpus but also in Italian texts written in Italy and France: for examples, see Table 2, 'General Gallicisms', above.

b) Prior academic consensus

Exactly half (thirty) of the headwords in the Exports Glossary have been previously recorded in loanword studies, as summarised in Table 4, below. However, apart from Trotter 2011b, none of these examine the role of AN and all the borrowings have been assigned ME or CF etyma up to now. In many cases, medieval language contact between England and Italy is skimmed over extremely briefly (see Chapter 1.3ii) and the same ten loanwords are recycled in the articles listed below from 1913 to 2001. The main bulk of analysis has occurred recently, especially in Cella 2007 / 2010 with eighteen new borrowings but also two (derived from toponyms) in Schweickard's *Deonomasticon Italicum* from 2002-06.

⁵⁴ Cf. Durkin (2014: 276) who discusses the parallel problem of untangling insular and continental Gallicisms in the lexis of ME: "In these cases it is perfectly possible for an Anglo-French origin to be presumed but it cannot be demonstrated on the basis of the lexicographical record".

Export Glossary headword	Re 1913	Migliorini 1963	Peruzzi 1985	Zolli 1991	Cartago 1994	Iamartino 2001	Schweickard 2002-06	Cella 2007	Cella 2010	Trotter 2011b
attacc(i)amento	p.277	X	X	X	p.721	X	X	p.198 (FN 20)	p.88	p.217 (FN 11)
attacc(i)are	p.277	X	X	X	p.721	X	X	p.198 (FN 20)	p.89	p.217 (FN 11)
atornato	p.277	X	X	X	p.721	X	X	X	pp.70-71	p.217 (FN 11)
bacconi	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	p.83	X
bilgla	p.277	X	X	X	p.721	X	X	X	X	p.217 (FN 11)
calengiare	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	p.203	p.89	X
carisea	X	X	X	X	X	X	Vol 2. pp. 597-98	X	X	X
ciarrèa	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	pp.199-200	p.66-67	p.218
cioppino	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	p.203	p.67	p.220
contisgualdo	X	X	X	X	X	X	Vol 1. pp.595-95	X	X	X
costuma	p.276-77	p.240	X	X	p.721	X	X	pp. 192-94	p.90	p.215
costumiere	p.277	X	X	X	p.721	X	X	X	pp.73-74	X
cocchetto	p.275	p.240	X	p.71	p.722	X	X	X	p.89	X
faldengo	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	p.82	p.215
gallone	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	pp.195-96	pp.67-68	p.215
goffriere	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	p.74	X
guardarobiere	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	p.76	X
locchi	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	p. 195	p.82	pp.214-15
mazero	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	pp.85-86	X
moiana	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	p.202	p.82	X
pardisu	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	p.222
persona	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	p.195	p.79	p.216

perriere	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	p.79	X
pipa	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	p.200	p.68	X
pocca	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	p.200	p.68	X
potto	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	p.196	pp.68-69	pp.215-16
scacchiere	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	p.194	p.94	pp.215-16
stanforte	X	p.177	X	X	p.721	X	X	X	X	X
sterlino	X	pl77	X	p.71	p.721	p.21	X	X	X	X
tancardo	X	X	pp.351-52	X	p.722	X	X	p.195	p.69	p.215

Table 4: Loanwords in Italian mercantile texts related to England that have been included in previous academic studies

Just as in Chapter 3, it is important to note the role of BML sources in consolidating evidence for AN / ME-Italian contact in our source texts. The vast majority (fifty-two) of the sixty headwords in the Exports Glossary also have an equivalent headword in the DMLBS.⁵⁵ In dozens of cases, these BML-matrix entries provide the earliest attestation of a mercantile AN term such as *atachiamentis* (att. 1195), *attornatus* (att. 1200), *bacons* (att.?1085), *garderobario* (1165) or a Latinised version of an OE lexeme attested later in ME (and often AN) such as *aldermannus* (att. a1111), *barmannis* (att. 1224), *bato* (att. c1114) or *lodmanno* (att. 1282). In three cases, a BML citation provides valuable proof of a vernacular lexeme's existence and strengthens the argument for an otherwise unattested AN form that was borrowed into Italian (and English): e.g. **litteragio** 'fee for packing straw' < AN **litterage*, att. in BML as *litteragium* in 1281; **primaggio**, 'fee for loading cargo' < AN **primage*, att. in BML as *primagium* in 1297; **stapoliere** 'merchant stapler' < AN *(*e*)*staplier*, att. in BML as *stapularios* in 1516. Lastly, of course, we need to be constantly aware of the realities of trilingual administration in the English system and how unhelpful (and anachronistic) it can be to 'rigorously separate' BML, AN and ME lexis, especially in the semantic field of commerce (cf. Trotter 2011b: 216-17 / 2011d: 182). Given the obvious morphological similarities, the potential for an Italian loanword to be derived from or influenced by a BML variant must never be overlooked but it seems especially relevant in two cases: **scacchiere**, 'Exchequer' < BML *scaccarium* and **storo**, 'wool from a single estate' < BML *stauro*.

ii) Semantic fields

Semantic field c1233-1451:	Number of loanwords:
Profession	16
Financial	12
Unit of measurement	9
Textile	7
Wool	6
Legal	3
Containers / bundles	2
Other	2
Other foodstuff	1
Administrative language	1
Maritime	1
Total	60

⁵⁵ The eight which do not are: **baliaggio**, **contisgualdo**, **loesti**, **nonnaria**, **pardisu**, **perriere**, **schiniere** and **viscontaggio**.

Given that the vast majority of the corpus is composed of private mercantile records kept by Italian companies - ledgers, letters, inventories and invoices - it is to be expected that over 60% of loanwords (thirty-seven) can be labelled as local professions⁵⁶ (e.g. **aberdaciere**, **broccore**, **goffriere**, **schiniere**), English duties or taxes (e.g. **cochetto**, **costumare**, **ludimannaggio**, **primaggio**), English money or institutions (e.g. **sterlino**, **scacchiere**) or English units of measurements (e.g. **ciarrèa**, **chivo**, **dicchero**, **pippa**, **pocca**, **toddo**). Around a quarter of the borrowings belong to three groups of specific interest: wool, cloth and the law. There are six terms linked directly to the English wool industry, one of the main pillars of Anglo-Italian trade from the late 1200s onwards (see Chapter 2.3). They include designators of wool quality (**moiana**, **locchi**), wool types (**coglietta**, **storo**), extra-large sheep skins (**passalarghe**) and the verb **impaccare**, used to describe the packing of wool into bales. The measurements **chivo** ('7-8lb of wool'), **pocca** ('182lb of wool') and **toddo** ('28lb of wool') are, naturally, also closely connected with the wool trade. Textiles are represented, not the extensive range of silks, brocades and velvets imported into England by the Italians and detailed in Chapter 3, but woollen cloths produced either locally in England (**carisea**, **contisgualdo**, **loesti**, **stanforte**), in Ireland (**faldengo**) or in Flanders (**blacchaliari**). This sub-group also includes the set of distinctive garments worn by the staff of the English royal household: i.e. livery or **liverea**. A small but noteworthy minority of loanwords deal with AN legal terminology, an area where insular French developed its own unique and wide-ranging lexis (cf. Rothwell 2000, Brand 1999 / 2010): **attacc(i)are**, 'to seize or sequester' and its derived noun, **attacc(i)amento**, **calengiare**, 'to challenge, accuse or claim' and the profession of 'attorney', **atornato**.

The remainder of the semantic fields cover a range of miscellaneous items such as the vessels **tancardo** and **potto**, the meat **bacconi**, the hardwood **mazero** and Pegolotti's use of **nonnaria** to describe English (wool-producing) convents such as the abbeys of *Grimesbi* (Grimsby) and *Rosedalla* (Rosedale) (cf. Evans 1936: 265-66). In contrast to the range of

⁵⁶ Personal names are not included as glossary headwords but, as is typical in medieval records, surnames and professions overlap and Italianised forms can clearly show AN / ME influence. Cella (2010: 75) identifies the hapax *Guillelmo Fermiere* in the Gallerani London material which most likely derives from AN *fermer*, 'tax or rent collector' (cf. AND2 sub **fermer**¹, MED sub **fermour**, OED3 sub **farmer**), rather than < CF *fermier* 'personne qui tient une exploitation agricole' as she suggests. Similarly, in the Salviati *libro*, I have found *Gherardo Plumiere* (LGR 811: 10) which could be < AN *plummer*, 'one who deals or works in lead', att. as a surname c1102 (AND1 sub **plummer**, MED sub **plumber**, OED3 sub **plumber**) or perhaps, the rarer *plumer*, 'feather dealer', (att. only in a BML-matrix text in 1282: see MED sub **plumer**, OED3 **plumer**¹). *Tommaso Torniere* (LGR 964: 31) is probably < AN *turnour*, 'lathe-worker', att. from 1299 (AND2 *turnour*, sub **jugement**, MED sub **turnour**, OED2 sub **turner**) whereas *Giannino Taschiere* (LGR 1369: 2) could be < AN *taschour*, 'piece-worker, one who is paid by the task' (AND1 sub **taschour**, att.1300) or perhaps, more specifically, 'a (corn) thresher, who is paid by the job', att. as a surname, *Tascher*, in 1238 (MED sub **tasker**).

nautical lexis transmitted into England from the dialects of the great sea-faring nations, Venice and Genoa (see Chapter 3.4ii), we have only a handful of terms that seems to have travelled in the opposite direction: **batto** or ‘small boat’ (classed under ‘maritime’); **ludumano** or ‘ship’s navigator’ (classed under ‘profession’); **ludimannaggio** or ‘fee paid to ship’s navigator’ (classed under ‘financial’). A final point of interest is **pardisu**, used in an account entry in the sense of ‘above-mentioned’: the adoption of this administrative Gallicism by a Tuscan scribe in London reflects the borrowing of **ditto** in the accounts of an Englishman working in Tuscany in the following century (see Chapter 5.4viii).

In her survey of loanwords in Italian mercantile texts written in England, France and Flanders, Cella makes the following crucial point about the use of ‘technical’ language in medieval commercial exchanges which focuses squarely on the need to avoid ambiguity rather than creating complex nomenclature in the modern sense:

La dizione di “valore tecnico o quasi-tecnico”, diversa dalla moderna accezione di tecnicità maturata dalle discipline scientifiche altamente formalizzate, mi deriva dall’osservazione della prassi comunicativa finalizzata agli scambi commerciali, nella quale il requisito imprescindibile dell’univocità referenziale induce ad instaurare un rapporto biunivoco tra il nome della cosa e la cosa stessa, determinando di conseguenza la specializzazione del lessico. Ciò ovviamente non si riflette sul complesso della lingua, ma investe precipuamente gli ambiti che meno tollerano l’ambiguità, che nel caso dei commerci si riducono a “chi” compra o vende, “che cosa” compra o vende, “quanto” ne compra o vende, “quando” e “dove” lo fa, e a quali normative giuridiche o amministrative si attiene (Cella 2010: 63).

For this reason, we find that Italians working abroad not only used terms, as we would expect, to designate items that did not exist back home in Tuscany or Venice (e.g. units of measurement such as the English **toddo**, **dicchero** or **pippa** or the textile type, **stanforte**), but that they also borrowed words with a pre-existing equivalent in their own dialects. In our glossary, this lexical overlap is particularly evident in the case of profession names (used to identify clients in accounts): e.g. **atornato** / *procuratore*, **baramanno** / *portatore*, **broccore** / *sensale*, **follere** / *follone*, **goffriere** / *cassiere*, **irmanghere** / *fabbro*, **ludumano** / *pedota*, **persona** / *parroco*, **schiniere** / *pellicciaio*, **perriere** / *gioielliere* - and occasionally, in other semantic fields e.g. **batto** / *barca*, **mazero** / *acero*, **nonnaria** / *convento*, **pardisu** / *sopra(detto)*, **potto** / *vasello*.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ Cella (2010: 96) notes the same phenomenon with what she terms “indicazioni spaziotemporali” which all have obvious and widely-attested Italian equivalents: e.g. the Gallicisms *Noello* (It. *Natale*), *Tussanti* (It. *Ognisanti*), *rua* (It. *strada*) and *quinzena* (It. *quindici giorni*)

iii) Attestation and transmission

The same labels (Types 1-3) have been used as in the Imports Glossary to label attestation patterns but, in this case, AN and ME are the languages of input with a single language of output: Italian. As before, there is no infallible link between the languages of extant citations and a loanword's transmission route but it does serve as a useful basis for analysis. Out of the sixty loanwords in Italian texts in the Exports Glossary, we find:

Type 1: Loanwords with etyma attested in AN but not ME: 9

- Type 1a: AN only. No ME or CF (3)
- Type 1b: AN and CF. No ME (6)

Type 2: Loanwords with potential etyma in both AN and ME: 48

- Type 2a: AN and ME. No CF (21)
- Type 2b: AN, ME and CF (27)

Type 3: Loanwords with etyma attested in ME but not AN: 3

- Type 3a: ME only. No AN or CF (3)
- Type 3b: ME and CF. No AN (0)

This breakdown raises the following points:

1. 15% are Gallicisms with no extant equivalent in ME (Type 1). In three cases, the CF form is also absent, offering our most 'unproblematic' examples of direct AN-Italian contact: **baliaggio** < AN **bailage*, **coglietta** < AN *coillette* and **passalarghe** < AN *passelarge*. In the other five, an equivalent form does exist in CF but the semantic meaning of the borrowing in Italian and / or their source texts strongly favour an AN etymon: **celleraggio** < AN *cellarage*, **litteraggio** < AN **litage*, **moiana** < AN *moiene*, **pardisu** < AN *pardesus*, **perriere** < AN *perrier*, **visontaggio** < AN *viscountage*.

2. Only 5% of cases involve loanwords which only have a recorded etymon in ME and no French form, insular or continental (Type 3): **baramanno** < ME *berman*, **blacchaliere** < ME *black-a-lyre*, **schiniere** < ME *skinner*. Whilst rare, these cases do provide more key evidence

of a little recorded phenomenon: direct ME-Italian contact. The fact that no ME word is present in CF whilst being absent from AN (Type 3b) is of interest, highlighting the extent of the porous, lexical overlap between AN and ME and that - within the scope of this corpus - no mercantile term entered ME from CF independently of AN.⁵⁸

3. By far the biggest group of loanwords in Italian (80%) have potential etyma in both AN and ME (Type 2): again, this is to be expected and underlines the extent of the merger of commercial vocabulary of these two languages in late medieval England. There are a great number of cases where a lexeme seems to pass either from AN into ME (and into Italian) or from ME into AN (and into Italian): e.g. It. **persona** + ME *parson* < AN *persone* / It. **toddo** + AN *todde* < ME *tod*. Amongst all these loanwords, over half also have a recorded form in CF; the same observation stands, however (cf. section 4.i, above), that these examples of language contact took place in England and were largely (but not entirely) independent of CF.

Obviously, it is the transmission routes of Type 2 borrowings which are potentially the most ambiguous. Whilst it is relatively simple to designate an ultimate language of origin (and we know that AN seems to predominate), borrowing patterns could vary depending on the period. For instance, it is certainly likely that AN acted as a mediator at times between ME and Italian, passing on words of English origin that had been widely absorbed into its own administrative lexis e.g. AN *lok* (att. 1284), ‘inferior grade wool’ < ME *lockes* and borrowed into Italian as **locchi** from 1305. In later Italian texts from the mid-1400s, the situation is reversed and it can be hard to tell in which language Italian merchants encountered a word derived from AN but fully assimilated into ME e.g. **follere**, ‘fuller of cloth’ is first attested in 1448-51 and could have been influenced by AN *fouleur* or ME *fuller* (or, indeed, both). Yet there are no easy answers as we also find convincing Anglicisms in earlier texts (e.g. **fodero** < ME *fother* in 1305, **baramanno** < ME *berman* in the 1330s) and, conversely, convincing insular Gallicisms in later ones (e.g. **baliaggio** < AN **baillage*, **passalarghe** < AN

⁵⁸ This poses questions about whether the semantic field of trade and commerce is more or less represented in the group of ME lexemes which seem to have been borrowed directly from CF. Durkin (2014: 274-79) compares 270 ME words attested in the OED3 (1150-1500) with the corpus of the AND2: around 11% had a distinctive AN etymon, approx. 68% had possible etyma in both AN and CF and approximately 22% had an etymon recorded in CF only. In the last group, there were numerous examples where an (unattested) AN form very likely existed but is only attested as a surname (e.g. *paliser* ‘maker of fences’) or in a BML text (e.g. *poldavay*, ‘type of coarse canvas’). It would be interesting to analyse this comparison of the two dictionary corpora based on semantic field.

passelarge and **viscontaggio** < AN *viscountage*, all in 1448-51). Further problems are brought to light by **ludimannaggio**, attested in Italian c1335, which combines an ME root (*lodeman* or ‘ship’s navigator’, see also **ludumano**) and the AN suffix *-age*, typically used to create derived nouns for taxes or duties.⁵⁹ We can only confirm therefore that a range of transmission patterns existed and that both AN and ME played a role in lexical borrowing in the corpus as a whole. Based on the loanwords examined, the following were the principal modes of language contact:

Typology of transmission routes in the Exports Glossary with examples:

1a	Etymon in AN only / No ME or CF
It. < AN e.g. passalarghe	1. A direct borrowing from insular French <i>passelarge</i> found in the accounts of Florentine-matrix accounts of the Salviati of London in 1448-51.
It. < *AN e.g. baliaggio	2. The verb <i>bailler</i> exists only in AN in the sense of ‘to deliver, hand over, entrust’. The existence of <i>baliaggio</i> only in the Salviati accounts in London, meaning ‘a duty paid upon delivery of goods’ indicates the existence of AN * <i>baillage</i> , as yet unrecorded. <i>Baillage</i> (in this sense) is also attested in English but not until 1753.
1b	Possible etyma in AN and CF / No ME
It. < AN e.g. moiana	1. The use of (<i>la</i>) <i>moiene</i> to refer to a grade of wool is unique to AN texts, even though, of course, the lexeme also exists in CF. <i>Moiana</i> is only attested in the writings of Italian merchants dealing in English wool in the early 1300s and who borrowed this insular terminology.
It. < AN e.g. pardisu	2. <i>Par-dessus</i> is used in both AN and CF administrative texts to refer the reader to a previous entry. However, the Italianised <i>pardisu</i> is only found in one source, written by Tuscans resident in London in the early 1300s.
2a	Possible etyma in AN and ME / No CF
It. + AN < ME or It. < AN < ME e.g. faldengo	1. The most likely scenario is that the rough cloth type <i>falding</i> was borrowed independently by both AN and Italian from ME (which, in turn, had borrowed it from Irish). However, as it is attested as early as 1305 in Siennese material, it is also possible that the loanword was transmitted via the intermediary of insular French where it is first attested c1330.
It. + ME < AN or	2. This case highlights the possibility of two routes of

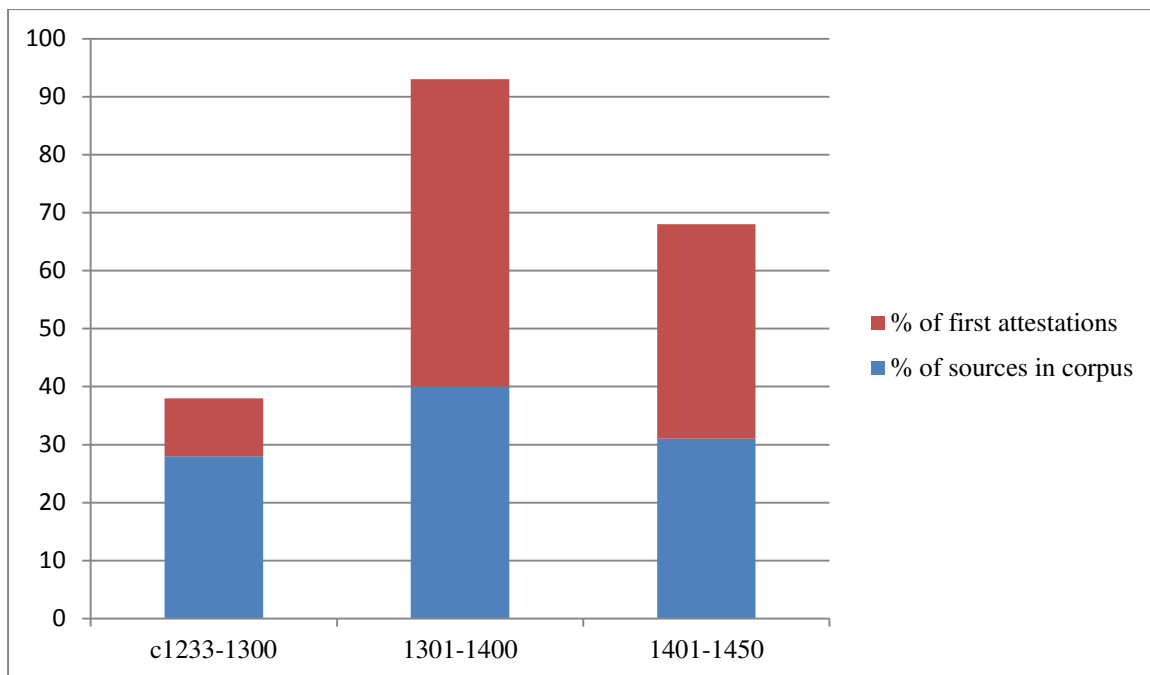
⁵⁹ Other similar examples of the addition of AN *-age* to ME word-stems include *cranage*, *whorfage* and *poundage* (Jefferson and Rothwell 1991: 297-98).

It. < ME < AN e.g. attac(i)amento	transmission in different centuries. The earliest use of the legal term <i>attac(i)amento</i> in Lucchese in 1295 is almost certainly directly influenced by AN <i>atachement</i> . However when the loanword re-emerges 155 years later in a Florentine London ledger, we should also consider the direct influence of ME <i>attachment</i> (att. a1400 and borrowed itself, of course, from AN).
It < *AN e.g. primaggio	3. In this case, the presence of the loading fee <i>primaggio</i> in the Italian of merchants working in London (attested in BML-matrix texts since 1297) suggests an unattested AN form, <i>primage</i> . The term was also passed on into ME but is not recorded until 1476.
2b	Possible etyma in AN, ME and CF
It. + ME < AN or It. < ME < AN e.g. broccore	1. <i>Broccore</i> or ‘broker’, whilst definitely of AN origin, could represent a borrowing either from AN or from ME in the Salviati accounts from mid-fifteenth century London. The noun (in the sense of a ‘negotiator’) is attested but practically unknown in CF.
It. < AN (+CF) < ME e.g. carisea	2. This textile name ultimately derived from an English toponym (‘Kersey’) and by the time it was borrowed into Italian, it had also been borrowed into both AN and CF. It is possible therefore that <i>carisea</i> is derived from the commercial lexis of France rather than England, but it is worth nothing that the loanword is first attested from a1422 in Tuscan accounts written in London, alongside other borrowed names for English fabric and wool types.
It. + ME < AN e.g. costuma	3. <i>Costuma</i> (‘Customs duty’) is only found in six Italian merchant texts linked to English trade from the 1300s and 1400s. These specifically refer to a tax levied by the English Crown. Whilst CF <i>costume</i> also existed in the sense of ‘impôt, droit’, AN <i>custume</i> is the obvious ultimate source for the borrowing.
It. + AN < ME e.g. ludumano	4. The Anglicism <i>lodeman</i> (‘navigator’) entered AN and also the lexis of the Tuscan, Pegolotti who worked as a factor in London for four years from 1317 to 1321. The CF variant, <i>lamanage</i> , seems to be derived from Middle Dutch.
3a	Etymon in ME only / No AN or CF
It. < ME e.g. blacchalleri	A direct borrowing of the ME name of the Flemish fabric <i>black-a-lyre</i> found in the accounts of Florentine-matrix accounts of the Salviati of London in 1448-51
3b	Etymon in ME and CF / No AN
Ø	

iv) Period of attestation

Given that the Imports Glossary headwords were drawn from a very large corpus (technically, all mercantile texts prior to 1500 in the AND / MED / OED), we could usefully examine loanwords in Chapter 3 based on fifty year periods of attestation (and indeed, semantic field) to gain an overview of borrowing patterns from Italian into AN / ME. For the Exports Glossary, statistical analysis is more limited as our small corpus has only twenty-six texts, the dates of which can disproportionately skew our data: for example, only one loanword is first attested in the period 1351-1400 (**contisgualdo**), compared to twenty-nine in 1301-50. But rather than a surge in borrowing in the first half of the 1300s alone, this is more likely due to the fact that, by chance, only three source texts (numbers 5, 22 and 23) date from the second half of the fourteenth century. However, we can note, as Graph 1 shows below, that the seven earliest sources from the thirteenth century (28% of the overall corpus) account for only six new loanwords (or 10% of total first attestations): **attacc(i)amento**, **attacc(i)are**, **coglietta**, **costumiere**, **pocca** and **stanforte**. In contrast, approximately 53% of borrowings in the Exports Glossary are attested in the 40% of the sources from the 1300s.

Finally, another general observation does seem pertinent here, notwithstanding the constraints of the data collected. There is a visible jump in borrowing from AN / ME into Italian as we move from the thirteenth to the fourteenth century and new loanword attestations also continue at a high rate in the first half of the 1400s. This mirrors identical findings outlined in Chapter 3.4iv which show a peak period of language contact in the opposite direction from 1300-1450: the years in which the Italian presence in medieval English finance, trade and shipping was at its strongest and most influential (cf. Chapter 2). It is also interesting to compare these loanword graphs with that of Hope (1971: 147, cf. Chapter 1.2iii). His data shows a clear decrease in continental Gallicisms in Italian as we move from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, alongside a marked increase in Italianisms in CF over the same period. This is a very different kind of language contact however, to our 'microcosm' of intense, reciprocal borrowing that took place mainly on English soil up until the mid-1400s.



Graph 1: Comparison of first attestations of loanwords and source text dates from c1233-1450.⁶⁰

v) Ultimate etyma

In Chapter 3, we highlighted the fact that nearly half the Italianisms found in AN and ME were ultimately of non-Romance origin, deriving from Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Byzantine Greek: languages of Italy's vast trading empire. Here, our range of etyma is much less varied and forty-two out of sixty loanwords can be traced back to Latin. It is important to reiterate, however, that over a quarter of the loanwords in the Exports Glossary have either certain or very likely Germanic roots. This simple fact serves to strengthen the argument even further that direct Italian contact with the languages of medieval England was a reality on English soil and that such ultimately Germanic words must have entered the lexis of Italian visitors via the intermediary of ME (or AN).

This sub-group of loanwords includes:

- Borrowings ultimately from OE e.g. **aldermanno** (OE *ealdorman*), **baramanno** (OE *báerman*), **batto** (OE *bāt*), **fodero** (OE *fóðer*), **locchi** (OE *loc*), **ludumano** (OE *ládmann*).

⁶⁰ Once again, it should be noted that this data does not include the hundreds of additional medieval Italian sources which contain the borrowing **sterlino**.

- Borrowings ultimately from OE place-names e.g. **carisea** (OE *Caersige*), **stanforte** (OE *stanford*).
- Borrowings of unknown but probable Germanic origin e.g. **aberdaciere**, **bacconi**, **sterlino**, **tancardo**, **toddo**.

vi) Hapaxes

Nearly half (twenty-eight) of the sixty loanwords are hapaxes, of which nine have only one attestation and nineteen, multiple attestations in a single source:

Gallerani London accounts (1304-08:) **bacconi**, **calengiare**, **cioppino**, **faldengo**, **goffriere**, **pardisu**, **perriere**

Peruzzi annotations (1325-26:) **guardrobriere**

Pegolotti's Pratica della Mercatura (c1335-43): **ludimannaggio**, **ludumano**, **nonnaria**

Villani London accounts (a1422): **storo**

Salviati London accounts (1448-51): **aberdaciere**, **aldermanno**, **blacchalieri**, **baliaggio**, **broccore**, **celleraggio**, **dicchero**, **follere**, **irmangere**, **litteragio**, **passalarghe**, **primaggio**, **schiniere**, **stapoliere**, **toddo**, **viscontaggio**

Overall, this high proportion of hapaxes (compared to one sixth in the Imports Glossary) is unsurprising, given that our corpus of source texts is relatively small. Similarly, it is reasonable to expect the Salviati accounts (by far the longest source text at over 250 folios) to contain the largest number of original borrowings. Rather we should focus on the fact that just over a half of the AN / ME loanwords in the Exports Glossary are found in more than once source and that these sources are, at times, over 140 years apart, confirming the longevity of many key terms relating to English trade in the Italian mercantile community. It is also worth noting that no single Italian text in our corpus attests only hapaxes and that every source studied also contains more widely attested loanwords.

vii) Parts of speech

In keeping with expected patterns (cf. Chapter 3.4viii), nearly all the lexical borrowings are nouns: fifty-two out of sixty. However, there are four verbs - **attacc(i)are**, 'to seize goods' **calengiare**, 'to accuse / claim', **costumare**, 'to pay Customs tax' and **impaccare**, 'to pack wool' - compared to just two verbs among eighty loanwords in the Imports Glossary. We also

find the only adverb in either section of the Glossary, the administrative term, **pardisu** ('above'), and three loanwords that are used both nominally and adjectivally: the cloth types, **constisgualdo** and **loesti** and the wool type, **moiana**.

5. Conclusion to the Imports and Exports sections

As we have seen (Chapter 1.2-3), present loanword totals in both English and Italian historical dictionary corpora are incredibly low. It is worth reiterating the following points:

- the TLIO currently has only three (correctly labelled) borrowings from ME (**fodero**, **locchi**, **tancardo**) and one from AN (**batto**)
- the AND has only five headwords labelled as Italianisms, all from the Southampton Port Books (1429-35) and identified by Trotter (2011b): **comyt**, **cotegnate**, **fangot**, **sarme**, **sport(in)**
- the OED3 (A-ALZ / M-RZZ) identifies fifteen possible or partial Italianisms from c1390 to 1500; even here, Durkin (2014: 369-71) believes the true total in ME to be much smaller, possibly as low as three (*bank*, *solde*, *vecke*)

Current lexicographical data, therefore, can give a skewed perception of the level of borrowing and realities of Anglo-Italian contact prior to the sixteenth century. It is mercantile documents, often absent from dictionaries, rather than the literary canon, that provide us with a rich source of loanwords pre-1500: to take just two new examples, *The View of the Hosts of Alien Merchants* (with twenty-nine potential Italianisms in an AN-matrix from 1440-44) and the Salviati Accounts (containing thirty-eight AN / ME borrowings in a Florentine text from 1448-51).

The 140 loanwords collated in the Import and Export Glossaries allow us to put forward four general theories about the individual languages involved and their interaction. These are:

- that direct, reciprocal contact between Italian and specifically insular French appears extremely likely and that transmission routes existed that were independent of those between Italian and CF.

- that as late as the mid-1400s, AN was still active as a language of administration in the business communities of England, used in writing and (probably) in spoken exchanges.
- that AN seems to have acted at times as a buffer language, passing on Italianisms into ME (and less often, passing Anglicisms into Italian).⁶¹
- that direct, reciprocal contact between Italian and ME also seems to have also occurred from the early 1300s onwards.

Unfortunately, as historical linguists, we can only speculate as to how exactly Italians communicated with local people and fellow ‘ex-patriots’ in these multilingual environments, as overt metalinguistic comment from the Middle Ages is so unusual. We find ourselves obliged to highlight the language skills of medieval merchants (that unique group of lay yet non-noble literates) in contrast to contemporary commentators. As Braunmüller and Ferraresi point out:

They all were (or became) multilingual - but no one would ever have to emphasize this fact. It was just normal. Therefore there is little evidence to be found in (written) sources which stresses the fact that a certain person was multilingual or that the command of a *lingua franca*, like Latin or any other language for a specific purpose, was mandatory for a certain job. A lack of such linguistic skills would, by contrast, have been worth mentioning (Braunmüller and Ferraresi 2003: 3).⁶²

Similarly, we will never know how imported vocabulary was perceived in the minds of the authors of these Exchequer Rolls, accounts, port books, letters and inventories. In modern linguistic theory, non-adapted borrowings are nearly always considered recognisable as blatant “foreignisms” in the recipient language (Haspelmath and Tadmor 2009: 42-43) but it can be dangerous to assume that the medieval mind rigorously separated languages or consciously distinguished between borrowings, especially technical terms, from other lexis (cf. Vidos 1965, Rothwell 1980, Wright 2000 / 2002a, Trotter 2010 / 2011b / 2011d).

⁶¹ This is not to presume, by any means, that all parties involved could always write or speak all three languages: AN, ME and Italian. Rather, it is a comment on the overall processes at work as new lexis spreads through a multilingual community. Cf. Durkin (2014: 10): “It is important to note that when one bilingual or multilingual speaker is communicating with another, even if most of the communication is in one language, words (and larger units) from the other languages can readily be introduced. In some social and cultural circumstances [of which medieval trade is surely a prime example], this can be an important channel for words ultimately to enter the usage of monolingual speakers as well.”

⁶² A very rare example of such comment seems pertinent here: surviving letters reveal the necessity of good English for promotion within the Medici bank’s London branch in 1446. The unusual step was taken to promote from outside the company and bring in Gerzzo dei’ Pigli because of his competence in the English language. The Florentine, Agnolo Tani was not appointed head of the London office as he did not speak English, although interestingly, he had worked in Bruges for the company, even though he did not speak French either (Guidi-Bruscoli 2015: 116).

It is interesting to note, however, that a small minority of loanwords (all in the Imports Glossary) seem to show no or barely any morphological adaption to the target language i.e. AN **ceta** < It *seta*, ME **ditto** < It. *ditto*, AN (**ore**) **filado** <It. (*oro*) *filado*, AN **taffata** < It. *taffeta*, AN **talany** < It. *talani*, AN **yndigo** < It. *endego*. Their presence is striking as non-adapted borrowings are extremely rare in medieval texts and so raise questions as to the circumstances surrounding their production.⁶³ Four of these loanwords are found in the accounts of merchants obliged to submit their finances to the Crown in the 1440s (*The Views of the Hosts*) and as their editor points out, it is easy to imagine how such new, unfamiliar lexis was transmitted verbally between an Italian trader and a local scribe who simply copied it down (Bradley 2012: liv). The case of **ditto** is very different, however, as we are dealing with a ME factor working in Tuscany who became fully immersed in the local language of commerce, business short-hand and indeed, ‘advanced’ Arabic numeral use (see Chapter 5).

Semantics, rather than morphology, offer another key insight into the differences between the two halves of the Glossary which entirely fit the historical context: that of Italians as importers of the exotic and commercial innovators in England. Nearly all of those Italianisms borrowed into AN / ME are what are traditionally termed ‘loanwords of necessity’ or ‘cultural borrowings’ (cf. Holtus 1989, Haspelmath and Tadmor 2009: 46-49): lexemes that designated commodities (e.g. the Eastern silks, **maramas** and **nassik**), ship types (e.g. **carrak**, **tarette**), processes (e.g. **garbeler** ‘to sift refuse from spices’) or concepts (e.g. **net**, ‘remaining weight / money’) that were new to the recipient language.⁶⁴ Whilst there are numerous parallel examples of unfamiliar terms in the Exports Glossary (local units of measurements e.g. **gallone** / **toddo**, English wool terms e.g. **locchi**, **moiana**, **storo**), there is a sizeable proportion, as we have seen, of ‘core’ or ‘luxury’ borrowings where a native language equivalent already exists.⁶⁵ The replacement of *fabbro* with **yrmanghere** or

⁶³ Cella (2003: xiv) goes as far as to state that “prestiti non adattati o casuali” are entirely unknown amongst the hundreds of Gallicisms recorded in medieval Italian prior to 1600. Nevertheless, occasional exceptions can be found, such as the following from the recently discovered *quaderno di spese* of the Gallerani Paris branch (1306-08), edited by Mosti: *recovreors* < OF *recovreor* (‘tiler, roofer’), *riscostaçions* < OF **recoustaison* (‘cost, payment’) *rogatòn* < OF *rogaton* (‘legal summons’) (Mosti 2012: 57, 58, 60). However, the loanwords I have examined in the Exports Glossary, whether of AN or ME origin, all show morphological adaption to Italian norms.

⁶⁴ The principal exception is **creditour** < It. *creditore* (‘money lender’) which already existed in AN as *creancier*.

⁶⁵ It is important to remember - as we noted briefly in Chapter 1.2iii - that this basic paradigm of borrowing is controversial, cf. Hope (1971: 720-22), Trotter (2006c: 1778). Other modern scholars still recognise its usefulness, however, e.g. Cella (2003: xv): “[...] ritengo che tale distinzione, opportunamente adattata, possa ancora soddisfare l’esigenza di mettere in relazione i prestiti tanto con i dispositivi più strettamente linguistici quanto con le varietà diastratiche e diafasiche, e, più specificamente per l’ambito antico, con le tipologie testuali

pellicciaio with **schiniere** by Florentines living in London could well be due to a desire for bureaucratic precision in record keeping, as Cella (2010: 63) suggests, but it also gives us the strong (and unsurprising) impression that this was a minority linguistic community absorbing lexis from the majority population and adapting to some of its cultural norms.

Finally, most research into historical multilingualism and diglossia has, unavoidably “focused on the micro-level, such as the different motivations and textual functions of switching in specific texts or text types”. We “lack a comprehensive macro-linguistic analysis of codeswitching in medieval Britain” which would allow a study of community behaviour (Schendl and Wright 2011: 4). The data collected to compile the Imports and Exports sections is still limited by modern scientific standards but it is hoped that through the use of dictionary corpora, databases and unpublished sources, a wider, near-‘macro-level’ view has been achieved which offers real insight into the phenomenon of AN/ ME-Italian contact and a convincing typology of loanwords. The following and final chapter of the thesis, however, returns very much to the ‘micro-level’ and the detailed analysis of an individual source: the *Cantelowe Accounts*, written by the Englishman, John Balmayn, who spent a year in Pisa and Florence from 1450 to 1451.

che li documentano.” Pinnavaia (2001: 129-39), in her study of Italianisms in English, chooses to sub-divide ‘prestige’ loans into ‘interpersonal’ and ‘textual’ borrowings. See also Onysko and Winter-Froemel (2011) for a discussion of the terminology as applied to modern day borrowing.

CHAPTER 5

A multilingual merchant text:

The Cantelowe Accounts (1450-51), Archivio Salviati, Serie 1: 339

1. Introduction

2. William Cantelowe and the Salviati of Florence

3. The manuscript and its contents

4. Language use

i) Categorising languages

ii) Anglo-Norman lexis and abbreviations

iii) Middle English-matrix sections

iv) Italian-matrix sections

v) Merchant mark descriptions

vi) Latin-matrix sections

vii) Use of articles

viii) Commercial loanwords of particular interest

5. Numeral use

6. Merchant marks and signs

7. Conclusion

1. Introduction

This chapter is devoted to a new source transcribed in full here for the first time; what follows comprises a ‘mini-edition’, with the full transcription being found in Volume 2 of this thesis, together with notes on editorial method.¹

The *Cantelowe Accounts* of 1450-51 are housed in the Archivio Salviati of the Scuola Normale in Pisa, the only ‘ME source’ in this vast collection. The large amount of Italian in the same text also makes it an intriguing find to anyone interested in the merchant language of medieval England. The accounts also link conveniently to two other key texts from the mid-1400s which have already been presented: the *Views of the Hosts of Alien Merchants* record Sir William Cantelowe eight times as a luxury fabric buyer² (cf. Chapter 3.2) and the *Libro Grande Rosso segnato A* (AS Serie 1:336) of his business partners, the Florentine Salviati company, contains numerous AN and ME loanwords (cf. Chapter 4.2ii).

From some angles, the accounts are dull, even by the standards of medieval administration. There are no cutting-edge financial calculations, such as double-entry book keeping, and there are no exotic commodities, no silks or spices from distant shores. All but three of its folios are devoted to the same large shipment of 466 pokes of English wool that left Southampton and arrived in Tuscany in the autumn of 1450. The scribe, John Balmayn, methodically records all the details of its delivery and sale in Pisa and Florence over the next eleven months. Included are the precise weights of each lot, tare deducted,³ expenses incurred, the price paid in florins by forty-four Italian buyers and a long list of bills of exchange via Venice which eventually allowed payment to reach Cantelowe back in England.

The relevance of the economic details in these records, relating to the wool export market of the 1400s, has not been overlooked (cf. Chapter 2.4). The late historian, George Holmes, visited the Pisa archives and examined the *Cantelowe Accounts* for his well-known article, ‘Anglo-Florentine Trade in 1451’. He points out that there is a “comparative paucity of information available for trade at this period in English records, in striking contrast to the

¹ When referring below to sections of the transcription, a folio number (allocated by me) plus a letter for each paragraph or item in the accounts is given e.g. 17b, 22a, 30g etc.

² E.g. *Item le mesme iour a William Cantelowe j piece velvet sur velvet noire pur vij^{li} x^s* (VOH 34: 31, E101/128/30 r.14, transcr. p. 42) (1443-44).

³ The use of *tare* (‘weight of packaging deducted from the gross weight of merchandise’ < It. *tara*) is worthy of special mention here. Prior to 1486, the borrowing is only attested in AN and ME-matrix entries of the London Grocers Accounts: see Imports Glossary sub **tare**. Here, it is used countless times in the Italian matrix buyers’ entries (so often that it is sometimes abbreviated simply to *t-*) and also embedded in one ‘clear’ ME phrase (7c). Balmayn’s use of the anglicized *tare* form however, suggests that - in spite of the rarity of AN / ME citations prior to 1450 - the term was established in English business parlance by this point. This is in contrast to the specific types of tare he records - such as *fradischio* and *intingmento* - which remain in their Italianised forms throughout.

wealth of archival sources for the Ricciardi, Bardi and Frescobaldi, in the reigns of Edward I, II and III” (Holmes 1993: 371). He also transcribed several short sections to include in his paper but (understandably, given the focus of his study) is not concerned with linguistic analysis.⁴ Unfortunately, his only comment on Balmayn’s writing does the scribe a disservice by underestimating his multilingual skills: “At this stage the English accountant sometimes lapsed into Italian, presumably repeating what was said to him by his Florentine colleagues” (Holmes 1993: 374).

In reality, this document has great linguistic worth. By its survival alone, it joins a very small group of ME-matrix mercantile records from the first half of the fifteenth century.⁵ But more importantly, Balmayn keeps changing language and writes in a fascinating mix of ME, Italian and Latin, peppered throughout with a small selection of AN abbreviations and expressions. As we shall see, Balmayn is a competent writer of medieval business Italian which, in itself, offers us an extremely rare example of early Anglo-Italian contact. Evidence of an English scribe deftly employing Italian terminology and writing full account entries in the language is - as far as I am aware - unique amongst medieval mercantile texts. This goes far beyond the transmission of single Italian lexemes, mainly commodities, passed on from Italian merchant to English clerk in the contemporary *Views of the Hosts* or the Southampton Port Books. Of course, it is obvious that employees like Balmayn who worked closely with Italian colleagues at home and abroad would have spoken Italian but concrete evidence of such linguistic competence in the mercantile community is very unusual.

The *Cantelowe Accounts* are therefore deserving of a full linguistic investigation. Their contents may be dry and functional but they offer extraordinary insight into the merger of English and Italian commercial lexis and, indeed, numeral use. In this, they provide a rare,

⁴ In most cases, these are very short extracts of a sentence or so (the names of the wool types on p. 8 and all or parts of 10a, 11a, 11m, 12j, 31c and 33a). There are three longer paragraphs (2a/b and 13a) whose transcriptions I include in footnotes to my own transcription for comparison of editorial practice. It goes without saying that these extracts offered me an invaluable foothold into understanding the scribe’s hand when I first began transcribing the text and for this, I am indebted to the late Prof. Holmes. I do disagree with some small details of his transcription but then I have had the luxury of poring over digital copies of the manuscript.

⁵ Cf. Chapter 1.2ii. / 1.4ii. ME features heavily in the AN accounts of Gybon Maufield (or Gilbert Maghfelt) from 1390-94. This very early bilingual code was first discussed in Rickert 1926 and analysed much more recently in Wright 2002a / 2002b. See Alcolado Carnicero (2014) for the intricate matter of the shift to ME-matrix pre-1500 in the trilingual administration of the London livery companies, such as the Merchant Taylors, Goldsmiths, Grocers and Drapers. His general conclusion is that it occurred (in a very gradual, un-streamlined manner) between the 1420s and 1440s. For example, the Worshipful Company of Brewers issued a memorandum in 1422 decreeing that all Latin and French records should henceforth be kept in English. Somewhat ironically, this decree was written in Latin and the accounts very quickly shift back to AN and BML matrix texts for some time. An important exception to this trend is the Mercers who wrote their accounts conservatively in AN until the late 1450s (see Jefferson 2009). The *Views of the Hosts* (Chapters 1.4 / 3.2) were predominantly written in AN, almost certainly because they were considered public, legal documents rather than private business accounts.

extant example of a process that was probably happening in countless account books (and countless conversations) in late medieval merchant society.

2. William Cantelowe and the Salviati of Florence

Sir William Cantelowe (d. 1464) had a successful career in business and in civic and royal administration that left a considerable paper trail in contemporary records. We know that he became, for example, King's Victualler at Calais, alderman of Cripplegate, sheriff of London, master of the Mercers, an MP and finally, a knight in 1461. Given his status, he was almost certainly also a host to visiting Italian merchants along with his brother John in the early 1440s, although none of his Views survive (Bradley 2012: 174-75).

As a wealthy mercer, Cantelowe banked with the Milanese Borromei bank in London. He lent money to the Crown regularly between 1433 and 1452 (an exceptionally high £1000 on one occasion) and was a well-known figure in court circles (Sutton 2005: 232). His connections with both the Crown and Italian fellow businessman are well represented in the large Southampton shipment of 1450. In return for several advances to Henry VI in the 1440s, Cantelowe was allowed to freely export wool out of London, without subsidy, from October 1449. Even more generously, a Treaty Roll of November 1450 exempted him and "his deputies or attorneys, native or alien" from custom duties on shipping 300 sacks of wool from Southampton through the Straits of Gibraltar (Holmes 1993: 377). This is precisely the time that Cantelowe and Jacob Salviati, of the Salviati London branch, embarked on their ambitious and lucrative joint wool venture. In her monograph *The Mercery of London*, Sutton says this of the enterprise:

Cooperation brought far more profit than one-sided ventures [...] Salviati arranged the voyage and the sales, and the whole was done under a licence from the king obtained by Cantelowe. Cantelowe's servant, John Balmayn, went with the galley and kept the accounts.⁶ The total profit of over 22,300 florins was transferred back by

⁶ Actually, Balmayn's journey to Italy is not made entirely clear in the extant folios. He states in his opening paragraph to the accounts (2a), dated 1451, that the "wolle and othyr marchuntyse" had left England in 1450 and the first sale is later recorded in November 1450 (16b). Balmayn says that he himself was sent to Florence the following year, leaving London on 13th May 1451 and arriving some weeks later, on the 24th June (2b). This is most confusing as an important part of his job would have been to personally oversee the wool's delivery to Florence and carefully log all duties and expenses. If he really did arrive over six months later, this means that the forty-eight recorded sales up until the 28th June 1451 (16b-25f) were carried out in his absence and that he recorded the details from someone else. This would certainly have implications for the analysis of his language use but his idiosyncratic mix of ME and Italian throughout the entire document shows that he clearly did not copy down either what his Italian colleagues were saying (as Holmes suggests) or line by line from a Tuscan account book. Logically, it seems much more likely that he simply made a mistake when writing the year of his own arrival (m^l iij^c lj) and that he actually arrived in Italy in June 1450, before the shipment, in order to liaise

exchange to London and Bruges via Italian companies in Venice; Cantelowe received his money in July 1452 and Balmayn stayed on in Florence as Cantelowe's representative (Sutton 2005: 227).

Holmes gives us some other relevant details about their partnership in 'Anglo-Florentine Trade':

The account book⁷ of the London Salviati records a debt of £4277 9s. 9d. from him which was balanced by a payment of £3728 4s. 1d. on 8 July and two previous receipts of £122 10s. and £426 14s. 8d. The debt had been gradually built up since the autumn of 1450 by a number of payments made on Cantelowe's behalf by the London Salviati [...] The impression is that Cantelowe used Salviati as a bank which would make payments to him or for him in London or Bruges and, presumably in agreement with Salviati, built up a considerable debt which both of them knew would be repaid by the sale of the wool at Florence (Holmes 1993: 378).

Just five years after these accounts were written, Cantelowe suffered a temporary career setback. As Master of the Mercers, he was imprisoned for three months in Dudley Castle at the end of 1456 for failure to control anti-Italian violence, perpetrated by some of the younger men of the Mercery (cf. Chapter 2.6).⁸ In the spring of that year, a Lucchese merchant had been assaulted and the next day, other Italian merchants had their houses looted in organised raids. A plot to murder a Genoese wool trader was also uncovered and the London mayor had to send out street patrols to keep the peace for weeks (Sutton 2005: 230-31). Given that Cantelowe had built his fortune on foreign trade and collaboration with alien colleagues, it is unlikely that he personally felt much ill will towards the 'Lombards'. He was, nevertheless, given an exemplary punishment by the authorities but went on to regain royal favour and received a knighthood under Edward IV.

Hence we know a relatively large amount about Cantelowe's professional life, the background to his collaboration with the Salviati and the amounts of money and merchandise involved. In stark contrast, we know nothing about John Balmayn, his employee and writer of these accounts, who oversaw the sale of the wool in Italy. There is no mention of him elsewhere, not even in the London Mercers' records. This is far from unusual for a mid-fifteenth century scribe but frustrating, as details of his career and education would have been useful in understanding his language use.

with the Salviati and to prepare to receive what was a large and valuable cargo. We do not know when (or if) he returned home afterwards; the last items he wrote are dated 6th October 1451 (32a / 34q).

⁷ Holmes is referring to AS Serie 1, 341, carta 67. Note that this is not the *Libro grande rosso segnato A* (AS Serie 1: 336) presented in Chapter 4.2ii but another one of several unedited books from the Salviati London branch, *Debitori e creditori, segnato C* (1451-55). As I have already noted (Chapter 4.4), all of these sources merit future investigation, not least from a linguistic standpoint.

⁸ In his *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* entry on Cantelowe, Holmes states that, "The reason for the mercers' conduct was no doubt displeasure caused by the commercial policy of the crown, the favour it showed to aliens, and its neglect of staple privileges" (See <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/52243>: accessed 17/05/2016).

3. The manuscript and its contents

The extant manuscript (AS Serie 1: 339) consists of thirty-five folios, followed by dozens of blank pages, assembled into a folder at some unknown later date. The accounts begin:

Jheus 1451 Maria. *Memorandum* that this boke ys for the rekenyng of resceyvynge of my mayster Wylliam Cantelowe ys wolle and othyr marchuntyse send fro London and fro Hampton to Pyse and Florens, the yere of oure Lorde God anno mⁱ iiii^c l and for the retorne agayne of the seyde wolle, made by Jacob Salviatis and by me,⁹ Johane Balmayn, *servaunt* of the seyde William Cantelowe (2a)

The pages are foliated (verso only) by their author but are not consecutive and some sections of the accounts appear to be missing: this has little impact on the lexical value of the source and all the details relating to the unusually large consignment of 466 pokes seem to be present. Seven pages have been cancelled with lines drawn through them, indicating that they are drafts or copies; these are a letter to Cantelowe on p. 13, some rough calculations on p. 14, two isolated account entries on p. 15 and pp. 16-19 of the wool buyers' entries.¹⁰ In addition, pp. 13-14 are written on loose leaves of paper which have been inserted into the main folder. Four of the folios (pp. 4-6, 14) consist entirely of columns of Arabic numerals (see section 5, below) and three others (pp. 3, 7, 10) also contain large amounts of figures, all of which tally up the weight of the wool in pokes and cloves.

The quality of the folios is excellent, they are entirely undamaged and the text is barely faded. Balmayn writes in a distinctive Secretary hand with remnants of Anglicana, specifically making frequent use of a long, forked 'r' and more rarely, a double-decker 'a'.¹¹ The neatness of his writing varies greatly, from a careful and clear hand in an 'official' version (e.g. pp. 9, 11) to a more hurried scrawl in drafts (e.g. pp. 13, 15).

The surviving accounts can be divided into five main sections, as follows in Table 1, below. I have also indicated the matrix language(s) used in each section but, as I discuss in detail in section 3, categorisation is not always straightforward.

⁹ Evidently, Jacob Salviati ensured records of the same transactions were also kept in his company's ledgers (Holmes 1993: 375, 378). The sale of the wool to individual Italian buyers is replicated in AS Serie I, 232 (carte 131, 166, 185, 198), an account book compiled in Florence where the company was headed by his father, Alamanno Salviati. Receipts for transfer of payment to Cantelowe are found in material written in London: *Debitori e creditor, segnato C, con rubrica, 1451-1455* (AS Serie I, 341, carta 67) and in the *Libro Grande Rosso segnato A*, presented in Chapter 4 of this thesis (AS Serie I, 336, carta 222).

¹⁰ These page numbers refer to the numbers I have allocated to the original folios in the transcription (Volume 2), cf. Table 1, below.

¹¹ My thanks to Dr Susan Davies, formerly of Aberystwyth University, for her advice on this matter.

✱

Macholo de fimo lampradori & francisco amadori et gna. d. d. 17. februa.

f. r. galy lame 670 ad 4

n. 202 d. 255.	n. 198. d. 266.	Sin de go ad 4. d. 2670. t. g. rso. et yrazoni. ut frg gny de sacf. ut frg gny de guzo. & g. rando. d. 19. g. galy Sin d. 190. Raso t. d. 2450. d. ff. 24. lo. of. 6 ff. 588. f. 9 Sin ff. 588. f. 9 d. galy rno galy
218. d. 265.	197. d. 252.	
199. d. 275.	195. d. 248.	
217. d. 272.	221. d. 273.	
209. d. 270.	206. d. 264.	

Dominico de padro fadori. et gna. d. d. 11. gyt. 1450.

f. r. galy lame 670 ad 4

n. 333. d. 257.	n. 368. d. 236.	Sin de go ad 4. d. 789. t. g. rso. d. 11. g. galy d. 33. & g. yrazoni. d. 19. rno. 6. ut g. frg gny de sacf. d. 7. rno. 6. ut g. frg gny de guzo. d. 2. ut g. ff. galy. d. 8. ut g. rando. d. 3. Sin d. 68. Raso t. d. 721. d. ff. 24. lo. of. 6 ff. 173. f. 9 Sin ff. 173. f. 9 d. galy rno galy ad gna in rrapella
299. d. 266.	375. d. 281.	
318. d. 266.	373. d. 285.	

Johannes de padro de albos. et gna. d. d. ditto. f. r. galy lame 670 ad 4

n. 367. d. 262.	n. 368. d. 236.	Sin de go ad 4. d. 1596. t. g. rso. & yrazoni. ut frg gny de sacf. ut frg gny de guzo. ut g. rando. d. 18. rno. 6. g. galy. Sin de taj. d. 111. Raso t. d. 1485. d. ff. 24. lo. of. 6 ff. 356. f. 8. d. 7 Sin ff. 356. f. 11. d. 7. d. galy gazzo de 5. galy ad gna in rrapella.
369. d. 269.	375. d. 281.	
370. d. 262.	373. d. 285.	

Bernardo de gna de gna. d. d. 15. ditto. f. r. galy lame 670 ad 4

n. 320. d. 262.	n. 1069.	Sin de go ad 4. d. 1069. t. g. rso. d. 11. g. galy d. 44. & g. yrazoni. d. 23. & g. frg gny de sacf. d. 8. ut g. frg gny de guzo. d. 3. ut g. rando. d. 9. ut gny d. 4. sacf. Sin de taj. d. 86. Raso t. d. 978. d. ff. 24. lo. of. 6 ff. 234. f. 19. d. 7. Sin ff. 234. f. 20. d. 7. d. galy rno galy ad gna in rrapella.
291. d. 260.	1069.	
317. d. 271.	1069.	
302. d. 271.	1069.	

Johannes de mittino de miff. Salufro de gna. d. d. ditto. f. r. galy lame 670 ad 4

n. 309. d. 266.	n. 1057.	Sin de go ad 4. d. 1057. t. g. rso. d. 11. g. galy d. 44. & g. yrazoni. Raso t. d. 19. rno. 6. & g. frg gny de sacf. d. 6. rno. 6. ut g. frg gny de guzo. d. 3. & g. rando. d. 4. ut gny d. 4. sacf. Sin de taj. d. 76. Raso t. d. 981. d. ff. 24. lo. of. gonta ff. 235. f. 8. d. 7. Sin ff. 235. f. 11. d. 7. d. galy rno galy ad gna in rrapella.
313. d. 265.	1057.	
321. d. 265.	1057.	
338. d. 261.	1057.	

Fig 1. A sample page from the accounts: Archivio Salviati, Serie 1: 339, f.67

Page	Folio	Contents	Language
1		Front cover of folder.	ME
Section 1:			
2	f. 1v	Shipment 1: 466 pokes of wool left Southampton in 1450 on a Genoese carrack (patron, Antonio Doria) and were delivered to Francesco and Giovanni Salviati in Pisa. ¹²	ME
3	f. 2v	The precise weight of each poke of wool in Shipment 1 is carefully recorded and tallied up in sacks and cloves. The final net weight (after tare) is 251 sacks, 8½ cloves.	Arabic numerals + ME
4	f. 2r		
5	f. 3v		
6	f. 3r		
7	f. 4v		
8	f. 4r	The number of pokes of each wool type in shipment 1 is recorded plus a description of the merchant countermark, used to identify the sacks.	Latin with Italian and ME lexemes
9	f. 5v		
10	f. 5r	Shipment 2: 104 pokes of wool left Southampton in April 1451 on a Genoese carrack (patron, Maurizio Cataneo) and were delivered to Francesco and Giovanni Salviati in Porto Pisano. ¹³ Some weights are listed but final calculations, wool types, merchant marks and expenses are absent.	ME
Section 2:			
11	f.41v	Pisa expenses for Shipment 1: Including all duties and subsidies, unloading at the port of Livorno, carriage to Pisa and weighing at the customs house, porter fees, mending of torn sacks, food and accommodation and Jacapo Salviati's ride to Pisa to see the wool. Dated 16 th November 1450	ME matrix with Italian lexemes Italian matrix with ME lexemes
12	f. 41r	Florence expenses for Shipment 1: Including all duties and subsidies, transport from Pisa to Florence, clerical fees, weighing at the customs house	

¹² No month is given for the wool's arrival but, as stated above, we do know that the first lot is recorded as being sold on the 13th of November 1450 (16b) and the last on the 6th of October 1451 (32a). Eleven months was apparently quite a quick turnaround for a sale, according to Holmes. Commenting on the relative importance of the wool trade, as opposed to burgeoning domestic cloth exports (cf. Chapter 2.4), he says, "The relative ease with which Cantelowe's wool appears to have been sold at Florence indicates that there was still a substantial market for it, though of course much smaller than it had been a century earlier" (Holmes 1993: 385).

¹³ No arrival date is given but this is possibly the same wool shipment as the ninety-one pokes recorded in the Port Book of Southampton in William Cantelowe's name which left on 3rd April and arrived on 24th June 1451 (Holmes 1993: 372-73).

		and storage costs. Dated 28 th September 1451	
Section 3:			
13	f. 64v	A draft letter, from Balmayn in Florence to his master Cantelowe, encouraging him to send more high quality wool over for sale. Dated 27 th August [1451]	ME
14	f. 64r	Rough calculations, meaning unknown	Arabic numerals
15	f. 64 bis	Two unrelated account entries, recording loans of £14 s.8 to John Bertremi and 80 ducats to Thomas Bedford in August and October 1451.	ME with Italian and AN lexemes
Section 4:			
16	f. 65v	Forty-four buyers entries for Shipment 1: Each lot lists the buyer, the numbers of the pokes bought, their gross weights and net weights after various types of tare are deducted. The countermark is described at the end of each entry. On the 6 th October 1451, Balmayn tallies up the 448 pokes sold from 13 th November 1450 to 28 th September 1451, which have sold for a total of Fl. 22359. 6. 9, after expenses.	Italian with AN abbreviations and formulae and ME. Latin appears in the description of the merchant marks.
17	f. 65r		
18	f. 66v		
19	f. 66r		
20	f. 67v		
21	f. 67r		
22	f. 68v		
23	f. 68r		
24	f. 69v		
25	f. 69r		
26	f. 70v		
27	f. 70r		
28	f. 71v		
29	f. 71r		
30	f. 72v		
31	f. 72r		
32	f.73v	On 11 th October 1451, Balmayn records an extra 17 pokes sold for Fl. 707 s. 5 d. 9, bringing the final total up to 465. ¹⁴	
Section 5:			
33	f. 130v	Bills of exchange (mainly) for Shipment 1:	ME matrix with Italian lexemes
34	f. 130r	Careful record of money transfers to pay for the wool, from Florence to Venice and then on to Bruges or	Italian matrix with ME

¹⁴ The fate of the elusive 466th poke remains a mystery as its sale is not recorded. See also Table 2, below.

		London. ¹⁵ List 1: 30 th January 1450 - 6 th October 1451 ¹⁶ Bills of exchange which were paid by several Florentine buyers to the Rucellai and Strozzi of Venice	lexemes
35	f.131r	List 2: 6 th February 1450 - 9 th June 1451 (incomplete) Bills of exchange paid by the Rucellai and Strozzi of Venice to Jacapo Salviati in London and Bruges.	

Table 1: Summary of the manuscript's contents

4. Language use

The *Cantelowe Accounts* are recorded in the Salviati Archive catalogue as a “libro di conti della detta ragione in lingua inglese”.¹⁷ Holmes went slightly further and declared that it was “written in English apart from technical terms in other languages” (1993: 371). As we shall see, the reality is more complex. Like most administrative documents, it is highly repetitive, re-using certain phrases and formulaic expressions time and time again, but it does contain a unique mix of four languages with frequent lexical overlap. The matrix language can be ME, Italian or Latin. Embedded lexemes, or phrases, can be any one of these languages or AN. We frequently find three (and occasionally four) languages in a single sentence, so-called intra-sentential switching, but the switch points are certainly not restricted to those typical of medieval business practice such as commodities, professions, currencies and units of measurement.

There are parallels between Balmayn's writing and the mixed-language, administrative text types analysed by Trotter and Wright. In ‘Death, taxes and property: some code-switching evidence from Dover, Southampton and York’, Trotter remarks that:

¹⁵ Holmes (1993: 373) notes that “the interesting feature of this section of Balmayn's book are the central position of Venice in the European exchange system through which went all the transfers from Florence to North West Europe, and the close association of agents in London and Bruges which made it possible for them both to be suitable for paying the London Salviati”.

¹⁶ There is some confusion as to the dates of the bills of exchange. Page 33 is clearly headed 1450 and the first payment entry is dated 30th January of that year. The next seven entries continue until 20th March 1450 and then there appears to be an eleven month gap, as the following date is 3rd April 1451 (33j). We can only assume that the 1450 payments are not related to Shipment 1 as they were carried out well before the 466 pokes had even landed in Pisa. It is unclear, therefore, why these seven entries have been recorded here.

¹⁷ See the Salviati Archive's online inventory: salviati.centroarchivistico.sns.it/index.php?id=109&rl=yes&page=34 (accessed 11/05/2016).

The incidence of AF and ME words [in a Latin-matrix, fifteenth-century will] is striking and the way in which they are deployed is revealing. They are unmarked and (or so it seems) unconsciously incorporated. What this looks like is not a writer who is actively jumping between languages which he perceives as distinct but a writer who happens to have a range of lexical items at his disposal (2011d: 175)

Balmayn too very rarely signals his language shift and there are only four instances of a word being prefixed by *callyd* or *vocato* e.g.

Item for cariours the which be callyd victura for the bryngyng fro Pise to Florens (12c)

Et in numero Cxxx^c sunt lane vocate flese wolle que ponderant cloves vij de lane fine de Cotyswolde de racolte yonge (8i)

Below are two examples of the much more common unmarked intra-sentential shift; firstly an ME entry with embedded Italian (underlined) and AN (bold) phrases and secondly, a Latin entry with Italian (underlined), AN (bold) and ME / AN (red) lexemes:¹⁸

*Mayster Thomas Bedford, parson of Lavvenham in Lestetyrschyre, dette le **iiij** jour de octobre pur 80 doc. de Canaia remisse a Perogia, a **iiij** moys a pagare a grossi 52 ½ pur doc. and to rescyve hit of Nycholas Bedford, marchaunte of Caleys (15b)*

*De n^o xxxvi ad numerum xli: pokes vj de juvene lana de la Marche, contrasignata de una ancilla ut supra cum uno pere **precus** duplice de **coralle vermeille**: pokes vi (8c)*

It does seem as if the writer is moving unconsciously from one language to another, drawing from, as Trotter suggests, a large lexical reserve of commercial vocabulary. This is strengthened by the fact that he often varies the language used for a particular word or phrase, revealing an underlying flexibility in his language skills. Variations include for example:

- *le dyd jour / a di ditto / the daye aboveseyd* (AN / It. / ME)
- *a di 15 a vista da lettera / at xv dayes after the seyth of the letter* (It. / ME)
- *ancilla / donzella / maydyne* (Lat. / It. / ME)
- *manipulum / mazzo / hand* (Lat. / It. / ME)

In ‘Code-intermediate phenomena’, Wright (2002a) focuses on the bilingual and trilingual business codes in accounts such as the London Bridge Wardens’ Annual (1460-61) or Petty Customs Accounts (1480-81). These supra-regional varieties were characterised by the use of “visual diamorphs” i.e. multi-purpose abbreviations which could be expanded in either BML or ME /AN. In a minority of cases, however, abbreviations were carefully distinguished by

¹⁸ Cf. section 4.i, below, ‘Categorising languages’.

language, such as the scribe's "subtle" graphic distinction between Latin *saccus* and ME *sak* in the Bridge Accounts.¹⁹ Similar features, on a smaller scale, can also be found in the *Cantelowe Accounts*. Balmayn differentiates between ME and Italian shorthand for *pok-* (ME *pokes*) / *poch-* (It. *poche*) and *sack-* (ME *sackes*) / *sach-* (It. *sachi*) but other examples are harder to label linguistically. The abbreviations *cu-* (*cum*), *q-* (*que*) and *tar-* (*tara* / *tare*) remain translingual even when expanded: *cum* can be read as either Latin or Italian, *que* can be read as either AN, Latin or Italian, *tar-* could be *tara* (singular) or *tare* (plural) in Italian or an assimilated borrowing, *tare*, in ME.

Overall, we are dealing with a totally different type of contact phenomenon, not least because, so far, the *Cantelowe Accounts* are unique in their language use. Firstly, whilst company accounts in England certainly change their matrix language, this is a gradual process over some years that depends, in many ways, on the scribe at work (cf. FN 5, above). Here, we have a single author who alters the template of his language-mixing in various sections of his records, written within the space of a year. The multilingual documents which have been edited so far are all based on the three 'native' varieties of English administration, offering insight into the ever-changing interplay between AN, ME and BML and its contribution to the evolution of Standard English (cf. Chapter 1.4ii-iii). As we saw in Chapters 3 and 4, isolated Italianisms (and indeed borrowings from other languages) can abound in such indigenous records. However, with this source, we are adding a new fourth element to the well-known trio, that of an entirely foreign matrix language that the author has (presumably) learnt from non-British colleagues.

i) Categorising languages

Unsurprisingly, in a text that contains Latin, two forms of Romance and a Germanic language heavily influenced by Latin and French lexis, it is not always possible to tell which language(s) Balmayn is employing.

One of the main problems upon first analysis is distinguishing between Italian and Latin lexemes and short phrases. It is important to remember that *et*, *cum*, *uno* and even *sine* are all frequently-used medieval Italian forms and should be considered as such within Italian

¹⁹ "Clerks could be very subtle in their integrating of the two languages. [...] the scribe graphically distinguished between Latin and English lexemes which had the same form. The Latin word for a sack (L. *saccus*, -i 'a sack') lines 5-8, was always spelt with a <cc> graph: *saccis*, *sacc*, *sac*. The only exception is when the lexeme appeared in the English compound *sakclothe* (OE *sac*, 'a sack'), when a <k> graph was used. [...] Thus the scribe went to considerable lengths to indicate the Englishness of the compound element, as opposed to the Latinity of the simplex lexeme" (Wright 2002a: 473).

matrix sections. *Summa* can be Italian or Latin (or indeed considered a neutral, Europe-wide business term). *Ancilla* can be Latin or Italian whereas *ancella* is an Italian variation. *Campana, coronata, cruce, depincta, herba, libra, mana, medio, manipulo, numero, pavo, scriptura, rosa, stella, unce* and, of course, *lana* are more examples of words that belong to both Italian and Latin lexis and it is, at times, challenging to differentiate between them.

It seems clear that when Balmayn writes an inflected phrase such as *qualibus poche cum duobus signis sine contrasignis....*(9e), he is writing in Latin. The phrase *depincta de una mana cum uno manipulo rosarum de tribus foliis* (8o) could also easily be labelled as Latin whereas *depincta de uno pecore coronato cum suo agnello* (8g) seems entirely consistent with medieval Italian. But do we assume that *depincta* is a Latin lexemes in 8o and an Italian word in 8g? Given the frequency with which Balmayn switches language mid-sentence, it could well be that he has just inserted Latinised segments (*manipulo rosarum de tribus foliis*) into an Italian phrase. In the following example, it is easier to track Balmayn's shift back and forth between Latin and Italian and he even repeats the same noun (*peccore / pecus*) in both languages in the entry:

De n° Cxxij ad numerum Cxxx: poke ix de lana juvene de Cotyswolde fine depincta de uno pecore coronato cum suo agnello et pecus habet modicimi de una herba in ore (8h)

Ultimately, however, it is impossible to fully disentangle Balmayn's Italian and Latin vocabulary and, indeed, it may well be an artificial and fruitless aim to do so.²⁰ Nor should one underestimate the amount of Italian present in these documents, especially as a reader used to the trilingual model of most English accounts in which Latin features heavily. Given the circumstances of these documents' production, it seems perverse to assume that our author is using badly inflected Latin when he is almost certainly using sound Tuscan vernacular.

A related issue is the range of 'intermediate' AN / ME vocabulary which is notoriously difficult to label neatly as French or English in a specific source (cf. Chapter 3.2). Given the lateness of the source and the fact there are no extended AN-matrix sections, it has been assumed for the purposes of this analysis that such lexemes have been absorbed and naturalised in ME and only unequivocally insular French features are classed as AN. With

²⁰ It seems reasonable to suppose that a native medieval Tuscan speaker (whose language Balmayn is emulating) would not be able to consistently label his vocabulary as either Latin or Italian vernacular. A strong, parallel argument can be found in Trotter's study of the multilingual lexis of shipping in which he argues that an anachronistic insistence on labelling languages at a lexical level "does not correspond to medieval reality" (Trotter 2003b: 20).

originally insular French verbs whose morphology is now anglicized (e.g. *abatyd, delyvered, rebatyd, resceyved*), this is an uncontroversial decision. However, it is not a flawless solution for over twenty nouns in the accounts (e.g. *caryage, cariours, costs, coralle, creditour, debitour, enmenyis, exchaunge, harneys, marchaunt, marchauntyse, mitre, offfycyall, ospytalle, oste, ostelage, parcellle, parson, persone, poke, portor, provysyon, usance, valewe*) and the adjectives *asur, diverse* and *vermoille*. Another sub-group of words (e.g. *tare, patron, carryk*) represent originally Italian borrowings found also in other English mercantile sources which may well have been passed into ME via insular French (cf. Imports Glossary). Whilst it is unlikely that our scribe was actively conscious of this massive lexical overlap, we need to bear in mind the AN origin of such vocabulary and AN's continued influence on commercial writing, even in 1450. However, all that being said, one of the defining features of the *Cantelowe Accounts* is the sheer amount of ME rather than AN that is present in the text, as is discussed below.

ii) Anglo-Norman lexis and abbreviations

Overt AN use is restricted to a few key features but which occur throughout the entire source and serve as a strong reminder of Balmain's English scribal background. The first is his continuous use of the AN *p*- abbreviation for *pur*, found countless times in the accounts, in both ME and Italian-matrix entries:

Item for to have hit anote of Pyse, s.1 **pur** poke at the gate (11j)

Item **pur** la deminucione del mownta de pokes 466 **pur** lb.10967 a s.1 d.8 a oro le C²¹ (12e)

On ten occasions, we do find a clear *per* abbreviation (with a line through the tail of the *p*), showing that the writer is perfectly capable of distinguishing between the two when he chooses:

²¹ This graph recurs dozens of times throughout the accounts and consists of a capital C followed by a generalised, flourished abbreviation sign. Holmes (1993: 385) was puzzled by it and left it as a blank space in his transcription excerpt. I think it is almost certainly an abbreviation for *centum* or hundredweight *avoirdupois*, equal to 112lb today. In the case of these accounts, it is a measure of wool but it was widely used for other commodities as the MED entry sub *c.* shows, e.g. *And zif it be such maner merchaundyse that be seld and weyen by the c, as brasyle, alom, almondys, rys, or other such maner merchaundyse, for every c, iij d.* (c1436). There are currently no examples in the AND corpus but several examples of *le C* can be found in *the Views of the Hosts* e.g. *lij sackez de savone vendeus a Robert Aylward pris le C xx s.* (VOH 55: 65, transcr. p.119, 1442-43). It appears much less likely (given that all the other weights used in the accounts are English) that the *C* stands for *cantaro*, the rough Italian equivalent of a hundredweight, widely used for bulky shipments transported by sea such as wool and varying regionally from 100 to 250 *libbre* (cf. Zupko 1981: 71 and Edler 1934: 59-61).

Per conto segnato G for money send by exchange to John Russelaye and Vanni Francisco de Strossy et compagnia de Venecia **per** Alamano Salviati in Florens (34a)

Sometimes, the two forms appear in the same entry. It seems that whilst *pur* can be used before an ME or Italian lexeme, *per* only appears before or within an Italian segment:

Item **pur** taratura que fa le tare de le lana s.2 d.6 de pezoli **pur** poke que fa pokes 448 come appare **per** vendite que £56 de pezoli, valeno: Fl.13 s.5 d.2 (12i)

The most concentrated area of AN presence is found in the opening line of each of the buyers' entries over pp. 16-32 which stick closely to a fixed formula:

Juncta Ibindo de William Juncta et compagnia, lanaiuoli, dette le xxij jour de novembre **pur** iij pokes que poise cum tare [...]
Summa de poise cum tare [...] (16c)

Leonardo de Angolo de Balioni et compagnia, dette le xij jour de feverelle **pur** viij pokes lane que poise cum tare [...]
Summa de poise cum tare [...] (19b)

The date, as we can see, is expressed by the format *le* + Roman numeral + *jour* abbreviation. This is sometimes replaced by the Italian equivalent (*a di ditto*) or an Arabic numeral is used. The AN abbreviation *po-* (with a suspension line and dot) is expanded as *poise* and used both as a verb (cf. AND sub **peiser**) and a noun (cf. AND sub **peis**¹). Both forms occur consistently in each account entry following the relative pronoun *que*²² and the construction *summa de*.²³

The form *dett-* is most likely AN *dette* ('debt', see AND sub **dette**, first attested in Magna Carta). One could argue that it is ME as *dette* also appears in ME-matrix sources from the 1290s (see OED2 sub **debt**) but in the case of these documents, it only occurs in these unusual AN-Italian hybrid sections. This is not a cast-iron argument but it is a fairly convincing one.²⁴

²² This is represented by a curly, rounded 'q', rather like a back to front @ sign. Interestingly, Balmayn uses it in both an AN formulaic expression (*que poise* [+ weight]) and an Italian one (*que fa* [+ sum of money]).

²³ There are numerous similar constructions in the AND corpus e.g. sub **grain**¹: *La karke du greine qe poise ccc livers deit a Escawenge xl deniers* (Lib Alb 230, att. 1419). See also the dozens of late AN examples in the *Views of the Hosts* e.g. *Item a luy sugre que poise ultra Ciiij^{xxv} [libres] a xij^d la libre* (VOH 48: 60, transcr. p.2, att. 1441-42).

²⁴ There is, in fact, a third possibility: Italian *detta* which was itself a widely-used business Gallicism. See Cella (2003: 394-95): "*detta* s.f 'debito', pegno di credito' < fr. *dette*. La totale assenza della voce nei volgari settentrionali [...] rafforza l'ipotesi del prestito dalle piazza commerciali francesi". It also appears in the letters

There are several other notable instances of AN use in the accounts. By far the most common is the phrase *argent content* which is found over eighty times at the close of a buyer's entry to indicate that they had paid in cash.²⁵ On one occasion, this is written in full as *a payer argent content* (16b) and on another, *a payer a un anne* (23f) is recorded instead. The other widely used Anglo-Normanism is *le dyd* which appears to be an unconventional rendering of *ledit* ('the said').²⁶ It too occurs over eighty times, nearly always before personal names or AN *jour* but can also be found preceding Italian *conto*, ME / AN *pokes* and Italian / AN *lane*. The form remains grammatically 'inactive' throughout and no plural or feminine variations are given:

Item le dyd Bernardo, dette le dyd jour pur iiiij pokes lane (23c)

[...] send alle this parcelles as folowyth to Jacob Salviati et *compagnia* de Londra et de Brugis pur le dyd *conto* (35b)

Et pur spago pur *conservare* le dyd pokes [...] (12j)

Item pur *magasino*²⁷ de le dyd lane [...] (12k)

There are a couple of further AN lexemes which occur in one section only. When Balmayn tallies up how many pokes of wool are recorded on p. 31 towards the end of the accounts, he clearly uses the AN demonstrative pronoun, *ceste*²⁸ referring to the *levys* (or leaves) of his book:

Thys ys the rate þat *contaynyth* in this viij levys, what in pokes and what in florynys:

Carta prima þe whych ys f. 65 de **ceste** *contaynyth* in pokes 45
 Carta 2 þe whych ys f. 66 de **ceste** *contaynyth* in pokes 60
 Carta 3 þe whych ys f. 67 de **ceste** *contaynyth* in pokes 92
 Carta 4 þe whych ys f. 68 de **ceste** *contaynyth* in pokes 45
 Carta 5 þe whych ys f. 69 de **ceste** *contaynyth* in pokes 69
 Carta 6 þe whych ys f. 70 de **ceste** *contaynyth* in pokes 67
 Carta 7 þe whych ys f. 71 de **ceste** *contaynyth* in pokes 57

of the English branch of the Ricciardi of Lucca (1295-1303) e.g. *e voi ispisialme(n)te Federigho, aè i(n) suo podere le dette sue (e) della sua cho(n)pangnia* (Castellani and Del Punta 2005: 28). I am grateful to Dott. Ignazio del Punta for directing me to these citations.

²⁵ See AND sub **argent**: 'argent contant, cash, money, coin(s)': *sount chargez en argent comptant [...] L. li.* (Grocers 39, att. 1379-80).

²⁶ Versions of *ledit* are always attested as a single word in the AND corpus. See AND sub **dire**, p.p. as adj.: e.g. *aucunes raisons & requestes proposeés por ledict Roy d'Angleterre par maistre Jehan Louvel* (Foedera i 898, att. 1256), *[...] de semblable drap comme lesdites tables* (Bedford Inventories, B36, att. 1389-1425?).

²⁷ See TLIO sub **magazzino** 'Edificio o locale destinato al deposito e alla conservazione di merci e materiali vari'. Balmayn later uses an anglicized version, *magasyne* (12n) of the same lexeme: see Table 2, below / Imports Glossary sub **magasyne**.

²⁸ See AND sub **cest** e.g. *felonies, faites devant la date de cestes* (Stats i 194 vi, att. c1275).

Carta 8 þe whych ys f. 72 de **ceste contaynth** in pokes 13 (31d)

Two unrelated records of small loans (p. 15)²⁹ seem to include the AN *pur amont presté* and *iiij moys* and the AN *pere precius*³⁰ apparently features in a mixed-language wool-mark description:

Johanne Bertremi dette le xi jour de auguste **pur amont**³¹ **presté**³² a xliiij d. le doc. [...] (15a)

[...] **a iiij moys**³³ a pagare a grossi 52 ½ *pur* doc. and to rescyve hit of Nycholas Bedford, marchaunte of Caleys (15b)

De n^o xxxvi ad numerum xli: pokes vj de juvene lana de la Marche, contrasignata de una ancilla ut supra *cum* uno **pere precius** duplice de coralle vermoille: pokes vi (8c)

Finally, there are two intriguing cases where Balmayn's prolonged stay in Italy seems to have affected his spelling of AN words. These are *dysma*³⁴ ('a tenth or subsidy to be paid') and *savacondyd*³⁵ ('safe-conduct'). Their form could simply be misspelt or, more likely, be influenced by their medieval Italian equivalents, *decima* and *salvacondotto*.

Item s. 1 *pur* poke for the ryzth of the schipe house þat ys for to saye the **dysma** of Lyvorne (11f)

Item le dyd for a **savacondyd** *pur* le robe de William Cantelowe durynge a yere (34o)

iii) Middle English-matrix sections

As has already been mentioned, the *Cantelowe Accounts* contain a large amount of ME. One point of immediate note is the use of the graphs thorn (*þ*) and yogh (*ȝ*). These forms are

²⁹ This is one of the hardest of all the folios to read and appears to have been written in haste.

³⁰ Cf. AND1 sub **pere**² / **precius**.

³¹ Attestations of the noun *amount* are actually very rare in AN (and ME). The AND entry sub **amunter** has some attestations of the present participle used nominally e.g. *amontant* or *amuntant* (with one variation of *amunte* from 1174-75). The MED entry sub **amounten** only has verbal forms e.g. *A somme of gold..þat amounted a c Ml marc of money* (in the ME Prose Brut, att. c.1450) and the OED2 sub **amount n.** does not attest *amount* as a noun until 1710.

³² See AND sub **prester**¹ and also sub **rade**²: *Marchauntz, qi avaut ces heures unt presté lur aver a diverse genz.* (Stats I 55, att.c1275).

³³ See AND sub **meis**¹. It seems less likely that this is the ME *mois* (att. 1435), always found in a construction with "Easter" or "Michaelmas" and referring to law terms (cf. OED3 sub **mois**), but it certainly cannot be ruled out given the extraordinary and code-switching nature of the text.

³⁴ See AND sub **disme** e.g. *les dites taxes del quinzime denier e del disme* (Northumb 211, att. 1275-1401) / MED sub **desime**, *But owre commons be riche, and þerfore thai give to thair kynge at somme tymes quinsimes and dessimes* (Fortescue Gov. E, 139, att. 1475). See also TLIO sub **decima**¹.

³⁵ See AND sub **conduit**¹: e.g. *rumpours des treux & save conductes du Roy* (*Rot Parl* 1 iv 452, att. 1279-1377), MED sub **conduct** e.g. *To Schewe thair Saufconduct* (GRed Bk Bristol p2 p62, att. 1462). Also OVI sub **salvacondotto**.

certainly not unheard of in late ME but were increasingly unusual by 1450 and so they have been maintained in my transcription. Balmayn's spelling choices offer a small snapshot of a period of transition as modern letter forms took over. He favours *th* overall but thorn does occur fifty-seven times at the start of the words *þe*, *þat* or *þere* as well as once in *þobþ*. The scribe's thorn is, typically for the fifteenth century, almost indistinguishable from his letter y, contrary to the conventional typographical character of *þ* used here. There seems to be no pattern to his usage and often, *th* and *þ* are found in the same short phrase or even in consecutive words, suggesting that the author is switching between them randomly:

Item for the ry3th of the Offycyall of **þe** See **þe** which was juge bytwex us and **þe** patrone for diverse harneys of the wolle (11m)

And so I dow3t not of the otterawnce with that **þat** there come no quantite but yours (13c)³⁶

Yogh appears consistently in the ME words *brout3h*, *dow3t*, *frey3th*, *ryt3h* and *wey3ht*. In nearly all other instances, a modern g is used in ME / AN and Italian e.g. *borage*, *botega*, *sage*, *spago*. The key exception is *macazoni* ('damage, imperfection' < Ital. *macagne*, see section iv, below) in which Balmayn chooses yogh to approximate the *gn* sound of the Tuscan lexeme. The yogh character is near indistinguishable from the scribe's z, as used in *pezo* and *pezoly*, again a normal trait in the mid-1400s.

ME is used to open new sections within the accounts, with the Latin-matrix description of merchant marks on pp. 8-9 being the only exception. The only embedded 'foreign' words here are standard Latin business abbreviations and two well-established maritime borrowings from Italian (*caryk* and *patrone*).³⁷

Memorandum þat by the grace of God here bygynnyth the wey3ths of iiij^c lxxj pokys wolle aftyr the rate of þe wey3ths of Engelande, schippyd in a caryk of Jene at Southehampton anno m^l iiij^c l in the name of Johane de Albycyo, for to be delyvered by the grace of God at Pyse to Frawnsis et Johane Salviatis, or to suche as shalle be ther in theyr name. And þe patrone ys name ys Antonio de Aurea de Jenua. (3a)

Occasionally, Balmayn also adds a closing paragraph to a section using an ME-matrix e.g.

³⁶ In this example, one might be tempted to suggest that there is a link between form and function and that Balmayn is writing *that* for demonstrative pronouns and *þat* for conjunctions. However, he does not maintain this distinction elsewhere in the text.

³⁷ See Imports Glossary sub **carrak** / **patron**.

The which makyth in sackys CC^o lxiiiij^o *semis* and v cloves *semis*, of the which ys rebatyd for the tare of every poke j clove *semis*. Þe which *summa* ys xiiij *sackis* et xxiiij cloves. And so reste clere net: cc^o lj *sackes* cloves viij *semis*. (7a)

The longest continuous piece of ME in the accounts is to be found on p.13, a rough draft of a letter on a scrap of paper, inserted into the main folder. Balmayn informs Cantelowe that he has been successfully selling his wool for 25 florins per hundredweight, beating even the Strozzi and the Medici, who made 24 florins per hundredweight on their high-quality wool. He passes on the advice of Jacob Salviati to send a further hundred or two hundred sacks of the finest wool over to Tuscany. He alludes to several other letters that have been delayed and one can imagine that he is used to a regular flow of correspondence between London, Bruges and the Italian Salviati offices, of which this draft is just a small remnant. Only the date (*a di 27 agosto*) and a footnote of *scrito* (to show that the proper version had been written), are in Italian. It is worth noting that even in a monolingual letter back home, there are still small Italian administrative features such as these in Balmayn's work.

And so there bene x pokes of þe markes of þe sage³⁸ I solde for redy money at xxv Fl. le C. Et ij pokes of them bene delyverd and S. Jacob wolle avyse you and so he wolle send to you a *lettre* þat ye scholde by a C or ij C *sackes* [wolle]. But ye moste bye of þe beste and sorte every colour by hymselffe for x flysse in a poke shalle distroye þe remendm[ent]³⁹ as in þe sale. And so the S. Strossys and the Medycis hathe not solde as yet paste lx pokes and yet ther [wolle] ys ry3th gode and they selle hit for xxiiij Fl. le C. the beste. (13b)

And so I dow3t not of the otterawnce *with* that þat there come no quantite but yours and so yf ye make þe graunt *with* any patrone, we spose þat the wolle come to Porte Pysane, *with* þat he may be sewr of ij^c *sackes*. And so ye may have lx wayth of wolle upon a caryk for xxviiij s. ster. and of the days as ye cane acorde. (13c)

Also ye schalle understand howe that the *lettres* þat were made at London the xvij and xviiij daye of *June* were send fro Bruges to Venice and theyr the *lettres* of þe Medycis Antonio de Rabattis and the Salviatys were et bene taryed and so as yet we have theme not. (13d)

In the next main section of the accounts, pp. 11-12, we move on to lists of expenses. These begin with the *costes of Pise*, signed in November 1450, covering arrival at Livorno, weighing and “piling up” of the pokes, all taxes and transport to Pisa. The *costes of Florens* which are completed in September 1451, cover the time Balmayn (presumably) spent in Italy to oversee the sale of the wool. Over these pages, the scribe regularly changes language but

³⁸ These merchant marks are discussed in detail in sections 3v and 5, below. It is not clear if the term *markes of the sage* is a generic one, referring to all the merchant marks and highlighting their dual purpose as a sort of commercial talisman, or if it is simply an alternative name for the *borage* countermark.

³⁹ This word's ending is not entirely clear but it would seem to be an unusual rendering of *remanant* ('remainder'), see OED3 / AND sub **remanant**.

the amount of Italian increases most dramatically in the second list where he shifts into Italian-matrix half way through (see 3iv below).

Some expenses items are therefore entirely in ME such as:

Item to the man þat sawe the harneys of the wolle (11n)

Item for the portors for pylyng up of þe seyde wolle et for oure pylyng (11o)

Item for the mendyng of the pockys whereas they were ibroke⁴⁰ (11p)

Other ME-matrix entries in these lists contain an Italian(ised) term for which Balyman gives an English equivalent or explanation:

[...] and for the custome of the ry3th of þe ospytalle callyd **chape**⁴¹ £3 (11i)

Item for the **avery**⁴² of the galley or schippe the which ys to saye þat every marchaunt shalt bere his parte after the rate of his marchauntysse for all manner of costes done upon þe galleys or schippe for cause of enmenyis to the salavation of the godys (11l).

Item for cariours the which be callyd **victura**⁴³ for the bryngyng fro Pise to Florens the foreseyd 466 pokes wolle (12c)

Towards the end of the accounts, Balmayn records some merchant marks in a ME-matrix paragraph. However, he mainly switches back to the Italian-Latin descriptions he has employed elsewhere in his records. The obvious exception is the ‘mark of the maiden’ (described elsewhere as *una donzella / ancella*) and her coral jewellery:

And viij pokes yonge, I markyd *with* borage and iij pokes, I markyd *with* **signo contra signo** of the marke of alle the balys and j poke, I markyd *with* **j pecora coronata cum erba in ore**. The *summa* ys xviiij pokes (31f)

⁴⁰ This is apparently *ibroke*. The English past participle sometimes retained the Germanic *ge-* prefix, rendered as *i-*, cf. German *gebrochen*. By 1450, this certainly would seem to be a rather outdated feature; the latest attestation I can find in the OED / MED corpora is 1398 (see OED2 sub **weft**: *3if þe wefte is ibroke þei begynneþ to amende it*).

⁴¹ It is not entirely clear which Italian word Balmayn means for the duty imposed by the *ospytalle* or hostel. *Chape* is presumably derived from *capo* (‘head’) which could be used in terms of civic taxation but it is found only as part of the expression *capo censo* in the Italian record. See TLIO sub **capo**, 4.3 ‘capo censo: tassazione sulla persona’: *La cittade, che infino a quello tempo avea avuto in fastidio avere militi di libera schiatta di gente di capocenso, quella medesima li corpi tratti de le celle de’ servi [...] aggiunse a la sua oste!* (Valerio Massimo, L7, cap.6, p513.20, att. a1338)

⁴² This was a duty (< Tuscan *averia*) imposed to cover potential loss or damage during a sea voyage and is not currently attested in this form in an English matrix text. However, it does seem to be linked to **average**², ‘a duty, tax or impost charged upon goods’, see Imports Glossary sub **avery**.

⁴³ *Victura* is a rare Tuscan variation of the commonly used term *vettura*, meaning ‘cart or wagon’. There is currently only one example in the OVI corpus of this spelling from 1219: *si debia avere ogne die ii s. p(er) feo, e pagare le victure* (OVI, Doc. montier, 49.34). See also OVI sub **vettura** for over 350 fourteenth and fifteenth century citations.

The marke firste viij pokes *with* a hand of borage, vj pokes yonge Marche *with* a **maydyne his head** *with* a **peyr of coralle bedis abowte her neke**, ij pokes *with* signo † *contra* signo and anothis poke þat hadde neyther nombyr nor marke (32b)

In the last three folios - the bills of exchange - most of the entries contain a mixture of ME with Italian (underlined) and AN (bold) segments of varying lengths and it is, at times, difficult to designate a matrix language:

Item a di 13 ditto **pur** £80 s. 4 d. 0 pezoly 12 de Gr. send by usance a Venecia a ditti da llozo midesimi, a £15 st .17 d.10 a Fl. **pur** libra de Gr. For hit was delyverd here to the seyde compagnia de le dyd Russelay et Strossy: Fl 878 s.28 d. 7 (33f)

Item a di ditto **pur** £148 s. 1 d. 7 de ster. send to Jacob Salviati et compagnia de Londra, a pagare a di 15 da vista da lettera, for to resceyve of Pero de Medici and Jeros de Pili, **pur** Fl.886 s. 7 d. 3. (34m)

Item le dyd for a **savacondyd pur le robe**⁴⁴ de William Cantelowe durynge a yere: Fl. 30 s. 19 d. 4 (34o)

iv) Italian-matrix sections

An extended series of Italian-matrix buyers' entries is contained within pp. 16-32. As noted above, the first and last lines always contain some AN abbreviations and fixed expressions. Balmayn meticulously records the precise weight of each numbered poke of wool⁴⁵ and adds up a total for each lot. He then lists various kinds of tare: amounts of weight deducted from the gross to calculate the net weight for which the buyer will be charged in gold florins. These sections are formulaic and repetitive but nevertheless include some important vocabulary. The following two examples show the main structures used in the majority of the entries:

22b:

Brancho Costantino da Perosa et *compagnia*, dette a di ditto *pur* x pokes lane que poise cum tare:

N ^o	336	lb 260	N ^o	324	lb 250
	311	lb 260		314	lb 274
	308	lb 280		345	lb 281
	334	lb 256		388	lb 276
10	309	lb 279		335	lb 257

⁴⁴ Given the sense, this must be Italian *robe* as in 'goods, possessions' rather than 'robes' (cf. VTO sub **roba**). It is unclear whether the scribe is using the Italian feminine plural article here or the generic *le* which he frequently uses before AN, ME and Italian nouns: see section 3 vii, below.

⁴⁵ One poke of wool equalled roughly half a sack or 182lb *avoirdupois* but this could vary (cf. Holmes 1993: 373). All of the pokes in Cantelowe's shipment weighed over 200lb each, before deductions for tare.

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 2673
 Tara pur uso: lb 11 pur sachi que fa lb 110
 Et pur macazoni:⁴⁶ lb 30
 Et pur supra pui de sachi: lb 20 unce 6
 Et pur supra pui de pezo: lb 7 unce 6
 Et pur umido: lb 10
 Et pur fradischio⁴⁷: lb 4
 Summa: lb 182
 Resta netta lb 2491, a Fl. 24 le C. monta Fl. 597 s. 16 a oro
 Summa : Fl 597 s. 23 d. 2, argent content

29b :

Laurenxo de Paris Chorbenelli et *compagnia*, dette le dyd jour pur v pokes lane que poise cum tare:

N ^o	32	lb 272
	10	lb 272
	1	lb 277
	16	lb 278
5	23	lb 260

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 1355
 Tara pur uso: 11 pur poke, lb 55
 Et pur macazoni et supra pui de sachi: lb 20
 Et pur umido: lb 5
 Et pur intyngmanto⁴⁸: lb 11 unce 6
 Et pui lb 2 pur poche dachordo
 Summa de tare: lb 101 unce 6
 Resta netta lb 1253 unce 6, a Fl. 26 s.10 a oro le C. que fa Fl. 332 s.3 a oro
 Summa: Fl. 332 s. 4 d. 4, argent content

Occasionally, there are further variations in the second half of the entry such as:

⁴⁶ *Macagoni* = *macagne*, a Tuscan variant of *magagna* meaning 'blemish / damage / imperfection'. See TLIO sub **magagna** 'Imperfezione o guasto, spec. non manifesto, che altera la struttura o dimiuisce il pregio (specif. di un manufatto)' e.g. *et similmente siano tenuti dinontiare tucti et singuli difect et macagne di coiamie ad buono uso et consuetudine mercatantile* (Stat. Lucch L. IV, cap. 78, p. 170.6, att. 1376).

⁴⁷ *Fradischio* = *fradicio*, a Tuscan variant of *fràcido*, meaning either 'very wet, soaked' or 'damaged, rotten, putrified'. Indeed, it is this form which has persisted in modern Italian in both meanings. I am very grateful to both Prof. Francesco Guidi Bruscoli of the Borromei Bank Project and to Prof. Matthew Davies at the Institute of Historical Research for pointing this out to me. See also VTO sub **fràdicio**: 'agg. metatesi di *fracido*: Assai bagnato, inzuppato d'acqua / Marcio, guasto, putrefatto'. The TLIO entry sub **fràcido** has numerous citations from the 1290s onwards but none of them have either the *frad-* stem or are used overtly in the 'wet' sense. However, there is a reference to an (unknown) process in cloth making used by Arte della Lana which certainly seems to involve soaking: *Li quali siano sopra vedere et extimare tutte le questioni delli danni di lane sucide et lavate, et di boldroni sucidi et lavati, et d' ongn' altro lavoro che ad arte di lana apertegna che fusse sì di fracido come di bagnato, et di roctame ch' avesse per sacco oltre libbre XV di lana, u vero che non seguitasse la mercatantia, secondo le conventioni che fusseno state tra le parti* (Stat Pis. cap. 63, p.698.18, att.1304).

⁴⁸ *Intyngmanto* = *intingimento*, 'dipping or immersion (in liquid)'. See VTO sub **intingimento**, '*l'atto di bagnare leggermente, tuffando in un liquido*'. There are no attestations of this noun in the OVI / Datini corpora. We do find several versions of the root verb *intingere* from the 1350s onwards but none of the sources are mercantile. Together with *fradischio* above, the *Cantelowe Accounts* could provide important evidence for these lexemes in medieval Italian, albeit in a text written by an Englishman.

26f

Tara pur uso et pur toti altri tare: lb 15

Resta netta lb 265

Et lb 154 pur lana jevens, a Fl. 18 le C.

Et lb 111 de lana bona, a Fl. 24 le C. que fa in toti Fl. 54 s.7 a oro

Summa Fl. 54 s. 10 d. 0, argent content

e.g. 28c

Et pui lb 2 de tara pur sacy de canevas que ora duply⁴⁹

29c

Et pur lochy:⁵⁰ lb 2 unce 6

Only one buyer's entry contains an ME phrase:

22c

Et pui lb 10 in le poke de n° 377 for hit was not sewynge

The precise meaning of all the various tare - whose names are carefully written out in full - is not immediately evident. *Resta netta*, *que fa* and *monta* may be everyday expressions in native Italian account books but with the exception of *macazoni*, there are no equivalent entries for these tare types. *Tara pur uso* seems to be standardised, and is given as 11lb per poke in every single entry. *Supra pui de pezo / de sachi* obviously refers to 'surplus' weight or sacks but what this actually means in practical terms is unclear. The same is true of the *poche d'achordo* or 'agreed / contracted pokes'. *Macazoni*, *umido*, *fradischio* frequently occur as separate deductions (e.g. 19b) in the same entry. However, *fradischio* and *intingmentto* never occur in the same entry apart from 32a: *Et pur fradyschio et intyngmanto: lb 60*. This suggests that Balmayn may be using the words as synonyms in this instance for the same kind of tare and means that *fradischio* / *intingmentto* are both used to mean soaked rather than damaged wool. A tentative summary of these four tare might therefore be:

- *Pur macazoni*: for damaged or low quality wool
- *Pur umido*: for damp wool
- *Pur fradischio* / *intingmentto*: for soaked wool

⁴⁹ This would seem to be *duplie* from the verb *doppiare*, 'to double'.

⁵⁰ This is *locchi* < ME *lockes*, 'lowest grade quality wool from the sheep's legs and stomach' *Lochy* also appears in entry 27c but in 19a, the ME *lokes* is used. See Exports Glossary sub **locchi**.

There are no parallel deductions made in any of the wool accounts, English or Italian, that I have studied and there is very little information about the practice of deducting weight from wool based on its wetness, let alone gradations of dampness and how they are measured. However, I did find one small clue in Hunt's *Medieval Super Companies* in which he discusses the "agonizing slowness" that Italian companies had to endure in obtaining permission to export wool they had already bought in England. The following refers to an entry in Edward III's Close Rolls of 1339-41:

The many transfers and formalities afforded almost unlimited opportunities for delays. Ships that turned back to ports in England to escape piracy or bad weather were sometimes held up for customs examinations all over again [...] The latter entry shows that London customs even had to be ordered to release wool for export on the basis of the first lading, ignoring the extra weight caused by the 'damp' when the ship carrying the wool returned to port after a storm at sea (Hunt 1994:66)

More research obviously needs to be done on this point, not least to discover if such duties were widely imposed on the wool at the other end of its journey, when it arrived in Italy. This is an excellent example of how the Italian-matrix section of these accounts (ignored in Holmes 1993) could still hold valuable information for economic historians and wool market specialists, as well as for linguists.

Balmayn's Italian is much more varied and spontaneous in the lists of expenses and bills of exchange where he includes a sizeable amount of Tuscan bureaucratic vocabulary. As discussed, he shifts frequently from ME and back again, apparently at will. Italian entries in the costs of Florence include:

*Item pur pisare a comperatory et pur portare a loro botega*⁵¹ s.3 d.4. de *pezoli pur poke que fa pokes* 448 come appare per vendite que fa £174 s.13 d.4 de *pezoli uno*, Fl: Fl. 17 s.16. d.6 (12g)

*Item pur taratura*⁵² que fa le tare de le lana s.2 d.6 de *pezoli pur poke que fa pokes* 448 come appare per vendite que [fa] £56 de *pezoli*, valeno: Fl.13 s.5 d.2 (12i)

*Item pur far le styvare*⁵³ et restivare pui volte quando sono mostro a chomperatore. Et *pur spago pur conservare* le dyd pokes non semitto nulla que scrivvino pui *denari* de Fl. : Fl. 0 d. 0 (12j)

⁵¹ *Bottega* (< Lat. *apotheca*) first attested in the Italian vernacular c1230, was a merchant's shop, workshop or studio. See TLIO sub **bottega** and LEI sub **apotheca**.

⁵² *Taratura*, meaning 'calibration, adjustment' is still used in modern Italian. It derives from the Arabism *tara* (cf. FN 5, above) and is not currently present in the OVI / Datini corpora, although the related forms *taratore* ('the person who calculated the tare') and *tarare* ('to calculate the tare') appear a handful of times. *Taratura* is found once in Melis' lengthy *Documenti per la Storia Economica* in an account entry from 1461: *per taratura alla vendita a s. 2 d. 6 per balla* (Copia di estratto-conto dell'11 marzo 1461, Firenze-L'Aquila) (Melis 1972: 258).

Item pur retencione de denari 2 de pezoli pur Fl. le damno mownta pur toto ¼ de Fl. pur C. que fa Fl.63 s.23 d.5 de Fl.: Fl.63 s. 23 d.6 (12l)

The following entries appear in the last two folios:

*Item pur senceria*⁵⁴ *de ditti denari cambiati per sencyale:*⁵⁵ Fl. 3 s. 16 d. 4 (34p)

Item pur sensaria de denari cambiati a questo conto a sensiale: £8.4 (35aa)

*Item pur nostra provisione a doc. ij pur mila et pur consolatico,*⁵⁶ *doc. ij pur mila:* £2. 2. 0 (35bb)

Holmes (1993: 374) cites entry 12j, above, as proof that Balmayn has “lapsed” into Italian and is merely scribbling down what his Florentine colleagues are saying. Given the use of his language in the document as a whole, I would say this is an unfair assessment. It is true that in this entry in particular, there is one puzzling verb form - *semitto* - for which I have been unable to find an equivalent in Italian historical corpora. There is also a failure to make the past participle *mostro* agree and in any case, we would expect *mostrato* in its place.⁵⁷ Nevertheless, the sense of the entry is still clear overall (‘For the stowing and restowing several times when they are shown to the buyer. And for string to wrap the said pokes, they know nothing and they write no money in florins’). Most importantly, all the other Italian-matrix entries in the accounts (none of which are cited by Holmes) are perfectly competent and understandable, even if his use of *y* for *i* (e.g. *pezoly*, *comperatory*, *fradyschio*, *lochy*, *sencyale*) and yogh (*macazoni*) makes some spellings look oddly anglicized at first glance.

v) Merchant mark descriptions

Every buyer’s entry ends with a statement which identifies the merchant mark or sign for that lot of wool. These are intriguing snippets both historically (see section 5, below) and

⁵³ *Styvare = stivare* ‘to stow (merchandise)’. e.g. *e che portano le giarre dalla marina a magazzino e stivanle nel magazzino* (OVI Pegolotti Practica 46.28, c1335-43). The anglicized term *styve*, borrowed from the Italian, also features in the ME Stewards Book of Southampton from 1487: see *styves*, Table 1: Appendices, Volume 2.

⁵⁴ *Senceria = senseria*, ‘a broker’s fee’. See OVI sub **senseria** for seventy-three attestations e.g. *E non possino torre se non danari Xii per la senseria di ciaschuna balla* (Stat. fior cap.29, 353.11, att. 1357).

⁵⁵ *Sencyale = sensale*, ‘a broker’ < Ar. *simsār* (Edler 1934: 269). There are over 500 examples in the OVI sub **sensale** from 1334 onwards.

⁵⁶ The *consolatico* refers to the consul office in medieval Florence, first attested in this sense in 1357. See TLIO sub **consolatico**.

⁵⁷ It is worth noting, however, that Old Tuscan past participles sometimes had the same form as the first person of the present tense: e.g. *cerco*, *porto*, *tocco*, *salvo* (see Maiden 2013: 123).

linguistically. Following an Italian-matrix list of tare, these sentences always begins with ME *The marke* (*ys*). The description then continues in one of four ways:

a) Italian:

The marke una donzella (24e)

The marke j pecora coronata cum suo agnello (21a)

The marke uno sole. (21e)

The marke j mazzo de 5 papavery cum breve que dixit l'ano Deo (20d)

The marke una mitra cum cruce de supra. (25g)

b) Italian / Latin mix:

The marke una chapleta veride duplice cum quator floribus (16b)

The marke uno garlando viride duplice et in medio dicti garlandi una rosa. (17c)

The marke una peccora coronata cum suo agnello et pecus habet modicimi de erba in ore (29c)

c) an Italian / Latin mix with an ME lexeme:

The marke de una mana cum uno manipulo de **rosis** de tribus foliis (17b)

The marke ys una mana cum una manipulo rosari de tribus foliis et degcto ariculare **strawte** recto (17a)

The marke j manipulo de quinque **papies** cum una scriptura que dicitur l'ano Deo (22b)

The marke una **jaye** cum erba in ore (25f)

d) (rarely) ME:

The marke una jaye (21c)

The marke a abbot ys crowysse (27g)

The frequency of Balmayn's language shift in these mark descriptions is notable. It seems that he deliberately chose to write the opening paragraphs to his account section in ME or list the wool types in Latin-matrix but here things are less clear-cut. There are several potential reasons for this mixing and I suspect that all but the first played a role to some extent:

- The scribe was incompetent or eccentric.
- The scribe was not consciously aware, or not always, that he was mixing languages.
- When the scribe did not know a word in one language, he would substitute another e.g. a Latin word for an Italian word or an ME word for a Latin one.
- Tuscan colleagues with whom the scribe spoke or whose accounts he read also mixed in Latin lexemes and they formed part of the 'dialect' of the merchant community in which he was immersed.

vi) Latin-matrix sections

The only section of the surviving accounts to be in extended Latin-matrix is found over pp. 8-9. The language here appears typical of that of many late British medieval accounts, adequate but simple, and full of vernacular lexemes. The hand is especially careful and neat and Balmayn meticulously groups the numbered 466 pokes of wool, according to their wool type and merchant mark:⁵⁸

Factura lanoze pokes cccclxvj signate, numerate et depincte, prout inferius continetur, carigate in carraca unde est patronus Antonio de Aurea de Janua. Nome Johannes de Albicis consignando in Porta de Pisano, Francisco et Johannes et socis vel allis qui fuerunt pro ipsis (8a)

De n^o xxxvi ad numerum xli: pokes vj de juvene lana de la Marche, contrasignata de una ancilla ut supra cum uno pere precius duplice de coralle vermoille: pokes vi (8c)

De n^o iiij^cix ad numerum iiij^c xxj: pokes iij de lana fine juvene de Cotiswold, depincta de uno pye: pokes iij (9b)

Lane de le Marche coustant hic quarte parti plus quam fine lane de Cotiswold. Et juvene lane de Costiswolde sunt peiori quarta parte quam lane fine de Cotiswold. Hoc vobis dico ad hoc ut habeatis attendere ad vendicionem. Et ut intelligatis ut vos gubernare habeatis⁵⁹ (9h)

Six different kinds of wool are recorded, but there are over twenty-six different merchant marks (see Table 3 in section 5, below). By far, the most popular wool type is Cotswold with 314 pokes, then young Cotswold (eighty-five), March (thirty-five), Abbey⁶⁰ (twenty-four), young March (six) and young Abbey (two). Balmayn takes care to note if the colour of the wool is reddish (rather than white), referring several times to *lane vermoile / rubie*⁶¹ and once to the cheaper ‘fleece wool’ grade (cf. Bell *et al* 2007: 72).

Lane **vermoile**: Nota quod in pokes in numero lxx sunt lane **rubie**. Et in numero Cxxx^e sunt lane vocate **flese wolle** que ponderant cloves vij de lane fine de Cotyswolde de racolte yonge (8i)

Four pokes are also described as having the label, *storo*, a term which is repeated later on in

⁵⁸ Latin is only used in the accounts with reference to these merchant marks, although as we have seen, other languages are used to describe them further on in the accounts. Could this language choice result from a wish to confer more formality or pseudo-legality at this point?

⁵⁹ Here Balmayn explains that March wool should fetch four times the price of fine Cotswold but young Cotswold is only worth a quarter of it. He advises the reader to be patient (*gubernare* as in to ‘govern oneself’) and to wait for the right sale.

⁶⁰ Referred to here generically as *lana Abbathie* throughout so we do not know from which particular abbey the wool is from.

⁶¹ The wool had probably been ‘raddled’ with red dye, a centuries old practice of indentifying particular sheep, such as marking out a ewe’s lambs or that she had mated with a ram: see OED3 sub **raddle**¹.

the buyers' entries:

De n° CCCClj ad numerum iiiij^cliij: pokes iiij de lana Abbathie de illa sorte de pokes viij ut supra, depincta de una scriptura supra scripto **storo**: pokes iiij (9d)

The marke una scriptura supra scripto **storo** (28d)

It seems that this refers to 'stock' wool, i.e. purer wool from a single flock rather than *collecta*, which was wool from various farms surrounding a monastic estate.⁶² Discussing the advance wool contracts for Pipewell Abbey in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, Bell *et al.* (2007: 78) comment "[...] some merchants frowned upon *collecta* and demanded wool *de stauro suo* (from his stock)". Linguistically, we can suggest that *storo* (like *poche* and *lochy*) are examples of specifically English commercial terms that have achieved widespread enough currency in Tuscany for Balmayn to employ their Italianised forms.

A final interesting point about this Latin-matrix section is that it is the only one to contain glosses for non-technical terms. We have four instances, three written as insertions above the line and one in the main body of the text. One is preceded by the traditional Latin marker *anglice*:

[...] depincta de uno pavo, **a pecoke** (8l)

[...] depincta de uno agnus Dei cum cruce in vexilla, **a baner** (8s)

[...] depincta de uno pastorale, **an abbots croyse** (9a)

[...] depincta cum uno sole, **anglice a sonne** (9c)

Given the range of vocabulary elsewhere, it seems unlikely that Balmayn was writing cribs for himself. We could suggest they are for his intended reader back in England who may not know the Latin / Italian terms *pavo* and *vexilla* and the Italian *pastorale* but this seems a tenuous argument too, especially given the everyday nature of the lexeme *sole* which too is glossed. More likely, as often appears to be the case with medieval glosses, these could be

⁶² These theories are backed up by the presence of the wool type *story* (also *stery*) in the Villani London Book fragment (1422-24), although its presence attracts no editorial comment: *per chosto e spesse di sacha L q. ij c° vj di lana chontisgualda chonpratta per loro da diverse persone e fattone poche Lxx ly xLij di story e xxvij chogliette* (Guidi Bruscoli 2010: 404). In the same source, we can clearly see *story* wool being distinguished from the *choglietta* (i.e. *collecta*): see Exports Glossary sub **coglietta / storo**.

near subconscious products of the writer's train of thought. However, the fact remains that they only appear in this part of the accounts and this may not be entirely coincidental.

vii) Use of articles

Balmayn's extended use of a generic, residual AN *le* is striking and, at times, seemingly indiscriminate. However, it does not fit in with the patterns common to late English trilingual business writing (as discussed in Ingham 2011 / 2013, Trotter 2010a / 2011b and Wright 2010) where its use signals a language shift mid-sentence e.g. Latin / AN preposition + *le* + ME lexeme.⁶³ If there is a general rule to be applied, it is that *the* only ever precedes an ME lexeme whereas *le* is found before all three of the accounts' other languages: AN, Italian and Latin.

Le features most commonly by far in dates throughout the accounts: e.g. *le xxx jour de june* (27a), *le primer jour de june* (35w), *le dyd jour* (17d), *le 17 de le dyd* (35t). The abbreviated Latin *centum* in the expression *pur le C.* ('per hundredweight') also occurs dozens of times. There is no use of the form *lez* but we can argue that in examples such as *le costes de Pyse* (11u) and *pur le sakes* (16d) that the scribe's *le* should be read as the AN plural form, *lé*. There are only three clearly feminine AN articles, all in the expression *de la Marche* (8b, 8c, 9g).

Importantly, there are also several cases of *le* + Italian lexeme, even in the middle of an Italian-matrix segment:

Et *pur le* s.16 *que* fa £987 s.4 d.3 de *pezoly* de **le** valeuta de £ (12d)

Item *pur* far **le** styvare (12j)

Item *pur* taratura *que* fa **le** tare de **le** lana (12i)

[...] *pe* whych ys uno *parte* de xij *parte* de **le** maiore *summa* (12d)

Item *le* dyd for a savacondyd *pur* **le** robe de William Cantelowe (34o)

[...] send by usance to London a st. 45¼ *pur* **le** doc. (35c)

It seems that in examples 12i (*le tare*) and 34o (*le robe*) we are dealing with the Italian

⁶³ E.g. *Omnia instrumenta et necessaria shopae meae ad le meltynghouse et ad countor meum spectantia* (Test. Ebor II 1.6) (Trotter 2011b : 178).

feminine plural article *le*. There are no examples of the Old Tuscan masculine articles *lo* and *li*, but Balmayn does use feminine *la* and the partitives *de la* and (an incorrect) *del*:

Et *pur la* partita to the clerks (12d)

Item *pur la* deminucione **del** mownta de pokes (12e)

Estimate a Fl.20 le C. **de la** lana que fa Fl. 24614 (12f)

There also seems to be an instance of an Italian feminine object pronoun:

Item *pur* retencione de denari 2 de *pezoli pur* Fl., **le** damno mownta *pur* toto ¼ de Fl. *pur* C. (12i)

Indefinite article use is much less complex. As we would expect, *a / an* are only found in ME segments. The Italian (or Latin) *uno* and *una* appear over sixty times each and give or take the odd typically medieval ‘inconsistency’ (e.g. both *uno / una sole*) are used correctly in terms of gender.

viii) Commercial loanwords of particular interest

The *Cantelowe Accounts* are an excellent example of how lexical value and lexicographical usability are not necessarily one and the same. No one can deny that the text represents a compelling piece of early Anglo-Italian contact but, as is typical for such mixed-language sources, it does not always fit in with the (unavoidable) conventions of dictionary-making.

The obvious problem is matrix-language and its frequent shift. It would be inaccurate to declare this an ‘ME source’ in its entirety. As we have seen, Balmayn changes language on a line by line (or even word by word) basis at times and large sections are solely in Italian. This is a text written over the course of a year by one native ME speaker who has learned Italian and the subtleties of his linguistic immersion are not easily quantified in lexicographical terms. There are countless commercial terms such as *macagone*, *botega*, *senseria*, *consolatico*, and *accordo* that must have filtered into Balmayn’s ME and that he used when speaking with English colleagues about his work. But as we only have proof of their existence in an ‘Italian’ sentence (albeit one written by an Englishman), they cannot be considered loanwords. Conversely, rare usages of forms such as medieval Tuscan *fradsicio*, *intingimento* and *taratura* are of significant relevance to Italian historical lexicography, as are Anglo-Normanisms and Anglicisms such as *pocca*, *storo* and *locchi*. Multilingual sources can

be of value to multiple dictionaries but all too often they fall through the cracks and are exploited by none.

Table 2 (below) re-caps seven important Italianisms that appear in ME-matrix sections of the Cantelowe Accounts. Three - *ditto*, *magasyne* and *n^o* - offer hugely earlier first attestations than those currently found in the OED. Three others - *avery*, *net* and *tare* - offer a valuable new citation of a loanword that is very rare in English prior to 1500. The coin *pezoly* (from Venetian *pizoli* or Florentine *piccioli*) is not found in Middle English, although *pecheline* (from the Florentine equivalent, *picciolino*) is. Even here, there are questions to be raised, however. Clearly, our source (with its use of *ditto* after AN and Italian words) offers an exciting illustration of the process by which loanwords flow from one language to another in a bi- (or multi-) lingual text. But could we include the *ditto* citations in a monolingual dictionary when the term only appears after *a di* or *le [jour] + number* in the text, even if these segments are themselves embedded in a longer ME entry? Similarly, the abbreviation *n^o* occurs all the way through the accounts, nearly always followed by an Arabic numeral (cf. section 4, below). The Italian influence on Balmayn in using this shorthand in his administration is, I think, convincing. Nevertheless, basing proof of its appearance in ME (over two centuries before the OED) on the segment *in le poke de n^o 377 for hit was not sewynge* would be controversial. Distinguishing use in English and use by an English writer is therefore a thornier problem than it may first seem.

5. Numeral use

The results of Balmayn's immersion in Tuscan mercantile culture were not limited to the lexical. Another exciting feature of the Cantelowe Accounts is their extended use of Arabic numerals, some fifty years, it seems, before they even started to gain wider acceptance in English accounts. Italy was at the forefront of mathematical advances in Europe, acting through its geographical and trade links as a bridge to the advanced civilisations and scholarly practices of the East. Whilst there is evidence of Arabic numerals (or more correctly, Hindu-Arabic or Indo-Arabic numerals) in a tenth-century Spanish manuscript, it was the Latin treatise of Leonardo of Pisa, better known as Fibonacci, that would prove pivotal in introducing this new system to the West (see Durham 1992). After spending several years in Algeria with his merchant father and travelling in Egypt, Syria, Greece and

Lexeme	Freq.	Example of citation in CA	OED	MED
Avery 'maritime tax to cover damage to ship or its cargo' < It. <i>averia</i> / AN <i>*averie</i>	1	Item for the <u>avery</u> of the galley or schippe the which ys to saye Þat every marchaunt shalt bere his parte after the rate of his marchauntyse [...] (111)	OED2 sub average ² <i>Auerays</i> att. 1491 in Arnold's Chronicle.	X
Ditto 'in the aforesaid month' < It. <i>ditto</i>	31	Item le 11 <u>ditto</u> , send by usance to London a st. 45 le doc., a Sevestyano et Jorolinis Bandenere. For here hadde hit Victore Cape and his brotherys. (35d)	OED2 sub ditto Att. 1625	X
Magasyne 'warehouse' < It. <i>magazzino</i>	1	A item for weying in the custome house of Florens and for the beryng to the <u>magasyne</u> (12n)	OED3 sub magasin Att. 1583	X
Net 'amount or weight remaining' < It. <i>netto</i>	1	And so reste clere <u>net</u> : cc ^o lj <i>sackes</i> cloves viij <i>semis</i> . (7c)	OED3 sub net ⁴ / adj. Two att. from 15 th c. in 1418 (Grocers) and 1486 (Cely Papers)	MED sub net adj. One att. from 1418 (Grocers)
N^o abbreviation for 'number' < It. / Lat. <i>numero</i> ⁶⁴	100+	Et pui lb 10 in le poke de n ^o 377 for hit was not sewyng (22c)	OED3 sub No. adv. / n. ³ Att. 1661	X
Pezoly 'small, low value coin of copper-silver mix' < Fior. <i>piccioli</i> / Ven. <i>pizoli</i> ⁶⁵	2	Item for the custome of Florens for the seyde 466 pokes, weyng lb 123067 a Fl. uno s.16 de <u>pezoly</u> le C. <i>que</i> fa Fl.1230. (12d)	X	cf. MED sub pecheline Two att. c1440 (Morte Arthur / Wey's Money)
Tare 'weight deducted from gross' < It. <i>tara</i> / AN <i>tare</i>	200+	The which makyth in sackys CC ^o lxiiiij ^o <i>semis</i> and v cloves <i>semis</i> , of the which ys rebatyde for the <u>tare</u> of every poke j clove <i>semis</i> (7c)	OED2 sub tare ² Att. 1486 (Naval Accounts of Henry VII)	MED sub tare ² Att. 1429 (Grocers)

Table 2: Key loanwords in the Cantelowe Accounts

⁶⁴ This graphic abbreviation is first found in Latin of Italy in the eighth century (Cappelli 1979: 237).

⁶⁵ See Imports Glossary sub **pecheline**. An alternative explanation is that *pezoly* is Balmain's version of *pezzoli* ('small pieces') although I have not found any other examples of the term referring to coins, only to bits of glass (see OVI sub **pezzoli**).

Sicily, Fibonacci returned home an enthusiastic convert to Arabic arithmetic. His famous and lengthy *Liber abaci*, written in 1202, opened with the nine Indian figures and the zero symbol, an entirely new concept in itself. The mathematical historian, Boyer, declared that the work represented “a remarkable achievement”, containing, amongst other feats, “the most accurate European approximation to an irrational root of an algebraic equation up to that item or anywhere in Europe for another 300 years or more” (Boyer 1968: 282). Notably, Fibonacci started out not as a scholar but as a merchant and the *Liber abaci* used numerous commercial examples such as currency conversions and interest calculations to present its theories.

Ground-breaking as it was however, it took some time for Fibonacci’s ‘new’ numerical notation to filter into widespread mercantile practice in Italy and even longer, in the rest of Europe.⁶⁶ The tradition of Roman numerals was deeply entrenched, in spite of the difficulties in using them for complex arithmetic, and suspicions were (rightly) aroused that Arabic figures could be more easily falsified. The Florentine *Arte del Cambio* even famously forbade their use in 1299 and issued fines for non-compliance:

No member of this guild shall presume to write, or allow to be written by anyone else, in his ledger or account book, or any part thereof where payments and receipts are recorded, any item in what is known as the style or script of the abacus. He shall on the contrary write openly and at length using letters (Murray 1978: 84).

In fact, some of the earliest isolated examples of Arabic numerals were written by Italians in England e.g. the Gallerani London Book, 1305-08 (Chapter 4.2i) or three annotations scribbled in Italian hand on BML / AN Exchequer Rolls concerning allowances claimed by the Frescobaldi in 1309 and the Bardi in 1339-45 (Chapter 1.2i). From the 1380s, we find more numerous examples of Arabic numerals, alongside the Roman traditional notation, within the main body of Italian account entries in dates, weights and sums of money. The following example from a list of accounts for a shipment of grain from Palermo to Pisa in 1386, clearly

shows the scribe’s dual use of Arabic (in bold) and Roman (in red) figures:

per ispese di mangare e di bere, da dì **9** d’ahgosto infino di **21** novembre, per dare a ‘Righo per beverageo, che

⁶⁶ This is confirmed by the accounting historian, Durham (1992: 26): “The introduction of ‘Arabic’ numerals in the West is much more complicated than is usually presented. [...]There is little doubt that ‘Arabic’ numerals were well known to academic circles by the eleventh century; the introduction of the new numeration system to bookkeeping seems to have occurred primarily in the late fifteenth century. The first examples are actually early fourteenth century from Italian sources. However, the introduction was slow, most fifteenth-century books of account use Roman numerals; ‘Arabic’ numerals are not standard until the late sixteenth century”.

fu quegli fece vendere il grano, f.x: soma f. 29 et tt. 31 gr. v a tt. vi il f., sono f. 34 tt. 1 gr. v: f. 34 tt. 1 gr. 5 (Melis 1972: 280)⁶⁷

By the time Balmayn visited Tuscany in 1450, the new notation was spreading rapidly in business writing there. Arabic numerals form an extensive and integral part of the *Cantelowe Accounts*, being used to record all amounts paid in florins and pounds sterling and their totals, all weights of the pokes of wool and tare to be deducted and nearly all the poke numbers. Opening paragraphs in ME contain examples of both systems.⁶⁸ Roman numerals feature most heavily (unsurprisingly) in the Latin-matrix sections on pp. 8-9 and in dates throughout the document. One intriguing point is that the writer nearly always writes an AN date with Roman figures and an Italian one with Arabic figures e.g. *le xiiij jour de novembre / a di 13 novembre*.⁶⁹ This would suggest that at some level, Balmayn associates the new style of numbers with the Italian language and the traditional method with his English scribal background. Furthermore, the manner in which he actually forms the figures also deserves attention, in particular his clearly upright number four (which is known to have first emerged in Italy in the 1300s) and his sevens and zeros (Hill 1911: 12-13, 38-41, 46-49).⁷⁰

Back home in England, accounting conventions would take over half a century to catch up. The seventy-four surviving accounts in the *Views of the Hosts* from 1440-44 (Bradley 2012) do not contain a single Arabic numeral and neither do the Goldsmiths Accounts from 1334-1446 (Jefferson 2003). Their appearance in the administration of the Mercers is described as “remarkable as not common at all in this period” and the figures “are not found with any frequency until the sixteenth century” (Jefferson 2009: 11). So rare is each occurrence, that the editor footnotes each one. In an edition of over 1000 pages, there are only twenty-eight instances with the earliest being in 1397-98.⁷¹

⁶⁷ From an *Estratto-conto del luglio 1386, Palermo-Pisa, da Ambrogio Bini all'azienda Datini*. Melis does not differentiate between the two systems in his transcription and uses Arabic numerals throughout. I have re-inserted Roman numerals based on the facsimile of the corresponding manuscript (Melis 1972: 281).

⁶⁸ E.g. *Here bygynnyth the wey3ths of iij^c lxxj pokys wolle (3a) / Costes of Florens for 466 pokes wolle of my mayster W. Cantelowe (12a)*.

⁶⁹ In over one hundred dates written in the accounts, there are only seven that do not follow this pattern: two are *a di* + [Roman] and five are *le* + [Arabic] + *jour*. ME matrix dates also use Roman numerals: *the lettres pat were made at London the xvij and xvij daye of June (13d)*.

⁷⁰ Over a century ago, George Francis Hill meticulously compiled a series of tables that are still useful today, comparing the varying forms of the fledging Arabic figures in medieval documents from across Europe. Balmayn's number fours and sevens (similar to our modern forms) and zeros (without a diagonal line through them) resemble the predominant fifteenth-century Italian forms (Hill 1911: 46-49) rather than their English equivalents (ibid. 38-41).

⁷¹ Subsequently in those for 1398-99, 1399-1400, 1408-09, 1413-14, 1414-15, 1415-16, 1418-19, 1420-21, 1453-54, 1455-56, 1457-58, 1461-62 and 1462-64. As the thirty year gap over the 1420s to 1450s testifies, Arabic numeral use very much depended on the knowledge of an individual scribe and this was typical of all ME accounts of the period.

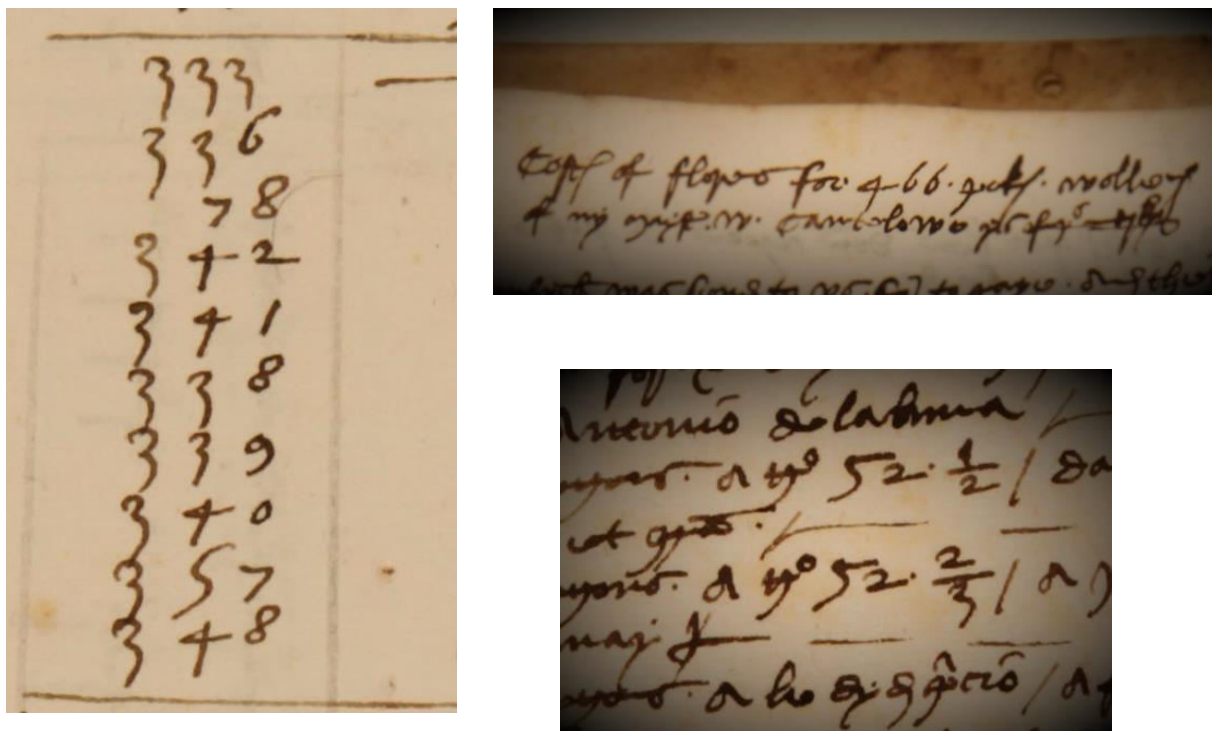


Fig. 2: Some examples of Balmain's use of Arabic numerals and fractions

Only five of these Arabic numbers are found on their own in the main body of the text (rather than marginalia repeating an existing Roman figure) and only one of these five is before 1455, in a notable example from 1414 (Jefferson 2009: 270).

Similarly, other London livery accounts from the mid-1400s, even those in ME-matrix, show a near total dominance of the traditional Roman numerals, as shown by this example from the Drapers' Masters and Wardens' Accounts in 1439-40:

Thys accompt y made the ix day of Nouembre the xixth yer' of kyng Harry the vjth by John Gedney maister John Wotton John Derby Robert Bertyn & Thomas Cook Wardeynes of the craft of draperes for the yer last past ffurst reseuyed by the accompt of the olde Wardeynes in the box xvj^{li} x^s

Also reseuyed of diuers personys for fynys y mad for the feyr of seynt mary overey as hit enseweth
 Of Richard Thornebery xx^d
 Of Edmund Miles iiij^d
 Of Wylliam Cornewyk viij^d
 Of John Hille iiij^d
 Of Robert Awnell iiij^d (Johnson 1914: 333).

This second example from the Carpenters Accounts from 1438 does contain the odd Arabic numeral but typically only in dates (in bold, below), not in the main sums of money involved:

Md. That ys to wete y^t we Richard Punchon Willm Croffton Thoms Coventr̄ Wardeynes haue reff of quarterag now at the ffest of Seynt Michell In the 3e^r of our lege lord the Kyng Her^r þ^e vj the conquest xvij (1438)
 ffor the fferst quart' dayx^s ij^d
Md. Also that We haue reff ffor Crystemas terme next suyng . . . ix^s ix^d
Md. Also that We haue reff ffor Ester terme next after y^t . . . ix^s ix^d
Md. Also that We haue reff ffor Midsomer terme next that . . . viij^s ix^d (Jupp 1848:15)

Even in the later 1400s and into the sixteenth century, widescale Roman numeral use persisted. We do find a few examples of Arabic numerals in the Southampton Stewards' Books, with the earliest appearing in the book of 1457-58. But as Thick notes in her edition, such instances are rare and "usually only as an addition in the right-hand bottom corner of a page, perhaps a total added at audit" and the new figures were "introduced only slowly to government accounting. Known as the 'vulgar cipher', they were considered improper for official use in spite of their greater flexibility for use in bookkeeping" (Thick 1995: 71). In the collection of ME letters and wool accounts belonging to the wealthy Cely family from 1472-88, no Arabic figures are found although "William Rogers [...] sometimes uses Arabic symbols in auditing their accounts for the Chancery arbiters" (Hanham 2002: 165). Fifty years later, the ledger (1538-55) of the successful Bristol merchant, John Smythe, contains a mixture of Roman and Arabic figures, although interestingly, he always uses the latter when dealing with the *maravedi*, an Iberian coin of Moorish origin (Vanes 1974: 19).

Another important point of interest is the appearance of common fractions in the *Cantelowe Accounts*, an innovation which, of course, did not exist in the Roman system.⁷² Common (or vulgar) fractions (e.g. ½ or ¾), originally used to distinguish the fractions used in commerce from the sexagesimal ones used in astronomy, and their modern notation (with a horizontal bar) were also pioneered in Europe by Fibonacci (Boyer 1968: 262). Balmayn clearly uses this system, which had permeated Tuscan accounting by 1400, on six occasions e.g.:

Item pur retencione de denari 2 de pezoli pur Fl. le damno mownta pur toto ¼ de Fl. pur C. que fa Fl.63 s.23 d.5 de Fl. (12l)

Item le 13 ditto, send by usance to London a st. 44 ½ a Lowes Strossy (35e)

Item a di 11 ditto, send by usance to Bruges a Gr. 52 ⅓ a Loronxo Banbo (35h)

⁷² The mathematical term *fraccioun* was first coined in ME by Chaucer in his scientific treatise *Astrolabe* c1400, (MED sub **fraccioun**). He also referred to Arabic numbers - *nombres of augrim* - i.e. of algorism. Chaucer moved in both scholarly and mercantile circles but it would take over another century before such knowledge would be widely disseminated in his home country (Durham 1992: 40).

The English scribe is far ahead of his contemporaries in this regard. Whilst fractions appear in an English treatise on the abacus (the anonymous *Reguncule super Abacum*) as early as 1117, we find no further record of them until 1543, in Robert Record's mathematical textbook, *Ground of Artes*. Even then, the author mentions the fraction or "broken number" only very briefly and declares that its study is futile until the reader has grasped other methods of computational practice (Steele 1922: xiv, 63, 68, Poole 2013: 48-50).⁷³

In other sections of the accounts, Balmayn employs different methods to express the concept of 'a half'. In entry 7a, he writes the traditional Roman numeral with an *s* abbreviation for *semis*. In the lengthy tables of wool weights on pages 3-7, we find an interesting hybrid system: a modern Arabic number followed by a colon divided by a horizontal line to represent a half. The latter symbol is confusingly similar to today's division sign but was common in the Middle Ages (Cappelli 1979: liv-lv).⁷⁴

Overall, Balmayn's extensive adoption of Arabic notation is exceptional for an ME scribe of his day and was a direct result of his working closely with and in the Italian business community. His accounts are of particular importance to the history of arithmetic in England: with their use of both notations, they provide a valuable snapshot of an administrative culture in transition prior to the permanent establishment of new mathematical norms c1500.

6. Merchant marks and signs

Balmayn is very explicit that each poke of wool in Shipment 1 is numbered, signed with a merchant mark and then countersigned with a second mark (8a). The first mark, which he refers to as *signo contra signo* on several occasions, is clearly designated in the text:

[...] ij pokes with signo † *contra* signo and anothis poke þat hadde neyther nombyr nor marke (32b)

[...] I markyd with signo *contra* signo of the marke of alle the balys (31f)

The † symbol appears nineteen times throughout the account books: on the front cover (see Fig. 3), in the top left-hand corner of many folios and within the entries themselves.

⁷³ The editor of the *Cely Papers* points out that English wool staplers in Flanders in the late 1400s got round the need to use fractions in their calculations by using special monies of account: the *engelsc* (represented by a small open circle and equal to 1/3 d.) and the *point* (represented by large dot or diamond shape and equal to 1/3 of a *engelsc*) (Hanham 2002: 165).

⁷⁴ He also confirms that the modern 1/2 was not widespread in Europe until the end of the 15th century (Cappelli 1979: 46-47).



Fig. 3: Cantelowe's merchant mark: the *signo contra signo*

Although not explicitly mentioned, this must be the personal merchant mark of William Cantelowe which is not currently found in English records.⁷⁵ The mark does not resemble that used for the Salviati family (cf. Beale *et al.* 2011: 135-36) but it is found in an entry in another account book from the Salviati's Florence office (AS Serie 1 232, f. 131): this records the same 466 pokes (marked and countermarked) that arrived in Pisa on Antonio Doria's ship:

Lana dinghilterra che e poiche quatrocento sesanta sei sign † e contrasangniata di piu contrasangni che ci mandono da pisa i nostri chebbono per la naue dantonio doria che di ragione de nostri di Londra per vno conto aparta sign G. (Holmes 1993: 375)

It was common commercial practice in Europe to label woolsacks and other merchandise with these runic-looking merchant marks. This established legal ownership of a particular bale of goods and crucially, made identification of the cargo as quick and easy as possible. When a ship arrived in port, it would frequently contain consignments belonging to numerous merchants who had each divided their goods between several vessels, given the high risk of piracy or shipwreck (Girling 1964: 10, Beale *et al.* 2011: 19). There were also strong religious (or superstitious) connotations with the use of such marks, which were thought to

⁷⁵ The mark is not found in the Mercers Archives nor is it in the definitive work on the topic, the field archaeologist Girling's *English Merchants' Marks* which catalogues hundreds of examples from 1400-1700. This is not surprising as extant examples represent a tiny handful of the thousands of marks that must have been in use in the Middle Ages: "Marks in their everyday aspect were essentially ephemeral and few have survived. Some were painted on the canvas covering goods, others branded on the on the heads of casks. [...] Fortunately, a few contemporary representations of bales and wool packs, with the marks shown on them, remain to show the manner in which they were used" (Girling 1964: 18). In a more recent study on merchant marks in the Datini archive, Hayez concurs: "Tracciate su dei supporti non destinati a una conservazione a lungo termine, tessili e cartacei in particolare, le marche mercantili sono in maggioranza andate perse nella loro materialità originale" (Hayez 2010: viii).

invoke divine protection on a commercial enterprise and the use of the cross shape, as in Cantelowe's case, was near ubiquitous.⁷⁶

The twenty-six countermarks also used to label the woolsacks are much more puzzling. As we have seen, Balmayn goes to great trouble to describe the mark of each lot of wool sold in the buyers' entries (pp. 16-32) as well carefully summarising them over pp. 8-9. Table 3 (below) brings together the information we have about Shipment 1: poke numbers, wool types, Italian buyers and mark descriptions. The latter is also very useful from a linguistic viewpoint as variations in our scribe's language choice for a particular mark can be easily compared. Sections in grey refer to the Latin matrix summaries of the whole wool consignment near the start of the accounts; we can then 'track' the sale of each numbered, marked poke in the subsequent transactions recorded over the following twelve months.

Upon examination of these data, it first becomes clear that there is no simple link between the Italian buyer and countermark; the majority of the companies - such as the Medici, Lachi, Cambini and Aliotto - all purchase lots of different marks. There is evidence of the practice of the use of the *contrasegna* in thirty-two citations in the OVI and Datini corpora but the descriptions are certainly not as detailed as Balmayn's. Overall, they give us little more information as to what this identifying mark was actually identifying. In nearly all cases the *contrasegna* is simply a number or a letter:

[...] *Quattro torselli contrasegnati di numero XXXIIII, XXXV, XXXVI, XXXVII*
(OVI: Doc. fior., 167.5) (1348-50)

Per detto Parasachino vi mandai balle 3 di merce sengnate di nostro sengo e contrasengnate B
(AD: Milano-Pisa B531/36 507066 296.6) (1395)

However, in the Datini databank there is one example of a lamb and two examples of a small anvil being employed as countermarks:

[...] *coè balle 3 di nero chontrasegnata N e balle una d'agnelina contrasengnata*
(AD: Pisa-Milano B1116/126 6100705 581.8) (1384)

150 peze de' fustani bianchi di 2 chandelieri con una anchudinetta per contrasengno
(AD: Milano-Genova B780/28 112591 315.5) (1396)

⁷⁶ Ninety percent of the marks in the Datini archives, for example, are based on a cross sign of some kind, be it Latin, Greek, St Andrew's or St Anthony's, all embellished in countless ways with bars, loops or triangles (Hayez 2010: xi).

Table 3: Summary of wool types, poke numbers, Italian buyers and merchant marks in Shipment 1

Wool type (total in pokes)	Mark type	Poke no. ⁷⁷	Description of mark in text	Buyer	Transcrip. reference
March (35)	Handmaiden	1-35	pocke xxxv de lana de la Marche fine contrasignata de una ancilla cum humeris de capite virginis ut moris est depingere lanas de Marchia		8b
		2, 21, 25.	The marke una donzella	Sati	24e
		4, 28, 35.	The marke una ancilla cum humeris de capite virginis	Chambini	27d
		5, 9, 11, 5, 30.	The marke una ancilla cum humeris de capite virginis	Lamfredini / Guydetti	27e
		19, 33.	The marke una donzella	Lachy	27f
		3, 7, 13, 17, 20.	The marke una ancilla cum humeris de capite virginis	Bardy	29a
		1, 10, 16, 23, 32.	The marke una ancilla cum humeris de capite virginis	Corbenelli	29b
		8, 14, 34.	The marke una donzella	Corbenelli	29e
		22, 24, 26.	The marke una donzella	Chambini	30a
		27, 31.	The marke una donzella	Bardy	30b
		6, 18.	The marke una donzella	Frederisy	30c
		12, 29.	The marke una donzella	Lamfredini	30d
Young March (6)	Handmaiden with coral necklace	36-41	poke vj de juvene lana de la Marche contrasignata de una ancilla ut supra cum uno pere precius duplice de		8c

⁷⁷ Careful and methodical as he was, Balmayn still made mistakes in his accounts; there are a few mix-ups with marks and numbers, as we shall see, and the sale of one of the 466 pokes is never recorded.

			coralle vermeille		
		40, 36, 39, 41, 38, 37.	<i>with a maydyne his head with a peyr of coralle bedis abowte her neke</i>	Barbigia	32a
Cotswold (314)	Hand with bunch of roses and trefoil	42-69	pocke xxvij de lana de Cotiswolde fyne contrasignata de una mana cum j manipulo de rosis de tribus foliis		8d
		51, 52, 57, 69.	The marke una mana cum uno manipulo de rosis de tribus foliis	[G]wyduche	16d
		43, 45, 48, 64.	The marke una mana cum uno manipulo de rosis de tribus foliis	Rezalti	16e
		44, 46, 53, 56, 63.	The marke de una mana cum uno manipulo de rosis de tribus foliis	Ascheto	17b
		47, 50, 54, 58, 66, 68.	The marke j una mana cum j manipulo de rosis de tribus foliis	Nycholini	23b
		42, 49, 55, 59, 60, 61, 62, 65, 67.	The marke una mana cum j manipulo de rosis de tribus foliis	Medeci	26c
	Sheep with crown	70 - 91	pocke xxij de lana de Cotyswolde fine contrasignata de uno pecore coronato		8e
		76, 77, 80, 91.	The marke uno pecore coronato	Juncta	16c
		71, 78, 81, 86, 87	The marke uno peccore coronato	Contowcho	18c
		70, 72, 73, 74, 75 79, 82, 83, 84, 85 88, 89, 90.	The marke uno peccore coronato	Patsy	24c
	Sheep with crown and its lamb	100-121	pocke xxij de lana de Cotiswolde fine depincta de uno pecore coronato cum suo agnello		8g
		100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119,	The marke j pecora coronata cum suo agnello	Sandro [Barbigia]	21a

	120, 121.			
Green double wreath with four flowers	131-172	poke xlij de lane fine de Cotyswolde depincta de una chapleta viride duplice cum quatuor floribus		8j
	131, 136, 139, 141, 142, 145, 146, 152, 153, 156, 160, 161, 162, 171.	The marke una chapleta veride duplice cum quator floribus	Aleotti	16b
	134, 143, 147, 151, 166, 167, 169, 170.	The marke ys una chapleta viride duplice cum quatuor floribus	Balioni	19b
	14, 132, 133, 135, 137, 138, 140, 144, 148, 149, 150, 154, 155, 157, 158, 163, 164, 165, 168, 172.	The marke j chapleta verde duplice cum iiij ^{or} floribus	Ginori	21b
Blue garland with three flowers and red star	173 -194	poke xxij de lana fine de Cotyswolde depincte de uno garlando asure videlicet blodio de tribus floribus et in medio dicto garlando est una stella rubia		8k
	173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194.	The marke ys una garland asure blodio de tribus floribus et in medio dicto garland est una stella rubia	Galiano	19c
Peacock	195-222	poke xxvij de lana de Cotyswolde fine depincta de uno pavo, a pecoke		8l
	203, 204, 211, 214.	The marke ys uno pavo	Juncta	17e
	213, 216, 220, 222.	The marke ys uno pavo	Borgo	18a
	195, 197, 198, 199, 202, 206, 209, 217, 218, 221.	The marke uno pavo	Lanfredini / Gydetti	20a
	210.	The marke uno pavo	Chambini	23d
	200, 201, 207, 212.	The marke uno pavo	Manetti	26g
	196, 205, 208, 215, 219.	The marke uno pavo	Lensy	27c
Lamb of God with	288-345	poke lvij de lana de Cotiswolde fine depincta de uno		8s

banner		agnus Dei cum cruce in vexilla, a baner		
	294, 303, 326, 339, 341, 344.	The marke ys de uno agnus Dei <i>cum cruce in vexilla</i>	Loteni	18b
	289, 290, 292, 296, 298, 316, 327, 328, 340, 342.	The marke ys de uno agnus Dei <i>cum cruce in vexilla</i>	Junctino	18d
	299, 318, 333.	The marke ys de uno agnus Dei <i>cum cruce in vexilla</i>	Federisi	20b
	291, 302, 317, 320.	The marke ys de uno agnus Dei <i>cum cruce in vexilla</i>	Medeci	20d
	304, 313, 321, 338.	The marke ys de uno agnus Dei <i>cum cruce in vexilla</i>	Salustro (de Perosa)	20e
	295, 306, 312, 323, 330, 331.	The marke ys de uno agnus Dei <i>cum cruce in vexilla</i>	Fantony	21d
	307, 319.	The marke ys de uno agnus Dei <i>cum cruce in vexilla</i>	Daszo	22a
	308, 309, 311, 314, 324, 334, 335, 336, 345, 388.	The marke ys de uno agnus Dei <i>cum cruce in vexilla</i>	Constantino (da Perosa)	22b
	300, 310, 332, 337.	The marke ys de uno agnus Dei <i>cum cruce in vexilla</i>	Nycholini	23c
	305, 343.	The marke ys de uno agnus Dei <i>cum cruce in vexilla</i>	Chambini	23e
	293, 297, 301, 315, 322, 325, 329.	The marke ys de uno agnus Dei <i>cum cruce in vexilla</i>	Stuffa	28c
Bunch of five poppies labelled with year	352-378	poke xxvij de lana de Cotiswolde fine depincta de uno manipulo de quinque papies cum una scriptura que dicitur l'ano Deo		8u
	367, 368, 369, 370, 373, 375.	The marke j mazzo de 5 papavery <i>cum breve que dixit l'ano Deo</i>	Albesi	20c
	361, 366, 377, 452.	The marke j manipulo de quinque papies <i>cum una scriptura que dicitur l'ano Deo</i>	Spineli	22c

		356, 357, 364, 374.	The marke j manipulo de <i>quinque</i> papies cum j scriptura que dicitur l'ano Deo	Fantony	22d
		355, 359, 362, 365.	The marke j manipulo de <i>quinque</i> papies cum una scriptura que dicitur l'ano Deo	Bewsini	22e
		354, 360, 371, 376.	The marke j manipulo de <i>quinque</i> papies cum una scriptura que dicitur l'ano Deo	Leonardo (d'Arezzo)	23a
		353, 358, 363.	The marke j manipulo de <i>quinque</i> papies cum j scriptura que dicitur l'ano Deo	Resali	25d
		372.	The marke j manipulo de <i>quinque</i> papies cum una scriptura que dicitur l'ano Deo	Medeci	26e
		378.	The marke j manipulo de <i>quinque</i> papies cum j scriptura que dicitur l'ano Deo	Medeci	26f
	Jay	381-408	poke xxviiij de lana fyne de Cotiswode depincta de uno jaye		8x
		382, 383, 386, 387, 388, 391, 393, 394, 396, 397, 406, 408.	The marke una jaye	Corbenelli	21c
		384, 392, 405, 407.	The marke una jaye	Tore	23f
		381, 385, 389, 390, 395, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404.	The marke una jaye	Baldovini	25c
	Sun	422-450⁷⁸	poke xxix de lana fyn de Cotyswold depincta cum uno sole, anglice a sonne		9c
		426, 435, 437, 438, 440.	The marke uno sole	Gwydewchy	21e

⁷⁸ There are several mistakes here. Pokes no. 450 and 453 seem to have been swapped in the main account as no. 450 is recorded with a *storo* mark (28d) and no. 453 with a sun (28f). No. 449 also appears in entry 28d in the *storo* batch. In addition, there are two pokes (with different weights) recorded as no. 343 in entry 24a and two copies of no. 436 in 26d and 28f. In each case, one of these numbers must have been miswritten. One of these extra pokes must be no. 431 and the other, no.432, neither of which are present in the subsequent account entries.

		429, 430, 434, 434, 439, 441, 442, 446, 447, 448.	The <i>marke una sole</i>	Ginori	24a
		436.	The <i>marke una sole</i>	Medeci	26d
		422, 423, 424, 425, 427, 428, 433, 436, 443, 444, 445, 453.	The <i>marke uno sole</i>	Stuffa	28f
	Hand with a bunch of borage	1- 8⁷⁹	poke viij de lana de Cotiswolde fine vocata storo depincta de una mana quod tenet unum manipulum de borage de tribus foliis		9f
		j, ij, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.	8 de borage	Barbigia	32a
Young Cotswold (85)	Sheep with crown and grass in its mouth	92-99⁸⁰	poke viij de lana juvene de Cotiswolde fyne depincta de uno pecore coronato quod habet in ore suo modisimi de una herba		8f
		93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99.	The <i>marke una peccora coronata quod habet in ore suo modisimi de una erba</i>	Aleoti	26a
	Sheep with a crown, and its lamb and grass in its mouth	122 -130	poke ix de lana juvene de Cotyswolde fine depincta de uno pecore coronato cum suo agnello et pecus habet modicimi de una herba in ore		8h
		122, 123, 128, 129, 130.	The <i>marke una peccora coronata cum suo agnello et pecus habet modicimi de erba in ore</i>	Barbigia	29c
		124, 125, 126, 127.	The <i>marke una peccora coronata cum suo agnello et pecus habet modicimi de erba in ore</i>	Barbigia	30d
	Peacock with bell on left foot	223-233	poke xi de lana fine juvene de Cotyswolde depincta de uno pavo cum una campana ad pedem sinistrum		8m

⁷⁹ It is unclear why the sacks are numbered 1-458 and then 1-8 instead of 1-466.

⁸⁰ Poke no. 92 is not recorded later as being sold in the buyers' section (pp. 16-32).

		226, 228, 229, 230, 231.	The marke de uno pavo et una campana ad pedem sinistrum	Bartoli	19a
		224, 227.	The marke uno pavo cum j campana ad pedem sinistrum	Borgo	24d
		223, 225, 232, 233.	The marke uno pavo cum j campana ad pedem sinistrum	Stuffa	28e
	Two green garlands with a rose	234-252	poke xix de lana fine juvene de Cotiswolde depincta de uno garlando viride duplice et in medio dicti garlandi una rosa		8n
		241, 246.	The marke uno garlando viride duplice et in medio dicto garlando una rosa	Aleotti	17c
		234, 238, 244, 245, 250, 251.	The marke uno garlando veride duplice et in medio dicti garlandi una rosa supra	Aleotti	17d
		236, 237, 243, 247, 248, 249.	The marke uno garland veride duplice et in medio dicti garlandi una rosa	Lachy	27b
		235, 239, 240, 242, 252.	The marke j garlando veride duplice et in medio dicti garlandi una rosa	Lachy	28a
	Hand with a straight little finger, holding bunch of roses and trefoil	253-264	poke xij de lana fine juvene de Cotiswolde depincta de una mana cum uno manipulo rosarum de tribus foliis et digito auriculare staute recte		8o
		259, 261.	The marke ys una mana cum una manipulo rosari de tribus foliis et digcto ariculare stawte recto	Resalati	17a
		253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 260, 262, 263, 264.	The marke j mana cum manipulo de tribus foliis et digcto ariculare stawte recte	Sandro [Barbigia]	24b
	Blue garland with three flowers, red star and 'O'	265-273	pokes ix de lana fyne juvene de Cotiswolde depincta de uno garlando asure blodio cum tribus floribus et in medio garlando una stella rubia et in medio stelle uno O		8p
		265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273.	The marke uno garland asure blodio cum tribus floribus et in medio garlando una stella rubia. Et in medio stelle uno O.	Aleoti	26b

Lamb of God without banner	346 - 351	poke vj de lane fine juvene de Cotiswolde depincta de uno agnus Dei sine cruce in vexilla		8t
	348, 349.	The marke uno agnus Dei sine cruce in vexilla	Spinelli	24f
	346, 347, 350, 351.	The marke uno agnus Dei sine cruce in vexilla	Pulesse	25a
Bunch of five poppies and 'M'	379 -380	poke ij de lana fyne juvene de Cotiswolde depincta de uno manipulo de quinque papies et una M		8w
	380	The marke uno manipulo de quinque papies et de uno M	Aschetto	25b
	379	The marke uno manipulo de quinque papies et de una M	Resali	25e
Jay with grass in its mouth	409-410	poke ij de lana fine juvene de Cotiswode depincta de una jaye cum erba in ore		8y
	409, 410.	The marke una jaye cum erba in ore	Baldoveny	25f
Magpie⁸¹	419 - 421	poke iij de lana fine juvene de Cotiswold depincta de uno pye		9b
	419, 420, 421.	The marke una jaye	Lachy	31a
No second countersign, only †	455- 458⁸²	poke iij de lana fine junvene de Cotiswold qualibus poche cum duobus signis sine contrasignis sunt de bonitate de le jaye ut supra		9e
	455	The marke signo contra signo	Lachy	30e
	458, 457.	signo † contra signo	Barbigia	32a

⁸¹ In the main entry section 31a, Balmyn uses *jaye* to describe the marks on these pokes (No. 419-421). Jays and magpies were commonly interchangeable in medieval symbolism, so this is not surprising. Unfortunately though, it means we have one mark (the jay on its own) being used for two different wool types (Cotswold and young Cotswold) which somewhat upsets our labelling theory (cf. Table 4, below).

⁸² Poke no. 456 is not recorded later as being sold in the buyers' section (pp.16-32).

Abbey (24)	Mitre with cross	274 - 285	pokes xij de lana Abbathie contrasignata cum uno mytre cum cruce		8r
		274, 276, 278, 279, 281, 285.	The marke una mitra cum cruce de supra	Lachy	25g
		275, 277, 280, 282, 283, 284.	The marke una mitra cum cruce de supra	Lachy	27a
	Crosier	411 - 418	poke viij de lana Abbathie depincta de uno pastorale, an abbots croyse		9a
		411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418.	The marke a abbot ys crowysse	Lachy	27g
	Labelled "storo"	451 - 454⁸³	poke iiij de lana Abbathie de illa sorte de poke viij ut supra depincta de una scriptura supra scripto storo		9d
		449, 450, 451, 452, 454.	The marke una scriptura supra scripto storo	Stuffa	28d
Young Abbey (2)	Mitre without cross	286-287	poke ij de lana fine juvene Abbathie depincta de uno mitre sine cruce supra		8r
		286, 287.	The marke una mitra sine cruce	Lachy	28b
?	?	?	the which hathe neyther marke nor nombyr ⁸⁴	Barbigia	32a
Total shipped = 466 pokes		Total sold = 465 pokes			

⁸³ As discussed, there are five, not four, pokes marked with the *storo* label in the main account entries.

⁸⁴ This must be one of the missing pokes, either no. 92 or no. 456. The other one remains lost and is absent in the account entries, meaning the final tally of those sold is 465, not 466.

In another rare example from 1399, Francesco Tornabuoni, of the Datini company, carefully draws a wide range of elaborate marks next to each entry for a consignment of wool bound to Pisa from Southampton. Again, beyond identifying each group of bales, it is not clear what the link is between mark and eventual buyers of the wool (Melis 1972: 326-27).⁸⁵

It is possible that our scribe took extra care to record these merchant marks precisely because they were Italian and he (or his master) was unfamiliar with them. However, apart from the Lamb of God, emblem of the Florentine *Arte della Lana* (Crum 2011: 68), I cannot find any correlation between these heraldic symbols and Italian families, companies or guilds. Finally, we do not even know for sure whether these second marks were applied before the shipment left England or upon its arrival in Tuscany, as this is not made explicit in the text.

It does seem likely that the twenty-seven marks are based somehow on wool type, and indeed Balmayn hints that their use is widespread: *ut moris est depingere lanas de Marchia* (8b). In eleven cases, the marks can be ‘paired’, with the young wool being a variant of the mark used for the normal wool of that type, as shown in Table 4, below. In most cases, the young wool version has an extra detail such as the peacock’s bell or the maiden’s necklace, sometimes it is a straight swap e.g. five poppies and the year for Cotswold, five poppies and the initial “M” for young Cotswold. But this distinction is far from clear-cut: the magpie / jay mark (cf. FN 81, above) is used for both Cotswold and young Cotswold, for example, and the sun, borage and crosier marks have no variants.

Could each producer of a certain wool type have two marks, one for the older and one for the younger wool? There seems, however, to be no evidence of such an elaborate double marking system or mention of such symbols in the heyday of medieval contracts for English wool.⁸⁶ Are they in any way related to the coats of arms for wool-producing monastic estates or to the English merchant guilds? The only recognisable candidate is the Maiden’s Head, emblem of the London Mercers from 1425 onwards (Sutton 2005: 181). Even if we can accept a relationship between countermark and wool type, there are still important questions to be answered. Why was it so important that Balmayn faithfully record the marks in such detail? Why record the provenance of the wool in such a laborious, time-consuming manner? Finally, the whole point of the merchant mark was that, as Girling (1964: 10) puts it, “it could be made quickly with a few strokes of a brush”. How - practically - could such a complex mark be applied to a woolsack?

⁸⁵ A facsimile of the manuscript can be seen in Melis (1972: 327). Some of the marks are stylised crests, others are flowers, stars, initials or small grids.

⁸⁶ My thanks to Prof. Adrian Bell, co-author of *The English Wool Market c1230- 1327*, for confirming this.

March	Young March
Maiden	Maiden + necklace
Cotswold	Young Cotswold
Hand + bunch of roses	Hand + straight finger + bunch of roses
Sheep + crown	Sheep + crown + grass in its mouth
Sheep + crown + lamb	Sheep + crown + lamb + grass in its mouth
Lamb of God with banner	Lamb of God without banner
Green double wreath + four flowers	Green double wreath + rose
Blue garland, 3 flowers + red star	Blue garland, 3 flowers + red star + 'O'
Peacock	Peacock + bell
5 poppies + label with year	5 poppies + 'M'
Jay	Jay + grass in its mouth
X	Magpie
Sun	X
Bunch of borage	X
Abbey	Young Abbey
Mitre with cross	Mitre without cross
Crosier	X
Labelled 'storo'	X

Table 4: Marks for 'normal' and 'young' wool types

Such mysteries require further research but serve to highlight the fact that the historical value of the Cantelowe Accounts is far from exhausted. When combined with the opaque list of tare and 'dampness' deductions discussed in section 3, it is obvious that this source still has more to offer experts in the English and Italian wool trade, over twenty years after Holmes first unearthed it in the Salviati archives.⁸⁷

7. Conclusion

In her still highly regarded monograph *Italian Merchants and Shipping in Southampton 1270-1600*, Ruddock stresses the importance of Italian influence on English business in the 1400s:

[...] the prosperous fifteenth-century English merchant was no fool. The enterprising Englishmen who eventually forced a way into the Mediterranean for their shipping and merchandize, who before the fifteenth century drew to a close, had planted colonies of English factors in those parts [...] had also made themselves familiar with some of the techniques of Italian businessmen and were already employing some of the techniques in their own affairs (Ruddock 1951: 199).

Translations of business manuals, reaching them from French or Flemish publications in the Low Countries, no doubt added a great deal to their knowledge of the finer points of book-keeping and accountancy in the sixteenth

⁸⁷Surprisingly, no mention is made of the merchant marks or the tare deductions in 'Anglo-Florentine Trade'.

century, but it was by the practical experience in the previous century that the English merchants laid the foundations of their knowledge of the Italian methods of business. They acquired their knowledge not from books but from Italians living in their own community, buying and selling from them, acting as their factors overseas, sometimes entering their households and marrying into their families and in Southampton, if not elsewhere, holding municipal offices and exercising a very real influence on the lives of their English neighbours (Ruddock 1951: 205).

Balmayn's records of his work in Tuscany offer a tangible example of precisely this kind of knowledge transfer. He does not use double-entry bookkeeping but the document still represents 'proof of contact': we can see how one author, immersed in Italian for professional reasons, learned the terms of the trade on the job and then how specific lexis (and indeed numeral use) filtered back into his own native writing. As stressed in Chapter 1.3, current evidence of such direct language contact between English and Italian dialects that predates the sixteenth century is extremely rare. The *Cantelowe Accounts* provide a glimpse of English merchant practice in 1450, a practice that has just shifted from AN into ME (cf. Alcolado Carnicero 2014) and was increasingly eager to embrace the methods of the undisputed leaders in European commerce.

Judging Balmayn's writing is a delicate area. From the 1990s onwards, there has been a backlash against the ideological stance that mixed-language medieval records must be the result of scribal ignorance. It is an ideology:

[...] that values uniformity and purity above all things. If texts are 'dirty', then they have to be cleansed. Variation is ignored and dismissed again and again in the tradition because it is viewed as random or accidental, or a result of ignorance and incompetence on the part of the scribes. Yet it is arrogant to believe that a modern editor can know Middle English better than a medieval scribe did (Milroy 2006: 21).⁸⁸

But the *Cantelowe Accounts* represent a new kind of medieval multilingual source, at least as far as England is concerned. No research has been done into 'second language' Italian written by ME speakers, indeed non-native writing is an area which has barely been touched. Our source differs from the mixed-language business texts already studied in several key ways:

- There are four separate languages consistently throughout, which is, as far as I am aware, most unusual.
- The scribe changes his matrix-language numerous times.

⁸⁸ See also Rothwell, 'Ignorant scribe and learned editor: Patterns of textual error in editions of Anglo-French texts' (2004) and Wright, 'The records of Hanseatic merchants, Ignorant, sleepy or degenerate?' (1997).

- The fourth language, Italian, is not native to England (i.e. not part of its longstanding scribal heritage)
- Unlike AN and BML, the scribe certainly would have had to learn Italian as a spoken as well as a written language.
- It is impossible to tell if we are dealing with a new ‘mixed code’ (cf. Schendl and Wright 2011: 7) as unlike standard trilingual English business texts, we have nothing to compare to this scribe’s language use.

We can only resolve to judge Balmayn’s language on its own terms and ask if it fulfilled the function of its text type. The answer, I believe, is yes and in wide lexical detail. It is true that there are minor slips in article use and gender but in the majority of cases, the writer employs clear business Italian. His anglicized spelling and English hand may alarm the Italian medievalist (and no-one is suggesting Balmayn is a poet to rival Boccaccio) but within the parameters of his profession, he seems more than competent. This, of course, should come as no surprise: one would wonder why he would be sent to Italy to oversee a valuable shipment if he could not acquit himself well in the language.

Two fascinating questions remain, the first of which first concerns his linguistic education. Had he been to Italy before? We know nothing about Balmayn’s background or past experience but we do know that German merchants went to Italy specifically to receive training in the latest techniques:

From the fourteenth century on, merchants from the north travelled to Italy, particularly to Venice, to learn the *Arte dela mercandanta* of the Italians. Sons of German businessmen flocked to Venice to study the *Welsche Praktik*, the foreign practices of business, commercial arithmetic and currency exchange. After acquiring these skills, they returned home with such terms as *disagio*, discount, *credito*, credit, *valuta*, value, *netto*, at a net price etc. (Swetz 1987: 10).⁸⁹

Evidence from c1493-1500 also exists of at least one draper’s son from London being sent to Pisa, specifically to be schooled in Italian and accounting whereas the Florentine immigrant, Cristoforo Ambruogi of Southampton, took in and taught local youths “the practices of merchanting” (Ruddock 1951: 202-03). Indeed, the Worshipful Company of Grocers was partly run in 1428 by Italians who had also trained English apprentices and a “select band of Italian entrepreneurs” continued to be sponsored there throughout the fifteenth century

⁸⁹ This commercial and linguistic exchange worked both ways: a German-Italian (or rather Bavarian-Venetian) phrasebook and grammar manual specifically for merchants was produced in 1424 by Giorgio di Norimberga who also gave lessons to Venetians wishing to improve their German (Guidi-Bruscoli 2015: 112, 119).

(Bradley 2012: xxi). Balmayn's clearly English handwriting implies that he was not formally trained to write in Italy, but learnt the language as an adult. The same is true of his spelling, which suggests he was learning 'on the ground' with Tuscan colleagues, and, at times, producing his best approximation of vocabulary. We know that when he arrived in Italy, Balmayn worked closely with Jacob Salviati's father, Alamanno, to complete the wool deal (Holmes 1993: 374) and it is fascinating to imagine their conversations and what they learned from one another.

The second question concerns the intended reader(s) of these accounts. As Wright (2002a: 472) points out: "Finance justifies the existence of a business, and it is therefore crucial that the written record of accounts is accessible and comprehensible to the auditor." Unless our scribe was very bad at his job, then logic dictates that he was not producing some garbled, eccentric jargon but an entirely legitimate written code. We have to assume that his master, William Cantelowe, knew enough Italian to understand these documents. If these records were meant solely for Italian eyes, why include ME sections and vice versa? Or was Jacob Salivati, back in London, also able to read English? The survival of this source with its unique language-mixing gives us an exciting glimpse into its readership as well as its writer:

Medieval mixed language texts are typically not the product of incompetent or non-native authors or scribes but rather reflect the - often very high - multilingual competence of the authors or scribes who wrote or copied them. They often mirror consciously or unconsciously used discourse strategies which express a range of functions, including the multilingual identity of authors, scribes and / or the readership / audience of these texts. (Schendl and Wright 2011: 20).

The *Cantelowe Accounts* offer invaluable proof of the contact through mercantile channels already outlined in Chapters 3 and 4. Whilst it is intriguing to consider that Balmayn's text may be the sole survivor of a more widespread practice in Anglo-Italian business, his language use still represents an idiolect and the written idiosyncrasies of one man. Nevertheless, all language contact and borrowing occurs not between two great abstract entities - such as 'Middle English' and 'Italian' - but is rather the product of hundreds of thousands of interactions between one individual and another. In this way, this rare document is surely representative of countless commercial encounters that happened on a daily basis between English and Italian merchants between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries.

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**Money Talks: Anglo-Norman, Italian and English language
contact in medieval merchant documents, c1200-c1450**

VOLUME II

Megan Mary Smales Tiddeman



Thesis presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

July 2016

Aberystwyth University

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1. LOANWORD FICHES

Notes on fiche layout in the Imports and Exports Glossary:

- The Glossary is composed of individual fiches for each loanword. In each case, the headword, gloss and proposed Italian or AN / ME etymon appears at the top of the sheet. This is followed by a summary of citations as found in the major Italian, AN, CF, ME and BML dictionaries and databases, plus additional relevant sources.
- The choice of the headword's form is based on the one used in the main dictionary entry for that language, usually the AND, OED, MED or TLIO e.g. AN *materas* is used as a headword even though other variants such as *materaç* and *matras* are recorded in the AND sub **materas**. If the loanword in question is not found in the dictionaries, the most common form of the borrowing as found in its source text(s) is used as the headword e.g. *brocchore* which is attested more frequently than the alternative *brocchiere* in the unpublished Salviati accounts. If, as happens on rare occasions, there are an equal number of variants for a loanword absent from dictionaries, brackets are used within the headword, e.g. *attacc(i)amento*.
- In each case, the number of attestations of the appropriate sense of a lexeme is shown, alongside its earliest examples.
- In the OED sections, the total number of citations shown after the headword equals the number attested up until 1500 (i.e. in ME, not modern English).
- Each fiche includes a period of time for each language (Italian, AN, CF, ME and BML), indicating the recorded chronological range of a lexeme's use (e.g. 'c1303-1470' or 'mid-14th c. to present'). These time periods take into account all relevant citations from all dictionaries, corpora and additional sources studied.
- If the earliest citation in a dictionary entry is in a medieval Latin text (a common feature in the MED / OED and to a lesser extent, the AND), this Latin example is included in square brackets before the first 'fully vernacular' citation. The same rule applies to AN-matrix citations included in MED / OED entries.
- BML-matrix examples can be especially difficult to categorise. Where the form is clearly Latinised (e.g. *galeotarum* att. c1190, see **galiotⁱⁱ**), it is included in the medieval Latin chronological range. Where the form is clearly an example of a vernacular lexeme in a BML matrix (e.g. *baudekyn*, att. 1338, see **baldekin**), it is included in the chronological range for either AN or ME, as appropriate. Where it is impossible to tell if a vernacular form in a BML source is AN or ME (e.g.

Haperdasser, att. 1280, see **aberdaciere**), the date appears in brackets with a question mark in both the AN and ME chronological range for that lexeme.

- The symbol X is used to show that a loanword is not currently found in a dictionary or database that is still ‘active’ and subject to revision and addition i.e. the AND / OED / TLIO / OVI / LEI / DEAF / DMF.
- The symbol Ø is used to show that a loanword is not found in a dictionary or database that is now ‘inactive’ and subject to no further revision i.e. the MED / FEW / GDC / GDF / TL / TLFi / DEI / AD / VSES / DC / DMLBS / LCC.
- Abbreviations for source texts will be given as in the dictionary in which they are found. Note that the OED, MED and AND, in particular, can have different sigla for the same source.
- If a dictionary gives a suggested language of origin for a loanword, this is included in square brackets after the gloss.
- In the commentary section, each loanword is classified under Attestation Type 1-3 (based on its recorded use in AN and ME). A secondary label of ‘a’ or ‘b’ indicates whether the lexeme is, respectively, absent from or present in CF up until 1500. These labels are discussed fully in the main Glossary introduction (Chapter 3.1ii) but are summarised below:

Lexeme attested in:	AN	ME	CF
Type 1a	✓	X	X
Type 1b	✓	X	✓
Type 2a	✓	✓	X
Type 2b	✓	✓	✓
Type 3a	X	✓	X
Type 3b	X	✓	✓

- Each loanword also has a semantic label (cf. Chapter 3.1iii) from the following:

Semantic field categories used in the Glossary	
Imports Glossary:	Exports Glossary:
Administrative language	Administrative language
Containers / bundles	Containers / bundles
Financial	Financial

Fur	X
X	Legal
Maritime	Maritime
Other foodstuff	Other foodstuff
X	Other
X	Profession
Storage of goods	X
Sugar / spice / sweetmeat	X
Textile	Textile
Unit of measurement	Unit of measurement
Wine	X
X	Wool

- Each fiche ends with a discussion of any further details and theories about the loanword's history and transmission.

IMPORTS GLOSSARY

FICHES 1-80

Italian mercantile loanwords in Anglo-Norman and

Middle English texts (c1200-c1450)

1	attaby	21	comyt	41	imperial	61	poupe
2	avery	22	confection	42	legea	62	pume d'orange
3	baldekin	23	cot	43	madrian	63	(pume)gernet
4	balet	24	cotegante	44	magasyne	64	ragamas
5	belendin	25	cotun	45	Malik	65	ris
6	bokeram	26	cramoisé	46	malvesey	66	sarme
7	bukasin	27	creditour	47	maramas	67	sarzinett
8	caffatin	28	damaske	48	materas	68	satin
9	calaber	29	demyt	49	maykyn	69	sport(in)
10	calfater	30	ditto	50	measane	70	(suchre) candi
11	camaca	31	ducat	51	mesan	71	taffata
12	camelin	32	fangot	52	milion	72	talany
13	carat	33	florin	53	nak	73	tare
14	carpet	34	fortune (de mer)	54	nassik	74	tarette
15	carrak	35	gabelle	55	net	75	tartarin
16	cassel	36	galiothⁱ	56	n^o	76	timon
17	casset	37	galiothⁱⁱ	57	(ore) filado	77	tramountaine
18	celestrin	38	garbeler	58	patron	78	velvetate
19	ceta	39	goulf	59	pecheline	79	vernage
20	columbin	40	go(u)ndel	60	paunace	80	yndigo

1. AN attaby (n.) ‘a plain silk of tabby weave (originally from the Attabiya area of Baghdad but later made in Italy), either pure or mixed with a weft of waste silk and flax’ (CF <i>atabis</i>) < It. <i>attabi</i> < Ar. <i>attābīja</i> (‘Attaiya: area of Bagdad’)				
Italian a1295-1548	Anglo-Norman 1397	Continental French 1295-1702	(Middle) English 1401-present	Medieval Latin 1295-c1398
TLIO	X			
OVI	<i>actabi</i> (3)	<i>E anco sia licito a ciaschuno mercadante poter far fare <u>actabi</u> et quelii sia licito fare di largessa di braccio uno et non di meno</i> (Stat. lucch LIV cap.36 148.10) (lucch. 1376)		
LEI	X			
DEI	sub tabi (n.) 3691b	‘sorta di drappa’ [Ar. <i>al-attābīja</i> , denominazione di un quartiere di Bagdad dove questa stoffa era fabbricata] <i>attabi</i> (a1295 / 1436, Roma)		
AND2	sub attaby (n.) (2)	‘heavy costly cloth (from the Near East)’ <i>j. goune de <u>attaby</u> linez de vert tartryn</i> <i>j. goune de rouge <u>attaby</u> poudrez de flours d’or de Cipre, linez de rouge tartryn</i> (Both: Gloucester Inventory 304) (1397)		
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub atabis (n.) (4) sub tabis (n.) (1) sub zatabis (n.) (5)	‘Tissu précieux de soie moirée mélangée de coton’ <i>4 draps de soie, apelez <u>atabis</u> (...) pour vestir mons. le conte de Geneve et de Joingny</i> (Invent. Mobiliers ducs de Bourg. P, t.1, 459) (1375) ‘Tissu précieux de soie moirée mélangée de coton’ [synon. <i>atabis</i>] <i>J’ay draps de soye et <u>tabis</u>, J’ay draps d’or et blans et bis</i> (Desch, Oeuvres Q, t.4, 9) (1370-1409) ‘Tissu précieux de soie moirée mélangée de coton’ <i>trois pièces de <u>zatabiz</u> blanc</i> (Invent. Mobilier Ch V. L. 344) (1380)		
GDF	sub atabis (n.) (1) sub tabis (n.) (2) sub zatabiz (n.) (1)	‘nom d’une étoffe précieuse, soie moirée’ <i>Sendaulx, samis et <u>atabis</u>, Et tous draps dont l’on fait abis</i> (Chr. De Pis, Poés.Richel, 604, f.185r) (1400-03) ‘étoffe de soie moirée’ <i>J’ay draps de soye et <u>tabis</u>, J’ay draps d’or et blans et bis</i> (E. Deschamps, Poés IV 9 A.T) (1370-1409) ‘mot d’origine arabe, espèce de gros taffetas ondé, de soie mêlée de coton’ <i>Une robe de trois garnements, de <u>zatabiz</u> ondoyant</i> (Invent. De Ch. V n.3495) (1380)		
GDC	sub acabit ² (2)	‘sorte d’étoffe’ Ung autre cothidian d’ acabit bleu broché ¹ (Doc. Concernant l’hist de l’art dans la Flandre, II, 842) (1404)		
TL	sub tabis	‘étoffe de soie moirée’ <i>J’ay draps de soye et <u>tabis</u>, J’ay draps d’or et blans et bis</i> (E. Deschamps, Poés IV 9 A.T) (1370-1409)		

¹ According to the comments made in this GDC entry and in the DMF entry sub **atabis** by Béatrice Stumpf, these two transcriptions of *acabit* are mistaken and should be read *atabit*. But could the Lucchese variant *actabit* have influenced this form? See also the *Accaby* cloth attested in 1393, *Treasurer's Accounts for Expeditions* by Henry, Earl of Derby (MED sub **attabi**).

TLFi	sub tabis (n.)	‘Étoffe de soie à grain fin, onnée à la calandre, surtout employée dans l'ameublement, dans la reliure’ [Empr. à l'ar. <i>attābi ya</i> , même sens, qui tire son nom de <i>al-Attābi yā</i> , quartier de Bagdad où l'on fabriquait cette étoffe] <i>atabis</i> (1375) / <i>tabis</i> (late 1300s)
FEW	XIX 12b / 210a: attabi	‘étoffe précieuse, de soie moirée’ OF / MF <i>attabi</i> (1295) / <i>attabis</i> (1400-03) / <i>zatabis</i> (1380) / <i>acabit</i> (15 th c.) / <i>estabis</i> , <i>escabis</i> (1416) / <i>tabi</i> (1661) ‘marquer des ondes’ Fr. <i>tabiser</i> (<i>la moire, les taffetas</i>) (1680) [Ar. <i>Attābī</i> ist ableitung von <i>Attabiya</i> , einem stadviertel Bagdads, das seinen namen von <i>Attab</i> , einem urenkel Umayyas erhielt; hier wurden diese bunten und wellenartig gestreiften seiden-stoffe vornehmlich hergestellt. Schon im 13 jh. mlt. <i>attabi</i> DC 1, 454. Aus dem afr. übernommen e. <i>tabby</i> , entlehnt it. kat. sp, pg <i>tabi</i> , bayr. <i>tabin</i> , <i>tobin</i> .]
MED	sub attabī (n.) (4)	‘A heavy costly cloth (imported from the Near East’ [ML from Arabic] [<i>Pro j panno Accaby empto apud Venys...xxvj duc</i> (Acc.Exped. Der. In Camd.n.s.52, 23-4) (1393)] [<i>Three amices of cloth of gold of blue</i>] <i>attaby</i> ..[<i>one long gown of cloth of god of</i>] <i>attaby</i> (Close R. Hen. IV, 320-1) (1401) <i>The halle also fulle ryally Wythe golden clopes and attaby Was hongyd fulle welle</i> (Parton 1 Add 35288, 977) (a1450)
OED	sub tabby (n./adj.) (20)	‘A general term for a silk taffeta, app. originally striped, but afterwards applied also to silks of uniform colour waved or watered’[< French <i>tabis</i> , earlier <i>atabis</i> (both 14th or early 15th cent. in Godefroy)] <i>First, for one good cloth sute, and one taby or good stuff sute.</i> (T. Vernery in V. Papers, 197) (1638) <i>Let others looke for Pearle and Gold, Tissues, or Tabbies manifold.</i> (New yeeres Gift in Noble Numbers 20) (1647)
LCC	sub tabby (3) (3 = MED)	‘heavy cloth, specifically an expensive cloths imported from the Near East, probably silk and multicoloured’ [< Arabic, possibly via MF] <i>Pro j panno Accaby empto apud Venys...xxvj duc</i> (Acc.Exped. Der. In Camd.n.s.52, 23-4) (1393)
DMLBS	Ø	
DC	sub attabi	‘Panni species’ <i>Item unam planetam de Attabi rubeo, cum aurifrixio Anglicano.... Item unam planetam de Attabi viridi.</i> (Inventar. MS. thes. Sedis Apost. sub bonif. VIII.) (1295)
Additional sources		
Italian-matrix		
Rosetti ² (1548)	<i>tabi</i> (1)	<i>et questa è l'acqua gommata che se da alli velludi, damaschi, rasi, tabi, ormesini et ogni altro panno di seda</i> (Giovanventura Rosetti, cited in Molà 2000: 364) (1548)

² Rosetti was a Venetian perfumer and author of *Notandissimi secreti de l'arte profumatoria* (1555), the first Western treatise on perfume-making.

BML-matrix		
Great Wardrobe Accounts (1390-98)	<i>attaby</i> (4)	<i>attaby</i> (E361/5/5r) (1390-92) <i>attaby plan' / attaby mottele / attaby op[er]at' cu[m] auro</i> (E361/5/7r) (1394-98) (All Monnas 1989: 298)
Comments		
Attestation Type 2b / Semantic Field: textile		
<p><i>Attaby</i>, a kind of shot silk originally from the Middle East, appears in four English records in the last decade of the fourteenth century: the Gloucester Inventory (AN),³ the Great Wardrobe Accounts of Richard II (BML), the Earl of Derby's Expedition Accounts (BML) and the Close Rolls from the reign of Henry IV (ME). From the 1300s onwards, copies of the cloth were produced in Tuscany to supply the Western European market. It is described as <i>actabi</i> (along with baldekin, camaca, imperial, legea, ragamas, taffata, talany and sarzinett) in the Statutes of Lucchese Merchants from 1376, a detailed account of guild requirements setting out the names, widths and weaves of a range of Italian silks (cf. King D. and King M. 1988: 75-76).</p> <p>As with many textiles, its name derives from a place: in this case, the Attaiya area of the city of Baghdad, from where the silk presumably originated (see Schweikard 2002: 148). The Arabic loanword <i>attabi</i> first appeared in Italy in the Latin of Rome in 1295 (see DEI and Du Cange) in a church inventory compiled in the time of Pope Boniface VIII. In the same year - according to the FEW - <i>attabi</i> was attested in Middle French, although no source text is given in the entry.</p> <p>Fennis (1995: 1699) and the TLFi conclude that CF <i>tabis</i> is a direct loan from Arabic. However given the huge role played by Italians in both producing and exporting this silk (and many others, cf. Chapter 2.5), it is important to consider the likelihood of Italian's role as intermediary in England (or indeed France) for this Arabism. As in many cases in this glossary, it is difficult to establish precisely whether the insular French forms were derived from CF or directly from Italian or whether several routes of transmission were at work. Certainly it is worth pointing out that the form <i>attaby / accaby</i> (closer to the medieval Tuscan forms <i>attabi / actabi</i>) prevails in medieval English sources whereas in CF we have a wider variety of forms (this could simply be, of course, because we have more attestations): <i>attabi / attabis / acabit / escabis / estabis / tabis / zatabis</i>.</p> <p>The abbreviated form <i>tabby</i> did not appear in English until the 1600s. It was employed not just for the shot silk in question but also as a substantive to mean a gown or suit made of <i>tabby</i>. The semantic transfer from streaked or wavy colour to a cat's striped fur is unique to English, with <i>tabby-cat</i> being first attested in 1698 (OED2 sub tabby).</p>		

³ The LCC has overlooked this AN source in its entry sub **tabby**.

2. ME avery (n.) ‘a tax or fee levied to cover costs for damage to a ship or its cargo’ < Tosc. <i>averie</i> / Gen. <i>avarie</i> < Ar. <i>awwar</i> (‘to damage’)				
Italian c1279-present	Anglo-Norman X	Continental French c1200-19 th c.	(Middle) English 1450-present	Medieval Latin c1100-c1300
TLIO	sub avarìa (n.) (7)	1. ‘Spesa aggiuntiva per tasse maritime’ [etimo non accertato: ?greco biz. <i>abarìa</i>] <i>Et iuriamo noi consuli, che nulla <u>avarìa</u> tolleremo overo tollere faremo per li pagamenti dei fei e delli amescere de' console [...]</i> (Stat. Pis. cap 2, p.1099.27) (1318-21, pis.) 2 ‘Spesa in genere’ <i>[...] per sengniare le dette balle e rechatura la detta trama a magione n(ost)ra; montano in tutto le dette <u>avarie</u></i> (Doc. Fior. p. 783.10) (1299-1300, fior.)		
OVI	<i>avarìa</i> (10) <i>avarie</i> (15) <i>averie</i> (3)	<i>Et iuriamo noi consuli, che nulla <u>avarìa</u> tolleremo overo tollere faremo per li pagamenti dei fei e delli amescere de' console [...]</i> (Stat. Pis. cap 2, p.1099.27) (1318-21, pis.) <i>vj d. tor. nela deta fiera, sì come mi rasegnò Cino, i q(ua)li sono p(er) <u>avarie</u> fatto [sic] in eso chordovano</i> (Doc. sen., 291.3) (1279, sen.) <i>[...] tra di nolo e tutte altre <u>averie</u> infino condotte all’Aguamorta</i> (Pegolotti Pratica 233.14) (c1335-43, fior.)		
AD	<i>avarìa</i> (2)	<i>[...] a uno partito dove mi fate debitore di f.49 s.0 d. 3 per <u>avarìa</u> di fustani</i> (Milano-Pisa 103381 B531/27, 85.8) (1385)		
LEI	X			
DEI	sub avarìa (n.) 376b	‘deteriamente di nave, merce’ [passato nel XVI sec. in Francia come <i>avarie</i> e nella Spagna come <i>averia</i> , <i>haberia</i> , dall’ar. <i>awār</i> ‘danno’. Cf. genov. <i>avària</i> e ven. <i>varèa</i>] <i>avarìa</i> (16 th c.)		
AND	X			
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub avarie (n.) (1)	‘Frais engagés pour réparer les pertes ou dommages subis par le navire ou la cargaison lors du voyage’ <i>avarie</i> (Bordeaux) (1498)		
GDC	sub avarie (n.) (1)	‘Dommage arrive à un bâtiment ou aux marchandises dont il est chargé’ <i>ouques les <u>avaries</u></i> (A, Gironde, Not. Guih. Payron.419-1) (1517)		
TL	Ø			
TLFi	sub avarie (n.)	‘Dommage, perte ou dépense extraordinaire survenant au cours d’une expédition maritime et touchant le navire ou la cargaison’ [Empr. au génois] <i>Et sachies que celui [aver] qui est geté ne doit estre conté fors tant com il cousta o toutes ses <u>avaries</u></i> (Ph, de Novarre, Assises de Jérusalem) (c1200) <i>Et a esté apointé que le dit marchant paiera par dela pour toutes <u>avaries</u></i> [...] (Arch. dép. Bordeaux) (1498)		
FEW	XIX, 12b: awariya	‘répartition du dommage subi en jetant les marchandises d’un navire menace du naufrage’ OF <i>avaries</i> (c1200)		

		<p>‘sorte de droit à payer pour les marchandises transportée sur mer’ MF <i>avaries</i> (1498) / <i>avaris</i> (Cotgrave, 1611)</p> <p>[Ar. <i>awariya</i> ist eine jüngere ableitung aus <i>awar</i> ‘fehler, mangel’ und dieses aus <i>awwar</i> ‘beschädigen, verderben’. Das wort ist über die mittelalterlichen seehandelswege seit dem 12 jh. ins kat. und it. (gen. <i>avàia</i>, venez <i>varèa</i>, afflorent. <i>avaria</i> [...] eingewandert, in der folge weit über den mittelmeerraum hinaus ausgestrahlt und zum internationalen ausdruck der handelssprache geworden]</p>
MED	X	
OED2	sub average ² (n.) (20+)	<p>I 1. ‘Maritime use: a duty, tax, or impost charged upon goods; a customs duty or the like’ <i>And ouer that alle maner of grauntis..of youre custumes or subsidyes or <u>auerage</u>..be voyd and in none effecte</i> (R. Arnold Chron. f.lxix/1) (1451)</p> <p>2. ‘Any charge or expense over and above the freight incurred in the shipment of goods, and payable by their owner’ <i>And ouer that to pai or doo pay all maner <u>auerays</u> aswel for Burdeux as for thamys</i> (R. Arnold Chron. f.xlv/1) (1491)</p> <p>3. ‘The expense or loss to owners, arising from damage at sea to the ship or cargo’ [<i>Avaris</i>, decay of wares, or merchandise; leakage of wines; also, the charges of the cariage, or measuring thereof. (R. Cotgrave, Dict. of French and Eng. Tongues) (1611)]</p> <p><i>To defray the charges of <u>averige</u>: for it will not be alwaies faire weather.</i> (J. Mabbe tr. M. Alemán Rogue ii. 127) (1622)</p> <p>[The earliest instances occur in connection with the maritime trade of the Mediterranean; but the derivation is uncertain]</p>
DMLBS	Ø	
DC	sub avaria (1)	<p>‘Jactus mercium qui navis levandæ causa fit simulque jacturæ computatio. Ital. <i>Avaria</i>, Gall. <i>Avarie</i>’ <i>Quotiescumque patronus, magister seu præfectus navigii, aut alius ad quem de jure pectet, petierit fieri calculum de jactu seu <u>Avaria</u> contra mercatores seu dominos bonorum in navi oneratorum [...]</i> (Stat. Genuens. lib. 1. cap. 11) (13th c.)</p>
Additional sources		
ME-matrix		
CA (1450)	<p><i>avery</i> (1)</p> <p><i>averia</i> (1)</p>	<p><i>Item for the <u>avery</u> of the galley or schippe the which ys to saye þat every marchaunt shalt bere his parte after the rate of his marchauntyse for all manner of costes done upon þe galleys or schippe for cause of emmenys to the salavation of the godys</i> (111)</p> <p><i>Item pur <u>averia</u> pur consely de mare pur le dyd 466 pokes pur lb.12367</i> (12f) (Both: Cantelowe Accounts) (1450)</p>
Latin-matrix		
Genoese statutes (c1100-50)	<p><i>avarias</i> (1)</p> <p><i>avarie</i> (1)</p> <p><i>warie</i> (1)</p>	<p>‘danno avvenuto alla nave per il getto di cose in mare per la commune salvezza’ <i>iactum facere vel <u>avarias</u> seu expensas facere....possit fieri llud iactum et ille <u>avarie</u>, sive expediri possint fieri et illud iactum sive <u>warie</u> ille debeant emendari per slidum et libram de ere quod in ipsa navi vel lingo erit</i> (Statuti di Pera, Genova) (Vidos 1939: 220) (c1100-50)</p>

Comments
Attestation Type 3b / Semantic Field: financial

John Balmayn's use of *avery* in the Cantelowe Accounts from 1450-51 offers a valuable addition to the history of the ME maritime tax, *average*, of which the OED2 states: "Few words have received more etymological investigation". The overall conclusion is that the lexeme results from a combination of influences and that the ultimate etymon is unclear.⁴ An intermediary form (CF *avarie* or Italian *avarìa*) is thought to have entered ME lexis to be remodelled along the lines of other taxes such as *lodemanage* or *primage*. Hence we have two ME attestations from the fifteenth century (although, they are, frustratingly, 'the wrong way round'): *auerage* (1451) and *auerays* (1491), both from Richard Arnold's *Chronicle*, also known as the *Customs of London*.⁵

In CF, *avarie* (categorised as a Genoese loanword from *avarìa* by the TLFi and Vidos 1939: 218) appears once in Phillipe de Navarre's crusade writings, c1200, and then three hundred years later in a commercial document from Bordeaux. Vidos discusses the loanword at length (1939: 218-24), in particular its semantic development from 'damage' to 'financial damage (incurred when merchandise was thrown from the ship during a storm)' to 'a tax paid to compensate for such damage'.

It is not impossible that Balmayn's variant of the tax name represents an unattested AN **averie* and we know that other maritime lexis probably passed from Genoese into CF and then into AN (e.g. **calfater**, **poupe**, cf. Trotter 2011d: 170). However, direct Italian input seems much more likely in this case. The scribe's use of both *avery* in a ME-matrix entry and *averia* in the Italian-matrix entry are most likely derived from the Tuscan variation, *averia* (rather than the Genoese as in CF) e.g.: *E dè dare, dè 15 d'ottobre, pagò per noi Cornachino a Marsilia per lo danaro dell'alla et per ostellagio et altre averie minute* (TLIO sub **avarìa**, Doc. fior, p.120.13, att. 1311-13). It is also worth noting that Balmayn goes to the trouble of detailing what this tax actually means in his account entry (see 111, above), hinting that this is relatively new piece of terminology for him or his master, William Cantelowe, back home in England.

This tax is not to be confused with TLFi **avanie** / GDC **avanie**: 'Vexations que les Turcs du Levant faisaient subir notamment aux chrétiens pour leur confisquer de l'argent'. This term passed from Arabic *hawān* ('treachery')⁶ into CF via Italian *avana* (DEI sub **avanìa**, p.375b) where it has one isolated attestation in 1287, before reappearing in the sixteenth century. Later, it also entered English: OED2 sub **aveny** (att 1676) / **avanìa** (att. 1680) as 'extortionate tax levied by the Turks'. It is impossible to tell if *avarria* and *avarìa* in the latter OED entry (att. 1701 and 1751, respectively) are simply variants of *avana* or the products of some sort of semantic and lexical overlap with French *avarie* / Italian *avarìa*.

⁴ Note that while the FEW proposes an Arabic etymon, the TLIO suggests Byzantine Greek *abaria* ('defamation').

⁵ The author, who died c1521, was an English merchant (most likely a haberdasher) and he copied most of his "extraordinary medley of information" directly from an earlier manuscript (Douce 1811: vi- vii).

⁶ Note that, according to the TLFi and OED2 entries, Greek *ἀβασία* may well have played a role as an intermediary in this tax name's propagation as well.

3. AN baldekin (n.) ‘a patterned silk of lampas weave brocaded with gold or silver thread, originally from Baghdad but then produced in Italy (especially in Lucca) from the 1300s’ < It. <i>baldacchino</i> < It. <i>Baldacco</i> / a < Ar. <i>bagdadi</i> (‘Baghdad’)				
Italian c1290-present	Anglo-Norman 1338-1444	Continental French c1200-present	(Middle) English c1300-1878	Medieval Latin 1218-1494
TLIO	sub baldacchino (n.) (9) sub baldacchinato (n.) (1)	‘Drappo prezioso, di seta o di altro tessuto pregiato’ [< Ar. <i>bagdadi</i>] <i>de margarite e perle sirà la vesta ornata, la zambra apparecchiata de drappi e baldacchino...</i> (Jacopone (ed. Ageno), 65.168, pag. 271) (XIII ui.di., tod.) ‘Drappo prezioso di seta’ <i>nelle pene pecuniarie poste a testori et testrici che contrafacessero al capitolo de baldachinati et dell’altre drapparie rilevate</i> (Stat. lucch, L4 cap 37, p.150.5) (1376, lucch.)		
OVI	<i>baldacchino</i> (2) <i>baldachino</i> (8) <i>baldachini</i> (11) <i>baldacchini</i> (5)	<i>de margarite e perle sirà la vesta ornata, la zambra apparecchiata de drappi e baldacchino...</i> (Jacopone (ed. Ageno), 65.168, pag. 271) (XIII ui.di., tod.) <i>Et ogni pessa di baldachino in più sete riflesso et partito di libra una once III</i> (Stat. lucch. LIV, cap.83, 196.14) (1376, lucch.) <i>Qui baldachini, e lle banche d’intorno, Tutte covert di perle tessute, Guanciali per tutto di sciamiti</i> (Fr, da Barberino, Regg. Pt.5, cap.7, v.21, 127.20) (1318-20, tosc.) <i>Baldacchini coll’aquila a once 11, denari 8. Baldachini cogli angioli a once 11, denari 7¼.</i> (Pegolotti Pratica 289.33) (c1335-1343, fior.)		
LEI	X			
DEI	sub baldacchino (n.) 412b	‘ricco drappo quasi sempre di seta. usato dall’XI sec., fabbricato dal XIV anche in occidente [Da <i>baldacco</i> forma it., per es. a Lucca; di <i>Bagdād</i> , nome d’una città sul Tigri, per indicare la provenienza] cf. Lat. medioev. <i>baldakinus</i> (XIII sec.) <i>baldacchino</i> (14 th c.)		
AND2	sub baldekin (n.) (10)	1. ‘baldachin, (piece of) rich brocade’ <i>2 panni de baudekyn</i> (Durham Rolls 199) (1338) / [...] <i>facez liverer quatre draps de baldekyns de Luke</i> (PRO E101/395/2) (c1370) 2. ‘baldachin canopy’ <i>les Fipportes porterount une baudekyn de drape d’ore sour quater bastounes amount luy devers mesme l’abbaye</i> (Anon Chr.109.2) (1388-92)		
AND corpus	<i>baldekyns</i> (1) sub champ <i>baldekyns</i> (1) sub offrir <i>baudekyn</i> (1) sub glauc <i>baudekyn</i> (1) sub lavendre <i>vertbaudekyn</i> (1) sub bordure ¹	<i>troys baldekyns d’or de Cipre camp rouge</i> (Gaunt ² i 110) (1373-83) <i>a François Crist ofre pur deux baldekyns estroitiz d’outremer palez de soy blanc et bloy</i> (Gaunt ² i 110 (1373-83) <i>Item, I Lite de soy baudekyn, blanc vert & glauc pale</i> (Rot Parl ¹ iv 230) <i>Item, .xij. orelers de lavendre de divers drapz, de velvet, baudekyn, satyn, et auteres divers colours de soy, pris de toutz .xx. s.</i> (Rot Parl ¹ iv 239) <i>i autre pane de blanket, les bordures de vertbaudekyn</i> (Rot Parl ¹ iv 233) (All 1413-37)		

		(<i>Baudekyn</i> is also found in citations in the following entries: sub alaute / apparail / atacher / bukasin / chaerecloth / cussincloth / faucon / genest / gisine / gros ¹ / huet / martre ¹)
LCC	sub baldachin (9) (3=AND, 3=MED, 3=DMLBS, 2=LEXP)	‘Rich, silken textile. Typically used to refer to a textile of mixed silk and gold or silver thread (often made with gilded membrane filé thread) which could be embroidered or brocaded’ [OF <i>baudaquin</i> and ML <i>baldakinus</i> . Popular etymology suggests that the word derives from <i>Baldacco</i> , It. for Baghdad (Ar. <i>Baghdadi</i>)] <i>facez liverer quatre draps de <u>baldekyns</u> de Luke (= from Lucca) ... deux pieces de drap de soy contenantz sys draps <u>baldeskyns</u> double ... deux draps de soy d’Outremer <u>baldekyns</u> pur lour ent faire paltoks</i> (PRO E101/395/, 23-28) (c1370).
DEAF	X	
DMF	sub baudequin ¹ (n.) (7) sub baldaquin (n.) (1)	‘Riche tissu de soie (de Bagdad, oriental)’ <i>A Bernart Bellenati, pour III <u>baudequins</u>, des larges qui font VI des estroiz, touz dune couleur</i> (Compte Navaree I.P, 180) (1367-71) ‘Dais soutenu par des colonnes et garni de tentures qui couronnent l’autel dans les églises’ <i>un <u>baldaquin</u> vermeil, brochié d’or de Lucques, que MdS a semblablement donné à l’église de Saint Pierre de Gand</i> (Comptes Lille L. t.1, 180) (1420-21)
GDF	sub baudequin (n.) (10)	‘riche drap de soie’ <i>Et lorain et les couvertures, Qui estoient d’un <u>baudesquin</u></i> (<i>Huon de Mery, Le Tornoient de l’Antechrist</i> p.21) (c1235)
GDC	sub baldaquin (n.) (4)	1. ‘éttoffe de soie de Bagdad, riche drap de soie, servant partic. à faire des tentures’ <i>Tuit li drap de moison doivent ester ordi de xxx aunes a <u>waudequin</u></i> (Regl. p. les drap. de Chal-s-M) (1243) / <i>Ung chasuble de racamas d’or a champ violet, double de toile asuree, estolle et fanon de <u>waudequin</u></i> (Inv. du trés du S. Sepulcre de Paris, 303, Mém. Soc. hist. Paris, IX, 278) (1374) 2. ‘Dais garni de tentures’ <i>Emblarent les reliques des engliezes, calyxes, inchensiers et livres, <u>baldekins</u>, vestmens et aournemens</i> (J. d’Outrem, Myreur des histoires, V, 29) (c1380)
TLFi	sub baldaquin (n.)	‘Dais garni de tentures élevé au-dessus d’un lit, d’un catafalque, d’un trône, etc’ [au sens de « riche drap de soie » dans le lat. médiév. <i>baldekinus</i> (domaine ital.) e 1197] <i>baldaquin</i> (Dehaisnes, Hist. de l’art en Flandre, 377) (1352)
FEW	XIX 18a: Bagdad	‘riche drap de soie’ ML <i>baldekinus</i> (1197) OF / MF <i>baldekin</i> (Eneas) (c1200,) / <i>baudequin</i> (c1200) / <i>waudequin</i> (1243, Champagne) / <i>vaudequin</i> (1374, Paris) / Occ. <i>baldaqui</i> (1380) ‘dais soutenu par des colonnes et garni de tentures qui couronnent l’autel dans les églises ou sous lequel marche le prêtre dans les processions’ MF / Fr. <i>baldaquin</i> (Dehaisnes, Hist. de l’art en Flandre, 377 /643) (1352 / 1386) / <i>baldequin</i> (c.1380 / c1590), <i>baldachin</i> (Cotgrave) (1611) [Im 12 jh. wurde einer davon, der aus lauter seide gefertigt und mit eingewobenen zeichnungen verziert war, nach dem namen der stadt bennant, der in Italien <i>Baldacco</i> lautete, so mlt. <i>baldekinus</i> (1197) [...] Aus dem fr. übernommen e. <i>baudekin</i> , <i>bawdikin</i> , entlehnt mndl. <i>baudekijn</i> . Parallel zu afr.

		<i>baudequin</i> hat das it. <i>baldachinno</i> gebildet.]
MED	sub baudekin ¹ (n.) (20)	‘Oriental cloth woven of silk, shot through with gold (or silver) thread, or brocaded; brocade, / a rug or drape of this cloth’ [OF <i>baudequin</i> / ML <i>baldakinus</i>] <i>A riche cheier was vndon..A baudekin þer on was spred</i> (Horn Child Auch 331) (c1330)
OED2	sub baudekin / baudkin (n.) (12) sub baldachin (n.) (8)	‘A rich embroidered stuff, originally made with warp of gold thread and woof of silk; <i>later</i> , with wider application, rich brocade, rich shot silk’ [< OF <i>baudekin</i> , - <i>quin</i> < ML <i>baldakinus</i> , - <i>ekinus</i> (= It. <i>baldacchino</i>) < <i>Baldacco</i> , It. form of <i>Bagdad</i>] <i>He dude his temple al by-honge With bawdekyn, brod and longe.</i> (K.Alis, 759) (c1300) ⁷ 1. ‘A rich embroidered stuff, originally woven with woof of silk and warp of gold thread; rich brocade.’ [< Fr. <i>baldaquin</i> , Sp. <i>baldaquin</i> , It. <i>baldacchino</i> , in ML <i>baldakinus</i> , - <i>ekinus</i> , <i>baudaquinus</i> , - <i>ekinus</i> , < <i>Baldacco</i> , It. form of <i>Bagdad</i>] <i>They weare Iackets..of buckeram, skarlet, or Baldakines</i> (R. Hakluyt tr. Vincent of Beauvais in Princ. Navigations I. 54) (1598) 2. ‘A structure in the form of a canopy, either supported on columns, suspended from the roof, or projecting from the wall, placed above an altar, throne, or door-way; so called as having been originally of the material described in prec. sense’ [It. form <i>baldacchino</i>] <i>The room..having a state or balduquino of crimson velvet.</i> (J. Evelyn Mem. (1857) I. 110) (1698)
DMLBS	sub baldekinus (9) (177b)	1. ‘baldachin (cloth of Bagdad) [OF <i>baudequin</i> < <i>Baldac</i> cf. Ar, <i>Baghdadi</i>] <i>pro uno baldekino duplici liberato</i> (Cl 384b) (1218) / <i>viginti baudekina ad aurum</i> (Cl. 261) (1244) 2. ‘canopy’ <i>fit unum baldachinum pro papa alum</i> (Conc. III 638b) (1494)
DC	sub baldakinus (10)	‘Pannus, omnium ditissimus, cuius utpote stamen ex filo auri subtemen ex serico tegitur, plumario opere intertextus, sic dictus quod <i>Baldacco</i> , seu Babylone in Perside, in Occidentales provincias deferretur’ <i>Dominus Rex veste deaurata facta de pretiosissimo Baldekino... sedens</i> (Matth. Paris) (1247)
Additional sources		
BML-matrix		
Great Wardrobe Accounts (1360- 1462)	<i>baldekyn</i> (s) (19) <i>baldek</i> ’ (9) <i>baudekyns</i> (1)	<i>baldekyns dout[re]mer</i> / <i>Baldekyns de Luk</i> (E361/41/4r) (1360-61) <i>Baldekyn aur’ d’out[re]m[er]</i> / <i>Baldekyns argent’</i> / <i>Baldekyns s[er]jici duppl’</i> <i>Baldekyn s[er]jici strict’</i> (E361/4/14r) (1365-66) <i>Baldekyns adaur’ de luk dupl</i> / <i>Baldekyns argent’ strict’</i> / <i>Baldekyn s[er]jici strict’</i> / <i>Baldekyns s[er]jici doutrem[er]</i> (E361/4/17r) (1370-71) <i>Baldek’ adaur’ de luk’ dupl’</i> / <i>Baldek’ s[er]jic’ dupl’ op[er]at’ c[um] auro de cipre’</i> / <i>Baldek’ s[er]jici strict’ op[er]at’ cu[m] auro de cipr’</i> / <i>Baldek s[er]jic[i] doutrem[er]</i> / <i>Baldek’ dupl’</i> / <i>Baldek’ s[er]jici strict’</i> (E361/4/26r) (1374-77) <i>Baldek’ adaur’ de cipr’</i> (E361/5/2r) (1379-81) <i>Pannis s[er]jici bald[e]k[y]ns</i> / <i>Bald[e]k[y]ns s[er]jici strict’ de damasc’</i> (E361/5/5r) (1390-92) <i>Pann’ Bald[e]k[y]ns s[er]jici</i> (E361/5/7r) (1394-98)

⁷ It is not clear why this earlier citation is not in the MED.

		<i>Pann' s[er]jici Bald[ekyns]</i> (E361/5/11r) (1399-1400) <i>Pann' s[er]jic[i] bald[ekyn]</i> (E361/6/1r)(1404-1405) <i>Balde[kyn] s[er]jici</i> (E361/6/4r) (1408-12) <i>Balde[kyn] s[er]jici</i> (E361/6/12r) (1413-17) <i>Balde[kyn] s[er]jici / Baldekyn adaur'</i> (E361/6/9r) (1420-22) <i>Baudekyn s[er]jici adaur'</i> (E361/6/19r) (1429-31) <i>Balde[kyn] adaur'</i> (E361/6/23r) (1434-35) <i>Balde[kyn] adaur'</i> (E361/6/37r) (1444-45) <i>Balde[kyn] adaur' luk' / Baldek' adaur' cipres</i> (E361/6/53r) (1461-62) (All Monnas 1989: 295-302)
AN-matrix		
VOH (1440-44)	<i>baldekyn(s)</i> (25) <i>baldekyn(n)e</i> (3) <i>bawdekyn(s)</i> (10) <i>bawdekynz</i> (4) <i>bawdekyne</i> (2) <i>baudekyn</i> (1)	<i>Item xxxviiij draps baldekyns dore de Luk</i> (VOH 16: 17) (E101/128/30 ret. 6, Sir William Estfield, host to Bertucci and Tommaso Contarini, merchants of Venice, transc.p. 21) (1440) <i>Item a mone seignour de Gloucestre xvij peces baldekyne broche dor pur Cvijli xiijs iijjd</i> (VOH 6: 75) (E101/128/31 ret. 54, Thomas Chalton, host to Lorenzo Marconuovo, Giovanni Maucci and Iacopo Trotti, merchants of Venice, trans. p. 143) (1441-42) <i>En la mois d'October xiiij pieces bawdekyns & j pece baudekyn</i> (VOH 34: 9) (E101/128/30 ret.14, Richard Rich, host to Felice da Fagnano, Alessandro Palastrello and Niccolò Micheli, merchants of Lucca, trans. p. 42) (1443-44)
Comments		
Attestation Type 2b / Semantic Field: textile		
<p>Baghdad was a centre of ornate cloth production for many centuries in the Middle Ages. The Italian name for the city - <i>Baldacco</i> - was adapted as a name for a particularly rich kind of silken brocade, first attested in 1197 in the ML of Italy as <i>baldikinus</i> (cf. the FEW and TLFi entries). This then appeared in vernacular texts in Italian (<i>baldacchino</i>, c1290)⁸ and CF (<i>baldekin / baudekin</i> in the Eneas, c1200). In the latter case, it is difficult to know if the <i>baldekin</i> variant is an Italianism or developed from the OF for Bagdad, <i>baldac / baudac</i>: the FEW claims the two forms evolved in parallel. The LCC entry sub baldachin points out that the lexeme is a prime example of an 'international borrowing' and a commodity so widely traded that its name was simultaneously absorbed by many languages (cf. Schendl and Wright 2011: 31 and Chapter 3.4i).</p> <p>In the thirteenth century, the silk retained its name although precise characteristics varied and production had also spread to Western Europe: to Italy, Cyprus and Damascus. The Royal Great Wardrobe accounts in England record nearly thirty purchases of <i>baldekin</i> from 1360 onwards and four main types are evident: <i>de Luk</i>, <i>de Damasc'</i>, <i>de Cyp'r</i> and <i>d'outramer</i> (i.e. from the Middle East, cf. camaca). <i>Baldekin</i> is by far the most widely attested luxury fabric in the AND corpus, and is found in mercantile and literary sources alike. Twenty citations contain <i>baudekyn</i> (the CF-derived form) seven, <i>baldekyn</i>, one, <i>baldeskyns</i> and one, <i>blawdekyn</i>. To this we can add the thirty vernacular <i>baldekyns</i> (AN and / or ME) in the BML-matrix Wardrobe accounts mentioned above, a source rich in Italian textile loanwords (e.g. attaby, ragamas, taffata) that entered England's commercial lexis in the 1300s. In the following century, the AN-matrix <i>Views of the Hosts</i>, another key loanword source (see, for example, belendin, legea, galiotⁱⁱ, taffata) has more examples of the vocalised <i>baldekin</i> lexeme (twenty-eight) than the non-vocalised <i>baudekin</i> (seventeen).</p> <p>Therefore, whilst AN /ME <i>baldekin</i> could also be derived from CF (although <i>baldequin</i> was actually the</p>		

⁸ Unusually, our earliest attestation comes from Todi, a city in Umbria in central Italy

lesser used form in France, based on the DMF and Godfroy entries), the non-vocalised ‘l’ spelling offers convincing proof of instances where an Italian (or Italian Middle Latin) etymon has influenced the writer (cf. Schendl and Wright 2011: 31). It is also important to draw attention to the lexeme *baldekino* in the BML Close Rolls of England as early as 1218 (cf. DMLBS sub **baldekinus**). However, we have no ME-matrix citations containing the *baldkin* spelling form and so no concrete evidence that it passed into ME; all twenty examples⁹ in the MED entry sub **baudekin** contain variations of the (originally) CF-based *baudekin* (e.g.. *bawdekyn*, *baudkyn*, *bawdakyn*, *baudekines* etc). We have to wait until 1598 to find unequivocally Italian *baldakines* in an English text (cf. OED2 sub **baldaquin**).

The extended meaning of *baldachino* - i.e. ‘a dias or canopy made of silk, usually over an altar or throne - also entered CF in 1352 (see the TLFi and FEW entries) and, around fifty years later, AN. Somewhat puzzlingly, whilst the single AN example is *baudekyn*, all examples of this second meaning in CF use the non-vocalised ‘l’ variant (*baldequin* / *baldaquin*). This is a form which remains in the modern language today, principally in the compound *lit à baldaquin* (‘four-poster bed’). As the DEI sub **baldacchino** entry states: “mentre l’a. fr. baudequin (XIV sec.) è di sviluppo popolare, il fr. mod. baldaquin è probabilmene un prestito italiano”. The same Italian loanword also passed into modern English as *baldaquin* in 1698 (see OED2 sub **baldaquin**).

⁹ There is one example of *baldkyn* in the MED entry but this is in a BML-matrix will from York in 1455: *ij auterclothes de albo baldkyn*.

4. AN balet (n.) ‘a small bale of merchandise (usually fabric, wool or dyestuffs), wrapped up for sale and shipping’ < It. <i>balletta</i> < <i>balla</i> < Lat. * <i>bal(l)</i> - / * <i>pall</i> - (‘a round-shaped form’)				
Italian 1277-c1760	Anglo-Norman c1427- c1436	Continental French c1347-1354	(Middle) English 1453-1540	Medieval Latin 1440-1461
TLIO	sub balletta (n.) (3)	‘piccola balla’ <i>et per passagio di due ballette di panni che ne rechò da Pisa che pesaro dusiento quaranta libre</i> (Doc. sen, 303.37) (1277-82, sen.)		
OVI	<i>ballette</i> (15)	<i>et per passagio di due ballette di panni che ne rechò da Pisa che pesaro dusiento quaranta libre</i> (Doc. sen, 303.37) (1277-82, sen.)		
AD	sub balletta (18)	<i>e la resta fino a 988 dieno essere a Pisa, cioè III.o ballette</i> (Avignone-Pisa 301166 B427) (1386, tosc.)		
LEI	sub bal(l) -	Derivati: it. <i>balletta</i> f. ‘piccola balla’ <i>ballette (e tele)</i> (1289, prat.), <i>ballette (di panni)</i> (1385, pis.), <i>balletta (d’aloe)</i> (1391), <i>ballette</i> (1419, venez), <i>balletta</i> (1569, lucch.) <i>ballette</i> (1760-1, venez.)		
DEI	sub balletta I 416	‘piccola balla di mercanzia’ <i>balletta</i> (13 th -16 th c.), <i>balletto</i> (14th c.)		
AND2	sub balet (n.) (2)	‘small bale’ <i>vij balet, j fardelet de cere / j balet de woad</i> (Port Bks 31 / 77) (1427-30)		
AND corpus	<i>balet</i> (1) sub ailespatik <i>balet</i> (1) sub grain ¹ <i>balet</i> (1) sub niger <i>balet</i> (1) sub ploume <i>balet</i> (1) sub garbelure	<i>j balet de aylespatik, valor ix.li.</i> (Port Bks 114) (1427-30) <i>j balet de greine pour drap</i> (Port Bks 42) (1427-30) <i>iiij. balet de paper negre, contenu xl remes</i> (Port Bks 78) (1427-30) <i>v balet de ploumes sekes</i> (Port Bks 47) (1427-30) <i>iii balet de garbelure de peper</i> (Local Port Bk 94) (1435-6)		
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub ballette (n.) (1) sub ballet (n.) (1?)	‘ballot, paquet de marchandises’ <i>2 petites baletes d'alun et 2 baletes de garance</i> (Doc.Rouen) (1354) ‘ballot, synonym. <i>ballette</i> , cf. AND <i>balet</i> ’ ‘Peut-être placer ici <i>Mettre ballet en pasture</i> , Gilles le Muisit, Poésies K t.2 c1347-1353 (TL, I, 817)’		
GDF	sub balete (n.) (1)	‘ballot, paquet de marchandises’ <i>2 petites baletes d'alun et 2 baletes de garance</i> (Acte de 1354, Arch. mun, Rouen, DD.f.60)		
TL	sub balet (n.) (1?)	‘?’ <i>Or en macent [conj. = mettent] ballet li parlant en pasture</i> (GMuis. II 190)		
TLFi	Ø			

FEW	XV -1, 42a: *balla ¹	'paquet de marchandises' [apr. <i>baleta</i>] <i>balete</i> (1354)
MED	sub balet (n.) (1)	'a small bale or package' <i>Greynes, I balet, y^e C xijd... Woode, y^e balett ijd</i> (Heath Grocers) (1453)
OED2	sub balet(te) (n.) (2)	'a small bale' <i>Greynes, I balet, y^e C xijd... Woode, y^e balett ijd.</i> (Some Acct. Worshipful Company of Grocers, 421) (1453)
DMLBS	sub baletta (3) (177c)	'small bale' [cf. <i>bala</i>] <i>pro. iij balett' panni continentibus xxj pannos</i> (Port Bk. Southampton. 84) (1440)
DC	∅	
Additional sources		
Italian-matrix		
Datini letter (1395)	<i>baletto</i> (1)	<i>e son meso in uno baletto segnato cosi NV</i> (Florentine in Bruges, Arch. Dat. Cart. Barcelona 9)(Edler 1934: 39) (1395, fior.)
Medici letter (1454)	<i>balletta</i> (1)	<i>e insieme con alter mie chosette ne feci j^a balletta e la mandai a Bologna</i> (Florentine in Bruges, Medici Correspondance) (Edler 1934: 39) (1454, fior.)
Comments		
Attestation type 2b / Semantic field: containers /bundles		
<p>The diminutive of the mercantile 'bale' seems widespread in medieval Italy and continues to occur in Venetian until the eighteenth century. Italians also had an augmentative term, <i>ballone</i> (see, for example, Edler 1934: 39). <i>Ballette</i> is (perhaps surprisingly) very rare in the CF record, with only two citations from the mid-1300s. The FEW and Godefroy both cite an uncontroversial example from the <i>Actes de Rouen</i> of 1354, referring to madder and alum. The FEW's suggested etymon in this case is Occitan but there is no reason why Italian trade lexis could not be an equally viable option as a source. The TL offers us a more opaque example - with no gloss - of the construction <i>Mettre ballet en pasture</i> from a poem by Gilles le Muisit. The verse in full is: "<i>Comment osteriens nous nos habits, no viesture, Quant nous l'une pour l'autre mettons en chou grant cure? Toutes savommes bien que moult on en murmure; Or en macent ballet li parlant en pasture.</i>" More recently, the DMF has suggested that this form of <i>ballet</i> (not to be confused with DMF sub balet, 'galerie couverte par un toit en saillie, petit auvent' < *<i>balacon</i>) may also mean 'small bale'.</p> <p>In England, based on the extant evidence, we can make a strong argument for an Italian influence on the brief appearance of AN <i>balet</i> which is found in the AN <i>Port Books of Southampton</i> of 1427. As we saw in Chapter 2.5, Southampton played a key role in Anglo-Italian trade in the 1300s and 1400s and its city records contain numerous instances of Italian lexical borrowings (see belendin, carrack, cassel, casset, comyt, confection, cotegnate, fangot, Malik, maykyn, patron, ris, sarme, sport(in), (suchre) candi). The BML <i>Port Books</i> (1440) also contain <i>baletta</i> and it is difficult to pinpoint if the borrowing is an Anglo-Normanism or a 'direct' Italianism in this case. In English, <i>balet</i> first appears in 1453 in the ME administration of the Worshipful Company of Grocers, a company partly managed by Italians (Bradley 2012: xxi) and whose AN and ME records contain several Italianisms (see belendin, celestrin, columbin, cot, garbeler, maykyn, net, tare).</p>		

5. AN belendin (adj.) ‘(ginger) of high quality, from the Indian west coast’ < It. <i>belledi</i> < Ar. <i>beled</i> (‘country’)				
Italian c1332-1556	Anglo-Norman 14 th c.-c1463	Continental French X	(Middle) English c1460-a1475	Medieval Latin 1440
TLIO	sub belledi (n. / adj.) (4)	‘Di una varietà di zenzero comune : indigeno della costa occidentale dell’India’ [Ar. <i>beled</i> ‘paese’] <i>Il cafisso colmo di giengiovo belledi garbellato pesa occhie 12 e ¼</i> (Pegolotti, Practica 360.27) (c1335-1343, fior.) <i>gharofani, chanibie 1 ; altra 2 ; giengiovo belledi, pd. 4 ; michini, pd.2</i> (Doc. Prat. 324) (1371, fior.)		
ОВI	<i>Boliedi</i> (1) <i>belledi</i> (5)	<i>Zenzavo columbino, paghi chi vende per sensaria [...] Zenzavo di Boliedi, paghi che vende per sensaria, per centonaio sol. quattro</i> (Stat. pis Agg, Cap 1 591.27) (1322, pis.) <i>Giengiovo belledi, chi vende soldi 4 per centinaio. Giengiovo colombino, chi vende soldi 4 per centinaio</i> (Pegolotti, Practica 206.15) (c1335-1343, fior.)		
DA	<i>belleri</i> (1) <i>beledi</i> (6) <i>belladino</i> (1)	<i>Gieng. colombi(no) 60; Belleri 62; Mecchini 35/36</i> (Documento del 15.09.1385, 406.4) (1385) <i>Pepe lb. 8s. 5 rubo, bele(di) lb.80, colonbini 70, michini 45 cento</i> (Milano-Genova B780/28 112550 166.25) (1394) <i>zenzovo belladino lb. 70, zenzovo michino lb. 30, canella bona lb. 52</i> (Milano-Genova B780/10 416391 499.41) (1398)		
LEI	X			
DEI	Ø			
AND2	sub belendin (adj.) (4)	‘a type of ginger’ <i>pernet une libre de gynger belentyn</i> (Pop Med 34) (14 th c.) ¹⁰ <i>toutz le gynger, belendyn, columbyn et maykyn serra rubbé en un canevas sak</i> (Grocers 111) (1414) <i>iiij. bales de gyngybre qui furent .ij. de gyngibre mekyn et .ij. de [gyngibre] belendyn</i> (Port Bks 50) (1427-30)		
DEAF	X			
DMF	X			
GDF	Ø			
TL	Ø			
TLFi	Ø			
FEW	Ø			
MED	sub gingivere (1)	b. ‘-valadyne. Kind of ginger’ [?cp. Med It. <i>giengiovo belledi</i>] <i>Good gynger colombyne is best to drynke and ete; Gynger valadyne & maydelyn ar not so holsom in mete</i> (Russell Bk. Nurt 131-2) (a1475)		
OED2	sub ginger (1)	[ginger <i>colombyne</i> , ginger from Quilon (Latin <i>Columbum</i>); ginger <i>valadyne</i> and ginger <i>maydelyn</i> , mentioned in the same quot., have not been identified] <i>Good gynger colombyne is best to drynke and ete; Gynger valadyne &</i>		

¹⁰ While this source is named *Popular Medicine in Thirteenth Century England*, the citation containing *beletyn* is found in a fourteenth-century medical receipt written by John of Greenborough (Hunt, T. 1990: 33-34).

		<i>maydelyn ar not so holsom in mete</i> (J. Russell Bk. Nurture 537) (c1460)
DMLBS	∅	
DC	∅	
Additional sources		
Italian-matrix		
Berengo letters (1555)	<i>belledi</i> (20+)	<i>¼ piper, ¼ belledi per cantter de barbarescho et uno pocho de mosttra a canttera 15 de ditte spezie per cantter</i> (Berengo Letters, 66) (Tucci 1957: 75) (1555, venez.)
AN-matrix		
VOH (1442-43)	<i>belendyne</i> (4)	<i>Item vient de Sandewych de lez galeys venantz de Flaundres pour le patrone Barbe esteant loggez en le dit hostelle de gynger belendyne vij balles</i> (VOH 47: 25, E101/128/30 r.10, Thomas Walsingham, host to Federico Corner and Carlo Contarini, merchants of Venice, transc. p. 35) (1442-43)
BML-matrix		
VOH (1440)	<i>belendyn</i> (1)	<i>Item Jeronimus Dandillo mercator de Venise[...] zinziber belendyn ad valenciam iiijxxxvijli vjs , sugre de j cote ad valenciam lxxvli xiijs iiijd</i> (VOH 13: 114) (E010/128/31 ret. 33, John Chichele, host to Genoese strangers, transc. p.115) (1440)
Comments		
Attestation Type 2a / Semantic Field: sugar / spice / sweetmeat		
<p>Ginger had been imported into Britain from Roman times but was prohibitively expensive for all but a small elite. It became the second most imported spice after pepper in the Middle Ages (Munro 1983).¹¹ Italian maritime cities - Venice and Genoa in particular - made vast profits through its export to Western Europe, exploiting their trade links with the Middle East after the First Crusade in 1099 (Johnston 2011: 672). Pegolotti described three grades of ginger in his famous merchant handbook from the fourteenth century, with Indian <i>belledi</i> being superior to Indian <i>columbino</i> and <i>micchino</i> from Mecca (OVI Pegolotti, Practica 360.27-32). In his edition of the sixteenth-century <i>Lettres d'un marchand vénitien</i>, Tucci (1957: 350) glosses <i>beledi</i> as: “Gingembre des Indes d’excellente quality. Selon Heyd [...], le <i>beledi</i> est le gingembre de plaine et fait dériver son nom du mot arable <i>beled</i> (pays) attribué au produit indigène par les Musulmans établis aux Indes, afin de le distinguer de ceux de provenance étrangère.”</p> <p>Unlike columbin and maykyn ginger, we have no attestations of <i>belendyn</i> in the major CF dictionaries, meaning our only recorded French examples are insular ones. Along with <i>gigembre columbin</i>, it seems there should be a reference to <i>gig. baladit</i> hidden amongst the <i>Comptes de l’Argenterie des Rois de France</i> from 1359-60 which is not currently shown in the DMF entry. These formed part of the expenses incurred by Jean II (‘le Bon’) of France whilst he was held for ransom in England by Edward III, after the Battle of Poitiers (cf. (Yule and Cordier 2014: 1383).</p> <p>The earliest citation is found in an AN medical receipt from the 1300s, unsurprisingly, as ginger, like other spices, was a widely used medicinal ingredient before it became a culinary one. The spice, bought in root form in London, next appears in the Duchess of Norfolk’s accounts in 1394 and then alongside other ginger types in</p>		

¹¹ See ‘The Consumption of Spices and Their Costs in Late-Medieval and Early-Modern Europe: Luxuries or Necessities?’ published online at <https://www.economics.utoronto.ca/wwwfiles/archives/munro5/SPICES1.htm> (accessed 20/04/2016).

the Port Books of Southampton and the Company of Grocers' inventory. As with **maykyn**, we have a more unusual variant of belendin - *valadyne* - in the mid-fifteenth-century *Book of Nurture* by John Russell, although in this case, the lexeme is more recognisable and shows an unexceptional bilabial to labio-dental shift. The MED suggestion of an Italian etymon is reinforced by the presence of *gynger belendyne* around two decades earlier in three accounts (No. 46 /47 in AN and No. 13 in BML) submitted by Thomas Walsingham and John Chicele for their Venetian and Genoese merchants, as edited in the *Views of the Hosts*. There is no mention of *columbin* or *mequin* ginger in any of the Views, although there are several recorded imports of *ginger / gyngever vert*.

6. AN bokeram (n.) ‘a fine linen fabric originally from Bukhara in modern-day Uzbekistan, which appears to become coarser and cheaper by the fourteenth century in England and France’ < It. <i>bucharame</i> < Pers. <i>Buhara</i>				
Italian c1240-c1400	Anglo-Norman c1170-c1425	Continental French a1150-present	(Middle) English 1340-19 th c.	Medieval Latin a1199-1430
TLIO	sub bucherame (n.)(15)	‘Tessuto ricamato molto prezioso’ [Etimologia incerta. da Buhara, città della Persia, attraverso il venez. <i>bucheràm</i> oppure dall’ar. <i>abuqalamun</i>] (e) anche uno <i>farsetina nuovo di bocheiraimo</i> (Doc. Sen p 411.9) (1266, sen.) <i>e di drappi di seta, cio è di zendadi, di bucherami di stamigne, di sale d’Irlande e d’altri drappi simiglianti</i> (Zuccherò Santà, P. 1, cap.15, p.109.12) (1310, fior.)		
OVI	<i>bucharame</i> (1) <i>bucherami</i> (25) <i>bucharani</i> (1) <i>bocaran</i> (2) <i>boccholano</i> (1)	<i>p(er) iij b e u(n) qu (e) meço di bucharame p(er) la maniera p(er) della gesta (e) p(er) j b. di çe(n)dado verd(e)</i> (Doc. prat 533. 9) (1275, prat.) <i>lbr. 15 a fior. per quindici pezze di bucherami ch’ebbe del fondacho</i> (Libro dell’Asse sesto 230.11) (1335, fior.) <i>Li bucharani e çanbelloti e fostani se vende a peça</i> (Zibaldone da Cana, 109.20) (1310-30, venez.) <i>una de cendao et altra de bocaran et pèra IJ de linçoli</i> (Doc. venez. 13.12) (1282, venez.) <i>p(er) una meçça peçça di boccholano lb. iij s. ij</i> (Doc pist. 202.6) (1300-01, pist.)		
LEI	X			
DEI	sub bucherame ¹ (n.) (624a)	‘stoffa trasparente molto pregiata nel Medio Evo’ Lat. <i>bocaranum</i> (a1199, Statuti di Asti) Lat. <i>coltra de abucherano</i> (a1219, Puglia) It. <i>bucherame</i> (13 th c.) [Passata a tutte le lingue neolat. occid (a.fr. <i>bouquerant</i>) e al m.a. ted. (<i>buckeram</i>) dal nome del luogo di provenienza, Buhara, città del Turkestan russo. La forma in <i>-ame</i> sembra far capo al ven. <i>bucheram</i> , giacché Venezia fu il centro del commercio di questa stoffa]		
AND2	sub bokeram (n.) (10)	1. ‘bokeram, fine Oriental material’ <i>Sin (= from distant land) soelent aporter pailles e bukeran</i> (Horn 3330) (c1170) 2. ‘buckram, coarse linen material’ <i>j. pece de bocrel, j. cote d’arme de bocram, j. gaunbeyson vermeil</i> (Cardiff Records 58) (1315-20) <i>Item pur iij verges et dimj de bokerham pur baners</i> (Mch Tayl Accs 4 Hen VI) (1425-26)		
LCC	sub buckram (n.) (16) (5=AND 2= MED 8=DMLBS 1= LexP)	‘originally fine linen or cotton fabric; used, in particular, for hose, linings, facings and soft furnishings in the late Middle Ages. In later medieval uses, buckram seems to be associated with rough linen used for soft furnishings’ [< OF <i>boquerant</i> < It. <i>bucherame</i> ? < <i>Bukhara</i> ?] <i>Sin (= from distant land) soelent aporter pailles e bukeran</i> (Horn 3330) (c1170) <i>En primis iv pec. de linnyn cloth ... pris iv li. xvjs. viijd. Item xviiiij pec. de bokeram ... pris iij li. Item viij bordclothis ... pris xxijs. viij d.</i> (LexP Bristol Custom Searches p. 50 n.38) (c1399-1413)		

DEAF	X	
DMF	sub bougran (n) (17)	‘Étoffe de lin, à date ancienne fine et précieuse, en provenance de Boukhara, devenue peu à peu plus grossière (employée surtout comme doublure)’ <i>tout estoit couvert de pris, De cendal, de vert et de gris, De palios, de bouquerant</i> (Renart contref. R>L> t.2, 66) (1328-32) <i>IX pièce de bougrains pour doubler les robbes de camelot</i> (Comptes roi René A. t.2, 82) (1478)
GDC	sub bougran (n) (21)	‘grosse toile apprêtés que les tailleurs emploient comme doublure intérieure de quelques parties d’un habit; anc. étoffe de toile plus fine que le bougran moderne’ <i>Tuit sont vestu de merveille boquerant</i> (Enfances Vivien, BN 368, f.176) (c1275-1300) <i>6 aulnes de rouge boucrant pour faire des manches et des huves a la fille X</i> (Cartul. de Bouvignes, I, 321) (1546)
TL	sub boquerant (n.) (15)	‘stoff zu Kleidern u. Decken, byssus, bogeran’ <i>Et fu moult bien vestus d’un vermeil bouherant</i> (Chans d’Antioche I 240) (a1150)
TLFi	sub bougran (n.)	A. ‘Étoffe aussi fine que la batiste et fabriquée en Orient’ <i>bouherant</i> (Chans d’Antioche I 240) (a1150) B. ‘Toile gommée que les tailleurs placent entre le drap et la doublure de certaines parties d’un vêtement pour en assurer le maintien’ <i>et le collet de son habit, ample, lourd et doublé de bougran</i> (Hugo, Le Rhin p 298) (1842)
FEW	XIX, 36a: buhara	‘sorte de toile’ OF <i>bouherant</i> (1190), <i>bouquerant</i> / <i>boukerant</i> (13 th c.), MF <i>bougran</i> (1379), <i>bogeran</i> / <i>bouqueran</i> (14 th c.) / Occ. <i>bocaran</i> (12 th c.) ‘grosse toile apprêtée employée surtout comme doublure, pour contenir les revers de l’habit etc’ MF <i>boucqueran</i> (a1409), <i>bourgeran</i> (1435), <i>bouherant</i> (1469), <i>bougarein</i> (1493), <i>bougrain</i> (1585) / Occ. <i>boqueran</i> (1462) ML <i>bocaranum</i> (1199) (Statuten von Asti) [Northern Italy] [Der im afr. <i>boquerant</i> genannte stoff wurde während des ganzen mittelalters aus Asien nach Europa importiert [...] Da der stoffhandel mit dem Orient über Venedig und Genua lief, ist es nicht wahrscheinlich, dass das it. wort aus dem fr. entlehnt ist]
MED	sub bokeram (n.) (14)	‘A fine costly cloth, apparently of linen or cotton (for curtains, bedspreads, banners, lining, etc.)’ [< OF <i>bo(u)querant</i> & It. <i>bucherame</i> < Bukhara] <i>Albæ viii de serico..alba una de bukeram, cum parura brodata.</i> (Reg. S. Osmund in RS 78.2, 132) (1222) <i>Pe queade riche þet zuo ofte ham ssredeþ ase of to zofte bougeren and of to moche of pris pourpre.</i> (Ayenbite 258) (1340)
OED2	sub buckram (n.) (6)	1. ‘A kind of linen or cotton fabric’ [Unknown ultimate etymon, cf. OF <i>bouquerant</i> , Prov. <i>bocaran</i> , Cat. <i>bocaram</i> Sp. <i>bucaran</i> , It. <i>bucherame</i> . As the English forms generally have <i>m</i> , while all the French forms have <i>n</i> , it is possible that the word may have been adopted into English not from French but from Italian] <i>[Alba una de bukeram, cum parura, brodata</i> (Ornamenta Eccl. Sarum in Reg. S. Osmund II 132) (1222)] <i>Pe queade riche þet zuo ofte ham ssredeþ ase of to zofte bougeren and of to moche of pris pourpre</i> (Ayenbite 258) (1340)

		2. ‘A kind of coarse linen or cloth stiffened with gum or paste’ <i>Fustiane, and canvase, Carde, <u>bokeram</u>, of olde tyme thus it wase</i> (T Wright Polit. Poems & Songs II 171) (1436)
DMLBS	sub bukaramus (7) (222c)	‘buckram - a piece of fine linen or cotton cloth, originally from Bukhara’ [OF <i>boquerant</i> , It. <i>bucherame</i>] <i>septem <u>bokerandas</u> ...et j pannum de burello</i> (Cl. 44b) (1225) / <i>j albam de <u>bokerammo</u></i> (Invent. Ch. Ch. 63) (1315)
DC	sub boquerannus (6) sub bokeram (1)	‘Telæ subtilis species, Gall. <i>Bougran</i> .’ <i>Aliae mulieres <u>Boqueranno</u> stricto sub cingulo multis plicis sumptuosis operato et insuto., vestiuntur</i> (Vincentius Belvac. lib.30, Spec. Hist. cap. 85) (c1260) [no gloss] <i>Pannum lineum....vel naperii, svie <u>Bokeram</u></i> (Rymer, tom.10, p.471, col.1) (1430)

Comments

Attestation Type 2b / Semantic Field: textile

It seems clear that the French names for this cloth were originally borrowed from Italian. Beyond this fact, there is some confusion surrounding this cloth type, both in terms of its ultimate etymology and its physical characteristics.¹² In British and CF records, the nature of *bokeram* had changed considerably by the end of the fourteenth century. The luxury, ‘exotic’ cloth described in the *Romance of Horn* by Thomas in 1160 was used for making banners by the Merchant Taylors by the 1420s. Newton (1980: 77) refers to the fanciful headpieces and masks - presumably short-lived, disposable items - specially made for the Christmas revels in the court of Edward III in 1348 using leather, linen and *bokeram*.

In France, the *chanson de geste*, *Les Enfances Vivien* (c1275-1300) described people as *Tuit sont vestu de merveille boquerant* but by the royal accounts of 1478, *bougrain* refers to (as it still does today) a cheaper, coarser linen, used for lining garments. Consequently, the DMF, TLFi, AND and the OED¹³ all split their entries into two separate meanings: the older, finer *bokeram* of Oriental origin and then (around the time the term entered ME), buckram, a stiffer, widely-used linen. Indeed the Anglicism *il buckram* would re-enter Italian textiles in the 1960s, meaning “tela grossolana a traliccio indurita per mezzo di collo o di amidi” (Schweickard 2000: 324).

In Britain therefore, the term is attested early in AN (in the mid-twelfth century), moving into BML in the 1220s and a ME-matrix text by 1340. The array of *-am* endings in the specifically insular forms (e.g. *bocrame*, *bokerame*, *bokerhum*, *bukeram*, *bokerham* in AN, *bokerammo*, *bokerammis*, *bugerami* in BML and *bokram* and *bukeram* in ME) certainly suggest direct influence of the Italian form *bucharama*.¹⁴

In Italy, we first find *abucharano* in a Latin document from Pisa in 1219 but the cloth had already appeared earlier

¹² For an in-depth discussion of different kinds of buckram, see Yule and Cordier 2014: 250-61.

¹³ In contrast, the TLIO only glosses the lexeme as a very expensive, embroidered fabric. It does seem, from the extant citations, that in Italy the cloth type remained relatively prestigious for longer than in France and England, until at least the 1500s.

¹⁴ The earliest attestation in a ME text (the confessional prose work, *Ayenbite of Inwyt*) bucks this trend as, obviously, *bougeren* seems to stem from CF *bougherant* / *bouquerant*. Note that this is also the only ME citation where the cloth type is still overtly an expensive, high-quality fabric, dyed purple in this case.

in the CF vernacular (*Chansons d'Antioche*, a1150), just as it had in insular French literature. In his article 'Zur Etymologie von it. bucherame' (in which AN is not mentioned), Schweickard (2000: 325) backs the FEW's assessment that despite the chronology, an Italian borrowing in French (rather than vice versa) must be assumed, given their role in the import of the cloth from the Orient. There are numerous records of *bucherami* in the OVI corpus from the 1250s onwards, including accounts and inventories, the Venetian commonplace book, *Zibaldone da Canal*, Pegolotti's handbook and Marco Polo's *Milione*.¹⁵ The last two sources both refer to the production of the cloth in Erzincan in what is now Turkey e.g. *La Grande Armenie è una grande provincia; e nel cominciamento è una città ch'è nome Arzinga, ove si fa lo migliore bucherame del mondo* (OVI Milione, cap.21, p. 28.15). But, as Heyd (1913: 1254) points out, *bucharami* were actually made over a vast area, including not just Persia but Cyprus, India and the ancient Ethiopian kingdom of Abyssinia. Traditionally, etymologists and the major dictionaries derive the name from the Uzbek city of Bukhara, but Cardano, joint editor of *Marco Polo*, is more cautious:

Le fonte orientali non ci sono d'aiuto nell'identificazione di questo tessuto; infatti anche se comunemente si fa derivare il nome del *bucherame* da quello della città di Buxārā [...] non risulta che a Buxārā si fabbricasse un tessuto particolare, tale da essere chiamato 'quello di Buxārā' per autonomasia. Maqdīsī [...] dice che da Buxārā venivano 'tessuti morbidi, tappet da preghiera, tessuti intrecciati per coprire i soffitti delle locande, lampade di rame, tessuti tabari ecc' [...] Tuttavia in nessuna delle fonti islamiche si accenna a un tessuto particolare, che corrisponda alle caratteristiche del *bucherame* nel XIII secolo (Bertolucci and Cardona 1975: 556)

Much more recently, Schweickard (2000: 329-30) examines the two other suggested possibilities for the origins of this cloth name: Ar. *Bukairān* (the name for the Valencian city now called Bocairente) and Ar. *abū qalamūn* (a highly expensive, shimmering fabric). However, he concludes that the city name of Bukhara remains by far the most convincing candidate.

¹⁵ Puzzlingly, Marco Polo refers once to *bucerein* as cheap cloth worn by Tibetan peasants: *Egli si vestono poveramente, ché lloro vestire si è di canavacc i e di pelle di bestie e di bucerain* (OVI Milione cap. 114 p. 178.4). This is at complete odds with his other depictions of the fabric (cf. Schweickard 2000: 324).

7. AN bukasin (n.) ‘Fine linen or cotton cloth used for linings and ecclesiastical decorations’ (CF <i>boucassin</i>) < It. <i>boccaccino</i> < Turk. <i>bōghāsī</i> (‘cotton cloth’)				
Italian	Anglo-Norman	Continental French	(Middle) English	Medieval Latin
1385-1513	1397-1423	1376-1534	(?1405) 1611-1755	1259-c1485
TLIO	sub boccaccino (n.) (3)	‘Tela finisissima di lino o cotone’ <i>e in capo una mellina di tela bianca di <u>boccaccino</u> e di bisso, e i loro vestimenti bianchi o di seta o di <u>boccaccino</u></i> (Lionardo Frescobladi, Viaggio 183.19) (1385, fior.)		
OVI	<i>boccaccino</i> (3) <i>boccaccini</i> (4)	<i>e in capo una mellina di tela bianca di <u>boccaccino</u> e di bisso, e i loro vestimenti bianchi o di seta o di <u>boccaccino</u></i> (Lionardo Frescobladi, Viaggio 183.19) (1385, fior.) <i>tutte le dette robe sono di drappi bianchi e di <u>boccaccini</u>, e veramente egli hanno <u>boccaccini</u> che sono a vedere delle belle cose del mondo</i> (Simone Sigoli, Viaggio 226.30) (1390, fior.)		
LEI	X			
DEI	sub boccaccino (n.) 545b	‘rozza tela, camiciotto di cotone’ [dal turco <i>bogasy</i> , specie di fustagno fabbricato specialm. in Asia Minore e usato in Europa anche nel XVIII sec.] ML <i>bocassinus</i> (a1259) , <i>bocacinum de Cipro</i> (1365, Roma) It. <i>boccascino</i> (14 th c.)		
AND2	sub bukasin (n.) (4)	‘bocasin, fine buckram’ <i>vestment de drap de <u>bokasyn</u> blanc rayez ovesqe orfreys et bordurez de rouge baudekyn</i> (Gloucester Inventory 292) (1397) <i>i. quishshon de <u>bokasyn</u> rouge</i> (Rot. Parl ¹ iv 239) (1423) <i>in carde, bukram et <u>bukasyn</u> / in panno colorato, sc. <u>bukesyn</u> et bleucard, 33 uln</i> (Durham 400 / 409) (1439-40)		
AND corpus	<i>bokasyn</i> (1) sub kertel (n.)	<i>Item, I kirtill de <u>bokasyn</u></i> (Rot. Parl ¹ iv 236) (1423)		
LCC	sub bocasin (n.) (5) (1= AND, 1=MED 1= DMLBS, 1=DOST, 1=LEXP)	‘fine cotton fabric or similar (perhaps like fustian), associated with buckram by the Early Modern period’[< Spanish <i>bocací</i> (or the rarely attested early MF <i>bougosi</i>) both < Turkish <i>bōghāsī</i>] <i>Item, .i. quishshon de <u>bokasyn</u> rouge, pris .iij. s</i> (Rot. Parl ¹ iv 239) (1423) <i>in carde, bukram et <u>bukasyn</u> / in panno colorato, sc. <u>bukesyn</u> et bleucard, 33 uln</i> (Durham 400 / 409) (1439-40)		
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub boucassin (n.) (6)	‘Toile de coton à poil feutré, servant à faire des ornements d’église, des doublures, des étendards, des vêtements, boucassin’ <i>Item, deux coultes pointes blanches de <u>boucassin</u>, doublés de toile, ouvrées menuement à l’endroit</i> (Invent. Mobilier Ch. V L., 392) (1379)		
GDC	sub boucassin (n.) (7)	‘futaine pur doublure’ <i>Un pourpoint de blanc boucassin...qui bien pooit valoir seze solz</i> (A.N. JJ 193, pièce 119) (1388)		
TL	∅			
TLFi	sub boucassin (n.)	‘Étoffe de coton dont on fait des doublures.’		

		<p><i>bougosi</i> (1305) [directement empr. au turc <i>bogasi</i> « sorte de futaine »]</p> <p><i>boucacin</i> (1376) [empr. au turc par l'intermédiaire du lat. médiév. <i>bocassinus</i> attesté en 1259]</p>
FEW	XIX, 34b: bogasy	<p>‘esp. de futaine, toile de coton à poil feutré’</p> <p>MF <i>boucassin</i> (1379) / <i>bocassin</i> (1395) / <i>bougarassin</i> (1400) / <i>baucassin</i> (1398) / <i>bouguacin</i> (1416) / Occ. <i>Bocasin</i> / Fribourg (Swiss) <i>bockshin</i> (1467)</p> <p>[Das wort taucht schon 1259 in Westeuropa auf als <i>bocassinus</i> und <i>bocassinus</i>, DC, Es ist auch in die andern europäischen sprachen übergegangen: it. <i>boccaccino</i> (14 jh.), frl. <i>bochasin</i> (15jh.) alt.obeng. <i>bucchiaschin</i>, sp. <i>bocaci</i> (1397), pg. <i>bocacim</i>, e. <i>buckskin</i> (mit volksetymologischer umgestaltung), schwäb. <i>büchsenschein</i>, schweizd. <i>buggenschin</i> (15-16 jh.), während rum, <i>bogasiu</i> wohl unabhängig davon direct aus dem. Türk. entlehnt ist.]</p>
MED	sub bokasin (n.) (5)	<p>‘A kind of cloth, ?fustian’ [OF <i>bo(u)cassin</i> from Turkish]</p> <p>[In <i>carde</i>, <i>bukram</i>, et <i>bukasyn</i> empt. pro emendacione vestimentorum (Acc. R. Dur. In Sur Soc.100, 400) (1405)]</p> <p>[De <i>ij peciis blewe bokesyn et j pece grene bokasyn</i>, pret. xx s (Will York in Sur. Soc. 45, 102) (1446)]</p>
OED2	sub bocasin (n.) (8)	<p>‘A kind of fine Buckeram, that hath a resemblance of taffata, and is much used for lining’ [< Sp. <i>bocaci</i>. Also Fr <i>bocassin</i> < Turk <i>bōhāsī</i> / <i>bōghāsī</i>]</p> <p>[<i>ulnae de blakke bokesye</i> / <i>Una toga lyned cum bokesy</i>. (Acts Church SS. Peter & Wilfrid, Ripon, 366 / 369) (c1485)]</p> <p><i>Bocassin</i>: <u><i>Bocassin</i></u>. A kind of fine Buckeram, that hath a resemblance of taffata, and is much used for lining Also the stufte Callimanco. (Cotgrave Dict. French & Eng. Tongues) (1611)</p> <p><i>Bugasines or Calico Buckrams the half piece</i> v.s (Act. 12 Chas. II iv Sched) (1660)</p>
DMLBS	sub bocaseus (1) (204c)	<p>‘bocassine (cotton fabric) [Turkish <i>bōghāsī</i>]</p> <p>[...] <i>unum clocher de blodio bocaseo cum auro et argento bene operatum</i> (Rec. Nott. II 158) (1436)</p>
DC	<p>sub bocassinus (2)</p> <p>sub bocassinus (2)</p> <p>sub boucassinus (1)</p> <p>sub buccasinus (2)</p>	<p>‘Telæ species ex gossypio vel lino’</p> <p><i>Cæteri vero cappam habeant forratam de tela livida ac nigri coloris sive Bocassino</i> (Statuta Eccl. Aquensis MSS) (1259)</p> <p>‘Idem quod Bocassinus’</p> <p><i>Et singuli vexilliferi habebunt quatuor pedites cum lacernis Bocassinis cum insignibus Dominorum suorum / Post Sacramentum equitat immediate Sacrista, qui ut cæteri Prælati habet equum totum coopertum Bocassino</i> (Murator. tom. 3. pag. 649. ex Pontificali Rom.) (att. ?)</p> <p>‘Pannus subtilior, e gossypio vel lino, idem qui <i>Bocassinus</i>, quod vide’</p> <p><i>Item, una magna coopertura Boucassini interjecta et operata ad modum fustanæ. Item, quædam casula de Boucassino albo, duplicata de tela crocea. Boucassin</i> (Inventarium Ornamentorum et Reliquiarum Eccles. Noviom.) (1419)</p> <p>‘Brocard?’</p> <p><i>Pro brachiis 46 Buccasini albi pro foderatura dictorum pannorum / Pro brachiis 35 Bucchasini albi pro foderatura pallii</i>. (Mandat. camer. apostol. archiv. Vatic. f.66 / f.68) (1417-21)</p>
Additional sources		

Italian-matrix		
Sanuto ¹⁶ diary (1513)	<i>bochasino</i> (1)	<i>Episcopi zercha 100 vestili con piviali el mitrie, con li cavali tuli copertati fino in terra de bochasino</i> (I diarii di Marino Sanuto) (eds. Stefani <i>et al.</i> 1886: Vol 16, 84) (1513, ven.)
Comments		
Attestation Type 2b / Semantic Field: textile		
<p>Many medieval Italian fabrics were imitations of much older Eastern prototypes and their names were an adaption of an Middle Eastern etymon (e.g. attaby, maramas, ragamas). In this case, we are not dealing with a plain or brocaded silk but a less glamorous cotton or linen cloth which was often used for linings. This trade was just as profitable as luxury textiles in Europe and the market was equally dominated by Italian merchants from c1150 to c1500. As we read in <i>The Italian Cotton Industry in the Later Middle Ages</i> (still considered a key piece of research in the area), “by the last decades of the twelfth century, the products of the north-Italian cotton industry were firmly established in international commerce” (Mazzaoui 1981: 87). This was, in great part, due to the establishment of numerous colonies and trading posts by the Genoese around the eastern Mediterranean and Black Sea (e.g. Chios, Caffa and Pera, cf. Chapter 2.5). Documentary sources from these last two ports in 1281-90 show that the cotton cloths <i>bucherame</i> (see bokeram) and <i>boccasino</i> were so widely traded that they were used as the monetary unit against which other prices were calculated (Mazzaoui: <i>ibid.</i>)</p> <p>According to the DEI and Du Cange, the earliest attestations of <i>bocasino</i> are found in the medieval Latin of Rome in 1259. In another Roman source (unfortunately undated), describing a procession from the Vatican to the St John’s Laterna Archbasilica, the eighteenth-century editor Muratori footnotes <i>boccasino</i> as a little-known term of ‘barbarous’ origin, presumably meaning Turkish.¹⁷</p> <p>The Tuscan, AN and CF name for the cotton all emerge within quick succession in vernacular records between the 1370s and 1390s. Given the circumstances of its production and import, it certainly seems probable that the Italian name played a part in the recording of this (originally eastern Mediterranean) cotton type in England. AN <i>bukasin</i> could have derived directly (in some cases) from It. <i>boccacino</i> rather than CF <i>boucacin</i> and the Italianism could have simultaneously entered AN and CF commercial lexis through direct trade connections. There are no ME-matrix sources containing <i>bukasin</i>; both the MED and the OED2 give BML-matrix examples from the 1400s and, typically, it is hard to tell if these lexemes are AN or ME. <i>Boccasin</i> does not appear in English until 1611 in Cotgrave’s French-English dictionary whose entry the OED2 quotes for its gloss. Contrary to the FEW’s assertion, it seems more likely that <i>buckskin</i> (att. 1433, see OED2 sub buckskin) was probably just that - the skin of a buck - and not the result of corruption of <i>bukasin</i> through folk etymology.</p> <p>In BML, we appear to have evidence for two routes of transmission. As mentioned above, the AND (and the LCC) cite the more widely used <i>bukasyn</i> and <i>bukesyn</i> (which have no entry in the DMLBS) from the Latin-matrix Durham Accounts from 1439-40. However, another contemporary citation is of white, embroidered <i>bocaseo</i> from</p>		

¹⁶ Marino Sanuto (or Sanuto) was a Venetian senator whose lengthy diaries and letters (from 1496-1533) provide valuable insight into politics and daily life at the time. See also **satIn**.

¹⁷ Du Cange repeats the comments made by Ludovico Muratori who originally cited this (undated) source in his vast twenty-eight volume work *Rerum italicarum Scriptores ab anno æræ christianæ 500 ad annum 1500*, published between 1723 and 1751: “Ubi Muratorius hæc annotat: Minus notæ significationis vocabulum barbarum *Boccasinus*, de quo interrogati Romani respondent, linei panni speciem esse subtilitate præstantis, quemadmodum Belgis est, quem Cameracensem appellant, ideoque laternis formandis servire, adferri autem ex Oriente.”

Nottingham in 1436. The DMLBS sub **bocaseus** gives a Turkish etymon (*bōghāsī*) here but, again, it seems likely by the 1430s to have been transmitted via another European vernacular: either AN **bocasi* or CF (*bougosi* is found in a Cyprus-related account from 1305, according to the TLFi). Similarly, we have *ulnæ de blakke bokesye* and *una toga lyned cum bokesy* from the accounts of a Ripon church c1485 (again absent from the DMLBS but cited by the OED2 sub **bocasin**): these could be ‘naturalised’ ME terms by this point, French borrowings or perhaps come directly from the Spanish *bocaci* as the OED2 suggests.

8. AN caffatin (adj.) ‘referring to high quality sugar loaves made in open, double-bottom moulds’ (CF <i>cafetin</i>) < It. <i>caffettino</i> < Ar. <i>quffa(t)</i> (‘basket’)				
Italian	Anglo-Norman	Continental French	(Middle) English	Medieval Latin
c1275-c1343	c1348-c1400	c1328-1555	?a1425-c1450	c1335-1390
TLIO	sub caffettino (loc. / n.) (4)	‘qualità pregiata di zucchero in pani prodotto mediante bollitura in formelle aperte a doppio fondo’ <i>Dante Alighieri, e dir del mariscalco: ch'e' par fiorin d'òr par zucar caffettin ed è salina</i> (Cecco Angiolieri, 109.4 /227) (c1275-1300, sen.)		
OVI	sub caffettino (19)	<i>Zucchero caffettino, chi vende soldi 3 del centinaio</i> (Pegolotti, Practica 206.20) (c1335-1343, fior.)		
LEI	X			
DEI	Ø			
AND2	sub caffatin : (n. / adj.) (4)	‘Caffa (a Black Sea port) / from Caffa’ <i>15lb. di zukr. de Skaffatyne</i> (Durham 547) (c1348) <i>sucre. de Caffatyn</i> (Durham 551) (1349-50) <i>zucré caffatyne</i> (Durham 563) (c1360) <i>ij. unces de sucre caffatyn</i> (Rom 37 511) (c1350-1400) ¹⁸		
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub cafetin (adj.) (6)	‘Sucre raffiné importé de Kaffa’ <i>De roses blanches nettement Cuittes au soleil seulement, Dont la pate soit faite affin Du sucre blanc dur rafectin [l. cafectin]</i> (Renart contref. R.L. t2, 43) (1328-42) <i>La conserve mise dedens, O les deux eaues précédens, Qui à ce faire valent moult, Et sucre cafatin o tout</i> (La Haye, P. peste, 158) (1426)		
GDF	sub cafetin (adj. / n.) (2) sub cassetin (adj.) (1)	‘Qualifiant le sucre blanc / sucre blanc’ <i>Cafetin ou sucre blanc, bon et convenant</i> (Ord.,II, 53) (1353) ‘enfermé dans une caisse ?’ <i>sucre cassetin</i> (Compte de D. Collors, Aumale p.95) (1358)		
TL	sub cafetin (adj.) (1)	<i>Du sucre blanc dur rafectin [l. cafectin]</i> (Ren. Contref. Rayn. 26,602) (1328-42)		
TLFi	Ø			
FEW	XXI, 486a : o.i. (4)	‘(Sucre) raffiné’ <i>cafectin</i> (Barbier Proc, 5, 218) (c1340) / <i>caffetin</i> (1359) / <i>cafferin</i> (Druckfehler für <i>caffetin</i> :1555) [Dazu auch ait. <i>zucchero caffettino</i> (1340), zusammen mit aus dem Orient eingeführten zuckerarten erwähnt, BarbierProc 5, 218. Die fr. Belege stammen, vermittelt durch Südfrankreich, aus dem it. Die herkunft von it. <i>caffettino</i> ist unbekannt. Nach Gay würde eine ablt. von <i>cafis</i> als massbezeichnung vorliegen, weil dieser zucker angeblich in <i>cafis</i> genannten		

¹⁸ The date of the citation from Romania 37 (‘Notice du ms. Bodley 761 de la Bibliothèque Bodléienne’) is unknown. The source text is found on a fragment of parchment, attached to a larger manuscript which is dated as s.xiv².

		fässern aus Cypern, Sardinien oder Spanien eingeführt wurde. Doch ist eine solche ablt. schwer verständlich.]
MED	sub caffatin (n. / adj) (9)	‘A kind of sugar’ [OF <i>cafetin</i> adj. & ML <i>caffatinus</i> adj.; ?ult. Ar.] [In <i>1 pane de zukre caffatyne</i> (Acc.R.Dur.in Sur.Soc.100, 563) (c1360)] <i>which Beneuenutus makeþ of zuccre candin or caffatyn [L caffatina], is precieuse in þis case.</i> (Chauliac 1 NY 12) (?a1425) <i>Sethe it efte with..a gude porcione of zucce caffatine</i> (Thrn.Med.Bk.(Thrn) 20/20) (c1440)
	sub sugre (n.) (1)	‘ - <i>caffatin</i> , white sugar of second quality, sold in a rounded loaf’ <i>Take..halfe a quartron of sugre caffatyn, [etc.]</i> (Med.Bk 2 Add. 33996) (c1450)
OED	Ø	
DMLBS	sub caffatinus 239c (1)	‘loaf sugar’ [It. <i>caffettino</i> (?) < Ar.] <i>zucar’ caffatin’</i> (K RAc 391/15 Arch.XXXI 101) (1349)
DMLBS corpus	<i>Scaffatyn</i> (1) <i>Caphatyn</i> (1) <i>caffretin</i> (1) sub succarum (3270a)	<i>in iiijxx viij libris zucri Scaffatyn</i> (Comp. Swith, 235) (c1335) <i>in uno pane de zoukro Caphatyn</i> (Househ. Ac. 209) (1337) <i>pro j pane suiguri caffretin</i> (Ac. H. Derby 11) (1390)
DC	Ø	

Comments

Attestation type 2b / Semantic field: sugar / spice / sweetmeat

The Italians were at the centre of trade of the luxury sugar market: “The first near-white cone or loaf sugar that was exported to the West came from Persia, where the refining of sugar was substantially improved in the seventh century A.D. The Arabs grew sugar cane in Spain and Sicily in the Middle Ages, but the most prized sugar came from Cyprus. Despite efforts to produce sugar locally and thus bring down the price, most sugar was imported, and Venetian merchants played a pivotal role in the trade. For the medieval consumer, sugar was an expensive luxury, classified as spice even, and sold in apothecary shops” (Adamson 2004: 28).

In Italian, *caffatin* sugar is almost exclusively attested in Pegolotti with only one of nineteen citations coming from another source (the Pisan statues of 1322-51). As noted in Chapter 2.5, Italians dominated the import of numerous kinds of this luxury commodity into late medieval England (see also **cot** / (**suchre**) **candi**) where it was frequently used as a medicinal ingredient along with spices (cf. **confection** / Richardson 2004: 179). *Caffatin* sugar appears in several fourteenth and fifteenth-century English sources, including the accounts of Durham Abbey (AN), the King’s Remembrancer (BML), the Earl of Derby’s accounts (BML) and ME medical treatises by Robert Thornton and (in translation) Guy de Chauliac.

It seems that the AND definition sub **caffatin** - ‘(sugar) from Caffa, a Black Sea Port’ - is inaccurate. The DMF sub **cafetin** gives the same gloss but then notes that there is an alternative etymon, *cafis* (also mentioned in the FEW: o.i. p.486a): *Sucre jaune, couleur de résine, tel qu'on le portait de Chypre, d'Espagne ou de Sardaigne, dans des tonneaux appelés cafis*.

However, a more convincing etymon than *Caffa* or *cafis* is the Arabic *quffa(t)* (‘basket’), as outlined in Mosti’s 2001 TLIO article sub **caffettino** which describes loaves made from boiled sugar poured into moulds.

Interestingly, it also refers the reader to the English term *basket-sugar* (cf. OED2 sub **basket**) which describes sugar made in the same way in the Straits Settlements, a nineteenth-century British colony in south-east Asia. The potential role of an Italian intermediary in transmitting this Arabic term for loaf sugar into English commercial lexis is also suggested by the DMLBS sub **caffatinus**.

9. AN calaber (n.) ‘grey squirrel fur from Calabria in southern Italy or a garment or trimming made of this fur’ < It. <i>Calabria</i> ¹⁹ < Lat. <i>Calabria</i>				
Italian c1231-present	Anglo-Norman c1307-1444	Continental French 1379	(Middle) English 1362-19 th c.	Medieval Latin c1373-1559
TLIO	X			
OVI	<i>Calabria</i> (103)	<i>Cercat’ajo Calabrfi]a, Toscana e lombardia, Puglia, Costantinopli, Genoa, Pisa e Soria</i> (Cielo d’Alcamo, Contrasto) (1231-50, sic.)		
LEI	X			
DEI	Ø			
AND2	sub calaber (n.) (1)	‘kind of dark grey squirrel fur’ <i>6 aumuces de dos de calaber forrés de vair, pour trois chapes de cuer</i> (Isabella Inventory 519) (1307-08)		
AND corpus	<i>calaber</i> (1) sub fwyne	<i>meam optimam togam de scarleto cum furrura de funes et j. nigram chimbre furr’ cum calaber</i> (Test Ebor ii 99) (1444)		
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub calabre (n.) (1)	‘Fourrure d’écureuil de Calabre’ <i>Item, ung couvetoer d’une graigne vermeille, fourré de calabre, tenant querente bestes de lé et XXXIII tires de long</i> (Invent. Mobilier Ch V L. 388) (1379)		
GDF	Ø			
TL	Ø			
TLFi	Ø			
FEW	II- 1, 51b: Calabria	1. ‘Fourrure d’écureuil de Calabre’ MF <i>calabre</i> (14 th - 15 th c.) [Beruht wohl auf handelsbeziehungen die allerdings noch eines nachweises bedürfen]		
MED	sub Calabre (n.) (7)	b. ‘a kind of fur, a garment or trimming of this fur’ [OF < Lat.] [<i>That no one..shall mingle bellies of] calabre [with furs of] puree..[furs of] grey calabre.</i> (Doc. In Riley Mem. Lond. 329) (a1375)] [<i>Garderoba..In una furura de Calabere</i> (Acc. R. Dur in Sur. Soc. 103, 578) (1373-74)] <i>Here colere splayed and furryd with Ermyn, calabere, or Satan</i> (Ludus C Vsp D.8 228/105) (a1475)		
OED2	sub calaber / calabar (n.) (2)	‘A kind of fur, apparently obtained from some foreign species of the squirrel; now, commercially, applied especially to the fur of the grey or Siberian Squirrel’ [apparently < French <i>Calabre</i> , Calabria, a province of Italy, but why so called is unknown] <i>His cloke of Calabre with knoppes of Gold.</i> (Piers Plowman A VII. 257) (1362)		
OED3 corpus	<i>Calabre</i> (1) sub revers	<i>j tunica murr. cum j reuers de Calabre precii x s.</i> (Inquisition Misc. PRO C145/213/6 m.2) (1377)		
DMLBS	Sub Calaber (5) (240a)	2. ‘a kind of dark grey squirrel fur’ <i>Ut omnes minors canonici...almicias de nigris pellibus calabre vulgariter</i>		

¹⁹ For the history of this toponym in Italian, see Schweikard (2002: 320-23).

		<i>nuncupatum exterius confectas</i> (Reg. S. Paul, 323) / <i>unam togam coloris viridis penulatain cum calabre</i> (Test. Ebor II 52) (1435)
DC	sub calabre (1)	‘pelles ex Calabria’ <i>Indumentum foderatum cum Calabre</i> (Rymer, tom. 7, p. 356, col.2) (1382)
Additional sources		
BML-matrix		
Skinner, London (1559)	<i>Calabre</i> (1)	<i>Et quod quil’t pellis de Rubio Grey & Calabre h’eat et contineat in longitudine septem pollices assiae cum latitudine competenti</i> (Worshipful Company of Skinners) (Herbert 1837: 379) (1559)
Comments		
Transmission Type 2b / Semantic Field: fur		
<p>Clearly, we are dealing here with the common phenomenon of a foreign toponym referring to a specific commercial product in a recipient language (for other Italian examples, see the wine, vernage, the fur <i>romany</i>, and the armour, <i>meleyn</i>, Tables 1-2, Volume 2, Appendices). Despite uncertainty in the FEW and OED2 entries, medieval historians have since confirmed the existence of a valuable export market for the distinctive grey fur of the Calabrian squirrel. As Patrone discusses in an article on medieval trade in southern Italy:</p> <p>Lo <i>Sciurius meridionalis</i>, nero con sfumature grigie sui fianchi, si trovava invece specialmente nei boschi più elevate della Calabria, in particolare nella Sila e nell’Aspromonte. Lo scoiattolo calabro, non molto usato localmente, aveva un largo mercato di esportazione, essendo più apprezzato dello scoiattolo nero <i>Fuscoater</i> dell’Europa centrale, tanto che, ad esempio, alla fine del Trecento i cappellani di corte in Francia avevano diritto ad una mozzetta di scoiattolo di Calabria, foderato di schiena di vaio (Patrone 1989: 167).</p> <p>Delort (1978: 79, 329) also comments in <i>Le commerce de fourrures en Occident a la fin du Moyen Age</i> on the popularity of southern Italian “calabre ou kalabre [...] très utilisé en France et Angleterre au XIVe siècle”, highlighting its frequent appearance in the inventory of the French king, Charles V in 1379 (cf. DMF entry) and the records of the Worshipful Company of Skinners in London.</p> <p>Overall, references to the fur are more common in the extant record in England than in France. Admittedly, we have only one example in an AN-matrix source from Queen Isabella’s Wardrobe (1307) but the vernacular term also appears in subsequent BML inventories, wills and charters until 1559 and in ME (<i>Piers Plowman</i>) from as early as 1362. The OED offers citations until 1875 although the term expanded to include other squirrel furs (especially Siberian) and was no longer specifically linked to the original Italian export. This is confirmed in the <i>Drapers Dictionary</i> entry for <i>squirrel</i> which implies that the skins were still widely used at the end of the nineteenth century: “[...] large numbers of the skins, commercially known as Calabar, are brought into the market and are frequently dyed to imitate sable” (Beck 1882: 324).</p>		

10. AN calfater (v.) ‘to caulk - to make a vessel watertight by sealing gaps between planks, usually with oakum (hemp fibres) and tar’
 CF *calfater* < Gen. / It. *calafatare* < (Gr. *kalaphátès*) < Ar. *qalfata / ġalfata* (‘to caulk’) < Lat. **calefare / *calfectare* (‘to heat’)²⁰

Italian 1314-present	Anglo-Norman c1347-c1440	Continental French 1295-present	(Middle) English 1601-1653	Medieval Latin 1213-15th c.
TLIO	sub calafatare (v.) (1)	‘Impermeabilizzare e rendere stagna una struttura lignea riempiendo le commessure con materiale inerte e sostanze resinose’ <i>sì mettono questa acqua di questa caldaia e d'anche 2 altre caldaie che sono bollite a uno tempo per lo medesimo modo, e mettonlo in una pila fatta a modo d'uno avello di rovero grande, molto bene <u>calafatato</u> e bene stagnato [...]</i> (Pegolotti Pratica 368.13) (c1335-1343, fior.)		
	[sub calafato (n.) (5)]	‘Artigiano addetto all'impermeabilizzazione e alla stagnatura della struttura lignea delle navi’ [< gr. tardo <i>kalaphátes</i>] <i>e sien tutti ben prestì / tirar la poggia questi/ Marragoni et <u>calaphay</u> / se li lassi mal fai</i> , (Fr. da Barberino, Doc. Am.. pt. 7. docum 9.55, vol. 3, pag. 125) (1314, tosc.)		
	[sub calafatore (n.) (1) ²¹]	‘Chi pratica l'attività di calafatare’ <i>Ancora loro devono havere de gli altri <u>Calafattori</u> i ferramenti, una saia e una cotta</i> (Consolato del mare, Ordinazioni, 27) (14 th -15 th c.)]		
OVI	<i>calafatato</i> (1)	<i>e mettonlo in una pila fatta a modo d'uno avello di rovero grande, molto bene <u>calafatato</u> e bene stagnato[...]</i> (Pegolotti Pratica 368.13) (c1335-1343, fior.)		
	[<i>calafato</i> /i (7)]	<i>E iuro, che opra darò et sollicito sarò, che li calafati non faccino rissa nè conspiratione alcuna [...]</i> (Stat. pis. cap. 50. 516.4) (1322-51, pis.)		
	[<i>chalafato</i> /i (5)]	<i>serratori, <u>chalafati</u>, stoppaiuoli, chanapari, legatori, insaccatori et disaccatori di boldroni et di lana</i> (Stat. pis, cap. 2, 459.3) (1322)]		
	[<i>calaffado</i> (1)]	<i>Appollonio clamando lo maranghon et lo <u>calaffado</u> della nave</i> (Apollonio di Tiro, incipit 16.10) (mid-14 th c.)]		
	[<i>calaphay</i> (1)]	<i>e sien tutti ben prestì / tirar la poggia questi/ Marragoni et <u>calaphay</u> / se li lassi mal fai</i> (Fr. da Barberino, Doc. Am.. pt. 7. docum 9.55, vol. 3, pag. 125) (1314, tosc.)]		
LEI	X			
DEI	sub calafatare (v.) 666a	‘riempire le commessure delle navi coon stoppa ed impeciarle perché non vi entri l’acqua’ [< gr. < ar. <i>qalfat</i> , ristoppare una nave col <i>qilf</i> , ‘scorza d’albero’. Dall’it., il fr. <i>calfater</i>] ML <i>calafatus / calafatare</i> (1213, Genova) / (1318, Roma) <i>calafatare</i> (15 th c.)		
AND2	sub calfater (sbst. inf.) (3)	‘caulking’ <i>Item, en les gages de deux overours overauntz sur la netter, suer et <u>calfater</u></i>		

²⁰ The TLFi sub **calfater** suggests an ultimate Latin root: “L’ar. *qalfata*, *ġalfata*, considéré comme un mot étranger à l’ar. [...] est prob. lui-même un empr. au b. lat. **calefare* ou **calfectare* (lat. class. *calefacere*) [...]: on chauffe du goudron pour calfater un bateau.” Fennis (1995: 455), however, stresses that the link between Latin *calefacere*, Greek *kalaphátès* and Arabic *qalfata* is still far from clear (see Comments section).

²¹ *Calafattori*: unusually, this citation is in a TLIO entry but not in the OVI corpus.

	<p>[sub calfatour (n.) (1)]</p> <p>[sub calfatung (n.) (2)]</p>	<p><i>le chastel de dit cogg [...] (PRO E101/25/32 m3) (1347-50) / Item, solut' pur tow empt' pur <u>calfatar</u> eiusdem batelli [...] (London English 162) (1392-93)</i></p> <p>‘caulked deck’ <i>toutes maneres de biens et harnois trouvez sur les hacches ou sur le tylat ou <u>calfatour</u> des ditz vesseaulx (Blk Bk 30) (c1440)]</i></p> <p>‘caulking’ <i>canevas empt' pur <u>calfatung</u> cuiusdam battell (London English 162) (1388-89)]</i></p>
AND corpus	<p><i>calfatung</i> (1)</p> <p>sub forcastell</p>	<p><i>diversis pecijs maeremii [...] in factura et reparacione de overloppe, les hacches, <u>calfatung</u>, capstanbarys, le forcastell, cabans (Sandahl Sea I 184 / PRO E364/54 Dd) (1420-21)</i></p>
DEAF	X	
DMF	<p>sub calfater(v.) (3)</p> <p>sub calfeutrer (v.) (2)</p> <p>[sub calfat (n.) (7)]</p> <p>[sub calfateur (n.) (1)]</p>	<p>‘Rendre imperméable (la coque d'un bateau) en bouchant les joints, les fentes avec de l'étoupe goudronnée, calfater’ <i>pour 2 barils de goutren, [et] pour filler estouppes a <u>calephader</u> tant es reparacions des galees huissieres que en 3 des galees que fist faire Asselin Grille au clos des galees près Roue (Clos Galées Rouen M.C. t.1 224) (1370)</i></p> <p>‘Rendre imperméable (la coque d'un bateau) en bouchant les joints, les fentes avec de l'étoupe goudronnée, calfater’ <i>Clement de Venise et Jehan Achoue, calfas estrangiers sans gaiges, pour avoir besogné de leur mestier de calfas a <u>calfestrer</u> les galees dessus-dictes pour tout le moiz de mars derrain passé (Clos Galées Rouen M.C. t.2 189) (1389)</i></p> <p>‘Ouvrier chargé de calfater (un navire)’ <i>Jehan Regnaut, <u>callefat</u>, du 2 juillet 340 qu'il servi tant en mer comme en terre jusques au 26 de septembre (Clos galées Rouen M.C. t.2, 31) (1341-42)]</i></p> <p>‘Synon. de calfat’ <i>Pour vin pour les maistres carpentiers du Portugal et les maistres <u>calfateurs</u>, IX sols (Arch. Nord. B3661, f.37, IGLF) (1457)]</i></p>
GDF	[sub calefaterie (n.) (1)]	<p>‘calfeutrage’ <i>Charpenteries, <u>callefateries</u> (Arch. J456, pièce 36) (1295)</i></p>
GDF corpus	<p><i>calafatei</i> (1)</p> <p>sub tabout</p>	<p><i>[...] le quel fu mis en III tabous, l'un dedens l'autre, bien <u>calafatei</u> et bien empeesches²² (Gestes des Chiprois, p.217, Raynaud) (c1320)</i></p>
GDC	sub calfater (v.) (7)	<p>‘boucher avec de l'étoupe les joints, les trous et les fentes d'un bâtiment, et l'enduire de poix, de goudron etc pour empêcher que l'eau n'y entre’ <i>[...] et les faicles (les nefes) <u>calefaicler</u> et gener tout ainsi que vous dira ester necessaire ledit de Nantes (Comptes de René, p.155) (1459)</i></p> <p><i>calafacter / calefactor (ibid.)</i></p>

²² Hope (1971: 32) points out that this early evidence from the *Gestes des Chiprois* of the verb's use in CF is not specifically nautical and “describes how the body of a noble personage was sealed up in three coffins, each within each other, and all ‘well sealed and stopped up.’”

	<p>sub calfeutrer (v.) (9)</p> <p>[sub calfat (n.) (2)]</p> <p>[sub calfateur (n.) (1)]</p>	<p>1. 'en parlant d'un navire, calfater' <i>le navire ayant esté radoubbee, <u>gallifrestee</u></i> (Navigal. de Binto-Paulmier de Gonev., ap. Margry, Navigateurs fr., p.148)</p> <p>2. 'en parlant d'une fenêtre, d'une porte, d'une chamber, garnier de bourrelets, de lisières, pour empêcher le froid de pénétrer' <i>Pour galefeustrer tous les huys, fenestres et croisees d'une maison</i> (Compt. de l'hôt. des R de Fr., p.357) (1478)</p> <p>'ouvrier chargé de calfater' <i>calefas et remolas pour les reparations de nostre navire</i> (Mandem. de Ch. V, p.435) (1371)]</p> <p>'ouvrier chargé de calfater' <i>Alfons Rames, de Seville ou royaume de Castille, <u>calphateur</u> de galees</i> (A.N. JJ 105, pièce 71; Duc. <i>Calefactus</i>) (1373)]</p>
TL	Ø	
TLFi	<p>sub calfater (v.)</p> <p>sub calfeutrer (v.)</p>	<p>'Rendre étanche, au moyen d'étoupe goudronnée, les points et les interstices des bordages du pont d'un navire' [< ital. <i>calafatare</i> / prov. <i>calafatar</i> < ar. <i>qalfata</i>] <i>callefaterie</i> (1295) <i>calafatei</i> (Gestes des Chiprois, texte italianisant) (c1320) <i>calfater</i> (Le Compte du Clos des Galées de Rouen) (1382-84)</p> <p>'Procéder à la fermeture hermétique des ouvertures occasionnant une déperdition de chaleur' <i>calefestrer</i> (Le Compte du Clos des Galées de Rouen) (1382-84)</p>
FEW	XIX, 80b: qalfata (II, 57a: kalaphatein)	<p>'rendre impénétrable à l'eau (une embarcation en bouchant les joints, les fentes, avec de l'étoupe goudronnée' Occ. <i>calafatar</i> (13th c.) / MF <i>calafater</i> (14th c.) / <i>calefaicter</i> (1459)</p> <p>'ouvrier chargé de calfater' MF <i>calfat</i> (1371) / Occ. <i>calfat</i> (1499)</p> <p>'calfater (un navire)' MF <i>calfestrer</i> (1382, Rouen) / <i>galefeustrer</i> (1478)</p> <p>'garnier de bourrelets, de lisières, pour empêcher le froid de pénétrer' MF <i>gallefeustrer</i> (1478)</p> <p>[Hier 2, 57 wurde diese wortfamilie auf mgr. <i>καλαφατείν</i> 'ein Schiff kalfatern' zurückgeführt. Doch ist der. ar. stamm. qalfat in der variante <i>ġalfat</i> schon im 7 jh. belegt [...] Es ist daher wohl so, dass mgr. <i>καλαφατείν</i> aus dem ar. entlehnt ist]</p>
MED	<p>sub calfating (ger.) (4)</p> <p>[sub calfater (n.) (2)]</p> <p>[sub calfat-ern (n.) (1)]</p>	<p>'calking (of a ship)' [cp. OF <i>calfater</i>] [<i>In...stupis..prouisis pro <u>calfatynge</u> predictarum nauium</i> (Pipe Roll PRO 32 Edw. II m.36) (1353)]</p> <p>[<i>Le <u>Calphatynge</u> earundem Nauium Regis.</i> (Pipe Roll PRO 38 Edw III m.47 dorso) (1359)]</p> <p>'Workman who calks ships' <i>In vadiis vnius alii <u>Calfater</u> ad vj d. per diem</i> (Acc. Exch. K. R. 44/11 (1) 6 (1407)]</p> <p>'A calking iron' <i>Et in..ij <u>Calfaterns</u> et xij gorons eris emptis per tempus predictum.</i> (Sandhal</p>

	[sub calfat-nail (n.) (3)]	ME Sea Terms 1, 135) (1358-9)] 'a nail used in caulking' <i>Calfatnayll</i> (Acc. Exch. PRO 19/31) (1336)]
OED2	sub calfret (v.) (4)	'to stop up (with oakum) the seams of a ship; to caulk' [< Fr. <i>calfrete-r</i> , <i>calfater</i> < Ar. <i>qalafa</i>] <i>They..therewith [viz. with reeds] calfret or calke the ioints of their ships</i> (P. Holland tr. Pliny Hist. World I.482) (1601)
DMLBS	sub calfatare (1) 244a [sub calfatatio (1) 244a [sub calfator (3) 244a [sub calfatura (2) 244a	'to caulk' [cf. OF <i>chaufeter</i> ²³ < <i>calefactare</i>] <i>item j quatr' stupi pro dicta navi calfatanda</i> (K R Ac 27/5) (1346) 'caulking' <i>in ccc et dim. bordarum de Thorndene in Norwagia pro calefettacione et dennagio dicte navis</i> (K R Ac 19/31 m.I) (1336)] 'caulker' <i>in vadiis iij calfatorum operancium circa calfatyng dicte balengere</i> (K R Ac 42/39) (1401)] 'caulking' <i>solut' pro tow empt' pro calfatura ejusdem batelli</i> (Ac. Bridge Masters 12 m. 8 xxxvii) (1393)]
DC	sub calafatare (3) [sub calafactus (1)	'Resarcire, proprie de navibus, Calfater' <i>Licet duo carpentarii et nonnulli alii de dicta galea incessanter fissuras et dissuturas antedictas toto eorum posse clauderent et Calafatarent.</i> (Legatio Ambassiatorum Ducis Andegav. ad Judicem Sardiniae) (1378) 'Idem ac infra Calefatus, Ital. Calafato et Calefato' <i>Item quod quilibet marinarius et soldum accipiens, et quilibet magister Calafactus, seu laborator teneatur et debeat guaytare et laborare.</i> (Impos. Off. Gazarie in Mon. Hist. patr. Taurin. tom. II. col. 414) (att. ?)]
Additional sources		
Latin- matrix		
VOH (1440-42)	<i>calafanorum</i> (1)	<i>Et sic summa venditionis excedet summa emptionis per mille iijxxli xs quas expendit in vadiis galliottorum & balisteriorum & pillottorum calafanorum ut dixit per sacramentum suum &cetera</i> (VOH 13: 95) (E101/128/31 ret. 3, John Chicele, host to Genoese strangers, transc.p. 114) (1440-42)
Latin annals (Genoa) (1213)	<i>calafati</i> (1)	<i>scilicet cum calafati bruscarent quondam maximum nauem que vocabatur Contesa, accenso in ea igne, combusta fuit tota</i> (Annales, Ogerii Panis, Genoa, in Vidos 1939: 265-66) (1213)
Comments		
AttestationType 2b / Semantic Field: maritime		
<p><i>Calfater</i> (one of only two verbs in the Imports Glossary, along with garbeler) refers to the process of 'caulking':²⁴ waterproofing of ships by 'stopping' the gaps between planks with old rope fibres and daubing</p>		

²³ As Trotter (2003b: 29) points out, this is a "curious reference" as OF *chaufeter* is not found in the major historical French dictionaries.

²⁴ The synonymous verb *caulk* (< Old Norman *cauquer* < Lat. *calcare* 'to tread, press close together') has survived in Modern English, unlike *calfet*. *Calkyng* can be found in the London Bridge Accounts of 1463-64: *ij lb de tough empt' & expn in calkyng batell - iij d.* (AND sub **calking**). See also AND sub **chaucher** and OED2 sub **caulk**.

them with tar or resin. The term was seemingly well-established in the CF nautical lexicon of Rouen by 1295 (the noun *callefateries* is attested in Godefroy) and a concurrent form *calfeutrer* (no doubt contaminated by *feutre*), emerged in the fifteenth century, with the more general sense of blocking up gaps in doors and windows.

In English records, we find a cluster of examples from the 1330s to the 1440s. AN *calfater* appears c1347 but again, usage by shipwrights in England must well predate this attestation given that we find the indigenous adaptations *calfat nail* in the 1330s and *calfat iron* (a grooved chisel for packing oakum between planks) in the 1350s (see MED entries). We also have the anglicized *calfating* in BML London Bridge Accounts from the 1380s and *calfatour*, meaning ‘a caulked deck’ (a term not found in CF), in the AN Black Book of the Admiralty. Additionally, we find Latinised forms - *calfatorum* (‘caulker’), *calfatura /calefettacione* (‘caulking’) - appearing in the same sources (London Bridge Accounts and the King’s Rolls). The use of *calafanorum* in the BML account of John Chichele, host (coincidentally or not) to Genoese merchants from 1440-42 provides a new citation for our corpus from the *Views of the Hosts of Alien Merchants*.

Hope (1971: 32), Vidos (1939: 265-66 / 1965: 297) and Fennis (1995: 450-57) all underline the importance of Genoese influence in the spread of this term and its derivatives; *calafati* is attested in the Latin of Genoa as early as 1213. The two latter authors also state that an Occitan etymon is more or less certain in the case of sonorised *gal-* forms (*galafatar*, *galefeter* etc.) which are not found in Italy. In the case of *cal-* forms, the likelihood of Italian involvement in the transmission of this technical term is high, however:

En ce qui concerne le français, *calfater* vient d’une langue méditerranéenne qui est tantôt le génois (textes de Rouen [1295] [...]), tantôt l’italien de Chypre ([*Gestes des Chiprois*] c1320), tantôt l’occitan (1459, 1541, 1547-50 etc) tantôt l’italien (Fennis 1995: 455).

There is little consensus on whether the term originates in Middle Greek or Arabic. The TLIO sub **calfato** gives a Greek etymon *kalaphátès* but in its entry, the TLFi comments that it is unlikely that the Middle Greek lexeme served as an intermediary between the Arabic and Romance languages. There is some confusion in the FEW which initially lists *calfater* under Byzantine Greek *kalaphatein* (FEW II, p.57a) and then later, under Arabic *qalfata* in the Orientalia section (FEW XIX, p.80b). Vidos (1939: 265) claims that the Middle Greek *καλαφατείν* derived from the Arabic verb *qalafa(t)* and then re-entered Arabic to give *ǧalfata*, *qalfata*. Fennis, drawing on an article by Lucien Basch from 1986 (‘Note sur le calfatage: la chose et la mot’), gives a more recent and detailed analysis:

[...] il faut distinguer deux procédés de calfatage: le premier vise à rendre la coque étanche en introduisant à force certaines matières entre les bordages, opération [...] introduite assez tardivement en Méditerranée [probably around the ninth century]; le second a pour but pour de protéger le bois; le mot qui désigne cette action est prob. d’origine arabe: *qilf* ‘écorce’, *qafr* ‘asphalte’ ou *kufr* ‘poix’, et il s’est diffusé par l’interm. du gr. *kalaphátès* (cf. *calfat*) On trouve *kalaphátou* dès le milieu du 6e s. (donc avant l’invasion arabe) dans un papyrus de Haute Egypte, mais la région d’origine, pour la méthode et le mot, pourrait bien être le Golfe Persique (Fennis 1995 : 455).

In this case, *calfter* seems to be an Italianism that first entered CF before being passed on into AN. Discussing the *calfater* word family in his article ‘Oceano Vox’, Trotter examines the transmission of Mediterranean

shipbuilding technology²⁵ as well as Vidos' 'Rouen hypothesis': i.e. the importance of the *Clos de Gallées* shipyards in the transfer of Genoese nautical lexis into CF in the 1300s (cf. **poupe / comyt / galiot**¹):

The parallels between documents in Rouen and documents in London are [...] not a surprise. [...], the indication seems to be that Anglo-Norman *calfater* and the hybridized *calfatyngge* made their way across the channel from Rouen. In any case, the word exemplifies language contact at a practical, everyday level and belies the notion of Anglo-Norman and French existing in insolation from each other (Trotter 2003b: 24).

²⁵ This involved the gradual shift in London from overlapping 'clinker' to butted 'carvel' planks (Trotter 2003b: 24).

11. AN camaca (n.) ‘a richly patterned lampas weave silk or damask, originally Middle Eastern and Oriental and then produced in Italy from the 1300s onwards’ ²⁶ < It. <i>cammocca</i> < Ar. / Pers. <i>Kāmha</i> (‘brocade’)				
Italian	Anglo-Norman	Continental French	(Middle) English	Medieval Latin
c1332-c1399	c1275-c1435	c1307-18 th c.	c1387-1876	1315-?1419
TLIO	sub cammuccà (n.) (6)	‘Tessuto pregiato in seta, damascato e broccato’ <i>denno avere ditto die per p(esse) nove <u>chamuchà</u> di cholori lbr. xviiiij, per lb. xj per lbr., lb. CCviiiij</i> (Doc. lucch. P.111.7) (1332-36, lucch.)		
OVI	<i>camuca</i> (4) <i>cammocca</i> (1) <i>cammucca</i> (1) <i>chamuchà</i> (2) <i>chamuccha</i> (1)	<i>Et sia licito a ciaschuno mercadante poter fare o fare fare <u>camuca</u> di una et di du sete in su li telari di <u>camuca</u> acolorati in simile</i> (Stat.lucch. LIV, cap.20, 139.10) (1376, lucch.) <i>E ragionasi che aria al Gattaio da 3 in 3 ½ pezze di <u>cammocca</u> di seta</i> (Pegolotti Pratica 23.21) (c1335-1343, fior.) <i>Velluti di seta, e cammucca, e maramati, e drappi d’oro d’ogni ragione</i> (Pegolotti Pratica 36.24) (c1335-1343, fior.) <i>denno avere ditto die per p(esse) nove <u>chamuchà</u> di cholori lbr. xviiiij, per lb. xj per lbr., lb. CCviiiij</i> (Doc. lucch. P.111.7) (1332-36, lucch.) <i>et pezze 8 di taffetà et pezze 8 di <u>chamuccha</u>, et pezze due di zetani</i> (Ranieri Sardo, 110.6) (1354-99, pis.)		
LEI	X			
DEI	sub cammuccà (n.) 704a	‘specie di stoffa damascata di seta introdotta in occidente nel XIII.’ [Pers. <i>hāmhā</i> ‘damasco’ / ‘brocado’] <i>camucà / cam(m)occà</i> (14 th c.) Sic. <i>camuca / ML camoca, -ane, -atum</i> (14 th c.)		
AND2	sub camaca (5)	‘camaca, a kind of rich fabric, probably of silk’ <i>et sont touz vestiz de draps d’or ou de tartaires ou de <u>camochaz</u></i> (Mandeville 390) (c1275) <i>mon graunt lit de <u>camaca</u> escheice blank et rouge</i> (Test. Ebor I 230) (1398)		
AND corpus	<i>camocas</i> (1) sub coverton <i>camaca</i> (1) sub deservir ³ <i>camocas</i> (1) sub angle ¹ <i>camocas</i> (1) sub oultremer <i>camocas</i> (1) sub or ¹	<i>Pour forrures pour le corps la royne, tant pour chapes, manteaux, sercos, gardecorps, couvertous (l. couvertons) et autre garnemens forrés d’ermine, de <u>camocas</u>, [...] Isabella Inventory 520</i> (1307-08) <i>mon entier vestiment de <u>camaca</u> noir fait a deserver pour messe de requiem</i> (Test Ebor I 227) (1398) <i>Item, une chappelle de <u>camocas</u> blanc, fournie de v chappes</i> (Bedford Inventories B16) (1389-1435) <i>une chappelle cotidienne de <u>camocas</u> d’oultremer sendree</i> (Bedford Inventories B63) (1389-1435) <i>Item, une autre tunique et damatique de <u>camocas</u> blanc, orfraiez d’or trait, e paramens, ymaiges par dessoubz [...] (Bedford Inventories B43) (1389-1435)</i>		

²⁶ Note also the following in the LCC entry sub **camaca**: “Lisa Monnas suggest that the term applied to different types of silks at different times and places (as with many textile terms): she suggests it was used for lampas silks with a tabby ground in late 14th-century English texts, but was used for a satin-ground textile produced in Genoa from the early 15th century” (cf. Monnas 1989: 286).

	<i>camocas</i> (1) sub feuille ¹	<i>une paire de solers de <u>camocas</u> blanc pour ung evesque, orfraiez de perlez et de rougettez brodez de feuilles et oiselez</i> (Bedford Inventories B14) (1389-1435)
LCC	sub camaca (n.) (8) (2= AND, 2= MED, 4= DMLBS) sub camaca d'ulremer (2) (1 = AND, 1=DMLBS)	'rich fabric, most often silk, similar to or resembling damask; associated in particular with an Italian silk cloth popular in England in the fourteenth century' [ML or OF, ultimately from Arabic <i>kamkha</i> , from Persian.] <i>pur les litz meisme nostre fille, quatre pieces contenantes oyt draps de <u>camaka</u> doubles</i> (from a document subsidiary to accounts of the great wardrobe, 38 to 45 Edward III) (PRO E101/395/2,45-46) (c1370) 'silk fabric (camaca) from the Near East (rather than from Italy)' <i>une chapelle cotidienne de <u>camocas</u> d'oultremer sendree</i> (Bedford Inventories B63) (1389-1435)
DEAF	X	
DMF	sub camocas (n.) (8)	'Étoffe de soie (luxueuse) se rapprochant du satin' <i>Pour demie aune de fin <u>camoquoy</u>s d'Outremer, pour estofer lesdictes tacètes</i> (Comptes argent. Rois Fr. D-A. II, 21) (1342)
GDF	sub camocas (n.) (19)	'étoffe de soie se rapprochant du satin' <i>'Une robe de <u>kamokas</u> / Une robe de <u>quamocau</u> / I corsset de <u>kamoquau</u> / <u>kamokas</u> indes</i> (Compt. De Geoff. De Fleuri, ap. Douët d'Arcq, Compt. De l'Argent, pp. 8, 11, 13, 60) (1316) <i>Une chambre a parer, pallee de drap d'or et de <u>camocas</u></i> (Arch. K 8, f.103) (1352)
TL	Ø	
TLFi	Sub camocas (1)	'Tissu précieux de provenance orientale, dont l'aspect rappelait le damas' [Empr. à l'ar. <i>kamhā</i> ' brocard'] <i>camocas</i> (1299) (The inventory of the jewels and wardrobe of Queen Isabella, ed. Rhodes 1897, p. 520) ²⁷ <i>camuscat</i> (1313) / <i>camocas</i> (1328)
FEW	XIX:83a kamhā	'esp. d'étoffe de soie très riche' Fr. <i>camuscat</i> (1313-17), <i>quamoqua</i> (1317-19), <i>camocas</i> (1328), <i>quamoquoy</i> (1342), <i>kemkha</i> (1358), <i>camoquais</i> (1363) / Occ. <i>camoscac</i> (1371) / Bressan (SE France) <i>camôca</i> [Dieser stoff wurde in China, Indien, Persien, in Bagdad und in Damaskus hergestellt und vom 14. bis ins 18 jh. in grossen mengen nach dem Okzident verkauft. Ar. <i>kamhā</i> ist wahrscheinlich selber chinesischen ursprungs. In Europa wurde der stoff seit dem 14 jh. in Lucca hergestellt.]
MED	sub camoca (n.) (8)	'A rich fabric; ?a kind of brocaded silk' [< ML and OF] <i>Item j pannus novus de serico viridis coloris de <u>Kameka</u></i> (Acc.R.Dur.in Sur.Soc.100, 375) (1338) <i>Charite is..al-so glad of a goune of a grey russet As of a cote of <u>cammoka</u> [vrr. <u>camaca</u>, <u>cammaka</u>] oþer of clene scarlett</i> (PPI.C Hnt HM 137)

²⁷ The earliest TLF citation is from AN in Queen Isabella's Inventory. However, this source is from 1307-08, not 1299 as confirmed by the author who first gleaned the citation, claiming that the copyist misdated it (Rhodes 1897: 517).

	sub quisse (1)	(c1400,?a1387) <i>De une peire de quissez coverts de <u>camoca</u>..delivrez en la gard le Roe..xiiij s. iiij d</i> (Bill Armourer in Antiq.22, 150) (1341) ²⁸
OED2	sub camaca (n.) (8)	‘A kind of fine fabric, probably of silk or satin’ [< OF <i>camocas</i> / <i>kamoukas</i> or ML <i>camoca</i> / <i>camucum</i>] <i>Item j pannus novus de serico viridis coloris de <u>Kameka</u></i> (Extracts Acct. Rolls Abbey of Durham II 375) (1338) <i>A cote of <u>cammoka</u> oper of clene scarlett</i> (<i>Piers Plowman</i> C. xvii. 299) (1393)
DMLBS	sub camoca (7) 251a	‘camaca, a fabric resembling damask’ [Ar. <i>kamkhā</i> < Persian] <i>cum casula dupplici de panno de <u>camboca</u></i> (Invent. Ch. Ch. 68) (1315) <i>iiij quissinos apertos de <u>camoca</u> outremer</i> (KR Ac 391/15 Arch. XXXI 72-78) (1349) <i>cum tribus tunicis de nobili albo panno serico, qualem <u>cammoka</u> vulgo vocamus</i> (G.S. Alb. II 124) (c1390)
DC	sub camocas (7) sub camocatus (4)	‘Panni serici vel pretiosioris species’ <i>Unum vestimentum pro ferialibus diebus : album de <u>Camoca</u>, cum casula. Unum mantellum.... de <u>Camoca</u> duplici cum alba taffatin.</i> (Monasticum Anglic. tom. 3. part. 2. pag. 81 /86) (att. ?) ²⁹ ‘Camocatus, Camoscatus, ut Camoca Panni serici vel pretiosioris species’ <i>Item una casula, una Dalmatica et una tunica de <u>Camoscato</u> nigro, gutato gutis albis pro officio defunctorum.</i> (Inventar. S. Capellæ Paris Reg. I. Chartoph. reg. ch. 7) (1325)
Additional sources		
BML-matrix		
Great Wardrobe Accounts (1325-1371)	<i>camaca</i> (1) <i>camac</i> ’ (2) <i>camoca</i> (2) <i>camaka</i> (3)	<i>camaca</i> (E361/3/5r) (1325-26) <i>camac</i> ’ (E361/3/16r) (1330-31) <i>camoca</i> (E361/3/35r) (1339-40) <i>camoca</i> (E361/3/44r) (1345-49) <i>camac</i> ’ (E361/3/48r) (1349-51) <i>camaka duplic</i> ’ / <i>camaka sengl</i> ’ (E361/41/4r) (1360-61) <i>camaka dupl</i> ’ (E361/4/17r) (1370-71) (All Monnas 1989: 294-302)
Exchequer Rolls of Purchase (1327-1394)	<i>camaca</i> (3) <i>camac</i> ’ (4) <i>camoca</i> (1) <i>camaka</i> (2)	<i>camaca</i> (x2) (E101/382/2) (1327) <i>camaca rub</i> ’ & <i>alb</i> ’(x2) (E101/384/6) (1329) <i>camac</i> ’ <i>adaur</i> ’ (x2) (E101/386/5) (1331) <i>camac</i> ’ <i>adaur</i> ’ <i>de Luk</i> ’ / <i>camaca</i> (E101/387/13) (1334-35) <i>camoca rub</i> ’ & <i>ynd</i> ’ (E101/390/1) (1342) <i>camac</i> ’ <i>diu</i> ’s <i>color</i> ’ (E101/390/9) (1344-45) <i>camac</i> ’ <i>radiat</i> ’ / <i>camac</i> ’ (E101/392.3) (1350-51) <i>camaka sengl</i> ’ (E101/394/9) (1361-62) <i>camaka dupl</i> ’ (E101/402.13) (1392-94) (All Monnas 1989: 302-04)
Comments Transmission Type 2b / Semantic Field: textile		
<i>Camaca</i> was particularly popular luxury fabric in the fourteenth century courts of England and France. To take		

²⁸ This citation is not used in the AND.

²⁹ Note that this is a BML source.

just one example, it is listed amongst taffetas, velvets, jewels, headdresses and other lavish belongings of the twelve year old Queen Isabella when she married Edward II of England in January 1308 (Rhodes 1897). Like many other imported silks, its earliest origins are Middle Eastern but production also later moved to Northern Italy, with Lucca in particular being a leading centre:

The 1376 statutes of the Merchants court at Lucca record the many types of silk being woven in Lucca towards the end of the fourteenth century. Under the influence of imported textiles the range of lampas weaves had increased and six or seven kinds are mentioned [cf. **baldekin, imperial, ragamas**] (Monnas 1993: 168).

There is general agreement in the major French dictionaries that *camocas* is an Arabism, stemming from *kamkhā* or *kāmha*, meaning ‘cloth of gold’ or ‘brocade’. This probably comes in turn from Persian and ultimately, perhaps, from the Chinese *km* for ‘gold’ (cf. FEW sub **kamhā** in the Orientalia section and also Newton 1980: 116). Strikingly, the FEW entry makes no mention at all of the Italian *camaca*, although it does cite Lucca as a main centre of fabrication. There is an impressive range in the spelling of the ‘exotic’ lexeme in CF from c1307 onwards with Godefroy, for example, listing *camocas / camoquas / camocaix / kamokau / kamoquau / quamocau / quamoquau / kamekas / quamoscaz / camousquaz / kamorcas / camomas*.

In the AND corpus, *camaca* is attested fourteen times from c1275 (Mandeville) in six different sources but the spelling seems more uniform: *camaca, camaka; camoca, camocas, camokas*. Whilst these forms could be claimed to mirror their CF counterpart *camocas*, they could equally be direct Italianisms, derived from *cammocca*. BML versions of the silk (from 1315) are *cambocha, camoca, cammoka, kameka, camaca* and *camaka*. The ME *Piers Plowman* (c1387) contains *cammoka, camaca, cammaka* and unsurprisingly, ME appears to have absorbed the AN and / or BML silk name.

Whilst basing any kind of theory on the fickle nature of medieval spelling is, at best, speculative, I believe that this Arabism could well have entered AN and / or BML records via an Italian intermediary rather than a CF one. It is not unreasonable to suggest that Italian played at least a partial role in the use of AN / BML *camaca* in some sources: this was precisely the period that domestic Italian *camaca* production was at its peak and Italians were directly in charge of its import into England.³⁰ It is surely no coincidence that the silk appears time and time again beside other Italian imports such as **attaby, taffata, tartaryn** and **sarzinett** in the Great Wardrobe Accounts for Edwards II and III, as well as in Exchequer Rolls of Purchase until the reign of Richard II in 1394.

³⁰ Note that the LCC has two separate entries to differentiate between Italian *camocas* and those from *ulremer* i.e. the Near East.

12. AN camelin (n.) ‘cameline: a costly fabric, possibly originally of camel hair, but later a mixture of wool and other fibres’ (CF <i>camelin</i>) < It. <i>cammellino</i> < Lat <i>camelinus</i> (‘of a camel, camel-coloured’)				
Italian 1263-c1400	Anglo-Norman c1220-c1334	Continental French c1235-1773	(Middle) English c1400-present	Medieval Latin 1202-15 th c.
TLIO	sub cammellino (n./ adj.) (10)	‘tipo di panno (solitamente di lana)’ <i>It. viiii s. di p(ro)ve. nela deta fiera, i quali furo p(er) una ala di <u>camelino</u> che mandai</i> (Doc. Sen, p.363.4) (1263, sen.)		
OVI	<i>camelino</i> (5) <i>cammellino</i> (1) <i>camellino</i> (2) <i>chamellino la</i> (5) <i>gamellini</i> (1) <i>kamellini</i> (1) <i>kameli</i> (1)	<i>I quali furo p(er) una guarnacha di <u>camelino</u> la q(uale) mandai a Mino Orlandi</i> (Doc. Sen., p.362.30) (1263, sen.) <i>E in giubba di seta si rivestì, e a collo si puose uno mantello di <u>cammellino</u></i> (Tavola ritonda, cap.23. 85.6) (c1350-1400, fior.) <i>Per chan(n)e una e mezza di <u>camellino</u> di Doagio</i> (Libro dell’Asse sesto, 146.5) (1343, fior.) <i>Per ventuno b. di <u>chamellino</u> d’Orci per miei panni</i> (Docf.ior 448.8) (1278-70, fior.) <i>Pessa di panno cambrascino, cioè di viridi, et broi, e <u>gamellini</u>, canne X et braccia II</i> (Stat. pis. Cap.61, 236.21) (1321, pis.) <i>E sei peze <u>kamellini</u> di Lilla e due bigi di natura</i> (Doc. Fior. 462.18) (1278-79, fior.) <i>Peze VJ, due <u>kameli</u> di Lilla e tre dossini e una violeta: ragionai lb. LXXXIJ</i> (Doc. fior. 460.13) (1278-79, fior.)		
LEI	sub camelinus / *camellinus (3-5, fasc. 86)	n. ‘tessuto di cammello: tipo di tessuto di lana o di pelo di camello’ <i>guarnacha di camelino</i> (Ugolini) (1263, sen.) <i>kamellini di Lilla</i> (1278-79, fior.) <i>chamolino</i> (1265) / <i>camelino bianco</i> (1305-08) agg. ‘di pelo cammello’ <i>cameline</i> (c1275) agg. ‘di colore bruno’ (di salsa fatta con camella e cardamomo) <i>salsa camelina</i> (1334-35, fior.) [La forma diminutivale di <i>camellus</i> , cioè * <i>camellinus</i> , continua sia nell’uso originario aggettivale, sia come agg. sost. Per queste ultime forme, sono da confrontare anche fr. <i>camelin</i> , ‘stoffa di pelo e di capra mista di lana e di ceta’ (FEW 19, 64) e occit. a <i>camelin</i> (ib.) sv. ar. <i>hamlat</i> . Per il FEW l’influsso di <i>camelus</i> sarebbe secondario]		
DEI	sub cammellino (699b)	‘colore brunastro’ <i>cammellino</i> (15 th c.)		
AND2	sub camelin (n.) (4)	‘cameline, camlet’ <i>de camelot, de camelinos: <u>camelin</u></i> (TLL ii 133) (c1220) <i>E une robe de blaunke <u>cameline</u> linet de cendel</i> (Wardrobe Spaldington 100) (1298) <i>un bon drap e fyn d’escarlet, e un autre fyn <u>camely</u></i> (Lett EPW 120) (1304-05)		

LCC	sub cameline (n.) (8) (AND= 2 MED =2 DMLBS = 4)	'luxury fabric thought to be made from wool and silk or other fibres (originally thought, probably falsely, to contain camel's hair; or used of fabric resembling camel's hair), in various colours' [< OF <i>chamelin</i> < ML <i>camelinus</i>] <i>un bon drap e fyn d'escarlet, e un autre fyn <u>camely</u></i> (Lett EPW 120) (1304-05) <i>deus mauntels de <u>camelyn</u></i> (Sel Bills Eyre 19) (1292-1334)
DEAF	X	
DMF	sub camelin ¹ (11)	'éttoffe légère et fine fabriquée avec du poil de chameau ou de chèvre' <i>un blanc drap et un <u>camelin</u> à cordeliers</i> (Hist. industry. Drapière Flandre F.P. t.3, 293) (1335)
GDF	sub camelin ² (n.) (14)	'éttoffe de poil de chèvre, mélangé de laine et de soie' <i>Lambert se vest d'un rice drap feitis d'un <u>camelin</u> tretout fouré de gris</i> (Auberi p. 111, Tarbé) (c1235-65) <i>Laisons a l'abaesse nostre robe et <u>camelin</u> blanc</i> (Titres de la masion d'Anjou, Arch. P. 1354 ¹ . pièce 823) (1314)
TL	sub chamelin (n. / adj.) (14)	'ein Wollstoff, s.v <i>camelot</i> ' <i>Roi ont fait (li pastorel) dou plus bel; Mantel ot de <u>camelin</u></i> (Rom. U. Past. II 41.6) (13 th c.)
TLFi	sub camelin (adj. / n.)	2. 'Moyen Age: Drap de laine fine, à double face, primitivement fait de poils de chameau ou de chèvre, mêlés de laine et de soie' [dér. <i>camelot</i> < Ar. <i>hamlat</i> / < Lat. <i>camelinus</i>] <i>kamelin</i> (1244)
FEW	XIX, 64b hamlat	'éttoffe de poil de chèvre mélangé de laine et de soie' <i>camelin</i> (13-15 th c.) / <i>quamelin</i> (1320, Lyon), / Occ. <i>camelin</i> (1331)
MED	sub camelin (n.) (7)	'A fabric of wool mixed with silk or other fibers' [AF <i>camelin</i> & CF <i>chamelin</i>] [<i>Item, pro ij <u>Camelin</u>' de Tripl' emptis</i> (Wardrobe Acc.de Clare in Archaeol.70) (1286)] <i>Dame Abstinence-Streyned Tok on a robe of <u>kamelyne</u></i> (RRose Htrn 409, 7369) (c1400)
OED	sub cameline (n. ¹) (8)	'A kind of stuff made (or supposed to be made) of camel's hair: cf. camlet. Also the trade name of a modern fabric' [OF <i>camelin</i> , ML <i>camēlinum</i>] <i>And dame Abstinence..Toke of a robe of <u>kamelyne</u>, And gan hir gracche [? graithe] as a bygyne</i> (Rom. Rose 7367) (c1400)
DMLBS	sub camelinus (12) (248b)	'cloth made of (or imitating) camel's hair, cameline' [< CL] <i>Pro ij <u>camelinis</u> de Cambrey</i> (Pipe 81r. 13) (1237)
DC	sub camelotum (4)	<i>Pro capa de <u>Camelino</u> furato de v. octo diebus post medium Augustum c. s...</i> <i>Pro roba <u>Camelino</u> furata de ver ad omnium Sanctorum viii. l.</i> (Computus reddituum Regis Francorum) (1202)

Comments

Transmission Type 2b / Semantic Field: textile

This cloth is well attested in the English and French records in the 1200s and 1300s and appears to have been worn frequently not just by nobles and royals but by the prosperous middle class as well (Newton 1980: 27-28). The general consensus is that the first imports of the fabric such as the *kamelino ultramarino* from the Close Rolls of

1257 and the *camelin' de Tripl'* in the 1286 Wardrobe Accounts came from the Middle East and were woven, as their name suggests, from camel hair. These fabrics were almost certainly imported into England by the Italian merchant who supplied English royal and noble households with a range of exotic goods (cf. Chapter 2.5). However, we also encounter northern French and Flemish copies (e.g. *chamellino d'Orci*, *camelinis de Cambrey*, *camellino di Doagio*, *kamellini di Lilla*) whose precise characteristics remain elusive; glosses for *camelin* include several component materials, including sheep and goat's wool and silk.

Traditionally, *camelin* has often been catalogued as a type of *camelot*³¹ whose name ultimately originates in the Arabic *ḥamlāt* ('woollen cloth'). This is defined by the LCC as "rich, silken fabric; originally [...] associated with a silken material resembling or mimicking animal hair (particularly camel hair), but [which] came to be associated with various rich fabrics, often of Eastern origin or provenance." Indeed Du Cange, the TL and the FEW include *camelin* under *camelot* and the latter suggests a derivation with a suffix change as a possible etymology. However, the DMF stresses in its entry sub **camelin** that, "*camelot* et *camelin* désignent bien deux tissus différents, bien distingués dans les textes (même si au XVIII^e s. la confusion est possible)". Even so, it is worth pointing out that the earliest citation in the AND (from John of Garland's *Dictionarius*, c1220) also places the two fabrics together: *de camelot, de camelinos: camelin*.

The FEW's other suggested etymon - the Latin *camelinus*³² - seems a much more likely candidate (cf. LEI sub **camelinus** / ***camellinus**), particularly as we have examples of its vernacular use not only as a fabric but also as an adjective of colour: see DEI sub **cammellino** and the GDF citation sub **camelin**² from 1243: *on ne doit faire vert, ne brunet, ne blo, ne camelin, se taint en laine non* (Règl. de la drap. de Châlon-sur-Marne). As with so many internationally exported fabrics, variations of *camelin* seem to have permeated various commercial lexes near simultaneously, but it worth bearing in mind the likelihood of Italian *cammellino*'s influence in the English cloth market from the 1200s onwards. An intriguing possibility of direct Italian borrowing is the AN variant *camely* (AND2 sub **camelin**) in the Letters of Edward Prince of Wales from 1304-05. This fabric name is a unique form in the English record but very similar to the Florentine cloth *kameli*, attested in 1278-79 (OVI sub **kameli**).

³¹ See, for example, OED2 sub **camlet** / AND sub **camelot** / DMF **camelot** / TLFi **camelot**¹. The TLIO sub **ciambellotto** entry states that this cloth can be woven variously from camel hair, wool or silk and that its etymon is either the Gr. *kamelote* or OF *chamelot*.

³² This is perhaps the root of another *cameline* (a type of spicy cinnamon sauce for meat) which crops up frequently in the French, Italian and English medieval record. It is so-called (according to the DMLBS sub **camelinus**) because it is 'camel-coloured' (cf. also LEI sub **camelinus** / ***camellinus**). However the OED2 sub **cameline** adj¹ / n.² and the FEW II sub **chamælinum** propose the Greek *χαμαίλινον ('dwarf flax').

13. AN carat (n.) ‘carat: measure of weight for precious stones or gold’ CF <i>carat</i> < It. <i>carato</i> < Ar. <i>qīrāṭ</i> (‘weight of four grains’)				
Italian c1260-present	Anglo-Norman c1485	Continental French 1360-present	(Middle) English 1469-present	Medieval Latin 1267-1458
TLIO	sub carato (n.) (11)	<p>1. ‘Unità di misura delle leghe aurifere’ <i>Qui ti saluto ormai e quel tuo di Latino tien’ per amico fino a tutte le <u>carrate</u> che voi oro pesate</i> (Brunetto Latini, Favolello, 161, p.284) (1260-66, fior.)</p> <p>2. ‘Unità di misura delle pietre preziose’ <i>Perle e dicine di saggi, cioè perle di <u>carati</u> 2 ½ insino in 14 [...]</i> (Pegolotti Pratica 26.28) (c1335-43, fior.)</p> <p>3. ‘La ventiquattresima parte di un ‘oncia’ <i>Pepe, e incenso, giengiovo, mastico, cannella, zettovare, e di tutte altre spezierie grosse che si garbellano, <u>carati</u> uno per centinaio di peso</i> (Pegolotti Pratica 44.25) (c1335-43, fior.)</p>		
OVI	<i>carato</i> (100+) <i>carati</i> (600 +) <i>charato</i> / <i>i</i> (50+)	<p><i>Tu si dei multiplicare 24 via 7 <u>carati</u> per li 12 s. si farai 3/5 di <u>carato</u></i> (Libro di ragioni 39.13) (c1330-25, pis.)</p> <p><i>Dimmi quanto varranno le 125 oncie et 13 teri e 14 grani d’oro, che sia di <u>carati</u> 22 ½ per oncia</i> (Jacapo da Firenze, Tract. Algorismi cap. V 22.48) (1307, fior.)</p> <p><i>Nui avemo (con)prado 4 marche e 5 onçe e ¾ ½ e 7 <u>charati</u> piçiolli d’oro de <u>charati</u> 19 e 2 grane [...]</i> (Zibaldone da Canal, 7.4) (1310-30, venez.)</p>		
LEI	X			
DEI	sub carato ¹ (n.) (754a)	<p>‘misura di peso per diamanti e perle ed espressione del grado di purezza dell’oro’ [< Ar. <i>qirat</i>. Cf. spgn. e port. <i>quilate</i>, <i>quirate</i>. Il fr. (fine XIV ec.) e ingl. <i>carat</i> sono prestiti dall’it.] ML <i>caratus</i> (a1264, Bologna / 13th c., Piacenza) / Ven. <i>carato</i> (1268)</p>		
AND2	sub carat (n.) (4)	<p>‘carat, measure of weight used of precious stones’ <i>une perle ronde blanche qui poise j <u>carat</u> [...]</i> <i>une perle de vij <u>caras</u></i> (PRO E163/9/21 f.1r) (c1485)</p>		
AND corpus	<i>carat</i> (1) sub glaceux <i>caras</i> (3) sub quarré	<p><i>Item se les baillais quarés sont aucunement glaceux et oultre ce persez, on ne les doibt acheter que au <u>carat</u></i> (PRO E163/9/21) (c1485)</p> <p><i>Item, les ballais quarés touz nez et de bonne couleur non perses sepuis .xxx. <u>caras</u> la piece jusques a. l. <u>caras</u> la piece vaillent .xx. escuz d’or le <u>carat</u></i> (PRO E163/9/21) (c1485)</p>		
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub carat (n.) (15)	<p>‘Partie d’or pur égale à un vingt-quatrième du poids total d’un alliage; étalon en joaillerie’ <i>Pour VI onces, I estellin et demi dor à XX <u>caraz</u>, pour un seel nommé le seel du secret de Monseigneur, et tant poise senz la chaenne</i> (Comptes Navarre I.P. 195) (1367-71)</p>		
GDC	sub carat (n.) (8)	<p>‘chacune parties d’or fin continues dans une quantité d’or quleconque que l’on suppose partagée en vingt-quatre parties égales; le poids de quatre grains, en parlant des petits diamenats, des perles etc’ <i>un plat d’or, a xxii <u>quarais</u></i> (Invent. Du D. d’Anjou) (1360)</p>		
TL	sub carat (n.) (1)	<p><i>Les drames, <u>caras</u>, demidragmes</i> (EDesch P. m et hist.263) (c1370-1407)</p>		
TLFi	sub carat (n.)	<p>1. ‘Unité de poids employée pour l’estimation des pierres précieuses, en particulier</p>		

		des diamants, et équivalant à quatre grains' 2. 'Unité de mesure employée pour l'estimation du titre de l'or et équivalant au vingt-quatrième de la masse totale d'un alliage contenant de l'or' [Empr. à l'ital. <i>carato</i> < Ar. <i>qīrāt</i>] <i>quarais</i> (1360)
FEW	sub XIX 94b qīrāt	'unité pour mesurer la pureté de l'or, 1/24 de l'or fin' Fr. <i>carat</i> (late 14 th c.) / Occ. <i>carrat</i> (14-15 th c.) [Direkt aus dem ar. sind übernommen pg. <i>quirate</i> , pg. sp. <i>quilate</i> , kat. <i>quirat</i> . Ins latein der alchimisten ist es als <i>carratus</i> aufgenommen worden, aus dem sich it. <i>carato</i> , fr. <i>carat</i> , d. <i>karat</i> usw. ergeben haben] ³³
MED	sub carat (n.) (4)	'A measure of the fineness of gold, a carat' [OF, ult. Gr.] <i>And every lb. weght of the Toure of the seid monyes..shalbe of xxiii carattis, iii greynes of fyne</i> (Indent.Edw.IV in Archaeol.15) (1469)
OED2	sub carat (n.) (20+)	'A measure of weight used for diamonds and other precious stones, originally ¹ / ₁₄₄ of an ounce, or 3 ¹ / ₃ grains, but now equal to about ¹ / ₁₅₀ of an ounce troy, or 3 ¹ / ₅ grains, though varying slightly with time and place / A proportional measure of one twenty-fourth used in stating the fineness of gold; e.g.. if the mass contain 22 parts of pure gold and 2 of alloy, it is said to be 22 carats fine, or gold of 22 carats' [Fr. <i>carat</i> < It. <i>carato</i> < Ar. <i>qīrāt</i>] <i>A certayne measuer called a charect, whereof thre make a dramme</i> (R. Huloet Abcedarium Anglico Latinum at Scruple) (1552)
DMLBS	sub carata (6) 278c	'carat, weight of gold' [Ar. <i>qīrāt</i> < Gr. <i>κεράτιον</i>] <i>Mercatores auri habent suas probationes per cotem vel per carectes auri ad hoc factas, ut sciatur quot graduum auri, quot argenti et quot cupri vel habeant omnes gradus auri</i> (Bacon, Min. 375) (1267)
DC	∅	

Comments

Transmission Type 2b / Semantic Field: unit of measurement

This is an example of an apparently straightforward case of an Arabism (*qīrāt*) passing into CF via Italian - as confirmed by Hope (1971:33) and Fennis (1995:486) - and then on into AN. The eventual result in English is a word which we still use today. There are hundreds of attestations of *carato* in the TLIO / OVI corpora from c1260 onwards. The earliest is in fact from a literary source (the *Faveello*, a short poem by the Florentine, Brunetto Latini), showing, perhaps, to what extent this technical term had already permeated educated vocabulary by the mid-thirteenth century. Nevertheless, the vast majority of sources in the 1300s are, unsurprisingly, mercantile, including not just account books but accounting manuals such as the *Libro di ragioni* from Pisa, the *Zibaldone* merchant handbook from Venice and Jacapo da Firenze's treatise on algorism. These texts all highlight Italy's place at the forefront of commercial (and mathematical) innovation at the time, absorbing lexis from the Middle East via its extensive trade links and adopting the more advanced Arabic system of numbering (cf. Chapter 5.4).

All AN citations are from the same source, c1484: the King's Remembrancer of Henry VII catalogued in the National Archives as "a book containing inventories of jewels, coins, accounts and other matters". The appearance of

³³ Hope (1971: 33) comments on this assessment by the FEW: "[...] we note, however, that early documentation in both French and Italian is connected rather with trade and official financial transactions".

carat in AN is surprisingly late, after its first attestation in an ME text, and it is tempting to suggest that earlier AN-matrix examples are yet to be discovered in an unpublished document. It is also important to note the presence of *carectes* in BML as early as 1267, in the *Opus Minus* of the Roger Bacon, a medieval scholar of alchemy and mathematics. His use of *carectes* could represent a direct, learned borrowing from Arabic, as the DMLBS sub **carata** suggests.

14. AN carpet (n.) ‘ a thick fabric used to cover tables, beds, floors etc.’ < It. <i>carpeta / carpita</i> < Lat. * <i>carpita</i> ³⁴ < Lat. <i>carpere / *carpire</i> (‘to card, pluck’)				
Italian c1178-15 th c.	Anglo-Norman 1397-c1437	Continental French 1313-16 th c.	(Middle) English c1436-present	Medieval Latin 1281-1442
TLIO	sub carpita (n.) (10)	‘Panno di lana o pelo lungo, usato per far coperte grossolane, spessi indumenti per l’inverno o tappeti ; l’abito, la coperta di carpita’ <i>Et ei Paxia habeo de viro m(e)o colcera una (et) unu(m) oreger (et) <u>carpite</u> due</i> (Doc. Savon. 173.13) (1178-82, lig.)		
OVI	<i>carpite</i> (6) <i>carpita</i> (8) <i>carpiti</i> (5)	<i>(Et) ei Paxia habeo de viro m(e)o colcera una (et) unu(m) oreger (et) <u>carpite</u> due</i> (Doc. Savon. 173.13) (1178-82, lig.) <i>Et che nullo testore, machio vel femina, tessa alcuno panno, <u>carpita</u>, vel celone [...]</i> (Stat. pis. Cap. 66, 706.28) (1304, pis.) <i>Item per <u>carpiti</u> quatru novi tr. Xxiiij</i> (Senisio, Caternu 1, 161.10) (1371-81, sic.)		
AD	<i>carpita</i> (1) <i>carpite</i> (1)	<i>E una balla di panni invogliata di <u>carpita</u>, queste cose manderemo a Firenze</i> (Signa-Pisa 6301474, B115. 57.1) (1392, tosc.) <i>E le fargane o <u>carpite</u> non vi iscordino, da C a CC, averne qulache aviso o Barzalona [...]</i> (Firenze- Prato 1402143, B1096, 1, 181.4) (1397, tosc.)		
LEI	sub * carpita (19) ‘lana scardata’ (362b -363b, fasc. 104)	‘panno di lana a pelo lungo, coperta’ <i>carpite due</i> (1178-82, savon.) (Dichiazione Paxia) <i>carpita</i> (c1250, It. merid.) <i>carpita</i> (1304, pis.) <i>carpeta francisca</i> (1307, ven.) <i>carpite</i> (1318-12, sen.) <i>carpita</i> (c1350-1400, fior.) <i>carpita</i> (1348, sic.) <i>carpiti tri</i> (1430, Palermo) <i>carpeta</i> (Latin of Genoa, 1292)		
DEI	sub carpita (n.) (779a)	‘sorta di panno peloso per far coperte da letto [passato come prestito nell’ a. fr. <i>carpite</i> ’ [Forse da <i>carpere</i> , documentato dal Cecchetti nel 1177 e nel 1260 a Bologna] <i>carpita</i> (13 th c., Rome)		
AND2	sub carpet (n.) (4)	‘carpet, covering’ <i>xvj. <u>carpitz</u> petitiz [...]. j. large <u>carpit</u> [...]</i> (Gloucester Inventory 307) (1397) <i>petite <u>carpet</u> en le chapell / iij. <u>carpettz</u> de lether</i> (Rot Parl ¹ iv 234 /231) (1423)		
AND corpus	<i>carpet</i> (1) sub briser (1)	<i>i autre <u>carpet</u> brusez</i> (Rot Parl ¹ iv 234) (1423)		
LCC	sub carpet (n) (6) (1= AND / 2 =MED / 1=DOST / 1= LEXP/ 1= DMLBS)	‘floor covering or other soft furnishing; of cloth or leather’ [Cf. OF <i>carpite</i> ; etymologically related to <i>charpie</i> (Lat. <i>carpia</i>)] <i>Item, .i. <u>carpet</u> bien veille contenant .ix. verges .iij. quarters, pris .xiiij. s. .iiij. d</i> (Rot Parl ¹ iv 233) (1423) <i>III <u>carpettz</u> de lether ... ii pair’ de draps champayn fyn ... Item, i esparver palez de tarterin vert, blanc & vermaille</i> ((Rot Parl ¹ iv 234 /231)		

³⁴ Cf. the LEI: “le forme galloromanze alto-medievali suppongo già un lat. tardo regionale *CARPITA.”

DEAF	X	
DMF	sub carpīte (n.) (3)	‘Tapis’ <i>Li rois des menestreus qui le autres aquite Se leva en estant pardessus la <u>carpīte</u></i> (BRIS, Restor paon D, 104) (a1338)
GDC	sub carpīte (n.) (7)	‘gros drap rayé, tapis mobile ne recouvrant qu’une partie de la pièce’ <i>Une <u>carpīte</u> verde semme d’escus</i> (Trav. aux chat. Des Ctes d’Art. A.N. KK 393 f.44) (1313)
TL	sub carpīte (n.) (3)	<i>Le pale c’ot vestu qui fu fais a Melite Descrīre et desfent que ne vaut I <u>carpīte</u></i> (RALix. 512.19) (att. ?)
TLFi	sub carpette (n.)	‘Tapis qui ne couvre pas la totalité d’une pièce’ [Empr. à l’angl. <i>carpet</i> < OF <i>carpīte</i> < Ital. <i>carpīta</i>] <i>carpette</i> (1582)
FEW	XVIII 40a: carpet	‘gros drap rayé’ MF / Fr. <i>carpette</i> (1582) [E. <i>carpet</i> (seit dem 14 jh. belegt) ist aus afr. <i>carpīte</i> (< it. <i>carpīta.</i>) entlehnt. Es ist im 16 jh. vom fr. zurückentlehnt worden]
MED	sub carpet(te) (n.) (13)	‘A piece of cloth used as a covering for beds, floors, tables, altars, etc.’ [< OF <i>carpīte</i> & ML <i>carpīta</i>] [Item, unus pannus qui vocatur <u>Karpete</u> (Doc.in Der.ANHSJ 4,115) (1345)] <i>For a <u>carpet</u> for ovr countur in þe parloure</i> (Grocer Lond. Kingdon 241/17) (1436-7)
OED	sub carpet (n.) (20+)	‘A thick fabric, commonly of wool, used to cover tables, beds, etc.’ [Item, unus pannus qui vocatur <u>Karpete</u> (Sacrist’s Roll Lichfield Cathed. in Derbysh. Archæol. Trans. 9) (1345)] <i>Chambres of pleasaunce..all the floures covered with <u>carpettes</u></i> (MS Add. 6113 f. 106a, in Dom. Archit. III. 107 sig. Iij) (1472)
DMLBS	sub carpettum (5) (286b)	‘carpet, coverlet, hanging’ [ME, cf. OF <i>carpīte</i>] <i>ij cistulas cum ij <u>carpītis</u> debiles dictas cistulas cooperiendis</i> (Reg. Heref 378) (1328) <i>et mundacione sex <u>carpettorum</u> x s; pro lotura et mundacione aliorum tapetorum diversorum xx s.</i> (Issue R 561r. 13) (1399)
DC	sub carpīta (2)	‘vox Italica, Panni villosi vel crassioris genus, et vestis ex eo panno ; unde nostris etiam <i>Carpīte</i> , Hispan. <i>Carpeta</i> , tapes’ <i>Habeat unusquisque frater unam <u>Carpitam</u>, quod est nostræ religionis signum, non de petiis consutam, sed contextam</i> (Stat. capit. gen. Carmel. apud Cl. V. Garamp. in Dissert. 2. ad Hist. B. Chiaræ pag. 144) (1281)
Additional sources		
BML-matrix		
VOH	<i>carpettz</i> (1)	<i>Item idem Michael vendidit eidem Nicholo Blome vij <u>carpettz</u> pro xlvjs viijd</i> (VOH 13: 26) (E101/128/31 ret. 3, John Chicele, host to Genoese strangers, transc.p. 112) (1440-42)
Comments Attestation Type 2b / Semantic Field: textile		

It is widely accepted by all the major dictionaries that CF *carpite* (att. 1313) derives from the It. *carpita*, attested as early as c1178 in the *Ligurian Dichiarazione Paxia in Savona*. The term originally referred to a thick cloth woven from hair or wool and used for a variety of purposes: a covering for furniture, walls and floors and even to make monks' robes (cf. the citation from the Carmelite Order, 1281,³⁵ in Du Cange). The ultimate etymon is the late Latin **carpire*, a variant of *carpere*, meaning 'to card or to pluck wool'.

The earliest appearance of the term in England (1328 in the BML Hereford Registers) uses the CF (or Italian-derived) form *carpite*, as does the AN Gloucester Inventory nearly seventy years later. But an alternative spelling, *carpete*, also emerged in the 1340s (*Item, unus pannus qui vocatur Karpete*) and this became the dominant vernacular form from the fifteenth century onwards, appearing in AN from 1423 (AND2 sub **carpet**) and ME from c1436 (MED sub **carpette**). According to the FEW³⁶ and TLFi, *carpette* was then reborrowed into French in the 1580s and is, as such, classed as an Anglicism.

There are three possible reasons behind the development of the *carpete* spelling in England. Most likely, it is due to an indigenous development of either an *-ete* suffix in insular French or the past participle form *-eta* (from *carpere*) in BML. Even so, it is also worth noting the presence of *carpeta* in the northern Italian record, as found in the LEI (369a): one from a Genoese Latin-matrix source in 1292 and another in the Venetian dialect of 1307.³⁷ These lexemes, while less well-recorded, could easily have been passed to fourteenth-century English merchant communities. In either case, we can argue that Italian either directly or indirectly influenced the spread of the term *carpet* in AN and in ME.

³⁵ Note that the OED2 entry dates this ML source as 1291.

³⁶ Discussion of the fourteenth-century use of *carpite* is notably absent from the FEW entry.

³⁷ Indeed, contrary to the TLFi and FEW's assessment, the LEI even claims that it is these Genoese-Venetian *carpeta* is the root of the sixteenth-century *carpette* in France, rather than English *carpet*.

15. AN carrak (n.) ‘a large, armed merchant vessel, with three or four masts, used especially by the Genoese and the Portuguese from the 1300s to the 1700s’ CF <i>carraque</i> < Gen. / It. <i>caracca</i> < Ar. <i>harrāqa</i> (‘fire ship’) ³⁸				
Italian c1270-present	Anglo-Norman 1406-1444	Continental French c1245-19 th c.	(Middle) English c1386-19 th c.	Medieval Latin 1157-1547
TLIO	[sub caracca (n.) (1)]	‘Nave da carico o da guerra di grande stazza’ <i>Quando meno lo mercatante lo sperava, arrivóe sua <u>caracca</u> sana e salva nel porto</i> (Vita di S. Antonio) (att. ?)] ³⁹		
OVI	X			
LEI	X			
DEI	sub caracca (n.) 750a	‘sorta di nave grande da carico o da guerra, genovese collo spagn.’ [< port. <i>carraca</i> dall.ar. <i>harrāqa</i> . Il fr. <i>caraque</i> usato nel XIII sec. da Filippo di Novara è un italianismo] <i>carraca</i> (c1270)		
AND2	sub carrak (n.) (4)	‘carrack, armed merchant vessel’ <i>dez gentz aliens vieгнаuntz en le poort de dite ville, come in <u>carrages</u>, galeys et niefs</i> (Blk Bk Ston i 98. 14) (1406)		
AND corpus	<i>Carrak</i> (1) sub escriven <i>carrake</i> (1) sub dunt ¹ <i>carrake</i> (1) sub halt <i>carrake</i> (1) sub Italien <i>carrake</i> (1) sub patron <i>carrakes</i> (1) sub de <i>carrakes</i> (1) sub demure <i>carrakes</i> (1) sub venir	<i>L’escriven de la <u>Carrak</u></i> (Port Bks 106) (1427-30) <i>Entré de .j. <u>carrake</u> donk est patron Piere V. de L</i> (Local Port Bk 10) (1435-36) <i>le queux mariners en le dit nief seigl[ant] sur l’aute meer encontrerount une <u>carrake</u></i> (PRO SC 8/118/5863) (?1430) <i>Entre le xxvij^{me} jour de august j <u>carrake</u> patron karole ytalyen</i> (Port Bks 82) (1427-30) <i>Entre j <u>carrake</u> de Janne, patron Anree Spinol</i> (Port Bks 42) (1427-30) <i>en graundez flotes dez <u>carrakes</u> [...] veignauntz aveners ou affairs en l’avaunt ditz port del amysté notre seigneur le Roy</i> (Blk Bk Ston i 100.28) (1406) <i>en l’ester et demoeure de tiels <u>carrakes</u> [...] deinz mesme le poort</i> (Blk Bk Ston i 98.20) (1406) <i>graundez fflotes dez <u>carrakes</u> [...] veignauntz aveners ou affairs en l’avaunt ditz port</i> (Blk Bk Ston i 100.27) (1406)		
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub caraque (n.) (17)	‘Bâtiment (à voile) de grandes dimensions, rond et élevé sur l’eau, servant au transport ou à la bataille’ <i>Et avoit retenu et mis en certains pors (...) tel quantité de vaissiaus,</i>		

³⁸ Described by Vidos (1939: 288) as “a kind of ship in which are engines for throwing fire upon the enemy at sea”.

³⁹ As the TLIO states that this attestation “è con ogni probabilità un falso del Redi”. This refers to the rather extraordinary tale of Francesco Redi (1626-97), a renowned scholar, scientist and lexicographer for the Accademia della Crusca, who simply invented hundreds of ‘medieval’ citations and source texts to go in his dictionary entries. His academic misconduct is detailed in ‘Le falsificazione di Francesco Redi nel Vocabulario della Crusca’ (Volpi: 1915-16).

		<i>de carrakes, de gallées et de barges, que pour passer et porter soissante mil hommes et leurs pourveance</i> (Froissart, Chron. L., I, 117) (c1375-1400)
GDC	sub caraque (n.) (3)	‘sorte de navire’ <i>quantité de vaissiaus, de carrakes, de gallées et de barges</i> (Froiss. Chron I. 117) (c1375-1400)
TL	sub caraque (n.) (3)	‘eine Art Schiff’ <i>avoient..pris un petit vaiseau des Sarazins, que les Sarazins apelent en lor lengage karaque</i> (Phil. Nov. Mém. 182) (c1245)
TLFi	sub caraque / carraque (n. / adj.)	‘Grand navire du xv ^e et du xvi ^e siècle qui desservait les Indes et l’Amérique du Sud’ [prob. par l’intermédiaire de l’ital. <i>caracca</i> [...], plus spéc. du génois] ML <i>carraca</i> (à Gênes) / <i>karaque</i> (c1245) / <i>carraque</i> (1391)
FEW	XIX, 66b : harrāqa	‘petit bateau des Sarrazins’ OF <i>caraque</i> (1245) ‘grand bateau à voiles’ MF <i>caraque</i> (14 th c.) / <i>queraque</i> (1369) / <i>craque</i> (15 th c.) Occ. <i>caraca</i> / Norm. <i>caraque</i> [Diese schiffsbezeichnungen bezogen sich zuerst auf orientalische schiffstypen. 1 tritt zuerst in Italien auf, wo mlt. <i>carraca</i> in Genua schon 1157 bezeugt ist. Von dort entlehnt pg. sp. kat. <i>carraca</i> sowie oben 1. Italien hat das wort direct aus dem Orient entlehnt]
MED	sub carik(e) (n.) (20)	‘A type of large ship [orig. Spanish or Italian]’ [OF <i>caraque</i> / ML <i>carrica</i> , ult. Ar.] [<i>Quaedam grossa navis, vocata Carrak de Janua.</i> (Rymer’s Foedera 1816-69, 4.161a) (1383)] <i>And now hath Sathanas..a tayl, Brodder than of a carryk [vr. Carike] is the sayl</i> (Chaucer CT. Sum. D1688) (c1395)
OED2	sub carrack (n.) (22)	‘A large ship of burden, also fitted for warfare, such as those formerly used by the Portuguese in trading with the East Indies; a galleon’ <i>Brodder than of a carryk [MSS., carrik, carik, carike, caryke] is the sayl</i> (Chaucer, Summoner’s Tale 24) (c1386)
DMLBS	sub carraca (14) 287a	‘carrack, merchant ship’ [cf. It. <i>caracca</i> (?) < Ar. (pl.) <i>qaraqir</i> < Gr.] <i>advecte sunt trieres Southamptoniam, quas caricac alii vocare solent, referte multi generis speciebus et vinis aliisque diviciis.</i> (Wals HA I 450) (1381)
DC	sub carraca (1) sub caraca (2)	‘Navis oneraria, Italis <i>Carraca</i> , nostris <i>Carrache</i> ’ <i>Et post Venetiis ascendentes quamdam Carracam, transivimus per mare Adriaticum</i> (Epistola Paschalis Minoritæ apud Waddingum. num. 10) (1342) ‘Navis oneraria, Ital. <i>Caracca</i> , Angl. <i>Carak</i> , Gall. <i>Carraque</i> ’ <i>Inter alias varias adversancium naves et naviculas, quinque habebat grandissimas sibi obvias, quarum tres erant Caracæ de urbe Januæ</i> (Chron. Joan. Whetham. pag. 447) (?1420)
Additional sources		
Italian-matrix		
Letter sent to Pietro	<i>caracche</i> (1)	<i>e guardare tante marine è molto difficile, oltre la speranza hanno nelli popoli e quando tutte le altre cose manchino, ci pare intendere si incuorino avere Lipari, e che, per rispetto delle caracche, il Re Alfonso non lo possi</i>

de' Medici (1494)		<i>soccorrere, e quello si uno luogo molto atto a guerreggiare il Reame</i> (Desjardins and Canestrini 1859: 382) (1494)
AN-matrix		
VOH (1440-44)	<i>carracke</i> (9) <i>carrake</i> (3) <i>carak</i> (2) <i>carryke</i> (2) <i>carake</i> (1)	<i>John de Pounte Venystiane dischargy en un carracke unde est patrone John de Mantillez xliij buttez de Malvesey</i> (VOH 54:15, E010/128/31 ret. 28, John Betham, host to Benedetto Borromei, merchant of Florence, transc. p. 101) (1441-42) <i>In a carak the patrone Jacome Rose xxxix case sope</i> (VOH 18:20, (E101/128/30 ret. 8, Sir William Estfield, host to Leonardo and Giulio Contarini, merchants of Venice, transc.p. 31) (1441-42) <i>Primerment rescu en j carrake veignantz a Hampton en le mois de Fevere vC xlvij buttys Malvesey</i> (VOH 45: 6, E101/128/31 ret. 8, Thomas Walsingham, host to Federico Corner and Carlo Contarini, merchants of Venice, transc. p. 68) (1441-42).
ME-matrix		
CA (1450)	<i>caryk</i> (3) <i>caryke</i> (1)	[...] <i>iiij^f lxxvj pokys wolle aftyr the rate of þe weyȝths of Engelande, schippyd in a caryk of Jene at Southehampton</i> (Cantelowe Accounts, 3a) (1450)
Latin-matrix		
Genoese law (1157)	<i>carracam</i> (1)	<i>Ego non faciam neque facere faciam galeam, meque sagitteam, neque carracam</i> (Leges genuenses, Hist. part. monum XVIII, 13. In: Vidos 1939 : 290) (1157)
SH Customs Acc, (1380-92)	<i>carrake</i> (15+) <i>car(r)aka</i> (20+) <i>carraca</i> (100+)	<i>carrake</i> (PRO, E122/138/2, m. 1. Customs Accounts, Southampton) (1380) <i>caraka</i> (PRO, E122/138/11, rot. 1. Customs Accounts, Southampton) (1383) <i>caracca</i> (PRO, E122/138/20, rot. 6 Customs Accounts, Southampton) (1392) (All in Nicolini 2007: 292-294)
CA (1450)	<i>carraca</i> (1)	<i>Factura lanorum pockes cccclxxvj signate, numerate et depincte, prout inferius continetur carigate in carraca unde est patronus Antonio de Aurea de Janua</i> (Cantelowe Accounts, 8a) (1450)
Comments		
Attestation Type 2b / Semantic Field: maritime		
Unusually, we have more citations of this ship type in the major French and English corpora than in the Italian ones. As Tomasin summaries in his study on maritime lexis, this is an:		
Altro arabismo di probabilmente mediazione genovese: <i>caracha</i> nel lat. med. di Genova” (DELI, s.v. <i>caracca</i>), documentato in francese già dal sec. XIII nel significato di ‘piccola imbarcazione dei Saraceni’ e dal 1391 [in the Italianising text, <i>Gestes des Chiprois</i>] come ‘grande imbarcazione a vela’ (Tomasin 2010: 268).		
Like tarette , it seems that <i>carrak</i> is an Arabic ship name which entered French via an Italian intermediary and like fortune , it is a nautical term most likely passed on (at least in part) from Genoese. ⁴⁰ The Italo-Arabic roots of the term are clearly represented in its earliest CF attestation, c1245 (<i>que les Sarazins apellent en lor lengage</i>		

⁴⁰ We have no extant record in AN of many other Genoese maritime loanwords that are found in medieval CF. To give just three examples: *nochier* (att. 1246) < *naucherius* / *nozher*, ‘helmsman’, (Tomasin 2010: 267); *fougoun* (att. 1443) < *fogone*, ‘ship’s hearth’, (Tomasin 2010 :266); *proue* (att. 1246) < *proa*, ‘prow, front of a ship’, (Fennis 1995 :1496). We do have evidence of the latter term’s transmission into English, of course, (OED3 sub **prow**, n. 2, att. 1555): given the fact that *proe* entered CF along with technical terms such as **poupe**, we could argue that an unattested AN intermediary existed.

karaque) in the writings of Phillippe de Novare, an Italian noble who travelled extensively in the Holy Land. There is general agreement that Italian (and especially Genoese) *carraca* reinforced the loanword's usage in CF from the mid-thirteenth century onwards (cf. Hope 1971: 33, Vidos 1939: 290-91). Noting the presence of *carraca* in the ML of Genoa as early as 1157, Vidos concludes that the ship name entered Genoese (possibly via Sicily) and, from there, radiated out into Spanish, Portuguese and French maritime lexis:⁴¹

[...] data la vetustà della voce a Genova (sec. XII) e dato che anche nelle marine spagnuola e portoghese, le caracche furono considerate come di provenienza Genovese, l'arabo *harrāqa* penetrò prima in Italia, forse direttamente a Genova. Anche da punto di vista fonetico la via araba < siciliano (o araba <Genovese?) calza molto bene se consideriamo che il mutamento dell'arbo *-h* < spagnolo *-c* è piuttosto raro, mentre in siciliano è regolare. [...] Da Genova, che è stata il punto d'irradiazione, la voce passò nell'italiano, (sec. XV), nel veneziano (sec. XIV), nello spagnolo (sec. XIII) e direttamente o attraverso lo spagnolo nel portoghese (sec. XV) e nel catalano (sec. XV) [...] La voce francese, al principio del sec. XIV, viene altresì da Genova. (Vidos 1939: 290)

The name of this large merchant ship⁴² takes a bit longer to appear in English records but from the 1380s onwards, citations abound in BML, AN and ME material. In an extensive article from 2007 entitled 'Commercio marittimo genovese in Inghilterra nel Medioevo (1280-1495)', the historian Nicolini carefully catalogues over 260 landings made in London, Southampton and Sandwich by Genoese vessels. His sources are the (nearly all unpublished) Latin-matrix Exchequer Customs Accounts and sections of the King's Remembrancer (absent from the DMLBS), together with Foster and Studer's editions of the Southampton Port Books (used in the AND corpus). The first use of the term *carrake* appears in a BML-matrix Customs Accounts, referring to the ship the *Saynte Marie* (patrons: Paulus Spynarde and Antonius Isnarde) which left Southampton on the 20th of April 1380 (Nicolini 2007: 292). As Nicolini (2007: 228) points out, the switch-over from smaller Genoese merchant vessels (recorded as *naves*) to the new *carrack* is clearly mirrored over a decade or so in the Southampton Custom Accounts:

1371-72	<i>naves</i> 3	<i>carrake</i> 0
1379-80	<i>naves</i> 2	<i>carrake</i> 1
1380-81	<i>naves</i> 2	<i>carrake</i> 4
1383-84	<i>naves</i> 0	<i>carrake</i> 11

The carrack was not the sole preserve of the Genoese however, and the Venetians (as well as Iberian merchants) eventually embraced these capacious vessels; fifty years later, in the *View of the Hosts* (1440-44), we find numerous references to carracks in relation to merchants from Venice.

⁴¹ This is contrary to the DEI's etymology which suggests the Arabism entered Italian via Portuguese.

⁴² As discussed in Chapter 2.5, the Genoese were at the forefront of medieval shipbuilding technology and originally developed the carrack to transport even larger amounts of cargo: over three times as much as a standard medieval galley (Nicolini 2007: 227).

16. AN cassel (n.) ‘a chest or coffer, often used to transport merchandise’ < Ven. / It. <i>cassella</i> < Lat. <i>capsella</i> ⁴³ (‘small chest’)				
Italian c1275-17 th c.	Anglo-Norman 1397-c1436	Continental French c1200-c1290	(Middle) English 1381- a1475	Medieval Latin c1170-1388
TLIO	sub cassella (n.) (7)	‘piccola cassa’ <i>banchi IJ laveçi IIIJ de pera et una ferssora et una cadena et una et una chasela</i> (Doc. Ven 2, p. 55.23) (1307, ven.)		
OVI	<i>cassella / e</i> (6) <i>chaxella / e</i> (5) <i>chasela</i> (4) <i>casela</i> (3)	[...] <i>se da qua Avanti li diti officiale lagarà averta alguna porta, cassella o banco del so officio</i> (Stat. venez. Cap. 119, 54.24) (1366, ven.) <i>Item tuol la flor de lo rosmarin e metillo in la toa chaxella lòche tu teni li tuò drapi [...]</i> (Zibaldone da Canal, 96.35) (1310-30, ven.) <i>Banchi IJ laveçi IIIJ de pera et una ferssora et una cadena et una chasela</i> (Doc. Venez 2, 55.23) (1307, ven.) <i>Nape IJ de tabula, (e) plumasi V da man, cupertora IIIJ, casela J</i> (Dpc rag. c1275, ven.)		
LEI	sub capsella (20+) (794b, fasc. 99)	‘mobile, recipiente’ <i>casselle</i> (‘piccole casse’) (c1300-1350, ven.) <i>chasela</i> (1305) / <i>cassella</i> (1311) <i>casela</i> (1317) / <i>casela</i> (1553, ven.) Dér. <i>casseleta</i> (1406, ven.)		
DEI	sub cassella ¹ (n.) (794b)	‘piccola cassa’ [Lat. <i>capsella</i> , dimin. di <i>capsula</i> (capsa)] <i>cassella</i> (15 th c.)		
AND2	sub cassel (n.) (4)	‘chest / ?case’ <i>j. tuail, j. lectronarie, .iii. chesiblez, dount .ij. caseles ovesqe parures</i> (Gloucester Inventory 292) (1397) <i>j. cassel de gynzibre / j. cassel de triacle cont. .clxxiii. boistes</i> (Local Port Bk 82 / 94) (1435-36)		
AND corpus	<i>cassel</i> (1) sub cassen	<i>j cassel de suchre cassen</i> (Pork Bks 110) (1427-30)		
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub cassel (n.) (0)	‘synon. de casset’ [No citation but link to AND entry]		
GD	sub cassel (n.) (3)	‘caisse, caisson’ <i>Et de loreins fres et noviau, trestont a or sont les cassiaus</i> (Perceval, ms. Monip. H 249, f. 214 ^b) (c1200) <i>En lor cassiaus n’en lor hernois fust per jalees ou per nois</i> (J. de Priorat, Liv. De Vegece, Richel 1604, f. 19 ^b) (c1290)		
TL	Ø			

⁴³ The LEI (802b, fasc. 99) states: “Il lat. *capsella* continua in forma popolare nella Galloromania e nell’ Itoloromania. Si opera una distinzione fonetica: *kassèlla* [...], *kašèlla*, forme galloromanze irradiate e la forma *causella*.”

TLFi	Ø ⁴⁴	
FEW	II-2, 1610a: cyathion XXII-2, 32a 'Inconnus'	'bénitier' <i>cassiau</i> (Central France, no date given) 'coffin' <i>cassiau</i> (Nantes, no date given)
MED	sub cassel (n.) (2?)	'a casing' [< OF] <i>For to make capons in <u>casselys</u>. Nym caponys..opyn the skyn at the hevyd and blowe hem tyl the skyn ryse from the flesshe [...]</i> (Pegge Cook.Recipes (Dc 257), p.99) (1381) / <i>To mak capon in <u>cassolont</u>, tak a capon..and blow the skyn with a pen and raise it all about..and mak a farsor..and sew the skyn [etc.]</i> (Noble Bk.Cook.Hlk 674) (?a1475)
OED	X	
DMLBS	sub cassella (2) 293b	'a corporal case / little receptacle, basin' [cf. <i>capsella</i>] <i>in probatorio <u>cassellam</u> testeam ad modum parvule cisterne sub terra fabricaverat, cui aqua influebat</i> (W. Dan Ailred 16) (c1170)
DC	sub cassella ² (1)	'Inter utensilia ecclesiastica recensetur' <i>Abstulit... tria thuribula, duo vacilia, duas <u>Cassellas</u>, septem candelabra, etc</i> (Chron. Sublac. apud Murator. tom. 4. Antiq. Ital. med. ævi col. 1053) (att. ?)
Additional sources		
ME-matrix		
<i>Liber cure Cocorum</i> (c1430)	<i>cassolyce</i> (1)	<i>Capone in <u>Cassolyce</u>: Take capons and scald and pick them then the skin you open [...]</i> (Liber cure Cocorum) (Morris 1862: 62) (c1430)
Comments		
Transmission Type 2b / Semantic Field: containers / bundles		
<p>Like casset, we have here another Italianism for 'small chest or container' appearing in the AN Port Books of Southampton, as well as, in this case, the Gloucester Inventory of 1397 (another regular loanword source, see, for example, attaby, carpet, taffata). Furthermore, we can pin down <i>cassel</i> as a Venetian loanword, as is confirmed in the LEI entry sub capsella and the large number of Venetian attestations in the TLIO / OVI corpora from c1275 onwards.</p> <p>Apart from our AN examples (to which the DMF sub cassel refers), evidence of the lexeme in medieval French is very thin on the ground. The LEI (820b) notes: "La forma <i>cassel</i> esiste anche nel fr. a <i>cassiau</i> (m.) 'cassetta'". This refers to three thirteenth-century literary citations of OF <i>cassel</i>, or at least its plural <i>cassiau</i>, found in Godefroy. I cannot find any other clear record of this medieval form in the major French dictionaries; the FEW has two undated examples of <i>cassiau</i>, one in its 'unknown' section and one (meaning 'font') under</p>		

⁴⁴ Both the TLFi sub **casseau** and the FEW II-1, 314a sub **capisa** cite *casseau*, 'chacune des deux parties de la casse', a typographical term, attested in 1733. They do not refer to the thirteenth century citations given in Godefroy.

the Greek etymon *cyathion* ('bowl'). It seems very likely the appearance of AN *cassel* is directly linked to Venetian *cassella*: the relevant sections in the Port Books of 1427-30 / 1435-60 record the cargo of incoming ships from Venice (Foster 1963: 82, 94) and list alongside our cassels of ginger and treacle, *iii balet de garbelure de peper* and *xiii sport de almand* (see **balet** / **garbeler** / **sport(in)**).⁴⁵

It seems probable that the example of *cassellam* attested c1170 (DMLBS) is not linked to Venetian *cassella* and is a 'homegrown' BML variant, independent of the Italianised, commercial-based usage found in the Port Books and Gloucester Inventory.

Interestingly, the only ME evidence of *cassel* is in a culinary context. The plural forms *casselys* (att. 1381) and *cassolyce* (att. c1430) both appear in recipe names for stuffed capon⁴⁶ in *Curie on Inglysch* and the *Liber cure cocorum*. There appears to be no equivalent term in the medieval French cooking repertoire, either insular or continental. The most modern edition of *Curie* offers little help in its glossary, simply stating that "*in casselys* may mean enclosed" (Hieatt and Butler 1985: 176). In fact, it seems that the AN (or possibly even Italian)⁴⁷ term for 'little box or container' has been adapted here in a culinary sense. The same recipe appears in a later book (*Noble Boke Off Cookry ffor a Prynce Houssolde*, ?a1475), under the title *Capon in cassolont*. This term likely stems from AN **cassolette* / CF *cassolette*, a diminutive of *cassole* ('petit récipient servant à divers usages', att. 14th c.): cf. TLFi / DMF / GDC sub **cassolette**, GDF sub **cassole** and FEW II-2, 1601a: **cyathion**.

⁴⁵ The same page of the accounts also contains two references to bales of *marmatik*, unique in the English and French record. As Foster (1963: 95) footnotes, this is 'probably some kind of spice or herb' and given the source, the name could well be an Italianised form. However, I have been unable to track a suitable Italian etymon to propose and the merchandise in question remains a mystery.

⁴⁶ This clever method of "turning the capon into two" could be Arabic in origin (Hieatt and Butler 1985: 176). See Rodinson (1949: 157) and also (**pume**) **d'orange** for Middle Eastern influence on medieval English culinary recipes.

⁴⁷ Note that I have been unable to find an equivalent use of the term *cassella* in culinary Italian. Even so, whilst the era of widespread Italianisms in English cuisine was centuries away (cf. Durkin 2014: 371, Pinnavaia 2001: 278-79), there is some evidence of influence in this semantic field in the later Middle Ages, see *erbolate*, *rafiole*, *rukkel* and *salad* (Table 2: Volume 2, Appendices). A recipe for *connates* ('quince preserve') also appears in the *Curie on Inglysch* (see **cotegnate** < It. *cotognato*).

17. AN casset (n.) ‘a small chest-like container used for transporting goods or storing money / precious items’ CF <i>cassette</i> < It. <i>cassetta</i> < It. <i>cassa</i> < Lat. <i>capsam</i> ⁴⁸ (‘chest’)					
Italian c1250-18 th c.		Anglo-Norman 1435	Continental French 1348 -19 th c.	(Middle) English 1793-1881	Medieval Latin X
TLIO	sub cassetta (n.) (37)	‘contenitore, piccolo cassa’ <i>so’ buferi et uso ciance, cedro vendo e mele arance e fo <u>cassette</u></i> (Ruggieri Apugliese 2.81 p. 894) (c1250, sen.)			
OVI	<i>cassetta</i> (80)	<i>so’ buferi et uso ciance, cedro vendo e mele arance e fo <u>cassette</u></i> (Ruggieri Apugliese 2.81 p. 894) (c1250, sen.)			
AD	sub cassetta (1)	<i>cioè casse e pilate e <u>cassette</u> e ferramenti di bottega</i> (Avignone B152 cc2-5) (1367)			
LEI	sub capsam (50+) XI, f98	‘piccola casa a base quadrata e rettangolare, con coperchio, di materiali diversi, adatta a contenere oggetti di piccole dimensioni’ e.g.. <i>cassetta</i> (1500, ven.), <i>chasetta</i> (1381 sen.), <i>casseta</i> (c1358, rom.) ‘cassetto, vano o oltre recipiente dove i negozianti e gli artigiani tengono il denaro ricavato delle vendite e dal lavoro giornaliero’ <i>chasetta</i> (1318, fior.), <i>cascecta</i> (1343, sic.) <i>cassetta (del patron)</i> (1797, venez.)			
DEI	sub cassa 1, 794	‘scatola, cassa’ <i>cassetta</i> (13 th c.)			
AND2	sub casset (n.) (1)	‘chest, container’ <i>j <u>casset</u> de vermelou</i> (Local Port Bk 84) (1435)			
AND corpus	<i>casset</i> (1) sub sucre <i>casset</i> (1) sub vermeilloun	<i>j <u>casset</u> de suchre candy</i> (Local Port Bk) (1435) <i>j <u>casset</u> de vermelon, poisant lx.li</i> (Local Port Bk 84) (1435)			
DEAF	X				
DMF	sub cassette (n.) (2) sub casset (n.) (1)	‘petite coffre, boîte’ <i>Une pièce de drap d’or bien riche de veloux sur veloux veluté cramoisi vermeil tenant 20 aulnes 2 tiers justement estant en une cassete</i> (Aff. Jacques Cœur M, 86) (1453-7) ‘petit coffre’ <i>Ung casset de boys a garder les corporaulx</i> (S. Math, Morl, Arch. Finist.) (1485)			
GDF	Ø				
GDC	sub cassette (n.) (3)	‘petite caisse où l’on serre de menus objets’ <i>petites <u>quacetes</u></i> (Ch. des compt. de Dôle G 82, A. Doubs) (1348) <i><u>cassate</u> de bois</i> (A. mun. Angers CC3 r145) (1410)			
TL	Ø				
TLFi	sub cassette (n)	‘Coffret en métal ou en bois rare, souvent ouvragé, renfermant de l’argent, des papiers ou objets de valeur, parfois des vêtements, des ossements’ <i>cassette</i> (1348) / <i>quacete</i> (1348) <i>la cassette du Rois</i> , ‘King’s private income’ (1837) / <i>Pour les beaux yeux de sa</i>			

⁴⁸ For detailed discussion on whether the proto-Romance etymon was in fact **capsea*, see the LEI (XI fasc.99, pp.788-9).

		<i>cassette</i> , 'For her dowry' (1870)
FEW	II, 1: capsa	'petite châsse à reliques' OF <i>chassete</i> (12th-13th c.) 'petit coffre' MF <i>casset</i> (Finistère) (1485) 'petit coffre pour y serrer des objets précieux' MF <i>cassette</i> (1348) Mod. Fr: 'trésor particulier d'un prince' (1609), 'somme que le roi reçoit chaque mois' (1740-98) [Es ist möglich, dass das wort [<i>casset</i>] aus Italien nach Lyon gekommen ist; aber in der Normandie ist das wort in dieser bed. wohl einheimisch].
MED	Ø	
OED2	sub cassette (n) (3)	1. 'a casket' <i>In very bad weather, take out my <u>cassette</u> and write to you</i> (R. Southey Life I.196) (1793)
DMLBS	Ø	
DC	Ø	

Comments

Transmission Type 1b / Semantic Field: containers / bundles

Cassetta was a widely used term in medieval Italian, used in its earliest form as a container for fruit (as was the earliest Latin attestation by Pliny) and later used to hold other produce, official documents, money and holy relics. Both medieval Italian and French offer a dizzying array of words for small boxes as the long FEW / LEI entries sub **capsa** attest - *casselette / cassetette / caisset / cassard / chasseteron; cassetin / cassetina / cassetino / cassittella / cassetata / casola* - to name but a few. *Casset* appears three times in the Local Port Book (1435-36), in a list of goods unloaded from a Venetian galley on the 24th of November 1435 (Foster 1963: 83), and is recorded alongside other Italianisms naming containers (**balet**, **cassel**, **sport(in)**), commodities (**suchre candi**, **cotegnate**, **ris**), ships (**carrak**), crew members (**comyt**, **patron**) and units of measurements (**sarme**).

However, it is necessary to separate out the instances of AN / CF *casset* (a likely Italianism) from *chassette*, although the two would eventually become synonymous. The former term appears consistently in Port Books, inventories and accounts on both sides of the Channel for around a century between 1340s and the 1450s. The TLFi questions an Italian etymon for *casset* but has no separate entry for *chassette*. *Chassette* is first attested much earlier in the work of the Norman, Guillaume de St Pair, written c1160, with the manuscript dating from 1250. The term refers to a small coffer to house a saint's relics: *A la grant chasse sune venu...Dedenz aveit une chassette, Et illueques iest la boistete Ou saint Aulbert out totes mises Les reliques que aveit quisies* (MS Mich. 2740) (GDF sub **chassete** / TL sub **chassette**). As the TLFi states, this a derivation of the Old Norman *casse*, now *châsse* or 'shrine' in Modern French. By 1348, it seems that the *chassette* was also being used to hold money: *et à Jehan Le Doux, orfevre demourant à Paris, pour une chacete d'argent que il a faicte et delivrée pour M^{me}, 22 franz.* (Invent. mobiliers ducs de Bourg. P t2 42, DMF sub **chassette**). Conversely, in 1485, the *casset* (GDC sub **casset**) was being used for bones.

This story complicates further with the emergence of CF *caisse* ('a larger box for transporting money or merchandise') in documentation from the royal dockyards (*Clos galées*) in Rouen: att. 1336, DMF sub **caisse**. The FEW (II, 1, p.314b) states that this may well have come from Italian *cassa* in certain cases but from the indigenous Norman

casse in others (see also AND sub **case**¹, att. 13th c.). In contrast, the TLFi champions an Occitan etymon: “Empr., sans doute à la faveur de rapports commerciaux, à l'a. prov. *caissa*.”

18. AN celestrin (adj.) ‘(fabric) of sky-blue colour’ < It. <i>cilestrino</i> < Lat. <i>caelestinum</i> (‘heavenly’)				
Italian 1294 -1403	Anglo-Norman 1396-1415	Continental French 12 th c.-16 th c.	(Middle) English 1401-1483	Medieval Latin 1432-1497
TLIO	sub celestin o (adj./n.) (10)	<p>1. ‘di colore simile a quello del cielo sereno (azzurro pallido)’ (E) <i>ancho XIIJ pa(n)ni marcahti d’Ip(ro) , li due p(er)si (e) li otto açurini (e) celestrini (e) li tre sbiadati</i> (Doc sen. 412.13) (1294)</p> <p>1.2 ‘Panno dello stesso colore’ <i>Qui apresso scriveremo i panni che noi avemo da’ Bardi per vendere [[...]]: Un cilestrino di Borsella..</i>(Doc. fior, p. 151) (1318-22, fior)</p>		
OVI	<i>cilestrino</i> (26) <i>cilestrini</i> (6) <i>celestrino</i> (2)	<p><i>Furono per braccia 20 di tintillano cilestrino (Libro Giallo 153.3) (1336-40, fior.) / e gli uomeni in dosso ànno un cilestrino di zendado</i> (Ranieri Sardo227.9) (1354-99, pis.)</p> <p><i>Di k. giugno, p(er) II cianbeloti cilestrini p(er) la Tesa lb. XVIII s.XVIIIJ.</i> (Doc fior. 106.23) (1306-25, fior.)</p> <p><i>La quinta gemma Zaffiro s’appella ed è d’uno colore celestrino</i> (Intelligenza 20 v.2 10.15) (13th / 14th c. tosc.)</p>		
AD	<i>cilestino</i> (1) <i>cilestrino</i> (15) <i>celestri</i> (2) <i>cilestri</i> (15) <i>cilestra</i> (3)	<p><i>p(er) le p(r)ime ba(lle) ca(nne)II di panno di Firenze cilestino</i> (Avignone-Pisa B426, 275.11) (1384, tosc.)</p> <p><i>[...] del mio mantello e bottoni d’ariento ch’o levati dal mantello scarlatto e dal cilestrino</i> (Ponte a Sorga-Avignone-Prato, B109, 491.17) (1386, tosc.)</p> <p><i>Velutti celestri fino a due peze se venderebono lb.3 per braccio</i> (Milano-Bologna B720/11543.7) (1401, tosc.)</p> <p><i>Voluto entrovi più che non uno scarlattino e uno camellino e tanti meno azurri o cilestri</i> (Gaeta-Firenze B649/46 254.17) (1397, tosc.)</p> <p><i>5 paia di chalceti I ciopa cilestra I monchino I ciopa cilestra nuova</i> (Milano-Pisa B531/28 534.27) (1400, tosc.)</p>		
LEI	sub caelistinum (‘celeste’). Vol. IX, 591	<p>2a. <i>cilestrino</i> (‘azzurro chiaro’) adj. ‘di colore celeste pallido’ ML <i>panni celestrini</i> (Curia) (1287) <i>biffe verghate celestrine</i> (1294, sen.) / <i>ciambeloti cilestrini</i> (1306-25, fior.) / <i>cilestrino</i> (Boccaccio) (c1344) / <i>cholor celestrin</i> (1424, ven.) / <i>cordella a seta cilestrina</i> (Lorenzo Medici) (a1492, fior.)</p> <p>n. ‘panno di colore celeste pallido’ <i>celestrini</i> (1294, sen.) / <i>cilestrino d’Orci, di Doagio</i> (1319) / <i>cilestrino di Celona</i> (1336-40, ven.) / <i>cilestrini</i> (Pegolotti) (c1347) / <i>cilestrini fini di Chomo</i> (1369)</p>		
DEI	∅			
AND2	sub celestrin (adj.) (1) sub celestien (adj.) (1)	<p>‘sky-blue’ <i>drap de colour celestryn</i> (Grocers 90) (1401)</p> <p>2. ‘sky-bue’ <i>iiii russet de Colchestere scarletz, bloyes ou pers selestiens</i> (Man lang Ants 76.9) (1415)</p>		

LCC	sub celestien (adj.) (3) (2 = AND 1 = MED)	‘celestial, heavenly; by association (here), sky-blue (cloth & clothing uses appear only in vernacular attestations)’ [<i>< OF celestien < Lat. caelestis</i>] <i>iiii. russet de Colchestere scarletz, bloyes ou pers selestiens, plunketz sanguyns et violetz en greyn rayés, motlez de Sarisbury et autrez divers colours de plusours sortz</i> (Man lang. ANTS 76.9) (1396)
DEAF	X	
DMF	sub celestin ² (adj.) (2)	‘couleur du ciel, bleu ciel’ <i>Et c'est ce que signifie la couleur violete qui est couleur celestine [var. celine], qui monstre que du ciel vient l'ayde aux bons roys</i> (Jean Golein, Rational B.D, 690) (c1370-72)
GDF	sub celestin (adj.) (1)	‘céleste’ <i>couleur celestine</i> (Ballad, Triumph d'Ardr. et Guign., p. 250) (att. ?) ⁴⁹
TL	∅	
TLFi	∅	
FEW	II-1, 34b: caelestis	‘bleu du ciel’ OF / MF <i>celestien</i> (12 th -16 th c.) /OF/ MF <i>celestin</i> (13 th -16 th c.) ‘drap bleu de ciel’ Occ. <i>celestina</i> [<i>Caelestis</i> ist als erbwort nur in it. <i>cilestro</i> , ‘blau’, erhalten [...] Das fr. hat das wort aus dem lat. übernommen, als ausdruck der religiösen sphäre]
MED	sub celestin (adj.) (2)	b. ‘sky-bue’ [L <i>caelestinus</i> , cp OF <i>celestre</i>] <i>drap de colour celestryn</i> (Groncer Lond. In EGSt. 93) (1401) <i>Paid For the clothing murre and plunket celstyne</i> (Grocer Lond. 237/41) (1435-6)
OED2	sub celestrine / celstine (n.) (2)	‘A kind of blue cloth’ [apparently < Italian <i>cilestrino, celestino</i>] <i>The clothing murrey and plunket celstyne</i> (Some Acct. Worshipful Company of Grocers 419) (1435-36) Cloth called <i>Vervise</i> , otherwise called <i>Plonkets, Turkins</i> , or <i>Celestrines</i> (Act 1 Rich. III c.8 §18) (1483)
DMLBS	sub caelestinus (1) 237b	‘sky-blue’ <i>valde sublimes mercurium quousque caelestinum acceperit colorem</i> (Dastin. Ros 6) (1432)
DMLBS corpus	<i>celestina</i> (1) sub blodius (1) 204a	<i>septum deifice virtutes in puellaribus effigiebus...solis indute jubaribus super femora blodia celestina</i> (Reventus H VI. MGL III, 459)
DC	sub celestinus (1)	‘pro Cœlestinus, Color hyacinthinus’ <i>Item planeta Celestina purpurata cum leonibus aureis.</i> (Inventar. Monast. Cassin, tom 2, Hist. ejusd. Abbat p. 598, col. 1) (1497)
Comments Attestation Type 2a / Semantic Field: textile		
There was a complex range of blue tints available in the Middle Ages: AN and ME shades included <i>azur, celestrin, hawen, jacinte, passe, pers, persan, plunket, turkoise, turkin</i> and <i>wachet</i> as well fellow Italian borrowings paunace		

⁴⁹ This text does not appear in the *Bibliographie Godefroy*.

and **yndigo**. In many cases, including *bleu* itself, the adjective of colour also came to stand for the fabric name.

In ‘Medieval Colour Terms’, Monnas (2014: 28-29) notes there was even more than one kind of celestrine blue and cites the range described in a Florentine document of 1419-28 e.g. *cilestrino per Roma* and *cilestrino al modo nostro*. She also highlights that whilst we assume *celestrin* is a bright blue, like the sky, cloth samples of this colour sent from the Datini office in Barcelona to Florence in 1402-03 are, in fact, dark blue.⁵⁰

According to the LEI, blue *panni celestrini* are recorded in the Latin of Rome in 1287. Many more attestations of this fabric type follow from the 1290s in Italian merchant sources but the term appears to be absent, in this sense, from the CF corpus (note, however, the FEW’s undated citation of the Occitan blue cloth, *celestina*). Direct Latin influence is, of course, evident in the extant continental examples of this ‘heavenly’ colour but I believe the LCC, for example, has overlooked potential Italian influence in vernacular British texts.

Crucially for us, *celestrin* did enter English commercial terminology, appearing in AN and ME matrix inventories of the London Grocers in the first three decades of the fifteenth century (cf. Dietz 2005: 582-83), alongside other convincing Italianisms such as **balet**, **belendin**, **columbin**, **cot**, **garbeler**, **maykyn**, **net** and **tare**. The colour does not appear in the Royal Wardrobe Accounts of 1325-1462 (Monnas 1989) but is listed as one of three kinds of blue cloth in the Acts of Parliament of Richard III from 1483. The generic term used for these fabrics - *vervise* - remains a puzzle however: an ME hapax with no obvious etymon in French or Italian. It may well be that it is simply a mistranscription of *Venise*: Florio (1598) refers to the colour ‘Venice blue’ (OED2 sub **Venice**) as does Cotgrave in his dictionary (1611): “*Couleur Turquine*, a right blue, or Venice blue; the colour of the Turkie stone” (OED2 sub **turkin**).

⁵⁰ A photograph of these cloth samples (‘Lettera 1173 con campione di tessuto, Bacellona-Firenze’, c1402) can be viewed on the homepage of the Datini Archive website: datini.archiviodistato.prato.it/ (accessed 17/07/2016).

19. AN ceta (n.) ‘silk: a strong, shiny fabric, originating in China and woven from fibres produced mainly by the larvae of bombycine moths’ < It. <i>seta</i> < Lat. <i>sēricus</i> / Gr. <i>σηρικός</i> (‘silken’) < Lat. <i>Sēres</i> / Gr. <i>Σήρες</i> (‘oriental people’) ⁵¹				
Italian 1263-present	Anglo-Norman c1441	Continental French X	(Middle) English X	Medieval Latin 1118-1333
TLIO	X			
OVI	<i>seta</i> (500+)	<i>e posna di <u>seta</u> verde lavorata d’argiento sopra con s(con)iugato d’oro</i> (Doc. venez) (1263, venez.)		
AD	<i>seta</i> (100+)	<i>Il fiaschi d’ariento e una peza di drappo di <u>seta</u> di Romania</i> (B1168/2 cc.2r-2v.) (1382)		
LEI	X			
DEI	sub seta (n.)	‘setola e oggetto di seta’[Lat, <i>saeta</i> / <i>seta</i> , passato al germ. (anglos. <i>seta</i>) e celt. (irl. <i>sita</i>); panromanzo ma non rumeno] att. Dante (c.1300)		
AND	X			
DEAF	X			
DMF	X			
GDF	∅			
TL	∅			
TLFi	∅			
FEW	∅			
MED	∅			
OED	X			
DMLBS	∅			
DC	sub seta ¹ (4)	‘Sericum, quod vulgo dicitur <i>Seta</i> . Italis <i>Seta</i> , nostris <i>Soie</i> ’ <i>Tributum dare omni anno libras de <u>Seta</u> serica decem</i> (Joann. Lucium lib 2 de Regno Dalmat, cap 8) (1118)		
Additional sources				
AN-matrix				
VOH	<i>ceta</i> (1)	<i>Item ij fardellez de <u>ceta</u> que value xxxiiij^{li} vj^s viij^d</i> (VOH 54:22, E010/128/31 ret. 28, John Betham, host to Benedetto Borromei, merchant of Florence, transc. p. 101) (1441-2)		
Comments Attestation type 1a / Semantic field: textile				
When the millennia-long Chinese monopoly on sericulture finally ended in the first century A.D., Italy would go on to become Europe’s largest producer. By the 1100s, Palermo, in the south, and Como, in the north, were particularly famous for their craft and soon Tuscany and Venice would increasingly dominate silk and velvet production (see King and King 1988, Monnas 1993, Molà 2001). Italian merchants, as we have seen in Chapter 2, were at the very heart of the import market, shipping vast quantities of their own and oriental silks into England. We find numerous examples of these luxury fabrics in the <i>Views of the Hosts of Alien Merchants</i> (1440-44): e.g. baldekin , damaske ,				

⁵¹ The ultimate etymon for ‘silk’, a word that spread through all the language families of Europe, is still not entirely clear. The FEW and TLFi highlight the role played by the vulgar Lat. *saeta* (‘animal bristle’) which may have then been adopted to refer to the silk filament (cf. AND sub **seie**²).

imperial, tartarin, taffeta, talany.

The AN accounts in question here deal the imports into Southampton of the Florentine, Benedetto Borromei, and the Venetian, Paolo Morelli, as recorded by their English host, John Betham, a local wine dealer and former steward and deputy chief butler (Bradley 2012: 165). *Ceta* is a hapax, absent so far in any other French-matrix sources. Linguistically, its attestation is not interesting for any complexity of meaning but simply for the fact that it is, almost accidentally, there. It is not a classical borrowing by any means; it is not plugging a semantic gap and defining a new type of merchandise (as does, for instance, **talany** or **legea**, also unique to the Views) and it appears alongside four instance of *sylke* in the same manuscript. The use of a ‘c’ to render the sound [s] underlines, if there ever any doubt, the English authorship of the account and it is easy to imagine Betham talking to Borromei or Morelli and simply using an Italianised form of the item in question in this instance. Frustratingly, in this and so many other medieval language contact situations (cf. Chapter 3.2), we will never know exactly how or in what language(s) host and merchant stranger conversed but we can be confident that they did or the Views would never have been written. As Bradley notes in the introduction to her edition:

[...] the language of the Views was also influenced, at least in part, by the alien merchants themselves. Most of the information must have been given verbally. The Southampton host John Bethan, for instance, wrote silk as *ceta* rather than *soie* or *seirca*, opting for Italian instead of French or Latin. Hosts were clearly sometimes writing down their best guess (Bradley 2012: liv)

20. AN columbin (adj.) ‘(ginger) from the city of Quilon in the Kerala region of southern India’ < It. <i>colombino</i> < It. <i>Colombo</i> < Lat. <i>Columbum</i>				
Italian 1322-1397	Anglo-Norman 1414-1463	Continental French c1359-1410	(Middle) English a1475	Medieval Latin 1309
TLIO	sub colombino (n. / adj.) (3)	‘dal verzino (legno rosso da tinta) o dello zenzero : proveniente da Kollan (Quilon), città dell’India sudoccidentale’ <i>Zenzavo <u>columbino</u>, paghi chi vende per sensaria, per centonaio sol. quattro</i> (Stat pis Agg. cap 1, 591.25) (1322, pis.) <i>Giengiovo si è di più maniere, cioè belledi e <u>colombino</u> et micchino, e’ detti nomi portano per le contrade onde sono nati</i> (Pegolotti, Practica 360.27) (c1335-1343, fior.)		
OVI	<i>columbino</i> (1) <i>colombino</i> (6)	<i>Zenzavo <u>columbino</u>, paghi chi vende per sensaria, per centonaio sol. quattro</i> (Stat pis Agg. cap 1, 591.25) (1322, pis.) <i>Giengiovo belledi. Giengiovo <u>colombino</u>. Giengiovo crespo. Giengiovo pilazuto</i> (Pegolotti, Practica 294.2.29) (c1335-1343, fior.)		
AD	<i>colombino</i> (1) <i>colonbini</i> (1) <i>columbini</i> (1)	<i>Gieng. <u>colombi(no)</u> 60; Belleri 62; Mecchini 35/36</i> (Documento del 15.09.1385, 406.4) (1385) <i>Pepe lb. 8s. 5 rubo, bele(di) lb.80, <u>colonbini</u> 70, michini 45 cento</i> (Milano-Genova B780/28 112550 166.25) (1394) <i>Avixate quello vale piper, [zenzovo] beledi, <u>columbini</u></i> (Milano-Pisa B780/24 601247, 484.35) (1397)		
LEI	X			
DEI	Ø			
AND2	sub columbin ² (adj.) (1)	‘from Columbo’ <i>le gynger belendyn, <u>columbyn</u> et maykyn serra rubbé en un canevas sak</i> (Grocers 111) (1414)		
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub colombin ² (adj.) (3)	‘Qui provient de la ville de Quilon (lat. Columbum), sur la côte de Malabar’ <i>Gigembre <u>columbin</u>, 4 livres, 13d. livre, 4s. 4d. - (...) Galingal, demie livre 18d. - Serquaut, demi livre, 2s.</i> (Comptes argent. rois Fr. D-A, I, 218) (1359-60) <i>Nota que troiz differances sont entre gingembre de Mesche et gingembre <u>coulombin</u> : car le gingembre de Mesche a l’escorche plus brune, et si est le plus mol a trenchier au coustel, et plus blanc dedens que l’autre.</i> (Ménagier Paris B.F, 258) (c1392-94)		
GDF	Ø			
TL	Ø			
TLFi	Ø			
FEW	Ø			
MED	sub gingivere (n.) (2)	b. ‘~ colombin (OF <i>gingembre coulombin</i>), ginger from Quilon (L <i>Columbum</i>) in India’ <i>Good gynger <u>colombyne</u> is best to drynke and ete; Gynger valadyne & maydelyn ar not so holsom in mete</i> (Russell Bk. Nurt 131-2) (a1475) <i>Withe Gyngre <u>columbyne</u>, mynsed manerly.</i> (Russell Bk. Nurt758) (a1475)		
OED2	sub ginger (1)	C1a. [<i>ginger colombyne</i> , ginger from Quilon (Latin <i>Columbum</i>); <i>ginger valadyne</i>		

		and ginger <i>maydelyn</i> , mentioned in the same quot., have not been identified] <i>Good gynger <u>colombyne</u> is best to drynke and ete; Gynger valadyne & maydelyn ar not so holsom in mete</i> (J. Russell Bk. Nurture 537) (c1460)
DMLBS corpus	<i>Columbe</i> (1) sub zingiber 3748b	<i>et de xxij s. ij d. ob. de xx li. j quar. zingiberis <u>Columbe</u></i> (Ac. Exec. Ep. Exon. 8) (1309)
DC	Ø	
<p>Comments</p> <p>Attestation Type 2b / Semantic Field: sugar / spice / sweetmeat</p> <p><i>Columbin</i> was one of the main types of ginger imported into Britain by the Italians, along with belendin and maykyn. These are clearly represented in our only AN-matrix citation from the Company of Grocers, with the trio appearing again in ME in Russell’s <i>Book of Nurture</i>, a1475. <i>Zingiberis Columbe</i> is the only specific kind of ginger (apart from green or white) to be mentioned in the extant BML corpus, in 1309.</p> <p><i>Zenzavo columbino</i> first appears in a vernacular Italian text in the Pisan statutes of 1322.⁵² There is some confusion, however, as to its precise origin. Pegolotti’s oft-cited description of the three grades of ginger (OVI Pegolotti, <i>Practica</i> 360.27-32) referred to the <i>isola del Colombo d’India</i> and was originally taken to mean the city of Colombo on the island of Sri Lanka. The TLIO, DMF, MED and OED2 now all agree that it refers to Quilon (or Kollam) on the Malabar Coast of India, called <i>Columbum</i> in Latin. The AND gloss therefore needs updating.</p> <p>The earliest attestation of the term in CF is linked to England and one could even speculate that the insular form influenced the continental one. The <i>gigembre columbin</i> purchased at 13d. per pound is found in the accounts of Jean II of France during his imprisonment by Edward III from 1359 to 1360 (Yule and Cordier 2014: 38). His lavish lifestyle as a ‘prisoner’ in London, whilst France struggled to scrape together an enormous ransom, is infamous and as Tuchman (1978: 169) notes: “Reading through Jean’s accounts in the archives 500 years later, Jules Michelet, France’s most vivid if not most objective historian, said they made him sick”.</p>		

⁵² Note that the city itself is referred to slightly earlier in the Italian vernacular: *Coilun* (c1309) in Schweikard (2009: 866).

21. AN comyt (n.) ‘a commander or overseer of a galley.’ (CF <i>comite</i>) < It. <i>còmito</i> < Lat. * <i>comte</i> / <i>comes</i> (‘companion / comrade’)				
Italian a1311-15 th c.	Anglo-Norman c1435	Continental French 13 th c.-18 th c.	(Middle) English X	Medieval Latin 1161-13 th c.
TLIO	sub còmito (n.) (10)	1. ‘Commandante di una galea. Talvolta il termine viene usato anche per nocchiere’ [< Lat. <i>comes</i>] <i>e da galee si armae / de gram consejo de segnor / chi tuti parem valvasor; / e de gram comiti e de noihé</i> (Anonimo Genovese 38.96, p.238) (a1311, gen.)		
OVI	<i>comito</i> (15) <i>comiti</i> (5)	<i>per andar alo so viaço, sianto la partida in cotal maynera che lo te(n)po sia alo plaser delo pedota et delo mio <u>comito</u> che io tore</i> (Doc. venez. 6 p.72.17) (1311, ven.) <i>[...] che se lo capetanio comandarà che li <u>sovracomiti</u>, <u>comiti</u> et altri de le galie</i> (Lett. venez. 1, 31.17) (1355, ven.)		
LEI	X			
DEI	sub comito (n.) 1029b	‘comandante di galea’ <i>comèto / ghòmeta</i> (a1397) <i>còmmito / còmite</i> (15 th c.) / <i>còmmeto</i> (Nap.)		
AND2	sub comyt (n.) (1)	‘(Italian) commandant or overseer of a galley’ [Italian <i>comito</i>] <i>Issant Thomas Rede, i bout de vin [...] Entre le <u>comyt</u> de la galee, vii barel de hering</i> (Local Port Book 26) (1435-36)		
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub comite (n.) (9) sub sous-comite (n.) (2)	‘Officier qui commande les rameurs d'une galère / 'équipage d'un navire’ <i>Mathieu Blanc, <u>comitre</u> de la galie Saincte-Vainturre du roy nostre seigneur</i> (Clos Galées, Rouen M.-C. t. 2, 11) (1337) ‘Officier de galère subordonné au comite, sous-officier de chiourme’ <i>le <u>committe</u> et son varlet, VI ducas, le <u>soubzcommitte</u>, IIII ducas, II pillots, l'un de ponent, l'autre de levant, a chascun IIII ducas</i> (Arch. Nord, B17692, IGLF) (1462)		
GDC	sub comite (n.) (6)	‘Officier qui commandait la chiourme d'une galère’ <i>Patron, <u>coimetre</u> ne paron ne double, ne les esperons</i> (Ballade d'un pèlerin au ret. de la Terre Sainte, p.112, v.21) (1428)		
TL	sub comitre (n.)	‘Aufseher der Ruderer auf einer Galeere’ <i>coimetre</i> (Ballade in S. d'Angl. S.112) (c1395)		
TLFi	sub comite (n.)	‘Officier commandant la chiourme d'une galère.’ [Empr. à l'ital. <i>comito</i> , d'abord « commandant des galères » [...] puis « chef de la chiourme »] <i>comite</i> (<i>Hist. occid. des crois.</i> , t. II, p. 170) (13 th c.)		
FEW	II-2, 940b: comes	IV 1. ‘Officier qui commandait la chiourme d'une galère’ <i>comite</i> (13 th c.) / <i>coimetre</i> (c1395) / <i>comitre</i> (1471) / <i>sous-comite</i> (1358) [In den it. hafenstädten (Genua, Venedig) erhält <i>comito</i> [...], das eher aus der mlt. urkundensprache übernommen als erbwörtlich ist, die bed. ‘kommandant einer galeere.’ Dies ist zuerst auch die bed. des fr., aus dem it. entlehnten wortes (IV). Im 14. jh. wird dann die bed. ‘erster schiffsoffizier nach dem kapitän’ (Vidos)].		
MED	Ø			

contatti tra marinai genovesi e marinai dell'Italia meridionale furono frequenti, il titolo *comito* cominciò a diventare più frequente, figura anche nei contratti notarili di arruolamento e finì a diventare, verso il 1260, quasi di uso comune. Verso la fine del sec. XIV la voce *comito* mutò completamente significato e diventò il 'capo della ciurma', il primo dei sott'ufficiali di bordo (Vidos 1939: 331).

In addition, in its entries sub **còmito** and sub **padrone**, the TLIO comments that there could be semantic overlap between these two crew members' titles and that of the *nocchiere* ('helmsman')⁵⁴ even though, in some sources, the roles are clearly considered separate e.g. *le quali aran facto senza licentia del padrone o del gomito* [i.e. comito] *o de lo scrivano della galea, scrivere in del suo quaderno* (TLIO sub **còmito**: Stat. Pis Agg. cap. 4, p.602.32) (1335) / *Ma lo nocchier predetto / è qui comito detto, / e non puoi qui battello* (TLIO sub **còmito**: Fr. da Barderino, Doc. Am. pt.7, docum. 9.142, vol. 3, pag.133) (1314).

⁵⁴ This term also entered CF as *nocher* but is not attested in AN or ME. Cf. DMF / TLFi sub **nocher** and Vidos (1939: 491-94), Fennis (1995: 1285-86), Tomasin (2010: 267).

22. AN confection (n.) ‘a preserve or sweetmeat such as candied fruit and nuts’ < It. <i>confezione</i> < Lat. <i>confectio</i> (‘preparation’)					
Italian 1356 -1556 ⁵⁵		Anglo-Norman c1384 -c1430	Continental French X	(Middle) English a1393-present	Medieval Latin 1314-15 th c.
TLIO	sub confezione (n.) (5)	3.2 ‘Preparazione di cibi o bevande aromatizzate e confettate’ [< Lat. <i>confectionem</i>] o niuno sottoposto a la detta arte non possa fare cedrata, né n noci, né mandorle, né ranciata, né veruna altra <u>confezione</u> che sia con mèle [...] (Stat. sen. 2, p.11.13) (1356, sen.)			
OVI	<i>confectioni</i> (2) <i>confezione</i> (2) <i>confezioni</i> (7)	<i>Sono cercate le <u>confectioni</u>, sono comperate le spetierie, sono nutriti e capponi e altri uccegli</i> (Contemptu mundi II., cap.17, 68.15) (c1350-1400, tosc.) <i>[...]in gengiovo confecto,né in veruna spetie, né in anasi confetti, né veruna alta <u>confezione</u> [...]</i> (Stat. sen. 2, p.11.13) (1356, sen.) <i>Vegnono oggi ne’ nostril conviti le <u>confezioni</u> oltremarine, le cacciagioni transalpine, i pesci marini [...]</i> (Boccaccio, Esposizioni c.VI(ii) par.23, 371.1) (1373-74, fior.)			
LEI	X				
DEI	sub confezióne (13 th c.)	‘confettura, preparato qualsiasi di vari ingredienti’ [Lat. <i>confectio</i>] <i>confezióne</i> (13 th c.)			
AND2	sub confection (4)	‘preserve, sweetmeat’ <i>chardeqwns, <u>confections</u>, dates, maces / In 3 lb. de confections</i> (Durham 594 / 605) (1384-85 / 1403-04) <i>xij pot de dates, vij cofyns de <u>confections</u>, valor xx s./ ij. casses de <u>confections</u></i> (Port Bks 49 / 108) (1427-30)			
DEAF	X				
DMF	X				
GDC	∅				
TL	∅				
TLFi	∅				
FEW	∅				
MED	sub confeccioun (n.) (3)	‘(b) a dish, esp. one containing fruit and spices’ <i>Confeccion of cokes</i> . (Gower CA 6.654) (a1393) <i>Of sondry metis and <u>confecciouns</u>, Off dyuers drynkes & manyfold vitaille</i> . (Lydgate, FP Bod 263, 7.902) (?a1439)			
MED corpus	<i>confectio</i> (1) sub confit	<i>Confectio</i> : <i>confyt</i> (Trin CLEDict, 574/36) (c1450)			
OED2	sub confection (n.) (7)	‘a prepared dish or delicacy; a preparation of fruit, spices, sugar, or the like, used as a relish or dainty; a preserve, sweetmeat, comfit’ <i>Confection of cokes</i> (J. Gower Confessio Amantis III 23) (1393) <i>Confectyon of spyces</i> (Promptorium Parvulorum 90) (c1440)			
DMLBS	sub confectio (5) 431a	‘confection, comfit, sweetmeat’ [CL] <i>diversis speciebus empties tam pro coquina quam pro diversiis <u>confectionibus</u> pro</i>			

⁵⁵ The culinary sense of *confezione* died out in the sixteenth century. Modern Italian retains only the meanings of ‘making / production’ or ‘a package’.

	[sub confectionaria 431a (2)]	<i>camera domini factis</i> (Min Act 1/3, HER XLII 198) (1314)
	[sub confectionarius (1) 431a]	‘office of (royal) confectioner’ <i>de officio <u>confectionie</u></i> (BBHouseh. 78) (c1472)]
DC	Ø	
Additional sources		
Italian-matrix		
Berengo letters (1556)	<i>confezion</i> (1)	<i>Se 'l compare Angusola vi arà mandato due brunie con <u>confezion</u> pe far al mio voler</i> (Berengo Letters) (Tucci 1957: 277) (1556, ven.) ⁵⁶
Comments		
Attestation Type 2a / Semantic Field: sugar / spice / sweetmeat		
<p>The accounts of Durham Abbey and the Southampton Port Books detail numerous sweet treats imported into England from Italy in the 1300s and 1400s: see caffatin, madrian, cotegante and suchre candi. Both sources also record the purchase of <i>confections</i>, a more generic term covering preserves or sweetmeats made with sugar, spices, nuts, citrus fruits, rosewater and other expensive, exotic ingredients. An alternative and more widely attested name for such produce was <i>confits</i>, from the past participle of the verb <i>confire</i> (AND sub confire² / OED2 sub comfit / DMF sub comfit) and ultimately from the Latin <i>conficere</i> (‘to prepare or produce’).</p> <p>Of course, the root of <i>confezione</i> is also the same Latin verb. The noun took on two distinct principal meanings: the action of making or achieving something and the end product, a mixture or preparation. This second semantic nuance split further into two sub-groups, the earlier medical <i>confection</i> and the later, culinary one. As both were very much based on the same ingredients - sugar and spices - and were made initially by the same practitioners, it was at times difficult to tell the difference. We cannot be sure if W. Burton, the King’s ‘spice confectioner’ in 1403 would be considered today as a doctor or a cook (see DMLBS sub confectionarius). But during the late Middle Ages, sugar work did eventually divide into two more distinct trades in England: the apothecary and the confectioner (cf. Richardson 2004: 179, Trease 1964).</p> <p>Interestingly, while <i>confections</i> as sweetmeats are found in AN, ME, BML and medieval Italian from the thirteenth century onwards, we have no trace of them in CF.⁵⁷ This may be a simple gap in the record or it could imply that this alternative name for <i>confits</i> is an Italianism in AN, one that would be passed on into English and remain there.</p>		

⁵⁶ Tucci’s gloss (1957: 351) reads simply ‘confiture’.

⁵⁷ *Confection* was, nevertheless, widely attested in CF from the twelfth century onwards in the sense of ‘action de confectionner, de réaliser qqc.’, ‘Action de confectionner par mélange, mélange’, ‘Remède composé, électuaire, préparation, mixture’: see DMF / GDC / TLFi sub **confection** and FEW II-2, 1029b: **confectio**.

23. AN cot (n.) ‘a cooking: term applied to sugar and the number of times it has been refined.’ < It. <i>cotta</i> / <i>cotte</i> < Latin <i>cocta</i> < Lat. <i>coquere</i> (‘to cook’)				
Italian 1401-16 th c. ⁵⁸	Anglo-Norman 1440-44	Continental French X	(Middle) English 1428 -a1475	Medieval Latin 1440
TLIO	sub cotta ² (n.) (3)	‘Lo stesso che cottura’ <i>il mucchara si è il migliore zucchero che sia però ch'è più <u>cotto</u> e la pasta sua si è più bianca e più fissa che nullo altro zucchero</i> (Pegolotti Pratica 362.1) (c1335-1343, fior.)		
OVI	<i>cotto</i> (1)	<i>il mucchara si è il migliore zucchero che sia però ch'è più <u>cotto</u> e la pasta sua si è più bianca e più fissa che nullo altro zucchero</i> (Pegolotti Pratica 362.1) (c1335-1343, fior.)		
AD	<i>cotte</i> (4) <i>cotta</i> (3)	<i>ci avisate pregio di zucchero di <u>una e di due cotte</u> e per aventura potrà essere ancho ve ne faremo mandare</i> (Gaeta-Barcellona 114022 (B876) 119.7) (1401) <i>e costa portò da 110 caratella di zuccheri <u>di una e di due cotte</u>, e visto lb. 35 e lb. 40 si sono venduti <u>di una cotta</u> [...]</i> (Gaeta-Barcellona 114023 (B876) 122.9) (1401)		
LEI	X			
DEI	sub cotta (n.) 1139b	‘cottura’ <i>cotta</i> (15 th c.) / ML <i>cocta</i> (a1255, Parma)		
VTO	sub cotta ¹ (n)	‘zucchero di prima, di seconda cotta; zucchero di tre cotte, molto raffinato, a causa delle successive cotture’ (Vocabolario Treccani Online)		
AND2	[sub cuire ¹]	[past participles of <i>cuire</i> ‘to cook’: p.p. <i>qit, quis, quit</i> ; p.p.pl. <i>quitis quitz, quiz</i> ; p.p.f. <i>quise, quite, quitte, quizte</i> ; p.p.f.pl. <i>quiteez</i>]		
DEAF	X			
DMF	X			
GDF	Ø			
TL	Ø			
TLFi	Ø			
FEW	Ø			
MED	sub cute (adj. / n.) (4)	a) ‘Of wine: boiled down to one third of the original volume’[OF <i>cuit</i> , pp of <i>cuire</i>] <i>The namys of swete wynes..Vernage, vernagelle, wyne Cute..Muscadelle of grew</i> (Russell Bk. Nurt (Hrl 4011) 118) (a1475) b) ‘of iii (ii) ~, of a liquor: reduced to one third (one half) by boiling’ <i>Sugre of iij <u>coet</u></i> (Grocer London 190/5) (1428) <i>He paid to Water of Colchestre for a li. sugre of ij kute [vr. kewte], xviiij d</i> (Acc. Howard RC57, 305) (1465) <i>Sugre of iij <u>cute</u> white, hoot & moyst in his propurte..gynger of iij <u>cute</u>.</i> (Russell Bk. Nurt (Hrl 4011) 138, 159) (a1475)		
OED2	sub cuit / cute (n.)	1. ‘Orig. adj. in wine <i>cuit</i> , subsequently used absol.: New wine boiled down		

⁵⁸ The meaning of *di tre cotte* in terms of ‘the maximum extent’ still lives on in modern Italian in the idiomatic expression *furbo di tre cotte* i.e. ‘extremely cunning’.

		to a certain thickness and sweetened’[< Fr. <i>cuit</i>] <i>The namys of swete wynes y wold þat ye them knewe..wyne <u>Cute</u>. (J. Russell Bk. Nurture 118) (c1460)</i> 2. ‘Boiling or seething; a boil’ <i>Sugre of iij. cute white hoot & moyst in his propurte. (J. Russell Bk. Nurture 138) (c1460) / .gynger of iij <u>cute</u>. (J. Russell Bk. Nurture 159) (c1460)</i>
DMLBS	∅	
DC	∅	
Additional sources		
AN-matrix		
VOH	<i>cot</i> (1) <i>kute</i> (14)	<i>Item a Benet Augustyn sugre dune <u>cot</u> poisant ultra vijC xix libres a viij^d la libre summa xxij^{li} xix^s iij^d</i> (VOH 48: 89, E101/128/30 ret.1, John Welles, host to Giacomo Corner, merchant and patron of a Venetian galley and named crew, transc. p.3) (1441-2) <i>Item a Harry Purches iijC libres lofe sugur de j <u>kute</u> pur xv^{ji}, Item a Thomas Gybbus iijC libres lofe sugur de iij <u>kute</u> pur xv^{ji} vj^s viij^d</i> (VOH 12:71) (E101/128/30 ret. 4. Wiilliam Chervyle, host to Alessandro Duodo (galley patron), Jacopo Duodo, Jacopo Bon, Marino Baldoni, Marino Salamon (galley merchants), transc. p. 16) (1441-2)
Latin-matrix		
VOH	<i>cote</i> (1)	<i>Item Jeronimus Dandillo mercator de Venise[...] zinziber belendyn ad valenciam iijxxvijli vjs , sugre de j <u>cote</u> ad valenciam lxvjli xiijs iijd</i> (VOH 13: 114) (E010/128/31 ret. 33, John Chichele, host to Genoese strangers, transc. p.115) (1440)
Comments		
Attestation Type 2a /Semantic Field: sugar / spice / sweetmeat		
<p>In medieval Italian, the quality of sugar was defined by the number of times it had been ‘cooked’: i.e. boiled and left to recrystallize into a ‘purer’, more refined, white powder. As we see in the OVI and AD citations above, Pegolotti describes, c1335, how the best sugar is the most cooked and by 1401, in the Datini Company correspondence, sugar is defined as <i>di uno /due / tre cotte</i> as a designator of its quality. By the last quarter of the sixteenth century, the whole process of triple refining sugar is clearly described in the first printed history of Sicily (where, of course, sugar was first introduced into Italy): <i>Le due deche dell'istoria di Sicilia</i>.⁵⁹ Melis (1976: 31) also notes the use of this quality grading system for sugar in his study of Italian merchants in Spain in the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries.</p> <p>In the <i>Views of the Hosts</i>, we find convincing evidence that this labelling of sugar has been borrowed into AN, with the attestation of <i>sugre d'une cot and sugre de j cote</i>, in two Views (one BML-matrix) which both deal with Italian merchants. Note that the rare Italianism talany appears in one of these same sources. We also</p>		

⁵⁹ “Ei si piglia la canna e si taglia in pezzetti piccoli, i quali stringendosi poi dentro allo strettoio, mandan fuori il sugo, il quale si mette a cuocere e a purgare in una caldaia al fuoco, ma essendo cotto mezzanamente diventa liquido come un mele, e mettendosi poi in certi vasi di terra, vi si lascia raffreddare dentro, e quivi diventa zucchero, ma chi lo vuole perfettissimo e finissimo, lo fa di tre cotte, ricocendolo e ripurgandolo al fuoco tre volte la quale specie di zucchero non fu conosciuta da gli antichi” (Fiorentino 1574: 29). This text, by the Dominican friar Remigio Fiorentino, is a translation into Tuscan from a slightly earlier Latin work (1558): http://www.liberliber.it/mediateca/libri/f/fazello/le_due_deche_dell_historia_di_sicilia/pdf/fazello_le_due_dech_e_dell_historia_di_sicilia.pdf (accessed 26/04/2016).

find fourteen other examples of the more Anglicized variant *kute* used to describe sugar and again, they are obviously markers of quality for this prized commodity. Eight references are to *iiij kute* sugar and six to single *kute* and, unsurprisingly, the more refined product is the more expensive. In the examples cited above, 400lb of ‘Grade 1’ loaf sugar costs £11 whereas 400lb of ‘Grade 3’ costs £16 6s. 8d. Even if we argue that *kute* is simply the ME word *cute*, the case for a semantic loan, influenced by Italian, is a strong one.

With all this mind, I believe the glosses in MED/ OED2 entries sub **cute** to be misleading and that we are dealing with two separate (at least to begin with) etymological histories for *wyne cute* and *sugre cute*. The former refers to a boiled, sweetened wine that is served as a liquor and its name obviously comes from the past participle CF *cuit* / AN **cuit*. Russell’s *Sugre of iij. cute white hoot & in his propurte* does not strictly refer to ‘a liquor: reduced to one third by boiling’ as the MED glosses. It simply means that this ‘Grade 3’ sugar should be used in the recipe.

The 1428 example of *sugre de iij coet* from the London Grocers is another clear example of a loanword borrowed from Italian *tre cotte* in an English account (cf. Bradley 2012: 24). In the ME accounts of Sir John Howard in 1465, we find the purchase of a pound of *sugre of ij kute*. As with *kute* in the *Views of the Hosts* two decades earlier, this usage surely suggests Italian influence on an existing AN / ME term that was already applied to wine. However, the reference to *gynger of iij cute* in Russel’s *Book of Nurture* is a mystery as there is no equivalent use in the Italian corpora. Again, this must mean ‘of high quality / highly refined’ rather than ‘boiling’ ginger and perhaps the author borrowed Italian sugar terminology to apply to another spice that these same merchants supplied.

24. AN cotegnate (n.) ‘quince marmalade or paste’ < It. <i>cotognato</i> < It. <i>cotogna</i> < Lat. <i>cotoneum</i> (‘quince’)				
Italian 1306-present	Anglo-Norman 1436	Continental French 1339-16th c.	(Middle) English a1399	Medieval Latin X
TLIO	sub cotognato (n.) (3)	‘Marmellata di polpa di cotogne’ <i>Per una lb di noci confette per 8 s. per Bartalomeo Massici 3lb 8s per <u>cotognato</u> per Giacomino 15s</i> (Doc. Merc. Gallerani 6, p. 225.3) (1306, sen.)		
OVI	<i>cotognato</i> (3) <i>cotognato</i> (1)	<i>E anche si pone intorno al <u>cotognato</u> I piccolo furscoli divisi e rotti; e in qualunque cosa si mettano a cuocere [...]</i> (a Piero de’ Crescenzi L5 cap 11, 2, 142.1) (14 th c. fior.) <i>Item per tre lb. di <u>cotognato</u> per Giacomucio 15s</i> (Doc. Merc. Gallerani, 9, 259.13) (1307, sen.)		
LEI	X			
DEI	sub cotognato (-a) (n.)	‘marmellata di cotogne’ [cf. gr. <i>Kydō-natōn triptōn</i> ; fr. <i>cotignac</i> (a1550), <i>coudoignac</i> (a1393) dal prov. <i>cohon(h)at</i>] <i>cotognato</i> (14 th .c)		
AND2	sub cotegnate (n.) (1)	‘quince marmalade’ [Italian] <i>j barel de <u>cotegnate</u></i> (Local Port Bk 90) (1436)		
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub cotignac (n.) (3)	‘Confiture ou gelée épaisse faite avec des coings’ <i>...une palette à <u>coudoignac</u>, armoyé de France et de la royne Jehanne de Bourbon</i> (Invent. mobilier Ch. V, L.,78) (1379-91)		
GDF	∅			
TL	∅			
TLFi	sub cotignac (n.)	‘Gelée épaissie ou pâte faite avec des coings’ [Réfection savante à partir du lat. <i>cotoneum</i> (<i>coing*</i>) d’une anc. forme <i>coudoignac</i> [...] empr. au prov. <i>quodonat</i>] <i>coudoignac</i> (1389) / <i>coudoignac</i> (1392-94) / <i>coudignac</i> (1534) <i>cotignac</i> (1530)		
FEW	II-2, 1606a: cydonem	‘confiture, conserve des coings’ Occ. <i>codonat</i> / <i>codonhat</i> (14 th c.) MF <i>coudoignac</i> (Paris, 1339) / <i>coudignac</i> (1534) / <i>codignac</i> (1559) MF <i>cotignac</i> (1550) / <i>cotignat</i> (1575)		
MED	sub connates	‘quince preserve’ [Prob OF * <i>coinade</i>] <i>Connates. Take Connes and pare hem.</i> (Form Cury (Add 5016) p. 18) (a1399)		
OED	X			
DMLBS	∅			
DC	∅			
Comments				
Attestation Type 2b / Semantic Field: sugar / spice / sweetmeat				
<i>La cotognata</i> still forms part of the Italian culinary repertoire today: a traditional confection of boiled quince paste, served in small squares and equivalent to the more widely-known Spanish <i>membrillo</i> . Its earliest attestations are in the masculine form at the turn of the fourteenth century when it was imported into London by the Gallerani of Siena alongside other sweet treats such as candied nuts and confit of ginger. It is also mentioned in a Florentine				

version of an agricultural treatise by Pietro de' Crescenzi, written in the 1300s.

On the 1st of January 1436, a barrel of quince marmalade arrived into Southampton on a *carrake de Venisse* and was recorded in the AN Local Port Book. Its editor, Foster (1963: 91) commented: “Presumably the Italian *cotognato* ‘quince marmalade,’ gives *cotegnate*, a very rare word. Modern French *cotignac* is borrowed from Provençal. A sixteenth-century English word for quince marmalade was ‘*codiniac*’”. The Italian provenance of the borrowing was also confirmed in the gloss for AND sub **cotegnate**, an entry written by its late chief editor, David Trotter.

Whilst quince marmalade was a commodity attested in CF from the 1330s, there are two main arguments to back Italian influence on the AN form in this case. Firstly, there is the simple matter of the source text, which provides several convincing examples of mercantile Italianisms in the accounts of this busy medieval port which received so much Venetian and Genoese maritime traffic (cf. Chapter 2.5): e.g. **balet**, **belendin**, **carrak**, **cassel**, **casset**, **comyt**, **confection**, **fangot**, **Malik**, **maykyn**, **patron**, **ris**, **sarme**, **sport(in)**, **(suchre) candi**. Secondly the form of the AN lexeme *cotegnate*⁶⁰ “points firmly towards Italian” (Trotter 2011d: 163). The two variants of the preserve name in CF from the 1300s begin *coud-* (*coudoignac*, *coudougnac*), and are borrowed from the Occitan *codonat / quodonat* according to the FEW and the TLFi. It was only later, in the 1500s and a century or more after the appearance of AN *cotegnate*, that we find evidence of CF *cotignac*, a form derived through a *réfection savante* of Latin *cotoneum*.

The Occitan form was also apparently borrowed into ME, appearing in an early cookbook from a1450 as *quynade*: see OED3 sub **quinade**. Middle French *codignac* appears later in 1539 (OED2 sub **codiniac**) but there were other variations throughout the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries: see OED2 sub **cotiniate**, OED3 sub **quiddany** and OED3 **quindiniac**. But despite this surprising bounty of entries for quince marmalade, an even earlier citation of *connates* from the *English Culinary Manuscripts of the Fourteenth Century* is not included in the OED. The MED sub **connates** suggests a probable OF etymon of **coinade* but I believe this could well be an a direct Italian borrowing from *cotognato*, like its AN equivalent four decades later.

⁶⁰ The letters ‘t’, ‘c’ and ‘d’ can be notoriously difficult to differentiate in a medieval hand. Naturally, in a case such as this where we have but a single example of a lexeme, the original manuscript should be checked before any final conclusions are drawn as to etyma.

25. AN cotun (n.) ‘fabric woven from the fibres of the lint of the *Gossypium* genus of shrub, originally grown in India, China and North Africa but then cultivated in Europe in the Middle Ages’
CF *coton* < It. *cotone* < Ar. *qutun* (‘cotton’)

Italian c1281-present	Anglo-Norman c1235-c1509	Continental French c1160-present	(Middle) English c1400-present	Medieval Latin 1208-1444
TLIO	sub cotone (n.) (15)	‘Lanugine che riveste i semi delle piante del genere <i>Gossypium</i> adoperata per la fabbricazione di filati tessili’ [<Ar. <i>qutun</i>] <i>Item LVJ lib. VIIIJ sol. i quali ebero del <u>chotone</u> che rimase in Franca</i> (Doc. sen. p. 106.9.) (1281-82, sen.)		
OVI	<i>cotone</i> (100+) <i>cottone</i> (2) <i>cotono</i> (1) <i>goton</i> (8)	<i>La soma del <u>cotone</u> filato, IIJ soldi kabella</i> (Stat. sen. cap.11, 12.9) (1301-03, sen.) / <i>Pepe e lacca e gengiovo e ‘ncenso e zucchero e indaco e cotone mapputo e cotone filato</i> (Pegolotti Practica 250.15) (c1335-43, fior.) <i>Aricalco <u>cottone</u>, libra J, soma.</i> (Stat. sen. Addizioni) (1303, sen.) <i>[...]con sacca di lana o di <u>cotono</u></i> (Giovanni Villani, L8, cap. 145, 1) (a1348, fior.) <i>seda cota e cruda e tute magnere de spleçarie e çaforan e spigot e <u>goton</u> fillado</i> (Zibaldone da Canal, 57.32) (1310-30, venez.)		
AD	<i>cotone</i> (41)	<i>[...]chome là po(r)tai pezzi 260 di veli di cotone di V</i> (Avignone-Firenze, 9307, B621, 303.9) (385)		
LEI	X			
DEI	sub cotone (n.) 1138b	‘bambagia che ravvolge i semi di una pianta malvacea dello stesso nome’ [Ar. <i>qutun</i> , cf. ML <i>cottonus</i> , a1282, Genoa] <i>cotóne</i> (14 th c.)		
AND2	sub cotun (n) (11)	‘cotton (or other fabric)’ <i>A plume ne a <u>cotun</u> ne a pailles d’utre mer</i> (S Aub 681) (c1235) <i>de bombace: de <u>cotoun</u></i> (TLL ii 145) (a1300) <i>canele, gyngebraz, rys, cermountyn, <u>cotoun</u>, baleyn</i> (Lib Alb 230) (1419) ‘(piece of) cotton wool’ <i>si deveiz garir la plaie dehors od sul draplinge u od <u>cotun</u></i> (A-N Med i 46) ⁶¹ (c1230-60)		
LCC	sub cotton ¹ (n.) (14) (3= AND / 4= MED / 2 = eDIL 2 / 3 = DMLB / 1= LEXP / 1 = GDC)	‘the seed-hair or fibrous substance of the calyx or blossom that surrounds the seeds of several species of the plant <i>Gossypium</i> and mallow family and used for textile purposes’ [Ultimately from Ar. <i>qutn</i> , <i>qutun</i> , <i>alqoton</i> , cf. <i>acton</i> ⁶²] <i>bombace: gallice <u>cotoun</u></i> (TLL ii 145) (a1300) <i><u>cotton</u> fil pur le bale . xij d. ... <u>cotton</u> en lain pur le bale -xij d.</i> (PRO E163/9/21 f.20r.) (1485-1509)		

⁶¹ This source is an insular French translation of the Latin surgical treatise *Chirurgia* (c1180) by Roger Frugard of Parma, northern Italy.

⁶² AN *aketon* (att. c1200) and CF *auqueton* (att. c1180) referred to a padded jacket worn under armour and its name stems back to Spanish Arabic *al-quṭūn* (‘cotton’). See also OED3 sub **acton** / MED sub **aketoun**.

DEAF	X	
DMF	sub coton (n.) (18)	‘Coton (matière textile blanche); bourre textile préparée pour garnir ou protéger’ <i>pour VIII livres de coton et III onces de soye, pour les diz matheraz</i> (Comptes argent rois Fr. D.A. II, 27) (1342)
GDC	sub coton (n.) (13)	‘matière textile, blanche, fine, qui recouvre les semences du cotonnier’ <i>Li luz fu de coton enplis, et dessus fu mi suns tapix</i> (Enéas 7449) (c1160)
TL	sub coton (n.) (17)	‘baumwoll’ <i>Lor borel sunt de buen <u>cotun</u></i> (Troie in Rom. XVIII 78, 7879) (c1170)
TLFi		‘Duvet végétal soyeux, entourant les graines du cotonnier et utilisé comme matière textile’ [< It. <i>cotone</i> < Ar. <i>qutun</i>] <i>coton</i> (Enéas 7449) (c1160)
FEW	XIX, 100b,101a: qutun	‘bourre textile qui enveloppe les semences du cotonnier’ Fr. <i>coton</i> (12 th c.) ‘ouate’ OF <i>coton</i> (12-13 th c.) ‘étoffe de coton’ OF <i>auqueton</i> (12 th -14 th c.) Im 12jh sind ihre baumwollpflanzungen nachgewiesen in Andalusien und Sizilien [...] Aus Sizilien und dem Orient stammen it. <i>cottone</i> , kat. <i>cotó</i> , sowie über das it., oben die formen unter I 1. [i.e. OF <i>coton</i>]]
MED	sub cotoun (n.)	‘The plant yielding cotton / raw cotton, cotton fiber, cotton wool; cotton fiber spun into yarn or thread’ [OF <i>cotun</i> , ult. Ar.] [<i>Pro ij libris <u>Coton</u> et ij libris Cadac</i>] (Wardrobe Acc. de Clare in Arch. 70, 28) (1286)] <i>Men putten in werk the sede of <u>cotoun</u> [F cotoun]. And þei sowen it euery ȝeer & þan groweth it in smale trees.</i> (Mandeville Tit. C16, 192/26) (c1400) <i>For v lb. of <u>Coton</u> candell yn morwenyng & euenyng to Carpenters.</i> (Doc. Brewer in Bk. Lond. E, 155/475) (1423)
OED2	sub cotton n. ¹ (30+)	‘The white fibrous substance, soft and downy like wool, which clothes the seeds of the cotton-plant (<i>Gossypium</i>); used (more extensively than any other material) for making cloth and thread, and for various purposes in the arts’ [< Fr. <i>coton</i> = Prov. <i>coton</i> / It. <i>cotone</i> / Sp. <i>coton</i> / Port. <i>cotão</i> < Ar. <i>qutn/ qutun</i>] <i>Maint riche gamboison garni De soie et cadas et <u>coton</u></i> (Siege of Caerlaverock, 72) (1300) ⁶³ <i>Theise men ben the beste worcheres of gold, Syluer, <u>Cotoun</u>, Sylk.</i> (Mandeville Trav. xix 212) (c1400)
DMLBS	sub coto (12) 509a	‘cotton’ [Ar. <i>qutun</i>] <i>ii j s e j d. pro <u>cutuno</u></i> (Cl 109a) (1208) / <i>ij lib de filo <u>cotonis</u></i> (Ac. Wardr p.144) (1300)
DC	sub coto (2)	‘Gossypium, Gall. <i>Coton</i> ’ <i>Cendala, telas, sericum seu Cotonum, etc. Boria vel Cotonum,</i> (Præceptum Philippi Pulcri Franc. Regis) (1304)

⁶³ This citation is not in the AND entry.

Additional sources		
AN-matrix		
VOH	<i>cotone</i> (22) <i>cottonne</i> (3) <i>cotyne</i> (3) <i>cottone</i> (2) <i>cotyms</i> (1) <i>cotton</i> (1) <i>kotone</i> (1)	<i>Item a ly xxv bales <u>cotone</u> le mesme iour pur CCix^d xix^{sl} iij^d</i> (VOH 6:15) (E101/128/31 ret. 54, Thomas Chalton, host to Lorenzo Marconuovo, Giovanni Maucci and Iacopo Trotti, merchants of Venice, trans. p. 143) (1441-2) <i>Item vj sakes <u>kotone</u> / Item ij fardels <u>cottone</u> file</i> (VOH 12:31, 34) (E101/128/30 ret. 4. Wiilliam Chervyle, host to Alessandro Duodo (galley patron), Jacopo Duodo, Jacopo Bon, Marino Baldoni, Marino Salamon (galley merchants), transc. p. 15) (1441-2)
Comments		
Attestation Type 2b / Semantic Field: textile		
<p><i>Cotton</i> certainly falls into the category of an ‘international loanword’: a near ubiquitous product in European markets that entered many languages at the same time. Pinning down a single etymological route for its spread is particularly futile in cases of this type. However, Italian <i>cottone</i> certainly seemed to act as an intermediary in many cases in the transmission of Arabic <i>qutun</i> into the rest of Western Romance.</p> <p>Italy was at the centre of the burgeoning cotton industry in the Mediterranean in the later Middle Ages (see also bokeram / bukasin / demyt). Mazzaoui empahsises that the peninsula represented a pivotal “bridge between Islamic and Western modes of production” and that “the emergence of large textile complexes in the north-Italian towns coincided with the growth of capitalism” (Mazzaoui 1981: 2). By the 1100s, the Arabs had introduced cotton cultivation to Sicily (and Iberia) and there were also flourishing supplies in Syria, Armenia, Greece, Cypus, Turkey and North Africa. Italian merchants (especially the Genoese and Venetians) exploited their advanced maritime networks to efficiently import raw material into their own centres of manufacture where it was hand woven into a relatively cheap and widely available fabric. Its uses were not just restricted to cloth but also included cotton thread, cotton wool and stuffings and the often overlooked candle wick.⁶⁴ Cotton was therefore one of three pillars of Italian textile wealth, together with silk and wool.</p> <p>References to cotton, unsurprisingly, abound in the OVI and Datini corpora in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In his merchant handbook, Pegolotti refers seventeen times to the higher quality <i>cotone mapputo</i> (‘ginned’, with the seeds removed) and once to the cheaper <i>cotone granato</i> (where the seed are still attached to the fibres) (OVI Pegolotti Practica 86.24).</p> <p>The earliest appearance of <i>cutuno</i> in the British record is in the Close Rolls of 1208. The DMLBS labels the term a direct Arabism but it is also likely to have had an Italian (or perhaps Italian Latin) intermediary: compare <i>cutuneus</i> in the Latin of Sicily in 1144 and <i>cutto</i> / <i>cottonus</i> in that of Genoa in 1156 and 1246 respectively, as discussed by Vidos (1939: 336-38). Fennis (1995: 644) and Hope (1971: 35) also both concur that CF <i>cotun</i> is an Italian or Genoese loanword that radiated from Sicily where it had arrived with the Arabs.</p> <p>In CF, <i>coton</i> appears early, in the romance <i>Le Roman d’Enéas</i> written c1160; the passage describes a luxurious litter, stuffed with cotton and draped with silken cords. Our earliest AN source is also literary, <i>La Vie de Seint Auban</i>, which lists <i>cotun</i> as a cloth from overseas. It dates from around seventy-five years later but the</p>		

⁶⁴ Wax candles with cotton wicks provided a much stronger and longer lasting light source than oil and rush lamps. Their spread from the 1200s represented a “crucial advance” in later medieval industrial history which would not be matched again until the arrival of the electric lightbulb (Mazzaoui 1981: 102-03).

fabric, as discussed above, is recorded as an import from at least the early 1200s in BML. It is impossible to tell conclusively if Italian *cotone* entered the lexis of France and England almost simultaneously along with its merchant importers or if the insular French form derived from the continental one. As with so many examples, both scenarios are probably true.

26. AN cramoisé (adj. /n) ‘of crimson or deep red colour / crimson coloured silk’ (CF <i>cramoisi</i>) < Ven. / It. <i>crèmisi</i> < Ar. <i>qirmiz</i> (‘kermes: the scarlet grain beetle’)				
Italian 1318-present	Anglo-Norman c1307-1444	Continental French 1298-present	(Middle) English 1423-present	Medieval Latin 1432-c1550
TLIO	sub crèmisi (adj.) (5) sub cremesino (adj.) (3)	‘di colore rosso’ [Ar. <i>qirmiz</i>] <i>item lago a mio nevo Donadello la mia coltra de catassamito <u>carmissi</u> e li mey linçolli sotilli..</i> (Doc. venez. 2, p.159.20) (1318, venez.) ‘che ha colore cremisi’ [< ML <i>cremisinum</i>] <i>e coprire da ogni parte di drappi a oro e a seta azzurra e <u>cremisina</u>.</i> (Bibbia est.1, vol 4. p. 616.12) (14 th -15 th c., tosc.)		
OVI	<i>carmissi</i> (1) <i>carmesi</i> (1) <i>chermisi</i> (4) <i>carmusi</i> (1) <i>cremisino</i> (1) <i>cremisina</i> (2)	<i>item lago a mio nevo Donadello la mia coltra de catassamito <u>carmissi</u> e li mey linçolli sotilli..</i> (Doc. venez. 2, p.159.20) (1318, venez.) <i>Seda <u>carmesi</u> se pesa a Laiaçà e una onchia ch’è de peso de deremi CX [...]</i> (Zibaldone da Canal, 109.6) (1310-30) <i>Seta <u>chermisi</u> si vende a occhia ch’è pesi 110 di diremo</i> (Pegolotti, Practica 59.21) (c1335-43, fior.) <i>Legno aloe, seta cotta torta, seta <u>carmusi</u>, zendadi fatti e lavorati nell’isola di Cipri</i> (Pegolotti, Practica 78.22) (c1335-43, fior.) <i>Mardocheo era in tanta grazia del re, che l’avea vestito di vestimento regale <u>cremisino</u></i> (Bibbia est.1, vol 4. p. 646.9) (14 th -15 th c., tosc.) <i>e coprire da ogni parte di drappi a oro e a seta azzurra e <u>cremisina</u>.</i> (Bibbia est.1, vol 4. p. 616.12) (14 th -15 th c., tosc.)		
LEI	X			
DEI	sub crèmisi (n.) 1150a sub carmesino (adj.) 772a	‘(color)scarlato’ [Ar, <i>qirmizi</i> : grana ricavat da una cociniglia di color rosso scarlato] <i>chèrmisi</i> (14 th c.) ‘cf. <i>crèmisi</i> ’ Vive nel mezzogiorno, cf. nap. / calabr. <i>carmusinu</i> / <i>carmuscinu</i> ML <i>carmesinus</i> / <i>carmisinus</i> (1401/ 1470, Bologna)		
AND2	sub cramoisé (adj .n.) (4)	a. ‘of a deep red, crimson colour’ <i>Pour une robe de samit rouge, pour une autre robe d’or de Turquie en laquelle elle fu espousee, pour une autre robe de velvel <u>grams</u>i, pour un corset de tartais moret</i> (Isabella Inventory 520) (1307-08) <i>vii copes de velvet <u>cremosy</u></i> (Rot Parl ¹ iv 229) (1423) s. ‘deep red, crimson cloth’ <i>une tunique et dalmatique de <u>cramoysee</u> sur coleure vermeil</i> (Bedford Inventories B42) (1389-1435) <i>qe nulle homme, s’il ne soit baneret, ou de greindre estate, use draps d’or, de velvet, draps de <u>cremosyn</u>, draps de velvet motle, grosses maunches pendantz overetz ne closes, ne nulle long gounes qe touche la terre</i> (Rot Parl ¹ iii		

		506) (1402)
LCC	sub crimson (n. / adj.) (9) (1= AND / 2 = LEXP / 6= MED)	‘a cloth, crimson, dark red or purple silk cloth, dyed with an insect dye but possibly a different insect from kermes, instead Polish or Armenain cochineal’ ⁶⁵ [<small>< ML <i>cremesinum</i> / <i>kermesinus</i> < Ar. <i>qirmaz</i></small>] <i>une tunique et dalmatique de <u>cramoysee</u> sur coleure vermeil</i> (Bedford Inventories B42) (1389-1435) <i>qe nulle homme, s'il ne soit baneret, ou de greindre estate, use draps d'or, de velvet, draps de <u>cremosyn</u>, draps de velvet motle, grosses maunches pendantz overetz ne closes, ne nulle long gounes qe touche la terre</i> (Rot Parl ¹ iii 506) (1402) ‘the colour crimson, a dark red or purple, expensively dyed; made of crimson cloth’ <i>vii copes de velvet <u>cremosy</u>, sengle et nient garnisez</i> (Rot Parl ¹ iv 229) (1423)
DEAF	X	
DMF	sub cramoisi (adj. / n.) (15) sub cramoisin (adj.) (4)	a. [Gén. d'une étoffe, du velours...] ‘Qui est d'un rouge foncé éclatant’ <i>9 pièces de velluau, c'est assavoir : 6 pièces de fin velluau <u>cremesy</u> et 4 pièces d'autre fin velluau azuré</i> , (Comptes argent rois Fr. D-A. I, 287) (1352) s. ‘Étoffe (de laine ou de soie) de couleur rouge éclatante’ <i>une moult riche robe de <u>cramoisi</u> fourrée de martres zébelines</i> (Faits Lalaing K. 117) (c1470) ‘Qui est d'un rouge foncé éclatant (synon. <i>cramoisi</i>)’ <i>V aunes de veluyel fin, <u>cremesin</u> coquet, bailliez du commandement madicte dame à mons</i> (Comptes argent, rois Fr. D-A II, 26) (1352)
GDC	sub cramoisi (adj.) (13) sub cramoisin (adj.) (1)	‘qui est d’un rouge foncé, éclatant’ <i>dras de soie cremosi</i> (Voy. de Marc Pol. c. xxi) (1298) ‘cramoisi’ <i>couleur <u>cramoisine</u></i> (La louenge et beauté des dames, Poés. fr. des XVe et XVIe s. t.VII) (16 th c.)
TL	∅	
TLFi	sub cramoisi (adj.)	‘[En parlant d'un obj., princ. d'une matière textile] Qui est d'un rouge foncé, éclatant et tirant un peu sur le violet.’ [Empr., prob. par l'intermédiaire de l'ital. <i>cremisi</i> à l'ar. <i>qirmizī</i> , ‘de la couleur de la cochenille’] ⁶⁶ (adj.) <i>cremosi</i> (Voy. de Marc Pol. c. xxi) (1298) (substan.) <i>cramoisi</i> (Mahaut, comtesse d'Artois et de Bourgogne, p. 181) (1315)
FEW	XIX, 95b: quirmiz	‘qui est d’un rouge foncé éclatant;’ <i>cramoisi</i> (1298) / MF <i>carmesim</i> / Occ. <i>cremesin</i> (15 th c.) / MF <i>cramoisi</i> (1453) ‘teint en cramoisi, très rouge’ MF <i>cramoisin</i> (16 th c.) ‘sorte d’étoffe de soie teinte en cramoisi’ MF <i>cramoisine</i> ‘rendre cramoisi’ MF <i>cramoisir</i> (16 th c.)

⁶⁵ “Paradoxically, Dominique Cardon [2003] has concluded that ‘grain’ used for woollen scarlet was extracted from the insect *Kermes vermilio* and she has persuasively argued that the *chermisi* used for silk was created with a different group of insects of the *porphyrophora* species, typically Polish cochineal (*Porphyrophora polonica*) and Armenian cochineal (*Porphyrophora hamelii*)” (Monnas 2014: 46).

⁶⁶ The TLFi explains: “*Cramoisi* s'expliquerait par le passage, fréquent dès le Moy.Âge, de [ɛ] à [wa] au contact d'une labiale précédente (cf. armoire).”

		[III [i.e. <i>cramoisi</i>] ist aus de mar. adj. <i>qirmizi</i> entlehnt [...] Es bedeutet also ‘von der farbe der scharlachlaus’; dem entspricht auch die bed. der rom. wörter]
MED	sub cremesin (n. /adj.) (14)	n. ‘Cloth dyed a deep purplish red with kermes’ [< ML <i>cremesinum</i> , <i>crimismus</i> , ult.Ar.] <i>In capam de rubio wellueto, dicto ‘crymesyne’</i> (St.Alb.Chron.(1) in RS 28.5 pt.1 HrI 3775) (1428) <i>Receyvdyd off William Marowe for j hode of murre and crymesyn.</i> (Grocer Lond. Kingdon 249/22) (1437-39) adj. ‘made of such cloth; of a crimson color, crimson.’ <i>i couple velvette cremesyn continent’ ii pecias et di., vi peciis velvette diversorum colorum continentibus xiiii pecia</i> (Gras. Eng. Cust. Syst 511) (1420-21) <i>Mantels..wer broght..Of cloth of golde and veluyt cremysyn [vr. crimsin].</i> (Lydg. ST, Arun 119, 1441) (a1450)
OED2	sub cramoisy / cramesy (adj. / n.)	adj. ‘crimson’ [It. <i>cremesi</i> and OF <i>cramesi</i> < Ar. <i>qirmazī</i>] <i>Crymysy velvet.</i> (Wardrobe Acct. Edward IV, 1533) (1480)
OED3	sub crimson (adj. /n.) (40+)	n. ‘crimson cloth’ <i>Als like ze bene, as day is to the nyght; Or sek-cloth is vnto fyne cremesyne.</i> (Kingis Quair cix) (1423) adj. ‘Of a deep red colour somewhat inclining towards purple; of the colour of an alkaline infusion of cochineal.’ [<AN <i>cremosin</i> / MF <i>cremesin</i> / ML <i>cremosinus</i> < Ar. <i>qirmazī</i> ‘probably via a form in the Romance language’] [<i>A</i>] <i>crymesyn [mantle of estate]</i> (Löfvenberg Contrib.Lex.100) (1416)] <i>A mantell...she had Of red saten full good cremesyn</i> (Partonope of Blois, 1.9011) (a1450) n. ‘crimson fabric or cloth’ <i>[A gown of red] crymesyn..[a doublet unmade of red] cremesyn.</i> (Löfvenberg Contrib.Lex.32) (1416) <i>A sleue..of fyne cremoysin alle drawn ouer wyth golde wyer.</i> (Caxton tr. Eneydos xvi 63) (1490)
DMLBS	sub carmusinus (7) 283c	‘cramoisy, crimson (cloth)’ [Ar, <i>qirmazī</i>] <i>capa de rubeo cramaceno</i> (Reg. Glasg. 333) (1432) <i>major in velveto de crimismo (l. crimisino) electissimo</i> (J. Carpenter MGL III 458) (1432)
DC	sub cramoisius (1) sub carmusinus (1)	‘a Gallico <i>Cramoisi</i> , Color ostrinus, purpureus’ <i>Item legavit..... suam vestem belosii Cramoisii.</i> (Testam.Annæ de Arman. uxoris Caroli d’Albret, ex Cod. reg. 9573. 2. 2. f.91v) (1472) ‘ut <i>Carmesinus</i> , Color ostrinus, purpureus, Gall. <i>Cramoisi</i> .’ <i>Fit unum baldachinum... habens pendalia de Carmusino.</i> (Ordo canonizat. ex Cod. MS. Morton. archiep. Cantuar.) (1494)
Additional sources		
AN-matrix		
VOH	<i>cremeson</i> (38) <i>cremesyne</i> (7)	<i>Item j couple damaske cremeson dore , Item j couple de velvet sur velvet cremeson dore</i> (VOH 16: 8-9) (E101/128/30 ret. 6, Sir William Estfield, host to Bertucci and Tommaso Contarini, merchants of Venice, transp. 21) (1440)

		<i>j pece velvet velvetate cremesyne dore</i> (VOH 43 :24) (E101/128/31 ret. 53, Thomas Walsingham, host to Andrea and Federico Corner and Carlo Contarini, merchants of Venice, transc. p. 139) (1440)
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Comments

Attestation Type 2b: / Semantic Field: textile

Cramoisé-coloured silks and velvets was among the most luxurious available in the later Middle Ages and the Italians, backed up with resources from their international trade empire, dominated their production:

Textiles woven with the costliest materials (silk and gold) in the most intricate weaving techniques [...] and dyed with the costliest of colorants [...] were keenly sought after by popes and emperors, by cardinals and kings, by the ecclesiastical and the political élite alike [...] In terms of prime materials, the costliness of particular dyes, above all, of ‘grana’ or ‘kermes’ used for reds, derived from dried-up cochineal insects, or of the hard to obtain mordant, alum, a precious material necessary for dyeing reds and other colours, made crimson textiles the highest valued (Fanelli 1992: 521, 523).

The kermes beetle lives primarily on Mediterranean oaks and their dried bodies have been crushed to extract an expensive red dye (also known as *grain*) since ancient times. In medieval Europe, *cramoisy* was a colour term reserved for silk (and velvets which were considered a silk, cf. **velvetate**), with *scarlet* being used principally for grain-dyed wool. However, recent scholarship has questioned whether there was not some confusion in the Middle Ages in distinguishing kermes from other cochineal (or ‘red-dye giving’) insects (Monnas 2014: 44-46). We do know that a cheaper plant-based colorant, *orchil* (referred to by the Venetian guilds as *rosasecca di cremisi* in 1515), became an increasingly popular alternative to dye more moderately priced silks (Molà 2000: 118, Monnas 2014: 52-53). In contrast, Venetian dyers also specialised in combining *cremisi* and indigo to create *paonazzo*, a high-status, iridescent colour, resembling peacock blue (cf. **paunace** / **yndigo**). Whatever dye was actually used in practice, the Arabic for kermes, *qirmiz*,⁶⁷ was borrowed into the Italian textile lexicon: *chermisi* / *crèmisi* is attested in sources from 1318 but was evidently in use earlier than these dates suggest. In French, the term *cramoisy* quickly came to mean the cloth itself as well as an adjective of colour. The loanword first features in the CF translation of the Venetian Marco Polo’s travels (*cremosi*, att.1298) and in the AN inventory of the young Queen Isabella’s trousseau (*gramsi*, att.1307-08)⁶⁸ alongside other high-end goods imported by Italians, like **camaca** and **calaber**.

The forms CF *cremesin* (att. 1352, DMF sub **cramoisin**) and AN *cremosyn* (att. 1402, AND sub **cramoisé**) are obviously precursors to our modern *crimson* (att. in an ME-matrix text a1450). The OED and MED derive the French from Middle Latin (see, for example, *crimisino*, att. 1432, DMLBS sub **carmusinus**). The TLFi entry sub **cramoisi** (in concordance with the FEW) makes the point that: “La forme *cramoisin*, attestée en m. fr., a été contaminée par le suff. lat. *-inus* > *-in**”. However, it is important to note that we have no Latinised form prior to the 1430s and it seems more likely that the French influenced late Latin rather than the other way around. That leaves us with the question: are Tuscan *cremisino* (Tuscan, att. 14th to 15th c.) and Venetian *cremixin* (att. 1502) the source of CF *cremesin* or borrowed from it? Despite the chronology of the record, the former scenario seems the most convincing given Italy’s central role in spreading this fabric colour into Western Europe.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ This is obviously also the root of the word *kermes* itself but this was attested much later in CF (TLFi sub **kermès**, c1500) and then passed on into English (OED2 sub **kermes**, 1610).

⁶⁸ It is not clear why the LCC has not included this early AN example in its entry.

⁶⁹ For further discussion of *cremesin* in English, see Dietz (2005: 587-89).

27. AN creditor (n.) ‘creditor: a person who gives credit or to whom a debt is owing’ (CF <i>crediteur</i>) < It. <i>creditore</i> < Lat. <i>creditorem</i> < Lat. <i>credere</i> (‘to believe’)				
Italian	Anglo-Norman	Continental French	(Middle) English	Medieval Latin
a1292-present	c1377-c1437	1310 -19 th c.	?1435-present	c1180-15 th c.
TLIO	sub creditor (n.) (13)	‘Chi ha diritto alla riscossione di un bene, di una somma di denaro, in generale di ricevere qsa da altri’ [< Lat. <i>creditorem</i>] <i>Ègli venuto de la eredità di suo padre? - Certo no, perché i <u>creditori</u> tutta per li loro debiti la pigliaro</i> (Fiore di rett. red. beta. cap.17, p.19.3) (a1292, fior.)		
OVI	<i>creditore / i</i> (600+) <i>credetore / i</i> (109) <i>crediture / i</i> (8) <i>creditori</i> (4)	<i>Ègli venuto de la eredità di suo padre? - Certo no, perché i <u>creditori</u> tutta per li loro debiti la pigliaro</i> (Fiore di rett. red. beta. cap.17, p.19.3) (a1292, fior.) <i>Item ordiniamo che ogne questione infin’ a quantità di XX soldi debbia avere termine dal <u>creditore</u> VIIIJ di</i> (Stat. sen, par.6, 5.9) (1280-97, sen.) <i>e dare uopera e forza a tucta lor possa, che el decto <u>credetore</u> possa avere el suoi denari</i> (Stat. sen. cap.29, 301.14) (1329, sen.) <i>comu unu soy <u>crediture</u> lu stringia troppu pir dudichi soldi ki li avia a dari e non li avia</i> (Giovanni Campulu, L2, cap. 27, 66.2) (1302-37, sic.) <i>e li dicti <u>creditori</u> si levanu e constringinu tantu a lu dictum castillanu qunatu a Thomasi di Lucca</i> (Lett. palerm, 90.8) (1349, sic.)		
LEI	X			
DEI	∅			
AD	sub creditor /i (79)	<i>che questi tali <u>creditori</u> ch’avere doveranno dalla compagnia siano pagati de’ danari della compagnia</i> (Avignone B152 cc2-5, 292.12) (1367)		
AND2	sub creditor (n.) (2)	‘creditor’ <i>de arester les biens des ditz dettours et de liverer les ditz biens as <u>creditours</u></i> (Rot Parl ¹ ii 248) (1326-77) / <i>que doresenavant vous ne doubriez nul bille a nul persone <u>creditor</u></i> (Gaunt ¹ ii 105) (1372-76)		
AND corpus	<i>creditours</i> (1) sub faillir <i>creditours</i> (1) sub endangerer <i>creditours</i> (1) sub mareschalie <i>creditours</i> (1) sub excluser <i>creditours</i> (1) sub debenture	<i>et pur le remenant luy faut paier et satisfaction faire as <u>creditours</u> le dit aiell, qe serra fait le plus en haste q’il purra</i> (Rot Parl ¹ iii 36) (1377-1411) [as a result of pestilence, murrain, etc.] <i>eles [=the Abbess and nuns of Shaftsbury] ne purront sinoun qe a moelt grant peine sanz lour endangerer al [l.as] diverses bones gentz lours <u>creditours</u> mesner l’an a bon fin</i> (Rot Parl ¹ iii 129) (1377-1411) <i>diverses gentz dettours soient condempnez a lour <u>creditours</u> par due proces de ley, et commys au prisonne, c’est assavoir as gaoles del marschalcye</i> (Rot Parl ¹ iii 593) (1377-1411) <i>pur esloigner et excluder sibien les ditz suppliantz come autres de ses <u>creditours</u> [...] de lour recoverer</i> (Rot Parl ¹ iv 39) (1413-37) <i>q’ils eient auctoritee especial de paier sibien les dettes des ditz hostelle, chambre [...] come en debentours as ditz <u>creditours</u></i> (Rot Parl ¹ iv 40) (1413-37)		
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub créditeur (n.) (14)	‘Celui à qui de l’argent (ou un sevice) est dû, créancier’ <i>imposons à touz autres <u>crediteurs</u> ou creanciers, se aucuns en y avoit,</i>		

		<i>perpetuelle silence</i> (Doc. Poitu G. t.2, 266) (1342)
GDF	sub crediteur (n.) (6)	‘créancier’ <i>Aus autres <u>credeteurs</u></i> (Arch. JJ, 47 f.70r) (1310) ‘aussi employé pour dire croyant, qui croit’ <i>Je les laisse aux faciles <u>crediteurs</u></i> (Fossetier, Chron. Marg. ms. Brux 10512, IX, iv, 20) (1510)
TL	sub creditor (n.) (3)	‘Gläubiger’ <i>son <u>creditor</u> a payer</i> (Rem. Am. 1435) (c1370-80)
TLFi	sub créditeur (adj/ noun)	1. adj. ‘Qui établit le crédit de quelqu’un’ 2. subst. ‘Celui qui a des sommes portées à son crédit’. [Le sens 2 est prob. dû à l’ital. <i>creditore</i>] <i>Aus autres <u>credeteurs</u></i> (Arch. JJ, 47 f.70r) (1310)
FEW	II-2, 1307a: credere	‘créancier’ OF <i>crediteur</i> (c1330.) / Occ. <i>creditor</i> (15 th c.) ‘partie représentée dans une action par le créateur’ MF <i>partie crediteresse</i> (Valenciennes) (1412) ‘celui qui croit’ MF <i>crediteur</i> (c1510) ‘celui qui est crédité par un commerçant’ Fr. <i>créditeur</i> (1723)
MED	sub creditor (n.) (5)	‘A creditor’ [<OF] <i>The same <u>creditors</u> and owners off the money ffull much ben greved.</i> (Lond.Chron.Jul.(Jul B.2) (?1435)
OED3	sub creditor (n.) (25+)	‘A person to whom a debt is owing; a person who sells or lends on credit. Correlative to <i>debtor</i> . [< AN / MF <i>creditour</i> < Lat. <i>creditor</i>] <i>The same <u>creditors</u> and owners off the money ffull much ben greved.</i> (C.L. Kingsford, Chrons. London 30) (?1435)
DMLBS	sub creditor (7) 515a	‘creditor’ [CL] <i>fenerator vel commodator, <u>creditor</u>, redditor</i> (Gl H F 268) (10 th c.) <i><u>creditor</u>, bryrga, <u>creditor</u>, laenere</i> AElf Sup (c1025) / <i>ininitus fere <u>creditoribus</u> tenebitur obligates</i> (J. Sal. Pol 814d) (c1180)
DC	∅	
Additional sources		
ME-matrix		
CA	<i>creditori</i> (3)	<i>Item a di ditto pur £15 de Gr. I have wrytne to the seyd Russelay et Strossy for to make Jacob Salviati et compaignia de Londra, <u>creditori</u>, and dettori, Salviati de Pisa</i> (Cantelowe Accounts, 33n) (1450-51)
	<i>creditors</i> (4)	<i>Item le primer iour de june, we have wrytne to themeselffe at Brugous to make <u>creditors</u> a Gr. 52 ¾ and us dettours</i> (Cantelowe Accounts, 35w) (1450-51)
Comments		
Attestation Type 2b / Semantic Field: financial		
There is a large and complex family of words in Romance stemming back to the Latin verb <i>credere</i> : the first main semantic strand being ‘to trust or believe in something or someone’ (mainly in a religious sense) and the second,		

‘to entrust or loan something’. The FEW’s lengthy comments in its entry sub **credere** list these nuances in great detail but a particularly apt example is provided in section III, 1-2 (p.1306). Here we find OF *credo* attested in the thirteenth century as ‘symbole des Apôtres contenant les articles fondamentaux de la foi catholique’ expanding to mean ‘crédit de finances’ by 1446. Similarly, *crédit* is found in a citation from 1491 meaning ‘consideration, influence dont jouit une personne, une opinion etc.’ but by the early 1500s has also found its way into commercial terminology: ‘créance, dette active, fondée sur un titre’. *Crediteur* could also (occasionally) mean ‘celui qui croit’ (att. 1510, p.1307) as well as ‘moneylender’. The basic semantic distinction has remained since the Middle Ages: ‘credit’ in modern English, French and Italian can be used in numerous ways to mean ‘esteem’, ‘influence’, ‘appreciation’, ‘reliability’, ‘trustworthiness’ and ‘merit’ as well the strict financial sense of ‘money borrowed with an agreement as to repayment’.

AN, CF and ME all had an alternative and older word for *creditour* and that was *creancier* (< AN / CF *creance* < Lat. *credentia* < Lat. *credere*): AND sub **creancier**, att. c1150-1200 / TLFi sub **créancier**, att. c1160 / MED sub **creauncer**, att. a1382. *Créancier* was much more widely used in CF documentation and is indeed the term that has survived in modern French, *créditeur* being now all but obsolete (its TLF frequency score is five compared to 1085 for *créancier*). Based on the limited data we have, the two synonyms appear to have been used more equally in AN government administration (and occasionally, literature) but *creancier* still predominates with twenty forms listed in the AND corpus compared to nine for *creditour*. Of course, we also know that in contrast to France, it would be this second, ‘newer’ term that would persist in England’s financial terminology, with *creancier* dying out in the mid-sixteenth century. This fact alone is a key indicator of the extent of the use of *creditour* in insular French.

The extent to which *creditour* is borrowed from the Italian *creditore* (att. a1292) is by no means set in stone but there are several salient points to raise. The first is the general observation that in late western medieval society, Italians and money-lending were inextricably linked and as such, they transmitted financial techniques and terminology (e.g. **net**, **tare**) in England, France and elsewhere.⁷⁰ It is also important to note that the closely related, commercial noun *credit* - whilst not attested in AN - is categorised as an Italian borrowing (< *credito*, att. in the financial sense in 1353) by the FEW (pp. 1306-07, 1309), the TLFi sub **crédit** (att. 1481), the OED3 sub **credit n.** / **v.**¹ (att. 1543 / 1541), the DEI sub **credito** (1147a) and by Hope (1971: 36).

The TLFi also links the emergence of *créditeur* in fourteenth-century CF to Italian influence but the situation in England is made more complicated by the presence of BML *creditor* (‘moneylender’) from as early as the tenth century in The Harley Latin-Old English Glossary. Not unreasonably, the OED3 entry sub **creditor** gives the etymology ME < AN < BML. However, the possibility of Italian influence (either in tandem with the Latin or in later usages of the word) is certainly worth considering in AN, especially since all citations appear in the government *Rotuli Parliamentorum* where in the vast majority of cases the *creditours* in question were indeed ‘Lombards’. Italians did not invent moneylending but they were very much at the heart of the process in the 1300s and 1400s in England (cf. Chapter 2) and they cannot have failed to have had an effect in reinforcing the term *creditour* in commercial parlance. CF borrowed *casanier* (att. 1315) from Italian *casaniere*, specifically meaning ‘Prêtreur d’argent italien installé en France’: see DMF **casenier** / TLFi sub **casanier** / GD sub **casenier** / FEW II-1, 452a: **casa** / Hope (1971: 34). The term does not seem to have been adopted in England, but we could argue, however,

⁷⁰ Even allowing for the fact that Italian archives contain an abundance of mercantile material (which can skew perceptions of usage), the lexeme *creditore* is clearly an integral part of everyday business language with over 600 citations in the OVI corpus and seventy-nine in the Datini Letters.

that *creditour* fulfilled this semantic role in AN, at least in part.

Lastly, 'new' ME citations of *creditour* can be found in the *Cantelowe Accounts*, written by the English factor John Balmayn in Tuscany in 1450-51. His fascinating mix of AN-ME-Italian code-switching writing is discussed in detail in Chapter 5 and it is impossible at times to designate a matrix language for an entry. However, what is clear from this writer's idiolect is that he is equally comfortable with ME (or we could argue AN) *creditour* and Tuscan *creditori* and that the term is, unsurprisingly, an integrated part of his multilingual, professional vocabulary.

28. AN damaske (n.) ‘a dense type of silk, patterned with two textures of the same colour, originally produced in Damascus but then later in Italy in the 1300s’ < It. <i>damasco</i> < It. <i>Damasco</i> ⁷¹ < Lat. <i>Damascus</i> < Gr. <i>Δαμασκός</i>					
Italian c1362-present		Anglo-Norman c1390-1444	Continental French 1352-present	(Middle) English c1402-present	Medieval Latin c1370-1501
TLIO	sub damasco (n.) (1)	‘Tessuto a base di seta e di raso originario della città di Damasco’ <i>I mitera di tafettà, bianca, con fregi di <u>domascho</u></i> (Doc. Tosc. p.252.6) (1362-65, tosc.)			
ОВI	<i>domascho</i> (1) <i>domasco</i> (4)	<i>I mitera di tafettà, bianca, con fregi di <u>domascho</u></i> (Doc. Tosc. p.252.6) (1362-65, tosc.) <i>Vestiti insieme di drappo d’oro azurro di <u>domasco</u> con ciappe lunghe / Et in sul letto drapo d’oro di <u>domasco</u> verde e la seconda di drappo d’oro di <u>domasco</u> vermiglio e la terza di drapo d’oro di <u>domasco</u> azurro</i> (Lett. Fior 32.3 / 33.14) (1375, fior.)			
LEI	X				
DEI	sub damasco (1206b)	‘drappo di seta fatto a fiori e a diversi disegni su fondo di raso, in origine proveniente da Damasco in Siria’ [< Lat. <i>Damascus</i>] <i>tapita de damasco</i> (a1355, Latin of Rome) / <i>damasco</i> (16 th c.)			
AND2	sub damaske (n. /adj) (4)	‘damask (originally from Damascus)’ <i>ruban de <u>damaske</u></i> Lett & Pet 372.29 (1390-1412) <i>i rem’ de velvet crymesy <u>damask</u></i> (Rot Parl1 iv 240) (1423) <i>La vj^{me} est de <u>damas</u> blanc brodé d’ymages</i> (Bedford Inventories B25) (1389-1435)			
AND corpus	<i>damask</i> (1) sub huce ¹	<i>i couple de <u>damask</u> noier, broché d’arg[ent] pris de chescun .x. s</i> (Rot Parl1 iv 236) (1423)			
LCC	sub damask (12) (AND =3 /DMLBS = 4 / MED = 2 / LEXP = 2 / GPC = 1)	‘silken fabric, of various colours, originally associated with Damascus and often woven with elaborate patterns; fabric in which the pattern is produced by contrasting the warp and weft faces of a satin weave’ [?< Lat. <i>Damascus</i> / Gr. <i>Δαμασκός</i>] <i>.Item, i chesible de <u>damask</u> bloy, les orfreis de velvet rouge et noier enbroudesi.[...] Item rem’ de velvet crymesy <u>damask</u>, pris .v. s. ...</i> (Rot Parl1 iv 236) (1423)			
DEAF	X				
DMF	sub damas (15) sub damasque (1)	‘Étoffe (originairement de la ville de Damas) dont le dessin se détache en satiné sur fond mat ou inversement’ <i>pour II pieces de baudequins de pluseurs soyes, lune en champ azure et lautre contrefait de <u>dapmas</u> en bleu à lettre</i> (Compte Navarre I.P. 181) (1367-71) ‘Drap. Synon. de damas’ <i>pour 6 draps d’or de <u>damasque</u>, pièce 50 escus, 300 escus, et pour 18 autres draps d’or appelez maramas et mactabas</i> ⁷² (Comptes argent rois Fr. D.A I, 120)(1352)			

⁷¹ For the full history of this city name in the Italian language, see Schweikard (2002: 630-41).

⁷² Note how, in this citation, CF *damasque* mirrors Tuscan *domasco* as well as being listed alongside another Italian imported fabric: **maramas**.

GDC	sub damas (n.) (4)	‘sorte d’ <i>étoffe</i> de soie qui se fabriquait originairement à Damas’ <i>couverture de drap de <u>damas</u> ynde</i> (Inv. Des livr. De Ch. V.) (1379-80)
TL	sub damas (n.) (4)	<i>couverture de drap de <u>damas</u> ynde</i> (Inv. Des livr. De Ch. V.) (1379-80)
TLFi	sub damas (n)	‘ <i>Étoffe</i> monochrome, à double face, généralement en soie, ornée de dessins satinés, en relief sur fond mat, formés par le tissage’ [Du nom de <i>Damas</i> , importante ville commercial au moyen-âge] <i>draps d’or de <u>damasque</u></i> (Comptes royaux) (1352) <i>damas</i> (Inventaire des livres de Charles V) (c1380)
FEW	III. 9a: Damascus	‘ <i>étoffe</i> de soie dont le tissu présente des fleurs’ <i>damas</i> (14 th c.) [engl. norw. <i>damask</i> dem fr. enstammen, ebeso it. <i>damasto</i>] ⁷³ ‘de Damas, à la mode de Damas’ MF / Fr. <i>damasquin</i> (16 th c.) [entlehnt aus it. <i>damaschino</i> , ‘aus Damaskus’]
MED	sub damask (n.) (15)	b. ‘Costly figured cloth from Damascus’ [Prob. OF; L <i>Damascus</i> .] <i>Tres albe cum duabus stolis et tribus manipulis de nobili panno aureo de <u>damask</u></i> (Invent. Westm. In Archaeol 52, 252) (1388) / <i>A cloth of damask..of Grene oþer red oþer bleik.</i> (Let.Zouche in RES 8, PRO E 101/512/10, 260) (1402)
OED2	sub damask (n. / adj.) (13)	II. 3a. ‘A rich silk fabric woven with elaborate designs and figures, often of a variety of colours’ [Probably originally < Anglo-Norman * <i>Damasc</i> = Italian <i>Damasco</i> , Latin <i>Damascus</i>] <i>Clothes of veluet, <u>damaske</u> and of golde</i> (Lydgate Story of Thebes III vi) (c1430) III. 6 ‘Made of damask silk or cloth; furnished with damask’ <i>A fayre whyte coueryng of <u>damaske</u> clothe</i> (Caxton’s Blanchardyn & Eglantine 61) (1490)
DMLBS	sub Damascus (9) 555a sub damascenus (4) 555a	‘(w. <i>pannus</i> or as sb. m.) damask’ [CL < <i>Δαμασκός</i>] <i>[frontellum] album auro intextum de panno damasci indentum</i> (Invent. Westm. Arch. LII 229) (1388) ‘(w. <i>pannus</i> or as sb. m.) damask’ <i>j frontale de panno <u>damasceno</u> aureo</i> (Invent. S. Paul 552) (1455)
DC	sub damacius sub damascus	‘Bombycinus pannus operis Damasceni, Gall. <i>Damas</i> ’ <i>Item alter tassellus operatus ad modo <u>Damacii</u> cum lapidibus modici valoris</i> (Inventar. Eccl. Aniciens) (1444) ‘ut Damacius’ <i><u>Damascus</u> albus</i> (Apparatu bellico Caroli VIII. Regis Fr. in Italiam, apud Marten. Itinerarii tom. 2. pag. 398.) (att. ?)
Additional sources		
Italian-matrix		
Berengo	<i>damasc(h)o</i> (12)	<i>Voi ve doletti perché non n’ò porttato mecho el <u>damascho</u> negro /</i>

⁷³ The DEI sub **damasco** also claims that Italian variant *damasto* is a Gallicism: ‘fr. *damas* [14th c.] da cui la nostra variante *damasto*’. I have been unable to find a date for the first attestation of this Italian variant but it is still used in modern Italian as a synonym for *damasco*. Also, the FEW fails to note that English *damask* comes from a specifically insular French form of the silk’s name.

Letters (1555-56)		<i>Dil che ve dicho che a me mi mancha el <u>damasco</u> vi arà conssegniatto el magnifico chamerlengo Salamon</i> (Berengo Letters 19.14 / 231.9)(Tucci 1957: 40 / 275) (1555 /1556, ven.)
AN-matrix		
VOH (1440-44)	<i>damask</i> (5) <i>damaske</i> (s) (100+) <i>damasques</i> (2) <i>damaskeyne</i> (1) <i>dameskeyne</i> (1) <i>damyskeyne</i> (1) ⁷⁴	<i>Item j couple <u>damaske</u> dargent , Item j couple <u>damaske</u> cremeson dore</i> (VOH 16: 7-8) (E101/128/30 ret. 6, Sir William Estfield, host to Bertucci and Tommaso Contarini, merchants of Venice, trans.p. 21) (1440) <i>Item le primer iour de December a William Cantelowe xvj verges demi <u>damasques</u> engreyn</i> (VOH 34:30) (E101/128/30 ret.14, Richard Rich, host to Felice da Fagnano, Alessandro Palastrello and Niccolò Micheli, merchants of Lucca, trans. p. 42) (1443-4) <i>Philippe Albert ad ressu de le memse galey j pece de <u>damyskeyne</u> blanke value xiiijli le quelle pece de <i>damaskeyne</i> maundy a Loundrez</i> (VOH 55: 38-39) (E101/128/31 ret. 36, John Bentham, host to Paolo Morelli et el, merchants of Venice and Florence, trans. p.119) (1442-43)]
Latin-matrix		
Accounts of Domenco Lupardi (1390)	<i>damaschinis</i> (1)	<i>Unum telare pro texendis drappis <u>damaschinis</u> quatuor caminorum</i> (Bini 1883: 66) (1390)
Great Wardrobe Accounts (1371- 1462)	<i>damasc'</i> (8) <i>damasc</i> (6) <i>damask</i> (5) <i>damasco</i> (1)	<i>Pann' adaur' de damasco</i> (E361/4/17r) (1370-71) <i>pann' s[er]ici damasc', pann' s[er]ici damasc' op[er]at' cu[m] veluet & auro, pann' s[er]ici damask op[er]at' cu[m] auro, pann' s[er]ici damasc' op[er]at' cu[m] veluet'</i> (E361/5/7r) (1394-98) <i>pann' s[er]ici de Damask</i> (E361/5/11r) (1399-1400) <i>pann' s[er]ici damasc'</i> (E361/6/4r) (1408-12) <i>damasc' adaur', damasc' s[er]ici</i> (E361/6/12) (1413-17) <i>damasc s[er]ici, damasc' adaur'</i> (E361/6/9r) (1420-22) <i>damasc' s[er]ici</i> (E361/6/16d) (1425-27) <i>damask</i> (E361/6/19r) (1429-31) <i>damasc</i> (E361/6/23r) (1434-35) <i>damasc seric[i], damasc seric[i] deaurat'</i> (1444-45) <i>damask s[er]ic[i], damasc s[er]ic[i] adaur'</i> (E361/6/49r) (1455-56), <i>damasc s[er]ici, damask s[er]ici adaur'</i> (E361/6/53r) (1461-62) (All Monnas 1989: 296-301)
Comments		
Transmission Type 2b / Semantic Field: textile		
<p>As Monnas (1993: 168) notes, ‘five-shaft satin’ damask arrived in Italy in the fourteenth century: “a notable omission from the statutes of 1376, it was certainly known in Lucca by 1390, when a silk merchant, Domenco Lupardi, bought a loom ‘to weave damask cloths’ with four repeats across the width” (see the Latin citation from Bini’s <i>I Lucchesi a Venezia</i>, above). In 1457, the Venetian Senate officially regulated the warp thread count of <i>damasco</i>: twenty-four ligature or 9600 threads, compared to eighteen or 7200 threads for cloths of gold and plain velvets (Molà 2000: 145).</p> <p>There is no doubt that <i>damask</i> is the dominant form in AN: we find only one attestation of <i>damas</i> in the AND corpus (from the Bedford Inventories) and VOH combined, compared to over a hundred of <i>damask</i>. It</p>		

⁷⁴ Currently, the AND entry sub **damascene** contains only adjectival examples, referring to the fruit, *prune damascene*. These citations from the *Views of the Hosts* in 1442-43 where *damaskeyne* is used nominally to mean a fabric would be a useful addition to the corpus. Note also the presence of *panno damasceno aureo* in the Inventory of St Pauls from 1455 (DMLBS sub **damascenus**).

seems that the Italian name for cloth played a much bigger role in England rather than the CF equivalent, although the ultimate root is the same in both cases: the name of the city of Damascus, a key medieval trading post on the famous Silk Road from the Far East.

Somewhat unusually, the OED2 suggests an unattested AN form of **damasc* as the source for ME *damask*, evidence of which has surfaced since the entry was written. It also notes that CF *damas* was more influential in Scotland where *dammas*, *dammes*, *dammys*, *domas*, *damas* and *dames* were all attested in the 1400s and 1500s. It is unclear why the LCC sub **damask** ponders the origin of the English word - “[it] would seem to have come through AF usage (the Old French evidence for this sense is limited)”- but overlooks the strong possibility of an Italian contribution.

In England, *damask* first appears clearly as a modifier to *panno aureo* in the BML Royal Wardrobe Accounts of 1388. It is hard to pinpoint exactly when the lexeme stops being a place name and becomes a fabric-specific adjective or noun. However, over time the progression is clear: in the Wardrobe Accounts, we see a convenient evolution from *pann’ adaur’ de damasco* in 1370-71 to *pann’ serici damask* in 1394-98, to simply *damask / damasc* (without suspension marks) from 1431. Likewise, in AN sources, we move from *un ruban de damaske* in 1397 to *i couple de damask noier* in 1423.

The city of Damascus did not just lend its name to silk. We also have the *prune damascene* (AND sub **damascene** / DMF sub **prune** / FEW III, 8b **damascena**) which would become the *damask plum / prune* and finally, the *damson* in English (OED2 sub **damson**). References to *Damask steel* or *damask blades* emerge around the 1630s in England and we find verbal forms sub OED **damascene** v. (1585) and **damask** v. (1599): to ‘weave with richly-figured designs’ and (in the case of metal-work) ‘to ornament with gold or silver inlay.’⁷⁵ *Damask roses* (att. a1547) were used to perfume *damask water* (referred to as early as 1306 as *aqua rosata de Damasco*) and the term *damske* was even used to mean ‘blush-coloured’ by Shakespeare in *Love’s Labour’s Lost* in 1598 (see OED sub **damask**, n.).

⁷⁵ Compare these verbs with CF *damasser* (att. 1386 for fabric but not until 1783 for steel) which clearly derives from *damas* rather than *damask* (TLFi sub **damasser**, DMF sub **damassé**, FEW III 9a: **Damascus**). However, the terms *damasquine / damasquinure* (‘incrustation d’or, d’argent dans une pièce d’acier’, att. 1611) and their root verb *damasquiner* (att. 16th c.) all stem from a borrowing of Italian *damaschino* (‘from Damascus’), according to the FEW III 9a: **Damascus**). Similarly, the same entry links *damasquette* (att. 1732) to the Venetian fabric, *damaschetto*.

29. ME demyt (n.) ‘a coarse cotton or flannel cloth’ (*AN demit ?) < Ven. <i>dimito</i> (< Lat. <i>dimitum</i>) < Gr. <i>δίμιτος</i> / <i>dimitos</i> (‘of double thread’)				
Italian a1454 -1556	Anglo-Norman X	Continental French 1679-c1842	(Middle) English 1440-1880	Medieval Latin c1154-1330
TLIO	X			
OVI	X			
LEI	X			
DEI	sub dimito 1307a	‘tessuto di seta, ⁷⁶ specie di fustango’ [Gr. bizant. <i>dimitos</i> , ‘di due licci’, conservato dal venez. <i>limito</i> ‘guarnello, tessuto d’accia’. Cf. ingl, ted. <i>dimity</i>] <i>dimito</i> (a1454, Venezia)		
DDV	sub dimito 192b	‘Dimito o Guarnello, Tessuto d’accia e di bambagia [vedi limito]’		
AND	X			
DEAF	X			
DMF	X			
GDF	Ø			
TL	Ø			
TLFi	Ø			
FEW	XX, 20a: dimiton	‘toile de coton du Levant’ Fr. <i>dimitte</i> (1679) / <i>dimite</i> (1730-1838) / <i>demitto</i> (1730-1842) [Entlehnt qus mlt. <i>dimitum</i> , das selber entlehnt ist aus. mgr. <i>δίμιτος</i> ‘stoff aus zwei gewebe’ Auch e. <i>dimity</i> (seit 15. jh.). Aus dem fr. entlehnt ndl. <i>diemit</i> , ‘barchent’]		
MED	sub demit n. (1) sub dimesey n. (1)	‘some kind of fabric’ [?ML <i>dimitum</i> ; cf. MnE <i>dimity</i> .] <i>A vestment of white demyt for lenten and vigils</i> (Invent.Cumberworth in Peacock EChurch Furniture [OD col.], 182 Lincolnsh.) (1618 ▶1440) ‘a kind of fabric’ <i>Westmentes, on of white worstede for lentyn & virgines, another of dimesey</i> Invent.Cumberworth in Peacock EChurch Furniture [OD col.], 184 (Lincolnsh.) (1618 ▶1440)		
OED2	sub dimity n. (9)	‘A stout cotton fabric, woven with raised stripes or fancy figures; usually employed undyed for beds and bedroom hangings, and sometimes for garments’ [< Italian <i>dimito</i>] <i>A vestment of white demyt for lenten and vigils. Inventory in E. Peacock Eng. Church Furnit.</i> 182. (1618 ▶1440) <i>We do vse to buy many of their silke quilts, and of their Scamato and Dimite, that the poore people make in that towne</i> (G. Campion <i>Let.</i> 14 Feb. in R. Hakluyt <i>Princ. Navigations</i> II. i. 127) (1569)		
DMLBS	sub dimitum (1) 670a	‘cloth woven w. two threads, dimity’ [cf. <i>δίμιτος</i>] <i>pro xxviiij peciis de dimett’...empties pro uno cubito de plum’ faciendo</i> (AcWardr. p.57) (1330)		

⁷⁶ It is puzzling that the DEI partly glosses *dimito* as a siken fabric, since all other sources seem to describe it only as a thick cotton or flannel.

DC	sub dimitum (1)	‘Italis <i>Dimito</i> , Species panni crassioris’ <i>Hinc enim videas (in officina pannorum) amita, <u>dimita</u> et trimita minori peritia sumptuque perfici ; hinc exhimita uberioris materiae copia condensari.</i> (Hugonis Falcandi Hist. Sicul. apud Murator. tom. 7. col. 256) (1154-69)
Additional sources		
Italian-matrix		
Liber Caballarum (1495-1537)	<i>dimeto</i> (1)	<i>dimeto</i> (Liber Caballarum, Genoa, f. 137r, ed. Gioffrè 1962: 309) (1495-1537)
Berengo Letters (1556)	<i>dimito</i> (1) <i>dimitto</i> (1)	<i>et quello fareti invoiar in qual casa, o <u>dimito</u> o botana o come a voi parerà</i> <i>[...] 50 de samitto de seda belo e bianco, et quello V.M lo farà governar in artta e poi in <u>dimitto</u> dopio aziò el non pattischa</i> (Berengo Letters, 213.25 / 216.23) (Tucci 1957: 248 / 251) (1556, ven.) ⁷⁷
Comments		
Transmission Type 3a / Semantic Field: textile		
<p>This cloth type appears very rarely in both the medieval Italian and Middle English records but there could, nevertheless, as Dietz (2005: 589-90) maintains, be a link between <i>demyt</i> and <i>dimito</i>. As we have seen with bokeram and bukasin, the Genoese and Venetians dominated the import of cottons and linens from their colonies into England for over two hundred years. Much less is known about <i>dimito</i>, however, as Mazzaoui admits in her monograph on this very industry. This cotton type is only mentioned once: “There were a large number of fabrics with characteristics that are not clearly defined in the documents. The <i>purpereta</i> and the dimity or <i>dimeto</i> were made in Genoa. The latter was widely used for linings” (Mazzaoui 1981: 167).</p> <p>Originating from the Byzantine Greek for ‘two threads’, the fabric name appears in a Sicilian Latin chronicle (the <i>Historia o Liber De Regno Sicilie</i>) around the mid-twelfth century. As we see from the citation above in Du Cange, the author, Hugo Falcundus, compares the fabrics made with single (<i>amita</i>), double (<i>dimita</i>) or triple (<i>trimata</i>) threads with the thicker <i>exhimita</i> which has six.⁷⁸</p> <p>In England, the earliest citation of the loanword (<i>dimett</i>’) is in the BML-matrix Wardrobe account of Edward III from 1330. This actually predates the first known attestations of the term in the (Venetian) vernacular of Italy where it is first recorded, according to the DEI, around the 1450s. But, as we have seen, these royal accounts with their array of foreign fabrics brought to court by ‘Lombard’ merchants are a rich source of Italianisms (see, for example, marramas, nassik, ragamas, taffata and tartarin) and a direct Italian etymon should certainly not be ruled out. Other possibilities are that it is a Greek loanword or a previously unattested AN form such as *<i>demite</i> or *<i>dimite</i>.</p> <p>We have only two ME citations and they are, admittedly, from secondary source, an early seventeenth century copy of a Lincolnshire church inventory originally taken in 1440 (this is perhaps the reason the fabric is not found in the LCC). Is <i>demyt</i> an indirect Italianism via the BML form cited in the previous century? Or again, does it stem from an unrecorded AN lexeme or the original Greek? The second form, <i>dimesey</i> (absent from the OED but</p>		

⁷⁷ Tucci’s gloss (1957 : 352) reads ‘*dimitto*: étoffe de coton ou de chanvre spécialement employée pour doubler des vêtements’.

⁷⁸ Note that the silk type *samite* ultimately derives from the Greek *hexamitos*, ‘six-threaded’ (King 1992: 459).

recorded in the MED sub **dimesey**) is puzzling: could it simply result from a misprint or a mistranscription and actually read *dimetey*? If this were the case, our argument for an Italian etymon would indeed be stronger; certainly later attestations of the cloth *dimity* from the 1560s (cf. OED sub **dimity**) seem to have been influenced by the plural of the Italian noun (*dimiti*).

This does seem to be one instance where we can rule out a CF role. There are no medieval attestations of *dimity* in the major corpora and only a handful of citations from the mid-1600s to mid-1800s in a short FEW entry sub **dimiton**. Modern French now describes *dimity* as ‘coton damassé’ (whereas in modern Italian a back formation has given us *il dimity* to describe a strong checked or striped cotton cloth).

30. ME ditto (adj.) ‘the aforementioned (day or month)’ < It. <i>ditto</i> < It. <i>dire</i> < Lat. <i>dicere</i> (‘to say / tell’)				
Italian 1296-present	Anglo-Norman X	Continental French 1723-present	(Middle) English 1450-present	Medieval Latin 1218-1494
TLIO	X			
OVI	<i>ditto</i> (60+) ⁷⁹	[...] e fattori p(er) qualunqua chagione dare deno fine al <i>ditto</i> die di chalande gennaio lxxxxvj (Lett. lucch. 29.20) (1296) <i>infino a vernadi dix del ditto mese, fatta p(er) la compagnia [...]</i> (Doc, post 297.17) (1302-03)		
LEI	X			
DEI	sub ditto (adj) 1364a	‘ <i>detto</i> (vive nel tosc. e corton.)’ ⁸⁰ <i>ditto</i> (13 th c.) [Dall’it., il fr. <i>dito</i> , comm. (a1723)]		
AND	X			
DEAF	X			
DMF	X			
GDF	∅			
TL	∅			
TLFi	sub ditto (adv.)	‘[Dans une énumération ou une nomenclature d’articles] De même, comme ci-dessus. En abrégé <i>d’</i> .’ [Adaptation de l’ital. <i>ditto</i> , <i>dicto</i> , anc. forme de <i>detto</i> , part. passé de <i>dire</i>] <i>dito</i> (J. Savary des Bruslons, Dict. du comm., Paris) (1723)		
FEW	III: 70a sub dicere	III Aus it. <i>ditto</i> ‘gesagt; besagt, oben genannt’ (p. perf von <i>dire</i>) das im 16 jh belegt ist und heute noch in der Toskana lebt, ist entlehnt nfr. <i>dito</i> ‘la chose qui vient d’être dite’ (seit 1723).		
MED	X			
OED2	sub ditto (n.) (20+)	1. ‘In or of the month already named; said month’ [< It. <i>ditto</i> (Florino), <i>detto</i> said, spoken, aforesaid (< Latin)] <i>The eight and twentieth ditto, I went.. to the Generals Tent</i> (S. Purchas <i>Pilgrimes</i> x. ix. §4) (1625) 2. ‘By extension: The aforesaid, the same; used, in accounts and lists (where also abbreviated <i>d’</i> , <i>do.</i> , or expressed by two dots or commas, or a dash) to avoid repetition of a word or phrase appearing above; hence in commercial, office, and colloquial language’ <i>Ditto</i> (Italian, said) [1706 adds the aforesaid or the same] <i>a word used much in Merchants Accompts, and relation of Foreign news; and signifieth the same place</i> [1696 the same Commodity or Place] <i>with that immediately beforementioned.</i> (New World of Words, ed. 4. E. Philips) (1678)		
Additional sources				
ME-matrix				
CA	<i>ditto</i> (32)	<i>Bernardo Danremo de Medeci et compagnia dette a dì 15 ditto pur iijj pokes lane que poise cum tare [...]</i> (20d) <i>Item le 4 de feverelle pur £30 de Gr. send to Venecia to the seyrd Russelay et Strossy a dì 20 ditto, for to resceyve hit of Cosmo de Medici et compagnia a</i>		

⁷⁹ This total refers to *ditto* being used in a commercial document to refer to a day or month. The past participle of *dire* is attested at the start of the 1200s and features in over 2000 citations.

⁸⁰ From Cortona, in the Arezzo region of Tuscany.

		<p>£15 s.18 a Fl. pur £. For the seyde Cosmo hadde hit here: Fl. 328 s. 28. d - (33d)</p> <p>Item le xxvij <u>ditto</u> pur £28 de Gr. send to Venecia a ditti Russelay et Strossy for to resseyve of Lowes Pige, a £15 s. 18 d. 4 a Fl. pur lb de Gr. For here hadde hit Cornelio de Messer Carlo et compaignia: Fl. 307. s. 10. d. 4 (33g)</p> <p>Item le vj iour <u>ditto</u> pur £100 de Gr. r[...] at Venecia to Pe seyde Russelay for to resseyve of Cosmo de Medici et compaignia (33e)</p> <p>Item le 11 <u>ditto</u>, send by usance to London a st. 45 le doc., a Sevestyano et Jorolinis Bandenere. For here hadde hit Victore Cape and his brotherys: £10 (35d) (All Cantelowe Accounts) (1450-51)</p>
DMLBS	Ø	
DC	Ø	

Comments

Transmission Type 3a / Semantic Field: administrative language

John Balmayn's use of *ditto* in the *Cantelowe Accounts* is of particular interest and offers (along with **no.** in the same source) an excellent example of Italian administrative language influencing an English writer's work at a much earlier stage than is documented at present. The current OED2 entry sub **ditto** records this commercial shorthand as entering English in 1625, 175 years after Balmayn wrote his accounts. Similarly in CF, the Italianism *dito* makes its first appearance in Savary's *Dictionnaire du Commerce* even later, in 1723 (cf. Hope 1971: 360). In contemporary UK and US English, the term has persisted, especially in colloquial speech to mean 'me too' (ironically, the modern Italian speaker would revert to Latin and say *idem*).

The *Cantelowe Accounts* clearly show the influence of Tuscan business practice on Balmayn during his time spent working in Pisa and Florence. *Ditto* is a Tuscan dialectal variation of the past participle *detto* which was also used in the same variety of ways: the latter is the more common form with over 40,000 citations in the OVI corpus from 1219 onwards, with the first commercial source dating from the start of the 1300s.

As examined in detail in Chapter 5, Balmayn was very flexible in his lexis, drawing from a multilingual word stock. When referring to dates, he frequently varies his use of *ditto* with AN *dyd* or (on one occasion) ME *aboveseyd*:

Item le 9 de le dyd, we have wreytne to themeselffe at Brugous þhat at usance and of the same persone scholde make theme creditours and us detours: (35x)

Summa tock of the 448 solde as aforeseyd alle thyng ys rekenyd and abatyd the daye aboveseyd (31g)

Interestingly however, whilst *dyd* was used not just for dates but for people (*Item le dyd Bernardo*) and pokes of wool (*pur le dyd 466 pokes*), *ditto* is reserved exclusively for dates. Note also the variety of ways in Balmayn employed *ditto* in relation to dates in his accounts (see the citations in the box above): after Roman and Arabic numerals⁸¹ and to refer to both a month and a day. For a much earlier but similar use of AN administrative language by a Tuscan scribe, see **pardisu** in the Exports Glossary.

⁸¹ However, we have ten instances of *ditto* following an Arabic numeral and only two of it following a Roman one. This ties in with the general tendency in Balmayn's writing to put the 'newer' Arabic figures alongside Italian words and Roman numerals in AN / Latin-matrix sections: see Chapter 5. 4.

31. ME ducat (n.) ‘a gold or silver coin, the most well-known being the gold ducat of Venice, first minted in 1284’ < Ven. / It. <i>ducato</i> < Lat. <i>ducatus</i> < Lat. <i>dux</i> (‘ruler, duke’)				
Italian 1299-present	Anglo-Norman X	Continental French c1395-present	(Middle) English c1384-present	Medieval Latin 1181-15 th c.
TLIO	sub ducato ² (n.) (17)	‘Moneta (d’oro) coniatà a Venezia a partire dal 1284 (equivalente in peso e valore al fiorino)’ [< Lat. <i>ducatus</i>] « <i>Tu no metis sti <u>ducati</u> in raxon perché elo sî è tolta la cera vermeia via e sî è mesa cera verde là</i> » (Doc. venez., 4 p. 25.18) (1299, ven.)		
OVI	<i>duc(h)ati</i> (400+) <i>duc(h)ato</i> (40+) <i>duc.</i> (37) <i>docati</i> (1)	<i>Item lb. CCX chef o <u>ducati</u> CV a Iacomo Contarini</i> (Doc. venez., 6 p. 26.3) (1299, ven.) <i>Laso al pasaço d’oltrammar J <u>ducato</u> d’oro.</i> (Doc. venez. (2) 153.25) (1317, ven.) <i>e la zecha de Veniexia te da ogni marca <u>duc.</u> 66, grossi, 2, pizoli 25.</i> (Tariffa pesi e misure, 54.5) (1345, ven.) <i>e li scudi 3 se mete a valer <u>docati</u> 4 da Veniexia</i> (Tariffa pesi e misure, 37.3) (1345, ven.)		
AD	sub docati (90+)	<i>per costà, 46; Gienova, lb. 8 s. 4; <u>ducati</u> vineziani e fiorini, tt. 4 gr.17.</i> (Gaeta-Firenze 408373 (B649/46, 259.1) (1398)		
LEI	X			
DEI	sub ducato ² (n.) 1398b	‘moneta d’oro o d’argento con l’immagine del doge (‘duca’) coniatà a Venezia il 1284; passato alle lingue di cultura [fr. <i>ducat</i> , a1395] <i>ducato</i> (14 th c.)		
AND	X			
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub ducat (n.) (20+)	‘Monnaie d’or fin frappée à l’origine par les ducs ou doges de Venise et valant de dix à douze francs, ducat’ <i>c’est assavoir de fins ducaz d’or de XX et quatre quarraz, de XVI dragmes de fin argent pour le ducat, et de LXIII ou aucunesfois IIIIx souldins de fin argent pour le ducat. Par la bonte de laquelle monnoye et la seigneurie susdicte de Venise et le peuple sont riches et honnourer.</i> (Mézières, Songe vieil pèl. C., t.2, 371) (c1386-89)		
GDC	sub ducat (n.) (2)	‘monnaie frappe à l’origine par les ducs ou doges de Venise, ancienne monnaie d’or fin, valant de dix à douze francs’ <i>Comme ce chascun d’eux deust gaengner cent <u>ducatz</u></i> (Anglure, Voy. a Jerus., §266) (c1395)		
TL	Ø			
TLFi	sub ducat (n.)	‘Monnaie d’or fin (plus rarement d’argent) de valeur variable selon les pays; monnaie de compte de valeur variable selon les époques’ [Empr. à l’ital. <i>ducato</i>] <i>ducat</i> (Anglure, Voy. a Jerus., § 266) (c1395) / <i>ducas</i> (Chron. de Flandre, I, 96) (14 th c.)		
FEW	III, 196b: dux	Aus it <i>ducato</i> , einer ablt. von <i>duca</i> , ist entlehnt fr. <i>ducat</i> ‘ ancienne monnaie d’or, valant de 10 à 12 francs’ (1395)’		
MED	sub ducat (n.) (10+)	‘Any of various gold and silver coins issued in different European countries’ [< ML <i>ducatus</i> / OF <i>ducat</i> < It. <i>ducato</i>] <i>Elevene grotes turoneys for a <u>duket</u> [Tbr: <u>ducate</u>], þat is worþy half an Englisshe noble</i> (Trev. Higd.(StJ-C H.1), 6.259) (a1387)		

		<p><i>þe change is nat so redy for to make In Lombard Strete of crowne nor <u>doket</u></i> (Lydg. TB (Aug A.4) 4.2155) (c1425 (a1420))</p> <p><i>Al Was plated..Of gold..As fyn as <u>ducat</u> in Venyse</i> (Chaucer HF, Benson-Robinson, 1348) (c1450 (c1380))</p>
OED	sub ducat (n.) (20+)	<p>‘A gold coin of varying value, formerly in use in most European countries; that current in Holland, Russia, Austria, and Sweden being equivalent to about 9s. 4d. Also applied to a silver coin of Italy, value about 3s. 6d.’ [Fr. <i>ducat</i> < It. <i>docato</i>]</p> <p><i>As fyne as ducat [v.rr. <i>doket, ducket</i>] in venyse.</i> (Chaucer, House of Fame III, 258)</p> <p><i>A duket þat is worþy half an Englysshe noble</i> (Trevisa trans. Higden Polychron., 1876, VI 259) (a1387)</p>
DMLBS	sub ducatu ² (7) 730c	<p>‘ducat (gold coin)’ [It. <i>docato</i>]</p> <p><i>pro nauulo xvj <u>ducata</u> apud Alexandriam</i> (Brygg, Itin. 387) (1392)</p>
DC	sub ducatu ⁴ (3)	<p>‘appellata primum Moneta Ducatus Apuliæ, cusa a Rogerio Rege Siciliae ann. 1240’⁸²</p> <p><i>monetam suam introduxit, unam vero, cui <u>Ducatus</u> nomen imposui</i> (Chartis apud Ughellum t. 4. p.227. et t. 8. p. 98. 106.) (1181 / 1186)</p> <p>‘Monetæ Veneticæ aureæ species, ab impresso hocce lemmate sic nuncupatum: <i>Sit tibi, Christe, datus, quem tu regis, iste Ducatus.</i>’</p>

Comments

Transmission Type 3b / Semantic Field: financial

The Venetians started minting their own twenty-four carat gold coins (*ducati*) in 1284 to try and match the international success of the **florin**,⁸³ the gold coin of their rival city state, Florence. From 1543, the ducat also became known as a *zecchino* (< *zecca* ‘mint’), with newly minted coins worth more than older ones at seven *lire*, twelve *soldi*. A silver coin had previously been introduced in Venice back in 1202 known as the *denaro grosso*, (‘large penny’) or the *matapane* (< Arabic coin *mautabān*); confusingly, in some early records, it was also referred to as a *ducato*.⁸⁴

Ducati had the figure of Christ on one side, and St Mark and the Doge on the other; it was after this ‘Duke of Venice’, Giovanni Dandolo, that the coin was named. As Du Cange records, the legend read *Sit tibi, Christe, datus, quem tu regis, iste Ducatus*. However, the first record of the *ducato* comes not from Venice but from Sicily where Roger II introduced a new (but ultimately short-lived) system of silver coinage in 1140 (cf. the first entry in Du Cange sub **ducatu**⁴ / Stahl 2000: 20).

Unsurprisingly, as a term of international finance, *ducat* also entered CF and is first attested c1395 (cf. Hope 1971: 37). The OED2 categorises ME *ducat* as a continental Gallicism (of Italian origin) but given the

⁸² This is a typographical error in Du Cange and should read 1140.

⁸³ *Ducati* are very widely attested in the OVI corpus (over 400 citations) but this is still dwarfed by the 19, 000 references to *fiorini*.

⁸⁴ For a comprehensive overview of Venetian coinage, see Stahl’s *Zecca: The Mint of Venice in the Middle Ages* (2000).

widespread use of the currency type, the existence of an (as yet) unrecorded AN **ducat* is certainly not to be dismissed. The possibility of a direct Italianism in some ME sources, at least, is not to be overlooked. The earliest example comes from Chaucer's *House of Fame* (c1384)⁸⁵ and the author was a “funzionario e diplomatico di corte prima che eccelso poeta” who visited Italy on state business at least twice in 1372-73 and 1378 (cf. Boitano 1983). As Iamartino reminds us:

Venezia emette nel 1284 [...] il primo ducato d'oro, moneta tanto nota e pregiata che Chaucer può magnificare la *House of Fame* del suo omonimo poema affermando che essa è tutta rivestita d'oro 'As fyn as ducat in Venyse' [...] così introducendo il prestito *ducat* in inglese (Iamartino 2001: 21)

Similarly, we find later references to *dokets* in *Lombard Strete* in Lydgate's *Troy Book* (a1420). Quite apart from the obvious link to Italians at work in London, the author is another whose writing is widely accepted to be influenced by Italian literature (cf. Mortimer 2005).⁸⁶

Duket / ducate also appears in Trevisa's ME translation (a1387) of the BML *Polychronicon*: a lengthy, seven-book chronicle which had been completed around four decades earlier (c1342) by the Benedictine monk, Ranulf Higden. However, the original Latin citation is not included in the DMLBS entry sub **ducatus**² which begins with *ducata*, attested in a section of accounts from 1392, written by Thomas Brigg in Alexandria, Egypt (where there was a sizeable Venetian trading colony, cf. Ashtor 2014: xiv-xvi). Note that Durkin (2014: 370) believes that the Italianism *ducat* entered ME “probably via Latin”.

⁸⁵ Note also Chaucer's use of the adjective *cerrial* (< It. *cereale*) in his *Knight's Tale*, written c1405 (c1385): see Chapter 1.3i and Table 2: Volume 2, Appendices.

⁸⁶ Note also Lydgate's use of the Italianism *cornuto* in his later work (translated from Boccaccio) *Fall of Princes*: see Chapter 1.3i and Table 2: Volume 2, Appendices.

32. AN fagot (n.) ‘a bundle of cloth, wrapped up for transport’ < It. <i>fagotto</i> < OF <i>fagot</i> (‘a bundle of sticks’) < Lat. ? * <i>facus</i> ⁸⁷				
Italian c1348-19 th c.	Anglo-Norman c1427-30	Continental French X	(Middle) English 1428-18 th c.	Medieval Latin 1294-1440
TLIO	sub fagotto (n.) (3)	‘Involto voluminoso (specialmente di tessuti) preparato in modo’ <i>Sono per XLIII 1/1 panni che mandarono loro i nostri di Fiandra in due faghotti per lo chamino di Parigi</i> (Doc. fior. p. 69.17) (1348-50, fior.)		
ОВI	<i>fagotto</i> / <i>i</i> (4) <i>faghotti</i> (1)	[...] sotto nome e mercho di Filippo Gentile e compagni di Luccha, in uno <i>fagotto</i> che partirono di Borsella (Doc. fior. p.116.4) (1348-50, fior.) <i>Sono per XLIII 1/1 panni che mandarono loro i nostri di Fiandra in due faghotti per lo chamino di Parigi</i> (Doc. fior. p. 69.17) (1348-50, fior.)		
LEI	X			
DEI	sub fagotto (n.) 1594a	‘alterazione di <i>fagotto</i> nel tosc. e it. merid.’ <i>fagotto</i> (18 th c.)		
VAC	sub fagotto (n.)	fagotto, fardelletto’ <i>Esso ne fa le balle, e stringe, e serra Fangotti con diverse mercerie.</i> (Matt. Franz. Rim. burl. 169) (1500, tosc.)		
DDG	sub fagotto (n.)	‘fardello, fagotto, l’insieme di robe e d’arnesi per il viaggio, portate in spalla or sotto braccio del viaggiatore, o condotte altrimenti’ <i>fagotto</i> (19 th c., gen.)		
AND2	sub fagot (n.) (1)	2. ‘bundle, pack (of cloth)’ [=Italian, <i>fagotto</i> ?] <i>liij bales xxi fagot</i> , <i>contenu vij c x draps ij verges</i> (Port Books 50) (1427-30)		
DEAF	X			
DMF	X			
GDC	∅			
TL	∅			
TLFi	∅			
FEW	∅			
MED	sub fagot, et (n.) (2)	‘A bundle or faggot’ [Cp. It. <i>fagotto</i>] <i>Jacob Spynol liij bales, xxj fagot</i> (Bull. IHR 1, 98) (1428) <i>For sealyng of a litill Fanget of cloth.</i> (Let. Bk. Lond. L, Gldh, 118) (1474)		
OED2	sub fagot (n.) (4)	‘A quantity of wares, esp. raw silk, from 1 to 3 cwt.’ [< It. <i>fagotto</i> , variant of <i>fagatto</i> , bundle] <i>Lost..out of a Close Lighter at Brewers Key, one Fangot of White Cyprus Silk.</i> (London Gaz. No 841/4) (1673) <i>Fangotts of Italian Raw Silk</i> (London Gaz. 4472 /4.4) (1708)		
DMLBS	sub fagotus 896b (2)	2. ‘“fagot”, roll of pieces of cloth’ [Cf. It. <i>fagotto</i>] <i>prefatum numerum saccorum et pokarum lane et fellium ac eciam giatas et fagottos pannorum suporum de Luda</i> ⁸⁸ (KRMem 68m. 82 d.) (1294)		

⁸⁷ The ultimate etymon of OF *fagot* is far from clear. For a detailed and most up to date discussion of the various theories, see the DEAF entry sub **fagot** F36.

⁸⁸ This must surely read *Luca*.

		<i>pro xxv pakikis, vij balettis et xiiij fangottis panni / pro iij fangottis panni continentibus j pannum et xvij vergas</i> (Port Bk Southampt. 72 / 73) (1440)
DC	sub fagotus	‘a Gall. <i>Fagot</i> , Fascis’ <i>Quadriga quæ portat trosselos, vel Fagotos, vel pondera solvet in exitu portæ pro qualibet pecia duos denarios.</i> (Chartular. Latiniac.) (att. ?)

Comments

Transmission Type 2a / Semantic field: containers / bundles

This is an interesting case: it appears that a lesser known variant of Italian *fagotto* (itself a Gallicism from OF *fagot*, att. 1195), had entered English commercial lexis by the fifteenth century where it used for over three hundred years. *Fagotto* (att. c1348) developed a new semantic niche, coming to mean a bundle of cloth (i.e. a synonym for *fordello*), rather than a bundle of sticks or firewood.⁸⁹ This specialised meaning is not found in France but in Italy and England only. Indeed, our earliest evidence is of the borrowing rather than the source word: Italianised *fagottos pannorum* is in a BML Kings Remembrancer of 1294 in an extract that appears to deal with Italian merchants (cf. DMLBS sub **fagotus**, sense 2).

The *fagotto* form is not actually present in the TLIO and OVI corpora but appears in 1500 in the Tuscan Mattio Franzesi’s *Rime burlesche* in the *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca* (VAC). It was still being used in northern Italy in the nineteenth century according to Olivieri’s dictionary of Genoese (DDG). In 1428, we find *fagot* in ME account, alongside the name of Jacob Spynol, most likely of the Spinelli of Florence. In the AN and BML Port Books of Southampton of 1427-30 and 1440 respectively, *fagot* and *fangottis* of cloth are listed in the cargos of Venetian galleys.

We are always obliged to be cautious in medieval etymological overviews, given the relatively small amounts of evidence available. Even so, the case of *fagotto* reminds us that even two or three attestations in the extant written record are enough to represent a lexeme that enjoyed long and extended use, at least in certain speech communities. The OED2 entry sub **fagot** does not begin until 1673; *fagot* was still being used as a technical term by English drapers but to refer to a measurement of raw silk. Precise quantities varied as is confirmed in the handbook, *The Merchant’s magazine or Trade-man’s treasury*,⁹⁰ where the following entry appears in Chapter 7, helpfully entitled ‘A Merchant Or Trader’s Dictionary, Explaining the Most Difficult Terms Used in Trade’. The author (Edward Hatton, a London surveyor) also refers to *mohair* (a silk-like angora wool) and *gogram* (a silk-wool mix) in his explanation:

Fagot: an uncertain quantity, as of Raw Silk, 1 to 2 ½ C. Gogram and Mohair Yarn 1 ½ C. to 2 ½ C. (Hatton 1712: 233)

⁸⁹ The term is not recorded in relation to cloth in CF, only in the sense of a bundle of sticks from c1195: DEAF sub **fagot** F36 / DMF sub **fagot** / GDC **fagot** / TL **fagot** / TLFi **fagot** and FEW III, 364a: ***facus**. See also AND2 sub **fagot**, sense 1 (‘faggot, bundle of firewood’, att. c1285) and DMLBS sub **fagotus**, sense 1 (‘(bundle of) split wood, faggot’, att. 1260).

⁹⁰ This was first published in 1695 with eight subsequent editions in the period up to 1734.

33. AN florin (n.) ‘A gold coin (bearing a lily symbol), first minted in Florence in 1252’ (CF <i>florin</i>) < It. <i>fiorino</i> < It. <i>fiore</i> < Lat. <i>flos</i> (‘flower’)				
Italian c1265-present	Anglo-Norman c1300-c1450	Continental French 1278-present	(Middle) English 1303-present	Medieval Latin 1277-1555
TLIO	sub florino (n.) (25)	<p>‘Moneta d'oro conziata a Firenze a partire dal 1252, sulla quale era raffigurato da una parte il giglio e dall'altra San Giovanni Battista, rispettivamente simbolo araldico e santo patrono della città’ <i>Fiorini</i> valsero in Sant'Aiuolo oto s. l'uno (e) uno d. più p(er chasione dela crociera...(Lett. sen. p.407.1) (1265, sen.)</p> <p><i>Aven dato a Gualtieri lb. XII quatornici di intrante agosto: a(nnoverò) Ugho Monaldi in sua mano venti s. di fior. per grano</i> (Doc. fior. 208.22) (1259-67, fior.)</p>		
OVI	<i>fiorino</i> (1000+) <i>fiorini</i> (6000+) <i>fior.</i> (19,000+)	<p><i>contamoci il fiorino del'oro s. ventisette</i> (Doc. fior. 454.4) (1272-78, fior.)</p> <p><i>Fiorini</i> valsero in Sant'Aiuolo oto s. l'uno (e) uno d. più p(er chasione dela crociera...(Lett. sen. p.407.1) (1265, sen.)</p> <p><i>Aven dato a Gualtieri lb. XII quatornici di intrante agosto: a(nnoverò) Ugho Monaldi in sua mano venti s. di fior. per grano</i> (Doc. fior. 208.22) (1259-67, fior.)</p>		
LEI	X			
AD	<i>fiorino</i> (82) <i>fiorini</i> (844) <i>fior.</i> (580)	<p><i>deono dare a di VIII di Febbraio MCCCLXVII lb. un a sol. diciotto d. cinque a fiorino</i> (Documento del 1367, 412.22) (1367, tosc.)</p> <p><i>Imagine di Nostra Dama, di mar. XXI, onc. 1 1/1, a fiorini VII 1/1 il mar. fior. CLXXX</i> (B1168/3, cc. 1r-7r, 247.14) (1360, tosc.)</p>		
DEI	sub florino (n.) 1651b	<p>‘moneta prima d’argento, poi d’oro (a1257) di Firenze (da ‘fiore’, cioè figura del giglio fiorentina sul rovescio)’ [passato al fr. <i>florin</i> (a1318) che indicò in seguito anche monete francesi, austriache, oldandesi ecc.] <i>fiorino</i> (13th c.)</p>		
AND2	sub florin (n.) (11)	<p>‘gold coin, florin’ <i>Le comun de Port Quatre ceyns florins; Le comun de Pistore deus ceyns florens</i> (Foedera I 512) (c1300)</p> <p><i>floryns d'oor, appelez nobles</i> (Corr Lond 180) (1352)</p>		
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub florin (n.) (20+)	<p>III. ‘Monnaie d'or d'abord frappée à Florence en 1252 (ornée du lis qui figure dans les armes de la ville), reprise en France en 1290 par Philippe le Bel (frappée aussi dans d'autres pays) ; monnaie de compte correspondante’ <i>Prenez chascun un grant florin De moy tout sec, a celle fin Que devant lui me faciez voie</i> (Mir. enf. diable, 31) (c1399)</p>		
GDC	sub florin (n.) (12)	<p>‘pièce de monnaie (autrefois d’or, aujourd’hui d’argent) et monnaie de compte en usage dans un grand nombre de pays’ <i>XL fleurins d'or</i> (Hist. de Appolon, ms Chartres 411, f.50v) (c1300-50)</p>		
TL	sub florin (n.) (7)	<p>‘Gulden’ <i>cing florins d'or</i> (Ren Nouv 3394) (c1290)</p>		
TLFi	sub florin (n.)	<p>‘Monnaie d'or ou d'argent, de valeur variable, qui fut d'abord frappée à Florence puis dans d'autres pays, en particulier en Autriche, en Hollande, en</p>		

CA ⁹²	<i>florinys</i> (2)	<i>Item for oure provesyons the viij parte of a <u>floryn</u> pur le poke</i> (11u)
	<i>floryn</i> (1)	<i>Thys ys the rate <u>pat</u> contaynyth in this viij levys, what in pokes and what in <u>florynys</u></i> (31d)
	<i>florynys</i> (1)	
	<i>florins</i> (1)	<i>The valewe ys s.85 pur <u>Florino</u></i> (12c)
	<i>florin</i> (1)	<i>Summa viij^c xlvij <u>florins</u> and vij ster. of golde que fa Fl. 848 s.10, a payer argent content</i> (16b) (All: Cantelowe Accounts) (1450-51)
	<i>Florino</i> (1)	

Comments

Transmission Type 2b / Semantic Field: financial

Together with the later Venetian **ducat**, the *florin* was a gold coin of Italian origin whose name (*fiorino*) was quickly adopted by many other European countries in the fourteenth century, such as England, France, Austria, Holland and Hungary. Given the extent and power of the Florentine banking network, the coin was the nearest thing Western Europe had to an international currency in the later Middle Ages. *Florin* emerges in CF in 1278 in the Angevin material at Naples (cf. **gabelle**) and then appears in AN and ME around a quarter of a century later.⁹³ Note also the presence of *florinos* in BML, ‘papal florin’, as early as 1277, however.

The short-lived English florin (worth six shillings) was minted in the reign of Edward III for a few months in 1344 (Ormrod 2012: 258). It was quickly replaced by the noble (cf. *floryns d'oor, appelez nobles* in 1352 in the AND entry) which contained more gold per coin and was worth six shillings and eight pence.

There are, unsurprisingly, thousands and thousands of citations containing *fiorino* or *fiorini* in the OVI corpus, dating from c1265. The coin was first minted in Florence in 1252 and had a heraldic lily design (hence its name, derived from *fio*re) on one side and the city’s patron saint, John the Baptist, on the other. There was also a *fiorino piccolo* in circulation, made of silver and worth one twentieth of a gold florin e.g. *Aven dato a Gienovese f. Giutti, nostro messo dei sei de la biada, lb. IJJ di fiorini piccioli dies sette di febraio* (Doc. fior. 599.11, att. 1286, TLIO sub **fiorino**).

⁹² In the Cantelowe Accounts, the English factor, Balmayn, nearly always writes *ffl* for the Tuscan florin but he does occasionally write *florin(s)* out in full. On one occasion he uses the Italianised *florino*.

⁹³ It is unclear why Dietz (2005: 580) dates *florin* from c1330 in ME and not from 1303 as in the OED2.

34. AN fortune (de la meer) (n.) ‘a storm at sea’ (< CF <i>fortune (de mer)</i>) < It. <i>fortuna (di mare)</i> < Lat. <i>fortuna</i> < Lat. <i>fors</i> (‘fate, chance, luck’)				
Italian c1260-present	Anglo-Norman c1377-c1412	Continental French 1265-present	(Middle) English X	Medieval Latin 1242
TLIO	sub fortuna (n.) (5)	‘7. Fortuna di mare; forte perturbazione atmosferica, tempest, burrasca’ <i>che si come la nave dimora in fortuna di mare e talvolta crescono in tanto che perisce cosi dimora le cittade per le discordie</i> (Brunetto Latini, Rettorica, 33.18) (1260-1, fior.)		
OVI	<i>fortuna di mare</i> (64)	<i>che si come la nave dimora in fortuna di mare e talvolta crescono in tanto che perisce cosi dimora le cittade per le discordie</i> (Brunetto Latini, Rettorica, 33.18) (1260-1, fior.)		
AD	<i>fortuna di mare</i> (1)	<i>e debbo temere ch’ella potrebbe eser quello ch evi disetarebbe più ch’una fortuna di mare</i> (Firenze-Prato B1096) (1397, tosc.)		
LEI	X			
DEI	sub fortuna	‘tempesta’ <i>fortuna di mare</i> (14th c.) [Nelle lingue romanze occidental la v. latina si è mantenuta popolarmente nel senso di tempesta, o è stata diffusa delle marine venete o genovesi; delle due possibilità il rumeno <i>furtună</i> in questo significato rende più probabile la prima soluzione. Certamente dal veneto è penetrato, anche nelle lingue balcaniche, nell’arabo <i>fartūna</i> , turco <i>fyrtyna</i> e nel gr. mod <i>phûrtuna</i>]		
AND2	sub fortune (n.) (2)	3b. ‘disaster’ <i>que ceux qi par fortune de la meer, ou par fu, robberie, ou autre meschief, sanz fraude ou collusion, serront ensi empoveriz q’ils ne puissent paier ce q’ils doivent</i> (Rot Parl ¹ iii 51) (1377-1411) <i>laquelle ville une grande partie est quant a present perdue et destruit par fortune et tempest de la mier</i> (Lett & Pet 4.9) (1390-1412)		
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub fortune (n.) (16) (9 = <i>fortune</i> / 7 = <i>fortune de (la) mer</i>)	3. ‘Tempête en partic. sur mer’ <i>Entre Albidos et l’autre dunne Fu il souspris d’une fortune Et la quelle il ne peut passer</i> (Froiss. Joli buiss. F 159) (1373) <i>il nous conseille que en mer et en terre, entre larrons et grans fortunes de mer, en toutes maladies, tribulations et desperations, nous doyens avoir le regart a ceste Estoille tremontane</i> (Mézières, Vertu sacr. mar. W. 321) (c1384-9)		
GDF	sub fortune (n.) (1)	‘malheur, accident’ <i>Au tens diver, quant les tempests et les orribles fortunes suelent ordre parmi la mer</i> (Brun. Lat. Tres. p. 205, Chabaille) (1265)		
GDC	Ø			
TL	Ø			
TLFi	sub fortune (n.)	3γ ‘Fortune de mer: accidents de toute nature auxquels sont soumis les navigateurs’ [cf. le sens de ‘tempête’] <i>fortune</i> (Brun. Lat., éd. Carmody, I, 151) (1265)		
FEW	III, 736: fortuna	‘orage’		

		<i>fortune</i> (Brun. Lat; Froissart; Amyot; Sotties, bis Trév 1771) [Diesen entlehnungen gegenüber steht nun eine im lt. nicht belegte konkretisierte bed. “sturm (auf dem meer)”. Sie liegt vor oben in II 1, sowie in mazrum. dakrum. <i>firtunã</i> , it. <i>fortuna</i> (schon 13. jh., auch in mlt. texten), ven. id., agen <i>fortuuna</i> AGI 15. 61, kat. sp. pg. <i>fortuna</i> Spitzer Lex 78, Z 44, 86n. Sie ist entstanden aus verbindungen, wie sie in apr. <i>fortuna de ven</i> , ait. <i>fortuna de tempeste</i> AGI 18, 520 vorliegen, und gehört ursprünglich nur der marineterminologie an].
MED	Ø	
OED2	X	
DMLBS	Ø	
DC	sub fortuna ³	‘Maris tempestas’ <i>Continuo valida Fortuna maris, et venti, et pluviae regnare cœperunt per dies viginti et ultra, ita quod de portu Januæ exire nullatenus potuit</i> (Bartholom. Scribae Annal. Genuenses) (1242)

Comments

Transmission type 1b: / Semantic field: maritime

This semantic loan is one of dozens of maritime borrowings that entered CF from various Italian dialects (for the most recent discussions, see Fennis 1995 and Tomasin 2010, also Chapter 1.2.iii). The list of terms which, like *fortune de meer*, are also recorded in AN is much shorter (but see **calfater**, **carrak**, **comyt**, **galiot**ⁱ, **galiot**ⁱⁱ, **mesan**, **tarette**, **patron**, **poupe**, **tramontaine** and **timon**). This could well be linked to the rarity of specifically maritime texts - the *Oak Book of Southampton* and *Black Book of the Admiralty* excepted - in the extant AN repertoire. *Fortune* is attested in ME (a1300) but not in a maritime context (see OED2 / MED sub **fortune**).

Hope (1971:39), Vidos (1939: 399), Godefroy, the FEW and the TLFi all cite the publication of Brunetto Latini’s translated *Rettorica* (c1265) as the moment when the Italian construction *fortuna di mare* entered the French vernacular. The presence of the term in the Latin of medieval Genoa in 1242 (*fortuna maris* in Du Cange above) is also a strong piece of evidence. However, there are other factors to consider, as is typical when analysing the spread of maritime lexis of this type. Vidos and Fennis (the latter drawing on much more recent Occitan scholarship) arrive at different conclusions on the matter:

Tutto sommato, il nostro termine marinaresco ha potuto nascere in Italia (Genova, Venezia, Sicilia), nella Provenza ed anche in Catalogna. Se consideriamo però che esso è diffuso in Italia e che anche nell’Oriente arrivò dall’Italia [the term spread to the medieval Arabic of Morocco and Algeria via Turkish], ci pare probabile ritenere che *fortuna* (tempesta) sia sorta in Italia [...] e che di qui sia irradiata [...] nel provenzale, nel catalano, nello spagnolo e nel portoghese (Vidos 1939: 402).

[...] les premières attestations font penser à un empr. à l’it *fortuna*, ‘tempête’, mais *fortuna (de ven, de mar)* est également ancien on occitan (DAO 46, Levy, GNO) si bien que les deux influences ont pu jouer (Fennis 1995: 954).

Note that *fortune de mer / fortuna di mare* are still used within nautical terminology in both modern French and Italian as are *voile de fortune / vela di fortuna* (‘storm-sail’).

35. AN gabelle (n.) ‘a toll or tax on certain merchandise’ CF <i>gabelle</i> < Nap. / It. <i>gabella</i> < Ar. <i>qabāla</i> (‘tax’)				
Italian c1277-present	Anglo-Norman c1376-1439	Continental French 1267-present	(Middle) English c1400-19 th c.	Medieval Latin 1246-1503
TLIO	sub gabella (n.) (50+)	<p>‘Nome generico di imposte di vario tipo da corrispondere al Comune o ad altra istituzione o autorità’ [< Ar. <i>qabāla</i>] <i>Ancho III lib. III sol. VIII den. i qualli denari pagammo di <u>chabella</u> del mese d’agosto</i> (Doc sen. p. 338.11) (1277-82, sen.)</p> <p>‘[In partic.:] imposta da corrispondere al Comune o ad altra istituzione o autorità per l’introduzione in un territorio o per l’esportazione di bestiame o merci destinate alla vendita’ <i>It(em) demo p(er) co(m)pime(n)to di grano che si co(m)però (e) p(er) <u>ghabella</u> s. IIIJ d. IIIJ</i> (Doc. prat. p.377.27) (1296-1305, prat.)</p>		
OVI	<i>gabella /e</i> (800+) <i>ghabella /e</i> (400+) <i>cabella /e</i> (300+) <i>chabella /e</i> (150+) <i>kabella / e</i> (500+)	<p><i>Aven dato a Neri Ghaggiolle di Porte San Bra[n]chazio per cholliere le <u>gabulle</u> de l’olio ...</i> (Doc. fior. 558.17) (1286, fior.)</p> <p><i>Questi sono i damari i quali sono di <u>ghabella</u> e sono del priore generale</i> (Doc. fior. 138.9) (1287, fior.)</p> <p><i>Ancho XIII sol. i’ <u>cabella</u> per due some di panni di Rugieri Aimerighi</i> (Doc. sen. 273.9) (1277-82, sen.)</p> <p><i>Ancho XXIII sol. minus III den. ch’ avemmo dei denari de la <u>chabella</u> del mese giennaio</i> (Doc. sen. 8.4) (1277-82, sen.)</p> <p><i>Ancho VIII sol. et VII den. nel dì a la <u>kabella</u> per le dette siei some</i> (Doc. sen. 393.19) (1277-82, sen.)</p>		
LEI	X			
DEI	sub gabella (n.) 1744b sub cabella (n.) 648a	<p>‘dazio, tassa’ [< Ar. <i>qabāla</i>, ‘imposta, tassa’] <i>gabella / gabellare / gabellatura / gabelliere</i> (14th c.) ML <i>gabella</i> (Acta Imperii) (13th-14th c.) [cf. fr. <i>gabelle</i>, 1330, dal sicil.]</p> <p>‘variante pis. e it. merid. di <i>gabella</i>, più vicina alla forma ar. <i>qabāla</i>, imposta o tassa da pagare al fisco’ <i>cabella</i> (14th c.) ML <i>caballa / cabellotus</i> (‘gabelliere’) (1310, Salerno)</p>		
AND2	sub gabelle (n.) (2)	<p>‘gabelle, tax’ <i>qui pour <u>gabulle</u> ou pour taillage Estuet appaier le tollage</i> (Gower <i>Mirour</i> 24325) (1376-77) / <i>Avecques ce fauldrait que a toutes fois que le roy mettroit sus impositions, <u>gabelles</u>, iiiiemes et aultres suscités pour le deffense du pais</i> (Negotiations 143) (1439)</p>		
DEAF	sub gabelle (n.) G17	<p>1. ‘impôt sur certaines denrées, p.ex. drap, vin, sel’ [Ar. <i>qabāla</i>, entré dans la Romania par l’italien] <i>gabelle</i> (1267) / <i>cabelle</i> (1280/82) (Both: docs from Angevin Kingdom of Naples)</p> <p>2. ‘impôt sur le sel’ <i>gabelle</i> (1342) Also: <i>cabellot</i> (1282) ‘officer de la gabelle’ [Emprunt de l’administration angevine à l’italien du sud <i>cabelluoto</i>]</p>		
DMF	sub gabelle (n.)	‘taxe sur certaines denrées, en partic. gabelle du sel’		

	(20+)	<i>Encore y a chose qui m'est po belle, C'est maletoste et subcide et <u>gabelle</u>, Foible monnoie et imposition Et dou pape la visitation</i> (Mach. Compl. 251) (1340-77)
GDC	sub gabelle (n.) (4)	'impôt sur les denrées en general, et en partic. sur le sel' <i>La <u>gabelle</u> des dras de la senechaussee de Carcassonne</i> (Rôle, ap. Duc. Gablum) (1332)
TL	sub gabele (n.) (1)	'Zoll' <i>Et par tous lesdits passages fault mostrer lettres et bulletes qui les a, et qui n'a lettres de past, sy faut il payer la <u>gabelle</u></i> (S. d'Angl. 4) (c1395)
TLFi	sub gabelle (n.)	'Impôt indirect, prélevé notamment sur des articles de la production industrielle ou agricole, des denrées de luxe. / Administration chargée de percevoir cet impôt sur le sel.' [< It. <i>gabella</i>] <i>gabele</i> (Note sur une ambassade de St Louis à Charles d'Anjou,) (1267)
FEW	XIX, 74a : qabala	'impôt sur certaines denrées, p.ex. drap, vin, sel' Fr. <i>gabelle</i> (1267) / Occ. <i>gabala</i> (12 th c.) 'impôt sur le sel qu'on payait jusqu'à la Révolution' <i>gabelle</i> (14 th c.) 'officier de la gabelle' Occ. / Fr. <i>gabelier</i> (1351 / 14 th c.) 'payer la gabelle' OF <i>gabeler</i> (14 th c.) [It. <i>gabella</i> , fr, <i>gabelle</i> sind wohl aus Afrika in die rom. länder gelangt vielleicht über Sizilien. Es wurde schon anfangs des 13 jhs. in Genua in der bed. 'salzmonopol' verwendet]
MED	sub gavel ¹ (n.) (4)	'tribute, a tax, subsidy' [OE <i>gafol</i> & ML <i>gabulum</i> , from Germ.] <i>Wikkede lordes..pat pilen þe pore folke bi talyages and <u>gabels</u></i> (Vices & V (2) 34/12) (c1400) <i>The tresourer and other..haue for to se..to the gouernaunce of..his rentes and reuenuces, <u>gabelles</u> and custumes.</i> (*Pilgr. Soul Eg. 615, 4.35.80a) (1413)
OED2	sub gabelle (n.) (12)	'A tax, spec. the salt-ta imposed in France before the Revoution' [< Fr. <i>gabelle</i> , < ML <i>gabella</i> < ML <i>gabulum</i> < Germ.] <i>Other counceylours of the kyng..haue for to sene in special to gouernaunce of his propre goodes..<u>gabelles</u> and customes.</i> (Pilgr. Sowle iv. xxxiii 81) (1413)
DMLBS	sub gabella ² 1043a (6)	'tax, tribute' [cf. OF <i>gabele</i> < Ar. <i>qabala</i>] <i>concessimus quod Omnia victualia sua a partibus cismarinus inregnum Anglie adduci facere valet absque custuma <u>gabalo</u> aut alia impositione</i> (Foed VI 215a) (1360) / <i>eo quod..non tam apporiassent quam despoliassent patriam diversis taxis quas <u>gabelas</u> appellant</i> (Wlas. HA I 455) (c1380)
DC	sub gabella ⁴ (8)	'Pensitatio Clericalis' <i>Sed neque <u>Gabellæ Salis</u>, seu alterius mercimonii possint ibi fieri contra homines villaæ.</i> (Consuetudines Municipales Aquarum mortuarum oppido concessæ a S. Ludovico) (1246)

Comments

Transmission Type 2b / Semantic Field: financial

There is general agreement in the French dictionaries and in Hope (1971: 40) that this Arabism for 'tax' entered CF in the 1260s via Italian *gabella* / *cabella*.⁹⁴ Earliest CF examples of *gabelle* / *cabelle* are found in sources

⁹⁴ As the DEAF and TLFi both remark, the desonorised regional variation *cabella* (mainly found in southern Italy but also in Tuscany) is also transmitted into Angevin material at Naples as *cabelle*.

written in the Angevin-ruled Kingdom of Naples, an ideal environment for loanword transfer. Initially, it was used to refer to a tax on imports and exports and, in Florence in particular, a tax on dowry and property contacts (Edler 1934: 131). In France, *gabelle* described the duty levied on a variety of merchandise such as cloth and wine but came to be most closely associated with a salt tax: from this derived a second, parallel meaning of ‘entrepôt, grenier du sel’ from the early 1400s (cf. for example DMF sub **gabelle**, sec. B). CF also developed the verb *gabeler* (‘to pay or to impose a tax’) and the office of the *gabeleur* (‘tax collector’) (GDC sub **gabeler / gabeleur**) perhaps independently or, again, under the influence of Italian forms (TLIO sub **gabellare / gabelliere**).

Given the dates of extant attestations, it appears most likely that this continental form entered AN around a century after its arrival in France: Gower uses *gabelle* alongside *taillage* in his AN poem *Mirour de l’Omme* c1376 and ME-matrix attestations then surface from c1400 onwards.

The MED includes four examples of *gabell(e)* from the fifteenth century in its entry sub **gavel**¹. *Gavel* (att. a1121), meaning ‘payment or tribute’ comes from OE *gafol* and its Old Germanic root **gabulo*. These citations should have been listed under a separate headword in the MED (as in the OED); given the form, date and nature of these sources, these lexemes must surely stem from the Gallo-Italian rather than the OE form. Similarly, I disagree with the OED2’s assessment that CF *gabelle* stemmed from ML *gabella* as it seems more likely to have been the other way round. Admittedly the BML citations are not always clear cut, however: is Foedera’s *custuma gabalo* from 1360 (DMLBS sub **gabella**) a form of *gabulum* (and hence originally Germanic) or of ML *gabella* (and ultimately Arabic)?

36. AN galiot ¹ (n.) ‘a galliot - a small, fast galley or boat, propelled by sails and oars, widely used in the Mediterranean from the later Middle Ages ’ (< CF <i>galiot</i>) < It. <i>galeotta</i> < It. <i>galea</i> < Gr. <i>γαλαία, γαλέα</i>				
Italian	Anglo-Norman	Continental French	(Middle) English	Medieval Latin
c1312-18th c.	c1245-c1323	c1267-19 th c.	c1333-19 th c.	1147-1339
TLIO	sub galeotta (7)	‘Sorta di galea di piccole dimensioni e priva di rembate’ <i>Paulo d(é) pagar a Nale pp. LXIIJ g(r)o. IIIJ p(er) lo te(r)ço d(e)la <u>galiota</u> d(e) Nale</i> (Doc. rag. 95.30) (c1312-14) (ven.)		
OVI	<i>galiota</i> (4) <i>ghaleotta</i> (15) <i>galeotta</i> (6)	<i>Paulo d(é) pagar a Nale pp. LXIIJ g(r)o. IIIJ p(er) lo te(r)ço d(e)la <u>galiota</u> d(e) Nale</i> (Doc. rag. 95.30) (c1312-14) (ven.) <i>che rubò loro detto di in sulla <u>ghaleotta</u> di Filippino di Portovenere</i> (Doc. fior. 227.9) (1348-50) (fior.) <i>e con la balia montano sopra una <u>galeotta</u> bene armata</i> (Boccaccio Decameron II6 119.7) (c1370) (fior.)		
AD	<i>ghaleotta</i> (13) <i>galeotta</i> (4)	<i>La <u>ghaleotta</u> armata di mis(er)e Charlo e cie(r)chano tutta questa marina di P(r)ove(n)za</i> (Avignone-Pisa 301173 B426) (1383) <i>di che pare la corte abia tuto e la <u>galeotta</u> disarmata e il padrone fu fedito da’ marina</i> (Genova-Prato 5681 B341/5) (1393)		
LEI	X			
DEI	sub galeotta	‘piccolo bastimento a remi e a vela’ [OF <i>galiot</i> , Sp. <i>galeota</i> , Port. <i>galiota</i> : da GALEA di cui è form alquanto diminutiva]		
AND2	sub galiot ¹ (n.) (2)	‘galliot, small galley’ <i>s’en venent [...] Mut tost, as amblanz palefrotz, Cum fait galie as <u>galiotz</u></i> (S Edw2 ANTS 1828) (c1245) <i>Aprés ceo qe les maryners de la <u>galyot</u> qe vous veignent ore furent passez en lour chymyn de Burdeux, jeo parlai molt privément od Bernard [...]</i> (St Sard 88.69) (1323-25)		
DEAF	sub galee (galiot ¹) (n.) (3) G83-84	‘petite galère’ <i>galiot</i> (c1230-1550) / <i>galiète</i> (late 12 th c.) / <i>galiote</i> (1337)		
DMF	sub galiot ¹ (n.) (7)	‘bâtiment plus petit que la galère’ <i>Mandements de Enguerran Quiéret, chevalier, lieutenant de Hue Quiéret, amiral du roi, à Thomas Fouques, garde du clos des galées, de baillier à Jehan Pestel, qui doit aller en la présente armée de la mer avec 40 compagnons sur le <u>galiot</u> Saint-Michel</i> (Clos galées Rouen M-C t.1, 124) (1336)		
GDC	sub galiot ¹ (n.) (3)	‘galiotte’ <i>XIII nes et plusierus <u>galios</u> plains de robeurs</i> (Gr. Chron de Fr. P. Paris) (c1275-1300)		
TL	sub galiète (n) (1) sub galiot ¹ (n.) (2)	‘eine Art Schiff (vgl. galee, galie)’ <i>Tant i a barges, dromons e calans e <u>galiètes</u> et escipes corans</i> (Ogier) (c1200) ‘leichte Galeere’ <i>Tous les <u>galiöz</u> ostez qui les pors de mer et pluseurs autres contrees degastoient et roboient</i> (Hist anc. In Rom. XIV 48)		

TLFi	sub galiote (n.) (1)	‘petit galère’ <i>galiote</i> (Martin da Canal, <i>Les Estoires de Venise</i> , p. 208,53) (1267-75)
FEW	IV, 27b: galea ²	‘petie galère’ OF <i>galiete</i> (late 12 th c.), MF <i>galiote</i> (c1418), MF <i>galioute</i> (1459), <i>galéote</i> (1402-1660), Occ. <i>galeota</i> (1392) ⁹⁵
MED	sub galiot ¹ (n.) (3)	‘a small galley’ [<OF] <i>And oper many of galiotes With grete noubner of smale botes.</i> (Minot Poems Glb E 9/81) (c1333-52)
OED2	sub galliot ¹ (n.) (8)	‘A small galley or boat, propelled by sails and oars, used for swift navigation; in English applied esp. to Spanish and Mediterranean vessels’ [<OF] <i>And oper many of galiotes With grete noubner of smale botes</i> (Pol. Poems (Rolls) 1 65) (1352)
DMLBS	sub galiota ¹ (4) 1046b	‘galliot, small sailing galley’ [AN <i>galiot</i>] <i>quo congress rector de galeata regis..interiit</i> (Osbert Bawdsey clxxxvi) (1147)
DC	sub galeota (2)	‘galeo, navis oneraria’ <i>galeota</i> (Annal. Genuens) (1196 / 1242)

Comments

Transmission type 2b / Semantic field: maritime

In Italian, CF and AN, the feminine form of *galiot* referred to the ship itself and the masculine (see **galiot**ⁱⁱ) to various members of its crew. ME also attests the two forms which obviously both derive from the name of a larger ship, the *galley*, a word of unknown ultimate origin which spread throughout the western Mediterranean via Byzantine Greek. Other related ship types, the *galion* and the *galeace*, are absent from the AN record (and only emerged in English in the sixteenth century) but were widespread in medieval Italian and CF (see OED2 sub **galleon** / **galleass**). CF *galère* (att. 1402 and still used today, especially in the figurative sense) was most likely an indigenous derivation of *galée*, uninfluenced by Italian forms, according to Fennis (1995: 993). He claims the same of the early form *galiette* found in Ogier (c1200), cited by the FEW sub **galea**² and TL sub **galiete** (ibid., 995).

Interestingly, British attestations of this ship type seem to be amongst the very earliest. Osbert of Bawdsey used the term *galeata* as far back as 1147 (DMLBS sub **galiota**¹), half a century before the first citation in the Latin of Genoa in 1196 (Du Cange, TLFi sub **galiote**). The first French vernacular attestation of *galiot* comes from an AN source, *La Estoire de seint Aedward Le Rei*, c1245. This is followed two decades later by a continental attestation in the Franco-Italian work *Les Estoires de Venise* by Martino da Canale (cf. **spor(tin)**). Despite the chronology, I think it is more likely that the AN *galiot* was influenced by continental forms which were themselves Italianisms, given the extent of its usage in CF: Fennis lists over twenty different feminine forms alone. The Italo-Gallicism *galiot* was then passed on into ME (either via CF or AN) where it is first attested in the early fourteenth century. The term endured into the 1800s in CF (and English) and also took on a later, additional meaning of ‘bâtiment armé de mortiers’ (Fennis 1995: 1000) or ‘long bateau couvert utilisé pour le transport des personnes dans la navigation fluviale’ (TLFi sub **galiote**, OED2 / MED sub **galiot**¹). The DMF citation from the *Clos galées* of Rouen is crucial as these shipbuilding docks provided a crucible for the melting of Italian and French maritime lexis (cf. for example **comyt**, **calfater**, **timon**). Italian influence overall in this case is therefore highly likely but as Fennis describes with

⁹⁵ As Fennis (1995: 1000) comments on the FEW entry: “plusieurs formes manquent”.

typical caution, there are other possibilities:

Il peut s'agir soit d'un dér. direct de *galée*, *galie* [...] soit d'un f. de *galiot*, soit encore d'un empr. à l'italien [...] ou à l'occitan (Fennis 1995:1000).

Fennis' earliest Italian attestation is from 1346 and he does not list the Venetian attestation (c1312) from *Scriptae venezianeggianti a Ragusa nel XIV secolo*, an edition not published until 2008 (see OVI sub **galiota**). The Venetian dialect was characteristically peppered with Greek loanwords and it would be interesting to know if these citations could have further strengthened the case for an Italian etymon in Fennis' view.

37. AN galiot ⁱⁱ (n.) ‘a pirate, a privateer or a crew member of a galley’ < CF <i>galiot</i> < It. <i>galeotto</i> < It. <i>galea</i> < Gr. <i>γαλαία, γαλέα</i>				
Italian a1321- present ⁹⁶	Anglo-Norman 13 th c.-c1441	Continental French c1180-17thc.	(Middle) English c1425-1654 ⁹⁷	Medieval Latin 1190 -1460
TLIO	sub galeotto (n.) (11)	‘Membro dell’equipaggio di una nave (gen. una galea o altra nave ad uso militare) addetto ai remi’ <i>fuovi d’Elide, la salvaffia terra, xj legni forniti a guerra buon’ galeotti avea il combattitore</i> (Intelligenza, 257.9, p. 105) (13th / 14th c., tosc.) ‘Chi conduce un’imbarcazione’ <i>allor che ben conobbe il galeotto, gridò «Fa, fa che le ginochhia cali. Ecco l’angel di Dio: piega le mani [...] (Dante, Commedia Purg 2 v27 2, 23.1) (a1321, fior.)</i>		
OVI	<i>galeotto</i> (11)	<i>allor che ben conobbe il galeotto, gridò «Fa, fa che le ginochhia cali. Ecco l’angel di Dio: piega le mani [...] (Dante, Commedia Purg 2 v27 2, 23.1) (a1321) (fior.)</i>		
LEI	X			
DEI	sub galeotto	‘Quello che vogava o remava sulla galea; poi Colio che in pena di qualche misfatto era condannato al remo, ossia a servire sulle navi, quindi per estens. Chi è condannato alla galera, ossia ai lavori forzati’ <i>galeotto</i>		
AND2	sub galiot ² (n.) (1)	‘privateer, pirate’ <i>piratarum: robeours de mer, galioss, galiots</i> (TLL ii 78) (13th c.)		
DEAF	sub galee (galiot ²) (n.) G83-84	‘rameur de galère, matelot’ <i>galiot</i> (c1195) [mlt. <i>galiotus</i> à Marseille c1254 BambeckBoden; d’après FEW 4, 27b ce serait un emprunt de l’it <i>galeotto</i> , mnéerl. <i>galiot</i> ‘matelot’ et angl. <i>galiot</i> sont empr. du fr.] ‘pirate, corsaire’ <i>galiot</i> (c1180), <i>larron galiot</i> (1213), <i>galiot de mer</i> (1213)		
DMF	sub galiot ² (n.) (17)	‘rameur de galère, matelot’ <i>Un galiot y avoit, qui moult vistement y rampa, et quant il ot advisé par tout, si descendi et dist a Berinus : "La mercy Dieu[...] (Bérinus I, 38) (c1350-70)</i> ‘corsaire, pirate’ <i>En mer luy sourdy grant tempeste, Dont il hot si fiere moleste Que bien perdy .IIIIxx. nefz, Et y eust esté malmenez, Mais un galiot le recoust, Ou il entra a quelque coust.</i> (Chr. Piz. M.F. IV 13) (1400-03)		
GDF	sub galiot ² (n.) (16)	‘celui qui monte une galère’ <i>galios nos a noise en mer</i> (Les Leh. ms Montp. f.1989) (12-13th c.) ‘pirate, corsaire’ <i>XIII nefz plaine de galioz et de robeors</i> (Chron. de S. Den. ms Ste-Gen. f.171) (1274)		
TL	sub galiot ² (n.) (21)	‘Ruderer (auf einer Galeere), Matrose’		

⁹⁶ The term persists in certain modern dialects: *galiòto/ galiöto* in Venetian, Neopolitan and Genoese and *galiotù* (‘sad man’) in Sicilian.

⁹⁷ Note that *Galiot* also crops up as a surname much earlier than this in British texts e.g. *Rogerus Galiot*, c1200 (MED sub **galiot**²).

		<i>Les galiōz s'il se laschoient ne se li Turc lor eschapoient</i> (Ambroise) (c1195) 'Seeräuber' <i>uslague et galiot</i> (Coinci) (c1225)
TLFi	Ø	
FEW	IV, 27b : galea ²	'pirate, corsaire' <i>galiot</i> (13th c.) 'piraterie' <i>galiotage</i> (1411) rameur de galère' <i>galiot</i> (1675) 'forçat dur une galère' <i>galiot</i> (1606-1700) ⁹⁸
MED	sub galiot ² (n.) (3)	'a member of the crew of a galley' [<OF] <i>And that no persone lene to any Galiottis of the seid Galeys eny good on here owene perell.</i> (Plea & Mem. R. Lond. Gildh, A69 1a) (1443) 'a pirate' <i>The Galyothys [vr. gallyottys] vpon the See Had robbed Merchautz of the contre</i> (Parton (1) (UC C.188 2171) (a1450)
OED2	sub galliot ² (n) (5)	'a pirate' [<OF] <i>We come nat ynto thys land as hyryng men, ne for no couetyse of gold, ne of syluyr, ne galyotz ne robbers</i> (Eng. Conq. Irel 22) (c1425) 'a sailor or rower on board a galley, whether slave or free' <i>In the whiche tyme the Patrone, galyottis, and Pylgrymes..toke in wodde, water</i> (Pylgrymage Richarde Guylforde f.x) (1511)
DMLBS	sub galiota ² (13) 1046c	'oarsman, sailor' [AN. ME <i>galiot</i>] <i>rex [Ricardus] exigebat..c galeas armatas cum toto apparatus et cum victu galeotarum ad duos annos</i> (G. Ric. I 133) (1190)
DC	sub galeotus sub galioti	'Remiges galearum' <i>galiottus</i> (Annalibus Genuens, apud Murator, tom. 6) (1165) 'Nautae qui in galeis operam suam collocant' <i>sed quia viles erant Galioti nulliusque nominis, non fuit damnum æquale</i> (Annal. Victor Mss ubi de pugna navali inter Carolum Salernæ principem Caroli reg. Sicil. filium et Neapolitanos) (1283)
Additional sources		
AN-matrix		
VOH (1441-42)	<i>galiottes</i> (10)	<i>pur estre host a Jacomo Corner marchaunt & patrone dune galey de Venise & as galiottes de mesme la galey</i> (VOH 48 : 3) (E101/128/30 ret. 1, John Welles, host to Giacomo Corner, merchant and patron of a Venetian galley and named crew, transc. p. 1) (1441-2)
Comments		
Transmission type: 2b / Semantic field: maritime		
This masculine form was attested earlier in the vernacular than the feminine (galiot ⁱ) and was used to describe various crew members on a galley ship, ranging from a generic sailor or oarsman to the more pejorative sense of 'pirate'. The specific sense of 'galley slave' or 'forçat' seems to have emerged later in the sixteenth century (OED2 sub galliot ²) and the seventeenth century (FEW sub galea ²).		

⁹⁸Fennis (1995: 998) notes: " FEW 4, 27b, gr. byz, GALEA No. 3 manque; ne donne que la forme *galiot*."

Fennis is more certain of the Italian involvement in this particular branch of *galea*'s spread across Western Europe, saying :

Son origine doit se trouver en Italie [...] Wartburg considère le fr. *galiot* comme un empr' à l'it. *galeotto* qui, selon Alcover et Machado, serait aussi à l'origine du cat. *galiot* [...]. Etant donné la présence de ce mot sur un territoire très vaste, à date ancienne et avec le même suffixe, il est probable que, tout comme *galea*, ce dérivé est venu de Sicile, les croisades et certains intermédiaires (e.a. Gênes, Naples et Marseille) aidant (Fennis 1995: 998)

He also points out that in all cases in CF, the earliest attestation refers to pirates rather than oarsmen, even though this first sense must have developed semantically from the second. *Galiots* were by no means uniquely pirate ships, being used most often as mercantile or official military vessels.

For our purposes, the presence of *galiota* in BML in 1190 and its later transmission into ME matrix texts, suggests that the term was more widely used in AN than the current single entry in the AND would imply. View 48 from the *Views of the Hosts of Alien Merchants* - dealing with imports from a Venetian galley - provides us with some crucial new evidence. Not only does it provide ten more instances of the word's use in an AN-matrix source but it also offers an examples of the neutral 'crew member' meaning, which was present in ME but, until now, absent from AN.

38. AN garbeler (v.) ‘to sift out the refuse from spices’ < It. <i>garbellare</i> < It. <i>garbello</i> < Ar. <i>gharbala</i> / <i>garbal</i> (‘sieve’)				
Italian 1321-18 th c.	Anglo-Norman 1393-1444	Continental French 1305-19 th c.	(Middle) English c 1419-19 th c.	Medieval Latin 1269-1480
TLIO	sub garbellare (v.) (3)	‘passare al garbello, vagliare’ [< <i>garbello</i> < Ar. <i>garbal</i>] <i>E che tucte et ciascuna cose et merce le quale gherbellerò, gherbellerò bene et dirictamente, a salvità pertinente coi crivelli de la corte li quali sono et stanno al carmarlingo de la corte</i> (Stat. pis cap. 131, p.334.11) (1321) <i>Follio né mirabollani non se garbella a Laiaça</i> (Zibaldone da Canal, p. 109.13) (1310-1330, venez.)		
OVI	<i>garbella</i> (v.) (33) <i>gherbellano</i> (v.) (4) <i>garbellare</i> (v.) (5) <i>gherbellare</i> (v.) (4)	<i>Galiga si garbella e la sua garbellatura puote valere il ¼ di ciò che vale il galigo buono</i> (Pegolotti Pratica, 298.28) (c1335-43, fior.) <i>Tutte spetie grosse o sottili she sieno da garbellare si gherbellano in Torissi e la garbellatura si rimane al venditore</i> (Pegolotti Pratica, 27.8) (c1335-43, fior.) <i>avegna che la minuta e la polvere se n’esce a garbellare quando si garbella</i> (Pegolotti Pratica, 377.19) (c1335-43, fior.) <i>cioè ciascheduno di quelle mercie e cose con quello crivello col quale dovesse gherbellare</i> (Stat. Pis. cap.67, 242.34) (1321, pis.)		
LEI	X			
DEI	sub garbellare (v.) 1763a	‘setacciare, vagliare’ [Ar. class. <i>girbal</i> , ‘staccio’] <i>gherballare</i> / <i>gherballatore</i> (1321, Pisa) <i>garbellatura</i> (1340) ML <i>garbellatura</i> (1269 / 1303, Venezia) ML <i>garbellare</i> (1319, Verona)		
AND2	sub garbeler (v / p.p) (3)	‘to garble, remove the garble or refuse from spices’ <i>le vendour purra acorder ové le chatour q’il puisse faire sanz garbeler / toutz foitz apres q’il eyt garbellé ascun bale dez merchandisez</i> (Grocers 73 / 75) (1393 / 1394)		
DEAF	sub *grabeler (2) G1722	1. ‘passer au crible (dit d’épices)’ <i>en oultre ne sera loisible a aucun de livrer ou recevoir a la masion du poix ne ailleurs aucun gingembre, poivre ou cannelle, qu’il ne soit premierement garbelé et nettoyé selon l’ordinance de la dicte ville</i> (Doc. Bruges HansUrk 3.422) (1305) 2. ‘examiner avec soin’ <i>grabeler</i> (Rabelais) (1552)		
DMF	sub grabeller (v.) (4) sub garbeller (v.) (1)	1. ‘Passer (des épices) au crible’ <i>qe lour specerie soit garbelé / nettez et garbellez par le garbellour</i> (Doc. In W. Rothwell, Z.fr. Spr. Lit. 102, 1992, 34) (1394) ⁹⁹ 2. ‘Examiner avec soin’ <i>grabeler les articles de la foy</i> (Rabelais) (1552) ‘Past. passé en empl. adj: Qui a été passé au crible’ <i>.vint-huit quintaux cinquante trois livres sept onces poivre net</i>		

⁹⁹ These are the same AN citations from the London Grocers that we find in the AND entries, discussed in a 1992 article by Rothwell. It is strange that the DMF has placed these citations in its entry sub **grabeller** and not sub **garbeller**.

		<i>et garbelle</i> [l. <i>garbellé</i>], 3 quintaux 52 livres 3 quars girofle (Aff. Jacques Coeur M, 181) (1453-57)
GDF	sub grabeller (v.) (2)	‘soumettre à un examen attentif’ <i>Lesquelez alloient au Concile de Chesil pour grabeler les articles de la foy contre les nouveaux herectiques</i> (Rab. I. IV, c.18) (1552)
TL	∅	
TLFi	sub grabeller (v)	‘séparer une substance médicamenteuse de ses grabeaux ou menus fragments’ (Littré). Au fig.: soumettre à un examen attentif.’ [MF <i>grabel</i> , att. 1439 prob. it. <i>garbello</i> , att. 1438 ¹⁰⁰ < Ar. vulg. <i>garbal</i>] <i>grabeller</i> (Rabelais) (1546) ¹⁰¹
FEW	II-2, 1333a : cribellum	‘passer (des épices) au crible’ MF / Fr <i>grabeler</i> (16 th c.) ‘examiner avec soin’ MF <i>grabeler</i> (Rabelais) ‘morceaux rompus des drogues, poussière, résidu des drogues quand on en a retiré la meilleure partie’ Fr. <i>grabeaux</i> (1640) [Auch e. <i>garble</i> aus dem it., vielleicht über das fr. entlehnt]
MED	sub garbelen (v) (4) sub garbelinge (ger.) (1)	‘To inspect and remove refuse from spices’ [ML & AF] <i>No Maner Man...schall bye no Grene zinzer..lesse þanne hit be Garbelyd by þe Garbelour</i> (Grocer Lond. in Bk. Lond. E 202/239) (1419-20) ‘The removing of refuse from spices’ <i>þe grete impositiõns þat beth putte on þe poeple of London..[by] þoccupacion of garbeling, the which ferme þeir offices to men of litell haveour & valeur.</i> (Proc. Privy C. 6.50) (1446)
OED2	sub garble (v.) (20+)	1. ‘To remove the garble or refuse from (spice, etc.); to sift, cleanse (const. of); also, to sift out’ [< It. <i>garbellare</i> , < Ar. <i>gharbala</i> (also <i>karbala</i>) to sift, select] [<i>At Alexandria</i>] <i>all sortes of spices be garbled after the bargain is made.</i> (Princ. Navigations I.191) (1589) 2. ‘To select or sort out the best in (anything or set of things); to take the pick of’ <i>They wil not suffre any garbelyng of theym to be made but selle good and bad at so excessyf price togedyr ungarbeled</i> (Act 1 Rich III c.11 §1) (1483)
DMLBS	sub garbellare (2) 1050b	‘to sift, cleanse (groceries, esp. spices)’ [cf. ME <i>garbelen</i> , OF <i>garbelé</i> , It. <i>garbellare</i> < Ar. <i>gharbala</i> = to sift] <i>cum omnes speices et alie merchandise infra regnum nostrum Anglie ligeis nostris ibidem vendicioni exponende debite et fideliter garbellari debent [...]</i> (CI 293 m.23) (1442)
DMLBS corpus	<i>garbelo[re]</i> (1) sub granum	<i>pro sacco cum xx li. garbelo[re] grani paradisi</i> (EEC 474) (1303)
DC	sub garbellare (1)	‘ex Italico <i>Garbellare</i> , Cribro succernere, purgare’. <i>Ordinamus et statuimus, quod amodo quæcumque grana cujuscumque terræ fuerit vel de Romania, vel de Provincia, Narbonesio, sive de Cathalonia, vel Hispania... quæ vendetur et emetur deinceps a quocumque in civitate Massiliæ, seu ejus districtu, debeat Garbellari illis duabus Garbellis ad id specialiter constitutis, vel faciendis : qui autem aliter fecerit, puniatur, etc... et hoc quidem intelligimus de grana assaonada, quæ emetur pro pannis tingendis... et taliter Garbellabunt, et tali modo granam, quod folium et frusta, lapides et pulvis</i>

¹⁰⁰ The updated TLIO entry sub **garbello** now dates this lexeme to 1321.

¹⁰¹ It is unclear why all the other CF dictionaries date this source as 1552 and the TLFi, as 1546.

		<i>ejiciantur.</i> (Statuta MSS. urbis Massiliensis) (1269)
Additional sources		
AN-matrix		
VOH	<i>garbeler</i> ¹⁰² (1)	<i>a Thomas Nicholas iiij bales gynger & le garbeler l^{ij} iiij^s</i> (VOH 16: 142) (E101/128/30 ret. 6, Sir William Estfield, host to Bertucci and Tommaso Contarini, merchants of Venice, transc.p. 23) (1440)
	<i>garbalyng</i> (1)	<i>Et [outr] ce[o] les ditz galiottz [ount] paiez & despenduz pur custume viscountage pakkers [gar]balyng brocage poisage portag[e] & cariage de lour ditz marchandises</i> (VOH 48: 478, E101/128/30 ret.1, John Welles, host to Giacomo Corner, merchant and patron of a Venetian galley and named crew, transc. p. 11) (1441-2)
	[<i>garbelage</i> (2)	<i>Item a dit Robert le mesme iour une petit bagge garbelage de peper longe</i> (VOH 48: 14) (E101/128/30 ret.1, John Welles, host to Giacomo Corner, merchant and patron of a Venetian galley and named crew, transc. p. 11) (1441-2)
	[<i>garbelure</i> (30)	<i>xij caas cinamome qamont clere en argent garbelure tret & toutz autres chosez rebatuz iiij^{xx}x^{li} xiiij^s ij^d</i> (VOH 44 : 19) (E101/128/31 ret. 3, Thomas Walsingham, host to Frederico Corner and Carlo Contarini, merchants of Venice, transc. p. 54) (1440)]
Comments		
Transmission Type 2b / Semantic Field: sugar / spice / sweetmeat		
<p><i>Garbellare</i> emerges in Romance in the Pisan Statutes of 1321 and also features in the Pegolotti and Zibaldone merchant handbooks. Attestations can be found in the Latin from 1269 (notably in Venice and Verona), according to the DEI sub garbellare. It is a commercial technical term, widely accepted to have come from the Arabic for ‘sieve’ or ‘to sieve’ (see, for example, Dietz 2005: 591). The inspection and <i>garbelling</i> of spices before sale to remove extraneous refuse (the <i>garble</i>) played an important part in their weight and price and was carried out by an designated official: the <i>garbler</i>.</p> <p>Back in 1992, Rothwell discussed the verb <i>garbeller</i> and its derivatives in ‘The French Vocabulary in the Archive of the London Grocers' Company’. As we have seen, the Grocers was a London institution with especially close links to Italian trade and Italian traders (Bradley 2012: xxi). Whilst I would question Rothwell’s disregard of an Italian etymon for French <i>garbeller</i>,¹⁰³ the article makes some very useful points. In it he states:</p> <p>This whole family of terms is unknown to G.[odefroy], TL and the AND. The FEW (2,ii. 1332a-1333a sub cribellum) has forms related to those found in the Grocers' Archive, but only at a much later date: “Mfr. nfr. <i>grabeler</i> ‘passer (des épices) au crible’ (16jh.-1653)”; “Nfr.<i>grabeaux</i> ‘morceaux rompus des drogues, poussière ...’ (seit 1640)”; “Nfr. <i>grabeleur</i> ‘celui qui est chargé de grabeler une substance’; <i>grabelage</i> ‘action de <i>grabeler</i>’ (beide seit 1866)” (Rothwell 1992: 34).</p> <p>Since the publication of this article, two CF citations of <i>garbeller</i> (or rather its past participle) have surfaced in two spice-related contexts: one in 1305 in mercantile material in Bruges (DEAF sub *grabellum) and one in legal journals of the French magistrate, Dauvet, in the 1450s (DMF sub garbeller). These two examples must surely also be linked to Italian <i>garbellare</i>, as are their AN cognates. As Rothwell mentions, <i>grabeler</i> is not attested until</p>		

¹⁰² Note the nominal use of *le garbeler* in this instance.

¹⁰³ “This Anglo-French and Latin evidence from England not only makes necessary a drastic revision of the dates given in the FEW, but casts serious doubt on the validity of its Note 4 on p. 1333b: ‘Auch e. *garble* aus dem it., vielleicht über das fr. entlehnt.’” (Rothwell 1992: 35).

the sixteenth century in CF (where it also acquires a figurative meaning, ‘to scrutinise closely’, as used in Rabelais). It is worth pointing out though that the TLFi suggests that the verb evolved Middle Dutch *grabel* (‘a sieve’, att. 1439) which in turn is probably derived from It. *garbello* and, ultimately, the same Arabic root. The FEW suggests an entirely different ultimate etymon (Latin *cribellum*) which I believe to be much less convincing in this case.

What is clear is that the *garbeller* word family was much more widely used in English commercial lexis. Again, new gleanings have been found since 1992 and we can now add the *Southampton Port Books* (1435-36) and *The Views of the Hosts of Alien Merchants* (1440-44) to our list of sources. Thanks again to Rothwell’s article, we see that *garbellore* appears as early as 1303 in BML, hidden in the DMLBS entry sub **granum**⁴ (the citation refers to sifting West African *grani paradisi*, also known as ‘Guinea pepper’). This points to an earlier use of these lexemes in the vernacular than is implied by its use in AN-matrix texts from 1393 and ME ones from c1419. Another key point is that *garbeller* was used in AN to refer to merchandise other than spices, suggesting that the concept was sufficiently embedded in the language of trade to take on new semantic roles.¹⁰⁴ See this condemnation of the ‘seditious confederacy of Lombards’ who were selling ‘outrageously priced’ bowstaves that have not been properly ‘garbelled’ (i.e. sorted out into gradations of quality):

Ore est il ensi qe par la seducious confederacie de les Lombardes usantz as divers Portes de cest Roialme les Bowestaves ore sont a si outerageous price, c'est assavoir a viij li. le Cent, lou ils soloient estre venduz meis a xl s. et ensement ils sufferer ne voilent ascun garbelment d'iceux estre fait, meis vendont bons & mals a si excessif price ensemblement nient garbelez (Stats ii 494, 1413-21) (AND sub **garbeler**)

In terms of morphological flexibility, this is an exceptionally prolific loanword. Home-grown derivations developed in AN, independent of the Italian equivalents: AND sub **garbelage** / **garbelment** (the process: cf. TLIO sub **garbellatura**); AND2 / MED sub **garbelure**, DMLBS sub **garbelura** (the remaining refuse: cf. TLIO sub **garbella**); AND2 / MED sub **garbelour** (the official carrying out the job: cf. TLIO sub **garbellatore**);¹⁰⁵ AND2 **garbelable** / **garbele** (adj. / p.p. to describe garbelled material, cf. TLIO sub **garbellato**). Note also OED2 sub **garble** (n.) (the remaining refuse) which is only attested in English-matrix texts from c1503 and must derive either from unattested AN **garbel* or directly from Italian *garbella*. Further ‘indigenous’ forms developed in ME: see MED sub **garble** / **garbelarship** (both the office of the garbelour), the gerund, *garbelinge* (MED sub **garbelinge**) and the past participle, *garbaled* (MED sub **garbelen**).

¹⁰⁴ There is also an example in the MED sub **garbelure** from 1428 referring to the the *garbalour of wax* (i.e. leftover or refuse wax).

¹⁰⁵ Note, however, the attestation of *garbelatour* in the London Grocers documentation from 1419 (AND sub **garbelatour**) which is potentially an Italianism < *garbellatore*. See also DMLBS sub **garbelator** (1050b), att. 1442.

39. AN goulf (n.) ‘a large bay or expanse of water’ CF <i>golf</i> < It. <i>golfo</i> < Lat. <i>culfus</i> / <i>colfus</i> < Gr. <i>κόλφος</i> , (‘bay, gulf’ or lit. ‘bosom’)				
Italian c1275- present	Anglo-Norman 1356	Continental French 1284 - present	(Middle) English c1400	Medieval Latin 1190 - 1553
TLIO	X			
OVI	<i>golfo</i> (200+)	<p><i>E questo è uno <u>golfo</u> del mare Oceano, ch'è divisato in due braccia</i> (Tesoro volg. L.3 cap.2, 9.2) (c1275-1300, fior.)</p> <p><i>Lo capo da mecço di è lo capo de lo <u>golfo</u> de Torregella de ver tramontane</i> (Compasso da navegare 39.40) (1296, it. sett. / mediano)</p> <p><i>Sapiate ch'egli àe in questo mare un <u>golfo</u> ch'è tra l'isole e la terra ferma</i> (Milione, cap 170, 254.7) (c1300-1325, tosc.)</p>		
LEI	X			
DEI	sub golfo (n.) 1840b	<p>‘baia, insenatura’ [ML <i>colpus</i> / <i>colfus</i> / <i>culfus</i> < Gr. Cf. il fr. <i>golfe</i> (<i>golf</i>: B. Latini), prestito dall’it, passato dal fr. all’ingl] <i>golfo</i> (14th c.)</p>		
AND2	sub gouffre (n.) (2)	<p>‘abyss, deep hollow’ <i>li horrible <u>gouffre</u> de enfern</i> (Ancren2 56.26)(c1275-1300)</p> <p><i>Quant dieus en terre descendoit, Franchise lors ové luy venoit, Dont l'Avarice a l'anemy, Q'el <u>gouffre</u> de Sathan tenoit</i> (Gower Miroir 16204) (1376-79)</p>		
DEAF	sub gouffre (n.) (20+) G 1064-1069	<p>‘vaste basin en cul-de-sac plus ou moins largement ouvert que la forme la mer dans son avancée à l’intérieur des terres’ <i>gofre</i> (BenTroieC) (c1170) / <i>golf</i> (BrunLatC) (early 14th c.)</p> <p>[le FEW voit dans fr. <i>golfe</i> un emprunt à l’it. ce qui ne s’impose pas, le mot est plus anciennement attesté en occ. [<i>golfe</i> att. c1200] et cat. [<i>golf</i>, att. 13th c.] et surtout en mlt [<i>gulfus</i>, att. 1101-04]]¹⁰⁶</p>		
DMF	sub golfe (n.) (10) sub gouffre (n.)	<p>‘Vaste avancée de la mer à l’intérieur des terre’ <i>et passent par la mer Adriatique, qui est appelée le <u>goulf</u> de Venisse, qui depart Ytalie et Gresce en ce coste</i> (Mandeville Voy. L. 257) (1360) / <i>et est sur ung <u>goulfe</u> de la mer qui se boute entre la terre jusques devant ladite ville bien LX milles</i> (La Broquière, Voy. Outr. S. 175) (c1455-57)</p> <p>‘Vaste avancée de la mer à l’intérieur des terres, golfe’ <i>Item, d'illec nous venismes en ung autre lieu en Turquie, qui est appellez le <u>Gouffre</u> de Macry</i> (Voy. Jérus. 91) (c1395)</p> <p>‘Abîme, gouffre, en partic. (porte de) l’Enfer’ <i>Et tu les loges en ce <u>gouffre</u> Horrible, puant, plain de souffre ? Enfer dy jegouffre et gourmant Ou livrez sommes a tourment</i> (Pèler. âme S. App. 365) (1358)</p>		
GDC	sub golfe (n.) (8) sub gouffre (n.) (8)	<p>‘partie de mer s’enfonçant dans dans les terres’ <i>Il ha en ceste mer un <u>gouf</u> qui est entre l’isle e la terre ferme</i> (Marc. Polo, CLXXIV, Roux. [Edit. Pauthier, <i>golf</i>, ms. C, <i>glouf</i>] (1298)</p> <p>‘cavité profonde, vide ou remplie d’eau, de feu, de flames etc’</p>		

¹⁰⁶ Note that the DEAF article dates *golfo* as being attested in 1320 in Italian (Dante), whereas the OVI corpus now has citations from c1275. However, this is obviously still later than in Occitan and Catalan.

		<i>Quaque norrit airs, ters et onde, Tour engorges, <u>gouffres</u> parfons</i> (Renclus, Misere, CLIV 2) (c1230)
TL	sub golf (n.) (1)	[no gloss] [vgl. <i>gouffre</i>] <i>et cil [la mer rouge] est un <u>golf</u> de la mer oceane qui est devisee en deus braz</i> (Brun . Lat. 154) (1284)
TLFi	sub golfe (n.)	‘Vaste avancée de la mer à l’intérieur des terres et dont l’ouverture est ordinairement très large [Empr. à l’ital. <i>golfo</i>] <i><u>golf</u> de la mer Oceane</i> (Brunet Latin, Trésor) (1284) <i><u>goulf</u> de Lyon</i> (Caumont, Voy. doultremer) (1418) [<i>gouffre</i> (Ambroise, Guerre sainte) (c1195)]
FEW	II-2, 926a: kolpos	I. ‘abîme, cavité béante où l’on serait englouti’ OF <i>gofre</i> (1226) / MF <i>goulphe</i> (16 th c.) Occ. <i>golfe, golfe</i> II. ‘partie de mer formant un large enfoncement dans les terres’ OF <i>goffre</i> (Ambroise) / <i>golf</i> (BrunLat) / <i>couf, goufe</i> (MPolo, c1300) MF <i>goulf</i> (1418) / <i>gouffre</i> (15 th -16 th c.) / <i>golfe</i> (1538) [Gr. <i>κόλφος</i> geht ins lt. über in der form <i>colpus</i> und in der bed. ‘meerbusen’ seit Hieronymus. Es ist ins rom. auch in der andern bed. ‘tiefer talgrund’ übergegangen. Daraus direct oben I. [...] Darauf beruht oben II 1, sowie it. sp. pg. <i>golfo</i> ‘golf’ [...] Die bed. ‘golf’ welche diese haben, wirkt auf das fr. wort ein, zuerst bei kreuzzugschroniken, die venez. einfluss unterliegen, und bei Marco Polo [...]
MED	sub goulf (n.) (6)	‘a deep cavity, abyss’ [OF <i>golf</i> & <i>gouffre</i>] <i>He lauez hys gyftez as water of dyche, Oper gotez of <u>golf</u> þat neuer charde</i> (Pearl Nero A10 608) (c1400) ‘a large body of water’ <i>The see Adryatyk, þat is clept the <u>Goulf</u> [Eg: <i>Gulff</i>; F <i>goulf</i>] of Venyse.departeth ytaylle & Grece</i> (Mandev. Tit C16 35/19) (c1400)
OED2	sub gulf (n.) (30+)	I. ‘A portion of the sea partially enclosed by a more or less extensive sweep of the coast; often taking its name from the adjoining land.’ [< OF <i>golfe</i> < Prov. / It. /Sp. Port. <i>golfo</i> < Gr. <i>κόλφος</i>] <i>The See Adryatyk, that is clept the <u>Goulf</u> of Venyse.</i> (Mandeville’s Trav. v.54) (c1400) II. ‘A deep hollow, chasm, abyss’ [< OF <i>gouffre</i>] <i>Gotez of <u>golf</u> þat neuer charde.</i> (Pearl 1.607) (c1400)
DMLBS	sub gulfus (7)	‘gulf, huge bay or other expanse of water’ <i>fluvius [Salef] currens per medium terre Turkorum, dividit eam a terra Rupini et cadit in <u>gulfu</u> Satalie</i> (G. Ric I 89) (1190) ‘pit’ <i>habet unam <u>golfam</u> non impletam terra ibidem [Shelley, Essex] idem prec[ipitur] fossatam suam et <u>golfam</u> escuarare et implere</i> (MS Essex R.O.D/ DQ22/127) (1553)
DC	sub gulfus (3)	‘Sinus maris, ex Gr. <i>κόλπος</i> [...] nostris <i>Golfe</i> , Germanis <i>Golpe</i> , Anglis <i>Gulpe</i> , Belgis <i>Golpen</i> ’ <i>Postquam transivi sinum, seu mare Adriaticum, quod hodie <u>Gulfus</u> Venetiarum appellatur.</i> (Guillelmus de Baldensel in Hodæporico pag. 104) (1264)

Additional sources		
AN-matrix		
Mandeville (1356)	<i>Goulf</i> (1)	<i>Il y ad plusours portz ou homme se mecte en mer. Ascuns se mectent en mer a Janeve ascuns a Venise et passent par le mer Adriatik q'est appellé le <u>Goulf</u> de Venisienz qe departe Ytaille et Grèce en ceo coustee.</i> (Jean de Mandeville, <i>Le livre des merveilles du monde</i> (Deluz 2000: 160) (1356)
<p>Comments</p> <p>Transmission Type 2b / Semantic Field: maritime</p> <p>This is a difficult etymology to unravel given that ‘gulf’ has two main senses in French and English:¹⁰⁷ horizontally-speaking, a large bay or stretch of water and vertically-speaking, a deep hole or chasm (with additional medieval connotations to Hell).¹⁰⁸ The DEAF and the FEW apparently disagree about which sense developed out of the other: “Fr. <i>gouffre</i> a développé à côté de ‘golfe de mer’ le sens ‘d’abîme’ qui est sans doute secondaire (la disposition des mat. au FEW suggère le contraire)” (DEAF G 1065). What is clear is that, as the TLFi entry discusses, <i>golfe</i> and <i>gouffre</i> (and ‘formes contaminées’ such as <i>gouffre</i> and <i>goulphe</i>) were used interchangeably in CF until the seventeenth century when two distinct forms and senses were established. Indeed, the very first record of the lexeme in OF is <i>gof(f)re</i> meaning ‘bay’ in Ambroise’s Crusade chronicle, <i>Guerre Sainte</i>.</p> <p>The extent of the role played by Italian maritime <i>golfo</i> in the evolution of CF <i>golfe</i> is questioned. An Italian etymon is rejected by the DEAF, in favour of earlier Occitan, Catalan and Latin candidates. The FEW, TLFi and Hope (1971:40) all underline the strong possibility of some Italian influence, however. Vidos (1965: 237-45) analyses the lexeme at length and concludes that there were two distinct periods of transmission of <i>golfo</i> into CF, in the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries:</p> <p>Nous avons établi [...] que les auteurs italien bilingues Brunetto Latini at Marco Polo (Rusticien de Pise) ont francisé le mot italien <i>golfo</i> en le mettant en circulation sous la forme <i>golf</i> et que leur tentative de création a échoué [i.e. that <i>gouffre</i> and variations thereof were still used to mean ‘bay’ in CF in the late Middle Ages] Nous avons également fait voir que ce n’est qu’au cours du XVI^e s., époque du fort courant italianisant, qu’on emprunte pour la notion de <i>golfe</i>, le mot italien <i>golfo</i>¹⁰⁹ (Vidos 1965: 303).</p> <p>We can argue therefore that <i>golf</i> seems to be another good example of an Italian maritime term that (like fortune de mer) entered CF via the writings of the bilingual author, Brunetto Latini, who lived in France as a political exile towards the end of the thirteenth century. <i>Golf</i> appears in <i>Li Livres dou Tresor</i> (1284), a longer, Picard version of his Florentine <i>Tresoro</i> (in which he uses <i>golfo</i>) and an encyclopaedic summary of the knowledge of its day, covering geography, science, ethics and rhetoric. <i>Le Livre de Marco Polo</i> (1298), another good source for early Gallo-Italianisms (cf. for example, bokeram / cramoisé / nak / nassik / ris / satin / sport(in)) also attests the lexeme but as the GDC sub golfe points out, the forms vary according to manuscript:</p>		

¹⁰⁷ There is also the derived sense of a ‘whirlpool’ (att. in the GDC sub **gouffre** / DMF sub **gouffre** / OED2 sub **gulf** 3a. / MED **goulf** b) and the CF verbs of the type *engoufler* / *engouffrer* (‘dévorer rapidement et avidement’) (cf. FEW sub **kolpos** p.925 / OED2 sub **engulf** / **ingulf**).

¹⁰⁸ Cf. DEAF G 1067: OF *gouffre* (att. in this sense c.1227) “dans la pensée chrétienne médiévale, endroit où les damnés sont soumis aus supplices, enfer”.

¹⁰⁹ Note also, however, the theory outlined in the TLFi sub **golfe**: “La victoire définitive de *golfe* a pu être facilitée par les récits de voyage du xvi^es. traduits de l’esp. ou du port. dans lesquels la forme *go(u)lfe* (adaptation de l’esp. ou port., *golfo*) désigne les golfes des Indes orientales ou occidentales.”

gouf / golf / glouf.

Golfo emerges in the Italian vernacular at around the same time as in CF, with over one hundred citations in the anonymous *Lo Compasso da navigare*. This was the earliest surviving *portolano* (or harbour-finding manual) in any language to cover the whole Mediterranean and another example of Italy's place at the forefront of navigation in the Middle Ages.¹¹⁰ Whilst the manuscript was written in Pisa, its language (typically for those of a maritime nature) does not fall into a single dialectal category: “È un'opera italiana scritta in volgare, che non si può però definire toscano, genovese o veneziano, essendo frequenti i vocaboli catalani, provenzali, arabi e bizantini. Si potrebbe parlare [...] di una ‘lingua franca’ derivante dalla fusione di diversi idiomi e dialetti, che veniva parlata dai marinai di tutto il mondo latino per intendersi tra loro” (Fadda 2014).¹¹¹

Evidence of comparable usage in AN of *golfe / gouffre* is, admittedly, much thinner on the ground. In the current AND entry sub **gouffre**, we find two citations of the ‘pit of Hell’ variety from the last quarter of the thirteenth century. Not yet incorporated into the dictionary is Mandeville's reference to the *Goulf de Venisienz* (i.e. the stretch of water at the top of the Adriatic Sea), written c1356. This is the only usage remaining of the geographical term in an AN text and it is found in a source that is notoriously tricky to categorise. *Le Livre des Merveilles du Monde* (a hugely popular but frequently fantastical guide to the Holy Land and the Far East) was widely copied and translated:¹¹² we have over twenty extant manuscripts in insular French, over thirty in CF (cf. DMF sub **golfe**) and seven more written in Liège, Belgium. It is not clear exactly which version should be considered the ‘source text’ or even who Jean de Mandeville was (see Deluz 2000: 7-14, 28-36 for a recent discussion).¹¹³

However, we do that the original author of the *Livre* borrows copiously from thirteen other later medieval texts, including Latini's *Tresor* and - indirectly through the (French) writings of the Italian monk, Odorico da Poredenone - Polo's *Devisement du Monde* (Seymour 2002: 137-38). The presence of AN *goulfe* is worthy of note, therefore, as it is our only extant example of Italian *golfo*'s potential route into insular French and from there into Middle and Modern English. English *gulf*, of course, now covers both the semantic domains occupied by French *golfe* and *gouffre* and it is interesting to query why AN *gouffre* did not endure to the same extent.

¹¹⁰ The 1296 manuscript is a copy of a navigation manual first written between 1250 and 1265.

¹¹¹ This article (‘I toponimi del Mediterraneo nel Compasso da Navigare’) by Bianca Fadda, of the Università di Cagliari, was written for the academic blog *Quotidiano di storia e archeologia* in June 2014: pierluigimontalbano.blogspot.co.uk/2014/06/cartografia-nautica-i-toponimi-del.html (accessed 15/06/2016).

¹¹² Full or partial medieval translations survive in AN, CF, ME, Irish, Latin, Italian, Spanish, German, Danish and Czech.

¹¹³ For her part, Deluz (author of a critical edition which merges twenty-five AN versions of Mandeville's *Livre*) concludes that “La comparaison entre les manuscrits de la version insulaire écrits en parler anglo-normand et ceux écrits en parler continental montre que c'est bien le texte anglo-normand qui est premier. Tout en habitant à Liège, Mandeville a très bien pu rédiger, ou dicter, dans sa langue maternelle” (Deluz 2000: 33). There is by no means a general consensus on this matter, however: see the comments made two years later in the ME edition of the so-called “Defective Version’ by Seymour (2002: xi-xii).

40. AN go(u)ndel (n.) ‘a narrow, light boat to transport people or goods’ < Ven. <i>gondola</i> < ? Gr. Byzant. <i>κονδοῦρα</i> (‘boat’)					
Italian 1314-present		Anglo-Norman [1417-1425]	Continental French 1246 / 1550-present	(Middle) English [1417-1425] / 1549-present	Medieval Latin 1098-14 th c.
TLIO	sub gondola (n.) (5)	‘Barca snella adibita al trasporto di persone o merci’ <i>e non puoi qui battello / e barca aver, ma bello / tengo se portar vuoi / una gondola e puoi</i> (Fr. Da Barberino, Doc., pt.7, 9.146, vol. 3, pag. 134.4) (1314. tosc.) <i>Barca in più linguaggi. Gondola in più linguaggi [...] Batello e batto in francese. Questi nomi vogliono dire piccole barche e piccole vaselle che conducono le mercantantie da uno paese a l’altro</i> (Pegolotti Pratica, 16.22) (c1335-43, fior.)			
ОВI	<i>gondola</i> (5) <i>gondola</i> (1)	<i>e non puoi qui battello / e barca aver, ma bello / tengo se portar vuoi / una gondola e puoi</i> (Fr. Da Barberino, Doc., pt.7, 9.146, vol. 3, pag. 134.4) (1314. tosc.) <i>in alchuna parte si chiamano schifi, e in altra parte si chiamano gondole, e in tali barchette e in tali servigiali [...]</i> (Chiose Selmiane, cap. 17, 85.15) (1321-37, sen.)			
LEI	X				
DEI	sub gondola (n.) 1843b	‘barca dogale venez. a 12 remi, poi barca sottile e leggere, a fondo piatto, oggi caratteristica di Venezia’ Lat. <i>gondula</i> (Venezia) (1098 /1255) <i>gondola</i> (13th c.) [anche a pis. / gen. / nap. e sic., passato nel lessico occidentale, fr. <i>gondole</i> (1549, Rabelais), <i>gondele</i> (1246). Probabilm. lat. regionale * <i>conduca</i> (gr. byz. <i>kōndy</i> , ‘vaso’)]			
AND	X				
DEAF	sub gondele (n.) (G986) (1)	‘petite barque attaché au service d’un grand bateau’ <i>Et doit avoir la devant ditte nave une bargue de cantier, II bargues de perascaline (l. perascalme) et une gondele</i> (ChampFig Roy 2 ² , 62) (1246) [Emprunt à ven. <i>gondola</i> , ‘petite barque’ dep. 1 ^{ère} m. 14 ^e s. [...] dont l’origine est très discutée: l’hypothèse la plus vraisemblable le fait remonter à gr. <i>κονδοῦρα</i> , ‘kind of light ship’ d’origine byzantine [...] En fr., <i>gondola</i> a été emprunté à deux reprises, une seule fois en afr., ensuite à partir de 1550 sous forme de <i>gondole</i>]			
DMF	X				
GDC	sub gondole (n.) (4)	‘bateau léger, long et plat, dont la proue élancée se recourbe en dehors et dont on fait usage particulièrement à Venise’ <i>Doit avoir la devant ditte nave une bargue de cantier, II bargues de perascaline et une gondele</i> (Propos. des comm. de Fr. à la comm. de Gênes, Doc. histor. II 62) (1246) <i>Deux jours devant avoit esté fait naufrage d’une des gondoles</i> (Rab., Sciom.) (1550)			
TL	∅				
TLFi	sub gondole (n.)	‘Barque longue et plate en usage à Venise, caractérisée par la nette courbure de son axe longitudinal, à la proue et à la poupe relevées et recourbées, et mue au moyen d’un seul aviron bordé à tribord arrière’ [<i><</i> It. <i>gondola</i> , d’origine vénitienne]			

		<i>gondele</i> (Propos. des comm. de Fr. à la comm. de Gênes, Doc. histor. II 62) (1246) (Attest. isolée.) <i>gondole</i> (Rabelais, Sciomachie, t.III, p.395) (1549) ¹¹⁴
FEW	II, 1028a: kòndy	‘petite barque attaché au service d’un grand bateau’ OF <i>gondele</i> (1246) MF <i>gondola</i> (1550) [Diese gallorom. wortgruppe ist aus it. <i>gondola</i> entlehnt [...] [<i>Gondele</i>] ist aus Genua übernommen, und zwar ist a, das in einem vertrag zwischen Ludwig IX und der stadt Genua steht, eine notdürftige anpassung des gen. wortes ans fr.]
MED	sub goundel (n.) (3)	‘a small ship or boat of some kind’ [Old Italian: cp. It. <i>gondola</i> , ML <i>gondola</i> , Fr. (16 th c. <i>gondola</i>) <i>De..ij Batellis vocatis Barkys I Goundell’ xviiij Polleys pur le Shrowde</i> (For.Acc.(PRO) 8 Hen.V G/1 [OD col.]) (1417) <i>j parua Batella vocata Goundell’.</i> (For.Acc.(PRO) 3 Hen.VI I [OD col.]) (1420) <i>Gundell</i> (For.Acc.(PRO) 59 m.25d; m.27d [OD col.]) (1425)
OED2	sub gondola (n.)	‘A light flat-bottomed boat or skiff in use on the Venetian canals, having a cabin amidships and rising to a sharp point at either end; it is usually propelled by one man at the stern with a single oar’ [< It. <i>gondola</i> , of obscure origin] [<i>He kept</i>] one man, or two at the most, to row his <i>Gondola</i> (W. Thomas, Hist. Italie f.83v) (1549)
DMLBS	Ø	
DC	sub gondola (n.) (3)	‘Navigioli seu scaphulæ species, qua æstuaria Veneta pertranseuntur’ <i>Regaliæ Gallinarum, vini et Gondolarum</i> (Andream Dandulum in Chr. MS) (1205)
Additional sources		
BML-matrix ¹¹⁵		
Exchequer records (1426-27)	<i>agundere</i> (3)	<i>In carraca unde Ffranciscus Spynella est patronus, intrante XVI die marcii anno regni Henrici sexti quinto [...] In agundre dicte carrace, XXIII die marcii [...]</i> (E122/184/3) (1426-27)
SH Port Book (1450-51)	<i>goundere</i> (3)	<i>De carraca unde Alisaunder Grille est patronus, in[trante] III° die octobris anno XXIX°[...] De goundere unde Alisaunder Grille est magister, intrante [...]</i> (SC5/4/7) (1450-51)
Latin-matrix		
Privilege granted by Doge of Venice (1098)	<i>gondulam</i> (1)	<i>Gondulam vero nullam nobis, nisi libera vestra voluntate facturi estis</i> (Privilegio dogale a favore dei Loredani, Vidos 1939: 432) (1098)
Genoese	<i>gondolam</i> (1)	<i>Item quod habeat dicta navis unam barcam canterii, barcas duas de parascalino,</i>

¹¹⁴ The more recent DEAF entry dates this citation from Rabelais as from 1550.

¹¹⁵ I am extremely grateful to Dr Angelo Nicolini, a retired historian in Savona, for sending me his unpublished transcription of these two BML sources.

naval contract (1246)		<i>et gondolam</i> (Contratto di noleggio di nave, stipulato fra i commissari di Luigi Santo e la città di Genova, Vidos 1939: 432) (1246)
Pisan naval contract (1261)	<i>gondula</i> (1)	<i>Una barca de parisclalmo et una gondula fornitis et omnibus aliis oportunitis</i> (Contratto di noleggio della nave Bonaventura, Vidos 1939: 432) (1261)

Comments

Transmission type 1b / Semantic field: maritime

The small boat known as a *gondola* has been synonymous with Venice for centuries and was first attested as *gondulam* in a Latin document written on behalf of the Doge in 1098. The ultimate etymon is disputed but, as the DEAF notes, seems likely to be Byzantine Greek. The term spread to other Italian dialects from Venetian and is found in the Latin of Pisa in 1261 and the Tuscan vernacular from 1314 onwards. In CF, as the TLFi, DEAF, FEW, Vidos (1939: 430-34) and Fennis (1995: 36) describe, there is only one isolated medieval borrowing of Italian *gondola* and it is linked to Genoa. The loanword *gondole* is found in a bilingual (French-Latin) naval contract drawn up between Genoese officials and Louis IX of France in 1246 (cf. **patron** / **poupe**). The term does not surface again until 1550 as *gondole* where it is used - in clear connection to Venice - in the writings of Rabelais.

Like **nak**, **nassik** and **timon**, this Italian borrowing is only found in BML-matrix material in England prior to 1500. It is included in the MED but not the OED (or the DMLBS) and for this reason, it is not examined in Durkin (2014) or Pinnavia (2001). As explained in Chapter 3.1ii, the lexeme has been considered an AN word for the purposes of the Glossary, even though it is difficult to categorise as either AN or ME. The boat type named *goundell* / *gondell* / *gundell* appears three times in enrolled customs accounts under Henries V and VI between 1417 and 1425. Dietz (2005: 592) dismisses the noun as a direct Italianism in ME (as the MED labels it) because “Die Graphie deutet auf französische Vermittlung hin”. This does not necessarily mean, however, that the loanword did not result from direct contact with Italian on English soil. Whilst Dietz typically makes no mention of AN, it is possible that *go(u)ndel* represents not a continental but an insular French borrowing from an Italian dialect. We know that whilst several Venetian and Genoese maritime terms appear to have entered AN via the intermediary of CF (e.g. **carrack**, **poupe**), others seem to have been directly borrowed from Italian into the nautical lexis of medieval England (e.g. **tarette**). At the very least, *go(u)ndel* represents a Gallo-Italianism in an English text. Given the very scant evidence of its use in France before the mid-sixteenth century, it does seem likely that it is an Italianised AN word in itself or an ME word derived from an earlier AN variant, which is currently unattested. The Italianism *gondola* would later be re-borrowed directly into English in 1559 (OED2 sub **gondola**).

Finally, it is very interesting to note the presence of an alternate (but ultimately short-lived) form of the same Italian boatname in English records which seems to be borrowed from the Ligurian variant *gondora* / *gundura*: in two separate BML-matrix texts referring to incoming Genoese shipments, we find *agundre* in 1426-27 and *goundere* in 1450-51).

41. AN imperial (n.) ‘a heavy silk fabric embroidered with gold or silver, probably of lampas weave and originally from Constantinople ’ (CF <i>imperial</i>) < It. <i>imperiale</i> < Lat. <i>imperialis</i> (‘imperial / of an emperor’)				
Italian 1376-1458	Anglo-Norman c1413-c1444	Continental French c1165-1760	(Middle) English c1435-17 th c.	Medieval Latin c1178- c1417
TLIO	X			
OVI	<i>imperiali</i> (2)	<i>Item che a ciaschuno mercadante sia licito poter fare et far fare imperiali di oro o d'ariento fino o di Colonia o di Lucha di peso di libre Quattro et unce due per ciaschuna pessa di braccia septe et mezzo</i> (Stat. lucch. L.IV, cap. 83) (1376, lucch.)		
LEI	X			
DEI	Ø			
AND2	sub imperial (adj.) (1)	3. ‘splendid, magnificent’ i. chaperon de drap d'or <u>imperiall</u> , furrez des Ermyns (Rot Parl ¹ iv 240) (1413-37)		
AND corpus	<i>imperiall</i> (1) sub morisk (adj.)	<i>Item, .i. autre vestiment contenant .i. chesible de bloy imperiall overez dez lettrez de mariske</i> (Rot Parl ¹ iv 227.557(1413-1437)		
LCC	sub imperial (n.) (5) (2= DMLBS, 1=AND, 1= MED, 1=OED)	‘a silk cloth, presumably of high quality (from the adj. meaning ‘pertaining to the empire or emperor). Also as the compounds <i>cloth imperial</i> , Latin <i>pannus imperialis</i> ’ [The substantive form is first attested as a vestment in the 1245 Inventory of St Paul's Cathedral, on a cope said at that time to be old. Other instances (but not necessarily referring to the same type of cloth) are found in royal wardrobe accounts of 1379-81 and 1422-25, when it was evidently a lampas silk, which could be woven as a heavy cloth of gold, probably from Italy]		
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub imperial ¹ (adj /n.) (3)	CII. ‘Drap de soie à figures, à fond uni ou marbré’ <i>quatre pièces de impériaux larges, ouvrez à lions dont les trois furent pour couvrir lesdictes chaieres</i> (Comptes Lille L, t1 145) (1416)		
GDF	Ø			
TL	sub imperial (adj. /n.)	[‘kostbar v. Kleiderstoff ; s. Escoufle 2007 mit Hinweis in Glossar u. emperiaus) : <i>Li vaillant chevalier tisoient les siglatons et les cendaus et led paille impériaus</i> (Rigomer 6358, Glossar : ‘Kaiserbrokat’)]		
TLFi	sub impérial (adj / n.)	‘adj.: d'une qualité ou d'un luxe supérieurs, dignes d'un empereur , ici qualifiant un type de drap richement décoré’ <i>emperiaus</i> (B. de Ste-Maure, Troie, 7078 ds T.-L.) (c1165) ‘subst. plur.: désignant un produit considéré comme supérieur, ici une étoffe de luxe’ <i>emperiaus</i> (Escoufle, 2007) (c1200)		
FEW	IV 586b: imperialis	2. ‘drap de soie à figures’ OF <i>emperial</i> (c1200), <i>impérial</i> (1225 / 1419), Mod Fr <i>impériale</i> (1760) [Lehnwort aus dem It.]		
MED	sub imperial (adj / n..) (1)	d. ‘as a noun: a kind of cloth’ <i>I send you a peice of baudkin and another of impereal, to se whether ye will hafe of.</i> (Plumpton Let. 37) c1613 (►1476)		

OED3	sub imperial (adj. /n.) (11)	B1 '= imperial cloth n., (also cloth imperial) now hist. a high-quality woven fabric, esp one in use in the Middle Ages with figures worked in gold. <i>Item, a grete celour of blewe <u>imperiall</u></i> (Bedford Inventories 223) (c1435) <i>ij canopies, oon nmade of <u>imperial</u> and the other of baldekyn</i> (Wardrobe Acct. in Grose's Antiquarian Repertory, I 49) (1483) <i>Two copes of clothe <u>imperialle</u></i> (Inventory in Fabric Rolls York Minster 310 (a1553))
DMLBS	sub imperialis (adj. /n.) (7)	5. 'pannus imperialis: imperial, sort of high-quality cloth' [cf. OF <i>drap emperial</i>] comes <i>W. de Magnivilla Jerosolimis rediit...qui peregre profectus, sicutaltaria multarum per Anglicam ecclesiarum habuerat in memoria, sic et rediens habuit in veneration, pannos, quos cicitas Contantintinopolis vocat <u>imperials</u></i> . (Diceto YH I 428)(c1178) <i>capa alia ejusdem [Nicholai] vetu est de panno serico, ut dicitur, <u>imperiali</u> cum pavonibus et arboribus context</i> (Invent. S. Paul. 478) (1245)
DC	sub imperiale (4)	'Panni pretiosioris species' <i>Item tunica de <u>Imperiali</u> cum arboribus rubeis et leonibus aureis, etc. Item tunica de alio <u>Imperiali</u>, florigerata viridi et rubeo, etc. Item tunica ex alio <u>Imperiali</u>, quasi marmorea, etc. Frontale ad altare de <u>Imperiali</u> debili.</i> (Visitatio Thesaurariæ S. Pauli Londinensis) (1295)
Additional sources		
Italian-matrix		
Datini silk inventory (1408)	<i>imperialli</i> (1)	<i>4 peze d'<u>imperialli</u>, tesutte d'ariento, che ssonno di[ssegnacti qui appresso], larghi di braccia 2</i> (Fattura di tessuti serici, Avignone-Firenze) (ed. Melis 1972: 290) (1408) ¹¹⁶
Cloth Guild Statutes, Florence (1458)	<i>imperiali</i> (1)	<i>imperiali</i> (Statuti dell Arte di Por' S. Maria) (Dornini 1934-37: 24) (1458)
AN-matrix		
VOH (1440-44)	<i>imperialle</i> (6) <i>emperialle</i> (2) <i>ymperialle</i> (s) (2)	<i>Item j piece de imperialle large & ij pieces court pur vj^{li} xij^s iij^{di}</i> (VOH 34:21) (E101/128/30 ret.14, Richard Rich, host to Felice da Fagnano, Alessandro Palastrello and Niccolò Micheli, merchants of Lucca, trans. p. 42) (1443-4) <i>xliij peces tartarin une case cum sugre viij peces siglatons iij peces <u>emperialle</u></i> (VOH 6:11) (E101/128/31 ret. 54, Thomas Chalton, host to Lorenzo Marconuovo, Giovanni Maucci and Iacopo Trotti, merchants of Venice, trans. p. 142) (1441-2) <i>Item xxiiij drapz <u>ymperialles</u> dore</i> (VOH 16:18) ((E101/128/30 ret. 6, Sir William Estfield, host to Bertucci and Tommaso Contarini, merchants of Venice, trans.p. 21) (1440)
BML-matrix		
Great Wardrobe Accounts (1381-c1417)	<i>Imperial</i> (1) <i>imperiall</i> (1) <i>Imperial'</i> (1)	<i>Pann' adaur' <u>Imp[er]ial</u></i> (E.361.5.2r) (Monnas 1989:297) (1381) <i>Pann' adaur <u>imp[er]ial</u></i> (E.361.5.7r) (Monnas 1989: 298) (1394-98) <i><u>Imp[er]ial'</u> adaur'</i> (E.361.6.12r) (Monnas 1989:299) (1413-17)

¹¹⁶ Unusually, the writer of this inventory drew pictures of the patterns found on each kind of silk alongside the list of fabrics (for a facsimile, see Melis 1972: 291).

Comments

Transmission Type 2b / Semantic Field: textile

In the AN *Views of the Hosts*, *imperial* appears alongside other luxury Italian silks, both patterned (e.g. **baldekin**) and plain (e.g. **tartarin**). It is attested in four separate Views between 1440-44 that record the imports of various merchants of Lucca (View 34) and Venice (Views 6, 8 and 16). *Imperial* originated in Constantinople (Monnas 1989: 285) and is different to most of the other Italian cloths of gold as its ultimate etymon is Latin, not Arabic or Persian. Whilst the term undoubtedly spread across Europe via Latin in the late twelfth century, it is also probable - in my opinion - that Italian mercantile terminology influenced latter attestations in the late, fifteenth-century AN of the Parliament Rolls and the *Views of the Hosts of Alien Merchants*. Monnas lists purchases of *imperial* silk amongst numerous other damasks, velvets and satins for the royal households of Richard II and Henry V. She points out that by the 1370s, we may well be dealing with a different fabric altogether from the one listed in the St Paul's Inventory in 1245:

Patterns for the purchase of the lampas silk known as *imperial* underline the fact that if this study is to assist in classifying actual textiles, then the limitations of dealing with one particular consumer, albeit a large one, must be taken into account. During the period under review, according to the enrolled accounts, the royal Wardrobe apparently bought *imperial* only between 1379-81 and 1422-25. But a silk named *imperial* (not necessarily identical with the late fourteenth-century version) had already been known in England from as early as 1245 (Monnas 1989: 290).

In fact, we find *imperial* silk even earlier than this; Ralph de Diceto, dean of St Paul's, tells of William de Magna Villa bringing back gifts of *imperial* fabric from his pilgrimage to Constantinople, c1178 (DMLBS sub **imperailis**). Around the same period, we find the earliest CF citations, as given by the TL and TLFi. Both the DMLBS and Du Cange cite a St Paul's Cathedral inventory from 1295 which describes clerical tunicles and altar frontals made from *imperial* woven with golden lions or green and red floral motifs. This source lists the same cloth with a peacock pattern, fifty years earlier. It is impossible to be entirely clear at which point *imperial* switched from meaning a generic 'splendid' or 'magnificent' cloth to representing a specific textile type. It is clear however that the term is mis-glossed in the current AND entry and the relevant citations should be glossed as 'a type of cloth of gold, originally from Constantinople'.

Imperiali feature alongside the other *panno d'oro*, **ragamas**, in the Statuti della Corte dei Mercanti di Lucca from 1376 where they are stated as weighing approximately twice as much as *baldcachini* (Bradley 2012: 313). In the mid-fifteenth century, regulations concerning the silk used in the binding warps of *imperial* and **mararmas** cloth were also published in Florentine Guild statutes (Dorini 1934-37: 24).

42. AN legea (n. / adj.) ‘a raw silk used as weft thread and imported from Lahijan on the Caspian Sea (in modern-day Iran)’ < It. <i>leggi</i> < (?) Pers. <i>Lahijan</i> (‘silk-place’)				
Italian c1335-1556	Anglo-Norman 1440	Continental French X	(Middle) English X	Medieval Latin X
TLIO	X			
OVI	sub leggi (2)	<i>Grana di Spagna. Grana di Schiavonia. Guardabanco. Taliva. Leggi del Golfo d’Erminia. Masseria. Cappelletti d’Andria.</i> (Pegolotti Pratica 297.2.27) (c1335-1343, fior.) <i>spetie di seta in una sorta cioè o tucta leggi o tucto mordecasio o tucto talani</i> (Stat. lucch. LIV cap 5 131.19) (1376) (lucch.)		
AD	sub legi (1)	<i>e le sete canaluie da s.45 e le legi da s.70</i> (Caffa-Genova B754/3) (1392)		
LEI	X			
DEI	sub leggi	‘detto di qualità di seta bianca e grossa secondo l’uso di Liège (che un tempo fu italianizzato in Leggi)’ <i>leggi</i> (13th-14th c.)		
AND	X			
DEAF	X			
DMF	X			
GDF	Ø			
TL	Ø			
TLFi	Ø			
FEW	Ø			
MED	Ø			
OED	X			
DMLBS	Ø			
DC	Ø			
Additional sources				
Italian-matrix				
Damascus pricelist (1386)	<i>legi</i> (1)	<i>vai fini dm. 1910, ermellini dm. 3 in 4 ½, seta legi dm. 280, talani dm. 220</i> (Valute di mercanzie dell’1 settembre 1386 in Damasco) (Melis 1972:318) (1386)		
Datini pricelist ¹¹⁶ (1393)	<i>leggi</i> (1)	<i>seta giudescha lb. 4 s. 2 in s. 8, mataselle lb 4 i’ s. 8 più, talani lb 4 s. 10 (in) lb. 5 s. 5, leggi 5 ½ in 6 ½</i> (Valuta di mercanzie del 31 dicembre 1393, Venezia-Firenze, da Zanobi di T. Gaddi alla comp. Datini) (Melis 1972: 302) (1393)		
Alexandria pricelist (1419)	<i>llezi</i> (2)	<i>seda stravai bs. 2, llezi fin abs. 1 ¾, lleze bene bs. 1 ½, tallani bs. 1 ¼</i> (Valute di mercanzie del 23 febbraio 1419 in Alessandria) (Melis 1972: 320) (1419, ven.)		
Arte della seta (c1450)	<i>leggi</i> (8)	<i>e seguiteremo alquanti versi de’ fatti del filare, e diremo così: tutte sete leggi, istravai e talani hanno punti 9 in su 20.</i> (Arte della seta) (Gargioli 1868: VIII, 22) (c1450, fior.)		
Berengo letters (1555)	<i>lezi</i> (30+)	<i>zoè 4 canari a veneziani 6, 2 ½ mamodea ett rasbar a veneziani 6, et una ½ lezi pur a veneziani 6</i> (Berengo Letters) (Tucci 1957: 43) (1555, ven.)		
AN-matrix				
VOH	<i>legea</i> (2)	<i>Item vj bales rawe silke videlicet j bale de purpea j de talanye & iij de legea</i>		

¹¹⁶ It is unclear why this material cannot be found in the Datini online corpus.

	lagea (1)	<p><i>Item a luy le mesme iour soy de <u>lagea</u> lxi^{li} j viij^s ij^d</i></p> <p><i>Item a Elyn Langewith le xxj iour de May vij papers soy de <u>legea</u> xix^{li} xix^s iij^d</i></p> <p>(VOH 16: 26, 61, 75) (E101/128/30 ret. 6, Sir William Estfield, host to Bertucci and Tommaso Contarini, merchants of Venice, transc. p. 21-22) (1440)</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Comments</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Attestation type 1a / Semantic field: textile</p> <p>Along with talany, <i>legea</i> refers to a specific kind of raw Persian silk that is only found in one English document so far: <i>The Views of the Hosts of Alien Merchants</i>. The document details the imports of the Venetians, Bertucci and Tommaso Contarini, as given to their host, Sir William Estfield, a former London sheriff and mayor (Bradley 2012: 190). Amongst the extant accounts in this collection, View 16 is the richest in potential Italian borrowings (see also baldekin, carrak, carpet, cotun, damask, imperial, garbeler, measane, malvesey, ore filado, satin, talany, tartarin, (suchre) candi, and yndigo). As Molà describes:</p> <p>The Venetian silk industry of the Renaissance employed raw materials produced in many different regions [...] [This] originated in part on the need to guarantee the stocks of the city's <i>setaioli</i>. Even supposing that one region alone was capable of supplying enough silk to satisfy the needs of the entire Venetian manufacture, reliance on a single source would have involved considerable risk: an interruption of trade due to epidemic, war, or simple political tensions would have dangerously reduced the industry's provisions (Molà 2000: 55).</p> <p>The vastness of the supply chain is evident in Molà's glossary (2000: 406-07), in which the author lists <i>leggi</i> as one of ten kinds of raw silk from the Persian Gulf alone (e.g. <i>ablaca</i>, <i>catangi</i> and <i>tracazi</i>) along with thirty others (e.g. <i>andria</i>, <i>ciprota</i> and <i>trapolina</i>) from the Balkans, Greece, Cyprus, Spain, Syria, Palestine, Sicily and the Italian peninsula.</p> <p><i>Leggi</i> silks are found in Pegolotti's handbook and in the <i>Statuto della Corte dei Mercanti di Lucca</i> from 1376. In 1392, a Datini employee in the Black Sea port of Caffa mentions it in a letter to his home office in Genoa. Similarly, they feature in commodity price lists drawn up by Italian merchants in the the ports of Damascus (1386) and Alexandria (1419). In the mid-fifteenth century, we find <i>leggi</i> described in a comprehensive Florentine treatise on the production and dyeing of silk, <i>L'arte della seta in Firenze</i> (Gargioli 1868, Molà 2000: 55-56). Another hundred years on, the silk remains in the Venetian dialect as <i>lezi</i> and appears frequently in the letters of the merchant, Andrea Berengo, from 1555. The letter's editor glosses the silk as 'soie grège du Lahijan, au sud de la Mer Caspienne' (Tucci 1957: 354).</p> <p>Note that Bradley (2012: 35, 316) suggests two other Italian etyma in her edition of the Views: (<i>seta</i>) <i>leggera</i> ('a light silk') or even <i>de l'Egeo</i> ('from the Aegean'). However, I believe that the juxtaposition of <i>legea</i> and <i>talanye</i> - two types of Persian raw silk - in the first citation above (VOH 16: 26) make <i>leggi</i> the most convincing etymon.</p> <p>There is no evidence to support the DEI entry sub leggi, postulating a Belgian-style silk.</p>		

43. AN madrian (n.) ‘a type of sweetmeat or conserve, probably made from ginger’ CF <i>madrian</i> < It. <i>madria</i> < ?				
Italian a1343	Anglo-Norman c1357	Continental French 1327-c1400	(Middle) English c1357-a1500	Medieval Latin 1329-c1357
TLIO	X			
OVI	X			
LEI	X			
DEI	sub madria (n.) (1)	‘gengiovo di Arabia’ [voce orientale, il gr. <i>madrya</i> (n.pl.), prugne, è distinto per il significato] OI <i>madria</i> (a1343)		
AND2	sub [madrian]	‘a sweetmeat’ <i>In diversis speciebus [...] videlicet gobet reall, anys confett et <u>madryam</u></i> (Durham 560) (c1357)		
DEAF	sub madrian (n.) (3)	‘sorte d’épice confite’ <i>madriain / madrien</i> (1363), <i>madrian</i> (c1350-1400)		
DMF	sub madrian (n.) (7)	‘fruit confit’ <i>Anis confit, II livres (...) <u>madrian</u>, VIII livres</i> (Arch, Nord, B3271, f.248) (1327)		
GDF	sub madrian (n.) (2)	‘sorte de fruit’ <i>Conserve de <u>madrian</u></i> (Journ. des dép du R. Jean, Douët d’Arcq, Compt. de l’argent, p. 219) (1359)		
TL	sub madrian (n.) (1)	‘ein Gewürz (Naschwerk)’ <i>Après disner vient la mestrie Des dragooirs faire et apporter; Lors couvient ses gens enhorter, D’avoir sucre en plate et dragee, Paste de roy bien arrange, Annis, <u>madrian</u>, noix confites...Et aultres especes assez</i> (EDesch. IX 48)(1393)		
TLFi	Ø			
FEW	XXI 139a o.i. ¹¹⁷ XXI 486b o.i.	Category: ‘anis’ OF/ MF <i>madrian</i> ‘anis ou autre fruit confit’ (1359-1408) Category: ‘bonbon’ MF <i>madrian</i> ‘sorte de fruit?’ (1359)		
MED	sub madrian (n.) (7)	‘a spice, a sweetmeat, ? ginger treated with lye’ <i>In diversis speciebus empt..Gobet Reall..et <u>Madryam</u></i> . (Acc. R. Dur in Sur. Soc. 100, 560) (c1357) <i>To make Columbine of <u>madryan</u>..To make the <u>madryan</u> in counfite</i> . (Hrl.2378 Recipes in Sur. Soc. 103 (Hrl 2378) 933 (a1500)		
MED corpus	<i>madrean</i> (1) sub gingivere	<i>Pro ij lb. ginger <u>madrean</u>, ii s. iiij d.</i> (Acc.Exped. Der in Camd. N.s.52, 19/12) (1391)		
OED3	sub madrian (n.) (4)	‘A spice, a sweetmeat; (app.) a kind of ginger’ [Ult. etym. unknown] <i>In 4 cofynes de Anys confeyt, <u>madryan</u>, et aliarum specierum</i> . (Extracts Acct. Rolls Abbey of Durham I 124) (1357-8) <i>To make conserue of <u>madrian</u></i> (Med. Wks. 14 th Cent 122) (a1500)		

¹¹⁷ Note the AND / DMF entries currently only cite this first FEW citation.

DMLBS	sub madria (3) 1676b	‘madrian, a sort of spice or sweetmeat’ [OF, ME <i>madrian</i>] <i>mandrian</i> / <i>onerat se de xviiij libris et dim. de mandria</i> (ExchScot I, 221 / 223) (1329) <i>in diversis emptis...viz...madryam</i> (Ac. Durh. 560) (c1357)
DC	Ø	
<p>Comments</p> <p>Transmission Type 2b / Semantic Field: sugar / spice / sweetmeat</p> <p>The origins of this sweetmeat are obscure but we do know that candied ginger was a popular pudding in noble households, as it was believed to keep the stomach warm (Johnston 2011: 480). The lexeme is quite widely attested in CF between 1327 and 1419 but it is never glossed in any more detail than ‘sorte de fruit / sorte d’épice confite’ by the major dictionaries. From 1329 onwards, the variants (most probably representing AN) <i>mandria</i>, <i>mandrian</i>, <i>madryam</i> and <i>madrean</i> appear in the BML Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, the Durham Abbey Account Rolls (see also bukasin, caffatin, camaca, confection, malvesey) and the accounts of the Earl of Derby’s expeditions to Prussia and the Holy Land (see also attaby, caffatin, (suchre) candi, timon).</p> <p>Given the existence of other Italian-imported gingers in the AN and ME texts (i.e. belendin, columbin and maykyn), I share the OED3’s tentative suggestion that <i>madrian</i> is linked somehow to Italian <i>madria</i>. Admittedly, it is attested only once in the medieval record in Italy, a1343. The Italian source text is not given in the OED entry but the DEI glosses <i>madria</i> as an oriental lexeme meaning, ‘a type of Arabian ginger.’ Evidently, along its route into CF, <i>madrian</i> came to mean a product made with ginger rather than the ginger itself. By the end of the fifteenth century, the term appears in a ME recipe collection for confit, conserves and more opaquely, <i>columbine of madryan</i>. This could refer to some sort of dove-shaped confection or more likely, be linked to columbin which is also, as we have just seen, a specific kind of ginger.</p> <p>The original <i>voce orientale</i> still needs to be tracked down by an expert. Some medieval Persian and Arabic possibilities include the following, but none of them are particularly convincing: <i>masshk</i> (‘an Indian plant like ginger’), <i>murabbá</i> (‘preserved ginger, jam, a confection’) and <i>mussal</i> (‘preserved ginger, compounded, or mixed with honey’) (Steingass 1892: 1247, 1209, 1272).</p>		

44. ME magasyne (n.) ‘a warehouse for storing merchandise’ < It. <i>magazzino</i> < Ar <i>maḥāzin</i> (‘storehouses’)				
Italian c1318-present	Anglo-Norman X	Continental French 1389-present	(Middle) English 1450-present	Medieval Latin 1482
TLIO	sub magazzino (n.) (6)	‘Edificio o locale destinato al deposito e alla conservazione di merci e materiali vari’ <i>etiandio alcuno mercatante o vero altra persona non possa nè debbia dare ad alcuno padrone meno di starella cento di grano o vero d’ orzo per magazzino..</i> (Stat. pis. cap.68 1129.26) (1318-21, pis.)		
OVI	<i>magazeno</i> (6) <i>mag(h)azzino</i> (4) <i>magazenu</i> (2) <i>magazeni</i> (5)	<i>etiandio alcuno mercatante o vero altra persona non possa nè debbia dare ad alcuno padrone meno di starella cento di grano o vero d’ orzo per magazzino</i> (Stat. pis. cap.68 1129.26) (1318-21, pis.) <i>e i fior. 30 d’oro s. 20 per uno maghazino nel borgho di Rodi</i> (Libro dell’Asse seato 23.37) (1335, fior.) <i>Avia lu juvini unu magazenu plenu di pgni mayneri di armi</i> (Accurso di Cremona L1, cap. 5, 1, 37.17) (1321-37, mess.) <i>li magazeni, levatundi li guardian, li espossi a preda et a rapina</i> (Accurso di Cremona, L9, cap. 3, 2, 207.22) (1321-37, mess.)		
LEI	X			
DEI	sub magazzino (n.) 2311a	‘deposito’ [< ar. <i>maḥāzin</i> , pl. di <i>mahzan</i> , ‘deposito, ufficio’, passato dall’italiano in fr. come <i>magasin</i> (a1400)] <i>magazzino</i> (14 th c.)		
AND	X			
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub magasin (n.) (2)	‘Entrepôt de marchandises (dans les ports de la Méditerranée)’ <i>La estoient les bouticles des marchandises, que ilz appellent magagenes, bien garnies de toutes marchandises</i> (Bouciquant, L. 225) (1406-09)		
GDC	sub magasin (n.) (3)	‘lieu proper à serrer les marchandises’ <i>maguesin</i> (Maiz., Songe du viel pel., Ars. 2683, II, 39) (1389) <i>La estoient les bouticles des marchandises, que ilz appellent magagenes, bien garnies de toutes marchandises</i> (le Livre des fait du mareschal de Boucicaur, 2 p. xvi) (1406-09)		
TL	Ø			
TLFi	sub magasin (n.)	‘Lieu aménagé pour le dépôt de provisions ou de marchandises’ [< It. / Occ < Ar.] <i>maguesin</i> (Mézières, Songe du vieil pelerin) (1389)		
FEW	XIC, 114a: sub mahzan	‘local destiné à recevoir des marchandises’ <i>magasin</i> (late 14 th c.) ‘arrière boutique d’un marchand où il serre ses marchandises’ <i>magasin</i> (Cotgrave, 1611) ‘boutique, local où l’on vend ses marchandises’ <i>magasin</i> (1723) [Die spanischen Araber haben das wort dem iberorom. vermittelt, daher pg.]		

		<i>armazén</i> , sp. <i>almacén</i> , akat. <i>almatzem</i> [...] Sodann ist es ein zweites mal durch die handelsbeziehungen mit Nordafrika in die randländer des westlichen Mittelmeers gelangt und von da aus dann auch weiter gewandert, daher ausser den oben stehenden former kat. <i>magatzem</i> , it. <i>magazzino</i> (seit 14 th . jh.) gen. <i>magazzin</i> , siz. <i>magasenu</i>]
MED	Ø	
OED	sub magasin (n.) (40+)	I 1. a. ‘A place where goods are kept in store; a storehouse for goods or merchandise; a warehouse or depot’[MF <i>magasin</i> < It. <i>magazzino</i> < <i>maḳzan</i>] <i>That the Bashaw, neither any other Officer shall meddle with the goods, but that it may be kept in a <u>Magosine</u>.</i> (J. Newbery <i>Let. in Purchas Pilgrims</i> II 1643) (1583)
DMLBS	Ø	
DC	sub magasenum (2)	‘Promptuarium, cella, Ital. <i>Magazzino</i> , Gall. <i>Magazin</i> ’ <i>Ordinamus quod si aliqua locatio alicujus domus vel Magaseni facta fuerit per aliquem, vel aliquos cives, vel quorum esset dicta domus vel <u>Magasenum</u>, etc.</i> (Stat. Genuæ lib. 4. cap. 102. p. 158r) (att. ?) <i>Duo <u>Magazena</u> mercibus plena, quæ erant quorundam Januensium, similiter ad saccum, ut dicitur, miserunt</i> (Steph. de Infestura de bello inter Sixtum IV. et Ferdin) (1452)
Additional sources		
ME-matrix		
CA (1450)	<i>magasyne</i> (1) <i>magasino</i> (1)	<i>A item for weying in the custome house of Florens and for the beryng to the <u>magasyne</u></i> <i>Item pur <u>magasino</u> de le dyd lane: Fl.15 s. - d.-</i> (Cantelowe Accounts: 12k /12n) (1450)
Comments		
Transmission Type 3b / Semantic Field: storage of goods		
<p>The presence of <i>magasyne</i> in the <i>Cantelowe Accounts</i> is an important new addition to the lexeme’s history and provides evidence of its use in an English text 153 years before the current OED3 date of 1583. Given the nature of the source and its environment, we are surely dealing with a direct Italianism in this case, an adaption by the author of <i>magazzino</i>, which he also uses in a mixed-language section of his account book.¹¹⁸ Working on the premise that the factor would not write a business document that his employers could not understand, we can assume that the concept of the warehouse <i>magasin</i> existed in later medieval English commercial lexis, long before the late sixteenth century. CF <i>magasin</i> (att. 1389) is believed to have influenced the development of the loanword in early modern English but the <i>Cantelowe Accounts</i> suggest that Italian involvement was earlier and more direct than has previously been assumed.</p> <p>Arabic <i>maḥāzin</i> (plural of <i>mahzan</i> or ‘storehouse’) was borrowed into several Romance languages bordering the Mediterranean in the 1200s and early 1300s. The FEW and the TLFi underline the role played by both Italian (cf. Hope 1971: 43) and Occitan¹¹⁹ in the Arabism’s transfer into CF. Of course, <i>magasin</i> also evolved semantically to mean the storage space behind a seller’s shop / stand and then ultimately, by 1723, the</p>		

¹¹⁸ See Chapter 5 for a detailed examination of Balmain’s unique AN / ME / Italian / Latin language-mixing.

¹¹⁹ The TLFi reiterates the FEW’s remark that ML *magazenum* is found in a contract from 1228, allowing merchant from Marseilles to set up warehouses in the Magreb, North Africa.

shop itself. The intriguing transfer of meaning from ‘storehouse’ to a ‘book containing specialised knowledge for a specific group of people’ occurred first in English (see OED3 sub **magazine**, III 6.a, att. 1629) with the usage then reborrowed into French in the mid-seventeenth century (cf. Durkin 2011: 244-45).

45. AN Malik (p.n.) ‘Malaga - a city port in the region of Andalusia in southern Spain’ < It. <i>Malica</i> ¹²⁰ < Ar. <i>Malica</i>				
Italian 1296-1402	Anglo-Norman c1325-1430	Continental French X	(Middle) English ?c1450	Medieval Latin X
TLIO	X			
OVI	sub Maleca (1) sub Malica (4)	<i>De Maleca a Une ccxxv mil(lara) p(er) leva(n)te. De Murcia a Ora(n)no ccxl mil(lara)p(er) leva(n)te</i> (a Compasso da navigare, 86.31) (1296) (it sett/. media.) <i>Il quale per paura [fuggì] a Malica, e poi a Fessa</i> (Matteo Villani, Cronica, L9 cap.89, 2, 414.1) (1348-63, fior.)		
AD	<i>Malicha</i> (1)	<i>(A) Franchesco di Marcho e Simone d’Andrea e compagni, in Barzalona, 1402. Da Malicha, a dì 11 di gennaio</i> (Fr. Datini e Simone d’Andrea) (1402)		
LEI	X			
DEI	∅			
AND2	sub Malec (n.) (1) sub Malik (n.) (1)	‘(bot.) Malaga fig’ <i>pernez .iiij. figus de Malec [...] e lé fettes ben laver</i> (Five Med MSS 41 C151) (c1325) topon. ‘Malaga’ <i>C. .viiij. sport de resins de Malik – cust. .ix. d., pontage .iiij. d</i> (Port Books 111, 1430)		
DEAF	X			
DMF	X			
GDF	∅			
TL	∅			
TLFi	∅			
FEW	∅			
MED	∅			
MED corpus	<i>Amalek</i> (1) sub fige	4.c ‘? Malaga fig’ <i>Take fygis of Amalek.</i> (Stockh.PRecipes 10.90 286b/a) (c?1450)		
OED	X			
DMLBS	∅			
DC	∅			
Comments Transmission type 1a / Semantic field: other				
<p><i>Maleca / Malica / Malicha</i> is attested six times as a place name in the Old Italian record. There are no examples of the Latinised form, <i>Malaca</i>, in the OVI or Datini corpora which further strengthens the case for an Arabic etymon. There is evidence for the ‘i’ spelling in the tenth-century name of the modern-day town Vélez-Málaga which was called <i>Ballix-Malica</i> (‘Malica Valley’) by the Andalusian Moors who fortified it (Sarmentero 2011: 231). It is also worth noting that within Iberia, the city of Malaga was one of the last to slip from Muslim control, remaining part of the Emirate of Granada until 1487 (O’Callaghan 2014: 156). <i>Malaga</i> is not recorded (in the major dictionaries, at least)¹²¹ until the seventeenth century in English (<i>Maligo</i>, att. 1608) and the eighteenth century in French; in both cases referring to a fortified wine from the Spanish region (OED3 sub Malaga / TLFi sub Malaga).</p> <p>The AND is mistaken in splitting the two AN examples of the lexeme between two entries when, clearly, there</p>				

¹²⁰ For a detailed history of the the toponym *Malaga* in Italian, see Schweikard (2009: 84-86).

¹²¹ Of course, it is worth bearing in mind that these dictionaries could contain earlier examples of the toponym, hidden in the entries under other headwords.

should only be one. In the case of the fifteenth-century *Port Books* citation in AN (*sport de resin de Malik*), we have a convincing Italianism. Firstly, the term is flanked by another loanword, **sport(in)**, and secondly, the cargo in question is recorded as being imported on the 26th of January 1430 by one Andre Spinol on a carrack from Genoa (Studer 1913: 111).

The earlier AN citation of *figus de Malec* is less clear cut and being found in a medical treatise, the term could be a direct Arabism. However there is equally no reason why commercial and learned lexis could not overlap; who, after all, was procuring the Malaga figs proscribed in this treatment? As with most luxury imports in England, it was very likely Italian merchants. Spanish ports such as Barcelona, Cadiz and Malaga were regular stop-off points on the trading routes of the Italian galleys and carracks on their way to London and Southampton (see Mallet 1967: 282, Map 2).

The same fruit (*fygis of Amalek*) also appears in an ME recipe book from the mid-1440s although, in this case, the prefixed form used suggests a borrowing from Spanish. Hope (1971: 35) notes that there are other Arabic loanword pairs which have prefixed forms in Spanish and non-prefixed forms in Italian i.e. *azúcar / zucchero*, *alcabala / gabella* and *azafrán / zafferano*.

46. AN malvesey (n.) ‘Malmsey, a sweet wine from the Greek island of Monemvasia’ < It. <i>malvasia</i> < Ven. <i>Malvasia</i> < Byzan. Gr. <i>Μονεμβασία</i>				
Italian 1287-present	Anglo-Norman c1375-1419	Continental French 1364-present	(Middle) English c1390-present	Medieval Latin 1361-1530
TLIO	sub malvasia (n.) (7)	<p>‘tipo di vitigno’ <i>It. demmo tra noi e fra Gherardo a Miko per isgombratura de le pietre de magluoli di <u>marvagia</u>, s. xlviiiij</i> (Doc. fior. 1286-90, p. 166.33) (1287, fior.)</p> <p>‘Tipo di vino piuttosto pregiato, dal sapore dolce e aromatico’ <i>bottacci di <u>malvagia</u> e di greco e d’altri vini preziosissimi</i> (Boccaccio, Decameron VII 3 p.456.10)</p>		
OVI	<i>malvasia</i> (7) <i>malvagia</i> (2)	<p><i>ch’y diventasse Greco o muscatelo, vino da Crete o di <u>Malvaisa</u></i> (Nicolò de’ Rossi, Rime, son.46, v.4, 49.4) (c1300-25, tosc-ven.)</p> <p><i>it(em) J lb. VIJ s. VJ dr. p(er) l’ava(n)ço de uno ducato el qualo avo el dito Albrigo del quallo ello dè IJ lb. p(er) mi a Guron che vendo la <u>malvasia</u>.</i> (Doc. ver. p. 334.24) (c1371. ver.)</p> <p><i>Vino di <u>Malvagia</u>, vino di Triglia, e vini de Candia vi si vendono a metri</i> (Pegolotti Pratica, 24.22) (c1335-43)</p>		
AD	<i>malvasia</i> (2)	<i>ho caricado balle II de panni segnade {marca} e caratelli do de <u>malvasia</u></i> (Venezia-Ibiza 388.3) (1401)		
LEI	X			
DEI	sub malvasia 2337a	<p>‘Varietà di vitigno e di vino (Boccaccio) importato da Napoli di Malvasia (Laconia), in neogreco Moembasia, gr. med. Monobasia’ [La voce si è diffusa da Venezia, provenendo dalla Dalmazia (cf. <i>monovaxia</i>, att. 1376)]</p> <p><i>malvasia / malvagia</i> (14th c.)</p>		
AND2	sub malvesey (n.) (3) sub malvoisin ¹ (n.) (3) sub maumerie ¹ (n.) (1)	<p>‘Malmsey, wine of Monemvasia’ <i>ou est un pipe de bon vyne vermaile novelment au broche, et a Corne sur le Hope vous arés de bon <u>malvesey</u> (var. <i>malvusia</i>)</i> (Liber Donati 22) (c1375)</p> <p>‘Malmsey, wine of Monemvasia’ <i>vins de Grece, ipocras, [...] malvoisin [...]</i> (Man lang Ants 42.26) (1396)</p> <p><i>quatre tonelx de bon vyn vermaile, trois tonelx de <u>malvesyve</u> (l. <i>malvesyne</i>), cinque tonelx de blanc</i> (Man lang Ants 5.14) (1396)</p> <p>‘Malmsey (a strong sweet wine, originally produced in Monemvasia in the Peloponnese, Greece)’ <i>Ore le fraunceis pur un feste araer [...] Viaunde de Cypre e <u>maumerie</u>, Vin vermaile e blaunc a plenté</i> Bibbe Roth (G) 1125 (c1350)</p>		
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub malvoisin (n.) (1) sub malvoisie (n.) (16)	<p>‘Vin grec doux, cépage de Malvoisie (Péloponnèse), synon de malvoisie’ <i>Item de vins doucetes, comme de vin de Grece, ipocras, Montrose, Runney, vernage, <u>malvoisin</u>, Osey, clarrey et pyement, et de tous autres vins que l’en peut avoir.</i> (Man. lang. G., 66). (1396)</p> <p>‘Vin doux et liquoreux (de Grèce)’ <i>Quant a la garnache, malevoisie, vin grey, qui estoit en l’escript des pourveances, vous les nous povez faire envoier par les chevaux.</i></p>		

		(Arch. Nord, B 18822, n. 23068, IGLF) (1364)
GDF	sub malvoisie (n.) (10)	‘Vin doux et liqueux de Grèce’ <i>Tres buttas de <u>malvesy</u></i> (Edit de Rich III, Rymer VIII 745) (1393)
TL	Ø	
TLFi	sub malvoisie (n.)	‘Vin doux et liqueux de Grèce’ [De <i>Malvoisie</i> , nom d'un village de Grèce] <i>Tres buttas de <u>malvesy</u></i> (Edit de Rich III, Rymer VIII 745) (1393)
FEW	VI-1, 94b: Malvesie	‘vin muscat, importé de Grèce’ AN <i>malvesy</i> (1393) / Occ. <i>marvasi</i> (15 th c.) / MF <i>malvoisie</i> (c1530) / MF <i>mallevisse</i> (1464) / <i>malvoisy</i> (Comm, 1490), <i>mervoise</i> (Naples, 1494) [Der dort fabrizierte wein gelangt im 17 jh. wohl über Venedig nach Europa, daher ait. <i>malvagia</i> , it. <i>malvasia</i> , sp. pg. <i>malvaisa</i> , d. <i>malvasier</i> (schon 1300 <i>wîn von Malavasîn</i>), oberhess. <i>malmesîr</i> , me. <i>malmasia</i> , e. <i>malmsey</i> , <i>malvesie</i>]
MED	sub malvesi (e (n.) (20+)	‘A sweet wine originally obtained from Napoli di Malvasia in Greece’ [OF <i>malvesie</i> , <i>malvoisie</i> & ML <i>malvesia</i> , <i>malvesinum</i> , <i>malvasetum</i> , <i>malmasia</i> , <i>malmasetum</i> .] [A quarter of a cask of wine called] <i>malvesyne</i> [worth 40 s.] Inquis.Miscel.(PRO) 5.80) (1388) <i>With hym broghte he a iubbe of <u>Maluesye</u> [v.rr. <i>Maluese</i>, <i>Malmesye</i>] And eek another ful of fyn Vernage.</i> (Chaucer, CT Sh. B1260) (c1390) <i>The namys of swete wynes y wold þat ye them knewe: Vernage..Greke, <u>Malevesyn</u>, <u>Caprik</u></i> (Russell Bk.Nurt.Hrl 4011, 120) (a1475)
OED3	sub malvoisie (n.) (18)	‘Malmsey. A strong sweet wine, originally the product of the district of Monemvasia (Napoli di Malvasia) in the Peloponnese, Greece, later also from other parts of the Mediterranean, the Azores, the Canaries, Madeira, and elsewhere’ [<i><AN / MF < It. malvasia</i>] [<i>In uno pipe de <u>Malvesin</u></i> (Extracts Acct. Rolls Abbey of Durham, III. 589) (1379-80)] <i>With hym broghte he a iubbe of <u>Maluesye</u> [v.rr. <i>Maluese</i>, <i>Malmesye</i>] And eek another ful of fyn Vernage.</i> (Chaucer, Shipman’s Tale 1260) (c1390) <i>The namys of swete wynes y wold þat ye them knewe: Vernage..Greke, <u>Malevesyn</u>, <u>Caprik</u></i> (Russell Bk.Nurt.Hrl 4011, 120) (a1475)
DMLBS	sub malveseia 1697c (6) sub malvesinus 1697c (3)	‘malmsey, wine of Monemvasia’ <i>sex pipas de <u>Malveseye</u>, quinque pipas vini de Provincia et unum dolium vini de Vasconia</i> (Pat. 275 m.15) / <i>cum quondam taritam cum <u>malveseia</u> et alis bonis caractam juxta Sandewicum adduxissent et ibidem xxxv dolia <u>malveseie</u> discarcari fecissent</i> (Cl 232 m.43) (1390) ‘malmsey, of Monemvasia’ <i>unam pipam de verange et unam pipam de <u>malveisyn</u> pro expensi nostris apud Honyflu</i> (Cl 198 m.4) (1361)
DC	sub malvaticum (1) sub malvaxia (1)	‘Vinum Creticum, Ital. <i>Malvagia</i> , Gall. <i>Malvoisie</i> ’ <i>Nonne reputaretur insipiens, qui optimam romaniam, vel <u>Malvaticum</u> poneret in vase murulento ?</i> (Barelet. serm. in Domin. 4. Advent.) (att.?) ‘Arvisium vinum, Gall. <i>Malvoisie</i> , Ital. <i>Malvagia</i> ’ <i>vendere vel vendi facere vinum vernacie, <u>Malvaxie</u>, decreti, vel alterius generis vini, etc.</i> (Statuta Vercell. lib. 4. pag. 95v) (att.?)

Additional sources		
AN-matrix		
VOH (1440-44)	<i>Malvesy</i> (17) <i>Malvesey</i> (10) <i>Malvesie</i> (1) <i>Malvesye</i> (1)	<i>Item a John Scot le mesme iour ij barelles <u>Malvesie</u> pris xxxj^s</i> (VOH 48: 293, E101/128/30 ret.1, John Welles, host to Giacomo Corner, merchant and patron of a Venetian galley and named crew, transc. p.7) (1441-2) <i>Thomas Albert Florentyne le vje iure de Fever e en la memse galey susdit ad ressure xliij buttez de <u>Malvesye</u></i> (VOH 54: 25, E010/128/31 ret. 28, John Betham, host to Benedetto Borromei, merchant of Florence, transc. p. 101) (1441-2)
BML-matrix		
VOH (1440-42)	<i>Malvesy</i> (1)	<i>diversas mercandisas videlicet zinziber viridis oleii reisins Corance & vini de Tire <u>Malvesy</u> & Vernage ac diverses panes de sugre</i> (VOH 13:110) (E010/128/31 ret. 33, John Chichele, host to Genoese strangers, transc. p.114) (1440-42)
Comments		
Transmission Type 2b / Semantic Field: wine		
<p>Wine was just one of a huge array of products that Italian merchants brought into late medieval England (cf. Chapter 2.5). Some types were cultivated in the peninsula itself, such as <i>vernaccia</i> (see vernage) and, presumably, <i>dominiac and lusart</i>.¹²² Other wines, such as <i>malvasia</i>, were imported by Italians from further shores into England; in this case the Venetians dominated the trade in the eastern Mediterrean. Their name (<i>Malvasia</i>)¹²³ for the island fortress and commercial centre of Monemvaise, along the coast of the Peloponnese, is generally accepted as the root of the wine's name in Europe (cf. Hope 1971: 43).</p> <p><i>Malvesey</i> or <i>malvoisie</i> wine starts appearing in the English and French records at around the same point: c1375 in the AN <i>Liber Donati</i>, 1364 in northern CF documents and 1390 in the BML Close Rolls. But these are not the first mentions of the sweet Greek wine in England: the AN lexeme <i>maumerie</i> is found in Bibbesworth's <i>Tretiz</i> (c1350) and we also find <i>unam pipam de malvesyn</i> from an another Close Roll (1361), cf. DMLBS sub malvesinus. The fact that AN has three names for this wine type and CF only has one has been so far overlooked and merits further investigation. Is <i>malvoisin</i> (also found in the <i>Manieres de Langage</i>¹²⁴ from 1396) evidence of an unattested CF lexeme or does it represent an independently formed insular written form with some folk-etymological development? Is <i>maumerie</i> linked to the Middle Dutch / German forms that gave us ME <i>malmsey</i> (see below)? Or does it come from Romance, perhaps connected to the Occitan <i>marmusie</i> (FEW sub Malvesie p.94 / OED3 sub malmsey)?</p> <p>Out of these three names, the Italian-derived <i>malvesey</i> is certainly the most prolific in extant AN sources in England, with the VOH adding thirty new citations to the AN corpus. But the variety of names for <i>malvasia</i> is also mirrored in the ME versions of the wine (MED entry sub malvesi(e)) There are three variations (<i>Maluesye</i>, <i>Maluese</i> and <i>Malmesye</i>) to be found in Chaucer's <i>The Shipman's Tale</i> (c1390) alone and the <i>malvoisin</i> form is also represented e.g. <i>Malevesyn</i> in Russell's <i>Book of Nurture</i> (a1475).</p> <p>Crucially, <i>malmsey</i> would become the most widely-used name in English, made infamous by the execution</p>		

¹²² These are two 'mystery' Lombard wines, of which I have found no other reference, referred to in a letter from Thomas Bekynton, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, in 1443: *He had in his ship xxj tonne and j pipe of wyn of Lumberds, called Dominiac and Lusart* (MED sub **lusart**).

¹²³ For a detailed list of all attestations of this toponym in various Italian dialects, see Schweikard (2009: 100-06).

¹²⁴ Note that this AN source is also used for the DMF's sole citation sub **malvoisin**.

of the King's brother, the Duke of Clarence, in a "butte of Malmesey" in 1478 (see OED3 sub **malmsey**). Whilst still from the same ultimate etymon (the Greek city name, *Μονεμβασία*), *malmsey* seems to have been transmitted independently into ME (att. 1407) from Middle Dutch *malemeseye* or Middle German *malmesīe* / *malmasīe*. As the OED3 entry states: "It is uncertain whether the forms in *-m-* arise from independent forms of the place name or from assimilation in forms in *-v-* ; similarly the precise mode of transmission of the name of a product originally imported from the Mediterranean is unclear".

47. AN maramas (n.) ‘a kind of cloth of gold - a silk fabric, probably of lampas weave, with a gold-wrapped weft thread, often used for wall hangings and ecclesiastical vestments’ < CF <i>marramas</i> < Sic. * <i>marama(re)</i> / It. <i>maramato</i> < Ar. <i>mahrama</i> (‘handkerchief / veil’)				
Italian c1335-1458	Anglo-Norman c1430-1450	Continental French 13 th c.-1353	(Middle) English X	Medieval Latin 1330-1342
TLIO	X			
OVI	<i>maramati</i> (1) <i>maramanti</i> (2) <i>marimanti</i> (1)	<i>Velluti di seta, e cammucca, e maramati, e drappi d’oro d’ogni ragione</i> (Pegolotti Pratica 36.24) (c1335-1343, fior.) <i>Si vende velluti e camucca di seta, drappi a oro et marmanti, nachhetti di seta e d’oro d’ogni ragione</i> (Pegolotti Pratica, 79.2) (c1335-1343, fior.) A pezza vi si vendono bucherami, e drappi a oro, sciamati, e marimanti, nacchi e nacchetti dalla Tana (Pegolotti Pratica, 139.11) (c1335-1343, fior.)		
LEI	X			
DEI	Ø			
AND2	sub maramas (n.) (1)	‘type of rich silk, originally woven in the Near East but by the fourteenth century also in Italy’ <i>Item, .vj. pieces de maramas vielz de pluseurs couleurs et diverses façons</i> (Bedford Inventories B75) (c1430-1450)		
DEAF	sub marramas (n.) (3)	‘sorte de drap d’or oriental fort riche’ <i>marramas</i> (13 th c. / 1316/ 1347) <i>marremas</i> 1323		
DMF	sub marramas (n.) (3) sub mattabas (n.) (2)	‘drap d’or d’origine orientale’ <i>Et pour 18 autres draps d’or appelez marramas et mactabas</i> (Comptes argent. Rois Fr. D.A, I, 120) (1352) ‘drap d’or d’origine orientale’ <i>3 draps d’or mattabas, bailliés a Nicolas Waquier</i> (Comptes argent. Rois Fr. D.A, I, 183) (1352)		
GDC	sub marramas (n.) (14) sub mattabas (n.) (6)	‘ <i>maramas, marraynas, marremas, mairmas, arramas</i> , sorte de drap d’or oriental fort riche’ <i>Mairamas et mattabas</i> (Inv. De la reine de Hongrie, Richel, mél de Clairambaut, t.XI, No.317, p. 43) (a1322) <i>Sept dras d’or ke on appiele marremas</i> (Compt. De bijoux, 3, Carte de Hainaut, pièce 132, Arch. Nord) (1323) ‘mactabas, sorte d’étouffe d’origine orientale’ <i>Mairamas et mattabas</i> (Inv. De la reine de Hongrie, Richel, mél de Clairambaut, t.XI, No.317, p. 43) (a1322) <i>48 draps d’or appelez marramas et mactabas, pièce 17 escus</i> (Compt. de la Font., Douët d’Arcq, Compt. de l’argent, p. 120) (1352)		
TL	sub marramas (n.)	‘ein kostbarer orientalischer Goldstoff’ <i>marramas, marremas</i> (14 th c.)		
TLFi	Ø			
FEW	XIX, 114a: mahrama	‘sorte de drap d’or oriental fort riche’ <i>marramas</i> (1322-1438) <i>marremas</i> (1323) <i>arramas</i> (1353) [Auch ait. <i>maramanti</i> (1340 Pegolotti), <i>maramanto</i> , <i>maramato</i> (14. jh.) altarag.]		

		<i>marromat, maromat</i> (1398, 1411)]
MED	Ø	
OED	Ø	
DMLBS	Ø	
DC	Ø	
LCC	sub marramas	‘type of cloth of gold [...] originally woven in the Near East, this material was later copied by European weavers [...] The term is unrepresented in the major British historical dictionaries’ <i>marramaz</i> (PRO E 361/3 m. 13r) (1330) <i>marramaz</i> (E361/3 rot.38r) (1341-2) (Monnas 1989: 284-85)
Additional sources		
Italian-matrix		
Arte della Seta (c1450)	<i>maremati</i> (1)	<i>I brusti e i maremati dovevano essere drappi operati, e anche con oro, perché il loro prezzo stando al libro, andava alla pari coi baldacchini d’oro di Colonia</i> (Arte della seta) (Gargioli 1868: VI, 219) (c.1450, fior.)
Guild statute, Florence	<i>maremati</i> (1)	<i>maremati</i> (Statuti dell Arte di Por’ S. Maria) (Dorini 1934-37:24) (1458)
Comments		
Transmission Type 1b / Semantic Field: textile		
<p>Au XIV^e siècle, nous voyons également apparaître deux étoffes appelées <i>mairamas</i>, <i>arramas</i>, et <i>mattabas</i>, <i>mathebas</i>, de noms empruntés aux langues de l’Orient, espèces de draps d’or différents de ceux de Damas, et dont il est souvent question dans les Comptes de l’argenterie, presque toujours pour faire des offrandes aux églises, parer des autels ou des tombeaux [...] Auparavant nous voyons aussi, par deux articles qui viennent à la suite de draps d’or d’outre-mer de plusieurs couleurs, de draps d’or de Lucques rayés du long, et de draps d’or de la petite mesure de plusieurs soies et de diverses couleurs, qu’il y avait également des <i>marramas</i> de plusieurs couleurs et de diverses façons. Il faut croire qu’au XV^e siècle le <i>marramas</i> et le <i>mattabas</i> avaient changé de nom, car on ne le retrouve plus une seule fois dans les comptes des ducs de Bourgogne (Michel 1852: 170-71).</p> <p>The philologist, Francisque Michel, first discussed this ‘oriental’ material back in the mid-1800s in a study on luxury fabrics in literature but we still know relatively little about it today. King (1992: 462) and Monnas (1989: 285) agree that it probably belonged to the lampas weave group of silks, with a metallic thread being used to form a contrasting texture. Both authors also emphasise the disappearance of this silk category in the fifteenth century (King 1992: 463, Monnas 1989: 290) but, coincidentally, this is precisely when our single AN citation of <i>maramas</i> is attested in the Bedford Inventories. It is true that patterned velvets seemed to eclipse lampas weave silks in the 1400s and, as Michel suggests (above), <i>marramas</i> could have also changed its name like earlier versions of <i>dras d’or</i>, that “medieval textile of trans-Mediterranean scope” (Burns 2009: 45).</p> <p>What does seem clear is that <i>marramas</i> was first imported from Muslim countries in the eighth to eleventh centuries; western production first started in Palermo and by the 1200s, the cloth was also woven in Genoa, Venice and, especially, Lucca (Burns 2009: 47, Lombard 1978: 274). The Arabic <i>mahrma</i> was transformed into the Italian <i>maramato</i> / <i>maremato</i> most likely via Sicilian <i>marama</i> or a verbal derivative <i>maramare</i> (see the analogous cloth name, ragamas) although we have no extant record of this. Traces left in the OVI corpus are elusive; we have just four citations of plural variants, all in Pegolotti, alongside other exotic fabrics. A century later, regulations governing the type of binding warp to be used in <i>maremati</i> and other cloths of gold were laid out in the statutes of the Florentine <i>Por’ Santa Maria</i> guild (Dorini 1934-37: 24).</p> <p>CF dictionaries attest a variety of forms for the cloth name, ranging from <i>marremas</i> to <i>mactabas</i> to <i>arramas</i>.</p>		

Indeed there is some confusion as to whether we dealing in fact with two separate fabric types. Godefroy gives a separate entry for *mattabas* and, as the LCC sub **mutabé** explains, this could be a variant form of yet another kind of oriental cloth of gold, attested much earlier in the 1100s in CF and AN (see AND sub **mutabé**, DEAF sub **mustabet**, FEW XXI, p.551b and TL sub **mustabet**).

As for *marramas*, the cloth is very rare in English records. The LCC overlooks the AND entry sub **maramas** but does highlight vital evidence of its vernacular use in BML-matrix enrolled Wardrobe accounts between 1330 (for Queen Philippa's coronation) and 1342 (cf. Monnas 1989: 284, 290). Unlike similar imported Italian cloths of gold, such as **imperial** and **ragamas**, there are no instances of *maramas* to be found, as yet, in a ME text.

48. AN materas (n.) ‘a mattress - a large fabric casing filled with straw, wool or hair used for lying down on the floor or as part of a bedstead’
 < It. *materasso* < Ar. *matrah* (‘place where something is thrown’)

Italian a1253-present	Anglo-Norman early 13 th c.-1423	Continental French 1306-present	(Middle) English c1300-present	Medieval Latin 1208-1525
TLIO	sub materasso (n.) (17)	‘Parte del corredo del letto, costituita da un sacco di tela ripieno di materiale soffice che viene steso e usato per dormire’ [Ar. <i>matrah</i>] <i>Ma(n)datemi dice(n)do come voi volete ched i’ ne facia dele <u>materasse</u> che voi mi ma(n)daste</i> (Lett. sang. p.196.26) (a1253, tosc.)		
OVI	<i>materassa/e</i> (27) <i>materaça</i> (3) <i>matarassa /e</i> (8) <i>materasa / i</i> (11) <i>materasso /i</i> (7) <i>mataraço</i> (2) <i>mataraççe</i> (1) <i>materassini</i> (3)	<i>Ma(n)datemi dice(n)do come voi volete ched i’ ne facia dele <u>materasse</u> che voi mi ma(n)daste..</i> (Lett. sang. p.196.26) (a1253, tosc.) <i>Item XXV sol. una <u>materaça</u></i> (Doc. sen. 95.19) (1281-85, sen.) <i>p(er) una <u>matarassa</u> (e) p(er) due chop(er)toia</i> (Doc. pist. 222.10) (1300-01, tosc.) <i>CX di banbagia p(er) la <u>materasa</u> (e) cop(er)toio lb. VIII s. XIII</i> (Doc. fior. 109.5) (1306-25, fior.) <i>p(er) li. C di lana di Cip(r)i p(er) due <u>materassi</u> lb. VIJ</i> (Doc. fior 95.40) (1306-25, fior.) <i>e per uno <u>mataraço</u>, uno bianchetto, una sargia e due paia di lençuola</i> (Libro Gallerani di Londra 88.27) (1305-08, sen.) <i>L’arte del pelo, de la borra e dei <u>mataraççe</u>.</i> (Stat. Perug. L.1 cap. 38 p.19 vol.1 p.149.21) (1342, perug.) <i>noi ci levavamo e legavamo nostri <u>materassini</u> in su che dormavano</i> (Giorgio Gucci, Viaggio, cap.11, 273.42) (a1393, fior.)		
AD	<i>matera(s)so</i> (6) <i>materassa /e</i> (1) <i>materassino</i> (1)	<i>Mandoti il <u>materaso</u> ch’avea Domenicha</i> (Prato-Firenze B1089/1 119.21) (1394) <i>Mandovi per Arghomento queste cosec he apresso dirò: una <u>materassa</u> per un letto picholo, una choltricie [per un letto picholo], uno <u>materassino</u> da llettuccio vergato, uno primaccio chon federa</i> (Firenze-Prato B1089/2 202.2) (1397)		
LEI	X			
DEI	sub materassa (n.) 2389b	‘sacco di tela ripieno di lana o crino per la letto’ [Ar. <i>matrah</i> , passao al fr. <i>matelas</i> (XV sec., <i>materas</i>) donde l’ingl. <i>mattress</i>] <i>materasso</i> (mid 14 th c.) ML <i>matracius</i> (1255, Venezia), <i>matarazum</i> (1274, Bologna)		
AND2	sub materas (n.) (4)	‘mattress’ <i>materacus, gallice <u>materaç</u></i> (Vernac. Glosses 14) (early 13 th c.) <i>Dez orailleurs, dez plumes et lynceux blancz, <u>materassez</u>, Coverlitz et blanketet, curtyns, tester et sylLOUR</i> (Man lang ANTS 74.6) (1415)		
AND corpus	<i>matras</i> (1) sub duplet <i>materas</i> (1) sub ligger ¹	<i>pour un doublet pour le lit la royne, pour un <u>matras</u>, un coissin et orillier</i> (Isabella Inventory 520) (1307-08) <i>ij. <u>materas</u> appelle liggers coverez de fustian</i> (Rot Parl ¹ iv 237) (1423)		
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub matelas (n.)	‘Pièce de literie, matelas’		

	(11)	<p><i>Pour VIII livres de coton et IIIJ onces de soye, pour les diz <u>matheraz</u>. (Comptes argent. rois Fr. D.-A., II, 27) (1342)</i></p> <p><i>Et le tira à lui en luitant, et fu plus fors de li et l'abati desous lui, sus une ambarde, que on dist en françois une coute de <u>matelas</u> de soie (Froiss. Chron. I., VII, 81) (c1375-1400)</i></p>
GDC	sub materas (n.) (11)	<p>‘espèce de grand cousin allongé, rempli de laine, qui couvre toute l’étendue d’un lit’</p> <p><i>Ainçois li couvint gesir sur les <u>materas</u> que li soudans li avoit bailliez (Joinv. S. Lousi, § 403) (1306)</i></p>
TL	sub materas ² (n.) (3)	<p>‘Matratze’</p> <p><i>lëans nous fist il apporter des propres litz de son hostel; c’est assavoir des <u>materas</u> de laine pour gesir sus et des tappiz pour metre entour nos chambres (S. d.Angl. 300) (?)¹²⁵</i></p>
TLFi	sub matelas (n.)	<p>‘Pièce de literie qui consiste en une grande enveloppe de toile, remplie d’une matière souple, moelleuse, et couvrant toute la surface du sommier. [Prob. empr., par l’intermédiaire de la lang. franque, à l’ital. <i>materasso</i>]’</p> <p><i>materas</i> (1306), <i>matelas</i> (1419)</p>
FEW	XIX, 123b: matrah	<p>‘coussin’</p> <p>Occ. <i>almatrac</i> (12th c.) / <i>almatras</i> (1295)</p> <p>‘tapis’</p> <p>Fr. <i>materas</i> (Joinv.) (1371)¹²⁶</p> <p>‘long cousin qu’on étend sur un lit et sur lequel on se couche’</p> <p><i>matalatz, materas</i> (1398)</p> <p>[Das it. vielleicht aus dem fr. entlehnt. In Italien in mlt. texten schon früher: <i>matazum</i> (Bologna 1274), <i>matarança</i> (Siena 1281), <i>mataratium</i> (Rom 1295)]¹²⁷</p>
MED	sub materas (n.) (20+)	<p>‘A mattress or pad for a bed; also, bedcover, quilt’ [OF & ML < ult. Ar.]</p> <p><i>Maketh a bed..Of quiltene and of <u>materasz</u> [Corp-C: <i>materas</i>], of cheisel and of palle, And..leggez him par-on. (SLeg (LDMisc 108) (188/125) (c1300)</i></p>
OED3	sub matress (n.) (20+)	<p>‘A large rectangular case of strong fabric, filled with yielding but resilient material such as straw, hair, etc., so as to provide comfortable support for a person lying down [...]’ [AN /OF, prob. (via Frankish) < It. < ML < Ar.]’</p> <p><i>Maketh a bed..Of quiltene and of <u>materasz</u>. (St. Vincent (Laud) 125 in C. Horstmann Early S.-Eng. Legendary (1887) 188) (c1300)</i></p>
DMLBS	sub matera 1732b (11)	<p>‘mattress’ [ME, OF <i>materas</i> < Ar.]</p> <p><i>pro fustian viridi ad <u>matracium</u> faciendum (Cl I 109) (1208)</i></p>
DC	sub matalacium (4)	<p>‘a Gallico <i>Matelas</i>’</p> <p><i>Breviaria completa, capæ, capelli, et ocreæ et calcaria, lectus, <u>Matalacia</u>, etc. (Culcitra. Capitulum gener. S. Victoris Massil) (1294)</i></p>
<p>Comments</p> <p>Transmission Type 2b / Semantic Field: textile</p>		

¹²⁵ I am unable to find a date for this source in the TL bibliography.

¹²⁶ The TLFi dates this attestation as 1307.

¹²⁷ Note that the FEW’s theory that Italian *materasso* was a Gallicism which had originally spread to France from Spain is now discounted (Hope 1971: 44).

Interestingly, the Arabic *ṭaraḥa* ('to throw away') is the ultimate root of both *mattress* and **tare** ('the weight of packaging / wrapping which is then deducted'). In the former case, this developed into *matrah*, firstly a 'place where something is thrown or strewn' and then consequently, a bed, cushion or carpet that is thrown on the floor.

As in many cases (e.g. **cotun**, **cramoisé**, **carat**), there were two main points of entry for this Arabism into medieval Europe: via the Moorish occupation of the Iberian peninsula (hence Spanish *almatraqe* / *almadraqe*, note also Occitan *almatrac* / *almatras*) and via that of Sicily from the tenth century onwards. Hope (1971: 44) and Fennis (1995: 1213) both conclude that Italian *materesso* developed first in Sicilian, through contact with the Arabic conquerors there, before spreading eventually into French.

The DEI, TLFi and FEW refer to *mataracius* in the Latin of Venice in 1255 and *matazum* in Bologna in 1274. However, *matracium* appears even earlier in BML, with the English Close Rolls of 1208 listing the purchase of fustian to make a mattress: DMLBS sub **matera**. This suggests that the term was established in England before its first appearance in AN form (*materaç*) which is in the vernacular glosses derived from John of Garland's *Dictionarius* (after 1220). A *matras* is also listed amongst Queen Isabella's fine bedlinen in 1307-08, alongside **camaca** silks and **calaber** furs.

In France, *materas* is first attested in the chronicles of Jean de Joinville in 1306 with the variation *matelas* (which has remained in modern French) appearing just over a century later in 1419. It is worth noting that the TLFi, and consequently the OED3, suggest that Italian *materaso* entered Old French via a Frankish intermediary, though evidence for this is unattested. This theory is not discussed in the FEW entry sub **matrah**, however.

49. AN maykyn (adj.) ‘(ginger) imported from the city of Mecca, in modern-day Saudi Arabia’ < It. <i>mecchino</i> / <i>micchino</i> < It. <i>Mecca</i> ¹²⁸ < Ar. <i>Makka</i>				
Italian c1335-1409	Anglo-Norman 1414-c1427	Continental French c1416-1845	(Middle) English a1475	Medieval Latin X
TLIO	X			
OVI	<i>mecchino</i> (1) <i>micchino</i> (3)	<i>Sono per libber XLVIII di gengiovo <u>mecchino</u> ch’ebbe da nnoi</i> (Doc.fior 195.1) (1348-50) <i>Giengiovo si è di più maniere, cioè bellidi e colombino et <u>micchino</u></i> (Pegolotti, Pratica 360.27) (c1335-1343, fior.)		
AD	<i>mecchini</i> (1) <i>michini</i> (4) <i>michino</i> (3) <i>mecchino</i> (1)	<i>Gieng. colombi(no) 60; <u>Belleri</u> 62; <u>Mecchini</u> 35/36</i> (Documento del 15.09.1385, 406.4) (1385) <i>Pepe lb. 8s. 5 rubo, bele(di) lb.80, colonbini 70, <u>michini</u> 45 cento</i> (Milano-Genova B780/28 112550 166.25) (1394) <i>pepe diremi 1.325, <u>michino</u> 2.600, beledi 4.4000 in 4.700, gherofani diremi 85 in 96</i> (Milano-Genova B780/28) (1395) <i>z(en)z(er)o b(elledi d.24 i(n) 26, <u>mecchino</u> d.11, canella longhe d.28 i(n) 30</i> (Venezia-Valenza 51970) (1409)		
LEI	X			
DEI	∅			
AND2	sub maykyn (adj.) (2)	‘from Mecca’ <i>le gynger belendyn, columbyn et <u>maykyn</u> serra rubbé en un canevas sak</i> (Grocers 111) (1414) <i>iiij. bales de gyngybre qui furent .ij.de gyngibre <u>mekyn</u> et .ij. de belendyn</i> (Port Bks 50) (1427-30)		
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub méquin (adj.) (2)	‘Gingembre en provenance du marché da la Mecque’ <i>seize livres de <u>meskin</u> menu ; item, trois cens treize livres de sucre de deux quites</i> (Comptes Etat bourg. M.F. t3, 288) (1416-18) <i>Item une livre de <u>mequin</u></i> (Metz Comptes merciers S, 80) (1461)		
DMF corpus	<i>mequin</i> (2) sub gingembre	<i>c’est assavoir de gingibre blanc, de gingibre <u>mequin</u>, cynamomi, grane de paradis et poyvre / Et puis prennés voz espices : cinamomy grant foyson, gingibre blanc et <u>mequin</u> selon la quantité, granne de paradis.</i> (Both : Chiquart, Cuis. S, 132 / 170) (1420)		
GDF	∅			
TL	∅			
TLFi	∅			
FEW	XIX, 126b: Mekka	‘gingembre provenant des commerçants de la Mecque’ MF <i>gingembre de Mesche</i> (1393) / <i>gingembre mesche</i> (1393) / <i>mesche</i> (1393) / <i>gengembre de Mech</i> (1401) / Occ. <i>gingembre mequin</i> (1397) [Auch altit. <i>giengiovo micchino</i> . Diese art ingwer wuchs in ganz Arabien, vielleicht sogar auf Sansibar und Madagaskar. Er hat seinen namen also nicht von der gegend, wo er wuchs, sondern wo er verhandelt wurde. Nach denangaben des Ménagier de		

¹²⁸ First attested in the Italian vernacular in 1282 as *Mecha* (Schweikard 2009: 219)

		Paris galt dieser ingwer als besonder guter qualität. Heyd 2, 621. Daher oben 1. Das wort ist dann offenbar in der botanischen terminologie als <i>*mechinus</i> latinisiert worden, woraus entlehnt 2.]
MED	sub gingivere (n.) (1)	b. ‘– <i>maydelyn</i> . Kind of ginger’ <i>Good gynger colombyne is best to drynke and ete; Gynger valadyne & maydelyn ar not so holsom in mete</i> (Russell Bk. Nurt 131-2) (a1475)
OED2	sub ginger (n.) (1)	A1. ‘[ginger <i>colombyne</i> , ginger from Quilon (Latin <i>Columbum</i>); ginger <i>valadyne</i> and ginger <i>maydelyn</i> , mentioned in the same quot., have not been identified]’ <i>Good gynger colombyne is best to drynke and ete; Gynger valadyne & maydelyn ar not so holsom in mete</i> (J. Russell Bk. Nurture 537) (c1460)
DMLBS	∅	
DC	∅	

Comments

Transmission type 2b / Semantic field: sugar / spice / sweetmeat

Unlike other types of ginger imported by the Italians (**belendin**, **columbin**, **madrian**), we have no clear remaining record of Meccan ginger in ME. It is probable, however, that the Meccan type is one of the three otherwise unidentified gingers - *valadyne*, *colombyne* and *maydelyne* - referred to by John Russell, in his fifteenth-century *Boke of Nurture* (cf. Dalby 2000: 24).

Pegolotti gives us a useful overview of ginger varieties and describes *micchino* ginger as small and hard, unlike the softer-skinned, grey-coloured *colombin* from India:

Giengiovo si è di più maniere, cioè belledi e colombino et micchino, e’ detti nomi portano per le contrade one sono nati, ispezialment il colombino e ‘l micchino ; che primieramente il belledi ne nasce in molte contrade dell’India e il colobino nasce Colombo d’India, ed à la scorzza sua piana e dilicata e cenerognolo, e ‘l micchino viene delle contrade della Mecca, ed è un gengiovo minuto et duro al coltello (OVI Pegolotti, *Practica* 360.27-32).

We have only two AN citations from the fifteenth century: *gynger maykyn* and *gyngibre mekyn* in the London Grocers Accounts and Southampton Port Books, sources which we know are relatively rich in Italian borrowings. The ‘ay’ form in the earlier example could simply be a normal spelling variation in AN or could possibly represent an attempt to replicate the /ε/ sound in the Italian donor word, *mecchino*.

There are also four examples in the DMF, so far unrecorded in the AND cognates section sub **maykyn** which currently presents the term as unique to insular French. Two of these (DMF sub **méquain**) show the term being used nominally as types of ginger rather than adjectivally, as seems to be most common in Italian. The FEW sub **Mekka** gives no MF attestations of this precise form but lists the Occitan and Italian forms *gingembre mequin* and *giengiovo micchino*. Either or both of these could have influenced CF whereas Italian appears a more likely candidate in our English sources.

50. AN measane (adj.) ‘medium-quality silk for both Italian and foreign markets’ < It. / Ven. <i>mezzani</i> < Lat. <i>medius</i> / Gr. μέσος, <i>mesos</i> (‘middle’)				
Italian 1457-1521	Anglo-Norman 1440	Continental French X	(Middle) English X	Medieval Latin X
TLIO	X			
OVI	X			
LEI	X			
DEI	Ø			
ASV	<i>mezzani</i> (3)	<i>drappi mezzani</i> (ASV, ST, reg. 4 f.44v) (1457, ven.) / (ASV, AS, reg. b682, reg. 2, f.94v) (1519, ven.) / (ASV, AS, reg. b682, reg. 2, f.102v) (1521, ven.)		
AND	X			
DEAF	X			
DMF	X			
GDF	Ø			
TL	Ø			
TLFi	Ø			
FEW	Ø			
MED	Ø			
OED	X			
DMLBS	Ø			
DC	Ø			
Additional sources				
AN-matrix				
VOH (1440)	<i>measane</i> (1) <i>misane</i> (1)	<i>xvj papires de soy de divers colours fyne & measane</i> (VOH 43 :36) (E101/128/31 ret. 53, Thomas Walsingham, host to Andrea and Federico Corner and Carlo Contarini, merchants of Venice, transc. p. 139) (1440) <i>En primes xxij papers & demi soy de Paris fyn, Item viij papers misane</i> (VOH 16 :6) (E101/128/30 ret. 6, Sir William Estfield, host to Bertucci and Tommaso Contarini, merchants of Venice, transc. p.21) (1440)		
Comments				
Transmission type 1a / Semantic field: textile				
<p><i>Drappi mezzani</i> were one of the five classes of silk produced in fifteenth-century Venice, formally defined in law by the Senate on the 13th of August 1457 in a manuscript now housed in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia (ASV). The others categories were <i>drappi domestici</i> (for Venetian customers only), <i>drappi da paragon</i> (cloths for comparison at trade fairs), <i>drappi da navegar</i> (cloths for shipment by sea) and <i>drappi da fonte</i> (cloths reserved exclusively for the German merchants based at the Fondaco dei Tedeschi (Molà 2000: 97-98). Surprisingly, there is no mention of the cloth type in the letters of Venetian merchant, Andrea Berengo, from 1555-56, although he does refer to <i>panni di paragon</i> (Tucci 1957: 356). In AN, we find two examples of the term in separate accounts of Venetian merchants importing goods into London in 1440. Bradley (2012: 316) suggests a direct Greek etymon (<i>mesos</i>) but given the other convincing examples of Italian textile lexis in this collection of records (especially ceta, legea, talany, yndigo), a borrowing from Venetian is the obvious choice. View 16 also contains three ME equivalents of the same term to designate ‘medium-quality silk’ (<i>middel sylke</i> / <i>midel silk</i> / <i>middilsilk</i>) and this perhaps results from a semantic loan, influenced by Italian merchant contact and their silk-grading terminology.</p>				

51. AN mesan (n.) ‘mizzen - the mast situated either behind or in front of the main mast or the sail attached to this mast’ (CF <i>misaine</i>) < It. / Gen. <i>mez(z)ana</i> < It. <i>mezzano</i> < Lat. <i>mediana</i> (‘middle, central’)				
Italian 1314-present	Anglo-Norman [?c1341-c1419]	Continental French 1376-present	(Middle) English 1416-present	Medieval Latin c1341- 1441
TLIO	X			
OVI	X			
LEI	X			
DEI	sub mezzana ¹ (n.) 2447a	‘vela quadra inferiore dell’albero di mezzana, tra l’albero maestro e la poppa’ [<i>< mezzano, ‘di mezza, medio’</i>] <i>mezzana</i> (Morgante, L.Pulci 20.35) (15 th c.)		
AND2	sub mesan (n.) (3)	‘mizzen, (sail of) the third sternmost mast of a ship’ <i>batillus de mysyn</i> (DMLBS sub batellus) (c1341) <i>i. contremast pro le mesan / iij. hedropes pro le mesan</i> (Both: Sandahl Sea ii 30) (E101/ 49/29 m.6) (1419-22)		
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub misaine (n.) (1) sub migenne (n.) (1)	‘Voile basse du mât au milieu du navire’ <i>En la carvelle qui souloit estre a Laurens Olivier : II an cres, II cabels, III rimes, I grant voile, I misane latine, I focke, III bonnette et es mains des sergens, I focke, I misane pour le treif</i> (Arch. Nord B 11475, f.8, IGLF, 1463) (1376) ‘Petite voile de galère’ <i>trente grans naves (...) ayans chacune son grant mast et celui de la mygane et ung pour le tricquet, avec chacun sa hunne estoffez de tout cordial</i> (Comptes Lille L. t., 322) (1468)		
GDC	sub misaine (n.) (3)	‘voile du mât placé entre le beaupré et le grand mât’ <i>migennes qui rien ne valent</i> (Comptes du clos des galées de Rouen) (1382-84) <i>Ce non obstant mysennes desployés</i> (Ch. Roy BN 1537 f.97r) (a1530)		
TL	Ø			
TLFi	sub misaine (n.)	‘voile du mât placé entre le beaupré et le grand mât’ [<i>< It. mezzana / Cat. mitjana</i>] <i>migenne</i> (Comptes du clos des galées de Rouen) (1382-84) <i>misaine</i> (Arch. Nord, B 3537 no. 125759, IGLF) (1463)		
FEW	VI-1, 586a sub medianus	II. 1 a α. ‘basse voile du mât du misaine’ Old Norman <i>migenne</i> (Clos des galées, Rouen) (1382) MF <i>mizenne / mysayne</i> (1530) ‘mât d’avant, situé entre le beaupré et le grand mât’ <i>mât de misaine</i> (1636) [Von den lehnformen (II) betrifft 1 einen nautischen mittelmeerausdruck, dessen wanderungen und komplexe überlagerungen in einzelnen noch zu klären sind. Wichtigstes ausstrahlungszentrum scheint Italien gewesen zu sein. Die in Rouen 1382 belegte form <i>migenne</i> , das erste zeugnis im gallorom., ist jedoch eher aus kat. <i>mitjana</i> ‘voile d’artimon’ entlehnt [...] Diese kat. form hätte sich dann (so Vidos) allmählich unter dem einfluss des it. <i>mezzana</i> zu <i>misaine</i> gewandelt, konkurrenziert durch das aus dem pr.		

		eindringende <i>méjane</i>]
MED	sub mesan (n.) (12)	a. ‘The sail set amidships in a fore-and-aft direction’ [Cp. Span. <i>mesana</i> , F <i>misaine</i> , from It. <i>mezzana</i> ; ult. from ML <i>mediana</i> or Ar. <i>mīzān</i> ¹²⁹] <i>j paruo velo vocato Mesan</i> (Sandahl ME Terms 2, 78) (1419-22) <i>Item, for a yerde for a meseyn, xvj d</i> (Acc.Howard in RC 57, 200) (1465) b. ‘-mast, the third and aftermost mast of a ship / - yerde, the yard, consisting probably of two pieces lashed together, on which the mizzen sail is spread’ <i>j Mesan Maste</i> (Sandahl ME Terms 2, 78) (1413-20) <i>Item, for a Muson mast, precium iij d.</i> (Sandahl ME Terms 2, 78) (a1471)
OED3	sub mizzen (n.) (20+)	‘The principal sail on the mizzen-mast of a ship; <i>spec.</i> (a) the lowest sail on the mizzen-mast in a square-rigged vessel; (b) the sail set on the after part of the mizzen-mast in a fore-and-aft rigged vessel. Formerly also: †a similarly shaped principal sail in certain small craft’ [ult. < It. <i>mezzana</i>] [For a certain small] <i>sailyerd [to be used for the same] mesan [price 2s 4d]</i> ¹³⁰ . (Navy of Lancastrian Kings 227) (1416) <i>Item, for a yerde for a meseyn, xvj.d.</i> (Manners & Househ. Expenses Eng. 200) (1465)
DMLBS	<i>mysin</i> ’(1) sub batellus 187a	<i>batillus de mysyn</i> ’ [with mizzen sail] (I Misc 146/5) (c1341)
DC	∅	
Additional sources		
Latin-matrix		
Genoese statute (1441)	<i>mediano</i>	‘l’albero di mezzana’ <i>Item carium unum pro mediano pro respect, sub poena librarum viginti Januinatorum</i> (Statuto di Genova del 1441) (In Vidos 1939:482)
Comments		
Transmission Type 2b / Semantic Field: maritime		
Like timon and go(u)ndell , our attestations of vernacular <i>le mesan</i> are embedded within BML texts and we do not strictly know if the term is AN or ME, although the former seems most likely in this case. The precise transmission route of AN / ME <i>mesan</i> (still used in nautical terminology today as <i>mizzen</i>) is widely accepted to be complex, as testified by its long commentary section in the OED3. Nevertheless, it seems clear that Italian <i>mezzana</i> contributed to the term’s history in England, be it as a direct loanword or via another intermediary language, most likely CF or AN. ¹³¹ The OED3 comments (written in 2002) do need updating, however, to include the BML-matrix citation of <i>batillus de mysyn</i> ’, attested c1341, nearly seventy years before “a Genoese		

¹²⁹ The OED3 sub **mizzen** disagrees: “A proposed derivation from (Egyptian) Arabic *mazzān* mast whose sail holds the ship in balance (as if < Arabic *mīzān* balance, scales, noun of instrument < *wazana* to weigh; compare *wazzān* weighman) appears implausible; (Egyptian) Arabic *mazzān* is itself probably ultimately < Italian.”

¹³⁰ This is a translation of a BML text.

¹³¹ It is worth repeating Durkin’s comments (2014: 370) on ME *mizzen* here: “[...] the mode of transmission is entirely unclear, and there is little to rule out transmission directly from Italian, although also nothing to rule out transmission via any of several other languages [i.e. AN, CF or even Catalan, Occitan, Spanish or Portuguese].”

three-masted carrack came into the hands of the English Crown in 1410". Interestingly, it also predates the first appearance of CF *misaine* in 1376 (see the DMF entry).

The exact part of the rigging referred to is different in various languages, as detailed again in the OED3, and it is worth repeating their comments here:

Italian *mezzana* has never (as sometimes suggested) denoted the mast 'in the middle', instead it originally (as in English) stands for the mast behind the main mast; in French it subsequently comes to denote the foremast. A more likely interpretation of the original sense in Italian is 'a medium-sized sail', as the mizzen was between the mainsail and the bowspritsail in size, when each mast only carried a single sail; the term then becomes associated with the position of the sail (OED3 sub **mizzen**)

As yet, we do not have enough lexical evidence to decide if AN *mesan*, like ME, kept the same meaning as Italian or if it mirrored the CF definition.

The TLFi, the FEW, Fennis (1995: 1219) and Hope (1971: 44) support Vidos' view (1939: 482) that CF *misaine* represents a compound of Catalan *mitjana* (att. 1354 and the direct etymon of *migenne* from the Rouen shipyards in 1382) and Italian (probably originally Genoese) *mezzana*. We have no helpful early attestation of *mezzana* in the Latin of Genoa (unlike other nautical loanwords such as **calfater**, **patron** and **poupe**) but Vidos does cite the ML *mediano* in a maritime sense from the Genoese Statutes of 1441. Note that while the OED3 entry gives the earliest Italian vernacular attestation as 1348, Fennis (1995: 1218-19) records an even earlier example of its use (*mezana* denoting 'petite voile de galère, probablement voile de trinquet; second mâât ou trinquet') in the writings of the Florentine, Francesco da Barberino, in 1314.

52. AN million (n.) ‘one million i.e. a thousand times a thousand’ CF <i>million</i> < It. / Ven. <i>milione</i> < It. <i>mille</i> < Lat. <i>mille</i> (‘one thousand’)				
Italian c1313-present	Anglo-Norman 1360-64	Continental French 1266-present	(Middle) English c1390-present	Medieval Latin c1366-1514
TLIO	sub milione (n.) (13)	<p>1. ‘Il numero cardinale formato da mille volte mille unità’ <i>ogni milione è mille migliaia di fiorini d’oro la valuta</i> (Giovanni Villani L.12, cap.20, vol. 3, p. 61.20) (a1348, fior.)</p> <p>2. ‘Con valore indeterminato o iperbolico, per indicare una grande quantità’ <i>Xerses re de Persia andà contra li Gresì con un milione de homeni..</i> (Paolino Minorita, cap.72. p. 103.5) (1313-15, ven.)</p>		
OVI	<i>milione</i> /i (31) <i>millyone</i> (1) <i>miglioni</i> (1) <i>milion</i> (2)	<p><i>ogni milione è mille migliaia di fiorini d’oro la valuta</i> (Giovanni Villani L.12, cap.20, vol. 3, p. 61.20) (a1348, fior.)</p> <p><i>che tra luy e y soy Barone ne trà forsi uno millyone de fior.</i> (Doc. padov. 60.31) (1379, padov.)</p> <p><i>Raccomandovi Giovanni miglioni di volte a voi e a tutte</i> (Giovanni Colombini, 38, 130.19) (a1367, sen.)</p> <p><i>Xerses re de Persia andà contra li Gresì con un milione de homeni..</i> (Paolino Minorita, cap.72. p. 103.5) (1313-15, ven.)</p>		
LEI	X			
DEI	sub milione (n.) 2459b	‘grande quantità, mille migliaia’ [dall. a.fr <i>milie</i>] <i>milione</i> (14 th c.) [Anche in dial. tosc. [...] <i>miglione</i> , commune nell’Italia settentrionale].		
AND2	sub million (n.) (2)	<p>‘a million’ <i>Item, est accordé que le Roy de France paiera au Roy d’Engleterre .iij. millions d’escuz d’or</i> (Foedera iii 489 xiv) (1360)</p> <p><i>Et reservons toutdis par exprés, pur les mises de nostre chambre, la reste que vous nous devez sur la paiement du premer million [...]</i> (Foedera iii 754) (1364)</p>		
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub million ¹ (n.) (19)	<p>1. ‘mille fois mille’ <i>Il asambloit argent de tous lés et si grant somme, que on dissoit que il avoit à Rokemore, dallés Avignon, l’argent de deus millions de florins</i> (Froissart, Chron. R, X, 171) (c1375-1400)</p> <p>2. ‘Très grand nombre, très grande quantité’ <i>sy fu recheu mieulx et plus haultement que dire ne vous sçavroie et, somme toute, ung million de joye et joieux esbatemen</i> (Comte Artois S. 46) (c1453-67)</p>		
GDC	sub million (n.) (3)	<p>‘1. ‘nombre de mille fois mille; absol. nombre de mille fois mille francs ou livres’ <i>Jusque a tant que les diz trois millions seront parpaiez</i> (Chron. de S. Den. B.N. 2813, f. 428) (c1375-85)</p> <p>2. ‘par hyperbole, nombre très considérable’ <i>Je fais des tours ung million</i> (Vers 1330, Monol. sur le bien et le mal des dames, Picot, Romania, XVI, 534) (c1530)</p>		
TL	sub million ² (n.) (1)	‘Million (auch hyperbolisch gebraucht)’		

		<i>Si fut recue mieulx et plus haultement que dire ne vous saroye, et somme tout, ung <u>million</u> de joye et joyeux esbatemens</i> (Cte d'Artois 59) (c1453-67)
TLFi	sub million (n.)	'Mille fois mille'[Empr. à l'ital. <i>milione</i>] <i>se n'estoit pour tes conpaingnons vous ariés ja mil <u>millons</u></i> (Le Garçon et l'Aveugle) (1226) <i>million</i> (Cosneau, Les Grands Traités de la guerre de Cent ans, p.18 (1359)
FEW	VI-2, 91 a: mille	'mille fois mille' OF <i>millon</i> (1266) / MF <i>million</i> (1359) [Die formen [...] aus dem it. entlehnt. a <i>α</i> aus it. <i>milione</i> das seit dem 13 jh. belegt ist und wohl durch die italienischen kaufleute und bankers nach Frankreich gebracht worden ist.]
MED	sub milioun (num.) (20)	'A million' [OF <i>million</i>] <i>Ben kneled Poul and Mihel And a <u>Milioun</u> Angeles</i> (11 Pains (3) (Vern) 259/316) (c1390)
OED3	sub million (adj. / n.) (50+)	1. (adj) 'A thousand times a thousand; numbering a thousand thousands; (often indefinitely or hyperbolically) a very great many, countless (rare in early use.)' [< MF <i>million</i> < It. <i>milione</i> < It. <i>mille</i> < Lat <i>mille</i> .] <i>Ben kneled Poul and Mihel And a <u>Milioun</u> Angeles</i> . (Vision St. Paul in Minor Poems Vernon MS (1892) I, 259) 2. (n.) 'The cardinal numeral equal to a thousand thousands (1,000,000 or 10 ⁶). Often indefinitely or hyperbolically: an enormous number, an immeasurably large amount' <i>Sche..that richest is And hath of gold a <u>Milion</u></i> . (Gower, Confessio Amantis v. 2613) (a1393)
DMLBS	sub millio (7)	'a million (usu. w. gen.)' [ML] <i>venit rex Francie Johannes Londoniis portans secum <u>millionem</u> argenti quam regi Anglie debuerat pro incarceratione sua</i> (Eul. Hist. III 232) (c1366)
DC	sub millio (1)	'nostris <i>Million</i> ' <i>Pro dicta solutione dictæ summæ unius <u>Millionis</u>, sive decem centum millium scutorum auri de sole, etc</i> (apud Rymer. tom. 13. p. 409) (1514)

Comments

Transmission Type 2b / Semantic Field: financial

There was no word in classical Latin for *million*, which used the phrase *decies centena milia* instead. There is widespread agreement in the major historical dictionaries that CF *million* is derived from Italian *millione*: composed of *mille* plus the augmentative suffix *one*, i.e. 'a large thousand'.¹³² Note, however, the presence of a Latinised version of this (*millionem* / *mil(l)iones*) uniquely in BML texts from c1366 (DMLBS / DC sub **millio**). This is a term which is difficult to categorise semantically, appearing as it does in a wide range of literary (especially in the non-specific sense) and non-literary sources. Indeed the first citations of the term in Italian (Venetian) and CF are in literary sources. But as the FEW states, it seems very likely that the lexeme first travelled into France (and England) via the speech and writings of Italian merchants and bankers. Our earliest attestation is in the OF farcical play *Le Garçon et l'Aveugle* from 1266 where the term is used hyperbolically. There is then a

¹³² The DEI is a conspicuous exception but I can find no other etymologies that suggest that a French borrowing in Italian rather than the other way round.

large gap in the French record with the next extant examples dating from 1359 (CF) and 1360 (AN). Here *million* is clearly used in a financial sense in both countries and refers to the enormous ransom of three million crowns that the English demanded for the return of their captive, King John II of France, during the Hundred Years War (Baker 2000: 5). Durkin (2014: 369-70) states that *million* entered ME from Italian ‘via French’ but, like Dietz (2005: 580), does not specify whether this means insular or continental.

53. AN nak (n.) ‘a patterned cloth of gold, probably of lampas weave, originally produced in China and the Mongol Empire’ < It. <i>nacchi</i> < Ar. <i>nahh</i> / Pers. <i>nach</i> (‘a carpet’)				
Italian c1335-1424	Anglo-Norman [1315-c1351]	Continental French 1316-1634	(Middle) English [1315-c1351]	Medieval Latin 1315-1376
TLIO	sub nacchi (n.) (1)	‘Tipo di tessuto broccato d’oro di provenienza orientale’ <i>A pezza tale com’ell’è, a bisanti bianchi, si vende velluti e camucca di seta, drappi a oro et maramanti, <u>nacchi</u> e tutti altri drappi di seta d’oro salvo zendadi o sciamiti di seta</i> (Pegolotti, Practica 79.2) (c1335-1343)		
OVI	sub nacchi (3)	...e drappi d’oro d’ogni ragione, e nacchetti d’ogni ragione, e <u>nacchi</u> d’ogni ragione, e similmente drappi d’oro e di seta (Pegolotti, Practica 36.25) (c1335-1343)		
LEI	X			
DEI	Ø			
AND	X			
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub naque (n.) (1)	‘Étoffe précieuse’ <i>Il estoit vestu de ung rice hocqueton chargé d’orfaverie qui prestement fut deschiré par les <u>nacques</u>; chescun d’eulx en print une pièce.</i> (Molinet, Chron D.J t1, 1474-1506)		
	sub nac (n.) (1)	‘drap d’or’ <i>...1 drap d’or appellé <u>nac</u>, de 5 aunes et 3 quartiers de long, prisié 8 escuz</i> (Comptes argent. Rois Fr. D-A I, 325)		
GDF	sub naque (n.) (3)	‘espèce de drap d’or’ <i>5 <u>naques</u> vermeus, delivrez audit Jehan pour faire cote, seurcot et mantel a la roine</i> (Compt. de Geoff. De Fleuri, Douët, Compt. de l’argent, p. 57) (1316)		
	sub nac ¹ (3)	‘sorte d’étoffe’ <i>Item une chasuble, dalmatique et tunique de <u>nac</u> blanc de petit valeur. Item deux chapes de <u>nac</u> vert. Item deux chapes de <u>nac</u> vermeil</i> (Inv. de la Sainte Chappelle, ap. Duc. Nactum)		
TL	Ø			
TLFi	Ø			
FEW	XIX, 137a: nahh	‘esp. de tapis et de drap d’or’ OF / MF <i>nac</i> , <i>nacque</i> (MPolo) (1316, 1317) <i>nacque</i> (1316-1328), <i>nac</i> (1352), Mod Fr <i>nacque</i> (1634) Der: <i>naquet</i> ‘tissu d’or’ (1379) [Nach Ibn Battuta 3, 81 wird der nahh genannte stoff in Nisabur verfertigt, nach Yaqut in Tabriz. Der erste beleg in westen stammt aus Canterbury Cathedral (1315), er steht in der Hist. of the Canterbury Cathedral, [...] Auch it. <i>nacchi</i> (pl, 1340, Pegolotti 79, 139, mit bezug auf Venedig, aus Famagosta di Cipri bezogen), <i>nachi</i> (1424, Inv. Lucca 246), mlt. <i>natto</i> (Paris 1335, DC), <i>nacto</i> (1363)]		
MED	sub nak (n.) (1)	‘a kind of cloth of gold’ [ME<OF] <i>[A Robe of cloth of gold, called] Nak [was made for the King for the Feast of St.George].</i> (Wardrobe Acc. Edw.iii (1) in Archaeol. 31, 133) (1350-1)		
LCC	sub nak (n.) (1) (1=MED)	‘highly expensive silk cloth, kind of cloth of gold’ [ME<OF] <i>[A Robe of cloth of gold, called] Nak [was made for the King for the Feast of St.George]</i> (Wardrobe Acc. Edw.iii (1) in Archaeol. 31, 133) (1350-1)		

OED	X	
DMLBS	∅	
DC	sub natto (3)	‘panni species’ <i>Item una tunica, una dalmatica et una casula de <u>Natto</u> albo. Item duæ capæ de <u>Natto</u> viridi. Item duæ capæ de <u>Natto</u> rubeo.</i> (Invent. S. Capel. Paris) (1335)
	sub nacto (4)	‘sed et pro Panni specie, Gallie Nac’ <i>Item una infula, una dalmatica et una tunica de <u>Nacto</u> also parvi valoris</i> (Invent. S. Capel. Paris) (1363)
	sub nac (1)	<i>Item sunt duæ cappæ coloris violacei, pro servicio <u>Quadragesimæ</u> ordinatæ, quæ solebant esse albi coloris, dictæ de <u>Nac</u></i> (Invent. S. Capel. Paris) (1376)
Additional sources		
BML-matrix		
Canterbury Cathedral (1315)	<i>nak</i> (1)	<i>Item Casula de albo panno de Tharse de <u>nak</u> palliat’ cum aurifrigio de diversis armis</i> (Inventories of Christchurch, Canterbury) (Legg and Hope 1902: 77, 3) (1315)
Wardrobe Accounts (1350-51)	<i>Nak</i> (1)	<i>pann’ ad aur’ de <u>Nak</u></i> (E361/3/48R) (Monnas 1989: 295) (1350-51)
Rolls of Purchase. (1350-51)	<i>nak</i> (1)	<i>nak</i> (E101/392/3) (Newton 1980: 137) (1350-51)
Comments		
Transmission Type 1b / Semantic Field: textile		
<p>This cloth of gold appears three times in the English record. In all cases, we are dealing with a vernacular lexeme in a Latin matrix, a fact which is not immediately clear in the MED and LCC entries. Its earliest attestation appears to have been missed by cloth historians (and most lexicographers) who have overlooked a useful citation from England in the FEW: <i>nak</i> appears not only in the early 1350s in the Royal Wardrobe accounts but also in 1315 in an inventory of Canterbury Cathedral alongside other <i>panni de Tharse</i> (i.e. from <i>Tarsia</i> or the central Asian region known as Turkestan).</p> <p>Our other two examples are found in two related records by the royal clerk, John Buckingham. The MED cites the enrolled Wardrobe and Household Accounts of Edward III and more details can be found in Monnas (1989: 285, 295, 303) who explains that 7 cloths and 4¾ ells of <i>pann’ ad aur’ de Nak</i> were purchased at the high price of 11 shillings per ell. In addition, <i>nak</i> is listed amongst other luxury fabrics such as <i>cigaston</i>, <i>samitell’</i> and <i>nasskyki</i> (see nassik) in the Roll of Purchases, from the same time period in the King’s Remembrancer (Newton 1980: 137).</p> <p>Of course, as in so many cases, it is impossible to tell for sure if the vernacular <i>nak</i> is AN, ME or indeed a ‘foreign’ loanword in the scribe’s mind. Either directly or indirectly, however, it suggests the existence of an insular French <i>nak</i> being used in fourteenth-century England. There are more attestations to be found in CF with the borrowing arriving with Marco Polo’s <i>Devisement du Monde</i> in 1316 and then in several accounts and inventories in the following decades. Frustratingly, <i>nacchi</i> are rare in the Italian corpus and, together with the similar nassik, are conspicuously absent from the Lucchese statutes of 1376. Yet Peglotti does refer to them three times and, according to the FEW, there is a fifteenth-century attestation in Lucchese inventory (unfortunately absent from the major Italian dictionaries). Whilst these fabrics were mainly produced in China and Mongolia (King 1992: 462), Venetian and Lucchese merchants, in particular, played a central role in their import to European</p>		

courts and cities (Monnas 1989: 285). It is likely that in this case, as in many others, Italian is acting as an intermediary, transmitting an ‘exotic’, commercial lexeme into French.

There is some disagreement as to the ultimate etymon of Romance versions of *nac*. The TLIO, Evans (1936: 423), Newton (1980: 99) and Ménard (2001: 198) claim it is Persian; in his recent edition of Marco Polo, the latter notes that, “*nasich* et *nac* sont des termes persans désignant des brocarts de soie dorée importés de Chine”. Burns (2009: 47), in keeping with the FEW, claims that the cloths of gold in this same work are from “the Arabic-derived terms *nakh* and *nasij*”.

54. AN nassik (n.) ‘a patterned cloth of gold, probably of lampas weave, originally produced in China and the Mongol Empire’
 < It. *nassicci* / *nacchetti* < Ar. *nasig* / Pers. *nasic* / Mongol. *nacidut* (‘gold brocade’)

Italian c1300-c1343	Anglo-Norman [1334-c1351]	Continental French 1317-1371	(Middle) English [1334-c1351]	Medieval Latin 1334-c1351
TLIO	sub nacchetti (n.) (2) sub nassicci (n.) (1)	<p>‘Tipo di tessuto broccato di provenienza orientale ; lo stesso che nassicci’ [< Mongol. <i>nacidut</i>] <i>s(er) Marin Marip(er)o dé dar p(er) peçe XIIIJ d(e) <u>nacete</u> p(er) lib(re) XXVJ a g(ro)sso la peça</i> (Doc. Venez 61.5) (1315, ven.)</p> <p><i>A pezza si vendono in Genova [[...]] <u>nacchetti</u> di seta e d’oro d’ogni ragione, drappi di seta e d’oro d’ogni ragione..</i> (Pegolotti Practica, 216.7) (c1335-1343, fior)</p> <p>‘Tipo di tessuto broccato di provenienza orientale ; lo stesso che nachetti’ [< Pers. <i>nasic</i>] <i>Egli sanno fare drappi dorati che si chiama· <u>nassicci</u>, e drappi di seta di molte maniere</i> (Milione di Marco Polo, cap.73 p. 106.12) (c1300-25, tosc.)</p>		
OVI	<i>nacchetti</i> (4) <i>nassicci</i> (1) <i>naxici</i> (1)	<p><i>A pezza vi si vendono bucherami, e drappi a oro, sciamiti, e marimanti, nacchi e <u>nacchetti</u> dalla Tana, velluti di seta, caimbellotti e baraccami</i> (Pegolotti, Practica 139.12) (c1335-1343, fior)</p> <p><i>Egli sanno fare drappi dorati che si chiama· <u>nassicci</u>, e drappi di seta di molte maniere</i> (Milione di Marco Polo, cap.73 p. 106.12) (c1300-25, tosc.)</p> <p><i>Ze, chi destinguer porrea de quante mainere sea li car <u>naxici</u> e li cendai, xamiti, drapi dorai</i> (Anonimo Genovese, 16 v.127) (a1311)</p>		
LEI	X			
DEI	∅			
AND	X			
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub nacis (5)	<p>‘étoffe précieuse’ <i><u>nachis</u> de Lucques</i> (1317) / un <i><u>nassis</u> d’or de Cypre</i> (1328) / 6 <i><u>nacis</u> d’or</i> (1350) <i>pour 2 pièces de drap d’or <u>naciz</u></i> (1350) / douze aulnes de <i><u>nassis</u> blanz</i> (1371)</p>		
GDF	sub nacis (7)	<p>‘espèce de drap d’or’ <i>VII <u>nachis</u> de Lucques / <u>Nachis</u> de Lucques et de Venise</i> (Compt. de Geoff de Fleuri, Douët d’Arcq, Nouv. Compt de l’Argenterie, p. 2) (1317)</p> <p><i>Pour 23 pieces et demie de drap d’or de plusieurs façons, c’est assavoir 6 <u>nacis</u> d’or, 40 escus la piece, 9 racamas et demy d’or, 30 escus la piece</i> (Compte d’Estienne de la Fontaine) (1350)</p>		
TL	∅			
TLFi	∅			
FEW	XIX 140a: nasig	<p>‘esp. de drap d’or’ OF, MF <i>nassit</i> (M.Polo XXV 21) <i>nachis</i> (1317, 1322), <i>nassis</i> (1328-1371)</p> <p>[Ar. <i>nasig</i> ist eine spielform von ar. <i>nasg</i> [...] Es handelt sich um brokatstoffe, deren beliebig gefärbter, seidener grund mit goldfiguren durchwirkt war. MPolo berichtet von ihrer herstellung in Bagdad. Im <i>Inv. de Clémence de Hongrie</i> 78 wird un <i>nassis d’or de Cypre</i> erwähnt, Wiederholt erscheint auch <i>nachis de Lucques</i> [...] was wohl darauf schliessen lässt, dass der stoff in Lucca nachgeahmt wurde]</p>		

MED	Ø	
OED	X	
DMLBS	Ø	
DC	Ø	
Additional sources		
Italian-matrix		
Marco Polo's will (1366)	<i>nasizo</i> (1)	<i>varnimento a oro de nasizo</i> (Inventario dei beni di Marco Polo stilato alla sua morte nel 1324. Processo di Fantina Polo per l'eredità del padre, Venezia, Archivo di Stato) (Mosher Stuard 2011: 22, Molà 2012:160-61) (1366)
Latin-matrix		
Venetian Sumptuary Laws (1334)	<i>nassicio</i> (1) <i>nassiciis</i> (1)	[...] <i>varnimento aique de panno ad aurum laborato ad acum, nec de nassicio, sub pena liberarum L parvorum pro quolibet capite seu varnimento [...] de dictas pannos ad aurum laboratis ad acum, nec nassiciis [...]</i> Magistrato alle Pompe nella Republica di Venezia (Bistort 1912: 334-37) (1334)
BML-matrix		
Wardrobe Accounts (1350-51)	<i>Nassik</i> (1)	<i>pann' de Nassik</i> (E361/3/48R) (Monnas 1989: 295) (1350-51)
King's Rememb. (1350-51)	<i>nasskyki</i> (1)	<i>nasskyki</i> (E101/392/3) (Newton 1980:137) (1350-51)
Comments		
Transmission Type 1b / Semantic Field: textile		
<p>Like nak, <i>nassik</i> is only found BML-matrix texts in England: the Wardrobe Accounts and Rolls of Purchases compiled for Edward III by the clerk, John Buckingham, in 1350-51. Unlike nak, it is not recorded by the LCC. <i>Nassik</i> could represent, once again, a ME word but given the use of <i>nacis</i> in CF its presence suggests, directly or indirectly, the existence of an insular form, <i>nassik</i>.</p> <p>Imported into England by the Venetians and the Lucchese, both these types of <i>panni d'oro</i> are of oriental origin, absent from the Lucchese statutes of 1376 (unlike for example baldekin, camaca, imperial, legea, ragamas, taffata, talany and sarzinett, cf. King 1988) but mentioned in Pegolotti and Marco Polo's <i>Milione</i>. The explorer also had dozens of pieces of oriental silk in his possession when he died in 1324 which were carefully catalogued by his daughters in a vernacular inventory, alongside his Latin will. The original list has been lost but we have a copy that was made when Fantina, the eldest child, claimed her third of Polo's estate in 1366 (Molà 2012: 160). Mosher Stuard says of this rarely consulted source:</p> <p>The inventory was little more than a casual document composed in dialect that listed 173 items, some of them receptacles like chests, or caskets, small boxes that contained wares like musk or hooks and eyes. There were numerous <i>cofano</i>, or caskets, holding numerous pieces (<i>peza</i>) and short lengths of cloth (<i>drappi</i>) [...] <i>Varnimento a ror de nasizo</i> (the finest imported cloth of gold) may be the same textile as the the <i>naxici</i> of which the Genoese Anonymous Poet spoke [see OVI citation, above]; both imported fabrics may have been the <i>nasij</i> (also <i>nashi</i>, <i>nashishi</i>) or cloth of gold woven by Muslim artisans brought by the emperor of China from Central Asia to Zunmalin, about twenty miles west of Kalgan. (Mosher Stuard 2011: 22)</p> <p>An ultimate etymon is elusive; the TLIO has two separate entries for <i>nacchetti</i> and <i>nasicci</i>, saying that they are the same cloth with the former term originating in Mongolian and the latter in Persian. The FEW, as it does for nak, sticks with an Arabic etymon. It is probable, of course, that individual Romance attestations testify the influence of</p>		

various languages across the Near and Far East trade network. We do know that, even for a luxury fabric, *nassik* was especially expensive. A Latin-matrix Venetian sumptuary law of 1334 makes two references to this specific cloth of gold (*nassicio*), forbidding its use to make new outfits, even for brides who were usually exempt from strict regulation (Bistort 1912: 334).

55. AN net (adj.) ‘remaining weight or money, after all deductions have been made’ < It. <i>netto</i> / <i>netta</i> < Lat. <i>nitidus</i> (‘clean, bright, shiny’)				
Italian 1301-present	Anglo-Norman 1442-1443	Continental French c1453-present	(Middle) English 1418-present	Medieval Latin X
TLIO	X			
OVI	<i>netto</i> (9) <i>netta</i> (3)	<i>avemo ispeso a aprendere lo ‘nsoluto ditto di sopra, resta netto – lb ccxxxij s. xj d. iiij a grossi</i> (Lett. lucch, 140.24) (1301, lucch.) <i>Fu di peso lbr. 3.940 netta. Chostò lire 756 s. 9. d. 7 picc. baghattini</i> (Libro giallo, 80.35) (1336-40, fior.)		
AD	<i>netto</i> (27) <i>netta</i> (25)	<i>in tutto la tara lib. 249, resta netto lib. 3.307 per lb. 12 s. 5 cento lb.</i> (Milano-Firenze B669/30, 423771, 432.9) (1396) <i>2 saccha di lana near lib 447 lordo, tara lib. 12 per saccha, resta netta lib 435 per lb. 15 s. 10 cento [...]</i> (Milano-Pisa, B531/36, 507078), 374.13) (1396)		
LEI	X			
DEI	sub netto (adj.) (2576b)	‘scevo di macchie, pulito’ <i>netto</i> (13 th c.) ‘figuratamente, detto del prezzo, opposto di lordo’ <i>netto</i> (a1384)		
AND	X			
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub net (adj) (1)	4b. ‘[D’un reliquat de compte] Dont on a déduit tout élément marginal, toute charge’ <i>Et quant à la somme de 507 escus et quart restant de nect ledit Quercin m’a dit et affermé, en la présence des dessusdiz, qu’il avoit fait toute diligence possible de cueillir et amasser argent de toutes pars pour fournir à ladite somme qu’il devoit de reste [...]</i> (Aff. Jacques Coeur M.,53) (1453-57)		
GDF	Ø			
TL	Ø			
TLFi	sub net ¹ (adj. / adv.)	B.2a <i>Poids net</i> : ‘Poids de marchandises après déduction de celui de l’emballage’ <i>celui qui vient de net</i> (Lettres de Louis XI, éd. J. Vaesen et B. de Mandrot, t.10, p.466) (a1483) <i>Net</i> : <i>Se dit de ce qui reste après que l’on a ôté la tare du poids brut de la merchandise</i> (Dictionnaire universel de commerce, Savary) (1723)		
FEW	VII, 147a: sub nitidus	2cβ ‘Unbelastet (finanziell): Produit net d’une affaire’ <i>celui di vient de net</i> (1483) ‘Libre de charges, de possibilités de réduction, d’embarras judiciaire’ <i>net</i> (1557) ‘ce qu’on retire d’un bien, une vente etc, toutes charges et tous frais déduits’ <i>produit net</i> (1765) [Kuhn meint, es liege hier übertragung aus it. <i>netto</i> vor, das dieser bed. schon seit dem 15 jh. hat, s. Edler [1934]]		
MED	sub net (adj.) (1)	(b) ‘of price or amount: after deductions, net’ [< OF <i>net</i> / <i>nette</i>] <i>Pere was abayed For powdyr þe weyzt Off iiijc lxvij lb. and pris þer uppon Nette at viij d. þe lb.</i> (Grocer Lond.in Bk.Lond.E. 200/177) (1418)		

OED	sub net (adj. / n. ⁴) (2)	3a. ‘Of an amount, weight, etc.: free from, or not subject to, any (further) deduction; remaining after all necessary deductions have been made; after the deduction of tax, interest, etc.’ [<AN <i>net</i> , <i>neth</i> and MF <i>net</i> clean, morally pure, att. in sense 3, 1483] <i>Pere was abayted For powdyr þe weyzt Off iiijc lxviiij lb. and pris þer uppon <u>Nette</u> at viij d. þe lb.</i> (R. W. Chambers & M. Daunt Bk. London Eng., 200) (1418) <i>Sum v sac d. viij cl[oves]. Ter xj cl[oves] <u>Nett</u> v sac xxiiij cl[oves].</i> (Cely Papers in Eng. Stud. 42 145) (1486)
DMLBS	∅	
DC	∅	
Additional sources		
AN-matrix		
VOH (1442-43)	<i>net</i> (1)	<i>Peris de le Reype Florenteyne dischargy lij sackys de savone blanke que poyssse <u>net</u> iijxxxixC & xxvij libres</i> (VOH 34: 63, E101/128/31 r. 36, John Bentham, host to Paolo Morelli and his associates, merchants of Venice and Florence, transcr. p. 119) (1442-43)
ME-matrix		
CA (1450-51)	<i>n</i> ¹ (77) <i>netta</i> (4)	<i>The whych makyth in sackys CC^o lxiiij^o semis and v cloves semis, of the whych ys rebatyd for the tare of every poke j clove semis. Þe which summa ys xiiij sackys et xxiiij cloves. And so reste clere <u>n</u>¹: cc^o lj sackys cloves viij semis</i> (9c) <i>Resta n¹ lb 4160, a Fl. 17 le C. que fa Fl. 707 s. 4 d. 5 a oro</i> <i>Summa Fl. 707 s. 5 d. 9, argent content</i> (32a) <i>Resta <u>netta</u> lb 487, a Fl. 24 le C. que fa Fl. 116 s. 17 a oro</i> (22a)
Comments		
Transmission Type 2b / Semantic Field: financial		
<p><i>Netto</i> / <i>net</i> all first emerged in Italian, French and English attached to a notion of cleanliness, be it physical or spiritual. The earliest meanings in ME of <i>net</i> (both att. c1330) are ‘smart, trim and elegant’ or ‘desirable, good; decent, clean’ and these come from AN <i>net</i>: ‘clean, tidy, refined’ / ‘pure, chaste, pious’ (see AND sub net¹, att. 13th c.).¹³³ The shift to a commercial concept of a ‘clean’ weight or sum of money (i.e. that which remains when the gross has been deducted) occurred in Italy (probably first in Tuscany) where it appears in accounts from 1300. This specific usage was - according to the FEW - borrowed into CF in 1483 (but note the earlier presence of <i>restant de nect</i> in the Accounts of Jacques Coeur in 1453, recorded by the DMF). The major dictionaries list only two citations of <i>net</i> being used in this way in ME, prior to 1500: one from the Worshipful Company of Grocers in 1418 (a source for nine Italianisms in this glossary e.g. belendin / celestrin / garbeler / tare) and one from the records of a wealthy English wool-trading family (the Cely Papers) in 1483 (cf. Hanham 2002).</p> <p>We have two new important citations of the semantic borrowing <i>net</i> in this corpus. Firstly, the <i>Views of the Hosts</i> provides the first example of <i>net</i> being used in a mercantile sense in an AN-matrix document, a decade earlier than the equivalent use in CF. The account was written in Southampton in 1442-43 and concerns the</p>		

¹³³ This is at the root of modern English *neat* which emerged in the mid-fifteenth century (cf. OED3 sub **neat**, att. 1453) and, of course, French *nettoyer* (cf. AND sub **nettoier** att. c1275-1300).

imports and exports of Paolo Morelli and his associates, with the citation in question recording the net weight of some sacks of soap belonging to a Florentine merchant, *Peris de le Reype*.

In the multilingual *Cantelowe Accounts* of 1450-51, the English factor is clearly at ease with the concept of *net*; he uses the Italian shorthand *resta n'* dozens of times before a weight of wool (e.g. 32a) and, on four occasions, he writes *resta netta* in full (e.g. 22a). In our lone ME-matrix citation (9c), it is actually impossible to know whether Balmayn's abbreviation stands for Italian *netto / netta* or ME *net* but, in either case, the Tuscan influence on his English writing is undeniable.

Overall, this new evidence can lead us to speculate that the financial term *net* entered England directly with Italian merchants: be it first into AN and then into ME, into ME directly or, very likely, both, depending on the source and the circumstances.

56. ME n^o (n.) ‘an abbreviation for <i>numero</i> , preceding a number’ < It. <i>numero</i> < Lat. <i>numero</i> < Lat. <i>numerus</i> (‘number’)																
Italian [1252] 1478-present	Anglo-Norman X	Continental French 1589-present	(Middle) English 1450-present	Medieval Latin 8 th -15 th c.												
TLIO	X															
OVI	[sub numero] (2000+)	[<i>co li navi ke Pari gi in Grecia a ttollere Helena de lo numero de li. m. xij. navi.</i> (St. de Troia e de Roma Amb. 65.17) (1252-58, rom.< tosc.)]														
LEI	X															
DEI	∅															
AND	X															
DEAF	X															
DMF	X															
GDF	∅															
TL	∅															
TLFi	sub numéro	‘nombre mis sur un objet pour le distinguer d’autres objets de la même espèce (surtout terme de commerce) / abrév. usuelle devant un chiffre: <i>n^o</i> , <i>N^o</i> ; au plur.: <i>n^{os}</i> , <i>N^{os}</i> ’ [Empr. de l’ital. <i>numero</i>] <i>numéro</i> (Variété hist.et litt., éd. Fournier, t.7, p.269) (1589)														
FEW	VII, 238a: sub numerus	II.1b ‘nombre mis sur un objet pour le distinguer d’autres objets de la même espèce (surtout t. de commerce)’ <i>numéro</i> (1589) [It. <i>numero</i> wurde zur bezeichnung der verschiedenen nummern eines registers verwendet und in dieser bed. vom fr. entlehnt.]														
MED	X															
OED3	sub no. (adv. ³ / n. ²) (14)	‘In number / Number. Freq. with following numeral’ [< post-classical Latin <i>No.</i>] <i>They goe two months, & then bring forth a blind off-spring like bitches, <u>n^o</u>. eight or nine</i> (R. Lovell Παύζωορυκτολογία 129) (1661)														
DMLBS	∅															
DC	∅															
Additional sources																
Italian-matrix																
Cotton inventory, Venice (1478)	n ^o (90+)	<i>Fatura de sachi 89 goton di razon di ser Alvixe Baxeio et Polo Charoldo, carichi in su la nave [...]</i> <i>n^o 81 r^o 67.6</i> <i>n^o 88 r^o 67.6</i> <i>n^o 79 r^o 67.6</i> <i>n^o 80 r^o 67.7</i> <i>n^o 67 r^o 64.6</i> (Fattura del 1478, Aciri-Venezia) (Melis 1972: 296)														
ME-matrix																
CA (1450-51)	n ^o (100+)	<i>Et pui lb 10 in le poke de <u>n^o</u> 377 for hit was not sewynge</i> (22c) <i>n^o 374 lb 290</i> (22d) <table style="margin-left: 20px;"> <tr> <td><i>n^o</i></td> <td>335</td> <td>1</td> <td>3</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>345</td> <td>1</td> <td>5</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>388</td> <td>1</td> <td>3 (7a)</td> </tr> </table>			<i>n^o</i>	335	1	3		345	1	5		388	1	3 (7a)
<i>n^o</i>	335	1	3													
	345	1	5													
	388	1	3 (7a)													

De n^o lxx ad numerum lxxxj: pokes xxij de lana de Cotyswolde fine, contrasignata de uno pecore coronato: pokes xxij (8e)

Comments

Transmission Type 3a / Semantic Field: administrative language

The classification (and indeed the inclusion) of this headword in the Imports Glossary is problematic. Firstly, our only full citation ‘in ME’ is actually a mixed-language AN-ME segment (a similar problem exists for the more widely used **ditto**) and secondly, it is impossible to quantify the use of this abbreviation based on dictionary corpora. Only the OED devotes an entry to n^o and in other dictionaries, expanded forms are nearly always included in other entries without comment. The ultimate etymon of the abbreviation is, of course, well-known (the ablative form of Latin *numerus*) and, according to the OED3, this first appeared as n^o with a suspension mark in the eighth century. It goes without saying that the n^o will have been used perhaps thousands of times in BML texts prior to 1450 but its use is not quantifiably documented. Similarly, the earliest definite example I have been able to find of n^o in an Italian-matrix text is in a Venetian inventory from 1478 where it is used before a list of numbers designating ‘rolls’ (*rutoti* or r^o) of cotton (Melis 1972: 296). However, this does not mean that the abbreviation does not feature in earlier Italian vernacular texts.

All this being said, Balmayn’s use of n^o in a mid-fifteenth century ‘English’ source is still worthy of discussion. The OED3’s date of attestation for the abbreviation is 1661 (and in CF, it is 1589)¹³⁴ and so the *Cantelowe Accounts* offer a much earlier example of this commercial shorthand in a vernacular text. It can be no coincidence that *numéro* (and its abbreviated form) was borrowed into CF in the late 1500s as a commercial term to designate numbers of items in a register or to differentiate between pieces of the same type of merchandise (cf. the TLFi / FEW entries) This is precisely how Balmayn employs n^o , in his case before each number of the 466 pokes of wool in his accounts.

Upon closer investigation, n^o appears in the Cantelowe Accounts in three distinct ways, as exemplified in the box above.

1. Once in a mixed AN-ME sentence before an Arabic numeral (22c)
2. Over 100 times in number-only lists in which the number of each poke of wool and its weight in pounds are carefully recorded in Arabic numerals (e.g. 22d)
3. Twenty-seven times in a Latin-matrix section of the accounts, before a Roman numeral (e.g. 8e)

In the first line of the Latin-matrix section, the English factor writes out *numero* and then the accusative, *numerum* after *ad*. In subsequent lines, he then abbreviates *numero* to n^o . Undoubtedly, he is well acquainted with this traditional Latin abbreviation in his professional writing. However, I think it would be wrong in this instance to simply label his usage of this shorthand as ‘from Latin’. Overall, we have convincing evidence in this text of ‘new’ Tuscan business practice influencing the scribe, be it lexical (e.g. **avery**, **ditto**, **magasyne**, **net**, **tare**) or numerical. As is fully discussed in Chapter 5.4, Balmayn’s near total switch to modern Arabic numerals and fractions is unprecedented for an English accountant of his time and his consistent use of n^o + $1/2/3$ etc. must surely be another manifestation of efficient Tuscan shorthand in his work.

¹³⁴ Cf. Hope (1971: 212).

57. AN (ore) filado (n.) ‘gold thread (or more often, silver thread plated with gold), used for embroidery’ < It. / Ven. (<i>oro</i>) <i>filado</i> < Lat. <i>filare</i> (‘to spin’)					
Italian c1309-present day		Anglo-Norman 1440	Continental French X	(Middle) English X	Medieval Latin 1295-1440
TLIO	sub filato (n. / adj) (3)	‘detto di un metallo: ridotto in fili’ <i>Questo è lo Statuto di Bologna, <u>Auro filato</u>, libre XII, Arietno vivo, XV soldi.</i> (Stat. sen. Addizioni p. 61.2) (1303) (sen.)			
OVI	<i>oro filado</i> (21) <i>oro filato</i> (64)	<i>Oro filado se vende in Veniexia a livre; e la dita livra pexa 1 marca, onze 2 e quarti 3, karati 20</i> (Tariffa pesi e misure, 14.7) (ven.) <i>o vero uopara o vero lavoro di seta non compito, nè oro filato</i> (Stat. sen. dist.5, cap.273, 2, 349.18) (1309-10) (sen.)			
AD	<i>oro filato</i> (6)	<i>è oro filato (e) guado che tutto si mette da Gienova</i> (Avignone-Firenze 9307, B621 305.28) (1385)			
LEI	X				
DEI	Ø				
AND	X				
DEAF	Ø				
DMF	X				
GDF	Ø				
TL	Ø				
TLFi	Ø				
FEW	Ø				
MED	Ø				
OED	X				
DMLBS	Ø				
DC	sub aurum filatum (1)	‘Gall. Or filé’ <i>Item unum frixium laboratum super xamito rubeo ad imagines integras de <u>Auro filato</u></i> (Inventar. MS. thes. Sedis Apost. sub Bonif. VIII.) (1295)			
Additional sources					
AN-matrix					
VOH	<i>ore filado</i> (2)	<i>Item par j currouer vocatur Mewkyn j coffyn & deins xij libres <u>ore filado</u></i> (VOH 16: 201) <i>Item en Feverer xij libres <u>ore filado</u> xxvj^{li}</i> (VOH 16: 244) (Both: E101/128/30 ret. 6, Sir William Estfield, host to Bertucci and Tommaso Contarini, merchants of Venice, transc. p. 25-26) (1440)			
BML-matrix					
VOH	<i>aurum philatum</i> (1)	<i>Item vendiderunt <u>aurum philatum</u> de Venice xvijli xiijs [iijd]</i> (VOH 13:66) (E010/128/31 ret. 33, John Chichele, host to Genoese strangers, transc. p.113) (1440)			
Comments					
Transmission type 1a / Semantic field: textile					
There was great demand for gold and silver thread in late medieval England where local embroiderers created their					

own lavish style, *Opus Anglicanum*, to decorate clothing for the Church, the nobility and visiting diplomats. As Campbell states in her study of gold and silver work in late medieaval England:

That much of the thread was imported is shown by the frequent English references to gold (thread) of Venice, Lucca and Cyprus and is implied by the ordinance of 1378 (2 Richard II) decreeing that alien merchants should be allowed to buy and sell freely in all cities *fil d'or et d'argent* (Campbell 1991: 133).¹³⁵

Obviously, Latin lexical influence is a possibility but given both the nature of the source text and the fact that gold thread was a speciality product of Italian merchants (Bradley 2012: 313), an Italian borrowing seems convincing. *Oro filato / filado* are both widely attested constructions in the Italian record from the early 1300s onwards, with all twenty-one of the *-ado* forms in the OVI corpus found in Venetian documents. The term's appearance in the *Views of the Hosts* seems to be unique to the English record: *ore filado* appears twice in an AN View detailing Venetian imports from 1440 (and once, as *aurum philatum*, in a BML View concerning Genoese merchants).

AN seemed to prefer the construction *fil de or* for gold thread; e.g. *x cassel de fyl de or* (Studer 1913:111) or *fill de or* (AND sub **fil**¹, TLL ii 106) but there are no examples of it elsewhere in the *Views*, only *argent file / fyle* in View 12. Nor do the *Views* offer any instances of an ME version, although *gold threed* was first attested c1405 (OED2 sub **gold**¹).

¹³⁵ For details of the different techniques used in making gold and silver thread in the Middle Ages and the purity of the finished product, see Campbell (1991: 132-34).

58. AN patron (n.) 'a ship's captain or master' CF patron < Gen. / It. <i>patrone / padrone</i> < Lat. <i>patronus</i> ('patron, benefactor')				
Italian 1284-present	Anglo-Norman 1380-1444	Continental French 1246-present	(Middle) English a1400-present	Medieval Latin 1326-1478
TLIO	sub padrone (n.) (20+)	4. 'Comandante di un'imbarcazione cui spetta la responsabilità generale della sua condizione e gestione ; armatore Estens. Proprietario con la funzione di comandante a bordo di un'imbarcazione' [< Lat. <i>patronus</i>] <i>ser Iacomo Babilonio de Venecia, mercadhanti noliçadhi cu(m) ser Blasio de Todhoro de Çara, <u>paron</u> dela nave k'à nome "San Nicolao"</i> (Doc. Venez. 2, p.17.21) (1284, ven.) <i>ave prestato lu <u>patruno</u> dila nave a Pasca grossi VIJ di sup(ra) la paga soa</i> (Doc. rag. 3, p.77.22) (1284, rag.)		
OVI	<i>padrone / i</i> (50+) <i>patrone / i</i> (3) <i>paron</i> (30+)	<i>Lo <u>padrone</u> della nave non lassò, per tema della sua fereçça [...]</i> (Bestiario toscano, cap. 71, 84.17 (c1275-1300, pis.) <i>Lo <u>padrone</u>, li comiti e lli marinara erano d'Ischia</i> (Anonimo Rom, Cronica, cap.9, 57.2) (14 th c., rom.) <i>ser Iacomo Babilonio de Venecia, mercadhanti noliçadhi cu(m) ser Blasio de Todhoro de Çara, <u>paron</u> dela nave k'à nome 'San Nicolao'</i> (Doc. Venez. 2, p.17.21) (1284, ven.)		
AD	<i>padrone</i> (40+) <i>patrone</i> (3) <i>patron</i> (3) <i>paron</i> (2)	<i>fummo rubati da Francescho da Fermo soldato di Madama ch'è <u>padrone</u> d'una ghalea</i> (Gaeta-Pisa 506656 / B504/20, 225.9) (1387) <i>Bernabò Dentuto, <u>patrone</u> de una sua nave</i> (Genova-Firenze 134883 / B1091, 99.5) (1405) <i>vi ho scritto aver cargado di mia raxon suxo do caroche una <u>patron</u> ser Bernabo Dentoa zienovexe, l'altra <u>patron</u> Ser Novoler Larcharii zienovexe</i> (Venezia-Ibiza, 383.3) (1400) <i>li quali volyo che sia cargada in usso la nave da Vinesia <u>paron</u> ser Zann Obizo</i> (Tortosa-Ibiza 387.1) (1400)		
LEI	X			
DEI	sub padrone (n.) 2718b	'armatore e capitano di nave' [< Lat. <i>patronus</i>] <i>padrone</i> (14 th c.)		
AND1	sub patron (n.) (1)	6. 'captain' <i>Entre j <u>carrake</u> de Janne, patron Anree Spinol</i> (Port Bks 42) (1427-30)		
AND corpus	<i>patron</i> (1) sub carrak <i>patron</i> (1) sub dunt ¹ <i>patron</i> (1) sub Italien	<i><u>patron</u> d'une carice appellé le Seinte Marie</i> (Rot Parl ¹ iii 75) (1380) <i>Entré de .j. carrake donk est <u>patron</u> Piere V. de L</i> (Local Port Bk) (1435-36) <i>Entre le xxvij^{me} jour de august j carrake <u>patron</u> karole ytalyen</i> (Port Bks 82) (1427-30)		
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub patron ¹ (n.) (19)	B.2 'Celui qui commande l'équipage d'un bateau' <i>Et aura ledit Aytou et les autres <u>patrons</u> la moitié de tout le fruit et noule</i>		

		<i>que lesdites galées gaigneront</i> (Chron. norm. 14e M., App., 211) (1337)
GDC	sub patron (n.) (1)	‘Maître’ <i>Une grand nef, de bons patrons garnie</i> (Salel, Iliade) (1545)
TL	∅	
TLFi	sub patron ¹ (n.)	4b. ‘Marin qui commande l’équipage d’une embarcation, qui tient la barre, le gouvernail’ [Le sens 4 a est empr. à l’ital. <i>padrone</i>] <i>patron</i> [No date given for first maritime att.]
FEW	VIII, 25a: patronus	II. 1. ‘celui qui commande à l’équipage d’un bateau’ MF <i>patron</i> (1357) [Lt. <i>patronus</i> lebt weiter in it. <i>patrono</i> ‘kirchenpatron’, <i>padrone</i> ‘herr (des hauses usw.) ven. <i>paron</i> ‘besitzer oder befehlshaber einer barke’]
MED	sub patroun (n.) (7)	3. ‘The captain of a ship’ [OF & ML] <i>Item, pro retibus emptis de patrono per senescallum, xiiij duc</i> (Acc. Exped. Der. in Camd. n.s.52, 220/24) (1393) <i>The erle of huntyngdon, with othir lordis..foughten with ix Carrikkis of Gene..and..thei toke iij grete carrikkis and her patronys</i> (Brut-1377 CorpC174, 307) (a1400) / <i>The patron of þis schip is þe holy goost</i> (Orch. Syon Hrl 3432, 386/20) (?a1425)
OED3	sub patron (n.) (15)	II. 7a. ‘In early use: †the captain or master of a ship, esp. a galley or carrack (obs.). In later use (now chiefly N. Amer.): the master or steersman of a barge, longboat’ <i>The erle of huntyngdon, with othir lordis..foughten with ix Carrikkis of Gene..and..thei toke iij grete carrikkis and her patronys</i> (Brut Corpus Cambr. 307) (a1400) <i>The patron of the said carak wasse absent in fflaunders</i> (Let. in Publ. Southampton Rec. Soc. 22 16) (1458-59) 7b. ‘In extended use: any captain of a ship in the ancient world (obs)’ <i>Eneas..called to hym all the patrons & all the maystres of the shipes.</i> (Caxton, tr. Eneydos xxvii 95) (1490)
DMLBS	sub patronus (8)	4. ‘owner or master (of a ship)’ <i>Johanni Dorye et Nicholao Blaunk. patronis duarum galearum nostrarum, super vadiis et expensis suis ac sociorum suorum in eisdem galeis existencium super mare de mandato nostro eundo</i> (Cl.160m.3) (1338)
DC	sub patronus ² (3)	‘Nauclerus’ <i>Mandetis singulis Patronis galearum de dicta civitate recollectis ad gagia curiae, ut, etc.</i> (Tabular. S. Victoris Massil.) (1326)
Additional sources		
AN-matrix		
VOH (1440-44)	<i>patrone</i> (27) <i>patronne</i> (2)	[...] <i>John Pattesley nadgaires mair de la cite de Loundres pur estre host a Jacomo Corner marchaut & patronne dune galey de Venise</i> (VOH 48: 2, E101/128/30 ret.1, John Welles, host to Giacomo Corner, merchant and patron of a Venetian galley and named crew, transc. p. 1) (1441-2)
CF-matrix		
Naval contract between Genoa and	<i>patron(s)</i> (2)	<i>li patron des naves et tuit li maronnier / [...] pour le pris desseurdit, Thomas Rapairus de Genne une, pour le pris devantdit, et doit ester patrons de la nave</i> (Proposte dei Commissari di san Ludovico IX re di Francia al Comune di

French Crown (1264)		Genova e ratifica delle medesime (Belgrano (1859: 17-18) in Fennis 1995: 1365) (1264)
ME-matrix		
CA (1450-51)	<i>patron</i> (1) <i>patrone</i> (4)	<i>The whych Ciiij pokes was shypyd at Hampton in the monyth of aprelle 1451 upon a caryk of Jene, <u>patrone</u> Morys Cateneo</i> (Cantelowe Accounts 10b) (1451)
SH Steward's Book (1487-88)	<i>patron</i> (9)	<i>Allso Resseved the xxviiij day of marche of the <u>patron</u> of the gayle ffranses contery¹³⁶ for the styves that he occupyed in his gayle</i> (Southampton Steward's Book) (Ruddock 1944: 148) (1487-88)
BML-matrix		
VOH	<i>patronus</i> (8)	<i>Item xxiiij die Octobris anno xx predicto Victor Capell <u>patronus</u> unius galearum cum mercatoribus & navigatore suis commissus fuit michi dicto Johanni Chichele</i> (VOH 13: 69, E101/128/31 ret.33, John Chichele, host to Vettore Cappello, Genoese galley merchant, transc. p. 113) (1441-2)
CA	<i>patronus</i> (1)	<i>Factura lanorum pokes ccclxvj signate, numerate et depincte, prout inferius continetur carigate in carraca unde est <u>patronus</u> Antonio de Aurea de Janua</i> (Cantelowe Accounts, 8a) (1450)
Comments		
Transmission Type 2b / Semantic Field: maritime		
<p>The specific use of <i>patron</i> in relation to a ship in medieval French certainly seems to have been influenced by Italian maritime terminology: <i>patronus</i> is first used in this way in Latin of Genoa in 1246. Note that in extant records, <i>patrone</i> is the less common Italian variant with Tuscan / Central <i>padrone</i> and Venetian <i>paron</i> appearing much more frequently in the OVI corpus. As the TLIO entry notes, it is not always possible to distinguish between these two meanings ('master' vs. 'captain' of the ship) in medieval citations: the nuance can either be towards commanding the ship once it leaves port or ensuring the ship is sufficiently equipped before it leaves, often as its legal owner. There is also considerable lexical overlap between <i>patron</i> and two other Italian borrowings, the first in CF only, the second also in AN: <i>nocher</i>, 'celui qui conduit une embarcation' (< Gen. <i>nozher</i>)¹³⁷ and <i>comite</i>, 'commandant des galères' (< North It. <i>cómite</i>).¹³⁸</p> <p>Fennis draws our attention to a much earlier source of the borrowing than those given in the major CF dictionaries. This is a bilingual CF / Latin shipping charter drawn up between the French Crown and Genoa in 1246, edited by Belgrano in 1869 and entitled <i>Documenti inediti riguardanti le due Crociate di San Ludovico IX, re di Francia</i>. The relevant section of the text is also known as the <i>Propositions des commissaires de Louis IX</i>. Crucially, it also contains the first evidence other CF maritime terms borrowed from Genoese that are also recorded in AN: <i>gondele</i> (see go(u)ndel), <i>pope</i> (see poupe) and <i>taride</i> (see tarette).¹³⁹ Note that Fennis' entry (1995: 1365-67) also collates numerous new citations of CF <i>patron</i> from the fourteenth to eighteenth centuries that are not currently listed elsewhere.</p> <p>The FEW's entry sub patronus contains very little information about the nautical use of the term and there</p>		

¹³⁶ Note Ruddock's footnote here: "Galley, Francesco Contarini patron, from Venice: compare PRO, Exchequer K.R Customs Accounts (E122/142/10)."

¹³⁷ Cf. DMF / TLFi sub **nocher** and Vidos (1939: 491-94), Fennis (1995: 1285-86) and Tomasin (2010: 267).

¹³⁸ Cf. **comyt** in Imports Glossary.

¹³⁹ In addition, this early Italianising CF source also contains the earliest attestation of *proue* (< Gen. *proa*) which, surprisingly, is absent from the AN record and is not attested in English as *pro* until 1555 (OED3 sub **pro**²).

is no mention of the Italian forms *padrone* / *patrone* or the early link to Genoese lexis, noted above by Fennis. This could be because the loanword is not discussed in Vidos (1939), a key FEW source for Italianisms. The dictionary does list a late fourteenth-century example of CF *paron* ('argousin de galère', VIII, 27a) as a borrowing from Venetian *paron* but Fennis (1995: 1365) remarks that he has been unable to find this citation. He also confirms that the maritime uses of *patron* probably radiated out initially from Genoa but later from Cyprus, Venice and Marseille.

The *Views of the Hosts of Alien Merchants* and the *Cantelowe Accounts* provide us with new attestations of *patron* from England in the mid-fifteenth century in their BML, AN and ME-matrix sections. The Southampton Stewards' Books offer even later examples, from the 1480s, all in relation to Venetian galleys. The *patron* of a visiting Italian carrack (very probably from Genoa, cf. Nicolini 2007) is first referred to in the AN Parliament Rolls in 1380. In ME, our first citation is in a literary source (the ME version of the *Prose Brut*, a1400) but clearly referring this time to Genoese carracks: *ix Carrikkis of Gene..and..thei toke iij grete carrikkis and her patronys*.

59. ME pecheline (n.) ‘a small, low-value Florentine coin made of a copper-silver mix’ (AN * <i>pecheline</i>) < It. <i>picciolino</i> < It. <i>picciolo</i> / <i>piccolo</i> (‘small’)				
Italian c1262 - 15 th c.	Anglo-Norman [1376]	Continental French X	(Middle) English ?a1400	Medieval Latin X
TLIO	X			
OVI	<i>piccioli</i> (500+) <i>picciolini</i> (4) <i>pizoli</i> (29)	[...] <i>che nnn`ave(n)mo livre sette (e) s. tre di buoni <u>piccioli</u></i> (Doc. fior. 294.20) (1262-75, fior.) <i>tal chiaman mercennaio che più tosto un staio spenderia di fiorni ch`essi di <u>picciolini</u></i> (Brunetto Latini, Tesoretto, v.1712, 235.22) (a1274, fior.) [...] <i>che lo xe per 9 stimadori de comun da l`oro denery 8 a <u>pizoli</u> per marca</i> (Tariffa pesi e misure, 14.4) (1345, ven.)		
LEI	X			
DEI	sub piccioli (n.) 2902a	‘quarta parta parte del quattrino, da <i>piccolo</i> ’ [cf. <i>grosso</i>] <i>picciolini</i> (13 th c., Br. Latini) / <i>piccioli</i> (14 th c.)		
AND	X			
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub pichelin (adj)	‘petit?’ <i>Mais si le mal fuist <u>pichelin</u>, Lors covenoit a faire fin Du tiel offrende a dieu rendant, Dont puet son necligent engin Vers dieu redrescer en la fin, Et amender le remenant</i> (Gower, <i>Miroir homme M.</i> ,71) (c.1376-79)		
GDF	Ø			
TL	Ø			
TLFi	Ø			
FEW	Ø			
MED	sub pecheline (n.) (2)	‘a small Italian coin’ [Cp. OIt <i>picchione</i> , ¹⁴⁰ <i>piccolo</i>] <i>I sall noghte lefe in Paresche..His parte of a <u>pechelyne</u></i> (Morte Arth.1, 1341 Thrn) (c1440/ ?a1400) <i>Of bolendynes at Rome, of bayokys iiij to a papal grote, To euery bayoke, iiij katerynes; to euery kateryne, xij <u>pychelynes</u>, clepyd in Rome ‘denars’.</i> (Wey Money Bod 565 2) (c1440 /? 1458)		
OED	X			
DMLBS	Ø			
DC	Ø			
Additional sources				
ME-matrix				
CA	<i>pezoly</i> (2) ¹⁴¹	<i>Item for the custome of Florens for the seyde 466 pokes, weyng lb 123067 a Fl. uno s.16 de <u>pezoly</u> le C. que fa Fl.1230. (12d) (Cantelowe Accounts, 1450-51)</i>		
Comments				
Transmission Type 3a / Semantic Field: financial				
The <i>picciolo</i> / <i>picciolino</i> was a small copper-silver mix coin from Florence (where it was worth quarter of a				

¹⁴⁰ This *picchione* was silver penny coined in Milan from the 1300s but this seems a less likely etymon.

¹⁴¹ The author uses a *p*- abbreviation for this coin in another ten account entries. It is impossible to tell whether this stands for *pezoly* again or a more Tuscan variant such as *piccioli*, although the former seems likely. See editorial notes to the *Cantelowe Accounts* transcription (p. 425 of Volume 2).

quattrino, cf. MED **katerin** and *quatrain*, Table 1: Appendices, Volume 2) and it does not feature heavily in ME records unlike the **florin** and the **ducat**. There are three main points of interest in the case of *pecheline*; the first is that we find two rare examples of its use in ME in the MED only, one literary from Malory's *Morte Arthure*¹⁴² and one in a monetary guide of the day, *William Wey's Changes of Money from England to Rome and Venice*.

Secondly, it is important to note the earlier presence of *pichelin* in Gower's AN *Mirour de l'homme*, a citation recorded in the DMF but not yet found in the AND. Here the lexeme is not referring to a coin but seems to mean 'small' i.e. the alternative (and original) meaning of the *picciolo / picciolino* in medieval Italian. We already know that Gower used Italian loanwords and so it is probable that *pichelin* is another example.¹⁴³ It is questionable, of course, whether Gower's use of this Italian-derived form became generally known in England's literary lexis and whether it 'paved the way' for the use of the coin name in Malory's poem around thirty years later.

Lastly, we have a unique variant of the coin name in the *Cantelowe Accounts*. Balmayn refers to *pezoly*, either borrowed from the Venetian version of the coin-name, *pizioli* (which also means 'small'), or the Tuscan *piccoli*. All examples of *pizoli* in the OVI corpus are found in documents from the Veneto region (Venice, Verona and Padua) but in Balmayn's accounts, *pezoly* (or, more often, a *p-* abbreviation) is used in both Florentine and Venetian prices. An alternative explanation is that the English author is generically calling the low-value coins, 'small pieces' (i.e. *pezzoli*) but I have not been able to find any equivalent use of the term in this way. The only two examples refer to broken glass (see OVI sub *pezzoli*) although they are Tuscan (from Arezzo).

¹⁴² See also *brigand* < It. *brigante* in this same work (Table 2: Appendices, Volume 2).

¹⁴³ See *veck* < It. *vecchia* in his *Confessio Amantis* (Table 2: Appendices, Volume 2).

60. AN paunace (n.) ‘a deep blue-purple colour’ (< CF <i>paonace</i>) < It. <i>paonazzo</i> < Lat. <i>pavonaceus</i> (‘peacock’)				
Italian	Anglo-Norman	Continental French	(Middle) English	Medieval Latin
c1306 -16 th c.	1298	1172-14 th c.	a1399	1208-c1300
TLIO	sub paonazzo (adj./n.) (4)	1. ‘Di colore violaceo, tra il porpora e il bluastro’ [< Lat. <i>pavonaceus</i>] <i>l’ abate viene vestito d’ una bellissima cappa paonazza</i> (Sacchetti, Trecentonovelle, 212, p.550.30) (c1350-1400, fior.) 2. ‘Panno tinto in colore tra il porpora e il bluaastro’ <i>Dì X di giugno, p(er) scarlato (e) paonazo p(er) vestire dela Tesa, (e) b. VJ di camelino p(er) Gieri</i> (Doc. fior. p.99.28) (1306-25, fior.)		
OVI	<i>paonazzo</i> (2) <i>paonazza</i> (2) <i>paonazo</i> (5) <i>paonaçço</i> (1)	<i>Furono per braccia III di paonazzo di Borsella</i> (Doc. fior. 162.34) (1348-50, fior.) <i>sono per braccia II I/I di sa[ia] di Scotto paonazza di lbr. VIII parigini</i> (Doc. fior, 150.39) (1348-50, fior.) <i>Dì X di giugno, p(er) scarlato (e) paonazo p(er) vestire dela Tesa, (e) b. VJ di camelino p(er) Gieri</i> (Doc. fior. p.99.28) (1306-25, fior.) <i>E de dare, che ò dato alla bottega di Taverna per br. j di paonaçço e per br. j d’ azurino</i> (Doc. pist. p. 131.17) (1337-42, pist.)		
LEI	X			
DEI	sub paonazzo (adj.) 2754b	‘di colore simile a quello della mammola’ <i>paonazzo</i> (14 th c.) [cf. ant. fr. <i>peonace</i> , ‘violetto scuro’]		
AND	X			
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub paonasse (adj) (4)	‘De couleur rouge violacé’ <i>Baillif, nous vous prions (...) que vous nous envoieiz dues esquallates blanches goûtées de vermoil, une esqualatte vermoille, et une autre paonace qui se traie aussi comme sur morey, c’est à dire qu’elle ait colour de droite violete</i> (Hist. industr. drapière Flandre E.P.t.3, 291) (1335)		
GDF	sub paonaz (adj / n.) (11)	‘se dit d’une couleur, et désigne une haute nuance de bleu violet, rappelant la couleur du plumage du paon’ <i>D’une escarlate paonnace. Li fist un mantel aporter</i> (Perceval, ms. Montp. H249, f.274b) (c1200)		
TL	sub päonace			
TLFi	Ø			
FEW	VIII, 84a: pavo	‘rouge violacé’ OF <i>peonace</i> (c.1172) / <i>paonace, paonnace</i> (c1180) / <i>paonasse</i> (1335) ‘drap d’une teinte rouge violacé’ <i>paonace</i> (1320) [Daraus entlehnt it. <i>paonaz(z)o</i> , apis. <i>pionasse</i> , abruzz. <i>pavonazze</i>]		
MED	sub pounas (n.) (1)	‘A purple colour’ [< OF <i>päonaz, po(o)nace</i> .] <i>If þu wolt have zelow, do þerto safronn and no persel..If þou wilt have pownas, do þerto turnesole.</i> (Forme of Cury, add. 5016, p.38) (a1399)		
OED	X			
DMLBS	sub pounaceus (adj)	1. ‘(of colour) purple, peacock blue, or sim.’ [ME <i>pounas</i> , OF <i>paonace</i> ,		

	/ n.) (14) 2373a	<i>ponace</i> , assoc. w. CL <i>puniceus</i> , <i>poeniceus</i>] <i>j toall' pounac' coloris radiat' auro de serico</i> (Chanc. Misc ¾) (1235) 2. 'fabric of purple, peacock-blue or sim. colour' <i>item xxj uln' de poenac' ad opus camerar' regine</i> (CI 88b) (1208)
DC	sub pavonaceus (1)	'Color violaceus, Ital. <i>Pavonazzo</i> ' <i>Papa habet cappam sine mitra ; cardinales Pavonaceas cappas panni, vel etiam chameloti.</i> (Cærem. Rom. MS. f.31v) (att. ?)
LCC	sub pounaceus (adj. /n.) (5) (5 = DMLBS)	'peacock-blue (as colour). More frequently (as a substantive): a brightly coloured cloth, probably deep-blue, ranging to bluish-purple (derived from romance terms for peacock) [...] Wool cloths of this colour (probably Italian), were popular for royalty from the twelfth to fourteenth century. In Italy there were <i>paonazzo</i> silks' [ME <i>pounas</i> < OF <i>paonace</i> / <i>ponace</i>]
Additional sources		
AN-matrix		
Wardrobe of Osbert Spaldington(1298)	<i>paunace</i> (1)	<i>Co est asaver iij dras dor e un say e j coverlit linge od le bordur de cendel. E un couverture de gris od le drap de paunace</i> (Wardrobe Inventory of Osbert Spaldington, E101/354/11/6) (Lachaud 1994 :100) (1298)
Comments Transmission Type 2b / Semantic Field: textile		
<p>Despite the chronology (CF <i>peonace</i> is attested as early as 1172 and It. <i>paonazzo</i> not until the early 1300s),¹⁴⁴ there is undoubtedly a clear lexical link to Italian in the case of this peacock blue fabric colour in England. The cloth appears in the BML Close Rolls from 1208 onwards with many variants (<i>poenacia</i>, <i>powenacios</i>, <i>pounac'</i>, <i>ponac'</i>) and as <i>drap de paunauce</i> in 1298 in the AN wardrobe inventory of Osbert Spaldington, a "northern English knight and royal officer" (Lachaud 1994: 90).</p> <p>This colour name was only applied to dyed silks and high-end woollens and by far the most prolific and famous producers of such cloths were the Italians, especially the Venetians. There is some debate amongst textile historians as to the exact colour involved but the term could have referred to varying hues on the blue spectrum. In a recent article on the luxury cloths in the trousseau of Henry II's sister in 1235, Wild interprets BML <i>pounacia</i> as meaning blue-green (Wild 2011: 9). Monnas (2014: 49) is in favour of an iridescent, dark purplish colour with tinges of red and bases her argument on the documented Venetian practice of mixing indigo (see yndigo) with various red dyes (e.g. <i>cremisi</i>, 'kermes' or <i>grana</i> 'grain') to obtain the <i>panoazzo</i> colour: compare <i>robam integram de optimo cameletto vel de ponacio tincto in grein</i> from the Close Rolls 290 in 1252 (DMLBS). For full details of the many statutes and regulations issued by the city states of Florence, Genoa and Venice over the fifteenth century to control the dyes used to colour <i>paonazzo</i> silks, see Molà (2000: 112-20).</p> <p>The lone ME citation of <i>pownas</i> (surely derived from AN <i>paunace</i>) is intriguing. At first sight, it has nothing to do with textiles at all, given that it features in a recipe from <i>Forme of Cury</i> (a1399).¹⁴⁵ The dish concerned is <i>lete lardes</i> ('larded milk'), a sort of curdled milk fritter with colorants to dye the milk either</p>		

¹⁴⁴ Note that the FEW (p.85b) believes *paonazzo* to be a Gallicism but the TLIO says it is derived directly from Latin.

¹⁴⁵ See also **cotegnate** ('quince jam') in this source.

yellow, red, purple or black. The herb suggested to achieve the purple (*pownas*) colour is *turnsole*: described in the OED2 as ‘a violet-blue or purple colouring matter, obtained from the plant *Crozophora tinctoria* formerly much used for colouring jellies, confectionery, wines, etc., and later as a pigment’ (att. 1375). Referring to a botanical work written in 1597 by John Gernard, the editors of this recipe note that “Gerard says the French dyed linen rags with it [i.e. *turnsole*] and these rags were sold in England to be used as food dye” (Heatt and Butler 1985: 220), cf. ‘turnsole rags’ att. in the 1700s in the OED2 entry. It seems, therefore, that even in this culinary source, the use of the specific colour term *pownas* (instead of ME *purpel*, *bleu* or *violet*) could well be semantically linked to fabric.

61. AN poupe (n.) ‘the stern of a ship: the aftermost and highest deck’ ¹⁴⁶ CF <i>poupe</i> < Gen / It. <i>poppa</i> < Lat. * <i>puppa</i> < Lat. <i>puppis</i> (‘stern’)				
Italian 1218-present	Anglo-Norman c1409	Continental French 1246-present	(Middle) English 1489	Medieval Latin 8 th -15 th c.
TLIO	sub poppa ² (n.) (32)	‘Estremità o parte posteriore di un'imbarcazione’ [< Lat. <i>puppis</i>] <i>Se volete gire al porto de Taranto, mettete l'isola peticta ch'è da greco p(er) mecça <u>poppa</u> e 'l capo de la città ch'è da garbino p(er) mecça proda</i> (Compasso da navigare, p. 49.41) (1296, sett. / mediano)		
OVI	<i>poppa</i> / <i>e</i> (50+) <i>popa</i> (5) <i>puppa</i> (2)	<i>Se volete gire al porto de Taranto, mettete l'isola peticta ch'è da greco p(er) mecça <u>poppa</u> e 'l capo de la città ch'è da garbino p(er) mecça proda</i> (Compasso da navigare, p. 49.41) (1296, sett. / mediano) <i>tuti afani e si freventi che tuta la galea è soa corrando vam da <u>popa</u> a proa</i> (Anonimo Genovese, 38, v. 23, 235.11) (a1311) <i>Ma quandu Eneas sintiu lu naviliu tuccari et errari la via, sguardandu inver la <u>puppa</u> [...] (Angelo di Capua, L.5, 98.16) (1316-17, mess.)</i>		
LEI	X			
DEI	sub póppa ² (n.) 3018b	‘parte postiere della nave’ [Lat. <i>puppis</i> , termine marinaro verosimilmente mutata, vedi prora’ A. prov. <i>popa</i> donde il fr. <i>poupe</i> . La voce francese, documentato per la prima volta in un atto di noleggio di navi fra i commissari di Luigi IX e il commune di Genova, può rappresentare anch l’a. genov. <i>popa</i>] <i>pope</i> (1218, Modena) / ML <i>popa</i> (1246, Genoa) / <i>poppa</i> (Dante)		
AND	X			
AND corpus	<i>powpe</i> (1) sub forcastell	<i>Un <u>powpe</u> ové le forchastiell</i> (Sandahl Sea i 199 (PRO E101/44/17, m.1) (1409-11)		
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub poupe ¹ (n.) (14)	‘Partie arrière d’un bateau’ <i>un gallart de cendal des armes de France pour mectre en la poupe de sa galee</i> (Clos galées Rouen M.-C. t.2, 17) (1341)		
GDC	sub poupe (n.) (4)	‘t.de mar., arrière d’aun vaisseau’ <i>Sus pope monte et se prent garde, de quel part le vent nous regarde</i> (Christ. de Piz. Poés, B.N. 604 f.168 r.) (early 15 th c.)		
TL	Ø			
TLFi	sub poupe (n.)	‘Partie arrière des anciens navires, en particulier dans la construction ancienne en bois, la partie comprenant l'arcasse, la voûte et le tableau arrière.’ [Empr. au génois <i>popa</i>] <i>poupe, pope</i> (Propositions des commissaires de Louis IX, Gênes) (1246)		
FEW	IX, 608a : puppis	‘arrière d’un navire’ OF <i>pope</i> (1246 / c1310) /MF <i>pope</i> (ChristPis, 15 th c.) Occ. <i>popa</i> (c1300) [Erbwörtlich ist es wohl auch im occit. Vidos 543 hält das fr. wort für eine entlehnung aus dem gen., weil der älteste beleg in einem transportvertrag		

¹⁴⁶ See Sandal (1951: 199): “On its introduction into English, *poop* was no doubt used to designate the aftermost part of the ship, the stern. Very soon, however, it became involved in the complicated semantic development of terms denoting decks, orlops, summer-castles etc [...] and the meaning of the word was modified according to the changing shape of the stern.”

		mit Genua steht. Doch ist dieses argument nicht zwingend; das fr. wort kann ebenso wohl aus Marseille stammen.]
MED	Ø	
OED3	sub poop ¹ (30+)	‘The aftermost part of a ship; the stern; the aftermost and highest deck often forming (esp. in a wooden ship) the roof of a cabin in the stern.’ [MF <i>pupe</i> / <i>pope</i> / <i>poppe</i> / <i>poupe</i> < It. <i>poppa</i> / Occ. <i>popa</i> < Lat. * <i>puppa</i> < Lat. <i>puppis</i>] <i>j Poupe, j fforcastell’ pro Minstrell’</i> . (Naval Acct. in B. Sandahl Middle Eng. Sea Terms I.199) (1405-10) <i>The pouppe whiche is the hindermost partye of the shippe</i> . (Caxton, tr. C. de Pisan Bk. Fayettes of Armes II ii 93) (1489)
DMLBS	sub puppis (14) 2579c	‘stern of ship, poop’ <i>puppe, steorste[fn]</i> (8 th c.) (GIS, 210) / <i>nam [procella] satis horendum stridens Aquilone revulsit in scopulum laceram, jam sine puppe, ratem</i> . (L. Durh. Dial. III 180) (c1174)
DC	sub popa ¹ (1)	‘pro Puppis, Gall. <i>Poupe</i> ’ <i>Actum in Popa galeæ dom. Bartholomæi Bonivini Admiratus dom. nostri Regis</i> . (Tabular. S. Victoris Massil) (1288)

Comments

Transmission Type 2b / Semantic Field: maritime

We find only one attestation of *powpe* in an AN segment from 1409 and, rather surprisingly, it does not appear in an ME-matrix text until 1489. Like **patron** and **tarette**, the earliest CF examples of *pope* are found in bilingual 1246 naval treaty between the city of Genoa and the French king, Louis IX. Vidos (1939: 543) gives us the Genoese Latin and corresponding OF citations in full: “*Item in introit paradise altitudinis palmorum VII. Item castellum altitudinis palmorum VI et dimidii. Larga in popa in tragant palmorum XXIV*” / “*l’entrée dou paradis sera haute VII paumes, le chastel sera haut VI paums et demi et sera large chascune des naves en la poupe en tragant XXIII paumes*”. For the author, the Genoese roots of CF *pope* are clear:

La storia della voce francese ci dimostra chiaramente la sua provenienza genovese. L’antico fr. *pope*, che non può essere idigeno, e che si legga la prima volta nel 1246, in un testo che parla per Genova, è, alla stregua di *car*, *carène*, *gondele*, *goue*, *panfil*, *perascaline*, *proue*, *taride*, *tercerol* e *tragant*, tutti di provenienza Genovese e ricorrenti per la prima volta nel medesimo testo, di sicura origine Genovese [...] Le altre documentazioni del fr. *pope* nelle italianizzanti *Gestes des Chiprois*,¹⁴⁷ presso Christine De Pisan¹⁴⁸ e nelle *Cronache di Savoia*, che nella parte marinesca rispecchiano più facilmente la lingua ufficiale del Piemonte che gravava sopra Genova, parlano altresì in favour di una origine genovese (Vidos 1939: 544).

It is also important to highlight the use of the term *poupe* in the *Clos des gallées* accounts from Rouen in 1341 (given in the DMF entry). These Northern French dockyards provided an optimal environment for the transfer of (mainly Genoese) technical lexis and it could well be here that *poupe* (along with **comyt** / **timon** / **calfater** / **galio**¹) began its transfer into AN (cf. Trotter 2003e: 23-24).

Genoese is not the only possible etymon by any means, however, and both the FEW (p. 608a) and Fennis

¹⁴⁷ See also **carrak**, **calfater** and **tarette**.

¹⁴⁸ Christine de Pisan (1364 -c1430) was born in Venice but moved to France as a child when her father became astrologer to Charles V. Very unusually for a woman at the time, she supported her family after the death of her husband by embarking on a prolific writing career (see Brown-Grant 1999).

(1995: 1477) remark that, as well as Italian, the Occitan variant *popa* (att. in Latin in 1288) could also have entered Old French via the docks of Marseille. In addition, the OED3, FEW, TLFi and DEI all comment that the Latin *puppis* may have been remodelled after Latin *prōra* ('ship's prow') to give **puppa*, the root of the Italian and Occitan forms.

62. AN pume d'orange (n.) 'Bitter or Seville orange (<i>Citrus aurantium</i>), a citrus fruit used for medicine and preserves and grown around the Mediterrean in the Middle Ages' (CF <i>pomme d'oreng</i>) < It. <i>melarancia</i> < Ar. <i>nāranj</i> < Pers. <i>nārang</i> ('orange')				
Italian	Anglo-Norman	Continental French	(Middle) English	Medieval Latin
124 -present	c1200 -c1325	1314-present	c1400-present	[?1208] 1221-1440
TLIO	sub melarancia (n.) (13) sub melarancio (n.) (n.) (4) sub aranica (n.) (3) sub arancio (n./adj.) (19)	'Altro nome dell'arancia' [Da <i>mela</i> e <i>arancia</i>] <i>cedro vendo e mele arance</i> (Ruggieri Apugliese 2.80, p.894) (c1250, sen.) 'Lo stesso che arancio (albero da frutto della famiglia delle Rutacee, <i>Citrus sinensis</i>)' [Da <i>melo</i> e <i>arancio</i>] <i>hoc arantius, cij, el melrancio</i> (Gloss lat. –aret, p.296.39) (c1350) 'frutto dell'arancio' [Ar. – Pers. <i>narang</i>] <i>olio di noci vecchio, mane e sera, per far caldegli, arance, e gran cidroni.</i> (Cenne de la Chitarra 4.6, p.425) (c1275-a1336, aret.) 1. albero da frutto delle Rutacee / Frutto dell'arancio [Ar. – Pers. <i>narang</i>] <i>et tagliaron loro il più bello giardino d'aranci et di cederni</i> (Paolino Pieri, Cronica, p.69.12) (c1305) 2. di colore tra il rosso e il giallo come le arance <i>Mes(er) Copia f. s(er) Uberti ci de dare s. viij e d. j p(er) vij b. e meço di lo(m)bardese ra(n)cio e [sa(n)]giugno</i> (Doc Prat. p.13.2) (1247)		
OVI	<i>melarancia</i> (4) <i>melaranc(i)e</i> (3) <i>melaranci</i> (2) <i>arance</i> (3) <i>aranci</i> (29) <i>arancio</i> (1) <i>naranzie</i> (2) <i>ranci</i> (1) <i>pomi ranci</i> (1)	'E quando è colata 12 volte, tone e fanne palle grosse a modo d'una <i>melarancia</i> (Pegolotti Pratica 340.3) (c1335-43) <i>Sogliono portare melarance o rose in mano</i> (Cavalca, Specchio di croce, cap.32, 148.1) (1342, fior.) <i>per aver mangiato per insalata tutte le foglie di certi melaranci che 'l padrone avea in certi bariglioni</i> (Lionardo Frescobaldi, Viaggio, 215.5) (1385, fior.) <i>cedro vendo e mele arance</i> (Ruggieri Apugliese 2.80, p.894) (c1250, sen.) <i>Azzurrino della Magna. Amido. Aranci freschi. Astuffi sagria.</i> (Pegolotti Pratica 293.1.34) (c1335-43, fior.) <i>Lo fico sença flor ci porge il fructo, l'arancio aulisce tutto</i> (Fr. da Barberino, Doc. Am. pt.2, 5, reg. 145, v.2. 2. 250.2) (1314, tosc.) <i>si como pome, pere, pigne, uve, naranzie, piere preziose e altre cose</i> (San Brendano 254.16) (14 th c., ven.) <i>noi passammo e trovammo molte selvi di pomi ranci e d'altri frutti strani</i> (Fazio degli Uberti, Dittamondo, L.3, cap. 1, v.18, 183.18) (1345-67, tosc.)		
LEI	X			
DEI	sub arancia (n.) 266b	[no gloss] [Pers. <i>narang</i> [...]] trasmesso in Occidente dagli Arabi <i>arancio</i> (mid 15 th c.)		
AND2	sub orange (n.) (2)	1. 'Seville orange, fruit of the <i>Citrus aurantium</i> ' ["The TLFi lists an earlier Anglo-Norman citation, from c.1200, of <i>pume orange</i> , attested in Alexander Neckam's commentary to the <i>Song of Solomon</i> in BL, Royal 4.D.XI, 83r."] 2. 'glazed meatball' <i>Ceo est une viaunde ke est apelé pomme de ora[n]ges: Pernez char de porc [...] e festes braer en un morter, e metez dedenz le moel de l'oef cru</i>		

		[...] (Culinary Colls. (A) 1.1) (c1300-25)
DEAF	X	
DMF	sub orange (n.) (12)	‘fruit de l’oranger’ <i>sicomme il appert en la couleur des <u>pommes de Orange</u> qui sont de ceste couleur</i> (Corbechon, Couleurs S. 378) (1372) <i>et puis mengié a la saulse vert, et meilleur, a <u>l’orange</u></i> (Ménagier Paris B.F., 237) (c1392-94)
GDC	sub orange (n.) (7)	‘anc. oranger’ <i>pomme ronde, moienne, ble, citrine, la quele croist en la riviere de Hanes, et est appellee en franchois <u>pomme d’orenge</u></i> (H. de Mondev. Chir. B.N. 2020, f.83v) (1314)
TL	sub orange (n.) (4)	‘Orange, Apfelsine’ <i>pumes d’orenge, applen van oraengen</i> (Dial.fr.fl.B1b) (14 th c.)
TLFi	sub orange (n.) /adj.)	‘Fruit comestible du genre citrus, à pulpe très juteuse [...]’ <i>pume orange</i> (A. Neckam, <i>Comment. sur le Cantique des cantiques</i>) (c1200) <i>pomme d’orenge</i> (Henri de Mondeville, <i>Chirurgie</i>) (1314) [L’a. fr. <i>pome (d’) orenge</i> serait un calque de l’a. ital. <i>melarancio</i> , -a < Ar. <i>nārang(a)</i>] ¹⁴⁹
FEW	XIX, 138: narang(a)	‘fruit de l’oranger’ Occ. <i>arrange</i> (1373) / Occ. <i>irange</i> (1390) / Occ. <i>auranja</i> (att. ?) AN <i>pume orange</i> (c1200) / MF <i>pomme d’orange</i> (c1300) Diese form hat ihren ausgangspunkt ebenfalls in Italien:siz. <i>aranciu</i> , kal. (a)rangu, it. <i>arancio</i> , -a. Diese it. formen, die von Sizilien auszugehen scheinen, schwanken im geschlecht stark.[..] dass. it. <i>melarancia</i> , -o (seit 14. jh), als <i>pomme d’orange</i> übersetzt worden ist.]
MED	sub orange (n.) (21)	‘An orange / an orange tree’ [OF <i>pome dorange</i> & ML <i>pomum de orange</i>] <i>Pro pomis d’orange..xvij s.</i> (Acc.Exped.Der.in Camd.n.s.52, 225/6) (1393) <i>Pay borgounez and beres..orenge and oþer fryt</i> (Cleanness (Nero A.10), 1044) (c1400)
OED3	sub orange (n.)	‘Any of various kinds of citrus fruit with a usually reddish-yellow rind when mature and an acid many-celled juicy pulp’ [AN /OF < Ital. < Arab. < Pers.] <i>Citrangulum pomum, <u>orenge</u></i> (J. Mirfield <i>Sinonoma Bartholomei</i> (1882) 15) (c1400) <i>Dame Elyzabet Calthorp is a fayir lady and longyth for <u>orangys</u>, thow she be not wyth chyld.</i> (Paston Letters & Papers I 554) (1470)
DMLBS	sub orangia 2051c (2)	‘orange’ [OF orange] <i>cum sale, ferro, calibe, rosyn’, <u>pomis orengis</u> e clowes ad valorem mille marcarum</i> (Cl 253 m.I) (1404) / <i>pro j barello continente c dim. de pomegranad’ et c de <u>oreng’</u>, val. vj s. viij d.</i> (Port Bk. Southampt.) (1440)

¹⁴⁹ The TLFi notes: “le o- du fr. mod. s’explique prob. par l’infl. du nom de la ville d’Orange [in Provence], a. fr. *Oreng* [...] tandis que le -a- s’explique par celle de l’ital. *arancia*, *orange* étant d’abord att. dans une trad. de l’ital.” cf. FEW p139.

	sub rancia / ranciana (3) 2652c	‘orange coloured cloth’ [aphaeretic form of Italian <i>arancia</i> < Ar. < Pers.] <i>pro c et quadraginta tribus ulnis de rautia ad perpunctum / pro centum et quadraginta et tribus ulnis rautya ad perpunctum</i> (CI 109a) (1208) <i>mittatis xl ulnas de rancian’ ad opus nostrum</i> (CI I 484b) (1221)
DC	sub arangia (3) sub arancium (1) sub pomerancia (1)	‘Ital. <i>Arancio</i> , Kiliano <i>Aranje-appel</i> , Gall. <i>Orange</i> ’ <i>Pomum Arantiae, id est, citrangulum, vel citromelum.</i> (Matth. Silvaticus) ¹⁵⁰ (1297) <i>Apud Scaulum in primo jardeno ubi Dominus accepit fructus Arangiarum et limum cellorum, pro ipsis fructibus et uno pannario taren.</i> 1. (Hist. Dalphin. tom. 2. pag. 276) (1333) ‘Pomum aureum, idem quod mox Arangia.’ <i>In ardore dirae febris aliquando succasset frustulum acris Arancii, vel aliqua grana cerasonis</i> (Vita B. Columbæ Reatinæ Maii tom. 5. pag. 38) (att. ?) ‘contracte pro <i>Poma aurantia</i> , Malum aureum, <i>Orange</i> ’ [no citation given] (apud Bern. de Breydenbach Itin. Hierosol. p 226.) (att.?)

Comments

Transmission Type 2b / Semantic Field: other foodstuff

Like **(pume)gernet**, *pume d’orange* can trace its origins to an Italian compound noun, although in this case the ultimate etymon is Arabo-Persian rather than Latin. Crusaders introduced bitter oranges to Sicily in the eleventh century (as they did rice, cf. **ris**) where they were used mainly for medicinal purposes but also for marmalade.¹⁵¹ Arabic *nāranj* became Italian *arancio* /a (att. 1247) or the longer *melarancio/a* (att. c1250).¹⁵² The FEW and TLFi conclude that CF *pomme d’orange* is a calque of It. *melarancia* but it is also possible that we are dealing with the same northern-southern distinction as we did with *pomo-granato* / *melo-granato* (see **(pume)gernet**). It is true that in this case we have less extant examples of the *pomis*-derived form but see *pomi ranci* in Tuscan (att. 1345-67, OVI sub **ranci**) and Italian Latin *Pomum Arantiae* (att. 1297) and *pomerancia* in Du Cange .

There are some key points to be made about oranges and AN. Firstly, the AND is correct to remark in its entry that the fruit is rare in AN-matrix texts but by far the earliest attestation of *pume d’oreng* in medieval French is in the insular Song of Solomon (*le Cantique des cantiques*), c1200. The fruit is not attested in a continental source until a century later, in Mondeville’s *Chirurgie*, 1314.

Secondly, in a recipe from the first quarter of the fourteenth century *pomme d’oranges* is used metaphorically to describe a type of glazed meatball made from pork. This culinary use of the term is not found in any ME or CF sources but is replicated at least once in AN: *pomme doreng* features on the menu for Henry IV’s coronation feast in 1399 (Heatt 2013: 27). In her recent paper on medieval British cuisine, Heatt discusses the surprisingly strong evidence for Middle Eastern influence on a variety of English dishes:

[This is] one of the most interesting facts about early medieval English culinary recipes: a number of dishes of documentable Arabic origin, retaining somewhat corrupted versions, or translations, of their Arabic names, are

¹⁵⁰ Matthaëus Silvaticus (c1280-c1342) taught botany and medicine at the famous medical school in Salerno, southern Italy.

¹⁵¹ Sweet oranges are originally from China and did not arrive in Europe until the late fifteenth century.

¹⁵² The Arabic root is especially clear in the Venetian *naranzie*, attested in the Trecento (see OVI sub **naranzie**).

widely found in English and Italian cookbooks, beginning with Anglo-Norman MS A [i.e. Culinary Colls. in the AND] and the *Liber* [i.e. the ME *Liber cure cocorum* (c1430) cf. **cassel**] but not in northern French collections [...] Another popular dish of Middle Eastern origins found in English collections and elsewhere is the recipe for gilded meatballs. [...] Gilded meatballs (or meatballs with a green coating to resemble apples) were also known in France but they were almost invariably entitled *pommeaux* – little apples – rather than oranges. Later English recipes for this dish appear to have been influenced by French variants, becoming, for example, *Pommedory*, “golden apples” rather than oranges, but the original source of the English recipe was closer to the Arabic version than any other known French recipe is (Hieatt 2013: 26-27).¹⁵³

Our third point deals not with orange, the fruit, but with orange, the colour. In fact, the earliest surviving attestation in the Italian vernacular of ‘orange’ is the apheretic form *rancio*, used as a cloth colour in Prato, Tuscany, in 1247 (TLIO sub **arancio**). We have six other citations, including Dante and Boccaccio, of *rancio*, *ranci*, *rancia* and *rance* from the late 1200s and 1300s, all used as adjectives of colour.¹⁵⁴ However, even earlier evidence of its use exists outside Italy: probably as the loanword *rautia* in an English Close Roll of 1208 and, more certainly, as *rancian*’ in a Close Roll of 1221 (see DMLBS sub **rancia / ranciana**). This very early use in a British document is not mentioned in the OED3 entry sub **orange** (the earliest use of the colour orange describes velvet in 1532) but is flagged up in the LCC sub **rencian**.

The LCC makes the important point that AN *rancien* (att. c1225-50 in Robert de Gretham’s *Mirur*) and ME *rencyan* (att. 1300 in the song, *A Mayde Cristes*) may have been misclassified by both the AND and the MED. The current gloss of ‘from Reims’ is acceptable given that this north-eastern French city had a buoyant textile trade, boosted by its proximity to the Champagne Fairs (Sutton 2005: 32): cf. DMF sub **rencien**, GDF sub **rancien / raencien**, FEW X, 226b: **Reims**. However, once the BML examples of *rancia / ranciana* are considered, it does seem likely that, in these instances, *rancien / rencien* means ‘orange-coloured’, probably borrowed from Italian *rancio*. This is further strengthened by the fact that all three AN / MED citations use the lexeme alongside another nouns of colour:

Uns home [...] riches esteit E purpre e rancien vesteit (AND sub **rencien**)

Ne byt he wiþ þe lond ne leode, vouh ne gray ne rencyan / Ne geyneþ vs..þe robes of russet ne of rencyan. (MED sub **rencian**)

¹⁵³ These culinary attestations are late compared to the other orange-related citations analysed in this fiche. However, they pose some fascinating questions about the potential links between Arabic and early English cookery and to what extent Italian (or rather Sicilian) vocabulary was involved as an intermediary in the transfer of recipe names. As we know, Sicily was under Norman rule in the eleventh century and contact between Normans in southern Italy and in England was a cultural possibility. It may be coincidence but there is still a typical Sicilian dish which dates back to the Middle Ages called *arancini* (‘little oranges’) and consisting of meat balls coated in golden breadcrumbs. It is also worth bearing in mind the similar case of the AN *Teste de Turke* (AND sub **Turc**, att. 1300-25), an elaborate meat or fish pie with a sweetened pastry crust which, as Hieatt discusses (2013: 27-29), seems to have derived from the Sicilian dish *Testa di Turco* (known in Hispano-Arabic as *Rās maimūn* or *Monkey’s Head*).

¹⁵⁴ *Ranci* is also used to described orange-dyed wool in the Florentine dyers’ document *Tinte di arte maggiori* in 1333-34 (Monnas 2014: 39), a source not included in the TLIO / OVI corpora.

63. AN (pume)gernet (n.) ‘the pomegranate tree or its fruit: a very large berry with leathery rind, reddish pulp and many seeds’ CF (pume) grenate < It. (pomo) granato < Lat. <i>malum granatum</i> (‘pomegranate’)				
Italian 13 th c.-present	Anglo-Norman 13 th c. -c1325	Continental French c1160-present	(Middle) English c1300-present	Medieval Latin 1252 -1440
TLIO	sub granato ¹ (adj) (2)	1.2 ‘Locuz. Pomo granato : lo stesso che melagrana’ [Lat. <i>malum granatum</i>] <i>se conven meterge cu(m) elle la scorça del <u>pomo granà</u></i> (Serapiom volg. Erbario cap. 9, p.14.9) (1309, padav.) <i>ed eravi la reticella e li <u>pomi granati</u> sopra la corona per dintorno</i> (Bibbia, vol. 7, p.276.10) (14 th -15 th c.)		
	sub granato ² (n.) (5)	‘Lo stesso che melagrana / melograno (Punica granatum)’ <i>le sue gote fatte per tant’ arte, che vi pareva rimaso, il color d’un <u>granato</u> pur mo colto</i> (Brizio Visconti, 2.71, p.183) (a1357)		
	sub granata ¹ (n.) (3)	‘Lo stesso che melagrana (frutto del Punica granatum)’ <i>quando tu lo bive, / agra <u>granata</u> manducare dive</i> (Regimen Sanitatis, 426, p. 575) (13 th c. napol.)		
	sub melagrana (n.) (9)	‘lo stesso che melagrana (frutto del Punica granatum)’ <i>Mostraron eziandio loro fichi e <u>melegranate</u> molto belle.</i> (Guido da Pisa, Fiore di Italia, cap.36, p.85.6) (14 th c., pis.)		
	sub melagrana (n.) (5)	‘Frutto del Punica granatum, sorta di pomo dalla scorza dura e dall’interno compost di chichi rossi succosi, usato per l’alimentazione e in farmacia’ <i>Condotto d’acqua ke dal paradise, esci dolçe più che <u>melagrana</u></i> (Laude tosc. 2.12, p.47) (c1275-1300)		
OVI	<i>pomi granati</i> (2) <i>pom graner</i> (1) <i>granato</i> (5) <i>granata</i> (6) <i>melagranata /e</i> (6) <i>melagrano /a/i/e</i> (52)	<i>E dependavano novantasei <u>pomi granati</u>, e tutti erano attornati sa cento reticelle</i> (Bibbia, vol. 7, p.276.13) (14 th -15 th c. fior.) <i>Capitol del lin. Capitol del pom. Capitol del <u>pom graner</u>. Captiol del mor. Capitol de la mirta</i> (Belcalzer Rubriche, 57.7) (1299-1309, mant.) <i>le sue gote fatte per tant’ arte, che vi pareva rimaso, il color d’un <u>granato</u> pur mo colto</i> (Brizio Visconti, 2.71, p.183) (a1357) <i><u>Granata</u> dulce messeta con agra insemblamente</i> (Regimen Sanitatis, v.426, 575.26) (13 th c. napol.) <i>il primo di quegli da cavallo fu una <u>melagranata</u> fitta in una lancia</i> (Giovanni Villani, L.11, cap.165 2, 727.28) (a1348, fior.) <i>Condotto d’acqua ke dal paradise, esci dolçe più che <u>melagrana</u></i> (Laude tosc. 2.12, p.47) (c1275-1300, tosc.)		
LEI	X			
DEI	sub granato ² 1857b	‘albero e frutto del melograno’ [Lat. (<i>melum</i>) <i>granatum</i> < Lat. <i>granum</i>] <i>granato</i> (13 th c.) [Nei dial. it. centrali vive in comp. con ‘melo / mela’, in quelli sett. con ‘pomo’, in quelli merid. vive il solo agg. sost. (cal. sic. <i>granata</i> , nap. <i>ranato</i> , a.v. <i>granato</i>). Panromanzo ma non rumeno, passato anche al ted. e all’inglese]		
AND2	sub gernet (n.) (7)	‘pomegranate’ <i>La te durray icel vin de charité esmue E le must de <u>gernettes</u></i> (Chant. Chanz		

		2644) (c1250-1300) <i>E sur les flurs lé reis d'arein s'estendent, Parmi les reis les <u>pomes garnates</u> pendent (Anc Test B 12822) (13th c.)</i> <i>Fetes echauffer jus de rue e la escorce de <u>poyne (l. pome) grenette</u>, ou versez tedve en le oraille (Five Med MSS 174.E659) (c1325)</i>
AND corpus	<i>pome grenette</i> (1) sub endre	<i>Quisset <u>pome grenette</u> souz les cendres (A-N Med ii 150) (c1300)</i>
DEAF	sub grenate (n.) (G1177) sub pome (n.)	'fruit comestible, de la forme et de la grosseur d'un pome renfermant de nombreux pépins entourés d'une pulpe rouge, grenade' <i>plus est tis cuers de vertuz plains que n'est <u>grenate</u> de ses grains (HMondB 1838) (c1200)</i> <i>pome garnate (c1160) / pome gernetete (norm. 1227) / pome grenade (1441) / pome granete (13th c.) / pome granée (1272) / pomegranate (c1300) / pome grenate (c1180) / pome gernetete (early 13th c.) / pomes garnates (mid 14th c.) / pomes gernetetes (late 13th c.)</i>
DMF	sub grenade (n.) (19)	1 'Fruit de la forme et de la grosseur d'une pome grains comestibles' <i>C'est tresbien advisé a toi, Avec <u>garnades</u> et oranges, Olivez, autres fruitctz estranges, Que nous voyons a grant planté (Myst. Viel test. R., t.3, 382) (c1450)</i> 2. 'En appos. Pomme grenade' <i>J'ay poivre, gingembre et canelle, Poudre de saffran bien nouvelle, Nois muguettes, <u>pomes garnates</u>, Giroffle, citonal et dates (Myst. Pass. N.S. R. 255) (c1350-70)</i>
GDF	sub grenate ¹ (adj f.) (12)	'pome grenate, grenade' <i>S'est du jus <u>pume grenate</u> avec fin baume destrempé (Chrest. du Roi Guill.) (1355)</i>
GDC	sub grenade (n.) (2)	1. 'fruit du grenadier' <i>Ou il ne croist vigne ne pomme, figue, <u>grenade</u> (Mist. du Viel Test III, 394) (c1450)</i> 2. 'Récipient divisé en compartiments comme des quartiers d'orange et destine à y mettre des parfums' <i>Une <u>grenade</u> d'or creuse avecq sa queue servant a mectre senteur (Inv. de Philippe II, f.32) (1558)</i>
TL	sub grenade (adj. f.) (15+)	'häufiger grenate / Granatapfel' <i>Pomiers i ot bien men sovient, qui charjoient <u>pomes grenades</u>, c'est uns mangiers bons a maladies (Rose L 1331) (c1230)</i>
TLFi	sub grenade ¹ (n.)	'Fruit du grenadier [...] [Prob. empr. aux dial. de l'Italie du Nord] <i>pume grenate (Chr. de Troyes) (c1165)</i>
FEW	IV, 237b: granum	'grenade (fruit)' <i>OF <u>pum de grenat</u> (late 12th c.) / <u>pomme grenate</u> (12th c.) / <u>pome grenette</u> (13th c.) / MF <u>pomme grenade</u> (1468) / MF / Fr. <u>grenade</u> (15th c.)</i> 'grenadier (arbre)' <i>OF <u>pomier grenat</u> (13th c.) MF <u>pommier de grenade</u> (15th c.) / MF / Fr. <u>grenadier</u> (1535)</i>

		[In Oberitalien, wo <i>melo</i> ‘apfel’ durch <i>pomo</i> ersatz worden ist, lautet der name dementsprechend piem. <i>pum graná</i> , lom. <i>pom granat</i> [...] ven. <i>pomo ingraná</i>]
MED	sub pome-garnet (e (n.) (30+)	‘The fruit pomegranate’ [OF and ML] <i>Pai brouzte..Fykes, reysin, dates, Almaund, rys, pomme-garnates.</i> (Reinbrun Auch p. 632) (c1300)
	sub gernet (e (n.) (16)	‘The fruit pomegranate’ <i>Grapes and garnettes, gayliche bei grewe.</i> (Susan Vrn 95) (c1390)
OED3	sub pomegranate (n. / adj.) (50+)	‘The fruit of the tree <i>Punica granatum</i> [...]’ [<AN /MF prob. < Ital < Lat.] <i>A poumgarnet per sche brak.</i> (Horn Child 374 in King Horn 183) (c1330)
OED2	sub garnet ² (n.) (5)	‘The pomegranate’ [< OF] <i>Grapes and garnettes, gayliche bei grewe.</i> (Pistill of Susan, 95) (c1390)
OED2	sub garnade ¹ (n.) (2)	1. ‘In comb. apple-garnade = pomegranate’ <i>Pe fayrest fryt þat may on folde growe, As orange & oper fryt & apple garnade.</i> (Cleannes I 1044) (c1400) 2. ‘? A dish in ancient cookery, so called from being compounded with pomegranates’ <i>Garnade for X mees..alay the rys with joyse of pomegarnetes</i> (Anc. Cookery in Coll. Ordinance Royal Househ. 465) (c144)
OED2	sub grenade ¹ (n.) (3)	‘A pomegranate’ [< Fr. <i>grenade</i> < Sp. <i>grenada</i>] <i>Granades, grenades</i> (G. Du Wes <i>Introductory for to lerne Frenche</i> sig. Civ ^v) (?1533)
OED2	sub granate ² (n.)	‘The pomegranate’ [< Lat < OF] <i>Vyne of granatis</i> (G. Skeyne Breue Descr. Pest 34) (1568)
DMLBS	sub pomus 2339c (3)	‘3b. –um <i>granatum</i> or <i>granatorium</i> , pomegranate’ <i>pro quatuor pomis granatis, iij s.</i> (KR Ac 349/10) (1252)
	sub orengia 2051c (1)	<i>pro j barello continente c dim. de pomegranad’ et c de oreng’, val. vj s. viij d.</i> (Port Bk. Southampt.) (1440)
DC	sub pomum (1)	<i>Os sive cartilago epiglottalis, quæ alio nomine nominatur Pomum granatum.</i> (Mundinus in Anatomia pag. mihi 38) (att. ?)
Comments		
Transmission Type 2: / Semantic Field: other foodstuff		
<p>The FEW, TLFi and Hope (1971: 41) agree that the name of the <i>pume grenate</i> fruit mentioned by Chrétien de Troyes (c1160) probably came from northern Italy. This, in turn, derives from the Latin <i>melum granatum</i> (‘seeded apple’), but as the DEI states, northern dialects used a name based on the later Latin <i>pomo</i> whereas central dialects used Latin <i>melo</i> / <i>a</i>. In southern areas, such as Calabria and Sicily, the adjective <i>granato/a</i> was used on its own as a substantive. This dialectal distinction remains to this day, although both <i>melograno</i> / <i>granato</i> are considered Standard Italian whereas <i>pomogranato</i> is not.</p> <p>The northern Italian <i>pomo granato</i> seems to have been more widely transmitted into CF (and probably from there into AN) but the Sicilian <i>grenate</i> / <i>grenade</i> is also well attested from c1200 (cf. DEAF sub grenate): could this be evidence of a southern Italian loanword, a remnant from the (long and gradual) Norman conquest of southern Italy in the eleventh and twelfth centuries?</p> <p>AN has both <i>gernettes</i> (in the <i>Chant des Chantz</i>) and <i>pomes garnates</i> (<i>Poème anglo-normand sur l’Ancien</i></p>		

Testament) appearing in thirteenth-century literature. The fruits also feature in important medical treatises from the mid-thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, the earliest being the AN translations of two Latin surgical handbooks from Salerno,¹⁵⁵ the *Practica Chirurgiae* (c1180) by Roger Frugard and the *Practica Brevis* by Johannes Platearius the Younger (c1120-50). Using the glossary from Hunt's edition of these texts in *Anglo-Norman Medicine*, we can see that forms *pome grenate* / *poume gernate* / *p. grenade* / *pomme gernette* are already well-established and used to translate Latin *malum granatum* and *granatum* (Hunt 1994: 129, 306).

The fruit is widely attested in ME, with extant examples of the longer composite form being around twice as common. The OED3 divides the numerous spelling variations into three main forms: α from 1330 (e.g. *poumgarnet*, *pome-gernade*, *pome garnardes*), β from a1382 (e.g. *poungarnetis*, *pongarnettes*, *poungarnet*) and γ from a1398 which endured as the modern name today (e.g. *pome granates*, *pomegranade*, *pomgranate*). Citations using the shortened form are currently divided between four OED2 headwords and are in need of some streamlining and updating. The MED sub **gernet(e)** shows another wide range in written forms and contains examples of *gernet(e)* *gernate*, *grenade*, *garnet(te)*, *garnate*, *garnade* and *granate*. Occasionally in English, we find the lexeme used to qualify 'apple' and make a new compound: *As orange..and apple garnade* (c1440) (MED sub **gernet(e)** / OED2 sub **garnade**¹), *Mala granata*, *apple garnets* (a1646) (OED2 sub **garnet**²).

As the TLFi sub **grenat** and the OED2 **garnet**¹ discuss, it is unclear whether the deep, red colour of the pomegranate is behind the gem name, *garnet*, found in CF from a1150 and in AN from c1180. An alternative etymon to Latin *grānātum* is Latin *grānum* (scarlet grain or kermes, used for dyeing): see FEW IV, 238a: *granum*, AND sub **gernet(e)**, DMF sub **grenat**, GDC sub **grenat**, DEAF sub **grenat** G1176, MED sub **gernet** and DMLBS sub **gernetta** (1070c).

For details of the pomegranate's religious and secular symbolism and its huge popularity as a motif woven into Italian silks and velvets in the 1300s and 1400s, see Fanelli 1992.

¹⁵⁵ Salerno is just south of Naples and became famed as centre of Western medieval medicine with the establishment of *Schola Medica Salernitana*, the first medical school in Europe (see Hunt 1994).

64. AN ragamas (n.) ‘a silk cloth, using lampas weave, with gold or silver thread patterns on a contrasting textured silk background’ ¹⁵⁶ (CF <i>racamaz</i>) < It. <i>raccamare</i> / Sic. <i>raccamári</i> < Ar. <i>raqama</i> (‘to embroider’)				
Italian c1275-present	Anglo-Norman 1403-c1468	Continental French 1364-1611	(Middle) English 1480-1488	Medieval Latin 1292-1494
TLIO	X			
ОВI	<i>racamato</i> (1) <i>raccamate, i, o</i> (6) <i>raccamare</i> (1) <i>raccamò</i> (1) <i>ra(c)camatore</i> (2) <i>ra(c)camatura</i> (5) <i>ricamate, i, o</i> (5) <i>ricamo</i> (1)	<i>e ortonne seco lo scudo di T., coperto d’uno drappo di seta, <u>racamato</u> ad oro</i> (Tristano Ricc. App 403.18) (c1275-1300), tosc.) <i>Et la simile pena s’intenda a baldachini et <u>raccamati</u> d’oro et d’ariento delle dicte misure.</i> (Stat. lucch. LIV, cap.25, 141.31) (1376, lucch.) <i>excepto testoio cocto et tinto che si mandi in francia per <u>raccamare</u></i> (Stat. Lucch LIV, cap 40, 151, 9) (1376) (lucch.) <i>Dopo alquanto tempo Filomena <u>raccamò</u> sopra una peza di panno lino</i> (Boccaccio, Chiose Teseida L4, 54.1, 370.15) (c1339-41, fior.) <i>E fior. III d’oro s. XXX piccioli dide a monna Francia, <u>racamatore</u>, per lavoratura le perle del fondacho per porle in sulla detta roba</i> (Doc fior. 97.21) (1348-50, fior.) <i>cappellina o cappuccino, in che, o sopra che, sia alcuna <u>racamatura</u></i> (Stat. fior. 431.15) (1356, fior.) <i>riccamente <u>ricamate</u> di seta d’otto braccia di lunghezza</i> (Matteo Villani, Cronica, LB cap.65, 213.10) (1348-63, fior.) <i>E la prima era tutta fornita di <u>ricamo</u> et in sul letto di drapo d’oro di domasco verde</i> (Lett. fior 33.11) (1375, fior.)		
LEI	X			
DEI	sub raccamare 3190a	‘ricamare’ <i>raccamatura</i> (Lucca) (14th c.) / <i>raccamato</i> (Monecatini) (c1470) [Forse prestito diretto dall’ar. <i>rakama</i> , ricamare, come fa supporre il sic. <i>raccamu</i> , ricamo. o adattamento dello spagn. <i>recamar</i> .]		
VSES	sub raccamári v. 819b	‘ricamare’ [dall’ar. <i>raqama</i> ‘id.’, diffusosi dalla Sicilia in Italia e da qui in Francia e Spagna] Lat. <i>racamatus</i> (Caracausi Arabismi 1c) (1266, Puglia) and in DC (1292, Roma) <i>pannum unum vocatum barbanum <u>raccamiatum</u> ad sitam et aurum</i> (Caracausi Arabismi 309) (1306, Palermo) <i>raccamatura</i> (14th c. Lucca) / <i>ricamare</i> (a1400) / <i>raccamata</i> (1598, Palermo)		
AND	X			
AND corpus	<i>ragamas</i> (1) sub frunt	<i>En primes, ung Vestiment entier de noier <u>ragamas</u> d’or, contenant I chesible, II tunicles, III copes, III amites, III aubes, II stoles, II fanons, I frount, I counterfrount, ovec II towailles</i> (Rot. Par ¹ iv 227) (1423)		
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub racamaz n. (4)	‘étouffe précieuse, brodée d’or’ <i>Pour nostre sacre, dix huit pieces de <u>racquemas</u> d’or, la piece vint neuf frans d’or...</i> (Mand. Ch. V, D, 73) (1364)		

¹⁵⁶ Cf. King (1992: 462).

GDF	sub racamaz n. (1) sub racuemas n. (1)	‘étouffe brodée’ <i>C’est à savoir 6 naxis d’or, 40 escus la piece, 9 <u>racamaz</u> et demy d’or, 30 escus la piece</i> (Comptes d’Et de la Fontaine) (1350) ‘?’ <i>Et pour deux <u>racuemas</u> que nous offrimes illec, cinquante six francs</i> (Delisle, Mand, de Ch. V. p. 73) (1364)
TL	∅	
TLFi	∅	
FEW	XIX 145a : raqama	‘brodures’ OF <i>racameures</i> (hap.) ‘étouffe brodée’ OF, MF <i>racamaz</i> (1350-1422), <i>racamas</i> (1438) <i>rakemas</i> (1380) ‘brodé’ <i>racamé</i> (1387, 1418) <i>raqumé</i> (Cotgr. 1611) Der: ‘broderie’ MF <i>recameure</i> (16 th c.) ‘brodeur’ MF <i>recameur</i> (1546), <i>recamier</i> ‘brodé d’or’ <i>ricamé</i> [Das ar. wort ist wohl zunächst ins it. eingedrungen, und zwar in einer dem ar. genau entsprechenden form; daher alucch. <i>raccamati</i> [...], siz. kalabr. <i>racamari</i> , abruzz. <i>arracamá</i> , Teramo <i>raccamare</i>]
MED	∅	
OED3	sub ragmas (n.) (2)	‘A type of cloth’ [<OF < It. < Ar.] <i>Item for a frontall with an autertewell..at london for our lady atte Ebbene..</i> <i>Raggemasse Imperiall xs. viii d.</i> (Accts. Christ Church Monks in Scrap-bk C, 98) (1480) <i>A pelow couered with <u>ragmersshe</u> sylke.</i> (Jrnl. Brit. Archaeol. Assoc 33, 317) (1488)
DMLBS	sub racamas (7) 2645a	‘embroidered fabric’ [AN <i>ragamas</i> , <i>ragmas</i> < Ar. <i>raqm</i>] <i>unum pannum aureum rubeum <u>ragomas</u></i> (Pat. 364 m.1) (1401)
DMLBS corpus	<i>ricamis</i> (1) sub baldekinus 177b	<i>fit unum baldachinum pro papa album cum <u>ricamis</u> brocali de auro</i> (Conc. III 638b) (1494)
DC	sub racamatus (1)	‘Acu pictus, opere Phrygio ornatus, Hisp. <i>Recamado</i> , Ital. <i>Ricamato</i> ’ <i>Item unam pulcram tobaleam de opere <u>Racamato</u>, laboratam per totum ad aurum</i> (Inventar. MS. thes. Sedis Apostol.) (1292)
LCC	sub racamas (4) (3= DMLBS, 1 = LEXP)	‘Type of silk cloth of gold (or silver), heavy and expensive, used only for the grandest occasions. Racamaz was imported from Italy and is specified in the Lucchese statutes of 1376. The term does not appear in AND, DOST, MED or OED, but is found in DMLBS’ [AF <i>ragamas</i> , <i>ragmas</i> from Arabic <i>raqm</i>] <i>xxvj. li[vres] a <u>Racamatz</u> Arg’: p[re]fato Simon’ Bochell ; p[ro] quatuor pann[i] argent’ <u>racamatz</u> p[re]c’ pann’ vj. li[vres] empt[o] ab eo London p[er] temp[us] hui[us] comp[ut]i ut s[upr]a ----- xxiiij. li[vres]</i> (NA PRO E 101/394/9 m.6a) (1362-63)
Additional sources		
AN-matrix		
Fœdera (1403)	<i>ragmas</i> (9)	<i>Un Contre-front, un Towail oue la Parrure, troyes Copes, deux Ridelles, quatres Draps d’Or <u>ragmas</u> [...]Deux Draps d’Or <u>ragmas</u> rouge oue Arbres d’Or, deux Basines d’Argent dorrez chase des Solailles [...]trois Copes, quatre Draps d’Or <u>ragmas</u>, deux Censers d’Argent d’orrez, une Nie d’Argent</i> (All : Fœdera, conventiones, literae et cujuscunq[ue] generis acta publica inter

		reges Angliae Tom. VIII p. 295) (1403)
BML-matrix		
Great Wardrobe Accounts (1349-81)	<i>racamatz</i> (2) <i>racamaz</i> (1) <i>racamatz</i> ² (1) <i>racamatz</i> (1) <i>racamaz</i> (1) <i>racamatiz</i> (1)	<i>Pann' adaur' voc' racamatz</i> (E 361/3/48R; 23-5 Ed. III) (1349-51) <i>Racamaz adaur'</i> (E/361/4/4r; 34-5 Ed. III) (1360-61) <i>Racamatiz adau</i> (E 361 /4 / 14r; 39-40 Ed. III) (1365-66) <i>Racamatz adaur'</i> (E 361/4/17r; 44-5 Ed. III) (1370-71) <i>Racamaz' adaur , Racamatz argent</i> (E 361/4.26r; 48-51 Ed. III) (1374-77) <i>Pann' adaur' racamatz'</i> (E 361/5.2r; 3-5 Rich. II) (1379-81) (All in Monnas 1989: 295-97)
Comments Transmission Type 2b : / Semantic Field: textile		
<p>From the mid-1300s onwards, this imported Italian cloth features in the CF record and as a vernacular lexeme in the BML Wardrobe Accounts. There are also several AN-matrix citations of this fabric which call for the creation of a new entry under 'R' in the AND2. The form <i>ragamas</i> is hidden within the entry for frunt (in this case, 'altar frontal') and Foedera includes nine earlier attestations of <i>ragmas</i> from 1403 which are not yet part of the AND corpus.</p> <p>Given the lack of headword, the LCC understandably states that this fabric does not appear in the AND. More puzzling is the claim that it also absent from the OED when there is clearly an entry sub ragmas, dating from the end of the fifteenth century. Nor does the LCC make any mention of a possible Italian etymon (unlike the FEW or the OED3), despite giving details of the fabric's production in Lucca and, very usefully, its earliest English attestations alongside other luxury Italian imports for the Great Wardrobe from 1349-50 onwards. The LCC repeats the etymological label given in the DMLBS: "AF <i>ragamas, ragmas</i> from Arabic <i>raqm</i>". However, as with several other examples (e.g. baldekin, tarette), I believe the DMLBS has overlooked the Italian 'missing link' in a lexeme's transmission from Arabic (or Persian) into AN. The dates of the extant evidence (1364 in CF and c1349 in BML) make it difficult to tell whether this Italianism entered AN directly or via a continental French form. In reality, both routes may have been used.</p> <p>The lexical transmission is somewhat unusual in this case, in that Italian form is not derived from a Middle Eastern place name but from the Arabic verb 'to embroider' which became <i>raccamare</i> (and later, <i>ricamare</i> which remains in the modern language). As the VSES points out, it is almost certain that the term first entered Sicilian from Arabic, spread throughout the Italian peninsula and then from there, into France and Spain. We find the simple past of verb in Boccaccio's epic poem <i>Teseida</i> from c1339 and earlier, as a past participle <i>racamato</i>, in the anonymous Tuscan romance <i>Tristiano Riccardiano</i>, written in the late 1200s. By 1376 in the Statutes of Lucchese merchants, we find <i>raccamati</i> used a plural noun, referring to a specific kind of heavy, richly embroidered brocade, along with baldekin and imperial (Monnas 1989: 285).</p>		

65. AN ris (n.) ‘the edible grains of the <i>Oryza sativa</i> plant which originated in Asia’ (CF <i>ris</i>) < It. <i>riso</i> < (ML <i>riso /risa</i>) < Byzant. Gr. <i>ὀρυζα</i> (‘rice’)				
Italian c1275-present	Anglo-Norman c1300-c1442	Continental French c1270-present	(Middle) English c1325-present	Medieval Latin 1205-1448
TLIO	X			
OVI	<i>riso</i> (70+) <i>risi</i> (1)	<p><i>che giorno e note de l'uscirne arra(b)ia, Nonn avrà tanto miglio o grano o riso</i> (Fiore 183 v.14, 368.15) (c1275-1300, tosc.)</p> <p><i>questo dì, d. vj. p. It. in <u>riso</u> e in zucchero e in mandorle per frate Iacopino</i> (Doc. fior. 1286-90, 239.18) (1289, fior.)</p> <p><i>E mangiano sempre buone vivande, cioè, lo più, <u>riso</u> e latte</i> (Milione cap.173, 268.23) (c1300-25)</p> <p><i>A migliaio vi si vend e cotone mapputo, allum d'ogni ragione, <u>riso</u>, e mandorle schiacciate</i> (Pegolotti Pratica 138.22) (c1335-43)</p> <p><i>[...] piene de vidanna con zuccaro, latte di miennole, ova e spezie e <u>risi</u></i> (Anonimo Rom., Cronica XIV, cap.13, 116.18) (14th c., rom.)</p>		
AD	<i>riso</i> (24) <i>risi</i> (14)	<p><i>Comino di Valenza 7 I/I, Anici 10 I/I, <u>Riso</u> 2 s. 15, Regolizia 2 s.14, Mandorle 6 I/I</i> (Documento del 15.09.1385 406.37) (1385, tosc.)</p> <p><i>come che la lettera vostra mi trovasse occupato: pur <u>risi</u> per lo compare che vendea il vino peggiore</i> (Firenze-Prato 1402131 B1096, 1, 155.7) (1396, tosc.)</p>		
LEI	X			
DEI	sub riso (n.) 3263a	[no gloss] [Lat. <i>oryza</i> < Gr.] [non è escluso che il fr. <i>ris</i> sia d'origine italiana] <i>riso</i> (14 th c.)		
AND1	sub ris ² (n.) (2)	<p>‘rice’</p> <p><i>Almondes, comyn et <u>rys</u></i> (Oak Book ii 8) (c1300)</p> <p><i>Let d'alemaunz, flur de <u>rys</u>, char de veel moudree ...</i> (Culinary Colls (B) 6) (c1375)</p>		
AND corpus	<i>ris</i> (1) sub costif <i>ris</i> (1) sub grain ¹ <i>ris</i> (1) sub curnel <i>rys</i> (1) sub gingebred	<p><i>Le <u>ris</u> est en sa nature costif, mais se il soit quit avoiques lait d'almandes, il pert sa costivesce et parfaitement nourist</i> (Secr. Waterford 1, 128.2091) (c1300)</p> <p><i>Et rest en ville vii bales de <u>ris</u>, ii bales de greins de paradis, val. ii li.</i> (Local Port Bk 100) (1435-36)</p> <p><i>Let d'alemandes, flur de <u>ris</u>, les curnels fris</i> (Culinary Colls 867.10) (c1300-1325)</p> <p><i>figes, reysyns, symac, suffre, yvoire, canele, gyngebraz, <u>rys</u>, cermountyn, cotoun</i> (Lib Alb 230) (1419)</p> <p><i>Rys</i> is also found in citations in the following entries sub: (ane serree) / blanc / diacre¹ / festicade / loire¹</p>		
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub ris ² (n.) (10)	<p>‘Riz’</p> <p><i>[...] et non pour quant y a entrées grant marchié et habondance de tous biens, de pain, de char, de <u>ris</u>, et aussi de vin, lequel ilz tiennent à très noble buvrage et le nomment Bigum en leur langaige</i> (Jean Le Long, Voy. Odoric</p>		

		C. 301) (1351)
GDC	sub ris ³ (n.) (2)	‘plante céréale cultivée dans les pays chauds, grain alimentaire de cette plante’ <i>Eslisiez le <u>ris</u> et le lavez tres bien</i> (Viandier de Taillevent, p.233) (c1300)
TL	sub ris ² (n.) (4)	‘Reis’ <i>Sire , il me semble que il iert bon que vous retenez les formens et les orges et les <u>ris</u>, et tout ce de quoy on puet vivre, pour la ville garner</i> (Joinv. 110b) (1307)
TLFi	sub riz (n.)	‘Plante monocotylédone de la famille des Graminées / Grain de cette plante spécialement traité pour l'alimentation’ [Empr. à l'ital. <i>riso</i> < Gr.] <i>ris</i> (<i>Rec. anc. cout. de la Belgique</i> , Cout. des pays et comté de Flandre) (c1270) <i>Il ont forment et <u>ris</u> et autres bles a grant plantee</i> (Marco Polo ed. Benedetto, p.108) (1298)
FEW	VII, 425b : oryza	‘grain de la plante <i>oryza sativa</i> ’ Occ. <i>ris</i> (1248) / OF <i>ris</i> (c1270) / MF <i>riz</i> (14 th c.), <i>reis</i> (16 th c.) ‘riz’ Occ. <i>arzita</i> (1397) / MF <i>orize</i> (1531) [Nach den niederungen des Po gelangte der anbau des reis um 1500, wohl von Ägypten her. Dabei fällt auf, dass nicht das ar. wort vom it. entlehnt wurde, sondern dessen mgr. form [...] Das wort <i>ris</i> is taut. it. <i>riso</i> entlehnt]
MED	sub ris ¹ (n.) (20+)	‘The edible seed or grain of the grass <i>Oriza sativa</i> , rice’ <i>xv libre <u>Ris</u> pro Coquina</i> (Wardrobe Acc.de Clare in Archaeol.70, 43) (1286) <i>Gold and seluer þai brouzte meche..Fykes, reisyne, dates, Almaund, <u>rys</u></i> (Reinbrun Auch p.632 (c1330)
OED3	sub rice (n.) (50+)	1. ‘As a mass noun: the fruits or seeds of the grass <i>Oryza sativa</i> , forming one of the most important foodgrains of the world’ [AN/OF/MF< partly via It. < ML < Gr.] <i>Milke of alemaundes, flour of <u>rys</u>, braun of chapoun.</i> (Curye on Inglysch 45) (c1325) 2. ‘More fully common rice, wet rice: the grass which produces this grain, <i>Oryza sativa</i> ’ <i>Of corne and <u>ris</u> grete plente There is growinge in þat cuntre.</i> (Mandeville Trav. 12848) (1450)
DMLBS	sub risa (18) 2841c	‘rice’ <i>vj libras de <u>risa</u> (Cl. I 22) / triticum et <u>rizum</u> (Gilb VII 288 I) (Both 1205) in vj libris <u>risus</u> xij d.</i> (Ac. Roger Leyburn, HER LIV 212) (1267)
DC	sub risus (2) sub ris ² (1) sub risa (1)	‘Italis <i>Riso</i> , Gall. <i>Ris</i> , <i>Oryza</i> ’ <i>Item pisces salsos, et copas, (cæpas) et allea, et alia victualia, oleum et <u>Risum</u>, etc.</i> (Informationes Civitatis Massil. pro passagio transmarino e MS. Sangerman) (1241) ‘vox Gallica, <i>Oryza</i> ’ <i>Item pisa pro Quadragesima, necnon potagium de <u>Ris</u>, tribus diebus in qualibet septimana</i> (Statuta reformationis Monasterii S. Claudii, p.83) (1448) ‘Eadem significatione, Angl. <i>Rice</i> ’ <i>Unam pipam prunorum siccorum, triginta et octo balas <u>Risarum</u>, quinque balas sinimi</i> (apud Rymerum tom. 7. pag. 233. col. 1) (1380)

	sub risia (1)	‘Eodem intellectu’ <i>Cum ipsum unum dolium olei, sexaginta libras amigdalorum, viginti et quinque libras <u>Risix</u>, duas portellas de ficubus, etc.</i> (apud eundem Rymer. tom. 6. pag. 78. col. 1) (1358)
Additional sources		
AN-matrix		
VOH	<i>ris</i> (3) <i>ryse</i> (1)	<i>Item xx bales <u>ryse</u> [...] a luy ix balez ris lx^{li} <u>ris</u> j bale pris vj^{li} xvij^s vj^d / [...] <u>ris</u> ix balez pris lix^{li} xvj^s ij^d</i> (VOH 18: 16/ 28/ 60/ 71) (E101/128/30 ret. 8, Sir William Estfield, host to Leonardo and Giulio Contarini, merchants of Venice, transc.p. 31-32) (1441-42)
Comments		
Transmission Type 2b / Semantic Field: other foodstuff		
<p>Like oranges (cf. (pume) d’orenge), rice was introduced to Europe during the Arab conquests of Iberia and Sicily. By the mid-1400s, it was cultivated as far north as Pisa (Adamson 2004: 5-6). For the rest of medieval Western Europe, this imported grain was not a widely consumed food but rather a luxury item, often in the form of rice flour (<i>flur de ris</i>), used only in expensive dishes as a thickener or in medicinal preparations. Indeed, the first example of <i>ris</i> in the AND corpus is found in a chapter on medicine in the AN translation of the scientific treatise <i>Secretum Secretorum</i> (c1300). A century and a half later, in the 1440s, rice is listed amongst the imports into London of the Venetian merchants Leonardo and Giulio Contarini (VOH 18) amongst other high-end commodities such as tartarin and talany silks and sandalwood, cinnamon, cloves and nutmeg. In these accounts, one bale of rice is priced at around £6, much less than a bale of pepper (which averages £20) but more than a bale of dates which only costs 33 shillings.</p> <p>There is widespread agreement that CF <i>ris</i> was very probably borrowed from Italian <i>riso</i>, even though, chronologically, Italian attestations post-date the French ones. Hope (1971: 49), the TLFi and the FEW all back an Italian etymon with their first examples of <i>riso</i> being the Italian translations Marco Polo’s <i>Milione</i> in the first quarter of the fourteenth century (note that the earliest surviving copy of this famous travelogue is the CF version from 1298). There are thirty-six references to the consumption of this exotic grain in the Middle and Far East in the <i>Milione</i> as well as twenty-two describing rice as a commodity in Pegolotti’s <i>Pratica della Mercatura</i> (c1335-43). Furthermore, since these etymologies were published, some slightly earlier citations have emerged in Tuscan texts from the last quarter of the thirteenth century (see TLIO sub riso).</p> <p>Moving further back, as the OED3 sub rice states, details of the word’s transmission into Italian are not clear. Classical Latin <i>oriza</i> / <i>oryza</i> are certainly derived from Hellenistic Greek <i>ὄρυζα</i> but we do not know if the late Latin <i>risum</i> / <i>risus</i> are actually based on Italian vernacular forms or derived directly from Byzantine Greek <i>ὀρύζιον</i>. We have some very early examples of BML <i>risa</i> in 1205 in English records (DMLBS sub risa) which “perhaps show partial remodelling after the classical Latin word.”</p>		

66. AN sarme (n.) ‘a unit of measurement of capacity, most typically used for dry goods like wheat, barley and animal fodder but also for wine’ < It. <i>sarma</i> / <i>salma</i> < Lat. <i>salma</i> , <i>sauma</i> , <i>sagma</i> < Gr. <i>σάγμα</i> (‘load / packbag’)				
Italian 1310-19 th c.	Anglo-Norman 1436	Continental French 1676	(Middle) English X	Medieval Latin c1285-1321
TLIO	X			
OVI	<i>salma</i> (100+) <i>salme</i> (108)	<i>Ancora ve faço asaver che se tu conprassi noxelle in Puia che la <u>salma</u> de Puia tornerà in Candida mexure XJ e I/10</i> (Zibaldone da Canal, 58.9) (1310-30, ven.) <i>la salma di Puglia ti getti a vendita in Cipri 60 cafassi e l'oncia 25 bisanti bianchi</i> (Pegolotti Pratica, 95.18) (c1335-1343, fior.) <i>Per le <u>salme</u> IIIM delo grano, si dé ricevere perp. VIIIIM.CCC.XV gross. VIII.</i> (Doc. Ven. 124.28) (1318, ven.)		
AD	<i>salme</i> (6) <i>salma</i> (16)	<i>Il detto grano promise Franceso e cosi vendè <u>salme</u> dugiento di Cicilia</i> (Documento del 14.11.1385) <i>E deb ba aver di nolo tari 5 grana 12 ½ <u>salma</u></i> (Guiliano di Bartolo Biliotti, Palermo, 360.5) (1388)		
VSES	sub sárma (n.) 2, 910b	[misura degli degli aridi, dei liquidi e delle superfici (1177, nella forma lat. <i>salma</i> ; forse sec. XIII. ma più sicuram. 1327-28 nella form sic. <i>salma</i>), continua il grecismo lat. <i>sagma</i> , <i>sauma</i> , <i>salma</i> ‘carico di un animale da trasporto’, da sui misura di aridi e lidquidi’ e più tardi ‘misura di superficie’. La voce era estesa nell’Italia med. e mod.] e.g. nap. <i>sarma</i> , cal. <i>sarma</i> , cos. <i>sarma</i> , sal. <i>sarma</i> , <i>salma</i> , mon, <i>sàlma</i> , molf. <i>salme</i> , malt. <i>salma</i>		
LEI	X			
DEI	sub sàlma	[dal tardo lat. <i>salma</i> , che viene dal gr. <i>sagma</i> (med. Alt. ted. <i>Soum</i> , mod. <i>Saum</i>) cario, basto, e anche cumulo [...]. Nelle provincie meridionali d’Italia nome di antica misura pel frumento, pei vini e per e terre]		
AND1	sub sarme (n.) (1)	‘a measure of capacity, i.e. Italian <i>sarma</i> or <i>salma</i> ’ <i>Issant John Breus de Suth Wyk, iij <u>sarmes</u> de cendres</i> (Local Port Bk 48) ¹⁵⁷ (1436)		
DEAF	Ø			
DMF	X			
GDF	Ø			
TL	Ø			
TLFi	Ø			
FEW	FEW 11 61a: sagma	‘mesure de capacité pour les liquides et pour les grains, usitée en Sicile et dans l’Italie méridionale (2 setiers, 4 boisseaux)’ Fr. <i>salme</i> (1676) OI <i>salma</i> (13 th c.), Nap. <i>sarma</i> , Mid Lat, Lucca. <i>sauma</i> (848) [Lt <i>sagma</i> “packsattel, saumsettel (nach 300 Diokletian; Vegetius; Isidor) stammt aus gr. <i>σάγμα</i> id.; “decke eines saumsattels; die darauf aufgepackte last”]		
MED	X			
OED	Ø			
DMLBS	Ø			

¹⁵⁷ The AND currently uses the incorrect siglum *Port Bks* for this citation.

DC	sub salma	<i>Tria sextaria de Venetiis sunt una Salma de Apulia, tam de legumine, quam etiam de frumento</i> (Sanutus lib. 2. part. 4. cap. 10) (c1285-1321)
<p style="text-align: center;">Comments</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Transmission type 1a / Semantic field: unit of measurement</p> <p>The spelling of this AN hapax certainly seems to suggest it is a direct Italianism and indeed it is flagged up as such by the AND, in Foster’s edition of the <i>Local Port Book of Southampton</i> (Foster 1963: xiii) and in Trotter (2011d: 10-12).¹⁵⁸</p> <p>The two main forms, <i>sarma</i> and <i>salma</i>, were widespread in medieval and modern Italian until the 1800s, being firmly grounded in the dialects of Sicily, Calabria, Apulia and Naples (Trotter 2011d: 10-11). Even in its earliest vernacular citations in the Venetian <i>Zibaldone da Canal</i> (an early merchant’s commonplace book) and in Pegolotti, the term is clearly referred to as the <i>salma de Puia / di Puglia</i>. Its use as a dry measure dates back to the Latin of Palermo in 1177 - <i>salmas de frumento et de ordeo centum quinquaginta octo salmas</i> (VSES sub sárma) - and it was usually equivalent to sixteen <i>tumoli</i> or approximately 272 modern litres. During the Middle Ages, it was used as a liquid measurement for wine, although again, specifics varied from region to region e.g. eighty-seven litres in Cosentino (in Calabria), 160 litres in Salentino or 175 litres in the Molfetta dialect (both in Apulia). The FEW sub sagma refers to a Lucchese Latin attestation of <i>sauma</i>, ‘Weinmass’, as early as 848.</p> <p>There is, however, a parallel etymological strand to consider. The late Latin <i>sagma</i> spread into Old Germanic languages meaning a ‘packload’ and by the fourteenth century was identified with a specific quantity of a commodity (between 100-120lbs): see OED2 sub seam² and MED sub sem(e)². In France, as the lengthy FEW entry sub sagma testifies, the semantic evolution was much more varied. To name but a few examples, we have ‘fardeau que peut porter un cheval, un mulet’ (OF <i>sume</i>), ‘bête de somme’ (OF <i>sonme</i>), ‘cuve, comporte, tinette, baquet’ (Occ. <i>semal</i>), ‘mesure pour les liquides ou le sel’ (Old Norm. <i>somme</i>) and ‘sorte de mesure contenant six setiers’ (MF <i>saumée</i>). It is also intriguing that the chic French loanword, <i>sommelier</i>, in English can trace its origins back to the lowly profession of “conducteur de bêtes de sommes” in the 1200s (see TLFli sub sommelier).</p> <p>AN too used the term to mean a general load or burden and a specific quantity, influenced, no doubt, by both ME and CF forms e.g. <i>treis soumes de forment, un soume de peys</i> (YBB 20-21 Ed I 17, AND sub sume¹). BML offers numerous attestations from the 1100s onwards of the forms <i>salma</i>, <i>sauma</i>, <i>somma</i>, <i>suma</i> and <i>summa</i> covering the same semantic field as ME and AN (DMLBS sub salma, 2910c).</p> <p>It is worth considering, therefore, that the <i>sarmes de cendres</i> in the Southampton Port Book could be just an unusual form of a widely used British term from the same ultimate Greco-Latin etymon. In addition, the cargo in question did not sail into Southampton on a Venetian galley or Genoese carrack, unlike, for example, the <i>sport de resins de Malik</i> (see sport(in) / Malik). The importer in question is simply recorded as <i>John Breus de Southwick</i>. Even so, this does not mean that the Port Book scribe could not be influenced by the Italian vocabulary that he encountered regularly within his professional community, even when he was describing non-Italian commodities. As Trotter comments:</p> <p>Why the word (which does not feature in Hope 1971) should be used in a record of an English ship from Southwick is unclear. It is absent from Prior’s study of English weights and measures (Prior 1924) and this - with all the weaknesses that are inherent in the argument <i>e silentio</i> - perhaps suggests that it was not all common. It seems</p>		

¹⁵⁸ It is worth pointing out that Trotter verified Foster’s transcription of *sarme* (and **comyt**) against a photograph of the original manuscript (Trotter 2011d: 10, FN11).

reasonable to say that it was, at any rate, not naturalized in medieval England as a measure [...] An alternative explanation is that Florys [the writer of the Port Book], accustomed to dealing with Italian cargoes (perhaps in Italian, or at any rate using Italian terminology), had inadvertently deployed (in recording the cargo of an English ship) an Italian term (Trotter 2011d: 11-12).

67. AN sarzinett (n.) ‘a light silk of tabby weave, sometimes striped, used especially for linings of garments and originally from the Middle East’ (CF <i>sarcenet</i>) < It. <i>saracinata</i> < It. <i>saracino</i> < Lat. <i>Saracēnī</i> (‘Saracen’)				
Italian c1278-1376	Anglo-Norman [1365-1462]	Continental French 1370-1530	(Middle) English 1463-19 th c.	Medieval Latin 1365 -1530
TLIO	X			
OVI	<i>saracinata</i> (2) <i>saracinati</i> (22)	<p><i>peze VJ stanforti komesi bia[n]ki e una saracinata: ragio(na' gli) a picoli lb. LXIIJ</i> (Doc fior. 460.10) (1278-79, fior.)</p> <p><i>I tre saracinati e due dosnine e una imperial: ragionai lb. LXXVIIIJ</i> (Doc. fior. 460.17) / <i>ciòè 2 saracinati, che vagliono 28 viniziano grossi d'argento</i> (Pegolotti, Pratica 304.3) (c1335-43, fior.)</p> <p><i>Item che a ciaschuno mercadante che volesse fare et far fare saracinati et ochiellati et soriani con tela cruda [...]</i> (Stat. lucch. LIV, cap. 83, 194.18) (1376, lucch.)</p>		
AD	<i>saracinati</i> (1)	<p><i>io non trovava che volese prendere li saracinati ni li poste di zendadi, ni li peze di taffetà vergati con oro</i> (Milano-Bologna B720/11, 543.12) (1401, tosc.)</p>		
LEI	X			
DEI	∅			
AND	X			
DEAF	X			
DMF	X			
GDF	sub sarcenet (n.) (1)	<p>‘sorte d’étouffe’ <i>Item una capa del sarcenet, operata cum imaginibus</i>’ (Invent. de l’église d’York in monastic anglie. tIII, p. 177) (1530)</p>		
TL	∅			
TLFi	∅			
FEW	XI, 217b: saraceni	<p>‘sorte d’étouffe’ MF <i>sarrasinat</i> (1370, Dehaisnes, Hist. de l’art en Flandre, 499)</p> <p>‘variété d’étouffe de soie’ Occ. <i>sarrazinat</i> (1432) (Pans 5, 191)</p> <p>‘étouffe de taffetas fabriquée chez les Sarrasins’ MF <i>sarcenet</i> (1530, DC, Gay)</p> <p>[Dieset beleg findet sich in einmem mlt. inventor der kirche von York]</p>		
MED	sub sarsinet (n.) (11)	<p>‘a fine silk material’ [AF <i>sarzinett</i>, var. of OF <i>sarrasinat</i>]</p> <p>[A] <i>gowne [of] sarcxynete</i> (Inquis. Miscel PRO 6.166) (1373)</p> <p><i>Dyvers Marchauntes, Straungers and Deynzeins, use to bryng into this Reame Clothes of Gold, Clothes of Sylver, Bawdekyns, Velvettes, Damaskes, Satens, Sarcenettes, Tarterons, Chamelettes</i> (RParl. 6.154b) (1472-5)</p>		
OED2	sub sarsenet / sarcenet (n.) (3)	<p>‘A very fine and soft silk material made both plain and twilled, in various colours, now used chiefly for linings’ [< AN <i>sarzinett</i>, probably a diminutive of <i>sarzin</i>, suggested by OF <i>drap sarrasinois</i>]</p> <p>AN <i>sarzinett</i> (Exch. Accts. 397/16, PRO) (1373)</p> <p><i>My tepet of blak sarsenet.</i> (Wills and Inventories Bury St Edmunds 41) (1463)</p>		

LCC	sub sarsenet (n.) (4) (4=MED)	‘a tabby- woven silk cloth, a type of sendal, light and flimsy; made in Europe in the Middle Ages; imports to England probably came from Italy’[<AF <i>sarzinett</i> < OF <i>sarrasinat</i>] [A cloth of] <i>sarzinet</i> (Will Court Hust Gldh 2.155) (1373)
DMLBS	sub sarsinettum (1) 2938b	‘fine silk material, sarsenet’ [ME <i>sarsinet</i> < OF (<i>drap</i>) <i>sarasinois</i> = Saracen cloth] <i>vj ulnis sarzinett’, ix pecis satyn</i> (LTR AcWardr 5r 3d) (1397)
DC	sub saracenicum (1)	‘Pannus, Saracenicus operis, Sarcenet’ <i>Item una capa del Sarcenet, operata cum imaginibus, etc. Saracenicum opus</i> (Inventario Eccl. Eboracensis, in Monastico Anglic. tom. 3. pag. 177) (1530)
Additional sources		
BML-matrix		
Great Wardrobe Accounts (1365-1462)	<i>sarzinett</i> (3) <i>sarcenet</i> (1) <i>sarsynet</i> (1)	<i>sarzinett</i> (E361/4/14r) (1365-66) <i>sarzinett</i> (E361/4/17r) (1370-71) <i>sarzinett’ s[er]ici</i> (E361/5/2r) (1379-81) <i>sarcenet</i> (E361/6/49r) (1455-56) <i>sarsynet</i> (E361/6/53r) (1461-62) (All Monnas 1989: 296-302)
Comments		
Transmission Type 2b / Semantic Field: textile		
<p>As King (1992: 458) points out: “In the 14th and 15th centuries, the term <i>cedal</i> was progressively superseded in England by the terms <i>taffeta</i>, <i>tarternyn</i> and <i>sarcenet</i>, names which suggest that these types originated in Islamic or Tartar weaving centres, though they were also produced in Europe.”</p> <p>The silk type is currently absent from the AND corpus but the OED2 records AN <i>sarzinett</i> in Exchequer Accounts (Exch. Accts. 397/16, PRO) in 1373. We also have several examples of this cloth being purchased in the BML royal wardrobe accounts from 1365 until 1462 (DMLBS sub sarsinettum and Monnas 1989). <i>Sarzinett</i> is always listed towards the bottom of the inventories, along with the other cheaper silks: attaby, taffata, tarternin, <i>tolozin</i> and <i>cedal</i>. It was not necessarily a plain silk, however, and, together with <i>taffetà</i>, was allowed to be striped in gold or silver as stated in the Lucchese regulations of 1376 (King 1988: 75).</p> <p>Whilst the OED2, MED, LCC and DMLBS suggest the OF etymon (<i>drap</i>) <i>sarrasinouis</i>, the Italian <i>saracinati</i> is, at least, an equally viable option. Vocabulary relating to everything ‘sarrasin’ abounds in CF and from the <i>Chanson de Roland</i> (c1100) onwards, we have countless references to Saracen places, people and languages, not to mention the semantic sub-branch meaning ‘heathen’ or ‘barbarian’. The adjective sarrasinouis emerged in MF with reference to commercial items; not just cloth but also instruments, ginger, carpets, tiles and wine (see DMF sub sarrasinouis / TL sub sarrasinouis / GDF sub sarasinois / FEW XI, 217b: saraceni / TLFi sub sarrasin¹).</p> <p>Even so, there are no extant citations of <i>sarzinett</i> in a <i>langue d’oil</i> from mainland France. The FEW lists three examples but the earliest is Flemish (1370) and the second is Occitan (1432). <i>Sarcenet</i>, from Du Cange and attested in 1530, is actually from a British source, as is noted in the erratum for the entry. Of course, it is possible that AN <i>sarzinett</i> evolved entirely independently or derived from an unattested continental form. It is still feasible, however, to suggest that the Italians, importers of this silk and so many others, also brought its name into England. <i>Saracinati</i> silks are mentioned two dozen times in the OVI corpus from as early as 1278: they appear eight times in the Lucchese merchant statutes and ten times in Pegolotti’s <i>Practica della Mercatura</i>.</p>		

68. AN satin (n.) ‘a plain silk, originally Chinese, with a glossy surface produced by densely packed warp threads which conceal the weft’ (CF <i>satin</i>) < It. <i>satino</i> / <i>zetano</i> < Ar. <i>Zaitūn</i> (‘Zaitum, a city in southern China’)				
Italian 1375-present	Anglo-Norman 1349-1444	Continental French 1342-present	(Middle) English c1390-present	Medieval Latin 1389-15 th c.
TLIO	X			
ОВI	<i>zetani</i> (2) <i>zettani</i> (9) <i>zectani</i> (12)	<i>figliuoli di signori e di gentili uomini, tutti vestiti di <u>zetani</u> e di velluti azurri e neri</i> (Lett. fior. 30.17) (1375, fior.) <i>E chi facesse <u>zettani</u> alexandrini o di grana debia essere la trama del medesimo colore che la tela</i> (Stat. Lucch. L. IV, cap.27, 144.18) (1376, lucch.) <i>Et qualunqua mercadante contrafacesse in de dicti <u>zectani</u> in farli di meno larghessa</i> (Stat. Lucch. L. IV, cap.28, 145.9) (1376, lucch.)		
LEI	X			
DEI	sub satino (n.) 3346a	‘tessuto di cotone lucido, ras’ [probabilmente dall’ar. <i>zaituni</i> (attraverso lo spagnolo) della città di Zaitum] <i>satino</i> (15 th c., Sanudo) ¹⁵⁹ ML <i>satinus</i> , <i>setinus</i>		
AND1	sub satin (n.) (1)	‘satin’ <i>une drape pur le aultier palee de <u>satyn</u></i> (Reg Chich ii 8) (1414)		
AND corpus	<i>zatayn</i> (1) sub jupon <i>satins</i> (1) sub ostrizer ¹ <i>satyn</i> (1) sub coverer (1) <i>satyn</i> (1) sub ciel ¹ <i>satyn</i> (1) sub atacher <i>satyn</i> (1) sub Alexandre <i>satyn</i> (1) sub raille	<i>E ad faciendum unum jupoun de taffata blu [...] unum jupoun de stuff [...] unum jupoun de <u>zatayn</u> blu poudré en garteriis blu</i> (Wardrobe Expenses Ed III Expenses 34) (1349) <i>Des litz, courchiefs, penne ostricer, Cendals, <u>satins</u>, draps d’oultre mer: Venetz, [...] Car si vuellez achater Ne vous estuet plus loigns aler</i> (Gower Mirour 25291) (c1378) <i>un boist a guyse d’une tabernacle coveree de <u>satyn</u></i> (PRO E101/400/6) (1378) <i>un lit de blanc <u>satyn</u> [...] c’est assaver tester, coverlit et entier cele et .iij. curtyns de taffata batuz</i> (Gloucester Inventory 289) (1397) <i>un vestiment blanc <u>satyn</u>, c’est assaver .ij. frontes attachez ensemble, l’un de baudekyn blanc [...] l’autre de satyn blanc</i> (Gloucester Inventory 292) (1397) <i>xx ulne iii quarter de velvet sur <u>satyn</u> alexandre</i> (Rot Parl ¹ iv 228) (1423) <i>mon vestment de <u>satyn</u> blank, embroudez d’or, dont overage est un raille passant parmye corone d’or</i> (Test Ebor i 227) (1398) <i>Satyn</i> is also found in citations in the following entries sub: desteint ¹ / dublet / fesant / fraper / gorge ¹ / j / Jesse / lavender / neir / or ¹ / ulne		

¹⁵⁹ Whilst Marino Sanudo’s diaries date from 1496 to 1533, the only examples of *satino* that I have found are in Volume 19 (September 1514 to February 1515) and Volume 52 (October 1529 to February 1530). However, the lexeme may well be included in Volumes 2 and 3 (October 1498 to March 1501), copies of which I have been unable to consult.

		<i>Satin</i> is also found in citations in the following entries sub: aguillete / ambas / amit / cendales / gerun
LCC	sub satin (n.) (7) (1=AND / 1 = DMLBS / 3= MED / 1 = LEXP)	‘a plain, twill silk textile, with a lustrous surface produced by long floats of closely-woven warp threads which conceal the weft; originating in China but woven in Europe, especially Italy, in the Middle Ages’ [OF <i>satin</i> < Ital. <i>setino</i> < ML / OF < Ar. <i>Zaitūn</i>] <i>Item, ung petit drap de <u>satin</u> pers, appellé une seoirre, a mettre au giron de l’evesque quant il celebre, semee de fleurs de liz et de cinq papillons [...]</i> <i>unes cendales de <u>satin</u> blanc brodés</i> (Bedford Inventories B15-16) (c1400)
DEAF	X	
DMF	sub satin (9)	‘Étoffe de soie fine à l'aspect brillant, satin’ (...) <i>pour mettre et vestir sur les houppellandes de <u>satin</u> et veluiau vermeil en graine, pour le Roy</i> (Comptes argent. rois Fr. D.-A. II, 131) (1387)
GDF	sub satin (3)	‘sorte d’ <i>étoffe</i> de soie plate’ <i>Un pavillon de <u>satins</u> a fleurs de liz</i> (Invent. de la R. de Bouloigne XVIII, 1054) (1361)
TL	sub satin (1)	‘ein Seidengewebe, Atlas’ <i>robe de soie, <u>satin</u>, Camelot, drap de Damas ou autre</i> (Ménag II 66) (1393)
TLFi	sub satin (n.)	‘Étoffe de soie fine, à l'aspect brillant, dont la trame très serrée n'apparaît pas sur l'endroit’ [Prob. empr. dir. à l'ar. <i>zaitūn</i> ّ, dér. de <i>Zaitūn</i> , nom ar. de la ville chinoise de <i>Tseu-Thoung</i> où se fabriquait cette étoffe] <i>zatin</i> (1352) / <i>satain</i> (1361) / <i>satin</i> (1377) [Ces formes semblent empr. à l'ital.] <i>zetonnin</i> (1342) / <i>zatonny</i> , <i>zatonni</i> (1352) / <i>satonny</i> (1353) / <i>sataniin</i> (1367) / <i>zatanin</i> (1367-70)
FEW	XIX, 206a: zaituni	‘ <i>étoffe</i> de soie fine et lustrée’ <i>zatin</i> (1351) / <i>zatouin</i> (1350), <i>satain</i> (1361), <i>satin</i> (1378) <i>sattin</i> (1408) [Auch sp. <i>aceituni</i> (seit 14 jh., kat, <i>seti</i> , <i>ceti</i> (15 jh), it <i>satino</i> (15 jh), <i>setino</i> (seit 17 jh, mit einfluss von seta). Die ganze gruppe geht zurück auf ar. <i>Zaitūni</i> , gleicher bedeutung. [...] Das fr. wort scheint direkt aus dem ar. entlehnt zu sein. <i>zatouin</i> schliesst am natürlichsten an die ar. form an; <i>satin</i> , obwohl etwas früher belegt, ist vielleicht daraus vereinfacht]
MED	sub satin (n.) (24) sub satin (adj) (6)	‘A smooth, lustrous, silken cloth, satin; also, a piece of such cloth’ [OF & ML / AL] <i>[They] wyde where senten hir spicerye, Clothes of gold and <u>satyns</u> [vrr. <i>satynys</i>, <i>saten</i>] riche of hewe.</i> (Chaucer CT.MI. B137) (c1390) ‘Made of satin; like satin, smooth, glossy’ <i>One] coverlet [of] <u>satyn</u>grounde [with white swans]</i> (Löfvenberg Contrib.Lex. 42) (1403) <i>On vestment..ys of blak <u>satyn</u> ground, figured wyth rede velvet.</i> (Will in Nicolas Testamenta 269) (1449)
OED2	sub satin (n. /adj.) (30+)	‘A silk fabric with a glossy surface on one side, produced by a method of weaving by which the threads of the warp are caught and looped by the weft only at certain intervals’ [MF <i>satin</i> < apparently It. <i>setino</i> < probably ML (<i>pannus</i>) <i>setinus</i>] <i>The barres were of gold ful fyne, Upon a tissu of <u>satyne</u></i> (Roumaunt Rose

		1104) (?a1366) ¹⁶⁰
DMLBS	sub satinus (3) 2940c	‘sort of silken cloth, satin’ [ME, AN <i>satin</i> < CL <i>saeta</i> or Ar. <i>zaytūnī</i> < Chinese <i>Zaytun</i>] <i>volumus et ordinamus, quod corpus nostrum in velveto vel <u>sathane</u> blanio, more region vestiatur, vel etiam interretur</i> (Test Regis. Foed VIII 76) (1399)
DC	sub zettanium (1)	‘Ut Zetteninum, Zetoninum, Satin’ <i>Pro una pecia <u>Zettanini</u> grane pro qua misimus Lucam.</i> (Mandat. Camer. Apostol. Arch. Vatic. f. 66) (1417-21)
	sub zetonium (1)	‘Pannis sericus, ex seta’ <i>Lectorinus unus <u>Zetonini</u> albi.</i> (Anonymus in Annal. Mediol. apud Murator. tom. 16. col. 810) (att.?)
	sub setonium (1)	‘Vulgo satin’ <i>[...] pro pallio duarum cannarum <u>Setonini</u> celestis quod hodie nullus habuit, quia non fuit bonum principium cursus.</i> (Diar. Burchardi, p.240) (1487)
	sub cetanium (1)	‘Ut cethoninum’ <i>unum paramentum magnum album <u>Cetanini</u> cum duabus cortinis et coopertorio cum resurrectione Christi.</i> (Archiv. Vatic. Invent. Leonis X, f. 6) (c1475-1521)
	sub cethoninum (2)	‘pro Setoninum, Sericum, ab Ital. Setone, eodem significato’ <i>Paramentum unum <u>Cetonini</u> rubei laborati ad ramam cum palificata una.</i> (Annal. Mediol. apud eumd. tom. 16. col. 811) (1389)
Additional sources		
Italian-matrix		
Arte della Seta (c1450)	<i>zetani</i> (89)	<i>Gli <u>zetani</u> velluti sappiamo che avevano la tela di seta cruda</i> (Arte della seta, dial. VI) (Gargioli 1868: 218) (c.1450, fior.)
AN-matrix		
VOH (1440-44)	<i>satin</i> (132) <i>satyne</i> (32) <i>satyn</i> (4) <i>satyns</i> (1)	<i>j couple velvet sur <u>satin</u> <u>noire</u> & j couple & j remenaunt <u>satin</u> <u>noire</u></i> (VOH 34:11) (E101/128/30 ret.14, Richard Rich, host to Felice da Fagnano, Alessandro Palastrello and Niccolò Micheli, merchants of Lucca, trans. p. 42) (1443-44) <i>j pece velvet sur <u>satyne</u> <u>noir</u></i> (VOH 43:22) (E101/128/31 ret. 53, Thomas Walsingham, host to Andrea and Federico Corner and Carlo Contarini, merchants of Venice, trans. p. 139) (1440)
BML-matrix		
Great Wardrobe Accounts (1349-1462)	<i>Satyn</i> (22) <i>Zatan</i> ’ (1)	<i>Zatan</i> ’ (E361/3/48r) (1349-51), <i>Satyn</i> (E361/4/14r) (1365-66) <i>Satyn</i> (E361/4/17r) (1370-71), <i>Satyn</i> (E361/4/26r) (1374-77) <i>Satyn</i> (E361/5/2r) (1379-81), <i>Satyn</i> (E361/5/5r) (1390-92) <i>Satyn plan</i> ’ / <i>Satyn op[er]at</i> ’ <i>cu[m]</i> <i>veluet</i> ’ / <i>Satyn op[er]at</i> ’ <i>cu[m]</i> <i>veluet</i> ’ & <i>auro</i> / <i>Satyn op[er]at</i> ’ <i>cu[m]</i> <i>auro</i> / (E361/5/7r) (1394-98) <i>Satyn</i> (E361/5/11r) (1399-1400), <i>Satyn</i> (E361/6/4r) (1408-12) <i>Satyn adaur</i> ’ / <i>Satyn s[er]ic[i]</i> (E361/6/12r) (1413-17) <i>Satyn ser[i]c[i]</i> (E361/6/9r) (1420-22), <i>Satyn ser[i]c[i]</i> (E361/6/16d) (1425-27) <i>Satyn</i> (E361/6/19r) (1429-31), <i>Satyn</i> (E361/6/23r) (1434-35) <i>Satyn</i> (E361/6/29r) (1439-40), <i>Satyn</i> (E361/6/37r) (1444-45) <i>Satyn</i> (E361/6/43r) (1449-50), <i>Satyn</i> (E361/6/49r) (1455-56) <i>Satyn</i> (E361/6/53r) (1461-62)

¹⁶⁰ The more recent MED entry dates this source as a1400.

		(All Monnas 1989: 295-302)
Exchequer Rolls of Purchase (1349- c1362)	<i>Demysatyn</i> (1) <i>Satyn</i> (1) <i>Zatayn</i> (1) <i>Zatan</i> (1)	<i>Zatayn</i> (E101/391/14) (1349) <i>Zatan dupl'</i> (E101/392/3) (1351) <i>Satyn</i> (E101/394/9) (1362) <i>Demysatyn</i> (E101/398/24) (Ed III). (All Monnas 1989:303-04)

Comments

Transmission Type 2b / Semantic Field: textile

Like **baldekin** or **cotun**, *satin* is an international loanword whose transmission is notoriously hard to track. We know that the name of this shiny silk entered Romance via the Arabic name of the Chinese city of *Zaitum* as the LCC entry sub **satin** explains: “This is Marco Polo's *Zayton*; the identity of this place has been disputed, but is almost certainly the port city of Quanzhou in Fujian province, noted in the medieval period for its production of silks.” The same entry offers two alternative transmission routes: Old French direct from Arabic (this is the solution favoured by the FEW sub **zaituni** and Fennis 1995: 1635) or Old French from late Latin via an Italian intermediary. However, it is possible that a third route could also have been involved where the original Arabic entered insular and continental French via Italianised *zetino* / *satino*. When we look at the forms used in Du Cange's citations, rather than just the headwords (*zettanini* / *zetonini* / *setonini* / *cetanini*), it seems likely that these are Italian vernacular names that have passed into late Latin, rather than the other way round. The DEI cites ML *settinus* (as does the OED2 sub **satin**) and *satinus* but sadly we have no dates or sources. Both the DEI and the OED2 overlook (or were unaware of) the examples of vernacular *zetano* / *zettano* / *zectano* from northern and central Italy.

The attestation of *satino* is an important one, as it is our only example of this potential etymon for AN *satin* in the Italian vernacular. The lexeme appears late (1514-15) but several times in the detailed diary of the Venetian politician Marin Sanudo the Younger (cf. **bukasin**): e.g. *haveno tutti uno sajo di brocato d'oro coperto di una banda di satino cremesino frapato da man drita, et da man sinistra de satino bianco* (Stefani *et al.* 1887: vol. 19, 296). However, Sanudo much preferred to refer to satin as *raso* (from *rasare*, ‘to shave’, alluding to the cloth's smooth surface), the term which has endured in modern Italian.

Italy had become a major satin-weaving centre by the 1300s and the regulations surrounding this specific kind of silk are laid down in the Lucchese Statutes of 1376, along with other renowned fabrics of Middle Eastern origin such as **taffata** and **attaby**. *Zetani* are also referred to eighty-nine times in the mid-Quattrocento treatise on silk production and dyeing in Florence, *L'arte della seta*. As Monnas (1989: 288) notes, satin was a popular (though relatively expensive) choice for lining garments in the English court and was purchased in increasing amounts from the mid-1300s onwards. Indeed, the *Views of the Hosts* records over 150 imports of satin into London by Lucchese and Venetian merchants between 1440 and 1444.

Certainly, as the TLFi points out, the following fourteenth-century forms in CF are probably influenced by Italian: *zetonnin* / *zatony* / *zatonin* / *zatanin*. In England, as in France, we have similar earlier examples in BML

matrix texts: the *zatayn blu poudré* in Edward III's Wardrobe Expenses of 1349 and *Zatan dupl'* in 1351.¹⁶¹ But, undoubtedly, the dominant form was *satin* / *satyn* which appears numerous times in AN and BML records from the 1360s onwards and in ME from c1390, in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. There is certainly no single route of transmission at play here but we can speculate that *satino* and *zetano* (or variations thereof) did play a part in the evolution of this Arabic fabric name in England.

¹⁶¹ Note that satin was imported into England at least twenty-three years before the earliest record of its name. The Clare Chasuble, a blue satin priest's vestment was made between 1272 and 1294. It was probably woven in Iran and embroidered in England and is now preserved in the Victoria and Albert museum. See King (1993: 459-60) and the V&A website: <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O93124/the-clare-chasuble-chasuble-unknown/> (accessed 03/05/2016).

69. AN sport(in) (n.) ‘a (small) basket used to transport dry goods, such as raisins, almonds and sugar’ < It. <i>sporta</i> / * <i>sportino</i> < Lat. <i>spōrta</i> (‘basket’)				
Italian 1318-present ¹⁶²	Anglo-Norman c1427-c1436	Continental French 1275-1771	(Middle) English X	Medieval Latin 1439
TLIO	X			
OVI	<i>sporta</i> (50+)	<i>E de legati XXX di lana sardescha, per parte den. III e della <u>sporta</u> della pece, per parte den. I</i> (Stat pis. cap. 56 1114.4) (pis.) <i>Olio in giarre. A <u>sporta</u> si vuede: Pepe. A peso si vende: Indaco.</i> (Pegolotti Practica 70.16) (c1335-1343. fior.)		
AD	<i>sporta</i> (5)	<i>vi mando tre di penne e un fardello di penne e <u>sporta</u> una di chomerabica</i> (Piero di Paolo Lotti e frate Giovann-Comp) (1392)		
LEI	X			
DEI	sub sporta (3602a)	‘cesta o tasca di vimini o paglia con manichi’ [< Lat. <i>sporta</i> , panromanzo occidentale ma non francese] <i>sporta</i> (14th c.) ‘dolce a Firenze’ <i>la sportina di Pasqua</i> (1887)		
AND1	sub sport (n.) (2) sub sportin (n.) (3)	‘basket’ [Italian] <i>vij <u>sport</u> de resins</i> (Port Bks 43) (1427-30) <i>i <u>sport</u> de suchre pot, val. xxs.</i> (Local Port Bk 66) (1435-6) ‘small basket’ <i>iiij <u>sport</u> ij <u>sportin</u> de almand</i> (Port Bks 49) (1427-30) <i>viii <u>sportin</u> de resin</i> (Local Port Bk 108) (1435-6)		
AND corpus	<i>sport</i> (1) sub malik <i>sport</i> (1) sub sucre	<i>C. vij <u>sport</u> de resins de Malik – cust. ix. d., pontage iiij. d.</i> (Port Books 111) (1427-30) <i>vj. <u>sport</u> de suchrepot</i> (Port Bks 98) (1427-30)		
DEAF	X			
DMF	X			
GDF	∅			
TL	∅			
TLFi	∅			
FEW	XII, 213a: sporta	‘corbeille, panier, cabas’ Fr. <i>sporte</i> (Martino da Canale) (1275) / <i>esporte</i> (Marco Polo) (1298) Occ. <i>esporta</i> (c1250) / <i>sporta</i> (c.1350) ‘sac en tresses de vanniere’ MF <i>esportain.</i> / <i>esportin</i> (1455) [Lt. <i>sporta</i> lebt weiter in it. <i>sporta</i> , log. <i>isporta</i> , kat. <i>esporta</i> , sp. <i>espuerta</i> , pg. <i>esporta</i> , galloroam. s. oben I. Das frühe vorkommen in texten wie Marco Polo und Martino da Canale könnte aber auch auf eine entlehnung aus dem it.		

¹⁶² Only in the fixed expression *un sacco e una sporta* (‘a large amount’) and variations such as *dirne un sacco e una sporta a qualcuno* (‘to go into great detail’).

		schliessen lassen, ARom 14, 151. In Ober- und Mittelitalien, in Südkalabrien und auf dem Nordostzipfel Siziliens bezeichnet <i>sporta</i> vor allem die rechteckigen bastkörbe (AIS 1232 leg. 1491, 1492) auf den Liparischen Inseln die flachen, aus schilf geflochtenen körbe für den olivenbrei, VR3 220, diese werden in der Provence und in Katalonien mit der ablt. <i>esporti</i> bezeichnet]
MED	Ø	
OED	X	
DMLBS	Ø	
DC	Ø	
Additional sources		
BML-matrix		
Sandwich Customs Accounts (1439-40)	<i>sportis</i> (3)	<i>De Nicholao de Pero, alienigena, pro II sportis de reyseinis, precio III s. IIII d. De Petro Baptisto Gryllo, alienigena, mercatore de Ianua, pro V sportis cum reyseinis, precio in toto XIII s. (E122/127/18, c.19r / c.21r in Nicolini 2006: 131 / 136) (1439-40)</i>
Comments		
Transmission type 1a / Semantic field: containers / bundles		
<p><i>Sport(in)</i> is one of handful of Italian loanwords that have already been identified in AN material by Foster (1963: xiv) and Trotter (2011d: 163). This basket-name only occurs in the AN <i>Port Book</i> and <i>Local Port Books</i> of Southampton from 1427-30 / 1435-36 and in the BML <i>Custom Accounts</i> from Sandwich in 1439-40. In all cases, these containers seem to appear on the cargo lists of Italian vessels and are used to transport dried fruits, nuts and sugar. Looking through the corpora of the OVI and the Datini Archives, we can find countless examples of <i>sporta</i> from 1318 onwards, as well as its derivative <i>sportello</i> / <i>sportella</i> of which there are over one hundred attestations. Surprisingly, there are no medieval Italian citations of the diminutive, <i>sportino</i>, from which the AN version <i>sportin</i> must surely have derived. However, the name of a Florentine fruited bread known as the <i>sportina di Pasqua</i> (DEI sub sporta), although not recorded until the nineteenth century, may hint at the earlier existence of the term. In addition, Trotter mentions (2011d: 164) that <i>isportinu</i> has been found in medieval Sardinian.</p> <p><i>Sporte</i> and <i>esporte</i> also occur in the CF record, albeit rarely. As the FEW (p.231a) describes, the lexeme was transmitted in the second half of the thirteenth century via <i>Les estoires de Venise</i> (by the Italian author Martino da Canale) and <i>Le Livre de Marco Polo</i> in 1298. Occitan variations such as <i>esporta</i> may also have influenced later continental forms.</p>		

70. AN (suchre) candi (n.) ‘crystallized cane sugar, a luxury commodity first brought back from the Holy Land to Europe in the 1140s’ < It. (zucchero) candi < Ar. (sukkar) qandī < Pers. kand (‘sugar’)				
Italian c1275-19 th c.	Anglo-Norman c1427-c1444	Continental French 1256-19 th c.	(Middle) English c1425-19 th c.	Medieval Latin 1242-1420
TLIO	sub candi (adj / n.) (6) sub zucchero (n.) (1)	‘Lo stesso che candito. Locuz. nom. Zucchero candi’ [< ML <i>candus</i> < Ar. <i>qandī</i>] <i>e tengha sotto la linghua candi; e lavaisi la bocha ispesso con aqua fredda</i> (Zucchero, Santà, Pt. 1, cap. 12. p. 102.20) (1310, fior) 1.4 ‘Zucchero candi, confetto: varietà di zucchero in pezzi grandi, trasparenti e finemente cristallizzati ottenuto dalla torchiatura della materia grezza’ <i>Zucchero candi quanto più sono grossi e più bianchi e più chiari tanto sono migliori e più fini</i> (Pegolotti Pratica 363.33) (c1335-43)		
OVI	<i>candi</i> (19)	<i>çucheri candi, rose, ana on. i et dr. iii / çucheri candi, ana scr. ii; sciropo roasta tanto ke basti</i> (Antidotarium Nicolai volg. 22, 13.32 / 37.36) (c1275-1300, fior)		
AD	<i>candi</i> (1)	<i>Il barile de’ candi gunto a Vingnone e l’altre balle non è a dire</i> (Milano – Firenze B669/30 423684 238.8) (1395)		
LEI	X			
DEI	sub candi (adj. /n.) 716b sub Càndia (adj.) 716b	‘di zucchero depurato e cristallizzato’ [ar. <i>qandī</i> , agg. di <i>qand</i> , ‘zucchero di cannamele’, cf. fr. <i>sucre candi</i>] (<i>zucchero</i>) <i>candi</i> (Ricettario fior. c1400) ML <i>candus</i> (14 th c., Giovanni da Parma) ‘zucchero candito: da ‘candi’ raccostato al nome dell’isola Càndia per indicare un prodotto che veniva dall’Oriente’ <i>zucchero di Candia</i> [no date given]		
AND1	sub sucre (n.) (1)	‘sugar candy’ <i>j. casset de suchre candy</i> (Port Bks 84) (1427-30)		
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub candi (n.) (1)	‘sucre cristallisé’ <i>J’ay bon candit gros et brisé, Et graine de paradis é, Sucre dur pour faire claré</i> (Myst. Pass. N.S. R 255) (c1350-70)		
GDC	sub candi (adj) (1)	‘sucre cristallisé’ <i>Miel rosat et sucre candi</i> (Paré VIII 32)		
TL	sub candi (n.) (1)	‘Zuckerand’ <i>et pora boire syrop rosat avoec ewe tieve, et tiegne sor le lange candi</i> (Rég du Corps 55.7, eb. 114.16) (1256)		
TLFi	sub candi (n.) (1)	‘Sucre candi: Sucre, qui après avoir été dépuré et liquéfié, s’est cristallisé.’ [< Ar. <i>qandī</i>] <i>candi</i> (Le Régime du corps de Maître Aldebrandin de Sienne) (1256)		
FEW	FEW XIX, 83b: qandi	‘sucre cristallisé en morceaux’ Fr. <i>sucre candi</i> (13 th c.), <i>sucre scandi</i> (1571) Occ. <i>sucre candi</i> , Norm. <i>sucre scandi</i>		

		[Das wort ist etwas später als <i>sukkar</i> , vielleicht aus dem Orient nach Westeuropa gekommen, daher auch it. <i>zucchero candi</i> , sp. <i>cande</i> (seit 14 jh.) pg. <i>candil</i> , d. <i>kandiszucker</i> , ndl. <i>kandij</i> , e. <i>kandy</i>]
MED	sub sugre-candi (n.) (11)	‘Crystallized cane sugar’ [OF, Lat., ME <i>candi</i> , cp. AL <i>sucrum candi</i> / OF <i>sucre candi</i>] <i>Pro diversis speciebus..viz. croco, maces, gariofilis, sugre <u>candy</u>, sugre caffetin.</i> (Acc. Exped. Der. in Camd. n.s.52, 219/4) (1393) <i>Payd for ij boxes of conserves, tryacle, and <u>souger candy</u>, x d.</i> (Stonor 1.41) (a1425)
	sub candi (n.) (1)	‘Crystallized cane sugar’ [OF, ult. Skt.] <i>Pro <u>candy</u> empto ad opus fratris Johannis Conuersi, iij d. o.</i> (Bull. IHR 3, 196) (1274)
	sub sugre b. (2)	‘~ of candi, crystallized sugar, sugar broken in lumps [cp. <i>sugre-candi</i> n.]’ ¹⁶³ <i>Whenne ye may not be put fro drynke, with sugre of <u>Candy</u>, prunes of Damask and suche other ordeyne therfore</i> (Travel Insturct. CotApp 8, 281) (a1500)
MED corpus	<i>zucce candin</i> (1) sub caffatin	<i>Gordone witnessez þat puluer nabatinus, which Beneuenutus makeþ of <u>zucce candin</u> or caffatyn [L <i>caffatina</i>], is precieuse in þis case</i> (Chauliac I, NY 12, 131b/a) (?a1425)
OED2	sub sugar-candy (n.) (20+)	‘Sugar clarified and crystallized by slow evaporation’ [< Fr. <i>sucre candi</i> and It. <i>zucchero candito</i>] <i>Pro vj lb. <u>sucri candy</u></i> (Earl Derby's Exped. 19, Camden) (1390) <i>Whot appuls & peres with <u>sugre Candy</u>.</i> (J. Russell Bk. Nurture 757) (c1460)
DMLBS	sub succarum (2) 3271a	2b ‘sugar-candy’ <i>unam casseam <u>succuri candidi</u></i> (Foed VII 233a) (?c1390) <i>pro viij barellis sugre j bala <u>sugre candi</u></i> (EEC 512) (1420)
DC	sub succarum (1)	<i>Unam casseam <u>Succuri candidi</u>.</i> (Rymer. tom. 7. pag. 233) (1380)
Additional sources		
AN-matrix		
VOH (1440-44)	<i>Sucre candy</i> (2) <i>Sugur candy</i> (2) <i>Suger candy</i> (2)	<i>En primez ij barelles <u>suger candy</u> / En primez vendu a Nicholas Wifold ij barelles <u>suger candy</u> pur xxvijli xijs vjd</i> (VOH 26 : 31 / 41) (E010/128/31 ret. 10, John Olney, host to Franceso Molin and Damiano di Franceso, transc. p.72 / 73) (1440-41) <i>Item j barelle <u>sucre candy</u> / Item aluy j barelle <u>sucre candy</u> pris xxiiij^{li} x^s iij^d</i> (VOH 16: 172 / 223) (E101/128/30 ret. 6, Sir William Estfield, host to Bertucci and Tommaso Contarini, merchants of Venice, transc. p. 24 /25) (1440)
BML-matrix		
King's Spicer	<i>candi</i> (3) <i>candy</i> (1)	<i>pro <u>candi</u> et penid⁷ 7d / pro <u>candi</u> 4d / pro <u>zucar</u>⁷ et <u>candi</u> 3d / et pro penid⁷ et <u>candy</u> 6d</i> (E101 /349/10 in Trease 1959: 39) (1242-43)

¹⁶³ In spite of the MED's gloss, it seems more likely that this *sugre of Candy* is not ‘sugar candy’ but ‘sugar from Candy’: i.e. Candia or the island of Crete where sugar cane was cultivated in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Compare the DEI's gloss in its entry sub **Càndia**.

(1242-43)		
Rosa Anglica (c1314)	<i>saccharo / i candi</i> (10)	<i>Iuveni dettur pulvis <u>sacchari Candi</u> cum liquiritia in caussa calida: in frigida deatur cum pulvere <u>sacchari candi</u> & liquiritia in caussa calida</i> (Rosa Anglica, John of Gaddesden, ed. 1595, p.280) (c1314)
VOH (1440)	<i>sugre candy</i> (2)	<i>Item vendiderunt <u>sugre candy</u> ad valenciam vj^{li} xviiij^s viij^d</i> (VOH 13:65) (E010/128/31 ret. 33, John Chichele, host to Genoese strangers, transc. p.113) (1440)

Comments

Transmission Type 2b / Semantic Field: sugar / spice / sweetmeat

As with **ris** and **pume d'orange**, sugar was an 'exotic' foodstuff first introduced by Arabic speakers into Iberia and Sicily (Adamson 2004: 28). Italy's position at the centre of the European sugar trade and its links around the Mediterrean are mirrored in the impressive variety of sugar types in the TLIO based on origin, characteristics or quality: e.g. *zucchero bambillonio / damsachino / tebaico* (from Babylon, Damascus and Thebes), *zucchero rosato / violato* (infused with rose or violet petals), *zucchero naibet / nebec* (infused with almond essence), *zucchero bianco / rosso* (refined and unrefined), *zucchero musciato / muccara*¹⁶⁴/*caffatino* (compacted into cones or 'loaves'), *zucchero tabarzet* (powdered sugar). Cognates of some of these terms are widely found in the English records from the end of the thirteenth century, be they BML, AN or ME: *zucure rosate alexandrine* (AND sub **diacodion**), *zucure violette* (AND sub **violat**), *rede suger* (MED sub **sugre b.**), *zucar' caffatin'* (DMLBS sub **caffatinus**).

The first attestations of *candi* (i.e. crystallised sugar) in Italian, as in English and French, are in medical texts. The earliest is the Italian vernacular *Antidotarium Nicolai Parvum* (c1275), an anonymous collection of over 1200 pharmaceutical recipes, mostly from Greek sources, written in last quarter of the thirteenth century and a highly influential text at the Salerno School of Medicine (Pioreschi 2003: 472-74). Another key source (itself originally based on several Latin texts) is *La sanità del corpo*, an Italian translation of the CF *Régime du corps* from 1256 by the bilingual author, Aldobrandino da Siena (cf. TL / TLFi sub **candi**). Such texts were the result of the huge wave of influence of the (more advanced) traditions of Greco-Arabic medicine on Western Europe in the Middle Ages and it is certainly likely that in some English sources, the Middle Eastern loanword *candi* was borrowed directly. One such source is the BML medical treatise *Rosa Anglica* (c1314), with its ten references to *saccharofi candi*. Its author - Edward II's physician, John of Gaddesden - was the first of his profession to have been fully trained in England and not in the famous Montpellier school. Gaddesden cites numerous Greek, Latin and Arabic texts, such as the writings of the Khalif's physician, Abul-hassan Ali ben Ridhwan ben Ali ben Ja'far. However, it is hard to know how much he read in the original or how much in translated extracts from other contemporary works, such as the *Practica seu Lilium medicinae*, from 1303, written by Bernard de Gordon in Montpellier (see Cholmeley 1912: 166-84, Pioreschi 2003: 369-70).

As we have seen (cf. **confection**), there was little distinction between medicine and confectionary or between the trade of spicer and apothecary. Most 'treatments' - be they syrups or pastilles - were basically sweets made from sugar and spices. It was the English Pepperers who are first recorded as importing sugar into

¹⁶⁴ This must be the un glossed *sucre muscarrat* (1359-60) in the DMF entry sub **sucre**. Similarly, *sucre de bouche* (1416-18) in the same entry is likely the same as *sucre bogie* (cf. AND sub **bogie**), i.e. 'From Bougie in Algeria'.

London in 1180 and by the early 1300s, “the versatile, honest and successful medieval spicer apothecary had to act as a shopkeeping spice specialist, pharmacist, international trader, artistic confectioner and alchemist” (Richardson 2004: 179). Indeed, our earliest attestation of *candi/candy* in an English record is from the BML accounts (1242-43) of the King’s Spicer, Roger of Montpellier, a source edited by Trease in 1959. It seems very probable that such men who embraced a multitude of roles, both commercial and intellectual, encountered *candi* (and terms like it) via the very merchants who imported such products into their city as well as, or perhaps instead of, a scholarly term from Arabic.¹⁶⁵ Attestations in AN are not numerous but once we move on to sources like the Southampton Port Books and the *Views of the Hosts* in the 1400s, we can be fairly confident that *sucre candi* (‘the commodity’) rather than *sucre candi* (‘the medical ingredient’) was a lexeme reinforced over and over again in English lexis by its Italian sellers.

Hope (1971: 32) lists *candi* as an Italian borrowing in French but the loanword does not receive much attention in the major historical dictionaries of CF. The FEW entry is unusually short and vague. The TLFi’s comment that “l’intermédiaire de l’ital. [...] est à écarter, *zucchero candito* n’étant à ce jour attesté qu’au xv^es” is now out of date as we have (as seen above) evidence of *çucheri candi* from c1275 in Tuscan. The same is true of the comments in the OED2 entry sub **sugar candy**.

¹⁶⁵ It should be pointed out that in the Spicer Accounts, *candi* /y features alongside several medical preparations of Greco-Arabic origin such as *pennidi*, *diadragant* and *syrypis*.

71. AN taffata (n.) ‘one of the cheaper, plain, tabby-weave silks, widely copied and purchased in the 1300s and 1400s in Europe but originating in the Middle East’ (CF <i>taffetas</i>) < It. <i>taffetta</i> < Turco-Persian <i>tāfta</i> (‘woven’)					
Italian c1332-present		Anglo-Norman 1341-c1442	Continental French 1314-present	(Middle) English 1373-present	Medieval Latin c1320-1591
TLIO	X				
OVI	<i>taffūà</i> (5) <i>taffetta</i> (3) <i>taffettà</i> (7) <i>tafettà</i> (5) <i>taffectà</i> (10) <i>tafetà</i> (1)		<i>It. denno avere ditto die per p(esse) ij di changianti e sendadini e taffūà lbr. xxxj uc. j</i> (Doc. Lucch 110.28) (1332-6, lucch.) <i>tele di Campagna, e stamigne, e velluti di seta d’ogni ragione, taffeta di seta d’ogni ragione</i> (Pegolotti, Practica 216.5) (c1335-c1342, fior.) <i>Una guarnaccha da donna di scarlatto, vecchia, foderata in parte di taffettà verde</i> (Doc. Fior 49.6) (1348-50, fior.) <i>E siano larghi braccia due meno uno ottavo di braccio i tafettà a pena do soldi XX per channa</i> (Stat. fior. Riforme, 251.23) (1353, fior.) <i>Item che a ciaschuno mercdante che volesse fare et far fare taffectà in tre sendadi con tela curuda [...]</i> (Stat. lucch LIV, cap. 83, 194.13) (1376, lucch.) <i>It(em) j a roba de diviso de sea i(n)forà de tafetà neg(r)o</i> (Doc. Padov 73.29) (c1380, padov.)		
AD	<i>taffetà</i> (31) <i>taffettà</i> (4) <i>tafetta</i> (1) <i>taffetati</i> (1)		<i>Disivi come vi mandai per Nicholaio di Mone la chassa di taffetà</i> (Milano-Pisa B531 /36 344.1) (1396) <i>De la chassa di taffettà e seta che fate mettere a punto a Bolongna</i> (Milano-Firenze B669/30 322.38) (1396) <i>Se di tafeta o di zendadi e di una altra chosa fosse buono mettere chosti</i> (Firenze-Milano B1115/80, 599.23) (1401) <i>Hora per questa v’avixo chomo ve mando li chuntti di li vellutti e taffetati che serrano cho questa</i> (Milano-Prato B341/29, 63, 568.3) (1402)		
LEI	X				
DEI	sub taffettà (a. / n.)		‘tela leggerissima’ [fr. <i>taffetas</i> (1315), sp. <i>tafétan</i> , ing. <i>taffety</i> , ted. <i>taffet</i> , gr.mod. <i>taphtâs</i> , pers. <i>tāftā</i> ‘stoffa, tessuto’ (<i>tāfān</i> , ‘tessere’)] <i>tafettà</i> 15 th c. / 1585, <i>taffettano</i> (1616), <i>taffetano</i> , <i>taffettano</i> (1769)		
AND1	sub taffata (n.) (1)		‘taffeta’ <i>les curtins del taffata blank batuz</i> (Test Ebor i 231) (1341)		
AND corpus	<i>taffata</i> (1) sub jupon <i>taffata</i> (1) sub ciel ¹ <i>taff[ata]</i> (1) sub foteshete		<i>E ad faciendum unum jupoun de taffata blu</i> (Wardrobe Expenses Ed III Exp. 34) (1344-49) <i>un lit de blanc satyn [...] c’est assaver tester, coverlit et entier cele et iij curtyns de taffata batuz</i> (Gloucester Inventory 289) (1397) <i>Item j veil foteshete [...] Item j veile et j cutryn de blanc taff[ata]</i> (Gloucester Inventory 307) (1397)		
LCC	sub taffata (n.) (6) (1= AND 5 = MED)		‘a firm, tabby-woven silk textile, a type of sendal; probably made in Europe, very likely Italy, though the name suggested a more exotic origin and came to be used in preference to sendal/cendal in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries’ <i>les curtins del taffata blank batuz</i> (Test Ebor i 231) (1341)		

DEAF	X	
DMF	sub taffetas (n.) (12)	‘Tissue de soie, mince, uni et brillant, taffetas’ <i>Et Madame bailla audit Jehan du Figuier les tafetas, pour faire les courtines dudit paveillon, que elle avoit par devers li en garnison</i> (Comptes argent. Rois Fr. D-A II, 28) (1342)
GDC	sub taffetas (n.) (10)	‘éttoffe de soie unie et brillante’ <i>Tartaires apelez taphetaz</i> (Compte de Geffrois de Fleuri, ap. Douet d’Arcq, Nouv. compt de l’argent. p. 4) (1317) <i>iiii pieces de taffutat vers et indes</i> (Compt. de la fabriq, f. 55v) (1379-80) <i>Deux aunes et demie de taftaf</i> (Lille, ap. La Fons, Gloss, ms Bibl. Amiens) (1485) <i>Taftaf</i> (Compte, Béthune ap. La Fons, Gloss, ms Bibl. Amiens) (1535)
TL	Ø	
TLFi	sub taffetas (n.)	‘Étoffe de soie serrée, sans envers, d’aspect sec et craquant quand on la froisse, utilisée dans l’ameublement et dans la confection des vêtements’ <i>tafuta</i> (Arch du Pas-de-Calais) (1314) [Empr. au pers. <i>tāfta</i> ‘taffetas’, propr. ‘ce qui est tissé’, du verbe <i>tāftan</i> ‘tisser, filer, tordre’ [...] peut-être par l’intermédiaire de l’ital. <i>taffetà</i>]
FEW	XIX, 179b: tafta	‘éttoffe de soie unie, brillante et souple’ MF <i>taffetas</i> (1314), Occ. <i>tafata(s)</i> , <i>tafatan</i> , Liègeois <i>taftas</i> [Es wird allgemein angenommen, dass fr. <i>taffetas</i> über Italien entlehnt sei; doch spricht die chronologie der belege nicht dafür, da it. <i>taffetà</i> erst im 15. jh. belegt ist.]
MED	sub taffata (n.) (9)	‘A costly woven, glossy silk fabric’ [ML <i>taffata</i> , <i>taffetta</i> , AL <i>tafeta</i> , cp. OF <i>taffestas</i> , ult. Pers.] <i>taffata</i> (Reg. Edw. Blk. Pr 4.178) (1355) <i>In sangwyn and in pers he clad was al, Lyned with taffata [vr. Tafeta] and with sendal, And yet he was but esy of dispence.</i> (Chaucer CT. Prol. A440) (c1405)
OED2	sub taffeta / taffety ¹⁶⁶ (n.) (3)	‘A name applied at different times to different fabrics. In early times apparently a plain-wove glossy silk (of any colour); in more recent times, a light thin silk or union stuff of decided brightness or lustre’ [OF <i>taffetas</i> , <i>taphetas</i> or ML <i>taffata</i> , = It. <i>taffetà</i> , Port. <i>tafeta</i> , Sp. <i>tafetan</i> : ultimately < Pers. <i>tāftah</i>] <i>In empcione vnus pecie de taffeta</i> (Exch. Rolls Scotl. II 440) (1373) <i>A Doctour of Phisyk..In sangwyn and in Pers he clad was al Lyned with Taffata</i> (Chaucer, Canterbury Tales Prol 1.442) (c1405)
DMLBS	sub taffata (6)	‘sort of silk material, taffeta’ [ME, AN <i>taffeta</i> < Pers. <i>tāftah</i>] <i>Item iij auricularia de taffeta viridi coloris / cum tunica et dalmatica de taffeta</i> (Invent. Norw 16 / 243) (14 th c.) <i>Ad cooperturam unius dubletti quatuor ulnas et j quart’ panni de taffat’</i> (KR Ac. 385/4) (1331)

¹⁶⁶ Variations on the form of *taffety* were found in Old Scots, in particular: see DSL (Dictionary of the Scots Language) sub **taffitie**.

DC	Sub taffeta (9)	‘Pannus sericus, quem vulgo Taffetas dicimus’ <i>Pannis aureis et sericeis, et laneis, et pannis de samit, et de camelot, et de Thafatas, et multis tapetis</i> (pro Infante Majoricæ, in Camera Comput. Paris) (c1320)
Additional sources		
Italian-matrix		
Arte della Seta (c1450)	sub taffetà (20+)	<i>E se tu vedessi in domaschino o in raso o in taffetà certe vie vote che vanno per la lunghezza del drappo, queste si chiamano fila rotte</i> (Arte della seta) (Gargioli 1868 : LVII, 89) (c1450, fior.)
AN-matrix		
VOH (1441-42)	<i>taffata</i> (1) [tevtelez de leyefante] (1)	<i>Item a John Gille le mesme iour [xxx] peces taffata a xxs la pece summa .xxxi</i> ¹⁶⁷ (VOH 48:395, E101/128/30 ret.1, John Welles, host to Giacomo Corner, merchant and patron of a Venetian galley and named crew, transc. p. 9) (1441-42) <i>bale de tevtelez de leyefante value xv^{li}</i> (VOH 54:21, E010/128/31 ret. 28, John Betham, host to Benedetto Borromei, merchant of Florence, transc. p. 101) (1441-2)
BML-matrix		
Great Wardrobe Accounts (1330-1462)	<i>taffat</i> ’ (2) <i>taffata</i> (12)	<i>taffata</i> (E361/3/16r) (1330-31) <i>taffat</i> ’ (E361/3/35r) (1339-40) <i>taffat</i> ’ (E361/3/48r) (1349-51), <i>taffat[a]</i> (E361/41/4r) (1360-61) <i>taffata</i> (E361/4/14r) (1365-66), <i>taffata</i> (E361/4/17r) (1370-71) <i>taffata</i> (E361/4/26r) (1374-77), <i>taffata</i> (E361/5/2r) (1379-81) <i>taffata</i> (E361/5/5r) (1390-92), <i>taffata</i> (E361/5/7r) (1394-98) <i>taffata</i> (E361/5/11r) (1399-1400), <i>taffat[a]</i> (E361/6/12r) (1413-17) <i>taffat[a]</i> (E361/6/9r) (1420-22), <i>taffata</i> (E361/6/53r) (1461-62) (All Monnas 1989: 294-302)
Exchequer Rolls of Purchase (1325-1394)	<i>taffat</i> ’ (14) <i>taffata</i> (7)	<i>taffat</i> ’ (E101/380/14) (1325), <i>taffat</i> ’ (x4) / <i>taffata</i> (x2) (E101/384/6) (1329) <i>taffat</i> ’ / <i>taffata</i> (E101/386/5) (1331), ¹⁶⁷ <i>taffata</i> (x2) (E101/390/1) (1342) <i>taffata</i> (x2) (E101/391/14) (1349), <i>taffat</i> ’ (E101/392.3) (1350-51) <i>taffat</i> ’ (E101/394/9) (1361-62), <i>taffat</i> ’ (x6) (E101/402.13) (1392-94) (All Monnas 1989: 302-04)
Comments		
Transmission Type 2b / Semantic Field: textile		
<p>The case for Italian influence on insular (and continental) French <i>taffata</i> is a strong one. The FEW claims that the fabric type did not appear in Italian records until the late 1500s but new sources have since emerged with numerous fourteenth-century attestations of the silk in Italy, including the <i>Libro d’una compagnia mercantile lucchese</i> in the 1330s, the Alberti company accounts from 1348-50 and the merchant statutes from Florence and Lucca in 1352 and 1376.</p> <p>Italian merchants kept the English royal household well supplied with <i>taffata</i> and it appears (alongside imperial, maramas, nak, nassik, ragamas and tartarin) regularly in the BML royal Wardrobe Accounts and Rolls of Purchases from 1330 to 1394. <i>Taffata</i> was listed consistently at the bottom of the purchases, being the cheapest of all these silks.¹⁶⁸ Its cost apparently made it a popular fabric for larger items and in all four of its AN-matrix citations, it is used for curtains. By the turn of the fifteenth century, Chaucer mentions the fabric in the</p>		

¹⁶⁷ This example from 1331 is also used by the DMLBS sub **taffata**.

¹⁶⁸ As Monnas (1989: 288) comments, “For a silk cloth, taffeta was really very inexpensive: in the rolls of 1325-94, it ranges from 6½ d. to 18d. per ell.”

prologue to the *Canterbury Tales* and the AN *Views of the Hosts* gives us a new example from the early 1440s; in both these cases, it is impossible to really pin down the lexeme as ‘French’ or ‘English’ (or rather, perhaps, as an Italian loanword in AN or in ME).

The Views also have a unique entry of a *bale de tevtelez de leyefante*, arriving into Southampton. Bradley (2012: 126) suggests in her edition that this is ‘probably *taftais de Levant*, from Persian *taftan*, to shine, a taffeta or any plain glossy silk, from the Levant, or perhaps Spanish, *tefe tela*, strips of cloth’. There is no immediately obvious etymon for *tevtelez* in the the OVI corpus but as the term appears in the line below the Italianism **ceta** in View 54, it is tempting to suggest that Italian influence should not be ruled out either.

Fennis (1995: 1705) offers over a dozen new attestations of *taffestas* in CF from 1525 to 1721 and agrees that the term arrived in 1314 as *tafuta* ‘prob par l’interm. de l’it *taffettà* du turco-persan’. Hope (1971: 51) suggests that, as *taphetaz* was glossed twice as *tartaire* in the *Compte de Geoffroi de Fleuri*, “presumably *taffetas* was a more fashionable term which in 1317 still needed to be explained and ‘sold’ to the public”. Unusual variations of the silk name continued in CF (unlike in England where it seemed more or less orthographically stable) over the next two centuries e.g. *thafetax* (1461), *stafaf* (1485) and *taftaf* (1535) (all GDC sub **taffetas**).

72. AN talany (n. / adj.) ‘raw silk used as weft thread and imported from the Talesh region, in modern-day Iran’ < It. <i>talani</i> < Pers. <i>Taliş</i>				
Italian c1335-c1450	Anglo-Norman 1440-1442	Continental French X	(Middle) English X	Medieval Latin X
TLIO	X			
OVI	sub talani (4)	<i>Seta mordecascio, seta ghella, seta turci, seta talani, seta mettassella</i> (Pegolotti, Practica 208.27) (c1335-1343) (fior.)/ <i>spetie di seta in una sorta cioè o tucta leggi o tucto mordecasio o tucto talani</i> (Stat. lucch. LIV cap 5 131.19) (1376) (lucch.)		
LEI	X			
DEI	Ø			
AND	X			
DEAF	X			
DMF	X			
GDF	Ø			
TL	Ø			
TLFi	Ø			
FEW	Ø			
MED	Ø			
OED	X			
DMLBS	Ø			
DC	Ø			
Additional sources				
Italian-matrix				
Damascus pricelist (1386)	<i>talani</i> (1)	<i>vai fini dm. 1910, ermellini dm. 3 in 4 ½, seta legi dm. 280, talani dm. 220</i> (Valute di mercanzie dell'1 settembre 1386 in Damasco) (Melis 1972:318) (1386)		
Datini pricelist ¹⁶⁹ (1393)	<i>talani</i> (1)	<i>seta giudescha lb. 4 s. 2 in s. 8, mataselle lb 4 i' s. 8 più, talani lb 4 s. 10 (in) lb. 5 s. 5, leggi 5 ½ in 6 ½</i> (Valuta di mercanzie del 31 dicembre 1393, Venezia-Firenze, da Zanobi di T. Gaddi alla comp. Datini) (Melis 1972: 302) (1393)		
Alexandria pricelist (1419)	<i>tallani</i> (1)	<i>seda stravai bs. 2, llezi fin abs. 1 ¾, lleze bene bs. 1 ½, tallani bs. 1 ¼</i> (Valute di mercanzie del 23 febbraio 1419 in Alessandria) (Melis 1972: 320) (1419, ven.)		
Arte della seta (c1450)	<i>talani</i> (4)	<i>E a voler conoscere la seta talani la quale viene in iscagne e sono lunghe poco più ch ela leggi, so sono legate in testa e nel mezzo come le spagnuole</i> (Arte della seta, cap VIII) (Gargioli 1868: 105) (c.1450) (fior.)		
AN-matrix				
VOH (1440-42)	<i>talany</i> (7) <i>talanye</i> (2) <i>taleny</i> (1)	<i>Item v far[de]llez rawe silke talany</i> (VOH 17:13) ((E101/128/30 ret. 7, Sir William Estfield, host to Leonardo, Tommaso and Giulio Contarini and Geronimo Barbarigo, merchants of Venice, transc. p. 27) (1440-1) <i>Item vj bales rawe silke videlicet j bale de purpea j de talanye & iij de legea</i> (VOH 16: 26) (E101/128/30 ret. 6, Sir William Estfield, host to Bertucci and Tommaso Contarini, merchants of Venice, transc.p. 21) (1440) <i>Item a Isabelle Donyngton iij fardels sylke taleny pur Cxlijⁱⁱ</i> (VOH 12:74)		

¹⁶⁹ It is unclear why this material cannot be found in the Datini online corpus.

		(E101/128/30 ret. 4. Wiilliam Chervyle, host to Alessandro Duodo (galley patron), Jacopo Duodo, Jacopo Bon, Marino Baldoni, Marino Salamon (galley merchants), transc. p.16) (1441-2)
<p style="text-align: center;">Comments Attestation type 1a / Semantic field: textile</p> <p><i>Talani</i> was another raw Caspian silk like <i>leggi</i> (see legea) and one of many other ‘grades’ from elsewhere in the Persian region, as listed in Pegolotti e.g. <i>amali</i> from Amul, <i>gangia</i> from Ganja, <i>ghella</i> from Gilan, <i>mantutava</i> from Mahmud Abad, <i>masandroni</i> from Mazandaran, <i>merdacascia</i> from Marv and <i>stravai / stravatina</i> from Astarabad (Evans 1935: 208, 297-300). <i>Seta canare</i> probably originated in Kinara in Qarabagh and <i>siechi / sacchi</i> in Shaki in northern Azerbaijan (Matthée 1999: 16).</p> <p><i>Talani</i> is attested rarely in Italian records compared to other silk grades but we do find it, alongside <i>leggi</i>, in the fourteenth-century <i>Pratica della Mercatura</i>, the Lucchese <i>Statuto della Corte dei Mercanti</i> and the fifteenth-century treatise on silk production and dyeing in Florence, <i>L’arte della seta</i>. Note, however, that the toponym <i>Talış</i> is not listed in Schweikard’s <i>Deonomasticon Italicum</i>, unlike Attaiya (cf. attaby) or Baghdad (cf. baldekin), for example. Outside the major dictionaries, we also find references to <i>talani</i> in three Italian commodity price lists edited by Melis in 1972: these date from 1386 to 1419 and were drawn up in Damascus, Alexandria and Venice.</p> <p><i>Talany</i> is unique to the <i>Views of the Hosts</i> in the English record but is attested ten times, in four separate Views. These AN-matrix accounts provide numerous examples of lexis of Italian origin related to textiles e.g. baldekin, cramoisé, damaske, imperial, legea, tartarin. We have one attestation of <i>taleny</i> in View 12 (cf. cot, cotun, (sucre) candi), the accounts given to London host, William Chervyle, by a group of Italian merchants of unspecified - but very probably Venetian - origin (see Bradley 2012: xxxi). The other nine citations come from Views 16, 17 and 18 which all deal with same host, Sir William Estfield, and various Venetian merchants, the majority of whom belong to the extended Contarini family. It is worth noting that in all but one citation, <i>talany</i> follows the ME segment (<i>rawe</i>) <i>silke</i> and never AN <i>soy(e)</i> (which is used regularly elsewhere in the accounts). This strengthens the argument to consider this Italian loanword as being ‘in ME’, although it has been classified as AN here as it appears only in an AN-matrix source.</p>		

73. AN tare (n.) ‘the weight of packaging which is deducted from the gross weight of merchandise’ CF <i>tare</i> < It. <i>tara</i> < Ar. <i>tarh</i> (‘deduction’) < Ar. <i>tarhah</i> (‘to throw away’)				
Italian c1277-present	Anglo-Norman c1379 -c1444	Continental French 1311-present	(Middle) English 1429-present	Medieval Latin 1444
TLIO	X			
OVI	<i>tara</i> (250+) <i>tare</i> (7)	<i>Ancho XV sol. et II den. nel di a Guidego linaiuolo per <u>tara</u> di cinque sacha di lino</i> (Doc. sen. 482.6) (1277-82, sen.) <i>E si é usaggio di fare <u>tara</u> di zenzeverate d’India in questo modo</i> (Pegolotti Pratica 315.26) (c1335-43, fior.) <i>per ragione secondo che divsia in questo libro delle tare delle mercatantie</i> (Pegolotti Pratica 309.35) (c1335-43, fior.)		
AD	<i>tara</i> (62) <i>tare</i> (2)	<i>Il candellieri bianchi con ismalti al pommello, di mar. VI. onc. V, rabattuto la <u>tara</u></i> (Documento del 05.05. 1360 B1168/3, 249.2) (1360) <i>Conto de la vernice non fo per questa perché non s’è potuto fare <u>tare</u> del sacho</i> (Milano-Genova B780/28 112574, 250.14) (1395)		
LEI	X			
DEI	sub tara (n.) 3716a	‘perdita di valore che subisce un amerce per avaria o difetto di quantità, difalco, riduzione’ [ar. <i>tarh</i> < ar. <i>taraha</i> , cf. fr. <i>tare</i> 1318] <i>tara</i> (1332, Perugia) / <i>tarezador</i> (1336, Piacenza)		
AND	sub tare ¹ (n.) (2)	‘tare (weight)’ <i>Ceaux sount les <u>tares</u> de dyverces darrés ordeynés et accedés par la compaynie</i> (Grocers 56) (1379-80) <i>Et qe nul acord soit fait de cy en avaunt de la <u>tare</u> del (l. de) nul manere de merchandise garbellable</i> (Grocers 56 / 74) (1379-80 / 1393)		
AND corpus	<i>tare</i> (1) sub garance	<i>Poyvere et altres darrés achaté et vendu par lb pur chescun c sera abaté Gyngibre pur le <u>tare</u> [...]</i> (Grocers 56) (1379-80)		
DEAF	sub tare (n.) sub tarrotter (p.p)	‘déchet survenu dans le poids ou la qualité d’une merchandise’ ‘marqué de tares’ ¹⁷⁰		
DMF	sub tare (n.) (5)	‘Perte de valeur dans le poids, la qualité ou la quantité d’une marchandise’ <i>À lui, pour achat de III m. VI o. III d. d’or, pour faire ledit gobelet, qui est à XXIII caraz, rabatue la <u>tare</u>, vient enfin III m. IIII o. XXI d</i> (Comptes Roi René A. t.1, 295) (1452)		
GDC	sub tare (n.) (3)	‘déchet survenu dans le poids ou la qualité d’une marchandise’ <i>Jusques a tant que chaque aye moustré sans <u>taure</u> en quoi il soit connu</i> (Ord. pour le dom. du roi, Chambre de justice, ms. Bibl du Louvre, n. 169) (1318) ‘imperfection grave qui diminue la valuer de qqchse, de qqu’un’ enfance, jeunesse, virilité, vieillesse, chacune a ses propres et particulieres <u>tares</u> (Charron Sag. I 36, p.207) (ed. 1601)		
TL	∅			

¹⁷⁰ Both this DEAF entries are still in the process of completion.

TLFi	sub tare (n.)	‘Poids de l’emballage, du récipient contenant une marchandise, un produit, pesé en même temps que cette marchandise, que ce produit.’ [Empr., prob. par l’intermédiaire de l’ital. <i>tara</i> < ar. <i>tarh</i> < ar. <i>taraha</i>] <i>tare</i> (1311)
FEW	XIX, 182b : tarh	‘déchet survenu dans le poids ou la qualité d’une marchandise’ Fr. <i>tare</i> (1318) / Occ. <i>tara</i> (1375) ‘mesurer’ Occ. <i>tarar</i> (1401) ‘peser le baril, l’enveloppe d’une marchandise’ Fr. <i>tarer</i> (1723) ‘défaut, imperfection grave qui diminue la valeur de qn, de qch’ MF <i>tare</i> (15 th c.) ‘marqué des tares’ MF <i>tarroté</i> / ‘altéré par une tare’ MF <i>tare</i> (c1500) [Ar. <i>tarh</i> (vulgärar <i>tarah</i>) ist subst zum verbum <i>taraha</i> “wegwerfen, beseitigen.” Es ist im 13 jh. nach Südfrankreich gekommen, infolge der wachsenden handelbeziehungen mit den Arabern Nordafrikas. [...] Ebenso sind de mar. entlehnt it., kat., sp., pg. <i>tara</i> [...] sowie aus dem it. d. <i>tara</i> , aus dem. fr. e. <i>tare</i>]
MED	sub tare ² (n.) (2)	‘A deduction made from the gross weight of goods to allow for the weight of waste material, tare’ [AF cp. ML <i>tara</i> ; ult. Ar.] <i>Ceaux sont les <u>tares</u> de dyuerces darres..Poyuere..pur chescun c sera abate Gyngibre pur le <u>tare</u> j lb</i> (Grocer Lond. Kingdon 56) (1379-80) [... [and deliuered the powder ageyn to the Venicien, withe the <u>Tares</u> the some of vxxj lb. als right was, For lof sugre was worth at that day xv d. and powdre cassouns bot vij d. (Grocer Lond. Kingdon 190) (1429)
OED2	sub tare ² (n.) (20+)	a. ‘The weight of the wrapping, receptacle, or conveyance containing goods, which is deducted from the gross in order to ascertain the net weight’ [Fr. <i>tare</i> < Ar. <i>tarhah</i>] <i>ij barrelles Gonne~powdre conteyning in weight besides the <u>tare</u> diij lbs</i> (Naval Accts. & Inventories Henry VII 13) (1486) d. ‘Tare and tret: the two ordinary deductions in calculating the net weight of goods to be sold by retail’ <i>Tare and <u>Tret</u>, the first is the weight of Box, Straw, Cloaths, &c. wherein Goods are packed. The other is a Consideration allowing in the Weight of the Waste, in emptying and refelling the Goods</i> (T. Blount, Law. Dict) (1670)
DMLBS	Ø	
DC	sub tara ¹ (1)	‘Arvernus Tare, Pondus’ <i>Item duo candelabra argenti, quæ non fuerunt ponderata propter <u>Taram</u> ferri (ferri) quod in eis est subtus.</i> (Inventarium Ecclesiæ Aniciensis) (1444)
Additional sources		
AN-matrix		
VOH (1440-44)	<i>tare</i> (25)	<i>Item venduz a Marmeduke & Benedict Austyn iiij caas canelle qamont clere en argent <u>tare</u> & tret rebatuz xxv^{li} xvij^s</i> (VOH 47:49).(E101/128/31 ret. 10, Thomas Walsingham, host to Federico Corner and Carlo Contarini, merchants of Venice, transc. p. 36) (1442-43) <i>Item a John Bellys William Spycer & John Pecok iiij balles peper qamounte clere en argent <u>tare</u> tret & garbelure rebatuz iiij^{xx} vij^{li} x^s</i> (VOH 46: 38) (E101/128/31 ret. 51, Thomas Walsingham, host to Federico Corner and Carlo Contarini, merchants of Venice, transc. p.135) (1441-42)

ME-matrix		
CA (1450)	<i>tare</i> (1) ¹⁷¹	<i>The whych makyth in sackys CC° lxiiiij° semis and v cloves semis, of the whych ys rebatyd for the <u>tare</u> of every poke j clove semis.</i> (Cantelowe Accounts, 7c) (1450)
Comments		
Transmission Type 2b / Semantic Field: financial		
<p>The Arabic-derived <i>tara</i> was an everyday business term in medieval Italy with hundreds of extant citations in the OVI corpus. Pegolotti alone uses it 195 times in his merchant handbook. Generally, it referred to a deduction in the gross weight of merchandise so that wrapping or packaging was taken into account. It could also refer to deductions (often fixed by the civic authorities) in weight to compensate for imperfections¹⁷² or damage to the goods: see Chapter 5.4iv for discussion of the different kinds of <i>tare</i> recorded by an English factor in Tuscany in 1450-51 such as <i>macazoni</i> and <i>umido</i>.</p> <p>Hope (1971: 51) and the TLFi recognise the likelihood that Italian <i>tara</i> acted as an intermediary for the transmission of this Arabism into MF in the fourteenth century. The FEW, however, favours an earlier direct borrowing in the south of France via trade with North Africa. While attestations of the noun <i>tare</i> itself are not especially prolific in the dictionary corpora, we have several derivatives (e.g. the verb <i>tarer</i> and the past participle <i>tarrotté</i>) which suggest its use was well entrenched in commercial terminology.</p> <p>No derived forms survive in English records but we have at least five examples of <i>tare</i> in both AN and ME-matrix accounts of the Worshipful Company of Grocers from c1379 onwards; this London merchants' guild was partly run by Italians (Bradley 2012: xxi) and their records are a rich source of early Italianisms in England (see balet, belendin, celestrin, columbin, garbeler, maykyn, net). As we have mentioned, The <i>Cantelowe Accounts</i> also offer a valuable second source where <i>tare</i> is used in an ME-matrix business text in the first half of the fifteenth century.¹⁷³</p> <p>In addition, the <i>Views of the Hosts</i> provide us with twenty-five new examples of <i>tare</i> in an AN-matrix text, all from the accounts of Thomas Walsingham, host to Venetians merchants in London (Views 45 /46 / 47). <i>Tare</i> always appears in a formulaic expression as shown below, with its fellow technical term <i>tret</i> and, sometimes,</p>		

¹⁷¹ Note that while there is only clear ME-matrix citation of *tare* in the Cantelowe Accounts, the term is used over 200 times in the Italian matrix buyers' entries, written by the same English scribe. He frequently abbreviates it to *tar-* or simply *t-*. See Chapter 5, FN 3.

¹⁷² In MF, this sense of 'imperfection' also came to be used more figuratively when referring to people: see the citation from Pierre Charron's *La Sagesse*, GDC sub **tare**. This usage did not spread into English until the seventeenth century (see OED2 sub **tare**, section c.: *The Spirit hath it [sic] maladies, defects, tares or refuse*).

¹⁷³ Note that while there is only one clear ME-matrix citation of *tare* in the *Cantelowe Accounts*, the term is used over 200 times in the Italian matrix buyers' entries, written by the same English scribe. He frequently abbreviates it to *tar-* or simply *t-* (cf. Chapter 5, Introduction). The only other ME citation of *tare* is from the *Naval Accounts and Inventories of Henry VII* in 1486 (OED sub **tare**²).

gabelure (cf. **garbeler**):

- *quamount clere en argent + tare & tret*
- *tare tret & garbelure*
- *tare tret & touz autres chargez + rebatuz + [amount of money]*

The citations of the commercial locution *Tare & Tret* in this newly published source from the 1440s are certainly worthy of note as they are the only examples of the expression's use in an English medieval text pre-1500 (whether they are actually AN or ME lexemes, or both, is somewhat of a moot point). Whilst *tare* was a standard deduction from gross weight for packaging, *tret* was a further but optional allowance of 1lb in every 26lb for 'such commodities as are liable to waste, moths, dust etc', as an eighteenth-century apprentice's arithmetic guide notes (Fenning 1765: 203).¹⁷⁴ In the OED2 entry sub **tret**, *tret* appears in the *Chronicle* of London trader, Richard Arnold, in 1502 (& for the *tret* of y^e same *peper*) but then not again until 1670. By the Victorian period, *Tare and Tret* had become a by-word in English for basic arithmetic: *We learnt Tare and Tret together, at school* (in Dickens' *Martin Chuzzlewit*).

The obvious etymon for *tret* is AN / MF *trait(e)*, perhaps an extension of the meaning of 'pull of the scale'.¹⁷⁵ However, it is tempting to ask if Italian, with its tradition of complex price deductions from the value of bulk goods, was involved in some way in the development of the French technical term, just as it was for *tara*. *Tratta* (as specific kind of tare or weight allowance) cannot be found as headwords in the major Italian historical dictionaries but Pegolotti does seem to use it several times in this way in his *Pratica della Mercatura* (c1335-43), giving details of *tratta* rates for goods (grain, spices, wool etc) in various countries e.g. *se non per lo porto d'Aguamorta se non à la tratta, e ragionasi la tratta di lana agnellina d'Inghilterra comunemente da lire 3 di tornesi piccioli la soma, di peso* (OVI *Pratica* 230.32). The lexeme is simply glossed as 'export duty' by the handbook's editor (Evans 1935: 443) and by Edler (1934: 305) in her *Glossary of Mediaeval Terms of Business*. This commercial lexis could have influenced the usage of MF *traite* / *traicte* to mean 'droit perçu aux frontières sur la circulation des merchandise' from the mid-1300s (cf. TLFi sub **traite**¹ / DMF sub **traite**). Whether Italian is involved or not, a more thorough investigation into the background of the locution *Tare and Tret* and its specific connotations in English business jargon in the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries seems long overdue.

¹⁷⁴ *The British youth's instructor or A new and easy guide to practical arithmetic* is written as a series of dialogues between Philo, the tutor, and Tyro, his pupil. See the chapter entitled *Tare & Tret* (pp. 202-09), for the explanation and practice calculations of the six weight allowances *Gross, Tare, Tret, Suttle, Closs and Neat* (cf. **net**).

¹⁷⁵ See Weekley (³2012: 1538): "AF, F. *trait* (pull) of the scale, from OF *traire*, to pull, L. *trahere*. The allowance compensated for the number of 'turns of the scale' which would result from weighing the goods in similar quantities. *Trait* is still so used in F. and *draft*, *draught* had a similar sense in ME: '*Un poids en équilibre ne treubuche point, si on n'y ajoute quelque chose pour le trait. Les petits poids ne reviennent pas aux grands à cause du trait*' (Furetière 1727)". Note that the current AND entry sub **traite** has no citations of the word being used in a commercial or indeed, weight-related sense.

74. AN tarette (n.) ‘a long, flat merchant vessel used for transporting goods’
 < Ven. *tareta* / It. *tarida* < Ar. *tarīdah* (‘rowing boat’)

Italian 1210-18 th c.	Anglo-Norman 1342-c1370	Continental French 1229-c1346	(Middle) English a1352	Medieval Latin 1264-1455
TLIO	sub tarida (n.) (3)	‘Nave utilizzata per il trasporto della cavalleria e dell’attrezzatura militare’ [Ar. <i>tarida</i>] <i>elo si ve(n)ne una nave da Napuli (e) una tareta de Catellani ee de Çiçiliani da Trapano.</i> (Doc. venez. p.17.30) (1284 venez.) <i>Venneciam fon vangui, le lor taride atraversae, li nostri ge montan gar[n]ui chi ben puni le lor pecae</i> (Anonimo Genovese ed. Cocito, 47.36 p.275) (a1311, gen.)		
OVI	<i>tareta</i> (1) <i>taride</i> (2)	<i>elo si ve(n)ne una nave da Napuli (e) una tareta de Catellani ee de Çiçiliani da Trapano.</i> (Doc. venez. p.17.30) (1284, venez.) <i>Venneciam fon vangui, le lor taride atraversae, li nostri ge montan gar[n]ui chi ben puni le lor pecae</i> (Anonimo Genovese ed. Cocito, 47.36 p.275) (a1311, gen.)		
LEI	X			
DEI	sub tarida / tareta (n.) 3721b	‘bastimento da trasporto’ [ar. <i>tarīda</i> , nave per trasportare cavalli, rimorchiatore] <i>tarida</i> (1210) / <i>tareda</i> (1268) <i>tar(r)ita</i> (1281/ 1290, venez.)		
AND1	sub tarette (n.) (3)	‘merchant vessel’ <i>Et quaunt ils furent en haute mere siglauntes virent deux groses tarettes bien estofés des gentz ..</i> (Anon Chr. 66.29) (1370-71) <i>ils deussent avoir derrobbé un taryt / in predicta navi vocata la tarryt</i> (Both: King’s Bench vi 15) (1342)		
AND corpus	<i>tarettes</i> (1) sub mander <i>tarettes</i> (1) sub nombre <i>tarides</i> (1) sub columbé	<i>les dit seignours d’Engleterre a les gentz del tarettes s’ils furent gentz du peas ou de guerre</i> (Anon Chr 66.30) (1370-71) <i>le noubre des biens trovez en les ditz tarettes [...] a la valu de .ij. mille libres</i> (Anon Chr 67.4) (1370-71) <i>envoiera a ceo le comistre [qe] soient ordeinez voz galeyees et voz tarides [...] voz hussiers, seties, paunfles et columbés (ms. columdes) et sont vesseaux qe s’apellont lyns</i> (Charboclais 359) (1332)		
DEAF	X			
DMF	X			
GDF	sub taride (n.) (7)	‘bateau plat de transport’ <i>Et mena o luy ixx entre gualess et tarydes et autre navie</i> (Gestes des Chiprois, p.38, Raynauld) (1229) <i>Doient faire pour le roi xii tarides des mesures dessous escrites</i> (Propos. des commiss. de Fr. Doc. hist. II 66) (1246)		
TL	∅			
TLFi	∅			
FEW	XIX 184a: tarīda	‘bateau de transport’ OF <i>taride</i> (1246) / Occ. <i>tarida</i> (13 th c.) [Es handelt sich um ein flaches, langes transportschiff, das seit dem 12 jh. in Westeuropa in gebrauch kam. Direkt auf das ar. wort geht zurück ait. <i>tarida</i> . Fr. <i>taride</i> kommt zuerst in einem vertrag über schiffsmiete zwischen Ludwig IX und der stadt Genua vor, und findet sich auch später stets in auf		

		Italien texten]
MED	sub tarette (n.) (8)	‘a kind of large cargo ship or merchant vessel’ [ML <i>tareta</i> / <i>tarita</i> / <i>tarrita</i> , ult. Ar.] <i>la Tarete</i> / <i>La Tarette</i> / <i>La Taryte</i> / <i>La Tarryte</i> (Close R. Edw. III (499 /501 / 502 / 569) (1342) <i>Pan wen[t]..vijj and xl galays..And with þam als war <u>tarettes</u> two</i> (Minot Poems Glb E.9 8/80) (a1352)
OED2	sub tarette (n.) (3)	‘A kind of ship of burden or merchant vessel of the Middle Ages.’ [< OF * <i>tarete</i> < ML <i>tarida</i> < Ar <i>tarīdah</i>] <i>Eight and forty galays and mo, And with them als war <u>tarettes</u> two</i> (L. Minot Poems iii. 80) (a1352)
DMLBS	sub tarita (6) 3374b	‘sort of merchant ship, tarette’ [< AN <i>tarit</i> / <i>tarette</i> < Ar. <i>tarīdah</i>] <i>in conflict facto quando <u>tariti</u> et naves Ispan’ capte fuerant per flotam Angl’</i> (Ac.Wadr 209) (1340) <i>in una chocha sive <u>tarita</u> diversis mercimoniis onerata</i> (Pat 284 m. 24) (1371)
DC	sub tarida (16)	‘Navis onerariæ species, eadem quæ Tartana vocitata, ut quidam volunt’ <i>Mercatores..... <u>Tarridas</u> et alia ligna reliquerunt</i> (Chronico Danduli, col. 505) (1264) <i>Dominus Baldwinus de Radinghton cepit duas <u>Taretas</u> bene onustas</i> (Henricus de Knyghton) (1385) <i>Ceperunt 5. naves magnas, et 6. <u>Tarritas</u>, refertas Januensium multis bonis.</i> (Thomas Walsingham) (1386) ¹⁷⁶

Comments

Transmission Type 2b / Semantic Field: maritime

Like **carrak**, *tarette* is a ship name of Arabic origin that seems to have entered AN via Italian in the fourteenth century. It refers to a long, flat cargo-vessel that was apparently used for both military and commercial purposes. In its gloss the TLIO refers only to the former but the VTO sub **tarida** offers a more generic ‘Nave da trasporto in uso nel Mediterraneo verso la fine del medioevo.’ The editor of the Venetian dialect document that offers the earliest record of *tareta* in 1284 (the *Verbale di bordo registrato nella Cancelleria del Coumume di Ragusa*) footnotes:

Tareta: *tarida*, specie di nave da carico o barca destinata più propriamente al trasporto di animali. Nell’Adriatico appare molto più tardi, sotto il nome di *taridana* o *tartana* [cf. OED2 sub **tartan n.2**, att. 1621] (Chizzola 1910: 229-30).

Interestingly, it is this Venetian form *tareta*¹⁷⁷ (note also *tarita* in the Latin Chronicle of the Venetian doge, Andrea Dandolo, in Du Cange) that seems to have taken a foothold in insular French in the 1340s. Nearly all attestations in English records, be they AN, ME or BML-matrix, end in a variation of *-ita* / *-eta* / *-ite* / *-ete*. The only exception I can find is AN *tarides* in the Crusade treatise of the Knight Hospitaller, Roger de

¹⁷⁶ Note that the second and third sources given here are both English.

¹⁷⁷ The dialectal variant *tareta* can still be found in Venetian poetry in the eighteenth century, cf. *La Conzateste* by Carolo Goldoni from 1756: *E zempre de più / Ve voggia del ben / Tareta te el tuor ve bagola in zen* (Gamba 1817: 44).

Stanegrave (*Li Charboclois d'armes du conquest precious de la Terre Saint de promission*) from 1332.

In contrast, CF forms of all of the *-ide* variety derived from Genoese (Vidos 1939: 27). *Taride* is not particularly widely attested and has no entry in the DMF or the TLFi. The FEW gives only one citation from 1246 but emphasises that the loanword entered CF from maritime contact with the Genoese. The Godefroy Complément offers us an example of OF *taride* as early as 1229 in *Livre II* of the *Gestes des Chiprois* by Phillipe of Navarre, an account of the Crusades and the Knights Templar. As is the case for AN *taride* above, this author could well have encountered the loanword *tarida* in its source language, Arabic. Other attestations in French are indeed likely to be derived from Italian maritime terminology, a fact underlined by the clear lexical trace of Venetian *tareta* in AN texts.

75. AN tartarin (n.) ‘a plain silk of tabby weave, originating in Islamic or Tartar regions but also produced in Europe in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries’ (CF <i>tartarin</i>) < It. <i>tartarino</i> < It. <i>tartaro</i> / <i>tataro</i> < Lat. <i>Tartārus</i> (‘Hell / underworld’) ¹⁷⁸				
Italian 1322 -c1343	Anglo-Norman c1364-1443	Continental French 1295-1342	(Middle) English 1343-1688	Medieval Latin 1303-1462
TLIO	sub tartarino (n.) (1)	‘Tessuto pregiato di colore cangiante, prob. di seta et di fattura orientale’ <i>Sendadi bianchi et tartarini, dicti cangia colore; oro filato, argento filato di Ventia</i> (Stat. pis. Agg. Cap.1 p. 594.3) (1322, pis.)		
OVI	<i>tartarini</i> (1) <i>tartani</i> (1) <i>Tartari</i> (1)	‘Tessuto pregiato di colore cangiante, prob. di seta et di fattura orientale’ <i>Tutte queste sete, chi vende paghi per centonaio di libre sol. sei. Sendadi bianchi et tartarini, dicti cangia colore; oro filato, argento filato di Ventia</i> (Stat. pis. Agg. Cap.1 p. 594.3) (1322, pis.) <i>Tutte le dette sete, chi vende soldi 6 per centinaio di libbre. Zendadi bianchi, tartani [detti] cangiadori, e oro filato, et argento filato di Venetia</i> (Pegolotti, Practica 209.3) (c1335-1343, fior.) <i>Con più color sommesse e sopraposte non fer mai drappi Tartari né Turchi né fuor tai tele per Aragne imposte</i> (Dante, Commedia, Inf.17 v.17, 1, 279.2) (a1321, fior.)		
LEI	X			
DEI	∅			
AND1	sub tartarin (n.) (1)	‘rich, silken stuff’ <i>ij curteyns de tartaryn bleu et vermaille</i> (Reg Chich ii 118) (1418)		
AND corpus	<i>tartaryn</i> (1) sub liner ²	<i>facez liverer drap noir pur une cope, toille de Reynes pur une surplice, tartaryn pur liner de la dite cope et une amice covenables pur son estat [...]</i> (PRO E 101/395/2/220) (1364-72)		
LCC	sub tartarin (n.) (5) (1= AND 3= MED)	‘silk, tabby-woven textile, a type of sandal, used, in particular, as lining in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. By the Middle Ages, it was manufactured in Europe, particularly Italy, but its name suggested it was imported from Tartary (China), which exotic association made it popular in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries’ <i>Item, une veille chesible ové les parures de tartaryn raié, une aube et une amyte et une towaille pur estre desuis l’autre, pris tout – viii s.</i> (Mercer’s Accounts I) (Jefferson 2009: 232) (1409-10)		
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub tartarin ¹ (n.) (1)	‘Drap. Synon. de tartaire’ <i>Pour V pièces de tartarin ardant, large, pour faire les encourtinemens d’entour ledit paveillon, et pour housser le ciel par dessus</i> (Comptes argent. Rois Fr, D-A, II, 29) (1342)		
GDF	sub tartarin ¹ (n.) ¹⁷⁹ (1)	‘drap de Tartarie’ <i>Pour V pièces de tartarin ardant, large, pour faire les encourtinemens d’entour le dit paveillon</i> (Compes de l’argent des R. de Fr. Nouv. Rec. p. 29) (1342)		

¹⁷⁸ It is thought that the concept of the warlike Mongolian tribe, the *Tatari*, became semantically linked in Italian to *Tartaro*, the infernal underworld in Roman and Greek mythology: VTO sub **Tàrtaro**¹, FEW XIX p.186 **tatar**, DMF sub **tartarin**³ (Du Tartare, infernal’).

¹⁷⁹ Interestingly, the GDF sub **tartarin**² gives the gloss ‘the water bird called a kingsfisher’ from Cotgrave, 1611. There is no mention of this in the OED.

TL	Ø	
TLFi	Ø	
FEW	XIX, 186: tatar	1. 'riche étoffe de soie' OF <i>drap tartarin</i> (1295 in Picardy), MF <i>tartarin</i> (1342) [Der unter 1 verzeichnete stoffname kommt einem stoff zu, der aus Kleinasien stammte und fälschlicherweise den dahinter siedelnden Tartaren zugeschrieben wurde. Mlt. <i>pannum tartaricum</i> ist schon 1294 belegt [...]]
MED	sub Tartarin (n.) (24) sub Tartarin (adj.) (3) sub Tartar ² (n.) (3)	b. 'a costly fabric, perhaps a kind of silk, made in (or originally made in, or imported via) Tartary' <i>ij vlnis panni serici ix peciis <u>Tartaryn</u> et j pecia Samitell.</i> (Enrolled Acc. (W & H) 3m. 38 b (1343) <i>Y will..a grene bed..with iij corteyns reed and plonket <u>tarterein</u> paled</i> (Reg. Chichele in Cant. Yk. S.42 (Lamb 69) 48) (1415) 'Made of costly fabric, perhaps a kind of silk, made in (or originally made in, or imported via) Tartary' <i>[A red] tarteryn quyrtayn</i> (Inquis. Miscel PRO 7.78) (1400) ' b. 'a costly fabric, perhaps a kind of silk, made in (or originally made in, or imported via) Tartary' <i>[An old livery of black] tartar..[15 yards off] tartar [in remnants of divers colours, worth 26 s. 8 d.]</i> (Inquis. Miscel PRO 6.225) (1397)
OED2	sub tartarin / tartarine (n.) (18) sub tartar ³ (n.) (9)	2. 'A rich stuff, apparently of silk, imported from the East, prob. from China through Tartary' [< OF tartarin] <i>ij vlnis panni serici ix peciis <u>Tartaryn</u> et j pecia Samitell.</i> (Enrolled Acc. (W & H) 3m. 38 b (1343) <i>Clopes of gold, & of Camakaas, & tartarynes</i> (Mandeville's Trav. Xxiii 255) (c1400) 'a rich kind of cloth, probably silk used in 15 th and 16 th centuries; the same as tartarin' <i>Item, for v. elne of <u>tartar</u> to lyne a gowne of clath of gold to the King.</i> (Acct. Treasurer Scotl. I 16) (1473)
DMLBS	sub tartarinus (8)	'(made) of a sort of rich (silken) cloth imported from the east, tartarin' [Tartarus + icus cf. AN tartarin] <i>De aliis rebus subtilibus de pannis <u>tartenis</u> de serico</i> (MGL II 209) (1303)
DC	sub tartarinus (1)	'species pani ex Tartaria advecti' <i>Unum coopertorium cum celura integra et testerio de eadem secta, ac tribus curtinis de rubeo <u>Tartarino</u></i> (Rymer, tom. 7, p. 577, col. 1) (1388)
Additional sources		
AN-matrix		
VOH (1440-44)	<i>tartaryn(s)</i> (17) <i>tarteren(e)</i> (6) <i>tarterin</i> (5) <i>tartaryne</i> (1) <i>tartarin</i> (1)	<i>Item xlvj peces <u>tartaryn</u> de diverses colours</i> (VOH 16:16) (E101/128/30 ret. 6, Sir William Estfield, host to Bertucci and Tommaso Contarini, merchants of Venice, transc.p. 21) (1440) <i>Item j fardelle de <u>tartaryne</u> que tenent xxxvj pecez value xxiiij^{li}</i> (VOH 54:34, E010/128/31 ret. 28, John Betham, host to Benedetto Borromei, merchant of Florence, transc. p. 102) (1441-2) <i>j barelle notemoges & macys xliiij peces <u>tartarin</u> une case cum sugre viij peces</i>

		<i>siglatons iij peces emperialle</i> (VOH 6: 11, E101/128/31 ret.54, Thomas Chalton, host to Lorenzo Marcanova, Giovanni Mannucci and Jacopo Trotti, merchants of Venice. transc. p. 142) (1441-2)
BML-matrix		
Great Wardrobe Accounts (1345- 1462)	<i>Tartaryn'</i> (2) <i>Tartaryn</i> (17) <i>Tartarin</i> (7) <i>Tarteryn</i> (1)	<i>Tartaryn'</i> (E361/3/35r) (1339-40), <i>Tartaryn</i> (E361/3/44r) (1345-49) <i>Tartaryn</i> (E361/41/4r) (1360-61), <i>Tartaryn</i> (E361/4/14r) (1365-66,) <i>Tartaryn</i> (E361/4/17r) (1370-71), <i>Tartaryn</i> (E361/4/26r) (1374-77) <i>Tartaryn</i> (E361/5/2r) (1379-81) <i>Tartaryn / Tartaryn radiat' cu[m] auro</i> (E361/5/5r) (1390-92) <i>Tartaryn plan' / Tartaryn radiat' cu[m] auro</i> (E361/5/7r) (1394-98) <i>Tartaryn' plan' / Tartaryn radiat'</i> (E361/5/11r) (1399-1400) <i>Tartaryn</i> (E361/6/1r) (1404-05) <i>Tart[ar]yn playn / Tart[ar]yn radiat' cum auro</i> (E361/6/4r) (1408-12) <i>Tart[ar]in</i> (E361/6/12r) (1413-17) <i>Tart[ar]in s[er]ic[i] / Tarta[r]in adaur' radiat'</i> (E361/6/9r) (1420-22) <i>Tart[ar]in</i> (E361/6/16d) (1425-27), <i>Tart[ar]yn</i> (x2) (E361/6/19r) (1429-30) <i>T[ar]taryn</i> (E361/6/23r) (1434-35), <i>Tart[ar]in</i> (E361/6/29r) (1439-40) <i>Tarteryn</i> (E361/6/37r) (1444-45), <i>Tart[ar]in</i> (E361/6/43r) (1449-50) <i>Tart[ar]yn</i> (E361/6/49r) (1455-56), <i>Tart[ar]in</i> (E361/6/53r) (1461-62) (All Monnas 1989: 295-302)
Exchequer Rolls of Purchase (1344-64)	<i>Tartaryn</i> (2) <i>Tartarin</i> (1)	<i>Tartaryn virid' radiat' adaur'</i> (x2) (E101/390/9) (1344-45) <i>Tartarin</i> (x2) (E101/402/13) (1392-94) (Both Monnas 1989: 303-04) <i>Tarteryn ynde</i> (E101/394/16) (1364) (Newton 1980: 45)
Comments Transmission Type 2b / Semantic Field: textile		
<p>There were three main terms used for silks from (or perceived as originally from) Tartary, a vast area now including modern-day Siberia, Turkestan, Mongolia and Manchuria: <i>tarse</i> (or <i>cloths of tarse</i>), <i>tartar</i> and <i>tartarin</i> (King 1992: 458). The latter form was by far the most prolific in AN. In CF, <i>tartarin</i> is very rare with only two attestations from the Middle Ages given in the main dictionaries. <i>Tartaire</i> is much more common as a fabric name with the FEW citing <i>tartaire</i>, <i>tartaille</i>, <i>tartare</i>, <i>tartelle</i> and <i>tartaine</i> from the period 1280-1440 (see FEW sub tatar, DMF sub tartaire and GDC sub tartaire). <i>Drap de tartaires</i> appears in a CF version of Mandeville's <i>Livres des Merveilles</i>, c1375 (Deluz 2000: 390), but in the ME version twenty-five years later, <i>tartarynes</i> is used (OED2 sub tartarin / tartarine) suggesting the form was indeed more common in England at the turn of the fifteenth century.</p> <p><i>Tartar</i> did enter ME as a metonymic cloth term from 1397 (MED sub Tartar) but appears much less frequently than <i>tartarin</i>. There are no examples of <i>tartaire</i> or <i>tarse</i> in the AND corpus but there are two attestations of <i>tartais</i> from Queen Isabella's Inventory in 1307-08 sub muré: <i>Pour une robe de samit rouge, pour une autre robe d'or de Turquie en laquelle elle fu espousee, pour une autre robe de veluel gramsi, pour un corset de tartais moret et pour une autre robe de tartais changent</i>. <i>Tarte / tartre</i> are used to refer to silk from c1390 (AND sub tarte¹). A <i>tunicle of tarse or or trye scarlet</i> appears in <i>Piers Plowman</i> in 1377 (OED2 sub tars/tarse, see also DMLBS sub tarsenis 3374c) and there are at least a dozen references to <i>panno de Tharse</i> from 1315 in the inventory of Canterbury Cathedral (Legg and Hope 1902: 75-77).</p> <p>The short entry in the AND1 currently belies the widespread use of <i>tartarin</i> in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century</p>		

records. Tellingly, there are no attestations of *tartaire* or *tarse* in the *Views of the Hosts*¹⁸⁰ from the 1440s, but *tartarin* appears thirty times. Indeed, it is one of the most prolific of the potential Italiansims in this source along with **damask** and **baldekin**. The cloth *tartarin* appears in ten separate Views,¹⁸¹ dealing with the accounts of Florentine, Lucchese and Venetian merchants in London and Southampton.

Vernacular versions of *tartarin* also appear consistently in the BML Great Wardrobe Accounts and Rolls of Purchases from Edward III in 1339 through to Edward IV in 1462. We know that in 1364, for instance, 250 garters were made of *tarterynd* to decorate the lavish suits of five Knights of the Garter (Newton 1980: 45). So vital to the royal household was this fabric that it is absent from only one of the twenty-four extant Wardrobe accounts over a 123 year period. Monnas points out that the order in which silks were listed in the accounts offered an idea of their relative status, even if price per ell is not given. Throughout the fourteenth century, patterned velvets gradually moved to the top of the list, overtaking clothes of gold, but the cheapest silks, used for linings, hangings and banners, remained plain *tartarin*, along with **attaby**, **sarzinett** and **taffata** (Monnas 1989: 287-88).

The popular use of the term *tartarin* in late medieval England was probably directly linked to the Italian merchants who supplied the silk to English drapers or directly to noble and royal households. Italian citations of ‘shimmering’ *drappi tartarini* and *tartani* are found in the Pisan mercantile statutes from 1322 and Pegolotti’s handbook from c1335-c1342. The Italian monopoly on the luxury fabric market at the time was well-known and even Dante commented on the fact in the *Inferno*:

L’espansione dell’impero mongolo ed il consolidamento dell’itinerario terrestre proveniente dalla Cina, nella seconda metà del XIII secolo, avevano accresciuto la quantità delle preziose merci orientali che affluivano sui mercati italiani. Il ben noto passo, “Con più color sommesse e sopraposte / non fer mai drappi Tartari né Turchi” (Inf. XVII, 16-17), ricorda appunto la ricca produzione serica cinese: oltre ai *nacchetti* in seta e oro c’era drappo decorato a strisce auree o figure di animali chiamato appunto *tartaricus pannus*, *tartarino* o *tartan*, i *tartan cangiacolori* sono elencati dal Pegolotti tra le merci in arrivo al porto di Pisa (Mainoni 1988: 327).

¹⁸⁰ There is, however, a reference to *damaske of Tartaria* in View 16 (Bradley 2012: 35).

¹⁸¹ These are Views 4 /6 /10 /16 /17 /18 /28 /29 /30 /54.

76. AN timon (n.) ‘a ship’s rudder or tiller (the bar that controls the rudder)’ CF <i>timon</i> < It. / Gen. <i>timone</i> < Lat. <i>temon</i> (‘beam / pole’)				
Italian c1150-present	Anglo-Norman [1324-1393]	Continental French c1265-1457	(Middle) English [1324-1393] 1511	Medieval Latin 1381
TLIO	X			
OVI	<i>timone</i> (50+)	<i>Serratura di timone sol iii e dr. viii e restaiolo xx [...] Serratura di timone a Pilotto dr. xxxiii.</i> (Doc. Pis. 4.22-5.11) (c1150, pis.) <i>in suo legno e nochier Diritto pone e orrato Saver meter al timone</i> (Giuttone, Rime, canz. 6, v. 8. 214.18) (a1294, tosc.)		
AD	<i>timone</i> (2)	<i>[...] che sarà bene facciate che i vostri tenghino mano al timone</i> (Firenze – Prato 1402137 / B1096, 1, 170.19) (1397)		
LEI	X			
DEI	sub timone ² (n.) 3792a	‘strumento per governare le nave’ <i>timone</i> (14 th c.) ‘chi govern ail timone’ <i>timoniere</i> (14 th c.) ‘spazio aul cassero vicino al timone’ <i>timoniera</i> (ML of Venice, a1255 / a1511)		
AND	X			
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub timon (n.) (8)	B. ‘Barre du gouvernail, gouvernail’ <i>Toutes les autres choses appartenans a la nef, sicomme les tymons et la pompe et la prosne, les chasteaux, les bannieres (...) et toutes les autres choses moralisees au propouz sont largement et clerement declairees en leurs propres chappitres</i> (Mézières, Songe vieil pèl. C., t.1) (c1386) ‘Petit gouvernail de rechange’ <i>les masts, vergues, cordial, tymons bainnois et latins et trefs</i> (Clos galées Rouen, M.-C., t.1, 177) (1355)		
GDC	sub timon (n.) (2)	‘barre du gouvernail; gouvernail’ <i>Si qu’ il convient que les grands nefz qui passent lievent leur timon</i> (Livre de Marco Polo, CLXIV) (c1300-25)		
TL	∅			
TLFi		‘Longue pièce de bois ou de métal attachée au gouvernail et utilisée pour diriger le navire; p. méton., le gouvernail lui-même’ <i>timon</i> (Brunet Latin’s <i>Trésor</i>) (att. 1265)		
FEW	XIII:1 temon	‘barre du gouvernail’ <i>timon</i> (c1300) / <i>timoun</i> (Marseilles) ‘celui qui tient le timon d’un navire’ <i>timonier</i> (c1220) / <i>timounier</i> (Marseilles) ‘timon d’un bateau’ <i>timonniere</i> (Compte du clos des galées, Rouen) (1382)		
MED	sub timon (n.) (2)	‘A pole, a staff, also the rudder of a ship’ [OF] <i>Pro duobus lignis voc’ tymon</i> (Doc. Shipyard Add 17364) (1324)		

		<i>Item, pro reparacione j <u>tymon</u> per le scriuen. (Acc. Exped. Der. in Camd. n.s.52, 225/19) (1392-93)</i>
OED2	sub timon (n.) (2)	‘The rudder of a ship’ [< French timon /temon < Lat.] [<i>Item, pro reparacione j <u>tymon</u> per le scriuen. (Earl’s Derby’s Expedition) (1392-93)]</i> <i>Tournynge with suche vyolence y^l with the lumpe and stroke of y^e falle of y^e Galye to the Rok the strene [sic] called the <u>Temon</u> stert and flewe frome the hokes (Pylgrymage Richarde Guylforde f. lv) (1511)</i>
DMLBS	Ø	
DC	sub timonus (2)	‘Gubernaculum navis, seu gubernaculi manubrium, Gall. <i>Timon</i> , It. <i>timone</i> ’ <i>Quelibet barchia duorum <u>Timonorum</u> solvat pro quolibet viaggio unum grossum.... Quelibet barchia unius <u>Timoni</u>, etc (ex Tabul. S. Vict. Massil.) (1381)</i>

Comments

Transmission Type 1b / Semantic Field: maritime

Timon is only clearly attested in an AN-matrix text in the non-nautical sense (as a shaft for a plough or cart) from c1175 onwards (see AND1 sub **timon**). However, we find two examples of *tymon*, meaning a ship’s rudder (or tiller), in two BML-matrix texts, not currently included in the AND corpus but recorded in the MED / OED. One is from the accounts of the Earl of Derby’s expeditions to Prussia and the Holy Land in 1392-93 (also a source text for **attaby**, **caffatin**, **madrian** and (**suchre**) **candi**). The other and earliest source is a section from *The accounts of the building of Galleys at Bayonne*¹⁸² for Edward II (British Library Additional MS 17364), dated 1324. The two galleys concerned, the St George and the St Edwards, had been built in Gascony for the King by Thomas de Driffield, before sailing to England (Rose 2013: 47, 191). In ‘Oceano Vox’, Trotter discusses some of the later accounts (c1350) in the same multilingual (Latin matrix with French / Gascon) manuscript, reminding us that:

[...] under the English administration of Gascony (which lasted for very nearly three centuries), the linguistic and sociolinguistic situation in this part of France was not dissimilar to that in England, with Latin, French, Gascon and at least some (though probably very little) Middle English all involved [...]. There is evidence of specifically maritime terminology moving from England to Gascony in the form of the (apparently) English tax *quillage* which was introduced on the Gironde¹⁸³ (Trotter 2003b: 20).

Clearly, therefore, we have evidence that the maritime *timon* entered insular French (or perhaps more accurately, the lexis of English shipping) in the multilingual environment of the Gascon colony. As for the CF form, Fennis (1995: 1751) maintains that while more generic usages (for a cart, for example) stem directly from vulgar Latin *timone(m)*, the ‘rudder’ meaning originates in Genoa and passed into OF at the Marseilles shipyards in the south and the *Clos des gallées* in the north (cf. **comyt**, **calfater**, **poupe**, **galiot**¹) in the 1300s. Note also that the first extant CF example of *timon* given by the TLFi is in the Italianising text *Li Livres dou*

¹⁸² Note the reference from 1355 above in the DMF entry to a specific kind of supplementary rudder, presumably invented at the Bayonne shipyards, called the *timon bayonnais*. This term was then re-borrowed in Venetian in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as *timone bavonesco* (Fennis 1995: 359).

¹⁸³ The case of *quillage* is discussed in ‘Langues en contact en Gascogne médiévale’ (Trotter 2003c). See also AND2 entries sub **kylage** / **coillage**.

Trésor by Brunetto Latini (cf. **goulf / tramontaine**).

Whilst there is no entry for *timon* yet in the TLIO, the OVI offers dozens of examples, including some very early Tuscan attestations from the *Conto Navale Pisano* (c1150). In addition, according to the DEI, we find the derivation *timoniera*¹⁸⁴ ('space on the quarterdeck near the tiller') in the ML of Venice as early as a1255 and *timoniere* ('helmsman') in the 1300s. In spite of the chronology, CF *timonier* ('celui qui tient le timon d'un navire', FEW p.167b) is probably borrowed from the Italian. The first (and only) English-matrix use of *temon* in the OED is not until 1511 and *timoneer* ('helmsman') does not appear until 1762 (OED2 sub **timoneer**).

¹⁸⁴ Note also French *timonerie* ('lieu où est la roue du gouvernail; service du gouvernail'), att. 1791 (FEW, p.167b).

77. AN tramontaine (n.) ‘The North or Pole star that sailors used to help them navigate’ (CF <i>tramontaine</i>) < It. <i>tramontana</i> < Lat. <i>transmontanus</i> (‘from beyond the mountains’)				
Italian a1276-present	Anglo-Norman a1282	Continental French c1265-present	(Middle) English c1400-19 th c.	Medieval Latin c1235
TLIO	sub tramontana (n.) (40+)	<p>1. ‘Una delle due stelle polari (spec. quella dell'emisfero boreale)’ [< Lat. <i>transmontanus</i>] <i>l'aco che guidi li marinari [[...]] per la virtude del cielo è tratta e rivolta a la stella la quale è clamata <u>tramontana</u></i> (Restoro d'Arezzo, L.II, dist.6, pt.4, cap.2, p.162.28) (1282, aret.)</p> <p>2. ‘Il punto cardinale che nell'emisfero boreale è indicato dalla direzione della stella polare (anche come indicazione spaziale generica); lo stesso che nord’ <i>In quella parte sotto <u>tramontana</u> / sono li monti de la calamita</i> (Guinizzelli 2.49, p.455) (a1276, fior.)</p> <p>3. ‘Vento proveniente da nord’ <i>egnando pröa contra vento / enver’ l’ oste veniciana, / entre maïstro e <u>tramontanna</u>, / armai con grande ardimento</i> (Anonimo Genovese, 8.251, p.737) (a1311)</p>		
OVI	<i>tramontane</i> (700+)	<i>In quella parte sotto <u>tramontana</u> / sono li monti de la calamita</i> (Guinizzelli 2.49, p.455) (a1276, fior.)		
LEI	X			
DEI	sub tramontane (n.) 3792a	<p>‘vento settentrionale’ <i>tramontane</i> (14th c., Boccaccio)</p> <p>‘stella polare’ [prestiti: fr, <i>tramontane</i> / <i>tremontaine</i> (13th c.)] (<i>stella</i>) <i>tramontane</i> (14th c.)</p>		
AND2	sub tramontaine (n.) (1)	<p>‘pole star’ <i>la noble <u>tramontaine</u> Ki mariners par la mer maine</i> (Ross ANTS 4398) (a1282)</p>		
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub tramontane (adj. / n.) (4)	<p>‘(Étoile) qui est au delà des monts, (étoile) polaire’ [...] <i>a son droit, regart a l'estoille fixe et non erratique qui est appelée l'estoille <u>tremontane</u>, par laquelle estoille tous les maronniers cognoissent leur chemin</i> (Mézières, Vertu sacr. mar. W. 316) (c1384-89)</p>		
	sub tresmontain (adj / n.) (19)	<p>‘Étoile polaire’ <i>Mon cuer, m’amour, ma dame souverainne, Arbres de vie, estoile <u>tresmonteinne</u>, Rose de may de toute douceur plainne, Gente et jolie</i> (Mach, Compl. 256) (1340-77)</p>		
GDF	sub tramontane (adj. / n) (2)	<p>‘transmontain, de delà les montagnes, c’est à dire du Nord / Vent du Nord’ <i>car pou li vaut l’argument <u>tramontans</u> et pur atent les orages plaisans</i> (Ent. en Esp., f.149v) (c1350)</p>		
	sub tresmontane (n.) (4)	<p>‘tramontane, étoile polaire; fig. guide’ <i>Vierge tres gracieuse de toute grace plaine, clere estoille de mer, certain <u>tresmontaine</u></i> (Jeh. de Meung, Test, 2115.) (c1300-30)</p>		
	sub tresmontain (n.) (2)	<p>‘celui qui habite au delà des monts’ <i>Les Genevoys, Lombars et <u>tremontains</u></i> (Arch. K, 53, pièce 3) (1380)</p>		
GDC	sub tramontane	‘étoile polaire qui apparaît au delà des Alpes pour les navigateurs de la		

	(n.) (4)	Méditerranée / vent du nord sur la Méditerranée' <i>la transmontan estoille mariniere</i> (H. Salel, Œuvr. f. 63r) (att. ?)
TL	sub tramontaine (n.) (5)	'Nordwind' <i>cil (venz) qui vient de droite <u>tramontaine</u></i> (Brun. Lat. 121) (c1265) 'Polarstern' <i>por ce nagent li marinier a l'enseigne des estoilles, qui I (sor les deus essiaus, Aschen) sont, que il apelent <u>tramontaines</u>, et les gens qui sont en Europe et es parties de deça, nagent a la <u>tramontaine</u> de septentrion [...]</i> (Brun. Lat. 147) (c1265)
TLFi	sub tramontane	A. 'Étoile polaire, qui servait autrefois de guide aux navigateurs, avant la découverte de la boussole' [Empr. à l'ital. <i>tramontana</i> , a remplacé a. / m fr. <i>tresmontaine</i> , att, 1209] <i><u>tramontaine</u> de septentrion</i> (Brun. Lat. Trésor) (c1265) B. 'Vent soufflant du nord des Alpes vers la mer.' <i>vant de <u>tramontaine</u></i> (c1350)
FEW	XIII-2, 211a: transmontanus	I 1. a. 'étoile polaire' OF <i>tresmontaigne</i> (c1210) / <i>tramontane</i> (1298) / <i>stoille de tramontaine</i> (M.Polo). / OF, MF <i>estoile tremontaine</i> / Occ. <i>tramontane</i> (13 th c.) 'épithète de l'étoile polaire, appliquée à la Vierge Marie' OF <i>tremontaine</i> (c1240) b. 'nord' <i>tramontaigne</i> (Brun. Lat.) (c1265) c. 'vent du Nord' MF <i>tramontane</i> (c1306), <i>vant de tramontaine</i> , <i>vent de la tresmontaine</i> (c1450) / Occ. <i>trasmontana</i> (12 th c.) II. 3. a 'italien, lombard, qui vient de l'autre côté des Alpes' MF <i>tremontain</i> (14 th c.) / <i>tramontain</i> (1325) [Das afr. versuchte zunächst eine adaptierung an die erbwörtliche entwicklung (<i>tremontaine</i> [...]), formen, die im 16. jh im zuge der italianisierung durch <i>tramontane</i> verdrängt wurden]
MED	sub tramontaine (n.) (1) sub transmontaine (n. / adj.) (3) sub tresmountaine (adj.) (1)	'the north, the northern parts' [AF <i>tramountaine</i>] <i>Pe falce fende..sade byse wordez: 'I schal telde up my trone in þe <u>tramountayne</u>, And by lyke to þat Lorde þat þe lyft made</i> (Cleanness, Nero A10, 211) (c1400) ¹⁸⁵ 'The polestar or North Star; also, as adj.' [OF <i>transmontain</i> , <i>transmontane</i>] <i>In þat lond ne in many othere bezonde þat noman may see the sterre <u>Transmontane</u></i> (Mandev. (1) Tit. C16, 119/23) (c1400) 'North; sterre ~, the polestar or North Star' [OF <i>tresmontain</i> , <i>tresmontaine</i> , AF <i>tremountaine</i>] ¹⁸⁶ <i>Summe j drawe to the pitee of the ryal magestee of god; Oothere j leede to the grace; Summe oothere to the sterre <u>tresmountayne</u></i> (Pilgr. I. M Cmb Ff.5.30, 189) (c1450)
OED2	sub tramontane	A. 1a (adj.) 'Dwelling or situated beyond, or pertaining to the far side of, the

¹⁸⁵ Note that the MED and the OED2 gloss the same citation from *Cleanness* differently.

¹⁸⁶ It is not clear in which source the MED found the AN form *tremountaine*; it is not currently in the AND corpus.

	(adj. / n.) (20+)	<p>mountains (orig. and in reference to Italy, the Alps)’ [cf. It. <i>tramontane</i>, OF <i>tresmountaine</i>] <i>Were their stuffe by ten millions more <u>Tramontani</u> or Transalpine barbarous than balletry, he would haue prest it vpon Wolfe</i> (Haue with you to Saffron-Walden sig. O2) (1596)</p> <p>B 1. (n.) ‘the north pole-star: originally so called in Italy and Provence, because visible beyond the Alps’ <i>I schal telde vp my trone in þe <u>tramountayne</u></i> (Cleaness l. 211) (c1400)</p> <p>B 2. (n.)’ the Mediterranean and esp. in Italy, The north wind, as coming from beyond the Alps; hence generally, a cold wind from a mountain range’ <i>The boysterous <u>Tramontana</u>..here [i.e. at Constantinople] most violently rages</i> (G. Sandys <i>Relation of Journey I</i> 38) (1615)</p>
DMLBS	sub transmontanus (3) 3484b	<p>1. ‘belonging to or living in the region beyond the mountains, on the far side of the mountains’ [CL] <i>erat Columba primus doctor fidei Christianae transmontanis Pictis ad aquilonem</i> (Bede HE, V 9, p.297) (8th c.)</p> <p>2. ‘pertaining to the pole or pole-star’ <i>est lapis qui sua virtute trahit ferrum ad se ut calamita et ostendit locum <u>tramontane</u> septentrionalis et est alius lapis generis calamite qui depellit ferrum a se et demonstrate partem <u>tramontane</u> austri</i> (M. Scot. Part. 295) (c1235)</p>
DC	sub tramontane	‘vox Italica, nostris <i>Tramontane, Aquilo, Boreas</i> , sic dictus in mari Mediterraneo quod flet a partibus transmontanis, Romanorum habita ratione. Frequenter occurrit vox <i>Tramontana</i> in Archivo S. Victoris Massil. et apud Scriptoros Italicos’

Comments

Transmission Type 2b / Semantic Field: maritime

The Latin term *transmontanus* (‘beyond the mountains’) was adapted in the maritime expression *stella trasmontana*, meaning the North or Pole star. The term *tramontane* is widespread in medieval Italian, with hundreds of examples referring to the star, to the cardinal point, North (which mariners used the star’s position to locate) or, alternatively, to the North Wind¹⁸⁷ (cf. Fennis 1995: 1772, Hope 1971: 51).

Tramontaine belongs to the minority (around 25%) of loanwords in the Imports Glossary that are attested prior to 1300, and its sole appearance in the current AND corpus is in the poem *Rosignos* by John of Howden from 1282. It is difficult to tell if this is a direct Italianism or an insular use of CF *tramontaine* (cf. Dietz 2005: 601).¹⁸⁸ However, we have an important earlier attestation half a century previously in a BML source (Michael Scot’s *Liber Introductorinus*) which certainly does suggest direct Italian influence both through its form (*tramontane*) and the presence in the same paragraph of *calamita* (and its plural, *calamite*) meaning ‘lodestone’. The latter is another navigational loanword, unique to this text, that is very likely borrowed from It. *calamita* (‘Ago magnetico della bussola’) (cf. DMLBS 240b sub **calamita** [‘< Italian’], TLFi sub **calamite**¹ [‘< Italian’], att. c1265, TLIO sub **calamita**, att. 1249).

¹⁸⁷ No Italian wind names are attested in AN or ME. Several were borrowed into England direct from Italian in the 1500s (OED3 sub **ponente**, ‘West’), 1600s (OED2 sub **tramontane**, ‘North’; OED2 sub **sirocco**, ‘South’; OED2 sub **libeccio**, ‘South-West’) and the 1800s (OED2 sub **gregale**, ‘North-East’).

¹⁸⁸ This is the only instance where Dietz refers to insular French and the AND in his article on Italianisms in English.

The TLFi, FEW and Vidos (1939: 588-90) suggest that the Italian form *tramontana* gradually replaced OF *tresmontaine* (att. c1210 and derived straight from Latin) to give variants such as CF *tramontaine* (att. in Brunetto Latini, c1256) and CF *tramontane* (att. c1306). In reality, this was not an entirely streamlined process and the older form was still widely used in MF, as the DMF entry sub **tresmontain** testifies. The term also had a broader semantic range in CF than in AN or ME and was used to refer specifically to Lombards ('people from across the Alps') and also metaphorically, to a spiritual 'guiding star', such as the Virgin Mary.

78. AN (satin) velvetate (adj.) ‘like velvet: silken fabric with a short, dense pile’ < It. (<i>zetani</i>) <i>vellutato</i> < Lat. <i>velutatus</i> (‘like velvet’)				
Italian 1408-c1450	Anglo-Norman 1440	Continental French X	(Middle) English X	Medieval Latin 1438
TLIO	X			
OVI	X			
LEI	X			
DEI	Ø			
ASV	<i>zetani vellutati</i> (3)	<i>zetani vellutai</i> (ASV, Giudici di Petizion, Sentenze a giustizia, reg. 38, f.1r / reg. 45 ff.46v-53r) (1425 /1427, venez.)		
AND	X			
DEAF	X			
DMF	X			
GDF	Ø			
TL	Ø			
TLFi	Ø			
FEW	Ø			
MED	Ø			
OED	X			
DMLBS	sub <i>veluetus</i> (3614c)	‘of velvet’ <i>de rubeo crimisino velluto vellutato</i> (Amund. II 189) (1438)		
DC	Ø			
Additional sources				
Italian-matrix				
Datini silk inventory ¹⁸⁹ (1408)	<i>zetani vellutato</i> (7)	<i>I peza di zetani vellutato, campo vermiglio di grana e pello verde</i> (Fattura di tessuti serici, Avignone-Firenze) (ed. Melis 1972: 290) (1408)		
Arte della seta (c1450)	<i>zetani vellutati</i> (25+) <i>zetani vellutato</i> (20+) <i>zetani vellutata</i> (1)	<i>e tu voglia fare di detta seta pelo broccati, pelo per velluti, pelo per zetani vellutati, orsoi per dommacchini, orsoi per zetani vellutati, orsoi per rasi e per taffeta [...]</i> <i>E de avere per ritenzione di b.28 di zetani vellutato di Luca [...]</i> <i>se tu volessi imparare a piegare una pezza di zetani vellutata o di velluto</i> (All: Arte della seta, ed. Gargioli 1868, p.19 / p.118 / p.94) (c.1450, fior.)		
AN-matrix				
VOH (1440)	<i>velvetate</i> (5)	<i>j pece velvet velvetate cremesyne dore / j pece velvet velvetate dore noir / j pece satyne russet velvetate / j pece satyne noir velvetate / j pece satyne cremesyne velvetate.</i> (VOH 43: 24,25,30,31,32) (E101/128/31 ret. 53, Thomas Walsingham, host to Andrea and Federico Corner and Carlo Contarini, merchants of Venice, transc. p. 139) (1440)		
Comments				

¹⁸⁹ Unusually, the writer of this inventory also drew pictures of the patterns on each kind of silk alongside the list of fabrics. For a facsimile, see Melis (1972: 291).

Transmission Type 1 / Semantic Field: mercantile (textile)

AN *velvet* is derived from late Latin *velvetum* / *veluetum* and ultimately from the classical *villus* meaning ‘shaggy hair’ (cf. FEW XIV, 459a: **villutus**).¹⁹⁰ European velvet-weaving was born in Italy and in the later Middle Ages, this soft and dense silk cloth was the most luxurious available to royal and noble customers, especially when dyed in crimson or **cramoisé**. Plain velvets were exported from at least the 1200s but, by the late 1300s, new and more elaborate patterned versions - known as *velluti operati* - emerged from the artisan weaving centres of Lucca, Florence, Genoa, Siena, Venice and Milan (Monnas 1993: 168-69).¹⁹¹

In the accounts of goods imported into England by Venetian merchants hosted by Thomas Walsingham in 1440,¹⁹² we have three attestations of *satyne velvetate*. This must surely be an adaption of the technical term *zetani vellutati*, a specific kind of figured Italian velvet with a pattern of velvet pile contrasted by its satin background: “Two principal types of Italian pattered velvet [...] were used in England in the late 14th and 15th centuries, those with a pattern in silk pile on a background of satin (It. *zetani vellutati*) and those with a pattern in silk pile on a background of gold thread [also known as *velluti alluciolati*”¹⁹³ (King 1993: 464). The former could well be the same fabric type described as *velvet sur satyn* in the Parliament Rolls of c1420 (AND sub **Alexandre**).

Whilst not yet included in the TLIO / OVI corpora, we can find plenty of contemporary Italian attestations of *zetani vellutati*. The silk type was officially recognized by the Venetian trading authorities in the early fifteenth century and appears in three mercantile records from 1425, 1427 and 1429 in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia (ASV) (Molà 2000: 104 / 357). It is also used dozens of times in the Florentine Silk Guild treatise *L'arte della seta* from c1450. I cannot find any equivalent of *velvet velvetate* in the Italian record and it is not entirely clear to what the two examples in View 43 refer (see also *velluto vellutato* in a separate BML text, written only two years previously in 1438). It could be that our English scribes are using *velvetate* in a more generic way to designate another type of the many Italian velvets of the period, without knowing its specific name: perhaps the renowned *velluto riccio sopra riccio* (‘loop over loop’) which was woven in two heights and was especially dense and solid (Monnas 1993: 170).

¹⁹⁰ Note also the MF borrowing *velute* (att. c1450) from It. *velluto* (FEW p. 459) and the sixteenth-century *vellute* in English (OED2 sub **vellute**).

¹⁹¹ As she notes: “The political framework of Italy as autonomous city states fostered the spread of silk weaving, as their rulers vied with each other in attempting to set up local silk industries” (Monnas 1993: 168).

¹⁹² Note that the same account (View 43) also contains the Italian loanword **measane**, used to describe middle-quality silk.

¹⁹³ These fabrics were called ‘sparkling’ velvets: “E si dissero alluciolati perchè il luccicare del metallo appariva ora si, ora no, come fanno le lucciole” (Gargioli 1868: 220).

79. AN vernage (n.) ‘strong, sweet white wine from Vernazza in the Cinque Terre region, north-west Italy’ < It. <i>vernaccia</i> < It. <i>Vernazza</i> ¹⁹⁴				
Italian c1277-present	Anglo-Norman c1300-c1450	Continental French 1314-present	(Middle) English c1386-c1500	Medieval Latin 1312 -1440
TLIO	X			
OVI	<i>vernaccia</i> (44) <i>vernaccie</i> (1)	<i>per quarto soldi di pisani che chostaro vettura due fiaschi di vino di vernaccia</i> (Doc. sen 282.13) (1277-82, sen.) <i>De la kabella del vino e de l’aceto e della vernaccia e del Greco</i> (Stat. sen. cap.35 rubr. 24.13) (1301-03, sen.) <i>E vini, vernaccie, grechi, ed ogni finisimi vini v’ebe in abondanza per ogni gente</i> (Conv. papa Clemente 19.8) (?1308, fior.)		
AD	<i>vernaccia</i> (2)	<i>Della vernaccia ci (à) anchora tanto che nne rimarebe per la Cigl(ia)</i> (Firenze-Prato 1401894/ B1089/1, 37.2) (1389)		
LEI	X			
DEI	sub vernaccia (n.) 4026b	‘specie di vino generoso e dolce ed anche l’uva e il vitigno che lo produce, prov. da Vernazza’ [dall’it, il fr. <i>garnache</i> (<i>vernage</i> , <i>bernèche</i> ¹⁹⁵ mosto fresco) donde spagn. <i>garnacha</i> , catal. <i>granatxa</i>] <i>vinum de Vernaçā [...] nascitur in quadam contrata que Vernatia appellatur</i> (Salimbene) (13 th c.)		
AND1	sub vernage (4)	‘strong sweet Italian wine’ <i>fortz vyns ou verdelés, ou clarree, vernage</i> (Sz Med 48) (1354) <i>Ne vuil les nouns del tout celer Des vins q’il ad deinz son celer, Le Gernache et la Malveisie</i> (Gower Mirour 7815) (1376-79)		
AND corpus	<i>vernage</i> (1) sub bouche ¹ <i>vernage</i> (1) sub ipocras <i>vernage</i> (1) sub osey	<i>un tonel de vernage pur ma propre bouche</i> (Man lang ANTS 6.18) (1396) <i>vous averés de boun malvusia, romeny, bastarde, osey, tyr, vyn cret, vernage, ypocras et vyn blanc</i> (Man lang ANTS 73.15) (1399) <i>a Corne sur le Hope vous arés de bon malvesey, romeney, osey, tyre, vyne creett, vernage, ypocras, et vyne blanc</i> (Liber Donati p.22) (c1400-50)		
DEAF	sub garnache ² (n.)	‘espèce de vin’ cf. <i>vernache</i> ¹⁹⁶		
DMF	sub grenache (n.) (15)	‘Cepage de vin très doux, grenache’ <i>Ele [la science] n’areste point en ciaus Qui lopinent les bons morciaus Ne qui boivent vin de garnache; Trop fort est que tiex clers rien sache</i> (Mir. N.D. Rosarius K, 9) (c1330)		
GDC	sub grenache (n.) (5)	‘cépage des Pyrénées-Orientales, et d’Espagne; vin provenant de vignes plantées en grenache’ <i>La queue de garnache payera trente soluz</i> (Ord II, 319) (1315)		

¹⁹⁴ Surprisingly, the toponym Vernazza is not listed in Schweikard’s *Deonomasticon Italicum*.

¹⁹⁵ I cannot find any references in the French historical dictionaires to *bernèche* (a type of grape juice, according to the DEI).

¹⁹⁶ The DEAF entry sub **vernache** has not been published yet.

TL	sub garnache ² (13)	‘eine großbeerige Traubensorte’ <i>vin de garnace: wijn van garnaten</i> (Rom. fläm. Gespr. 93) (att.?) <i>vin de grenache</i> (Jub. N Rec I 294) (mid 14 th c.) <i>vernage</i> (Man de lang 392) (1396)
TLFi	sub grenache (n.)	‘Cépage à gros grains, très doux, blanc ou noir, cultivé surtout dans le Languedoc et le Roussillon / Vin produit par ce cépage’ [Empr. à l’ital. <i>vernaccia</i>] <i>vin vernache</i> (AN, Waterford) (1250-1300 ¹⁹⁷) / <i>vin de Garnace</i> (Roman du Comte d’Anjou) (1314) / <i>vin de Grenache</i> (mid 14 th c.)
FEW	XIV, 299a: Vernazza	‘vin blanc doux’ AN <i>vernache</i> (c1250-1300), AN <i>vernage</i> (1396) OF <i>vin de Garnace</i> (1316), OF <i>garnache</i> (1316-20), MF <i>vernace</i> (1569) ‘cépage noir, à gros grains, du Roussillon et du Languedoc’ Fr. <i>grenache</i> (1836) [Die hier vereinigten wörter warden allgemein als entlehnungen aus it. <i>vernaccia</i> angesehen, das schon bei Dante vorkommt. [...] nach welcher der name der stadt Vernazza vorliegt, einter der städte des an reben reichen gebietes der Cinque Terre [...] Die ältern gallorom.belege sind a) α ist nur. ags. bezeugt, zuerst bei Jofroi de Waterford [...] Neben die formen mit <i>ve-</i> treten im 14 jh. solche mit <i>ga-</i>]
MED	sub vernage (12)	‘An expensive variety of strong, sweet wine, prob. from Italy’; [AF <i>vernache</i> , <i>vernage</i> cp. ML <i>vernachia</i> , <i>vernacia</i> , AL <i>vernagium</i> , It. <i>verancia</i>] [Proclamation · · that those who sell sweet wine like] Crete, <i>Vernage</i> [or] Ryvere [keep no other wines in the same tavern] (Let. Bk.Lond. G ldh Let Bk G, 4) (1352-53) <i>Broghte he a iubbe of Maluesye And eek another ful of fyn Vernage</i> (Chaucer CT. Sh. B1261 (c1390)
OED2	sub vernage (n.) (8)	‘A strong and sweet kind of white Italian wine’ [OF <i>vernage</i> , <i>vernace</i> , <i>vernache</i> < It. <i>vernaccia</i>] <i>He drinkith yprocras, clarre, and vernage Of spices hote, to encrease his corrage</i> (Chaucer Merchant’s Tale 563) (c1386)
DMLBS	sub vernagium (2) 3640b	‘sort of strong, sweet white wine produced in Italy’ [AN <i>verange</i> ; cf. It. <i>vernaccia</i>] <i>in v lagenis et iij quart’ vini de vernagio empties contra festum S Cuthberti</i> (Ac. Durh 527) / <i>vini vernag’</i> (Rec. Leic II 75) (c1350)
DC	sub vernachia (4) sub garnachia ² (2)	‘Vini species : <i>Vernacium</i> ’ <i>De Vernachia ii. somat.val. xxvii. flor. De muscadello iiii. som. val. xiii. flor.</i> (Hist. Dalph. tom. 2, pag. 519. col. 1) (1345) ‘Potus species, seu vinum, quod <i>vernacium</i> appellatur’ <i>Richardus de Archemino Lombardus pro 3. sextariis cum dimidio de Garnachia</i> (Petro de Crescentiis lib. 4. cap. 4.) (1312)

¹⁹⁷ The TLFi and FEW dates this source as from the second half of the thirteenth century but the latest edition (Schauwecker 2007) dates it as c1300.

Additional sources		
AN-matrix		
Secret des Secrets (c1300)	<i>vernache</i> (1)	<i>Le vin vernache est de milhor condition, car il est atemprement fort et flaire tres douchement: ains qu'il viengne a la bouche, les narines salue et conforte la cervelle [...]</i> (Waterford, Secret des Secrets, ed. Schauwecker, Chap. LXIII, p.101, l.1067) (c1300)
BML-matrix		
VOH (1440)	<i>Vernage</i> (1)	<i>diversas mercandisas videlicet zinziber viridis oleii reisins Corance & vini de Tire Malvesy & Vernage ac diverses panes de sugre</i> (VOH 13:110) (E010/128/31 ret. 33, John Chichele, host to Genoese strangers, transc. p.114) (1440)
Latin-matrix		
Latin tract from Paris	<i>varnacie /verancie</i> (1)	<i>Vinum etemim Grece, Varnacie [Vernacie dans un autre ms.] Rupelle, Vasconie, Burgandie copiose deportat</i> (Tractatus de laudibus Parisius) (Henry 1986: 523) (c1330)
Comments		
Transmission Type 2b / Semantic Field: wine		
<p>Le vin de Grenache est mentionné surtout à partir du XIV siècle. Le mot (<i>garnache</i>, <i>grenache</i>, rarement <i>vernache</i>) ne derive pas du nom de Grenade, come le croyait R. Dion [<i>Histoire de la vigne et du vin en France</i>, 1959]. Il provient de l'italien <i>vernaccia</i>, tire du nom de Vernazza, fameuse localité vinicole sise près de La Spezia, par une évolution phonetique semblable à celle de Gascogne, issue du Vasconia (Ménard 1998: 211).</p> <p>The AN wine name <i>vernage</i> provides us with a clear example of an Italian loanword evolving in distinct ways in insular and continental French. The <i>v-</i> form, unchanged from the Italian original <i>vernaccia</i>, is very rare in France: the FEW cites just one example of <i>vernace</i> in 1569 and Henry (1986) lists one medieval example of <i>varnacie / verancie</i> in a Parisian Latin text from c1330. <i>Vernage</i> is found numerous times in fourteenth-century English records, however. Indeed, the earliest attestation of the wine in a French dialect is <i>vin vernache</i> in Jofroi de Waterford's AN translation of <i>Secretum Secretorum</i>.¹⁹⁸ It is also cited in the <i>Le Livre de Seyntz Medicines</i> by Henry of Lancaster (1354), <i>Manières de langage</i> (1396)¹⁹⁹ and the <i>Liber Donati</i> (1400-50). <i>Vernage / vernagio</i> occur in over a dozen ME or BML texts, appearing typically alongside the Greek malvesey (a popular Venetian import) in Chaucer's <i>Canterbury Tales</i> and the accounts of Genoese merchants hosted by the grocer, John Chichele (VOH 13, cf. Bradley 2012: 177).</p> <p>In France, as the FE and Ménard (1998) describe, independent phonetic changes²⁰⁰ led to <i>garnache / grenache</i> emerging from 1314 onwards throughout the CF record. We have only one example of each of these forms in an English text, both in Gower's AN poem <i>Mirour de l'Omme</i> in the 1370s.</p>		

¹⁹⁸ The source text *Secr. Waterford* was not used for AND1. It is difficult in this case (as in many others) to clearly categorise the text as an 'AN source' given that it was a collaboration between Jofroi de Waterford (an Anglo-Irish translator) and Servais Copale (a Walloon scribe) (cf. Schauwecker 2007).

¹⁹⁹ This AN citation is found in the TL, DMF and FEW entries.

²⁰⁰ This is the widely accepted explanation but it should be noted that Henry's article, 'Vernache, Garnache, Grenache' (1986) is critical of this theory. Whilst accepting *vernache* as an Italian borrowing, the author believes it unlikely that the *v-* to *g-* transition (common in the Latin of Gaul) still occurred in thirteenth-century France. His conclusion is, therefore, that the much more widespread *garnache / gernache* are borrowed from Catalan (ibid. pp.525-26). Albert details all examples of the wine name in CF (ibid. pp.519-24) but apart from the *Segré de Segrez* (c1300) and *Maniere de langage* (1396) citations, all other instances of AN *vernage* (and Gower's *gernache / garnache*) are overlooked.

In modern oenology, *Grenache* refers to a red grape variety planted all over the world, with well-known wines coming from northern Spain or the Languedoc-Roussillon region of southern France. The *Vernaccia* white grape is still cultivated in Italy today, mainly in Tuscany.

80. AN yndigo (adj) ‘of a deep blue- purple colour (dyed with the extract of plants from the <i>Indigofera</i> family)’ < Ven. <i>indego</i> / <i>endege</i> < Lat. <i>indicum</i> < Lat. <i>indicus</i> (‘of India’)				
Italian 1246-present	Anglo-Norman 1440	Continental French 1544-present	(Middle) English 1555-present	Medieval Latin [?9 th c.]
TLIO	sub indaco (n. / adj) (14)	1. ‘Sostanza colorante tra l'azzurro e il violetto di origine vegetale (largamente usata nella tintura di stoffe)’ [< Lat. <i>indicus</i>] (E) <i>l'indicho q(ue) aportaro si lasaro a Monpesliere [...]</i> (Lett. sen. p.418.21) (1269) 2. ‘Di colore tra l'azzurro e il violetto’ <i>p(er) xlviiiij b. (e) iij quarti di çe(n)dado vermiglio (e) biancho (e) indacho (e) gallo</i> (Doc. prat. p.529.13) (1275, prat.)		
OVI	<i>endege</i> (24) <i>endege</i> (1) <i>indego</i> (2) <i>indac(h)o</i> (59) <i>indic(h)o</i> (32) <i>indica</i> (3)	<i>tuto çucharo e tuta pollvere de çucharo, çucharo naibet, endege de Bagaide</i> (Zibaldone da Canal, 57.23) (1310-30, venez.) <i>Vermeg e giald e endege, ke renden grand odor</i> (Bonvesin, Volgari, De scriptura aurea, v. 94, 154.22) (c1290) 43. <i>Indego</i> 44. <i>Corosion de legno Moschè de li pomi ingranadi.</i> 45. <i>Çucharo tabarçet.</i> 46. <i>Spica.</i> (Serapiom volg., Elenco dei semplici 402.2.6) (1390, padov.) <i>Oro e argento fine, cocco e biacca, indaco, legno lucido e sereno</i> (Dante, Commedia Purg. 7, v.74, 2, 113.5) (1321) <i>e panni lani e bambagini tenti in indico e tucti panni e bambagini infolliati</i> (Stat. sen. dist. 8, cap. 16, 270.11) (1298, sen.) <i>La donzella era vestita indica e molto se lli avenia bene quella vestitura</i> (Palamedés pis. pt. 2 cap.90 p. 157.26) (c1300, pis.)		
AD	<i>indac(h)o</i> (6)	<i>Indaco bacche 70, Di golfo 25, Mastico 44</i> (Documento del 15.09.1385, 406.45) (1385, tosc.) <i>Dell'altre spezie e indacho e altre chose cho(n)perate a Damasco</i> (Genova-Milano 780/22, 1000827, 205.36) (1395. tosc.)		
LEI	X			
DEI	sub indigo (n.) 2003b	[no gloss] [passato al. fr. <i>indigo</i> , 1604] <i>indego</i> (1246) (Venezia) <i>indaco</i> (1334) (Imola, Bologna)		
AND	X			
DEAF	X			
DMF	X			
GDF	X			
TL	X			
TLFi	sub indigo (n. / adj.)	‘Matière colorante bleue violacée, extraite par fermentation ou ébullition des feuilles et des tiges de l'indigotier ou fabriquée par synthèse’ [Prob. empr., en raison de la localisation géogr. des 1 ^{res} attest. et malgré l'écart chronol., au port. <i>indigo</i> . L'ital. <i>indaco</i> , très anciennement attesté (vénit. <i>indego</i> en 1246; ital. <i>indaco</i> en 1334 [...]) est à l'orig. des deux formes éphémères <i>indaco</i> (1556) et <i>indacum</i> (1575)] <i>En ces terres [de la côte occidentale de l'Inde] y a forces gynjambre et</i>		

		<i>sandart, laquabre, <u>indico</u> et mirabolanes</i> (Fonteneau, Cosmographie p. 379) (1544) / <i>indigo</i> (1578)
FEW	IV, 645a: indicum	‘bleu foncé tirant sur le violet’ <i>indigo</i> (1603) ‘établissement où l’on prepare l’indigo’ <i>indigoterie</i> (1658) [Die pflanze wurde seit dem 16 jh. auch in Westindien angebaut [...] Als im 17 jh. <i>indigo</i> den waid verdrängte, wurde mit dem westindischen product auch sein sp. name <i>indigo</i> in Europe importiert, und zwar über die Niederlande, welche den handel mit diesem product monopolisierten. Im ndl ist <i>indigo</i> in der tat etwa ein halbes jh. früher belegt als im fr.]
MED	X	
OED2	sub indigo (n. adj.) (30+)	1. ‘A substance obtained in the form of a blue powder from plants of the genus <i>Indigofera</i> , N.O. Leguminosæ, and largely used as a blue dye’ [? from Spanish / Portuguese] <i>Endego to dye silke, trewe and good, the farazuola, Fanan. xxx</i> (R. Eden tr. Peter Martyr of Angleria Decades of Newe Worlde f. 238) (1555) 2. ‘A plant from which indigo is obtained, indigo-plant, including several species of <i>Indigofera</i> <i>In this prouince groweth great store of <u>Indico</u>, being an herbe like vnto wilde woad.</i> (J. Pory tr. J Leo Africanus Geogr. Hist. Afr. II 268) (1600)
DMLBS	sub indicus (11) 1327a	3. ‘(-um, color -us) indigo / (of garments) dyed with indigo, dark-blue’ [CL] <i>non tibi sunt <u>indiga</u> [? i.e. indica] pigmentorum genera magno emenda pretio</i> (Alcuin Ep. 237) (801) <i>sapphirus qui <u>indici</u> coloris specie</i> (Osborn. Clar. Ep. 41 p.148) (c1136)
DC	sub endegus (1)	‘Indicus color, Ital. <i>Indaco</i> ’ <i>Sive de colore seu de medietate ab homine cum suo reppo sartoris albo et <u>Endego</u>, etc.</i> (Stat. Placent. lib. 6. f.80v) (att. ?)
Additional sources		
AN-matrix		
VOH (1440)	<i>yndigo</i> (1)	<i>Item a John Olney le xxvij iour dApril v peces satyns <u>yndigo</u> vj^{li} xiiij^s iiij^d</i> (VOH 16, 74)(E101/128/30 ret. 6, Sir William Estfield, host to Bertucci and Tommaso Contarini, merchants of Venice, transc. p. 22) (1440)
Comments		
Transmission Type 1a / Semantic Field: textile		
Indigo dye has been used since ancient times and its earliest known source is <i>Indigofera tinctoria</i> , a member of the bean family cultivated in India. Italian maritime states, especially medieval Venice, Genoa and Pisa, dominated the import of this rare and expensive commodity which arrived from further East into their commercial forts around the Mediterranean. This monopoly ended abruptly in the sixteenth century with the discovery of new sea routes; Spanish and Portuguese imported the dyestuff from South America, as did the Dutch from their West Indian colonies (see Dauril 1965).		
In Italy, indigo was the preferred, and in many cases, obligatory dye for silk whilst woad was used for		

wool.²⁰¹ The Lucchese Statutes of 1376 state that any dyer who adulterated his indigo with the much cheaper woad would incur a fine of one florin per pound of silk. This is in stark contrast to sixteenth-century France and Germany where dyers were threatened with execution if they used indigo instead of woad: shipping routes to India had greatly reduced the cost of importing indigo and this rather drastic measure was designed to protect the European woad-growing industry (Alden 1965: 37-38).

Such luxury Italian silks were frequently referred to as *alessandrini* in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, a name likely linked to the large quantities of indigo that were imported into Italy from Alexandria in Egypt, “with the place of origin lending it name to the colour and serving as a marker of quality (Monnas 2014: 32).²⁰² Indigo was also mixed with red dyes to create the sought-after peacock-coloured hue known as *paonazzo* (Monnas 2014: 49, cf. **paunace**).

Indigo is not currently attested in the AND and does not appear in CF, as *indico*, until 1544. Up until this point, the term used for the colour in all forms of French and ME was *inde* / *ynde* from the same ultimate Latin root *indicus* (‘of India’): see the AND sub **inde**¹, first attested c1175 in *The Romance of Horn* and the *Alexander* and also sub **yndois** for the AN hapax *yndoise*,²⁰³ found in Gower’s *Mirour* (1376-79). In CF, *inde* is attested slightly earlier (c1150) in *Le Roman de Thèbes*: TLFi sub **inde** / DEAF sub **inde** / DEAF sub **inde** / GDF sub **inde** / TL sub **inde**. See also MED sub **inde**² / OED2 sub **inde** (att. 1320) / LCC sub **inde**.

In contrast to Italian which uses *indico* / *indaco* to refer to both the colour and the dyestuff from the late 1200s onwards, we only find AN / CF *inde* used as a colour,²⁰⁴ either adjectivally or nominally. There are no references to the dye-yielding plant *indigo* until 1544 in CF and 1555 in English. In both languages, the colour term *indigo* is attested even later: 1603 (FEW sub **indicus** p.645) and 1622 (OED2 sub **indigo**).

The presence of *yndigo* in the *Views of the Hosts of Alien Merchants* from 1440 is therefore of great interest. It represents a new earliest attestation in a vernacular text in England (or indeed, France) that pre-dates the current OED2 first date by 115 years and, as an adjective of colour, by 182 years. View 16 - the accounts of the Venetian Contarini merchants while they were staying in London - is a rich source of potential Italianisms, both rare (**legea** / **measane** / **talany** / **ore filado**) and common (**baldekin** / **carrak** / **cotun** / **damaske** / **garbeler** / **imperial** / **malvesey** / (**suchre candi**) / **tartarin**). It seems almost certain that the form of the colour we encounter here (*yndigo*) was borrowed from the Venetian *indego* / *endego*. Whilst *indico* / *indaco* are the most prolific forms in the OVI corpus, there are also twenty-six examples of *endego*, with the vast majority being in Venetian sources (but also in Tuscan and Lombard ones). The DEI also records Venetian *indego* as early as 1246. Coincidentally, the first mention of *indigo* in an English-matrix text in 1555 is the form *endego* in a

²⁰¹ Dark blue or purplish-black woollen cloth was widely known as *perse* in the later Middle Ages, first attested c1100 in CF and perhaps derived from the name *Persia*: see the OED3 entry sub **perse n.2** / **adj.** for discussion. See also AND sub **pers** (att. c1180) / TLIO sub **perso** (att. 1262-75).

²⁰² Monnas (2014: 32-33) also points out that this term has been wrongly translated in the past by scholars of Italian texts who have read it as a ‘fabric made in Egypt’, rather than a blue one that has been woven in Italy. We do have one example of ‘Alexandrian’ silk in the AND corpus sub **salemandrin**: *Bons dras de seie alexandrins, Pels de martre salemandrins*. Given the early date of the source (*Gui de Warewic*, c1210), however, it seems that this adjective is derived from the place name and should not be read as ‘blue’.

²⁰³ *Indois* is also attested a handful of times in CF but meaning ‘Indien, païen’, not an adjective of colour (cf. DMF / GDF sub **indois**).

²⁰⁴ *Inde* is nearly always used to describe a fabric’s colour but there are occasional exceptions e.g. precious stones: *Une autre maniere de saphirs troeve l’en au pui Nostre Dame qui sont plus indes* (Lapid 141 iv. 2: AND sub **inde**¹).

translation of the Venetian geographical treatise by Giovan Battista Ramusio (OED2 sub **indigo**). As the TLFi and the OED both highlight, Spanish *indico* and Portuguese *indigo* must have played a role in the transmission of this commodity's name in the second phase of its trade history during the sixteenth century. But this much earlier *yndigo* is an important lexical remnant of Italy's domination of the indigo market in late medieval England.

Finally, the BML record should not, of course, be overlooked. There is potentially a very early citation of *indiga* from the ninth-century *Epistolae* of Alcuin of York in which the author comments on the dye's high price: *non tibi sunt indiga [? i.e. indica] pigmentorum genera magno emenda pretio*. This is the only other possible -g spelling for the colour that I have found in an English text prior to the Views in 1440 (the other BML forms are *indici / indicus / indicum / indico / yndico*). *Indiga* could simply be an idiosyncratic form on the part of the scribe or a mistranscription on the part of the editor; either way the citation does require investigation. However, if it is indeed *indiga* (and not *indica* as the DMLBS editors suggest), it seems that this attestation is a 'one-off' and it does not diminish in any way the probability of a Venetian loanword appearing in the English record half a millennium later.

EXPORTS GLOSSARY

FICHES 81-140

Anglo-Norman and Middle English mercantile

loanwords in Italian texts (c1233-1451)

81	aberdaciere	101	contisgualdo	121	mazero
82	aldermanno	102	costuma	122	moiana
83	atornato (n.)	103	costumare	123	nonnaria
84	attacc(i)amento	104	costumiere	124	pardisu
85	attacc(i)are	105	dicchero	125	passalarghe
86	bacconi	106	faldengo	126	perriere
87	baliaggio	107	fodero	127	persona
88	baramanno	108	follere	128	pippa
89	batto	109	gallone	129	pocca
90	bilgla	110	goffriere	130	potto
91	blacchalleri	111	grossiere	131	primaggio
92	broccore	112	guardarobiere	132	scacchiere
93	calengiare	113	impaccare	133	schiniere
94	carisea	114	irmanghere	134	stanforte
95	celleraggio	115	litteraggio	135	stapoliere
96	chivo	116	liverea	136	sterlino
97	ciarrèa	117	locchi	137	storo
98	cioppino	118	loesti	138	tancardo
99	cocchetto	119	ludimannaggio	139	toddo
100	coglietta	120	ludumano	140	viscontaggio

81. It. <i>aberdaciere</i> (n.) ‘haberdasher - a dealer in various, small items, including dress articles and hardware’ < ME <i>haberdasher</i> < ?				
Italian 1448-51	Anglo-Norman c1379-1430	Continental French X	(Middle) English 1280-present	Medieval Latin 15 th c.-1561
TLIO	X			
OVI	X			
AD	X			
LEI	X			
DEI	Ø			
AND2	sub haberdasher (n.) (2) [sub habredache (n.) (3)]	‘haberdasher, vendor of small articles’ [<ME] <i>Nous vous mandons que des issues de vostre receite facez paier a Johan de Grafton, <u>haberdassher</u> de Londres, dys et oyt soldz pur parchemyn, papire, cire rouge, pomys, enk et autres choses necessaires et busoignables pur l’office de nostre chancellerie</i> (Gaunt ² i 186) (1379-83) ‘haberdashery, petty merchandise’ [<ME] <i>La charge de <u>hapertas</u> xij d.</i> (Lib Alb 225) (1419) / <i>j pipe de <u>habredache</u>, valor iij li</i> (Port Bks 98) (1430)]		
DEAF	[sub habredache (n.) (2) H8]	‘marchandise de mercerie’ [AN < ME] <i>j pipe de <u>habredache</u> / iij barrels de <u>haberdach</u>, valo iij li.</i> (PortBooksS 532, 562) (1430)] [Adapation occasioannelle de l’angl’ <i>haberdash</i> ‘marchandise de mercerie’, rétroformation de <i>haberdasher</i> , ‘marchant de mercerie’, [...] d’origine inconnu cf. MED, OED [...] Le rapport établi par ces dictionnaires avec anglolt. ou agn. <i>hapertas</i> , peut-être comme nom d’une fabrique n’éclaircit rien, le mot n’étant attesté qu’une fois en 1419 [...] Il faut se demander dans le cas de <i>habredache</i> comme bien d’autres, à quel point un mot technique anglais était intégré au français insulaire]		
DMF	X			
GDF	Ø			
TL	Ø			
TLFi	Ø			
FEW	Ø			
MED	sub haberdasher (n.) (14) [sub haberdash (n.)]	‘A seller of various small articles of trade; also, a member of a company of such tradesmen’ [AF, also cp. AF <i>hapertas</i> a kind of fabric] [<i>Will. <u>Haperdasser</u></i> (Cart. Oseney in OHS 91, 120) (1280)] [<i>A Johan de Grafton, <u>haberdassher</u> de londres, dys et oyt soldz pur parchemyn, papire, cire rouge, pomys, enk et autres choses necessairs et busoignables pur loffice de nostre chancellerie</i> (Reg. Gaunt inRHS ser. 3.56 86) (c1383)] <i>Taillcurs, sellers, <u>haberdasschers</u>.pouchemakers, schermen</i> (Plea & Me. R. Lond. Gildh 243) (c1383) ‘Various small articles of trade sold by a haberdasher’		

	(7)	<i>De Henrico Galt pro diversis parvis mercandisiis vocatis <u>haberdasshe</u></i> (Gras Eng. Cust. Syst. 535) (1393)] <i>Nicholas linton, þe qweseners man, and wyþ diuers walsch scolars, sum of þe Castell..sum of Henxey Hall, sum of <u>Haberdast</u> Hall</i> (Bishop Notes in PMLA 49, Cmb Dd. 14.2) (c1432)]
OED2	sub haberdasher (n.) (20+) [sub haberdash (n.) (9)]	‘Formerly, a dealer in a variety of articles now dealt with by other trades, including caps, and probably hats’ [< AN?] [<i>Super diversos <u>haberdasshers</u> et capellarios</i> . (Liber Memorandorum 53 in Liber Albus Rolls III, 433) (1311-12)] <i>An <u>haberdasshere</u> [v.rr. <u>habir-</u>, <u>habur-</u>, <u>-daschere</u>, <u>-daissher</u>] and a Carpenter</i> . (Chaucer Canterbury Tales Prol. 2003, 1.363) (c1387-95) ‘petty merchandise, small wares’ [< AN <i>hapertas</i> ?] <i>La charge de <u>hapertas</u> .xij d</i> (Liber Albus Rolls I 225) (1419)]
DMLBS	sub haberdassarius (2) 1121a	‘haberdasher’ [ME <i>haberdasher</i>] <i>diversi mercer</i> ’, <i>habardasshatores</i> , <i>cultellarii et aliarum rerum venalium hardware nuncupatorum venditores</i> (Lib Cust. Northampt. 63) (15 th c.)
DC	Ø	
Additional sources		
Italian-matrix		
Salviati (1448-51)	<i>aberdaciere</i> (16) (<i>aberdacere, aberdacere, aberdacieri</i>)	<i>E, a di 9 di detto lb. una s.8 d.8 per Giovanni Huit <u>aberdaciere</u>, in questo a c.16, lb.1 s.8 d.8</i> (Salviati LGR 915: 2) <i>Giovanni Huit <u>aberdaciere</u> de’ dare a di 9 di settembre 1449 lb. una s.8 d.8 di st. per lui a Giovanni Huit, suo chugino portò chont. il quale ci rechò una poliza di nostra mano sugellata per il sopradetto Giovanni Huit <u>aberdaciere</u> perchè lui non sapeva scrivere, la facemo e lui la sugellò; a usc. a c.49, al chonto di chassa in questo a c.94 lb. 1 s. 8 d.8</i> (Salviati LGR 284: 23-30) (1448-51)
Comments		
Attestation Type 2a / Semantic Field: profession		
Like aldermanno , irmangere and schinere , <i>aberdaciare</i> is a previously unattested profession name, borrowed into Italian from ME, and found in the Salviati London material from 1448-51. ¹ Records of the The Worshipful Company of Haberdashers, one of London’s twelve great medieval guilds, survive from 1371 (Thomas 2015: liii). Up until 1502, ² they dealt in ‘small dress articles’ and ‘petty merchandise’, as the AND states, details of		

¹ Five English haberdashers are referred to in these Florentine accounts: *Ruberto Aliardo*, *Bartolomeo Pietron*, *Gluglielmo Finan*, *Tommoxo Hoscike* and *Giovanni Huit* (also listed by the more anglicized *Gion(n)e Hut*). The latter has the most entries in the *Libro Grande Rosso* and who we know, from the example given in the table above, that he could not write and so made his mark on the *poliza* (or receipt) from the Florentine merchants.

² Note that by 1502, the Haberdashers Guild had united with the Hatters and Hurrers (cap-makers): <http://www.haberdashers.co.uk/content.php?p=archives> (Accessed 24/02/16).

which are expanded upon in the very useful *Description and valuation of wares in a Haberdasher's Shop*, a translation from the original Latin from 1378, in Riley's *Memories of London and London Life*. Here, we see the sheer variety of goods sold by the *haberdasher* in the fourteenth century, including leather laces, 'cradle bows', caps and nightcaps of various colours, purses, spurs, iron chains, beads made from jet, plaster and wood, a gaming table, a cloth depicting the Crucifixion, white woollen children's boots, camlet coats, combs, linen thread, eyeglasses, paper, parchment, pepper mills, ink horns, cushions and a wooden whistle (Riley 1886: 422-23).

The earliest reference to the profession is a surname (*Will. Haperdasser*) in a BML source from 1280 (MED sub **haberdasher**), followed by *haberdasshers et capellarios* in the *Liber Albus Rolls* in 1311-12 (OED2 sub **haberdasher**). The derivation *haberdasshrie* or 'small dress article' first appears in an AN section from later *Liber Albus Rolls* in 1419 (AND2 sub **haberdassherie** / MED sub **haberdashrie** / OED2 sub **haberdashery**). The compound term *haberdasshware* is attested earlier in a BML entry of the Oak Book of Southampton in 1329 with the variation *haberdacheware* found in the AN Port Book of Southampton, a century later in 1430 (AND2 sub **haberdasshware** / DEAF H8 **habredacheware** / MED sub **haberdasherware**).

The roots of *haberdasher* remain obscure; back in 1882, the *Draper's Dictionary* rather fancifully derives the lexeme from the German 'Habt ihr das?' or 'Do you have this?' (Beck 1882: 157). Even earlier in 1861, the editor of the AN / BML *White Book of the City of London* (or *Liber Albus*) of 1419 linked the non-specific merchandise *hapertas* (AND sub **haberdache** / DEAF H8 **habredache**) to *halberject*, a much older and unidentified cloth supplied to the King in the Magna Carta. He claimed that the latter was the ultimate etymon of *haberdasher* and *haberdashery* (see Riley 1861: 198, 203 and also OED2 sub **haberjet** / **hauberget**). This somewhat tenuous argument has persisted (or at least, has not been updated) and the MED and the OED2 both suggest that the ME *haberdash* is borrowed from AN *hapertas*. The reverse scenario is much more likely, as the DEAF H8 **habredache** stresses in its comments section.

The retention of the 'h' at the start of all forms of the lexeme certainly suggests a Germanic source word of some type. The spelling of *hapertas* in the *Liber Albus* in 1419 is probably just a spelling variation of the ME word and *haberdach(e)* also appears in the AN Port Books of Southampton within a decade or so. Two questions remain: firstly, whether *haberdash* (the merchandise) was truly a back-formation from *haberdasher* (the merchant) as the record seems to show and secondly, what was the original Germanic etymon for this word family?

82. It. <i>aldermann</i> (n.) ‘alderman: the chief officer of a guild or a civil officer in a medieval borough or city (one rank below that of mayor)’ < ME <i>alderman</i> < OE <i>ealdorman</i> (‘a ruler of a shire / a chief’)				
Italian 1448-51	Anglo-Norman 13 th c. -1370	Continental French X	(Middle) English OE-present	Medieval Latin a1111-1451
TLIO	X			
OVI	X			
AD	X			
LEI	X			
DEI	Ø			
AND2	sub alderman (n.) (8)	‘alderman’ [ME] <i>consul: <u>aldreman</u></i> (TLL ii 21) (13 th c.) <i>par assent du Meire et des <u>Aldermans</u></i> (Lib Cust 122) (c1300-50) ‘chief officer of a guild’ <i>Quant la gilde serra, nul de la gilde ne doit mener nul estrange, si il ne soit requis par le <u>alderman</u></i> (Oak Book i 25) (c1300)		
DEAF	X			
DMF	X			
GDF	Ø			
TL	Ø			
TLFi	Ø			
FEW	Ø			
MED	sub alder-man (n.) (30+)	1. ‘An ealdorman of Saxon England’ [< OE] <i>Episcopi..uicarii, centenarii, <u>aldermanni</u>, prefecti..et ceteri terrarum domini</i> (Leges Hen.I in Liebermann Gesetze 1, 553) (c1120) 2. ‘The chief or warden of a guild’ <i>þe halderman of this gilde</i> (Nrf.Gild Ret. 34) (1389) 3. ‘An official having jurisdiction over a municipal ward; a member of the ruling body of a city or borough’ <i>þe <u>alderman</u> Ich wiþ his ward cam.</i> (Arth.& M.(Auch),5095) (?a1300)		
OED	sub alderman (n.) (20+)	1. ‘The senior judicial person in an English hundred’ [< OE] <i>[Et praeter hoc est ibi [sc. in the hundred of Rotherbridge] quidam bedellus qui vocatur <u>Aldreman</u></i> (Rotuli Hundredorum, 1818, II. 214) (1275)] 2. ‘The head, master, or warden of a medieval guild or a later trade guild’ <i>Be ye ordinaunce of ye <u>Alderman</u> and of ye gilde breyeren</i> (Eng. Gilds, 1870, 73) (c1316) 3. ‘A civil officer in a borough, city, etc., next in dignity to a mayor’ <i>Of þat cite [sc. London] þe <u>alderman</u> Ich wiþ his ward cam.</i> (Arthur and Merlin, 1973, 1.5095) (c1330?a1300)		
DMLBS	sub aldermannus (60a) (20+)	2. ‘alderman, civic official’ [< AS] <i>Turstenus <u>aldermannus</u> de la warde</i> (Ch. S. Pual HMC Rep IX 68a) (a1111)		

		4a. ‘warden of a guild’ <i>Thomas de Everwic..debet j fugatorem ut sit <u>aldermannus</u> in gilda mercatorum de Everwic</i> (Pipe 34) (a1130)
DC	Ø	
Additional sources		
Italian-matrix		
Salviati (1448-51)	<i>aldermanno</i> (52) (<i>aldermano</i>)	<i>E, a di detto 1b.centonove di st. a Ghuglielmo Chantalo, <u>aldermano</u>, in questo, a c. 161, lb. 109. s. -</i> (Salviati LGR 1855, 21) <i>E, a 9 di lulglio 1451 lb.sessanta di st. per lui a Rubarto Horno, <u>aldermanno</u>, portò Ghulglielmo Spiteclinghe, sta chon lui, in moneta bianca per una lettera da Brugia [...] (Salviati LGR 2155: 15-19) (1448-1451)</i>
Comments		
Attestation Type 2a: / Semantic Field: profession		
<p><i>Aldermanno</i> is so far a unique loanword in the Italian medieval record but is used over fifty times in the Salviati London book from 1448-51. Cavallaro, who edited these accounts for her extensive <i>tesi di laurea</i> in 1969, was apparently unaware of this Anglicism and transcribed the lexeme as <i>al derman(n)o</i> in all but two cases.</p> <p>The <i>aldermen</i> of London carried out a variety of civic responsibilities in a role which dates back to before the Norman Conquest. In early Saxon England, an <i>ealdorman</i> was a chief with close links to the King and judicial power over a shire, as well as a duty to engage in military service (Loyn 1984: 48). In late medieval London, an <i>alderman</i> was no longer considered a noble but was still an important figure in local administration. He was often promoted from within a Merchant Guild (the senior warden was usually an alderman, cf. Sutton 2005: 172) and sat on the city council in a group of twenty-four, alongside the mayor and two sheriffs (Palliser 2000: 403). Unsurprisingly, the ME term also appears in AN and BML-matrix bureaucratic sources, such as the Oak Book of Southampton, the London <i>Liber Albus</i> and the Goldsmiths Accounts. Note also the use of derived terms meaning ‘office of an alderman’ or ‘aldermanship’: see AND2 sub aldermanrie and DMLBS (59c) sub aldermanneria / aldermannia.</p> <p>The most frequently mentioned alderman in the <i>Libro Grande Rosso</i> of the Salviati is <i>Ghuglielmo Chantalo</i>: this is, of course, the mercer and later knight, William Cantalowe, who entered into partnership with the Florentine company to send a large shipment of wool sent to Pisa in 1450, discussed in detail in Chapter 5. We also have entries relating to business carried out by Tuscans with the aldermen <i>Ruberto Horno</i>,³ <i>Guife</i></p>		

³ Robert Horne, a London fishmonger and sheriff amongst other positions of responsibility, is listed as a buyer of cloth and spices in the several Views (VOH 4/6/8/11/12/16/37/46). See Bradley (2012: 207).

*Feldingho*⁴ and *Ghulglielmo Maro*⁵ (all of whom are recorded in other contemporary sources) and with the unknown aldermen, *Niccholas Huifoldo* and *Matteo Filippo*.

⁴ Geoffrey Felding, a London mercer and mayor in 1452, is listed as a buyer of cloth in VOH 17 and 49. See Bradley (2012: 191).

⁵ William Marrow, a London grocer and mayor in 1455, is also listed as a buyer of iron in VOH 58. See Bradley (2012: xl, 222).

83. It. atornato (n.) ‘an attorney, an appointed representative who acts for another in business and legal matters’ < AN <i>atturné</i> < AN <i>aturner</i> (‘to transfer/ assign authority or responsibility’) < Lat. <i>tornare</i> (‘to turn’)				
Italian 1301-1451	Anglo-Norman c1250 -c1450	Continental French 1217-1664	(Middle) English 1303-present	Medieval Latin 1200 -1535
TLIO	X			
OVI	<i>atornato</i> (1)	<i>la letera li mandoe d'Irlanda lo balio suo (e) l'ato(r)nato di mess(er) P. di Sstavai è mess(er) G. dell'Aai che d(e)lle ccc lb. iste(r). p(ro)mise a Federigho a Londra</i> (Lett. lucch.111.11) (1301, lucch.)		
AD	X			
LEI	X			
DEI	Ø			
AND2	Sub aturner (v.) (12)	(p.p. as a noun) 1. ‘attorney, deputy, lieutenant’ <i>coment qe deus ou plusours soint fetz <u>attournez</u> en disjoynte, tut eit chescun le poer soen seignur [...]</i> (Britt ii 348) (c1292) ‘deputy, authorized representative’ <i>plus obedient A eus (=the rich) k'a ceus ki sunt <u>aturnez</u> Deu</i> (Lum Lais ANTS 10891) (1268) 2. ‘attorney’ <i>de ceo qe eux ne voillent recevoir <u>attournez</u> auxi bien pur les defendauntz come pur les pleintifs</i> (Rot Parl ¹ i 284.26) (1311)		
DEAF	<i>atorné</i> (1) sub torner (v.)	‘adminstrateur de biens’ <i>atorné</i> (TL 1,647,18) (c1250) ⁶		
DMF	sub atourner (v.) (10)	D2b. ‘part. passé en empl. subst.: Celui qui est chargé de représenter une partie devant le juge’ <i>frère Raol, prestre, <u>atorné</u> et procuroour es diz priour et frère</i> (Cartul. Hôtel-Dieu Cout. L.,168) (1338)		
GDF	sub atourné (n.) (18)	‘procureur chargé, surtout en Normandie et en Angleterre, de représenter en justice une partie, syndic procureur d’une commune; dans la république messine, maire d’une ville [...]’ <i>Il fu jugié que cil qui soutient autrui plet et n'est pas <u>atornez</u>, soit en la merci le roi</i> (Echiquier de Falaise, Marnier, p.132) (1217)		
TL	sub atorné (n.) (1)	‘Sachwalter’ (engl. <i>attourney</i>) <i>Ne sai ke li 20 reis out et li sun <u>aturné</u></i> (SThomas 556) (c1250)		
TLFi	Ø			
FEW	XIII-2, 72b: tornare	‘procureur chargé de représenter en justice une partie’ AN / Norman / Poitiers <i>atourné</i> / Norman <i>actourné</i> (1606) ‘celui qui est chargé de faire une chose pour un autre’ Norman <i>atourné</i>		

⁶ This DEAF entry is still not yet complete.

		‘procuracion donnée à un avocat’ Norman <i>attournee</i> (1302-12) / (1412)
MED	sub attourne (n.) (20+)	1. ‘A person formally designated or appointed to represent a litigant in court or to transact official business; legal agent, attorney, advocate’ [< AF p.p <i>ato(u)rné</i>] <i>Pai [the sinners] sal þan na help gett Of sergeaunt, ne <u>auturne</u>, ne avoket</i> (PConsc.(Glb E.9 & Hrl 4196) 6084) (a1400) 2. ‘An official licensed to act in legal matters on behalf of a lord or ruler; attorney, solicitor’ <i><u>Attourneis</u> in cuntre, theih geten silver for noht..Ne triste no man to hem!</i> (Why were Auchg 349) (c1330)
OED2	sub attorney (n.) (10)	1. ‘One appointed or ordained to act for another; an agent, deputy, commissioner’ [OF <i>atorné</i>] <i>So shulde eche <u>aturne</u> seriaunt, But many one holde no cunnaunt</i> (R. Mannyng Handlyng Synne 5503) (1303) 2. ‘(Attorney in fact, private attorney) One duly appointed or constituted (by letter or power of attorney) to act for another in business and legal matters’ [<i>Des <u>attournez</u> sount acuns generals, acuns especials</i> (Britton vi. x. §1) (1292)] <i>Paid to John Smythe of Yipswych, his <u>attorney</u> in the kervelle of the marchaundyse, viijs. iiijd.</i> (Manners & Househ. Expenses Eng. 344) (1466) 3. ‘(Attorney-at-law, private attorney) A professional and properly-qualified legal agent practising in the courts of Common Law’ [<i><u>Attourneis</u> in cuntré theih geten silver for noht.</i> (Pol songs 339) (c1330)] <i>He is an <u>attorny</u>..in the baylys coort of Yermowthe</i> (Paston Lett. & Papers I 534) (1467)
DMLBS	sub attornare (20+) (156a)	10. (p.p as m. /f. noun) ‘attorney, proxy, legal representative’ <i>J non venit vel se essoniavit nec ejus <u>attornatus</u></i> (Cur R I 304) (1200)
DC	sub attornatus (4)	‘Voces forenses. <i>Attornati et Attornati</i> dicuntur in Jure Anglico et Normanico, Procuratores, qui aliena negotia, ex speciali mandato, in foro agunt, et dominorum suorum jura tuentur ac promovent’
Additional sources		
Italian-matrix		
Villani (1422-24)	<i>atornatto</i> (1)	<i>E adì xxx di disciembre £ una s. xj d. ij st. per luy chonttantti a Ghualtiere Sciorp drapiere, porttò Tomaso suo <u>atornatto</u> [...]</i> (Villani frammento) (Guidi- Bruscoli 2010: 399) (a1422)
Salviati (1448-51)	<i>atornato</i> (14) (<i>attornato</i> , <i>atornado</i>)	<i>Gionne Anhurt <u>atornato</u> di Ghulglielmo Chinche merchatante di stapola de’ dare a di 9 di novembre 1448 lb. trenta di st. portò e’ detto chont inn oro e moneta bianca [...]</i> (LGR 490, 1) <i>a di 6 di questo gli paghassimo a Aghostini Strettone per uno cambio</i>

		<i>avano fatto qui chon Giovanni Valchema, suo <u>atornado</u> (LGR 2300, 5) (1448-51)</i>
AN-matrix		
Advance contracts for sale of wool (1275 / 1324)	<i>atorne</i> (2) <i>attornees</i> (1)	<i>[...] grantant de lor bone volente en la Cite de Londres le jur ke ceste letere fu fete a Gyle de Ayre <u>atorne</u> Johan Wermond de Caumbray [...] E la front illokes delivevrer a lostel le avant dist Gyles a li ou a son <u>atorne</u> ou a celi ke ceste letter portera (Contract between Darnhall Abbey, Cheshire and John Wermond of Cambrai, C54/92, m.2d) (Bell <i>et al.</i> 2006: 10) (1275)</i> <i>[...] merchauntz de la compaignie de Barde de Florence ioyntement et severalment nos certayns et verrays <u>attornees</u> a demander et resceyvre por nous [...] (Contract between Thornton and Newsham Abbies, Licolnshire and the Gotele of Lucca, E159/97, rot.16) (Bell <i>et al.</i> 2006: 172) (1324)</i>
Comments		
Attestation Type: 2b / Semantic Field: profession		
<p>Up until this point, <i>atornato</i> has been considered a hapax in medieval Italian, with a single attestation in the same source as the legal term attac(i)are: a letter sent from the Ricciardi company in Lucca to London, dated the 5th of September 1301 (E101/601/5). The attorney in question is <i>Gualtieri dell’Aai</i>, or Walter de la Haye, who we know worked for the English government in the Justiciar’s Court in Ireland from 1294 to 1297 (Hand 1967: 46). Castellani and Del Punta (2005: 247) note that the Englishman was representing Pierre d’Estaveyer from the Savoy who owed the Ricciadi £300 sterling and had so far only repaid £100.</p> <p>The presence of the loanword was first highlighted by Re (1913: 277) who saw this borrowing (and that of bilgla) as <i>anglismi</i>: “non è necesaario risalire ai francesi, <i>bille e atorné</i>, ma basta fermarsi ai più specifici <i>bill e attorney</i>”. Nearly a century later, <i>attornato</i> is examined by Cella (2010: 70-71) and in her entry, we find one of only two mentions of an AN form; this is based on AN examples given in CF dictionaries and the OED, not the AND. As the FEW and Godefroy highlight, the profession of <i>attorné</i> is a term very much linked to the legal lexis of Old Norman where it was first attested in 1217.</p> <p>The AND entry sub aturner (meaning, amongst other things, ‘to transfer authority or responsibility’) gives examples of the nominal use of the past participle to mean ‘attorney’ from 1268 onwards. Note that there is possibly an earlier example of this specific use of <i>aturné</i> currently only cited in the TL. It is found in the <i>Fragments d'une Vie de saint Thomas de Cantorbéry</i>, an incomplete AN poem attributed to Matthew Paris and dated (by the DEAF) as from the mid-thirteenth century. In addition, we also find two examples of <i>atorne</i> from 1275 in an AN advance contract for the sale of wool from Darnhall Abbey (Bell <i>et al.</i> 2006: 10). As is often the case, the very first record of the AN word is in a BML-matrix text and <i>attornatus</i>, ‘legal proxy’, is attested in 1200 (DMLBS sub attornare).</p> <p>It is not surprising that a term so common to the unique legal lexis of medieval England should appear in other commercial and administrative texts written by Italians living and working in the capital. Crucially, there is now new evidence that the loanword <i>at(t)ornato</i> was used in two Florentine sources in the fifteenth century; once in the fragment of Villani London accounts (a1422) and fourteen times in the <i>Libro Grande Rosso</i> of the Salviati</p>		

(1448-51). In the latter case (as with **aldermanno**), the transcriber did not recognise the borrowing and often wrote it as verbal form: *a tornato / a tornado*. Note that in these citations it seems that the attorney mentioned was not so much a representative in a Court of Law (the meaning preserved in the modern English ‘public attorney’) but more of an agent or deputy, commissioned to carry out business on behalf of another (similar to a ‘private attorney’, cf. OED2 sub **attorney**). Both nuances were already present in AN from the thirteenth century onwards (AND2 sub **aturner**) and were subsequently passed into ME.

84. It. attacc(i)amento (n.) ‘the attachment or seizure of goods by judicial powers’ < AN <i>atachement</i> < AN <i>atacher</i> <? Frank. * <i>stakka</i> (‘stake’)				
Italian 1295-1450	Anglo-Norman c1270-c1400	Continental French X	(Middle) English a1400-present	Medieval Latin 1195-1448
TLIO	X			
OVI	<i>attacciamiento</i> (1)	<i>lo nostro no(n) podere sadisfare allo i(n)tendime(n)to (e) volo(n)tadi de mess(er) lo rei (e) la nostra p(er) quello che i(n)tervenuto c’este sie p(er) l’attaciame(n)to di chostà (e) sie p(er) la presa che cci fece lo rei di Francia</i> (Lett. lucch 16.19) (1295, lucch.)		
LEI	X			
DEI	∅			
AND	sub atachement (n.) (14)	‘attachment (to ensure compliance with court)’ <i>mes luy (=the reeve) e le bedel, ou le hayward receyvent lez pleintes, e facent lez attachementz, e liverent au baillif</i> (Henley 2 278 c43) (c1270) ‘goods impounded’ <i>Et sy plus des byens soyent trovez [...] jeo les attacherez. Et le dist <u>attachement</u> entierement as ditz customers presenterey</i> (Bristol i 52) (c1350)		
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub atachement (n.)	‘Région. (anglo-normand): Saisie, contrainte de corps’ ‘Cf. AND sub <i>atachement</i> ’		
GDF	sub atachement ¹ (n.) (1)	‘Terme de droit, opposition’ <i>Pendant un <u>attachement</u> sur la prohibicion de sute fete, si fit le pleyntif sa suggestion en baunk qe le defendant avoyt continué sa sute pendant l’<u>attachement</u> taunqu’il fut escumengé e enprisoné par le capcion [...]</i> (Year books of the reign of Edward the first, XXXII-XXXIII, p.63, Rer. Brit. Script) (1304)		
TL	∅			
TLFi	∅			
FEW	XVII, 201b : * stakka	‘contrainte de corps’ AN <i>attachement</i> ‘opposition (t. de droit)’ AN <i>attachement</i> (1304)		
MED	sub atachement (n.) (10)	‘Law. The act of distraining (sb.) to appear in court, or of sequestering (property); also, a writ of distraint’ [AF & ML] [<i>Habeant..totam feriam praedictam..cum stallagus..attachiamentis, placitis, [etc.]</i> (Cart Ramsey in RS 79.2, 67) (1258)] <i>pat euerych man of þe fraunchyse..habbe þre resonable somounces..þere þat <u>a-tachment</u> ne by-lyth nouzt</i> (Usages Win-HRO W/A3/1) (a1400)		
OED2	sub attachment (n.) (2)	I1 a. ‘The action of apprehending (a person) and placing him under the control of a court of law’ [< OF <i>attachement</i>] <i>Have had, used, and enjoyed..attacheaments, arestes</i> (Lett. & Papers J. Shillingford 77) (1447-48) b. ‘The writ or precept commanding such apprehension’		

		<i>I am sore troblyd with Bedston..be the wey of <u>tachementes</u> owte of the Chaunceré (Paston Lett. & Papers II 393)</i>
DMLBS	sub attachiamentum 151a (20+)	2. ‘attachment (leg.), binding (of party) by pledge, distraint or arrest to appear in a court’ [OF <i>atachement</i>] <i>j. m. pro injustis atachiamentis</i> (Pipe 172) (1195) 4. ‘seizure of goods’ <i>[...]in Tamisia naves ante Turrim et capiendo prisas. ad hoc cives dixerunt quod <u>attachiamenta</u> in Thamisia petinent solummodo ad vicecomites Londoniarum</i> (Leg. Ant. Lond. 52) (c1262)
DC	sub attachiare (4)	‘Voces forenses, apud Anglos et Scotos Leguleios frequentes, a Gallico <i>Attacher</i> deductæ’ <i>Habeat 8. Servientes juratos, qui faciant <u>Attachiamenta</u>, et exequantur alia mandata Senescalli Vasconie.</i> (Statutum Edw. Regis Angl. in Regesto Constabularie Burdegal. fol. 79) (att.?)
Additional sources		
Italian-matrix		
Salviati (1448-51)	<i>attacamento</i> (2)	<i>E, a dì 10 di giugno 1450 lb.ciento dieci di st. faccamo buoni per loro chome ci dissono Francesco e Iachopo da Pozzobonello per nome di Felicie da Fangnano e chomp. a Lodovicho Strozzi e chomp. e’ quali c’anno fatto uno scritto di trarci d’ogni danno e resto e <u>attacamento</u> ci avessino fatti [...]</i> (LGR 880: 19) (1450) <i>E, a dì 10 di giugno 1450 lb.ciento dieci di st. faccamo loro buoni chome ci dissono Francesco e Iechopo da Pozzobonello per nome di Felicie da Fangnano e chomp. per Ambruogio da Pozzombonello e fratelgli di Genova a’ detti Strozzi c’anno fatto uno scritto e trarci d’ogni danno, d’ogni tempo o <u>attacamento</u> [...]</i> (LGR 346: 21) (1450)
Comments		
Attestation Type 2a / Semantic Field: legal		
<p><i>Attacc(i)amento</i> is a legal loanword, apparently first borrowed from AN and meaning ‘seizure of goods or people’. It is found in two Tuscan mercantile sources, a century and a half apart. Our first text is one of the Ricciardi Letters (1295-1303), a collection sent to the London office of the former Crown Bankers to the King, just before their company dissolved entirely (cf. Chapter 2. 3i).</p> <p>The letter in question is dated 5th October 1295 and was sent from the society’s headquarters in Lucca to Orlandino di Pagio, the chief Ricciardi representative in England. It is mentioned briefly in Re (1913: 277-78) but was not fully edited until 2005 by Castellani and Del Punta. They comment that “da punto di vista dei contenuti si presenta indubbiamente come una delle lettere più interessante e ricche di informazione” and that “i soci di Lucca mettono a fuoco con precisione le cause della crisi societaria, individuandole nei sequestri di beni e di libri contabili subiti contemporaneamente in Inghilterra e in Francia [...] provocando una crisi di panico presso depositanti e creditori” (Castellani and Del Punta 2005: 180, 182). Hence, it was precisely this <i>attaccamento</i> or enforced <i>attachment</i> of company records and goods by Edward I and Philip le Bel that</p>		

triggered a wave of panic amongst investors and precipitated the Riccardi's financial collapse.

Over 150 years later, we find new evidence of this legal terminology in two entries of the London book of the Salviati of Florence. The precise details are unclear but two entries refer to the same incident on the 10th of June 1450 in which a document was sent to Ludovico Strozzi⁷ by two other unknown Italian companies which absolved the Salviati from any damages or sequestration (*attacamento*).

The Riccardi's use of *attaccamento* is included in Cella's glossaries of foreign mercantile loanwords where only ME and BML etyma are suggested and AN is overlooked (2007: 198, FN.20 / 2010: 88). Of this analysis, and that of verb **attaciare** and **atornato** in the same source, Trotter states:

These words are indeed found in British medieval Latin long before they are attested in English, but the more important point is that they are ultimately Anglo-French in both form and semantics. They bear precise legal sense which evolved in AF and whilst they are undoubtedly 'anglicisms' in the sense of 'words transposed into Italian in England from language in use in England', they do not necessarily come from English. AF is just as (and possibly more) likely (Trotter 2011b: 217).

As Trotter notes, *attachment* developed as a specific legal term only in England. We find the lexeme in CF, of course, but only in the sense of 'engagement, sentiment qui lie' prior to 1500 and 'ce qui sert à attacher' from 1573 onwards (TLFi sub **attachement**). The DEI has an entry sub **attaccamento** (352a) from the sixteenth century but again, this is in the non-legal sense ('azione dell'attaccarsi con prob. influsso del fr. *attachement*').

The AN usage (referring to the constraint of person or the seizure of goods) first appears in a BML Pipe Roll in 1195 (DMLBS sub **attachamentum**) and in numerous administrative sources written in insular French from c1285 onwards (AND2 sub **attachement**). In the early fifteenth century, the lexeme transferred into English legal lexis where it remains to this day as a synonym for 'apprehension' (OED2 sub **attachment**). It is important to consider that in the Salviati records, compiled in the 1450s, *attacamento* could have been borrowed directly from ME *attachement* whereas in our earliest example from 1295, AN is almost certainly the donor language.

⁷ A prominent Florentine resident in London and an associate of both William Cantelowe and Jacob Salviati (Holmes 1993: 379, 385-86).

85. It. attacc(i)are (v.) ‘to impound, attach or seize goods or money for legal reasons’ < AN <i>atacher</i> <? Frank. * <i>stakka</i> (‘stake’)				
Italian 1295-1301	Anglo-Norman c1200-c1400	Continental French X	(Middle) English 1330-present	Medieval Latin 1170-1325
TLIO	X			
OVI	<i>attaccare</i> (2) (pp: <i>attacciati</i>)	<p><i>Ancho similliante postra che voi fuste <u>attacciati</u> di chostae credemo che llo rei abia avuto di vosse lane (e) choia che valliano presso di mar. vj^m</i>(Lett. lucch. 20: 31) (1295, lucch.)</p> <p><i>Ciato ci esste tenuto p(er) Gieri di dare [[...]] p(er) che vo ma(n)-diamo dice(n)do che voi p(ro)chaciate d’ererde paghati, (e) se Ciato noe vollesse sie li faite <u>attaccare</u> p(er) lo rei vel p(er) mess(er) Guido Ferieri, che noi volemo melio che lo rei abia vel mess(er) Guido, che li dr. no(n) si riabiano mai , che siate ce(r)ti a Luc(cha) no lli chredemo riavere</i> (Lett. lucch.109: 9) (1301, lucch.)</p>		
LEI	X			
DEI	∅			
AND2	sub atacher (v.) (20+)	<p>4. ‘to attach, arrest (to secure submission to trial)’ <i>Pris serreit e <u>atachié</u> E cume malfeitur jugié</i> (S Clem 4395) (c1200-25) /</p> <p>‘(of persons) to detain, hold in custody’ <i>se tel (=merchants from a foreign power at war with England) sunt trové en nostre terre [...], soient <u>atachié</u> sanz domage de lor cors e de lors choses</i> (Magna Carta 360.41) (1215)</p> <p>‘(of goods) to attach, impound’ <i>leissie (Latin: liceat) a nostre visconte [...] <u>atachier</u> e enbrever les chatels del mort</i> (Magna Carta 359.26) (1215)</p>		
DEAF	X			
DMF	X			
GDF	∅			
TL	∅			
TLFi	∅			
FEW	∅			
MED	sub attachen (v.) (20)	<p>‘To distraint or bind (sb.) to appear in court; to take into custody’ [OF <i>atachier</i> & AL <i>attachiare</i>] [<i>Preceptum est <u>attachiare</u> dictos Willelmum et Radulfum veniendum ad proximam curiam</i> (Select Pleas Manor.in Seld.Soc.2 67) (1258)]</p> <p><i>Phelip þe muleward..made þe baillif <u>attachie</u> þe vorseide jones bodi wiþ fals encheson & wolde habbe ibrou..to prison</i> (Anc.Pet.(PRO) SC 2-192.9580) (1344)</p> <p>‘to sequester or attach (property)’ <i>þe godes <u>attached</u> waren to þe kyng of Cipres</i> (Mannyng Chron.Pt.2 (Petyt 511, p.158) (a1338)</p>		
OED2	sub attach (v) (4)	<p>‘To secure for legal jurisdiction and disposal, to place or take under the control of a court; to arrest or seize by authority of a writ of attachment’[< OF <i>atachier</i>]</p>		

		<p>‘a) a person’ <i>‘Ribaux’ saide he, ‘ich zow <u>attache</u>, Azeld zow anon to me.’</i> (Sir Ferumbras 4517) (c1380)</p> <p>‘b) property, goods’ <i>Be godes <u>attached</u> warent to þe kyng of Cipres Isaac.</i> (R. Mannyng Chron. 158) (1330)</p>
DMLBS	sub attachiare (20+) 151b	<p>3. ‘to attach (leg.), to bind (a party) by pledge, dsitrait or arrest to appear in court’ [$<$ OF <i>atachier</i>]</p> <p><i>inquiratur si foestarii vel bailivi eorum aliquem acceperint vel <u>attacaverint</u> per vadum et per plegium</i> (Inq. Vic. 7, Gerv. Cant. I 218) (1170)</p>
DC	sub attachiare (4)	<p>‘Voces forenses, apud Anglos et Scotos Leguleios frequentes, a Gallico <i>Attacher</i> deductæ’</p> <p><i>Habeat 8. Servientes juratos, qui faciant <u>Attachimenta</u>, et exequantur alia mandata Senescalli Vasconie</i> (Statutum Edw. Regis Angl. in Regesto Constabulariæ Burdegal. fol. 79) (att.?)</p>

Comments

Attestation Type 2a / Semantic Field: legal

The AN verb *attacher*, unique to medieval England’s legal terminology, is borrowed as *ataccare* in two letters sent by the Ricciardi of Lucca in October 1295 and September 1301 and conserved in the National Archives at Kew (E101/601/5). Both were sent from the company head office in Lucca to the London branch, where the chief associate was Orlandini di Pagio, and provide crucial insight into the financial ruin of a banking society that had enjoyed royal privilege for over twenty years (cf. Chapter 2.3i). The first source (which also contains the related loanword **attac(i)amento**) refers to the seizure of 6000 marks’ worth of wool and leather from the merchants by royal customs officials (Castellani and Del Punta 2005: 186). In the second letter, written six years later, Riccardo Guidiccioni of Lucca implores his London colleagues to extract the 541 lire owed to them by Ciato Ronzini, even though, if successful, the sum would be sequestered on behalf of Edward I or Sir Guy Ferre, his seneschal in Gascony (Castellani and Del Punta 2005: 245).

The Ricciardi Letters glossary briefly lists *attaciare* (‘porre sotto sequestro’, Castellani and Del Punta 2005: 151) as an Anglicism, derived from ME *attach*, as does Cella (2010: 89). Neither work refers to AN or the AND, a significant oversight given the well-known influence of AN lexis on English legal terminology.⁸ As with *atachement*, *attacher* was used to refer to the seizure of both people (‘to arrest, hold in custody’ etc.) and goods but we only find examples of the latter usage in these Lucchese-language accounts. The unique legal use of the AN verb first appears in a BML matrix text in 1170 (DMLBS sub **attachiare**) and then in AN sources from the early 1200s, as detailed in the AND2 entry. The earliest example in ME (‘goods attached’) emerges c1338, around three decades after the use of *attaciare* by the Ricciardi scribes (OED2 sub **attach** / MED sub **attachen**).

⁸ Brand (1999 / 2010) and Rothwell 2000 are just three examples of the more recent work in this area.

Attacher is found in CF from c1170 onwards but, like *attachement*, shows no comparable development in the semantic field of the law (cf. TLFi sub **attacher**, GDF sub **attachier**, TL sub **attachier**, DMF sub **attacher**) The FEW (XVII 199b) proposes an Old Frankish etymon, **stakka*, for the *attacher* word-family but its origins remain unclear.

86. It. bacon (n.) ‘bacon: leg of pork or pieces of salted pork meat’ < AN <i>bacon</i> < ? Middle Low German <i>*bakko</i> (‘back’)				
Italian 1305	Anglo-Norman 13 th c.-15 th c.	Continental French a1105-present	(Middle) English c1330-present	Medieval Latin 1086-1345
TLIO	X			
OVI	X			
AD	X			
LEI	X			
DEI	Ø			
AND2	sub bacon (n.) (8)	‘bacon, leg (usually of pork)’ <i>hic petasus vel baco: <u>bacon</u></i> (TLL i 423) (13th c.) ‘flitch of bacon’ <i>De chescun <u>bacoun</u> menee par miere ou par terre</i> (Oak Book ii 2) (c1300)		
AND corpus	<i>bacoun</i> (1) sub ivément	<i>Pernez gleir de oef bien batu e seim de <u>bacoun</u>, e miel e flour de forment</i> (Five Med MSS 101.S127) (15th c.)		
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub bacon (n.) (8)	‘Viande de porc (jambon, lard)’ <i>Et de vins tous plains mes celeir Et mes lardir plains de <u>backon</u></i> (Sept péchés C. p.1478, 236) (c1300-50)		
GDF	sub bacon (16)	‘chair de porc, surtout de porc sale, fleche de lard, lard, jambon, porc tué et salé’ <i>Et bien appareillier tout ensy c’un <u>bacon</u> en la boucque bouter</i> (Chev au cygnet, 17491, Reiff.) (late 12 th c.)		
TL	sub bacon (10)	‘speckseite, schinken’ <i>grant bacon</i> (Gl. Tours 328) (12 th c.)		
TLFi	sub bacon	‘Lard ou pièce de porc salée’ [*MLG <i>bakko</i> / OHG <i>bahho</i> / MHG <i>backe</i>] <i>bacon</i> (judéo-fr., a1105)		
FEW	XV-1, 28b: bakko	‘flèche de lard salée’ <i>bacon</i> (judéo-fr, 12 th c.) [Da das wort aber im sp. pg. it. [...] fehlt, kann es kaum aus dem urgerm. übernommen sein]		
MED	sub bacoun (n.) (20)	‘Pork cured in brine or by smoking; esp. salt pork or a cut of it’ <i>For beof ne for <u>bakoun</u>..Unnethe wolde eny do a char</i> (Why werre (Auch) 387) (c1330)		
OED2	sub bacon (n.) (5)	‘The back and sides of the pig, cured by salting, drying etc. Formerly also the fresh flesh now called pork’ [< OF <i>bacon</i> < OHG <i>bacho</i> < Germ. <i>*bakon</i>] <i>For beof ne for <u>bakoun</u>..Unnethe wolde eny do a char</i> (Pol songs 341) (c1330)		
DMLBS	sub baco, baconus	‘bacon, carcass of hog’ [OF < Frankish]		

	(12) 174a	<i>reddit c caseos et x <u>bacons</u></i> (DB I 97) (1086)
DC	sub baco (10)	‘ex Gallico et Anglico Bacon, qua voce promiscue donantur porcus saginatus, ustulatus et salitus, et petaso aut perna’ <i>Petaso dicitur perna porcina, <u>Bacon</u>, Gallice</i> (Will. Brito in Vocabul. MS) (att.?)
Additional sources		
Italian-matrix		
Gallerani Regis. Aus.	<i>bacconi</i> (1)	<i>Giache n(os)tro chuco die dare j s. iiij d. st(er)li. 18 di giugno li p(re)stamo (con)t(anti), fo. xj. P(er) sei <u>bacconi</u> xij s. j d. st(er)li. 19 di giugno a spese</i> (Gallerani Londra Registrazioni ausiliarie) (Cella 2009: 276.18) (1305, sen.)
Comments		
Attestation Type 2b / Semantic Field: other foodstuff		
<p><i>Bacconi</i> is currently a hapax in the medieval Italian record, occurring once in the <i>Registrazione ausiliarie</i>, a new section of the Gallerani London accounts from 1305, discovered and edited by Cella in 2009. Cella (2010: 83) refers to CF <i>bacon</i> attested in the twelfth century as outlined in the FEW and also notes that <i>baconus</i> is found in the Latin of England from the eleventh century. As usual, there is no mention of any AN forms or influence.</p> <p>The AND entry sub baco lists the earliest example as being a gloss in a Latin-French handbook from the thirteenth century. Evidence of usage in England can be found much earlier however; the first BML citation (DMLBS sub baco) describes ten legs of bacon - <i>x bacons</i> - and is found in Volume 1 of the Domesday Book from 1086. This reference to the meat, in the plural form, may well represent AN <i>bacon</i> (note that this would be the earliest example of an AN vernacular lexeme recorded in either the Imports or Exports Glossary). The Siennese merchants in London who recorded buying six legs of bacon for their cook Giache on the 19th of June 1305 were almost certainly borrowing a ‘local’ term. The loanword is likely derived from AN <i>bacon</i> (or, perhaps ME <i>bacon</i>, att. c1330) which was then pluralised in the normal Italian way: <i>bacconi</i>.</p> <p>The ultimate origins and transmission routes of the word <i>bacon</i> are not entirely clear but there is general consensus amongst the dictionaries that it entered dialects of medieval French from Old or Middle Low German and is probably derived from a Germanic form <i>bakko</i> or <i>bakon</i>, meaning ‘back’.</p>		

87. It. <i>baliaggio</i> (n.) ‘bailage - a fee or duty paid on delivered goods’ < AN * <i>baillage</i> < AN <i>bailler</i> (‘to deliver / entrust’) < Lat. <i>bājulāre</i> (‘to bear / carry’)				
Italian 1448-51	Anglo-Norman X	Continental French X	(Middle) English 1753-1809	Medieval Latin X
TLIO	X			
OVI	X			
AD	X			
LEI	X			
DEI	∅			
AND	X			
DEAF	X			
DMF	X			
GDF	∅			
TL	∅			
TLFi	∅			
FEW	∅			
MED	∅			
OED	sub bailage (n.) (3)	‘A duty upon delivery of goods’ [< AN <i>baillier</i> , AN * <i>baillage</i> / ML * <i>balliagium</i> in this sense] <i>Water Bailiage or Bailage, is an antient duty received by the city of London, for all goods and merchandises brought into or carried out of the port</i> (Chamber’s Cycl.) (1753) <i>Of Balliage, or Delivery of Goods</i> (P. Colquhoun, Treat. Commerce & Olice R. Thames xi 332) (1800)		
DMLBS	∅			
DC	∅			
Additional sources				
Italian-matrix				
Salviati (1448-51)	<i>baliagio</i> (9) (<i>baliaggio</i> , <i>baliargio</i> ; pl. <i>baliaggi</i> , <i>balliaggi</i>)	<i>e, de’ dare lb.sette s.14 d.4 di st. per nolo, chostuma, sussidio, celleraggio, baliagio, pesatura, portatori e più altre spese</i> (LGR 2363, 17) <i>E, a di detto lb.tre s.5 d.10 di st. ci ritenne Ghulglielmo Naro, grossiere, e’ quali disse avere paghati per noi baliagio e litteragio</i> (LGR 2135, 35) (1448-51)		
Comments				
Attestation Type 1a: / Semantic Field: financial				
<p>In this case, a Gallicism in the Florentine Salviati material from London offers evidence of a currently unattested AN usage. We find <i>baliaggio</i> listed in the accounts amongst other fees to be paid where both native Tuscan and borrowed terminology are used e.g. weighing (<i>pesatura</i>), portage (<i>portatori</i>), hire (<i>nolo</i>), import tax (<i>costuma</i>), (un)loading (primaggio) and storage (celleraggio). The use of the term <i>bailage</i> to refer specifically to a duty paid upon delivery of merchandise is unique to England but does not surface in English records until the mid-eighteenth century. The OED2 entry sub bailiage suggests “perhaps there was an Anglo-</p>				

Norman **bailliage* [...] in this sense” and the presence of this Italianised version, found only in a merchant source from mediaeval England, strongly backs such a hypothesis.

Baillage is, of course, already attested in AN, ME and BML administrative sources but it means ‘baillif’s jurisdiction, district or bailiwick’: see AND **bailliage** (att. 1344-77), DMLBS sub **bailliagium** (175b) (att. 1378), MED **bailliage** (att. 1420), OED2 **bailliage** (att. 1513). In CF, we find the same usage from 1312 onwards: see DMF sub **bailliage**, GDF sub **baillage**, TLFi sub **bailliage** and FEW I, 207a: **bajulus**.

In the TLIO sub **baliaggio**, we have one example of a CF loanword meaning ‘territorio soggetto alla giurisdizione del balio’ in a mercantile letter from Pistoia, Tuscany in 1331. The borrowing is also listed as a continental Gallicism from *bailliage* by Cella (2010: 89). The DEI sub **baliaggio** (415a) gives the same etymon and also records a Venetian variant (*baliazzo*) from the fifteenth century.

The two senses of AN *baillage* are both linked to the verb *bailler* (AND2 sub **bailler**). The sense associated with payment upon delivery - which passed into the Salviati records as *baliaggio* - developed from the meaning of ‘to deliver, give, hand over, entrust’, attested from c1175-1200: *Si li baillent le bref, le seel font briser*. This sense - unique to insular French - is preserved today in the English legal verb *to bail* i.e. ‘to deliver on trust on certain conditions’ (OED2 sub **bail**¹). AN (and CF) *bailage*, meaning ‘a bailiff’s jurisdiction’, stems not only from *bailler* in the sense of ‘to govern, administer, rule over’ (attested in AN in c1170) but also the nouns derived from this: *bailiff* (‘bailiff, official in country, town or franchise etc. with executive and judicial functions’: AND2 sub **bailiff**, att. 1215) or *baillie* (‘office of bailiff, bailiwick’: AND2 sub **baillie**, att. c1240). It is also possible that our AN tax, **baillage*, partially developed from these nouns, if the payment was originally due to the local bailiff of a town or his office. In either case, the compound form joins a long list of AN and ME nouns that were turned into commercial and civic duties or fees by the addition of an *-age* suffix e.g. *carriage*, *cellarage*, *costage*, *cranage*, *lodemanage*, *murage*, *ostelage*, *primage*, *pannage*, *pavage*, *picage*, *pontage*, *porterage*, *stallage*, *taillage*.

88. It. baramanno (n.) ‘a porter or bearer of heavy goods’ < ME <i>berman</i> < OE <i>bærman</i>				
Italian c1335-1451	Anglo-Norman X	Continental French X	(Middle) English OE -1450	Medieval Latin 1224-c1300
TLIO	sub baramanno (n.) (1)	‘facchino’ [basso ted. barre ‘ <i>stanga</i> ’ e man ‘ <i>uomo</i> ’] [...] <i>onde si tragga lana dell’isola d’Inghilterra. E per gli baramanni, cioè per gli bastagi del peso che la pongono no e levano del peso quando si pesano per gli costumieri del re</i> (Pegolotti Pratica 256.24) (c1335-43, fior.)		
OVI	<i>baramanni</i> (3) (<i>baramani</i>)	<i>E per gli baramanni che taggono le sacca della lana dell’ostello [in London] e mettonle sul caio</i> (Pegolotti Pratica 256.29) (c1335-43, fior.) <i>Baramani in fiammingo e in inglese. Portatori in Toscana. Questi nomi vogliono dire gente che portano in sul loro collo mercantile</i> (Pegolotti Pratica 14.29) (c1335-43, fior.)		
AD	X			
LEI	X			
DEI	sub baramanno (n.) (428a)	‘facchino in Inghilterra e nelle Fiandre’ [basso ted. barre ‘ <i>stanga</i> ’ e man ‘ <i>uomo</i> ’] <i>baramanno</i> (14 th c., fior.)		
AND	X			
DEAF	X			
DMF	X			
GDF	Ø			
TL	Ø			
TLFi	Ø			
FEW	Ø			
MED	sub berman (n.) (17)	1. ‘One who carries, a bearer, a porter’ [WS <i>bær-man</i>] <i>Þe bermen let he alle ligge And þar þe mete to þe castel..Hauelok..was ful bliþe þat he herde ‘bermen’ calle</i> (Havelok (LdMisc 108) 876,887) (c1300) 2. ‘A servant who carries food to the table, a waiter’ <i>We habbet cokes to quecchen to cuchene..we habbet bermen & birles inowe</i> (Lay. Brut (Clg A.9) 3317) (?a1200)		
OED2	sub berman (n.) (4)	‘a bearer, carrier or porter’ <i>Pa bærmenn gesetton heora fottest</i> (Ælfric Joshua iii. 15) (c1000)		
Medieval Latin : ?-?				
DMLBS	sub bermannus (3) 194b	‘porter’ [ME <i>berman</i>] <i>in barmannis locandis ad ccx dolia vini de prisā nostra ponenda in celariis nostris</i> (Cl 5b) (1224)		
DC	Ø			
Additional sources				
Italian-matrix				
Salviati (1448-51)	<i>biromanno</i> (2)	<i>E, a di detto lb. dodici di st. Pietro Boro, biromanno di Santa Anna; a llui in questo a c.25 lb. 12 s.-</i> (LGR 2218, 6)		

	<i>(birromanno)</i>	<i>Pietro Borro, <u>birromanno</u> a Santa Anna dalla Franchigia di Santa Chaterina de' dare a di 15 d'aghosto 1451 lb.dodici di st. (LGR 2358, 9) (1448-51)</i>
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Comments

Attestation Type 3a / Semantic Field: profession

The Tuscan writer Pegolotti refers twice to *baramanni* or porters specifically in London in his merchant handbook, following the four years he spent living and working in the English capital. He describes how they carried sacks of wool from lodgings to a cart for transport or to and from the weighing apparatus used by the *costumieri* or custom officials: the section of his chapter is entitled *Diritto e spesa che à lana a trarnela del porto di Londra per portarla fuori d'Inghilterra* (Evans 1936: 256). On a third, separate occasion, he underlines that the term *baramani* can be used to mean 'portatori' in Flemish and in English.

Until now, this was the only recorded use of this ME loanword in medieval Italian but now we find it over a century later in the London accounts of the Salviati company. In this instance, we have two references to a specific *bir(r)mano* called *Pietro Bor(r)o*, presumably a Peter Burrow. It is not clear where he worked as a porter but we can speculate that *Santa Anna dalla Franchigia di Santa Chaterina* refers to a hospital, church or monastic hostel within the bounds of St Katherine's, a district under royal patronage in central medieval London which had been founded as a priory in 1148 (Knight 1851: 308-09).

Whilst the TLIO offers a Low German etymon for *baramanno*, it seems likely, especially as Pegolotti is overtly discussing England, that the loanword is borrowed from ME *berman*. This, in turn, has a long history in English and is first recorded in the tenth century as OE *baermenn* (literally 'a man who bears') in the work of the monk, Ælfric of Eynsham. There is no evidence of the word being borrowed into AN but we find the ME loanword (e.g. *barmannis*) in three BML-matrix texts in the thirteenth century. Note that in BML only we also see evidence that the profession name developed into a fee or duty by adding the suffix *-age*; in the King's Royal Accounts of 1367 we find *pro bermengaio, carcagio, shutagio, batillagio..celeragio, couperagio et aliis diversis custibus factis* (DMLBS sub **bermannagium**, 194 b, 'porterage').

89. It. batto (n.) ‘small boat or skiff’ (ME <i>bat</i>) < AN <i>bat</i> < OE <i>bāt</i> (‘boat’)				
Italian c1335-1451	Anglo-Norman early 12 th c.-14 th c.	Continental French X	(Middle) English eOE-present	Medieval Latin c1114-1318
TLIO	sub batto (n.) (5)	<p>‘batello, barca’ [< AN <i>bat</i>] <i>Barca in più linguaggi. Gondola in più linguaggi. Copano in proenzalesco, e Taferese in Cipri e Feuto in fiammingo. Battello e batto in francesco</i> (Pegolotti Pratica p.17.3) (c1335-1343, fior.)</p> <p><i>E poi conseguente non potendo il re d’Inghilterra passare di qua da mare, come promesso avea alli allegati, per molti affari di là e perché veniva il verno, volendo fornire la promessa di gaggi, si mandò CCC cocche e e CXX <u>batti</u> a remi armati.</i> (Giovanni Villani L. 7, cap. 19. p298.4) (a1348, fior.)</p>		
OVI	<i>batto</i> (6) (pl: <i>batti</i>)	<p><i>Barca in più linguaggi. Gondola in più linguaggi. Copano in proenzalesco, e Taferese in Cipri e Feuto in fiammingo. Battello e batto in francesco</i> (Pegolotti Pratica p.17.3) (c1335-1343, fior.)</p> <p><i>Adoardo vegendola si prese di lei, e tanto adoperò colle guardie, che gli menarono la detta damigella e volendola toccare, gli disse “Io ci sono per altro”; e trasse fuori lettere gli mandava la reina, avisandola del suo scampo e salute; e per quelle l’avisò come gli mandava per uno nostro Fiorentino cozzono, ch’avea nome Persona Fulberti, con belli destrieri e uno <u>batto</u> armato con molti remi, avisandolo come avesse a-ffare.</i> (Giovanni Villani L.8, cap.39, p.475.3) (a1348, fior.)</p>		
LEI	X			
DEI	sub batto (n.) 466b	<p>‘batello’ [retroformazione ital. da <i>batello</i> e non direttamente dall’anglo-norm. <i>bat</i> dall’a. ingl. <i>bāt</i>] <i>batto</i> (14th c.)</p>		
AND2	sub bat ¹ (n.) (6)	<p>‘small boat, dinghy’ <i>Aval l’ewe le <u>bat</u> descent</i> (S Modw 5901) (c1230)</p> <p><i>Cum vout passer d’un <u>bat</u> en bord, Chei entre la nef e le b.</i> (S Edw2 ANTS 1334-5) (c1245)</p>		
DEAF	sub bat (n.) (13)	<p>‘petit bateau’ AN <i>bat</i> (BrendanW S 187) (early 12th c.) / (EdConfCambr W 1334) (c1245)</p>		
DMF	X			
GDF	sub bat (n.) (1)	<p>‘bateau’ ‘<i>Que del venir ne s’est targié Vint de couroi son <u>bat</u> cargié</i> (S. Branden, Ars. 3516, f.103) (early 12th c.)</p>		
TL	Ø			
TLFi	sub bateau ¹ (n.)	<p>‘petit bateau’</p>		

		AN <i>bat</i> (S. Brendan, éd. Suchier) (1121-22) ⁹
FEW	XV, 79: bāt I, 281a: bāt	‘petit bateau’ AN <i>bat</i> (Brendan, Thomas Cant., Hue) ‘petit bateau’ AN <i>bat</i>
MED	sub bot (n.) (20+)	‘a boat’ [OE <i>bāt</i>] <i>Pat wes an sceort <u>bat</u> [Otho: bot] liðen, sceouen mid vðen</i> (Lay. Brut (Clg A.9) 28624) (c1275 (►?a1200)
OED3	sub boat (n.) (21)	‘A small, typically open vessel for travelling over water’ [OE <i>bāt</i>] <i>Prie Scottas comon to Eþfrede cyninge on anum <u>bate</u> butan ełcum gereþrum</i> (Anglo-Saxon Chron. (Parker) anno 891) (eOE)
DMLBS	sub batus (4) (188a)	‘boat’ [cf. AS <i>bat</i>] <i>qui ad pontem [London’] venisset cum uno <u>bato</u> ubi piscis inesset</i> (Quad. GAS 232) (c1114)
DC	sub batus ² (3)	‘Scapha, cymba, Gallis <i>Bateau</i> , forte quod in modum <i>Bati</i> , de quo mox, confecta esset. A <i>Bat</i> Saxonico, quod scapham et cymbam significat, deducit Spelmannus’ <i>Qui ad pontem veniet cum <u>Bato</u>, ubi piscis inest, unus obolus dabatur in thelonium</i> (Leges Ethelredi Regis cap. 23. De institut. London. cap. 2) (c1114)
Additional sources		
Italian-matrix		
Albizzi diary (1429-30)	<i>batti</i> (2)	<i>Detto [dì] si cominciò a pesare tardi, a ora di vespro o circha; pesossi poche 290, missonsi in su tre <u>batti</u> et parte in galea</i> (Diary of galley captain, Luca di Maso degli Albizzi) (Mallett 1967: 278) (1430, fior.)
Salviati (1448-51)	<i>batto</i> (9) (pl. <i>batti</i>)	<i>cioè d.5 per baliagio e d.5 per li <u>batti</u> per porto d’Antona a terra</i> (LGR 757, 10) <i>E, a dì 15 dicembre s.6 d.7 per primagio di uno <u>batto</u> di ferro</i> (LGR 1148, 14) <i>Vitellini crudi e pelli passalarghe fornite a chomune per Cristofano Chattani, gienovexe, e nnoi mandate a Sanducci per <u>batto</u> a Girolamo Chattano per charichare per Vinegia alla nave</i> (LGR 1056, 11) (1448-51)
Comments		
Attestation Type 2a: / Semantic Field: maritime		
This loanword is unique in medieval Italian records as it is the only one - as far as I am aware - which the TLIO		

⁹ The TLFi is the only dictionary to give such a specific date for *Le Voyage de Saint Brendan*. The most recent edition (Short and Merrilees 2009) dates the work simply as from the early twelfth century.

specifically categorises as an Anglo-Normanism. There are currently seven attestations of *batto* / *batti* in the OVI corpus, the earliest being Pegolotti's merchant handbook (c1335) in which the Bardi employee helpfully lists the words for 'boat' in several languages, including *battello e batto in francesco*. The other five citations are all found in the near contemporary *Nuova Cronica* (a1348), a lengthy twelve-volume history of Florence written by Giovanni Villani.¹⁰ We know that he was a banker, magistrate and diplomat who also worked closely with the Peruzzi and the Bonaccorsi companies (De Roover 2007: 49, Hunt 1994: 14). Two of his uses of *batto* are clearly linked to England in a chapter where Villani weaves "a highly coloured and most romantic account of Edward's [i.e. Edward I] escape from imprisonment by Simon de Montfort with the help of a young lady and a Florentine (!) horse dealer" (King and Simpkin 2012: 36). The historian uses the term *batti* three more times in passages related to naval skirmishes between the Genoese and the Pisans in 1238 and the Flemish and French armada in 1304 (Porta 1991: 239, 634).

The DEI sub **batto** rejects an AN etymon and claims the boat-name represents a back-formation from *batello*, but the much more recent TLIO disagrees. It labels *battello* as a borrowing from CF *batel* (see TLIO sub **batello**, att. c1275-1300)¹¹ and, as we have noted, *batto* as a borrowing from AN *bat*. The appearance of *batto* / *batti* in two fifteenth-century Florentine texts specifically related to English commerce (but not incorporated into the OVI corpus) serves to strengthen the TLIO's position. These new sources are the diary of the state galley captain, Luca di Maso degli Albizzi, who spent the winter in Southampton in 1429 (cf. **costuma, costumiere, cocchetto, pocca**) and the London account book of the Salviati company from 1448-51 (cf. for example, **ballagio, grossiere, primagio, passalarghe, viscontaggio**). Overall, there is certainly a strong link (even in the work of Villani) between the Italian sources which attest *batto* and England. Even so, they may have been no single transmission route and borrowing could have changed depending on the individual source and when it was written. Later examples from the mid-1400s may have borrowed directly from ME *bat* or may have been an 'established' Gallicism in Italian lexis by this point: a degree of precision in such matters is extremely difficult to reach (cf. Trotter 2011b: 217).

According to the OED3 sub **boat**, OE *bāt* passed into AN where it is recorded from the early twelfth century. The AND entry sub **bat**¹ does not yet include the earliest example of *bat* in an AN text, found in the the *Voyage of St Brendan* but it is cited by the TLFi sub **bateau**¹, the DEAF sub **bat** and FEW sub **bāt**.¹² The

¹⁰ Villani's writing contains several other Gallicisms which are widespread in other medieval Italian sources (cf. Chapter 4.1iii). Examples include *bucciare* < OF *bouch(i)er* 'butcher' (Cella 2010: 71-72); *eritaggio* < OF *héritage* 'inheritance' (Cella 2010: 91); *pellettiere* < OF *peletier* 'pelter, skin dealer' (Cella 2010: 78); *schivano* < OF *eschavin* 'municipal magistrate (in Flanders)' (Cella 2010: 80).

¹¹ Pegolotti and Villani both use *batello* as well as *batto* in their writing. The FEW (XV p. 82a / I p. 281b) citing the DEI, rejects the link between AN *bat* and Italian *batto* and claims that the later developed independently from **batello**. Note that this latter boat name was also used in England as well as France, see AND sub **batel**¹, OED2 sub **batelle**, MED sub **batelle**.

¹² In addition, the TLFi proposes that OE *bāt* was transmitted into CF via AN and that AN *bat* (with addition of suffixes) is the etymon for CF *batel* (att. 1138) and *bateau* (c1220). The FEW, however, thinks that these CF forms were independently formed from OE as *bat* is never attested in France (apart from *battus* in the Latin of Normandy and one example of *bats* in a twelfth-century writings of a Frenchman in Syria (see FEW I, p. 281a).

lexeme appears three times in the AN poem, e.g. in the most recent edition: *Chil de venir ne s'est target: Vent de cunrei sun bat chargét* (Short and Merrilees 2009: 106). Another early AN source for *bat*, cited only in the FEW and the DEAF, is the romance *Protheselaus* by Hue de Rotelande (c1185).

90. It. bilgla (n.) ‘a written certificate of receipt or a note of charges for delivered goods’
 < AN *bille* < BML *billa* < Lat. *bullā* (‘a sealed letter’)

Italian c1325-c1451	Anglo-Norman c1295-15 th c.	Continental French 1274-1685	(Middle) English a1340- present	Medieval Latin 1283-1595
TLIO	X			
OVI	X			
AD	X			
LEI	X			
DEI	∅			
AND2	sub bille ¹ (30+)	<p>1. ‘certificate (of authentication, receipt etc)’ <i>(wools sealed at staple) soient tesmoignes par <u>bille</u> ensealé du seal du Meire de l’Estaple</i> (Stats i 333) (1356)</p> <p>4. ‘inventory, schedule; bill, account’ <i>qe il respoyne de la vessele par <u>bile</u> qe liveree ly serra par le senescal de l’hostel</i> (Westm. 245.3) (1295-98)</p> <p><i>un barre al manere d’un squirelle fuist pris e n la schope de Pieter van Hous [...] come apiert pur [sic] un <u>bille</u> sur mesme penduz</i> (Goldsmiths 322) (1406-07)</p> <p><i>come plus pleynement moustrera par <u>billes</u> de la Garderobe queux il ad de son fee et gages avantdit</i> (Rot Parl² 149) (1344)</p>		
DEAF	X			
DMF	[sub bille ² (n.) (3)]	<p>‘Ordonnance, requête (angl. <i>bill</i>)’ <i>une certaine cedule, autrement appellée <u>bille</u>, que le roy d’Angleterre avoit envoiée au Roy</i> (Assembl. Guyenne D. 144) (1369)]</p>		
GDF	[sub bille ² (n.) (3)]	<p>‘ordonnance, requête, le bill anglais’ <i>C’est la teneur de la <u>bille</u> ou cedula bailliee per le roy d’Angleterre</i> (Chron. de S. Den., Richel, 2813, f.448) (1274)]</p>		
TL	sub bille ² (n.) (1)	<p>‘= bulle’ <i>bille</i> (Tanqueray, Recueil de lettres anglo-françaises 106) (a1320)</p>		
TLFi	X			
FEW	I, 614a: bullā XVIII, 23a: bill	<p>5. ‘ordonnance, <i>bill</i> anglais’ OF <i>bille</i> (14th c.) [Nur mit bezug auf englische verhältnisse gebraucht]</p>		
MED	sub bille (n.) (20+)	<p>1. ‘a list or inventory’ [AF <i>bille</i> & AL <i>billa</i>] <i>They will delyver no <u>Billes</u> to the Merchauntz, wherby theire Wynes myght come to lond</i> (Rot. Parl 5 117a) (1444)</p> <p>5. ‘a statement of record (or receipts, expenses, debts, services rendered etc)’ <i>Ye shall fynde a <u>bille</u> closed wyth ynne this of alle the trewe dettes that ben aught to me</i> (Will York in Sir. Soc. 45, 27) (1404)</p>		
OED	sub bill ³ (n.) (20+)	<p>5a. ‘A written list or catalogue, an inventory’ <i>The abbotte tuke <u>þat byll</u> þat þay ware wrettyn in and lukede thareone</i> (R.</p>		

		Rolle Prose Treat 7) (a1340) 6. ‘A note of charges for goods delivered or services rendered, in which the cost of each item is separately stated’ <i>Pat [they] be paied of their <u>billes</u> for makyng off a liuerey</i> (Fifty Earliest Eng. Wills 53) (1420)
DMLBS	sub billa ² (16) 198b	2. ‘note of receipt a) of writ b) of money in royal Wardrobe, Exchequer etc’ [? < OF <i>bille</i>] ¹³ <i>per <u>billam</u> de Warderoba</i> (Lit acquitancie Regis, Chr. Peterb. 57) (1283) <i>per <u>billam</u> de Scaccario</i> (K R Mem. 61 r. 3) (1290)
DC	[sub billa (3)	‘Scedula, libellus, syngraphum ; Anglis <i>Bill</i> , vel <i>Bille</i> ’ <i>Decanus Lincolnensis proposuit unam <u>Billam</u> excusatoriam, quod terra Angliae in tantum fuerat depauperata</i> (H. Knyghtonus) (1272)]
Additional sources		
Italian-matrix		
Peruzzi annotations (1325-26)	<i>bigla</i> (1)	<i>Bigla de guardaroba di lb. cviii per panni</i> (Tuscan annotation on warrant for payment of money from Hugh Despenser, sent to the Peruzzi) (1325-1326) (Re 1913: 277) ¹⁴
Salviati (1448-51)	<i>bilgla</i> (19) (<i>bilglia, bilgha, bilghia</i> ; pl. <i>bigle</i>)	<i>e più altre spese c’assengna avere fatte a dette lane chome appare per la chopia della <u>bilglia</u>, avuta da llui chopiato a richordanze a c.202</i> (LGR 2162, 34) <i>chome appare per la chopia della <u>bilgla</u> gle ne demo; chopiata a rrichordanze ac.13 in debito a’ Chambini di Roma per noi in questo: a c.33</i> <i>1b. 1 s.13 d.6</i> (LGR 1386, 19) <i>e ricevamo questo di primo di luglio la <u>bilgla</u> 1b.20 e paghamo nob.20 e de’ resto che son marchi 20 l’abbiamo fatto lettera a’ nostri di Brugia</i> (LGR 206, 13) (1448-51)
Comments Attestation Type 2b / Semantic Field: financial		

¹³ The DMLBS entry contains the somewhat puzzling statement: “<? OF *bille* = piece of wood; possibly first applied to a wooden tab or tally, early evidence does not support connection with bullā, though some confusion occurred later”. It seems more likely that *billa* is simply a British variant of classical Latin *bullā*, meaning a sealed document.

¹⁴ Re’s old Public Record Office system of references correspond to the modern National Archive equivalents e.g. *Bundle 127, n.19. m.5* is now E101/127/19 m.5. However, the citation for *bigla* is referenced *Bundle 127, n.271*; this material has since been moved to Ancient Correspondence and the annotation in question should now be found amongst SC1/49/146A-151A, seven warrants of payment issued to the Peruzzi dated from October 1325 to March 1326. I am grateful to Ruth Selman of the National Archives for clarifying this matter. Having looked at scans of these indentures (see Chapter 1.2i, Fig. 2 for an example), I have been unable to find the marginalia in question. The most likely solution is that, over a century ago, Re looked at SC1/49/151 which has two annotations now so faded that they are illegible. Alternatively, the crucial piece of the indenture in question could have been lost or mixed up with material in another folder.

The use of *bigla* to mean a receipt or note of charges (a sense unique to England) was first identified in a Tuscan annotation on an AN warrant for payment issued by Hugh Despenser the Younger and sent to the royal bankers, the Peruzzi of Florence in 1325-26 (Re 1913: 277).¹⁵ It is one of numerous marginalia appearing on similar AN warrants issued during the same period (cf. Chapter 1.2i) which, although very brief, contain other loanwords of AN origin (see **guardarobiere**, **liverea**, **scacchiere**, **sterlino**).

We also find nineteen new examples of *bilgla* in entries from the Salviati London accounts from 1448 to 1451. This reappearance in another Florentine source in the mid-fifteenth century, suggests that (unsurprisingly, for a common financial term) its use was much more widespread than its one-off appearance c1325 would imply.

AN *bille* (probably derived from BML *billa*, att. 1283) is first recorded in 1295-98 in the sense of 'bill, account' in material relating to the Abbot of Westminster. The lexeme also had a wide range of administrative and legal meanings, as detailed in the AND2 entry sub **bille**¹ e.g. 'certificate of authentication', 'formal document', 'papal bull', 'petition' and 'written statement of plaintiff's wrongs'. As the FEW 614a sub **bull** highlights, CF *bille* ('ordonnance, bill anglais') is only attested in direct reference to England. Coincidentally, the earliest example from France - *la bille ou cedula bailliee per le roy d'Angleterre* (att. 1274) - slightly predates insular versions but clearly reflects an English practice.

Bill, of course, remains in the lexis of modern English, be it a draft of an Act of Parliament or a record of charges incurred, and was first attested in ME in the writings of Richard Roll, a1340. Whilst Re (1913: 277) categorises *bigla* in the Peruzzi marginalia as a direct Anglicism, an AN etymon is just, if not more, likely (cf. Trotter 2011b: 217, FN 11). In the Salviati accounts, a source written over a century later, we could argue the case for ME *bill* but the possibility of insular French vocabulary influencing the business lexis of these Tuscan merchants, even in the mid-fifteenth century, is still possible (cf. **baliaggio**, **passalarge**, **viscontaggio**).

¹⁵ Along with **atornato**, Re (1913: 277) labels the lexeme an Anglicism.

91. It. blacchalleri (n.) ‘black-a-lyre: a black cloth from the city of Lier in Flanders’ < ME <i>black-a-lyre</i> < ‘black’ (< OE <i>blacc</i>) + ‘Lier’ (topon.)				
Italian 1451	Anglo-Norman 1419-34	Continental French 1420	(Middle) English 1421-79	Medieval Latin c1390-1464 ¹⁶
TLIO	X			
OVI	X			
AD	X			
LEI	X			
DEI	Ø			
AND	sub lyre ¹ (n.) (2)	‘cloth made in Lier (Flanders)’ <i>Un surkote de <u>noire de lyre</u> single</i> (Royal Witch 99) (1419) <i>Item, .iiij. peces de <u>lire de noier</u> pur lites, et .ij. peces de corde, pris .vi. s. .viiij. d</i> (Rot Parl ¹ iv 237) (1423)		
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub Lierre (p.n.) (2)	‘Drap fabriqué dans la ville de Lierre, de la province d’Anvers’ <i>80 frans pour vint aulnes de <u>draps de liere noirs</u></i> (Comptes Etat bourg. M.F., t.2, 901) (1420)		
GDF	Ø			
TL	Ø			
TLFi	Ø			
FEW	Ø			
MED	sub Lire ⁴ (p.n.) (9)	‘The town of Lierre; <i>blak of (de) ~</i> , a kind of cloth orig. made in this town’ [[1 1/2 cloths of better scarlet..2 of black of] <i>lyre</i> ..[and 3 rolle of black] <i>fryse [of] lyre [of London make]</i> (Plea & Mem.R.Lond.Gildh.,3) (1414)] <i>To Sr. John Druel..a gowne of <u>blak of lyre</u> furred with cristigrey</i> (Will Braybroke in Ess.AST 5 304) (1429)		
OED3	sub black-a-lyre (n.) (6)	‘In medieval England: a type of black cloth from Lier in Brabant; (also) any cloth resembling this’ [<i>Togam de <u>Blakalyr medeley</u></i> (Fifty Earliest Eng. Wills 97) (1421)] <i>An hode of <u>black of lure</u>, an a hod of blewe.</i> (Fifty Earliest Eng. Wills 97) (1434)		
OED2	sub lyre ² (n.) (2)	‘The name (med.L. Lyra) of a town in Brabant, now Lire or Liere, occurring in the designations of certain kinds of cloth, as black of lyre (black a-lyre, black of lure), green of lyre (grene alyr, grene lyre)’		

¹⁶ The OED3 cites *niger de lyr* in a unnamed BML source from a1438. It is unclear whether this refers to the same citation from the *Testamenta Eboracensia* in 1438 that we find in the MED entry sub **Lira**⁴: *De j toga de nigro de lyr, penulata, viij s.*

		[<i>Pro xxijbus uirgis panni nigri de Lyra. Pro j vlna et dim. de blodeo de Lyra</i> (Earl Derby's Exped. (Camden) 89-90) (1390-91)]
LCC	sub blak of Lire (n.) (9) (MED= 5 / AND = 2 / GPC = 2) ¹⁷	'name of a kind of cloth originally made in or associated with Lier, in Belgium' [transparent noun phrase from the town name Lire] [<i>One vestment of gold and</i>] <i>blue lukys</i> [for feast days] ... [<i>Hose of black cloth of</i>] <i>Lyre</i> (Löfvenberg Contrib.Lex. 40) (1403) ¹⁸
DMLBS	lira ² (2) 1623a <i>Lyra</i> (1) sub blodius 204a	'place-name Lierre, Brabant, applied to cloth made there' <i>toga mea di viridi lira</i> (Test MunAcOx 647) (1452) <i>Pro j vlna et dim. de blodeo de Lyra</i> (Ac. H Derby 90) (1391)
DC	Ø	
Additional sources		
Italian-matrix		
Salviati (1448-51)	<i>blacchalleri</i> (1)	<i>per pezze 13 di panni larghi e tre mostavellieri e blacchalleri e l'altro rossetto</i> (LGR 2267, 3) (1451)
Comments		
Attestation Type 3a / Semantic Field: textile		
<p>The Italianised cloth name <i>blacchalleri</i> is used only once in the Salviati London accounts in 1451 and is evidently a direct borrowing from ME.¹⁹ It appears in an entry alongside pieces of the northern French grey <i>mostavoliere</i> (from Montivilliers) and an unspecified red cloth. The dark Flemish fabric, 'Black of Lier', is found in several ME and BML-matrix accounts and wills in the fifteenth-century in both its Anglicized (e.g. <i>blakalyr</i>, <i>blak of lyre</i>, <i>blak of lure</i>) and Latinised forms (e.g. <i>nigri di Lyra</i>, <i>nigro de lyr</i>). French versions of the term are much rarer with only two in AN from 1419 (<i>noire de lyre</i>) and 1423 (<i>lire de noier</i>) and a single reference in CF to <i>draps de liere noirs</i> from 1420.</p> <p>As we saw in Chapter 2, the trade links between medieval England and Flanders are well documented, with the first export of fine English wool recorded as reaching Flemish cloth-makers in 1134. Whilst not one of the original great <i>villes drapantes</i> (which were Ypres, Bruges and Ghent, famed for their broadcloths), the smaller town of Lier rapidly developed its own weaving centres in the 1400s, producing distinctive, lighter woollen textiles (Hopcroft 1999: 109-10).</p> <p>We find the toponym Lier not just in reference to black cloth, but also to blue and green ones. The DMLBS, which does not record <i>nigri de Lyra</i> in the accounts of the Earl of Derby from 1390-91, does refer to <i>blodeo de</i></p>		

¹⁷ Note that the cloth is also found in the Welsh poetry of Guto'r Glyn as *du o lir* in 1445-75 (see LCC sub **du o lir**).

¹⁸ The MED dates this citation as from 1419 and the LCC as from 1403 - presumably the latter corpus has the more accurate date.

¹⁹ Note that there are four references in medieval Italian records to generic 'cloth of Lier': *panni di Liera* (1442), *torsello de Lira* (1400) or, metonymically, *lira* (1424) and *liera* (1442) (Schweickard 2006: 717).

Lyra (att. 1391) in the same source. There is also an entry for a *toga mea di viridi lira* in a will from Oxford in 1452 (see also OED3 sub **green of lyre**, att 1429, and LCC sub **green of Lyre**). Note also that while *blakalyr* (or *noire de lyre*) is absent from the commodities listed in the AN *Views of the Hosts* from 1440-44, there are four entries for *damaske vertlyre*. As these refer to silks and not woollens however, Bradley (2012: 58) concludes that these are not the Flemish cloths discussed here and proposes that the term may mean ‘of green thread’.²⁰

²⁰ Bradley does not specify an etymon; presumably she means AN *lieure* (‘binding’, AND sub **lieure**¹) or ME *lear* (‘tape, binding for the edges of fabric’, OED2 **lear n.** ²) but these do not seem very convincing.

92. It. broccore (n.) ‘a middleman or an agent between buyer and seller’ (ME <i>brokour</i>) < AN <i>brocour</i> < ?ML <i>broccare</i> (‘to tap or broach a cask of wine’) / ?Middle Dutch <i>brok</i> (‘piece, fragment’)				
Italian 1448-51	Anglo-Norman 1260-1419	Continental French 13 th c.	(Middle) English 1377-present	Medieval Latin 1255-1575
TLIO	X			
OVI	X			
AD	X			
LEI	X			
DEI	Ø			
AND2	sub brocour (n.) (6) sub abrocour (n.) (4)	‘broker, middleman, agent between buyer and seller’ <i>nul brokur jurez ne deit estre marchauntz et abrokur, ne taverne tenyer, ne de rien marchaunder a seon oeps demeyn</i> (Oak Book i 76) (c1300) <i>des officers et ministres faitz par brogage et de lour broggours</i> (Stats ii 41) (1386) ‘broker middleman’ <i>Nul abrokur ne deit mener marchaunt privé ne estraunge</i> (Oak Book i 62) (c1300)		
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub broqueur (1)	‘courtier’ AN <i>brocour</i> / Anglais <i>broker</i>		
GDF	Ø			
TL	Ø			
TLFi	Ø			
FEW	XV-1: 291a: brocke	‘courtier’ OF <i>broqueur</i> / <i>abrokeur</i> (St Omer) (13 th c.)		
MED	sub brokour (n.) (23)	1. ‘A commercial agent, factor, broker, purveyor, also, one who serves as an agent in sordid business’ [AF <i>brocour</i> & <i>broggour</i> ; cp. AL <i>brocātor</i>] [<i>Forstallatores, priuati mercatores, broggatores, et alii, qui vocantur Braggers et Loders</i> (Statutes Ireland 1 398) (1355)] <i>Usure..Which after gold makth chace and suite With his brocours.</i> (Gower CA (Frf 3) 5.4387) (a1393) 2. ‘in names’ <i>Step. le Brokur.</i> (Assize R.Yks.in YASRS 44 122) (1260)		
OED2	sub broker (n.) (8)	II 3a. ‘One employed as a middleman to transact business or negotiate bargains between different merchants or individuals’ [< AN <i>brocour</i> / <i>broggour</i> < Lat. * <i>broccātor</i> < Lat. * <i>broccare</i>] <i>Amonges Burgeyses haue I be dwellynge at Londoun, And gert bakbitinge be a brocoure [C. brocor] to blame mennes ware</i> (Langland Piers Plowman B. v. 130) (1377)		
DMLBS	sub brocarius (n.) (5) 218c	‘broker, agent’ <i>statuimus quod brocarii sint electi per visum communitatis ville Berwici [...]</i>		

	sub brocator (n.) (6) 218c	(Stat. Gild. Berw. 31) (a1280) 'broker' <i>R. de L. <u>brocator</u> juratus..in ponderacione trium saccorum lane false ponderavit</i> (Rec. Leis. I 295) (a1315)
	sub abrocarius (n.) (1) 7c	'broker' <i>de pena <u>abrocarii</u> de foristalria convicti</i> (MGL I 250) (14 th c.)
	sub abrocator (n.) (1) 7c	'broker' <i>decetero non sint <u>abrocatores</u> in predicta villa per quos venditores [...]</i> (Chart R 73 m.12) (1255)
DC	Ø	
Additional sources		
Italian-matrix		
Salviati (1448-51)	<i>brocchore</i> (7) (<i>brocchiere, brocghore</i>)	<i>Ghulglielmo Benetto, <u>brocchore</u>, de' avere lb.quaranta sette s.5 d.10 di st. sono per pezze 10 di panni larghi</i> (LGR 2202, 8) <i>[...] per pezze 10 di panni larghi che ssino a di 15 d'aprile passato chopremo da Ghulglielmo Benetto, <u>brocchiere</u>, per s.tre d.quattro di st. la vergha</i> (LGR 2265, 6) (1448-51)
Comments Attestation Type 2b / Semantic Field: profession		
<p>The use of the loanword <i>brocchore</i> to refer to an agent or middleman in Italian is so far unique to the unpublished Salviati London accounts from the mid-1400s.²¹ All references are to the unknown <i>Ghulglielmo Benetto</i> or William Bennet. The borrowing seems non-problematic, deriving clearly from ME <i>brokour</i> (att. 1377) or its source word, AN (<i>a</i>)<i>brocour</i> (att. 1260). BML has numerous forms of the lexeme, attested from 1255: see DMLBS sub brocarius / brocator / abrocarius / abrocator. The noun - in the sense of a negotiator - is practically unknown in CF; the DMF has an AN-only entry and the FEW glosses as 'courtier' an undated OF citation of <i>broqueur</i> (taken from Godefroy's <i>Lexique</i> or wordlist) and one of <i>abrokeur</i> from a north-western French text in the 1200s. Another important indicator of the specificity of <i>brocour</i> to English financial terminology is that there is no CF equivalent²² of the derived form <i>brocage</i> ('brokerage' or less neutrally, 'bribe' or 'corruption'): AND2 sub brocage, MED sub brokage / brokerage, OED2 sub brokerage, DMLBS sub abrocagium / abrocamentum / abrocatio (all 7c) and brocuragium (218c).</p> <p>The ultimate roots of the <i>brocour</i> are much less certain and the etymologies in the major dictionaries are</p>		

²¹ The standard term in medieval Italian was *sensale*, att. c1250 and attested over 500 times in the OVI corpus but not yet included in the TLIO. It is derived from the Arabic *simsār* ('broker'), see Edler (1934: 269). A rare alternative, attested c1305 and with twenty-one OVI citations, was the non-specific Gallicism *curat(t)iere* < OF /AN *couratier*. See Cella (2007: 200-01 / 2010: 90), TLIO sub **curatiere** and also, Table 2, Chapter 4.1iii.

²² Once again, the DMF entry sub **brocage** refers the reader only to the AND as does the entry sub **abroquer**: 'Exercer le métier de courtier (ou de marchand au détail)'. Note that there is one example of Occitan *abrocatge* glossed as 'courtage' in the FEW (XV-1: 291a sub **brocke**).

not consistent. The OED2 suggests Latin **broccare* ('to broach or tap a cask of wine'), stating that: "the *brocheor*, *brokeor*, *brokour*, or *broker*, was lit. a tapster, who retailed wine 'from the tap', and hence, by extension, any retail-dealer, one who bought to sell over again, a second-hand dealer, or who bought for another, hence a jobber, middleman, agent, etc". This theory is backed up by the presence of AN *abrocour* in Statutes of the Realm, glossed as 'wine-seller, innkeeper?' (AND2 sub **abrocour**) and in CF, *broc* ('vase en fer-blanc dont on se sert pour le vin', att. 1380) and by extension, *broqueter* ('vendre du vin par broc') and *broqueteur* ('marchand de boisson en detail'). Confusingly however, the FEW entry (I, p.549a/b), in which these latter forms are found, has the Greek etymon *brochis* ('jug'). This is a separate entry to the 'courtier' meaning (CF *broqueur* and *abrokeur*, mentioned above) which the FEW (XV-1, p.291a) derives from Middle Dutch *brocke*, ('little pieces' or 'details'). In this same entry, we find the verb *brocanter* 'acheter, revendre ou trouquer des marchandises de hasard' and *brocanteur* (att. 1694 and still used in modern French to mean 'second-hand dealer' (cf. TLFi sub **brocanteur**)).

93. It. calengiare (n.) ‘to accuse (someone of something) or to claim (something)’ < AN <i>c(h)alenger</i> < Lat. <i>calumniare</i> (‘to slander’)				
Italian 1307	Anglo-Norman early 12 th c.-c1400	Continental French 11 th c.-19 th c.	(Middle) English ?a1200-present	Medieval Latin 1211-1313
TLIO	X			
OVI	sub <i>calengiava</i> (I)	<i>paghamo per una procuragione che Biagio fecie fare per lo fatto del paghamentoche Tofo Buonsingniori <u>calengiava</u> di fare a Cieccho di Renalduço da Todi per uno cambio che Biagio aveva fatto per lui in Langnino passato</i> (Libro Gallerani di Londra 106.26) (1307, sen.)		
LEI	X			
DEI	X			
AND2	sub challenger (v.) (20+)	<p>1. ‘to claim, lay claim to (a person or thing), to claim (that)’ <i>Nous <u>chalangoms</u> (var. chargeoms) toutz jours qe le roi fust estraunge purchaceour</i> (YBB Ed II ix 100) (1311)</p> <p>5. ‘to dispute, contest’ <i>Cil li dient e <u>calengent</u> Ne lairunt pas que nel prengent</i> (S Brend MUP 1471) (early 12th c.)</p> <p>7. ‘to accuse’ <i>forment m’as enpleidé, De traison e d’engin a grant tort <u>chalengé</u></i> (Rom Chev ANTS 3223) (c1150-75)</p>		
AND corpus	<i>calengent</i> (1) sub lagan	<i>[...] ou lour senescal, ou lour baillis, ou lour sergents <u>calengent</u>, ou voillent metre seure a aucun qui ne soit pris a present fourfait [...]</i> (Foedera iii 601) (1361)		
	<i>calengant</i> (1) sub murmurer	<i>Quant il les oent preechier, E la doctrine Deu traier, Od escar en vunt murmurant E lor vie en mal <u>calengant</u></i> (Salemon 10805) (c1150)		
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub challenger (v.) (25+)	‘accuser qqn de qqc / revendiquer, réclamer’ <i>Marie point ne se vengra De Herode qui son fil queroit, Ne le royaume <u>chalenga</u> Qui a son fil estre devoit</i> (Best. lap. Rosarius S. 177) (c1330)		
GDF	sub chalengier (v.) (20+)	‘réclamer en justice, revendiquer, répéter’ <i>se nus <u>chalongoit</u> as signors de Chastillon la desore dite aumosne</i> (Juill. cart. 14, Arch. Meuse) (1249)		
TL	sub chalongier (v.) (20+)	‘jem. anklagen’ <i>Cist a premiers vostre ester <u>chalongié</u></i> (Nymes 719) (c1100-50)		
TLFi	Ø			
FEW	II-1, 103b,104a: calumniare	‘réclamer un objet, un pays, un droit, une personne qui sont dans le pouvoir d’un autre, soit en justice ou par la force des armes, revendiquer, prétendre à’ OF <i>chalengier</i> (11 th c.) ‘contester’ Norman <i>calenger</i>		

		‘qui n’est pas accusé, qui n’a pas à craindre des poursuites, qui n’est pas saisi (meubles etc)’ AN <i>descallengié</i> (c1170)
MED	sub challengen (v.) (12)	1. ‘to accuse (sb.), to accuse falsely or maliciously, slander, to rebuke (sb)’ [OF <i>challengier</i> < Lat. <i>calumnare</i>] <i>Hwerof <u>challengest</u> tu [Nero: kalengestu] me? þe eappel þet ich loki on is forbode me to eotene & nawt to bihalden</i> (Anchr. Corp-C 402 13b) (?a1200) <i>Me þinchez, with gret wrong þe <u>calangez</u> þe king</i> (SLeg. Becket (LdMisc 108) 839) (c1300)
OED2	sub challenge (v) (20+)	1. ‘to accuse, bring a charge against, arraign, impeach’ [OF <i>ca- challenger</i> < Lat. <i>calumniare</i>] <i>Hwerof <u>challengest</u> þu me</i> (Ancrene Riwe Cleo C. vi 44) (?a1200) <i>Seyn Dunston..<u>kalangede</u> her mys-dede</i> (R. Gloucester’s Chron. 279) (1297)
DMLBS	sub calengiare (3) 243c	‘to challenge (jurors), to accuse (a person)’ [AN <i>chalengier</i> , OF <i>chalongier</i>] [...] <i>et ipsa A. atingit quod uni erunt homines sui et alii parentes et tunc illos <u>calingavit</u></i> (Cur R VI 118) (1211)
DC	sub callengia (1)	‘Calumnia, actio, qua quis rem repetit’ <i>Remisit nobis <u>Callangiam</u>, quam habuit in vasta terra post parcum.</i> (Monasticum Anglic. tom. 2. pag. 603) (att. ?)

Comments

Attestation Type 2b / Semantic Field: legal

This legal loanword - a rare verb in the Exports Glossary - is a hapax in medieval Italian, currently found only in an entry of the London accounts of the Gallerani from the turn of the fourteenth century. Although it appears in the section of the accounts edited by Bigwood and Grunzweig in the 1960s, it does not yet have a TLIO entry, unlike **ciarrèa**, **locchi** or **potto**, for example. From the context, *calaengiava* is best translated as ‘accused’ or, more neutrally ‘claimed’. The etymon of this Siennese form - *c(h)alenger* - is attested in some of the earliest AN literature (such as the *Voyage of St Brendan*) and would go on to develop a large range of specific technical meanings in AN and ME: e.g. ‘to accuse’, ‘to arraign’, ‘to allege’, ‘to challenge possession of’, ‘to contest’, ‘to call to account’ etc.

In her merchant glossary sub **calengiare**, Cella (2010: 89) suggests a Norman etymon (*calenger*: cf. FEW p.103b) or an ME one (*calenge*: cf. velar /k/ forms in the entries MED sub **challengen** / OED2 sub **challenge**). A borrowing from CF is to be excluded, she claims: “la velare iniziale esclude il prestito dal fr. *chalonger*, *challenger*, con la fricativa”. A more obvious solution is, of course, that our Siennese merchants in London picked up this legal term from insular French which used both the fricative and velar forms of the verb (see examples above in the AND2 entry sub **challengen** and the AND corpus). However, the possible influence of BML (cf. **ciarrèa**, **primaggio**, **storo**, **scacchiere**) should not be entirely overlooked either: the Latinised verb *calengiare* is attested three times from 1211 (cf. DMLBS sub **calengiare**).

<p>94. It. carisea (n.) ‘A thick woollen cloth made from remnants, usually ribbed, and originally from Kersey in Suffolk.’ (AN <i>karsey</i>, <i>carsey</i> / CF <i>carise</i>) < ME <i>kersey</i> < OE <i>Caersige</i></p>				
Italian a1422 -1556	Anglo-Norman 1376-c1487	Continental French 1452-1723	(Middle) English 1376-1864	Medieval Latin 1262-16 th c.
TLIO	X			
OVI	X			
AD	X			
LEI	X			
DEI	sub carisea (n.) 770a	<p>‘stoffa fatta di rimasugli di lana e più tardi di seta, forse la ‘bavetta’, usata per es. a Venezia [dall’ingl. <i>Kersey</i>, stoffa fabricata a Kersey o dal m. oland. <i>karsaai</i> d’eguale origine, per il tramite dall’a. fr. <i>carizé</i>, donde <i>carisel</i> (<i>cariset</i>)] Lat. <i>carisea</i> (14th c., Parma) <i>carisea</i> (15th -16th c.) <i>carixea</i> (1554, Venezia)</p>		
AND2	sub kersey (n.) (3)	<p>‘kersey, a coarse, woollen cloth made in Kersey (Suffolk) of a particular size’ [< ME] <i>Il a auxi la pur vendre .xx. sakes, .iii. toddes [...] .xx. kerseys d’Abyndoun</i> (Man Lang ANTS 76.7) (1415) <i>sur peyne del trencheure del dit kersey en deux peces</i> (Stats ii 483) (1483-84)</p>		
AND corpus	<i>kerseis</i> (1) sub kendale <i>kerseyes</i> (1) sub lature <i>kersy</i> (1) sub estreit	<p><i>des poveres lieges nostre dit seignur le roy qe font draps appellés kendales, kerseis, bakes</i> (Rot Par¹ iii 643) (1410) <i>draps appelez cogware & kerseyes</i> (Rot Parl¹ ii 347) (1376) <i>Nul drap de Kersy, Kendale-cloth [...] ne nulle autre estreit ne remenant d’Engleterre [...]</i> (Rot Parl¹ iii 437) (1399)</p>		
DEAF	Ø			
DMF	sub cariset (n.) (6)	<p>‘Désigne un tissu’ <i>LIIII aulnes de fin carisy, pour faire la couverte de la nave, que ledit seigneur vieult envoyer au duc de Bretagne</i> (Comptes roi René A. t.1, 267) (1452) <i>Carizez d’Angleterre. Une pièce tenant 13 aulnes trois quartiers, prisé chacune aulne 12 s.</i> (Aff. Jacques Coeur M. 32)(1453-57)</p>		
GDF	sub carise (n.) (1)	<p>‘sorte d’étoffe’ <i>Une aulne et demie de carise</i> (Vente des biens de Jaq. Coeur, Arch. KK 328, f.20r) (1453)</p>		
GDC	sub carisel (n.) (5)	<p>‘étoffe de laine croisée, sorte de grosse serge à deux envers’ <i>Une aulne et demie de carise</i> (Vente des biens de Jaq. Coeur, Arch. KK 328, f.20r) (1453)</p>		

TL	Ø	
TLFi	Ø	
FEW	XVI, 314a kersey	‘éttoffe de laine croisée, grosse serge à envers’ <i>carisé</i> (1453) / <i>cariset</i> (1582) [I aus e. <i>kersey</i> , das vielleicht mit dem Ortsnamen <i>Kersey</i> identisch ist. Die entlehnung scheint zu verschiedenen malen stattgefunden zu haben. Aus dem e. auch d. <i>kirsei</i> , ndl. <i>karsaai</i> . Wohl aus dem fr. entlehnt ait. <i>charizea</i> (15.jh)]
MED	sub kersey (n.) (21)	‘A kind of coarse woollen cloth; also, a piece or manufactured length of this cloth’ [<i>Memorandum de illis qui ponunt lanam de Ispania in pannis tersegis</i> [read: <i>cersegis</i>] (Gross Gild Merch.)(1262)] [<i>Monstrent les Communes de les Contees d'Essex & de Suffolk...que les Draps appelez Cogware & Kerseyes faitz es ditz Contes...ne soient compris en dit Estatut</i> (1376) (RParl)] <i>Every man of his Reaume myght make as wele Clothes of Kerseys as other Clothes, of soche lenght and brede as it liked hem</i> ((RParl) (1433)
OED2	sub kersey (n.) (3)	‘A kind of coarse narrow cloth, woven from long wool and usually ribbed’ [<i>Memorandum de illis qui ponunt lanam de Ispania in pannis tersegis</i> [read: <i>cersegis</i>] (Gross Gild Merch.II 4)(1262)] [<i>Les liges du Roialme qe amesnent une manere de Marchandise appelez Kerseyes as parties de dela</i> (Rolls of Parl. III. 281/2) (1390)] <i>Item, half yerd kersey for my lady</i> (Howard Househ. Bks Roxb.17) (1481)
LCC	sub kersey (n.) (10) (DMLBS = 3 / MED = 2 / AND = 1 / LexP = 4)	‘kind of coarse cloth; typically, a coarse narrow cloth woven from long wool and usually ribbed; frequently attributed to Kersey, in Suffolk. Also, a piece of this cloth’ <i>de illis qui ponunt lanam de Ispania in pannis *tersegis</i> [l. <i>cersegis</i>] (Gild Merch.II 4) (1262) <i>pieces de draps 7 kerseys queux ne sont dassise come piert p[ar] diverses evidences del Eschequer</i> (LexP: PRO SC 8/125/6225, ll. 5-12) (1394)
DMLBS	sub carsea (6) 290c	‘kersey, sort of coarse, narrow cloth’ [ME < Kersey, Suff.] <i>de illis qui ponunt lanam de Ispania in pannis tersegis</i> [l: <i>cersegis</i>] (Gild Merch.II 4) (1262) <i>xij virgas de rubeo satyn figurato, ij integras carseas albas</i> (Cl Foed X 398b) (1428) <i>pannos laneos vocatos carisceas</i> (Pat. 904 m.2) (1555)
DC	Ø	
Additional sources		
Italian-matrix		
Villani	<i>charisea</i> (9)	<i>è per lui fe' buoni a Filippo Alberti, è per panno e charisea gli chomprò detto</i>

(a1422-24)	(pl. <i>charisee</i>)	<i>detto [sic] Domencicho</i> (Villani frammento) (Guidi- Bruscoli 2010: 398) (a1422)
Salviati (1448-51)	<i>charisee</i> (29) (pl. <i>charicee</i> , <i>charixe(e)</i> , <i>charaixi</i> , <i>charize</i>)	<i>per panni 25 larghi, 26 chonsgualdi, 11 <u>charisee</u>, 239 stretti e spese 30 di loesti</i> (LGR 2283, 28) <i>sono per pezze 9 di <u>charixee</u> e panni e chontisghualdie e uno assurro e uno rosso avano chomprati da lloro</i> (LGR 2119, 11) (1448-51)
Di Faye docs (c1470)	<i>charizea</i> (1)	‘sorta di stoffa di lana dall’ <i>afr. carisez</i> (s.m.) derivato dal n. l. inglese <i>Kersey</i> ’ <i>charizea</i> (Documents belonging to Giovanni Antonio di Faye, spice merchant) (Maccarrone 1924: 516) ²³ (c1470)
Tariffa de Pexi e Measure. (1503)	<i>caresee</i> (10)	<i>Trazese da Londra per Venesia...<u>caresee</u> bianche e tente rosse et bia[ve] et latarole et verde, et sono large verga una et quarte quarto et mezzo secondo la sorte et longe verge</i> (Tariffa de Pexi e Measure, Paxi 1503: c.139 v.) (In: Tucci 1957: 351)
Berengo Letters (1553-56)	<i>carixee</i> (50+) (<i>carisee</i>)	<i>per la qual sua el me avixa avervi mandato peze 100 carixee, le qual me doveti mandar con primi</i> (Berengo Letters) (Tucci 1957: 153) (1555, ven.)
AN-matrix		
VOH (1440-44)	<i>kersey</i> (36) (<i>carsey</i> , <i>kerseye</i> ; pl. <i>carseys</i> , <i>kerseys</i> , <i>kerseyz</i> , <i>kerseies</i>)	<i>Item de Johanne Lynge xx peces <u>kerseyes</u> blanke pur xxiiij^{li}</i> <i>Item de Wilyam Russell xx peces <u>carsey</u> blanke pur xxiij^{li}</i> (VOH 12: 149 /154; E101/128/30 ret. 4. transc. p. 18) (1441-42)
Comments Attestation Type 2b / Semantic field: textile		
<p>Up until now, the earliest record of this English cloth type in medieval Italian, as noted in Schweikard (2006: 597-98), was from c1470.²⁴ <i>Charizea</i> is identified in documents written by a spice merchant from Lunigiana,²⁵ Giovanni Antonio di Faye, and edited by Maccarrone in 1924. However, it also appears fifty years previously in the London accounts of the Villani (a1422), as well as in the Salviati <i>Libro Grande Rosso</i> (1448-51).</p> <p>This warm, thick cloth was made from wool remnants and named after the town of Kersey in Suffolk. The first record dates back as early as 1262 (DMLBS sub carsea) and they became popular exports as Kerridge describes:</p> <p>Kersey was an important innovation. Kersey cloth originated in England and derived its name, by way of kersey yarn, from the Woodland town credited with its invention. The manufacture of kersey cloth is recorded in Andover, in the Chalk Country, in 1262, when steps were taken to see that no Spanish wool was put into it [...] Before long, kerseys were being exported overseas and various corruptions of their name spread far and wide. Kersey yarns were spun in large gauges from inferior grades of carded wool, right down to the odds and ends</p>		

²³ The language of the manuscripts are discussed in an article that appeared in Volume 18 of *Archivio Glottologico Italiano* (1924). Sadly, the author does not give full citations and I have been unable to refer to the original medieval source.

²⁴ Schweikard (2006: 598) and the DEI sub **carisea** also record *carisea* in the Latin of Parma in the 1300s.

²⁵ An historical region in north-western Italy.

like flocks and noils. Being so big, kersey yarns made for thick cloths, and were used in dornicks [originally from Doornik in Flanders] and some types of blankets and linsey woolseys but the greatest part of them went into the cloths that shared their name (Kerridge 1988: 5).

Together with **stanforte**, *carisea* is an Italian cloth of ultimately ME origin but one also widely recorded in French, both insular and continental. In AN, variations of the toponym (*kersey*, *kersei*, *kerseie*, *kerseye*, *kersy*, *carsey*, *karsey*, *karseie*) are used metonymically in the Parliament Rolls from 1376 onwards. Kersey features in the accounts listed in the *Views of the Hosts of Alien Merchants* (1440-44) where Bradley (2012: 311) notes it incurred one third of the custom charge of broadcloth. In CF, the cloth-name emerges later (*carisy* in 1452)²⁶ but there is confusion in the continental dictionaries as to the various forms of the lexeme and headwords. As detailed in an extensive comments section (by Edmond Papin) in the DMF sub **cariset**, a misreading of *carizé* in the *Dictionnaire Universel* of 1690 led to the mistaken inclusion of *carisel* in the *Godefroy Complément* and the FEW. What does seem likely, based on the form of Italian *carisea*, is that this Anglicism was passed into Italian via a Gallicised version: be it AN *karsey* or (perhaps more convincingly) CF *carise*. The DEI sub **carisea**, FEW (XVI, p. 314) and Schweikard (2006: 598) all propose a CF etymon.

In the Salviati and Villani accounts, written in London in the first half of the fifteenth century, *carisea* obviously denotes a woollen fabric, appearing in entries with similar English cloths such as **loesti** and **contisgualdo**. Note that, in Italian, the name appears to have been transferred to a cloth made of silk remnants in the sixteenth century, as the DEI gloss sub **carisea** and Schweikard (2006: 597) mention. There are over fifty references to *carixee* in the letters (1553-56) of the Venetian merchant, Andrea Berengo, which are glossed as ‘*éttoffe faite de déchets ou restes de soie*’ (Tucci 1947: 351). Similarly, all references in Paxi’s *Tariffa de Pexi e Mesure* (1503) record *caresse de ingilterra* made of pieces of coloured silk. I have not found any evidence in AN or ME, however, of a silken version; in BML, most citations clearly describe a woollen fabric (e.g. *pannos laneos vocatos carisceas*), but there is one instance from 1428 where the cloth appears alongside red figured satins and this could potentially be a white silk cloth: *xij virgas de rubeo satyn figurato, ij integras carseas albas* (cf. DMLBS sub **carsea**).

²⁶ There is lone citation from French royal accounts in 1322 in Gay (1887: I, 280) but it is not clear whether this cloth is actually kersey: 2 *careis tachiés souscies*. Similarly, it is unclear to which fabric types the following rare CF forms refer, both glossed as ‘*sorte de toile*’ by Godefroy: *cirisete* (att. 1349, GDF sub **cerisete**) and *querisaye* (att. 1372, GDF sub **cerisaie**). Note that the diminutive *cariset* (the headword used by the DMF) was not attested until 1582 (FEW XVI, p. 314).

95. It. celleraggio (n.) ‘a duty paid to store goods in a cellar or warehouse’ < AN <i>celerage</i> < AN <i>celer</i> [< Lat. <i>cellarium</i> (‘cellar’)] + <i>age</i>				
Italian 1448-51	Anglo-Norman 1440-41	Continental French 1339-1425	(Middle) English 1512-1825	Medieval Latin 1265-1392
TLIO	X			
OVI	X			
AD	X			
LEI	X			
DEI	Ø			
AND	X			
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub cellarage (n.) (4)	‘Droit sur le vin (lorsqu’il est entré dans le cellier)’ <i>criages [droit sur les criss du crieur public] et scellerages (...) admendes, forfaitures, criages, cellerages</i> (Ordonn. rois Fr. S., t.9,704) (1405)		
GDF	sub celerage (n.) (1)	‘droit sur le vin’ <i>Jehan de Pacy, bourgeois de Paris, a certaine quantité de rente..c’est assavoir sur les rentes du paleire aus bourgeois de Paris, appellees les celerages</i> (Arch. JJ 74, pièce 326) (1339)		
TL	Ø			
TLFi	Ø			
FEW	FEW II: 575b: cellarium	‘droit sur le vin qui reste en cellier’ MF <i>cellarage</i> (1339)		
MED	Ø			
OED3	sub cellarage (n.) (8)	1b. ‘A toll or charge for the use of a cellar or storehouse’ [< MF or BML] <i>The Bailifwike of Toppsam with the Selerage and Cranage and the Warren of Cones within the same</i> (Act 4 Hen. VIII c. 10) (1512)		
DMLBS	sub cellaragium (5) (310b)	‘cellerage, (payment for) storage in a cellar’ <i>pro celeragio xx doliorum vini nostri in London</i> (Liberate 41 m. 5) (1265)		
DC	Ø			
Additional sources				
Italian-matrix				
Salviati (1448-51)	<i>celleraggio</i> (6) (<i>celleragio</i>)	<i>e, de’ dare lb.sette s.14 d.4 di st. per nolo, chostuma, sussidio, celleraggio, baliagio, pesatura, portatori e più altre spese</i> (LGR 2363, 17) <i>E, deono dare lb.undici s.16 d.4 st. per nolo, chostuma, sussidio, celleraggio, baliaggio, pesate e portatori e piu altre spese fatte</i> (LGR 2361, 21) (1448-51)		
AN-matrix				
VOH (1440-41)	<i>celerage</i> (2) (<i>sellerage</i>)	<i>Et la residue de la summa susdit le dit Petre a paye custume a Roy xli vs freyghte xlj^{li} kranage xiiij^s viij^d portage celerage & hostage xvij^s viij^d custume de la ville de Suthampton xiiij^s iij^d</i> (VOH 58: 22) (E101/128/31 ret 9, John Emory, host to Pedro Carmo and other alien merchants, transc. p.70) (1440-41)		

		<p><i>Paie pour batelage cranage costum de la ville portururs rabatynges & sellerage xiiij^{li} xiiij^s viij^d</i> (VOH 57: 17) (E101/128/31 ret 6, Nicholas Bilot, host to Yves Tanguy, merchant of Brittany, transc. p.61) (1441)</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Comments</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Attestation Type 1b / Semantic Field: financial</p> <p>Like primaggio, there is no extant record of an AN etymon for the Italianised <i>cellaraggio</i> in the AND corpus but the <i>Views of the Hosts of Alien Merchants</i> does provide two useful examples of <i>celerage</i> from 1440-41. Cognates also exist in BML from 1265 (DMLBS sub cellaragium) and English, although not until 1512 (OED3 sub cellarage).</p> <p><i>Cellaraggio</i> is a hapax in the Exports Glossary, found only in the Florentine-matrix accounts of the Salviati of London in 1448-51. However, it is important to note that the Gallicism <i>celliere</i> ('stockroom or cellar') had already been attested in several Siennese and Florentine sources, including Pegolotti, from as early as 1235: see TLIO sub celliere, DEI sub celliere (845b). Its French etymon is attested from the early twelfth century in France (TLFi sub cellier) and from c1175 in England (AND2 sub celer¹) (see Table 4, Chaper 4.1iii).</p> <p><i>Cel(l)erage</i> is attested only five times in CF between 1339 and 1425, as recorded in the DMF, GDF and FEW, after which time the lexeme died out. In all these cases, the dictionaries gloss the term as a payment for the storage of wine, specifically. It is interesting to note, however, that in the Salviati account, <i>cellaraggio</i> is not used in relation to wine but to storing iron bars (<i>barre di ferro</i>). This fact further strengthens the case for an 'English' etymon (be it AN or perhaps ME, given the date of this source) as the use of <i>cellarage</i> is broader in English and refers to the storage of various other goods as well as wine (see again the OED3 entry).</p>		

96. It. chivo (n.) ‘an English unit of measurement for wool, equalling seven or eight pounds’ < AN <i>clou</i> / <i>clove</i> < Lat. <i>clavus</i> (‘nail’)				
Italian c1335-1451	Anglo-Norman c1300-1436	Continental French X	(Middle) English 1450-1863	Medieval Latin 1211-1342
TLIO	sub chiodo ² (n.) (2)	‘Unità di misura di peso’ [< It. <i>chiodo</i> ‘nail’] <i>Sacca 1 di lana al peso di Londra d’Inghilterra, ch’è chiovi 52 in Londra fae in Vinegia libbre 330 grosse</i> (Pegolotti Pratica, 151.28) (c1335-43, fior.) <i>pesarono a Brugia saccha 9 kiovi 11...</i> (Doc. fior.1336-39 p. 388) (c1336, fior.)		
OVI	<i>chivo</i> (17) (pl: <i>chiovi</i>)	<i>Sacca 1 di lana al peso di Londra d’Inghilterra, ch’è chiovi 52 in Londra fae in Vinegia libbre 330 grosse</i> (Pegolotti Pratica, 151.28) (c1335-43, fior.)		
AD	X			
LEI	X			
DEI	Ø			
AND2	sub clou ² (20+)	4. ‘clove, measure of weight (7-8lbs)’ <i>la trone dont il peserount doit estre de xxii clous</i> (Lib Cust 63) (c1300-25) <i>unze sakes & sys cloves de la meliour leyn</i> (Rot Parl ¹ ii 182) (1327)		
DEAF	X			
DMF	X			
GDF	Ø			
TL	Ø			
TLFi	Ø			
FEW	Ø			
MED	Ø			
OED2	sub clove ³ (n.) (5)	‘A weight formerly used for wool and cheese, equal to 7 or 8lbs avoirdupois’ [= AL <i>clavus</i> , AN <i>clou</i>] [<i>Et la trone dount il peserount doit estre de xxii clous.</i> (Liber Custumarum Rolls 63) (c1300-25)] [<i>Quæ quidem trona continet in se quatuor pisas et quatuor clavos.</i> (Liber Custumarum Rolls 107) (a1328)] <i>In chese..ye very weyghtes of it are cloues and weyes, so that a cloe sholde contayne 7 pound.</i> (Ground of Artes i. sig. N.iiv) (1543)		
DMLBS	sub clavus ³ 358a (10)	5b. “‘nail”, “clove”, weight of wool (usu. 6-8lb)’ [...] <i> dcccxxij que fecerunt iij pondera vij claves, unde iij pondera errant crisp[e] lane], j pondus vij claves gross[e]</i> (Crawley 199) (1211)		
DC	Ø			
Additional sources				
Italian-matrix				
Salviati (1448-51)	<i>chivo</i> (38)	<i>Giovanni Gottifort merciere de’ avere a di 9 d’aghosto 1451 lb.duecentosessantasette e.13 d.3 di st. sono per saccha trenta e chiovi</i>		

	(pl. <i>chiovi</i>)	<i>quarantaquattro di lana di più sorte a marchi tredici di st. e <u>chiovi</u> 32 di locchi a s. 1 per <u>chivo</u></i> (LGR 230: 6) <i>Sono chomprate in paexe di chonto, deono avere a dì 21 di dicembre 1450 lb.cento venti sette s.4 di st. sono per saccha 17 <u>chiovi</u> 18 di lana dell'abate di Glonsestri</i> (LGR 1983: 4) (1448-51)
AN-matrix		
Accounts of Crown and Italian merchant societies (1339-45)	<i>clof</i> (16) (pl. <i>clofs</i>)	<i>Item devont avoir pur aprest de j marc a chescun sac de leyne de xxxij sacs xxij <u>clofs</u> qils passerent par le port de Loundres de quoi ils ont coket des costumers - xxij li. xvij s. vj d.</i> <i>Item demandent estre deschargez de la custume de ccccij sacs demi iij <u>clofs</u> de leyne les iijxxxij sacs demi du countee de Somers', ccliij sacs xl <u>clofs</u> del countee de Deveneis, lxiiij sacs xv <u>clofs</u> de yceles resceuz du counte de Garrenne.</i> (Allowances claimed by the Bardi and Peruzzi, E101/127/36) (1339-45) (Bell <i>et al.</i> 2009: 270 / 272)
ME-matrix		
Cante-low (1450-51)	<i>cloves</i> (5)	<i>The whych makyth in sackys CC^o lxiiij^o semis and v cloves semis of the whych ys rebatyd for the tare of every poke j <u>clove</u> semis. Þe which summa ys xiiij sackys et xxiiij <u>cloves</u>. And so reste clere net: cc^o lj sackys <u>cloves</u> viij semis. (7c)</i> <i>Et in numero Cxxx^e sunt lane vocate flese wolle que ponderant <u>cloves</u> vij de lane fine de Cotyswolde de racolte yonge (8i) (1450-51)</i>
BML-matrix		
Accounts of Crown and Italian merchant societies (1294-1341)	<i>clavorum</i> (50+) (<i>clavi, clavibus, clavos</i>)	<i>in custuma xlix saccorum xx <u>clavorum</u> lane proprie mercatorum Friscobaldorum Nigrorum de Florencia</i> (Frescobaldi receipts 1294-1309, E101/126/9) (1294-95) (Bell <i>et al.</i> 2009: 94) <i>per supradictos mercatores de societate Bardorum et Peruch' Regi mutuatas ab ipsis mercatoribus in portu London' recipiendas dcxiiij saccos iij <u>clavos</u> lane</i> (Bardi and Peruzzi account, 1338-44, E101/127/36) (1341) (Bell <i>et al.</i> 2009: 226)
Comments		
Attestation Type 2a / Semantic Field: unit of measurement		
<p>The wool measurement <i>chivo</i> is not included in Cella's glossary of mercantile loanwords (2010) but, upon examination, seems a likely candidate for a borrowing of AN <i>clove</i> into Italian. At the very least, the lexis of English wool (<i>clove, clou, clavus</i>) could be said to have influenced the adaptation of Italian <i>chiodo</i> or 'nail' (under which the TLIO classifies <i>chivo</i>), forms which all ultimately derive from the same Latin root, <i>clavum</i>.²⁷ In this case, it could be argued that this is not strictly a lexical borrowing but a semantic calque (cf. scacchiere).</p> <p><i>Chivo</i> / <i>chiovi</i> appear in three Tuscan mercantile sources: Pegolotti's merchant handbook (c1335-43) uses the term seventeen times and a further citation of <i>kiovi</i> (added to the TLIO in 2103 and not in the OVI corpus) is found in a record of purchase of English wool from Florence in 1336-39 (also a source for impacchare and</p>		

²⁷ TLIO sub **chiodo**¹ notes: "*chiodo* (lat. *clavum* con monottongazione di *au* (-*av*-), epentesi di -*v*- (per cui si ottiene *chivo*) e successiva sovrapposizione di *chiudere*)."

costuma). To these fourteenth-century loanwords, we can now add over three dozen examples of this English unit of measurement from the London accounts of the Salviati of Florence from the mid-1400s.

As Bell *et al.* (2009: xx) discuss, the clove was used consistently throughout medieval England: “In general, wool was packed in sacks, composed of a number of stones (or cloves), each of which consisted of a number of stones. The most common English weight was a sack of 26 stones, each of 14 pounds. Alternatively, some regions used a sack of 52 cloves, each containing 7 pounds.” The earliest example of its use is *claves* in a BML-matrix text from 1211 (see DMLBS sub **clavus**³) with *clous* of wool appearing in the London Guildhall’s AN *Liber Albus* in the first quarter of the fourteenth century (see AND sub **clou**). The *Accounts of the English Crown with Italian Merchant Societies* (Bell *et al.* 2009) provide numerous new examples of BML *clavi* and AN *clofs* in various Exchequer documents from 1294 to 1341.

Rather surprisingly, there have been no ME-matrix citations of *clove* (and so no MED entry); the OED2 sub **clove**³ records an early modern English source in 1543 but it refers to cheese, not wool. This being the case, the ME examples above (eg. *the tare of every poke j clove*) from the Cantelowe Accounts in 1450-51 are especially valuable. The English equivalent *nayle (of wool)* is recorded, however, from c1400 until the nineteenth century: see OED3 / MED sub **nail**.

<p>97. It. ciarrèa (n.) ‘a measure of weight for lead, roughly equalling a ‘cart-load’ or one ton’²⁸ < AN <i>char</i> / <i>charee</i> < Lat. <i>carrus</i> (‘cart’)</p>				
Italian 1305-c1335	Anglo-Norman c1125-c1325	Continental French X	(Middle) English a1400-19 th c.	Medieval Latin 1181-1291
TLIO	sub ciarrèa (n.) (2)	‘unità di misura del piombo’ [< ME <i>char</i>] <i>I quali danari sono per quarantotto ciarree, diecie piedi e quarto di piombo</i> (Libro Gallerani di Londra, p30.4) (1305, sen.) <i>Piombo vi si vende a ciarrea, e ogni ciarrea si è di peso la montanza del peso in somma di 6 sacca peso di lana, di chiovi 52 per un sacco e di libbre 7 per un chiovo</i> (Pegolotti Pratica 255.10) (c1335-43, fior.)		
OVI	<i>ciarrea</i> (13) (pl: <i>ciarree</i>)	<i>I quali danari sono per quarantotto ciarree, diecie piedi e quarto di piombo</i> (Libro Gallerani di Londra, p30.4) (1305, sen.)		
LEI	X			
DEI	Ø			
AND	char ² (n.) (12) sub charee (n. coll.) (2)	‘vehicle (carriage, cart, waggon or chariot)’ <i>Cinquante carre qu'en ferat carier</i> (Roland 33) (c1125-50) ‘cartful, load’ <i>De chescun karre de plom, viij d</i> (Dom Gip 190) (c1300-25) ‘cart-load’ <i>lx. charrez de plum qe valeient vjxx livres</i> (Langeton 302.3) (1307-12)		
DEAF	X			
DMF	X			
GDF	Ø			
TL	Ø			
TLFi	Ø			
FEW	Ø			
MED	sub char (n) (4)	2. ‘A cart or wagon’ [OF <i>char</i>] <i>Plostellum: a lytel chare</i> (Medulla (Stnh A.1.10) 50b/a) (a1425)		
OED2	sub char ² (n.) (8)	1. ‘a chariot, car, cart, wagon’ [OF <i>char</i> < Lat. <i>carrus</i>] <i>To ride in þe kingis chare</i> (Cursor Mundi (Fairf. 14) l. 4657) (a1400) 2. ‘a cart-load, char of lead’ <i>For ane char of leid, that is to say, xxiiii fotinellis, iiiid.</i> (J. Balfour Practicks (1754) 87 (Jam.) (c1550)		
DMLBS	sub carrea (5) 287b	b. ‘cart-load of lead’ [OF <i>charee</i> < Lat. <i>carrata</i>] <i>pro cariano eodem plumbo et c et xx careis de alio plumbo</i> (Pipe 19) (1181)		
DC	Ø			

²⁸ Trotter (2011b: 219) points out that the English thirteenth-century statute *De ponderibus et mensuris* puts a char of lead at 2100 lb, as compared to Pegolotti’s definition of 2184lb (the Tuscan author states that it is the equivalent of 6 sacks or 52 cloves of wool, as seen in the OVI citation above).

Comments

Attestation Type 2a / Semantic Field: unit of measurement

This unit of measurement for lead - equivalent to a ‘cart-load’ - is found in two fourteenth-century Tuscan texts: twelve times in the London account of the Gallerani of Siena and once in a section on English weights and measures in *Pegolotti's Pratica della Mercatura* (cf. Evans 1936: 255). The editor of the latter work lists *ciarrèa* as an Anglicism derived from *charre* and this label has been repeated in the TLIO entry.

Cella (2010: 66-67) dismisses ME influence, pointing out that the locution ‘char of lead’ is not attested until c1550 (OED sub **char**²) and that *charre* “è incompatibile con l’accentazione della voce di prestito”. However, once again, Cella (2010: 66-67) overlooks an AN etymon for *ciarrèa* which is by far the most logical candidate, given the context in which this Italian source was written. She suggests CF *char(r)ée* which is attested from the twelfth century onwards as ‘contenance d'une charette équivalent à une unité de mesure’ but never specifically for lead, as in England: see FEW II 427a: **carrus** /DMF sub **charrée**¹ / GDF **charee** / TL **charee**.

In AN, we find *karre de plom* (AND2 sub **char**²) and *charrez de plum* (AND2 sub **charee**) attested from the early fourteenth century and in the Latinised form, *carrea*, as early as 1181 (DMLBS **carrea**). Admittedly, the AND glosses are a little vague and should perhaps be adjusted to include a unit of measurement for lead as in the DMLBS entry. This would reinforce the specific semantic use of the term in England.

98. It. cioppino (n.) ‘a recipient for liquids with a half-pint capacity’ < AN <i>chopin</i> (< AN <i>choppe</i> ²⁹) < Lower Middle German <i>schope</i> , <i>schoppen</i> (‘ladle, recipient’)				
Italian 1305	Anglo-Norman c1350	Continental French c1269-19 th c.	(Middle) English c1425-19 th c.	Medieval Latin 1310 ³⁰ -1459
TLIO	sub cioppino (n.) (1)	‘Misura per liquidi’ [< OF <i>chopine</i> / ME <i>chopine</i>] <i>Imprima arenduti 23 s. 9 d. sterlin., scrivansi a nostre massariçe per due potti e due cioppini di stagnio</i> (Libro nuovo Gallerani, p.73.16) (1305, sen.)		
OVI	sub <i>cioppini</i> (1)	<i>Imprima arenduti 23 s. 9 d. sterlin., scrivansi a nostre massariçe per due potti e due cioppini di stagnio</i> (Libro nuovo Gallerani, p.73.16) (1305, sen.)		
LEI	X			
DEI	∅			
AND2	sub chopine (n.) (4)	‘liquid measure of half a pint (usually of wine)’ <i>une chopine de bon vin egre</i> (Receptaria 71.605) (c1350-1400) <i>un chopin de vin vermaile</i> (Mang lang ANTS 35.27) (1396)		
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub chopine (n.) (15)	‘mesure de capacité d’une demi-pinte / bouteille de cette contenance’ <i>le dit sergent eust prié au dit Thibaut, ycellui estant en l’esglise de Saint Nicolas des Champs, qu’il lui voulsist donner une chopine de vin</i> (Doc. Poitou G., t.6, 23) (1390)		
GDF	sub chopine (n.) (5)	‘demi-pinte qui servait autrefois à mesurer le vin’ <i>Ou mui, o setier, o chopine, si cum il plect a la meschine</i> (Rose 6851) (1269-78)		
TL	sub chopine (n.)	‘weinmaß = ½ pinte’ <i>Ou mui, o setier, o chopine, si cum il plect a la meschine</i> (Rose 7565) (1269-78)		
TLFi	sub chopine (n.) (6)	‘mesure de capacité d’une demi-pinte / bouteille de cette contenance’ [< LMG <i>shope</i> , <i>shopen</i>] <i>chopine</i> (1269-78)		
FEW	XVII 52b: schopen	‘mesure de liquid contenant la moitié de la pinte’ Fr. <i>chopine</i> (13 th c.)		
MED	sub chopin (n.) (4)	‘a liquid measure, ?half a pint’ [OF <i>chopine</i> < LG] [<i>Quod nullas facient falsas mensuras, prout mensurae quae vocantur schopinas et gilles</i> (Doc.Gildh.Lond.in RS 12.3 432) (1310)] [[All the Vintners broke the Assize selling with vessels not sealed namely]		

²⁹ Evidence of this form - *choppes* - only remains in a BML-matrix text from 1311-12: see MED sub **chopin**. It is unclear whether this vernacular form represents AN or ME *choppes*. The word has no entry in the DMLBS.

³⁰ Note that the earliest BML citation is dated as 1310 by the MED / DMLBS but 1275 by the OED2.

		<i>Choppes</i> (Harrod Rep.Rec.Colchester (1865)) (1311-12)] <i>A sextarie is as a chopyn of Pariys</i> (WBible(2) Gloss.3 Kings (Cld E.2) 7.26) (?a1425)
OED2	sub chopin (n.) (3)	‘a French liquid measure containing nearly a pint of Winchester’ (Johnson), i.e. half an Old French pinte’ [< Fr. <i>chopine</i> < <i>chope</i>] [<i>mensurae quae vocantur schopinas</i> ³¹ et gilles (Munimenta Gildhallæ Londonienses III. 432) (1275)] <i>A sextarie is as a chopyn of Pariys</i> (Bible (Wycliffite, L.V.) 1 Kings vii. 26 (margin)) (1388)
DMLBS	sub chopina (4) 330c	‘chopin, half-pint’ [OF <i>chopin</i>] <i>quod [turnarii] nullas facient falsas mensuras, prout mesure que vocantur schopinas [sic] et gilles</i> (MGL III432) (1310) <i>Agnes vendidit [cervisiam] ad denarium et tres obolos cum choppyn et fregit assisam etc xvij d.</i> (Rec. Elton 255) (1322) <i>de Emma S pro eodem sexies, xvij d [...] tulit galonam, potellum, quartam et chopinum, pro chopino [Misericordia] ij d.</i> (Rec Elton 297) (1331)
DC	Ø	
Comments		
Attestation Type 2b / Semantic Field: unit of measurement		
<p>This loanword for a jug or half-pint measure is a hapax, found so far only in the Gallerani London accounts of 1305, in an entry alongside potto. Of the borrowing, Cella (2007: 203) says “Adattamento del fr. ant. <i>chopine</i> oppure dell’ing. <i>chopin</i>”, an opinion which she modifies in her later mercantile glossary, stating that it derives from: “medio ing. <i>chopin</i> ‘a French liquid measure’[...] che dà ragione del genere maschile [...], meno giustificabile a partire dal fr. <i>chopine</i> s.f.” (Cella 2010: 67).</p> <p>Once we take the role of insular French into account, another solution becomes clear: ME <i>chopin</i> has this form because it derives directly from the masculine AN variant <i>chopin</i> (att. 14th century) and not from CF <i>chopine</i> (att. c1269). In the AND2 entry sub chopine, two of the fourteenth-century citations given are masculine and two are feminine. Note also <i>choppyn</i> and <i>chopino</i> in two BML-matrix citations from 1322 and 1331 (cf. DMLBS sub chopina). This being the case, it seems much more likely that the Italianised <i>cioppini</i>, attested early in our corpus, was borrowed from AN <i>chopin</i> and not from ME <i>chopin</i>. We cannot, of course, rule out a direct Anglicism as we have other credible ME-derived hapaxes in the Gallerani material (faldengo, tancardo).</p>		

³¹ In this form, we can clearly see the influence of the German etymon.

99. It. cocchetto (n.) ‘A sealed customs certificate to confirm that duty has been paid on goods’ < AN <i>coket</i> < ? BML <i>coketa</i> (‘customs seal’) < ?				
Italian c1335-1437	Anglo-Norman 1297-c1411	Continental French X	(Middle) English 1425-19 th c.	Medieval Latin 1242-1559
TLIO	sub cocchetto (n.) (1)	‘Documento ufficiale, munito di sigillo, che attesta l'avvenuto pagamento di un dazio’ [< ME <i>coket</i>] <i>E per cortesia a' cherici della detta costuma, cioè agli scrivani per lo cocchetto, cioè per la lettera suggiellata del suggiello della costuma per la tratta, in somma a tutta la quantità d'uno mercatante da 3 in 4 starlini</i> (Pegolotti Pratica 256.16) (c1335-43, fior.)		
OVI	<i>cocchetto</i> (1)	<i>E per cortesia a' cherici della detta costuma, cioè agli scrivani per lo cocchetto, cioè per la lettera suggiellata del suggiello della costuma per la tratta, in somma a tutta la quantità d'uno mercatante da 3 in 4 starlini</i> (Pegolotti Pratica 256.16) (c1335-43, fior.)		
AD	X			
LEI	X			
DEI	∅			
AND2	sub coket ¹ (n.) (8)	‘cocket, Customs certificate of duty paid on goods; Customs seal; Customs duty’ <i>le avantdit R. prist une costume qe est sur Tamise qi est apelé le coket</i> (Rot Parl ¹ i 278) (1308-09) <i>après la custume et subside de meismes les leines paiez et les cokets ensealeez</i> (Rot Parl ¹ ii 241) (1352) ‘Customs post’ <i>faciez enveer par bons e hastifs messagers en touz les lius d'Engleterre ou nous avoms coket</i> (Crisis 79.3) (1297)		
DEAF	X			
DMF	X			
GDF	X			
TL	∅			
TLFi	∅			
FEW	X			
MED	sub coket (n.) (14)	b. ‘a document sealed with such a seal certifying a merchant's payment of export duties’ [OF] <i>The which Cokett contenes the hool nombre of sarplers and pokes [of wool], and the just poys that they holden</i> (RParl.4.290a) (1425) c. ‘a customs duty levied on merchandise (as on wool, cloth, etc.)’ <i>With the seel of the Officer..that receyveth ye Coketts of alle the Wolles and Wollefell that cometh to the saide Staple of Caleis</i> (RParl 4.289b) (1425)		
OED2	sub coket (n.) (6)	2. ‘A document sealed by the officers of the custom-house, and delivered to merchants as a certificate that their merchandise has been duly entered and has paid duty’ [=AN <i>cokkette</i> / AL <i>coketa</i> < ?] [<i>Quod habeant duo folia cokete ad costumandum lanas suas</i> (Acts of Scotl.		

		I. 581a) (1393)] <i>That the saidis strangers..there pay their dewties and customes and take their cocquet as effeiris</i> (Sc. Acts Jas. IV (1597) §3) (1488) 4. ‘The customs duty’ [<i>De custumis et <u>coquettis</u> nostris</i> (Rymer XII.182/1) (1483)]
DMLBS	sub cokettus (21) 376a	‘cocket, (use or profit of) seal affixed to goods on which custom has been paid / (certificate of) payment of custom’ [< OF <i>coket</i>] <i>quod ipsi [cives]..habeant omnes prisas vinorum, custum’ et <u>cocquett’</u> dicte civitatis [Corke] una cum feod’ ejusdem</i> (Ch. Hib.24) (1242)
DC	sub coquettum (2)	‘ab Anglico Cocket, Portorium seu signum, quo Publicanus obsignat merces, quæ portorium exsolverunt’ <i>Necnon de Custumis et <u>Coquettis</u> nostris, de coriis, pellibus lanatis, et aliis merchandiis et rebus quibuscumque custumalibus [...]</i> (Charta Edwardi V. de Cancellario Hiberniæ) (1483)
Additional sources		
Italian-matrix		
Albizzi diary (1429-30)	<i>ccocchetti</i> (2)	<i>Venerdì adì 17 e sabato adì 18, demo il sevo et atesei a spacciare i <u>ccocchetti</u> et mettere in galea i nostril fornimenti et vettovagl[i]e</i> <i>et il dì, circha ora di vespro, montai in galea col nome di Dio co’ <u>ccocchetti</u>, et con noi venne il cercatore e spacciò tutto</i> (Diary of galley captain, Luca di Maso degli Albizzi) (Mallett 1967: 261/264) (1430, fior.)
Borromei (1436-40)	<i>chocheto</i> (1)	<i>Tonelli due di guado deono dare adì xxvij di marzo s. 5 d. 4, sono per nolo da Sanduicci qui e <u>chocheto</u>, e d. 6 per crana, in tutto come è detto. In credito a Niccolò Micheli, a lui a c. 88</i> (Borromei London ledger, fol. 91 dare) (1437, fior.) ³²
AN-matrix		
Accounts of Crown and Italian merchant societies (1339-45)	<i>coket</i> (1) <i>coketter</i> (1) ³³	<i>Item devont avoir pur aprest de j marc a chescun sac de leyne de xxxiiij sacs xxij clofs qils passerent par le port de Loundres de quoi ils ont <u>coket</u> des custumers - xxij li. xviiij s. vj d.</i> <i>Item demandent estre deschargez de plusours endettementz qe lour furent fautement faitz a Wyncestre davoit passer leyne saunz custumer e <u>coketter</u>.</i> (Allowances claimed by the Bardi and Peruzzi, E101/127/36) (1339-45) (Bell <i>et al.</i> 2009: 270 / 276)
Comments Attestation Type 2a/ Semantic Field: financial		

³² As mentioned in Chapter 1, I have been unable to access the Italian language version of the Borromei London accounts: the collection is privately owned and the reasearch team involved in their transcription only has permission to publish an English language translation. I am therefore most grateful to Prof. Francesco Guidi Bruscoli of the Borromei Bank Project for sending me this citation.

³³ Here we have the verb *coketter* (‘to pay / confirm the coket’), currently unattested in the AND corpus.

From the 1200s onwards, a *coket* referred to a wax seal used to certify that all customs duties had been correctly paid on goods (especially wool) exported out of England. The term also quickly came to refer to the customs certificate itself or to the fee paid to obtain such a certificate. The seal was created from wax poured into two separate moulds and two people, the controller and the collector, were then required to officially sign the paperwork (Brewer 2000: 134). Such a system was obviously intended to prevent fraudulent certification but the Crown frequently relaxed the rules in favour of its Italian bankers (who lent money in return for the right to collect custom duties from wool) and allowed them to possess both half of the cocket seal (Strohm 2015: 118-19).

The Florentine, Pegolotti, uses the term *cocchetto* in his merchant handbook and clearly explains that it is a *lettera suggiellata del suggiello della costuma* in England. The loanword's appearance was noted in this source in the early twentieth century by Re (1913: 275) and also listed as a hapax in Cella's recent glossary (2010: 89). Both scholars identify *cocchetto* as an Anglicism (presumably due to its absence from the CF record) but the Italian form must surely be borrowed from insular French: the lexeme is attested well over a century earlier in AN (1297) than it is in ME (1425). Furthermore, *cocchetto* appears in two other Tuscan sources, this time from the 1400s, proving that Pegolotti's usage is not unique. We find it alongside the AN loanwords **batto**, **costuma**, **costumiere**, **mere** and **pocca** in the diary of the Florentine galley captain, Albizzi, who visited Southampton in the winter of 1429-30 and also in the London ledger of the Borromei Bank of Florence which records paying for the *chocheto* at the port of Sandwich in 1437.

The cocket seal clearly formed an important part of late medieval English administration even if the ultimate roots of the term remain obscure. *Cocquett'* is first attested in BML in 1242 but this is very likely a Latinised vernacular form. AN seems the most probable candidate but, as is so often the case, we cannot fully exclude ME either. Re's hypothesis (1913: 275) that the formula *quo quietus est*, found at the end of customs receipts, gradually transformed into *quo questus est* and then *coketus est*, seems tenuous.

100. It. coglietta (n. / adj.) ‘a mixture of good wool collected from producers surrounding a an estate’ < AN <i>coillette</i> < Lat. <i>collecta</i> (‘collection’)				
Italian	Anglo-Norman	Continental French	(Middle) English	Medieval Latin
c1277-a1422	1275-94	X	X	1275-1449
TLIO	sub coglietta ¹ (n.) (5)	‘Insieme delle lane raccolte in una determinata tenuta per la vendita all'ingrosso, di qualità e provenienza diverse’ [< lat. <i>lana collecta</i> , rifatto su <i>cogliere</i>] <i>Ancho XL sol. nel dì a Chonte Talomei per quaranta lib. d'orice ello che diè ad Achorso tingitore per noi el quale mise in una biancha di <u>chollietta</u> che ssi fecie chardenale</i> (Doc. sen. p.266.34) (1277-82, sen.) <i>Inghilterra per lane di magione e per lane <u>cogliette</u></i> (Pegolotti Pratica p.258.33) (c1335-43, fior.)		
OVI	<i>coglietta</i> (17) (<i>cogliette, cogletta, chollietta</i>)	<i>Nostro intendimento si è di volere che ssi faccia CC sacca di lana <u>coglietta</u> tra inn I[n]ghilterra e inn Isscozia</i> (Lett. Fior. 595.13) (1291) <i>Lane <u>cogliette</u> delle contrade del norto d'Inghilterra comperate nel norto medesimo per via di <u>cogliette</u> torneranno in Fiandra il sacco sacco 1 e chiovi 12</i> (Pegolotti Pratica p. 269.26-7) (c1335-43, fior.)		
LEI	X			
DEI	sub coglietta (n.) 1003b	‘lana sopraffina, lana scelta’ [lat. <i>collecta</i> , rifatto su <i>colgiere</i>] <i>coglietta</i> (Statuti di Calimala) (1301, fior.)		
AND	sub coillette (n.) (14)	1. ‘collection, group of things or people gathered together’ <i>le roi, ovè graunt cuillette de gentz [...]</i> (Reis Engl. 338) (1321-22)		
DEAF	X			
DMF	X			
GDF	X			
TL	X			
TLFi	∅			
FEW	∅			
MED	<i>collecta</i> (1) sub lok	<i>De lana fracta, videlicet lokys, <u>collecta</u> in tonsura ovium</i> (Kennett Par.Antiq.(1818) II.251 [OD col.]) (a1425)]		
OED2	<i>collecta</i> (1) sub lock ¹	<i>De lana fracta, videlicet lokys, <u>collecta</u> in tonsura ovium</i> (Parochial Antiq. (1818) II. 251) (1425)]		
DMLBS	sub colligere (6) 381c <i>collecta</i> sub lana 1545c	2f. (past participle <i>collectus</i> as noun) ‘crop, produce collected’ <i>duos saccos lane de <u>collecta</u> monasterii nostrii</i> (Cl 93 m.18d) (1275) <i>habere debet j faldam de <u>collecta</u> ovium</i> (Reg. Brev. 120b) (15 th c.) <i>et reddent dictos quinque saccos..in bona lana matricia de <u>collecta</u> de Bannebyr’</i> (PLRExch 8 m.3d, cf. TH Lloyd Eng. Wool Trade, 1977, 299) (1280)		

DC	∅	
Additional sources		
Italian-matrix		
Villani (a1422-24)	<i>chogliette</i> (3) (<i>cogliette</i>)	<i>E deono avere £ cientonovantacinque s. xij d. vij st. per sacha xxiiij q. j. c. iij tra di <u>stery</u> e <u>chogliette</u> (Villani frammento) (Guidi- Bruscoli 2010: 396) (a1422)</i> <i>cioè sacha x q. j. c. iij di <u>cogliette</u> a marchi xij e sacha xiiij di ij stery a marchi xij d. xx (Villani frammento) (Guidi- Bruscoli 2010: 396) (a1422)</i> <i>per chosto e spesse di sacha L q. ij c^o vj di lana chontisgualda chonpratta per loro da diverse persone e fattone poche Lxx ly xLiiij di story e xxvij <u>chogliette</u> (Villani frammento) (Guidi- Bruscoli 2010: 404) (a1422)</i>
AN -matrix		
Advance contracts for sale of wool (1275)	<i>coillette</i> (2) (<i>coilliette</i>)	<i>[...] doze saks de bone leyne de la meyllieure de la meyllur [sic] <u>colliette</u> de Hereford, chescun sak por nef mars de esterlings. E sera la vant dite leyne [...] e aussi bone cume la meillieure <u>coilliette</u> de Dore (Contract between Darnhall Abbey, Cheshire and John Wermond of Cambrai, C54/92, m.2d) (Bell <i>et al.</i> 2006: 10) (1275)</i>
Exchequer wool schedules from 1294	<i>coillette</i> (6)	<i>Veraïement sire nous avons laines de <u>Coillette</u> vers le North mes nous ne pooms saver combien tant ke nostre compaignon qui est vers le North soit revenue (Submission of wool purchases made in England by the Frescobaldi Bianchi of Florence, E101/126/7 m.14) (Bell <i>et al.</i> 2006: 184) (1294)</i> <i>Ceste est laine de <u>coillette</u> de la compaignie de Cercle blanc [...] De plus de laine de <u>Coillette</u> ne savom nous rien dire por ceo ke nos Compaignons sunt hors per le pais (Submission of wool purchases made in England by the Cerchi Bianchi of Florence, E101/126/7 m.20) (Bell <i>et al.</i> 2006: 200) (1294)</i> <i>Onquore devom nous aver de la taillerie de Wauerl' de <u>coillete</u>...iiij sacs et de la leine del Estor le tailor sicom nous quidoms (Submission of wool purchases made in England by the Frescobaldi Neri of Florence, E101/126/7 m.21) (Bell <i>et al.</i> 2006: 202) (1294)</i>
BML-matrix		
Advance contracts for sale of wool (1276-1325)	<i>collecta</i> (20+)	<i>Et debet predictus saccus lane esse de <u>collecta</u> et tres petre residue erunt de bona lana predictae domus (Contract between Kirkstall Abbey, Yorkshire and merchants of Florence, E 13/4 m.6) (Bell <i>et al.</i> 2006: 14) (1276)</i> <i>[...] in quinquaginta et tribus saccis bone lane et pacabilis de <u>collecta</u> versus Bridlington' (Contract between Meaux Abbey, Yorkshire and the Ricciardi of Lucca, E159/53 rot.12d, E368/53 rot.14)³⁴ (Bell <i>et al.</i> 2006: 36) (1280)</i> <i>in uno sacco bone Lane de <u>collecta</u> Lanerie domus sue predictae, pro quo idem Abbas regognovit se recepisse xij marcas pre minibus (Contract between Rievaulx Abbey, Yorkshire and the Ricciardi of Lucca, E159/65</i>

³⁴ As noted in Bell *et al.* (2006: ii), many of the extant advance wool contracts are found in duplicate, in parallel series of the Memoranda Rolls of the Exchequer.

Comments**Attestation Type 1a / Semantic Field: wool**

Collecta (or *coillette*) was a grade of wool which developed uniquely in England in the thirteenth century: “A number of Cistercian monasteries marketed what became known as *collecta*, which comprised wool brought into the precinct by their tenants or other local producers. This was worked up and sold as a distinct grade” (Bell *et al.* 2006: viii). Whilst some buyers insisted on wool derived only from the flocks of a single estate (see **storo**), *collecta* wool was nonetheless quite a popular commodity. As Bell *et al.* (2007: 51) comment, “most Italians at least were generally content to accept such wool” and “Francesco Balducci Pegolotti runs through the regions from which *collecta* can be purchased, all of which are in Yorkshire and the East Midlands”.

We do indeed find five references in the *Pratica della Mercatura* to this wool type but Pegolotti always employs the term (*lane*) *cogliette* not *collecta*. Earlier examples of the loanword - *chollietta* - exist in an anonymous Siennese account book from as early as c1277 (cf. **stanforte**) and (*lana*) *coglietta* appears several times in two letters sent from the Cerchi office in Florence to its London branch in 1291 (cf. **pocca**). In all these cases, suggestions put forward by the TLIO, DEI and Cella (2010: 84) of a direct derivation from Latin *collecta*, remodelled on the verb *cogliere*, seem less convincing than a borrowing straight from AN *coillette*. Firstly, and most obviously, *coglietta* is more similar in form to *coillette*; there is no reason why thirteenth-century Tuscans would not borrow from BML terminology (see, for example, **ciarrèa**, **storo**) but it seems more logical, in that case, that they would simply use *lana collecta* or *colletta* (cf. TLIO sub **colletta** ‘raccolta di denaro / persone’). Secondly, there is ample evidence to support the term’s use in AN as well as BML documentation dealing with the wool trade, as we shall now see.

Currently, the AND2 entry sub **coillette** (‘collection, group of things or people gathered together’, att. 1321-22) contains no specific use of the term with regards to wool.³⁵ The transcription by Bell *et al.* (2006) of over two hundred advance wool contracts (1275-1325) between English monastic houses and (mainly Italian) buyers provides essential new lexical evidence in this instance and that of the wool-related **moiana**, **locchi** and **storo**.³⁶ Nearly all of them are written in BML (providing numerous new citations of the term (*lana*) *collecta*) but one AN example from Darnhall Abbey in 1275 refers twice to the wool-type, *la meilliure coillette*. The

³⁵ The same applies in CF. See GDF **cueillette** (att. 1260) / DMF sub **cueillette** / FEW II, pp. 899a-900b sub **cogliere** which also refer to the harvest or gathering of fruit or grain as well as an assembly of people, a tax collection or the ‘collect’ (a prayer during Mass). There are numerous variant forms, e.g. *coillette*, *coeillette*, *cuillette*, *colleite*, *coyellete*, *cueillete*, *keulloite*, *quelloite*.

³⁶ Bell *et al.* (2006: ii) outline: “In their most basic form they constitute an acknowledgement by the vendor that he has received a sum of money in advance of the delivery of a certain amount of wool enumerated by the sack to the buyer at specified terms in the future, whether in the following season or spread over any number of years, the producer further binding himself and his possessions for the faithful repayment of this sum either in cash or wool in the event of his default by a writ of *fieri facias* to the barons of the Exchequer”. See also Chapter 2.4.

same work by Bell *et al.* also includes eleven AN wool schedules outlining wool crop purchases that were submitted to the Crown in 1294 by several Tuscan merchant societies.³⁷ Crucially, we find another six examples in this source of insular (*laine de*) *coillette*.

Lastly, it is important to note a new source for the loanword in Tuscan material from the fifteenth century: the fragment of the Villani accounts written in London a1422. The influence of English wool trade vocabulary is still very much evident in these later examples, with *c(h)ogliette* and *stery / story* (cf. **storo**) appearing side by side in the entries.

³⁷ As Bell *et al.* (2006: v) explain, Italian merchants were obliged to submit details of all their wool purchases in England in 1294 to the Crown; Edward I hoped to sequester their assets to fund his war in Gascony. The authors provide a full transcription of the material although a tabulated summary of the wool prices contained within it was compiled by Lloyd (1973) and has long been used by historians.

101. It. contisgualdo (n. / adj.) ‘(broadcloth) made from high-quality Cotswold wool’ < ME <i>coteswold</i> < OE <i>Codesuualt</i>				
Italian 1400- c1451	Anglo-Norman 1327-1444 (toponym only)	Continental French X	(Middle) English 1306-present (toponym only)	Medieval Latin X
TLIO	X			
OVI	[<i>Condisgualdo</i> (5)] [<i>Chodisgualdo</i> (23)]	[<i>Cilesi in <u>Condisgualdo</u>, la buona marchi 19, e la moiana marchi 10 e i locchi marchi 7il sacco</i> (Pegolotti Pratica 263.19) (c1335-43, fior.)] [<i>per 20 balle di lana lungha d’Inghilte(r)ra di <u>Chodisgualdo</u></i> (Doc. fior, 2, 179.13) (1355-71, fior.)]		
AD	[<i>contisgualdi</i> (3)]	[<i>Pregi di lane v’ò detto e si ragonate San Mattei [...] Marcia lb. 42 in 43, <u>Contisgualdi</u> 40, Indisea 38 a danari. Fustani di guado lb. 7 ½</i> (Milano-Pisa B531/36, 507116, 515.14) (1399)]		
LEI	X			
DEI	Ø			
AND	X			
DEAF	X			
DMF	X			
GDF	Ø			
TL	Ø			
TLFi	Ø			
FEW	Ø			
MED	Ø			
OED2	[sub Cotswold (p.n.) (2)]	‘The proper name of a range of hills in Gloucestershire, England, noted for some centuries for their sheep-pastures, and for a breed of long-wooled sheep named after them’ [Uncertain first element + <i>wold</i> (‘wooded upland’)] [<i>Ecclesie de Newenton super Coteswalde</i> (Petit. In Rolls of Parl. I 198/2) (1306)] [<i>Unze Sakes & Sys cloves de le meliour Leyn de <u>Coteswold</u> a l’oeps nostre dit Seignour</i> (Rolls of Parl. II. 182/1) (1327)]		
DMLBS	Ø			
DC	Ø			
Additional sources				
Italian-matrix				
Unknown Genoese company invoice (1400)	<i>Codesgualdo</i> (2)	<i>Item, in balla una de <u>Codesgualdo</u>, dozine ..., albi, largi, per s.45 in 60 per canna; alee 12 per canne 5; Item, in balla una, albi de <u>Codesgualdo</u>, strety, per s. 18 in 20 per canna</i> (Fattura attribuita al 1400, Genova-Firenze, da azienda genovese sconosciuta alla comp. Datini) (Melis 1972: 294) (1400)		
Villani (a1422)	[<i>Chontisgualda</i> (1)]	[<i>[..] mandamo a Vinegia per le ghallee, cioè furono sacha xvj q. iij di <u>Chontisgualda</u></i> (Villani frammento) (Guidi-Bruscoli 2010: 396) (a1422)]		
Morosini letter	<i>Chotisgualdi</i> (1)	<i>(panni): Loesti, 12 ½; bastardi, 32 in 34, secondo le sorte; Gilforti 6 ½ in 7, Santone, 7, Sex s.11 in 13, <u>Chostigualdi</u>, 20 in 24</i>		

(1441)		(Lettera del 10 dicembre 1441, Londra-Venezia, da Michele Morosini a Lorenzo Dolfin) (Melis 1972: 188)
Salviati (1448-51)	<i>chontisgualdi</i> (7) (pl. <i>chontisgualdie</i> , <i>consisghauldi</i> , <i>chonsgualdi</i>)	<i>sono per pezze 9 di charixee e panni e <u>chontisghualdie</u> e uno assurro e uno rosso avano chomprati da llozo</i> (LGR 2119, 11) (1448-51) <i>sono per 7 charisee bianche e 2 rosse a s.10 la pezza e panni 2 <u>chontisghualdi</u> a 1b.2 la pezza</i> (LGR 2118, 4) (1448-51)
AN-matrix		
VOH (1440-44)	[<i>Coteswold</i> (3)]	[<i>Item de Thomas Brampton de Burford le xv iour dAuste xxvij sakkez wolle de Coteswold pur ijC xxli xs</i> (VOH 29: 102) (E101/128/30 ret.4, Richard Rich, host to Giovanni Micheli and Felice da Fagnano, merchants of Lucca and Alessandro Palastrello, trans. p58) (1441)
Latin-matrix		
CSP Ven. (1456)	<i>Cotisualde</i> (1) <i>Consualdi</i> (1)	<i>panni Cotisualde</i> <i>panni Consualdi</i> (Both: Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts relating to English Affairs existing in the archives and collections of Venice) (Brown 1864: 13 / 134) (1456)
Comments		
Attestation Type 2a / Semantic Field: textile		
<p>The earliest record of this metonymic cloth name dates from 1400 in the accounts of an inventory of Flemish, French and English cloths sent from an unknown Genoese company to the Datini of Florence, edited by Melis (1972: 294). In the Salviati London accounts, we find several more examples of this English toponym being used nominally and adjectively to designate cloth woven from Cotswold wool: there are seven references scattered throughout the <i>Libro Grande Rosso</i> to purchases of (<i>panni</i>) <i>contisgualdi</i>, alongside kerseys (carisea) and westerns (loesti). At the same time, in the mid-fifteenth century, there are Latin-matrix records of <i>panni Cotisualde</i> / <i>Consualdi</i> in the State Calendar of Venetian trade with England (CSP).</p> <p>As Bell <i>et al.</i> (2007: 77) note, wool-producing estates clustered “in three main areas - the Welsh march, Lindsey in Lincolnshire and the Cotswolds - whose wool consistently dominated the export market throughout the later Middle Ages”. Italians were major buyers of this high-quality wool, as we saw in Chapter 2.4, and so it is not surprising that, before the cloth-name emerges in Italian, we find the place name appearing from around the 1330s (Schweikard 2002: 594 -95). Pegolotti features the <i>Condisgualdo</i> region in his guide to the best wool types, producers and prices in England and Scotland (see Evans 1936: 258-69). The <i>lana lungha d’Inghilte(r)ra di Chodisgualdo</i> is also mentioned in the fourteenth-century Florentine <i>Libro bianco dell’Arte della lana</i>, as recorded in the OVI. The Datini archives contain references to several English wool types:</p>		

*Contisgualdi, Marcia*³⁸ and *Indise*.³⁹ To these citations can be added a new example: the purchase of *sacha xvj q. iij di Chontisgualda* in the Villani London accounts from a1422.

³⁸ This is wool from the Welsh Marches, cf. *XII balle di lana della Marcia* in the Alberti company's *Libro arancio* (OVI, Doc. fior. 1348-50, 202.5), *pocha j di lana di Staforte e di Marza* (Villani frammento, Guidi- Bruscoli 2010: 397) and the numerous references to *lane de la Marche* in the Cantelowe Accounts (see Chapter 5).

³⁹ This is wool from Lindsey in Lincolnshire, cf. *lana lungha d'Inghilte(r)ra di Lindisea* in the *Libro bianco dell'Arte della lana* (OVI, Doc. fior. 1355-71, 2, 117.7).

102. It. <i>costuma</i> (n.) ‘a customs duty tax levied by the English Crown on commodities, especially wool’ < AN <i>custume / costume</i> < Lat. <i>consuetudium</i> (‘custom, accepted usage’)				
Italian 1305-c1451	Anglo-Norman 1296-15 th c.	Continental French 1226-1461	(Middle) English c1384-present	Medieval Latin a1200-15 th c.
TLIO	sub costuma ² (n.) (2) <i>costuma</i> (1) sub impaccare	‘Tassa d’esportazione (specif. della lana) dovuta alla corona inglese’ [< ME] <i>Contiati in essi danari vintetre lb. quatordecim s. tre d. sterl. che demo a’ Frescobaldi per la <u>costuma</u> de Rex di 10 s. per sacco</i> (Libro Gallerani di Londra, 90.21) (1305, sen.) <i>[...] cioè quello che i costumieri del re truovano che pesa allo loro peso qunado lo pesano per prendere la <u>costuma</u></i> (Pegolotti, Pratica 256.11) (c1335-43, fior.) <i>per impacchare 8 scarp.⁴⁰ e <u>costuma</u> al Damo e per 5 schure.</i> (Doc. fior p. 390) (1336-39, fior)		
OVI	<i>costuma</i> (14) <i>costume</i> (1)	<i>Contiati in essi danari vintetre lb. quatordecim s. tre d. sterl. che demo a’ Frescobaldi per la <u>costuma</u> de Rex di 10 s. per sacco</i> (Libro Gallerani di Londra, 90.21) (1305, sen.) <i>gli donoe i rre[...] lb. cinquemila ster. assentatore sulle <u>costume</u></i> (Lett. sen. 386.36) ⁴¹ (1313, sen.)		
AD	X			
LEI	X			
DEI	sub costuma (n.) 1136a	‘dazio per entrare in un paese’ [< OF <i>costume</i>] <i>costuma</i> (14 th c.)		
AND2	sub costum (n.) (40+)	3. ‘tax, customs duty, customary dues; money collected in customs duties’ <i>vous ne avowerez mye les biens de foreyns come vostres, dount le Roy purra perdre sa <u>custume</u></i> (Goldsmiths 290) (1403-04) <i>baillifs d’eaues qui levent <u>coustumes</u></i> (Blk Bk 72) (c1365)		
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub coutume (n.) (6)	5.b) ‘Droit levé sur le transport des marchandises’ <i>[...] que les Espaingnoz emporterent environ XVm tonniaus de vin et furent touz portez hors du royaume sanz paier la <u>coustum</u></i> (H. Moranvillé, Bibl. Éc. Chartes 64, 1903, 573) (c1330)		
GDF	sub costume (n.) (5)	‘impôt, droit’ <i>He sunt <u>costume</u> Giarardus Bovarz et si oir dimie costume. Robins Gaugans I <u>costume</u></i> (Cens. Paracel. De Pruvins f.15r, Arch. Aube) (1226)		
TL	Ø			
TLFi	X			

⁴⁰ scarp. = *scarpigliera* or ‘sarppler of wool’. See Table 2, Chapter 4.1iii.

⁴¹ This letter was sent from London by Biagio Aldobrandini (factor of the Gallerani company) to Bettino and Pepo Frescobaldi in Avignon on the 26th of February 1313. Cf. Del Punta (2008: 366-69).

FEW	II-2, 1092a : consuetudo	3. 'sorte d'impôt' OF <i>costume</i> (1226) 'esp. de droit levé p. ex. sur les transports des marchandises' MF <i>coutume</i>
MED	sub custume (n.) (15)	6. 'A duty, toll, or impost on merchandise; customs' [OF <i>costume, custume</i>] <i>3elde 3e to alle men dettis; to whom tribut, tribut; to whom tol or custom for thingis borun aboute, tol or such <u>custom</u></i> (WBible(1) (Dc 369(2)) Rom.13.7) (c1384)
OED2	sub custom (n.) (4)	4. 'Tribute, toll, impost, or duty, levied by the lord or local authority upon commodities on their way to market; esp. that levied in the name of the king or sovereign authority upon merchandise exported from or imported into his dominions' [< OF <i>custume, costume</i>] [<i>Braxiatores, carnifices, <u>customarios</u> magne et parue <u>custume</u></i> . (Iter Camerarii c. 1 in Acts Parl. Scotl. I. 693) (c1320)] <i><u>Custum</u>, kyngys dute, custuma</i> (Promptorium Parvulorum 111) (c1440)
DMLBS	sub custuma (20+) 547b	6. 'custom levied by the crown' [OF <i>custume, costume</i>] <i>quietanciam [civibus Eboraci] cujuslibet theolonii, lastagii...passagii..et omnibus <u>costumis</u> per totam Angliam, Normanniam</i> (CalCh I 379) (a1200)
DC	Ø	
Additional sources		
Italian-matrix		
Datini	<i>costuma</i> (1) <i>chostuma</i> (1)	<i>E per <u>costuma</u> del balio dell'acqua d. iij per libra, e per cortesia a' costumieri s.3 d. 4</i> (written by an 'Italian in London', Arch. Dat. Cart. Valencia 33 in Edler 1934: 93) (1398) <i>In Inghilterra ànno ricrisiuto di novo la <u>chostuma</u> douta a tutti strain, cioè dove in prima si soleva paghare di tutte le merchatantie che ssi metterono in Inghilterra d. xv per £ ora si pagharà d.27 per £</i> (written by an 'Italian in Bruges', Arch. Dat. Cart. Barcelona in Edler 1934: 93) ⁴² (1406)
Villani	<i>chostuma</i> (3) (pl: <i>chostume</i>)	<i>E adì xxiiij detto £ cinque st. paghatti per luy chontanti a' chostumieri di Sanduicci per <u>chostuma</u> di zafferano</i> (Villani frammento) (Guidi- Bruscoli 2010: 399) (a1422, fior.)
Albizzi diary	<i>costuma</i> (2)	<i>Trovai che'l di dinanzi, cioè adì 10, erano fornite di stivare le lane, che furono al peso della <u>costuma</u> saccha circha 580</i> (Diary of galley captain, Luca di Maso degli Albizzi) (Mallett 1967: 261) (1430, fior.)
Salviati	<i>chostuma</i> (100+) (<i>chostuma</i> ; pl. <i>chostume, chostumi, costume</i>)	<i>e, de' dare lb.sette s.14 d.4 di st. per nolo, <u>chostuma</u>, sussidio, celleraggio, baliagio, pesatura, portatori e più altre spese</i> (LGR 2363: 17) <i>E, deon avere lb.sei s.14 d.8 st.per <u>costume</u> e più altre spese fatte a una balle di panni mandata a' Ruffini di Brugia</i> (LGR 2138: 7) (1448-51, fior.)
AN-matrix		

⁴² It is unclear why these two sources are not found in the Datini Archive corpus (AD).

Accounts of Crown and Italian merchant societies (1296-1331)	<i>custume</i> (s) (5)	<p><i>Item vnt receu par maundement del Eschequer qui furent assignez a receuere les isseues des <u>custumes</u> de Hul iusques al vij jour de Maii que le <u>custume</u> fust baille a les xj compeigneyes de quoi les avantditz marchanz unt fait diverses aquitaunces en summe - dcxxj li. iiij s.</i> (Frescobaldi receipts, June 1296 to June 1299 (E 101/126/13, m.16) (1296) (Bell <i>et al.</i> 2009: 60)</p> <p><i>Item deyvent estre assigne les ditz marchantz en change de m li. qe ma dame la Reyne Phelip fust assigne sour la <u>custume</u> de Hull' e pur la moyte de la <u>custume</u> de Southampton qe fust assigne as Gascoigns les queux <u>custumes</u> et touz les autres furent assigne enterement</i> (Bardi account, November 1328 to April 1332, E 101/127/27) (1331) (Bell <i>et al.</i> 2009: 182)</p>
BML-matrix		
Accounts of Crown and Italian merchant societies (c1272-c1339)	<i>custuma</i> (50+)	<p><i>[...] preter quam de (...) <u>custume</u> Regis lanarum et coriorum in Anglia a festo Pentecost ipso anno vijmo unde non fuit certi [...] Et de m li. receptis de <u>custuma</u> lanarum et coriorum in Hibernia</i> (Ricciardi summary of account, November 1272 to September 1279, E 101/126/1) (Bell <i>et al.</i> 2009: 12)</p> <p><i>Et de cclxxj li. xv s. v d. quos iudem mercatores Friscobaldorum Alborum et nigrorum in parte solucionis dictorum mutuorum factorum Regi Edwardi patri ante dictum vj diem Maii anno xxvj, receperunt per manus collectorum <u>custume</u> lanarum et pellium lanutarum in portu Lond' anno xxij in <u>custuma</u> iiijxxvj sacorum xxvj clavorum lanarum</i> (Frescobaldi account, 1294 to 1309) (E 372/154, r.43) (1294-97) (Bell <i>et al.</i> 2009: 124)</p>
<p>Comments Attestation Type 2b / Semantic Field: financial</p> <p>The loanword <i>costuma</i>, referring to the English customs tax, is attested in a wider range of Italian sources than currently recorded in the TLIO or Cella (2007: 192-94 / 2010: 90). In addition to the Gallerani accounts and the <i>Pratica della Mercatura</i> from the 1300s, we can find the borrowed term in four other Tuscan texts from the 1400s: three were written in London and the fourth refers directly to trade with England in a letter from the Datini company archive. Note also that the loanword features in a Florentine account recording the purchase of English wool in 1336-39. The citation is found in the TLIO entry sub impaccare but is not yet included in the OVI corpus (see also chiovo / impaccare).⁴³</p> <p>The etymological comments in the TLIO entry sub costuma² (taken from Cella 2007) are worth citing in full here as they offer useful insight into the general lack of awareness in modern Italian scholarship of AN's role in late medieval London:</p> <p>La voce medio ing. è att. dal 1325 (cfr. OED s.v. <i>custom</i>), ma in lat. d'Inghilterra la forma femm. <i>costuma</i> 'id.' risale già al sec. XII (cfr. Latham, Dictionary, e Latham, Revised, s.v. <i>costuma</i>). Solo la natura dei testi che documentano la voce (scritto in Inghilterra il Libro Gallerani di Londra, relativi al dazio portuale di Londra i capitoli di Pegolotti, <i>Pratica</i>) induce a propendere per l'anglismo piuttosto che per il prestito dal fr. ant. <i>custume</i>, <i>costume</i> s.f.</p>		

⁴³ The full text is transcribed in Melis (1972: 388-90).

Clearly, we are not dealing with a borrowing from ME or CF but a lexeme that entered Italian via the commercial lexis of insular French (Trotter 2011b: 215). *Co(u)stume* had numerous meanings in medieval French ('practice', 'habit', 'usage', 'tradition', 'dress/clothes' etc).⁴⁴ Its use in the the context of taxes is found in CF from the 1330s (DMF sub **coutume**) but appears earlier and is more widespread in AN. We find examples of *co(u)stume* in Latinised form (*costumis*) as early as 1200 (DMLBS sub **costuma**) but it was following the establishment of The Ancient Custom in England by Edward I in 1275 that the references proliferate. This new system extracted export duty from the country's lucrative wool crop and it was the King's bankers, the Ricciardi of Lucca, who were instrumental in its implementation (cf. Chapter 2.3i). We first find references to the *custume lanarum et coriorum in Anglia / in Hibernia* in the BML Ricciardi accounts with the Crown of 1272-79 and to the *custumes de Hul* in an AN Exchequer receipt for the Frescobaldi, citations which are not yet included in the major dictionaries. It is surely via these interactions with the English Exchequer that the use of the technical term *custum* permeated the vocabulary of Italian bankers and merchants, just as it would enter the English language (see OED2 sub **custom** / MED sub **custume**). The importance of the term to Italian trade in England is further highlighted by two other borrowed derivations: the verb, **costumare** and the profession name, **costumiere**.

⁴⁴ Such meanings are mirrored in the Italian equivalent, attested in 1262 and probably also borrowed from French: see TLIO sub **costuma**¹.

<p>103. It. costumare (v.) ‘to pay the custom or tax levied on imported or exported commodities, especially on wool’ < AN <i>custumer</i> < AN <i>custume</i> < Lat. <i>consuetudinem</i> (‘custom, accepted usage’)</p>					
<p>Italian a1422-c1451</p>		<p>Anglo-Norman c1230-c1342</p>	<p>Continental French 1335-1400</p>	<p>(Middle) English a1400-1720</p>	<p>Medieval Latin 1375-c1499</p>
TLIO	X				
OVI	X				
AD	X				
LEI	X				
DEI	Ø				
AND2	<p>sub custumer² (v.) (2)</p> <p>sub custumé (pp. as adj.) (2)</p>	<p>‘to pay custom’ <i>Si nul home franc eit part od home ke deyvet <u>custumer</u>, cil ke franc ne nest deit tut aquiter</i> (Custumal 29.31) (1230-57)</p> <p>‘having paid customs duty’ <i>[...] ount amené hors par dyz ou douze sakkés, et ne sount mye <u>coustumés</u>, a graund damage de tout le pays</i> (Lett AF 162) (1342-52)</p>			
DEAF	X				
DMF	<p>sub costumer (v.) (2)</p>	<p>B. 1. ‘Payer la redevance (sur les marchandises)’ <i>[Edouard III projette de faire de Calais une ville entièrement anglaise] Et seroit a Calais li estaples des lainnes d’Engleterre, dou plonc et de l’estain ; et se venroient ces trois marceandises <u>coustumer</u> a Calais</i> (Froissart Chron. D, 854) (1400)</p>			
GDF	<p>sub costumer² (v.) (3)</p>	<p>‘payer la redevance appelée coutume’ <i>[...] Monsour Hervé de Leon, chevalier par sa court d’avoir debatu la <u>costume</u> audit noble homme de la dite nef au port de Camaret</i> (Coutume due au vicomte de Leon pour les vasseaux qui abordent au port de Camaret) (1335)</p>			
TL	Ø				
TLFi	Ø				
FEW	<p>II-2,1092a : consuetudo</p>	<p>3. ‘payer, sur une marchandise, la redevance appelée coutume’ <i>coustumer</i> (Bordeaux, Bretagne) (14th c.)</p> <p>‘qui a payé l’impôt, l’octroi’ AN <i>coustumé</i></p>			
MED	<p>sub custumen (v.) (7)</p>	<p>2. ‘To levy, collect, or pay duty on (merchandise); pay (sth.) as a duty or tax’ <i>Tonnes and banelles þat comeþ in carte sholde <u>custome</u> a peny, an horselode an halpeny</i> (Usages Win.(Win-HRO W/A3/1) p.76) (a1400)</p>			
OED2	<p>sub custom (v.) (1)</p>	<p>3a. ‘To pay duty or toll on; to pass through the custom-house’ [OF <i>costumer, coustumer</i>] <i>Every Mare so shipped ere they be <u>customed</u>.</i> (Act 11 Hen.VII c. 13) (1494)</p>			
DMLBS	<p>sub costumare (2) 547b</p>	<p>1c. ‘to pay custom on (goods)’ <i>cum ipsi mercatores quasdam lanas in iij navibus..in portu London’ carcassent et <u>custumassent</u></i> (Cl 267 m.4) (1417)</p>			

		2. 'to pay market toll on' <i>quod liberi civitatis non <u>custumabunt</u> lampredas</i> (Cal. LB Lond. H 24) (1375)
DC	Ø	
Additional sources		
Italian-matrix		
Villani (a1422)	<i>costumate</i> (1)	<i>E de' dare £ sei s. viiij d. viiij st. per chostuma de' sopradetti pani cio[è] per quela di d. xxxiiij per panno £ iij s. xviiij d. viiij per pani xxviiij e per quela di d. xij per £, <u>costumate</u> £ L, £ ij s. x.</i> (Villani frammento) (Guidi-Bruscoli 2010: 398) (a1422)
Salviati (1448-51)	<i>chostumare</i> (16) (<i>chostumano, chostumamo, chostumaron; pp. chostumata, costumata, chostumate</i>)	<i>[...] <u>chostumaron</u> lane per mandare per detta nave de' quali denari n'abbiam creditore Tommaxo Chuccho insieme chon altre chostume d'altre lane e altre robe</i> (LGR 2349: 18) <i>E a dì primo di giugno 1451 lb. quindici s. 11 d. 8 di st. per <u>chostumare</u> parte di chondotta e altre spese fatte</i> (LGR 2136: 34) <i>E, de' avere s.7 di st. per la metà di poche 27 di lane <u>chostumate</u></i> (LGR 2352, 9) (1448-51)
AN-matrix		
Accounts of Crown and Italian merchant societies (1338-39)	<i>custumer</i> (1)	<i>Item demandent estre deschargez de plusours endettementz qe lour furent fausement faitz a Wyncestre davoit passer leynes saunz <u>custumer</u> e coketter.</i> (Allowances claimed by the Bardi and Peruzzi, 1339-45, E101/127/36) (1338-39) (Bell <i>et al.</i> 2009: 276)
Comments		
Attestation Type 2b / Semantic Field: financial		
<p>One of a small minority of verbs in this glossary, <i>costumare</i> appears (in the specific commercial sense widespread in English trade) in two fifteenth-century account books written in London. In the Villani fragment (a1422), we find the past participle <i>costumate</i> in reference to a consignment of cloth (cf. AND2 sub costumé) and in the Salivati accounts, numerous forms of the verb, all in reference to wool shipments.</p> <p>The verb had been attested in medieval Italian since c1230 but in the sense of 'esser solito, usare, avere per costume, accostumare' (see DEI (1136a) sub costumare / TLIO sub costumare). Even so, this mercantile usage likely stems from AN specifically and the related loanword costuma, originally the Ancient Customs tax imposed in 1275 by the Crown on (mainly Tuscan) wool exports out of England. <i>Custumer</i> was attested prior to this in AN however (1230-57), in the more generic sense of a tax on goods or a market toll levied by local administration; this usage was also found in CF, albeit in handful of citations from the fourteenth century, mainly from Brittany and Normandy (DMF sub coutumer / GDF sub costumer / FEW II-2, p.1092a).</p> <p>The <i>Accounts of the Crown and Italian merchant societies</i> offer a new citation of the verb in a list of allowances claimed by the Bardi of Florence in the 1330s. The insular French form also passed into ME where it is attested from a1400; here its meaning broadened to mean not just paying customs duties but also to levy or</p>		

collect them (MED sub **custumen**).

104. It. <i>costumiere</i> (n.) ‘an official who collects custom duties’ < AN <i>custumer</i> < AN <i>custume</i> < Lat. <i>consuetudium</i> (‘custom, accepted usage’)				
Italian 1296-1451	Anglo-Norman 1296-c1442	Continental French 1260-1481	(Middle) English a1399-1748	Medieval Latin 1328-1510
TLIO	sub <i>costumiere</i> (n.) (1)	‘esattore del dazio’ [...]cioè quello che i <i>costumieri</i> del re truovano che pesa allo loro peso quando lo pesano per prendere la costuma (Pegolotti, Pratica 256.11) (c1335-43, fior.)		
OVI	sub <i>costumieri</i> (2) sub <i>chostumieri</i> (1)	[...]cioè quello che i <i>costumieri</i> del re truovano che pesa allo loro peso quando lo pesano per prendere la costuma (Pegolotti, Pratica 256.11) (c1335-43, fior.) <i>Noi semo bene appensati di no(n) chassare nulla chart ache noi abiamo sopra <u>chostumieri</u> (Lett. lucch., 30.8) (1296, lucch.)</i> ⁴⁵		
AD	<i>costumeri</i> (1)	<i>per dare a’ <u>costumeri</u> d’Antona fr. 7 ½ (Dicharazione relative alle spese di noleggio di tre navi, 378.4) (1396)</i>		
LEI	X			
DEI	∅			
AND	sub <i>custumer</i> ¹ (3)	3. ‘customs officer’ <i>tuz <u>custumiers</u> e gardeyns de la nuvele custume au port ou passage ou le coket seyt (Crisis 45.4) (1297)</i>		
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub <i>coutumier</i> (n.) (1)	B3. ‘collecter des coutumes’ <i>aucuns fermiers, peagiers, <u>coutumiers</u> et autres pourroient faire difficulté ou revocquer en doubte se les dis marchans et mesnagiers sont ou seront cy apres demourans et residens en nos dite ville (Hist. dr. munic. E., t.1, 473) (1481)</i>		
GDF	X			
TL				
TLFi	X			
FEW	II-2, 1092a : consuetudo	‘receveur d’impôts’ OF <i>costumier</i> (1260)		
MED	sub <i>custumer</i> (n.) (9)	1.a ‘a customs official, collector of customs’ [OF <i>co(u)stumier</i> / AL <i>custumarius</i>] <i>A <u>custumer</u> no schal nouzt takyn of no man for non vitayles to his houshold, no to arayment of hys body (Oath Bk Colchester 10) (a1399)</i>		
OED2	sub <i>custumer</i> (n.) (3)	2. ‘An official who collects customs or dues; a custom-house officer’ [<i>Braxiatores, carnifices, <u>custumarios</u> magne et parue custume (Iter Camerarii c. 1 in Acts Parl. Scotl. I. 693) (c1320)</i>] <i>Chescun <u>Custumer</u> Countrollour Sercheour & Surveiou (Act 27 Hen. VI c.</i>		

⁴⁵ It is unclear why this earliest attestation is not include in the TLIO entry.

		2) (1448)
DMLBS	sub custumarius (7) 547c	‘customer, collector of customs’ <i>de vj li. pro stipendiis ij <u>custumiorum</u> et eorum clericum apud Sandwicum</i> (EEC 408) (1328)
DC	sub coustumerius (1)	‘Exactor. Gall. <i>Coustumier</i> ’ <i>Pedagiariis, portuum et passagiorum custodibus, reveriis, leuderiis et</i> <i><u>Coustumeriis</u>, etc.</i> (Ordinat. reg. Franc. tom. 7, p. 383) (1363)
Additional sources		
Italian-matrix		
Datini (1398)	<i>costumieri</i> (1)	<i>E per costuma del balio dell’aqua d. iij per libra, e per cortesia a’</i> <i><u>costumieri</u> s.3 d. 4</i> (written by an ‘Italian in London’, Arch. Dat. Cart. Valencia 33 in Edler 1934: 93) (1398) ⁴⁶
Villani (a1422)	<i>chostumieri</i> (3) <i>(chostumier)</i>	<i>E adì xxij detto £ cinque st. paghatti per luy chonttanti a’ <u>chostumieri</u> di</i> <i>Sanduicci per chostuma di zafferano</i> (Villani frammento) (Guidi- Bruscoli 2010: 399) (a1422)
Albizzi diary (1430)	<i>costumieri</i> (5) <i>(costumiere)</i>	<i>Lunedì adì 16 di gennaio, circha a ora di vespro, s’ebbono i <u>costumieri</u>, che</i> <i>prima non si poterono avere, et pesarono 390 poche di lana di nostro</i> <i>caricho</i> (Diary of galley captain, Luca di Maso degli Albizzi) (Mallett 1967: 256) (1430, fior.)
Salviati (1448-50)	<i>chostumiere</i> (17) <i>(chostumere; pl.</i> <i>chostumieri,</i> <i>chostumiri)</i>	<i>E, a dì 15 di dicembre lb. otto s.2 d.6 di st. faccamo buoni a Ricardo</i> <i>Choccho, <u>chostumiere</u>, da Sanducci, per chostume a balle 13 di Fustani</i> <i>d’Osborgho</i> (LGR 1775, 20) <i>E, a dì detto lb. sessanta sei s.19 d.9 faccamo buoni per loro a Giovanni</i> <i>Ponterellò e Ghuglielmo Biassis <u>chostumere</u> per resto di chostuma di nostre</i> <i>lane chostumate in nome di Borromei e sotto loro patente in credito a detti</i> <i><u>chostumieri</u></i> (LGR 552, 6) (1448-51)
AN-matrix		
Accounts of Crown and Italian merchant societies (1296 - 1340)	<i>customers</i> (11)	<i>Item le xxj jour de Decembre lan xxv par brief del Eschequer des <u>customers</u></i> <i>de Seint Botulf dont il unt letrrre daquitance des avantditz marchandz -</i> <i>cclxvj li. xiiij s. iij d. st’</i> (Frescobaldi receipts, June 1296 to June 1299 (E 101/126/13, m.16) (Bell <i>et al.</i> 2009: 60) (1296) <i>Item doivent avoir pur aprest de j marc a chescun sac de leyne de xxxiiij sacs</i> <i>xxij clofs qils passerent par le port de Loundres de quoi ils ont coket des</i> <i><u>customers</u> - xxij li. xviiij s. vj d.</i> (Allowances claimed by the Bardi and Peruzzi, E101/127/36) (Bell <i>et al.</i> 2009: 270) (1340)
VOH (1441-42)	<i>custumer</i> (2)	<i>Francisco Sandey en le memse galey le vje iure de Novembire dischargy j</i> <i>drappe de sylke le value par le <u>custumerez</u> xlvjli</i> (VOH 54: 13)

⁴⁶ It is unclear why this source is not included in the Datini Archive corpus (AD). Note also the use of the term *balio dell’aqua* in this citation, a calque based on the name of this English official which is not found elsewhere in the OVI / Datini corpora or in the TLIO sub **balio**. Cf. MED sub **water-bailiff**. OED3 **water bailie**, OED3 **water bailiff** and AND1 **waterbaille**.

	<i>custemerez</i>	(E101/128/31 ret 28, John Bentham, host to Benedetto Borromei, merchant of Florence, transc. p.101) (1441-42)
<p style="text-align: center;">Comments</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Attestation Type 2b / Semantic Field: profession</p> <p>Like costuma, the customs official or <i>costumiere</i> is more widely attested than the TLIO entry (which gives one citation from Pegolotti, c1335) implies. Firstly, it appears in Italian as early as 1296: in a letter sent from Lucca to the London office of the Riciardi (E101/601/5) which is fully transcribed in Castellani and Del Punta (2009: 26-30). The loanword is also used to refer to the customs officials of London, Southampton and Sandwich in several later texts from 1396 to 1451: letters sent by the Datini of Prato, the Villani and Salviati London accounts and the diary of Luca di Maso degli Albizzi, the captain of Florentine galley docked at Southampton.</p> <p>The use of <i>costmier</i> to mean ‘tax collector’ is very rare in extant CF records, with only two citations from 1260 and 1481, as given in the FEW and the DMF. There is much more evidence in Middle French from 1398 onwards for the inverse meaning of the term, that of the <i>costumier</i> being a tradesman who is obliged to pay duty on their merchandise: see DMF sub coutumier, B1, ‘Celui qui est sujet aux redevances appelées coutumes, qui est soumis au droit coutumier’.⁴⁷</p> <p>In insular French, we find the profession referred to in <i>The Accounts of the Crown with Italian Merchants</i> (not yet in the AND corpus) from 1296, precisely when the Riccardi in London first use the term. Such AN ‘working documents’ that were seen by both Exchequer clerks and Tuscan bankers provide useful, tangible evidence of practical, everyday language contact that catalysed the transfer of technical lexis such as <i>custumer / costumiere</i> and <i>coillette / coglietta</i>. <i>Custumiers</i> (along with their ‘coket seal’, cf. cochetto), also appear in an AN letter from Hugh le Despenser to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Philip de Willouby, written on the 15th of April 1297: <i>tuz custumiers e gardeyns de la nuvele custume au port ou passage ou le coket seyt, hastivement saunz delay facez fere brefs le rey desouthes le seel de lescheker qe nuls <u>custumier</u> desore gage ne plegge resceyve pur la custume des leynes qe deivent passer</i> (Prestwich 1980: 72).</p>		

⁴⁷ Note that it is only in AN and ME (and hence modern English), that we find the additional sense of ‘one who buys from a trader or guild’: see AND2 sub **customer**¹, sense 4 / MED sub **customer**, sense 2a / OED2 sub **customer**, sense 3.

105. It. dicchero (n.) ‘a unit of measurement for hides or skins, equalling a bundle of ten’ < ME <i>dicker</i> < OE ?* <i>dicor</i> < ? <i>Lat. decuria</i> (‘lot of ten’)				
Italian 1448-51	Anglo-Norman c1435	Continental French X	(Middle) English 1275-1835	Medieval Latin 1086-1275
TLIO	X			
OVI	X			
AD	X			
LEI	X			
DEI	Ø			
AND	<i>dyker</i> sub dacre (n.) (3)	‘(of hides) dicker, lot of ten’ <i>i. dyker de quiers</i> (Local Port Bk 26) (1435-36)		
DEAF	X			
DMF	X			
GDF	Ø			
TL	Ø			
TLFi	Ø			
FEW	Ø			
MED	sub diker (n.) (6)	‘A measure or lot of ten; esp., of hides or skins’ [ML <i>dikeria</i> , <i>dacra</i> , & OF <i>dacre</i> (CL <i>decuria</i>) [<i>Per iij diker' de coriis bovinis</i> . (Select Pleas Manor.in Seld.Soc.2 145) (1275)] <i>That no maner foreyn sille no lether..but it be in the yelde halle..payinge for the custom of euery dyker j d.</i> (Ordin.Wor. 384) (1467)		
OED2	sub dicker ¹ (n.) (4)	‘The number of ten; half a score; being the customary unit of exchange in dealing in certain articles, esp. hides or skins’ [<i>reddebat ciuitas de Glowecestre.. xxxvi dicras ferri</i> (Domesday Book I f.162/1) (1086) [<i>Per iij diker' de coriis bovinis</i> (Placita in Curiis Magnat. Angliæ) (1275)] <i>j dyker de Rigges et neckes</i> (Will of Thomas Tanner (P.R.O.: PROB. 11/3) f. 82) (1429)		
DMLBS	<i>diker</i> ² (1) sub dacra 553a	a. ‘set of ten (of hides)’ [OF <i>dacre</i> , cf. AN, ME <i>diker</i>] <i>attachiati sunt..per iij diker' de coriis bovinis</i> (SelPIMan 145) (1275)		
DC	sub dicora (1)	‘consistit ex 10. coriis’ <i>De Dicora coriorum 2. den. de dimidia 1. den. sed si minus sit quam dimidia Decara, etc.</i> (Lappenb. Init. Hanseat. Fœder. pag. 81) (1262)		
Additional sources				
Italian-matrix				
Salviati	<i>dicchero</i> (7) (pl. <i>diccheri</i>)	<i>Chuoia di bue chomprate per noi deono dare a d 19 di giugno 1449 1b.undici di st. sono per diccheri 10 di chuoia 10 per dicchero</i> (LGR 936: 10) <i>Rinaldo London, choreggiaio in Ceppa de' avere a di 21 di gennaio 1448 lb.</i>		

		<i>venti sette s.4 di st. sono per 24 <u>diccheri</u> di chuoi di bue</i> (LGR630: 2) (1448-51)
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Comments

Attestation Type 2a / Semantic Field: unit of measurement

Together with **toddo**, *dicchero* is a new ME unit of measurement in medieval Italian, found in the *Libro Grande Rosso* of the Salviati London branch, 1448-51. All seven of the attestations refer to *chuoia (di bue)* and correspond to ME *dicker*, a bundle of ten (or half a score) of hides or skins.

A borrowing from ME into Italian seems evident in this case and the use of the term in relation to hides is particularly prevalent in England. BML *dicras* is found in the Domesday Book in 1086 (but referring to iron rods, see the OED2 entry) and in relation to skins from 1275 (*diker' de coriis bovinis*, included in the DMLBS, MED and OED2 entries). ME *dicker* probably developed directly out of OE **dicor* ('a set of ten') as the OED2 suggests but it is not impossible that AN *dacre*, again used specifically for leather, played a supplementary role: see AND sub **dacre**: *xxij dacres e dim' des quir* (att. c1345). The insular French version also appears in BML-matrix texts, often alongside its ME synonym, *dicker* e.g. OED2 sub **dicker**, *Item Last Coriorum ex xx Dykeres, et quodlibet Dacre constat ex x coreiis* (att. 1266-1307).

In CF, *dacre* is extremely rare in the medieval record but the FEW (XV-2, 52b: **dakkere**) does cite *dacre* and *dakere* ('paquet de dix cuirs à poil') from thirteenth-century sources written in St Omer in north-west France. Godefroy includes the same two examples in its entry sub **dacre** but with the vaguer gloss of 'sorte de mesure'. However, the most common version of the name for a lot of ten hides in France was undoubtedly *tacre*, first attested in 1265 (see again, FEW XV-2, 52b and also GDF sub **tacre**/ DMF sub **tacre**¹) and still recorded in Brittany as *tracque* in the eighteenth century. The FEW entry sub **dakkere** suggests that the classic Latin *decuria* developed into medieval Latin *tacre* and then into German *decher*, English *dicker* and Middle Dutch *dakere* and that this latter form then entered Gallo-Romance via trading links in Picardy.

106. It. faldengo (n.) ‘ a cloak or cloth from Ireland made of coarse woollen fabric ’ < ME <i>falding</i> < Middle Irish <i>fallaing</i> (‘cloak’)				
Italian 1305	Anglo-Norman c1330-1419	Continental French X	(Middle) English a1387-1526	Medieval Latin 1285-1372
TLIO	sub faldengo (n.) (1)	‘Tipo di tessuto di lana di poco pregio’ [ME <i>falding</i>] <i>Furo per una sargia, per uno materaço, per uno faldengho d'Irlanda</i> (Libro Gallerani di Londra p.83.3) (1305, sen.)		
OVI	X			
AD	X			
LEI	X			
DEI	Ø			
AND2	sub faldyng (n.) (5)	‘(M.E) frieze, coarse woollen cloth’ <i>(the petitioner) voloit porter avec luy en lieu de monoie as dites parties (to Gascony) pur ent achater les vins, un duzein de draps de worsted e quatre Faldynges</i> (PRO SC 8/195/9712) (c1330-60)		
DEAF	X			
DMF	X			
GDF	Ø			
TL	Ø			
TLFi	Ø			
FEW	Ø			
MED	sub falding (n.) (17)	‘a mantle of cloak made of (coarse) woolen cloth / a kind of woolen cloth, prob. coarse and often described as of Irish manufacture’ [cf. Old Irish <i>feldr</i> , ‘cloak’] <i>[j. faldinga j. cloche</i> (Wardrobe Acc.de Clare in Archaeol.70,39) (1285)] <i>[The Irish] hauep..blak faldynges [L phalangis] instede of mantels and of clokes</i> (Trev. Higd.(StJ-C H.1)1.353) (a1387)		
OED	sub falding (n.) (5)	‘A kind of coarse woollen cloth, frieze; a covering or garment of the same’ <i>Blak faldynges instede of mantels and of clokes</i> (Polychron.St. John's Cambr.) I. 353) (a1387)		
LCC	sub falding (n.) (18) (MED=7 / GPC = 1 / AND=2 / 8 = DMLBS)	‘heavy garment made of coarse cloth, often said to be of Irish or Welsh manufacture; a woollen blanket or wrap worn over the body. Also in compounds: ME <i>faldyngmantell, faldyngclok</i> ’ [?< Middle Irish] <i>j faldinga, j cloche</i> (KRAc 91/3, Arch LXX 39) (1285)		
DMLBS	sub faldinga (3) 898c sub fallinga (9) 899c	‘(cloak of) coarse woollen cloth, esp. from Ireland’ [ME <i>falding</i> < Mir. <i>fallaing</i>] <i>j faldinga, j cloche</i> (KRAc 91/3, Arch LXX 39) (1285) ‘(cloak of) coarse woollen cloth, esp. from Ireland’ [Mir. <i>fallaing</i>] <i>[...] sub quibus et, palliorum vice, phalangis</i> (Gir TH III 10 p.150) (a1188)		
DC	Ø			
Comments Attestation Type 2a / Semantic Field: textile				

This is a hapax in the London Gallerani material, absent from Cella 2007 (as Trotter 2011b: 215 notes) but included in her later, larger mercantile glossary (Cella 2010: 82). Along with the fellow hapax **tancardo** and the much more widely used wool-term **locchi**, *faldengo* is one of three concrete Middle Anglicisms that are found in these Siennese-matrix accounts from the turn of the fourteenth century. It is worth reiterating Trotter's point (2011b: 217), however, that there "are nearly five times as many definite Gallicisms in the London book as there are words which can only be from English."

Textile terms in this glossary account for only 10% of AN / ME borrowings in Italian as to opposed to 38% of Italian borrowings in AN / ME (cf. Chapter 4.4ii). Unlike the luxury silks and brocades imported into England by the Italians, the cloths they purchased there were of a much more utilitarian nature and the coarse woollen *falding* was no exception. Cheap Irish cloth and woollens were a popular commodity in late medieval England and there are numerous records of them in customs accounts of the 1300s and 1400s, particularly in the ports of London, Bristol and Southampton (Childs 2002: 141-46). The *Libelle of Englysche Polycye*, an anonymous poem on English trade from 1436 (which, as we saw in Chapter 2.5, poured scorn the mercantile activities of Italians in England) refers to 'Irish woollen and lynyn cloth, faldyng' as key examples of Ireland's exports (Gorski 2012: 153).

It is of no surprise, therefore, that the ME term *falding* (which could refer either to the cloth type itself or to a cloak or covering made from it) has an Irish etymon. Whilst the OED2 entry gives no language of origin, the MED suggests Old Irish *feldr* and the more recent LCC, Middle Irish *fallaing*, both meaning 'cloak'. Note that the DMLBS has two separate entries sub **faldinga** (att. 1285) and sub **fallinga** (att. a1188) identifying the former as a ME borrowing (ultimately from Irish) and the latter as a direct Irish loanword. However, the *-ld-* spelling in *faldengo* appears to exclude direct Irish-Italian contact.

107. It. fodero (n.) ‘a cart-load or more specifically, a unit of measurement for lead: around 2100 lbs but varying locally’ < ME <i>fother</i> < OE <i>fōðer</i> (‘load, cart-load’)				
Italian 1306-1451	Anglo-Norman c1300-c1430	Continental French X	(Middle) English a1121-1866	Medieval Latin 1228-1550
TLIO	sub fodero ⁴ (n.) (1)	‘Lo stesso che carata’ [< ME <i>fother</i>] <i>Demo per dicienove quarti meço di carboni che compramo per usare nel nostro ostello in tre fodari contati nove d. per recatura</i> (Libro Gallerani di Londra, p. 101.9) (1306, sen.)		
OVI	<i>fodari</i> (1)	<i>Demo per dicienove quarti meço di carboni che compramo per usare nel nostro ostello in tre fodari contati nove d. per recatura</i> (Libro Gallerani di Londra, p. 101.9) (1306, sen.)		
AD	X			
LEI	X			
DEI	Ø			
AND2	sub fother (n.) (3)	‘fother (unit of weight, about 1 ton)’ [ME] <i>Del foher (l. fother) de plumbe [...] viid</i> (Oak Book i 8) (c1300) <i>vous mandons que des issues de vostre receite facez achater un fothere demy de plumbe pur les amendementz et covertours des toure et mesons susdites</i> (Gaunt ² i 175) (1379-83)		
DEAF	X			
DMF	X			
GDF	X			
TL	X			
TLFi	Ø			
FEW	Ø			
MED	sub fother (n.) (13)	1. ‘a cart-load’ [< OE <i>fōþer</i>] <i>He scolde gife ilca gear in to þe minstre sixtiga foðra wuda & twælf foður græfan & sex foður gearda</i> (Peterb.Chron., LdMisc 636, an.852) (a1121) 2. ‘a measure of weight used in selling lead, ?a cartload. The quotes. indicate how widely the fother varied in weight’ <i>[Pro cooperura 2 fothres plumbi super porticum</i> (Acc. R. Dur. In Sur. Soc. 103) (1371-3)] <i>Sex waxpunde makiet j ledpound; xij ledpunde, j fotmel; xxiiij fotmel, j fothir of Bristouwe..xviiij leedpund, j leed bole; xviiij leed boles, j fothir of the Northleondes..Sevene waxpund makiet onleve ponde one waye; twelf weyen, on fothir</i> (Weights(1) in Rel.Ant.1 (Cld E.8) 70) (a1400)		
OED2	sub fother (n.) (2)	1. A load; a cart-load (of hay, turf, wood, etc.) [< OE <i>fōðer</i>] <i>He scolde gife ilca gear in to þe minstre sixtiga foðra wuda and twælf foður græfan and sex foður gearda</i> (Anglo-Saxon Chron anno 852) (OE) 2a. ‘A definite weight of some specified substance. Of lead: Now usually 19½ cwt’ <i>[Et ad iactandum xvj vothres vj votmels [printed votinels] plumbi in</i>		

		<i>pondere, Cs. (Acct. Abingdon Abbey 30) (1375-76)]</i> <i>My mastyre sent to my lorde a <u>fodyr</u> and di. off leede.</i> (Manners & Househ. Expenses Eng.154) (1463)
DMLBS	sub fothera (12) 996a	‘“ <i>fother</i> ”, cartload as measure of weight (of lead)’ [ME <i>fother</i>] <i>unum <u>fotherum</u> plumbi</i> (EEC 156) (1228)
DC	∅	
Additional sources		
Italian-matrix		
Salviati	<i>fodero</i> (38) (pl. <i>foderi</i>)	<i>E, deon dare lb.sedici s. 2 d. 8 di st. sono per <u>foderi</u> 2 centi 16 quarti 3 lib. 24 di piombi in pezzi 6 de’ grandi e 17 piccoli chomprati sino d’aprile passato in Antona Giovanni delgl’Albizi da Tommaxo Pachinton per marchi 8 ½ il <u>fodero</u> (LGR 2281: 19)</i> <i>E, deono avere 1b.novanta sei s.17 d.5 di st. sono per <u>foderi</u> 16 centi 2 quarti 3 lib.22 di piombi chomprati per noi in Antona (LGR 2281: 27) (1448-51)</i>
Comments		
Attestation Type 2a / Semantic Field: unit of measurement		
<p>The plural noun <i>fodari</i>, borrowed from ME <i>fother</i>, and referring to three cart-loads of coal, is attested once in the Gallerani London book in an entry from November 1306. It is not identified in Cella 2007 / 2010 or Trotter 2011b but appears as a hapax in a TLIO entry sub fodero⁴, where it was added as an Anglicism by Mara Fortunato in 2009. In this early fourteenth-century Siennese source, the loanword is used in its primary sense, that of a generic cart-load (similar to ciarrèa < AN <i>charee</i>) as found in its first OE citation: <i>fodur</i> (a1121).</p> <p>By the mid-fifteenth century, <i>fodero</i> and <i>foderi</i> are being used again in another Tuscan account book in London. This time the use is widespread (thirty-eight attestations) and the meaning has evolved to a specific unit of measurement for lead, that of approximately 2100, although this could vary between 1950-2820 lbs (Zupko 1985: 152). This borrowing into Italian mirrors the use of <i>fother</i> in ME from 1228 onwards (see the DMLBS citation from the EEC or Early English Custom system) as a measure of weight for lead, found also as a rare loanword in AN sources from c1300.</p>		

108. It. fullere (n.) ‘a fuller - worker who beats and treads cloth to thicken and clean it’ (ME < <i>fullere</i> / <i>follere</i>) < AN <i>fuller</i> / <i>foleur</i> < (OE <i>fullere</i>) < Lat. <i>fullō</i> (‘a fuller’)				
Italian 1448-51	Anglo-Norman (1222?) c1275-c1400	Continental French 1265-19 th c.	(Middle) English (1222?) c1300-19 th c.	Medieval Latin a549-1457
TLIO	X			
OVI	X			
AD	X			
LEI	X			
DEI	Ø			
AND2	sub fuller ¹ (n.) (10)	‘fuller’ <i>nul ne doit fere burel uverer si il ne soit de la franchise de la vile, forpris ke chescun <u>fulir</u> face un par an e chescun teler un a rendre la ferme li rois</i> (Winchester2 28.14) (c1275)		
DEAF	X			
DMF	X			
GDC	sub fouleur (n.) (3)	‘Syn. de foulon’ <i>Fouleur</i> (Rente, A.N.S 5175, pièce 46) (1265)		
TL	X			
TLFi	sub fouleur (n.)	A. ‘ouvrier qui foule les draps, les chapeaux, foulon’ <i>fouleur</i> (1265)		
FEW	III 844b : fullare	‘foulon’ <i>fouleur</i> (13 th c.)		
MED	sub fullere (n.) (20)	‘A fuller of cloth; also as surname’ [OE <i>fullere</i> & OF <i>fouleur</i>] [<i>Edwardi fullere</i> (Domesday Bk.St.Paul in Camd.69 , 57) (1222)] <i>Seint Matheu he saiz..his mester don of walkingue, for a <u>follare</u> he was</i> (SLeg Ld Misc 108, 77/6) (c1300)		
OED2	sun fuller ¹ (n.) (3)	‘One whose occupation is to full cloth’ [OE <i>fullere</i> < Lat. <i>fullō</i>] <i>Mid one <u>follares</u> perche; þat men tesieth opon cloth</i> (S. Eng. Leg. I. 366/53) (c1290)		
DMLBS	sub fullo (20+) 1025c	‘fuller’ [CL] <i>fullonis veste cerebro percussus</i> (Glidas EB 73) (a549)		
DC	Ø			
Additional sources				
Italian-matrix				
Salviati	<i>follere</i> (9)	<i>Arri Bris, <u>follere</u>, scritto di chontro de’ dare a di 29 di Maggio 1450 lb. cento dodici s.13 d. 4 di st.</i> (LGR 159: 1) <i>sono per panne 20 larghi di piu cholori che ffuron netti a paghamento vergha 608, chomprati da Arri Bris, <u>follere</u></i> (LGR 1516: 9) (1448-51)		
Comments				
Attestation Type 2b/ Semantic Field: profession				

There are nine references in the Salviati London accounts to the profession of *fullere* or ‘fuller of cloth’ attested between 1450 and 1451. Based on its sole appearance in this mid-fifteenth-century source, it is not entirely clear whether we should treat this loanword as an Anglicism or insular Gallicism. The Florentine version could be derived from ME *fuller* (or a variant such as *fullere*) which comes from Latin *fullō* via OE or it could be borrowed from AN *fuller/folleur*, itself from the same ultimate Latin root (cf. DMLBS sub **fullo**, att. a549).

The medieval cloth fuller’s occupation was to clean, shrink and strengthen woollen broadcloths through the application of moisture, heat and pressure. In ancient times, this was done by treading with the feet but by the thirteenth century, water-powered ‘fulling mills’ (cf. OED2 sub **fulling mill**, att. 1377) with wooden rollers were introduced to England in a very early example of mechanization in the wool industry (Munro 2009: 5-7). In French, there existed two main synonyms of the profession name: *foulon* and *fouleur*. In CF, the former, attested from 1160, was by far the more widespread (see TLFi sub **foulon**, DMF sub **foulon**, TL sub **folon**, GDC sub **foulon**) and was mirrored in Italy by a similar form, *fullone*, attested from 1263 (see TLIO sub **fullone**). CF *fouleur* was used rarely for a fuller of cloth (the FEW, GDC and TLFi give one example only, from 1265) and was reserved mainly for ‘celui qui foule le raisin’ i.e. a grape trampler. This is the only meaning given for the noun in the DMF entry sub **fouleur**. Jefferson and Rothwell (1997: 289) discuss *fullere* in their study of the vocabulary of the Merchant Taylor accounts and conclude that “this is an example of Anglo-French, and subsequently English, retaining a term lost to Continental French long before the end of the medieval period.”

Overall, the unique use of Italianised *fullere* to refer to a cloth fuller in the Salviati London accounts certainly seems to be the result of local influence. The *foulon* form was used in England (AND2 sub **fullun**, att. 1212) but the later *fuller* (att. 1275) and variants such as *fulour* and *foleur* are much more widespread in extant records. In addition, as we have already noted, the ME form, possibly reinforced by AN usage, was *fuller(e) / fullere*. Typically, it is difficult to categorise early appearances of the profession as a surname (e.g. *Edwardi fullere* in 1222, see MED sub **fullere**) but ME-matrix citations emerge from c1300.

109. It. gallone (n.) ‘a measure of capacity in medieval England, equal to eight pints’ < AN <i>galun</i> < OF (Northern) <i>jalon</i> / <i>jaloie</i> < ML <i>galleta</i> (‘receptient, bucket’)				
Italian 1305-present	Anglo-Norman c1285-c1400	Continental French c1180-present	(Middle) English c1275-present	Medieval Latin 1185-16 th c.
TLIO	sub gallone ² (n.) (4)	1. ‘Recipiente (per i liquidi)’ [< ME <i>galon</i> , <i>galun</i>] <i>e diciotto d. per due trespidi di ferro e cinque s. per due ghalloni di stangnio</i> (Libro nuovo Gallerani 73.19) (1305, sen.) 2. ‘Misura di capacità in uso in Inghilterra’ <i>Demo a detto Giannino per uno barile de vintessei galoni di vino agro</i> (Libro Gallerani di Londra 81.15) (1305, sen.)		
OVI	<i>gallone</i> (3) <i>ghalloni</i> (1) <i>galoni</i> (1)	<i>e per uno gallone di vino moscadello s. tre d. sei</i> (Doc. fior. 1311-13, 86.2) (1311-13, fior.) ⁴⁸ <i>e diciotto d. per due trespidi di ferro e cinque s. per due ghalloni di stangnio</i> (Libro nuovo Gallerani 73.19) (1305, sen.) <i>Demo a detto Giannino per uno barile de vintessei galoni di vino agro</i> (Libro Gallerani di Londra 81.15) (1305, sen.)		
AD	X			
LEI	X			
DEI	sub gallone ² (n.) 1755a	‘misura di capacità’ [Fr. <i>gallon</i> , att. 1687, dall. ingl. <i>gallon</i> a sua volta prestito dal norm. <i>gallon</i> , fr. <i>jalon</i> , da <i>gale</i> , <i>jale</i> (12 th c.) forse estratto dall’a fr. <i>jalaie</i> , dal lat. medioev. <i>galleta</i>] <i>gallon</i>		
AND2	sub galun (n.) (9)	‘gallon (unit of capacity)’ <i>un gaalon de beure</i> (Henley ² 374) (c1285)		
DEAF	sub jalon (n.) J71-72 (20+)	‘mesure de capacité, comme mesure de liquids prob. equivalent au gallon modern [...] variable selon les régions et temps’ [Prob. <i>jal</i> + <i>on</i> , suffixe diminutive; creation et propagation p.-ê. favorisée par l’emploi du terme pour designer une mesure correspondant à une fraction de la jaloie [...] Est attesté surtout du Nord à l’Ouest (et en agn.)] <i>gallon</i> (MonGuill ² C 271)		
DMF	sub gallon (n.) (21)	‘Région (Nord) : Mesure de capacité pour les liquides et les grains’ <i>A Colin Guyot, pour 5 gallons d’uille dont on a engroissé les fers aux calfas</i> (Clos galées Rouen M.C t.2, 191) (1335-1415)		
GDF	sub gallon ² (n.) (17)	‘mesure servant aux liquids, aux grains, aux terres’ <i>Li uns des moines n’a le jor c’une miche, Et .I. tot seul galon de vin sor lie</i> (Moniage Guill., Richel. 368 f.260) (c1180.)		

⁴⁸ The TLIO siglum ‘Doc. fior. 1311-13’ refers to the *Tercius liber mercatorum de’ Frescobaldis*, accounts of the Frescobaldi offices in London, Bruges, Vienna and Avignon, edited by Saporì (1947: 85-136). All citations of *gallone* are from the London section of the book. See also **potto**.

TL	sub jalon (n.)	‘flüssigkeitsmaß’ [...] <i>Par dedens grosse derriere du talon : Vin ou fontaine i entrast plein <u>galon</u></i> (Agolant 447 in Der Roman von Fierabras) (Occ., 13th c.)
TLFi	sub gallon (n.)	‘Mesure de capacité utilisée en Grande-Bretagne d'une part, aux États-Unis et au Canada d'autre part et équivalant respectivement à 4,54 litres et 3,78 litres’ ⁴⁹ [$<$ ME <i>gallon</i> $<$ OF (nord) <i>galon</i>] <i>galon</i> (Moniage Guillaume) (late 12 th c.)
FEW	IV 35a: galleta	‘mesure pour les liquides’ Old Picard, Old Norman, AN <i>galon</i> (12 th - 16 th c.) ‘mesure pour les liquies, les grains et la terre’ OF <i>jalaie</i> (13 th c.) ‘ancienne mesure de vin’ AN <i>jalai</i>
MED	sub galoun (n.) (20+)	‘A liquid measure of capacity, a gallon; also, an equivalent dry measure’ [OF <i>galon</i> , var. of <i>jalon</i> & ML <i>galō(na)</i>] <i>Bachares and brueres..alle men heo gabbe; Loze heo holdet hore <u>galun</u>, mid berme heo hine fulleþ</i> (LSSerm.(Clg A.9)188/37) (c1275)
OED2	sub gallon (n.) (4)	‘An English measure of capacity. The imperial gallon contains 277¼ cubic inches’ [$<$ Old Northern French <i>galun</i> , <i>gallon</i> , Central Old French <i>jalon</i> = ML <i>galōn-em</i>] <i>Bachares and brueres..Loze heo holdet hore <u>galun</u>, mid berme heo hine fulleth</i> (Wright Relig. Songs vii.37) (c1300)
DMLBS	sub galo (20+) 1048b	‘gallon, (vessel serving as) standard measure of one gallon’ [AN <i>galun</i> , OF <i>gallon</i> , <i>jalon</i>] <i>pro buzis et buszellis et barillis ferratis et <u>galonis</u></i> (Pipe 217) (1185)
DC	∅	
Additional sources		
Italian-matrix		
Salviati	pl. <i>ghalloni</i> (4) (<i>ghaloni</i>)	[...] <i>12 ghalloni di detti vini che sono d'aprile passato, demo a Giuliano e Giorgio Chameldo da Antona perl.7.3.4 di st.il tonello</i> (LGR 2279: 17) <i>E, a di primo d'aghosto 1451 lb.otto s. 9 d.10 di st. faccamo loro buoni perche deve avano messi in baratto di dette lane ton.4 ½, manchò 12 <u>ghalloni</u> di bastardi a lb.7.3.4 il ton.</i> (LGR 2357: 5) (1448-51)
Comments		
Attestation Type 2b / Semantic Field: unit of measurement		
The Salviati <i>Libro Grande Rosso</i> offers new examples of the loanword <i>gallone</i> from the 1400s to add to the TLIO citations from the 1300s, taken from the London accounts of the Gallerani of Siena and the Frescobaldi of Florence. Apart from these rare appearances in medieval Tuscan, the unit of measurement does not appear in Italian until the seventeenth century when it was borrowed from French (see DEI sub gallone ²).		

⁴⁹ *Gallon* (as the TLFi points out) was re-borrowed into modern French from English in the seventeenth century.

As Trotter (2011b: 215) notes in his study of loanwords in the Gallerani material, *gallone* is classified as an Anglicism by Cella (2007: 195-96), based on the fact it is found only in texts dealing with English commerce. He also points that the TLIO entry sub **gallone**² “overlooks the fact that the etymology of the English word is itself French (DEAF **jaloie**, sub-entry **jalon**, J21⁵⁰)”. This *anglismo* label is repeated in Cella’s longer mercantile glossary three years later:

La natura della documentazione italiana, tutta relativa a documenti scritti in Inghilterra o strettamente legati alla contestualizzazione inglese, sconsiglia di porre all’origine del prestito il norm. *galun*, *galon* ‘misura di capacità’ (cui risale l’inglese), la cui vitalità sembra comunque limitata nello spazio e nel tempo (Cella 2010: 67)

These analyses, as Trotter (2011b: 214) rightly comments, ignore “the particularly close relationship between English and French in England”. Direct ME-Italian contact in 1305 was of course possible, as we have in the cases of other loanwords (e.g. **tancardo**, **faldengo**). Even so, in this instance it seems probable that Tuscan *g(h)allone* (like ME *gallon*) was borrowed directly from AN *galun*, attested in England from 1185 in BML Pipe Rolls and a century later, in AN-matrix texts such as Henley’s treatise on estate management. In CF, the term emerges at around the same time (c1180) in the Norman and Picard dialects, probably as a diminutive form of *jaloie* (‘récipient pour les liquids, qui a la forme d’un seau’), ultimately from ML *galleta* (DEAF sub **jaloie** J63-67).

⁵⁰ This is a typographical error in Trotter’s article and should read ‘J71’.

110. It. goffiere (n.) ‘a treasurer in the English royal household’ < AN <i>coffrer</i> < AN <i>coffer</i> < Lat. <i>cophinus</i> ‘a basket / hamper’				
Italian 1306	Anglo-Norman 1302 -c1343	Continental French X	(Middle) English c1338-1860	Medieval Latin 1279-1415
TLIO	X			
OVI	<i>goffriere</i> (1)	<i>Comprarlo per lo goffiere Lerex 4 di lulio 306 fo. XXIIIJ.</i> (Libro Gallerani di Londra 59.25) (1306, sen.)		
AD	X			
LEI	X			
DEI	Ø			
AND2	sub coffrer (n.) (4)	2. ‘treasurer, cofferer’ <i>iiij li. queus il receut par la main Sire R. le Coffrer</i> (Rot Parl ¹ i 474) (1302) <i>les offices le roy, c’este a saver, tresorer, chaunceler, cofrers, justices</i> (Chron. London 87.12) (c1343)		
AND corpus	<i>coffrer</i> (1) sub ordener ¹	<i>la chevauchee qe feut nadgueres ordenee parentre vous e Raufe de Mantone, notre coffrer</i> (History Scotland ii 448) (1302)		
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub coffrier (n.) (1)	2. ‘Celui qui tient les coffres, trésorier’ <i>[...] c’este à saver, tresorer, chaunceler, cofrers, justices, viscountes, et de lour clers, taxours parmy Engeltre, coillours des dysmes</i> (Chron. London A, 87) (c1343)		
GDF	Ø			
TL	Ø			
TLFi	Ø			
FEW	II 1152b: cophinus	‘garde du trésor’ <i>coffrier d’un prince</i> (Cotgrave) (1611)		
MED	sub cofrer (n.) (9)	a. ‘a treasurer’ <i>Sir Rauf þe Coffrers [read: Coffrere] þat tyme was Tresorerere.</i> (Mannyng Chron.Pt.2 (Petyt 511) p.319) (c1330) b. ‘an officer of the royal English household’ <i>Glad suffisance was his [Kyng Edmond's] tresorer..And trewe reknere was callid his cofrer.</i> (Lydg. St.Edm.(Hrl 2278) 396/1078) (c1433)		
OED2	sub cofferer (n.) (3)	a. ‘a treasurer’ [< OF <i>coffrier</i>] <i>Sir Rauf þe Coffrers þat tyme was Tresorerere</i> (R. Mannyng Chron.319) (c1330) b. ‘an officer of the royal household of England, next under the controller; he had the oversight of the other officers’ <i>One notable Tombe..wherein William Cope, Coferer to K. H. 7. is buried.</i> (J. Leland Itinerary IV. 45) (a1552)		
DMLBS	sub coffrarius (7)	2b. ‘official of Royal household’		

	371c	<i>pro eo quod idem magister Willelmus de Luda fuit coffrarius ..magistri Thome Bek' per totum tempus quo idem T, fuit custos Garderobe reigs et idem [...]</i> (1279)
DC	sub cofferarius (1)	'Arcarius, qui coffra, seu arcas Regias servat, in Fleta lib. 2. cap. 14. § 3. Anglis <i>The Cofferer of the Kings houshold</i> , Magni Oeconomi seu Dispensatoris Regis Contrarotulator, Vicarius, cujus munus est aliis familiae Regiae Officiariis sua salaria, seu stipendia erogare'
<p>Comments</p> <p>Attestation Type 2a / Semantic Field: profession</p> <p>This profession name - specifically linked to the royal household of England - is a hapax in Italian, attested once in the Gallerani London book in 1306. The <i>goffriere lerex</i> or 'King's cofferer' was an official within the Wardrobe administration system (see guardarobiere), an important clerk "in charge of the wardrobe's cash" but subordinate to the Controller and the Keeper (Prestwich 1988: 139). Once again, we seem to be dealing with a clear borrowing in Siennese from administrative AN, rather than directly from ME as suggested by Cella (2010: 74).</p> <p>This extended sense of 'custodian of the coffers' is only found in AN, BML and subsequently, ME. The sole example in the DMF is from an English text, the <i>Chroniques de London</i> from c1343. Earliest attestations appear in BML-matrix texts from 1279 (DMLBS sub coffarius) as well as a reference to 'the office of (royal) cofferer' in 1288 (DMLBS sub coffraria). Edward I's cofferer, Ralph de Manton, is referred to in AN government documents from 1302. We find the alternative sense of 'box or chest maker' in England too (MED sub cofrer, att. as a surname in BML in 1296, AND2 sub cofrer, att. c1372), as well as in in France from 1260 (GDF coffrier / TL cofrier / DMF sub coffrier / FEW II p1152b). Note that we also have two examples in the Gallerani Paris accounts (also from 1306) where the profession name has been borrowed from CF in both masculine and feminine forms: <i>Piero lo Cuffriere</i> and <i>Nichola la Cuffriera</i>, 'chi costruisce e vende casse' (Cella 2010: 74).</p>		

111. It. grossiere (n.) ‘a wholesale merchant who buys foreign produce in gross or bulk and deals especially spices and some types of cloth’ (ME <i>groser</i>) < AN <i>groser</i> < ML <i>grossus</i> (‘large’)				
Italian a1422-1451	Anglo-Norman (?1311) c1343 -1419	Continental French c1268-1679	(Middle) English 1418-present	Medieval Latin 1310-1443
TLIO	X			
OVI	X			
AD	X			
LEI	X			
DEI	∅			
AND2	sub groser (n.) (7)	<p>‘wholesaler’ [AF and ME] <i>et qe esluz soient et ordenez par les avauntditz Meire, Audermans, et Viscountes, xii prodeshommes de la dite cité, agarder ceste Assise, qe ne soient <u>grossours</u> de vin ne taverners</i> (Lib Alb 304) (1419)</p> <p>‘(merc.) grocer’ <i>R. de B., draper et J. de la R., <u>groser</u></i> (Cron Lond 91.7) (c1343)</p> <p>‘engrosser, forestaller’⁵¹ <i>les Marchantz nomez <u>Grossers</u> engrossent toutes maneres de Marchandies vendables</i> (Rot Parl1 ii 227) (1351)</p>		
DEAF	sub grossier (n.) (6) G1490	<p>1. artisan d’un certain métier travaillant de grosses pièces’ [cf. AN <i>groser</i>, <i>grosser</i>] <i>[...] c’est a savoir marischax, greiflers, hiaumiers, veilliers, <u>grossiers</u>, que il n’achate le mestier du roy</i> (LMestD p.44) (c1268)</p> <p>2. ‘marchand en gros’ <i>les granz peletiers et li <u>grossiers</u> de peleterie sunt au desus devers les Changes en descendant</i> (PéageChalonA 82) (1303)</p>		
DMF	sub grossier ¹ (n.) (5)	<p>1. ‘Marchand en gros’ <i>et ceulz qui desdits <u>grossiers</u> auront acheté celluy qui sera suranné, ilz ne le pourront vendre que il ne le dye estre tel comme il sera [...]</i> (Mét. Corp. Paris L., t.1, 17) (1351)</p>		
GDF	sub grossier (n.) (8)	<p>‘marchand en gros, term s’appliquant à plusieurs métiers’ <i>[...] c’est a savoir marischax, greiflers, hiaumiers, veilliers, <u>grossiers</u>, que il n’achate le mestier du roy</i> (Est. Boil., Liv. des mest, 1ère partie, xv, i) (1268)</p>		
TL	sub grossier (n.) (2)	<p>‘Art Schmied’ <i>[...] c’est a savoir marischax, greiflers, hiaumiers, veilliers, <u>grossiers</u>, que il n’achate le mestier du roy</i> (LMest 44) (1268)</p>		
TLFi	∅			
FEW	IV 277b: grossus	<p>‘marchand en gros’ <i>grossier</i> (1268) / AN <i>grossour</i> (1311)</p>		

⁵¹ i.e. ‘one who buy up good in large quantities before they go on sale in order to secure a monopoly’: cf. OED2 sub **engrosser** / OED2 sub **forestaller**.

MED	sub grocer (n.) (17)	‘A wholesale dealer in merchandise, such as wine, spices, pharmaceutic items, foods, etc’ [AF <i>grosser</i> , cp. CF <i>grossöor</i> , <i>grossour</i>] <i>William Grome, Freman of london, vsyd to sel dyuerz Warez to the Fraternite of Grocerz. And aftyr retaylyd to diuerz men.</i> (Grocer Lond.in Bk.Lond.E. 200/190) (1418)
OED2	sub grocer (n.) (7)	1. ‘One who buys and sells in the gross, i.e. in large quantities, a wholesale dealer or merchant’ [< OF <i>grossier</i> < ML <i>grossārius</i>] <i>In here tyme..was the furste stoon leyd of the Groceres Place in Conyhoopelane in the Warde of Chepe</i> (Some Acct. Worshipful Company of Grocers) (1427) 2. ‘A trader who deals in spices, dried fruits, sugar, and, in general, all articles of domestic consumption except those that are considered the distinctive wares of some other class of tradesmen’ <i>He paid to the grocer in Fanchestrete for spycez, x. s. vj. d.</i> (Manners & Househ. Expenses Eng. 299) (1465)
DMLBS	sub grossarius (10) 1108c	‘dealer in gross, grocer, wholesale dealer in goods such as spices, confectionery, victuals’ <i>John Gut’, grossarius</i> (LB Lond. B f.110v) (1310)
DC	sun grossarius (1)	‘Magnarius, solidæ mercis propola, Gallice Marchand Grossier’ [No citation] (Menotum Serm. Quadragesim. fol. 120.) (att.?)
Additional sources		
Italian-matrix		
Villani	<i>grossiere</i> (3)	<i>Gian Maldi grossiere de’ avere adì xxj di magio £ venti st. avemo chontanti, rechò Francescho degli Alberti</i> (Villani frammento, ed. Guidi- Bruscoli 2010:405) (a1422, fior.)
Salivati	<i>grossiere</i> (100+) (<i>grossiere</i> , <i>grossire</i> , <i>grassiere</i>)	<i>Martino Arlues, grossiere, de’ dare a dì 17 d’aprile 1451 lb.dedici di st. per noi da Piero de’ Medici e Gerezzo de’ Pilgli e chomp.</i> (LGR 2201, 1) <i>E, di detto lb.cento cinquanta da Ghulglelmo Maro grassiere in questo a c.79 lb.150 s.- d.-</i> (LGR 711, 10) (1448-51, fior.)
Comments		
Attestation Type 2b / Semantic Field: profession		
<p>The Worshipful Company of Grocers, founded in 1376, has one of the longest histories of the London Guilds: it grew out of the earlier Pepperer’s Guild which had been set up without warrant in 1179-80 and sent its agents to Spain and, very probably, Genoa, to source produce (see Alcolado Carnicero 2014: 2 and Nightingale 2007, VIII, 123-132). In 1428, the Guild was even partly managed by Italians in London who trained English apprentices and a “select band of Italian entrepreneurs” continued to be sponsored there throughout the fifteenth century (Bradley 2012: xxi).</p> <p>The Tuscan <i>grossiere</i> is a mercantile borrowing not yet included in dictionary corpora or loanword glossaries. Its earliest usage is in the Villani London accounts (a1422) where the editor identifies the two</p>		

grocers as John Chichele (*Gian Cicili*) and John Malden (*Gian Maldì*) (Guidi Bruscoli: 2010: 383). The former was an appointed host to visiting Genoese merchants in 1442 (Bradley 2012: 28-33, 177) and the latter appears in the record of a dispute with a mercer in a Plea Roll of 1430 (Thomas 2015: 239). The profession name is also used over a hundred times in the Salviati's *Libro Grande Rosso*, written in the English capital in 1448-51. More than a dozen different men are recorded as *grossieri* but by far the most frequent names in the entries are *Ghulglelmo Maro* and *Tommaxo Chupre*. Both grocers are identifiable in other contemporary civic records: William Marrow was also an alderman and mayor in 1355 (Bradley 2012: 222) and Thomas Couper dealt not just with the Florentine Salviati but with the Venetian, Giovanni Marcanova, who had commercial interests in the Levant (Bradley 2012: 181).

Like the profession names **brocchore**, **follere** and **stapoliere** which also appear in the Salviati source it is difficult to confidently identify the donor language for *grossiere*: is it ME *groser* or AN *groser*? The former was established in English by the 1420s (MED sub **grocer**, att. 1418) and the latter, its insular French etymon *groser* emerged in the fourteenth century (AND2 sub **groser**, att. c1343). The FEW (IV, p. 277b) records AN *grossour* ('marchant en gros') in 1311 but no source text is given. Note that the Latinised form appeared in BML texts from 1310 (DMLBS sub **grossarius**).

The extant record shows CF *grossier* appearing as early as 1268 in the Parisian *Livre des Métiers*. A CF etymon is not impossible, of course, but circumstantial evidence clearly supports a borrowing from England. For a detailed discussion of the separate semantic development of AN *groser* and CF *grossier*, see Rothwell (1998): both started off clearly to mean a wholesaler but in England there was, at some point in the fourteenth century, a shift to the sense of retailer, which is retained to this day. Pinning down this shift is difficult as Rothwell explains:

The early examples of the word, found in England slightly earlier than its first attestation on the Continent, pose no problem of meaning, indicating clearly the original meaning of 'wholesaler'. Even as late as 1373 the archive of the Grocers' Company in London refers to *la compaygnie des grossers*, and the details of their trade show it to have been wholesale, but by the same time, if not earlier, the appearance of the derivative noun *grocerie* in the sense of 'spices' would suggest that the *grossier* in England might at that time have been synonymous with the earlier (*e*)*spicer* who dealt in (*e*)*spicerie*, and who might have been either a wholesaler or a retailer (Rothwell 1998: 2-3).

112. It. guardarobiere (n.) ‘an official in the English royal household in charge of the Great Wardrobe (i.e. the king’s personal finances and possessions)’ < AN <i>garderobier</i> < [AN <i>garder</i>] + [AN <i>robe</i>]				
Italian c1325	Anglo-Norman (1275?) 1297-1425	Continental French 1359-1481	(Middle) English (1275?) 1411-1878	Medieval Latin 1165-1459
TLIO	X			
OVI	sub guardarobiere (2)	<i>Indentura intra noi e ser Giovanni de Vuimondualde <u>guardarobiere</u> di meser U. Dispensiere il f. a la torre di Londra di lb. V ster.</i> <i>Indentura tra ser Simone di Scepeie <u>guardarobiere</u> di messer Ugo e noi di lb. xx ster. che Igli demo per lo detto messer</i> (Both Doc. tosc 1263-1326, 269.31 / 270.11) (1324-26, fior.)		
LEI	X			
DEI	Ø			
AND2	sub garderobier (n.) (6)	1. ‘wardrober (officer in charge of the robes, apparel etc.)’ <i>Fait le seignour del hostel a un dez cez esquiers ou vadletez tout ainsy: ‘Me faites venire devant moy mon <u>garderobre</u>. Ditez luy qu’il veigne tantost’</i> (Man Lang ANTS 4.20) (1396) 2. ‘keeper of the Wardrobe (person concerned with the finances of the household)’ <i>ils enount bille ensealé du seal sire William de Melton’, ercevesqe d’Everwyk’, adonqes <u>Gardrober</u> nostre seignur le Roi</i> (Northumb 208) (1327)		
DEAF	sub garderobier (n.)(G241)	‘officier qui a soin des vêtements, des armes, de l’argenterie etc’ AN <i>Robert le <u>garderobier</u></i> (1297) MF <i>Le principal portier, 20 escuz. Le <u>garderobier</u>, 10 escuz</i> (1359)		
DMF	sub garderobier (n.) (5)	‘Celui qui a charge de la garde-robe’ <i>Le curé du chastel, 40 escuz. Le principal portier, 20 escuz. Le <u>garderobier</u>, 10 escuz</i> (Comptes argent. rois Fr. D.-A., I, 269) (1359-60)		
GDF	sub garderobier (n.) (4)	‘officier qui avait soin des vêtements et des armes’ <i>Le principal portier, 20 escuz. Le <u>garderobier</u>, 10 escuz</i> (Compt. de l’argent., p.259) (1359)		
TL	sub garderobier (n.) (1)	‘Verwalter der Vorräte am Gewand’ <i>Me faites venire devant moy mon <u>garderobre</u>. Ditez luy qu’il veigne tantost</i> (Man. de lang.383) (1397)		
TLFi	Ø			
FEW	XVII, 520b : * wardôn	‘officier qui avait soin des vêtements et des armes’ MF <i>garderobier</i> (14 th c.)		
MED	sub warde-rober (n.) (22)	‘The official in charge of the wardrobe in a royal or noble household’ [cp. AL <i>warderobarius</i> & OF <i>garderobier</i> .] [<i>William <u>Warderobier</u></i> (Reaney Dict.Br.Surnames, 371) (1275)] <i>Item, delivered to Robt Rolleston youre <u>warderobier</u> bedys of calcidoyne garnized with golde</i> (Proc.Privy C. 5.63) (1437)		

	sub garde-rober (n.) (4)	‘An officer in a royal household charged with the care of wearing apparel’ [<i>Robert le <u>Garderober</u></i> (Pat R. Edw. I 259) (1297)] <i>John Loveney, <u>Garderober</u></i> (Thuresson ME Occup. Terms 122) (1411)
OED2	sub warderobier (n.) (4)	‘An officer of a royal household who had charge of the robes, wearing apparel, etc.’ [OF <i>warderobier</i> , dialect variant of <i>garderobier</i>] <i>Prewaly his <u>wardroper</u> He gert to þis Robert ber</i> (Wyntoun Cron. viii. xviii.2867) (c1420)
DMLBS	sub warderobarius (6) 3731a	‘one in charge of the wardrobe, “wardrober”’ [cf. ME <i>warderobier</i> , AN <i>garderobier</i>] <i>Gilleberto <u>garderobario</u> iij li. et vij s. per breve regis</i> (Pipe 20) (1165)
DC	∅	
Additional sources		
AN-matrix		
Merchant-Taylor accounts	<i>garderobier</i> (1) <i>warderoper</i> (1)	<i>Whittington, Knolles, Wodecok et le <u>garderobier</u>; iij chaperons – ix s. iij d.</i> (1405) <i>Dominus J.B., <u>warderoper</u> ové le dit seignour</i> (1425) (Both Merchant Taylor accounts, in Jefferson and Rothwell 1997: 289)
Comments Attestation Type 2b / Semantic Field: profession		
<p>These two examples of <i>guardarobiere</i>, unique in medieval Italian records, appear in two marginalia written in AN indentures from 1325-26, addressed to the <i>marchantz de la compaignie de Peruche</i> (E101/127/19 m.2 and E101/127/21 m.14, transcribed in Re 1913: 269). Note also the reference to the Royal Wardrobe itself - <i>bigla de guardarobe di lb. cviii per panni</i> - on another warrant for payment issued to the Florentine merchants (see bilgla).</p> <p>Cella (2010:76) is correct in stating that <i>guardarobiere</i> has a specific meaning in the context of the English court: “(In Inghilterra) ufficiale preposto alla gestione dei beni del re”. The Great Wardrobe was, in fact, a government office, at the financial and administrative centre of the royal household and it worked in tandem with the Exchequer to manage the King’s personal funds. The ‘Master’ or ‘Keeper’ of the Wardrobe held a prestigious position in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and was responsible for wide-ranging aspects of royal expenditure. This included working closely with Italian merchant societies who provided the King with luxury goods (especially cloths) or the Tuscan Crown Bankers of the period who repaid or underwrote royal loans from other lenders (Bell <i>et al.</i> 2010 vi-vii). The specific role of a <i>guardarober</i> in England was therefore very different to that in France - where it was first attested in 1359 - which involved more low-key responsibility for the royal clothes, arms and jewels. Cella uses this fact to argue for an ME etymon for Tuscan <i>guardarobiere</i> when - as in similar cases such as costuma, gallone and persona - an AN etymon is by far the more obvious candidate.</p>		

Guardorabario is attested as a surname early as 1165 in a BML Pipe Roll (see DMLBS sub **warderobarius**) and AN *Robert le garderober* in 1297 (see DEAF sub **garderobier**). The surname William Warderoper, attested in 1275 (see MED sub **warde-rober**) shows the typical AN ‘g’ / ‘w’ variance, also found in its root word *Wardrobe* (‘state department’): see AND2 sub **garderobe**. The AND does not yet include citations from the AN Merchant Taylors’ Accounts which attest *garderobier* in 1405 and *warderoper* in 1425.

The inadequate treatment of *garderober / wardroper* by the MED - which does not “provide details for the Anglo-Norman aspects of the royal office” - was highlighted most recently by Chambers and Sylvester (2010: 65). A similar argument is made by Jefferson and Rothwell (1997: 290) who criticise the OED and MED for “leaving readers in ignorance” of the breadth of meaning of *Wardrobe / Garderobe* within royal medieval administration in England and of how some senses developed uniquely in insular French before moving into ME.

113. It. impaccare (v.) ‘to pack wool into sacks ready for sale / export’ < AN <i>enpacker</i> < ME <i>pakken</i> < ME <i>pak</i> < ? Middle Dutch <i>pac</i> (‘a bundle / package’) ⁵¹				
Italian c1336-1451 ⁵²	Anglo-Norman 1294-15 th c.	Continental French 1340-1575	(Middle) English c1378-present	Medieval Latin 1230-1462
TLIO	sub impaccare (n.) (1)	‘avvolgere o mettere qsa in un pacco’ [< OF <i>empaquer</i>] <i>per impacchare 8 scarp.</i> ⁵³ <i>e costuma al Damo e per 5 schure.</i> (Doc. fior p. 390) (1336-39, fior)		
OVI	X			
LEI	X			
DEI	∅			
AND	sub enpacker (v.) (2) sub pakker ² (1)	‘to pack’ <i>les (=clothes) enpackent [...] & en mesmes les packes sotelment enpackent layn fine</i> (Rot Parl ¹ iii 626) (1410) ‘to pack’ <i>[...] ont pakkez ou faire pakker par lours proprez servantz touz lour proprez draps issantz de la dite porte de Loundres, sicome touz autres merchantz</i> (Rot Parl ¹ ii 443) (1399)		
AND corpus	<i>enpackent</i> (1) sub garnement	<i>puis font trencher tielx draps a petites peces de v. ou vj. verges ou de pluiz ou de meins, & ent fount diverses garnementes & les enpackent en lour ditz hostielx</i> (Stats ii 165) (1409)		
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub empaquer (v.) (1)	‘emballer’ <i>[...] saufque les dites bones gentz troveront canevice pour les sarplers d’enpacker les dites leines</i> (Hist. industr. drapière Flandre E.P. , t.3, 775) (1340)		
GDF	sub empaquer (v.) (2)	‘mettre en paquet’ <i>[...]et ent fount diveres garnements, et les empakkent en lour hostielx, et en mesmes les pakkes subtielment empakkent leyns fin, or et argent, ou plate</i> (Stat. de Henri IV d’Englet. an XI, impr. goth, Bibl. Louvre) (1409)		
TL	∅			
TLFi	∅			
FEW	FEW XVI 613a : pak	‘emballer’ AN <i>enpaker</i> (1294) ⁵⁴ ‘mettre en paquet’ AN <i>enpaker</i> (1410) / MF <i>empaquer</i> (Gironde, 1575)		

⁵¹ As the OED3 sub **pack n.**¹ states: “further etymology unknown; it is not impossible that the Middle Dutch and Middle Low German words might instead reflect a borrowing from Middle English.”

⁵² *Impaccare* (‘fare un pacco’) re-entered modern Italian in the nineteenth-century as a derivation from *pacco*, a noun probably derived from Dutch *pack*, according to the DEI 1952b sub **impaccare** / Trecanni sub **impaccare**.

⁵³ *Scarp.* = *scarpigliera* or ‘sarpler of wool’. See Table 2, Chapter 4.1iii.

⁵⁴ The FEW does not give a source but this is presumably the same example that appears in the English Exchequer Schedules of 1294; although not fully transcribed until 2006 by Bell *et al.*, short sections of this material appeared in Bigwood (1930), ‘Un marché de matières premières: Laines d’Angleterre et marchands italiens vers la fin du XIII siècle.’ The same must be true for the reference to “Anglo-Norman *enpaker* (1294)” in the etymology section of the OED3 entry sub **pack v.**¹

MED	sub pakken (v.) (13)	‘To package (sth.), bundle, wrap / to cram (a container with sth.); pack (sth.) compactly’ [< ME <i>pak</i> , cp. AF <i>enpaker</i>] [<i>Canevace deinz quel lor leines sont <u>packes</u></i> (Statutes Realm 1.368) (1361)] <i>Panne wil he [Charity]..Labory in a lauendrye..and zepliche speke Pryde with al þe appurtenaunce and <u>pakken</u> hem togyderes</i> (PPI.B (LdMisc 581) 15.184) (c1378)
OED3	sub pack ¹ (v.) (6)	II. ‘To wrap and tie (goods, clothes, etc.) in cloth, canvas, or other material, so as to form a pack, bale, or parcel; to bundle or parcel up’ [< ME <i>pak</i> ⁵⁵] <i>Now hatz Nabuzardan nomen alle þyse noble þynges, And pyled þat precious place, and <u>pakked</u> þose godes.</i> (Cleanness 1282) (?c1380)
DMLBS	sub impaccare (3) 1237c	‘to pack (cloth or yarn) into bales’ ⁵⁶ [cf. AN <i>empakkure</i> , ME <i>pakken</i>] <i>inveniet...sarpellarios...ad predictam lanam <u>impaccandam</u></i> (LTR Mem. 53 m.13) (1230)
DC	∅	
Additional sources		
Italian-matrix		
Villani	[<i>inpachattore</i> (1)]	<i>Gianichino Varoldo nostro inpachattore de’ dare adì xxij di novembre £ tre st. ebe chonttanti porttò lui medesimo</i> (Villani frammento, ed. Guidi-Bruscoli 2010:395) (a1422)]
Salviati	<i>impacchare</i> (4) (pp: <i>impacchate</i>) [<i>impacchatura</i> (17) (<i>pacchatura</i> , pl. <i>impacchature</i> , <i>impachature</i>) [<i>impacchatore</i> (6) (<i>impachatore</i>)	<i>sono per alle 223 di chanavaccio largho avere da llui sino a dì 31 di lulglio per d.4 ½ l’alla per <u>impacchare</u> lane levati da richordanze a c.161</i> (LGR 1938: 6) <i>sono per la metà del chosto di saccha 57 di lana chomprate in paese da diverse persone e diversi pregi e tempi e <u>impacchate</u> in dette poche</i> (LGR 2347: 10) (1448-51) <i>saccha 57, chiovi 2 di lane chomprate in paexe di più persone a diverxi pregi e modi e <u>impacchatura</u> e chariche in Antona in dette poche di sopra</i> (LGR 2287: 19) (1448-51) <i>E, a dì 20 di novembre lb.cinque s.8 da Giovanni Suans, <u>impacchatore</u>, in questo, a c.131 lb. 5 s. 8 d.8</i> (LGR 1173: 3) / <i>E, a dì 22 d’aprile 1450 lb.una s.11 d.10 di st per una pezza di ditto tele d’alle 88 di fiandra qui alle 53 a den.7 l’alla, vendute a Ghulglielno Button nostro <u>impacchatore</u></i> (LGR 1160: 8) (1448-51)]
AN-matrix		
Exchequer schedules from 1294	<i>enpaker</i> (1)	<i>E le apariller de ceste leine et les sarpellers a mesme la leine <u>enpaker</u> nous unt couste cest an, iij li. ij s. vj d.</i> (Submission of wool purchases made in England by the Frescobaldi of Florence, E101/126/7 m.14) (1294) (Bell <i>et al.</i> 2006: 180)

⁵⁵ The noun ‘pack’ is very probably Germanic in origin and is first attested in England as the surname *Pakbyndere* in 1191. However, it is not clear from extant records whether ME borrowed the term from Middle Dutch or vice versa (OED3 sub **pack n.**¹ / Durkin 2011: 170).

⁵⁶ Note that, in spite of the gloss, all three citations in the DMLBS entry refer to wool being packed.

Comments

Attestation Type 2b / Semantic Field: wool

The verb *impaccare* is used with specific reference to wool in the London accounts of the Salviati of Florence. Interestingly, in this instance, an ME equivalent, *pakken*, exists (indeed, it is the source of the AN word) but, based on form, we can argue for a borrowing from AN *enpaker*, even though the Italian citations are late within the corpus (1448-51). This argument is strengthened by the presence of *impachare* in a Florentine record of English wool purchase by Duccio di Banchello and Banco Bencivenni from 1336-39 where it is labelled as a Gallicism by the TLIO.⁵⁷ As the document in question also contains the wool-related loanwords **chivo** and **costuma**, it seems likely that it too offers evidence of insular French lexis in Tuscan. It should also be noted that there are only two CF examples of the verb in 1340 and 1575 recorded in the DMF, FEW and Godefroy (the others are from AN sources).

Impaccare (again, referring to wool) is first attested in England in BML in 1230 and in AN as *enpaker* in the wool schedules submitted to the King by various Tuscan merchants in 1294. Although the verb ‘to pack’ applied to many goods or items (as it still does today), there was a certainly a specific link to the the wool trade in the late Middle Ages: “prepared fleeces were rolled into bales and stuffed into canvas sarplers containing, depending on their size, either one, or more commonly two sacks” (Bell *et al.* 2007: vii). A ‘wollepacker’ or just ‘packer’ was hence a specific profession and it played an important role in the chain of events that saw a wool crop from Yorkshire abbey end up on a loom in Florence: see MED sub **pakkere** / OED sub **packer**¹ / AND1 sub **pakker**¹ / DMLBS 1237c sub **impactor**. Note that the Salviati London accounts and those of fellow Florentines, the Villani, both record payments to *nostro impacchatore*, the man in charge of wool-packing. In addition, the Salviati attests its own Italianised version of the noun ‘enpackure’ or ‘wool-packing’ - *impacchatura* - which is not found elsewhere in the TLIO / OVI corpora (cf. AND2 sub **enpackure** / AND1 sub **pakkure**).

⁵⁷ This is the sole citation in the TLIO entry sub **impaccare** and it was added in 2013 (and so is not in the OVI corpus or Cella’s study of Gallicisms in medieval Italian from 2003).

114. It. irmanghere (n.) ‘ironmonger: a dealer in ironware’ < ME <i>iremangere</i> < ‘iron’ (< OE <i>isærn</i>) + ‘monger’ (< OE <i>mongere</i> , ‘merchant, trader’)				
Italian 1448-51	Anglo-Norman 1365-1409	Continental French X	(Middle) English c1164-present	Medieval Latin 1490
TLIO	X			
OVI	X			
AD	X			
LEI	X			
DEI	Ø			
AND2	sub iremongere (n.) (3)	‘ironmonger, dealer or merchant in ironware’ [ME] [...] <i>par la meinprise de William Grofham de London’, iremongere, et Johan de Notingham de Dorkynge del contee de Surr’</i> (Foedera iii 771) (1365)		
DEAF	X			
DMF	X			
GDF	X			
TL	Ø			
TLFi	Ø			
FEW	Ø			
MED	sub iren-mongere (n.) (20+)	‘A dealer or merchant in ironware’ <i>Ailredus Ismangere</i> (Pipe R.Soc.8 104) (1164-65) <i>Iremongers, Clogmakers, Mustarders, Joynours</i> (Oath Bk.Colchester 11) (1377-99)		
OED3	sub ironmonger (n.) (7)	‘A dealer in ironware; a hardware merchant.’ [<i>Ailredus Ismangere</i> (Publ. Pipe Roll Soc.VIII. 104) (1164-65)] <i>Robert the iremongere</i> (Hist. & Munic. Documents Ireland 41)(c1200)		
DMLBS	sub irenmaneria (1) 1477c	‘ironmongery’ <i>qui decetero shoppam in arte irenmangarie erexerit</i> (Mem. York I 203) (1490)		
DC	Ø			
Additional sources				
Italian-matrix				
Salviati	<i>irmanghere</i> (13) <i>(irmanchere, irmangere, irimanghare)</i>	<i>E, a dì 22 di settembre 1b.cinqueta di st. da Ghulglielmo Brembil, irmanghere, in questo, a c.192 1b.50 s.— d.-</i> (LGR 1856, 14) <i>Ghulglielmo Branbil, irmanghere a Brinisghatto de’ avere a dì 22 di settembre 1450 1b.cinquanta di st.</i> (LGR 1879, 15) <i>Riccardo Fliamingho, iramangere, de’ avere lb. dieci s.14 d.6 di st. sono per pezzi sette di piombi</i> (LGR 2192, 4) (1448-51)		
Comments Attestation Type 2a / Semantic Field: profession				
This is one of four ME borrowings relating to professions in the Salviati London <i>Libro Grande Rosso</i> , along with two other hapaxes (aldermanno , schiniere) and baramanno which also appears in Pegolotti’s merchant handbook, a century earlier. The majority of the account entries refer to the ironmonger, <i>Ghulglielmo Brembil</i> (William Bramble), but two record dealings with a <i>Riccardo Flamingho</i> (Richard Fleming). Of the first man,				

we have no other record but the latter is very probably the same merchant referred to in the London Mercers accounts in 1460-61: *Item, for bargehire for þe presentyng of John Lambert, mercier,*⁵⁸ & *Richaert Flemyng, iremonger, shrives – x s. iiid* (Jefferson 2009: 910).

After **fleshmonger** or ‘butcher’ (att. c1000, see OED2 sub **fleshmonger**), *ironmonger* (att. c1164) is the second oldest compound name formed with OE *monger*, meaning ‘merchant or dealer’, which was also borrowed into AN in the fifteenth century: AND sub **mongere**, att. 1419. There is also much earlier evidence of direct borrowing into AN of the Latin *mangō* (‘dealer, trader’), the probable source of the OE word: see AND sub **mangun**² (att. 1200-16) and also AND sub **mango** (att. 1419). However, an ME etymon for the Italianised *irmang(h)ere* certainly seems the most obvious choice: *ironmonger* itself is rare loanword in the AN record, appearing only three times, with variants of *fer(r)our* (AND sub **ferour**, att. 1272) being (unsurprisingly) much more common.

The metal-name, iron, also dates back to early OE *isærn* and the OED3 entry sub **iron** details dozens of variant forms, based in five main categories. As we can see from the OED3 sub **ironmonger**, the loanword *irmang(h)ere* in the Florentine Salviati accounts clearly stems from the β group of early ME forms (attested only in surnames) with an ‘a’ in the second half of the compound: *iremangere*. Incidentally, all four examples in an AN-matrix text recorded in the AND use the *-monger* spelling: *iremangere, irnemongere, irmongere*.

⁵⁸ It is surely no coincidence, given that we are dealing with the same relatively small circle of guild members and tradesman from mid-fifteenth century London, that we also find several references to John Lambert () in the Salviati accounts, e.g. *Giovanni Lamberto, merciere* (LGR 497, 14).

115. It. litteragio (n.) ‘ ? (a fee paid for) straw to pack around merchandise’ < AN * <i>litage</i> < AN <i>litere</i> (‘litter, straw’) < ML <i>lectaria</i> < Lat. <i>lectus</i> (‘bed’)				
Italian 1450	Anglo-Norman X	Continental French 1467	(Middle) English X	Medieval Latin 1281
TLIO	X			
OVI	X			
AD	X			
LEI	X			
DEI	Ø			
AND	X			
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub litage (n.) (1)	‘Litière’ <i>litoraige pour leurs bestes et engreis</i> (Redon) (1467)		
GDF	sub litage ² (n.) (1)	‘Litière’ [...] <i>et autre litoraige pour leurs bestes et engreis</i> (Usem. de la for. de Breceilien, Cart. de Redon, Eclairc., CCCLXXVIII, A. de Courson) (1467)		
TL	Ø			
TLFi	Ø			
FEW	Ø			
MED	Ø			
OED	X			
DMLBS	sub litteragium (1) 1626b	‘straw used as bedding’ [< AN / ME <i>litere</i>] <i>faciet deserviri focalem litteragium fenum et herbam prefato dominio abbati</i> (Kelso 343) (1281)		
DC	Ø			
Additional sources				
Italian-matrix				
Salviati	<i>litteragio</i> (2)	<i>E, a di detto lb.tre s.5 d.10 di st. ci ritenne Ghulglielmo Maro, grossiere, e’ quali disse avere paghati per noi baliagio e litteragio di ton.78 centi 14 quarti 1 lib.13 furon chomprati da noi coè disse averli paghati per ton. 79 e a d.6 per cento di baliagio e d.5 per litteragio, al llui in questo, a c. 79 lb. 3 s. 5 d.10</i> (LGR 2135: 39) (1450)		
Comments Attestation Type 2b / Semantic Field: financial				
This intriguing Gallicism is only attested in the Florentine-matrix account books of the Salviati of London in 1450. Its meaning is not entirely clear but it appears in two entries describing the sale of casks or <i>tonelli</i> ⁵⁹ of wine to William Marrow, a London grocer. ⁶⁰ In this context, the litter or straw referred to must surely be used to pack around the goods, with <i>litteragio</i> referring either to the packing material itself or a small fee that is paid for the straw. The latter seems especially likely, given that the loanword is used in conjunction with baliagio , another borrowing from AN, meaning ‘delivery fee’. ⁶¹				

⁵⁹ Cf. *tonello* in Table 2, Chapter 4.1iii

⁶⁰ Cf. Bradley (2012: 222).

⁶¹ Note also the other fee or duty names borrowed into the Italian used in England: **celleraggio**, **ludimannaggio**, **primaggio**, **viscontaggio**.

Lit(t)ere is widely attested in AN from 1212 as ‘litter, straw (for bedding, layering)’ (cf. AND2 sub **litere**) and is also attested in this sense in BML from 1179 (DMLBS sub **littera**, 1626a) and ME from a1425 (MED sub **liter(e)** and OED2 sub **litter**). In France, *litière* (‘couche de paille pour les bêtes’) is found from the twelfth century onwards: FEW V, 237a: **lectus**, DMF sub **litière**, TLFi sub **litière**, TL / GDC sub **litier**.

Evidence of the derived form - *litterage* - is however, incredibly rare. As with **primaggio** and **stapoliere**, the case for the existence of an (as yet, unattested) AN form is strengthened by the presence of **litteragium** in the BML record in 1281. Note, however, that in this example, the meaning is not commercial or related to the packing of goods but simply to straw used for bedding (for people). In CF, there is a single example of *literaige*, similarly glossed as bedding (for animals), but it is very late, dating from 1467.

Evidently, our Tuscan *litteragio* could, in theory, derive from either CF or AN. However, given the appearance of BML *litteragium* in the thirteenth century and the fact the Italian version features uniquely in Italian accounts written in London, the case for an insular etymon, *litterage*, is a strong one.

116. It. livrea (n.) ‘livery garment: a distinctive dress or uniform provided for a royal employee’ < AN <i>liveré</i> < AN <i>livrerer</i> < Lat. <i>liberare</i> (‘to deliver, hand over’)				
Italian 1326-present	Anglo-Norman c1305-c1404	Continental French c1290	(Middle) English 1399-present	Medieval Latin 1430-1509
TLIO	X			
OVI	<i>livrea</i> (2) <i>livrea</i> (1)	<p><i>Avemola di XXI di giugno MCCCXXVI. Chomto di l. XXXX s. XVIII d. VII ster. demo per lui a Giovanni di Pontinai per drappi che comperò per la <u>livrea</u> sua</i> (Doc. tosc. 1263-1326, 268.4) (1326, fior.)</p> <p><i>Riconoscenza che ne fa ser Gioanni de Vumondusvale di l. LXXXX s. XVIII, d. III che pagammo a Giovanni Poltinai per XXX panni che achattò per la <u>livrea</u> di messer Ugo</i> (Doc. tosc. 1263-1326, 270.23) (1326, fior.)</p> <p><i>[...] e par che stea con la balia d’Enea; e l’altro ha tua livrea e a minuzzi.</i> (Sacchetti, Rime 308, v.58, 376.32) (c1350, fior.)</p>		
AD	X			
LEI	X			
DEI	sub livrea (n.) 2256a	<p>‘foggia’ [Fr. (<i>robe</i>) <i>livrée</i> < <i>livrer</i>, passato all’ingl. <i>livery</i>] <i>livrea</i> (Pandolfini) (15th c.)</p> <p>‘vestito particolare dei servitori d’una casa ricca o nobile’ <i>livrea</i> (late 16th c.)</p>		
AND2	sub liveré ² (n.) (5)	<p>4. ‘livery garment, coat of arms’ <i>Cestuy garçoun est vestu de la <u>lyveré</u> sa dame, De une bele cote de larcin e de blame</i> (Boz. Chart 409) (c1305)</p>		
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub livrée ¹ (n.) (10)	<p>B2. ‘Vêtements fournis par un grand seigneur à sa suite, livrée’ <i>si li ferez taillier Robe neuve de ma <u>livrée</u></i> (Mir. st J. Cris, 267) (c1344)</p>		
GDC	sub livrée ¹ (n.) (3)	<p>‘Vêtements que les seigneurs donnent à leurs familiers ou aux personnes envers lesquelles il prétendait faire acte de gracieuseté’</p> <p><i>Les Parisiens avoient fait une <u>livree</u> de blanc chapperons, que ilz portoient et faisoient porter a plusieurs seigneurs</i> (J. Le Fevre, Chron., I, 78, Soc. de l’H de Fr.) (1413)</p>		
TL	sub livree ² (n.) (20+)	<p>‘dem Dienenden zugeteiltes Gewand mit den Farben und Abzeichen des Herrn’ <i>Il sera de vous grans nouvelles, Quant je vestiray vos cotelles; Se je suis de vostre <u>livree</u>, Vostre cause vault delivree</i> (EDesch. VIII 51, 35) (c1385)</p>		
TLFi	sub livrée (n.)	<p>‘habits donnés par un seigneur aux personnes qui étaient attachées à son service’ [Part. passé fém. substantivé de <i>livrer</i>] <i>livrée</i> (Livre Roisin, p. 124) (c1290)</p>		
FEW	V, 301b: liberare	<p>‘habits donnés par un seigneur aux personnes qui étaient attachées à son service’ <i>livrée</i> (Roisin) (c1290)</p>		
MED	sub livere ³ (12)	<p>4b. ‘the uniform garb granted by a king, nobleman, bishop, etc., to a vassal, retainer, or servant; also, a single item of dress so granted’ [OF <i>livree</i>]</p>		

		<i>Wyth gret delyt þat glod in fere..Hundreth þowsandez I wot þer were, And alle in sute her <u>liurez</u> wasse.</i> (Pearl Nero A.10,1108) (c1400 ▶?c1380)
OED3	sub livery (n.) (8)	2b. ‘the distinctive dress or uniform provided for and worn by an official, retainer, or employee [...] spec. the characteristic uniform or insignia worn by a household’s retainers or servants’ [AN <i>leveré</i> , <i>liveré</i> / MF <i>liveree</i>] <i>That thei..gyf no <u>Liverees</u> of Sygnes, no make no Retenue of men</i> (Rolls of Parl. III 452/1) (1399)
DMLBS	sub liberatura 1599b (2)	‘badge, uniform, livery’ <i>lego liberatam meam argenteam Anglice cressaunt et <u>liberatam</u> meam Anglice coller ad feretrum Sancti Wilfridi</i> (Test Ebor II 13) (1430)
DC	sub livrea (1)	‘a Gallico Livrée, Præbitio. Inventar’ <i>Litteræ abbatis et conventus S. Wandregesili, Rothomagensis diocesis, super quictatione <u>Livreæ</u> sive costumæ, quam percipere solebant in foresta de tractu. De anno 1321</i> (Inventar. Chart. reg. ann. 1482. fol. 305) (1482)

Comments

Attestation Type 2b / Semantic Field: textile

Two examples of *livrea* are found in annotations written on AN indenture between Hugh le Despenser and the Peruzzi company (E101/127/19 m.5 and m.6, cf. Chapter 1.2i). The main document dates from February 1325 with the marginalia evidently being added later: one is dated June 1326. The Italian-matrix notes are transcribed in Re (1913: 68 -70) but are not discussed in the main text as examples of loanwords, nor have they been picked up in more modern studies on Gallicisms in Italian such as Cella (2003 / 2007 / 2010). The citations are hidden away in the OVI corpus under the siglum ‘Doc. tosc. 1263-1326’.

The Florentine merchants are adding their own notes with extra detail to these demands for payment: in this case, money due to *ser Giovanni de Vumondusvale* or John de Wymondeswolde, the King’s Wardrober (Re 1913: 267). They record that two considerable amounts had been spent on cloth for *la livrea di messer Ugo*, presumably livery uniforms for Hugh le Despenser’s retinue of servants. Such extravagance would ultimately be short-lived as the royal chamberlain, Despenser, was executed by Queen Isabella and Roger Mortimer just five months after these annotations were written.

Given the background to these citations - produced by Peruzzi scribes in London, adept at dealing with the AN bureaucracy of the royal court on a regular basis - there can be little doubt the these two uses of *livreea* were borrowed from AN *liveré*. The feminine noun developed from the past participle of *liverer* (AND2 sub **liverer**¹) meaning ‘the action of delivering’; this evolved semantically to designate an’ allowance, payment, provision of food or clothing, made to servant’ and finally, just the uniform itself, first attested c1305. Parallel terms existed in CF with livery being attested in the clothing sense in a customs account from Lille, c1290.

Until now, the first noted record of the Gallicism *livrea* in Italian had been in a Florentine poem from c1350 by Franco Sacchetti. Arguably, in this literary source, we are dealing with a CF loanword that entered the author’s lexis via an entirely separate route of transmission. In addition, the sense as used in Sacchetti’s poem along with *minuzzi* (‘crumbs of bread’) clearly seems to be the more general, earlier one of ‘provision of food and clothing to a dependent’ (e.g. AND **liveré**², under ‘allowance, ration’, att. 1150-1200) rather than the lavish uniforms referred to in the Peruzzi annotations. Note that the OED3 entry sub **livery** also states that Italian *livrea* is borrowed from French but gives an even later date of attestation: 1424. This is presumably the same

citation as the one in the DEI entry sub **livrea** from the works attributed to the Florentine politician, Angolo Pandolfini, in the fifteenth century. I have been unable to find a full citation to analyse the use of the loanword in this source, however. The DEI glosses it as ‘foggia’ (‘shape, appearance’) and states that the modern sense of livery uniform was not used until the late 1500s.

117. It. locchi (n.pl.) ‘the lowest quality and cheapest grade of English wool, from the legs and stomach of the sheep’ < (AN <i>lokes</i>) < ME <i>lockes</i> < OE <i>loc</i> (‘piece or tuft of hair / wool’)				
Italian 1305-1451	Anglo-Norman 1284-1463	Continental French 1274-1300	(Middle) English 1241-1899	Medieval Latin 1232-1306
TLIO	sub locchi (n.) (3)	‘Lana della qualità più scadente’ <i>sessanta e sette saccha due pocche di lana che compramo da loro [[...]]. Ciò ffù quarantette saccha due quarteroni di buona per diciotto marchi il sacco e diciessette saccha meço di moiana per nove marchi il sacco e sette saccha uno quarto di <u>locchi</u> per sette marchi il sacco</i> (Libro nuovo Gallerani 36.26) (1305, sen.) <i>quelle magioni che le brisciano [[=le lane]] si ne fanno 3 ragioni, cioè la miglore che si dice buona, e mezzana che si dice moiana, e la meno buona che si dice <u>locchi</u></i> (Pegolotti Pratica 258.38) (c1335-43, fior.)		
OVI	sub <i>locchi</i> (86)	<i>[...] e sette saccha uno quarto di locchi per sette marchi il sacco</i> (Libro nuovo Gallerani 36.26) (1305, sen.) <i>quelle magioni che le brisciano [[=le lane]] si ne fanno 3 ragioni, cioè la miglore che si dice buona, e mezzana che si dice moiana, e la meno buona che si dice <u>locchi</u></i> (Pegolotti Pratica 258.38) (c1335-43, fior.)		
AD	X			
LEI	X			
DEI	Ø			
AND2	sub loc ¹ (n.) (2)	pl. ‘locks (of wool), loose fragments of wool (of lowest grade)’ [ME] <i>Autan aveient il de bone laine .xij. sacs de leyne et .viij. peres, et de mesne leine et de <u>lokes</u> triés .iij. sacs</i> (Italian merchants 221n) (1284) <i>graunde desceit est fait en l'enrollement voluement et feisure des toisons du leine deins cest roialme [...] par mettre en teisons <u>lokkes</u> du leine, et peces de plus peier leine qe de mesme le toison</i> (Stats ii 394) (1463)		
DEAF	X			
DMF	X			
GDF	Ø			
TL	Ø			
TLFi	X			
FEW	XVI 475a: locke	‘mèches de laine grossière’ OF <i>lok</i> (1274-1300) ‘petites touffes de laine coupées sur les cuisses des bêtes à laine et peu estimées’ Norman <i>loquets</i> (1741)		
MED	sub lok (n.) (17)	2. b. ‘a tuft or flock of wool; sg. & pl. inferior wool coming from the legs and belly of a sheep’ [< OE <i>loc</i>] [[From 5 stone of better wool 31 s..From] <i>lok</i> [£ 24 18 s. 7 d. (Doc.Kingswood in BGAS 22, 200- 01) (1241)] <i>Þe hope of þe vnpitouse is as a wull <u>loke</u> [L lanugo] or þistildoun þat of þe wynd is taken away.</i> (WBible(1) (Bod 959) Wisd.5.15) (a1382)		
OED2	sub lock ¹ (n.) (4)	2. ‘In pl. used by wool-dealers for: The lowest class of remnants after the removal of the fleece, consisting of the shortest wool, coming from the legs		

Comments**Attestation Type 2b / Semantic Field: wool**

As we saw in Chapter 2.4, there were three main grades of professionally-prepared English wool which were, in order of price, good, middle-range (**moiana**) and locks, in addition to *collecta* (wool from tenants' flocks surrounding the main estate, **coglietta**). Bell *et al.* explain:

[...] most fleeces bore fibres of varying lengths right up to the straggly, coarser fibres on the fringes of a fleece known as locks, which in some cases would be so straggly as to merit the description of 'secondary locks', the lowest-valued ovine product. [...] It is difficult to be sure whether such differences could be standardised across regions, or even within localities, but it is probable that merchants insisted on wool being sorted according to these artificial gradations to assist them in purchasing and marketing wool and to encourage growers to sort and prepare their product better (Bell *et al.* 2007: 48).

Given the size and importance of the wool market, it is hardly surprising that ME *lockes* appears in all three languages of administration in England from the thirteenth century onwards. *Lokis* is attested in BML from 1232 and Du Cange records a reference, absent from any other dictionary, to inferior wool termed 'Clak and Lok' in an English Latin charter from c1275. This is taken from one of eight BML advance contracts which refer to *locks*, drawn up between English monastic orders and (mainly Italian) wool buyers, and now fully transcribed in Bell *et al.* (2006). In a section of the *Rotuli Parliamentorum* from 1284, detailing a shipment of wool owned by the Frescobaldi (Bond 1840: 221), we find a clear reference in AN to the wool-ranking system: *bone laine, mesne leine* and *lokes*. A decade later, *lok(e)s* are mentioned dozens of times in the AN submissions of wool crops, sent on behalf of the major Italian buyers of the day to the English Crown (a source not yet in the AND corpus).

The Italianised *locchi* is first attested in two citations in the Siennese accounts of the Gallerani London branch from 1305-08 and is identified by Cella in her two mercantile loanword glossaries (2007: 195 / 2010: 82). *Locchi* and **tancardo** are the only two out of eight 'antichi anglismi' identified by Cella in the Gallerani material which Trotter accepts as unproblematic (2011b: 214). However, he was unaware of the extent of the term's use in AN-matrix material in sources that have since been edited, as we saw above.⁶⁴ It is worth considering that this loanword, although of definite English origin, was so engrained in AN wool terminology that it entered Italian as a 'naturalised' AN word, a theory strengthened by its constant appearance alongside the AN wool grade *moeine* (see **moiana**).

Both Cella and Trotter also note that the only other use of the term in Italian is found in Pegolotti, thirty years later; the Tuscan factor refers to *locchi* a total of eighty-four times in his discussion of English wool prices and classification e.g. *la miglore che si dice buona, e mezzana che si dice moiana, e la meno buona che si dice locchi* (OVI Pegolotti Pratica: 258.38). It is now clear that this loanword endured in Tuscan dialects for at least another century. The Salviati London accounts from 1448-51 provide over thirty references to *locchi* in its wool-related entries. Interestingly, the Englishman John Balmayn, who was working in Pisa and Florence in 1450-51, uses both Italianised *lochy* and ME *lokes* in the Italian-matrix section of his accounts, confirming that the loanword had

⁶⁴ Trotter (2011b: 215) expressed surprise that the technical term *locks* did not feature in more AN documentation: "the word did not surface in a study of Ancient Petitions (many of which referred to the wool trade) carried out by Natasha Romanova within the AND in 2007/08". However, the numerous citations referred to in this glossary are found in the Exchequer Miscellanea (E101), now fully transcribed in Bell *et al.* (2006), and not in the Ancient Petitions (SC 8).

currency not just in Italian merchant circles in mid-fifteenth century England but back in Tuscany too.

118. It. loesti (n. / adj.) ‘Westerns: high quality broadcloths from Gloucestershire, Wiltshire and Somerset’ < ME <i>western</i> < OE <i>westerne</i> (‘western’)				
Italian 1436-57	Anglo-Norman 1440-44	Continental French X	(Middle) English 1427-1545	Medieval Latin X
TLIO	X			
OVI	X			
AD	X			
LEI	X			
DEI	∅			
AND	X			
DEAF	X			
DMF	X			
GDF	∅			
TL	∅			
TLFi	∅			
FEW	∅			
MED	sub western(e) (adj. / n.) (3)	d. ‘as a noun, a kind of woollen cloth’ [OE <i>westerne</i> , <i>wæstrene</i>] [[<i>On 24 August 1427 William Waryn,</i>] <i>jueler</i> , [<i>avowed a quantity of woollen cloths called</i>] <i>Westerns</i> . (Cal. Plea & Mem. Rolls London Guildhall IV. 213) (1427)]		
OED3	sub western (adj / n ²) (3)	B1. ‘A kind of woollen cloth’ [OE <i>westerne</i>] [[<i>On 24 August 1427 William Waryn,</i>] <i>jueler</i> , [<i>avowed a quantity of woollen cloths called</i>] <i>Westerns</i> . (Cal. Plea & Mem. Rolls London Guildhall IV. 213) (1427)] <i>A dossen karsay iij. A westerne dossen ii.</i> (Rates Custome House sig. dvjv) (1545)		
LCC	sub western (n.) (3) (MED = 3)	‘derived from the adj. meaning ‘of/from the west’; appears as a noun in the mid-15th-century Plea and Memoranda Rolls of the London Guildhall, describing a kind of woollen cloth’ [< OE <i>westerne</i> , <i>wæstrene</i>] [<i>On 24 Aug. 1427 William Waryn,</i>] <i>jueler</i> , [<i>avowed a quantity of woollen cloths called</i>] <i>Westerns</i> (Plea & Mem.R.Lond.Gildh. 213) (1427)]		
DMLBS	∅			
DC	∅			
Additional sources				
Italian-matrix				
Salviati (1448-51)	<i>loesti</i> (7) (<i>lesti</i>)	<i>per panni 26 chontisghualdi 11 per panni 239 stretti e s.5 per panni 30 loesti</i> (LGR 2366: 10) <i>E a di 21 di lulgio 1451 lb. undici s. 10 di st. sono per pezze 30 di panni loesti</i> (LGR 2283: 7) (1448-51)		

Badoer accounts (1436)	<i>loesti</i> (2)	<i>pani loesti</i> (Accounts of the Venetian merchant, Giacomo Badoer, in Constantinople) (Fleet 1999: 154) ⁶⁵ (1436)
Morosini letter (1441)	<i>Loesti</i> (1)	<i>Le investite qui, per Veniexia: stagni, s.22; lane Chotisqualdi, marchi 12 ½, (panni): Loesti, 12 ½; bastardi, 32 in 34, secondo le sorte: Gilforti, 6 ½ in 7, Santone, 7, Sex, s. 11 in 13, Chontisqualdi, 20 in 24.</i> (Lettera del 10 dicembre 1441, Londra-Venezia, da Michele Morosini a Lorenzo Dolfin) (Melis 1972: 188)
AN-matrix		
VOH (1440-44)	<i>Westernes</i> (44) (<i>Westerns,</i> <i>Westernz</i>)	<i>Item de Rose Valdrian le xiiij^{me} iour de Fever e lan suisdit Cl peces de draps appelle[z] Westernes a xxiiij^s la pece summa Ciiij^{xli}</i> (VOH 48: 168, E101/128/30 ret.1, John Welles, host to Giacomo Corner, merchant and patron of a Venetian galley and named crew, transc. p. 4) (1441-42)
Latin-matrix		
CSP Ven (1438-57)	<i>loesti</i> (3)	<i>panni loesti</i> (Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts relating to English Affairs existing in the archives and collections of Venice) (Bradley 2012: 312 / Brown 1864: 64, 80, 84) (1456-57)
Comments Attestation Type 2a / Semantic Field: textile		
<p>High quality woollen broadcloths, both white and coloured, from south-west England were known as Westerns and were a popular purchase for Italian merchants in England, appearing over forty times in the accounts of (mainly) Venetian traders resident in London, as recorded in the <i>Views of the Hosts of Alien Merchants</i>. Although there are no ME-matrix citations until 1545 (OED3 sub western, adj / n²), the vernacular word clearly features in BML Plea Rolls from the London Guildhall from 1427 onwards (cf. MED / LCC sub western).</p> <p>Unlike English fabrics from the Cotswolds and Stamford (see contisgualdo / stanforte), Essex, Guildford or Ludlow, Western cloth is not mentioned by Pegolotti in his merchant handbook and it does not appear in the TLIO, OVI or Datini corpora. Nor is there any reference to borrowing in the collection of toponyms and geographical terms in the <i>Deonomasticon Italicum</i>.⁶⁶ However, <i>loesti</i>, referring to an English cloth, can be found in one unpublished and two published sources from the fifteenth century: in the accounts of the Venetian merchant, Giacomo Badoer, in Constantinople (1436), in a letter sent from London regarding a shipment of goods to Venice (1441) and in the Florentine Salviati accounts for their London office (1448-51). <i>Panni loesti</i> are also listed in the Latin-matrix Calendar of Venetian state papers relating to trade with England (CSP Ven.)</p>		

⁶⁵ Note that in this work on Genoese trade in the early Ottoman state, the loanword is glossed: “*pani loesti* - coarse cloth; the name probably derives from Lowestoft [in Suffolk] or from the word ‘lowest’” (Fleet 1999: 177). Yet it is more probable that the cloth refers to Westerns, given that - unlike ‘Lowestofts’ - this was a recognised medieval cloth type (as outlined by Bradley 2012 and the LCC). *Panni loesti* appear alongside other metonymic English cloths in the Salviati London accounts and the Morosini letter sent from London to Venice: e.g. **contisgualdo** (< Cotswold), **carisea** (< Kersey), *gilforti* (< Gilford) and *santone* (< Antona i.e. Southampton). For this reason, a geographically derived etymon (‘Westerns’) is a more credible solution than the generic adjective, ‘lowest’.

⁶⁶ There are references to Gloucester (*Gloseste*) from 1461 but these are non-cloth related (Schweickard 2006: 309-10). A slightly earlier example (*Glonsestri*) can also be found in the Salviati London accounts in 1451 (LGR 672: 23).

in 1438, 1456 and 1457. The editor of the Views, Bradley, identifies the loanword *loesti* in Italian records as ‘Westerns’ and points out that the cloths were “much in demand in the Levant”, where they were exported by Italian traders (2012: 312). This fact is further highlighted in a more recent study on trade in the medieval Middle East which lists yet more records of *loesti* in Italian-matrix sources :

Another phenomenon of the Levant trade in that period was the spread of the use of English cloth. In the second quarter of the fifteenth century, the Venetian merchants (and others too) began to import various kinds of English woollen stuffs into the Moslem Levant, on a large scale [...] The cloth called *loesti* is mentioned on price lists of Damascus of 1413 and of Alexandria of 1424, whereas judicial acts refer to its import into Beirut in 1417. Other acts testify to its sale by Venetians in Syria in 1425, 1426 (approximately), 1440 (in Damnascus), 1441 (in Latakia and Tripoli), and 1442 (Ashtor 2014: 326).⁶⁷

⁶⁷ Note that this author glosses *loesti* simply as “a kind of cloth” (Ashtor 2014: 597).

119. It. ludimannaggio (n.) ‘payment for pilotage or navigation of a ship’ AN < <i>lodemanage</i> < ME <i>lodman</i> < OE <i>ládmann</i> (‘guide, leader’)					
Italian c1335		Anglo-Norman 1292-c1441	Continental French 1347-1450	(Middle) English c1387-1873	Medieval Latin 1282-1536
TLIO	sub ludimannaggio (n.) (1)	‘Tassa per l'uso del pilota di porto’ [< <i>ludomano</i> < ME <i>lodman</i>] <i>Primieramente, per nolo di Londra fanno a Liborno in Guascogna denari 12 sterlini per balla, monta la soma soldi 2 sterlini. Per ludimannaggio, denari 1/2 sterlini per balla, monta alla soma denaro 1 sterlino</i> (Pegolotti Pratica 257.16) (c1335-43, fior.)			
OVI	<i>ludimannaggio</i> (1)	<i>Primieramente, per nolo di Londra fanno a Liborno in Guascogna denari 12 sterlini per balla, monta la soma soldi 2 sterlini. Per ludimannaggio, denari 1/2 sterlini per balla, monta alla soma denaro 1 sterlino</i> (Pegolotti Pratica 257.16) (c1335-43, fior.)			
AD	X				
LEI	X				
DEI	Ø				
AND2	sub lodmanage (n.) (5)	1. ‘pilotage, navigation of a ship’ [ME] <i>qe les costages renables qe il mettra en lodmanage e en towage [...] ly seit alowé</i> (Litt Wall 204) (1292) 2. ‘payment for pilotage’ <i>En cel - .v. s; En lodmanage - .xiiij. s. .iiij. d. [...]</i> (PRO E101/14/26) (1312-13)			
DEAF	X				
DMF	sub lamanage (n.) (5)	1. ‘pilotage des navires dans les ports et les estuaires’ <i>Guillaume de La Porte et Jehan Le Guivre de saint Walery, lamanz, pour lamanage de plusieurs vessiaux qu'il conduirent</i> (Clos galées Rouen M-C, t.2 118) (1347) 2. ‘Rémunération pour ce pilotage’ <i>...sans pour ce avoir aucun lamanaige ou aultre salaire</i> (Ordonn. rois Fr. P. t.15 508) (1450)			
GDC	sub lamanage (n.) (3)	‘pilotage’ <i>De laquelle nef fu lamen Durant Pinal du Quiief de Caux qui ont pour son lamanage six flourins d'or a l'escu</i> (Quittance de Jean II, Richel. 26000, no. 464) (1355) <i>Et font charte partie, thouage et petit lodmanage</i> (Rooles d'Oleron, art. 13, ap. Jal, II 391) (14 th c.) ⁶⁸			
TL	Ø				
TLFi	Ø				

⁶⁸ This citation is taken from an edition by Jean-Marie Pardessus (1837) of AN manuscripts preserved in London and Cambridge, compiling the set of medieval maritime laws known as the *Rolls of Oléron* (cf. Ward 2009: 20-26). The author amalgamated several of these early fourteenth-century English sources, including the *Liber Horn* and the *Liber Memorandum* (Saint-Mure 1873: 3-7, Barbier 1949: 16). In an earlier Bayonne version from south-west France, the same article reads *et font charter-partie, toatge et petits locmans* (Saint-Mure 1873: 14). Note that the same article is also quoted in the Oak Book of Southampton, c1300: *et fount chartre par tye, towage et petit lodmans* (AND sub **lodman**, see also Barbier 1949: 15).

FEW	XVI, 480a: lootsman	‘fonction de lamaneur’ [< <i>laman</i> < Middle Dutch] <i>lamanage</i> (1355) [Diese form [ME <i>lodeman</i>] liegt sicher ait. <i>ludimannaggio</i> ‘pilotage’ (ca.1340) zugrunde]
MED	sub lod-manage (n.) (9)	1. ‘Navigation, skill in navigation; also, a course followed’ [< <i>lod-man</i>] <i>Of his craft..His herberwe and his moone, his lodemenage</i> (Chaucer CT. Prol. A. 403) (c1387-95) 2. ‘the cost of pilotage’ <i>Petite lodmannage [Whitehall: towage et petitz lodemanages sont sur les marchants]</i> (Black Bk. Admir, Seld Arch B 27) (a1325)
OED2	sub lodemanage (n.) (7)	1. ‘Pilotage. <i>Court of lodemanage</i> : a court which sat at Dover for the appointment of the pilots of the Cinque Ports.’ [<AN <i>lodmanage</i> / <i>lamanage</i> ⁶⁹ < OE <i>lādmann</i>] <i>His herberwe and his moone, his lodemenage</i> (Chaucer Canterbury Tales Prol. 1.405) (c1387-95) 2. ‘the hire of a Pilot for conducting of a ship from one place to another’ <i>pece of Flemmysh monney called an Englishe for lodemanage</i> (Act 32 Hen. VIII c. 14 §2) (1540)
DMLBS	sub lodmannagium 1635b (10)	‘(charge for) pilotage, navigation’ [ME <i>lodmanage</i> , <i>lodesmanage</i>] <i>cum lodmanagio</i> (KR Ac 351/9 m (1282) <i>in touwagio dictarum lanarum et in loadesmanagio</i> (KR Ac Cust 5/5 m. 7d) (1297)
DC	∅	
Additional sources		
AN-matrix		
VOH (1441-42)	<i>lodemanage</i> (1)	<i>Item pur lodemanage pur mare de Lyons & mare dEspayne & Thamyse, xxxijⁱⁱ</i> (VOH 48: 183, E101/128/30 ret.1, John Welles, alderman, host to Giacomo Corner, merchant and patron of a Venetian galley, transc. p. 5 / 11) (1441-42)
Comments Attestation Type 2a / Semantic Field: financial		
<p>As with ludumano (‘ship’s navigator’), we have strong evidence of an ‘English’ loanword in the writings of Pegolotti in which he lists the various costs incurred in hiring a ship and its crew in London to transport wool to France (c1335-43). Evans (1936: 257) makes no comment about the word in his edition of the <i>Pratica della Mercatura</i>. The loanword is a hapax and only added as a TLIO entry in 2014; even so, it was identified by the FEW (XVI, 480b) last century which linked it to ME <i>lodeman</i>. In fact, <i>lodemanage</i> appears in all three of the languages of England: in BML and AN in the 1280s and in ME (in the works of Chaucer) in the 1380s.</p> <p>Whilst the ultimate OE origins of the borrowing (<i>lādmann</i> or ‘guide’, att. c1000) are not in doubt, the Italianised <i>ludimannaggio</i> is problematic when it comes to identifying a direct etymon; this, in turn, highlights the complex and overlapping influences on the author which defy neat categorisation in the modern sense (cf. Trotter 2011b: 213-14). Should we consider the Tuscan lexeme a direct Anglicism, (along with ludumano) or an</p>		

⁶⁹ Note that this form is actually only found in CF sources, not in AN.

insular Gallicism due to the addition of the suffix *-age* to the OE root? This situation is unique in the Exports Glossary, with all other charges or duties that were borrowed into Italian having an etymon consisting of an AN root plus an *-age* suffix i.e. *bailage*, *cellarage*, *primage*, *viscontage*.⁷⁰

A third option is that *ludimannaggio* is an ‘indigenous’ Italian adaption of ME *lodeman* with the addition of an *-aggio* suffix. However, given the presence of several similar duties and charges in Italian business material (i.e. **baliaggio**, **celleraggio**, **literaggio**, **primaggio**, **viscontaggio**), I am inclined to believe that these technical terms were borrowed ‘wholesale’, rather than developing independently from another loanword in the recipient language.

Finally, it should be noted that CF had its own, but less widely attested, versions of *lodemanage* - *lamanage* / *lamenage* / *lamaniage* - which is believed to be derived from Middle Dutch *lootsman* (see Fennis 1995: 1117 and FEW XVI, 480a).

⁷⁰ For further discussion of the phenomenon of attaching French syntactical items to English word-stems (e.g. *cranage*, *whorfage*, *poundage*), see Jefferson and Rothwell (1997: 297-98) on late medieval language mixing in the Merchant Taylor accounts.

120. It. ludumano (n.) ‘a pilot or ship’s navigator’ (AN <i>lodman</i>) < ME <i>lodman</i> < OE <i>lādmann</i> (‘guide, leader’)				
Italian	Anglo-Norman	Continental French	(Middle) English	Medieval Latin
c1335	c1300-c1440	c1341-1425	OE-1581	(?1212) 1282-1394
TLIO	sub ludumano (1)	‘Marinaio capace di dirigere la rotta di una nave pur non avendo il comando’ [ME <i>lodman</i>] <i>Pedoto in più linguaggi, ludumano in fiammingo e inglese. Questi nomi vogliono dire gente conoscente di mare e di terre e di gente marine e di porti di mare, e conduttori di navili e a porti e a terre</i> (Pegolotti Pratica 16.14) (c1335-43, fior.)		
OVI	<i>ludumano</i> (1)	<i>Pedoto in più linguaggi, ludumano in fiammingo e inglese. Questi nomi vogliono dire gente conoscente di mare e di terre e di gente marine e di porti di mare, e conduttori di navili e a porti e a terre</i> (Pegolotti Pratica 16.14) (c1335-43, fior.)		
AD	X			
LEI	X			
DEI	Ø			
AND	sub lodman (n.) (6)	‘pilot, ship’s navigator, harbour pilot (?)’ [ME] <i>Une neff frette a Burdeux ou aillours, et vient a sa charge, et fount chartre par tye, towage et petit lodmans</i> ⁷¹ (Oak Book ii 76) (c1300) <i>Une bachelier est lodman de une nieff</i> (Shipmaster 190) (1419) ⁷²		
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub lodesman (n.) (1) sub laman (n.) (6)	‘Pilote qui conduit un navire à travers les écueils’ [Dans un cont. métaph.] [...] <i>qe me soit droit lodesman ; et, quant la nief brise, qe jeo puisse par pité salver la petite et poure marchandise q’est dedeinz ma nief.</i> (Henri Lanc. Seyntz medicines A.) (1354) ⁷³ ‘Pilote qui dirige les bateaux pour les entrées et les sorties des ports et des rivières’ <i>Pour le salaire du batel Lucas Leparé, lamen dudit Lucas et de 5 autres mariniers qui mistrent ladite nef ou hablé de La Rochelle quant elle vint de Normendie</i> (Clos galées Rouen M-C, t.2, 29) (1341-42)		
GDC	sub laman (n.) (3)	‘pilote’ <i>Robin Saque Espee, laman de la galie Anthoine Negre</i> (Compte de J. de Lospilai) (1346)		
TL	Ø			
TLFi	Ø			
FEW	XVI, 480a: lootsman	‘pilote d’un port, d’une rade, d’une rivière’ [< Middle Dutch] <i>lomant</i> (Oléron, 1345) <i>lamen</i> (14 th c.)		

⁷¹ As the AND entry notes, there are numerous variations of this term in the manuscripts of the Oak Book of Southampton, some based on the derived form *lodemanage* (see **ludimannaggio**): *petites lodmannage*; *petite lodmanage*; *petitz lodmanage*; *petit lodmannes*; *petitz lodmanages*; *petit lotmage*; *ledmanage*; *petis lomaux*; *petilemanes*; *petits loesmans*; *petis lomang servants*.

⁷² The most recent editor of the *Lex d’Oleron*, taken in this instance from the English MS *Liber Horn*, comments, “One would expect local pilots to have been experienced shipmasters who wanted to work closer to home and their small-holding, but, from the introductory description in *Oleron* [...], they appear to have been young men rather than old sea-dogs” (Ward 2009: 177).

⁷³ Note that this source is AN and is also found in the AND entry sub **lodman**.

		<p><i>locman</i> (c1400) <i>laman</i> (1346-85)</p> <p>[den unterschied zwischen <i>loman</i> und <i>laman</i> erklärt Barbier (in Studies Ritchie) dadurch dass er in dem ersten eine entlehnung aus me. <i>lodeman</i>, im zweiten eine entlehnung aus ae. <i>ladman</i> sieht. Doch stimmt die chronologie der belege nicht zu einer so fruhen ibernahme und die form <i>laman</i> erklärt sich leicht als assimilation des ersten an den zweiten vocal .</p> <p>Diese form [ME <i>lodeman</i>] liegt sicher ait. ludimannaggio 'pilotage' (ca.1340) zugrunde]</p>
MED	<p>sub lodman (n.) (10)</p> <p>sub lodesman (n.) (13)</p>	<p>' = lodesman' [OE <i>ladman</i>] [[Paid to a certain mariner, called] <i>Lodman</i> [piloting the same ship out of Burseldon to Solent, 2 s.] (Doc in Micolas Navy 2, 476) (1345-46)]</p> <p><i>Axinge hym..If they were brokyn..Or haddyn nede of lodman [vrr. loodman; lodesmen] or vitayle</i> (Chaucer LGW (Cmb Gg.4.27),1488) (c1430)</p> <p>'One who navigates a ship during a voyage (distinct from the master and the steersman); a pilot' [Cf. <i>lodman</i> / OE <i>ladman</i>] <i>Ah 3e scullen hebben lædes-men [Otho: lodes-men], and forð 3e scullen liðen</i> (Lay. Brut (Clg A.9) 6245) (c1275, ?a1200)</p>
OED2	<p>sub lodeman (n.) (3)</p> <p>sub lodesman (n.) (7)</p>	<p>'In Old English, a leader, guide; in later use only spec. a pilot.' [OE <i>ládmann</i> < <i>lode</i> ('journey')+ <i>mann</i> ('man')] <i>Pu canst wegas geond þæt westen; ac beo ure ladmann.</i>(Ælfric Numbers x. 31) (c1000)</p> <p>2. 'A pilot or steersman' [Cf. <i>lodeman</i>] <i>If they were broken or woo begoon Or hade nede of lodesmen [v.rr. lodman, ladman] or vitayle.</i> (Chaucer Legend Good Women (Fairf.) Hypsipyle.1488) (c1385)</p>
DMLBS	sub lodmannus 1635b (7)	<p>'navigator, pilot (on voyage or in harbour)' <i>Johanni P. qui fut †lodesina [? l. lodesman] marinellorum de Waterford usque Cestriam</i> (Pipe Ir. 14) (1212)</p> <p><i>lodmanno navis x s. iij d.</i> (KR Ac 4/3) (1282)</p>
DC	∅	

Comments

Attestation Type 2b / Semantic Field: profession

This one-off borrowing from ME *lodeman* in Pegolotti's *Pratica della Mercatura* has only been very recently added to the TLIO (2014). It is one of only three early Anglicisms currently listed in this dictionary's corpus, along with its derived form, **ludimannaggio**, and **fodero**. Note that this last loanword (although not *ludumano* itself) was identified as deriving from ME *lodeman* by the FEW (sub **lootsman**, XVI, 480b). The loanword's form is very similar to another found in Pegolotti: **baramanno** or porter, which is also listed by the Tuscan handbook as a word 'in fiammingo e inghilese'. In both cases, an English etymon seems the likely candidate as both *baramanno* and *ludimannaggio*⁷⁴ are used a second time by the author in passages referring specifically to London.

In England, *lodeman*, or ship's navigator, stems back to OE *ládmann*, meaning a guide or leader (see OED2

⁷⁴This borrowing could, of course, be directly from AN *lodemanage*: see **ludimannaggio**.

sub **lodeman** / **lodesman**, sense 1). The nautical sense first emerges in BML in the early 1200s and then, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, in AN versions of the maritime code known as the *Rôles* or *Lex d'Oleron*, found in the Oak Book of Southampton, MS *Liber Horn*, MS *Liber Memorandum* and the Black Book of the Admiralty.⁷⁵ The navigational skills of the lodeman were essential to the safety of the crew and the shipmaster was obliged to hire either a “deep-sea pilot” for longer voyages or a local or “harbour pilot” to guide the ship into an unknown harbour (Ward 2009: 175-77).

In CF, we seem to have an independent transmission route with a different Germanic etymon. CF versions of the *Rôles d'Oleron* from the 1200s (see Fennis 1995: 1117 / FEW XVI, p. 480a) and the accounts of the *Clos galées de Rouen* from the 1300s (see DMF sub **laman**), contain a variety of terms for this crewmember borrowed ultimately - according to Fennis and the FEW - from Middle Dutch *lootsman*: *laman*, *lamen*, *locman*, *loman* and *lomant*. It should be noted that Barbier (1949: 18-19) proposes a ME *lodeman* as the root for AN, CF and indeed Flemish versions of the word, a hypothesis with which the FEW disagrees.

For our purposes however, the most important point is that we have clear evidence of an ‘English’ loanword (be it direct from ME or perhaps indirectly from AN) in a section of text on international commercial vocabulary, written by a Tuscan in the fourteenth century.

⁷⁵ Ward (2009: 20-26) gives a very useful overview of the history of these maritime laws and the extant MS versions in England and France, noting in particular that “The consensus of scholarly opinion posits two versions of Oleron descendant from a twelfth-century southern French compilation derived from ancient Mediterranean maritime laws. From one version came the Flemish and German codes, and from the other the Castilian and Anglo-Norman codes descended”. An older, but still valid, discussion of the same sources can also be found in Barbier (1949: 15-17).

121. It. mazer (n.) ‘maple-wood, a fine-grained hardwood typically used to make luxury drinking bowls that would be decorated with silver or gold’ < AN <i>mazer</i> < Germanic * <i>maser</i> (‘swelling in (maple) tree’) ⁷⁶				
Italian c1311-c1365	Anglo-Norman c1150-c1415	Continental French 11 th c. -1611	(Middle) English a1225-19 th c.	Medieval Latin 1211-1442
TLIO	X			
ОВI	<i>mazer</i> (3) <i>mazzero</i> (7)	<i>E dè dare , di 27 d’ottobre anno decto, per una coppa di <u>mazer</u> pagoè Cornachino</i> (Doc.fior. 1311-13, 111.20) (1311-13, fior.) <i>E dè avere, di 27 d’ottobre anno decto, per una coppa di <u>mazer</u> per Bettino</i> (Doc.fior. 1311-13, 130. 31) (1311-13, fior.) <i>I ghobbello allamanno di <u>mazzero</u>, a coperchio di <u>mazer</u>, fornito d’argento, dorato</i> (Dos. tosc. a1362-65) (1360, tosc.)		
AD	X			
LEI	X			
DEI	Ø			
AND	sub mazer ¹ (n.) (7)	1. ‘maple-wood’ <i>de murinis gallice: de maser / de macere / gallice <u>macer</u></i> (TII ii 130) (13 th c.) 2. ‘mazer, drinking-bowl of (maple)-wood’ <i>les <u>mazers</u> et le grant almesduch d’argent quex j’ay en ma garderobe a Loundres</i> (Test Ebor i 114.2, 3-4) (1381)		
AND corpus	<i>mazre</i> (1) sub buis ¹	<i>E puis prent un hanap de <u>mazre</u> [...] (Trist D 1784) (c1150-1200)</i>		
DEAF	sub madre (20+)	‘bois léger dont on fait des gobelets’ <i>madre</i> (PassionA 116 v. 353 / 122 v.448) (c1000) <i>madre</i> (TristBérG) (c1175-1200) ‘cœur et racine des différents bois employes pour faire des vases à boire’ AN <i>mazre</i> (TristThomB) (c1175-1200) ‘coupe’ AN <i>mazer</i> (NicBozMorS) ⁷⁷ (c1305)		
DMF	sub madre (loc. adj / n.) (13)	A. ‘Bois des loupes et racines d’orme, de frêne, de bruyères et d’autres arbres et arbustes à bois veiné (particulièrement employé pour faire des vases à boire)’		

⁷⁶ The OED3 article sub **mazer** notes cognates for ‘swelling of tree’ in Middle Dutch (*māser*), Old Saxon (*masur*) and Old High German (*masar*) and for ‘curly-grained wood’ in Middle Low German (*māser*), Middle High German (*maser*), Old Icelandic (*mǫsurr*) and Swedish (*masur*).

⁷⁷ This citation of *mazer* from the AN *Contes moralisés en prose aux contenus varies* by Nicole Bozon is not currently found in the AND corpus, although hundreds of others from the source are.

		<p><i>une paire de couteaux à trencher avec le parepain, à manches de <u>madre</u> garni de viroles et de cinglètes d'argent dorées</i> (Comptes argent. rois Fr. D-A I, 299) (1352)</p> <p>B 'Vase à boire fait dans ce bois' <i>Henry, vien avant ; pren un <u>madre</u> Plain de vin</i> (Mir. Amis, 54) (c1365)</p>
GDF	sub madre (n.) (20+)	<p>'semble avoir désigné soit une matière précieuse, que l'on croit être onyx, soit des imitations de cette matière en bois veiné'⁷⁸ <i>j hennap de masdre</i> (Test. de Agnes de Ferriere, Tailliar) (1200)</p> <p>'sorte de vase à boire' <i>Ferons nous .II. sur son <u>madre</u></i> (Passion Nostre Seigneur, Jub. Myst., II, 203) (1311)</p>
TL	∅	
TLFi	sub madre (n.)	<p>'Bois veiné utilisé au Moyen Âge pour fabriquer des vases à boire' [< ancien bas francique *<i>maser</i>] <i>masdre</i> (c1200)</p>
FEW	XVI, 539a: maser	<p>'coeur et racine des différents bois employes pour faire des vases à boire' <i>masdre</i> (1200) / <i>mazre</i> (13th c.) / <i>madre</i> (13th c.)</p> <p>'coupe de madre' Walloon <i>mazere</i> (c1200) / AN <i>mazre</i> (Bozon) (c1305)</p>
MED	sub maser (n.) (20+)	<p>1b 'the wood of the maple, maple; other highly-grained hardwood' [OF <i>masre, mazre</i>, vars. of <i>madre</i>.] <i>De caliz of tin and hire nap of <u>mazere</u> and ring of golde</i> (Trin. Hom. Trin C B14.52, 163) (a1225)</p> <p>2a 'a drinking bowl of maser wood' [<i>j <u>mazer</u> cum pede argenteo</i> (Doc.Finchale in Sur.Soc.6, p. iv) (1311)]</p> <p><i>Per was wyn ful clere In mony a feir <u>Maseere</u></i> (Disp. Christian & J.(Vrn) 218) (c1390)</p>
OED3	sub mazer ¹ (n.) (10)	<p>1a 'Maple or other fine-grained hardwood used as a material for making drinking vessels' [<AN <i>mazer</i> / OF <i>madre</i> < Germanic] <i>De caliz of tin and hire nap of <u>mazere</u></i> (MS Trin. Cambr. in R. Morris Old Eng. Homilies (1873) 2nd Ser. 163) (a1225)</p> <p>2. 'A bowl, drinking cup, or goblet, usually without a foot, made from a burr or knot of a maple tree and frequently mounted with silver or silver-gilt bands at the lip and base' <i>j <u>mazer</u> cum pede argenteo</i> (Charters Priory Finchale (1837) p. iv) (1311)</p>
DMLBS	sub masera	1. 'maple' [ME <i>masere</i> , OF <i>masre, mazre</i>]

⁷⁸ The gloss in Godefroy is based on the theory of Louis Douët-d'Arcq in an 1853 article for the *École des Chartes*. He conjectured that there must be two kinds of *madre* drinking bowls in the Middle Ages: one for the nobility, made of a precious, translucent stone (such as agate or jasper) and the other - a poor man's imitation - made of shiny types of wood (Douët-d'Arcq 1853: 131-35). Note that the FEW (p.559a) does record CF *maddre*, a borrowing from Flemish meaning 'pierre précieuse (agate, onyx) dont on faisait les coupes' but not until the sixteenth century.

	(1729c) (17)	<i>ij ciphi di mazerio</i> (Pipe Wint 52) (1211) 2. ‘mazer’ <i>unus mazerus cum coop’ cum pede et pomello argenti</i> (Ac Wadr 350) (1299-1300)
DC	sub mazer (20+)	‘ita passim appellant Scriptores pretiosiora pocula ; sed quæ eorum fuerit materia, non omnino constans est opinio’ ⁷⁹ <i>Legavit... sorori defunctæ Ereburgis, quadraginta solidos, et quemdam ciphum Mazerinum.</i> (Hist. Eccles. Meldens. tom. 2. pag. 150) (1247) <i>Item ciphus de Anserne magnus de Mazerio, cum basso [] pede, et circulo argenteo. Item cupa magna de Mazerio, ornata pede alto 2. circulis et pomellis argenteis</i> (Visitatio Thesaurariæ S. Pauli Londinensis) (1295)

Comments

Attestation Type 2b / Semantic Field: other

The fine hardwood, *mazero*, appears twice in the accounts of the Frescobaldi (*Tercius liber mercatorum de’ Frescobaldis*) which began in London in 1311, hence encompassing the company’s ruin and ultimate withdrawal from England (cf. Saponi 1947: 58-70 / Chapter 2.3ii). The entry refers to the purchase of a wooden goblet for Bettino Frescobaldi, son of the company’s head, Berto. The Tuscan loanword seems to derive clearly from AN *mazer* (‘maple’) attested in insular French - *un hanap de mazre* - in Thomas of Britain’s *Tristran* from the second half of the twelfth century (AND sub **buis**¹ / DEAF **madre**) and in BML - *ij ciphi di mazerio* - from 1211 (DMLBS sub **masera**).⁸⁰ ME *mazer* also emerges early (a1225) in a source from Trinity College, Cambridge (MED sub **maser** / OED3 sub **mazer**¹). The wood is nearly always recorded as a material for cups and goblets and examples of metonymic use rapidly emerge in English records (but not in Italian) from the turn of the thirteenth century onwards: the noun *mazer*, meaning ‘a drinking vessel’ remained in the English language until the 1800s (OED3 sub **mazer**¹).

The wood and the cup were also widely found in CF records but with a different form from the same ultimate Germanic root (see discussion in the FEW p. 539b / OED3 sub **mazer**¹). As the DEAF sub **madre** outlines, *madre* (‘bois léger dont on fait des gobelets’) is attested as early as c1000 in the *Passion du Christ en vers octosyll.* We encounter various CF forms of the lexeme in thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (e.g. *madder*, *mader*, *madre*, *mager*, *maidre*) but the forms *mazer*, *mazere*, *mazre* are all AN, Picard or, in one case, Walloon. It is certainly not impossible, that the same loanword - *mazzero* - found in the inventory of a goldsmith in Pistoia, Tuscany in the 1360s, is also a borrowing from the insular French *mazer*. The case is strengthened when we consider the same text contains *starlino* (**sterlino**), a measurement of weight from England for precious metals.

Cella’s comments (2010: 85-86) on the borrowing *mazero* are unusual in that AN is mentioned, based on the information given in the OED3 entry:

⁷⁹ The lengthy comments in Du Cange continue: “Somnerus lignea fuisse dixit, et acerna, quod *Maezer*, Belgis, aceris arboris tuberculum sonet. Sane scribit Janus Dolmerus in Notis ad Jus aulicum Norvegicum antiquum pag. 461. pocula ex acere facta olim fuisse in pretio apud Norvegios. At Fortunatus in Epistola præfixa lib. 1. Poemat. *pocula acerna* ut viliora recenset. Germ. *Maser*, olim *Masar*, est Tuber, nodus trunci.”

⁸⁰ Note that in *Le roman de Tristan de Béroul*, composed in western France around the same period, *madre* is used (DEAF sub **madre**).

mazero s.m. ‘legno di acero’: medio ing. *maseer*, *mazere* ‘maple or other fine-grained hardwood used as a material for making drinking vessels’, att. ante 1225, dall’anglonorm. *mazer* ‘goblet, drinking bowl’ della fine del sec. xii (OED s.v. *mazer*¹ n.) [...]Meno probabile, almeno per l’esempio del Libro Frescobaldi, il prestito diretto dal fr. ant. *mazre*, *masdre*, *madre* s.m. ‘vase à boire’, att. dal 1200 ca (TLF s.v. *madre*)

Whilst ME-matrix usage of *mazer* does appear early, it seems more probable the AN *mazer* provided the etymon for both ME *mazer* and the Tuscanised form used by the Frescobaldi in 1311. Nevertheless, direct ME-Italian contact is still a valid alternative (see, for example, **faldengo** / **tancardo**, found in Tuscan material in 1305). Overall, in spite of the very early use of CF *madre* to mean maple wood in the eleventh century (absent from Cella 2010), her assessment that the Frescobaldi’s use of *mazero* was down to lexical influence in England certainly seems correct.

122. It. moiana (n. / adj.) ‘(wool) of medium quality’ < AN <i>moiene</i> < Lat. <i>mediānus</i> (‘middle’)				
Italian 1305-c1335	Anglo-Norman 1294	Continental French X	(Middle) English 1475-19 th c.	Medieval Latin 1242
TLIO	sub moiano (adj / n.) (3)	(adj.) ‘Detto della lana di qualità intermedia. Nella terminologia dei mercanti toscani in Inghilterra, la lana moiana è di qualità intermedia fra la migliore (buona) e la più scadente (locchi)’ [OF <i>moyen</i>] <i>Buona lana si è la migliore quando si briscia. Moiana lana si è la mezzana ragione della lana quando si briscia. Locchi si è la terza ragione della lana quando si briscia</i> (Pegolotti Pratica 16.3) (c1335-43, fior.) (n.) <i>Sono per sessantotto sacca uno quarto di lana che lo mandamo a Sant’ Omieri, cio ffu tre sacca meço di buona per diciotto mar. il sacco, e diciessette sacca meço di moiana per nove mar. il sacco</i> (Libro Gallerani di Londra, 89.24) (1305)		
OVI	<i>moiana</i> (97)	<i>Ciò ffù quarantette saccha due quarteroni di buona per diciotto marchi il sacco e diciessette saccha meço di moiana per nove marchi il sacco e sette saccha uno quarto di locchi per sette marchi il sacco</i> (Libro nuovo Gallerani 36.26) (1305, sen.) <i>Nonnarie di dame che ànno lane di rinome in Inghilterra. Istanfeltro, la buona marchi 28, e la moiana marchi 16, e i locchi marchi 7 il sacco</i> (Pegolotti Pratica 265.30) (c1335-43, fior.)		
AD	X			
LEI	X			
DEI	Ø			
AND	X			
DEAF	X			
DMF	X			
GDC	Ø			
TL	Ø			
TLFi	Ø			
FEW	Ø			
MED	<i>mydell wool</i> sub wol ² (n.)	2b ‘middle - ‘mid-grade wool, wool saleable at the middle price’ <i>We..have..of Robert Warner.. ix sarplers of good woll and ij sarplers of mydell woll at ix markes the Sak</i> (Stonor 2.1) (1475-6)		
OED3	<i>midle woll</i> sub middle (adj / n)	‘middle wool: wool having medium-length staple; a sheep producing such wool’ [cf. BML <i>lana media</i> (1242) / <i>lana mediana</i> (late 13 th c.)] <i>1 stone of black woll..1 stone of midle woll</i> (Chesterfield Wills & Inventories 1521–1603, 189) (1587)		
DMLBS	sub medianus (1741c)	3. ‘middling’ [CL] <i>lanam mediam</i> (KR AcCust 73) (1296)		
DC	Ø			
Additional sources				
AN-matrix				
Exchequer schedules from 1294	<i>moiene</i> (50+) (moyene, meene, meane, mene,	<i>Antan avoient il de bone leine iij sacs et vij peres. De moiene iij sakes et xv peres et de lokes tries xvij peres. Le sac nous couste de la bone xv m. et de moiene et lokes tries x m. [...] De moiene v sacs et de lokes iij saces. Si nous couste le sac de bone leine xvij m. et demi et chescun sac de moiene et</i>		

	mesdne)	<p><i>de lokes xj m. et xl d.</i> (Submission of wool purchases made in England by the Ponche of Florence, E101/126/7 m.14) (1294) (Bell <i>et al.</i> 2006: 182)</p> <p><i>Nous ne savons mie come bien de leyne il averount on an. Auntan delivrent x sacs et demi de bon, de <u>meene</u> e de lok</i> (Submission of wool purchases made in England by the Frescobaldi Bianchi of Florence, E101/126/7 mm.15-16) (1294) (Bell <i>et al.</i> 2006: 200)</p> <p><i>Si nous coste chescun sac de la bone leine xx m. et chescun sac de <u>moiene</u> leine et de lokes tries xv mars [...] Si nous coste le sac de la bone leine xvj m. et le sac de la <u>moiene</u> et des lokes triez xij m. [...] et antan aveient il de bone leine xiiij sacs et de <u>moiene</u> et de lokes xij ssacs. Si nous coste le sac de la bone leine xix m. et le sac de la <u>moiene</u> et des lokes xv m.</i> (Submission of wool purchases made in England by the Frescobaldi of Florence, E101/126/7 m.21) (1294) (Bell <i>et al.</i> 2006: 200)</p>
BML-matrix		
Advance contracts for the sale of wool (1278-1317)	<p><i>mediane</i> (16)</p> <p>(<i>mediana, medie</i>)</p>	<p>[...] <i>videlicet quemlibet saccum bone lane pro decem marcis, saccum <u>medie</u> lane pro sex marcis. Et saccum loccarum electarum pro quinque marcis bonorum et legalium sterlingorum</i> (Contract between Flaxley Abbey, Gloucestershire, and Thomas de Basing, citizen of London, E159/51, rot.20d, E368/51 rot.13d) (1278) (Bell <i>et al.</i> 2006: 20)</p> <p><i>Et in tercio anno proximo sequenti ad easdem Nundinas xxx marcas et unum saccum <u>mediane</u> Lane de eadem domo sua.</i>(Contract between Basingwerk Abbey, Flintshire, and the Frescobaldi of Florence , E13/22 m.37) (1299) (Bell <i>et al.</i> 2006: 130)</p>
Comments		
Attestation Type 1b / Semantic Field: wool		
<p>As we know from the <i>English Wool market c1230-1327</i>, “wool was contracted in three main grades - good, middling and locks: locks cost 12.5-25% less than middle-grade wool and 50-75% less than the highest quality wool” (Bell <i>et al.</i> 2007:48-49). The lexis of this English wool-grading system was transmitted (not unsurprisingly) into the everyday commercial vocabulary of the Italian merchants who were its principal beneficiaries. Cella’s assumption (2010: 82-83) that the loanword <i>moiana</i> was derived from CF <i>moyen</i>⁸¹ with no mention of an insular alternative, once again shows a misunderstanding of the multilingual mercantile environment of late medieval England. As can be seen above, there are no wool-related citations of <i>moyen</i> in the major dictionaries: see DMF sub moyen¹ / moyen², GDF sub moien¹ / moien², TLFi sub moyen¹ / moyen², TL sub moien and FEW VI-1, 585a: medianus.</p> <p>Middle-grade wool or <i>moiana</i> is attested twice in the Gallerani London accounts in 1305 and a further ninety-seven times in the merchant handbook of Pegolotti, a former Bardi agent who lived and worked in London for four years between 1317 and 1321. He details the wool prices for the <i>bona, moiana, locchi and coglietta</i>, produced by a long list of English and Scottish monasteries and convents (cf. nonnaria) (Evans 1936: 258-69).</p> <p>In their transcriptions of advance wool contracts and Exchequer wool schedules from the late thirteenth</p>		

⁸¹ Cella (2010: 82) cites a single example of *moiene* (‘de seconde qualité’), referring to wool, attested in a Flemish account book, c1300. I have been unable to locate the source for this citation.

century, Bell *et al.* (2007: 66) highlight the “rich variety of source material available for the study of the English wool market during this period [that] exist in a much larger volume than has previously been appreciated”. The lexical value of such source material is fully demonstrated in this instance where we find evidence of AN (and BML) wool terminology that is not yet incorporated into the major historical dictionaries: there are over fifty attestations of (*laine*) *moiene* from 1294 and sixteen of (*lane*) *mediane* from 1278 onwards.⁸²

Moiene / *moyene* is by far the most commonly used form with dozens of citations in nine submissions in these Exchequer schedules but *me(e)ne* / *meane* is used exclusively in submission no. 207 (Bell *et al.* 2006: 184-88) and *mesdne* alongside *moiene* in submission no. 212 (Bell *et al.* 2006: 200). The form used depended on the choice of the scribe who compiled the document, of course. But it is interesting that (*leine*) *moiene* was the the predominant form in these submissions (presumably read by the Italian merchants in question even if they paid someone else to write them) and that the commercial term borrowed into Tuscan was (*lana*) *moiana*.

⁸² The noun or adjective *moiene* (‘middle or intermediate’) is, of course, found in the AND corpus but not in any sense specifically relating to wool: cf. AND sub **mene**¹ (att. c1230) over twenty variant forms (*mean* / *mesne* / *maine* / *moian* etc). *Moyen* briefly appears prior to 1500 in ME but only in works of Caxton (1481-85) and again, not in a wool-related context: OED3 sub **moyen**¹ II5b (‘a middle condition or quality’) / sub **moyen**² A1.2 (‘middle’ / ‘of middle rank’.) By far the most prolific transmission into ME was of the AN variant *mene* / *mean* / *meen* / *meine* etc: see for example, OED3 **mean** adj. 2 (‘occupying a middle or intermediate place’) / MED **mean** adj. 2, (‘in the middle state between two extremes’), att. 1340.

123. It. nonnaria (n) ‘a nunnery or convent - in this instance, a wool-producing estate run by nuns’ < AN <i>nonerie</i> < AN <i>none</i> < Lat. <i>nonna</i> (‘nun’)				
Italian c1335	Anglo-Norman 1331-c1399	Continental French X	(Middle) English c1300-present	Medieval Latin X
TLIO	X			
OVI	<i>nonnarie</i> (1)	<i>Nonnarie di dame che ànno lane di rinome in Inghilterra. Istanfeltro, la buona marchi 28, e la moiana marchi 16, e i locchi marchi 7 il sacco</i> (Pegolotti Pratica 265.30) (c1335-43. fior.)		
AD	X			
LEI	X			
DEI	∅			
AND1	sub nonerie (2)	‘convent, nunnery’ <i>graunter au dit Agneys une garisoun en l'Abbeye de Berkyng, c'est assaver une mesoun a la droite de une noneyme (l. noneyrie?) pour la sustinaunce de lui</i> (Rot. Parl ¹ in ii 382) (1331) <i>le dit roi d'Engleterre demurrast pres de Possy a une tresbeale nonerye</i> (Anon Chr 21.9) (1382-99)		
DEAF	X			
DMF	X			
GDC	∅			
TL	∅			
TLFi	∅			
FEW	∅			
MED	sub nonnerie (n.) (19)	‘a nunnery’ [< <i>nonne</i>] <i>Nou was Merlyn his moder wonderliche iworþe in one nonnerie, munechene ihoded</i> (Lay. Brut Otho. C13 15642) (c1300)		
OED3	sub nunnery (n.) (9) sub nunry (n.) (6)	‘A place of residence for a community of nuns; a building or group of buildings in which nuns live as a religious community; a convent’ [< <i>nun+ery</i> , compare AN <i>nonerye</i>] <i>And al þis compaygnie I-burede weren in Coloyne in one Nonnerie.</i> (11000 Virgins 148 in C. Horstmann Early S. Eng. Legendary 91) (c1300) ‘A nunnery’ <i>He..bar thir bannes menskelye And fertered thaim at a nunrye.</i> (Metrical Hom. 143) (c1325)		
DMLBS	∅			
DC	∅			
Comments Attestation Type 2a / Semantic Field: other				
This loanword, attested only in the plural, is admittedly a hapax in Pegolotti’s merchant handbook (c1335-43) but has not been yet been commented on in any literature on Gallicisms in medieval Italian. It appears in the heading of a list of twenty estates in England run by orders of nuns that produce good-quality wool (<i>lana di rinome</i>) e.g. <i>Vicamo</i> and <i>Rosedalla</i> (Wykeham and Rosedale, both in Yorkshire) and <i>Leccheborna</i> (Legbourne in Lincolnshire) (Evans 1936: 265-66). The lexeme appears in a section surrounded by other borrowed				

terminology related to English wool production (**coglietta, locchi, moiana**), together with the Gallicism *dama*, found in numerous other Italian sources (see TLIO sub **dama**). It is worth reiterating that the text's author was a Bardi employee who lived and worked in London from 1317 to 1321 where he was undoubtedly influenced by local lexis. In the case of *nonnaria*, the argument for a direct AN etymon - *nonerie* (att. 1331)⁸³ - does seem convincing, particularly as the CF equivalent *nonnerie* was not attested until 1803 (TLFi sub **nonnerie**). However, direct borrowing from ME (MED sub **nonnerie**, att. c1300) cannot be dismissed, especially as we have evidence of other Middle Anglicisms in Pegolotti's *Pratica della Mercatura*: **baramanno, ludumano** and perhaps, **locchi**.

AN *nonerie* is derived from the noun *none* with the addition of a suffix. Post classical Latin *nonna* (FEW VII, 187b: **nonna**) developed into two synonyms in French in the twelfth century, *nonne* and (from the oblique case) *nonain*: see AND **nonnain** (att. c1170), TLFi sub **nonnain** (att.c1100), GDC sub **nonnain**, DMF sub **nonnain**, TL sub **nonain**; AND sub **none**² (att. 1174), TLFi sub **nonne** (att. c1155), GDC sub **nonne**, DMF sub **nonne**, TL sub **none**¹. The same Latin root, according to the OED3 sub **nun**, gave rise to *nunne* which appears in Old English in Bede's writings from the tenth century.

⁸³ Note that there is some doubt as to the earliest attestation of the lexeme in AN. The AND editors have included a citation from the *Rotuli Parliamentorum* in 1331 with the legitur 'noneyrie' to replace 'noneyme'. However, Rothwell (1983: 235) claimed that the reading should be 'noneyne' (i.e. 'nun'). If Rothwell is correct, then the first use of *noneyrie* in an AN-matrix source would be 1382-99 in the *Anonimale Chronicle*.

124. It. pardisu (adv.) ‘above (mentioned)’ < AN <i>pardesus</i> < ‘par’ [< Lat. <i>per</i>] + ‘ <i>desus</i> ’ [< Lat. <i>desursam</i> ‘up and above’]				
Italian 1306	Anglo-Norman c1250-1354	Continental French c1176-present	(Middle) English X	Medieval Latin X
TLIO	sub pardisu (adv.) (2)	‘(Citato) di sopra’ [Fr. <i>par-dessus</i>] <i>a detto messer Jacomo Sabello quatro C vintessei fior. e quarto d'oro, a quindici di veduta la lettara, e cinque fior. d'oro ne donassero a detto Ramondo <u>pardisu</u></i> (Libro Gallerani di Londra 53.10) (1306, sen.) <i>Furo a quatro fior. meno meça quarta il marco e i cinque fior. di Ramondo <u>pardisu</u></i> (Libro Gallerani di Londra 53.12) (1306, sen.)		
OVI	<i>pardisu</i> (2)	<i>a detto messer Jacomo Sabello quatro C vintessei fior. e quarto d'oro, a quindici di veduta la lettara, e cinque fior. d'oro ne donassero a detto Ramondo <u>pardisu</u></i> (Libro Gallerani di Londra 53.10) (1306, sen.) <i>Furo a quatro fior. meno meça quarta il marco e i cinque fior. di Ramondo <u>pardisu</u></i> (Libro Gallerani di Londra 53.12) (1306, sen.)		
AD	X			
LEI	X			
DEI	Ø			
AND1	sub pardesus (adv..) (7)	‘above’ <i>il verrunt dunc <u>pardesus</u> Dieu e ses seintes mult irus</i> (Evangl 459) (c1250-1300)		
AND corpus	<i>par desus</i> (1) sub assigner <i>pardesuis</i> (1) sub coffre	<i>Face l'en air froit par art solonc doctrine assignee <u>par desus</u></i> (AN Med i 175) (c1250) <i>les queux deux lettres sont mys en le coffre pardesuis la receyte de la duchié de Lancastre</i> (Engl Dip Pract 748) (c1340)		
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub par-dessus (adv.) (1)	‘au-dessus’ <i>On se puelt esmerveillier maintenant comment ce duc d'Irlande,... entreprent le gouvernement de tout le royaulme d'Angleterre <u>pardesseure</u> les oncles du roy</i> (Froiss., Chron. M., XIV, 22) (c1375-1400)		
GDF	X			
TL	Ø			
TLFi	sub dessus (adv.)	‘par dessus’ [< Lat. <i>desursum</i> ‘en haut, vers le haut’] <i>par desus</i> (Chr. De Troyes, Perceval) (c1176) ‘sur ce sujet’ AN <i>la desus</i> (Ph. de Thaon, Comput.) (1119)		
FEW	FEW XII, 465a: sursum	(adv.) ‘dessus’ OF <i>par desus</i> (c1176) / <i>par-dessus</i> (1393) ‘ci-dessous (dans un texte)’ <i>par-dessus</i> (1260 / 1269)		
MED	Ø			
OED	X			
DMLBS	Ø			

DC	Ø	
<p style="text-align: center;">Comments</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Attestation Type 1b / Semantic Field: administrative language</p> <p>This hapax in the Gallerani London accounts from 1306 was briefly identified by Trotter (2011b: 222) and is not listed in Cella 2007 / 2010. The adverb has only been added relatively recently to the TLIO, with an entry sub pardisu written by Rosella Mosti first appearing in November 2013. The loanword stands out from the other hapaxes in the Siennese Gallerani material (bacconi, cioppino, faldengo, goffriere and tancardo) which all belong to more ‘typical’ semantic fields for medieval mercantile borrowing i.e. commodities, professions and locally used units of measurement. Firstly, it is an adverb (the only one in the Glossary as a whole), and secondly, it can be categorised as ‘administrative language’.</p> <p>Naturally, the source word in question here, the compound term <i>pardesus</i> (of which there are numerous spelling variations), is far from unique to insular French and it is first attested c1176 in France in the works of Chrétien de Troyes. For the purposes of this thesis, the loanword has been included here based on its unique appearance in an Italian text written in England (see Chapter 4.4i).</p> <p>Useful parallels can be drawn here with ditto, which is used in roughly the same sense of ‘aforementioned’ and found in the <i>Cantelowe Accounts</i> compiled by an Englishman in Tuscany in 1450-51 whose business lexis was heavily influenced by his time there (see Chapter 5). The term <i>pardisu</i> was used by a Tuscan working in London, albeit a century and a half earlier, and its brief appearance serves to remind us of the potential extent of interaction that must have occurring between the city’s native merchants and the semi-permanent ‘Lombard’ population. The borrowed adverb is not plugging a semantic gap (<i>di sopra</i> and <i>sopradetto</i> are found elsewhere in the accounts) but seems to have slipped unconsciously into the scribe’s administrative terminology, influenced by the French usage that he probably encountered on a daily basis in the capital at the turn of the fourteenth century.</p>		

125. It. passalarghe (adj. / n.) ‘large-sized (lambskins / sheepskins)’ < AN <i>passelarge</i> < [AN <i>passer</i> (‘to pass, surpass’)] + [AN <i>large</i> (‘wide, broad’)]				
Italian 1448-51	Anglo-Norman 1429	Continental French X	(Middle) English X	Medieval Latin 1428-49
TLIO	X			
OVI	X			
AD	X			
LEI	X			
DEI	Ø			
AND1	sub passelarge (adj) (1)	‘very large’ <i>A.S. [Andrea Spinelli] plege pur J.S [Jacob Spinelli]. xxvj bales de pels, contenue vj mil c. pel <u>passelarge</u> (Port Bks 107) (1429)⁸⁴</i>		
DEAF	X			
DMF	X			
GDF	Ø			
TL	Ø			
TLFi	Ø			
FEW	Ø			
MED	Ø			
OED	X			
DMLBS	Ø			
DC	Ø			
Additional sources				
Italian-matrix				
Salviati (1448-51)	<i>passalarghe</i> (31)	<i>E, a di detto lb.diciassette s.14 d.5 di gr. che ttanto c’assengnamo per ritratto netto di balle 4 di pelle <u>passalarghe</u> mandate loro per le mani de’ Pinelli da Sanducci (LGR 2061: 6)</i> <i>E, a di detto lb.sei s.11 d.2 e’ quali gli faccamo buoni per detto Cristofano per la metà del diritto di balle 4 di chiovi 16 di <u>passalarghe</u> (LGR 2018: 32)</i> <i>E, a di 15 di giungno lb.una s.9 di st. faccamo buoni a Pinello da Sanducci per chostuma e altre spese asengnano avere fatte a balle 4 di <u>passalarghe</u> avute da messer Girolamo Chattani. (LGR 2137:14)</i>		
AN-matrix				
Port Books of SH (1430)	<i>passelarge</i>	<i>Poul Morel : j bale, contenu vij C pels <u>passelarge</u> - cust. xxj d., pontage j d. (Studer 1913: 115) (1430)</i>		
BML-matrix				
Kings Remem- brancer (1428-29)	<i>passelarges</i> (1)	<i><u>passelarges</u> alias dictarum Sherlyng ac medyesan (E159/205 m.10) (Holmes 1960: 205) (1428-29)⁸⁵</i>		

⁸⁴ The source text’s editor footnotes: “Andrew Spinol pledges for Jacob Spinol 26 bales of tells, contents C500 fells of ‘passelarge’ and 6500 lamb-skins. Note that duty on fells ‘passelarge’ was twice that on the ordinary lamb-skin; it must therefore have been a particularly large fell, or a fell with a superior quality of wool” (Studer 1913: 107).

⁸⁵ I am very grateful to Dr Helen Bradley of the London Records Society for alerting me to this citation.

Export license in Rot. Parl. (1449)	<i>passelarges</i> (1)	<i>pelles agninas, pelles lanatas, passelarges, et alla coria tam fresca quam tannata</i> (License granted to John Taverner of Hull for his carrack, the Grace Dieu) (Southey and Bell 1833: 95) (1449)
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Comments

Attestation Type 1a / Semantic Field: wool

This intriguing loanword has not been identified in Italian before and the lexeme is absent from all the major French historical dictionaries except the AND. We have a large number of examples of the lexeme *passalarghe* listed as commodity in the Salviati London accounts from 1448-51 where it is used both adjectivally and nominally. Along with **baliaggio** and **viscontaggio**, fellow hapaxes found only in the same Florentine source, we are dealing with a borrowing that has no recorded ME equivalent and a convincing AN etymon. As discussed in Chapter 4, this suggests - gaps in the record notwithstanding - that direct AN-Italian contact was still occurring in the mid-fifteenth century.

Passelarge were a kind of lambskin or sheepskin that seems to have been unique to England, a compound term derived from AN *passer* and AN *large*. We find a single reference to them in the AND corpus in the Port Book of Southampton from 1429 (AND1 sub **passelarge**) and there is another in the same source from the following year which will be added - possibly with other new citations - when the AND1 entries under 'P' are updated. Both these Port Book entries deal with shipments at Southampton that belonged to prominent Italian merchants, resident in the English port and key players in the local economy: the Spinelli family from Genoa (see Fryde 1983: 353) and Paolo Morelli of Florence (see Bradely 2012: 296). It is easy to imagine how, in this specific context at least, the AN term *passelarge*, could pass into the vocabulary of the Italians in question.

The vernacular (presumably AN) lexeme *passelarge* also appears in fifteenth-century BML in the King's Remembrancer (1428-29) and an export license granted to a Hull merchant (1449). In the former, *passelarge* is defined as a sheepskin also known as *Sherlyng ac medyssan*. The 'medium' label is confusing given that our original lexeme means 'extra-large', although it could, of course, mean 'medium-quality' (cf. **moiana**). *Sherling*, however, clearly refers to sheepskin from a recently shorn sheep: see OED2 sub **shorling** (att. 1429) / sub **shearling** (att. 1481).

126. It. perriere (n.) ‘a jeweller or dealer in precious stones’ < AN <i>perrier</i> < AN <i>pere</i> < Lat. <i>petra</i> (‘stone’)				
Italian 1304-08	Anglo-Norman c1100	Continental French c1100-1387	(Middle) English X	Medieval Latin X
TLIO	X			
OVI	X			
AD	X			
LEI	X			
DEI	Ø			
AND1	sub perrier (n.) (1)	‘jeweller’ <i>Li bon perrier ancienur Tindrent la ruunde (= pearl) a meillur</i> (Lapid 65.877) (c1100-30)		
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub perrier ¹ (n.) (4)	B. ‘Celui qui taille les pierres précieuses’ <i>À Guillaume le perrier, le jour dessus dit, pour VIc pierres de voirre nommez chatons, couleur dazur</i> (Compte Navarre I.P. , 193) (1367-71)		
GDF	sub celerage (n.) (4)	‘Graveur sur pierres fines, lapidaire, marchand de pierreries vraies ou fausses’ <i>Cil ke sont alkes bon perrier, La granate tieneut plus cher</i> (Lapid. fr. A347, L. Pannier) (c1100-30)		
TL	sub perrier ³ (n.) (2)	‘Arbeiter in Kristall und Edelsteinen’ <i>Cil ke sont alkes bon perrier, La granate tienent plus cher</i> (Lapid. A 347, S., 46)		
TLFi	Ø			
FEW	FEW VIII: 320b: petra	‘lapidaire’ OF / MF <i>perrier</i> (13 th c. - 1387)		
MED	Ø			
OED3	X			
DMLBS	X			
DC	Ø			
Additional sources				
Italian-matrix				
Gallerani: Grande libro di Londra	<i>perriere</i> (4)	<i>Pietro Schierico di Roma perriere [...] Andrea di Venegia perriere [...] Benedetto Churini di Venegia perriere [...] Marco Davanço di Venegia perriere [...]</i> (Newly discovered Gallerani material from London, ed. Cella 2009: 69-77)		
Comments				
Attestation Type 1b / Semantic Field: profession				
Along with bacconi , <i>perriere</i> is a Gallicism found only in the recently discovered Gallerani London material, edited by Cella in 2009. The profession name appears four times in extant fragments of the <i>Grande libro</i> , the central account book for the Sienese firm, to which the credit entries in Bigwood and Grunzweig’s edition refer (Nobes 1982: 305). Cella (2010:79) suggests a CF etymon for the borrowing in her merchant glossary on loanwords from England, France and Flanders.				
Perriere is one of a minority of loanwords in the glossary (like pardisu , for example) with potential insular				

and continental etyma and whose derivation from AN here is based on its unique appearance in an Italian text written in London (see Chapter 4.4i). The lexeme *perrier* first appears in a mineralogical treatise (or Lapidary) which exists in numerous insular and continental versions. The earliest of these (MS Paris, BN lat., 14470) was written in AN and dates from the the first third of the twelfth century,⁸⁶ providing the earliest citations of *perrier* in Godefroy, TL and the AND1.

⁸⁶ Interestingly, it seems that this manuscript (covered in a fly-leaf of Sicilian recipes) was copied from a now lost AN original in the Norman kingdom of Sicily by a local scribe who used a “peculiar” hand, as Studer and Evans (1924: 1) describe it.

127. It. persona (n.) ‘a parson or designated parish priest’ < AN <i>persone</i> < Lat. <i>persōna</i> (‘person’)				
Italian 1305-c1451	Anglo-Norman c1174-c1412	Continental French c1262-1398	(Middle) English c1275-present	Medieval Latin a1157-1369
TLIO	sub persona (n.) (1)	‘Ecclesiastico titolare di una parrocchia’ [< ME <i>persone</i>] <i>Per li quali li faciamo lettara a' nostri di Cambragio che ne pagassero quarantequattro lb. par. a messer Gilio, <u>persona</u> di San Giorgio di Cambragio</i> (Libro Gallerani di Londra, 13.19) (1305, sen.)		
OVI	<i>persona</i> (3)	<i>Per li quali li faciamo lettara a' nostri di Cambragio che ne pagassero quarantequattro lb. par. a messer Gilio, <u>persona</u> di San Giorgio di Cambragio</i> (Libro Gallerani di Londra, 13.19) <i>Item 17 lb. 6 s. 8 d. sterlin. da Guillelmo de Alingie, <u>persona</u> di Lebornio</i> (Libro Gallerani di Londra, 17.6) (1305, sen.)		
AD	X			
LEI	X			
DEI	∅			
AND1	sub persone (n.) (4)	9. ‘parson’ <i>un G. par noun jadis Abbé del eglise ... come <u>persone</u> et personé [i.e. as parson imparsonée] de sa avoweré demeyne</i> (Nov. Narr. 39) (c1300)		
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub personne (n.) (3)	D1. ‘Dignitaire, bénéficiere ecclésiastique, curé’ <i>siques au terme Que la <u>personne</u> leur ora, La compaignie demora</i> (Tomb. Chatr W. 48) (c1337-39)		
GDF	sub person (n.) (12)	‘curé, recteur d’un paroisse, prieur, dignitaire, bénéficiere ecclésiastique’ <i>Deien, acediacre, <u>personnes</u> et abé</i> (Guernes Vie de S. Thomas, Richel 13513, f79r) (c1174) <i>nostre prestre, nostre <u>persone</u></i> (J. Le March. Mir. de N-D, ms Chartres f41) (c1262)		
TL	sub persone (n.) (18)	‘geistlicher Würdenträger [vgl. engl. parson]’ <i>La contesse de Heirefort..., S’elle trove haute <u>persoine</u>, Evesque, abé, prior ne moigne</i> (LMan 1213) (1174-78)		
TLFi	∅			
FEW	VIII 270a: persona	‘dignitaire ecclésiastique’ OF <i>persone</i> (1172-74) / (c1272) / <i>personne</i> (1398) ‘curé’ AN <i>person</i> (13 th -14 th c.)		
MED	sub persone ² (n.) (20+)	‘The cleric having whole right to the tithes of a parish, a parish priest, parson’ [OF & Lat.] <i>All prestes wifes, ich wot, heo beoþ forlore; Þes <u>personnes</u> ich wene ne beoþ heo nozt for-bore</i> (LSSerm.(Clg A.9) 188/51) (c1275) / <i>ʒif ani man of holi churche halt ani-þing of lay-fe, <u>parson</u> [Hrl: persoun], preost oþur zwatso he beo, he schal don þere-fore Þe seruise þat to þe kinge bi-fallez</i> (SLeg.Becket (LdMisc 108) 561) (c1300)		
OED3	sub parson (n.) (5)	II. ‘In the pre-Reformation Church and the Church of England: a person		

		presented to an ecclesiastical living by a patron and admitted and instituted to it by the bishop; a rector' [< AN <i>parson</i> , AN / OF <i>persone</i>] <i>Pes <u>persones</u> ich wene ne beoþ heo noȝt for-bore.</i> (Old Eng. Misc.188) (c1275) / <i><u>Parson</u> [c1300 Harl. <i>persoun</i>], <i>preost oþur ȝwat-so he beo.</i> (Early S.-Eng. Legendary 12) (c1300)</i>
DMLBS	sub persona (14) 2236b	6b. '(in parish church) parson, rector' <i>concessi..ecclesia beate Marie de Porestok et <u>persone</u> ibidem Deo seruianti</i> (Ch. Sal. 26) (a1157)
DC	sub persona (1)	'sæpius pro Curio, parochus occurrit : Britan. etiamnum Personne, Angli Parson ea notione dicunt' <i>Ego <u>Persona</u> ecclesie de Solineio habui medietatem investiturae præfate ecclesie de Solineio</i> (Chartularium S. Vincent. Cenoman. fol. 115) (att. ?)
Additional sources		
Italian-matrix		
Salviati	<i>persona</i> (1)	[...] <i>quello restasse avere vuole siano restituiti a maestro Ghulglielmo Selvaggio nostro <u>persona</u> a Tommazo Chufre, grossiere</i> (LGR 1914, 14) (1448-1451)
Comments Attestation Type 2b / Semantic Field: profession		
<p>This borrowed profession name has so far been considered unique to the Gallerani London material of 1305. Trotter disagrees with Cella's (2007: 196) assessment of <i>persona</i> as an <i>anglismo</i>, stating:</p> <p>[<i>Persona</i>] too is as likely to have come into the Gallerani accounts from Anglo-French as from English: 'l'origine inglese piuttosto che francese dell'adattamento toscano' does not, in multilingual London, preclude an (Anglo-) French source. Cella does not cite the AND, familiarity with which would have alerted her to some of these problems (Trotter 2011b: 216).</p> <p>The earliest twelfth-century attestations of French <i>persone</i> meaning 'parish priest' or 'holder of a parochial benefice'⁸⁷ certainly seem linked to England. Guernes de Pont-Sainte-Maxence's use of the term, c1174, alongside <i>deien</i>, <i>acediacre</i> and <i>abé</i>, is not used in the AND1 entry but is recorded in Godefroy (GDF sub person). The writer, originally from Picardy, wrote his biography of Thomas Becket after travelling to Canterbury, around two years after the archbishop's murder (cf. Short 1977). Similarly, the <i>Livre de Manières</i> (TL sub persone) was written c1174 for an English patron (the Countess of Hereford) by Étienne de Fougères, the Breton chaplain to the English king, Henry II (cf. Lodge 1979): here again, the influence of insular terminology is very probable. Even earlier examples of BML <i>persona</i> used in the ecclesiastical sense can be found in 1157 and 1168 (see DMLBS sub persona). Note that the first ME-matrix attestation (<i>Pes persones</i>) is early (c1275: see MED sub persoune² / OED sub parson), correlating with the even earlier borrowing of AN <i>persone</i> / <i>parsonne</i> in its more general sense of 'person, individual' into English as early as 1200 (see MED sub persoune¹ / OED3 sub person).</p>		

⁸⁷ See OED3 entry sub **parson** for a detailed discussion of the responsibilities and entitlements inherently linked to the position of 'parson' under ecclesiastical law.

We can now see that the Sieneese *persona* in the Gallerani is not an isolated loanword as it appears a century and a half later in another Tuscan account book written in England: the Salviati's *Libro Grande Rosso*. In this later text, there is a stronger argument in favour of perceiving *persona* as a ME loanword, borrowed from *person*⁸⁸ into the vocabulary of these Florentine merchants. The only conclusion we can draw is that it is impossible to draw an infallible distinction in this instance⁸⁹ but that the AN origins of the term are unproblematic.

⁸⁸ This α . variant (-er-) survived until the seventeenth century before being entirely replaced by the β (-ar-) form: see OED3 sub **parson**.

⁸⁹ Consider that (as mentioned in Chapter 4.4iii) we find both convincing Anglicisms (e.g. **dicchero**, **irmangere**, **todo**) and Anglo-Normanisms (e.g. **baliagio**, **literagio**, **passalarghe**, **viscontaggio**) appearing uniquely in the Salivati London book from the mid-fifteenth century.

128. It. <i>pippa</i> (n.) ‘a unit of measurement, used particularly for wine, of approximately 63 gallons’ < AN <i>pipe</i> < ML <i>pipa</i> (‘pipe, large cask’)				
Italian 1305-c1451	Anglo-Norman c1300-15 th c.	Continental French c1225-1495	(Middle) English 1348-1905	Medieval Latin 1212-1436
TLIO	sub pippa (n.) (2)	‘Recipiente a doghe per liquidi e per aridi (con il suo contenuto o come misura di capacità); [specif.:] pippa di grana recipiente e unità di misura per la commercializzazione della polvere tintoria, in uso nelle Fiandre’ [< OF <i>pipe</i> , <i>pippe</i>] <i>due pippe di vino, l’una bianco, l’altra vermello</i> (Libro Nuovo Gallerani p. 88.9) (1305, sen.) <i>Una pippa di grana si si intende in Fiandra una botticella lunghetta di fusto, in che vi puote avere dentro da libbre 200 in 250 di grana</i> (Pegolotti Pratica 239.25) (c1335-1343, fior.)		
OVI	<i>pippe</i> (1) <i>pippa</i> (1)	<i>due pippe di vino, l’una bianco, l’altra vermello</i> (Libro Nuovo Gallerani p. 88.9) (130, sen.) <i>Una pippa di grana si si intende in Fiandra una botticella lunghetta di fusto, in che vi puote avere dentro da libbre 200 in 250 di grana</i> (Pegolotti Pratica 239.25) (c1335-1343, fior.)		
AD	X			
LEI	X			
DEI	∅			
AND1	sub pipe ¹ (n.) (2)	‘(measure of capacity) pipe (half a ton)’ <i>Et de j pipe de servoyse ... ij d</i> (Oakbook ii 2) (c1300)		
AND corpus	<i>pipe</i> (1) sub arguel <i>pipe</i> (1) sub bere ² <i>pipe</i> (1) sub carfour	<i>De chescun tonel ou pipe de arguel, coperose [...]</i> (Dom Gip 186) (c1300-25) <i>j. pipe de byer pour vitayle</i> (Local Port Bk 64) (1435-36) <i>j’envoieray a un taverner joust le quatrefaukez lou est un pipe debon vyne vermaile novelment au broche</i> (Liber Donati 22. 137) (15 th c.) (There are over 60 other citations for <i>pipe(s)</i> in other entries: e.g.. sub chardun , cicer , costage , desorenavant , demenuser , gaugeor , gindage)		
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub pipe (n.) (9)	B1. ‘Mesure pour les liquides’ <i>lesquix [tonneaux] ne furent touz plains et aouillez et touz emplagés, rabatuz que 112 tonneaux et pipe, et une pipe de vinaigr</i> (Comptes argent. rois Fr. D.-A.,I, 203). (1359-60)		
GDF	sub pipe (n.) (5)	1. ‘sorte de mesure’ <i>x pipes de vin</i> (Denombr des baill. d’Amiens, Arch. p137, f.11/2v)		
TL	sub pipe ¹ (n.) (3)	‘ein Hohlmaß für Flüssigkeiten’ <i>Sanz demander tonniaus ne pipes</i> (GGui II 3085) (c1304)		
TLFi	sub pipe (n.)	‘Ancienne capacité de mesure pour les liquides équivalant à un muid et demi, soit quatre-cent deux litres environ’ [Déverbal de <i>piper</i> ¹ / cf. ML <i>pipa</i> (‘tuyau’)] ‘tuyau servant à prélever un liquide’ <i>pipe</i> (c1225)		

		‘measure de liquide’ <i>pipe</i> (1269-78)
FEW	VIII, 561a : * pippare	‘tonneau, mesure (pour vin et grains)’ Old Flemish <i>pipe</i> (1275) / Picard, Norman <i>pipe</i> (1359)
MED	sub pipe ² (n.) (20+)	1. ‘A large storage container of particular volume for various items, solid or liquid; cask, vat; chest / a measure of volume’ [<OF <i>pipe</i>] [<i>xj pipe de cupro pro pennis fesaun.</i> (Wardrobe Acc.Edw.III(1) in Archaeol.31, 39) (1348) <i>Une pipe de gunepoudre cont' viijc di. et xiiij li.</i> (Proc.Privy C. 2.341) (1415)] 2. ‘A large vessel for storing wine, a pipe, cask /such a vessel with its contents; a measure of wine of varying amount’ [<i>In primis in 3 pypes vini empt. et in colore et in vino empt. in villa..115 s. 4 d.</i> (Acc.R.Dur.in Sur.Soc.100, 382) (1352-53)] <i>I pray 3ow yat 3e wyl ordeyne me a pype of whyte wyn.</i> (PRO E 101/512/10, 262) (1402)
OED3	sub pipe ² (n.) (8)	1. ‘A large container of definite capacity for storing solids or liquids, such as meat, fish, or oil’ [AN / OF <i>pipe</i>] ⁹⁰ [<i>xj pipe de cupro pro pennis fesaun</i> (Wardrobe Acct. Edward III in Archaeologia 31 39) (1314)] <i>very manere Vessell for Wyne herafter to be made..contene..ye full assise of old tyme used and accustomed, that is to sey, that every Tonne contene xii/xx and xii [252] Galons, and every Pipe vi/xx vi [126] Galons</i> (Rolls of Parl. V. 114/2) (1444) 2. ‘The contents of a pipe; a liquid (or †solid) measure, esp. of wine, equal to the capacity of a pipe’ [<i>In primis in 3 pypes vini empt. et in colore et in vino empt. in villa..115 s. 4 d.</i> (Extracts Acct. Rolls Abbey of Durham (1899) II. 382)] <i>Y wyt to Iohan Whyte the yonger, & to hys wyfe a pipe of wyne, prys of xl s.</i> (Fifty Earliest Eng. Wills 13) (1406)
DMLBS	sub pipa (16) 2287c	4. ‘pipe-full (as unti of measure), pipe of wine / of other liquid’ [ML <i>pipa</i>] <i>computate..tres pipas et unum dublerum de musco</i> (Cl 124) (1212)
DC	sub pipa ¹ (4)	‘Vasculum, cadus’ <i>Frater Robertus de Castelloduno Prior de Vareda redditus prioratus exponens, appretiat sextarium bladi 8. sol. sextarium avenæ 5. sol. Pipam vini 30. sol.</i> (Tabular. Majoris Monast.) (1338)
Additional sources		
Italian-matrix		
Salviati	<i>pippa</i> (10) (pl. <i>pippe</i>)	<i>E, a di 15 d'aghosto 1451 lb.due di st. sono per una pippa di vino avemo da llui</i> (LGR: 2022:12) <i>E a di 8 di detto 1b.due s.16 d.8 per una pippa di vino tinto di ragione de' nostri di Brugia chonprati da noi</i> (LGR 443:15) (1448-51)

⁹⁰ Note the OED3 entry sub **pipe**² states that Italian *pippa* was not attested until 1598, in Florio’s Italian-English dictionary. We now know that it was being used in Tuscan nearly three centuries earlier.

AN-matrix		
VOH	<i>pipes</i> (4)	<i>Item il ad ressu par j nief vocatur John Sutysson de Flandrez xiiij pipes vyn rouge</i> (VOH 16: 242, E101/128/30 ret. 6, transc.p. 25) (1440)
Comments		
Attestation Type 2b / Semantic Field: unit of measurement		
<p><i>Pippa</i> is an Italianised unit of measurement for liquids that first appears in the Gallerani London material in 1305. Cella identifies the loanword in her two merchant glossaries but, as usual, cites potential etyma from BML, ME and CF whilst overlooking specifically insular French input (Cella 2007: 200 / 2010: 68). Like other measurements associated with England (i.e. fodero, gallone, pocca and tonello), we also find <i>pippa</i> used in the Salivati accounts, a century and a half later. Note that Pegolotti also makes one mention of <i>una pippa di grana</i> in his merchant handbook from c1335, referring overtly, in this case, to a Flemish measurement.</p> <p>Clearly, it is probable that we are dealing with two separate routes of transmission; in Pegolotti, <i>pippa</i> is derived from a variant of CF <i>pipe</i>, attested as a tube to pour liquids c1225, a unit of volume from c1269 (TLFi sub pipe) and in Old Flemish from 1275 (FEW VIII, 561a : *pippare). In the writings of the Gallerani and the Salviati, Italians resident in England at the time of writing, the likely source of the borrowing <i>pippa</i> is AN <i>pipe</i>. The lexeme is very common in AN records - with over sixty examples in the AND corpus - with <i>j pipe de servoyse</i> first recorded in the Oakbook of Southampton, c1300. We also find <i>tres pipas [...] de musco</i> in a BML Close Roll as early as 1212 (DMLBS sub pipa). The argument for insular French influence is strengthened by the fact that all citations of <i>pippa</i> / <i>pippe</i> in the London accounts of Tuscan merchants refer to wine which was by far the most common usage of <i>pipe</i> in medieval England. As always, however, the potential role of ME cannot be ruled out and the likelihood of direct Italian-ME contact is increasingly stronger as we move into the 1400s.</p>		

129. It. pocca (n.) ‘a poke: an English unit of measurement used for wool, equalling half a sack or 182lb’ < AN <i>poke</i> < ? OE <i>pohha</i> , Old Northumbrian <i>pocca</i> (‘bag’) / ? < Old Low Frankish * <i>pokka</i>				
Italian 1291-1451	Anglo-Norman 1228-c1444	Continental French 1326-present ⁹¹	(Middle) English c1300-19 th c.	Medieval Latin 1228-1503
TLIO	sub pocca (n.) (2)	‘Unità di misura della lana (frazione del sacco, si suddivide in pietre)’ [OF <i>poke</i> or Flemish <i>poke</i>] <i>una pocca</i> [[di lana]] d’undici pietre (Lett. fior 1291, p. 594.25) (1291, fior.) <i>sessanta e sette saccha due poche di lana che compramo da loro, di quella della Bruiera e d’Ecli e di Villitona</i> (Libro Nuovo Gallerani p. 36.21) (1306-sen.)		
OVI	<i>pocca</i> (1) <i>pocche</i> (1)	<i>una pocca</i> [[di lana]] d’undici pietre (Lett. fior 1291, p. 594.25) (1291, fior.) <i>sessanta e sette saccha due poche di lana che compramo da loro, di quella della Bruiera e d’Ecli e di Villitona</i> (Libro Nuovo Gallerani p. 36.21) (1305-08, sen.)		
LEI	X			
DEI	Ø			
AND1	sub poke (n.) (1) sub poket (n.) (2)	‘half sack (of wool etc), poke’ <i>De chescun poke de leyne ij.d</i> (Oak Book ii 4) (c1300) ‘half sack of wool, poke’ <i>un sake ay tot pleyn... e auxint un poket</i> (Boz Cont 134) (c1305)		
AND corpus	<i>poke</i> (2) sub gybe <i>pokes</i> (1) sub avenir ¹	<i>xx gybes j poke, contenu xx sak demi de lane</i> (Port Bks 115) (1427-30) <i>vii gybes i poke de leine</i> (Local Port Bk 88) (1435-36) <i>come il ait fait avenir en Engleterre xi pokes de madder a Lenn</i> (Rot Par ¹ ii 215) (1347-48)		
DEAF	X			
DMF	X			
GDF	Ø			
TL	Ø			
TLFi	Ø			
FEW	XVI,638a / 641a: * pokka	‘bourse, petit sac dans lequel on conserve qch’ Picard <i>poke</i> (1275-1326) Norman <i>pouque</i> (1326, 1382) ‘poche’ AN <i>poket</i> (c1300-25) [Aus dem afluand. entlehnt afluor. <i>pocca</i> ‘balla di lana’ (CastellaniNTesti)]		
MED	sub poke (n.)	a. ‘A sack, pouch, bag, in some quots. perhaps a measure of quantity’ [OE <i>poha</i> , co. AL <i>poca</i> / OF <i>poche</i> , <i>poke</i> , Norman <i>pouque</i>]		

⁹¹ Today, *pouque* (meaning a large bag or sack) is still found instead of *pouche* in the regional vocabulary of Normandy. It is used there instead of *pouche* even by speakers who speak standard French only and not the Norman dialect (Jones 2015: 177-78).

		<i>[i poke de alum, i d. (Gras Eng.Cust.Syst, 157) (1228) / xl sakes et i poke de laine (Gras Eng.Cust.Syst, 225) (1275-76)]</i> <i>In a poke ful and blac, Sone he caste him on his bac</i> (Havelok (LdMisc 108) 555) (c1300)
OED3	sub poke ¹ (n.)	1a. ‘a bag [...]; a small sack [...]. Formerly used as a measure of quantity, varying according to the quality and nature of the commodity. Pokes seem to have been used particularly for the conveyance of raw wool.’ [AN / OF <i>poke</i> / northern OF <i>pouque</i> or Old Dutch] <i>Hise pokes fulle of mele an korn.</i> (Havelok (Laud) 780) (c1300)
DMLBS	sub poca (13) 2328a	‘bag, pouch, (also as a unit of measurement), poke’ [ME <i>poke, pouche, puche</i> < OF <i>poche</i>] <i>quarter viginti et duodecim sacci et quatuor puke lane mercatorum Flandr’ detenti sunt apud Winchels’</i> (CI 475) (1242)
DC	∅	
Additional sources		
Italian-matrix		
Villani accounts	<i>pocha</i> (3) (<i>poca</i> , pl. <i>poche</i>)	<i>scharpigliere</i> ⁹² <i>ij e pocha j di lana di Staforte e di Marza</i> (Villani frammento, ed. Guidi- Bruscoli 2010:397) (a1422) <i>per chosto e spese di sacha L q. ij co vj di lana chontisgualda chonpratta per loro da vidverse persone et fattone poche Lxx ly xLij di story e xxvij chogliette</i> (Villani frammento) (Guidi- Bruscoli 2010:404) (a1422) <i>ij scarpeliere e una poca £ xLij e per ispesse e travaglio di chi li trasse 3j</i> (Villani frammento) (Guidi- Bruscoli 2010:407) (a1422)
Albizzi diary	<i>poche</i> (8) (<i>pocche</i>)	<i>Lunedì adì 16 di gennaio, circha a ora di vespro, s’ebbono i costumieri, che prima non si poterono avere, et pesarono 390 poche di lana di nostro caricho</i> (Diary of galley captain, Luca di Maso degli Albizzi) (1430, fior.) (Mallett 1967: 256)
Salviati	<i>poccha</i> (70+) (<i>pocha</i> ; pl. <i>pocche, poche</i> ; abrv. <i>poc.</i>)	<i>E, deon dare s.11 d.1 per la 1/4 partita del ritratto di saccha 1 chiovi 11 di lochi a numero 5 1/2 il saccho fatti buoni a llane per la 1/4 partita di poche</i> (LGR 322:13) <i>per la ¼ parte delle chostuma, sussido, chiarraggi, charrevaccio e inpaccature e piu altre spese fatte sino chariche in nave a poche 104 di lana</i> (LGR 2138: 33) (1448-51)
AN-matrix		
VOH	<i>poke</i> (31) (pl. <i>pokes, pokez, pokys, pokis</i>)	<i>En primez le xiiije iour de Janvare lan suisdit CCC bunches garlyk ij petits bales mader & ij pokes cours madre</i> (VOH 3:28 ; E101/128/32, transc. p145) (1442) ⁹³ <i>jC xxxvij pokys que peysse Cvj sackis xj nailles & demi de layne</i> (VOH 55 :7; E101/128/31 ret. 36, transc. p118) (1442-43)
Comments Attestation Type 2b / Semantic Field: unit of measurement		

⁹² Cf. *scarpigliera* (‘sarppler of wool’), Table 2 Chapter 4.1ii

⁹³ This citation is unique in the VOH examples as the poke in question is filled with madder not wool. Compare *xi pokes de madder* in Rot. Parl. (AND sub **avenir**).

A *poke* was a precise unit of measurement for English wool (see also **chivo**, **toddo**) and the Italianised borrowing *pocca* can be found in mercantile textiles linked to England from the late thirteenth to the mid-fifteenth centuries. The first attestation of *pocca* dates from 1291 in a letter sent from the merchant Consiglio de' Cerchi in Florence to his colleague, Giachetto Rinucci, in London (the same letter also contains another wool-related borrowing unique to England: **coglietta**). The letter's editor glossed this hereto unknown loanword as 'balla di lana' and suggested either the Flemish or Old Frankish *poke* as an etymon (Castellani 1952: Vol. 2, 900). Castellani's theory is also quoted in the FEW entry sub ***pokka**, p. 641a.

Over fifty years later, Cella listed a new attestation of the loanword - *due pocche di lana* - in an entry of the Gallerani of Siena's London book from 1306. Along with several other borrowed units of measurement found in this merchant material, Cella classifies *pocca* as an *anglismo* due to the existence of an obvious cognate in ME:

pocca s.f. 'unità di misura della lana (frazione del sacco e multiplo della pietra)': medio ing. *poke* 'a bag' [...] att. nel 1330 ca. ma nel latino d'Inghilterra *poca* 'bag, pouch, (also as unit of measure) poke' già att. nel 1248 [...] In ragione della documentazione, tutta di attinenza inglese, è poco probabile la derivazione dal piccardo e fiamm. *poke* [...]o dal fr. settentrionale *poque* [...] (Cella 2010:68).

From just two attestations of the loanword in 1291 and 1306, we now find dozens more examples in fifteenth-century Tuscan material written in England: *pocca* and *pocche* appear in Villani fragment (along with the wool categories **coglietta** and **storo**), in the diary entries of the galley captain, Albizzi, in Southampton and over seventy times in the Salviati London accounts. Whilst ME *poke* is far from an implausible source for Italian *pocca* (as in Cella's assessment above), it is more likely that the loanword was originally borrowed directly from AN *poke*, first attested in an AN-matrix text, the Oak Book of Southampton, c1300. The term is found much earlier, however, in the BML source *Gras' Early Customs Systems* (see MED sub **poke**) where it refers to alum: *i poke de alum*, *id.* (att. 1228). Other variants abound in the Latin of medieval England with forms such as *puke*, *pucheis* and *pocam* appearing in wool-related contexts in Close and Pipe Rolls from 1242 onwards (DMLBS sub **poca**).

The ultimate etymon of *poke* is not entirely clear. The OED3 entry sub **poke** highlights cognates in Anglo-Norman, the Old French of Flanders, Picardy and Normandy but also in Middle Dutch and Old Icelandic (see also Durkin 2011: 62-68). The FEW suggests an Old Frankish root ***pokka** which eventually gave rise to CF *puche* (att. c1180)⁹⁴ and Norman *pouque* (att. 1326), meaning 'a sack'. The specific use of *poke* (and its diminutive, see AND1 **pocket**) as units of measurement for wool appear unique to English commercial lexis.

⁹⁴ See DMF sub **poche**¹ / TL sub **poche**, GDC sub **poche** / TLFi sub **poche**. It is possible of course that Italian *pocca* derived from CF *puche* but given the specific wool-related context and that *pocca* is only attested in texts linked to England, AN *poke* seems the most convincing candidate.

130. It. potto (n.) ‘a recipient to hold liquids, especially for domestic use’ < AN <i>pot</i> < OE <i>pot</i> < ? ⁹⁵				
Italian 1305-c1450	Anglo-Norman c1180-c1412	Continental French c1150-present	(Middle) English c1200-present	Medieval Latin 1213-1474
TLIO	sub potto (3) (n.)	‘recipiente (specif. per liquidi) di uso domestico’ [< ME <i>pot</i> /OF <i>pot</i>] <i>Sono [[...]] per uno baccino a barbiere e per uno picciolo <u>potto</u> da aqua</i> (Libro Gallerani di Londra 89.2) (1305, sen.) <i>due <u>potti</u> per portare l’olio</i> (Doc. fior. 1311-13 p. 85.24) (1311-13, fior.) ⁹⁶		
OVI	<i>potto</i> (4) <i>potti</i> (4)	<i>Sono [[...]] per uno baccino a barbiere e per uno picciolo potto da aqua</i> (Libro Gallerani di Londra 89.2) (1305, sen.) <i>due <u>potti</u> per portare l’olio</i> (Doc. fior. 1311-13) p. 85.24) (1311-13, fior.)		
AD	X			
LEI	X			
DEI	∅			
AND1	sub pot (7)	‘pot, ewer, basin’ <i>Jhesus ala quere de l’euwe a la fontayne e briseyt les <u>poz</u></i> (Bible ¹ 26.19) (c1325) <i>lavres, <u>pottes</u>, pannes ...</i> (Rot Parl ¹ iii 631) (1410) ‘ <i>descouvrir le pot</i> , to reveal a secret, let the cat out of the bag’ <i>Bien nus ad le <u>pot</u> discovert. Ore sai jo ben ...</i> (Ipom BFR 2358) (c1180)		
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub pot (n.) (30+)	A1. ‘Récipient de ménage destiné à recevoir des boissons ou des aliments’ <i>IJ lez, IJ huches, vaixelle d’estaing, <u>poz</u>, pailles et autres biens</i> (Reg. crim. Chât. I, 349) (1389-92)		
GDC	sub pot (n.) (20+)	‘vase de ménage, de matière, de forem, de dimensions variables’ <i>Quant la vedve veit son oste, <u>poez</u> et trepez d’illoc oste [...]</i> (Vie S. George BN 902, f.112) (12 th c.)		
TL	sub pot (n.) (20+)	‘Topf, Gefäß’ <i>ulceus (l.urceus): pot de terre</i> (Par. Gloss. 8246 12) (c1286)		
TLFi	sub pot ¹ (n.)	‘Récipient à usage domestique, de forme, de matière et de capacité variables’ [Prob. d’un précelt. * <i>pott-</i> ‘pot’, introduit en Gaule par les Francs] <i>pot</i> (c1150-1200) / <i>pos</i> (1160-74)		
FEW	IX 262a: pottus	‘vase de ménage, de matière, de dimensions variables’ OF <i>pot</i> (Wace, 1160) / Occ. <i>pot</i> (1280)		
MED	sub pot ¹ (n.) (30+)	‘A vessel, pot, container / an earthenware vessel; pottery’ [OE <i>pot</i> , cp. OF <i>pot</i>]		

⁹⁵ Note that the FEW IX, pp. 269-70 suggests an ultimate pre-Celtic etymon (-**pott*) for *pot* in Germanic and Romance languages.

⁹⁶ These entries are from the Frescobaldi London accounts from 1311-13: the *Tercius liber mercatorum de’ Frescobaldis*, edited by Saponi (1947: 85-136). See also **gallone** / **mazero**.

		<i>Du scalt bien zefonded on ða hali liue al swo is þe <u>pott</u> ðe is idon on ðe barnende ofne.</i> (Vices & V.(1) (Stw 34), 73/13) (c1200)
OED3	sub pot ¹ (n.) (6)	‘A relatively deep vessel [...] used chiefly to hold a liquid or solid substance’ [< OE <i>pott</i> , probably reinforced by AN / OF <i>pot</i>] ⁹⁷ <i>Al swo is þe <u>pott</u> ðe is idon on ðe barnende ofne</i> (Vices & Virtues 73) (c1200)
DMLBS	sub pottum (11) 2372b	‘vessel of rounded form, pot’ [ML < ME, OF <i>pott</i> < AS < <i>pot</i>] <i>cuidam figulo pro <u>pottis</u>, iij s. ij d.</i> (DCCant. VMA f.54) (1213)
DC		
Additional sources		
Italian-matrix		
Salviati	<i>potto</i> (2) (pl. <i>potti</i>)	<i>E, a di 15 d’aghosto 1449, s. 5 d. 4 di st. per alcuni potti di stangnio chomperati per in chasa</i> (LGR 198:7) <i>E, denari 4 di st. ci ritenne che disse fu uno <u>potto</u> di vino; a chonti diferenti e ritensioni in questo a c. 87 lb.— s.— d.4</i> (LGR 1880:16) (1448-50)
Comments		
Attestation Type 2b / Semantic Field: containers / bundles		
<p><i>Potto</i> is found in three medieval Italian sources written in London. The first two - the Gallerani accounts from 1305 and the Frescobaldi accounts from 1311-13 - are highlighted by Cella. She states that:</p> <p>Questa distribuzione testuale è sufficiente a far propendere per l’origine dall’antico e medio ing. <i>pot(t)</i>, documentato anteriormente al 1200 [...] piuttosto che dal fr. <i>pot</i>, attestato nel senso generico di ‘recipiente’ dall prima metà del sec. XII (Cella 2007: 196).</p> <p>Trotter disputes this analysis and that of other <i>anglismi</i> such as costuma, gallone and persona in Cella’s loanword glossary. Whilst accepting that ME <i>pot</i> does not derive entirely from insular French, he asserts:</p> <p>Even <i>pot</i> (so the latest [June 2009] OED draft entry sub pot¹ claims), though of Germanic origin in English, was ‘probably reinforced in Middle English by Anglo-French and Old French <i>pot</i> (first half of the 12th century in Old French)’. To treat these words as just <i>anglismi</i> ignores their ancestry and more importantly, ignores the multilingual reality of medieval England (Trotter 2011b: 216).</p> <p>To the Gallerani and the Frescobaldi material, we can now add two new attestations of <i>potto</i> and <i>potti</i> from Salviati of London accounts, written over a century later in 1448-51. As with several loanwords with potential etyma in AN and ME in this mid-fifteenth century source, we are left with questions as to the exact nature of the borrowing process into Italian: was it via AN, ME or perhaps both languages?</p>		

⁹⁷ As with **pipa**, the OED3 entry gives a misleadingly late date for the appearance of *potto* in Italian: 1611 in Florio’s Italian-English dictionary rather than 1305 in the Gallerani London book.

Italian 1448-51			Anglo-Norman X	Continental French X	(Middle) English 1476-present ⁹⁸	Medieval Latin 1297-1537
TLIO	X					
OVI	X					
AD	X					
LEI	X					
DEI	sub primaggio (n.) 3079b	‘tributo ordinate con uno statuto di Enrico VIII che si pagava al capitano della nave e all’equipaggio per il carico e scarico’ [Engl. <i>primage</i> (att. 1540), etimo incerto] <i>primaggio</i> (Chambers) (1749) ⁹⁹				
AND	X					
DEAF	X					
DMF	X					
GDF	Ø					
TL	Ø					
TLFi	Ø					
FEW	Ø					
MED	Ø					
OED3	sub primage ¹ (n.) (1)	‘Originally: a customary payment to the master and crew of a ship for loading and taking care of the cargo. In later use also: a percentage added to a freight charge to cover the cost of loading or unloading a ship’ <i>Ffor primage of heuery j pake ij d.</i> (G. Cely Let. Apr. in Cely Lett. 249) (1476)				
DMLBS	sub primagium (3) 2456c	‘customary allowance paid for loading and care of cargo, primage’ [CL <i>primus+agium</i>] <i>in frectagio pro iij saccis et xx petris lane...et in touwagio dictarum lanarum et in loadesmanagio lxxj s. .. item in primagio ij s.</i> (KR Ac Cust Boston) (1297)				
DC	Ø					
Additional sources						
Italian-matrix						
Salviati	<i>primaggio</i> (5) (<i>primagio</i>)	<i>portò chont. per nolo e primagio di barre 980 mezzi per ton. 10 ¼ a s.6 l’uno per nolo e chondotta e d.2 per primagio, a usc. ac.62, in questo a c.218 1b.3 s.3 d.2</i> (LGR 1949, 1) <i>portò chont. per nolo di ton.20 di ferro a s.5 il ton. e d.1 per cento di primaggio, a usc. ac.62, in credito al chonto di chassa, in questo, a c.218 1b. 5 s.3 d.4</i> (LGR 2179, 6) (1448-51)				
Comments Transmission Type 2a / Semantic Field: financial						

⁹⁸ Note that ‘primage (duty)’ is a term still used today to describe customs tax in Australia and New Zealand.

⁹⁹ *Primaggio* appears once in the eighteenth century in the *Dizionario universale delle arti e delle scienze*, published in volumes in Venice between 1748 and 1765. This was an Italian translation of the English work by Ephraim Chambers (1728) and the citation in question taken directly from a statute of Henry VIII in 1540: *A piece of flemmische mony called an Englyshe for lodemanage and for primage of euery fardell of wollen clothe* (OED3 sub **primage**).

The presence of the Italianised *primaggio* - a payment made for the loading of heavy iron bars onto ships in the Salviati London books - offers convincing evidence of an unattested AN *primage*. This argument is strengthened by the term's appearance in ME from 1476 onwards (see OED3 sub **primage**). It is also possible, of course, that in 1448-51, Italian *primaggio* may have been borrowed directly from ME *primage*. In any case, the term is unique to England and there is no record in the major dictionaries of *primage* in medieval CF. The TLFi entry sub **primage** notes that the term (meaning 'prime d'assurance maritime') was borrowed from English into French in the eighteenth century.

The earliest record of the payment is from a BML Exchequer Roll in 1297: see DMLBS sub **primagium** (two other citations follow from 1436 and 1537).¹⁰⁰ The DMLBS and the OED3 consider the term a medieval Latin compound from *primus* + *agium* but there seems no reason why this thirteenth-century lexeme could not equally represent AN *prime*, plus a Latin suffix, as it does in many analogous cases e.g. DMLBS sub **carriagium** (288b)¹⁰¹, **cotagium** (507c)¹⁰² or **picagium** (2273b).¹⁰³ At the very least, Italian *primaggio* still clearly represents a borrowing from English commercial lexis, be it AN, BML or ME.

¹⁰⁰ There is also a BML reference from Scotland in 1449 to a *primatoribus* 'one who loads or unloads ship's cargo, stevedore': DMLBS 2458b sub **primator**.

¹⁰¹ 'cost of carriage, transport' = AN *cariage* + *agium*.

¹⁰² 'cottage tenure' = AN *cotage* + *agium*.

¹⁰³ 'payment for a right to break ground to erect a market stall' = ME / AN *pic* + *agium*.

<p>132. It. scacchiere (n.) ‘Exchequer - a royal administrative department in medieval England, concerned with the collection and jurisdiction of Crown revenue’ < AN <i>eschecker</i> / BML <i>scaccarium</i> (‘chessboard’) < AN <i>eschecs</i> / BML <i>scacci</i> (‘chess’) < Pers. <i>šāh</i> (‘king’)</p>				
Italian 1305-c1325	Anglo-Norman c1174-15 th c.	Continental French 1280-present	(Middle) English c1330-present	Medieval Latin 1120-1416
TLIO	X			
ОВI	<p><i>scacchiere</i> (31)</p> <p><i>Scacchiere</i> (3)</p> <p><i>Schachiere</i> (1)</p>	<p><i>si com cresce il numer de lo <u>scacchiere</u> che tanto cresce che non truova fine</i> (Mare amoroso v. 314, 488.15) (c1280-1300)</p> <p><i>anone una riconsociença alo <u>Scacchiere</u> nela Ciançelaria d’otto cento settantotto marchi meço</i> (Libro Nuovo Gallerani 37.2) (1305, sen.)</p> <p><i>Chitanza ke ser Guillelmo Davi kericho ne fa di lb. L ster. gli demo per meser U. Dispensiere il f. de lo <u>Schachiere</u></i> (Doc. tosc 1263-1326, 271.3) (c1325, tosc.)¹⁰⁴</p>		
AD	X			
LEI	X			
DEI	sub scacciera ¹ 3360a	‘tavaloletta quadrata degli scacchi’ [< It. <i>scacco</i> + OF <i>eschaquier</i>] <i>scacchiere</i> (G. Villani) (a1348)		
AND2	sub eschecker (n.) (20+)	<p>1. ‘chess-board’ <i>scaccarium: <u>eschecker</u></i> (TLL i 413) (13th c.)</p> <p>4. ‘royal’ Exchequer’ <i>vint le <u>Chekker</u> le Roy de Everwik a Weymouster, et graunt tresor oveske</i> (Cron Lond 46.26) (c1343)</p> <p><i>les justices du roi [...] et auxi le chief baroun de l’<u>Eschecker</u> [...]</i> (Rot Parl¹ iv 153) (1421)</p>		
AND corpus	<p><i>Escheker</i> (1) sub venir</p> <p><i>Escheckers</i> (1) sub baron</p> <p><i>eschekier</i> (1) sub assigner</p> <p><i>Escheker</i> (1) sub alouance</p>	<p><i>Ces amerciemenz vienent en demande del <u>Escheker</u> de Develin</i> (Rot Parl² 24) (1283)</p> <p><i>Ausi volums nous qe a nos <u>Eschekers</u> a Westmouster et aylours eynt nos Thresorers et nos Barouns illucs iurisdiccioun et record des choses qe touchent lour office</i> (Britt i 5) (1292)</p> <p><i>[...] sicome plus pleinement est contenuz en les certifications qe mesmes les assignez sur ceo ount retourné a l’<u>eschekier</u></i> (Rot Parl¹ i 313) (1305)</p> <p><i>le Roy H. dona la garde de cels terres a iij de ses chivalers en allouance de ses gages q’il pristrent hors de l’<u>Escheker</u></i> (YBB Ed II xxii 215) (1317-18)</p> <p>(There are 70 + more citations for <i>eschek(i)er</i> / <i>exchequer</i> / <i>exchekere</i> (in the administrative sense) in the AND corpus e.g. sub age, acunte, annuelment, arentement, arguer, atterminer etc.]</p>		

¹⁰⁴ This is another Tuscan annotation on a warrant for payment sent from Hugh le Despenser to the Peruzzi: E101/127/19 m.4 (Re 1913: 271). See also **guardarobiere**, **sterlino** and *cherico* and *ciançelaria* in Table 2, Chapter 4.1iii.

DEAF	X	
DMF	sub éschiquier (n.) (20+)	<p>1. ‘Table pour jouer aux échecs, divisée en soixante-quatre carrés de deux couleurs, de manière que leur disposition présente une série de carrés, échiquier’ <i>En une plaine un bel moustier Fonde de lez .I. <u>eschequier</u> Ou il avoit menus et gros Esches</i> (Guill. Digull., Pèler. vie hum S. 285-86) (c1330-31)</p> <p>C1. a ‘(en Normandie) Cour ducale siégeant en deux formations, judiciaire et financière (ainsi appelée à cause du tapis de table en damier sur lequel on compte avec des jetons)’ <i>en noz assises de Domfront et en nostre <u>échiquier</u> de Roan</i> (Cartul. Laval. B., t.2, 200) (1335)</p> <p>Rem. 2 ‘(en Angleterre) Session de l’Échiquier royal où l’assemblée contrôle les comptes, examine la perception et la distribution des impôts, et qui règle les contentieux financiers’ <i>Thomas, filz au Roy, lieutenant d’Irlande, est assignéz par une taille levee a la Receipte de l’<u>eschequer</u> du Roy</i> (Lettres agn. L., 153) (1401)¹⁰⁵</p>
GDF	sub eschequier (n.) (17)	<p>‘table divisée pour jouer aux échecs en soixante-quatre carrés de deux couleurs de manière que leur disposition présente une série de carrés’ <i>sur un <u>escahiquier</u></i> (Chans., sp. Burtesh, Rom. et Pastour., p. 104) (12th c.)</p> <p>‘Cour de justice’ <i>Ce fut fait a l’<u>aschiquier</u> de la saint Michiel qui fu a Roam l’an de grace MCC et quatre vins</i> (Cart. de l’égl. de Chartr., BN1, 10094, f.90r) (1280)</p>
TL	sub eschequier (n.) (20+)	<p>‘Schachbrett’ <i>hoc scacarium: <u>escheker</u></i> (Gl. Glasg 159b) (13th c.)¹⁰⁶</p> <p>‘Königliche Kasse in England’ <i>E li deniers saint Piere fu dunkes retenuz, Si fu a l’<u>eschekier</u> e portez e renduz</i> (SThom.W² 667) (c1174)</p>
TLFi	sub échiquier (n.)	<p>‘dont la surface est divisée en carreaux, comme celle d’un échiquier’ <i>a eschaquiers</i> (Éneas) (c1160)</p> <p>‘cour de justice, en Normandie’ <i>aschiquier</i> (1280)</p>
FEW	XIX, 166b,167a: sah	<p>‘table divisée en 64 carrés de 2 couleurs pour jouer aux échecs’ OF <i>eschequier</i> (12th c.)</p> <p>‘nom du parlement, de la cour de justice’ Norm. <i>aschiquier</i> (1280)</p> <p>‘en carrés alternées’ OF <i>a eschaquiers</i> (Éneas) (c1160)</p>
MED	sub escheker (n.)	1. ‘A chess board’ [OF <i>eschequier</i>]

¹⁰⁵ This is an AN text (*Lett & Pet* in the AND).

¹⁰⁶ This is an AN text (*TLL* in the AND).

	(23)	<p><i>He wule come..And bidde þe pleie at þe <u>escheker</u> [vr. chekere]. Whane <u>þescheker</u> is forþ ibrozt [etc.]..he is..at <u>þescheker</u> enuius (Floriz (Cmb Gg.4.27) 92/344-5,356) (c1250)</i></p> <p>2. ‘The King’s Exchequer, a department of the royal household or of state, concerned both with the receipt, custody, and disbursement of revenue [...]’ <i>Þei hedden to done In <u>Esscheker</u> [vrr. cheker, court] and Chauncelrie to ben descharget of þinges (PPL.A(1)(Vrn),4.26) (c1390)</i></p>
OED2	sub exchequer (n.) (7)	<p>I. ‘A chess board’ [<small>< OF <i>eschequier</i></small>] <i>He wule come þe nier And bidde þe pleie at þe <u>escheker</u>. Whane <u>þescheker</u> is forþ ibrozt Biþute panes ne plei þu nozt.(Floriz & Bl. 344) (a1300)</i></p> <p>II2a. ‘Under the Norman and Angevin kings of England: An office or department of state managed by the Treasurer, the Justiciary and the other judges of the King’s Court, and certain Barons appointed by the King’. <i>To Berwik cam þe kyng <u>eschekere</u>, Sir Hugh of Cressyngham he was chancelere, Walter of Admundesham he was tresorere. (R. Mannyng Chron. 280) (c1330)</i></p>
DMLBS	sub scaccarium (20+) 2948b	<p>1. ‘chess-board’ [<i>scacca</i> (<small>< Ar. <i>shāh</i> = king < Pers.) + <i>arium</i>]</small></p> <p><i>stipadium, scaccarium in quo luditur, eo quod hominibus ludum specantibus stipetur (Osborne Glouc. Deriv.565) (c1149)</i></p> <p>3. ‘fiscal department of the English crown incl. treasury and court of accounts’ <i>[...] tabula talis scaccarium dicatur, transumitur..hoc nomen ut ipsa quoque curia, que consedente scaccario esst, <u>scaccarium</u> dicatur (Dial. Scac I 1A) (1120)</i></p>
DC	sub scaccarium (5)	<p>‘apud Anglos varie sumitur : interdum enim, et proprie dicitur Curia in qua res fisci pertractantur, ut auctor est Cowellus: in aula scilicet Westmonasteriensi, ubi de rebus et redditibus fiscalibus Barones quatuor definiunt, <i>The Eschequier</i>, vel <i>checker</i>, vulgo <i>Exchequer</i>’</p> <p><i>motum est Scaccarium a Westmonasterio usque Northamptonam per Regem, in odium Londoniensium, usque ad Natalem (Matth. Westmonast.) (1209)</i></p>
Additional sources		
AN-matrix		
Accounts:Crown / Italian merchant societies (1295- 1345)	<i>eschequer</i> (36) (<i>Eschequer, Eschequier, Escheker</i>)	<p><i>Primerement al evesqe de Baa adonque tresorer del <u>eschequer</u> en plusors parcelles entre le xxvj jour de Novembre lan xxij (Frescobaldi payments, 25 November 1295 to 6 June 1299) (E 101/126/11) (Bell et al. 2009: 54)</i></p> <p><i>Item le xxj jour de Decembre lan xxv par brief del <u>Eschequer</u> des costumers de Seint Botulf dont il unt lettrre daquitance des avantditz marchanz - cclxvj li. xiiij s. iiij d. st’ (Frescobaldi receipts, 4 June 1296 to June 1299 (E 101/126/13, m.16) (Bell et al. 2009 : 60)</i></p>
BML-matrix		
Accounts	<i>scaccario</i> (50+)	<i>Idem mercatores respondent de xxxvj milibus ccccxxiiij li. vj s. viij d.</i>

Crown / Italian merchant societies (1272-1345)	(<i>scaccarium</i>)	<i>receptis de scaccario Regis per tempus predictum</i> (Ricciardi summary of account, 20 November 1272 to 29 September 1279 (E 101/126/1) (Bell <i>et al.</i> 2009: 12)
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Comments

Attestation Type 2b / Semantic Field: financial

We have four examples of **scacchiere** being used in the sense of ‘Exchequer’ in the medieval Italian record: three in the Gallerani London accounts in 1305-08 and one, twenty years later, in an annotation of a Peruzzi indenture from Hugh the Despenser. Cella (2007: 194 / 2010: 94) suggests that the term is borrowed from ME *escheker* but this argument is contestable as Trotter (2011b: 215) highlights: he believes the Italianised version derives from the English word’s etymon (AN *escheker*) or indeed, given the Tuscan lexeme’s morphophonology, directly from BML *scaccarium*. A third option, which has not yet been considered, is that *scacchiere* could technically represent a semantic calque. The word already existed in the recipient language, meaning ‘chessboard’ and was first attested in this sense in the closing decades of the thirteenth century in a Florentine poem,¹⁰⁷ as well as thirty other times in the OVI corpus. Under the influence of English administrative lexis, we could argue that the pre-existing *scacchiere* was then used in an entirely different context in the Gallerani and Peruzzi sources. Whatever the precise nature of language contact in this instance, we can be confident that the Tuscans in question used *scacchiere* to refer to a uniquely English institution.

The link between the ‘chessboard’ and the ‘Exchequer of England’ has been established since the nineteenth century (see, for example, Price 1830: 4-6): the board or *escheker* gave its name to a checked topped reckoning table, used to tally up accounts in the royal court. The name of this table (or table cloth) was then used metonymically to refer to the whole government office, established by Henry I (1100-35), and concerned with the King’s revenue. The earliest examples of this administrative usage are BML **scaccarium** in 1120 (DMLBS sub **scaccarium**) and AN *eschekier* (c1174) in *La vie de Saint Thomas Becket* by Guernes de Pont-Sainte-Maxence (TL sub **eschequier**).¹⁰⁸ Similarly, in Normandy, the term evolved to mean ‘cour de justice’ and *aschiquier* is used in this way from 1280 onwards (FEW XIX p. 166b, GDC sub **eschequier** and TLFi sub **échiquier**). AN *escheker* also entered ME, of course, and is attested as early as 1250 as a ‘chessboard’ and c1330 as ‘Exchequer’ (see OED2 sub **exchequer** / MED sub **escheker**).

¹⁰⁷ This is around fifty years earlier than the DEI’s first attestation from Villani’s *Nuova Cronica*.

¹⁰⁸ Note that this citation is not yet included in the AND corpus but in the TL where it is glossed as ‘Königliche Kasse in England’. The earliest use of the administrative term Exchequer in the AND is over a century later - in a petition from 1283 - and this is not found in the main entry but in the entry sub **venir**. The Godefroy Complément (sub **eschequier**²) and the TLFi (sub **échiquier**) also contain another twelfth-century AN example of *eschekier*, glossed as ‘trésor royal’ from *Li Quatre des Reis*, a biblical translation from vulgate Latin, dated 1170. This lexeme, derived from *eschec* (‘booty, treasure’), has a separate (Germanic) etymology to that of *escheker*: see AND sub **eschec**¹, DMF sub **eschiec**, FEW XVII, p. 75a (***skâk**), DMLBS 801c sub **esceccum**.

133. It. schiniere (n.) ‘a person who prepares or deals in skins, hides and furs’ < ME <i>skinner</i> < <i>skin</i> (< OE <i>schynn</i>) + [- <i>er</i>]				
Italian 1448-51	Anglo-Norman X	Continental French X	(Middle) English 1255-present	Medieval Latin X
TLIO	X			
OVI	X			
LEI	X			
DEI	Ø			
AND	X			
DEAF	X			
DMF	X			
GDF	Ø			
TL	Ø			
TLFi	Ø			
FEW	Ø			
MED	sub skinner (e (n.) (20+)	‘One who prepares or sells animal skins, a furrier, skinner’ <i>Hail be ze skinnere wip zure drenche kiue!</i> (Heil seint Michel (Hrl 913) p. 157) (?a1325)		
OED3	sub skinner ¹ (n.) (5)	‘A person who prepares skins, pelts, or hides for sale; a person who sells or deals in such items, a furrier’ [< <i>skin</i> + <i>er</i>] [<i>Robertus filius Willelmi le Scynnere</i> (Close Rolls Henry III IX. 135) (1255)] <i>Hail be ze skinnere wip zure drenche kiue!</i> (Kildare-Gedichte 157) (?a1325)		
DMLBS	Ø			
DC	Ø			
Additional sources				
Italian-matrix				
Salviati	<i>schiniere</i> (4) (<i>schierniere</i> , <i>schieniere</i>)	<i>E, a di 2 di giungno 1451 lb.settanta sie s.6 d.8 di st. per balle 6 di detti fustani venduti demo da Giovo Fostere Schiniere per lb.12 di st. la balla</i> (LGR 2077, 25) <i>Ghulglielmo prelato di Sirisestri, de' dare a di 24 di marzo 1450 lb.venti di st. paghamo per lui a Giovanni Ruggeri, schierniere, chomo ci scrisse per sua lettera de di 14 di questo</i> (LGR 2165, 11) (1448-51)		
Comments				
Attestation Type 3a / Semantic Field: profession				
<p><i>Schiniere</i> is another uncontroversial ME borrowing in the field of professions found in the Salviati <i>Libro Grande Rosso</i> (along with aldermanno, baramanno and irmanghere) and it is so far unique in the medieval Italian record. There are four references to the profession of ‘skinner’ in the Florentine accounts, two to Giovo Fostere, one to Giovanni Ruggeri and one to Ghulglielmo Schiniere (used as a surname). Whilst there seem to be no other surviving records of these men, it is worth noting that the Worshipful Company of Skinners (founded by Edward III in 1327) was one of the twelve great Livery Companies of medieval London, with, amongst others, the Mercers, Grocers (see grossiere), Haberdashers (see aberdaciere) and Ironmongers (see irmanghere). A detailed history of the Skinners guild can be read in Lambert (1933).</p> <p>A derivation of OE <i>schynn</i> (itself from early Scandinavian, according to the OED3 sub skin), <i>skinner</i> is</p>				

widely attested in ME-matrix sources from ?a1325. It appears five times earlier than this as a vernacular surname in BML sources between 1255 and 1305: *Willelmus le Scynnere* / *Walterus Sckinir* / *Elias le Skenner* / *Auicia le Skinere* / *Ad. Le Schinner* (see the MED entry). The very first uses of the profession name, however, are found in place names with *Skinnereswell* appearing in an Exchequer Pipe Roll in 1197 (again, see the MED entry).

134. It. stanforte (n.) ‘high-quality woollen cloth, originally from Stamford in Lincolnshire’ < ME <i>stanford</i> < OE <i>stan</i> (‘stone’) + <i>ford</i> (‘ford’)				
Italian c1233-c1343 ¹⁰⁹	Anglo-Norman [a1300]	Continental French 1238-c1447	(Middle) English X	Medieval Latin 1202-1279
TLIO	X			
OVI	<i>stanforte</i> (8) <i>stanforti</i> (17) <i>stanfortini</i> (5)	<p>(e) fue p(er) nove bra. di <i>stanforte</i> verdello (e) uno quaro ch’ebe missere Pandolfino. It. xxx d. dispesi (Mattasala 17r.11) (1233-43, sen.)</p> <p>Pagati s. xliij a Iacopo d’E(n)rico p(er) la gonela vergata de lore(n)tone [...] Pagati s. xxiiij p(er) vj bracia di <i>sta(n)forte</i> sa(n)guigno (Doc. pist., framm. 3 64.2) (1240-50, pist.)</p> <p>Ancho sol. nel di d’uno quarto et mezzo di <i>stanforte</i> d’Arazo a vendite in f. trecento settantotto (Doc. sen 1277-82, 39.12) (1277-82, sen.)</p> <p>Peze VIIIJ <i>stanfortini</i> meskolati: ragiona’ gli a picioi lb. LXXXX; peze VJ <i>stanforti</i> komesi bia(n)ki (Doc. fior. 1278-79, 460.8) (1278-79, fior.)</p> <p>LXV <i>Stanforti</i> de Engleterre se die passer per schena. <i>Stanforti</i> de Sent’Homer braça XL (Zibaldone da Canal, 38.21) (1310-30, ven.)</p> <p><i>Stanfortini</i>, alle 28 panno. Panni schietti, e mellati, e biffe vergati, alle 28 panno (Pegolotti Pratica 278.9) (c1335-43, fior.)</p>		
LEI	X			
DEI	Ø			
AND1	[sub estanford] (n.) (1)	‘a type of expensive cloth (from Stamford)’ ¹¹⁰ <i>stanfordeos</i> : <i>estaunfordeis</i> , de <i>Estaford</i> (l. <i>Estanford</i>) (TLL ii 133) (a1300)]		
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub estanfort (n.) (1)	‘Drap de très bonne qualité, initialement fabriqué à Stamford’ <i>et avoit emprès luy ung chevalier aulcunement anchien, vestu d’une robe de estanfolt blanche</i> (Wauquelin, Chron. ducs Brabant t.1, 622) (c1447)		
GDF	sub estanfort (n.) (6)	‘sorte de drap de première qualité et fort cher, qui paraît avoir été fabriqué à Stamford, ville d’Angleterre et imité ensuite dans les villes du nord de la France’ [<i>Pro roba de estanfort...pro 2 tunicis de esteinfort</i> (Revenus du roi, ap. Brussel, Us. des fiefs, 11, p. CLVI) (1202)] <i>Nus toisserans ne puet avoir laine à tistre estanfort, camelin, que èle ne soit à xxij cens la laine plaine de vij quartier de lè</i> (Est. Boil. Liv. des mestiers 1ere p. L, 21) (c1268)		
TL	Ø			
TLFi	Ø			
FEW	XVII, 212b	‘sorte de drap de 1ère qualité et fort cher’		

¹⁰⁹ Note that references to *stanforte*, the cloth, are only attested until c1296. The three citations from Pegolotti’s merchant handbook refer to *stanforte*, the wool-type.

¹¹⁰ Despite the gloss in this AND1 entry, *estaunfordeis* does not represent a noun here to designate the cloth but an adjectival form. Note that there are also references to *Estauford*, *Stanford*, *Standford* and *Staunford* in the AND corpus but these are simply toponyms and used in non-textile contexts.

	Stamford	OF <i>estamfort</i> (1202-85) [Bennant nach der englischen stadt Stamford, auch als dieses tuch in Frankreich nachemacht wurde. Aus dem fr. entlehnt ait. <i>stanforte</i>]
MED	sub stanford (n.) (1)	‘A kind of high-quality woolen cloth, named after the town of Stamford in Lincolnshire, where it was originally produced.’ [< OE, cf. OF <i>estamfort</i> , <i>estamfort</i>] [<i>mmcclxxiiij vlnis de stanford de ypro, Russetis & blanketis, etc.</i> (Pipe Roll (PRO) 53 Hen.III m.2, OD col.) (1268)]
OED	X	
DMLBS	<i>stanfordios</i> (1) sub radiare 2646c	<i>pannarii, nimia cupidate ducti, fallaces vendunt pannos ... scarleticos, radiatos [gl. rayes] et stanfordios</i> (Garl. (Dict. 128) (a1230)
LCC	sub stanford (DMLBS = 1 / MED = 1 / AND = 1)	‘kind of high-quality woolen cloth [...], produced in Stamford, Lincs’ <i>pannarii, nimia cupidate ducti, fallaces vendunt pannos ... scarleticos, radiatos [gl. rayes] et stanfordios</i> (Garl. (Dict. 128) (a1230)
DC	sub stanfortis (2) sub estanfordius (1)	‘Panni species, qui in burgo Stenfordia texebatur ; unde nomen’ <i>Unum mantellum zendati zani, coopertum de Stanforte brano.</i> (apud Murator. tom. 2. Antiq. med. ævi col. 903) (1227) ‘Panni species in burgo Stenfordia texti, unde nomen’ <i>Pannarii sunt nimia cupiditate fallaces : vendunt enim pannos albos et nigros,... radiatos, Estanfordios... male tenendo pannos et ulna curta cum pollice fallaci</i> (Glossar. Lat. Gall. ex Cod. reg. 7679) (att. ?)
Additional sources		
Latin-matrix		
CSP Ven (1265)	<i>stanfortis</i> (1) <i>stanforte</i> (1)	<i>de pecia integra Stanfortis Angliæ</i> <i>de pecia integra Stanforte tincto de omni colore quod adducitur in duobus caviciis</i> (Both: Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts relating to English Affairs existing in the archives and collections of Venice) (Brown 1864: 2) (1265)
Comments		
Transmission Type 2b / Semantic Field: textile		
<p>The ‘anglismo’ <i>stanforte</i> has not received much attention from Italian academics - there are two fleeting references in Migliorini (1963: 177) and Cartago (1994: 721) - despite being attested in Tuscan as early as c1233 in the accounts of Mattasalà di Spinello in Siena. In fact, it is the earliest loanword in the Exports Glossary and the only one to be attested in an Italian text prior to 1250. As with later the fifteenth-century borrowings, continsgualdo and carisea, we are dealing with an English place name (Stamford, as it is now known) being used nominally to designate a kind of woollen cloth. The loanword’s assimilation into Italian is highlighted by its use as a plural noun, <i>stanforti</i> and as a diminutive, <i>stanfortini</i>, as early as c1278 (see the Pisan accounts of Stefano Soderini, OVI: Doc.fior. 1278-79).</p> <p>Unusually, all extant citations containing <i>stanford</i> cloth in England in the thirteenth century are BML-matrix: <i>standfordios</i> in John of Garland’s Latin glossary a1230 (cf. DMLBS), <i>stanford</i> in Pipe Roll from 1268</p>		

(cf. MED) and the (adjectival) *standfordeos-estaunfordeis* in an Latin-AN glossary from a1300 (cf. AND2 sub **estanford**). *Stanfortis Angliæ* are also mentioned in the a Latin Venetian Calendar of trade with England (CSP Ven.) from 1265 and social historian, Trevelyn, noted that high-quality Stamford woollen cloth was a popular product in Venice in the reign of Henry III (Trevelyn 1946: 35). Furthermore, in his edition of the *Practica della Mercatura*, Evans (1936: 426) mentions *stanforts* as being recorded in the Latin of Genoa as early 1197.

Although originally from Lincolnshire, imitations of *stanfords* were also made in northern France during the 1200s. Whilst first stating the cloth's English origins, Godefroy features a lengthy comment on these home-made French versions - *les estanforts d'Arras* - in the GDF entry sub **estanfort**:

Un ancien tarif des douanes du port de Marseille, dit M. Depping, sur Estienne Boileau, nomme les estanforts de Saint-Omer et d'Arras. Cette étoffe luxueuse est interdite aux moines et aux chanoines réguliers, par un Concile de Cognac, en 1238 et par un autre de Béziers, en 1246 (Hardouin, Concil., t.VII, éd 1745)

In the citation above from the *Libro dell'entrata e dell'uscita di una compagnia mercantile senese* (OVI: Doc. sen. 1277-88), we see a clear reference to such a French-produced cloth: *stanforte d'Arazo*. Similarly, in the Venetian merchant handbook, the *Zibaldone da Canal* (1310-30), the author differentiates between the fabrics, *Stanforti de Engletera* and *Stanforti de Sent'Homer*. However, in other sources, such as the fragment of Pistoian *libro di conti* from 1240-50, the original English cloth seems near certain, given that this *stanforte* appears alongside a *gonela vergata de lorentone* ('a striped skirt from Northampton').¹¹¹ Admittedly, it is impossible to tell for sure from the surrounding text of the earliest citation of *stanforte* in the Mattasalà accounts whether the cloth purchased was woven in England or France. But it seems logical to assume that the loanword was initially borrowed from the country of the cloth's origin and that (some) Italian merchants encountered this 'English' commodity name either through AN, BML or ME itself. At the very least, the assertion by the FEW's (p. 212b) and Hope (1971: 123) that Old Italian *stanforte* was derived uniquely from OF *estamford* is misleading. In his glossary, Evans concludes of *stanfortini* that:

Most likely, therefore, the name originated in England, perhaps not so much in the town of manufacture as at the Fairs through which the stuff passed into general trade [...]; it would soon have been copied on the continent and the name, used as an indication of quality (like *Pirpignani* [cloths originally from Perpignan]), would by popular etymology be related to the materials employed in manufacture. In any case, it was a cloth of high quality and value, much sought for the costume of court and aristocracy (Evans 1936: 426)

¹¹¹ For a summary of the city name 'Northampton' in Italian, see Schweickard (2009: 457-58).

135. It. stapoliere (n.) ‘a (Merchant) Stapler, a trader who held a license to export English wool via a Staple or an official, regulated market town’ < (ME <i>stapler</i>) < AN *(e) <i>staplier</i> < AN(e) <i>staple</i> < ML <i>stapula</i> (‘market’)				
Italian 1448-51	Anglo-Norman X	Continental French 1400-05	(Middle) English a1513-1893	Medieval Latin 1516
TLIO	X			
OVI	sub stapola (1)	<i>ciò sono alamanni, inghilesi, e fiorentini, e genovesi, essendo la <u>stapola</u> de’ mercantati risedente in Anguorsa</i> (Pegolotti Pratica 251.24) (c1335-1343, fior.)		
LEI	X			
DEI	∅			
AND	X			
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub étaplier (n.) (2)	‘Responsible, gérant d’un dépôt de marchandises’ <i>on li donna un lettre de par le roi a prendre .IIM. mars en deniers apparilliés sus <u>l’estaplier</u> des laines</i> (Froiss. Chron. D, 792) (1400)		
GDF	sun estaplier ¹ (n.) (1)	‘droit sur les marchandises déposées dans un entrepôt’ ¹¹² <i>on li donna un lettre de par le roi a prendre .IIM. mars en deniers apparilliés sus <u>l’estaplier</u> des laines</i> (Froiss., Chron. IV, 245, Luce, ms Rome) (1400)		
TL	∅			
TLFi	∅			
FEW	XVII 221b: stapel	‘droit sur les marchandises déposées dans un entrepôt’ <i>estaplier</i> (Froissart, 1400)		
MED	X			
OED2	sub stapler ¹ (n.)	‘A merchant of the Staple’ [cp ML <i>stapulārius</i>] <i>Whan Kyng Edwarde was thus stablysshed in this Realme great sute and labour was made to hym for the repayment of the foresayd. xviii. M. li. to hym and other dyleueryd by the <u>Stapelers</u>.</i> (New Cronycles Eng. & Fraunce (1516) I. f. ccxvii) (a1513)		
DMLBS	sub stapularius (1) 3183a	‘merchant of the staple, stapler’ <i>contra thelonarios, costumarios, <u>stapularios</u>.mercatores</i> (Foed XIII 542) (1516)		
DC	∅			
Additional sources				
Italian-matrix				
Salviati	<i>stapoliere</i> (3)	<i>E, a di 26 di detto lb.novente due per noi a Giovanni Ghualderne, stapoliere, per perte di lb.centò gli demo per Ghulgielmo Chantalo, aldermamo</i> (LGR 2158, 1)		
	<i>merchante di stapola</i> (7)	<i>E, a di 3 di Novembre lb. sessenta di st. a Tommexo Eston, merchante di <u>Stapola</u>, a llui in questo, a c.199 lb.60 s.—</i> (LGR 1859, 11)] (1448-51)		
Comments Attestation Type 2b / Semantic Field: profession				

¹¹² Godefroy’s (and consequently the FEW’s) mis-gloss of the term has been updated in the DMF entry.

The Company of Merchants of the Staple of England or the Merchant Staplers controlled the export of English wool to the continent via the ‘Staple’ at the port of Calais (then under English control), established by Edward II in 1313 (cf. Lloyd 1977: 102). Generally, only Freeman of the company were granted licences to trade wool exclusively via Calais (and later Bruges and other cities) and the Staple Ordinances are generally perceived by historians as the beginning of a long and slow period of demise of the Italian monopoly on the English wool market (cf. Chapter 2.3).

In Italian, Pegolotti (c1335) refers once to la *stapola di mercantati* in Antwerp, a group of German, English, Florentine and Genoese merchants who have been granted trading privileges by the Duchy of Brabant (Evans 1936: 251). Over a century later, the unpublished Florentine Salviati London accounts contain seven references to various *mercante di Stapola* as well as three uses of the new loanword *stapoliere* or ‘stapler’.

It seems very likely that the the etymon of Tuscan *stapoliere* is either ME *stapler* itself or its source word, the currently unattested AN **(e)staplier*. In any case, the Italianised version is, surprisingly, the earliest form of the profession name written in England in this glossary: English *stapler* is not attested until a1513 (OED sub **stapler**¹) and even BML *staplularius* is not attested until 1516 (DMLBS **staplularius**). Note however, that Froissart talks of a merchant known as *l'estaplier des lainnes* receiving a letter from Edward II in Book I of his Chronicles (DMF sub **étaplier** / GDF sub **étaplier** / FEW 221b **stapel**) and it seems inconceivable that the term was not also part of everyday administrative terminology in insular French. The aphetic form (a common AN feature) of *stapoliere* also strongly suggests insular influence on Italian (or, at least, via ME).

In addition, *estaple* / *stapule* / *staple* (‘staple, regulated market’) is found in the AND corpus from c1337 onwards (see AND sub **estaple** and AND corpus sub **exercice** / **mature**). The MED also includes an additional AN citation from 1326, referring to *lordenance de le staple* as well as ME-matrix examples from 1423 (MED sub **staple**).

136. It. sterlino (adj. / n.) ‘referring to the currency (pounds, shillings and pence) of England and Scotland or (rarely) to a weight of silver of one twentieth of an ounce’ (< ME <i>sterling</i>) < AN (<i>e</i>) <i>sterling</i> < ? OE * <i>steorling</i> (‘coin with a star’)					
Italian	Anglo-Norman	Continental French	(Middle) English	Medieval Latin	
1260-present	c1160-15 th c.	c1170-present	1297-present	1081-c1400	
TLIO	X				
OVI	<i>esterlino</i> (1) <i>isterlini</i> (38) <i>isterlino</i> (5) <i>starlino</i> (3) <i>sterlini</i> (146) <i>sterlino</i> (39) <i>sterlin.</i> (184) <i>ster.</i> (40)	<p>[...] <i>che non varebe a vendare lo <u>sterlino</u> nè a mprontate chagiuso, p(er)ciò che noi traemeo più utilità d’Inghilterra</i> (Lett. sen. p. 267.22) (1260, sen.)</p> <p>[...] <i>che noi non amamo di starene chagiuso in debito nè vendare isterlino, inp(er)ciò che vale tro(p)po meglio per noi</i> (Lett. sen. p. 267.20) (1260, sen.)</p> <p><i>q(ue) i diei (chon)taint in parisgini (e) in <u>esterlino</u> sop(ra) ai deti quarto ciento cinquanta mar.</i> (Lett. sen. p. 283.5) (1262, sen.)</p> <p><i>Marchio 1 d’argento al peso della Corte fae in Cipri once 7 e <u>sterlini</u> 19 e 5/8, di <u>sterlini</u> 20 per 1 oncia</i> (Pegolotti Pratica 101.19) (c1335-43, fior.)</p> <p><i>Item 2 s. <u>sterlin.</u>, primo di magio, li prestai contanti</i> (Doc. merc. Gallerani 211.3) (1304, sen.)</p> <p><i>Igli faciessimo pagare a la Corte del p(a)p(a) ciento li. di <u>ster.</u> per altrettanti che mne riciveste costà</i> (Lett. fior 594.31) (1291, fior.)</p> <p><i>Indentura tra ser Tomaso di Castello Ghudericce kericho di messer U. Dispensiere il f. e noi lb XXIII s. XI d. VIII <u>ster.</u></i> (Doc. tosc 1263-1326, 270.8) (1325, fior.)¹¹³</p>			
AD	sub sterlino (2)	<i>Vale il mar., di quello di <u>sterlino</u>, fior. V 1/1</i> (B1168/3, cc. 1r-7r, 251.27) (1360, tosc.)			
LEI	X				
DEI	sub sterlina (n.) 3631a sub starlino (n.) 3619b	‘numism, Ingl. pound sterling’ [OF <i>esterlin</i> (13 th c.) < <i>sterling</i> ‘di buona lega’] <i>sterlino</i> (1260) ‘antico peso inglese di circa dieci kg’ <i>starlino</i> (14 th c.)			
AND2	sub esterling ¹ (n.) (9)	1. ‘sterling, (English) silver penny’ <i>l’en contrefait par dela le bon <u>esterling</u> de mauveis e de faus metal</i> (Stats i 132) (Stats i 132) (1299) <i>la novele moneye d’or, cestassaver une moneye curante la piece pur sys soldz et oet deners <u>d’esterlinges</u></i> (Durham ² iv 257) (1311-46) 2. ‘measure of weight for gold (one twentieth of an ounce)’ <i>trois hennaps d’or pesans 16 mars, 6 onces, 4 <u>esterlins</u></i> (Isabella Inventory 518) (1307-08)			
AND	<i>sterling</i> (1)	<i>un om que aschaut navier ou batewe doit payer de seo un li. <u>sterling</u> ou de</i>			

¹¹³ This is a Tuscan annotation on an AN indenture from the Crown addressed to the Peruzzi on the 3rd of February 1325: E101/127/19 m.2 (cf. Re 1913: 269).

corpus	sub navire <i>sterlings</i> (1) sub amunter	<i>autre marchandisez .iiij. d.</i> (Oak Book ii 16) (c1300) <i>ses damages queamontent a .x. li' de <u>sterlings</u></i> (Northumb 234) (1303)
DEAF	X	
DMF	sub esterlin (n.) (24)	A. 'Monnaie d'argent, frappée en Angleterre' <i>et bien revint chascun en sa maison bien fourni <u>d'estrelins</u> d'Angleterre</i> (Le Bel, Chron. VD, t.1, 30) (1352-56) B. 'Poids en usage chez les orfèvres, pesant vingt-huit grains et demi et valant la vingtième partie de l'once (soit env. 1,5 g.)' <i>un marc et XIII <u>estellins</u> et obole de menues perles blanches, pour faire les tiges des euvres des IJ corsez aus IJ fille</i> (Comptes argent. rois Fr. D-A, II, 30) (1342)
GDC	sub sterling (n.) (7)	'monnaie de compte anglaise, don't la livre vaut environ 25 francs' <i>Nous vous rendrons xx m <u>d'esterlins</u></i> (Loher., Ars. 3143 f.6) (c1175) 'titre de la livre sterling pris comme aloi pour les matières ouvrées par les orfèvres et les batteurs d'or et d'argent' <i>[...] batre ne faire argent que en chascune bateure de xxv onces na'it x <u>esterlins</u> d'or au mains</i> (Liv. des mest. 1ère partie, XXXI, 60) (1260)
TL	sub esterlin (n.) (20+)	'Sterling' <i>[...] Car lors avoient a cel tans Corëu des le tans Merlin par tote Bretaingne <u>esterlin</u></i> (Erec 6691) (c1170)
TLFi	sub esterlin (n.)	'monnaie d'argent valant quatre deniers' [Origine obscure cf. Lat <i>esterlingus</i> / <i>sterlingus</i>] <i>estelin</i> (Wace) (1160-74) 'poids d'orfèvre' <i>esterlin</i> (Métiers) (1260)
FEW	XVII, 229a: sterlingus	'monnaie d'argent valant quatre deniers' <i>estelin</i> (Wace) (1160-74) 'poids d'orfèvre' <i>esterllin</i> (Métiers) (1260) [Wohl aus dem fr. entlehnt ait. <i>sterlino</i> , <i>isterlinio</i>]
MED	sub sterling (n.) (30+)	a. 'The English silver penny; also coll.; also, the value of such a coin' [prob. < AF (<i>e</i>) <i>sterling</i> or AL <i>sterlingus</i> , both perhaps < OE] <i>[Pistores vendunt unum panem pro <u>sterlingg</u> et alium pro poll, et sic faciunt duas assissas contra voluntatem</i> (Regis Leet R.Norwich in Seld.Soc.5,50) (1299-1300)] <i>He zef hom atten ende Four pousend pound of <u>sterlinges</u></i> (Glo.Chron.A (Clg A.11) 5949) (1297) d. 'a pennyweight' <i>xxxij graynes of whete take out of the mydens of the Ere makith a <u>sterling</u> oper-wyse called a peny; & xx <u>sterling</u> maketh an Ounce.</i> (Cov. Leet Bk 396) (?1474)
OED2	sub sterling (n. ¹ / adj.) (17)	A1a. 'The English silver penny of the Norman and subsequent dynasties. Often in pound of sterlings, originally a pound weight of silver pennies, afterwards a name for the English pound (240 pence) as a money of

		account' [unknown origin but OF <i>esterlin</i> < early ME] <i>He zef hem atten ende Four þousend pound of <u>sterlynges</u></i> (R. Gloucester's Chron. (Rolls) 5949) (1297) A2a. ' = pennyweight' <i>xxxij graynes of whete take out of the mydens of the Ere makith a <u>sterling</u> oper-wyse called a peny; & xx <u>sterling</u> maketh an Ounce.</i> (Cov. Leet Bk 396) (1474)
DMLBS	sub sterlingus (30+) 3193c	2. 'used to spec. currency of reckoning or payment, pound, mark, shilling etc.' [ME <i>sterling</i>] <i>filia..comitis de redditibus suis in Anglia lx solidos <u>sterlilensium</u> dedit</i> (Carta regis, Ord. Vit. VI 5 p. 21) (1081) 3. 'w. ref. to weight' <i>ad pondus iijj <u>stelingorum</u></i> (Gilb I 48v I) (c1250)
DC	sub esterlingus / sterlingus (20+)	'voces Anglis, et inde cæteris nationibus familiares in re monetaria. Trifariam vero accipitur Esterlingus, seu Sterlingus: primo pro monetario pondere, deinde pro qualitate monetæ, tertio denique pro quapiam monetæ specie' <i>In terra Regis Angliæ cismarina 2. den. Andegavensis monetæ, et in Anglia unus <u>Sterlingus</u> persolvetur.</i> (Ordinatio Philippi Regis Franc. et Henr. II. Reg. Angl. pro subsidio Terræ Sanctæ) (1184)
Additional sources		
Italian-matrix		
Salviati	<i>sterlino</i> (1000+) (<i>sterline</i> , abbrv.: <i>ster.</i> , <i>st.</i>)	<i>Tommaso Iscirub, laniere, de' avere a di 17 d'aghosto 1448 lb. novantanove di <u>sterline</u> per lb. ciento di st. gli demo per Brugis</i> (LGR 388:19)
Comments Attestation Type 2b / Semantic Field: financial		
<p>Unsurprisingly, this currency loanword is the most widely attested in the Exports Glossary with over 900 citations in the OVI corpus. It is also the second earliest borrowing and one of only eight in our glossary to be attested in an Italian text in the 1200s. Its earliest examples (in the forms <i>sterlino</i>, <i>isterlino</i> and <i>esterlino</i>) appear in Sienese business letters sent by Vincenti di Aldobrandino Vincenti in 1260 and Andrea de'Tolomei da Tresi in 1262 (OVI: Lett. sen). Other source texts include a letter sent by the Cerchi company to England in 1291 (Lett. fior 1291), an annotation on an indenture from 1325 sent to the English Crown bankers, the Peruzzi (Doc. tosc 1263-1326), Pegolotti's merchant handbook (c1335-43) and the London accounts of the Gallerani (1305-08) and Salviati (1448-51).</p> <p><i>Sterlino</i> (< ME <i>sterling</i>) is widely mentioned as the earliest or second earliest (along with stanforte)</p>		

anglismo in medieval Italian: e.g. Schweickard (2008: 2854 / 1998: 292),¹¹⁴ Iamartino (2001:21), Cartago (1994: 721), Zolli (1991:71), Migliorini (1963: 17). For its part, the FEW (p. 229b) states that Old Italian (*i*)*sterlino* is derived directly from CF *esterlin*. However, AN (*e*)*sterlin* must surely have played a role in the transmission of this loanword, especially when we consider some of the earliest forms, *isterlino* and *esterlino*. The very earliest attestation of the currency type appears in BML in 1081 (DMLBS sub **sterlingus**) with AN *estelin* used by Wace, c1160 (TLFi sub **esterlin** / FEW XVII, p. 229a), and CF *esterlin* attested c1170 (TL sub **esterlin**). ME-matrix examples appear from 1297 onwards (OED2 / MED sub **sterling**). However, the ultimate etymon for *sterling* is not entirely clear. One theory (as outlined, for example, by the OED) is that late OE **steorling* ('coin with a star') developed to describe a kind of Norman penny which had a small star on it before being widely adopted in England to refer to its own pennies in the eleventh century. However, the FEW (p.229a) notes that forms in German (*staerlinc*, att. 1203) also existed alongside ME *sterlynge* and CF *estelin* and that a convincing etymological solution to connect them all has not yet been found. For our purposes though, the key point is that Italian *sterlino* / *isterlino* / *esterlino* used to refer to the English penny or system of currency must surely have borrowed from ME *sterling* and / or AN (*e*)*sterlin* in a large proportion of cases.

In just four citations in the OVI corpus, *sterlino* / *starlino*¹¹⁵ is used to refer to a weight for precious metals: a twentieth of an ounce (cf. Zupko 1981: 264, 281). They are found in two texts: in Pegolotti's *Practica della mercatura* (alongside numerous citations of *sterlini*, the currency) and in Tuscan goldsmith's inventory from the 1360s (OVI: Doc. tosc. a1362-65) which also contains the borrowing **mazero**. This extended meaning of *sterling* is widely attested in medieval England and found in all three languages of record (from c1250 in BML, 1307 in AN and 1447 in ME.) The FEW (p. 229b) also comments on the semantic influence of English *sterling* on this use of *esterlin* by French gold and silversmiths in the thirteenth century. However, the DEI's gloss sub **starlino** for 'an old English measure of 10kg' certainly seems mistaken.

¹¹⁴ The date of attestation for *sterlina* (1211) given in Schweickard (2008: 2854 / 1998: 292) is a real puzzle. No source text is given in either case but, if accurate, this would make *sterlino* by far the earliest loanword from England in medieval Italian. However, the OVI corpus only contains *sterlino* from 1260 onwards and no attestations at all of *sterlina*. An anonymous Florentine account book from 1211 edited by Castellani in 1958, would be the most obvious source and is included in the database (OVI: Doc.fior, 1211) but it does not attest (*e*)*sterlino*, (*e*)*sterlina* or any abbreviated or plural forms of the lexeme. To add to the confusion, Zolli (1991: 71) cites *sterlino* and Iamartino (2001:21), *sterlini* from a source in 1211 (the text is, again, unnamed but presumably the same as that referenced by Schweickard). Both also point out that the modern term for the English currency, *sterlina*, did not enter Italian until the 1800s. After a lengthy search, I have been unable to find the 1211 citation for *sterlino* / *sterlina* / *sterlini* in any other articles or editions.

¹¹⁵ The use of the *starlino* form is interesting as it reinforces the idea of a direct ME etymon: *starling* is an alternative spelling of *sterling*, attested from a1330 in ME but not in AN, see OED2 sub **sterling**.

137. It. storo (n.) ‘stock wool i.e. wool from a single estate’ < (AN <i>stor(e)</i>) < BML <i>stauro</i> (‘livestock on an estate’)				
Italian a1422	Anglo-Norman c1270-c1377	Continental French X	(Middle) English a1300-1697	Medieval Latin 13 th c. -1451
TLIO	X			
OVI	X			
LEI	X			
DEI	∅			
AND2	sub estor ¹ (n.) (6)	2. ‘farmstock, livestock’ <i>Ne nul baillif ne provost ne face vente de blé ne de <u>estor</u> sanz garant de bref</i> (Henley ² 278 c410) (c1270)		
DEAF	X			
DMF	X			
GDF	∅			
TL	∅			
TLFi	∅			
FEW	∅			
MED	sub store ¹ (n.) (9)	2. ‘livestock, animals’ [OF <i>estor</i> , AF <i>estore</i>] <i>His lordes sheep, his neet, his dayerye, His swyn, his hors, his <u>stoor</u>, and his pultrye Was hoolly in this reues gouernyng</i> (Chaucer CT.Prol.(Manly-Rickert) A.598) (c1387-95)		
OED2	sub store (n.) (4)	2. ‘livestock’ [< OF <i>estor</i> , AL <i>staurum</i>] <i>Bot fra þair <u>store</u> [v.rr. stor, stoor] bigan to sprede Þe pastur þam bigan to knede</i> (Cursor Mundi 2447) (a1300)		
DMLBS	sub staurum (5) 3190a	1b. ‘agricultural stock (of manor, estate or sim.), livestock’ [cf. LL <i>staurare</i>] <i>hoc idem fiet de aucis, anatibus et alio <u>stauro</u> minuto</i> (Cart. Glouc. III 218) (13 th c.)		
DC				
Additional sources				
Italian-matrix				
Villani	<i>story</i> (3) (<i>stery</i>)	<i>E deono avere £ cintonovanttacinque s. xij d. vij st. per sacha xxiiij q. j. c. iij tra di <u>stery</u> e chogliette</i> <i>cioè sacha x q. j c. iij di cogliette a marchi xij e sacha xiiij di ij <u>stery</u> a marchi xij d. xx</i> (Villani frammento) (Guidi- Bruscoli 2010:396) (a1422) <i>per chosto e spese di sacha L q. ij c^o vj di lana chontisgualda chonpratta per loro da diverse persone e fattone poche Lxx ly xLiij di <u>story</u> e xxvij chogliette</i> (Villani frammento) (Guidi- Bruscoli 2010 : 404) (a1422)		
AN-matrix				
Exchequer schedules from 1294	<i>Estor</i> (1)	<i>Onquore devom nous aver de la taillerie de Wauerl’ de coillete...iij sacs et de la leine del <u>Estor</u> le tailor sicom nous quidoms ... v sacs a prendre a Kingeston’ sur Tamise a la seint Johan</i> (Submission of wool purchases made in England by the Frescobaldi of Florence, E101/126/7 m.21) (1294) (Bell <i>et al.</i> 2006: 202)		
BML-matrix				

Advance contracts for sale of wool (1281-1293)	<i>stauro</i> (6) (<i>instauro</i>)	<p>[...] <i>tribus saccis bone Lane et pacabilis de proprio <u>instauro</u> suo de maniero de Tofts</i> (Contract between Roger de Tofts, Norfolk and the Ricciardi of Lucca, E159/55 rot.9, E368/55 rot. 8) (1281) (Bell <i>et al.</i> 2006: 46)</p> <p>[...] <i>sex saccis bone et albe Lane de proprio <u>stauro</u> suo de pastura de Radewelle</i> (Contract between Robert le Baud and Michael de Golosa, Burgesses of London and the Ricciardi of Lucca, E159/63 rot.25d, E368/61 rot. 29) (1281) (Bell <i>et al.</i> 2006: 88)</p> <p>[...] <i>duodecim saccis bone lane et pacabilis, precii iii^{xx} xyj marcarum, de proprio <u>stauro</u> suo vel de adeo bona lana</i> (Contract between Tickford Priory, Buckinghamshire and the Ricciardi of Lucca, E159/66 rot.48, E368/64 rot. 41) (1293) (Bell <i>et al.</i> 2006: 111)</p>
Cantelowe (1450-51)	<i>storo</i> (3)	<p><i>De no CCCClj ad numerum iiijcliiij: pokes iiij de lana Abbathie de illa sorte de pokes viij ut supra, depincta de una scriptura supra scripto <u>storo</u>: pokes iiij.(9d)</i></p> <p><i>De no j ad numerum viij : pokes viij de lana de Cotiswolde fine, vocata <u>storo</u>, depincta de una mana quad tenet una manipulum de borage de tribus folys: pokes viij.(9f)</i></p> <p><i>The marke una scriptura supra scripto <u>storo</u></i> (28d) (All Cantelowe Accounts, 1450-51)</p>

Comments

Attestation Type 2a / Semantic Field: wool

The English wool-type *story* / *stery* is used in the plural in the London account book of the Villani of Florence, from 1422.¹¹⁶ It always appears in the same entry as **coglietta** which, as we have seen, meant ‘a mixture of good wool collected from other producers surrounding a monastic estate.’ The opposite of ‘collect wool’ was the more expensive ‘stock wool’, that is wool produced within the boundaries of a single estate. As Bell *et al.* comment in their study of the medieval wool contract between English and Scottish estates and (mainly) Italian buyers: “some merchants frowned upon *collecta* and demanded wool *de stauro suo* (from his stock)” (2007: 78).

Tuscans had their own name for this ‘stock’ wool (as the TLIO gloss sub **coglietta** mentions): *lana di magione* e.g. *Inghilterra per lane di magione e per lane cogliette* (OVI: Pegolotti Pratica 258.33), *inn I[n]ghilterra e inn Isscozia sopra la coglietta e ancora i llane di magioni* (OVI: Lett. fior. 1291, 595.10). But in the Villani accounts, the writer is clearly borrowing the local term *store* / *stauro* and pluralising in a typically Tuscan way.¹¹⁷

The historical dictionaries provide little insight into wool terminology in this instance. The AND currently has no examples of (*e*)*stor* in direct relation to wool but the term is attested from c1285 to refer to livestock on a farm or estate (AND2 **estor**¹). The DMLBS attests *stauro* in the generic livestock sense from the 1200s (DMLBS sub **stauro**) and ME *store* emerges around the beginning of the 1300s (MED sub **store**¹ / OED2 sub **store**). In CF, we find no examples of this agricultural use but a broader, all-encompassing meaning (that also

¹¹⁶ In the recent edition of the accounts, ‘*Stery* / *Story*’ is listed in a summary of Villani exports as wool from an unspecified English town or region (Guidi-Bruscoli 2010: 384).

¹¹⁷ Note that it was not uncommon to use ‘y’ at the end of word instead of ‘i’ in medieval Tuscan writing. The OVI corpus has hundreds of examples of such usage.

exists, of course, in AN/ ME / BML) that Godefroy glosses as ‘les diverses choses dont on a besoin pour se nourrir, se couvrir, pour voyager, équipage, approvisionnement’: GDF sub **estor**² / TL **estor**¹ / DMF **estor** / FEW IV, 722b **instaurare**.

However, vital evidence for the origins of Italian *storo* can be found in two wool-related sources from England, from the late thirteenth century. The first is an Exchequer wool schedule submitted on behalf of the Frescobaldi to Edward I in 1294 and written in AN (E101/126/7 m.21). Here we find a clear entry to *leine del Estor*, appearing alongside the alternative main wool category, *coillete*. The second is a collection of BML advance contracts of wool between Italian societies and English sellers, dating from between 1281 and 1293. Here the buyers clearly stipulate their wish to purchase good, marketable wool *de proprio (in)stauro suo*, as Bell *et al.* highlight above.

Intriguingly, John Balmayn, an English factor working in Tuscany in 1450-51, also uses the term *storo* in the Latin-matrix section of his accounts; on one occasion, he records an entry of fine Cotswold wool *vocato storo* and on two others, notes that sacks of wool have been marked with a *storo* label, presumably as an indicator of quality (cf. Chapter 5.3vi). In Balmayn’s case, we do not even know if the author is using *storo* as an Italianised version of AN (or even ME) *store* or *storo* as a variant of BML *stauro*. Together with the Villani citations however, this is the only evidence I have found of the term’s continued use in the wool trade in the fifteenth century and also as a stand-alone noun meaning ‘stock wool’ (rather than a locution such as *lana di storo*).

Ultimately, it is difficult to tell if *story* / *stery* in the Villani accounts (a1422) represents a borrowing from BML *stauro* or AN (*e*)*store*, although there are slightly more surviving examples of the former etymon’s use. But, at the very least, we can confidently say that this is a term uniquely linked to British wool that has entered Villani scribe’s lexis.

138. It. tancardo (n.) ‘a tankard - a wooden vessel hooped with iron and used as a recipient for liquids’ < ME <i>tankard</i> < Germanic?				
Italian 1305-17	Anglo-Norman 1318 -1373	Continental French 1564	(Middle) English 1310-present	Medieval Latin c1266-1423
TLIO	sub tancardo (n.) (1)	‘Recipiente per liquidi (di uso domestico)’ [ME <i>tancard</i> , <i>tankard</i>] [[pagammo]] diciotto d. per uno <u>tancardo</u> di lengnio per recare aqua ala chucina (Libro Gallerani di Londra, p. 73.20) (1305, sen.)		
OVI	<i>tancardo</i> (1)	[[pagammo]] diciotto d. per uno <u>tancardo</u> di lengnio per recare aqua ala chucina (Libro Gallerani di Londra, p. 73.20) (1305, sen.)		
LEI	X			
DEI	∅			
AND1	sub tankart (1)	‘tankard’ [ME] <i>hanaps d'argent, barrilx ferrez, tankars et tout manere de vessell de la butillerie</i> (Ord York 259) (1318)		
AND corpus	<i>tankardes</i> (1) sub bidel	<i>ij. gros tankardes liez de feer, vj. petiz tankardes, ij. bedeux, iiij. sketfates</i> (Sandahl Sea iii 153) (Guildhall Letter-Book G) (1373)		
DEAF	X			
DMF	X			
GDF	∅			
TL	∅			
TLFi	∅			
FEW	XVII: 305b tancard	‘pot à biere’ MF <i>tanquart</i> (1564 / Cotgrave 1611)		
MED	sub tankard(e) (n.) (18)	‘A vessel, usually of wood hooped with iron; a tub, cask, tun; a jar; a drinking vessel’ [<i>j tankard debili ferro ligato pro aqua in aula venditis.</i> (Acc.Executors in Camd.n.s.10,10) (1310)] <i>This is an amfer or a vessel that sum men clepen a tankard, goynge out.</i> (WBible(1) (Dc 369(2)) Zech.5.6) (c1384)		
OED2	sub tankard (n.) (7)	1. ‘A large open tub-like vessel, usually of wood hooped with iron, etc’ [= Middle Dutch <i>tanckaert</i>] [<i>De iijs. de xij tancardis ferro ligatis debilibus.</i> (Acc. Exors. T. Bp of Exeter 10) (1310)] <i>This is an amfer [gloss or a vessel that sum men clepen a tankard] goynge out</i> (Bible (Wycliffite, E.V.) Zech. v. 6) (1382) 2. ‘A drinking-vessel, formerly made of wooden staves and hooped’ <i>Drynkyng bolles of tree..xx, Tankerdes..viij.</i> (Naval Accts. & Inventories Henry VII 51) (1485)		
DMLBS	tancardus (8) 3368a	‘large drinking vessel hooped with iron or other material’ [cf. ME <i>tankard</i> , AN <i>tankart</i>] <i>cervisia in duobus magnis vasis, que tancardi sive bollette [? l. bouteille] dicebantur in rectorium portari consuevit</i> (Cust. Westm.99) (c1266)		
DC	∅			

Additional sources		
Italian-matrix¹¹⁸		
Frescobaldi treasure inventory (1317)	<i>tancardi</i> (2)	<i>Res autum sunt iste videlicet in primis: II gradi <u>tancardi</u>, II piccolo <u>tancardi</u>, II orciuoli da vino, II orciuoli da acqua, II saliere</i> (ASF, NA, 18336 cc. 45v-46v) (Tognetti 2014: 156) (1317)
Comments		
Attestation Type 2a / Semantic Field: containers / bundles		
<p>The loanword <i>tancardo</i> is a hapax in the TLIO / OVI corpora and is identified as an Anglicism by Cella (2007: 195 / 2010: 69), a label briefly confirmed by Trotter (2011b: 215) in his article on the Gallerani material. The borrowing is unproblematic, a clear adoption of ME <i>tankart</i> to describe - as the account book entry makes clear - a wooden vessel to carry water to the kitchen.</p> <p>There are two more citations of the loanword however, hidden away in the <i>Archivio di Stato di Firenze</i> in an inventory of precious gold and silver items belonging to the Frescobaldi of London and deposited with the abbot of the Badia Fiorentina church in 1317. In contrast to the utilitarian wooden tankard in the Gallerani account, these examples deal with luxury items, first highlighted in a very brief, two page article by Peruzzi (1985), entitled <i>Un termine inglese nel toscano trecentesco</i>. Much more recently, Tognetti (2014: 135-57) has provided a more detailed background to the treasure's history, believing it to be the same "hoard of gold and silver vessels" that were smuggled out of England in bales of wool amid the Frescobaldi's financial collapse (Kaeuper 1973a: 89, also see Chapter 2.3ii).</p> <p>The ultimate etymon for the lexeme, whilst surely Germanic, is unknown; the OED2 and the FEW (XVII, p. 305b) both highlight the existence of Middle Dutch <i>tanckaert</i>. Tankard first appears in a ME-matrix text in 1382 but is found much earlier as a vernacular term in BML, c1266 (DMLBS sub tancardus) and 1310 (cf. the OED2 / MED sub tankard) and a loanword in AN in 1318-23 and 1373 (AND1 sub tankart / AND2 sub bidel).</p>		

¹¹⁸ The introduction to the list of goods is in Latin but the inventory itself is in Italian.

139. It. toddo (n.) ‘a tod, a measurement of wool used in England, usually 28lb’ < ME <i>tod</i> < ? Middle Low German <i>todde</i> (‘bundle, pack, small load’)				
Italian 1448-51	Anglo-Norman 1415-44	Continental French X	(Middle) English 1415-19 th c.	Medieval Latin 1443 -1599
TLIO	X			
OVI	X			
AD	X			
LEI	X			
DEI	Ø			
AND	X			
AND corpus	<i>toddes</i> (1) sub kersey	<i>Il a auxi la pur vendre .xx. sakes, .iii. toddes [...] .xx. kerseys d'Abyndoun</i> (Man Lang ANTS 76.7) (1415)		
DEAF	X			
DMF	X			
GDF	X			
TL	Ø			
TLFi	Ø			
FEW	Ø			
MED	sub tod(de) (n.) (6)	‘A measurement of weight, usually 28 lbs’ [? ON / MLG Cf. OI / Swed / EFris] <i>[Il a auxi la pur vendre xx sakes, iij todde, iij percs et v clowes de layne</i> (Trin-C.Dial.in Romania 32 (Trin-C B.14.40) 55) (a1420)] <i>The seid wolle to be wayed in the yelde halle.and custom for euery todd, j d</i> (Ordin. Wor. 384) (1467)		
OED2	sub tod² (n.) (2)	IIa. ‘a weight used in the wool trade, usually 28 pounds or 2 stone but varying locally’ <i>[De xxiii todde lanæ puræ..per le todde ix sol. vi den. (W. Kennett Parochial Antiq. II. 250) (1425)]</i> <i>Custom for euery todd j d</i> (Smith /Smith Eng. Gilds 384) (1467)		
DMLBS	sub todda (3) 3447b	‘measure of wool (app. by weight, typically 28 pounds’ <i>cum vj todde et xvj li. lane</i> (KR Mem 219 Bronnen 215) (1443)		
DC	sub todde (1)	‘Pondus 28. librarum, Angl. <i>Tod</i> ’ [ME <i>tod</i>] [no citation] Vide Kennetti Glossarium ad calcem Antiq. Ambrosd.		
Additional sources				
Italian matrix				
Salviati	<i>toddo</i> (23) (pl. <i>toddi</i>)	<i>E, a dì 24 d'aprile s.5 di st. paghamo in Antona a Riccardo Smit e per lui per ½ toddo di lana chomprò da llui in paexe</i> (LGR 1929: 15) / <i>sono per saccha 7 toddi 4 ½ di che ci li rende ½ saccha di rifuxo e toddi 4 ½ si rabatta per esser le lane sale</i> (LGR 1843:4) (1448-51)		
AN-matrix				
VOH	<i>todd</i> (2) (pl. <i>toddez</i>)	<i>Item le viij iour de Feverer de Thomas Waynesford xix sakkes xj todd xvij libres wolle pur Ciiijxxli xiiij vd</i> (VOH 34: 57) (E101/128/30 ret.14, trans. p43) (1443-44)		
Comments				

Attestation Type 2a / Semantic Field: unit of measurement

Together with **dicchero**, *toddo* is unit of measurement borrowed from ME that we find, so far, only in the wool-related entries in the London accounts of the Florentine Salviati company. A *tod* was a weight of wool of approximately 28lbs (see Zupko 1985: 415 for regional variations) that emerged in England in the early fifteenth century and endured until the 1800s.¹¹⁹ We have over twenty examples of *toddo* or *toddi* in the *Libro Grande Rosso* but, as we have seen, other English weights for wool were employed even more frequently by the Salviati: the **chiovo** (7-8lbs) appears in thirty-eight citations and the **pocca** (182lbs) in over seventy.

Whilst relatively rare, the *tod* still appears in all three of late medieval England's administrative languages. Although there is no entry yet in the AND, we do find the Anglicism in two fifteenth century AN-matrix texts: the *Manières de Language* from 1415 and the *Views of the Hosts of Alien Merchants* in 1443-44. We also find three attestations in the DMLBS entry sub **todda** from 1443 onwards.

The lexical root of *tod* is not known for certain but both the OED2 and the MED draw out attention to similar forms meaning 'a load, bundle' or 'a mass of wool' that have persevered in modern East Frisian or in Swedish dialects, respectively. A borrowing from Old Norse (proposed in Cleasby and Vigfusson 1874: 636) is rejected, however. A Middle Low German etymon seems a likely candidate (cf. **bacconi**) and undoubtedly the term seems to have 'come to England in connection with the wool trade with the continent' as the OED2 entry suggests.

¹¹⁹ Note that there is one reference in the OED2 entry to a *tod* of cheese in 1530 and that from 1553 onwards, we find several references to bushy masses of ivy (cf. OED2 sub **ivy-tod**).

140. It. viscontaggio (n.) ‘import duty or tax due to the viscount (district sheriff)’ < AN viscountage < AN visconte < ‘vis’ + ‘conte’ [< Lat. comes]				
Italian 1448-51	Anglo-Norman 1441-42	Continental French 1359	(Middle) English X	Medieval Latin 1317
TLIO	X			
OVI	X			
AD	X			
LEI	X			
DEI	Ø			
AND1	X			
DEAF	X			
DMF	sub vicontage (1)	‘Territoire où s'exerce la justice du vicomte’ <i>viscontaignes</i> (1415, Costentin)		
GDF	sub viscontage (1)	‘sorte de droit dû aux vicomtes’ <i>Avecques jurisdiction moyenne et basse tant en cours de vicontaignes, en chemins, en eaues etc</i> (Denombr. du baill. de Costentin, Arch P 304, f.75r) (1415)		
TL	Ø			
TLFi	Ø			
FEW	II-2, 941a : comes	‘droit dû aux vicomtes’ Old Norman <i>vicontaigne</i> (1415)		
MED				
OED	X			
DMLBS	Ø			
DC	sub vicontagium (2)	‘Jus vicecomiti debitum, nostris etiam alias Vicontaigne’ <i>Dimisit centum libratas terræ..... percipiendas..... super bladis, avenis, ordeis et gallinis, quæ nobis ratione seu occasione usagiorum forestæ nostræ de Goufart, ac etiam ratione seu occasione Vicontagiorum ab usagiariis ejusdem forestæ... nobis annuatim debentur.</i> (Charta Phil.V, Reg. 56. Chartoph. reg. ch. 234) (1317) <i>Lesquelles avennages, barnaiges,¹²⁰ Vicontaigne et gelines furent lors prisées par le bailli de Caen.</i> (Charta in Reg. 87. ch.339) (1359)		
Additional sources				
Italian-matrix				
Salviati	<i>vischontaggio</i> (4) (<i>vischontagio,</i> <i>viscantaggio</i>)	[...] <i>abatte la chostuma e sussidio chomo di sopra che ssono per vischontagio, chariaggio e pexetura</i> (LGR 2162: 28) <i>si restono anchora a paghare di pesature e vischontaggio di ferro</i> (LGR 2141: 40) (1448-51)		
AN-matrix				

¹²⁰ It seems that *barnage* (usually an ‘assembly of barons’, see AND / DMF **barnage**) has been extended semantically in this Norman charter to mean ‘tax or duty owed to the barons’ in a way similar to *viscountage*. This is, admittedly, still an odd citation with the juxtaposition of these two taxes alongside *avénage* (a tribute paid in oats, see DMF sub **avénage**) and *gelines* which must be a tribute paid in chickens. Note also that the Latin citation in Du Cange which uses *vicontagiorum* as a tax also refers to corn, oats, barley and chickens as part of the tribute.

VOH	<i>viscountage</i> (2)	<i>Item pur viscountage & bailly d[e aqua] iij^h ij^s les ditz galiottz [ount] paiez & despenduz pur custume viscountage pakkers [gar]balyng brocage poisage portag[e] & cariage de lour ditz marchandises</i> (Both VOH 48: 179, 494; E101/128/30 ret.1, John Welles, alderman, host to Giacomo Corner, merchant and patron of a Venetian galley, transc. p. 5 / 11) (1441-42)
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Comments

Transmission Type 1b / Semantic Field: financial

Viscontaggio is the last of five English duties or fees (cf. **baliaggio**, **cellaraggio**, **literagio**, **primaggio**) found in Italianised form in the Salviati London book: the *Libro Grande Rosso* from 1448-51. Note also that while he does not employ the same loanword, Pegolotti lists this duty, paid to the sheriff of London, under ‘Diritto e spese di panni che si paga a chi gli mette in Londra’ and states *E per lo visconte della villa di Londra, denaro I sterlino per panno* (att. c1335-43, Evans 1936: 256).

The AN source, *The Views of the Hosts of Alien Merchants*, a contemporary text from the 1440s, offers new and useful evidence of insular *viscountage* which is not yet found in the AND corpus. We do, however, find the term’s root - *visconte* or sheriff - attested from 1215 in the vernacular Magna Carta: see AND1 sub **visconte** and also MED/ OED2 sub **viscount** (att. 1387).

There is some confusion in the historical dictionaries as to whether the rarely attested northern French equivalent *vicointage* means ‘tax or duty due to the viscount’ (as in the FEW and Godefroy) or ‘area of jurisdiction held by a viscount’ (as in the DMF).¹²¹ In the case of the Norman citation from the *Denombrement du baillage de Constantin* (1415), the DMF’s more recent gloss of ‘territoire où s’exerce la justice du vicomte’ certainly seems the correct one. However, there is another Norman source from Caen in 1359 - cited only by Du Cange - in which *vicontaige* clearly refers to a duty or tribute of some kind. We find an even earlier example of this usage in France, *Vicontagiorum*, glossed as ‘nostris etiam alias *Vicontaige*’, in a Latin charter from 1317 (see, again, Du Cange sub **vicontagium**).

¹²¹ Compare with *bailliage* which was also used in the same two senses but relating to the district bailiff (see **baliagio**).

2. THE CANTELOWE ACCOUNTS (1450-51)

Archivio Salviati, Serie 1: 339

Transcription

Editorial notes

Par principe général, le texte de l'original doit être rigoureusement reproduit, et seul lui importe. Il faut toutefois apporter quelques nuances à cette position. (ENC II, 2001: 75).

The key characteristic of the Cantelowe material is that it is mixed-language and so it is not immediately evident which editorial method should be used. There are extended Middle English and short Italian and Latin-matrix sections, interspersed with a few but persistent segments of Anglo-Norman. The rules and regulations of edition (especially of non-literary sources) still form an area of controversy that varies from country to country and from field to field. Despite attempts by philologists across Europe over the decades, we are still far from creating a universal editing system for administrative and commercial material. As the guide to edition of *sources documentaires* by the École Nationale de Chartes notes, “À échelle internationale, leur confrontation est chose récente, leur harmonisation forcée semble hors d’atteinte” (ENC II, 2001: 9).¹

To take just two examples, the abbreviations in the *Cantelowe Accounts* would nearly always be expanded by an Italian linguist in round brackets whereas an Anglo-Normanist would generally use italics. A continental French specialist may also use italics or, more traditionally, expand abbreviations without any typological signal. An Anglicist may use silent expansion, brackets or capital letters or typographically reproduce the abbreviation. As regards layout and punctuation, the most common approach now amongst historical linguists in the UK and France is to impose modern punctuation and adapt the text’s layout for ease of interpretation. In Italy, however, the transcription is presented in dense blocks, line by line as it is in the original, with the scribe’s oblique lines (/) replicated between short sections of the text.

An Italian-style edition has been ruled out here as (despite their invaluable Italian content), the accounts were written by an Englishman and, within this thesis, their transcription is designed to be read by UK academics. Modern UK historians, economists and Anglicists favour a diplomatic transcription method for AN, ME and Latin documents but this has not been fully embraced in the field of Anglo-Norman studies (Trotter 2015: 6).²

¹ The guide also stresses that the discipline of non-literary edition has been even slower than its literary counterpart to look beyond entrenched national traditions based on a handful of ‘beacon’ works and embrace international discussion, if not consensus (ENC I, 2001: 11).

² See also ‘Trop fidèle pour être belle: l’édition historique en anglo-normand’, an unpublished article by David Trotter (pp. 9-10): “Au niveau le plus simple, elle modernise certains éléments (majuscules et ponctuation); elle en laisse d’autres intacts (séparation des mots, absence d’accents, *u / v* comme dans les manuscrits) et elle en masque d’autres encore (abréviations résolues sans indication typographique). Au niveau linguistique, certaines décisions (notamment concernant la coupure des mots et les accents) sont problématiques car elles semblent

Even so, since the late nineteenth century, there has been a strong British tradition of “minimal editorial intervention and maximum faithfulness to the manuscript” (Marvin 2006: 67), continuing to this day. In its most extreme form, this has led to the development of ‘record type’ where *graphies* are printed exactly as they are in the original document using a special type face. Whilst this approach has been criticised in France and Italy,³ such a style of edition - which attempts, as far as possible, to be an imitative copy of the manuscript - has been used in particular by Laura Wright (1996 / 2000 / 2002a / 2010 / 2012 / 2013). One important advantage is that it allows abbreviations in the trilingual business texts she examines to be equally expandable as Latin, AN or ME. From this perspective, the transcription of extracts of these sources is very successful: it effectively demonstrates to the reader the ‘translingual’ nature of these graphical shortcuts, and the specialised commercial code they create.

However, whilst Wright’s methods are ideal for transcribing short segments of text and following them with commentary, this editing style is less appropriate for an extended transcription of thirty-five folios. Within the scope of this thesis, my aims are to focus on readability and the use of Italian mercantile lexis by the scribe. The *Cantelowe Accounts* have therefore been edited in semi-diplomatic style, mainly adhering to the principles outlined in Volumes 1 and 2 of the *Conseils de l’École des Chartes* (ENC I / II, 2001). This is also the authoritative guide in the modern Anglo-Norman field and the one used by the ANTS and the AND editorial team (cf. Pagan and De Wilde 2016). It goes without saying that these rules have been adapted as far as possible for this ME- / Italian-matrix text but overall, they allow us to produce a transcription which is widely accessible to an academic audience. In those cases where the expansion of an abbreviation is problematic, alternative interpretations are discussed in a footnote to the lexeme e.g. the town ‘Port- Pisan-’ could be read as either the ME / AN ‘Porte Pisane’ or Italian ‘Porto Pisano’ and the weight deduction ‘tar-’ could be ME / AN tare or Italian tara.

impliquer qu’une présentation médiévale (à l’aide d’un système graphique différent du nôtre) trahit une réalité linguistique qui, elle, est différente aussi - ce qui n’est nullement le cas [...]. Il ne s’agit donc pas d’une amélioration par rapport à la méthodologie des romanistes, ni du point de vue de la lisibilité (même si c’est un critère moins important), ni au niveau de cohérence, ni de point de vue strictement linguistique, ni en ce qui concerne une juste appréciation de la tradition graphique et ce qu’elle représente.”

³ Petrucci (1963: 75) called them “un’illusione [...] testi inutilizzabili” and four decades on, the École des Chartes declared, “fortement notre défiance à l’égard des éditions qui proposent la reproduction, prétendent fidèle, de tous les caractères des textes médiévaux” (ENC I, 2001: 12-13). See also their example of a record-type transcription of the *Acte du roi Jean sans Terre* (ibid., 93-96).

Key points

Letters and accents:

- Modern capitalisation is used throughout.
- The scribe's use of both *þ* (thorn) and *th* and *ȝ* (yogh) and *g* is replicated exactly.
- *The letters u / v* are distinguished as per modern spelling (*usance* not *vsance*), as are *j / i* (*jour* not *iour*).
- The AN definite article is accented (*lé*) before plural nouns e.g. *lé sackes*, *lé costes*. Similarly, the AN past participle *preste* is written as *presté*.
- Abbreviations are expanded as italics with the exception of some units of weight and currency (see below).

Punctuation and layout:

- The scribe's widespread use of oblique lines (*/*), oblique lines with median dots (*·/*) and single median dots (*·*) is not replicated and is replaced by systematic, modern punctuation.⁴
- Square brackets are placed around a word or figure that is missing from the original text.
- Word spaces are removed or inserted according to modern usage e.g. *there fore* becomes *therefore* and *dalloro* becomes *da lloro*.
- Line divisions are not reproduced but paragraph divisions normally are. Where appropriate, a single long paragraph is sub-divided into separate sentences, especially in the list of tare deducted from each lot of wool (pp. 16-32 of the transcription).
- For the purpose of reference, the folios (which are numbered non-consecutively in the extant material) have been given page numbers and each paragraph / item in the accounts is allocated a letter of the alphabet. This allows specific citations to be identified as 17b, 22a, 30g etc.

Numbers and symbols:

- The vast majority of numbers in the original Cantelowe MS are (exceptionally) in Arabic figures and do not need to be modernised. Rarer Roman numerals have been retained in the transcription to highlight Balmayn's use of both systems. The use of a 'graphical j' in figures (e.g. *vijj pokes / j poke*) has been maintained.

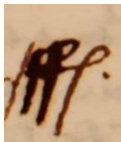
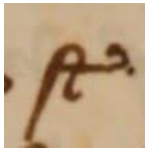
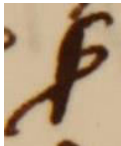

⁴ The exact meaning of these punctuation marks is by no means clear in the text and they do not readily equate with modern-day commas and full stops. This integral part of the scribe's writing style would be worthy of further study in the future. It should be noted that modern Italian editors tend to maintain the oblique lines (but not the dots) in their editions; see, for example, *Lettere dei Ricciardi di Lucca* (ed. Del Punta, 2005) or *La Documentazione Galllerani-Fini* (ed. Cella 2009).

- The use of the symbol ÷ to mean ‘a half’ is retained in pp. 3-7, contrasting with the scribe’s use of modern fractions elsewhere in the accounts.
- The transcription reproduces the author’s convention of (nearly always) putting a dash to signify zero after a unit of currency (e.g. Fl. 12 s.5 d.-).

Units of currency and weights:

- The ‘£’ symbol is used for currency and ‘lb’ for weight, even though they are both represented by the same ‘l’ symbol in the original MS.
- In the case of other currencies and units of weight, the following advice has been followed:

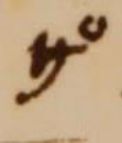
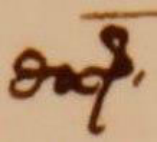
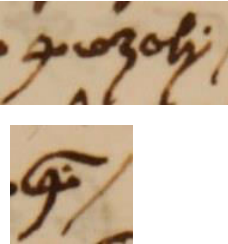
Les abréviations des noms des monnaies, des poids et mesures sont très variables et parfois, d’interprétation délicate. Il y aura intérêt à utiliser des abréviations normalisées, explicitées en introduction, et aussi sévères que le permet leur compréhension immédiate. Il convient d’adopter un système homogène d’abréviations par suspension (point), qui allège en outre la lecture des documents riches en données chiffrées (ENC II, 2001: 138).

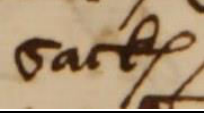
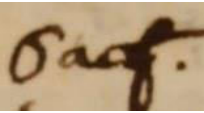
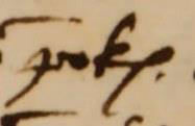
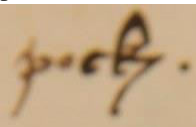
Manuscript	Transc.	Coin type	Notes
ffl 	Fl.	fiorini / florins ⁵	Also written in full as <i>florins</i> , <i>floryns</i> , <i>florinys</i> , <i>florynys</i> , <i>florino</i> and <i>a fiorini</i> . This is replicated in the transcript.
st- 	ster.	English sterling ⁶	It is unclear whether the scribe meant ME <i>sterling</i> / Italian <i>sterlini</i> (or indeed, both) when using this abbreviation. The lexeme is never written in full in the MS and appears in both ME and mixed-language segments.
s 	s.	soldi / shillings	Used in the text with florins, Italian <i>lire</i> and pounds sterling. ⁷
d 	d.	denari / pence	

⁵ A gold coin (bearing a lily symbol), the florin was first minted in Florence in 1252: see Imports Glossary sub **florin**. Nearly all the prices recorded are *a oro*, referring to a gold florin divided into 20 *soldi* or 240 *denari*. However, on two occasions (16c, 31d), Balmayn records a price *a fiorini* or *in florynys*: this was a Florentine money of account, not represented by a real coin, and equivalent to twenty twenty-ninths of a florin (De Roover 1966: 33).

⁶ *Sterlino*, originally referring to the English silver penny, is the most widely attested borrowing from England in the medieval Italian record: see Exports Glossary sub **sterlino**.

⁷ The English pound, the Italian *lira* and the florin were all divided into 20 shillings or 240 pence.

g ^o 	Gr.	Venetian grossi ⁸	Also written in full as <i>grossy</i> , replicated in the transcript.
doc- 	doc.	Venetian docati / ducati ⁹	This never appears in expanded form in the original MS.
pezoly / p- 	pezoly / pez.	Venetian pizoli or Florentine piccioli ¹⁰	<i>Pezoly</i> is either based on the Venetian coin name <i>pizoli</i> , the Florentine <i>piccioli</i> or is Balmayn's version of <i>pezzoli</i> ('small pieces'). The first two times he writes this in full, before switching to a dotted p with a suspension mark. As the full form is unusual, I have used <i>pez.</i> to replicate Balmayn's abbreviation.

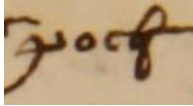
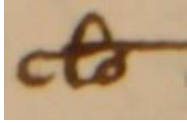
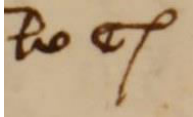
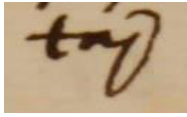
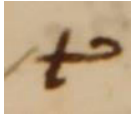
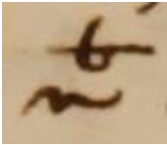
Manuscript	Transc.	Unit of weight for wool	Notes
sack- 	sackes	sack (364 lb)	There are two clearly separate abbreviations which are expanded according to their ME / Italian forms. The word also appears once in full as ME <i>sackys</i> .
sach- 	sachi ¹¹		
pok-  pock – 	poke / pokes pockes	poke (182 lb)	As above. ME <i>poke</i> , <i>pokys</i> , <i>pochis</i> and It. <i>poche</i> are also attested in full in the text.

⁸ A silver coin (literally *denaro grosso* or 'large penny') introduced in Venice in 1202. It was also known as a *matapane* (from the Arabic coin name *mautabān*) or, confusingly, in some early records, a *ducato*: see VTO sub **grosso / matapane** and Stahl 2000.

⁹ Gold Venetian ducats (later known as *zecchini*) were introduced in 1284: see Imports Glossary sub **ducato**.

¹⁰ Venetian *pizoli* (or in Tuscany, *piccioli / picciolini*) were small, low-value coins of a copper-silver mix, found in both Venice and Florence: see Imports Glossary sub **pecheline**.

¹¹ Upon examination of the letter forms in other words such as *whyche*, *suche*, *Abbathie*, *Marche* and *poche* in the MS, it is clear that this word (which appear over sixty times) definitely contains an 'h', followed by an abbreviation mark.

poch- 	poche		
clo- 	cloves	clove (71b)	This never appears in expanded form in the original MS.
le C- 	le C.	<i>centum</i> i.e. hundredweight.	This never appears in expanded form in the original MS.
tar-  t- 	tara / tare tara / tare	(varying) amount of weight deducted from the gross for packaging etc.	<i>Tare</i> is found in full but is much more frequently represented by <i>tar-</i> / <i>t-</i> . <i>Tara</i> is hence never clearly written but I have expanded the abbreviation in the Italian-matrix sections with this singular form where is made grammatical sense to do so.
n ^t 	netta / net	amount of weight remaining after deductions for tare ¹²	<i>Netta</i> is written out in full four times in Italian-matrix sections but usually Balmayn writes an abbreviated form: n ^t . The same abbreviation appears once in an ME-matrix section and I have chosen to transcribe this as “And so reste clere net” (7c)

Personal names

- Personal names are spelt exactly as they are in original MS Balmayn refers to forty-four separate Italian wool buyers in the accounts, some of whom are mentioned in several entries. For ease of reference, these buyers are listed below next to their corresponding Italian name in the Salviati's Florentine accounts (AS Serie I: 232), as transcribed by Holmes. In nearly all cases, it is clear to which Italian company Balmayn is referring, despite Holmes' inference (1993: 374) that his “English adaptation” is difficult to comprehend. However, in two instances (see no. 5 and 16, below), part of the name written by the English scribe seems to be completely different to the Italian version.

¹² The mercantile terms *tare* and *net* also feature in other ‘Italianising’ texts written in England: the London Grocers accounts (AN and ME) and the *Views of the Hosts of Alien Merchants* (AN). See Imports Glossary sub **net / tare**.

	AS Serie I: 339. Cantelowe Accounts (My transcription)	AS Serie I: 232. Account book of Alamanno di Jacopo Salviati of Florence (Holmes 1993: 374-75)	Buyers' entries (pp. 16-32)
1	Frances de <i>Christforo</i> Aleotti	Franceso di Christoforo Aliotto	16b, 17c, 17d, 26a, 26b
2	Juncta Ibindo de <i>Williamo</i> Juncta	Giunta e Bindo di Guglielmo di Giunta	16c, 17e
3	Pero et <i>Johne</i> Gwydewchy	Pietro a Giovanni Guiducci	16d, 21e
4	Ubertino de Gerardo Rezaliti	Ubertino di Gherardo Risaliti	16e, 17a
5	<i>Johanne</i> de Phelippo de Ascheto	Giovane de Filippo Ghiacutto	17b, 25a
6	Jelyano de <i>Johne</i> dai Borgo	Giuliano di Giovanni dal Borgo	18a, 24d
7	Pardo de Nicolo de Lorenzo Loteni	Pardo di Nicholaio di Lorenzo Lottini	18b
8	Piero Matheo de Contowcho	Piero Matteo di Contuccio	18c
9	Antonio de Guydo de Junctino	Antonio di Guido di Giuntino	18d
10	Genoby de Leonardo Bartoli	Zanobi di Leonardo Bartoli	19a
11	Leonardo de Angolo de Balioni	Leonardo d'Agnolo del Baglione	19b
12	Pero de Galiano	Piero de Gagliano	19c
13	Jachobo d'Orsino Lanfredini et Francesco Guydetti	Jacopo d'Orsino Lanfredini & Franceso Guidetti & Co.	20a, 27e, 30d
14	Dominicho de Jachobo Federisi	Domenico di Jacopo di Federighi	20b
15	Pagino de <i>Johne</i> de Albesi	Pangino di Giovanni di Gentile degli Albizzi	20c
16	Bernardo d'Anremo de Medeci	Bernardo d'Antonio de' Medici	20d
17	<i>Johanne</i> et <i>Williamo</i> de Messer Salustro de Perosa	Giovanni & Guglielmo di Messer Salustro de Perugia	20e
18	Nycholas de <i>Johne</i> de Sandro	Niccolo di Giovanni di Sandro Barbigia	21a, 29c, 32a
19	Attimo de <i>Johne</i> Ginori	Attimo di Giovanni de' Gin	21b
20	Larenxo de Paris Corbenelli	Lorenzo di Parigi Corbinelli	21c, 29b, 29e
21	Francesco de Simoni de Nozo Fantony	Franceso di Simone Fantoni	21d, 22d
22	Danyelle de Nofry Daszo	Daniello di Nofri Dazzi	22a
23	Brancho Costantino da Perosa	Brancha di Costantino da Perugia	22b
24	Laurens de Rinieri Spineli	Lorenzo di Rinieri Spinelli	22c, 24f
25	Francesco et Thomaxo Bewsini	Francesco di Tommaso Busini	22e
26	Donato de Messer Leonardo d'Arezzo	Donato di Messer Leonardo d'Arezzo	23a
27	Bernardo Lappe da Zuame Nycholini	Bernardo di Lapo Niccolini	23b, 23c
28	Antonio de Chambino Chambini	Antonio di Cambino Cambini	23d, 23e, 27d, 30a
29	Leonardo et Dominicho de Toro	Leonardo et Domenico di Torre	23f
30	Gino de <i>Giovane</i> Ginori	Gino di Giovanni Ginori	24a
31	Antonio de <i>Giovane</i> de Barbigia	Antonio di Giovanni Barbigia	24b,
32	Pero et Jacobo de Patsy	Pietro e Jacopo de' Pazzi	24c
33	Simone d'Amercho Sati	Simone d'Amerigo Zati	24e
34	<i>Giovane</i> de Jacabo del Pulesse	Giovanni di Jacopo del Pugliese	25a
35	Pero de Soldo de Antonio Baldovini	Piero di Soldo e Antonio Baldovini.	25c, 25f
36	Thomaso de Ubertino Resali	Tommaso d'Ubertino Risaliti	25d, 25e
37	Matheo de Nycholao Lachy	Matteo di Nicolaio Lachi	25g, 27a, 27b, 27f, 27g, 28a, 28b, 30e, 31a
38	Pero de Cosimo de Medeci	Piero di Cosimo de' Medici	26c, 26d, 26e, 26f
39	Bernardo de Genotzo Manetti	Bernardo di Giannozzo Manetti	26g
40	Antonio Lensy	Antonio Lanzi	27c
41	Andrea de Loteryncho de la Stuffa	Andrea di Loteringo della Stuffa	28c, 28d, 28e, 28f
42	Laurenxo de Larone de Bardy	Lorenzo di Larione de' Bardi	29a, 30b
43	Simone de Giovane de Sandro Barbigia	Simone di Giovanni di Sandri Barbigia	29d
44	Jachobo Federisy	Pagolo di Jacopo Federighi	30c

Cantelowe Accounts 1450-51
(Archivio Salviati, Serie 1: 339)

Front cover:

†
M^lcccc^o lj
Pro Johanne Balmayn, servaunt of William Cantelowe,
marchaunt of London for Florens.

Page 2

Jhesus 1451 Maria

f.1

a) *Memorandum* that this boke ys for the rekenyng of resceyvung of my mayster Wylliam Cantelowe ys wolle and othyr marchauntyse¹ send fro London and fro Hampton to Pyse and Florens, the yere of oure Lorde God *anno* m^l iiij^c l and for the retorne agayne of the seyde wolle, made by Jacob Salviatis and by me, Johane Balmayn, *servaunt* of the seyde William Cantelowe.

b) And for the which wolle and more þat shalle come by the grace of God, I, the seyde Johan Balmayn, was send fro London by my seyde mayster to Florens the xiiij daye of Maye, the yere of our Lorde God *anno* m^l iiij^c lj and I, the seyde *servaunt*, came to Florens the xxiiij^e daye of June next folewyng, the which was missomer daye and corpus daye *Christi*² etc.³

¹ *and othyr marchauntyse*: scribal insertion, superscript with an arrow symbol.

² *xpi*: standard medieval abbreviation for *Christi* (cf. Cappelli 1979: xxii).

³ This opening paragraph is transcribed as follows in Holmes (1993: 372). I include it here to highlight the differences in editorial styles and occasional different reading of a word's spelling: *Memorandum that this boke ys ffor the rekenyng of resceyvung of my mayster Wylliam Cantelowe ys wolle and othyr marchauntyse send fro London and fro hampton to pyse and fflorens the yere of oure lorde god a M^l iiij^c l and for the retorne agayne of the seyde wolle made by Jacob Saluiatis and by me Johane Balmayn seruaunte of the seyde William Cantelowe. And ffor the which wolle and more that schall come by the grace of god I the seyde Johan Balmayn was send fro London by my seyde mayster to fflorens the xiiij daye of maye the yere of oure lord god a M^l iiij^c Cj [sic] and I the syd servaunt came to fFlorens the xxiiij daye of June next ffolowyng the which was missomer daye and corpus daye Christi etc.*

a) *Memorandum pat* by the grace of God here bygynnyth the wey3ths of *iiij^c lxxvj pokys* wolle aftyr the rate of *þe wey3ths of Engelande*, schippyd in a caryk of Jene at Southehampton *anno m^l iiij^c 1* in the name of *Johane de Albycyo*,⁴ for to be delyvered by the grace of God at Pyse to Frawnsis et *Johane Salviatis*, or to suche as shalle be ther in theyr name. And *þe patron ys name ys Antonio de Aurea*⁵ de Jenua.

b) The whyche pokys be undyr thys marke above †.

c)		Pokes	Cloves	d)		Pokes	Cloves⁶
N ^o	164	1	5	N ^o	138	1	3 ÷
	63	1	2		132	1	3 ÷
	152	1	2		166	1	2
	157	1	4		162	1	3
	153	1	3		61	1	3 ÷
	59	1	3 ÷ ⁷		143	1	3
	171	1	1		68	1	2 ÷
	163	1	2 ÷		67	1	3
	151	1	4 ÷		56	1	2 ÷
	49	1	2		60	1	3
Pokes	Sacks	5 ÷	3 ÷	Pokes	Sacks	5 ÷	3 ÷
10				10			
	137	1	5		158	1	3 ÷
	57	1	3		53	1	2 ÷
	148	1	4 ÷		45	1	4 ÷
	48	1	3		142	1	5
	42	1	4		195	1	2
	69	1	3 ÷		210	1	4

⁴ = Giovanni degli Albizzi (Holmes 1993: 372).

⁵ = Antonia Doria of Genoa (ibid.)

⁶ Over five folios, Balmayn meticulously catalogues the precise weight of each numbered poke of wool, presumably in the random order in which they were unloaded from the ship at Livorno. These figures are not mentioned in Holmes 1993 and I have added the units of measurement ‘pokes’, ‘cloves’ and ‘sacks’ (in bold) to the tables to make them immediately understandable. One English sack weighed 364lb (*avoirdupois*) and with a clove equalling 7lb; so there were fifty-two cloves to the sack. A poke was officially half a sack, i.e. 182lb (cf. **pocca** / **chivo** in Exports Glossary). Our 466 pokes are grouped into forty-five lots of ten and two of eight. Their weight is recorded in pokes (always ‘1’) and cloves and then tallied up at the the bottom of each sub-section in sacks and cloves. Note also the scribe’s use of the *N^o* abbreviation with these Arabic figures (cf. **n^o** in Exports Glossary / Chapter 5.4viii).

⁷ In these tables, Balmayn uses a colon divided by a horizontal line to represent ½ (confusingly similar to today’s division sign, but a common medieval practice, see Cappelli 1979: liv-lv). However, he does also use modern fractions several times later on in the accounts (cf. Chapter 5.5).

161	1	4
64	1	3
136	1	4
167	1	5 ÷

260	1	5
159	1	1 ÷
243	1	4
188	1	5

Pokes **Sacks** 5 ÷ 13 ÷

Pokes **Sacks** 5 ÷ 11

46	1	4 ÷
131	1	3 ÷
139	1	3 ÷
47	1	4 ÷
52	1	5 ÷
43	1	2 ÷
160	1	2 ÷
54	1	4 ÷
156	1	4
55	1	3 ÷

158	1	3 ÷
53	1	2 ÷
45	1	4 ÷
142	1	5
195	1	2
210	1	4
260	1	5
159	1	1 ÷
243	1	4
188	1	5

Pokes **Sacks** 5 ÷ 12 ÷

Pokes **Sacks** 5 ÷ 11

147	1	5
149	1	4 ÷
51	1	2
165	1	4
44	1	4 ÷
58	1	3
141	1	4
66	1	3 ÷
50	1	4 ÷
62	1	3

236	1	4 ÷
174	1	2 ÷
251	1	5 ÷
267	1	4 ÷
194	1	4 ÷
201	1	4
271	1	4 ÷
254	1	4
269	1	5
207	1	3

Pokes **Sacks** 5 ÷ 12

Pokes **Sacks** 5 ÷ 16

Page 4

†

a)

N ^o		Pokes	Cloves
	182	1	4
	173	1	2 ÷
	192	1	3 ÷
	191	1	3
	262	1	4

b)

N ^o		Pokes	Cloves
	186	1	3
	178	1	4 ÷
	217	1	4
	213	1	3 ÷
	232	1	3

180	1	3 ÷
240	1	5 ÷
189	1	4
190	1	3
198	1	4

214	1	4
218	1	4
176	1	6 ÷
200	1	4
202	1	2

Pokes	Sacks	5 ÷	11
10			
	199	1	4 ÷
	257	1	3 ÷
	183	1	4
	248	1	2
	212	1	3 ÷
	193	1	3
	225	1	4
	223	1	3 ÷
	224	1	4
	268	1	3

Pokes	Sacks	5 ÷	12 ÷
10			
	209	1	4
	203	1	3
	220	1	4 ÷
	181	1	3 ÷
	266	1	3 ÷
	184	1	5 ÷
	216	1	4
	227	1	5
	211	1	2
	262	1	4 ÷

Pokes	Sacks	5 ÷	9
10			
	244	1	3 ÷
	258	1	3
	135	1	4
	265	1	3 ÷
	155	1	2 ÷
	206	1	3
	242	1	3 ÷
	243	1	4
	231	1	3 ÷
	134	1	3 ÷

Pokes	Sacks	5 ÷	13 ÷
10			
	204	1	2 ÷
	241	1	6
	169	1	6
	250	1	5
	255	1	4 ÷
	252	1	5 ÷
	273	1	1 ÷
	238	1	6
	168	1	3 ÷
	239	1	4 ÷

Pokes	Sacks	5 ÷	8
10			
	261	1	3
	160	1	3 ÷
	177	1	5
	246	1	5
	205	1	2
	233	1	2 ÷
	215	1	3 ÷
	249	1	4
	226	1	5
	185	1	2 ÷

Pokes	Sacks	5 ÷	19
10			
	30	1	4
	295	1	1 ÷
	291	1	3
	288	1	5
	290	1	3
	297	1	4 ÷
	310	1	2 ÷
	312	1	4
	294	1	4
	293	1	2 ÷

Pokes	Sacks	5 ÷	10
--------------	--------------	-----	----

Pokes	Sacks	5 ÷	8
--------------	--------------	-----	---

10

172	1	5
272	1	4 ÷
247	1	4
221	1	4 ÷
197	1	2
177	1	3 ÷
229	1	2
228	1	2 ÷
230	1	4
179	1	4

Pokes **Sacks** 5 ÷ 10
10

10

289	1	3
324	1	2
292	1	5
313	1	3
332	1	1
315	1	4 ÷
308	1	5
322	1	3 ÷
328	1	4
319	1	4 ÷

Pokes **Sacks** 5 ÷ 9 ÷
10

Page 5

†

f.3

a)
N°

	Pokes	Cloves
317	1	4
329	1	5
331	1	2
326	1	3
87	1	2
320	1	3
321	1	3 ÷
117	1	4 ÷
325	1	4 ÷
318	1	4

Pokes **Sacks** 5 ÷ 9 ÷
10

309	1	4 ÷
305	1	5 ÷
316	1	3
304	1	3 ÷
300	1	3
314	1	4 ÷
327	1	3 ÷
303	1	4
80	1	2 ÷
76	1	3

N°

	Pokes	Cloves
296	1	3
308	1	2
298	1	3
323	1	3
97	1	5 ÷
111	1	4 ÷
120	1	2
77	1	3 ÷
96	1	4 ÷
127	1	4 ÷

Pokes **Sacks** 5 ÷ 9 ÷
10

122	1	4 ÷
113	1	3 ÷
129	1	3 ÷
101	1	3 ÷
103	1	3
91	1	2
82	1	3 ÷
119	1	3 ÷
105	1	3
75	1	4 ÷

Pokes 10	Sacks	5 ÷	11	Pokes 10	Sacks	5 ÷	8 ÷
	81	1	2 ÷		118	1	3 ÷
	70	1	3 ÷		71	1	2
	330	1	3		92	1	4 ÷
	301	1	3 ÷		89	1	3
	299	1	3 ÷		126	1	6 ÷
	114	1	4		83	1	3
	104	1	3		95	1	5
	112	1	2 ÷		125	1	5
	74	1	4 ÷		102	1	2 ÷
	98	1	2 ÷		108	1	4 ÷
Pokes 10	Sacks	5 ÷	6 ÷	Pokes 10	Sacks	5 ÷	13 ÷
	123	1	5		121	1	4
	115	1	3		110	1	3
	302	1	4 ÷		94	1	2 ÷
	93	1	4		128	1	4
	100	1	4 ÷		130	1	5 ÷
	79	1	4		72	1	3 ÷
	116	1	3		237	1	4 ÷
	124	1	3 ÷		245	1	5
	206	1	4		259	1	3
	109	1	5		253	1	7
Pokes 10	Sacks	5 ÷	14 ÷	Pokes 10	Sacks	5 ÷	16
	90	1	2 ÷		235	1	4 ÷
	84	1	3 ÷		234	1	4 ÷
	65	1	4 ÷		145	1	4
	73	1	2		270	1	5
	88	1	3 ÷		222	1	3 ÷
	86	1	4		264	1	4
	107	1	4 ÷		285	1	4 ÷
	85	1	3 ÷		287	1	4 ÷
	311	1	3		280	1	4 ÷
	99	1	5		274	1	5
Pokes 10	Sacks	5 ÷	10	Pokes 10	Sacks	5 ÷	18

†

a)				b)			
N ^o		Pokes	Cloves	N ^o		Pokes	Cloves
	278	1	4		429	1	2 ÷
	277	1	5		442	1	1 ÷
	281	1	4		446	1	1
	276	1	5		419	1	1
	275	1	5		438	1	0
	284	1	4 ÷		440	1	0
	279	1	5		427	1	2 ÷
	282	1	5 ÷		439	1	0
	283	1	6		431	1	2
	286	1	4		443	1	0
Pokes	Sacks	5 ÷	22 ÷	Pokes	Sacks	5	10 ÷
10				10			
	333	1	2 ÷		445	1	0 ÷
	336	1	3		441	1	0
	78	1	0 ÷		430	1	3 ÷
	342	1	3		434	1	1 ÷
	341	1	3 ÷		435	1	2
	338	1	3		423	1	1 ÷
	339	1	4		444	1	1 ÷
	340	1	4 ÷		447	1	1 ÷
	357	1	4		432	1	2 ÷
	348	1	5		425	1	2 ÷
Pokes	Sacks	5 ÷	7	Pokes	Sacks	5	17
10				10			
	337	1	3 ÷		422	1	2 ÷
	352	1	3 ÷		433	1	1 ÷
	355	1	2		436	1	1 ÷
	363	1	3 ÷		428	1	2
	366	1	2		437	1	0
	353	1	4		448	1	0
	365	1	2 ÷		431	1	1 ÷
	364	1	4 ÷		449	1	2
	343	1	2		452	1	0
	347	1	3 ÷		424	1	3
Pokes	Sacks	5 ÷	5	Pokes	Sacks	5	14
10				10			
	360	1	3 ÷		458	1	4

354	1	4 ÷
349	1	4
344	1	2
356	1	4
361	1	2
362	1	4 ÷
334	1	2 ÷
358	1	5
359	1	1

450	1	0
455	1	1 ÷
451	1	0 ÷
453	1	2
454	1	1
456	1	0 ÷
403	1	2 ÷
401	1	4 ÷
369	1	4

Pokes	Sacks	5 ÷	7
10			
	351	1	3
	13	1	2 ÷
	19	1	5 ÷
	27	1	4
	18	1	3
	40	1	4 ÷
	15	1	4
	9	1	3
	38	1	4 ÷
	29	1	2

Pokes	Sacks	5	20 ÷
10			
	400	1	7 ÷
	376	1	4
	404	1	3
	406	1	2 ÷
	390	1	3
	389	1	3 ÷
	409	1	3 ÷
	392	1	6 ÷
	398	1	4
	399	1	4

Pokes	Sacks	5 ÷	10
10			

Pokes	Sacks	5 ÷	16
10			

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†

f. 4

a)		Pokes	Cloves
N°	335	1	3
	345	1	5
	388	1	3
	350	1	3 ÷
	402	1	4
	346	1	3
	384	1	6 ÷
	386	1	4
	395	1	2 ÷
	410	1	4

b)		Pokes	Cloves
N°	368	1	0
	414	1	3
	413	1	2 ÷
	420	1	5 ÷
	419	1	4 ÷
	421	1	4 ÷
	25	1	3 ÷
	33	1	4
	31	1	4 ÷
	26	1	2

Pokes	Sacks	5 ÷	12 ÷
10			

Pokes	Sacks	5 ÷	8
10			

385	1	3
397	1	4
382	1	6 ÷
381	1	4 ÷
393	1	4 ÷
396	1	6
394	1	5 ÷
387	1	4
391	1	2
383	1	4 ÷

23	1	3
34	1	3
20	1	5 ÷
39	1	4 ÷
35	1	4 ÷
10	1	4
5	1	3
28	1	3
22	1	4
11	1	2

Pokes **Sacks** 5 ÷ 18 ÷

417	1	2 ÷
418	1	0
405	1	4
379	1	7 ÷
415	1	4
407	1	2
370	1	3
412	1	4
408	1	6
367	1	3

Pokes **Sacks** 5 ÷ 11

21	1	3 ÷
12	1	3 ÷
3	1	4
4	1	3
2	1	5
37	1	5 ÷
24	1	4
9	1	4
17	1	2 ÷
8	1	2 ÷

Pokes **Sacks** 5 ÷ 10

377	1	4 ÷
373	1	5
478	1	5
380	1	3 ÷
416	1	4
374	1	6 ÷
375	1	5
371	1	1 ÷
372	1	4
411	1	0 ÷

Pokes **Sacks** 5 ÷ 11 ÷

Pokes **Sacks** 5 ÷ 13 ÷

14	1	3 ÷
7	1	3
41	1	3 ÷
1	1	4
30	1	3
16	1	4
36	1	5

6	1	3
8	1	1 ÷
5	1	2 ÷
2	1	2 ÷
7	1	4
3	1	3 ÷
9	1	4 ÷

	32	1	3		4	1	2
Pokes	Sacks	4 ÷	3	Pokes	Sacks	4	23 ÷
8				8			

c) *Summa totalis* in pokes: CCCC^{mo} lxxvj^o.

The which makyth in sackys CC^o lxiiiij^o *semis*⁸ and v cloves *semis*, of the which ys rebatyd for the tare of every poke j clove *semis*. Þe which *summa* ys xiiij sackys⁹ et xxiiij cloves. And so reste clere net:¹⁰ cc^o lxxvj sackys cloves viij *semis*.¹¹

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†

1450

a) *Factura lanoze*,¹² *pokes cccclxxvj signate, numerate et depincte, prout inferius continetur*,¹³ *carigate in carraca unde est patronus Antonio de Aurea de Janua. Nome Johannes de Albicis consignando in Porta de Pisano, Francisco et Johannes et sociis vel aliis qui fuerunt pro ipsis.*

b) *De numero j ad numerum xxxv: pokes xxxv de lana de la Marche fine, contrasignata de una ancilla cum humeris de capite virginis, ut moris est depingere lanas de Marchia: pokes xxxv.*

c) *De n^o xxxvi ad numerum xli: pokes vj de juvene*¹⁴ *lana de la Marche, contrasignata de una ancilla ut supra cum uno pere precius duplice de coralle vermoille:*¹⁵ *pokes vi.*

⁸ Balmayn uses an ‘S’ abbreviation four times in this sentence, meaning *semis* or a half (Cappelli 1979: liv-lv).

⁹ Here the scribe writes simply ‘ss’ but presumably, he means *sackys* / *sackes* as written on the line above.

¹⁰ The *n^t* abbreviation is used in the Italian expression ‘*resta netta*’ dozens of times later on in the accounts and written in full as *netta* three times (22a, 23f, 24d). It is not entirely clear here whether Balmayn’s shorthand stands for *netto* / *netta* or ME *net*.

¹¹ The 466 pokes equate therefore to 264½ sacks and 5 ½ cloves. Note that Holmes (1993: 373) mistakenly gives the figure as 264½ sacks 5 cloves. Tare is calculated at 1½ clove per poke, making a total weight to be deducted of 13 sacks 23 cloves. This leaves a net weight of 251 sacks 8½ cloves.

¹² This appears to be Italian *lanoze* (‘of or relating to wool’), written out in full: see OVI sub **lanose** / **lanosi**. An alternative solution is that the lexeme reads *lano* + [*rum* abbreviation] to give Latin *lanorum* but based on the letter forms, this seems less likely.

¹³ ‘Exactly as enclosed below’.

¹⁴ This is the first attestation of this word, written clearly in full as *juvene*. It is usually abbreviated as *juv*- from then on. In this text, it is Italian / Latin *juvene* but probably not AN *jun* as Holmes (1993: 373) writes it.

d) De n^o xlij ad numerum lxxix: pokes xxviii de lana de Cotiswolde fyne, *contrasignata* de una mana *cum j manipulo* de rosis de tribus foliis: pokes xxviii.

e) De n^o lxx ad numerum lxxxxj: pokes xxij de lana de Cotyswolde fine, *contrasignata* de uno pecore coronato: pokes xxij.

f) De n^o lxxxxij ad numerum lxxxxix: pokes viij de lana *juvene* de Cotiswolde fyne, *depincta* de uno pecore coronato *quod habet* in ore suo modisimi de una herba: pokes viij.

g) De n^o C ad numerum Cxxj: pokes xxij de lana de Cotiswolde fine, *depincta* de uno pecore coronato *cum suo agnello*: pokes xxij facto.

h) De n^o Cxxij ad numerum Cxxx: pokes ix de lana *juvene* de Cotyswolde fine, *depincta*¹⁶ de uno pecore coronato *cum suo agnello et pecus*¹⁷ *habet modicimi* de una herba in ore: pokes ix.

i) Lane vermoile: Nota *quod* in pokes in numero lxx sunt lane rubie.¹⁸ Et in numero Cxxx^e sunt lane vocate flese wolle que ponderant cloves vij de lane fine de Cotyswolde de *racolte*¹⁹ yonge.

j) De n^o Cxxxj ad numerum Clxxij: pokes xlij de lane fine de Cotyswolde, *depincta* de una chapleta²⁰ *viride duplici* cum quatuor floribus. Et in n^o Cxxxj sunt lane rubie. Et in n^o Cxxij sunt lane rubie: pokes xlij facto.

k) De n^o Clxxij ad numerum Clxxxxiiij: pokes xxij de lana fine de Cotyswolde, *depincte* de uno garlando asure, *videlicet blodio*,²¹ de tribus floribus et in medio dicto garlando est una stella rubia: pokes xxij facto.

l) De n^o Clxxxxv ad numerum CCxxij: pokis xxviii de lana de Cotyswolde fine, *depincta* de uno pavo, a *pecoke*:²² pokes xxviii.

¹⁵ Compare Balmayn's corresponding description of the same mark in ME later on in the document, the following year: *with a maydyne his head with a peyr of coralle bedis abowte her neke* (32b). *Vermoile* is an unusual spelling but there is clearly an *o* in the original ms.

¹⁶ Here we have an example of *depincta* written out in full.

¹⁷ Note the use of both Italian and Latin for 'sheep' (*pecore / pecus*) within the same line.

¹⁸ *Lane vermoile / lane rubie*: Balmayn is apparently identifying pokes with 'raddled' wool that has been dyed red: see OED3 sub **raddle**¹.

¹⁹ Here the scribe writes *raco*, then a suspension mark, then an *e*.

²⁰ This is either < It. *cappelletto* or a Latinised / Italianised version of AN *chapelet*. In heraldic terms, it meant either a wreath or crown of flowers.

²¹ 'Dark blue colour': see DMLBS sub **blodius** / LCC sub **blod**. In this first instance, Balmayn clarifies *asure* with 'videlicet blodio' but in following sections, he seems to use *blodio* as a qualifier for *asure*. This itself is unusual, as is the fact that in the British record, the only examples of the colour refer to cloth.

²² *a pecoke*: scribal insertion above *pavo* and one of four examples in this section of an English gloss.

- m) De n^o CCxxiiij ad numerum CCxxxiiij: pokes xi de lana fine juvene de Cotyswolde, depincta de uno pavo cum una campana ad pedem sinistrum: pokes xi.
- n) De n^o CCxxxiiij ad numerum CClj: pokes xix de lana fine juvene de Cotiswolde, depincta de uno garlando viride duplice et in medio dicto garlando, una rosa: pokes xix.
- o) De n^o CClj ad numerum CClxiiij: pokes xij de lana fine juvene de Cotiswolde, depincta de una mana cum uno manipulo rosarum de tribus foliis et digito auriculare staute recte: pokes xij.
- p) De n^o CClxv ad numerum CClxxiiij: pokes ix de lana fyne juvene de Cotiswolde, depincta de uno garlando asure blodio cum tribus floribus et in medio garlando, una stella rubia, et in medio stelle, uno O: pokes ix.
- q) De n^o CClxxiiij ad CClxxxv: pokes xij de lana Abbathie, contrasignata cum uno mytre cum cruce: pokes xij.
- r) De n^o CClxxxvi ad numerum CClxxxvij: pokes ij de lana fine juvene Abbathie, depincta de uno mitre sine cruce supra: pokes ij.
- s) De n^o CClxxxviiij ad numerum iij^cxlv: pokes lviiij de lana de Cotiswolde fine, depincta de uno agnus Dei cum cruce in vexilla, a baner:²³ pokes lviiij.
- t) De n^o iij^cxlvj ad numerum iij^clj: pokes vj de lane fine juvene de Cotiswolde, depincta de uno agnus Dei sine cruce in vexilla: pokes vj.
- u) De n^o iij^clij ad numerum iij^clxxviiij: pokes xxvij de lana de Cotiswolde fine, depincta de uno manipulo de quinque papies²⁴ cum una scriptura que dicitur l'ano Deo: pokes xxvij.
- v) Lane vermoile et nota in n^o iij^clxxvij sunt lane rubie et in n^o iij^clxxviiij sunt medie lane rubie.
- w) De n^o iij^clxxix ad numerum iij^clxxx: pokes ij de lana fyne juvene de Cotiswolde, depincta de uno manipulo de quinque papies et una M: pokes ij.
- x) De no iij^clxxxj ad numerum iij^cviiij: pokes xxviiij de lana fyne de Cotiswode, depincta de uno jaye: pokes xxviiij.
- y) De no iij^cix ad numerum CCCCx: pokes ij de lana fine juvene de Cotiswode depincta de una jaye cum erba in ore: pokes ij.

²³ a baner: scribal insertion above vexilla.

²⁴ Here (and in entry 8w) ME *papies* ('poppies') is clearly written in full in the middle of the Latin-Italian matrix. Compare with same mark description in entry 20a: *The marke j mazzo de 5 papavery cum breve que dixit l'ano Deo.*

- a) De n^o CCCCxj ad numerum iiij^cxvij: pokes viij de lana Abbathie, depincta de uno pastorale, an abbots croyse: pokes viij facto.
- b) De n^o iiij^cix ad numerum iiij^cxxj: pokes iij de lana fine juvene de Cotiswold, depincta de uno pye: pokes iij.
- c) De n^o iiij^cxxij ad numerum CCCCl: pokes xxix de lana fyn de Cotyswold, depincta cum uno sole, anglice a sonne:²⁵ pokes xxix.
- d) De n^o CCCClj ad numerum iiij^cliiij: pokes iij de lana Abbathie de illa sorte de pokes viij ut supra, depincta de una scriptura supra scripto storo: pokes iij.
- e) De n^o iiij^clv ad numerum iiij^clviiij: pokes iij de lana fine juvene de Cotiswold, qualibus poche cum duobus signis sine contrasignis sunt de bonitate de le jaye ut supra:²⁶ pokes iij.
- f) De no j ad numerum viij:²⁷ pokes viij de lana de Cotiswolde fine, vocata storo, depincta de una mana quod tenet unum manipulum de borage de tribus foliis:²⁸ pokes viij.

Summa totalis pokes : CCCClxvj

- g) De qualibus sunt poche xxxv de le Marche fine: poche xxxv
 Poche vj de juvene lana de la Marche: poche vj
 Poche xxiiij de Abbathie fine: poche xxiiij²⁹
 Poche ij de lana june de Abbathia fine: poche ij
 Poche CCCxiiij de lana de Cotiswold fine: poche CCCxiiij
 Poche lxxxv de juvene Cotiswold fine: poche lxxxv

h) Lane de le Marche coustant hic quarte parti plus quam fine lane de Cotiswold. Et juvene lane de Costiswolde sunt peiori quarta parte quam lane fine de Cotiswold. Hoc vobis dico ad hoc ut habeatis attendere ad vendicionem. Et ut intelligatis ut vos gubernare habeatis.

²⁵ a sonne: scribal insertion, preceded by the Latin marker, *ang(lice)*.

²⁶ This lot of pokes has not been marked with a countermark like the others and only bears Cantelowe's mark: †. Balmayn points out that the wool is the same quality (*bonitate*) as the wool marked with a jay.

²⁷ Balmayn reaches 358 and then counts the last eight pokes as 1 to 8 again. These are the 8 pokes under the borage mark sold on 11th October 1451 in 32a, after he has tallied up the 448 others on 6th October 1451.

²⁸ This is not marked specifically as *storo* (unlike the wool in 9d) but has a mark of borage.

²⁹ This figure is given incorrectly as twenty-three pokes in Holmes (1993: 373).

a) By the *grace* of Gode this ys the wey3th of a Ciiij pokes wolle, after the wey3ths of Hampton, of my mayster William Cantelowe ys and Jacob Salviati et *compagnia* de Londra, *portabylle*³⁰ to them boþe.

b) The whych Ciiij pokes was shypyd at Hampton in the monyth of aprelle 1451 upon a caryk of Jene, *patrone* Morys Cateneo, by Johanne de Albycyo et *compagnia* de Londra, for to be delyvered by the *grace* of God at Porte Pysane³¹ to Frances et Johane Salviati, or to suche as bene þere for them at Pyse.

c)						
N ^o	Pokes	Cloves	N ^o	Pokes	Cloves ³²	
71	1	5 ½	76	1	3 ½	
31	1	3 ½	87	1	3	
43	1	3	84	1	5	
42	1	2 ½	85	1	3	
55	1	4	32	1	6	
39	1	3	35	1	3 ½	
51	1	4	88	1	4	
48	1	4 ½	23	1	1	
64	1	3 ½	28	1	0	
73	1	5	9	1	0	
37	1	6	7	1	1	
38	1	2 ½	15	1	2	
66	1	4	25	1	1	
44	1	3 ½	80	1	1	
67	1	4 ½	17	1	6	
69	1	4 ½	31	1	1	
59	1	5	30	1	0	
61	1	4 ½	33	1	0	
62	1	3	91	1	4	
46	1	3 ½	20	1	3 ½	
57	1	4	11	1	1 ½	

³⁰ See OED3 sub **portable**, att. 1450 and AND sub **portable**², att. 1334. The sense is not entirely clear here but is presumably 'that which is moved / transported' (i.e. the wool on the ships) rather than 'that which is tolerated or endured'.

³¹ This could also be *Porto Pysano* but *Pyse* is nearly always in Anglicized form throughout as are *Florens* and *Livorne*.

³² This table gives the exact weight of each of the 104 pokes of wool in Shipment 2. As before, the labels 'pokes' and 'cloves' have been added (in bold) to the original table to explain the figures. The subsequent pages in the accounts are missing so we have no tallies, details of marks used or wool types. This is not the most accurate of records: there are only 103 pokes in the table and several numbers (e.g. no. 68 and no. 31) appear twice.

49	1	4 ½	26	1	2
74	1	3	22	1	1 ½
60	1	4	8	1	1 ½
52	1	4 ½	36	1	6 ½
58	1	3 ½	27	1	0
72	1	1	13	1	0
40	1	4 ½	4	1	2 ½
45	1	3 ½	18	1	0 ½
70	1	3 ½	12	1	1 ½
53	1	3	14	1	0
54	1	3 ½	19	1	3
41	1	4	3	1	2 ½
68	1	3	21	1	0
50	1	4 ½	2	1	2 ½
47	1	3	6	1	2
55	1	4 ½	16	1	2
95	1	3 ½	75	1	3
81	1	3 ½	24	1	1
79	1	5	5	1	2
92	1	2 ½	29	1	1 ½
86	1	3 ½	10	1	1 ½
77	1	5	99	1	3 ½
78	1	1 ½	97	1	2 ½
83	1	3	104	1	2
68	1	3	95	1	2 ½
90	1	3 ½	96	1	2
93	1	2	102	1	4
34	1	1 ½	100	1	3 ½
82	1	3 ½	94	1	2 ½
			98	1	3 ½
			103	1	5
			101	1	3 ½

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Costes

f.41

a) *Memorandum* that this bene the costes þat bene done upon a poke of wolle and upon othyr marchauntyse, as for the costes firste³³ fro þe Porte Pysane to Lyvorne³⁴ and to Pysse and so at Florens, as folewyth:

b) Firste, for the costys of iiij^c lxvi pokes wolle of my mayster, Wylliam Cantelowe, comyd to the Porte Pysane in the caryke of Antonio de Aurea, patrone et marchaunt of

³³ *firste*: scribal insertion above the main line.

³⁴ Livorno (or Leghorn as it is also known in English) is a port on the Tuscan coast.

Jene, send fro Hampton to Pyse by Johane de Albycyo et *compagnia*, marchaunt of Florens, to Fraunces et Johane Salviati et *compagnia* in *persona* and they for to send hit to Florens to Jacob Salviati et *compagnia*:

c) The whych was ondyr this marke † the whych iiiij^c lxvi pokis bene at the begynnyng of this boke wretyn. Thys ys the rekenyng of the seyde iiiij^c lxvi pokis wolle reseceyved by the schippe of Antonio de Aurea send by oure felyschip of London to us and to you.

d) Fyrst for the frey3th and for the customs of Jene: We paye nothing and ther we sette nothing.

e) *Item* for the provysyon of the oste of Lyvorne and for the unlading fro the schippe s.10 *pur poke*: Summa £233
Fl. 54. 4. 4.

f) *Item* s.1 *pur poke* for the ry3th of the schipe house þat ys for to saye the dysma of Lyvorne: Summa £23 s.6 d.0³⁵
Fl. 5. 8. 4.

g) *Item* for caryage fro Lyvorne to Pyse £10 *pur poke*: Summa £233
Fl. 54. 4. 4.

h) *Item* for onladyng onto of the carte in to the customs house of Pise and for the weynge and berynge home s.2 *pur poke*: Summa £46 s.12
Fl. 10. 16. 8.

i) *Item* for the custome of Pyse for a cxvij^m iiiij^{xx} xvj lb wey3th a s. 25 le C., summa £1466 s.4 d.0, and for the custome of the ry3th of þe ospytalle callyd chape £3 and for the custome of the xij parte of the þe grete summa above seyde £122 s.8 d.8 and for the *parcelle* wretyng to þe clerks £2: Summa £1593 s.9 d.0
Fl. 382. 15. 7.

j) *Item* for to have hit anote of Pyse, s.1 *pur poke* at the gate: Summa £23 s. 6
Fl. 5.10.9.

k) *Item* for the passage at S. Agandda,³⁶ s.1 d.10 *pur poke*: Summa £42 s.14 d.4
Fl. 10. 3. 4

l) *Item* for the avery of the galley or schippe the which ys to saye þat every marchaunt shalt bere his parte after the rate of his marchauntyse for all manner of costes done upon þe galleys or schippe for cause of enmenyis to the salavation of the godys: Nothing payd

³⁵ On this folio only we have some rare examples of Balmayn using an Arabic zero (rather than a dash) in a price to mean ‘nothing’ i.e. *d. 0* not *d. -*.

³⁶ This is probably *Sant’Agata*. There was a small town of this name in the Middle Ages, located about thirty miles from Florence; however it is north of this city and certainly not on the route from Pisa. It seems more likely that Balmayn is referring to a church, possibly the *Capella di Sant’Agata* in Pisa (built c1063) or the *Chiesa di Sant’Agata* in Florence (built c1211 and also a convent). It is not evident, however, why the wool shipment would be taxed per poke for passage at this point.

- m) *Item* for the ry3th of the Offycyall of þe See þe which was juge bytwex us and þe patrone for diverse harneys of the wolle: Fl. 1.
- n) *Item* to the man þat sawe the harneys of the wolle: Fl. 1. 2. 1.
- o) *Item* for the portors for pylyng up of þe seyð woll et for oure pylyng: Fl. 5.
- p) *Item* for the mendyng of the pockys whereas they were ibroke: Fl. 1.17. 6.
- q) *Item* for diverse costes done to þe Offysyall of the See and for to have the plee wretyn for to send hit to London: Fl. 2.
- r) *Item* for ladyng upone a botte iii^{xx} xlj³⁷ pokes and for the weyng et beryng, s. 2 *pur* poke: Summa £9 s.12 d.0
Fl. 2. 4. 9
- s) *Item* for house hyre where the wolle stodde and for ostelage: Fl. 4.
- t) *Item* for the costes of Jacob Salviati for to ryde to Pyse for þe seyð wolle: Fl. 1
- u) *Item* for oure provesyons the viij parte of a floryn *pur* le poke: Fl. 58.5.
- Summa de lé costes de Pyse: Fl. 599 s. 12 d.8 a oro
- w) *Per* Fraunces et Jacob Salviati in Pisa et *compagnia*.
Direcke to Alamani Salviati in Ferens, le 16 jour de novembre of 1450.

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†

- a) Costes of Florens for 466 pokis wolle of my mayster W. Cantelowe ys ...
- b) Firste for the costes of Pyse the whych was send to us for to paye and therefore we sette hit in oure rekenyng a Fl.: Fl.599 s.18. d.5³⁸
- c) *Item* for cariours the which be callyd victura for the bryngyng fro Pise to Florens the foreseyd 466 pokes wolle, weyng lb.123000 a s.18 le C. de pezoly³⁹ que fa £1107. The valewe ys s.85 *pur* Florino: Fl.260 s.13 d.8

³⁷ *iii^{xx}* = 80 or literally 'quatre-vingt'. So it appears that 121 (eighty plus forty-one) pokes were loaded onto a boat in this instance.

³⁸ It is unclear why this figure is not identical to the sum of the *costes of Pyse* on the previous folio.

³⁹ This makes no sense so Balmayn must surely have meant to write *weyng lb.123000 a s.18 de pezoly le C.*

- d)** *Item* for the custome of Florens for the seyde 466 pokes, weyng lb 123067 a Fl. uno s.16 de pezoly le C. *que* fa Fl.1230. Et *pur* le s.16 *que* fa £987 s.4 d.3 de pez.⁴⁰ de le valeuta de £, a s.73 d.4 *pur* Fl. *que* fa Fl.269, £0 s.17 d.7 de pez. *Summa* in toto Fl.1499, £0 s.17 d.7 de pez. Et *pur* duodesimo, þe whych ys uno *parte* de xij *parte* de le maiore *summa* ut supra *que* fa Fl.124, £4 s.0 d.8 de pez. Et *pur* la *partita* to the clerks, £2. *Summa totalis* Fl. 1623 *solidi*, £6 s.18 d.3 de pez, valeuta de grossy.⁴¹ Fl.1624 s.18 d.4
- e)** *Item pur* la deminucione del mownta de pokes 466 *pur* lb.10967 a s.1 d.8 a oro le C. *que* fa Fl.102 s.11 d.2 a oro: Fl.102 s.16 d.2
- f)** *Item pur averia pur consely* de mare *pur* le dyd 466 pokes *pur* lb.12367. Estimate a Fl.20 le C. de la lana *que* fa Fl. 24614. The whych payth halffe a Fl. *pur* C. Fl. *que* fa Fl.123 s.1 d.5 a oro *que* fa Fl.: Fl.123 s.2 d. 2
- g)** *Item pur pisare*⁴² a comperatory et *pur* portare a loro botega s.3 d.4. de pez. *pur* poke *que* fa pokis 448 come appare *per* vendite *que* fa £174 s.13 d.4 de pez. uno Fl.: Fl. 17 s.16. d.6
- h)** *Item pur sensaria* de le dyd 448 pokis a s.15 *pur* poke come appare *per* vendite *que* fa £336 s.- d.-, valeno: Fl.79 s.1 d.9
- i)** *Item pur taratura que* fa le⁴³ tare de le lana s.2 d.6 de pez. *pur* poke *que* fa pokes 448 come appare *per* vendite *que* [fa] £56 de pez. valeno: Fl.13 s.5 d.2
- j)** *Item pur* far le styvare et restivare pui volte quando sono mostro a chomperatore. Et *pur* spago *pur conservare* le dyd pokes non semitto nulla *que* scrivino pui *denari* de Fl. : Fl.- d.-
- k)** *Item pur* magasin de le dyd lane : Fl. 15 s. - d. -
- l)** *Item pur* retencione de *denari* 2 de pez. *pur* Fl. le damno mownta *pur* toto $\frac{1}{4}$ ⁴⁴ de Fl. *pur* C. *que* fa Fl.63 s.23 d.5 de Fl.: Fl.63 s. 23 d.6
- m)** *Item pur* nostra *provisione* de Fl.100, uno Fl. *pur* noi 7 *que* fa Fl.255 s.7 d.- a Fl.: Fl. 255 s. d.-

⁴⁰ Balmain abbreviates *pezoly* from this point onwards, using a dotted *p* with suspension mark.

⁴¹ Venetian *grossi*: Balmain also uses the abbreviation *g^o* for this currency.

⁴² Presumbaly, Balmain means *pesare*, ‘to weigh’.

⁴³ I am assuming that this is the Italian feminine plural, *le*, and not the AN plural, *lé*.

⁴⁴ This is the first modern fraction to appear in the accounts.

n) A *item* for weying in the custome house of Florens and for the beryng to the magasyne, s.2 de pez. pur poke que fa £46 s.12 de pez., valeno:

Fl. 10 s. 28 d. -

Summa totalis:

Fl.3165 s.5 d.8

t) *Per Alamano Salviati in Ferens, a di 28 septembre 1451*

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f.64

a) A *di*⁴⁶ 27 *augusto* in Ferens

b) And *so*⁴⁷ there bene x pokes of þe markes of þe sage I solde for redy money at xxv Fl. le C. Et ij pokes of them bene delyverd and S.⁴⁸ Jacob wolle avyse you and *so* he wolle send to you a *lettre* þat ye scholde by a C or ij C sackes w[olle] but ye moste bye of þe beste and sorte every colour by hymselffe; for x flysse in a poke shalle distroye þe remendment as in þe sale. And *so* the S.⁴⁹ Strossys and the Medycis hathe not solde as yet paste lx pokes and yet ther w[olle] ys ry3th gode and they selle hit for xxiiij Fl. le C. the beste.⁵⁰

c) And *so* I dow3t not of the otterawnce *with* that þat there come no quantite but yours and so yf ye make þe graunt *with* any patrone we spose þat the wolle come to Porte Pysane *with* þat he may be sewr of ij^c sackes and so ye may have lx wayth of wolle upon a caryk for xxviiij s. *ster.* and of the days as ye cane acorde.

d) Also ye schalle understand howe that the *lettres* þat were made at London the xvij and xviiij daye of *June* were send fro Bruges to Venice⁵¹ and theyr the *lettres* of þe Medycis

⁴⁵ This is a copy or draft of a letter, cancelled by Balmayn but inserted into the main accounts on a loose piece of paper (f. 64).

⁴⁶ Balmayn switches from his usual AN date form of *le 27 jo-* to the standard Italian equivalent: *a d- 27.*, which stood for *a di* (or *addi*). He also frequently uses this Italian abbreviation in the buyers' entries and lists of bills of exchange from p.16 onwards.

⁴⁷ This is simply 's' and appears five times in the letter, always after 'and'. Holmes (1993: 385) transcribes it as 'so'.

⁴⁸ A lavish 'S' form is used here which obviously stand for a title before Jacob Salviati's name. However, it is not clear whether it is ME *Sir(e)*, AN *Seignur* or Italian *Signore*.

⁴⁹ The same *S* symbol appears here before *Strossy*, even though it does not appear in Holmes' transcription of this paragraph (Holmes 1993: 385).

⁵⁰ Holmes (1993: 385) comments on this section of the letter: "This is presumably an indication, not unexpected, that the market for English wool was very dependent on quality, which Cantelowe was able to supply".

⁵¹ This could be Venice or Venicia.

Antonio de Rabattis and the Salviatys were et bene taryed and so as yet we have theme not.

e) And yf the *lettres* þat I brou3th *with* me to Bregamo hadd not come to Florens we scholde hadde a selle *terme*⁵² but they came not by the waye of Venice and yf ye send my *lettre with* Jacob ys *lettre þen* bene they at Venice; for I have no *lettres* fro you syne the xx daye of Maye.

f) And so if ye have to do *with* any Venysyans yet may thanke them for Jacob ys sake and for ys owen and⁵³ hathe take iij pokes of þe marke *with* þe myter *with* the croyse.

*Scrito*⁵⁴

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	3		8
<i>pur</i>	848. 10	C.6	324
	230. 11. 7		411.2.10
	236. 14. 4		526.15.11
	234. 5. 9		56.4.4
	89.17. 4		60.27.6
	293		54.10
	1932.4.0		238.23.2
<i>pur</i>	99.15.11		1671.25.9
	298.20.3	C.6	374.24.7
	232.1.5		268.26
	235.26		296.17.4
	255. 1. 5		189
	284.24.7		330.20.3
	587.7.3		132.1.5
	2093. 9. 10		458.17.4
	1932. 4. 0		2050.19.11
<i>Summa</i>	4025.13.10		1671.25.9
	226.11.7	C.6	3722.16.8

⁵²The meaning of these two words is unclear.

⁵³ Illegible: the words are crossed out.

⁵⁴ *Scrito*, written in Balmayn's hand at a later date, confirms that the letter had been copied out.

⁵⁵ This scrap of paper has been inserted into the main folder and the rough table of figures has been cancelled with a line. It seems to be a list of prices in pound sterling, shillings and pence for various hundred weights of wool. The C- abbreviation is the same as that one that appears in *le C.*, found throughout the accounts. In grey, we see the totals which Balmayn places between two lines in the MS.

	474.14.6	C.7	228.27.6
	1297.5.9		92.4.4
	588		420.5.9
	173		288
	356.11.7		176.5.9
	3115.14.5		695.14.6
C. 5	567.17.4		1900.28.10
	466	C.7	327.14.6
	756.20.3		332.4.4
	91.23.2		220.7.3
	201.18.10		179.15.11
	94.18.10		174.27.6
	2178.11.5		1234.11.6
C.5	179. 17.4		1900.28.10
	45.26	C.7 ster.	3135.11.4
	735.10	C.8	174.27.6
	181.26		120
	50.21.9		114.27.6
	91		117.17.4
	369.10		42.13
	1653.24.1		569.27.4
C.5	2178.11.1	fa	192.26
	822.6.2	8	...
			...
			3705.9.8

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1451

a) *Johanne Bertremi dette le xi jour de auguste pur amont presté a xliiij d. le doc. ster. xiiij s. viij d. to resseyve of Richard⁵⁶ Boltone of Eryth.⁵⁷*

b) *Mayster Thomas Bedford parson of Lavvenham⁵⁸ in Lestetyrschyre dette le iiij jour de octobre pur 80 doc. de Canaia⁵⁹ remise a [Pe]rogia, a iiij moys a pagare a Gr. 52 ½ pur doc. and to rescyve hit of Nycholas Bedford, marchaunte of Caleys. By my lettre of payement*

⁵⁶ This could equally be *Ricardus* or *Ricardo*.

⁵⁷ Erith is a small port on the banks of the Thames where Henry VIII would base his naval dockyard in 1515.

⁵⁸ The medieval town of Lavenham, located in Suffolk, could be the place referred to here.

⁵⁹ This placename is not certain. The Statues of Perugia from 1342 (OVI sub **Canaia**) refer ten times to the *castello de Canaia* but I cannot find any other record of it.

a) *Memorandum* that this ys the returne fro Florens to London of my mayster William Cantelowys wollys and other mauchauntyse made by me John Balmay *servaunt* of the seyde William. First for iiij^clxvi pochis wolle⁶⁰ as folewyth after þe weyzt et rate of Florens and by of this marke † as for the salle of the wolle.

b) First, solde to Frances de *Christforo* Aleotti et *companionis*, clothemakers, dette pur le xiiij jour de novembre 1450 pur xiiij pokes wolle que poise cum tare.

N ^o	156	lb 260	N ^o	161	lb 265
	152	lb 250		136	lb 260
	153	lb 261		160	lb 260
	162	lb 256		139	lb 263
	146	lb 245		171	lb 240
	142	lb 266		145	lb 269
14	131	lb 260		141	lb 270

Summa de poise cum tare de 14 pokes:⁶¹ iij m^l vi^c xxv lb

Tare pur uso et macazoni et supra pui de sakes de canevas: lb.16 pur le poke

Et pur fradischio: lb 2

Et pur supra pui de pezo de le pokes: lb 5

Summa de tare: lb 231 unce 6

Resta netta⁶² lb 3393 unce 6, a fiorini 25 pur le C.

Summa: viij^c xlviij florins and vij s. of golde que fa Fl. 848 s.10, a payer argent content

The marke una chapleta veride duplice cum quator floribus.

c) Juncta Ibindo de Williamo Juncta et *compagnia*, lanaiuoli,⁶³ dette le xxiiij jour de novembre pur iiij pokes que poise cum tare:

N ^o	80	lb 256	N ^o	77	lb 262
4	76	lb 262		91	lb 251

Summa de poise cum tare de 4 pokis: lb 1032

⁶⁰ *wolle*: scribal insertion above the line.

⁶¹ *pokes*: scribal insertion above the line.

⁶² As we have already noted, the abbreviated phrase *rest- n^t* is used many times. We know from 22a / 23f / 24d where it is written in full that the second lexeme is *netta*. This equates to the Italian commercial expression *resta / restò netto(a)* meaning ‘the net amount totals’ (e.g. *avemo ispoise a aprendere lo ‘nsoluto ditto di sopra, resta netto lb ccxxij s. xj d. iiij a grossi*, OVI Lett.lucch. 140.24, att. 1301).

⁶³ *lanaiuoli*: ‘cloth-makers’, cf. OVI sub **lanaiuolo**, att. c1250.

Tare *pur* uso et macazoni et *supra* pui de *sackes* et *supra* pui de pezo et *pur* umido: lb.18
pur poke que fa lb.72
Resta *netta* lb 960, a Fl. 24 le C.
Summa: Fl. 230 s. 8 a oro
Summa: Fl. 230 s. 11 d.7, *argent content*

The *marke* uno pecore coronato.

d) A Petro et Johne Wyduche et *compagnia*, lanaiuoli, dette a di 20 janvere *pur* iiij pokes *que poise cum tare*:

N ^o	51	lb 248	N ^o	69	lb 266
4	57	lb 264		52	lb 284

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 1062
Tara pur uso: lb 11 *pur poke*
Et *pur* macazoni: lb 16
Et *pur* umido et fradyschio: lb 8
Et *pur* lé *sackes*: lb 5
Et *pur supra* pui de pezo: lb 3
Summa de tare: lb 76
Resta *netta* lb 986, a Fl. 24 le C.
Summa: Fl. 236 s. 12 a oro
Summa: Fl. 236 s. 17 d. 4, *argent content*

The *marke* una mana *cum* uno manipulo de rosis de *tribus foliis*.

e) Ubertino de Gerardo Rezaliti et *compagnia*, dette a di 25 janvere *pur* iiij pokes *que poise cum tare*:

N ^o	64	lb 258	N ^o	45	lb 271
4	48	lb 261		43	lb 258

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 1048
Tare pur uso et macazoni et *supra* pui de *sackes* et *supra* piu de pezo et umido: lb 18 *pur poke*
Summa: lb 72
Resta *netta* lb 976, a Fl. 24 le C.
Summa: Fl. 234 s. 4 a oro
Summa: Fl. 234 s. 5 d. 9, *argent content*

The *marke* una mana *cum* uno manipulo de rosis de *tribus foliis*.

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†

a) Obertino de Gerardo Resalati et *compagnia*, dette a di 25 janvere *pur ij pokes lane que poise cum tare*:

N ^o	261	lb 261
2	259	lb 265

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 526

Tara *pur uso*: lb 11 *pur poke*

Et *pur umido*: lb 1 *pur poke*

Et *pur supra* pui de *sackes*: lb 4

Summa: lb 28

Resta *netta* lb 498, a Fl. 18 le C.

Summa: Fl. 89 s. 12 a oro

Summa: Fl 89 s. 17 d. 4, *argent content*

The marke ys una mana *cum* una manipulo rosari de *tribus* foliis et degcto ariculare strawte recto.

b) Johanne de Phelippo de Ascheto, dette le xxv jour de Janever *pur v pokes lane que poise cum tare*:

N ^o	53	lb 255	N ^o	63	lb 261
5	56	lb 256		46	lb 273
				44	lb 266

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 1311

Tare pur uso et macazoni et *supra* pui de *sackes* et *supra* pui de pezo et *pur umido*: lb 18 *pur poke*

Summa: lb 90

Resta *netta* lb 1221, a Fl. 24 le C.

Summa: Fl. 293 s. - d. -, *argent content*

The marke de una mana *cum* uno manipulo de rosis de *tribus* foliis.

c) Frances Cristoforo Aleotti et *compagnia*, lanaiuoli, dette le iiij jour de feverelle *pur ij pokes lane que poise cum tare*:

N ^o	241	lb 283
2	246	lb 276

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 559
Tara pur uso: lb 11 pur poke
Et pur lé sackes: lb 3
Et pur supra pui de pezo: lb 3
Summa: lb 28
Resta netta lb 531, a Fl. 18 s. 15 a oro le C.
Summa: Fl. 99 s. 11 a oro
Summa: Fl. 99 s. 15 d. 11, argent content

The marke uno garlando viride duplice et in medio dicti garlandi una rosa.

d) Item le dyd Frances Christoforo Aleotti, dette le dyd jour pur ij pokes que poise cum tare:

N ^o	250	lb 280	N ^o	234	lb 274
	244	lb 270		245	lb 279
6	238	lb 288		251	lb 282

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 1673
Tara pur uso: lb ii pur poke.
Et pur lé sackes: lb 7
Et pur supra pui de pezo: lb 7
Summa: lb 80
Resta netta lb 1593, a Fl. 18 st 15 a oro le C.
Summa: Fl. 298 s. 14 a oro
Summa: Fl. 298 s. 20 d. 3, argent content

The marke uno garlando veride duplice et in medio dicti garlandi una rosa supra.

e) Juncta Ibendo de Williamo Juncta, dette le 5 jour⁶⁴ de feverelle pur iiij pokes lane que poise cum tare:

N ^o	204	lb 257	N ^o	203	lb 262
4	214	lb 268		211	lb 254

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 1041
Tara pur uso: lb 11 pur poke

⁶⁴ This is an unusual instance of an AN date with an Arabic numeral.

Et *pur macazoni*: lb 19 unce 4
 Et *pur lé sakes*: lb 3 unce 6
 Et *pur umido*: lb 4
 Et *pur fradischio*: lb 1 unce 9
Summa: lb 74
 Resta *netta* lb 967, a Fl. 24 le C.
Summa: Fl. 232 s. 1 a oro
Summa: Fl. 232 s. 1 d. 5, argent *content*

The *marke ys uno pavo*.

Summa pokis 19
Summa Fl. 1022. 18 a oro

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f. 66

Jhesus

a) Jelyano de Johne dai Borgo, dette le 5 jour de feverelle *pur iiiij pokes lane que poise cum tare*:

N ^o	213	lb 262	N ^o	216	lb 267
4	222	lb 265		220	lb 278

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 1072
Tara pur uso: lb 11 *pur poke que fa* lb 44
 Et *pur macazoni*: lb 18 unce 6
 Et *pur sakes*: lb 7 unce 6
 Et *pur fradischio*: lb 10
 Et *pur umido*: lb 6
 Et *pur supra pui de pezo*: lb 3
Summa: lb 89
 Resta *netta* lb 983, a Fl. 24 le C.
Summa: Fl. 235 s. 18 a oro
Summa: Fl. 235 s. 26, argent *content*

The *marke ys uno pavo*.

b) A Pardo de Nicolo de Lorenxo Loteni, dette le viiiij jour feverelle *pur vj pokes lane que poise cum tare*:

N ^o	341	lb 269	N ^o	294	lb 267
----------------	-----	--------	----------------	-----	--------

	339	lb 270		326	lb 261
6	344	lb 254		303	lb 269

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 1590

Tara pur uso: lb 11 pur poke

Et pur macazoni: lb 25

Et pur supra pui de sackes: lb 9

Et pur supra pui de pezo: lb 4

Et pur umido: lb 6

Summa: lb 110 unce 6

Resta netta lb 1479 unce 6, a Fl. 24 le C.

Summa: Fl. 335 s. 1 a oro

Summa: Fl. 255 s. 1 d. 5, argent content

The marke una angnus Dei cum cruce in vexilla.

c) Piero Matheo de Contowcho, dette le viij jour de feverelle pur v pokes lane que poise cum tare:

N ^o	87	lb 253	N ^o	81	lb 253
5	78	lb 254		86	lb 266
				71	lb 251

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 1277

Tare pur uso et macazoni et supra pui de sackes et supra pui de pezo et pur umido: lb 18 pur poke

Summa: lb 90

Resta netta lb 1187 a Fl. 24 le C.

Summa: Fl 284 s. 17 a oro

Summa: Fl 284 s. 24 d, argent content

The marke uno peccore coronato.

d) Antonio de Guydo de Junctino et *compagnia*, lanaiuoli, dette le xiiij jour de feverelle pur x pokes lane que poise cum tare:

N ^o	328	lb 269	N ^o	327	lb 262
	316	lb 265		296	lb 261
	298	lb 263		340	lb 273
	342	lb 264		290	lb 264
10	289	lb 258		292	lb 276

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 2655

Tara pur uso: lb 11 pur poke
 Et pur macazoni: lb 63 unce 4
 Et pur supra pui de sakes: lb 17 unce 6
 Et pur supra pui de pezo: lb 10
 Summa: lb 208
 Resta netta lb 2447, a Fl. 24 le C.
 Summa: Fl. 587 s. 5 a oro
 Summa: Fl. 587 s. 7 d. 9, argent content

The marke ys de uno agnus Dei cum cruce in vexilla.

Summa pokes 25
 Summa Fl. 1463. 1 a oro

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† Jhesus

a) Genoby de Leonardo Bartoli et *compagnia*, dette a di 13 feverelle pur v pockes lane que poise cum tare:

N ^o	229	lb 249	N ^o	231	lb 267
5	230	lb 266		228	lb 265
				226	lb 282

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 1329
 Tara pur uso: lb 11 pur poke
 Et pur lokes: lb 2
 Et pur supra pui de sakes: lb 4
 Et pur fradischio: lb 1
 Et pur umido: lb 5
 Et pur supra pui de pezo: lb 4
 Summa: lb 71
 Resta netta lb 1258, a Fl. 18 le C.
 Summa: Fl. 226 s. 8 a oro
 Summa: Fl. 226 s. 11 d.7, argent content

The marke de uno pavo et una campana ad pedem sinistrum.

b) Leonardo de Angolo de Balioni et *compagnia*, dette le xiiij jour de feverelle pur viij pokes lane que poise cum tare:

N ^o	143	lb 258	N ^o	170	lb 247
	147	lb 272		151	lb 277

	134	lb 261	169	lb 285
8	166	lb 250	167	lb 278

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 2128

Tara pur uso: lb 11 pur poke

Et pur macazoni: lb 34 unce 4

Et pur supra pui de sackes: lb 8 unce 6

Et pur fradyschio: lb 6

Et pur umido: lb 8

Et pur supra pui de pezo: lb 6 unce 2

Summa: lb 151

Resta netta lb 1977, a Fl. 24 le C.

Summa: Fl. 474 s. 10 a oro

Summa: Fl. 474 s. 14 d. 6, argent content

The marke ys una chapleta viride duplice cum quatuor floribus.

c) Pero de Galiano et *compagnia*, dette le xiiij jour de feverelle pur xxij pokes lane que poise cum tare:

N ^o	187	lb 266	N ^o	186	lb 264
	184	lb 284		190	lb 260
	193	lb 261		185	lb 256
	194	lb 270		174	lb 256
	177	lb 274		182	lb 275
	179	lb 265		180	lb 256
	176	lb 283		191	lb 250
	181	lb 272		189	lb 268
22	188	lb 276		183	lb 272
	175	lb 254		178	lb 278
	192	lb 262		173	lb 253

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 5855

Tare pur uso et macazoni et supra pui de sackes et supra pui de pezo et pur umido: lb 20 pur poke

Et pui pur fradyschio: lb 10

Summa: lb 450

Resta netta lb 5405, a Fl 24 le C.

Summa: Fl. 1297 s. 4 a oro

Summa: Fl. 1297 s. 5 d. 9, argent content

The marke ys uno garlando asure videlicet blodio de tribus floribus et in medio dicto garlando est una stella rubia.

†

f.67

a) Jachobo d'Orsino Lanfredini et Francesco Guydetti et *compagnia*, dette a dì 13 febuare pur x pokes lane que poise cum tare:

N°	202	lb 255	N°	198	lb 266
	218	lb 265		197	lb 252
	199	lb 275		195	lb 248
	217	lb 272		221	lb 273
10	209	lb 270		206	lb 264

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 2640

Tare pur uso et macazoni et supra pui de sackes et supra pui de pezo et pur umido: lb 19
pur poke

Summa: lb 190

Resta netta lb 2450, a Fl. 24 le C. que fa Fl. 558 s. - d. -

Summa: Fl. 588, argent content

The marke uno pavo.

b) Dominicho de Jachobo Federisi et *compagnia*, dette a dì 11 marche 1450 pur iij pokes lane que poise cum tare:

N°	333	lb 257
	299	lb 266
3	318	lb 266

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 789

Tara pur uso: lb 11 pur poke, lb 33

Et pur macazoni: lb 14 unce 6

Et pur supra pui de sachi:⁶⁵ lb 7 unce 6

Et pur supra pui de pezo: lb 2

Et pur fradyschio: lb 8

Et pur umido: lb 3

⁶⁵ At this point in the entries, Balmain switches from ME *sackes* to Italian *sachi* (cf. Editorial Notes).

Summa: lb 68

Resta netta lb 721, a Fl. 24 le C. *que* fa Fl. 173 s. - d. -

Summa: Fl. 173 s. - d. -, *argent content*

The marke uno agnus Dei cum cruce in vexilla.

c) Pagino de Johne de Albesi et *compagnia*, dette a di ditto pur vj pokes lane *que poise cum tare*:

N ^o	367	lb 263	N ^o	368	lb 236
	369	lb 269		375	lb 281
6	370	lb 262		373	lb 285

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 1596

Tare pur uso et macazoni et *supra* pui de sachi et *supra* pui de pezo et *pur* umido: lb 18 unce 6 *pur* poke

Summa de tare: lb 111

Resta netta lb 1485, a Fl. 24 le C. *que* fa Fl. 356. 8. 9

Summa: Fl. 356 s. 11 d. 7, *argent content*

The marke j mazzo de 5 papavery cum breve *que* dixit l'ano Deo.

d) Bernardo d'Anremo de Medeci et *compagnia*, dette a di 15 ditto pur iiij pokes lane *que poise cum tare*:

N ^o	320	lb 262
	291	lb 260
	317	lb 271
4	302	lb 271

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 1064

Tara pur uso lb 11 *pur* poke: lb 44

Et *pur* macazoni: lb 23

Et *pur supra* pui de sachi: lb 8

Et *pur supra* pui de pezo: lb 3

Et *pur* umido: lb 4

Et pui lb 4 d'achordo

Summa de tare: lb 86

Resta netta lb 978, a Fl. 24 le C. *que* fa Fl. 234. 14 a oro

Summa: Fl. 234 s. 20 d. 3, *argent content*

The marke uno agnus Dei cum cruce in vexilla.

e) *Johanne et Williamo de Messer Salustro de Perosa et compagna*, dette a di ditto pur
 iiij pokes lane *que poise cum tare*:

N°	304	lb 266
	313	lb 265
	321	lb 265
4	338	lb 261

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 1057

Tara pur uso, lb 11 *pur poke*: lb 44

Et pur macazoni: lb 14 unce 6

Et pur supra pui de sachi: lb 6 unce 6

Et pur supra pui de pezo: lb 3

Et pur umido: lb 4

Et pui lb 4 d'achordo

Summa de tare: lb 76

Resta netta lb 981, a Fl. 24 le C. monta⁶⁶ Fl. 235 s. 8 a oro

Summa: Fl. 235 s. 11 d. 7, argent *content*

The marke uno agnus Dei cum cruce in vexilla.

Pokes 27

Page 21

†

a) *Nycholas de Johne de Sandro et compagna*, lanaiuoli, dette a di 15 de marche 1450
 pur xxij pokes lane *que poise cum tare*:

N°	106	lb 266	N°	109	lb 277
	117	lb 275		118	lb 267
	121	lb 267		119	lb 262
	114	lb 266		105	lb 255
	104	lb 254		116	lb 258
	107	lb 271		111	lb 271
	100	lb 267		113	lb 264
	120	lb 254		103	lb 255
	112	lb 256		110	lb 264
	101	lb 262		102	lb 257

⁶⁶ *Monta*: widely used in Italian accounts, meaning 'amounting to' e.g. *A Ubertello demo s. xl in sua mano in Enpoli questo die. Mo(n)ta lb. xxiiij (e) s. x* (OVI Doc. fior, 233.25, att. 1255-90).

22 115 lb 262 108 lb 270

Summa de poise cum tare lb 5800

Tare pur uso et macazoni et supra pui de sachi et pur supra pui de pezo et pur umido et pui pur fradischio lb 34 que fa lb 20 pur poke

Summa de tare: lb 440

Resta netta lb 5360, a Fl. 23 le C. que fa Fl. 1232 lb 16 a oro

Summa: Fl. 1232 s. 23 d. 2, argent content

The marke j pecora coronata cum suo agnello.

b) Attimo de Johne Ginori et compagnia, lanaiuoli, dette a di ditto pur xx pokes lane que poise cum tare:

N ^o	149	lb 267	N ^o	165	lb 268
	155	lb 250		148	lb 272
	150	lb 269		133	lb 254
	137	lb 270		168	lb 267
	163	lb 253		172	lb 271
	154	lb 268		158	lb 259
	157	lb 264		135	lb 267
	132	lb 261		14	lb 295
	138	lb 262		140	lb 252
20	164	lb 275		144	lb 265

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 5309

Tare pur uso et macazoni et supra pui de sachi et supra pui de pezo et pur umido: lb 17 pur poke

Summa de tare: lb 340.

Resta netta lb 4969, a Fl. 24 le C. que fa Fl. 1192 s. 11 a oro

Summa: Fl. 1192 s.15 d. 11, argent content

The marke j chapleta verde duplice cum iiij^{or} floribus.

c) Larenxo de Paris Corbenelli et compagnia, dette a di ditto pur xij pokes lane que poise cum tare:

N ^o	382	lb 292	N ^o	397	lb 273
	408	lb 294		394	lb 288
	388	lb 263		391	lb 255
	396	lb 293		386	lb 274

	406	lb 264	383	lb 277
12	387	lb 277	393	lb 276

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 3326

Tare pur uso lb 11 pur poke: lb 132

Tare pur macazoni et supra pui de sachi et supra pui de pezo et pur umido: lb 8 pur poke que fa lb 96

Summa de tare: lb 228

Resta netta lb 3098, a Fl. 24 le C que fa Fl. 743 s. 10 a oro

Summa: Fl. 743 s. 14 d. 6, argent content

The marke una jaye.

d) Francesco de Simoni de Nozo Fantony et *compagnia*, dette le xvj jour de marche 1450 pur xj pokes lane que *poise cum tare*:

N ^o	295	lb 253	N ^o	330	lb 257
	331	lb 254		306	lb 270
6	312	lb 270		323	lb 263

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 1567

Tara pur uso: lb 11 pur poke, lb 66

Et pur macazoni: lb 17 unce 6

Et supra pui de sachi: lb 12 unce 6

Et supra pui de pezo: lb 3

Et pur fradischio: lb 4

Et pur umido: lb 6

Summa de tare: lb 109

Resta netta lb 1458, a Fl. 24 le C. que fa Fl. 349 s. 18 a oro

Summa: Fl. 349 s. 26 d. 1, argent content

The marke j agnus Dei cum cruce in vexilla.

e) Pero et Johne Gwydewchy et *compagnia*, dette a di ditto pur v pokes lane que *poise cum tare*:

N ^o	437	lb 233
	435	lb 263
	338	lb 223
	440	lb 246
5	426	lb 250

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 1215
Tara pur uso: lb 11 *pur poke que fa* lb 55
Et pur macazoni: lb 18 unce 6
Et pur supra pui de sachi: lb 2 unce 6
Et pur supra pui de pezo: lb 0 unce 6
Et pur umido: lb 5
Summa de tare: lb 81 unce 6
Resta netta lb 1133 unce 6, a Fl. 24 le C. *que fa* Fl. 272
Summa: Fl. 272 s. 0 d. -, ⁶⁷ *argent content*

The marke uno sole.

Pokes 65

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†

f. 68

a) Danyelle de Nofry Daszo et *compagnia*, dette a di xvij de marche 1450 *pur ij pokes lane que poise cum tare:*

N ^o	307	lb 251
2	319	lb 275

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 526
Tare pur uso et macazoni et supra pui de sachi et de pezo et pur umido: lb 19 unce 6 *pur poke*
Summa de tare: lb 39
*Resta netta:*⁶⁸ lb 487, a Fl. 24 le C. *que fa* Fl. 116 s. 17 a oro
Summa: Fl. 116 s. 24 d.7 , *argent content*

The marke uno agnus Dei cum cruce in vexilla.

b) Brancho Costantino da Perosa et *compagnia*, dette a di ditto *pur x pokes lane que poise cum tare:*

N ^o	336	lb 260	N ^o	324	lb 250
	311	lb 260		314	lb 274
	308	lb 280		345	lb 281

⁶⁷ The scribe uses both a zero and dash in this price.

⁶⁸ *Netta* is clearly written in full here.

	334	lb 256	388	lb 276
10	309	lb 279	335	lb 257

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 2673

Tara pur uso: lb 11 pur sachi que fa lb 110

Et pur macazoni: lb 30

Et pur supra pui de sackes: lb 20 unce 6

Et pur supra pui de pezo: lb 7 unce 6

Et pur umido: lb 10

Et pur fradischio: lb 4

Summa: lb 182

Resta netta lb 2491, a Fl. 24 le C. monta Fl. 597 s. 16 a oro

Summa: Fl. 597 s. 23 d. 2, argent content

The marke uno agnus Dei cum cruce in vexilla.

c) Laurens de Rinieri Spineli et *compagnia*, dette a di iij de aprelle 1451 pur iiij pokes lane que poise cum tare:

N°	361	lb 257
	377	lb 278
	366	lb 256
4	452	lb 267

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 1058

Tara pur uso: lb 11 pur poke que fa lb 44

Et pur macazoni: lb 17

Et pui lb 10 in le poke de n° 377 for hit was not sewyng

Et pur supra pui de sachi: lb 5

Et pur supra pui de pezo: lb 3

Et pur umido: lb 4

Summa: lb 83

Resta netta lb 975, a Fl. 24 le C. que fa Fl. 234 s. - d. -

Summa Fl. 234 s. - d. -, argent content

The marke j manipulo de quinque papies cum una scriptura que dicitur l'ano Deo.

d) Francesco de Simone de Nozzo Fantoni et *compagnia*, dette a di ditto pur iiij pokes lane que poise cum tare:

N°	374	lb 290
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	357	lb 271
	364	lb 274
4	356	lb 271

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 1106
Tara pur uso: lb 11 *pur poke,* lb 44
Et pur macazoni: lb 17
Et pur supra pui de sachi: lb 7
Et pur supra pui de pezo: lb 5
Et pur umido: lb 4
Et pui lb 2 d'achordo
Summa de tare: lb 79
Resta netta lb 1027, a Fl 24 le C. *que fa* Fl. 246 s. 9 a oro
Summa : Fl. 246 s.13 d. -, *argent content*

The marke j manipulo de quinque papies cum j scriptura que dicitur l'ano Deo.

e) Francesco et Thomaxo Bewsini et *compagnia*, dette a jour xij de aprelle 1451 *pur iiiij* pokes lane *que poise cum tare:*

N ^o	365	lb 262
	362	lb 279
	355	lb 254
4	359	lb 248

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 1043
Tara pur uso: lb 11 *pur poke,* lb 44
Et pur macazoni: lb 10
Et pur supra pui de sachi: lb unce 6
Et pur supra pui de pezo: lb 2
Et pur umido: lb 4
Summa de tare: lb 66 unce 6
Resta netta lb 976 unce 6, a Fl. 24 le C. *que fa* Fl. 234 s. 7 a oro
Summa: Fl. 234 s. 10 d. ..., ⁶⁹ *argent content*

The marke j manipulo de quinque papies cum una scriptura que dicitur l'ano Deo

Pokes 24

⁶⁹ The scribe has scribbled out this figure.

a) A Donato de Messer Leonardo d'Arezzo et *compagnia*, dette le xij jour de aprelle 1451 *pur* iij pokes lane *que poise cum tare*:

N ^o	376	lb 272
	371	lb 251
	354	lb 278
4	360	lb 266

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 1067

Tara pur uso: lb 11 *pur poke*, lb 44

Et pur macazoni: lb 15 unce 6

Et pur supra pui de sachi: lb 4 unce 6

Et pur supra pui de pezo: lb 3

Et pur umido: lb 4

Summa de tare: lb 71

Resta netta lb 996, a Fl.24 le C. *que fa* Fl. 239 s. 0 d. 0

Summa: Fl. 239 s. - d. - argent *content*

The marke j manipulo de quinque papies cum una *scriptura que dicitur* l'ano Deo.

b) Bernardo Lappe da Zuame Nycholini et *compagnia* dette le dyd jour *pur* vj pokes lane *que poise cum tare*:

N ^o	47	lb 275
	66	lb 263
	54	lb 264
	58	lb 258
	50	lb 274
6	68	lb 259

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 1593

Tare pur uso et pur macazoni et supra pui de sachi et supra pui de pezo et pur umido: lb 18 *pur poke*

Summa: lb 108

Resta netta lb 1485, a Fl. 24 le C. *que fa* Fl. 356 s.8 a oro

Summa: Fl. 356 s.11 d.7, argent *content*

The marke una mana cum j manipulo de rosis de tribus foliis.

c) *Item le dyd Bernardo, dette le dyd jour pur iiij pokes lane que poise cum tare:*

N°	310	lb 255
	332	lb 242
	300	lb 252
4	337	lb 263

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 1012

Tara pur uso: lb 11 pur poke, lb 44

Et pur macazoni: lb 15 unce 6

Et pur supra pui de sachi: lb 4 unce 6

Et pur supra pui de pezo: lb j

Et pur fradischio: lb 4

Et pur umido: lb 4

Summa de tare: lb 73

Resta netta lb 939, a Fl. 24 le C. que fa Fl. 225 s. 7 a oro

Summa: Fl. 225 s. 10 d. -, argent content

The marke uno agnus Dei cum cruce in vexilla.

d) *Antonio de Chambino Chambini et compagnia, dette le dyd jour pur j poke lane que poise cum tare:*

N°	210	lb 269
j		

Tare pur uso et macazoni et supra pui de sachi et pur umido: lb 19

Et pui lb 2 pur fradischio

Summa de tare: lb 21

Resta netta lb 248 a Fl. 24 le C. que fa Fl. 59 s.10 a oro

Summa: Fl. 59 s.14 d. 6, argent content

The marke uno pavo.

e) *Item le dyd Antonio, dette le dyd jour pur ij pokes lane que poise cum tara:*

N°	343	lb 255
2	305	lb 283

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 538

Tare pur uso et macazoni et supra pui de sachi et supra pui de pezo et pur umido: lb 19 pur poke

Summa de tare: lb 38

Resta netta lb 500, a Fl. 24 le C. *que* fa Fl. 120 s. 0 d. 0
Summa: Fl. 120 s. - d. -, argent *content*

The marke uno agnus Dei cum cruce in vexilla.

f) Leonardo et Dominicho de Toro et *compagnia*, dette le dyd jour pur iiiij pokes lane *que poise cum tare*:

N ^o	384	lb 290
	407	lb 252
	405	lb 267
4	392	lb 297

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 1106

Tare pur uso et macazoni et supra pui de sachi et supra pui de pezo et pur umido lb 18 unce 6 pur poke

Summa: lb 74

Resta netta⁷⁰ lb 1032, a Fl. 28 le C. *que* fa Fl. 288 s. 19 a oro

Summa: Fl. 288 s. 27 d. 6, a payer a un anne⁷¹

The marke una jaye.

Pokes 21

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f. 69

a) A Gino de Giovane Ginori et *compagnia*, lanaiuoli, dette le xij jour de aprelle 1451 pur x pokes lane *que poise cum tare*:

N ^o	448	lb 249	N ^o	446	lb 249
	447	lb 254		430	lb 272
	429	lb 261		434	lb 256
	439	lb 242		441	lb 239
10	442	lb 257		434 ⁷²	lb 266

⁷⁰ *Netta* is written in full here.

⁷¹ This is the only example of this AN expression in the accounts, presumably meaning that the buyer will pay for the wool within the year.

⁷² Poke no. 434 is repeated twice in same entry but with different weights.

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 2545

Tare pur uso et macazoni et supra pui de sachi et supra pui de pezo et pur umido: lb 18 pur poke

Summa de tare: lb 180

Resta netta lb 2365, a Fl. 24 le C. que fa Fl. 567 s.12 a oro

Summa: Fl. 567 s.17 d.4, argent content

The marke una sole.

b) Antonio de Giovane de Sandro et compagna, dette le dyd jour pur x pokes lane que poise cum tare:

N ^o	264	lb 270	N ^o	257	lb 266
	253	lb 294		262	lb 279
	260	lb 276		258	lb 265
	256	lb 274		255	lb 277
10	263	lb 266		254	lb 263

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 2730

Tara pur uso: lb 11 pur poke, lb 110

Et pur supra pui de sachi: lb 16

Et pur supra pui de pezo: lb 10

Et pui lb 5 d'achordo

Summa: lb 141

Resta netta lb 2589, a Fl. 18 le C. que fa Fl. 466 s. 0 d. 0

Summa: Fl. 466 s. - d. -, argent content

The marke j mana cum manipulo de tribus foliis⁷³ et digcto ariculare stawte recto.

c) Pero et Jacobo de Patsy et compagna, lanaiuoli, dette le xxiiij jour de aprelle pur xiiij pokes lane que poise cum tare:

N ^o	75	lb 269	N ^o	82	lb 263
	84	lb 268		70	lb 265
	88	lb 268		90	lb 259
	85	lb 259		74	lb 265
	73	lb 249		72	lb 260
	79	lb 262		83	lb 258
13	89	lb 257			

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 3402

⁷³ The scribe has missed out *rosis*.

*Tare pur uso et macazoni et supra pui de sachi et supra pui de pezo et pur umido: lb 18
pur poke, summa lb 234
Et pui pur fradischo: lb 15
Summa de tare: lb 249
Resta netta lb 3153, a Fl. 24 le C. que fa Fl. 756 s. 14 a oro
Summa: Fl. 756 s. 20 d. 3, argent content*

The marke una peccora coronata.

d) Angelo de Giovane dai Borgo et *compagnia*, dette le jour de magio⁷⁴ 1451 pur ij pokes lane que poise cum tare:

N ^o	224	lb 269
2	227	lb 270

*Summa de poise cum tare: lb 539
Tara pur uso: lb 11 pur poke, lb 22
Et pur supra pui de sachi: lb 2 unce 6
Et pur supra pui de pezo: lb 1 unce 6
Et pur umido: lb 3
Summa de tare: lb 29
Resta netta:⁷⁵ lb 510, a Fl. 18 le C. que fa Fl. 91 s.16 a oro
Summa: Fl. 91 s.23 d.2, argent content*

The marke uno pavo cum j campana ad pedem sinistrum.

e) Simone d' Amercho Sati et *compagnia*, dette le xiiij jour de maye 1451 pur iij pokes lane que poise cum tare:

N ^o	21	lb 270
	2	lb 281
3	25	lb 269

*Summa de poise cum tare: lb 820
Tare pur uso: lb 11 pur poke que fa lb 33
Et pur macazoni: lb 9 unce 6
Et pur supra pui de sachi: lb 2 unce 6
Et pur intingmentto: lb 2
Et pur umido: lb 3*

⁷⁴ A rare example of a 'hybrid' date: AN *jour* + It. *magio*.

⁷⁵ *Netta* is written in full here.

Et *pur supra* pui de pezo: lb 3
Et pui d'acordo: lb 6
Summa de tare: lb 59
Resta *netta* lb 761, a Fl. 26 s. 10 a oro⁷⁶ le C. *que* fa Fl. 201 s.13 a oro
Summa: Fl. 201 s.18 d.10, argent *content*

The *marke* una donzella.

f) Lorenzo de Rynery Spinelli et *compagnia*, lanaiuoli, dette le dyd jour *pur* ij pokes lane *que poise cum tare*:

N ^o	349	lb 276
2	348	lb 281

Summa de *poise cum tare*: lb 557
Tara pur uso: lb 11 *pur poke*, lb 22
Et *pur supra* pui de sachi: lb 4 unce 6
Et *pur supra* pui de pezo: lb 2 unce 2
Et *pur umido*: lb 2
Summa de tare: lb 31
Resta *netta* lb 526, a Fl. 18 le C. *que* fa Fl. 94 s. 13 a oro
Summa: Fl. 94 s. 18 d. 10, argent *content*

The *marke* uno agnus Dei sine cruce in vexilla.

Pokes 40

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a) Giovane de Jacabo del Pulesse et *compagnia*, dette le xii jour de maye 1451 *pur* iiij pokes lane *que poise cum tare*:

N ^o	351	lb 257
	347	lb 268
	350	lb 265
4	346	lb 265

Summa de *poise cum tare*: lb 1055
Tara pur uso: lb 11 *pur poke*, lb 44

⁷⁶ The scribe repeats *a oro* here.

Et *pur supra* pui de sachi: lb 6 unce 6
 Et *pur supra* pui de pezo: lb 2 unce 6
 Et *pur umido*: lb 4
Summa de tare: lb 57
 Resta *netta* lb 998, a Fl. 18 le C. *que* fa Fl. 179 s.12 a oro
Summa: Fl. 179 s.17 d.4, argent *content*

The *marke* uno agnus Dei sine cruce in vexilla.

b) Giovane de Phelippo de Aschetto et *compagnia*, dette le dyd jour *pur j* poke lane que *poise cum tare*:

N^o 380 lb 269
 j

Tare pur uso: lb 11
 Et *pur supra* pui de sachi: lb 1 unce 6
 Et *pur supra* pui de pezo: unce 6
 Et *pur umido*: lb 1
Summa de tare: lb 14
 Resta *netta* lb 255, a Fl. 18 le C. *que* fa Fl. 45⁷⁷ 18 a oro
Summa : Fl. 45 s. 26 d. -, argent *content*

The *marke* uno manipulo de *quinque* papies et de uno M.

c) A Pero de Soldo de Antonio Baldovini et *compagnia*, dette le xxij jour de maye *pur xij* pokes lane que *poise cum tare*:

N ^o	390	lb 263	N ^o	395	lb 259
	389	lb 266		402	lb 273
	381	lb 280		401	lb 287
	400	lb 308		385	lb 267
	404	lb 267		399	lb 280
12	398	lb 274		403	lb 263

Summa de *poise cum tare*: lb 3287
Tare pur uso et macazoni et *supra* pui de sachi et *supra* pui de pezo et *pur umido*: lb 18 unce 6 *pur poke*
 Et *pur fradischio*: lb j
Summa de tare: lb 223
 Resta *netta* lb 3064, a Fl. 24 le C. *que* fa Fl. 735 s.7 a oro
Summa: Fl. 179 s.10 d. -, argent *content*

⁷⁷ The scribe has forgotten to put s. in front of 18.

The marke una jaye.

d) *Thomaso de Ubertino Resali et compagna*, dette le v jour de june 145 pur iij pokes lane que poise cum tare:

N ^o	363	lb 263
	353	lb 272
3	358	lb 279

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 814

Tare pur uso et macazoni et supra pui de sachi et supra pui de pezo et pur umido,⁷⁸
summa de tare: lb 56

Resta netta lb 758, a Fl. 24 le C. que fa Fl. 181 s.18 a oro

Summa Fl. 181 s. 26 d. -, argent content

The marke j manipulo de quinque papies cum j scriptura que dicitur l'ano Deo.

e) *Item le dyd Thomaso de Urbertino*, dette le dyd jour pur j pokes lane que poise cum tare:

N ^o	379	lb 299
j		

Tare pur uso et supra pui de sachi et supra pui de pezo et pur umido: lb 17

Resta netta lb 282, a Fl. 18 le C. que fa Fl. 50 s.15 a oro

Summa Fl. 50 s. 21 d. 9, argent content

The marke uno manipulo de quinque papies et de una M.

f) *Pero de Soldo et Antonio Baldoventy et compagna*, dette le dyd jour pur ij pokes lane que poise cum tare:

N ^o	410	lb 272
2	409	lb 269

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 541

Tara pur uso lb 11 *pur pokes*: lb 22

Et *pur supra pui de sachi*: lb 4

Et *supra pui de pezo*: lb 2

Et *pur umido*: lb 2

⁷⁸ The amount per poke is not mentioned here.

Summa de tare: lb 30
Resta netta lb 511, a Fl. 18 le C. *que* fa Fl. 91 s.19 a oro
Summa Fl. 91 s. - d. -, *argent content*

The marke una jaye *cum* erba in ore.

g) Matheo de Nycholao Lachy et *compagnia*, dette le xxviiij jour de june pur vij pokes lane *que* poise *cum* tare:

N ^o	285	lb 276
	278	lb 270
	281	lb 265
	274	lb 278
	276	lb 280
6	279	lb 277

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 1646
Tara pur uso: lb 11 *pur* poke, lb 66
Et pur macazoni: lb 20
Et pur supra pui de sachi: lb 8
Et supra pui de pezo: lb 7
Et pur umido: lb 6
Summa de tare: lb 107
Resta netta lb 1539, a Fl. 24 le C. *que* fa Fl. 369 s.7 a oro
Summa: Fl. 369 s.10 d. -, *argent content*

The marke una mitra *cum* cruce de supra.

Pokes 29

Page 26

f.70

a) Francisco de *Christoforo* Aleoti et *compagnia*, dette le xxviiij jour de june 1451 pur vij pokes lane *que* poise *cum* tare:

N ^o	99	lb 283	N ^o	97	lb 283
	93	lb 265		94	lb 258
	98	lb 259		96	lb 278
7	95	lb 276			

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 1902
Tara pur uso: lb 11 *pur poke,* lb 77
Et pur supra pui de sachi: lb 9 unce 6
Et supra pui de pezo: lb 7
Et pur umido: lb 7
Et pur fradischio: lb 1 unce 6
Summa de tare: lb 102
Resta netta lb 1800, a Fl. 18 le C. *que fa* Fl. 324 s. 0 d. 0
Summa: Fl. 324 s. - d. -, *argent content*

The marke una peccora coronata quod habet in ore suo modisimi de una erba.

b) *Item* le dyd Francisco, dette le dyd jour *pur ix pokes lane que poise cum tare:*

N ^o	272	lb 273	N ^o	267	lb 275
	265	lb 265		270	lb 280
	266	lb 261		268	lb 260
	271	lb 270		273	lb [227] ⁷⁹
9	269	lb 273			

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 2404
Tara pur uso: lb 11 *pur poke,* lb 99
Et pur supra pui de sachi: lb 13
Et supra pui de pezo: lb 6
Et pur fradischio: lb 2
Summa de tare: lb 102
Resta netta lb 2284, a Fl. 18 le C. *que fa* Fl. 411 s. 2 a oro
Summa: Fl. 411 s. 2 d.10, *argent content*

The marke uno garland asure blodio *cum tribus floribus* et in medio garlando una stella rubia et in medio stelle uno O.

c) *Pero* de Cosimo de Medeci et *compagnia,* dette le dyd jour *pur ix pokes lane que poise cum tare:*

N ^o	42	lb 268	N ^o	61	lb 266
	59	lb 266		65	lb 274
	55	lb 260		67	lb 258
	62	lb 261		49	lb 227

⁷⁹ The MS is difficult to read here but the number must be 227 to make up the 2404 lb stated in the next section.

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 2365

Tare pur uso et macazoni et pur supra pui de sackes et supra pui de pezo et pur umido:

lb 18 pur poke: lb 162

Et pui pur fradischio: lb 9

Summa de tare: lb 171

Resta netta lb 2194, a Fl. 24 le C. que fa Fl. 526 s.11 a oro

Summa : Fl. 526 s. 15 d. 11, argent content

The marke una mana cum j manipulo de rosis de tribus foliis.

d) *Item le dyd Pero de Cosimo, dette le dyd jour pur j poke lane que poise cum tare:*

N^o 436 lb 252

j

Tare pur uso et supra pui de sachi et supra pui de pezo et pur umido: lb 18

Resta netta lb 234, a Fl. 24 le C. que fa Fl. 56 s.3 a oro

Summa: Fl. 56 s. 4 d. 4, argent content

The marke una sole.

e) *Item le dyd Pero de Cosimo, dette le dyd jour pur j poke lane que poise cum tare:*

N^o 372 lb 272

j

Tare pur uso et supra pui de sachi et supra pui de pezo et pur umido: lb 18

Resta netta lb 254, a Fl. 24 le C. que fa Fl. 60 s.19 a oro

Summa Fl. 60 s. 27 d. 4, argent content

The marke j manipulo de quinque papies cum una scriptura que dicitur l'ano Deo

f) *Item le dyd Pero de Cosimo, dette le dyd jour pur j poke lane que poise cum tare:*

N^o 378 lb 280

j

Tara pur uso et pur toti altri tare: lb 15

Resta netta lb 265

Et lb 154 *pur* lana jevene, a Fl. 18 le C.
Et lb 111 de lana bona, a Fl. 24 le C. *que* fa in toti Fl. 54 s.7 a oro
Summa: Fl. 54 s. 10 d. -, argent *content*

The marke j manipulo de quinque papies cum j *scriptura* que dicitur l'ano Deo.

g) A Bernardo de Genotzo Manetti et *compagnia*, dette le dyd jour *pur* iiij pokes lane que *poise cum tare*:

N°	201	lb 268
	207	lb 266
	200	lb 272
4	212	lb 263

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 1069

Tare pur uso et *supra* pui de pezo et *supra* pui de sachi et *pur* umido: lb 18 unce 6 *pur* poke

Summa de tare: lb 74

Resta *netta* lb 995, a Fl. 24 le C. *que* fa Fl. 238 s.16 a oro

Summa: Fl. 238 s. 23 d. 2, argent *content*

The marke uno pavo.

Pokes 32

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a) Matheo de Nicholas Lachy et *compagnia* dette le xxx jour de june 1451 *pur* vj pokes lane que *poise cum tare*:

N°	275	lb 278	N°	282	lb 282
	283	lb 286		280	lb 277
6	284	lb 271		277	lb 276

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 1670

Tara pur uso: 11 *pur* poke, lb 66

Et *pur* macazoni: lb 19

Et *pur supra* pui de sachi: lb 9

Et *supra* pui de pezo: lb 8

Et *pur* umido: lb 6

Summa de tare: lb 108

Resta netta lb 1562, a Fl. 24 le C. que fa Fl. 374 s.17 a oro
Summa: Fl. 374 s. 24 d. 7, argent content.

The marke una mitra cum cruce supra.

b) Item le dyd Matheo, dette le dyd jour pur vj pokes lane que poise cum tare:

N°	243	lb 267	N°	237	lb 270
	247	lb 268		248	lb 247
6	236	lb 272		249	lb 263

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 1587

Tara pur uso: 11 pur poke, lb 66

Et pur supra pui de sachi: lb 9

Et supra pui de pezo: lb 4

Et pur fradischio: lb 8

Et pur umido: lb 6

Summa de tare: lb 93

Resta netta lb 1494, a Fl. 18 le C. que fa Fl. 268 s.18 a oro

Summa: Fl. 268 s. 26 d. -, argent content

The marke uno garland veride duplice et in medio dicti garlandi una rosa.

c) Antonio Lensy et compagna, dette le dyd jour pur v pokes lane que poise cum tare:

N°	215	lb 264
	196	lb 262
	205	lb 255
	219	lb 280
5	208	lb 266

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 1327

Tare pur uso et pur macazoni et pur supra pui de sakes et supra pui de pezo et pur umido: lb 18 pur poke

Et pui lb uno pur lochy

Summa de tare: lb 91

Resta netta lb 1236, a Fl. 24 le C. que fa Fl. 296 s.12 a oro

Summa: Fl. 296 s. 17 d. 4, argent content.

The marke uno pavo.

d) Antonio Chambini et compagna, dette le dyd jour pur iij pokes lane que poise cum tare:

N°	28	lb 264
	35	lb 268
3	4	lb 266

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 798
Tara pur uso: lb 11 *pur poke,* lb 33
Et pur macazoni: lb 9 unce 6
Et pur supra pui de sachi: lb 2 unce 6
Et supra pui de pezo: lb 2
Et pur umido: lb 3
*Et*⁸⁰ *pui lb 2 pur pokes d'achordo*
Et pur intyngmanto: lb 15
Summa de tare: lb 71
Resta netta lb 727, a Fl. 26 le C. *que* fa Fl. 189 s. 0 d. 0
Summa: Fl.189 s. - d. -, argent *content*

The marke una ancilla cum humeris de capite virginis.

e) Jacobo d'Orsino Lamfredini et Francisco Guydetti et *compagnia*, dette le dyd jour *pur* v pokes lane *que poise cum tare:*

N°	30	lb 271
	15	lb 279
	9	lb 275
	5	lb 265
5	11	lb 261

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 1351
Tara pur uso: lb 11 *pur poke,* lb 55
Et pur macazoni: lb 16
Et pur supra pui de sachi: lb 5
Et supra pui de pezo: lb 4
Et pur umido: lb 5
Et pur intyngmantto: lb 8
Et pui lb 2 pur pokes d'achordo
Summa de tare: lb 103
Resta netta lb 1248, a Fl. 26 s.10 a oro le C. *que* fa Fl. 330 s.14 a oro
Summa: Fl.330 s.20 d. 3, argent *content*

The marke una ancilla cum humeris de capite virginis.

⁸⁰ The scribe writes *Et et* in the MS.

f) Matheo de Nycholao Lachy et *compagnia*, dette le dyd jour pur ij pokes lane que poise cum tare:

N ^o	19	lb 282
2	33	lb 276

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 558

Tara pur uso: lb 11 *pur poke*, lb 22

Et pur macazoni: lb 6 unce 6

Et pur supra pui de sachi: lb 2 unce 6

Et supra pui de pezo: lb 3

Et pur umido: lb 2

Et pur intingmantto: lb 10

Et pui lb 2 pur pokes d'achordo

Summa de tare: lb 50

Resta netta lb 508, a Fl. 26 le C. *que fa* Fl. 132 s. i a oro

Summa: Fl.132 s. 1 20 d. 5, *argent content*

The marke una donzella.

g) *Item* le dyd Matheo, dette le dyd jour pur viij pokes lane que poise cum tare:

N ^o	416	lb 272	N ^o	418	lb 231
	414	lb 265		415	lb 268
	412	lb 270		411	lb 240
8	413	lb 258		417	lb 257

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 2061

Tara pur uso: lb 11 *pur poke*, lb 88

Et pur macazoni: lb 33

Et pur supra pui de sachi: lb 12

Et supra pui de pezo: lb 3

Et pur umido: lb 8

Et pur fradyschio: lb 6

Summa de tare: lb 150

Resta netta lb 1911, a Fl. 24 le C. *que fa* Fl. 458 s. 12 a oro

Summa: Fl.458 s. 17 20 d. 4, *argent content*

The marke a abbot ys crowysse.

Pokes 35

a) Matheo de Nycholao Lachy et *compagnia*, dette le xxx jour de june 1451 pur v pokes lane que poise cum tare:

N°	239	lb 270
	242	lb 259
	240	lb 276
	252	lb 277
(5)	235	lb 268

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 1350

Tara pur uso: lb 11 pur poke, lb 55

Et pur supra pui de sachi: lb 8 unce 6

Et pur fradischio: lb 5

Et pur umido: lb 5

Summa de tare: lb 98

Resta netta: lb 1272, a Fl. 18 le C. que fa Fl. 228 s. 19 a oro

Summa: Fl. 228 s. 27 d. 6, argent content

The marke j garlando veride duplice et in medio dicti garlandi una rosa.

b) Item le dyd Matheo, dette le dyd jour pur ij pokes lane que poise cum tare:

N°	287	lb 271
2	286	lb 270

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 541

Tara pur uso: lb 11 pur poke, lb 22

Et pur supra pui de sachi: lb 3

Et pur umido: lb 2

Et pur supra pui de pezo: lb 2

Summa: lb 29

Resta netta: lb 512, a Fl. 18 le C. que fa Fl. 92 s.3 a oro

Summa: Fl. 92 s. 4 d. 4, argent content

The marke una mitra sine cruce.

c) Andrea de Loteryngo de la Stuffa et *compagnia*, dette le dyd jour pur vij pokes lane que poise cum tare:

N°	293	lb 257	N°	301	lb 268
	297	lb 275		329	lb 280

	322	lb 268	315	lb 269
7			325	lb 270

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 1887

Tare pur uso et macazoni et *supra* pui de sachi et *supra* pui de pezo et *pur* umido: lb 18
pur poke

Et pui lb 2 de tara *pur* sachy de canevas *que* ora duply

Summa de tare: lb 128

Resta *netta* lb 1751, a Fl. 24 le C. *que* fa Fl. 420 s. 4 a oro

Summa: Fl. 420 s.5 d. 9, argent *content*

The marke una agnus Dei *cum* cruce in vexilla.

d) *Item* le dyd Andrea, dette le dyd jour *pur* v pokes lane *que* poise *cum* tare:

N ^o	449	lb 263
	450 ⁸¹	lb 270
	451	lb 252
	452	lb 229
5	454	lb 253

Summa de poise *cum* tare: lb 1237

Tare pur uso et macazoni et *supra* pui de sachi et *supra* pui de pezo et *pur* umido: lb 17
pur poke,

Summa de tare: lb 85

Resta *netta* lb 1152, a Fl. 25 le C. *que* fa Fl. 288 s. 0 d. 0

Summa: Fl. 288 s. - d. -, argent *content*

The marke una *scriptura supra* scripto storo.

e) *Item* le dyd Andrea, dette le dyd jour *pur* iiij pokes lane *que* poise *cum* tare:

N ^o	225	lb 272
	223	lb 261
	233	lb 252
4	232	lb 254

Summa de poise *cum* tare: lb 1044

Tara *pur* uso: 11 *pur* poke, lb 44

Et *pur* fradyschio: lb 12

Et *pur* sachi: lb 7

⁸¹ Poke no. 450 is possibly mixed up with no. 453 (see 28f below) as it is recorded in the opening section as having a sun mark, not a *storo* label.

Et *supra* pui de pezo: lb 2
Summa de tare: lb 65
 Resta *netta* lb 979, a Fl. 18 le C. *que* fa Fl. 176 s.4 a oro
Summa Fl. 176 s. 5 d. 9, argent *content*

The marke uno pavo cum j campana ad pedem sinistrum.

f) Item le dyd Andrea, dette le dyd *jour pur* xij pokes lane *que poise cum tare*:

N ^o	425	lb 258	N ^o	424	lb 271
	427	lb 282		443	lb 239
	423	lb 259		433	lb 260
	422	lb 269		428	lb 260
	436	lb 259		444	lb 252
12	453	lb 258		445	lb 247

Summa de *poise cum tare*: lb 3114
Tare pur uso et macazoni et *supra* pui de sachi et *supra* pui de pezo et *pur* umido: lb 18
pur poke
Summa: lb [216]⁸²
 Resta *netta* lb 2898, a Fl. 24 le C. *que* fa Fl. 695 s. 10 a oro
Summa: Fl. 695 s. 14 d. 6, argent *content*

The marke uno sole.

Pokes 35

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a) Laurenxo de Larone de Bardy et *compagnia*, dette le 3 *jour de julio*⁸³ 1451 *pur v pokes* lane *que poise cum tare*:

N ^o	3	lb 274
	17	lb 259
	20	lb 282
	7	lb 270
5	13	lb 263

Summa de *poise cum tare*: lb 1348
Tara pur uso: 11 *pur poke*, lb 55
 Et *pur* macazoni: lb 16

⁸² The scribe has not written a number here.

⁸³ Along with *magio*, *julio* is a rare example of Balmayn using a clearly Italian month.

Et *pur sachi*: lb 4 unce 6
 Et *supra* pui de pezo lb 4 unce 6
 Et *pur umido* lb 5
 Et *pur entyngmantto*: lb 17
 Et pui lb 2 *pur poche d'achordo*
Summa de tare: lb 112
 Resta *netta* lb 1236, a Fl. 26 s.10 a oro le C. *que* fa Fl. 327 s.10 a oro
Summa: Fl. 327 s. 14 d. 6, argent *content*

The marke una ancilla con humeris de capite *virginis*.

b) Laurenxo de Paris Chorbenelli et *compagnia*, dette le dyd jour *pur v pokes lane que poise cum tare*:

N ^o	32	lb 272
	10	lb 272
	1	lb 277
	16	lb 278
5	23	lb 260

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 1355
Tara pur uso: 11 *pur poke*, lb 55
 Et *pur macazoni et supra* pui de sachi: lb 20
 Et *pur umido*: lb 5
 Et *pur intyngmanto*: lb 11 unce 6
 Et pui lb 2 *pur poche d'achordo*
Summa de tare: lb 101 unce 6
 Resta *netta* lb 1253 unce 6, a Fl. 26 s.10 a oro le C. *que* fa Fl. 332 s.3 a oro
Summa: Fl. 332 s. 4 d. 4, argent *content*

The marke una ancilla *cum* humeris de capite *virginis*.

c) Nicholao de Giovane de Sandro Barbigia et *compagnia*, lanaiuoli, dette le dyd jour *pur v pokes lane que poise cum tare*:

N ^o	129	lb 262
	128	lb 268
	130	lb 282
	122	lb 265
5	123	lb 269

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 1346
Tara pur uso: 11 *pur poke*, lb 55
 Et *pur supra* pui de sachi: lb 7

Et *supra* pui de pezo: lb 4 unce 6

Et *pur* lochy: lb 2 unce 6

Summa: lb 69

Resta *netta* lb 1277, a Fl. 17 s.5 a oro le C. *que* fa Fl. 220 s.5 a oro

Summa: Fl. 220 s. 7 d. 3, argent *content*

The *marke* una peccora coronata *cum* suo agnello et *pecus habet* modicimi de erba in ore.

d) Simone de Giovane de Sandro Barbigia et *compagnia*, lanaiuoli, dette le dyd jour *pur* iiij pokes lane *que poise cum tare*:

N ^o	127	lb 275
	125	lb 272
	126	lb 289
4	124	lb 260

Summa de *poise cum tare*: lb 1096

Tara pur uso: 11 *pur* poke, lb 44

Et *pur supra* pui de sachi: lb 6

Et *supra* pui de pezo: lb 4

Et *pur* fradischio: lb j

Summa: lb 55

Resta *netta* lb 1041, a Fl. 17 s.5 a oro le C. *que* fa Fl. 179 s.11 a oro

Summa: Fl. 179 s. 15 d. 11, argent *content*

The *marke* una peccora coronata *cum* suo agnello et *pecus habet* modicimi de⁸⁴ erba in ore.

e) Lorenzo de Paris Corbenelli et *compagnia*, dette le xxvij de julio 1451 *pur* iij pokes lane *que poise cum tare*:

N ^o	14	lb 270
	34	lb 262
3	8	lb 257

Summa de *poise cum tare*: lb 789

Tara pur uso: 11 *pur* poke, lb 33

Et *pur* macazoni et *supra* pui de sachi: lb 12

Et *supra* pui de pezo : lb 2

Et *pur* umido: lb 3

Et *pur* intyngmantto: lb 10

Summa de *tare*: lb 60

⁸⁴ *de*: scribal insertion.

Resta netta lb 729, a Fl. 24 le C. que fa Fl. 174 s.19 a oro
Summa: Fl. 174 s. 27 d. 6, argent content

The marke una donzella.

Pokes 22

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f. 72

a) Antonio de Chambino Chambini et *compagnia*, dette le xxx jour de julio 1451 pur iij pokes lane que poise cum tare:

N ^o	24	lb 271
	22	lb 265
3	26	lb 258

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 794

Tara pur uso: 11 pur poke lb 33

Et pur macazoni : lb 9 unce 6

Et pur supra pui de sachi: lb 2 unce 6

Et supra pui de pezo: lb 2

Et pur umido: lb 3

Et pur intyngmantto: lb 15

Summa de tare: lb 65

Resta netta lb 729, a Fl. 24 le C. que fa Fl. 174 s.19 a oro

Summa: Fl. 174 s. 27 d. 6, argent content

The marke una donzella.

b) Laurenxo de Laryone de Bardy et *compagnia*, dette le vij jour de auguste pur ij pokes lane que poise cum tare:

N ^o	31	lb 274
2	27	lb 272

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 546

Tara pur uso: 11 pur poke, lb 22

Et pur macazoni: lb 6 unce 6

Et pur supra pui de sachi: lb 3

Et supra pui de pezo: lb 2 unce 6

Et pur umido: lb 2

Et pur intyngmantto: lb 10

Summa de tare: lb 46

Resta netta lb 500, a Fl. 24 le C. *que* fa Fl. 120 s. - d. -, argent content⁸⁵

The marke una donzella.

c) De Jachobo Federisy et *compagnia*, dette le xij jour de auguste *pur* ij pokes lane *que* poise cum tare:

N ^o	6	lb 260
2	18	lb 263

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 523

Tara *pur* uso: 11 *pur* poke lb 22

Et *pur* macazoni: lb 6 unce 6

Et *pur* sachi: lb 2

Et *pur* intyngmantto: lb 10

Summa: lb 44

Resta netta lb 479, a Fl. 24 le C. *que* fa Fl. 114 s.19 a oro

Summa Fl. 114 s. 27 d. 6, argent content

The marke una donzella.

d) Jachobo d'Orsino Lamfredini et Francysco Guydetti et *compagnia*, dette le xxvij de auguste *pur* ij pokes lane *que* poise cum tare:

N ^o	12	lb 266
2	29	lb 265

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 531

Tara *pur* uso: 11 *pur* poke, lb 22

Et *pur* macazoni: lb 6 unce 6

Et *pur* supra pui de sachi: lb 2

Et *pur* supra pui de pezo: lb 1 unce 6

Et *pur* intyngmantto: lb 7

Et *pur* umido: lb 2

Summa: lb 41

Resta netta lb 490, a Fl. 24 le C. *que* fa Fl. 117 s.12 a oro

Summa Fl. 117 s. 17 d. 4, argent content

The marke una donzella.

e) Matheo de Nycholao Lachy et *compagnia*, dette le xxv jour de septembre 1451 *pur* j poke de lana *que* poise cum tare:

⁸⁵ There is no final total line in this entry.

N^o 455 lb 250
(j)

Tara pur uso: 11 *pur poke*, lb 22
Et pur supra pui de sachi: lb 2
Et pur umido: lb j
Summa de tare: lb 14
Resta netta lb 236, a Fl. 18 le C. *que fa* Fl. 42 s.9 a oro
Summa: Fl. 42 s. 13 d. 4, argent *content*

The marke signo *contra signo*.

Pokes 10

Page 31

a) *Item* le dyd Matheo de Nycholao Lachy et *compagnia*, dette le dyd jour de xxv de septembre *pur iij pokes lane que poise cum tare*:

N^o 421 lb 280
 419 lb 278
(3) 420 lb 281

Summa de poise cum tare: lb 839
Tara pur uso: 11 *pur poke*, lb 33
Et pur supra pui de sachi: lb 5
Et pur umido: lb 3
Et pur supra pui de pezo: lb 4
Summa de tare: lb 45
Resta netta lb 794, Fl. 18 le C. *que fa* Fl. 142 s.18 a oro
Summa: Fl. 142 s. 26 d. -, argent *content*

The marke una jaye.

Pokes 3

b) Thys ys the *summa* of all the pokes þat bene solde, *contaynyng* in this boke viij levys,⁸⁶ the whych leffe bygynnyth *with* f. 65. The *summa* ys iij^c xlvij pokes,⁸⁷ the whych drawyth to the *summa* of money in Florens as in florinys: Fl. 25524. 12. 5

⁸⁶ *levys*: the eight leaves of the account book, folios 65-72.

⁸⁷ Here we have 448 pokes, there are another 17 below in 32a but there is still one sack missing.

c) And this rekenyng ys made in Florens the xxviiij daye of Septembre 1451 by Alamano Salviati, for he solde all the wolle and send the money by exchange.

d) Thys ys the rate þat *contaynyth* in this viij levys, what in pokes and what in florynys:

Carta prima	þe whych ys f. 65 de ceste <i>contaynyth</i> in pokes 45 and in Fl.	⁸⁸
Carta 2	þe whych ys f. 66 de ceste <i>contaynyth</i> in pokes 60 and in Fl.	
Carta 3	þe whych ys f. 67 de ceste <i>contaynyth</i> in pokes 92 and in Fl.	
Carta 4	þe whych ys f. 68 de ceste <i>contaynyth</i> in pokes 45 and in Fl.	
Carta 5	þe whych ys f. 69 de ceste <i>contaynyth</i> in pokes 69 and in Fl.	
Carta 6	þe whych ys f. 70 de ceste <i>contaynyth</i> in pokes 67 and in Fl.	
Carta 7	þe whych ys f. 71 de ceste <i>contaynyth</i> in pokes 57 and in Fl.	
Carta 8	þe whych ys f. 72 de ceste <i>contaynyth</i> in pokes 13 and in Fl.	

Summa of this viij levys þat *contaynyth* in pokes ys 448 and in Fl.

e) The *summa* of alle the costes of iiij^c lxvi pokes as afore wretyne in to the xxviiij daye of septembre 1451 done at Pyse and at Florens as hit apperyth by the *parcelle* wretyne in this boke in the carta of 41. The *summa* ys in florynys:

Fl. 3165. 5. 8

f) And so the reste ys þat ys oure solde of the *summa* aboveseyd xviiij pokes of the which vj pokes ys yonge Marche. And viij pokes yonge, I markyd *with* borage and iij pokes, I markyd *with* signo *contra* signo of the marke of alle the balys and j poke, I markyd *with* j pecora coronata *cum* erba in ore. The *summa* ys xviiij pokes.

g) *Summa* tock of the 448 solde as aforeseyd,⁸⁹ alle thyng ys rekenyd and abatyd the daye aboveseyd. The *summa* ys clere:

Fl. 22359. 6. 9

h) Of the whych *summa* was send by exchange fro Florens to Venice and to London, as hit apperyth by the *parcelle* wretyne in this boke, carta⁹⁰ 130. The *summa* ys:

Fl. 15292. 24.

i) *Item* the seyde Alamani Salviati awyth le dyd jour *pur* £10 de Gr. de Venecia, the whych he send to Johanne Russellaye et *compagnia* de Venecia the *summa* anext aforeseyd, the whych was retornyed agayne to Florens le xxvij jour de septembre, a £16 s. j d. 6 a Fl. *pur* libra de Gr. de Venecia:

Fl. 110. 25

h) And so the *summa* of the 448 pokes ys clere reste at this daye, the

⁸⁸ It seems that Balmayn meant to insert the total price in florins on each folio here but then forgot to complete the task.

⁸⁹ *as aforeseyd*: scribal insertion above the line.

⁹⁰ This is written in full as *carta* so we can assume that it is the Italian term for piece of paper / sheet, not AN / ME *carte*.

whych ys the vj daye of octobre 1451 *per*⁹¹ conto assignato C.:

Fl. 7177.7. 5

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f. 73

a) Nicolas de Barbigia et *compagnia*, lanaiuoli, dette le xj jour de octobre 1451 *pur* xvij pokes lane, the whych bene the reste of 466 pokes *contra* scritto *que poise cum tare*:

N ^o	3	lb 262	N ^o	40	lb 275
	5	lb 252		36	lb 281
	7	lb 261		39	lb 275
	8	lb 247		41	lb 270
	4	lb 249		38	lb 270
	6	lb 259		37	lb 278
	j	lb 268		vi de Marche yonge	
	ij	lb 257		458	lb 273
	8 de borage			457	lb 255
lb 264	the which hathe neyther marke nor nombyr			signo † <i>contra</i> signo	

Summa totalis de *poise cum tare* of the xvij pokes: lb 4496

Tara pur uso: 11 *pur* poke, lb 187

Et *pur supra* pui de sachi : lb 28

Et *pur supra* pui de pezo: lb 10

Et *pur* umido: lb 17

Et *pur* fradyschio et intyngmanto: lb 60

Et pui lb 2 *pur* pokes d'achordo: lb 34

Summa de tare: lb 336

Resta *netta* lb 4160, a Fl. 17 le C. *que* fa Fl. 707 s. 4 d. 5 a oro

Summa: Fl. 707 s. 5 d. 9, argent *content*

b) The marke firste viij pokes *with* a hand of borage, vj pokes yonge Marche *with* a maydyne his head *with* a peyr of coralle bedis abowte her neke, ij pokes *with* signo † *contra* signo and anothis poke þat hadde neyther nombyr nor marke.

⁹¹ This is an example of the clear use of the *per* (as opposed to *pur*) abbreviation.

1450⁹²

a) *Memorandum* that this ys the money send by exchaunge ffro Florens by Alamano Salviati to Venice and to London for the parte of the *conto* de G,⁹³ for the whych the seyde Alamano Salviati hathe wretyne to Johanne Russelay et Vanni Francisco de Strossy et *compagnia* de Venecia for to resceyve of diverse personis as folewyth. And that the seyde Johanne Russelay et Vanni Francisco de Strossy et *compagnia* de Venecia scholde send the same money by exchaunge to Jacob Salviati et *compagnia* de Londra per conto de G and of this marke †.

b) Firste Alamano Salviati of Florens send by echaunge for the parte of the *conto* aboveseyd signato G le xxx jour de janever 1450, at usance pur £100 de grossy de Venecia to Johanne Russelay et Vanni Francisco de Strossy et *compagnia* de Venecia, for to resceyve of Antonio de Lalima et Francischo de Strossy et *compagnia*, a £15 s. 19 d. 6 a Fl. pur una libra de grossy de Venecia. For hit was delyverd here to Lucha Chappioni et *compagnia*:

Fl. 1101 s. 21 d. -

c) Item le dyd jour pur £20 de Gr. send to Venecia at usance to the seyde Russelay and Strossy, for to resceyve of Johanne Partenary et *compagnia* a £15 s. 19. d. 4 a Fl. pur una libra de Gr. For hit was delyverd here to the seyde Partenari:

Fl. 220 s. 6

d) Item le 4 de feverelle pur £30 de Gr. send to Venecia to the seyde Russelay et Strossy a di 20 ditto, for to resceyve hit of Cosmo de Medici et *compagnia* a £15 s.18 a Fl. pur £. For the seyde Cosmo hadde hit here:

Fl. 328 s. 28. d -

e) Item le vj jour ditto pur £100 de Gr. *ricevuto*⁹⁴ a Venecia to pe seyde Russelay for to resceyve of Cosmo de Medici et *compagnia*, a usance a £15 s. 18 a Fl. pur libra de Gr. For hit was delyverd here to the seyde Cosmo:

Fl. 1096 s. 16 d. -

f) Item a di 13 ditto pur £80 s. 4 d. 0 pez. 12 de Gr. send by usance

⁹² As discussed in the introduction to the accounts (Chapter 5.2), it is unclear why the first seven entries from January to March 1450 are included here.

⁹³ It was standard Italian practice to label separate accounts with letters of the alphabet. Note that *Conto G* and its same 466 pokes of wool is also referred to by Alamano Salviati in his own accounts: *Lana dinghillerra che e poiche quatrocento sesanta sei sign f e contrasangniata di piu contrasangi che ci mandono da pisa i nostri chebbono per la naue dantonio doria che di ragione de nostri di Londra per vno conto aparta sign G* (Holmes 1993: 375).

⁹⁴ This is an unusual abbreviation: a capital 'R' with a superscript 'o'. I am grateful to Dr Ignazio Del Punta of the Università di San Marino for his advice on its expansion.

- a Venecia a ditti da llozo midesimi, a £15 st .17 d.10 a Fl. *pur* libra de Gr. For hit was delyverd here to the seyde *compagnia* de le dyd Russelay et Strossy: Fl. 878 s. 28 d. 7
- g) *Item* le xxvij ditto *pur* £28 de Gr. send to Venecia a ditti Russelay et Strossy for to resseyve of Lowes Pige, a £15 s. 18 d. 4 a Fl. *pur* lb de Gr. For here hadde hit Cornelio de Messer Carlo et *compagnia*: Fl. 307. s. 10. d. 4
- h) *Item* le dyd jour *pur* £70 de Gr. send to Venecia a ditti Russelay, for to resseyve of Antonio Partini, a £15 s. 18 d. 4 a Fl. *pur* £ de Gr. For here hadde hit Pero et Herec de Partino Partini: Fl. 768 s. 11. d. 4
- i) *Item* le xx jour de marche *pur* £30 de Gr. For I have wretyne to the Russelay et Strossy *pur* for⁹⁵ Jachobo Salviati et *compagnia* de Londra, creditor. Et debitore, Salviati de Pisa, a £15 s. 19 d. - a Fl. *pur* £ de Gr.: Fl. 330 s. - d. -
- j) *Item* le 3 jour de aprelle 1451 *pur* £10 de Gr. send to Venecia a le dyd Russelay et Strossy upone themselffe, a £15 s.19 d. 6 a Fl. *pur* libra de Gr. For here hadde hit *compagnia* de le dyd Russelaye: Fl. 110 s. 5 d. -
- k) *Item* a di ditto *pur* £20 de Gr. send to Venecia a le dyd Russelay, for to resseyve of Michaelle Rondenelly, a £15 s.19 d. 8 a Fl. *pur* £ de Gr. For here hadde hit: Fl. 220 s. 13 d. 4
- l) *Item* a di ditto *pur* £15 de Gr. send to Venecia a le dyd Russelay, for to resseyve of Phelyppe Inggorani, a £15 st 19 d. 8 a Fl. *pur* £ de Gr. For here hadde hit: Fl. 165 s. 10 d. -
- m) *Item* a di ditto *pur* £30 de Gr. send to Venecia a le dyd Russelaye, for to resseyve of Johanne Portenary et *compagnia* de Venecia, a £15 s.19 d. 8 a Fl. *pur* £ de Gr. For here hadde hit the seyde Johne Portenary et *compagnia*: Fl. 330 s. 20 d. -
- n) *Item* a di ditto *pur* £15 de Gr. I have wretyne to the seyde Russelay et Strossy for to make Jacob Salviati et *compagnia* de Londra, creditor, and dettours, Salviati de Pisa, a £16 a Fl. *pur* £ de Gr. And rekyne to us: Fl. 165 s. 15 d. -
- o) *Item* a di 9 ditto *pur* £15 de Gr. send to Venecia a le dyd Russelaye et Strossy, for to resseyve of Jacob de Benzy et *compagnia*, a £16 a Fl. *pur* £ de Gr. For here hadde hit: Fl. 165 s. 15 d. -
- p) *Item* a di ditto *pur* £100 de Gr. send to Venecia le dyd Russelay

⁹⁵ The scribe repeats the same word in two languages.

et Strossy da llo ro mindesimi, a £16 s. 0 d. uno a Fl. *pur* libra. For here hadde hit the seyd *compagnia* de le dyd Russelaye et Strossy: Fl. 1103 s. 21 d. 4

q) *Summa* Fl.:⁹⁶

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a) *Per conto* segnato G for money send by exchaunge to Johne Russelaye and Vanni Francisco de Strossy et *compagnia* de *Venecia* per Alamano Salviati in Florens, as hit apperyth in the tothyr syde of this leve:

b) *Item* a di 30 de *aprelle* 1451 *pur* £20 de Gr., a £16 a Fl. *pur* libra de Gr., send by the seyd Russelay and Strossy of *Venecia* to Alamano Salviati in Florens, to paye by a *lettre* of the ix daye of *aprelle*, at usance, to Benet de Fransisco de Strossy in Florens: Fl. 220 st 20 d. -

c) *Item* a di ditto *pur* £58 de Gr., a £16 a Fl. *pur* £ de Gr., send by the seyd Russelay and Strossy of *Venecia* to Alamano Salviati by a *lettre* of the ix daye of *aprelle*, at usance, to paye to Antonio de Branocha: Fl. 640 s. 0 d. -

d) *Item* a di ditto *pur* £24 s.16 d. uno de Gr., a £16 a Fl. *pur* libra de Gr., send by the seyd Russelay and Strossy of *Venecia* to Alamano Salviati by a *lettre* of this ix daye of *aprelle*, at usance, to paye to Cosmo: Fl. 273 s. 20 d. 4

e) *Item* a di ditto *pur* £37 s. 3 d. 11 de Gr., a £16 a Fl. *pur* libra de Gr., send by the seyd Russelay and Strossy of *Venecia* to Alamano Salviati by a *lettre* of the x daye of *aprelle*, at usance, to paye to Pero de Galiano: Fl. 410 s.12 d.8

g) *Item* a di 30 ditto *pur* £60 de Gr., a £16 a Fl. *pur* libra de Gr., send by the seyd Russelaye and Strossy of *Venecia* to Alamano Salviati by a *lettre* of the x daye of *aprelle*, at usance, to paye to Pero de Galyano: Fl. 662 s. 22 d. -

h) *Item* a di 18 de *magio* 1451 *pur* £50 de Gr. send to Venice to the seyd Russelaye et Strossy, for to resceyve of Lowes Thechyatzy et *compagnia* in *Venecia*, a £16 s. - d. 7 a Fl. *pur* £ de Gr. For here hadde hit the seyd Lowes: Fl. 552 s. 2 d. 2

i) *Item* Fl. 1500, I write to you þat ye write to Jacob Salviati et *compagnia* de Londra, creditor in *primo conto* and dettori: Fl. 1500 s. - d. -

j) *Item* a di 22 ditto *pur* £50 de Gr. send to *Venecia* a ditti Russelay

⁹⁶ The sum total is left blank in the MS.

- et Strossy, for to resceyve of Pero de Francisco de Medici *et compaignia* in Venecia, a £16 a Fl. *pro libra* de Gr. For here hadde hit Johanne et Pero Francisco de Medici *et compaignia* : Fl. 551 s. 21. d. -
- k)** Item a dì 14 julio 1451 *pur* £37 s. 4 d. 10 de ster. send to Jacob Salviati *et compaignia* de Londra at xv dayes after the seyth of the *lettre*, for to resceyve of Pero de Medici et Jerezso de Pili *et compaignia* in Londra, *pur* Fl. 222 s. 26. d. 2, a Fl. For here hadde hit Johane del Pulesse: Fl. 222 s. 26 d. 2
- l)** Item a dì ditto *pur* £32 s. 18 d. - de st. send to Jacob Salviati *et compaignia* de Londra, a dì 15 a vista da *lettera*,⁹⁷ for to resceyve of Alysandyr Brey de Messer Antonio, *pur* Fl. 196 s. 26 d 2, a Fl. For here hadde hit Jorge Luke: Fl. 196 s. 26 d.2
- m)** Item a dì ditto *pur* £148 s. 1 d. 7 de st. send to Jacob Salviati *et compaignia* de Londra, a pagare a dì 15 da vista da *lettera*, for to resceyve of Pero de Medici and Jeros de Pili, *pur* Fl.886 s. 7 d. 3. For here hadde hit Johanne and Pero Francisco de Medici *et compaignia*: Fl. 886 s. 7 d. 3
- n)** Item a dì ditto *pur* £182 s. 15 d. 9 de ster. send to Jacob Salviati *et compaignia* de Londra, for to resceyve a dì 15 da vista a Pero de Medyci et Jerozzo de Pili *et compaignia* in Londra, *pur* Fl. 1094. For here hadde hit Johnne da Pero Francischo de Medici *et compaignia*: Fl. 1094 s. - d. -
- o)** Item le dyd for a savacondyd *pur* le⁹⁸ robe de William Cantelowe durynge a yere: Fl. 30 s. 19 d. 4
- p)** Item *pur* senceria de ditti denari cambiati *per* sencyale: Fl.3 s. 16 d.4
- q)** Item le vj jour de octobre 1451, Johanne Balmayn, *servaunt* of William Cantelowe: Fl. 200 s. -d. -⁹⁹
- r)** Summa Fl.
Summa *totalis* what of this syde and of the tothyr: Fl. 15292. 24. 4

⁹⁷ This abbreviation clearly ends in an *a*, rather than an *e* as in *lettre* above.

⁹⁸ I am assuming that this definite article is the Italian feminine plural, *le*, and not AN plural, *lé*.

⁹⁹ Presumably this 200 florins is Balmayn's salary for the year?

a) Money send by exchange from Venice to London and to Brugous *per conto* de G.

b) *Memorandum* that this ys the rekenyng of the money send by exchange fro Venice by Johanne Russelay and Vanni Francescho de Strossy et *compagnia* de Venecia for the *conto* assignato G, send alle this *parcelles* as folowyth to Jacob Salviati et *compagnia* de Londra et de Brugis *pur le dyd conto*. The whych money was send to us fro Florens by Alamano Salviati, as hit apperyth by the *parcelles* of this book, carta 130.

c) Firste le vj *jour* de feverelle, send by usance to London a st. 45¹/₄ *pur le doc.* a Umfrido Justyano. For here hadde hit Panrano Justyano: £15

d) *Item* le 11 ditto, send by usance to London a st. 45 le doc., a Sevestyano et Jorolinis Bandenere. For here hadde hit Victore Cape and his brotherys: £10

e) *Item* le 13 ditto, send by usance to London a st. 44 ¹/₂ a Lowes Strossy. For here hadde hit Antonio Partini: £225

f) *Item* le 17 ditto, send by usance to London a 44 st. a Lowes Strossy. For here hadde hit the seyde Partini: £50

g) *Item* le 8 de marche, send by usance a st. 44 ¹/₆ a Filino de Faguiano. For here hadde hit oureselffe: £26. 18

h) *Item* a di 11 ditto, send by usance to Bruges a Gr. 52 ¹/₃ a Lorenzo Banbo. For here hadde hit Jacobo Pissamano: £10

i) *Item* le dyd *jour*, send by usance to Bruges a Gr. 52 ¹/₃ a Damiano Russini. For here hadde hit Pero Bassato: £10

j) *Item* le dyd *jour*, send by usance to Bruges a Gr. 52 ¹/₂ a Antonio de Rabatta et Bernardo Cambini. For here hadde hit Vincequero Justynyano: £10

k) *Item* le dyd *jour*, send by usance a Gr. 52 ¹/₈ a Strossys, *pur conto* a nostri: £47

l) *Item* le 18 de le dyd, send by usance to London, a st. 44 ¹/₆ a Leonardo Cattano *pur conti* a noi : £23. 3

- m) *Item* le vj de aprelle send by usance to London a st. 45 a Leonardo Cattano *pur conti a nostri* : £30
- n) *Item* le x de le dyd, send by usance to Brugous a Gr. 52 $\frac{3}{4}$ a Lomelini. For here hadde hit Rondenelli: £60
- o) *Item* le xij de le dyd, send by usance to Brugous a le dyd Percio a Antonio de Rabata et Bernardo Cambini. For here hadde hit Lowes Techiasy: £17
- p) *Item* le 4 jour de Maye, send to Brugous for x days *length past* the usance a Gr. 52 $\frac{1}{2}$ a le Strossy. For here hadde hit Antonio de Labinia: £64
- q) *Item* le dyd *jour*, send by usance to Brugous a Gr. 52 $\frac{1}{2}$ da lloro midesimi. For here hadde hit Antonio de la Luna : £100
- r) *Item* le dyd *jour*, send by usance to Brugous a Gr. 52 $\frac{2}{3}$ a Jacobo Dario. For here hadde hit Messer Antonio Burmay: £40. 2. 8
- s) *Item* le dyd *jour*, send by usance to Brugous a le dyd Percio a Francischo Jerolimo Kenynsy. For here hadde hit Johanne Burmay et *compagnia* : £10.7
- t) *Item* le 17 de le dyd, send to Brugous a gr. 52 $\frac{3}{4}$ a le Strossy. For here hadde hit Johne de Matheo Gryty: £10
- u) *Item* le 19 de le dyd, we have wretyne to themeselfe to make credens for ij days *length past* the usance at Brugous a Gr.52 $\frac{3}{4}$ and to make us dettours : £33
- v) *Item* le 24 de le dyd, send by usance to Brugous to themeselffe a Gr. 52 $\frac{3}{4}$ a Francisco et Jacabo Salviati et *compagnia* in Pisa. For here hadde hit Antonio Partini: £22. 5. 3
- w) *Item* le primer jour de june, we have wretyne to themeselffe at Brugous to make creditours a Gr. 52 $\frac{3}{4}$ and us dettours: £50
- x) *Item* le 5 ditto, we have wretyne to themeselffe at Brugous a Gr. 54 to make creditours and us dettours: £55
- y) *Item* le 9 de le dyd, we have wreytne to themeselffe at Brugous þat at usance and of the same *persone* scholde make theme creditours and us detours: £70

z) <i>Item</i> we write to themeselffe at London þat of the v daye of this monyth at usance scholde make us dettours in theyr rekenyng a st. 46 <i>pur le doc.</i> and us creditours:	£22
aa) <i>Item pur sensaria de denari cambiati a questo conto a sensiale:</i>	£8. 4
bb) <i>Item pur nostra provisione a doc. ij pur mila et pur consolatico, doc. ij pur mila:</i>	£2. 2. 0
cc) <i>Item the seyd compagnia awyth for as muche as we have sette hit in his rekenyng:</i>	£0. 3. 7
<i>Summa:</i>	£1013 s. 4 d. 0 pez. 12

3. APPENDICES

Table 1: Summary of mercantile Italianisms in AN and / or ME, 1451-1500.

The following table lists a total of nineteen convincing Italian loanwords in the field of trade, mainly found in the AND / MED / OED from the second half of the fifteenth century. Four are new nautical borrowings from the Southampton Stewards' books in 1487-88 / 1492-93, unattested elsewhere in medieval English records (*arygon*, *barkeroll*, *margeon*, *styves*, cf. Chapter 1.3i). Unsurprisingly, given the relative lateness of these sources, we find only one loanword from an AN-matrix text: the red dye, *orchell*. However, it is tempting in cases like *caravan*, attested as an Arabo-Italianism as early as the twelfth century in CF, to suggest that AN **caravane* may have existed and simply be missing from the record. In other instances, such as *corsair*, *pilote*, *skiff* and *turkin*, words of Italian origin passed into late ME via CF. The coins *bagantin*, *grosset*, *quattrin* and *solde*¹ seem likely to be direct Italian borrowings in ME as does *bank*, the fur *romany* and the abbreviation *oz.*:

Headword + ult. Italian etymon	Gloss	AN	ME	CF (before 1500)
MARITIME				
arygon ² (n.) < <i>àrgana</i>	'ship's capstan or windlass'	X	SH Stewards <i>arygon / arigon</i> 1492	Arch. angevines: <i>argans</i> 1279
barkeroll ³ (n.) < <i>barcharol</i>	'a boatman'	X	SH Stewards <i>barkeroll</i> 1492	X
corsair ⁴ (n.)	'pirate'	X	MED	TLFi

¹ Note that all these coin types are first attested in the same text, William Wey's *Changes of Money from England to Rome and Venice* from c1470 (?1458): *At Trent ye schal al haue katerynys and marketis..Too katerynes and ij bagantynys for a market. [...]At Venyse be grotys, grossetys, galy halpens, whyche be clepyd ther soldes and bagantynes [...]. Bagantin and grosset do not yet have their own OED entry.*

² E.g. *for a Elme to make a Arygon and for the ffellyng costs* (Ruddock 1944: 143). The use of these capstans (or hoists) is discussed by the author and in Thick 1995; both describe local workers and Venetian galley crew working together to source and fell timber in the New Forest from c1460 to 1533. The men then constructed equipment on the dockside to unload valuable cargo. Some decades earlier, in his Florentine-language diary from 1429-30, the state galley captain, Luca di Maso degli Albizzi, regularly refers to the *argani* used at Southampton docks (e.g. Mallett 1967: 256). *Argan* is attested in 1279 in CF in the Italianising *Documents en français des archives angevines de Naples* but then did not appear again until the 1660s (as *argue*) as a general industrial, rather than a maritime, term (Fennis 1995: 246). However, Occitan *argue* in the nautical sense is attested in 1539 (Fennis 1995: 251).

³ E.g. *Item then payd to a barkroll for fecchyng home of the same tumber, ij s.* (Ruddock 1944: 143). Ruddock footnotes *barkeroll* correctly as 'The man in charge of a small boat' (ibid., 142) but does not suggest an etymon. In her edition, Thick (1996: liii) mistakenly glosses the loanword as 'bark, a small sailing vessel (Italian, *barca*)'. Whilst the root of the word is obviously linked to *barca*, *barkeroll* is surely an adaption of the Venetian *barcharol*, a variation of the Tuscan *barcaiuolo* which is much more widely attested in the TLIO / OVI corpora from c1322 onwards.

< <i>corsaro</i>			coursarie a1500	corsair 1443
fanal ⁵ (n.) < <i>fanale</i>	‘beacon or lighthouse’	X	OED2 fanal 1471	DMF fanal 1337
fust (n.) < <i>fusta</i>	‘light, fast galley with oars’	X	OED2 foist / fust 1485	DMF fuste 1392-93
maregon ⁶ (n.) < <i>marangóne</i>	‘ship’s carpenter’	X	SH Stewards <i>maregon</i> 1492	Piloti, Terre Sainte: <i>maregon</i> 1441
pilot ⁷ (n.) < <i>piloto / pedota</i>	‘helmsman’	X	OED3 pilot 1481	TLFi pilote 1339
skif ⁸ (n.) < <i>schifo</i>	‘small boat’	X	MED skif a1500	DMF esquif c1442-44
styves ⁹ (n.) < <i>stive</i> < <i>stivare</i>	‘wooden derricks to unload cargo’	X	SH Stewards <i>styves</i> 1487	X
FINANCIAL				
bagantin ¹⁰ (n.)	‘small copper coin’	X	MED	DMF

⁴ See Fennis (1995: 639), Vidos (1939: 332-36).

⁵ See Fennis (1995: 896), Vidos (1939: 388-90).

⁶ E.g. *In primis payd the xxiiij day of Nouembre to the maregon of the galy Capetyn* (Ruddock 1944: 145). *Maregone* is a Venetian term originally meaning ‘cormorant’ and then applied to ship’s carpenter, a profession that involved carrying out repairs underwater. As the OVI shows, it is attested as a surname in Venice from the 1270s onwards. The word is also behind the nickname for the oldest surviving bell in the San Marco tower: traditionally *la Marangona* rang twice a day to signal the start and end of work in the Venice dockyards. The single medieval CF example of *maregon* is the treatise of Emmunuale Piloti, a polyglot Venetian merchant on Crete who translated his work from the Italian vernacular into French (Fennis 1995: 108).

⁷ See Fennis (1995: 1481), Vidos (1939: 533-35), Hope (1971: 41).

⁸ See Fennis (1995: 856), Vidos (1939: 377), Hope (1971: 38).

⁹ E.g. *Styves of the gales: Allso Resseved the xxviiij day of marche of the patron of the gayle ffrances conteryn ffor the styves that he occupyed in his gayle* (Ruddock 1944: 148). According to the DEI, *stivare* (‘to stow’) was attested in Genoa in 1268 (see also Vidos 1939: 386). Pegolotti uses the verb three times in his merchant handbook and the Datini database shows us three derivations from the 1390s: the past participle *stivate* as well as *stiva* (‘cargo’) and *stivatori* (presumably the workers who loaded and unloaded the cargo). We also find numerous derivations of the term (e.g. *stivare*, *la stiva*, *si stivò*, *stivossi*, *stivate*) in the Florentine diary of Captain Luca di Maso degli Albizzi who describes loading pokes of wool onto his galley at Southampton in 1430 (Mallett 1967: 278-79). It seems certain that ME *styves* are Italian in origin, albeit via an interesting process of semantic development from ‘cargo’ / ‘to stow cargo’ to the ‘equipment to (un)load cargo’ (cf. Thickett 1995: 358). Note that the word family does not appear until 1539 in CF: both the FEW (XII, 270ab: **stipare**) and Fennis (1995: 864) record the noun *estive* (‘cargo’) from the ship’s inventory of the Sainte Claire in 1539. In English, we find traces of *styves*’ use centuries later in the profession name, *stevedore*: ‘workman employed [...] in loading and unloading the cargoes of merchant vessels’ (OED2 sub **stevedore**, att. 1788).

¹⁰ See Dietz (2005: 581).

< <i>bagattino</i>	of Venice / Trento'		bagantin 1470 (?1458)	baguetin 1480
bank ¹¹ (n.) < <i>banca / banco</i>	'money-dealer's table / shop'	X	OED2 bank ³ 1474	DMF banque 1459
grosset ¹² (n.) < <i>grossetto</i>	'silver coin of Venice, worth four <i>soldi</i> '	X	MED grosset c1470 (?1458)	X
quatrain (n.) < <i>quattrino</i>	'small copper coin of Venice and Trento'	X	OED3 quatrin c1470	DMF quatrin c1425-40
solde ¹³ (n.) < <i>soldo</i>	'silver coin of Venice'	X	MED solde 1470 (?1458)	(DMF solde 1444)
OTHER (TEXTILE / FUR / MOVEMENT OF GOODS / ADMIN. ABBREV.)				
orchell ¹⁴ (n.) < <i>oricello</i>	'red dye extracted from lichens'	AND2 orchell 1482-83	OED3 orchil 1482-83	TLFi orseille a1425
turkin (n.) < <i>turchino</i>	'light blue cloth'	X	OED2 turkin 1483	TLFi turquin 1447
romany ¹⁵ (n.) < <i>romano</i>	'fur from Romano di Lombardia, near Bergamo'	X	OED2 Romany 1495	X
caravan ¹⁶ (n.)	'company of	X	MED	TLFi

¹¹ Durkin (2014: 370) comments: "It is [...] possible that *bank*, denoting a financial institution, shows some direct input from Italian". See also Hope (1971: 28) and Dietz (2005: 581). Note that the loanword (clearly linked to the Borromei Bank of Florence) appears in BML thirty-one years earlier, DMLBS **bancus**, 179b: *per bancum de Boromeis traditas* (att. 1443). Even earlier, in 1436, we also find *per solucionem factam Johanni de Pyno, bancario de Bruges* (DMLBS sub **bancarius**, 179a), which seems to either stem directly from Italian *banchiero*, 'money-lender' (cf. Hope 1971: 29) or AN **banker*, so far unattested in this financial sense.

¹² Note also the following citation in the OED2 sub **ass**¹: *And ye most zeve yowre asman curtesy a grot other a grosset of Venyse* (a1500).

¹³ Durkin (2014: 369) notes that the coin name *solde* is a "probable direct Italian loanword" and Dietz (2005: 597) concurs. The CF citations refer to 'a soldier's pay / wages' and derive from the same Italian etymon and which replaced OF *soldee / soudee / souldee*, according to the TLFi sub **solde**¹. See also OED2 sub **sold**¹ and Fennis (1995: 1668).

¹⁴ *Orchil* is listed as a direct Italian loanword in ME by Dietz (2005: 595-96) but this is questioned by Durkin (2014: 369) who states that "borrowing from French cannot be ruled out". As noted in Chapter 1.3, his view has since been confirmed by a new AND2 entry sub **orchel**. Here we find both *orchell* and *orchel* (as opposed to CF *orseille / orsolle*, att. a1425) which are attested in Statutes of the Realm from 1483-84.

¹⁵ Note that the *Draper's Dictionary* (Beck 1882: 136) lists "Rumney" as "a kind of Budge [i.e. fur]", citing the *Book of Rates* of Charles II from 1660. In his lengthy study of the medieval fur trade, Delort also mentions skins from "'Romanie', dits 'rumney budge'". He also notes that they "proviennent d'Italie du Nord et donnent le terme, invraisemblable salmigondis géographique, de 'bougies romaniotes de Lombardie'" in the thirteenth-century *Inventaire du Commerce de Bruges* (Delort 1978: 88).

< <i>caravan</i>	travelling merchants'		caravan a1500	caravane c1195
oz. ¹⁷ (n.) < <i>oz.</i> < <i>onza</i>	'abbreviation for ounce / ounces'	X	OED3 oz. ¹ a1475	X

Table 2: Summary of non-mercantile Italianisms in AN and / or ME, 1200 -1500.

A survey of the AND, MED and OED reveals thirty-four loanwords of very probable Italian origin in a variety of semantic fields over three centuries from 1200 to 1500: military (16),¹⁸ musical (5), culinary (4), literary (3), political (2), riots and mobs (2), architectural (1) and other (2). Given the vast range of time, we see numerous potential transmission routes, including direct Italian-AN (e.g. *pavise*), direct Italian-ME (e.g. *cerrial*) and cases where an unattested AN form seems likely (e.g. *cadence*). As ever, the agency of CF should always be carefully considered but never assumed.

Headword + ult. Italian etymon	Gloss	AN	ME	CF prior to 1500
MILITARY				
alarm ¹⁹ (n.) < <i>all'arme</i>	'call to arms or warning of imminent danger'	X	OED3 alarm c1400	TLFi alarm 1307
brigand ²⁰ (n.)	'foot soldier,	X	OED2	TLFi

¹⁶ See Fennis (1995: 488).

¹⁷ The graphic abbreviation *oz* (with a suspension mark) for *onza* first appears in Italian in the 1400s (Cappelli 1979: 255). In ME, it appears frequently in the anonymous translation from Latin of the Pharmaceutical Writings of Gilbertus Anglicus (a1475). This is apparently the earliest record of the abbreviation's use in England, although, there is no mention of this fact in the text's edition (Getz 1991).

¹⁸ It could be argued that armour, shields or other equipment (e.g. *capeline*, *Milan*, *pavise*, *pisan*, *sallet*) can also be considered mercantile commodities. Northern Italy was famous for the production of such items (Ruddock 1951: 74) and they can be found in accounts amongst other imports into England in the *Views of the Hosts* (1440-44), for instance. However, all corpora are restrained to some extent by arbitrary rules and in this case, I have decided to exclude all military terminology from the main Imports Glossary.

¹⁹ See Fennis (1995:191), Hope (1971:27), Durkin (2014: 369). The noun *alarm* (from the exclamation 'to arms!') evolved in a military context. The OED3 and TLFi agree that in spite of the chronology in attestation, CF borrowed from Italian *all'arme*. The LEI (sub **arma**, p. 1220), however, suggests "una evoluzione semantica indipendente, dato che l'attestazione francese è anteriore a quella italiana". All these dictionaries give an attestation date of a1348 in Italian yet the TLIO entry sub **allarme** has five examples that predate this, the earliest being from the last quarter of the thirteenth century. It is also worth suggesting that an AN form **alarm* (either directly from Italian or via CF) could also have existed.

²⁰ CF *brigand*, from It. *brigante*, was first attested in 1352 (Hope 1971: 32). The earliest attestation of *brigand* in England is found in the ME compilation *Morte Arthure* by Thomas Malory, a1400. It seems very likely that we are dealing with an AN-derived form of the word in this case. We also find the adapted name for 'coat of mail' in the AND sub **brigandier** (att. 1414-40, not found in CF) as well the ME hapax *brigantaille* -

< <i>brigante</i>	skirmisher, robber'		brigand ?a1400	brigand 1352
capeline ²¹ (n.) < <i>cappellina</i>	'small helmet for an archer'	X	OED2 capeline 1488	TLFI capeline 1367
canon ²² (n.) < <i>cannone</i>	'piece of artillery'	AND2 canon ¹ 1377-1411	MED canon 1400	TLFi canon ¹ 1338
escarmuche ²³ (n.) < <i>scaramuccia</i>	'skirmish'	AND2 escarmuche 1390-1412	OED2 skirmish c1374	TLFi escarmouche 1360
falconet (n.) < <i>falconetto</i>	'small canon'	X	OED2 falconet 1500	X
league ²⁴ (n.) < <i>liga</i>	'military or political group'	X	OED2 league 1452	TLFi ligue early 14 th c.
malandrin ²⁵ (n.) < <i>malandrino</i>	'mercenary soldier, pillager, highwayman'	X	MED malandrin a1438	TLFi malandrin c1375
Milan ²⁶ (n.) < <i>Milano</i>	'armour made of Milan steel'	VOH 29:36 (<i>meleyn</i>) 1441	OED3 Milan ¹ 1420	X
page (n.) < <i>paggio</i>	'young, male servant'	AND1 page ¹ 1414	OED3 page ¹ c1300	TLFi page ¹ c1225

'employment of mercenary troops in battle' - in Gower's *Confessio Amantis* from 1393 (OED2 sub **brigantaille**). A single citation of *brigandaille* - 'troupe de brigands' - is found in the DMF, but dates from nearly ninety years later, c1482. ME *brigander* (att. 1420) obviously comes from AN *brigandier* in spite of the claim in the OED2 entry sub **brigander** that "there is no such form in French". The later ME *brigandine* / *brigantine* meaning 'light armour' (att. c1456, OED2 **brigandine** / **brigantine**) are most likely borrowed from the CF forms (att. 1411, TLFi sub **brigandine** / **brigantine**, cf. Fennis 1995: 423-25). Over the next 500 years or so, English added an impressive array of suffixes to the now derogatory term *brigand*: *brigancy* in the 1500s; *brigandage* / *brigandize* in the 1700s; *brigandess* / *brigandesque* / *brigandish* / *brigandine* (adj.) / *brigandism* in the 1800s; *brigandry* in the 1900s.

²¹ See Hope (1971: 33).

²² See Fennis (1995: 466), Hope (1971:33).

²³ See Hope (1971:38), Fennis (1995: 835). Note that the latter is not convinced that this is an Italianism: "le /y/ français au lieu de /u/ et la terminasion ne s'expliqueraient pas". He suggests combined OF etyma, *escremie* ('combat') and *muchier* ('to hide').

²⁴ See Hope (1971: 43).

²⁵ See Hope (1971: 43).

²⁶ The lexeme is found in the AN-matrix *Views of the Hosts: Item a ij altrez squyerez ij harneys de meleyn complete pur xijli*. (VOH 29, transcr., p.65, cf. Bradley 2012: 59). These are the accounts of merchants from Lucca, Giovanni Micheli and Felice da Fagnano in 1441. Interestingly, we also find the term in a fourteenth-century Welsh text: "hyt na vede aryf or byd yndaw mwy noc mewn malen kaletta or byt, 'more than in the hardest Milan-steel in the world'" (LCC sub **Milan**). See also Pinnavaia (2001: 312) and Dietz (2005: 595).

pavise ²⁷ (n.) < <i>pavese</i>	‘large, convex shield’	AND1 pavise 1419	OED3 pavise c1360	TLFi pavois 1336
pisan (n.) < <i>pisano</i>	‘mail collar, worn with armour’	AND2 brace ¹ (<i>pisano</i>) 1355	OED3 pisane 1345	DMF pisan (<i>gorgiere</i> / <i>gorgerette</i> <i>pisainne</i>) 1339
reprisaile ²⁸ (n.) < <i>rappresaglia</i>	‘seizing foreign nationals or their goods’	AND1 reprisaile 1279-1377	OED3 reprisal 1419	DMF représaille 1360
sallet ²⁹ (n.) < <i>celata</i>	‘light, globular helmet’	VOH 29:37 (<i>salattez</i>) 1441	OED2 sallet / salade c1440	TLFi salade ² 1414
scale (n.) < <i>scala</i>	‘ladder used in sieges’	X	OED2 scale 1412-20	TLFi escale early 14 th c.
scarceler (n.) < <i>scarsella</i>	‘courier’	X	OED2 scarceler a1500	TLFi escarcelle late 13 th c.
MUSICAL				
bemol ³⁰ (n.) < <i>bemolle</i>	‘the musical note, B flat’	AND2 b (<i>b. mol</i>) 1212-14	OED2 bemol a1350	TLFi bémol 14 th c.
bequarré ³¹ (n.) < <i>bequadro</i>	‘the musical note, B natural’	AND2 b (<i>b. quarré</i>) 1212-14	OED2 bequarre a1350	TLFI bécarre 1425
cadence ³² (n.)	‘rhythm in verse’	X	OED2	X

²⁷ See Fennis (1995: 1376), Hope (1971: 47).

²⁸ See Hope (1971: 49) who supports an Italian etymon. The OED3 points out that the AN term probably came from post-classical Latin *represalia* but that this may in fact be a back formation from a Romance language. The TLFi sub **représailles** offers a similar opinion but specifically identifies Italian *rappresaglia* as the most likely source for the Latin form.

²⁹ This lexeme is also in the accounts of the *Views of the Hosts*, listed immediately after the Milan-steel armour (*meleyn*, above): *Item a altrez iij salattez pur xxs* (VOH 29:37, transc. p. 65). There is also another example in a BML-matrix View, written in Hull in 1440-41: *Johannes Hares habuit iijC hempe ij dossenas salettarum j dossenam felthattes* (VOH 64: 19, transc. p59). Note the ‘t’ ending, unlike the CF *salade*. Like **baldekin**, **carpet**, **damask**, **fangot**, **tarette**, **vernage** (Imports Glossary), *orchell*, *pavise* (above) and *chenaille* (below), we seem to be dealing with a specifically AN form of the loanword. We could also hypothesise that the ME forms (see OED2 sub **sallet / salade**) show dual borrowing from insular and continental etyma.

³⁰ See Hope (1971: 30).

³¹ See Vidos (1931: 136), Hope (1971: 30).

³² See Hope (1971:30). Earliest senses mean ‘a fall’ or ‘falling off’ but this was later adopted in Italian in a figurative sense to describe the voice or music rising and falling. It seems that ME (possibly via an *AN form) borrowed this secondary meaning significantly earlier (1380s) than CF (1520). Rothwell (1991: 180) comments: “Theoretically, the so-called learned borrowing ‘cadence’ ought to be introduced from the continent much later

< <i>cadenza</i>	and music'		cadence c1384	
counter-tenor ³³ (n.) < <i>contra-tenore</i>	'a voice one part higher than that of a tenor'	X	OED2 counter-tenor ?1388	DMF contreteneur ² c1359
CULINARY				
erbolate ³⁴ (n.) < <i>erbolato</i>	'broth, eggs and herbs in a pastry crust'	X	MED herbolade a1399	DMF arbolaste c1392
rafiolle ³⁵ (n.) < <i>raviolo</i>	'meatball in a pastry crust'	X	OED3 rafiolles a1425	TLFi raviolles 1393
rukel ³⁶ (n.) < <i>rucola</i>	'the edible plant, rocket'	X	OED3 rukel ?1400	DMF éruque (<i>hurucle</i>) 1440
salad ³⁷ (n.) < <i>salada / salata</i>	'cold , chopped vegetables and herbs'	X	OED2 salad c1390	TLFi salade ¹ 1414
LITERARY				
cerial ³⁸ (adj.) < <i>cereale</i>	'of an oaktree'	X	OED2 cerial c1405	X

into a more highly educated society, but perversely appears in Chaucer's English in its musical sense some two centuries before being attested in the Renaissance French of the continent. Its appearance may well be a reminder of the well-documented presence of Italian bankers and merchants in fourteenth-century England."

³³ Whilst Pinnavaia (2001: 298) categorises ME *counter-tenor* as a direct Italianism, Dietz (2005: 586-87) raises the possibility of a French intermediary. *Counter-tenor* is apparently attested only once in ME, in a satirical song (*Syng I wold*) copied in 1500 but probably dating back to c1388. The citation - *a cownter-tenur at Newgat* - shows clear word play on AN *counter* meaning '(debtors') prison': see AND sub **countour**. It seems possible that AN passed on this musical term from Italian into English. (*Counter*)-*tenor* is absent from the AN record but note that the FEW and the TLFi label CF *contreteneur* (att. 1359) and *tenor* (att. 1444) as Italian borrowings: FEW XIII-1 p.224a: **tenor** / TLFi sub **ténor**.

³⁴ This quiche-like dish has various names and Dietz (2005: 592-93) claims that some, such as *erbolate* and (*h*)*erbolade*, stem directly from Italian *erbolate*, whilst others, such as *hebolace* and *hebolas*, come from CF *arbolaste*.

³⁵ An unattested AN variant, **rafiolle*, seems a probable direct etymon for ME *rafiolle*, attested in two recipes c1425. A more Italianised version, *raviol*, is found in a gloss in Florio's dictionary in 1611 (OED3 sub **raviol**) but this still meant small, meat-filled pastries, not the pasta squares we know today (see OED3 sub **ravioli**, att. 1760). As the OED3 and the TLFi discuss, the ultimate origin of *ravioli* remains a mystery, and the traditional assumption that it stems from *rava* ('turnip' in northern Italian) seems very unlikely. Other suggested etymons are Lat. *rubeola* ('reddish', also the name of a goat's / ewe's cheese) and *Robbio*, a small Lombard town where such cheese is produced. See also Pinnavaia (2001: 278) and Dietz (2005:597).

³⁶ An Italian etymon (*rucola*) seems the most convincing but as the OED3 mentions, an alternative is a CF variant from Lorraine: *hurcule*.

³⁷ See Hope (1971: 50).

³⁸ From Chaucer's *Knight's Tale*, written c1405. See Pinnavaia (2001: 269) and Dietz (2005: 583-84).

cornuto ³⁹ (n.) < <i>cornuto</i>	‘cuckold’	X	OED2 cornuto c1430	X
vecke ⁴⁰ (n.) < <i>vecchia</i>	‘old woman’	X	OED2 vecke 1390	X
POLITICAL				
credence ⁴¹ (n.) < <i>credenza</i>	‘the tasting of food / drink to check for poison’	X	OED3 credence a1474	DMF crédence 1474
courtesan ⁴² (n.) < <i>cortigiano</i>	‘member of royal or papal court’	X	OED2 courtesan / courtesan a1426	TLFi courtisan ¹ c1350-1400
RIOTS /MOBS				
brige ⁴³ (n.) < <i>briga</i>	‘a riot or quarrel’	AND2 brige 1280-1307	OED2 brigue c1380	TLFi brigue 1314
chenaille ⁴⁴ (n.) < <i>canaglia</i>	‘rabble or mob’	AND2 chenaille c1200-25	MED chenaille 1340	TLFi canaille att. 1470
ARCHITECTURAL				
galerie ⁴⁵ (n.) < <i>galleria</i>	‘a covered walkway’	X	MED galerie a1439	TLFi galerie att. 1316
OTHER				
barble ⁴⁶ (n.)	‘oral disease esp. in	X	OED2	X

³⁹ From Lydgate’s *Fall of Princes* (translated from Boccaccio), c1430. See Pinnavaia (2001: 285) and Dietz (2005: 586).

⁴⁰ This is the earliest known direct Italian loanword in an ME- matrix text, Gower’s epic poem, the *Confessio Amantis*, c1390 (cf. Durkin 2014: 369, Dietz 2005: 601, Pinnavaia 2001: 271). It is later used in the ME *Romaunt of the Rose* and three of Lydgate’s translations.

⁴¹ This is a semantic loan from Italian. Cf. Hope (1971: 36).

⁴² See Hope (1971: 36).

⁴³ *Briga* (‘fight / dispute’) is also the Italian root of *brigante* (see *brigand*, above): cf. Hope (1971: 31), Fennis (1995: 424). The origins of this word family are not entirely clear but the LEI suggests Latin **brig-*, ‘forzà / vivacità’. The meaning of the loanword *brigue* differs in CF to AN / ME: the DMF / TLFi gloss is ‘manoeuvre secrète pour obtenir un avantage, intrigue’. This CF usage passed into English much later in the eighteenth century (see OED2 sub **brigue**²). Note that *briga* (‘strife, dispute, and brawl’) is also found in BML, att. 1289: DMLBS sub **briga**³.

⁴⁴ Note that *chenaille* appears in the ME *Ayenbite of Inwynt* as early as 1340 but this seems to be an indirect borrowing from the AN *chenaille*, (att. c1200-25, in *La Vie de Saint Clement Pape*) which is, in turn, the insular French borrowing from It. *canaglia*.

⁴⁵ See Hope (1971: 40).

< <i>bàrbula</i>	horses /cattle		barble c1440	
barette ⁴⁷ (n.) < <i>barretta</i>	‘a cap’	AND2 barette c1400-50	X	TLFi barrette ² att. 1366

There are a few key points worth making here:

1. The earliest non-trade related Italianisms in these dictionary corpora are musical: AN *bemol* ‘B flat’ (< It. *bemolle*), and AN *bequarre* ‘B natural’ (< It. *bequadro*), in the *Dialogues of St Gregory* (1212-15). This is a tiny precursor to the many dozens of Italian musical terms that would enter English (and French) lexis from the Renaissance onwards; see Pinnavaia (2001: 298-304) for a comprehensive list.

2. It is interesting to note that terms linked to food - synonymous with Italian culture in the English mind from the 1800s to the present day (see Durkin 2014: 371, also Pinnavaia 2001: 278-79) - are represented from 1390 onwards. There are potentially even earlier medieval examples of loanwords and semantic loans: AN *teste de Turk* (‘elaborate meat / fish pie’) and AN *pume d’oreng* (‘gilded meatballs’) are both attested c1300-25 and have been linked by food historians to Sicilian recipes (cf. Hieatt 2013 and Imports Glossary sub (**pume d’orange**)). See also ME *casselys* (possibly influenced by It. *cassella*) in a capon recipe from 1381 (Imports Glossary sub **cassel**).

3. After mercantile and maritime borrowings from Italian (discussed in Chapter 3), military loanwords are by far the most numerous in fourteenth and fifteenth-century AN and ME, with some - such as *alarm*, *canon*, *skirmish*, *reprisal* and *league* - still found in modern English

⁴⁶ This is an admittedly obscure veterinary lexeme, found only in Italian (TLIO sub **bàrbula**: ‘Inflammatione della ghiandola mascellaria (del cavallo) che si manifesta con piccole tumefazioni situate sotto la lingua’, att. c1375) and in ME as *barbulle* / *barbul* (att. c1440 with three more citations from c1595 to 1753). A shortened alternative name for the same disease, *barb*, is also attested in ?1523 (OED2 **barb**¹ 4.): this could, of course, be derived from French *barbe* but there seems to be no record of an equivalent use in AN or CF. Given the first appearance of *barbulle* in the English-Latin dictionary *Promptorium parvulorum*, a Latin etymon seems an obvious choice. However there is no record of Lat. *barbula* (‘little beard’) being used in this very specific sense and the role of It. *bàrbula* as an intermediary between Latin and ME, as suggested by the OED2, does seem credible. Coincidentally, the same ME source also attests *prill* (‘spinning top’) of unknown origin, although Italian *pirla* / *pirlo* (so far only found in Florio’s dictionary) is given as a possible etymon: see OED2 sub **prill**¹. *Prill* has not been included in Table 2 as the extant evidence for its etymological root is particularly lacking.

⁴⁷ *Barette*, widely accepted as an Italian borrowing in CF, also appears in the three early to mid-fifteenth century AN texts: *Le Traité de Walter de Bibbesworth sur la langue française. Manières de Language* and Baker’s edition of *A French Vocabulary and Conversation-Guide*. The didactic nature of these late sources reinforces the idea that this Italianism entered insular French via continental forms. Note that the online AND entry sub **barette** gives a misleading dating for Bibbesworth sources: some of the material was written as early as 1250 but this ‘B’ ms. dates from the first half of the 1400s.

today. Several are an adaptation of a city name used to describe various types of weaponry or armour (e.g. from Pavia we have the shield-name AN / ME *pavise*; from Pisa, the mail collar AN / ME *pisan(e)*; AN / ME *milan* could be used nominally to describe the famed steel of Milan). As with pre-1500 loanwords in the Imports Glossary, some seem to have entered AN or ME independently of CF (e.g. *brigandier*, *falconet*, *milan*, *malandrin*). The first three loanwords are not attested in CF and the last one is found in BML (DMLBS sub **malandrinus**) fifty years before Froissart uses it in his *Chroniques* (c1375) to describe bands of hired Italian mercenaries who pillaged France during the Hundred Years War (TLFi sub **malandrin**).

There was, without a doubt, however a much wider scale absorption of Italian martial lexis in 1300s and 1400s in France than in England, catalysed in particular by a long succession of wars between Naples, Milan and the French Crown (cf. Hope 1971: 58-60). Many of these loanwords were then later passed from CF into early modern English in the 1500s, as outlined in Chapter 1.2iii.

4. There is a notable presence of derogatory terms with ultimate Italian etyma. These describe either a ‘riot or mob’ (AN / ME *chenaille*⁴⁸ < It. *canaglia*; AN / ME *brige* < It. *briga*) or a nefarious individual (ME *malandrin* ‘mercenary, pillager, highwayman’ < It. *malandrino*; ME *brigand* ‘foot soldier, robber’ < It. *brigante*; ME *corsair* ‘pirate’ < It. *corsaro*). Note also the English term *ruffian* (< It. *ruffiano*), meaning ‘thug, villain’ and attested a1525 in the OED3 sub **ruffian**.⁴⁹ The link between Italians and (mercenary) soldiers and sailors was obviously a strong one in the English mind and terms originally used to describe these professions quickly broadened to encompass criminals of all types. This adds another interesting dimension to the anti-Italian sentiment felt in mercantile communities in England, highlighted in Chapter 2.

5. As discussed in Chapter 1.3i, literature has been the only field in which Italianisms in medieval English writing have received widespread academic attention. The three literary loanwords listed here are clear, direct borrowings from Italian, first attested between 1390 and c1430 in the ME works of the multilingual authors Gower, Chaucer and Lydgate: *vecke* ‘old woman’ (< It. *vecchia*); *cerial* ‘of an oaktree’ (It. < *cerriale*); *cornuto* ‘cuckold’ (< It.

⁴⁸ *Chenaille* is also used in the sense of ‘cur, scoundrel’ in *Les Enfances de Jesu Crist* (c1275-1300): AND sub **chenaille**.

⁴⁹ See also Hope (1971: 49). It is also worth mentioning a single, possible borrowing from 1297 in the DMLBS entry sub **waldana** (3725b): ‘rabble, band of (armed men), cf. Italian *gualdana*’.

cornuto). Such erudite usage is important, of course, and shows (along with culinary, political, architectural and musical examples) the strength of wider cultural links between England and Italy prior to 1500. Even so, as demonstrated in the Imports Glossary (Chapter 3), they are greatly outnumbered by more practical borrowings from Italian in the fields of commerce and shipping.